TRANSLATORS' FORMATIVE AGENCY IN THE PERIODICAL *HAWAR* (1932-1943): THE MAKING OF A KURDISH CULTURAL IDENTITY

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
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ABSTRACT

Translators' Formative Agency in the Periodical *Hawar* (1932-1943):

The Making of a Kurdish Cultural Identity

The present study explores the key role translations in *Hawar* played in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity through analysis of translations and translators' agency, adopting the non-essentialist concept of "cultural identity" proposed by Stuart Hall (1990, p. 225) and drawing on the framework suggested by Matthew Philpotts (2012; 2013) and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2014; 2019), as well as on the approach adopted by Michael Cronin (1995; 1998; 2006), and Albert Branchadell (2005; 2011) in terms of minority languages and translation. In this context, particularly focusing on the agency of Celadet Alî Bedirxan, the chief editor, I consider him a "free agent" engaged in "culture planning" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 98-99). This research has shown that C. Bedirxan, addressing both Kurdish and western readerships in *Hawar*, aimed to form a multilayered Kurdish cultural identity encompassing a dialogic relationship between Kurdish and western cultures, tolerance for all faiths– Islam, Ezidism and Zoroastrianism – and the development of the Kurdish language and literature alongside the introduction of the Roman alphabet to all Kurdish dialects, mainly Kurmanji, Sorani and Zazaki. Focusing on the translators and their translations in the periodical *Hawar*, this study aims to show that it is also possible to probe the relationship between translation studies and periodical studies from the perspective of a minority language such as Kurdish and thus to illustrate the novel viewpoints it can bring for translation studies and theory.

ÖZET

Çevirmenlerin *Hawar* Dergisinde Oluşturucu Eyleyiciliği (1932-1943): Bir Kürt Kültürel Kimliğinin İnşası

Bu çalışma, çevirilerin ve çevirmenlerin eyleyiciliğinin analiz edilmesiyle Stuart Hall'ün önerdiği özcü bir nitelik taşımayan "kültürel kimlik" (1990, p. 225) kavramını benimseyerek, Matthew Philpotts (2012; 2013) ve Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar'ın (2014; 2019) ortaya koyduğu çerçeveye ve Michael Cronin (1995; 1998; 2006) ve Albert Branchadell'in (2005; 2011) azınlık dilleri ve çeviriye ilişkin yaklaşımlarına dayanarak *Hawar* dergisindeki çevirilerin bir Kürt kültürel kimliğinin oluşumunda oynadıkları kilit rolü incelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, özellikle eyleyiciliği üzerine odaklanılan, derginin baş editörü Celadet Alî Bedirxan "kültür planlaması"nda rol alan "bağımsız bir eyleyen" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 98-99) olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu çalışma, C. Bedirxan'ın *Hawar* dergisinde hem Kürt hem de Batı okuyucu kitlesine hitap ederek Kürt ve Batı kültürleri arasında diyaloğa dayalı bir ilişkiyi, İslam, Ezidilik ve Zerdüştlük olmak üzere tüm dinlere saygıyı, özellikle Kurmanci, Sorani ve Zazaki olmak üzere Kürtçenin tüm lehçelerinde Latin alfabesinin kullanılmasının yanı sıra Kürt dili ve edebiyatının gelişimini kapsayan çok yönlü bir Kürt kültürel kimliği inşa etmeyi amaçladığını göstermektedir. *Hawar* dergisindeki çevirmenler ve çevirileri üzerine odaklanan bu çalışma, çeviribilim ve süreliyayınbilim arasındaki ilişkiyi Kürtçe gibi bir azınlık dilinin perspektifinden de incelemenin mümkün olduğunu ve bu şekilde çeviribilime ve çeviri kuramına yeni bakış açılarının kazandırılabileceğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present dissertation is an attempt to examine a key periodical, *Hawar*, launched in 1932, in Damascus, Syria, by Celadet Alî Bedirxan (1893-1951) (hereafter, C. Bedirxan). In my view, translations published in *Hawar* were instrumental in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity envisaged by C. Bedirxan. The concept of "cultural identity" as proposed by Stuart Hall (Hall, 1990, p. 225) is one that I find particularly significant and useful in exploring and examining (a) the agency of C. Bedirxan, the figure in charge of this periodical, who had a special vision for generating and reinforcing Kurdish cultural identity, and (b) the pivotal role translations from and into Kurdish which was assumed in this crucial initiative. C. Bedirxan was not only the owner and editor-in-chief of *Hawar,* but also stood out as a prolific translator and polyglot writer who greatly contributed its prestige. A prominent Kurdish intellectual, he was distinguished by his engagements with a variety of linguistic and cultural activities, *Hawar* being among the most important.

Hawar, meaning "cry for help" in Kurdish, was published in Damascus from 1932 to 1943, comprising a total of 57 issues, but undergoing interruptions of various lengths during this period. The longest was between August 18, 1935 and April 15, 1941, lasting for five years, seven months and twenty-eight days. Therefore, it seems reasonable to study *Hawar* in two periods, and this division shapes the framework of the analyses in this study: The initial period between May 15, 1932 and August 18, 1935 covered 26 issues, while the second, between April 15, 1941 and August 15, 1943, covered the remaining 31. Thus, the lifetime of *Hawar*, excluding other shorter pauses, lasted about six years –i.e., five years, seven months and three days, to be

exact. My preliminary readings show that the hiatus of about six years was largely caused by the economic hardships C. Bedirxan went through.

Translations from Kurdish into French, and from French and other languages into Kurdish in *Hawar* covered diverse topics and genres, including Kurdish cultural and folkloric texts – in particular, songs, proverbs, legends and fables – as well as Kurdish and Western literary texts such as poems and short stories; but they also included news items, a Qur'an commentary, hadiths and certain orientalists' observations. Most entries – both indigenous and translated – in *Hawar* were published in the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish, while others were in Sorani, and to a lesser extent, in the Zazaki dialect.

Translations in *Hawar* consist largely of interlingual translations from Kurdish into French, as well as from French, English, German, Persian, Turkish and Arabic into Kurdish. Although small in number, there are also intralingual translations in *Hawar*, which, to be specific, are interdialectal translations mostly from Sorani into Kurmanji. In this context, it is also important to note the presence of Kurdish texts (originally in Arabic script) transliterated into Roman script.

One of the most conspicuous achievements of C. Bedirxan as *Hawar*'s founder and publisher was his introduction of the Roman alphabet, which I will discuss in detail in my study of *Hawar*. He published the initial twenty-three issues of *Hawar* in both Arabic and Roman script, and the remaining thirty-four in Roman script only. C. Bedirxan's purpose in replacing Arabic[1] alphabet used by the Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria was clearly to unify them in terms of their written culture. The use of Roman script would also facilitate Bedirxan's *Hawar* project in

[1] Kurdish Cyrillic alphabet was not introduced at the time; it was put into use in Soviet Armenia in 1941. (Celîl, 2002, p. 124)

strengthening cultural ties and interaction with the western audience that he addressed through French.

As an editorial policy, C. Bedirxan employed a dual East-West orientation by choosing to address both Kurdish and French, hence western, audiences. In this way, he aimed to promote and reinforce his conception of Kurdish cultural identity among Kurds and also to introduce western audience to Kurdish cultural values. C. Bedirxan's editorial policy in *Hawar* will also provide a framework for analyzing translations aimed at both Kurdish and western audiences. The concept of "transcultural planning," proposed by Ceyda Özmen in her PhD dissertation on the Turkish periodical *Yıldız* (2016, p. 51-60), which I will discuss in Chapter 2, will be useful in interpreting this very interesting and important aspect of C. Bedirxan's editorial policy, particularly for the translations appealing to western readership.

With my critical analyses of the vast array of translations in the magazine, I aim to demonstrate that translations played a central role in this initiative. I argue that both translations from Kurdish indigenous works into French, and those from French and various other languages mentioned into Kurdish, were undertaken deliberately in order to foreground a Kurdish cultural identity. The translations between Kurdish and French are the most frequent throughout the periodical. Therefore, there will be a specific focus on these translations.

After having sought to open a new cultural frontier by launching *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan decided to both find a new way of keeping Kurds visible in the international realm, and to unify them around a Kurdish cultural identity that he endeavored to put forward. *Hawar* was born with this motivation. Thanks to *Hawar*, he was able to introduce a Roman alphabet, and focused on Kurdish linguistic and literary issues and made efforts to increase literacy among Kurds. He thought that

illiteracy was the key obstacle preventing Kurdish unification. C. Bedirxan and other contributors to the periodical also reinforced the Kurdish cultural identity by translating writings on Kurdish history, geography, folklore, language, traditions, literature and religions. They aimed to reinforce a unified Kurdish cultural identity through introducing translations of Kurdish cultural elements into other languages, mainly into French. Additionally, the contributors, especially C. Bedirxan, introduced the Kurdish readership to western literature and intellectual developments. This was also an attempt to develop Kurdish literature, as well as to cultivate the Kurdish intellectual world, and thus build a tie between his imagined Kurdish cultural identity and western culture.

In the present study, through analyses of translations, indigenous Kurdish texts, and of their accompanying paratexts throughout the entire issues of *Hawar*, I will bring to light the characteristics of Kurdish cultural identity promoted by C. Bedirxan in his aim to unify all Kurds regardless of geographical territory.

In this research, I will mainly set out to find answers to the following questions: What were the functions of translation in the making of a Kurdish cultural identity as promoted in the Kurdish periodical *Hawar?* What were the characteristics of this Kurdish cultural identity? What sort of novelties did translations in *Hawar* bring to the Kurdish intellectual, linguistic, literary and social milieux? This study will also focus on the following questions: What was the role of Celadet Alî Bedirxan's agency in promoting and inculcating the idea of a cultural identity among the various Kurdish communities living in different territories? What contributions and novelties will my exploration and analyses of translations in the periodical *Hawar* provide for research in translation studies and Kurdish studies?

In the literature review of valuable relevant sources to be explored, the first to be discussed are the four Kurdish academic dissertations specifically on *Hawar*, in which the periodical was the focus of a case study, but in none of which were the translations and their functions problematized.

The earliest and the most comprehensive PhD thesis was written by Husên Hebeş in 1982 at Moscow University and supervised by renowned Kurdish scholar Qanatê Kurdo (Hebeş, 1996, p. 5). This dissertation was later self-translated by Husên Hebeş from Russian into Kurdish and published under the title *Raperîna Çanda Kurdî di Kovara Hawarê de* [The Development of Kurdish Culture in the Magazine *Hawar*] in 1996 in Germany. Hebeş argued that his study reveals the role *Hawar* played in protecting and developing Kurdish national culture (Hebeş, 1996, p. 9). He covered all the subjects in *Hawar* that have a bearing on history, language, literature, folklore, religion and various other issues concerning Kurdish society. He also examined C. Bedirxan's contributions under various roles, such as linguist, poet, translator as well as historian. Hebeş intended to include in his study a vast array of issues, but, as he himself points out, this prevented him from dealing with individual topics in greater depth, instead his approach was to take a panoramic view. In this respect, for a researcher, it provides valuable information related with many aspects and is very useful in supplying extensive knowledge on *Hawar*. Furthermore, even with its mainly descriptive method, this study is highly important as the first academic research on *Hawar* to contribute to the recognition of Kurdish studies among scholars.

The second study on *Hawar* is an MA thesis by Ronahi Önen (2012). In her study, Önen mainly focused on the part played by language in the discursive formation of the Kurdish nation. She analyzed the development of Kurdish language

in *Hawar* as the principal constituent of Kurdish nationalism. In this respect, she provided significant analyses and reflections on the relationship between language and national unity, especially through C. Bedirxan's and other contributors' textual productions on language.

Another scholarly research on *Hawar* is the MA thesis by Süleyman Çetin (2016). Çetin basically explored, for the most part in a descriptive way, the impact of the periodical on Kurdish language in terms of alphabet, grammar, literature and lexicography.

The fourth and most recent study is Dilawer Döğer's (2017) MA thesis, published in 2018. Döğer explored *Hawar* in terms of its role in establishing a national discourse. His focus on the material in *Hawar* mainly emphasized a broad range of factors such as history, national symbols, geography and ethnography, culture and folklore, religion, language and literature.

Other studies focused not only on *Hawar* but also on *Ronahî* and two other renowned periodicals of the same period, *Roja Nû and Stêr*, and significant among these is the PhD thesis by Ahmet Serdar Aktürk (2013). Aktürk analyzed how the motives behind Kurdish identity-formation shifted and evolved towards building an independent national identity after the Ottoman Empire collapsed and new nation states started to emerge as a result. Taking socio-political and historical developments as his point of departure, Aktürk examined the four periodicals mentioned above and demonstrated how C. Bedirxan, his brother Kamiran Alî Bedirxan (hereafter, K. Bedirxan) and other intellectuals contributing to these tried to construct a Kurdish nationalist identity and promote a cultural awakening during the French Mandate in Syria.

Jordi Tejel, in his comprehensive work, *Syria's Kurds: History, politics and society*, examined the cultural undertakings of *Hawar* and *Roja Nû* by C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan, respectively, in Syria and Lebanon as a "Kurdish cultural movement" toward construction of a Kurdish identity in the first chapter entitled, "The Kurds during the French Mandate". In this chapter, he also referred to the outcomes of the collaboration between the Bedirxanî Brothers and French scholars such as Roger Lescot and Pierre Rondot, drawing attention to the collaboration on the content of *Hawar*, especially in terms of introducing Kurdish folk culture to the world (Tejel, 2009, pp. 8-37).

A broader analysis of the above-mentioned sources shows that the publication of *Hawar* was conceived as a very significant undertaking for Kurdish culture and society. These studies emphasize a wide range of interrelated points: They highlight its role in preserving and developing Kurdish national culture, as well as the role of its linguistic coverage in the building of the Kurdish national discourse. Furthermore, they explore issues such as the formation of a nationalist identity and the reception of the periodical as a cultural movement in itself and the revival of national values. As a result, it is possible to conclude that their main common focus was on the Kurdish national aspect of the ideas represented by *Hawar*. In the present dissertation, I have adopted a different approach to the study of the periodical; rather than focusing on national identity, I have drawn on the concept of “cultural identity”, proposed by Stuart Hall: an entity "subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall, 1990, p. 225). Therefore, in this study, I will examine Kurdish cultural identity in its many aspects within the framework of the contents of *Hawar*, especially the translated texts, considering at the same time the changes that cultural identity underwent over the course of time**,** including discontinuities.

Moreover, I should note that the most explicit common feature of all those above-mentioned studies is the general lack of focus on translation as an autonomous object of research. I argue that this is an important omission because translation plays a pivotal role in all the points discussed in relation to *Hawar.* In contrast to these studies, through an analytical, critical and interpretive approach pertaining to translation studies paradigms, I will problematize the translations in *Hawar* in terms of their functions in the making of a Kurdish cultural identity. However, it is impossible to analyze the functions of the translated texts in *Hawar* independently of the agency of C. Bedirxan, the engine that continually drove *Hawar* forward.

Let me provide an overview of the following chapters, with reference to the fundamental studies I drew on in my dissertation. In Chapter 2, I present my theoretical framework and methodology, delineating my approach and arguments based on concepts offered by translation studies, periodical studies and non-essentialist approaches to identity in cultural studies. In order to analyze the identity-formation process offered by *Hawar*, in the same chapter, I will focus on Stuart Hall's concept of "cultural identity" (1990, p. 225) and on "imagined communities", the concept put forward by Benedict Anderson (2006, pp. 5-6), both of which are of ground-breaking nature. Furthermore, I will discuss the highly relevant matter which concerns "minority languages" (such as Kurdish), in relation to translation, drawing on studies by Michael Cronin (1995; 1998; 2006), and Albert Branchadell (2005; 2011), which I find extremely relevant. In this chapter, on the subject of C. Bedirxan and his project *Hawar*, I will also discuss the concepts of “free agent” and "culture planning", suggested by Itamar Even-Zohar (2010, p. 98-99), Gideon Toury’s work on the relationship between the planning of culture and the planning of translations

(Toury, 2002) and the concept of "transcultural planning" proposed by Ceyda Özmen (2016, 51-60), with the aim of broadening the scope of "culture planning".

In terms of the methodology used for this research, my framework is based on the following theoretical work: the concept of agency (Even-Zohar, 2010 & Toury, 2002), concepts and tools of periodical studies (Philpotts, 2012; 2013 & Tahir-Gürçağlar's, 2014; 2019), paratexts (Genette, 1997 & Tahir Gürçağlar, 2018), concepts of "assumed and concealed translation" (Toury, 2012), as well as various culture-bound translation-related concepts, including Saliha Paker's interpretation and definition of the Ottoman concept of *telif* (2014, p. 38 ; 2015 pp. 34-40) as “creative/inventive mediation”, which finds at least one interesting example in *Hawar*.

I will also present a detailed critical analysis of the relevant concepts used in periodical studies by Matthew Philpotts (2012; 2013), Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2014; 2019) and Ceyda Özmen (2016), without which it would not be possible to make an in-depth study of *Hawar* and its translated texts. The enlightening concepts of "heteroglossia" and "polyphony" discussed by Mikhail Bakhtin (2008) will also contribute to my critical approach to certain aspects of translations published in the publication instrumental in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity.

In Chapter 3, I will present a biographical analysis of different aspects of C. Bedirxan's agency, including background information on certain members of his prominent family. My focus will be on the periods contributing to his agency, both before and after the launch of *Hawar*.

In Chapter 4, drawing on the "periodical codes" (Philpotts, 2013, p. 2-3) to examine the "common habitus" (Philpotts 2012, p. 42) of the periodical, I intend to uncover its "translational habitus," a supplementary, but highly significant concept

proposed by Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2014, p. 27) as an integral part of "common habitus". For this purpose, in this chapter, I will explore the “temporal, material, economic and compositional codes” of *Hawar* accompanied by relevant graphs and content. As a follow up to my findings that, I believe, will bring to light the translational habitus of the periodical, in Chapter 5, I will focus on the publication's “social codes” (Philpotts, 2013, p. 3), examining the publisher (C. Bedirxan) and his position as the editor-in-chief, translators (including C. Bedirxan, translating also under pseudonyms), readers and other actors involved in its circulation.

In Chapter 6, I will analyze the paratextual elements present in translations that address both Kurdish and western readerships, with a view to illustrating the major role these translations played in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity.

Chapter 7 will be devoted to the conclusions on my research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter will present a theoretical framework and methodology drawing on concepts offered by translation studies, periodical studies and non-essentialist approaches to identity in cultural studies. In this framework, I will explain Stuart Hall's approach toward identity focusing on his concept of "cultural identity" (1990, pp. 222- 227), which will enable me to thoroughly analyze the formation of the Kurdish cultural identity envisaged by C. Bedirxan. In the same context, I will elucidate Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities", also focusing on its potential relation to the periodicals. Furthermore, highly relevant to the present study on *Hawar*, I will examine the relationship between translation and minority languages, mainly drawing on studies by Michael Cronin (1995; 1998; 2006), and Albert Branchadell (2005; 2011). Approaching C. Bedirxan as a "free agent" engaged in "culture planning", I will also explain Even-Zohar's concept of "culture planning" (2010, pp. 98-99) and Gideon Toury's (2002) approach to planning, as well as the concept of "transcultural planning" proposed by Ceyda Özmen (2016, 51-60) as an expansion of "culture planning". In the section on methodology, I will elaborate on the key concepts that inform the methodological framework of this study. In order to underline how some of the concepts originating from the field of periodical studies can be helpful for an analysis of translations in periodicals, I will initially give information about the basic tenets of this field and then focus on relevant concepts of "common habitus" (Philpotts, 2012, p. 42) and "translational habitus", (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014, p. 27), followed by the classification of "periodical codes" " (Philpotts, 2013, pp. 2-3). I will also focus on Mikhail Bakhtin's concepts of

"dialogism", "heteroglossia" and "polyphony", also applicable to the study of translations in a periodical. Furthermore, I will explicate the concepts of "assumed" and "concealed" translation (Toury, 2012), as well as various culture-bound translation-related concepts such as *telif* (Paker, 2014, p. 38 ; 2015 pp. 34-40) and *hülasa* (Demircioğlu, 2005 & Toska, 2015). In addition, I will explain the concept of "agent", referred to by both Even Zohar (2010) and Gideon Toury (2002), in order to explore C. Bedirxan's agency. The paratextual elements reveal much about the editorial policy of *Hawar*, concerning the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity through translations. Therefore, I will also look at the theoretical point of view that paratexts (Genette, 1997 & Tahir Gürçağlar, 2018) provide.

2.1 Cultural identity

Stuart Hall's approach toward identity and related issues presents a fruitful perspective for my research which is based on my assumption that the translations in *Hawar* have contributed to the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity. To establish the relation of my study with Hall's approach, it will be enlightening to underline the points he foregrounds with regard to identity.

Hall indicates that "identity" harbors problematic features and argues that it is not completed, but rather, in a constant process of constitution. In this respect, he says:

> Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. This view problematises the very authority and authenticity to which the term, 'cultural identity', lays claim. (Hall, 1990, p. 222)

This also supports my contention that the formation of Kurdish cultural identity in *Hawar* was not the presentation of an already complete "production", and that the attempts to form an identity were not solely based on the revival of an identity of a common Kurdish past. Rather, I argue that it is the period itself that constitutes a significant *process* of identity-formation. Therefore, in the course of the formation through textual productions in *Hawar,* despite retaining some of its earlier features, Kurdish cultural identity was inevitably subject to changes.

Hall argues that there are at least two distinct ways of thinking about cultural identity. In the first, he argues: "The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common," (Hall, 1990, p. 222). In accordance with this definition, he explains that "our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history," (Ibid.). This definition of the cultural identity is in fact based on mutual cultural and historical features that leave people with an identity of "oneness", defined in a framework that suggests no changes of any kind whatsoever in the course of time. Being critical of this definition of cultural identity, Hall is moved to suggest "a second, related but different view of cultural identity." In this respect, he states:

> This second position recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become'. We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side - the ruptures and discontinuities which constitute, precisely, the Caribbean's 'uniqueness'. (Hall, 1990, p. 225)

In fact, this second definition forms the core of my approach toward the role of translation in building up a Kurdish cultural identity. Similar to Hall, although I can observe the existence of the essentialist approach in the relevant scholarship on *Hawar*, I will take a critical view, and endeavor to analyze Kurdish cultural identity drawing on Hall's second definition, which he offers as one that points to ruptures and discontinuities alongside the similarities. In this respect, Hall states that "cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture" (Ibid.). With this point of view, Hall stresses the fact that cultural identity is not an artifact only of the past, but also connected with the future. Indeed, this is where he starts to differ from the first definition of cultural identity. He accepts that "cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories". However, he also demonstrates that those identities undergo continuous transformation, similar to everything that is historical (Ibid.). This shows that, in terms of cultural identities, Hall is critical of an essentialist approach. In this regard, he states:

> Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (Hall, 1990, p. 225)

Based on this approach, in order to form a Kurdish cultural identity, I argue that C. Bedirxan and his entourage in *Hawar* did not merely endeavor to "recover" a Kurdish past that awaited to be unearthed; rather, through textual productions, they tried to shape Kurdish cultural identity by their positions, and the narratives they put forward whilst interpreting their past.

Hall suggests this second position as the solution to utterly comprehend "the traumatic character of 'the colonial experience' "(Ibid). I also argue that this approach

will help to analyze the multi-faceted and multi-layered nature of Kurdish cultural identity that was reinforced through *Hawar's* translated texts. I should note that this nature was also shaped and influenced by inherent cultural diversities in Kurdish cultural identity, in terms of different dialects and religious factors, as well as external factors such as the Kurds' geographical fragmentation and different cultural contexts. These diverse components of Kurdish cultural identity also featured in the textual coverage of both periods of *Hawar*: There were entries on different Kurdish faiths such as Zoroastrianism, Islam and Ezidism, as well as entries in different dialects such as Kurmanji, Sorani and Zazaki. Moreover, on the grounds of the fragmentation, there were reflections of different life conditions of Kurds mainly caused by political and historical circumstances of the four countries, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria during the interwar and WWII period. All these historical, cultural and linguistic features demonstrate that a comprehensive analysis of Kurdish cultural identity would be lacking if it was viewed from a single perspective, i.e., an essentialist approach only. In my opinion, this was the main reason why C. Bedirxan and other contributors endeavored to form a Kurdish cultural identity that encompassed all the components, which I argue, included continuities with the past alongside ruptures and changes, as well as relating to the future.

To break the illusion that cultural identity is unchanging, uninfluenced by history and culture, Hall draws attention to the following:

> Cultural identity is not a fixed essence at all, lying unchanged outside history and culture. It is not some universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark. It is not once-and-for-all. It is not a fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute Return. (Hall, 1990, p. 226)

However, neither does he present his approach toward cultural identity as a "mere phantasm". In this regard, he maintains that cultural identity "is *something* - not a

mere trick of the imagination. It has its histories - and histories have their real, material and symbolic effects. The past continues to speak to us. But it no longer addresses us as a simple, factual 'past', since our relation to it, like the child's relation to the mother, is always-already 'after the break', (Hall, 1990, p. 226)." Accordingly, he points out that cultural identity is always formed by memory, fantasy, narrative and myth (Ibid.). In the same vein, he refers to the instability of cultural identity and in its relation to history and culture:

> Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a *positioning.* Hence, there is always a politics of identity, a politics of position, which has no absolute guarantee in an unproblematic, transcendental 'law of origin'. (Hall, 1990, p. 226)

Here, Hall emphasizes the "positioning", rather than an essence, in order to define a cultural identity. Therefore, he clearly takes a critical stance toward the "unproblematic, transcendental law of origin" and as a consequence of positioning, ascribes a political feature to the identity.

Furthermore, Hall highlights that the second view of cultural identity is "less familiar" and "more unsettling". This way of thinking, he proposes, in fact, unsettles the essentialist approach toward cultural identity. Following this mode of thinking, then, he finds it necessary to pose the following question: "If identity does not proceed, in a straight, unbroken line, from some fixed origin, how are we to understand its formation?" (Ibid.). In response to this question, he suggests thinking of black Caribbean identities. In this respect, he refers to "two axes or vectors", concurrently operating: "the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture"(Ibid.). Namely, he points at the existence of both continuity and discontinuity embodied in the cultural identity at the same time. In this way, it differs from the approach toward cultural identity that is based on the continuity

from the past. In this regard, he argues that "Caribbean identities always have to be thought of in terms of the dialogic relationship between these two axes," (Hall, 1990, pp. 226-227). To clarify what those two axes stand for in connection with Caribbean identities, he says:

> The one gives us some grounding in, some continuity with, the past. The second reminds us that what we share is precisely the experience of a profound discontinuity: the peoples dragged into slavery, transportation, colonisation, migration, came predominantly from Africa - and when that supply ended, it was temporarily refreshed by indentured labour from the Asian subcontinent. (Hall, 1990, p. 227)

Moreover, while explaining Caribbean identities with the examples of Martinique and Jamaica, Hall refers to "the 'doubleness' of similarity and difference". He points out that the difference between them is not because of topography and climate. For this, he emphasizes the fundamental difference between culture and history (Hall, 1990, p. 227), and the significance of this in terms of above-mentioned doubleness: "It positions Martiniquains and Jamaicans as *both* the same *and* different," (Ibid.)

These examples also open a venue for discussing different aspects of Kurdish cultural identity. In the example of Caribbean identities, viewed in terms of Martinican and Jamaican identities, the historical and cultural dimensions were foregrounded. The topographical fragmentations among different countries similarly had an impact on the formation of the Kurdish cultural identity, as much as cultural and historical aspects. For Kurds, they were interrelated factors indeed. Kurdish culture was influenced by the consequences of historical developments, frequently connected to Kurds' quest for their own independent territory.

In connection with the identity, Michael Cronin emphasizes the pivotal role of translation in his work entitled *Translation and Identity* and, in this regard, focuses on the translator and "how, from the household to the city to the world, translation must be at the centre of any attempt to think about questions of identity in

human society," (2006, p. 1). In order to draw attention to the growing space that the identity occupies, Cronin makes the following statement:

> If previously ideology had been the principal way of structuring political communication, identity has now taken over. This is not to say, of course, that the issues raised by ideological critiques somehow disappeared or were no longer important but issues such as marginalization, dispossession, powerlessness were increasingly mediated through discourses of identity. (Cronin, 2006, p. 1)

Using Cronin's words, I argue that in the conditions of the interwar and WWII periods, initiatives and attempts around Kurdish cultural identity had become "the principal way of structuring [their] political communication". In this respect, the issues discussed in the Kurdish periodical *Hawar* were the reflection of Kurdish intellectuals' efforts to recover from "powerlessness", as well as to build up their imagined cultural identity for all Kurds. Needless to say, translations in *Hawar* played the pivotal part in this undertaking.

C. Bedirxan did not explicitly define his conception of Kurdish cultural identity, however, through in-depth analysis of the magazine, I will set out to explore his notion of the Kurdish cultural identity, which appears to have a multilayered characteristic in terms of Kurdish dialects, faiths, creation of a Roman alphabet and the relationship with the western cultures, as well as the contribution of this intended relationship to the Kurdish language and literature.

2.2 Imagined communities

My thesis explores the role of translation in forming a Kurdish cultural identity in *Hawar*, which spans the interwar period extending into WWII. In order to clarify the nature of Kurdishness in my research, I refer to Benedict Anderson's very relevant conceptualization of what he calls "imagined communities" (2006). Regarding nationality, Anderson expresses his view as follows:

> My point of departure is that nationality, or, as one might prefer to put it in view of that word's multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy. (Anderson, 2006, p. 4)

It is particularly important for my study that Anderson draws attention to terms such as "nationality", "nation-ness" and "nationalism", highlighting that these are subject to change over time. In other words, he emphasizes that such terms are not built on a fixed premise, in line with my approach to Kurdish cultural identity, nation and other relevant concepts. Therefore, the definition Anderson offers for the "nation" is crucially important in clarifying my approach to the investigation of the Kurdish cultural identity that was proposed in *Hawar*. Anderson states:

> In an anthropological spirit . . . I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.
> It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson, 2006, pp. 5-6)

Anderson's references to the *imagined* state of nation are highly relevant; my contention is that C. Bedirxan and other contributors to the periodicals *imagined* Kurdish community as "*inherently sovereign and limited*", similar to any other independent nations (emphasis added). Through textual productions in *Hawar,* they intentionally brought to the forefront Kurdish folklore, literature, history, geography, and other cultural elements in order to reinforce and disseminate their imagined cultural identity. This would help the visibility and recognition of Kurdish cultural identity both among Kurds themselves, and among the western audience.

Regarding the imagined nature of nation, Anderson refers to three features in his definition: limitedness, sovereignty and community. To clarify these features, he

provides details for them. For Anderson, "[t]he nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind" (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). He also explains the sovereign nature of a nation as follows:

> It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. Coming to maturity at a stage of human history when even the most devout adherents of any universal religion were inescapably confronted with the living *pluralism* of such religions, and the allomorphism between each faith's ontological claims and territorial stretch, nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so. The gauge and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state. (Anderson, 2006, p. 7)

Anderson also explains that the state of a nation being imagined as a *community* has both causes and consequences. In this respect, he points out:

> . . . it is imagined as a *community,* because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (Anderson, 2006, p. 7)

I should also note that this feature of fraternity that makes up a significant part of "imagined community" was strongly reinforced by C. Bedirxan and many fellow authors of the periodical in question for Kurds under the rule of different countries and powers in the 1930s and 1940s. As could be observed in the periodical's make-up, translations and accompanying indigenous texts emphasized the unity and fraternity of Kurdish community. The readership living in different countries or regions were encouraged to connect with each other or imagine themselves as part of a larger community by reflecting on the ideas in the same periodical, even if it was impossible to know each other as individuals. This approach was followed in many

writings as if a point on which all contributors agreed. In fact, this attitude will be analyzed in detail in the compositional code of the periodical in Chapter 4.

Benedict Anderson also refers to the role of newspapers in confirming the nature of imagined community. Delving into the details of this role of newspapers will also be fruitful for investigating the focal periodical; for exploring its role in creating an imagined Kurdish community. In this respect, Anderson cites as an example events on a sample front page of *The New York Times,* which covers: ". . . stories about Soviet dissidents, famine in Mali, a gruesome murder, a coup in Iraq, the discovery of a rare fossil in Zimbabwe, and a speech by Mitterrand" (Anderson, 2006, p. 33). What connects such arbitrary pieces in a newspaper about different events across the world, like these from the front page of *The New York Times*, he argues, derives from imagining, or in Anderson's words, "the linkage between them is imagined" (Ibid.). Anderson points out that this "imagined linkage" stems from "two obliquely related sources"(Ibid.): "The first is simply calendrical coincidence. The date at the top of the newspaper, the single most important emblem on it, provides the essential connection — the steady onward clocking of homogeneous, empty time." Here, Anderson highlights the events occurring at the same time, one of the fundamental connections of such newspaper stories.

Furthermore, to explain readers' relation to reading , in the footnote, he states that "[r]eading a newspaper is like reading a novel whose author has abandoned any thought of a coherent plot" (Ibid.). This suggests that readers' imagining fills the potential gaps in the plot or establishes the relation between arbitrarily included pieces. Similarly, the readers of *Hawar* read pieces, establishing a mental connection between the writings. As might be expected, their reading experiences of previous issues and the meantime political developments also contributed to their imagining.

In the same vein, Anderson indicates that "[t]he second source of imagined linkage lies in the relationship between the newspaper, as a form of book, and the market" (Ibid.). To explain this aspect, he delves into details over the current state of books in the market, which he likens to that of the newspaper. In this respect, he points out that "[i]n a rather special sense, the book was the first modern-style mass-produced industrial commodity" (Anderson, 2006, p. 34). He goes on to indicate that the book was different from other industrial products such as sugar, textiles, and bricks, which were measured in mathematical amounts (Ibid.), stating that "[t]he book, however – and here it prefigures the durables of our time – is a distinct, self-contained object, exactly reproduced on a large scale" (Ibid.). Likewise, to clarify, he also refers, in the footnote, to the fact that "[the] strategic role [of the book] in the dissemination of ideas . . . made it of central importance to the development of modern Europe" (Ibid.). Here, he marks the role of the book – and also that of the newspaper – in the dissemination of the ideas. In addition, to emphasize the similarity between the book and the newspaper, he states that "[i]n this perspective, the newspaper is merely an 'extreme form' of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephemeral popularity. Might we say: one-day best-sellers?" (Anderson, 2006, pp. 34-35).

Indicating the role of book, and later that of newspaper, in founding the basis for the formation of an imagined community, Anderson asserts that:

> The obsolescence of the newspaper on the morrow of its printing . . . nonetheless, for just this reason, creates this extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper-as-fiction. We know that particular morning and evening editions will overwhelmingly be consumed between this hour and that, only on this day, not that. (Anderson, 2006, p. 35)

As seen above, Anderson defines the simultaneous consumption or "imagining" of the newspapers as a "mass ceremony". In this regard, he further explains the

importance of "mass ceremony", and shows its relevance to the imagined community:

> The significance of this mass ceremony - Hegel observed that newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayers - is paradoxical. It is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion. Furthermore, this ceremony is incessantly repeated at daily or half-daily intervals throughout the calendar. What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned? (Anderson, 2006, p. 35)

Noticeably, for Anderson, the constantly repeated mass reading of the daily newspaper by a great many who are aware of each other's existence, but who never personally know one another is a very good example of visualizing imagined community. Moreover, Anderson points to the acceptance of the "mass ceremony" by the readers in everyday life, and its contribution to the creation of the imagined community. In this respect, he states:

> At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life. As with *Noli Me Tangere*, fiction seeps quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations. (Anderson, 2006, pp. 35-36)

In line with Anderson's suggestions for the role of newspapers in creating a "mass ceremony", or forming an imagined community, I argue that, similarly composed of writings that would seem arbitrarily juxtaposed, periodicals too, just like newspapers, serve to unify the readers as part of an imagined community. However, in the case of periodicals, I should note that even if they might appear arbitrary, when examined carefully, it is evident that they serve the common habitus of the periodical. In this respect, as mentioned earlier, Anderson describes the newspaper as "an 'extreme form' of the book" yet "of ephemeral popularity". However, for the periodicals, I argue that this is not entirely the case; these have longer self-life, in the time span of

months, and therefore their popularity, too, is longer lasting in contrast to ephemerality of the newspapers. The periodicals can be kept as collections for re/reading or later reference. In this regard, analyzing the periodical *Hawar* in the framework that Anderson suggests will also yield new findings in my study in terms of periodicals' role in forming an imagined Kurdish community.

In my research, in terms of forming an imagined community, *Hawar* played an essential role by addressing target groups of audiences in line with a common habitus, and by shaping an imagined Kurdish community. These target groups were composed of both Kurds and western readership. In this respect, C. Bedirxan and all the other authors and translators exerted effort to enable Kurds to imagine themselves as a unified community, legitimated among the western audience, the purpose for which C. Bedirxan launched the periodical in the 1930s and 1940s. I argue that through textual productions, the Kurdish intellectuals in charge of *Hawar* aimed to form an imagined community composed of all Kurds in different countries, with all their similarities and differences of dialects and faiths.

Turning to what Anderson said earlier, I argue that all the textual productions published in the periodical *Hawar* were endeavors to form a "mass ceremony" by which C. Bedirxan and other actors aimed to create an imagined Kurdish community. They engaged in a great struggle to bring into being what they had in mind. When analyzed from the perspective offered by the concepts of periodical studies, the connection, or in Anderson's term, the "imagined linkage" *between* entries or *across* issues of *Hawar,* will be more clearly understood (emphasis added). Similar to a work of fiction, these connections or linkages will also help us follow the fiction established throughout the magazine content, by drawing on the approach

adopted by periodical studies, which proposes analysis as a whole, not as separate pieces or issues.

2.3 Translation and minority languages

The issue of translation in minority languages is a current and fruitful sub-field of translation studies. My research, characterized by translations from Kurdish into French and those from French and other languages into Kurdish, will also benefit largely from the premises of this sub-field. Before delving into the theoretical views that give due consideration to translation in minority languages, I believe that it will be illuminating to focus on the concept of minority, and the state of minority languages in different situations. This will also provide an opportunity to examine Kurdish language and culture in the same context of translation.

2.3.1 The concept of minority

Minority languages offer a rich site of research for translation studies. Notably, Albert Branchadell states that "[f]or Translation Studies, the more interesting cases are what we could label as “absolute minority languages”, that is, minority languages that are not presently used as a majority language in any state" (2011, p. 97). I should point out that neither the two main dialects of Kurdish , Kurmanji and Sorani, nor the lesser spoken Zazaki dialect ever acquired a majority status in any countries that it was/is spoken, although all appeared in textual production of *Hawar*[2]. Taking this

[2] Kurmanji is spoken in Turkey, Syria, and in the northern regions of the Kurdish-speaking areas of Iraq and Iran and in the former Soviet Union. It is also spoken in the Iranian province of Khorasan. (Kreyenbroek, 2005, p. 55). Sorani is spoken in Iraq, in the southern parts of the Greater Zab, and in central regions of the Kurdish-speaking area of Iran (Ibid.). Zazaki (also Dimili or Kirmancki) is spoken along the upper courses of the Euphrates, Kizilirmaq, and Murat rivers in Turkey (Izady, 2015, p. 269).

fact into account, Branchadell's definition is indeed immensely applicable to the research of translation in Kurdish language as a minority language. I thus propose, in terms of translation in minority languages, utilizing it for the Kurdish case will certainly make contributions to translation studies.

Concerning the same issue, Michael Cronin notes that in order to "underline the significance of minority languages to translation theory and practice", "[i]t is important to stress the relational dynamic of minority languages" (Cronin, 1995, p. 87). He argues that this "significance" is associated with three factors. According to the first, all languages have the potential to become a minority language. He explains this as follows: "Firstly, languages and political circumstances change. The majority status of a language is determined by political, economic and cultural forces that are rarely static and therefore *all* languages are potentially minority languages" (Cronin, 1995, pp. 87-88). He emphasizes the dynamic state of minority languages, and underlines that this could apply to any majority languages. Furthermore, he notes that "the historical experience of a minority language" can provide "useful insights into the translation fate of majority languages" when their circumstances change (Cronin, 1995, p. 88). In this respect, the Kurdish language, as mentioned earlier, did not enjoy the status of a majority language; on the contrary, it encountered denial and repression before and during the publication of *Hawar*. Hence, the launch itself was very important for the concrete visibility of Kurdish culture; the translations from and into Kurdish considerably contributed to this visibility.

In terms of the second factor, Cronin maintains that "translation relationships are based on figure/ground oppositions." To explain this, he indicates that

"[l]anguages can be divided into those languages which are *target-language intensive* and those languages which are *source-language intensive.*" (Cronin, 1995, p. 88). Concerning "a TL intensive language ", he gives the example of English, where there exists an "intense translation activity" from English into other languages, whereas the translation intensity in the opposite direction is noticeably less (Ibid.). Regarding the source-language intensiveness, he points out that "[a] SL intensive language would be almost any minority language where translations are largely from other source languages that enjoy majority status" (Ibid.). According to this categorization, in terms of translations in the periodical *Hawar*, Kurdish could be considered a source intensive language, considering the intensity of translations from French and other languages into Kurdish in comparison to the reverse direction.

Concerning the third factor, Cronin states:

> A third factor that informs the relational position of minority languages is the fact that it is precisely the pressure to translate that is a central rather than a peripheral aspect of experience. In this respect, for minority languages themselves it is crucial to understand the operation of the translation process itself as the continued existence of the language and the self-perception and self-confidence of its speakers are intimately bound up with translation effects. (Cronin, 1995, p. 88)

Here, Cronin refers to the crucial part translation plays in the existence of minority languages, as well as the prestige, power and self-confidence these can acquire as a result. In this vein, I argue that translations in the Kurdish periodical *Hawar* point to "a central rather than a peripheral aspect of experience", playing a pivotal role in strengthening Kurdish language and culture through diverse translations into Kurdish. Besides, I should also note that translations from Kurdish into other languages, especially, French, play a significant part in introducing the western audience to Kurdish cultural identity.

Concerning the concept of minority, Micheal Cronin points out that it is "dynamic" as regards language rather than "static". He states that "[m]inority" is the expression of a relation not an essence." and accordingly divides this relation into two forms: "diachronic" and "spatial" (Cronin, 1995, p. 86). According to Cronin, "[t]he *diachronic* relation that defines a minority language is a historical experience that destabilizes the linguistic relations in one country so that languages find themselves in an asymmetrical relationship" (Ibid.). For this case, he gives the example of Ireland, and draws attention to English language's former position as a minority language in that country. However, he points out that "[m]ilitary, social and economic forces, notably the Great Famine of the 1840s" led to a dramatic decrease of Irish speaking population and, as a consequence, to the replacement of Irish with English as the majority language in the nineteenth century. Likewise, he notes that, in terms of the Irish language, "the position of the language changed from majority to minority status as a result of political developments over time" (Cronin, 1995, pp. 86-87). Regarding spatial relation, Cronins states:

> The *spatial* relationship is intimately bound up with diachronic relationships but it is important to make a distinction between those languages that find themselves in a minority position because of a redrawing of national boundaries and those which occupy the same territory but are no longer in a dominant position such as Irish. (Cronin, 1995, p. 87)

In cases of the redrawing of national boundaries, he provides the example of Russian, which turned into "a minority language in most of the Baltic Republics with the break-up of the Soviet Union" (Ibid).

Concerning the benefits of the division of those relations, Cronin indicates that:

> The spatial/diachronic distinction is useful in evaluating the radically different contexts in which minority languages operate from the perspective of translation. Languages that derive their minority status from spatial realignments find themselves in close proximity to countries where the language has majority status. (Cronin, 1995, p. 87).

Here, Cronin stresses the situation similar to that of Russian as a minority language in most of the Baltic Republics, but these countries still have the opportunity to benefit from the support of the Russian Federation, where, naturally, Russian is the majority language.

It is very likely that an analysis of the Kurdish case in the context of my research, will add a new dimension to Cronin's spatial/diachronic distinction. The Kurdish language has a very dynamic domain in terms of both diachronic and spatial expressions of relations. In fact, it is challenging to define the state of Kurdish distinctively as either a diachronic or spatial, since Kurdish community, or the land called Kurdistan (Jwaideh, 2006, pp. 3-4) was divided among four countries, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, as a result of redrawn borders, which emerged in its final form after the WWI. The following overview of the historical background will contribute to a better understanding of this particularity.

The first division of Kurdistan started in 1639 with the Treaty of Zuhab between the Ottoman and Persian empires, which defined the frontier between the two, and thereby partitioned Kurdistan (Jwaideh, 2006, p. 17). Moreover, in the aftermath of WWI, new nation states such as Turkey, Syria and Iraq emerged in the territory of the collapsed Ottoman Empire, and this further entrenched this division. Under the new circumstances, Kurdistan has been divided "with the largest portions of Kurdish territory in Turkey (43%), followed by Iran (31%), Iraq (18%) [and], Syria (6%) " (Izady, 2015, p. 23). Kurdish scholar, Mehrdad Izady also points out

that the 2% of this territory remained within the borders of former Soviet Union (Ibid.).

In the relationship between Kurdish principalities and the Ottoman Empire, including the critical periods when Kurds had some freedom, Kurdish principalities gained a relative independence in return for the recognition of the empire in the aftermath of the Battle of Chaldiran (1514) when Kurdish tribes helped the Ottomans to defeat the Safavid Empire. However, this semi-independent status that lasted for three centuries ended in the mid-nineteenth century (McDowall, 2007, pp. 25-28) as the Ottoman government decided to enforce direct control over the eastern borders. Similar changes took place on the Persian side (McDowall, 2005, p. 11). This change in status also signified the start of the deterioration of the already unsatisfactory situation. Nevertheless, in terms of Kurdish publications, there was a significant increase in journals toward the end of the empire. The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, was published in Cairo in 1898. Additionally, Kurdish journalism experienced a new era with the victory of the Young Turks in 1908. Kurdish intellectuals could launch magazines in Istanbul and Baghdad, despite the opposition they encountered. (Blau, 1996, p. 22). In this period, they also established many Kurdish clubs and societies in Istanbul (Aktürk, 2013, pp. 44-45). To sum up, it is possible to state that Kurdish principalities gained some degree of freedom under the Ottoman rule, when the Empire itself was partitioned after WWI, the situation worsened, and hopes evaporated.

Under the above-mentioned circumstances during which Kurds envisioned and hoped for a possibility of founding a Kurdish state, they were, on the contrary, left stateless and their cultural identity was either not recognized or it underwent repression in their respective countries. In this period, an official decree issued in

Turkey on March 3, 1924, for instance, prohibited all Kurdish organizations, schools and publications, as well as religious institutions (Izady, 2015, p. 104). In Iraq, the Iraqi government under the British Mandate accepted the responsibility to implement the League of Nations' recommendations for the right to use Kurdish in schools and local administrations. However, those recommendations were not included in the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi treaty, which granted Iraq its independence. This led to a new strife-torn period between Kurds and Arabs. Yet, in 1931, the Local Languages Law was passed, which accorded the right to use Kurdish in primary schools (Kreyenbroek, 2005, p. 60). Furthermore, Iran's attitude toward Kurds has for the most part been determined by the need to keep them tolerably content, while concurrently repressing their ambitions for autonomy and boosting their loyalty to the national state. Therefore, in Iran, there has been no major efforts to restrict spoken Kurdish, however, publications were scarcely permitted (Kreyenbroek, 2005, p. 61). In Syria, Kurds were in a relatively good position, they were allowed to engage in cultural and linguistic activities under the French Mandate. Publications and radio broadcasts were allowed, and Kurdish associations were established (Tejel, 2009, pp. 22-23). *Hawar* and *Ronahî* were, indeed, the products of this period in Syria. What is more, in Syria, the associations and Koranic schools of the time also served to spread the ideas expressed in those periodicals. A club called "the Salah al-Din Club" conducted conferences and evening classes in Damascus in order to teach the Kurdish alphabet in Roman script, following the model developed by C. Bedirxan (Ibid.)

My study, encompassing the period of post-WWI, specifically investigates the translation activities in *Hawar,* which endeavored to play a significant role in constituting a Kurdish cultural identity, addressing both Kurdish and western

audiences, which could also be interpreted as a reaction to the language and cultural restrictions in the 1930s and 1940s. Taking these historical developments into account, however, one cannot say that the Kurdish case could only be analyzed by its diachronic form; the spatial form is also undoubtedly evident due to the redrawn borders. This situation, as mentioned above, subjected Kurdish speaking community to different discriminatory and repressive politics according to country. Thus, based on Cronin's reference to the intimate relationship between spatial and diachronic forms, I argue that, especially in the period under the focus, the spatial form, or to better put it, *the diachronic form shaped in the spatial form* is the dominant form of expression of a relation for the Kurdish language. Therefore, different from many cases of minority languages that Cronin draws attention to, in the case of Kurdish, the minority language faces even losing its recognition as a minority, in other words, its status shifted from minority to denial of existence, as exemplified in the case of Turkey. At this point, it is not only the relational case of the majority becoming the minority; rather it is a condition of imposed change from minority to official non-existence. Under given circumstances, translation takes on the role of resistance against denial, as well as the role of forming and introducing the cultural identity. My study on the *Hawar* translations has the additional role of making visible this dimension of translation in minority languages.

Based on Michael Cronin's definition of minority as "a relation not an essence" (1995, p. 86), Albert Branchadell highlights two points in this regard. According to him: "First, the concept is relative in numerical terms: no matter how large, minority languages are spoken by *fewer* people than a corresponding majority language" (Branchadell, 2011, p. 1). Secondly, he draws attention to the fact that "the term is relative in political and historical terms: the minority – majority asymmetry

takes place in a given state and under given (changing) circumstances" (Ibid.). In this regard, he states that a language can be a minority language in one state, while having the status of a majority language in another. However, for my study, this was not the case, for Kurdish did not acquire a majority status given the circumstances of the period. Branchadell is aware of this and draws attention to what he called "absolute minority languages", which was detailed above.

Regarding the concept of minority, Lawrence Venuti says:

> I understand 'minority' to mean a cultural or political position that is subordinate, whether the social context that so defines it is local, national or global. This position is occupied by languages and literatures that lack prestige or authority, the non-standard and the non-canonical, what is not spoken or read much by a hegemonic culture. (1998, p. 135)

In this regard, he also refers to aspect of the nations and groups related to those languages and literatures of minorities: "[y]et minorities also include the nations and social groups that are affiliated with these languages and literatures, the politically weak or underrepresented, the colonized and the disenfranchised, the exploited and the stigmatized" (Ibid.). Taking these points into account, the Kurds could be considered to fall under Venuti's classification as they were a nation deprived of their basic rights and whose identity was denied in the period of *Hawar*'s publication. Hence, a Kurdish language periodical, containing diverse translations and promoting Kurdish literature, by its nature represented a strong subversive stance.

In terms of defining minority, as mentioned above, Cronin argues that minority has a relative character, implying that any major language has the potential to become a minority as a result of historical or political developments. Likewise, Venuti states that "[t]he terms 'majority' and 'minority' are relative, depending on one another for their definition and always dependent on a historically existing, even if changing, situation" (Ibid.).

With respect to translation, Albert Branchadell also refers to minority languages as "less translated languages" (2005, p.1). This definition was introduced in the work bearing the same title, co-edited by Albert Branchadell and Lovell Margaret West (2005). In "Introduction: Less translated languages as a field of inquiry", he explains the main benefit of this work as such: "One of the main contributions of this book to the field of Translation Studies is the very notion of “less translated languages,” a concept that has been developed by the authors of several of the chapters" (Branchadell, 2005, p. 1). Additionally, he states that this concept was inspired by the current concept of "lesser-used languages" in the European Union. According to Branchadell, " 'less translated languages' applies to all those languages that are less often the source of translation in the international exchange of linguistic goods, regardless of the number of people using these languages" (Ibid.). In the light of this explanation, I argue that Kurdish language, could be considered one of the "less translated languages", both then and now, as it was, and still is, "less often the source of translation". In the same vein, Branchadell states that "the most extreme examples are of course those languages that are *never* the source of translation" (Ibid.) Until the early and mid-twentieth century when *Hawar* was published, translations from Kurdish into various languages were limited to a very few canonic works such as *Mem and Zîn* by Ehmedî Xanî and popular Kurdish legend, *Memê Alan,* as well as a certain number of collected folk stories and songs belonging to oral tradition. Therefore, it is possible to regard Kurdish as a language that is *hardly ever* the source of translation, if not *never*. In my view, this assigns greater value to this current research in terms of its potential contribution to translation studies as a minority language.

It is important to note that some scholars prefer to call the minority languages as "minoritized languages". In this regard, Adrià Martín-Mor, in his article entitled "Technologies for endangered languages: The languages of Sardinia as a case in point", uses the term "minoritised languages" for the languages of Sardinia such as Algherese Catalan, Gallurese Corsican, Sassarese, Sardinian and Tabarchin Ligurian" (2017). In his article, he draws attention to the significance of associating minoritized languages with technology over digital products translated into or developed in five languages of Sardinia (Ibid.). In this regard, it is noteworthy to remember that Michael Cronin, too, uses the term "minoritized" for most languages in relation to English's dominance on the Internet (1998, p. 151).

2.3.2 The place of minority languages in translation theory

In respect to minority languages and their relationship to translation, it appears that Gideon Toury was the author of one of the earliest articles in English. In this regard, he draws attention to the following point:

> It is an established fact that minority language communities have often turned to translating in critical periods, among other utterance-generating activities. It is also a fact that, more than once, translating has actually contributed to the development of these languages and their cultures, and even directed its course to varying extents, a most notable case being Hebrew during its so called Revival Period (roughly, from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th century). (Toury, 1985, p. 3)

Toury draws attention to the importance of translation for a minority language during a "critical period", which particularly applies Kurdish language during the 1930s and 1940s. The translation activities of the period in the periodical *Hawar* were in fact a *hawar* (call) for the survival of Kurdish language and culture, in the face of contemporary denials and repressions. Toury also draws attention to the contribution of translation to the development of those minority languages and cultures citing the

example of Hebrew language and culture. In this respect, for the Kurdish case, translations in *Hawar* similarly played a significant part in linguistic and cultural development, paving the way for the revival or – for that time, it would be more appropriate to say – survival of the Kurdish language and culture.

Regarding minority languages' recourse to translation, Toury makes the following explanation:

> The basic logic underlying the decision to resort to translating is clear enough. After all, this type of verbal performance is in a position to give a community whose language has long been under-used, or limited to certain spheres of usage only, ample opportunity to exercise new types of utterance as well as the language itself, and this in a relatively quick and economic way[.] (Toury, 1985, pp. 3-4)

According to Toury, the translation into minority languages also provides an opportunity for introducing the language into diverse spheres and leading to the development of the language which was previously "limited" or "under-used". Considering the diversity of text types translated into Kurdish, its role in development of the language and formation of cultural identity, I argue that this is valid for the Kurdish case. However, I should note that, different from what Toury emphasizes, the translation from Kurdish into other languages – especially those into French – played a paramount role in the development of Kurdish, as well as contributing to the formation of a cultural identity. Thus, in my case study, I argue that translations from minority languages into other languages contribute to translation theory as much as those from the opposite direction.

In terms of translation into minority languages, Toury also points out that "[a] minority language is certainly weak vis-à-vis the majority language of the community in question" (Toury, 1985, p. 7) and that this state of weakness could intensify due to some inherent difficulties and limitedness (Ibid.). Furthermore, a precondition for the development of the language, he argues, is an appropriate

"ideological climate" that "enhances the prestige of the minority language and the self-esteem of its speakers, and regards translating not only as the means that it is, but also as some kind of an object in itself" (Toury, 1985, p. 9).

As mentioned above, dwelling upon the contribution of translation effects to "the existence" of the minority languages, as well as to "the self-perception" and "self-confidence" of the speakers (Cronin, 1995, p. 88), Michael Cronin draws attention to the importance of this aspect for translation theory: "Translation theory should not therefore be seen as an esoteric luxury indulged in by the mandarins of major languages but as a crucial means to understanding the position of minority-language speakers in relationships of language and power" (Cronin, 1995, pp. 88-89). Taking this statement into account, I argue that this approach toward translation in minority languages will also be useful in understanding the position of Kurdish language speakers in terms of 1930s and 1940s power relations. The findings based on such an approach will also contribute to translation theory in terms of understanding the role that translations play in a minority language in constructing its speakers' cultural identity.

In this regard, Judith Woodsworth draws attention to translation's contributions to strengthening the minority language and culture:

> By translating works that have enjoyed prestige, authority or simply wide distribution in the source culture, the translator confers credibility on the target language text and the target language itself. The motivation for translating, beyond personal affinities, is political. Translation is a means of strengthening the minority language and culture, of helping to ensure its survival, and hence of promoting national identity, or a new vision of "nationhood". (Woodsworth, 1996, p. 235)

Woodsworth's explanation also reflects the psychological motives of the Kurdish intellectuals behind the launch of *Hawar,* and its textual productions.

In his article, "Minority languages and translation", Albert Branchadell expresses his desire for "a theory of minority language translation" and draws

attention to the"hundreds of minority languages" waiting to be explored as case studies. In this respect, he notes that " [a]ttention should be paid also to translation *from* minority languages into languages of wider communication; if translation benefits minority languages as TL it also benefits them as SL (Branchadell, 2011, p. 100). I believe that the point of "translation from minority languages" that Branchadell explicitly emphasizes constitute an important aspect of translation studies, especially in terms of its potential contribution to his "theory of minority language translation" (Branchadell, 2011, p. 99). His approach demonstrates that translations from minority into majority languages are as significant as those from the opposite direction. The same approach applies to my case study since the translations from Kurdish into French, as well as from French and – to lesser extent – from various other languages into Kurdish, play a crucial role in forming a Kurdish cultural identity. This case study has the potential to embody one of those minority languages that Branchadell (2011) indicates as "awaiting scientific consideration" (p. 100).

A special issue of *The Translator*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, focused on the contribution of minority to "practice and study of translation". In this issue, Venuti states that the focus is "on the distinctive forms that translating takes when it is done by or on behalf of minorities" (1998, p. 135). Emphasizing the significance of research on translation in minority languages and its contribution to translation studies, he points out that the relevant writings in the special issue underline "the concept of minority is worth exploring because it inspires innovation in translation practice and research. Minor cultures are coincident with new translation strategies, new translation theories, and new syntheses of the diverse methodologies that constitute the discipline of translation studies" (Venuti, 1998, pp. 135-136).

However, the place of minority languages in translation theory has been an issue. In this respect, Branchadells criticizes the neglect of minority languages in translation studies. In terms of contributions, he refers to Gideon Toury's, Michael Cronin's and Lawrence Venuti's papers and views, and also draws attention to the contributions of "lesser-known" scholars writing in minority languages such as Zabaleta (in Basque) (Branchadell, 2005, pp. 2-4). However, to exemplify the less researched status of minority languages in translation studies, he states that ". . . it is instructive to notice that there is no entry for “minority language” in Mona Baker’s *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (1998), nor in Mark Shuttleworth and Moira Cowie’s *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (1997)" (Branchadell, 2005, p. 2).

Branchadell (2005) also highlights that the extent of the research of a minority language relates to its contact with English and draws attention to the scarce periodical references to translation in minority languages such as Catalan, Galician and Basque in mainstream translation studies (p. 4). In addition, he points out:

> Not surprisingly, the most researched minority languages tend to be languages that are in contact with English: Irish in Ireland, Scots in Scotland, and French in Canada – a non-minority language that nevertheless occupies a minority position. The situation of minority languages vis-à-vis English seems to condition the degree of attention that they receive from the scientific community. (Branchadell, 2005, pp. 4-5)

Accordingly, Branchadell points out that French can be categorized with English as languages imposing power when referring to studies on postcolonial literature: "In the same vein, there has been more research in postcolonial anglophone (and francophone) literature than in lusophone (or hispanophone) literature" (Branchadell, 2005, p. 5).

In terms of incorporating minority languages into translation studies research in the context of Turkey, a noteworthy contribution is Şule Demirkol Ertürk and Saliha Paker's article entitled "Beyoğlu/Pera as a translating site in Istanbul" (2014),

one of the few studies in this area. In this article, the authors conceive the Beyoğlu/Pera district of Istanbul as a site of "interculture" and analyze the role of multiple translating/publishing practices of Armenian and Kurdish "minority" cultures and languages in creating new culture repertoires replacing those dominant in the early years of the Turkish nation state. Equally important is Selim Temo Ergül's (2019) article in *Tradition, Tension and Translation in Turkey* entitled as "An overview of Kurdish literature in Turkish". In his article, Ergül examines translations from Kurdish literature into Turkish, focusing on certain characteristic phenomena. Another significant work is the MA thesis by Senem Öner Bulut (2005) entitled "Silent lyrics: Kurdish folk songs in translation", which explores the textual and contextual dimensions of the translation of Kurdish folk songs into Turkish and draws attention to the pseudo-originality of those songs in Turkish. Also worth noting is the MA thesis by Seçil Töre (2015) entitled "Translation and Ideology: A Study of Paratexts of Turkish Translations of the Kurdish Mesnevi *Mem û Zîn* in the Republican Period". In her thesis, Töre analyzes the paratexts of the Turkish translations of *Mem û Zîn* in the Republican period and studies the link between ideology and translation. Another relevant MA thesis was written by Ziyattin Yıldırımçakar (2016) entitled "Werger Wek Kirineke Çandî – Li Ser Riyên Ji Wergernasiyê Ber Bi Kurdolojiyê Ve–" [Translation as a Cultural Practice: On the Paths from translation studies to Kurdish studies]. In his study, Yıldırımçakar endeavors to establish a relationship between translation studies and Kurdish studies. However, in terms of Kurdish language, while there are MA dissertations on translation in minority/minoritized languages, the present study appears to be the first dissertation at doctorate level in Turkey, which is specifically focused on the periodical *Hawar* as a case study.

2.4 Culture planning

While analyzing translational phenomena in *Hawar*, I will mostly draw on the paradigm suggested by descriptive translation studies. Considering that the publication of *Hawar* greatly affected the Kurds in various parts of the world, particularly in Turkey, Syria and Iraq where it was relatively easier to reach readers, and that *Hawar* is still influential today, I argue that it exemplifies "culture planning", to use the term suggested by Itamar Even-Zohar. He describes "culture planning" as follows: "Culture planning is conceived of as a deliberate act of intervention, either by power holders or by “free agents,” into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire. Hence, it entails the introduction of change into a current state of affairs. Its prospective success depends on an effective undertaking” (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 98-99).

I assume that C. Bedirxan made a deliberate intervention to do away with certain shortcomings which he perceived in the current cultural life of the Kurdish population and tried to promote a sense of Kurdish cultural identity by planning for a large number of cultural and linguistic subjects to be introduced and covered in *Hawar*. He aimed at a kind of Kurdish enlightenment and endeavored to form a unity via a standardized language in Roman script. His aim was to reach as many readers as possible to raise awareness of their cultural identity and he strove to introduce Kurdish cultural identity worldwide by means of indigenous texts and translations published in French. Considering all of those activities, it appears that C. Bedirxan's main objective was the “introduction of change into a current state of [Kurdish] affairs", to put it in Even-Zohar's terms.

In terms of culture planning, Gideon Toury adopted the same approach with Even-Zohar. Toury regards culture "through the prism of its being *a structured*

repertoire of options which *organizes social interaction* and lends each move *the significance it has* in and for the group that entertain that culture" (2002, p. 150). Furthermore, he explains his approach with the concept of "planning" (2002, p. 151). According to Toury, "planning would consist in any act of (more or less deliberate) *intervention in a current state of affairs within a social group*, i.e., making decisions for others to follow, whether the impetus for intervention originates withing the group itself or outside of it" (Ibid.). He also refers to the existence of power struggles within planning, drawing attention to the fact that planning needs a power base if it is to attain success and bring about a change in the behavior of the "silent majority". In this context, he states that "planning is often intimately connected with *struggles for domination*, as is every attempt to prevent it, stop it, or change its course" (Toury, 2002, pp. 151-152). Even-Zohar (2010) underlines the same point: "What thus matters for planning are its prospects of being successfully implemented. Accordingly, planners must have the power, get the power, or obtain the endorsement of those who possess power" (p. 88). In this sense, it appears that C. Bedirxan, considering his personal and intellectual characteristics and his influence over *Hawar*'s audiences and contributors, had a certain power base which he strove to increase by every possible means. In this context, his power grew due to his success in gaining the support of the French Mandate authorities and in securing the collaboration of certain important persons (such as Roger Lescot). However, it should be noted that this relationship with the French Mandate authorities was by nature also a power struggle. C. Bedirxan had to act carefully in his relationship while trying to find a way to maintain and implement his intended program for the publication of *Hawar*.

In terms of the success of culture planning, Toury (2002) underscores the following points:

> In fact, to the extent that planners wish to achieve more than momentary success and keep being in power, their activity will probably be spiral, involving *constant reassessments*; not only of the implementation but of the very methods, even with goals themselves. Thus, success in culture planning is often a result of certain flexibility whereas rigidity may well lead to failure (pp. 152-153)

In this regard, it appears that C. Bedirxan needed to be flexible in implementing his goals to form a Kurdish cultural identity, for example, in critical periods, he adjusted the planned program for *Hawar* according to the needs of the readers, made amendments in the alphabet he introduced in the course of the publication, and strove to win support of readers in all possible ways and maintain relationships with other power bases, such as the French Mandate authorities and collaborators.

Regarding this Even-Zohar (2010) states that planned repertoires may be wholly or only partly successful and explains that it is not easy to determine whether the results of repertoire making are as fully intended (p. 101). Taking into consideration C. Bedirxan's undertaking of *Hawar* and his intention to construct a Kurdish cultural identity through its textual productions, as well as groundbreaking effects such as introducing Roman alphabet and developing Kurdish language and written culture, I would consider the culture planning he undertook as a success rather than not. I think in the course of time – i.e., in the longer term – his enterprise seems to represent a crucial success of culture planning for the Kurds, and this is still becoming evident. In this regard, Even-Zohar's following statements are highly relevant:

> Often, what seems to be a failure in the eyes of the people involved with the enterprise appears to be a success in terms of its effectiveness in the long run. One of the reasons for this discrepancy is that for the entrepreneurs, the content of a repertoire may have become – throughout the years dedicated to its making and distribution – more important than the function of that repertoire for what was described as its ultimate goal (Even-Zohar, p. 101)

Regarding culture planning, Toury's focus on the relationship of translation with planning is also highly significant. In this regard, he states:

> Once any intervention with a cultural repertoire is regarded as a possible act of planning, translation emerges as a candidate *par excellence* for (re)viewing in these terms. Most important of all, translation activities not only can, but very often do cause noticeable changes in current states of cultural affairs, up to the repertoires themselves. (Toury, 2002, p. 153).

Within this perspective, Toury (2002) points out that the act of translation is "purposeful in its very nature", specifying it as a "teleological activity" in which success or failure are key notions (p. 153). He considers the conditions which constitute success and failure with regard to the requirements of the recipient culture, which he describes as "precisely where planning may be said to actually take place" (Ibid.). The same situation holds true for C. Bedirxan's culture planning through the key periodical *Hawar*; the translations selected and published for the formation and introduction of Kurdish cultural identity embody the concrete examples of "teleological activity", in Toury's terms, and consequently, the enterprise was successful .

Regarding C. Bedirxan's "culture planning" through *Hawar*, it is also important additionally to refer to "transcultural planning", a concept proposed by Ceyda Özmen (2016) to broaden the concept. Özmen (2016) develops her ideas on "transcultural planning" which was designed to bring a different perspective to "culture planning" by considering planning activities not only with respect to "the struggles for domination within a recipient culture (as suggested by Even-Zohar and

Toury) but also in regard to the struggles between different cultures" (pp. 53-54). She explains the concept as follows:

> By taking into account power imbalances and inequalities among different cultures (e.g. in the economic and political fields), I argue that, besides *intracultural planning* within the recipient culture, the concept of culture planning can be broadened so as to include *transcultural planning*, which exceeds the boundaries of a single culture. (Özmen, 2016, pp. 53-54)

Thus, Özmen (2016) argues that Even-Zohar and Toury's approach to culture planning concerns only the power struggles within a given culture, and with a view to expanding the scope of culture planning, she suggests that asymmetrical power relations exist not only within the recipient culture, but also between different cultures (p. 55). However, differently from Özmen's case study, which focused on the transfer of dominant American cultural values to recipient Turkish culture within the dynamics of both, in my case study, C. Bedirxan aimed to introduce western culture into cultural values of a minority/minoritized language (Kurdish), with its many aspects. Namely, in the case of *Hawar*, in complete contrast to Özmen's case study, the recipient culture was dominant western culture through translations into French, and the source culture, a peripheral Kurdish culture. By means of translations from Kurdish into French, the culture planning occurring through translations into Kurdish in *Hawar* was also reinforced and complemented by the "transcultural planning" between Kurdish and western culture. In this transcultural planning – actually, in the whole culture planning under discussion – C. Bedirxan undertook the role of an agent, playing an active part in the selection, translation and publication of translated texts into French to introduce western culture to the multiple layers of his conception of Kurdish cultural identity.

The consequences of launching *Hawar* demonstrate that C. Bedirxan was successful; his and other authors' and translators' efforts are still appreciated among

Kurds, and *Hawar* is still referred to as a milestone in the emergence of modern Kurdish literature and in the standardization of Kurdish language. The various serials published in *Hawar*, republished in book form by Kurdish publishers such as Avesta and Lîs, are held in high esteem by the current readership. The Kurdish Roman alphabet is even known as the *Hawar* Alphabet. Furthermore, today, May 15, the anniversary of the launch of *Hawar,* is celebrated as the "Kurdish Language Celebration Day". Nelida Fuccaro points out that "*Hawar* had a long lasting – in many respects still unsurpassed – influence on the formation of a standardized Kurdish language, and especially on the unification of the Kurmanji dialect" (Fuccaro, 2003, p. 208)

2.5 Methodology

In my study, I will use *Hawar* as the primary source.[3] I will also make use of archives, related articles, biographies, and theses to access necessary material for analyses. I will draw on published interviews of C. Bedirxan's close relatives, works and autobiographies written by the authors and translators of *Hawa*r, as well as personal accounts relevant to its publication and circulation. The below-mentioned PhD dissertations by Ceyda Özmen (2016) and Sema Üstün Külünk (2019) will also be of great value.

I will analyze the periodicals both diachronically and synchronically, according to the selected points and issues of this research. In this regard, the tools and concepts of periodical studies elaborated below will enable me to establish a fruitful framework for analysis. While focusing on the diversity and plurality of the texts, I will make use of Bakhtin's concept of dialogism to define the relationships

[3] The analyses in the present research are based on the facsimile version of *Hawar* in two volumes re-printed by Nûdem Publishing in 1998 in Stockholm.

established between entries in an individual issue, or across texts in multiple issues (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014, p. 17). During my research, I will consider the whole output of the magazine titled *Hawar* as a single work, which challenges the established conception of single authorship or "translatorship" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014, p. 31) of a print in book form, and provides space for consideration of multiple authorship and anonymity (Philpotts, 2013, p.1 and Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014, p. 18). In other words, to analyze the role of translation in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity in the periodical *Hawar*, I will not "see [it] merely as [a] container of discrete bits of information", but rather as an "autonomous object of study" (Latham & Scholes, 2006, pp. 517-518). Such a comprehensive analysis requires a close reading for each and every textual production – both translated and indigenous – in all 57 issues.

During my analysis, I will study on interlingual issues to the extent my study allows for. Besides, I will explore the functions of interdialectal translations in the periodical for the relevant textual productions. In *Hawar*, as mentioned above, texts are mostly in Kurmanji dialect, but Sorani and Zazaki texts are also available. In some issues, there are a small number of interdialectal translations, mainly from Kurmanji into Sorani. These features point out how interlingual as well as interdialectal translation practices can play a significant role in the making of a common Kurdish cultural identity.

I believe that my analysis of the translational phenomena in *Hawar* will contribute to the study of Kurdish translation history, as well as to the translational relationship between Kurdish and western cultures. This study will also set out to provide new perspectives and findings regarding the concept of agency, suggested by Even-Zohar as part of "culture planning" (2010, p. 98-99). Furthermore, this research will examine how translations in a periodical were used to form and

introduce a Kurdish cultural identity. To underscore the agency of Kurdish translators, especially of C. Bedirxan, attention will be drawn to their efforts and achievements in transmitting Kurdish culture into French, a western audience, and in the same context, it will focus on their endeavors to translate textual elements for the Kurdish audience from various languages. This research will also propose new findings from my analysis of the relationship between periodical studies and translation studies. Moreover, it should be noted that this study will focus on the contribution of the translations in a minority language to translation theory. In the following sub-sections, I will explain the concepts underlying the methodological framework for the dissertation.

2.5.1 Concepts of "common habitus" and "translational habitus" in periodical studies

These concepts provided a very valuable framework for the present dissertation. Before giving details, it will be illuminating to briefly explain the field of periodical studies and the research on translation in periodical studies.

Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, in the early 2000s, proclaimed the emergence of periodical studies as a discipline, stating : "Within or alongside the larger field of print culture, a new area for scholarship is emerging in the humanities and the more humanistic social sciences: periodical studies" (2006, p. 517). They regarded "the cultural turn in departments of language and literature", "the development of digital archives that allow for such studies on a broader scale than ever before" and what the producers of the Spectator Project have called "the special capabilities of the digital environment" as the drives behind the development of periodical studies as a field (Ibid.). As regards the distinctive features of periodical studies, they stated that "[t]his still-emergent field is particularly distinguished by its

insistence on interdisciplinary scholarship as well as its aggressive use of digital media" (Ibid.). Latham and Scholes (2006) pointed out the broad range of subjects covered and stated that while individual researchers "mine these sources" with the limited range of materials bearing on their field, in most cases, they say little about the periodical in general (p. 17). As a criticism to this attitude, they claimed that "we have often been too quick to see magazines merely as containers of discrete bits of information rather than autonomous objects of study" (Latham & Scholes, 2006, pp. 517-518). Indeed, they drew attention to the need to regard the periodical as a whole as an autonomous object of study, rather than study only the pieces and parts of it, which currently stands out as the main tenet of the field. In the same vein, they pointed out that the rapidity in the expansion of the new media technologies has begun to change "the way we view, handle, and gain access to these objects" (Latham & Scholes, 2006, p. 518). Regarding the consequences of this development, they argued that "this immediacy, in turn, reveals these objects to us anew, so that we have begun to see them not as resources to be disaggregated into their individual components but as texts requiring new methodologies and new types of collaborative investigation" (Ibid.). In addition, they emphasized the need to “insist on the autonomy and distinctiveness of periodicals as cultural objects (as opposed to "literary" or “journalistic" ones) while attempting to develop the language and tools necessary to examine, describe, and contextualize them," underlining that digital archives are increasingly accessible (Latham & Scholes, 2006, pp. 519-520).

As my study focuses on a periodical, drawing on the concepts and tools of periodical studies will be very fruitful, and employing these concepts I will potentially contribute to the existing scholarship connecting the fields of translation and periodical studies. Such an approach will also make it possible for me to analyze

Hawar as an "autonomous object of study" (Latham & Scholes, 2006, p. 518). Regarding the existing translational scholarship drawing on periodical studies, the articles by Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar such as "The Translational Anatomy of a Children's Magazine: The Life and Times of *Doğan Kardeş*" (2014) and "Periodical codes and translation: An analysis of *Varlık* in 1933–1946" (2019) have particularly been illuminating. In the same vein, it is significant to note the contributions provided by Ceyda Özmen's PhD thesis (2016) entitled "The Periodical as a Site of Translational Inquiry into Hollywood-Driven Vernacular Modernism: The Turkish Film Magazine *Yıldız* (1938–1954)". In her study, Özmen endeavored to introduce a broader perspective on the connections of translation and the periodical, focusing on the Turkish Film Magazine *Yıldız*. Likewise, Sema Üstün Külünk (2019) investigated translations in the periodical *Hilal* and analyzed the role of translation in the recontextualization process of Turkish Islamism between 1960 and 1980 in her PhD thesis entitled "Recontextualizing Turkish Islamist Discourse: *Hilal* (1958-1980) as a Site of Translational Repertoire Construction". Furthermore, the present study sets out to investigate the pivotal part translations in *Hawar* played in forming a Kurdish cultural identity with its multiple layers. Therefore, it endeavors to explore the relationship established between cultural identity and translations in this media. It also aims to demonstrate how a periodical of a minority language resorts to translation so as to disseminate the inherent ideas among wider audiences – namely, Kurdish and western readerships. Concerning the importance of establishing a relationship between translation and periodical studies, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2014) argues that "closer dialogue and exchange between the fields of periodical studies and translation studies can open up a fruitful ground for exploring textual and social aspects of translation as it manifests itself in the periodical" (p. 17).

Despite the importance of periodicals for translation research, it appears that, apart from a number of studies mentioned above, this area has not as yet been sufficiently explored in translation studies. In this respect, Tahir Gürçağlar states:

> [T]his large potential of periodicals for translation research has not yet been sufficiently tapped. Periodicals are spaces where translation can be traced as part of a holistic field, often juxtaposed with non-translated material; the newspaper or the magazine can be studied not only as an instrument for exploring isolated issues relating to translation, but also as integral phenomena in themselves which build specific kinds of dialogics and networks involving translation(s) and translators. (2014, p. 17)

Indeed, I should note that the theses written in this domain for the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies at Boğaziçi University have been a response to Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar's call for exploring the potential of periodicals for translation research. By the same token, María Constanza Guzmán (2019) notes that periodicals played a pivotal part in "key cultural and political debates that are now part of the historical archive" and in order to draw attention to the significance of them for translation research, she points out that "[t]hey also offer rich and productive ground for the study of translation, as a concept and as a practice, within the larger interdisciplinary spectrum of intellectual history" (p. 169).

In my study, I will explore the role of translation in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity in the periodical *Hawar*, tracing the translated texts not as isolated material, rather within a holistic framework that is provided by periodical studies. This will allow for studying all visual and textual material, both translated and non-translated, that were published in the whole run of the periodical. This will also help to analyze the “dialogics” and “networks” built in the magazine, as Tahir Gürçağlar underlines (2014, p. 17).

In my research, similar to the above-mentioned theses, I will draw on the concepts of “common habitus” and "translational habitus", respectively developed by Matthew Philpotts and Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, in an effort to establish a relationship between translation and periodical studies.

The concept of "common habitus" originally derives from Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" (1990, p. 91). Although I do not employ the Bourdieuan concept of "habitus" in the present research, explaining this concept will help us better understand Philpotts' line of thinking about "common habitus". Bourdieu explains "habitus" as follows:

> The habitus, which is the generative principle of responses more or less well adapted to the demands of a certain field, is the product of an individual history, but also, through the formative experiences of earliest infancy, of the whole collective history of family and class. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 91)

In this context, Philpotts states that "[f]or Bourdieu, habitus is a central category, a deeply ingrained but readily transferable set of attitudes which generates the perceptions and practices of individual agents in the field" (2012, p. 42). Following Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, Philpotts argues that habitus can also be ascribed to a literary journal and identifies the common habitus of a literary journal as "the defining ethos which unites the members of its ‘nucleus’ and which acts as ‘a unifying and generative principle’ for their cultural practice" (Ibid.). For a better analysis of the "common habitus", Phillpotts suggests five "periodical codes", which I will explain in the following sub-section.

In order to disclose the "common habitus" of a given periodical, Tahir Gürçağlar adds a new theoretical dimension to Philpotts’s conceptualization, which she calls "translational habitus" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014, p. 27). In this regard, she maintains that the existence of different forms of translations in a periodical points at a possible translational habitus (Ibid.). For instance, while exploring the place of

translations and translators within *Doğan Kardeş*, a children's magazine, drawing on periodical codes elaborated by Philpotts, she indicates that the presence of marginal forms, such as concealed translations and pseudotranslations, are suggestive of a possible translational habitus in *DK* (Ibid.). In the same vein, regarding the relationship between translational and common habitus, based on the case of *DK*, she draws attention to the following points:

> This habitus [translational habitus] needs to be seen as part and parcel of *DK*'s common habitus, and the reliance of the magazine on foreign material and its emphasis on intercultural awareness mean that the common habitus cannot be fully understood and revealed without a full examination of the translational habitus. (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014, p. 27).

As clearly stated, Tahir Gürçağlar underscores the fact that a full understanding of the common habitus of a periodical in question requires a thorough exploration of its translational habitus. This also points at the fundamental contribution of the translational habitus to the common habitus of a periodical. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, translation practices observed in *Hawar* play a significant role in meeting the goals set as of the first issue of the periodical. Therefore, in my study, it will be very fruitful to draw on the concept of "translational habitus" suggested by Tahir Gürçağlar, so as to fully understand and reveal the common habitus of *Hawar*.

In the following sub-section, I will explain the development of the periodical codes and their function in the analysis of periodicals.

2.5.2 Codes and their classification in periodical studies

Matthew Philpotts developed "periodical codes" drawing on what Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker previously introduced as "periodical codes". Brooker and Thacker's periodical codes incorporate financial and editorial practices, adapted as a subset of

bibliographic codes put forward by Jerome McGann in order to explore the plural characteristics of a periodical beyond the textual feature (Philpotts, 2013, p. 2).

To see the formation of the notion of "periodical codes", it is important to illustrate the stages of its development from McGann to Philpotts. McGann (1991) studied texts making a distinction between linguistic and bibliographic codes. By this distinction, he aimed to "gain at once a more global and a more uniform view of texts and the processes of textual production" (p. 14). In this respect, he remarks that scholars must call their attention to "much more than the formal and linguistic features of poems or other imaginative fictions" (McGann, 1991, p. 13). He points out that they must also focus on the textual material that are ignored. For a more comprehensive investigation of textuality, he argued that "typefaces, bindings, book prices, page format, and all those textual phenomena usually regarded as (at best) peripheral to “poetry” or “the text as such” – namely, bibliographical codes – should also be attended to (Ibid.). According to McGann (1991), "[m]eaning is transmitted through bibliographical as well as linguistic codes" (p. 57).

The notion of “periodical codes" was first suggested by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (2009) as a subset of the notion of "bibliographic codes" that was proposed by McGann for the study of textuality. They explain their point of view as such:

> We can also make McGann’s bibliographic codes more precise by discussing a particular subset, the *periodical codes* at play in any magazine, analysing a whole range of features including page layout, typefaces, price, size of volume . . ., periodicity of publication . . . use and placement of advertisements, quality of paper and binding, networks of distribution and sales, modes of financial support, payment practices towards contributors, editorial arrangements, or the type of material published. (Brooker & Andrew, 2009, p. 6)

They also draw a distinction between internal (paper, typeface, layout, etc.) and external (distribution in a bookshop, support from patrons) periodical codes.

However, they emphasize that the relationship between internal and external periodical codes is often the most important (Ibid.). However, Matthew Philpotts (2013) argues that the distinction between internal and external periodicals is "difficult to sustain given that almost all 'external' elements acquire some internal presence too" (p. 2). In this respect, Philpotts points out:

> Any adequate conceptualisation of the discursive function of a journal's name, then, depends on a truly holistic approach that explores the interrelationships between the diverse elements that shape that function, and in this way the capacity to identify a set of 'periodical codes' that defines any given journal is extremely attractive to those of us seeking to develop a more systematic theoretical approach to the periodical. (2013, p. 2)

At this point, it is clear that Philpotts (2013) thought that the existing codes provided by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker were not still sufficient for "develop[ing] a more systematic theoretical approach to the periodical" and therefore called attention to the necessity to elaborate a categorization that might create the basis for "the comparative or typological analysis" (p. 2). To develop such a perspective, Philpotts formalized the periodical codes into five sets that "highlight the different dimensions through which a periodical functions" (Ibid.). Those codes are: Temporal codes, material codes, economic codes, social codes and compositional codes. Temporal codes relate to the periodicity, regularity and longevity of a periodical (Ibid.). Material codes pertain to the physical features of the periodical, such as the number of pages, quality of papers, binding, etc. (Ibid.). Economic codes relate to the economic aspects of a periodical such as subsidy, financial profit, subscription and other financial concerns (Philpotts, 2013, p. 2-3). Philpotts presents the two remaining categories — the social and compositional codes — as "the most complex and involved" (Philpotts, 2013, p. 3). Social codes "cover the wide network of actors involved in the creation, circulation and reception of the journal and include editorial personnel, contributor networks, and readership" (Ibid.). Compositional codes are the

textual, visual, and design codes that characterize the periodical (Ibid.). In my view, the analysis of *Hawar* through Philpotts' five periodical codes will allow a holistic approach that will be very helpful in laying bare its common habitus.

2.5.3 Dialogism, heteroglossia and polyphony

In the present research, I will also draw on the concepts of "dialogism", "heteroglossia" and "polyphony", which are suggested by Mikhail Bakhtin. Those concepts will play a complementary role to the framework periodical studies offered for the analysis of a periodical: They will support a comprehensive evaluation of the periodical, looking at dialogic relationships between/among its different components in any given single issue, as well as across issues. Bakhtin's concepts will also ensure an analysis of many voices and *glossea* present in the periodical.

Briefly, Bakthin considers that language plays the pivotal role and, in this respect, he is critical of Saussurean duality of language (langue) and speech (parole). Saussure designates speech “as having a particularity so unsystematic and endless that it becomes virtually unstudiable", whereas he uses the term language (langue) to indicate "the general rules that exist for all present speakers of a particular language" (Holquist, 2002, p. 44). However, instead of such a characterization, Bakthin regards the language as a dialogue (Holquist, 2002, pp. 39-44). He "denies pre-existing norms and holds that all aspects of language can be explained in terms of each individual speaker’s voluntarist intentions" (Holquist, 2002, p. 44). In "Discourse in the Novel", Bakhtin argues that a range of phenomena have been disregarded in the domain of the philosophy of language, linguistics and stylistics, and in this regard, he refers to those existing in discourse and formed by dialogic orientation:

> [T]hese include the specific phenomena that are present in discourse and that are determined by its dialogic orientation, first, amid others' utterances inside a *single* language (the primordial dialogism of discourse), amid other "social languages" within a single *national* language and finally amid different national languages within the same *culture,* that is, the same socio-ideological conceptual horizon. (Bakhtin, 2008, p. 275)

Regarding the term "dialogism", although Bakhtin did not himself refer to the concept as "dialogism", it was created out of the necessity to "categoriz[e] the different ways he meditated on dialogue" (Holquist, 2002, p. 14). Criticizing traditional stylistics, he points out that "it has no method for approaching the distinctive social dialogue among languages that is present in the novel. Thus, stylistic analysis is not oriented toward the novel as a whole, but only toward one or another of its subordinated stylistic unities" (Bakhtin, 2008, p. 263). In fact, Bakthin's critique of stylisticians' analysis of only subordinated parts rather than a novel as a whole reminds us also of one of the central tenets of periodical studies. Replacing the novel with the periodical, periodical studies suggest a holistic approach and the scholars of this field are critical of narrowly focusing on certain issues or text types, asserting that such an approach would miss certain facts and prevent us from seeing periodicals as "autonomous objects of study" (Latham & Scholes, 2006, pp. 517-518). Therefore, I have applied this holistic approach to the present study with a view to revealing the translational habitus of *Hawar*.

In terms of the dialogism and construction of the meaning, Michael Holquist (2002) suggests:

> Dialogism’s drive to meaning should not be confused with the Hegelian impulse toward a single state of higher consciousness in the future. In Bakhtin[,] there is no one meaning being striven for: the world is a vast congeries of contesting meanings, a heteroglossia so varied that no single term capable of unifying its diversifying energies is possible. (p. 22)

Regarding "heteroglossia", Bakhtin explains:

> . . . Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia [*raznorečie*] can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships (always more or less dialogized). (Bakhtin, 2008, p. 263)

In this regard, Robyn McCallum (1999) explains the concept of "heteroglossia", which literally means “many languages", as follows:

> Bakhtin uses the term to refer to the "internal stratification of any single national language" into "socially typifying languages," or speech genres. These genres have a socio-ideological basis. They represent specific ideological points of view on the world which coexist, intersect and often conflict. Any one language comprises multiple coexisting and competing social discourses and ideologies which "encounter and coexist in the consciousness of real people" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 292) (p. 262)

As mentioned above, heteroglossia also features an ideological basis, reflecting coexisting and conflicting views. In this regard, textual composition in *Hawar* also reflects various viewpoints contributing to its heteroglottal state. I should note that, *Hawar,* through multiple textual utterances, also reflects conflicting ideological stances embedded in the meta-narrative of the periodical. The meta narrative of *Hawar*, in fact, refers to an intellectual struggle to form and introduce a Kurdish cultural identity , as well as to stand against its denial. I should note that heteroglossia in the periodical comprises the coexistence of many contributors coupled with many translated and indigenous texts published in different languages, dialects and many other co-existing differences in the periodical.

Bakhtin uses the concept of "polyphony" to analyze multiple voices present in novel. Similarly, as the nature of the periodicals suggests, there are many actors and voices present in contributions, and therefore, the concept is applicable to periodical studies, too. For the case of the novel, Andrew Robinson explains this concept as follows:

> In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin developed the concepts which were to inform much of his work. The concept of 'polyphony' (borrowed from music) is central to this analysis. Polyphony literally means multiple voices. Bakhtin reads Dostoevsky's work as containing many different voices, unmerged into a single perspective, and not subordinated to the voice of the author. Each of these voices has its own perspective, its own validity, and its own narrative weight within the novel. (2011, para. 7)

Indeed, Bakhtin first used this concept to elucidate multi-voiced character of Dostoevsky's novels. In this regard, Bakhtin (1999) expresses his view as follows: "We consider Dostoevsky one of the greatest innovators in the realm of artistic form. He created, in our opinion, a completely new type of artistic thinking, which we have provisionally called *polyphonic*. . ." (p. 3). In my view, using this concept for the analysis of *Hawar* will also help me to lay bare the part played by multiple coexisting voices present in the composition of the magazine, just as it does in the novel.

While examining periodical as a genre, Margaret Beethem (1990) suggests that a periodical could both have open and closed forms:

> . . . the periodical is an open form in a number of ways: it resists closure because it comes out over time and is, in that respect, serial rather than end-stopped. Its boundaries are fluid and it mixes genres and authorial voices; all this in a time-extended form seems to encourage readers to produce their own readings. Yet, in complete opposition to these formal qualities are another set of qualities, which are equally characteristic. Each number of the periodical is a self-contained text and will contain sub-texts which are end-stopped or marked by closure. And each periodical positions its readers in terms which construct for that reader a recognisable self. (p. 29)

Concerning this approach, she concludes that any periodical will have those characteristics but at differing levels (Ibid.) Referring to Beethem's view on the relation between the open and closed forms of a periodical, Cynthia L. Bandish (2001) points out that "the dialectic tension of this form is rarely accounted for in critical readings of periodicals" and in this context, she states that "it is possible to borrow from literary theory a strategy for dealing with the periodical as a

heterogenous text" (p. 240). For this purpose, she explains how Bakhtin's concepts and analysis could also be applied to periodicals: ". . . Mikhail Bakhtin's lifelong exposition on "dialogism" and his specific analysis, "Discourse in the Novel," investigate the juxtaposition of open and closed tendencies – what Bakhtin calls centrifugal and centripetal forces – by focusing on all language as dialogue" (Ibid.).

Although Michael Bakhtin developed the concept of "dialogism for the analysis of the novel as a genre, Bandish points to its relevance to the periodical as a genre:

> . . . Though Bakhtin focused on describing the characteristic discourse of the novel and its functional components, much of what he said has relevance to the genre of periodicals. Certainly as a metaphor for a periodical, dialogism is an apt description. Dialogism suggested that language could only be understood as a cultural exchange - both individual and particularized, and communal. No text was limited to the statements of the author, but rather it joined in the polyphony of social forces and other voices . . . (Bandish, 2001, p. 241)

In fact, scholars other than Bandish have also referred to the significance of resorting to Baktinian concepts. Of these, Laurel Brake and Anne Humpherys were among the earliest to underline the importance of applying these concepts to periodical research:

> Another theorist whose work is suggestive for periodical research is Mikhail Bahktin. His theories of the 'dialogical' (i.e. interactive) nature of utterance and of the intertextuality of written language seem to be ideally exemplified in the periodical press, while his idea of 'heteroglossia'–dissonances among competing languages–is particularly helpful in thinking about the concatenation of subjects, voices, and visual images of newspapers and magazines. (1989, p. 94)

In this respect, Ann Ardis, too, makes certain suggestions that could be considered within the domain of dialogism. She maintains that a magazine could be analyzed according to "internal dialogics" and "external dialogics" (Ardis, 2008, p. 38). According to her, "internal dialogics" of a magazine concerns "the relationships among and between specific components of any given issue of the magazine, and the creation of meaning through these juxtapositions" whereas the "external dialogics" of

magazines refers to "their discursive exchanges with other print media; the mappings of geographical (and temporal) space that they perform as they claim the territories that they report on, distribute copies to, take advertisements from" (Ibid.). In terms of bridging translation and periodical studies, Özmen (2016) also drew on those concepts proposed by Ardis' in her research.

2.5.4 Concepts of "assumed" and "concealed" translation

My analysis of *Hawar* has revealed that it is composed of a considerable number of translations, generally published in an implicit form without attributions. However, meticulous research has shown pieces of information that imply the existence of one or more source texts. In this respect, the concept of "assumed translation" by Gideon Toury will be of great benefit in investigating the translation phenomena in those types of texts. Toury defines "assumed translation" as "all utterances in a [target] culture which are presented or regarded as translations, on any grounds whatever, as well as all phenomena within them and the processes that gave rise to them" (Toury, 2012, p. 27). This notion provides a broader perspective beyond any fixed definition of translation and makes it possible to analyze the translational phenomena in a text that is assumed to be a translation in a given target culture. For a text to be "assumed (as a) translation", Toury sets three postulates: 1. The Source-Text Postulate; 2. The Transfer Postulate; 3. The Relationship Postulate (Toury, 2012, p. 28). He argues that "rather than constituting answers, [the postulates] are designed to give rise to *questions*, to be addressed by anyone wishing to study translation in context" (Ibid).

The source text postulate requires an assumption that "there is another text, in another culture/language, which has both chronological and logical priority over it" (Toury, 2012, p. 29). The transfer postulate assumes that the translation "involve[s]

the transfer from the assumed source text of certain features that the two now share". Regarding the relationship postulate, Toury points out that assuming that a certain text may be a translation suggests "there are tangible relationships that tie it to its assumed original"(Toury, 2012, p. 30).

Taking all three postulates into account, Toury defines an assumed translation as follows:

> any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture/language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by a set of relationships based on shared features, some of which may be regarded – within the culture in question – as necessary and/or sufficient". (Toury, 2012, p. 31)

I take this definition as the point of departure for the analysis of translations in *Hawar*. In this respect, Toury's concept of "concealed translation" is also of high importance. He defines the notion of "concealed translation" as follows:

> Knowledge of the existence of a particular text in another language/culture, which a TL text is taken to represent as its translation, may also serve as a trigger for activating the 'assumed translation' assumption. This last option is of paramount heuristic importance for cultures, or historical periods, where translating is known to exist but the existence of its products is concealed; this may mean only that the presentation of a text as being derived is not customary, or that the very distinction between 'translations' and 'non-translations' is non-operational, sometimes so much as blurred. (Toury, 2012, pp. 93-94)

Drawing on Toury's notions of "assumed translation" and "concealed translation" will provide a fruitful and non-limited approach to studying translations in *Hawar*. In terms of concealed translation, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar's dimension is also of great importance as complementary window for my present research. Unlike Toury, she suggests that a total replacement does not have to take place in concealed translation and suggests that such texts can be approached as a type of intertextuality:

> Toury argues that in concealed translations the target-language text replaces a particular source text, but I suggest that concealed translation can take place without total textual replacement and is thus a type of intertextuality. From the perspective of translation this intertextuality, in the form of horizontal relations among texts (Kristeva 1980), assumes an intercultural dimension, so that the concept of concealed translation can be used as a tool to trace the foreign elements contributing to the "structuration" of texts. (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2010, p. 173)

In this respect, she suggests that if we go "beyond the borrowing of actual text fragments from a source culture, the concept of concealed translation can be stretched to cover phenomena such as influence, imitation or plagiarism." (Ibid.) She argues that even if these phenomena are regarded negatively, "the descriptive rigour of the concept of concealed translation" ensures studying these phenomena "as cases of textual and cultural transfer rather than acts of "forgery" or "fraud" (Ibid.). Concerning such an approach she draws attention to the following point:

> A descriptive-analytical approach thus facilitates the contextualization of these phenomena, offering insights into the possible motives and personal and social circumstances of their writers instead of overruling closer consideration due to these writers' supposedly 'unethical' behaviour (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2010, p. 173)

At this point, it is also noteworthy to remember Saliha Paker's approach, bringing a new and fruitful perspective to translation studies; Paker draws attention to the difference between *terceme* and today's concept of translation, *çeviri* (2014, p. 42). In this regard, she says[4]:

> *Terceme* encompassed both a "word for word" transfer from one language to another and an extension of the source text or a production through reduction by being faithful to it to some extent but at the same time by drawing on the ideas of the one who does *terceme* or on other sources, in other words, a tradition of re-write; the traditional conception of Ottoman *terceme*, which refers to the difference and change vis-à-vis the source text and encompasses multiple types of re-write practices, was different from the conception of *çeviri*, which complies with today's prevalent/highly regarded norm of 'complete faithfulness to the source text'.[5] (Paker, 2014, p. 42)

[4] All translations in this dissertation are mine unless otherwise indicated.
[5] *Terceme* hem "kelimesi kelimesine" dilden dile aktarımı, hem de kaynak metne bir ölçüde bağlı kalarak ama aynı zamanda *terceme* edenin kişisel görüşlerine ya da başka kaynaklara dayanarak genişletilmesini, ya da eksiltilerek üretilmesini, başka bir deyişle, bir yeniden yazım geleneğini

Paker points out that Ottoman writing practices such as *nazire* (parallel-writing or emulation), *taklid* (imitation) and *telif* (creative mediation)[6] "were organically linked to *terceme* and interculture-bound" (Paker, 2015, p. 33). Concerning *telif*, Paker suggests that this concept should be held distinct from the "original" that is today used in opposition to "translation" in the sense of European Romanticism and argues that in the earlier Ottoman context "it was closer to its etymological root in Arabic (Turkicised as *ülfet*) meaning a harmonising or reconciling of differences" (Paker, 2011a, 469). Paker explains the concept of *telif* as follows:

> . . . in its traditional context of textual transmission . . . the practice of *telif* signified the kinds of mediation, which, especially in poetry, involved the authors' creative or innovative contributions while reworking a source text, making use of their own inventions or other sources. (Paker, 2015, p. 37)

Paker concludes that "the act of *telif*, especially in the composition of long verse narratives, could also be innovative while harmonizing that which was translated with other topics invented and/or compiled from different sources brought in to fit together" (Paker, 2015, p. 38).

Paker (2004) also refers to a continuity in tradition, stating that certain practices of Ottoman *terceme* can also be found in texts in the Republican period of Turkey (2004, p. 278). She states that even during the period initiated as of the second half of 19th century, the beginning of the age of translations from European texts, we cannot talk about a "rupture" but rather a "transition" (Paker, 2014, pp. 66-67). Paker's concept of *terceme* and her conception of the relevant Ottoman interculture-bound concept of *telif*, will be of great use in exploring certain

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kapsıyordu; kaynak metinden farklılığa, değişikliğe işaret eden, çok çeşitli yeniden-yazma pratiklerini kapsayan geleneksel Osmanlı *terceme* anlayışı, günümüzde hâkim olan/saygın sayılan 'kaynak metne tam olarak bağlılık' normuna uygun *çeviri* anlayışından farklıydı. (Paker, 2014, p. 42)

[6] For the translated correspondence of those Ottoman interculture-bound practices into English, I used the translation by Saliha Paker. (2015, p. 33)

translation phenomena in *Hawar*, which, in her sense, also draws attention to continuity in Kurdish textual productions. Through the article entitled "Klasîkên Me An Şahir û Edîbên Me Ên Kevin" [Our Classics or Our Ancient Poets and Persons of Letters) by C. Bedirxan, I will analyze an example of the practice of *telif* drawing on Paker's approach in the sub-category of "Informative texts" in the section of "4.5 Compositional codes" in Chapter 4.

Cemal Demiricoğlu also conducted a thorough and comprehensive research on a large array of "translation practices" in the 19th century Ottoman literary tradition (Demircioğlu, 2005). These analyses will also be of great assistance, especially his findings and assessments on *hulasa* (summary), a practice which is noticed in the serialized French translation of the Kurdish legend, *Memê Alan*. In this perspective, Demircioğlu explored how Ahmed Midhat translated the play, *Le Cid* by Corneille as an example of *hulasa* in 1890-9; however, ironically, he suggests that the translated text was expanded instead of shortened since Ahmed Midhat rendered the source text in verse into a target text in prose, adding details as an introduction to readers to such a new genre (Demircioğlu, 2005, pp. 290-297). Likewise, Zehra Toska demonstrates that *Hulasa-i Hümayunname*, translated by Ahmed Midhat, forms another example of *hulasa.* This work, commissioned by Abdulhamit II, was banned for a time before it was eventually distributed. Toska argues that this happened mainly because Ahmed Midhat also added his own viewpoints and criticism to the translations, in accordance with the practices of 19th century intellectuals (Toska, 2015, pp. 73-86). The analysis in this research will also be helpful in studying similar text productions in my research.

Paker's concept of *terceme*, as well as her interpretation and definition of the concept of *telif*, Demircioğlu and Toska's approach and analyses in this domain will

provide useful tools for studying translation phenomena in *Hawar.* Similarly, in her article entitled "Marginal Forms of Translation in Japan—Variations from the Norm," Judy Wakabayashi examined translation types such as *kambun kundoku,* and adaptations. She described such unconventional translation practices as "marginal practices" (Wakabayashi, 2014, pp. 57-63). She points out:

> The division between 'proper' translation and marginal practices remains but is far from clearcut. Nevertheless, practices such as *kambun kundoku* and adaptations, which transgress the conceptual borderlines conventionally applied to translation, may broaden our understanding of translation in general and provide one more piece in the overall picture of the "distinction between what is universal and what is culture, or language-specific" (Toury 1995:73) (Wakabayashi, 2014, p. 62).

Drawing on Wakabayashi's analysis of "marginal practices" will also help examine "translation practices" in *Hawar* where the borders between source and target texts are blurred.

2.5.5 Agency

I will draw on the concept of "agent" referred to by both Even Zohar (2010) and Gideon Toury (2002) in order to discuss the agency of C. Bedirxan, materialized in the many active roles he undertook (particularly in his translatorship) to form a Kurdish cultural identity through publications in *Hawar*. As explained in "2.4 Culture planning", Even Zohar (2010) regards (free) agents as individuals intentionally intervening into the current state of a given culture in order to introduce a change (p. 98-99). In terms of agency, Toury (2002) adopted a similar approach as Even-Zohar, defining "free agents" suggested by Even-Zohar as "agents of change":

> In each group, there is a small minority who act as producers *on the level of the repertoire itself*. Whether entrusted by the group with the task of doing so or whether self-appointed, it is mainly those persons who introduce new options, and hence act as AGENTS OF CHANGE. All the rest tend to be mere consumers of the repertoire: they are producers on the level of texts alone. (p. 151)

In the light of these concepts, I will focus on C. Bedirxan, the main character behind launching and maintaining the publication of *Hawar*, as well as on his many other intellectual activities. It is observed that, through translations and writings in *Hawar*, he deliberately engaged in uniting Kurdish people under a common cultural identity that he strove to disseminate in all its multiple components. These activities all point at the role of C. Bedirxan as a "free agent" (Even-Zohar, p. 98-99) or a self-appointed "agent of change" (Toury, 2002, p. 151).

2.5.6 Paratexts

One of the significant elements that I will also tackle in *Hawar* is the “paratexts” as they are largely used in the translations, especially the lengthy footnotes and annotations, introductory paragraphs aimed at familiarizing the readers with many aspects of Kurdish cultural identity. Gérard Genette refers to “paratexts” as “what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public” (Genette, 1997, p. 1). He further divides these into "peritexts" and "epitexts". He describes paratextual elements such as the title, prefaces, as well as chapter titles and certain notes as "peritexts" (Genette, 1997, p. 5). He defines "epitexts" as the distanced elements "located outside the book", such as interviews, conversations, letters, and diaries (Ibid). Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2018) points out that "paratexts in all sizes and shapes, provide fruitful ground for the articulation and justification of translation strategies and decisions" (p. 289). It is appears that translators of *Hawar* also used paratexts in order to articulate and justify

their translation strategies and decisions, and used paratextual elements to influence the construction of meaning shaping the minds of the readerships.

Considering the significance of paratexts in *Hawar*, I argue that the paratexts will provide fruitful results and findings if applied to texts in periodicals as well. Therefore, exploring the paratextual elements – mainly peritexts – that occupy large space in translated texts in *Hawar* will ensure a comprehensive analysis for demonstrating the role of translations in forming a Kurdish cultural identity. One example among many in *Hawar* is the paratextual elements present in the translation of a Kurdish song into French in issue 22: C. Bedirxan compiled the lyrics of a song called *Besna* and published its Kurdish version along with its French translation, adding peritexts such as footnotes and explanatory endnotes to help target western readers have a better understanding.

As part of laying the foundation for the analyses in the present research, first of all, I will flesh out the agency of C. Bedirxan in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

CELADET ALÎ BEDIRXAN AS AN AGENT

In this study, I regard C. Bedirxan as a "free agent" engaged in "culture planning" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 98-99) through publications in the periodical of *Hawar*. Even-Zohar defines culture planning as "a deliberate act of intervention […] into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire" not only by the powerholders but also by "free agents" (Ibid.). In the present thesis, I argue that through all textual productions in *Hawar*, either translated or indigenous, as well as the introduction of the Roman alphabet adapted to the needs of Kurdish, he made "a deliberate intervention into" the culture repertoire of contemporary Kurdish society with the aim of creating a unifying constructed cultural identity. For this purpose, through *Hawar,* he introduced a Roman alphabet and made efforts for an enlightenment among Kurds. He tried hard to disseminate his ideas among as many audiences as possible, aiming to both arouse the feeling of belonging to the Kurdish cultural identity among Kurds, and to introduce it worldwide through writings and translations in/to French, which addressed the western audience. Namely, he mainly conducted his activities so as to introduce "change into [the] current state of [Kurdish] affairs", to put it in Even-Zohar's terms (Çelik, 2019, pp. 284-285). To better understand his agency, besides focusing on *Hawar*, I will delve into different stages of his professional and personal life that contributed to his agency.

3.1 The Bedirxanî family

C. Bedirxan was born into an intellectual and politically active family in Istanbul. To analyze the period that led him to publish *Hawar*, it is of importance to briefly refer

to some points of the trajectory of the Bedirxani family, starting with his grandfather, Bedirxan Beg, the Kurdish prince of Botan Principality[7]. Bedirxan Beg was defeated in the rebellion against the Ottoman Empire in 1847 and was exiled to Istanbul with all family members (Henning, 2018, pp. 109). They were prohibited to return to their homeland. After a short stay, they were exiled to the island of Crete in the same year (Henning, 2018, pp. 111). In 1857, Bedirxan Beg and his family were pardoned and allowed to return to Istanbul permanently. However, the family members were still not allowed to return to the Kurdistan[8] region of the Empire. Even when the family members were employed in the Ottoman bureaucracy, they would be sent to the western parts of the state (Henning, 2018, pp. 114). Upon his return to Istanbul from the island of Crete, Bedirxan Beg was granted the rank of *paşa* and the title of *mirimiran* (Henning, 2018, pp. 115; Sevgen, 1982, pp. 115-116). Despite permission to stay in Istanbul, Bedirxan Beg preferred to return to Crete, thinking that he would have much more freedom, and economic security. During this stay on the Crete

[7] As per the administrative structuring of the eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire in the period following the Battle of Chaldiran (1514), Botan held the status of an autonomous principality (hükümet sancağı) within the province of Diyarbekir [Eyālet-i Diyār-i Bekr] (Kardam, 2011, pp. 60-61). "... Headed by Bedirhan, who also carried the Ottoman title of *mütesellim* (tax collector), the Botan emirate functioned, for the most part, autonomously" (Özoğlu, 2004, p. 59).

[8] It should be noted that "the name Kurdistan or 'land of the Kurds' dates from the time of Sultan Sandjar (d.552/1157), the last great Saldjukid, who created a province [named Kurdistan] with its capital called Bahar, to the north-east of Hamadan"(Bois, 1986, p. 439). "The realm of Kurdistan begins on the coast of the Strait of Hormuz, which borders on the shores of the Indian Ocean. From thence, it extends forth on a straight line, terminating with the provinces of Malatya and Marash. To the north of this line are the provinces of Fars, Persian Iraq, Azerbaijan, Armenia Minor and Armenia Major. To its southern side lies the Arabian Iraq, Mosul and Diyarbakir" (Sharaf al-Dîn Bitlîsî, 2005, pp. 33-34). "... In the Ottoman Empire the name of Kurdistan was used to denote only a part of the entire territory inhabited by Kurds (the province of Diyarbakir); similarly Iran has a province called Kordestan which comprises approximately a third of its Kurdish-inhabited territories" (Van Bruinessen, 1992, p. 11). In this respect, "[a]n Ottoman *irade* (imperial order) of 1846 speaks of the creation of the province of Kurdistan (Özoğlu, 2004, p. 60). "The Devlet Salnames (State yearbooks) between 1847 and 1867 testify that Eyalet-i Kürdistan was indeed established and ruled directly by the central government" (Özoğlu, 2004, p. 62).

Island, he even played a significant role in the de-escalation of the tension between Muslim and Christian communities. However, contrary to his expectations, he was still treated as an outsider, ignored by local official and notables (Henning, 2018, pp.115-117). Therefore, in 1863, upon his petitioning, he was once more allowed to settle in Istanbul. However, some of the Bedirxani family members, including Bedirxan Beg's brother, Esad, stayed on the island and kept some property. At the time, upon Bedirxan Beg's request, some older sons, were employed in the Ottoman bureaucracy, and his son, Necib, was appointed as a clerk in *Meclis-i Vâlâ* (Henning, 2018, p. 117). After living in the district of Fatih upon their return, in 1868, Bedirxan Beg and his family moved to Damascus where he died and was buried the following year (Ibid.). This also laid the foundation for the presence of the Bedirxanis in the Ottoman Syria. As seen later, Damascus became an important city for C. Bedirxan, too, where he embarked on the influential cultural and linguistic activities, among which *Hawar* stands out. Furthermore, as is evident, Bedirxan Beg had often moved while in exile, and his son Emîn Alî Bedirxan and his grandson, Celadet Alî Bedirxan, as well as many other members of the Bedirxanis, shared the same destiny throughout their life.

Another influential Bedirxanî family member was Emîn Alî Bedirxan (1851-1926), C. Bedirxan's father. He had a significant role to play in the development of C. Bedirxan's personality. He was born in the city of Heraklion on the Crete Island during the exile period. After having some experience in the Ottoman bureaucracy, he was appointed as a judicial inspector in the 1880s and despite some interruptions, he carried out this task in different provinces of the Ottoman Empire throughout his life (Henning, 2018, pp. 343-354). After the death of his first wife, he was married to Saniha Xanim. Saniha Xanim, C. Bedirxan's mother, who was educated in the

household of Emîn Alî Bedirxan's mother. Emîn Alî Bedirxan went to different cities for his work, but his family mostly stayed at home in Mühürdar Caddesi, in Kadiköy, Istanbul and Seniha Xanim took care of children. Emîn Alî Bedirxan had at least eight children from both marriages (Henning, 2018, p. 345), among whom Celadet, Kamiran and Sureyya were the most renowned. They lived in a neighborhood surrounded by gardens in which well-off families resided. Furthermore, the same quartier was known for receptions and balls held by the foreign embassies of Istanbul at the turn of twentieth century (Henning, 2018, p. 346). This also shows that C. Bedirxan lived in a wealthy neighborhood and was brought up in comfortable circumstances. Emîn Alî Bedirxan gave great importance to his children's education. He himself being fluent in Greek, also employed a Greek governess to teach his children. (Henning, 2018, p. 347). From a footnote in C. Bedirxan's diary, during his time in Germany, we learn that he also gave private Greek lesson for extra income during the economic crisis. This also proves that Emîn Alî Bedirxan was concerned about taking effective decisions for his children's future. He himself was a cultured person, interested in Kurdish literature, western music, and also his children's musical development. However, it appears that he was not able to spend much time with his family in Istanbul as he was away for his work, and it required permission to leave the city in which he worked (Ibid.).

In 1906, in the aftermath of the murder of Ridvan Paşa[9], all the Berdirxani family members living in different parts of the Ottoman Empire, were all dismissed

[9] Rıdvan Paşa, the mayor of Istanbul at the time, was murdered in 1906. Although Abdürrezzak Bedirxan, who worked at the Yıldız Palace as *teşrifat-ı hariciye muavini* [assisstant master of foreign ceremonies] (Henning, 2018, pp. 304-306), and Ali Şamil Paşa, who worked as *Üsküdar ciheti kumandanı* [the commander of the disrict of Üsküdar] (Henning, 2018, p. 217), were found responsible for the murder of Rıdvan Paşa, all Bedirxani family members were taken to Tripolis for trial and as a result, they were exiled to different parts of the Ottoman state (for more details see Henning, 2018, pp. 262-286).

from their jobs and exiled to different places; Emîn Alî Bedirxan and his family were sent to Isparta. At the time, since his children were not allowed to go to local schools, he himself shouldered the responsibility of educating them. He taught them chess and horse riding besides Persian and Arabic literature (Henning, 2018, p. 348). However, having disobeyed the decision not to leave the city, Emîn Alî Bedirxan and his family were this time exiled to Acre in 1907, living in poor conditions (Henning, 2018, p. 349). Upon his petitioning, he was sent to Hama in Ottoman Syria, where they had some relatives and were able to build some connections (Henning, 2018, pp. 348-349). As can be seen, Emîn Alî Bedirxan had to move often as part of different exile decisions. This also meant that C. Bedirxan, too, had to move frequently in the borders of the Ottoman state during his childhood, and this movement between cities and countries, would be part of his later life too.

Following the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918), those who were exiled for political reasons in the Hamidian period were allowed to return to Istanbul by an amnesty in 1908. As a result of this development, Emîn Alî Bedirxan and his family were able to return to Istanbul. During this time, they also witnessed the counter revolution protests in Istanbul and sided with constitutionalists. During the government of the Committee of Union and Progress, Emîn Alî Bedirxan was appointed as a judicial inspector in Edirne again, and also presided the "local court of appeals" there (Henning, 2018, pp. 350-351).

His politically active period, too, coincides with the Second Constitutional Period. For this period, Barbara Henning (2018) states:

> Emin Ali Bey became politically active during the Second Constitutional Period, keeping the interests of the larger Ottoman-Kurdish community but also of his own family in mind. On his initiative, regular family meetings were held in Istanbul and a family association, the *Bedirhani Aile Derneği* was founded in 1918. (p. 351)

Regarding founding family associations, Henning indicates that this was commonplace among late Ottoman notable families (Ibid). According to Malmîsanij (2009), the Bedirxani Family Association was founded in 1920 and Emîn Alî Bedirxan presided over it. To discuss familial issues and find solutions, members of the association, the large Bedirxani family gathered and recorded their decisions (pp. 19-49). According to available records, this association, which seemed very active in 1920, appears to be dormant afterwards. In this respect, for instance, as per the recorded decision dated March 1, 1922, the participants of the gathering encouraged Bedirxanî women to revive the activities of the association (Malmîsanij, 2009, p. 19), but there are no available resources that provide information about the activities of this association in this period.

Regarding his political involvements, Emîn Alî Bedirxan was one of the prominent members of Kürdistan Teali Cemiyeti (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan, hereafter, KTC) but later, upon differences of opinion among the members, he departed from KTC and, together with many other prominent figures, founded Kürt Teşkilat-ı İçtimaiye Cemiyeti (Kurdish Society for Social Organization) (Alakom, 1998a, p. 103).

According to Henning (2018) after the armistice, Emîn Alî Bedirxan was appointed as a governor to Diyarbakir in 1919 during the Ottoman government of Damad Ferit Paşa. However, this appointment was revoked, because it was realized that KTC was in contact with British representatives (p. 353). Furthermore, for his political trajectory, Henning points out that "[f]rom the early 1920s onwards, Emin Ali Bey became more interested in a leading role in a future Kurdish state than in the participation in an ailing Ottoman government" (2018, p. 354).

In the early 1920s, he fled Istanbul with his family for Cairo and died there in exile in 1926 (Ibid.). After his death, his wife Seniha Xanim left Cairo and lived in Istanbul with her daughter, Meziyet, until her death (R. Bedirxan and Uzun, 2020, p. 42; p. 52).

Looking at the life trajectory of Emîn Alî Bedirxan and his bureaucratic experience and political involvements, it seems that he had great impact on his children, especially on Celadet, Kamiran and Sureyya, and for the most part, he was the role model for their later activities. In this respect, Barbara Henning (2018) remarks that "Emin Ali Bey's political activism was continued by his sons Süreyya, Celadet and Kamuran in post-imperial times, who at times directly referred to Emin Ali Bey's role model and political heritage in their own political work" (p. 352).

3.2 Celadet Alî Bedirxan

Celadet Alî Bedirxan was born in Istanbul in May 1893. As detailed above, his father was an official in the Ottoman bureaucracy. He attended Mekteb-i Sultani/Galatasaray High School until Bedirxani family was exiled from Istanbul after the murder of Ridvan Paşa in 1906 (Henning, 2018, p. 364). As was mentioned above, during the two years of exile in Isparta, Acre and Hama, Celadet and other siblings were tutored by their own father. Upon their return from exile to Istanbul in 1908, he completed his secondary school education at Vefa High School in Istanbul and in Edirne. He studied law at Darülfünun (today's Istanbul University) and after graduation, worked as a clerk at the court in Edirne (Ibid). After he left Edirne, he worked at the press office of the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and then started to work as a journalist for the periodical *Serbestî*, about which I will give details below. Moreover, during WWI, C. Bedirxan joined the Ottoman army as an

officer. Following the armistice, he resided in Istanbul and worked as a lawyer (Ibid.).

In 1919, he and his brother Kamiran accompanied Major Noel in his travel to some Kurdish regions. In 1922, they fled for Germany and joined their brothers, Tevfik and Safder. He studied law at the Ludwig- Maximilians-Universität in Munich from 192[2] to 1925 (Henning, 2018, p. 365). As he points out in his diary (Bedirhan,1995), he experienced economic difficulties in this period. In this respect, Barbara Henning (2018) states that he "experienc[ed] the economic crisis that hit Germany in 1923 and the ensuing political turmoil that shook the country" (p. 365). He left Germany and went to Egypt to join the family in 1925 and in 1927, he left Cairo for Syria (Ibid). This would be the starting point for the developments which are the focus of this study. After his arrival, he worked as a lawyer in Beirut (Ibid.). During this time, C. Bedirxan's travels near the Syrian-Turkish borders and to Iran and Iraq to mobilize Kurds caused suspicion among the French Mandate authorities and as a result, in 1930, his movements in Syria were restricted and he was banned from the Kurdish settlements under the French Mandate. Therefore, in 1930, he moved to the Kurdish neighborhood of Damascus, and there, he became a significant spokesperson for the Kurdish community in Syria and Lebanon. He also developed close contacts with the French Mandate authorities and represented the association of Xoybûn (Henning, 2018, pp. 365-366).

On May 15, 1932, C. Bedirxan launched the periodical, *Hawar*, which marked the beginning of an era of a cultural and linguistic development and created an opportunity to construct and disseminate the cultural identity he had in mind. In 1935, he married Rewşen Bedirxan (1909-1992), his paternal cousin and the daughter of Mehmed Salih Bedirxan, another influential Kurdish figure. They had

three children, Safder, Sînemxan and Cemşîd; Safder died in his infancy (Henning, 2018, p. 366). In the 1940s, as Henning mentions (Ibid.), the family underwent increasing economic hardships and thus C. Bedirxan sometimes worked as a translator and lawyer while Rewşen Xanim worked as a teacher (Ibid.). She was also an acclaimed feminist activist of her time and also a translator. Besides many other works, she translated *Çalıkuşu* by Reşat Nuri Güntekin from Turkish into Arabic. She was also among the writers of *Hawar* and helped C. Bedirxan with the publication of the periodical (Malmîsanij, 2009, pp. 250-263).

It seems that C. Bedirxan had many different interests and skills in addition to his remarkable mastery of languages. In a British report of 1949 that Barbara Henning (2018) accessed, C. Bedirxan was described as a prominent sportsman and chess player and, additionally, he was presented as an "astonishing linguist", with reference to his outstanding knowledge of Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, French, German, English and Greek (p. 366).

Concerning C. Bedirxan's mood in the aftermath of WWII, it is apparent that in the period when *Hawar* and subsequently *Ronahî* were no longer published, he was dissatisfied with the course of developments. Henning evaluates his state of mind in this period as such:

> Witnessing the Syrian independence and the sharp turn towards an Arabization of the society following the Second World War, Celadet grew more and more disappointed with the stagnant situation of the Kurds and the unsatisfactory progress of the Kurdish independence movement. He increasingly withdrew from his former circles of Kurdish activists. (2018, p. 367)

C. Bedirxan was provided with agricultural land by Hüseyin İbiş in the north of Syria around 1950 (Henning, 2018, p. 368). He grew cotton there. However, he tragically died in 1951 after falling into the well built to irrigate the cotton fields (R. Bedirxan and Uzun, 2020, pp. 188-191). In reference to this event, Mehmed Uzun fictionalized

C. Bedirxan's life in his work titled *Bîra Qederê* (1995a). Before writing this work, Mehmed Uzun visited Rewşen Xanim at her house in Banyas, Syria in 1985; his recorded interviews with their subsequent correspondence were published by Avesta in book form under the title of *Banyas 1985: Rewşen Bedirxan - Mehmed Uzun Sohbeti ve Mektuplar* (2020).

3.2.1 Initial engagements with publication

During the Second Constitutional Period, there was a marked increase in Kurdish organizations and journals in Istanbul. Living in Istanbul and being in contact with intellectual and political figures of the time, C. Bedirxan, too, had gained the first experience in writing and publication during this period. In his work titled *Du birayên Bedirxanî: Celadet û Kamiran Bedirxan 1913-1923* (Two Bedîrxanî Brothers: Celadet and Kamiran Bedirxan 1913-1923), Seîd Veroj states that, among the available resources, a letter written by C. Bedîrxan for the newspaper *Serbestî* seems to be his first published writing, written in Ottoman Turkish and published on November 20, 1908, when he was fifteen (2018, p. 40). This writing was entitled "Harbiye Nâzırı Ali Paşa Hazretlerine (To His Highnesss the Minister of War Ali Paşa) and was a criticism about some news published in *Servet-i Fünun* related to the excessive employment in a military division and the resulting extravagancy during a period of economic hardships. In the letter, he asked the minister of war to put an end to such situations, that belonged to the previous period of autocracy (Veroj, 2018, p. 133). This writing also shows that C. Bedirxan was indeed sensitive to social and political developments in society, even at this early age and he had the courage to voice his opinion in the journals of the time.

Furthermore, in the same period, C. Bedirxan, together with his younger brother, K. Bedirxan, wrote a book entitled *Edirne Sükutunun İçyüzü* (The Truth of the Silence of Edirne), published in 1913. They both served as soldiers of the Ottoman Army in Edirne when surrounded by Bulgarian army, and they expressed their disappointment about the fall of this city. Their attempt to give an account of this war with accompanying reactions to the fall of Edirne as a result of the defeat of the Ottoman army against Bulgarian Army and their decision to publish it in book form clearly reveals that: the Bedirxanî Brothers were both under the influence of "Ottomanism" and "Islamism" at an early age (Veroj, 2018, p. 41). In the same vein, C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan wrote a booklet entitled *Osmanlı Teyyâreciliğinin İlk Şehidleri İçin Hükümetten Rica* (A Request to the Government for the First Martyrs of the Ottoman Aviation), published by Seda-yı Millet Matbaası in R. 1329 (1913/1914). In this booklet, they aimed to draw attention to the death of two Ottoman war pilots, Fethi and Sadık, and requested the government to commemorate their names and also informed readers of biographical details (Bedirxan & K. Bedirxan, 2011). Moreover, C. Bedirxan wrote a literary work entitled *Bobi'nin Hatası* (Bobi's Fault or Bobby's Fault). It was published by Müdafaa Matbaası in R. 1332 (1916/1917). It tells the story of a couple, Sermet Bey and Nahide Hanım, who lives in Salonica and the tragic ending of their relationship upon a tragi-comic mistake by Nahide Hanım's pet dog, Bobi (C. Bedirxan & K. Bedirxan, 2011). This work shows that C. Bedirxan had not only an interest in political writing, but also in literary writing in his early twenties.

During WWI, C. Bedirxan also worked as a reserve officer in the Ottoman army in Caucasian and Iraqi war fronts (Henning, 2018, p. 364). After the end of WWI, C. Bedirxan returned to Istanbul and in this period KTC was founded. His

father, Emîn Alî Bedirxan, was among the founding members, and, according to Veroj, C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan were also involved in its activities (Veroj, 2018, p. 49).

In the same period, Mewlanzade Rifat, another member of KTC, was publishing the newspaper, *Serbestî* (Freedom). This newspaper covered the ideas of KTC. C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan also contributed to this newspaper with their writings. C. Bedirxan was the assistant editor of *Serbestî* (Ibid.). According to Veroj's investigation, besides C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan, many Kurdish political and intellectual figures contributed, such as Ebdurrehîm Rehmî Hekarî, Tewfîqê Sîlêmanî, Xelîlê Siwêrekî and Îbrahîm Memduh. Veroj also states that, Safder, the youngest brother of C. Bedirxan, wrote an entry entitled "Ormancılık" (Forestry). In the column entitled "Kadınlar Dünyası" (The Women's World), which was published by Mewlanzade Rifat's wife, Bedirxanî women also published their writings, among whom there was Meziyet Xanim, C. Bedirxan's sister (Veroj, 2018, pp. 51-52). Taking all these facts into account, it appears that not only C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan, but also all the other family members, including women, contributed to the overall coverage of the newspaper, *Serbestî*.

In his work, Veroj (2018) states that not all the issues of *Serbestî* are available, especially those as of the 500th issue, therefore, it is not possible to find out the exact number of C. Bedirxan's writings in this daily (p. 52). The writings Veroj revealed are as follows: "Kürdler ve İttihat (İTC) Siyaseti" (Kurds and the Politics of The Committee (CUP) (issue 209, February 22, 1919), Kürdler ve Kürdistan: Kürdistana Kürt Memurlar (Kurds and Kurdistan: Kurdish Officials for Kurdistan (Issue 482, May 1, 1919), Kürdler ve Kürdistan: Kürdistana Doğru-2 (Kurds and Kurdistan: Toward Kurdistan-2) (Issue 484, May 3, 1919), Kürdler ve Kürdistan -3

(Kurds and Kurdistan -3) (Issue 487, May 6, 1919), Kürdler ve Kürdistan: Kürdlerde İttifak (Kurds and Kurdistan: Alliance within Kurds (Issue 489, May 8, 1919), Kürdler ve Kürdistan: Kürd Edebiyatı – Zîn û Mem – 1 (Kurds and Kurdistan: Kurdish Literature – Zîn and Mem– 1) (Issue 491, May 10, 1919), Kürdler ve Kürdistan: Kürd Edebiyatı – Zîn û Mem – 2 (Kurds and Kurdistan: Kurdish Literature – Zîn and Mem– 2) (Issue 495, May 14, 1919).

As it is evident from the titles of C. Bedirxan's writings in *Serbestî,* they have a marked difference in character in comparison with his writings before WWI: His initial writings and co-writings with his brother Kamiran were mostly characterized by patriotic sentiments voiced by a devoted subject of the Ottoman Empire. However, his writings in *Serbestî*, by contrast, involves his sentiments and thoughts about Kurdish nation in which he tends to make visible the issues bearing on Kurds, as well as their cultural distinction such as Kurdish literature. For the visibility of Kurdish literature, he selects the most popular Kurdish epic, *Mem and Zîn*. The shift in the character of C. Bedirxan's writings also indicates his first inclination towards building up his national sentiments toward Kurdish identity. This shift is also a reflection of the state of Kurds in the aftermath of the WWI, when the Ottoman Empire was collapsing, and conditions for the foundation of new nation states were emerging. In this period, Kurdish intellectuals and politicians were concerned about Kurdish rights and the future of Kurdish people. In "Kürdler ve İttihat Siyaseti", for instance, C. Bedirxan criticized the discriminatory politics of İttihad and Terakki government (Veroj, 2018, pp. 133-136) while, in the series entitled "Kürdler ve Kürdistan: Kürd Edebiyatı – Zîn û Mem", he wrote about the main characteristics of *Mem and Zîn* and its importance for the Kurds. In the same writing, he also wrote a short biography of Ehmedî Xanî (Veroj, 2018, pp. 155-160). C. Bedirxan wrote the

series about *Mem and Zîn* after it was printed for the first time in Istanbul by Kürd Tammim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti. Regarding this shift, Veroj divides this period into two: the first starts in 1912 and lasts until the end of the WWI, and largely covers issues about the unity of the Ottoman Empire and Pan-Islamism, whereas the second starts at the end of the WWI and the foundation of the Society for the Development of Kurdistan and lasts until C. Bedirxan's departure from Istanbul. In the second, his writings generally covered political and organizational issues about Kurds (Veroj, 2018, pp. 87-88).

In 1919, C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan also published in the newspaper *Türkçe İstanbul*, regarded as the medium of İngiliz Muhibleri Cemiyeti (Association of the Friends of England in Turkey); however, as the documents show neither were the members of this association (Veroj, 2018, p. 53). It seems that C. Bedirxan considered this periodical as an opportunity to publish his war memories and express his opinions about the aftermath of the war. It also undeniably contributed to his experience with journalistic publication. According to Veroj (2018), "Zabitanın Terfihi" (The Welfare of Soldiers) (April 5, 1919), "Develer" (Camels) (April 8, 1919), Geçit (Passage) (April 26, 1919) and "Borazanın Kurşunu" (Trumpeter's Bullet) (June 9, 1919) were written by C. Bedirxan and published in this newspaper (p. 54). In those writings, C. Bedirxan drew attention to the misery of the soldiers in the aftermath of the WWI, and also gave an account of some of his war memories in places such as Iraq and Persia, as a reserve officer (For details see Veroj, 2018, pp. 133-164).

These initial writings show that especially after WWI, C. Bedirxan as a young person in his twenties became increasingly interested in issues about Kurds, and it is possible to see consequences of this change especially in his writings in *Serbestî*. In

this regard, his writings in *Türkçe İstanbul* seem to have brought him some writing and publication experience, although not about Kurdish issues, as they were largely based on his memories in the WWI.

3.2.2 His life in Germany

After seeing that the political situation in Turkey was becoming more and more difficult, the two brothers had to flee for Germany in September 1922 to join their other brothers, Safder and Tevfik, who pursued their undergraduate studies there. After settling in Germany, C. Bedirxan also decided to resume his studies and enrolled in a law program (Bedirhan, 1995).

In this post-WWI period, Germany experienced an economic crisis. It is possible to witness the impact of this crisis in C. Bedirxan's own experiences recorded in his diary, posthumously published as *Günlük Notlar* (Daily Notes) (1995), which covered his stay in Germany between 1922 and 1925. In order to overcome those harsh economic conditions, he tried many ways including articles for the journals of the time. In this respect, he wrote in his diary on February 13, 1924:

> Even though two articles I sent to two different newspapers were admitted and they decided to pay me an amount worthy of fifty gold marks, I could not receive it yet as the payment would be made only after they were published. The twenty mark I received for the article "Kürdistan'da Bir Av" [A Hunt in Kurdistan] has already run out[10] . . . (Bedirhan, 1995, p. 60)

It is evident that C. Bedirxan resorted to translation, too, for the same purpose. On December 14, 1923, he wrote down in his diary:

[10] Değişik iki gazeteye göndermiş olduğum iki makale her ne kadar kabul olunmuş ve karşılığında elli altın mark nispetinde bir para alınması kararlaştırılmışsa da ücret ancak basıldıktan sonra verileceğinden elimize henüz para geçmedi. "Kürdistan'da Bir Av" makalesinden aldığım yirmi mark çoktan suyunu çekti. . . (Bedirhan, 1995, p. 60)

> The other day, I sent to a humor page published as "Perran** (?)[11] Pages" six stories of Nasreddin Hodja that I translated. Four of them were accepted but the two were turned down. They assessed the value of each of four accepted stories as two gold marks. It makes eight million marks. A small patch for a big hole.[12] (Bedirhan, 1995, p. 58)

The activities of C. Bedirxan in Germany point to a different fact: After practicing writing in some journals and benefiting from the developments in Kurdish journalism during the Second Constitutional Period in Istanbul, it seems that he also gained more experience through his textual productions in German during this time. This might also be interpreted as a second stage of his progress in writing and translation before the launch of *Hawar* in 1932 in Damascus.

3.3 Celadet Alî Bedirxan and *Hawar*

Despite the difficulties he faced as a member of Bedirxanî family, C. Bedirxan was brought up in Istanbul in relatively good conditions. It is evident that his father, himself a successful official in the Ottoman bureaucracy, set as a good example for his children. Emîn Alî Bedirxan, as mentioned above, was concerned about providing his children with a good education and preparing them for a better future. His legacy of bureaucracy, political initiatives as well as his intellectual personality had left his mark on C. Bedirxan and his siblings. It seems that C. Bedirxan preferred to develop his own personality on his father's and other family members' heritage and added his own distinct features, standing out especially in the area of Kurdish

[11] Malmisanij, the transliterator, explains that he was not sure of this word while transliterating from Ottoman Turkish to Latin script. He states that it could be either Perran (flying) or Berrak (clear) (In Bedirhan, 1995, p. 58). According to this footnote, the mentioned page could have a title corresponding to either "Perran Sayfalar" (Flying Pages) or "Berrak Sayfalar" (Clear Pages) in German.

[12] Geçen gün burada "Perran** (?)[12] Sayfalar" adıyla yayımlanan mizah sayfasına Nasrettin Hoca'dan çevirdiğim altı hikâye göndermiştim. Bunların dördü kabul, ikisi geri çevrilmiş. Kabul olunan dört hikâyenin herbirine iki altın mark değer biçmişler. Sekiz milyon mark ediyor. Büyük bir deliğe küçük bir yama. (Bedirhan, 1995, p. 58)

language and culture. In this regard, I should say, *Hawar* was, in fact, the most influential work in his life, through which he endeavored to construct a Kurdish cultural identity in the difficult circumstances of the interwar and wartime periods.

Regarding political activities in Syria before launching *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan was among the founding members of the Kurdish organization, Xoybûn (Being yourself), founded in Lebanon in 1927 with the aim of founding a Kurdish state in Turkey (Alakom,1998b, pp. 21-40). He actively worked in this organization until 1932 when decided to direct more effort for cultural activities. This tendency toward cultural activities also refers to "a shift toward a cultural awakening" or "a shift in the thinking of Kurdish intellectuals" (Çelik, 2019, pp. 288-289), which proved the publication of *Hawar* indispensable. To note the atmosphere that brought about this shift, I should highlight the following points: After the failure of Xoybûn in the Ararat rebellion (1930) in Turkey, adding to many previous military defeats, Kurdish intellectuals tended to look for non-military means as a solution for the awakening of their society, and decided to resort to promoting education in Kurdish language and conducting many more cultural activities in order to raise awareness among Kurdish society (Çelik, 2019, p. 289). Tejel (2009) describes this historical background as such:

> The failure of the Ararat revolt in 1930 set the stage for the reformation of Kurdish military strategy. All these events together demonstrated the pointlessness of sporadic revolts against Turkey without the support of a great power. On the other hand, the Kurdish cultural entrepreneurs believed that a particularly urgent task – the task of strengthening feelings of belonging to the Kurdish community by restoring the language, developing education in the Kurdish language, and reviving popular Kurdish literature – could be accomplished despite their present difficulties. (p. 21)

In those circumstances, C. Bedirxan decided that fighting, in the meantime, would prove pointless, and thus it would be better to dedicate himself to the linguistic and cultural events with a view to building unity among fragmented Kurds. For this

purpose, after some preparation and drawing on his experiences, he finally launched *Hawar* on May 15, 1932. In the same vein, as a reflection of the new stance he took, I should draw attention to C. Bedirxan's remarks in the first issue of *Hawar,* regarding its objectives and framework: After highlighting the role of *Hawar* for self-identification and its importance for the Kurdish language, he points out that "*Hawar* will also deal with everything Kurds and Kurdishness expect. Only politics will be kept away from it; *Hawar* will not get involved in it. It has left the politics to the compatriot groups. They can get engaged in politics. For our part, we will work in the areas of knowledge, art and craft"[13] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 23).

In addition to being the editor-in chief, C. Bedirxan was also its most prolific translator and author. Being a polyglot, he used the power of translation in order to disseminate his ideas through *Hawar*; in the first issue, he established the objectives and subjects to be covered in the periodical and also published the French and Arabic version of this Kurdish text. It is obvious that he did not want to leave the dissemination of these objectives to chance and therefore published them in Arabic, predominantly used in Syria and Lebanon, then under the French mandate. Furthermore, with the Kurdish and French versions, he aimed to address both Kurdish and western audience, a prevalent characteristics observable throughout the whole coverage of *Hawar*. This attitude also demonstrates that C. Bedirxan used his mastery of many languages as an instrument to reach as many people as possible and to legitimate his ideas among the target audiences. For this purpose, the adoption and introduction of a Roman alphabet was also crucial, and *Hawar* played a pivotal part

[13] "Hawar jû pêve bi her tiştê ko kurdanî û kurdîtî pê bendewar e, dê mijûl bibe. Tinê siyaset jê dûr e, xwe naêxe siyasetê. Hawarê siyaset ji civatên welatî re hiştiye. Bi siyasetê bila ew mijûl bibin. Em jî di warê zanîn, hiner û sinhetê de dê bixebitin." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 23)

in its dissemination. Along with his multilingualism, his presence in different countries and his interaction with different cultures throughout his life has also earned him an intercultural characteristic besides his Kurdish cultural identity. This helped him easily adapt to new situations in different places and circumstances and develop relations with authorities and individuals in different countries. This characteristic also facilitated participation in the intellectual milieu of various cultures he was in contact with in different time periods of his life in Istanbul, Munich, and Damascus. This aspect is also present in the composition of *Hawar,* especially manifest in the selected translations both from different languages into Kurdish, and from Kurdish into French to a large extent.

3.3.1 The making of a Kurdish Roman alphabet

For C. Bedirxan, the adoption of the Roman alphabet was also crucial. In the first issue, he introduced the Kurdish alphabet that he had created, through entries in Kurdish, French, Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic. This introduction to the alphabet published separately in many languages was detailed and serialized in the later issues both in Kurdish and French under the titles of "Elfabêya Kurdî" (Kurdish Alphabet) and "L'Alphabet Kurde" (Kurdish Alphabet), respectively. Indeed, the introduction of Roman alphabet for Kurdish language through *Hawar* is still regarded as one of the most influential tasks C. Bedirxan ever undertook. In terms of the written language and alphabet used today, *Hawar* is still a predominant reference. In addition, considering that the alphabet C. Bedirxan made for Kurdish is still used today demonstrates his success in establishing and disseminating a Roman alphabet among Kurds.[14]

[14] It is important to note that before C. Bedirxan's introduced his Roman alphabet through *Hawar* in 1932, Isaac Marogulov, an Assyrian researcher and teacher based in Armenia, created another Roman

As a matter of fact, the discussions about the Kurdish alphabet started off during the Second Constitutional Period among Kurdish intellectuals based in Istanbul. Those discussions published in the Kurdish periodicals of the time mainly centered around the adoption of the Roman alphabet or an adapted Arabic alphabet (Önen, 2012, pp. 86-88). It is most likely that C. Bedirxan followed these discussions that found a place in these periodicals, and he himself started his initial writings in one of them, titled *Serbestî*. C. Bedirxan was aware that by increasing the literacy rate among Kurds would influence the conscience of Kurdish society towards their cultural identity. However, his preference was an alphabet in Roman rather than in Arabic script, although the latter was more familiar to Kurds. In this regard, he himself points out in the 13th issue of *Hawar* (1932) that his efforts to develop the last version of the Roman alphabet is an undertaking spanning thirteen years. He describes this process in following words: ". . . Yes, this alphabet was written thirteen years ago, and it acquired today's form by gradually getting improved in accordance with the language and its phonetics"[15] (Bedirxan 1998: 264). According to C. Bedirxan's account, it dates to 1919 when he first thought about the making of a Roman alphabet. It is when he and his brother K. Bedirxan accompanied Major Noel in his travel to Kurdish cities in the late Ottoman years. During this time C. Bedirxan collected folk stories and songs, and stated that Major Noel, knowing southern dialect (zarê nîvro), namely Central Kurdish or Soranî, tried to learn

alphabet for the Kurds in the former Soviet Union and it was formally adopted in 1929. However, the use of this alphabet was abolished toward the end of the 1930s and in 1941, it was replaced by Cyrillic alphabet (Celîl, 2002, p. 124). According to Celîlê Celîl (2002), although Erebê Şemo, the renowned Kurdish writer, has been baselessly credited to as the other creator of this alphabet, he, in fact, helped Marogulov with some processes of the alphabet just as much as certain other Armenian and Kurdish writers did (pp. 127-128). It is also noteworthy to mention that a newspaper named *Riya Teze* (New Path) was launched in this Roman alphabet in Erivan in 1930 and there was an entry by C. Bedirxan about this newspaper in the 8th issue of *Hawar*.

[15] ". . . Herê ev alfabe berî sêzdeh salan hatiye nivîsandin û gora zmên û dengên wî hin bi hin edilî û [k]et halê xwe ê îrû" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 264)

Kurmanji, called as the "zarê bakur" (northern dialect). For this purpose, Major Noel used to write down everything in Kurmanji (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 263). It was during this travel that C. Bedirxan was impressed by Major Noel's writing in Roman alphabet and decided to develop a similar one for Kurdish. C. Bedirxan shares the following anecdote:

> Sometimes we looked through our notes, read and improved them. I paid attention to the Major: he read his manuscript with a non-native's pronunciation but without difficulty. However, as for me, I went through fire and water in order to differentiate (û, و) from (o, و) and (î -ی) from (ê - ی), etc. But why? Just because Major wrote in Roman script, yet I wrote in Arabic script. Upon this, I immediately made up my mind and made an alphabet in Roman script for myself. From then on, it would be possible to read my manuscript as it was and without difficulty even after a thousand years since each sound could separately be placed on the paper.[16] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 263)

This first version of the alphabet was revised several times before it was published in *Hawar* in the following decades, i.e., underwent changes within the period leading up to *Hawar.* C. Bedirxan, for instance, overcame the difficulty of finding a letter for the sounds such as /ch/, /ou/ and /ai/ drawing on Greek and Russian languages and formed an alphabet made up of thirty-six letters (Ibid.). He states that upon his return to Istanbul, he wrote an alphabet book and a small dictionary for publication. As he accounts, however, some of his other writings along with those works were seized and sent to Harput Court (Mehkema Xarpûtê) in 1925 (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 263-264). In Germany, he revised his alphabet, removing some letters and replacing some

[16] Carinan me li nivîsarên xwe çavên xwe digerandin, dixwendin û diedilandin. Min bala xwe dida Mêcer, bi bilev[k]irine[k]e biyanî, lê bê dişwarî destnivîsa xwe dixwend, lê belê ez, heta [k]o min (û, و) ji (o, و) û (î -ی) ji (ê - ی) h. p. derdixistin, di[k]etim ber hezar dişwarî. Ma çiman ? . . ji ber [k]o Mêcer bi herfên latînî, lê min bi herfên erebî dinivîsandin. Ser vê yekê, di cih de min [q]erara xwe da û ji xwe re bi herfên latînî elfabêyek lê[k]anî. Êdin minê bi[k]ariya destnivîsa xwe paş hezar salî jî bê dişwarî û weke xwe bixwînim, ji ber ku her deng cihê cihê liser qaxezê dihat se[k]inandin. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 263)

Greek and Russian letters with Roman circumflex letters, and the alphabet was composed of thirty-four letters (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 264).

When he launched *Hawar*, in the newly founded Turkey, there was already a reformation in Turkish alphabet and after a long-lasting tradition of Arabic script, in 1928, the Roman script was adopted for Turkish. Therefore, the Kurdish alphabet C. Bedirxan developed over time and introduced through *Hawar* was influenced by developments in Turkey.

From the writings of C. Bedirxan published in *Hawar* in 1932, we know that he followed the developments about the Turkish language reform. Pointing to some differences with Turkish alphabet, he says: "When Turks published their alphabet, we saw that for the sound of some letters, our alphabets were not the same. There were some sounds that Turks did not assign the letters that we did but different ones"[17] (Ibid.). Furthermore, I should note that C. Bedirxan revised the Kurdish alphabet in accordance with the Turkish alphabet, reasoning that most of the Kurds lived in Turkey. In this respect, he states: "As we had previously said several times, to facilitate the reading of our articles for the Kurds in Turkey, we did some replacements of letters and did our best to make it closer to the alphabet of Turks"[18] (Ibid.). As obviously seen from these statements, C. Bedirxan did not abstain from making use of the recent reformation experience in Turkey; in contrast, he exerted special effort to make amendments accordingly in order to make writings in *Hawar* accessible to the Kurdish audience there. Thinking that the majority of Kurds lived in Turkey, this was also a strategic move he made to more easily reach them.

[17] "Wekê tirk elfabêya xwe belav kirin me dît ko di dengên hin herfan de elfabêya me ne mîna hev in. Dengin hebûn ko tirkan ne bi wan herfên ko me nîşan kirine lê bi herfinên din nîşan kirî bûn" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 264).

[18] "Herwekî me berê jî çend caran goti bû, ji bona hêsanî kirina xwendina nivîsarên me, ji kurdmancên tirkiyê re, me dengên hin herfan bi hev guhartin û herçend hebû me ewçend elfabêya xwe xist nîzingî alfabêya tirkan" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 264).

Furthermore, it is observable that this revision process went on even after *Hawar* was launched. As of 24th issue of *Hawar*, published in 1934, C. Bedirxan announced that they exchanged the letters "K" and "Q" with each other with a short note (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 629).

Considering the points mentioned above, it is no surprise that C. Bedirxan went down in history as the celebrated creator of the Kurdish Roman alphabet that is in use today. C. Bedirxan's years-long efforts and search through different cultural territories and languages to develop a Roman alphabet for Kurds, and the respect he received for his achievement could be compared to the state of the fifth century translator Mesrop Mashtots, who strove to develop an alphabet for Armenian language, and therefore visited Syria, Edessa and Amida for local linguistic experiences and finally went to Samosata (today's Samsat in Turkey) where he improved on the design of the characters of the Armenian alphabet he invented and for which he is highly respected today (Delisle & Woodsworth, 2012, pp. 6-8).

3.3.2 Developing written Kurdish

Besides the introduction of an alphabet in Roman script, C. Bedirxan also had a concern to develop Kurdish written language by publication of various genres in *Hawar*. That is, he also aimed to introduce Kurdish readership to different genres through texts written in his new alphabet. For example, after one-year of the publication of *Hawar*, in the 20th issue, C. Bedirxan wrote an article titled "Heyîneke Yeksalî" [One Year of Existence] under the pseudonym, Nivîsanoka Hawarê [Editorial of Hawar], stating that:

> In twenty issues of our magazine published up to now, we intended to try all styles of writing and introduced them to our language. Verse and prose as the basic styles and also some sorts of prose have more or less been published in *Hawar*.
> It was only the style of a play that had not appeared in our language yet. As our readers will see in this issue, we have also tried this style and introduced it to our language. It is a short play called *Hevind* . . .[19] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 404).

These efforts on developing Kurdish language compose a significant part of C. Bedirxan's agency and his active role in forming cultural identity. In this respect, translated texts also play their part both in the development of language in the areas in which it was less used, and in introducing western literature through translated poems and short stories as well as articles about different aspects of western cultures and social life. Additionally, such linguistic activities and textual productions reinforcing the visibility of Kurdish are closely connected to Bedirxan's political stance, too. Through *Hawar*, he also aimed to prove that Kurdish language and culture were as rich and independent as others. Therefore, the foregrounding of the Kurdish language, together with publications on Kurdish culture both in Kurdish original and in translation was also representation of his stance against denial and repression of his culture and language, which then had no official recognition in Turkey.

[19] Bi bîst hejmarên kovara me ko heta niho belav bûne me dil kir em her awayê nivîsandinê biceribînin û bêxin zimanê xwe. Herwekî awayên bingehî, nezm û nesîr û çend şiklên nesrê kêm û zêde di Hawarê de belav bûne.
Tenê awayê temaşeyê hebû ko hêj ne keti bû zmanê me. Mîna ko xwendewanên me di vê hejmarê de dê bixwînin me ew şikl û awa jî ceriband û xiste zmanê xwe. Temaşeke kiçik bi navê (Hevind) . . . (Nivîsanok, 1998, p. 404).

3.3.3 C. Bedirxan's agency as a translator

As mentioned before, C. Bedirxan was a polyglot and knew Arabic, English, French, Greek, Kurdish, Persian, Russian and Turkish (Hebeş, 1996, p. 164). His familiarity with these languages also paved the way for his involvement in translation. In this regard, along with many articles he penned in *Hawar*, he published many translations that contributed to his planned Kurdish cultural identity. According to the program he published in the 1st issue, he aimed to cover issues in 7 categories: the dissemination of the alphabet, comparative study of Kurdish dialects, Kurdish folkloric elements such as stories, legends and songs, classification and publication of Kurdish divans and biographies of poets and persons of letter, study of Kurdish dance and music, Kurdish customs and traditions, as well as economic factors and Kurdish history and geography. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 23). He and all the other contributors to *Hawar* followed this framework established at the outset. At this point, it is important to add that translations about all categories in the above-mentioned framework played a significant part in the periodical. For instance, the French version of the program, which addresses the western audience, states that Kurdish stories, legends, and songs would be translated into French as part of the category of Kurdish folklore (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 30).

Through his translations along with indigenous texts and many textual productions that he encouraged, C. Bedirxan aimed to achieve a degree of enlightenment among Kurdish society by increasing literacy, informing readers about Kurdish literature and culture and by encouraging dissemination of the ideas put forward in the periodical. Through translated texts, he also aimed to inform western readership about Kurdish culture. While addressing Kurdish audience, he did not merely cover translations related to Kurds, but also topics relating to other cultures

and literatures, as well as world developments. In the serial "Kurd û Kurdistan bi Çavê Biyaniyan" [Kurds and Kurdistan in the Eyes of Foreigners], for instance, he translated observations of Martin Hartmann and Helmuth von Moltke on Kurds into Kurdish and published in the issues 19, 23, and 24. Those observations generally foregrounded the distinct characteristics of Kurds (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 383-384; 467-469; 629-631) and also pointed at the suitability of Kurdish for Roman script (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 384) and criticism on lack of unity among Kurds (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 631), which are in line with his attitude. (See also Çelik, 2019, pp. 292-295). By this kind of translations, C. Bedirxan both wanted Kurds to feel that they had their own independent culture like other nations do and that relevant research was carried out on their culture by notable western scholars. In this respect, he explained the need to translate the works by them as such:

> Even if not many, there are some foreigners that came into our country [Kurdistan], observed it, more or less learned our language and wrote books on us. These sorts of books are available in every European language: Russian, German, French, English, Italian, etc. I want to translate some useful parts from those books into Kurdish and publish in these columns.[20] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 383)

While publishing translations by foreign scholars, C. Bedirxan also paid attention to the acceptance of their observations by the Kurdish audience. For this purpose, he said "everybody knows the inside of their houses better than others. But when a foreigner gets into a house, he can see the pros and cons better than the owner[21]" (Bedirxan,1998, p. 383).

[20] "Gelek mebin jî hin biyanî hene ko hatine, ketine nav welatê me, lê temaşe kirine, kêm û zêde hînî zmanê me bûne û di heqê me de kitêbin nivîsandine. Kitêbinên welê di her zmanê ewrûpayî de hene, rûsî, elmanî, frensizî, ingilîzî, talyanî h.p ... Min dil heye, ji wan kitêban birinên bikêr wergerînim kurdmanciyê û di van stûnan de belav bikim." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 383)

[21] "Her kes hundirê mala xwe ji xelkê çêtir nas dike. Lê biyanî wekê dikevin nav malekê ji xweyîyî bêtir qencî û kêmaniyên wê dibînin." (Bedirxan,1998, p. 383)

As observable throughout the coverage of *Hawar*, C. Bedîrxan had always two audiences in mind: Kurdish and western and selected translations to be published considering those two. Translations mentioned above was targeted for the Kurdish audience. His attitude in those translations, in fact, reflects one-half of his task to construct a cultural identity. By this, he aimed to encompass all the Kurds, regardless of their dialect, location or faith. These endeavors all aimed to give Kurds a feeling of belonging to their own culture and to unite them under the cultural identity he proposed. Furthermore, the other half of the formation of cultural identity necessitated presenting the Kurdish cultural identity to the world, especially to the western audience, as a distinct independent culture with its own literature, folklore, geography, history, etc. For this purpose, C. Bedirxan and certain other contributors translated texts into French, or sometimes directly wrote their entries in that language. Those translated or indigenous texts covered subjects on Kurdish language and literature, folklore and other cultural elements; C. Bedirxan translated the most popular and widespread Kurdish legend, *Memê Alan* into French, published in the serial "Notices sur la littérature moeurs et coutumes Kurdes" throughout the issues 4 to 12, 23, 27 and 28. In the same vein, for instance, he published the French translation of many Kurdish songs along with their source text and serialized them under the title "Textes et Traductions" as of issue 4.

C. Bedirxan as a prolific translator and author, also published his translated and indigenous texts under many pseudonyms. Herekol Azîzan was one he often used but he also used others such as "Hawar, Yekî Vexwendî, Xeberguhêz, Stranvan, Mamosteyê Gerok, Xwediyê Hawarê, Ferhengvan, Bavê Cemşîd û Sînemxanê, Seydayê Gerok, Nêrevan, Farisîxwîn and Şîretbêj. It is, in fact, of wonder why he preferred to choose so many. İbrahim Seydo Aydoğan (2013) remarks that it is

generally believed that C. Bedirxan resorted to them to give the readers the impression that many authors were writing in *Hawar* (p. 31). Aydoğan argues that C. Bedirxan wanted to give the magazine a prestigious status, with a great number of authors, and he justifies this reasoning, pointing out that a journal with many authors would be considered prestigious among people and foreign authorities, namely those of French Mandate, who gave permission to publish *Hawar* (Ibid.). In this regard, he counted 33 pseudonyms in his work for C. Bedirxan but stated that he was not completely sure of all of them, and they needed to be ascertained by further research (Aydoğan, 2013, p. 35). Furthermore, in a footnote, he points out that in an interview with Sînemxan Bedirxan û Seleh Sadellah to cross check the pseudonyms, they stated that nobody other than C. Bedirxan himself knew whom the pseudonyms in fact represented (Aydoğan, 2013, p. 40). My own analysis shows that most are most likely forged by C. Bedirxan in accordance with the content of the text published. I will further analyze this subject in social codes in Chapter 5.

3.4 Other aspects reinforcing his agency

C. Bedirxan's efforts to publish *Hawar* also led to new developments that nourished his agency. By launching *Hawar,* C. Bedirxan also created an environment where many future notable Kurdish writers, such as Cegerxwîn, Osman Sebrî, Nûredîn Zaza and Qedrîcan came together. Through C. Bedirxan's encouragement, these authors improved their writing and translating skills. In other words, *Hawar* served them as a school (Cewerî, 1998, p. 17). Felat Dilgeş defines *Hawar* as a platform in which significant Kurdish writers were brought up under the leadership of C. Bedirxan. He calls this literary circle as "Hawar Literary School", which was made

up of intellectuals such as C. Bedirxan, Cîgerxwîn, Osman Sebrî, Nûredîn Ûsif, Rewşen Bedirxan, Qedrî Can, Fayiqê Bêkes and Goran (Dilgeş, 2012, pp. 49-62).

It is important to point out that C. Bedirxan also published in book form many serialized entries in *Hawar* or related topics under the series titled as "Kitêbxana Hawarê" (The Library of *Hawar)* and this included both translations and indigenous works, largely by C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan. The list of the titles of those books were published in *Hawar*. I will write more details in the section of the compositional codes. C. Bedirxan made such works accessible to the target readership in order to reinforce his thoughts about Kurdish cultural identity he wanted to form. Among these, an important example is the letter he wrote to Atatürk and later published in book form as part of "The Library of *Hawar*", reflecting his agency. In the letter titled "Türkiye Reis-i Cumhuru Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Hazretlerine" (To His Highness the President Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha), written on December 8, 1933, C. Bedirxan made a long critical evaluation of anti-Kurdish politics: He criticized repression, deportation laws, attempts of Turkification as well as the denial of Kurdish language and culture. C. Bedirxan also aimed to prove that Kurdish language was independent and distinct from Turkish. In the letter, he tried to show that Kurdish belonged to Indo-European language family through linguistic explanations and comparative examples with French, German, English and Persian, and relevant references. Thereby, he tried to refute the ideological views and certain publications disseminated and supported by the government, which tended to label Kurds as Turks and denied Kurdish as a self-sufficient language (Bedirxan, 2012). My search for finding any possible responses or reactions by Atatürk through available resources has yielded no results. However, I should note that this letter still

retains its historical importance as a document reflecting C. Bedirxan's stance on defending Kurdish political, cultural and linguistic rights at the time.

In terms of published periodicals other than *Hawar*, I should also mention the periodical *Ronahî*. Together with the same authors of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan launched *Ronahî* [illumination, light] on April 1,1942 as an illustrated supplement which outlived *Hawar,* and its last issue, issue 28 was published in March 1945. Although the overall coverage of this magazine, differently from *Hawar*, was largely determined by war issues, the number of entries on Kurdish culture increased relatively from issue 12. Nevertheless, besides being an illustrated periodical, the translations on different aspects of war and related social and scientific issues also contributed to the development of Kurdish written language.

Considering C. Bedirxan's trajectory of life, he stands out as a "free agent" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 98-99), considering what he learned, experienced and put to practice in the period leading up to the publication of *Hawar,* and the impact of the initiatives he took after its launch in order to unify Kurds under a cultural identity that he devoted his life to. Analyzing different aspects of *Hawar* as a whole in the following chapters through periodical codes will reveal the role translation played in the formation of this cultural identity, and thus the part C. Bedirxan played as an agent. Before the next chapter, I find it necessary to question whether *Hawar* can be examined as an agent on its own.

3.5 Discussing *Hawar* as an agent

In this chapter, I approached C. Bedirxan as a free agent, and analyzed different aspects of his agency. However, it is also possible to regard a periodical itself as an agent. Matthew Philpotts (2012) argues that besides human agents, a periodical could

also be ascribed a habitus, and that it "can be conceptualized as an agent in its own right" (p. 42). Taking Philpotts's approach as a point of departure, it is important to question if we can consider *Hawa*r itself as an agent. In her analysis of the periodical *Varlık*, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar explains that, in order to be seen as an agent in its own right, a magazine needs to acquire a habitus beyond that of an individual editor (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2019, p. 181). The periodical *Varlık*, launched in 1933 in Turkey and run by different editors until the present, is a good example. In this respect, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2019) regards *Varlık* as an agent in her article entitled "Periodical codes and translation: An analysis of *Varlık* in 1933–1946" and for this purpose, she focuses on its first 13 years and analyzes the role of translation as major part of its compositional and social codes. Concerning the agency of *Varlık*, Tahir Gürçağlar (2019) notes the following point:

> *Varlık* was run by the same individual for several decades and closely reflects his individual habitus, however, the transformation of this habitus, as well as the interactions between his voice and those of the other authors and translators in the magazine create a high degree of heteroglossia and a distinctive habitus that goes beyond an individual editorial one. Today *Varlık* stands as an independent entity; although the resilience it showed during its initial decades is always credited to the individual efforts of its founder, it has gained a life of its own and become a literary institution. (p. 181)

The launch of *Hawar* has always been regarded as an invaluable undertaking for the Kurdish literary, linguistic and cultural scene, yet, at the same time, it has always been seen as a key historic initiative, started and continued until 1943 by C. Bedirxan. Therefore, among Kurds, there is a general tendency to identify *Hawar* with C. Bedirxan, and it has always been appreciated as an invaluable work by him. In my view, if *Hawar* had been published for decades and run by different editors, as with *Varlık*, it would certainly be easier to discuss it now as an independent agent or to put it another way, we would not currently have to discuss two almost competing

states of agency – i.e., C. Bedirxan's and *Hawar*'s. However, during the lifetime of *Hawar*, it appears that C. Alî Bedirxan's individual agency predominantly shaped the composition of the magazine. For instance, Firat Cewerî, who, for the first time, made a two-volume facsimile publication of all the issues of *Hawar* in Sweden in 1998, appreciates *Hawar* in terms of C. Bedirxan efforts for Kurdish society, and regards it as a periodical by which C. Bedirxan liberated Kurdish language and made Kurds realize its significance. Cewerî also considers *Hawar* as a school from which C. Bedîrxan disseminated Kurdish values and helped Cegerxwîn, Osman Sebrî, Qedrî Can, Nûredîn Zaza and others in their efforts to become renowned Kurdish writers (Cewerî, 1998, pp. 16-17). He considers C. Bedirxan's contributions crucial for his generation, too, and in this respect, he regards *Hawar* as an authority and a key factor in the development of written Kurdish (Cewerî, 1998, p. 17).

Considering the importance of *Hawar*, it has been highly appreciated in terms of its contributions to Kurdish language and culture. Yet, those contributions have been associated with C. Bedirxan and have often been credited to him. Taking into account C. Bedirxan's direct impact on the content and composition of the whole run of *Hawar* and regarding this periodical as a medium through which he applied his self-created Roman alphabet and thus contributed to written Kurdish, it seems that C. Bedirxan's agency is highly influential and, in this respect, especially at the time of publication, *Hawar* appears to stand as part of his agency, rather than as an agent in its own right, beyond his individual influence. However, different from the case of *Varlık*, it appears that even though only one editor was in charge throughout its lifetime, the authority and agency of *Hawar* have increasingly gained ground in the course of time, and today, it has potential to go beyond the founder's agency, considering its impact on Kurdish language, literature and studies, as well as the

influential power it still maintains in those domains. Therefore, the agency of *Hawar* merits a deeper exploration and should be discussed more in detail in the scope of other potential studies.

After analyzing C. Bedirxan as an agent with various perspectives and discussing the agency of *Hawar* in this chapter, I will proceed with an examination of the translational habitus of *Hawar* drawing on temporal, material, economic and compositional codes in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSLATIONAL HABITUS OF *HAWAR*: TEMPORAL, MATERIAL, ECONOMIC AND COMPOSITIONAL CODES

In the previous chapter, I laid bare the trajectory of C. Bedirxan's life and analyzed activities and initiatives that contributed to his agency and its bearing on the publication of *Hawar*. This also laid foundation for a better analysis of the common habitus of *Hawar,* through Matthew Philpotts' periodical codes. In this chapter, I will analyze the temporal, material, economic and compositional codes, putting a particular focus on translation. In this context, in order to unearth the common habitus of this periodical, I will also draw on the supplementary concept of "translational habitus", introduced by Şehnaz Tahir Gürcağlar (2014, p. 27).

4.1 The title of the magazine

Following Michel Foucault's discussion on the concept of authorship (Foucault, 1984, p. 103), Philpotts (2013) explains that a periodical runs against the conventional definition of authorship and states that "through its contrasting traditions of anonymous contribution and multiple authorship, the periodical is a form of publication which resists and disrupts a conventional idea of the author as the principle of circulation for literary texts . . ." (p. 1). In the same vein, he states that, according to the classical definition, "[i]f a work is 'what an author has written', then perhaps SuF 6/1964 is not a work at all" (Ibid). It is important to note that Philpotts' discussion of those questions pertaining to authorship and periodicals was published in a paper that focused on the November 1964 issue of the East Berlin journal, *Sinn und Form.* Concerning his approach, he underscores the importance of

analyzing a periodical as a single work represented by its title across the entire run. This also brings to the fore the part the title of a periodical plays in defining it as a single work with its diverse features. In this respect, Philpotts (2013) remarks that:

> For what fills the discursive void created by the surplus and absence of conventional authorship – both in the internal discourse which binds contributions and issues together and in the external classificatory discourse in which they circulate – is the name of the journal itself, a 'node of coherence', to use Foucault's suggestive expression (1981, 59), around which its otherwise diverse texts are organised and controlled. (p. 1)

In this respect, he further explains that "indeed, in the most successful cases, such as *Sinn und Form*, that name can function as a powerful discursive construct: as a brand, a myth, a legend even, that legitimises the texts ascribed to it" (Ibid.). Drawing on this approach, I will endeavor to find out how the name of *Hawar* functions as a "powerful discursive construct".

Hawar literally means "cry", a cry for help, and draws attention to the state of Kurdish society, their language and culture in the aftermath of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the WWI, as well as in the WWII period. As a title, it is the embodiment of all written productions published in the whole run of the periodical.

Regarding *Hawar*, C. Bedîrxan expresses in the initial lines of the first issue that "*Hawar* is the voice of knowledge. Knowledge stands for self-knowledge, and it opens up the path to the freedom and goodness for us."[22] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 23). By these lines, it is evident that, through textual productions published under the title of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan intends to get Kurds to become aware of their own cultural identity and to earn a self-awareness, which he considers the only salvation. That is why he maintains that "[e]very one who knows oneself can also get others to know

[22] "Hawar dengê zanînê ye. Zanîn xwe nasîn e, xwe nasîn ji me re rêya felat û xweşiyê vedike (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 23)."

themselves"[23] (Ibid.). Furthermore, those points emphasized and set as objectives under the title of the magazine refer to the fact that *Hawar* was both concerned with introducing Kurdish cultural identity to other nations, and encouraging Kurds' self-knowledge of their own cultural identity, a pattern clearly observable throughout its whole run.

4.2 Temporal codes

Hawar was published between 1932 and 1943, but with interruptions. First in print on May 15, 1932[24] in Damascus, its last issue was published on August 15, 1943. It is important to indicate that the last issue contained no notice for closure. Published in the pre-WWII period (1932-1935) and for two years (1941-1943) during the war, the composition of the periodical featured both translations and indigenous texts that fundamentally served to construct a Kurdish cultural identity in the aftermath of WWI. In terms of the periodicity of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan stated in the first issue: "At first, our magazine will be out every fifteen days. After a few issues, it will be weekly and published at the beginning of each week"[25] (1998, p. 24). However, his plan to publish *Hawar* in every two weeks then on a regular weekly basis never materialized; instead, it was published irregularly, generally at intervals ranging from 13 days to 31 days, and sometimes at much longer intervals due to interruptions. In general, up until issue 23 (July 25, 1933), it seems that there was a special effort to publish two issues a month. However, from issue 24 (April 1,1934) up until the last

[23] "Her kesê ko xwe nas dike; dikare xwe bide nas kirin" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 23).

[24] C. Bedirxan took the permission to publish *Hawar* on October 26, 1931, and the magazine was ready to be launched in early February 1932. However, he delayed the publication of *Hawar* for four months since he wanted to cooperate with Tewfîq Wehbî for creation of a common Kurdish alphabet in Roman script. Tewfîq Wehbî, too, was engaged at the time in developing a Roman alphabet for Kurdish. However, this attempt did not accomplish owing to failed correspondence between them (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 211-213).

[25] "Di destpêkê de komela me di panzdeh rûjan de carekê dê derkeve. Piştî çend hejmaran komela me dê bibe heftekî û li serê her heftêyê dê belav bibe" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 24)

issue (August 15, 1943), some were still published every two weeks, and others, once a month. Between July 25, 1933 and April 1, 1934, the magazine underwent an interruption of 8 months and a week. Likewise, between April 1, 1934 and August 19, 1934, there was an interval lasting for 4 months and 18 days and also a longer interruption between August 19, 1934 and August 18, 1935. Between August 18, 1935 and April 15, 1941, it went on the longest hiatus lasting for 5 years 7 months and 28 days. Furthermore, *Hawar* went through relatively shorter interruptions in the last period. Between November 15, 1942 and January 20, 1943, it underwent an interruption of 2 months and 5 days while it went on hiatus for a month and 23 days between January 20, 1943 and March 15, 1943. In the same period, it faced an interruption between March 15, 1943 and May 15, 1943.

In order to better picture the state of the periodicity of *Hawar*, it will be more helpful to show it on a graph:

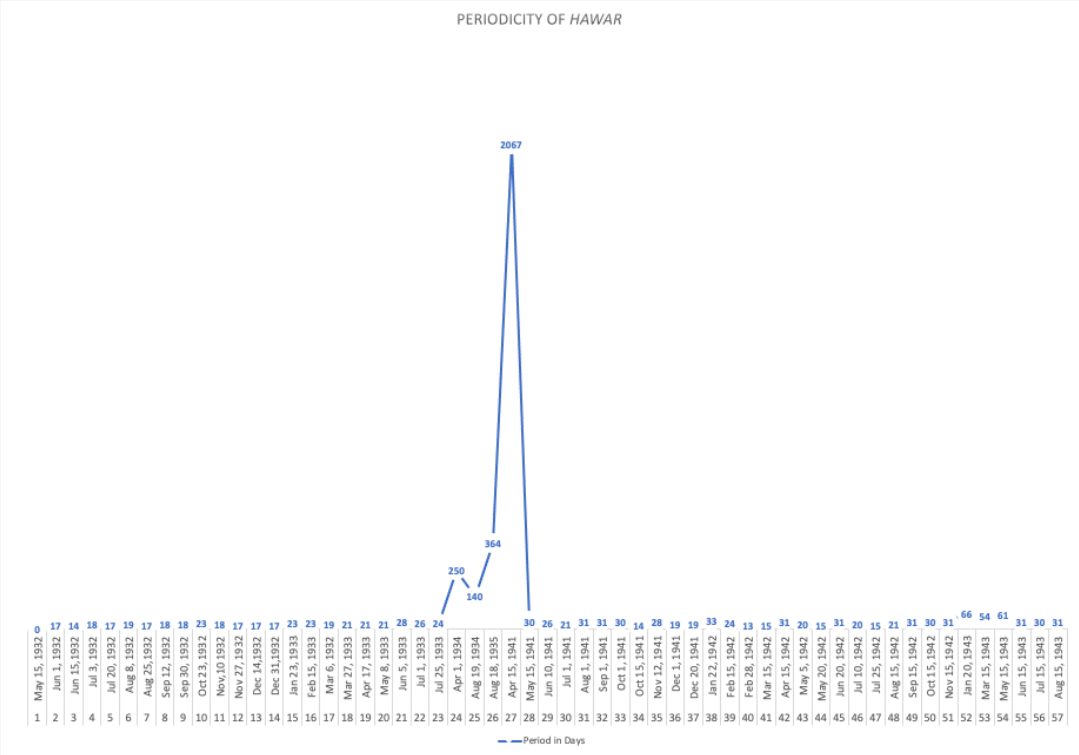


Fig. 1 Periodicity of *Hawar* in days

As the graph indicates, *Hawar* was published irregularly . To give an example, issues 2, 3 and 4 were respectively out on the basis of 17, 14 and 18 days, whereas issues 55, 56 and 57 were respectively out on the basis of 31, 30 and 31 days. On the graph, there is another distinctive feature: it is observable that *Hawar* experienced long periods of hiatus, the longest between August 18, 1935 and April 15, 1941, lasting for 2067 days. As the graph indicates, the periodical first underwent an interruption as of issue 23, of 8 months 7 days until the issue 24 on April 1, 1934. After the publication of issue 24, there was another pause for 4 months and 18 days. As of issue 25, this time, it encountered an almost one-year pause until issue 26 was published. Then, it had the longest hiatus of 5 years, 7 months and 28 days until issue 27 on April 15, 1941. As clearly seen in the graph, this term could be considered a period of subsequent interruptions.

The graph alone may not completely help us to understand the periodicity between 1932-1933 and May 15, 1941-1943 since the periodicity of issues 24, 25, 26 and 27 were much longer than the previous and succeeding ones, due to interruptions. Therefore, I show the periodicity on those periods in two different graphs. The graph below shows the periodicity between 1932 and 1933:

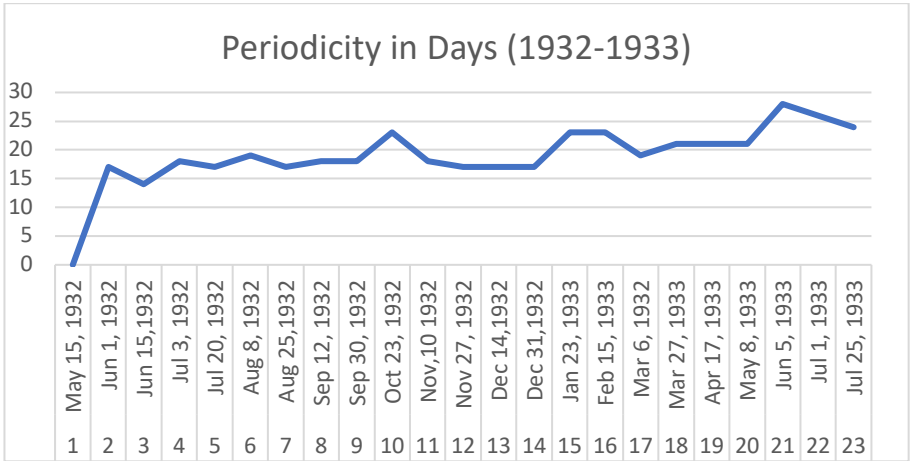


Fig. 2 Periodicity in days between 1932 and 1933

As the graph indicates, the irregularity in periodicity is present in this period, too. For the initial 23 issues, it ranges from 14 days to 23 to 28 days, with irregular rising and falling patterns. It seems that almost all issues in this period were released at 15-day intervals. The following graph showing periodicity between May 15, 1941 and 1943 illustrates another pattern of irregularity:

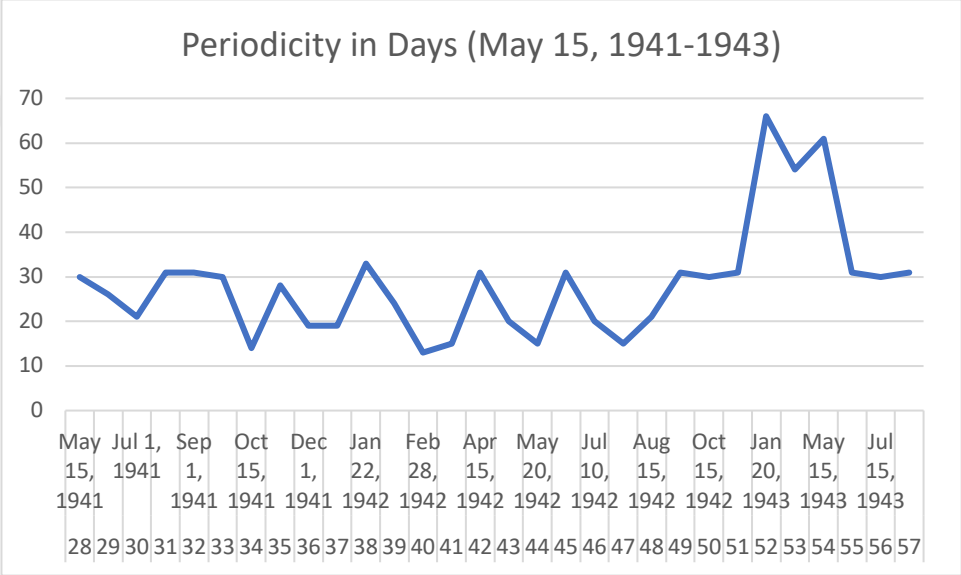


Fig. 3 Periodicity in days between May 15, 1941 and 1943

This graph shows the periodicity extending across issues 28 and 57. Here, it is apparent that the irregularity in periodicity stands out with sharper fluctuations than previous graph. The periodicity between issues ranges from 14 to 66 days at irregular intervals.

The overall state of the periodicity of *Hawar* shows that it had to endure a series of long interruptions before it was republished on April 15, 1941. Though relatively shorter periods, it is observable that *Hawar* still went through interruptions

in the second period of publication. Husên Hebeş (1996) points out that these were due to economic reasons (p. 32).

As indicated before, translation took up a considerable space in the composition of the whole publication of *Hawar.* They included literary and cultural textual elements about Kurds that were at large, translated into French and a larger array of text types translated from different languages into Kurdish. In the section of this chapter on the compositional codes, these translations will be analyzed in detail. However, in this section, I would like to draw attention to the historical dates at which obvious changes took place in the composition of *Hawar*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of its main objectives was to introduce and disseminate among Kurds C. Bedirxan's Roman alphabet. For this purpose, *Hawar* was published both in Arabic and Roman script between 1932 and 1933, spanning 23 issues. In the rest of its lifetime, *Hawar* was published in Roman script only – i.e., in the periods covering 1934-1935 and 1941-1943. Furthermore, when it resumed on April 15, 1941 after the longest hiatus, a new period of publication started, as C. Bedirxan felt it necessary to evaluate the distinctive historical points of the magazine's life. For this purpose, he wrote an article entitled "Sê Tarîxên Hawarê: 15 Gulan 1932, 18 Tebax 1935, 15 Nîsan 1941 [Three Dates of *Hawar*: May 15, 1932, August 18, 1935, April 15, 1941] (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 688-689). He considers May 15, 1932, the date when the periodical was launched, the starting point for Kurds' own alphabet and freedom from the influence of other languages' alphabets (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 688). In this article, he boasted about the point that the Kurds acquainted with his alphabet were easily able to write in their national alphabet (elfabiya xwe a milî) and that could read the periodicals and books printed in the same alphabet. However, he states that this did not last long. It had to stop as of issue 26, which was out on August 18, 1935

(Ibid.). Here, C. Bedirxan refers to the longest interval that lasted until April 15, 1941, the third date he put in the title. Although he mentions in the article that during this interval, some books were published occasionally, and that language devotees continued to learn, as well as teach reading and writing in the Roman alphabet, he does not mention the exact reasons for this interval (Ibid.). Nevertheless, while writing about the demands that emerged about learning Kurdish grammar during the hiatus, and therefore about his plans and works on grammar in the new period, he remarks that "meanwhile, we took the permission to publish *Hawar* once again"[26] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 689). These utterances imply that, for the new period that coincided with first two years of WWII, they were required to renew publication permission from the French Mandate authorities. Towards the end of this writing, C. Bedirxan remarks that "[t]his article is, on one hand, the history of *Hawar*, on the other, a program for our task"[27] (Ibid.). This explanation and many other points highlighted in this article show that, in fact, April 15, 1941 was the beginning of the second term in the lifetime of *Hawar* following a long interruption. Taking into account these points and related explanations, I similarly divided the analysis of *Hawar* into two periods: The first period includes the time period between May 15, 1932 and August 18, 1935 in which issues 1-26 were published, as well as that of the subsequent hiatus lasting more than five years. The second is composed of the subsequent years when *Hawar* resumed publication, on April 15, 1941 until August 15, 1943, when the issues ranging from 27 to 57 were published.

In terms of translations, there were some novelties in the second period. In the previous issues of the first period, there were, for example, religious translations

[26] "Di vê navê de me destûra derêxistina Hawarê ji nû ve stand." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 689)
[27] "Ev bend ji alîkî dîrokiya Hawarê, ji aliyê din pronivîsa xebata me ye." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 689)

on Zoroastrianism, Kurds' ancient religion, and Ezidism. In the second period, two new serials of translated religious texts were introduced. As of issue 27, a serialization of Qur'an commentary started, continuing until the last issue. In the same line, the translation of hadiths was serialized as of issue 27. In the French part of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan (1998) also drew attention to the new characteristics, under the title of "La Réapparition de Hawar" (p. 697). In this article, he referred to the aims relevant to Kurdish language and literature set out in the first issue, and reassured readers that they would continue. In this respect, C. Bedirxan believed that as a result of learning the new alphabet and reading previous issues, a new, young, literate public came into being, and it was necessary to satisfy their intellectual needs with new writings on Kurdish language and grammar, as well as with popular Kurdish literature (littérature populaire kurde) (Ibid.). Furthermore, he stated that they would also continue to publish the translation of Kurdish literature for European readers (lecteurs d'Europe). Additionally, as part of the new period, he pointed out that they would also translate selected texts from western literature for Kurdish readers (Ibid).

Considering all interruptions, both short and long, in the lifetime of *Hawar*, it appears that it was published in the face of many difficulties and that, despite them, C. Bedirxan persisted on its continuation by any means. He even enriched and introduced novelties in the critical period after the longest hiatus and had always a concern to address both its key audiences.

4.3 Material codes

My analysis of all the issues of *Hawar* shows that C. Bedirxan intended to keep the number of pages in each issue at 16. Therefore, from the first issue until issue 38, it

was regularly published as 16 pages. The only exception was issue 20, which was composed of 20 pages. In other words, excluding issue 20, the periodical was composed of 16 pages between May 15, 1932 and January 22, 1942. However, it did not continue as such. In the remaining issues, the periodical faced some fluctuations as well as reduction in the page number. Issue 39 (February 15, 1942) until issue 44 (May 20, 1942) were regularly published as 12 pages, as well as issues 49 (September 15, 1942) and 51 (November 15, 1942). However, this does not point at a regularity. In issue 45 (June 20, 1942), for instance, the number of pages increased to 15, whereas three following issues were published in 8 pages, a dramatically reduced number. This fluctuation is also observable toward the end of the periodical. For example, in issue 49, the number of pages rose to 12 once again, whereas in issue 50 (October 15, 1942) it fell to 8 and rose to 12 again in issue 51 (November 15, 1942). In issue 52 (January 20, 1943), it increased to 16 and later, in the following issues, it fell dramatically to 8. Thus, the last five issues were published as 8 pages only. The reduction of pages and fluctuations in the last two years seem to be due to harsh conditions of WWII, especially in terms of scarcity of paper. It also shows that C. Bedirxan did his best to continue the publication of the periodical. In this regard, the fluctuation of the numbers in this period could also be due to his efforts to increase the number of pages whenever paper was available in wartime. Consequently, it appears that *Hawar* was published in 16 pages for a long time, yet was forced down to 8 towards the end.

It is important to note that the initial twenty-three issues were published in both Roman and Arabic script. Looking at the distribution of pages, in 13 issues, more pages are in Roman script than in Arabic. In 6 issues, the number of pages is equal: 8 pages in Arabic script and 8 in Roman. In the last four issues, the number of

pages in Roman script are less than those in Arabic script. The most explicit difference between the number of pages is observable in issue 20 (May 8, 1933) where the pages in Roman script were 7, whereas those in Arabic script were 13. This difference was caused by the introduction of the genre of play in Arabic script section, and the place it occupied in this section.

In terms of the page layout, the writings in each page of the periodical were mostly placed in two columns. Furthermore, images were scarcely used in *Hawar*. In contrast, in *Ronahî*, which appeared in 1942, almost one and a half year before *Hawar* ceased publication, the pages were full of images. It appears that C. Bedirxan was aware of this lack and wanted to compensate for it in another periodical, and probably for this reason, C. Bedirxan described *Ronahî* on its cover as "Supplement Illustré de la Revue Kurde Hawar" (Illustrated Supplement to Kurdish Magazine *Hawar*). Besides, it appears that the circumstances were suitable, too, for *Ronahî* covered issues about war supporting the Allies and therefore, most probably, C. Bedirxan was provided with many illustrative materials. It is noteworthy to point out that even though *Ronahî* was presented as a supplement, in practice, it continued as a periodical with different characteristics from *Hawar*.

Concerning translation in *Hawar*, translated texts took up a highly significant space in the periodical, and played a conspicuous part in identity-formation. It is obvious that the number of translated texts increasingly rose throughout its publication life, although it faced difficulties, and had to endure the scarcity of paper during WWII. I will discuss this issue in detail in the section "4.5 Compositional codes".

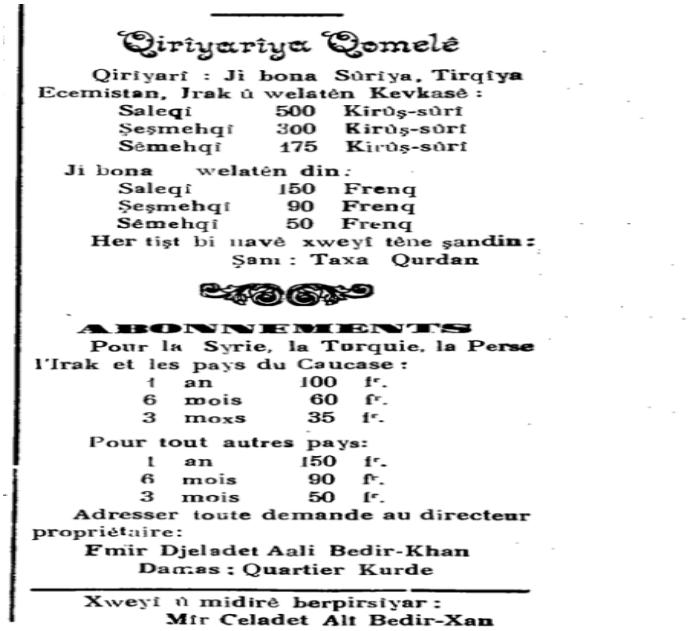
4.4 Economic codes

I have analyzed the economic codes of *Hawar* in the following categories: subscription, donation, the support by French Mandate, and advertisements. I will start with subscription.

4.4.1 Subscription

A substantial revenue of *Hawar* was provided by subscriptions, the main method for supporting the publication of the periodical.

My analysis on the subscription prices throughout all the issues shows that price remained same for a while for certain issues, whereas for others, besides changes in the price, there were changes in subscription periods. It also indicates that C. Bedirxan did his best to keep prices affordable. For this purpose, he never changed the yearly subscription price across all issues. The subscription prices and periods were published in the first issues on the last page of the Roman script section. They were as follows:



Qirîyarîya Qomelê

Qirîyarî : Ji bona Sûrîya, Tirqîya Ecemistan, Jrak û welatên Kevkasê :

Saleqî	500	Kirûş-sûrî
Şeşmehqî	300	Kirûş-sûrî
Sêmehqî	175	Kirûş-sûrî

Ji bona welatên din :

Saleqî	150	Frenq
Şeşmehqî	90	Frenq
Sêmehqî	50	Frenq

Her tişt bi navê xweyî têne şandin : Şanı : Taxa Qurdan

ABONNEMENTS

Pour la Syrie, la Turquie, la Perse l'Irak et les pays du Caucase :

1 an	100	fr.
6 mois	60	fr.
3 moxs	35	fr.

Pour tout autres pays:

1 an	150	fr.
6 mois	90	fr.
3 mois	50	fr.

Adresser toute demande au directeur propriétaire:

Emir Djeladet Aali Bedir-Khan

Damas : Quartier Kurde

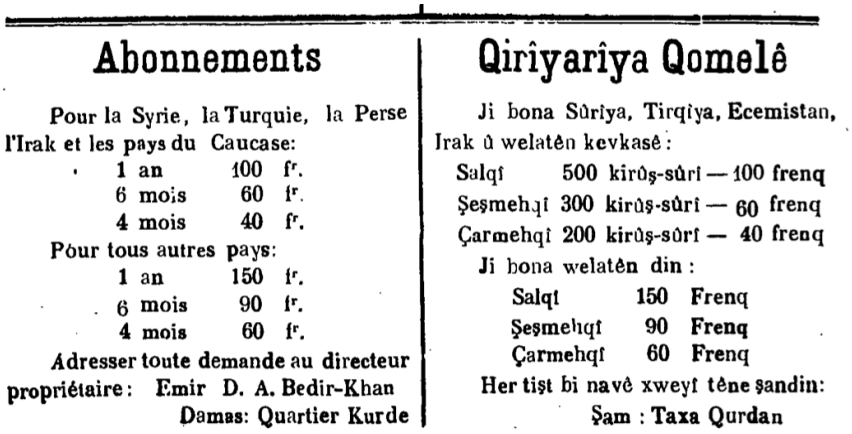
Xweyî û midirê berpirsîyar :

Mîr Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan

Fig. 4 The subscription prices and periods 1

Evidently, the prices and periods for subscription were provided in both Kurdish and French under the titles "Qirîyarîya Qomelê"[28] [Subsbscription to the Magazine] and "Abonnements" [Subscription]. As the figure shows, the subscription options were yearly, six-month, and three-month periods. For Syria, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Caucasian countries, the yearly subscription was 500 Syrian piasters or 100 francs, and the six-month price was 300 Syrian piasters or 60 francs, and for three months, 175 Syrian piasters or 35 francs. The subscription prices for all other countries were noted in franc only. For them, the yearly price was 150 francs. The six-month price was 90 francs and the three-month period, 50 francs. Moreover, for subscription and correspondence, C. Bedirxan's name and his address was available with the prices. His address was noted as "Damascus: Kurdish Neighborhood" in both versions.

However, as of the issue 2, a minor change was applied. The new version of the subscription was as follows:



Abonnements

Pour la Syrie, la Turquie, la Perse l'Irak et les pays du Caucase:

1 an	100	fr.
6 mois	60	fr.
4 mois	40	fr.

Pour tous autres pays:

1 an	150	fr.
6 mois	90	fr.
4 mois	60	fr.

Adresser toute demande au directeur propriétaire: Emir D. A. Bedir-Khan
Damas: Quartier Kurde

Qirîyarîya Qomelê

Ji bona Sûrîya, Tirqîya, Ecemistan, Irak û welatên kevkasê:

Salqî	500 kirûş-sûrî	— 100 frenq
Şeşmehqî	300 kirûş-sûrî	— 60 frenq
Çarmehqî	200 kirûş-sûrî	— 40 frenq

Ji bona welatên din:

Salqî	150	Frenq
Şeşmehqî	90	Frenq
Çarmehqî	60	Frenq

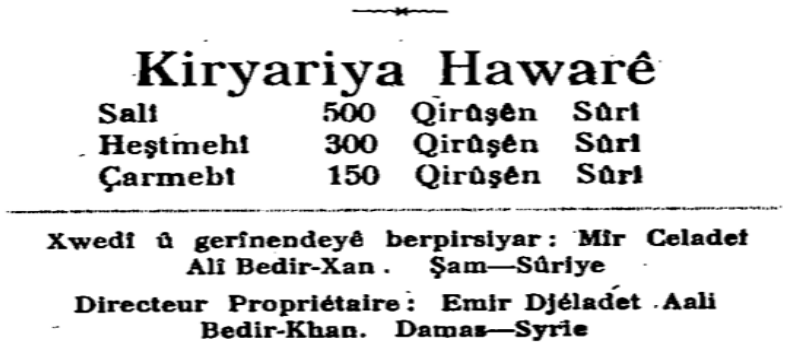
Her tişt bi navê xweyî têne şandin:
Şam : Taxa Qurdan

Fig. 5 The subscription prices and periods 2

[28] "Qirîyarîya Qomelê "[Subscripton to the Magazine] is supposed to be written as "Kirîyariya Komelê" since as of the issue 24, C. Bedirxan exchanged the letters "Q" and "K" and kept writing the alphabet according to this amendment in the following issues. It is also possible to see this title in Kurdish as "Kirîyariya Kovarê", "Kiryariya Hawarê" or "Kiriya Hawarê". In this respect, it should be noted that the Kurdish quotes from *Hawar* were written according to C. Bedirxan's last amendment in the present study.

Compared with the previous figure, it is apparent that subscription prices for Syria, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Caucasian countries remained the same for the yearly and six-month periods, however, C. Bedirxan replaced the three-month period by a four-month one at a new price. According to the figure, the price for the four-month period was 200 Syrian piasters or 40 francs. C. Bedirxan applied the same format to the subscription options for all other countries. In other words, he kept the prices for yearly and six-month periods the same, and similarly replaced three-month with the four-month option at 60 francs.

This format, which C. Bedirxan offered as of issue 2 (June 1, 1932), continued without any changes in prices or periods until issue 22 (July 1, 1933). In this regard, it is important to note that in the issues published both in Arabic and Roman scripts, the same subscription information was also provided in Arabic language. It seems that the multilingual nature of *Hawar* also materialized in the economic aspect of the periodical, part of the endeavor to reach as many as possible. However, as of issue 23 when C. Bedirxan started to publish the whole periodical in Roman script, the subscription prices provided at the end of the periodical in Kurdish only. Furthermore, according to my research on the facsimile reprint, no information on the subscription periods and prices was provided in issues 23 to 26. In issues 27 and 28, the subscription format was as follows:



Kiryariya Hawarê

Salî	500	Qirûşên	Sûrî
Heştmehî	300	Qirûşên	Sûrî
Çarmehî	150	Qirûşên	Sûrî

Xwedî û gerînendeyê berpirsiyar: Mîr Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan. Şam—Sûriye

Directeur Propriétaire: Emir Djéladet Aali Bedir-Khan. Damas—Syrie

Fig. 6 The subscription prices and periods 3

As seen in the figure, although the correspondence address is both in Kurdish and French as usual, the subscription information is in Kurdish only. Regarding the details, the yearly price is 500 Syrian piasters, the eight-month period is 300 Syrian piasters and the four-month period, 150 Syrian piasters. It seems that this period was 50 piasters less than the same period in the previous format. Compared with the previous figure, it is apparent that C. Bedirxan replaced the 6-month-period by an eight-month one, keeping the price the same, 300 Syrian piasters. However, this change in the period lasted only two issues. As of the issue 29 (June 10, 1941), C. Bedîrxan made another change in the period. It was as follows:

Kiryariya Hawarê

Salî	500	Qirûşên	Sûrî
Şeşmehî	300	Qirûşên	Sûrî
Sêmehî	200	Qirûşên	Sûrî

Xwedî û gerînendeyê berpirsiyar: Mîr Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan. Şam—Sûriye

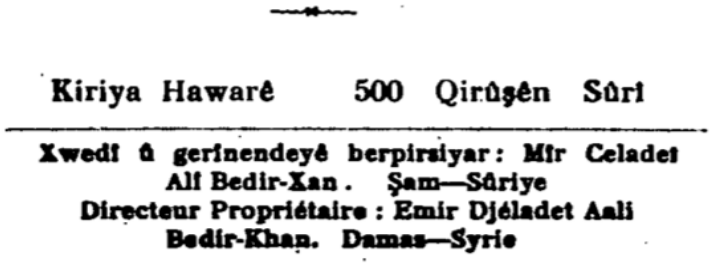
Directeur Propriétaire: Emir Djéladet Aali Bedir-Khan. Damas—Syrie

Fig. 7 The subscription prices and periods 4

As the figure shows, C. Bedirxan divided the subscription periods into yearly, six-month and three-month periods, as in the first issue. He replaced the four-month

period with three months for 200 Syrian piasters, 25 Syrian piasters less than the same period in the first issue. This subscription format remained until issue 42 (April 15, 1942).

As of the issue 43 (May 5, 1942), C. Bedirxan introduced a new format with only one option. It was as follows:


Kiriya Hawarê 500 Qirûşên Sûrî

Xwedî û gerînendeyê berpirsiyar: Mîr Celadet
Alî Bedir-Xan. Şam—Sûriye
Directeur Propriétaire : Emir Djéladet Aali
Bedir-Khan. Damas—Syrie

Fig. 8 The subscription prices and periods 5

As the figure indicates, in this format, C. Bedirxan offered the yearly option only at the same price as in the previous versions, withdrawing six-month/eight-month or four-month/three-month options. Probably, he wanted to encourage longer subscription periods so as to prolong the publication life of the periodical. This format lasted until issue 53 (March 25,1943), when the periodical was approaching its end.

The last format which was published in the issue 54 (May 15,1943) was as such:

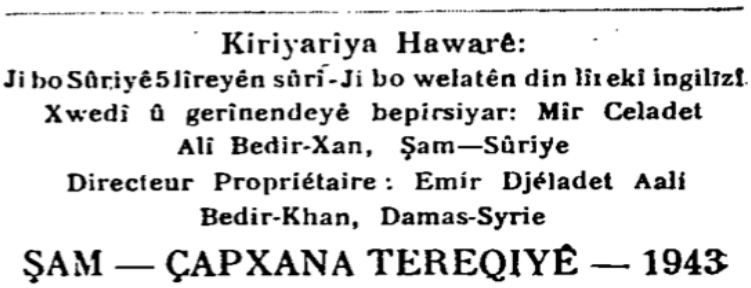

Kiriyariya Hawarê:
Ji bo Sûriyê 5 lîreyên sûrî - Ji bo welatên din lîreki ingilîzî
Xwedî û gerînendeyê bepirsiyar: Mîr Celadet
Alî Bedir-Xan, Şam—Sûriye
Directeur Propriétaire : Emir Djéladet Aali
Bedir-Khan, Damas-Syrie
ŞAM — ÇAPXANA TEREQIYÊ — 1943

Fig. 9 The subscription prices and periods 6

In addition to his name and address in Kurdish and French, C. Bedirxan offered 5 Syrian Lira for yearly subscription period for this format. Practically, this meant no change at the yearly subscription price, since 5 Syrian Lira was equivalent to 500 Syrian piasters, the way shown in the previous formats. This format continued until the last issue. Additionally, the figure shows that C. Bedirxan seems to have continued the format which indicated only the yearly price, which started to appear as of issue 43, to the last issue of the periodical. However, as of issue 54, he presented that 5 Syrian Lira was the subscription price for Syria whereas for other countries, he asked readers to pay "lîrekî ingilîzî" [an English lira]. In fact, this was the first time C. Bedirxan indicated the subscription price in "English Lira", previously preferring to indicate the same price in franc. This could be due to increasing regional power and influence of England at the time, and its impact on the economic regulations, as well as the weakening state of France in the then wartime conditions.

Considering all these points in the subscription format throughout the whole run of *Hawar*, it is clear that C. Bedirxan kept the yearly price at a fixed price in Syrian currency unit, in piasters or lira, even during WWII, when it was difficult to obtain paper, amongst other difficulties. It seems that he did his best to continue the publication of the periodical and to reach as many readers as possible, trying hard to minimize the possible hardships caused by readers' economic conditions. In the same vein, in the first 42 issues, C. Bedirxan offered three options of subscription. In addition to yearly period, he mostly offered six-month and four-month periods, and in certain issues, replaced six-month period by eight-month and replaced four-month period by a three-month one. My analysis demonstrates that although the six-month was replaced by 8-month period in the issues 27-28, the subscription price remained

300 Syrian piasters regardless. Regarding the four-month and three-month options that interchanged in certain issues, it was only in the first issue that C. Bedirxan charged 175 Syrian piasters, and in the issues 29-42, rates were 200 Syrian piasters, with a slight increase in length. When C. Bedirxan offered the four-month instead of the three-month period, in issues 2-22, he charged 200 Syrian piasters and in issues 27 and 28, he decreased this to 150 Syrian piasters. Considering those interchanging options together, it reveals that the price changed between 150 and 200 Syrian piasters and remained as 200 Syrian piasters except for three issues. In view of the analysis of six-month and four-month periods and their corresponding options, it seems that C. Bedirxan endeavored to increase the number of the subscribers as far as possible in Syria and the countries nearby, by offering other options than yearly subscriptions, as well as by sometimes changing the period options.

My analysis also shows that from the first issue through issue 22, C. Bedirxan also offered subscription prices and periods for countries other than Syria, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Caucasian countries. These prices and periods were published in francs only. The options were in yearly, six-month and four-month periods, respectively, 150, 90 and 60 francs. The only exception was the first issue, where the three-month option was offered instead of four-month, and the cost was 50 francs. Two other options for the first issue were the same both in terms of price and period. In this regard, it is important to remember that in the last four issues, C. Bedirxan offered yearly options only, asking for 5 Syrian Lira for Syria alone, and for all other countries, 1 "English Lira".

Regarding the subscriptions, C. Bedirxan shared valuable information in an article entitled "Kiriyariya Hawarê" (Subscription to *Hawar*) in issue 43. In this article he evaluated the year after resumption of publication on April 15, 1941.

There, he asked the subscribers to renew their subscriptions and send the subscriptions to himself as the chief editor (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 996). Furthermore, he also gave some information about how he collected the subscription money:

> In 1934, a period when *Hawar* had been at its early years of publication, the owner of *Hawar* had to tour among Kurds and collect the subscription money for *Hawar*. Then, Kurds would have paid the subscription fee for *Hawar*, but only if the owner of *Hawar* had visited them and asked for it.[29] (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 996)

These statements demonstrate that in the first stage of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan had to pay a personal visit to the subscribers to collect fees. In the same vein, he implied that without his own tours among Kurds, it would have been impossible to collect this money. In the above-mentioned article, C. Bedirxan also remarks that this situation positively changed in the second period of *Hawar*. In this regard, comparing with the past, he states:

> But this time around, it was not like that. Kurds concerned themselves with *Hawar* and supported it of their own accord. Certainly, someone unknown, some poor young boys, like those of developed nations, put their five liras into an envelope and sent it to the owner of *Hawar*. They encouraged people and told them to help *Hawar*. . .[30] (Ibid.)

Those remarks illustrate that readers started to mail C. Bedirxan their yearly subscription fee and he no longer needed to collect it in person. He also showed gratitude for this behavior, which he regarded as usual in the developed nations. He also praised the young subscribers' effort to encourage others to subscribe and thus support the periodical.

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[29] "Di sala 1934an de gava Hawar nû belav bû ji xwediyê Hawarê re diviya bû di nav kurdan de bigere û kiriyariyên Hawarê bide hev. Hingê kurdan kiriyariya Hawarê didan, lê bi vî şertî, yanî gava xwediyê Hawarê diçû cem wan û ji wan dixwest" (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 996).

[30] "Lê vê carê holê ne bû. Kurd ji xwe ber bi Hawarê mijûl bûn û mil dane ber. Belê mirovine nenas, xortine belengaz, wek xortên milteên pêşveketî, pênc kaxezên xwe dikirin nav zerfekê de û ji xwediyê Hawarê re dişandin û nav di xelkê didin û digotin arikariya Hawarê bikin. . ." (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 996).

In the same article, C. Bedirxan also mentioned their struggle against high paper prices: "*Hawar* lived on and appeared 16 times a year instead of 12. In such a year during which everything became expensive. Certainly, the paper which used to cost 1 *qemerî* today cannot be purchased at a cost of 15 *qemerî*. It is the same for everything"[31] As is evident, all prices increased in Syria during WWII, including the price of paper, the main material needed to publish a periodical. C. Bedirxan states that the price increased more than 15-fold. In the face of these effects, he considers it a great success to increase production from to publish 12 to 16 issues per year. This also indicates that he was able to overcome the harsh conditions to continue the publication of the periodical. For the same issue, Nûredîn Zaza, too, referred to important details. Regarding the period prior to the longest hiatus, Nuredîn Zaza (1976) states that at the time there was a small number of readers, thus the revenue collected did not suffice to help the responsible persons to obtain enough money to continue the publication (p. 8). Concerning the subscribers, he remarks that some were Syrian Kurds and some, Iraqi Behdinan Kurds, and that the periodical sometimes secretly entered Turkey. The reasons Zaza listed above also imply that, in 1935, as of issue 26, *Hawar* underwent hardships due to lack of subscriptions and had to cease publication. He also puts forward other reasons for this hiatus: The lack of support by governments or organizations, absence of Kurdish language in schools as a medium of education, and thus the late emergence of Kurdish readers (Ibid.). Zaza suggests that the combination of all these reasons caused *Hawar* to stop publication in 1935.

[31] "Hawar jiyiya û di salekê de li şûna 12 caran 16 caran belav bû. Di saleke welê de ko her tişt beha bûne. Belê kaxeza ko berê bi qemerikî bû îro bi panzdeh qemeriyan nayete kirîn. Her tişt bi vî awayî." (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 996).

For the same issue, Nûredîn Zaza, too, referred to important details. Regarding the period prior to the longest hiatus, Nuredîn Zaza (1976) states that at the time there was a small number of readers, thus the revenue collected did not suffice to help the responsible persons to obtain enough money to continue the publication (p. 8). Concerning the subscribers, he remarks that some were Syrian Kurds and some, Iraqi Behdinan Kurds, and that the periodical sometimes secretly entered Turkey. The reasons Zaza listed above also imply that, in 1935, as of issue 26, *Hawar* underwent hardships due to lack of subscriptions and had to cease publication. He also puts forward other reasons for this hiatus: The lack of support by governments or organizations, absence of Kurdish language in schools as a medium of education, and thus the late emergence of Kurdish readers (Ibid.). Zaza suggests that the combination of all these reasons caused *Hawar* to stop publication in 1935.

After about a six-year hiatus, *Hawar* re-appeared on April 15, 1941. In this period, C. Bedirxan had to revive the subscriptions and reach out to as many readers or subscribers as possible. Due to ongoing war, it was difficult to acquire paper, but he overcame this problem thanks to support from England, which was then powerful in the region. It is obvious that supplies of paper meant he could sell some of it, bringing in extra revenue, that would compensate for the lack of subscriptions at the time. In this respect, Rewşen Bedirxan (2020) told in her interview with Mehmed Uzun that C. Bedirxan sold some of the paper at a high price. She also remarked that the revenue from the paper was much more than the amount obtained from Kurdish readers at the time (p. 112). Furthermore, she referred to the role of an English officer called Colonel "Elfinkston" in the provision of the paper for *Hawar* and *Ronahî* (Ibid).

Regarding the interest of England in Kurds, Zaza explains that: "In 1941, the English had entered Syria and then intended Kurds to side with them and for scaring Turks, they got along well with Kurds. Therefore, they allowed Kurmanji and Sorani publications in Beirut and Amman and also the republication of *Hawar*"[32] (Zaza, 1976, p. 8). It seems that the relationships of Kurds with England were inescapably influenced by the English politics of the time. Apparently, the English authorities helped Kurds if it were in their favor. Although C. Bedirxan referred to the permission to republish *Hawar* without mentioning the authority, in this respect, Nuretîn Zaza referred to the presence of England in Syria during WWII and the political situation, which allowed the republication of *Hawar*. In the same vein, Nuredîn Zaza revealed details about how C. Bedirxan managed to obtain paper during the difficult conditions of WWII and to continue the publication of *Hawar* until 1943 when it finally closed. In this regard, he states:

> Although the world was at war and it was very difficult to obtain paper in the Middle East, the English generously provided late Prince Celadet with papers. He, too, allocated some of those papers for *Hawar* and sold some in the black market with a high price. Thereby, he revived *Hawar* for three years.[33] (Zaza, 1976, p. 9)

These remarks show that, in the second period of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan made efforts to continue the publication by obtaining the paper from the English authorities. According to Zaza, C. Bedirxan also sold some paper to provide some revenue but points out that this strategy enabled C. Bedirxan to print *Hawar* for only three more years. It is not surprising that C. Bedirxan also launched *Ronahî* in the same period,

[32] "Di sala 1941 an de, Ingilîz ketibûn Sûriyê û dixwestin hîngê Kurd bi aliyê xwe de bikişînin û ji bo tirsandina Tirkan, navbera xwe bi wan re xweş bikin. Ji lewre rê dan ku ji Bêrût û ji Amanê kurmancî û soranî bêne weşandin û ku HAWAR jî ji nû ve bête derêxistin" (Zaza, 1976, p. 8)

[33] "Herwekî dinya di şer de bû û di Rojhilata Navîn de kaxiz pir bi zor dikete dest, Ingilîzan, bi comerdî, kaxiz didan rehmetî Mîr Celadet. Ewî jî, hin ji van kaxizan ji HAWARê re dihişt û hin jê di sûka reş de, bi bahakî bilind, difrot. Bi vî awayî, sê salan ewî dîsa HAWAR vejand." (Zaza, 1976, p. 9)

most probably using the same strategy. In this respect, in a footnote in his work, *Ma vie de Kurde*, Zaza (1993) also gives the following information: "*Hawar*: The Kurdish journal (Help) would only reappear when the English arrived in Syria. At the time, the Turks leaned toward the Germans' side. The English supported Prince Celadet Bedirxan in his intention to republish the Kurdish periodical"[34] (p. 245). It seems that England wanted to develop relations with the Kurds in Syria in order to offset Turkey's inclination toward German in this period. The English authorities wanted to manipulate this situation for their own political ends, and C. Bedirxan saw this as an opportunity to re-launch *Hawar* and profit from this relation as a means of prolonging *Hawar* by procuring paper in the wartime conditions.

Regarding C. Bedirxan's stance toward the subscription fees, it is important to note what he said in the article entitled "Li Ser Yekitiya Zimanê Kurdî" [On the Unity of Kurdish Language], published in the Arabic script section of issue 10 (October 23, 1932). In this article, he said:

> As is now the case, the subscription fee of every newspaper and magazine is more expensive for foreign countries than where it is printed. However, *Hawar*, which is well disposed to unity, has made the subscription fee the same for all the countries in which Kurds live. Thus, *Hawar* is financially harmed since the postage charge for Syria is 10 centimes whereas it is 150 centimes for Iraq, Iran and Caucasian countries. But we accepted this so that Kurds would be equal in the subscription fee of *Hawar*, too.[35]
> (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 213)

[34] "*Hawar*: Le journal kurde ("Secours") ne reparaîtra qu'en 1941 à l'arrivée des Anglais en Syrie. A cette époque, les Turcs penchaient du côté des Allemands. Les Anglais soutinrent l'émir Celadet Bedir-Khan dans son intention de rééditer le périodique kurde." (Zaza, 1993, p. 245)

[35] ". . . Wekî niho, kiriyariya her rojname û kovarê ji bona welatê biyaniyan ji cihê çapkirinê girantir e. Lê Hawara ko di hertiştî de meyldarê yekîtiyê ye kiriyariya xwe ji bona her welatê ko tê de kurd hene wek hev kirine. Bi vî hawî li Hawarê ziyan dibe. Ji ber ko heqê postê ji bona Sûriyê 10 santîm, lê ji bona Iraq û Îran û welatên Qefqasê 150 santîm e. Lê em pê qaîl bûn da ko kurd di kiriyariya Hawarê de jî wek hev bibin." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 213)

This explanation shows that C. Bedirxan put circulation among as many readers as possible in different countries above the monetary concerns. That is why he kept the subscription fee the same for different countries, despite the differing postage charges.

4.4.2 Donations

As I mentioned above, subscription was the fundamental method used to maintain the publication of the periodical. Nevertheless, my research has shown other means of financial supports as well: Donations was one of these.

In the above-mentioned article entitled "Kiriyariya Hawarê", C. Bedirxan showed donations, too, played a significant role in the publication of *Hawar*. In this article, he shared a list of those offering financial support for the periodical. The list of donors (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 996) was as follows:

Lîreyên Sûrî		Lîreyên Sûrî	
Hesen axa Haco	400	Şêxmûs axa Hacî Xelef	15
Elî axa Zilfo	50	Lêzgîn axa	12
Mehmûd axa Zirkî	50	Arif beg Ebas	10
Dr Ehmed Nafiz beg	30	Şêx Mihemed Zekî	10
Mihemed beg Cemîl paşa	25	Yekî Serhedî	10
Silêman efendî Qotreş	25	Mihsin beg Berazî	10
Emer axa Şemdîn	20	Memdûh Selîm beg	10
Bekir axa Alosî	20	Mihemed Elî axa Sêxmûs	10
Ehmed axa Qereçolî	20	Mihemed Hec Evdê axa	10
Qedrî beg Cemîl Paşa	15	Nizamedîn beg Kubar	10
Ekrem beg Cemîl paşa	15	Bedirxan axa	10
Bedrî beg Cemîl paşa	15	Dr Nûrî beg	10
Miqdad beg Cemîl paşa	15	Receb axa Zilfo	10
Faîz beg kurdî	15	Tahir beg Bedir-Xan	10
		Xanimekê	10

Fig. 10 The list of donors

There are 29 people on this list. C. Bedirxan expains that he displayed on this list the names of donors of more than 5 Syrian Lira, i.e., there were more than those on the list who financially supported *Hawar*. The list includes Kurdish tribal chiefs and notables such as members of the Cemîl Paşa family, Dr. Ehmed Nafîz, Memdûh Selîm, Dr Nûrî Beg and many others who donated a total of 872 Syrian Lira. Among the donors, Hesen Axa Haco, with 400 Syrian Lira, donated far more than any others, and C. Bedirxan showed his gratitude to him by giving a relatively larger space to his contribution in the article. Indeed, he wanted to show his gratitude to all who gave more than 5 Syrian Lira. In my view, this was the main reason why he made those names public through *Hawar*. In this regard, besides Hesen Axa Haco, he praised especially the Kurds in Syria for collecting 200 Syrian Lira in a single night and thus guaranteed republication of *Hawar* (Ibid.). It is also of importance that among 29 donors, there is one woman, who donated 10 Syrian Lira. Yet, C. Bedirxan did not publish her full name, instead, listed her as "a lady" (Xanimekê). Furthermore, there is another who stands out with the nickname "Lezgîn axa". This person was, in fact, Roger Lescot, who contributed frequently with his writings and translations. He was popular among Kurds and was called "Lezgîn axa" (Speedy Agha).

4.4.3 The support by French mandate

It appears that *Hawar* also received financial support from the French mandate authorities at the beginning in return for abstaining from politics (Henning, 2018, p. 496). As Henning (2018) states, this support in the 1930s was not only confined to French Mandate authorities; also, the French institutions in the region financially supported *Hawar* via subscriptions (500). In this respect, she makes the following explanation:

> Prominent advocates of the journal were Robert Montagne (1893–1954), director of the Institut Français in Damascus at the time, and Jean Chauvel (1897–1979), the French High Commissioner in Beirut. Montagne secured a number of paid subscriptions for *Hawar* among French diplomats and Orientalists in the Middle East and France, among them Henri Massé and Louis Massignon. (Henning, 2018, p. 500)

This demonstrates that French authorities and institutions in the region also helped *Hawar* circulate among their network of diplomats and scholars. This inevitably supported C. Bedirxan in disseminating and legitimating his evolving ideas about Kurdish cultural identity.

Regarding financial support by French Mandate authorities, Jordi Tejel (2009) argues that it was transferred to different persons, institutions or delegations within the mandate authorities and its purpose was to influence the content of the periodical (p. 26). In this regard, he states that:

> The High Commission's economic support was transferred to the intermediary of the French Institute in Damascus (F.I.D), and more specifically to Commandant Robert Montagne. But for "reasons of political opportunism" the Serail decided to bestow the responsibility upon the delegation from the High Commission in Damascus. (Ibid.)

These details indicate that although French authorities allowed C. Bedirxan to publish *Hawar* in the territory under their control, they also had the intention to influence it by their financial support to prevent any content that would cause a political tension between them and Turkey. In this regard, Tejel asserts that despite the reduced readership of *Hawar*, the main reason why French Mandate authorities took great interest in Kurdish cultural activities was the intention to keep them in control (Ibid.).

My analysis through archival documents of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs-Nantes[36] has confirmed the financial support granted by the French Mandate in different aspects: The French authorities supported *Hawar* through subsidies or providing new subscriptions to increase the number of subscribers; in return, however, they expected to control the contents .

The archival documents show that French Mandate authorities financially supported C. Bedirxan, for instance, in order to meet some requirements for the printing of the alphabet he developed. In this respect, in a document prepared by the French Mandate authorities dated March 24, 1933, it is noted that "The effort to be made in favor of the Bedirkhans does not exceed the order of 3.000 Francs. This sum will allow Celadet Bedirxan to pay a Parisian foundry for the printing types he ordered for his magazine, *Hawar*"[37] (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (MAE), 1933a, pp. 2-3) (For the document, see Appendix A). This statement shows French authorities agreed to pay C. Bedirxan as much as 3000 Francs in order to help him order the required printing types from Paris.

A document entitled "Note sur la Revue 'Hawar' ", written by French Mandate authorities in Damascus on April 4, 1933, indicates the approximate circulation of *Hawar* and the countries it was distributed to, and also shows how French authorities supported *Hawar* by increasing the number of French subscribers. In the document, it is noted that "[t]he periodical *Hawar* has an average circulation of about 500 copies. The examination of the subscription lists, of which an enclosed table presents the details, shows that Syria has 170 subscribers, France 21, Iraq 73

[36] I managed to access those archival documents by courtesy of Barbara Henning.

[37] "L'effort à réaliser en faveur des Bederkhan ne dépasse pas l'ordre de 3.000 Francs. Cette somme permettra à Djela[d]et Bederkhan de régler à une fonderie parisienne la commande de caractères d'imprimerie qu'il a passée pour sa revue 'Hawar'." (MAE, 1933a, pp. 2-3)

and the other subscriptions amount to about 25"[38] (MAE, 1933b, p. 1). (For the table, see Appendix B). As those details show, among a total of 289 subscribers, *Hawar* has the largest number in Syria and then Iraq, whereas France is the third country. In the same document, it is stated that the total revenue gathered from subscriptions was 204.5 Syrian Lira and out of this total, the contribution of France was 90 Syrian Lira, i.e., 9/20 of the whole. The document also mentions that after the subscription of 10 more people by Haut Commissarait, the contribution to this revenue by France will rise to 100 Syrian Lira out of a total of 215 Syrian Lira, or almost half (Ibid.). It seems that, through this document, French authorities openly indicated the relatively greater contribution provided through French subscribers. Regarding the other 25 subscribers, these extend to many different countries: Iran, Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, India, England, Germany, Italy and the USA (See the table in the Appendix B).

A confidential letter on June 25, 1933 by "Délegué General du Haut Commissaire" (Delegate General of the High Commissioner) to "Monsieur le Conseiller du Haut Commissaire" (The Advisor to the High Commissioner), provides significant information about French mandate authorities' financial support to *Hawar* and their expectations in return. (For the letter, see Appendix C). In the letter sent from Beirut to Damascus, the General Delegate states that "I had granted certain subsidies to the periodical *Hawar* in 1932, which was transmitted by the intermediary of Commandant Montagne"[39] (MAE, 1933c, p. 1). This information confirms that, in 1932 when it was launched, French Mandate authorities financially

[38] "La revue "Hawar" a un tirage moyen d'environ 500 exemplaires. De 1'examen des listes d'bonnement, dont un tableau ci-joint présente le détail, i1 ressort que la Syrie a 170 abonnés, la France 21, 1'Irak 73, les autres abonnements s'élevant à 25 environ." (MAE, 1933b, p. 1)
[39] "J'avais accordé en 1932 à la revue "Hawar" certaines subventions qui lui avaient été transmises par l'intermédiaire du Commandant Montagne." (MAE, 1933c, p. 1)

supported *Hawar* through Commandant Montagne, the principal of the French Institute in Damascus. However, for reasons of political expediency, the General Delegate decided to put the Damascus delegation in charge (Ibid.). He also describes the subsidy that would be provided at the time: "A subsidy of 3000 francs will be granted to the periodical *Hawar*. It is intended in part to ensure the service of the subscriptions made so far by Commandant Montagne. The addresses will be provided to you by the periodical itself."[40] (Ibid.). According to this letter, it seems that the Delegate General intends to send a subsidy of 3000 Francs for *Hawar*, which will be partly used to cover the subscriptions Commandant Montagne had given up until that time. Regarding an additional subsidy, he remarks that "I would add that an additional subsidy could possibly be considered if the attitude of *Hawar* proves to be correct"[41] (Ibid.). This implies that they expected *Hawar* to follow a certain line under their control, so that they could continue to support it financially. This approach by French authorities shows that they intended to use their subsidy as a strategic tool to control Kurds. Therefore, for the delivery of the payment, the Delegate General requested it to be made in monthly installments by the person responsible for the press service, who could thus keep in regular contact with C. Bedirxan (MAE,1933c, p. 2).

Concerning the expectation of the French mandate authorities, the Delegate General expressed in the letter:

[40] "Une subvention de 3.000 francs sera consentie à la revue "Hawar". Elle est destinée en partie à assurer le service des abonnements souscrits jusqu'ici par le Commandant Montagne. Les adresses vous en seront fournies par la revue elle-même." (MAE,1933c, p. 1)
[41] "J'ajoute qu'éventuellement un supplément de subvention pourra être envisagé si l'attitude du "Hawar" s'avère correcte." (MAE 1933c, p. 1)

> In return for the aid provided thus, it will be convenient to invite the latter [C. Bedirxan] not to address the political subjects in his publications. He will have to endeavor to remain exclusively in the cultural program, otherwise – you can discreetly warn the person concerned of this- he would face a suspension of sine die.[42] (MAE,1933c, p. 2)

As these statements indicate, they expect C. Bedirxan not to include political issues in the content of the periodical and focus on culture instead. In this respect, it is not surprising that C. Bedirxan clearly expressed in the first issue that *Hawar* would not cover political issues; clearly, he had to comply with the expectations of French Mandate authorities since it was thanks to their permission and creation of suitable circumstances that *Hawar* was launched. Although it was impossible for C. Bedirxan to turn a blind eye to those authorities and their intention to control the publications, it would be inaccurate to say that he stayed totally loyal to these expectations. In the poem entitled "Yekbûn û Yekîtiya Kurdî" [Union and Kurdish Unity] and published in issue 4 (July 3, 1932), for instance, K. Bedirxan calls for unity among Kurds and asks them to disregard their differences. In the same vein, his poem entitled "Alê Kurdan"[Kurdish Flag] under the pseudonym Herekol Azîzan was published in issue 5 (July 20, 1932). Here, he defined Kurdish flag and praised it, which reflects a political message, even in the early years of *Hawar*, financially supported by the French. In the same issue, he also published a lullaby written by his father and sung by his mother for his late brother Bedirxan. It was entitled "Lorî: Delaliya Zarowan" [A Lullaby: The Beauty of the Children]. He also shared the story of this lullaby with readers referring to his grandfather Bedirxan and the exile years of his family during which his brother died. Embedded in the story was an anecdote about how his

[42] "En contre-partie de l'aide ainsi apportée, il conviendra d'inviter ce dernier à ne pas aborder dans ses publications de sujets d'ordre politique. Il devra s'attacher à demeurer exclusivement dans le plan culturel, et ceci – vous pourrez en avertir discrètement l'intéressé – sous peine de suspension sine die." (MAE, 1933c, p. 2)

mother prevented him from going to military school in Turkey (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 105-106). The same lullaby was translated into French by himself under the pseudonym Herekol Azîzan and published in the French section of the same issue under the title "Berceuse: 'La caresse aux enfants'". Similar to the source text, C. Bedirxan translated the story of the long-lasting exile of Bedirxani family members in more detail in the explanation part, probably intending to create sympathy or empathy on French readers' part, however, omitting the anecdote about his mother not allowing him to go to the Turkish military school (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 113), as this might have caused a reaction. Therefore, he left it for the Kurdish readers only and did not translate for the western readership. It is possible to enumerate those sorts of political texts throughout the entire run of *Hawar*. Those kinds of examples show that C. Bedirxan always found a way to cover many issues on Kurds, in political aspects as well, both in translations and indigenous texts.

Regarding French mandate authorities' concern to control the publication of *Hawar*, the following explanation by the delegate general openly expresses their intention:

> It cannot escape your attention that the monitoring of the periodical *Hawar* deserves on our part a very particular attention because we must avoid, as Commandant Montagne has very judiciously noted, a situation in which Kurdish studies only end up creating a movement whose direction escapes us entirely.[43] (MAE,1933c, p. 2)

Those remarks indicate that they preferred the content covered in *Hawar* on different aspects of Kurdish culture to avoid creating a movement that would escape from their control. This indeed means a double effort for C. Bedirxan so as to create the Kurdish cultural identity: On one hand he had to persuade the French authorities to

[43] "Il ne vous échappera pas que la surveillance de la revue "Hawar" mérite de notre part une attention toute particulière car nous devons éviter, ainsi que l'a d'ailleurs fort judicieusement noté le Commandant Montagne, que les études kurdes n'aboutissent qu'à créer un mouvement dont la direction nous échappe entièrement." (MAE,1933c, p. 2)

accept the content of the periodical, on the other, he had to cover a vast range of subjects on the Kurds and disseminate his ideas among them. Analyzing the whole run of the periodical, it would be impossible to say that political issues were not covered in *Hawar*, though. Even the most innocent writing or translation in it had a political aspect, even if not openly expressed as such.

4.4.4 Advertisements

Regarding the advertisements, it seems that there was not a vast array of advertisements in *Hawar*. As for their financial contribution, I could not access any sources detailing the income generated from these advertisements, which is not even referred to in the periodical itself. However, the coverage of the ads in the periodical shows that C. Bedirxan tried to create new options to generate revenue and support the periodical. Furthermore, as seen in the "Kitêbxana Hawarê" (The Library of *Hawar*), they also helped to disseminate works in line with editorial policy of *Hawar.* Moreover, the publication of the advertisements in French, Arabic and Kurdish in the same issues or across issues also points to the multilingual and polyphonic nature of *Hawar*. Similar to translated texts addressing both Kurdish and French readerships, the advertisements also endeavor to reach as many audiences as possible through different languages, including the translation of the French advertisements into Arabic, too.

As of issue 2 (June 1,1932), there are two advertisements on two doctors called Dr. M. Khidir and, Dr. Ahmed Nafiz. I could not find much information on the first; from the advertisement, it is noted that he is an eye doctor based in Damascus. The second doctor is a renowned Kurdish pediatrician and also a specialist in venereal diseases. Furthermore, he was a writer in *Hawar,* and in his column, he

replied to the readers' questions on health issues, as can be seen in issue 2 and 3 (June 15, 1932) in the entries respectively entitled "Stûna Feqehan: Ta, Tawî û Tabir" [The Column for the Students: Malaria, Malaria-sufferers, Malaria Drugs] and "Quncika Bijîşkî: Nexweşî û Dermankirin" [The Column of the Doctor: Disease and Treatment]. As of issue 3, a third advertisement on photoengraving was added to these two. These advertisements were published in the same format in the following issues up until issue 23 and were published in French and Arabic in the same issues. In the Arabic script section, there was an exact translation of these three French advertisements in Arabic. It is of importance to note that, in *Hawar*, the books that were published under the title of "Kitêbxana Hawarê" (The Library of *Hawar*) were also promoted in Kurdish. The number of books listed in this book promotion series extended to seventeen. Indeed, the translation of French advertisements into Arabic and their recurrent publication in *Hawar* also created another genre of translated texts in the whole composition of the periodical. The multilingual nature of the periodical was also present in the publication of the advertisements; French and Kurdish advertisements were on the same page of an issue, as well as the Arabic translation of the French advertisements in the Arabic script section. Therefore, I conducted an analysis of their part in the whole composition of the periodical, and analyzed these advertisements in more detail in the sub-section 4.5.5 of the Compositional codes.

4.5 Compositional codes

All textual productions in *Hawar*, both indigenous and translated, along with its polyphonic and heteroglottal nature, aimed to construct a Kurdish cultural identity across the whole run. In this regard, the translated and indigenous texts published in

each issue or across all issues had a dialogical relationship. In my research, I argue that the translations in *Hawar* have played a pivotal role in constructing a Kurdish cultural identity. Therefore, while analyzing the translated texts, I categorized them in relation to their part in the formation of this identity. For this purpose, I have scrutinized the compositional codes under the categories of "informative texts", "literary texts", "religious texts", "folkloric texts" and "Ads". Before delving into the details of the translated texts according to this classification, it will be helpful to analyze the overall distribution of both translations (in all directions) and indigenous texts across 57 issues of *Hawar,* as shown on the graph below:

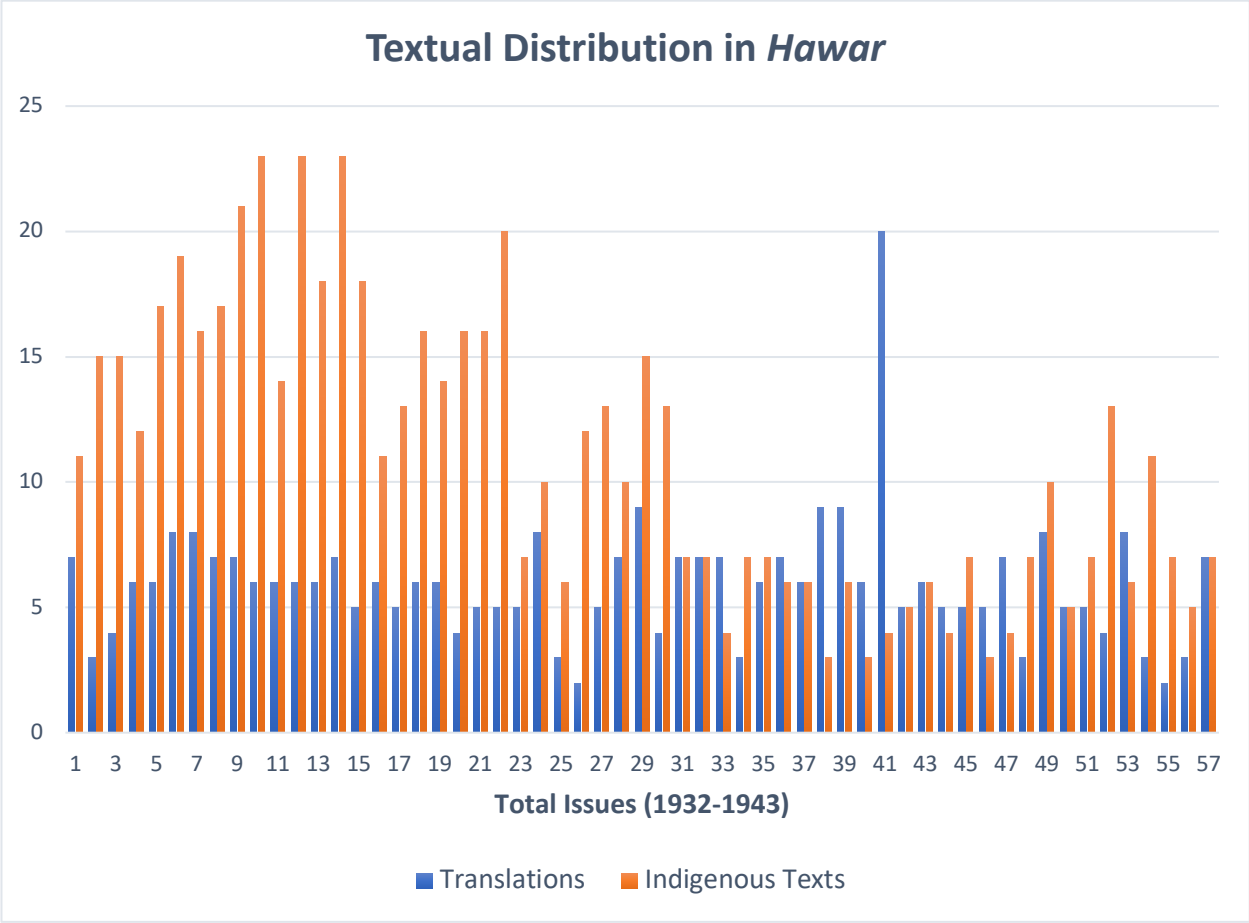


Fig. 11 The distribution of translations and indigenous texts

As part of the holistic approach, I included all the textual productions in the whole run of *Hawar* so as to better analyze the compositional codes. That is, the texts not

mentioned in the contents table such as announcements, correction notes, short notices for readers were all included in this graph as indigenous texts. Likewise, while analyzing the compositional codes, I also added advertisements to the indigenous texts. Interestingly, some advertisements published in the Roman script section were also translated from French to Arabic in the Arabic script section. Therefore, some of ads were also included in this graph as translated texts. Furthermore, the compositional nature of the periodical made it difficult to apply a simple, true-for-all classification. For instance, both for translated and indigenous texts, two or more textual productions of the same genre were published under one title, and this was true for textual productions of different genres published under one title. Therefore, both for translated and indigenous texts, focusing on the title only and classifying a text accordingly would certainly overlook the textual composition of any given entry. An entry would not always feature one text only, but also two or more could be clustered under one title: Those texts could be in the same or different genres that were disguised under sub-titles or could be distinguished by any elements indicating their separateness from other components of the entry. By the same token, it was also possible to see both translated and indigenous texts as part of the same entry published under one title. To overcome this, I decided to apply a method that the above-mentioned nature of the periodical imposed: instead of focusing on the titles only, I counted each item in the texts and included them in the graph. For instance, if there was an announcement not included in the content table, I did not disregard it but counted it as an indigenous text, or if there were both a translation and an indigenous text published under the same title, I counted them separately, and included them to the analysis as such. I applied this method both for translated and indigenous texts. To give an example, three songs in issue 24 under the title "Ji

Stranên Cihê Botan"[Of the Songs from the Botan Region] are included in the graph as three indigenous texts. Similarly, as seen in the issue 14, translation of two different genres were published under the title "Textes et Traductions: Deux Variantes (Du Guharto)" [Texts and Translations: Two Versions]: one was the translation of a new version of a song, the other was that of a new version of a legend. Therefore, I counted these as two separate items and included them as two translated texts of different genres. In the same vein, in issue 18, two items were published under the title of "Ji Ecêbên Dinyayê" [Odd Things from the World]: one was an account of a local news, which I included in the indigenous texts, while the other was an article on a carnivorous plant in America and its features, an example of a concealed translation which I included as a translated text in this graph. Additionally, certain translated or indigenous texts were published twice in the same issue: in the Roman script section and in the Arabic script section. As a result, in these issues, the same texts appeared twice in the same issue without changes except for being in a different alphabet. Therefore, I counted them as one textual item only. To give an example, in the article entitled "Armanc, awayê xebat û nivîsandina Hawarê" [Objectives and the Manner of Work and Writing in *Hawar*] that was published in the first issue, C. Bedirxan explained the objectives and the program they would follow. The same article was also published in the Arabic script section of the same issue, and I counted them as one textual item. I used the same method for similar translated texts, too.

Looking at the graph above, it seems that translation has got substantial presence in the textual distribution of *Hawar*. It indicates that while the number of indigenous texts was much higher, especially up until issue 30, it began to relatively decrease in the following issues, whereas the ratio of translated texts began to

increase and rival the indigenous texts, coinciding with approximately the second term of *Hawar* when it reappeared after about a six-year hiatus. Likewise, the graph displays that the number of indigenous texts were highest in issues 10, 12 and 14 with twenty-three, whereas they scored lowest in issues 38, 40 and 46 with only 3 in each. Regarding translated texts, as it is obvious from the text, the highest number occurs in issue 41, which is composed of twenty translations, while the fewest are in issues 26 and 55, with two in each. Besides, the ratio of translations in comparison with indigenous texts is equal in issues 31, 32, 57 with seven translations plus seven indigenous texts. The same equality can be seen in issues 37 and 43, which are composed of six translations and six indigenous texts, and in issues 42 and 50, there are five of each.

The following graph shows the space indigenous texts and translations occupy according to the number of pages:

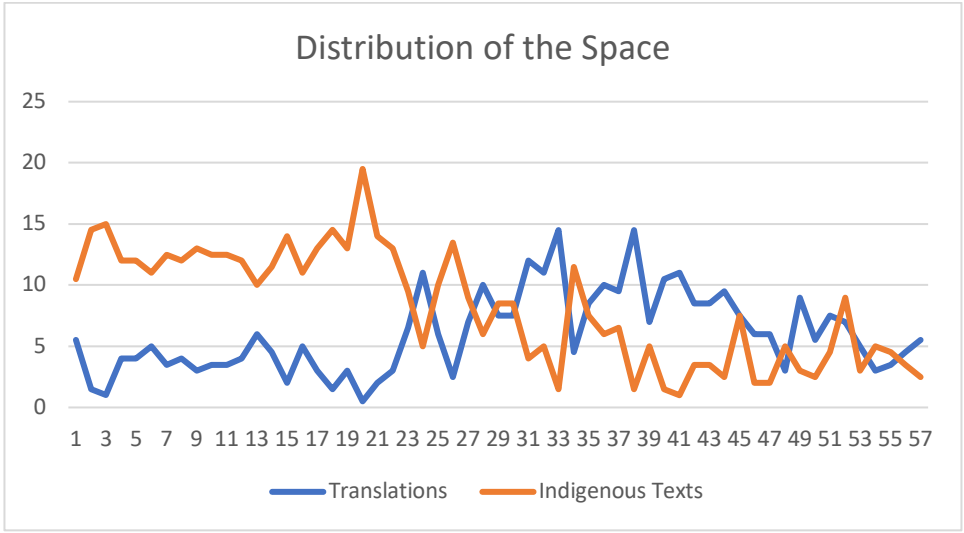


Fig. 12 Distribution of the space translations and indigenous texts occupy

My analysis across all issues has shown that 57 issues are totally composed of 811 pages. The space translations occupy is composed of 343.5 pages and it makes up

42% out of the total space, whereas indigenous texts take up 467.5 pages and constitute 58%. Although indigenous texts seem to occupy larger space, the space translations occupy for such a crucial periodical is quite high and substantial. Furthermore, as can be seen in the graph above, the overall space for indigenous texts falls across time and issues whereas translations have an overall rising pattern. As mentioned before, the number of pages also fell from 16 (the most frequent one) to 8 because of economic hardships and scarcity of paper. This also impacted the space translations and indigenous texts took up in *Hawar,* as can be seen in the graph above, too. Despite the falling number of the pages toward the end, it is also observable from the graph that, especially as of issue 54, the space for translations started to increase and for indigenous text, to fall.

However, evaluating those graphs above according to the numbers of items or the space occupied only could mislead us in representing the crucial role translations play in the composition of *Hawar*, especially in terms of the construction of a Kurdish cultural identity. Besides, my analysis of the whole publication of *Hawar* has shown that, in a certain number of indigenous texts, too, there exist various aspects of translation. In this regard, indigenous texts such as glossaries, transliterated texts and those including translated pieces can be considered material to be examined in the domain of translation studies. Thus, it should be noted that translation has its presence even in indigenous texts, which reflects the importance of translation in the composition of *Hawar*.

As mentioned above, I classified the translated texts into five categories: "Informative Texts" (IT), "Literary Texts" (LT), "Religious Texts" (RT), "Folkloric Texts" (FT) and "Advertisements" (AD). To better analyze the role of translation in the composition of *Hawar*, I will analyze the translations in the periodical in

accordance with this classification. To delve into the details of the impact of these categories, and make a proper evaluation, I will analyze their role in the periodical by considering their subcategories and functions in the overall composition. I will discuss those categories in detail as of 4.5.1 Informative Texts. However, it will be enlightening to provide general information on the role of the translations subsumed under those categories. My analysis has shown that informative texts featured articles disseminating and legitimating editorial objectives of the periodical, or those presenting material on Kurdish literature, as well as the news, war memories and entries on geographical places that enrich Kurdish language and vocabulary and contribute to the development of Kurdish written language in prose. The translations in this category were also concerned about informing Kurdish readers about different subjects across the world. Furthermore, the folkloric texts generally addressed western readership, and aimed to introduce them to Kurdish culture through translations, mainly of songs, as well as those of legends, proverbs, fables and similar folkloric elements. In addition, religious texts both addressed western and Kurdish readership. They aimed to reflect different perspectives of the religions Kurds currently or previously believe or practice, through pieces about Ezidism, Zoroastrianism and Islam. The literary texts contributed to Kurdish literature with translations from French literature at large. Translations in this category enabled Kurdish literature to develop both in prose and verse, through translations of poems and short stories to a larger extent, as well as a smaller number of literary texts ranging from spy fiction to travel writing. Lastly, my research both on translated and indigenous advertisements point to their role in reflecting the periodical's multilingual nature, and the motivation behind publishing these items, as well as their part in promotion of the wide variety of works or journals featuring Kurds. It

should also be noted that the wide range of different text types in those categories and the diversity appearing in sub-categories are also the reflection of the heteroglossia featuring in the textual composition of *Hawar*. Moreover, the textual productions in different languages, dialects as well as in different scripts added to the heteroglossia of the magazine. Additionally, I should note that this heteroglottal richness of the texts evolved into a kind of "dialogism", to use Bakhtin's concept, with each other or to put it another way, they interacted both within the same issues, or across issues in *Hawar,* generally contributing to forming a Kurdish cultural identity.

The following graph shows the overall distribution of translations according to above-mentioned categories:

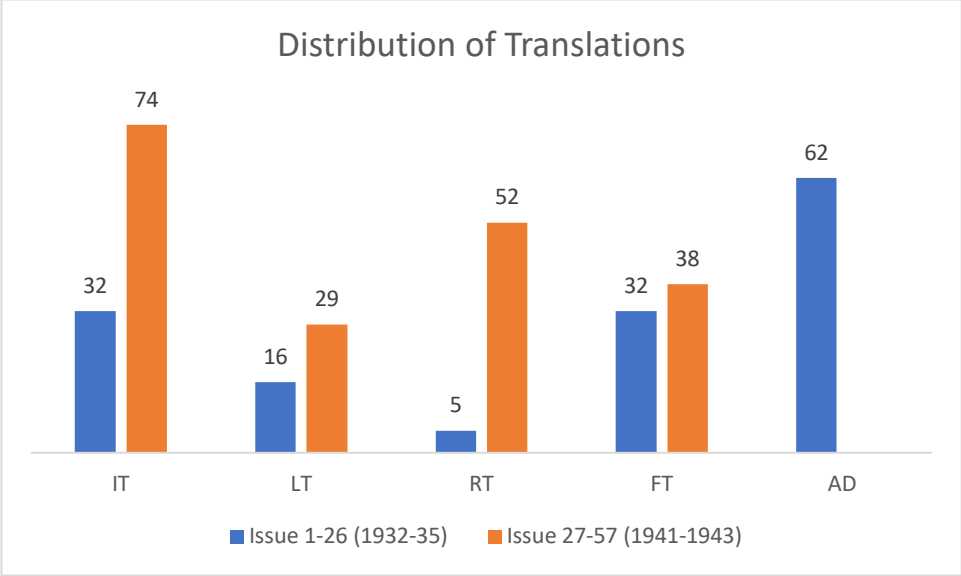


Fig. 13 Distribution of translations according to the determined categories

The graph shows how 340 translated texts were distributed in two periods of *Hawar*. As mentioned before, I divided the overall publication of *Hawar* into two for the analysis because *Hawar* had ceased publication as of the issue 26 for about 6 years,

reappearing in 1941 as of the issue 27 with a program involving innovations for the new period. Moreover, as could be seen in both graphs, the number of translations in the second period outnumber the first. In contrast, the previous graph also indicates a decrease in the number of indigenous texts in the second period.

As the graph shows, in the first period, spanning 1932-1935, it appears that with 62 items, advertisements were the most common. This might imply that they had much more impact than any other categories mentioned above. However, it must be borne in mind that the advertisements published from issue 2 until issue 22 were all repeated translations of the same three texts and the impact of other categories should not be underestimated.

The graph shows that, with 32 items, both informative texts and folkloric texts were the second most common followed by literary texts, with 16 items. It seems that in the first period, the number of religious texts was the smallest with five items only.

Regarding the second period of *Hawar,* some dramatic changes stand out in certain categories. In informative texts, for instance, the number of texts rose to 74, making up the largest ratio in this period. A similar trend is observable in religious texts, where it went up dramatically from 5 items to 52, showing the part translated religious texts played in this term. Another group which made dramatic changes but in the reverse direction: advertisements. In the second period, the number of translated advertisements fell from 62 items to zero. Indeed, the presence of translated advertisements were relevant to the bi-alphabetical nature of the periodical: in the first period certain advertisements published in French were rendered into Arabic in the Arabic script section. Concerning the folkloric texts, the number of translated texts in this category has a slight rise from 32 to 38, comprising

the third largest division. Furthermore, the literary texts increased from 16 to 29, with a much greater percentage compared with folkloric texts. This means literary texts increased their influence in the second term, while the folkloric texts slightly increased theirs. In the sub-categories below, I will explain the role of these translations and their bearing on the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity.

Regardless of the periodical division I have applied, it seems that informative texts make up the largest proportion, with 106 items out of a total of 340 translated texts in the periodical followed by folkloric texts, with 70 translations. In addition, with 62 items, advertisements are third and religious texts are fourth with 57 translations. In terms of numbers, literary texts make up the smallest share, with 45 translations. Below, I will begin with IT in order to scrutinize the subcategories.

4.5.1 Informative texts

Among translated texts in the periodical, informative texts make up the majority. While analyzing translations in *Hawar*, I have classified those texts as "Article", "News", "War Memory", "Geographical Area", "Biography" and "Others". In the category of "Others", there are a small number of translated texts which are composed of "aphorisms", "glossary" and pieces from a "self-help book". I will provide details in the following sub-categories showing those translations have especially helped to develop Kurdish prose. Development of Kurdish language in this way was also in line with C. Bedirxan's efforts to build up a Kurdish cultural identity since the language and literature were two other important components of cultural identity-formation. The following graph shows the distribution of translated informative texts according to those sub-categories:

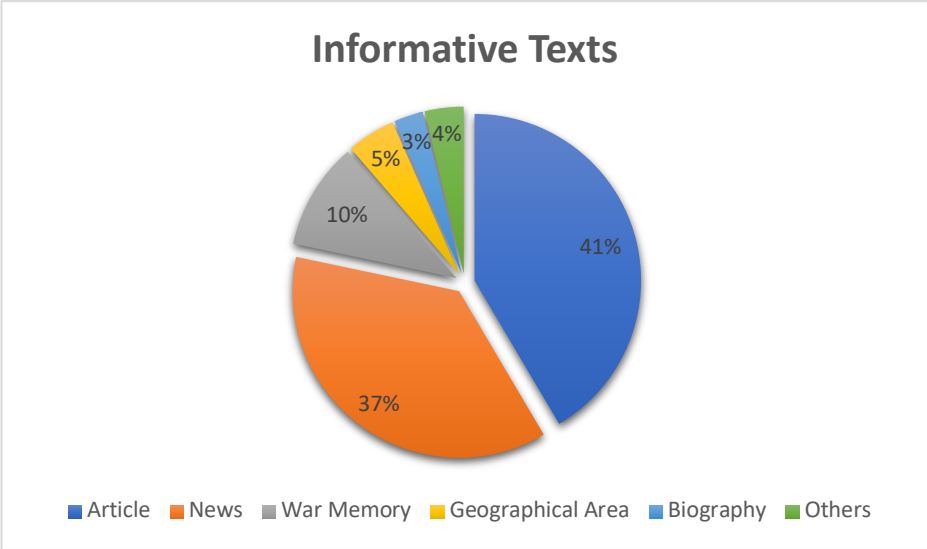


Fig. 14 Distribution of translated informative texts

My observation has shown that there are 44 articles translated into Kurdish out of 106 informative texts, making up 41% of the informative texts, as the figure shows. It is obvious that news makes up the second largest percentage by 37%, with 39 news items. In the graph, "War Memory" constitutes 10% of the informative texts, with 11 accounts of such texts, and "Geographical Area" forms 5%, with 5 translations. The category of "Others", made up of "aphorisms", "glossary" and "self-help", comprises 4%, and "Biography" makes up the smallest proportion, 3%. "Others" consists of 1 item of aphorisms, two items of glossary and one item of self-help whereas there are three translated biographies in the category of "Biography".

4.5.1.1 Article

I have analyzed texts which inform readers on a particular subject or event based on facts, figures, statistics, historical evidence and the opinions of the specialists or authors under the category of articles. Articles occupied a substantial place in *Hawar*. They fundamentally played the role of justification and legitimization in

linguistic issues, ranging from the adoption of the Roman alphabet to the self-sufficiency of Kurdish language. They also presented role-models for reviving a language, as seen in the example of Elyezer Bin Yahooda, discussed below. Moreover, as will be seen in the example of *telif*, they draw attention to Kurdish literature and its visibility, and this example also offers a model for categorizing Kurdish classic poets and authors.

To analyze some examples of articles, in "Armanc, Awayê Xebat û Nivîsandina Hawarê" [Objectives and the Manner of Work and Writing in *Hawar*], published in the first issue, one is an explanation of objectives and framework for the periodical, also published in French and Arabic in order to reach as many readers as possible and to justify the publication of *Hawar*. This article and similar others translated from Kurdish into Arabic, French and many other languages such as Ottoman Turkish and Persian, aimed to reach different audiences through multiple languages. I have observed that translated texts into French never covered political issues, but rather linguistic or cultural ones, although political issues were covered in the Kurdish translated and indigenous texts. With articles translated into French, among many other reasons related to the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity, C. Bedirxan appears to have intended to show the French Mandate authorities that the periodical's focus was on linguistic and cultural issues rather than political ones, as they demanded. Furthermore, his attempt to translate articles similar to the above-mentioned one into Arabic indicates that he sought to justify his objectives across the whole of Syria, as well as in other Arabic-speaking countries. Secondarily, he might have tried to reach Kurdish readers that speak only Arabic. It was important for C. Bedirxan to teach Kurdish language and increase the number of literate Kurds in his Roman alphabet. In fact, as a strategy, C. Bedirxan, being a polyglot, often

resorted to other languages in order to disseminate his ideas. In this regard, he published the translated versions of the above-mentioned article in French as "Buts et caractères de la revue Hawar" and in Arabic as "هدفنا وخطتنا(hadafuna wakhutatuna)". It seems that he made efforts at the start to strategically use French and Arabic for his undertaking in a way that would serve to build up a Kurdish cultural identity and used the same strategy to introduce and disseminate the Roman alphabet he created for Kurdish. In this respect, he penned the article entitled "Elfabêya Kurdî" [Kurdish Alphabet] and published the translated version of it in the same issue in French, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian. He published it in the French section of the periodical under the title "L'Alphabet Kurde" and published the same article in Arabic section as "الاحرف الهجاءية الكردي " (alahrif alhija'iat alkurdia) [Kurdish Alphabet]. However, for this purpose, he also published in the Arabic script part the translated version of "Elfabêya Kurdî" in Ottoman Turkish as ""كوردجه الفبا (Kürdce Alfabe) and in Persian as "الفباي كردي" (Alfabay Kurdi) [Kurdish Alphabet].

It is important to note that C. Bedirxan serialized the article "Elfabêya Kurdî" and its French version "L'Alphabet Kurde" from the first issue until issue 12 without any interruptions. The only exception was that French serial was not published in issue 8. After issue 12, "Elfabêya Kurdî" continued to be published in issues 17, 18 and 23 whereas "L'Alphabet Kurde" continued in issues 15, 16, 17, 18. This serial covered different features of Kurdish alphabet, such as consonants, vowels, their classifications and phonetic changes. Both serials had a total of 15 parts. For my analysis, I regarded one of these serials as the translation of the other. However, the nature of those serials, especially as of issue 2, did not allow a clear-cut decision on determining one as the source and the other as the target. My analysis across 12 issues has shown that, over time, the parts of French version were progressively

published before the Kurdish version; in the course of publication, most of the French parts were published before their corresponding part in Kurdish in the following issues. Nevertheless, this was not totally enough by itself to consider the French version, as of issue 2, as the source text for the Kurdish version. C. Bedirxan might have decided to publish French version first and the Kurdish version later, although he had prepared the Kurdish serial beforehand. However, the reverse scenario materializes in the coverage of the periodical. Therefore, I regarded French as the source text of Kurdish target text as of issue 2. In fact, those kinds of translations had a dialogic relationship with other indigenous articles on language and alphabet across the entire run of the periodical. They provide information about the Kurdish language and alphabet and aimed to show that Kurdish language was self-sufficient, like many others. In this regard, it is of significance to note that the indigenous text C. Bedirxan wrote in French on the grammar of Kurdish language as "De La Grammaire Kurde" served the same linguistic aims and was in close dialogue with serials on the alphabet. It was serialized in issues 16,17, 18 and 25 and 26 before the six-year interruption.

The second example in this sub-category is an article entitled "Zilamek û Zimanek" [A Man and a Language], published in issue 40. This article mainly aimed to encourage the Kurdish readership to revive their language taking the example of the efforts of Elyezer Bin Yahooda to revive Hebrew. In the article, C. Bedirxan informed his readers about Elyezer Bin Yahooda and his efforts. Although source texts were not provided, it is obvious that C. Bedirxan drew on one source text or more for biographical information on Elyezer Bin Yahooda, as well as on historical events and developments at the time. Therefore, this is considered an example of concealed translation. Indeed, while sharing this translation with readers, C.

Bedirxan also imbedded his own ideas about reviving and empowering Kurdish language. In this regard, he highlighted that there was much for Kurds to learn from Elyezer Bin Yahooda (1998, p. 945). The message given by this translated text was clear: C. Bedirxan presented to the Kurds the revival period of Hebrew language by Elyezer Bin Yahooda as an example and clearly C. Bedirxan took him as a role model.

The third example in this sub-category is another article by C. Bedirxan entitled "Klasîkên Me An Şahir û Edîbên Me Ên Kevin" [Our Classics or Our Ancient Poets and Persons of Letters). It was published in issue 33 on October 1, 1941. It was, in fact, a complex text with multiple layers and involving translation practices. Therefore, I approached it as an example of *telif* – or "creative mediation" as Saliha Paker translated – (Paker, 2015, p. 35), which is composed of concealed translation and a number of translation practices, as well as C. Bedirxan's own contributions. Before delving into the analysis on the content of this article, I would like to explain at first why I considered it an example of *telif*. As I explained in the chapter of theoretical framework and methodology, I use the concept of *telif* drawing on Paker's conception of this Ottoman concept (Paker, 2011a; 2014; 2015). According to Paker, the practice of *telif* signified the kinds of mediation that involved the author's innovative or creative contributions while reworking a source text or, to put it another way, while harmonizing these with what was translated and/or compiled from different sources (Paker, 2015, pp. 37-38). In the same vein, I utilize the concept of "concealed translation" drawing on the extended perspective proposed by Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, which regards concealed translation as a type of intertextuality that helps with "trac[ing] the foreign elements contributing to the 'structuration' of texts" (2010, p. 173).

The introductory part that defines the concept "classics" across the world in different fields is the part which composes a concealed translation. In this part the concept "classics" is explained, drawing on some external sources. The rest of the text elaborates on Kurdish literature based on the framework offered by the concept of "classics" that was explained in the introductory part. The main body of this entry is, in fact, based on parts from a well-known work that contributed to the visibility of Kurdish literature over the world. This work was *Recueil de notices et récits kourdes servant à la connaissance de la langue, de la littérature et des tribus du Kourdistan* [hereafter, *Recueil*] and the content was collected and translated into French by the renowned Russian Kurdologist Alexandre Jaba during his stay in Erzurum as a Russian consul and published in St. Petersburg in 1860. Namely, it was an important work in the history of Kurdish literature, and it appears that C. Bedirxan resorted to *Recueil*, being aware of its importance and seemed to refer to this work as a source documenting the history of Kurdish literature in the second half of nineteenth century. Jaba prepared this collection book for publication with the contributions of a Kurdish man of letters, Mela Mahmudê Bazîdî who taught Jaba Kurdish and also shared his knowledge to help Jaba with his studies on Kurds. In fact, the famous work collected by Jaba was a translation into French of the texts that Bazîdî wrote or provided for him in Kurdish. It is important to note that *Recueil* was published bilingually: the original of each text in the collection, which Bazîdî wrote in Kurdish in Arabic script, was published together with the translated version into French by Jaba. The title of the Kurdish work was "جامع یی رسالیان وحکایتان" **(***Cami'eya Rîsaleyan û Hikayetan*) [A collection of essays and stories]. Indeed, in the article entitled "Klasîkên Me An Şahir û Edîbên Me Ên Kevin" C. Bedirxan also did some intralingual translations from an article of Bazîdî in the Kurdish part of *Recueil*. It

covered the bibliographical information on Kurdish poets such as Elî Herîrî, Melayê Cizîrî, Feqiyê Teyran, Melayê Batê, Ehmedê Xanî, Smaîlî Beyazîdî, Şerefxan and Miradxan. I have observed that in addition to *Recueil* and the concealed translation in the introductory part, C. Bedirxan also added the information he collected on Kurdish classical poets from others, such as shaikh Evdirehmanê Garisî. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 811). Of interest, it is that, in the same article, C. Bedirxan also translated into Kurdish some pieces on certain Kurdish authors, such as Elî Teremaxî and Mela Ûnisê Erqetînî, directly from the French part of *Recueil*. Considering Jaba's writing was, in fact, the translation of the Kurdish source texts, the last section on Elî Teremaxî and Mela Ûnisê Erqetînî could also be interpreted as an example of back translation.

In the light of the complex characteristics of the above-mentioned article on Kurdish literature, I think it will be better to analyze it as an example of *telif* as per the framework suggested by Saliha Paker (2011a; 2014; 2015) since this article is a composition of multiple translation practices that draw on different sources, as well as of C. Bedirxan's own innovative or creative contributions.

Having discussed the reasons for considering the article "Klasîkên Me An Şahir û Edîbên Me Ên Kevin" as an example of *telif*, now, I would like to demonstrate its relation to the Kurdish cultural identity. To begin with, C. Bedirxan explained in the introductory paragraph what the word "klasîk" [classic] and "heyema klasîk" [classical period] meant in European literature, as well as its use in other fields such as music and architecture. Clearly, through this article, C. Bedirxan aimed to give Kurdish readership an impression of classical literature's meaning in western literature and also, to reframe Kurdish literature with the framework the

concept of "classics" provided. He also aimed to show to the Kurdish readers that they, too, had their own classical works and poets.

In the article, C. Bedirxan warns that his intention is not to classify the whole of Kurdish classical literature and adds that it would be impossible to do it in one article. He maintains that his article is a starting point for others (1998, p. 810).

For the sources he drew on, C. Bedirxan refers to two sources: Mela Mahmudê Bazîdî, whom C. Bedirxan called as "Melayê Jaba" [Jaba's Mullah] and the late Evdirehmanê Garisî. In this respect, C. Bedirxan said:

> In this regard, we do not have a document at hand. What I know mostly derives from what I heard from shaikh Evdirehmanê Garisî. On the other hand, in the book by Alexandre Jaba, the Russian Kurdologist, there are some notes on Kurdish literature. Jaba had a Kurdish mullah write an article on Kurdish literature. Kurdish mullah, thanks God, wrote his article not in Arabic, Persian or Turkish but in Kurmanji.[44] (1998, p. 811)

Here, there is a reference to Jaba's *Recueil*. As I said before, Jaba collected most of the Kurdish texts with the help of Mela Mahmudê Bazîdî. While in Erzurum, Jaba carrried out studies on Kurdish culture and literature, translating Kurdish written material he collected into French, and later in 1860, published this translated material along with its Kurdish source text in Arabic script. Thus, the renowned work mentioned above was composed. The Kurdish title of the same work was " جامع یی رسالیان وحکایتان" **(**Cami'eya Rîsaleyan û Hikayetan) [A collection of essays and stories]. It is clear that C. Bedirxan could access Mela Mahmudê Bazîdî's original article through Jaba's work. This article by Bazîdî was entitled as " رساله یکه دبخثا شاع ومصنفی د کوردستانی کو به زمانی کورمانجیه جه وکتیب وشعر وحکایه وقصه یی د وان بیان دکه"

[44] "Di vê babetê de di destên me de tu wesîqe nînin. Tiştên ko ez pê dizanim, min pirê wan ji jêx rehmetî, Evdirehmanê Garisî bihîstine. Ji milê din di kitêba kurdîzanê ûris Eleksandr Jaba de der heqê edebiyata kurdî hin not hene. Jaba ji melakî kurmanc re di heqê edebiyata me de bendek dabû nivîsandin. Melayê kurdmanc, ji xêra Xwedê re, benda xwe ne bi erebî, ne bi farisî û ne jî tirkî, lê bi kurdmancî nivîsandiye." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 811)

(Rîsaleyeke di Behsa Şaîr û Musenifêd Kurdistanê ku bi Zimanê Kurmancî ye, Cih û Kitêb û Şîir û Hikaye û Qiseyêd wan Beyan Dike [A Kurmanji article on Poets and Authors of Kurdistan that Manifest Their Place, Books, Poems and Stories] (Jaba, 1860, pp. 13-16). Indeed, C. Bedirxan did an interlingual translation of it in the article published in issue 33 to inform readers about Kurdish poets' potential for inclusion among Kurdish classic literature. While writing about the article by Mela Mahmudê Bazîdî, C. Bedirxan explains that Bazîdî had made some mistakes on the dates of birth and death and says "nevertheless, we transfer his words to our columns as they are. Though there were some mistakes in the article by Mullah, it is a unique work of its kind. . . "[45] (Bedirxan, 1998, 811). By this statement, it is evident that C. Bedirxan was aware of the importance of Bazîdî's article and the work of the renowned Kurdologist, Alaxandre Jaba, within which it was published. He also knew that Jaba's work was an important one in terms of Kurdish written history, and its contribution to introducing western world to Kurdish language and literature. By covering some pieces from this historic book on Kurdish poets and authors, he undoubtedly aimed to create a feeling of belonging among the Kurdish readers to his view of Kurdish cultural identity.

In the intralingual translation from the Kurdish part of *Recueil*, contrary to what he said, C. Bedirxan in fact interfered with Bazîdî's account of biographical notes in his comments and corrections. That is true that he translated Bazîdî's words on Kurdish poets such as Elî Herîrî, Melayê Cizîrî, Feqiyê Teyran, Melayê Batê, Ehmedê Xanî, Smaîlî Beyazîdî, Şerefxan and Miradxan, as they were originally stated. Yet, with his comments, additions, corrections and confirmations, he

[45] . "Di gel vê hindê em gotinên melayê Jaba weke xwe diguhêzînin stûnên xwe. Di benda melê de tiştine xelet hebin jî ew bend di celebê xwe de esereke yekta ye. . ." (Bedirxan, 1998, 811)

interfered with the source text and created a new version for the readers of 1941. For example, after translating what Bazîdî said on Şerefxan, C. Badirxan commented as such in reaction to the information provided by Bazîdî that he was a poet from Colemêrg [Hekarî]: "We did not recognize this Şerefxan. If he meant Mîr Şeref, the author of *Şerefname*, Mîr Şeref is a prince (mîr) from Bidlîs and we have not seen any of his Kurdish poems"[46] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 815). It seems that C. Bedirxan felt to need to correct Bazîdî on details about Şerefxan. In another comment, he confirmed Bazîdî's words on Melayê Cizîrî by saying "As Jaba's mullah said, the tomb of Melayê Cizîrî is a shrine. Indeed, he already had features of sainthood when he was alive"[47] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 811). Then he added to it a story explaining people's approach towards him, and a ghazel by Cizîrî.

It is important to note that even when he proposed his own ideas, C. Bedirxan profited from translation. For example, while writing about Ehmedê Xanî, he wrote a couplet by Cami in Persian in which he praised Rumi and his work *Masnawi,* he translated it into Kurdish and used this translated couplet to praise Ehmedê Xanî, putting him at a higher place than Rumi.

In "Klasîkên Me An Şahir û Edîbên Me Ên Kevin", C. Bedirxan also informed readers about many other less known, as well as more renowned Kurdish poets. My analysis has shown that, while composing this article, he must have resorted to many other written sources or persons, including Garisî, in order to give bibliographical information on them and their works. For instance, while informing about Hacî Qadirê Koyî, C. Bedirxan notes that he drew on a magazine published in

[46] "Me ev Şeref-Xan nas ne kir. Heke jê mexsed xwediyê Şerefnamê Mîr Şerhef e, mîr Şeref ji mîrên Bidlîsê ye, û me tu şîhrên wî bi kurdmancî ne dîtine." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 815)
[47] "Herwekî melayê Jaba gotiye tirba Melayê Cizerî ziyaretgah e. Ji xwe hêj di saxiya wî de welayet bi aliyê wî ve didan." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 811)

1925 in Baghdad to write about his life, most probably written in Central Kurdish (Sorani). To give another example, after writing about Kurdish poets who had a *Divan*, he also wanted to inform about poets and authors who did not engage in poetry, but wrote in other forms in Kurdish. To support his ideas about this part, he referred to Jaba by saying "The Kurdologist Alexandre Jaba dwells upon them, too. It seems that Kurdish mullah orally told those things to him, and Jaba wrote them in French"[48] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 817). My analysis has indicated that C. Bedirxan also translated pieces from Jaba's work in French. He translated into Kurdish the parts on the biography of Elî Teremaxî, who was the first author in the above-mentioned part of those without a *Divan*. For this purpose, he translated most of the pages numbered 12 and 13 with some omissions, and he also translated pieces on the page 14 of the same work on Mela Ûnisê Erqetînî in the form of a summary (Jaba, 1860, pp. 12-14).

Analyzing the variety of translation practices, ranging from concealed translation to intra/interlingual translations, it is evident that this article was largely composed of translation. It is also evident that C. Bedirxan used translation strategically to reinforce his efforts to form a Kurdish cultural identity, by making Kurds aware of their own poets and persons of letters. While drawing on those variety of translation practices embodied in one text, he added his own ideas and comments. In this respect, I argue that the translational situation in this article could be explained in the light of the concept of *telif* that Saliha Paker suggests (2011a; 2014; 2015). Considering all these translation practices, as well as C. Bedirxan's own creative contributions, this article constitutes a good example of *telif* in Paker's conception of this Ottoman concept.

[48] "Kurdîzan Eleksandr Jaba jî di kitêba xwe de qala wan dike û welê dixuye ko ev tişt jî jê re ewî melayê kurdmanc bi devkî gotine û Jaba ew bi frensizi nivîsandinê." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 817)

4.5.1.2 News

Turning back to the overall state of translated informative texts, news took the second place in terms of quantity, covering war news at large, both informed Kurdish readers about world developments and also enabled the use of new vocabulary as well as new forms of writing. Thus, they contributed to the development of Kurdish language in prose. There are 39 news pieces out of 106 informative texts, i.e., 37%. Furthermore, concerning the time period and content, it is of importance to remember that the news items were generally found in the second period and were to a large extent about the war which was ongoing at this time. Indeed, it is possible to see those kinds of texts in larger numbers in *Ronahî*, the sister periodical of *Hawar*, launched during WWII. In this category, in order to lay bare the role of this news, I will focus on "Rewşa Dinyayê" [The State of World], the most frequent news item in the periodical. For this purpose, I will also analyze some pieces from another serial called "Hindik Rindik" [Short and Sweet], which included more intriguing items.

Among translated news pieces in *Hawar*, I have observed that most were serialized under the title "Rewşa Dinyayê". C. Bedirxan published this serial under the pseudonym, Nêrevan. It covered news items bearing on developments of the WWII in different parts of the world in a pro-allied forces frame. This serial was first published in issue 30 on July 1, 1941 and continued in each issue from 31 (August 1, 1941) to 51 (November 15, 1942), making a total of 22 items. C. Bedirxan was clearly able to access the information on those news items via different sources but in most cases never revealed the source texts.

Concerning "Rewşa Dinyayê", each entry of this serial was subdivided into relevant subtitles. To give an example, the subtitles of this serial read as such in issue 32 (September 1, 1941): "Hevdûdîtina Rû[zwel]t û Çorçil" [The Gathering of

Roosevelt and Churchill], "Hevdûdîtina Hîtler û Mûsolînî"[The Gathering of Hitler and Mussolini], "Şerê Ecem" [The War of Persians], "Di Rohelatê Dûr de" [In the Far East] "Şerê Ûris" [The War of Russians] and "Şerê Efrîqayê" [The War in Africa] (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 796-800). It is evident that it would be impossible to cover this multi-faceted news of war without resorting to external sources. This suggests C. Bedirxan must have drawn on multiple sources so as to cover the news items, especially in view of different aspects and regions of the same war. In issue 39 (February 15, 1942), under the subtitle "Nitqa Çorçil" [Churchill's Speech], for instance, he continued the same serial and translated a speech delivered by Winston Churchill, the then UK prime minister, after his return from a visit to the USA (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 934-935). This translation started with a short introduction that ended with the following sentence by C. Bedirxan: "The prime minister of the English has particularly said the following in his speech:"[49] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 934). It appears that he translated his speech as a summary, resorting to paraphrasing.

Apart from "Rewşa Dinyayê", the rest of news items were published in another serial entitled "Hindik Rindik" as well as in news items such as "Ji Ecêbên Dinyayê"[Oddities of the World] in issue 19 (April 17, 1933), "Şer Wê Kengê Xelas Bibe" [When will the War end?] in issue 37 (December 20, 1941) and "Sefera Sicîlyayê: Qewetên Sondxwariyan Çawan Daketine Giravê" [Sicily Expedition: How the Allies Forces Landed on the Island] in issue 57 (August 15, 1943).

C. Bedirxan published the serial "Hindik Rindik" under the pseudonym Xeberguhêz [Correspondent] in issues 32, 39 and 41 (March 15, 1942), making up a total of 14 news items. These covered various interesting and popular subjects, in contrast to "Rewşa Dinyayê", which was directly about developments of WWII,

[49] "Serokwezîrê Ingilîzan di nitqa xwe de nemaze tiştê jêrîn gotine:" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 934)

especially those on the frontlines. Each news item was presented in a shorter way under relevant subtitles. Although it is true that the items had a bearing on war, they focused more on intriguing events in social life. Therefore, taking a different approach from "Rewşa Dinyayê", I counted each subtitle in this serial as a separate news item in my analysis. To give an example, “Hindik Rindik" was published in issue 32 under subtitles "Zanîn û Nezanîn" [Knowing and not Knowing], "Eyloyên Derketî" [The Emerging Eagles], Xebata Di Nav Cihan" [Working in Bed]. The first item was, in fact, a concealed translation of aphorisms, so I did not include it in news items. Therefore, there were two news in this entry of the serial. "Eyloyên Derketî" was a piece about a species of strong and dangerous eagles, which is not commonplace in Europe. According to this news, a flock was seen in Spain, and driven by the fear of guns and warplane bombs, attacked people. Therefore, Spanish guards at borders were on alert to kill them (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 800). Although C. Bedirxan did not ascribe this text to any source texts, he clearly drew on an external source – and thus, it embodies another example of concealed translation. Furthermore, in "Xebata Di Nav Cihan", C. Bedirxan covered how Winston Churchill carried out his office work in a bed until noon and his later routines (Ibid.).

The news items translated in *Hawar* evidently created a chance for C. Bedirxan to put his Roman alphabet to practice and also offered different opportunities for practicing and developing prose writing in Kurdish language. Furthermore, they provided many example to be modelled in writing by *Hawar*'s emerging writers, as well as by the readers. Thus, the translation of news items played its useful part in C. Bedirxan's efforts to form a Kurdish cultural identity. In this respect, it is possible to say that those translations even keep serving as a reference to today's written Kurdish, especially to Kurmanji dialect.

4.5.1.3 War memory

There are a total of 11 accounts of war memories, comprising 10% of informative texts in *Hawar*, mainly covering the events that journalists witnessed or the soldiers themselves experienced in the war. These texts and lively accounts of war memories and contributed to the development of prose through a new genre. In fact, war memories were also a type of story told in war settings and introduced Kurdish readers and the authors to new forms of recounting an event and thus developed their writing skills. To explain their role and function, I analyzed two samples below: One memory is entitled as "Mosko: Asêgehên Payîtextê Bolşevîkan" [Moscow: The Fortifications of the Capital of Bolsheviks] and published in issue 36 (December 1, 1941) and the other one is "Nivîsevan Ne Di Çapxanê Lê Di Qada Şer De" [The Writer not at a Printing House but on the Battlefield], published in issue 40 (February 28, 1942). Indeed, I have found that the second was an account by an American journalist, Larry Allen, who then worked for Associated Press.

War memories, too, made up examples of concealed translation. However, different from news items, their source text was generally implied, or partly provided. These items were published in issues 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 49 and 57.

Regarding war memories, sometimes the name of the newspaper it was taken from was provided only as seen in the introductory part of "Mosko: Asêgehên Payîtextê Bolşevîkan". There it was noted as follows: "In mid-August, the commander-in-chief of Russian army invited foreign journalists to visit those fortifications. *New York Herald Tribune* has published on this subject a letter from its correspondent in Moscow. The correspondent praises the fortifications in Moscow

and says:"[50] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 873). As these statements indicate, this item is the account of what a *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent personally witnessed in Moscow upon an invitation to see the fortifications there. Thus, the source text is partly provided. This war memory was translated by Dilawer Çarpîne, another of C. Bedirxan's pseudonyms. As for the second example of war memories, the name of the journalist, too, was noted in "Nivîsevan Ne Di Çapxanê Lê Di Qada Şer De", which was published in issue 40. This war memory was ascribed to Cemîlê Tacdo, which seems to be yet another pseudonym. In the introductory part, Cemîlê Tacdo praises those journalists that reported from battlefields, and then adds: "One of them, an American called Larî Elîn was onboard the cruiser *Galatea* when German planes and submarines attacked it in the Mediterranean Sea in the waters of Caravan. Larî Elîn told his story as follows:"[51] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 946). Through my search, I have found out that "Larî Elîn" was indeed Larry Allen who worked for *Associated Press* in Europe in order to cover WWII. In the November of 1941, he went aboard the cruiser *HMS Galatea*, which was mentioned in this memory as "Golte" and he survived the Germans' attack that was launched on December 15 and caused the *Galatea* to sink. Larry Allen published his story of survival on Jan 10, 1942 under the title "Forty-five minutes on an oily sea" (www.pulitzer.org). All the information I gathered shows that “Nivîsevan Ne Di Çapxanê Lê Di Qada Şer De" was indeed the translation of the survival story of the journalist Larry Allen, whose real name was Laurence Edmund Allen. He was awarded Pulitzer Prize for his stories, including the one translated into Kurdish for *Hawar*, concerning the activities of the British

[50] "Di nîvê Tebaxê de serfermandariya ordiwa ûris rojnamevanên biyanî ezimandine ziyareta wan asêgehan. Nûyork Hêrald Trîbyûn di vê babetê de mektûbeke mixabirê xwe yê Moskoyê belav kiriye. Mixabir di mektûba xwe de wesfê asêgehên Moskoyê dide û dibêje:" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 873)

[51] "Yek ji wan, yekî emêrikanî, bi navê Larî Elîn, di krewzora ingilîzi "Golte" de bû; gava balafir û noqarên elemanî di avên Qêrewanê de, li Behra-spî, dirêji wê kirine. Larî Elîn biserhatiya xwe bi awayê jêrîn gilî dike:" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 946)

Mediterranean Fleet. This shows that C. Bedirxan did not randomly select texts to translate; on the contrary, it appears that he also followed up-to-date news and targeted the stories by popular journalists. This story was originally published in January 1942 and its translated version was published in *Hawar* on February 28, 1942, less than two months later, it therefore seems that the textual productions on war were relatively up to date. The following examples show a piece from the source text and its translation into Kurdish:

> At midnight on December 15, the cruiser's announcer system warned: "First-degree readiness heavy armament." Gunners thus were ordered to stand by for expected action.
> A Marine sentry aroused me from a nap in the captain's cabin, and I ran to the commander's cabin and informed the Reuters naval correspondent, Alexander Massey Anderson. Adjusting life belts, we stepped out into the inky blackness of the quarter-deck and raced toward the bridge.
> We had barely started when the first torpedo smashed into the after-portside with a burst of flame, heavily rocking the *Galatea*. The time was 12:02 AM. (Allen, 1942, para. 11-13)

> Nîvê şevê bû. Radyowa krewzorê da zanîn ko talûke nîzing bûye. Herçî topçî çûn û li ber topên xwe sekinîn. Ez di kebîna (menzela vaporê) kumandar de nivistî bûm. Nobetdar ez hişyar kirim. Min lez da xwe û xwe gihande hevalê xwe Eleksandr Henderson, mixabirê Royterê. Me her diwan piştên canxelas bi xwe ve kirin û di tariya şevê de hilkişiyan pira vaporê a jêrîn. Û jê, me berê xwe da pira jorîn. Em hêj ne gihaşti bûnê, torpîlek li paşiya krewzorê ket, pêt û rivînî jê belav bûn û krewzor bi hejeke xurt hejîha. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 946)

The back translation of the English source text is as follows:

> It was midnight. The cruiser's radio announced that the danger was close. All the gunners went and stood by their cannons. I was sleeping in the commander's cabin (the room in a ship). The guard woke me up. I hurried and reached my friend Alexander Anderson, the Reuters' correspondent. We both wore life belts and climbed up to the lower bridge of the ship in the darkness of the night. From there, we went toward the upper bridge. Before we reached there, a torpedo hit the rear of the cruiser and it spread around flames and blazes and the cruiser rocked tremendously.

I could not access the version of the original text that was published by the Reuters. Thus, it is significant to bear in mind that the version C. Bedirxan used for the translation might also have slightly changed over time and therefore might be

slightly different from the version published on the site of pulitzer.org. Nevertheless, for comparison, I used the version by pulitzer.org. and made the evaluations accordingly.

It is observable that C. Bedirxan made some omissions such as the date and time and quotation marks. Besides, he made some additions, writing extra sentences to show the intended meaning. In translation, he also defined the word "cabin" (kebîn in Kurdish) for the readers in the parenthesis. Moreover, it should be noted that he started the translation with the above-mentioned sentences. Therefore, comparing with the source text, I also found that he also cut parts at the beginning of the source text entitled "Forty-five minutes on an oily sea".

4.5.1.4 Geographical area

This sub-category involves translated entries on geographical places. They make up 5% of all informative texts with 5 items. They were published in issues 35, 39, 41, 43, 49 and they were respectively entitled "Lenîngrad"[Leningrad], "Sengepor"[Singapore], "Ûkrenye" [Ukrain], "Cebeltariq"[Gibraltar] and "Brezîlye" [Brazil]. These texts could be about any areas over the world, whether an island, a country or a city. What combined all these areas in the same context was their relation to the WWII. Similar to other informative texts, they both informed Kurdish readers about geographical places across the world and contributed to development of Kurdish prose.

"Lenîngrad", for instance, was published in issue 35 (November 12, 1941) and was ascribed to "Samaînê Serhedî", another C. Bedirxan pseudonym. In the first paragraph, he explained that Leningrad was mentioned so often on the world radio broadcasts regarding a bloody war taking place there, therefore, they decided to share

some information about the city with the readers of *Hawar* (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 851). In this entry, the readers were informed about various aspects of this place, such as the wealth of mineral resources, the ancient war between Russia and Sweden, the industrial development in the 19th century, different sorts of factories present in 20th centuries and overall number of the workers and the number of universities, museums and scientific institutions (Ibid.). Although the translator did not provide any source texts for this entry, it is evident from those various aspects of the city that he must have resorted to some sources, thus, I regarded these texts as the examples of concealed translation.

4.5.1.5 Biography and others

The informative texts I have classified under the title of "Biography" " are relatively less in number, 3 items only, forming 3% of informative texts. Regarding biographical texts of this kind, I decided that they would fit more in the category of informative texts, seeing that their main objective was to give information on the life of certain people. Of these biographies, the one about the historic Kurdish figure, Selahaddin Eyyubi, was published in issue 13 (December 14, 1932) entitled as "Sultan Selaheddînê Eyyûbî", whereas the rest of biographies were published in issues 55 (June 15, 1943) and 56 (July 15, 1943). The last two were respectively entitled as "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine -1-: Lwis Pastör: Louis Pasteur] 1822-1895" [Those Who Served the Humanity 1: Louis Pasteur 1822-1895] and "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine -2-: Sor Cêms Yûng Simpson "Sir James Young Simpson 1811-1870" [Those Who Served the Humanity 2: Sir James Young Simpson 1811-1870]. These biographies were on Louis Pasteur and Young Simpson, who contributed to humanity with their scientific discoveries. The first was ascribed

to C. Bedirxan himself whereas those published as part of a serial were ascribed to Herekol Azîzan, his most frequent pseudonym. They mainly served to make Kurds acquainted with famous historic figures, such as Selahaddin Eyubi, and to introduce Kurds to scientific developments and discoveries though biographies of Louis Pasteur and Young Simpson.

In the first biography "Sultan Selaheddînê Eyyûbî", which was published in the Arabic section in the first year of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan provides some information about his source texts indicating that he drew on sources such as *The Grand Encyclopedia* and A Russian historian called "Şarmoy" or "Şamûrî" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 278). Indeed, I could not find any reference to this historian whose words were quoted in this entry. By this biography, it is obvious that C. Bedirxan wanted to introduce Kurdish readers to Selahaddin Eyyubi, a globally known historic Kurdish figure, and encourage pride in their Kurdish cultural identity. In this respect, it is not surprising that he also placed a picture of Selahaddin Eyyubi both on the front cover of issue 13 and in the Arabic section of the same issue, an unusual practice for the publication of *Hawar,* within which few illustrations were used.

In the last two biographies, the source texts were not provided. Regarding their publication in *Hawar*, it is obvious that C. Bedirxan did not want to refer to Kurdish figures only he also wanted Kurdish readership to become familiar with other renowned figures over the world. In this regard, it is important to remark that the serial "Those Who Served the Humanity" was even continued in *Ronahî*. C. Bedirxan published the biography entitled "Yên ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine 3: Yohanes Gûtenberg (Yohannes Gutenberg) 1400-1468 [Those Who Served the Humanity 3: Johannes Gutenberg]" as the third and last part of this serial in issue 17 of *Ronahî*. Writing the biography of Gutenberg who introduced printing press was

indeed another intentional selection by Herekol Ezîzan [Celadet Alî Bedirxan], who was eager to introduce his readership to the renowned figures and their contributions to life.

The category of "Others" is made of the translation of two glossary entries covering Arabic and Kurdish, an aphorism, and pieces from a self-help book. They all make up 4% of the informative texts. They were respectively published in issues 6, 9, 32 and 52. Although no source texts were provided for the entry of aphorisms and glossary entries, for the self-help book, the source text was partially provided: In the entry entitled "Heke Te Divêt Te Dost Hebin" [If You Find it Necessary to have Friends], Şiretbêj [Adviser], another C. Bedirxan pseudonym, wrote the following note under the title: "Ji Kitêbeke Ingilîzî bi Navê “How to Win Friends” [From an English book titled *How to Win Friends*] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1092). This was indeed a best-seller of its time by Dale Carnegie. C. Bedirxan shared with the readers translations of 10 pieces of advice in this work. It seems that the aim was to introduce Kurdish readers to popular books or authors, too, as seen in the example of Dale Carnegie. This is similar to his aim to provide up to date or intriguing events in the other above-mentioned informative texts, such as war memories, articles and news.

4.5.2 Folkloric texts

There are 70 folkloric texts out of 340 translations in *Hawar*. I have classified them as "Song", "Legend", "Proverb", "Fable" and "Others". According to this classification, there are 41 songs, 15 items of a serial of a Kurdish legend, 6 entries of proverbs, 4 fables, as well as 4 items in the category of "Others", that were translated across all issues. Translation in this category were from Kurdish into

French and aimed to introduce a western readership to folkloric components of Kurdish cultural identity. The following graph demonstrates distribution of those translated folkloric texts:

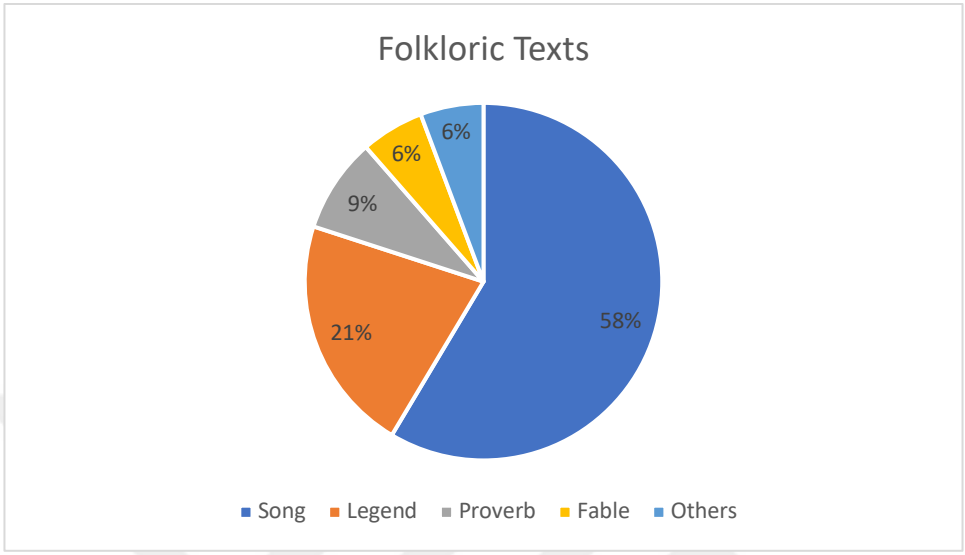


Fig. 15 Distribution of translated folkloric texts

As the graph shows, songs make the largest percentage of texts in this category, 58%, and "Legend" comprises the second largest, 21%. "Proverbs" follows with 9%. As the graph demonstrates "Fable" and "Others" make up the smallest proportion, each having a rate of 6%. In order to show the role of each of these sub-categories, I will focus on them separately.

4.5.2.1 Song

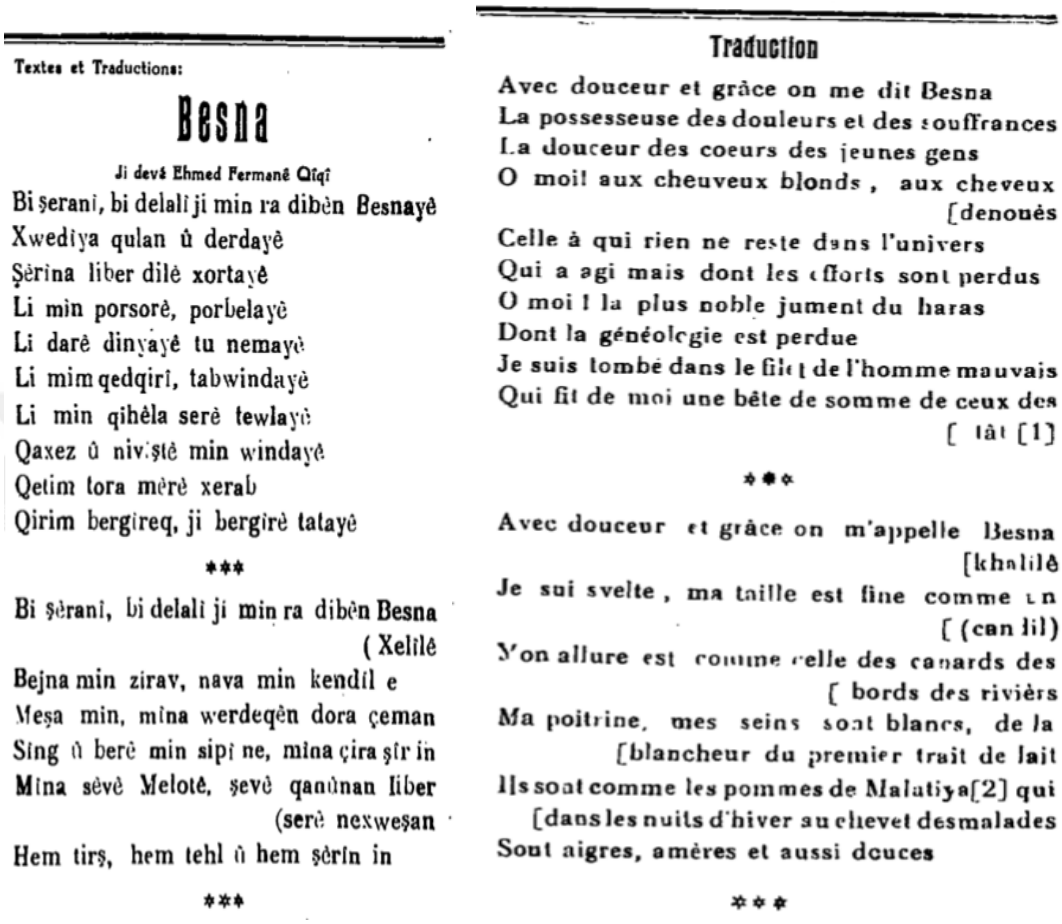
Translation of songs was aimed at western readers, translated into French and published along with the source text. Sometimes it was possible to see the source texts of the translated song in previous issues, which made up a good example of dialogics between translations and indigenous texts across the issues of *Hawar*. Those translations served to introduce western readership to Kurdish culture through

music. Translation has certainly played a pivotal role in the transfer of this cultural element, which also forms an important component of Kurdish cultural identity. They also give the readership insight into the Kurdish language through different use of vocabulary and regional linguistic variations in the songs. For the analysis of this part, I will mainly focus on the serial "Textes et Traductions" [Texts and Translations].

C. Bedirxan first published translated songs in the serial entitled as "Textes et Traductions" as naming the translation activity in the title reinforces the visibility of translation in the periodical. "Textes et Traductions" was first published in issue 4 (July 3, 1932) and was ascribed to C. Bedirxan. It is significant that he explained in the introduction that he would translate those texts in accordance with the program set out in the first issue (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 87)., showing that these texts were part of a pre-planned framework. Furthermore, it is equally important that C. Bedirxan points out that translation of these songs will be instructive for the western readership about characteristics of Kurdish language. In the same vein, he established a relationship with another serial entitled "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes" [Notes on Kurdish Literature, Traditions and Customs], the one reflecting on cultural elements of Kurdish folklore, too. In this respect, he regarded "Textes et Traductions" as complementary to "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes", which started from the first issue (Ibid.).

The serial "Textes et Traductions" continued to be published in issues 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11,12,13,14 and 22. Although the first part of this serial was openly ascribed to him, the rest of the serial was ascribed to his frequently used pseudonym, Herekol Azîzan. Additionally, one of the noteworthy features of this serial was that translations of songs were always published together with source texts. Only in issue

5 (July 20, 1932) was the source text was given separately in the same issue. Below, you can find an original piece of the whole song and its translation published in issue 22 (July 1, 1933):



Textes et Traductions:

Besna

Ji devê Ehmed Fermanê Qîqî

Bi şerani, bi delali ji min ra dibên Besnayê
Xwediya qulan û derdayê
Şêrîna liber dilê xortayê
Li mîn porsorê, porbelayê
Li darê dinyayê tu nemayê
Li mim qedqirî, tabwindayê
Li min qihêla serê tewlayê
Qaxez û niv:ştê min windayê
Qetim tora mêrê xerab
Qirim bergireq, ji bergirê tatayê

***

Bi şêrani, bi delali ji min ra dibên Besna
(Xelîlê
Bejna min zirav, nava min kendîl e
Meşa min, mîna werdeqên dora çeman
Sing û berê min sipi ne, mîna çira şîr in
Mîna sêvê Melotê, şevê qanûnan liber
(serê nexweşan
Hem tirş, hem tehl û hem şêrîn in

***

Traduction

Avec douceur et grâce on me dit Besna
La possesseuse des douleurs et des souffrances
La douceur des coeurs des jeunes gens
O moi! aux cheveux blonds, aux cheveux
[denoués
Celle à qui rien ne reste dans l'univers
Qui a agi mais dont les efforts sont perdus
O moi! la plus noble jument du haras
Dont la généalogie est perdue
Je suis tombé dans le filet de l'homme mauvais
Qui fit de moi une bête de somme de ceux des
[tât [1]

***

Avec douceur et grâce on m'appelle Besna
[khalilê
Je sui svelte, ma taille est fine comme un
[(can lil)
Mon allure est comme celle des canards des
[bords des rivièrs
Ma poitrine, mes seins sont blancs, de la
[blancheur du premier trait de lait
Ils sont comme les pommes de Malatiya[2] qui
[dans les nuits d'hiver au chevet des malades
Sont aigres, amères et aussi douces

***

Fig. 16 A sample translation of the songs in "Textes et Traductions"

In fact, the texts above are two parts of the song "Besna", which was published in seven parts and translated accordingly. In addition to translation of this song, he also told the story of the song in French at the end of the translation to provide a clearer understanding of the text and also explained some words and names of places in the song in footnotes. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 453). Besides, as can be seen from the source text, C. Bedirxan wrote a Kurdish note under the title of the song reading "Ji devê Ehmedê Fermanê Kîkî", which meant "sung by Ehmedê Fermanê Kîkî". This

indicates that one of C. Bedirxan's living sources for this song and many others was Ehmedê Fermanê Kîkî, the famous Kurdish dengbêj who was living with him in Damascus at the time (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, pp. 160- 164).

It is of importance to note that not all the translated songs were published in the serial "Textes et Traductions". As of issue 22, in which the last part of the serial was published, translated songs frequently appeared throughout the whole run of *Hawar*, published under the titles such as "Le Beau de la Steppe" and "Chansons de Botan" in issue 24 (April 1, 1934), "Chants d'Autumne" in issue 28 (May 15, 1941), "Bavê Emîn" in issue 40 (February 28, 1942), and "Chansons" in issue 54 (May 15, 1943). The source texts of those translations were more often provided as an indigenous text in the same issue or published along with the translation. Furthermore, the source text of the translated song was sometimes provided in previous issues, as seen in "Chahino" in issue 41 (March 15, 1942). The source text of two versions of this song was published as "Şahîno" by C. Bedirxan in issue 37 (December 20, 1941) under the pseudonym "Stranvan" [Singer] and Roger Lescot, under the pseudonym Tawûsparêz, translated those versions into French in issue 41. It is evident that besides C. Bedirxan, Roger Lescot, too, contributed to the publications of Kurdish songs with his translations in *Hawar*.

As mentioned before, songs were translated in *Hawar* in order to address western audience. However, my analysis has shown that there were no foreign songs translated into Kurdish for the Kurdish audience. Instead, C. Bedirxan preferred to publish Kurdish songs, some of which were also the source texts of translated songs.

4.5.2.2 Legend

There are 15 translated items in this category, serialized across many issues. With 21%, they form the second category among folkloric texts. These also introduced western readers to Kurdish culture and language providing insight into Kurdish language, as well as oral culture. In this part, I will analyze the translation of the famous Kurdish legend *Memê Alan.*

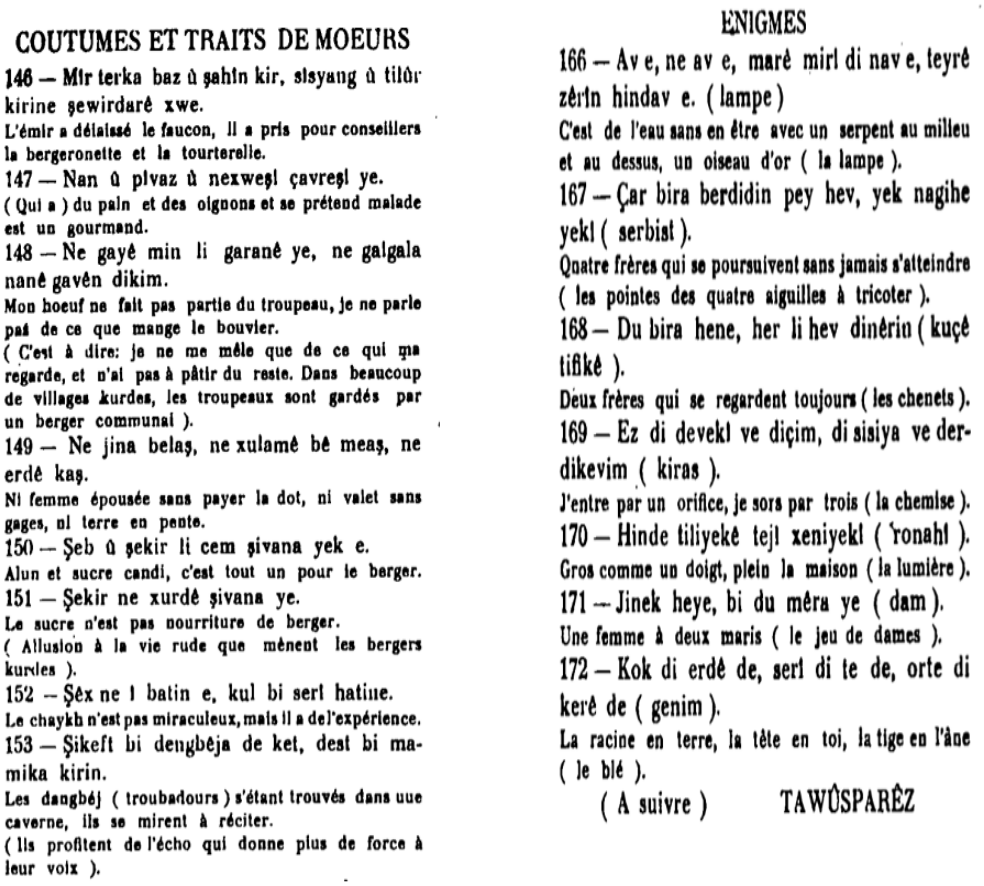
As of issue 4 (July 3, 1932), C. Bedirxan published the translation of the Kurdish legend, *Memê Alan*, as part of the serial "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes" in 15 installments. C. Bedirxan selected *Memê Alan*, rather than many other popular legends and stories such as "Rostemê Kurd", "Sîyabend", "Benevşa Narîn", "Dêrsim", "Delal", "Bêmal" and "Xezal", since it was the most popular and well known among Kurds (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 89). C. Bedirxan presented a comprehensive explanation both on Kurdish folklore and the legend before publishing the translation (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 88-89). It is also important to note that there are many versions, and therefore C. Bedirxan had to consult many different persons acquainted with the legend and dengbêjs from diverse regions besides his own knowledge in order to create a unified source text for his resumed translation into French (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 89-90). The last part of this translation was published in issue 28. In this respect, however, it is significant to point out that the piece which was missing from this serial was later compiled by C. Bedirxan and published in issue 36 (December 1, 1941) as "Ji Memê Alan: Lehîstîka Şetrencê" [From *Memê Alan*: The Chess Game] under the pseudonym, Stranvanê Hawarê [Hawar's Singer]. In the introduction part, he explained he heard that Lezgîn Axa was going to publish *Memê Alan* along with a French translation, but that he did not have the chess game part. He added that he had a version of that rarely known part,

thus, he shared it to be of help to Lezgîn Axa (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 875). This explains why C. Bedirxan shared the missing piece. Accordingly, Roger Lescot published the translated version of this text and shared it in the same issue under the pseudonym "Tawûsparêz". In the introduction, Roger Lescot referred to C. Bedirxan, who published the piece under the pseudonym Stranvanê Hawarê, as "un de collaborateurs de *Hawar* [a collaborator of *Hawar*], without disclosing C. Bedirxan's name. Lescot also summarized the story of this part to the readers in the introduction so that the readers would be familiar with it (Lescot, 1998, p. 878). (For further information, see Chapter 6).

4.5.2.3 Proverbs

According to my classification, there are 6 entries that covered translation of proverbs into French. They make up 9% of the folkloric texts. Roger Lescot did all the translations in this category using the pseudonym "Tawûsparêz" and serialized them under the title of "Proverbes"[Proverbs]. These translations provided the target western readers with a new genre of Kurdish culture, proverbs. They were published in each issue from 45 (Jun 20, 1942) through 50 (October 15, 1942). As of issue 48 (August 15, 1942), Lescot started to publish them under the title, "Coutumes et Traits de Moeurs" [Customs and Traits of Manners]. In issue 49 (September 15, 1942), he also added new subtitles to the serial: "Phénomènes Meteorologiques"[Meteorologic Phenomena] and "Énigmes" [Riddles]. Under the former subtitle, there were French translations of four proverbs on meteorological phenomena while under the latter, Lescot started to translate Kurdish riddles. Until 161st proverb, Lescot had published proverbs under the subtitle "Divers"[Diverse], which only appeared at the start but in issue 50 (October 15, 1942), as the translation of the riddles continued, they were

only published under the title "Énigmes". Totally, Lescot translated 165 proverbs and 12 riddles in this serial. You can see below examples of translated proverbs and riddles:



COUTUMES ET TRAITS DE MOEURS

146 — Mîr terka baz û şahîn kir, sîsyang û tîlûr kirine şewirdarê xwe.
L'émir a délaissé le faucon, il a pris pour conseillers la bergeronette et la tourterelle.
147 — Nan û pîvaz û nexweşî çavreşî ye.
(Qui a) du pain et des oignons et se prétend malade est un gourmand.
148 — Ne gayê min li garanê ye, ne galgala nanê gavên dikim.
Mon boeuf ne fait pas partie du troupeau, je ne parle pas de ce que mange le bouvier.
(C'est à dire: je ne me mêle que de ce qui me regarde, et n'ai pas à pâtir du reste. Dans beaucoup de villages kurdes, les troupeaux sont gardés par un berger communal).
149 — Ne jina belaş, ne xulamê bê meaş, ne erdê kaş.
Ni femme épousée sans payer la dot, ni valet sans gages, ni terre en pente.
150 — Şeb û şekir li cem şivana yek e.
Alun et sucre candi, c'est tout un pour le berger.
151 — Şekir ne xurdê şivana ye.
Le sucre n'est pas nourriture de berger.
(Allusion à la vie rude que mènent les bergers kurdes).
152 — Şêx ne î batin e, kul bi serî hatiue.
Le chaykh n'est pas miraculeux, mais il a de l'expérience.
153 — Şikeft bi dengbêja de ket, dest bi mamika kirin.
Les dangbéj (troubadours) s'étant trouvés dans uue caverne, ils se mirent à réciter.
(Ils profitent de l'écho qui donne plus de force à leur voix).

ENIGMES

166 — Av e, ne av e, marê mirî di nav e, teyrê zêrîn hindav e. (lampe)
C'est de l'eau sans en être avec un serpent au milieu et au dessus, un oiseau d'or (la lampe).
167 — Çar bira berdidin pey hev, yek nagihe yekî (serbist).
Quatre frères qui se poursuivent sans jamais s'atteindre (les pointes des quatre aiguilles à tricoter).
168 — Du bira hene, her li hev dinêrin (kuçê tifikê).
Deux frères qui se regardent toujours (les chenets).
169 — Ez di devekî ve diçim, di sisiya ve derdikevim (kiras).
J'entre par un orifice, je sors par trois (la chemise).
170 — Hinde tiliyekê teji xeniyekî ('ronahî).
Gros comme un doigt, plein la maison (la lumière).
171 — Jinek heye, bi du mêra ye (dam).
Une femme à deux maris (le jeu de dames).
172 — Kok di erdê de, serî di te de, orte di kerê de (genim).
La racine en terre, la tête en toi, la tige en l'âne (le blé).

(A suivre) TAWÛSPARÊZ

Fig. 17 Examples of translated proverbs and riddles

As the above examples from issue 49 show, Lescot made a literal translation of the proverbs, adding a clarification if necessary. Concerning the riddles, he made a literal translation of the Kurdish riddles, and provided the answers in Kurdish and French.

4.5.2.4 Fables and others

There are four translated fables throughout the entire publication of *Hawar*. Three were translated into French, and one, "The Hare and the Tortoise" by Aesop, into Kurdish. They make up 6% of folkloric texts. They introduced western readers both to Kurdish folklore and literature, whereas through Aesop's fable, Kurdish readers, too were introduced to the genre through a famous western author. Below, I will focus on examples of fables and other folkloric elements, such as relating to Kurdish games or marriage.

The fables entitled, "Mar û Mirov"[Man and Serpent] and "Dîk û Rovî" [Rooster and Fox] were first published in issue 6 (August 8, 1932) and ascribed to "Çîrokbêj" [Storyteller], another pseudonym of C. Bedirxan. Their translation into French was later published in issue 7 (August 25, 1932) as "L'homme [et] le Serpent" and "Le Coq et Le Renard" and they were ascribed to Herekol Azîzan. C. Bedirxan added an annotation to the end of the translation for the readers. Furthermore, in issue 12 (November 27, 1932) in the serial "Textes et Traductions" focusing on mainly the translation of songs, the original fable entitled as "Ker, Gur û Rovî [Donkey, Wolf and Fox] was translated into French as "L'âne, le loup et le renard". This fable was ascribed to Koçerê Botan, most probably another pseudonym of C. Bedirxan. The last fables translation was published in issue 15, of the famous story "The Hare and the Tortoise" by Aesop. It was translated by Bekir Qotreş as

"Kîroşk û Kûsî". It is, in fact, a concealed translation as its source text was not mentioned by any means.

The category of "Others" in this section occupies the same percentage as "Fable". There are four examples of those folkloric texts. They include two entries on riddles, published in issues 49 (September 15, 1942) and 50 (October 15, 1942). There was also a translation on Kurdish games in issue 42 (April 15, 1942) under the title "Les Jeux Kurdes", translated by Tawûsparêz [R. Lescot]. In this text, Lescot explained the games, translated their names and key phrases, or the verses recited for these games, keeping the original pieces in the text. It is also evident that, to introduce western readership to Kurdish games, he also made some relevant translations from *Sharafname,* the renowned Kurdish work by Şerefxanê Bîtlîsî. It is also manifest from the text that, in order to compose this entry, he drew on the works such as *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* by Claudius James Rich, as well as *Wild Life Among the Koords* by Frederick Millingen.

The last translation in this sub-category was on marriage among Kurds. It was a translation by Tawûsparêz entitled "Le Mariage chez les Kurdes"[The Marriage among Kurds], published in issue 52 (January 20, 1943). Since this text included translation of marriage terms, relevant sayings, pieces from songs of the marriage, I included it among translated texts. Besides, although *Sharafname* is overtly cited in this item as a source text, it is clear that Lescot consulted many other Kurdish persons or resources in order to compose this entry, and thus, to create a cultural transfer into French.

4.5.3 Religious texts

Besides informative and folkloric texts, religious texts played an important role in the identity-formation process. They were selected and published in *Hawar* in accordance with C. Bedirxan's proposed Kurdish cultural identity. Therefore, C. Bedirxan as the editor-in chief showed a holistic approach towards any faiths held by Kurdish society, whether archaic or actively practiced. In this regard, it is observable across the issues of *Hawar* that both translations and indigenous texts on Zoroastrianism, Ezidism and Islam occupied an important place in the whole run of the magazine. My exploration has revealed that texts in this category involved pieces about those three faiths. Thus, I sub-categorized religious translations under "Commentary of the an", "Hadith", "Meshafa Rash" [iBlack Book] and "Zoroastrianism". The graph below displays the distribution of translations according to these sub-categories:

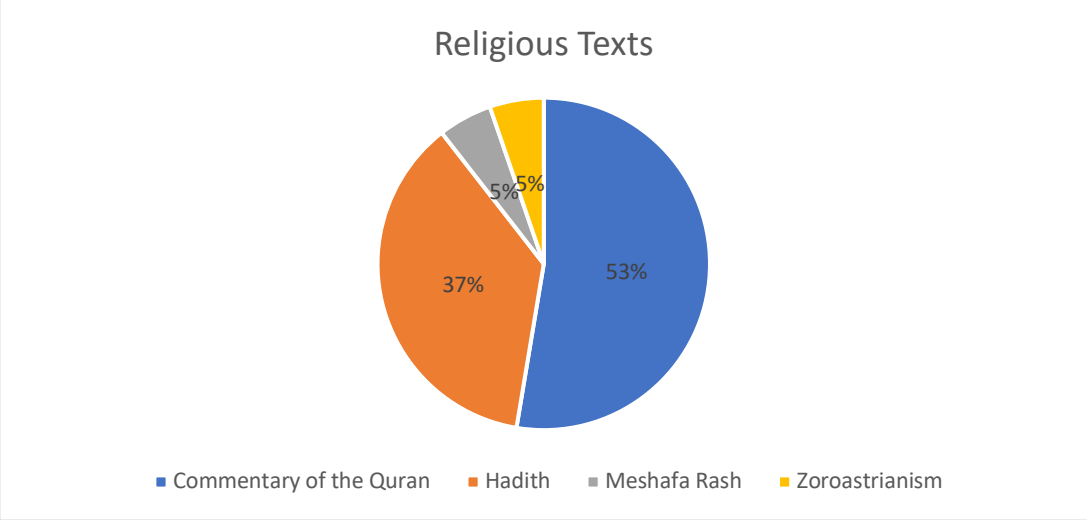


Fig. 18 Distribution of translated religious texts

As the graph indicates, "Commentary of the Qur'an" occupies the majority among the translated religious texts in the periodical, 53%. The commentary was serialized

in *Hawar* in 30 items under the title "Tefsîra Quranê" [The Commentary of the Qur'an]. In the same vein, "Hadith" followed with 37%. Translations from "Meshafa Rash" and "Zoroastrianism" occupied the smallest percentage, each covering 5%. The majority of translated texts on Islam should not be surprising, as the majority of Kurds were Muslims, and the editorial policy of *Hawar* would not disregard this fact. However, the small number of translated texts on Ezidism and Zoroastrianism does not mean that they were not effective in the cultural identity formation process; on the contrary, in the 26 issues of the first period of *Hawar*, there was much more reference to these than to Islam.

4.5.3.1 The commentary of the Qur'an

This commentary of the Qur'an was realized by K. Bedirxan. It was covered in the second term of *Hawar*, which resumed after a hiatus of around six years. The serial was first published in issue 27 on April 15, 1941 and the rest was published in consecutive issues, except for issue 52, up until the last issue. They were totally covered in 30 issues. In fact, it was not the whole commentary of the Qur'an. K. Bedirxan's translation indeed included the surahs (chapters) of Al-Fatihah (The Opening), Al-Baqarah (The Cow), Aali 'Imran (The Family of Imran), An-Nisa (The Women). Regarding the last surah, C. Bedirxan translated 49[52] ayahs (verses from Qur'an) in the last issue of *Hawar*. In this respect, it seems that K. Bedirxan continued to publish the parts of this commentary even after *Hawar* ceased publication in *Roja Nû* (1943-1946), a newspaper run and edited by himself in Lebanon. Namely, the rest of An-Nisa, the surahs of Al-Ma'idah (The Table), Al-

[52] Originally, in the last issue the number of the last translated ayah was indicated as 48. In this regard, Selahaddin Uğur Işık (2020) draws atention to a mistake in numbering and presents the total number of the translated ayahs of the last surah as 49 (2020, p. 22).

An'am (The Cattle) were published in *Roja Nû* [New Day] between 1945 and 1946 (Özdaş, 2020, pp. 11-12). So far, not every part of the Qur'an that K. Bedirxan translated has been published. However, Avesta, the Kurdish publisher based in Istanbul, published the accessible parts in book form as *Tefsîra Quranê* (2020) after combining the parts published in *Hawar*, *Roja Nû*, as well as on the available manuscript by K. Bedirxan. Regarding the source texts of his commentary, K. Bedirxan lists various resources:

i. "Tibyan"; Tefsîra Quranê - Çapxana Arif Efendî; Derseadet 1324.
ii. "Mewakib"; Tefsîra Quranê - Çapxana Arif Efendî; Derseadet 1324.
iii. "Tefsîra Quranê" Celaleyn: Celal-ed-dîn Muhammed; Celal-ed-dîn Ebdir-rehman; Çapxana Haşimiye Şam 1357 Hc.
iv. "Qurtebî" Tefsîra Quranê; El-Qurtebî; Qahire-1933.
v. Tercima Quranê bi zimanê elmani [The German translation of the Quran] "Der Koran" von Max Hennig Leibzig 1901; Druck und Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun. (K. Bedirxan, 1998, p. 686)

As the source texts demonstrate, first two were published in Istanbul (Dersaadet) and the third was a commentary of the Qur'an published in Damascus. The fourth source was published in Cairo while the last was the commentary in German and was published in Leipzig. Those source texts indicate that K. Bedirxan drew on many commentaries in Turkish, Arabic and German languages for his commentary.

Regarding the importance of publication of this commentary in *Hawar*, it also serves editorial policy of the periodical. C. Bedirxan created a Roman Kurdish alphabet and endeavored to disseminate it as widely as possible. Thus, publishing the commentary of such an influential religious book in the Roman alphabet for the first time was a substantial contribution to the legitimating and disseminating this alphabet among Kurds. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that this serial, as well as the one on the hadiths was first published in the first issue after the resumption of *Hawar* and aimed to make an influential come-back. This undoubtedly must have some impact on attracting the readers and on regaining the enthusiasm it created in the first

period. Indeed, although the editorial policy of the periodical reflected more of a secular way of life and aimed to construct a Kurdish cultural identity in dialogue with the western culture, this kind of publication also showed that *Hawar* respected religious perspective of the Kurdish cultural identity and kept dialoging with it. On the other hand, providing Kurdish readers with a commentary of the Qur'an in their own language was important in itself as a sign of prestige among Muslim communities. In this regard, Selahaddin Uğur Işık (2020) draws attention to a public need, too: He points out that K. Bedirxan prepared this commentary in Kurdish and Roman alphabet for those who could not read the Qur'an in Arabic (p. 18). Many other reasons can be cited, but the result of this undertaking certainly contributed to the legitimation of C. Bedirxan's Roman alphabet, as well as to developing Kurdish language and its vocabulary.

4.5.3.2 Hadith

K. Bedirxan translated a total of 702 hadiths and published them in each issue from 27 to 47 in 21 parts. The serial was entitled "Hedîsên Cenabê Pêxember" [The Hadiths of the Prophet His Excellency]. Similarly, it started in the second term of *Hawar* and represented a complementary serial to "Tefsîra Quranê". It accompanied the serial "Tefsîra Quranê" until the last issue it appeared.

Regarding the source texts, K. Bedirxan refers to the following sources:

i. "Teysir-el-wisûl ila cami-il-isûl min hedis-il-Resûl Ebdirehman bin Elî elmarûf bi ibn-il Deyba Eş-şeybanî Ez-zûbeydî eş-Şafiî; çapxana Selefiye - Misir 1346 Hc."
ii. "Nuxbetun min el-kelam-en-Nebî; Eş-Şeyx Mistefa el-xelayinî; Çapxana Misbah - Beyrût 1929"
iii. "El Cami-is-sexir min hedis-il-Beşîrîn nezîr Li xatimet-il hif-faz Celalid-dîn Ebdir-rehman ibîn ebî Bekir es-Siyûtî. Çapxane Hicazî; Qahire Misir". (K. Bedirxan, 1998, p. 687)

The sources show that K. Bedirxan translated all the hadiths from Arabic works published in Egypt and Lebanon. This translation was an important component of Islamic perspective of Kurdish cultural identity, which also involved two other perspectives: Zoroastrianism and Ezidism.

4.5.3.3 *Meshafa Rash*

Meshafa Rash is indeed the holy book of Ezidi people, also called *Yazidi Black Book*. The translations in this section are certain texts from *Meshafa Rash*. There are 3 translated texts in this sub-category, making up 5% of translations classified under the title "Religious texts".

Regarding *Meshafa Rash,* it is important to note that it was the only holy book originally written in Kurdish language, and so such a book had a symbolic meaning in terms of representing Kurdish culture and language. It also presents an important document that supports the existence of Kurdish language as a self-sufficient language, defying its detractors.

These extracts from *Meshafa Rash*, were also translated into French by K. Bedirxan, who stands out more in the translation of religious texts. This also shows that K. Bedirxan agreed with the editorial policy of *Hawar* that regards all Kurdish religions as indispensable parts of the cultural identity. Those pieces were serialized in the French section of the periodical under the title "Notice Sur La Bible Noire" [A Notice on Black Bible], published in issues 14, 15 and 16. It is also noteworthy that K. Bedirxan related Ezidism to Zoroastrianism in the first part of this serial: He described the former as a deformed version of the latter, the ancient religion once practiced by all Kurds, within the introductory paragraph with general information aimed at a western audience (K. Bedirxan, 1998, p. 289). Regarding translation of

the title of the religious book *Meshafa Rash*, it clear from the title of the serial that K. Bedirxan domesticated it, taking into account the western audience and their prevalent religion, Christianity: he translated *Meshafa Rash*[Black Book] into French as "La Bible Noire" [Black Bible], drawing a parallel with the Christan scriptures.

4.5.3.4 Zoroastrianism

The third component of religious texts is those translations about Zoroastrianism. There are three translated texts on this subject in the periodical and by 5%, they make up the same percentage as "Meshafa Rash".

Zoroastrianism is the ancient religion of Kurds and is held in high esteem in the coverage of *Hawar*. Publication of textual productions on Ezidism and Zoroastrianism also enable Kurds to demonstrate their culture as an established one, having ancient roots dating from pre-Islam in the eye of the western readership.

"Zerdeşt û Rêya Zerdeşt" [Zoroaster and Zoroaster's Path] was a text on Zoroastrianism that was translated by K. Bedirxan. It seems that after translating some texts on Ezidism, he also did translations on Zoroastrianism. Chronologically, these translations appeared in *Hawar* in the 1930s while his translations on Islam were published much later, from 1941 to 1943. In "Zerdeşt û Rêya Zerdeşt", K. Bedirxan informed readers about Zoroaster and his religion, Zoroastrianism. He also refers to its relation to Kurds, as their ancient religion (K. Bedirxan, 1998, p. 675). As for the source text, he did not mention any. However, he started this article with an English quote by the editor of a periodical called *The Iran League*, launched at the time by Zoroastrians in Bombay, India and published in English and Persian (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 385). The quote reads ". . .our dear and valiant brethren, the Kurds, the only heroic people who have preserved the purity, integrity and

independence of the old Iranian race." At the end of this quote the information on the given periodical are noted as follows: "The editor of *The Iran League*, Bombay. Vol. VI. no1. October. 193[?]. Page. 31". K. Bedirxan left the quote untranslated, praising important characteristics of Kurds. This quote was followed only by a piece of poetry on Zoroastrianism before the main body of the passage. Furthermore, it is significant to note that this text was accompanied by an image of Zoroaster. As I mentioned before, the presence of images was rare in the coverage of *Hawar*, and it seems that K. Bedirxan, as well as C. Bedirxan as the editor-in chief, regarded it very important to add an image of the prophet of the ancient religion of Kurds. As mentioned before, C. Bedirxan had previously added an image of Selahaddin Eyyubi to his entry, an equally important Kurdish historic figure. All this information indicates that K. Bedirxan had probably taken this picture from *The Iran League*. Furthermore, it is highly possible that he drew on the same periodical as a (or the only) source text.

This translation and the relationship it established through a periodical published by Zoroastrians also point at an endeavor to establish a feeling of “brethren" between Kurds and Zoroastrians of the time. In fact, it was not for the first time that a dialogue was made between *Hawar* and *The Iran League*. As a matter of fact, the first item on Zoroastrianism was the translation of the article "A Great Nation’s Spirited Struggles" originally published in *The Iran League*, ascribed to "Hawar", another C. Bedirxan pseudonym (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 385). In this article, the struggle of Kurdish people for their own rights was praised and was published in 19 as "Dengekî Zerdeştiyan: Di Heqê Kurdan De" [The Voice of Zoroastrians: About Kurds]. In order to increase the impact this article would have on the readers, he also published the English source text with the translation. This relationship established on Zoroastrian people's sympathy with Kurds and coverage of it in *Hawar* also

embodies an appreciation, and thus once more implies respect for the Kurds' ancient religion.

Concerning translations in this sub-category, a religious story entitled "Zerdeşt" [Zoroaster] was translated by Seydayê Gerok [Traveling Savant], another pseudonym used by C. Bedirxan, published in issue 38. It is noteworthy that this translation on Zoroastrianism was published in the second period of *Hawar*, when the serials on the commentary of Qur'an and Hadiths were also launched. They were altogether published in issue 38 (January 22, 1942). This harmony identifies the approach followed in the coverage of *Hawar*, as both religions were seen as essential components of Kurdish cultural identity.

Concerning the Zoroastrianism, it is significant to mention that a moral story entitled "Ji mirovên kêm re" [For the Insufficiant People] was translated by K. Bedirxan in issue 9. The story seems to be told by Zoroaster, and although K. Bedirxan provided no source text, he noted the following words under the title of the entry "Bi Zerdeşt ve", which might be translated as "With Zoroaster or "Related to Zoroaster". Therefore, I regarded this story as a concealed translation subsumed under the religious texts on Zoroastrianism.

4.5.4 Literary texts

Literary translations, too, occupy a crucial space in the coverage of *Hawar*. Totally, they consist of 45 items, classified as "Poetry", "Short Story" and "Others". Especially the large number of poetry and short stories translated largely from French both introduced Kurdish readers to western literature and contributed to the development of Kurdish modern literature. The translations in this category also

involved translations from Persian literature. The following graph displays the proportion of literary translations according to those sub-categories:

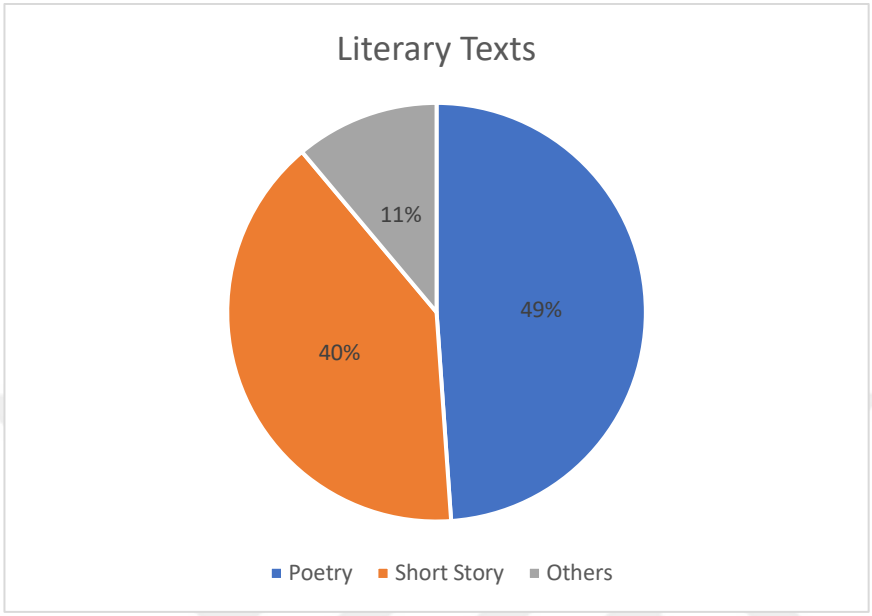


Fig. 19 Distribution of translated literary texts

The graph shows that "Poetry" comprises the largest percentage, 49% of literary texts, consisting of 22 poems. In fact, my analysis on the whole run of *Hawar* has shown that indigenous poems make up indisputably the majority of all literary genres, followed by "Short Story", with 40%. Those translations are composed of 18 short stories. The graph shows that the composition of literary translations is made of poetry and short stories to a large extent, whereas those in "Others" comprise 11%. In the last sub-category, there are five items cutting across different literary genres: two texts of spy fiction, a memoir, a letter and an example of travel writing.

Before delving into the analysis of the above-mentioned sub-categories, I should point out that simply evaluating the share of literary texts among all translated texts shown in the graph above would certainly be misleading. As it could be observed in all categories analyzed above, there are examples of translated literary

texts: i.e., in informative texts (e.g., War Memories), in folkloric texts (e.g., *Memê Alan*), in religious texts (e.g., Some moral stories of Zoroastrianism). This is an important feature of the periodical that emphasizes the key place of literary texts in the whole run of the periodical. Moreover, classifying the textual elements according to genres has indeed been a problem I encountered throughout my research on *Hawar*: The composition of some texts could have features of at least two genres, or the textual material can prevent, or can resist classifying them in established categorizations of genres.

Regarding importance of literary texts in the coverage of *Hawar*, the presence of literary translations, along with the number of indigenous literary texts across all issues is also a clear demonstration of their significance in the magazine.

4.5.4.1 Poetry

According to my classification, there are 22 translated poems in *Hawar* and with 49%, they comprise almost half of the translated literary texts. Indeed, my analysis shows that among indigenous literary texts, the frequency of Kurdish poems also stands out throughout the whole life of the periodical. They offered new forms and models for Kurdish readers to follow, as well as for authors of *Hawar*. In this part, I will focus on the serial "Çarînên Xeyam"[Khayyam's Rubaiyat], and the translation of the poem "L'hymne" by Victor Hugo.

One of the prominent examples of the poetry translation was the serial called "Çarînên Xeyam"[Khayyam's Rubaiyat], which appeared from issues 17 (March 6, 1933) through 26 (August 18, 1935) in ten installments. Attributed to K. Bedirxan were translated poems from *Rubaiyat* by Omar Khayyam from Persian into Kurdish. *Rubaiyat* was a distinguished work in Persian literature, and well-known in the

western world, therefore selection does not seem to be random, but on the contrary, intentionally. Probably, it was because of this reason that K. Bedirxan did not add to the serial any paratextual elements referring to its source text. The only implication to the source text was the title of the serial, a translation from eastern literature. However, especially as of the second term of *Hawar*, the coverage of poems translated from western, especially from French, literature increased. In the given period, translations were made of work by poets such as Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Lamennais, Charles Baudelaire, Alfred de Vigny and Rudyard Kipling. In this respect, the poem "Loriya Şehîdan" [Requiem for Martyrs] is the first example. It was translated by Mamosteyê Gerok [C. Bedirxan] and published in issue 27 (April 15, 1941). It is, in fact, a translation of the poem called "L'hymne" by Victor Hugo. These translations were generally done by C. Bedirxan under different pseudonyms, such as Mamosteyê Gerok and Seydayê Gerok. Some, too, were translated by Nûredîn Zaza under the pseudonym, Nûredîn Ûsif. (For more details on this sub-category see 6.1.2)

4.5.4.2 Short story

There are 18 examples of translated short stories in the overall body of literary translations in *Hawar*, making up the second largest proportion, 40%. There are also a high number of indigenous short stories in *Hawar*, which provided a venue for the emergence of new writers. There, those like Nûredîn Zaza, Cegerxwîn, Qedrîcan, Osman Sebrî and K. Bedirxan found the opportunity to practice their prose and poetry, with encouragement from C. Bedirxan. In this respect, the genre of short story seems to have appeared more frequently throughout the publication of *Hawar* than previous Kurdish magazines. In this sub-category, I will analyze the importance

of translated short stories mainly focusing on the short story entitled “Çîrokeke Misira Kevn: Kitêba Totê Reb"[A Story of Ancient Egypt: Book of Thoth] and published in issue 56 (July 15, 1943), the stories published in the serial "Çîroka Tarîxî" [Historical Story] and the short story “Mehfûr” [The Rug], published in 47 (July 25, 1942).

It is important to note that the coverage of short stories, both translations and indigenous texts, as well as translated western poetry, played an important role in introducing those genres into Kurdish literature. Although there were efforts to cover short stories in the previous Kurdish publications, these were less frequent and systematic than in *Hawar*. For instance, the short story which is regarded as the first example of this genre in Kurdish literature is the one called "Çîrok"[Story] by Fuadê Temo, published in *Rojî Kurd* in Istanbul in 1913. This story appeared in two issues of this magazine, but remained incomplete, (Uzun, 1995b, p. 65). In contrast, in the whole coverage of *Hawar*, there were a substantial number of both indigenous and translated short stories that published as part of a predetermined program. In *Hawar*, there were translations of short stories by authors such as Alphonse Daudet, Frank Stockton, Maurice Bouchor, as well as three translated stories from *Gulistan* by Sadi, published in the last issue. I also included them in this subcategory. However, not all short stories in the periodical were attributed to an author or translator. A good example is the short story that was published in issue 56 under the title of "Çîrokeke Misira Kevin: Kitêba Totê Reb"[A Story of Ancient Egypt: Book of Thoth]. Although I could not locate the original, the title implies that it might be a piece from the Book of Thoth. The note under the title, too, indicates that it was translation of an Ancient Egyptian story: "The original of this story was found written on papyrus in

1300 before Christ"[53] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1136). This story was translated by Cemşîd, another pseudonym of C. Bedirxan. In this regard, the stories published in the serial "Çîroka Tarîxî" embodied the examples of such concealed translation. They were attributed to Bişarê Segman [C. Bedirxan] without providing any source texts. These stories were published under the titles "Klêopatre" [Cleopatra], "Selahedîn û Riçardê Şêrdil" [Selahedîn and Richard the Lionheart], Şûşa Dilan [The Glass of Hearts] and "Keleha Şahîn" [The Castle of Hawk] in issues 50, 51 and 52.

Regarding translated short stories, I have observed that Nûredîn Zaza was notable as a translator, especially in the second period, in addition to C. Bedirxan who disguised himself with various pseudonyms. Among those short stories, “Mehfûr” [The Rug], translated by Silêmanê Ferho and published in issue 47, appears to have greater importance. It is, in fact, the translation of the short story "Le Tapis" by Maurice Bouchor. The story is about the marriage of a Kurdish girl to the son of the Sultan of Istanbul and how learning Kurdish culture of rug-weaving saved his life and secured this marriage. This seems to be another translation by C. Bedirxan under the pseudonym Silêmanê Ferho. In the same vein, in a note under the title clearly indicated its source: "Translated from Maurice Bouchor"[54] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1045). This note helped me locate the source text. Regarding the story, I think it was a conscious selection because of its content on Kurdish culture as, although originally in French, the subject matter contributed to visibility of Kurdish cultural identity.

[53] Esilê çîrokê li ser papîros nivîsandî hatiye dîtin “Beriya Îsa Pêxember bi 1300 Salî” (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1136)
[54] Ji "Maurice Bouchor" Hate Wergerandin. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1045).

4.5.4.3 Others

In this sub-category, literary texts such as "Spy Fiction", "Memoir", "Letter" and "Travel Writing" were subsumed under "Others." There are two examples of spy fiction, and for other genres, one example each. These five items make up 11% of all translated literary texts. Among them, translation of spy fiction also introduced a new literary genre into Kurdish literature. In fact, it is possible to see those kinds of translations more frequently in *Ronahî*. In this respect, "Casûsê Ko Dan Ber Tifingan" [The Spy Executed by Shooting] and "Panama: Japonan ev kenal dê berhewa bikira" [Panama, The Japanese would Blow this Canal up] were published in *Hawar,* respectively in issues 46 (July 10, 1942) and 57 (August 15, 1943). The former was ascribed to Silêmanê Ferho, and the latter, to Qadirê Ferman.

The source texts of these stories are vaguely ascribed to American newspapers or journalists. In "Panama: Japonan ev kenal dê berhewa bikira" for instance, in the introduction, the translator provided information on the construction of the Panama Canal and its importance for the USA and also referred to the concern of the USA over a potential attack by Japan on the canal and relevant military precautions. In this regard, the story began after the closing statements to the introduction, as follows: "As seen in the following story, the Japanese intended to do this but could not manage it. The American newspapers say:"[55] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1146). Similarly, in the introductory paragraph of "Casûsê Ko Dan Ber Tifingan", it reads "General Yablonski has recently told an American journalist the following strange event"[56] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1036). These stories were the ones which occurred during WWII, and the paratextual elements demonstrate that they embody

[55] "Herwekî ji çîrokiya jêrîn dixuye dilê japonan hebû; lê ji wan nehatiye. Rojnameyên emêrîkanî dibêjin:" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1146).
[56] "General Yablonskî . . . vê paşiyê ji rojnamevanekî emêrîkanî re kirdeya jêrîn a xerîb gotiye. . ." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1036).

examples of concealed translation, and also that a new genre, spy fiction, was introduced into Kurdish literature through translations of stories from American papers.

Lastly, in terms of travel writing, it is important to note the entry called "Berê Çawan Bû[?] çend rûpelên dîrokê" [What it was like in the Past? Some Pages from History] was published in issue 16. The translation was attributed to K. Bedirxan. It was, in fact, translation of the parts relating to Kurds in *Seyahatname* by Evliya Çelebi, the famous Ottoman travel writer. It appears that the reasons for covering such a text was to inform Kurdish readers about their history, geography and related cultural elements, based on a historic document by a renowned explorer.

4.5.5 Advertisements

My analysis across all issues of the periodical has shown that there is a limited range of advertisements in *Hawar*. In issue 1 (May 15, 1932), there are none, however, as of issue 2, there are two for two doctors, one of whom was an eye doctor called Dr. M. Khidir and the other was Dr. Ahmed Nafiz, a renowned Kurdish pediatrician and specialist in venereal diseases. Both were published on the back cover of *Hawar*. As of issue 3, an advertisement on photoengraving was added. Below, I will analyze the role of these three advertisements in reflecting the multilingual nature of the periodical and the motivation for publishing these. Furthermore, I will focus on the promoted books on the list of "Kitêbxana Hawarê" (The Library of *Hawar*) and explain their significance. I will also refer to certain other advertisements in order to point out their role in introducing Kurdish culture, and to reveal Kurds' relationship with French authorities. My analysis in this category tackled translations and

indigenous texts together in order to better reflect their presence and function in the overall composition of *Hawar*.

Three advertisements mentioned above were published as such:

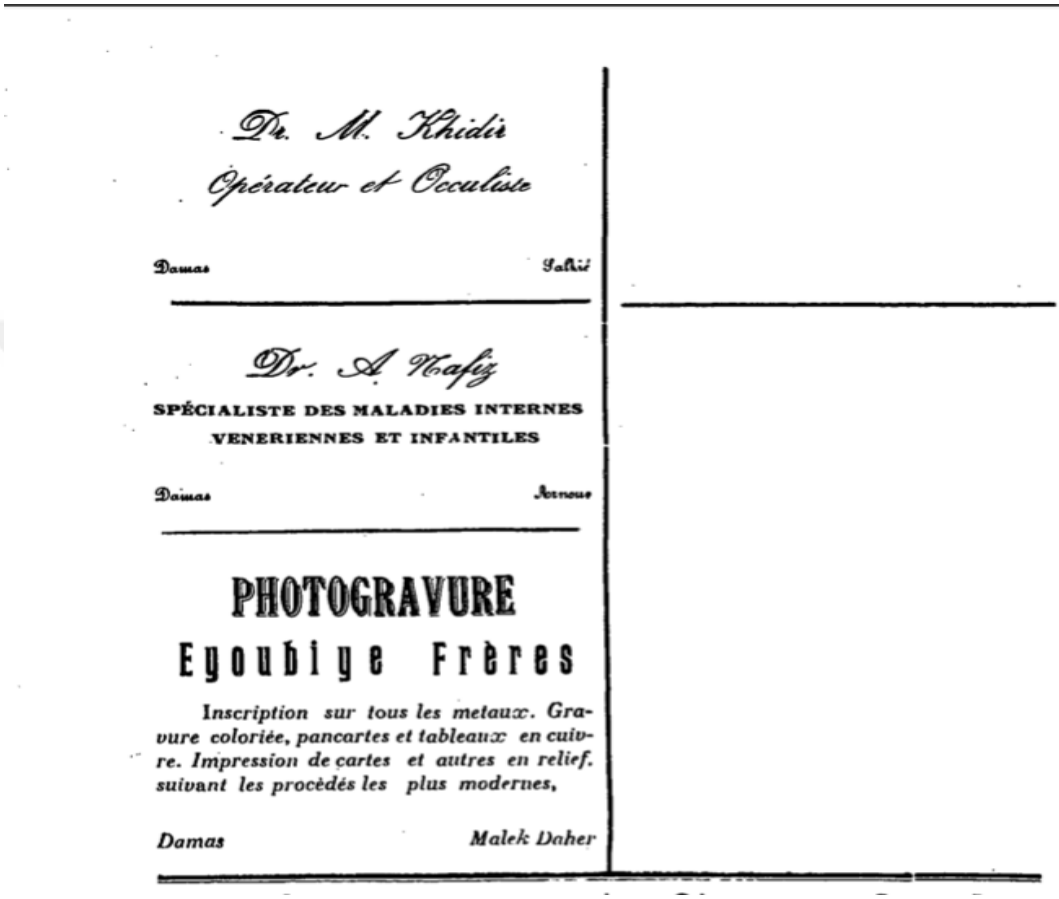


Fig. 20 The examples of advertisements in *Hawar*

As can be seen, C. Bedirxan preferred to publish advertisements in French, the dominant language in the region. The first advertisement is for Dr. M. Khidir, who specializes in the treatment of eyes, and the second for Dr. Ahmed Nafiz, who specializes in venereal and infantile diseases. He is the elder brother of Nuredîn Zaza, who contributed short stories and translations to *Hawar*. As I mentioned in the section 4.4.4, the doctor himself contributed to *Hawar* with his column addressing readers' questions on health issues. The third advertisement was about Eyoubiye

Brothers, photoengravers. Their skills are advertised as follows: "Inscription on all metals. Colored engraving, placards, copper paintings. Printing of cards and others in relief, following the most modern processes." These advertisements were repeated unchanged in the following issues up until issue 23.

It is important to note that the first twenty-three issues of *Hawar* were published in both Roman and Arabic scripts. Following this approach, the same advertisements above were also published in the Arabic script section from issue 2 through issue 23. These were the Arabic version of the French advertisements, published in the following format:

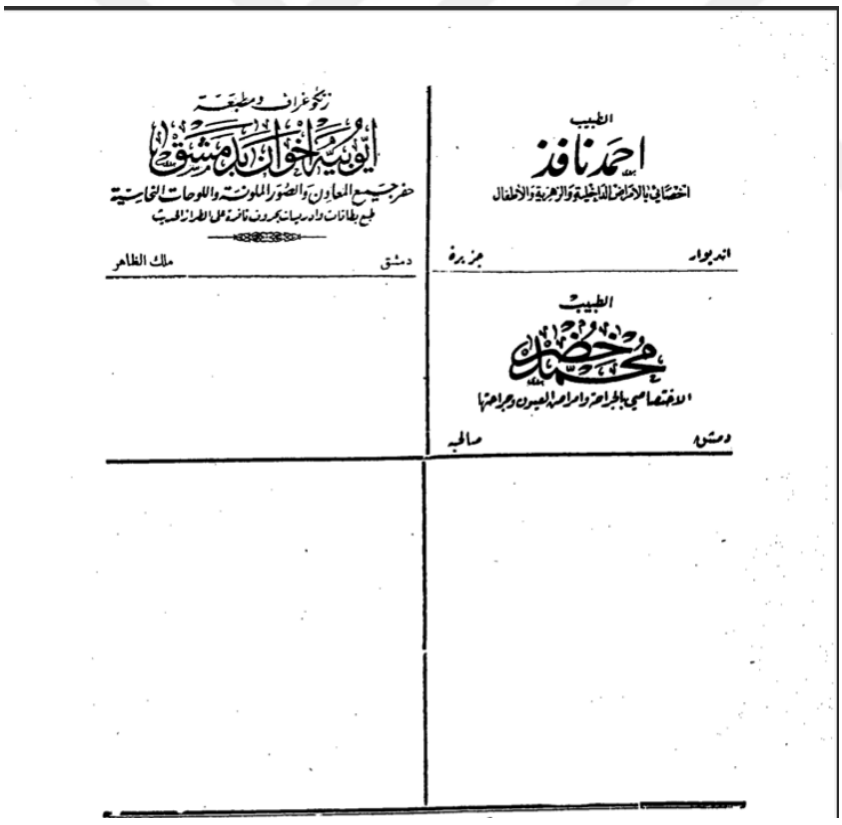


Fig. 21 Translated Arabic advertisements from French

Taking into account the Arabic version of the French advertisements, I argue that we can also regard those textual productions as translations. The French versions

seem to address French speakers, or at least preferred to address the target audience in French. Likewise, via the Arabic versions, C. Bedirxan aimed to address Arabic speaking audiences, or preferred to address the same audiences in Arabic, the other dominant official language in Syria. Moreover, as can be observed both in Roman and Arabic scripts section, C. Bedirxan left some blank parts, suggesting that the editor was intending to show that space was available for anyone wanting to advertise their services.

My analysis has shown that there were advertisements in Kurdish, which promoted a list of books by the authors and translators contributing to *Hawar*. The advertisement on the first book was published under the title "Kitêbxana Hawarê" (The Library of *Hawar*):

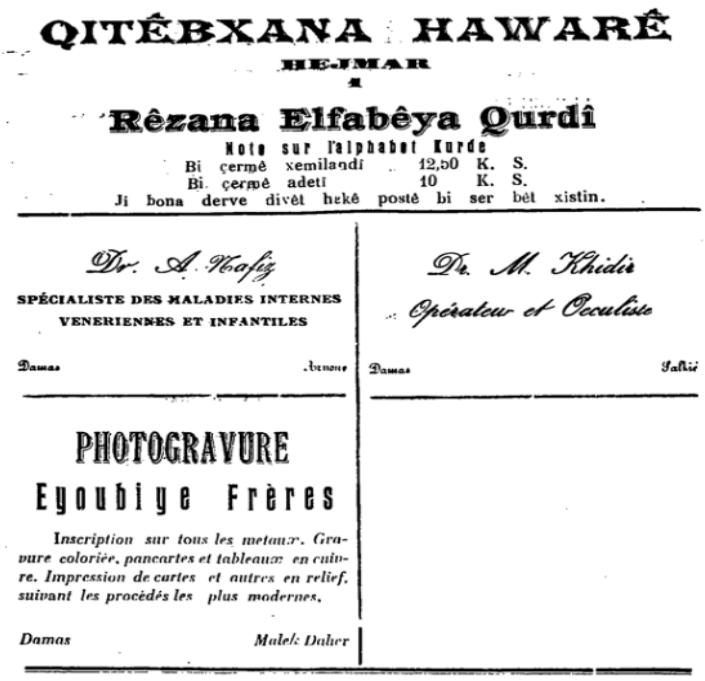

QITÊBXANA HAWARÊ
HE-MAR
Rêzana Elfabêya Qurdî
Note sur l'alphabet Kurde
Bi çermê xemilandî .. 12,50 K. S.
Bi çermê adetî .. 10 K. S.
Ji bona derve divêt hekê postê bi ser bêt xistin.
Dr. A. Hafiz
SPÉCIALISTE DES MALADIES INTERNES VENERIENNES ET INFANTILES
Damas
Dr. M. Khidir
Opérateur et Oculiste
Damas
PHOTOGRAVURE
Eyoubiye Frères
Inscription sur tous les metaux. Gravure coloriée, pancartes et tableaux en cuivre. Impression de cartes et autres en relief, suivant les procédés les plus modernes.
Damas
Malek Daher

Fig. 22 The sample of an advertisement in Kurdish

As indicated, this advertisement in Kurdish is about the promotion of "Rêzana Elfabêya Kurdî" (The Guide to Kurdish Alphabet), which was in line with C.

Bedirxan's editorial politics to introduce and disseminate the Roman script alphabet among Kurds. This advertisement mainly addressed the Kurdish audience, but the French translation of the title is also visible. Furthermore, the details about the price of ornate leather-bound books and plain leather-bound books are respectively indicated as 12.50 Syrian piasters and 10 Syrian piasters. Additionally, it is noted that those living outside Syria should add postage to the price. The promotion of the first title of "The Library of *Hawar* " was printed in issues 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 along with above-mentioned three advertisements and also repeated in Arabic script section of the same issues. However, in the Arabic script section, there was no version in Arabic, it was in Kurdish only, in contrast to the other three advertisements, which were translated into Arabic.

It is of importance to note that in the whole run of *Hawar*, the number of books listed under "The Library of *Hawar*" extended to seventeen. They were advertised on the back cover of *Hawar* from issue 27 (April 15, 1941) to issue 44 (May 20, 1942) as follows:

Kitêbxana Hawarê

Hejmar:

1 — Rêzana Elfabiya Kurdî C. A. Bedir-Xan.
2 — Rupelnine Elfabê C. A. Bedir-Xan.
3 — Dilê Kurên Min Dr. K. A. Bedir-Xan.
4 — Biyişa Pêxember. Bi Kurdiya dumili, bi dîbaca C. A. Bedir-Xan
5 — Nivêjên Êzediyan bi dibaca C. A. Bedir-Xan
6 — Mektûb ji Mistefa Kemal paşê re C. A. Bedir-Xan
7 — Mesela Kurdistanê Bazil Nikitin
8 — Ji mesela Kurdistanê C. A. Bedir-Xan
9 — Elfabeya Kurdî Dr. K. A. Bedir-Xan
10— Xwendina Kurdî Dr. K. A. Bedir-Xan
11— Elfabeya min Dr. K. A. Bedir-Xan
12— Dersên Şerîetê Dr. K. A. Bedir-Xan
13— Çarînên Xeyam Dr. K. A. Bedir-Xan
14— Proverbes Kurdes. Medhelokên Kurdî. Lucy Paule Margueritte û Emir. K. A. Bedir-Xan Paris - 1937
15— Le roi du Kurdistan. Qralê Kurdistanê. Emir K. A. Bedir-Xan û Adolphe de Falgerolle. Paris - 1937
16— Der Adler von Kurdistan. Eyloyê Kurdistanê. Prinz K. A Bedir-Xan û Herbert Örtel Berlin - 1937
17— Der Schnee Des Lichtes. Berfa Ronahiyê. Şibrên Kurdî Prinz. K. A. Bedir-Xan û Dr. Curt Wunderlich Berlin - 1937

Fig. 23 The list of the books promoted under the title of "Kitêbxana Hawarê"

Regarding advertisements, my analysis shows that, in addition to issue 1, there were no advertisements in issues 23, 24 and 25, and neither were there any toward the end of the periodical, in issues 45 to 57, except for issue 54, in which the promotion of a French book was embedded:

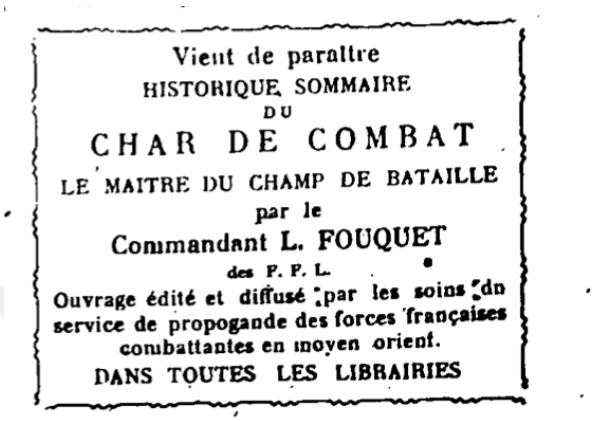


Fig. 24 The promotion of a French military book

This is an advertisement on a military book distributed by Propaganda Service of French Services. The book entitled *Historique sommaire du char de combat: le maître du champ de bataille* [Basic History of the Battle Tank: The Master of the Battlefield] was written by a French major called L. Fouquet. This advertisement, which was in French and embedded in Kurdish pages, was probably published in order to secure the support of the French Mandate authorities. Furthermore, there was another advertisement promoting French magazines and works in issue 26, published on August 18, 1935 on the back cover:

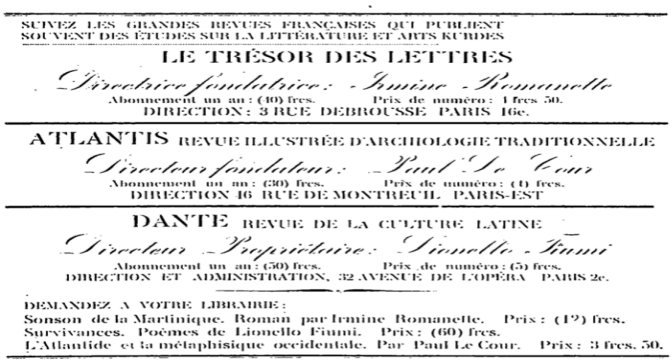


Fig. 25 The promotion of French magazines and works

The advertisements for French magazines are published under the following title "Suivez les grandes revues françaises qui publient souvent des etudes sur la littérature et arts kurdes" [Follow the major French magazines that often publish studies on Kurdish literature and art]. As the title shows, the advertisement addresses francophone readership and it aims to encourage a greater familiarity with Kurdish culture. For this purpose, readers are provided with names of the founders, the addresses, and fees for subscription of the magazines such as *Le Trésor des Lettres*, *Atlantis* and *Dante,* all based in Paris. These advertisements in French also align with the aim of *Hawar* to address western readership. *Hawar* endeavored to meet this aim through texts written in French or translated into it, besides translations from French and many other languages into Kurdish, which aimed to address Kurdish readership. In addition to these magazines, under the title "Demandez à votre libraire" (Ask your bookseller) there were advertisements for *Sonson de la Martinique*, a novel by Irmine Romanette, *Survivances,* the French translation of poems by the Italian poet, Lionello Fiumi and *L'Atlantide et la métaphysique occidentale*, a work by Paul Le Cour. The prices of the books were also shared for the readers.

The issues in the section of temporal codes show that *Hawar* had to undergo interruptions, the longest of which lasted for around six years. Nevertheless, it seems that C. Bedirxan succeeded in maintaining the publication of *Hawar* despite hardships, mainly economic ones. The intervals and hardships also impacted the material features of the periodical. The analysis of material codes in *Hawar* shows that C. Bedirxan endeavored to keep the number of pages at 16. However, as of issue 38, the periodical encountered fluctuations and reductions in the number of pages, and in the later issues, the number of pages fell dramatically to 8. In this respect, it is

significant to consider the financial aspect of *Hawar*. As is evident from economic codes, C. Bedirxan resorted to many strategies to continue *Hawar* and thus disseminate his ideas on Kurdish cultural identity. These included soliciting financial support from French mandate authorities, and obtaining papers from English authorities, in addition to donations and the revenue collected from the subscriptions. In order to encourage readers in different countries to access *Hawar*, he offered different subscription options and did his best to keep the yearly price the same throughout the lifetime of the periodical. Although there was no direct statement in the periodical, C. Bedirxan might have also earned revenue from the advertisements published mainly in the early years.

Taking all textual categories in the compositional codes into consideration, it seems that through translated texts, ranging from informative to literary to religious, and also, advertisements, C. Bedirxan made great efforts to disseminate his wide-ranging ideas on cultural identity among Kurds. In the same vein, he strove to introduce the western readership to Kurdish cultural identity with a large variety of translated texts, ranging from folkloric to literary and religious ones.

I should also note that the richness and diversity in text types and the content of translated texts – both into Kurdish and French– fostered the heteroglossia of the composition of *Hawar,* and the dialogue established between these texts in the whole run of the periodical also reinforced the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity for both Kurdish and western audiences.

It is important to note that translations ensured the development of Kurdish prose and modern literature. Through translated texts, C. Bedirxan introduced into Kurdish language and literature genres such as western poetry, the short story, and journalistic language of newspapers. It is important to note that this journalistic

language translated from the newspapers also contributed to the development of a simpler, more fluent Kurdish prose. Furthermore, through translated literary texts of Kurdish fables, classical poetry and linguistic pieces, the western audience was familiarized with Kurdish language and literature.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSLATIONAL HABITUS OF *HAWAR*:

SOCIAL CODES

Social codes “cover the wide network of actors involved in the creation, circulation and reception of the journal and include editorial personnel, contributor networks, and readership” (Philpotts, 2013, p. 3). In the same vein, Philpotts regards social codes, together with compositional codes, as "the most complex and involved" of the periodical codes (Ibid.). This also means they are able to present rich material and can unearth the translational habitus of a periodical. In fact, social codes, coupled with compositional codes analyzed in the previous chapter, have provided rich material to uncover the translational habitus of *Hawar*. In this chapter, I will examine the actors, extending from those involved in publication to the readership, who formed the networks of agents active in the entire process of the periodical, I will examine the role the editor-in-chief, the publisher played in the publication and circulation of *Hawar.* Indisputably, the translators will become the main focus in this chapter and in analyzing these, I will also briefly look at certain contributors, such as Rewşen Bedirxan, Osman Sebrî, Cegerxwîn and Qedrîcan, who were more remarkable for their writings than translations in terms of their part in the creation of *Hawar*. Last but not least, I will analyze the dynamic relationship established between the periodical and its readers, as well as the circulation process.

5.1 Publisher

I should note that it was not a single publishing house that launched and promoted *Hawar*, but, on C. Bedirxan's own initiative, different printing houses based in Damascus. The first twenty-three issues were published by Çapxana Tereqî [Tereqî

Printing House] whereas issue 24 alone was published by Çapxana Midhik-el-Mibkî [Midhik-el-Mibkî Printing House]. In the course of the publication of *Hawar*, issues 25 and 26 were once more published by Çapxana Tereqî, while issues from 27 to 52 were published by another firm, called Çapxana Sebatê [Sebat Printing House]. My observation across all the issues has also shown that the last issues ranging from 53 to 57 were again published by Çapxana Tereqî but this time the name was written as "Çapxana Tereqiyê". Regarding the printing houses, Rewşen Bedirxan stated in the interview with Mehmed Uzun that the established printing houses in Damascus were accustomed to printing in Arabic, and thus C. Bedirxan had to set the types for his Kurdish Roman alphabet himself. According to her, types for Roman alphabet were available but Kurdish had some special characters in Roman alphabet, and C. Bedirxan brought the required types from Beirut and set them himself. She also points out that he himself taught the printing house apprentices how to set the types and thus helped them master typing the Roman Kurdish alphabet (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, p. 71). In this regard, she states that C. Bedirxan kept working with the apprentices when the owner of the printing house had gone home (Ibid.). It seems most likely that the printing house that she refers to is Çapxana Tereqî, where *Hawar* was published in early years. Rewşen Bedirxan's statements show that C. Bedirxan was not only occupied with teaching his alphabet to the readership, but also, after each issue was published, he continued to teach the printing house workers how to set Kurdish Roman alphabet.

Rewşen Bedirxan also remarks that it was costly to publish the first issue at the printing house. In this regard, she states that the printing houses were surprised by C. Bedirxan's demand to publish the periodical and would ask more than normal to make sure of his sincerity. It is obvious from his following response to printing

houses that he had to pay although he knew the price was considerably inflated: "I know this work does not cost that much money, but you want to earn money and I am dependent on you."[57] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, p. 72). It seems that he lost money because of this attitude (Ibid).

In the interview, she also informs about the number of printed copies, too. In this respect, while speaking about the first issue she states: "Between 500 and 1000 copies, namely around 700 or 800 copies. By each issue, the number of copies increased. So much so that the surplus remained unsold. That is, the issues and the number of copies outnumbered the addresses we had at hand. . . "[58] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, p. 73).

Interestingly, we learn from Rewşen Bedirxan that their house, too, served for the printing after their marriage:

> *Hawar* was being prepared at the printing house. A few months later, we transferred it to our house: we evacuated the dining room and placed the cases there. The printing press remained there afterward, and we turned the hall between the two rooms into the dining room. Thus, we carried out our work altogether with the printing press and compositors at home.[59] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, p. 108)

It is apparent that Rewşen Bedirxan was also involved in the printing of *Hawar* at home but did not provide any specific information about how long it took to conduct printing press activities at home (Ibid.). However, some clues in her statements help us to make inferences. In the quote, by "a few months later", she, in fact, meant

[57] "Ben biliyorum bu işe bu kadar fazla para lazım değil fakat siz kazanmak istiyorsunuz ve ben de size muhtacım." (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, p. 72)
[58] "Beş yüz ile bin arasında, yani yedi yüz sekiz yüz kadar ve her adet daha fazlalaştı. Öyle bir şekli oldu ki artık gitmiyordu. Yani adetler, sayılar, elimizdeki adreslerden daha çoktu . . ." (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, p. 73).
[59] *"Hawar* matbaada işlerdi, birkaç ay sonra eve taşındı, o yemek odası yapığımız oda boşaldı, sandıklar oraya geldi, matbaa orada kaldı artık ve yemek odası, o iki odanın arasında kalan antre de yemek odası oldu ve bu suretle matbaa da evde, hard diziciler de evde hep beraber işleri yürüttük." (R. Bedirxan & Uzun 2020, p. 108)

several months after their marriage (Ibid.). In fact, Rewşen Bedirxan and C. Bedirxan married in 1935. Considering that only one issue of *Hawar* appeared that year, and that the given period also coincided with the time period just before the longest hiatus lasting from August 18, 1935, to April 15, 1941, we infer that the printing tasks for issue 26 were done at home. This also might imply that because of economic hardships in 1935, they had to install their own printing press at home, and as of issue 26, they did not have the means to continue to print *Hawar* until the second period, when it reappeared in 1941. Nevertheless, it is of importance to point out that, based on the facsimile publication by The Kurdish Institute of Paris, it was noted on the cover of issue 26 that the periodical was published by Çapxana Tereqî. It is probable that even though C. Bedirxan and R. Bedirxan carried out the task at home, the printing house staff assisted them and cooperated on printing this issue as before, and therefore they still designated Çapxana Tereqî as the printer. Yet, this time the cooperation occurred not at the printing house but at C. Bedirxan's own home.

5.2 The editor-in-chief

The chief editor of *Hawar* was C. Bedirxan only. He undertook this position across 57 issues of *Hawar* from 1932 through 1943. The objectives he put forward in the first issue reflect the overall editorial policy of the periodical: The coverage ranging from teaching and dissemination of his innovative Roman alphabet, and other linguistic issues to Kurdish literature, music, history, and geography (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 23). In this context, I argue that C. Bedirxan's efforts to cover issues related to various aspects of Kurdish culture served the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity. The indigenous and translated texts which came into being throughout the

entire lifetime of *Hawar* indeed served to achieve the main goal of forming a Kurdish cultural identity. In this regard, it seems that in the second period of *Hawar*, too, C. Bedirxan exerted much effort to continue his editorial approach, established from the outset, as can be observed in "La Réapparition de *Hawar*", published in issue 27 on April 15, 1941. In the article in question, he explained the program followed in the second period, both reassuring the previous objectives, and setting out the new characteristics of the periodical (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697). In the second period, as well as supplementing the previous objectives to address both Kurdish and French readerships through indigenous texts and translations into both languages, and thus establishing a Kurdish cultural identity, he also added new types of translated and indigenous texts for the emerging Kurdish literate readership, providing them with the required "intellectual nourishment" (la aliment intellectuel) (Ibid.). (For further information on this see the sub-section 6.2.5 in the following chapter).

5.3 Translators

Looking at the entire composition of *Hawar*, it is evident that translators have been the most influential actors providing the core material for laying bare the role that social codes played in the translational habitus of the periodical. Regarding C. Bedirxan, in this section, I will focus more on his translatorship and authorship, especially on the use of pseudonyms, as I have already delved into many aspects of his agency in Chapter 3. These included his life, the life of certain family members, his initial engagements with writing and publications, the impact of his stay in Germany on his agency, the period during which he published *Hawar*, the Roman

alphabet he created and his contributions to Kurdish language as well as his translatorship and other intellectual activities he was involved in.

5.3.1 Celadet Alî Bedirxan and his pseudonyms

My analysis throughout *Hawar* has shown that C. Bedirxan was the most prolific translator and author in the periodical. It appears that, in addition to his own name, he also published his translations and writings under a large number of pseudonyms. Below, I will particularly explore his use of pseudonyms.

I have briefly examined this subject in "3.3.3 C. Bedirxan's agency as a translator" but will now extend this analysis. According to Îbrahîm Seydo Aydoğan, the general belief is that C. Bedirxan felt obliged to use many different pseudonyms because of the insufficient number of contributors. He argues that C. Bedirxan resorted to such a method in order to increase the periodical's prestige both among Kurds and the French Mandate authorities (Aydoğan, 2013, p. 31). It is of importance to note, as indicated before in the above-mentioned sub-section of Chapter 3, that upon Aydoğan's request to ascertain the pseudonyms that C. Bedirxan used, Sînemxan Bedirxan, his daughter, and her husband Salah Saadallah pointed out that nobody other than C. Bedirxan could really know the names behind those pseudonyms (Aydoğan, 2013, p. 40). Therefore, Aydoğan maintains that, although he himself could not be sure of all of them, according to his research, C. Bedirxan used 32 pseudonyms (Aydoğan, 2013, p. 35). According to his list, the pseudonyms C. Bedirxan used were as follows: Nêrevan, Herekol Azîzan, Hawar, Nivîsanoka Hawarê, Xeberguhêz, Stranbêjê Jêlîyan, Stranvanê Jêlîyan, Stranvanê Hawarê, Xwedîyê Hawarê, Stranvan, Ferhengvan, Rasteder, Şîretbêj, Çîrokbêj, Mamosteyê Gerok, Seydayê Gerok, Feqîrê telqînbêj, Pirsiyarkarê Kurdan, Şevger, Farisîxwîn,

Farisîxanîn, Bişarê Segman, Cemşîd, Bavê Cemşîd, Bavê Cemşîd û Sînemxanê, Koçerê Botan, Yekî Vex[w]endî, Diya Ferzo, Lawikî Pijderî, Newîn, Dilistan and Şebistan (Ibid.). In this regard, Husên Hebeş, to my knowledge, who wrote the first PhD on *Hawar* in 1982 in Moscow, states that, while preparing for his research, he came across C. Bedirxan's pseudonyms such as "Her[e]kol Azîzan, Hawar, Xwediyê Hawarê, Xwediyê Hawar û Ronahiyê, Bavê Cemşîd, Bavê Cemşîd û Sînemê, Stranvan, Stranvanê Hawarê" in an article entitled "Celadet Bedirxan" by Sadiq Behadîn. He also adds that he became familiar with other pseudonyms such as "Xeberguhêz, Nêrevan, Seydayê Gerok, Mamosteyê Gerok, Stranvanê Jêliyan" in the course of his study (Hebeş, 1996, p. 164). It appears that 12 out of 13 pseudonyms that Hebeş recorded were also on Aydoğan's list. The only exception on Hebeş's list is "Xwediyê Hawar û Ronahiyê". As a matter of fact, C. Bedirxan used the pseudonym, Xwediyê Hawarê and Xwediyê Ronahiyê as two separate pseudonyms. The former was used in *Hawar* and the latter, in *Ronahî*. In his work, Hebeş (1996) also refers to Yekî Vexwendî as a pseudonym for C. Bedirxan (pp. 101-102), also present in Aydoğan's list. Furthermore, Aydoğan and Hebeş disagree regarding the pseudonym Diya Ferzo [Mother Ferzo/Ferzo's Mother], who translated the song "Bavê Emîn" into French and told the story of this song in a long introduction in French in issue 40 (February 28, 1942). In contrast to Aydoğan, who enlists Diya Ferzo among C. Bedirxan pseudonyms, Hebeş (1996) first regards Diya Ferzo as a foreign woman contributor (p. 51) then he argues that it seems to be a pseudonym of Rewşen Bedirxan, based on the fact that she was the only woman at the time who could have such a mastery of French (p. 64). Moreover, my research has shown that a footnote in *Ronahî* provide material for a new possibility about the pseudonym Diya Ferzo, too. In an unattributed war news item entitled "Emêrîkanî di Roavê

Efrîqayê de" [Americans in West Africa] published in issue 9 (December 1, 1942), the translator starts with the following explanation: "Our in-laws [1], the Americans take action –a vigorous one. . ."[60] ("Emêrîkanî di Roavê Efrîqayê de," 1985). In a footnote of this news item, the translator, who seems to be C. Bedirxan, intends to explain why he called Americans as "our in laws", namely as the in-laws of Kurds: "Possibly some of our readers would ask this: Since when have Americans become our in-laws? Certainly, since the day our axa [agha], Lezgîn Axa, got married, Americans have become our in-laws. That is because our bride, [Lezgîn] Axa's spouse, Floransa, Diya Ferzo, is American"[61] (Ibid.). Although this news item was not attributed to an author or translator, it seems from the footnote that it was most probably C. Bedirxan himself, the editor-in-chief of *Ronahî*, who addressed the readers and spoke in the name of all Kurds. This explanation also seems to indicate that the pseudonym Diya Ferzo belongs to Lezgîn Axa's, or in other words, Roger Lescot's wife "Floransa", who seems to be an American. Therefore, I could also assert that the translator of the song "Bavê Emîn", published in issue 40, might be Roger Lescot's wife, "Floransa". Nevertheless, thinking that C. Bedirxan wanted to enrich the composition and representation of *Hawar* and therefore endeavored to include women translators or authors among the contributors of the periodical, it is still possible that C. Bedirxan might have encouraged Diya Ferzo to compose this entry, or else he might even have composed it himself and attributed it to Diya Ferzo.

[60] "Xwezûranên [1] me emêrîkanî xwe tev didin; tevdaneke xurt. . ." ("Emêrîkanî di Roavê Efrîqayê de," 1985)
[61] "[1] Heye ko hin xwendevanên me bibêjin; ma emêrîkanî ji kengê ve bûne xwezûranên me. Belê ji roja ko axayê me Lezgîn axa jin kiriye, emêrîkanî xwezûranên me ne. Ji ber ko bûka me jina axê, Floransa diya Ferzo emêrîkanî ye." ("Emêrîkanî di Roavê Efrîqayê de," 1985)

Another possibility is that R. Lescot himself had some involvement in this translation as he had already contributed many similar translations to *Hawar* in the same period.

It is, in fact, difficult to ascertain all the pseudonyms used by C. Bedirxan as he is no longer alive. However, the material presented in *Hawar* enables us to make some inferences.

Herekol Azîzan, the most frequently used pseudonym, for instance, appears as an individual translator/author throughout the publication of *Hawar*. It first appeared in issue 5 (July 20, 1932) as an attribution to a translated lullaby into French, which was published in the serial entitled "Textes et Traductions". It seems that C. Bedirxan felt most comfortable when writing or translating a variety of topics under this pseudonym. In addition to issue 5, he published his writings and translations under this pseudonym in issues, 6 to 14, 19, 22 to 25, 29, 32 to 35, 40, 42, 46 to 51, and 53 to 57. In fact, in an introduction that was published in issue 25 (August 19, 1934), he seems to have himself disclosed his name: C. Bedirxan published a poem entitled "Bêriya Botan [Missing Botan] under the pseudonym, Herekol Azîzan. The poem was written as a mourning for the death of Şêx Evdirehmanê Garisî, the shaikh who issued a fatwa for the publication of *Hawar* in Roman script. In the same issue, another poem entitled "Şîna Şêx Evdirehmen Garisî" [Mourning for Şêx Evdirehmen Garisî] was published, written by B. Ferîdûn. C. Bedirxan also wrote an introduction to this poem, adding his name as, C. A. Bedirxan. At the end of this introduction part, C. Bedirxan says:

> My shaikh, it is possible that you wanted us to mention your name on the pages of *Hawar*. I did not see you [as Ferîdûn did] in my dream but I noticed your request. I wrote the poem, "Bêriya Botan" two years ago and dedicated it to your soul. When I received Ferîdûn's poem, "Bêriya Botan" was already on the pages of *Hawar* together with your name . . ."[62] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 653).

[62] "Şêxê min, heye ko te dil kiri be, em navê te di rûpelên Hawarê de hildin. Tu neketî xewa min. Lê ez bi vê daxwaza te hesiyam. Min şihra Bêriya Botan berî du salan nivîsand û pêşkêşî giyanê te kiribû.

It is clear from this explanation that the poem "Bêriya Botan", which was attributed to Herekol Azîzan, was, in fact, written by C. Bedirxan in 1932 under a pseudonym.

My analysis has shown that the second pseudonym C. Bedirxan most frequently used was Hawar, the name of the magazine itself, used by C. Bedirxan for writings and translations directly to address the readers. Those textual productions were mostly made of announcements, corrections, explanations or information on *Hawar*, issues on Kurdish language, glossary for the readers, information on other Kurdish periodicals, timetable for Kurdish radio broadcasts and readers' columns, as well as poetry encouraging readers and emerging writers. This pseudonym was used in issues 1, 7, 9 to 11, 14 to 21, 24, 27, 29, 31, 33, 34 and 49. In the very first issue, for example, he published under the pseudonym of Hawar, a quatrain entitled "Ji Xwendevanan Re" [To the Readers], encouraging the readers to support *Hawar* (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 24) whereas in 7, he announced the re-publication of *Zarî Kurmancî*, another Kurdish periodical published in Rewandiz by Huseyn Hiznî Mukriyanî (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 153). In issue 16, for instance, an article written in Central Kurdish (Sorani) by Hevindê Sorî was published under the title of "Sehitî" [Survey], giving his opinion on the unity of Kurdish language, and posing some relevant questions for the readers to respond and indicate their own point of view. C. Bedirxan did an interlingual translation of Hevindê Sorî's article from Sorani into Kurmanci and published two versions together in the Roman script section of the given issue. He also wrote an introduction of two paragraphs about this article under the pseudonym of Hawar and called on readers to write their responses to the questions posed on the unity of Kurdish language (Sorî, 1998, pp. 323-324).

Gava şihra Ferîdûn giha bû destê min, Bêriya Botan, digel navê te, ji xwe keti bû rûpelên Hawarê . . ." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 653)

Here, it seems that C. Bedirxan strategically used an article in order to raise awareness about the language unity. For this purpose, C. Bedirxan's efforts to establish a unity among all dialects involved encouraging readers to use Roman alphabet. This is observable across all issues of *Hawar*. In fact, publishing the same content in two basic dialects of Kurdish alongside each other in the same article is a concrete sign of his attitude to this subject; the unity of Kurdish language and the use of Roman alphabet is an important part of his imagined Kurdish cultural identity. Furthermore, though not very frequently, C. Bedirxan also used other versions of the pseudonym Hawar in the coverage of similar issues: "Xweyiyê Hawarê" [The Owner of *Hawar*], "Nivîsanoka Hawarê" [Editorial Board of *Hawar*], "Xwediyê Hawarê" [The Owner of *Hawar*], and "La Rédaction" [Editorial Board].

The third pseudonym C. Bedirxan used very frequently was Nêrevan, meaning "the observer" in Kurdish. In fact, he started to use this pseudonym in the second period of *Hawa*r as of issue 30 (July 1, 1941) when WWII was in its early years. He used it only for the serial "Rewşa Dinyayê" [The State of World], which covered developments on the war, a clear example of concealed translations. The only exception was the news item published in issue 57 under the title of "Sefera Sicîlyayê: Qewetên Sondxwariyan Çawan Daketine Giravê" [Sicily Expedition: How the Allies Forces Landed on the Island]. Although this news item was not included in the serial "Rewşa Dinyayê", it was still a coverage on the war (For further information on the serial see 4.5.1.2). Those details show that, by "Nêrevan", C. Bedirxan assumed the role of a war correspondent reporting developments to the Kurdish readership. It is obvious that translation played the pivotal role in this correspondence. He used the pseudonym "Nêrevan" in all issues ranging from 30 to 51, as well as in issue 57. In the same vein, the pseudonym, Xeberguhêz

[Correspondent] was used to report more interesting news taking place during the war in another serial, "Hindik Rindik" [Short and Sweet]. C. Bedirxan first used this pseudonym in issue 18 (March 27, 1933) in the entry entitled "Ji Ecêbên Dinyayê" [Oddities of the World], the content of which was in line with the serial "Hindik Rindik". Then, it is apparent that he used the same pseudonym across all issues that "Hindik Rindik" was serialized – namely, issues 32, 39 and 41. The pseudonyms used for both serials, "Rewşa Dinyayê" and "Hindik Rindik", indicate that C. Bedirxan preferred forging thematic pseudonyms. Similarly, while publishing Kurdish songs, he found relevant pseudonyms, using the pseudonym, Stranvan, meaning singer in Kurdish, when he published certain Kurdish songs in issues 19, 24, 37 and 48. For the same purpose, he also used pseudonyms, "Stranvanê Jêlîyan" [The Singer of Jêlîyan] in issues 24 and "Stranvanê Hawarê" [The Singer of *Hawar*] in issue 36. In issue 24, for example, he published the song, Delalê Berîyê [The Beauty of the Steppe] under the pseudonym Stranvan (1998, pp. 632-633) and then, in the same issue, it was translated into French as "Le Beau de la Steppe". C. Bedirxan put his own name under this translation as "D. A. Bedirkhan", the short form for his name in French–Djéladet Aali Bedirkhan (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 638-639). The authorship of this song and the translation are attributed to two separate individuals but, in reality, both are C. Bedirxan himself. Interestingly, in the same issue, there is another similar example. However, this time, the relationship is established between two pseudonyms: C. Bedirxan published the song, "Ji Stranên Cihê Botan"[Of the Songs from Botan], under the pseudonym Stranvanê Jêliyan (1998, p. 635) whereas he translated it into French as "Chansons de Botan" under the pseudonym "Pirsiyarkerê Kurdan" [Kurdish Inquisitor]. For the western readership, he also added to this translation a commentary about those songs under the subtitle

"Commentaire"[Commentary] (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 642-644). By the same token, concerning the thematic formation of the pseudonyms, he used the pseudonym Ferhengvan for the Kurdish glossary he published as "Ferhengok" [Glossary] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 716) and serialized for the Kurdish readers, and published his translations from Persian into Kurdish under the pseudonym of "Farisîxwîn"[Farsi-reader], as can be seen in issues 50 (October 15, 1942) and 52 (January 20, 1943), or "Farisîxanîn" [Farsi-reading], as used in 57 (August 15, 1943). Regarding "Ferhengok", it appears that C. Bedirxan published the installments of this serial both under his real name, in issue 4, as well as under his various pseudonyms such as "Herekol Azîzan", "Hawar" and "Ferhengvan". In addition, for the publication of the translated historical stories such as "Çîroka Tarîxî: Klêopatre [Historical Story: Cleopatra] in issue 50 and "Çîroka Tarîxî: Selahedîn û Riçardê Şêrdil" [Historical Story: Selahedîn and Richard the Lionheart] in issue 51, he used the pseudonym "Bişarê Segman" [The Safeguard Bişar]. Similarly, to share the examples of indigenous fables, he also created the pseudonym "Çîrokbêj" [Storyteller] as can be seen in the fables "Mar û Mirov"[Man and Serpent] and "Dîk û Rovî" [Rooster and Fox] in issue 6, as well as in the fable "Xurtîya Bînahîyê" [Power of Sight] in issue 20. In fact, C. Bedirxan translated the former fables as "L'homme [et] le Serpent" and "Le Coq et Le Renard" under the pseudonym of Herekol Azîzan in issue 7.

My analysis has also demonstrated that C. Bedirxan resorted to his familial relations to forge pseudonyms. In this regard, he used the pseudonyms "Bavê Cemşîd û Sînemxanê [Father of Cemşîd û Sînemxan] in issue 31, "Bavê Cemşîd" [Father of Cemşîd] in issues 44 and 48 and "Cemşîd" in issue 56. As is known, Sînemxan is C. Bedirxan's own daughter, and Cemşîd, his son. Furthermore, it is observable that pseudonyms were sometimes random. While translating war memories from English

and American newspapers, he used, for instance, pseudonyms Smaînê Serhedî, Hesenê Mistê, Evdirehmanê Rojkî, Dilawer Çarpîne, Cemîlê Tacdo, Silêmanê Ferho and Xelîlê Genco. In this regard, it is important to note that C. Bedirxan published two samples of translated spy fiction from American newspapers under the pseudonym, Silêmanê Ferho, as can be seen in the story in issue 46 under the title of "Casûsê Ko Dan Ber Tifingan" [The Spy Executed by Shooting] and under the pseudonym, Qadirê Ferman, in the spy story entitled "Panama: Japonan Ev Kenal Dê Berhewa Bikira" [Panama, The Japanese would Blow this Canal up] in the last issue of *Hawar*. My line of reasoning is that nobody other than C. Bedirxan could have at the time translated so many war memories from English-written papers and publish them across many issues. I suggest that C. Bedirxan used different pseudonyms for the same theme in order to give the impression that there were many authors/translators among the contributors of *Hawar*, who could compose such writings. In addition, it is observable that C. Bedirxan used the pseudonyms "Mamosteyê Gerok" [Traveling Teacher] and "Seydayê Gerok" [Traveling Teacher/Professor] while translating French poetry into Kurdish. For example, he translated the poem "L'Hymne" by Victor Hugo as "Loriya Şehîdan" [Requiem for Martyrs] in issue 27 under the pseudonym of "Mamosteyê Gerok" whereas he translated the poem "Le Balcon" by Charles Baudelaire as Delaliya Delalan[Mistress of Mistresses] in issue 31 under the pseudonym of "Seydayê Gerok". As mentioned before, these kinds of translations were adopted from western literature in order to foster the emerging literate Kurdish readers intellectually in the second term of *Hawar*. As the literal meaning of those pseudonyms shows, he assumed the role of a teacher traveling through western literature, sharing his knowledge with his readers. Moreover, the pseudonym "Seydayê Gerok" was used for C. Bedirxan's famous

poem "Bilûra Min" [My Kaval] in issue 32, as well as in a story on Zoroaster in issue 38, entitled as "Zerdeşt" [Zoroaster].

My observation has also shown that it seems most likely that, though in a relatively less frequency, C. Bedirxan also used the following pseudonyms in *Hawar*: Koçerê Botan [Nomad of Botan], Newîn, Yekî Vexwendî [An Invitee], Lawikî Pijderî, Rasteder [Truthrevealer], Rastedar[Truthowner], Dilistan [Heartland], Şevger [Sleepwalker], Şebistan, Feqîrê Telqînbêj [Burial Prayer Reciting Fakir] and Şîretbêj [Advisor].

I propose that, with the discovery of new material, the certainty and the exact number and nature of pseudonyms will become clear. The use of so many pseudonyms gives the impression that C. Bedirxan cloned himself in different names in order to address the readership across a diverse range of topics. I suggest that he resorted to the use of pseudonyms both to compensate for the lack of sufficient translators and authors, and to be able to address the audiences under different names, especially the Kurdish readership, by giving the impression of different experts involved in translating or writing in a wide range of aspects pertaining to his idealized Kurdish cultural identity. Furthermore, by forming a diversity of writers/translators and of the indigenous and translated texts in this way, he also intended to enhance the value of the periodical. This also helped to increase the number of voices in *Hawar*. In other words, by forging various pseudonyms in order to give the impression that many translators/authors contributed to *Hawar* and by his efforts to find new writers or translators – as seen in the case of contributors such as Cegerxwîn, K. Bedirxan, Qedrîcan, Osman Sebrî, Rewşen Bedirxan and Nûredîn Zaza – C. Bedirxan aimed to enrich the polyphony of the periodical.

5.3.2 Kamiran Alî Bedirxan

Kamiran Alî Bedirxan, too, contributed to *Hawar* with his translations and writings. Concerning his relationship with writing, he co-wrote with C. Bedirxan in his early writings in Istanbul, as mentioned in Chapter 3. In addition to serial "Çarînên Xeyam"[Khayyam's Rubaiyat] within which he translated poetry of Omar Khayyam from Persian into Kurdish, he also translated religious texts ranging from Zoroastrianism to Ezidism to Islam. He launched the serial "Notice Sur La Bible Noire" [A Notice on Black Bible], translating parts from the Ezidis' religious book *Meshafa Rash*. He also worked on texts such as "Zerdeşt û Rêya Zerdeşt" [Zoroaster and Zoroaster's Path] and "Zerdeşt" [Zoroaster]. In terms of Islam, it is evident that, in the second term, which started with issue 27 on April 15, 1941, he also contributed to the magazine with two new serials, in which he made commentary of the Qur'an in part and translated hadiths. The former one was entitled as "Tefsîra Quranê" [The Commentary of the Qur'an] and the latter,"Hedîsên Cenabê Pêxember" [The Hadiths of the Prophet His Excellency]. For the commentary of the Qur'an, he consulted many other commentaries in Arabic as well as its translation into German. Besides, he drew on various resources written in Arabic for translating hadiths into Kurdish (For further information, see 4.5.3). K. Bedirxan also translated certain parts on Kurds from Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* from Ottoman Turkish into Kurdish, published as "Berê Çawan Bû[?] Çend Rûpelên Dîrokê" [What was it like in the Past? Some Pages from History]. In addition to translated texts, he contributed to the periodical with some indigenous texts such as poems, short stories, articles throughout the entire run of *Hawar*. In his writings, although he mostly addressed Kurdish readers, he sometimes addressed western audience, as can be seen in the article, "La Femme Kurde" in issue 19 (April 17, 1933). In this article, he informed

western readers about Kurdish women. In fact, the above-mentioned serial "Notice Sur La Bible Noire" served the same purpose. In contrast to C. Bedirxan, all his writings and translation were under his own name, which was always designated along with the title of "Dr.", as he had completed a PhD in law at Universität Leipzig (Henning, 2018, p. 370). Citing this title also appears to provide K. Bedirxan with status, both in the eyes of Kurdish and western readers.

K. Bedirxan was also the author and translator of most of the works that were promoted as part of "Kitêbxana Hawarê" [Library of Hawar]. For instance, his serialized translation of Khayyam's poetry was published in book form as the 13th work on the list of "Kitêbxana Hawarê". Furthermore, his translation of Kurdish proverbs into French, which, according to the list, were co-translated with Lucy Paule Marguaritte, was published in Paris in 1937 and appeared as the 14th work on the list. In the same vein, *Le roi du Kurdistan*, which was promoted in "Kitêbxana Hawarê" as the 15th work on the list, is a translation of a Kurdish epic into French, which was a collaboration between K. Bedirxan and Adolphe de Falgairolle. It is important to note that Falgairolle is also among the French subscribers to *Hawar*. (MAE, 1933b, p. 4). Co-translator Falgairolle describes this work in the preface as "the first European translation of a monument of Kurdish literature"[63] (K. Bedirxan & Falgairolle, 1970). K. Bedirxan also serialized this epic novel in his newspaper *Roja Nû*. Furthermore, besides his translation of poetry into Kurdish, his own poems were also translated by Curt Wunderlich into German and published as *Der Schnee Des Lichtes*. It was published in 1935 although the publication date was indicated as 1937 in *Hawar*. This work was promoted in "Kitêbxana Hawarê" as the last work on the list.

[63] "C'est la première traduction européenne d'un monument littéraire kurde" (K. Bedirxan & Falgairolle, 1970, p. 7)

It is of importance to note that besides C. Bedirxan, K. Bedirxan, too, wrote books to encourage Kurds to learn his brother's alphabet and to advance writing and reading in Kurdish. For this purpose, he published the works such as *Elfabêya Kurdî* (1938), *Xwendina Kurdî* (1938), *Elfabeya Min* (1938), which were respectively promoted as 9th, 10th and 11th books on the list of "Kitêbxana Hawarê". It appears that he contributed to C. Bedirxan's objective of a Kurdish cultural identity through publications in *Hawar,* not only by his contributions to that publication but also with indigenous and translated works addressing both Kurdish and western readerships.

Following in C. Bedirxan's footsteps, K. Bedirxan published a Kurdish newspaper, *Roja Nû* [New day] in the Roman alphabet in Beirut. *Roja Nû/Le Jour Nouveau* was a Kurdish-French bilingual newspaper published between May 3, 1943 and May 27, 1946, covering a total of 73 issues. The announcement of this journal was first made in issue 53 (March 15, 1943) of *Hawar* under the title "*Roja Nû*" just before it was launched. There, the announcement said that the readers could benefit from the publication of another journal, *Roja Nû*, in a few days, following the publication of *Hawar* and *Ronahî*. In the announcement, the difference between *Hawar* and *Ronahî* was described: "*Roja Nû* is not only literary and social as *Hawar* and *Ronahî* are but also a political newspaper. Apart from every sort of writings, you will also find announcements and up to date war news in it . . ."[64] (Roja Nû, 1998). This explanation already suggests that *Roja Nû* would cover general political and war issues. For subscription, the announcement was also supplied with the information such as Dr. Kamiran Alî Bedirxan as the owner and the address of the paper both in

[64] "Roja-nû wek Hawar û Ronahiyê ne bi tenê edebî û civakî ye. Lêbelê Roja-nû rojnameke siyasî ye. Honê tê de ji her texlît nivîsaran pêve danezan û nûçeyên şer ên dawîn jî peyda bikin . . . " (Roja Nû, 1998)

Kurdish and Arabic (Ibid.). K. Bedirxan published in *Roja Nû* some indigenous and translated texts already published in *Hawar,* such as "Notice Sur La Bible Noire" and "Sinemkhan". Furthermore, he published a magazine called *Stêr* [Star] (1943-1945) as a supplement to *Roja Nû*, but this magazine lasted three issues only.

5.3.3 Roger Lescot

In the second period of *Hawar*, Roger Lescot (1914-1975) joined as one of the contributors. He was a French diplomat and orientalist who earned a BA degree in Arabic and Oriental literature in 1935. Later, he earned diplomas in Persian and Turkish. In 1935, he was in charge of a mission at the French Institute in Damascus, resident from 1938 to 1944. He was also appointed the principal of l'Ecole Supérieur de Arabe de Damas from 1941 to 1944. In 1935, when he arrived in Damascus, he also started to study Kurdish (Tejel Gorgas, 2007, p. 330). This also indicates the start of his collaboration with C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan, and indeed, he learned Kurdish from C. Bedirxan. The following statements of Rewşen Bedirxan describes this relationship: "Well, in the early days, he would go hunting with a French, Roger Lescot –an orientalist, he was his [C. Bedirxan's] pupil. He learned Kurdish from him. He [C. Bedirxan] would go with him in his [Roger Lescot's] car . . ."[65] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 114).

In addition to his contributions to *Hawar*, Roger Lescot conducted studies on various aspects of Kurds, ranging from language, literature to folklore. In this regard, he is renowned with the folllowing works: *Enquête sur les yezidis de Syrie et du*

[65] "Vallah ava ilk günler bir Fransız Roger Lescot, ki oryantalist, onun şakirdiydi, onla beraber giderdi. Ondan Kürtçeyi öğrendi, onunla beraber, onun arabası vardı, beraber ava giderlerdi . . ." (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 114).

Djebel Sindjar (1938)*, Textes Kurde I: Contes, proverbes et énigmes* (1940), *Textes Kurde II: Mamé Alan* (1942), *Grammaire Kurde (Dialecte kurmandji)* (1970). It is also significant to note that, among them, *Grammaire Kurde (Dialecte kurmandji)* is a work that was written in collaboration: Roger Lescot started this book in cooperation with C. Bedirxan, yet he could not complete the whole work until after his death. For writing this grammar book, Lescot states, he also drew on French articles in issues 16, 17, 18 and 26 of *Hawar*, as well as articles in Kurdish in the second series of the publication from issue 27 (Bedirkhan & Lescot, 1970, p. VI). A search through *Hawar* has shown that the mentioned articles were those which were respectively published in the serials "De La Grammaire Kurde" [On Kurdish Grammar] and "Bingehên Gramêra Kurdmancî [Basic Kurdish Grammar].

Besides his own name, Lescot published translations and indigenous texts under the pseudonym of Tawûsparêz [Peacock-lover/believer] in *Hawar*. It is not difficult to understand that this pseudonym relates to Ezidism, a field which he studied. In the Ezidis' religion, Melekê Tawûs (Peacock Angel) is the archangel, after which Roger Lescot named himself. As mentioned before, it is also important to note that Roger Lescot was called "Lezgîn Axa" [literally meaning Speedy Agha in Kurdish] in everyday life among Kurds (Lescot, 2001, p. 6). In terms of his relationship with C. Bedirxan and K. Bedirxan, Jordi Tejel (2009) remarks that Roger Lescot and Pierre Rondot were two important collaborators with Kurdish actors in the French Mandate administration, with scholarly interests in Kurdish affairs (p. 23).

Roger Lescot's first publication in *Hawar* appeared in issue 27 (April 15, 1941), the issue that marked the start of the second period, a translation of a Kurdish song into French, published under the title "La berceuse de Fatê" [The Lullaby of

Fatê]. In fact, the source text for this was collected by Herekol Azîzan [C. Bedirxan] and published in the same issue as "Loriya Fatê". By this translation, Lescot aimed to introduce western audience to "lorî" [lullaby], a lesser-known genre of popular Kurdish literature (Lescot, 1998, p. 698). Furthermore, his first translation under the pseudonym Tawûsparêz appeared in issue 35 (November 12, 1941), entitled as "Melaye Djeziri". Here, Lescot introduces western readership to Kurdish poet Melayê Cizîrî, whom he regarded as one of the two most popular classic Kurdish poets, together with Ehmedê Xanî (Lescot, 1998, p. 859). In order to familiarize western readership with Melayê Cizîrî's poetry and his life, Lescot added a long introduction to the translation of Cizîrî's two ghazals, as well as footnotes (Lescot, 1998, pp. 859-860). In addition to many other translations into French, the serial entitled "Proverbes", published between issues 45 (June 20, 1942) and 50 (October 15, 1942), was his longest contribution to *Hawar* written under the pseudonym Tawûsparêz. His last translation in *Hawar* appeared in issue 54 and it consisted of translations of two songs published as "Chansons" [Songs]. Indeed, this was the last issue which included a French part, in other words, the last three issues had no textual productions in French. However, the presence of a contribution to *Hawar* by Lescot in one of the last issues shows that, through his translations, he supported *Hawar* to the end.

The analysis of translations by Lescot demonstrate that he largely contributed to the introduction of Kurdish folklore to western readership. Teaching him Kurdish and earning his collaboration in the coverage of *Hawar* could also be regarded as one of C. Bedirxan's achievements. His collaboration also meant to facilitate C. Bedirxan's efforts to reach out western audience and familiarize them with the proposed Kurdish cultural identity. In this respect, Tejel (2009) says:

"Today, we know that Rondot and Lescot went beyond the parameters of their missions (scientific and military) giving precious assistance to the intellectuals behind the Kurdish nationalist movement, namely the Badirkhan brothers"(p. 23). In terms of Lescot's contributions, Tejel (2009) states "Roger Lescot's enquiries provided the editors of *Hawar* and *Roja Nû* important ethnographic material, notably, stories and proverbs, offering Kurdish intellectuals a "calling card" from the Kurdish people to foreigners, but primarily to the western public" (p. 24).

It is important to note that Lescot continued his contributions to *Ronahî* and *Roja Nû* even after *Hawar* ceased publication. It seems that this collaboration bore fruits in later periods, too. In this respect, not only did Lescot complete the grammar book he started with C. Bedirxan but also, he created a Kurdish chair in 1945 when he returned to France, and he handed it over to K. Bedirxan in 1947. K. Bedirxan presided this chair up until 1970 (Blau, 2006, para. 44). The Kurdish chair was created at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, later called the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO). As a legacy of the collaboration of the Bedirxan brothers with French authorities, especially with Roger Lescot in scholarly interests, research on Kurdish studies continues today at Kurdish section of INALCO at all levels, from bachelor's degree to PhD, in two dialects of Kurdish, Kurmanji and Sorani (Scalbert-Yücel & Ray, 2006, para. 27).

5.3.4 Nûredîn Zaza

Another distinguished and the youngest contributor, who emerged as an author and translator of *Hawar*, thanks to C. Bedirxan's encouragement, was Nûredîn Zaza (1919-1988). His writings and translations were all published under the pseudonym Nûredîn Ûsif. He stood out with both indigenous and translated short stories. He

became an author and translator in the second term of *Hawar* which he describes as follows:

> Then, as I was sufficient enough and learned Kurmanji well, I started to write in it [Hawar] as well. The deceased [C. Bedirxan] took pleasure in my short stories. He would read them several times. When I went his home, if there were a lot of guests there, he would ask me to read my own short stories to them. At that time, he would rise up, kiss me on the forehead and say: 'You are our Chekhov, kirîv, our Chekhov!' The deceased was my kirîv. Then, I wrote my short stories under the name Nûredîn Ûsif...[66] (Zaza,1976, p. 9)

As those statements indicate, C. Bedirxan loved Zaza's short stories so much so that he likened him to the Russian writer, Anton Chekhov, who is renowned for this genre.

Zaza's first short story was entitled "Xurşîd", which was published in issue 27 (April 15, 1941). Besides, his first translation was published in issue 29 (June 10, 1941). It was entitled as "Derketî [The Exiled], a translation from French into Kurdish of "L'Exilé" by Lamenneais. In the same vein, he translated the poem *If* by Rudyard Kipling into Kurdish as "Ji Xortan Re" [For the Boys] in issue 30 (July 1, 1941). Furthermore, he translated the short story "Les Étoiles" by Alphonse Daudet published as "*Stêr*k" [Stars] in issue 33 (October 1, 1941). In addition to his many indigenous short stories in *Hawar*, he also translated two short stories by the American Frank Stockton into Kurdish: One was the famous "The Lady, or the Tiger?, which was published in issue 44 (May 20, 1942) as "Xatûn an Piling" and the other was "Dê an Xûşk" [Mum or Sister], published in issue 47 (July 25, 1942). Those translations show that Zaza contributed to C. Bedirxan's objective to provide

[66] "Hingê, herwekî ez gihabûm û min xwe xweş hînî kurmancî kiribû, min jî tê de dest bi nivîsandinê kir. Kêfa rehmetî pir ji çîrokên min re dihat. Ew sê, çar caran dixwendin. Gava ez diçûm mala wî û ku mêvan li wê pir biwana, dixwest ku ez bi xwe wan ji wan re bixwînim. Hingê radibû, eniya min maçî dikir û digot: 'Tu Çekofê me yî, kirîvo, Çekof!..' Rehmetî kirîvê min bû. Min çîrokên xwe hingê bi navê Nûredîn Ûsif dinivîsandin..." (Zaza, 1976, p. 9)

material for the emerging Kurdish literate audience with his translations from western literature into Kurdish. It is of importance to note that in the later periods of his life, Nûredîn Zaza continued to introduce western countries to Kurdish literature, and that he also translated into French a selection of Kurdish short stories and poetry, published as *Contes et poèmes Kurdes* (1974). In the same vein, via his autobiographical work, *Ma vie de Kurde, ou, Le cri du peuple kurde* (1982), he aimed to inform western audiences about Kurdish politics and Kurds' struggle for their rights through his own life experiences.

5.3.5 Rewşen Bedirxan

Although she did not do any translations herself, Rewşen Bedirxan is attributed to two indigenous texts in *Hawar*. Her statements on those writings, however, suggest that C. Bedirxan might have written the texts but ascribed them to Rewşen Bedirxan to encourage women presence in the coverage of *Hawar*. In this respect, Rewşen Bedirxan talks as follows in the interview where Mehmed Uzun asked about her writings in *Hawar*:

> Well, sort of, they are not my writings. Maybe the idea belonged to me, but I did not know then the composition of sentences in Kurdish. He would write them for me and say, 'Come on, have a look!' Indeed, when *Hawar* was published, I did not have time to look through. It was difficult, a language I did not know well enough, I could not read it easily. For instance, I could barely read one page in three hours. As a matter of fact, I did not have a three-hour free time. I would read uneagerly. He would take [*Hawar*] and put it in front of me so that I could read it. I would see that it had my name or a pseudonym he himself used for me. That is to say, he himself wrote it on my behalf. I would say, 'My dear, but I did not write it'. He would say, "Well, you may feel like. Maybe you will write someday".[67] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 78)

[67] "Evet, işte böyle, benim yazım değil. Belki fikir benden, fakat ben cümlelerin terkibini o vakit Kürtçe bilmezdim. Kendisi benim yerime yazar; 'Gel Hawar'a bak' derdi. Tabii Hawar çıktığı zaman benim vaktim yoktu Hawar'a bakayım. Güç, bilmediğim bir lisan, öyle kolaylıkla okuyamıyorum. Mesela bir sayfayı üç saatte ancak okuyabiliyordum[,] ki üç saat vaktim yoktu. Hevessiz okurdum. Getirir koyardı okuyayım diye. Bakardım benim ismim var veyahut bana bir isim takmış ki kendisi o

The writings ascribed to Rewşen Bedirxan were entitled "Kebanî û Mamoste" [Housewife and Teacher] and "Jin û Bextiyariya Malê" [Woman and Happiness at Home], which were respectively published in issues 27 (April 15, 1941) and 28 (May 15, 1941). Rewşen Bedirxan's explanation demonstrates that she did not master Kurdish writing at the time and that the writings attributed to her were in fact written by C. Bedirxan. Therefore, it appears that C. Bedirxan might have adopted Rewşen Bedirxan's ideas, as the content of the two writings were about the role of women in family and society, even though C. Bedirxan himself seems to be the author. Furthermore, their appearance was at the beginning of the second period of *Hawar*. By covering writings by women authors, C. Bedirxan most probably aimed to increase the visibility of women in *Hawar*. Indeed, the lack of women authors or translators clearly stands out in the entire run of the periodical. It seems that C. Bedirxan intended to compensate for this and at the time Rewşen Bedirxan was one of the most suitable candidates. That is the main reason why C. Bedirxan always encouraged her to read and write in Kurdish, as can be seen in her statements above.

5.3.6 Osman Sebrî, Cegerxwîn and Qedrîcan

Although Osman Sebrî (1905-1993) was one of the authors who actively contributed to *Hawar* in the whole run with his poems, short stories, articles and fables, he never contributed to *Hawar* a translated text. My analysis has shown that his translatorship appears much more in the periodical *Ronahî*, especially through translated biographies. In the same vein, Cegerxwîn (1903-1984), who developed his writing

ismi benim için kullanıyor. Manası, benim yerime yazmış kendisi. Efendim, ama ben yazmadım derdim. 'E belki hissedersin, bir gün yazarsın belki' derdi" (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 78)

skills through his contributions to *Hawar*, contributed greatly with his poetry. He also published his poems under the pseudonym Cegerxwînê Kurdî. His real name is Şêxmûs. Cegerxwîn is his pen name. His only translation in *Hawar* is a short story entitled "Behramê Gor" [Bahram Gor/ Bahram V) in issue 31 (August 1, 1941). Although no information on the source text was provided for this short story, it seems that he drew on an external source, most probably from a Persian text or any other relevant sources. In fact, Bahram Gor, the protagonist of the short story, is a Sasanian King and very famous in Iranian literature and art (Klíma, 1988). Similarly, Qedrîcan (1911-1972) contributed to *Hawar* with his poems and short stories, but with no translations, my analysis has shown.

K. Bedirxan, Osman Sebrî, Cegerxwîn, Qedrîcan and Nûredîn Zaza are regarded as the celebrated Kurdish intellectuals today. In this regard, it should be noted that they developed skills as authors or translators thanks to C. Bedirxan's encouragement to write in *Hawar*.

5.4 Readers and Circulation

The whole coverage of *Hawar* indicates that it had a dynamic relationship with its readers. In order to uncover this relationship, in this section, I will analyze certain texts such as letters, readers' columns, pieces of poetry and entries addressing readers. Lastly, I will focus on the circulation of the periodical, drawing mainly on the account of Ahmed Kurdî, a delivery person, and on information gathered from Rewşen Bedirxan's own experiences, as well as from an archival document by French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

5.4.1 Readers

It appears that the relationship between readers and *Hawar* was built on the letters, the columns formed to answer readers' questions and C. Bedirxan's own efforts, through every possible means, to attract readers' attention to support and follow the periodical. In this respect, it is important to note that it seems that C. Bedirxan himself might have sometimes assumed the role of the writer of readers' letters. In terms of readers, I should also note that not all readers' letters were written in Kurdish, some were in Arabic and French. In this respect, I have observed that although C. Bedirxan preferred to publish untranslated letters in French or Kurdish, in case of a received Arabic letter, as will be seen below in the letter by N.Q, he translated it from Arabic into Kurdish. It is evident that C. Bedirxan used the content of such letters in order to criticize some of Kurdish society about not learning to write and read in their mother tongue.

Below, I will discuss the relationship *Hawar* endeavored to establish with readers drawing on examples of columns, letters and C. Bedirxan's efforts to attract readers' attention and support for *Hawar*.

To give an example of readers' columns, in issue 29 (June 10, 1941), in the column entitled "Stûna Xwendevanan: Heçî Dipirse Dielime. Pirsîn Ne Şerm e; Lê Nehînbûn Şerm e" [Readers' Column: Whoever asks learns. Asking is not a Shame but not Learning is a Shame], C. Bedirxan answers the questions addressed by Kurdish readers from different parts of Syria under the pseudonym, Hawar. Indeed, there was no single theme addressed in this column; questions were sent to the magazine on various subjects. For example, in answer to a reader called Mîrza Hişyar, C. Bedirxan encouraged him to work on prose rather than verse, implying that he was stronger in this area. Furthermore, he called all readers to send writings

on Kurdish folklore. As I mentioned before, the questions were on varying themes; if C. Bedirxan himself took the role of reader, he might have asked questions about topics he thought should be addressed. In this respect, in the same column, C. Bedirxan, for example, informed a reader about the yearly price of subscription to *Hawar*. In the same vein, he asked Mîrza Mihemed Îsa Cengbaz, another reader, to send the name of persons he mentioned for subscription and also requested him to write his next letter in Kurdish, explaining that Kurdish letters were accepted by mail, too. Furthermore, in respond to Mîrza Temoyê Xelef 's question about WWII, C. Bedirxan informed the reader about when the war started, world leaders' opinions on how long it would last and when it would end. There were more intriguing questions by the readers, too. For instance, a reader called Mîrza Mistoyê Remo asked if Churchill or Hitler was older, and which one was superior. C. Bedirxan responded to this question, giving various opinions. In the same column, in response to Mîrza Mewlûdê Şêkir's question, C. Bedirxan briefly informed readers about Caucausian Kurds: the dialect they used, the Kurdish newspaper *Riya Teze*, the state of education and publications there (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 734). As I stated above, C. Bedirxan might have invented all or some of those readers, especially the first reader, who also bears one of C. Bedirxan's pseudonyms, Hişyar, raises suspicion. Nevertheless, as it is clear from the introduction, too, this column endeavored to encourage readers to subscribe, to learn to write and read in Roman alphabet and to contribute their own writings.

In the same readers' column, "Stûna Xwendevanan", which was also published in issue 31 (August 1, 1941), C. Bedirxan answered two readers. The reader called Sibhiyê Diyarbekrî wrote from the Kurdish neighborhood in Damascus. He asked whether Kurds were Aryan and also about the state of Kurds in Russia. C.

Bedirxan answered both of these questions in detail. By giving examples of mutual words with English, French, German, Greek, Italian and Persian, he tried to prove that Kurds and their language are Aryan. It is obvious that here, C. Bedirxan wanted to show the readers that Kurds and their language is classified as Indo-European. This was, in fact, in line with the intended Kurdish cultural identity, which was in close connection with western cultural identities. In reply to Sibhiyê Diyarbekrî about Kurds in Russia, C. Bedirxan gave information on Kurds living there as well as in other regions and countries. (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 774-775). It is evident that C. Bedirxan wanted readers to learn about Kurds in other countries and feel as part of an imagined community and thus, even if they did not know each other, they still could relate to it through readership of *Hawar*.

It is of interest that C. Bedirxan sometimes shared his criticism with readers, too. For instance, in answer to Hebeş Smaîn's request in the above-mentioned column to send him only one issue instead of five, as no one else read *Hawar* in his area, Mektele, C. Bedirxan said:

> However, as we said, this is a harsh truth. Mektele and Kaniya Ereban are some of Kurdish centers in Syria. That territory is part of Sirûc plain – the seat of Begs, Aghas and tribes. Is it fair that Mr. Smaîn cannot find readers for four issues of *Hawar* in a land of Kurds? If there are not still literate Kurds around Kaniya [Ereban], only titled Kurds are responsible for that. We will be waiting for a resonance[68] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 775)

It is evident that C. Bedirxan used Hebeş Smaîn's request as an occasion to criticize the aghas, begs and tribal chiefs in the region for not supporting his undertaking to increase literacy among Kurds through the content of *Hawar,* even though they had

[68] "Lê herwekî me got, ev rastî bi xwe tehl e. Mektele û kaniya Ereban di Sûriyê de merkezine kurdmancan in. Ew erd birekî deşta Sirûcê ye; meqamê begler, axeler û eşîran e. Ma rewa yî heq e ko Mîrza Smaîn di welatekî kurdmancan de ji çar hejmarên Hawarê re xwendevanan peyda nekit. Heke di dora kaniyê de hêj ew kurdên xwenda nînin jê bi tenê mezinên kurdan berpirsiyar in. Emê li hêviya pêjna dengê xwe bimînin." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 775)

means to do it. Nevertheless, he expected readers to find a solution for the lack of subscriptions in their region and thus for the issue of illiteracy.

In "Hêvî Ji Xwendevanan" [Expectations from Readers], which was published in issue 1 (May 15, 1932), C. Bedirxan put forward their expectations from the readers. He explained that they would publish the Roman Kurdish alphabet letter by letter in the pages of *Hawar* and later publish it in book form. In this regard, he expected readers to thoroughly learn those pages of alphabet. He also requested them to write to *Hawar* about any mistakes they found so that he could correct it. He also encouraged readers to cooperate with him in the introduction of his alphabet. In the same writing, he also requested readers to find new words corresponding to the letters of his alphabet and send them to *Hawar*. This is another way of encouraging readers to learn the alphabet and become participants in the process of dissemination.

It is evident that C. Bedirxan resorted to different genres of writing in order to attract readers' attention; to ensure readers' support for *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan, for instance, wrote a poem titled "Ji Xwendevanan Re" [For Readers]. It was made up of a quatrain and published in the first issue under the pseudonym of Hawar. The poem read as such:

> *Hawar* is your *hawar*[69]
> Your voice and your cry
> Your life and your knowledge
> Come on, become your own *hawar.*[70] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 24)

My analysis has shown that, for the same purpose, C. Bedirxan published another version[71] under the same pseudonym and title in issue 10 (October 23, 1932). The

[69] By this word, there is a reference to the meaning of the title of the periodical, which stands for "cry, call or help!" in Kurdish.
[70] Hawar hawara we ye,
Deng û gaziya we ye,
Jîn û zanîna we ye,
Werin, hawara xwe bin (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 24)
[71] Hawar hawara te ye
Deng û gaziya te ye

only difference is his more sincere manner: In the previous quatrain, he addressed the readers as "we" [you/your] in the sense of second person plural but in the second quatrain, it shifted to "te" [you, your] in the sense of second person singular. However, as there is not such a differentiation in English, the shift in emphasis is lost in the translation. The second version is as follows:

> *Hawar* is your *hawar*
> Your voice and your cry
> If you need a *hawar*
> Help out your *Hawar*. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 204).

To ensure the dissemination of his message of supporting *Hawar* among as many readers as possible, C. Bedirxan also shared the second version of this poem in the Arabic section of issue 10. Furthermore, in the same issue, he published a poem by a reader called Selahaddînê Serhedî under the title "Stûna Nûgihiştiyan [Column of Novices]: Dilê Min Pir Dişewite" [My Heart Hurts a lot]. The words before the colon represent the name of the column, and the rest represents the title. By the name of the column, we understand that C. Bedirxan wanted to encourage novice poets or writers to publish their poems or writings in *Hawar*.

Another point to note is that the columns in *Hawar* were formed in order to address different needs of the readership. In this regard, the column by Dr. Ehmed Nafiz is very interesting. Dr. Ehmed Nafiz was the elder brother of Nûredîn Zaza, and a pediatrician and specialist in venereal diseases. In the column titled "Stûna Feqehan" [Students' Column], he gave information on different medical issues.

This column was in fact started in issue 1. Regarding the story of launching such a column, he explains that during a stay with madrasah students, he observed

---

Heke te hawar divê
Arî Hawara xwe ke (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 204)

that a large majority were familiar with Roman alphabet and showed him their poems in Kurdish. Upon telling them that he would launch a magazine in Kurdish, C. Bedirxan states that they asked him for a column for their questions. In the column, he points out that he created it for those students and calls for their questions (Bedirxan, 1998, 26).

My analysis has shown that as of issue 2, C. Bedirxan handed this column over to Dr. Ehmed Nafiz. C. Bedirxan, explaining : "One of the madrasah students from Hasinan plain asked about the disease of malaria. We referred his question to our doctor and asked him for an answer"[72] (Nafiz, 1998, p. 45). The column was published under the subtitle "Ta, Tawî û Tabir" [Malaria, Malaria-sufferers, Malaria Drugs]. First, under readers' letter was published Dr. Nafiz's comprehensive answer on many aspects of malaria in the same column. Hesenê Koçer's letter addressing C. Bedirxan was as follows:

> Dear Sir!
>
> I read my column– students' column. There are lots of things we should ask you. We discussed with friends and decided to ask first about the disease of malaria in order to recover from it, come to our senses and be capable of asking about other things, too. This is due to the fact that we don't have a clear mind because of malaria, and we suffer from it a lot.
>
> As a last word, with a kiss on your hand, I hope to get your response.[73] (Nafiz, 1998, p. 45)

This letter also indicates that malaria was one of the commonplace diseases at the time and therefore, the malaria-stricken madrasah students first wanted to get information about it in the column allocated to them in *Hawar*, and C. Bedirxan

[72] "Yekî ji feqehên deşta Hesinan ji me nexweşiya tayê pirsiyar dike. Me pirsiyariya wî da bijîjkê xwe û jê cuhabekê daxwaz kir." (Nafiz, 1998, p. 45)

[73] "Ezbenî!
Min stûna xwe–stûna feqehan– xwend. Gelek tişt hene ko divêt em ji te bipirsin. Heval nav hev de şêwirîn û me got bila pirsiyariya me a pêşîn nexweşiya tayê bibe. Da ko em jê xilas bibin, eqlê xwe bidin ser hev û bikarin tiştinên din jî bipirsin. Ji lewre ko ji tayê eqlê me ne ser hev e, em jê gelek aciz in.
Paşî, ez destên te maç dikim û hêvîdarê cuhaba te me." (Nafiz, 1998, p. 45)

resorted to Dr. Nafiz's expertise. This also helped readers to access accurate and trustworthy information on the disease. It appears that C. Bedirxan found Dr. Nafiz's explanations on malaria very important and therefore, wanted it to reach as many people as possible. For this purpose, he published the same column in the Arabic script section of issue 2, too. Similarly, it is observable that, Dr. Nafiz continued this column in the following issue of *Hawar* but under another title, "Quncika Bijîşkî" [Doctor's Column]. The full title was as follows: "Quncika Bijîşkî: Nexweşî û Dermankirin" [Doctor's Column: Disease and Treatment]. In this column, Dr. Nafiz referred to the lack of doctors in the region Kurds lived, and in order to help the readers, he listed some questions for the readers to answer. These were generally the questions that would make it easier for the doctor to learn about their illness and recommend treatment as far as possible under the given circumstances. Dr. Nafiz closed his writing, stating: "Those are my questions. Whoever responds to them well also gets a good treatment"[74] (Nafiz, 1998, p. 65). Similar to the previous entry on malaria, C. Bedirxan published this one in the Arabic script section of issue 3, too. However, I have observed that this serial was discontinued without reason in the following issues.

The letters by readers from different regions or countries were published in *Hawar*; Hamid Ferec, an Iraqi Kurd, for instance, sent a letter entitled "Pîrozname" in Sorani dialect of Kurdish to congratulate C. Bedirxan on publication of *Hawar* and to ask him to work for the unity of Kurdish language. This letter was published in issue 3. In the same issue, in response, C. Bedirxan wrote an article entitled "Bi Hênceta Pîroznamekê" [Concerning a Congratulatory Letter] in Kurmanji dialect, and explained what Hamid Ferec said in Kurmanji through a sort of interdialectal

[74] "Eve pirsiyariyên min. Heçî li wan qenc vedigerînin qenc jî tên dermankirin." (Nafiz, 1998, p. 65)

translation. He also highlighted the reader's request for the unity of Kurdish language and shared his ideas on this topic with *Hawar*'s readers: He referred to the second objective of *Hawar,* which was about the survey on Kurdish language and dialects and then elaborated on the unity of Kurdish language. In this regard, he briefly mentioned the sample of German language, and referred to how Bismarck established the unity of Germany based on the unity of the language established earlier by Luther (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 74). It seems that by putting forward a realized concrete example for the unity of language, he aimed to convince *Hawar*'s readers that it would be possible for Kurdish. Thus, they would give much more support to the periodical. Regarding his own point of view about this issue, C. Bedirxan said: "Unity of Kurds, too, could be accomplished by the unity of Kurdish language. The unity of language starts with the unity of letters. Namely, the unity of letters is the first step for the unity of the language"[75] (Ibid.). It is manifest that C. Bedirxan aimed to highlight that using a uniform alphabet, in other words, his Roman alphabet, would be the initial step for achieving a unity among all Kurdish dialects. Another fact to note is that C. Bedirxan shared his views on the unity of Kurdish language using his real name instead of a pseudonym.

It is noteworthy that not all letters published in *Hawar* were from Kurdish readers. The French letter from a teacher is a good example, published in issue 10 under the title "A propos de la musique Kurde" [About the Kurdish Music]. The letter was attributed to Pr. G. Michaelian. C. Bedirxan published it after writing an introduction in French under the pseudonym of Hawar (Michaelian, 1998, p. 209). It is no surprise that it was published alongside the serial "Textes et Traductions"

[75] "Yekbûna kurdan jî bi yekîtiya zimanê kurdî çêdibe. Yekîtiya zimanî jî bi yekîtiya herfan dest pê dike. Yanî di yekîtiya zimanî de yekîtiya herfan gava pêşîn e." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 74).

within which French translation of Kurdish songs were published. In the introductory paragraph, C. Bedirxan states that one of distinguished readers from Aleppo wrote a letter to congratulate him for applying Roman letters to Kurdish and to express his impressions on Kurdish music. Regarding the motive for publishing this letter, C. Bedirxan articulates that "[i]t seemed interesting to us to publish this letter which demonstrates the impression that Kurdish music has made on a foreigner who does not know Kurdish"[76] (Michaelian, 1998, p. 209). I consider that C. Bedirxan also published this letter to attract more western readers, and also to concretely show that *Hawar* was also followed by French speaking non-Kurdish readers who still showed interest in Kurdish publications, even if they do not know Kurdish. From the initial paragraph of the letter, we understand that Pr. G. Michaelian was familiarized with *Hawar* after C. Bedirxan sent him an issue. He appreciates this and requests the previous issues. (Ibid.). In his letter, Michaelian expresses his interest in Kurdish history, Kurdish language and songs. In this regard, it is of importance to note that he, as a reader of *Hawar,* could access and understand Kurdish songs through their translation and relevant paratextual elements.

Concerning C. Bedirxan's efforts to publish *Hawar* and the objectives he wanted to achieve through this publication, Michaelian states:

> You have taken a great step in the path of progress by adopting the Latin letters for your Aryan language and thus facilitating the dissemination of writing among the people. I am sure that you are thus walking with firm steps, toward a renaissance of the Kurdish language and literature; if your contemporaries may not all appreciate your efforts as they deserve, the generation that follows will keep an eternal gratitude to you.[77] (Michelian, 1998, p. 209)

[76] "Il nous a paru intéressant de publier cette lettre qui démontre l'impression que la musique Kurde a faite sur un étranger ne connaissant pas le Kurde" (Michelian, 1998, p. 209)
[77] "Vous avez réalisé un grand pas dans le chemin du progrès en adoptant les caractères latins pour votre langue aryenne, et en facilitant ainsi la diffusion de l'écriture parmi le peuple. Je suis certain que vous marchez ainsi à pas sûrs, vers une Renaissance de la langue et de la Littérature Kurde; et si vos contemporains n'apprécient peu-étre pas tous à vos efforts comme ils le méritent, les générations qui suivront vous en garderont une reconnaissance éternelle." (Michaelian, 1998, p. 209)

It appears that C. Bedirxan also used this reader's appreciating thoughts on the adoption of the Roman alphabet as evidence of support for his endeavors in spreading his alphabet and increasing literate rates among Kurds as part of his program in *Hawar*.

Regarding letters to *Hawar*, it is significant that not all letters received were written in Kurdish or French. In issue 29 (June 10, 1941), for instance, a letter by N. Q was published under the title of "Xwîn Nabe Av: Xwarzêke Kurdan" [Blood doesn't Turn into Water: A Niece of Kurds]. This is one of the few writings attributed to a woman other than Rewşen Bedirxan and Diya Ferzo in the whole coverage of *Hawar.* However, only her initials were provided. In fact, N. Q originally wrote her letter to C. Bedirxan in Arabic, and he translated it into Kurdish for *Hawar*. Concerning this, he makes the following statements in the introductory paragraph: "An educated lady, a schoolteacher, has sent us a letter, along with ten Syrian Lira. The lady's letter is in Arabic. We have translated it into Kurdish. This is her letter"[78] (N.Q, 1998, p. 735). From this explanation, we understand that she is indeed a teacher in Syria. Furthermore, her statements in the letter show that she was a daughter of a Kurdish mother and Arabic father and that she did not know Kurdish except for a limited vocabulary she learned from *Hawar* (Ibid.)

In her letter, she also asks to be included among the readers of *Hawar* and offers 10 Syrian Lira as a support to the magazine. In terms of her relationship with *Hawar*, she says:

[78] "Xanimeke xwende û mamosta dibistanê ji me re kaxezek rêkiriye, digel deh lîreyên sûrî. Kaxeza xanimê bi erebî ye. Me ew wergerande kurdmanciyê. Eve kaxeza xanimê." (N.Q, 1998, p. 735)

> I carry *Hawar* in my bag and I look at it with pleasure. I have learned a few words such as "sal" [year], "hejmar" [issue], "sêşemb" [Tuesday] without asking people since their French correspondence was placed beside. "Tefsîra Qûranê" [The Commentary of the Qur'an], too, taught me a word – "çêlek" [Cow]. "Sûretê Çêlekê" [The Surah of the Cow] must be "Sūratu'l-Baqarah" because the Qur'an starts with this surah.[79] (N.Q, 1998, p. 735)

It seems that, knowing French, too, N. Q was able to learn some Kurdish words from the bi-lingual cover of *Hawar*. In addition, it appears that the serial "Tefsîra Qûranê", within which the commentary of the Qur'an was published, attracted her attention and helped her learn the Kurdish word, "çêlek" from the title of the surah. However, her interest in *Hawar* was not confined to vocabulary, she was also motivated to learn Kurdish language: "I would like to find a teacher during the holiday and learn Kurdish language"[80] (Ibid.). C. Bedirxan added some closing remarks to this letter appreciating N. Q's intentions and also offered to help find her a teacher. Furthermore, he criticized those Kurds who had not yet learned to write and read in Kurdish and said that they should take heed of N. Q's efforts to learn Kurdish (Ibid.).

As those examples I analyzed in this section suggest *Hawar* has had a dynamic relationship with its readers. It seems that C. Bedirxan exploited any possible occasion to reach out to readers and attract their support, as well as encourage them to contribute their own writings. To put it another way, C. Bedirxan aimed to create an imagined Kurdish community from the readership in different countries and thus form a long-lasting "mass ceremony" over *Hawar*, to cite Benedict Anderson (2006, p. 35). Another point to highlight in this respect is that he

[79] "Ez Hawarê di çentikê xwe de digerînim û bi kêf û xweşî lê temaşe dikim. Bêî ko ji xelkê bipirsim hînî çend pirsan bûme; mîna "sal, hejmar, sêşemb". Ji ber ko miqabilê wan ên frensizî li ber e. Tefsîra Qûranê jî pirsek hînî min kir, "çêlek". Divêt "sûretê çêlekê" "sûret el beqere" be. Ji ber ko quran bi vî sûretî dest pê dike." (N.Q, 1998, p. 735)

[80] "Dilê min heye di tatîlê de ji xwe re mamostakê peyda bikim û hînî zmanê kurdmancî bibim." (N.Q, 1998, p. 735)

exerted much effort to increase literacy in Kurdish and through *Hawar*, help Kurds become familiar with many aspects of their cultural identity.

5.4.2 Circulation

As the thorough analysis in 4.4 Economic Codes demonstrates, in addition to the readers in Syria, *Hawar* aimed to reach as many readers as possible from different countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Caucasian countries by subscription. However, as the information provided for subscription fees show, the periodical sought to reach readers beyond these countries. For this purpose, C. Bedirxan aimed to reach out to as many readers as possible among both Kurdish and western audiences. In this respect, younger readers were the target for encouragement to follow and get involved in the publication. However, this does not mean that *Hawar* disregarded older readers.

The circulation of the periodical was enabled by mail. It appears that the delivery by mail did not encounter much challenge, except for Turkey, to which its entrance was banned (Aktürk, 2013, p. 126). In this respect, Rewşen Bedirxan states:

> . . . It [*Hawar*] was taken to Turkey but more in number to Iraq. It was delivered with no restrictions to everybody in Iraq by mail. For instance, they would request ten issues at a time from Zaxo and Şemdinan. We would send them making such a big assemblage of them. Similarly, if some others had requested twenty issues, they would send the money as the subscription fee. It was not hindered– that is, money arrived by mail. For Turkey, it was not like that of course. It was smuggled to Turkey. . .[81] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 73)

As these statements show, although, for Iraq, it was relatively easier to send the periodical and collect the money by mail, its entrance into Turkey was not allowed.

[81] ". . . Türkiye'ye gidiyordu, Irak'a daha fazla tabii, Irak'a postayla serbest olarak gidiyordu ve herkese gidiyordu. Mesela Zaxo'dan Şemdinan'dan on adet birden isterlerdi. Onları böyle büyükçe bir koleksiyon yaparak yollardık. Başkası böyle yirmi adet istedikleri zaman, parayı abonman olarak yollarlar. Serbestti yani postadan para da geliyordu. Türkiye'ye öyle değil tabii, Türkiye'ye kaçak olarak gidiyordu . . . " (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 73).

However, this did not mean that *Hawar* faced no restrictions in Iraq. In this regard, C. Bedirxans' statements in the introductory part of a writing from Iraq in issue 21 (June 5, 1933) as part of the serial "Sehîtî", show that its entrance to Iraq had been prevented for six months from early January, 1933.

He explains the situation and expresses his anger at it with following statements:

> It has been for six months that the Iraqi government has not permitted our magazine's entrance to Iraq. Expecting that the Iraqi government would lift the banning-order and give permission to our magazine, we have not uttered a word until now. We applied for it for several times and explained to them that *Hawar* is a literary magazine and that it has not indicated any opposition to Iraq and will not. We wanted and still we want to solve this problem peacefully and we do not want to be at loggerheads with each other. Otherwise, we will then lay bare our thoughts and remarks on this issue. No offence but we have kept calm for six months. As their own saying goes, 'the fault belongs to the initiator' (el-badî ezleme)"[82] (Lawekî Kurd, 1998, p. 442)

It seems that C. Bedirxan endeavored to solve the problem in Iraq by official means. In a letter published in Sorani dialect in issue 24 (April 1, 1934) as "Name Bo Lawanî Kurd Le Iraqa" [The Letter to Kurdish Youth in Iraq], C. Bedirxan announces the republication of *Hawar* after a duration of more than 8 months. In this letter, he also refers to the ban by Iraqi government on *Hawar*, noting the decrease in the number of letters from Kurdish readers in Iraq and requests readers to support *Hawar* regardless of the attitude shown by Iraqi government: He asks them to send more articles and poems as before, and to distribute *Hawar* among the Kurdish society for the sake of unity of Kurdish language (Hawar, 1998, p. 637).

[82] "Ev şeş meh in, hukûmeta Iraqê nahêle ko kovara me bikevit erdê Iraqê. Heta niho, bi hêviya ko hukûmeta Iraqê emrê memnûyîtî rakit û ke berê destûra kovara me dê bidit, me deng nedikir. Me çend caran murace'et kir, me ji wan re da zanîn ko Hawar kovareke edebî ye û eleyhdariya Iraqê nekiriye û nakit jî. Me xwest, îro jî em dixwazin vê meseleyê bi qencî û dilxweşî safî bikin û bi hev mekevin. Lê heke nebû, hingê em jî fikr û gotina xwe ser vê meseleyê bibêjm. Lê êdî bila li me megirin, me bihna xwe şeş mehan fire kir. Herwekî bi xwe dibêjin, 'sûc ê destpêkirî ye' (el-badî ezleme)." (Lawekî Kurd, 1998, p. 442)

It appears that, for Turkey, smuggling *Hawar* to the country came out as a solution for delivery. In this regard, Rewşen Bedirxan makes the following statements:

> . . . yet, I know, for numerous times, certain people from Turkey would illegally cross the border on purpose and come [to Syria]. They would collect hundreds of issues and take them all back. No doubt it had its own hardships: Who knows how long their round trip took to smuggle them across the border and how much money they spent? Nevertheless, someone was dying for that.[83] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, pp. 73-74)

One of such committed delivery persons Rewşen Bedirxan refers to was Ahmed Kurdî (1927), who delivered *Hawar* in Amûdê, Syria and also smuggled it into Turkey. He met C. Bedirxan in Amûdê after fleeing Turkey for Syria at the age of 12 (Demirel, 2019, para. 7-8). Kurdî told the story of his delivery, "*Hawar* was published before I went to Amûdê. Mîr [C. Bedirxan] told me, 'I will send you *Hawar* and you will distribute it in the neighborhood.' He sent me a bicycle, too. I was riding to villages. I would back my load and cross the border. . . "[84] (Demirel, 2019, para. 9). As those statements show, Kurdî brought *Hawar* to the villages of Amûdê on a bicycle C. Bedirxan sent. It appears that he illegally crossed the border into Turkey, but fearing death if caught, as he articulated in the rest of his account on delivery.

In his account, Ahmed Kurdî also informs about the readers to whom those issues he smuggled were sent:

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[83] ". . . fakat nice zamanlar ben biliyorum, Türkiye'den hususi olarak bazı kimseler hududu aşarak kaçak gelirlerdi ve yüzlerce adedi toplarlar, birden alıp giderlerdi. Tabii bunun müşkülatı vardı, onu huduttan geçirmek için kim bilir kaç gün devam ederdi gidip gelmeleri ve ne kadar para sarf ederlerdi, fakat bunun için can atıyorlardı." (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, pp. 73-74)

[84] "Hawar berî ku ez herim Amûdê derdiket. Mîr gote min, got 'Ez ê Hawarê ji te re bişînim û li wan deran bela bik. Pisqilêt jî ji min re şand. Ez pê li gundan digeriyam. Min dida pişta xwe, ez diçûm serxetê. Min li hesin dixist. . ." (Demirel, 2019, para. 9)

> When I distributed *Hawar*, I went to villages and mullahs would buy it, too. *Hawar* had subscribers in Syria but in Turkey it was illegal . . . I would send *Hawar* to Evdirehîm Rehmî or Evdirehîm Zapsû, Mûsa Anter's father-in-law. Furthermore, I would send it to Şevket Heqî Efendî – Şevket Pasha. His house was in Beşevler, Ankara. He came from Heskîf. There was also a person called Rûhî from Malatya.[85] (Demirel, 2019, para. 13)

Regarding the readers in Turkey, he also adds the following information:

> I would also take *Hawar* to Stilîlî, Mûsa Anter's village. I would give it to Mihemê Xano and Eyûb, the son of Neyo. They would send it to Stenbol [Istanbul]. I did not go to Stenbol but I went to see Canip Yıldırım, Mele Evdilayê Silopê and Şukriyê Emîn. Kekê Şerefedîn read it then. He was one of the subscribers to *Hawar*, too. I mean Şerafedîn Elçî.[86] (Demirel, 2019, para. 14)

In response to a question whether the delivery by mail was made without any constraints in Syria, Rewşen Bedirxan gives details on the circumstances in Syria and in other countries: "Of course, they were all allowed by mail. It was sent to Iran, too, by mail. It was not something confidential. Apart from Turkey, it was sent to Russia. The issues would all be sent openly as such. . ."[87] (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 74).

Although its entrance to Turkey was banned, a document by French Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated April 4, 1933 notes Turkish Consulate in Aleppo as a regular subscriber: "Among other subscribers in Aleppo, the newspaper *Dogri Yol* [*Doğru Yol*] and the Turkish Consulate are worth noting, the latter regularly paying its subscription"[88] (MAE, 1933b, pp. 2-3).

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[85] "Û wexta min Hawar digerand, ez diçûm gundan, mela ji min dikirî. Aboneyên wê li Sûrî hebûn, lê li Tirkî navê wê qaçax bû . . . Min Hawar dişand ji Evdirehîm Rehmî ango Evdirehîm Zapsû re, xezûrê Mûsa Entêr. Û min dişand ji Şevket Heqî Efendî. Şevket Paşa. Mala wî li Bêşevlera Anqarayê bû. Ji Heskîfê bû. Rûhî yekî Meletyalî. " (Demirel, 2019, para. 13)

[86]" Min dibir Stilîlî, gundê Mûsa Anter. Min da Mihemê Xano û Eyûbê kurê Neyo. Ewan dişand Stenbolê. Ez nediçûm Stenbolê. Bes ez diçûm cem Canîp Yıldırım. Û Mele Evdilayê Silopê, Şukriyê Emîn. Kekê Şerefedîn wê çaxê dixwend. Ew jî aboneyê min ê Hawarê bû. Şerafedîn Elçî." (Demirel, 2019, para. 14)

[87] "Tabii tabii, hepsi serbestti postayla. İran'a da postayla gidiyordu, yani saklı bir şey değildi. Türkiye'de[n] maada Rusya'ya gidiyordu, hepsi açıkça böyle gidiyordu. . ." (R. Bedirxan & Uzun, 2020, p. 74)

[88] Parmi les autres abonnées d'Alep, à noter le journal "Dogri Yol", le Consulat turc, ce dernier payant régulièrement son abonnement. (MAE, 1933b, pp. 2-3)

According to information in this document, the Turkish Consulate was at the time a regularly subscriber to *Hawar*, and it also suggests that the Turkish newspaper called *Doğru Yol* was also a subscriber, but it seems not to have paid its subscription on a regular basis.

The same document shows that among the subscribers – in other words, among the western readership of *Hawar*, there were notable institutions and people as well: l'Ecole des Langues Orientales, which forms the core French subscribers to *Hawar,* Adolphe de Falgairolle, a French journalist and co-translator with K. Bedirxan, Vladimir Minorsky – the orientalist renowned for his works in the field of Kurdish Studies, Oxford Library (la Bibliothèque d'Oxford), The Berlin Academy (l'Académie de Berlin), Munich Library (la Bibliothéque de Munich) (MAE, 1933b, p. 4) and Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE, 1933b, pp. 4-5). Furthermore, the document notes that the majority of the subscribers from the USA are Kurds (MAE, 1933b, p. 4). Other subscribers are given: *le Bulletin Parsi* in Bombay, India and la Bibilothèque de l'Université juive in Palestine (MAE, 1933b, p. 5).

This information on the subscribers show that *Hawar* did not only circulate among Kurdish readership in different countries but also among influential and renowned persons and institutions over the world. There is no doubt that this also legitimized the publication of the periodical and contributed to the much wider dissemination of C. Bedirxan's ideas on Kurdish cultural identity.

Considering the points highlighted in this chapter, it seems that all the actors – printing house, translators, authors, the editor, readers and those involved in the circulation – had an important part in the "creation, circulation and reception of the journal" (Philpotts, 2013, p. 3)

It seems that three printing houses were actively involved in the publication of *Hawar* on C. Bedirxan's own initiative. Except for one issue, printed by Çapxana Midhik-el-Mibkî [Midhik-el-Mibkî Printing House], all the other fifty-six issues of *Hawar* were printed by Çapxana Tereqî [Tereqî Printing House] and Çapxana Sebatê [Sebat Printing House]. There is not much information about these except that they were based in Damascus, but as seen in the explanations in 5.1 Publisher in this chapter, they helped C. Bedirxan with publication of *Hawar* in return for his payment. Looking at C. Bedirxan's efforts, it is evident that he did not only fulfill the role of editorship but was also involved with the printing press, co-working with the press workers and teaching them how to set the types for Kurdish Roman alphabet. Besides, it seems that C. Bedirxan even used his own house for printing *Hawar*, if necessary.

As a prolific translator and author of *Hawar,* besides his role as the chief editor, C. Bedirxan forged many pseudonyms together with his real name in his contributions. My analysis has shown that C. Bedirxan resorted to this practice to earn the periodical a prestige in the eyes of the readers and also to compensate for the lack of contributors. This also helped him to contribute to the coverage of *Hawar* with different assumed voices, in this way, adding to the polyphonic nature of the periodical.

Looking at the readers, it appears that C. Bedirxan was concerned to involve their voice to the polyphonic nature of the periodical, too. It seems that letters, columns and C. Bedirxan's relevant writings and translations were the main factors influential in establishing a relationship between *Hawar* and readers. Regarding the letters by the readers, it is observable from the whole composition that *Hawar* received not only the letters in Kurdish, but also in French and Arabic. However, for

those in Arabic, C. Bedirxan preferred to publish translated version into Kurdish, as seen in the letter by N.Q, but for those in Kurdish and French, he opted for the original. Probably, this was because Arabic readers were not the target readers of *Hawar*. Concerning the readers, it appears that, especially for the Kurdish ones, C. Bedirxan might have also assumed the role of reader or readers in some columns in order to address certain key issues.

Regarding the circulation, C. Bedirxan not only focused on its distribution in Syria but also made efforts to reach readers living in other countries by mail. In case of Turkey, he delivered it to certain readers through delivery persons like Ahmed Kurdî, who crossed the border illegally. In addition to Turkey, it is evident that C. Bedirxan faced restrictions in Iraq in certain periods, and exerted efforts to overcome these. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that *Hawar* reached out to a considerable number of readers from different places, both in eastern and western countries despite all difficulties. This worldwide circulation is evident from the subscribers, such as libraries, academies and *ecoles*, – especially those in western countries – as well as renowned subscribers such as the orientalist Vladimir Minorsky and the journalist and translator Adolphe de Falgairolle.

CHAPTER 6

FORMATION OF A KURDISH CULTURAL IDENTITY THROUGH TRANSLATIONS IN *HAWAR*

In this study, I argue that C. Bedirxan endeavors to form a Kurdish cultural identity through the textual productions in *Hawar*. I contend that translators and their translations play a key role in the formation of this cultural identity. In this respect, I will focus, in this chapter, on the paratexts provided for the translations in *Hawar*, in order to illustrate the role translations played in the formation of a cultural identity, and to examine the functions assigned to translation by various translators. At this point, it is of importance to note that this role is not only embodied in the translations themselves under focus in this chapter. The translated texts analyzed here are those which have richer paratextual material. Furthermore, in my analysis of the paratextual elements, I will seek paragraphs where translators explained their translation strategies, together with other elements providing information about the source text and author.

Regarding the identity formation, I will draw on Stuart Hall's way of thinking suggested for "cultural identity", namely, that it would be misleading to define "cultural identity "in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common" (Hall, 1990, p. 223). He is critical of this definition because it tends to define us as "one people with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning" (Ibid.). Instead, Hall argues that there is "a second, related but different view of cultural identity" In this sense he says:

> This second position recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become'. We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side - the ruptures and discontinuities. . . (Hall, 1997, p. 225).

As Hall argues with this second approach, cultural identity is not accepted as a once and for all concept which does not change in the course of time, rather, it is subject to transformation. Therefore, it undergoes ruptures and discontinuities. In this regard, he also draws attention to the fact that "far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they [cultural identities] are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall, 1997, p. 225). He suggests that cultural identity is "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past." (Ibid.).

As explained by Hall, the second definition of "cultural identity" is not a fixed, essentialist one. “Cultural identity” has continuities as well as discontinuities. It not only belongs to the past but also to the future. In my view, employing this approach for the Kurdish identity formation process that was put forward in *Hawar* will provide a useful framework for analysis. Furthermore, it will offer a new perspective to examine the relationship between translation and cultural identity.

In the following sections, I will analyze paratexts in *Hawar,* in a bid to illustrate how this magazine sought to form a Kurdish cultural identity through translated texts. In this respect, I argue that drawing on the concept of “cultural identity" will allow the investigation of both "the being" and "becoming" of the cultural identity processes in *Hawar*. While analyzing the role of translations in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity, I will mainly focus on two categories of translations– those addressing Kurdish and western readerships respectively. For this purpose, I will first analyze the paratexts of translations appealing to former

readership whereas, in the second part of this chapter, I will analyze the paratextual material of the translations appealing to the latter.

For the translations appealing to Kurdish readership, I will examine the paratextual material of the translated serial "Kurd û Kurdistan bi Çavê Biyaniyan" [Kurds and Kurdistan in the Eyes of Foreigners], translated examples of western poetry and short stories. For the same category, I will also explore paratextual elements of the translated serial "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine" [Those Who Served Humanity] and those of the stories translated from Saadi's *Gulistan*.

For the translations appealing to western audience, I will explore paratextual elements present in the translation of the Kurdish legend *Memê Alan*, two samples of Kurdish fables, a serialized religious text, "Notice sur la Bible Noire" [A Notice on *Black Bible*], Kurdish songs and proverbs and the entry on the classical Kurdish poet, Melayê Djeziri (Melayê Cizirî]. I will also analyze the content of the entry entitled "La Réapparition de Hawar"[Republication of *Hawar*] and also focus on the paratextual elements of "Mame Alan: La Partie d'echecs" [*Memê Alan*: The Chess Game], the much more obscure section of the legend *Memê Alan*.

6.1 Translations addressing the Kurdish readership

In this section, the paratextual elements of the translations addressing the Kurdish readership will be brought into focus. For this purpose, I will initially examine the paratextual elements associated with the translated views by western orientalists, Hartmann and von Moltke, as well as how C. Bedirxan endeavored to introduce Kurdish readership to western literature, drawing on the paratexts of translated poetry and short stories. By analyzing paratexts of two translated texts on the western scientists, Pasteur and Simpsons, I will also try to show how C. Bedirxan aimed to

introduce Kurdish readers not only to western literature but also to western scientific and intellectual developments. Lastly, by focusing on the paratextual elements of the translated stories from Saadi's *Gulistan*, I will set out to display that, along with the extensive coverage of western literature, he thought it worthwhile to present the Kurdish readership with the significant pieces from Persian literature, too.

6.1.1 The serial "Kurd û Kurdistan Bi Çavê Biyaniyan" [Kurds and Kurdistan in the Eyes of Foreigners]

In this serial, I will focus on paratextual material of the translated texts, which feature two German orientalists' views about Kurds and their culture. The analysis shows that C. Bedirxan used their opinions to highlight factors such as importance of unity among Kurds, their tie to the western cultures, and adoption of Roman alphabet. By presenting observations of western orientalists, he also aimed to provide a critique of the current state of Kurds and to emphasize their cultural and societal characteristics.

The serial entitled "Kurd û Kurdistan bi Çavê Biyaniyan" was published in the issue 19, 23 and 24, respectively. It covered translations of the thoughts and observations of two orientalists, Martin Hartmann and Helmuth von Moltke over Kurds.

In the entry "Kurd û Kurdistan bi Çavê Biyaniyan, C. Bedirxan translated some selected parts from *Fünf Vorträge über den Islam* by Martin Hartmann. He mainly translated Hartmann's positive assessments, which praised the Kurdish nation and culture. Not surprisingly, in this entry, C. Bedirxan also translated the part where Hartmann expressed his strong belief that Kurds would introduce the Roman script to their language. It was as follows: "Kurds will no doubt approve the Roman

script for their language, which is full of color and beauty and well-protected against the influence of the foreign languages"[89] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 384). C. Bedirxan showed his appreciation of this comment at the end of the entry and expressed his happiness that it was he who succeeded in introducing a Roman alphabet to Kurdish language (Ibid.).

In the entries “Kurd û Kurdistan bi Çavê Biyaniyan 2 and 3”, C. Bedirxan translated the army officer, Helmuth von Moltke's observations about Kurds and published them in the 23rd and 24th issues under the pseudonym Herekol Azîzan. To establish a contact related with Kurds, it is important to mention that Moltke also took part in the modernization of the Ottoman Army in the 1830s.

In this serial, the translated texts covered many different aspects of Kurdish society and culture; social, geographical, historical, physical and folkloric facts and characteristics of Kurds. The topics ranged from details on the border of Kurdistan, the population of Kurds, as well as the demographic composition of the region, to information on Kurds' physical appearance, the characteristics of their settlements and houses, as well as the structure of the Kurdish principalities and their organization in case of a war. Apart from those elements, there is some criticism involved in this serial. Moltke, for instance, was critical of Kurds' disunity and to draw intention to this criticism, C. Bedirxan intentionally published the whole paragraph in capital letters and thereby reinforced its message.

Before publishing the above-mentioned translations, C. Bedirxan wrote an introduction for the serial, in which to explain why he wanted to publish such texts, i.e., they would feature the foreigner's studies and views about Kurds. While pointing

[89] Ji xwe bê şik e ko ji bona zmanê xwe ê rengîn û nigardar, û ji hikmê zmanê biyaniyan pakhilanî herfên latînî jî dê qebûl bikit. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 384)

out his objective for translating western scholars' thoughts and views on Kurds, he said:

> Even if not many, there are some foreigners that came into our country [Kurdistan], observed it, more or less learned our language and wrote books on us.
> These sorts of books are available in every European language: Russian, German, French, English, Italian, etc.
> I want to translate some useful parts from those books into Kurdish and publish in these columns[90]. (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 383-384)

As evident from his remarks, C. Bedirxan set out to explain to the readers the importance of having access to foreign scholars' works on Kurdish history and culture. Besides, as he referred to it, translation would play the key role for publishing the selected texts from certain scholars he regarded as important. Regarding whom he meant by *biyanî*/foreigner, he gives a clear reference in the beginning of the "Kurd û Kurdistan bi Çavê Biyaniyan 2": "One of the Europeans that saw Kurds and Kurdistan and wrote about us and our country is Marshal Moltke"[91] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 467). This manifests that by foreigner, C. Bedirxan meant European scholars or renowned figures who wrote about Kurds. It appears that he used the translation of their writing to increase the Kurds' status and also to encourage them to be more appreciative of their own cultural identity.

However, as C. Bedirxan was doubtful over possible Kurdish reactions to the criticism or negative evaluations of those scholars, and to legitimize their stance, he made the following arguments:

[90] "Gelek nebin jî hin biyanî hene ko hatine, ketine nav welatê me, lê temaşa kirine, kêm û zêde hînî zmanè me bûne û di heqê me de kitêbin nivîsandine.
Kitêbinên welê di her zmanê ewrûpayî de hene, rûsî, elmanî, Frensizî, ingilîzî, talyanî h. p ...
Min dil heye, ji wan kitêban birinên bikêr wergerînim kurdmancîyê û di van stûnan de belav bikim." (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 383-384)
[91] "Yek ji ewrûpayîyên ko kurd û Kurdistan dîtine û di heqê me û welatê me de nivîsandine, marêşal Moltkê ye." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 467)

> It is possible that these foreigners might have written and talked against us. Most of them already wrote in favor of us and expressed a stance on our side. Whatever they are, both kinds of articles are useful to us. Those which go against us – if not bearing grudges – show us our shortcomings. Through those shortcomings addressed, we will improve ourselves. Through the writings in favor of us, we will recognize our strong points and appreciate ourselves. If one does not appreciate oneself, s/he will not be appreciated by anyone. That is true, they urge on us for this[92]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 383)

In addition, as part of the justification for the translations he would serialize, he also argued that there were still some aspects of Kurdish culture which were not fully addressed among Kurds themselves. In the same vein, he said, "on the other hand, those writings will help us with classifying the history of our country and nation. They have some points that we are not still familiar with. We have neither seen them nor heard about[93]" (Ibid.).

This serial shows that C. Bedirxan wanted to translate the observations and thoughts by European scholars in order to create a positive view of Kurdish society and culture. It basically aimed to impact positively Kurdish people's acceptance of their own cultural identity so that they would value it more and develop a stronger sense of belonging. In the same vein, he included in the selected translations the unfavorable comments and criticism of the European scholars, mainly on the division among Kurds themselves. In this aspect, C. Bedirxan strategically used the views of Moltke in order to legitimize and reinforce his own critiques in this area.

This serial, composed of three entries, was, in fact, not meant to end. From the note at the end of the last entry in issue 24 which reads, "dûmahik heye",

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[92] "Heye ko ew biyanîyên ha carinan di eleyhê me da jî got û nivîsandi bin. Ji xwe piranîya wan di lêhê me de gotine û meyldarîya me kirine. Herçî jî bit her du texlît nivîsar bi kêrî me tên. Yên ko eleyhdarîya me kirine — heke ne xerezkarî ye— kêmanîyên me şanî me didin. Em bi wan kêmanîyên xwe diedilînin. Bi ên din ko di lêhê me de hatine nivîsandin, milên xwe ên rind nas dikin û xwe bi xwe qedrê xwe dizanin. Heke mirov bi xwe qedrê xwe nagirit nik tukesî biqedr nabit. Belê ev, nav di me didin." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 383)

[93] "Ji rexê din ew nivîsarên ha di senifandina dîroka welat û miletê me de arî me dikin. Di nav wan de tiştin hene ko hêj bi me ne nasin. Me ew ne dîtin ne jî bihîstine." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 383)

meaning "to be continued" in Kurdish (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 631), it is clear that C. Bedirxan intended to continue this serial, but my analysis shows that he did not. Unfortunately, there was no explanation, but this might have had to do with the circumstances leading to the 6-year-hiatus in 1935, after issue 26.

6.1.1.1 Strategy, source text and Martin Hartmann

Regarding the strategy C. Bedirxan would use in the translation of this serial, he stated:

> In translation, I will not follow a sequence and historical order. I will translate into Kurmanji whatever comes to hand and useful to us and publish them gradually. I will translate them in such a way that sense will be clearly understood, and the word will become as Kurdified as possible; not that I will translate each item into Kurdish word for word and produce such a rendering that the word is Kurdish, but the style is foreign.[94] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 383)

In terms of the selection, he pointed out that he would translate the material available on Kurds, and it is evident that C. Bedirxan intended to do this, targeting the Kurdish culture. Thus, he would prefer comprehensibility over literality and exert effort for the pieces translated to be as intelligible as possible to the Kurdish audience. In this regard, he would avoid any foreignization in the target text caused by translating word for word.

Concerning the correspondence between German and Kurdish and the choice of the words, C. Bedirxan said:

[94] Di wergerandinê de bi rêz û tarîxê ve naçim. Herçî ko dikevin destê min û bi kêrî me tên ezê wan wergerînim kurdmancîyê û hêdî hêdî belav bikim. Ezê wan bi awakî welê wergerînim ko mana rind bête seh kirin û qise herçend heye, ewçend kurdandî bibit, ne ko pirsan yeko yeko wergerînim kurdmancîyè û tişteqî welê bînim pê ko pirs kurdmancî lê awa biyanî bibit. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 383)

> On the other hand, the correspondence of each word has not yet been found or formed in our language. Therefore, to fulfil this purpose, I will modify the formation of some words, break them up and rebuild them according to our words. Yet, I will neither make an addition nor a reduction. I will pay attention to maintain the author's purpose and the spirit of the text and convey them as they are.[95] (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 383-384)

C. Bedirxan indicates that there was not yet correspondence in Kurdish for each word, so he decided to modify or rebuild the style of some Kurdish words. However, he felt it essential to utter that he would be attentive to reflecting author's thoughts and the purpose of the text as it was, because he thought the pieces he selected to translate and disseminate among Kurds were really important, and that he should give the impression that he reflected them objectively without any distortions.

C. Bedirxan also wanted to write about the author himself, and in the introductory part, he introduced Martin Hartmann to the Kurdish readership:

> Hartmann is a German scholar. He traveled in Kurdistan, learned our language. He has a book entitled *Botan,* a precious and profound work. As evident from Hartmann's book, he looked into everything about our country. I had accessed that book in Germany and read it. But now, I don't have it with me. As far as I have heard, Hartman started to translate *Mem and Zîn* into German, yet he did not live long enough for that. After translating a number of pages, he passed away.[96]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 384)

These statements show that, apart from affirming that Kurdish culture was studied by renowned western scholars, C. Bedirxan also wanted to reassure the readership that Hartmann's views were acceptable, thus, he highlighted his works and efforts on Kurds, as well as his travel in Kurdistan.

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[95] Ji milê din, di zmanê me de berdêlka her pirsê hêj nehatiye dîtin û hevedudanîn. Ji lewra di mehcetê de ezê awayê hin qisan gora pirsên me biguhêrînim, ji hev veqetînim pêş û paş bikim. Lê jê re ne kêm ne jî zêde dikim. Ezê bala xwe bidim ko qesta nivîsevan û giyanê nîvîsarê weke xwe hilînim û weke xwe bidim zanîn. (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 383-384)

[96] Hartman zanayekî elman e. Di nav Kurdistanê de geriyaye, hînî zmanê me bûye. Kitêbeke wî heye, "Botan", kitêbeke hêja û kûr. Herwekî ji wê kitêbê xuya dibe Hartman li her tiştê welatê me hûr mêze kiriye. Min ew kitêb li Germanyayê dît û xwendi bû. Lê îrû ne bi min re ye. Li gora bihîstina min Hartman Memozîna Xanî werdigerand elmanîyè, lê emrê wî têr nekir. Paş ko çend rûpelên wê wergerandi bûn çû rehmetê. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 384)

In the same introductory part, C. Bedirxan also provided information about the source text by saying: "The following lines were extracted from one of his books. The book was titled *Fünf Vorträge über den Islam*. It was published in Leipzig in 1912"[97] (Ibid.).

6.1.1.2 Strategy, source text, and Helmuth von Moltke

Like Hartmann, in the second entry of the serial "Kurd û Kurdistan bi Çavê Biyaniyan", C. Bedirxan introduced Kurdish readership to Helmuth von Moltke. In the introductory part, he gave the following biographical information:

> One of the Europeans that saw Kurds and Kurdistan and wrote about us and our country is Marshal Moltke. Marshal Moltke is a German commander. He is renowned not only in his country but also all over the world. He stayed in Turkey and traveled in Kurdistan for about four years from 1835 until 1839. He saw with his own eyes some of the events that then took place in Kurdistan. Moltke served for Turkish army.[98] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 467)

It seems that it is important for C. Bedirxan to translate European scholars' texts on Kurds, apparently, to increase the prestige of the Kurdish culture in the eyes of the Kurdish audience. In this respect, he mentioned Moltke's worldwide fame as a commander and referred to his likely observations and contact with Kurds during his military service in the Ottoman Empire. Besides, to emphasize Moltke's authorship, he explained that:

[97] Xêzên jêrîn ji kitêbeke wî hatine girtin. Navê kitêbê (Pènc gotar liser islamê) ye. Li Leypçigê di sala 1912de hatiye çapkirin. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 384)

[98] Yek ji ewrûpayîyên ko kurd û Kurdistan ditîne û di heqê me û welatê me de nivîsandine, marêşal Moltkê ye.
Marêşal Moltkê serdarekî elman e. Ne tenê di welatê xwe, di hemî dinyayê de bi nav û deng e, qederê çar salan, ji sala 1835 heta 1839 an, di Tirkiyayê de maye, di Kurdistanê de geriyaye. Hin tiştên ko hingî di Kurdistanê de qewimîne bi çavên xwe dîtine. Moltkê di leşkerê tirkan de wezîfe girti bû. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 467)

> The commander Moltke was good at writing, too. He wrote books on lots of things. His articles were later collected and republished under the title *Tevayîya nivîsar û bîrên Marêşal Moltkê* [All the articles and memoirs of Marshal Moltke] in Berlin in 1892. His second book titled *Nivîsarên tevlihev liser meselên rojhelatê* [Various Articles on the Middle East Issues] also covers subjects about Kurds and Kurdistan.[99] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 467)

The statement in this quote shows that C. Bedirxan refers mainly to the two works by Moltke providing not the source texts but their translated titles only. He informed the Kurdish readership that his observations on Kurds were made in his second book *Nivîsarên tevlihev liser meselên rojhelatê*. After giving this information, he noted that his translation of the writing about Kurds was from Moltke's second work.

6.1.2 Western poetry translated into Kurdish

In this sub-section, I will analyze the translated poetry from western literature, which was rendered by different translators in accordance with the second period's objectives.

In issue 27, in line with the program in "La Réapparition de Hawar" for covering western literary texts in the new period, initially *Hawar* contained a poem by the renowned French poet and writer, Victor Hugo, and in this issue, Hugo's poem called "L'hymne" was translated into Kurdish as "Loriya Şehîdan" [Requiem for Martyrs] by Mamosteyê Gerok [another psudonym for C. Bedirxan] with the following subtitle: "Adaptation de l'hymne de Victor Hugo "A ceux qui sont morts pour la patrie" [Adaptation of "L'hymne" by Victor Hugo. "For those who died for the homeland"] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 693). The subtitle provides information both

[99] Moltkê serdar, bi qelema xwe jî xurt bû. Liser gelek tiştan kitêbin nivîsandine. Ev nivîsarên ha pêşdetir hatine civandin û di bin navê (Tevayîya nivîsar û bîrên Marêşal Moltkê) di sala 1892 an de li Berlînê ji nû ve hatine çapkirin. Kitêba duwim ko sernama (Nivîsarên tevlihev liser meselên rojhelatê) hildigire qala kurdan û Kurdistanê jî dike. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 467)

about the author and the source text and was accompanied with the dedication note of the original poem in French.

This first selection does not seem to be a random choice, it was a patriotic poem by Victor Hugo, and it fits in well with periodical's policy of invoking Kurdish national feelings of struggling to gain a sense of belonging. Furthermore, in the proposed program for the translations from the Western literature, it was also pointed out that short biographies would accompany the translated texts. In this respect, in addition to the information in the subtitle there was also some details on Victor Hugo and his poetry in the footnote:

> Loriya şehîdan (L'hymne) was chosen from the poems of the great French poet, Victor Hugo. He was born in 1802. He was famous with his beautiful and valuable poems in his youth, too. He loved his country, France, so much and one can see the history of France in his poems. As he both shed tears and got happy with her, his writings mirror the glory and honor, the troubles and griefs of France.[100] (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 693)

As the explanation in the footnote demonstrates, C. Bedirxan aimed to introduce the emerging Kurdish readers to Victor Hugo and his poetry. Besides brief information on Victor Hugo's life, also highlighted his fame as a poet, and the content of his poetry, especially its patriotism. In accordance with his explanations for the new period of the periodical, C. Bedirxan did not detail the translated text, but just gave summarized information about the author and his poetry. For this translation and similar other ones, C. Bedirxan used the pseudonym Mamosteyê Gerok (literally meaning The Traveling Teacher in Kurdish). Similarly, he translated "Le Poète Mourant" by another French poet, Lamartine, as "Strana Mirinê" in issue 28

[100] Loriya şehîdan ji şihrên şairê frensiz ê mezin Viktor Hûgo, (L'hymne) hate girtin. Viktor Hûgo di sala 1802an de bûye. Ew bi şihrên xwe ên spehî û hêja di ciwaniya xwe de jî bi nav û deng bû. Ji welatê xwe Frensê gelek hez dikir û di şihrên wî de mirov dîroka Frensê dibîne. Ji ber ko ew pê re şa dibû, pê re digiriya û nivîsarên wî mirêka şan û şeref û derd û kederên Frense ne. (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 693)

(Bedirxan, 1988, p. 712), however, this time without information on Lamartine or his poetry. The only information provided was in the subtitle, which reads as follows: "Adaptation d'un poème de Lamartine "Le Poète Mourant" [The Adaptation of one of the poems by Lamartine, "Le Poète Mourant"]. This provides information only about the title of the source text and the name of its poet. However, it is of great importance that both for "L'hymne" by Victor Hugo and "Le Poète Mourant" by Lamartine, the translation practice is named as "adaptation" in the subtitles. The practice was applied by other translators as well, defining the translated text from western literature as adaptation, and providing the name of the author as well as the title of the source text as a subtitle. For example, in line with translating western literature for the Kurdish readership, Nûredîn Ûsif, a pseudonym for Nûredîn Zaza, used the same concept of "adaptation" for a translated poem in issue 29, "L'Exilé" by Lamennais, another 19th century French intellectual, using the pseudonym "Derketî". The poem was subtitled as "Adaptation de "L'Exilé" de Lamenneais" (Zaza, 1988, p. 729-730). The subtitle provided only the name of the author and the title of the source text. This translation also shows that, like C. Bedirxan, Nûredîn Ûsif stands out as a translator of western literature. He joined the cadre of *Hawar* as of the second period as the youngest translator and writer.

Furthermore, Nûredîn Zaza contributed to "intellectual nourishment" of Kurdish readers with other translations, as well as writing his own short stories. For instance, he translated the poem *If* by Rudyard Kipling as "Ji Xortan Re" [For the Youngs] in issue 30 (Zaza, 1988, p. 758). Through this work of a relatively more modern poet, Zaza introduced Kurdish readers to English poetry. Unlike previous poetry translations, there was no subtitle added to the main title, and it was not called an adaptation. No reasons or explanations was made for this. However, Zaza found

it necessary to start his translation with short biographical information : "Rudyard Kipling, an English poet and philosopher, gave advice to the young people and said:" (Ibid). It seems that Zaza regarded this poem as an "advice" for the young people and thus wanted to share the poem as a piece of advice for Kurdish readers.

Likewise, with the same purpose, C. Bedirxan translated the poem "Le Balcon" by Charles Baudelaire as "Delaliya Delalan" [Mistress of Mistresses] and published it under the pseudonym Seydayê Gerok in the 31st issue. As with similar translations, the information on the source text and author were noted in French under the main title: "Adaptation d'un poême de Charle Baudelaire 'Le Balcon'" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 773).

As another significant poem from western literature, C. Bedirxan translated "La mort du loup" by Alfred de Vigny as "Mirina Gurî" [The Death of the Wolf] in issue 31. Similar to the other translated poetry, the short biographical information was provided under the title as follows: "Adaptation de "La mort du loup" d'Alfred de Vigny." The information in the introductory part manifests that this poem was selected for personal reasons (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 768). It has a direct bearing on C. Bedirxan's own family and was dedicated to his late brother, Sefder: "Ji Giyanê Birayê Min ê Rehmetî Sefder re" [Dedicated to the Soul of My Late Brother, Sefder]. C. Bedirxan told the story behind this rendering as such:

> Sefdo, my dear! We had arrived in Munich in 1922—I and your elder brother, Kamiran. We had been defeated. We were beaten. Fate had draped Kurdistan's destiny in darkness. There was no hope in the politics anymore. We all said: "Language, writing and reading our language in independent letters, in Kurdish letters. The publication of the books, magazines and newspapers." I had brought for you a Kurdish alphabet from the mountains of Refan. You were learning it. You would say: "I love so much one of Alfred de Vigny's poems: "La mort du loup". One day, I will translate it into Kurmanji and publish it."[101] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 768)

[101] Sefdo, lawecan! Di sala hezar û neh sed û bîst û didowan de em hati bûn Mûnixê. Ez û kekê te Kamiran. Em şikiya bûn. Zora me çû bû. Felekê poşîke reş kêşa bû ser qedera Kurdistanê. Êdî di warê siyasetê de tu hêvî ne ma bû. Me tev de digot : Zman, xwe[n]din û nivîsandina zmanê me; bi tîpên

Here, C. Bedirxan refers to the period when they had to flee Turkey for Germany in 1922 because of their political views and the activities. As noted in his expressions, they felt defeated and disappointed by the failure in Kurdish politics in Turkey. It is evident that in that period, he and other intellectuals like his brother, K. Bedirxan, had concluded that the most effective and indeed, only way for the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity was through linguistic activities such as the introduction of a new alphabet and the enlightenment of the Kurds through various forms of publications. In terms of translating this poem, C. Bedirxan expressed that his late brother Sefder loved this poem so much that he intended to translate it into Kurdish one day. It is also implied that C. Bedirxan's brother, Sefder, wanted to translate this poem into Kurdish with the Roman alphabet that he himself had been teaching him at that time in Berlin. However, we learn that due to his death, Sefder never was able to fulfil this purpose and later C. Bedirxan carried out the work for him. In this regard, he expressed his feelings as follows:

> It has been more than a decade that books and magazines have been published in the Kurdish language and Kurdish letters. The ill-fate, as it did to Kurdistan, draped your slim and good-looking body in darkness. I hope your pure soul will feel it and find peace with it: Here it is, I have translated "The Death of the Wolf" into Kurmanji and dedicate it to your soul.[102] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 768)

Apart from translating this poem for honoring his late brother, C. Bedirxan used this translation as a means of providing "intellectual nourishment" for the emerging Kurdish intellectual readership of *Hawar.* In this regard, the information he provided

xweser, bi tîpên kurdî. Belav kirina kitêb, kovar û rojnaman. Min ji çiyayên Refanê ji te re elfabeke kurdî anî bû. Tu hînî wê dibûyî. Te digot : "Ez gelek kêfa xwe ji şihreke Elfrêd de Vinyî re ditînim: Mirina Gurî. Rojekê ezê wê wergerînim kurdmanciyê û wê belav bikim." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 768)

[102] Ev deh dwanzdeh sal in, kitêb û kovar bi zmanê kurdî û bi tîpên kurdî têne belav kirin. Lê felekê tu beriya wan belav kirî. Feleka bextreş, mîna Kurdistanê poşîke reş û tarî kişande ser canê te ê tenik û çeleng jî. Bi hêviya ko giyanê te ê pak pê bihese û pê şa bibe, eve min "Mirîna gurî " wergerande kurdmanciyê û pêşkeşî giyanê te kir. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 768)

about Alfred de Vigny in a long footnote explicitly reveal this purpose. Regarding the poet he said:

> Alfred de Vigny, the poet of "The Death of the Wolf", was a person of both sword and pen. His father was an officer; he followed in his footsteps and became an officer, too. But, as he did not get a chance to prove himself in a war, Vigny abandoned the army after he became a captain, and entirely devoted himself to literature.
> Vigny was born in 1797 in Loches. In his youth, he joined the circle of Victor Hugo, Charles Nodier and many other great authors of the era. That era was called "Romanticism" in French Literature[103]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 769)

As evidently expressed, while providing some information about Vigny, C. Bedirxan also provided information about his military life before becoming an author. It is also evident that, through French literature and literary characters, C. Bedirxan provided brief information to help the Kurdish readers to understand the movement of Romanticism. In this respect, he referred to Vigny's youth and his friendship with other early names of Romanticism in French literature such as Victor Hugo and Charles Nodier, thus appearing to have reinforced Vigny's prestigious position in literary circles.

To attract readers' attention, C. Bedirxan also provided some details about Vigny's character and literary works. "Vigny was a modest person; he did not mingle with people so much. Some of his works were published posthumously. His work *Daphné* was only printed in 1913"[104] (Ibid.). Furthermore, C. Bedirxan believed that Alfred de Vigny was not sufficiently appreciated and recognized during his lifetime, but only after his death. In this respect, he shared with the readers his criticism as follows: "Vigny died of cancer in 1863 and he was more appreciated after his death.

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[103] Şairê "Mirina Guri" Elfred de Vinyî edîbekî xudan şûr û qelem bû. Bavê wî zabit bû; ewî jî da bû ser şopa bavê xwe û bû bû zabit. Lê ji ber ku firsenda şer bi dest ne diket, Vinyî piştî ko bû kepîtên ji ordiwê derket û xwe yekcar da edebiyatê.
Vinyî di sala 1797 an de di bajarê "Loşê" de, ji diya xwe bûye. Hêj di ciwaniya xwe de keti bû civata Vîktor Hûgo, Şarl Nodyê û edîbên din ên mezin wê heyamê. Ji wê heyamê re di edebiyata frensizî de romantîsm dibêjin. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 769)

[104] Vinyî xwe ji alayîşan digirt; xwe gelek têkilî xelkê ne dikir. Hin eserên Vinyî di pey mirina wî re hatine belav kirin. Esera wî "Dafnê" bi tenê di sala 1913 an de ketiye çapê. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 769)

As the proverb goes: [literally] When the bald die they get redhaired"[105] (Ibid). As is evident, C. Bedirxan supported his belief with a Kurdish proverb to make more emotional impact on the readers as well as trying to be more intelligible. Furthermore, I think this idiomatic language helped the readers to build an affinity with Alfred de Vigny and positively affected the reception of French poetry and Romantic poets.

6.1.3 Translated short stories

In terms of genres, not only was western poetry translated as part of the objectives set for the second period of *Hawar*, but also the translations of short stories. In this respect, Nûredîn Zaza translated “Les étoiles [Stars]” by Alphonse Daudet as "Stêrk" in issue 33. Like the translated poetry, brief information about the source text and author was provided under the title as follows: "Adaptation de 'Les étoiles' D’Alphonse Daudet" (Zaza, 1998, p. 808).

Apart from the story by the French writer, Daudet, Nuredîn Zaza translated two stories by Frank Stockton (1854 - 1902), an American writer and humorist. He is celebrated for his short story, "The Lady, or the Tiger?", which arouses curiosity with its abrupt and ambiguous ending where it is not certain whether the princess, by her choice, preferred her lover to stay alive or be eaten by a tiger. Nuredîn Zaza translated this very famous short story into Kurdish as "Xatûn û Piling" [Lady and Tiger] in issue 44 under his pseudonym, Nûredîn Ûsif (Zaza, 1998, pp. 1009-1010). As a common feature of translations from western literature, even though no source text was provided, the name of the writer was given in the subtitle as "Ji Frank

[105] Vinyî di sala 1863 an de ji seretanê emrê Xweda kir û qedirê wî piştî mirina wî çêtir hate girtin. Mîna medhelokê gotiye: gurî dimirin porsor dibin. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 769)

Stockten"[From Frank Stockton] (Zaza, 1998, p. 1009). It seems that Zaza regarded this enigmatic sort of short stories as appealing to the readers of *Hawar* and translated another similar story by the same author in issue 47 under the title, "Dê an Xûşk" [Mother or Sister] (Zaza, 1998, p. 1046). Although the story was subtitled as "Ji 'Frank Stokten' Hate Wergerandin [It was translated from Frank Stockton], I could not access it.

6.1.4 The serial "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine" [Those Who Served Humanity]

C. Bedirxan not only translated western literary genres in order to provide an "intellectual nourishment" for Kurdish readership, but he also showed his interest in introducing the Kurdish audience to western scientific and cultural developments through biographies of selected scientists. In this respect, under the pseudonym of Herekol Azîzan, he started a serial called "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine" [Those Who Served Humanity] and allocated the first entry in issue 55 to French chemist and microbiologist, Louis Pasteur under the title "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine: -1- Lwis Pastör (Louis Pasteur) 1822-1895" (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 1124-1127). In this entry, along with the life story of Pasteur, he provided information on the details and anecdotes on his discoveries, especially in medicine, and their benefits for the humanity (Ibid.).

In the introductory of the first entry, C. Bedirxan introduced the serial to the readers, and explained the importance of scientific developments for humanity. In this respect, he said in Kurdish:

> When we mention people who serve humanity, it is needless to say that those people have served their own nation at the same time. Their nation, too, is a part of humanity. Therefore, whoever serves one's nation, serves humanity, too. They are only those people that serve humanity straightaway with their own discoveries and inventions. Everyone directly benefits from those services. Pasteur is one of those people from whose discoveries humans and animals – each and every one of beings – have benefited and will keep benefiting till doomsday.[106] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1124)

As the explanation in the quote shows, C. Bedirxan expressed that those who made scientific discoveries and inventions benefit both their nation, and people all over the world. It is apparent that he shows much gratitude to those scientists, and implies that, understanding the benefits of those scientific achievements, Kurds also could make efforts to learn about scientific developments and develop an interest and even study in the different fields of science. Clearly, C. Bedirxan did not select Pasteur randomly for the first entry but understood that he would appeal to Kurdish readers with his crucial discoveries and therefore, he described Pasteur as a scientist whose discoveries would forever benefit every being – both humans and animals.

For the same purpose, in issue 56, C. Bedirxan published the second item of the serial on James Young Simpson, a Scottish scientist in the field of medicine. The entry was entitled "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine" [Those Who Served Humanity]: -2- Sör Cêms Yûng Simpson "Sir James Young Simpson 1811-1870" (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 1132-1133). In this entry, similar to the entry for Pasteur, C. Bedirxan wrote a biography along with a description of his efforts leading to the discovery of anesthetic (Ibid.).

[106] "Gava em çêl li mirovên ko xizmeta însaniyetê kirine dikin, ne gerek e em bibêjin ko wan mirovan di yek wextî de xizmeta miletê xwe jî kirine. Miletê wan jî birekî însaniyetê ye. Ji lewre heçiyê ko xizmeta miletê xwe dike, xizmeta însaniyetê jî dike. Bi tenê mirovine welê hene ko bi keşf û îcadên xwe rast bi rast û bila wasite xizmeta însaniyetê dikin. Herkes ji wê xizmetê rasterê fêdê dibîne. Past[o]r ji wan mirovan e ko ji keşfên wî însan, heywan her candar fêdedar bûye û heta roja qiyametê jî ewê jê fêdedar bibin." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1124)

It should be noted that though *Hawar* was not published any longer after issue 57, the 3rd entry of this serial was published in *Ronahî*, which demonstrates C. Bedirxan's intention to cover such translations in the other periodical he founded.

6.1.5 Translations from *Gulistan*

Although throughout the periodical, western sources were largely translated, the contributors to the periodical also resorted to eastern sources, for translation – though to a lesser extent. In this regard, pieces from the works by Persian poets stand out and, though small in number, their symbolic stance was great as Persian literature has a rich tradition. For this purpose, in the first period of *Hawar*, K. Bedirxan translated *Rubaiyat* by Omar Khayyam into Kurdish and serialized it under the title "Çarînên Xeyam" [Khayyam's Rubaiyat] in issues 17 (1933) through 26 (1935).

In the second period of *Hawar*, there was a reference to Hafez while introducing Melayê Cizîrî: Hafez's qaside which influenced Melayê Cizîrî was also translated and published along with the Persian source text in the mentioned entry. In addition, C. Bedirxan translated a quatrain from Hafez's *Divan* in issue 50 under the pseudonym "Farisîxwîn". In this entry, he briefly introduced Hafez's work: "*The Divan of Hafez*, either in terms of poetry or Sufism, is very famous. Today, we are presenting to our readers a quatrain from his *Divan*[107]" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1077). He also briefly referred to his strategy of translating the quatrain with the following words: "If we broadly translate it into Kurmanji, Hafez says:[108]" (Ibid).

However, the most detailed information was provided on the famous Persian poet Saadi and his works. In this regard, C. Bedirxan translated some parts from

[107] "Dîwana Hafizê şîrazî, çi bi şihir çi bi tesewif, gelek bi nav û deng e. Em îro ji wê dîwanê malikekê berpeyî xwendewanên xwe dikin." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1077)
[108] "Heke me ev malik bi firehî wergerande kurdmanciyê, Hafiz dibêje:" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1077)

Saadi's acclaimed work, *Gulistan*, published in the last issue under the title "Gulistan", subtitled "Gulistana Sadiyê Şîrazî" [Saadi Shirazi's *Gulistan*]. Similar to the previous Persian translations, C. Bedirxan published it under the pseudonym, "Farisîxwîn" (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 1141-1142). It is of importance to note that, unlike other translations from Persian, this translation had a long introductory part in which C. Bedirxan introduced Saadi and his work, *Gulistan*, before moving onto the translated text (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1141).

Regarding Saadi's life, he stated: "Saadi Shirazi is one of the poets of ancient Iran. He was born in Shiraz in the late 6th century Hijri and during the reign of Sa'd ibn Zangi (of the Fars Atabegs). His father named him Saadi after the atabeg [ruler] of the time"[109] (Ibid.) As is apparent, in addition to the date and place of birth, C. Bedirxan also explained why the 13th century Persian poet was named Saadi. To draw attention to how Saadi spent different periods of his life, he added: "It is said that Saadi lived for 102 years. Of those 102 years, he spent 12 years in childhood, 30 years for studying and learning, 30 years for travelling and military service and another 30 years for worship and prayers"[110] (Ibid.). To emphasize Saadi's travels and his encounters, he noted: "Saadi traveled much around the world for learning; he went to Egypt and India, too. While traveling in Damascus, near Tripoli, he was captured by Crusaders. During his captivity, he worked as a laborer for digging trenches of the Tripoli fortress"[111] (Ibid.). This statement also refers to Saadi's travels in various countries and regions as a dervish. This was probably to attract the

[109] Sadî ji şairên Îrana kevin e. Di dawiya sedsala şeşan a hicrî û di heyama Se'd kurê Zengî (ji etabikên faris) de li Şîrazê ji diya xwe bûye. Bavê wî nisbet bal navê etabekê wî wextî ve navê Sadî lê kiriye. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1141)
[110] Dibêjin ko Sadî 102 salan emir kiriye. Ji van 102 salan 12 bi zarotiyê, 30 bi xwendin û hînbûnê, 30 bi ger û eskeriyê û sihên din jî bi taet û ibadetê derbas kirine. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1141)
[111] Sadî ji ber xwendinê gelek di dinyayê de geriyaye; çûye Misir û Hindî jî. Dema di welatê Şamê de digeriya, li nîzingî Trablis-şamê ketiye destên ehlên-selîb û bû hêsîr. Di hêsîriya xwe de di xendekên keleha Trablisê de wek emelekî xebitiye. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1141)

readers' attention as who were familiar with dervishes, known as respected people committed to living a simple life and in poverty as part of their sufism. Thus, he even mentioned Saadi's captivity by Crusaders and working as laborer during his travels.

To inform the readers about Saadi's works, he said: "Among his works, *Gulistan* and *Bustan* are the most famous of all. Both of them have been translated into many European languages"[112] (Ibid.). Here, it is of significance to note that C. Bedirxan regards the translation of Saadi's best-known works, *Gulistan* and *Bustan*, into many European languages as a noteworthy criterion contributing to these works' prestige and reputation. This approach aligned with the policy of taking a positive view of western literature and culture.

In the introductory part, C. Bedirxan also informed the readers about the content and composition of *Gulistan*:

> Saadi's *Gulistan* is entirely composed of philosophical stories. Saadi conveyed his philosophy through stories and then summarized them in some quatrains. We wanted to present to our readers some stories from *Gulistan*. Saadi has divided *Gulistan* into an introduction and 8 chapters. Our readers might intend to compare the Kurdish rendering with Persian text. Thus, we noted the chapter number next to [the heading of] the story.[113] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1141)

As the details about *Gulistan* shows, C. Bedirxan showed the readers that *Gulistan* was composed of philosophical stories divided into 8 chapters, and he also indicated the chapter numbers and provided the readers knowing Persian with the opportunity to compare his translation with the source text. Regarding the stories, he also referred to his translation strategy: "In translation, we have taken into account the sense over

[112] Di nav eserên wî de Gulistan û Bostana wî ji hemiyan bi nav û dengtir in. Ev her du eser li gelek zimanên ewropayî hatine wergerandin. (Bedirxan 1998, p. 1141)

[113] Gulistana Sadî tev de hikemiyat in. Sadî hikmet û felsefa xwe bi hênceta çîrokan gotiye û paşê ew di hin malikan de xulase kirine. Me dil kir ko ji xwendevanên xwe re hin çîrokên Gulistanê ber pê bikin. Sadî Gulislana xwe bi dîbaçe û heşt fesilan lev vekiriye. Heye ko hin xwendevanên me dil bikin kurdmancî û farisiyê deynin ber hev. Ji lewre li rex her çîrokê me fesila wê îşaret kir. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1141

the word. Therefore, regarding the word, the original and the translation might not sometimes correspond to each other"[114] (Ibid.). This statement manifests that C. Bedirxan did his translation according to the readers of target Kurdish culture, and therefore paid attention to the sense rather than to the word, and thus points out that, in his translation, the source and the target text might not provide complete equivalence, especially for the Kurdish readers who know Persian.

Considering all points underscored in this chapter, based on the analyses of the paratexts of translations, it appears that C. Bedirxan endeavored to impact both western and Kurdish readerships, drawing on the central role of translations in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity.

Concerning western readership, C. Bedirxan used translated texts from Kurdish for dissemination, and the legitimation of different components of Kurdish cultural identity. The texts included many translated songs from different regions and aimed to familiarize western readership with Kurdish culture and the characteristics of its language, and for this reason, he also translated the most popular and widespread Kurdish legend, *Memê Alan*. Besides, to give an idea about the existing classical Kurdish literature, C. Bedirxan gave information about the literary style of Melayê Cizîrî, which, with Ehmedê Xanî, is one of the two pillars of Kurdish classic literature. He also translated samples from his own poetry for western readers to make visible to the western audience the centuries-old tradition of Kurdish literature.

As part of translating Kurdish folkloric texts, Roger Lescot's translation of Kurdish proverbs and riddles also served to introduce western readership to new aspects of Kurdish cultural identity. In this respect, K. Bedirxan's translations on Ezidism, one of the religious aspects highlighted throughout *Hawar,* together with

[114] Di wergerandinê de me ji lefzê bêtir guh daye manayê. Ji lewre heye ko di lefzê de, carina esil û tercime li hev dernekevin. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 1141)

Islam and Zoroastrianism as part of Kurdish cultural identity, aimed to draw western readers' attention to the religious plurality of Kurds, as could be seen in many other translated texts in the periodical.

Regarding the translations addressing Kurdish readership, C. Bedirxan was inspired by assessments on Kurds by certain orientalists such as Hartmann and von Moltke and translated their views to attract Kurdish readers' attention to Kurdish cultural identity and its multiple aspects – i.e. history, geographical features, the importance of unity among Kurds and the suitability of Roman alphabet for Kurdish language. By these translations, C. Bedirxan also aimed to spread his ideas on Kurdish cultural identity to the Kurdish readers, adding his own comments through paratexts, especially footnotes. He also endeavored to show his audience that various aspects on Kurds' identity were already researched by renowned western scholars. His aim was to instill pride in their own cultural identity. To introduce Kurdish readers to western literature, as well as to intellectually nourish the literate public emerging from *Hawar,* he published translated examples of western – especially French poetry – and of short stories from various western writers. Moreover, he did not content himself with presenting to Kurdish readers the translated texts from the western literature but also, translated biographies of influential western figures such as Pasteur and Simpson, whose discoveries contributed to the scientific and intellectual development of the west, and served all humanity.

It is noteworthy to point out that, although texts translated from western literature occupied the majority of space throughout *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan did not ignore the more familiar eastern literature. For this purpose, he published translated pieces from canonic Persian writers and poets such as Hafez and Saadi; it seems that

he was familiar with this area, too and could follow Persian literature. In this regard, as was analyzed in this chapter, he translated three stories from Saadi's renowned work *Gulistan* and provided Kurdish readership with the option of reading literary pieces from Persian literature.

Lastly, in terms of textual and paratextual analysis, I believe a study of the whole content of *Hawar* will provide rich material to explore the translation genealogy of Kurdish language. In this regard, besides translated texts, entries on grammar and alphabet, the glossaries and transliterated texts will be particularly of use. However, as this topic is not within the scope of the present study, I hope it will be investigated in any potential future research.

6.2 Translations addressing the western readership

The texts analyzed in this section are those translated from Kurdish into French. I will mainly analyze the peritexts of the translated texts that cover a vast array of genres such as songs, legends, fables and proverbs, as well as a religious text. For this analysis, I will first focus on the translated songs in the serial "Textes et Traductions" and then continue with the paratextual material present in other translations mentioned above.

6.2.1 "Textes et traductions" [texts and translations]

In this sub-heading, I will focus on the paratextual material of the translated Kurdish songs and discuss the role of translations in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity, as well as strategies used in these translations.

One of the lengthiest serials of translation in *Hawar* was entitled "Textes et Traductions", starting issue 4 and continuing with issues 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14,

and 22, covering translations of Kurdish songs into French. All of the translations in this serial were done by C. Bedirxan, most under the pseudonym Herekol Azîzan (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 653; pp. 650-651). The serial contained both source and target texts in the same entry. In the 4th issue, for instance, a translated Kurdish song entitled "Zerî Kubarê" [The Elegant Blonde] carried an introduction in French about the serial, which reveals how the contributors approached translated texts.

In the initial paragraph of the entry, C. Bedirxan referred to the objectives and activities planned, detailed in the first issue of *Hawar*: "In accordance with our program published in the first issue, we are starting, as of today, to publish texts on Kurds followed by a literal translation."[115] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 87). This shows that this serial was published in compliance with a program established in the first issue, published both in Kurdish and French. The French version of this program was classified under seven articles, the first two, were about the dissemination of the newly introduced alphabet, and linguistic issues such as classification and publication of the Kurdish grammar, as well as studies on Kurdish dialects and its relation to other languages. The other five were respectively subsumed under the following subtitles: "3-Folklore, 4-Litérature écrite [Written Literature], 5- Musique et Danse [Music and Dance], 6- Moeurs et coutumes [Manners and Customs], 7-Histoire et géographie [History and Geography] (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 29-30). The objective mentioned in the 4th issue refers to the third article of the magazine and relates to “Folklore”. This objective was specified in the 1st issue as follows: "This section of our program will be the most productive. It will be concerned with

[115] "Conformément à notre programme de travail, publié dans notre premier numéro, nous commençons, à partir d'aujourd'hui à donner des textes Kurdes suivis d'une traduction littérale." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 87)

legends, stories and Kurdish songs. A number of these publications will be translated into French." [116] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 30).

This briefly formulated article describing the program reveals that C. Bedirxan aimed to introduce the western readership to the Kurdish folklore through translations of legends, stories and songs into French. In this regard, the serial entitled “Textes et Traductions” actually played its part through translation of Kurdish songs. The article on "folklore" points at a broader aim, too: C. Bedirxan intended to use translation as a means of disseminating information on Kurdish folklore, and it is evident that this serial and other similar texts were translated to fulfill this main purpose.

As mentioned above, *Hawar's* objectives and the program were published both in Kurdish and French in the first issue; the version in Kurdish naturally addressed a Kurdish readership whereas the French one addressed a western readership. In this respect, it is of significance to remark that in the above-mentioned article concerning folklore, there was a direct reference to translation, being the first place in the periodical where it was acknowledged as having an important role in transmitting Kurdish folkloric elements to the western readership. In fact, French was chosen to appeal to this specific target audience, not only because it was the official language of the French Mandate, but also because it still played the lingua franca role, similar to today's English.

In the introductory section of the serial “Textes et Traductions,” C. Bedirxan specified the objective of the serial as such:

[116] "Cette partie de notre programme sera la plus fertile. Elle prendra soin de la publication des légendes, contes et chansons Kurdes. Une partie de ces publications sera traduite en français." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 30).

> These texts will be, on the one hand, of an instructive nature for those who would like to have an idea about Kurdish language, and on the other, they will complement our article published under the heading "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes"[Notices on Kurdish Literature, Traditions and Customs][117] (Bedirxan, 1988 p. 87)

As C. Bedirxan's remarks reveal, he aimed to help the western readership understand Kurdish culture through translated folkloric texts, showing that *Hawar* served the overall aim of disseminating information on Kurdish folklore, in accordance with a program. In this sense, it also complemented another serial presented under the title, "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes".

In line with the introduction of Kurdish folklore through songs, C. Bedirxan also gave some specific information on the very source text, "Zerî [K]ubarê", translated in the first entry of the series. He said that "[t]his short song was sung to me by a dengbêj from Pêncînaran. I publish it exactly as it was sung to me without touching one single word"[118] (Ibid.). It seems that he wanted to emphasize its originality, and that he translated the source text without changing the oral form, and pointed out that he translated this song directly, as chanted by a dengbêj from a specific region.

In a previous entry in issue 3, C. Bedirxan had already given some useful basic information about Kurdish songs and differences among song types. Therefore, instead of a re-explanation, he preferred to refer readers to the complementary entry: "We should remind our readers that the terms like stran, lawi[k], which were already

[117] Ces textes auront d'une part un caractère instructif pour ceux qui désirent avoir une idée de la langue Kurde, d'autre part ils completeront nos articles publiés dans la rubrique des "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et cotumes Kurdes." (Bedirxan, 1932, p. 87)
[118]"Cette petite chanson m'a été chantée par un (dengbêj) de (Pêncînaran). Je la publie telle qu'elle m'a été chantée sans toucher à un seul mot." (Bedirxan, 1932, p. 87)

explained in our articles about Kurdish folklore, do not need to be re-explained for a second time"[119] (Ibid).

With this notice, C. Bedirxan specifically referred to the complementary serial, "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et cotumes Kurdes-3", which provided details on the types of Kurdish songs and their names under the subtitle "Le Folklore Kurde" [Kurdish Folklore] (Bedirxan, 1988, pp. 71-73).

Regarding the strategy, he reserved this serial for translating Kurdish songs into French, as explained in the introductory part:

> As we have already said, all of our translations will be literal. But for the expressions that are not familiar to the French language, we will give explanations outside the text. Similarly, we will sometimes reproduce the letters which have been replaced by apostrophes for the abbreviations that were required by singing or the dialect of certain regions.[120] (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 87)

In this statement, C. Bedirxan points out that as a strategy, in translating the Kurdish songs into French, he explained outside the text the meaning of the terms and statements which were specific to Kurdish culture, but foreign to French culture. By referring to "outside the text", he means footnotes, which he used for making clarifications. To give an example, in the third section of the song, the lover calls out to his beloved, Zerî Kubarê and reproaches her deception, and making him a waving-handkerchief in the hands of the young men of Omeri (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 88). In the footnote, to clarify this statement for the Western readership, he drew attention to the

[119] "Nous devons rappeler à nos lecteurs que les termes comme (stran, lawi[k]) qui été déjà expliqués dans nos articles traitant du folklore Kurde n'ont pas besoin d'être réexpliquès une seconde fois." (Bedirxan, 1932, p. 87)

[120] Comme nous l'avons déjà dit toutes nos traductions seront littérales. Mais pour des expressions qui ne sont pas familières à la langue française nous donnerons des explications hors texte. De même que nous reproduiserons par fois les lettres qui ont été remplacées par des apostrophes pour des abréviations qui exige le chant ou le dialecte de certaines régions. (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 87)

dexterity of the young Omeri people: "The Young people of the Omerî tribe are known for their agility in dancing"[121] (Ibid.).

In addition, C. Bedirxan states that if a letter of a word or phrase in the source text was dropped and marked with apostrophe for the harmony of singing or dialectical specificities, he did not apply it to the target text, but reproduced the letters that were replaced by the apostrophe. For instance, in the verse, "Te ez *kir'me* têlek, ji têlê tenbûrê [literally, "You have made me one of the strings of tanbur."], the correct form of the verb is "kirime[122]", but for the sake of harmony in singing, the letter "i" is replaced with an apostrophe, "kir'me" (Ibid., my emphasis). However, he explained that this was not applied to the French rendering: "Tu *fis* de moi une corde de gitarre" (Ibid., my emphasis). In this verse, interestingly, C. Bedirxan translated the instrument "tenbur" as "gitarre [guitar]", which he probably considered would be more familiar to the western readership, ie., he translated the name of eastern instrument (tanbur) as a western instrument, guitar. Moreover, tanbur was not perhaps much known in the west as it is today.

To sum up this sub-section, it is clear that translation of songs in the serial "Texte et traductions" aimed to inform western readership about Kurdish folklore, as the paratexts in this serial manifest that C. Bedirxan selected these songs as part of the planned program set forth in the first issue.

[121] "Les jeunes gens de la tribu Omerî sont connus pour leur agilité dans la danse." (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 87)

[122] "kirime" is the form of the verb "kirin" (to make/to) in Kurdish Kurmanji, which is conjugated in the Present Perfect Tense for the second person singular and involves ergativity present in Kurdish language.

6.2.2 Translation of *Memê Alan* in the "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes"

Under this sub-heading, I will focus on the serialized translation of a popular Kurdish legend. In this regard, I will analyze the preface, "Avant Propos", which provides rich material used by C. Bedirxan to promote his vision about Kurdish society, folklore and language among the target western readership. It also includes his approach toward modernization. Regarding the legend, the preface includes details about the preparation of a unified source text to be translated, as well as its importance for selection.

The translation of *Memê Alan*, a renowned Kurdish legend, into French and its serialization in the periodical comply with the main purpose of *Hawar*, explained in the first issue as to translate Kurdish folklore into French. Although the entry, "Notices sur la littérature, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes" (Hereafter, "Notices") started with the 1st issue, C. Bedirxan did not launch the part of *Memê Alan* until issue 4, because the first 3 issues were devoted to general information on language and folklore necessary for a better understanding of the Kurdish culture. After the explanations on Kurdish folklore and the legend in issue 4, C. Bedirxan began the serialized French translation of *Memê Alan* in issues 5 to 12, continuing in issues 23, 27 and 28.

Regarding "Notices", C. Bedirxan wrote a very long foreword that extended across issues 1, 2, 3 and 4, under the subtitle "Avant Propos" (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 32-33). In this foreword, after giving information about the general features of the serial, C. Bedirxan informed the readers about Kurdish language and folklore under the subtitles, "La Langue Kurde" and "Le Folklore Kurde". In the foreword, he informed the target readership concerning the articles as follows:

> Under this heading, we will give some notes tending to characterize the literature, especially the popular one, Kurdish traditions and customs, which can create some interest for our foreign readers.
> Our articles will above all tend to stick to and note the current state of affairs. We will only talk very briefly about the origins and stories of the subjects we will deal with.
> Another essential feature of our article will be to demonstrate the traditions and customs in an absolutely exact manner without trying to distort them so that they can present some analogies with Europe.[123] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 32).

The details above demonstrate that C. Bedirxan aimed to introduce the Western readership to Kurdish culture, through mores, customs, and popular literature in particular, which he hoped would arouse their interest. He also informed the target readers that the entries in this serial would examine the current state of the Kurds. In this respect, he also found it necessary to explain that Kurdish traditions and customs would be described unadulterated, to show the similarities between Kurdish culture and European culture. To clarify this approach, he said:

> Obviously, we Kurds, too, aspire to modernize ourselves, the adoption of the Latin alphabet is one of the proofs. Yet we simply want to say that in our current state, we do not resemble the Europeans and we differ from them with traditions, customs and characteristics peculiar to our race[124]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 32).

Through these statements, C. Bedirxan foregrounds his desire for the modernizations of Kurds, for which the model was clearly Europe. Thus, he also emphasized the adoption of the Roman alphabet as an important step toward this

[123] Nous donnerons sous cette rubrique quelque notes tendant à caractériser la littérature, surtout populaire, moeurs et coutumes Kurdes, qui peuvent présenter un certain intérêt pour nos lecteurs étrangers.
Nos articles tanderont surtout à fixer et à noter l'état actuel des choses. Nous ne parlerons que très succinctement des origines et de l'histoire des sujets que nous traiterons.
Un autre caractère essentiel de nos articles sera demontrer les moeurs et coutumes d'une manière absolument exacte sans chercher à les déformer pour qu'ils puissent présenter quelques analogies avec l'Europe. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 32).

[124] Évidemment nous les Kurdes aussi nous aspirons à nous moderniser, l'adoption de l'alphabet latin en est une de ses preuves. Mais nous voulons tout simplement dire que dans notre état actuel, nous ne ressemblons pas aux européens et nous en differons par les moeurs, coutumes et caractères propres à notre race. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 32).

intended modernization. Nevertheless, he did not try to deny that in the present situation, Kurds were culturally different from Europeans. In the foreword, he further explained that such an objective approach, namely, presenting the culture of a nation as it is, was avoided by the intellectuals of other eastern countries, for fear of being considered primitive and barbaric. However, he argues that presenting a culture with its own characteristics is important because these genuine characteristics make a people or a nation distinct (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 33). By this statement, C. Bedirxan argued for taking objective stance, and present the Kurdish culture as it was without concern as to the reception of this open view.

With his efforts to disseminate information on cultural elements of Kurds, it is evident that, in addition to the distinctive features of Kurdish culture, C. Bedirxan did not hesitate to foreground the aspects that would be positively received by the west. This also allowed to construct a tie with the western cultures, for instance, by dwelling upon the freedom Kurdish women enjoyed, which contrasted with other peoples of the East (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 32). Furthermore, he stated that the structure and lexicology of Kurdish language resembled German rather than Arabic. He argued that even though Kurdish was spoken in the East, he was reluctant to describe it as the sister of "la grande langue orientale, l'arabe." His approach was to remain impartial and put forward cultural features of the Kurds as they were. Moreover, those points that C. Bedirxan brought to the fore implied that Kurds still had similarities to the western cultures, even though they lived in the Orient, both in terms of some cultural aspects and their language.

It is obvious that C. Bedirxan regarded modernization as indispensable. In this respect, he said: "Any people who tend to modernize and reform themselves must accept the newest and most sophisticated forms and processes as the former are

pure culture, while the latter are a general civilization"[125] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 33). This also refers to C. Bedirxan's positive stance toward the transferring of the newest forms and developments into Kurdish.

Concerning the genuine features of a culture, C. Bedirxan drew attention to the distinctive features of a culture. However, his approach indicates that even those features are subject to changes or transformations. In this regard, he points out that if the customs are not able to make people happy in their social life, they will necessarily change and develop under the influences of the present time, and accord with people's aspiration (Ibid.)

In "Notices 4", C. Bedirxan, under the subheading, "La Folklore Kurde", first introduced unfamiliar readership to some terms of storytelling or singing in Kurdish folklore such as "dengbêj", "çîrokbêj", "sazbend", "mitirb" and "bilûrvan" (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 88-89). In terms of showing the prestigious state of "dengbêj" and "çîrokbêj", he also mentioned their privileged status besides Kurdish principals (mîr) and other Kurdish leaders such as "beg" and "aga". He pointed out that they were granted houses and their expenditures were met in exchange for their service. (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 88). Apparently, C. Bedirxan tried to show to the readers that these agents of Kurdish folklore– dengbêjs (Kurdish troubadours) and çîrokbêjs (storytellers) were highly esteemed, and had a prestigious position, alongside leaders and among the society.

In the same entry, after the section of "La Folklore Kurde", a sort of background knowledge for the readers, there came the section about *Memê Alan.* In

[125] Tout peuple qui tend â se moderniser et se reformer doit accepter les formes et les procédés les plus neufs et les plus perfectionnés. Car les premiers sont de la culture pure, tandisque les seconds une civilisation générale. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 33)

this part, C. Bedirxan provided many details on the legend, as well as the resources he used and the strategy he applied for its translation into French (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 89-90). It is clear that the main aim was to familiarize the readership with different genres he called "littérature populaire", starting with the translation of legends and folk stories. For this purpose, he cited as examples *Memê Alan*, *Rostemê Kurd*, *Siyabend*, *Benevşa Narîn*, *Dêrsim*, *Delal*, *Bêmal* and *Xezal* (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 89). Among these, he chose *Memê Alan* for a summarized translation (une traduction résumée) as the most interesting (Ibid). C. Bedirxan certainly gave other reasons, too, for this choice: "This is the most famous and widespread among Kurds. It has different variants, either in the northern dialect or in the southern one. It also exists among Kurds speaking the north-western dialect, Dumilî."[126] (Ibid). This manifests that C. Bedirxan regarded this legend as the best representative of its genre for translation since it was popular and the most widespread, with its different versions in all the dialects. Nevertheless, he emphasized that most of the variants of the legend were in the northern dialect, namely Kurmanji, from which the legend originated. In terms of the culture, he also indicated that in this legend, there was information on issues influential on life in that period, such as rules of social life, property law, as well as now forgotten customs and traditions(Ibid.) In order to stress the importance of the legend, C. Bedirxan also drew attention to its relationship with the renowned Kurdish epic, *Mem û Zîn*, by Ehmedê Xanî. In fact, *Memê Alan,* with modifications, was the source text on which Xanî established his magnum opus. This aspect points at a sort of transmission between these two works, too. In this respect, C. Bedirxan said in the footnote:

[126] "C'est la légende la plus célèbre et la plus répandue chez les Kurdes. Elle compte différentes variantes, soit dans le dialecte du nord, soit dans celui du sud. Elle existe aussi chez les Kurdes parlant le dialecte du Nord-Ouest, Dumilî" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 89).

> Ehmedê Xanî, national Kurdish poet, borrowed from this legend the theme of his work entitled *Mem û Zîn*, the names of the hero and heroine. For different reasons, Xanî did not want to remain faithful to the popular narrative and introduced lots of changes to the original theme.[127] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 89)

Taking all these points into account, it is clear that C. Bedirxan tried to explain the importance of selecting this specific legend and endeavored to familiarize the readers with the related concepts before the translated text.

Regarding the legend, C. Bedirxan informed the target readership as such:

> Usually, we tell the story of the legend by singing it, with a melody which varies according to the passages. Although sung, *Memê Alan* is not entirely in verse, but to a great extent in rhymed prose. However, the most characteristic parts are in verse, and it is these parts which are known and sung by all the dengbêj[s][128]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 89)

Here C. Bedirxan establishes the relationship between this legend and singing – and thus the one between the legend and the Kurdish dengbêjs, and he explains that the legend is recounted in song with the varying melodies for the different parts. He also points out that although most of the legend, *Memê Alan*, is in rhymed prose, the most distinctive parts known by all the dengbêjs, are in verse. However, he draws attention to the fact fewer and fewer dengbêjs knew the entire legend, especially since speaking and singing in Kurdish was banned in Turkey. He points out that the dengbêjs had to abandon their work to find other means of living. (Ibid.).

Regarding *Memê Alan*, C. Bedirxan said that he was devoted to studying it for a long time (Ibid.). Concerning the source texts for his translation, he stated that

[127] Ehmedê-Xanî poète national Kurde, a emprunté à cette légende le sujet son oeuvre intitulée Memo-Zîn noms du héros et de l'héroïne. Xanî pour différentes raisons n'a pas voulu rester fidèle à la narration populaire et a introduit plusieurs modifications au sujet original. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 89)
[128] D'ordinaire on fait le récit de la légende en la chantant, sur une mélodie qui varie suivant les passages. Quoique chantée Memé-Alan n'est pas entièrement en vers, mais en grand partie en prose rimée. Cependant les parties les plus caractéristiques sont en vers et ce sont elles qui sont connues et chantées par tous les dengbêj[s]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 89)

he added to what he already knew some new elements he gathered from the following sources:

i. Different songs of the legend sung by the dengbêj[s] who only partially knew it.
ii. Abridged accounts of the subject, in whole or partial, told by the compatriots from different regions.
iii. Some complete narratives, in extenso, of the legend made by the dengbêj[s] who fully knew it.[129] (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 89-90).

He resorted to three main sources in order to create a unified source text as close to the original as possible. Those are parts that he acquired by listening to the dengbêjs who knew the legend in part, as well as some complete parts he collected from more knowledgeable dengbêjs, and also he relied on the abridged accounts of the legend by the narrators from different Kurdish regions.

For the process of obtaining a unified source text, C. Bedirxan also stated: "I believe I have obtained from this text the form of the legend which comes closest to the original that Islamic mores and customs have, depending on the region, partially destroyed or modified."[130] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 90). This attitude shows that he intended to create a unified source text of *Memê Alan* free of Islamic influences and to use this to present his translation for the target readership. The source text that C. Bedirxan classified in accordance with dengbêjs took the following form:

i. A prologue,
ii. Nine episodes, each having several songs.
iii. An epilogue (Ibid.)[131]

[129] 1- Différentes chansons de la légende chantées par les dengbêj ne la connaissant qu'en partie.
2- Récits abrégés du sujet, entier ou partiel, racontés par des compatriotes de différentes contrées.
3- Quelques narrations complètes, in extenso, de la légende faites par des dengbêj la connaissant en entier. (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 89-90).
[130] "Je crois avoir obtenu dans ce texte la forme de la légende qui s'approche le plus de l'originale que les mœurs et coutumes islamiques ont selon les régions partiellement détruite ou modifiée." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 90)
[131] 1. Un prologue,
2. Neuf épisodes, chacune comptant plusieurs chansons.
3. Un épilogue (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 90).

Concerning his translation strategy for *Memê Alan*, C. Bedirxan made the following explanation: "This translation will have different forms: Some passages will be summarized, others will be accounted in abbreviated form and others will be fully translated."[132] (Ibid.). This shows he intended to apply different strategies for different parts of the legend, resorting to summarized and abridged translations, as well as full translation. In this respect, the translated version of *Memê Alan* can be said to embody the practice of *hulasa*, put forward by Demircioğlu (2005, pp. 290-297) and Toska (2015, pp. 73-86). However, it was not possible to indicate exactly which parts he summarized, as the unified Kurdish source text of the translation was never published in *Hawar*.

6.2.3 Fables: "L'homme et le Serpent" "Le Coq et Le Renard"

The analysis of those texts features the strategies applied as well as the information given on Kurdish local governing.

The fables entitled, "Mar û Mirov"[Man and Serpent] and "Dîk û Rovî" [Rooster and Fox] were first published in the 6th issue of *Hawar* and later translated into French, and respectively published in the 7th issue as "L'homme [et] le Serpent" and "Le Coq et Le Renard" under the pseudonym Herekol Azîzan. These renderings, too, served the purpose of translating Kurdish folklore for the western readership, as with the serial of "Textes et Traductions" and "Notices". This entry contributed to the periodical's objective by presenting the readership with samples of Kurdish fables.

In terms of strategy he applied, C. Bedirxan said:

[132] Cette traduction aura différentes formes: Certains passages seront résumés, d'autres seront racontés en abrège, d'autres enfin seront traduits intégralement. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 90)

> We have done a literal translation of these fables in order to maintain, as it is, the style of Kurdish narration and that is why we have admitted some expressions and turns of phrase that are not familiar to the French language and that are only peculiar to the Kurdish language.[133] (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 150).

It is apparent that C. Bedirxan preferred to retain the Kurdish style in the French translation, keeping some Kurdish phrases and specific narrative structure. This is mostly present in the fable "Le Coq et Le Renard", where the Kurdish words "kefxwê" and "kizîr" were preferred to French equivalents. For this reason, C. Bedirxan found it necessary to explain the meaning of these words in the closing part: "The words, *kefxwê* and *kizîr*, kept as they are in the translation, mean the headman of the village and his assistant"[134] (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 150). In addition to explaining the meaning of these words specific to the village governance, he directed the readers to the Kurdish source texts in issue 6[135] by giving their original titles for reference purposes to read it (Ibid.).

6.2.4 "Notice sur la Bible Noire" [A Notice on *Black Bible*]

This serial consists of translated passages from the holy book of Ezidi Kurds, *Mishefa Reş* [Black Book]. These texts were translated into French by K. Bedirxan, and serialized in issues 14, 15 and 16 under the title "Notice sur la Bible Noire" [A Notice on *Black Bible*]. In the serial, across three issues, extracts were translated. related with "creation of the world and human, hymns, prayers, metamorphosis among the Ezidi people, religious chiefs and marriage, the start of the year according

[133] Nous avons fait une traduction littérale de ces fables à fin de conserver, tel quel, le style de la narration Kurde, et c'est pourquoi nous avons admis quelques expressions et tournure de phrases qui ne sont pas familières à la langue française et qui ne sont propres qu'à la langue Kurde. (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 150)
[134] Les mots (kefxwê) et (kizîr) gardés tel quel dans la traduction signifient successivement préposé et pourvoyeur du village. (Bedirxan, 1988, p. 150)
[135] C. Bedirxan mistakenly noted it as issue 5. I replaced it with the correct issue as 6.

to Ezidism, and flags representing the seven angels". Regarding translation of these extracts from the holy book, K. Bedirxan referred to the following points:

> The religion of Ezidism is established on a deformation of the religion of Zoroastrianism, once practiced by all the Kurds. Not having the objective of sharing a study on Ezidism, we will not get into details. We only intend to present to our readers the translation of some extracts from the holy book of the Ezidi. These pieces are in the Kurdish language; they are used in the religious ceremonies of the Ezidi cult. This holy book is called by the name of *Mishefa Reş*, which was used torefer to the ancient holy book of the religion of the Kurds.[136] (K. Bedirxan, 1988, p. 289)

These remarks clearly show that K. Bedirxan aimed to inform western readership about one of the ancient religions of Kurds, Ezidism, and translation fulfills this purpose via renderings of some key parts of *Mishefa Reş*. In this respect, translating the title of the book as "la Bible Noire" instead of today's renderings in French such as "*Le Mechef Rech,* or *Livre Noir*", suggests much about the selection process. It is evident that, in the 1930s, western knowledge about Kurds' faiths, as well as other cultural elements, was very limited in comparison with today. It is apparent that K. Bedirxan, aware of the prevalence in the west of Christianity and its holy book, *The Bible*, chose to represent *Meshafa Rash* in a form familiar to western readership and therefore, translated it as *la Bible Noire*. In addition, it is significant to state that, through translation, K. Bedirxan also intended to highlight Kurds' pre-Islamic faiths by giving information on the Ezidis, which he regarded as a derivative of another ancient religion, Zoroastrianism, previously practiced by all the Kurds. This could be

[136] "La religion yézidi constitue une déformation de la religion zoroastrienne, autre fois professé par tous les Kurdes. Notre but n'étant pas de donner une étude sur la religion yezidi, nous n'entrerons pas dans les détails. Nous désirons seulment présenter à nos lecteurs la traduction de quelques extraits du Livre Saint des yézidis. Ces pièces sont en langue Kurde; on les emploie dans les cérémonies religieuses du culte yézidi. On appelle ce livre Saint du nom de (Mishefa Reş) qui servait à designer l'ancien livre saint de la religion des Kurdes." (K. Bedirxan, 1988, p. 289)

interpreted as a move to show that Kurds had had faiths other than Islam, in order to attract the attention of the non-Muslim target readership. Furthermore, translating a holy book which was originally in Kurdish could also be seen as a way of presenting Kurdish culture to target readers as an already established independent culture with its own distinct language.

6.2.5 Republication of *Hawar*

In order to analyze the translated texts covered as of the 27th issue of *Hawar* after around a six-year hiatus, it is important to refer to its new characteristics after this interval, including regarding translation. In the entry, "La Réapparition de Hawar" [Republication of *Hawar*], published in the 27th issue, the editor, attributed as "la redaction" refers to some innovations covered in the new term, in addition to the continuity of previous content. The author of this article seems to be C. Bedirxan, the chief editor of *Hawar* and the one person responsible for editorial policies. Concerning the main role of the periodical in the previous period, C. Bedirxan indicates that the periodical had been engaged in the task of renovating, developing, and disseminating Kurdish language and literature, and he highlights that this task will continue in the new period (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697). Regarding this task, C. Bedirxan says: "However, the progress already made on this matter will lead us to give it new features, which we want to explain here to the reader[137]" (Ibid.). This statement shows that he wanted to enrich the task about Kurdish language and literature by adding new characteristics. In terms of the main functions the periodical fulfilled previously, and the outcomes of that period, he made the following explanation:

[137] "Cependant, les progrès déjà réalisés en cette matière nous amèneront à lui donner des caractéristiques nouvelles, que nous tenons à expliquer ici au lecteur." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

> The first series of *Hawar* (No. 1 through 26) was essentially devoted to the publication and dissemination of the Kurdish alphabet in Roman script. The undertaking of the magazine, extended by that of various brochures (alphabets, collections of texts, etc.) published at the same time by their publishers, allowed a considerable number of Kurdish young people to learn to write and read their language in Roman letters. In this way, a literate Kurdish public has been formed for whom the magazine must provide today the necessary intellectual nourishment[138]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

Through these remarks C. Bedirxan clearly put forward the division of the periods of *Hawar*. According to him, the first period started with its launch on May 15, 1932 and lasted until August 18, 1935, for 26 issues. Obviously, these explanations also refer to the second period of *Hawar*, with the launch of 27th issue on April 15, 1941, when it reappeared after about a six-year interval. C. Bedirxan's evaluation of the first period also manifests that, through the content published in *Hawar*, readers became literate in Kurdish in Roman script and that the publication created a literate Kurdish public that needed intellectual nourishment. In order to satisfy this intellectual need, C. Bedirxan gave the following details:

> That's why, in *Hawar*, one will henceforth find lots of studies on Kurdish grammar besides the texts from Kurdish popular literature, which always had a distinguished place. The Kurdish literate young people will thus be able to acquire a methodical in-depth knowledge of their language, its resources and wealth[139]. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

For the purpose of contributing to the intellectual development of the Kurdish literate young people, in the new period, C. Bedirxan planned a great number of entries on Kurdish grammar, as well as Kurdish popular literature to help them learn about the many aspects of their language.

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[138] "La première série de HAWAR (No 1 à 26) était essentiellement consacrée à la publication et à la diffusion de l'alphabet kurde en caractères latins. L'action de la revue, prolongée par celle des différentes brochures (alphabets, recueils de textes, etc.) publieés en meme temps par ses editeurs, a permis à un nombre considérable de jeunes gens Kurdes d'apprendre à lire et à écrire leur langue avec lés caractères latins. De la sorte, il s'est constitué un public lettré kurde, auquel la revue se doit d'apporter aujourd'hui la aliment intellectuel nécessaire." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

[139] "C'est pourquoi l'on trouvera desormais, dans HAWAR, outre les textes de littérature populaire kurde qui y ont toujours eu une place de choix, de nombreuses études sur la grammaire Kurde. Les jeunes lettrés kurdes pourront ainsi parvenir à une connaissance méthodique approfondie de leur langue, de ses ressources et de ses richesses." (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

For the new period, C. Bedirxan also wrote about his plans for translation. In this regard, he said:

> The same spirit will inspire the content of the French section of *Hawar*. For the European readers, we will continue to include the translation of the Kurdish literary texts published in the same issue in their original form. But we will add to it, for our Kurdish readers, some selected texts from western literature, accompanied by a brief note and their translation into Kurdish.[140] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

C. Bedirxan stated that the translated texts would also accompany non-translated text, with the same spirit in the second period, and would be richer and more innovative. In this regard, he remarked that they would continue to cover translated Kurdish literary texts in the French section. In fact, his reference to this objective of rendering Kurdish literature into French is also a reconfirmation of the same objective in the first issue where the aims and general program of *Hawar* were revealed. Besides, he openly expressed that this sort of translations addressed Europeans, and also stated that the periodical would also cover translations from Western literature, aimed at Kurdish readers. In fact, this was the first reference to introducing Kurdish readers to western literature through translation as an objective of the periodical. For the same purpose, he also added that they planned to accompany the translated texts from western literature with short informative notes. Obviously, this would help the Kurdish readers to acquire the basic knowledge about source text and the author.

Whilst introducing the new period of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan also aimed to attract the same attention and interest of the initial launch. He expressed those

[140]Un même esprit inspirera le contenu de la partie française de HAWAR. Nous continuerons à y faire figurer, à l'intention de nos lecteurs d'Europe, la traduction des textes littéraires kurdes publiés dans le même numéro sous leur forme originale. Mais nous y ajouterons, à l'intention de nos lecteurs kurdes, quelques textes choisis de la littérature occidentale, accompagnés d'une brève notice et de leur traduction en Kurde. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

feelings as such: "We hope that *Hawar*, in this new form, will quickly regain the precious sympathies that had accompanied it during the first months of its publication.[141] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697).

6.2.6 Translation of Kurdish Proverbs

To introduce western readers to Kurdish cultural identity, translations of various Kurdish songs, fables and the most popular legend, *Memê Alan*, were published across many issues of *Hawar*. For the same purpose, under the psuedonym, Tawûsparêz, Roger Lescot translated into French Kurdish proverbs, riddles and serialized them, published in issues 45 to 50. Both the source items and their renderings into French were published along with comments, if any clarification was needed. The serial was initially entitled as "Proverbes" and under the subtitle "Divers", 161 proverbs about various aspects of life were translated from issue 45 through 49: It is significant to note that the serial focused mainly on proverbs was retitled as "Coutumes et traits de moeurs" as of the issue 48 and in issue 49 the new subtitles "Phénomènes Meteorologiques" and "Énigmes" were added to the main title, respectively. Under the subtitle "Phénomènes Meteorologiques", translations were provided of 4 Kurdish proverbs on meteorological phenomena, with comments. Under the subtitle "Énigmes", Kurdish riddles with their answers were translated into French. It needs to be noted that in issue 49, 7 riddles were translated as a follow-up of the serial in addition to proverbs. Thus, the remaining 5 riddles were published in issue 50, and the last part of the serial was therefore titled as "Énigmes" only. As the last part of the serial, the numbering of the translated Kurdish riddles started with

[141] Nous espérons que HAWAR , sous cette nouvelle forme, retrouvera vite les précieuses sympathies qui I'avaient accompagne durant les premiers mois de sa publication. (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697)

173rd item and ended with 177th item; thus, 177 items of Kurdish proverbs and riddles were provided for the target western readers.

To give an example, the 17th proverb in the series was as such: "Nanê sêlê durû ye." translated as "Le pain cuit sur le "sêl" est à deux faces" (Lescot, 1998, p. 1031). To make this rendering more intelligible, in the parenthesis, he first explained the meaning of "sêl" in Kurdish culture and clarified the meaning of the proverb: "The *sêl* is a metal plate that is heated and on which thin sheets of dough are placed for baking. The bread made thus has two similar faces. This proverb applies to hypocrites"[142] (Ibid.). As this explanation shows, Lescot tried to show that this proverb refers to the hypocrites, and he gave details to reveal the link between the bread baked on sêl and the two-faces of people. To give another example, the 35th proverb reads "Dest destan dişo, vedigere rûyan dişo."[A hand washes the other, and together, they wash the face]. Lescot translated it as "Une main lave l'autre, le deux, le visage". In order to clarify the proverb, he gave the following explanation in the parenthesis: "C'est-à-dire: l'union fait la force" [That is to say: the unity is strength] (Lescot, 1998, p. 1032). By this explanation, Lescot demonstrates that this is one of the proverbs that Kurds use to show the importance of unity.

In terms of the proverbs on meteorological phenomena, the 165th item in issue 49, for instance, is as such: "Adar e, dew li dar e ne li vir, lê çiyayê Şingalê (an li Hop û Hekarê) [When it is March, ayran gets prepared, but not here, on Mount Şingal [Sinjar] (or in Hop and Hekarî)] (Lescot, 1998, p. 1070). Lescot translated this proverb as "Dès Mars, on fait du lait caillé, pas ici, mais au Sindjar (ou: à Hop et Hakkarî). He explains the context of this proverb as follows in the parenthesis: "Se

[142] "Le 'sêl' est une plaque de métal que l'en fait chauffer et sur laquelle en colle de minces feuilles de pâte pour la cuisson. Le pain ainsi obtenu a deux faces semblables. Ce proverbe s'applique aux hypocrites). (Lescot, 1998, p. 1031)

dit chez les Haverkan qui habitent une region ou il fait encore froid en mars" [It is said among the Hevêrkans who live in a region where it is still cold in March] (Ibid.). This note shows that this proverb is indigenous to the region of the Hevêrkan tribe, which colder than Şingal or Hop and Hekarî. This explanation provides details about different geographical regions of Kurds, and the proverbs that emerged from their meteorological characteristics.

As mentioned above, Lescot also translated Kurdish riddles, too, in order to introduce the western readers to different elements of Kurdish culture. The 175th item in issue 50, for example, reads "Sêniya savarê li ser guhê darê (hinar)" [literally, "A tray of wheat [bulgur] on the ear of the tree (pomegranate)] (Lescot, 1998, p. 1078). Lescot rendered it as "Un plateau de blé cassé sur la branche de l'abre (la granade). This example shows how Kurds embodies a pomegranate in the form of a riddle.

6.2.7 Translation of Kurdish songs

Under this sub-heading, I will analyze, through translated songs, how Roger Lescot helped to familiarize the western readership with Kurdish folklore. As another important point in this sub-section, I will also demonstrate how, through the translation of songs and paratextual elements, the visibility of Kurdish women was foregrounded.

As C. Bedirxan had set forth previously, they continued to focus on translations of texts that would give readers in Europe an idea about Kurdish literature and folklore. This continuity makes the relations among different issues more visible across the whole run of the periodical. In this regard, the translation of Kurdish songs played an important part, too. The translation into French of a Kurdish

fall song under the title, "Chant d'Automne" [Fall Songs] in 31st issue, for instance, falls into this category.

In the entry where the translated text was provided, the translator gave certain details about the song and its difference from the previously published ones of the same kind as such:

> The issue 28 of *Hawar* contained the text and translation of two Botanian "paîzok". Today, we are publishing a new fall song, collected this time from the Havêrkan tribe. The tone of this composition, lighter and more graceful, is a little different from that of the first two.[143] ("Chant d'Automne," 1998, p. 779)

As the introductory explanation makes it clear, this translation, similar to the previous ones, serves to introduce western readers to the Kurdish culture and specifically inform them about Kurdish fall songs with clarifications and explanation in the footnotes. This also concretely exemplifies the continuation in the second period of the objective of disseminating Kurdish folklore among western readers by means of translation into French. In other words, the translation of Kurdish songs could be considered the follow-up of the serial “Textes et Traductions”, published in the first period of *Hawar* and mainly covered rendering of songs. Regarding the translation of this song, no attribution was provided; instead in the French section of the contents, the name was marked as ".....". As a common feature throughout *Hawar*, the source text of this song was published with its translation. In the same vein, the French translation of another Kurdish song "Kharabo" [Xerabo, literally meaning "The Bad, The Evil"] by Roger Lescot under the pseudonym "Tawûsparêz" served the same purpose; the information for the target readers also give some

[143] "Le numéro 28 de "Hawar" contenait le texte et la traduction de deux "paîzok " botaniens. Nous publions aujourd'hui un nouveau chant d'automne, recueilli cette fois-ci dans la tribu des Havérkan. Le ton de cette composition, plus léger et plus gracieux, est quelque peu différent de celui des deux premières." ("Chant d'Automne," 1998, p. 779)

significant details about Kurdish culture. Introducing the song "Kharabo", Lescot said in the introductory part of issue 38:

> The song "Kharabo" was collected from the Omeris, a tribe of vine growers settled near Mardin; it therefore presents some dialectal particularities that one will easily recognize while looking through Kurdish text (go for ko; mi for min, etc.). The poem is the work of a young woman abandoned by her fiancé, who left the village to go and get married elsewhere. She had to, on her part, marry one of her cousins. She recalls the memory of her dates with the unfaithful whom she loves and hates at the same time. She curses him but she wants to be the only one to do so, hence she showers with her curses anyone who would allow oneself to reproach her Kharabo. The sixth and seventh stanza contain very interesting cursing formulas for studying Kurdish folk magic[144]. (Lescot, 1998, p. 916)

As Lescot explains, this song is indigenous to a region in Mardin inhabited by the Omeri tribe, as such, he needs to give some dialectal information in order to make it more understandable for the western audience. In this regard, he also summarized the story, concerning a heroine abandoned by her lover, to give readers general idea of the song. To attract readers' attention to some folkloric elements of Kurdish culture, he specifically referred them to 6th and 7th stanza in which he argues that the cursing formulas, the expressions and cultural elements expressed in these offer rich material in the study of Kurdish folk magic. In those stanzas, the heroine expresses her maledictions about her lover, who abandoned her for another (Lescot, 1998, p. 917)

As is clear, the protagonist expressing her feelings is a woman. The selection of this particular song seems to reflect the intention of reinforcing the visibility of women in Kurdish culture. This would probably serve to create a sympathy toward

[144] La chanson de Kharabo a été recueillie chez les Omeris, tribu de vignerons fixée près de Mardine; elle présente de ce fait quelques particularités dialectales que l'on reconnaîtra aisément en parcourant le texte kurde (go pour ko; mi pour min, etc.). Le poème est l'oeuvre d'une jeune femme abandonnée par son fiancé, qui a quitté le village pour aller se marier ailleurs. Elle a dû, de son côté, épouser un de ses cousins. Elle évoque le souvenir de ses rendezvous avec l'infidèle qu'elle aime et déteste tout à la fois. Elle le maudit, mais veut être seule à le faire, aussi couvre-t-elle de ses imprécations quiconque se permettrait d'adresser des reproches à son Kharabo. Les sixième et septième strophes contiennent des formules de malédiction très intéressantes pour l'étude de la magie populaire kurde. (Lescot, 1998, p. 916)

the Kurds. This argument is more clearly and strongly supported in the introductory part, "Bavê Emîn", published in issue 40 (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951).

This song was translated by Diya Ferzo [Mother Ferzo] (For more details about this pseudonym, see 5.3.1 Celadet Alî Bedirxan and his pseudonyms). As a common feature of translated songs in the periodical, it was published along with the source text in the French section under the title "Traduction" [Translation].

In the introductory part, Diya Ferzo provided the following details: "The song that we are presenting to the readers of *Hawar* today was transcribed from an Odeon disc recorded by the Kurdish singer, Miryam Khanoum [Meryem Xan], originally from Botan (Jelali tribe) (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951).

In these details, there is a reference to Meryem Xan, a Kurdish singer who struggled for recognition as a singer during a period when females were not accepted in this role. The selection of a song by a woman now respected as the first woman singer and dengbêj is deliberate and fits the purpose of bringing to the forefront the visibility of women. In addition, with this song, the visibility of women in Kurdish culture was provided by a historical strong figure, Perixan, who led her tribe after the passing of her husband. In this regard, in the introductory part, the story of the song and Perixan's state of becoming successor to her husband was accounted as such:

> The poem tells the story of the death of Ahmad Agha, the former leader of Reman, who, after having spent most of his life in an open fight against the authority of the Sultan, ended up falling during a battle against government forces. When Ahmad Agha passed away, his eldest son, Amin, was still too young to succeed him. It was therefore Perikhan, the wife of the deceased, who took in his place the command of the tribe[145] (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951)

[145] Le poème relate là mort de Ahmad agha, ancien chef des Remân, qui, après avoir passé la majeure partie de sa vie en lutte ouverte contre l'autorité du Sultan, finit par tomber au cours d'un engagement avec les forces gouvernementales. Lors de la disparition d'Ahmad agha, son fils aîné, Amin, était encore trop jeune pour lui succéder. Ce fut donc Perikhân, la femme du défunt qui prit à sa place le commandement de la tribu. (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951)

This explanation shows that the song concerns the death of Ahmad Agha, the leader of the Reman tribe, killed in a fight against the Ottoman authority. After his death, since his eldest son was too young to lead, his wife took the position.

The details given about Perixan shows that her impressive leadership made her more famous than her husband:

> Being as intelligent and courageous as she was pretty, she continued to lead the fight against central power, even more aggressively than her husband had done. She rode on horseback, carried arms and marched at the head of her warriors, accompanied by dengbêj[s] (public poets) who sang on her achievements. Her reputation eclipsed that of Ahmad Agha before long, whose children were soon known only as "sons of Perikhan" and nobody called Amin, the eldest, other than Eminê Pêrîxanê [Emin, the son of Perikhan], which displeased him greatly indeed. [146] (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951)

As manifest in these details, Perixan's positive features were highlighted, such as her intelligence, bravery and success in the battle. Furthermore, it is stated she successfully commanded her warriors from horseback, leading them in the march, and accompanying her dengbêjs in victory songs. In fact, these were acts which very few women of that time could achieve. It is also remarked that she was more successful than her husband against the Ottoman forces and her achievements in war and government eclipsed those of her husband, so much so that her eldest son was called by her name instead of his father's. It seems that her son was not happy with this as, meanwhile, it was common to call someone by a man's name. Perixan's case shows that her strong character and leadership had led to changes in the conventional attitudes.

[146] Aussi intelligente et courageuse que jolie, elle continua de mener le combat contre le pouvoir central, avec encore plus d'acharnement que n'avait fait son mari. Elle montait à cheval, portait les armes, et marchait à la tête de ses guerriers, accompagnée de dengbêj (poetes populaires) qui chantaient ses exploits. Sa réputation ne tarda pas à éclipser celle d'Ahmad agha, dont les enfants ne furent bientôt plus connus que sous le nom de "fils de Perikhan" personne n'appela jamais Amin, l'aîné, autrement que Eminê Pêrîxanê, ce qui d'ailleurs, lui déplaisait fort. (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951)

The translator of this song aimed to show western readers that Kurds had had powerful women figures as leaders, influential in their society and held in high respect. Therefore, a song showing this, whose words were articulated by a woman, Perixan, and which expressed her feelings on the death of her husband fighting against the Ottoman authority. However, the translator also wanted to demonstrate that Perixan was not the only strong figure in Kurdish culture, but that there were many similar strong women characters in Kurdish history. In this respect, Diya Ferzo, in the introductory part, said:

> The case of Perikhan is not the only one in Kurdish annals. On the contrary, they preserve the memory of many energetic women who knew how to take in hand the destiny of their tribes and whose political role had often more than a local importance. One of the most influential figures of Iraqi Kurdistan during the last war was the famous Adela Khanoum, whom the English travelers made us familiar with.[147] (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951)

As this statement indicates, Diya Ferzo also suggests that the cases of Perixan and many others reveals that their political power and influence went beyond their regional boundaries, and in order to reinforce this view, Diya Ferzo gave the example of another strong leader in Iraqi Kurdistan, Adela Khanoum [Adêle Xanim], who was reported by English travelers of the time.

6.2.8 "Mame Alan: La Partie d'echecs" [*Memê Alan*: The Chess Game]

The legend of *Memê Alan* was translated by C. Bedirxan into French and serialized from issue 4 until issue 28 under the title "Notices sur la littérature moeurs et coutumes Kurdes". "The Chess Game", a rather obscure part of the legend, was sent

[147] Le cas de Perikhân , n'est pas unique dans les annales kurdes. Elles conservent au contraire le souvenir de nombreuses femmes énergiques qui surent prendre en main les destinées de leurs tribus, et dont le rôle politique eut souvent plus qu'une importance locale. L'un des personnages les plus influents du Kurdistan irakien était, durant la dernière guerre, la fameuse Adela Khanoum, avec laquelle nous ont familiarisé les voyageurs anglais. (Ferzo, 1998, p. 951)

to *Hawar* for Roger Lescot to make use of it. This part was translated into French by Lescot as "Mame Alan: La Partie d'échecs" and published in issue 36.

In the introductory part, Lescot informed the readers that "[t]he lines that we are going to read are the translation of a generally little-known passage from the legend of *Memê Alan* that one of the collaborators of *Hawar* was lucky enough to be able to note." [148] (Lescot, 1998, p. 878). Moreover, regarding its connection with the previous translated parts of the legend and its content, Lescot said:

> The "Chess Game" is located a little after the diverse episodes whose summary has been published so far (cf. *Hawar*, No: 25): the tree Jelali brothers, having agreed to protect the love of Mem and Zîn, manage to have two dates. However, Beko the traitor, works for the failure of Mem. His intrigues are foiled many times. He finally persuades Mîr Ezîn to lay a trap for the hero and poison him.[149] (Lescot, 1998, p. 878).

As these details about the legend demonstrate, a connection with the serialized translation of *Memê Alan*, published in previous issues, is established referring to the chess game which took place after those events previously translated.

Memê Alan is clearly regarded as a piece of Kurdish culture very suitable for introducing western readers to Kurdish folklore. Lescot's aim was to follow in C. Bedirxan's footsteps and thus to translate this difficult-to-trace part of the legend.

Regarding the source text, Lescot stated in the introductory part that it was provided by one of the collaborators of *Hawar*. Interestingly, this source text was also published in the same issue, separately, with an introduction, under the title "Ji Memê Alan: Lehîstika Şetrencê" [From *Memê Alan*: The Chess Game] and ascribed to Stranvanê Hawarê, another pseudonym of C. Bedirxan, i.e., the collaborator was,

[148] Les lignes que l'on va lire sont la traduction d'un passage généralement peu connu de la légende de Mamé Alan, et qu'un des collaborateurs de "Hawar" a eu la chance de pouvoir noter. (Lescot, 1998, p. 878)

[149] La "Partie d'échecs" se situe un peu après les divers épisodes dont le résumé a été publié jusqu'ici (cf. Hawar, No 25): les trois frères Djelali s'étant mis d'accord pour protéger les amours de Mam et de Zin, les jeunes gens parviennent à avoir deux rendez-vous. Cependant, Beko le traître, travaille à la perte de Mam. Ses intrigues sont déjouées à plusieurs reprises. Il persuade enfin à Mîr Ezîn de tendre un piège au héros et de l'empoisonner. (Lescot, 1998, p. 878)

in fact, C. Bedirxan himself. His explanation in the introductory part both gives details about the recovery of the source text, and Lescot's intention to publish the French translation of the whole legend in book form.

In this regard, C. Bedirxan said in Kurdish: "I have heard that Lezgîn Axa is going to publish *Memê Alan* along with a French translation. Likewise, it has reached my ears that although Axa has many versions, he does not have the song of chess game in any of them"[150] (Stranvanê Hawarê, 1998, p. 875). As these remarks show, the collaborator wanted to contribute to Lescot's efforts to do a complete rendering out of his versions, and provided Lescot with chess game passage, which until then, he had not seen. It is important to recall that "Lezgîn Axa" [Lezgin Agha] was of the Kurdish name for Roger Lescot

> In terms of the state of the source text, he wrote as follows:
>
> After all, there are few dengbêjs and singers who know it. I looked through my old papers and found a version in poor condition. This version might not be something perfect and satisfactory but if Axa favors an incomplete one over having nothing, then this version must be of use to him.[151] (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 875)

From this explanation it is clear that very few dengbêjs knew this particular part of the legend and Roger Lescot found it difficult to obtain a version containing it until Stranvanê Hawarê provided it for him.

[150] "Min bihîstiye ko Lêzgîn axa dike Memê Alan digel tercimeke frensizi belav bike. Dîsan bi guhê min ve kirine ko bi axê re herçend gelek guharto hebin jî di tiwan de strana lêhîstika şetrencê nîne" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 875).

[151] "Ji xwe kêm dengbêj û stranvan hene ko pê dizanin. Di nav kaxezên xwe ên kevin de ez lê geriyam û minhoke peregende bi destê min ket. Heye ko ev minho ne tistekî tekûz û bi ser û guh e. Lê heke axê kêm û nîvcobûnê di ser nînbûnê re girt divêt ev minho bi kêrî wî bêt" (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 875).

6.2.9 Melayê Djeziri [Melayê Cizirî]

In this entry, through translated poetry, the western readership is introduced to the classical period of Kurdish literature. In the second period of *Hawar*, it was aimed to introduce the Kurdish readership to western literature through translations provided with short notes on the author and source texts. Similarly, the western readership was introduced to Kurdish folklore and literature through renderings into French. For this purpose, Roger Lescot translated some qasidas by renowned Kurdish classical poet, Melayê Cizirî (1570-1640) in the French section of issue 35. Lescot published this entry entitled "Melaye Djeziri" under the pseudonym "Tawûsparêz".

To familiarize western readers with Kurdish classical literature, Lescot first wrote a long biography of Melayê Cizirî and gave details about his *Divan* and poetic style. In contrast to the notes addressed to Kurdish readership on the French authors whose poems were translated into Kurdish, this was far more detailed and lengthier. At the beginning, Lescot mentioned Melayê Cizîrî along with Ehmedê Xanî, whom he defined as the two most popular classical writers of Kurdish literature (Lescot, 1998, p. 859). Regarding Melayê Cizîrî, he informed the readers as follows:

> Melayê Cizîrî left a divan of about 2000 verses. The ideas and sentiments he expresses are those of Persian Sufism: the wine of ecstasy, the joys and sufferings of mystical love (that are often mistaken for those of worldly love), expectation of return to the Universal Principle form the main themes expressed by the poet.[152] (Lescot, 1998, p. 859)

Here, Lescot tries to explain Kurdish classical literature on the basis of Persian literature, which influenced it, and was relatively much more known in the western intellectual milieu. In this regard, he states that Cizîrî's sentiments could be explained through Persian Sufism, which involves themes of mystical rather than worldly love.

[152] Melayê Djeziri a laissé un divan d'environ 2000 vers. Les idées et les sentiments qu'il y exprime sont ceux du soufisme persan, le vin de l'extase, les joies et les peines de l'amour mystique (qui se confondent souvent avec celles de l'amour terrestre), l'attente du retour au Principe Universel, forment les principaux thèmes chantés par le poète. (Lescot, 1998, p. 859).

In terms of the ghazels that he selected to translate he says:

> The two ghazels that we translate (II and IV, cf. Kurdish text, p. 4-5) will allow to have an idea about his work. As we noted above, the style is heavily influenced by Iran. Persian and Arabic words are numerous in the vocabulary of Mele, much more than in that of Ehmedê Xanî. The nature of the inspiration of his collection and the difficulties it presents for reading, make it much more popular among sheikhs and mullahs than among other classes of Kurdish society. Even nowadays, it is read and commented on in Koranic schools.[153] (Lescot, 1998, p. 859)

Through these details, Lescot indicates that he translated two of his ghazels in order to give the target audience an idea about Melayê Cizirî's poetry. In this respect, he also remarks that his style was extremely influenced by Persian literature, frequently using Persian and Arabic words in his poems. Regarding the influences, Lescot also argues that Cizîrî was largely influenced by Hafez and his successors (Lescot, 1998, p. 859). He also draws attention to the fact that, as a result of the complexities of the content, Cizîrî's poems became more popular among educated religious circles. As he referred , even at that time, Cizîrî's poems were still discussed in Koranic schools.

Lescot's initiative to introduce Kurdish classical literature to western readers through an entry on the life of Melayê Cizîrî and his poetry, which dates from 16th and 17th century and his reference to another Kurdish classical poet, Ehmedê Xanî, all seem to serve a common purpose, aligned with C. Bedirxan's Kurdish cultural identity: to show that Kurds, similar to other nations, had an established literature based on centuries-old classical works.

[153] Les deux ghazels que nous traduisons (II et IV, cf. texte kurde, p. 4 - 5) permettront de se faire une idée de son oeuvre. Comme nous le remarquions plus haut, le style en est fortement influencé par l'Iran. Les mots persans et arabes sont nombreux dans le vocabulaire du Mela, beaucoup plus que dans celui d'Ahmad Khani. La nature de l'inspiration de son recueil, et les difficultés qu'en présentent la lecture, font qu'il est beaucoup plus populaire parmi les chaykhs et les mollahs que dans les autres classes de la société kurde. De nos jours encore, il est lu et commenté dans les écoles coraniques. (Lescot, 1998, p. 859).

In terms of the source text, Roger Lescot selected the 2nd and 4th qasida of the entry entitled "Dîwana Melê", published in the same issue. This entry was attributed to Qedrî Cemîl Paşa, another Kurdish intellectual based in Damascus. The introduction provided for this entry shows that Qedrî Cemîl Paşa was the first to transliterate one of the versions of Melayê Cizîrî's *Divan* into Roman script, and then it was serialized from the 35th issue of *Hawar*. Another important aspect about this transliteration is that C. Bedirxan compared this with another version at hand and published the differences in footnotes throughout the serial (Cemîl Paşa, 1998, pp. 848-850).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In the course of my research for the present dissertation, my main argument has centered on translations in the periodical *Hawar* that played a pivotal role in the formation of a Kurdish cultural identity as envisaged by C. Bedirxan, who not only launched the periodical in 1932, but continued to run it as publisher, editor-in-chief and leading translator for eleven years, despite certain interruptions due to various hardships. However, despite this, he did not seem to be interested in explicitly defining his notion of Kurdish cultural identity. Instead, in the first issue he chose to offer a list of the prospective subjects/topics to be covered in the periodical. C. Bedirxan's conception of a Kurdish cultural identity had to be probed and excavated through an in-depth analysis of *Hawar*, the central aim of my dissertation. Stuart Hall's definition and delineation of a non-essentialist and flexible concept of cultural identity, as well as the methodological bridging of translation and periodical studies, showed the way forward for a close analysis of *Hawar* in terms of the making of a Kurdish cultural identity. Such an analysis would not only reflect C. Bedirxan's notion of a Kurdish cultural identity embedded in the sum total of his work on the periodical, but also his (per)formative agency as the founder, publisher, chief editor, contributing writer and translator of *Hawar*.

Among the studies carried out on *Hawar* so far, my dissertation is the first to foreground and analyze the major role of translations and their translators led by C. Bedirxan. Another feature that distinguishes it from the work of previous scholars on *Hawar* is that, while their main concern focused on the making of a Kurdish national

identity, mine has concentrated on the significance of a non-essentialist concept of a Kurdish cultural identity.

From a theoretical perspective, instead of an essentialist approach toward identity, I adopted Stuart Hall's concept of "cultural identity" (1990, pp. 222- 227), which allows much more space for thinking about "identity" as an ongoing process of formation, bringing together the past and the present, as well as the future. Hall's conception also points at both ruptures and continuities in the formation of a cultural identity, as can be seen in the Kurdish case represented by the periodical *Hawar*. With an in-depth analysis of the periodical codes of the magazine in Chapters 4 and 5, I have shown that *Hawar* has played the central role in the promotion and dissemination of an idea of Kurdish cultural identity that C. Bedirxan and his circle aimed to inculcate in Kurds living in different territories. Furthermore, I have concluded that this Kurdish cultural identity was conceived in such a way as to unify all Kurds under a common identity that embodied all dialectal variations of the Kurdish language – e.g., Kurmanji, Sorani and Zazaki – as well as various religious beliefs such as Islam, Ezidism and Zoroastrianism. I was also able to demonstrate that *Hawar* was enriched by the practice of transfer of Western cultural, literary, and social texts into Kurdish culture thanks to C. Bedirxan's endeavor to establish an interactive relationship between Western and Kurdish cultures by means of translations from Kurdish into French, and from French and various other languages into Kurdish. Thus, I was able to underscore the importance of C. Bedirxan's dual East-West orientation as a major function of his editorial policy that was to address both Kurdish and French (hence Western) readers, by analyzing it in terms of "culture planning" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 98-99) and of its expansion as

"transcultural planning", a concept coined by Ceyda Özmen in her PhD dissertation on the Turkish periodical *Yıldız* (2016, p. 51-60).

Establishing certain methodological connections between translation studies and periodical studies is of great value in the work of Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar (2014; 2019) and Özmen (Ibid). Such connections, as demonstrated by my analyses in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 in particular, have also benefited my analysis of C. Bedirxan's planning of cultural transfer from Kurdish sources to the French (western) cultural domain (as reflected in *Hawar*). However, while in the case of Özmen's work transcultural transfer of values (and its planning) represents the direction from a dominant American culture to a more peripheral Turkish culture, my findings have shown that C. Bedirxan's transcultural planning in *Hawar* through translations from Kurdish into French in fact *also* involved transfer of cultural values in the opposite direction, from a peripheral (Kurdish) culture to a dominant (French) culture: an important conclusion that has to be drawn from transcultural planning *also* in the reverse direction as exemplified in the case of *Hawar* – a point that introduces a completely new dimension to the concept of transcultural planning.

The perspective the periodical codes offered helped me to examine the "common habitus" (Philpotts, 2012, p. 42) of *Hawar* and thus the "translational habitus" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014, p. 27) of the periodical, which as a whole, offered rich material about how translators – mainly C. Bedirxan – used translated and indigenous texts to promote and inculcate the notion of a multi-layered Kurdish cultural identity. My analyses in Chapters 4 and 5, with a particular focus on compositional and social codes led me to the conclusion that "common habitus" of *Hawar*, which was largely supplemented by "translational habitus" of the magazine,

was characterized by the textual productions selected and published by C. Bedirxan to promote and reinforce his conception of Kurdish cultural identity.

The present research has shown that C. Bedirxan played the role of a "free agent", who was engaged in a "culture planning" (Even-Zohar, 2010, pp. 98-99) through the launch of *Hawar,* and who aimed for the dissemination of his imagined ideas on Kurdish cultural identity. In my study (in Chapter 6) of C. Bedirxan's paratextual explanation of the translation of Alfred de Vigny's poem, "The Death of the Wolf" ("La mort du loup") , which he dedicated to his late brother Sefder, (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 768), I discovered that the idea of launching a Kurdish periodical as a medium that would be vital in a politically failed context might have entered his consciousness as early as in 1922, when he fled Turkey for Germany, a decade before he launched *Hawar* in 1932 in Damascus.

A major part of his planning activity for *Hawar* was to form and introduce a Roman alphabet to unify Kurds in the use of a common script, instead of Arabic . Therefore, besides his work in selecting texts to be translated or published in Kurdish in *Hawar* and his efforts to distribute the magazine to a wider readership, C. Bedirxan stood out with his major achievement in introducing and adapting the Roman alphabet to Kurdish (The subject I focused on in Chapter 3). As C. Bedirxan explained, this was an undertaking that had spanned thirteen years of development before it was introduced to the Kurdish readership through the publication of *Hawar* in 1932 (Bedirxan 1998: 264). I have to conclude that opting for the creation and dissemination of the Roman instead of the Arabic alphabet, then in use for Kurdish, was a radical initiative in itself. The Arabic script, being the script of the Qur'an, having religious connotations, was in a much more advantageous position to impose itself. In fact, it would have been easier for C. Bedirxan to follow the tradition of

publishing Kurdish periodicals in Arabic script, but he was convinced that the Roman alphabet was more fitting for the linguistic features of Kurdish. Furthermore, C. Bedirxan was concerned about avoiding any reactions while reinforcing the acceptance of the Roman alphabet, and, upon C. Bedirxan's request, Şêx Evdirehmanê Garisî, a respected shaikh and an advocate of Bedirxan's undertaking, issued a *fatwa* in support of the publication of *Hawar* in Roman script (Bedirxan, 1998, pp. 223-225).

A closer look at the paratexts has shown that C. Bedirxan also resorted to translations into Kurdish in order to legitimize his alphabet and for this purpose, he translated, for instance, the views of German orientalists such as Martin Hartmann and Helmuth von Moltke, which reinforced the argument for the suitability of the Roman alphabet for the Kurdish language. Indeed, C. Bedirxan's initiative in introducing a Roman alphabet appears to have drawn its motives from previous discussions among Kurdish intellectuals in Istanbul on the adoption of a new alphabet for their mother tongue (Önen, 2012, pp. 86-88). It is also important to conclude that, despite efforts to introduce other versions of the Roman alphabet both in Soviet Russia and Iraq, it was C. Bedirxan's version that gained currency with the publication of *Hawar*. Today, both Kurmanji, the most widely spoken dialect of Kurdish, and Zazaki are written in this alphabet. Significantly, although the Sorani dialect is still written in Arabic script, C. Bedirxan's creation appears to be the strongest alternative for those preferring to write Kurdish in Roman script. That C. Bedirxan considered the adoption of Roman alphabet as a crucial step for the unification of the Kurdish dialects is worth mentioning in this context. My analysis of compositional codes and paratexts in Chapters 4 and 6 indicates that he used his own writings and translations to promote the use of Roman alphabet. He frequently

named the Roman alphabet he created as the "Kurdish alphabet" throughout *Hawar* and invited the readers of dialects other than Kurmanji, especially the Sorani speaking Kurds, to adopt it.

The adoption of the Roman alphabet also meant building a Kurdish cultural identity in relation to western thoughts and values. This seems to be the underlying reason for C. Bedirxan's efforts to bridge Kurdish culture with western culture; on the one hand appealing to the western audience through translations on different aspects of Kurdish language, literature and folklore, and on the other, appealing to the Kurdish audience through translations and indigenous texts aiming to increase literacy and enhance awareness of cultural values creating a dialogue with western cultural values. I have discovered in my analyses that, for this purpose, there were translated texts in *Hawar*, particularly for the Kurdish readership. These included texts on western literature, and the opinions of western orientalists mentioned above, who appreciated the distinctive features of Kurdish society, and Kurds' closeness to western nations, and importance of the adoption of a Roman alphabet, as well as that of unity among Kurds. In the same vein, through examples of translated news and stories on the second world war, *Hawar* contributed to Kurdish readers' acquaintance with different parts of the world, especially the west, also encouraging them to take an ideological stand with the Allied countries such as England, France, and the USA. An analysis of the compositional codes made it clear that those journalistic translations concomitantly led to the transmission of some everyday western values, as could be observed, for instance, in the intriguing, translated pieces of the serial, "Hindik Rindik" [Short and Sweet].

A biographical analysis of different aspects of agency in Chapter 3 has shown that many factors were involved in the development of C. Bedirxan's' agency that led

him to the launching of a periodical for the benefit of Kurdish society: – i.e. his education in Istanbul and later in Germany, his early works and writings in the periodicals published in Istanbul during the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918), his interactions and engagements with intellectual and political figures in family circles, his earlier travels in various places due to his father's job and periods of exile, as well as his education in many languages and interactions with many cultures.

I should draw attention to the fact that C. Bedirxan's intellectual undertakings, the most important of all being *Hawar*, are still influential today in shaping the Kurds' linguistic and literary life. My analyses on compositional codes in Chapter 4 indicate that *Hawar*, in this context, still stands out with its rich content and composition. The contents of *Hawar* are still available in book form to the current Kurdish readership. These all point at how influential C. Bedirxan's agency was.

Worth noting is yet another aspect of C. Bedirxan's agency that was revealed by my findings (in my analysis in Chapter 5) that has led me to conclude that, through the adoption of multiple pseudonyms or pen-names, he enriched the contents of the periodical as if they were written by numerous different contributors, thus earning greater prestige for *Hawar* as a magazine displaying select and able translators and authors. It is of prime importance to conclude at this point that, in this way, C. Bedirxan also contributed to the periodical's "polyphonic" (Bakthin, 1999, p. 3) and "heteroglottal" (Bakhtin, 2008, p. 263) make-up by enriching the composition with diversity in content and by creating a venue for the visibility of different personae and audibility of different voices. Undoubtedly, using pen-names was not the only strategy to foster heteroglossia and polyphony; he also encouraged contributions from many young Kurdish authors and translators such as Cegerxwîn,

K. Bedirxan, Osman Sebrî, Qedrîcan, Nûreddîn Zaza, Rewşen Bedirxan and the Frenchman whom he befriended, Roger Lescot. Through his assistance and encouragement for those authors and translators in writing and reading in Kurdish, as well as in developing their writing skills, he ensured the presence of different contributions and voices. Among these, Roger Lescot, for example, joined the cadre of *Hawar* both as a translator and author after C. Bedirxan's collaboration with him, including being his Kurdish teacher. This collaboration also bore fruit even in the period that covered the post-*Hawar* era: Lescot completed a Kurdish grammar book he started with C. Bedirxan, drawing on his related contributions in *Hawar*. Lescot also contributed to many other works and projects, such as publishing research on Ezidi Kurds and establishing a Kurdish chair at an academic institution in Paris. My examination of the compositional and social codes of *Hawar* in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively clearly indicated that the dynamic relationship between the readers and authors also contributed to *Hawar*'s polyphonic aspect. Moreover, the analysis of these codes has demonstrated that the multi-dialectal nature of *Hawar,* as well as its bi-alphabetical[154] and bilingual composition, all added to the "heteroglossia" (Ibid.) of the periodical.

In particular, through analyses of the contents of *Hawar* in terms of compositional codes in Chapter 4 and of social codes in Chapter 5, as well as the analysis on paratexts in Chapter 6, I have come to the conclusion that the Kurdish cultural identity C. Bedirxan was trying to generate had multiple layers, the most overarching of which concerned: *(a)* a dialogic relationship between Kurdish and western cultures, *(b)* the Roman script for Kurdish language dialects, and setting the norms for a simple Kurdish prose style, *(c)* tolerance for all religious beliefs and *(d)*

[154] The first twenty-three issues were published in both Roman and Arabic script while the remaining thirty-four issues were purely in Roman script.

Kurdish/western, canonical/popular literature that led the way to the development of modern Kurdish literature.

In terms of a dialogic relationship between Kurdish and western cultures, the analysis of the paratexts of the translations in *Hawa*r in Chapter 6 indicates that C. Bedirxan strove for a Kurdish cultural identity that embraced a literate and educated community acquainted with the current world developments, especially with Western literary, scientific and cultural developments, as well as with knowledge and awareness of Kurdish values ranging from linguistic and literary aspects to religious, historical and social ones. To build a relationship or a "dialogism" (a concept attributed to Bakhtin in Holquist, 2002, p. 14; pp. 39-44) with western thought and culture, C. Bedirxan not only translated literary and western journalistic pieces, but also wanted to introduce Kurdish readers to western scientific and cultural developments. The serial published in *Hawar*, titled "Yên Ko Xizmeta Însaniyetê Kirine" [Those Who Served Humanity] is an outstanding example of such efforts. In this serial, which was continued in *Ronahî* (1942-1945), the periodical he launched toward the end of the publication of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan introduced readers to figures like Louis Pasteur, the French chemist and microbiologist, James Young Simpson, the Scottish scientist in the field of medicine and Johannes Gutenberg, the founder of the printing press in Europe. This sort of coverage in the periodical demonstrates that translations in *Hawar* contributed to Kurdish linguistic and literary fields and also served to cultivate Kurdish readership about scientific and cultural developments in the western history. Furthermore, to foster the "dialogism" (Ibid.) between Kurdish and western readerships, C. Bedirxan introduced western readership to many aspects of Kurdish cultural identity through translated texts. In these, he particularly emphasized the existence of an independent Kurdish culture

and foregrounded its features that are similar to those of Western culture – e.g., the emphasis on the fact that Kurdish is an Indo-European language.

The inclusion of all three dialects of the Kurdish language to be used and especially promoted for a simple prose style was another all-embracing layer in Bedirxan's grand Roman alphabet project in building a Kurdish cultural identity. As the composition of *Hawar* demonstrates, the cultural identity that C. Bedirxan had in mind welcomed all Kurdish dialects: in the periodical, even though the majority of textual productions were in the Kurmanji dialect, the number of texts in Sorani were also considerable. Although fewer in number, I observed that much effort was exerted in covering Zazaki dialect. In this respect, C. Bedirxan took the initiative to publish the *mawlid* in Zazaki and thanks to his efforts, it was published as the fourth book on the list of "Kitêbxana Hawarê" [The Library of *Hawar*] (See Figure 23).

I have demonstrated that the translators' vastly diverse textual productions in *Hawar* also contributed to the development of Kurdish language – an important component of the Kurdish cultural identity that C. Bedirxan aimed to form. By exploring the news on and memories of war in *Hawar* – largely translated into Kurdish from American and English newspapers, – which particularly drew my attention in Chapter 4, I concluded that those translations contributed to the development of a simple Kurdish prose. It appears that those journalistic translations that were largely covered in the serials such as "Rewşa Dinyayê" [The State of World], "Hindik Rindik" [Short and Sweet] and in the texts on war memories impacted Kurdish prose writing and established a model for later periodical publications. In this respect, I could say, it is possible to draw parallels between C. Bedirxan's practical efforts via those types of translations in *Hawar*, and İbrahim Şinasi's (1826-1871) achievement, as the founder and chief editor of *Tasvir-i Efkar*

(Illustration of Ideas), in the second half of nineteenth century. In *Tasvir-i Efkar*, the first private Turkish newspaper, Şinasi published serialized translations (Paker, 2011b, pp. 556-557). Saliha Paker (2011b) explains Şinasi's approach toward those translations as follows: "He used journalism as a medium to put into practice his policy for simple Turkish prose, which had a lasting influence on the future of modern Turkish language and literature" (p. 557). Paker also points at the fact that "both literary and non-literary translations in newspapers and periodicals served as one of the most important means of implementing this policy", which was a model for writers and journalists aiming at creating an easier communication with their readers (Ibid.). Likewise, the literary and non-literary translations published in the whole run of *Hawar* played a similar role for the Kurdish language. It is important to note that the writing policy launched by *Hawar* was reinforced in *Ronahî, Roja Nû* and *Stêr*, which were published toward the end of the publication of *Hawar* and later. Indeed, those translations in *Hawar* laid the foundation for today's Kurdish prose and, similar to the case of the Turkish language, those textual productions in *Hawar* still have a lasting influence on today's simpler prose. I have observed that, to achieve an effective and dynamic Kurdish, the current Kurdish authors still follow the prose style introduced in *Hawar* and fostered by literary richness of the magazine's texts. In terms of setting norms for written Kurdish, *Hawa*r is still regarded as an authority today (Cewerî, 1998, p. 17).

I must also mention that C. Bedirxan's main difference from Şinasi was that at the same time he undertook the tremendous responsibility of introducing Kurdish readers to the Roman alphabet he created. This involved extra effort . However, it is possible to say that his undertaking of developing a Kurdish alphabet, still bears some similarities with the 1928 Turkish alphabet reform. In this regard, I should note

that C. Bedirxan's Kurdish alphabet reform could be interpreted to some degree as a counterpart of this. As was discussed in detail in Chapter 3, C. Bedirxan made some amendments in his alphabet in accordance with the Turkish Roman alphabet with a view to addressing the majority of the Kurds living in Turkey, despite being critical of the denial policies implemented in Turkey at the time.

Tolerance for all religious beliefs was yet another overarching layer that contributed to C. Bedirxan's conception of cultural identity. My in-depth exploration of religious texts in *Hawar* in Chapter 4, has indicated that, in addition to dialectal differences, the cultural identity proposed by C. Bedirxan encompassed all the Kurds, regardless of past or current religion. That is to say, it welcomed both Islamic values adopted by most of current Kurdish society, and those of Ezidism, as well as Zoroastrianism, the ancient religion of Kurds. Coupled with relevant indigenous texts, the translations in the religious domain comprised a serialized commentary on the Qur'an, translations of hadiths, the pieces translated on Zoroastrianism and translations on Ezidism, published in the serial "Notice sur la Bible Noire," (in issues 14, 15 and 16 respectively on December 31, 1932, January 23, 1933 and February 15, 1933). These served to introduce and disseminate this aspect of Kurdish cultural identity both among Kurds and among western readers. I should note that these religious translations aimed to increase tolerance and respect toward different religious aspects of Kurdish cultural identity, thus defying any potential disunity that might be caused by religious differences among Kurds (Hebeş, 1996, p. 81). Furthermore, the analysis of translated religious texts has shown that the publication of translated parts of the Qur'an and hadiths (from Arabic into Kurmanji, drawing on Turkish, Arabic and German commentaries) in the Roman alphabet brought support for *Hawar,* also furthering the dissemination of the Roman

alphabet and the contents of *Hawar* among the Kurdish readership. It is worth noting that this dissemination would have also benefited monolingual Kurds as they were informed in their own mother tongue.

Bedirxan's broadscale selection and inclusion of Kurdish and western translations of canonical and popular literature so as to enrich the contents of *Hawar* had a long-lasting impact on the development of modern Kurdish literature and must, therefore, be considered yet another visionary aspect of the Kurdish cultural identity C. Bedirxan endeavored to form. The thorough analysis of compositional codes in Chapter 4 has revealed that, besides contributions to the language itself, translators' efforts in *Hawar* also contributed to the development of modern Kurdish literature, introducing genres such as western poetry and short stories. As of issue 27, C. Bedirxan published in *Hawar* the translated poems by Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Lamennais, Rudyard Kipling, Charles Baudelaire and Alfred de Vigny as well as short stories by writers such as Alphonse Daudet, Frank Stockton and Maurice Bouchor. In fact, regarding short stories, compared to the very limited coverage in the previous Kurdish periodicals, the publication in *Hawar* of both translated and indigenous short stories was more systematic and far more numerous. Though it was scant, the genre of spy-fiction was also first introduced through translations in *Hawar*. Furthermore, it is possible to see an example of translated pieces from a self-help book, *How to Win Friends* by Dale Carnegie. In addition to spy-fiction and self-help texts, translated news and war memories can also be considered examples of popular literature. In terms of self-help books, translation history of the Turkish self-help literature appears to have been introduced to Turkish culture as early as in the 1930s and 1940s (Akdoğan Özdemir, 2017, pp. 6-7). Though not comparable in number or volume, it appears that the efforts to introduce this genre and similar

popular literary texts to Kurdish culture occurred around the same period, as the examples in *Hawar* suggest. Considering the content of *Hawar*, it is clear that C. Bedirxan endeavored to introduce Kurdish readers not only to the works by western canonical writers and poets, but also to popular literary trends. The variety of literary texts published in *Ronahî*, which continued to appear even after *Hawar* ceased publication, shows the long-term nature of Bedirxan's endeavor.

My analysis of the entire run of *Hawar* (and in particular of the paratexts of translations in Chapter 6) has indicated that by aiming to build up a Kurdish cultural identity through textual productions in *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan tried to offer what he thought was the best "option" among all possible "options, "for Kurdish readers to "organize their life" (Even-Zohar, 2010, p. 70). Thus, he strove to unify Kurdish people under this cultural identity and to help them "imagine" themselves as members of a larger Kurdish community, even if they lived in different regions and countries (Anderson, 2006, pp. 5-6). C. Bedirxan and other contributors aimed to create an "imagined community" (Ibid.), especially among Kurdish readers through the circulation of translations and indigenous Kurdish texts in the periodical. One of their main strategies was to invite Kurdish readers to develop an "image of their communion", even though they had no personal contact (Ibid.). As mentioned above, in this way, the Kurdish readership living in different territories would be able to establish a bond and imagine themselves as belonging to a larger Kurdish community. With reference to Benedict Anderson (2006), who, in the same context, defines "mass ceremony" as the formation of an imagined community around a newspaper (i.e. the simultaneous consumers of the newspaper) and describes the newspaper as an "extreme form of the book" with "ephemeral popularity" (pp. 34-35), I was able to conclude that the same holds true for the periodical, but with one

important difference; the periodical has a longer-lasting effect on the readers over its entire time span, as well as on future readers who would be able to access it later and benefit from its contents for many different purposes. *Hawar,* stands as a concrete example of such a periodical, not only because it was followed by the readers of its time but also as the subject of study in later decades, including in the present dissertation.

By way of conclusion, I would like to draw attention to a significant feature of my study that distinguishes it from previous studies, grounded in both translation studies and periodical studies, that have contributed to this interdisciplinary field in Turkey. Textual production in the periodical *Hawar* was not in Turkish, but largely in the Kurdish language, the minority/minoritized aspect of which I will take up below. Furthermore, the double translation flow in *Hawar*, targeted not just one but two different languages – Kurdish and French. Therefore, translations in *Hawar* were geared toward two distinct readerships, the Kurdish audience and a western audience. The in-depth analysis of the periodical codes of *Hawar* has made it clear that, in fact, textual productions in *Hawar* mostly addressed the Kurdish readership. In addition to indigenous texts, translations generally from French into Kurdish as well as those into Kurdish from various other languages such as Arabic, English, German, Persian and Turkish served to foster the C. Bedirxan's vision of a Kurdish cultural identity in various domains, by covering translations on a wide range of topics, including literary, historical, linguistic and religious texts. It is significant to note that the majority of the intended readership– namely, Kurds – lived in countries other than Syria, where *Hawar* was founded. Thus, the means for circulating the periodical in other countries was not easy, although the examples given in this study show that it nevertheless reached others, including Turkey. As I have concretely

demonstrated in the analyses of paratexts in Chapter 6, despite suffering interruptions in the publication of *Hawar,* C. Bedirxan's great efforts to continue the program he had set out in the first issue addressed both Kurdish and western audiences, and included supplementing the contents, when needed, with new translations for both readerships. By dividing my research into two periods, I was also able to focus on the progress of these issues in *Hawar,* the first period covering May 15, 1932 to August 18, 1935 and the second covering April 15, 1941 to August 15, 1943. Especially in the second period of *Hawar*, C. Bedirxan added new entries on Kurdish grammar and literature, besides new translations from western literature, to provide literate young readers being schooled by *Hawar* with intellectual nourishment (Bedirxan, 1998, p. 697). Through translations into French, C. Bedirxan at the same time aimed to introduce the western audience to the different aspects of Kurdish culture, be it linguistic, folkloric or literary. By acquainting western readers with aspects of Kurdish cultural identity, C. Bedirxan and other contributors to *Hawar* sought to gain their support and enhance sympathy for Kurds. With such translations, C. Bedirxan also aimed at guaranteeing the continuation of the the French Mandate authorities' bureaucratic and financial support. The publications in French were designed in such a way so as to demonstrate that C. Bedirxan, as chief editor focused mainly on the cultural productions of Kurds, and avoided political discussions, a condition insisted on by the French Mandate authorities to allow the publication of *Hawar*. In fact, as can be observed from the analyses on economic codes of the periodical in Chapter 4, C. Bedirxan resorted to all reasonable means to maintain the publication of *Hawar*. Furthermore, the subscriptions of certain academies, libraries and scholars in various European countries allowed *Hawar* to

reach out to a wider audience, a process in which the translations from Kurdish into French played a significant part in facilitating this achievement.

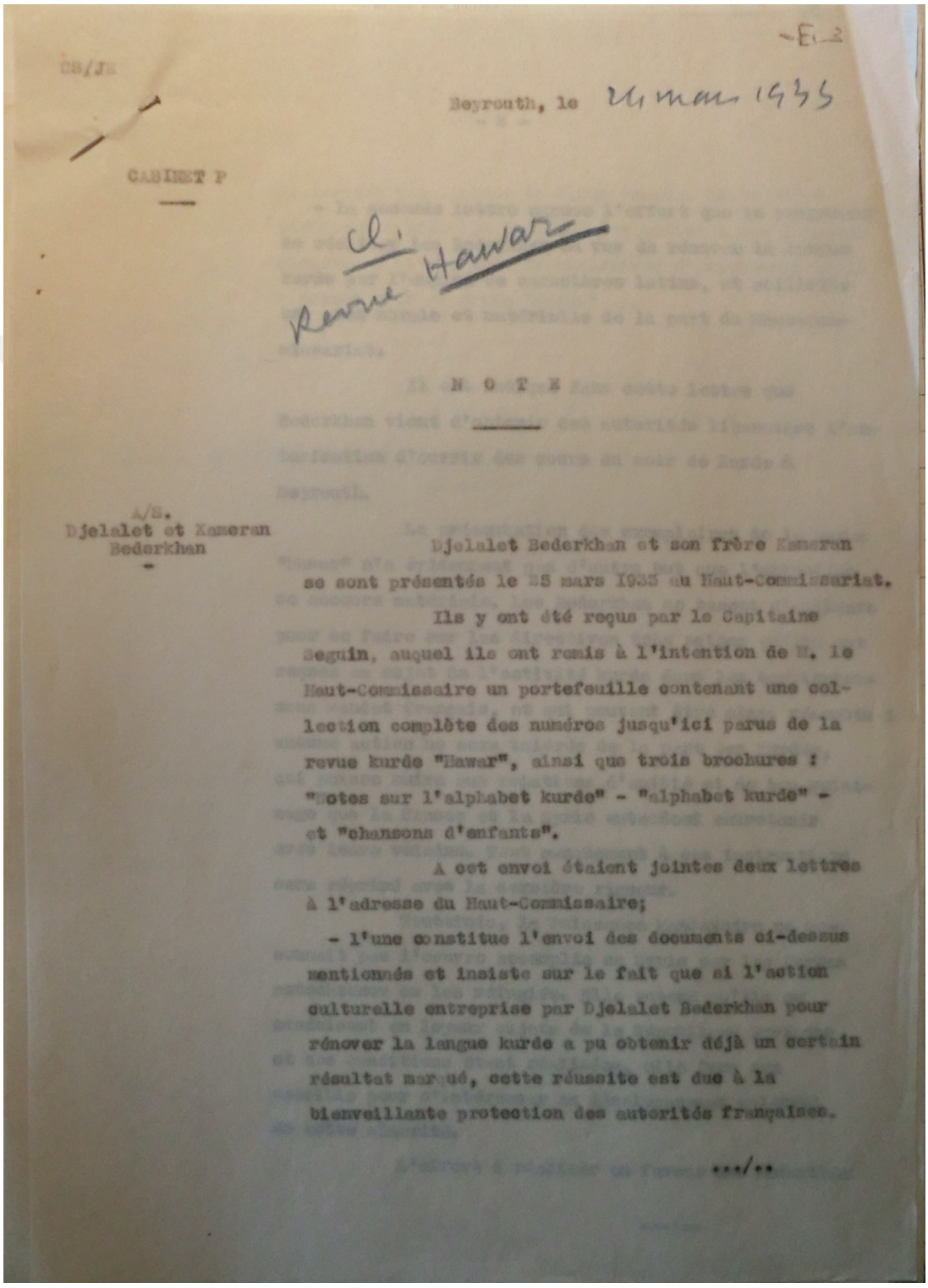
The fact that Kurdish as a minority/minoritized language was put into use as the primary medium of communication in the textual productions of *Hawar* emerged as a feature of considerable significance. My analyses on *Hawar, focused on interlingual translations,* have shown that the presence of such translations along with the indigenous texts in a Kurdish periodical could also serve as tools for forming and revitalizing the cultural identity of a minority/minoritized society. Cronin highlights the importance of minority languages to translation theory, focusing on the "relational dynamic" of those languages (1995, pp. 87-89). In the same context, Branchadell draws attention to the necessity of investigating translations in as yet unexplored minority languages as case studies and underscores the significance of examining translations from minority languages into the languages of wider communication (2011, pp. 99-100). In the light of these views, the present dissertation has demonstrated that focusing on the translators' contributions to the periodicals in a given minority language will also contribute to theory of translation from a different perspective expanding an as yet understudied sub-field of translation studies. My investigation on the translators, their translations and accompanying paratexts in *Hawar*, particularly in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, has shown that translations from minority into majority languages – in my case, from Kurdish into French – are equally as significant as those in the reverse direction. Furthermore, as seen in the case of *Hawar,* which addresses two target readerships, it is clear that examining translators, and the characteristics and functions of their translations in a minority language, present novel perspectives on translation theory and identity formation, as well as on the relationship established

between translation and periodical studies. In my case study, translators –mainly, C. Bedirxan – in the Kurdish periodical *Hawar* undertook the role of forming a Kurdish cultural identity by means of their selected translations. The study of their translations in the periodical has also shown that, as mentioned above, transcultural planning involves not only translations from dominant cultures into peripheral cultures, but also translations from a minority/minoritized language (Kurdish) into a majority language (French) can play a prominent role in this planning, expanding transcultural planning, and potentially contributing to the theoretical domain of culture planning.

It is hoped that this research on an understudied topic in translation studies and in Kurdish studies, will encourage similar research and contribute to the existing scholarship in the study of translation in periodicals. I hope it will also stimulate further interest in studying translations in minority/minoritized languages such as Kurdish. I believe that these languages merit a higher profile in translation theory and translation studies.

APPENDIX A

A FFRENCH MANDATE DOCUMENT DATED MARCH 24, 1933



-E-2

CS/Ja

Beyrouth, le 24 mars 1933

CABINET P

Cl. Revue Hawar

N O T E

A/S.
Djelalet et Kameran
Bedérkhan

Djelalet Bedérkhan et son frère Kameran se sont présentés le 23 mars 1933 au Haut-Commissariat.

Ils y ont été reçus par le Capitaine Seguin, auquel ils ont remis à l'intention de M. le Haut-Commissaire un portefeuille contenant une collection complète des numéros jusqu'ici parus de la revue kurde "Hawar", ainsi que trois brochures : "Notes sur l'alphabet kurde" - "Alphabet kurde" - et "Chansons d'enfants".

A cet envoi étaient jointes deux lettres à l'adresse du Haut-Commissaire;

- l'une constitue l'envoi des documents ci-dessus mentionnés et insiste sur le fait que si l'action culturelle entreprise par Djelalet Bedérkhan pour rénover la langue kurde a pu obtenir déjà un certain résultat marqué, cette réussite est due à la bienveillante protection des autorités françaises.

.../..

- La seconde lettre expose l'effort que se proposent de réaliser les Bederkhan en vue de rénover la langue kurde par l'emploi de caractères latins, et sollicite une aide morale et matérielle de la part du Haut-Commissariat.

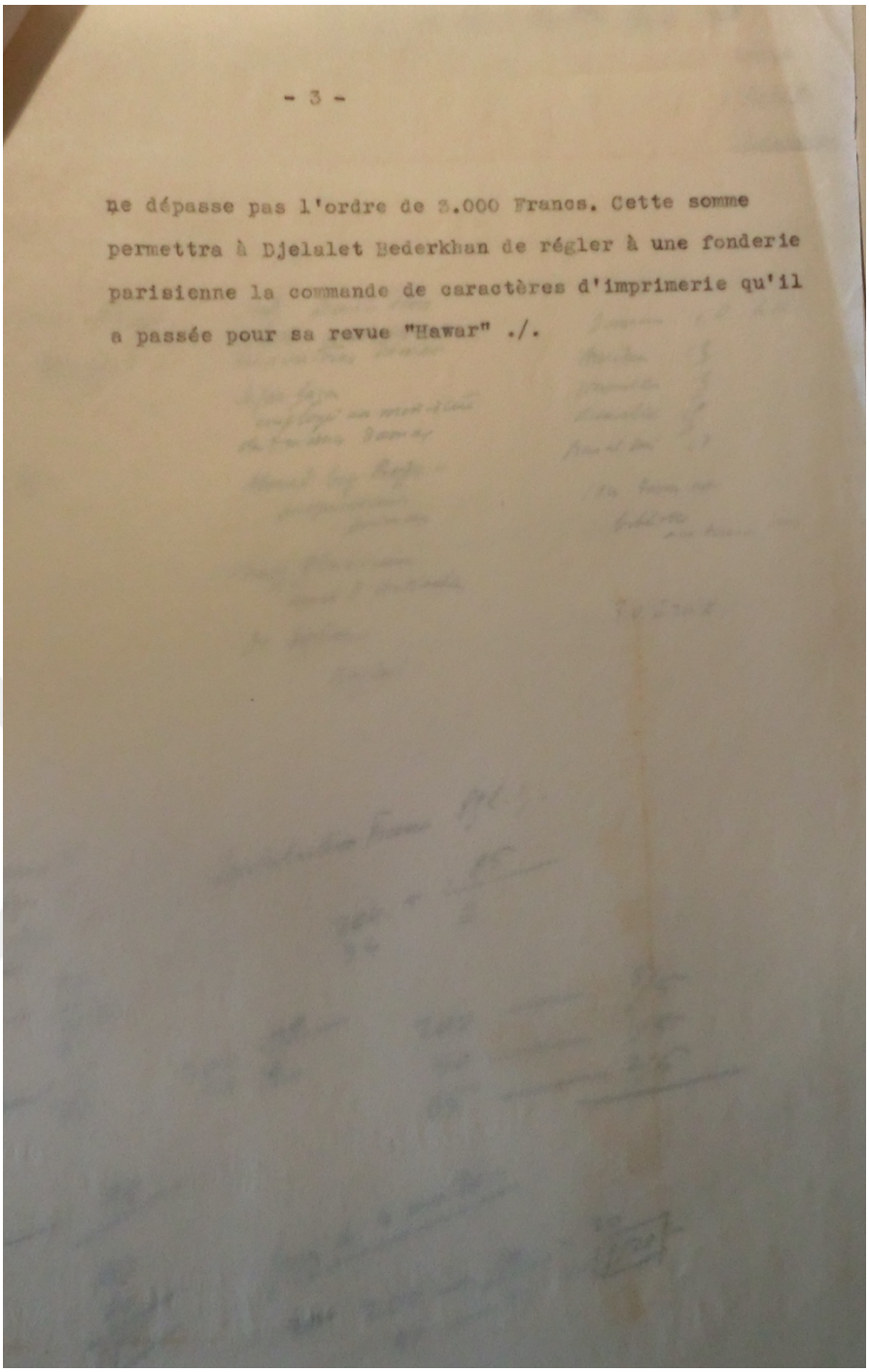
Il est indiqué dans cette lettre que Bederkhan vient d'obtenir des autorités libanaises l'autorisation d'ouvrir des cours du soir de Kurde à Beyrouth.

La présentation des exemplaires de la revue "Hawar" n'a évidemment pas d'autre but que l'obtention de secours matériels. Les Bederkhan se basent d'ailleurs pour ce faire sur les directives très nettes qu'ils ont reçues au sujet de l'activité kurde dans les territoires sous Mandat français, et qui peuvent être ainsi résumées : aucune action ne sera tolérée de la part des Kurdes, qui puisse nuire aux relations d'amitié et de bon voisinage que la France et la Syrie entendent entretenir avec leurs voisins. Tout manquement à ces instructions sera réprimé avec la dernière rigueur.

Toutefois, la Puissance Mandataire ne méconnait pas l'oeuvre accomplie en Syrie par les Kurdes autochtones ou les réfugiés. Elle entend qu'ils se conduisent en loyaux sujets de la République Syrienne et ces conditions étant réalisées, elle fera son possible pour s'intéresser au développement culturel de cette minorité.

L'effort à réaliser en faveur des Bederkhan

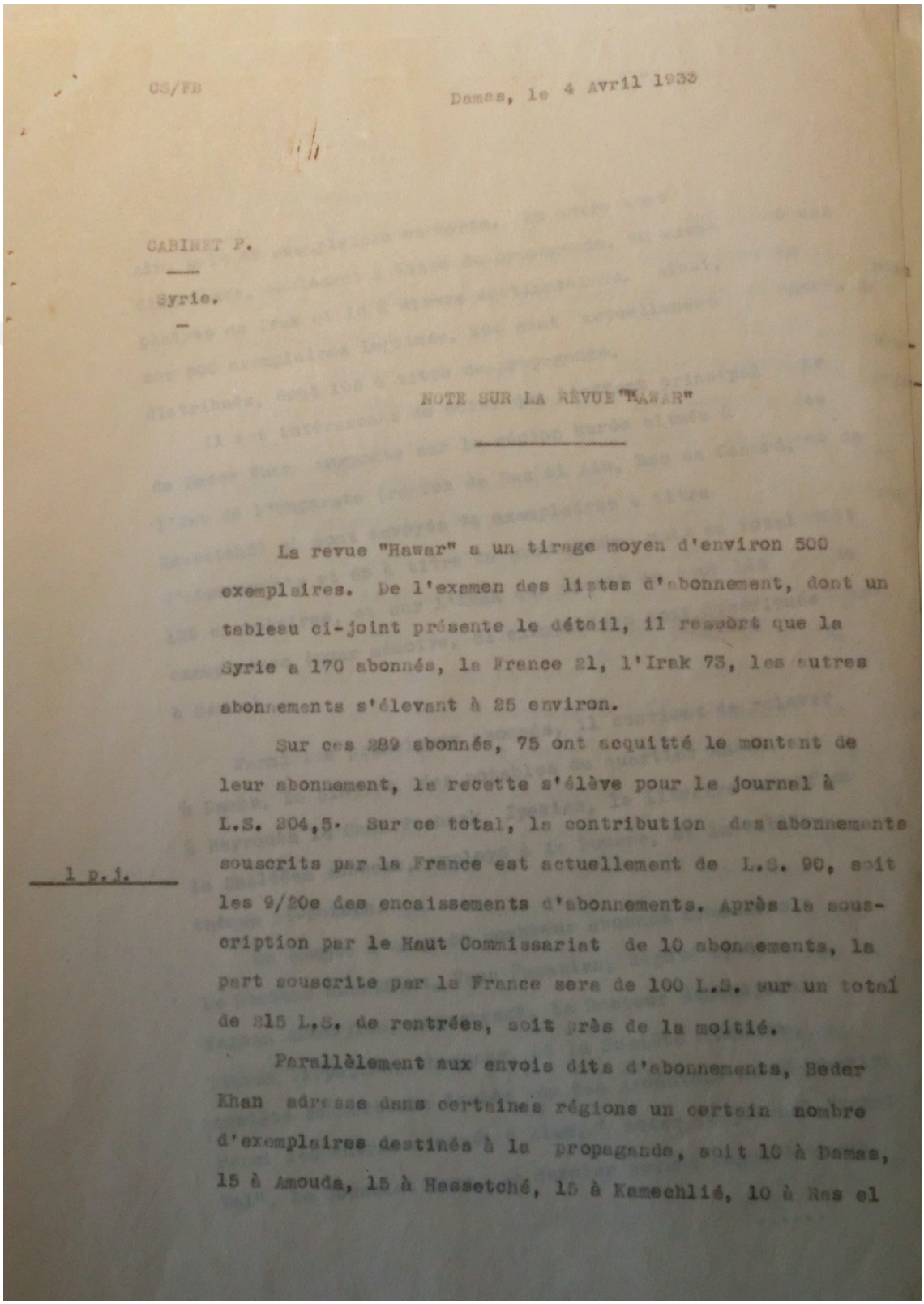
.../..



ne dépasse pas l'ordre de 3.000 Francs. Cette somme permettra à Djelalet Bederkhan de régler à une fonderie parisienne la commande de caractères d'imprimerie qu'il a passée pour sa revue "Hawar" ./.

APPENDIX B

A FFRENCH MANDATE DOCUMENT DATED APRIL 4, 1933



CS/FB

Damas, le 4 Avril 1933

CABINET P.

Syrie.

NOTE SUR LA REVUE "HAWAR"

La revue "Hawar" a un tirage moyen d'environ 500 exemplaires. De l'examen des listes d'abonnement, dont un tableau ci-joint présente le détail, il ressort que la Syrie a 170 abonnés, la France 21, l'Irak 73, les autres abonnements s'élevant à 25 environ.

Sur ces 289 abonnés, 75 ont acquitté le montant de leur abonnement, la recette s'élève pour le journal à L.S. 204,5. Sur ce total, la contribution des abonnements souscrits par la France est actuellement de L.S. 90, soit les 9/20e des encaissements d'abonnements. Après la souscription par le Haut Commissariat de 10 abonnements, la part souscrite par la France sera de 100 L.S. sur un total de 215 L.S. de rentrées, soit près de la moitié.

1 p.j.

Parallèlement aux envois dits d'abonnements, Bedr Khan adresse dans certaines régions un certain nombre d'exemplaires destinés à la propagande, soit 10 à Damas, 15 à Amouda, 15 à Hassetché, 15 à Kamechlié, 10 à Ras el

Ain, soit 65 exemplaires en Syrie. En outre sont distribués, également à titre de propagande, 30 exemplaires en Irak et 10 à divers destinataires. Ainsi, sur 500 exemplaires imprimés, 394 sont actuellement distribués, dont 105 à titre de propagande.

Il est intéressant de noter que l'effort principal de Beder Khan surporte sur la région kurde située à l'Est de l'Euphrate (région de Ras el Ain, Bec de Canard, Hassetché) où sont envoyés 74 exemplaires à titre d'abonnements et 65 à titre de propagande, soit au total 139 exemplaires, et sur l'Irak qui reçoit en tout 103 exemplaires (pour mémoire, 51 exemplaires sont distribués à Damas).

Parmi les principaux abonnés, il convient de relever à Damas, la plupart des notables du quartier kurde, à Beyrouth le Chef Tachnak Ipekian, le libraire Sarrafian le Chaldéen Abboche, employé à la Douane, et la Bibliothèque St-Joseph.

On compte à Alep de nombreux abonnés arméniens : le Docteur Kabadfian, Vaan Papazian, député syrien, Kaghan Alwadjian, commerçant, le Docteur Basbadjian, Dikran Tirpajian, changeur, et la Société Nicharwa, société commerciale fondée par des Arméniens de Diarbekir. Parmi les autres abonnés d'Alep, à noter le journal "Dogri Yol", le Consulat turc, ce dernier payant régulièrement

.....

son abonnement.

A Antioche, la plupart des abonnés appartiennent au Lycée et sont les propagandistes kurdes groupés autour de Mamdoun Selim, professeur au Lycée et membre du Comité Hoyboun.

La plupart des abonnés de la région d'Amouda ne paient aucune cotisation. Ce sont les moukhtars des différents villages kurdes de la contrée. Il en est de même pour la région de Kamechlié.

A Hassetché, le nombre d'abbonés est relativement faible, eu égard à l'importance de la colonie kurde du lieu : 10, dont Hadjo, 5 fils de Djemal Pacha, 2 commerçants chrétiens de Mardine et 2 chefs Zaza réfugiés.

Parmi les abonnés de Kamechlié, il convient de relever Michel Dome, Président de la Municipalité, le député de Djezireh, Said Isaac et Kaddour bey, notable de Nissibine, réfugié à Kamechlié.

A Ras el Ain, sur 4 abonnés, 2 Millis et Khalil Ibrahim Pacha, député, et 3 commerçants chrétiens.

Au Kurd Dagh, 5 abonnés dont 2 députés à l'actuel Parlement, l'ex-député Rechid Agha et 2 Aghas Kurdes de la région de Bulbul Dersivan.

Dans la région de Djerablous, à part les Chaine, on ne compte que deux autres abonnés, un Arménien d'Ain

.....

Arous, le Docteur Zakar et un Kurde réfugié, Abdul Raman Agha.

Le fond de la clientèle français d'"Hawar" est constitué par l'Ecole des Langues Orientales. On relève également parmi les noms d'abonnés ceux de M. Adolphe de Falgairolles, journaliste, et de Vahan Papazian, le chef Tachnak. A noter également deux Kurdes poursuivant leurs études en France, l'un à Paris, nommé Fany, boursier de l'Etat de Syrie, l'autre à Montpellier, nommé Fikri.

En Irak, à côté de la grosse clientèle que constituent les noyaux kurdes, on note l'adhésion d'un certain nombre de Yezidis, Amo Charo, chef du Sindjar, Said bey, l'actuel chef des Yezidis, en résidence à Cheikadi, 2 Yezidis de Mossoul, l'un, Housseyer bey, cousin de Said bey, l'autre Mounzir, Cheikh Yezidi.

De Mossoul également, le Père Paul Beidar, Chaldéen, auteur d'une grammaire kurde en langue française.

A noter parmi les abonnés le Capitaine Holt, Secrétaire pour les Affaires orientales.

Parmi les abonnés étrangers, la Bibliothèque d'Oxford l'orientaliste Minorsky, de Londres, et l'Indian Institute

3 abonnés en Allemagne : l'Académie de Berlin, la Bibliothèque de Munich et le Docteur Hadnack, de Berlin.

La plupart des abonnés d'Amérique sont des Kurdes.

A noter également l'abonnement du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères d'Italie souscrit à Damas par le

.....

Secrétaire du Consulat qui s'est rendu spécialement à cet effet auprès de Djelalet Beder Khan.

A Bombay, le Bulletin Parsi, et en Palestine, la Bibilothèque de l'Université juive./.

DAMAS	41	abonnés	dont	22	payant	L.S.	123,5
BEYROUTH	16	"	"	6	"	"	35
ALEP	11	"	"	8	"	"	32
ANTIOCHE	8						
AMOUDA	38						
HASSETCHE	10						
KAMECHLIE	12	"	"	1			5
RAS EL AIN	4						
ANDIVAR	5						
DJERABLOUS	5	"	"	1			3
KURD DAGH	5	"	"	1			5
SYRIE (divers)	15	"	"	1			5

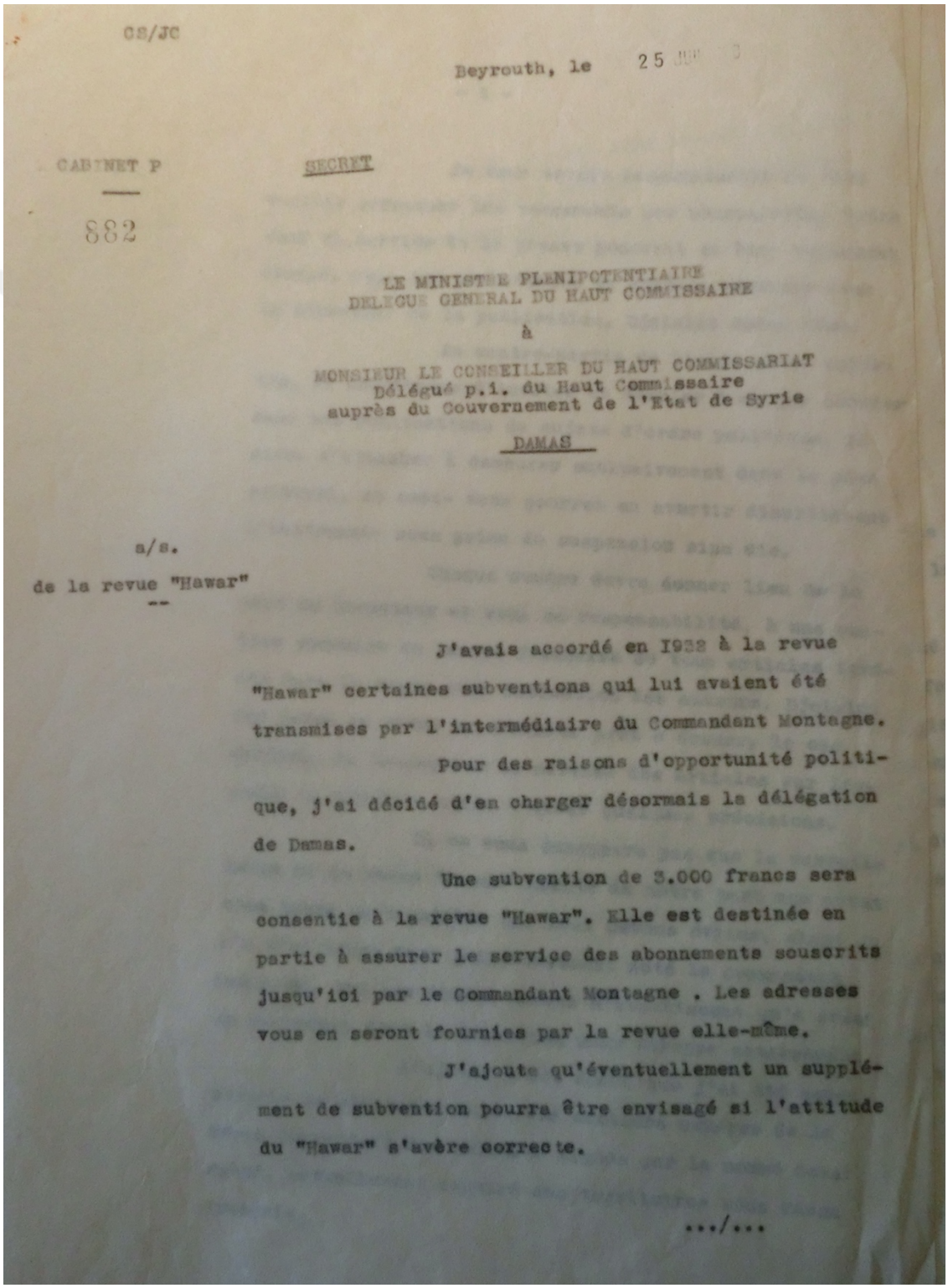
+ + +

FRANCE	21	"	"	11	"	L.S.	75
PERSE	4						
EGYPTE	3						
PALESTINE	2						
TRANSJORDANIE	1						
INDES	3						
ANGLETERRE	3						
ALLEMAGNE	3	"	"	2	"	L.S.	15
ITALIE	1	"	"	1	"	L.S.	7,5
AMERIQUE	5	"	"	1	"	L.S.	7,5
IRAK	73	"	"	18	"	L.S.	78

APPENDIX C

A CONFIDENTIAL LETTER

BY "DÉLÉGUÉ GENERAL DU HAUT COMMISSAIRE" DATED JUNE 25,1933



CS/JC

Beyrouth, le 25 JUIN 3

CABINET P

SECRET

882

LE MINISTRE PLENIPOTENTIAIRE
DELEGUE GENERAL DU HAUT COMMISSAIRE

à

MONSIEUR LE CONSEILLER DU HAUT COMMISSARIAT
Délégué p.i. du Haut Commissaire
auprès du Gouvernement de l'Etat de Syrie

DAMAS

a/s.

de la revue "Hawar"

J'avais accordé en 1932 à la revue "Hawar" certaines subventions qui lui avaient été transmises par l'intermédiaire du Commandant Montagne.

Pour des raisons d'opportunité politique, j'ai décidé d'en charger désormais la délégation de Damas.

Une subvention de 3.000 francs sera consentie à la revue "Hawar". Elle est destinée en partie à assurer le service des abonnements souscrits jusqu'ici par le Commandant Montagne . Les adresses vous en seront fournies par la revue elle-même.

J'ajoute qu'éventuellement un supplément de subvention pourra être envisagé si l'attitude du "Hawar" s'avère correcte.

.../...

Je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir effectuer les versements par mensualités. Votre chef du service de la presse pourrait en être utilement chargé. Cela lui permettrait un contact régulier avec le Directeur de la publication, Djelalet Beder Khan.

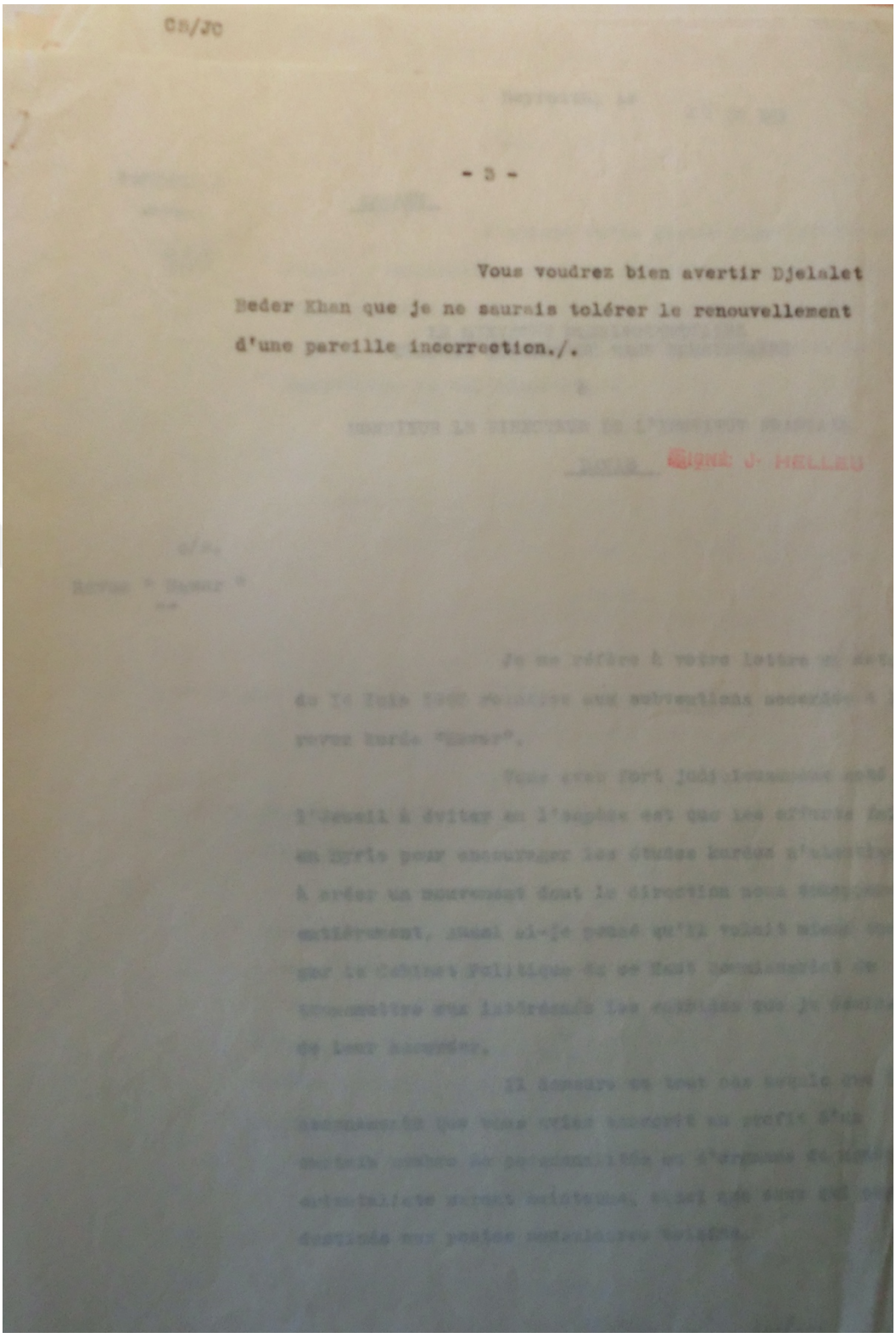
En contre-partie de l'aide ainsi apportée, il conviendra d'inviter ce dernier à ne pas aborder dans ses publications de sujets d'ordre politique. Il devra s'attacher à demeurer exclusivement dans le plan culturel, et ceci- vous pourrez en avertir discrètement l'intéressé- sous peine de suspension sine die.

Chaque numéro devra donner lieu de la part du Directeur et sous sa responsabilité, à une analyse sommaire en langue française de tous articles insérés dans la revue avec indication des auteurs. Djelalet bey devra en outre se déclarer prêt à donner, le cas échéant, la traduction in extenso des articles sur lesquels il paraîtra utile d'avoir quelques précisions.

Il ne vous échappera pas que la surveillance de la revue "Hawar" mérite de notre part une attention toute particulière car nous devons éviter, ainsi qu'a d'ailleurs fort judicieusement noté le Commandant Montagne, que les études kurdes n'aboutissent qu'à créer un mouvement dont la direction nous échappe entièrement.

J'ajoute à cet égard que j'ai été assez surpris de constater qu'un des derniers numéros de la revue comportait des articles signés par le nommé Osman Sabri, actuellement expulsé des territoires sous Mandat Français.

.../...



Cn/Jc

- 3 -

Vous voudrez bien avertir Djelalet Beder Khan que je ne saurais tolérer le renouvellement d'une pareille incorrection./.

Signé: J. HELLEU

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