

A World through Words:
Dengbêjî, Kilam and Collective Memory

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submitted by

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Abstract

Keywords: Agirî, Collective Memory, Cultural Memory, Dengbêj, Dengbêjî, Illiteracy, Kilam, Kurdish, Kurmanji, Literacy, Narrative, Orality, Oral Culture, Oral History, Rebellion, Resistance.

This dissertation analyzes aspects of the *dengbêjî* tradition among Kurdish-Kurmanj communities in the context of collective memory. It argues that dengbêjî is a means of preserving a considerable number of narratives in collective memory and conveying history through generations. Therefore, the dengbêjî tradition is examined in the context of memory studies, with a special reference to oral history, oral traditions, and collective memory.

The study begins with a theoretical discussion regarding literacy and illiteracy, as well as the role of literacy in societies. This paves the way for analyzing the connection between illiteracy and oral culture among Kurdish-Kurmanj people. The aim of this discussion is to draw from existing scholarly works to create a theoretical framework for the topic and to analyze the impact of dengbêjî on the collective memory of a society whose literacy level was low until the last few decades.

Dengbêjî is an oral tradition and a method of recounting history among Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish people. By focusing on the connection between memory and history, this dissertation will examine this specific way of remembering, drawing upon memory studies. Consequently, the function and role of dengbêjî in creating a collective memory among Kurmanjs, and the characteristics of this type of oral memory as opposed to written accounts of the past, are analyzed.

The dissertation centers on dengbêjî as a particular oral tradition and distinguishes it from other Kurdish oral and musical traditions, such as *çîrokbêjî* and *stranbêjî* (lit.: storytelling and singing). This helps to set the tradition apart. The study also delves into the time and location of dengbêjî by comparing it with some other oral/musical traditions, such as *ashik* and *naqqāli* from Anatolia and Iran. Furthermore, the period of the tradition, the performance of dengbêjs, and the relationship between performers and the audience are also examined.

The collective memory of Kurdish people regarding the Agirî Resistance, which occurred in eastern Turkey around Mount Agirî (Turkish: Ağrı, Armenian: Ararat) between 1926 and 1930, serves as a case study here. To gain a deeper understanding of the topic, certain kilams about the fighters in this resistance are examined. Through these narratives, this dissertation seeks to understand how Kurdish-Kurmanj people have remembered the resistance and its fighters, and how these memories differ from written Kurdish and Turkish accounts. This part of the study also provides insight into the society's perception of their past. This perception differs from the way the past is represented in certain written sources and from today's viewpoint.

In this manner, it may pave the way for discussing the role of written documents in the recent history of Kurdish people.

Focusing on a specific oral tradition, this dissertation primarily concerns Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish people who mainly reside in the East and Southeast of Turkey, Northern Syria, and partially in Iran and Iraq (which geographically indicates the central and northern parts of Kurdistan), as well as in some small areas in the Caucasus. The research spans approximately one hundred years, specifically from the 1880s to the 1980s.

Zusammenfassung:

Schlüsselwörter: Agirî, Dengbêj, Dengbêjî, Illiteralität, Kilam, Kollektives Gedächtnis, Kulturelles Gedächtnis, Kurdisch, Kurmanji, Literalität, Narrativ, Oral Culture, Oral History, Oralität, Rebellion, Widerstand.

Diese Dissertation analysiert Aspekte der Dengbêjî-Tradition in Kurdisch-Kurmanji Gesellschaften im Kontext des kollektiven Gedächtnisses. Es wird argumentiert, dass Dengbêjî nicht nur eine Möglichkeit ist, eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Erzählungen im kollektiven Gedächtnis zu speichern, sondern auch eine Möglichkeit, Geschichte über Generationen hinweg zu vermitteln. In diesem Sinne wird die Dengbêjî-Tradition im Kontext von „Memory Studies“ im Zusammenhang mit „Oral History“, mündlichen Traditionen und kollektivem Gedächtnis untersucht.

Die Studie beginnt mit einer theoretischen Auseinandersetzung zu Literalität und Illiteralität und untersucht, welche Rolle Literalität in Gesellschaften spielt. Diese theoretische Einbettung eröffnet den Weg, um die Verbindung zwischen Illiteralität und mündlicher Kultur unter den Kurmanj-Kurden zu analysieren. Das Ziel dieser Auseinandersetzung ist es, vorhandene wissenschaftliche Arbeiten zu nutzen, um einen theoretischen Rahmen für das Thema zu schaffen und die Auswirkungen von Dengbêjî auf das kollektive Gedächtnis der kurdischen Gesellschaft zu analysieren, deren Alphabetisierungsniveau bis in die letzten Jahrzehnte niedrig war.

Dengbêjî ist eine mündliche Überlieferungsform und eine spezifische Art, um die Erinnerung an die eigene Geschichte unter den Kurmanji sprechenden Kurden zu bewahren. Die vorliegende Dissertation wird diese spezifische Methode des Erinnerns anhand der Gedächtnisforschung untersuchen, indem sie sich auf den Zusammenhang von Erinnerung und Geschichte konzentriert. Daher werden die Funktion und Rolle von Dengbêjî bei der Schaffung eines kollektiven Gedächtnisses unter den Kurmanj-Kurden untersucht und zudem Merkmale dieser Art des mündlichen Gedächtnisses im Gegensatz zu schriftlichen Quellen über die Vergangenheit analysiert.

Die Dissertation konzentriert sich auf Dengbêjî als eine besondere mündliche Tradition und grenzt sie von anderen Kurdischen mündlichen und musikalischen Traditionen, wie çîrokbêjî (wörtlich übersetzt: Geschichten erzählen) und stranbêjî (wörtlich übersetzt: singen) ab. Mit

der Abgrenzung wird es möglich einen theoretischen Bezugsrahmen für die Tradition zu schaffen. Die Studie fokussiert sich ebenfalls auf Zeit und Ort des Dengbêjî, indem sie Dengbêjî mit anderen mündlichen/musikalischen Traditionen wie *ashik* und *naqqāli* aus Anatolien und dem Iran vergleicht. Darüber hinaus werden auch die Blüteperiode des Genres, die „performance“ von Dengbêjî und die Beziehung zwischen Dengbêjî und Publikum untersucht.

Das kollektive Gedächtnis der Kurmanj bezüglich des Agirî-Widerstands, der zwischen 1926 und 1930 im Osten der Türkei um den Berg Agirî (*türkisch: Ağrı, armenisch: Ararat*) stattfand, wird hier als Fallstudie herangezogen. Um ein umfassenderes Verständnis des Themas zu erlangen, werden ausgewählte Kilams über Kämpfer in diesem Widerstand untersucht. Durch eine Analyse dieser Widerstandserzählungen versucht die Dissertation aufzuzeigen, wie sich die Kurdisch-Kurmanj Bevölkerung an den Widerstand und die Kämpfer erinnert und wie sich diese Erinnerungen von dem Inhalt schriftlicher kurdischer und türkischer Darstellungen unterscheiden. Dieser Teil der Studie veranschaulicht ebenfalls die gesellschaftliche Wahrnehmung in Bezug auf diesen historischen Abschnitt. Diese Wahrnehmung unterscheidet sich von der Darstellung der Geschehnisse in schriftlichen Quellen aus dieser Zeit und von rezenten Vorstellungen.

Die Zeitspanne der Forschung umfasst etwa hundert Jahre, nämlich von den 1880ern bis in die 1980er Jahre.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Novelty of this Work

This work is an attempt to analyze the collective memory of Kurdish-Kurmanj society through dengbêjî, and it aims to discover the overlaps of collective memory and history in a particular time-period. In this case, conveyed via kilam, the collective memory of society regarding the Agirî resistance, which occurred between 1926 and 1930, will be compared with written accounts. In other words, this study thoroughly studies a specific time-period and the role of dengbêjî and kilam in conveying the past into the Kurdish collective memory. When considered from such a perspective, it is obvious that dengbêjî had a much greater impact on Kurdish collective memory than any written historical material, especially for the Kurds whose literacy rate was low and whose native language was banned in Turkey for several decades.¹

Oral traditions can be significant sources for memory studies. Especially if a society does not have a common written history, oral traditions can be a source for tracing their past. In such cases, the society recalls its past and conveys it to the next generations via oral traditions.

Recollection of the past through oral traditions among Kurdish people is worth examining in detail because Kurmanji-speaking Kurds have created a culture built upon strong oral traditions. Dengbêjî is one of the relevant practices. Kurmanjs have recalled and defined their past and kept their memories for decades through this tradition. Thus, dengbêjî has become a way to store a considerable amount of historical knowledge in the collective memory. Therefore, searching the history and culture of this society requires examining of its oral traditions and particularly the dengbêjî practice. The novelty of this dissertation lies in the analysis of this Kurmanji oral tradition and its products to construct and preserve collective memory which reflects the history of the society. Since this work describe dengbêjî as part of collective memory which conveys history of Kurmanj people, the discussions, and critical findings in the field of memory studies are crucial for examining the connection between individual and collective memory.

¹ Kurdish was banned in Turkey between 1924 and 1991 according to two laws: *Şark Islahat Planı* (24th September 1924) and *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (3rd March 1924). Even after March 1991, according to the law 2923, although it is free to use Kurdish in daily life, usage of Kurdish is limited. There are a lot of official and unofficial limits for usage of it.

This study is a deeper and more detailed extension of my MA thesis ‘The Dengbêjî Tradition among Kurdish-Kurmanj Communities: Narrative and Performance During the Late 19th and 20th Centuries’ (MA in History, Boğaziçi University, 2013) in which I analyzed dengbêjî as a particular oral tradition and focused on the kilams -the narratives- as a specific genre.

When writing this dissertation, I had already engaged with the topic from different perspectives; from being familiar with the performances in my childhood to studying it professionally for many years. However, this topic is relatively new and there is not so much detailed research of this tradition and kilam. Dengbêjî has so far been examined as a part of Kurdish culture and folklore. Distinctively, this study does not only analyze dengbêjî as a particular form of oral transmission, but it also focuses on this tradition as a part of Kurdish-Kurmanj collective memory by questioning how this tradition has shaped and contributed to the collective memory of the society.

This research categorizes the narratives as products of a particular genre and analyzes their content to create a frame for the tradition as it was said but mainly, it compares samples of this oral tradition with written Turkish and Kurdish accounts to analyze the differences between collective memory and written accounts. In this sense, the study examines a certain historical period of the society through oral narratives.

The story of this dissertation overlaps with my personal memory on the one hand and the 20th century history of Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish communities in Turkey on the other. The first scene emerging from my memory starts with a group of men gathered and listening to a dengbêj; and it is followed by another one in which the elderly people are listening to kilams through some tape cassettes in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In my childhood, I did not pay much attention to kilams, as they were complicated for children to understand. After my childhood I started to grasp their contents and became interested in the tradition. Many years later, when I decided to research the topic for my M.A. thesis, I already had extensive personal experience and familiarity with its forms and practices. While researching for my dissertation, I gathered further historical knowledge and theoretical perspectives on the topic. Therefore, this study has derived from both my scientific research and personal observation and experience.

The story of this work overlaps with my personal experience in dengbêjî and its social evolution as well. When I started to gather kilams in the early 1990s dengbêjî was totally ignored by the educated young generation. Some of my friends even suggested that I should

find something else to spend my time on. Interestingly, when I started to write my dissertation, the same tradition had already become a subject of glorification by the young and educated Kurdish people. In this sense, I reject both the neglect and the glorification, which both arise from superficial knowledge. Instead of glorifying or ignoring the tradition and its products, a serious study should try to understand the contents and functions.

In this study, I tried to do it: to understand what the kilams tell about the society, about their perception, and about themselves.

1.2 Aims and Goals

The goal of this dissertation is to analyze the Kurdish-Kurmanj collective memory via dengbêjî and to study it as a specific part of the culture of Kurmanj people whose majority live in Turkey. As a society which does not have a common written history, Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish people have memorized their past, and this history has been conveyed through generations via the dengbêjî tradition until the late 20th Century.

There are no detailed scholarly works about the memory created by dengbêjî, and the existing literature mainly focuses on the life stories of certain dengbêjs or addresses the topic from other disciplines such as social anthropology or musicology. This dissertation approaches the topic from an interdisciplinary perspective and places it within the field of memory studies. Besides creating a frame for the tradition, the dissertation examines some specific historical period, the resistance in Agirî (1926-1930) through the kilams. The narratives regarding this resistance are compared with the evidence of contemporary written sources. The difference between oral and written sources is one of the focus points of the dissertation. Thus, it will be the first study of its kind, aiming to start a discussion for further works about the role of written accounts regarding the near past of Kurmanj people.

The main objectives of this study can be classified under three categories:

- a. To analyze dengbêjî as a particular tradition and its narratives as a genre.
- b. To study the narratives in the context of collective memory, as a cultural production of Kurmanj people.
- c. To investigate a particular period of the history of this community by comparing the evidence of certain narratives with that of written sources.

1.3 Research Questions

- What is dengbêjî and how does it function? What is the relationship between dengbêjî and the oral culture of Kurmanj people?
- What is the role of dengbêjî and kilam within Kurdish-Kurmanj collective memory? How have Kurmanji-speaking Kurdish people remembered their past? How has this memory been transmitted to the next generations? How has dengbêjî shaped the collective memory of Kurmanjs and their understanding of their own history and identity?
- How do Kurdish-Kurmanj people remember the events of the Agirî Resistance through dengbêjs and the kilams? What is the difference of these oral narratives from written history?

1.4 Methodological Issues

Besides study of primary and secondary literature for the theoretical part different research methods such as participant observation and documentary analysis will be applied in this study.

The predominant methodology is a qualitative approach to research. Analysis of the narratives recorded on old records (tape-cassettes) is the crucial part of the dissertation for understanding the social, cultural, political, and historical background of the narratives. This study categorizes the narratives as productions of a particular genre rather than analyzing them as separate and specific pieces. Thus, it develops general arguments that reflect the characteristics of a tradition and its genre. Hence, it is an attempt to create a general, in-depth view of the tradition and distinguish it from other Kurdish oral traditions.

1.4.1 Participant Observation

In this study participant observation mainly consists of my attendance at dengbêjî performances in the 2000s. Additionally, I have witnessed several dengbêjî gatherings during my childhood including both rural and urban life in the Kurmanji culture in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Witnessing those dengbêjî gatherings in my early years of life gave me an understanding of its natural form. Based on this experience I was able to distinguish between older and newer forms of the tradition, which was important to understand the characteristics

and the period of dengbêjî.

This experience also enabled me to observe the differences in the tradition as it re-shaped after the 2000s, a development that is called “the new dengbêjî” by other scholars.

1.4.2 Documentary Analysis

The primary documents that were analyzed for this study are tape-cassettes which were mainly recorded between the 1960s and 1980s by the audiences of dengbêjî performances. The records used in this study are taken from private collections or internet sources.

All the kilams mentioned and transcribed in the dissertation have been transcribed from tapes and translated into English. Instead of using existing transcriptions I preferred to make my own, because sometimes even misinterpretation of one word changes the meaning of a whole sentence.

As they form a key part in the development of collective memory, examining the kilams as a part of history is the cornerstone of this study. Contrary to the existing studies, in this work oral narratives are not a complementary source. They are the main objects of research seeking to analyze the concepts and narratives that characterize Kurmanj oral history in comparison with written accounts.

To choose a certain kilam to use in the study, I listened to different versions from different dengbêjs. Then, I transcribed the ones completed in lyrics. The sound quality and audibility were also important factors in the transcription process. In some kilams I used several performances of one single dengbêj to capture the lost or inaudible sentences. After that I translated them into English.

1.5 Summary of the Contents

Chapter I begins the study with a survey of different theories and approaches regarding the literacy-illiteracy topic in dissimilar studies. After a discussion with reference to previous scholarly works on the topic, dengbêjî and oral culture are studied in the context of collective memory to create a theoretical framework for the dissertation. Then, the tradition of dengbêjî and the genre of kilam are examined in the context of language, performance, location, and content.

The theoretical framework in this chapter is followed by an analysis of the oral culture among Kurdish-Kurmanj society in the context of illiteracy and rural life. Therefore, this thesis argues that as an oral tradition, dengbêjî is a way of shaping and preserving memory for Kurmanj people, who were mainly illiterate until a few decades ago. In this sense, it reflects the common values and history of these communities that are living in Turkey and Syria, partially in Iran and Iraq, and some small areas in Caucasia.²

Kurmanji has varieties of oral traditions but the characteristic reflection of Kurmanji culture is more crucial in dengbêjî. Dengbêjî is essentially a Kurmanji oral tradition which springs from Kurmanji culture. The relationship between this tradition and Kurmanji culture is also analyzed in this study.

The second chapter is an overview of dengbêjî which starts with a literature review. The chapter distinguishes dengbêjî from other Kurdish oral traditions by its content, performance, and characteristics. It also examines dengbêjî in comparison to some neighboring traditions in Anatolia and Iran. Additionally, in the second chapter, the interaction between dengbêjs and their audiences as well as the recording techniques of their performances are reviewed. After focusing on dengbêjs as specific performers and their way of performing, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the period of the flowering of dengbêjî, roughly between the late 19th and late 20th centuries.

The third chapter evaluates oral and written accounts about the Agirî Resistance against the Turkish government as a case study. This resistance occurred between 1926 and 1930 in the border region between Turkey and Iran. Both the theoretical perspectives from the first chapter and the conclusions of the second chapter are applied here.

The chapter starts with a summary of the resistance and continues with the Turkish official military reports and written Kurdish accounts regarding this resistance. Then, these written accounts are compared with the contents of certain kilams which reflect the collective memory of Kurmanj people. In this context, the highlight of the chapter is the juxtaposition of the evidence of Kurdish society's collective memory and the written accounts about the resistance. This chapter shows how the collective memory of Kurdish-Kurmanj people regarding the period of Agirî Resistance differs from written accounts.

² Tens of thousands of Kurds have immigrated from Transcaucasia –voluntarily or forcedly- to the Central Asian countries such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan, and to Siberia between the 17th and the 20th Centuries. These people are also Kurmanj. See; <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/will-kurds-kazakhstan-kyrgyzstan-turkmenistan-and-tajikistan-see-joining-greater-kurdistan> (Accessed on 05.03.2021)

2 CHAPTER I: A Theoretical Framework

The first chapter of the dissertation starts with a discussion regarding literacy/illiteracy and examines the role of literacy in societies through the perspectives of two opposed points of view supported by different scholars. This discussion is relevant to the study of oral culture given the low literacy level among Kurdish people at the time.

Then, the chapter will continue with an examination of dengbêjî from different perspectives such as oral history, oral culture, and collective memory. Therefore, the discussion opens a multidisciplinary way to investigate the narratives of the dengbêjî tradition as a way of collective memory among Kurmanji speaking Kurdish people. The chapter proceeds to understand the meaning of oral expression among Kurds and its relationship with the Kurmanji culture.

The study claims that the dengbêjî tradition relates to the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish and the social-cultural background of Kurmanj people. To have a closer look, the role and importance of oral expression among Kurmanj people is analyzed in the context of their rural life.

Most of Kurmanj people achieved literacy in the last quarter of 20th Century in Turkey.³ Otherwise, they have mostly recollected their past. This history has been transmitted via oral narratives over generations. In this sense, examining oral culture among Kurdish-Kurmanj people and examining their collective memory via dengbêjî is the cornerstone of this chapter.

It may be said that on the one hand, common illiteracy is a disadvantage for a culture, whilst it creates a strong oral culture on the other. Since Kurmanj people could not develop a written language in Turkey during the whole 20th Century,⁴ they were able to preserve and

³ According to the sources of <https://ourworldindata.org/literacy> the rate of literacy in Turkey was 62% in 1975. Since the main condition of literacy was speaking in Turkish, and most of the Kurds could not speak in Turkish, this rate was much lesser among Kurdish people. Moreover, most of ordinary Kurds did not know that it is possible to write in Kurdish until the early 1990s. Ahmed Aras conveys his experience in the 1960s when he was making research about Kurdish folklore in the villages of Agirî, Mûş and Erzirom. The peasants were asking "is it possible to write in Kurdish?" when I was saying I am going to write about Kurdish culture, he says. See; interview with Ahmed Aras, Dünnya TV, *Rû Bi Rû*, by Nevzat Keskin, 6th December 2013. Personally, I have a similar experience. I was 8-9 ages old when I saw writing in Kurdish for the first time in my life. In the early 1980s, a cousin of my grandfather, who was a mullah taught at the *madrasah*, was our guest. He asked me to read some transcript in the Arabic letters. I tried to read it in Arabic, but it did not work. Then, he started to read it as: *Vê firqetê ez ji te kirim / feryad ji destê firqetê ye*" (this separation took me from you / the cry stems from the separation). It was a religious hymn written with the Arabic alphabet in Kurmanji. It was extremely surprising for me to see that something is written in Kurmanji. So far, I did not know that one can write and read in Kurdish-Kurmanji.

⁴ See the footnote number 1 regarding the laws to ban the Kurdish language in the summary of this study.

develop an oral culture, where a strong collective memory was shaped. Thus, dengbêjî and kilam, as a particular tradition and genre have become the main elements of this collective memory.

2.1 Memory Studies and the Role of Literacy and Illiteracy

The cases of literacy and illiteracy have become topics of scholarly studies mostly after the 1960s. Initially, these studies were undertaken from two divergent viewpoints; the first group of these studies approached these two issues as a dichotomy. At this time, many scholars assumed that literacy was the key element of cognitive, educational, even economic, and political development. This approach, which is advocated by scholars such as Marshall McLuhan (1962), Elizabeth Einstein (1979), Lawrence Stone (1979), Jack Goody (1968), Ian Watt (1968), and Carlo Cipallo (1969) was criticized by the second generation of researchers in this field such as Michael Cole (1981), Ruth Finnegan (1988), James Paul Gee (1990) and, Harvey J. Graff (1995). The main criticism by later scholars of the previous studies was that of a) falling into technological determinism b) approaching the issue based on dichotomies, such as literacy-illiteracy, oral-written etc., and ignoring interconnections between the processes.

Cole and Scribner argue that writing and its role in societies have been misinterpreted, and they are seen as a threshold between history and prehistory and between modern and traditional societies.⁵ Graff furtherly argues that the cognitive impact of literacy is a myth rather than a reality. Literacy never had as much effect as it is imagined.⁶

Moreover, hegemony, which always accompanied literacy, was mostly misinterpreted. Namely, status, power, ability etc., which arise from hegemony were mistakenly interpreted

⁵ Scribner, Sylvia & Cole, Michael, *The Psychology of Literacy*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, England, 1981, p.12.

⁶ “In earliest times, literacy was highly restricted and a relatively insignificant craft; it carried little of the association with wealth, power, status, and knowledge that it later acquired” [...] “Despite having a shorter history – roughly 2,600 years – Western literacy and –430 years– printing technology have led to an exaggeration of the role of writing and literacy” [...] “Contrary to popular and scholarly wisdom, major steps forward in trade, commerce and even industry took place in some periods and places with remarkably low levels of literacy; conversely, higher levels of literacy have not proven to be stimulants for ‘modern’ economic development.” Graff, Harvey J., *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987, pp. 5, 8,10.

as the effects of literacy itself. Thus, literacy was given a more importance than it deserves.⁷ Furthermore, it had been thought that literacy by itself was able to change not only cognition but also economic, political, social, and cultural status.⁸

As was said earlier, another approach that is criticized by the second group of scholars is addressing the topic of literacy and illiteracy as a dichotomy. This attitude which is described as “the tyranny of dichotomies” by Graff⁹ leads to an exaggeration of the role of literacy and totally separates the phenomena of literacy and illiteracy from each other by creating absolute borders between them.¹⁰

The view of literacy as a starting point for development and changing comprehension is also criticized by Ruth Finnegan. Her criticisms of this approach can be summarized in three points: 1. generalization of the role of literacy and illiteracy in different cultures is misleading; 2. this approach is a kind of technological determinism; 3. literacy and illiteracy are interconnected; they are not exactly different levels of stairs.¹¹

⁷ Graff, Harvey J., *The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987, p.12.

⁸ “Literacy, I have come to believe, is profoundly misunderstood. That is one ‘natural’ consequence of long-standing tyranny of the ‘literacy myth’” [...] “Literacy is sometimes conceived as a skill but more often as symbolic or representative of attitudes and mentalities” [...] “in other levels, literacy ‘thresholds’ are seen as requirements for economic development, ‘take-offs’, ‘modernization’, political development and stability, standards of living, fertility control, and on and on.” [...] “Social scientists during the past three decades have argued that the development of the underdeveloped areas must (or, normatively, should) recapitulate that of the West and sometimes have attempted to put that vision into practice. This is the moving spirit of the major works by such scholars as McLuhan, Elizabeth Einstein, Lawrence Stone, Jack Goody and Ian Watt, and Carlo Cipallo.” Graff, Harvey J., *The Labyrinths of Literacy, Reflections on Literacy Past and Present*, The University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1995, pp. 5,10,14,19.

⁹ Graff, Harvey J., *The Labyrinths of Literacy, Reflections on Literacy Past and Present*, The University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1995, pp.12,13.

¹⁰ “It seems highly rational to investigate orality and literacy from the concept of two opposing types: the one, the characteristic setting for oral tradition, typified as small-scale and face to face, rural and non-industrial, communal and conformist rather than individualist, and dominated by ascribed kinship, religion and revered traditions; the other – the local for written transmission - typically industrial, urban and bureaucratic, characterized by a respect for rationality, individual achievement and impersonal norms, heterogeneous and secular.” Finnegan, Ruth, *Literacy and Orality, Studies in the Technology of Communication*, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, 1988, p.140.

¹¹ Finnegan, Ruth, *Literacy and Orality, Studies in the Technology of Communication*, Basil Blackwell Ltd, Oxford, 1988, pp.7-9.

The role of secularism also plays a role in critiques of the "dichotomy". Graff highlights the role of religion and church in the process of increasing literacy, which is usually ignored by some earlier scholars.¹²

The assumption that increasing literacy is a part of the Enlightenment is usually taken to mean that spreading literacy is also connected with secularism. However, not only in medieval Europe but also in many other parts of the world, religion has become the leading institution of literacy.¹³ For example, in Europe, the aim of the church – especially the Protestant Church - was to reach more people, to be understood, and of course, to lead to salvation. Therefore, common literacy was one of the most effective ways to reach people for the church, but the church never aimed to spread secularism among people.¹⁴

Differently from the scholars listed above, Ong takes a further step in the case of literacy and illiteracy by arguing that it is not easy for literate people to understand illiterate people because their mindsets are different.¹⁵ According to Ong, most intellectuals, being part of the literate world, have seen orality¹⁶ as a primitive form of communication. Furthermore,

¹² “Finally, we note that the only other areas that so fully and quickly achieved near-universal levels of literacy before the end of the eighteenth century were places of intensely pious religion, usually but not always Protestant: Scotland, New England, Huguenot French centers, and places within Germany and Switzerland.” Graff, Harvey J., *The Labyrinths of Literacy, Reflections on Literacy Past and Present*, The University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1995, p. 22.

¹³ As it is known, Kurdish language was officially banned in Turkey between 1924 and 1991. During this long period of time the unique institution which had Kurdish as a language of education was also a religious one: *Madrasah*. Students were educated both in Arabic and Kurdish in the *madrasah* and, of course, the *madrasah* was not a legal entity. Nonetheless, it used to lead a kind of enlightenment because the students –*şagirt*- were studying not only religion but also chemistry, astronomy etc., therefore, *madrasah* used to contribute to development of both Kurdish language and some scientific disciplines in a small portion of Kurdish people in that period.

¹⁴ Of course, the policy implemented by the Church had some unwanted results as well. As an example, we may remember Domenico Scandella, a peasant from the book, “*The Cheese and the Worms*” by Carlo Ginzburg, and the results of written documents given by the Catholic Church to change the pagan beliefs of peasants. In the 16th Century, by distributing religious booklets to the peasants the assumption of the Church was to change the *Pagan* beliefs of the peasants around the Friuli region of Italy. However, the result was totally controversial: at least some of the peasants were *interpreting* the given texts in a different way because they had their own beliefs and experiences. As a result, some people were creating different secular theories against the Church. Nevertheless, these kinds of examples do not mean that the Church was aiming to spread secularism among people. See; Ginzburg, Carlo, *The Cheese and the Worms, The Cosmos of a Sixteen-Century Miller*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1980.

¹⁵ “Language study in all but recent decades have focused on written texts rather than on orality for a readily assignable reason: the relationship of study itself to writing.” [...] “Writing, [...] is a particularly pre-emptive and imperialist activity that tends to assimilate other things to itself even without the aid of etymologies.” Ong, Walter J. *Orality and Literacy-The Technologizing of the Word*, Routledge- Taylor & Francis Group, edited by Terence Hawkes, London, 1982, pp.11,12.

¹⁶ In this study, “orality” is used as thought and verbal expression of societies which are not familiar with literacy (especially with writing and printing technology) and as it is described as “primary orality” by Ong. See:

language studies were also based on writing. Therefore, they were far from understanding illiterate world.¹⁷

Ong then emphasizes the ideological reasons for the scholarly focus on texts. Researchers either did not consider oral culture worth examining or did not have any idea of how to include oral culture in their research. Since oral accounts are unstable, their categorization is not as easy as that of written ones. Moreover, there is an inverse proportion between literacy and rhetoric: As the literacy rate increases and reading from text becomes hegemonic within mindsets, memory, and rhetoric regresses. Especially, after the invention of printing technology, literacy became more common, and this gradually changed mindsets. In this way, the mindsets, and ways of thinking of literate and illiterate people are not the same. Furthermore, as a part of the literate world it is not easy for scholars to understand the mindset of illiterate people, according to Ong.¹⁸

From my point of view, whereas literacy and illiteracy are regarded as complete opposites by the first approach, as the second group of scholars clearly show literacy is not a kind of threshold or barrier between literate and illiterate people; nor does the ability of reading lead to a change in people's perception. Moreover, although the literate world has a kind of hegemony based on writing, it is not reasonable to think that literacy changes mindsets fundamentally. Furthermore, being literate does not necessarily mean having a further ability to comprehend. Perception, moreover, does not need to be directly linked with literacy.

Of course, literacy may enable one to acquire knowledge, but this does not arise directly from the ability to read. Instead, it arises from what is read and what is learned from it. In other words, reading may lead to further knowledge derived from what is read, not directly from the ability itself. It looks as though this confusion is the main shortcoming of the first approach to the literacy-illiteracy issue.

Ong, Walter J., *Orality and Literacy-The Technologizing of the Word*, Routledge- Taylor & Francis Group, edited by Terence Hawkes, London, 1982, p.12.

¹⁷ Ong, Walter J., *Orality and Literacy-The Technologizing of the Word*, Routledge- Taylor & Francis Group, edited by Terence Hawkes, London, 1982, p.12.

¹⁸ Ong, Walter J., *Orality and Literacy-The Technologizing of the Word*, Routledge- Taylor & Francis Group, edited by Terence Hawkes, London, 1982, pp.11,12.

Moreover, the case of literacy/illiteracy can be more complicated in some specific issues. For example, if a community has been forced to become literate in a foreign language the result can be very different from what was anticipated.

For instance, among elderly Kurdish people some men can read but they can't write. They were forced to become literate in Turkish, usually during their time of compulsory military service in the Turkish Army. Their reading ability is limited to recognizing the letters and understanding short sentences. However, they are not literate in the common sense of the term because: a) their reading ability is very limited, and it is in Turkish whilst their mother tongue is Kurdish. They may be unable to speak Turkish at all or their Turkish is too limited; b) They are not literate in their mother tongue -Kurdish- too. In other words, their reading ability is limited to reading short sentences in an alien language. However, it is the skill of reading.¹⁹ In such circumstances, it is impossible to separate literacy from illiteracy because they are not truly binary opposites.

2.2 Collective Memory and Oral History

In this work, the term collective memory is used within the meaning of Halbwachs, who describes how aside from having an individual memory, each person shares a group memory which deals with past events, and is memorized by the community through narratives, songs, rituals etc.²⁰ However, Halbwachs distinguishes memory and history from each other, and this approach has been criticized by Erll as being “[...] one of less felicitous legacies of Halbwachs”.²¹ Jan Assmann also objects to Halbwachs’ assumption that the concepts of

¹⁹ The reading and writing ability of some elderly Kurdish people in Turkey is a dilemma. Since Kurds are forced to become literate only in Turkish, which is not their mother tongue, especially elderly people have a kind of *disability* in this case: many of them can't write while they are able to read. To be forced to learn reading and writing in a language which is not known well leads a kind of disability. To make it well understood we can compare it with someone who tries to learn writing and reading in Arabic with Arabic letters while she/he does not speak Arabic. Plus, we should add that this person is not literate even in his/her own mother tongue. Thus, the problem is getting worse: they are forced to read and write with an unknown alphabet in a language that they are not able to speak while they are also not able to read and write in their own mother tongue! And the result is having a limited ability of reading while totally being far from writing. This is a different kind of literacy/illiteracy situation which should be considered in the Kurdish example.

²⁰ Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992, p. 38.

²¹ Erll, Astrid, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 2008, pp. 3,6.

memory and history exclude each other because memory is transformed into history at a certain level.²²

Like the connection between individual and collective memory, history and memory are also connected to each other as Erll remarks:

“I would suggest dissolving the useless opposition of history vs. memory in favor of a notion of different modes of remembering in culture. This approach proceeds from the basic insight that the past is not given but must instead continually be re-constructed and re-presented. Thus, our memories (individual and collective) of past events can vary to a great degree. This holds true not only for what is remembered (facts, data), but also for how it is remembered, that is, for the quality and meaning the past assumes.”²³

2.2.1 Oral History

Since this study focuses on an oral tradition and describing it as a part of collective memory, before examining collective memory, we may first analyze oral history to determine the similarities and differences between the two.

In the framework of Memory Studies, oral history is a useful method to go beyond written history. Oral history was faced with a kind of suspicion in the academic world for a long time. Although some systematic oral history research projects started in the United States in the 1930s; and then in Europe in the 1960s, oral history was excluded from the academic field of history until the 1990s.

Written history is mainly based on objective facts, such as archaeological evidence and written documents. On the other hand, oral history relies almost entirely on subjective human accounts, and circulates through the transmission of oral information. It is mainly based on the subjective evidence of eyewitnesses and is also known as the history of daily life.

Nonetheless, history and oral history are not conflicting approaches, as Neyzi notes:

“It is important not to view the fields of oral history and history as incompatible or even opposed: they are similar in many ways and different. Oral history relies on history in going about its work. Oral history is also a major means of studying recent history. On the other hand, unlike history, oral history is also about, and studies, the

²² Assmann, Jan, the opening event of the IEA Conference “*Spaces of Remembrance*”, São Paulo, 15th May 2013.

²³ Erll, Astrid, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 2008, p.7.

present. An oral history approach can also complicate the way we understand history, particularly at the subjective level, and how it should be studied.”²⁴

Since oral history is related to memory studies it seems appropriate to connect dengbêjî to both memory studies and oral history studies. However, we should keep in mind that dengbêjî is an oral tradition, and unlike oral history “[...] oral traditions are no longer contemporary. They have passed from mouth to mouth, for a period beyond the lifetime of the informants.”²⁵ Therefore, oral traditions can be a source for history. Furthermore, by exemplifying the history of the kingdom of Benin prior to 1880, and the rivalry among the Hadiya leaders in Ethiopia, Vansina shows how in some situations oral traditions can be the only source for history.²⁶

Oral history studies usually consist of life stories, reminiscences, hearsay, and eyewitnesses. In this kind of study, the main point is the subject, namely, the source. The subject - the narrator - is dominant in every stage of the interviews. They can tell the story as they want. The same person can tell different versions of the same event in different situations.²⁷ Especially in the case of witnesses, each person can give a different description while talking about the same event because each of them may have a different approach to the event. That is why memory studies, especially while analyzing life stories, are based on analyzing subjectivity as Portelli explains it via autobiographies:

“Autobiographical discourse, whether the narrator takes the initiative of writing, or merely responds to an interviewer’s question, is always about the construction and expression of one’s own subjectivity. To ignore and exorcise subjectivity, as if it were

²⁴ Neyzi, Leyla, “Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey” In: *“Turkey’s Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century”*. Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem, Philip Robins, eds. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2010, p. 11.

²⁵ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p. 13.

²⁶ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p. 188.

²⁷ As an example: “The famous story of the reminiscences of Rossini about his only meeting with Beethoven may serve as a warning to the unwary. When he first told it, a few years after Beethoven’s death, Rossini said that he went to Beethoven’s house, had great difficulty in being admitted, and in the end did not speak to the master whose command of Italian (Rossini’s language) was insufficient. This last bit we may doubt –at least from this source-. Towards the end of Rossini’s life, the story had become quite a tale. It involved the tortured master, in the throes of creation, receiving Rossini, advising him to continue his great work, and above all praising *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* as the greatest comic work ever written”. Vansina, J. *Oral Tradition as History*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1985, p. 9.

only a noxious interference in the pure data is ultimately to distort and falsify the nature of the data themselves.”²⁸

Keeping in mind that "memory is a matter of how minds work together in society" and it is "structured by social arrangements"²⁹ the narratives of dengbêjs, the kilams, can be considered as a form of oral history but they are not direct products of individual memories. Since kilams are produced through collective memory, developing the narrative is not mainly in the hands of the narrator. In this sense, dengbêjî narratives are far from the issue of “inter-subjectivity” as Alistair Thomson points out:

“In one sense we compose or construct our memories. From the moment we experience an event we use the meanings of our culture to make sense of it. Over time we remember our experiences as those public meanings change. [...] In another sense we ‘compose’ memories which help us to feel relatively comfortable with our lives.”³⁰

In contrast to life stories, dengbêjî narratives are like "historical songs", a categorization coined by Vladimir Propp in terms of their subject matter. Propp claims that historical songs are basically created by witnesses taking part in the events and cannot be evaluated as entirely personal products although they are created by some talented individuals.³¹ Vansina also emphasizes the collective authorship in genres which are not memorized word by word.³² In this context, I prefer to describe dengbêjî narratives, i.e kilam, as a production of collective memory although they have been created by some -mostly anonymous³³- individuals, because their continued transmission is informed and determined by the collective memory of Kurmanj people. Of course, some of the dengbêjs are also composers in the sense that they

²⁸ Portelli, A., *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, University of Wisconsin Press, London, 1997, p.80.

²⁹ Olick, Jeffrey K. and Joyce Robbins; *Social Memory Studies From Collective Memory to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices*, Annual Review of Sociology, Number: 24 (1), pp.105-40.

³⁰ Thomson, A., “The Anzac Legend: Exploring national myth and memory in Australia”, In: *The Myths We Live By*, R. Samuel and P. Thompson (eds), Routledge, London, 1990, p.78.

³¹ Propp, Vladimir, *Theory and History of Folklore*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1925, pp.149-163.

³² Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p. 55.

³³ The creation of kilam has usually been a controversial issue among foremost *dengbêjs*. Sometimes 2-3 different dengbêjs have claimed to be the creator of the same narrative. However, it looks that even some kilams have been created by certain talented dengbêjs the majority of kilams have always been as anonymous narratives.

have produced some narratives about past events, but this does not change the anonymous character of the genre.

In dengbêjî, the narratives are not produced through individual memory of the dengbêj. A dengbêj is normally a medium of the narratives which are usually known by his audience. Thus, he is not able to change the meaning or storyline of the narrative. Obviously, as a performer, he may change the sequence in some cases, spice the narrative as he can, but the main body of the narrative is not changed. These narratives are not written but they are memorized by both the performer and audience. That is why these *texts* are more stable than most expressions of individual memory, and why they are more attractive to the audience. In this case, the audience is not so much interested in the individual memory of the dengbêj but interested in his narrative which is based on the collective memory of the society. Guha recaps a similar case in India: An Indian storyteller comes to a village and starts to talk about his journey in unknown lands, but the audiences do not care about what he says. However, when he starts to relate an old story which is already known by the audience -unlike the speech about unknown lands- they listen to him carefully. “You cannot imagine a scene as Indian as this one” Guha says to describe the situation.³⁴ Similarly, Vansina expresses the same point by referring to H. Scheub about his study of *The Xhosa Ntsomi* (1975): the audiences “[...] must already know the tale so that they can enjoy the rendering of various episodes, appreciate the innovations, and anticipate the thrills still to come. So, every performance is new, but every performance presupposes something old; the tale itself.”³⁵

Similarly, when a dengbêj attends to a *civat* (community), the audiences generally do not expect to hear some news from him, even he also gives news, but rather they wish to hear the known narratives.

2.3 Kurdish-Kurmanj Society and Oral Culture

Kurmanji is the major dialect of Kurdish, which is spoken among Kurmanjs who mainly live in Turkey, Syria, and partially in Iran and Iraq. There are also Kurmanji-speaking people in the Caucasus. Others have immigrated to central Asian countries such as Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan between 17th and 20th Century as was mentioned

³⁴ Guha, Ranajit, *History at The Limit of World-History*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, p. 85.

³⁵ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p. 35.

in the summary of this study. Furthermore, the main body of Kurdish Diaspora -except perhaps in the US and Canada- consists of Kurmanj people. Although there is no reliable census, it can be assumed that at least 50% of the whole Kurdish population consists of Kurmanji-speakers. However, Kurmanji is not only a dialect but also a way of identification which exists in different contexts. Therefore, it deserves to have a closer look on them.

There are different identifications of Kurmanjs based on their social status. For example, the Kurdish elites, who were aware of their ethnicity at least since the 16th century, did not identify themselves as Kurmanjs. On the other hand, “[...] in different parts of Kurdistan they (Kurdish peasants) were called guran, miskên, klawspî and kurmanj, which were used as class rather than ethnic labels.”³⁶ Moreover, until recently, Kurdish elites (sheikhs, mîrs, aghas, etc.) looked down upon the Kurmanj, i.e., the lower classes, peasants. For example, calling these people *kîrmaç* (lit. 'penis-kisser') was common among Kurdish Sheikhs of Norşîn in Bedlîs (Turk: Bitlis). They were considering themselves as being sheikh and *sayyid* while the others were Kurmanj (*kîrmaç*). Hence, they distinguished themselves from lower class Kurdish people by demeaning them.³⁷

In fact, as I personally witnessed, until the 1990s, Kurmanji-speaking people who did not belong to an *eşîr* (tribe) usually identified themselves as Kurmanj but not as Kurds.³⁸ Since a common national imagination had not yet come into being, the concept of Kurmanj represented the identity of non-tribal Kurds in Turkey. In contrast, others identified themselves through their tribal-familial connections, and through belonging to an *eşîr*, but not as Kurmanj.³⁹ Belonging to an *eşîr* also implied nobility, which distinguished the *eşîr* from the

³⁶ Bruinessen, Martin Van, *The Kurds a Contemporary Overview*; ed. Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, Routledge 1992, London, p. 46.

³⁷ However, we should note that this approach has diminished since 1990s, during which the Kurdish peasants and lower classes became the main bearers of the Kurdish struggle in Turkey. Today, nobody dares to describe Kurmanjs openly in such a way.

³⁸ For example, until 1990, identification as being Kurmanj was also a way for distinguishment from Zazakî/Dimilkî speakers, and it was same vice versa around Dîyarbekir. Since there was not a strong identity of *eşîr* or any other *nobility* origins in this region, and since a Kurdish ethnic identity was not strong, being Kurmanj was meaning not being Zaza; and being Zaza was meaning not being Kurmanj. However, since Kurmanjs were much of the society, while all of Zazas were able to speak Kurmanji, Kurmanjs were rarely able to speak in Zazakî/Dimilkî.

³⁹ *Eşîr* means tribe. However, Kurdish tribal structure has specific features. “It is difficult to classify Kurdish tribalism since it has always been far from homogeneous and has always been revolutionary. At the risk of crude generalization, one might say that traditionally the Kurds were largely organized into a rough hierarchy of sub-tribes, tribes, and tribal confederations. Loyalties were not immutable, and a strong and determined leader of one tribe might well be able to acquire a sufficient following and perhaps territory to throw off previous loyalties and realign himself with another federation or group, or even with the government.” See: McDowall, David, “The

non-tribal Kurmanjs.⁴⁰ Then, especially in the 1990s, "...the term 'kurmanj', which initially referred to the subjected peasants in northern Kurdistan, became synonymous with 'Kurd' ...]"⁴¹ in Kurmanji speaking areas.

Another source argues that Kurmanjs are people who have been released from hierarchical structure of tribes. In this sense, Kurmanjs live outside the tribal sphere with their own familial structure and this process has increased after the 19th century. The first Kurdish communities in the suburbs were Kurmanj people.⁴²

Since Kurdish was banned in Turkey for a long time, even though it has officially been allowed since 1991,⁴³ the use of Kurdish faces many obstacles. Hence, writing in Kurdish has not developed among Kurds in Turkey, whose overall majority are Kurmanj. Especially since the ban of the *madrasah*, where the language of education⁴⁴ was Kurmanji written in the Arabic alphabet, there has not been a single institution that teaches or uses Kurdish until the past two decades.

Thus, the relationship of illiterate Kurmanj people with education including literacy, became solely one of fear. Script was always had connotations of piety or threats, both of which were based on fear. For Kurds in Turkey, this fear comes from two sources: The

Kurdish Question: A Historical Review." In: *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*, ed. Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, Routledge, London, 1992, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁰ Similarly, Kurdish people who are not belong to *noble* tribes -namely *eşîr*- are called as Kurmanj among Kurds in Iran. Kurmanj has an offensive connotation around Urmiah while it means non-tribal, namely, *unnoble* around Bradust and Sumay areas. Only non-tribal Kurds around Salmas call themselves as Kurmanj. Source: Khalili, Mostafa; based on his research in Urmiah county, Iran. (Information received through personal emails in March 2020 and January 2021)

⁴¹ Bruinessen, Martin Van; *The Kurds/ A Contemporary Overview*; ed. Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, Routledge, London, 1992, p. 53.

⁴² "The Kurmanjs are Kurdish communities that have moved away from tribal affiliations. The decline of the tribal system has led to an increase in the number of Kurmanj communities. The Kurmanjs were the first groups to settle in the suburbs, and this trend has continued to accelerate since the 19th century. This process can be likened to the emergence of proletarians during the early stages of capitalism. See; Öcalan, Abdullah, *Bir Halkı Savunmak*, Amara Yay., Istanbul, 2004, p. 234.

⁴³ Kurdish was banned since 1920's but after the military coup of 1980 in Turkey, the government decelerated another law against Kurdish to be used in official agencies on 19th October 1983. These new additions were cancelled in March 1991 (law no. 2932) by the government of Turgut Özal (1927-1993). However, Kurdish never has been totally free in Turkey although some positive changes made on the constitution between 2002 and 2007.

⁴⁴ See, for education at Madrasah: "After completing his education and mastering the so-called 'twelve sciences' (Arabic grammar; logic, Hadith; rhetoric; law; Shafi'ite jurisprudence; theology; argumentation; Persian and Arabic literature; history and geography; and mathematics, astronomy, and the natural sciences) the student would request from his teacher an authorization to issue legal opinions (*fatwās*) and to practice independent judgment (*ejtehād*)." <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/education-vi-the-madrassa-in-sunni-kurdistan> (Accessed 13rd March 202).

Religion (Islam) and Government. If the script was in Arabic, it would trigger the fear of God while official papers in Latin script had minded them of their fear of the government.

As I remember, Kurdish elderly people were afraid of writing. If the script was in Arabic, it would arise from fear of God. For example, if some papers with Arabic script were thrown out or fell on the floor, our elderly people would immediately take it from the floor, touch it to their head –as a commendation – and put it in a hole in the wall to prevent it getting dirty or being damaged. Since it was written in Arabic, they were *herfên Qur'anê* (the letters of Qur'an) even if it was only a package of cigarette paper smuggled from Syria!

Receiving a written document was another source of fear for them. When they received an official letter, they were seriously worried. For ordinary peasants, receiving a letter from the government was not a good sign because their relationship with the government used to be troublesome. As a result, receiving a written paper meant having another issue with the government. They had to find someone who was able to read it. They could then calm down if there was no problem, but usually such letters spelled trouble.

Therefore, especially between the 1920s and 1980s, Kurdish, and specifically the Kurmanji dialect has developed mainly as an oral dialect in Turkey. After the 1920s a small portion of Kurds attended schools however, since schooling was strictly based on Turkish, schooling and assimilation into Turkish culture were usually synonymous.⁴⁵ Thus, “[...] Kurmanji survived as an oral dialect among mainly illiterate Kurdish people.”⁴⁶

On the other hand, the fact that a large portion of the Kurdish-Kurmanj community was illiterate protected the use of Kurmanji, as Kreyenbroek points out:

“The isolation of many Kurdish communities and, ironically, the low level of education may also have helped to save Kurmanji (and, incidentally, Zaza) in the difficult period of 1938-61.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ While Kurmanji was suffering from oppression in Turkey and developing as an oral language, in the Southern Kurdistan the Sorani dialect was developing as a written language. Firstly, under the British Mandate, and later, during the early years of General Qassem, the Kurds had the opportunity to develop a written language. Furthermore, after the Gulf War (1991), and the collapse of the Baath Regime (2003), the Kurds in Iraq have had a large degree of autonomy. Thus, Kurdish has become an official language of the Kurdish Regional Government, and many publications in Kurdish -mainly in Soranî dialect- have been published.

⁴⁶ Allison, Christine, *The Yezidi Oral Tradition in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Curzon Press, London, 2001, p. 7.

⁴⁷ Kreyenbroek, G. Philip, “On the Kurdish Language.” In: *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*, ed. Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Sperl, Routledge, 1992, London, p. 63.

2.4 Oral Poetry and Idioms

Kurmanji culture has many specific words and idioms. Kilams make full use of such idioms, and people who are not familiar with rural life of the Kurmanj people and their oral culture cannot comprehend them.

Rural communities have their own measures and criteria. For example, if someone is going to or coming from a far distance and if you cannot recognize his face nor hear his voice, you may know him from his walking style⁴⁸ or via riding his horse. This situation is described as, for example, *çûyin çûyina Gêjo ye* (the riding is the riding of Gêjo) in the kilam named Dêran⁴⁹. Moreover, recognizing people from far away by their clothes was also common. Since people did not have many clothes and rarely changed them, they were easily recognized from a distance by what they wore.

Pêjn is a very specific example which can be given in the context of Kurmanji and rural life. This word simply can be described as feeling something's movement or existence. In the case of *pêjn*, you do not hear or see someone/something, but you are just feeling that it is moving or existing somewhere close by. It can be compared to (*er*)*ahnen* (German, lit. 'suspect, intuition') but it is more specific than it. You may *ahnen* everything which includes some future events or feelings. However, *pêjn* presupposes existence of a physical body. This means, you feel somebody's movement or existence without hearing, seeing, touching, smelling, and tasting it physically. Having a good sense of *pêjn* is essential in rural life to avoid threats.

Another example from Kurmanji in rural life could be *dinya* (the world). In Kurmanji *dinya kerr e* literally means the world is deaf. However, it means that there is a total silence around, e.g., while it is snowing. To describe this situation with the deafness of the world instead of describing it with the deafness of weather or landscape is interesting. In rural life, in the context of Kurmanji, outer atmosphere is the world by itself. You can feel the world, it is there, close by you, and living there! When you say *dinya sar e* it means the weather is

⁴⁸ Interestingly, recently a Chinese IT company announced that they are working on some special software which is based on "gait features". It looks like the knowledge of rural life derived from thousands of years has been transferred into IT. The software is described as "Gait recognition is to identify humans based on their gait features. Compared with other biometrics such as face, iris, palm and fingerprint, gait features are still obtainable and recognizable at a distance with a low-resolution video. Therefore, with characteristics of non-contact, long distance (50 meters), cross-view (360°) recognition range and hard to disguise, gait recognition fills the market gap of long-distance identification in public security industry" on their website. See; <http://www.watrix.ai/en/gait-recognition/> (Accessed on 27th February 2019)

⁴⁹ In the performance of *Dengbêj Şakiro*. This kilam is available on internet.

cold. However, *dinya* is not only the atmosphere, again, it is a living entity close by you, and it is getting cold, hot, wet, etc.

We can also look at the expression for calling out. In Kurdish oral poetry, like many other Middle Eastern cultures, triple pronouncements are also felt to be more valid. In the crucial moments, people call or are called three times. This creates certainty and wipes out any suspect or doubt. In many kilams, before or in between a clash, the rivals call out each other three times and challenge, curse, or remind something to each other. Since the action is repeated three times, no one can deny that it is heard by the others. This triple pronouncement is also used for looking or describing to strength assertion. However, the expression is mainly used for calling out. In contrast, in urban life nobody needs to repeat something three times to assure that it is heard by all sides.

As the last example, while memorizing their past, Kurmanj people do not specify the time of the past event but specify the place. This is connected to the time-measurement of rural life on the one hand, and the priority of the place over the exact time on the other. In kilams, time is usually left vague, using such expressions as *di zemanekê da* (Eng. once upon a time).⁵⁰

To understand this specific expression, we must go back to the rural life of Kurdish people. Again, unlike modern history, Kurdish collective memory does not refer some exact date or calendar. Instead, it describes place and gives just some clues about the time. There are some formulas or idioms to describe the date, which is usually vague while it gets clear by following the event and the people who are mentioned in the narrative. *Di zemanekê da* is the most common form of referring to the past in the Kurdish oral compositions. The time is vague in this form because, a) the setting is far removed from urban culture, b) it refers to a different concept of time which is called as “ecological time” by Vansina.⁵¹

Firstly, as it was stated above, Kurmanji oral traditions in general, and the dengbêjî tradition particularly is based on rural life. Thus, the exact timing of urban life is not used. Since agriculture and cattle breeding are the most important elements of life, season is paramount time-measurement in rural life. Everything is planned and done according to the

⁵⁰ Although English translation of *di zemanekê da* is “once upon a time”, in the dengbêjî context it does not give the same meaning. Unlike the storytelling in English, once upon a time does not indicate an imaginary world, time, or place. It means a real but vague time.

⁵¹ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p.174

season. Therefore, ordinary people describe past events according to their season, not their days⁵² or even months.

Secondly, setting time according to an exact calendar and schedule is related to officiality which was not a part of the Kurdish peasants' life. Since Kurds had no strong ties with officialdom, they did not use official calendars. Furthermore, the traditional Kurdish calendar was different from official Turkish one which originates in the Gregorian calendar and is based on the sun. On the other hand, Kurdish people used to have a *Qamarî* calendar, i.e., based on the moon. Thus, even if they tried to account days according to the calendar they would fail, or they would have to shift between the calendars. This situation is expressed as *bi hesabê me /bi hesabê hikumatê* (according to our calculation / according to the calculation of the government) in Kurdish.⁵³ Namely, they must account it twice in two different calendars.

So, conveying the past events in indefinite references to time is the common usage in both the Kurdish collective memory and its oral expression. Thus, when a narrative starts with *di zemanekî da* (once upon a time) the audiences take care of the sequence of the narrative, but not the time. They are neither interested in the exact date of the event nor they can calculate it with the measures of the modern times. Nonetheless, this vagueness as to the time does not mean that all the narratives are timeless, or they are simply tales. By contrast, especially when we talk about the dengbêjî tradition and kilam, we can find the exact time of some past events in compare of official documents. For example, *kilama şerê Emê Gozê û Bişarê Çeto* starts with [...] *di zemanekî da* (once upon a time) and continues as *Emê Gozê hebû û Bişarê Çeto hebû. Bişar rabû jinek revand û tê dernexist û rabû xwe avêt Brehîm Pasha [...]*.⁵⁴ (There were Emê Gozê and Bişarê Çeto. Bişar kidnapped a woman, but he failed. Then, he took refuge to Brehîm Pasha.) Then, in the sequence of the kilam, other characters appear, the place gets clear, and the time of the fight is becoming better

⁵² A *day* is divided to some necessary parts which mainly consist of daytime. In Kurmanji this division usually consists of *şivraq* (dawn), *sibeh* (morning), *dâna* (after morning), *navroj* (noon), *asr* (mid-afternoon), *rojawa* (sunset), *êvar* (evening), *şev* (night). During the day, everything is done within these time-periods. Merely, some important elements of urban life such as hour and minute are not needed in rural life. Among these periods' names *şivraq*, *sibeh* and *asr* are originated from Arabic. Like the division of the day, the meals have also been divided and identified. For example: *xwurînî* (early or before breakfast); *taştê* (breakfast); *navroj* (lunch); *şîv* (dinner); *paşîv* (after dinner).

⁵³ In the Kurdish/Kurmanj collective memory, the word of *hikumat* (government) refers to the Turkish government/state, and it absolutely has an exclusive/negative connotation. They never have considered the *hikumat* as their own government, and they have always put some distance from it. Yet, this is not simply to distance themselves from an occupier nor it arises from a national identity. It is probably connected to the status of a non-state group towards to an external state. Even pro-government Kurds do not consider the Turkish government as their own government; it is still *the government* in their verbal expression.

⁵⁴ Dengbêj Fadilê Kufraqî, *Kilama Şerê Emê Gozê û Bişarê Çeto*. This kilam is taken from my collection.

understood. If we want to find the exact time of the clash mentioned in the kilam we may compare it with some other narratives and official documents since the people mentioned in this kilam are not fictional, they are real people.

Kilams are considered as history by Kurmanj people because they are mainly about real people and events. As we will see in the third chapter, it is not difficult to trace the events and people described in kilams via certain comparisons with official documents and some other accounts.

Following this first chapter, the second chapter will start with a literature review of existing studies. Then, it will analyze dengbêjî as a particular oral tradition by focusing on its performance, location, and era. The tradition will also be compared to other oral-musical traditions known in the region.

3 CHAPTER II: On Dengbêjî

The second chapter begins with a literature review of works on dengbêjî. Following the literature review, the chapter offers a map indicating the dengbêjî common areas. The main characteristics of dengbêjî regions are analyzed in this section.

By defining dengbêjî as a particular Kurdish-Kurmanji oral tradition and a part of collective memory, the chapter aims to distinguish kilam as a genre from other Kurmanji musical-narrative genres. The chapter seeks to outline differences between dengbêjî and other Kurmanji oral-musical traditions such as çîrokbêjî and stranbêjî (lit.: storytelling and singing). Given the ongoing confusion in the literature between stranbêjî and dengbêjî it is necessary to distinguish between these genres.

Dengbêjî is also compared with some neighboring traditions such as that of the Ashik in Anatolia, and Naqqāli in Iran. This comparison seeks to illustrate the fight for survival of oral traditions in the age of technology, and to examine dengbêjî from that perspective.

The performance of kilams, the relationship between performer (dengbêj) and audience, the main features of traditional performances in rural areas, and the role of dengbêjî in conveying history are also examined in this chapter.

The chapter concludes with a discussion regarding the period when the oral tradition flourished. Leaving out the little attested earlier period, it defines the main period of dengbêjî from the 1880s to the 1980s.

3.1 Literature Review

The existing literature on dengbêjî typically consists of descriptive accounts of regional collections of kilam and stran, and sometimes even çîrok, which all comprise the same repertoire. This literature also classifies dengbêjî based on its location or the characteristic events of performances, such as weddings or *diwanxane*⁵⁵ gatherings, where each genre, including kilam, is treated as a frozen cultural form.

In contrast, this study distinguishes kilam from other oral genres, categorizes it as a specific genre, and tries to situate it within its historical context. Essentially, kilam is different from stran and çîrok particularly in its content and historical focus. While çîrok is fiction with

⁵⁵ *Diwanxane* was a gathering room provided by local Kurdish rulers in old times. Each *agha*, *beg*, and *mir* had his own *dîwanxane*. *Dîwanxane* was open only to male notables and guests.

fantastic elements; stran is mainly expression of emotional states such as sorrow, happiness, love, joy or descriptions from daily life and nature. Distinguishingly, kilam texts are mainly surviving narratives of experienced past events. In this sense, it is a kind of factual tradition and “factual traditions or accounts are transmitted differently -with more regard to faithful reproduction of content- from fictional narratives such as tales, preverbs, or sayings”.⁵⁶

This study argues that as a part of Kurdish-Kurmanj collective memory kilam has three important components which mark them: (a) They usually tell of a historical event, which can be (1) a riot, (2) a family/tribal conflict, or (3) a love story. (b) They are also an outcome of a purely oral tradition, functioning as an oral conveyance of the knowledge of past, and (c) they are kept in memory through performances, during which they are continuously reproduced and reshaped.

A brief review shows that dengbêjî has so far been studied as a part of Kurdish folklore rather than as a specific oral tradition. Yet, contrary to common belief, dengbêjî is practiced only among Kurdish-Kurmanj communities but, not all Kurdish people. Therefore, the development of other traditions as well as genres and subgenres of Kurdish cultural performances in the region should be examined separately from dengbêjî and its narratives.

Until 2000, despite a few exceptions, the literature on dengbêjî generally consists of a non-scholarly approach that was politically motivated.⁵⁷ The dominant approach was to define dengbêjî as a Kurdish national tradition. A part of this literature approached dengbêjî from a very nationalistic perspective, and although the content of most of the dengbêjî narratives does not fit with the idea of nationalism, some have gone one step further and define it as a “national reaction”.⁵⁸

Moreover, a location-based categorization was developed where dengbêjî is classified based on the place where it is performed but not on the inherent characteristics of the tradition itself. Hence, instead of studying kilam as a particular genre, it has been confused with other Kurdish oral/musical genres and introduced simply as Kurdish folklore.

Before getting into a detailed analysis of these classifications, one should acknowledge that there has been no consensus concerning dengbêjî in the literature to date. Confusion and disagreements prevail on how to single out dengbêjî from other Kurdish oral/musical

⁵⁶ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p.113

⁵⁷ As an example, for these exceptions, see; Alan, Remezan, “*Kürt Halk Şarkıları İçin Küçük Bir Poetika*”, *Kovara War*, Number 2, 1997, pp.11-34.

⁵⁸ For some examples, see; Aras, Ahmet; *Şairê Kurda yê Efsanevî: Evdalê Zeynikê*, Weşanên Deng, Istanbul, 1996

traditions. It is also stated by Riegle that “[...] some people use the term dengbêj loosely to describe any music that they feel has a sonic characteristic of traditional singing[...].”⁵⁹ Questions here center upon how to name the narrative performed by dengbêjs. While some refer to this narrative as kilam, others may know it as stran.

Generally, people who conduct studies on this subject, defining and classifying dengbêjs and their performances, usually base them on function instead of characteristics of the genre. Whereas dengbêj may perform stran, it does not mean that stran is a product of the dengbêj tradition. Also, the place where dengbêj performs his kilam does not affect the structure and content of kilam as a genre.

Moreover, it should be noted that diverse names of these genres in different regions also feeds this confusion.⁶⁰

Instead of analyzing dengbêj based on its function or the place where it is performed, my approach is to define it as a particular oral tradition, while defining its narratives as a particular genre.⁶¹ Thus, I will distinguish it from other Kurdish musical-narrative genres by highlighting its structure, content, and used language.

Thus far, dengbêj has been distinguished by the context in which it is performed by people. For instance, dengbêj as a narrative tradition is usually not performed at *dîlan* (wedding) or other activities for entertainment. That form of activity is called *stran* and it is performed by a *stranbêj* while dengbêjs usually perform at a diwankhane or community space. Certainly, some dengbêjs are also stranbêjs and perform strans at weddings and some other occasions for entertainment. Nevertheless, their status in such cases should not be defined as dengbêj but, instead as stranbêj. Admittedly, this difference may not be recognized by the audience, which may refer to the dengbêj either as dengbêj or stranbêj. Nonetheless, traditionally, if a dengbêj performs at a wedding, the audience expects a stran instead of the dengbêj’s usual genre, the kilam. In Kurdish, in such circumstances as a wedding, this is directly described as *dengbêj distrê* (dengbêj is singing). In fact, as a specific tradition in dengbêj, the dengbêj does not *sing* but *tell* the kilam. If a dengbêj *sings* it means he is performing stran, not kilam. Namely, having some dengbêjs performing stran -besides kilam- leads such confusion.

⁵⁹ Reigle, Robert F.; “*A Brief History of Kurdish Music Recordings in Turkey*”, Hellenic Journal of Music Education and Culture, Vol. 4, article 2, p. 2.

⁶⁰ For further information about this topic see, next two pages, the etymological roots of the words of *stran* and *kilam*.

⁶¹ I had classified kilam as a particular genre in my MA thesis in 2013. In this study, this classification will be done in further details.

Occasionally, dengbêjs perform their kilams at weddings but this is only for special sessions which differ from the general atmosphere of the wedding. For example, no one is dancing while the dengbêj tells his kilam, but dancing during performance of stran is typical.

Having dengbêjî performances at weddings as a special event was not common in earlier times. It started to appear parallel to the changes in dengbêjî within the last twenty years and further fueled the confusion between dengbêjî and stranbêjî, and kilam and stran. Essentially, dengbêjs such as Reso or Şakiro did not perform strans. These kinds of dengbêjs refused to perform strans because this was regarded as being beneath their dignity. Dengbêjî was considered as the grander art. Hence, the foremost dengbêjs tried to distinguish themselves from stranbêjs. Nonetheless, people like Karapetê Xaço and Huseynê Farî chose to be both dengbêjs and stranbêjs.

The categorization of musical/narrative genres in Kurdish has been a problematic issue for scholars who have conducted field research in the region. For instance, Ethnomusicologist Dieter Christensen, accurately classifies kilam as “sung narratives”⁶² but added *qesîde*⁶³ to this category as well. However, qesîde and kilam are mutually exclusive, as the qesîde is an Islamic musical genre and performed by a *qesîdebêj*. The tradition is called *qesîdebêjî*. Therefore, religious principles forbid such artists to perform kilam or stran; the qesîdebêj is only allowed to perform qesîde, which can be classified as religious chant. Hence, a dengbêj must forget his dengbêjî and perform only qesîde if he has committed himself to religious practices. These two genres also differ from one another in terms of their performance styles. While kilam is told without musical instruments, the qesîde performance is accompanied by *erbane*, a tambourine-like instrument. In terms of musicality, the melodic structure of qesîde could be classified somewhere between stran and kilam but does not fit completely into either category.

From an etymological perspective, the words stran and a kilam have different roots. While stran is related to the Kurdish verb *strîn* (Eng.; singing), kilam comes from the Arabic root *kalama/KLM* (كلم) meaning ‘to speak’.

Probable reasons behind the confusion between stran and kilam are the blurred boundaries that distinguish them, which were not well-defined in earlier periods. Still another

⁶² Christensen, Dieter, “Music in Kurdish Identity Formations”, Presentation on the “*Conference on Music in the World of Islam*”, Assilah, 8-13 August 2007. Here, we should note that he was making research in a region which dengbêjî is not common, namely in Hekarî (Hakkari). Thus, he has focused on the other musical traditions but not dengbêjî.

⁶³ *Qesîde* is a Kurdish-Islamic oral genre of Hymns which is common among Sunni-Muslim Kurds and, *Qesîdebêjî/Qesîdevanî* is the name of the tradition.

reason is that, because of regional differences, sometimes the same genre is referred to by diverse names while different genres are referred to by the same name. For example, in the Shingal (Sinjar region in Iraq) kilam is called stran despite being borrowed from dengbêjs.⁶⁴ Simply put, the confusion of these terms stems from historical and regional differences.

On the other hand, *çîrok* comes from the root *çîr* which has associations of lying and of the surreal in Kurmanji, and it is completely different from a kilam and a stran. *Çîrok* is non-melodic, and it can be described as tale since it is equivalent to a European fairytale. Some dengbêjs were also *çîrokbêj*. Additionally, some long kilams include non-melodic narrative parts. These two factors contributed to the confusion between identification of kilam and *çîrok*.

Until the last 15-20 years written sources elaborating on dengbêjî in detail were quite few. Most of the existing written accounts touch upon dengbêjî superficially within the context of Kurdish culture or folklore. A limited number of sources which do refer to the dengbêjî as a main topic including articles, a few books, theses, and dissertations, were written after the 2000s.

The early years of the Republican era, the period of nation-building in Turkey, had no tolerance for languages or cultures other than Turkish. After the Ottoman Empire broke up, to build a Turkish nation-state, all languages other than Turkish were banned⁶⁵. For the Kurdish communities, this was a period of resistance against the oppressive state policies. Aside from the earliest rebellion, the Qoçgîrî (Koçgiri, in Turkish) riot in 1921,⁶⁶ a series of resistances occurred between 1925⁶⁷ and 1938⁶⁸ beginning with the Sheikh Said (Kurd., Şêx Seîd) uprising (1925). After the Sheikh Said rebellion, the Kurdish people faced immense oppression by the Turkish government which sought to prevent their language from being spoken. Therefore, Kurdish literature declined because of bans and intolerance towards the Kurdish language by the Turkish government. In this period, even writing about Kurds posed a severe problem. Although dengbêjî survived in the Kurdish region, it was not possible to publish written works about this tradition. The new Turkish republic was built on Turkish ethnic identity and no other identities were acknowledged. Pro-Turkish nationalist rhetoric

⁶⁴ For further explanation look at the section of "The Map of Dengbêjî".

⁶⁵ Upon two specific laws: *Şark Islahat Planı*, 24th September 1924; *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*, 3rd March, 1924

⁶⁶ Qoçgîrî Kurdish Revolt occurred near Sivas and Erzincan in March-June 1921.

⁶⁷ Sheikh Said Rebellion occurred around Muş, Bingöl, Elazığ, and Diyarbakır in February-March 1925.

⁶⁸ Dersîm Resistance which consists of a series of clashes during the military operation of the Turkish Army occurred in Dersim in 1937-1938.

was so extreme that research was published claiming that Turks are the “seminal nation of the world from which all others emerged.” With their identity denied, the Kurdish people were rebranded as “mountain Turks” who had forgotten their origins.⁶⁹ In addition to banning Kurdish language in public, the Turkish republic changed the names of thousands of places and oppressed all Kurdish political or cultural activities.

While the state’s approach to Kurdish culture was very severe in Turkey, in Syria, which was still under the French mandate, a more liberal attitude prevailed. Books, magazines, and journals about Kurds were published. However, with some exceptions, these publications were predominately political. Since dengbêjî was considered as non-political it did not take so much attention from these publications.

During this period a significant number of Kurds emigrated from Turkey to Syria. While they were familiar with dengbêjî, it is hard to find a written source discussing this subject as a specific topic. The main reason for this is, probably they did not find dengbêjî so valuable to write about it. Perhaps, they thought the tradition is too archaic. Therefore, even when they wrote about Kurdish culture, they did not give a big space to the tradition. They separated the concepts of culture and politics from each other, and the main topic of their interest was politics.

Moreover, even in the last decades, although the Kurdish politic movement was strong in Syria as dengbêjî was not considered to be political, it was not attractive to the Kurdish political activists⁷⁰.

To have an overview of written sources in this period, two specific magazines published in Kurdish in Syria and Lebanon will be analyzed in this section. They are entitled Hawar and Roja Nû.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Mustafa Kemal, the founder of Turkish Republic, was the leading figure of these attempts in his last years. Upon his directives some *international* conferences were organized to prove their Turkic-Centered theories. *Türk Tarih Kongresi* which was held in Ankara in July 1932 was the foremost attempt to prove the origin of the world -from China to Rome- as being Turks.

⁷⁰ The life story of dengbêj Baqî Xido (1920-2009) is a good example of this issue. He was the foremost dengbêj of Ruha including Rojava (Northern Syria) but his whole life passed in poverty. Although the Kurdish political movement was strong in Rojava, and even Baqî Xido had created some political kilam such as *Kilama Rêberê Kurdan Evdila Ocelan* he was still considered as a traditional, even archaic figure by the political actors until his death in 2009.

⁷¹ Source for the Hawar and Roja Nû magazines: www.arsivakurd.org (Accessed on 20th April 2022). I examined all published issues of these two magazines through this archive.

Hawar magazine was issued 57 times between 1932 and 1943 in Damascus by Celadet Elî Bedirxan.⁷² It was the first Kurdish magazine published in the Latin alphabet with Kurmanji. Hawar contained writings both in the Latin and Arabic alphabets until the 23rd issue but, later switched to solely the Latin alphabet. Each issue consisted of a few pages in French and English besides Kurmanji. In general, folkloric, and cultural topics garnered more space from the 1st to the 23rd issues of the magazine, then, it decreased in the following issues.

The focus of Hawar was mainly political, however, it was also interested in Kurdish culture. Thus, some Kurdish tales were published in the magazine inconsecutively. Likewise, the Story of Memê Alan in the 7th issue of Hawar was published in French. This narrative may have originated from the two visiting dengbêjs named Xido and Mişo⁷³ from Kobanê. Other small pieces were featured about Memê Alan in Kurdish which originated from the same dengbêjs. However, dengbêjî was not a specific topic on the table of Hawar.⁷⁴

Similarly, another Kurdish magazine, *Roja Nû*, was published weekly between 1943-1946 by Kamuran Elî Bedirxan⁷⁵ in Beirut. During these three years the magazine was issued 73 times.

Roja Nû combined different topics related to the Kurdish issue which extended beyond politics and culture into fashion. The aim of the magazine was to open a door for Kurds to connect them with the rest of the world. However, with the literacy rate being exceptionally low and the fact that the magazine was published in Lebanon, the magazine's reach extended to very few people.

The magazine was published in Kurmanji and French and consisted of four pages in total. Furthermore, the 49, 51, 53, 56, 58, 60, 62, 65 and 73rd issues were only in French. It looks as if, since the magazine was not having readers among Kurds, the publishers were trying to reach the outer world by using French.

Dengbêjî and kilam were not a specific interest of this magazine either. In some issues we see that they published kilams mixed with stran, *qewl*,⁷⁶ and *çîrok* as part of Kurdish folklore.

⁷² Celadet Elî Bedirxan was one of the founders of Xoybûn, a Kurdish political organization in exile. After leaving his political activities, Celadet Bedirxan focused on Kurdish language and culture. For further information about Celadet Bedirxan and Xoybûn look at the third chapter of this study.

⁷³ Mişo Bekebûr and Xidir Hendawî, *Hawar*, Kovara Kurdî, Sal 1, No 7, 25th Aug. 1932, p. 5. (Xidir Hendawî is the father of dengbêj Baqî Xido who was mentioned above.)

⁷⁴ Furthermore, most of the issues -especially after the 23rd issue- of Hawar even contained some religious topics titled as *Tefsîra Qur'anê* and *Hedîsên Cenabê Pêxember*, or some grammatical articles titled as *Gramera Kurdmancî* but not dengbêjî. On the other hand, some Kurdish-Kurmanji tales (*çîrok*) were published on these issues as well. Introductions of foreign countries and poems were also found in Hawar.

⁷⁵ The brother of Celadet Elî Bedirxan. He was born in Istanbul in 1895 and died in Paris in 1978.

Most of the published kilams are only excerpts from the main text, which indicates that they were just written down as they were heard, without any further study.

The kilams published in *Roja Nû* are usually dated before the Republican era, and they are either about tribal-familial conflicts or love stories.

Kilams are given the title *Strana Kurdî* in the magazine. Despite a few exceptions, all of them are pieces from different kilams without any context. Additionally, some were taken from Thomas Bois (1900-1975)⁷⁷ but not directly from dengbêjs or Kurdish society. *Kilama Qenc Xelîl*, which is called as *Heftsedê* in the magazine is one example of these kilams.

Among the kilams found in *Roja Nû*, which are mostly incomplete, the only clear and relatively complete ones are *Fermana Mala Brehîm Pasha*, *Bedewcana Huseyn Agha*, and *Delalê Qerejdaxê*. These were based on the performances of Ebdilhadî Miheme,⁷⁸ a dengbêj from Rojava, in Syrian-Kurdistan.

Şêxê Ebdilqadir, Ezîzkê Merzika and Sebrîyê Serhedî are other source people for kilams but their works are not as good as those from Ebdilhadî Miheme. The kilams taken from them are either uncompleted or written down wrong.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, they are longer than dozens of other unconnected small pieces of different products such as *Edlê Rabe*, *Kezizer*, *Bîskî Wer*, *Gulê Gulê* and *Law Osman* which were taken from Ehmedê Fermanê Kîkî.⁸⁰ Finally, despite not being kilam, but stran, these are called kilam by the magazine. In fact, from the title to the content there is a confusion as to the use of the terms kilam and stran.

⁷⁶ *Qewl* is a kind of sacred Hymns of Yezidi community. These Hymns are traditionally performed by professional reciters. See; Kreyenbroek, G. Philip and Omarkhali, Khanna, *Yezidi Spirits? On the question of Yezidi beliefs: A review article*, Kurdish Studies Magazine, October 2016, Volume: 4, No: 2, pp. 197-207.

⁷⁷ Thomas Bois's book titled *La Vie Sociale Des Kurdes*⁷⁷ was published in 1962; and the other book titled as *Les Kurdes* was published in 1958. ⁷⁷ It looks that Bois had shared some of his collection with the magazine in 1946.

⁷⁸ Barbara Sträuli has listed him as Muhammedê Hadî in her book but on *Roja Nû* magazine his name is Ebdilhadî Miheme. See; Sträuli, Barbara; "Our Steppe is Vast...", Kurdish epics and tribal stories from Urfa, 1906, Collected by Oskar Mann, Edited. Translated and introduced by Barbara Sträuli, Wiesbaden Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2021. p. 33.

⁷⁹ To give an example from mistranscription we can look to the "Kilama (H)emê Gozê" taken from Ezîzê Merzika. In the kilam, Emê Gozê says "... *bi sonda qesemê*..." (to swear in God faith) which has been transcribed as "... *bi sonda mehkemê*..." (to swear at the court) on the magazine.

⁸⁰ Ehmedê Fermanê Kîkî is one of the three dengbêjs who have been mentioned in the book written by Mehmed Uzun and titled as "*Rojek Ji Rojên Evdalê Zeynikê*". However, as far as known he was not a dengbêj but a stranbêj. His contribution to the Hawar Magazine also consists of solely stran but not kilam. Ehmedê Fermanê Kîkî was born as a member of Kîkan tribe in Mêrdîn and lived there until passing to the French-Controlling area in Syria.

The situation in Iraq was like that of Syria. Baghdad Radio transmitted broadcasts in Kurdish in 1939.⁸¹ Despite political pressure from the British mandate regime, Kurds were not subjected to the same policies of denial and assimilation as were instituted in Turkey. However, there too, dengbêjî was not an object of research. Iraqi Kurds were not familiar with the dengbêjî tradition since it was not common among them. Moreover, most of the Iraqi Kurds speak the Soranî dialect, making the traditions of dengbêjî even less accessible to them. The popular oral and musical genres of the Iraqi Kurds are *stranbêjî*, *goranîbêjî* and *heyranîbêjî*.⁸²

Regarding dengbêjî, the only region in which scholarly works were produced during this period was the former Soviet Union, especially Armenia. Dengbêjî survived strongly within the dense Kurdish-Kurmanji population there, as a cultural-sociological extension of the Serhed⁸³ region. Additionally, Yerevan Radio started to broadcast dengbêjî performances in 1955 in Armenia. Since the Soviet regime did not oppose Kurdish cultural representations, it was also possible to produce written literature about dengbêjî. Thus, some folklore studies were conducted. For example, the Kurdish researchers Hecîyê Cindî and Emînê Evdal in Armenia State University authored a book called *Folklorê Kurmancan* (The Folklore of Kurmanjs) which includes different genres of Kurdish folklore was published by the Armenian Government Council Publication in 1936.⁸⁴

Written in Kurdish, and using the Cyrillic alphabet, the book included different versions of well-known epics among Kurds, such as *Sîyabend û Xecê*, *Kela Dimdimê* and *Dewrêşê Evdî*.

The relatively free artistic policy of the Soviet Union enabled cultural production among Kurds living in Caucasia within this period. After the broadcast of Radio Yerevan, this situation affected Kurds living in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria as well.⁸⁵ Although the quality

⁸¹ For Kurdish radio broadcasts and their affects, see; ‘*The morning of freedom rose up*’: *Kurdish Popular Song and the Exigencies of Cultural Survives, Popular Music*, by Stephen Blum and Amir Hassanpour, Cambridge University Press, 1996, Volume 15/3, pp. 325-343. And, *Kurdish Culture and Identity*, by Allison, Christine; Edited by Philip Kreyenbroek & Christine Allison, Zed Books Ltd, 1996, Volume 4, pp. 71-79.

⁸² *Stranbêjî* is a Kurdish musical genre, and it is common among all Kurds. It will be studied in detail in this chapter. *Goranîbêjî* is also a kind of Kurdish musical genre, and it is common among Iraqi and Iranian Kurds. *Heyranîbêjî* is another Kurdish musical genre which is common among Iraqi Kurds.

⁸³ For the location of *dengbêjî*, see; the title of “The Locations of Dengbêjî” in this chapter.

⁸⁴ Cindî, Hecîyê - Evdal, Emînê; *Folklorê Kurmancan*, Avesta Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2008 (This version of the book prepared by Tosinê Reşîd in Latin alphabet and re-published)

⁸⁵ Radio Yerevan was known as *Radyoya Xaç* among Kurds in Turkey referring the *Cross* of Christianity since it was broadcasting from Armenia. *Xaç* means cross in Kurdish. Most of dengbêjs who have been interviewed by Hamelink, Çelik and other scholars have admitted that they have heard kilams through Radio Yerevan.

of the books was not academically advanced, the studies by the Kurdish researchers living in Soviet lands are incredibly significant as they are the first and rare written products of the era. However, since these works were written in the Cyrillic alphabet, they remained unknown to other Kurdish communities until 2000s when they were transliterated into Kurdish in Latin alphabet, and were made available to Kurds, especially those living in Turkey.

The corpus of publications which appeared after the 1970s coincided with the Kurdish national struggle. In these accounts, dengbêjî was not directly elaborated on, but mentioned within the context of Kurdish culture. On the other hand, the works produced in this period about the dengbêjî tended to adopt a political approach rather than a cultural one. Especially in Turkey, the way in which dengbêjî was portrayed was a direct reflection of current politics. The rising Kurdish movement under the leadership of *Partîya Karkerên Kurdistan* (PKK)⁸⁶ approached dengbêjî negatively or neutrally until the 2000s.⁸⁷ The reason for this could be that this dominant Kurdish movement adopted a distant and generally negative attitude towards traditions and approached them from a socialist perspective for a long period of time. Accordingly, it categorized dengbêjî, as archaic, feudal, and tribal, even as a retrograde tradition because it was assumed that dengbêjî and kilams trigger feelings of tribalism⁸⁸. And, since the movement was aiming to unify different Kurdish groups against Turkish occupation tribalism was a danger for the national struggle.

Especially after the 1980 military coup, the mainstream Kurdish movement's negative or neutral approach to dengbêjî contributed to the decline of this tradition which was already vanishing because of social-economic and technological changes, in addition to the ongoing oppression of Kurds. In this period, we see a severe difference between the audiences of dengbêjî and the basis of the mainstream Kurdish political movement. Young people, who mostly constituted to the Kurdish movement, were not attracted by the dengbêjî tradition. For the young population with aspirations toward the future and not the past, a cultural-generational gap was created as regards dengbêjî. The audiences of dengbêjî were mostly elderly Kurds who were usually distant to the Kurdish movement.

⁸⁶ Partîya Karkerên Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers' Party) was founded under the leadership of Abdullah Öcalan in 1978 in Licê-Diyarbakir (Kurd. Amed), and it started a guerilla war against Turkish government in 1984. This fight is still going on in Turkey, and Iraqi Kurdistan.

⁸⁷ Scalbert-Yücel, Clémence, *The Invention of a Tradition: Diyarbakır's Dengbêj Project*, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10 | 2009, p. 7.

⁸⁸ See; interview with Dengbêj Osmanê Farqînî, Hamelink, Wendelmoet, "*The Sung Home/ Narrative, morality, and the Kurdish nation*" (PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 2014), Introduction, p. 31.

By the late 1990s the neutral and negative attitudes formerly adopted by the mainstream Kurdish movement toward dengbêjî began to shift. Regaining its popularity, dengbêjî started to be embraced by the younger generations. Previously, Med TV,⁸⁹ then Roj TV,⁹⁰ which had already began broadcasting in line with the mainstream Kurdish movement, while the PKK, began promoting dengbêjs. Furthermore, by the early 2000s, the political demands of the Kurdish movement (PKK) in Turkey changed and -at least in the discourse- cultural-democratic rights became the foremost request. This shifting political attitude which softened political oppression in Turkey for a decade led an increase in Kurdish cultural production such as literature and performance arts. Interest in dengbêjî, which had been previously neglected, began to flourish. The number and quality of books and articles dedicated to the dengbêjî began to increase steadily.

In addition, some other steps were taken to contribute to dengbêjî to keep the tradition alive, for example, establishing *Mala Dengbêjan*⁹¹ (House of Dengbêjs) in various cities, such as Diyarbakir and Wan (Van) by the local Kurdish authorities.⁹²

Moreover, via the internet, especially broadcasting channels such as YouTube, people became more aware of traditional arts in different regions. Dengbêjî started to be known among all Kurdish people in and out of Turkey.

This period was the beginning of an era where dengbêjî was examined as an independent field of interest, with a remarkable number of articles and interviews published in various magazines, journals, and web pages. For example, the detailed book named *Filîte Quto*, written by Salihê Kevirbirî in Kurdish, was published in this period. In the book twenty dengbêjî narratives from the Xerzan region are presented along with the stories which these

⁸⁹ The Kurdish International satellite TV which was broadcasting from Belgium between 1995-1999.

⁹⁰ The Kurdish International satellite TV which was broadcasting from Denmark between 2004-2012.

⁹¹ “Mala Dengbêjan” started as an EU supported project of the Diyarbakir Metropolitan Municipality to encourage the local dengbêjs to perform their arts in public in 2007, then, it continued with the support of the municipality. It is in Mêrgahmed (Turk: Melikahmet) in the oldest part of the city. This example was followed by the local authorities of Batman and Van. These three municipalities were run buy the elected Kurdish mayors in that time.

⁹² Scalbert-Yücel studies the role of these Dengbêjs’ Houses in detail and she puts forward the argument that the contemporary dengbêjî is elaborated as a “nation-building concept” by the Kurdish political movement. Therefore, the article which she investigates the dengbêjs’ houses in this context was written in this period. Although I argue that the Kurdish political movement was not the leading figure of re-vitalization of dengbêjî but simply supported this process, this article analyses the role of dengbêj houses well in the 2000s. See; Scalbert-Yücel, Clémence, *The Invention of a Tradition: Diyarbakir’s Dengbêj Project*, European Journal of Turkish Studies, 10 | 2009.

kilams reflected. The author also shows the social problems among the families and tribes to help understand the context of the kilams⁹³.

A detailed collection of kilam was published by Ordixane Jalil in 2003 in Kurdish and Russian based on his field research between 1958 and 1990. The book which is named “Historical Songs of the Kurds” contains 231 kilams and their translation in Russian. The author has categorized these 231 kilams under 17 titles.⁹⁴

Another important book of this period was published as a collective work of Ordixan Celîl and Celîlê Celîl. Their book which they prepared together and published in 2014 is named “Zargotina Kurdi” and published in Kurdish in two volumes. The book includes 37 kilams, strans and epics all together.⁹⁵

In the last few years, a broader anthology of dengbêjî and kilam is prepared and published by Ömer Güneş and İbrahim Şimşek. The authors gathered kilams performed by three deceased dengbêjs (Dengbêj Reso, Dengbêj Şakiro, Dengbêj Huseyno), transcribed, and published them in Kurdish in three volumes in 2018 and 2021.⁹⁶

We also see that in this period dengbêjî starts to become the subject matter of several doctoral theses after 2010.

The PhD dissertation of Metin Yüksel, “Dengbêj, Mullah, Intelligentsia: The Survival and Revival of the Kurdish-Kurmanji Language in the Middle East, 1925-1960”⁹⁷ (in English, 2012), notably analyses the role of the traditions in protecting the language. In his dissertation, Yüksel shows the role played by dengbêjî against the Turkish assimilation policy towards Kurdish people in Turkey. He claims that alongside the Kurdish intelligentsia and mullahs, dengbêjs played a crucial role in the protection of Kurdish-Kurmanji language during the 20th century in Turkey. Although, in contrast to the intelligentsia, neither mullahs, nor dengbêjs had an agenda to protect the language, still, using the Kurdish-Kurmanji language in the traditional form resulted in a kind of protection of the language. In his study,

⁹³ Kevirbirî, Salihê, *Filîtê Quto*, Weşanên Pêrî, Istanbul, 2001.

⁹⁴ Jalil, Ordixane, *Historical Songs of the Kurds*, Petersburg Oriental Studies, Orientelia, 2003.

⁹⁵ Jalil, Ordixane & Jalil, Jalile, *Kurdische Oral Literatur*, Institut Für Kurdologie, Wien, 2014.

⁹⁶ Güneş, Ömer & Şimşek, İbrahim, *Antolojiya Dengbêjan I-II-III*, Nubihar Yay., 2018, 2021.

⁹⁷ Yüksel, Metin, *Dengbêj, Mullah, Intelligentsia: The Survival and Revival of the Kurdish-Kurmanji Language in the Middle East, 1925-1960*, PhD dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2011.

Yüksel prefers to analyze *dengbêjî* under the title of oral poetry. In this sense, *dengbêjî* is a part of oral poetry which contributed to survival of Kurmanji.⁹⁸

The PhD dissertation of Wendelmoet Hamelink, “The Sung Home/Narrative, Morality, and the Kurdish Nation” (in English, 2014), focuses on *dengbêjî* within the frame of Kurdish studies and cultural anthropology. *Dengbêjî* is the focus of this study through the life stories of some *dengbêjs*, and it is defined as “the art of imagination that transports one to another dimension”. In the study, Hamelink assigns a central role to *dengbêjî* in the Kurdish cultural production before 1980. Then, while analyzing the silence of *dengbêjs* after the military coup of 1980 in Turkey, she states three main reasons to explain the silence:

“[...] the dramatic change of structure of Kurdish society; increasing violence and oppression; and the rise of support for the PKK combined with the newly developing Kurdish music scene that was generally very politicized.”⁹⁹

However, despite offering three main reasons Hamelink emphasizes the role of Turkish oppression as the crucial reason for the demise of *dengbêjî*. She describes the period between 1980 and 2000 as “two decades of extreme suppression.”¹⁰⁰

Besides offering good analysis of the role of nationalism, self-orientalism, and life stories of some *dengbêjs* the dissertation has a weakness in analyzing the fall of *dengbêjî*. In the dissertation the main reason of the silence of *dengbêjs* after 1980 is explained with political oppression through the life stories of certain *dengbêjs*. However, I would argue that *dengbêjî* and *qesîdebêjî* suffered less oppression because these two traditions were considered as traditional and non-political by the Turkish authorities. In this sense, these two traditions were not specifically targeted by the Turkish government.¹⁰¹ Therefore, explaining the silence of *dengbêjs* between 1980 and 2000 because of specific and targeted political oppression is not

⁹⁸ Yüksel, Metin, *Dengbêj, Mullah, Intelligentsia: The Survival and Revival of the Kurdish-Kurmanji Language in the Middle East, 1925-1960*, PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2011, p: 132. For further classifications, see some examples in the following pages of this chapter.

⁹⁹ Hamelink, Wendelmoet, “*The Sung Home/ Narrative, morality, and the Kurdish nation*”, PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 2014, p. 27, 84.

¹⁰⁰ Hamelink, Wendelmoet, “*The Sung Home/ Narrative, morality, and the Kurdish nation*”, PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 2014, Introduction, p.10.

¹⁰¹ Ahmed Aras reminded me on his interview with Şakiro in 1991. In this interview which Aras conveyed on the Kovara Bîr magazine, Şakiro mentions the dialog between him and the head of Turkish military junta, Kenan Evren, while Evren was visiting Erzurum after the military coup of 1980. There, Evren had advised Şakiro to continue his art but avoid from political songs. (Conversation with Ahmed Aras, 3rd May 2020). For the published source, see, Ahmed ARAS/ Kılama Kurdî û Denbêjîya Serhedê, Kovara Bîr, Hejmar 7.

accurate. Furthermore, it is a kind of interpreting the past from the viewpoint of today. This approach probably arises from Hamelink's interviews with the dengbêjs. Since these dengbêjs explained the silence of twenty years as the result of political oppression, Hamelink put this at the center of her argumentation.¹⁰² However, I argue that socio-economic problems and technological developments played a more important role in the decline of dengbêjî between 1980 and 2000 than the Turkish oppression did.¹⁰³

Unlike most of the previous written accounts, Hamelink's dissertation is remarkable to define dengbêjî as a precise tradition and to distinguish it from other Kurdish oral traditions. However, since dengbêjs and stranbêjs are not analyzed according to the genres which they perform but, instead are analyzed according to their performance places, their roles are still confused. This kind of categorization inevitably leads to confusion because some dengbêjs are also stranbêjs, and as was mentioned earlier, they can also perform at weddings.

Still, it should be noted that Hamelink's dissertation is the most detailed study of the dengbêjî tradition to date.

Another notable dissertation was written by Duygu Çelik in 2017, in Turkish (*Dengbêjî Tradition and Its Effects on Kurdish Theatre in Turkey* (in Turkish, 2017). This dissertation is remarkable for its analysis of dengbêjî after 2000. Dengbêj, performance, audience, space, and urbanization, and their interrelations are analyzed in detail. In the first part of its analysis the study focuses on dengbêjî both in its traditional and new formats. The remaining part of the dissertation is devoted to an analysis of Kurdish theaters in Turkey and possible effects of the dengbêjî on Kurdish theatres which she describes as "return to the source".¹⁰⁴

Çelik separates dengbêjî before and after 2000 as two different formats, and the new format of dengbêjî which is dated after 2000 is referred as "new dengbêjî" by the author. In this context, the performer is a "new dengbêj" while the audience is a "new civat" (civat: audience, community). Çelik argues that this new form of dengbêjî performance is different since it is centered upon "manifestation" of the performer whereupon the "heterogeneous" audience is in a neutral position and waiting for dengbêj's "presentation". In contrast, in the traditional format, there was interaction between the performer and audience. There, the

¹⁰² Not only Hamelink but some other researchers have also been victimized by their interviewees. Citing from some dengbêjs, Scalbert-Yücel is one of the scholars who explain the silence between 1980 and 2000 with the oppression of Turkish government on dengbêjî. See, for some of her interview with dengbêjs regarding this silence: Scalbert-Yücel, Clémence, *The Invention of a Tradition: Diyarbakır's Dengbêj Project*, European Journal of Turkish Studies, 10 | 2009, p.13.

¹⁰³ For a detailed analysis of this topic, see: "The Period of Dengbêjî" in this chapter.

¹⁰⁴ Çelik, Duygu; *Dengbêjlik Geleneği ve Kürt Tiyatrosuna Etkisi*, PhD Dissertation (In Turkish), Istanbul University, Social Sciences Institute, 2017, pp. 194-216.

performer did not make a specific attempt to “show off” because he was already a special guest of a "homogeneous" audience where all of which came from the same village and were usually relatives of each other. In contrast to the traditional dengbêjî format, the new dengbêj -who usually performs at the Dengbêjs’ Houses- is the "owner" of the space, and "presents" for "heterogeneous" audiences. Also, the focal point of audience shifted from narrative to the performance itself. Thus, the performers do not only narrate but they try to show off with their clothes, mimics, gesticulations etc.¹⁰⁵

However, this dual analysis also confirms the continuation of the tradition. Contrary to other oral traditions, such as the Turkish Ashik tradition, dengbêjî is not dead, and it is surviving in a new format, Çelik argues.¹⁰⁶

While arguing a continuation and survival attitude between the old and new formats of the tradition, the evidence Çelik presents is related to performing kilams. Although the attention of audience has shifted from narrative to performance, since a kilam is still told in the traditional way, it is impossible to argue that this new format is not dengbêjî, she says.

We should note that, while arguing the continuity of tradition in older and newer forms, Çelik ignores that new kilams are not produced and all that is done is repetition of the old. Obviously, it can be said that the tradition is going in a new direction, with new audiences and performers, in a diverse space and context. Yes, kilams are still performed like the traditional way but there is no production of new kilams. Like the Turkish Ashik tradition,¹⁰⁷ all dengbêjs are repeating old kilams.¹⁰⁸

As another production, Barbara Sträuli recently edited, translated, and introduced the collection of Oskar Mann which contains Kurdish epics and tribal stories from Urfa. The book’s novelty consists mainly in three points: investigating the different concept of history as it appears in the oral tradition of Kurdish Southwest; the technique of transcription used by western researchers before arrival of tape-recorders; and the possible ways in which the transmission of sung epics frequently changed over two or more generations of singers. Although the book constantly confuses *sazbend*, dengbêj, çîrokbêj and stranbêj, and calls all together “singers”, its analysis regarding shifting names, territories, and times between

¹⁰⁵ Çelik, Duygu; *Dengbêjlik Geleneği ve Kürt Tiyatrosuna Etkisi*, PhD Dissertation (In Turkish), Istanbul University, Social Sciences Institute, 2017, pp. 71,75,79,80,83,252.

¹⁰⁶ Çelik, Duygu; *Dengbêjlik Geleneği ve Kürt Tiyatrosuna Etkisi*, PhD Dissertation (In Turkish), Istanbul University, Social Sciences Institute, 2017, p. 79.

¹⁰⁷ The Turkish Ashik tradition will be analyzed on the next pages of this chapter.

¹⁰⁸ Since they cannot produce new kilams they simply repeat old ones. For the reasons of unproductivity, see; *The Period of Dengbêjî*, at the end of this chapter.

different versions of some epics dictated by different performers from different locations and generations is noteworthy.¹⁰⁹

In the recent years, while the number of articles about dengbêjî in Turkish and Kurdish are increasing, some symposiums are being held by various Turkish universities with the consent of the Turkish government.

Yet, the quality of the resulting publications is not as high as expected. As an example, we may analyze the presentations submitted at *the International Symposium of Dengbêj Culture and Dengbêjs* held by Şırnak University in Şırnak on April 19-20th, 2019.¹¹⁰ Although most of the presented papers directly focus on dengbêjî, there is not a single presentation which reflects adequate research and background. All that is repetition of each other, and glorification of the tradition.

This glorification issue should be reviewed carefully. It is remarkably interesting to see how the attitude of Kurdish people -including popular and scholarly accounts- have jumped from ignoring the tradition to glorifying it. To get a deeper understanding of this glorification, we may analyze some articles published in the last ten years.

Notably, there are several newly written articles by people who are researching the role of women in dengbêjî. For instance, in her article which mainly focuses on a specific female dengbêjî course in Van, and questions the role of patriarchy in dengbêjî, Çelik claims that dengbêjî represents the voice of women through the theme of kilams.¹¹¹ Öztürk shares the same idea in her thesis which examines the role of female dengbêjs in Kurdish society.¹¹² Both of these accounts claim that since the traditional Kurdish society did not permit women to perform in public, women took control of kilams through their subjects. Furthermore, Bozkuş claims that women have the advantage of being more sensitive and having a higher voice quality than men. Thus, their kilams are better than those of male dengbêjs despite the fact women are not permitted to perform just anywhere, confining their performances to

¹⁰⁹ Sträuli, Barbara, “*Our Steppe is Vast...*”, *Kurdish epics and tribal stories from Urfa, 1906*, Collected by Oskar Mann, Edited. Translated and introduced by Barbara Sträuli, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2021.

¹¹⁰ <https://dengbejliksempozyumu.sirnak.edu.tr> (Accessed on 4th April 2021)

¹¹¹ Çelik, Duygu, “Dengbêjliğin Erilliği ve Küçük Kadın Dengbêjler.” In: *Writing Women's Lives: Auto/Biography, Life Narratives, Myths and Historiography International Symposium Paper Book*, Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, pp. 641-647.

¹¹² Öztürk, Selda; *Kadın Kimliği Bağlamında Kültürel Bellek ve Van Merkezdeki Kadın Dengbêjliği Yansımaları*, MA thesis, İstanbul Technical University, 2012, pp. 109-110.

narrow circles.¹¹³ Similarly, Schäfers argues that originally it was women who mastered the art of singing kilams, but this art was stolen by men via public shaming.¹¹⁴ However, none of these accounts explain why, unlike the dengbêjs, female stranbêjs used to perform their art in the same traditional society for centuries.

We should note that as other existing epic traditions, dengbêjî centered around *manhood*. Thus, while dengbêjî and kilam evolved around patriarchal values and rejected women performers, other traditions such as stranbêjî and çîrokbêjî were open to both males and females. It looks that confusion on stranbêjî and dengbêjî has lead deviancy in the argumentations of these scholars.

Moreover, as a theme, women never come on the stage as the main figures in kilams. Like other epic traditions in the world, the backbone of Kurdish kilams is *manhood*. The narratives evolve around men, and women are usually complementary to the narratives. Furthermore, women usually appear as objects in love stories. The main role is always given to men. Finally, traditionally women were not allowed even to participate in the civat of dengbêjs as audience members. They had to listen to the dengbêj behind curtains because men dominated dengbêjî from every aspect.

Alakom takes more steps in glorification and claims that "women have a throne in Kurdish folklore, and they have built hegemony. In the Kurdish folklore, women own words, and kilams belong to girls".¹¹⁵ This claim is absolutely wishful thinking, because it does not match with reality. Unfortunately, women never had such a dominant role in the traditional Kurdish society neither in folklore nor in kilam.

To address this subject, Yıldırımçakar discusses the same topic and questions the given role to women in dengbêjî in an article where he distinguishes dengbêjî from çîrokbêjî and stranbêjî.¹¹⁶ Although there are women dengbêjs in contemporary society, there is no evidence to argue that it was so in the past, he accurately indicates. He also shares his doubts on names such as Gulê, Pero, and Hemide, who have been referred to as female dengbêj of the early 20th century, stating that in essence they were not dengbêjs but probably stranbêjs.

¹¹³ Bozkuş, Yıldız, D., *Kürt Toplumunda Kadın Dengbêjler, Kültürlerarası İletişim Bağlamında İnsana Dair Duygular ve Ritüeller*, (ed.). Mora N., Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, Ankara, 2011, p. 129.

¹¹⁴ Schäfers, Marlene; *From shameful to public voice: Women dengbêjs, the work of pain, and Kurdish history*, Kürt Tarihi, Vol. 26, September 2016, pp 24-29.

¹¹⁵ Alakom, R., *Di Folklorê Kurdî de Serdestiyeke Jinan*, Weşanxaneyê Avesta, İstanbul, 2009, p.13.

¹¹⁶ Yıldırımçakar, M., *Dengbêjiya Jinê Ji Hêla Patronaj, Perwerdehî, Rol û Nêrîna Civakî û Îcrakirina Hunerê Ve*, International Journal of Kurdiname, Issue: 2, April 2020, pp. 87-97.

Indeed, regarding patriarchal societies and their epic oral traditions, such as dengbêjî and naqqâli one would need strong evidence to prove the dominant role of women in these traditions. Contemporary changes may be confusing but, how is it possible to imagine women at a *Diwanxane*, or *Chaikhane* or *Hujra-i Majlis* performing an art in the 20th century or earlier?

Glorification of dengbêjî is not limited to the role of women. It exists in other themes as well. Defining it as a Kurdish national art is one of these as was shown earlier. As another example of veneration, Hamelink and Barış argue that dengbêjî is a "secular" Kurdish oral tradition which had disappeared by the 1980s but was revitalized in the 2000s. It is surprising to read from these two authors that dengbêjî is considered secular. Dengbêjî is derived from a culture fed by Sunni-Islam, even by a particular religious school -the Shafi'ite one -¹¹⁷ and several kilams are full of hate towards Christians (especially Armenians and Assyrians since they were sharing the same territory). Likewise, even the Shia is described as beyond the pale of Islam, so how can one argue that dengbêjî is a secular oral tradition?¹¹⁸

Another aspect of this process of exaltation is the social status of dengbêjs in 20th century. In contrast to the argument that dengbêjs had a relatively high position in society, most of dengbêjs of the 20th century lived and died in poverty. Dengbêj Reso had to move from village to village at least a dozen of times to be able to make a living. Dengbêj Huseynê Farê sold his home-made cassettes in the old bazaar of Diyarbekir to be able to survive at the end of his life, in the early 1990s. Baqî Xido spent his whole life driving a horse carriage to make a living. In short, between the 1920s and 1990s, dengbêjs were economically desperate. Furthermore, after 1980, they were also disregarded politically and culturally.

Even in the earlier times, dengbêjs never held such an important position as is imagined today. It was thought that dengbêjî do not have importance beyond their own circle of listeners. Ahmed Aras says when he went to the village of Evdalê Zeynikê in 1966 and asked about Evdalê Zeynikê's life story, the villagers were surprised. They were asking him "as a well-educated man what are you going to do with Evdalê Zeynikê? Don't you have something else to be busy with?" From their point of view, Evdalê Zeynikê was just one of the peasants who performed kilams during his lifetime, nothing more.¹¹⁹ Similar to other oral traditions,

¹¹⁷ Shafi'i is one of the four *madhhabs* of Sunni-Islam. Others are Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali. Most Kurdish people are belonged to the *Shafi'i madhhab*.

¹¹⁸ Hamelink & Barış, *Kürt Halk Ozanları Dengbêjlerin Gözünden Sınırlar ve Devlet*, İsmail Beşikçi Vakfı, Kürt Çalışmaları/ Bahar Akademisi-1, pp. 51,52.

¹¹⁹ See; interview with Ahmed Aras, Dünya TV, *Rû Bi Rû*, by Nevzat Keskin, 6th December 2013.

dengbêjs were not considered as specialists in the society since they did not practice dengbêjî for a living.¹²⁰

However, since this scene changed after 2000, and dengbêjs become popular figures of the society most people project the situation of today on the dengbêjî and dengbêjs of 50-100 years ago.

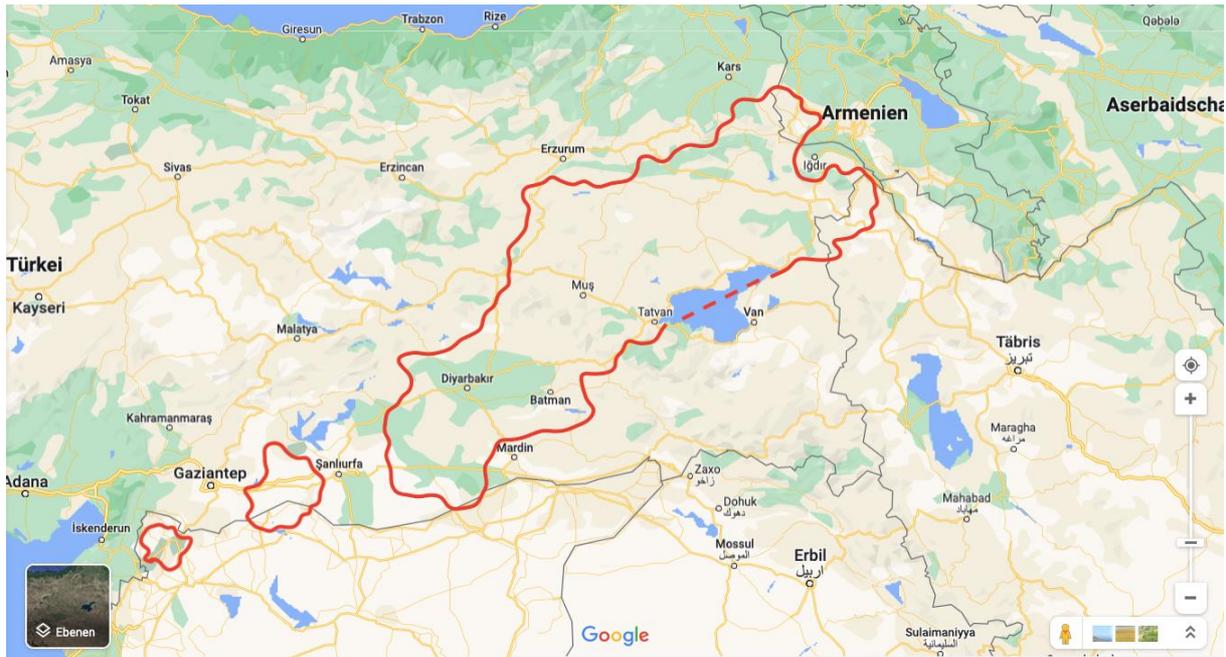
3.2 The Locations of Dengbêjî

A dengbêj is a local voice before all else and he performs throughout his local region. However, it is not easy to draw exact borders on the location of dengbêjî because the definitions one adopts about dengbêjî also determine its geography. Therefore, if the term dengbêjî were used to describe Kurdish music in general, it would be necessary to describe all the lands in which Kurds live as the geography of dengbêjî. However, dengbêjî is not common among all Kurdish people, but only among the Kurds who speak the Kurmanji dialect. Furthermore, even in some Kurmanji-speaking areas this tradition did not exist. Thus, dengbêjî is common among certain population of Kurds, in particular geographic areas.¹²¹ If a map were drawn showing the areas where dengbêjî is traditionally common, it would look as follows:¹²²

¹²⁰ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p. 37.

¹²¹ In their common article Hamelink and Barış investigate the names of locations through 84 kilams which Hamelink had collected during her field research. In these 84 kilams 180 different locations exist. While 17 of them are from Syria and 8 of them are from Anatolia, the rest of names are from Diyarbekir, Mûş and Serhed regions. Furthermore, the locations names from Anatolia are just mentions such as "the oranges of Dortyol" or "the prison of Bursa" etc. Namely, the main body of the locations are Diyarbekir, Mûş and Serhed which are also shown on my map above. See; Hendelmoth & Barış, *Kürt Halk Ozanları Dengbêjlerin Gözünden Sınırlar ve Devlet*, İsmail Beşikçi Vakfı, Kürt Çalışmaları/ Bahar Akademisi-1, p. 67.

¹²² These maps are prepared by the author of this dissertation to make the topic clearer and more understandable to the readers. They are not derived from some exact statistics because these kinds of statistics do not exist. Thus, these maps are probably the first examples in this field.



Map 1: The map of Dengebêjî tradition¹²³

As is shown on the map, some Kurmanji speaking areas are traditionally not familiar with dengbêjî. Namely, dengbêjî is not common among all Kurmanj people as well. For example, despite being a crucial part of Kurmanji culture, dengbêjî does not exist in Botan. The Merdîn Plateau in East is the end of dengbêjî areas in this neighborhood.

It is also possible to evaluate dengbêjî as *çiyayî* (mountaineer) and *deştî* (lowlander) as is shown on the following map. Dengebêjî in these two areas show distinctions especially in the way of training. The *çiyayî* dengbêjs from Serhed and Xerzan regions, which are mountainous, were usually trained in a master-apprentice relationship while the *deştî* dengbêjs from Amed, Mêrdîn and Ruha regions were mainly self-taught. Nonetheless, we should note that other possible differences between these two areas may need some further investigation.

¹²³ The map is designed by the author on a map taken from:
<https://www.google.com/maps/@38.3233467,41.4038505,7.14z>



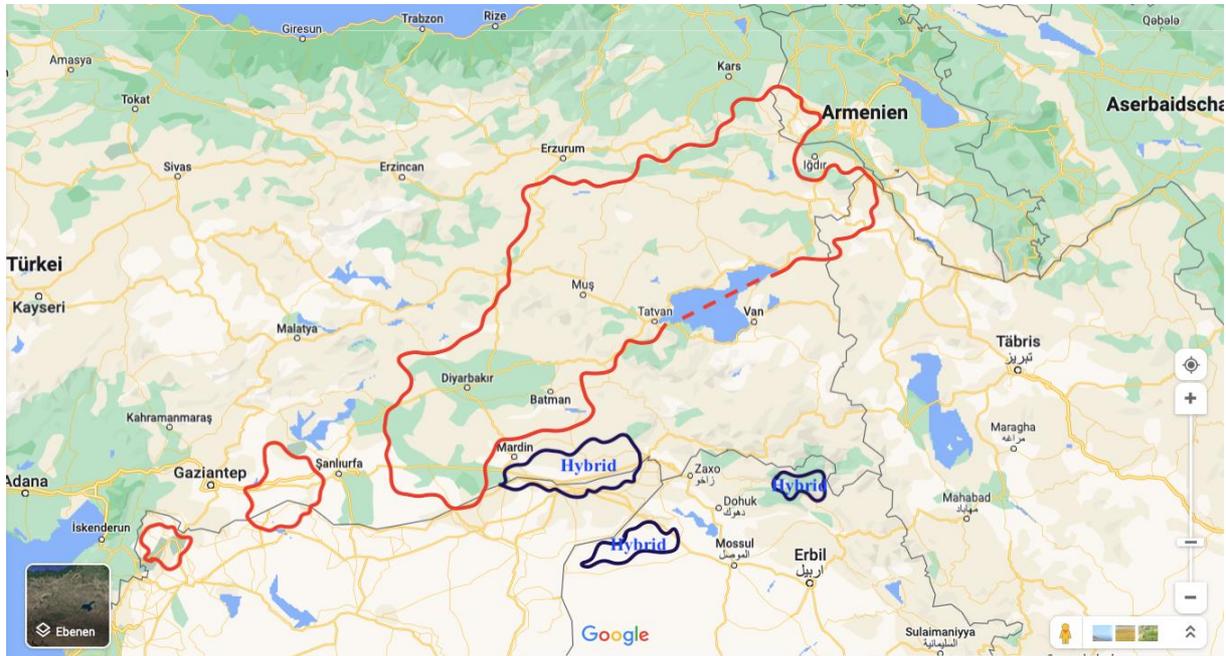
Map 2: Dengbêjî practice in two ways: Mountaineer (*Çiyayî*) and Lowlander (*Deştî*)¹²⁴

Additionally, as is shown on the following map, in the plain of Mêrdîn, -particularly around Nisêbîn, Cizîrê and Qoser-, (Turk: Mardin; Nusaybin, Cizre and Kızıltepe), and in Iraçî Kurdistan in Shingal and Doskî areas there are performers who perform kilam, usually accompanied by musical instruments. In these three areas, the genre is interchangeably called kilam or stran. However, when we look at the content of these compositions, they are essentially kilam, and almost all of them are borrowed from dengbêjî areas shown on the maps 1 and 2. However, the performers are usually (though not always) stranbêjs. In fact, as will be shown in the next section based on a definition of these genres, historically no dengbêjî tradition existed in these three areas. This *hybrid* genre looks like a kind of deformed kilam which causes difficulties for researchers regarding the definition of kilams.

Obviously, kilams such as Lawikê Madenî, Qenc Xelîl, Elikê Batê, Bavê Fexrî, Bavê Şikrî, Ehmedê Mala Mûsa, Mîrza Beg, Saliho, Edûlê which are performed by performers such as Kawis Agha, Seîd Aghayê Cizîrî, Mihemed Arif Cizîrî, Xelîl Bakozi, Şikrî Rêkanî, Casim Şikakî, Mihemed Pîro, Saifdîn Doskî, Eskenderê Gulî from these three areas are taken from the North, from the traditional dengbêjî areas shown above. Nonetheless, there are some

¹²⁴ The map is designed by the author on a map taken from: <https://www.google.com/maps/@38.3233467,41.4038505,7.14z>

exceptional kilams such as the one about Sheikh Mehmûd Berzencî,¹²⁵ which is obviously different from the other works mentioned above. The origin of this kind of kilams needs further investigation to enable us to speak more precisely about these hybrid compositions.



Map 3: Additional Three (Hybrid) Dengbêjî Areas¹²⁶

3.3 Dengbêjî and Other Kurdish Oral/Musical Traditions

Since there is a common confusion in distinguishing dengbêjî from other Kurdish-Kurmanji musical/narrative traditions such as çîrokbêjî and stranbêjî, one needs to explore the historical-cultural context in which these genres have emerged and co-existed.

There has not been much ethnographic research about dengbêjî. People who wrote on Kurdish music, mainly concentrated on the musical aspects and melodies of Kurdish music. Therefore, they focused primarily on the stran rather than the kilam. Furthermore, as we will see in the next pages of this study, on popular accounts kilam and stran are confused, and their names are used interchangeably. However, the Kurdish-Kurmanji narrative-musical genres consists of three main styles: dengbêjî, stranbêjî, and çîrokbêjî.

¹²⁵ Sheikh Mehmûdê Berzencî (1878-1956), the Kurdish tribal leader who led a riot against British troops in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1918.

¹²⁶ The map is designed by the author on a map taken from: <https://www.google.com/maps/@38.3233467,41.4038505,7.14z>

One of the reasons behind the confusion regarding Kurdish musical and narrative genres is that some dengbêjs are also stranbêj or çîrokbêj. Moreover, the absence of a consensus on the structural and thematic boundaries between these traditions makes it difficult to reach absolute definitions.

Bearing this confusion in mind, it may be useful to offer a short description of each tradition and genre to distinguish them from each other, and then to focus on dengbêjî in detail.

3.3.1 Stranbêjî

Stranbêjî is principally distinguished by its melodic structure, in which the melody is more dominant than in dengbêjî. It predominantly consists of short songs where lyrics may be about any topic in life. Stran is cognate to the verb *strîn*, meaning singing. To define the character of strans, Blum and Hassanpour give a specific definition of stran, where they put goranî and stran in the same category, stating that:

“Stran is more common almost everywhere in Kurdistan. [...] songs called goranî or stran are potentially more popular than other vocal genres, since they are short, non-narrative, and easier to learn”.¹²⁷

Since stran is common among all Kurds the researchers who studied Kurdish music mostly focused on stran. Stran is essentially a musical form where lyrics are considered only to be complementary. Vartabed Komitas (1869-1935), known as the founder of Armenian classical music, also focused on strans while exploring Kurdish music, and tried to categorize their musical forms. In later years, many other researchers studying Kurdish music naturally tended to primarily study strans.¹²⁸

Kurdish strans have an intense musical structure, which is why hundreds or maybe thousands of Kurdish strans were *converted*¹²⁹ into Turkish and adapted to be included in the TRT (Turkish Radio-Television) repertoire. TRT had an official monopoly on radio and TV

¹²⁷ Blum, Stephen & Hassanpour, Amir, “*The Morning of Freedom Rose Up: Kurdish Popular Song and the Exigencies of Cultural Services*”, *Popular Music*, Volume 15, Issue 3, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p. 328.

¹²⁸ Contemporary researchers continue to collect strans. For a contemporary collection see “*Collection: Lamentations de femmes kurdes déplacées: les chemins de l'identité kurde en Turquie aujourd'hui [ex. audio pour D.E.A.]*”, http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_2006_008/ accessed on 3rd February 2017.

¹²⁹ They have used the music but have adopted totally different lyrics in Turkish. Therefore, the music of strans have been stolen, and the lyrics are Turkified.

broadcasting in Turkey until 1990. The issue of introducing Kurdish stran as "Turkish Folk Music" was a complicated process that included some singers of Kurdish origin who served the Turkish government.¹³⁰ These singers were followed by some other popular ones¹³¹ in the 1990s and 2000s. Ethnomusicologist Christina Hough comments on the interactions between Turkish and Kurdish songs, calling attention to how some of these strans have been reconstructed to find a place within the state archives:

“[...] the Kurdish language was officially declared to be no more than a bastardized Persian dialect picked up by ‘Turks’ on the border who ‘had forgotten their authentic ‘Turkishness.’ Likewise, music from Eastern Turkey/Western Kurdistan became reconstituted as ‘Turkish’ in the state archive and in the repertoires of popular singers who had to obscure their Kurdish origins to build their careers.”¹³²

Traditionally, a stranbêj could be a man or a woman, depending on the environment. Especially at weddings, women could sing strans as a choir and this was not unusual among Kurds. After all, men and women were dancing together, accompanied by strans, as there was no segregation of the sexes in Kurdish dance practices.

Stranbêjî and dengbêjî are therefore different in both musical format and in terms of audience. Stran mainly consists of lyrics centering upon love, happiness, separation, death, nature and they have no limitation as to subject matter. Everything related to people and nature can be the subject of strans. Even animals can play leading roles. Also, everyone can be in the audience of strans; men, women, elderly people, and children can listen to a stran with the same interest. In contrast, the audience of kilam substantially consists of adults. Since the narratives are too intensive and the melody is not at the center of this art, it is usually considered boring among children and teenagers.

3.3.2 Çîrokbêjî

On the other hand, in Kurdish rural settlements with heavy winters, çîrokbêjî emerged as an activity appropriate for winter nights. The Kurdish verbal root *çîr* has associations of lying and of the surreal. *Çîrok* refers the tales which contains lies and surrealistic entities as well. *Çîrok* means tale and all stories including fables can find a place within this category.

¹³⁰ Such as Celal Güzelses (1899-1959), Nuri Sesigüzel (1937-...), Recep Kaymak (1942-...).

¹³¹ Such as İbrahim Tatlıses (1952-...).

¹³² Hough, Christina, “Obscured Hybridity: The Kurdishness of Turkish Folk Music”, Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology, Vol. 15 (Fall 2010).

Until the 1980s, when television was not common in Kurdistan, especially in the villages, *şevbuhurk* was a familiar practice. *Şev* means night in Kurdish, and *buhurk* means passing. Therefore, *şevbuhurk* means passing the night (with tales). In the Kurdish villages in which the extended family is the norm, usually one of the elderly family members was the storyteller or *çîrokbêj* of the family. However, there were also people called *çîrokbêj* who were known in their own regional circles. These people who wandered between villages, telling tales in return for small presents, were typically male.

The potential audience of a *çîrokbêj* was quite varied. Especially *çîroks* about love and heroism captured the attention of people of all ages. However, children's tales were usually told by the storyteller of the household who, for example, could be the grandmother.

3.3.3 Dengbêjî

Unlike *çîrok* and *stran*, *kilam* is considered as history by Kurmanj people. As it was stated earlier in this chapter, the sense of history among Kurmanj people is mainly based on orally performed narratives. Since literacy was not common among the population, these narratives comprise and inform a big part of the community's collective memory. Society conveys its history from generation to generation via oral narratives.

Kilam has a consecutive structure. Each event in the narrative explains the next one, continuing along in a sequential order. *Dengbêjs* tell the events as they were seen or heard in a certain order with musical improvisation. Literally, *deng* means sound in Kurdish and *bêj* refers to the act of telling. Researchers have usually described *dengbêjî* as a genre in which narrative plays key role.

The texts narrated by *dengbêjs*, the *kilam*, are not only told but also sung. However, since musical instruments are not used in this genre, *dengbêjî* is more dominantly narrative than musical. Music in *dengbêjî* has the function of making the storyteller more fluent and making it easier to remember the words. Therefore, music stands in the background. When a foreigner listens to a *dengbêj*, their first question would be 'what does it tell?' Even if the story has a melodic background, it will be primarily perceived as a narrative by audience.

Certainly, *kilam* has a melody and rhythm. Nonetheless, each *dengbêj* can change the tone or duration –even the rhythm- of the *kilam* according to his preferences as what matters is the content, the narration. For the audience, the musical aspect, and even the vocal quality of a *dengbêj* is less important than the text, since the important elements are the content, interpretation of the narrative, and the way in which it is rendered.

Music in dengbêjî has the function of facilitating memorization of the words. It is a mnemonic aid as Vansina explains it through African oral traditions.¹³³ Keeping a long and detailed text without rhythm is much harder than memorizing a melodic text. Given that each dengbêj memorizes tens of narratives or even more, the need for a musical component is clear. It would be almost impossible to memorize such quantities of texts in prose form.¹³⁴

Previously in this study, it was argued that dengbêjî is a Kurmanji tradition.¹³⁵ Besides the contents of the kilams the best proof of this argument is the identity of dengbêjs. Significantly, all dengbêjs are Kurmanj. Even as an exception, traditionally, there is not a single dengbêj who is not Kurmanj. The reason for this to be found in the content of dengbêjî and the genre, kilam. If one is not a native Kurmanj and not involved in the culture of Kurmanjs, the narratives will sound meaningless because all kilams are based on the imagination of Kurmanji speaking people. In other words, it is based on the Kurmanji worldview. As it is expressed in the title of this dissertation, based on the Kurmanji culture, dengbêjî is a world created through words. Admittedly it has melody and rhythm, but the essential meaning is embedded in the words. Therefore, the understanding of kilam is dependent on the knowledge of the words and culture from which the words are derived. This is like other “high context cultures” as defined by Hall¹³⁶ who argues that in high-context cultures “meaning and context are inextricably bound up each other”.

A deep understanding of kilams depends on several different components. Firstly, one should state that having Kurmanji as a mother tongue is not sufficient to grasp the dengbêjî narratives entirely. Understanding of local idioms and concepts is crucial. As stated in the earlier pages, kilam is meaningless for children since they cannot grasp the meaning of the words. As they grow up and become familiar with the words and the context in which the words are used, they tend to be more interested in kilam.

Secondly, being familiar with the situation of the event and the local culture where the story takes place is particularly important. An audience who is unfamiliar with daily rituals of

¹³³ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p.46.

¹³⁴ We may remember it from memorizing of Qur’an. Consisting of thousands of *ayat*, it is very hard to memorize Qur’an in prose form. However, since it is written in a rhythmical manner people can easily memorize it in a melodic way.

¹³⁵ Hamelink states that dengbêjî is not the expression of a unified Kurdish culture, but as one possible expression of Kurdishness at particular historical moments. See; Hamelink, Wendelmoet, “*The Sung Home/ Narrative, morality, and the Kurdish nation*”. PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 2014, Introduction, p. 43.

¹³⁶ Hall, Edward T., *Beyond Culture*, Anchor Books, Doubleday, NY, 1976, pp. 36, 79.

rural life, the habits of the pre-modern society, their values, and even their costumes will be at a loss from the very beginning.

Thirdly, the perspective of kilams is completely rural and pastoral. None of the technological tools of recent times can be found in these narratives. Words, idioms, and concepts are all about rural life. In these narratives we can see neither the conservative atmosphere of small towns nor the relatively free and anonymous social milieu of big cities. However, all the details of village life, people, animals, clothing, and cultural codes of bravery/honor etc. can be observed. As we will see in the third chapter, the narratives clearly reflect the lifestyle, culture, and values of Kurmanjî rural life. This is also a contributory factor to the end of tradition; see below under the title of “The Period of Dengbêjî”.

Classification of kilam has so far been an open discussion. People have classified kilams under several subtitles such as kilamên şer, kilamên mêranî, kilamên dilan, kilamên eşîrtî etc. In this study, kilams have been analyzed mainly within three categories, each of which focuses on a subject, i.e., love stories, familial-tribal conflicts, and clashes with government forces.¹³⁷

The first category of kilam is about varieties of love stories which are derived from daily life experiences. People mentioned in the narratives were mainly existing people, who were mostly Kurmanj but sometimes belonged to other groups such as speakers of different languages and dialects or members of other sects or religions. These people have also been described in their specific identities. For example, Elîyê Qoleghasî is described by his rank in the Ottoman army (Turkish: Kolağası, lieutenant commander) and Metran Îsa is identified with his religious status (Metropolitan). On the other hand, Eyşana Elî is identified with her familial root (Eyşan, the daughter of Elî). In these kinds of kilams identifying people as Kurmanj is exceedingly rare. Kilams about love stories consist of approximately thirty-five per cent of all existing kilams.

The second category of kilams, tribal-familial conflicts, includes both tribal-familial roots and Kurmanji identity. Being Kurmanj appears in these kilams as an additional identity, although familial-tribal roots are still dominant in identification. In this category, all people are existing persons. The described events are familiar to members of the community and

¹³⁷ Of course, this is an open discussion, and there are different kind of categorizations as well. For example, Hamelink divides *kilams* of fighting into two categories: Battle songs (about internal battles) and Rebel songs (about clashes with the state). Hamelink, Wendelmoet, “*The Sung Home/ Narrative, morality, and the Kurdish nation*”, PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 2014, Introduction, p. 60. On the other hand, in their anthology, Güneş and Şimşek have categorized dengbêj Şakiro’s kilams as following: 183 kilams of love stories, 35 kilams of revolts, 27 kilams of tribal-familial clashes, 18 kilams of nature, and 3 epics. See; Güneş, Ömer & Şimşek, İbrahim, *Antolojiya Dengbêjan*, Volume, Nubihar Yay., 2018.

known by them. Almost half of the existing kilams are about tribal-familial conflicts. Furthermore, many of the kilams about love stories relate to already existing tribal-familial conflicts, and they usually end in sadness or separation because of those tribal-familial troubles.

The third category is more complicated. As more and detailed examples in the third chapter of this dissertation will be discussed, people may be identified with their familial-tribal origins, as being Kurmanj, or sometimes as being Kurd. This kind of identification sometimes occurs in different kilams but sometimes we can see all these identities in a single kilam. There are no imaginary kilams about fighting with government forces. All people and events represent real historical events, and they are known to the people. Approximately ten per cent of kilams are about clashes with governmental forces. The rest of existing kilams which is consisting of a small per cent of the total corpus are about nature, personal stories, or other different topics.

Except some of the love stories, both dengbêjs and audience did not have doubt about the truth of the events and characters. Thus, they considered the narratives as historical facts. Those who are the subject of kilams are people who have existed; kilams do not include imaginary heroes. For the exact same reason, it is possible to say that dengbêjî is a form of a historical transmission process. This can be shown by investigating the history of people and events that are the subjects of the narratives.

When a dengbêj recounts events or conflicts, he does not have distance and objectivity towards the subject of his narration such as a scholar should have. For example, when the dengbêj narrates some conflict one can understand which side the dengbêj is inclined, although he does not state it in an apparent way. Nonetheless, this point usually does not prevent him from expressing the braveries of the opposite side.

Of course, this is not a strict and fixed rule. There are also made-to-order kilams which place the local *aghas* (local rulers) in the center of the narration and praise them. This kind of kilam has been composed exclusively for a local lord or agha, upon their order. In exchange for gifts, dengbêj constructs his kilam by putting the agha in the center of the narration, and even sometimes changing the reality to favor him. Nevertheless, because collective memory tended to reject them, such kilams are not as common or popular as others.

So, it can be argued that these kinds of kilams are a small portion of Kurdish oral literature when compared with the entire corpus. Generally, the dengbêj sees himself as a person who is responsible for conveying a past event truthfully. Hence, the dengbêj is a person who colors the narration by adding his own words to make the narration interesting. In

fact, such coloring is inevitable. For an audience to be capable of listening to a narration lasting for hours in some cases, the narrator must vitalize it by going beyond a mere transmission of a series of events.

3.4 Performance of Kilam

It is necessary to approach dengbêjî not only as a way of narrating the past and an oral tradition, but also as a performance in its classic form. While telling his kilam, a dengbêj is conveying history and engaging in a live performance. Thus, the location, atmosphere, and time in which the dengbêj tells his kilam, and his relationship with the audience needs to be examined. Following the definition of Baumann, we can say that dengbêjî performance is a communicative behavior and an event which is presented in a particular way for the audience.¹³⁸

It should be stressed that the performance of a dengbêj is not a part of daily life -whilst, on the other hand, daily life is also full of performances-¹³⁹ and his performances are marked as special occasions. Especially in the traditional form of dengbêjî, which was mainly held in villages, the very arrival of a dengbêj in a village was a special event. Each performance was a singular activity for the audience because it was unique and unrepeatable. Each performance was unlike the previous one. So, each audience was trying to grasp the whole narrative from the dengbêj, to become familiar with it. Grasping the narrative was also the way of becoming a dengbêj, especially around Amed, Ruha and Mêrdîn where a master-apprentice practice was not common in the tradition.¹⁴⁰ Then, when tape-recorders became available in the early 1970s, audiences began to recording performances on cassettes. They did so to be able to listen to the kilams in the absence of the dengbêj, and to share with their friends and relatives.

¹³⁸ Performance is [a mode of communicative behavior and a type of communicative event] [...] [performance usually suggests an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication, framed in a special way and put on display for an audience.] See; Baumann, Richard, "Folklore; Performance." In: *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments / A Communication-centered Handbook*, Edited by Richard Baumann, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p. 41.

¹³⁹ "The term of 'performance' refers to all the activities of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" Goffman, Erving, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Doubleday, New York, 1959, p. 32.

¹⁴⁰ See, the maps of "The Locations of Dengbêjî" on previous pages this chapter.

Traditional performances were usually held in various places. For example, in some localities it was performed in the *diwankhane*, but it could be held in an ordinary place too. For example, in a house or a garden, but it was still a special event for audiences. They were concentrating on the performance in silence and occasionally commented on the narrative with short remarks to express their feelings.

The relationship between the dengbêj and his audience is a key aspect of such performances. The dengbêj, while telling his kilam, engages in a live performance, and this is a kind of “[...] life blood for most of the poetic traditions” as Kreyenbroek states.¹⁴¹

In such performances, carried out with words, gestures, intonations, and body language, the dengbêj’s connection with the audience is crucial to sustain the interest of the public. It is necessary to emphasize that the dengbêj is an open space artist. Therefore, the dengbêj recordings done in studios and live recordings of dengbêjs can never be the same. As opposed to a sterile studio environment in which the sound quality is high, a dengbêj who is together with his audience in an interactive atmosphere is much more creative and concentrated on the performance. In such a performance, the sound is by no means as high-quality as it is in a studio, but it is more vivid and natural. Moreover, dengbêj can best be understood based on such rich and effortless performances. For a dengbêj to perform his art, all he needs is a natural atmosphere and the presence of audience. This is also the reason why dengbêj did not disappear but continued to exist during the long period of prohibition of the Kurdish language implemented by the Turkish government in the 20th century. If it required a group of musicians, a studio, or a license, most probably dengbêj would not have been able to survive.

In a typical performance, the dengbêj is regarded as an ordinary member of the community. Though the indoor setting is full of people who are prepared to listen to him, a strict divide between performer and audience is not felt. After the completion of daily activities such as conversations, and sometimes eating and drinking, a kilam is requested from the dengbêj. The dengbêj usually does not start to perform his kilam unless he is asked. When the audience is ready, the dengbêj starts his performance sometimes immediately, and sometimes after one or two *hawîn*.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Kreyenbroek, Philip G; *Folk Poetry* <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/folk-poetry> (Accessed 13th March 2018).

¹⁴² *Hahîn* or *Hawîn* is a kind of shout done by the dengbêj for intonating his voice.

As stated in the literature review, audiences of dengbêjs in traditional performances were predominantly male. Women mostly used to listen to the performance from a reserved place.¹⁴³ They were not allowed to join the civat (audience).

A dengbêj performance in old times generally took place in houses or guest rooms in the Kurmanj settlements. This also means that a dengbêj performed his kilam in front of a group of people gathered in a house in a village or small town. These predominantly male audiences consisted of people who knew each other, since they were mostly relatives. As Vansina shows in the case of many African oral traditions,¹⁴⁴ the audience did not watch the dengbêj's performance passively. It was in a semi-active position because of its reactions, gestures, and interference in the narration. In fact, sometimes the dengbêj stopped the narration and asked questions of a member of the audience, to revive the narration. As the dengbêj motivates the civat with his kilam, the civat also inspires the dengbêj.¹⁴⁵

Nonetheless, this kind of performance changed over time. While live performances were still being held in rural areas, radio broadcasts had started on Radio Yerevan to broadcast in Kurmanji in Armenia (1955). Except these early recordings of dengbêjs on Radio Yerevan, dengbêjs were not recorded in studios until the second half of the 1970s. For dengbêjs, who mostly lived within the borders of Turkey, there were not many options other than performing their kilams in the traditional way.¹⁴⁶ After that, some dengbêjs made recordings through opportunities provided by local amateur voice-recorders, starting in the late 1970s. Nevertheless, such recordings are few and did not have the same impact on the society because following the practice of Radio Yerevan, they shortened their kilams and performed them with instrumental accompaniment to *modernize* them. Traditionally, a kilam is performed without musical instruments. A dengbêj is an artist of voice, not the instrument.

¹⁴³ Today this situation has changed, and especially in the cities the performances which are based on some cultural centers have been reshaped to be more artistic-performative and, to be open to all individuals. However, this is a different case, and this changed version of dengbêj has been analyzed under the title of "The Period of Dengbêj" in this chapter.

¹⁴⁴ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, pp. 34,35,36.

¹⁴⁵ In her dissertation, Çelik shows the differences of "new dengbêj" which appeared in the early 2000s, in the context of performance, performer, audience, and space from its traditional form. See; Çelik, Duygu; *Dengbêjlik Geleneği ve Kürt Tiyatrosuna Etkisi*, PhD Dissertation (In Turkish), Istanbul Technical University, Social Sciences Institute, 2017, pp.7-89.

¹⁴⁶ It has been seen that most of these recordings transmitted on digital media and some of which can be reached over www.youtube.com have been restored through methods like filtering etc. with the purpose of increasing the sound quality and enabling better understanding. However, many of them have also been degenerated by being *remixed*.

Luckily, the main parts of kilams have been recorded in an amateur way onto cassettes in private houses without commercial purpose.¹⁴⁷ These amateur recordings are quite significant in terms of reflecting the genre, though they are not particularly good in terms of sound quality. In such cases, the recording is copied from one cassette to another, and the sound quality is low. Therefore, it is not easy to fully understand the recordings.

These recordings differ greatly from the studio ones: firstly, the dengbêjî is recorded in its natural form by the audience. Secondly, the connection between dengbêj and audience can be understood clearly from these productions. Thirdly, these are the only audible sources of some of the chief dengbêjs of the past.¹⁴⁸

These recordings are not done by an arranged outsider, for example, an entertainer or researcher which could change the mood of the whole performance.¹⁴⁹ They are done during live performances, in their natural surroundings, by members of the community for their own purpose: Only to listen to them in the absence of the dengbêj. In homemade recordings, before the dengbêj began his performance, the cassette owners were preparing their tapes, and begin recording after a hand signal was given by the dengbêj. The following process was entirely determined by the dengbêj. If he wanted to take a break, he gave another hand signal; the tapes were paused, and a break was taken. At the end of the performance, members of the audience put a small amount of money, as a present under the cushion where the dengbêj sat. In the earlier periods, especially in villages where money was not commonly used, dengbêjs were given gifts such as living animals or grain in lieu of money. In such cases the dengbêj surely expected some reward, but giving a present or not was completely at the discretion of the audience. In other words, there was no compulsory payment in the sense we understand it today.

With his narratives, the dengbêj created a historical bridge for the audiences to experience their past. When the dengbêj starts to perform his art, time stops: the dengbêj, transports his audiences out of their daily lives and sends them to another place and time. This type of influence resembles an *itihâsa*¹⁵⁰ which Guha defines as “amazement narrative”.

¹⁴⁷ However, in the late 1970s, in some Kurdish city centers, based on the people’s demand for these tape-cassettes, they gained a kind of unregistered local commerciality. Thus, it was possible to buy some of them on the stands in the old part of the cities. This trade did not add some revenue to dengbêjs because the cassette-sellers would simply copy and sell the existing recordings.

¹⁴⁸ For example, the foremost Kurdish dengbêj Reso has left only some home-made recordings during his whole life.

¹⁴⁹ Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p.147.

¹⁵⁰ *Itihâsa* means history in Hindi, and mainly consists of epic narratives. The famous epics of India, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata are also *Itihâsa*. Kurmanj people also consider kilam as history, not a tale or art.

The narratives talk about certain events to the audience. It is common for them to request the same narrative from the dengbêj repeatedly. No performance is a repetition of the previous one because it is a new performance, namely, a new narrative. This situation looks like the performance of *Itihâsa* as Guja describes:

“It is in this sense that itihâsa is a narrative of wonder. It is not tied to any particular experience and exhausted, therefore, by retelling [...] the once-told and once-heard is never the same when repeated next time. The once-again is separated from each previous instance by an irreducible hiatus, which would continue to generate variations, and with them wonder, at every retelling.”¹⁵¹

This situation is related to the perception of the society, which is especially important for understanding the impact of the narratives. So, any time the civat listen to a dengbêj, they do not perceive the kilam as the repetition of the previous performance. Therefore, a retelling is an entirely new creation by the dengbêj, allowing the society to re-imagine a familiar subject.

These performances were also the way in which cultural memory was created. Even though the audiences knew the narrative, each performance strengthened their memory. The core of the narrative, the heroes, places etc., found a permanent place in the collective memory. It was sharpened, polished, and reshaped, but always evolved around a core narrative.

In later periods, especially in the 1970s, due to the proliferation of portable radios, tape-recorders, and the increasing opportunities of transportation, the role of the dengbêjs began to evolve. Yet, they were still very special figures, mainly because not everyone could become a dengbêj and they were not always there.

However, new developments and propagation of recording techniques reduced the public's dependence on live performances by the dengbêjs. Finally, along with the proliferation of television in the early 1980s, dengbêjî began to go into decline.¹⁵²

If you ask ordinary Kurmanjs, for example, what is mentioned in the *Kilama Ferzende Beg*, their answer will more likely be ‘it is history’ because it is considered as history by people. In this case, collective memory means history, and people unconsciously distinguish it from individual memory.

¹⁵¹ Guha, Ranajit; *History at the Limit of World-History*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, pp. 67-68.

¹⁵² For a detailed analysis of this period, see; “The Period of Dengbêjî” in the next pages of this chapter.

3.5 The Period of Dengbêjî

To proclaim a timeframe for an oral tradition is not easy. In fact, “[...] the only place and date that can be given about a tradition is that of the recording of a performance.”¹⁵³

Nonetheless, it is worth discussing the period of dengbêjî in the traditional form that we know.

To draw a timeframe for the dengbêjî one must pass over the recordings and address the collective memory to find some clues about the possible beginning of the dengbêjî tradition.

The period of dengbêjî has not become a serious topic of discussion. There is no detailed study that focuses on this topic and attempts to determine the beginning and possible ending of the period. In her detailed dissertation, Hamelink emphasizes that the majority of kilams she studied are situated in the late 19th and early 20th Century. As the reason of this accumulation, she addresses socio-political events of that period such as the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, World War I, and the foundation of the Turkish Republic.¹⁵⁴ However, one may legitimately question why the majority of kilams came into being during this period but not at any other time.

In general, almost all research into dengbêjî has approached it as a *timeless* issue. In this perception, dengbêjî is accepted - de facto - as an eternal phenomenon that has undergone almost no change in history.¹⁵⁵ However, as is the case with most other oral traditions of the world, it is reasonable to expect that dengbêjî also experienced stages of evolution.

This part of the chapter will discuss and compare dengbêjî with two neighboring traditions from Iran and Anatolia to suggest a possible timeframe for the tradition. However, before discussing it, I raise some questions regarding the approach which considers dengbêjî is timeless:

¹⁵³ Vansina, J.; *Oral Tradition as History*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, p. 26.

¹⁵⁴ Hamelink, Wendelmoet, “*The Sung Home/ Narrative, morality, and the Kurdish nation*”, PhD dissertation, University of Leiden, 2014, Introduction, p. 61.

¹⁵⁵ Despite being arguable, a notable exception in this case is done by Remezan Alan who discusses the role of dengbêjs among Kurds before the Islamic era and argues that dengbêjs then had other abilities such as being magicians or soothsayers in earlier times. However, they lost their positions after social structure changed, and they became only poets. See, Alan, Remezan; *Bendname*, Weşanên Awesta, Istanbul, 2009, pp. 267-277.

Above all, if one accepts the dengbêjî as an eternal tradition then one must also answer why the dengbêj Evdalê Zeynikê¹⁵⁶ is the oldest known dengbêj. In the collective memory of the Kurmanj people there is not a single dengbêj before Evdalê Zeynikê. Moreover, the oldest known kilams are about the facts of late 19th Century. If dengbêjî and kilams are eternal phenomena,¹⁵⁷ why do not we know any earlier dengbêjs or kilams? So, one may argue that the tradition did not exist in the form that we know, or it was not widely known. Or one may argue that oral traditions are memorized for no longer than 80-100 years.¹⁵⁸ Another possibility exists: perhaps it declined for some generations and was revitalized at the end of the 19th Century. Furthermore, one might also argue that Evdalê Zeynikê was the founder of this tradition. The question certainly needs further research. Nonetheless, it looks reasonable to argue that the accumulation of kilam material in the second half of 19th century is not a coincidence. It may indicate a possible beginning of the tradition. Nonetheless, since an exact date for the beginning is not known, this study focuses on the tradition after the 1880s, when the cumulative production of kilams started.

In this sense, although it is not possible to make absolute claims regarding the beginning of the period one may put the ending of dengbêjî in its original form (as reflected by traditional recordings of performance) in the 1980s and, test these hypotheses by comparing these data with those of other oral genres in neighboring regions such as Anatolia and Iran.

After the military coup of 1980 in Turkey, three main reasons led to the decline of dengbêjî: first, following the military coup, all political activities were banned in Turkey, but in the Kurdish territories, not only political activities, but all expressions of Kurdish identity were banned. Dengbêjs and qesidebêjs were not particularly oppressed because they were not considered as political and therefore dangerous by the Turkish authorities. On the other hand, a fundamental change was that dengbêjs were no longer supported by the society. Thus, they were left with economic and social problems.

Secondly, technological developments changed the interests of society. Young generations were influenced by pop culture, specifically by arabesque music. The Kurdish

¹⁵⁶ Evdalê Zeynikê is the oldest notable dengbêj who is known by the Kurdish-Kurmanj society. He was born in the beginning of the 19th Century in *Cemalwerdî*, a village of Agirî-Dutax (Turk: Ağrı-Tutak) and, died around 1913.

¹⁵⁷ Ahmed Aras (Kurdish writer, researcher, born in 1944 in Erzirom-Qereyazî. Turk: Erzurum-Karayazı) also shares this idea and claim that dengbêjî existed with the existence of Kurdish people. See; interview with Ahmed Aras, *Dünya TV, Rû Bi Rû*, by Nevzat Keskin, 6th December 2013.

¹⁵⁸ However, Vansina shows through the accounts of the *Time of Darkness* which refers to a volcanic eruption in the New Guinea Highlands that collective memory may reach 300-400 years back in history. See; Vansina, J., *Oral Tradition as History*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1985, pp. 188-189.

villages acquired electricity and television in the mid-1980s. Therefore, villagers were inclined to spend their time watching TV programs rather than having to wait for a dengbêj to arrive. As a result, by the end of 1980s, dengbêjs could not find an audience as easily as before even in the villages. Furthermore, in the early 1990s, the Turkish military evacuated thousands of Kurdish settlements in the rural areas and displaced millions of villagers with their “anti-terror policy”. Thus, dengbêjî lost its natural environment in certain areas, which contributed to its decline.

Thirdly, in the 1980s the social structure of Kurdish society started to change. Urbanization accelerated and people who moved to the cities faced economic problems. People no longer had time to become a civat for dengbêjs as they used to do in the villages. As a result, dengbêjs could not readily find audiences like they had in the past.¹⁵⁹ This had two impacts; decreasing motivation and economic problems. Previously, having a civat, provided dengbêjs with both motivation and economic opportunities. Thus, in the 1980s¹⁶⁰ most dengbêjs abandoned their art and started to work at other jobs because they had to have income to make a living. Dengbêj Huseynê Farî is a perfect example of this situation. He was a notable dengbêj in his own circle during 1970s. Then, he went to Istanbul to make studio recordings and thereby becoming famous in a broader circle. However, it did not work. New Turkish trends in the 1980s called for popular singers to perform Turkish arabesque songs not an archaic dengbêj. Huseynê Farî left the country and moved to Germany as a worker. However, he came back, probably because he did not find what he had hoped for there. Finally, at the end of his life, in the early 1990s, he distributed his own cassettes to his audiences to make income to survive.

Most of the dengbêjs from this generation, who were the last generation to represent dengbêjî in its traditional form, left their art and undertook other jobs to survive. However, after the year 2000, when dengbêjî regained its popularity and the local Kurdish authorities began to support existing cultural centers and the opening of new centers for dengbêjs, such as *Mala Dengbêjan*, some of the surviving elderly dengbêjs started to perform in these art centers.

¹⁵⁹ We may remember that [...] in many cases the natural milieu of such performances was the traditional life of small communities. See; Kreyenbroek, Philip G., Folk Poetry, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/folk-poetry, accessed 13th March 2018.

¹⁶⁰ On 12th September 1980, a military coup occurred in Turkey. The constitutional rights were suspended, thousands of people were killed and tens of thousands were arrested. Then, another Constitution was accepted under the dominating rules of the military junta. Despite having some changes in the following decades this Constitution is still ruling the country.

However, if one were to ask the dengbêjs who are currently performing their art in such venues, why they disappeared during 1980s and 1990s, they would reply that it was due to political oppression. In fact, as far as one can tell, political oppression had less impact than the economic changes, urbanization and technological developments did, but for them it is easier to explain the situation in this way. It can be argued that admitting that they left the art because of economic problems might look *cheap*, while explaining it with political oppression offers an acceptable justification. Of course, during the supreme oppression of the 1990s, some dengbêjs, like thousands of other Kurdish people, faced persecution, but it was usually related to their political activities, not their art.

In fact, the political oppression of Kurdish people was not less in the 1960s and 1970s, but dengbêjî was going on regardless. Nobody left their art because the time was still favorable to the tradition. Contrary to common belief, people were much more afraid to talk about Kurdish issue in the 1960s and 1970s than in the 1980s and 1990s. Ahmed Aras describes what he had witnessed during his research in the villages of Xinûs, Qereyazî, Agirî and Mûş in the 1960s:

“Dengbêjs were telling their kilam in public but when I tried to write down what they said, they refused to let me. Even more, I went to Cemalverdî village to interview Bedîhê Cemalverdî (age, 92), one of the *şagirts* (disciples) of Evdalê Zeynikê and told him that I was doing research about Evdalê Zeynikê, he even denied that he knew Evdalê Zeynikê! I had the same experience while meeting Siloyê Gulê in the village of Dignûg when I wanted to write down his memories of Evdalê Zeynikê. Siloyê Gulê knew Evdalê Zeynikê very well. Both persistently refused to talk to me about him.”¹⁶¹

Nonetheless, despite people being afraid of the government, the tradition was going on in the traditional society in 1960s and 1970s. Namely, people were practicing it in daily life but afraid of write or read about it. However, this changed in the 1980s as it was stated above.

Essentially, beyond the three reasons which are summarized above, like other similar oral traditions, dengbêjî in its traditional form had reached the logical end of its life cycle by the 1980s. Assuming that there had been no political oppression on the Kurdish people, social and technological changes would have brought an end to the age of traditional dengbêjî and forced it to disappear or maybe reappear in a new format.

This process is observed in the Anatolian *Ashik* and Iranian *Naqqāli* traditions as well. A comparison among these traditions will give a deeper insight.

¹⁶¹ See; interview with Ahmed Aras, Dünya TV, *Rû Bi Rû*, by Nevzat Keskin, 6th December 2013.

The ashiks of Anatolia¹⁶² are like the Troubadours (old Occitan lyric poets) of the 12-14th centuries in Europe. During the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries many famous ashiks, such as Pir Sultan Abdal, K ro lu, Karacao lan, and Gevheri lived and performed their arts. Dadalo lu was one of the last foremost ashiks who lived in the 19th Century. After his time, a decline is observed in this tradition. K pr l  argues that the traditional form of this art disappeared in the late 19th Century.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the tradition was still alive in the 20th Century as we know that the last famous traditional ashik, Veysel  atiro lu, died in 1973.

In the first half of the 20th Century the decline of this tradition went deeper. The newly built Turkish Republic was interested in western arts rather than local Turkish arts.¹⁶⁴ This caused the decline to go faster. In the second half of the century, especially during the 1970s, the tradition was reshaped to function within the political atmosphere. Almost all, especially the left wing, political groups had their own ashik/s that performed to pursue their political aims. This form of ashik poetry served as a kind of survival attitude before the end of the era. After this last generation, production of new poems and songs (*t rk *) ended. Since the late 1970s, there have been no new notable productions from ashiks. All that occurred is the repetition of the old productions.

Particularly, in the 1980s, the ashik tradition was still alive around Kars-Ardahan, and it had been a topic of TV programs and studies. Erdener spent a year in the field, and recorded ashik performances mainly at Kars  obano lu A ıklar Kahvehanesi.¹⁶⁵ However, despite festivals held by local authorities and the support of the Turkish government, the tradition diminished in this last local stronghold.

Another oral tradition that can be compared with dengb j  is *naqq li* which is an old oral tradition in Iran and is also the source of the stories in *Sh hn meh*.¹⁶⁶ Before being written down by Iranian poet Ab l-Q sem-e Ferdowsi (935 CE- 1020 CE), the stories of *Sh hn meh* were performed orally. This tradition was called *naqq li*, and the performers of this genre

¹⁶² There were also ashiks in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, and Iran but only the Anatolian ashik tradition is analyzed in this study.

¹⁶³ K pr l , Fuat; *Edebiyat Ara tırmaları I*,  t ken Ne riyat, Ankara, 1989, p. 57.

¹⁶⁴ The foremost Ashik of 20th Century Ashik Veysel ( atiro lu) had been faced many difficulties to go to Ankara, and to wander in the city since he was a peasant, and a kind of unwanted person in the capital city because of his traditional clothes. Even, after his poem for Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the new republic was published on the newspapers, he was not admitted to the presence of Mustafa Kemal. See; <https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/tr-12798/asik-veysel-satiroglu-18941973.html> (Accessed on 28th February 2021)

¹⁶⁵ Erdener, Yıldıray; *The Song Contests of Turkish Minstrels: Improvised Poetry Sung to Traditional Music* (Millman Parry Studies in Oral Tradition), Garland Publishing, 1995.

¹⁶⁶ *Sh hn meh* (The Book of Kings) was written by Ferdowsi in a poetic-couplet form between 977 and 1010 and, it consists of epic stories from creation of the world until the Islamic period of Persia in the 7th Century.

were known as *naqqāl* since the 16th century. The word *naqqāli* comes from the Arabic root *nql* (نقل) meaning to convey. So, a *naqqāl* is the conveyor of old stories.

The narratives of *naqqāls* were not limited to the stories of *Shāhnāme*. Although the majority of the *naqqāli* repertoire corresponded to the narratives of the *Shāhnāme*, there were some religious stories as well. For several centuries these stories were circulated orally. Even after being written down, the old epic Iranian stories were circulated among people via *naqqāls*. However, after the 1950s, due to changing social structure in Iran and following technological developments, the decline of *naqqāli* started. In the politicized years of 1970s, *naqqāli* became an archaic tradition in the eyes of many people, eventually becoming disregarded entirely. After the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the fact that *naqqāli* was felt to glorify the pre-Islamic era caused the Islamic regime to ban the practice. However, after a few years it was considered as a part of Iranian culture and legalized again. Nonetheless, it never won back its earlier popularity. Today, *naqqāli* is performed only in certain art centres and tourist areas. If one travels to, for example, the Azeri Tea House or the Ferdowsi Cultural Centre in Tehran they can watch *naqqāli* performances. However, it is not popular among local people. Unfortunately, many young Iranians haven't even heard of it.

As we see from the examples of the *ashik* and *naqqāli* traditions in Anatolia and Iran, these traditions emerged as a part of rural life and originated in the oral culture of that life. Then, due to urbanization, changing social and economic conditions, along with technological developments, they lost their popularity.

In *dengbêjî*, as was mentioned in the previous pages, it is exceedingly difficult to date the beginning of the period, but the end of the era is more obvious. I would argue that it already ended in the late 20th century, particularly in the early 1980s. In the early 2000s, as we saw earlier in Literature Review, *dengbêjî* gained popularity but it is not the same tradition as before because it has transformed to a new format. The new form of *dengbêjî* stands out with two points: first, the content is simply repetition of old narratives. Although the narratives are still oral, and not read from a text, there are no successful, newly created kilams. Second, the performance, from acting to clothing, is more significant than the content of the narratives. *Dengbêjs* are not only performing their kilams, but also becoming a focal point of the performance by themselves by wearing traditional clothes and displaying artistic attitudes. Thus, it can be argued that after the year 2000 it has become a kind of performance art. However, since this dissertation particularly focuses on the kilam and the content of the narratives, which is directly connected to the traditional form of *dengbêjî*, the new format of *dengbêjî* which dates after 2000 lies beyond the scope of this study.

The next chapter will analyze this memory based on specific narratives about the fighters in the Agirî resistance which occurred in 1926-1930. The narratives regarding this resistance will be examined, and then, compared with written sources.

4 CHAPTER III: The Agirî Resistance

4.1 The Agirî Resistance as a Case Study

While looking at history we tend to understand and describe the past from our perception of today. In the Kurdish case, it can be argued that existing written sources also support this view. In this sense, we may assess alternative ways such as oral traditions and oral history to gain a more realistic insight in certain cases. Clearly, a society which doesn't have a strong written history - but preserves its past through collective memory - requires a study of its oral traditions. This section of the dissertation will attempt to analyze the near past of Kurmanj people in the Serhed region via kilams.

The chapter will analyze the society's collective memory regarding the Agirî¹⁶⁷ Resistance through specific kilams that are compared with the evidence of written accounts. The main goal of the chapter is to analyze how the Kurmanj people have remembered the resistance and the fighters through kilams, and how this collective memory differs from the versions of the Turkish and Kurdish written sources.

To achieve this, it is crucial to find out how this memory describes the resistance and its fighters, since these have been described as "banditry" and "bandits" by the Turkish establishment, and as a "national revolt" and "national heroes" by the Kurdish side.

Correspondingly, three kilams concerning known fighters in the Agirî resistance will be analyzed to understand the difference between the working of collective memory, as opposed to those found in written accounts.

To compare with kilams, the Turkish official accounts -which are the published military reports of the Turkish General Staff regarding the Agirî resistance - will first be reviewed. Then, for the Kurdish accounts, two main sources, the book of Garo Sasuni which was written during the period of the resistance, and the memoirs of Ihsan Nuri, who was a firsthand witness of the resistance, will be analyzed. As will be shown below, these two books, especially that of Sasuni, have been the source of most of the written Kurdish accounts.

The semi-official Turkish newspaper of that time, *Cumhuriyet*, is another source relevant for both Turkish and Kurdish written accounts, which are informed by their nationalist

¹⁶⁷ I should note that all Turkish official accounts use the word "Ağrı" to describe the resistance but its original name in Kurdish is Agirî. To be consistent in the names, the Kurdish version, namely, the Agirî, is used in the entire of this dissertation. In some cases, its Armenian name, Ararat, is also used. It is written as Ağrı only when it is cited from the Turkish official accounts.

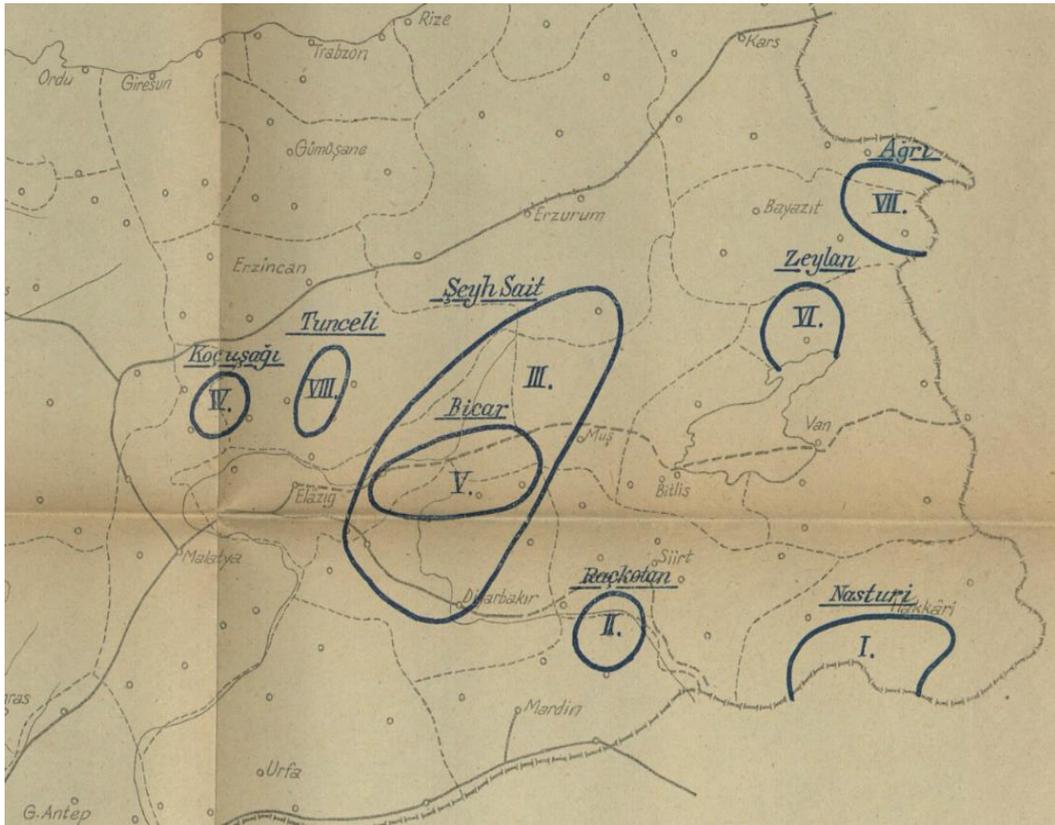
approaches. All issues of this newspaper that report on the resistance are examined as secondary sources in this study.¹⁶⁸

Although the words resistance and revolt are used interchangeably, in this study the movement around Agirî has usually been described as resistance. Since all the Kurdish uprisings, even mere objections were considered as *revolts* by the Turkish government and brutally suppressed, in this study the Agirî movement is described as *resistance*. In this sense, the difference between a revolt and resistance can be summarized as follows: a revolt is an uprising against an ongoing process or institution. On the other hand, a resistance is simply an expression of people's objection to new policies, applications, military operations, occupation etc.

Kurdish acts of resistance and rebellions with different shapes and aims occurred during the late Ottoman period starting from the early 19th century, rising, and declining in diverse regions and periods. They continued during the Turkish Republican period.

The first post-Ottoman Kurdish insurgency was held by the Milan tribe around Ruha (Urfa) in 1920, and it was followed by the Qoçgîrî (Koçgiri) rebellion between Sivas and Erzincan in 1921. However, these uprisings were small and local. The biggest one would happen in 1925 and it was named the Sheikh Said (Kurdish; Şêx Seîd) revolt as the religious leader Sheikh Said was in charge. In the time between this revolt and the Dêrsim resistance (1938) several local Kurdish insurgencies and acts of resistance occurred, but they were usually limited to one or two tribes or families, or a few tribes in a small area.

¹⁶⁸ Regarding the military operation in Agirî, I reviewed all issues of the Cumhuriyet Newspaper from May to end of September 1930. As it is analyzed, the newspaper was used as a propaganda machine by the Turkish government to put pressure on foreign governments. For example, although the military operations were going on in the Agirî region since several weeks, the newspaper did not mention them. Instead, during May 1930 we read a lot about the left properties of Greek people who have been exiled in 1922. Since the Turkish and Greek government were having discussion about these properties, the Cumhuriyet Newspaper was publishing news and critics regarding this topic to put pressure on the Greek government, and to agitate the Turkish people. Whenever the Turkish and Greek governments reached an agreement about the properties, the newspaper just closed that page, and did not give news anymore. It was done. Instead, in synonym with the priorities of the government, whenever the Turkish government wanted to put pressure on Iran, the newspaper started to publish news and comments about the Agirî resistance, in July and August 1930. The main parts of the news and comments were about the role of Iran in the revolt. For several days, the headline was full of news regarding the Agirî revolt and the role of Iran in this case. Iran was blamed for backing the rebels. However, whenever Iran accepted to go alongside with the Turkish government, the news regarding the resistance and role of Iran to back up the rebels dramatically dropped. The last news we read is about the Turkish-Iran border revision commission on 14th August. After 15th August, again in synonym with the priorities of the government, the Newspaper is full of news about the Serbest Firka (an opposite Turkish political party of that time). Despite having the ultimate military operation in September, we read the only news on 27th August, on the third page -not on the headline-, which indicates that the Turkish troops are marching up to the hill on the Mount Agirî. Finally, on 15th September, the newspaper informs that the military operation is successfully ended. It is very interesting to see there is almost no news regarding the ongoing operations between 15th August and 15th September 1930 although the last military operation was held between 7th-14th September 1930. All mentioned sources (the numbers of the Cumhuriyet Newspaper regarding the Agirî resistance) will be found in the Appendices of the dissertation on figures numbered as 1-15.



Map 4: Kurdish Riots map designed by the Turkish Military¹⁶⁹

This map published by the Turkish General Staff in 1946 to show the past riots in the East of Turkey after establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The Agirî revolt took place in the far eastern side, just on the border between Turkey and Iran. As we see on this map the Turkish General Staff does not regard the Zîlan (Zeylan) revolt as a part of the Agirî (Agri) Revolt. It is listed separately.

The Agirî resistance took place in different forms and various levels of intensity in the Serhed region, in the east of Turkey, close to the borders with Iran and Armenia, between 1926 and 1930. Some people in the resistance and the clashes which they involved occupies a particular place in the dengbêjî tradition. There are several kilams about the fighters in the Agirî Resistance. Most of them narrate conflicts between the Kurdish members of the resistance and the Turkish army, whilst a few narrate clashes between the Kurdish fighters

¹⁶⁹ Source: Danford, Nick, Georgetown University, via <http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2013/10/rebellious-tribes-of-eastern-anatolia.html> (Accessed on 13th May 2021).

and the Iranian army. There are also a few kilams about infighting and conflict amongst the Kurdish fighters.

The clashes between 1926 and 1930 that happened around Agirî are a remarkable topic, both on account of the Turkish and Kurdish nationalist discourses. These two discourses affect each other since they are based on the same main sources, namely, the military reports of the Turkish General Staff regarding the Agirî revolt, and the books written by Garo Sasuni and Ihsan Nuri Pasha. The supplementary source for both sides was *Cumhuriyet*.

In this chapter, these two opposing narratives will be studied. Then, they will be compared with oral accounts, namely, kilams about the resistance and fighters. In the first section of this chapter, as the main source of the Turkish nationalist discourse, the Turkish official documents regarding the Agirî resistance will be reviewed. This part will be mainly based on the published military reports of the Turkish General Staff.

Then, in the second section, the Kurdish nationalist discourse will be analyzed based on two books which were written by firsthand witnesses of the resistance. They are the memoirs of Ihsan Nuri Pasha, as the known military leader of the resistance; and the book of Garo Sasuni who was in touch with Xoybûn.¹⁷⁰ These two books have inspired many of the later Kurdish written accounts. It can be argued that the Kurdish nationalist discourse about the Agirî resistance is mainly based on stories from these two sources mentioned above.

The third section will analyze three kilams about some of the foremost fighters in the resistance, to understand how they have been remembered by the Kurdish-Kurmanj people, and how this memory differs from the written accounts.

To understand the status, values, and motivation of the Kurmanj tribes fighting against the Russian army during the 1st World War, two more kilams will be analyzed at the end of the chapter. This will contribute to our understanding of their attitude during the resistance in Agîri between 1926-1930.

In this sequence of the study some repetition will be inevitable. Since the same incidents will be reviewed from three different aspects it is possible to find the same events more than once. Therefore, to protect the unity of each section, some repetition is imperative.

Before starting the examination of Turkish and Kurdish accounts we may summarize the resistance in Agirî to become familiar with the topic.

¹⁷⁰ Xoybûn was a small organization built by exiled people in the French controlled Syria. The organization will be examined further in the section titled as “Xoybûn” in the next pages.

4.2 A Summary of the Agirî Resistance

The signs which may be deemed as the beginning of the Agirî Resistance started in May 1926, as clashes between the Kurdish fugitive tribesmen and the military forces of the Turkish government. The official reason given for these clashes was banditry, but the true reason was the exile policy of the government. The Turkish government wanted to displace and exile Kurdish chieftains and their families after defeating the Sheikh Said revolt, which would cause Kurdish families within inner Anatolia to lose all contact with their communities in Kurdistan.¹⁷¹ Therefore, the movement started simply as resistance to being exiled. Most of the people who formed part of the resistance were either exiled or to be exiled. As we will see in this chapter, there was no clear and common aim among the members of the resistance.

In 1926, some people had already escaped to Mount Agirî, having refused to be exiled, therefore, becoming a security threat for the government. There were also people in the region who were wanted by the government in relation to their personal crimes, such as blood feuds etc. The last group of fugitives consisted of the remaining people from the Sheikh Said revolt. These different groups of people started to act together around Mount Agirî, in 1926. However, they were identified as bandits by the Turkish authorities, and the military operations aimed to defeat them.

In fact, some of the rebels who met on Mount Agirî had collaborated with the Turkish government against the rebels during the Sheikh Said revolt in 1925.¹⁷² Nonetheless, they were considered a potential risk by the government, and they were forced to go into exile. On the other hand, many were already fugitives wanted by the government, who were hunted even more energetically because of their involvement in the Sheikh Said revolt.¹⁷³ Those who had remained neutral during the revolt were also exiled.¹⁷⁴

The first attempt of the Turkish military to defeat the rebels failed, causing the Turkish troops to retreat to the district of Bazîd (Turk: Doğu Beyazıt; a town which is close to the

¹⁷¹ After defeating the Sheikh Said revolt in 1925, the Turkish government had decided to exile the Kurdish notables from their homeland to the western part of Turkey. The decision was applied in the beginning of 1926 and included not only the supporters of the revolt but also the bystanders and some of the allies of the Turkish government.

¹⁷² Such as Biro Heskî Têllî who would become one of the foremost names of the Agirî resistance. Further knowledge about him will be given in the next pages of this study.

¹⁷³ Such as Ferzende Beg who had joined the Sheikh Said revolt and wanted by the Turkish government. A kilam about Ferzende Beg will be analyzed in this chapter.

¹⁷⁴ The Sipkan tribe, which Xalis Beg was a member of it, was in a neutral position in the Sheikh Said revolt. A kilam about Xalis Beg will be examined in this chapter.

Agirî mountain) to prepare for a new military operation in May 1926. In the following June the Turkish military started their new operation causing the fighters to escape to Iran. Thus, the operation ended without any major clashes.

Ihsan Nuri Pasha¹⁷⁵ was a Kurdish military captain in the Ottoman and the Turkish army. Since he was suspected of anti-government activities, he left his post in 1924 and escaped. He settled in Iraqi Kurdistan for a while, and then came back to the Serhed region, and joined the escapees on Mount Agirî during the spring of 1927.

In the Autumn of 1927, he was the appointed head commander of the Kurdish Forces in Agirî by the newly established Kurdish political organization named as Xoybûn, in Syria.

The second phase of the Turkish military operation to defeat the resisters in Agirî took place during September 1927. The Turkish troops moved to the Iranian border but were unable to pass to the other side where the resisters escaped. Thus, the Turks put diplomatic pressure on Iran to change the border in favor of themselves. But at the same time, they were preparing an Amnesty Law¹⁷⁶ to weakening the armed groups and to calm down anger among Kurdish tribes on the one hand, and organizing new security services, including spying activities around Mount Agirî on the other.

Xoybûn announced the establishment of the “Agirî Kurdish Republic” in 1928.¹⁷⁷ Soon, it began releasing booklets and bulletins to convince other Kurdish tribal leaders within the borders of Turkey to support the resistance in Agirî.¹⁷⁸

Meanwhile, the Turkish government, which was indirectly in touch with some of the tribal leaders, tried to convince them to put down their arms and surrender to the Turkish army when an Amnesty Law came into being.¹⁷⁹ The government sent unofficial letters to

¹⁷⁵ Ihsan Nuri was a military captain in the Ottoman Army, then the Turkish Army until 1924. Being a member of the Kurdish Cibiran tribe and involving in the organization of the Sheikh Said Revolt, he escaped from the military on 4th September 1924 with some other Kurdish lieutenants Hurşit, Rasim, Tevfik and Ali Rıza before starting the revolt. See; Olson, Robert, *Kurdish Nationalism and Sheikhs' Rebellion*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1989, p.172.

¹⁷⁶ On 7th May 1928, numbered as 1239, a specific Amnesty Law was accepted by the Turkish Parliament. This Amnesty was including the armed Kurdish groups around Agirî, the exiled people, and escapees. The Law had two main aims: To calm down the Kurdish communities who were disappointed because of the previous exile policy, and to convince people to lay down their arms, therefore, weakening the resistance around Agirî.

¹⁷⁷ Strohmeier, Martin, *Crucial images in the presentation of a Kurdish national identity: heroes and patriots, traitors and foes*, Leiden: E.j. Brill, 2003, p. 97.; Houston, Christopher, *Kurdistan: crafting of national selves*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008, p. 52.

¹⁷⁸ However, since Xoybûn was not a strong political entity, their attempts to unify the Kurds failed. The reason of the weakness of Xoybûn will be examined in the next pages of this chapter.

¹⁷⁹ Xoybûn never succeed in this aim. The armed tribesmen never became more than a couple of thousands between 1926-1930, and they were belonging to different groups with different priorities. Thus, if you compare it with the previous Sheikh Said riot, the Agirî resistance was very small and local.

escaped tribal leaders to assure them that they would not be jailed because of the new Amnesty Law. In this way, many people who had been on the mountain surrendered to the government forces.

In September 1929, the Turkish military held an operation around the Tendurek Mountain, before starting the major military operation on Mount Agirî. Following this step, they ordered new troops to move on Agirî Mountain, which was the main military base of the fighters, to crush the resistance.

Before the planned military operation on Mt. Agirî, the Turkish army began another operation near the Zîlan (Zeylan, in Turkish) region in June-July 1930, because just before the military operation on Agirî, the Kurdish fighters who mainly belonged to the Heyderan tribes, attacked, and took control on the town of Bazîd and then, marched through neighboring towns to spread the revolt in the area. The reaction of the Turkish military to this insurgency was harsh. As the bloodiest phase of the operations around Mount Agirî between 1926-1930, the Turkish army and their mercenaries killed thousands of civilians with bombardments and other military operations in the villages of Zîlan.

In a last attempt to support the resistance in Agirî, a few hundreds of Kurdish fighters from Iraqi Kurdistan attacked the town of Oremar (Daglica, in Turkish) in July 1930. However, they were repelled after a few days by the Turkish troops and Kurdish militias who were fighting for the Turks. Thus, the Agirî resistance was isolated and besieged on Mount Agirî in the beginning of August 1930.

The ultimate phase of the Turkish military operation to defeat the Agirî Resistance took place between the 7th and 14th September 1930. The operation took one week and ended with the defeat of the resistance. The Turkish General Staff announced their victory in the last Agirî military operation on 14th September 1930.¹⁸⁰ These military operations will be examined more detailed in the next pages.

To understand the location of the resistance better, sharing a photo from the location to introduce the area in the beginning will be helpful:

¹⁸⁰ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*; Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 542



Map 5: Mount Agirî seen from Space¹⁸¹

This is the view of Mount Agirî from space taken from Google Earth. Approximately, the land on the right-downside of the mountain is in Iran, while the other side, including the western cone, is in Turkey. As it is seen the Mountain consists of two cones which are called “Big Agirî” (on the uppers side of the photo, on this picture white on top because of snow) and “Small Agirî” (on the downside of the photo). Until 1930, Small Agirî belonged to Iran. However, after a border revision between Turkey and Iran, this part passed to Turkey whilst the Kotur area, which had arable land, was given to Iran.¹⁸² This border revision blocked the way for the rebels to pass to Iran whenever they were threatened by the Turkish military.

¹⁸¹ Source: <https://www.google.com/maps/@39.6966091,44.3730556,22237m/data=!3m1!1e3>

¹⁸² 22 Nisan 1926 Türkiye-İran Dostluk ve Güvenlik Antlaşması/15 Haziran 1928 Protokolü, see; Soysal, İsmail, *Tarihçeleri ve Açıklamaları ile Birlikte, Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları* Cilt:1. (1920–1945), Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1983, pp. 276-278.

4.2.1 The Agirî Resistance as Seen Through the Turkish Official Accounts

In this section of the chapter, the events are presented as found in the published military reports of the Turkish General Staff. The way the cases are described reflects the Turkish point of view. The names of people, tribes, and geography are used as they are written on the military reports. These reports are primary sources for Turkish popular and scholarly works. Criticism of, and comments on this approach are mainly relegated to footnotes, but sometimes occur in the text.

The Turkish written accounts typically describe the Agirî resistance as a banditry issue, and sometimes as a semi-political case which was inspired by outsiders. Most of the scholarly works that were written from this perspective in Turkey are based on the official, released documents of the Turkish General Staff. Except for a few political critiques written by members of the left-wing opposition,¹⁸³ almost all Turkish accounts of the Agirî resistance are written from the viewpoint of these official documents, either directly or indirectly.¹⁸⁴ These documents were published as a book in 1969 and re-published in 1992.¹⁸⁵

As was said earlier, according to the official documents of the Turkish side, the clashes and military operations mainly happened because of banditry. Thus, the fighters were essentially depicted as thugs and bandits. The Turkish General Staff did not qualify the movements as a political cause until 1930.¹⁸⁶ In the scenario which the Turkish government promoted, all people were happy to live under the new regime, and no political opposition could convince people to support them.

From this point of view, the Agirî resistance had three main causes: the desire of external forces to ruin the new Turkish Republic; the desire of local Kurdish rulers (Agha, Beg and Sheikh), who were seeking to take back their previous status; and the banditry issues in the region.

¹⁸³ For example: Kıvılcımlı, Hikmet; *İhtiyat Kuvvet: Milliyet (Şark)*, Yol Yay.; İstanbul, 1979; Kalman, M., Belge, *Tamk ve Yaşayanlarıyla Ağrı Direnişi*, Peri Yay., İstanbul, 1997.

¹⁸⁴ For some examples see; Değerli-Sarıkoynucu, Esra; *Ağrı İsyânlarında Yabancı Parmağı 1926-1930*, Dumlupınar Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Sayı 22, Aralık, 2008; Çay, Abdulhaluk; *Her Yönüyle Kürt Dosyası*, Turan Kültür Vakfı, İstanbul, 1996, Hallı, Reşat; *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Ayaklanmalar*, Genelkurmay Basımevi, Ankara, 1972; Aybars, Ergun; *Yakın Tarihimize Anadolu Ayaklanmaları*, Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, İstanbul, 1988; Mumcu, Uğur; *Kürt Dosyası*, UMAG Yay. Ankara, 1998.

¹⁸⁵ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyânları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012.

¹⁸⁶ As we will see on the next pages of this chapter, the Agirî resistance was never considered as directly a political issue even in 1930 by the Turkish General Staff which has inspired the Turkish nationalist discourse. On the other hand, it was totally political and national according to the Kurdish written accounts which are consisting of the Kurdish nationalist discourse.

According to this narrative, starting from 1926 escaped chieftains, bandits, thugs, and fugitives had clashes with the Turkish military forces in different regions for various reasons. After 1927, survivors of the Sheikh Said revolt (1925) joined them. Then, a political organization, like Hoybun,¹⁸⁷ (Xoybûn, in Kurdish) were set up by the Armenians in Lebanon to push ethnic claims, and this organization contacted the rebels. After 1929, the revolt gained a political aspect because of the contribution from outsiders (mainly Armenians and the government of Iran, but also some actors from Western countries such as the UK). Thus, it was essentially not political but had political aspects after 1929.

The military commander of all Turkish military operations around Agirî was Salih Omurtak Pasha¹⁸⁸ who was the commander of the 9th Corps. The civilian who was wholly in charge of the operation was the 1st General Inspector Mahmut Tali.¹⁸⁹ The 1st General Inspector's area included Diyarbakir Urfa, Hakkari, Bitlis, Siirt, Van, Mardin and Elaziz. (In later years the name of Elaziz changed by the Turkish authorities to be Elaziğ.)¹⁹⁰

During the military operations around Agirî, Derviş Pasha¹⁹¹ was ordered to find the escaped fighters. He became famous for his cruelty among the people. He was promoted to General (Ferik) in the army in August 1930, as a reward for his *success* during the military operations.

¹⁸⁷ There is no single study, news outlet, or document of the Turkish side in that period which has written the name of organization correctly. Hoybun, Hoybon, Hobyban are some used names. The correct name is Xoybûn, (mostly written as Khoybun and spelling as Khoiboon) and there is no accepted orthography regarding this name since it does not have a meaning by itself in Kurdish.

¹⁸⁸ Salih Omurtak (1889-1954). He was an army chief at the Ottoman army, and then, the Turkish army. He was promoted as *ferik* (General) during the military operations which he was coordinating as the 9th Corps Commander. He became an *orgeneral* (four-stars general) in 1930 and served until his retirement in 1950.

¹⁸⁹ Dr. İbrahim Tali (Öngören) was born in Istanbul in 1875. He graduated from the medical school of military in 1893 and started to work as a medical doctor at the military hospitals. He joined to Tripoli and Balkan wars, and the First World War. When Mustafa Memal was sent to Anatolia he was with Mustafa Kemal and worked with him during the Turkish national struggle. Tali was the representative of the new Turkish Republic at the General Assembly of Peoples in Baku, 1920. After having some diplomatic post in Varsaw, he became a PM, and appointed as the First (1927-1932) and Second (1935) General Inspector in the Kurdish region. He died in 1952. According to Uğur Mumcu, İbrahim Tali was also the one who prepared the report for Dersim military operation in 1938. See; Mumcu, Uğur; *Kürt Dosyası*, Uğur Mumcu Vakfı Yay. Ankara, 1998 pp. 30,31.

¹⁹⁰ The General Inspectors had almost unlimited authority in their regions. This authority included commanding all officers, like the police and military forces, and rejecting or approving the decisions of the governors. Furthermore, they were responsible only to the prime minister but practically this responsibility consisted of just sending written reports if asked by them. For detailed research about these inspectors, see; Bulut, Çağdaş Engin, *The General Inspectors: Hand of the Government in Provinces*, CTAD, Issue 21, Spring 2015, in Turkish, p. 83-110.

¹⁹¹ Derviş (Ahmet) Pasha was born in Macedonia-Vardar in 1886. He was a colonel before being sent to the Zilan military operation and became a major general during the operation in August 1930. He died in 1932.

These operations were conducted in a very brutal manner, particularly through the actions of some Kurdish and Turkman militias, and they brought dead-silence to the region. The Zeylan military operation was particularly brutal, representing the bloodiest phase of the operations.

The Turkish government was aware of the cruel acts of their military forces and mercenaries during the resistance. However, their actions were never investigated or even seriously criticized. On the official accounts, this part of the Turkish history is a bright victory of the Turkish Military.

Furthermore, a protection law for the war-crimes was accepted by the Turkish Parliament on 20th July 1931 and published on the official newspaper on 29th July 1931. According to this specific law: “The crimes that have been committed around the Ağrı region will be exempt from interrogation and punishment.”¹⁹²

This law not only protected the Turkish military forces but also the militias and civilians who acted on behalf of the government.

In order to achieve further insight concerning the military operations, the following section will focus on them step by step. The given details will be useful to compare with the Kurdish written accounts.

4.2.1.1 Stages of the Turkish Military Operations

According to the documents of the Turkish General Staff, the military operations on the Ağrı (Kurd: Agırî) Mountain happened in three phases, named the First, Second and Third Ağrı Military Operations.

Despite the existence of a degree of continuity among these three phases, the Turkish military reports do not represent them as different parts of the same movement. Thus, instead of the “Ağrı Rebellion”, they speak of the “Ağrı Rebellions” which means a series of revolts around Ağrı Mountain.

Although it was held between the last two phases of the Ağrı military operations, and in the same region, the Tendürük military operation is listed separately. Its official aim was “to secure public order”, and the target was Şeyh Abdulkadir (Sheikh Evdilqadir, in Kurdish) and his tribe, the Saqan.

¹⁹² “İsyân Mıntıkasında İşlenen Ef’alin Suç Sayılmayacağına Dair Kanun”, T.C. Resmî Gazete, Sayı: 1859, 29 Temmuz 1931. The law remarks that the acts done in the region of the revolt by the Turkish military forces, or its allies are not an issue of accusation. The Turkish Official Newspaper, Volume: 1859, 29th July 193, see; Appendices, Fig. 20.

Similarly, two other attempts to support the resistance in Agirî, the movements at Zîlan and Oremar, were also referred to as being separate from the Agirî resistance by the Turkish authorities. These two attempts are described as help of the Agirî rebels, to lift the pressure off them. However, while the Oremar attempt is thought to contribute to the Agirî resistance directly, the Zîlan revolt is considered as indirect support by the Turkish General Staff.¹⁹³ As we had seen on the Turkish General staff's map (Fig.4) to show the past Kurdish riots in the previous pages, the Zeylan revolt is listed separately. It is not considered as a part of the Agirî resistance.

To have a clear picture of the military operations around Agirî, a chronological table of them is presented here, based on the information of published Turkish military reports.

Operation Name	Date	Location	Target
The 1st Ağrı Military Operation	16 th May-17 th July 1926	Mount Ağrı	Ağrı Rebels
The 2nd Ağrı Military Operation	13-20th Sept. 1927	Mount Ağrı	Ağrı Rebels
The Tendürük Military Operation	14-27th September 1929	Mount Tendürük	Şeyh Abdulkadir
The Zeylan Revolt and Counterinsurgency	20th June- 10th July 1930	Zeylan Valley	Zeylan Rebels
The Oramar Revolt and Counterinsurgency	16th July-10th October 1930	Oramar, Herki, Şemdinan, Şat	Oramar Rebels
The 3rd Ağrı Military Operation	7-14th September 1930	Mount Ağrı	Ağrı Rebels

Table-1: List of Turkish Military Operations around Mount Agirî¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ This scenario is totally controversial in the memoir of Ihsan Nuri. While he has written a lot about the Zîlan revolt, there is only a few sentences about the Oremar attempt by citing it from the Cumhuriyet newspaper. Despite revealing a lot of information about the resistance in Zîlan and Agirî, only citing a short passage from the Newspaper means, he probably had no information about the Oremar attack while he was in Agirî.

¹⁹⁴ This table is designed by the author based on the data taken from published Turkish General Staff documents.

4.2.1.2 The First Military Operation in Ağrı: 16th May-17th July 1926

The first military operation to defeat the resistance around the Agirî Mountain started on 16th May and ended on 17th June 1926, meaning it took more than four weeks.

The operation aimed to defeat Biro Heskî Têllî¹⁹⁵ and his armed men on Mount Agirî. Biro Heskî was a member of the Hessesorî tribe, and he had collaborated with the Turkish government during the Sheikh Said rebellion in 1925. Nonetheless, the government put him on the list of people to be exiled. He refused to be exiled and escaped to the Agirî Mountain with his armed tribesmen in the beginning of 1926.

In fact, despite his escape, Biro Heskî Têllî had not become dangerous to the government yet. Furthermore, in the beginning of the military operation, the governorship of Beyazid contacted him, demanding that he surrender. According to the Turkish military reports, he had agreed to relinquish his arms upon the retreat of the troops and asked for three days to prepare for his surrender.¹⁹⁶ However, the field military commander rejected this and started to attack later that day. Thus, the rebels fought “brutally” and routed the Turkish troops.¹⁹⁷

According to the papers, since the Turkish side did not consider the rebels as a serious threat, the military operation had been careless, e.g., by not moving secretly, not being well organized etc. So, the operation failed. The Turkish troops lost several members and ammunition.

Consequently, the field military commander was immediately fired from his post and sent to the military court to be tried for violating the agreement for surrendering and causing the failure of the operation.

The second phase of this operation was held in June 1926. The number of rebels was approximately 1150 and they consisted of five groups in different locations. The Turkish troops were at least five times as numerous as the rebels. They started to move on 16th June, 1926.

¹⁹⁵ His whole name is Brehîmê Husikê Têllî. More information about him will be given in the next pages.

¹⁹⁶ Contrary to the Turkish General Staff documents, the Kurdish written accounts usually do not mention any negotiation for surrendering between Biro Heskî Têllî and the Turkish authorities before or after the clashes in 1926. On the other hand, K. Süphandağ confirms that there was a request to surrender but Biro rejected to surrender to the Turkish army. See; IMC TV, *Dîrok*, Part: 38. However, Biro Heskî's son, Abdullah Çoktin, reveals that his father was intended to surrender but after one of the *Geloî* tribe man blamed him for being a funk and precarious man, he changed his mind, and continued to fight. See; Hun, Mücahit Özden, *Iğdır ve Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Alter Yay., Ankara, 2019, p.100.

¹⁹⁷ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 265.

As we read on the Turkish military reports, there were some minor clashes between the Turkish troops and rebels and most of the rebels escaped to Iran. Accordingly, the Turkish military had successfully ended the operation on 17th June, 1926. The ammunition that had been seized by the rebels from the Turkish troops was also recaptured.¹⁹⁸

4.2.1.3 The second military operation in Ağrı: 13th-20th September 1927

The second military operation on Ağrı started on 13th September 1927, more than one year after the first. It ended one week later. The official aim of the operation was cleansing the region and ending all banditry issues. According to the documents of Turkish General Staff the Turks were not challenged in the field during the operation. In these reports, for example, the term "escaping rebels" is used repeatedly:

“As we know, the rebels have gone to Demirkapı and they are trying to escape with their flocks. To prevent them to escape and to wipe them out [...].

[...] (the rebels) removed their tents in the north of Şıhlı and they are escaping in the direction of İnek Valley.

[...] the crowds of rebels were running through Kozlu road to the East.

[...] in fact, the rebel crowds were trying to escape to Iran.”¹⁹⁹

Throughout the Turkish military reports regarding this operation, it appears as if there was no organized rebellion against the government. And, except for the sudden attack on the 29th Regiment on 16th of September, there were no serious clashes between the Turkish army and the resisters. In this surprise attack the 29th Regiment lost all their horses, five machine guns, and five army officers were caught by the rebels.

So, what is understood from the Turkish official reports is that the military operation was not started to defeat an actual revolt. It seems that the essential plan was to punish and remove tribes that were not complying with the government.

¹⁹⁸ In this report, the estimated numbers of the rebels are too high. The local military officers had exaggerated the situation, or they were misinformed by their sources because the same report indicates that during the operation the Turkish forces never had seen an armed Kurdish group bigger than 50 men. See; *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, p. 267.

¹⁹⁹ As it is seen in this report, the people who are trying to escape along their flocks are civilians. The rebels did not raise flocks. So, the estimated number of the rebels which was given as 1150 may include these civilians who were living on the mountain and raising their flocks. See; *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları-I, 2012, İstanbul, pp. 336-339.

4.2.1.4 The Tendürük Military Operation: 14th-27th September 1929

The Tendürük (Tendurek, in Kurdish) military operation directly targeted the Saqan tribe led by Şeyh Abdulkadir, (Sheikh Evdilqadir, in Kurdish). The official reason for the operation was to disarm and punish the “unfaithful” Sheikh Evdilqadir and his tribe.

The government suspected Sheikh Evdilqadir of supporting the rebels. He had escaped from exile in 1927 and joined the rebels in Agirî, but then, when the Amnesty Law came into force in 1928, he left the resistance to benefit from the amnesty. His family was brought back from exile by the government, and he settled in Ortilî (Turk: Örtülü) with his tribe. After that he tried to stay neutral in the conflict between the rebels and government. However, his tribe had troubles with the Qotan and Keskoî tribes who sided with the government.²⁰⁰

Understandably, the chieftains of these two tribes urged the local Turkish authorities to harass Sheikh Evdilqadir, and to disarm his tribesmen.

In fact, upon the tension between Sheikh Evdilqadir and other tribes, the General Inspector intended to exile Sheikh Evdilqadir and his tribe to Erzincan but since they would probably not be “loyal” to the government, it was felt better to punish them with a military operation.²⁰¹

During the Tendürük military operation no direct clash occurred between the Turkish army and Sheikh Evdilqadir’s tribesmen. Exceptionally, small clashes between the Sheikh Evdilqadir’s tribesmen and those of the Keskoî and Qotan tribesmen, who were backed by the government, took place prior to the military operation. Since the Keskoî and Qotan tribesmen could not attack without the consent of the Turkish government, those clashes warned Sheikh Evdilqadir that there was no peace for him anymore. Their attack meant that the Turkish government decided to wipe him out from the region. Hence, upon starting the military operation, he immediately crossed the border and passed to the Iranian territory to save his tribe. While escaping to Iran, Turkish warplanes bombed them and killed a few people from his tribe. He then returned to Mount Agirî to settle in the rebel-controlled area.

This operation is not considered a part of the Agirî revolt by the Turkish General Staff. Instead, as was noted earlier, since the target was not the Agirî rebels but Sheikh Evdilqadir, they regarded it as a “cleansing” movement before the start of the main operation on the

²⁰⁰ As we will see in the next pages of this study, it was quite common to see that tribes and families were siding with the government or rebels according to their traditional rivals. Since their traditional rival Sheikh Evdilqadir was close to the rebels, Qotan and Keskoî tribes had sided with the government.

²⁰¹ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, p. 412.

rebels. Immediately after this operation they focused on Mount Agirî, which was the last area that was not under their control.

Although it was not considered to be a part of the Ağrı Military Operation by the Turkish General Staff, the Tendürük military operation had two main results which affected the resistance:

- a. The essential reason to hold the operation was to displace the Saqan tribe led by Sheikh Evdilqadir and to isolate the rebels on Mount Agirî. Thereby the government gained power by controlling an extended area.
- b. The operation led Sheikh Evdilqadir to re-join the resistance. To have the support of such an important figure, who was both a sheikh and a tribe leader, was a gain for the resistance but it also triggered tribal conflicts.

4.2.1.5 Zeylan Revolt and Counterinsurgency: 20th June-10th July 1930

On the 19th and 20th June of 1930, while the Turkish army was preparing for the last military operation in Ağrı, a group of rebels marched on the town of Zeylan, took it under their control, and defeated the Turkish Gendarme base of the town.

The defeat of the 5th Gendarme Legion was not only crushing but also shameful for the Turkish army since most of the soldiers chose to surrender to the rebels to prevent being killed. As a result of this attack, 2 army officers and 16 soldiers were killed; 2 officers and 2 soldiers were injured; 150 soldiers were lost or caught, 81 horses disappeared, 2 heavy machine guns, 11 light machine guns, and 144 guns were seized by the rebels. Furthermore, the attitude of the legion (in surrendering to the rebels) had encouraged the civilian people to side with the rebels, according to the military reports.²⁰²

After taking over the town of Zeylan, the rebels attacked Erciş, took partial control of the town and challenged the military and militia.

Ten days later, on 29th June 1930, another group of rebels attacked the Sürbehan (Suphan) and Norşin military bases.²⁰³ In these attacks the result was same; after a short time, the soldiers gave up and surrendered themselves to the rebels. Additionally, all the ammunition was seized.

²⁰² *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p.450-453.

²⁰³ In his memoir, Ihsan Nuri claims that they had organized the Norşin and Suphan (Sürbehan, in the Turkish military reports) attacks when they heard that the Heyderan tribes have started the riot in Zilan. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yayınları, İstanbul, 1996, p. 88.

As one may imagine, this situation worried the Turkish General Staff, and they immediately sent an order to the legions. This order stressed that these attitudes contributed to the rebel propaganda, which claimed the surrendered soldiers would not be killed. Thus, “[...] the goal of every Turkish soldier should be to fight the bandits relentlessly until their last breath”²⁰⁴ was written on the order.

While the rebels in Zeylan were trying to advance on the ground, the Turkish military prepared for the last phase of its military operation to defeat the entire resistance in the region.

In military reports, the situation of the rebels is described as below:

“To the north of Lake Van, the situation of bandits around Patnos: the bandits consist of 350-400 men and are led by Körhüseyin Pashaoğulları and Emin Pashaoğulları.²⁰⁵ They are based in Sofu Mustafa, Kâni, Yukarı Romik, Çakırbey, Gürgüre, Haçlı, Koru, Harabe, Kürk and Çavuş villages. All these villages and the neighboring villages have joined the bandits.

In the Zeylan area, led by Seyid Resul, the number of the bandits are thought to be 400 men, who are based in Şurk, SuSoğuk, Kadir Asker, Münevver, Sivik, Ağı, Dedeli and Şeytan Ava villages in the valley. All the neighboring villages have joined the bandits.

In Çaldıran, led by Yusuf Abdal,²⁰⁶ a group of bandits have crossed the Iranian border and took base around Aşağı Çilli, Şeyh Rumi, Alikelle, Haçan, Kaçmaz and Şeyh Sucu villages. The number of these bandits is unknown. In the north of this area, Halikanlı Halit and Melikânlı Tozu²⁰⁷ (with their tribesmen) are located. Highly probably, these bandits have crossed the border to support and protect the bandits of Zeylan and Patnos.”²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 480.

²⁰⁵ Kor Huseyin Pasha and Emîn Pasha were commanders of Hamidiye Regiments during the late Ottoman period. Kor Huseyin Pasha was leading 4 regiments. Each regiment was consisting of approximately 500 armed men. See: Kemal Süphandağ, IMC TV, *Dîrok*, Part: 37. The mentioned sons of Kor Huseyin Pasha were Nadir and Mehemed and the sons of Emîn Pasha were Umer, Usman, Evdillah and Bûrhan.

²⁰⁶ Üsivê Evdal (Yusuf Abdal) was married with the daughter of Kor Huseyin Pasha, and he was a strong chieftain in Iran. During the Zîlan revolt he crossed the border with his armed men, and fought together with his brothers in law, namely, Nadir and Mehemed. After defeating the Agirî resistance, upon the request of Turkish government, Üsivê Evdal and the younger brother of Emîn Pasha, Elî, were jailed in Iran. Both died or were killed there. See: Süphandağ, Kemal; *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Heyderan Aşireti ve Ağrı Direnişi*, Pel Yay., İstanbul, 2021, p. 84.

²⁰⁷ All the names listed here are taken same as they are written on the Turkish General Staff's reports. And all of them are either written wrong, or not used by the locals. Halikan is Xelikan. And the person who is named as Melikanlı Tozu is probably Tozo, the head of a family known as Mala Tozo.

²⁰⁸ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, pp. 461-462. As is seen on the military documents, civilian people joined the revolt in Zîlan because the leadership of this attempt was mainly in the hands of the sons of Kor Huseyin Pasha and Emîn Pasha who had a big tribal support. The Zîlan attempt had also some important local leaders such as Seyîd Resûl and Sheikh Zahir. The other attempt which civilian people joined was Oremar revolt. The General Staff does not mention any other movement which civilians joined during the Agirî resistance from 1926 to 1930.

The Turkish military planned to start an operation to defeat the resistance in Zeylan on 4th July 1930. According to this plan all the villages that had participated in the rebellion would be burnt down.²⁰⁹

On the day the military operation began, the rebels launched attacks on several military bases such as Bulakbaşı, Karaburun, Taşburun and Kayaburun. According to the military reports, the three leaders of the Ağrı resistance, Ihsan Nuri, Biro Heski Têllî and Sheikh Evdilqadir joined those attacks with their all-armed men.²¹⁰

After the military operation started and the rebellious areas were bombed by warplanes,²¹¹ the situation on the battlefield changed and the resistance in Zeylan started to lose ground. On 21st July, the military reports claim that after the movement of the 9th Army Corps, the local leaders of the resistance Körhüseyin Pashaoğulları (the sons of Kor Huseyin Pasha) and Seyit Resul took refuge with the Halikanli tribe and headed to Maku (in Iran). The Halikanli tribe lost 25 members. As noted by the government, the Belikanli tribe,²¹² which supported the rebels, gave up and was ready to be settled anywhere under the Turkish rules.

The Zeylan military operation by the 7th and 9th Army Corps continued until September of 1930. According to the Turkish military reports, a few thousands of the “bandits” were killed while several escaped to Iran.

²⁰⁹ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 465.

²¹⁰ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 466-467. However, this claim is not true because Ihsan Nuri, Biro Heski Têllî and Sheikh Evdilqadir were on Mount Agırî, not in Zilan. According to the memoir of Ihsan Nuri, their only contribution to the Zilan revolt was organizing the Subhan and Norşin attacks on 29th June 1930 as it was stated on the footnote number 203.

²¹¹ Some specific directives show that the air force had been authorized to bomb the villages and tents of people who were accused to support the rebels by the government. See; *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları-I, İstanbul, 2012, p. 472. In fact, the people living in the tents were nomadic civilians. These people are called *Koçer* in Kurdish, and they raise flocks on plateaus.

²¹² *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, p. 468. However, the Turkish military reports confused the tribes here. These two tribes *officially* lived in Iran, and they were the citizens of Iran. The group named “Belikanli” is probably *Mala Bozo*, who were the supporters of the revolt. When the revolt was defeated, they returned to Iran. They did not surrender or move to Turkey. The Helikanli is Xelikan tribe, which had more troubles with Iran than with Turkey. After they returned to Iran the Turkish government invited them to Turkey to settle down “wherever they liked”. Thus, the Xelikan tribe moved to Turkey in 1930 but the Turkish government sent them to the west part of Turkey, to Trakya, then to Ege, around Söke, not to “wherever they liked” to live. See; Hun, Mücahit Özden, *İğdir ve Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Alter Yay., Ankara, 2019, p.119.

After the main military operation, a clearance campaign started in the Zeylan Valley by a battalion commanded by Derviş Ahmed Pasha (Derviş Bey) and the Kurdish militias that fought for the government.²¹³ This clearance campaign led to the mass murder of civilians.

The archives of *Cumhuriyet*,²¹⁴ which was a semi-official newspaper state that thousands of people were killed during the military operations in Zeylan. Similarly, the official military reports mention annihilation of the bandits and their supporters but do not mention exact numbers. According to these military reports, the supporters included civilians. For example, one of the directives of the 9th Corps Commander emphasizes that:

“[...all the villages which supported the revolt will be burned...], [...to make clear to people that anyone who will be involved in the revolt will be punished, all villages and nomadic tribes on the plateaus which have been involved in the revolt must be bombed by the air forces...].”²¹⁵

4.2.1.6 Oramar Revolt and Counterinsurgency: 16th July-10th October 1930

As was said before, the Turkish military and government used to explain the movements around Mount Agirî as a banditry problem. However, Oramar (Oremar, in Kurdish) attempt is described in a different way in the reports. Unlike the previous military operations, where all Kurdish movements were described as acts of banditry, the Turkish military reports describe the Oramar rebellion within a political scenario. According to this account, while the Turkish Army was trying to defeat the rebellions around Zeylan, Çaldıran and Ağrı, provocations that were a mixture of banditry and ethnic claims were going on around Diyarbakir, Silvan, Sason, Lice, Çapakçur, Garzan and Muş. Also, tribal leaders who were backed by external forces sought to motivate people against the government with their religious propaganda and stimulated ethnic rebellion.

Likewise, foreign governments that had interests in Syria and Iraq were arming Kurdish tribes and encouraging them to attack Turkey.²¹⁶ Namely, the Kurdish “bandits” who had

²¹³ This campaign would be a carnage which left an imprinting experience in the collective memory of Kurmanj people. Derviş Bey and his squad, and some Kurdish militias are remembered with their brutality in the kilams. The Kurdish Keskoî tribesmen were the main militia forces in this carnage.

²¹⁴ *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Arşivi* (Cumhuriyet Newspaper archives), 29th June-28th August 1930.

²¹⁵ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 465, 472.

²¹⁶ The external forces here meaning the UK and France which were controlling Iraq and Syria.

crossed the Iraqi border and attacked Oramar were organized in this way.²¹⁷ Sent by Sheikh Barzani, the “bandits” consisted of 500 armed men led by Mullah Huseyin Sherif. The aims of this insurgency were to prevent the Turkish military forces from defeating the revolt in Ağrı, to stimulate Kurdish ethnic claims, and to disturb the public order. The local civilians also joined the attack alongside the Barzani forces.²¹⁸

The Oramar insurgency occurred in the south of Ağrı, in the meeting of the Turkey-Iran-Iraq borders, around the Oramar, Şat, Şemdinan and Herki regions. It started with an attack on the town of Oramar and the military base of the border division on the 21st and 22nd of July 1930.

“The bandits who held this attack were -alongside the Barzanis- civilians from Şemdinan, Herki, Şat, and Oramar. [...] After the Şemdinan border division retreated together with the officers, the local people looted the ammunition and fled to the mountains with the arms. The neighboring villages also joined them.”²¹⁹

The first General Inspector İbrahim Tali reported the situation to the General Staff and described it as a plot by outsiders. He also asked for military reinforcement. However, the General Staff denied it, stating:

“Although the General Staff is aware that these incidents reflect a political agenda rather than being simple cases of banditry, we believe that they will be limited to the local level and not escalate into a full-scale Kurdish rebellion. Thus, the military forces in the region can defeat these local revolts.”²²⁰

The Turkish General Staff was more aware of the situation than the local officers and governors. The attempt was far from being a big Kurdish rebellion. The main obstacle to a large, unified Kurdish rebellion was not only the fact that the movement was confined to certain tribes. Additionally, the local tribesmen who were fighting on the side of the government were also Kurdish. For example, Kurdish chieftains, such as Kasım Agha, Ferhat Agha, and Kerim Agha were the main antagonists of the Oramar fighters. Kasım Agha not only report the attack on the Oramar border division to the military, but he also joined the Turkish division with his armed men and fought against the rebels. Ferhat Agha and Kerim

²¹⁷ In fact, they were Bahdînî Kurds just from the other side of the border, but the Turkish military was still using the terms of the Ottoman army. During the Ottoman period this location was a part of the Mousul Province. At the time of Agırî resistance it was controlled by Britannia. However, the Turkish military officers were still using the same names to describe the regions.

²¹⁸ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 477.

²¹⁹ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 479.

²²⁰ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 484, 486.

Agha came from Gever with their armed tribesmen to help the Turkish military to defeat the resistance. They were extremely helpful to the Turkish military.

The Oramar military operation to defeat the insurgency consisted of two stages: the first stage began with the joint attack of the Turkish military and Kurdish militias belonging to Ferhat Agha and Kerim Agha. This stage ended when they took control of the town of Oramar after an air bombardment on 28th July 1930.

The second stage was held between 27th of September and 10th October 1930. This phase of the operation was better organized than the first one and involved more troops as well as six warplanes. The operation ended with the defeat of the resistance after local clashes around Oramar and Şemdinan.

Apart from those who were killed, “[...some of the rebels surrendered to the Turkish military while others managed to escape to Iraq...], [...after punishing the villages involved in the revolt...]”²²¹ the operation ended.

4.2.1.7 The Third Military Operation on Ağrı: 7-14th September 1930

The third Ağrı military operation took place on the 7-14th September 1930. This operation directly targeted Mount Ağrı which was the center of the resistance. At the end of this operation, the Turkish military announced its ultimate victory.

According to the General Staff, the number of rebels on Mount Ağrı was thought to be approximately 2000 armed men²²² who “mainly belonged to Hassas Örenli, Şiphanlı, Haydaranlı, Milanlı, Hasananlı, Zirkanlı, Cibranlı and Mokolur tribes.”²²³ All of them were

²²¹ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 493,494.

²²² In fact, the number of armed men on the Mount Agirî never became 2000 men. The Turkish authorities have exaggerated the numbers. Ihsan Nuri confirms this in his memoir, and claims that the Turkish army officers were ashamed to report that they were defeated by a small group of Kurdish fighters. Instead, they were reporting that they were attacked by a big number of Kurdish forces. See: Pasha, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996, p.79.

²²³ In this report almost all the names of people and tribes as well as the name of Xoybûn have been written wrong. The Turkish officers were typing the names as they heard because they did neither speak Kurdish nor understood the social structure of the tribes and families. Furthermore, when the telegraphs were sent to Ankara, perhaps some of the names were reshaped there once again. Moreover, it is very interesting to see how all the Turkish written accounts, including scholarly works, have copy-pasted these names without checking them with any other source. The correct names of the tribes are: Hassas Örenli is Hessesorî, Şiphanlı is Sipkî, Haydaranlı is Heyderî, Milanlı is Milî, Hasananlı is Hesenî, Zirkanlı is Zirkî, Cibranlı is Cibirî and Mokolur is Merxurî. They are known Kurdish tribes. I checked the names together with Ahmed Aras for this dissertation.

led by Biro Heski Têllî, yet above all there were Ihsan Nuri and the Armenian Zilan.²²⁴ The rebellion was backed²²⁵ by "Hoybon" which was built by Armenians and outsiders.²²⁶

The last Ağrı military operation was decided at a cabinet meeting in Ankara on 28th December 1929. Field Marshal Fevzi Çakmak and the 1st Inspector İbrahim Tali also attended this cabinet meeting. This operation was scheduled to take place in June 1930.

According to the numbers given in the Turkish military documents, 35.000-40.000 soldiers and 42 warplanes²²⁷ were organized for the last Ağrı military operation. It is reasonable to assume that several thousand militia members also participated in the operation. In this case, including the Kurdish militias, the number of mobilized Turkish military forces against the resisters was approximately 45.000 troops.

Through the documents, it seems there were no significant clashes between the rebels and the Turkish military forces. Instead, the rebels tried to escape to Iran. However, since the Iranian border was blocked by the Iranian forces, some failed to cross the border, and they had to choose between surrendering and facing death.

Moreover, after the defeat of the Zeylan revolt, the families of the rebels from Zeylan had moved to Mount Ağrı. Due to Turkish aggression and shortage of food and water this population was facing life-threatening problems. Civilians who could not fight had no chance to survive except by surrendering to the Turkish army or to escape to Iran.

However, a remarkably interesting report from the General Staff to the Minister of Interior on 7th September, on the first day of the operation, claims that not only civilians but also the leading rebels prepared to surrender:

“Two sons of Kör Hüseyin Pasha, Memo and Nadir, have asked to surrender to our forces along with their relatives which consist of 200 tents. Some of the bandits have already surrendered, and others plan to surrender.”²²⁸

²²⁴ The Armenian Zilan (Ardeshes Muradian, a member of Dashnaksutiun) was caught by Soviet soldiers and sent to Siberia in 1929. This means that he was not even in Agirî in 1930. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996, pp. 61-63.

²²⁵ It worth noting that the Turkish General Staff claims that the Agirî revolt of 1930 -not the previous ones- was *backed* by Xoybûn while the Kurdish written accounts claim that Xoybûn was *leading* the revolt. As we will see in the next pages, the collective memory does not contain any trace of the *leadership* of Xoybûn. Furthermore, we do not even hear the name of Xoybûn in the kilams regarding the clashes around Agirî. Namely, the role of Xoybûn in the resistance is different in the collective memory from the Kurdish written accounts. This topic will be examined in detail in the next two sections of this chapter.

²²⁶ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 497,498.

²²⁷ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 525-528.

²²⁸ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 534. However, the reports do not indicate why they escaped to Iran since they planned to surrender. I could not find any other source to

Since the resistance was not strong, on 10th September, the 9th Army Corps informed the General Staff that their forces reached the height of 4000 meters on the mountain and besieged the rebels after killing hundreds of them.

Four days later, on 14th September, the General Staff released its last statement announced the absolute victory over the rebels. Most of the rebels had escaped or been killed, and those who remained were being “neutralized” wherever they were found. Since the operation was completed, the General Staff would not release any other statement.²²⁹

4.2.2 The Agirî Resistance as Portrayed in the Kurdish Written Accounts

In this section, two primary sources which focus on the Agirî resistance from the Kurdish nationalist perspective are examined. Along these two main books, secondary sources are also reviewed. These secondary accounts are mainly inspired by those two primary books. The section usually conveys the facts as written in the books. The critics and comments are usually on the footnotes and sometimes in the text.

As stated in the previous section, the main body of scholarly and popular Turkish accounts is based on the Turkish General Staff’s documents. Since these are the main available documents in Turkish, the Kurdish accounts have benefited from them as well.

However, some of the Turkish written accounts have become a part of the propaganda mechanism while others simply repeat the information of these official documents. Mostly, as was said earlier, the information based on the official military reports was not verified or critically questioned. Furthermore, almost all the authors have simply repeated the names of people, places, and tribes, sometimes wrongly, as they were given in the Turkish military reports²³⁰ as the names were not checked with Kurdish sources.

verify this information. Nadir and Mehemed were the sons of the late leader of Heyderan tribe, Kor Huseyin Pasha, and they led the Zilan uprising. They went back to Turkey in 1938 after another Amnesty Law.

²²⁹ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 542.

²³⁰ The following citation, which was shown in the earlier pages of this chapter, is a very common example which you can read almost all the Turkish written accounts. They have repeated the mistakes of the Turkish military reports mot-a-mot: “in the end of 1929 the amount of the bandits was consisting of 350 chevaliers and 120 infantrymen. They were mainly belonging to *Hassas, Örenli, Şiphanlı, Haydaranlı, Milanlı, Hesananlı, Zirkanlı, Cibranlı and, Mokolu* tribes and they were led by Biro Haso. Above all of them there were Ihsan Nuri and the Armenian Zilan”. See; *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyamları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, p. 497.

Following the military reports, the Turkish popular and scholarly accounts are mainly built on the idea that the military operations around the Agirî Mountain were conducted to stop banditry. Stimulated by outsiders, some reactionary Kurds dared to rebel against the progressive Turkish Republic around the Agirî mountain between 1926 and 1930 as different armed groups. Their goal was to regain their former status, to continue banditry, or to act as an agency of some foreign states; however, they lost against the Turkish forces. “Kurdishness” was only a cover in these movements to hide their essential intention. Many Kurdish people were not involved in the riots but because of their tribal-familial connections a few tribes were active or supportive.

Contrary to this Turkish scenario, the Kurdish accounts present a totally different view. Despite failing in the Sheikh Said revolt, the Kurdish people, who were constantly seeking freedom, revolted against the Turkish government in 1926 in Agirî. This revolt, Kurdish sources state, was led by Xoybûn, the Kurdish nationalist political entity, started in 1927 and continued until the late 1930s as a Kurdish national struggle for independence. Despite losing their position against the Turkish military which fought with large numbers of troops and air forces in 1930, the rebels did not give up, but fought in the region in small groups until 1932.

Based mainly on the memoirs of Ihsan Nuri Pasha²³¹ and the book of Garo Sasuni,²³² this scenario represents the revolt as totally political and nationalistic in character. There are very few sources which argue that the role of Xoybûn was not as influential as is often described.²³³

Being a member of the Ottoman and later the Turkish army, interacting with the Turkish national movement during the rise of İttihat ve Terakki,²³⁴ Ihsan Nuri identified himself as a Kurdish national revolutionary. For this reason, he was in contact with the leaders of the Sheikh Said Revolt. Later, he escaped from the Turkish army in 1924 with a few other Kurdish military officers. Ihsan Nuri was essentially a nationalist intellectual who was seeking freedom for Kurdish people.

According to Ihsan Nuri, the Agirî Kurdish Revolt started in 1926 and ended in September 1930. Appointed by Xoybûn, he described himself as the commander-in-chief of

²³¹ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996.

²³² Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. Yüzyıldan Günümüze Ermeni-Kürt İlişkileri*, Stockholm, 1986.

²³³ Kalman, M., *Belge, Tanık ve Yaşayanlarıyla Ağrı Direnişi*, Peri Yay., İstanbul, 1997, p. 289.

²³⁴ *İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası* was a nationalist movement which was ruling the country between 1908 and 1918. Rising as a progressive movement, İttihat ve Terakki became a totalitarian group which ruled the country until its fall. They were also the organizer of the Armenian Genocide in 1915.

the Kurdish armed forces in Agirî. He engaged subcommanders and governors, used the Kurdish national flag, and described the fighting forces as the Kurdish national army. He authored the above-mentioned book while he was living in Iran, many years after the defeat of the resistance. The memory of Ihsan Nuri is esteemed to be written in 1969 and then its parts related to the Agirî resistance was translated into Turkish in Stockholm, in 1986.²³⁵ Most Kurdish intellectuals in Turkey heard of the memoir just after it was translated into Turkish. As a memoir, it does not contain a chronological order and it includes several inconsistencies. Mixed with the subjective personal notes of a romantic nationalist, his descriptions swing between reality and wishful remembrance. Nonetheless, it is important to reflect upon the first-hand witness of the resistance.

Garo Sasuni's book was written as a serial in the newspaper of Hairenik²³⁶ in 1930 and 1931. In 1969 the articles were summarized and published as a book with additions such as the critics of Dêrsim resistance in 1938 and Kurdish movements after 1932.

The book is written more systematically if it is compared with the memoir of Ihsan Nuri. However, being a kind of blindfold of nationalistic aspect, the realities have been victimized to ideological approach in this book. As an Armenian nationalist, Sasuni approaches the Agirî resistance from a pure political-nationalist aspect and exaggerates the facts according to this viewpoint. Unfortunately, most of the Kurdish accounts have used the information given by Sasuni without questioning it. Additionally, some of the accounts further exaggerated the already exaggerated facts.²³⁷

Being a member of the Armenian nationalist-socialist party Dashnaksutiun²³⁸, Garo Sasuni was an idealistic revolutionary who believed in an alliance between the Kurds and

²³⁵ Some people argue that the memoir was not written by Ihsan Nuri. Two people who have research and books about the resistance around Agirî, Kemal Süphandağ and Ahmed Aras are some of them. Since there are a lot of inconsistencies in the memoirs, this claim sounds reasonable. However, since it includes a lot of firsthand witnesses, it is impossible to argue that the memoir has been written without him as well. So, most probably, he narrated it to someone to be written, and the one who has scripted the memoir was not able to question the inconsistencies in the memoir. Or maybe the inconsistencies happened while it was *polished* by someone else. Additionally, Sedat Ulugana claims that the memory was intentionally or unintentionally distorted by the publisher in 1989. See; <https://yeniyasamgazetesi4.com/bir-kurt-pasanin-anilari/> (Accessed on 03.12.2022).

²³⁶ *Hairenik*, the Armenian Newspaper started its publication on June 1913, and after December 1915 it was published as a daily newspaper until 1991.

²³⁷ For example, the journalist Ahmet Kahraman claims that 1400 warplanes had been used against the rebels in Agirî by *citing* from Sasuni but in fact, despite having so many exaggerations, 1400 warplanes never have been mentioned in the book of Sasuni. See; Kahraman, Ahmed; *Kürt İsyanları/Tedip ve Tenkil*, Evrensel Basım Yayın, İstanbul, 2004, p. 242.

²³⁸ *Dashnaksutiun*, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), is an Armenian nationalist and socialist political party founded in 1890 in Tbilisi-Georgia. For detailed research regarding the Dashnak-Khoybun alliance, see; Gorgas, Jordi Tejel, "The Last Ottoman Rogues: The Kurdish-Armenian Alliance in Syria and the New State System in the Interwar Middle East." In: Ramazan Hakkı Öztan and Alp Yenen (eds), *Age of Rogues:*

Armenians. Hence, he was an optimistic supporter of both Xoybûn and the Agirî resistance. Sasuni considered the collaboration between Xoybûn and Dashnaksutiun as partnership between the two nations, namely, the Kurds and Armenians, against Turkish aggression. He was also hopeful to find supporters among the Armenian Diaspora and European countries. By having such support, the Kurdish resistance would become an international case, and the Turkish government would be pushed back.

Since Dashnaksutiun was involved in establishment of Xoybûn, Sasuni was mainly interested in the resistance after establishment of Xoybûn. Counting the Kurds as 3.300,000 people, and the Armenians as 2.700,000, if these two nations acted together, they might succeed against the Turks who, he believed, consisted of 6.000,000 people.²³⁹

Sasuni looks at the Agirî revolt as the most significant part of the Kurdish independence struggle, and the Kurdish-Armenian relationship. In his view, the Agirî rebellion had started in June 1930, not in 1926 or 1927. The movement before involvement of Xoybûn was the first Ararat (i.e., Agirî) Rebellion, which took place in 1927.²⁴⁰ Sasunî distinguishes these two movements as separate phenomena in 1927 and 1930.

Ihsan Nuri gives different information about the Agirî resistance in his memoir, arguing that it started in 1926 under the leadership of Biro Heski Têllî but continued under his own command between 1927 and September 1930 as a unified, single revolt.²⁴¹

The Kurdish accounts referring to the rebellion from 1926 mainly repeat the account in Ihsan Nuri's memoir, which sees the first clashes between Biro Heski Têllî's group and Turkish forces, which occurred in May 1926, as the rebellion's starting point.

In his book, Sasuni describes a very well-organized riot led by Xoybûn and most of the Kurdish accounts accepted his version of events. However, the realities of the field were different and most of the information given by Sasuni was simply wishful.²⁴²

It seems that the book of Sasuni is based on information given by Xoybûn and Dashnaksutiun about the resistance in Agirî. So, unlike the realities of the field, the resistance

Rebels, Revolutionaries, and Racketeers at the Frontiers of Empires, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2021, pp. 355-382.

²³⁹ Sasuni, Garo; *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 335.

²⁴⁰ Sasuni, Garo; *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med yay., Istanbul, 1992, pp. 294-296.

²⁴¹ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, p. 16.

²⁴² The realities of the field and the weakness of Xoybûn will be analyzed on the next pages of this chapter.

is reflected through the eyes of these organizations. It appears that Sasunî relied mainly on the bulletins written by a member of Xoybûn in Lebanon or Syria to describe the current situation in the field.

It is not clear exactly when Ihsan Nuri joined the fighters in Agirî, but from his memoir we know that he was in Agirî in the spring of 1927. Xoybun was formed in October 1927. Possibly Ihsan Nuri was in contact with the people who founded Xoybûn before it was formally established, and the organization appointed him Commander-in-Chief when he was already in Agirî.²⁴³ As a result, nearly all written Kurdish accounts describe him as the Commander-in-Chief of the Kurdish forces in Agirî from late 1927 to September 1930.²⁴⁴

Like Garo Sasuni, Ihsan Nuri stresses the leading role of Xoybûn in the revolt of Agirî, but he shows extraordinarily little evidence that the organization led the resistance.²⁴⁵ He claims that:

1. Xoybûn determined the tactics of war while he was trying to spread the rebellion to other regions such as Zîlan and Wan.
2. The uniforms which the Kurdish army used were designed by Xoybûn.
3. Xoybûn was able to bring Yaşar Khanum (his wife) from Turkey to Agirî in 1930.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ This appointment needs further investigation. According to the written sources, he was appointed as Commander-in-Chief by Xoybûn in September 1927. However, Xoybûn was built in October 1927, namely, one month after the appointment. Since a decision/command/appointment of an unestablished organization would not be so effective, one may question, how and why the fighters should accept a decision of an unestablished organization and accept someone as their leader? The probable reason of accepting Ihsan Nuri as the Commander-in-Chief arose from his ex-status, not from Xoybûn. He was a military commander in the Ottoman-Turkish army in the same region prior to his escape.

²⁴⁴ The book of Mûcahit Atilla Hun draws another picture. The leadership was handled by Biro Heskî in the beginning, then, passed to Ihsan Nûrî, and ended with Sheikh Evdîlqadir. After the fall of the revolt, Biro Heskî was again the leader of resistance until he was killed, he argues. See; Hun, Mûcahit Özden, *Iğdır ve Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Alter Yay., Ankara, 2019, pp. 51-52.

²⁴⁵ Based on these two books, and other written accounts produced by the members of Xoybûn, Alakom argues that “The Agirî revolt which occurred around the Mount Agirî between 1927 and 1930 was under the control and leadership of Xoybûn”. See; Alakom, Rohat; *Xoybun Örgütü ve Ağrı Ayaklanması*, Avesta, Istanbul, 2011, p. 65. This statement is de facto accepted by all the following Kurdish written accounts. Even most of the Turkish scholarly works have used this information by citing from Alakom without questioning it. However, as we will see in the next pages of this chapter, the influence of Xoybûn in the resistance is very questionable.

²⁴⁶ In fact, none of this evidence are convincing for the leadership of Xoybûn. Firstly, Ihsan Nuri was already a military commander but there was anyone in the board of Xoybûn who had military experience. Thus, Ihsan Nuri did not need to take any fighting tactics from them. Secondly, anyone can design a uniform by just copy-pasting from existing uniforms. It does not require an organizational capacity. Thirdly, Yaşar Khanoom was sent to Syria by the Turkish authorities upon the negotiation process between the fighters and Turkish authorities in 1928. However, their journey from Aleppo to Mount Agirî took several months. Furthermore, Ihsan Nuri had gone to take his wife from Maku by himself since there was not anyone else to do it for him. Only this journey shows the weakness and incapability of Xoybûn, not its leadership. For the long and difficult trip of Yashar

On the other hand, despite trying to put Xoybûn on the stage like Sasuni, Ihsan Nuri's memoir is much closer to the reality of the situation, as it will be discussed at the end of this chapter and in the Conclusion. While Sasuni wrote down whatever information he received from Xoybûn or Dashnaksutiun, Ihsan Nuri tells what he has witnessed and experienced in the field. Despite his idealism, the realities of the society, such as rivalry and hostility among the tribes, families, and persons, are not ignored. Thus, his memoir is closer to the reality. However, it is confused, and does not follow a chronological order.

Prior to the resistance in Agirî, the mountains of Kurdistan were already shelters for escapees of various kinds. There were hundreds of wanted people on the mountains, who were divided into tens of different groups, consisting of:

- a. Wanted people who were surviving in the rural areas by banditry.
- b. Fugitives of local fights, who were also involved in banditry.
- c. The survivors of Sheikh Said revolt. These people were also involved in banditry from time to time, to survive or to punish their enemies.

The law to exile Kurdish notables to the western part of Turkey in 1926 was the first step of the Turkish government to control Kurdish society after the Sheikh Said revolt. According to this order, most of the Kurdish chieftains were exiled to western and inner Anatolia to be isolated from the Kurdish community, far away from their homeland. Not only the chieftains who had shown sympathy for the Sheikh Said revolt, but also bystanders and even some Kurds who had fought on behalf of the Turkish government were exiled.²⁴⁷

Most of the chieftains obeyed this order and accepted exile with their families. Some others rejected it and escaped to the mountains.

Biro Heskî Têllî was one of those escapees around Agirî. When he heard that he was listed by the government to be exiled he escaped to Mount Agirî with his armed men who were less than a dozen of people. This was the beginning of the clashes around Agirî.²⁴⁸

Therefore, according to the memoir of Ihsan Nuri, which has inspired most of the Kurdish written sources, the Agirî rebellion was started in Bazîd (Turkish: DoğuBeyazıt) in 1926 by Biro Heski Têllî from the Hessesorî tribe.²⁴⁹

Khanoom, see; Toktamış, Kumru, *Bazı Kadımlar için Savaş Hiç bitmez / Yaşar Hanımın Anıları*; Kürt Tarihi Dergisi, Number: 37, pp. 12-21.

²⁴⁷ Numbered as 85, this law was accepted on 31st May 1926 by the Turkish parliament. If this date is correct, the rebels such as Biro Heskî and Xalis Beg had escaped before it was accepted at the Turkish Parliament. This means, they had received this information during the preparation of the law through their private channels.

²⁴⁸ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, pp. 21-26.

Then, in a couple of months, the following people met Biro Heskî and collaborated with him: Ferzende Begê Hesenî, as a survivor of the Sheikh Said revolt, and his armed Hesenan tribesmen; Adoyê Ezîzî, a wanted person, and his armed group; and Xalis Begê Sipkî who had also escaped from being exiled, with his Sipkan tribesmen.

The government sent troops to Agirî to defeat Biro Heskî and other armed men after the rebels attacked the Turkish troops on 13th May 1926. However, the operation failed because the fighters were aware of the preparation for a military operation. They were already mobilized. After small clashes, they escaped to Iran, and the Turkish army retreated to their base in Bazid in June 1926.

Since the Turkish military failed in this operation, Biro Heskî's group grew. Several other people who were wanted by the government met him and joined his armed men.²⁵⁰ In this way, after the first Turkish military operation failed, Mount Agirî became a safe retreat for people who had problems with the Turkish government. Some of these people were wanted because of criminal cases, and others for being involved in the Sheikh Said revolt.

However, since Biro Heskî had collaborated with the Turkish government during the Sheikh Said revolt,²⁵¹ a few Kurdish accounts do not consider his movement to have formed part of the Agirî Revolt until 1927, i.e., till the involvement of Ihsan Nuri and Xoybûn.

Other chieftains, such as Sheikh Evdilqadir and Temirê Şemikî who had escaped from exile, also joined the resistance. Thus, the resistance had more armed men, and more support from tribes. Between 1926 and 1927 many notables - like Sheikh Evdilqadir and Temirê Şemkî - as well as some bandits and fugitives, mostly together with their armed men, joined the resistance. In 1927, Ihsan Nuri began to organize the rebels, contacting chieftains to support or join the rebellion, using Kurdish political symbols, and trying to discipline the disorganized fighters. This was not easy, however, as there were troubles among the tribes,

²⁴⁹ For example, Ahmet Kahraman starts to glorification of Biro Heskî from his effort against the Russian army in the 1st World War and then, continues how he was brave as if "born to be a leader" of the Kurdish resistance. See; Kahraman, Ahmet; *Kürt İsyancıları/ Tedip ve Tenkil*; Evrensel Basım yayını, İstanbul, 2003, p. 221.

²⁵⁰ To escape from the government and live in the mountains as a group of people until being caught, killed, or receiving an amnesty was common among Kurds until 1970s. In 1926, there were hundreds of different small armed groups in the mountains of Kurdistan. They were wanted by the government with different reasons. Most of them were surviving with banditry.

²⁵¹ Interestingly, Ihsan Nuri simply *conveys* Biro Heskî's collaboration with the government while constantly emphasizing the negative role of Kor Huseyin Pasha during and after the Sheikh Said revolt in 1925. For the negative role of Biro Heskî Tellî during the Sheikh Said revolt, Ihsan Nuri just utters what Biro Heskî has told him. He does not comment about it. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., 1996, İstanbul, pp. 22, 23.

and the fighters had no military discipline. In fact, the agenda which Ihsan Nuri was trying to implement did not match the reality of the fighting groups.

The Turkish side was reorganizing itself in the region in order to defeat the resistance forces. To achieve this aim, they passed a law establishing General Inspectorships on 16th July 1927, and appointed Ibrahim Tali as the 1st General Inspector. He was responsible for the Elaziz, Urfa, Hakkari, Bitlis, Siirt, Van, Mardin and Diyarbakir which were dominantly Kurdish provinces, as stated in the previous pages of this chapter.

In these circumstances, in September 1927, the second military operation of the Turkish army was conducted to defeat the resistance in Agirî. At the same time, meetings were going on among Kurdish people in Syria and Lebanon to establish Xoybûn. In this stage, the connection between the resistance and Xoybûn is controversial. Although most accounts accept that Ihsan Nuri was appointed as commander-in-chief of the resistance by Xoybûn, it seems plausible to assume that he was in touch with the organization personally not as the leaders of fighters in Agirî.

According to his memoir, Ihsan Nuri was in Xinis (Erzirom) when the military operation started. He was on a trip to observe the situation in the regions of the Heyderan and Hesenan tribes. He returned to Mount Agirî upon hearing that the Turkish army had started military operations there with 10,000 troops²⁵² (one army division).²⁵³

This was the 1st Agirî Rebellion, which continued for a month according to Sasuni, who claims that 2000 soldiers of the Turkish army were killed, and 400 were caught by the Kurdish forces.²⁵⁴

Ihsan Nuri does not give a number but says that there were some officers among the captives. However, because of shortage of food all of them were freed a few days later.²⁵⁵

The Turkish General Staff admitted that 5 of their officers were caught by the rebels but did not give an exact figure for the dead and captured soldiers. However, after the rebels freed

²⁵² Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996, pp. 27-29.

²⁵³ On the other hand, according to the Turkish General Staff, the 9th and 12th divisions of the 9th Army Corps were mobilized to defeat the rebels. This number is two times of the number given by the Kurdish accounts respectively 20.000 troops. See; *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, p. 331.

²⁵⁴ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1992, p. 297.

²⁵⁵ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996, p. 28.

the captives, and one officer and five soldiers arrived at their base, the number of lost soldiers was tallied at 17.²⁵⁶

According to the Kurdish accounts, the Turkish military attack was a big victory for the Kurdish side, and a major fiasco for the Turks. However, according to the Turkish side it was not so much a failure as the lack of a total victory. The main obstacles to achieving a victory were lack of water for the troops, and the open border with Iran, which the rebels could easily cross. Thus, the Turkish side decided to take three new steps:

- a. Building new military and intelligence services in the region.
- b. Proclaiming an Amnesty Law to convince the fighters to surrender.
- c. Putting pressure on Iran to control their border.

4.2.2.1 Xoybûn

While the Turkish government and the rebels were preparing for further steps after the military operation in Agırî in the autumn of 1927, Kurdish intellectuals and some exiled chieftains met with the representatives of the Armenian Dashnaksutiun Party in Lebanon in October 1927, to set up Xoybûn. The organizer, who had contacted Kurdish notables in Syria and Iraq to persuade them to unify and organize, was Memduh Selîm Beg.²⁵⁷ Xoybûn aimed to unify the Kurdish tribes and organize armed groups to act against the Turkish government, to wipe them out in Kurdistan. This aim was formulated on the statute of Xoybûn as noted below:

“The aim of the organization is building an independent Kurdistan on the land which Kurds live on, and which is occupied by the Turkish government. [...] To achieve this aim, Xoybûn will organize Kurdish people and contact third parties for the benefit of the Kurds.”²⁵⁸

According to different written accounts, after the establishment of Xoybûn, an executive board would be selected. Celadet Bedirxan, Mistefê Şahîn (Berazî), Bozanê Şahîn (Berazî),

²⁵⁶ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, p. 345.

²⁵⁷ Memduh Selîm Beg was a Kurdish intellectual who was born in Wan in 1880 and died in Damascus in 1976. He was a member of the Hêvî association before the Sheikh Said revolt, and he escaped to Syria after the revolt failed. In Syria he continued his effort to unify Kurdish intellectual and notables. Xoybûn was built on this effort. Furthermore, it can be said that Memduh Selim was the only person among the foremost names of Xoybûn who did not seek for any personal aim, and who did not involve any rivalry with other names.

²⁵⁸ Karaca, Emin; *Ağrı Eteklerinde İsyan*, Karakutu Yay., İstanbul, 2003, p. 20.

Haco Agha (Hevêrkî), Emîn Agha (Remanî) and Fehmî Bîlal²⁵⁹ were the Board members. Citing from one of the attendants of the first meeting, Abdurrahman Agha's memoir in *Armanç* Newspaper in 1989, Alakom argues that the first board members were Celadet Bedirxan, Memduh Selîm, M. Sükrü Sekban, Haco Agha, Emîn Agha, Ali Riza, Mustafa Şahin (Berazî), Bozan Şahin (Berazî), Kerim Beg, Tevfik Beg, Bedreddin Agha and Fehmî Bîlal.²⁶⁰ According to another source "The core of the Khoybun League at the time of its creation was made up of Jaladat Badirkhan (1893–1951), Kamuran Badirkhan (1895–1978), Sureya Badirkhan (1883–1938), Memduh Selim (1897–1976), Mehmed Sükrü Sekban (1881–1960), Ihsan Nuri (1893–1976), Bozan Şahin Beg (1895–1968), Mustafa Şahin Beg (?–1953), Sheikh Abdul Rahman Garisi (1869–1932), Hajo Agha (?–1940) and Rifat Mevlanzade (1869–1930)."²⁶¹

In 1928, exiled chieftains such as Kor Huseyin Pasha and Hecî Mûsa Begê Xoytî escaped from exile and took refuge among the Syrian Kurds. Haco Agha, the chieftain of Hevêrkî tribe offered them hospitality and brought them into contact with Xoybûn.²⁶² According to the Kurdish written accounts, having Kor Huseyin Pasha on their side was a big gain, because at his order, all Heyderan tribes would join or support the movement in Agirî.²⁶³

Also, Kadri and Ekrem Cemil Pasha, two cousins from a notable family in Diyarbakir, escaped to Syria in 1928 and joined the organization in 1929.

²⁵⁹ However, it is very questionable that Fehmi Bîlal had become a member of the board since he was only the representative of Sheikh Elî Riza, the son of Sheikh Said. Additionally, he had fight with Celadet Bedirxan at the first meeting of Xoybûn and was injured in the fight. Furthermore, Fehmi Bîlal left Syria after this incident and settled in Iraçî Kurdistan until 1936 when Turkey announced another Amnesty Law regarding the 13th anniversary of building of the Turkish Republic.

²⁶⁰ Alakom, Rohat; *Xoybun Örgütü ve Ağrı Ayaklanması*, Avesta, Istanbul, 2011, pp. 30-31.

²⁶¹ Gorgas, Jordi Tejel, "The Last Ottoman Rogues: The Kurdish-Armenian Alliance in Syria and the New State System in the Interwar Middle East." In: Ramazan Hakkı Öztan and Alp Yenen (eds), *Age of Rogues: Rebels, Revolutionaries, and Racketeers at the Frontiers of Empires*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2021, p. 366.

²⁶² Kemal Süphandağ, the grandchild of Kor Huseyin Pasha claims that not his grandfather but his sons had become members of Xoybûn when they escaped to Syria from the exile. See, the IMC TV, *Dîrok*, Part: 38. In my interview with him, citing from Qedrîcan, Ahmed Aras also confirmed that not Kor Huseyin Pasha himself, but his sons joined Xoybûn. On the other hand, Sedat Ulugana claims that Kor Huseyin Pasha and others together became a member of Xoybûn, and their photo was published on *Filqetîl Dî Kurdiye* Magazin. Ulugana, Sedat; *Ağrı Direnişi ve Zilan Katliamı*, Peri Yay., Istanbul, 2012, p. 30. Ahmet Kahraman also argues that they all together joined Xoybûn. Kahraman, Ahmet; *Kürt İsyancıları/ Tedip ve Tenkil*; Evrensel Basım yayın, Istanbul, 2003, p. 216.

²⁶³ However, it did not happen. To receive Amnesty from the Turkish government, Kor Huseyin Pasha was killed by Medenî Beg, the son of Hecî Mûsa Begê Xoytî in Iraçî Kurdistan. Kor Huseyin Pasha's two sons led the uprising in Zilan as it was shown in the previous pages.

Thus, as a small organization which mainly consisted of exiled Kurdish notables in Syria, Xoybûn brought together:

- a. The intellectual escapees of the Sheikh Said revolt such as the Bedirxan brothers,²⁶⁴ Memduh Selîm, and Fehmi Bîlal.
- b. The *traitors* of the Sheikh Said Revolt such as Kor Huseyin Pasha,²⁶⁵ Hecî Mûsa Begê Xoytî,²⁶⁶ and Haco Agha.²⁶⁷
- c. The family members of the Kurdish militias involved in the Armenian Genocide such as Emîn Agha (Remanî)²⁶⁸ and sons of Cemil Pasha.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Contrary to the other Kurdish elite, the Bedirxanî family was opposite to Abdul Hamid II. In earlier times, Abdurrezzaq Bedirxan was trying to get support from Russians against the Ottomans while other Kurdish tribes were fighting against Russians under the command of the Ottomans during the Ottoman-Russian Wars. Otherwise, during the First World War the Kurdish chieftains were considering Russia and its Armenian alliance as enemies while Abdurrahman Bedirxan was advocating the alliance of Kurds and Armenians in collaboration with the Russians. See; Çelik, Adnan; *Kürt Aydınlarının Siyasi Hatıratında 1915 ve Ermeniler*, Yeni Yaşam gazetesi, January-February 2019.

²⁶⁵ Kemal Süphandağ, the grandchild of Kor Huseyin Pasha denies that Kor Huseyin Pasha involved into the Sheikh Said revolt either in a positive nor negative way because the religious authority Bediuzzeman Said-î Kurdi (or Nûrsî, 1878-1960) did not let him to side with the revolt. Kor Huseyin Pasha was advised by Saîd-î Nûrsî that if he would join the revolt, he would have muslim-blood on his hands. See; IMC TV, Dîrok, Part: 38. However, in his memoir, Ihsan Nuri, claims that Kor Huseyin Pasha was a traitor while his two sons Nadir and Mehemed were true patriots. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, p. 64-66.

²⁶⁶ Conveying from the governor of Bitlis Kazım Dirik, the Kurdish politician Abdülmelik Fırat argues that when the Sheikh Said revolt happened in 1925, Heci Mûsa Beg (Xoytî), Sheikh Mahsûm (Norşînî), and Sheikh Ebdulbaqî had applied to Kazım Dirik for 50.000 pieces of gold and arms to fight against the Sheikh Said rebellion. After persistently repeating this request, Kazım Dirik says, he had given what they asked, and they fought for the government against the rebels. After defeating the revolt, Kazım Dirik took back the double of money he gave and exiled them. See; Kaya, Ferzende; *Mezopotamya Sürgünü A. Fırat'ın Yaşam Öyküsü*, Anka Yay., Istanbul, 2003, p. 54.

²⁶⁷ The Kurdish politician Abdülmelik Fırat reveals that when the Sheikh Said revolt was going on, the chieftain of Hevêrkî tribe Haco Agha sent a letter to the Turkish government and briefed that his tribe is ready to fight with the 'traitors' (Sheikh Said) behalf on the strong forces of the Turkish Republic. See, Kaya, Ferzende; *Mezopotamya Sürgünü A. Fırat'ın Yaşam Öyküsü*, Anka Yay, 2003, p.37. Haco Agha's son Çaçan also confirms that they fought with the rebel's behalf of the Turkish government near Diyarbakir. See; Cibo, Nezir; *Heverkili Haco Ağa*, Kürt Tarihi Dergisi, Number: 37, pp. 58-65.

²⁶⁸ Emin Agha's two brothers were directly organized by the governor of Diyarbakir Dr. Reşit Bey to kill the Armenian notables in the city. The two brothers killed a few groups of wealthy Armenians, and shared with Dr. Reşit Bey what they robbed from the murdered people. Then, Dr. Reşit Bey ordered killing of the two brothers in Tilelo whenever he did not need them anymore. See; Demirer, Hüseyin, *Ha Wer Delal/ Emînê Perîxanê'nin Hayatı*, Avesta Yay., Istanbul, 2008, pp.75-89.

²⁶⁹ The uncle of Kadri and Ekrem Cemil Pasha was a militia commander in Diyarbakir during the Armenian Genocide but both of the cousins are in silence about the involvement of their family to the genocide in their memory books. For a very good article about the memory of the first and second generations of Kurdish intellectuals in the early Republican years, see; Çelik, Adnan; *Kürt Aydınlarının Siyasi Hatıratında 1915 ve Ermeniler*, Yeni Yaşam gazetesi, January-February, 2019. Similarly, Fırat Aydınkaya questions the silence of the first and second generation Kurdish intellectuals' regarding the Armenian Genocide. See; Interview with Fırat Aydınkaya, <https://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/11405/bir-baska-acidan-kurtlerin-ermeni-soykirimindaki-rolu> (Accessed on 2nd December, 2022).

Nonetheless, making these figures work harmoniously together was not a smooth process. The troubles among the foremost names became bigger. Even more, after the failure of the resistance in Agirî, the trouble between the Badirxanîs and Cemilpaşazades reached a level that caused the Bedirxan brothers to leave Xoybûn.²⁷⁰

4.2.2.2 The Amnesty and Negotiation Process

After the failure of the second military operation in Agirî, while building intelligence service in Karaköse to have more spies and militias among local people, the Turkish government announced an Amnesty Law in 1928. The reason for this amnesty was weakening the resistance and to calm the Kurdish community which was angry about the exile policy of the government. This amnesty included members of the resistance in Agirî, the exiled chieftains, and the Kurdish people who escaped from Turkey.

This attempt did not achieve its aim in Agirî because the fighters rejected it, according to Sasuni. He quotes the whole bulletin of Xoybûn against the amnesty, giving examples of how someone was punished by the Turkish government, even though he had accepted the amnesty and surrendered etc. Then, he concludes that the amnesty trick of the government did not work since the Agirî resisters and Xoybûn rejected it.

Sasuni mentions the negotiations between the government and the rebels regarding the amnesty as well. In his statement, the Turkish government sent a delegation to meet the resistance leaders in May 1928. The Turkish delegation included the 1st General Inspector Ibrahim Tali, 12 members of parliament, and military officers. The Kurdish delegation consisted of Ihsan Nuri, Biro Heskî Têllî, and Xalis Beg alongside 60 mounted fighters.

Two delegations met on the Şixlû (Şıhlı, in Turkish) bridge near Agirî. The Turkish side claimed that all people on the mountain would benefit from the amnesty if they left their arms and surrendered. Plus, Ihsan Nuri would be appointed to any official position of his choice, either within or outside of Turkey.

Ihsan Nuri, speaking as the appointed head commander by Xoybûn, and the spokesman of the fighters on the mountain, rejected the amnesty and asked the Turkish army and officers to leave Kurdistan.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ Alakom gives further information regarding this issue in his book which focuses on Xoybûn. See; Alakom, Rohat; *Xoybun Örgütü ve Ağrı Ayaklanması*, Avesta, Istanbul, 2011, pp.100,101.

²⁷¹ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, pp. 305-307. Emin Karaca argues that the amnesty was rejected by citing from Sasuni. See; Karaca, Emin;

On the other hand, Ihsan Nuri draws a different scenario regarding this case: the government sent two different delegations at two different times to negotiate with the rebels. Although the first meeting had a positive atmosphere, the second meeting ended in disagreement. Furthermore, the first Turkish delegation included two members of the Turkish parliament, not twelve, and some military officers. The second meeting consisted of only local Turkish officers and Kurds who sided with the Turkish government.

Otherwise, contrary to the argument of Sasuni, who claims that the amnesty was totally rejected by the Kurds, many people accepted the amnesty and left Mount Agirî. Temirê Şemkî and Sheikh Evdilqadir were among the foremost names. Sheikh Evdilqadir was the strongest figure among the rebels since he was the leader of the Saqan tribe, and furthermore he was a sheikh who had religious power and was an influential person through this position. Temirê Şemkî was the appointed Gendarme Commander of Agirî by Ihsan Nuri. Therefore, after a big portion of the rebels left the resistance and went back to their everyday lives, there were only three fighter groups left in Agirî, which were led by Ferzende Beg, Xalis Beg and Edoyê Ezîzî. The fighters tried to hide this reality by making these three groups more active than normally after it became clear that no solution would come out from the negotiation process.²⁷²

Moreover, despite releasing a harsh declaration against the amnesty, Xoybûn was losing its foremost names. The declarations were mainly written by Celadet Bedirxan to stop losing ground. The founders of Xoybun such as Şukri Sekban, Emîn Agha (the chieftain of Reman tribe) and the religious leader Sheikh Elî Riza, the son of Sheikh Said, returned to Turkey when the amnesty was proclaimed. Eventually Xoybûn was almost abandoned.²⁷³

Sheikh Elî Riza was arrested and jailed for a long time with his friends upon their return to Turkey. Among the other people who returned to Turkey because of the amnesty law, Şukri

Ağrı Eteklerinde İsyân/ Bir Kürt İsyânının Anatomisi, Puslu Yay., 2013, İstanbul, p. 37. Most of the Kurdish accounts have repeated this information which probably arose from a letter of Celadet Bedirxan sent to Sasuni. However, the reality was different, and Ihsan Nuri gives some pieces of the reality in his memoir. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996, pp. 40-43.

²⁷² Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996, pp. 34-35. Meantime, we should remind that, in this stage the people on the mount were almost unorganized. They were involving in robbery, having troubles with rival tribes, and having infightings which one of them resulted with killing of Edoyê Ezîzî. This assassination will be analyzed in the next pages of this chapter.

²⁷³ This would be a kind of *turn off* for Xoybûn which was already not so strong, and which was suffering because of different approaches of the board members. The organization became weaker after the amnesty. When Kadri and Ekrem Cemil Pashazade left Diyarbakir and went to Syria to join Xoybûn in 1929, the organization was totally abandoned. Celadet and Sureyya Bedirxan brothers had immigrated to Cairo. Memduh Selîm Beg turned back to the French controlled Antakya and started to work as a teacher. Thus, after 1929, the leadership would be sustained by these two Pashazade cousins. The organization would somehow survive as a small and non-effective entity until 1946, and then, it was abolished.

Sekban and Emîn Agha started to work for the Turkish government. Emîn Agha became a militia leader of the government and was involved in killing of many Kurds. Nonetheless, the Turkish army chose to kill him when they no longer needed him. Şukri Sekban became a part of the propaganda machine of the Turkish government and published a book entitled *La Question Kurde*, in Paris. In the book, he argues that the Kurdish people are originally “Turkic”.²⁷⁴

For a while, the negotiation process calmed the atmosphere around Mount Agirî. Both sides stopped attacking each other during this period. The Turkish government had let family members of Biro Heskî Têllî move to Mount Agirî and settle in a village called *Kurdava*.²⁷⁵ They also sent Yaşar Khanum, the wife of Ihsan Nuri, to Syria upon his request. Sheikh Evdilqadir’s family was also allowed to return from exile and settle near Mount Agirî. However, the Turks were also preparing for military operations if negotiations failed.

As a result, the situation between 1927 and 1928 was unstable. Political and military steps occurred at the same time. Both the rebels and the Turkish side were negotiating while also preparing for further clashes.

Garo Sasuni describes this unstable period as a solid, well-organized period for preparing the “Big Ararat Revolt.” The fighters were getting ready, people were organizing, small fighter groups were destroying the Turkish military bases, and all were waiting for orders from Xoybûn to start the rebellion.²⁷⁶

4.2.2.3 The End of Negotiation Process

In these circumstances, in the fall of 1928, the clashes started again. The first and most important clash happened in Kanikork. This clash is described by Ihsan Nuri in a very

²⁷⁴ Sekban, Chukru Mehmed; *La Question Kurde: Des Problemes Des Minorites Paperback*, Les Presses Universitaires, Paris, 1933.

²⁷⁵ This village was belonged to the Armenian people previously, and it was empty since the Genocide. The Agirî fighters re-named it as *Kurdava* and settled there.

²⁷⁶ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY’dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med yay., Istanbul, 1992, pp.309-311.

fantastic, nationalistic way. In a very surrealistic scene, Ihsan Nuri mentions the victory of 21 Kurdish fighters against 2000 Turkish troops who were supported by the air forces.²⁷⁷

In 1929, disappointment with the amnesty led the movement to grow in Agirî again. People such as Temirê Şemkî, who had left the mount after the amnesty, returned. Other people who had problems with the Turkish government were also rejoining the resistance.²⁷⁸

Similarly, the Tendürük military operation, which was held in September 1929 to disarm and displace Sheikh Evdilqadir, the religious leader of the Saqan tribe, resulted in his rejoining the resistance.

The beginning of 1930 was the final year for both the Kurdish and Turkish sides. The Turkish military documents describe this period as preparation for the 3rd Agirî military operation to annihilate the *banditry* problem.

According to most Kurdish accounts, this was the biggest step towards to Kurdish independence. The Kurdish flag was already waving on Mount Agirî, and it appeared that, under the ideological leadership of Xoybûn, it would soon spread throughout Kurdistan. Since the Turkish government was aware of this, they were preparing to destroy the Agirî Kurdish National Forces to prevent such a revolution.

Thus, the big Kurdish resistance started after the Turkish army moved on Mount Agirî. Ihsan Nurî ordered major attacks to reduce the pressure on the mountain, to break the Turkish forces, and to spread the revolt to the neighboring regions. The first attack started on 4th July 1930, around the Zilan valley. It was backed by the fighters in Agirî according to a directive sent by Ihsan Nurî.²⁷⁹

In fact, the assault happened differently, two weeks earlier than was planned by Ihsan Nuri, in the night of 20th January 1930, led by Kor Huseyin Pasha's sons Nadir and Mehmed, and strengthened by Ûsivê Evdal and Seyîd Resûl, a hundred Heyderan fighters attacked Zîlan district, took control of it, and defeated the Turkish military base. Then they marched on Erdîş (Turk: Erciş) where the Turkish military and militias were defending the city against the

²⁷⁷ Interestingly, Ihsan Nuri reveals that he did not have a rifle until the battle of Kanikor. In this battle he captured a gun from the Turkish forces. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1996, pp. 49, 50, 78.

²⁷⁸ Nonetheless, the problem was still banditry according to the Turkish government. Sent on the 1st and 3rd of July 1929, two domestic telegraphs (placed in the Appendices) regarding some clashes with the Kurdish groups led by Ferzende Beg indicates their approach. The group is called as "the band of Ferzende". See; Appendices, Telegraphs to the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, Figure numbers 18 and 19.

²⁷⁹ A copy of this directive which was dated as 18th June 1930 had been found on one of the killed fighters and published by the Turkish military officer Zühtü Güven on the *Dünya* Newspaper as a serial between 6th March-29th April 1953 as a part of his memoir. See, Karaca, Emin, *Ağrı Eteklerinde İsyan/ Bir Kürt İsyanının Anatomisi*, Puslu Yay., İstanbul, 2013, pp.192-195.

Kurdish fighters. Therefore, despite having partial control in the town, the fighters could not defeat the militias and the Turkish military in Erdîş.²⁸⁰

Not waiting until 4th July, and not informing Ihsan Nuri that the attack started was the biggest mistake of the fighters in Zîlan, according to Ihsan Nuri. By the time the Agirî leaders heard that the attack had begun, the Turkish military already started to isolate the area, wiping out the resistance. They sent groups to the Suphan and Norşin Turkish military bases to help the fighters in Zîlan, but it was too late.²⁸¹ The Turkish army had taken the initiative, under the protection of its air forces, and with the contribution of Kurdish militias fighting for them, they advanced on the ground.

Indeed, Nadir and Mehemed Beg were suffering from lack of political and military experience. For example, during the Patnos siege, while Nadir Beg was preparing to attack the military base in Patnos, his brother Mehemed Beg called the military base to surrender. Thus, the military prepared for the counterattack. In this way, Nadir Beg and his group lost a lot of men when they attacked the base.²⁸²

The revolt in Zilan continued throughout July 1930, but as the Turkish military forces were advancing, the Kurdish fighters retreated. The priority of the resisters was to secure their families' safety by moving them higher up Mount Agirî, especially after the commencement of air bombardments, which was regarded as a punishment campaign on civilians. However, having families on the mountain was a further disadvantage for the fighters since these families became open targets for the Turkish air forces. Further complicating the situation was the lack of water and food on the mountain.

Although the revolt in Zîlan was bigger than in Agirî, and connected to the resistance, Sasuni does not consider the Zîlan rebellion as a part of the Agirî revolt. Instead, he mentions it as a parallel movement led by the sons of Kor Huseyin Pasha and Ibrahim Beg (the son of

²⁸⁰ On the other hand, the revolt in Zilan did not start in that way, according to Kemal Süphandağ. Five sons of Kor Huseyin Pasha had agreed to meet on the Mount Agirî, and to start a revolt in Zilan in accordance with the Agirî leaders. However, three of them, Afit, Silêman and Üsiv were killed by mercenaries while trying to reach Mount Agirî. Mehemed and Nadir succeed to reach the outskirts of the mount after being faced with a lot of threats. Mercenaries, even some of their relatives were keep reporting them to the Turkish military whenever they received information regarding their whereabouts. Unfortunately, the rebels on the mount could not manage to take them to up. Thus, they returned to Zîlan, and started the rebellion by their own. See; Süphandağ, Kemal, *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Heyderan Aşireti ve Ağrı Direnişi*, Pel Yay., Istanbul, 2021, pp. 183, 210-211.

²⁸¹ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, p. 88.

²⁸² Süphandağ, Kemal, *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Heyderan Aşireti ve Ağrı Direnişi*, Pel Yay., Istanbul, 2021, p. 217.

Emin Pasha).²⁸³ However, the rebellions were somehow related as we saw through the given directive by Ihsan Nuri in the previous page. Furthermore, Mehemed Beg, the son of Kor Huseyin Pasha also confirms they had relations with Ihsan Nuri and Xoybûn.²⁸⁴

The second attempt to defeat Turkish aggression on Agirî was the attack on Oremar²⁸⁵ on 21st and 22nd July 1930. Sent by Sheikh Ahmed Barzanî, under the leadership of Mullah Huseyin Sherif, a few hundred Kurdish fighters from southern Kurdistan - which was under British Mandate area - marched on the town of Oremar and the military border subdivision base.

Although the rebels took control of the town of Oremar, they could not defeat the military base at the border. They sieged it for a few days but then, the Turkish military reached the subdivision and forced the rebels out.

The answer of the Turkish army to these attempts was harsh and brutal. The Turkish air forces started to bomb the civilians on 2nd August and continued it throughout the month. Thus, while the Kurdish fighters were retreating, the Turkish troops were advancing on the ground. The Turkish forces burned villages and killed civilians as part of their punishment campaign.

Another attempt to support the resistance from the south - the French controlled area - did not work at all. Haco Agha,²⁸⁶ who was one of the foremost names in Xoybûn, tried to advance within the borders of Turkey alongside his armed tribesmen. However, he retreated without a clash with the Turkish army. He had so many troubles with local Kurdish tribes that before the Turkish military acted, those rival tribesmen stopped Haco Agha advancing on the ground.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 313.

²⁸⁴ Süphandağ, Kemal, *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Heyderan Aşireti ve Ağrı Direnişi*, Pel Yay., Istanbul, 2021, p. 183.

²⁸⁵ As it was said on the previous pages, we hear nothing about the Oremar revolt from Ihsan Nuri except some citation from the Cumhuriyet newspaper. It looks that Ihsan Nuri had learned the Oremar attempt after the defeat of the resistance while he was living in Iran. It is also very interesting that the Oremar attempt is accepted as a direct contribution to the resistance in Agirî by the Turkish General Staff. Perhaps, the Turkish side had understood that the Oremar attack was done to spread the resistance to Hakkari whilst Ihsan Nuri was not aware of it being isolated on the Mount Agirî.

²⁸⁶ Haco Agha, being the chieftain of Hewêrkî tribe, had sided with the Turkish government during the Sheikh Said revolt as stated in the footnotes of the section of "Xoybûn".

²⁸⁷ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 315.

After the two major attempts to spread the resistance, the Zilan and Oremar attacks, were repelled by the Turkish military, the situation became critical for the fighters on Mount Agirî. There were approximately a few hundred fighters, with limited ammunition, and facing a scarcity of food and water.

During August of 1930, whilst the Turkish army besieged Mount Agirî, enforcing their military to start the major attack, special battalions together with Kurdish militias sustained a clearance and punishment campaign in the villages of Zilan region under the command of Derviş Pasha. Thousands of civilians were killed in this campaign while several villages were burnt. As the bloodiest part of the Turkish military operations around Agirî, Sasuni mentions that around 5.000 civilians were killed,²⁸⁸ while the Turkish newspaper Cumhuriyet claimed 15.000 *bandits* were killed in the Zilan Valley only.²⁸⁹

The Turkish military started attacks on Mount Agirî in the beginning of September 1930. Turkish troops which consisted of 66.000²⁹⁰ soldiers and had 100 warplanes, were attacking a few hundred fighters who suffered from a lack of water and ammunition, as Ihsan Nuri states. The fighters put up resistance against the major Turkish attack while also trying to escape with their families to Iran.

Sasuni also argues that 60.000 Turkish troops alongside 100 bomber jets were sent to defeat the resistance in 1930. Furthermore, by citing from an anonymous European

²⁸⁸ Sasuni, Garo, Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 314.

²⁸⁹ The number of the victims is a very controversial topic, and each source gives different numbers. As we see above, Garo Sasuni mentions about 5.000 deaths in Zilan. The Cumhuriyet Newspaper conveys 15.000 killed people only in the Zilan valley. Some other accounts give much more higher numbers. Interestingly, the numbers given by the Cumhuriyet Newspaper have directly been cited by almost all Kurdish accounts since the numbers are too high. The newspaper was claiming that only one Turkish platoon had killed 1.000 *bandits* in one single operation. The Kurdish accounts have directly transferred these numbers to show the killed civilian people in Zilan. However, as we check the population of the people in the region, in compare of the habitants around the region, we can easily recognize that the numbers given by the newspaper is mostly propaganda. According to the official census statistics of 1927 the total population of Turkey was 13.648.270. The population of Van province was 75.309 and Hakkari was 24.980. Although the number of the population in Bayezid was 104.586, only 58.26% of them was Kurdish speaking people. Source: <http://www.mku.edu.tr/files/200-0bb55d9e-e0bb-413b-a4a9-d21120852f52.pdf> (Accessed on 1st September 2022.) In this sense, we can estimate that the total number of Kurdish people in Bayezid province was around 60.000. This number was including the militia fighting behalf of the government and their families, and the number of bystander villages. Yet, it was the bloodiest phase of the Agirî resistance but claiming killed tens of thousands of Kurdish people in Zilan does not match with the number of habitants in the area. Two other sources mention different numbers: Dengbêj Reso mentions 1.500 victims which were killed by the squad of Derviş Pasha and Kurdish militias in the *Kilama Gelîyê Zilan*. The Associated Press counts the killed Kurds as 3.000 people. The mentioned news of Associated Press is in the Appendices of the dissertation, Figure 17-b.

²⁹⁰ Ihsan Nuri Paşa has cited these numbers from the Cumhuriyet Newspaper. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyani*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, pp. 98, 107, 111.

newspaper, this number was increased to 100.000 troops and 100 aircrafts in his book.²⁹¹

These numbers have been repeated by many Kurdish accounts.²⁹²

The offensive of the Turkish army, combined with the contribution of Kurdish militias was too substantial for the fighters in Agirî. The air bombardment, the huge numbers of the Turkish troops, the mass killing of civilians in the Zîlan Valley, plus the collaboration of Kurdish militias who knew the territory better than the Turkish troops, proved to be an insurmountable barrier in the isolated topography of Mount Agirî. Thus, they decided to leave Mount Agirî, and escape to Iran.

However, the situation on the Iranian border was also getting worse. The Iranian government, which maintained a neutral position for a long time, changed its attitude at a very critical moment, choosing to ratify an agreement with the Turkish government.²⁹³

This was an extraordinary disappointment for the fighters, especially for the commander-in-chief commander Ihsan Nuri. Until this political shift, the leaders of the Agirî resistance never considered Iran as an enemy which might collaborate with Turkey.²⁹⁴

In fact, after maintaining a neutral position for a long time, upon the pressure of the former Soviet Union, Iran had changed its position in favor of Turkey. And, after this political shift, the land which was under the control of Iran was no longer safe for the Kurdish fighters.

²⁹¹ Sasuni, Garo, Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri, Med Yay., İstanbul, 1992, p. 314.

²⁹² It looks that if you take out some exceptions such as Kemal Süphandağ who claims that 50 warplanes were used to defeat the Agirî rebellion (See; Kemal Süphandağ; IMC TV; Dirok, Part: 38) all the Kurdish written accounts agree that 100 warplanes had been used against the Agirî revolt in 1930. However, if we compare this number with the total numbers of the Turkish Air Forces in that time, we fall in a big contradiction. In fact, the total number of the Turkish jets was not more than 100 warplanes in 1930. In 1928, the whole budget of the Turkish Air Forces was 4.526.991 TL, and the number of staff was 407. The budget was designed for 100 aircrafts, and it did not change so much until 1932. The Turkish Air forces was re-designed through both its hierarchical structure and management, but the number of warplanes was still around 100 in 1930. And despite a big campaign to increase the number of warplanes between 1932 and 1936, the number of fighter jets was still 215, in 1938. This number would reach 500 in 1940. See; Yalçın, Osman, *Türk Tarihi Bakımından 20. Yüzyılda İki Önemli Gelişme: "Havacılığın ve Bir Liderin Doğuşu"* (Turkish Studies - International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic, Volume 6/2 Spring 2011, p. 1033-1062. The official number of the Turkish warplanes used in the third Agirî military operation was 42 which 17 of them were belong to the 3rd Warplane Battalion of Karaköse, and 25 of them were belong to the 1st Warplane Battalion of Erciş. See: *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, pp. 514-525.

²⁹³ Iran and Turkey had agreed upon some protocols on the 22nd of April 1926 and on 15th June 1928, but Iran did not apply them until the summer of 1930. These protocols became agreement and signed officially on 23rd January 1932. See; Soysal, İsmail, *Tarihçeleri ve Açıklamaları ile Birlikte, Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları* Cilt:1. (1920–1945), Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, Ankara, 1983, pp. 276-278.

²⁹⁴ The memory of the leader of the resistance, Ihsan Nuri Paşa, is a clear proof of this approach. In his memoir he expresses his/their disappointment about the Iran's changed policy toward to Kurds because they had always considered Iran as a friend of Kurds. See; Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Peri Yayınları, İstanbul, 1992, pp.79, 104-107.

Besides allowing the Turkish troops to operate within the Iranian borders, the Iranian government was trying to disarm the rebels by asking them to surrender. To facilitate this, they sent military forces and militias to catch or kill the Kurdish fighters who refused to leave their arms to surrender and become refugees in Iran.

Sasuni criticizes the Iranian position during the resistance. However, he also argues, after four months of balancing diplomacy between the Kurds and Turks, under the pressure of the Soviet government, and upon seeing the fall of the resistance, the Iranian government abandoned its neutral position, choosing to act against the resistance. In other words, he does not blame Iran for this shift but sees it as an unavoidable step.²⁹⁵

During those four months, the rebels resisted bravely from June to the end of September 1930 against the overwhelming power of the Turkish troops, according to Sasuni. The revolt spread all over Western Armenia, except Erzurum, and over the entire territory of Kurdistan. Only in Zilan 7 warplanes of the Turkish army were brought down. The fighters attacked Turkish soldiers in small groups, killing many of them, taking their arms, and retreating to their base camp on the top of the mountain. Turkish troops attacked 10,000 Kurdish fighters with 60,000 soldiers, while Sheikh Ahmed Barzani sent 5,000 horsemen²⁹⁶ to reinforce the revolt in Oremar. After four months, the revolt ended with the killing of 5,000 civilians and the destruction of 200 villages by the Turkish army, Sasuni mentions. In these months, economic and political situation in Turkey became worse because of tension at the international level between Iran, the USSR, and Turkey.²⁹⁷ Sasuni also claims political problems which the Turkish Government was facing on the international level, but in fact, the international community's knowledge of the matter was largely based on quotes from the Turkish Cumhuriyet Newspaper.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 317.

²⁹⁶ Again, these numbers are exaggerated. Neither the Kurdish rebels did have 10,000 fighters nor did Sheikh Ahmed Barzanî send 5,000 cavalries. It seems Garo Sasuni wasn't hesitant to exaggerate the numbers, retrieved from Xoybûn and Dashnaksutiun, to exemplify the extent of the resistance in Kurdistan.

²⁹⁷ In fact, the reality was different. As Gorgas writes regarding the Agiri resistance "[...] for different reasons Turkey, British Iraq, French Syria and, ultimately Persia concluded that the Kurdish-Armenian alliance was not beneficial for a region where stability was necessary for the consolidation of newly established states". See; Gorgas, Jordi Tejel, "The Last Ottoman Rogues: The Kurdish-Armenian Alliance in Syria and the New State System in the Interwar Middle East." In: Ramazan Hakkı Öztan and Alp Yenen (eds), *Age of Rogues: Rebels, Revolutionaries, and Racketeers at the Frontiers of Empires*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2021, p. 358.

²⁹⁸ When we read the news through New York Times (NYT) of that time, not only the given numbers and names but almost everything is copy-pasted from the Turkish Cumhuriyet Newspaper. As it is attached to the Appendices of the dissertation, on the NYT of 7th July 1930, it is written as "15,000 bandits are reported killed". This news is a direct citation from the Cumhuriyet Newspaper, including its humiliating wit. See; Appendices,

Ihsan Nuri emphasizes the inequality between the Turkish and Kurdish sides regarding the number of troops, arms, and ammunition, and at the end of the book, he argues that if there had been even 500 fighters in Agirî, the result would have been different. Then, to describe how the Turkish army were “shocked” by the resistance, he fantastically narrates how the Mount Agirî repelled a Turkish warplane to protect “its children” from the barbarism of the Turks.²⁹⁹ Nonetheless, despite having this kind of surrealistic narratives, he is more realistic than Sasuni about the numbers of Turkish troops and Kurdish fighters.

The fighters left Mount Agirî as two groups. The first group, which included Ihsan Nuri, broke through the Turkish army’s siege at night and passed to Iran. The second group, led by Biro Heskî, reached Iran in the following day.³⁰⁰

According to Sasuni, however, the second group, led by Biro Heskî, stayed on Mount Agirî, and confronted the Turkish army with non-stop attacks. Therefore, the Turkish army was not able to stay on Mount Agirî more than a few weeks and thus, the Kurdish fighters re-settled on the mountain.³⁰¹

In fact, the information given by Sasuni here is totally unrealistic. Biro Heskî also left the mountain, but he did not surrender to the Iranians. He lived in the mountains in Iran for a while until he was killed by the Iranian army and its Kurdish mercenaries.³⁰²

At the end of September, while the last fighters were crossing the Iranian border, the Turkish army was celebrating its victory.³⁰³ The Turkish newspaper *Milliyet*³⁰⁴ characterized

Fig. 16-a,b,c. Similarly, the News from Association Press show that the Kurdish fighters are called as “rebellious tribesmen” or “bands” same as they are described by the Turkish authorities. See; Appendices, Fig. 17-a, c,d,e

²⁹⁹ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, pp. 98, 104,112.

³⁰⁰ The son of Biro Heskî, Abdullah Çoktin was on the mount that night: “We were besieged between the big and small Agirî mountains by the Turkish soldiers, and nobody was daring to try to break the siege. My father (Biro Heskî Têllî) was urging his fighters to break the siege to open a passage, but they were rejecting to try it. Finally, ten fighters from the group of Ferzende Beg attacked, and broke the Turkish army’s siege. Thus, we were able to pass to Iran.” See; Hun, Mücahit Özden, *Iğdır ve Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Alter Yay., Ankara, 2019, p.120.

³⁰¹ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY’dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 319.

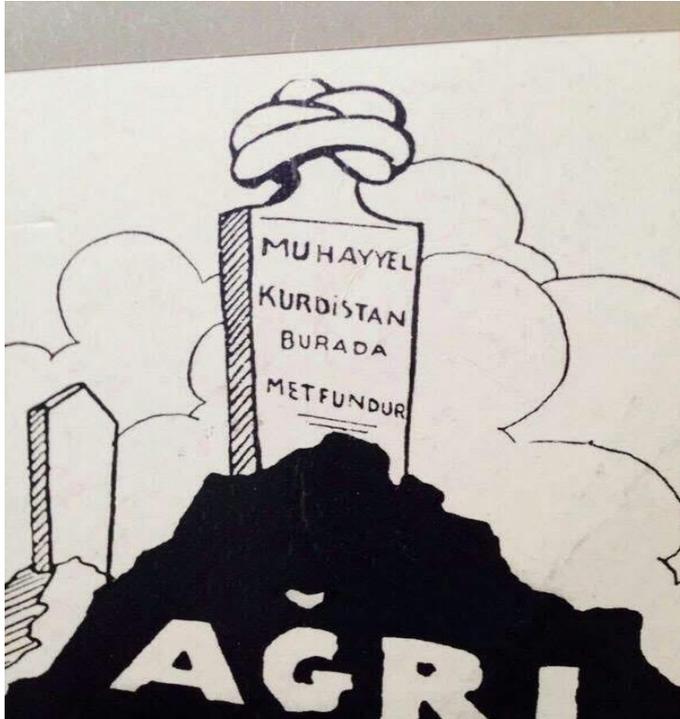
³⁰² According to Kemal Süphandağ, Biro Heskî was killed by Emerxan, a Kurdish mercenary in Iran. He was also the killer of Iranian Kurdish leader Esmail Simko. See; Kemal Süphandağ, IMC TV, *Dirok*, Part: 38.

³⁰³ The Turkish official news agency Anadolu Ajansı recently published the filming of the Turkish soldiers while setting the Turkish flag on the top of the Mount Agirî in 1930. This video is available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=79E7FH3Yjd8> (Accessed on 28th July 2022).

³⁰⁴ This *Milliyet* newspaper is not the contemporary Turkish newspaper *Milliyet*. It was published between 1926 and 1935 in Istanbul. The newspaper published the cartoon on the 19th of September of 1930.

this situation on 19th September 1930 with a cartoon showing a grave where “the imaginary Kurdistan is buried here.”

”:



4.2.3 The Agirî Resistance Through the Dengbêjî Narratives

To present another picture of the Agirî resistance, after the analysis of the Turkish and Kurdish written accounts, our focus will shift to the Kurdish collective memory as reflected in the kilams. These narratives will then be compared with the written accounts, to see whether their description of the people and the context of the resistance corresponds with the written accounts, or not. This analysis aims to question the received knowledge regarding the resistance, which was mostly based on written accounts.

As previously stated, from the early years of the Republican era, a strict oppression and assimilation policy was implemented in Turkey. Anything related to Kurdish identity was banned. Between 1930s and 1960s it was not possible to hear or read about the recent past of Kurds in Turkey. Meanwhile, clear pictures of past resistance and atrocities were circulated in the collective memory of Kurmanj people in Turkey via dengbêjî and kilam. Moreover, it can be observed that the most vivid and lively versions of those descriptions are situated in the Serhed region, where the Agirî resistance happened, and where the dengbêjî tradition is strongest. Therefore, it might be the case that memory of these events becomes blurred as one moves away from the center of the resistance and tradition.

A more remarkable point is the following: Although the Agirî Resistance's press center, Xoybûn, was in Syria³⁰⁵ and the proclamations and publications were mostly printed and distributed there, one cannot compare the effects of these written works with the impact of kilams on the collective memory of the Kurmanj. The written texts, despite all their advantages, did not leave a mark as strong as the oral discourse did, mainly because the obvious target-group of the written discourse was the literate public. In Turkey during this period the literacy rate among Kurds was quite limited³⁰⁶ and there was severe repression of all things Kurdish. Unlike written texts, the kilams reached most of the people. They were handed on from region to region and from generation to generation. They overcame the various impediments put in the way of propagating Kurdish culture, because dengbêjs did not need legitimate permission, press, or technical instruments.

³⁰⁵ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 288-290.

³⁰⁶ As it was mentioned in the beginning of the first chapter, according to the sources of <https://ourworldindata.org/literacy> the rate of literacy in Turkey was 62% in 1975. This rate was much lower among the Kurdish people since schools were only in Turkish and not so common in Kurdish areas.

As was discussed in the second chapter, the Serhed region was the stronghold of dengbêjî tradition. The best dengbêjs came from this region. Furthermore, through the kilams, the people and events connected with the Agirî resistance are fully preserved in living memory here. This memory, moreover, is typically different from the written history. That difference is crucial to understand the collective memory of the Kurdish-Kurmanj people. From the perspective of dengbêjî narratives, people who fought in Agirî belonged to certain families and tribes. They fought against the governments to protect their values, such as religion, honor, and reputation while at the same time having problems with other Kurdish tribes and families.

If we compare the oral and written sources regarding the resistance in Agirî two main differences appear:

1. The names of the foremost leaders in the written accounts and kilams are not the same.
2. The way in which people and incidents are described through the written sources and kilams are different.

Before discussing these differences in detail, I should note that this section's analysis of selected kilams does not aim to establish pure historical truth, nor does it claim to be more truthful than the written sources. However, it illustrates the background of the collective memory of the Kurmanjs. So far, to the best of my knowledge, no study has examined the Agirî resistance based on oral traditions. The typical approach reiterates what the primary written sources have documented. As a result, this is all the literate world knows about the resistance and the fighters.

To start the comparison between written and oral sources, we may remember what contents of the relevant Turkish and Kurdish sources:

From the Turkish nationalist perspective, which is widely accepted by the academic and popular accounts in Turkey, the incidents that happened around Agirî between 1926 and 1930 were mainly security issues that were caused by banditry and the tricks of outsiders (i.e. foreign governments). According to official Turkish accounts, the Agirî Revolts were a series of small rebellions carried out by bandits and thugs -mostly without references to their ethnic identity- against the progressive Turkish government. Thus, it was essentially an issue of banditry. A few of the rebels were *kılıçartığı* (lit. 'survivors of carnage') of the Sheikh Said Revolt. All were encouraged by outsiders.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 497-499.

From the Kurdish nationalist perspective, led by Xoybûn, the Agirî revolt was a national revolt for independence, and the fighters were Kurdish national heroes. The Kurdish written accounts tended to describe the resistance as a unified and organized national revolt against the colonialist Turkish Republic. Xoybûn was the leading organization of the revolt, and the Agirî Mountain was the headquarters of the military base of the Kurdish National Army. Appointed by Xoybûn, Ihsan Nuri was the commander-in-chief of the Kurdish national army of the Agirî Kurdish Republic.

We may now examine the details of these accounts and try to list the overlapping names in the resistance:

1. The Turkish military reports indicate that:

“In the end of 1929 the amount of the bandits consisted of 350 horsemen and 120 infantry men. They mainly belonged to the Hassas, Örenli, Şiphanlı, Haydaranlı, Milanlı, Hesananlı, Zirkanlı, Cibranlı and Mokerlu tribes and they were led by Biro Haso. Above all of them there was Ihsan Nuri and the Armenian Zilan.”³⁰⁸

From this perspective, the main roles in the Agirî revolt were assigned to İhsan Nuri, the Armenian Zilan (Ardashes Moradian), and Biro Heskî Têllî through the military reports of the Turkish General Staff.

The documents also mention the names of Şeyh Abdulkadir (Sheikh Evdilqadir), Halis (Xalis Begê Sipkî), Ferzende (Ferzende Begê Hesênî), Şeyh Tahir (Sheikh Tahir), Şeyh Fevzi (Sheikh Feyzî) and Şimikanlı Timur (Temirê Şemkî) concerning their role in the Agirî resistance in 1930. On the other hand, the reports of the Zilan military operation mention the names of Şeyh Zahir (Sheikh Zahir), Yusuf Abdal (Usivê Evdal), Seyid Resul (Seyîd Resûl), KörhüseynPashaoğulları (the brothers Nadir and Meheme), and EminPashaoğulları (the brothers Bûrhan, Ebûbekir, Usman, İbrehîm and Umer).

2. In the Kurdish written accounts, the names of the leaders are the same. Like the Turkish official accounts, the main role in the Agirî revolt was attributed to Ihsan Nuri, Biro Heskî Têllî and Zilan Beg (Ardashes Moradian) by Garo Sasuni:

³⁰⁸ *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları-I*, Kaynak Yayınları, 2012, İstanbul, p. 497. (Once again, I should remind that the names of the tribes are wrong. The corrected names: HassasÖrenli is Hessesori, Şiphanlı is Sipkî, Haydaranlı is Heyderî, Milanlı is Milî, Hesananlı is Hesênî, Zirkanlı is Zirkî, Cibranlı is Cibrî, and Mokerlu is Merxurî. Moreover, except the Hessesori, Saqan and Xelikan tribes which were belong to the Celali tribal confederation; other tribes mentioned here had only some small groups or a few people in the resistance. Namely, they had not joined the revolt as whole tribes. Furthermore, the Heyderî tribes did not directly join to the resistance in Agirî, but they started a connected revolt in Zilan. On the other hand, the Milan tribe did not join the resistance, even more, some of the Milî families were fighting against the rebels, behalf on the Iranian army.

“These three names were politically open-minded, and their aim was the independence of Kurdistan and Armenia. They had a lot of theoretical and practical experience, and they trusted in the Kurdish-Armenian alliance.”³⁰⁹

Sasuni mentions other names such as Ferzende Beg, Adevi Aziz (Edoyê Ezîzî), Taceddin, Kamil Malhor (Kamilê Merxurî), Yusuf Redkini (Usivê Redkî), Mistefa Kelo (Mistefayê Kêlo), and Weli Hase Sori (Welîyê Hesesorî).³¹⁰ However, he does not give any further information about these names.

Upon the agreement between Xoybûn and Dhasnaksutiun signed on 29th October 1927, Zîlan Beg (Ardashes Moradian)³¹¹ went to Mount Agirî and joined the revolt. However, despite having a big role in the book of Sasuni, according to the memoir of Ihsan Nuri, Zîlan Beg was only an observer in Agirî. The Armenian group, which was sent by the Dashnaksutiun, consisted of Zîlan Beg and four armed men. They were not involved in the clashes. Furthermore, Zîlan Beg was tricked by the Soviet soldiers, arrested in the summer of 1929, and sent to Siberia.³¹² Therefore he could not have had a big role in the Agirî revolt, as we read the memoir.

On the other hand, in the memoir of Ihsan Nuri, the main role is given to Ihsan Nuri himself and Biro Heskî Têllî. He was the appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Kurdish forces in Agirî by Xoybûn while Biro Heskî Têllî was the appointed governor of Agirî.

Regarding the Agirî revolt, many other people like Emerê Besê, Elo Beşo, Seyîd Resûl, Temirê Şemkî, the sons of Kor Huseyn Pasha, and Sheikh Evdilqadir are mentioned in the memoir of Ihsan Nuri. However, the main roles, after Ihsan Nuri and Biro Heski Têllî, are attributed to Ferzende Beg, Xalis Beg, and Edoyê Ezîzî. Furthermore, these three people, alongside their small groups, were almost the only remaining fighters after the Amnesty Law of the Turkish government in 1928.³¹³

Thus, the main roles and names given by the Turkish General Staff, Garo Sasuni, and Ihsan Nuri, results in two groups each consisting of three names.

³⁰⁹ Sasuni, Garo, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketleri ve 15. YY'dan Günümüze Ermeni Kürt İlişkileri*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1992, p. 310.

³¹⁰ Interestingly, we do not hear the name of any sheikh who had involved into the resistance from Sasuni. It looks that he has simply ignored the religious people in the resistance!

³¹¹ Garo Sasuni revealed the name of Zilan Beg in 1969, in the second edition of his book, and told that Zilan Beg was Ardashes Moradian, an Armenian from Xinûs-Erzirom Turk: Hınıs-Erzurum).

³¹² Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, p. 61-63.

³¹³ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, p. 35.

The first group consists of Biro Heskî Têllî, Ihsan Nuri and Zîlan Beg (Ardashes Moradian). Hence, it might be expected that these three names would be remembered as the foremost names of the resistance in the Kurdish-Kurmanj society, but this is not so. Significantly, there does not seem to be a single kilam that mentions these men in connection with the Agirî resistance. Even though Biro Heskî Têllî was a local person who was known, at least, by his own circle, there is no well-known kilam about him and his role in the resistance. His name is only mentioned in a kilam which tells of the killings of the three sons of Kor Huseyin Pasha (Ûsiv, Efit, Silêman) while they were trying to reach Mount Agirî. The name of Biro Heskî is just mentioned there as being on the Mount Agirî.

Similarly, although he is prominently mentioned by the written sources, there is not a single word in any kilam about Ihsan Nuri and Ardashes Moradian. Ardashes Moradian was from Xinûs, a district of Erzirom (Turk: Erzurum) and perhaps he was not famous among local people. Plus, he did not stay on the mountain for a long time. So, it is understandable that he was not known by the society. However, Ihsan Nuri was from the Cibiran tribe, and he was also known in the region due to his ex-military status in the Turkish army. He was a gendarme commander in the Agirî region before being sent to Beyt-ul Şebab district of Hekarî (Turk: Hakkâri), in 1924, and he was known to the local notables.³¹⁴ Nonetheless, we do not hear his name through kilams.

The reasons why these three names do not appear to exist in the collective memory of the society may be a topic for further research. However, we may question if they really had such an important role in the resistance, or if the resistance was as big as imagined, how is it possible that there is no trace in the collective memory regarding these three people?³¹⁵

Since these names do not have a place in the collective memory, it is very reasonable to assume their reputations are mostly *attributed* to them by written accounts only. It appears that due to the lack of written history of Kurmanj people, the few available written accounts have become the main discourse in terms of influencing the following accounts.

Since these three names do not exist in kilams, they will be left aside from the comparison in this part of the study. Instead, the chapter will focus on the other three names

³¹⁴ In contrast, we hear the names of some Turkish military commanders such as Nidayî Beg and Dewrêş Beg through certain kilams. These two names exist both on the Turkish and Kurdish written accounts as the lower rank military officers. Furthermore, some foremost Kurdish militias such as Hemê Hecî Elî and Sheikh Taho are mentioned in kilams regarding their negative roles in the resistance. Both the military officers and the militias are memorized with their cruelties by the society.

³¹⁵ Similarly, despite being given a main role by the Kurdish and Turkish written accounts we do not hear any single word about Xoybûn and its intellectual cadres in the Kurdish-Kurmanj collective memory. There is any kilam, even any word about the organization in any kilam regarding their role in the Agirî resistance.

which are very well known through kilams. Examining the names based on the kilams will offer more information about the people, society, values, and general perception of that time.

These three names stem from the second group mentioned in the written accounts: Ferzende Begê Hesenî, Xalis Begê Sipkî, and Edoyê Ezîzî.³¹⁶ All three joined the resistance with their armed groups within a couple of months from the time when Biro Heskî Têllî started a resistance in Mount Agirî in the spring of 1926. Furthermore, they were the only remaining group leaders on Mount Agirî after the Amnesty Law of the Turkish government came into force in 1928.³¹⁷ While they are listed as secondary level leaders in the written sources, in the collective memory they are portrayed as the main fighters.

When we look at these three people, we see that all of them are tribal fighters who were Sunni Muslims, and all of them had been in the ranks of the Ottoman Hamidiye Regiments³¹⁸ prior to the Turkish Republic. They also fought in the Ottoman army during the 1st World War against the Russian troops.

In the following section three kilams will be analyzed to gain a better understanding of the differences between written accounts and collective memory regarding the Agirî resistance and its foremost fighters, their aims and values, and the social context which they originated in. These are:

1. Kilama Ferzende Beg
2. Kilama Xalis Beg
3. Kilama Edoyê Ezîzî

It should be noted that the texts were committed to writing based on only a few performances and may have minor differences from other performances. As stated before, in

³¹⁶ I should note that the name of Edoyê Ezîzî does not exist on the military reports of the Turkish General Staff, but he is known by Kurmanj people via narratives. Especially, if we consider that Edoyê Ezîzî was not a notable person, for example, a beg, sheikh, or an agha and killed during infighting by his fellows in 1928 it is possible that the Turkish authorities had no information about him. It is also possible that he was known with another name by the Turkish authorities. However, the most interesting point is the approach of Kurdish accounts to ignore the assassination of Edoyê Ezîzî. Except the book of Ahmed Aras, even today, there is not a known written account which mentions Edoyê Ezîzî's death. The reason of this ignorance is perhaps its contradiction with the imagined national struggle and unity. Since most of these accounts are tended to analyze the Agirî Resistance as a unified/national revolt, they do not want or cannot add the story of Edoyê Ezîzî to the main picture.

³¹⁷ Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, p. 35.

³¹⁸ Hamidiye Regiments were built in 1891 and were sustained until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the regiments were comprised mainly to the Kurds. The main reasons for making these regiments were to control Kurdish communities via a hierarchical discipline; and use them as a strong military force against Russian troops. However, we should note that the Kurdish tribes were sending troops to the Ottoman Army before the era of the Hamidiye Regiments as well. Peter Lerch had published some Kurmanji and Zazakî texts in 1856 after making some research among the Kurdish war detainees of the Ottoman army, in Smolenks. See; Leezenberg Michiel; *Soviet Kurdology and Kurdish Orientalism*; in *The Heritage of Soviet Oriental Studies*; Ed. Michael Kemper and Stephan Conerman; Routledge, London, 2011.

the section of “Performance of Kilams” each repetition of a kilam slightly differs from the previous one even if the dengbêj is the same.

The kilams are listed here according to their popularity. Besides the local people in Serhed, most of the Kurmanj people have heard of the name of Ferzende Beg since his kilam has been told by the foremost dengbêjs Reso and Şakiro. The fact that he joined both the Sheikh Said and Agirî rebellions is another reason of the fame of Ferzende Begê Hesenî.

The second kilam is about Xalis Begê Sipkî, who was known mostly among people in Serhed. Since Xalis Beg became involved in Turkish politics in 1950s, and because this kilam has been told by the foremost dengbêj Şakiro, it is also known to some Kurmanjs outside of the Serhed region.

The last kilam is about Edoyê Ezîzî. Not only the kilam but even his name is known only in Serhed region, generally among elderly people. This kilam has not been performed by any foremost dengbêj. Edoyê Ezîzî was not a notable person prior to his revolt, nor did he have a title such as *beg* or *agha*. This is also a probable reason why he was killed by his fellows during infighting as will be discussed in the next pages. The fact that he was killed before the main phase of the Agirî resistance, probably in late 1928, is another reason why he is less well known than Ferzende Beg and Xalis Beg.

Kilama Ferzende Beg by Dengbêj Şakiro³¹⁹

<p><i>Aghao hey li min hey li min, li min, li min, Wey maqulo hey li min hey li min li min, Asiyayê bi sê dengan bang dikirî digo de lê lê Besrayê, Dayê rebenê sibe ye şereka li me çêbû, Qaleka li me qewimî li şûna kavilî şar e, Li hewşa kavilê Mirtûmanê wey la li min nemayê Tu sêyr bike îro ji êvar de li ser kaniyê.</i></p> <p><i>Îro, ji êvara xwedê da tê gurmîna tomoftka vî zalimî nemînim sewta vê boriyê,</i></p> <p><i>Ecem e, bêşincî mezheb e, dîn û dijmin e, gulan dibarîne bi ser serê me da fenanî tawiyê, Van zaliman dîn û dujmin in de tu seyr bike malxerabo li me biriye nade me tu mohletê deqe û saniyê.</i></p> <p><i>Besrayê bi sê dengan bang dikirî digo Ferzende mala te xerabe, te digo ez Ferzende me, ez Ferzende me, Ez bavê Elfesiya, sûwarê Eznawûr im,</i></p>	<p>O my lord, O my, O my, O my, O my The wise man, O my, O my, O my Asiya³²⁰ called out three times, saying 'Besra,³²¹ the poor mother, it is morning. We have had a clash, A fight occurred, at the ruins of the town, In the court of the ruins of Mirtûman, wish I die, On the water spring since the evening, Let us witness it, today.</p> <p>Today, since the God-given evening, the bangs of the automatic weapon of this cruel enemy, and the voices of the rifle barrel are coming, It is Persian, the fifth sect (i.e., Shi'ites), the mad enemy, and peppering bullets on us, as if it is storm-hailing, These cruel enemies are mad, let's witness, damn it, they don't even allow us to breathe for a second.</p> <p>Besra called out three times, saying: Ferzende, damn you, you were saying 'I am Ferzende, I am the father of Elfesiya, the rider of</p>
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³¹⁹ Kilama Ferzende Beg was first told by dengbêj Reso, then by dengbêj Şakiro. Both versions in different varieties are available on YouTube. I had this kilam in my private collection in the early 1990s. Since Şakiro's version is longer, completed, and the sound quality is higher, it is used in this study.

³²⁰ Asiya is the mother of Ferzende Beg. All the names in this narrative were confirmed by Ahmed Aras during my interviews with him.

³²¹ Besra is the wife of Ferzende Beg.

<p><i>xwedanê kuçukçaplîyê me, li welatê Dordincî Ordîyê mêt di ser min ra qet tunîne,</i></p> <p><i>Go Besrayê, agire kulîyê bi qapiyê te ketê, Ezê bi cota gullên tomoîka vî zalimî birîndar im,</i></p> <p><i>Eva ne şerê Hesenan e, ne şerê Heyderan e, ne şerê Cibiran e, ne şerê donzdeh bavê eşîran e,</i></p> <p><i>Hewşa kaviîlê Mirtûman e, Ecem e, bêşincî mezheb e, bê dîn û bê îman e,</i></p> <p><i>Li ser serê me hurmînê topan e giregira tomoîkan û makînelîyan e, Li me biriye deqe û sanî nade me da tu mohlet û tu eman e, (ji) Gavê din da li qarşî şerîeta Mihemed sekiniye ji êvar da ji min ra dixwîne meydan û ferman e.</i></p> <p><i>Îro, ji êvara xwedê da gelo vê sibekê ezê bi cota gullên tomoîka vî zalimî birîndar im,</i></p> <p><i>Cinyazê Silêmanê Ehmed, (ji) komê Hesenan li pêş çavê min e,</i></p>	<p>Eznawur,³²² the owner of a <i>kuçikçaplî</i>,³²³ and there is no man braver than me in the region of the Fourth Army (of Turkish Republic)?</p> <p>(Ferzende) said: Besra, may your house be set on fire,</p> <p>I have been wounded by a couple of bullets of the automatic (gun) of this cruel enemy, This is neither the clash of Hesenan, nor the clash of Heyderan or Cibiran, nor the clash of twelve families of the tribes,</p> <p>At the ruins of Mirtûman, it is the Persian, the fifth sect, the unbelievers who have no faith,</p> <p>There are the reports of batteries and the bangs of automatic guns over our heads, It cuts off our breath and does not give us a break even for a second,</p> <p>It has been opposed to Mohammad's Sharia for some time,</p> <p>Since the evening, it is demanding and challenging me.</p> <p>Today, since the God-given evening, I have been wounded by a couple of bullets of automatic (gun) of this cruel enemy,</p> <p>The dead body of Silêmanê Ehmed,³²⁴ who is from the group of Hesenan, is (laying on the</p>
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³²² Eznawur is the name of the horse of Ferzende Beg.

³²³ The word "kuçikçaplî" is borrowed from Turkish for a type of gun.

<p><i>Heyfa min nayê bi kuştina Silêmanê Ehmed (ji) komê Hesenan e Heyfa min tê li wê heyfê ji êvara xwedê da li qarşî min ji milan vekirine rutbe û nîşan û alametên Hemîdiyê.</i></p> <p><i>Lo Aghao, wele nabî, bile nabî Şer giran e, Keremê QolAghasî mêrekî mêrxas e bi sê guleyan birîndar e, tê kuştinê tu car û tu zemana jê venabî, Cewabeka nebixêr hatî, dibê îro sê roj û sê şev e erz û eyalê mala Umer li kaviîlê wîran e, li ser piştê mane gazî nabîne, sitar tunîne lê peyabî,</i></p> <p><i>Esker em bin, esker em bin, Em bexê mala Umer bin, qaçaxê Romê bin, fîrarê dewletê bin, Kerem digote Evdal, digo em du peyayê mala Mistefa Agha bi tayê, bi tenê bin, Bexê mala Evdalê Mistê bin, bi maleka mînanî mala Umerê Gulî ji xwe ra bi heval bin, Sêyr bike li me û li vê zulmê Çar tûxayên Qeceran û Sêrbazan û Papaxgenî, Derê qonaxan li me bigrin, wa her du malên</i></p>	<p>ground) in front of my eyes,</p> <p>I am not lamenting for the killing of Silêmanê Ehmed, who is from the group of Hesenan, I am lamenting because they have removed the medals and emblems of the Hamidiya Army from his shoulders.</p> <p>O agha, it is not acceptable, I swear, it is not acceptable, It is a heavy clash, Keremê Qolaghasî,³²⁵ who is a very brave man, is wounded with three bullets, and about to die, Bad news heard that Umer’s family has no help, and no place and shelter to take refuge for three days and nights.</p> <p>We are the fighters, we are the fighters, We are the lambs³²⁶ of family of Umer, and the fugitives and escapees of the Turkish State, Kerem said Evdal “the two of us are all the men of Mistefa Agha’s family, The lambs of the family of Evdalê Mistê, the allies of the family of Umerê Gulî, Let us see and witness this cruelty, Four brigades of Qajars, Sarbazs, and Papaks are telling us to shut the gates of the</p>
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³²⁴ Silêmanê Ehmed is the father of Ferzende Beg.

³²⁵ Kerem Beg is a notable of Zirkan tribe. He was a Kol Aghasi in the ranks of Ottoman-Hamidiye Regiments.

³²⁶ Lamb here does not simply mean a baby sheep. In the Kurdish-Kurmanji cultural context it refers to young men of the family. It also refers to be ready to sacrifice oneself for one’s community.

<p><i>Gulî bi xwe ra, Dibêjin lawo tîfingê destên xwe daynin, teslîmî çêligên me bin.</i></p> <p><i>Ê de lêyî, lêxin bavê bavê mino, de lêxin Sustema ji hustiyên xwe da bînin, qondaxê martîniyan û çaplîyan li erdêxin,</i></p> <p><i>Em hene ji berî û paş da qaçaxê Romê ne, fîrarê dewletê ne, bexê mala Umer in,</i></p> <p><i>piçûk û mezinen me rabûne ranebûne, Murîd û canfîdayê mala Şêx in bego.</i></p> <p><i>Ê Aghao hey li min, hey li mi, li min Asiyayê bi sê dengan bang dikirî digo de lê, lê, lê Besrayê, Dayê rebenê sibe ye şereka li me çêbû Qaleka li me qewimî li şûna kaviî şar e, li hewşa kaviî Mirtûman dayê rebenê wa digere, Min dî teyrê ecelê ji êvar da li ser serê Silêmanê Ehmed (ji) komê Hesenan ji êvar da tev digere</i></p> <p><i>Bawer bike qebralix e yeqîn şer e Asiyayê digote Besrayê dayê dayê dergûşa</i></p>	<p>mansions, leave the two families of Gulî,³²⁷ lay down our arms, and surrender to their troops.”</p> <p>O shoot, o fathers of my father,³²⁸ lets shoot Make your rifles ready, and put the stocks of the Martinies and çaplîs³²⁹ onto the floor, We have been the escapees and fugitives from the Turkish State for a long time, We are the lambs of the family of Umer, And our children and adults are the followers and devotees of the family of the Sheikh,³³⁰ since they know themselves.</p> <p>O agha, O my, O my, O my Asiya called out three times, saying, “Besra, the poor mother, it is morning, we have had a clash, A conflict happened to us at the ruins of the town, in the court of the ruins of Mirtûman, it is still going on, I saw that the bird of death was circling above the head of Silêmanê Ehmed since the evening, who is from the group of Hesenan, Believe me, it is a big crowd, a heavy clash, Asiya said, “Besra, the poor mother,</p>
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³²⁷ The two families of Gulî are the families of Umerê Gulî whom Ferzende Beg is also a member of it. In the narrative, as the allies of the family of Umer, Kerem and Evdal assure that they are not going to leave those two families and surrender to the Iranian forces not to be killed.

³²⁸ In the daily usage of Kurmanji, calling someone as “my father” mostly refers to show respect to them although the same word may be used cynically in a different context. Saying “father of my father” means to express double respect as it is done in this kilam.

³²⁹ Martini and çaplî are used words to name different guns. Martini is a British gun brand. Capli is a Turkish word. It is not clear that referring which exact brand of gun.

³³⁰ Sheikh refers to Sheikh Said, the religious leader of Kurdish uprising in 1925.

milê te lawîn e, tu bi destê Elfesiya bigre ji navê derkev were,

Go lê dayê rebenê ji te re ne eyb e tu ji min ra dibêjî gotinê were,

Bila dergûşa milê min li dora lingê eşîra mala Umer, her du peyayên mala Mistefa Agha tev bigere,

Besrayê bi sê dangan bang dikir digo Ferzende mala te xerabe te digot ez Ferzende me, ez Ferzende me,

Ez bavê Elfesya, suwarê Eznawûr im, xwedanê kuçikçapliyê me, li welate dordincî ordiyê mêr di ser min re qet tunîne, Go Besrayê agirê kuliye di qapiye te ketê, ezê bi cota gulê tomoftîka vi zalimê birîndar im,

Cinyazê Silêmanê Ehmed komê Hesenan li pêş çavê min e,

Eva ne şerê Hesenan e, ne şerê Heyderan e, ne şerê Cibiran e, ne şerê donzdeh bavê eşîran e,

Hewşa kavilê Mirtûman e, Ecem e, bêşinci mezheb e, bê dîn û bê îman e,

Li ser serê me hurmînê topan e giregira tomoftîkan û makîneliyên e,

Li me biriye deqe û sanî nade me da tu mohlet û tu eman e,

Ji gava din da li qarşî şerîeta Mihemed

the baby in your arms is a boy, let's take the hand of Elfesiya and leave the battlefield.”

She (Asiya, the poor mother) answered and said, “Have you no shame that you say those kinds of words to me,

Let me sacrifice my baby before the feet of the family of Umer, and those two men of the family of Mistefa Agha.”

Besra called out three times, saying “Ferezende, damn you, you said I am Ferezende,

I am the father of Elfesiya, the rider of Eznawur, the owner of the *kuçikçapli*, and there is no one braver than me in the region of the Fourth Army (of Turkish Republic).” (Ferezende) said “Besra, may your house be set on fire, I have been wounded by a couple of bullets of the automatic (gun) of this cruel (enemy),

The dead body of Silêmanê Ehmed, from the group of Hesenan, is laying (on the ground) before my eyes,

This is neither a clash of the Hesenan, nor the clash of the Heyderan or Cibiran, nor the clash of the twelve families of the tribes, At the ruins of Mirtûman, it is the Persian, the fifth sect, which is a faithless infidel.

There are reports of batteries and the bangs of automatic guns above our heads,

It does not let us breathe or to take a break even for a second,

<p><i>sekiniye, tu seyr bike ji min ra dixwîne meydan û ferman e.</i></p> <p><i>Cinyazê Silêmanê Ehmed (ji) komê Hesenan li pêş çavê min e, Heyfa min nayê li kuştina Silêmanê Ehmed (ji) komê Hesenan e, Heyfa min tê li wê heyfê ji gava din da dikim û nakim tiliya min a eşhedê ji xwe ra li min nagere.</i></p> <p><i>Lo Aghao wele nabî, bile nabî Şer giran e Keremê QolAghasî mêrekî mêrxas e bi sê guleyan birîndar e, tê kuştinê tu carî tu zemanan jê venabî, Cewabeka nebixêr hatiye, dibê îro sê roj û sê şev e, erz û eyalê mala Umer li kaviliya wêran e ser piştê mane, gazî nabîne, sitar tunîne lê peyabî.</i></p> <p><i>Esker em bin, esker em bin Em bexê mala Umer bin, qaçaxê Romê bin, fîrarê dewletê bin,</i></p> <p><i>Kerem digote Evdal, digo em du peyayên mala Mistefa Agha, bi tayê, bi tenê bin, Bexê mala Evdalê Mistê bin, bi malekî mina mala Umerê Gulî ji xwe ra bi heval bin, Seyr bike li me û li vê zulmê çar tuxayên Qeceran û Sêrbazan û Papaxgenî, Derê qonaxanli me bigrin wan her du malên</i></p>	<p>It has been opposed to Mohammad's Sharia for some time, Since the evening, it is demanding and challenging me.</p> <p>The dead body of Silêmanê Ehmed, who is from the group of Hesenan, is laying (on the ground) before my eyes, I am not sorry for the killing of Silêmanê Ehmed, who is from the group of Hesenan I am sorry that my forefinger is not moving for the Confession of Faith since some time ago. ³³¹</p> <p>O agha, I swear, it is not acceptable, It is a heavy clash, Keremê Qolaghasî, who is a very brave man, is wounded by three bullets, and he is dying, There came the bad news that Umer's family has no help, and no place and shelter to refuge for three days and nights.</p> <p>Let us be the fighters, let us be the fighters, We are the lambs of Umer's family, the fugitives, and escapees from the Turkish State, Kerem spoke to Evdal, saying, "let us two be the only men of Mistefa Agha's family, The lambs of the family of Evdalê Mistê, the allies of family of Umerê Gulî, Look at ourselves and at this cruelty:</p>
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³³¹ In the Islamic belief, while doing *shahadat* the forefinger of right hand must be moved up. Especially while dying to move the forefinger up and to utter *kalima-i shahadat* is important for a Muslim person. In this kilam, Ferzende is wailing since he cannot move his forefinger to complete this ritual while he is about to die.

<p><i>Gulî bi xwe ra, Dibêjin lawo, tîfingên destên xwe daynin teslîmî çêligên me bin.</i></p> <p><i>Ê de lêxin bavê bavê mino de lêxin</i></p> <p><i>Sustema ji hustiyê xwe deynin, qundaxê martîniyan û çapliyan li erdêxin,</i></p> <p><i>Em hene ji berî û paş da qaçaxê Romê ne, fîrarê dewletê ne,</i></p> <p><i>Berxê mala Umer in, piçûk û mezinên me rabûne ranebûne,</i></p> <p><i>Murîd û canfedayê mala Şêx in bego.</i></p>	<p>Four brigades of Qajars, Sarbazs, and Papaks are telling us to shut the gates of the mansions, leave the two wounded families, lay down our arms, and surrender to their troops.</p> <p>O let us shoot, o fathers of my father, let us shoot,</p> <p>Let's make our arms ready, and put the stocks of the <i>Martinies</i> and <i>Kuçikçaplis</i> onto the floor,</p> <p>We have been escapees and fugitives from the Turkish State for a long time.</p> <p>We are the lambs of the family of Umer, Our children and adults have been faithful followers of family of the Sheikh, since they know themselves.</p>
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Ferzende Begê Hesenî is the son of Silêmanê Ehmed from the Hesenan tribe. In this kilam, the clash between the escapees of the Sheikh Said revolt and the Iranian army is narrated from the mouth of Ferzende Beg, his mother Asiya, and his wife Besra.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, when it became clear that there was no place for Kurdish people under the new regime such as there had been before, Ferzende Beg was one of the people who radically turned away and joined the rebellion of Sheikh Said in 1925. He was the leader of the rebel group which took control in the town of Milazgîr (Turk: Malazgirt) while his uncle Xalid Begê Hesenî led an attack to control the center of Mûş (Turk: Muş) province. After the revolt was defeated, Ferzende Beg made his way to Iran, fighting both the pro-Turkish Kurds and the Iranian military forces. Within a couple of years, he had been wounded and jailed, then, returned to Agirî to join the resistance. When the Amnesty Law was announced by the Turkish side in 1928, Ferzende Beg was one of the few people who refused to surrender. He was radically opposed to the new regime.

After the defeat of the Agirî resistance Ferzende Beg did not give up and did not surrender to the Iranian regime either. Therefore, he became a target of the Iranian government. In 1931 he was wounded again in a clash with the Iranian military forces and jailed in the Kajar prison. He died or was killed there in 1936.

In the *Kilama Ferzende Beg*, the main reason for the conflict is the intention of the Iranian army to disarm the defeated rebels. The fighters, who consider arms as their only guarantee of survival, were reluctant to surrender their arms.

The clash, which is mentioned here happened in 1925, in the Kurdish region of Iran between the fighters who survived after the Sheikh Said rebellion and the Iranian army backed by the Turkmen militias. In this clash, the father of Ferzende Beg, Silêmanê Ehmed and a notable of the Zirkan tribe, Kerem Beg, were killed. Both had been in the ranks of the Hamidiye regiments before the fall of Ottoman Empire. Ferzende Beg was injured in this clash and then jailed for four months in Iran.

However, it can also be seen in this kilam that, in the collective memory of the Kurmanj, Ferzende Beg is not a national figure. Contrary to the Kurdish written accounts, Ferzende Beg is never mentioned in connection with the national struggle, although he was a very brave tribal rebel against the Turkish Republic.

This kilam clearly reveals the identities, motivations, values, and beliefs of the Kurdish fighters who belonged to different tribes and families. The main part of the rebel group who fought with Iranian soldiers consisted of the Hesenan tribe, to which Ferzende Beg also belonged. There were also family members of Sheikh Said in the group.

Of course, when viewed from the outside or from the viewpoint of today, all those who fought against the Iranian army were Kurds and the conflict happened after a Kurdish revolt. So, it may seem plausible to represent them as Kurdish national rebels who were fighting for Kurdish independence. However, this anachronistic approach ignores characteristics of the society of that period, which was dominated by kinship rather than other social-political frameworks.

The Kurdish-Kurmanj society consisted of tribes and families, and the idea of being a nation was not common. Even during the revolts, tribes and families sided with the government or rebels, according to their own priorities.

As we see in this case, after the defeat of the Sheikh Said revolt, while Sheikh Elî Riza, the son of Sheikh Said, and some of the Hesenan tribesmen, including Ferzende Beg, were trying to escape to Iran, other Kurdish tribesmen from the Keskoî and Celalî tribes tried to prevent them from crossing the border around Mount Tendurek. Biro Heskî Têllî, who later became famous in the Agirî resistance, led the group that fought on behalf of the Turkish government. However, they failed to prevent the fighters, in this and after some small clashes the group crossed the border and passed to Iran.³³²

However, in Iran too, they could not avoid a further clash since they were forced to disarm by the Iranian soldiers.

For the people who had been engaged in an armed struggle with the Turkish government since the beginning of 1925 and who had troubles with different Kurdish tribes and families for decades, the possession of arms was the only guarantee to survive. Therefore, they refused to surrender and engaged in a clash.

The Kilama Ferzende Beg is a narrative from the center of such a tension. The fighters were besieged by the Iranian army and Turkmen militia (Karapapak) and they were asked to give up their arms and surrender.

³³² Ihsan Nuri claims that while the group was trying to escape to Iran, Kor Huseyin Pasha had tried to prevent them in favor of the Turkish government but finally, after a week, they were able to cross the border. Paşa, Ihsan Nuri, *Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Med Yay., Istanbul, 1996, p. 65. On the other hand, Kemal Süphandağ, the grandchild of Kor Huseyin Pasha argues that the incident happened at the Tendurek Mountain, namely, out of the territory of Kor Huseyin Pasha. See; IMC TV, *Dîrok*, Part:37. However, in another part of the same TV program, citing from the son of Biro Heskî Tellî, Cemal Kutlay claims that Biro Heskî and Kor Huseyin Pasha were together in that case, and they tried to block the way of the fighters to escape to Iran. See; IMC TV, *Dîrok*, Special Program with Cemal Kutlay. Likewise, some other sources claim that Kor Huseyn Pasha was not directly involved in this issue, but he had warned the group not to pass from his territory. So, the group had to pass from a longer way, and had trouble in Tendurek while Biro Heskî Têllî and some Celalî tribesmen tried to prevent them to escape to Iran.

In this kilam, the narrative is radically different from written accounts as regards the society, the fight, and the people mentioned. It clearly shows what seemed significant to the Kurdish-Kurmanj people of that time, namely:

1. Tribal and familial values.
2. Religion, notably the values of Sunni-Islam.³³³

The way Ferzende Beg is portrayed in the kilam is also quite different from his description in the Kurdish and Turkish written accounts. Despite his involvement in the Sheikh Said rebellion and being one of the foremost fighters of the Agirî resistance a few years later, one does not hear about the Kurdish identity of Ferzende Beg through the kilam. He is a brave fighter of Hesenan tribe, particularly Mala Umer, and a loyal follower of Sheikh Said.

Moreover, apart from a few intellectuals of the Agirî Resistance, such as Ihsan Nuri, almost all people were far removed from having dreams of nationhood. They had different motivations for rebelling against the Turkish government. Also, some of the leading figures had personal or family troubles with others.

Additionally, most of them acted as they used to do in past clashes with tribes or families. Although they had become part of a social struggle in Agirî, they were continuously seeking revenge for old grudges from their traditional rivals. One of the methods of revenge was *talan*,³³⁴ meaning looting. Looting was a traditional way of getting revenge among Kurds and sometimes it was committed by people in the resistance against their traditional enemies as well. Ihsan Nuri complained that he was trying to stop looting but he failed.³³⁵

Furthermore, the tribes and families usually determined their position based on the identity of their traditional rivals. Tribes sided with the resistance or the government according to the attitude of their traditional rivals. Since there was not a common idea of Kurdish identity among people, they were mainly seeking for familial or tribal benefits. It was similar for the families who belonged to the same tribe which had troubles with other

³³³ Although the most of Muslim-Kurds are belong to the Sunni sect, there are Shia-Kurds in Iran and in a few regions in Turkey.

³³⁴ *Talan* (looting) traditionally had some specific meanings among Kurds. 1. It was an economical revenue for some people, especially for people who were fugitives; 2. It consisted of harassment and humiliation especially between the tribal rivals; 3. It was a kind of challenge to show braveness to their enemies.

³³⁵ As Cemal Kutlay emphasizes that this was a “side effect” of the resistance which started as a simple non-political reaction against the government, then, included some traditional looters while growing, and then, gained a political aspect after 1928. See; IMC TV, *Dîrok*, Special Program with Cemal Kutlay.

relatives. Tribes consist of several families,³³⁶ some of whom sided with the Turkish government as their rival family supported the resistance, or *vice versa*. As Ahmed Aras shows in the case of the Sipkan tribe, one of whose notables was Xalis Beg, while he was in the resistance, some tribe members were involved in the Zîlan massacre on behalf of the Turkish government.³³⁷

Additionally, some tribes were fighting with each other even in the middle of the resistance while the Turkish army were besieging Mount Agirî and massacring people in the Zîlan valley.³³⁸

Since most of the Kurdish-Kurmanj society of that period gave priority to its tribal values, everything was evaluated in the light of tribal or religious considerations. The clash with the Iranian army is described in a similar way through the words of Ferzende Beg, one of the leading figures of the resistance.

In this kilam, the enemy is not primarily perceived as a national foe, but as a religious unbeliever, given that the Iranians were Shi'ites while the Kurdish fighters were Sunnis. Moreover, the fighters considered themselves as a part of a tribe/family which engaged in various conflicts, and they compare this clash to other familial/tribal ones which they were involved in.

<p><i>Eva ne şerê Hesenan e, ne şerê Heyderan e, ne şerê Cibiran e, ne şerê donzdeh bavê eşîran e.</i></p>	<p>This is neither the clash of Hesenan, nor the clash of Heyderan, nor the clash of Cibiran, nor the clash of the twelve families of tribes</p>
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In other words, the clash with the Iranian army is not compared to a Kurdish anti-government revolt, but to a much closer social reality: clashes among tribes and families.

³³⁶ In Kurdish it is called *malbat* and refers different families in a tribe. An important point here is distinguishing the role and structure of tribes in Kurdish communities. Contrary to the common belief, tribalism is not so much strong and hierarchical among Kurds, and tribes are usually a kind of familial confederal entities. In this structure, the head of tribe usually does not have a power to command to all members as he wants, or to do everything that he wants. What I mean is that Kurdish tribes do not have solid hierarchical structures which are under the command of the head of tribes. For further information see, footnote number 39.

³³⁷ Aras, Ahmed, *Serhildana Seyîdan û Bicaran*, Weşanên Perî, Istanbul, 2009, p. 38.

³³⁸ Between 1928 and 1930 the troubles and clashes were going on between the Saqan and Qotan tribes, and between Geloyî and Qizilbaşoxî tribes. All of them were belonging to the Celali tribal confederation but for example since the Saqan tribe had re-joined the revolt in 1929, the Qotan tribe had sided with the Turkish government. This kind of troubles among the Kurmanj tribes was a good opportunity for the Turkish government to weakening the resistance because the rival tribes were voluntarily fighting on behalf of the government against the others. See; Hun, Mücahit Özden, *Iğdır ve Ağrı Dağı İsyamı*, Alter Yay., Ankara, 2019, pp. 46-68.

Moreover, there was an alliance between the Sunni Kurmanjs and Sunni Ottoman regime, and this alliance is a source of pride in the kilam:

<p><i>Heyfa min nayê bi kuştina Silêmanê Ehmed komê Hesenan e, Heyfa min tê li wê heyfê ji êvara xwedê da li qarşî min ji milan vekirine rutbe û nîşan û alametên Hemîdiyê.</i></p>	<p>I am not lamenting the killing of Silêmanê Ehmed, who is from the group of Hesenan, I am lamenting because they removed the medals and emblems of the Hamidiye army from his shoulders.</p>
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The kilam indicates that the concept of a Kurdish national identity did not exist for the speakers and the audience at that time, or at least did not play a major role in their worldview. In contrast, the speakers' pride is based on their role as a part of the Hamidiye regiments in the late Ottoman era.

Two people who were killed, Silêmanê Ehmed and Keremê Zirkî, who had been commanders in the Hamidiye Army, are described in the kilam as wearing their Hamidiye uniforms. Moreover, their killing is not regarded as a humiliation, but the removal of their Ottoman medals and emblems from their dead bodies is. In the Kurdish context, the term *Rom* refers to the Turkish-dominated states from the Seldjuks, via the Ottomans to the Turkish Republic. However, in this kilam it specifically refers to the Turkish Republic which was proclaimed in 1923. Since the Ottomans were Muslim and the *Khalifa* (a key function of the Ottoman Emperor) was the father of all Muslim people, the relationship between the Ottoman regime and Sunni Kurds was totally distinct from the relationship between the latter and the Turkish Republic, which claimed to be secular. So, the fighters are proud to have been a part of the Ottoman state while they are the enemies of the new Republic.

Thus, being a part of the Hamidiye regiments and having medals and emblems from the Ottomans – rather than being Kurd or struggling for a Kurdish cause – is a source of pride, which shows that a common concept of a Kurdish identity did not exist yet. The Kurmanj people had joined the Kurdish Sheikh Said revolt, but their motivation was mainly religious rather than ethnic. Being Kurmanj was just a fact but fighting for it had not started yet.

In this worldview, apart from the personal lives of the fighters, the Kurdish nation, or even the existence of their tribes or families are not in danger, whereas the true religion of Mohammad is. As was said earlier the aggressor belonged to another branch of Islam, the Shia, as is also seen in the following lines:

<i>Ecem e, bêşinci mezheb e, bê dîn û bê îman e</i>	It is Persian, the fifth ‘sect’ (<i>mazhab</i>), which is an infidel without faith
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<i>Gavê din da li qarşî şerîeta Mihemed sekiniye tu seyr bike ji êvar da ji min ra dixwîne meydan û ferman e.</i>	It has been opposed to Mohammad’s Sharia for some time, Since the evening, it is demanding and challenging me.
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Islam and its Sunni branch determines alliances and enmities. Consequently, the enemy is not portrayed as a national enemy fighting against the Kurdish people. It is religious, being related to a different branch of Islam. Referring to the fact that Iranians are mostly Shi’ites and although the Shi’a is one of two main branches of Islam, in the kilam, it is described as the “fifth mazhab”,³³⁹ and considered out of the religion. This was the common belief of the society of that time. Sect appeared as a connector or separator.

Following a mighty sheikh and being devoted to a religion was a great motivational source for the rebels. In the kilam, the emphasis on being *fedayîn* (Ing.: devotees) of the family of the Sheikh can be considered as examples of this motivation.

<i>Em hene ji berî û paş da qaçaxê Romê ne, fîrarê dewletê ne Bexê mala Umer in, piçûk û mezinên me rabûne ranebûne Murîd û canfedayê mala Şêx in bego.</i>	We are the escapees and fugitives of the Turkish State since the past, and the lambs of the family of Umer, Our children and adults have been followers of family of Sheikh Since they know themselves
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“Mala Sheikh” refers to the family of Sheikh Said who was sentenced to death by the Turkish government for leading the Kurdish rebellion in 1925.³⁴⁰ The kilam reminds one that those fighting people were the followers of Sheikh Said even before the rebellion and the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Furthermore, being followers of Sheikh Said was the

³³⁹ The Sunni order of Islam has four accepted *mazhabs*, or legal schools: Shafii, Hanafi, Malaki, and Hanbali.

³⁴⁰ However, contrary to the common belief of recent years, Sheikh Said was not known/remembered as a Kurdish leader by ordinary Kurds. People knew him as a leader who sacrificed himself for Islam. I have heard about him in the same way in my childhood. We just learned from our parents that he was killed by the Turkish government because of defending Islam.

main motivation to join the rebellion. Despite having failed in the rebellion there isn't any sign of remorse in the kilam. Being the *fedayîn* of Mala Sheikh is their main and determining choice.

Briefly, in the Kilama Ferzende Beg, contrary to the written Turkish accounts which label the rebels as bandits and thugs, and the Kurdish accounts portraying them as national heroes, the rebels are identified within their own values which consist of two main points: tribal/familial and religious affiliations. In other words, they do not fight for a national struggle, nor change their lives for banditry. They simply express their own values, neither more nor less.

Kilama Xalis Beg by Dengbêj Şakiro³⁴¹

<p><i>Aghao, Aghao</i> <i>Sibe ye, şerekî li me çêbû, qaleka li me</i> <i>qewimî hey la lo mîro li Banê Xopan ji xwe</i> <i>ra vê sivingê çîya bi çîya.</i> <i>Sibe ye, min dît dûkê gawir Mencolîyê li ser</i> <i>kozika Xalis Begê, bexê Mala Şêrxo, bavê</i> <i>Xanimê, gula xaçaghan ji êvar da tev li</i> <i>hevgeriya.</i></p>	<p>O agha, O agha It is morning, a conflict happened, we have had a clash, o lord, at the Banê Xopan from mount to mount. It is morning, I saw the smoke of <i>Gawir Mencolî</i> is circling over the trench of Xalis Beg, the lamb³⁴² of Mala Şêrxo, the father of Xanim, the rose of fugitives, since the evening.</p>
<p><i>Le Xalis Begê bi sê dengan bang dikir digot</i> <i>Ahmedo lo lawo tu çê bi çê bixebite</i> <i>Eskerê vî zalimî, cimhûra teze ye, buhurê</i> <i>Mûradê li me birîye,</i></p>	<p>Xalis Beg shouted three times, saying, O Ahmed, O let's work hard, The army of this new Republic is cruel, they have blocked the passage of the Murad River,</p>
<p><i>Tu dêna xwe bide îro ji êvar da koka xulam û</i> <i>xizmetkaran li me qeliya.</i></p>	<p>Let's see, we have lost so many young men³⁴³ since the evening.</p>
<p><i>Ê Aghao li min ê li min ê li min ê li min ê hey</i> <i>wayê,</i> <i>Agirê kulê di mala Roma virek da dayê,</i> <i>Çawa bi zora dare tivingê diajo ser kozika</i> <i>bavê Xanimê, gula qaçaghan, ez nemînim li</i> <i>ser qedayê wa hêy.</i></p>	<p>O agha, woe is me, woe, woe May the house of the liar Rom (Turkish State) be burned down! As they are attacking on the trench of the father of Xanim, the rose of fugitives with their superior gunpower, may I die because of this misfortune.</p>
<p><i>Aghao, Aghao</i></p>	<p>O agha, O agha</p>

³⁴¹ This kilam is told, and probably created by dengbêj Şakiro, and it is available on YouTube.

³⁴² Once again, as it was stated before, lamb refers to young men of the family in the Kurdish-Kurmanji cultural context. It also refers to be ready to sacrifice yourself for your community.

³⁴³ As being a notable the Sipkan tribe, Xalis Beg had people who were serving for him even when he was an escapee. Similarly, as a notable of Hesenan tribe, Ferzende Beg also had men to serve for him. This status would be the breaching point of their trouble with Edoyê Ezîzî as it will be shown in the next pages.

<p><i>Herê maqulo siving e şereka li me çêbû, qaleka li me qewimî hey la lo mîro li Banê Xopanê, li Xûnaçê, Sibe ye gule têne bavê Xanimê, resmîyê Xalis begê, gula qaçaghan, fenanî tawîyê.</i></p>	<p>Yes, o wise man, it is morning, a conflict happened, we have had a clash, O lord, at the Banê Xopanê, in Xûnaçê, It is morning, as a hailstorm, the bullets are striking Xalis Beg's trench, the father of Xanim, the rose of fugitives.</p>
<p><i>Kesekî xwedanê xêran tunîne cewabekê bide Evdilmecîd Begê li kavilîya mefîtîyê Bibê mala te xerabo derbekê dest berdane bedena Xalis Begê, bexê mala Şêrxo, bavê Xanimê, gula qaçagha. Birîna vî xweşmêrî kur e, xedar e, li destê rastê, li tilîyê.</i></p>	<p>There is no one to deliver the news to Evdilmecîd Beg³⁴⁴ who has been exiled, [Saying] “Damn you, they have shot Xalis Beg, the lamb of Mala Şêrxo, the father of Xanim, the rose of fugitives, The wound of this hero is heavy on his right hand, on the finger.”</p>
<p><i>Ê Aghao li min ê li min ê li min ê li min ê hey wayê, Agirê kulê di mala Roma virek da dayê Çawa bi zora darê tivingê diajon ser kozika bavê Xanimê, gula qaçaghan, ez nemînim li ser qedayê.</i></p>	<p>O agha, woe is me, woe, woe May the house of the liar Rom (Turkish State) be burned down, As they are attacking the trench of the father of Xanim, the rose of fugitives with their superior firepower, may I die because of this misfortune.</p>

Xalis Beg³⁴⁵ was the son of Evdilmecîd Beg who was both a notable of the Sipkan tribe and a military commander in the Hamidiye Regiments. In 1926, when the Turkish government decided to exile the Kurdish notables to the western part of Anatolia, Xalis Beg refused to obey the decision, and escaped to the mountains alongside his armed tribesmen. Then, upon hearing that Biro Heskî Têllî has also escaped and started a resistance in Mount Agirî, he went there and joined him. Xalis Beg and Ferzende Beg had a kinship relation.

³⁴⁴ Evdilmecid Beg is the father of Xalis Beg, and the head of Sipkan tribe. He was leading a regiment in the Hamidiye Army and fought against Russians in the 1st World War. After the revolt of Sheikh Said, in 1925, although he was a bystander during the revolt, he was exiled as many other Kurdish notables. He died in 1930. Two kilams about Evdilmecid Beg while he was fighting against the Russian army during the 1st World War will be examined in the next section.

³⁴⁵ Xalis Beg's life story will be given at the end of this chapter.

Asiya, the mother of Ferzende was the daughter of Hecî Ûsivê Sipkî, a notable of the Sipkan tribe. Thus, the mother of Ferzende and the father of Xalis were cousins. They were called *Torin*, a name of a certain notable family.

When analyzing the *Kilama Xalis Beg*, as opposed to the *Kilama Ferzende Beg*, the enemy is not Iran but the new Turkish Republic; and it is expressed by the word *Cimhûr*, which in this context refers to the Turkish Republic:

<p><i>Eskerê vî zalimê Cimhûra teze ye, bihûrê</i> <i>Mûradê li me birîye</i></p> <p><i>Tu dêna xwe bidê ji evar da îro koka xulam û</i> <i>xizmetkaran li me qelîya</i></p>	<p>The army of this new Republic is cruel, they have blocked the passage of the Murad River,</p> <p>Let's see, we have lost so many young men since the evening.</p>
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Hence, the fight is against the new Turkish Republic, and the context is the Kurdish resistance that occurred in Agirî in 1930. However, once again, no reference can be found regarding ethnic claims, whereas there are clues about the aristocratic roots of Xalis Beg. For example, despite being a fugitive and wanted by the government, Xalis Beg has young men serving and fighting under his command during the resistance.

Perhaps, because of Xalis Beg's aristocratic status, there is some exaggeration in the narrative. While the Turkish attack led to the mass killing of young fighters, the kilam focuses on the wound of Xalis Beg and describes it as a "heavy wound" although it is a relatively light wound that damaged his finger.

Since there are no ethnic or national claims in the narrative, the fighters are described in terms such as brave or honest as below:

<p><i>Agirê kulê di mala Roma virek da yê,</i> <i>Çawa bi zora tivingê diajo ser kozika bavê</i> <i>Xanimê, gula qaçaghan, ez nemînim li ser</i> <i>qedayê</i></p>	<p>May the house of the liar Rom (Turkish State) be burned down,</p> <p>As they are attacking the trench of the father of Xanim with their superior gunpower, may I die because of this misfortune</p>
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As in the *Kilama Ferzende Beg*, the Turkish state here called "Rom" is the Turkish Republic. Rom is described as a liar. This description refers to the Kurmanjs' actual experience. Before starting the Turkish national struggle, to receive Kurds' support, the

Turkish leaders promised to restore Kurdish notables to their former status. After achieving their aims, they simply *forgot* those promises. This caused the Kurdish chieftains, to distrust the Turks. Moreover, distrust towards the Turkish state has deep historical roots among Kurds. The expression *Bextê Romê tune* (the Turkish state is treasonable) clearly reflects the attitude of Kurdish people toward to the Turkish states.

In the kilam, Xalis Beg is called as "the rose of fugitives", i.e., the dearest one among the fugitives. To illustrate his bravery, the cowardice of the Turkish army is underlined. The Turkish army attacks the trench of Xalis Beg with their superior gun power. This means, they are not brave enough to fight one to one, or with equal guns, but they are attacking Xalis Beg's trench with superior arms.

In the *Kilama Xalis Beg*, contrary to Turkish and Kurdish written accounts, Xalis Beg is not represented as a national hero or a bandit, but as a local/tribal hero who bravely fights against the Turkish army. He is "the rose of fugitives" as the leader of the escaping fighters. For rebelling against the Turkish government and clashing with it, the kilam describes him as a hero. However, this heroism described in terms of local values which were far removed from the notion of a national framework.

Briefly, although Xalis Beg was a part of the resistance in Agirî, and Kurdish written sources put him on the stage as a Kurdish national hero, there is nothing about national resistance or Kurdish struggle in the kilam. The whole narrative evolves around personal, familial, and tribal matters.

Kilama Edoyê Ezîzî by Dengbêj Nûroyê Bazîdî³⁴⁶

<p><i>Zeytûnê rebenê sibe ye min dît suwarên me suwar bûn diajon ji Îranê ji Tûran ê</i></p> <p><i>Hey la li min korê de diajon bi caran vê carê bi xal û lez in</i></p> <p><i>Min dî pêşiya sûwaran dakete Xana Delal, dawiya suwaran xwe gihandine Deveboynîya şewitî,</i></p> <p><i>ji kubara sibê ra çadirê xwe kutane de vê sivingê (sibehê) li Xeylazê li devê Ava Rez e.</i></p> <p><i>Xwedê kula xwe bike mala Xalis û Ferzende her du lawên Torinê ji bo xatirê Edoyê Ezîzî, bavê Ezed, kela deştê, serekê fîraran girtin qerez e lawo,</i></p> <p><i>Heyfa min nayê li kuştina Edoyê Ezîzî bavê Ezed, kela deştê, serekê qandar û fîraran, heyfa min tê li wê heyfê,</i></p> <p><i>Li serê meydanê derbekê lê dane bejn û bala Umer, zavayê teze ûy ûy ûy</i></p> <p><i>De fîraro lo ûy ûy ûy ax de lo yê lo yê lo yê.</i></p>	<p>Zeytûnê, the poor one, it is morning, I saw that our riders have mounted and are riding from Iran and Turan,</p> <p>O the blind one, they used to ride but this time they are in rush,</p> <p>I saw that the pioneers have gone to Xana Delal while the rearguard has reached the burned Deveboynî,</p> <p>They pitched their tents at Xeylaz, next to the spring of Ava Rez in this morning.</p> <p>May God give a heavy pain to the families of Xalis and Ferzende, the two sons of Torin (family), for the sake of Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed, the castle of the plain, the leader of fugitives.</p> <p>I do not lament for killing of Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed, the leader of opponents and fugitives,</p> <p>I lament that they have shot the body of Umer,³⁴⁷ the newly married one, in the middle ground.</p> <p>O the fugitive, ah.</p> <p>Zeytûnê, the poor one, it is morning, I saw that our riders have mounted, and they are</p>
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³⁴⁶ This kilam is taken from my private collection. Although it was available on YouTube in past, it is not reachable anymore. There are a few different versions of this kilam on YouTube, but they are not good in sense of length and sound quality. Thus, they are not beneficial for this study.

³⁴⁷ Umer is the nephew of Edoyê Ezîzî. While Edoyê Ezîzî was killed by Ferzende Beg, Umer had gone to water spring to bring water for the group. He did not know that his uncle is killed. When he came back to the group, they killed him as well. Since he was young and newly married, he is described as “the newly married one” in the kilam. (Source: Ahmed Aras, interview, 3rd May 2020).

<p><i>Ê de lo yê yê yê Zeytûnê rebenê sibe ye min dît suwarên me sûwar bûn diajon ji Îranê ji Tûranê, Min dît li kirê Tendûrekê ji gava din da suwarbûne li halê (hêla) gêlî, Min dît suwarên mala bavê min rebena Xwedê ji gava dinê da rextê Romanî girêdane, heftderbê wan dixemilî.</i></p> <p><i>Xwedê kula xwe bike mala Xalis û Ferzende, her du lawên Torinê, derbekê lê dane bejn û bala Edoyê Ezîzî bavê Ezed, kela deştê,</i></p> <p><i>Heyfa min nayê li kuştina vî maqûlî heyfa min tê bi wê heyfê çawa ji Kamilê Merxûrî ra ji caran vê carê bi bêbextî bû berdêlî.</i></p> <p><i>Zeytûnê, ê rebenê, sibe ye tîr e sûwarên me sûwar bûn diajon ji Îranê, ji Tûranê,</i></p> <p><i>Peya bûne li kirê Tendûreka şewitî wa ye li sê cîyan, Min dî ajotin Mêrgemîra Şewitî, Şehîdê Gazê wey la li min korê pêşîya karwan Min dî ji gava dinê da diajotin vê carê li sê dêwalan, danine qewlan li sê cîyan.</i></p> <p><i>Min dît ji gava dinê da çadirên xwe kutane</i></p>	<p>riding from Iran and Turan, I saw that they have mounted some time ago in Mount Tendurek, at the valley side, I saw that the riders of our family wore the bandoleers of the Romanî, their <i>heftderbês</i>³⁴⁸ are shining.</p> <p>May God give a heavy pain to the families of Xalis and Ferzende, the two sons of Torin (family), for they have shot the body of Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed, the castle of the plain. I do not lament the death of this wise man, I lament that he has been compared to Kamilê Merxûrî perfidiously.³⁴⁹</p> <p>O Zeytûn, the poor one, it is a gray morning. Our riders have mounted and are riding from Iran and Turan, They dismounted from the horses on Mount Tendurek at the three points, I saw that they rode to the burned Mêrgemîr, to Şehîdê Gazê to stop the caravan. I saw that they rode from three sides, and they gathered at the three points.</p> <p>I saw that they have pitched their tents, at the Mêrgemîr, at Şehîdê Gazê, at Berê</p>
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³⁴⁸ *Heftderbe* is a Kurdish word to name some specific bandolier.

³⁴⁹ Berdel is a Kurdish term which means barter. In the context of kilam, it means, as wise leader, Edoyê Ezîzî should not be killed in response to his words to Kamilê Merxurî, a manservant of Xalis Beg. To compare -or barter- him with Kamilê Merxurî, and kill him in that way is perfidy. For further explanation, see the next two pages.

<p><i>li Mérgemîrê, Şehîdê Gazê, li Berê Belek, de li devên çavkanîyan.</i></p> <p><i>Xwedê kula xwe bike mala Xalis û Ferzende, her du lawên Torinê, derbekê dane bejn û bala Edoyê Ezîzî, bavê Ezed, kela deştê, serekê fîraran,</i></p> <p><i>Heyfa min nayê bi kuştina wî bi tenê, heyfa min tê li wê heyfê kesekî xwedanê xêran tune cewabekê bibe ba konsolê Roma gewre, ba tehsîldarê li taxê, qaymeqamê Elajgîrê, milîsê Kurmanjan, bê(je) agirê kulê bi mala we keta kuştine Edoyê Ezîzî, bavê Ezed,</i></p> <p><i>Hûnê rabin ji gava dinê da qeytanan ji wan qeytanên sor bikşînin dora van şewqan</i></p> <p><i>Le fîraro lo ûy ûy ûy, qandaro lo ûy ûy ûy</i></p>	<p>Belek, next to the mouths of the springs.</p> <p>May God give a heavy pain to the families of Xalis and Ferzende, the two sons of Torin (family), for they have shot the body of Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed, the castle of the plain, the leader of fugitives,</p> <p>I do not lament for killing of him all alone, I lament that there is no one who can deliver the news to the consulate of Rom, to the tax collector of the region, to the governor of Elajgîr, to the Kurmanj militias, and say, “I wish the pain of wounds capture your homes, they have killed Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed,</p> <p>Let’s take red ribbons for a while and wind them round your hats (to show your happiness from his death)”</p> <p>O the fugitive, the opponent one, ah.</p>
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Edoyê Ezîzî was not a notable person. He was neither an *agha* nor a *beg* nor was he involved in politics. He was a soldier in a Hamidiye Regiment under the command of Kor Huseyin Pasha. In the beginning of 1926, when Turkish soldiers were involved in the sexual harassment of a girl from his family, Edoyê Ezîzî organized a group of his relatives, attacked the military base, and killed the soldiers who were involved. Afterwards, he escaped to the mountains with his armed group and became an enemy of the Turkish government. Edoyê Ezîzî is the second group leader who joined the Agirî resistance after Biro Heskî Têllî.³⁵⁰

³⁵⁰ Source: Ahmed Aras, interview, 3rd May 2020.

In this kilam, we hear about a rivalry between Edoyê Ezîzî, who was from the lower classes, and Xalis Beg and Ferzende Beg who were from the upper class known as *Torin*. The following part of the kilam indicates this rivalry and class hatred:

<p><i>Xwedê kula xwe bika mala Xalis û Ferzende</i></p> <p><i>Her du lawên Torinê</i></p> <p><i>Ji bo xatirê Edoyê Ezîzî, bavê Ezed, kela deştê, serekê fîraran girtine qerez e lawo</i></p>	<p>I wish God gives a heavy pain to the families of Xalis and Ferzende,</p> <p>the two sons of <i>Torin</i>,</p> <p>since they have hatred toward to Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed, the castle of the plain, the leader of the fugitives.</p>
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Edoyê Ezîzî was not famous previously, but his fame spread amongst the people more widely than that of Ferzende and Xalis during the fight around Mount Agirî. He was famous for fearlessly attacking the Turkish soldiers and mercenaries, killing them, and looting caravans.³⁵¹

Then, after looting an Iranian caravan, trouble over the ownership of a rifle that was seized from the caravan became the breaking point, and Edoyê Ezîzî was killed by Ferzende Beg.

In fact, three of the foremost names in the Agirî resistance, namely, Ferzende Beg, Xalis Beg and Edoyê Ezîzî committed this looting together. While checking the bags they seized from the caravan, one of the servants of Xalis Beg, Kamilê Merxurî³⁵² took a rifle from a bag and claimed that it was the rightful booty of his agha, Xalis Beg. Edoyê Ezîzî became angry and insulted him and his agha. At this point, Ferzende Beg, who already had animosity towards Edoyê Ezîzî, shot and killed him.

Furthermore, Xalis and Ferzende ordered the killing of Umer, the young nephew of Edoyê Ezîzî, to prevent potential revenge from him. Umer had gone to water spring to bring water for the group but was tragically killed by his own companions. Thus, in addition to Edoyê Ezîzî, his nephew Umer, "the newly married one", was also killed by their fellows as it is expressed in the kilam:

³⁵¹ Ahmed Aras conveys that Xalis Beg had warned Edoyê Ezîzî that Ferzende maybe will kill him since his fame is growing, and since even the attack they hold together is considered as braveness of Edoyê Ezîzî by the society. However, Edoyê Ezîzî did not care about it. See; Aras, Ahmed, *Serhildana Seyîdan û Berazan*, Weşanên Perî, Istanbul, 2009, p.16.

³⁵² We had heard this name as one of the foremost rebels in the book of Garo Sasuni in the beginning of this section. As stated before, it looks that Sasuni has just listed the names he had heard without any further investigation. Kamilê Merxurî was from Patnos and serving for Xalis Beg even before the resistance. Namely, he was not a foremost name in the resistance as Sasunî argued but a manservant of Xalis Beg.

<p><i>Heyfa min nayê li kuştina Edoyê Ezîzî, bavê Ezed, kela deştê, serekê qandar û firaran</i></p>	<p>I do not lament for killing of Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed, the leader of opponents and fugitives,</p>
<p><i>Heyfa min tê li wê heyfê, li sere meydanê derbekê lê dane bejn û bala Umer, zavayê teze</i></p>	<p>I lament that they have shot Umer, the newly married one, in the middle of ground.</p>

Interestingly, both the Turkish and Kurdish written accounts are silent about these assassinations. It is possible that the Turkish officers did not hear of it at the time because the incident happened across the border in Iran. Moreover, in the Turkish official reports Edoyê Ezîzî is not listed among the rebels in Agirî, and he may have been known by another name. Nonetheless, it is strange that even after many decades, the Turkish side is still silent about Edoyê Ezîzî and his death.

The Kurdish accounts have simply ignored the assassinations.³⁵³ Ihsan Nuri mentions Edoyê Ezîzî as one of the three remaining group leaders after the Amnesty Law in 1928 but keeps silent about his death. There are other publications about the Agirî resistance in later years, but they are also in silence. In fact, it is impossible to suppose that none of them have heard of these events, because the story is known among the people in Serhed. Nonetheless, the Kurdish sources do not report it, possibly as it does not fit the nationalistic framework which they propagate.

However, although both the Turkish and Kurdish written accounts ignore this story, it is conveyed through the oral narratives of dengbêjs.

As we see, in the kilam, Edoyê Ezîzî is not described as a national hero, nor is he a bandit. Instead, he is described as "the fearless leader of fugitives" and "the castle of the plain." The kilam laments the killing of Edoyê Ezîzî as a response to the insult of Kamilê Merxûrî.

³⁵³ As far as I know only Ahmed Aras has written about the story of Edoyê Ezîzî as it is transmitted in the kilam. See; Aras, Ahmed, *Serhidana Seyîdan û Berazan*, Weşanên Perî, Istanbul, 2009, pp.15-16.

Besides being from Serhed and having a lot of firsthand witnesses and hearsay, since Ahmed Aras has been mainly based on oral witnesses in his works his information about Edoyê Ezîzî matches with the kilam. He also confirmed it when I interviewed him for this dissertation and gave some more details about the incident. He said, when I had some interview with the son of Edoyê Ezîzî in 1981, in Ankara, he even did not want to talk about the Kurdish issue since he was so disappointed about the Kurds. See: Ahmed Aras, interview, 3rd May 2020.

Perhaps an even more interesting point in the Kilama Edoyê Ezîzî is the list of his enemies:

<p><i>heyfa min tê li wê heyfê kesekî xwedanê xêran tune cewabekê bibe ba konsolê Roma gewre, ba tehsîldarê li taxê, qaymeqamê Elajgîrê, milîsê Kurmanjan, bê(je) agirê kulê di mala we keta kuştine Edoyê Ezîzî, bavê Ezed, Hûnê rabin ji gava dinê da qeytanan ji wan qeytanên sor bikîşînin dora van şewqan</i></p>	<p>I lament that there is no one who can deliver the news to the consulate of the Rom (Turkish State), to the tax collector of the region, to the governor of Elajgîr, to the Kurmanj militias, and say, “I wish the pain of wounds capture your homes, they have killed Edoyê Ezîzî, the father of Ezed, Let’s take red ribbons for a while and wind them round your hats (to show your happiness from his death)”</p>
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The list of enemies of Edoyê Ezîzî consists different groups of people who were mostly in the service of the Turkish government, and they are -ironically- invited to decorate their hats with red ribbons to show their happiness from the death of Edoyê Ezîzî. It looks that Edoyê Ezîzî’s actions and fame led to hatred among a wide range of enemies. That is why they are ironically invited to show their happiness from his death in the kilam.

Understandably, despite being involved in banditry issues, the key figure is neither a bandit nor a hero who fought for Kurdish nation in the kilam. Rather, in the collective memory of the Kurmanj society he is a fearless and brave tribesman who was killed by his fellows.

4.3 Social-Cultural Background of the Society in the Beginning of 20th Century

In compare of the oral narratives, we recognize that concepts like national identity and national struggle were only known to some members of the Kurdish elite in the beginning of 20th century. These were either intellectuals or military officers mainly living in Istanbul, then, on exile. Since they tended to see the Kurdish people as a united nation, they described

the Agirî resistance in this way in their writings. Therefore, all popular and scholarly works followed these accounts in the past decades.

However, oral accounts show that during the resistance in Agirî, the people who were involved in the resistance were not unified. The Kurmanj society was divided along the lines of tribes and families, among whom conflicts often occurred. Therefore, attempts to portray their actions as inspired by a Kurdish nationalist attitude are not realistic. In fact, no unified Kurdish nation or national struggle existed during the resistance around Agirî at that time (1930s). Each group was coming with their own perspectives.

For example, if we take a closer look to the Zîlan insurgency which was a more unified action than in Agirî, we see that all the people who were involved in the revolt were from sub-tribes and *malbats* (families) belonging to the Heyderan. However, like many other parts of the divided Kurdish society, the Heyderans (Heyderî) had problems with each other, even on the level of leadership. In the earlier years, two cousins of Kor Huseyin Pasha, Emîn Pasha, and Temîr Pasha, who were also each leading two Hamidiye Regiments, had collaborated with Hecî Mûsa Begê Xoytî (who was the leader of a rival family) against Kor Huseyin Pasha. Additionally, the Heyderan had conflicts with the Ademan, Sipkan, and Hesenan tribes for many decades. They also had ongoing conflicts with the Celalî tribal confederation which consisted of several tribes.³⁵⁴

Furthermore, the Celalî tribes had conflicts among themselves. As we saw earlier, since the religious leader of Saqan tribe sided with the Agirî rebels, their rival, the Qotan tribe, fought on behalf of the Turkish government. Moreover, in the middle of the Turkish military operations, the Qizilbaşoxî and Geloyî tribes were fighting and plundering each other. Ihsan Nuri and some leading fighters desperately tried to stop this and unify them against the Turkish government, but this did not work at all.³⁵⁵

For those people, the resistance on the mountain had different meanings. Most of the written sources have overlooked this issue and tended to see those people as a unified group which fought against the Turkish government for Kurdistan. However, the rebellion took place in a relatively small area. Most Kurdish people had no idea about the incidents in Agirî. Even at the actual location of the resistance, most tribes were bystanders while some sided with the Turkish government.

Similarly, the foremost figures in the resistance had different priorities. Some had

³⁵⁴ Süphandağ, Kemal, *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Heyderan Aşireti ve Ağrı Direnişi*, Pel Yay., Istanbul, 2021, pp. 21, 22, 28, 39, 40, 41, 48, 49, 72.

³⁵⁵ Hun, Mücahit Özden, *Iğdır ve Ağrı Dağı İsyanı*, Alter Yay., Ankara, 2019, pp. 48, 63, 65.

confrontations with each other, which weakened the movement. Traditional values and norms dominated not only the society, but also its rulers and the leaders of the resistance. There were tensions and rivalries among the fighters during the resistance despite being considered as members of the same struggle against the Turkish government. Although a fight was going on against the Turkish government, the people in the fight had different aspects and priorities.

Excluding Ihsan Nuri, who served as a captain in both the Ottoman and Turkish armies until 1924 and examining the description of the protagonists in the kilams we analyzed, it is evident that none of the fighters explicitly attributed their Kurdish identity as the motivation for their struggle.

Initially, many of the leaders who were on Mount Agirî in the late 1920s had fought in the Hamidiye Army in the 1910s. Then, during WWI, they fought against the Russian troops as part of the Ottoman army. Even those who did not serve in the Hamidiye Regiments had voluntarily fought against the Russian troops as part of militias. Their main aim in fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Turks against the Russians was to save their religion, Islam. In fact, they were trying to protect their traditional lifestyle which was shaped by Sunni Islam. Thus, protecting Islam was at the same time a means to protect their own lifestyle and values.

Therefore, protecting their status and the Ottomans was a much more realistic motive than building their own nation state, namely, Kurdistan. This perception was shared by the Kurmanj society as well. They had no doubt that fighting for the *Khalife* (Caliph)³⁵⁶ was fighting in the name of Islam. This was the biggest motive for them. Furthermore, having a recognized status in the Ottoman Empire and fighting against non-Muslim armies and groups was an honor for them.

Understanding the priorities of the tribes, families, and even persons of that time is very important for evaluating their attitudes. From point of view today, if we take the movements like the one in Agirî as Kurdish national revolts, there is no place left to describe the people as heroes or traitors. In fact, Kurdish identity was not yet a strong tie to connect or separate them. Some had just fought against the *infidel* Russians as warriors of the Khalif a few years ago. Yes, the new Turkish Republic had excluded them, but it was not clear what the future would bring. It was possible for them to think that the Khalif/Sultan would return, and they would see good times again. Naturally, many fighters on Mount Agirî sought to recover their former status. In fact, claiming their former status was very reasonable for them. The big

³⁵⁶ Although the Ottoman Sultan lost his power and status in 1918, and although the new Turkish regime officially canceled the Sultanate on 1st October 1922, they waited until 3rd March 1924 to cancel the Khalifa (Caliphate). Since they knew the religious effects of the Khalif, they did not want to get reaction from people until they strengthened the new regime. Abdulmejid II served as the last Khalif between 18th November 1922 and 3rd March 1924.

Kurdish tribes in the Serhed region had gained many advantages during the regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid. As a matter of fact, the Sultan was called “the father of Kurds” by the Sunni-Shafii Kurds. We find this expression in several kilams.³⁵⁷

For some others, the enmity with their rivals was so sharp that it was far more important than thinking about who was going to rule the country. Some others just had problems with the law: they were wanted by the government to be imprisoned for some criminal offence. In short, there were varieties of different people and groups which had different attitudes and motives to join the resistance.

For these people their tribal-familial advantage was essential, not a nationalist ideology. That is why some tribes and families sided with the resistance or the Turkish government on account of their traditional rivals. What the Agirî leaders said or what the Xoybûn organization published in Syria was not as important as it is imagined today.

Investigating the activists in Xoybûn we obtain a similar picture. Among the leading names of Xoybûn, Memdûh Selîm Beg was probably the only person who was struggling solely for the freedom of Kurdistan. All others had their own agendas, and the Xoybûn was just a temporary alliance for them. In other words, their involvement in Kurdish politics did not prevent them having different personal aims.

To sum up, as in the kilams examined above, contrary to the purely nationalistic approaches of the written Turkish and Kurdish accounts, these narratives evoke a complex picture. Apparently, the name of the people who played the main role in the Agirî resistance in the written accounts and the narratives are different. The kilams do not pay much attention to figures who are prominent in the written accounts. Instead, they mainly focus on local people who were personally involved in clashes and who are known by the society because of their tribal-familial connections. Also, the way these people are described in the kilams and in the written accounts are not the same, not even similar, especially regarding their aims, values, and priorities.

The analysis of these narratives emphasizes the importance of oral traditions for the study of the history of Kurdish-Kurmanj people. Of course, written sources are important to learn about the past. However, in some cases they reflect only a part of the actual history. In such circumstances, it is necessary to apply other methods such as oral history and examine oral traditions. Especially when studying mostly illiterate communities, ignoring oral traditions can mislead us. Societies that are largely illiterate mainly convey their past through oral narratives.

³⁵⁷ As an example, see; Kilama Emê Gozê: “[...] Sultan Evdilhemîd bavê me ye [...]”.

To give more insight regarding the perception of the Kurdish/Kurmanj society and its rulers of just a decade before the Agirî resistance, two more kilams are added at end of this section. These kilams are about the Sipkan tribal fighters in the fight against the Russian troops during the 1st World War. In these two narratives, led by Evdilmecîd Beg, the father of Xalis Begê Sîpkî, the Sipkan armed men are illustrated while fighting as members of an Hamidiye regiment against the Russian troops.

The first kilam is known as *Kilama Şerê Ser Xelatê*. Although there are some other versions of this kilam, a version told by dengbêj Şakiro is chosen because of the length and sound quality.

Kilama Şerê Ser Xelatê by Dengbêj Şakiro³⁵⁸

<i>Lo bavo, lo bavo, lo bavo, lo lo bavo</i>	O my father, o my father, o my father
<i>Sibe ye vê sivingê tu seyr bike bi nimêca sibê ra bi ser me ketiyê dengê qulhuwella li minê sewta gazî</i>	It is early morning listen to the call of <i>Qulhuwallah</i> ³⁵⁹ in the time of prayer,
<i>Hela tu dêna xwe bidê vê sivingê malxerabo gelo Xanimê bi sê dengan gazî fikir digo de lê lê Gulnazê</i>	Look, O damn you, Xanim was calling three times this morning, saying, “O Gulnaz,
<i>Wey la gulîbirê tu serê xwe ji xewa şerîn bilind bike, eskerê bavê Xalis, kekê Mexsê pir giran e</i>	O short-haired one, wake up from your sound sleep and see; the army of the father of Xalis, the brother of Mexsê is very big,
<i>Vê sibê ordîya kafîrê Êris li pêşîya me ji xwe ra dimeşe</i>	This morning, the infidel Russian army is marching before us,
<i>Ketîye vê sibê lo Qapanê, el-Cewazê, lo bavo, lo bavo, lo lo bavo</i>	They have occupied Qapanê and el-Cewazê, o my father,
<i>Lo bavo, lo bavo, lo bavo, lo li Îslamîyê.</i>	O my father, o my father, o for Islam.”
<i>Lo bavo, lo bavo, lo lo bavo, lo bavo,</i>	O my father, o my father, o my father.
<i>Sibe ye vê sivingê malxerabo Têlîetê bi sê dengan bang fikir digot Mexsê lo bavo,</i>	This early morning Têlîet called three times and said “Mexsê, o my father,
<i>Ezê ji te ra sond bixwim îro vê sivingê derdê me giran e</i>	I swear, today, this morning we have great trouble,
<i>Hela tu bi sê dengan bang bike vê sibê alayên Kurdan e,</i>	Let us inspect the Kurdish regiments three times,
<i>Tu dêna xwe bidê vê sivingê li milê me yê çepê esker e vê sibê eskerê Hesanan e</i>	See, this morning, there is the regiment of Hesenan at our left side,
<i>Li milê me yê rastê vê sibê eskerê Kor</i>	At our right side there are twelve regiments

³⁵⁸ This version of the kilam is available on YouTube.

³⁵⁹ *Qulhuw'allāh* are the first words of the “*Surah al Ikhlas*” in the Qor’an.

<p><i>Huseyin Pasha, donzdeh alay in, eskerekî pir giran e.</i></p> <p><i>Vê sivingê malxerabo bang bike bêje derdê me îro derdekî pir giran e,</i></p> <p><i>Tu seyr bike Mexsê bi sê dengan bang dikir digot bavo tu caran vê sivingê to bang neke li eşîrên Kurdan e,</i></p> <p><i>Ezê ji te ra sond bixwum vê sibê dîsa</i></p> <p><i>bi dengekî êlî bang bike nav xwe de bêje vê sivingê va hicûm hicûma mêrên Sipkan e.</i></p> <p><i>Hicûm hicûma bavê Xalis, kekê Mexsê, vê sibê hicûma Sipkan e</i></p> <p><i>Gelo vê sibê emê berdinê û derxînin rastêya Patnosê</i></p> <p><i>Ezê ji te ra sond bixwum îro qonagha me Qizqapan e</i></p> <p><i>Lo bavo, lo bavo, lo lo bavo, lo bavo, lo bavo, lo lo bavo, lo bavo, lo bavo, lo Îslamîyê.</i></p>	<p>of Kor Huseyn Pasa, it is a huge army,</p> <p>Let us shout aloud this morning, damn you, and say we have great trouble.”</p> <p>Look, Mexsê called out three times saying, “this morning, there is no need to call on the Kurdish tribes’,</p> <p>I swear, this morning,</p> <p>Let us shout aloud and say, ‘this morning, the attack is made by Sipkan tribesmen’.</p> <p>The attack is by the Father of Xalis, the brother of Mexsê, the attack of Sipkan tribesmen,</p> <p>This morning we will chase (the enemies) and drive them to the plateau of Patnos,</p> <p>I swear to you, our next stop today will be Qizqapan.”</p> <p>O my father, o my father, o my father, my father, o my father, o my father, o for Islam.</p>
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The *Kilama Şerê Ser Xelatê* is told from the mouth of Xanim, Têlîet, Gulnaz, and Mexsê, the female family members of Evdilmecîd Beg. In the narrative, the Kurdish Hamidiye regiments are bravely fighting against the Russian Army, which has already occupied El-Cewaz and Qizqapan (Turk: Adilcevaz and Kızkapan). Under the command of Evdilmecîd Beg, the Sipkan fighters are marching against the Russian army, aiming to chase them up to Patnos, and to free the occupied Qizqapan region by evening.

If we analyze the narrative step by step, like in the *Kilama Ferzende Beg*, the first and foremost thing that we will find out is the importance of religion, namely, Islam. According to

the kilam, they fought against Russian troops for their religion, not their ethnic identity.³⁶⁰

In this kilam, although the listed regiments solely consist of Kurds and are called “Kurdish Regiments”, there is no connotation of Kurdish nationalism.³⁶¹ It is merely a way of distinguishing them from other Ottoman forces. They are part of the Ottoman Army, and they are proud of it. Being Kurdish may mean they were more willing to protect Islam and/or to fight bravely, but not promote a national identity.

In this sense, although distinguishing themselves from other ethnic groups in the Ottoman Army and identifying themselves as “Kurdish Regiments” we do not hear another word regarding their Kurdishness in the narrative. Instead, they are clearly described as tribal fighters who are fighting against the *kafir* (non-believer) Russian Army just after the morning prayer, with the shouting of *Qul Huwa'llah*. Saving Islam was their foremost aim and consequently the Russian Army had to be wiped out.

Not only the name of Evdilmecîd Beg, who was commanding the Sipkan fighters is mentioned here, but also that of Kor Huseyin Pasha as the commander of the biggest regiments in the Hamidiye. We have already come across Kor Huseyin Pasha in the Turkish and Kurdish written sources regarding Xoybûn and the Zîlan revolt.

The second kilam, *Kilama Şerê Bavê Xalis*, also describes Evdilmecîd Beg, the father of Xalis Beg, fighting against the Russian Army.

³⁶⁰ Moreover, there are significant indications that they did not even want to fight for Kurdistan. In 1913-1914, the Russians tried to convince Kurds to fight against the Ottomans by offering an independent or autonomous Kurdistan, but leading figures such as Kor Huseyin Pasha and Cemîlê Çeto rejected this. The offer of the Russians was simple and clear: A Kurdish territory to be ruled by Kurds in exchange for their support to wipe out the Turkish forces from the region. However, the Kurdish chieftains preferred to fight on the side of the Ottomans. See; Süphandağ, Kemal, *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Heyderan Aşireti ve Ağrı Direnişi*, Pel Yay., İstanbul, 2021, pp.100-101.

³⁶¹ As we saw in the second chapter, while narrating clashes with government armies, people are described both with their familial-tribal roots and their Kurdish identity.

Kilama Şerê Bavê Xalis by Dengbêj Şakiro³⁶²

<p><i>Lê dinyayê, hey wayê wayê, ax dinyayê, hey wayê wayê, hey wayê wayê</i></p> <p><i>Ax dinyayê wayê, hey wayê wayê, ax dinyayê, nemînim li dinyayê</i></p> <p><i>Ezê bi dîyarê Dûtaxa şewitî diketim vê sivingê, bi dar û bî ye,</i></p> <p><i>Hicûm hicûma bavê Xalis, kekê Mexsê ye</i></p> <p><i>Şahid û şihûdên bavê Xalis, kekê Mexsê li dinyayê pir gelek in</i></p> <p><i>Bi zora şûr ajotîye ser topê ye</i></p> <p><i>Topa Êris anîye dest alayî ye hey wayê wayê wayê</i></p> <p><i>Ax dinyayê, hey wayê, ax dinyayê, nemînim li ser dinyayê.</i></p> <p><i>Were wayê wayê dinyayê, ax dinyayê, nemînim li ser dinyayê.</i></p> <p><i>Ezê bi dîyarê Dutaxa şewitî diketim di dilê min û te da, dar û bî ye</i></p> <p><i>Eskerê bavê Xalis dikişîya fenanî sî ye</i></p> <p><i>Şahid û şihûdên bavê Xalis, kekê Mexsê li dinyayê pir gelek in</i></p>	<p>Oh, the world, oh the world, alas, alas,</p> <p>I don't want to live in the world anymore,</p> <p>I went up to the burned Dûtax this morning, it is full of trees,</p> <p>The attack is made by the father of Xalis, the brother of Mexsê,</p> <p>There are many witnesses in the world [of the deeds of] the father of Xalis, the brother of Mexsê,</p> <p>He attacked the Russian artillery with his sword drawn,</p> <p>He captured the Russian artillery and submitted it to his regiment,</p> <p>Oh, the world, I do not want to live in the world.</p> <p>I am going up to the burned Dûtax which is full of trees in your heart and mine,³⁶³</p> <p>The soldiers of father of Xalis were marching like shadows,</p> <p>There are many witnesses in the world [of the deeds] of the father of Xalis, the brother of Mexsê,</p>
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³⁶² This kilam is available on YouTube under the title of “Kilama Şerê Êris.”

³⁶³ In the kilam it is expressed as “bi dar û bî ye” (Ing: being full of trees) which is just added to keep the rhyme. It can be explained as flowering or turning green.

<p><i>Bi zora şûr ajotîye ser Êris, top ji destan hilanîye</i></p>	<p>He attacked on the Russians with his sworn and captured their artillery,</p>
<p><i>Ji bo Xwedê şahid bin: heger bimire şehîd, bimîne gazî ye hey wayê wayê.</i></p>	<p>For the sake of God, please witness it, if he dies, he will become a martyr, if he survives, he will be a <i>ghazi</i>. (Hero of a religious war)</p>
<p><i>Were dinyayê dinyayê, ax dinyayê dinyayê, nemînim li ser dinyayê.</i></p>	<p>Oh, the world, I do not want to live in the world anymore.</p>

In this kilam, Evdilmecîd Beg, the leader of Sipkan tribesmen who were fighting as a part of the Ottoman Hamidiye Regiments during WWI, is portrayed while attacking the Russian artillery with his sword. If he is killed, it is said, he will become a *shahîd* (martyr), and if he survives, a *ghazî* (religious war hero). Both the terms *shahîd* and *ghazî* have Islamic connotations. As a result of his courage, he successfully seizes the Russian artillery, and brings it to the Hamidiye regiment.

In the kilam we hear the significance of religion, the bravery of Evdilmecîd Beg and his Sipkan tribesmen but we hear nothing regarding their ethnic or national identity.

These two kilams reflect the perception of the society and the status of the Kurdish leaders just a decade before the Agirî Resistance. The same people who were allies of the Ottomans became enemies of the new Turkish Republic, but they still had the same worldview. Since they were fighting alongside the Turkish/Ottoman troops until 1917 to protect their religion, social status, and land, it seems highly unlikely that they could have transformed their fundamental sense of identity and become Kurdish nationalist fighters in such a short time. Moreover, most of the leaders were still respected chieftains until 1926. Their problems came with the new government. The new regime simply ignored their past, betrayed and excluded them. It was their main reason for fighting against the new Turkish Republic.

5 CONCLUSION

For decades, dengbêjî has suffered from a lack of academic interest; it was not perceived as a significant topic. Until the 2000s there was a very limited number of publications which discussed dengbêjî. In the past decade some popular articles and books have appeared, and several theses were published. Some of these accounts contributed understanding of the tradition. Some of them merely glorified the tradition, whereas others analyzed it from the point of view of today, apparently assuming that the tradition was unchanging. Yet another part of these accounts approached dengbêjî as a mere part of Kurdish folklore, instead of analyzing it in detail as an independent tradition. Additionally, even the few good studies tend to evaluate the narratives as single, independent pieces, rather than as part of a specific genre that reflects the history of society.

The present study seeks to avoid the glorification of recent years and to focus on its actual role in society. The research approaches dengbêjî mainly as a way of creating and preserving collective memory. It discusses the topic from the perspective of memory studies and connects it to the debates about literacy and illiteracy. Furthermore, on account of its content, performance, and locations, it distinguishes dengbêjî from other Kurdish oral traditions and classifies its production as a particular genre which is directly connected to Kurmanji culture.

The dissertation consists of three chapters. The first chapter discussed the dengbêjî tradition as a part of Kurdish-Kurmanj people's collective memory. Since literacy was not common among this community until recent decades, in this chapter, the tradition was discussed in the context of the interrelation between literacy and illiteracy. Examining the role of rural life and the meaning of orality in the Kurmanji culture, the chapter seeks to understand how these people have remembered their past through oral traditions.

The second chapter obtains to specify and distinguish dengbêjî from other Kurdish oral and musical traditions and defines its narrative as a particular genre. In the beginning of the chapter, the existing literature regarding dengbêjî was reviewed. After that, the characteristics of the tradition, its locations, performance style and period were analyzed to lead the definition of dengbêjî as a particular Kurmanji tradition, which informs and reflects the collective memory of the society. Timewise, the research covers the period from the 1880s to the 1980s.

The third chapter examines the Agirî resistance, which occurred between 1926 and 1930 around Mount Agirî, as a case study. The aim of this chapter was to evaluate the evidence offered by certain kilams regarding the collective memory of an important segment of Kurdish society about the Agirî resistance, and to compare these oral accounts with existing Turkish and Kurdish written sources.

The main objectives of this study, which are treated in the three chapters, are:

1. To explore dengbêjî as a distinct oral tradition and its narratives as a unique genre.
2. To investigate how the narratives contribute to the collective memory and cultural heritage of the Kurmanj people.
3. To delve into a specific historical era within this community, as depicted in the kilams, and subsequently, to juxtapose this evidence with written source for comparison.

The findings of this work can be listed as follows:

1. Dengbêjî is a specific oral tradition which exists among Kurmanji speaking Kurdish people only in certain areas.
2. Like other oral traditions in the region, it is not unchanging. It exists under certain conditions involving culture, lifestyle, location, and others. Then, when those conditions change it may vanish.
3. Dengbêjî is not only a kind of art and performance. It is also a part of the society's collective memory. Kurmanj people have produced, stored, and conveyed their history through this tradition.
4. This collective memory reflects the perception of the society regarding its past. The contents of this perception significantly differ from the accounts of written sources. Whereas written accounts describe historical events and people through the lenses of modern literate people, the kilams present the same events and people in a different way, representing the actual perception of the society of that time. In this way, we can go beyond the written sources and see how people described the events of their past, how the society remembered them, and how this history was handed down to the next generations.

In the third chapter of the dissertation, the theoretical arguments presented earlier are

applied to a case study. The criticism of Astrid Erll and Jan Assmann's to detachment of memory from history was very helpful to me in studying the narratives as a form of history. Ong's remarks on the hegemony of literacy prompted me to pay critical attention to the accounts written about mainly illiterate Kurmanj society of 1920s. Portelli's work on the subjectivity of individual memory and Thomson's work on the construction of memory helped me to gain a better understanding of collective memory as opposed to individual memory. Halbwachs' analysis of group memory which deals with past events, and the way they are memorized by the community through narratives, songs, rituals etc., was crucial for understanding the role of kilams in creation of collective memory among Kurmanjs as presented here. Vansina's research illustrates the importance of oral traditions as inside information and helped me to realize the limitations of outsiders when studying oral traditions. Finally, Kreyenbroek's works regarding the languages, religions, and oral traditions in Iranian studies were insightful for me in defining the scope of my work.

Considering the scholarly insights discussed above, this study delves into how people have preserved their collective memory of past events through oral traditions. Consequently, the primary contribution of this study lies in challenging the reliability of written narratives shaped by nationalist influences, and in seeking to recover the authentic perspectives of the Kurmanj people regarding historical events as an alternative historical account.

Therefore, the third chapter of this dissertation challenges the Kurdish discourse which tends to evaluate all past Kurdish conflicts as Kurdish national movements. As it was shown in this chapter, the main body of modern Kurdish discourse regarding past is built upon written accounts. If one examines the issue from today's viewpoint and builds their theory upon written accounts only, the likely outcome is a very narrow perspective. A different perspective can be achieved by the study of collective memory. Collective memory tends to preserve the perceptions of the society of the time. It reflects the society's authentic values and criteria, which in many cases does not match the accounts of the written sources.

Nonetheless, as it was stated before, this study does not claim to seek historical truths, nor does it argue that oral history is more consistent than written ones, or that oral traditions are sufficient for historiography. Distinguishingly, my research applies a new perspective to the recent past of Kurdish-Kurmanj people to understand their world through their own words, as my dissertation title already implies.

Personally, when I started to work on this dissertation, I knew that dengbêjî is a part of collective memory through my previous works. Nonetheless, I also thought of the Agirî

resistance mainly as a Kurdish national struggle in connection with Xoybûn. I did not expect that the collective memory would show such profound differences from the evidence of written accounts. However, after going into the details of oral sources, and comparing them with the written accounts I discovered that it is very different from what we read or see today. Beyond the documents written by literate people, there is a world through words in the narratives. Through this study I tried to understand and reflect that world.

Written sources may show only one side of the facts, and scholars should perhaps look for the other sides as well. Oral sources can contribute to see other sides. And, since Kurdish society has a considerable number of oral accounts, it is worth having further and deeper studies of them.

It is important to mention that some of disregarded written documents may also help to understand the perception of ordinary people who were part of the resistance in Agirî. The trial of the people after the failure would be a good topic for research. Hundreds of people were judged in Adana. Thirty-one people were sentenced. Some of them died in the prison while some others spent years behind bars. Even after being freed from the prison, they were not allowed to return to their homeland. After several years of exile, they could go back following another Amnesty Law which was adopted in 1947.³⁶⁴

An examination of the trial documents could enhance our understanding of the people involved in the resistance. Furthermore, it could assist us in moving beyond the prevailing approach, which is influenced by written accounts that, as demonstrated in this study, predominantly reflect a nationalist or partisan discourse.

³⁶⁴ Süphandağ, Kemal; Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Heyderan Aşireti ve Ağrı Direnişi, Pel Yay., İstanbul, 2021, pp. 252-252.

YEDİNCİ SERİE - N° 2263

Figure 1

ÇARŞA BA 16 TEMMUZ 1927

Resmî muharrir
YUNUS NADI
İDAREHANESİ:
Miyusmanlıp karyasında İstikbal mahası
Telgraf: İstanbul Cumhuriyet
Posta kutusu No 246
Bünyanburç
Telefon: Tahir müdürlüğü 3296
İdare müdürlüğü 2365, Kitap kütüğü 472

Cumhuriyet

ABONE ŞERHİ
MÜDDET: TÜRKİYE İÇİN HARİC İÇİN
Senehiği: 1100 Kr. 2700 Kr.
6 Aylığı: 750 Kr. 1450 Kr.
3 Aylığı: 400 Kr. 800 Kr.
Nüshası her yerde
= 5 Kurustur =

Ağrı'dağı harekâtı bu hafta başlıyor

Mahsul para etmeli

Rençper beş on para daha fazla alabilmelidir

Vakit kaybetmeden zahire ve onun üzerindeki masrafların hepsinde tenzilat yapmalıyız

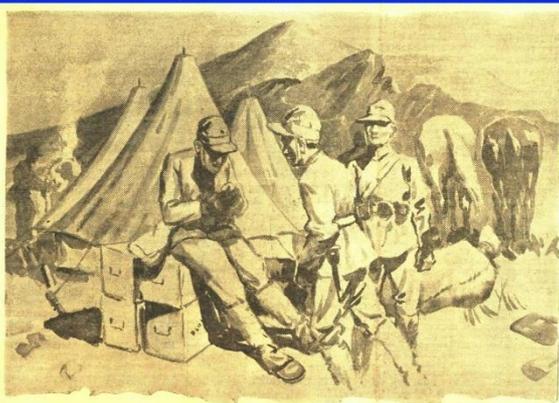
Devlet demiryollarında 26 temmuzdan itibaren zahire ve onun nakliyatında yüzde 36 dan 50 ye kadar tenzilatı bir tarife tabii olacaklarını yazmış, bu tarifenin İzmir ve Aydın şimendiferlerine de temsili lüzumunu ilâve etmiş idtik. Bu arada Sark şimendiferlerini unutmuşuz. Trakya epeyce zahire çıkaran bir muntakamızdır. Orasından da bu tenzilat teşhilatından istifade edilmelidir. Devlet demiryollarından başka şirket şimendiferleri ile de bu meselede anlaşılmalıyız. Biz şirket şimendiferleri dahi bu meselede kolaylıkla istifade olabileceğimizi kuvvetle tahmin ediyoruz. Bu seneye yapılacak fedakârlıklar gelecek senelerin istihsalini muhafazaya matulur. Bu sene rençper çok zıyan eder de gelecek sene mahsul az olursa bundan cihette şimendiferler de mutazzır olurlar. Türkiye'de istihsal eksiklemeli, fakat artmalıdır. Devlete ait olan şirketlerin idaresinde bulunun şirket şimendiferlerin menfaati bundadır.

Bulgaristan ve Romanya gibi komşu memleketlerin şimendifer Yunanistan'a bulaşmış altıreküz buğday satışları şif Pire 145-160 şilin arasında olduğunu ve cihan piyasasına uymak mecburiyeti ile bizim de nihayet 100 şilin üzerinden ihraçatı yapabileceğimizi yazmış idtik. Bu fiat üzerinden ihraç edeceğimiz buğdayın kilosu 7 kuruş 20 santim ve okkası 9 kuruş 20 santim olacaktır. Ancak bu fiat ihraçatı fiatıdır. Buna nazaran rençperin elinden mal kaçacak mıdır? Rençperden tüccara gelinciyi ve ihraç olunacak memleketlere gideciye kadar malın izniman etken masrafları, komisyonları, kârları bu fiatın çıkarmalıdır. Rençperin kendi malını kaçatabileceği doğru olarak anlaşılabilir. Evvelce gösterdik ki aradıkları bütün bu farkları çıkartıktan sonra bizim rençper malını çok çok nihayet 6 kuruş satması olabilir. Bu ise istihsal masraflarını karşılayacak bir fiat değildir. Bizde mahiyet fiatı bundan daha aşırdır.

Şimendifer nakliyatını onun için ucuzlatıyoruz, diğer kolaylıklar onun için yapacağız. Tek rençper beş on para daha fazla alabilirdi.

Vakit kaybetmeden zahire ve onun üzerindeki masrafların hepsinde tenzilatı yapmalıyız. Rihim ihraçatları de yarıya inmelidir. İstanbul Zahire Borsasında her mevsimde den alınan binde iki ilga olunmalı veya hiç olmazsa bir deyaşa mahsul binde bir indirilmelidir. Haydarpaşa şimendiferindeki elevatör şimendiferlerini yarın kaldırılmalıdır. Derince'de elevatör tertibatı yapılmalıdır. Her tarafta ucuz bir fiatla iş görecektir kalbur makineleri koymalıdır. Eğer böylelikle rençperin malına kıymet vererek onun onun para olmasın 40-50 para fazla satmasını temin edebilecek istihsal yapacağımız yarıya belki en memnuniyet ancak bu surette mümkündür.

İmet Pş. hükümetinin vakit geçmeden bütün bu tedbirleri almış olduğunu görmezden geçiyoruz. İstihsalı fazla yapmak marifet ve fakat mahsulü kıymetlendirmek daha büyük



Karargâh "Ağrı" eteklerinde!

Şakilerin tenkiline bu hafta içinde başlanacaktır, harekât 15 günde ikmal edilecektir

Tayyarelerimizin bombardmanı devam ediyor

Aşiret reisleri af diliyorlar

Zeylân harekâtında imha edilenler 15,000 den fazladır

Karaköse 14 (Hu. Mu.) — Ağrı'dağı tepelerinde kovulmuş iltica eden 1500 kadar şaki kalmıştır. Tayyarelerimiz bilâfalsıla uçularına devam ederek, şakiler üzerinde çok yakından manevra yapıyorlar ve şiddetle bombardıman ediyorlar. Hava ateşi sürekli devam etmekte, Ağrı daimi infial ve ateş içinde inlemektedir. Zirveleri dumana sarıyan Ağrı'nın ekşiyi yataklığı da tarife karıyordur. Şakilerin yetişemediği yerlerde Türkün demir kartalları asilerin hesabını temizlemektedir. Gökten saçılan ölim parçaları ekşiyi imana getiriyor. Aşiret reisleri, sergelder amansız bir hale geldiklerinden ve sadakat edebileceklerinden bahisle Salih Paşaya müraعات etmektedirler. Hudut karakollarına iltica eden şakiler epeyce vardır. — Raif İmha edilecekler

Karaköse 14 (Hu. Mu.) — Ağrı eteklerinde ekşiyaya iltica eden köyler tamamen yakılarak ahşabı Erçiş'e sevk ve orada iskan olmuştur. (Zilan) harekâtında imha edilen ekşiyi miktarı 15,000 den fazladır. Yalnız bir müfrezeye önlük bir marifettir. Son sene buhranının en büyük sebebi mahsulün para etmemesinden ileri gelmiştir. Bu buhran önünde tanzim ettigimiz iktisadi programın hedefi istihsalı arttırmakla beraber mahsulün para etmesini dahi temindir. Bütün dünyada bilhassa ziraat istihsalı bolluğu var. Kıymetler düştü. Bu halin daha bir müddet - M. Rit'e göre on sene - böyle devam

Kumandan Salih Paşa tarama harekâtını bizzat idare edecek

Salih Pş. zabıtlarının kahramanlığını şitayişle naklediyor

Karaköse 14 (Hu. Mu.) — Bugün burada; harekâtı idar eden hafta içinde Ağrı'dağı tenkil harekâtına başlanacaktır. İdare merkezi Beysaz olacaktır. Askeri karargâh Ağrı eteklerinde kuruluyor. Kumandan Salih Pş. dört gün içinde Van'a gidip gelecek bizzat Ağrı'dağı ileri yürüyüş ve Ağrı'dağı tarama harekâtına başlayacaktır. İhata çemberi çok geniş ve aralıksızdır. Bundan hortulmak imkanı tasavvur edilemez. Harekâtın 15 günde biteceği tahmin ediliyor. — Raif Karargâhta. — Bu

Karaköse 14 (Hu. Mu.) — Bugün burada; harekâtı idar eden hafta içinde Ağrı'dağı tenkil harekâtına başlanacaktır. İdare merkezi Beysaz olacaktır. Askeri karargâh Ağrı eteklerinde kuruluyor. Kumandan Salih Pş. dört gün içinde Van'a gidip gelecek bizzat Ağrı'dağı ileri yürüyüş ve Ağrı'dağı tarama harekâtına başlayacaktır. İhata çemberi çok geniş ve aralıksızdır. Bundan hortulmak imkanı tasavvur edilemez. Harekâtın 15 günde biteceği tahmin ediliyor. — Raif Karargâhta. — Bu

de düşüp ölenler 1000 kişi tahmin ediliyor. Zilan dersinden sıvran 5 saki de teslim olmuştur. Buradakil harp pek müthiş bir tarzda cereyan etmiş, Zilan deresi lelelepeccat ile dolmuştur. Ekşiyannu mitralyöz ateşini idare eden firarı mitralyöz zabıtlı İlyas Nur'in Ağrı tepelerinde olduğu zannediliyor. Bu mel'unun dağları harekâtında askarine kavuşacağı muhtaktır. — Raif Kürdistan Krallığı Karaköse 14 (Hu. Mu.) — Bazı ecneblerin merkezi Beysaz olmak üzere Van havâlisinde bir Kürd hükmetsi tesis ederek bütün Kürd'leri itilkiyle verileceğini ilân ettikleri ve bu suretle Sark kıyamını hazırladıkları teyitüştür.

Esir edilen aşiret reisleri bunu sarahaten itiraf etmişlerdir. Kendilerine İran silâh ve cephane verildiği muhtaktır. Tedmir edilen asiler müsademe mahallerinde kendilerine haftalarca "eticecek silâh ve teçhizat bırakılsalardı."

Sarktaki Kürd aşiretleri bir Kürdistan Krallığı teşkil etmek için bu hadiseyi çıkarmışlar, fakat çok kısa bir zaman zarfında "mamile" (Mabadi 3 üncü sahifede)

süzlüğünde gördük. Hariceten buğday ihtilale mecbur olmak bize göre bugünkü en korkunç ihtilallerinden birini teşkil eder. Böyle bir mecburiyet iktisadi ve mali hayatımızı tamamen mahvedecek bizi adeta iflas sürükleyebilir. Onun için bu sene mahsulünün müstahşali lehine mümkün olduğu kadar fazla para edilemesi için alınacak tedbirlerle dakika fevretmeyecek çok mühim ve çok hayati günler yaşadığımızı iyi bilelim.

YUNUS NADI

Haydar Rifat B. dünden beri İstanbul'da yok!

Temyizin, Ankara mahkemesi hükmünü nakzettiği temin ediliyor

Dün yapığımız tahkikat...

Dünden beri Haydar Rifat Beyin tagayyübü hakkında bazı sayılar devran etmeğe başlamış, hafta dîn akşamki gazetelerden bir avukatı Amerika'ya kadar göndermiştir. Bizce böyle bir tagayyübü icap ettirecek sebep olmadı için her hangi bir firar şekline inanama - maldı beraber tahkikat icra etmekten de hali kalmadık. Bu tahkikatın neticesi Haydar Rifat Beyin halde Türkiye'de bulunduğu i - nandıracağı mahiyette olmakla beraber kendisinin alıvçuşu hakkında ne vrede olduğunu temin etmek bize göre de mümkün olamamıştır.



Haydar Rifat Bey zihanesinde kendisini bulamadık. Ancak evinden vekili bulduk (Mabadi 3 üncü sahifede)

Tayyareci Sait B. dün düşerek şehit oldu

Arkadaşı Galip B. hafifçe yaralı

Dün genç ve fedakâr bir tayyareci zabıtlarını daha kaybettik. Müslim Sait ve Galip Beyler, idarelerindeki tayyare ile dün sabah 9.30 da diğer arkadaşları ile birlikte bir uçuş yapmışlar, bir müddet çevrelerinden sonra jandarma muntakası dahilinde Aymamaderesi üzerine geldiklerinde arada inmek isterken harekâtın bir takvîmi tabii inisi değiştiğince tayyaremin birdenbire ve motoru verilen sür'atli şiddetlendirerek yere inmesine sebep olmuş, tayyare telgraf tel ve direklerine çarparak parçalanmıştır. Tayyareci Sait Bey şehit olmuş, Galip Bey de hafif surette mecrub olmuştur.



Şehit tayyare müzâzimi Sait Bey Genç şehidin cenazesine Edirnekapı'da şilhada kabristanına defnedilmiştir. Sait Beyin tayyaresinden evvelki yere inen Şevket Bey de sıcağın ta vevillü eden hava cereyanına kapılmış ise de güc halle müvazeneji temin edebilmiştir.

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"Ağrıdağı," İhata Edildi

Avrupa İttihadı ve Türkiye

Fransa Hariciye Nazırı M. Briyan'ın pan Avrupa hükümetleri arasında bir ittifak vücutte getirilmesi fikri son günlerde verilen bir iki cevap ile münaşşe mevzuu olmakta devam ediyor. Bu bir iki cevap ilahiyim ve Yunanistan'ın verdiği cevaplar dır. İtalya hükümeti cevabında Rusya ile Türkiye'nin de ve Yunan hükümeti ise Türkiye'nin de Avrupa İttihadına girmeye davet olmaları lüzumunu ileri sürmüştür. Filhakika Briyan teklifi nin milletler meclisine dahil yazmış yirmi yedi Avrupa devleti arasında bir ittifak hususini derip etmiş olduğu bilhassa İttihat teklifi ni yalnız bu yirmi yedi devlet tebliğ edilmesinde sarahat kesbetmiş idi.

Siyasette realist bir devlet olan İtalya'nın cevabı bir Avrupa İttihadı fikrine muarız olmayarak bilakis onu daha büyük bir ciddiyetle teklif etmek ve pek bariz noksanlarından dolayı Briyan teklifi ni adeta siddetli bir şekilde tabii tutmuş bulunmaktadır.

Evvelî, Avrupa devletleri arasında emniyet tesis etmedikçe İttihattan bahsetmek abesdir. Her şeyden evvel Avrupa milletleri arasında galip ve mağlup farkları tamamen kaldırılmalıdır.

Saniyen, teslihatın tahdidî Avrupa milletleri arasında tesis olmasak emniyetin ilk bariz nişanesini teşkil etmek lazımdır.

Salisen, Avrupa İttihadı milletler meclisinin istisnai İttihad ettiği sülh gayesine baki bir teşebbüs olmalıdır. Onu bozmasın, bilakis takviye etmelidir.

Rabian, bu fikir silsilesi takip olunca ise Rusya ile Türkiye'nin dahi Avrupa İttihadına girmeleri derip olunmalıdır.

İtalyan cevabının sağlam mantıkına göre Rusya ile Türkiye'ye haricte bulunan bir Avrupa İttihadı milletler arasında başka başka kümeler tesekkülüne esak olarak yekdiğere muhasım zümreler husule gelmesine sebep olabilir. Hak buki maksat bu değildir ve olamazdır. O İttihad hareketi neticeler sülh fikrinin umumiyeti ne münaşifdir.

Avrupa İttihadı muvaceshesinde İtalyan fikrinin daha büyük bir uluvvü cevap ile mebar olduğu meydanda bir hakikattir. Galip ve mağlup farklarının nu nişanelerinin dahi ortadan kaldırılması lâzım geldiğini söyleyen İtalyan cevabının ciddiyetine M. Briyan'ın dahi söyleyebileceği bir söz yoktur.

Biz şimdiki şerait içinde bir Avrupa İttihadının fiilen husulüne ka ni olmamakla beraber böyle bir fikrin sizlerinde olan kale alınmamış olmağımızı bittabi hüsnü telakkî etmiş değildik. Bu noksan ihtar eden İtalyan cevabının milli Türk muhtında husule getirdiği memnuniyet herke pek kolay takdir edebilir. Türkiye'nin dahi Avrupa ailesinden lâaynıfek bir cüz olduğumu söyleyen Yunanistan'ın memleket arasında husule gelen anlaşma ve dostluğun yeni yeparlak bir delilini daha göstermiştir. Memleketimiz lehindeki bu tezahürleri ancak memnuniyetle ve tesekkürle karşılayabiliriz.

İtalyan cevabını teklif ve münaşşe eden (Tan) gazetesi şüphe sive bize dost olmayan bazı mehafir tercüman olarak Rusya ve Türkiye'nin Avrupa İttihadı teklifi haricinde birakılması olmalarını mesuru değilse bile mazur göstermek çalsuyor. Eğer Avrupa İttihadından maksat esasen sülh yeni bir şekilde hizmete endan iki mülimin Avrupa memleket ve devletinin haric bırakılmasını mazur gösterilebilecek bir bir maksul sebep olamaz. Kellog müsaidesi nasil haric tutulmasını isek vevleki şimdiki

Ağrıdağı hareketi Tayyarelerimizin üç saatlık bombardımanı

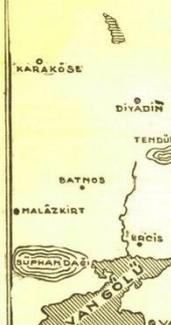
Şakiler müthiş bir panik halinde koçuklara iltica ediyorlar

Salih Paşa dün "Karaköse," den hareket etti

Karaköse 16 (Hu. Mu.) — Kordulu kumandanı Salih Paşa bu sabah hareket sahasına hareket etti. Saat beşte Karaköse'den ayrılıp Pasayı tayyare filomuz teyzi etmiştir. Tayyarelerimiz oradan Ağrı zirveleri üzerinde uçmuşlar, 800 metreden 2000 metreye kadar inerek derhal bombardımana başlamışlardır.

İlk bombanın düştüğü eskiya arasında müthiş bir panik yapılmış, mel'unlar feryat ve figan koparak kertenkeleler gibi içinde yasadıkları kovuklara iltica etmişlerdir. Tayyarelerin ateşi karşısında çaretsiz kalanlar beyaz bayrak göstererek teslim olmalarını bildirmiş istemişlerdir.

Hava bombardımanı 3 saat bilafasla devam etmiştir. — Raif Karaköse 16 (Hu. Mu.)



İğdir'in "Aralık," nayihesine baskın yapan şakiler

Hükümet konağın ele geçiren şakiler püskürtmüşlerdir

Karaköse 16 (Hu. Mu.) — Zilan deresi imha hareketinin hitamını müteakip Ağrı vadilerindeki bir kısmı eskiya 14 Temmuz sabahı anında İğdir kazasının Aralık nahiyesi merkezine saldıran hükümet konağın ele geçirmişler ve ilk olarak İğdir tellerini tahrip etmişlerdir. Hükümetin vakur anında kuvvetimiz yetmiş, sert bir müasdeden

Karaköse 16 (Hu. Mu.) — Zilan deresi imha hareketinin hitamını müteakip Ağrı vadilerindeki bir kısmı eskiya 14 Temmuz sabahı anında İğdir kazasının Aralık nahiyesi merkezine saldıran hükümet konağın ele geçirmişler ve ilk olarak İğdir tellerini tahrip etmişlerdir. Hükümetin vakur anında kuvvetimiz yetmiş, sert bir müasdeden

Avrupa İttihadı olur veya olmaz, onu burada münaşşe edecek edemeyiz.



Harekât idare eden ordu kumandanı Salih Paşa'nın milli mücahede senerinde alınmış bir resmi Ağrı dağı ordu muz tamamen ihata etmiş gibidir. Kıtaat zirvelere de hakim olmağa çalışıyor. Eskiya yaylaları boşaltmağa başlamıştır. Çiftlik, Serhalı, Türkmen yaylaları tamamen tahrip edilmiştir. — Raif



Çaldıran ve Van sahrasında bir tarama hareketi

Karaköse 16 (Hu. Mu.) — Son dağlık haber almışımıza göre Zilan deresi imha hareketinde bir kısmı eskiya öldürülen kurtulmuş muvafak olmuştur. Bunların o muntaka dahilinde dağıldıkları, bazı köylerin de yardımını temin ettikleri tahakkuk etmişinden kaati bir temizleme amiyetisi olmak üzere Çaldıran ve Van sahrasında tarama hareketi yapılmışa başlamıştır. Mevzî olan hareket, Çaldıran sahrasında muvafaklığı bir şekilde teselli etmiştir. 2-3 gün içinde hitam bulmasını beklenen tarama amiyetisi o havalıyı tam mir sükunete sevk etmiştir. — Raif

İğdir. Eğer olursa ancak M. Musolini hükümetinin çok açık bir samimiyetle söylediği şekiller ve şartlar dahilinde olabilir. İtalyan cevabı son senerlerin siyasi vesikaları içinde tarihe geçecek ehemmiyet ve mümtaziyeti hatir bir hadise sayılabilir. Şüphe yoktur ki bu cevap M. Briyan'ın teklifinden çok daha mühimdir.

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100,000 liralık ikramiye çıktı



Onar bin lira kazanan Ayşe H. Kemal Ef.

Sekizinci tertip tayyare piyanokunun altıncı keşidesine dün de devam edilmiş, ve keşideye nihayet verilmiştir. Bu keşide de hiç bir kazananmış bilet numaralarına (30) arırsa teselli mükafatı verilecektir. Bu suretle onar bin lira kazanan biletlerden biri Calata'da Kemal Efendiye, diğeri de Fatih'te Yeniceşme'de Yahya Tevfik Ef. (Mabedi 4 üncü sahifede)

Bahtiyar bir vilâyet



Malatya Valisi Tevfik Bey Hare, kanun, usul, Heps iyî. Fakat alımsın da işler üstünde büyük ehemmiyet ve tesiri var. Bunu inkâr etmek imdânî yok. Müteşebbis ve faal valilere nailiyet noktasından bahtiyar vilâyetlerinin birini de Malatya teklif ediyor. Mükân en fevzî diyarındın biri olan Malatya evvelce Nevzat Bey'e olduğu

bir şüphe de Terzî'nin kayseri ematör aillerin idaresinde terakki eden terakkiye oşuyor. Eylem Malatya'da bulunan Anadolü muhabirinin cennet Malatya'nın akl ve faal bir idare altında nazar olduğu feyiz ve küşayış anlata nıta bittiremiyor. Muhabirinin mekâpları peyderpey Cumhuriyet sultanında nevrolozmucaştır. Başta bütün meşuriyet hayati seronelli muvafaklığı erile olan Vali Tevfik Bey'in bir ita' resmini takdir ve iftiharla derceyoruz.

Ararat eteklerinde...

Şark vilâyetlerinde ve hudud üzerinde aylarca devam eden uzun bir telik seyahati yapmış olan güzide arkadaşımız:

Yusuf Mazhar Bey

O havaliye ait fevkalâde kıymetli tekliflerini, hiç birimizin bilmediği ve işitmediği meraklı ve hayretbah müşahedelerini gazetimize yazmıştır.

Yarıdan itibaren

Pek ziyade âlaka ile takip edilmesine emin olduğumuz bu yazıları neşre başlıyoruz.

Heyeti Vekile içtimalı

Senelik umum döviz ihtiyacı 11,653,000 lira olarak tesbit edildi

Ankara 16 (Telefonla) — Heyeti Vekile bugün saat beşte toplanarak devaire ait bazı hususat ile bir kısım İttihadi meselesi müzakere etmiştir. Heyeti Vekile 930-931 bütçelerinde müvazene umumiye dahil tahsisat döviz noktasından teklif ederek hulasatın şu karara varmıştır: Devlet büncesinden encebî ihtihali emtasa olarak satın alınan esya bedeli 11,653,000 lira olarak bulunmuştur. Bundan sonra alınacak esya

Heyeti Vekile kararile alınacaktır. Büyük inşaat için alınacak malzeme, yerli olmayan mefruşat, melhusat, işare zım, tesiat, encebî mütehasısa celi Heyeti Vekile kararile olacaktır. Her tarafta 2500 liredan fazla kambyo alınmasını icap ettirecek tahhüdât için Heyeti Vekile kararı lüzum dır. Belediye, idareî hususiyeler, devlet sermayesi bulunan şirketler de bu ahkâmı tabidir. Mülbak bütçeli devair de bu şekilde idare olunur.

12 senelik fark! Amerika i âyan azası iyi intibalarla gitti

Yeni Ankara, Türk kabiliyet ve armıncan canlı bir abidesidir

İftihar ediniz ki GAZİ sizindir!

Bir hafta evvel şehrimize gelecek Ankara'ya giden ve evvelki gün tekrar İstanbul'a dönen Müteşebbis Amerika bükümeti âyan azasından M. Frank Fey dün şehrimizin ayrılarak Avrupa'ya girmiştir. M. Frank Fey dün Tokatlıyan otelinde bir muharririni kabul ederek sunlar söylemiştir:

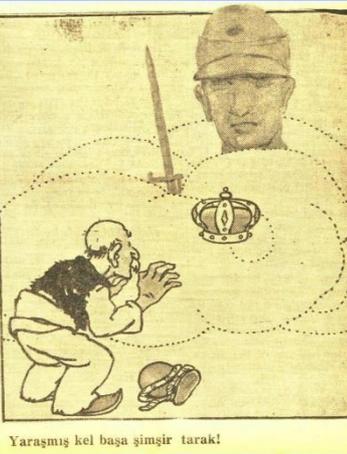
— Güzel İstanbul'a bu kece dönürücü defa geliyorum. Bundan 12 sene evvel vaki olan seyahatime bu seferki gelişimde çok büyük terakkiler ve değişiklikler gördüm. O zaman sokaklarımız pisli, kadınlarımız tuhaf tuhaf kıyafetlerle gezerdi. Fakat bugün caddeler temiz, kadınlarımız o kıyafetlerini bırakarak bütün dünyaya kadınlar gibi görünüyorlar. Bu gün evvel Ankara'ya gittim. Hükümet merkezinde Amerikan şehrilerine çok benziyor. Terzî pek yenî olan bu şehri Türkiye'nin arın ve kudret kabiliyetini en güzel bir şekilde canlandıran bir abidedir.

Bu gün hiç tereddüt etmeden söyleyebilirim ki bide beraber yaşayan dünyamızın en büyük adamları işte geçmemektedir.



Amerika âyanı azasından Mr. Frank Fey

(Bu İftihar ediniz ki bu iş büyük olduğundan birine, belki de en kıymetli olan bir GAZİ'ye maliksiniz. Onun size gösterdiği yolda yürüyecek (Lâfız sahifesi geçmiştir)



Yarışmış kel başa şimsir tarak!

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Gazi Hz. Maarif Cemiyeti Balosunda!



Reisicumhur Hazretleri, evvelki gece Büyükdada teşrif etmek üzere Yalova'daki ikametgâhlarından çıkarken. (Reiscumhur Hazretlerinin sağ taraflarında hemşireleri Hammetendi, sol taraflarında Başmuharririmiz Yunus Nadi B. görülmektedir)

İhracat Bankası

Harici ticaretimizi açmak ve kolaylaştırmak için ticaret mümessillikleri teşkilatına bu sene harici ticaret büroları diye yeni bir teşkilat daha ilâve ediyoruz. Ondan ne fayda çıktı, bundan ne fayda çıkacak?

Her iki teşkilatın maksadı harici ticaretimizin yurdumuzu terk eden memleketlere gönderilmemiş memurlardan ibarettir ki vâzife olanak yapacakları için ihracatımıza nokta nazaran bulundukları memlekeler ahraline dair raporlar vermek olmaktadır. İhtisabın vücut bulması ise yalnız o iki bir teşkilat bir birliğe tevdi edilmiştir. Birincisinin verdiği raporları kimlerin okuyup neler istifade ettiklerini bilmiyoruz. İkincisinin ise dar bir çevreye sınırlı o iki teşkilat olacağını anlıyoruz.

Muayyen maksatlarla vücutte geçtikten hiç bir teşkilatın bütün bütün faydasız olacağını iddia edecek değiliz. Fakat harici ticaret gibi bu yüzyıla yeni parçalar bulup çıkarmaktan ibaret en müşkül bir sahnemizi noksan teşkilatına ve noksan salihlere tevdi ederek bu işin dahi bu sayede muntazaman yürümeğe başlamış olacağına kanaat bulmursak yaman surette sâkım olacağız. Müza şüphe yoktur.

Her şeyden evvel teşkilat itibarile harici ticaret mümessilliklerinin büyük bir mana ifade etmediklerini söylemeye işte mecburuz. Bu teşkilatın menur etdiklerini arasında şahısları itibarile tesadüf — tesadüf ettiklerini varsa belki onlardan Vekâletle hiç olmasın makul bazı raporlar geleceğini farzedebiliriz.

İhtifâz etmek lâzımdır ki harici ticaret mümessilliklerinin iktisadında ekseriyetle tesadüfün lâfzına mazhar olmuş ta değildir. Biz bunları dikkatle onlardan memleketimizi ne nispetle ticaret faaliyetleri hakkında anımları ihtifâzı olmayın te,icaret mümessilleri gördük ve biliyoruz.

Bunların daha hayk ve müstahakın ile istifadelerine ise baram kasnımızın mâni olduğu anlaşıyor.

Harici ticaret mümessillerimizin gönderdikleri raporlar ne oluyor, ve bunlardan harici ticaretimiz ne şekle ve suretlere istisfa ediyor? Bu raporlar hiç olmazsa nesrolunabilse belki onlardan bazı faydalar çıkardı. Korharz ki bu raporlar dikkatle ve manaları anlaşılacak şekilde okunuyor bile. Çünkü merkezde harici ticaret mümessillerine tehabül edecek ve onlarla meşgul olacak muhassas ve müstakil bir teşkilat yoktur.

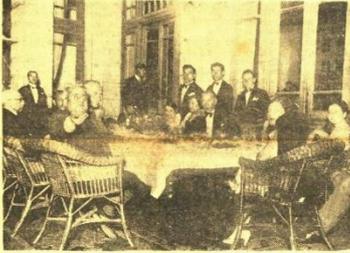
Harici ticaret için harici ticaret mümessillerimizden evvel şehbenderimizden dikkat edecekleri bir iş oldu muhakkak. Eğer çalıştırılmaları ve çalışmalarında istifade etmek mümkün olsa bunların içinde bilhassa ekseriyetle iktisadıyla müstakil zevat olan şahısların şebhenderimizden pek çok istifade olabilecektir.

Biz şahıslarımızdan birinin harici ticaret hakkında vermiş olduğu çok mühim bir rapor biliyoruz ki aradan iki seneyi müteakibten sonra geçtikçe harici ticaretimizde Vekâletlerimiz de lâzım olduğu ehemmiyetle önemli söyle durun, sadece ve tamam bir

(Mabedi 2 üncü sahifede)

Gazi Hz. evvelki gece Büyükdada geldiler

Gazimiz, Maarif Cemiyeti balosunu şereflendirmiş ve sabaha doğru Yalova'ya avdet buyurmuşlardır



Reisicumhur Hz. Maarif Cemiyetinin balosunda

Reisicumhur Hz. Yalova'da harekâtında bulundukları Türk Tabirinin ikmaline çalışmaktadırlar. Gazi Hz. Yalova'daki yeni köşkerlerinin mesai bürosunda her gün bir kaç saat bu kıymetli eserle meşgul olmaktadır. Evvelki gün Yalova'ya giden Basmuharririmiz Yunus Nadi Bey, Gazi Hz. ne mülakki olmuştur.

Gazi Hz. Aydın me'busu Reşit Galip B. de hazır bulunduğu halde yazmakta oldukları eser etrafında Basmuharririmiz 2 buçuk saat müdavelele fikir eylemişlerdir. Davullunun müderrislerinden Yusuf Ziya B. de evvelki gün Yalova'da Gazi Hz. tarafından kabul buyurulmuştur.

Reisicumhur Hz. Yat Kulübü'ne Reisicumhur Hz. perşembe günü de eserleri ile meşgul olarak akşama kadar köşkerlerinden çıkmamışlardır.



Yüksek atlamada rekor kırıldı

Dünya müsabakalarında muhtelif koşullarda birinci gelenler: Sağdan sola doğru: Rıza, Haydar, Naili Semih, Enver, Tevfik Beyler

— Yazısı 4 üncü sahifede —

Yunanlılarla dostluk misakı

Müzakerat Bu hafta içinde bitecek

Atina 18 (Husut) — Hariciye Nazırı M. Mihalakopolos Türk - Yunan bitaraflik misakına ait her iki devlet tarafından ihzar edilen müteakib projelerin teklifini imal etmiştir. Türkiye tarafından mukabil projede bazı ehemmiyetsiz tadilat teklif edilmiştir. Hükümet, mezkûr tadilattan kabul edilmediği müddet mukabil projelerini E. nis Beye tevdi edecekler. Bu husustaki müzakeratin bu hafta içinde hitam bulması muhtemeldir. Bundan sonra da ticaret muahedisinin akdi için müzakerat yapılacaktır.

Hariciye Nezaretinden alınan malûmata nazaran bütün muahedat birlikte imza edilecektir.

Musa Kâzım Ef.

Edirne'deki kabri yeniden yapıldı



Merhum Musa Kâzım Ef. ve Edirne'deki kabri

Edirne muhabirimizden: Mütareke esnasında İngilizler tarafından İstanbul'da tevki ve Malta'ya sevkiluna vatanperverler arasında mahut Bekir Ağa bölüğü ne hapsedilmiş olan ve bilâhâre hastalanması üzerine Edirne'ye nefredilen esak Seyhülislam Musa Kâzım Ef., Edirne'de kaldığı bir buçuk seneye karış bir müddet zarfında bir çok mazalime ve Feri hükümetinin Valisi Salim (Paşa) nın tazyikatına maruz kalmıştı.

Müddet zarfında ancak bir defa sokaka çıkmama müsaade olunan Musa Kâzım Ef. son cuma namazını Eski camide kıldırmıştı.

Perişitkârların sık sık ikametgâhında kendisini ziyaretlerinde teselli bulan ve on sene evvel yani 10 Haziran 1909 tarihinde burada vefat eden Musa Kâzım Ef., Mura-

(Mabedi 3 üncü sahifede)

Uzun etek modası

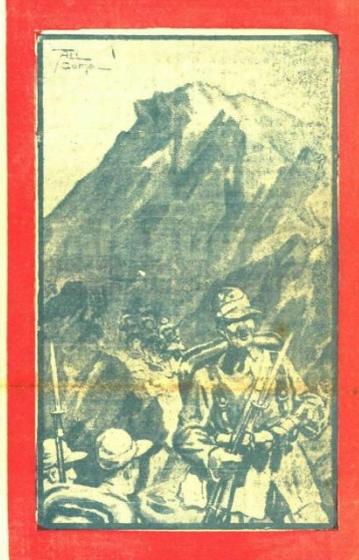


— Daha uzun boylu görünüyö-
ruz, değil mi Selma!

— Evet ama, bir buçuk metre fazla kumas gitti diye bizimki kıyaset koparıldı.

Ağrıdaki harekâtı Salih Pş. karargâhını "Bayazıt" ta kurdu!

Ağrıdaki müstesna, her taraf eşkiya-dan tamamen temizlendi



Ağrıdaki eteklerini saran ve o havaylı temizlemeğe başıyan kahraman Mehmetçiklerimiz

Bayazıt 18 (Husut muhabirimizden) — Ağrıdaki müstesna, hududumuzun diğer tarafları kımilen asilerden temizlenmiş ve her tarafı tam bir emniyet tesis edilmiştir. Caldaran mıntakasındaki harekâtımız kat'î bir muvaffakiyete neticelenmiş, Zilan deresine gömü-

mekten kurtulabilecek Van hududuna doğru kaçmağa muvaffak olan asileri saklayan köyler cezalandırılmış ve bu şakiler de ele geçirilmiştir.

Van havaslı de bu suretle asilerden tathir edilmiştir. Salih Paşa, (Lâfzen sahifesi çevirisi)

Tarihten bir yaprak!..

Mahmut Sadık B. Gazetecilik hayatının ellinci senesini idrak etti



Gazetecilik hayatının ellinci senesini idrak eden, fakat bugün hasta döşesinde bitap ve unutulmuş bir halde bulunan Seyhalmuharririn Mahmut Sadık Bey

38 yaşında Simit iki hali 25 yaşında

Matbuatın en eski ve emektar nedenberi hastadır.

Mahmut Sadık B. bugün gazetecilik hayatının ellinci senesini idrak etmiştir. Mahmut Sadık B. tam ellinci sene evvel (1297) senesi temmuzunda (Mir'atı Alem) mecmua-

sında çıkan ilk yazısı ile matbuat hayatına atılmıştır.

Ne yazık ki istat. bu sereflî gününü hasta yatağında geçiriyor.

Filhakika Mahmut Sadık B. iki se-

(Mabedi 3 üncü sahifede)

YUNUS NADI
İDAREHANESİ:
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Cumhuriyet

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Alman Gurubu İle Müzakere Bitti

İran'la münasebatımız

Tahran Büyük Elçiliğimize tayin olunan Sofya Seviniz Hürrev Bey yeni memurîyetini taayyün ettikten sonra Reisicumhur Gazi Mustafa Kemal Hazretlerini ziyaret etmiş ve Müşârihinle Hazretleri tarafından yemekte ağırlanmıştır. Yemekte enasından Gazi Hazretlerinin yeni Büyük Elçimize İran'daki ve Şah Pehlevi Hazretleri hakkında izah ettikleri fikir ve hissiyat gazeteler neşrettiler. İran hakkında en halis dostluk hissiyatını ve Şah Pehlevi Hazretlerine karşı da büyük bir imtaz ve emniyeti müsbet olan bu çok manalı beyanatın kıymetini üzerinde ne kadar teavakkül edilecektir.

Reisicumhur Gazi Hazretleri her şeyden evvel İran'ın hürriyet ve istiklali içinde inkişaf eden komşu bir memleket olması fikrinden bulunmuşlardır. Hürriyet ve istiklalın bir memleket için en büyük nimet olduğu zahiren malûm bir hakikat zannedir. Bu niyetin mahiyet ve kıymetini Gazi Hazretleri kadar derin ve geniş anlayışın hakikati, Gazi Hazretlerinin ibda ettiği yeni Türkiye içinde kendisine mesnet itihaz etmiş olduğu bir idareci ve istiklalci. Bu iki kelimeleri ilmi bir ifade ile yalnız birinde bulmak mümkün değildir. İstiklal, Filhakika her memleketin hürriyeti istiklalidir, amma tam ve kâmil istiklalinde münasibdir. Sevdiğimiz memleketler hakkında eğer hayati hususlar temennülerimiz olacaktı, bunların başına istiklalî geçirmekle o memleket hakkındaki muhabbet ve tevaccühümüzün en yüksek derecesini göstermiş oluruz.

Eğer o sevdiğimiz memleket İran gibi hembudumuz olan bir memleket bulunur ve bu hudutlar her iki memleketin münasebatını alâkadar edebilecek hâdisele şahane olursa o zaman bu temenninin mana ve kıymeti daha ziyade ehemmiyet peyda eder. Dost ve komşu bir memleket dahilinde kendilerini melce bulmak her tarafı iz etmeden mümkün değildir. Bu beyan esnasında Mel. Mari'nin kendisine konuşan bir muhabirimize sorduğu sorulara cevap verirken, hem de bir tarafın istiklalini haleldar etmiş pek ileride ve tabii bir ifade ile mütakabil imtaz ve emniyeti müsbet müsterek karar ve konasatlar dairesinde bertaraf edilmiştir. Bu için başka bir hal sureti olmadığımız bu meseleye dair yazdığımız ilk bir makalede biz de beyan etmiştik.

Gazi Hazretleri İran hakkındaki muhabbet ve tevaccühleri tarihi tedbirlerin ortaya çıkardığı yeni hakikatlerin tarasını ederek her iki milletin aynı vasatı Asya menşesine mensubiyetleri tahakkük etmiş bulunmasına göre irki karabete müeyyit dostluğun tabii tabii tecelliyatı bir aile samimiyeti arzedeğine işaret buyurmuşlardır. Filhakika eski Osmanlı İmparatorluğu devrindeki Türk - İran münasebatının batıl şekillerine nazaran iki taraf ekâmını yanlış yollarla götürmek çok galiz cerehâlerin içinde yaşadığımız her mesele nazik zamanlarda ortadan kalkmasınca intizar olunurdu. Gazi Hazretleri daha ileri gidecek tarihi bir hakikat olmak üzere her iki milletin aynı vasatın gelme kaidelerinde olduğu beyan ve teyid buyuruyorlar. İlme müstenit bu kuvvetli ifadelerin komşu memleketle ve bütün dünyada lâzık olduğu yüksek ehemmiyetle telâki oluncasına şüphe yoktur.

Şah Pehlevi Hazretleri her zaman ve bilhassa yeni hâdiseler müvacehesinde eşkiyâm hareketlerinden muztarip ve mutazarip olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile onun Reisi tarafından münasib görülecek hergünün teyidi büyük bir husus ve samimiyetle tabii tabii bulunduğunu tekrar ve tekit etmiş

Salih Paşanın beyanâtı

"Hakârî,, ye akın yapan Musul Kürtleri geriye püskürtüldü

"Ağrıdaki,, hareketi bugünlerde başlayacak ve pek kısa bir zaman zarfında ikmal edilecektir

Ağrı'daki tenkil ameliyesi neticeye yaklaşıncı Irak hududundan gelen yeni bir tecavüz dikkat ve tetayukuzumuz toplama vesile oluyor. Şimdiye kadar Şark havâlisinden sınırlarımıza ve toprakımıza saldıran eşkiyayı ekseriyetle imha etmişiz. Bu sefer de Irak tarafından bir hâdisa baş gösterdi.

Musul mintakasında oturan Harzai şeyhinin 500 atlısı 21-22 Temmuz akşamı Hakârî'nin Orta nahiyesine taarruz etmiştir. Hudut letaatımızın sedid mukabelesi üzerine mütevacizler ziyat vererek çekilmeye mecbur olmuşlardır. Yeni taarruzun Oymalı'daki askeri misizi Cenuba çekmek ve orada oyalamak suretiyle azal hareketi başlatmış ikmal etmek maksadıyla edilmiş tahmin ediliyor.

Her hangi bir ihtimali kökünden



Kumandan Salih Paşa.

kesmek için Cenup ve Cenubu Sarki hudut müfrezelerimiz derhal takviye edilerek ihtiyac nisbetinde kuvvetlendirilmiştir. Bu hâdisenin Ağrı hareketına hiç bir tesir

yapamayacağı şüphesizdir.

Ağrı hareketi başlıyorsa Beyazıt 28 (Hu. Mu.) — Ağrı'da yapılacak yürüyüş ve tarım hareketi hazırlıkları tamamen ikmal edilmiş bugünlerde tabii tabii tahmin ihtimali kuvvetlidir. İhtata ve tenkil ameliyatında silâhsız askerlerin İran'a kaçmaması ve İran'dan yeni tecavüz vuku bulmaması için etraflı tedbirler alınmıştır. Bilâfiazla devam eden tayyare ateleri asilere hergün telefat verdiriyor. Son dakikada verilen haberler, eşkiyâmın bitkin bir halde olduğu merkezindedir.

Salih Paşanın beyanâtı Kolorad Kumandanı Salih Paşa beyanatta bulunarak Zeylan ve Çaldıran tenkil hareketlerini izah

(Mabadi 4 inci sahifede)

Müthiş bir kadın!

17 şampiyona kahramanı Mel. Mari İstanbul'a geldi, konferanslar verecek



Mel. Mari Tayyare Cemiyeti Müdürü Hasan Fehmi B. ile bir arada, sağda bir portre

Fransızın en meşhur kadın tayyarecilerinin Mel. Marie Marlingin dün şehrimize gelmiş ve Fransız seferateli Mel. Mari ile kendisine konuşan bir muhabirimize sorduğu sorulara cevap verirken, hem de bir tarafın istiklalini haleldar etmiş pek ileride ve tabii bir ifade ile mütakabil imtaz ve emniyeti müsbet müsterek karar ve konasatlar dairesinde bertaraf edilmiştir. Bu için başka bir hal sureti olmadığımız bu meseleye dair yazdığımız ilk bir makalede biz de beyan etmiştik.

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tiğinden iki hafta belki de daha fazla ayrılmayacaktır.

Öntümüzdeki cumartesi günü saat 21 Türk Ocakında «Hayatda bir saat, Sıhhi tayyarecilik ve tayyarecilikimizin ve bugünkü vaziyeti hakkında bir konferans vereceğim.

Burada başka tarihini şimdi teyid edemeyeceğim bir gün de Beyoğlunda Oğuzun Fransızca İktisat Konferansını vereceğim.

Fransa'da deniz, kara tayyareciliği ve balon pilotu mülahazası olan bu müthiş kadın bundan başka muhtelif 17 spor müsabakaları şampiyonluğunu kazanmıştır.

Matmazel Marie halen Fransız kadın atletizm, boks, otomobilcilik, tayyare binicilik, deniz motoru, skrim birincisi, jimnastik, piyano, yüzme, pastaj, kajak şampiyona bulunmuştur.

bilecekleri fikrini bilküllüye ortadan kaldırmaktan ibarettir. Eşkiyâ sından en kat'i surette emin olmalıdır ki şekavet cür'eti İran'a kaçmakla taktipen kurtulacak değildir. İki memleket bu fikir üzerinde samimiyetle müsterektiler ve bu maksadı temin etmek için teşriki mesaiye en kat'i surette karar vermişlerdir. Bu kararın ise icabında filiyat ile göstereceklerdir.

İran'ın yalnız bize karşı dostluğunun değil, kendisine karşı bize çok matlıp olan hürriyet ve istiklalinin dahi en zaruri icabı budur denilebilir. İşte Türk - İran münasebatının badema takip etmesi lâzım gelen samimi olduğu kadar ciddi yolu yukarıdaki izahat dairesinde Reisicumhurumuz Gazi Mustafa Kemal Hazretleri en sarıf bahar ile çinmiş bulunuyorlar. Bu şartlar bu yeni yolun birer daha izahına çalışmaktan başka bir şey değildir.

YUNUS NADI

20 milyonluk malzeme istikrazı mukavelesi bugün imzalanacak!

Bir haftadanberi Ankara'da bulunan Berlin Büyük Elçimiz Kemalletin Sami Paşa dün şehrimize gelmiştir. Büyük Elçimiz bir muhabirimize beyanatta bulunarak demmiştir ki: «Dost Alman hükümeti ile münasebatımız sayısız memnuniyetlidir. İktisadi sahada da inkişafa doğru yürümektedir. Berlin - İstanbul arasında ha-

vai sefer ve postalar tesis etmek için sermayedar bir Alman grubu Ankara'da müzakerelerde bulunmaktadırlar. Müzakeratın pek yakında maddi safafeyle intiaz olunacağını tahmin ediyoruz. Diğer bir Alman grubu ile vade ile 20 milyon liralık malzeme «İhrasını dair müzakere» hâtime lenmiştir. Mukavelename yarın (bugün) Ankara'da imzalanacaktır.»

Haydar Rifat Bey dün hapisaneye girdi

Diyor ki: «Ben yatarken davam alâka uyandırmakta devam edecektir,,

Arukat Haydar Rifat Bey hakkında Ankara mahkemesi asilyesine verilen ve Mahkemei Temyiz tarafından dokuz ay on gün olarak tasdik edilmiş mahkûmiyet kararını, Müddei - mümillige tebliğ edildiğini yazmıştı.

Mahkûmiyet ilâmı Müddei - mümillikten ilâmat dairesine havale edilmiş ve Haydar Rifat Bey hakkında bir tevkif müzakeresi kesilmiştir.

Dün sabah erkenden Haydar Rifat Bey evine sivil bir zabta memuru gitmiş ve kendisini Adliyeye davet etmiştir. Haydar Rifat Bey memuru biraz istirahat ve intizar etmesini söylemiş ve hazırlandıktan sonra sivil memurun refakatinde olarak evinden çıkmıştır.

Haydar Rifat B. otomobile Adliyeye gelmiş ilâmat dairesine git-



Haydar Rifat B. hapisaneye giderken

miştir. Burada kendisine Mahkemei Temyiz tasdik kararını ham ilâmı daveti tebliğ edilmiş ve hakkında tevkif müzakeresi kesilmiş olduğu bildirilmiştir.

İlâmın tebliğinden sonra Haydar Rifat Bey, gene memur ve jandarma refakatinde olarak umumi hapisaneye götürülmüştür.

(27.7.30. ahf. 10.000)

Bulgarlar

Gazi Hz. nin mühim beyanatları

Matbuat cemiyeti heyeti öntümüzdeki cuma günü Bulgaristan'a gidiyor

Bulgar gazetecileri federasyonunun, Türk Matbuat Cemiyetinden bir heyeti Bulgaristan'a ziyarete davet ettiğini ve ahiren şehrimize gelen eski me-

bulgaristan'a gidiyor

«Hakkı Tarık B. ve Dorf Ef. nin de sifaben bu daveti teyid mevrur edildiğini yazmıştı.

Matbuat Cemiyeti bu davete beklilik bir hey'etle icabete karar vermiştir. Hey'et Hakkı Tarık, Fa-ih Rifat, Necmettin Sadık, Ahmet Sükrü ve Kemal Salih Beylerden ibaret olacaktır.

Gazeteciler hey'eti öntümüzdeki cuma günü Loit kumpanyasının bir vapur ile şehrimizden hareket edecek ve 3 ağustos pazar günü Var-

şahine varacaktır. Heyetin misafireti bir hafta devam edeceğine göre ağustosa başında evvel şehrimize avdet edilecektir. Gazi Hz. nin mühim beyanâtı Matbuat Cemiyeti Reisi Hakkı Tarık B. bir kaç gün evvel Yalova'da Reisicumhur Gazi tarafından kabul edildiği zaman Bulgar gazetecilerinin davetini Gazi Hz. ne arz etmiştir. Gazi Hz. komşu milletin bu dostane teşebbüsü ile yakından alâkadar olmuşlar ve çok kıymetli beyanatta bulunarak fikirlerini şu



— Elindeki gazetede moda haberi var... — Var amma, işine yaramaz... Dünkü gazete...

Lisan me'slesi Ali Ekrem Beyin sonuncu mektubu 4 üncü sahifededir 5 inci sahifede Ev - Kadın - Moda

Belçika istiklalinin yıldönümü
Belçika ticaret odasının tertip ettiği tenezzüh
Yalova tenezzühi çok güzel olmuş, memleketimiz İktisadiyatın alâkadar eden mühim nutuklar söylenmiştir

Belçika istiklalinin yâni dünü - müme tesdihi, İstambul Belçika Ticaret Odası tarafından, dün bir 'Yalova' tenezzühi tertip edilmiştir. 'Malipo' vapuru, davetlileri, Belçika kolonistini hâkimin saat on buçukta, Topkapı'dan hareketle Moda ve Büyükdâ'ya uğratarak Yalova'ya gitmiş, ikisinden otomobil ve otobüslerle kaplıcağa gelmiş. Öğle yemeği orada yenilmiştir. Yemekten sonra da edilmiş, oteller ve ha - mmamlar gezilmiştir, akşam yine istisna - larla aynı vapurla Büyükdâ'ya ve Ho - paşaya uğranarak saat 21 de Top - paşaya avdet edilmiştir. Davetliler, ve - padeha ihzar edilen birfenden metalecin olmuşturlar.

Davetliler arasında İstanbul müdri - yünü Zeynelin, Artvinin me'vasu Asım, Şehircinin muavini Hâmit, Hali Ziya, Enezin şifâkçisi komiseri Hayrettin Bey - lerin Fransızca İstanbul refiklerini Başmühür M. İylerioğlu ve sair Türk ve Belçika memurları da bulunmuş - tur. Belçika maslahatgâhı M. Mot ta te - nezzehe iştirak etmiştir.

Müyo Hanseın nutku
Özellikle öğle yemeği esnasında elektrik şirketi emsali Mâo Hanse, Elektrik Şirketi Tüzeti Odası reis vekili sıfatıyla sayın dâkikâ bir nutuk ile emsal ve ecidinde şunları söylemiştir:
« Türkiye - Belçika arasında sırası - nızla nüfuzun en büyük bir nokta idi - r.

İttifak münasebatı gelince, git - tiye iktisat emsalı, Türkiye'de lettilen Belçika sermayesi artmaktadır. İstambul'dumun ticaret noktasından müesseseler doğmaktadır. İstambul'un ticaret noktasından müesseseler doğmaktadır. İstambul'un ticaret noktasından müesseseler doğmaktadır.

Harekât başhyor

Birinci sâhifeden mahabî
ri keşif bir piyade, topçu ve mital - yor kütalele tekvite ve tahkim ol - munnur. Bu itibarla mital, şak - leri tasallottunu her zaman kal - kârı hazmetme ve tam bir imha - necesile muahvezne kadir bir kuv - vettedir.

Karargâha
Bayazıt bulunan Kumandan
Sâlih Pass Erzurum'dan cadir ge - rtilmiştir. Kumandan Pa. tenkil a - mîyelinin son hazırlıklarında ikmal ettiği ve bizzat harekâtı idâ - re ve takip için Ağrı eteklerinde a - cak ordugh kuracağı muhakkak ol - gıdır. Dağda çevirne kolunu tep - kil eden leri kütalemiş, çok ağır mü - kullât fedakârlıkla itikâan e - derek yalnız kayalarla çengelli iş - lemleri trammullardır, dommuş İla - veşlerinden korkuncu seller arasında mevzi tutmuşlardır. Dağ ve sahra topusunun, ağır makineli silah - ları, tıbbî ekipmanları, taşıyıcı ve vaziyete tamamen hâkimdiler.

İran'ın yardımı
Bizim tarafın 3 cephe ile ihata
edilen Ağrı'nın Şark cephesi ile İran askerî tarafından sarılmıştır. Küçük Ağrı vadilerinden İran'ın ta - rıkına kalkışan eskiya ile İran sâvîrleri şiddetle çatışmış, iki mü - sademede sergilerden Hali ka - nîli Halil aşın kardeşini mahul d - şiymiştir. Şu hâle nazaran komu - devletin de isap eden tedabiri al - dığı ve İran hudud kumandanı Sa - dak Han kuvvetlerini Ağrı'daki se - ferine erbabına karşı hareketle ge - tirdiği anlaşılıyor. İran'ın iki ta - raf besabında da mahul olmanın bîzarca vaziyet ayrılacak mü - tekâf ve derdi izaleye gayret göstermesi, şüpheli çok iyi, kuv - det meticeli hem yakınlaştıracak hem kolaylaştıracaktır.

Harekât başlangıcı
Yürüyüş ve tarama harekâtının çok müvazın bir program oldu

İçin de, çok netibin oldugunu derhal İla - me etmiştim. Bu memleket ki, memnâ - nîyetseniz, tahsil sevdi, amadık, güzel iki - mi, vaziyeti coğrafyası, çalısın halkı, vâkıye vatanperverlik hislerle çalısın Gazi'yi ve Cumhuriyet hükümeti vardır. Türkiye emelden serçe terakkiye dö - ru ediyor, fakat emiln odur. Ya - sanın Türkiye, Yaşasın Belçika!

Bir arbede
2 arkadaş, 2 kişiyi yaraladılar

Beyoğlu'nda Beşiktaş mahallesi - de Lâz Hasan ile arkadaş Ali ve demir ustasından Muhittin arasında öldü - ge saat 21 buçukta bir müesses çir - ke ve neticede Lâz Hasan ile Ali, Muhittin'i göğsü altından ve kavgaya mîdahale eden Şakir'i de öldürdüler ve arkasından derhal yaralanan kâmilârları; Mevralardan Mehmet Hüseyin hastane - sine ve Şakir'in Beyoğlu hastanesine ya - rıtırılmışlar.

Müthiş bir intihar
Bir gene bomba atarak kendini parçaladı

Kaspaşa'da Tahira Beyin so - lu - lunda kaplan Reşit Beyin oğlu 24 yasında Yunus tedarik ettiği bir el bombasını yere atıp patlatmak suretille intihar etmiştir.

Yangınlar
İki yangın
1 - Galata'da Arapçomlulu Mah - mudiye caddesinde Kurunluhan'da Mo - manya tebasından Tiryandafio'nun tahli talimatında bulunan ecza deposu - nun yangın çıkması ile de etrafın yit - tirilmesi stratejine meydan verildi - miktür. Deponun 9000 liraya viktoria sigortası altına girtilmiş idi - ğu anlaşılıyor ve tahlihatta başlan - mıştır.

Mektehizinde çalısın Belçika sermayesi
Bu müesseseler memleketimize çalısın Belçika sermayesi hakkında mîmel bir fikir vermeye fâdeli buluyor - umuz.

Müteferrik
Kefelizede Mural Bey hastanede öldü
Beyoğlu'nda Emperyal otelinde oturan Samsun'un istinat ünvanı Kefelizede Mural Beyin tabakası karıştırmak kasası kendii yaraladığını yazmıştır. Ak - sarıttı yaralanmış olan Kefelizede Mural Bey tedavi edilmek üzere yatırdığı Ri - tal hastanesinde dün vefat etmiştir.

Spor
Davis kapısı tenis maçı
Paris 27 (A.A.) - Davis kapısı tenis ma - çının son maddesi Gochet - Dupont 6/2, 7/5, 1/6, 4/2 ile Alphonse - Vayrac'yı yendi.

Hakkârî taarruzunun mahiyeti
Karaköy 27 (Hu. Mo.) - Hakkârî'nin Oraman mahiyetine saldı - ran Barzan aşireti haydutlarının temizlemesi için müfrezelerimiz Gevar hudud kıtaatı kuvvetleri co - çullandı. İki müademetinde kur - tulan bakıyenin de bir çevirne ka - rekâtile tenkilî mukarremdir.

Yüzme yarışları
İstanbul denizcilik beyestinden:
Lafazına cuma günü yüzme yarışları yapıldığından yarışlara iştirak ede - cekler. İstisnaların bugün mütaka mekâzbe bîhâfimesi mevcuttur.

Mudanya postaları
(Cuma, sab) Mudanya'ya uğ - rıyarak Gemlik'e kadar (pazar, çarşamba) Mudanya'ya kadar saat 9 da (cumartesi, pazartesi, 9) Eregli vapuru tara - fından aralık postalar Armutlu'ya kadar saat 8.30 da Topkapı'da Seyrisefain rihimundan kalkar - lar.

İSKEND'RİVE SUR'AT POSTASI
(CUMHURİYET) vapuru 1
agustos cuma 13 de Galata rih - timundan kalkarak cumartesi sabah İzmir'e ve akşam İzmir - den kalkarak pazartesi İken - deri'ye varacak ve çarşamba İskenderiye'den kalkarak İle - kire'ye uğrarak İstanbul'a gele - cektir.

Gazi Hz. nin beyanâtı
Tahrirâtı bildirildi
Şehircinin gelmiş olan mas - lahâtgâhı Mehmet Said Han An - kara'ya avdet etmiştir. Maslahât - gâhiz temalarına devam etmekte - dir. Gazi Hz. nin İran hakkında vurdıkları çok teveccühle be - yanat, İran seferati tarafından tel - grafıa Tahrân'a bildirilmiştir.

Tayyarecilerin hizmeti
Ankara 27 (Telefona) - Ce - nuptan hududa tecavüz eden şak - lere ağır zayıt verdikler yerli - rinde tenkil edilmiştir. Bu hususta derhal yetişen tayyarecilerin çok büyük hizmeti olmuştur.

İrtihal
Şehrcinazeti mezar müdiriyeti
muhasebe refiki Mustafa Aziz ve Askerî mezar hastahârlarından Necî Aziz Beylerin pederi hattat Aziz B. vefat etmiş ve ailesi malkberesine defnedilmiştir.

Teşekkür
Hastahâlim hakkında mürcaat - larından aldığım hissiyat üzerine hayatından hemen hemen ümit kesmiş bir halde İben Efil hastane - ni rümlen mütehasası Hüseyin Ekrem Beyfindin gösterdiği ih - san üzerine tedavisinden az za - man içinde fevkalsemul taze ha - yat bulduğundan musamileyle ha - yatım müddetinde medyunu şükran bulduğumca müterem gazete - nizde ilâhî rica ederim.

Bu akşam
Perah şifemada iki film izledim
Göstermek için Millî Dev Sonokon tenzihâte

Yelkenli Vapurlar
KARADENİZ POSTASI
SAMSUN vapuru 30
Temmuz
Akşam Sirkeci rihimundan hareketli Beyoğlu, İnebolu, Samsun, Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Sürmene, ve Rize) ye azim ve avdet edecektir.

BARTIN baş mıs
AYDIN vapuru PAZARTESİ
28 Temmuz
Sirkeci'den hareketli Eregli, Zonguldak, Bartın, Karacöğle ve Çidye azim ve avdet edecektir.

Seyrisefain
Merkez secenata Usunâ Köprü
başkedi Beyoğlu 2862.
Sobe secenata Mahmudiye - han altında İstanbul 9740

Ayyalık sür'at Postası
(MERSİN) vapuru 29 Temmuz
sah 17 de Sirkeci rihimundan kalkarak Gelibolu, Çanakkale, Kütahya, Edirne, Bursa'ya ve, Ayyalık'a gidecek ve dönüştü mektür ikelelere birlikte Al - tınolu'ya uğrarak gelecektir.

MERSİN SÜR'AT POSTASI
(MAHMUT SEVKET PAŞA)
vapuru 30 Temmuz çarşamba
11 de Galata rihimundan kalkarak Çanakkale, İzmir, Kütük, Fethiye, Finike, Antalya, Alâ - ye, Mersin'e gidecek ve dönüştü Teşuc, Anamur, Alâiye, Antalya, Finike, Fethiye, Kütük, İzm - ir'e uğrarak gelecektir.

Mudanya postaları
(Cuma, sab) Mudanya'ya uğ - rıyarak Gemlik'e kadar (pazar, çarşamba) Mudanya'ya kadar saat 9 da (cumartesi, pazartesi, 9) Eregli vapuru tara - fından aralık postalar Armutlu'ya kadar saat 8.30 da Topkapı'da Seyrisefain rihimundan kalkar - lar.

İSKEND'RİVE SUR'AT POSTASI
(CUMHURİYET) vapuru 1
agustos cuma 13 de Galata rih - timundan kalkarak cumartesi sabah İzmir'e ve akşam İzmir - den kalkarak pazartesi İken - deri'ye varacak ve çarşamba İskenderiye'den kalkarak İle - kire'ye uğrarak İstanbul'a gele - cektir.

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Tekirdağ Daimî encümeninden:

Befelî keşifleri (10249) İhra (60) kurstan The Saray - Çorhisöy yolunun 14-17 kilometresinde Çorhisöy ve 13 - 200 kilometresinde Me - nlik ilçelerinden kutar metreye Bâğrı yımı sokiz gün müddetle ve kapak zarf usulü münakasaya konulmuştur. Proje, keşifname ve partname suretleri Vîlayet Daimî Encümeninden istihâl olunacak ve ihale kârı 20-8-930 çarşamba gün saat on beşte Daimî Encümenlere İhra kılınacaktır.

Yalvaç Belediyesinden:

İstanbul Vîlayetine talip Yalvaç kazasının tarifen on iki kilometre mesafesinde bulunan mehalardan sayın kemal demir ve kemal beton bora ile şehre isale, tezi ve şehre dahilinde tahminen 2800 İhra kıymetli muhammedîlî proje ve plânlama yapıp tasdik ettirmek üzere keşif 20-7-930 rihiminden itibaren yirmi bir gün müddetle ve münakasaya kanunî muahize münakasaya konulmuştur. Şerhâtini anlamak arzû edelerleri Yalvaç Belediyesine mürcaatları ilân olmuştur.

Genlik İhra dairesinden:
Mevkîl Demirsabağ Hane maamağza 2550
Fikihimî caddesi Hane 650
İktihimî caddesi 600
İktihimî caddesi 900
Genlik Çukuhânı Faria 100 2
Genlik Çukuhânı Faria 100 2
Genlik Mersinli Zeynelin 150 3
Akteş 1500 9
Eğredere 600 3
Eğredere Faria 1000 20
Genlik Livarya Zeynelin 200 2
Zeynelin 600 4

Genlik'te Maniatura İhtisarcıları Hasan ve Kerim Efendilerin vefatı ve vesilesi Nisabe ve Şaziye ve Salih, Niyiz ve Sidak Hanımları Ahmet Rasit Bey beyazınca müteahhidin izale yolu davasından aldıkları mürşeretin alt bâlida cıva ve mevîl ve mülkâtı muharar on iki parça emvâlî gıymetinde gıvri kâbilî takasın oldugundan İhtisarcıya sarfınanla suretille izale yurru kesir mahkemeye İhtisarcıdan 20 Temmuz 1930 tarhinden itibaren bir ay müddetle müzahereye vâaz edilmiştir. Talip olanların teminat akelerleri Genlik İhra da - resinde mürcaatları ilân olmuştur.

Bartın - İnebolu postası
Hilâl 28 Temmuz
PAZARTESİ
Günü akşamı Sirkeci rihimundan hareketli (Eregli, Zonguldak, Bartın, Çide, İnebolu, Evrengöç ve His - le) kelelerine azim ve avdet edecektir. Yük ve yolcu İken Sirke - ci'de Yeni handa (1) numaralı a - nentasına mürcaat.

MOKEMMEL İNCE SAZ
Sirkeci yemeciler İzzetmî kârında
AİLE BAHCESİNDE
Her gün saat 18 den 24 e kadar kemalî şehr Memduh, kemal Veli, mü Hasan, Hacında Haliz Memet, Ağup Fırat ve Halil Hamid ve beylerde müteşek - ASRI MUSIKI HEYETİ

Le COO
LO KOE yazı başkân
Ea mükemmelle te'vâdedir
Her yerde satılır Aventa ve d polimer'i:
LIA AVRAMOĞLU ve BİRADER
İstanbul Kuru Kaneciler Han No14

PARİS Tıp Fak mezun
Dr. BARRETTİN ŞEVKİ
Çile Fırat, Belgoluğu
mühâssas Ankara caddesi
Eaat El Han No 135

ZAYİ CÜZDAN
İçerisinde 200 İhradan fazla ev - rak nakdiye ile diğer evrakı evrak cüz - düm zayı etmiş. Bulup geti - rinde iğercidinki paradan mah - den 20 İhra mükâfatı verilecektir.

Yalova suhi mahkemestenden:
Yalova'nın Şifran kırsayesinde Ali ağa sade Hüseyin Efendi vekilî Hasan Tahsin Efendinin Hazine Malîye aley - hine İhtisarcıya eylediği besel davasının ar - lı muhakemetinde müddetli karırı mevkire hududu dahilinde Ekişoğne mevkînde şarkan eski Yalova yolu gar - ben Hacı Abdullâh ve Ali ve Mustafa (emvâlî) Abdullâh oğlu Yalvaç şifran Hüseyin tarafı ile mahdud dört dînim ve (gene aynı mevkîde şarkan Osman oğlu Abdullâh garben Arnavut Hasan oğlu Ahmet emvâlî Hüsnî şifran Ahmet oğlu Kâzım tarafı ile mahdud dört dînim mîktarında iki parça tarifen İhtisarcı karar verilmekle İhtisarcı İhtisarcıdan beş gün zarfında merasimî kanunî mu - hacrat etmesi ilân olmuştur.

Dr. A. Kutiel
Muayenehane ve tedavî ilâhîlî İhtisarcı - varı. Karaköy Topkapı caddesi 94

YUNUS NADI

İDAREHANE:İ
Büyükdünya kapalı dünü basına
Telgraf: İstanbul Cumhuriyet
Posta kutusu: N° 246
Telefon: Tahrir müdürlü 4236
Baskıhanesi: 2284
Müdürlü 2385, Kılan kama: 472

Cumhuriyet

ABONE ŞERAHİ
MÜDDET: TÜRKİYE İÇİN HARİÇ İÇİN
Seneligi 1400 Kr. 2700 Kr.
6 aylığı 750 Kr. 1450 Kr.
3 aylığı 400 Kr. 800 Kr.
Nüshası her yerde = 5 Kuruşdur =

Ağrı Dağı'nda Tenkil Bitti

Bir mukayese

Kimler, ucu yasanyor diye bir aykırılıştaki bu sen...
geçmeğe giden bir arkadaş, bu seya-
hatlen avdetinde bili şyaret ederek:
—Oh, dedi, memleketimle tekarr
cette kavuşum.

İndisine biraz müphem olan bu sö-
dürüm etirdik ve anadık ki arkadaş-
ının maksadı Bulgaristan'ın abv-
nizbe nisbete daha büyük, daha ge-
nişliğe derin surların içinde yüzdü-
ğü nokta idi. Ondan dolayı orada
hem herkes müstariptir, hemen her
—korkuyordur. İstisna yoktur. Para
yok. Cebeler gümüş. Mütemadilen
acılar işlidir. Bulgaristan'ın bilen ve
Bolşev komşusu arkadaş Bulgaristan'da
hayat zorluğunda doğan umut ve
ışık ve şikayetten rahatsız olmuştur.
Memleketimize avdet edince ise oraya
nizbe nisbete avdet ettiği hisyatına
kapmıştır.

Fethi Bey, gazetecilerin tev-
kifini protesto ediyor

Lider, "Anadolu gazetesini itham ediyorum. Cumhuriyet
hâkimlerinden adaletin bitarafane tecelli ettirilmesini
beklemekteyim haklımızdır," diyor

S. C. F. Reisi Fethi Bey bazı gaz-
zetecilerin tevkifinden bahsile dîn
şu beyanatta bulunmuştur:
«— İzmir'de ve burada bazı gaz-
zeteci arkadaşlarımızın tevkif o-
lunması muhtasat hürriyetine hü-
kümçet heniz tahammül edilme-
diğini göstermektedir. Bir fırcanın
mutemetlerine ve hükümetin bazı
icranatına yapılan tenkilileri Büyük
Millet Meclisinin manevî tahsiye-
tine tecavüz suretinde göstermek,
hiç bir davayı isbat edemez. İzmir'de
çıkan «Anadolu» gazetesinin
neşriyatı meydandadır. Bu gazete
teniz ve faziletli bir halk kitlesini
cazneler ve para ile satılmış tabiri-
lerle tahkir etmiştir. İzmir'e mu-
vasalâttım mülahakatta pek fena
tesitler uyandırıldığına dair gaze-
tesine binlerce telgraf geldiğini yaz-
arak az önce neşriyatına bulunmuş-
tur. Kannun halkı tehyic edici hü-
vadis nevedenlere taallük eden
maddesinin tahtı hükmünde kalan
bu neşriyat ve tasniatın muharri-
ri serbest gezerken ve İzmir'deki a-
cıklı hâdiseye bu neşriyatın sebep
olduğu, bugün hükümet gazeteleri-
ne de tahtı itirafında iken, Teşkilât-
Esnasıye kuanunun millîete bahş
ve temin etmiş olduğu tabii ve mü-
kaddes bir hakka istinaden salâhi-
yetini istimal edenleri tevkife kal-



Fethi Bey Furka umumi kâtiibi Nuri Beyle beraber
merkez heyeti içtımına riyaset etmiş-
tür.
Bu içtımında, vilâyetlerden teşkilâtta
ait gelen mektepler okunarak lüzum
gelen talimatın gönderilmesine karar ve-
rilmiştir.
Fethi Bey Ankara ve Paris'e
gidicek
Fethi Bey, Adana ve Konya'ya davet
edilmiştir. Müsahit bir zamanda bu
davetlere teşahet edecekler.
Fethi Beyin, B. M. Meclisinin fevkalâde
(Mebdâi 3 üncü sahifede)

Ağrı'da

Tenkil harekâtı bilfiil hitam buldu

Ankara 14 (Telefonla)— Ağrı harekâtı bilfiil hitam
bulmuş, bütün mıntaka eşkiyadan tahkir edilmıştır.
Eşkiya rüiesası maktuller meyanında bulunmaktadı.
Şuraya buraya kaçan bazı şakiler de toplanmaktadır.
Ankara 14 (A.A.) — Ağrı tedip harekâtı eşkiyanın in-
hizamı kat'iyesile hitam bulmuş ve bir hayli rüiesâ mak-
tûl olmuştur. Dağıtılan eşkiya bakiyesile metrukâtı ve
mağaralarda, sarp yerlerde gizlenmiş olan perakende-
leri toplanak üzere tertip edilen müfrezeler tarama ame-
liyâtı meşguldür. Harekât hitama etmiştir.

Görmiyen gözlere!

İsmet Pş. hükümetinin eserlerinden:
34 ilk mektep binası yapıyor

Dün Vali Muhiittin Bey bu mekteplerden birinin Ana-
doluhanisari'nda temel atma resmini yaptı



Yeni yapılan ilk mekteplerden: Sul tanahmet'e eski zahtıye nezaret
arısında yapılan bir tanesi

İstanbul Vilâyeti muhasabeli hu-
susiyasının üç senede ikmal edil-
mek üzere yapılmakta olduğu ilk
mektep binalarının bazıları bitmiş,
bazıları da bitmek üzere bulundu-
ğu gibi bir takımının da temel at-
ma merasimi yapılmaktadır. Bu
mektepler, 23 tanesi şehir dahilinde
11 tanesi ise İstanbul Vilâyeti
mülhakatında olmak üzere 34 ta-
nedir. Şehir dahilindeki mekteple-
rin bazıları on bir sınıf ve beşer
yüz kişilik, bazıları da üçer yüz ki-
şiliktir. Mülhakatdakiler de üçer
yüz kişilik olup bunlar, da birer de
muallim apartmanı vardır.
Bu mekteplerin üç tanesi bitmiş
ve açılmıştır. Yedi tanesinin de in-
saatı ikmal edilmiş olup yakında
küsat resimleri yapılacaktır. Diğer
dört tanesi de bitmek üzeredir.
Hepsi aynı münüm üzerine ya-
pılan bu sarf ve güzel binalar, ço-
cuklarımız, mektep olarak yapı-

Kadın mefküresi!



— Hemsire hiç meraklanma, ya yet belediyi intihabatında hazı-
mazsak Güzellik Müsabekasına girer, orada kazanırız!..

B. Millet Meclisi

Fevkalâde içtima pazar-
tesi günü aktedilecek

Paramızın istikrarını temin için teklif
edilecek kanunlar münasebetile Maliye
Vekili izahat verecektir

Ankara 14 (Telefonla)— B. M.
Meclisi, fevkalâde içtımını gele-
cek pazartesi günü saat 14 de
tecedecektir. Dairei intihabiyelerin-
de bulunan meb'ullara tebligat yapı-
pılmıştır. Fevkalâde içtima devresi
15 gün kadar sürdükten sonra
Meclisin 1 teyinatında toplanmak
üzere tatil olması muhtemeldir.

Maliye Vekili Mecliste izahat
verecek

Meclisin fevkalâde içtımına davet
edilmesi, Avrupa'dan avdet eden
Maliye Vekili Saracoğlu Şüleri Bey
vni mali vaziyetimize dair hazırla-
nan bazı mühim kanunların
müstacelen müzakeresi ve tasdik
hakkındaki teklifi üzerine karar
verilmiştir. Maliye Vekili, bu ka-
nunlar hakkında Meclisin fevkalâde
içtımında izahat verecektir.

Meclise teklif edilecek lâhya-
lardan birinin, eylevm tedavüle
bulunan evrakı nakdiyemizin ihti-
yaca kifayetsiz etmemesinin binaen,
Osmanlı Bankasına karışık olarak
yatırılacak altın paraya mukabil
piyasa ya bir miktar evrakı naktiye
çıkartılmasına dair olduğu haber
verilmektedir. Maamafih bu haber
teyide muhtemeldir.

Baş muharririmiz Yunus Nadi Beyin
taracızım dediği için bir nevi müne-
fikliğine uğruyan Ali Fethi Beyin Ay-
dın'dır.
— Aman bir kurar!
Diye bahıran kurusu peytimalh kan-
dından ne farkı kalır?
YUNUS NADI

Güzellik

1931 Kraliçesi nasıl
intihap edilecek?



Dünya güzelliik müsabekasında
ikinciği kazanan Yaman güzeli
Bir kaç gününberberiyadımızma veyhile
1931 senesinde Paris ve Amerika'da ya-
pılacak olan Avrupa ve dünya güzelliik
müsabekalarına Türk güzelliğini bütün
ihlasıyla temsil edecek bir güzel kız
göstermek için bu seneki müsabakama
teyinatıevvide hazırlanıyor.
Avrupa ve Amerika'ya gidip gelirken
Türk güzelliğini temsil etmek ve bütün
dünyaya tasniatmak gibi bir vazife der'ah-
te olan bu genç kızı mülahazâ için baş-
tın Türk güzellelerinin bize muavenet et-
mesi lâzımdır.
Müsabakamızın şerâhi şunlardır:
1 — Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tebaasından
olmak.
(Mebdâi 3 üncü sahifede)

— Hemsire hiç meraklanma, ya yet belediyi intihabatında hazı-
mazsak Güzellik Müsabekasına girer, orada kazanırız!..

YUNUS NADI
İDAREHANESESİ
 Mıyıncağı layımlı dâim mabana
 Telfraf: İstambul Çumhuriyet
 Posta kutusnu N° 246
 Başmuharraf: 3360
 Telfraf: 3330
 Mıddürü: 2365, Kıtâp kumâr: 472

Cumhuriyet

ABONE ŞERAHİTİ

MOVDET:	TÜRKİYE İÇİN:	HARİC İÇİN:
Seneligi:	1400 Kr.	2700 Kr.
6 Ayığı:	750 Kr.	1450 Kr.
3 Ayığı:	400 Kr.	800 Kr.

Nüşası her yerde
= 5 Kuruştur =

İŞİMET PŞ. NİN YENİ NUTKU

Yeni şark İmparatorluğu

Evvelki gün bir Bulgar dostunun ziyaretini kabul ile bahıyâr oldum: Bulgaristanın Burgaz şehrinde avakalâde olan Doktor İvan Pattéff. Kendisi üç sene kadar evvel İstambul'a bir kere davâ gelmişti. Zaten muvafak ve samandıran bulgar. Bu defa Filibe'den mevzu için araya gittikten sonra han me'celeri de vesile İttihat ederek Burgaz'a İstambul İdarinden dönmek tarahı ile İttihat emîli. Buraya şunsiyelerle gelmiş buradan vapurla geçecek. Ve İstambul'a gelince ilk işlerinden biri olmak üzere bizim siyasetimizi İttihat emîli.

Üç sene fasıla ile zekâileri tekrar görmek edden memnun olduk, ve üç sene evvel hareketle konuşulmuş mevzu üzerinde tekrar ve uzun uzadıya fikirler leşil ettik. Bu mevzu Balkan milletleri arasında ilk İttihat husule gelidini görmek fikrinden İbahrettir. Aradan geçen zaman zarfında fikirler daha ziyade plimş ve daha ziyade İlerletmiş olduğuna kaydedilmek İlmizdir.

Türk dili ile pekili merakını anlatma müstecir olan dostum İvan Pattéff'in Balkan İttihatı tarafağı vahi bir fikir değildi. Kendisi sırat akide İttihat ile kelimelelerin en bahâli manasırı ile radikal demokrat. Demokrasiyi yalnız şahsi ve hatâta milli hayatına hasretmişler bu fikrinde İttihatı kolayca gözen, başka milletleri ve bilhassa komşu milletleri demokrasi nokta nazarından muhabbetle derun edebilen genel görüşü bir demokrat. O bu kadarda da kalıyarak kendi mübâhede Bulgar-Türk dostluk sempiyet vahi olan, yani esas fikri en müstakim karardına baslayarak tabikata çıkarmışa çalışan bir zatır da. Türk dostluğundaki samimiyetli memleketinin sen senelerde ortaya koyduğu ve manevi büyük teklâmlerle hayranlık edilecek vâkıfıdır.

— Ne idi o, şırdoru, ne idi o Gaz Mustafa Kemal? Türk gazetecileri Bulgaristan'a gönderildi haberi? Mustafa Kemal bu haberlerle Bulgarlara Türk'ü bîgü anladığı kadar Türk'leri de Bulgar'ları öğretiliyor. Onun görüşü ve ne ile söyleyişli bilm senelelerinden itibaren de çalıyışımı bir şahıy kuvvetti. Bu problemler ziyade tasavvur edilemeye giniş kadar geniş ve partak aydınlatı vermiştir. İşte Balkan İttihatında da reis olacak adam. Bu şıphada Türkiye'nin büyük Reisi cumhurbaşkanı Gaz Mustafa Kemal'dir. Hem öledenberi benim sâkî in öndüğü bilirmiz: Balkan İttihatı da ancak Türkiye'nin İttihatı olmalıdır, ve onun en tabii merkez ancak güzel ve büyük İstambul olmalıdır. Balkan federasyonunun meclisi me merkez edecek yer yalnız ve yalnız İstambul'dur.

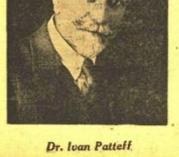
Mıyöz İvan Pattéff ile uzun muhabe referansı teblih etmek üzere Balkan İttihatından Balkan'da devletler arasında kuvvelli bir anlaşma ile en esaslı noktalarla mukadderat ve hareketleri ni birleştirilecek olan bir teşekkül haste dilediğini söyleyelim. Bu anlaşma ve birleşmenin büyük hatırı şöyle terasim eder:

1: — Balkan milletleri her seyyen evvel aralarında arad ve sırat bir bir İttihat kalmışın olduğu husus teblih edeceklerdir. Bittanışmaları ondan sonra bu milletleri yökdireleri ile, hatâ hudut ul saları bile kalmışın olacaktır.

2: — Bu milletlerden her biri İttihat İdarelerinde milli vâkıflarından kabana müstakib bir İttihâle her zaman malik-tifer ve malik olmakta devam edeceklerdir.

3: — Ancak bu milletler kendi aralarında her türlü İktisadi rekabetleri kaldırın yepyeni bir ahenk teblih edecekler ve harice her müsterek mevzu-yetlerini müdafiasında eî İttihâle beraber İttihatınun eden müstakib bir cephe göstereceklerdir.

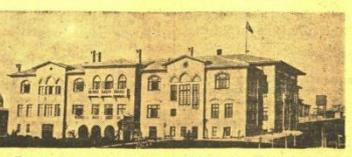
4: — Bittanışları bir kongrenin teblih edeceği bu yeni İttihat İvan Pattéff'e



Dr. İvan Pattéff

Mücadele arefesi Halk Fırkası grubu cumartesi toplandı

Mecliste İsmet Pş. ile Fethi B. arasında şiddetli münakaşalar olacak



Önümüzdeki pazartesi günü fevkalâde olarak toplanacak olan B. M. Meclisinin

Adliye Vekili değiştirilecek mi?

Ankara 16 (Telefonla) — Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası grubu cumartesi günü toplanacaktır. İsmet Paşacine yeni teklif edeceği kanun projesi dolayısıyla vaziyeti İktisadiyemice temas ederek umumî beyanatta bulunacak, bu beyanattı mecliste de tekrar edilecektir. Cumartesi günü Ankara'ya sıvıd eden meclis olan Reisi cumhurbaşkanı İsmet Paşanın İttihatçı muhtemeldir. Fırka harareti müzahkereler cereyan (Muhâdî 3 üncü sahife)

"Ağrı," dağımı şakilere nasıl mezar yaptık?

Kumandan Salih Pş. imha hareketini nasıl yaptığını anlatıyor

Askerlerimiz harikalar yaptı

12 Eylülde İttihat bulan Ağrı hareketini tam bir muvafakiyetle neticelendirdiğ. Söz konusu kolordü Kumandanı Salih Pş. tarafından kolordü müstakimde bulunan vilayette ve kumandanlara talimatla teblih edilmiştir. Bütün Şark vilayetlerinde halk büyük bir sevine ginişlerdir. Salih Paşanın neyrettiği teblih şudur:

1: — Enzeli teblihinde vâkıfı olan bir kolordü havasını İsmet Paşanın emriyle 9 unca kolordü İttihatınun 7/9/30 tarihinde başıyın ve bu gün (Muhâdî 3 üncü sahife)

göre merkez İstambul'da olacak olan bir federasyon meclisi ile İttihat olacaktır. Bu tasavvura nazaran Balkan milletlerinin her biri meclisleri ile ve hükümetleri ile şimdiki mevzu-yetlerini muhafaza edeceklerdir. Fazla olarak yalnız müsterek İlerî münkere ve İttihat edecek bir federasyon meclisi İttihat edilmis bulunacaktır, ve Mıyöz İvan Pattéff'e göre bu federasyon meclisinin meclisi de İstambul olacaktır. Mıyöz Pattéff fikrini saklamıyor. O federasyonun Türkiye'nin başbuğuluğunda şimdiki teşekkülü etmesinde tarafdardır. Ve bunun için kendisinin İttihat ettiği sebepler yok değildir. Türkiye her zaman bu milletlerin aşabığı sayılabileceği gibi o zaman zamanlarda dâhil olduğu İttihat ve İttihat hayatında bütün Balkan milletlerini zecmiş, onlardan çok İleri girmiştir. Sonra İstambul derunten başka hiç bir yer böyle bir federasyon İttihatı meclisi iddiasında bulunamaz.

Bu şekli ile Balkan İttihatının son tabii ve tabikata ne olacağını da söyleyebiliriz: Bu Şark İmparatorluğunun arşidüküden başka bir şey değildir. Arzandaki şıphık kayıtların kaldırılın ve harici sıyasetlerini birleştirtilmiş 40 milyonluk yepyeni bir İmparatorluk. Bu İmparatorluğun İmparatoru Federasyon meclisidir. İttihat etmeli ki eğer Balkan milletleri bir federasyonu teşkil edebilmelerinde birdenbire her biri 40 milyonluk nüfusunu kudretini gösterecek veçhile birleşmiş olacaklardır. Çünkü İttihat 40 milyon nüfus her memleketin müdafiasını zâmin olmuştur. Böyle bir beyete haricet kolay kolay İttihat edilmeyeceğine göre federasyon meclisinin alacağı müsterek teblihler şimdiki harp masraflarını yarıdan çok azaltı bir miktarda İttihat olacaktır. Şimdiki haral gibi görünen Avrupa İttihatı bile beklî Balkan İttihatında gerçekleşmiş olacaktır. Mıyöz İvan Pattéff'e Gazetesi'nin geçen yaz Ankara'da bu fikirleri kendisine bahşen ile teblih ve teblih emni olduğunu İttihat edecek bunlardan haberdar olup olmadığımı sordum.

— Hayır, dedi, haberdar değilim, fakat bile İttihat etmem. Bu fikrin en ginişini o dinletmişler ve o söylemişler. Fikri tabaklık sabaşma çıkarmak hususunda Mıyöz Pattéff en ameli yoldan İttihatını ve meclisi şimdiki Türk-Türk dostluğunun İlerî gösterilmesini teblih ve bunu zaten kendisi tatbik etmektedir. Bu bahis üzerinde sene konuşacağız.

Cumhuriyet Bu hafta yapılacak maçlar için bir kupa koyuyoruz

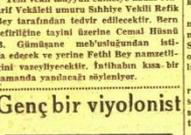
Gala-tasarayın 25 inci yıl dönümü münteziblikle bu cuma ve pazar günleri Galatasaray, Fenerbahçe ve Vivespor ve III kerkülpüleri arasında yapılacak dört maçta en iyi netice alacak takımı ve zîmek üzere bir kupa koyuyoruz. En iyi neticeyi almak şerefini ve kupasını kazanmak muvafakiyetinin yerli külpülerimizden birine nasip olmasını temenn ederiz.

Maarif Cemal Hüsnü Bey Vekâletten ayrıldı

Yeni vekil tayyün edinceye kadar Şihhiye Vekili vekâlet edecek

Ankara 16 (Telefonla) — Maarif Vekili Cemal Hüsnü Bey Bern Seftirliğine tayyün İktisadî, Reisi cumhurbaşkanı İsmet Paşanın İttihatçı muhtemeldir. Fırka harareti müzahkereler cereyan (Muhâdî 3 üncü sahife)

Genç bir viyolonist



Ağrıdaki hareketim üç günde büyük bir muvafakiyetle İktisadi ve asileri İttihat eden kolordünün kuvvetti Kumandanı Salih Paşa

Ekrém Zeki Bey

Altı senedir Paris'te keman tahsil eden Riyasetcumhur orkestrası şefi Zeki B. in oğlu Ekrém B. tahsilini bitirerek memleketimize dönmüştür.

Ekrém B. Paris'te Nado, Kupe ve Jak Tibo gibi Avrupa'nın en tanınmış İttihatından ders almıştır. Kendisi Ankara'da İttihat müstakibinde keman muallimliği yapacak ve Riyasetcumhur orkestrasına solist olarak İttihat edecektir.

Güzeller!.. 931 müsabakamıza alt tafsîlâtı 3 üncü sahifemizde okuyunuz!

Ağrı kahramanları

Onlar, kayalar, uçurumlar durduramadı. İnsan gözü ovan şakilerin kurşunları durduramadı. Dünya kuruldu kurulu o tepeleri kaçıyan ve hiç bir zaman erimemiş olan buzlar durduramadı. Onlar, sekiz sene evvel Eylülün bugünlerini, Anadolu'nun içine yayılmış olan son düşman doküntülerini tenrîzleyen kahramanların küçük kardeşleri, oğulları olduklarını İttihat ettiler. Onlar da, aşabığı gibi, babaları gibi bir hanlede Ağrı'dan vatânını, grıt aşırılmak İttihat v n şakileri İttihat ettiler. Furkâlık ve sıyaset münakaşalarına fazlaca daldığımız ve vatânın Şark hududundaki vekâli biraz unuttuğumuz şu aralarda hâkimleri çekti, ve dağılım me maatini yenen bu kahramanlara şükran borcumuzu unutmamak nankörlük olur. Bu kahramanların huzuru hamasetinde hürmetle ve minnetle eğilelim. Çünkü o kahramanlar Türk'ün hâris ve neğhabandır.

Mevkuf gazeteciler ve kupamızı kazanmak muvafakiyetinin yerli külpülerimizden birine nasip olmasını temenn ederiz.

İzmir'dekilerin tahliye talebi reddedildi

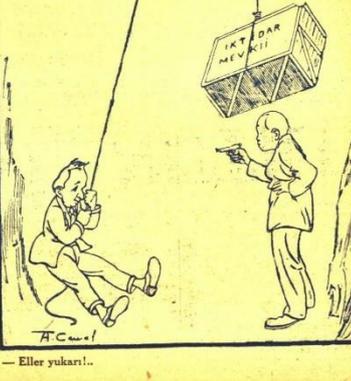
Selim Ragıp Beyin duruşması dün yapıldı, bugün karar verilecek

Anadolu gazetesi müdürü nasıl tevkif edildi?

Mevkuf bulunan Eton Posta müdürü Selim Ragıp Beyin tevkifine İttihat İttihatı Agreca Riyasetinin reddettilerini yapılmış. Bunun üzerine Selim Ragıp B. in vekili İrfan Emin B. 6 sene İttihat hâkimliğine müstakib edecek müstakib İttihat kofâletle vâkıf kofâletli tahliye hususunda duruma İttihat suretli teklifini talep etmiştir. Dan şıpheden sonra Selim B. tevkifinden 6 sene müstakibinde reddedilmiş, müstakibinde muavini Cemil B. ile Selim Beyin vekili İrfan Emin B. huzur oldukları halde alenen duruşmaya başlamıştır. İttihat hâkimli. Selim B. e İttihat edecek mevzuun kendi tarafında mı, yoksa vekili İttihat mı teblih edileceğini sormuş, Selim B. sözü vekiline İttihatmıştır.

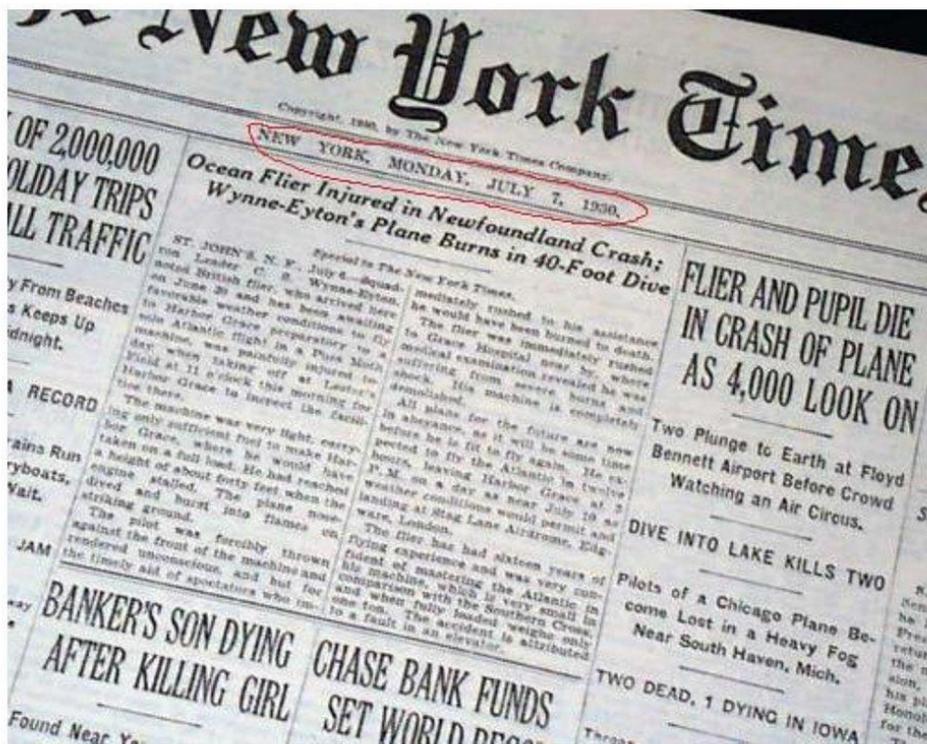
İrfan Bey Son Posta'nın 8 Eylül tarihli mabnasında çıkan bendi okumak ve müdafiasına İttihat teblih eden nobilaları İttihat edecek kanunî teblihâtını söyle yapmıştır: — Teblih, hükümet ve kaline bakadır. Her zaman değişilebilecek olan hükümet erkânı, hükümetin manevi şıphiyetinden İttihat farzetmek doğru değildir. Halkın hükümet erkânı değil, te-

Son günlerin tehlikeli oyunu



— Eller yukarı!..

Figure 16 a



Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 16 b



Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 16 c



Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 17 a



Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 17 b

TURKS MOVE ON KURD STRONGHOLD

By the Associated Press.

ISTANBUL, Turkey, July 16.—Victorious in the Zeylan Valley, where 3,000 Kurds were slain and buried, the Turkish army today moved forward toward Mount **Ararat**, hoping to exterminate the remainder of the rebellious tribesmen.

These remnants of the forces which crossed the Turkish frontier from Persia several weeks ago were said to be intrenched on the sides of the famous mountain. The Turks intend to punish not only them, but those villages at the foot of the mountain which aided and abetted their movement. Five other villages also in the Provinces of Bayezit and Van will be wiped out and not a trace left.

Turkish officials admit the rebellion was more serious than the revolt by Sheik Said in 1925 and that Turkish officers who deserted the army are leading the Kurds. The Turkish Red Crescent, similar to the occidental Red Cross, is rushing aid to 10,000 women and children whose men were slain and homes pillaged in the Kurds' invasion.

Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 17 c

Kurds Bombed by Turks

ISTANBUL, Turkey, July 17.—
Turkish troops have begun additional repressive measures against a new concentration of Kurdish insurgents at the foot of the Agridac and **Ararat** mountains, advices received here said today. Turkish planes flew over the concentration Wednesday and bombed it.

Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 17 d

TURKS ENTRENCH AGAINST REBELS

Strong Offensive Likely in At- tack On Kurds

Istanbul, Turkey, July 26 (AP)—
With heavy reinforcements of troops
and occupation of strategic points at
the base of Mt. **Ararat** the Turks
were placed today for a strong of-
fensive with both infantry and
cavalry against Kurds entrenched in
mountain strongholds who have sur-
vived daily airplane bombardments.

During the last two weeks the
Turks have completed the devasta-
tion of a wide area south and west
of **Ararat**, destroying hundreds of
villages whose inhabitants aided the
rebels. Thus the Ottomans now have
cut off their supplies the remaining
forces of the incursion on the moun-
tain.

Kurdish horsemen numbering
about 500 rode out from Mossoul and
yesterday attacked Horosan, in the
province of Hakkari hoping to draw
the Turkish troops southward from
Ararat.

Turkish frontier forces repulsed
the invasion.

An official bulletin today stated
that the eastern provinces were quiet
with the sole exception of **Ararat**
which it was believed would be
cleaned up today.

The Turkish press has switched
from its accusations against Persia
toward Irak, now claiming that the
latter supplied the rebels with their
munitions.

Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 17 e

TO PERSIA ON KURDS

Rebellious Tribesmen, Surrounded
on Mount **Ararat**, Attempt
to Escape Cold.

By the Associated Press.

ISTANBUL, August 22.—Efforts to settle recent tension between Turkey and Persia over the incursions of rebellious Kurds along the border are now in progress, and it is hoped the problem will be solved amicably by diplomatic means.

An important meeting was held yesterday, under the chairmanship of President Mustapha Kemal, to study the recent reply of the Persian government refusing to co-operate by military activities against the Kurds in Persian territory. The Turkish reply, the terms of which are not yet known, will be transmitted shortly to Teheran.

Because of cold and snow the rebellious Kurds surrounded on Mount **Ararat** have come down about 500 yards and are continuing efforts to slip through the besieging troops. The Persians, meanwhile, are reinforcing contingents in the neighborhood of Mount **Ararat** to deal with Kurdish tribes which have been trying to bring aid to their surrounded tribesmen.

Persian quarters today denied reports that a revolt had broken out against Persia, declaring that Persian military movements were simply precautionary measures against nomadic tribes.

Source: <http://www.saradistribution.com/agri-revolution.htm>

Figure 18

Source: Metin Yüksel

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
Muameleât Müdürlüğü
Şube: 2

T. C.
BAŞSAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞIVI

Şifreyi yazan makam	Dahiliye V.	Geldiği tarih	1 8 929
Şifrenin tarihi	31 7 929	Açanın imzası	
Şifrenin numarası		Dosya numarası	

Pendik Başvekil Paşa HZ.

JA. 7989 dır. Ferzende çetesinin tenkili için beşinci ve yedinci seyyar alaylardan iki estersüvar bölüğü Hınısa sevkedilmiştir. Ayrıca kırk kişilik bir piyade müfrezesi de Zinarlı tepelerinde bulunmaktadır. Liceden bir Binbaşı Kumandasında ayrıca kuvvat sevkedilmiştir. Muş Valisi çetenin cenuba savuşmasına meydan barakmayacak ve hile tertibat alacaktır. Bayezit Valisi ile Karaköse takip muntaka K. eşkiyanın xx hattı ric'atını kesmeye memur edilmiştir. Erzurum Valisi K. ile birlikte Hınıs muntakasında bulunan eşkiya ile doğrudan teması temin edecektir. Elde başka Jandarma kuvveti bulunmadığından şimal cihetinin kapanması dokuzuncu Kolordu Kumandanlığından rica edilmiştir. İşbu tertibat Vekil Beyefendi tarafından alınmış ve icap edenlere bu yolda emil verilmiştir.

2 - 24- 7- 29 günü Hasankale kazası dahilinde ve Isaoğlu köyü civarında Erzurum müfrezesile yedi buçuk saat musedemeyi kabul eden eşkiya iki maktul ve on kadar mecruh vermiş kırk bir hayvan istirdat ve ve iki silah ~~iki~~ elde edilmiştir. Müferezemizden bir şehit ve bir hafif yaralı vardır. Ahalden bir kişi ölmüştür. Sağlık Firhasan Mekman istikametlerinde perişan bir halde kaçan eşkiya ile Hasankale muntakasında tekrar teması hasıl olmuş ise de bu bu musedeme hakkında henüz malumat mevcut olmadığını arz ederim efendim.

Dahiliye Müsteşarı
A. Hilmi

030 10 112 759 1

Fon Kodu : 030.10 Yer No : 112.759.1

Figure 19

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
Muamele Müdürüğü
Şube: 2

C*

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞIVI

Şifreyi yazan makam	Dahiliye V.	Geldiği tarih	3 / 8 / 929
Şifrenin tarihi	31 / 7 / 929	Açanın imzası	
Şifrenin numarası		Dosya numarası	

Istanbul İsmet Paşa Hazretlerine

I - Ferzende çetesi hakkında Bayezit vilâyetinden şimdi alınan telgrafname ikinci maddede arz olunup referendim.
2 - 31 / 7 / 29 ve 3957 tele zeyildir . Dün akşama kadar şaki Ferzende çetesile Tendürük dağının cembundaki Cehennem deresi civarında ve Levl Tendürük tepesinde abluka suretile musademe devam ettiği yalnız mevki musademeye Diyadin hudut taboru müfrezelerinin vaktında yetişmemesinden akşam karanlığına yakın bir zamanda şakiler hayvanlarını ve üzerlerinde ıksa ettikleri caketlerini bırakarak Avasur ve Sarisu istikâmetine ve diğerleri malûmata nazaran eşkiyanın Kuradiye kazasının Alaga cihetine perişan bir surette forar ettikleri ve müfrezemiz tarafından takip edilmektedir . bu musademede altı maktul yirmi mecruh otuz hayvan telef ve kırk beş hayvan da müfrezelerimiz tarafından musadere edildiği şimdi makine bağında Bayezitten bildirilmiştir.

Dahiliye Vekili Namına
Hilmi

J.

030 10 112 759 2

Fon kodu: 030.10 Yer No: 112.759.2

Source: Metin Yüksel

Figure 20

T.C. Resmî Gazete

Tesis tarihi: 7 Teşrinievvel 1336

<i>İdare ve yazı işleri için Başvekkâlet Müdevvenat Müdürlüğüne müracaat olunur</i>	29 TEMMUZ 1931 ÇARŞAMBA	SAYI: 1859
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KANUNLAR

İsyan mıntakasında işlenen e'alin suç sayılmayacağına dair kanun

Kanun №: 1850

Kabul tarihi: 20/7/1931

Madde 1 — Erciş, Zilân, Ağrıdağ havalisinde vuku bulan isyanla, bunu müteakıp birinci umumî müfettişlik mıntakası ve Erzincanın Plümür kazası dahilinde yapılan takip ve tedip hareketleri münasebetlerle 20 haziran 1930 dan 1 kânunuevvel 1930 tarihine kadar askerî kuvvetler ve Devlet memurları ve bunlarla birlikte hareket eden bekçi, korucu, milis ve ahali tarafından isyanın ve bu isyanla alâkadar vak'aların tenkili emrinde gerek müstakillen ve gerek müştereken işlenmiş e'fal ve harekât suç sayılmaz.

Madde 2 — Bu kanun neşri tarihinden muteberdir.

Madde 3 — Bu kanunun icrasına Adliye ve Dahiliye Vekilleri memurdur.
26/7/1931

Vilâyet İdaresi Kanununun bazı maddelerini muaddil kanun

Kanun №: 1851

Kabul tarihi: 20/7/1931

Madde 1 — 1426 numaralı Vilâyet İdaresi Kanununun 5 inci maddesi aşağıdaki şekilde tadil edilmiştir:

Vilâyet idare şube reisleri; defterdar, mektupçu, maarif müdürü, nafia başmühendis veya mühendisi, hukuk işleri, sıhhat, ticaret, sanayi ve mesai, orman, maadin, baytar, evkaf, tapu, nüfus, ziraat, iskân, posta, telgraf ve telefon, rüsumat başmüdürleri ve müdürleri ile polis müdürü veya bunun vazifesini ifa etmek için yerine kaim olandan ve jandarma kumandanlarından ibarettir.

Madde 2 — Mezkûr kanunun 15 inci maddesi aşağıdaki şekilde tadil olunmuştur.

Vali, 5 inci maddede zikrolunan Vilâyet İdare Şube Reisleri ve onların maiyetleriyle 6 ncı maddede zikrolunan Kaza

İdare Şube Reisleri ve maiyetleri ve Kaymakamlar hakkında ihtar, tevbih cezalarını resen tatbik edebilir ve taltifi mucip ahvalde takdirname verebilir.

İşbu tecziye ve takdirlerden Şube İdare Reisleriyle nasbı ve tayini vekâletlere ait olan memurlar hakkındakilere dair Vali tarafından ait olduğu vekâletlere derhal malûmat verilir.

Madde 3 — Mezkûr kanunun 17 nci maddesi aşağıdaki şekilde tadil olunmuştur:

Valiler vilâyette Devletin ve her vekâletin mümessili ve vekâletlerin idarî ve siyasi icra vasıtası olup vilâyetin umumî idaresinden mes'uldürler ve bu itibarla vilâyette adli ve askerî daireler haricinde bilcümle umurda nezaret, murakabe ve teftiş hakkını haiz en büyük âmirdirler. Valilerin müddeiumumî ile münasebeti 1426 numaralı vilâyet idaresi kanununun 38 inci maddesine tâbidir.

Valiler her vekile karşı ayrı ayrı mes'uldür. Vekiller kendi vekâletlerine ait işler için resen valilere emir ve talimat verirler ve icabında takdir beyan ve ihtar cezasını resen tatbik ederler.

Takirden veya ihtar cezasından derhal Başvekkâle malûmat verilir. Bundan maada her vekil vali hakkında İcra Vekilleri Heyetine taltif ve tecziye teklifinde bulunabilir. Valiler İcra Vekilleri Heyeti kararile her zaman vekâlet emrine alınabilecekleri gibi tekaüde de sevkolunabilirler.

Madde 4 — Mezkûr kanunun 19 uncu maddesi aşağıdaki şekilde tadil olunmuştur.

Vekâletin rüesayi memurin ile ve memuriyetleri daireleri bir kaç vilâyetten mürekkep diğer teşkilât memurları ile resen muhabereleleri icraî bir hükmü ihtiva etmiyen yalnız teknik ve hesabata ait hususlara munhasırdır.

Şu kadar ki bu memurlar valilerin talep edecekleri her türlü malûmatı teknik ve hesaba ait de olsa vermeğe mecburdurlar.

Madde 5 — Mezkûr kanunun 35 inci maddesi aşağıdaki şekilde tadil olunmuştur.

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