Elaeddîn Seccadî, Kurdewarî and Négritude
Metin Yüksel
Department of Political Science and Public Administration
Hacettepe University, Turkey

Abstract
Despite his outstanding place in the study of Kurdish society, culture and literature, sadly, Elaeddîn Seccadî has not received the scholarly attention he deserves. The very few sources on his works tend to be descriptive and biographical accounts. This exploratory paper sets out to put into perspective Seccadî’s continued use of the concept of Kurdewarî. It is notable that Seccadî is often concerned to put the Kurdish language, culture and literature on a par with those of other nations in the world. Indeed a quick glance at the forewords he penned in his works shows his recurrent references to “other nations” while talking about the Kurds. This paper suggests that more justice can be done to his intellectual legacy by placing Seccadî’s works in their broader political and historical milieu. An invitation to approach his contributions beyond a merely descriptive and/or romanticizing manner, this preliminary study attempts to draw parallels between Seccadî’s concept of Kurdewarî as it appears in his two books entitled Mêjûy Edebiy Kurdî and Kurdewarî, and the concept of négritude used by African-Caribbean intellectuals. It is suggested that both concepts aim to delineate distinctive and self-affirming Kurdishness and Africanness.
Introduction

Elaeddîn Seccadî occupies an outstanding place in the twentieth-century Kurdish literary and cultural history. A madrasa-educated mullah who served as the prayer leader at the Neîme Xatûn Mosque in Baghdad for over three decades, he was also the editor-in-chief of the Kurdish cultural and literary monthly Gelawêj from late 1941 until the appearance of its last issue in 1949. Seccadî also published the first Kurdish-Arabic political journal Nizar in 1948 and 1949. He made radio programs on Islam and Kurdish literature in the Kurdistan Radio Baghdad. Seccadî was among the participants of the Kurdish Teachers’ Congresses held in Şeqllawe in 1959 and 1960. He taught at the University of Baghdad’s Department of Kurdish until 1974. He was a member of the Kurdish Writers’ Union and the Kurdish Academy.¹

Seccadî’s active presence in the Kurdish cultural and literary scene in Iraq was not limited to his role in periodical press, radio broadcasts and teaching, however. In book publishing, too, he played an exceptional role. Seccadî ranks by far the first among all Kurdish writers in terms of the amount of publications. By 1975, he published sixteen books that amounted to 4370 pages; to be followed only by Gîw Mukriyanî, who published seventeen books with a total of 2964 pages (Nerîman, 1977: 263). When Seccadî died in 1984, he left behind twenty-one published books (Nerîman, 1987: 51-52).

Needless to say, it was not simply with the amount of his publications but also their wide-ranging contents that Seccadî stands out. His pioneering works on the history of Kurdish literature remain essential references to this day. Alongside his pioneering 1952 History of Kurdish Literature (Mêjûy Edebiy Kûrdî), one can also point to the Kurdish Literary Texts (Deşekaniy Edebiy Kûrdî), Kurdish Literature and Research in Kurdish Literature (Edebiy Kûrdî û Lêkollînewe le Edebiy Kûrdî) and History of Kurdish Prose (Mêjûy Peşxaniy Kûrdî). Seven articles by Seccadî appeared in the Journal of the Kurdish Academy (Govarî Korriy Zanyariy Kurdî) (1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1985).² His remarkable eight-volume collection of Rîştey Mirwarî testifies to Seccadî’s determination to record oral traditions such as jokes, sayings, anecdotes and narratives to save them from being lost. His passion and commitment to trace and save Kurdish-language sources as well as his encouragement of his fellow Kurds to read and write in their own language can be seen in A Travel in Kurdistan (Geşîkê le Kurdîstana), the first Kurdish-language travelogue, which was published in 1956 in Baghdad (1399a/2020a). Seccadî also published the talks and poems delivered at the “fortieth-day” (çile) commemorations of the passing of Mihemed Emîn Zekî and Pîremêrd (1948, 1951). A collection of short stories and a book on modern Kurdish political history should be added to his extensive list of publications (Seccadî, 1396a, 1396b). With the wide range and amount of his works that are all in prose, he occupies an exceptional place in enriching Kurdish prose.

His keen concern to document almost everything related to Kurdish language and culture was not limited to Kurdish oral narratives and written sources. Gêtiy Zîndewer not only introduces animals and plants but also points to various folk beliefs and practices concerning their uses for medicinal purposes (Seccadî, 1397/2018). His little book entitled Kurdish Names (Nawiy Kurdî) is an alphabetically ordered collection of Kurdish male and female names. In the foreword to this work, he points out that some people object to a search for Kurdish names by arguing that as Kurds are Muslim, there is no need for a search for Kurdish names. Seccadî responds by arguing that Muslims in India, Pakistan, China, Afghanistan, France and Britain use names in their own languages. “Then,” he concludes, “whoever criticizes one’s own language is likely being critical of one’s own existence!” (Seccadî, 1953: 4).

It is unfortunate that Seccadî has hardly received any scholarly attention. To illustrate, I have not been able to locate any master’s or PhD theses submitted to the University of Sulaimani about his works. On the other hand, the very few references I have found in Kurdish mostly tend to be descriptive and/or biographical accounts. As the most prolific Kurdish scholar and author of his times, Seccadî


² These contributions yet remain to be collected and made available in an edited volume.
certainly deserves to be the topic of scholarly treatments. This paper is a step towards filling in this gap with specific attention to his promotion of the concept of kurdewarî.

**Contextualizing Elaeddîn Seccadî**

Several points need to be highlighted in an analysis of Seccadî’s works. First and foremost, it should be emphasized that Seccadî’s chief worry is to save (parastin) and revive (bûjandinewe/zîndûkirdinewe) the Kurdish language. The following statements in his 1952 foreword to the first volume of *Rriştey Mirwarî* reveal the tight connection he establishes between language and national identity:

> A nation cannot be called a nation unless it has a language. Why are the English, the German, [and] the Arab called English, German, [and] Arab? [It is] because they have a language. When there is no language, there is no nationhood. Why have the Kurds lived until now? Because they have their language. If their language does not exist, the concept of Kurd will not remain in dictionaries (1390/2021: 27).

Then, he goes on by stating his goal as in the following:

> I have no goal other than saving the Kurdish language... Today’s world is not like the world of the past. Today’s change is not like the change of the past, the Kurdish nation (gewmiy kurd) must strive —without any distinction— to save its nationhood. This effort can be made possible by serving its language. Save your language and read in your language; then, do not worry about anything (1390/2021: 28).

The second point is about the recurrent concept of kurdewarî in his works. This paper suggests that his concept of kurdewarî can be effectively analyzed with reference to postcolonial criticism in general; and the concept of négritude, in particular. As abundantly demonstrated in postcolonial scholarship, colonialism has played a central role in the making and remaking of colonized cultures and identities (Young, 2001; Loomba, 2005). The centuries-long material exploitation of Africa in the form of enslavement and forced removal of millions of Africans from Africa eventually culminated in the “Scramble for Africa” in the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference, which brought almost the entire continent under the control of Western colonial powers. The material exploitation went hand in hand with Western cultural representations of Africa and the non-West in general as the land of darkness, children, beasts and savages (Cohen, 1970; Hall, 2008; Buck-Morss, 2000). It should be noted, however, that Middle Eastern empires of the Ottomans and Qajars were also involved in the trading of enslaved Africans (Toledano, 2007; Mirzai, 2017). The “borrowed colonialism” of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries Westernizing Ottoman-Turkish elites, on the other hand, projected Western representations of colonized peoples on to the peripheral populations of the Ottoman Empire (Deringil, 2003: 312). As Thomas Kühn points out:

> Like other modern imperial powers of the time, the Ottomans represented the subjugation of the local peoples as a mission to ‘civilize’ an indigenous population that was perceived as being culturally inferior to the conquerors (2003: 6).

From the nineteenth century through the age of nation-states in the Middle East, Kurds have been represented more often than not through similar lenses by Western and Middle Eastern political and intellectual elites (Makdisi, 2002: 769-770; Özbilge, 2020). It should not thus come as a surprise to see that Africans and Kurds are cited side by side in a Turkish newspaper in 1930 on their shared trait of ‘barbarism’ (Üngör, 2011: 184).

Seccadî’s early upbringing corresponds to the years of the First World War and its aftermath in the Middle East, when the Kurds began to live under the rule of Turkish, Arab and Iranian nation-states. As the Western powers in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon; the British and the French favored some social, ethnic and religious groups at the expense of others; and Kurds were not among their favored groups. Indeed the British in Iraq brought Sunni Arab elites to power. Both Kurdish elites and masses resisted the newly founded nation-states in the Middle East (see, among others; Bozarslan, 2008; Gorgas, 2014; Soleimani, 2017; Sluglett, 2007: 129–30). It is notable that the anti-British Kurdish resistance was

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3 My thanks to Haktan Kalır for bringing William B. Cohen’s article to my attention.
influenced by the developments in the British colony of India:

… the British had involuntarily induced the residents of Sulaimaniya to follow developments in India since 1920 through the Kurdish prisoners of war which had returned to the town from Sumarpur, Bellary and Nowgong. In the words of British officers, all residents appeared ‘to have become inculcated with the doctrines of the professional Indian malcontent’. The repatriated prisoners circulated the first anti-British propaganda, calling to put an end to the process of ‘Indianizing Kurdistan’ (Hindiyan bunawa), which in their terms meant the degradation of chiefs and the impoverishment of the peasants (Gorgas, 2008: 544).

Another point pertains to reinserting Kurdish culture in a global setting. The pioneering world historian Marshall G. S. Hodgson is the main inspiration as he highlights the need for interregional and interrelated study of history (1993). Likewise various insightful research also place emphasis on “connected histories”, “contact zones” and a global perspective beyond the disturbing effects of Eurocentrism and methodological nationalism (Bhambra, 2007; Dirlik, 1996; Conrad, 2016; Damrosch, 2009). All these studies are invaluable as they call for transcending the taken-for-granted social, political and cultural boundaries that are often ingrained in the social sciences and humanities.

An analysis of Seccadi’s contributions cannot be complete if one does not take into account the phenomenon of Gelawêj, i.e. the Kurdish cultural and literary journal published in Baghdad between 1939 and 1949. Seccadi was its editor-in-chief from late 1941 until 1949. A striking feature of Gelawêj is that it devoted many pages to Kurdish translations of pieces from a diverse range of fields such as literature, history, psychology, medicine, pedagogy, and more. Having functioned as the Kurdish window to the world at the time, Gelawêj seems to have nourished Seccadi’s interest in and knowledge of the rest of the world. His interest got to the point that he devoted the final pages of his Mêjîyê Edebiy Kurdî to the title of “World Literature” (“Edebiy Alem”), where he sought for parallels between Kurdish literature and ancient Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, Indian, Hebrew, Greek and Roman literatures (1395: 599-662).

The final point regarding my interest in analyzing kurdewarî in relation to négritude is about my conviction regarding the need to approach Kurdish cultural and literary themes and actors by placing them in their broader contemporary context. In other words, a study of Kurdish culture and literature should not be limited to the self-enclosed confines of Kurdishness. Indeed my earlier work attests to such an interconnecting approach to Kurdish poetry. To illustrate, I go into a comparative analysis of an oral poetic performance of Dengbêj Reso with that of his Turkish contemporary Âşık Veysel on the contrasting ways in which they narrate early Turkish Republican era (Yüksel, 2019). Elsewhere I analyze the poetic tributes to African-American singer Paul Robeson of Goran and Cegerxwîn while drawing parallels with contemporary poets such as Chilean Pablo Neruda, Turkish Nâzım Hikmet and Arab Jewish Sasson Somekh (Yüksel, 2015: 562). Such appraisals seem more promising than a restricted focus on Veysel, Reso, Goran and Cegerxwîn.

Kurdewarî

The earliest known use of kurdewarî is found in Mem û Zîn (Tunc, 2018: 54; Bayar, 2018: 156-160). Two dictionary definitions are as follows; “the place inhabited by Kurds” (Xall, 2017: 453), and “(typically, peculiarly, traditionally) Kurdish” (Chyet, 2003: 337). Another definition is provided by Amir Hassanpour: “Kurdish way of life, Kurdish culture, and Kurdish country or homeland” (Tunc, 2018: 54). The similar concept of kurdayêtî has a political meaning (Tunc, 2018; Natali, 2002), which can be traced in various memoirs (Sallih, 1999: 23; Refiq Hîlmî, 2000: 75). On the other hand, kurdewarî refers to social and cultural traits that are viewed to typically characterize Kurdishness.

While thorough research is needed to trace the appearance of the concept of kurdewarî in sources, even a quick glance shows that a number of publications during the lifetime of Seccadi also used kurdewarî. To illustrate, I have been able to locate several uses Gelawêj (Nûrî S., 1943: 49; Faîq Zêwêr, 1943: 36; A. Şakelî, 1943: 31). A journal by the title of Log of Kurbedarî (Defteriy Kurbedarî) appeared in 1970 (Xeznedar, 2018). The title of a book around the same time was Folklore of the Games of Kurbedarî (Folkloriy Yariyekaniy
Kurdewarî (Şerîf, 1971). Nevertheless based on his repeated references to kurdewari in his works, it seems fair to claim that Seccadî played a prominent role in promoting the use of kurdewarî. Despite his frequent use, however, he appears to take it for granted without providing a definition.


His book Kurdewarî is like an ethnographic report that records scenes of Kurdish social life in villages and towns. It extends the use of kurdewari beyond the meaning of Kurdish-inhabited space. Among the topics portrayed are the followings: weddings, funerals, religious festivals, Newroz, education in schools and madrasas, clothing, hunting, housing, mailing, lunar eclipse, fights between the inhabitants of different neighborhoods (şerregerek), migration, hospitality, games, and customs related to pilgrims/pilgrimage. Throughout this book, kurdewari appears frequently: “kurdewari” (137, 175, 234, 269), “le kurdewari da” (90, 159, 216, 229, 236, 250, 254, 276), “le kurdewari” (129, 171, 172, 175, 182, 200, 214, 218, 221, 227, 231, 236, 273, 313), “le naw feqê û melay kurdewari da” (107), “rewiştîy kurdewari” (112), “le willatiy kurdewari” (118), “ladêkanîy willatiy kurdewari” (194), “jinaniy kurdewari” (236), “swênîy kurdewari” (288, 296), and “le nawçe kurdewari da” (292, 298).

In the foreword of the second volume of Rîştey Mirwarî, Seccadî points to the importance of reading and writing in the Kurdish language. An important point he highlights is the way in which Arabic and Persian have been the dominant languages due to religious and political reasons. He points out that non-Arabic and non-Persian meanings—including Kurdish— have been written down through the medium of these two languages. Therefore, he suggests detecting the sources in Arabic and Persian narratives to trace Kurdish contributions (Seccadî, 1390/2021: 9-14). Taken together with these observations, it seems that the frequent use of kurdewari by Seccadî can be read as an attempt to document, portray and promote what he takes to be typically Kurdish.

Négritude
Négritude is defined as “a theory of distinctiveness of African personality and culture” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007: 144). African and Caribbean intellectuals Leopold Sédar Senghor, Birago Diop and Aimé Césaire developed négritude in the 1930s and 1940s as “the earliest and most important movement in establishing a wider awareness of Africa’s claim to cultural distinctiveness” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007: 144-145). Therefore, négritude stands out with “its attempt to extend perceptions of the negro as possessing a distinctive ‘personality’ into all spheres of life, intellectual, emotional and physical” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2007: 145). In a study, négritude is viewed as the cultural parallel of political nationalism of Pan-Africanism:

Pan-Africanism has been described as ‘essentially a movement of emotions and ideas’, and this description is equally applicable to négritude, which is its cultural parallel. Indeed, no better phrase could be found to sum up its double nature, first as a psychological response to the social and cultural conditions of the ‘colonial situation,’ and secondly as a fervent quest for a new and original orientation (Irele, 1965a: 499).
As “the only really significant expression of cultural nationalism associated with Africa” (Irele, 1965b: 321), the concept of négritude comprises the distinctively African personal, cultural and psychological response to a world both politically and epistemologically dominated by White Men. Négritude is thus a search to find out the characteristically African:

Towards the end of his life, Aimé Césaire has declared that the question he and his friend Léopold Sédar Senghor came to raise after they first met was: “Who am I? Who are we? What are we in this white world?” And he commented: “That’s quite a problem” (Césaire 2005, 23). “Who am I?” is a question Descartes posed, and a reader of the French philosopher naturally understands such a question to be universal, and the subject who says “I” here to stand for any human being. But when “who am I?” has to be translated as “who are we?” everything changes especially when the “we” have to define themselves against a world which leaves no room for who and what they are because they are black folks in a world where “universal” seems to naturally mean “white” (Diagne, 2022).

Seccadî does not introduce a literary movement with the concept of kurdewarî. Indeed he does not even provide a definition of it. Based on this summary presentation, both kurdewarî and négritude seem to be similar attempts that come up with a self-affirming personal, social and cultural awareness for Kurds and Africans, respectively.

Conclusion

This study is the first step in my exploration of Elaeddîn Seccadî’s intellectual personality. Based on a reading of his Mêjûy Edêbiy Kurdî and Kûrdewarî, one can argue that Seccadî’s recurrent use of kurdewarî can be read as a reflection of his cultural nationalism. Bringing kurdewarî into a conversation with négritude seems fruitful as it allows one to locate Seccadî’s works in a “tricontinental” (Young, 2001: 57) perspective. Furthermore, such an undertaking can be productive by helping one move beyond the established walls of Area Studies like Kurdish Studies and African Studies.

A last remark should be made concerning Elaeddîn Seccadî’s subjective engagement with his undertaking. The final sentence in the preface to his collection of short stories gives an idea about his motivation: “Our nation is all alone [helpless], if we ourselves do not become a friend, nobody will be so” (1396a: 84). The following quote taken from his Mêjûy Edêbiy Kurdî reflects his commitment even more clearly:

One day I was reading a text and as I was pondering upon it, it occurred to me who am I? Am I English? No. Am I Arab? No. I am a Kurd and from the Kurdish nation which is an independent and recognised nation in the world. As I was immersed in my thoughts I came to the conclusion that a nation should have its own language, literature and history and if not, it is of no significance and will be neglected … finally I decided I will write a literary history for myself, and for my people, of which we have been deprived, and so that our children can stand among nations with a [written] literary history (quoted in Ghaderi, 2015: 8).

While these lines are evidence of his dedication, still a more nuanced picture of Seccadî’s ideas will emerge if and when unpublished personal materials such as his journal (Nerîman, 1987: 52) —and other unpublished materials, if there are any— see the light of day.

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4 Kurdish original is as follows: “Qewmiy ême bêkes e, xoman nebîn be kesî, kes nabî be kesî”.

Kurdish
thank Shadan Ahmed for translating the abstract into Kurdish and Arabic.

Bibliography

Published Sources


**Online Sources**


هذه الدراسة الأولى تحاول رسم أوجه نشأة بين مفهوم سجادي للكوردوي، الذي تظهر في كلا كتبته "مزييز إبي كوردي" و" كوردواري" و" مفهوم "نيريتو" الذي استخدمه مفكرو الآداب الكردية، والكبيري، وتُقترح أن كلا المفهومين يهدفان إلى تطوير المفاهيم وتأكيد الذات الكردية والأفقرية.

الكلمات الرئيسية: علاء الدين السجادي، كوردواري، اقتراحات مابعد الاستعمارية، نيريتوود.

بوختى توتييتووه
علاء الدين سجادي، كوردواري ونيريتوود

سرداري كوردواري، هو علاء الدين سجادي توتييتووه كان له بارى كومكة و كوردواري و نيريتوود كوردوي، بدأوا بتكبببة تشابهات ياتي بني دراووه ك شابي مينت، و زمائيه، يذكر كم كم له سجادي به سمر كوردي كان كه شوازي وس و بياكترافيه. به كوردواري دختردووه به مهبي سي "خيرتوود" به كوردواري "سجادي نزهه كه سجادي هميهش له هولاكا بويه تيودي رم و تيودو و كوردي يانه تهاك رم و تيودو كلازيره تيودوكان جيا. كه كشئ اتازهج كه سجادي سجادي تيبييه دوهاره بويهوده به كوردنان سمارو "نهووكان دي" دحكهين له كلاس كاسكرى كوردكا.

نهم كورداري وتيمشري كهو دهاك كه دركيت ساقي زائر بردنت به ميران رؤشبةي سجادي به دهاك كه مييدين مزويو و سياسى فراودان. له بتنو نيريتوودوه كه كوردواري سجادي به شوازيك ين كه له دوسف، كه توتييتووه به كوردواري "سجادي" كه سجادي به كوردواري به هردوو كتى "مزييز" " ضدوري" به كوردواري و "هروهوا " "چمكي" "نيريتوود" له سجادي سجادي به كرواري و "هروهوا " "چمكي" "نيريتوود" كه نريتوودوه به لالانه رؤشبةي تنافنا، كاه. وهعيمزري كهو دهاك كه هردوو كه مسخمور مهلا داردكتني جيازاخ و خو سمالاندي هردوو كوردووو و نكيروي بوون دهده.

وشه كليبىيكان: علاء الدين سجادى، كوردواري، ردخىي دواى
كانزبرزم، نيريتوود.

ملخص البحث
علاء الدين سجادي، كوردواري، ونيريتوود

على الرغم من مكانة المثيرة في دراسة المجتمع، الثقافة، والأدب الكردي لأسف علاء الدين السجادي لم يحظ بالاهتمام الأكاديمي الذي يستحقه و هناك مصادر قليلة جدا عن أعماله الذي كانت على شكل وصف و سيرة ذاتية.

هذه الدراسة تهدف إلى وضع الاستخدام المستمر لكلمة "كوردواري" من قبل السجادي تحت منظور مع الجديد بالذكر أن سجادي كان منهما يوضع اللغة والثقافة والأدب الكردي على قدم المساواة مع تلك الموجودة في الأمم الأخرى في العالم في الواقع، إن إلغاء نظر سريعة على المقدرات التي صاغها في أعماله نظر لشارته المتكببة إلى "الأمم الأخرى" أثناء حديثه عن الأكراد. هذه الدراسة تقترح أن يمكن تحقيق المزيد من العدالة لإرث سجادي الكردي من خلال وضع أعماله في محبيها السياسي والتاريخي الأوس، ودعوة لتنزف من مساهماته خارج عن نطاق الوصفية.