

Djazā'iri, Muḥammad Mubārak and Saïm al-Bukhārī. In 1897 he joined the staff of the first Arabic newspaper of Damascus, *al-Shām*, and at the same time collaborated in the Egyptian review *al-Muḥtaṭaf*. He also attempted to translate some French novels into Arabic. Four years later he decided to visit Paris, but while passing through Cairo he was detained there by the friends whom he had made by his collaboration in *al-Muḥtaṭaf* and he thus had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the celebrities of the age, most notably with Muḥammad 'Abduh [q.v.], whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended. Obligated to leave Egypt because of an epidemic, Kurd 'Alī returned to Damascus, but the atmosphere there seemed to him so oppressive that he soon returned to Cairo, where he stayed until 1908; during this second stay, he collaborated in editing *al-Zāhir*, *al-Musāmarāt*, and *al-Mu'ayyad*, and founded the review *al-Muḥtaṭaf*, a periodical which was always very close to his heart; after three years of publication in Cairo, *al-Muḥtaṭaf* was transferred in 1908 to Damascus and continued to appear for a further six years, until the time when the Ottoman authorities, irritated by Kurd 'Alī's frankness, forbade its publication.

At the end of 1908, Kurd 'Alī succeeded in realising the dream which he had first cherished eight years before and, passing this time through Lebanon, went to France and spent a year there; in the course of this visit, for which he had been preparing himself for a long time, he observed the people of the country and their way of life, visited the principal libraries, attended, theatrical performances and took a special interest in the Académie Française. Returning to Damascus via Istanbul, he continued to edit his review and then, at the end of the year 1913, undertook a second journey to Europe; he went first to Italy, where he had the good fortune to install himself in the library of prince Leone Caetani, whose *Annali dell'Islam* had revealed to him a method of working to which the Orient was not yet accustomed; it was here that he assembled much of the documentation which he required for the composition of a definitive history of Syria, the *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām*, a monumental work which is still the most complete study of this vast subject. In 1921-2, a third journey took him to the countries of western Europe, and it was on his return that he wrote the *Gharā'ib al-Gharb*, a *riḥla* [q.v.], published in 1923, based on notes taken in the course of his three journeys and reflections inspired by his observations. Immediately after the Great War, he had been appointed general secretary of the Committee for Public Education and it was in this capacity that he considered the creation of an organisation responsible for purifying and enriching the Arabic language, publishing texts and encouraging the literary and intellectual activity of his country. On 8 June 1919, he obtained authorisation to transform the *Dfwan al-Ma'arif*, which had been founded a few months earlier, into an Arab Academy [see MADRIMA^c 'ILMI. 1. Arab countries]; he was thus able to put into effect the project of which he had been inspired, ten years previously, by his visit to the Académie Française. The career of Kurd 'Alī was henceforward inseparable from the activity of his Academy, to which he devoted the greater part of his time and over which he presided until his death, on 2 April 1953; the only intervals in his work with the Academy were his two terms of office as Minister of Public Education and his third journey to Europe.

Kurd 'Alī was of a witty and playful nature; a

great conversationalist, he loved to joke and play with words, and his style is an accurate reflection of his personality. He left an abundant corpus which included, apart from the thousands of pages of articles published in the review in which he collaborated at the start of his career, in *al-Muḥtaṭaf* and in the *Madjallat al-Maḍīma^c al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (*MMIA*), editions of texts and original works of a historical or literary nature. He was largely responsible for making known the "epistles" of Ibn al-Muḥaffa^c, of 'Abd al-Hamīd, of Ibn al-Mudabbir [q.vv.], etc. in his *Rasā'il al-bulaghā*, Cairo 1908, 1913, 1946, and he enriched the Arab Academy Publications with the *Sirat Ibn Tulūn* of al-Balawī (1939), the *al-Mustadjād min fa'alat al-adjwād* of al-Tanūkhī (1946), the *Ta'riḥ hukamā' al-Islām* of al-Bayhaḳī (1946), the *Kitāb al-Ashriba* of Ibn Qūṭayba (1947), and the *al-Bayzara* of Kūshādjīm (1953).

Among his original works, mention should be made of his contribution to literary history and criticism: *Umarā' al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, and *Kunūz al-adjdād*, Damascus 1950. Apart from the *Gharā'ib al-Gharb* of 1923 and the *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām*, Damascus 1925 (6 vols.), his major work, Kurd 'Alī collected in *al-Qadīm wa 'l-hādīth*, Cairo 1925, a large number of the articles published in *al-Zāhir*, *al-Mu'ayyad* and *al-Muḥtaṭaf* and added an account of his travels in the Hijāz and Palestine. In addition, he pleaded the cause of Arab-Islamic culture in *al-Islām wa 'l-haḍāra al-'arabiyya*, Cairo 1934 (2 vols.), published a critical study of the morals and customs of the Orient in *Akwā'idunā wa-af'alunā*, in Cairo 1946, devoted a monograph to the oasis of Damascus, *Ghūṭat Dimashq*, Cairo 1949, and finally published four volumes of memoirs, *Mudhakkirāt*, Damascus 1948-51.

Bibliography: Apart from the biographical data given at the end of the *Khīṭaṭ al-Shām* and of his *Memoirs*, see Brockelmann, S III, 430-4; S. Dahhān, in *MMIA*, xxx/2, 211-52; idem, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i, 379-94; idem and H. Laoust, *L'oeuvre de l'Académie arabe de Damas, 1921-1951*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 161-219. (CH. PELLAT)

KURDS, KURDISTĀN.

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i. — GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Kurds, an Iranian people of the Near East, live at the junction of more or less laicised Turkey, Shīrī Iran, Arab and Sunnī ʿIrāq and North Syria, and Soviet Transcaucasia. The economic and strategic importance of this land, Kurdistan, is undeniable. Since the end of the First World War, the Kurdish people, like all the rest of their neighbours, have undergone considerable transformations as much in the political order as in the economic, social and cultural domain. Many works have been published, a few in every country, on these different problems. Some excellent general bibliographies exist: F. B. Rostopčīn, *Bibliografiya po kurdskoy probleme*, in *Revol. Vostok*, 1933/3-4 (19-20), 292-326, 5 (21), 159-73; O. Vil'čevskiy, *Bibliografičeskii obzor zarubežnykh kurdskikh pečatnykh izdaniy v XX stoletii*, in *Iranskiye Yaziki*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1945, 147-81; M. B. Rudenko, *Opisanie Kurdsikh rukopisey Leningradskikh sobraniy*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.*, Moscow 1961; N. A. Aleksanian, *Bibliografiya k'ir'dēd k'or-dīteye Sovetie*, Erevan 1962, in Kurdish and Russian; J. S. Mueallian, *Bibliografiya po kurdovedeniyu*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.* 1963; C. J. Edmonds, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1920-1936*, in *JRCAS*, xxiv (1937), 487-97; idem, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1937-1944*, in *JRCAS*, xxxii (1945), 185-91; D. N. MacKenzie, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1945-1955*, in *JRCAS*, lxiv (1957), 31-7; E. R. McCarus, *Kurdish language studies*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1960), 325-35; P. Rondot, *Les Kurdes, le Kurdistan, la question kurde, Essai de bibliographie*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1947/2; A. Bennigsen, *Les Kurdes et la Kurdologie en Union soviétique*, in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, ii (April-June 1960), 513-30; M. Mokri, *Kurdologie et enseignement de la langue kurde en U.R.S.S.*, in *L'Ethnographie*, 1963, 71-106; Th. Bois, *Bulletin raisonné d'études kurdes*, in *Machriq*, lvii (1964), 527-70; *ISK's Kurdish bibliography*, ed. Silvio van Rooy and Kees Tamboer, Amsterdam 1968, i, 658 pp. (9350 nos.). cf. review by Th. Bois, in *BiOr*, 1969/3-4, 184-87; Mistefa Ehmed Nerfman, *Kitābxane kurdī*, Kirkūk 1960.

ii. — THE KURDS AND THEIR COUNTRY: KURDISTĀN

A. The territorial extent of Kurdistan. If the ethnic term "Kurd" is of ancient usage, for it is known since the Arab conquest if one does not wish to go further back (cf. below, *Origins*), it seems that, historically, the name Kurdistan or "land of the Kurds" dates from the time of Sultan Sandjār (d. 552/1157), the last great Saldjūkid, who created a province with its capital called Bahār, to the north-east of Hamadān. This province, situated between Ādharbāyđjān and Luristān, included the regions of Hamadān, Dīnawar, Kirmānshāh and Senna, to the east of the Zagros and to the west of Shahrazūr and

Khufiyān, on the Zāb. The whole numbered 16 cantons, enumerated by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. 750/1349), in his *Nuḥat al-kulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 1908; ed. Tehran 1957, 127). The nominal extent of Kurdistan varied however throughout the centuries. Sharaf al-Dīn, in his *Sharaf-nāma* (1596), does not hesitate to include the Lurs in Kurdistan, in chs. 3 and 4 of his 1st Book, as do all the Arab historians, who include everything in the province they call al-Djibāl [q.v.], cf. V. Barthold, *Istoriko-geografičeskij obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 138. For his part, the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Ālebi (d. ca. 1093/1682), in his *Siyāhat-nāma*, iv, 74-5, enumerates the 9 *wilāyets* which formed Kurdistan in his time: Erzurum, Van, Hakkāri, Dīyārbakr, Djazīra, ʿAmādiya, Mawşil, Shahrazūr and Ardalān, and which required 17 days to traverse.

But the rivalries between the Ottoman sultans and the Shāhs of Persia broke up this unity. In the 17th century the Turkish administration gave no more than 3 *liwāʿs* to the *eyālet* of Kurdistan: Darsīm, Muş and Dīyārbakr. In the same way, in Iran in the 16th century, Hamadān and Luristān were detached from Kurdistan and the name was reserved for the region of Ardalān with Sinna as its capital. Today, Iran is the only country to recognise a province by the name of Kurdistan. Everywhere else, Kurdistan has been banished from the language of the administration and the geographical atlases. In Turkey one speaks of Eastern Anatolia; in ʿIrāq, of the provinces of the north; in Syria, of the province of Djazīra (Ghassemlou, 14).

B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistan. From the above, it is clear that the historical and then political extent of Kurdistan does not coincide with its actual ethnic extent. So the frontiers within each of the countries concerned must be defined more or less approximately.

In Turkey, the Kurds inhabit the whole of the eastern region of the country. According to Trotter (1878), the limit of their extent to the north was the line Divriği—Erzurum—Kars. In the region of Erzurum they are found especially to the east and the south-east. The Kurds also occupy the western slopes of Ararat, the districts of Kağızman and Tuzluca. On the west they extend in a wide belt beyond the course of the Euphrates (Ritter, xi, 144), and, in the region of Sivas, in the districts of Kangāl and Divriği. Equally, the whole region includes areas to the east and south-east of these limits. Some quite important colonies of Kurds are even found in Cilicia, to the south of Ankara, in Heymana and in the large towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In brief, it may be said that if Turkey is at present divided administratively into 67 *ils* or provinces, Turkish Kurdistan numbers at least 17 of them almost totally: in the north-east, the provinces of Erzincan, Erzurum and Kars; in the centre, going from west to east and from north to south, the provinces of Malatya, Tunceli, Elazığ, Bingöl, Muş, Karaköse (Ağrı), then Adiyaman, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis and Van; finally, the southern provinces of Urfa, Mardin and Çölemerik (Hakkāri). The Kurds of Turkey are also linked on the east with their brothers from Iran.

The latter inhabit the north-west of Iran. Firstly in the provinces of Western Ādharbāyđjān, to the east of Lake Riđāʿiyya (Urmiya), the districts of Makū, Kotur, Shahpur, and to the south of the lake, Mahābād (ex-Sabla); in the province of Ardalān, called the province of Kurdistan, whose capital is Senna or Sanandaj, the districts of Bukan, Sakğiz, Sardāšt, Bana, Biđjar (Garrus), Meriwān and

Hawramān; in the province of Kirmānshāh, Kaş-i Şîrîn. There are furthermore isolated groups of Kurds in Khurāsān, at Budjînur and in Fārs and Kirmān, not to mention the numerous Kurds who live in the cities such as Tabrîz and the outskirts of Tehran (Brugsch, *Reise*, ii, 496). Much further to the east and outside Iran, an important Kurdish tribe is to be found in Balūcistān.

In 'Irāk, the Kurds occupy the north and north-east of the country in the *liwā's* or provinces of Duhok, recently detached from the province of Mawşil, the *nāhiyas* or districts of Zaḫho, Mazuri Djēr, 'Amādiya and 'Akra. Left outside their administration are Sindjār and Shaykhān, peopled by the Yazīdīs [q.v.]; the *liwā's* of Kirkūk, Arbîl and Sulaymānī (entirely Kurdish) and, in the *liwā's* of Diyālā, the *nāhiyas* of Khānāqīn and Mandali, where they are neighbours of the Kurds of Iran to the west of the Zagros. The Kurds are equally numerous in Baghdād and Mawşil.

In Syria, they constitute three distinct belts, in the north of the country and to the south of the highway which forms a frontier and where they are in direct contact with their compatriots in Turkey. A belt of 40 km. width, in the Kurd Dāgh; a group (60 × 40 km.), to the east of the Euphrates where the river enters Syria near Djarablus; and finally, a belt of 250 km. in length by 30 km. in depth in the Djazīra, between the Khābūr, a tributary of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with Ra's al-'Ayn, Darbisiyya, 'Amūda, Kamishli, Andivar and Dêrik. In this "duck's beak", the Kurds of 'Irāk and those of Turkey are juxtaposed (Rondot, 80). The Syrian towns of Damascus, Hamāt and Aleppo count many thousands of Kurds.

Some still exist in Soviet Transcaucasia. In the Republic of Armenia, 35 villages in the *rayons* of Aparan, Basargeçar, Huktemberia, Talin and Eçmiadzin; in the Republic of Ađharbāyđjān, 25 villages in the *rayons* of Kelbađjan, Latchin and Kubatli (Aristova, 47-8, 64). There are numbers of Kurds living in Erevan, Baku and, in the Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi or Tiflis.

The imprecise limits of the frontiers of Kurdistan hardly allow an exact appreciation of the area. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* estimates the length of Kurdistan at 600 miles and its breadth at 150 miles. The *Kāmus al-'Ālam*, Istanbul 1896, which naturally is only concerned with the Kurdish *wilāyets* of the Ottoman Empire, sets its length at 900 km. and its breadth between 100 and 200 km. At present, the different provinces of Kurdistan cover around 190,000 km² in Turkey, 125,000 km² in Iran, 65,000 km² in 'Irāk, and 12,000 km² in Syria. The total area of Kurdistan can then be estimated at approximately 392,000 km².

While there are many Kurds who live outside ethnic Kurdistan, there are numerous non-Kurds who live in Kurdistan. In Turkey, there are some Turks everywhere, but also, in the north, some Ossetes and some Tcherkesses, and in the south some predominantly Syriac or Jacobite Christians (Cl. Dauphin, *Situation actuelle des communautés chrétiennes du Tūr 'Abān (Turquie orientale)*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xxii/2-3 (1972), 323-7). The Armenians have in fact completely disappeared. In Iran to the west of Lake Riđā'iyya and in 'Irāk in the region of Duhok-Zaḫho and Kirkūk, some Nestorians and Chaldaeans are to be encountered, together with, in the towns, a few rare Armenians. The Jews, at one time relatively numerous, have all emigrated since 1948 (W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of*

Kurdistan a hundred years ago, a traveler's record, in *Jewish Social Studies*, vi [1944], 195-226; I. Ben-Zvi, *The exiled and the redeemed host in Assyria*, in *The Jewish Publication Society of America*, Philadelphia 1957). In Kirkūk one finds some Turcomans (I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 342-3).

C. Numerical extent of the Kurds. As the Kurds are not ordinarily registered as such in the censuses of the population carried out by the different states where the Kurds are resident, it is impossible to have exact statistics of the total population of Kurdistan. Besides, statistics require delicate handling, and they risk being manipulated for political motives. Cf. for 'Irāk, M. Durra, 1st ed. 1963, 210 and 2nd ed. 1966, 225; for Turkey, E. Esenkova, 1967, 29. Here are a few examples, whose divergences, which show the complexity of the question, may undoubtedly be explained by the fact that their authors do not apply the same criteria of ethnic adherence, religion and language. Hence the elimination of the Lurs. Account must also be taken of demographic progression, which works in favour of the Kurds, a fact which is at times equally forgotten. Here are a few figures, in thousands, supplied by: (1) B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1956, 42; (2) S. I. Brouk, *L'ethnographie*, 1958, 30; (3) A. Ghassemloou, *Kurdistan*, 1965, 23; (4) I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 1970, 30; (5) C. J. Edmonds, *Kurdish nationalism*, in *Journal Cont. Hist.* vi/1 (1971), 92:

	1	2	3	4	5
Turkey	4,500	2,500	4,900	6,600	3,200
Iran	1,500	1,800	3,300	4,250	1,800
'Irāk	500	900	1,550	2,000	1,550
Syria	500	300	250	500	320
Transcaucasia	250	—	160	150	80
Total	7,250	5,500	10,160	13,500	6,950

(cf. Edmonds, 92 n. 1).

D. The geography of Kurdistan

1. Physical aspect

Kurdistan is in its entirety a country of high mountains. Its skeleton, in its Turkish part, is constituted by the different chains of the Eastern Taurus. These chains begin to take shape from the shores of the Mediterranean at the latitude of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and radiate at first towards the north-east. To the north of Maraş, they form a fork whose northern line pivots away from the Engirek Dağ and Nuruhak Dağ (3,090 m.), continues by the Akra Dağı, joins the chains of Mounts Munzur (3,088 m.), Mercan and Kargaparazı (3,388 m.), then curves in and crosses the mountainous chain of the Araxes and finally ends in the Ararat system.

From our point of departure a second chain, very clearly a crescent in shape, begins to the south of Malatya, continues by the mountains of Maden, the ridges of Hağres (2,689 m.) and Sasun (2,590 m.) to the south of Muş, pursues its curve to the south of Lake Van, via Mounts Bitlis and Hakāri (3,630 m.), with the Cilo Dağı which culminates in Mount Reşko (4,170 m.).

Between these two lines is situated what is called the Armenian plateau, whose altitude comes down no lower than 1,500 to 1,000 m. Furthermore, some parallel chains on the northern border maintain quite a high level, such as the Çakmak Mountains and, to the south of Erzurum, the volcanic system of Palendöken Dağı (3,124 m.), to the south of which the combination of Mounts Bingöl, Şerafettin and,

further to the west, the heights of Tunceli, constitute this natural fortress of Dersim. In this mass of crystalline rocks the Euphrates has hollowed out deep canyons, and the mountains with steep slopes clothe these inaccessible sites in fantastic shapes. But beautiful fertile plains extend to the north of Malatya (915 m.) to the south-east of Elaziğ (1,020 m.) and to the north of Muş (1,500 m.). All along this Anatolian scar frequent tremors shake the region and claim numerous victims. We may recall the earthquakes of Erzincan in 1939 which killed 25,000 and those, less murderous meanwhile, of Varto in 1966 and Bingöl and Genc in 1971.

To the south of the curve of the Taurus spread the vast flat regions of Adiyaman, Urfa (550 m.) and Diyarbakir (650 m.) which descend abruptly towards Mesopotamia with contours of 3,000 metres, always allowing for certain land movements, such as the volcanic cone of Karacadağ (1,915 m.) and the chain of Tūr 'Ābidin, which extends from Mardin (1,130 m.) and meets on the east with the much higher massifs of Herakol (2,943 m.) and Mount Cudi (2,089 m. [see 210ff]).

To the extreme east and more to the north is the supporting point for the Great Ararat or Ağrı Dağ (5,165 m.) and the Small Ararat (3,925 m.) perhaps considered as the pivot of a new system of mountains. Indeed, from this centre seem to radiate several points which, on one side, encircle Lake Van, with to the north the chain of the immense sulphur-spring which is the Tendürek (3,313 m.) and that of the Ala Dağ (3,255 m.); to the east, the Kuh Dağ (2,850 m.), the Mengene (3,610 m.) and the İspiriz Dağ (3,537 m.) and to the south the Vaviran Dağ (3,550 m.) and the chain of Satak. Let us note, apart from the two Ararats whose structure is due to very ancient volcanic eruptions, two famous volcanoes on the shores of Lake Van: to the north, the Sipan (about 4,434 m.) and especially Mount Nemrut (Nimrūd), whose highest peak has an altitude of 3,140 m. and whose crater has a diameter of 6,400 m. with an interior lake of fresh water at a height of 2,552 m. All this region to the south of Lake Van, which is itself at an altitude of 1,720 m., is in its entirety the highest part of the Kurdish-inhabited area of Turkey.

Elsewhere, other chains of mountains are connected with Ararat; these are clearly oriented north-south, lying between Lake Van and that of Urmia and also separating Turkish Kurdistan from its Iranian part. After having rejoined the almost inaccessible node of the Harki-Oramar country, they slant towards the south-west and also form this *chaîne magistrale* of the Zagros which, in a set of parallel lines, makes up for a good part, the portions of Kurdistan, the eastern faces being situated in Iran and the western faces in 'Irāk. As C. J. Edmonds remarks, it is not always easy to give a name known by all to designate the different chains, for their names vary with the informants, according to whom they are situated on such-or-such a slope, or close to a better-known peak, pass, village or the tomb of a famous saint.

We have, in Iran, some chains which lie, oriented north-west to south-east, with multiple ramifications and parallel series. Let us note in passing some of the highest summits: the Dalenpar (3,748 m.) at the intersection of the three frontiers: Turkish, 'Irākī and Iranian; the Spiraz, the Qandil or Kogiz (3,782 m.) the Galala (3,364 m.), further to the east the Çehel Çeşme ("at the forty springs") (3,416 m.) a real rampart of water of Iranian Kurdistan, and further to the south, the chain of Hawāmār. (3,216

m.) and that of Cilo, whose average height is 3,500 m., up to the mountains of Luristân and the Pušt-i Kūh.

On the 'Irākī side, to the south of the Turkish frontier, in the extension of the chains of the Cudi Dağ, Seman Dağ and Cilo Dağ, but at the same time in a graduated descent towards the Mesopotamian plains, between the Tigris and the Great Zāb, are the Bēkḥayr, Metina and Gara chains and, approaching the Iranian frontier, beyond the Zāb, Mounts Ser-i Korawa (3,603 m.), Dolareşh (3,449 m.), and Kḥu-warabṭē (3,168 m.). In this region of Bradost, if the frontier chains are still high, e.g. Mount Halgurd (4,013 m.), they tend to become lower as they approach the plains. Also, Mount Handrîn to the south-east of Rawāndiz [q.v.] is no more than 2,793 metres. As soon as one crosses the Little Zāb, the chains stretch out in parallels from the dorsal column of the Zagros. The line Kurakadjaw-Godjar-Kurkur-Asis includes further numerous peaks between 2,950 and 1,960 metres high. A second line Azmir-Karasird is yet lower, between 1,870 and 1,608 m. high, with however, to the north-west of Sulaymāniyya, the remarkable ridged upthrust of the Pira Magrūn (3,183 m.). A last parallel chain Bingird-Beranan is still several hundreds of metres lower (between 1,739 and 1,477 m.). Further to the west, the long chain of the Kara Dağ, from 1,398 to 2,017 metres, with multiple passes, henceforth separates the high country from the plains which now extend without an obstacle towards Altun Köprü, Kirkūk and Taḥk, to be bordered and limited further to the west by the Ḥamrîn Mts. (1,640 m.) which, oriented transversely south-east to north-west, traverse the Diyāla, the Sirwān and finally the Tigris, quite near to where the Little Zāb flows out.

Let us further note, although the new administrative division of 'Irāk leaves it outside Kurdistan, the Djabal Sindjār, where the Yazīdīs, who are themselves really Kurds, live. This chain, 60 km. in length and 15 km. in width and lying at an altitude of approximately 1,600 m., is situated in Mesopotamia to the west of Mosul and at the same latitude.

If Kurdistan is a country of very uneven relief, it is no less generously watered by numbers of clear springs and many watercourses and actual rivers.

Let us first note the Araxes or Aras whose source is clearly in Kurdistan in the plateau of Bingöl, with a thousand lakes, between the Tigris and Euphrates, but in contrast to these two rivers which are directed towards the south-west, it flows first towards the north, bends towards the east and passes into Soviet Armenia.

The two great Biblical rivers traverse Kurdistan in particular. The Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT] is formed by two principal branches which enclose a vast Kurdish region. The northern branch, the Kara Su (450 km. long) is made up at its source of numerous springs which come from the Dümlü Dağ; then it flows in the plain of Erzurum where it receives the springs which rise in the Çoruh Dağ, directs itself westward in narrow gorges, waters Erzincan, slants towards the south and follows a capricious course which snakes in every sense. It waters Kemah, passes by Kemaliye, and runs into mountains on all sides which block its passage, to rejoin a little to the south of the Eğil the southern branch or Murat Su (659 km. long). This last has its source to the north of Lake Van, at the foot of the volcanic Mounts Ala Dağ and Tendürek; the Murat Su climbs up again a little to the north, passes by Diyadin and Karaköse, turns off again to the south and waters Tutak and Malazgirt.

Then, always following its sinuous course, it passes to the north of Muş, waters Genc, Palu and Pertek, finally joining the northern branch to the north of Keban. Thereafter the two branches form the Euphrates properly so-called. Although the only important tributary on the right bank of the Kara Su is the Tohma Su (194 km. long), which flows into it to the north of Malatya and then runs outside Kurdistan, the Murat Su has numerous tributaries which, like the Peri Su (235 km. long), with their sub-tributaries, literally criss-cross Kurdistan; no area is very far from a watercourse.

The Tigris [see *DIRDLA*], the other great river of the region (1,718 km. long), waters Kurdistan in its upper course. It has its source in the region of Lake Hazar to the north of the Maden Mts., waters for 300 km. of Turkish Kurdistan the towns famous in Kurdish history, sc. Ergani, Diyarbakir, Hasankeyf and Cizre/Djazira. There are numerous tributaries, all on the left bank: Anbar, Batman, Gurza and especially Botan (226 km.), fertilise the land. It passes the 'Irâkî frontier at Pêsh Khâbûr, where its tributary the Khâbûr [7.v.] joins it, and whose sub-tributary the Hazil waters Zakho. There then develops a complete network of beautiful streams, all tributaries of the Tigris and which are actual rivers. First of all the Great Zâb (392 km. long), which rises in Turkey in Mergene Dağ between Lakes Van and Riđâ'iyya. It waters Culamerik/Djulamarg, then in 'Irâk the regions of Zibar and Barzan and, by one of its offshoots, the highly picturesque town of Rawândiz. It joins the Tigris 45 km. south of Mawşil. The Little Zâb (400 km. long) has its source in Iran, near Lâhidjân, a land of lakes. Its tributaries are numerous in Persia as well as in 'Irâk. After having watered Taktak and Altun Kôpri, it joins the Tigris. On its lower course, at Dukan, an enormous dam was completed in 1958 with a capacity of 7 billion m³ of water, which stretches over 50 km.² Its aim is firstly to regulate the flow of the Tigris, subject to catastrophic floods, but also to irrigate about 250,000 hectares. A hydro-electric plant with a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts is of importance in the region of Çamçamâl and will give the Kurdish provinces of 'Irâk self-sufficiency in energy. The 'Adhaym (230 km. long) rising in the locality of Bazyan, with its various ramifications, waters Kirkûk, Dağûk Tuz and Khurmatu, and traverses the Hamrîn Mts., hurling itself into the Tigris 30 km. south of Baghdâd. Finally, there is the Diyâla (386 km. long) which rises in the mountains of the 'Irâkî-Iranian frontier; its principal source in 'Irâk is the Tandjaru which waters the plain of Şahrazûr, and in Iran the Sirwân rising in Luristân. After Derbend-i Khân, where a great dam has been constructed which is intended to serve for irrigation in 'Irâk, these two branches constitute the Diyâla, which flows into the Tigris south of Baghdad.

Iranian Kurdistan is also traversed by numerous streams of which several rise in the Çihil Çeshme, a great massif of 2,085 m. height in the Mukri country. Let us note only the Kizil Uzun, whose various ramifications water all the Ardalân country, not to mention the Diğatu (240 km.) and the Tatahu which both flow into Lake Riđâ'iyya.

As with the mountains, the streams which run through Kurdistan may change their names according to the region traversed. Many watercourses, moreover, take their name very simply from the principal locality that they traverse.

There are also several lakes in Kurdistan, of which the largest is Lake Van. Situated at an altitude of

1,700 m., it has an area of 3,700 km.² Its salt waters are due to a volcanic barrier which deposits on its banks carbonate and soda sulphate. Only one kind of fish is caught there, a sort of large bleak with changing colours. To the north of Lake Van is Lake Nazik and to the north-east of Van is Lake Ercek. Further to the north is Lake Balik lying to the east of Karaköse. At the sources of the Tigris to the north-west of Maden is the Hazar Gölü, quite deep and with an area of about 50 km.² Its waters are salt and eels are caught there. In Iran one may cite Lake Urmia with a Kurdish population bordering it. It is larger than Lake Van (5,700 km.²), 130 km. long and 40 km. wide in places; it is more salt than the Dead Sea, and no fish can live there. Not far from there and to the south are two small lakes, the Şor Göl and the Daryâe-i Kôpi. At the 'Irâkî frontier to the west of Mari Van and south-east of Penđjwin is Lake Zrêbar. In 'Irâkî Kurdistan there are no lakes at all.

Because of its altitude, the climate of Kurdistan is harsh. Snow covers the high summits for many months of the year. Precipitation is variable according to the regions. In the plains, rainfall varies between 200 and 400 mm. a year, although it may reach between 700 and 2,000 and even 3,000 mm. on the plateaux between the different chains of mountains. But in the valleys of central Kurdistan, the climate is continental and even arid, and there are sometimes several months without a drop of water.

The temperature also undergoes quite large variations. At Karaköse in the north it may fall to -30° - 35° C. in winter and rise in the south in summer to $+35^{\circ}$ - 40° C. at Kirmânshâh (Ghassemlou, 15). In Iranian Kurdistan, where a dry continental climate rules, the range may vary between -22° C. and $+32^{\circ}$ C. In general, the eastern slopes of the Zagros are more favoured than the western slopes. At Senna we have -15° in January and $+35^{\circ}$ in July; at Khânikîn, $+2^{\circ}$ in January and $+41.8^{\circ}$ in July; at Kirkûk, $+14.5^{\circ}$ and $+43^{\circ}$ C. Further to the west, we find, in January and July respectively, at Malatya -1° , 5° and $+26.5^{\circ}$; at Urfa, $+4.5^{\circ}$ and $+32^{\circ}$; at Diyarbakir $+2.5^{\circ}$ and $+31^{\circ}$; and at Van, -3.5° and $+22.5^{\circ}$.

2. The living landscape and habitat

Harsh as Kurdistan may be, it is far from being a desert; its mountains are covered with pasture and vegetation, and its valleys with forests and meadows which, in spring, are dotted with multicoloured flowers. There are also 10 million hectares of forests in Turkish Kurdistan, 4 million in Iran and 1,720,000 in 'Irâkî Kurdistan, of which 50 km.² are firs. The oak, of which more than 15 kinds can be counted, is the most widespread species up to an altitude of 2,700 m.; then there are the firs and other conifers. Moreover, the forests are not always very dense and often have the appearance of scrub with many stands of junipers. The plane tree, willow and especially the poplar, flourish by the waters.

In the mountains, high mountain-pastures stretch over many kilometres and provide pasturage for herds of goats and sheep. In places, edible wild plants grow, sought after by shepherds and simple folk for their medicinal properties and carefully collected by old women. In spring, flowers cover in abundance the smallest corner of earth, whose richness of colours literally stupefies and whose perfumes intoxicate the passersby. All this flora is familiar to us, for the species of Europe are found there and travellers do not fail to record the names (see e.g. C. J. Rich, i, 284; Bishop, i, 290-1, 343, ii, 12, 14, 115;

Lynch, i, 181, 190-1, ii, 208, 248, 253, 268, 269, 303, 362, 369, 239, 241, 242, 382; Freya Stark, 257, 273, 330; Hamilton, 141-3; Balsan, *passim*, etc.).

Only a part of the arable Kurdish lands is covered by cultivation and crops. If, in Turkey, there are 25 million hectares of cultivable lands, only 30% are cultivated, of which one-third lies fallow each year (Esenkova, 108). In Iranian Kurdistan, out of 5 million hectares of cultivable lands, 24% are cultivated and 16% lie fallow (Ghassemlou, 90). In the various districts of 'Irākī Kurdistan, of an arable area of about 8 million hectares, one-quarter is cultivated (Khosbak, 43). Despite this, the cultivation of cereals in Kurdistan plays a good part in the economy of the respective countries: 15% in Turkey; 35% in Iran; in 'Irāk, 50% for corn and 15% for barley (Ghassemlou, 89, n. 6). Let us add here the cultivation of rice, which supplies 'Irāk with one-third of its production. Apart from this cultivation of foodstuffs, cotton and the newly-introduced sugar-beet give a good yield. The best tobacco of Turkey and 'Irāk is cultivated in Kurdistan which, for 'Irāk, supplies almost all of its needs (Khosbak, 45; Durra, 1963, 226, 1966, 245). If the vine grows a little everywhere in Turkey, 'Irāk and Iran, it only flourishes in Kurdistan on sunny slopes; there are 12 million stands in 'Irāk (Vernier, 468) and the kinds of grapes are numerous and varied (see the names in *Hawar*, no. 34, 8; Wahby, *Dictionnaire*, 148). Some are reserved for the preparation of raisins used so much for food. Fruit trees also abound in Kurdistan: pomegranates, peaches, apples, figs, apricots and centenarian walnuts. Market-gardens are developed around the villages and even in the mountains where the Kurd, an ingenious gardener, constructs terraces supported by small walls in order not to lose any parcel of arable land. Of the vegetables in general use in the west, the onion, for example, so much appreciated by all the Kurds, is especially cultivated, and certain vegetables such as watermelons, cucumbers, melons, aubergines, corn on the cob, capsicums, etc., without forgetting the lettuce, held in abhorrence by the Yazidis.

Wild animals are far from having disappeared in Kurdistan. There were still lions at the beginning of the 19th century; if they no longer exist, the *piling*, a kind of leopard, survives. Bears are plentiful in Nebirnao to the south of Van, where they have "a table served from June to September" (Balsan, 229); the wild boar also abounds at Bingöl (1,200 shot in 3 months in 1939 (*ibid.*, 90-1), and 55 killed in a single round-up in 1963 at Barzan. Wolves, jackals, foxes and hyenas often approach the villages. But there are other animals called wild which are neither carnivores nor predators, but which are hunted either for their meat, such as the ibexes, or for pleasure, such as hares and rabbits. One also finds porcupines, which are edible according to the Christians of the region, agile squirrels, and martens and sables sought for their fur. So it is not surprising that the Kurd is a born hunter. Birds are also plentiful. The high mountains shelter the majestic eagles; streams and watering places attract ducks, teal and snipe. In 1972, 500,000 spent the winter on Lake Riḡā'iyya, nourishing themselves there on the small crustaceans which abound there, and at the same time Lake Van housed numerous colonies of pelicans (J. Vieillard, in *Le Monde*, 13 January 1973). Nightingales, storks and cranes are also found in the Kurdish countryside, as much as in the songs of Kurdistan. Doves and pigeons frequent in thousands

the innumerable grottoes and caves of the mountains. Partridges and quails are choice game. Fish abound in the streams of fresh and crystalline waters. But it is not always easy to identify them and give them a name. A large fish is caught in the Zāb, called by the Christians "Tobias's fish", which is two metres long and whose flesh is excellent. One may see a photograph of it in Hamilton (between pp. 32-3). Apart from these pleasanter creatures, one must beware of the snakes, small but venomous, such as vipers, and of the yellow or black scorpions whose sting can be deadly, especially for the very young, although the numerous lizards, geckoes or varans and the chameleons are harmless, as are the tortoises. But in spring, flies, mosquitos and fleas are dreadful and constitute a real plague. The bee also stings, but produces a very tasty wild honey.

Apart from these creatures, who live wild, there are in Kurdistan many animals which have been domesticated and have been raised for profit since the earliest antiquity (cf. Ch. A. Reed, *Animal domestication in the Prehistoric Near East*, in R. J. Braidwood, B. Hove, etc. *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Chicago 1960, 119-45). Indeed, Kurdistan is a land of stock-breeding: sheep, goats, cows and buffaloes supply milk, butter, cheese and meat, skins, fleeces, guts, horns etc. of which the leather and wool serve to make clothes, shoes, felts, etc. and provide an obvious economic yield. In 1957, in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, there were 7,662,332 sheep; 4,176,016 goats, one-quarter of all Turkish stock-breeding, and 2,240,825 cows, one-sixth. There are also many buffaloes (Balsan, 128). In the Kurdish provinces of 'Irāk there are 1,674,912 sheep or two-thirds of the 'Irākī breeding stock, 2,234,238 goats (two-thirds), 226,858 cows (one-third) and 4,287 buffaloes (one-tenth). Apart from the large-scale breeding of the nomads (half the production in Iran; Stautfer, 291), each household has its small herd of a few animals, sheep or goats, four to eight (*ibid.*, 290). The Kurdish villages of 'Irāk studied by Barth (19) are richer. Each house also possesses a few chickens. There are different breeds of sheep with fat tails and goats with long hair, carefully watched by shepherds expert in their craft. Other animals indispensable in everyday life are also reared. Among the Kurds of 'Irāk are found 22,289 horses (one-seventh), 52,336 mules, almost the whole production, 130,804 donkeys (one-third; Khosbak, 52). Also, let us not forget the Kurdish sheepdogs, a strong, imposing and redoubtable breed (Balsan, 236). Naturally, no pigs or rabbits [see ARNAB in Suppl.] are reared in Kurdistan.

The interior of the soil in Kurdistan is no less rich in minerals than its surface in vegetation and animals. But until now, its resources have been very little exploited. Quite abundant supplies of coal have been discovered in the region of Maden, Kiği, Kemah and Harput, where it has been exploited (several thousand metric tons in 1970), but not at *Zalkho* in 'Irākī Kurdistan. Near Sulaymānī limestone is extracted and, at Sar Çinar, a cement works has been producing since 1958, 350 metric tons of cement a day. Deposits of rock-salt can be exploited at *Sindjār*, *Şhaykhān* and *Tuz-Khurmatu*. Sulphur is found in the province of Senna, at 'Amādiyya, and a Polish group plan to extract 250,000 metric tons of it a year at *Mişrak* in the north of 'Irākī Kurdistan. Iron is not lacking in Kurdistan, and is mined (1,600,000 tonnes in 1960 at Maden). But very rich, easily exploitable deposits of iron ore are found in the region of Rawāndiz and Sulaymānī. Copper exploited (32,000 t.) at Ergani,

Diyarbakir and Palu, is also to be encountered in the region of 'Akra. Chromium is found in the region of Barzan and at Diyarbakir, where it is extracted (270,000 t. annually). There is lead at Keban, Elaziğ and Maku, gold at Yergü and to the south of Kirmānshāh, and also silver at Kemah. At Kirkük, the reserves of salts allow the manufacture of caustic soda and chloride. But it is petrol which is the chief riches of Kurdistan. The petrol of Kirkük gushes forth in the midst of Kurdish territory and represents a good part of the 'Irāki production (83 million t. in 1970). The same applies to the petrol of Batman in the Siirt region and the oil-fields of Karaçok in northern Syria. Natural gas is abundant and sulphurless in the region of Çamçamāl.

3. The human aspect

This region which the Kurds occupy today has been inhabited since the most ancient antiquity, e.g. Berda Balka, the cave of Hazar Merd of the Moustherian period, not far from Sulaymāni or that of Şanidar, near Rawāndiz, where the first Palaeolithic human skeleton in 'Irāk was discovered. Djarro, in the valley of Çamçamāl, may be the most ancient village in the Near East, for it was probably one of the centres where man cultivated for the first time various species of barley and corn, according to excavations of a team of researchers of the University of Chicago (cf. Braidwood, Hove etc., *Pre-historic investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*). Today, the Kurd is settled throughout the land and has established numbers of villages there.

Originally, he was content to occupy the innumerable refuges, shelters under rocks and numerous caves, some of which are difficult of access and very picturesque with stalagmites and stalactites (Edmonds, 235), and which sometimes extend deep under the mountain. These caves always serve, on occasion, to shelter the herds, but sometimes peasants are still to be encountered living in them. Numerous legends circulate about some of these caves where treasures are said to be hidden and where the passing of djinn and ifrits is mentioned (Edmonds, 206-7, 246, 332, 368-9; Hamilton, chs. xiv-xv). Certainly, the nomadic Kurds, on the verge of extinction, and the seminomads live under their black tent, which should not be confused with the tent of the Bedouin Arab, the *kibitka* of the Mongols, the *yurt* of the Samoyeds and the *kote* of the Lapps (cf. C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 81-6; Bishop, i, 373; Lescot, 144-5; and ΚΑΛΥΜΑ). It is formed from a great awning made of woven strips of goats' hair 50 × 60 cm. wide. The poles which hold it up are 2.50 by 3 m. in height; their number varies according to the size of the tent, i.e. according to the importance of its owner. There are no ridge poles. Reed partitions separate the corner of the women and provisions from the part of the tent where the men and visitors stay. All the furniture consists of a few mats, cushions and some carpets in the chiefs' tents. But the Kurdish peasant lives in rough houses. The construction materials are ordinarily unfired bricks in the plains, but fired ones at Sulaymāni, for example, or rough stones, in the mountains joined together with mud. The walls are 2 by 2.50 m. high. In the rough stone walls are sometimes inserted poorly-hewn beams to make them stronger. Inside, niches are arranged in the walls to serve as cupboards.

The walls are roughcast with mud and sometimes whitened with lime. The door is of massive wood. There is no window on the exterior, but these exist looking out on the courtyard, with protective bars.

Simple little lanterns light the place, when the door cannot be left open. The floor is of beaten earth. In the centre the hearth (*tendur*) is covered in winter by the *kursi*, a kind of wooden bench with a covering on which all the family warm themselves in the coldest regions. A hole in the roof serves as a chimney. Along the walls runs a broad bank of earth where people sit during the day and where they sleep at night on mats, felts or mattresses. The terrace is made of poplar trunks spaced 50 cm. apart and covered with branches, leaves and dried grass and a thick bed of hard-pressed earth. If the room is too wide (more than 3 m.), poles hold up the beams and roof battens. For the water to run off, the terrace extends beyond the retaining walls or gutters for a metre, e.g. at Sulaymāni, facilitating the running off of rainwater. In any case, a roller is always to be found on the terrace in order to press it down after downpours. One climbs up by a ladder or outside staircase. The house of the plain, where there is space, has a courtyard and a building principally composed of a rectangular living room, lengthened by a corner reserved for the animals. A solid annexe building serves as a kitchen and store for household utensils, tools and work implements. There is no cellar or attic, often not even latrines. In the mountain houses the stable is often in the courtyard, as are the annexes. The living room is situated above with, at the bottom, a small corner for the provisions. Often there is also a small veranda or loggia facing south. The terrace is the favourite place for the women, who perform their many daily occupations there. (For descriptions, plans, photos or drawings of different Kurdish dwellings, see in Džadžira, R. Montagne, 53-66; at Sindjār, R. Lescot, 146-7; at Sulaymāni, Edmonds, 90-3; again at Sulaymāni and at the village of Topzaya and Belkha, H. H. Hansen, 21-43; and in Iranian Kurdistan, Bishop, i, 88, ii, 191, M. Mokri, 89-91. See also Leach, 49; T. F. Aristova, 95, 97, 99 for Transcaucasia.) Naturally, man does not live isolated in his house, but in a group. Villages have grown up, and the Kurd, a man of the earth, lives more in the village than in the towns. Like all villages in the world, and especially those in mountainous countries, the position is chosen in relation to the sun and to water, a stream or spring. So it must be oriented to be at once well-exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, following the axis of the mountain chains. Exposure to the north is avoided. The south, the direction of Mecca (Mokri, 81), is preferred to the east. The importance of the village depends on their proximity to places of passage (mountain passes and bridges) and also on sufficient cultivable lands and pastures. Many villages are built on a slope, the roof of the higher houses forming a terrace for the houses below, and this occurs in all the regions of Kurdistan, e.g. at 'Akra, Barzindja and Şhār-i Hawramān. It is not rare to sight on a neighbouring peak some ruins of an old castle, a trace of the past glory of a local magnate vanished for centuries. Such as it is, the Kurdish village has a rather pleasing and sympathetic appearance, precisely because of the water, gardens and trees.

The Kurdish villages are closer to one another or more dispersed, according to whether the region is more or less exposed to hazards. In the whole of the 17 provinces of Turkey with all or a high proportion of Kurdish population, according to the official census of 1960, 8,817 villages were counted, of which 395 had less than 100 inhabitants, 513 from 101 to 500, 1891 from 501 to 1000, 372 from 1,001 to 2,000 and only 39 with more than 2,000 inhabitants.

Three provinces of Muş, Hakâri and Van can be taken as criteria for appreciation:

	Area in km ²	Inhab- itants	Density in km	Number of cantons	Number of villages
Muş	8,195	167,638	20	15	368
Hakâri	9,532	67,766	7	12	133
Van	18,619	211,034	11	21	557

Thus the villages are more or less dispersed. They are also unequally populated, as the table below shows:

Inhab- itants	less than 100	101- 500	500- 1000	1000- 2000	+ 2000
Muş	9	280	64	14	1
Hakâri	5	84	40	5	0
Van	39	456	51	11	0

This average of small villages from 500 to 300 inhabitants is found in 'Irâkî Kurdistan, in the region of Rawândiz (Barth, ii) and in other regions; 300 inhabitants is also the average of the Kurdish villages of Iran.

Altitude is also a very important factor in the establishment of the Kurdish village. By examining the snow contours on Hütteroth's map, e.g. to the south of Lake Van in the region of Hakâri precisely, it may be ascertained that the villages are relatively very numerous between 1,000 m. and 1,500 m., quite numerous between 1,500 and 2,000 m., rare between 2,000 and 2,500 m. and that they disappear altogether above 2,500 m., apart from pasturing camps or *zozân*. Some agreeable summer dwellings are found in the middle altitudes. Thus in 'Irâkî Kurdistan, in the province of Duhok, we have Zawitha, at 1,422 m. in the midst of vast fir woods, Suwaretuka, at 1,675 m. among cypresses and maples, Sersing, at 1,046 m. with gushing springs, Sulav, at 1,150 m., and its waterfalls, Ser 'Amâdiyya, at 1,905 m; in the province of Sulaymâni: Ser Çinar, with great plane trees, as its name indicates; in the province of Arbil, Şalâh al-Din, at 1,090 m., Şaklawâ, at 565 m. with luxuriant orchards at the foot of Saffin, Galî 'Alî Bag, at the same altitude with a great waterfall, and especially Hâdjîdjî 'Umrân, at 1,780 m., very fresh in summer and a ski resort in winter. In the province of Hakâri, the high peaks of Cilo Dağ, which are between 3,500 and 4,000 m., have for some time attracted foreign mountaineers (cf. B. Amy, *La montagne des autres. Alpinisme en pays kurde*, 1972, with maps, photos and bibliographies of the last expeditions).

The smaller the village, the more its comfort is reduced. This is the case also in Turkish Kurdistan, where more than half of the villages do not have drinking water, a mill, a school, a *çâyâna* (or cafe) or a special house for guests. The lighting there is primitive, the hygiene deficient. The wells are near the latrines when these last exist. In winter, in view of the lack of means of communication, hundreds of villages are isolated from the rest of the world (E. Esenkova, 55-7). It is the same in the Kurdish villages of 'Irâk, where electricity and running water only exist in 22 of them among the hundreds that are to be counted in the provinces of Sulaymâni, Arbil, Kirkûk (Khosbak, 56-7). For a population estimated at 8,766,000 in 1962, in 1970 for the whole

of 'Irâk there were only 150 hospitals, 987 dispensaries and 18,256 beds with 2,890 doctors and 1,771 nurses (Ministry of Information, *L'Irak va de l'avant*). The same situation applies in Turkish Kurdistan. In 1967, there were 12,275 doctors in Turkey, but only 2,500 for the whole of Anatolia, with a total of 60,196 beds, of which nearly half were for the towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir alone. Malaria affects especially the Kurdish provinces of Diyarbakir, Siirt, and Hakâri (E. Esenkova, 87-8). In 'Irâkî Kurdistan, malaria, which was the cause of a quarter of the mortality in 'Irâk (Dr. A. Ghalib, *Malaria and malaria in Iraq*, Baghdâd 1944) has been practically eliminated since the campaign of the WHO in 1954-6 (cf. J. Manevy, *Il est quatre heures docteur Malaria*, in *Réalités*, no. 122, March 1956, 48-55). In Iranian Kurdistan, there are only 250 to 300 hospital beds = 1 for 10,000 persons (Ghassemloou, 32).

To move from one village to another, to enter into more or less intimate social relations of family, friendship, tribe or commerce, the Kurd follows either the paths or tracks which link the villages or else the larger motor roads of commercial or strategic value which have been constructed by the interested governments. In the mountains, the mule tracks of tenfollow either the stream which runs at the bottom of the valley, passing from one side to the other or the flank of the mountain, often precipitous and hazardous. They rise steeply to reach the mountain passes, at times quite high, e.g. in 'Irâkî Kurdistan, Paykuli, 1,000 m. and Sagirma, 1,700 m. To cross the streams, one fords them or uses trail-bridges or *kleks* [q.v.] at a fixed point, where the river is wider and the current less swift, or bridges. The Kurdish bridges are still rudimentary today and sometimes dangerous, being made of ropes and lianas (Layard, 1970, 166; Bishop, ii, 114) or else of tree trunks (Wigram, 288; Hamilton, 96). On the more important roads, the ancient bridges are of stone, hump-backed with one or several arches. Today, some modern iron bridges replace at many points these primitive bridges which are often, in any case, no more than foot bridges (Hamilton, 192). Many legends are attached to these ancient bridges (Edmonds, 201, 212, 247). In the plains, especially in Turkish Kurdistan, there are still many simple earth tracks only usable in the good season. But some modern metalled, tarred and macadamised roads have also been built. The roads through the mountains are often real works of art.

'Irâkî Kurdistan is now furrowed with numbers of fine roads which facilitate human relations. In 'Irâk, some roads or good tracks link Mawşil to Zakho, 'Amâdiyya, Arbil and 'Akra. From Arbil one goes to Harîr and Rawândiz and also to Kirkûk and then Sulaymâni. In Turkey, one road goes from Malatya to Elaziğ, Tunceli, Erzincan, Askala, Erzurum, and Kars. From Elaziğ a branch goes off for Bingöl, Muş and Tatvan, and another towards Diyarbakir, Mardin and Nusaybin. From Diyarbakir, one may branch off for Silvan and Siirt, or Silvan in the direction of Bitlis, Tatvan and Van, by the road or by steamer on the lake.

Few railways cross Kurdistan. In Turkey one may pick out the line Erzincan-Erzurum-Kars, towards Armenia; the line Malatya-Elaziğ-Genç-Muş-Tatvan-Van by ferry in the direction of Tabriz; and the line Malatya-Sivrece-Maden-Ergan-Diyarbakir-Batman, towards Siirt. The Orient Express from Istanbul goes to Aleppo, skirts the Kurdish populations of the Turko-Syrian frontier, and reaches Mawşil and Baghdâd. In 'Irâkî Kurdistan, a single narrow-

gauge railway goes from Baghdād to Kirkūk (320 km.).

Several military routes fan out from the airports situated in Kurdistan. The most important are in Turkey: Erzurum, Kars, Karaköse (Ağrı), Elaziğ, Malatya, Van and Diyarbakir; in 'Irāk: Mawšil, Kirkūk, Semel, Ser 'Amādiyya and Bamerni; in north Syria: Kamishli; in Iran, Sanandaj, Kirmānshāh and Ridā'iyya.

E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistan. Situated as it is at the crossroads of populations as different as the Turkish, Persian, Caucasian and Arab peoples and in very intimate relations with most of them, does the Kurdish people possess characteristics such that it may be distinguished very clearly from the others? The question can legitimately be posed, and many scholars have tried to distinguish the anthropological aspects which would allow this process of discrimination. It is evidently not a matter of searching for a Kurdish race, since this notion of race can scarcely be applied to humans, although some important genetic differences are ascertainable between more or less homogenous populations possessing such-or-such characteristic blood-group (Ruffié, 1972). Anthropological researches on the Kurds began more than a century ago with E. Duhoussset (1863) and N. V. Khanikoff (1866). They have been carried out in all the regions of Kurdistan.

In Iran, first of all by the authors cited, then by M. Houssay (1887); in Transcaucasia by E. Chantre (1880, 1890) and Pantukhoff (1891); in Turkey in the valleys between the Euphrates and the Tigris (G. Pisson, 1892), to the south of the Black Sea at Karakus, at Nemrut Dağ, to the west of Lake Van, and at Zencirli (von Luschan, 1922); in Syria, at Damascus (Ariens Kappers, 1931). The Yazidīs of the Caucasus were studied by Eliseyev in 1887 and in 1900 by Ivanovski; those of Sindjār and Shaykhān by Field (1934), as well as the Kurds of 'Irāk, of Zakho, Rawāndiz, 'Akra, Kirkūk and Sulaymāni; these latter studies were not published until 1951 and 1952. All these researches are only in fact sample surveys, given the relatively restricted number of individuals examined (some hundreds or more out of several thousands of inhabitants) and of the really scientific measures obtained. Some travellers have in their turn made certain records and added some typical photographs. Despite all this, and because the observations concerning the Kurds are of different regions, the results obtained do not always coincide perfectly. There has been an attempt to make an anthropological classification of them (A. Bashmakoff). The Western Kurds (von Luschan) have been distinguished from the Eastern and Southern Kurds. The former are of a blond, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic type. The others are of a brown, black-eyed, brachycephalic type. The one group consider themselves of the same race as the Turks (Sekban, Inan) or the Iranians (Modi), the others regard themselves as close to the Arabs or Armenians. Certain photographs of Mark Sykes (321, 342, 373, 424-5, 427, 429) of Lynch (ii, 4-5) or of Soubrier (112, 113, 144, 160, 172) reveal at first sight types among the Kurds: Arab, Jew, Biblical, Nestorian and Turkoman. It is this which H. Field confirms and expresses in a more scientific fashion in the photographs of 162 individuals out of 598 examined, where he personally discovers Armenoid types (48), Balkan (12), Modified Mediterranean (36), Eur-Anatolian (38), pure or mixed Iranian (4), Alpinoid (12), Mongoloid (1) and Negroid (1). The proportions are not exactly the same

among the 235 Yazidīs examined, and the comparison with the Assyrians, the Shammar and Sulubba Arabs or the Turkomans also studied by the author is interesting. The resemblances encountered are no doubt to be explained by intermarriage. But this does not prevent E. Duhoussset (1863) from recognising in the Kurdish people a rare homogeneity with respect to its type and, for his part, Ariens Kappers (1931) admits that the Kurds, despite their anthropological differences, constitute a truly distinct race. Thus we can, in summarising the studies of H. Field, present as follows the portrait of the Kurd of 'Irāk: "The Kurd is of medium height (1.66 m.) with a relatively long body and short limbs. The forehead is wide and the head wide and round. The brachycephalics predominate. The height of the face is medium. The nose is quite often convex. The Kurd is more hirsute than the Arab. His hair, rather wavy and pliant, is normally dark brown and the eyes black. But blond hair and blue eyes are also to be encountered, especially in the western regions. The colour of the skin is more clear than that of the Arabs, but less fine than that of the Assyrians. The teeth are normal and well-placed. The musculature is good, as is the health, in general, of those who have been observed" (Th. Bois, 18).

Despite everything, these anthropological researches on the Kurds are too fragmentary and uncertain for us to be able to conclude from them what may be the origin of this people. It is indispensable here to combine the study of the language with that of the history.

Bibliography: Maps. No complete scientific map of Kurdistan exists, The *Carte du Kurdistan* 1/4,000,000, Cairo 1943, aims especially "to give a graphic representation of that which the Kurds occupy in the Middle East"; a *Note* of 12 pp. which accompanies it is intended to explain it and to justify the different data. *Die Kurden, Volke ohne Staat*, 1/1,500,000; ed. Die Aktuelle Landkarte, no. 224, Munich 1966, clear and simplified, does not indicate the relief at all. For Turkey, the old maps of H. Kiepert, 1892, or better *Türkiye*, 1/2,000,000 of Faik Sebri, Istanbul 1948, *La carte de l'Asie orientale* 1/2,000,000 of the Troupes du Levant, Beirut 1939, or that of the War Office and Air Ministry, London 1961-2, 1/1,000,000, sheets NJ37 Erzurum, NJ38 Tabriz and NI38 Baghdad, of series 1301, GSGS, cover the whole of Kurdistan. More or less elaborate maps are often to be found in the different accounts of journeys. So much the more to be appreciated are the precise and detailed maps in the book and many articles of C. J. Edmonds.

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iii. — HISTORY

A. Origins and Pre-Islamic history.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnical elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place. It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistân) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistân, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Kardû) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Sumerian inscriptions dating from about 2,000 B.C., Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, 99; vi, 67) found a country *Kar-da-ka* mentioned (in which word the initial is *k* and not *ḳ* and the function of the element *ka* is uncertain). This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf. *ZA*, xxxv, 230 n. 3), which G. R. Driver located south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Süy in the region of Bidlis (*Sharaf-nâma*, i, 146). A thousand years later Tiglath Pileser waged war on the people called *Kur-ṭi-e* in the mountains of Azu, which Driver (in *JRAS* [1923], 400) identifies with the modern Hazô (Sâsûn). The reading *Kur-ṭi-e* is not certain, however.

Herodotus in the 5th century B.C. mentions no name like this, but, according to him (iii, 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Περσική which Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr.*, Leipzig 1868, p. xviii) and Kiepert (*Alt. Geogr.*, § 81) have connected with the name of Bokhtân (= Bohtân).

The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401-400 B.C.) made famous the name of the Karduchoi (Καρδοῦχοι) whose country lay to the east of the Kentritês (Bohtân). From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Djûdî [q.v.]. In classical authors, the country became Corduene (on the numerous forms of this name, probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic *ḳ*, cf. Driver, *op. cit.*). In Aramaic the district was called Beth-Kardû and the present town of Djazirat Ibn 'Umar, Gazartâ of Kardû. The Armenians had the name *Kordudh*, the Arabs (Balâdhûri, 176; Tabari, iii, 610) *Bakardâ* (Kardai). According to Yâkût (iv, 56), who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Athîr, the canton of Bâkardâ formed part of Djazirat Ibn 'Umar, contained two hundred villages [al-Thamânîn,

Djūdī, Firūz-Shābūr) and was situated on the left bank of the Tigris opposite Bāzabdā on the right bank (cf. the full analysis of the texts in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 33-5). Later, the name, which was only applied to the district, disappears from Muslim terminology and is replaced by *Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar*, *Bohtān*, etc. To the Armenians and Arabs the territory of *Ḳardū* in the strict sense had a very limited application. We do not know the exact frontiers of the province of Corduene; its three towns, Sareisa, Satalka and Pinaka (= Finik) lay on the Tigris, but the statement of Strabo (ix, 12, 4) is remarkable; according to this, the term *Γορδουαία ὄρη* was sometimes applied to the mountains between the modern *Diyārbakr* and *Mūsh*.

Now, who were the *Ḳαρδοῦχοι* whose name undoubtedly survived in the later names (the termination *-χοι* must represent the Armenian plural in *-kh*, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the Greeks learned this name from an Armenian)? According to Xenophon (iv, 3, 1), the *Karduchoi* recognised neither the authority of King Artaxerxes nor that of Armenia. When in the 1st century B.C. Corduene was conquered by Tigranes II, he had its king Zarbienu executed. In 115 A.D. the king of Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 239, and *Armenische Grammatik*, i/2, 518-20, the province of Corduene was only superficially Armenicised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the *Karduchoi*. The name has Semitic analogies (Akkad., Assy. *ḫardu*, "strong", "hero", *ḫarādu* "to be strong"); on the other hand, there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people *Ḳhaldī*, better known under the Assyrian form *Urartū/Uraštu*, in Hebrew *Ararat*, among the Greeks *Ἀραρόδιοι*, *Χάλδοι* and sometimes *Χαλδαῖοι*. This people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and afterwards established a powerful kingdom in the region of Lake Vān which lasted until the beginning of the 6th century. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mater. z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttingen 1907, 123, sees in them *Ḳhaldī* immigrants from the west; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i/2, Stuttgart 1913, § 474, seeks their original home on the central Araxes. As a result of the arrival of the Armenians, towards the 7th century, the *Ḳhaldī* were dispersed and driven towards the mountains (*Cyropaedia*, iii, 1-3). But their name survived in the toponymy of the region north of Lake Van (the Byzantine theme *Χαλδία* near Trebizond, the town of *Ḳhilāt* = *Akhlat*, etc.; cf. Bejck and Lehmann, in *ZA*, ix [1894], 84; de Goeje, in *ibid.*, x [1895], 100; Streck, in *ibid.*, xiv [1899], 112). Parallels for the name *Ḳhaldī* have been sought on the other side of the Caucasus: the Georgians are called *Ḳharthv-eli* or *Ḳharth-ul-i* (in Svanian *ḳhyard*; in Mingrelian, *ḳhorti-u*); cf. N. Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, 398.

Whether we identify the *Ḳardū* as Semites or as an indigenous people, it is certain that the land of the ancient *Karduchoi* is at the present day one of the principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been concluded that the *Karduchoi* were identical with the Kurds, and this view was still considered axiomatic at the beginning of the 20th century; cf. *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 464. Going a step further, the Kurds were directly connected with the *Χάλδοι*; Reiske in his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenitus,

De ceremoniis, B. 13 (713, 11) said "Chaldī et Kordī vel Curtī, Gordyaei iidem". A similar opinion is expressed in the title of P. Lerch's work, *Recherches sur les Kurdes iraniens et sur leurs ancêtres, les Chaldéens septentrionaux* (St. Petersburg 1856).

A new turn was given to the problem by the researches of M. Hartmann, Nöldeke and Weissbach, who showed the philological necessity of distinguishing between the stems *Kurd* and *Ḳardū*. These scholars at the same time proposed to recognise the Kurds in the *Κύρτιοι*, *Cyrtii*, mentioned by classical writers in Media and Persia (Strabo, xi, 13, 3, and xv, 3, 1). This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence in Fārs of numerous Kurdish tribes in the Sāsānid period (cf. *Kārnāmah-i Artakhsšīr-i Pāpakān*, tr. Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, 37, 48, and the testimony of Arab writers).

The justifiable distinction between the names *Kurd* and *Ḳardū* does not, however, decide the important question, how the *Cyrtii* (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient *Ḳardū*, and the mountains of the Anti-Taurus as far as northern Syria. The problem still requires careful research. In the first place, the Median and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the *Asagartiya* whose original home was in *Sīstān*. In the Assyrian period we find these *Sagartians* in Media (*Zikirtu* or *Zahruti*, cf. Streck, in *ZA*, xiv [1899], 146) and in the time of Darius (*Bihistūn* inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at *Arbela*, where Darius had their chief *Čitrantakhma* executed, whose portrait on the rock of *Bišutūn* suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, *The sculptures of Behistan*, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B.C. we find *Cyrtii* mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (Livy, xlii, 58, 13; xxxvii, 40, 9; Polybius, v, 52, 5; cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa², s.v. *Cyrtii*, and A. J. Reinach, *Les mercenaires de Pergame*, in *Revue Archéologique* [1909], 115-19). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian *Geography* of the 7th century, in the case of the province of *Korčēkh* (according to Adontz, *Armenia*, 418, *Korčēkh* is from **hortič-aikh* where *hortič* means "Kurd", as *atrapatič* means "inhabitant of Atropatene"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (4th century) *Korčēkh* was only a canton near *Salmās* (q.v.). As a province, *Korčēkh* stretched from *Djūlāmerg* to *Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar* and included the following cantons: *Korduḳh*, the three *Kordriḳh* (*Kordikḳh*), *Aituankḳh*, *Aigarḳh*, *Motholauḳh* (*Otholauḳh*), *Orsiraḳh* (*Orisanḳh*), *Karathunikḳh* (*Saraponikḳh*), *Čahuk* and *Little Albak* (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 93; Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 255-9).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, *Korduḳh*, *Kordikḳh* and *Tmorikḳh*, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, *Korduḳh* had become a mere canton of *Korčēkh* and *Tmorikḳh* disappeared altogether to the advantage of *Kordriḳh* (*Kordikḳh*), of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann *op. cit.*, 385, confines himself to distinguishing between the *Kordriḳh* (*Kordikḳh*) of the *Κύρτιοι*, but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nöldeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 92: "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"). Nöldeke even

distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic *Qartawāyē* (Arabic *Qartāwiya*?), meaning the true Kurds; cf. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880, 207, n. 1639.

We thus find that about the period of the Arab conquest a single ethnic term *Kurd* (plur. *Akrād*) was beginning to be applied to an amalgamation of Iranian or Iranicised tribes. Among the latter, some were autochthonous (the *Kardū*; the *Tmorikh/Ṭamurāyē* in the district of which *Alkī* = Elk was the capital; the *Xoḥālat* [= *al-Khūwayḥiyya*] in the canton of *Khoyt* of *Sāsūn*, the *Orṭāyē* [= *al-Artān*] in the bend of the Euphrates); some were Semites (cf. the popular genealogies of the *Kurd* tribes) and some probably Armenian (it is said that the *Mama-kān* tribe is of *Mamikonian* origin).

In the 20th century, the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds has been definitely established (the *Gūrān-Zāzā* groupe). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers has been established (at *Sulaymāniyya* [q.v.], at *Sāwājī-Bulāk* [q.v.] and at *Kotūr*, where we find remnants of the *Kūre-sinli* [?] in subjection to the *Shakāk*). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular etymologies. The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. *Mas'ūdī* (*Murūdj*, iii, 251) already speaks of their descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant *Daḥḥāk*. This legend is best known from the version of the *Shāh-nāma* (Macean, i, 27-8; Mohl, i, 71; Vullers, i, 36, verses 29-38). In 1812 *Morier* (*Second journey*, 357) mentions the celebration at *Damāwand* (on 31 August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of *Daḥḥāk*, known as the *'Ayd-i Kurdi*, "The Kurd festival". On the other hand, the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (*Murūdj*, iii, 253) claimed as their ancestor *Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add*, others *Muḍār b. Nizār*, both eponyms of the districts of *Diyār Rabī'a* (*Mawṣil*) and *Diyār Muḍār* (*Raḥka*). They said that the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the *Ḥassānids*, and, having retired to the mountains, intermingled with strangers and forgot their mother tongue. Of more interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find *Kurd b. Mard* (cf. of *Μαρδοι* of the neighbours of the Kurds) b. *Ša'sa'a b. Harb b. Hawāzin* (*Mas'ūdī*, *ibid.*, and *Tanbih*, 88-91: *Kurd b. Isfandiyyād* b. *Manūshahr*; *Ibn Hawkal*, 185-7: *Kurd b. Mard b. 'Amr*). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact (Iranicisation of Semites, intermingling of the tribes of the Zagros and of Fārs).

Nor is there any lack of popular etymologies. The attempt has been made (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) to connect the name with the Arabic root *karrada*; the Kurds would thus be the children of young slaves and the demon *Djasad* ("driven out" by Solomon). Very frequently (cf. *Driver*, in *JRAS* [1923], 403) the name *Kurd* is connected with the Persian word *gurd* ("hero"), although this root really had a *g* in Pahlavi and goes back to the root *var* "to protect" (*Horn, Neuper. Etymol.*, 200).

In later times, the names of tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The *Shāraf-nāma*, i, 158, makes all the Kurds (the *Badjānawī* and *Bokhtī* tribes) come from *Badjān* and *Bokht*; the former of these names may be connected with that of *Basn-āw*, a tributary of the Tigris (*Andreas*, in *Hartmann*, 131),

while the second recalls the *Πακτυκή* of Herodotus, or the "dragon-king" (Kurd?) *Haftān-Bokht* killed by *Artakshīr-i Pāpakān*; cf. *Nöldeke, Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, II. According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, *Milān* and *Zilān*, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the *Zilān* were regarded as an inferior race (cf. P. M. Sykes, in *Jnal. R. Anthropological Inst.*, xxxviii [1908], 470).

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B. The Islamic period up to 1920.

We have detailed notices of the Kurds from the time of the Arab conquest onwards. During the five first centuries of the *Hijra*, the Kurds frequently played a considerable part in events and often took the initiative in them. Several Kurd dynasties arose at this time. Waves of Turk and Mongol invaders seem to have submerged the Kurds from the 6th to the 10th century A.D. But the period of the wars between the Ottoman Sultāns and the *Šafawid Shāhs* produced a state of affairs in Kurdistan favourable for the growth of a feudal system, of which a faithful

picture is given in the *Şharaf-nāma* (1003/1596). The Turco-Persian frontier became gradually stabilised and the Persians fell back behind the wall of the Zagros and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the 19th century the last Kurdish principalities disappeared in Turkish territory (Hakkârî, Bidlîs, Sulaymāniyya) and in Persia (Ardalân). But the great tribes still exist, and their cadres assure the preservation of the Kurdish element with its social and ethical peculiarities. Kādîjâr Persia hardly ever interfered in the domestic affairs of her Kurdish tribes, while in the late Ottoman period Turkey tried to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds were overwhelmed with favours, and sometimes they had to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the 19th century, and towards the beginning of the 20th century a Kurd movement added one more element to the nationalist agitations within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the First World War of 1914-18 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistan was first mooted by the Western Powers, but the plan was only partially and temporarily realised in so far as the part of the old *wilāyet* of Mawşil attached to the new state of 'Irāk was concerned.

The Kurds after the Arab conquest. We shall find it useful to begin by collecting the information given by Arab authors regarding the distribution of the Kurd tribes.

The term Kurdistan being unknown before the time of the Saldjūqs, information regarding the Kurds is usually to be found in the Arab authors under such heads as Zawzān, Khilāt, Arminiya, Ādharbāyđjān, Djbāl, Fārs, etc. (cf. Driver, *The dispersion of the Kurds in ancient times*, in *JRAS* [1926], 563-72).

Mas'ūdî (about 332/943) and Işṭakhrî (340/951) are the first to give systematic information about the Kurds. In the *Murūdj al-ahab* (iii, 253) Mas'ūdî enumerates the following tribes: at Dinawar and Hamadhān: Shuhđjān; at Kangawar: Mādjurđān; in Ādharbāyđjān (so the text should be emended): Hadhbānî and Sarāt (probably Shurāt = Khāridjîs [q.v.]; cf. the story of Daysam below); in Djbāl: Şhadandjān, Lazba (Lurri?), Mādandjān, Mazdānakān, Bārisān, Khālî (Djalālî), Djābārki, Djāwānî and Mustakān; in Syria: Dabābila etc.; at Mawşil and Djūdî the Christian Kurds: al-Ya'qūbiyya ("Jacobites") and the Djurkân (Djurughān). To this list, the *Tanbīh* of the same author (88-91) only adds Bāzindjān (cf. Işṭakhrî, 115), Nashawira, Būdhikān and Kikān (at the present day found near Mar'ash), but he gives a list of the places where there were Kurds: the *rumūm* (*sumūm*?) of Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjīstān, Khurāsān (Işṭakhrî, 282: a Kurd village in the canton of Asadābād), Işfāhān (a section of the Bāzandjān tribe and a flourishing town described as Kurd, Ya'qūbî, 275; Işṭakhrî, 125), Djbāl, notably Māh Kūfa, Māh Başra, Māh Sabadhān (Māsabadhān) and the two Ighārs (i.e. Karādî Abî Dulaf and Burđî), Hamadhān, Şahrizūr, with its dependencies Darābād and Şamghān (Zimkān), Ādharbāyđjān, Armenia (at Dwin on the Araxes the Kurds lived in houses built of clay and of stone; Muqaddasî, 277), Arrān (one of the gates of Bardha'a was called Bāb al-Akrād and Ibn Miskawayh says that at the invasion of the Rūs in 332/942 the local governor had

Kurds under his command), Baylakān, Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), al-Djazira, Syria and al-Thughūr (i.e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

Işṭakhrî, 98, particularly mentions five *rumūm* in Fārs, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *ramm-rumūm* [from Persian *ramm*, "flock", "crowd"] for it is improbable that *zoma* could have given a plural *zumūm*). Each *ramm* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *sharādî* and responsible for public safety. These *rumūm* were: 1. Djilūya, or Rāmidjān, bordered by Işfāhān and Khūzistān; 2. Lawālidjān, between Şhīrāz and the Persian Gulf; Dīwān, in the *hūra* of Sābūr; 4. Kāriyān in the direction of Kirmān; 5. Şhāhriyār, alongside of Işfāhān also called Bāzandjān after the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of Işfāhān. As a supplement to the list of *rumūm*, Işṭakhrî, 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*hayy*, plur. *ahyā'*) of Fārs, based on the records of the *diwān al-şadāqāt* and reproduced by Ibn Ḥawqāl, 185-7 and Muqaddasî, 446: Kirmānî, Rāmānî, Mudaththir, Muḥammad b. Baḥar, Baḥlî (Muqaddasî: *Tha'labî*), Būndādhmahri, Muḥammad b. Işhāk, Sabāhî, Işhākî, Adharkānî, Şhahrakî, Ṭahmādāhî, Zabādî, Şahravî, Būndādāhî, Khusravî, Zandjî, Şafarî, Şhāyārî, Mīhrakî, Mubārakî, Işṭāmhārî, Şhāhūnî, Furātî, Salmūnî, Şīrî, Āzaddokhtî, Barāzdoxhtî, Muṭallābî, Mamālî, Şhāhkānî, Kadjî, Djālîlî, in all 500,000 families living in tents.

The *Fārs-nāma* (ca. 500/1107) says (168) that the Kurds of the old large *ramm* of Djilūya, Dhīwān, Lawālidjān, Kāriyān and Bāzandjān, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fārs, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islam, with the exception of a single 'Alak, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from Işfāhān to Fārs by 'Ađud al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 500,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regrouping among the tribes of Fārs and of their denationalisation. The old *ramm* of Djilūya (Kūh-Gilū) is now inhabited by Lurs; we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest, Işṭakhrî's list mentions a tribe al-Lurriya (variant: Lazba?) among the Kurds of Fārs. On the other hand the *Fārs-nāma* distinguishes from the Kurds the *Şhabānkāra* [q.v.] clans, who had become very powerful in Fārs at the time of the last Būyids. The *Masālik al-abşār* of al-'Umarî speaks of the *Şhabānkāra* under a separate heading, and the *Şharaf-nāma* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans, however (Rāmānî), bears the name of one of the "Kurd" tribes of Işṭakhrî. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fārs differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistan (cf. *şūl* and *LUR*).

The term al-Zawzān, which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistan (*sozān* in Kurdish "summer pastures"), is not well defined. According to Ibn Ḥawqāl, 250, the king of al-Zawzān was called al-Dayrānî (= Deranik', Armenian king of Vaspurakān). Muqaddasî, 137, regards Zawzān as a *nāhiya* of Djazirat Ibn 'Umar. Later this region, which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population, became extended in area. According to Ibn al-Aṭhīr (in *Yāqūt*, ii, 257), al-Zawzān began at two days' journey from Mawşil and stretched to the borders of Khilāt; on the Ādharbāyđjān side it extended to Salmās. Many strong places belonged to the Baḥnawî and Bokhtî Kurds; the former held Barqā, Baḥrî (and Fanak);

to the latter belonged: *Djurdhākūl* (Gurgūl), the residence of their *malik* *Atīl* (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 117: *Nash* *Atīl*?), *‘Allūs*, *Bāz al-hamrā*. To the lords of *Mawṣil* (the *Zangids*) belonged-*Alkī* (= *Elk*), *Arwaḫh*, *Bakhawḫa* (= *Bekūfī* in *Barwārī*), *Barḫho*, *Kingawar* (?), *Nirwa* (east of *Akr*?) and *Khawshab*. The text of *Yāqūt* is not very certain; in any case, the reference here may be to Kurd strongholds gradually annexed by the *Hamdānids* and the *Zangids* (see below).

The Kurds under the caliphs and *Būyids*. *Mas‘ūdī* (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) has preserved traditions from the pre-Islamic period of feuds between the Arab princes of *Ghassān* [q.v.] and the Kurds. The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of *Takrīt* and *Hulwān* in 16/637. *Sa‘d b. Abī Waḳḳās* marched on *Mawṣil*, where the districts with a Kurd population were occupied (*al-Mardj Bā-Nuhadhārā*, *Bā-‘Adhrā*, *Hibtūn*, *Dāsin* etc.); cf. *Ibn al-Aṭṭar*, *al-Kāmil*, ii, 408. The conquest of the region was completed by *‘Iyād b. Ghannam* and *‘Utba* (*Balādhurī*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 331). The *Barḫī* of *al-Zawzān* in 19/640 obtained confirmation of his authority on payment of *ḫharādj* (*Futūḥ* 176). In *Susiana* in 18/639 the Arabs fought against the Kurds, who had taken up the cause of *al-Hurmuzān*, Persian governor of *Ahwāz* (*Kāmil*, ii, 425). In *Fārs*, likewise, the Kurds supported the Persians in 23/642 at the defence of *Fasā* and *Darābdjūr* (*ibid.*, iii, 32). *‘Umar* had to send several expeditions against the Kurds of *Ahwāz* (*Futūḥ*, 382, 389; *Kāmil*, iii, 37). On the other hand, in the reign of *‘Umar* the Kurds invaded the region of the central *Karḫā* (*Ṣaymara*, *Māsabadhān*), the language of which was still Persian in the time of *Ya‘qūbī* (*Buldān*, 236). The Arabs had reached *Ṣahrizūr* before Islam (*Ibn al-Fakīh*, 130), but the final occupation of *Ṣahrizūr*, *Dārabādī* and *Ṣamghān* in 22/643 was only achieved after bloody fighting (*Futūḥ*, 334; *Kāmil*, iii, 29). In the south, *Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī* [q.v.], governor of *Basra*, had to put down risings of the Kurds at *Bērūdī* and *Balasjān* in 25/645, but the Kurds, forcibly converted to Islam, apostatised en masse (*Kāmil*, ii, 66, 76). Under the caliph *‘Alī*, the Kurds, along with the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of *al-Ḫharrīrī* [q.v.] near *Ahwāz* and in *Fārs*, but the chief was defeated at *Rām-Hurmuz* (*ibid.*, iii, 309).

Al-Muḫtār, who had seized *Armenia* and *Ādharbāyḏjān* in the reign of the *Umayyad* caliph *‘Abd al-Malik*, appointed in 66/685 a governor at *Hulwān* whose task was to fight the Kurds (*Kāmil*, iv, 187), but the death of *al-Muḫtār* prevented the plan from being carried out. Under the same caliph the rebel *‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash‘ath* [see *IBN AL-ASH‘ATH*] made an alliance in 83/702 with the Kurds of *Sābūr* in *Fārs* (*ibid.*, iv, 352). In 90/708 the Kurds ravaged *Fārs* and were punished by *al-Hadīdjādī*. In 129/746 the Kurds of *Sābūr* resisted the ally of the *Ḫhāridjīs*, *Sulaymān*, who had rebelled against the caliph *Marwān II* and had besieged *Sābūr* (*ibid.*, iv, 387, 341; v, 283). The caliph *Marwān* himself was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (*Ṭabarī*, iii, 51) whose blue eyes and fair complexion he had inherited (*Sir William Muir*, *The caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, London 1891, 429).

Under the *‘Abbāsīd* caliph *al-Manṣūr*, the invasion of *Armenia* by the *Ḫazar* in 147/764 resulted in numerous risings. A few years later the Kurds (*intishār al-Akrād*) are again mentioned in connection with the rising at *Mawṣil* and its repercussions in *Hamadān* (*Kāmil*, v, 448; vi, 9). *Djā‘far*, son of *al-Manṣūr*, was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (*Ṭabarī*, iii, 442).

In the reign of *al-Mu‘taṣim*, a Kurd rebellion is mentioned under 225/839; it broke out in the district of *Mawṣil*, led by *Djā‘far b. Fahardjīs*, a scion of a noble Kurd family. Defeated at *Bābaghēsh*, *Djā‘far* took refuge in the mountains of *Dāsin*, where he defeated the troops of the caliph. A new army commanded by the Turk *Aytāḫh* [q.v. in *Suppl.*] put an end to the rebellion (*Kāmil*, vi, 360-1). A Kurd rising broke out in 231/845 in the regions of *Iṣfahān*, *Djībāl* and *Fārs*; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general *Waṣīf*.

The Kurds of *Mawṣil* in 252/866 joined the *Ḫhāridjī* *Musāwir*, who had seized *Mawṣil*. In 262/875 they played a considerable part in the *Zandjī* slave-revolt (cf. *Nöldeke*, *A servile war in the East*, in *Sketches from eastern history*, Edinburgh-London 1892, 146-75) led by an *‘Alid Ḫhāridjī* (?) *‘Alī Muḫammad*, called *al-Ḫhabīth*, and in the rising of *Ya‘qūb al-Ṣaffār*, founder of the *Ṣaffārid* dynasty [q.v.]. At *Ahwāz*, *Ya‘qūb* appointed a Kurd lieutenant, *Muḫammad ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Hazārmard*, who, cherishing ambitious plans, engaged in secret negotiations with *al-Ḫhabīth*. With reinforcements sent by the latter, *Muḫammad* marched on *Sūs*, but was defeated by *Aḫmad b. Laythūya*; the latter, also a Kurd and commander of the Kurd levies, had been sent by the caliph to put down *Ya‘qūb’s* rising (*Ibn Ḫhallikān*, *Wafayāt*, ed. de Slane, iv, 304-8). When *Aḫmad* had departed, *Muḫammad*, after securing from *al-Ḫhabīth* further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized *Ṣhustar* where, according to the arrangement he was to have had the *ḫhuba* read in the name of *al-Ḫhabīth*, but instead he did it in the names of the caliph *al-Mu‘tamīd* and his adversary *Ya‘qūb al-Ṣaffār*. His *Zandjī* allies deserted *Muḫammad*, and *Ṣhustar* was reoccupied by *Ibn Laythūya*. *Muḫammad* retired to *Rām-Hurmuz*, but he was dislodged from it by *al-Ḫhabīth’s* generals. As a result of difficulties with the *Dārānī* Kurds, *Muḫammad* again sought the help of *al-Ḫhabīth*. The latter sent him troops, which *Muḫammad* sent into battle but suddenly left them in the lurch and attacked them. To avoid a breach with *al-Ḫhabīth*, *Muḫammad* agreed to proclaim him caliph. The death of *Ya‘qūb* (265/879) and of *al-Ḫhabīth* (270/883) put an end to these exploits (*Kāmil*, vii, 264).

About 281/894 the Kurds were among the partisans of the Arab *Hamdān b. Ḥamdūn* (cf. *ḤAMDĀNIDS*) when he established himself in *Mawṣil*. The Kurd rebellion raised in 284/897 by *Abū Laylā* did not last long (*ibid.*, vii, 325, 337). In 293/906 the *Hadhbānī* Kurds led by their chief *Muḫammad b. Biḫlā* laid waste the region of *Niniveh*. *‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān*, the new governor of *Mawṣil*, pursued them, but suffered a reverse at *Ma‘ṭūba*. With reinforcements sent by the caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 *Hadhbānī* families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to *Ādharbāyḏjān*. *‘Abd Allāh* returned to *Mawṣil* and with new troops set out once more against the *Hadhbānīs*, who had entrenched themselves at *Djabal al-Salaḳ* (probably *Lāhidjān*, cf. *SAWḌI-BULĀḶ*). The *Hadhbānīs* were forced to surrender, and their pacification was followed by that of the *Humaydī* tribe and of the people of *Djabal Dāsin* (*ibid.*, vii, 371). In the reign of the caliph *al-Muḫtādīr*, the Kurds plundered the environs of *Mawṣil* but were punished by the *Hamdānīd* government; the *Djalālī* tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (*ibid.*, viii, 118). Under the year 337/943 *Ibn Miskawayh*, *Tadjarīb al-umam*, GMS, vi, 105, speaks of the expedition of the *Hamdānīd* *Ḥusayn* against *Ādharbāyḏjān*; on this occasion he

had as an ally *Dja'far* b. *Shakkūya*, chief of the *Hadhbānis* who were settled at *Salmās*.

About this time, *Daysam* b. *Ibrāhīm* appeared on the scene, and his adventurous life is closely associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of *Daylamīs*. *Daysam* was a *Khāridīl*. He seized *Ādharbāyḍjān* after *Yūsuf* b. *Abī 'l-Sāḍī* and in 327/938 used his Kurds to drive out *Lashkāri* b. *Mardī*, one of the lieutenants of the *Ziyārid* *Wushmagīr*. But the *Musāfirid* *Marzubān*, a noted *Shīfī*, succeeded in taking *Ādharbāyḍjān* from *Daisam* and the latter took refuge with his friend *Hādīk* b. *al-Dayrānī* (the Armenian king of *Vaspuṛakan* *Khāčik* or *Gaghik*, son of *Deranik*). Then the people of *Tabriz* appealed to *Daysam*, but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the *Musāfirids* fell back to *Tārum*. In 337/948-9, *Marzubān* was made prisoner by the *Būyid* *Rukn al-Dawla*, who sent a representative to *Ādharbāyḍjān*. *Marzubān's* brother *Wahsūdān* then thought of *Daysam*, to whom his Kurds had remained faithful, and sent him against *Rukn al-Dawla's* representative. *Daysam* was defeated, but held out in *Ardabil* and *Bardha'a*. When *Marzubān* returned from his captivity, *Daysam* had to take refuge first in *Armenia* and then in *Baghdād*, where the *Būyid* *Mu'izz al-Dawla* treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to *Ādharbāyḍjān*, he went to the *Ḥamdānids* of *Mawṣil* and *Syria* to ask for assistance. In the absence of *Marzubān*, *Daysam* returned to *Salmās* in 344/955-6, where he had the *khutba* read in the name of *Sayf al-Dawla* of *Syria*. Once more driven out by *Marzubān*, *Daysam* sought refuge with his Armenian friends, *Ibn al-Dayrānī* (*Deranik* b. *Khāčik*) had to hand him over to *Marzubān*, much against his will. *Daysam* was blinded and died in prison in 345/956-7 (*Tadjārib*, ed. *Amedroz*, i, 345; ii, 148-51; *Kāmil*, viii, 289, 361, 375-7).

During *Marzubān's* captivity, in *Rayy*, several independent governors set themselves up in the north-west of *Persia*. One of them (about 340/951) was *Muḥammad Shaddād* b. *Kaṛṭū* of the *Rawwādī* tribe, out of which later sprang the great dynasty of the *Ayyūbids*. The principal fiefs of the *Shaddādids* were *Dabīl* and *Gandja*. The *Shaddādids* were allies of the *Byzantines* and of the *Saldjūks*. In 465/1072 *Abū Suwār* bought *Ānī* for his young son *Manūče*. From this time onwards, the dynasty was divided into two branches: that of *Gandja* and that of *Ānī*. In 1124, *Ānī* was taken by the *Georgians* but between 520/1126 and 557/1161 and again from 1165 to 1174, *Ānī* was again held by the *Shaddādids*. The *Shaddādids* were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles *ARRĀN*, *DWIN*, *GANDJA* and *SHADDĀD*; the Armenian bibliography in *Lynch, Armenia*, i, 363-7; cf. also *Barthold* in the appendix to his Russian translation of *Lane Poole's Muhammadan dynasties*, St. Petersburg 1899, 294; *Barthold, Pers. nadpis' na ... meleti Manūče*, *Aniyskaya Seriya*, No. 5; *N. Y. Marr, Eshče o slove "celebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120; *E. D. Ross, On three Muhammadan dynasties, in Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215.

In 349/960 a pretender appeared in *Ādharbāyḍjān*. He was called *Ishāk* b. *'Isā*, and was supported by *Faḍl*, chief of the *Kaṭānī* (?) Kurds, while his adversary, the *Musāfirid* *Djastān* b. *Marzubān* relied on *Hadhbānī* support. *Ishāk* was soon disposed of (*Tadjārib*, ii, 179). The Kurds and the *Daylamīs* also played a considerable part in the quarrels between *Djastān* and his brother *Nāṣir al-Dawla* and between

Ibrāhīm b. *Marzubān* and his cousin *Ismā'īl* b. *Wahsūdān* (*Tadjārib*, ii, 219, 229; *Kāmil*, viii, 420-3).

About 348/959, the second Kurd dynasty arose in *al-Djibāl* (*Zambaur*, *Manuel*, 211) founded by *Ḥasanwayh* (*Ḥasanūya*) b. *Ḥasan* [q.v.; cf. also the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 20-3], chief of the *Barzkanī* (*Barzīnī*) tribe, who had assisted the *Būyid* *Rukn al-Dawla* on his expedition to *Khurasān*. *Rukn al-Dawla* showed great tolerance to the Kurds, and when someone complained to him of their excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (*Tadjārib*, ii, 281). *Ibn al-Aṭhīr* (viii, 519) praises the noble character of *Ḥasanwayh*, his prudent policy and the purity of his morals. When *Ḥasanwayh* died in 369/979, in his capital *Sarmāḍī* (south of *Bisutūn*), 'Aḍud al-Dawla overran his possessions (*Hamadān*, *Dīnawar*, *Nihāwand*) to bring them under his authority, but in the end he granted investiture to *Badr* b. *Ḥasanwayh* (369-405/979-1014), who remained loyal to 'Aḍud al-Dawla and even fought against his own brothers who had taken the side of the rebel *Fakhr al-Dawla*. The caliph gave *Badr* the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla*. The historians give an extremely favourable verdict on *Badr*; he had his tribe educated, distributed taxation fairly and protected the peasants (*Rūdhrawārī*, in *Eclipse*, iii, 287-99, 327; *Hilāl* b. *Muḥassin*, in *ibid.*, iii, 429, 449-54; 'Uṭbī, *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, tr. *Reynolds*, 424). *Badr's* successor *Zāhir* (Ṭāhir?) only reigned a year and in 406/1015 was driven out by the *Būyid* *Shams al-Dawla*. *Ḥasanwayh's* uncle *Wandād*, chief of the 'Ayshīyya section, died in 349/960, his brother *Abū 'l-Ḥanā'im* died in 350/961, and a little later his son *Abū Sālim* *Daysam*, the last of this collateral branch, was dispossessed of his castles (*Kasān* or *Kasnān* [*Kaslan*? near *Bābā Yadīgār* on the *Zohāb*], *Ghānim-ābād*, etc.).

'Aḍud al-Dawla had to deal with the Kurds on several occasions, but he was much more severe with them than his father *Rukn al-Dawla*. In 368/978 the Kurd *Ibn Bādūya* with the help of the *Ḥamdānid* *Abū Taghlib* [q.v. in *Suppl.*] became an independent ruler at *Ardamūsh* (= *Kawāshī* near *Djabal-Djūdī*, *Yāḳūt*, i, 199), but soon allowed himself to be seduced by the promises of 'Aḍud al-Dawla (*Tadjārib*, ii, 392). In 369/979 the latter sent an expedition against the Kurds of *Shahrizūr* whom he wished to separate from the *Banū Shaybān* *Bedouins*, who had business and matrimonial ties with them. The town of *Shahrizūr* was occupied, and the Arabs went back to the desert (*Tadjārib*, ii, 398; *Kāmil*, viii, 516).

Another expedition was sent in 370/980 against the *Hakkārī* Kurds, who were besieged and surrendered, relying on a promise that their lives would be spared. But the leader of the expedition crucified them along the side of the road for five *fursakhs* between *Ma'al-thāyā* and *Mawṣil* (*Kāmil*, viii, 521).

Even in the lifetime of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the *Ḥumaydī* chief, *Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayn* b. *Dushandī* (or *Abū Shudjā' Bāḍh* b. *Dustāk*), known as *Bāḍh*, had attained considerable notoriety. At first a shepherd, he gradually rose to be lord of *Ardjīsh*, *Āmid* and *Mayyāfārīkīn*. A rising in *Niṣībīn* brought him into conflict with *Ṣamsām al-Dawla*. *Bāḍh* defeated the latter's forces at *Bā-Djulā'iya* (on the *Khābūr* al-*Ḥusayniyya* in the canton of *Kawāshī* = *Ardamūsh*), seized *Mawṣil* and was planning a march on *Baghdād* to end *Būyid* rule when he was defeated by *Ṣamsām al-Dawla*. He fell back on *Mayyāfārīkīn* and, by an arrangement with the captain of the army sent against him, secured possession of *Diyārbakr* and the western part of *Ṭūr*

‘Ābidīn (374/984). Bādh did not relinquish his designs on Mawṣil and in 379/990, having collected a large number of Baḥnawī Kurds, encamped under the walls of this town and engaged in negotiations with its inhabitants. But the Ḥamdānī princes, who had just regained possession of their hereditary fief, secured the help of the Banū ‘Uḡayl Arabs and attacked the invader. An accident put Bādh *hors de combat* and he was slain. His body was crucified, but the people of Mawṣil obtained his burial with the usual rites because he had fought against the unbelievers (*Kāmil*, ix, 25, 27, 38, 49; Rūdhrawārī, iii, 83-4, 176-8; Abu ‘l-Farajī, *Muḥtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Pococke, 321-3).

In 380-90/990-1000, Ṣamsām al-Dawla made an attempt to improve his position and with this object, made an alliance with Fūlād b. Mundhīr, who was supported by the Kurd cavalry mobilised at Shīrāz. After the failure of the enterprise he sought refuge with the Kurds, but the latter betrayed him and he took refuge with Fakhr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds (Rūdhrawārī, iii, 184; on Ibn Fūlād, see ‘Uṭbī, *op. cit.*, 424-5).

The Kurd dynasty of the Marwānids (Zambaur, 136; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 53-4) is closely connected with Bādh. After the defeat at Mawṣil, Abū ‘Alī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, the son of Bādh’s sister and his ally, withdrew to Ḥiṣn Kayfā [q.v.] where Bādh’s Daylamī wife lived. He married her and took one of the strongholds that had belonged to Bādh. He twice took prisoner Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥamdānī who had defeated Bādh, but treated him generously. Ibn Marwān established himself in Diyārbakr and by his conciliatory attitude won the sympathy of the inhabitants. The Marwānids reigned from 380/990 to 489/1096. Their power extended not only over Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzān, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā) but also to Khilāt, Malāzgir, Ardjīsh and the canton to the northeast of Lake Vān. In the west they held Urfa for a time. Abū ‘Alī Ḥasan in 381/991 invaded Syria and took it from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. He was killed in 387/997 by the people of Diyārbakr, who had rebelled. His brother Abū Maṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawla, who after the death of Bādh had seized Mayyāfāriḳīn, reigned there till 402/1011 (Abu ‘l-Fidā’, *Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske, ii, 569). His brother Abū Naṣr Ahmad (Ibn Khallikān, i, 157-8) succeeded him and reigned from 402/1011-12 to 453/1061. In 416/1025 he seized Urfa, but the Byzantines re-established their power in 422/1031 (Abu ‘l-Farajī, 342). He earned the reputation of being a just and enlightened ruler, and able, though given to pleasure. In 442/1050 Abū Naṣr had to pay homage to the Salḡūḳ Ṭuḡhrīl Beg. His son and successor Abū ‘l-Kāsim Naṣr, called Niẓām al-Dawla (453-72/1061-79), shared the power with his brother Sa‘īd (d. in 257/1065). He added to his possessions Ḥarrān, Suwaydā, etc. His successor was Maṣūr b. Sa‘īd, who nominally reigned from 472-89/1079-96, but by 478/1085 the Salḡūḳ general Fakhr al-Dawla b. Dīhār [see DĪHĀR, BANŪ] had taken almost the whole of his lands, which were placed under the authority of the Atābeg of Mawṣil (Abu ‘l-Fidā’, iii, 77-9, 87, 121, 125, 249). On the Marwānids, cf. the special study by H. F. Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1903), 123-54.

On the eve of the Turkish invasions, we find frequent reference to exploits and expeditions of the Kurds. In the reign of the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), the historians record the exploit of the Kurd Ahmad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who killed the Emperor Basil II’s general and thus stopped the Byzantine

advance (Rūdhrawārī, iii, 247). Between 366/976-7 and 388/998 the Kurds took part in the struggle between the Būyids and the Ziyārīds for the possession of Djurdjān (‘Uṭbī, tr. Reynolds, 298-302; Ibn Isfandiār, abridged tr. E. G. Browne, 226-8). A few years later we find Maḥmūd of Ḡhazna using Kurds against the Karakhānids (‘Uṭbī, 336).

The Kurds took part in the civil wars of the Būyids, in the struggle of the Banū ‘Uḡayl for the possession of Mawṣil, etc. In 411/1020 they fought against the Turkish troops who mutinied in Ḥamadān. In 415-20/1024-9 we find them fighting in Fārs and Khūzistān against the last Būyid, Abū Kālīdjār (*Kāmil*, ix, 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249, 265; Hilāl b. Muḥassin, iii, 348, 376, 381). Thus the Kurdish element was exhausting itself in continual fighting when the Turkish hordes arrived who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish conquest. When in 420/1029 the Ghuzz precursors of the Salḡūḳ reached Rayy, Tāsh Farrāsh, the Turkish general of the Ḡhaznawids, went to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds. The leader of the Kurds, being captured by the Ghuzz, sent a message to his men to cease fighting. This caused a tumult and Tāsh was killed (*Kāmil*, ix, 268). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hadhbānī Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Āḍhar-bāyḍjān (Wahsūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz, after a raid into Armenia, returned to Urmia and the lands of Abū ‘l-Hayḍjā’ Hadhbānī; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat. In 432/1041 the Musāfirid Wahsūdān II b. Mamlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tabriz; the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Hakkārī, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the mountains the Kurds attacked them, killed 1,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (*Kāmil*, ix, 270-2).

On the approach of Ṭuḡhrīl Beg’s troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al-Zawzān to the Dījazīra. One section of the Ghuzz under Maṣūr b. Ghuzoghī remained to the east of the Dījazīra, while the other under Būkā marched on Diyārbakr, and going on pillaged the districts of Kardu, Bāzabdā, Ḥusayniyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 270: a town between Mawṣil and Dījazīra) and Fēshābūr. The Marwānid Sulaymān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Dījazīra, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Maṣūr, and with the help of the Baḥnawī Kurds of Finik, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations; they ravaged the district of Diyārbakr and seized Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, ix, 272-3).

Meanwhile, the dynasty of the Ḥasanwayhids had perished and the power in Dījbāl had passed to a new family the Banū ‘Annāz (see Zambaur, 212, and ‘ANNĀZIDS. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 22, has ‘Ayyār), which is often called that of Abū ‘l-Shawk. Previously in 340/951 during a Turkish rising in Ḥamadān, the Būyid Mu‘izz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abī ‘l-Shawk, chief of Ḥulwān (*Tadīārīb*, ii, 2). The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Annāz (*Kāmil*, ix, 158) who ruled 380-401/990-1011. His son Abū ‘l-Shawk slew the last of the Ḥasanwayhids, Zāḥir (Ṭāḥir) in 406/1015-16. The possessions of the Banū ‘Annāz included Shahrizūr, Kirmānshāh (occupied in 431/1039-40; *Kāmil*, ix, 300, 316),

Bilawār, Şamghān, Dağūka and *Khuftidhākān*. In 437, Tuğhril sent his brother Ibrāhīm Yīnāl to pacify *Djībāl*. Ibrāhīm drove the Kākūyid Garshāsp out of Hamadān and he sought refuge with the *Djūzkān* Kurds. At Kirmānshāh there was a garrison of Abu 'l-Shawk' composed of Daylamīs and *Shādjāndjān* Kurds. Kirmānshāh was occupied and Abū Şhāwk died in 438/1046 at Sirwān. Ibrāhīm took Şamīrān (Şamīrān? Şaymara?) and subjugated the *Djūzkān*. Sa'ādī, son of Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to the *Salđjūks*. The dynasty lasted till 520/1116 (*Münedđjim-başı*).

The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Malāz-gird (463/1071) delivered all Armenia into the hands of Alp Arslān. Under the Great *Salđjūks* there arose in Fārs the turbulent dynasty of the *Shābān-kāra* [q.v.], but it is very doubtful if this dynasty, the fortunes of which can be traced from 421/1030 to 756/1355, was strictly Kurdish (cf. above). On the other hand, the small Kurd dynasties were ruthlessly wiped out in favour of Turks. In 493/1100 the last Marwānid disappeared in the region of *Khilāt*, where the Turk *Suqmān* *Kuḫlī* founded the dynasty of the *Shāh* Armenians which lasted a century until the coming of the *Ayyūbids*. Under the date 495/1100 Ibn al-Athīr (x, 238) mentions the killing of two thousand Kurds of *Surkhāb* b. Badr, a scion of the Banū 'Annāz, by the Turkomans of *Salghūr* *Qarabul*. Other Turkomans later took all the lands of *Surkhāb* except *Shahrizūr*, *Dağūka* and *Khuftidhākān*. In spite of these crushing blows, the Kurds are often mentioned in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. In his struggle with *Kāwurd* of Kirmān, Malik *Shāh* employed Kurdish and Arab forces, whom he later rewarded with fiefs at Kirmān (*Kāmil*, x, 53), where there were already colonies of Kurds (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 88; Ibn *Khalīkān*, i, 516). Raids of Kurds took place at *Dudjāy*, *Mārdīn* etc. in 496/1103, 498/1105 and 503/1109-10. In *Muḥammad* b. Malik *Shāh*'s campaign against Syria (504/1110) took part the lord of *Marāgha*, *Aḥmad* b. *Wahsūdān*, a Kurd of the tribe of *Rawwādī* (cf. *Kāmil*, x, 391) and the "Shāh of Armenia" *Suqmān*. The campaign was a fiasco, and the Kurds left to lay siege to the Turk *Suqmān* (*Recueil des hist. des Croisades, docum. orientaux*, iii, 542, 599).

During this period we often find the Kurds mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. *Derenbourg*, *Ousāma* b. *Munqidh*). Under *Sandjār* the province of *Kurdistān* was formed out of the western part of *Djībāl*. *Sulaymān*, the nephew of *Sandjār*, became its ruler with *Bahār* (to the north-east of *Hamadān*) as its capital. The province was in a flourishing state. In the reign of *Sandjār* also the Kurds took part in the troubles of 513/1119. In 516/1122 a punitive expedition passed through the *Hakkārī*, *Zawzān* and *Bashnawī* districts (*Kāmil*, x, 374, 377, 426), but shortly afterwards the Kurds seized the stronghold of the Christian patriarch at *Tūr* 'Abīdīn (*Assemani*, *Bibl. or.*, ii, 221).

The *Atābaks* of *Mawşil*. The *Atābaks*, the immediate neighbours of central *Kurdistān*, played an important part there. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangī several times invaded *Kurd* territory. In 528/1134 he took *Ţanza* (on the left bank of the *Bokhtān*) and to punish the *Ḥumaydīs*, who had supported the caliph *Mustarshid* when he was besieging *Mawşil*, seized their fortresses, al-'Akr, *Shūsh*, etc. (*Shams* al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 666-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya*, in *ibid.*, ii, 87). Abu 'l-Hayđjā, lord of *Arbil*, *Āshib*, etc., submitted to Zangī (was he perhaps a *Hakkārī*? At this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name; cf. *Hoffmann*, *Aussüge*, 203).

After the death of *Abi 'l-Hayđjā*, Zangī intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized *Āshib* and dismantled its defences; the fort of *Djalāb* received the name of 'Amādiya (= 'Imādiya, in honour of 'Imād al-Dīn). In 534/1139 Zangī took *Shahrizūr* from *Kifđjāk* b. *Arslān Tāsh* the Turkoman. In 537/1142 he sent a new expedition against the *Hakkārī* and took the fortress of al-*Shābānī* (= *Āshib*?), which he rebuilt. In 538/1143-4 *Irūn* and *Khizān* were taken (*Shams* al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 685). 'Alī, lord of al-Rābiya (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 284, *Rābiya-bulāk*?), *Faraḥ* and *Alka* (Elk?) joined Zangī of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangī was against the *Bashnawī* of *Fanak* (*Finik*), but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the *Atābak* in 541/1146: (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 86, 114, 129, 188). *Karāđja Tāđina*, *muḫta'* (?) of *Hakkārī*, who was sent in 547/1152-3 by the *Atābak* of *Mawşil* against the *Atābak* of *Ādharbāyđjān*, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

Later, after the death of *Şalāh al-Dīn* (589/1193), the *Zangids* consolidated their position in central *Kurdistān*. In 607/1211 'Imād al-Dīn, a younger son of *Arslān Shāh* Zangī, received as a fief the strongholds of the *Ḥumaydīs* ('Akr and *Shūsh*). In 615/1218 the same prince seized 'Amādiya and "the remainder of the fortresses of the *Hakkārī* and *Zawzān*" which were ceded to him by *Muzaffar* al-Dīn *Kökbürī* of *Arbil* (Abu 'l-Faraj, 433, 438). It must have been these events that caused the *Hakkārī* to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great *Zāb*.

The *Artukids* [q.v.], *Atābaks* of *Diyārbakır*, several times came into conflict with the Kurds (*Abu 'l-Fidā*, iii, 583; *Usāma*, i, 321). The 'Abbāsid caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors, negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of 'Isā *Ḥumaydī* in 528/1134, and *Kāmil*, xi, 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks. In 581/1185 under the caliph al-Nāşir, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (*Kāmil*, iii, 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, *Diyārbakır*, *Djazira*, *Mawşil*, *Shahrizūr*, *Khilāt* and *Ādharbāyđjān*). Two years later the rivals stopped fighting in order to join against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles, the Kurds fought their way back into Cilicia. The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours, and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at *Thelmuzen* (?) and *Arabthil* (= *Arabgir*?) (*Michael the Syrian*, in *Recueil, doc. armen.*, 395).

The *Ayyūbids*. The Kurdish origins of this remarkable dynasty are well-established (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 55-82). The Armenian historian *Hayton* (*Hethum*) says on this point: "Postea vero Sarraconi amiserunt dominium Egipti et Medi, qui Cordini vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt", *Recueil, docs. arm.*, ii, 225, 343). The grandfather of *Şalāh al-Dīn Shādhī* b. *Marwān* was a *Rawādī* Kurd (*Rāwādī*, *Rawanda*, a clan of the *Hadhbānī*) of *Dwīn* [q.v.]; see *Minorsky*, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 107-57.

The important fact is that it was from *Dwīn* that the *Shaddādī* dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of *Shādhī* *Ayyūb* [see *Ayyūbids*] and *Shīrkūh* [q.v.], son

of *Shādhī*, were born in the old home (the village of *Adjdanakān*). *Shālāh al-Dīn* [*q.v.*] was born at *Takrīt*, but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Ayyūbid family is significant. Nevertheless, the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old *Saldjūks* *Atābaks*, even when they became vassals of the Ayyūbids, continued to rule in *Diyārbakr* (*Artukids*), *Mawṣil* (*Zangids*) and *Arbil* (the *Begteginids*, at first deputies of the *Zangids*). By the treaty of 585/1187 with 'Izz al-Dīn *Zangī*, *Shālāh al-Dīn* annexed only *Aleppo* and *Shahrizūr* (*Ibn al-Athīr*, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 334; *Kāmil*, xi, 340; *Bahā' al-Dīn*, in *Recueil*, iii, 85). In 585/1189 *Shālāh al-Dīn* gave *Shahrizūr* to his *mamlūk* *Keshṭoghī* (?), a relative of *Ya'qūb b. Kīfjīāk*. The only independent way by which the Ayyūbids penetrated into *Kurdistān* was that of *Khilāt*. This district was at first conquered by *Taqī al-Dīn* in 587/1191 (*Kāmil*, xii, 40), but it was only after the death of *Shālāh al-Dīn* that his nephew *al-Malik al-Awḥad Naḍīm al-Dīn Ayyūb* installed himself there in 604/1207. Later, *Khilāt* passed to his brother *Ashraf*, who assumed the title "Shāh Arman", and finally to the third brother *Muẓaffar* who ruled there till 642/1244. The peace of this fief was several times broken by invasions of Georgians, of the *Kh'arazm-Shāh* and of the Mongols. The Georgian troops who were operating round *Khilāt* at this time were commanded by the Armenian princes *Zakarē* and *Iwanē*, whose genealogies make them descendants of the *Khel Babirakān*, i.e. of the Kurd tribe of *Bāprākān*; cf. *Marr* in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120.

The Ayyūbid forces were composed mainly of Turks, but the Kurdish element was by no means negligible. In 583/1187 *Shālāh al-Dīn* addressed an appeal for a holy war to the Kurds on the upper Tigris. The *Djazira* forces were disbanded in 584/1188, but the *Diyārbakr* detachments and particular tribes are often mentioned. These Kurds were sometimes on bad terms with the Turkomans (*Bahā' al-Dīn*, in *Recueil*, iii, 86, 313, 381).

Kurds were numerous in the civil and military service of the Ayyūbids, but very often they acted against the dynasty's interests. When *Shirkūh* died, there were Kurds who opposed the appointment of *Shālāh al-Dīn* as his successor (*Ibn Khallikān*, iv, 494).

An important part was played by the family of *Abu 'l-Haydīā* [*Hadhbānī*], hereditary chief of *Arbil* (?). He directed the defence of 'Akkā against the Crusaders and was appointed *isfahsālār* of the army and governor of *Jerusalem*. In 592/1196 he was transferred to *Baghdād*: he conducted an expedition against *Hamadān* and died at *Dakūka*. His nephew *Ḳuṭb al-Dīn* built the *Ḳuṭbiyya madrasa* in *Cairo*. Another Kurd, of the tribe of *Hakkārī*, *Sayf al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb*, succeeded *Abu 'l-Haydīā* at 'Akkā. His descendants had exciting careers; his son *Aḥmad* ended his days in the prison of *Harrān*; his grandson, the *Ḳāḍī 'Imād al-Dīn* plotted against *al-Kāmil* and had to go into exile.

The *Kh'arazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn*. In 614/1217 the Kurds of *Zagros* inflicted a defeat on the troops of the *Kh'arazm-Shāh* sent from *Hamadān* to *Baghdād*. *Djalāl al-Dīn's* operation against *Khilāt* (623-6/1226-9) disorganised the life of the country, and the Kurds were decimated by famine (*Kāmil*, xii, 207, 308). Defeated and pursued by the Mongols, *Djalāl al-Dīn* took refuge among the Kurds of *Diyārbakr* and in 628/1231 was killed, probably by one of them (*Djuwaynī*, ed. *Muḥammad Kazwīnī*, ii,

190; *Kāmil*, xii, 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 62). In 634/1237 again the remnants of the *Kh'arazm* hordes traversed and plundered the region of *Kharput* (*Abu 'l-Farajī*, 477). After the death of *Djalāl al-Dīn*, the Mongols laid waste the region of *Diyārbakr* and *Khilāt*. Another horde had descended from *Marāgha* on *Arbil*; this latter region was three times invaded. In 645/1245, *Shahrizūr* was laid waste and in 650/1252 *Diyārbakr*.

The Mongol *Ilkhāns*. The Kurds are rarely mentioned under the *Ilkhāns*. As these rulers—at first pagans and later Muslims—were on good terms with the Christians, and the latter had sufficient causes of complaint against their Muslim neighbours, the Kurds so recently involved in the wars of the Ayyūbids had to remain confined to their mountains and to hope for success for the enemies of the Mongols.

The province of "Kurdistān" formed in the time of the *Saldjūks*, the capital of which was *Bahār* (near *Hamadān*), was conquered by *Malik b. Tūdān*, father of the celebrated *Amīr Čoban*. Leaving *Hamadān* in 655/1257, *Hülāgū* marched on *Baghdād*. At *Kirmānshāh* the Mongols began to murder and plunder (*Rashīd al-Dīn*, ed. *Quatremère*, 225, 255, 267). Before the capture of *Baghdād*, *Hülāgū* sent troops to take *Arbil*. The governor of this stronghold, *Tādī al-Dīn Shālābā* (cf. *Rashīd al-Dīn*, ed. *Bloch*, 261), submitted to the Mongols, but the Kurd garrison refused to follow his example. *Arbil* was taken with the help of the *Atābak* of *Mawṣil*, *Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'* (d'Ohsson, iii, 256). The taking of *Baghdād* resulted in the depopulation of *Shahrizūr* [*q.v.*], and its Kurd inhabitants, according to *Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī*, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii, 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in *Algeria* of two Kurd tribes: *Lawēn* and *Babīn* (*Ibn Khaldūn*, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de *Slane*, ii, 461, iii, 413).

Returning to *Ādharbāyḍjān*, *Hülāgū* set out for Syria in 657/1259. In the *Hakkārī* country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword (*Rashīd al-Dīn*, ed. *Quatremère*, 328). *Djazira*, *Diyārbakr*, *Mayyāfārīkīn* (held by the Ayyūbid *al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn*) and *Mārdīn* were taken in succession. After the death of the *Atābak* *Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu'*, who had remained faithful to *Hülāgū*, his son *Šālīb* went over to the side of *Baybars*, *Sulṭān* of *Egypt*, and received confirmation of his investiture from him. The Kurds around *Mawṣil* at once fell upon the Christians. The garrison of *Mawṣil* consisting of Kurds, Turkomans and *Shūls*, courageously resisted the Mongols.

In Syria also the Kurds threw in their lot with the *Mamlūks*. In his letter to the *Khān* *Berke*, *Baybars* boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs (d'Ohsson, iii, 385). In the time of *Abaḳa*, the Armenian *Hayton* tells how after an invasion of Egyptian troops (before 677/1278) the Kurds took 5,000 houses of Kurds (*Gordins*) living in northern Syria (*Recueil*, docs. armén., ii, 179). But after the defeat of the Mongols in 680/1281, a body of Muslim troops, made up of Turkomans and Kurds, laid waste *Cilicia*. The rare cases in which Kurds are found allied to the Mongols were generally in distant *Fārs*. Under *Öldjejtü* there were Kurds in the troops that invaded *Gilān* in 706/1306-7. A little later a Kurd, *Mūsā*, who had proclaimed himself the *mahdī* of the *Shī'īs*, was executed by *Öldjejtü*. In 712/1312-13 *Badr al-Dīn*, the Kurd lord of *Rahba*, resisted the Mongols.

The Kurd provinces were governed by the Mongol *amīrs*. The fighting in *Arbil* never ceased. The

"Kayaçî", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol army and stationed in Arbîl, brought a charge against their chief Zayn al-Dîn Bâlû and came into conflict with the Kurds, whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 696/1297 but the situation came to a height in 710/1310. With great difficulty, the Mongols drove the Christians out of the citadel. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege, but their *amirs*, who were friendly with the Christians, wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place, but the Kurds had no share in it (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, tr. J. B. Chabot, Paris 1895, 152-77).

The country between Marâgha and Arbîl was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies; at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. *sāwuj-bulāk*).

The capital of the province of "Kurdistan" under Öljeytû was moved from Bahâr to Sulţânâbâd (of Çamçamâl). The extent to which the province had suffered may be judged from the statement of the Hamd Allâh Mustawfî's *Nuḥat al-ḥulûb* (ed. Le Strange, 107), according to which its revenues were reduced to one-tenth of what they were under the Saldjûks.

When the İlkhâns had disappeared, two families of Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Sulduz [q.v.] and Djalâyir [q.v.] became rivals for power. By virtue of the division of the fiefs between "the two Ḥasans" (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdistan and Khuzistân returned to the children of the *amir* Akrandj or Akrash (?). In 784-5/1382-3 the Djalâyir Bâyezîd carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistan and 'Irâk 'Adjami (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 253, and d'Ohsson, iv, 747).

Table of the Kurd tribes in the time of the Mamlûk Sulţâns. The Mongol conquest had completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes, but in Egypt, where the Mamlûk Sulţâns were cherishing secret plans against the İlkhâns, much interest was taken in the fate of this Muslim element. The *Masâlik al-abṣâr* of Şihâb al-Dîn al-'Umârî (d. 749/1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of the Mamlûk Sulţâns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-'Umârî, there were Kurds near al-'Irâk and al-Diyâr al-'Arab and in Syria and Yemen. The mountain country (al-Djibâl) inhabited by the Kurds began near Hamadân and ended in Cilicia (*bilâd al-Takfûr*); to the west of the Tigris the Kurds of al-Djazira and Mârdîn were at the mercy of all their neighbours. At Mârdîn, however, a certain Ibrâhîm al-'Ars Bâlû (?) had shortly before then proclaimed himself independent and had attained considerable power. The author then gives a list of twenty tribes living between Hamadân and the part of al-Djazira that lies between Mawşil and Kawâr (cf. Këwar in the *Sharaf-nâma*):

1. The Gûrânî, who were warriors and agriculturists (*djund wa-ra'iyya*).
2. The Gilâlî (cf. the mountain called Galâla among the Sohrân; *Sharaf-nâma*, i, 286, and Rich, *Narrative*, i, 123: *Ghelliâlî*). A portion of this tribe migrated to Syria. Their prince Şharaf al-Dîn was governor of Arbîl under the Mongols, but was killed by a Mongol.
3. The Zangali (Zangana?).
4. The Kûsa and the Mabir (??) of Şhahrizûr [q.v.] migrated to Syria and Egypt.
5. The Sabûli (Sutûnî?), lived in Şhahrizûr and Ushnû. Near them lived the Kartâwî (? cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 207).

6. The Ḥasnâni (Khushnâwî?), several thousand in number, divided into three branches, one of which living at Karkâr alongside of the Kartâwî (?) levied tolls on the pass Darband-i Karaboll (the defile of the Little Zâb; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 263).

7. Near Kurbîn (= Kirkûk?) and Dakûk lived a tribe of 700 men.

8. A tribe living "between two mountains" (*bayn al-djabalayn*) on the territory of Arbîl in winter sought the good graces of the Mongols, and in summer assisted the invasions of Egyptian troops.

9. The Mâzandjân [?] to the number of 500 lived near Arbîl and Mâzandjân, Nërwa and Bêḫma (these two latter cantons are situated on the Great Zâb east of 'Akr). The chiefs of Mâzandjân also ruled the related tribe of the Ḥumaydî (of which there were 1,000 men). The chief of the Mâzandjân called Kak had received the title Mubâriz al-Dîn from the 'Abbâsids. The Mongols divided his lands into two and Kak remained *nâ'ib* of Arbîl. He was dispossessed for a time under Arghûn, but according to the *Şubḥ al-a-ṣḥâ* of al-Kalkaşhandî, his sons and his grandsons retained their fief ('Akr and Şubḥ).

10. Near Tell Ḥaftûn was the land of the numerous Sohrî tribe (Sohrân).

11. Their neighbours were the Zarzârî ("children of gold"). They also possessed Malâzgird (= Rûbâr-i Barâzgird) and Rustâk (the southern part of Şham-dînân).

12. The Djûlâmerg, of Umayyad origin, numbered 3,000 men.

13. The Kurds of the district of Markawân (read Margawar) were allies of their Djûlâmergî and Zarzârî neighbours.

14. Near Djûlâmerg was the canton of Gawâr.

15. Near Djûlâmerg beside 'Akr and 'Amâdiya was the canton of Zibârî inhabited by 500 men.

16. The Hakkârî lived at 'Amâdiya and numbered 4,000 men.

17. Near the Hakkârî beside Marđî were the Djabal al-'Amrânî and the cave of Kaḥf Dâwûd where lived the Besîtkî (??).

18. Near Djûlâmerg towards Mawşil lived the Bokhtî, rivals of the Ḥumaydî.

19. The Dâsînî had been very numerous, but their chief Badr al-Dîn came down to more accessible country and there were no more than 1,000 Dâsînî in the province of Mawşil; 500 Dâsînî lived at 'Akr.

20. The Dumbûllî (?) inhabited the high mountains.

To this information given by the *Masâlik*, the *Şubḥ al-a-ṣḥâ*, basing itself on al-Tathḥîf composed by Taḳî al-Dîn Ibn Nâzîr al-Djaysh about 748/1347, adds a list of 25 Kurd chiefs with whom the chancelleries of Cairo were in correspondence.

Tîmûr and the Turkoman dynasties. After the Mongols, the rival Turkoman dynasties extended their power over Kurdistan. This period, of which little is yet accurately known, was of considerable importance for the Kurds. The Çara Koyunlu dynasties penetrated into the heart of Kurdistan, involved the Kurd tribes in political and religious quarrels (cf. the extremist Şhîfa of the Çara Koyunlu) and provoked considerable movements of the population: it was at this period that the Mukrî Kurds seized the country south of the Lake of Urmia [cf. *sāwuj-bulāk*]. In contrast to this, the conquest by Tîmûr which temporarily swept aside the Çara Koyunlu had only a transitory character.

Many incidents in the history of Ḥişn Kayfâ and Djazira between 796-897/1393-1491 are recorded in the Syrian Chronicle (written at Haytam) published

by Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838.

Timūr had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796/1394 and 803/1400-1. After overrunning Baghdād and Diyārbakr, Timūr attacked Dījazira, which was destroyed. The dependencies of Dījazira were likewise conquered. Timūr next crossed the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and gave a favourable reception to Sharaf al-Dīn of Bidlis "renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistān". In 803/1400-1 Timūr returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāydzān and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Timūr, Qara Yūsuf Qara Koyunlu [see KARĀ KOYUNLU] returned to Kurdistān and sought refuge at first with Shams al-Dīn of Bidlis. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 820/1417 Qara Yūsuf by a *nishān* confirmed the princes of Bidlis in their possessions. When in 824/1421, Shāhrukh, son of Timūr, arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by Shams al-Dīn of Bidlis, Malik Muḥammad Hakkārī, Malik Khallī of Hīṣn Kayfā, the *amirs* of Khizān, etc. The Kurds of Khoy also remained loyal to Shāhrukh's governor (Maḥā' al-sa'dayn, in, *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 153).

The Aq Koyunlu [q.v.] (the Bayandur dynasty) whose principal centre was in Diyārbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (Sharaf-nāma, i, 164; *istiṣāl-i khānawādah-yi Kurdistān*), and in general they persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the Qara Koyunlu, like the great tribe of Čamshgezek. Uzun Hasan's generals Šūfi Khallī and Arab Shāh conquered Hakkārī, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbul tribe from Boltān. In 875/1470 (cf. Behnsch, *op. cit.*, 14) Dījazira passed entirely into the power of the Aq Koyunlu, who appointed their own governor Čalabī Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the Sharaf-nāma, i, 123. The Aq Koyunlu general Sulaymān b. Bizan drove out of Bidlis the Ibrāhīm Khān who was later put to death by Ya'qūb b. Uzun Hasan.

The Šafawid Shāhs and the Ottoman Sultāns. Shāh Ismā'īl had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the Aq Koyunlu. After the battle of Sharūr (907/1502) he won all the country between Baghdād and Mar'ash. Ismā'īl's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the Aq Koyunlu. Like the latter, the Shāh relied on the Turkoman tribes, but being a zealous extreme Shi'ī (cf. KHATĀ'ī in *EP*) he was still more predisposed against the Sunnī Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at Khoy to pay homage, Ismā'īl imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the Kizil-bash tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistān became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sultāns and the Shāhs of Persia. The defeat of Čaldīrān [q.v.] (920/1514) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shāh Ismā'īl, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismā'īl's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Ḥakīm Idrīs, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistān a feudal organisation securing the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Čaldīrān deeply affected Kurdistān.

Malik Khallī (Sharaf-nāma, i, 155), the dispossessed prince of Hīṣn Kayfā, had regained possession of Sīfird and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muḥammad Beg of Šāṣūn was fighting against the Persians. Aḥmad Beg of Mayyāfārīkīn, Kāsim Beg of Agll, Djamshīd Beg of Pālū, had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of Dījazira had succeeded in repulsing the Persians from Mawsil. Sa'īd Beg Sohrān had taken Arbīl and Kirkūk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idrīs to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sultān.

When Selīm had left Tabriz, Ismā'īl sent reinforcements to Diyārbakr and Hīṣn Kayfā. Idrīs summoned to his flag the Kurd levies and defeated Kurd Beg, a former Persian governor of Kurdistān. The Kurds of Diyārbakr resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Bīyīklī Meḥmed Paṣha. Bīyīklī and Idrīs met at Hīṣn Kayfā and defeated the Persians. Then, reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from 'Amādiya?), the Turks relieved Diyārbakr and took Mārdīn, except for the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdād and Kirkūk and the people of Mārdīn drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Nišībīn-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated, and Bīyīklī forced Sulaymān Khān, who was still at Mārdīn, to surrender. The occupation of Nišībīn, Dārā, Mayyāfārīkīn, Diyārbakr and Sīndjār followed and Idrīs completed the administrative organisation of the *sandjaḥ*. In the province of Diyārbakr eleven *sandjaḥs* were put under Turkish officials and eight under Kurds (*Akrād beyliḡi*). The *wālis* confirmed the investitures of the new begs, but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary *hükümlats* (*Kurd hükümeti*) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, chs. ii and iv, quoting 'Ayn-i 'Alī Mū'eddhīn-zāde who wrote at the beginning of the 11th/17th century). A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistān from Malāṭīya to Bāyazīd and Shāhrizūr (cf. below the Sharaf-nāma, and the very interesting remarks of Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 176-80, 271-316, on the 37 *sandjaḥs* joined to Vān by the law of Sulaymān I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmānshāh remained to the Persians. Idrīs was liberally rewarded and the *firmāns* of investiture were sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 749).

In 936/1530 Shāh Tahmāsp recovered Baghdād from Dhu 'l-Fakār, a Kurd of the tribe of Mūšū (Moşullu?). A long series of wars began again. Sultān Sulaymān led armies against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 and 1554. In this last year the Baghdād troops conquered the Kurds of Belkās and Shāhrizūr while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii, 236).

By the peace of 999/1590 'Abbās I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces, including Ādharbāydzān, Shāhrizūr and Luristān (*ibid.*, ii, 559) but in 1010/1601 fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1021/1612 Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shāhrizūr (*ibid.*, ii, 745). Shāh 'Abbās transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khurāsān to serve as a bulwark against the Turkmans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdād.

During Hāfiḡ Pasha's first campaign (1012/1623) his army included the Kurdistān troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians, having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Mārdīn. After the death of Shāh 'Abbās, the grand vizier Khosrew Pasha [q.v.] advanced on Baghdād in 1039/1629. Sayyid Khān of 'Amādiya, Mira Beg Sohrān and the mixed Kurdi-Arab tribe of Bādjiilān took the side of Khosrew Pasha, while Ahmad Khān Ardalān threatened the Turkish flank. Khosrew Pasha advanced as far as Sinna [q.v.] and Hamadān. On their way back, the Turks defeated at Čamčamāl and Dartang a Persian force. Baghdād still held out, and when Khosrew Pasha had retired, Ahmad Khān Ardalān reoccupied Shahrizūr (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, iii, 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Not till 1048/1638 did Murād IV finally take Baghdād, and in the next year the treaty was signed with Persia which *grosso modo* fixed the Turco-Persian frontier down to the 19th century (*Ta'riḡh-i Na'imā*, i, 686). Persia was now completely behind the Zagros chain.

The great struggle between the Šafawīs and Ottomans made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The *Šaraf-nāma* has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the Kurd tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005/1596.

Šaraf-nāma. This book by the chief of Bidlis, Šaraf al-Dīn [see BIDLIS], finished in 1005/1596, occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Véliaminof-Zernof's edition) is divided into four parts (*šahifa*): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (*salṭanat*); the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the *ḡuḡba* recited in their name; the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (*ḡukkām*) and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bidlis. Part i. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [q.v.] of Diyābākr and Djazira, the ḡasanwayhids [q.v.] of Dinawar and Šahrizūr; the Faḡlūyids of the Great Lur [see LUR-I BUZURĠ], the princes of little Lur [see LUR-I KŪČIK] and the Ayyūbids [q.v.].

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which Šaraf al-Dīn enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary, it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the fiefs, taking Djazirat ibn 'Umar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The fiefs of the second class (including Bidlis) will be marked with an asterisk (*).

Šaraf al-Dīn distinguished as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs, and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistān. Chiefs of varied origins rule the Kurdish, Kurdicised and Christian tribes, with the help of warlike Kurd tribes (*‘aḡhīrat*), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomad or rather semi-nomad.

Group A. Between Djazira and Darsim:

1. The chiefs of Djazira* claimed Umayyad origin, but gave as their ancestor Khālid b. al-Walīd. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurd alliances of the Umayyads with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general Khālid b. al-Walīd [q.v.], whose tombs are shown near Si'ird (Hartmann, *Bohtān*, 19, 124). These chiefs were at first Yazīdis and only later became

converted to be orthodox Sunnis. After the death of Sulaymān b. Khālid his three sons divided his possessions: Djazira fell to Mir 'Abd al-'Azīz, Gurgūl to Mir Hādīdīj Beg and Finik to Mir Abdāl. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The *Šaraf-nāma* refers to the possessions of this family as *wilāyet-i Bokhtī* (i, 320), and enumerates in detail but without system the 14 *nāhiyas* forming this important fief: Gurgūl, Arwaḡh, Pīrūz, Bādān and Tanžē (Kalhūk) occupied by the tribe Kārsī; Finik; Tūr, Haytam (Hethum) and Šāḡh inhabited by the Christians; Nīsh Atil; Aramshāt the tribe of which (Brāspī) is the chief among those of Bokht; Kēwar or Kamīz (?); Dayr-dih which belongs to Tanžē.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, *Bohtān, in Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* (1896), No. 2, and (1897), No. 1, 1-163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of Djazirat ibn 'Umar lay between the right bank of the Bohtān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhtī were the Sindiyan (cf. under 'Amādiya) settled on the Khābūr.

2. The ancestors of the rulers of Khizān, Isbāyerd (Sparhet, Ispert; in Ewliyā Čelebi: Isba'ird) and Muks (Mukus) were three brothers who came from Balidjān (Khnīs) in the time of the Salḡūqs *Šaraf-nāma*, i, 217). The tribe of the principal fief was Namiran; this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohtān and stretched as far as Marwānān.

3. Šhīrwān (on the right bank of the Bohtān below Khizān and north-east of Si'ird). The ancestors of the "Šhīrawī" chiefs were in the services of the Ayyūbids and came to Šhīrwān at the same time as the "Malikān" to Hiḡn Kayfā. The Šhīrawī played even the rôle of viziers by the Malikān (*op. cit.*, i, 155). The capital of Šhīrwān was Kufra. The other dependencies were Āwīl, Šhabistān (also called, Garni = Kirnik?) and Irūn.

Bidlis. The Rozagī (Rozagī) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (*rūzi*) in the village of Tāb in the canton of Khoyt (now the *kaḡā* of Modkl west of Bidlis), and formed a confederation which later became divided into two sections: Bilbāst and Kawāllīsī. Šaraf al-Dīn (i, 361) enumerates the 24 (read 25) clans of Rūzagī, of which five were old settlers and the others newcomers: Bilbāst (10 clans) and Kawāllīsī (10 clans).

The Rūzagī took Bidlis and Hāzo (Šāšūn) from the Georgian king Tāvīt (David the Curopalatus, 984-1001?). Later they brought from Akhlāt two brothers of Sāsānid origin. One became chief at Bidlis and the other at Šāšūn. 18 chiefs of the line of Diyā' al-Dīn had ruled at Bidlis before 1005/1596. The only interruptions took place under the Salḡūqs (534-76/1139-80) under the Aḡ Koyunlu (871-900/1467-95), under Shāh Ismā'īl (913-20?/1507-14?) and between 941/1534-5 and 986/1578. In this last year Sulṭān Sulaymān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Amīr Shams al-Dīn for that of Malāṭiya. Shams al-Dīn had to leave Bidlis, but fearing new intrigues, went to the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, who treated him with generosity. Shams al-Dīn died in Persia in 965/1558. His son Šaraf al-Dīn, born in exile in 940/1533-4, was carefully educated at the court (the Shāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismā'īl II, Šaraf al-Dīn fell under suspicion

and was sent to Nakhçewân. From there he succeeded in reaching Vän and received from Murâd I investiture for Bidlis, to which Mûsh was added in 991/1583. For the year 1065/1655 Ewliyâ Celebi (iv, 81-121) gives us a detailed description of Bidlis. The last prince of Bidlis, Sharaf Beg, was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 149).

The rulers of Şâşûn (Hâzo) were called 'Izzin from their ancestor 'Izz al-Dîn, brother of Diyâ' al-Dîn of Bidlis. The 'ashîrats of Şâşûn were at first Shîrawî, Bâbüsi, Sûsânî and Tamûkî. The Rûzakî [see BIDLIS] arrived afterwards; later, after the annexation of Arzan the clans of that district Khâldî, Dayr Mughânî, 'Azizân, who had at first belonged to Hîşn Kayfâ, came to join those of Şâşûn.

6. The Suwaydî chiefs claimed a Barmakî origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Suwaydî tribe. The hereditary fief of the Suwaydî was Gandj (this should be read for *Kîkî* in Véliaminof-Zernof, i, 260).

7. The Pâzüki tribe, which Sharaf al-Dîn places among the tribes of Persia (i, 328), is said to have been of Suwaydî origin. According to the *Sharaf-nâma*, i, 328, it had no definite religion and showed signs of heresy (*rafî wa-ihâd*). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khâldî-beglu and Şeker-beglu, and one was under the Amîrs of Bidlis. Khâldî received as fiefs Khnis, Malâzzîrd and the canton of Uhkân (?) of Mûsh. They grew so proud that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Çaldîrân, the Suwaydî dispossessed the Pâzüki from many of their fiefs (*ibid.*, i, 257). In the time of Shâh Tahmâsp, Kîllîj Beg, appointed chief of the Pâzüki, received Zagam (near Tiflis). Later, Pâzüki were transferred to Alashkert, where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdâsî chiefs (*Mirdesî* in the *Selîm-nâma*) claimed to be descended from the 'Abbâsids. Their ancestor was a religious leader who came from Hakkârî to Agîl and whose disciples the Mirdâsî became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banû Kîlâb from around Aleppo, who migrated about 420/1029 as a result of troubles with the Fâtîmids [see KILÂB B. RABÎFA and MIRDÂSIDS]. The main one of the three branches, the Buldukanî, lived at Agîl; it maintained good relations with the Aq Koyunlu, but under Shâh Ismâ'îl, Agîl was occupied by the Persians. Of the two other branches of the Mirdâsî, one ruled at Pâlû, at Bâghîn (below Kîghî) and at Kharpût, and the other first at Bardandj and later at Djarmûk (south of Arghanamâ'dan).

9. The rulers of Çamîshgezek claimed to be of 'Abbâsîd descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Saldjûk). Their 'ashîrat was called Malkîshî (Malik-Shâhî?). There were about 1,000 hearths of Malkîshî in the Persian service (in Persia?). The lands of the Malkîshî were so numerous that the name *Kurdîstân* had become synonymous with Çamîshgezek (*Sharaf-nâma*, i, 163). They kept them in the Mongol period, under Timûr and Kara Yûsuf, but the Aq Koyunlu did all they could to weaken the tribes faithful to the Kara Koyunlu and sent the Turkish tribe to Kharbandalu against Çamîshgezek. Shaykh Hasan drove out the Kharbandalu and submitted to Shâh Ismâ'îl. The latter put a Persian governor in his place. Selîm I restored the hereditary amir Pîr Husayn.

Group B. Between Djazira and Kilis:

10. Hasan-kayî* [cf. HİŞN KAYFÂ]. The local chiefs (*malikân*) claimed to be of Ayyûbid descent, which seems very probable. Their ancestor was al-

leged to have received the fief of Hîşn Kayfâ from the ruler of Mardîn. The first chief mentioned by the *Sharaf-nâma* is Malik Sulaymân who died in 736/1335. The Aq Koyunlu seized Hîşn Kayfâ, but Malik Khâllî, who had taken refuge in Hamâ, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottomans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khâllî. Among the dependencies of Hîşn Kayfâ, the *Sharaf-nâma* mentions Sî'îrd, Bîshêri, Tûr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Djazira, cf. *ibid.*, 117, 127, 157) and Arzan.

11. Sulaymânî, rulers of Marwânîd origin (i.e. from the later branch of the Umayyads) established themselves at first at Khûkh in the canton of Ghazâlî (between the Kulp and the Batmân Şu before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory as far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Banûkî, but the more enterprising was Basiyân, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bâyezîd under their chief Shâhsawâr. A number of these tribes professed Yazîdî doctrines. The Sulaymânî lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Şâşûn. They were divided into two branches, that of Kulp and Batmân and that of Mayyâfârîkîn.

12. Zrakî (the modern pronunciation attested by Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], 119-39); according to Sharaf-al-Dîn, Zrakî is a contraction of the Arabic Azrakî. The ancestor of the family, who was an Arab holy man from Syria of 'Alid origin, arrived in Mardîn in the time of Artuk (d. 516/1122; Abu 'l-Farâdj, *Mukhtasar*, 379). The family formed connections by marriage with the Artukids and later with the Aq Koyunlu. There were four branches of Zrakî, the principal branches being those of Tarjîl (west of the Batmân Şu) and 'Atâk. The two other branches were that of Darzîni (an old Christian convent Dayr Zir?) and that of Kurdikân (between Diyârbakr and Mayyâfârîkîn), the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zrakî chief and a gipsy woman (*dukhtar-i kâbuli*).

13. Kîllîs. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkârî and 'Amâdiya. Their ancestor Mand (Mantashâ) had rendered services to the Ayyûbids, who gave him the canton of Kuşayr (near Antioch). He united under his rule the Yazîdîs of Kuşayr and those living between Hamâ and Mar'ash, as well as the Kurds of Djôm and Kîllîs. Under the Mamlûk Sultâns and under Selîm I, disputes broke out between the Yazîdîs (Shaykh 'Izz al-Dîn) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter; but the hereditary rights of this north Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group C. Between Djazira and Khoj:

14. Hakkârî* [see HAKKÂRÎ and SHAMDÎNÂN]. Sharaf al-Dîn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around 'Amâdiya from which the Zangîd Atâbegs had driven them northwards. The amîrs claimed to be of 'Abbâsîd descent.

The first amir mentioned in the *Sharaf-nâma* is 'Izz al-Dîn Shîr (probably simply an arabicisation of the name Yazdân-Shîr) who held out against Timûr in 789/1387 in the fortress of Vän. Under the Aq Koyunlu, the tribe of Dambull (of Djazira) took possessions of Hakkârî, but the Christians of Diz (*Asûri* = Nestorians) went to Egypt to bring back the scion of the ancient family Asad al-Dîn Zarrîn Çang ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of Shambô (M. Garzoni, *Grammatica della*

lingua kurda, Rome 1787, 4: *Sciambò*). In the time of Ismā'īl I, the *Shambo* chiefs lived in the castle of Bāy (in *Shamdinān*); a member of the family ruled at Vostān (southwest of Vān), but the possession of the *nāhiya* of Kawāsh west of Vostān was disputed with the Hakkārī by the Rūzaki. Hakkārī rule extended to Albāk in the north. The last representative of the Hakkārī house, Nūr Allāh Beg, was dispossessed by the Ottomans after the rebellion of Badr Khān Beg of Bokhtān, and in 1845, Hālime Khānīm surrendered Bāsh-kāl'a to the Turks. The tribe of Pinyānīsh (*ibid.*, i, 97, 100) which still exists is mentioned as living near the Hakkārī.

15. The Mahmūdī fief lies north of Hakkārī on the rivers which feed the lakes of Vān and Arçak. The rulers (Marwānids or 'Abbāsids of Bokhtān), who originally professed the Yazīdī faith (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 307) settled there in the Kara Koyunlu period and soon came into conflict with the Hakkārī and Dumbullī.

16. The Dumbullī are a tribe of Bokhtān (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 118, 310: *Dumbul-i Bokht*, which for long remained Yazīdī). The Dumbullī later came into Ādharbāydzān where they received as a fief Sukmanābād (Sögmānābād) north-west of Khoy (now Zūrawā). Under the Aq Koyunlu, the Dumbullī had seized the castle of Bāy (in *Shamdinān*) and a part of, Hakkārī (*ibid.*, i, 193). To their *odjak* of Sukmanābād Shāh Tahmāsp added Khoy. Under Sultān Sulaymān, the Dumbullī received Kōtur and Bārgīrī; later they annexed Abghāh, Sulaymān-Sarāy (the modern Sarāy) and Čaldīrān. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shirwānī in his *Bustān al-siyāha* (beginning of the 19th century) says that all the Dumbullī are Shī'īs (cf. the allusion in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 312) and speak Turkish (!).

17. Brādost. The ruling family was of Gūrān [*q.v.*] or Hasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of Urmia. One branch ruled at Šomāy [*q.v.*]; another at Tergewer and at Kāl'a Dāwūd. The remnants of the Brādost tribe now live south of *Shamdinān* on the Rūbār-i Brādost (a tributary of the Great Zāb, the sources of which lie west of Ushnū).

18. Ustūnī. The chapter, which is wanting in the manuscripts, must certainly refer to the first dynasty of *Shamdinān*, whose headquarters were Sutūnī in the *nāhiya* of Harkūk [see *SHAMDINĀN*].

19. The history of the Zarzā (cf. the Zar-zarī of *Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umārī*) announced in the preface to the *Sharaf-nāma* is lacking in the text.

20. Tarzā. The paragraph is lacking in the manuscripts and we know nothing of the tribe.

Group D. South of Hakkārī:

21. 'Amādiya* [*q.v.*]. We have seen that the town of 'Amādiya was built on the site of an ancient castle under 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī (521-41/1127-46). The local dynasty of Bahdnān mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangids (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries). The chiefs of 'Amādiya were known for their fervour in religious studies. The *Sharaf-nāma* gives their names for the Tīmūrid period. Later (under Ismā'īl I), the Bahdnān annexed the Zakhō district inhabited by the Sindī and Sulaymānī which had at one time formed a separate fief (*wilāyat-i Sindiyān*). In this way the fief of Bahdnān incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawşil (Mount Gāra, etc.).

22. Ṭasīnī (Dāsīnī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazīdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts, but in the text we find a reference which shows that the *amīr*s of 'Amādiya took Dohūk from the *sandjak*-i

Ṭasīnī (i, 109) and that in 941/1534 Sultān Selīm I gave the *sandjak* of Arbil and the whole *wilāyat* of Sohrān to Ḥusayn Beg Dāsēnī, a Yazīdī chief which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i, 274-7). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony and Ḥusayn Beg was executed at Istanbul. On the region called Dāsēn, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 202-7.

23. Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Kalūs, an Arab shepherd of Baghdād who had fled to the village of Hūdiyān in the *nāhiya* of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory). His son was proclaimed Amīr of Balakān (east of Rawāndiz) and seized the castle of Āwān. The capital of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, *Narrative*, i, 157) was Harīr (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawāndiz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1005/1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (*Narrative*, i, 157) benefited by their decline.

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties. Their principal fief lay south of the little Zāb and had as its capital Shāri-Bāzēr, but in 1199/1784 the Bābān built a new capital Sulaymāniya [*q.v.* for details].

25. Mukrī, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmia [for details see *SĀWĀD-BULĀK*] had broken off from the tribe of Bābān.

26. Bāna. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn chiefs bore this name because they had adopted Islām of their own free will (*ikhitiyār*) (for details see *SĀWĀD-BULĀK*).

27. Ardalān: see the articles, ARDALĀN, SHAH-RAZŪR, SINNA, SĪSAR.

28. Gāl-Bāghī (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 36-45; the addition is dated 1092/1681). Their chief 'Abbās Agha of the Turkish tribe of Ustādjalū received a "spring of water" in Marīwān [cf. SINNA] from Bīgebeg Ardalān (900-42/1495-1535). 'Abbās Agha later settled at Bilāwar, a former fief of the Kalhur. His followers were recruited from different tribes. Shāh Tahmāsp confirmed him in his rule over Bilāwar and the "Twelve Oymāk".

Later, the Porte gave 'Alī Khān Gālbāghī the *sandjak* consisting of Kirind, Shāykhān, Čakarān (?), Khorkhōra, Zend, etc., while Yār Allāh received the *timar* of Erekle (?), Rangrazān and Sahbānān (?).

29. Kalhur (Kalhurr). The chiefs claimed to be descended from Gūdarz, son of Gīw, in the Persian epic. The '*ashīrat* of the Kalhur is called Gūrān (i, 317) but some manuscripts talk of "Kalhur and Gūrān" (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 6). There were three branches of the Kalhur; those of Palangān [cf. SINNA], Dartang and Māhī-dāsh [cf. KIRMĀNSHĀH].

The possessions of the chiefs of Darna and Dartang (now Rīdjāb in the district of Zohāb) according to *Sharaf al-Dīn*, i, 319, corresponded to the older Hulwān [*q.v.*]. About 1005/1596-7, the power of Kubād Beg stretched from Dīnawar and Bilāwar to Baghdād. Māhīdashāt and Bilāwar (south of the Murwārī pass) formed the patrimony (*odjak*) of the third branch of the Kalhurs. The Māhīdashāt branch was nomadic. All this perhaps explains the scantiness of the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn. The Gūrān now keep their old patrimony, but the Kalhur tribe occupies the region south of the great Baghdād-Kirmānshāh road.

Group E. The Persian Kurds:

The plan of the section (*fırka*) of the *Sharaf-nāma* devoted to the *Akrād-i Irān* is not very clear. The author was writing at a time when the Perso-Turkish frontier was not settled.

The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Siyāh Manšūr, Ġiganī and Zangana. Their eponyms were three brothers who came from Luristān or "Gūrān and Ardālān". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Šharaf al-Dīn, there were 24 tribes (*yirmi dōrt*) of Kārābāgh [q.v.] (in Transcaucasia), about 3,000 men under one ruler, and the Gil tribe in Kūrāsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Siyāh Manšūr. In the time of Šhāh Tahmāsp its chief had become *Amir al-umarā'* of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Ġiganī emigrated to Ġharġistān.

The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-'Irāk and Kūrāsān.

From 1650 to 1730. "Great Kurdistān", as it has been described by Šharaf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chieftainships, had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the *sandīaks* of Diyārbakr and Vān. Not only did the treaty of 1049/1639 put an end to the Persian expansion westwards, but Turkey during the reign of the Šafawid epigoni succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia (von Hammer, *GOR*², iv, 235). Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Aḥmad Pašha, appointed governor-general of Diyārbakr in 1048/1638, making an expedition against the Yazīdīs of Sindhjār. Later (1065/1655), the same Pašha after his transfer to Vān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1076/1666 a Kurd, the son of a *šaykh*, declared himself the *Mahdī*, but was captured by the rulers of Mawšil and 'Amādiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sulṭān Mehmed IV taking the *soi-disant Mahdī* into his personal service (von Hammer, iii, 589).

In the reign of the feeble Šhāh Husayn, the Kurds of al-'Irāk in 1131/1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1134/1722 by order of Šhāh Tahmāsp II an attempt to retake Iṣfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghāns, was made by the Kurd chief Fandun (Ferīdūn?), but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghāns drove off Fandun who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks (J. Hanway, *A Historical account of the British trade*, London 1753, iii). Fortune deserted the Šafawids. Even 'Abbās Kullī Khān Ardālān submitted to Ḥasan Pašhā (von Hammer, iv, 211; cf. however, *RMM*, xlix, 87). His example was followed by the chiefs of Dīawānrūd, Darna, Dīāf, Harsīn and finally by the *špāhsālār* 'Alī Mardān Bakhtiyārī [Faylī?] (von Hammer, iv, 227).

The Afghāns. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghān rule in Iṣfahān, Ašraf defeated the Turks (battle of Andjīdān in 1138/1726), who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Bebek Sulaymān-oghlu (Sulaymān Bābān?). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Ašraf had lavished promises; indeed, shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghāns. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140/1727 Ašraf had to repurchase his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia, including the Kurd and Lur cantons.

Nādir Šhāh. Towards the end of the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad III, affairs began to change. By the

treaty of 1144/1732 the Persians regained their western provinces, and soon Nādir invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdād. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1146/1733 Topal 'Oḥmān Pašha appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements which he had raised in Mawšil. Nādir was defeated. In 1147/1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflis, which had a garrison of 6,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149/1736 the old frontiers of 1049/1639 were restored. In 1743, Nādir again invaded Turkish territory, but in spite of Kurd and Arab help was driven back to Sinna where he was finally defeated (von Hammer, iv, 317, 398-9).

Nādir was not popular with the Kurds, although there is an epic poem in the Gūrānī dialect on his struggle with Topal 'Oḥmān Pašhā. Among the Ardālān, Nādir replaced Subhān Verdī Khān by his brother, which provoked a popular rising (*RMM*, xlix, 88). In 1137/1727 during a revolt of the Turkomans, the Kurds of Kūrāsān (Čamišgezek and Kāraçorlu) refused their help to Nādir, who punished them and transported them to Mašhad. Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747, while on his way to punish once more the Kurd rebels of Kūrāsān (Jones, *Histoire de Nādir*, London 1770, 118-20). The Kurds (Dumbull, etc.) played their part in the anarchy which followed the death of Nādir, but the Porte refrained from intervention.

The Zand dynasty. After the death of Nādir Šhāh, Karīm Khān Zand [q.v.], one of the best rulers Persia has ever had, ruled the greater part of the country. The Zand were a Kurdish tribe of secondary importance (*Šharaf-nāma*, i, 323) living between Hamadān and Malāyir in the district formerly called Iḡhār. Under Nādir they had been transported to Kūrāsān, but after his death they went back to their old homes (*Tārīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. Beer, pp. xi, xviii). With the death of Luṭf 'Alī Khān in 1209/1794, the dynasty came to an end. The Zand tribe was certainly too weak to be a serious support to the dynasty, but Karīm Khān, like his predecessors, had brought several Kurd tribes from Kurdistān to Šhīrāz (Aḥmadāwand, *RMM*, xxxviii; Kōrūnī, who live in a particular quarter in Šhīrāz, O. Mann, *Die Tājt Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxix).

The Kādījārs. On the death of Agha Muḥammad Šhāh Kādījār (1211/1797), Šādik Khān Šhākāki seized the crown jewels and for some time tried to gain the throne (*The dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, 20, 27, 32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 107, 115, 125). In 1221/1805 the Persians had intervened on behalf of 'Abd al-Rahmān Pašha of Sulaymāniyya (cf. Rich, *Narrative*, i, 384; Watson, *op. cit.*, 155, and the Mukrī Kurd song in the collection made by O. Mann, No. xvi). In 1236/1821, as a result of troubles caused by the Kurd tribes of Ḥaydarānlu and Sīpkān, the Persians invaded Turkish territory as far as Bidlis and Mūsh; at the same time they advanced as far as Šherābān near Baghdād by the Kirmānshāh road. The peace of 1238/1823 signed at Erzerūn restored the frontier of 1049/1639, but the Persians refused to evacuate the district of Zohāb peopled by Kurds. The fate of Sulaymāniyya remained in suspense. A new war was about to break out in 1842 when Great Britain and Russia intervened to mediate, and in 1246/1847 a new treaty was signed at Erzerūn by which Zohāb was to be divided into two parts, while Persia gave up all claim to Sulaymā-

niyya in favour of Turkey. During 1848-52, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwish Pasha prevented an agreement being reached. Darwish Pasha not only had the canton of Kotür occupied by soldiers, but in a secret memoir (published at Istanbul in 1286/1869 and 1321/1903) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged to Turkey.

Turkey in the 19th century. In 1826, the governor of Siwās, Rashīd Mehmed Pasha, was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistân. About 1830 a great Kurd rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr Khān and Sa'īd Beg, Ismā'īl Beg and Muḥammad Pasha of Rawāndiz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of Khushnāw; in 1831 he seized Arbīl, Altun Köprü, Koy-Sandjak and Rāniya. The following year he extended his power towards Mawşil; at Alkōsh 172 Christians were put to death. 'Akra, Zibar and 'Amādiya were next taken. In 1833 the troops of Rawāndiz penetrated as far as Zakho and Djazira to re-establish Badr Khān in power there. The Yazīdīs were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief 'Ali, who refused to become a convert to Islām, was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, *JA* [1910] 134-6), and a whole body of Yazīdīs were massacred on the hill of Koyundilk. In 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Rashīd Mehmed Pasha from Baghdad, Mawşil and Siwās, and in 1836 the Mir of Rawāndiz was captured by a ruse. Risings and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf. Poujoulat, *Voyages*, i, 373; Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, 259-84).

The defeat at Nizib (1839) inflicted on the Ottomans by the Egyptians released new troubles in Kurdistân. In 1843 began the rising of Nūr Allāh Beg of Hakkārī and of Badr Khān of Djazira. The Nestorians of Hakkārī had lodged a complaint in Mawşil against the oppressions of Nūr Allāh Beg. In reply, the latter laid waste the Nestorian canton of Barwārī. The massacres went on for several years and the number of victims is said to have reached 10,000. The powers made representations at Constantinople, and in 1847 a large army under 'Othmān Pasha attacked the Kurds. Badr Khān and Nūr Allāh, defeated in several battles, surrendered and were deported from Kurdistân (cf. Sir H. Layard, *Nineveh*, vii; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* [1900] v, 649-53; Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], *loc. cit.*; on Kurd-Nestorian affairs in general see: A. Grant, *The Nestorians*, New York 1841; G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; J. Perkins, *A residence of 8 years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, New York 1852; C. Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan und Urumia*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *The Contemporary Review* [Sept. 1889]; F. N. Heazell and J. Margoliouth, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; W. A. and E. T. A. W. Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; W. W. Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan*, New York 1916; H. C. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925).

The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804-5, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828-9, 1853-8, 1877-8, each had far-reaching effects in Kurdistân (the question has been specially studied by Averianov, *Kurdi v voynakh Rossii*, Tiflis 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had

raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expatriation of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably farther north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand, when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bohtān by the popular Yazdān Shīr, nephew and a former rival of Badr Khān.

The war of 1877-8 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkārī Kurds of Bahdinān and Bohtān directed by the sons of Badr Khān and later by the rebellion under Shaykh 'Ubayd Allāh of the Nakshbandī order. The Kurd invaders in 1880 ravaged the Persian districts of Urmia, Sawdj-Bulāk, Miyāndoāb and Marāgha and threatened Tabriz itself. The chief victims were Shī'īs. Russia sent a detachment of troops to protect the Araxes frontier. Persia mobilised considerable forces including the Mākū [q.v.] cavalry. Turkey, which had barely finished the war with Russia, endeavoured to avoid complications. Finally, the Shaykh returned to Shāmdinān, whence he was sent to Istanbul. He soon escaped from the capital, and via the Caucasus returned to Shāmdinān, but he was again captured and in 1883 died in Mecca.

The *Hamidiyya* troops. The weakening of Turkey after 1878, art. 61 of the treaty of Berlin securing for the Armenians reforms and security against the Kurds and Circassians, the stubborn reaction of the Ottoman government against reforms, and from 1885 the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement with branches in Russia, Switzerland and London, brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceable relations of Kurds and Armenians, in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 Shākīr Pasha, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory, for later the *Hamidiyya* levies were transformed into regulars (*Khafif suwārī*). The creation of the *Hamidiyya* in any case, by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir. There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armeno-Kurd relations. At the same time, relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Şaşūn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talori (Dalvorikh) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Şaşūn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their sanguinary suppressions, in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt at a rising had been made among the Hakkārī Kurds, but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the 20th century to the World War, the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general, see Abovian, *Kurdi*, in the *Kavkas* newspaper, Tiflis 1848, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 (where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character); Creagh, *Armenians, Kurds and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte raspredeleniya armiansk.*

naseleniyâ, in *Zapis. Kavkaz. Otd. Geogr. Obsch.* (Tiflis 1895), xviii; A. Vambéry, *Armenien u. Kurden*, in *Deutsche Rundschau* (1890), lxxxvi, 216-31; Rohrbach, *Armenien u. Kurden*, in *Verhand. d. Gesell. Erdkunde* (Berlin 1900), 128-33; Baron L. de Contenson, *Chrétiens et musulmans, voyages et études*, Paris 1901; H. B. Lynch, *Armenia, passim*; Mayevski, *Opisaniye Vanskago i Bilis vilayetov*, Tiflis 1904 (the authoritative work); N. Y. Marr, *Yeshle o slove "lelebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1910); Zarzecki (consul of France at Vän), *La question kurdo-arménienne*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 April 1914, and the diplomatic correspondence, publ. in the "Livres jaunes", the "Blue books" and the Russian "Orange book" of 1914.

The 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century a new figure appeared on the Kurd horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurd movements: Ibrâhîm Pasha b. Maḥmūd b. Timawî b. Ayyūb, chief of the Millî (Milân) tribe in the canton of Şharîwêrân (between Diyârbakr and Aleppo). Ibrâhîm Pasha had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed, he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of 'Abd al-'Azîz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende*, in *Asien*, viii, 1909, 34-7, 52-4, and Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 317-27).

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East (Russo-Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmia and Sâwǰj-Bulâk inhabited by the Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game. Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912), but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Khoy and Urmia. Scions of noble Kurd families travelled in Russia. On 17 November 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Istanbul and just before the World War, a Four-Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, Britain and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re-establishing generally the *status quo* of the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Minorsky, *Turetsko-peridsk. razgraničeniye*, in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obsch.*, Petrograd, lii [1916], 351-92).

The War of 1914-18. In the course of the war from 1914 to 1918, the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismâ'îl Agha Simko, see ŞHAKAK. On the inter-allied plans (March 1916) regarding Kurdistan, cf. the documents in *Razdel Aziatskoi Turtsii*, Moscow 1924, 185-7, 225.

After 1917-18, the situation was radically changed. Kurd committees were formed everywhere (cf. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; this publication is in the British Museum). Şharîf Pasha assumed the role of Kurd representative in Paris and on 22 March 1919 and 1 March 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurd claims with a map of "Kurdistan intégral" (cf. *L'Asie française*, No. 175, 1919, 192-3). At the same time, on 20 December 1919, an arrangement was reached between Şharîf Pasha and the Armenian representatives, and the two parties made conjointly declarations to the conference (cf. the text of the agreement in the newspaper *Peyâm-i Şabâh*, Istanbul, 24 Feb. 1920; cf. also *Le Temps*, Paris, 10 March 1920). The Treaty of Sévres of 10 August 1920 having created Armenia (Arts. 88-93) out of the four wilâyets

(of Trebizond, Erzerûm, Vän and Bidlîs), provided in articles 62-4 for "a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". If the Kurd population within the limits mentioned showed to the Council of the League of Nations "that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence", Turkey agreed to conform to the recommendation, and in this case the Allied Powers would raise no objection to the voluntary adhesion to this "independent Kurd state" of the Kurds living in the wilâyet of Mawşîl. As a result of later events, the Kurd question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the wilâyet of Mawşîl. The Turkish representatives held that "the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs" (Conference at Lausanne, speech of 'Ismet Pasha at the meeting of 23 Jan. 1923). By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on 16 December 1925, the wilâyet of Mawşîl was allotted to 'Irâk, but with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fulfilment of their desires, notably that "officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government of their country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services".

During the long negotiations concerning Mawşîl, serious troubles broke out in the region of Kharpût and Diyârbakr as a result of the insurrection of Şhaykh Sa'id Naḥshbandî. Şhaykh Sa'id was captured on 16 April 1925 and executed at Diyârbakr. After the settlement of the Mawşîl question, the Turkish government in Ankara enforced a policy, the tendency of which was to eliminate from Kurdistan feudal and tribal influences; cf. Gentizon, *L'insurrection kurde*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 Oct. 1925.

Bibliography: A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic and Georgian sources. A systematic ransacking of sources like the *Selîm-nâma* of Ḥakîm Idrîs and his son Abu 'l-Faḍl and the *Ta'rikh-i 'Âlam-âra-yi 'Abbâsî* would yield a rich reward. The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the *Şharaf-nâma* (down to 1005/1596). The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Veliâminof-Zernof, *Scheref-nameh*, i (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1860; ii (variants of volume i, and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005/1596), St. Petersburg 1862. New editions of it exist by M. 'A. 'Awnî, Cairo 1931, and by M. A. 'Abbâsî, Tehran 1343/1965; Arabic translations by M. J. Bendi Rojbyani, with copious notes and comments, Baghdâd 1372/1953; M. 'A. 'Awnî and Yahyâ al-Khâshshâh, Cairo 1958-62, 2 vols.; a Russian translation by E. I. Vasil'eva, i, Moscow 1967; the French translation by F.-B. Charmoy, *Cheref-nâmah ou fastes de la nation kurde*, in 2 volumes and four parts, St. Petersburg 1868-75, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the *Dîhân-numâ* of Ḥâǰǰîl Khâlifâ), but is now in many respects out-of-date and lacks an index. Cf. also the works of H. Barb, *Über die Kurden-*

Chronik von Scheref; Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter; Geschichte v. 5 Kurden-Dynastien; Gesch. v. weiteren Kurden-Dynastien; Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstentums in Bidlis, which appeared respectively in *SB Ak. Wien*, x (1853), 258-76; xxii (1857), 3-28; xxviii (1858), 3-54; xxxi (1859); xxxii (1859), 145-50. The lost history of Kurdistan by Muḥammad Efendi Şahrazūrī (d. 1073/1662 at Medina, cf. *Tādī al-arūs*, s.v. *Kurd*), had not come to light by 1927. For the histories of the house of Ardalān, cf. *SINNA*, where should be added the history (to 1254/1834) of Khūsraw b. Muḥammad b. Minūcihr, cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, I, 305, No. 498. On the *Risālat Ansāb al-Akrād*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of Petrograd, cf. Romaskevič in *Mélanges Asiatique*, new ser., Petrograd 1918, 392. The newspaper *Zār-i Kurmāndjī* (of Rawāndiz) published in Kurdish a short history *Qhunča-yi Bahāristān* (1926) and announced the early publication of the *Tārīkh-i Kurdān* of Zayn al-ʿAbidin Beg. General information on Kurd history will be found in G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette di religione ivi esistenti*, Naples 1818; E. Quatremère, *Notice sur le Masālik al-abšār*, in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 1838; C. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836 (cf. SULAYMĀNIYYA); Charmory, in the preface to his translation of the *Şharaf-nāma*; P. Lerch, *Izslodovaniya ob iranskikh Kurdaĥh*, St. Petersburg 1856, I, 20-33; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880; W. Tomaschek, *Sasun*, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1895), 133-4; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnuĥ*, in *ibid.*, 133; H. Rawlinson and A. Wilson in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 1911, xv, 949-51; Addai Scher, *Episodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, in *JA*, xv (1910), 119-40 = the events of 1202, 1508, 1510-12 (Djazīra), 1523, 1689, 1712 ('Amādiya), 1820-36 (Rawāndiz); E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia . . . in disguise*, London 1912, ch. xvi; V. Minorsky, *Kurdi*, St. Petersburg 1915; G. R. Driver, *Studies in Kurdi history*, in *BSOS*, II (1922), 491-513; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, in *Publ. Soc. Ét. Ir. et Arts persans*, Paris 1932 (also in *Iranica*, twenty articles, Tehran 1964, 12-30); idem, *La Perse au XV^e s. entre la Turquie et Venise*, in *ibid.*, No. 3, Paris 1933; A. Sakisian, *Abdel Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVII^e s. et ses trésors*, in *JA*, cccxxix (1937), 253-70; A. Safrastian, *Kurds and Kurdistan*, London 1948; M. Canard, *H'andanides*, I, Algiers 1951; M. A. Zaki, *Tārīkh al-duwal wa 'l-imārāt al-kurdiyya fi 'l-ṣāh al-islāmī*, Ar. tr. M. 'A. 'Awnī, Cairo 1364/1945; Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, Damas, xii (1947-8), 1-163; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history. I. New light on the Shaddāids of Ganja. II. The Shaddāids of Ani. III. Prehistory of Saladin*, London 1953; idem, *Thomas of Metsop^o for the Timurid-Turkman wars*, in *Prof. Muhammad Shafi volume*, Lahore 1955, 145-70; *Mongol place-names in Mukri Kurdistan*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 58-81; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār-Bakr au quatorzième siècle*, in *JA* (1955), 65-100; H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1966, 74-90; idem, *The achievement of Saladin*, in *ibid.*, 91-107; M. S. Lazarev, *Kurdistan i Kurdskaĥa problema*, Moscow 1964; A. Khalifin, *Borba za Kurāistan, Kurdskiy vopros v meĥdunarodnikh otnosheniyaĥh XIX veka*, Moscow 1963; Džalile Džalil, *Vostanie Kurdoĥ 1880 goda*,

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(V. MINORSKY)

C. From 1920 to the present day.

The First World War (1914-18) led to many political upheavals in the Near and Middle East. The Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and 'Irāk) were detached from the Ottoman Empire. The sultanate was abolished in 1922, the republic proclaimed in Turkey on 23 October and the caliphate suppressed on 3 March 1924. Finally, the Council of the League of Nations assigned to 'Irāk the wilāyet of Mawşil on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Riḍā Khān overthrew in Persia the Qādjār dynasty and founded the Pahlavī dynasty on 23 October 1925. These rectifications of frontiers resulted in rendering still more complicated the situation of the Kurds who, instead of living under only two governments, the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire, were henceforth to find themselves divided between five different countries: Turkey, Iran, 'Irāk, with some quite important minorities in Syria and several colonies in the lands of Soviet Transcaucasia, sc. Armenia, Georgia and Ādharbaydĥān. From now on, their destiny would evolve differently, according to the different states which sheltered them.

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In TURKEY, from after the First World War and during the long negotiations concerning Mawşil, some Kurdish nationalists, disillusioned at seeing their hopes of an independent Kurdistan vanish, a Kurdistan foreseen by the Treaty of Sévres (10 August 1920) but suppressed by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 June 1923), provoked troubles. Şhaykh Sa'īd Nakşbandī of Pīran led a rebellion in the regions of Urfa, Sêverek and Diyarbakir, either through religious fanaticism and respect for the caliphate (Gentizon) or at the alleged instigation of Britain (Muşţafā Kemāl). The Şhaykh was soon made a prisoner, judged by the Tribunals of Independence (April-June 1925) and hanged at Diyarbakir with 53 other insurgents. The whole trial was followed by the Turkish newspaper *Vaĥit*, from 20 April 1341/1925 to the 28 June, insisting upon the nationalist character of the movement. The failure of the attempt forced the leaders who had escaped to seek refuge abroad.

On 3 October 1927, the Kurdish National League

Hoyboun ("Independence") was constituted by the fusion of all the old committees or associations. İhsân Nûri Paşa of Bitlis was nominated commander-in-chief and a civil administration was established. Some conversations even took place with the representatives of the Turkish government in September 1928 at *Şhaykh-i Köprü* with the promise of a general amnesty for those who had been compromised. The few Kurds who came forward were massacred. After that, the revolt of Ağrı Dağ (Ararat) (1930-2) broke out in the spring. Well-organised militarily, the Kurdish troops, who were supported by the tribes in the region of Diyarbakir, achieved some spectacular successes, but ended by succumbing under the blows of a Turkish army, 45,000 men strong and supplied with modern equipment in artillery and aircraft. The Second International, in its session at Zurich, published a resolution of its executive in favour of the Kurdish people (Vol. vii, no. 60, 30 August 1930). The attitude of the Soviets at the time has been interpreted differently by Agabekoff, in his *Mémoires*, published in French in 1930, and by M. A. Kondkarian in the Russian newspaper of Paris, *Dni*, of 31 August 1930, the former speaking of a Soviet activity among the Kurds themselves and led from Tauris by a certain Minossian who represented the G.P.U. there, and the latter asserting to the contrary that the Kurds found an aid and complete assistance from the Russian Bolsheviks outside. From 1931 to 1934, some periodic convulsions were felt at Menemen, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, and, in a series of articles of the *Hakimiyet-i Milli*, Burhan Assaf Bey denounces Armeno-Kurdish intrigues. Soon a Turkish law was promulgated on 5 May 1932 which established a plan destined to organise an actual deportation of Kurds to the interior of Turkey. This law, however, was only to be applied after the visit of the Shah of Iran to Ankara in the summer of 1934. But henceforth, officially there were no longer Kurds in Turkey. All the inhabitants of the eastern provinces were from now on regarded as "mountain Turks".

This psychological error and the assimilation of the Kurds by force were to trigger off in 1937-8 a new revolt, as its centre, the mountainous region of Darsim, inhabited by the Zaza Kurds. It was Sayyid Rîdâ, *şhaykh* of the Nakşbandî brotherhood, who headed it. This revolt was the most terrible for the Kurds, for it was suppressed with the utmost harshness by the Turks. After having hanged the *şhaykh* and ten of his companions at al-'Aziz on 15 November 1937, the Turks erased Darsim from the map and replaced this ill-fated name with that of Tunceli. The Kurds disappeared from the official vocabulary, and the region remained under martial law until 1946.

After this, there was no more armed uprising in Turkey. Kurdistan stayed calm throughout the Second World War, during which Turkey moreover remained neutral. There followed a certain softening of the régime for the Kurdish regions. Meanwhile, intellectuals were always strictly watched; 49 of them were even arrested in December 1959 and accused of separatism. The military coup d'état of the 27 May 1960 was followed by a new more liberal constitution. Despite some declarations by official personages (cited in the Swedish journal *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 November 1960; cf. C.E.K. Paris, no. 12, 8), some articles on Kurdistan and the Kurds were able to appear in the Turkish press and, between 1965 and 1968, some bilingual, Turko-Kurdish journals: *Dicle Ferat* and *Deng*, a Kurdish grammar, a Kurdo-Turkish dictionary, a play *Birfna reş* "The black wound", and the long classical poem *Mem-o-Zin* saw

the light of day. But soon everywhere the journals were forbidden, published works confiscated and their authors prosecuted. In addition, to avoid all possible contamination by events in 'Irâkî Kurdistan, which had been in revolt for several years, a presidential decree of 25 January 1967 and published in the official journal no. 12,527 of 14 February 1967 declared: "It is illegal and forbidden to introduce the country and to distribute, under whatsoever form, every publication, record or tape registered of foreign origin and in the Kurdish language". Some virulent articles against the Kurds appeared in the Turkish nationalist review *Ötüken* (no. 40, April 1967, no. 42, June 1967; cited in Vanly, *Kurdistan irakien*, 298-300). It was this which led to a retort by the associations of Kurdish students of 19 Kurdish towns, protesting that such an attitude was contrary to art. 12 of the Constitution and art. 37 and 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). In April 1970, brutal police operations in the town of Silvan, in the province of Diyarbakir, provoked the condemnation of the Kurdish students and of liberal Turks (cf. *Milliyet*, June-July 1970), as well as the question, on 24 July 1970, in the House, of a Kurdish deputy, Mehmet Ali Aybar, an old president of the Labour Party of Turkey (TİP). The Fourth Congress of the TİP (29-31 October 1970), in a resolution, recognised the right of existence of the Kurdish people in Turkey (Vanly, *Survey*, 51-4). More than the ethnic and political side, it seems that from now on the economic and social question must play a role in the solution of the Kurdish problem in Turkey (Rambout, 23-44; Nikitine, 196-8; J. Blau, 35-40; Ghassemilou, 50-62; Arfa, 33-46).

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In IRAN, the situation of the Kurds has always been different from that which they experienced in Turkey. Indeed, the Iranian government often insists on the affinities, as much racial as historic, which unite the two peoples. But this does not prevent political and social malaises appearing from time to time, and conflicts, often latent, sometimes bloody, must be recorded. Already during the Great War, the province of Ādharbaydġān in northern Persia had been troubled by the movements of the Turkish or Russian armies on this territory. The chief of the *Shakāk*, Ismā'īl Agha Simko, profited from it to attempt to carve out for himself a small Kurdish state of which he intended to assume the leadership. He also succeeded in uniting under his command the Kurdish tribes of the north of the country, achieving several victories over the Turks, the Assyrians and the Iranian troops, changing camp according to the circumstances. He also became the only authority of the region, to the west of Lake Urmīya, finally to be assassinated at Ushnu by the Iranians on the 21 June 1930 (Arfa, 48-54), in the same manner in which he had murdered the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimun Benjamin, on the 3 March 1918 (Joseph, 140-1).

For his part, further to the south, in the province of Kurdistān, Sālār al-Dawla Kādjār, related by marriage to the great Kurdish families of Sanandaġji, rose in revolt, but was defeated. Some Kurdish chiefs refused to be disarmed, and it was not until 1930 that Dja'far Sulṭān surrendered (Arfa, 64-7; Ghassemfou, 73-5).

But the Second World War was also bound to have a great influence on Kurdish nationalism in Iran. Indeed, the occupation of the provinces of the north and west of the country by the Soviet and British troops (25 August 1941), followed by the abdication of Riḡā Shāh (16 September 1941) favoured, by the enfeeblement of the central power, the movements of emancipation, and, for several months, the Iranian army had to confront harshly Hama Rashīd Khān of Bāneh who, aided by numerous neighbouring tribes, had made himself master of the Sardāsh-Bāneh-Marivān region in the summer of 1942 (Arfa, 67-70). But this was only the prelude to a real independence movement. First of all, the Kurds profited from the situation to form (September 1942) in the no-man's-land where central authority had disappeared an organisation *Komelā jiyānī Kurdistān* "Committee for the Life (Resurrection) of Kurdistan" (Eagleton, 34). This nationalist but quite conservative committee was composed of city intellectuals and of petits bourgeois from Mahābād, the ancient Sāwġi-Bulāk [q.v.], but to which the religious *shaykh*s and chiefs of tribes soon rallied. Soon Kāḡī (Kāzi) Muḡammad, from a family of rich notables and a jurist himself, adhered to it in his turn (October 1944) and after the end of the war, all these judged the occasion favourable and proclaimed on the 22 January 1946 the Kurdish Republic of Mahābād, in the heart of the autonomous Republic of Ādharbaydġān, which had been established at Tabriz. In fact, Kāḡī Muḡammad wished rather for internal autonomy within the framework of the Iranian empire. This small state, with its limited area, to the west and south of Lake Urmia, was well-organised; schools and hospitals were opened, classical books and reviews in the Kurdish language were published, attempts were made to promote the development of agriculture, commerce, industry and hygiene. A small army was constituted of tribal elements with four generals, among them Mollā Muḡtafā Barzānī, who came from 'Irāk with his well-equipped contingent of armed men. But on the

departure from the Iranian territories of the Russian army (May 1946), who had helped the autonomous republic of Ādharbaydġān, the government of Tehran was to recover the dissident provinces of the north of the country. Kāḡī Muḡammad surrendered, but was hanged at dawn on 31 March 1947 together with several other chiefs. The Kurdish Republic of Mahābād had lasted eleven months. But this event had a great repercussion among all the Kurds (Arfa, 70-102; Ghassemfou, 76-82; Rambout, 94-108 and especially Eagleton, *passim*). Then, in September 1950 and February 1956, for economic reasons, the tribe of *Djavanrūdi* was taken to task by the troops of the Shāh and harshly repressed, on the pretext that it refused to pay its taxes, give up its arms and devote itself to the cultivation of *baḡshish*. According to Rondot (*Vie intel.*, 1956, 107-9), the efficacy of the intervention of the Iranian troops was the first positive result of the Baghdād Pact (1955). Since these last backwashes, the Iranian government, by constructive social reforms, attempted to gain the sympathy and even the help of its numerous Kurdish population. It published at Tehran, from May 1959 to May 1963, the weekly *Kurdistān*, in which literature, religion, sciences, history and even politics were competently treated. Later on the 'Irākī government accused that of Tehran of having aided, materially and morally, the insurrection movement of the Kurds in 'Irāk. But this political attitude has in no way changed the distrustful position of the Iranian authorities with regard to its own Kurds.

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In 'IRAK, the period from the end of the First World War to the revolution of 1958 saw the foundation of the new 'Irākī state and the establishment of the Hāshimite monarchy. The British who, at San Remo (1 May 1920) were to receive from the League of Nations a mandate over 'Irāk and Palestine, were charged with organising the land which they had already occupied militarily. Few among them knew the Kurds and their problems, which rendered their task difficult. In December 1918, Major Noel installed at Sulaymānī Maḡmūd Barzandġī (1880-1956) as governor, *bukmār*, with authority over the Kurdish tribes situated between the Great Zāb and the Diyālā. At the end of six months, *Shaykh* Maḡmūd proclaimed the independence of Kurdistān (end of May 1919), and the British army had to intervene to

overcome him. Wounded at the battle of Bazyan (17 June 1919), Maḥmūd was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but, with his sentence commuted, was sent into exile to India. Meanwhile, several British officers had been assassinated at Zakho, 'Amādiyya and 'Akra. Major Soane governed instead of the *shaykh*, and calm soon returned. Difficulties arose with the installation as king in Baghdād (23 August 1921) of the Amīr Fayṣal of Arabia, who had been chased from Damascus by the French, and the intention of attaching to the 'Irākī crown the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, which the Turks continued to claim and which the Kurds wanted to organise for their own profit. The recent Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) recognised in effect the right of the Kurds to independence. Since agitation did not cease to spread over the whole of Kurdistan, *Shaykh* Maḥmūd was recalled to Sulaymāniyya (September 1922) and was no longer content with the title of *ḥukmdār*, but proclaimed himself king of the whole of Kurdistan (November). He set up a government of eight members, issued postage and fiscal stamps, levied taxes on tobacco and published a newspaper *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The sun of Kurdistan" which gives many details of all these events (Edmonds, *A Kurdish newspaper: Rhozh-i Kurdistan*, in *JRCAS*, xii [1925]). On 24 December 1922, His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of 'Irāk recognised "the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish government within these frontiers, in the hope that the different Kurdish elements would reach agreement as soon as possible on the form to give to this government and the extent of its frontiers, and that they would send to Baghdad some responsible delegates to discuss their economic and political relations with His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of Iraq" (Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 312; Rambout, 58-9). But there were soon frictions between King Maḥmūd and his British protectors, as well as with some Kurds who envied his authority. His intrigues with the Turks also triggered off raids by the R.A.F., who forced him to take refuge at Sardash (3 March 1923), where he published a newspaper, *Bangé haqq* "The call of truth". He stayed there until 1930, the year which saw the end of the British mandate.

This new political régime did not help the situation of the Kurds of 'Irāk much, for the 'Irākī government wanted immediately to withdraw from the Kurdish regions the local Kurdish officials in order to install Arabs and to suppress the teaching of the Kurdish language in the administrations of the north. Whence a malaise which degenerated into open revolt when 'Irākī soldiers opened fire on the civil population of Sulaymāniyya (6 September 1930). *Shaykh* Maḥmūd once more headed the movement. The 'Irākī army was incapable of bringing it to an end (September 1930-April 1931), and asked for the intervention of the R.A.F. This was very severely criticised by a number of Britons, and especially in a Note of General H. C. Dobbs, former High Commissioner at Baghdād; Maḥmūd was sent into house arrest in Baghdād. In 1931, *Shaykh* Aḥmad of Barzān, a less balanced personage, as Longrigg says (86, 103), quarrelled with a neighbouring Kurdish chief. In order to restore calm, the government undertook a winter campaign which also necessitated the intervention of the R.A.F. (cf. Mumford and Wilson, *The Crisis* . . .). There was a new uprising in 1933-4, and *Shaykh* Aḥmad and his young brother Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had helped him militarily, were forced

to reside at Kirkūk and then at Sulaymāniyya. In 1941, during the abortive insurrectional adventure of Raḥīd 'Alī Gaylānī and the "Golden cadre", *Shaykh* Maḥmūd, who had profited from it to escape from Baghdād, had tried to raise a levy of Kurdish troops to help the British (Longrigg, 295). In 1943, Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, in residence at Sulaymāniyya, unhappy with the food supplies and the social conditions of his supporters, succeeded in escaping as far as his territory of Barzān, accompanied by *Shaykh* Laṭīf, son of *Shaykh* Maḥmūd, and raised the standard of the revolt. A Kurd, Maḥmūd Muṣṭafā, named as Minister of State, intervened to settle the affair. Barzānī surrendered on condition that the Kurdish districts would be better provisioned, that Kurdish and non-Arab officials would be sent there, and finally that schools and hospitals would be opened in Kurdistan. These conditions, accepted by Nūrī Sa'īd, the Prime Minister, who even foresaw the establishment of an entirely Kurdish *liwā'* (Longrigg, 325), were not agreed by the regent 'Abd al-Ilāh and, in the spring of 1945, the revolt broke out more fiercely. This time it was more serious. The Kurds achieved several spectacular victories, while the army underwent heavy losses. Once again the R.A.F. came to play its role of saviour of 'Irāk and the Hāshimite monarchy. At the end of August, the operation was completed. Mollā Muṣṭafā withdrew to Iran with a party of his troops and his plunder (Rambout, 74-80). Four of his officers who had had faith in governmental promises of amnesty, Muṣṭafā Ḳhushnavē, 'Izzat 'Abd al-'Azīz, Muḥammad Maḥmūd and *Khayr* Allāh 'Abd al-Karīm, were tried and executed on 19 June 1947.

After these events determined by force, all that remained for the Kurdish nationalists of 'Irāk was to go underground, and this is what they did. They founded the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (D.P.K.) with leftist tendencies, and published two bulletins *Azādī* "Liberty" and *Risgari* "Liberation". In its second issue (October 1946), the latter extolled an Armeno-Kurdish Union. At the same period, Colonel Elphinston, chief of the Intelligence Service in the Levant, asked himself if these efforts were not going to lead to the constituting of a Republic of the Soviet Union with an Armeno-Kurdish character. In any case, the calm returned, the Kurds profited from the liberty which had been left them to work with more ardour in the cultural domain. Literary reviews saw the light of day. Collections of poetry and articles on the history of Kurdistan and famous Kurds of the past were published. Sulaymāniyya became a very active cultural centre and a lively seat of Kurdish nationalism.

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‘Irāqī Kurdistan since the proclamation of the ‘Irāqī Republic (14 July 1958) until 1970 underwent many vicissitudes. This Republic aroused the enthusiasm of the Kurds who, with the other political parties, had participated in the overthrow of the Hāshimite monarchy. For the first time in history, the (provisional) Constitution of the state proclaimed in effect, “the Arabs and Kurds are associated in this nation”. The Constitution guaranteed their national rights within the heart of the ‘Irāqī entity (art. 3) (cf. *Orient*, no. 7 (3rd quarter 1958), 191-9). For his part, General ‘Abd al-Kārim Qāsim [q.v.] reinstated the Kurdish officials suspended in 1947 and authorised (2 September 1958) Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union since this date, to return to ‘Irāq. He received him there with joy on the 7 October 1958, while his companions in exile returned in April 1959. Qāsim gave him a personal guard and a house in Baghdād and, for some time, made him his counsellor to whom he paid attention. The Kurdish Democratic Party, which had prepared itself in secret for the great day and, from April 1959 published its weekly newspaper *Xebat* “Struggle”, was authorised to appear. The Kurdish reviews and newspapers prospered, and from now on had a political aspect no longer simply a literary one. But this state of euphoria was not to last much longer, and the struggle of the Kurds for liberty broke out again and lasted ten years, interrupted by arrests and by more and more terrible reprisals. Four periods may be distinguished here:

Difficulties—as much external as internal—were not lacking for the “Faithful Leader”. His see-saw politics ended by his setting everyone against him. The Kurds themselves, impatient to see him fulfil the promises which were late in coming, ended up by taking up arms against his dictatorial régime. Naturally, Mollā Muṣṭafā headed the movement (9 September 1961). This uprising was in no way tribal, for it was truly all the ‘Irāqī Kurds, peasants and townfolk, intellectuals and feudalists, who formed a bloc against Qāsim. The riposte was terrible: a strict economic blockade to starve the north of the country; massive bombardments with napalm, burning villages and harvests and shooting women, old men and children as well as combatants, but which only electrified the courage of the Kurds who, in March 1962, were the uncontested masters of all the ‘Irāqī north, with the exception of the cities where the government troops were garrisoned. The losses of the army quickly rendered this war in the finest colonialist style unpopular. The soldiers deserted or went over to the enemy; business and commerce were reduced to nothing. A coup d’état was afoot, and the Kurds—without whom nothing could be done—were kept well-informed. At dawn of 8 February 1963, Qāsim disappeared tragically from the political scene and, from the next day, the Kurds declared the ceasefire. The Baath (Ba‘th) took power in Baghdād. But when the Kurds reminded the new

government of their neutrality, they were met with excuses. However, negotiations were embarked on and, on the 24 April 1963, the Kurds even presented a detailed *Memorandum* in which they expressed their desiderata (*Orient*, no. 26 (2nd quarter 1963), 207-11). Meanwhile, once it considered itself quite strong, the Ba‘thist government imprisoned the Kurdish deputies, issued an ultimatum (10 June 1963) and the same day resumed hostilities with an increased violence. As in the interval, the Ba‘th had also assumed power in Damascus, the Syrians lent assistance to their ‘Irāqī friends by sending aircraft and the Yarmūk Brigade. The Kurds had soon eliminated the latter. They multiplied their ambushes, seized military posts and convoys of munitions and took prisoners by hundreds. The ‘Irāqī army, beaten and humiliated, then brought in the “National Guard”, aid of the Ba‘thist government, whose atrocities against the communists and all the opponents of the régime aroused universal reprobation. By a new coup d’état, aided by the army, General ‘Abd al-Salām ‘Arif ousted the Ba‘th and took all power into his own hands (18 November 1963). Military actions did not continue any the less. Barzāni launched an appeal to the International Red Cross (September 1963; Vanly, 319-21), and the Kurds addressed themselves to the Pope on the occasion of his journey to the Holy Land (2 January 1964; *L'Orient*, Beirut, no. 5240 (4 January 1964); complete text in *C.E.K.* no. 30, 82-8; cf. Mauries, 95, 96).

With a view to finally settling the Kurdish problem, Field-Marshal ‘Arif negotiated a ceasefire (10 February 1964) which Mollā Muṣṭafā accepted without even consulting the political bureau of the D.P.K. The Kurds who, as much as the ‘Irāqīs, needed a breathing space, profited from it to make known to the outside world the true situation, thanks to foreign journalists who came to visit them; they renewed their provisions in livestock and munitions. The ‘Irāqī government, occupied with still-born projects of Arab unity, left things to settle down, persuaded that in the end everything would be settled through weariness. Nothing came of it and the Kurds, disillusioned at seeing that no-one was seriously occupied with their demands, after October 1964 resolved to organise in effect their internal autonomy. They nominated administrative officials at all levels, levied dues and taxes, meted out justice in their tribunals. Naturally too, their troops were better-and-better equipped and trained. For the Sixth Congress of the D.P.K. (1-7 July 1964), the general state of the revolution (9-10 October 1964) as well as the new organisation of the Party and Constitution (17 October), cf. Vanly, 227-44 and texts: Constitution, 375-6, Administrative Law, 376-7. On the military organisation, *ibid.*, 244-8; Pradier, 210-23.

But the ceasefire of February was bound to provoke a serious crisis in the heart of the Kurdish insurrectional movement between Barzāni and the political bureau of the D.P.K., which in a brochure published on the 19 April, *L'accord ‘Arif-Barzāni, une paix ou une capitulation?* accused him of having by this accord betrayed the objectives of the revolution. There was even a bloody engagement at Mawat, on 17 July, between antagonistic groups. At the Sixth Congress, 14 out of the 17 members of the political bureau were excluded from the party, among them Ibrāhīm Aḥmad and Djalāl Talabāni, and took refuge in Iran. This crisis due to differences of view between theoreticians and realists, despite its miseries, did not have any repercussions on the later military

events (cf. Vanly, 218-25; Pradier, 203-9, Viennot, 95-111; Arfa, 149-52).

But the ambiguity of the situation between Kurds and 'Irākīs was bound soon to be dissipated. On 10 May 1964, the 'Irākī government promulgated a new provisional Constitution which passed over in silence the rights of the Kurds explicitly recognised in the 3rd art. of the Constitution of 1958. This would not do for the Kurds who, for their part, had not disarmed their troops. The spring offensive was launched on the 4th March 1965 by almost the entire 'Irākī army (infantry, armour, aircraft) with at its head General 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Arif, brother of the President. It began by achieving some local successes (March-May), but in summer (June-September) some murderous combats developed in the chain of Safin. The small town of Pendjwin, which had been destroyed, was occupied by the 'Irākīs. Throughout this period, while the Kurds used artillery for the first time, the 'Irākīs used toxic gases, but suffered heavy losses (4,194 killed, 2,201 wounded, 12 tanks destroyed and 5 aircraft shot down). Egypt helped 'Irāk (Le Monde, 23 October). The winter campaign (22 December 1965-end February 1966) was resumed with intensity. On 1st January 1966, Barzāni sent a Memorandum to the U.N.O. (text in Vanly, 378-9). On 13 April 1966, Marshal 'Abd al-Salām 'Arif was killed in a helicopter accident. His brother, the general, was chosen to replace him as head of state. The same day as this death a new offensive began to liquidate definitively the rebellion. This campaign, which lasted from 12 April to 15 June, was particularly notable in May for the battle of Rawāndiz or Hendrin, the "Kurdish Verdun", as an eye-witness called it, R. Mauriès (171-213), and was transformed into a rout for the 'Irākīs who, despite intensive use of napalm, lost 1,056 killed, 476 wounded, 600 mercenaries, the "cavaliers of Saladin" were put out of action and an enormous booty taken. The Kurds for their part only had to lament 38 killed and 85 wounded. Despite proclamations of victory, after a new ceasefire demanded from the 15 June by the government, an accord negotiated by the Prime Minister Bazzāz (d. 28/6/73) was signed on 29 June 1966 (Vanly, 379; Viennot, thesis, ii, 189-92). Some secret clauses recognised in effect a certain autonomy for the Kurds of 'Irāk; 'Arif made a visit to Barzāni (28 October) to try to reach agreement with him, for the 'Irākī General Staff, unhappy with the "Bazzāz plan" did everything to torpedo it. Again, things dragged on for a long time. But the war of 5-11 June 1967 was bound to have its counter-effect in several Arab lands, as also in 'Irāk, where a new coup d'état (17 July 1967) saw General Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr install himself as President of the Republic, followed by a second coup d'état (30 July 1968) in which al-Bakr took over all power and re-established the Ba'ḥist dictatorship, whose "National Guard" in 1963 had hardly left behind good memories. While the Kurds maintained their material and moral potential and made a great effort in the field of primary instruction by opening 300 schools in 1968, the government flirted with the Kurdish dissidents, created an (Arabic language) University at Sulaymāniyya and the new administrative division (*liwā'*) of Duhok among the Kurds, but nevertheless prepared to resume hostilities. These, preceded by several skirmishes, began in April around Koy-Sandjaḥ. The 'Irākī troops had to abandon the towns of Kala-Diza, Pendjwin and Čwarta, and then attacked in June the peasant population of Arblī, Ḥalabdiya and Badīnān, spraying the harvests with napalm and sulphuric acid.

In July, cholera broke out at Kala-Diza. In August there was the massacre of Dakan, at Šhaykhān. In January (5 January 1970, *L'Express* mentioned that between September and December 1969, the Kurds had stopped the 'Irākī offensive outright; 151 aircraft had been shot down during the last six months. Also in January 1970, the Ba'ḥist régime opened negotiations with Barzāni and the executive bureau. A Kurdish delegation, headed by Dr. Maḥmūd 'Uḥmān, went to Baghdad and, on the 11 March, an accord on 15 points was signed at Nawperdan, in Kurdistan, between the two parties, which put an end to a war of nine years (text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970). The Kurds obtained their internal autonomy and the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The Kurdish language became the second official language of 'Irāk (Arabic text in *al-Djūmhūriyya*, Baghdad no. 704, of 12 March 1970; English text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970; German text, Nebez, *Kurdistan*, 232-5). Five Kurds were named as ministers, the amnesty was declared on both sides. Great festivities celebrated the event. However, all the problems were not solved. There was an attempt against Mollā Muṣṭafā (29 September 1971), troubles at Sindjār (summer 1972) and controversies over the attribution of the territories of Kirkūk after the nationalisation of the I.P.C. (1st June 1972). In June 1973, an *Appel en faveur du Kurdistan irakien* for the application of the accord of 11 March 1970, emanated from combined groups and from Black Africa (*Le Monde*, 15 June 1973).

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The Kurds of SYRIA and LEBANON, apart from some great families and their entirely arabised dependants, such as the Barazi of Ḥamāt, the beys of 'Akkār, the Djūmbilāt Druze chiefs (Djān Bulād "soul of steel"), have preserved their original characters, although some may often have been settled for several centuries and, in every case, well before the establishment of the French mandate. They posed practically no political problem to the mandatory

power and were able to develop freely a very lively cultural movement. They had a large share in the economic prosperity of the *Djazira* (Rondot, *Les Kurdes de Syrie*, 94, 99 and passim; A. Mu'awwad, *al-Akrād fi Lubnān wa-Sūriyā*, Beirut 1945). But difficulties of a political order arose under the various régimes after 1957 and the plan for the "Arab Belt" (1963). Then, on the pretext of agrarian reform, the lands of the peasants were confiscated, and 120,000 Kurds forfeited their Syrian nationality, also losing the right to become civil servants, to send their children to state schools and to be admitted to the public hospitals. All Kurdish books and music were forbidden. The names of villages were changed to give them Arab names and to settle Arabs there instead and expel Kurds (I. C. Vanly, *Le problème kurde en Syrie*, 1968 (cf. Muḥammad Ṭālib Hilāl, *Dirāsa 'an muḥāfaẓat al-Djazira min al-nawāḥi al-ḥawmīyya al-idjtimā'īyya al-siyāsiyya*, 1963, ed. I. C. Vanly, and 1968); idem, *La persécution du peuple kurde par la dictature du Baas en Syrie*, Amsterdam, October 1968. (Th. Bois).

iv. — KURDISH SOCIETY

The social and economic life of Kurdistan is strongly structured. If a small part of the Kurdish people still leads a nomadic life, its great majority is now sedentarised in numerous villages, but "it survives as well today, and in the countryside Kurdish society is essentially tribal" (Edmonds, 12), as always among nomads. But in the detribalised villages the organisation of the group comes under the influence of the government administration, landlords and religious leaders. This leads to a certain number of transformations of fundamental structures at present clearly evolving in Kurdish society, family, tribe and landlord, which we are going to examine first before considering the religious impact, then drawing attention to the social customs which are attached to them.

A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society.

1. The Kurdish family.

The normal Kurdish family consists of a cell or household composed of the father, mother and children. This household, founded on marriage, is ordinarily monogamous and not patriarchal. Marriage is essential. In Kurdistan there are no old bachelors or spinsters, and also no celibacy nor free love at all. Prostitution does not exist in the small Kurdish villages of Irāk or Iran. Adultery is practically unknown because too dangerous. People marry young, the boys at 20, the girls at 12. But in the towns, and since the young Kurds prolong their studies, marriage is delayed. Cousins frequently marry one another. The agnatic cousin is preferred and has rights over his cousin. This way of doing things has many advantages, for the father of the bride knows his nephew better; who, himself, is more in a position to protect the girl. Moreover, in the case of tribal conflicts, especially in the past, this would make one rifle more. At the same time, the marriage portion is diminished. To renounce his cousin, the agnatic cousin will exact the price of his renunciation. If not, he will be able to abduct the girl or even to shoot her as well as her parents (Daghestani, 22-3). So abduction is not therefore unknown, with all its risks (ʿAkrāwī, 130; Daghestani, 17). Marriage can also be conducted by the exchange of sisters, *berdāš* (Avdal, 222; Daghestani, 3). In this case, the marriage portion

is not exacted and only the costs of the wedding feast remain. Marriage can also be conducted between people who are not related, but there is a preference for the same village or the same tribe, more than for a stranger, so that marriage is always endogamous in the broad sense. Barth (61) was able to ascertain a much greater frequency of marriage between cousins in the tribal populations (57%) than in the non-tribal populations (17%). Hence the importance of knowing lineage and names well (cf. genealogical table: Leach, 63; Barth, 31; Hansen, 116). Among the Yazidis and the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ strict endogamy is obligatory between some families (Avdal; Mokri, 44). The marriage portion, except in the cases cited, is exacted everywhere (Daghestani, 28; Leach, 44-5; Hansen, 123-4) and is not necessarily considered by the interested parties as being a sale, as it is often seen in the West. On the contrary, they like it as an appreciation of their value. This marriage portion, which varies according to the regions and especially the social situation of the family, is paid in kind, livestock, lands, a mill, etc., or in cash, of which the sum varies enormously, and its high sum may at times cause the aspirant to despair. Despite the critics, even among the Soviet Kurds, it has not completely disappeared. Cf. on this subject some poems translated in *Machriq*, 1958. The virginity of the girl before marriage must not be in doubt and proof must be given on the night of the wedding and kept for a year at least (Nikitine, 109, 115; Hansen, 13-4; Mokri, 68).

Polygamy exists legally as much among the Muslim Kurds as among the Yazidis. Horizontal or simultaneous polygamy was very frequent in the past, and was still so in the 19th century. The chiefs of tribes did not always keep to the four legitimate wives authorised by the Qurʾān. Ibrāhīm Paṣṣā, founder of Sulaymāniyya, had 40 wives (Campanile, 107); the great Bedir Ḳhān had 14 and 99 children. At his death, 21 boys and 21 girls remained to him. These customs are now ended. In the past, polygamy was a luxury and a sign of power; today it is sometimes an economic need. It can still be encountered in the urban poorly-educated milieu (Hansen, 138), but also in the peasant milieu (Barth, 25). In any case, where it is found, it does not exceed 2% in the Kurd Daḡh (Daghestani, 79), 4% in Irāk (Barth, 24), and there are never more than two wives. Among themselves, they are called *hewī*. In Turkey and among the Soviet Kurds, polygamy is forbidden by the civil law. But vertical or successive polygamy always exists, thanks to divorce or repudiation, for three *ḥalāḳs* suffice for a husband to be able to repudiate a wife who no longer pleases him in order to marry another. Also, the *ṣhāykh* of Ṣhadala at 70 had been married 19 times (Hansen, 138), and similarly old Ibrāhīm, *aḡha* of the Dizai (Hay, 43). The wife can also be repudiated because of sterility or the impossibility of bringing male infants into the world. In this case, she may remain with her husband. If she is repudiated for other reasons, she returns to her father and has few chances of remarrying. A woman guilty or even simply suspected of adultery will not only be repudiated, but will run a high risk of death, which her own father or brother or one of his parents will be entitled to inflict on her. The children of the repudiated wife remain with their father. The widow remains in the house of the father or brother of her husband (Barth, 29). The levirate is practised at times, and a little everywhere (Daghestani, 99; Avdal, 221; Barth, 29; Edmonds, 348; Hansen, 136), not as a rule of law, but for convenience. In the Kurdish family, the husband has great authority,

but the wife also has her word to say. Speaking of the situation of the two spouses, Mrs. Hansen (117) finds that of the woman inferior to that of the man in the humble villages, equal in the village aristocracy and the educated urban milieu, but superior in the uneducated urban milieu.

The birth of a child is always desired, even if a son is not necessarily preferred to a daughter. Also, the children are numerous but decimated by a fairly severe infant mortality. The children are always well-treated, but without excessive refinement, for life is harsh. The name is given at birth and ordinarily by the women (Nikitine, 106), but at times by the mollah (Barth, 112; Hansen, 108). This name is often that of an Islamic personage or a hero of history or national legend, or it may well be one of the virtues which one wishes to see possessed by the newborn, or the name of a flower, fruit, animal with qualities appreciated by everyone. Hypocoristic forms of the name are very widespread. Some names possess at the same time the desinence *o* of the masculine and the desinence *e* of the feminine. But curiously, the masculine forms are used to address individuals who are not noble, while the feminine forms are reserved for personages of distinguished birth (Celadet Bedir Khan, *Grammaire* 98). On names, diminutives, surnames, see Edmonds, 42.

Circumcision, *sinet*, is practised a few days after the birth, either by a specialist *sinether* or by a simple barber (Barth, 112; Nikitine, 106). In some places, the ceremony may be carried out later, when the child is 5 or 7 years old and often with several children at the same time. The chief or notable whose son has to be circumcised organises a small festivity, and offers a meal to the families concerned (Barth, 112).

2. Tribal organisation.

(a) Listings of the Kurdish tribes.

A fundamental element of Kurdish society is without dispute the tribe. We possess at present the nomenclature of all the Kurdish tribes. In 1826 Lerch already made a good summary of the Kurds of Turkey (63-87), the Russian territories (88-9) and the Persian territories (92-121). Jaba (1860) specified some numbers of them (1-8 of the Kurdish text). A map of their habitat in Transcaucasia was published at Tiflis by E. Kondratenko (1896) and Col. Kartsov (1897). In 1908 Sir Mark Sykes recorded 305 names of Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, and G. R. Driver (1919) drew up Sykes' list differently and added the Kurdish tribes of southern Kurdistan (Iraq) and those which remain outside the Kurdistan foreseen after the Great War (19-74). But the different political events which have occurred since then have led to many changes in the distribution and situation of the Kurdish tribes. In the Kurdish edition of his *History of Kurdistan* (1931), M. A. Zakî draws up a complete table of all the tribes (319-98, Arabic tr. [1939], 373-468 with map). The Kurdish tribes of Syria were counted by the French services of the Levant in 1930 (5th part, 137-90), and with more care and exactitude by P. Rondot in 1939. The lists published in Kurdish in *Roja nû* of the Kurdish tribes of Iraq (No. 66, 14—January 1946) and those of Iran (No. 68, 4 of February 1946) are not of much use, given the few precise figures, in particular. M. Mokri in Persian gives information on the Sandjâbî tribes of Iran (1946), and A. 'Azzâwî presented in Arabic (1947) an excellent study on the Kurdish tribes of Iraq (27-222). A good account of the tribes and sub-tribes of Iraq, northern Kurdistan (18-27),

and southern Kurdistan (45-51), is supplied for us by H. Field in his *Anthropology of Iraq* (1953), with their numerical importance, the names of the chiefs and the habitat. But in fact, his information is earlier than that supplied by 'Azzâwî. In Persian, the name of 490 tribes are to be found in Mardûkh (1953), i, 75-119, and a long study on the tribes of Sanandâj, ii, 10-48. Finally, in B. Karabudat there are eight sketches of the position of the Kurdish tribes and clans of Turkey in the *vilayets* of Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis, Muş, Van and Hakkâri, and similarly in the border districts of Syria, Iraq and Iran. As for the Yazîdî tribes, they were in their turn enumerated and placed by A. 'Azzâwî in 1935 (90-110), and those of Sindjâr and Djabal Akrâd especially by R. Lescot (1938), 251-61). The interest of this vast table and listing is particularly to show the universality of the tribal phenomenon in the history and life of the Kurdish people. Clearly, it is not our concern to write at length on these different tribes. The fundamental work remains the *Sharaf-nâma* (1596). Much historical and ethnographical information is to be found in the different works of Soane (1912-26). Longrigg (1925), Leach (1940), Nikitine (1950), Barth (1953) and Edmonds (1957). An exhaustive study of the Yazîdî tribes, clans and villages with statistics is given us by S. Damlûdjî (1949) in his work on the Yazîdîs in Arabic (224-60).

(b) The Kurdish tribe and its components.

"The Kurdish tribe is a community or a collection of communities which exists for the protection of its members against an external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and way of life" (Hay, 65). It is evident that a land of mountains, such as Kurdistan, favours the birth and development of groups more or less closed and shut in on themselves, as perhaps was the tribe in its origin. Although constituted like every human grouping which is formed from a kernel like the family, it would be wrong to believe that the Kurdish tribe is an enlarged family, a little in the manner of which the Bible speaks of the Twelve Tribes of Israel (F. Millingen, 284). Indeed, some contemporary Kurdish sociologists are opposed to this way of seeing things. If the vertebral column of the Arab tribe (*habîla*) is a kinship line (*nasab*), among the Kurds it is the soil (*ard*), i.e. the region inhabited by all and submissive to the chief of the group (Khesbak, 68; 'Akrâwî, 18).

However, the western sociologists who have studied tribal organisation among the Kurds (Leach, 1940; Barth, 1953; W. L. E., 1956) seem to have remarked some differences among the nomads on the one hand and the sedentaries on the other. Barth also examined the political organisation of the Djaff, a powerful federation of tribes, almost entirely nomadic until very recently (34-44 and diagr. no. 3); political organisation among the Hamawend (45-9 and diagr. no. 4 and 5), where the economy is based on agricultural exploitation and where non-tribal elements are mixed with the population; and finally, the organisation and political structure of the Baban, a princely family (60-6 and diagr. no. 6). For his part, the anonymous W.L.E. (432) was able to distinguish in the rural population various types of social and economic organisation, e.g. the classical tribe under an *agha* claiming a common origin and divided into *tira* or fractions, such as the Girdî and the tribe under a "feudal" chief of different lineage, such as the Dizai and Djaff. The influence and the social role of the landlords and religious *shaykh*s, who are not chiefs of a tribe, are another aspect of the problem (cf. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 39-47).

Furthermore, real social classes are recognisable in Kurdish society. The most evident distinction exists between the villagers of tribal origin, *eşîr* ('*ashîra*) and those who are not and are named after the regions and dialects, either *kurdmanê* (Kurdmandî), *goran* or *miskîn*, some of them being sometimes almost the serfs of the landlords of the village (Nikitine, 124). The last name *miskîn* should be preferred, says Edmonds (123), for the two others denote different meanings (dialect or tribe). Perhaps they are to be seen as the descendants of the autochthonous populations conquered by the warlike tribes? But even within the same tribe, there is no uniformity of rights and duties. There are the noble families, one might say, *lorin*, such as the Begzâdas; and the commoners who comprise firstly a military caste, the *xulam* (*ghulam*) (Nikitine, 125) or *pişmalâ* (Barth, 42), a kind of praetorian guard of the chiefs who are recruited in all the *tira* of the tribe (Barth, 46) and who, in the past, had almost the status of slave (Nikitine, 125), and finally the class of peasants.

Perhaps one may now give the classical scheme of the organisation of a Kurdish tribe according to Rondot (*Tribus*, 18 ff.) with regard to the Omeran. At the base is the house or household or family in the strict sense of father, mother and children. A group of houses form a *bavik* or *mal*, an extended family. The union of many *baviks* constitutes the clan or *ber*. The collection of all these clans gives us the tribe or *eşîr* ('*ashîra*). The terminology is different in Barth, who divided e.g. the Djaff '*ashîra* into a certain number of tribes or *tira*, a political group not to be confused with the *hoz*, a group of the same lineage. The *tira* is subdivided into many *khel*, each *khel* composed of 20 to 30 tents or households united by economic links as well as by family links. At the head of the '*ashîra* there is, or used to be, a *paşha* of the family of Begzâda; each *tira* has at its head a *raîs* ('*raîs*); and at the head of each *khel* an elected chief of a village, the *kikha*. Among the Hamawend, the chief of a *tira* is called *agha*. For his part, Leach (13-14), distinguished the '*ashîra* whose "name describes at the same time the people and the territory which occupies it". It is essentially descriptive of a political grouping. It is formed of one or several clans or *fâ'ifa*, descriptive of a kinship grouping and divided into several subsections or *tira*. He also finds, he says, the normal anthropological classification: '*ashîra*, *fâ'ifa* and *tira*, i.e. tribe, clan and lineage. This divergence in vocabulary where Arabic and Kurdish words of different dialects are mixed together hardly favours clarity of exposition.

Let us draw attention to the system of the *oba* (cf. the *khel*), which is particular to the semi-nomadic tribes and which makes its appearance towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It is a temporary association of stock-breeders from different villages, formed in the spring to lead the herds to the pastures and to return at the end of the autumn. Neither kinship nor tribal relations are necessary to be a member of the *oba*. The *ser-oba* or *oba baş* organises the transhumance on condition that he has dues appropriated in kind. There are still to be remarked the differentiations in the groups: the chief *ser-oba* and his family, the different more or less important landlords and the simple shepherds. This organisation of the *oba*, see Ereş Şemo, *Şivanê kurd* (ed. Beirut 1947, 29), Nikitine, 149-52; Ghassemlou, 158-60. According to O. L. Vilčevsky, *Economie de la communauté agricole chez les Kurdes*, 1936, it is around the *oba* that the "class struggle" is concentrated in Kurdistan.

(c) *The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations.*

The chief of the tribe, whatever its importance, is ordinarily called *agha*, a relatively recent title, at the earliest after the conquest of Baghdad by Sultan Murâd IV in 1637 (Edmonds, 223). He always comes from the family of the chiefs. He normally acquires this rank by heredity, but not always. The eldest son generally takes the place of his deceased father, but not necessarily, for a younger brother, judged more able, because more competent or better-liked, can supplant his elder brother. But the choice can also be made after the election of other chiefs or clans, or even, if necessary, by violence. In some cases even, the central government can intervene and nominate the chief directly.

In the feudal age, the chief, almost autonomous in his tribe, had to supply the suzerain, sultan or *shâh*, with levies in the form of troops or tributes which, naturally, he levied on his dependents, whom he had besides to aid protect in time of war and danger. But this is ancient history. Today the chief has other obligations, and especially it is to him or his representative, the chief of the village, that there falls the duty of sheltering guest travellers, Kurds or foreigners, more or less numerous according to the seasons or circumstances. To collect his expenses, the chief imposes on the people of his tribe certain dues, which bear the general name of the *agha's* right, *aşîl*, either taxes on all the revenues of the shepherd or peasant, or *corvées*, *hereweş*, days of obligatory work, not to mention some obligatory presents, *êdanî*, in certain circumstances (marriages, feasts) and the rights of justice or fines in cash which he can exact for theft, abduction or murder, if recourse is had to his good offices and to his intervention to regulate the litigation (details of all levies due to the chief will be found in Th. Bois, *Connaissance...*, 36-8 or *La vie sociale*, 610-11 and notes 46 and 47 with the references). These tribal rights should not be confused with the other rights to which the Kurdish shepherds or peasants are obligated by the landlords.

3. The economic structures.

(a) *Kurdish nomadism.*

The nomads are essentially organised around the tribe and are devoted almost exclusively to stock-breeding in a fairly closed economy. The life of a nomad is harsh and is submissive to the heavy authority of the chief. But this way of life, both for social and economic reasons, is tending to be transformed and to disappear. On nomadism and its repercussions on the economy of Kurdistan, see J. Frölin, *Les formes de la vie pastorale en Turquie*, in *Geografiska Stockholm Annalen* (1944), 219-72; H. Christoff, *Kurden und Armenier*, Hamburg 1935; O. L. Vilčevsky, *Economie de la communauté agraire nomade kurde de la Transcaucasie et des districts environnants dans la 2^e moitié du XIX^e s.*, in *SE* (1936), No. 4-5, 135-61; N. Bogdanova, *L'exploitation féodale des nomades*, in *Arch. Hist. Acad. Sc. URSS*, II (1939); I. P. Petrushevsky, *Essai sur l'histoire des relations féodales en Azerbaïdjan et en Arménie, du XVI^e au début du XIX^e s.*, Leningrad 1949, 389; W. D. Hütteroth, *Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus*, Marburg 1959, 190; T. R. Stauffer, *The economics of nomadism in Iran*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1965), 284-302; V. Monteil, *Les tribus du Fars et la sédentarisation des nomades*, Paris-The Hague 1966. Also, X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, 442; H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Aperçu sur le problème du*

nomadisme au Moyen-Orient, in *Documentation française, Notes et Études*, doc. No. 2095 (3 November 1955).

Some efforts at sedentarisation were undertaken between the two World Wars, in the different states where nomadic tribes, Kurds or others, were living; but both in Turkey as well as in Iran, with Mustafa Kemal or Riḍā Shāh Pahlavi, the methods used were not always well received by the interested parties. This is the reverse of Russian policy with the tribes of the Caucasus, according to R. J. M. Goold-Adams (*Middle East journey*, London 1947, 95), who says that the Russians succeeded better than anywhere else in the Middle East. "In fact, their way of approaching the problem was economic as much as political and military... For they offered the nomads lands, water and the advice of agricultural experts to make them capable of augmenting the harvests necessary for their subsistence." Elsewhere, sedentarisation has been effected without violence and in stages, as for the Djaff, for example (Edmonds, 146).

(b) *The Kurdish peasantry.*

The Kurdish population is essentially rural. The Kurd is thus a peasant in a rough proportion of 65 to 80%, although industrialisation is beginning to take place. If such are the facts, it is understandable that the land must play a fundamental role in the life of the peasant. The land system in force among the Kurds poses more of a problem. Until the First World War, the major part of Kurdistan was contained in the Ottoman Empire, and the land system came under the Ottoman Land Code (1858), for military fiefs had been abolished in 1839. This system existed until around 1930, in the lands (Syria, 'Irāq) which were inheritors of the Ottoman Empire (Wariner, 66). This Code recognised various kinds of properties: *mulk* property, in the absolute form *raḳāba*, recognised by a title deed or *senet taḳo*, or in the form of usufruct, *taḳarruf*; property of the state, *mīrī*, absolute for the state, with usufruct possible for some private individuals; properties of *wakf* or *maimorte*, either *ḫayrī* if the beneficiaries are works of charity, such as mosques, schools or students, hospitals, or *ahlī* if the beneficiaries are minors; public properties for the use of all, *matrūka*, e.g. roads, rivers, village commons etc.; and finally dead properties, *mawāl*, desert and empty lands which all belong to the state. In Iran the *ḫūlūṣa* crown properties must be added here (Lambton, 238-58).

The extent of these different types of property varies between the countries, and in general leaves little room for the small landowner ($\frac{2}{3}$ of the rural population in Turkey, $\frac{1}{4}$ in 'Irāq). Everywhere large landownership is the rule. In 'Irāq, out of 10 million hectares of arable land, 4 millions belong to the state and 6 million to private landowners. In Iran 10% of the peasants possess 8% of the land, from 1 to 3 hectares or a *cot* per household. The *cot* is both the pair of oxen used for labour and the work carried out by the peasant in one day (Ghassemlou, 128). The great landowners, i.e. the state, the chiefs of tribes, the religious *shaykh*s and the great bourgeois businessmen, lease out on short lets their immense lands at a price which renders the situation of the peasant highly precarious. Indeed, the dues are heavy. If, in Iran, the annual revenue of the great landowners reaches 5,600 dollars a head, that of the average peasant only reaches 60 dollars (Ghassemlou, 168). In 'Irāq, before the Second World War, the income of the Kurdish peasant came to £ 10 a year (Khosbak). There are the dues in kind or in *corvée* labour (80%),

in kind (15%) and for the rest (5%), which fall so heavily on the peasant. In Turkey, several systems are distinguishable: *yarıcalık*, where the peasant uses his own tools, plough and livestock and gives half of the harvest; *resimcilik*, where the amount of the rent depends on the situation and fertility of the soil, the manpower, the rentability of the cultivation and the degree of dependance of the peasant; and *murab-bacılık*, where, in exchange for his work the farmer only touches $\frac{1}{4}$ of the harvest (Moiselev, 13). In Kurdish Iran, the same servitudes under different names and rather similar systems are to be found: *nimekare*, in which the landowner leases out the irrigated lands and supplies the seed, and the peasant supplies the work, with the landowner taking $\frac{2}{3}$ of the harvest and the peasant $\frac{1}{3}$; *sēykbar*, in which the landowner supplies the land, the water, the seed and the beasts of labour, and takes $\frac{1}{2}$ of the harvests; *sēqut*, in which the landowner supplies soil and water and receives $\frac{2}{3}$ of the harvest; and *dawudu*, in which the landowner, in return for supplying earth and seed, takes $\frac{2}{10}$ of the harvest (Ghassemlou, 132-8). In 'Irāqī Kurdistan the same problems are encountered. Thus for the summer harvests, tobacco or cotton, the landowner takes $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ in the case of the rice; for the winter harvests, wheat or barley, $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$. In addition, there is that which is owned or levied: 7.5% for the *serhal*, the agent of the landowner, 10% for the government, and in addition, all that there is set aside for the *qahwaḳī* or coffeemaker of the master, the *mudhif* or guest house, etc. (Khosbak, 48). Also, for the detribalised villages under land-lords, the revenues of the soil are distributed roughly as follows: $\frac{1}{4}$ for the landowner, $\frac{1}{4}$ for his representative in the case of the landowners who do not always live on the spot but are settled in the towns, $\frac{1}{8}$ for the share-cropper or farmer, and $\frac{1}{8}$ for the agricultural worker who has neither land nor beast, but only his labour. If account is made at the end of the year, the poor Kurdish peasant is left with empty hands and overwhelmed by debts (Rossi, 86), for he is often forced to take on usurious loans in order to survive until the next harvest.

If such are the conditions of life of the Kurdish peasant, one can understand the rebellions which break out from time to time, e.g. that of the *mouroud* of the Kurd-Dagh (Syria) directed by Ibrāhīm Ḫalīl between 1930 and 1940 (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Kurdes*, 15-115), and the revolt of 20,000 families of Dizai, in 1954, who demanded the reduction of the tax to $\frac{1}{20}$ th of the harvest, the suppression of forced labour, and the suppression of gifts on the occasion of feasts or marriages (Gavan, 19).

To remedy this feudalism of the land which makes the Kurdish peasant a taxable serf, subject to forced labour at pleasure, some projects of agrarian reform have been envisaged by the governments of the regions inhabited by the Kurds. In all these lands however, the feudalists, chiefs of tribes or religious *shaykh*s, privileged in the past, have been the stubborn enemies of these attempts at reform.

In Iran, since 1955, a law provides for the distribution of the lands belonging to the crown and state (Muḫammad Shāh, 205). In 1960, an agrarian law aimed at regulating the property of private lands by fixing the maximum at 400 hectares for irrigated lands and 800 hectares for non-irrigated lands. Provision was also made for rural co-operatives which, from 500 in the beginning, rose to 4,500 in 1965 and 8,000 in 1969. But above all, the Shāh proclaimed the "White Revolution" (26 January 1963), approved by referendum and which, in its

twelve points, was among other things to lead to the abolition of feudalism and the liberation of the peasant. In Turkey, since 1938, provision has been made for the purchase of the lands of the great landowners to distribute them to the peasants, but few have benefited from it. A legal project regarding agrarian reform was promulgated on the 21 June 1945, which envisaged the distribution of the lands of the state and of landowners whose area exceeded 500 hectares, but this art. 17 was abrogated in 1950. The price had to be paid within 20 years (Moussieff, 14). A new agrarian project began in 1961. The deplorable situation of the peasants was acknowledged, hence it was concerned with the distribution of the lands belonging to the Treasury, 8 million *dönüms* (in Turkey 1 *dönüm* = 1,000 m² approx.); those managed and cultivated by the state, quite extensive in the provinces of the east and south-east; those of *wakfs*, of which there still remained 1 million *dönüms* to distribute; and finally the private estates, whose total area exceeded 38 million *dönüms* (Vatan, 14-15). In 1965, out of 13,591,622 members of the active population, nearly $\frac{1}{4}$, i.e. 9,764,652 lived by agriculture (Esenkova, 116). They were also the most unprovided for (cf. M. Makal, *Bizim köy*, Fr. tr. *Un village anatolien, récit d'un instituteur paysan*, Paris 1963, Eng. tr., *A village in Anatolia*, London 1954).

In 'Irāk, the agrarian policy of the royal government was originally rather favourable to the chiefs of tribes, Arabs or Kurds. In 1932, law No. 50 (Dowson) assigned landed property, pasture or arable, to the tribes, then law no. 51 (called *lazma*) assigned to the chiefs the ownership of the properties of the tribe. In 1933, Law No. 28 forbade the peasant "in debt" to leave the land of his master, unless his house was destroyed. Finally, in 1954, Decree No. 11 allowed the Minister of Justice to assign the national properties. Furthermore, e.g. in 1952-4, 1,794,560 *dönüms* (in 'Irāk a *dönüm* = $\frac{1}{4}$ hectare) were distributed to 6,863 peasant families from the region of Sindjār, but the major part was assigned to Ahmad al-Adjil, *shaykh* of the *Shammar* (Warriner, 160).

Such a situation could not continue. After 30 August 1958, the new Republic published an agrarian law which was aimed at putting an end to feudalism, to raise the social level of the peasant and develop agriculture. According to this law, the area of properties should not exceed 250 hectares in irrigated lands and 500 hectares in non-irrigated lands. The benefits of cultivation were strictly regulated. The lands thus freed had within five years to be distributed to the peasants, from 30 to 60 *dönüms* of irrigated lands or from 60 to 120 *dönüms* of non-irrigated lands. The landowners had to be compensated in goods from the Treasury at 3%, reimbursable in 20 years (Vernier, 398). There was euphoria among the peasants, who did not wait to help themselves, and a general outcry on the part of the landlords, and many rebellions had to be faced.

In these different lands, the Kurdish peasant was bound to benefit from these agrarian reforms. But it is not sufficient to have the land; he still had to have the means to cultivate it. The means are lacking or insufficient: seed is expensive, the agricultural equipment rudimentary and primitive, everywhere mediaeval ploughing methods are still in use, the indispensable irrigation works are expensive and the co-operatives cannot answer all needs. The Kurds of 'Irāk, as Kurds, are the only ones to have their word today. Thus the D.P.K. at the time of its Seventh Congress, in November 1968, published its programme whose long article 14 presents its views on the group

of projects which take account of the special needs of their region (Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 365-6). A witness records a partition of lands at which she was present in Kurdistan in 1964, Joyce Lussu, *Anche i Kurdi conquistano il loro socialismo*, in *Rinascita Sarda*, an. ii, No. 9, 10 March 1964, 19.

These problems of the land are not posed in the same manner for the Kurds of Soviet Armenia. Indeed, the First World War was still not finished when the peasants of the Alagöz rebelled with the cry of: "We want the land. How long are we to remain slaves?" They were excited by their young compatriot who relates it himself (Ereb Şemo, *Şivand kurd*, Beirut 1947, 62). After many struggles against the *kulaks*, the dream was realised, but perhaps not in the fashion originally envisaged. From then onwards, property has been collective and the peasants enrolled in the *kolkhoz* (cf. Aristova, *Kurdi Zakavkaz'ya*, 1966, 64). Instead of the plough and cart of the past, it is the tractor and the combine-harvester which serve to cultivate the lands of the *kolkhoz*. Hence the standard of living of the Kurdish peasant has been noticeably raised. But perhaps this new life is somewhat idealised in the work (in Armentan) of Emine Evdal on the *Manners and customs of the Kurds of Transcaucasia*, 1957 (cf. Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes*, 605-9; P. P. Moussieff, *Le problème agraire en Turquie*, in *Sovietskoie Vostokovedenie*, 1956, No. 1 (Fr. tr. in *Doc. Franc., Articles et Documents*, No. 0.369, 14 June 1954, 8-15); Warriner, *Land reform and development in the Middle East, a study of Egypt, Syria and Iraq*, 1957, 1962; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia, a study of land tenure and land revenue administration*, London 1953, 1969; P. Rossi, *L'Irak devant la réforme agraire, in Orient*, viii/3 (1958), 81-93; *La réforme agraire en Irak, in al-Bilād*, Baghdād, 12 September 1960, Fr. tr. in *Doc. Franc., Articles et Documents*, No. 0.174, 29 November 1960; *Un projet (turc) de réforme agraire, in Vatan*, Istanbul, of the 9 and 12 October 1960, Fr. tr. in *Doc. Franc., Articles et Documents*, No. 0.174, 9-10; Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961; B. Vernier, *L'Irak aujourd'hui*, 1963, ch. 19, *Structure du secteur rural*, 371-7, ch. 22, 1, *La réforme agraire*, 397-406; H. Mandras and Y. Tavernier, *Terre, paysans et politique*, Paris 196; Jaafar Khayyat, *The Iraqi village, a study in its condition and reform*, Beirut 1950 [in Arabic]; anon., *Notre question de l'Est aux yeux d'un sociologue*, in *Yön*, 3rd yr., No. 9, 18 December 1964 (in Turkish); İsmail Besikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'da geri bırakılmışlığı oluşumu* ("The under-development of Eastern Anatolia"), in *Anı*, No. 10, February 1971, 46-73; idem, *Doğu Anadolu'nun durumu: sosyo-ekonomik ve etnik temeller*, ("The situation of Eastern Anatolia: its socio-economic and ethnic causes"); *Iran-Shahr, a survey of Iran's land, people, culture, government, economy*, Tehran Univ. Press 1963, published with the assistance of UNESCO, i, 117 pp.).

B. The religious impact.

Kurdish society, based on the land (tribe and village) and blood (family), is coloured by a religious aspect which appears often in daily life (cf. Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 47-8). The central kernel of the present Kurdish habitat, to the east of the Tigris, around Lakes Van and Urmiya, as well as in the north and east of 'Irāk, was contained before Islam within the Sāsānid empire (224-642) where Zoroastrianism became the state religion. But already before that, in the time of the Parthians, Christian evangelisation had encountered there some Jewish groups against pagan populations who worshipped trees, had

a solar cult and sacrificed to the devil. Some of them were converted. The *Acts of the martyrs of Persia* (Syriac ed. Bedjan, Leipzig 1892) report that these autochthonous Christians suffered under Sapor II (309-63). But at the beginning of the 5th century the church was reorganised, bishops were installed in all the Kurdish lands (cf. P. Labourd, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (224-632), Paris 1904, *passim*) and a number of monasteries were built, some of which were maintained until the invasions of Timûr (1336-1405); cf. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne, passim*. But the mass of the people followed the official cult, and the Kurds recognise that their ancestors could have been *madîûs* [q.v.] or followers of Zoroaster (Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 424).

The fall of the Sāsānid dynasty (642) favoured the Islamisation of the country that the Arabs had begun to invade a decade or so previously. This happened neither without a blow nor without regret. But after many combats in which they allied themselves sometimes with the Sunnis, sometimes with the heretical Khāridjīs, the Kurds ended by rallying collectively to the new religion. Having become Muslims faithful to the *Sunna*, the Kurds follow almost in their entirety the juridical school of al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820), as the *Sharaf-nāma* already recognised (i, 14) and also Ewliyā Celebi (iv, 75).

In the course of history, the Kurdish chiefs of the community have shown a fine religious zeal without the national factor intervening, beginning with Šalāh al-Dīn or Saladin (1137-93). They immortalised their passing by building mosques, schools, hospitals or simple fountains (*Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Cairo, 96-7). Alongside these builders, an intellectual élite, 'ulamā' and *fukahā'*, devoted itself to the study of theology and law. Also to be noted are the famous *madrasas* of Bitlis (*Sharaf-nāma*, 455, 495), of Džazira (*ibid.*, 171) and of Zakho (*ibid.*, 147). At Akhlāt, one of these scholars worked on the construction of the Observatory of Marāgha in the 7th/13th century (*ibid.*, 409). 'Amādiyya is also a centre renowned for its masters (cf. Damloodji, *Imārat Bahdīnān*, 59-61; al-'Abbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān*). The famous university of al-Azhar in Cairo counts numerous Kurds as teachers of theology (cf. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 210). The cemetery of Eyyûb in Istanbul and that of Scutari contain the tombs of numerous Kurds who, in the Ottoman period, held the post of *Shaykh al-Islām* (cf. Th. Bois, *La religion*, 7).

But over against this official and institutionalised Islam, there has sprung up a popular Islam, often on the fringe of the authorities, civil as well as religious, and which leads a very active life. It is the world of the small folk, peasants or artisans, illiterate for the most part, a kind of secular tertiary attached to a mystical *ḥarīka* and linked directly to a *shaykh* who serves them as spiritual guide, *murshid*. From the 6th/12th century onwards Sūfīs entered Kurdistan and prospered there (cf. Lescot, *Enquête*, 23-4). Today, the principal brotherhoods strongly implanted among the Kurds are the Kādīriyya, who trace their origin to 'Abd al-Kādir al-Gilānī (1078-1166), who died at Baghdād and was a Kurd himself, and the Nakshbandiyya, who claim attachment to Bahā' al-Dīn of Bukhārā (1317-89) and are quite widespread in the Islamic world, especially in India and as far as China. This *ḥarīka* was introduced into 'Irākī Kurdistan at the end of the 19th century by Mawlānā Khālid after a journey to Dihli. He was of the Džaff tribe, born at Kara Dağ in 1779 and dying at Damascus in 1826 (cf. Rich, *Residence*, i, 140-1, 320-1; Nikitine, *Les*

Kurdes, 212-15; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 77-8). He was to encounter strong opposition on the part of the Kādīrī *shaykhs*, but ended by supplanting some of them. In south Kurdistan, the disciples of the Kādīrī order are ordinarily called *darwish* and those of the Nakshbandis are termed Sūfī (Edmonds, 63). The meetings of the brotherhood are held with the *shaykh* in his residence, *khānkhāh* or *takiyya* or simply *tekke*, a kind of monastery-hospice where the *shaykh* who keeps open table there dispenses his teaching to his *murids*. But in every place where a mystical *tekke* is established, in a tribe or in a village, some tensions are going to be produced almost automatically. For the *shaykh* is rich, he is the owner of numerous villages, and because of that he is opposed to the *agha* of the tribe who sees there competition with his authority; he is endowed, it is believed, with supernatural and miraculous powers and also is regarded as a ascetic by the orthodox 'ulamā' who have almost no faith in him and distrust him; finally, and above all, he often has the ambition to play a political role; whence the suspicion which he meets with from the government authorities. On the other hand, the credulity of the *murids* is well imaginable, and their fanaticism can lead to many excesses and eccentricities. Hence from time to time some individuals with an inner light arise who claim to be their *mahdī*, or who are reformers without a mandate but preaching social revolution. Examples abound (Campanile, *Storia*, 91-3; Nikitine, *op. cit.*, 221; Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 43; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 52-3; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 74-6). A recent group of Nakshbandis, the Nurcular, was founded by the Kurd Sa'īd Nūrsī (1870-1960) in Turkish Kurdistan (cf. MW [1960], 232-3, 338-41, [1961], 71-4). The hand of the *shaykhs* and their adepts, especially Nakshbandīs, is to be found in many uprisings in Turkey and in 'Irāk, with the bloody government reactions which follow, as e.g. the movement of *Shaykh* 'Ubayd Allāh of Nehri (1880) and that of *Shaykh* Sa'īd of Piran (1925), which brought about the closure of all the mystical *tekkas* in Turkey, and also the insurrections of *Shaykh* Mahmūd of Barzindja (1919 and 1922).

The teaching of certain *shaykhs*, in order not to be revolutionary, must be heard and followed with prudence. Such is the mystical doctrine and procedures for contemplation of *Shaykh* Muhammad Amin al-Kurdī al-Shāfi'ī al-Nakshbandī of Arbīl (d. 1904) in his *Tanwīr al-kulūb*, in numerous editions (7th in 1961), cited by A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, and the French translation of his mystical technique of *dhikr* by J. Guillard, *Petite philocalie de la prière du cœur*, Paris 1953, 234-48.

But these different brotherhoods, despite all their excesses and political involvements, are always considered as integral parts of orthodox and official Islam. It is not the same with some sects who, pushing their theories to the extreme, have left Sunni Islam, such as the Yazidīs [q.v.] who, born of the 'Adawiyya of *Shaykh* 'Adī b. Musāfir (ca. 1073-1162), have diverted their spirituality completely from it to the point of having forgotten their origins (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Yazidīs, essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Mashriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 191-242). Similarly, the Ahl-i Ḥaqīq [q.v.] are really *Shī'ī* extremists. Dr. Mohammad Mokri has published numerous Gurani and Persian texts concerning them, e.g. *L'isolisme kurde*, Paris 1966. Edmonds studies the members of the sect of the 'Irākī-Iranian frontier, known by the name of Kakai, *op. cit.*, 182-201; idem, *The beliefs and practices of the Ahl-i Haqq of Iraq, in Iran, Journ. Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, vii (1969),

80-101. Also to be encountered among the Kurds are some aberrant small groups in Iraq, such as the Sarli who are connected with them and, around Mawşil, the Şhabāk who are Kurdish Kizilbaş, not without contact with the Bektāshīs, formerly so powerful in Turkey (Edmonds, 268-9).

Bibliography: In Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 228-33, is to be found an excellent account of the theories of N. Marr, *Eshē o slove Celebi*, in *ZAP*, xx (1912), 99-151; G. R. Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, in *BSOS* (1922), 197-215; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, in *RHR* (1922), 147-56; idem, *Une apologie kurde du sunnisme*, in *RO*, viii (1923), ii, 116-60; idem, *Les thèmes religieux dans les textes kurdes de ma collection*, in *Actes du Cong. intern. d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1925, ii, 415-34; idem, *Les Kurdes racontées par eux-mêmes*, in *Asie française* (1925), No. 231, 148-57; P. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes de l'Asie antérieure*, *Quelques aspects sociaux des populations kurdes et assyriennes*, in *BEO*, Damascus, vi (1936), 1-50; Th. Bois, *La religion des Kurdes*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xi (1961), 105-38; J.-M. Fiey, *A la recherche des anciens monastères du nord de l'Irak*, in *POC*, ix (1959); idem, *Assyrie chrétienne. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du Nord de l'Irak*, Beirut, i, ii, 1965, iii, 1969; Bois, *Monastères chrétiens et temples yezidis dans le Kurdistan irakien*, in *Mashriq*, lxi (1967), 75-102; D. N. MacKenzie, *Pseudoprotokurtica*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1967), 170-3; J. S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar*, Beirut 1938; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967.

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C. Customs and social traditions.

1. Dress.

Clothing is characteristic of man. The style of clothing changes from one country to another and varies with the social rank [see *TRAS*]. It also evolves with the times. So it is among the Kurds. Today, the costume of the Kurds tends to fall into line with Western costume, in order to conform with the law (September 1925) in Turkey, and to follow the fashions, especially the masculine ones, for the other Kurds of the towns. But all the Kurdish women and the men in the villages keep to the traditional national costume. The evolution of Kurdish clothing can be followed through the accounts of travellers and the sketches that they give us, e.g. Campanile (1810), 135-40; Rich (1820), i, 180-1, 287-9; Frazer (1834), i, 71, 85-7; or in addition Binder (1885), 172 n. 1; Soane (1912), 399-402 and Nikitine (1956), take up the descriptions of their predecessors. One must wait for the women to have detailed information on the modern dress of the Kurds. Mrs. Aristova (1965), 108-26, speaks of the Kurds of Transcaucasia and gives some photographs of the women's jewels, and Mrs. Hansen (1961) has a very long chapter (65-98) to explain to us in detail the materials and colours of

different parts of the clothing, with what is specifically Kurdish, what is the consequence of Islamic customs, and what derives from Western influence, together with measurements, diagrams and numerous photographs, so that one may have an exact idea of the present national Kurdish costume, for men as well as for women. While jewels of every kind and in every material, gold, silver, precious stones, necklaces, bracelets and pendants, sparkle on the costumes of the women, the pride of the men is to be noted in their arms, cartridge pouches and damascened belts, chased daggers and lethal revolvers. The pipe and the tobacco pouch also form part of the Kurd's accoutrement.

2. Marriage and burial customs.

From the cradle to the grave, man is everywhere accompanied by customs or traditional rites, which vary with civilisations. Among the Kurds are to be found some customs very much alive which have been preserved from time immemorial. The choice of a fiancée, her toilette before the wedding, the price of pre-nuptial virginity, whose linen bloodied by the ruptured hymen will bear clear proof, the crossing of the threshold and introduction into her new household, the joys at the birth of the first baby, after a confinement which has nothing of a story about it (cf. A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946, 109-11), are the occasion of usages respected by all. It does not concern us to give a systematic and exhaustive account, but to indicate some examples, according to the various Kurdish regions. Kurds in general: Campanile, 103-5; K. A. Bedir Khan, *La femme kurde*, in *Hawar*, 19 (1933), 6-8/294-6; Tawûsparêz, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *ibid.*, 52 (1943), 12-16/764-8. Kurds of Iraq: Barth, in *op. cit.*, 24-9/29-37; Edmonds, 225-6; Hansen, 115-38. Kurds of Iran and the Urmiya region: *ibid.*, 113-15. Kurds of Syria and the Kurd Dagh: K. Daghestani, *La famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1932, *passim*. Kurds of Azerbaijan: Nikitine, 108-11. Kurds of Transcaucasia: E. Avdal, *op. cit.*, 22-33 (cf. Nikitine, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlix [1960], 61-6). Kurds of the Alagöz: Ereş Şemo, *Şivanê kurd*, *The Kurdish shepherd*, ed. Beirut, 44-7, 114-8. Kurds of Alamut: Freya Stark, *The Valley of the Assassins*, 1946, 270-1. Yazidi Kurds: Giamil, *Monte Singar. Storia di un popolo ignoto*, Rome 1900, 45-9, Isya Joseph, *Devil worship*, Boston 1919, 186-91; E. S. Drower, *Peacock angel*, London 1941, 17-25, 86; S. Damlüdjî, *al-Yazidiyya*, Mawşil 1949, 276-88. Ahl-i Hakk Kurds: M. Mokri, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1962), 42-68.

The funerary rites are no less varied, whether in regard to the toilette of the dead, the funeral cortège or *hote*, the ceremonies of mourning and the tree of the deceased, *dara şîn*, or the collective meal of condolences. Descriptions of them are found for the Kurds in general: Campanile, 81-6, with a fine elegy; Nikitine, 115-8; Mukri Kurds: O. Vilčevsky, *Mukriški Kurdi*, in *Peredneaziatskiy etnografičeskij Sbornik*, i (1958), 214-18. Kurds of Turkey: Ahmed Mërazî, *Btraniyêd min* ("My memoirs"), Erivan 1966, 89-91. Yazidi Kurds: Lescot, *op. cit.*, 154-6; Drower, 97-8, 185-6; I. Joseph, 192-3; Damlüdjî, 70-2. Children's funerals: Hansen, 139-43.

3. Festivals and seasonal rites.

Among the numerous festivities which punctuate periodically the life of the Kurdish people, the Islamic religious festivals are famous everywhere and so do

not merit special mention, with perhaps an exception for the *mawlid* or festival of the birth of the Prophet. Indeed, the brother-in-law of Saladin, Muza'far al-Din Kökbürî, governor of Arbil, is perhaps at the origin of this festival which he had celebrated with much solemnity and gaiety in 604/1207. An account of it has been given by a native of Arbil, Ibn Khallikân (d. 681/1282), French tr. J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 118-25. On the occasion of the festival, a panegyric is read, of which numerous specimens are to be found in Kurdish. Let us cite simply the *Mewlûdnâme* of Mela Ahmad of Batê (1425-95?) edited in Cairo in 1905 and re-edited in Istanbul in 1919 and always used; Bîyisa Pêxember, *Life of the Prophet*, edited in Damascus, in *Kitêbxana Hawarê*, 4 (1933); Şhaykh Mohammad Khâlî, *Mewlûdnâme-i new-êser* ("The new account of the birth of the Prophet"), Sulaymânî 1937; idem, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *Kurdistan* (Tehran) Nos. 166 ff.; Mela Hasan Hartûşi, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *ibid.*, Nos. 43-134 (1960-2).

A very popular festival among the Kurds, and now official in 'Irâk since the establishment of the Republic (1958), is *Nouruz* (see *NAWRÛZ*), or the festival of the new year, i.e. in spring (21 May). It is a sort of national festival of the Kurds. Moreover, it has always been celebrated by the Yazîds, who are supposed to have preserved many ancient traditions and who call it *Serîsal*. There is also the Festival of the New Year (cf. Lescot, *op. cit.*, 71). The festival is in any case earlier than Islam, as "myth of the eternal spring" which was always celebrated in the Iranian world (cf. G. Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris 1968, 58-67). It is said to have been instituted by the mythical King Djamshîd (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 145). Today, the official festival is accompanied by speeches, poems, dances and theatrical scenes, where the myth and struggle of the smith Kâwe against the dragon Zahhâk or Azi Dahaka is mimed, a prefiguration of the struggle of the Kurdish people for its independence. In Sulaymânî, the festivities are associated with all kinds of entertainment and masquerades with a false *amir*. It is a real carnival (Edmonds, 84-5; Taufiq Wahbi, *The rock sculptures of Gunduk caves, in Sumer*, iv/2 [1948], Fr. tr. in *BCEK*, vii [1949], 1-13. Ereb Şemo cites another form of carnival: *Kose geldî, Berbang*, in *Berevok*, Erivan 1969, 61-2. It is in connection with this festival that a special cake, *samani pazan*, is baked, which, by night, 'Â'îşha or Fâtîma will come to bless by touching it with their hands. It is eaten in the family and with friends, with the aim of having offspring (Wahbi, 11-12). In Iran, on the eve of the New Year, magical rites are mixed with the rejoicings (M. Mokri, *Les rites magiques dans les fêtes du "Dernier Mercredi de l'Année" en Iran*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963, 288 ff.). The girls make vows then: Thirteen at the door, New Year. Husband in the house, baby in the lap (Massé, *op. cit.*, 159). Abroad, the Kurdish students celebrate this national festival with gaiety (Deichi Delair, *Nawroz and the legend of Kawa*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, U.S.A., ii/1 [March 1965], 3-5). Let us note further in *Kurdistan*, London, organ of the K.S.S.E., Nos. 7/8 (1961), the poem *The festival of Nawroz* of Salih Karadaghi, 32.

Other seasonal festivals are celebrated above all by the shepherds on the occasion which concerns them particularly: the first lambing, *serapes*; the departure for the *sozan* or summer pasturage, *berodan*; the shearing of the sheep, *berxîrî*; and above all the releasing of the rams, *beran berdan*. Ereb Şemo, *ibid.*, 58, has described these entertainments with many picturesque and lively details. Stig Wikander believed

that he had discovered in this last festival reminiscences of ancient myths (*Ein Fest bei der Kurden und im Avesta*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, ix [1960], Uppsala 1961, 7-10). The peasants also have their traditions. At the time of the harvest, the first sheaf reaped is offered to the stranger who passes by (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 51), and the gathering of the mulberries is the occasion of a festival with a special dance, *gîdan*, the sweeping, which consists of sweeping the soil under the trees before the children climb them to shake them so as to allow the women to gather the berries (Edmonds, 170, n. 1).

Although it does not really concern us here as a festival properly so-called, let us indicate some more or less superstitious practices which relate to the cycle of nature and whose origins stretch back without doubt into remote antiquity. If activities to make the rain stop are mentioned only rarely (cf. Nikitine, *Une apologie kurde*, 16), by contrast T. Wahby, *op. cit.*, 7-9, counts no less than nine different rites, more or less laughable and doubtless efficacious, to combat drought and obtain rain. If the prayer *noja berana* does not suffice, a dervish is to be thrown into a water tank or women are to harness themselves to a plough and till the river. Still other singular acts are to be performed in order to have one's prayers finally answered (cf. S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie (en Kurdistan)*, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii [1906], 633).

4. Dances and music.

The Kurd sings always and everywhere. All the family festivals, birth, circumcision, and especially marriage, are accompanied by dances and songs, and equally the tribal or peasant gatherings and some religious ceremonies. The name of the dances varies according to whether it designates the region or the tribe where it is danced, e.g. Botani, Serhedî, Şêxanî, or according to the different figures which distinguish them, *sêgawî*, *girani*, *royne*, or the rounds *govend* and *çopî*. The students have a special dance *bêlîte* or *bêlûte*, of which Tawûsperêz has given us some examples and has described the rhythm (*La vie universitaire au Kurdistan*, in *Hawar*, No. 53 [15 March 1943], 772-6). The old or more recent travellers admired the particularities of these Kurdish dances (e.g. F. Millingen, *Wild life*, 378-9, or Edmonds, *Kurds*, 84; Drower, *Peacock angel*, 130-4; Bois, *Connaissance*, 61-2, cites the name of twenty dances). Let us note that these folkloric dances are mixed, which distinguished the Kurds from the other neighbouring Muslim peoples.

Kurdish music, inseparable from the dances and songs, is part of what it is convenient to call oriental music, but it cannot be confused either with Arabic music or with Armenian or Turkish music at all, although it has had an influence at times on the songs of the neighbouring countries, such as Iran or Mesopotamia (cf. S. Jargy, *Chant populaire et musique savante au Proche Orient arabe*, in *Orient*, vi/2 [1958], 108-9). Kurdish music today is not learned, but popular, and knows neither harmony nor polyphony. Its melodies, as numerous as varied, preserve a serious, pathetic, quite often melancholy character, as a consequence quite astounding among this warlike people (cf. Dulaurier, *Chants populaires de l'Arménie*, in *Rev. des deux Mondes*, 10 April 1852, 224-55). Western travellers have not failed to draw attention to the originality of this music. Some have felt the attraction and very palpable charm of these chants; others, on the contrary, e.g. Mrs. Hansen, 129-9, have found this music "flat and false" with its 17 tones. It was an Armenian priest, Vartabed Comitias (1869-

1935) who was the first to gather and note down some popular Kurdish songs (*Quelques spécimens des mélodies kurdes*, in *Recueil d'Emine*, Moscow 1904, and re-edited in Erivan in 1959). In Erivan precisely, the Malikian School of Music is formed of young Kurds who study the traditional songs with the old *dengbêj* or troubadours. Thus Nura Cewari noted 33 *Chansons de danse kurdes*, 1960, gathered at Tiflis. For her part, Cemila Celil has published two annotated collections of *Chants populaires kurdes*. The first, at Erivan (1964), gives the Kurdish text and the musical annotation of 75 pieces; the second, at Moscow in 1965, apart from the Kurdish text, gives the musical notation and Russian translation of 100 varied songs. In 'Irāk, since 1958, a society of Kurdish music has been organised with a view to preserving, standardising and developing in Kurdish music (cf. B. A. Ali, *An approach to Kurdish music, in Kurdistan*, K.S.S.E., 1 March 1958), 3-6; S. S. Gavan, *Divided nation*, London 1958, 15). But Europeans too are interested in Kurdish music (cf. Dr. D. Christensen, *Tanzlieder der Hakkari-Kurden. Eine material-kritisch Studie*, in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völker-Kunde*, Berlin I [1963], 11-47). This is a very serious study of the dance, instrumental and vocal music of Hakkari, whose melodies the author analyses and whose style and rhythms he studies scientifically. See also Edith Gerson-Kiwi, *The Music of Kurdistan Jews. A synopsis of their musical styles*, in *Yuval, Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, II, Jerusalem 1971.

The Islamic religion does not authorise music at all in its liturgy, and music has taken refuge in the rites of the different *ḡarīḡas* where its use probably dates from the foundation of these groups (cf. Trimmingham, *op. cit.*, 195, 196 and *passim*; M. Mokri, *Le Soufisme et la musique*, in *Encycl. de la Musique*, Paris 1961, 1014-15). From there, music has passed without any problems into the aberrant sects of the Yazidis, into their processions and their gatherings for *samā'* or religious recital. Three religious songs of the Yazidis had already been noted by H. Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, 1853, 507, Nos. 667-9. Similarly, E. S. Drower (*op. cit.*, 118-19), recorded the rhythm of the drums in the course of a ceremony. As for the Ahl-i Haḡḡ, Mohammed Mokri enlightens us on their musical customs in his article on *La musique sacrée des Kurdes "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran*, in *Encycl. des musiques sacrées*, Paris 1968, 444-55.

Musical instruments among the Kurds are often manufactured by artisans. The most usual are, among wind instruments, the pipe, *bilār*, which every shepherd carries in his bag, the *zorna*, a kind of clarinet or oboe which has a place in all the dances, and the *duzale*, a flute with two pipes of reed or bird bone, pierced with holes and whose mouthpiece has a kind of vibratory tongue. The sound resembles that of the Scottish bagpipes. The percussion instruments include the *dahol* or bass drum which is beaten on both sides, the *teplî*, a narrow drum, a kind of kettledrum in pottery covered with a skin which is beaten with the fingers; and the cymbals, *xelle*, are sometimes used by the Yazidis in their religious ceremonies. Among the stringed instruments, there are the *ribāb* or monochord viol, the *keman* or *kemanca*, violin, and especially the *tenbūr*, the lute, whose player plucks the strings in the sacred and heroic songs. The nomenclature of all these instruments varies with the regions. A description of some clumsy impressions of musical instruments is found in *Serincik le derwaze-i folklor-i kurdîwe*, Notes for an

introduction to Kurdish folklore, Hewlêl/Erbil n.d., 36-7.

5. Games, sports and hunting.

On the occasion of seasonal or other festivals, travellers have remarked among the Kurds the practice of certain popular games or sports, always in use. It is not possible to recount them all. Among the indoor games, cards, *iskenbil*, can be cited among the most frequent, especially among the townspeople; backgammon, *nard*; and above all chess, *šetrenc*, the noble game par excellence. Among the outdoor games are the *cerîd* or horseback fantasia; the ball game *çowgan*; a kind of hockey; and many games of pursuit or throwing, not to mention some modern sports like football and basketball and some games reserved for children. Worth noting are the fights of rams, buffaloes or partridges. Much information is to be found in Tawûsperêz, *Les jeux kurdes*, in *Hawar*, 42 (15 April 1942), 654-6; Kurdî we Mériwani, *Kûtâb-i Yari*, Baghdād 1932, 32; M. Mokri, *Bazîhâ-ye Kurdî: Khurmâyla*, in *Yaghmâ*, 2nd year, Tehran 1331/1951; *Bazîhâ-ye Kordestân*, in *Tamaddon*, 2nd ser. 7, 317-20, Tehran 1332/1952. In his *Kurdish dialect studies*, i, Oxford 1961, 147, 218, D. N. MacKenzie gives the name of several Kurdish games; Bois, *La vie sociale*, 32-3/628-9 and notes 136-41.

The abundance of game in Kurdistan, furred and feathered, already mentioned above, is at the origin of the Kurd's passion for hunting. The best way of learning about this national sport is to read the two articles of Osman Sabri, who explains in them the methods employed with the art of an experienced hunter. *Nêçîr* ("Hunting") in *Ronahî*, 17 (1 August 1943, 317-23, 18 (1 Sept. 1943), 347-50. The bear is hunted in three ways (317), also the hyena (317), the ibex (318), the fox (319) and the hare (319). There are five ways of hunting the partridge, with the spear, the decoy, the rifle or the running noose, depending on whether one wishes to capture it alive or to kill it (320). Game can also be hunted with the help of birds, sparrow-hawks or falcons of three different kinds and at a more or less expensive cost (321-2). The way in which these birds are trained is also indicated (347-8). O. Sabri very much appreciates hunting the hare with the help of a hound, of which there are several kinds (348-9). The author does not forget fishing (319), which may be done with the net, hook or harpoon. Hamilton devotes a whole chapter to the hunting of the ibex, so picturesque and so difficult (*op. cit.*, 165-73). There are also to be found patterns of different bird-calls or whistles, traps, nets, running nooses or snares used for certain forms of hunting, in *Serincik*, *op. cit.*, 99-102.

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Erivan 1953; Fr. Barth, *Principles of social organization in southern Kurdistan*, in *Univ. ethgr. Mus. Bull.*, vii, Oslo 1953; W. L. E., *Iraqi Kurdistan, a little-known region*, in *The World today*, October 1956, 417-32; C. J. Edmonds, *The Kurds of Iraq*, in *MEJ*, xi (Winter 1957), 52-62; Nikitine, *L'état social des Kurdes et du Kurdistan, d'après les publications russes récentes*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlvij/2 (1959), 49-55; L. N. Kotlov, *Le soulèvement de libération nationale de 1920 en Iraq*; O. L. Vilčevskij, *Les Kurdes Moukri*; T. F. Aristova, *Aperçu de la culture et du mode de vie des paysans kurdes de l'Iraq*; cf. also A. N. al-Saadi, *The Kurds in Iran*, in *Kurdistan*, KSSÉ, iv (April 1959), 11-14; Nikitine, *La structure sociale des Kurdes de Transcaucasie*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlix/1 (1960), 61-6 (i.e. E. Avdal, *Way of life of the Kurds of Transcaucasie*); Sh. Khosbak, *al-Kurd wa 'l-mas'ala al-kurdiyya*, Baghdad; N. Erdentung, *A study on the social structure of a Turkish village*, Ankara 1959; Dina Feitelson, *Aspects of the social life of Kurdish Jews*, in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, ij/2 (Dec. 1959), 201-16; H. H. Hansen, *Daughters of Allah among Moslem women in Kurdistan*, London 1950; idem, *The Kurdish women's life, field research in a Muslim society*, Iraq, Copenhagen 1961; Barho Karabuda, *Uster om Euftrat, i Kurdeland*, Stockholm 1960; Mokri, *Le foyer kurde*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1961), 79-95; Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes, in Mashriq*, lvi (1962), 599-661; P. Gache, *Les Kurdes*, in *Rev. de Psychol. des Peuples*, 1962/1, 23-57, 2, 191-220; Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī, *Nravī i obī'ai Kurdo*, 'Ādāt u rusūmānāma-yi Akrādiyya, Russian tr. and Kurdish text by Mrs. Rudenko, Moscow 1966; 'Akrāwī, *Fondements psychologiques et sociologiques des tribus kurdes*, Kirkūk 1971.

(Th. Bois)

V. — LANGUAGE

The many forms of speech known to outsiders as Kurdish do not constitute a single, unified language. Instead it can be said that the various Kurdish dialects, which are clearly interrelated and at the same time distinguishable from neighbouring but more distantly related Western Iranian languages, fall into three main groups. The differences between dialects are generally proportional to their distance apart and beyond a certain distance certainly make them mutually unintelligible. The Northern group of dialects comprises all those spoken in the Turkish republic, the Armenian and Azerbaidjan S.S.Rs, the Mawsil *liwā'* of 'Irāk (Bahdīnān [q.v.]), and some areas bordering on these, together with those of Kurdish colonies in Khurāsān and the Turkmen S.S.R. All these dialects are known as *Kurmāndjī* (*Kirmāndjī*), as the speakers all call themselves *Kurmāndjī*. Within the group a sub-division into Eastern and Western *Kurmāndjī* can be made, from each of which a literary language has emerged. The Central group is made up of the dialects spoken in the Arbīl, Sulaymāniyya and Kirkūk *liwā'*s of 'Irāk and the neighbouring districts of Persian Kurdistan, Mahābād (Sāwđj Bulāk) and Sanadađj (Sinna). These dialects are generally called *Kurdī*, but are also now known collectively as *Sōrānī*, from the name of the former principality of Sōrān. The dialects of Sulaymāniyya and Sanadađj, especially, have gained pre-eminence as literary languages. The remaining Kurdish dialects, a heterogeneous group spoken in the areas south and east of Sōrānī, of which *Kirmānshāhī* is probably the most important, may be classed together as a

Southern group. Some of these dialects, e.g. *Lakkī*, appear to merge with the neighbouring non-Kurdish dialects of Lurī. Between the Central and Southern groups of Kurdish an island of non-Kurdish speech, with mixed dialects on its shores, is formed by the area occupied by the Gūrān [q.v.]. Other Kurdish dialects are spoken by isolated colonies of Kurds scattered throughout Iran.

Northern Kurdish is more archaic than the other dialects in both its phonetic and morphological structure, and it may be inferred that the greater development of the Central and Southern dialects has been caused by their closer contact with other (Iranian) languages, or, indeed, their absorption of such a substrate. On the other hand, Northern Kurdish appears to have been somewhat more open to the penetration of Arabic and especially Turkish loan-words. Traditionally Kurdish has been written in various modifications of the Arabic script and still is so written in 'Irāk and Iran. The Armenian script has also been used on occasion, and in recent years alphabets based on both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been devised, especially for Northern Kurdish.

The common "Iranian" phonemic inventory of Northern Kurdish is: *aiu, āēōū, piēk, bāf (dī)g, fss(ā) x(kh), vzz(ā)γ (gh), mn lr* (flapped) *ʔ* (rolled), *hw, y*, to which most dialects add the "Arabic" phonemes *q(k), k, s, z*, and emphatic *t, s, z*. In the north-east, probably under Caucasian (Armenian) influence, a further distinction between aspirated phonemes *p, t, (t'), k* and unaspirated *p, t, (t'), k* is found. In a large part of the *Kurmāndjī* area *ō, ū* are replaced by *ū, ū* respectively. In Central and Southern Kurdish the distinction between *v* and *w* is lost, in favour of *w*. A new distinction is made, however, between palatal *l* and velarised *l* (though this coincides with *r* in Arbīl), and *ŋ* has acquired phonemic status in Sulaymāniyya and other more southerly dialects. In general, Kurdish is marked by a greater degree of phonetic development than Persian, notably of postvocalic stops to fricatives, e.g. *āv/w* "water", P(persian) *āb*; *šav/w* "night", P *šab*. Many post-vocalic consonants, especially dentals, have been lost, e.g. *birā* "brother", P *birādar*; *dān, dāin* "to give", P *dādan*; *sipi* "white", P *safid*; *sa* "dog", P *sag*; *tīyā* "mountain", P *čakād*. The development of the ending of the past participles of verbs is noteworthy, e.g. North. *mirī*, Cent. *mirā*, South. *mirāg* "dead", cf. Cent. *zindū, zīgū*, South. *zīnig* "alive", P. *zinda*.

There is no single early historical sound change which characterises Kurdish, but a combination of two later changes and one conservative feature serves to identify a dialect as Kurdish, viz. (i) *-m, -šm, -xm* > *-v* (-w), e.g. *nāv/w* "name", P *nām*; *čāv/w* "eye", P *čāsm*; *to/v/w* "seed", P *toxm*; (ii) Iranian initial *x* > *k*, e.g. *kar* "donkey", P *xar*; *hānī* "spring, source", P *xānī*; *hifin* "to buy", P *xaridan*; (iii) Ir *čy* > *č* (other West. Ir. > *s*), e.g. *čūn* "to go", P *šudan*. Kurdish shares many phonetic developments with non-Persian dialects, e.g. *z:d, zān* "know": P *dān*; *s:h, āsik* "deer": P *āhū*; *t:z, šin* "woman": P *zān*; *ʔož* "day": P *rūz*, but others with Persian, e.g. *y* > *f*, *fo*, P *Jaw* "barley"; *hw* > *xw*, *xwa, xo*, P *xwād, xud* "self"; *-rd* > *-l* (-*l*), *pālēw*, P *pālāy* "to filter". Taken in conjunction with a number of characteristic lexical items, these isoglosses show proto-Kurdish to have been a close, if not the closest, neighbour of Persian. There is no sound evidence to suggest a Median origin for Kurdish, though it has been suggested that the name Kur-

māndj may combine Kurd with a form from *Māda* "Median".

Old morphological features preserved in North. Kurd. are a distinction of case (nominative and oblique) and gender (masculine and feminine) in nouns and pronouns and the "agential" construction of the past tenses of transitive verbs, e.g. *az hātīm* "I came", but *min xawnak dīt* "I saw a dream (lit. of me ... seen)". Both case and gender have been lost in South. Kurd. and in the literary forms of Central Kurdish. In these dialects the pronominal suffixes, absent from North. Kurd., have largely taken over the functions of the cases, cf. *min hātīm* "I came", *xawēk-im dī* "I saw a dream". In some Central dialects, at least, the agential construction has developed in a remarkable way, with the verbal stem sometimes taking two personal endings, one representing a person only indirectly affected, e.g. *xaw-im pēwa dīw-it* "I have seen a dream about thee (-it, lit. "art")", and even the agential suffix as well, *dā-m-ī-n-ē* "he (-i)" gave me (-m, lit. "am") to (-ē) you (-n, lit. "are"). Note the 3rd person pronominal -i, plural -yān, in contrast to Persian -š. All dialects have an indefinite suffix, North. -ak, Cent., South -ek, but only Central and Southern share (with Gūrān) the definite suffix -akā. In all dialects the *iqāfa* [q.v., ii], appearing in various forms, plays a considerable rôle both as relative pronoun and simple connective particle, e.g. North. *xawnak-a xwaš*, Cent. *xawēk-i xōš* "a pleasant dream", North. *xaw-n-ā min dīt*, Cent. *xawaka-y dī-m* "the dream which I saw". In the north-east, the *iqāfa* construction of both Northern and Central dialects has been contaminated, especially in the plural, by a particle *da*, -d, -t, probably of Aramaic origin, e.g. Cent. (Mukri) *pyāw-i da pāšā* "the king's men", North. *kuŕ-et xwa* (= *kuŕē dī xwa*) "his sons". (This is not, however, a "t-plural" comparable with those of Eastern Iranian, Ossetic, Sogdian, etc.). Central and Southern Kurdish, unlike Northern dialects, have developed a secondary passive conjugation of the verb, formed from the active present stem, e.g. *kuştin*, *kuŕ-* "to kill", Cent. *kuŕrān*, *kuŕre-*, South. *kuŕyān*, *kuŕye-* "be killed".

Bibliography: A comprehensive list of all studies and monographs on Kurdish to 1926 is given in Minorsky's (otherwise outdated) article on "Kurdish Language", in *EL*, ii, 1153 f. This is supplemented by a select bibliography in D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies I*, London 1961. Fuller, but uncritical, lists of relevant publications appear in Ž. S. Musaelyan, *Bibliografiya po Kurdovedeniya*, Moscow 1963, and S. van Rooy and K. Tamboer, *ISK's Kurdish bibliography*, Amsterdam 1968 ff. The following are most readily available: (1) *History*. D. N. MacKenzie, *The origins of Kurdish*, in *TPHS* (1961), 68-86. (2) *Grammars, dialect studies*. D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*. i; K. Kurdoev, *Grammatika kurdschego yazika (Kurmandži)*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957; Dj. Bedir Khan and R. Lescot, *Grammaire kurde (dialecte kurmandži)*, Paris 1970; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Govor Azerbaydzanskiĭkh Kurdoev*, Moscow 1962; idem, *Yazik Azerbaydzanskiĭkh Kurdoev*, Moscow 1965. (3) *Dictionaries*. A. Jaba and F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Kurdsko-Russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1957; T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish-English dictionary*, Oxford 1966.

(D. N. MACKENZIE)

A. Popular and folk literature.

As among all peoples whose scholarly instruction is little developed, the oral literature of the Kurds is superabundant and very rich; Prof. O. Vilčevsky was able to speak of the "hypertrophy" of their folklore. A mass of documents has also been collected and published by foreign orientalisists: A. Jaba, *Recueil et notices et récits kurdes*, St. Petersburg 1860; E. Prym and A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890; O. Mann, *Kurdische u. Persische Forschungen*. iv. *Die Mundart der Mukri*, Berlin, i, 1906, ii, 1909; H. Makas, *Kurdische Texte* (Mardin), Leningrad 1926; B. Nikitine, *Kurdish stories from my collection*, in *BSOS*, iv (1926), 122-38; idem, *Quelques fables kurdes d'animaux*, in *Folklore*, xl, (1929), 228-44; E. Lescot, *Textes kurdes*, i, Paris 1940, ii, Beirut 1942; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes à la lumière de leur folklore*, in *Cahiers de l'Est*, Beirut, Nos. 5 and 6 (1946); S. Wikander, *Recueil de textes kurmandji*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1959; D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*, London 1961-2. Kurds themselves, since the end of the First World War, have gone about collecting their treasures of folklore from the old folk or the decreasingly numerous professional storytellers and singers. Firstly, the Bedir Khān amirs from 1932 to 1946 in their reviews *Hawar*, *Ronaht*, and *Roja nū*; H. Cindî and E. Evdal, *Folklorā kurmança*, Erivan 1936; Cindî, *Folklorā kōrmanciē*, Erivan 1957; and there is a comprehensive survey in I. M. Resul, *Edeb-i folklor-i kurdi*. Lēkol-fewe, Baghdād 1970 (cf. Th. Bois, *Connaissance*, 117-25).

This folkloric richness is found, firstly, in the proverbs, popular sayings, enigmas or riddles. The Kurd likes to embroider his conversation with rhymed and rhythmic sentences which denote a real sense of observation. Proverbs also supply a racy summary of practical wisdom. Thousands of them have been published: E. Noel, *The character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs and popular sayings*, in *BSOS*, iv (1921), 79-80; D. P. Marguerite and Emir K. Bedir Khān, *Proverbes kurdes*, Paris 1938; Lescot, *Proverbes et énigmes kurdes*, in *REI*, iv (1937), 307-50, reprinted and added to in *Textes kurdes*, i, 189-237; Prampolini, *Proverbi kurdi*, Milan 1963; MacKenzie, *Some Kurdish proverbs*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, viii (1970), 105-13; Ismail Heqî Şawey, *Oise-i pêştan*, Baghdād 1933; Marûf Çiyawok, *Hezar bêj û pend*, Baghdād 1930; Cegerxwîn, *Gotina pêçîna*, Damascus 1957; M. Xal, *Pend-i pêştan*, Baghdād 1957; Dîjamil Kenna, *Amthāl kurdiyya*, Aleppo 1957; O. Celfî, *Mesela û mel'elohê cim'ata k'orda*, Erivan 1969-71, 2 vols.; O. Celfî and C. Celfî, *Kurdskie poslovič'i i pogovoriki*, Moscow 1972; J. Nebez, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Kurdistan*, Munich 1970. There are numerous proverbs and sayings cited in Cindî, *Folklor*, 1957, 249-81, and in the grammars of Jardine and Beidar, as well as in the dictionary of Mardukh, ii, 1-86.

The songs are infinite in number and variety: dance songs, *dilok*, songs of love, *lawik*, or war, *şer* or *delal*; songs which accompany the transhumance in the spring, *serêle*, or in the autumn, *pahtzok*; lullabies, *lori*; epithalamia, *hevalê* or *serzavano*; also songs of mourning, *şîn* or *qewil*, punctuate the daily life of the Kurds from the cradle to the grave and throughout their days of hard labour. The reviews *Hawar*, *Ronaht* and *Roja nū* have published hundreds of them, as have Cindî and Evdal, *Folklor*, 342-474; Cindî, *Folklorā kōrmanciē*, 189-248; see also Rondot, *Trois*

chansons kurdes, in *Cahiers du Sud*, No. 274 (1945), 817-24; Nikitine, *La poésie lyrique kurde*, in *Ethnographie*, xlv (1945-50), 39-53; Mokri, *Gürânî yâ taranahâ-yi kurdi*, Tehran 1951; G. Chaliand, *Poésie populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes*, Paris 1961; Cindî, *K'lamêd emae'ta K'ordaye Irtikê*, Erivan 1972. Furthermore, see the collections with musical notation mentioned earlier.

Stories and anecdotes (*çîrok*) abound and are full of imagination. The stories of marvels allow one to forget the worries of life; the anecdotes are replete with humour; the satirical stories do not hesitate to criticise the faults of individuals, rival tribes, religious leaders, in the spirit of the fables of the Middle Ages. Above all, the Kurds are fond of animal stories which always contain a spiritual moral. M. Duirene, in *Un conte kurde de la région de Sêd'ört*, in *JA* (1910), 107-17; Nikitine and Soane, *The tale of Suto and Tato*, in *BSOS*, iii (1923), 69-106; Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, in *ibid.* (1926), 121-38; Lescot, *Textes*, i, 2-185; Cindî and Evdal, *Folklor*, 1936, 579-651; Cindî, *Folklor*, 1957, 161-88; M. Khaznadar, *Aleman kurdi and other Kurdish short stories*, Baghdad 1969; A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946; Joyce Blau, *Trois textes de folklore kurde*, in *Études*, Brussels, vii (1965), 29-50; J. Nebez, *Kurdische Märchen und Volkerzählungen*, NUKSE, 1972.

Alongside these minor genres, the numerous much longer legends constitute choice morsels of Kurdish folklore. They can be classified in different categories which, however, are often combined. Some legends basically concern the supernatural, such as *Mamê Alan* (Lescot, *Textes*, ii, 2-369) or *Sêvahêç* or *Hozbek*; others are a purely idyllic form, such as *Zelixa û Fatûl*, *Layla û Mejnûn*, *Siyabend û Xacê*, *Zambîlîfiroş*, "the basket-seller", *Xursîd û Xawer*, *Şîrîn û Xoşnew*, *Şîrîn û Ferhad*, *Faxîr û Sîtiye*, *Manica û Bîjan*; finally, the epics with an historical plot, such as *Dîndîm*, *Julîndî*, the adventures of Rustem with Zoraw, Cihangir or Zendeheg and more recently the exploits of Nadir and Topal, the Twelve Cavaliers of Meriwan, Abdul Rehman Baban or Ezdînşêr Bedir-Xan. These accounts were the glory of the *dengbêj* or professional troubadours, whose class is on the point of disappearing. All these texts can be read in the collection of Mann, Socin, Cindî etc., and also Bois, *Poètes et troubadours au pays des Soviets*, in *al-Machriq*, liii (1959), 266-99; various authors, *Kurdskîe épîqueskie pesni skast*, texts and trs. Moscow 1962; V. Minorsky, *The Gürân*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943), 75-103; O. Dž. Džalilov, *Kurdskiy geroičeskij epos "Zlatorukijhan"*, Moscow 1967; O. F. Qazi, *Mehr-o-Vafa*, Tabriz 1966; A. Ayyubian, *Çirike kurde*, Tabriz 1961; idem, *Çirike Nec û Siyemend*, Tabriz 1956; Pîremerd, *Diwanêde sîwarê Meriwan*, Sulaymânî 1935; Gew Mukriani, *Zembîlîfiroş*, Hewlêr 1967; Mokri, *La légende de Bîzan-û Manîfa*, Paris 1966; idem, *Le chasseur de Dieu et le mythe du Roi-Aigle*, Wiesbaden 1967; K. A. Bedir-Khan and A. de Falgairolle, *Le Roi du Kurdistan. Roman épique kurde*, Gap, n.d.; K. A. Bedir-Khan and Herbert Oertel, *Der Adler von Kurdistan*, Potsdam 1937; Cegerxwîn, *Serpêhatiya Resiwê Darf*, Damascus 1956; J. Blau, *Le kurde de 'Amâdiya et du Djabal Sindjâr*, thèse de doctorat du 3^e cycle, Paris 1973.

B. Written and learned literature.

Alongside the mass of illiterate people, there has always been among the Kurds a highly cultivated intellectual élite. The fact was already mentioned by the Kurd Ibn al-Athîr (d. 630/1233) in his *Kâmil* (ix, 7-8) and taken up many times in the *Sharaf-nâma* and

also by other witnesses, such as Hâdjîdî Khalîfa (1658) (cf. Adnan Adivar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 92, 106), or the traveller Ewliyâ Çelebi in his travel account (1682), who was justly ecstatic when confronted with the so well-stocked library of Abdâl Khân, the lord of Bitlis, cf. A. Sakisian, *Abdal Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVII^e siècle et ses trésors*, in *JA*, cccxxx (1957), 253-76. Unfortunately, these men of letters preferred to write their scientific works either in Arabic, the language of the Kur'an, if the works were concerned to deal with law, theology or history, as did Ibn Khallikân (d. 681/1282), author of biographical notices of famous men, or Abu 'l-Fidâ (672-732/1273-1331), historian and geographer; or else in Persian, as did Sharîf Khân Bidlîsî [q.v.] himself in his *History of the Kurds or Sharaf-nâma* (1005/1596-7), as also Idrîs Hakîm of Bitlis (d. 926/1520), who wrote the first history of the Ottoman Empire, *Haşî bihişî*, "The eight paradises" [see BIDLİSÎ, IDRİSÎ]. The great poet in the Turkish language Fuđûlî (d. 963/1556) [q.v.] was a Kurd, as was the modern sociologist Dîyâ' Gök Alp (cf. J. Deny, in *RMM*, lxi [1925], 3). Even today, many poets in the Arabic language—al-Zahâwî (1863-1936), Ahmad Şhawqî, the prince of poets (1868-1932), al-Ruşâfî (1875-1945), the sociologist Kâsim Amîn (1865-1908), the novelists al-Akğâd (1889-1964), Muhamamad Taymûr (1892-1921) and his brother Mağmûd (born in 1894)—are all of Kurdish origin. The following historians who write in Persian, such as Muhamamad Mardûkh Kurdistânî, Raşîd Yâsimî and İhsân Nûrî, or those who write in Turkish, such as M. N. Dersimî and A. Yamukî, are all Kurds. If the old writers knew and composed in all the great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, rather than their mother tongue Kurdish, the young authors of today use the European languages, English, French, German and even Russian, especially in Armenia, where they further add Armenian. Indeed, the Kurds have been at all times polyglots as they have been polygraphs, the same authors exercising their talents as much in poetry as in history, in the physical and human sciences and in journalism.

In 1860, A. Jaba, in his *Recueil de notices et de récits kurdes*, 3-11, gave a brief notice on eight poets, who used the Kurmançî dialect, and almost all originating from Hakârî. Less than a century later, 'Alâ' al-Dîn Sidjîdî published in Baghdad a *History of Kurdish literature* (1952), a large volume of 634 pages in which, after an introduction on Kurdistan and the Kurds (3-66), he recounted the stages and forms of Kurdish literature (69-146), then gave substantial notices on twenty-four poets (147-534), followed by a rather dry list of 212 other authors (535-58). Even so, he confines himself to the no longer living poets of 'Irâk and Iran. Since then, there have been two more recent works of Ma'rûf Xiznedâr, *Essay on the history of contemporary Kurdish literature* [in Russian, 1967, 232 pp.] and of 'Izz al-Dîn Muşţafâ Rasûl, *Realism in Kurdish literature* [in Arabic, 1968, 236 pp.], not to mention other studies which show the progress of Kurdology since Jaba's time and felicitously complete our information on this oriental literature still so little known in the West.

1. Origins and the classical period.

Jaba's informant gave the 15th century as the period in which the first poets flourished: Eli Herîrî (1425-95), Şêx Ehmed Nişani, better-known under the name of Melayê Cizrî (1407-81) and Mela Ehmed of Batê (1414-95), who were therefore contemporaries. Mir Mihemed of Mûkis, surnamed Feqîyê Teyran, was

supposed to be even earlier than them (1307-75). All these dates are to be corrected and placed later. In fact, D. N. MacKenzie in his article *Melâ-î Jîrî and Faql Tayrân*, in *Yâd-nâma-yi Irânî-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, showed pertinently, thanks to the method of the *abjad*, that Melayê Cizri lived between 1570 and 1640 and his disciple, Feqiyê Teyran, between 1590 and 1660. The most famous is Melayê Cizri, later than Hâfiz (d. 791/1389 or 792/1390) and Djâmi (817-98/1414-92), whose *Diwân* of more than 2,000 verses has remained very popular among the *shaykh*s and *mollah*s, much more than among the masses. It has always been read and commented on in the Kurân schools of Kurdistan, but its text is difficult. His ideas are those of Persian Sûfism. His *Diwân* was published by M. Hartmann, *Das kurdische Diwan des Schêch Ahmed*, Berlin 1904, in photocopy; by Mohammed Şefîq Anwasî Hesenîye, Istanbul 1340/1922; Qedri Cemil Paşa, *Diwana Melê*, in Latin characters, in *Hawar*, Nos. 35-57 (1947-3), incomplete text; and above all, the fine edition of Şaykh Ahmad b. al-Mella Muḥammad al-Buhtî al-Zivingî, *al-ʿAkd al-djawnari fi şarh Diwân al-Şaykh al-Djîrî*, 2 vols., 943 pp., Kamîşlî, 1377/1958. Under the vocalised Kurdish text, at a lower level, are given, every two verses, an Arabic word-for-word translation, a more elegant total translation and finally a mystical commentary. Melayê Batê is especially known for his *Mewlûd*, published by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1903. Feqiyê Teyran, who composed an elegy on the death of his master Cizri, is the author of numerous works, in particular of the *History of Şaykh San'an*, published and translated into Russian by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1965, and in Persian by Q. F. Qazi, Tabriz 1967.

The succeeding generation of poets cited by Jaba is dominated by Ehmedê Xani (1650-1706), who settled at Bayazid. He is the author of the famous Kurdish national epic, *Memozin*. In this work, which has been frequently re-published, the poet adapted the popular epic *Mamê Alan*, publ. by R. Lescot, Beirut 1942, and by N. Zaza, Damascus 1957, which he recomposed according to classical literary rules, and also Islamising it more. This poem of 2,655 couplets is the real breviary of Kurdish nationalism. If the text of the popular epic *Mamê Alan* has multiple variants which have been translated into German, French, Russian, Romanian, English, Armenian and Arabic, the classical poem *Memozin* has also had numerous editions: Istanbul 1338/1920, Aleppo 1947, Hewlêr (Erbil) 1954; translated into Mukri by Hejar, Baghdâd 1960; with Russian translation by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1962; with Turkish translation by M. E. Bozarslan, Istanbul 1968. Many authors often confuse these two epics. Apart from numerous pieces of verse written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Ehmedê Xani is also the author of a rhymed Arabo-Kurdish vocabulary *Nâbuḥar* "First fruits" edited by Yûsuf Dîyâ' al-Dîn, *al-Hadiyya al-Hamidiyya fi l-lughâ al-Kurdiyya*, Istanbul 1310/1892, 279-97. and also in facsimile by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, i, 1-47. His disciple and successor in his school of Bayazid, Ismailê Bayazidî (1654-1709), also left behind many Kurdish poems and a Kurmanji-Arabic-Persian glossary, *Gulzar* "The rose garden".

In the 18th century, mention should be made of Şerif Xani (1682-1748), of Culamerg, of the family of the *amirs* of Hakârî, author of numerous verses in Kurmanji and Persian, and Mûrad Xani of Bayazid (1736-78), author of numerous lyrical poems.

In the same period, but at the court of the *wâlîs*

of Ardalân or the sultans of Hewraman, appeared a whole pleiade of poets whose lyrical or religious works are in the Gûrânî dialect. One may cite Ehmedê Textî (ca. 1640) and Şêx Mistefa Besarânî (1641-1702), whom Minorsky believes to be more recent (d. 1760). In this case, he would be contemporary with a whole group of poets, with Xânay Qubâdî (1700-59), author of a *Şalawât-nâma*, and with Mahzûnî (ca. 1783).

It is impossible to cite all the poets who lived in the 19th century and whose works have been printed between the two World Wars. Their names and the list of their works will be found cited in the literature of Xiznedar (218-20) and Resûl (228-32). On the poets in Gûrânî, cf. Minorsky's article, *The Gûrânî*. Some have been studied at greater length by Sidjâdî in his *History of Kurdish literature*, e.g. (247-76), Mewlewî (1806-82). It will be noted that the dates advanced by the different authors do not always coincide, and the taste of the Kurdish poets for choosing a *takhalluṣ* or pseudonym will also be remarked.

Among the poets of the 19th century whose formation was purely religious, one may mention above all Nalî (1797-1855), who travelled extensively, wrote verses in Kurdish, Persian and Arabic, and whose Kurdish *Diwân* was published in Baghdâd in 1931 and in Erbil in 1962; Salim (1800-66), and Kurdî (1803-49) (ed. Hewlêr 1961), whose lyricism blossoms into patriotism; the Naḫşbandî Mehwi (1830-1909) explains Sûfî theories (ed. Sulaymânî 1922), likewise, too, Mirza Rehmî Wefâ'î (1836-92) ed. Hewlêr, 1951-61, 2 vols.). The greatest poets of the end of the century are Haçî Qadir Koyî (1815-92), whose patriotic poems still arouse enthusiasm in many young people (ed. Hewlêr 1953, Baghdâd 1960); Şêx Riza Talebanî (1842-1910), agnostic and satirist, very popular still today and who composed verses in Kurdish, Persian and Turkish (ed. Baghdâd 1935, 1946; cf. C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaikh Riza Talebani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii [Jan. 1935]); Salih Herîq (1851-1907), writing in traditional forms and on Sûfî themes (ed. Baghdâd 1938); Edeb, Evdelah Beg Misbah al-Diwan (1862-1917, *Diwân* ed. H. H. Mukriani, Rawândiz 1936, ed. Gêw Mukriani, Hewlêr 1960, and unpublished poems ed. M. Xiznedar, Baghdâd 1970), a delicate and romantic poet.

Let us also mention some women who have played a role in literature: Mah Şerif Xanim of Ardalân (1800-47), Sira Xanim of Diyarbakir (1814-65) and Mihreban of Berwarî (1858-1905).

2. The modern age.

The end of the First World War gave Kurdish literature an impetus which still continues, thanks to the numerous newspapers and journals which have allowed young talents to publish their poems and express their national and social ideas (see section 3. below).

It is extremely difficult to make a choice among the poets of this revival which extends from 1920 to our own days.

In the intellectual radiance of Sulaymânî, the real capital in 'Irâq of Kurdistan, let us cite before all Pîremêrd "The old man" (1863-1930), pseudonym of Haçî Tewfîq, an original spirit, indefatigable traveller, journalist, who devoted the last years of his life to making known to the young Kurds, who adored him, the beauties of their land, their language, their history and their literature. The tortured Bâkes, Faîq Abdallah (1905-48), did not cease to encourage the youth and to exhort them to work and study and to exalt in them love of their homeland and of goodness. Ziwer,

Abdallah Mihemed (1875-1948), is full of lyricism and sensibility in singing of nature and the national soil.

Gora, Abdallah Suleyman (1904-63), one of the greatest contemporary Kurdish poets, has abandoned stereotyped forms and classical metre, for he is the partisan and practitioner of free verse, as he has been of liberty of ideas and of life; a poet with advanced ideas, who is not lacking in lyricism to criticise social abuses. Qani', Mihemed Sêx Abdul Kerim (born in 1900), published from 1951 to 1955 numerous small books which each evoke an aspect of the Kurdistân which he celebrates with love. Let us further mention among the Kurdish poets of 'Irâk, Ehmed Muxtar Caf (1897-1935; ed. Sulaymânî, 1960); Hamdi (1878-1936, ed. Baghdâd, 1958) and the younger Abdul Wahid Nûrî (1903-44), Dildar (1918-48, *Diwan*, ed. Hewlêr 1962) and Dilzar, born in 1920, who edited in 1957 the *Quatrains* of Bâbâ Tâhir, the 5th/11th century writer, whom some Kurds claim as their own.

In Iran, at the time of the Republic of Mahâbâd, two young patriotic poets came to the front: M. Hêmin and especially 'Abd al-Rahman Hejar (born in 1920), who was the official poet and who published thousands of verses to exalt love of the homeland and liberty, such as *Alehok* (Tabriz 1945); in 1958, he published a collection of verse narratives and the comedy of the Dog and the Moon, *Beitê seremer û lasayê sag û mangesew*; he presented a summary of his autobiography (142-85) and several poems (185-222), in the *Kurdskiy dialekt Mukri* of K. R. Ayyubî and I. A. Smirnova, Leningrad 1968, and published a translation of the *Quatrains* of Khayyâm (Beirut 1968).

In Kurmançî, one may note Kamiran A. Bedir Xan, writer of romantic free verse, and above all Cegerxwin, Sêxmus Hesên (born in 1903), author of two collections; *Diwanê Cegerxwin* (Damascus 1945) and *Sewra azadî* "The revolt of liberty" (Damascus 1954); an extremely vibrant and patriotic poet, preaching the instruction of youth and the union of all the Kurds, and going beyond pure nationalist élan to hope for radical social reforms; his many verses, varied in their workmanship, often preserve a classical form, but also he knows how to use more modern techniques. His rhymes are very rich. He is well-known and loved by the Kurds of Syria and Turkey (cf. Ordixanê Cellî, *Poésia Cegerxwin bajarvanié*, ["Civic poetry of Cegerxwin"], Erivan 1966).

But the great novelty is the vitality of Kurdish letters in Soviet Armenia, including Kurmançî. Those who were the pioneers in this field were mostly from the old Yazîdis, illiterate by definition, immigrants from Turkey, who were to profit from their new social situation. Without the least Islamic culture and without any contact with the educated élite of the rest of the Kurdish world, their works are often ideologically oriented, but of a much more natural workmanship. They ignore classical prosody and their versification gains from simplicity. Lyricism is far from absent. They sing of love of the family and the beauties of nature, such as Casimê Cellî (born in 1908) and especially Mikailê Reşîd (born in 1925), who is rich in sensibility. Some of their strongly committed poems have social inspirations. Woman must be liberated, says Etarê Şero (born in 1906) in numerous quatrains. Usivê Beko (born in 1909) criticises feudal exploitation; Qaçaxê Murad (born in 1914), Wezîrê Nadîrî (1911-47) and Emîné Evdal (1906-64) are pleased to recall the heroic times of the war of liberation. Let us further cite Hacıyê Cindî (born in 1908) and Sement Siyabend (born in 1908), hero of the Soviet Union, who clothed in a new form the fine

popular lyric epic *Siyabend û Xecê*, 1959. The teacher Karlênê Çaçani, a younger man, has published in particular animal fables which are not lacking in freshness. The paper *Riya taxê* of Erivan and various anthologies, not to mention numerous small booklets, make known these Kurdish poets of Soviet Armenia, all nourished by their rich folklore.

In fact, it is only since 1920 that prose has made its appearance in Kurdish letters. In order to enlarge the intellectual horizon and to enrich the vocabulary by allowing its progress and modernisation, the Kurdish men of letters have translated, at least in the shape of fragments, the works of foreign authors. In Syria and Lebanon they have translated from French; in 'Irâk, from English and Arabic; in Iran, from Persian; in Soviet Armenia, from Russian and especially from Armenian. There have also been placed at the disposal of the potential Kurdish reader out of the plays of Shakespeare, *The tempest*, by Jamal Nebez (Baghdâd 1957); of the stories of Voltaire, *Zadig*, by Mohammad Eli Kurdî (Baghdâd 1954); of the pages of Victor Hugo, *Gavroche* and Daudet, *Les étoules*, translated by Zaza, or of Anatole France. J. Nebez has also translated *The cloak* of Gogol (Baghdâd 1958). But it is especially the Soviet Kurds who are the translators of Russian authors, Pushkin, Gorki, Tolstoy or Lermontov, not forgetting Lenin and Stalin, or Armenians, Abovian, Toumanian, Isahakian, etc. The principal names of the translators to be encountered are: C. Cellî, H. Cindî, E. Evdal, Q. Murad, N. Esed and T. Murad. Some even write several of their works directly in Armenian, such as C. Cellî, E. Evdal, Nadoyê Xido Mehmûdov and many others.

In 'Irâk, many articles of scientific popularisation have been translated, e.g. Dr. Haşim Dixirmaci, and Naci Ebas have specialised in the translation of accounts of early British travellers in Kurdistân.

In the purely literary domain, the novel is the genre which seemed the best adapted to the mentality and art of the Kurds. In the review *Hawar*, one may read the stories of Nuredîn Zaza (born in 1919), and the fables in prose of Mistefa Ehmed Botî. In these stories, Qadri Can (born in 1918) is concerned with religious fatalism and the feudal ascendancy. But one should note very especially Osman Sebrî (born in 1909) who, whilst a poet when in the mood, is particularly a born storyteller, with a lively, simple and direct style.

In 'Irâk, where the intelligentsia is more numerous, history is a privileged field, with the fecund Husayn Huzni Mukriani (1886-1947) as the author of varied studies: *The history of the Kurdish emirates, 1929-31*, *Famous Kurds, 1931*, *The Soran emirs, 1935*, *The Kurds and Nadir Shah, 1934*, *The Zend Kurds, 1934*, *Mukriani Kurdistan or Atropatene, 1938*, etc. General Mihemed Emîn Zekî (1880-1948), published a *Summary of the history of the Kurds and Kurdistân, 1931*, a *History of the Kurdish states and emirates in the Islamic period, 1948*, a *History of Sulaimani and its district, 1939*, and two volumes of *Kurdish celebrities and Kurdistân, 1945-7*. All these works have been translated into Arabic. Refiq Hilmî (d. 1961), began the publication of his *Memoirs*, in fascicles of a hundred pages, beginning in 1956 and entitled them *A recollection, Southern Kurdistan, the revolutions of Şaykh Mahmud* (a work still uncompleted). Tewfîq Wehbî, pioneer of Kurdish grammar, 1929, 1956, is also a historian who has studied the Yazîdis, 1962, and the origins of the Kurds and their language, 1965.

Literary criticism began with Yûnis Reûf and Dildar, Kamuran and especially Marûf Xiznedar, who

in review articles and prefaces of anthologies presented many ancient and modern poets. Xiznedar, apart from his *History of Kurdish literature*, also composed *Keş û qafiyet le şîrî kurdî da* ("Rhyme and rhythm in Kurdish poetry", Baghdād 1962). Cemil Bendi Rojbeyani, Arabic translator of the *Sharaf-nāma* in 1957, is especially interested in the poets and writers of the Zengene, Kelhūr and neighbouring tribes. 'Alā' al-Dīn Sidjādī published not only his *History of Kurdish literature* (in 1952), *Researchs on Kurdish literature* (1968) and also the *Value of knowledge* (1970), but also five volumes of *Necklace of pearls* (1957-72), a collection of literary narratives, stories and anecdotes, in which philosophy, beliefs and history are mixed, and his *Journey in Kurdistan* (1958). Let us finally cite 'Izz al-Dīn Rasūl (born in 1935), for his works on literature and folklore (1968).

In 'Irāk also, numerous authors, writers, journalists and militants, have published, in verse and prose, collections and articles in which they have pleaded the most urgent social causes of the disinherited, such as Şekir Fetah in *The companion of the children* (1948), *The Kurdish woman* (1958), *The new life* (1960); Ibrahim Ehmed (born in 1912), in *Misery* (1959) and many articles in newspapers; Miherem Mihemed Emīn (born in 1921), in *Uncle Omar* (1954), *The tranquil lake* (1957) and *The path of liberty* (1954).

In Soviet Armenia, one also finds young literary critics who give in *Riya taze* their often severe appreciations of poetic works which appear. Among them are Mikailē Reşid, and especially Emērikē Serdar, and Ordixanē Cellī is an excellent critic. His books on Cegerxwīn, Dimdim, on proverbs and his articles on folklore are the proof of that, and he has also published *Poems* (1954) and *Tell Hamza*, a kind of epic (1963). But the prose writers there are less numerous than the poets. They do not enter into the domain of the dream, nor even into history properly speaking, but most of their writings set forth the wretched life that they led in the past in the time of the Turks and the revival of their present social situation. At their head is their veteran Ereş Şemo (born in 1898), who is also the most fecund. His latest compilation, *Berevok* (Erivan 1969), takes up the text of *Berbang* "Dawn" (1958), a rehash, revised and corrected, of *Şivanē kurd* "The Kurdish shepherd" (1935), retranslated and republished in Beirut (1946), in which he narrated with much freshness and simplicity the life of his childhood as a small herdsman, the picturesque events of the life of the tribes and the implantation of communism among them; there are also his *Jina bextewar* "The happy life" (1959) and the unpublished *Hoşo*, which is its complement, in which is described the existence of the Kurds under the Soviet régime. Şemo has also published *Dimdim* (1966), which is the romanticised history of this famous epic. He is furthermore the author of numerous articles in many Russian language newspapers on all the social and historical subjects which interest the Kurds. Eli Eydal-Rehman published in this same vein of social preoccupations, *Xatē Xanim* "Lady Xatē" (1959) and *Gundê Merxasan* "The village of heroes" (1968), and Rehmīn Gazī, *Hişyarbân* "Awakening" (1960), which speaks of the resistance of the Kurds of Iran against their Turkish or Iranian oppressors.

Thus one sees the true novel, as it is understood in the West, does not yet really exist in Kurdish literature. It is rather the new genres which Kurdish writers prefer, even in 'Irāk. The same remark may be made with reference to the theatre. In Armenia,

from the beginnings, there were attempts with W. Nadirī, *Reva jinê*, "The abduction" (1935) and A. Mirazī, *Zemanê çuyt* "Time past" (1945), and recently Ismale Duko, *Zewaca bê dil* "Marriage without love" (1964). In all these cases, the theme is the struggle against the customs of the past age. Similarly in Iraq with Burkan, *Kiç û qutebxane* "The girl and the school" (1956), and Jiri, *Afet û niwîşte* "The woman and the talisman" (1956), plays performed in the schools. There are also critical themes in the comic scenes of Emīn Mirza Kerīm. In 1953-4, Goran published in his newspaper *Jîn* several verse plays, including *The poor man's dream*, *The voice of death*, etc., which aim at waging a vendetta against the faults of the present society. But the *Four martyrs* (1959) is a patriotic play of Xalid Delair. Cemal Abdul Qadir Baban published *Nôraz* (1960), a play in five acts in verse, and Zakî Ehmed Henarī, *The fate of the oppressor Dahak* (1960). Let us mention especially, because it was published in Istanbul (1965), *Birîna reş* "The black wound" of Musa Anter (born in 1920), in which the author calls attention to the misery and ignorance of the Kurdish peasant in Turkey. On Kurdish theatre, cf. Azad Kardo, *The Kurdish stage*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, ii/3-4 (1965), 13-5.

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C. The Kurdish press.

The influence of the press is basic in the national and cultural life of a people. With regard to this, the development and transformations of the Kurdish press are characteristic of the political evolution of the Kurds. Of the 119 recorded newspapers and reviews, whose periodicity is all relative, some have only had ephemeral life. The publishing centres have been moved from Istanbul to the different towns of 'Irāk, Baghdād, Sulaymānî, Hewlêr and Kirkûk; of Iran, Tehran, Mahābād and Tabriz; or even to Damascus and Beirut. Often these newspapers are bilingual. Most of the journals consist of a precious

and inexhaustible mine of information on language, folklore and the customs of the Kurdish land, and also on its history and geography. Furthermore to be found in them are numerous texts of poets, ancient or modern, as well as fine ideas of literary criticism. Young talents are also exercised there.

The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, was founded in Cairo in 1898 by Midhêt Paşa Bedir Xan and his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān and moved from Cairo to Geneva and Folkestone (31 nos.); republished in Baghdad, 197?, by Kamāl Fu'ād. In Istanbul, there was the monthly *Roja kurd* "Kurdish day", which became "The Kurdish sun", in 1912 (3 nos.). In 1916, Sureya Bedir Xan published in Turkish the weekly *Jîn* "Life" which proclaimed "Kurdistan for the Kurds". He also published there in 1917-18 the weekly *Kurdistan* (37 nos.).

Between the two wars (1920-45), the Kurdish press really began to flourish and develop. There appeared in Sulaymānî in 1920-2, *Pêskewtin* "Progress" (118 nos.); in 1922-3, *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The Sun of Kurdistan" (15 nos.), re-published in Baghdad in 1973 by Djamāl Khaznadār; the weeklies *Bangê Kurdistan* "The call of Kurdistan" 1922 (14 nos.) in 1923, *Bangê haqq* "The call of truth", the official newspaper of Şêx Mehmed (3 nos.) and *Umidê istiqlal* "Hope of independence", edited by Refiq Hilmi (25 nos.). In 1925-6, *Diyanî Kurdistan* "The gift of Kurdistan" of Salih Zeki Sahibqran, in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, had 16 nos. In 1924-6, the weekly *Jiyaneve* "The resurrection" an official newspaper (56 nos.) which took the name *Jiyan* "Life" 1926-38 (556 nos.), and that of *Jîn*, 1939-63, under the direction of Piremerd until his death (1950), exceeded a thousand nos. In 1938 there appeared the scientific review *Zanist* "Science" of Salih Qufan, who published in it historical and literary articles, but which only had a few issues, while the weekly *Ziban* "Language" 1937-9, published by the municipality, had 70 nos. In Rawāndîz, Huseyn Huzni Mukriani published 1926-32 *Zari kurmanç* "The Kurdish language" which had 30 nos. Baghdad was to become an important Kurdish cultural centre through the publication of the very numerous monthlies, *Gelawêj* "Sirius", 1939-49, directed by Ibrahim Ehmed and *Dengê Gêti-e Taza* "The voice of the New World" edited by the British Embassy and edited by Tewfiq Wehbl. Outside 'Irāk, it is important to mention the major reviews, in Latin characters, *Hawar* "The alarm cry", 1932-5 and 1941-3, 57 nos., and its illustrated supplement, *Ronahî* "The lamp" 1941-5, 28 nos., both published in Damascus by Emir Celadet Bedir Xan, and the weekly *Roja nû* "The new day" 1943-6, 73 nos. and its supplement *Stêr* "The star" which only had 3 issues, published by Emir Kamiran Bedir Xan in Beirut. These journals provide an enormous mass of folkloric documents. Let us mention, in Erivan, the bi-weekly newspaper *Riya taze* "The new view", the organ of the Kurdish section of the Communist Party of Armenia, which appeared, in Latin characters from 1930 to 1938 (612 nos.), then in Cyrillic characters from 1955. It has now exceeded its 2,500th number. It is along with *Jîn* of Sulaymānî the best example of longevity of the Kurdish press.

The equivocal political situation in Iran between the years 1941 and 1946, especially after the proclamation of the independent Kurdish Republic (1945-6), brought about the blossoming of a whole Kurdish press in Mahābād: *Kurdistan*, 1945-6, the official newspaper (113 nos.) and a literary review of the same name (16 nos.) *Hawarê nîştîman*, *Awar*, *Gir û*

galî mindalantî kurd, *Helale* "The red poppy" only survived a spring. For his part, in Lâhidjân, Şêx Latîf, son of Şêx Mehmed, published the journal *Nîştîman* "Homeland" which had 3 issues.

After the War and until the proclamation of the Republic in 'Irāk (14 July 1958), the journals normally appeared in both Kurdish and Arabic. In 1948-9, in Baghdad, Eladîn Sêcadî published *Nîzar* "The rock" (22 nos.), and in 1957-63, Hafiz Mistefa Qazî published there *Hêwa* "Hope" (36 nos.). In Erbil, from 1954 to 1960, Gew Mukriani published the bi-monthly *Helaw* "The sun", which had 188 nos. Under the Republic, in Kirkûk, 1959-62, *Ray gel* "Popular opinion" (34 nos.); 1959-61, *Azadî* "Liberty", organ of the 'Irākî C.P. (56 nos.). In Sulaymānî, the Teachers' Union published the monthly *Bilêse* "The flame", 1959-60, with 10 nos. In 1960, appeared *Roj-i nuwe* "The new sun" with 18 nos. and the communist political and literary daily, *Birwa* "Belief", from July 1960 to January 1963 brought out 95 nos., while Baghdad, the bilingual daily *Xebat* "Effort", organ of the D.P.K. brought out 462 nos. in 1959-61. The Ministry of Agriculture published from 1959 to 1956, in Arabic and Kurdish, *Çareser kirîna kîşt û kal* (21 nos.), and the Ministry of Orientation, *Iraqê nuwe* (24 nos.). In the course of the year 1960, the lawyer Omer Celal Huwaizi published 69 nos. of the democratic political daily *Dengê kurd*. One cannot pass over in silence *Kurdistan*, a weekly, published in Tehran under the auspices of the Iranian Government from May 1959 to May 1963 with 205 nos., political, scientific, literary and social; this very interesting weekly was only circulated abroad.

The internecine Kurdi-'Irākî war from 9 September 1961 to 13 March 1970, diminished the activity of the Kurdish press. Nevertheless, in Erbil the municipality published (1962-3) its newspaper *Hewlêr*, with 76 nos. In Baghdad there appeared in 1964 the first Kurdish issue of the seasonal journal *Tutin*, published by the tobacco administration, and, in 1967, *Biyaletê* "Fraternity", a political newspaper of Şalîh Yûsufî. It is this period which saw the appearance in Turkey, in Turkish and in Kurdish, several ephemeral reviews: *Dicle û Fîrat* (1962-3) in Istanbul with 8 nos.; *Deng*, in 1963 and in 1966 *Dengê taze* "The new voice" which only had 4 nos. before it was immediately stopped and the directors prosecuted.

The end of hostilities in Kurdistan saw the birth, from 1970 to 1973, of 29 periodicals, of which 2 were in Kirkûk, 6 in Hewlêr, only 4 in Sulaymānî, but 16 in Baghdad, which seems to indicate that the 'Irākî capital has now become the intellectual and cultural centre of the Kurds in 'Irāk. In Sulaymānî, there is *Birayetî* (1971-2, 18 nos.); *Deng-i mamosta* (7 nos.); *Jîn*, since 1971, presented as the continuation of the newspaper founded by Piremerd; and since 1972, the monthly *Êstêre* "The star", intended for children. In Baghdad, there is *Birayetî*, supplement of the daily *Ta'âkhî* (1970-1, 18 nos.). Since 1970, the Philatelist Club has published *Gêti-i pûl* "The world of stamps", in Arabic, Kurdish and English. The General confederation of trade unions has as its official organ *Hişyar-i kirêkaran* "The awakening of the workers" which, since its no. 189 of December 1972, has a Kurdish section. One should mention as an annual publication *The Journal of the Kurdish Academy*, *ijî* (1973), a great volume of 800 pages whose editor-in-chief is Ihsân Şîrzedî, Minister of Municipalities, and of which one section is in Arabic. In Iran, one should note the name *Rêga-i yekîtî* "The path of unity", a monthly publication of the Iranian Govern-

ment, whose no. 1 came out in April 1971 and which continues to appear regularly (in 1978).

The different Kurdish groups abroad publish ephemeral bulletins, at times simply typed. In 1949, there appeared in French *Dengê Kurdistan* "la Voix du Kurdistan", organ of the D.P.K. in Europe. Since 1958, the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe has published in English each year *Kurdistan*, in Kurdish and in Latin characters, some annual issues of *Hfviya welêt* "Hope of the homeland" in 1963-5, and similarly *Çiya* "The mountain" in 1965-7. The Commission for the Advancement of Kurdistan (CAK) of the United Kingdom published in English a single issue of *Kurdica*. In English also there exists one of the best publications of this genre, *The Kurdish Journal*, from December 1963 to September 1969, published by the Association of the Kurdish Students in U.S.A. Finally, in Kurdish and Turkish, *Ronahî*, "The lamp", organ of the Kurds of Turkey in Europe, since August 1971; this is now (1978) at its 8th issue.

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AL-KURDĪ, MUHAMMAD AMĪN (d. 1332/1914), one of the leading figures in the recent history of the Naqshbandī order, and author of several influential works.

Born in Irbil, he made early acquaintance with Sūfism, for his father, Fath Allāh-zāda, was a Kādīrī *shaykh*. His own initiation was at the hands of a Naqshbandī *shaykh* of the city, Shaykh 'Umar, who was separated by only one link in the initiational chain from the great renewer of the Naqshbandiyya in the western Islamic lands, Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1242/1826). After several years spent in the company of Shaykh 'Umar, Muhammad Amin received a licence himself to initiate disciples into the Naqshbandī path, and he left his homeland, never to return. He retained, however, a certain mode of reverential awareness of Shaykh 'Umar's spiritual presence through the distinctive Naqshbandī technique known as *rābiqa*. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, enjoying numerous mystical and visionary experiences; he compared his state while in Mecca to that of Ibn 'Arabī when he began the composition of *al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya*. Inspired by a desire to visit the tombs of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in Cairo, he left the Hijāz for Egypt, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1323/1905. He lived first in the *rawāq* of the Kurdish students at the Azhar, later moving to the village of Ambāba outside of Cairo, and finally to Būlāk. Initially he concealed his Naqshbandī affiliations and Sūfī interests, concentrating on the study of *ḥadīth*, *tafsir* and *fiqh* at the Azhar. Later he began to proclaim the path, and to accept each year a small number of disciples. Upon an indication from Shaykh 'Umar contained in a dream, he then decided to accept all who came to him, and indeed vigorously to propagate the Naqshbandī order throughout Egypt, travelling widely to numer-

ous towns and villages. He encountered opposition from the followers of other orders and from adherents of the Salafī movement, but soon came to gather a large following. In his instruction, he placed emphasis on two particular elements of Naqshbandī practice; silent *dhikr* and the recitation of a litany known as the *khātm-i khwādjadān*. He died in Būlāk in 1332/1914 and was buried in the Qarāfa cemetery of Cairo.

He left behind him numerous *khālīfas*, the most prominent of whom was Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Sakḳā; many contemporary Naqshbandīs of Egypt are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is *Tanwīr al-kulūb fī mu'āmalat 'allām al-ghuyūb*, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Sūfism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1368/1949. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of Naqshbandī saints (*al-Mawāhib al-sarmadiyya fī manāhib al-Naqshbandiyya*, published in Cairo in 1329/1911, as well as manuals of Shāfi'ī and Mālikī *fiqh*).

Bibliography: A comprehensive account of Muḥammad Amin's life is given in a 55-page preface by Shaykh Salāma 'Azzāmī to *Tanwīr al-kulūb* (8th ed., Cairo 1368/1949). Some mention is made of him by A. J. Arberry in his *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, where Muḥammad Amin's description of Naqshbandī practices of *dhikr* is summarised. The same passage from *Tanwīr al-kulūb* is also to be found in French translation as an appendix to Jean Gouillard's version of *La petite philocalie*. (HAMID ALGAR)

AL-KURDJ, **GURDJ**, **GURDJISTĀN**, the names in Islamic sources for the province of Georgia in western Caucasia. Georgia comprises four distinct regions: Mingrelia and Imereti in the north-west; Samtashkhe in the south-west (adjoining the Black Sea coastal region of Lazistān [see LAZ], inhabited by a people closely related to the Georgians); Kartli in the north, with the capital Tiflis [q.v.], Georgian Tbilisi; and Kakheti in the east. Topographically, much of Georgia comprises mountains, hills and plateaux, with lowland only on the Black Sea coastal plain and in the valleys of the River Rioni and its tributaries, draining westwards into the Black Sea, and of the River Kura (Georgian Mtkvari, Islamic Kur [q.v.]) and its tributaries, draining eastwards into the Caspian.

The Georgian people (who refer to themselves as Kartvel-ebi and their homeland as Sa-kartvel-o, after a mythical, semi-divine ancestor Kartlos) are linked with the Svans of northern Mingrelia and the Mingrelo-Laz in the so-called "Ponto-Zagros" group of Caucasian peoples, although over the millennia their blood must have been much mingled with that of other peoples who have invaded or have passed through their country. Linguistically, the Georgian language forms with Svanetian and Mingrelo-Laz the southern or Ibero-Caucasian group of Caucasian languages; for details, see AL-KABK, languages. It is written in an alphabet of considerable phonetic exactness, which is traditionally considered to be the creation of St. Mesrop, inventor of the Armenian alphabet, but which apparently had two forms originally; these must at all events have been derived in the first place from Aramaic-Pahlavi scripts (see D. Diringer, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*, New York 1968, 252-4).

Early history. From earliest times, Georgia has been a meetingpoint for the cultures of East and West and a place where the products of European