
Counting almost a thousand pages and weighing close to two kilograms, this is a truly hefty volume. Its thirty-six chapters cover a very wide range of subjects, and the list of contributors is a veritable Who is Who of Kurdish studies. Among the several broad overviews of recent scholarship on the Kurds, this volume is the most impressive. Its appearance in the series of Cambridge Histories places the Kurds side by side with such well-established and respectable subjects as Iran, China, India, the Modern World, War, and Violence, and indicates that the study of the Kurds has definitively moved from the margins of academy to the centre of academic respectability.

The concept of ‘history’ is conceived very broadly in this volume; the focus is not on the narration of major events and the acts of important persons but on processes of social and political change. This makes it a very different work from the two most influential earlier works on Kurdish history, David McDowall’s celebrated Modern History of the Kurds, of which a revised and updated edition was recently published, and Wadie Jwaideh’s The Kurdish National Movement, which takes the history of Kurdish nationalism up to 1960 only but remains an important resource for the earlier period. Readers looking for a comprehensive account of the uprisings led by Shaykh Sa’id of Palu in Turkey and Shaykh Mahmud Barzinji in Iraq, the Mahabad Republic of 1946, the biographies of Mullah Mustafa Barzani or Dersim’s Seyid Riza, or detailed accounts of the genocidal Anfal operation or Turkey’s dirty war on the Kurds of the mid-1990s are better served by McDowall and Jwaideh and a number of specialized studies than by the current volume. Each of these events and persons is referred to in one or more chapters but the authors chose not to devote much space to relatively well-known events of which detailed accounts are already available.

The changed approach to historiography compared to earlier works in the series, such as the 1970 Cambridge History of Islam, is evident in the selection of the editors, none of whom is trained as a historian but who have made their mark as political scientists with a strong interest in historical developments. Most of the contributors are also young and very productive scholars, more than two thirds of them Kurds themselves, who completed their PhDs in the past ten to fifteen years and who show their familiarity with the most recent research in their fields. Their expertise ranges from social and political theory to (socio-) linguistics, law, religion, media studies and gender studies but all bring a historical dimension to their contributions.

The first four chapters, which focus on pre-twentieth century developments, are by trained historians working with primary sources in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Boris James, whose earlier work has thrown new light on Kurdish society in the Ayyubid and
Mamluk periods, extends the discussion of the rise and fall of Kurdish emirates from those days (12th-13th centuries) to include most of the Ottoman era up to the mid-19th century. In partially overlapping chapters, Metin Atmaca and Sabri Ateş discuss Kurdish relations with the Ottoman and Iranian states during the 16th-19th centuries and the destruction of the last Kurdish emirates by the Ottomans in the mid-19th century. Djene Rhys Bajalan follows this up with a study of the rise of Kurdish nationalism during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Veli Yadırgı complements these accounts of political developments with an overview of the changing political economy of Kurdistan during the four centuries of Ottoman control.

The next section consists of chapters that sketch developments of roughly demarcated, consecutive time periods since the demise of the Ottoman Empire: the interwar years (Metin Yüksel), the 1946-1975 period (Béatrice Garapon and Adnan Çelik), the 1970s (Cengiz Güneş), the last decades of the twentieth century (Hamit Bozarslan), and the new millennium (Mehmet Gurses and David Romano). Garapon and Çelik document the gradual shift from tribal aristocracy to left-wing students and intellectuals as major actors of the Kurdish movement during the 1960s – more clearly so in Turkey than in the other parts. Kurdish left movements receive further discussion in Mesut Yeğen’s chapter on Kurdish nationalism in Turkey (in the next section) and in the chapter by Ahmet Hamdi Akkaya and Joost Jongerden comparing KDP-influenced and PKK-influenced movements towards the end of the volume. In the most thoughtful of the essays, “Dark Times,” Bozarslan discusses the years of turmoil that were inaugurated with the Iranian revolution (1979), Turkey’s 1980 military coup and the Iraq-Iran war (1980-88), which completely transformed the Middle East and physically destroyed much of Kurdistan but also unexpectedly opened up some precarious space for Kurdish autonomy.

Bozarslan’s essay frames the next section, which consist of a set of essays on recent developments (covering the past few decades) in the various parts of Kurdistan. The focus on recent (and in some cases very recent) events lends several of these chapters a journalistic and provisional character – which does not detract from their interest. I personally found Nicole Watts’ chapter on Iraqi Kurdistan’s tradition of street politics and the recent waves of street protests enlightening. The American invasion in Iraq and the role of the Kurds in it are not discussed but there is a brief discussion of its impact on the KRG, the rise of ISIS, conflicts between the Kurdish parties and the backgrounds and impact of the 2017 referendum on independence in the chapter by Gareth Stansfield. There exists hardly any literature in English on developments in Iranian Kurdistan since the end of the armed struggle in 1983, and therefore the chapter on this part of Kurdistan by Massoud Sharifi Dryaz deserves special attention. He discusses the shifting state discourse and policies towards the Kurds and other ethnic groups since the revolution and the changing ways of Kurdish political involvement (with remarkably changing degrees of participation in insurgent movements and in Iran’s presidential and parliamentary elections). Along with Atmaca’s analysis of developments in Iranian Kurdistan in the eighteenth century (in the first section of the volume), this chapter represents a welcome, informative addition to the literature on East Kurdistan.

The following sections deal with religion, language, literature and the arts, and ‘transversal dynamics’ (which include transnationalism and women’s movements). For reasons of space, only some of the chapters of these sections will be briefly discussed. Mehmet Kurt writes about religion and politics in Turkish Kurdistan since the founding of the Republic, paying
attention to changing government policies especially since the rise of the Milli Görüş movement and its successor the AKP, both of which had a strong following among the Kurds, and to the rise of various Kurdish Islamist movements including Hizbullah (on which he wrote an interesting dissertation). As he notes and describes in some detail, references to religious values and commemorations of events with religious connotations, which were almost absent in the discourse of the Kurdish movement of the 1960s and 1970s, have since the early 2000s gained a central place in the Kurdish public sphere. Personally I found the chapter on Kurdish Alevi by Erdal Gezik the most interesting in the religion section. Gezik presents many insights that are new to the English-language literature, although I am not convinced that the ‘rediscovery’ of Raa Haq / Riya Heqî, as the presumably indigenous name of the religion of Dersim is more than the invention of tradition. But Gezik has an admirable command of the available written and oral sources, and he presents an authoritative overview of both the religion and the interactions of Kurdish Alevi with the state in the course of the past century.

The history of Kurdish and its relationship to other Iranian languages is surveyed in a masterly essay by Ergin Öpengin, who does not shy away from controversial issues on which many nationalists have strong opinions, such as the relationship of modern Kurdish to the language of the Medes, or whether Zazaki and Gorani are Kurdish dialects or distinct languages. Ably summing up more than a century of academic linguistic debate, he convincingly dismisses nationalist claims on purely linguistic grounds but grants that identity perceptions of the Zazaki and Gorani speakers are based on many non-linguistic, social factors and that socio-culturally speaking, ‘Kurdish’ may be conceived as an umbrella category encompassing linguistically different vernaculars. Discussing the rise of written and literary Kurmanji, he dismisses claims of the existence of Kurdish writing before the thirteenth century and shows that the earliest proper text in Kurdish (a brief prayer in Armenian script) dates from the fifteenth century, and the first literary texts from the late sixteenth. After a brief discussion of the heyday of literary Kurmanji, he analyses the current situation as one of a polycentric language, in which competing standards emerged. Jaffer Sheyholislami complements this with an equally well-informed chapter on the history and development of literary Central Kurdish (Sorani), surveying both earlier scholarship and the political context of the development of the language. Mehemed Malmisanij, himself a prolific pioneer of modern written Zazaki, provides an authoritative overview of the internal variety of Zazaki/Kirmancki dialects, scholarly debate on the dialects and their relationship with Kurdish, the emerging literature in varieties of this language, attempts at standardization, and the (very limited) acceptance of Zazaki/Kirmancki classes in secondary and higher education in the brief period of Turkey’s ‘Kurdish opening.’

In the arts section, Mari Rostami’s interesting chapter on the history of Kurdish theatre stands out if only because it is the only English-language treatment of the subject (besides her own dissertation, published in 2019). She discusses the origins of Kurdish performances in the carnival-like springtime play of mîrmîran and dramatic storytelling, and the new forms of theatre emerging under modernizing influences in such diverse settings as Soviet Armenia, British-influenced Iraq, the Mahabad Republic, and Kemalist Turkey and provides a succinct overview of the flourishing of modern Kurdish theatre closely allied with the political struggle and against great odds in Turkey since the 1990s. Engin Sustam provides a sophisticated discussion of the Kurdish arts scene, showing that contemporary Kurdish artists have long left the stage of romantic cultivation of folklore behind and belong to the cutting edge of the
Kurdish Studies
global modern art scene. Sustam’s insistence on framing his argument in terms of French theory (notably Deleuze and Guattari) does not make for easy reading, but his text is worth the effort.

The final section contains two chapters on transnationalism and the emergence of an organized Kurdish diaspora that have transformed Kurdish identity and the Kurdish struggle (by Ipek Demir and Barzoo Eliassi), both surveying the rapidly growing literature in this branch of Kurdish studies. The last two chapters concern the Kurdish women’s movement. Choman Hardi surveys women’s activism in the Kurdistan Region in Iraq, the issues and obstacles faced by activists, advances in women’s rights (the criminalization of ‘honour killing’ and violence within the family), increased participation of women in public space, changes in gender awareness, and the still widespread resistance to women’s demands and resilience of the patriarchal system. Isabel Käser focuses on the militant women’s struggle within and in alliance with the PKK and the broader PKK-influenced Kurdish movement. Based on interviews with former and present cadres and activists, she reconstructs the development of revolutionary women’s discourse and practice, in the guerrilla, in urban activism and within the legal pro-Kurdish party and discusses the Jîneoloji project.

Altogether, this volume constitutes the most comprehensive and representative overview of the current state of scholarship on Kurdish history and society. It is a work of reference that should be available in any major library. Many scholars with an interest in a specific period or issue will find the relevant chapters helpful as an introduction to the specialized literature.

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References

History is not exactly a flourishing branch of Kurdish Studies; and to the extent that historical topics are discussed at all, these generally concern the role, or fate, of the Kurds in the development of the various nationalisms that emerged in the later Ottoman and Qajar empires and in their successor states. Rather fewer studies are devoted to earlier periods; most of these deal with the place of the Kurdish principalities in the Ottoman and Safavid empires, and with the ambiguous and ambivalent position of the Kurdish emirs between Ottomans and Safavids. The obvious reference here, and virtually the only source discussed in any great detail, is, of course, Sheref Xan Bidlîsî’s *Sherefnâmeh*, written at the close of the sixteenth century.

But even such exercises in early modern dynastic history are few and far between. In fact, since Minorsky wrote his classic entry on Kurdish history for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, by now a century ago, little if anything new has been written in any Western language on the early history of the Kurds. Now, French historian Boris James has made a significant addition to this literature: his bulky *Genèse du Kurdistan: Les Kurdes dans l'Orient mamelouk et mongol (1250-1340)*, based on his doctoral dissertation, considerably enriches not only Kurdish studies but Mamlûk historiography. Rightly bemoaning the overemphasis on the contemporary ‘Kurdish question’, and going back in time well beyond even the *Sherefnâmeh*, James focuses on the 13th and 14th centuries CE. This reviewer is not a specialist on this period, and not even strictly speaking a historian, and hence can do no more than sketching the main outline of this study and pointing out some of its riches; but many of its findings are also relevant, and valuable, for readers not specializing in Medieval history.

James’s study concerns the period of the so-called Bahrid Mamlûks (1250-1382), and the contemporary period of Mongol rule in Iran and Anatolia (1256-1335); hence, he pays relatively little attention to the earlier sultanate of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, better known as Saladin – undoubtedly the most famous Kurd of Medieval times, and itself the object of James’ earlier work (2006). The present work takes us beyond existing studies of Mamlûk history that do not specifically focus on matters Kurdish, like Claude Cahen’s seminal studies on pre-Ottoman Turkey and northern Syria (1940, 1955, 1968) and, more recently, Anne-Marie Eddé’s (2011) revisionist biography of Saladin, which tries to separate the man and his historical context from the myths that have come to surround him over the centuries. More specifically, James builds on David Ayalon’s influential interpretations of the Mamlûk political and military elites (1977, 1988), and on Michael Chamberlain’s social history of intellectual life in Mamlûk Damascus (1994); but far more than either, he zooms in on the specific ethnic experience of Kurds in this period, or, as he calls it, the ‘Kurdish ethnic difference’.

James argues that, despite Ayalon’s claims to the contrary, Kurds had constituted a powerful group in the Ayyubid state, sustained by their distinct Kurdish *'asabiyya*. After the Ayyubid demise, however, the role of Kurds in Mamlûk political and military affairs gradually declined. He explains this decline in Khaldûnian terms as the result of a loss of *'asabiyya* in the affluent urban environment of the Mamlûk elites. He goes beyond Ibn Khaldûn’s analysis, however, in arguing that a distinct Kurdish *'asabiyya* did not completely disappear as a result of this urbanization and of the subsequent return to a rural and tribal condition of *badâwa*; rather, it was reconfigured in Kurdish lands, far away from the centers of Mamlûk power and under
increasing Mongol influence. During this period, he argues, a more homogeneous and specifically Kurdish space came into being – hence the ‘genesis of Kurdistan’ to which the title alludes.

This ethnic focus flies in the face of the received wisdom, and of some more controversial theses, of earlier times. From early on, Kurds are mentioned in both historiographical and literary sources, and in both Arabic- and Persian-language texts – not to mention languages like Syriac, Armenian and Georgian; but it is not always clear exactly what is meant by terms like the Arabic plural akrâd and its equivalents in other languages. Kurdish nationalists have often proceeded from the assumption that the term Kurd has always and unproblematically denoted a national or ethnic identity; but it is unlikely to vary any less widely in meaning over time than expressions like Rum, Türk, Ajam, and Arab are known to have done. At the other extreme, skeptics basically deny that we can speak of ‘Kurds’ in the ethnic sense prior to early modern times, that is, prior to the incorporation of Kurdish principalities into the Ottoman empire (see e.g. Asatrian 2009).

Rejecting both extremes, and building on his earlier studies on these matters (see James, 2014), James argues that it is in fact possible to reconstruct a specifically Kurdish experience even for this early period. He bases his claim on a number of sources, notably contemporary Arabic-language biographical sketches, that have hitherto remained largely untapped for this particular purpose. Using these biographies, he demonstrates that one can show literally hundreds of the Mamlûk elites to have Kurdish backgrounds; he then proceeds to trace their lives and careers. Thus, he makes plausible the claim that these sources do indeed talk about ‘Kurds’ in something recognizably like, but not quite identical to, the modern sense.

Basing himself on the famous writings of Ibn Khaldûn, especially as interpreted by his mentor, Gabriel Martinez-Gros (2006), and rightly observing that Ibn Khaldûn presents less a theory of ethnicities than a theory of dynasties and states, James argues that it makes more sense to talk of a Kurdish ‘asabiyya than of a Kurdish identity or ethnicity during this period. This may raise some eyebrows among the more theoretically interested and informed readers. Famously, in his Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldûn argues that it is ‘asabiyya, or tribal solidarity, which gives rural groups (badâwa) the strength to conquer urban centers but gradually disappears amidst an urban life of affluence and luxury (hadâra). Substantial criticisms have been voiced concerning both the analytical rigor of these concepts and their applicability to societies other than Ibn Khaldûn’s own, but James’s interest in Ibn Khaldûn primarily concerns matters of historiography rather than social theory; hence the absence here of recent and innovative discussions of the Muqaddimah by authors like al-Azmeh (1981), Pomian (2006) and, perhaps most relevantly, Bozarslan (2014).

James also devotes a dense and fascinating chapter to the social history of Kurdish scholars and men of letters during this period. In Mamlûk times, it was Cairo and Damascus, rather than Baghdad, Mecca, and Medina, which were the main centers of Islamic religious learning, and the main destinations for aspiring Kurdish literati; their learned culture here, of course, was elaborated in Arabic. It has long been known that from early on, Kurds have concentrated in places like the Hayy al-Akrâd quarter in the North of Damascus (see Fuccaro 2003 for a sketch of a much later period); but James provides a detailed picture of this early phase. This makes one even more curious as to exactly how, when and why a similar culture of polite learning (adab) in Persian developed among the Kurdish literate elites of later centuries. Sherefar al-Dîn Bîdîlîsî is merely the most famous representative of this later Persianate culture. James’s
account here nicely complements Khalid el-Rouayheb’s 2015 study, which points out that the seventeenth-century Ottoman empire witnessed a massive influx of (Kurdish and other) scholars fleeing the increasingly oppressive Twelver Shi’ite religious policies of Safavid Iran. Both studies suggest that in premodern times, Kurds have been rather more urbanized; have been rather more integrated economically, politically, and culturally; and have played a rather more important role in the life of cities, than the tenacious stereotype of the Kurds as an illiterate rural and tribal people living in mountainous lands remote from, and inaccessible to, centers of powers and learning would have us believe.

Thus, James’s groundbreaking work inspires new questions as much as it answers older ones. Considerations of space preclude a fuller discussion of other sections of this dense and rich study, such as a short but fascinating discussion of the heterodox or heretic sect of al-’Adawiyya al-Akrâd, or ‘Kurdish followers of Shaykh ‘Adî’, out of which the Yezidi religion was to grow in later centuries. Suffice it to say that scholars with a historicizing interest in the Kurds will remain in James’s debt for a long time to come. Sadly, however, knowledge of French is rapidly declining in academic circles outside France and its (former) sphere of influence. It is greatly to be hoped, therefore, that this detailed and meticulous study, which in so many respects enriches, refines and corrects received views on premodern Kurdish history, will become available also in English (not to mention Kurdish and other languages) and enable a wider audience to benefit from James’s insights.

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References


Shahrzad Mojab and Amir Hassanpour’s new book, *Women of Kurdistan: A Historical and Bibliographic Study*, came into being as the result of long decades of study, effort, and courageous tenacity. We are most fortunate to have it; several times, its existence might have been prevented. Amir Hassanpour comes from the city of Mahabad, one of Iran’s historically important Kurdish cities. In the period after the 1979 revolution, as Kurds were being killed and executed, Amir remained secluded in the southwest city of Shiraz where his wife, Shahrzad, is from. Their escape from Iran, brought across the desert to Pakistani Baluchistan by motorcycle, along with their small child, marked another point when this book might have been prevented from emerging.

I met Amir in 1966-1968, while I was working as an American Peace Corps Volunteer teaching English in the girls’ high school of Mahabad. Amir also taught English so the Peace Corps volunteers became friends with him and his family. From way back, Amir’s family suffered from some of the repression Shahrzad and Amir’s book describes. One brother was put in prison because of distributing leaflets about Prime Minister Mossadegh and the nationalization of Iranian oil. Due to the cold and the depth of water covering the floor of the prison, he suffered from health issues throughout his shortened life. When I visited Mahabad once, Amir’s mother, by phone, asked me not to come to see her: the last time after I had stopped by, the SAVAK (the Pahlavi regime’s secret police) had questioned her. One brother was imprisoned and tortured by the regime of Mohammad Reza Shah.

Amir and his family and then Shahrzad too experienced some of the horrors and repressive treatment suffered by Kurds as discussed in their book, *Women of Kurdistan*. I can think of no better team to work on such a book. The late Amir Hassanpour was a highly respected Kurdish intellectual. He was a scholar devoted to Kurdish people, culture, history, and language. He was an idealistic activist as well, providing Marxist analyses of history and society and applying them to Iran and the history and language of the Kurdish people (see Hassanpour 1992, 1993, 2020). As Shahrzad so rightly comments, their lives have been “fully committed to revolutionary social transformation” (p. 7). As writer, speaker, and professor at the University of Toronto, Amir was loved and respected widely and grieved terribly when he died in 2017 from cancer. Shahrzad Mojab, Amir’s beloved wife and intellectual partner, had taken on his devotion to Kurds and their culture. In addition to so many other commitments and interests, Shahrzad learned Kurdish and became an outstanding scholar and publisher about the Kurds, especially regarding women, gender, and sexuality (see Mojab 2001, 2013, 2015). She starts out Part I of *Women of Kurdistan* with the words, “Love and learning made the making of this bibliography imaginable” (p. 7). Indeed, Shahrzad’s deep love for Amir and respect for his work prompted her, on top of many other obligations and responsibilities, to spend much of her time since 2017 completing Amir’s projects.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first part provides context, history, and an introduction to the topic of Kurdish women. Shahrzad’s discussion of the process of developing this bibliography will intrigue other writers; she shares the difficulties, lacks, silences and silencing, and decision-making during these twenty years. Rapid changes, “Western imperialist interests”, and “the hegemonic analytical tools of the last 30 years” (p.
10) have separated Kurdish women’s experiences and the study to understand them and their situations from the effects of and interactions with “patriarchy and capitalist imperialism”, Shahrzad comments. She points to the necessity of “adopting a feminist historical materialist perspective” (p. 11), quoting from the Bengali-Canadian sociologist Himani Bannerji.

The authors explain the reasons why such a dearth of materials challenges those who wish to study Kurdish women, gender, and sexuality. States, the authors comment, are patriarchal institutions. Those states that are home to the Kurds are also generally anti-Kurd. These states restrict academic freedom and university autonomy. Turkey, Iran, and Syria generally do not allow institutions of higher learning to engage in critical research or teaching about Kurdish women—or Kurds in general. Wars and upheavals in these areas also impact research and learning. The authors explain the reasons why in the West as well, Kurdish women’s studies are neglected. The authors provide theoretical perspectives on how states and also the market work to obstruct sound knowledge and understanding about Kurdish women. In spite of all of this, Kurdish women have resisted and have sought to develop knowledge, particularly in Turkey, about violence against women especially. Further, Kurds in diaspora have authored studies and have become involved with media, art, publishing, and human rights.

Part I contains thorough, detailed information about Kurdish language, religious life, diversity in Kurdish areas, and Kurdish populations in Middle Eastern countries and diasporic countries. The “Historical Sketch” stretches back to the seventh century. The authors gathered earlier materials about Kurdish women from Sharaf-Name, a history of Kurds from four centuries ago, from travelers, and from Mela Mehmûdê Bayezîdî’s Adat û Rusûmatnameê Ekradiye, a nineteenth-century book on Kurdish customs.

They warn about myths regarding the freedom of Kurdish women and offer excellent other cautions as well. The authors provide brief histories of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria and the situation of Kurds in these countries over time. Part I provides excellent contextualization for the annotated bibliographical entries that follow—the larger section of the book. I was amazed that so much information and so much channeling of theoretical perspectives could be fit into this section; this accomplishment conveys the in-depth reading, thinking, and knowledge of the authors developed over their long years of academic and intellectual partnership.

Part II, the 300 pages devoted to the bibliographic entries is meant to cover 20th century literature pertaining to Kurdish women, and as the note cautions, it “does not include the extensive literature (...) published from 2006 onward” (p. 67, my own emphasis), accentuating how “extensive” the relevant literature has become since then, an encouraging observation. It should also be noted that the bibliography is limited to works in English, German, and French, and does not include works in the languages spoken in Kurdistan and the wider region. Part II, amounting to an extremely thorough annotated bibliography, is divided into sections and subsections. The excellent organization of materials makes this opus user-friendly.

Each entry provides the citation followed by keywords with full information about the contents of the entry, almost amounting, in many cases, to an abstract of the publication. Some keywords are very long, such as the entry about Minoo Alinia’s dissertation that covers most of a page (see p. 189), and the entry on a roundtable about “violence against women in Iraqi Kurdistan”, that covers almost two pages (see pp. 164-165). The book includes segments on Table of Contents, About Authors, Acknowledgments, and Acronyms as well as Author
Index and Institutions and the Press Index in the Appendix. The wide coverage of materials about women of Kurdistan in English, German, and French, evokes marvel. However, as I have been familiar with the in-depth, scholarly analyses of both Amir and Shahrzad and with the patience and meticulous attention to detail of Shahrzad, I am not surprised. We can be grateful indeed to have this exceptional volume as a result of decades of dedication by a couple of beloved, dedicated, brilliant intellectuals and scholars. No one interested in the Kurds—nor, indeed, interested in the Middle East, women and gender, politics, international relations, patriarchy, or imperialism—can afford to miss studying this “historical and bibliographic study” of Women of Kurdistan.

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References