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The Gūrān

By V. MINORSKY

THE vague and indiscriminate use of the term *Kurd* goes back to early times. According to Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (*circa* 350/961), ed. Berlin, 151, "The Persians used to call Daylamites 'the Kurds of Ṭabaristān', as they used to call Arabs 'the Kurds of Sūristān', i.e. of 'Irāq.'" Other Arab and Persian authors of the tenth century A.D. mean by Kurds any Iranian nomads of Western Persia, such as the tent-dwellers of Fārs.

The famous historian of the Kurdish nation Sharaf Khān states in his *Annals*, p. 13, that there are four divisions of Kurds: Kurmānj, Lur, Kalhur, and Gūrān. This enumeration gives a clear idea of the main groups of the Iranian mountaineers, but only the Kurmānj, and possibly the Kalhur,¹ come under the heading *Kurd*, whereas the Lur and the Gūrān stand apart, both for linguistic and ethnological reasons.²

Our knowledge of the anthropology of Persia is still inadequate, but what we know of the ancient history of the north-western, western, and south-western part of Persia suggests great differences in the ethnical background of single regions. Meanwhile, linguistically we know full well that the Lurish dialects, closely connected with those of Fars, are very distinct from the Kurdish group proper, including the Lākkī—Kurdish of the tribes interspersed among the population of Northern Luristan.

In the indiscriminate mass of "Kurds" we begin to distinguish further traces of populations which may have lived long under Kurdish leaders and in the closest contact with Kurds, but which belong to some other strata and waves of migration. The process of formation of the Kurdish tribes themselves is very intricate. Already Rich, speaking of Shahrazūr, distinguished between the warriors and the peasants whom he regarded as the race subjugated by the warriors (*vide infra*, p. 84). We know now that the leaders of the Kurdish tribes were of varied origin,³ and it is quite possible that some subject populations have been Kurdicized at a comparatively recent date.

Outside the circle of a few professional scholars, it is still a very little known fact that on the south-eastern and southern edge of the Kurdish territory there exists a considerable area occupied by a people of a different origin and whose speech is Iranian but non-Kurdish. For simplicity's sake this population can be called *Gūrān*. Strictly speaking, this name belongs to the principal tribe which occupies the mountains north of the high road Baghdad-Kermanshah, nearly down to the River Sīrwān (Diyāla) in the north. North of the Sīrwān the non-Kurdish area is prolonged by the highlands of Awrāmān:

¹ Sharaf-khan apparently groups under *Kalhur* all the south-eastern Kurds of Kermanshah (and Senne?). We have, however, to mind the distinction between the tribes and their rulers

² See Minorsky, "Lur," in *EI*.

³ See Minorsky, "Kurds," in *EI*.

Awramān-i luhūn to the west of the lofty range, and Awramān-i takht to the east of it. Apart from these two main groups, Gurani is spoken in two isolated enclaves: that of Pāwa, in the valley of a small southern affluent of the Sīrwān, and that of Kandūla, at the sources of the Bāniyān river, which joins the Gāmāsiāb almost opposite the ruins of the ancient town of Dīnavar. A similar dialect is spoken by the Bājilān living immediately north of Mosol in the basin of the Khosar¹; the same tribe is also found in Zohab and Northern Luristan. Still farther west, the so-called “Zāzā” (properly *Dimlī*) occupy a very extensive area stretching between the headwaters of the Tigris and the south-westerly bend of the Euphrates, as well as between Mush and Erzinjan, including the whole of Dersim.

This is the present distribution of the cognate populations²; but, no doubt, originally they covered a much larger territory. Their instinct, at least at present, is agricultural. In the gorges of Awramān (near Tawēte and Beyārē) one cannot help admiring the extraordinary skill with which the villagers build up and utilize small terraces of land for gardening and general crops. As a test of intelligence, I can quote the example of the katkhudā of Zarda, near Bābā Yādegār, who had never seen a map, yet no sooner was he shown the position of his village than he immediately discovered what the other points in the neighbourhood stood for. I hope to have proved in my previous writings on the Ahl-i Ḥaqq³ that this religion in its final form was born in the Gūrān-Awramān area. No less remarkable are the achievements of the Gūrān in the field of literature, for they developed a *κωινή* which as a means of poetical expression was cultivated even by the neighbours of the Gūrāns: it flourished at the court of the Kurdish valis of Ardalān (Senne), and it has recently been used for Christian propaganda.

From the earliest days of my Oriental studies the Gūrānī dialect appealed to my imagination as a key to the mysteries of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion. For many years I entertained affectionate relations with the adepts, who bestowed on me much confidence and kindness. In 1914 I visited the heart of the beautiful Gūrān country, where the sanctuaries of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq lie hidden among wooded gorges and gay streams gushing from the flanks of the Central Zagros.

I read a preliminary paper on the Gūrān at the Centenary convention organized by the Société Asiatique in 1922. In 1927 I summed up my materials in a lengthy essay which has remained unpublished; for in the meantime Marquart treated some of the problems concerning the Zāzā, and Dr. Hadank edited in 1930 the Gūrānī texts collected by my late friend O. Mann, and added to them an Introduction in which he put together the facts culled from

¹ Locally known as Bājōrān. They are apparently Ahl-i Ḥaqq. Father Anastase, *al-Mashriq*, 1902, pp. 577–582, calls them “Allahi” and describes some of their customs. The valley of Khosar is a centre of heterodoxy: see Minorsky, “Shabak,” in *EI*.

² See now Mann-Hadank, *Mundarten der Gūrān*, 1930, pp. 17–43, and *Mundarten der Zāzā*, 1932, pp. 6–7, and the accompanying maps of Hadank.

³ Summed up in the Supplement to *EI*.

a good many authors. Thereby my task is reduced and simplified, and in what follows I propose to examine only a limited number of fresh points:—

(1) The name of the Gūrān; (2) their origins; (3) the written literature in common Gūrānī, as distinct from the popular stories collected by M. A. Benedictsens and O. Mann; (4) as an Annex I give the text and translation of the Elegy of Aḥmad Khān Kōmāsī, which enjoys great popularity among the Gūrān and Kurds.

1. THE VARIOUS USES OF THE TERMS GŌRĀN/GŪRĀN

The Gūrān appear on the historical stage about 1,000 years ago, and the first traces of the name sounding **Guran* may go back still another millennium. As is usual with such old ethnical names, we have to reckon with numerous complications, and it will be helpful to refer to them before we pass on to the historical survey of the sources.

(a) It is a matter of considerable importance to establish the present-day pronunciation: *Gōrān* or *Gūrān*? The tribesmen forming the federation of clans in the region Kerend-Zohāb call themselves Gūrān, but the disappearance of the earlier *ō* in Gūrānī¹ can be a later phenomenon, as in Persian. Even in Kurdish, which is more conservative, one finds mostly the pronunciation *Gūrān*.² But the form *Gōrān* is also attested.³ O. Mann quotes an interesting story of a peasants' riot in the region of Marga against two Kurdish chiefs who raped their women. The revolt was led by one Ḥaydar Gōrān. Mann's explanation that *Gōrān* in this case is only a family name (which in the Mukri country has the meaning of "highwayman") is insufficient.⁴ The story definitely refers to a social conflict, and *gōrān* apparently means "a peasant, a man of non-tribal origin".⁵ A text from Zakho published by Socin has:—

"I was not a Jew, nor a Muslim,
Nor a Christian (*fallāḥ*), nor a Gōrān."⁶

¹ In the texts dictated to me by the Sālār of the Guran I find *kū* < *kōh*; *rūz* < *rōz*; *dūsxāhī* < *dōst-xwāhī*. The diphthong *au* sounds *ou*, and the number of such cases is increased by the frequent spirantization of *b*: *soʷz* < *sabz*; *ayou* < *adab*, but this diphthong sounds differently from the long *ō*. On the other hand, in the elegy of Aḥmad Khan Kōmāsī, as dictated by Dr. Saʿīd Khan, the *majhūls* *ē* and *ō* are preserved.

² According to Jaba, *Récits kurdes*, 1860, p. 3, 100 families of "Guran" were living in Bayāzīd and its neighbourhood. See also the maps of Haussknecht: *Kala-i gūrān* in Awrāmān-i luhūn; *Gūrān-kala*, north of Jawānrūd. A *Gūrān-gā(h)* exists on the territory of the Mamash branch of Bilbās; a *Gūrān-āwā* in Brādōst, west of Urmiya. Chirikov, lxi, mentions a *Gūrān-dasht* in Bohtān.

³ The typical Mukri Kurdish correspondence of *ō* is *ue*: *kōh* > *k'ūē*; *gōz* > *g'ūēz*.

⁴ *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, text, p. 253, translation, p. 396. In 1934 I met in Sulēmānī a teacher called "Gōrān". He was from the neighbouring district of Qaradagh and spoke the Mukri dialect of Kurdish. He said that some Gūrānī was spoken only near Alabche (in Shahrazūr, west of Awrāmān).

⁵ However, in this sense, too, Rich, i, 152, as informed by a Kurd of Sulēmānī, gives *Gūrān*; cf. also Jaba-Justi, *Dict. kurde*, p. 368: *gūrān* "peuple à demeure fixe, les Kurdes agricoles".

⁶ Socin, *Kurd. Sammlungen*, text, p. 174; transl., p. 197: the story of Jesus and a skull is of literary origin (Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār gave a version of it: see Zhukovsky, *Jumjuma-nāma*, in *Zap.*, vii, 1892, 63–72).

The latter term certainly refers to a fire-worshipper with a special derivation *gabrān* > *gōrān*. At another place (text, p. 265, transl. p. 265) the *Gōrān* are mentioned among the soldiers of a Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha of Baghdad operating in Sinjār, the reference to the Zohāb tribe being likely.¹ In these two cases we are in the presence of a confusion of meaning and etymology.

(b) It is very likely that this confusion of the forms in *ō* and *ū* is accounted for by the existence of two different but closely resembling words: *gabr-ān* "Zoroastrians, subjects" > *gaurān* > *gōrān*, and the tribal name **Gāubārakān* > *Gāurakān* > **Gōrakān* > *Gōrān* > *Gūrān*.—At some later stage of their development both words must have sounded *gōrān* (finally becoming, or tending to become *gūrān*). That the tribal name *Gūrān* must have passed through the stage *Gōrān* is proved by its pronunciation in Turkish *G'ōran*² (as applied to the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion professed by the *Gūrān*), for Turkish is very conservative in indicating the old *ō*.³

(c) Very definite is the extensive use of the term *Gūrān* to describe the social category of peasants. Already Cl. Rich wrote: "The Bulbassi (i.e. the Bilbās tribe) have among them a people of dependents or peasants who have no voice in their affairs and are considered as a very inferior *caste*. These people are found scattered all over Koordistan and are of no tribe or clan. The tribesmen call them *kelow-spee* or White Caps and also Gooran. The latter name, which is the proper denomination of the people of Sinna, is applied by the clansmen as a term of reproach, and especially to timorous people. May not these be the aboriginal inhabitants of these countries who had been conquered by the fierce tribes of the mountains? These are some wandering tribes under the government of Sinna, but all the settled population are Goorans."⁴ In his 1844 memorandum Sir H. Rawlinson affirms that the Kalhur, having lost Darna and Dartang "assumed for themselves the peculiar designation of Gooran, which had been previously applied to the Kurdish peasantry, as distinguished from the clans". The use of an ethnical name to designate a social category and vice versa⁵ is of course possible, but the *Gūrān* are mentioned as a warlike tribe already in the tenth century and it is very doubtful that all the peasant population in Kurdistan surnamed *Gōrān*/*Gūrān* has any direct relation to the *Gūrān* tribe. It is quite possible that this denomination (under the form *Gōrān*) dates from the time of Islamic conquest when the subject races were Zoroastrian *gabr-ān* > *gōrān*.⁶

¹ On the other hand, Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1780, ii, 315, quotes among the tribes of Sinjar *al-Kābāriya*, strangely reminding one of the older form of the name *Gūrān* (< **gābāra-kān*).

² Cf. *Quṭb-nāme*, v. 43: *Bābā Khoṣhīn fārsī dedi, Sultān Sohāk g'ōranīnī*. A group of places near Ganja is called after the *G'ōran*. Cf. also the title of an article by H. Adjarian, "*Gyōrans* (sic) *and Tumaris*": see *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, January, 1928.

³ *Kōr* > mod. Pers. *kūr*, but in Turkish *kōr* "blind".

⁴ *A residence in Koordistan*, i, 152, cf. i, 88–9.

⁵ E.g. *Kurd* "a nomad", and in Georgian "a robber". Vice versa the Armenians are called in Kurdish *fele*, Jaba-Justi, 294 (< *fallāh*, Prym-Socin, p. 64).

⁶ The etymology of *gabr* is still doubtful.

2. HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO THE GŪRĀN

We shall now analyse in chronological order the passages containing mentions of the Gūrān as a tribe, to be followed by conclusions based on these texts.

From classical antiquity we have a curious passage in Strabo. The author develops a theory on the origin of the Armenians and incidentally refers to certain Thracian Saraparæ, "that is, Decapitators," who "took up their abode beyond Armenia near the Guranii (Gouranii) and Medes".¹ As these head-hunters² could not have been a very important tribe, the Guranii and Medes lived apparently in close neighbourhood. Already K. Müller suggested an important emendation of *Θρακῶν* into **Σεράκων*.³ This correction opens new horizons, for the Siraci (**Sirak*, *Shirak*) are a well-known Scythian people⁴ whose original territory lay in the neighbourhood of the Mæotis. They are usually mentioned together with the Aorsi.⁵ Colonies of **Shirak* are known in many places:—

(a) A territory *Σιρακηνή* lay in Hyrcania on the Ochus (Tejen); Kretschmer connects with it the name of the present day Sarakhs (?).

(b) Another *Σιρακηνή*, coupled with *Σακασηνή*, is said by Ptolemy, v, 12, 4, to extend along the Paryadres range [Pontic Alps?], between the Rivers Cyrus (Kur) and Araxes. The passage looks out of order. As Sakasēnē (Arm. and Arab. *Shakashēn*) lay in the region of the present-day Ganja,⁶ Sirakēnē must be looked for in the same direction, and in fact even now the "Shirak steppe" is shown on Russian maps to the north of Ganja (east of Kakhetia and south of the Alazan).

(c) Another **Sirakēnē*, confused by Ptolemy with (b), corresponds to the Armenian district Shirak (Balādhuri, 193: *Tayr-Sirāj*) on the Akhurian (now Arpa-chay). The position of this important territory, which included the capital Ani, meets Ptolemy's reference to the Rivers Kur and Araxes.

(d) A southern march of the Armenian kingdom was called *Nor-Shirakan* ("New Shirakan"): Hübschmann, op. cit., 319. Some districts of the region of Arbela (Erbil) were under its ruler (*bdeāšx*), and in his posthumous *Südar-menien*, 1930, p. *59, Marquart resolutely identifies Nor-Shirakan with Adiabēnē, i.e. the plains of Assyria (Nineveh, Arbela). The name Nor-Shirakan is recorded in Armenian sources as early as the fourth century A.D., and the term "new" does not necessarily suggest that it had been in existence only for a short period.⁷

¹ xi, 14, 14: *Φασι δὲ καὶ Θρακῶν τινὰς τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Σαραπάρας, οἷον κεφαλοτόμους, οἰκῆσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πλησίον Γουρανίων καὶ Μήδων.*

² See on them a short notice by Weissbach in Pauli-Wissowa, vii, col. 1945.

³ See Marquart, "Woher stammt der Name Kaukasus," in *Caucasica*, Fasc. i, 1 Theil, 1930, 62, quoting many passages: Diod., xx, 22, 4; Strabo, xi, 2, 1; 5, 4; 5, 7-8; 14, 14; Pliny, iv, 83, etc., in which the name *Seraci*, *Siraci* is attested, or should be restored. I failed to find the correction in Müller's edition, Marquart's quotation (p. 917a) being wrong.

⁴ Müller's correction is the more convincing because Strabo describes the Saraparæ as *περισκυθιστάς* "scalpers", and this was a Scythian custom.

⁵ See Kretschmer in Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 5, 1927. The Siraci should be distinguished from the Silices (Sidices) connected with Sidakān (between Ushnū and Rawānduz): see Marquart, *Südar-menien*, Index.

⁶ Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 352.

⁷ Rawlinson identified Ptolemy's *Σιραγαυῶν κώμη* with Sīrgān, west of Ushnū, but this place, even if it owed its name to the **Shirak*, did not necessarily depend on Nor-Shirakan.

Of all these localities it would be most tempting to apply Strabo's restored passage concerning the *Shirak living near the Guranii and Medes, to Nor-Shirakan, which lay in the direction of the present territory of the Gūrān.

Two further names seem to be connected with the ancient Guranii. One of the sons of Khusrau II, whom his brother Shērōē killed in A.D. 628, was called *Kūrān* (*Gūrān)-shāh.¹ The name is formed on the pattern of such territorial titles of governors, as Sakān-shāh (Bahrām iii and Hormizd iii), Kirmān-shāh (Bahrām iv), etc. The same ethnical element appears in the feminine name Guran-dukht (cf. Tūrān-dukht), which is attested only in Georgia (since the eighth century).² The first vowel both in Γουράνιοι and *Guran-dukht* is apparently *u*, although the Greek rendering of the Iranian *ō* and *ū* is not quite consistent.³ [See Addition on p. 103.]

In spite of these new facts there is still some difficulty about the bridging of the ancient Guranii with the later Gūrān (< *Gābārakān).

The position grows much clearer under the Muslims. The oldest Arab geographer (end of the ninth century), Ibn Khurdādhbih, 14, quotes a list of the districts of the Mesopotamian *Sawād*, which without any doubt goes back to Sasanian times. "The district (*kūra*), Ostān Shādh Fayrūz, which is Ḥulwān: the revenue of Ḥulwān together with the Jābār.qa and the Kurds is 4,800,000 dirhams." The ancient town of Ḥulwān lay near the present-day Sar-pol-e Zohāb. The river of Ḥulwān is the Alvand, which comes out from Dartang, drains the region of the Gūrāns and joins the Diyāla near Khāniqīn.⁴ In another passage, p. 4, I. Khurdādhbih explains that the *kūra* in question consists of five subdivisions (*tassūj*): Fayrūz-Qobādh, al-Jabal, Tāmarrā, Irbil, and Khāniqīn. The latter is the well known place on the highway Baghdad-Kermanshah. *Irbil* is definitely a mistake, for the ancient Arbela lies too far from Ḥulwān and outside the *Sawād*.⁵ In the parallel passage of Qudāma, 235, the name is spelt ارنك which I should restore as در تنك Dartang, or perhaps *Darnak, to suit the present day Darna, which lies to the east of Dālahū and forms one of the basic parts of Zohāb. Tāmarrā is the older name of the Diyāla; the *tassūj* probably comprised only the eastern bank of the river, for "between the Tigris and the Tāmarrā" lay other ostāns. The third name is vocalized in the text *al-Jabal*, but a variant is dotless. I feel confident that one should read **al-Jīl*, with reference to the district of *Gīlān*, in the valley of a left affluent of the Alvand.⁶ Fayrūz-Qobādh is most probably the

¹ Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 121, after Ḥamza, 61 (Berlin ed., 42); repeated in *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Tehran, 1939, p. 37.

² Justi, op. cit., 121, arbitrarily explains it as *Bahrām-dukht*.

³ Ρωξάνη < *Raoxšna* (Ctesias); Περώζης < *Pērōz*; Γωσίθηρας < *Gaoṣīθra*. The Greeks rather abuse the timbre *o*: Σαβώρ < *Šāpuhr*, *Šāpūr*.

⁴ There is no doubt that *Alvand* is but a Persian popular etymology of the ancient Ḥulwān. The Kurds call the river Ḥalawān.

⁵ Ibid., 41, even Shahrazūr is referred to separately from Ḥulwān; ibid., 94, al-Tīrhān and Daqūqā are under the dependencies of Mausil, which is described outside the *Sawād*.

⁶ Also *vide infra* the quotation from the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*.

upper (eastern) part of Ḥulwān near Sarpol. Roughly speaking the ostān of Ḥulwān comprised the later area of Zohāb. Of the two special classes of local population, the Kurds and the Jābār.qa (var. Kābār.ka, *Gābār.ka), I am strongly tempted to take the latter for the ancestors of the Gūrān.

The same name occurs also in I. Faqīh, 245, who, among the marvels of Hamadān, describes the salt lake (*mamliḥa*) of Farāhān (still existing to the north of Sultānābād), adding that “Kurds and *Jābāraq export the salt to every destination in Media (*ilā jamī‘ buldān al-Jabal*)”. This indication would suggest that there was a settlement of the same class in Central Persia, a considerable distance east of the region of Zagros.

De Goeje clearly saw that the term is connected with Persian کوباره > کاباره which he translated as “a herd”, and freely interpreted as “herdsmen” (“pasteurs”), whereas the true translation of *gāwbāra* should be “ox-rider, or bull-rider”. Whether the term is to be explained literally or connected with a personal name, we shall see that its association with the southern shores of the Caspian is very probable.

The name also occurs in Mas‘ūdī’s catalogue of Kurdish tribes of Media (al-Jibāl), *Murūj*, iii, 253: “Shādanjān, Lazba (Lurī ?), Madanjān, Mazdanakān, Bārisān, Khālī (*Jalālī < Galālī), Jābār.qī, Jāwānī, Mastakān.” This list is slightly completed in Mas‘ūdī’s *Tanbīh*, 88–91: “Bāz.njān, Shūhjan, Shād.njān, N.sāw.ra, Būdhikān (*Barzikān ?), Lurī, Jwr.qān, Jāwānī, Bārisī, Jalālī, Mashtakān, Jābār.qa, Jurūghān, Kikān, Mājurdān, Hadhbānī, etc.” It is certain that the names *Jābār.qī* (list i) and *Jwrqān* (list ii), both followed by Jāwānī, refer to the same tribe. Jwrq-ān (*Jawaraq-ān) differs only by the reduction of the lengths and the spirantization of the intervocalic *b*. Mastakān/Mashtakān closes the original list, and it is most likely that *Jābār.qa* of the *Tanbīh* is only an explanatory gloss incorporated in the new text. The same may be true of the additional *Jurūghān* (for **Juraghān*, **Jawaraghān*). It is noteworthy that the name interesting us is coupled with *Jāwānī*, which apparently refers to the Jāf, who even now live in the closest touch with the Gūrān. The earlier form of their name appears in that of one of their districts, *Jawān-rūd* (< *Jāwān-rūd*, influenced by the Persian word *javān* “young”). *Jalālī also corresponds to the tribe Galālī still living in the same neighbourhood. Thus our original assumption concerning the older form of the name Gūrān gains weight in the light of Mas‘ūdī’s passage.

The middle of the tenth century is a period of Iranian Renaissance. Under the shadow of the Iranian (Daylamite) dynasty of Būyids small Iranian rulers appear in Āzarbayjān, Kurdistan, etc.

Towards 348/959 Ḥasanōya b. Ḥasan, chief of the Barzikān Kurds, founded an important principality in the region of Zagros. Still more remarkable was the long reign of his son and successor Badr (360–405/979–1014), who is very favourably judged by the historians¹: he re-educated his tribe, protected the

¹ *Tajārīb al-umam*: [Abū-Shuḡa‘], 287–299, 327, [Ibn-Muḥassin], 429, 449–454, ‘Utbi, ed. Lahore, 285 (Pers. trans., 384).

peasants, and equitably assessed the taxes. His possessions extended from Northern Luristan (Sābūr-khwāst) and even the approaches of Khūzistān, *IA.*, ix, 172, to Shahrāzūr, *IA.*, ix, 173. Under Badr, the Jwraqān (*Jauraqān) are often mentioned. In 405/1014 Badr marched against the Kurdish chief Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd and laid siege to his castle کوسجد. The hardships of a winter campaign provoked discontent among his men, and he was killed by "one of their division called Jūraqān". Ḥusayn sent his body to be buried at Mashhad 'Alī (Kūfa), which would indicate some Shī'a leanings on the part of Badr. The Jūraqān fled to the Būyid Shams al-Daula, but possibly only the guilty part of the tribe is meant in this case. Under 417/1026 the Kākōyid 'Alā al-daula appointed a cousin of his over Sābūr-khwāst with the addition of the Jūraqān. More directly the latter were placed under a special chief Abul-Faraj Bābūnī, who was related to them. This led to further conflicts and struggles, *IA.*, ix, 247. Sābūr-khwāst (i.e. the present-day Khurram-ābād) lies so far from the Zagros range that we have to assume that Bābūnī's Jūraqān were established somewhere nearer to Luristan. In fact, under 418/1027 Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 251, hints at a collaboration between the Kākōyid 'Alā al-Daula and a part of Jūraqān in the battle fought near Nihavand, and, under 423/1032, *ibid.*, ix, 289, at the presence of Jūraqān near Sābūr-khwāst.

When in 437/1046 Ibrāhīm Yinnāl sent by Tughril took Hamadan, the master of this city, Karshāsf b. 'Alā al-Daula, fled to the Jūraqān. Yinnāl set out for al-Ṣaymara, lying in North-Western Luristan on the upper Karkha, and attacked "the Kurds established in the neighbourhood and belonging (*min*) to the Jūraqān". The latter with Karshāsf fled to the country of Shihāb al-Daula Abul Fawāris Manṣūr b. Ḥusayn, who apparently was the ruler of *Ḥuwayza (not *al-Jazīra*) in Khuzistan; cf. *IA.*, ix, 448. The flight must have been down the Karkha valley.

All these references show that in the first part of the eleventh century at least a part of the Jūraqān was occupying some territory on the northern approaches of Luristan. They may have been connected with the Jābāraq referred to by I. Faqīh (*vide supra*), or, possibly, with the part of the tribe guilty of the murder of Badr (*vide supra*).

The events recorded in I. Athīr are also described in the *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (520/1126), whose anonymous author was a native of Asad-ābād (west of Hamadān) and was well acquainted with the area in question.¹ He uses the same source as Ibn al-Athīr,² but gives some interesting parallels. For I. Athīr's جوراقان *Jawraqān,³ the author substitutes گورانان *Gūrānān* throughout, and thus confirms our original surmise. Secondly, the *Mujmal* preserves some details omitted in I. Athīr. It explains how in the course of his struggle with his son Hilāl (Hilāl) Badr fought against his own tribe the Barzikānān (Barzikān).

¹ The *Mujmal* has been carefully edited by Bahār, Tehran, 621/1939.

² *Kūāb-i Tājī* of Ṣābī.

³ Plurals in *-akān* still prevail in Gūrānī dialects: Mann-Hadank, *Mundarten der Gūrān*, 105, 378.

Then he elevated (*bar kashīd*) the Gūrānān, so that nobody stood closer to Badr than they. Nevertheless they conspired and killed him in 405/1014 while he was besieging Khūshīn (*sic*) b. Mas'ūd in his fortress کوش خد on the banks of the Safīd-rūd. It looks improbable that Badr could have extended his operations to the basin of the Safīd-rūd flowing into the Caspian Sea, and I strongly suspect that this name stands in the *Mujmal* for سیروان (misread: سپیدرود), i.e. the middle course of the Diyāla which separates Zohāb (in the south) from Awrāmān (in the north). کوش خد (I.A. کوسجد, *Sharafnāma* کوسجد) cannot be identified, but if Safīd-rūd = Sīrvān it is likely that the fortress in question was کوسج *Kūsaj* and stood near the present-day village Kūsaj-i Hajj in Awrāmān-i takht.¹ In this case the Gūrān who accompanied Badr were operating across the river in the immediate neighbourhood of their present territory.

One detail in the *Mujmal* merits our attention. The Gūrān are said to have killed Badr by throwing their javelins (*zūpīn*), this weapon being particularly connected with the Caspian provinces and the Daylamites.

In Yāqūt's geographical dictionary (623/1225) the Jawraqān (misspelt *Jūzaqān*, as often in Ibn al-Athīr) are definitely referred to Ḥulwān, ii, 151.

Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (740/1340), p. 165, in describing the highway from Kermānshāh to Ḥulwān (via Kerend and the famous pass of Ṭāq-i gīrrā) adds: "but by Gil-u-Gilān the road, (although) 1 farsakh longer, is easier." In another passage, p. 220, the author explains that the River Nahravān, i.e. Diyāla, consists of two branches. One of them (i.e. Sīrvān or Diyāla proper) comes from "the side of Sīrvān", whereas the other (i.e. the Ḥulwān, Ḥalawān, Alvand) "rises from the region (*ḥudūd*) of Gil-u-Gilān and the pass of Ṭāq-i gīrrā; it rises from a great spring sufficient to turn some ten water-mills and passes Ḥulwān, Qasr-i Shīrīn, and Khāniqīn". There is no doubt that Qazvīnī has in view the river rising from the gorge above Rījāb (Dartang). In fact, along it passed the well-known variant of the main road.² Thus the characteristic name *Gil-u-Gilān in Ḥamdullah's text refers to the heart of the Gūrān territory and not to the valley of Gilān joining the Alvand much lower down. With this reservation the term used by Qazvīnī is noteworthy.

Towards 744/1343 the Egyptian scholar Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Omari compiled a valuable table of Kurdish tribes according to the contemporary sources. He begins his description with the Gūrāns: "Dans les montagnes de Hamadan et de Schehrzur on trouve une nation de Curdes appelés Kouranis (*al-Kūrāniya*),

¹ There is a famous sanctuary in the village. In Awrāmān I was told that Kūsaj does not stand for Persian "beardless" (*kōsaj*, *kōsa*). I think the name is connected with the tribe Kōsa which was formerly in occupation of Shahrāzūr. Its remnants live now among the Zāzā.

² Evliyā-chelebi, iv, 377; A. Pinçon in Sir D. Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley*, p. 148; Sir H. Rawlinson, *JRGS*, 1839, p. 33; Chirikov, *Putevoy zhurnal*, 1849-1852, St. Petersburg, 1875, 301-5: Kerend-Bīvanj-Rījāb; description of the source of the Alvand which lies in the Rījāb gorge but closely north of Taq-i gīrrā (in its "region").

qui sont puissants, belliqueux et se composent de soldats et d'agriculteurs (*jund-wa-ra'iya*). Ils habitent un lieu appelé Raoust alemir Mohammad (*Rāwst al-amīr Muḥammad*) et un autre nommé Derteng (*Dartang*). Ils ont à leur tête l'émir Mohammad. Leur nombre s'élève à plus de 5,000 hommes et il ne règne entre eux aucune semence de division et de discorde."¹

Dartang is the integral part of Zohab and as such is mentioned in the Turco-Persian treaty of 1639.² Thus for the middle of the fourteenth century we get a confirmation of the presence of the Gūrān in their present country; but they must have lived there for centuries before that date. The other centre of the Gūrān, usually coupled with Dartang, is Darna (**Darnak*)³ which lies on the eastern side of Dālahū in the Zimkān valley.⁴ This name cannot be detected in *Rāwst*. The latter remains a puzzle, but it is possible that it refers to the habitat of the more easterly branch of the Gūrān.⁵

According to Shihāb al-Dīn the Gūrān consisted of warriors and peasants. The usual reason for such division is the subjugation of one tribe by another, and, should this surmise be true, the Gūrān may have found on the spot some earlier population, although we can imagine other causes of the social stratification of the tribes.

Considerable changes took place in Kurdistan in the thirteenth century. The Mongol invaders were mercilessly exterminating the Iranian mountaineers. According to Shihāb al-Dīn, after the sack of Baghdad (A.D. 1258), the Kurds of Shahrazūr belonging to the tribes اللوسه (**Kōsa*) and الباسره (?) emigrated to Syria and Egypt, and their place was taken "par une autre nation حوسه dont les membres ne sont point de véritables Kurdes". Quatremère restores this latter name as حسنويه, and in this case it would be tempting to connect it with the name of the Ḥasanoya dynasty. As the Gūrān were among the supporters of Badr, it is possible to imagine that they were designated after the founder of the dynasty.⁶ At all events, the detail about the expansion of a non-Kurdish population is too precise to have been invented, and apart from the Gūrān group of tribes we cannot imagine any other substitute for the Kurds available on the spot.

In spite of the importance which Sharaf Khān attaches to the Gūrān in the Introduction to his *History of the Kurds* (1005/1596), in the text of his book he refers to them only occasionally and with some confusion. At his time the majority of the Gūrān lived under the leadership of the Kalhur and

¹ Translated by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, 1838, xiii/1, pp. 506-7. Towards A.D. 1258 Dartang was ruled on behalf of the caliph by a Ḥisām al-Dīn 'Akka, to whom Hulagu restored Qal'a Mwḥ (?) and Rwda (**Daudān*?). See Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 255.

² Its centre Rijāb > Rizhāw is situated at the western end of the defile through which the Alvand debouches into the Zohab plain.

³ See our interpretation of I. Khurdādhbih, 14, v.s. p. 80.

⁴ Possibly *Ṣamghān* of Balādhuri.

⁵ Perhaps: **Daudān*, a village behind Dālahū.

⁶ It is quite possible that Ḥasanōya's tribe Barzikān were of an origin similar to that of the Gūrān.

the Ardalān, and this led to the usual confusion of *dynasties* and *tribes*. Sharaf Khān's intention was apparently to group under *Kalhur*¹ all the southern (non-Kurmānj) Kurds of Kermanshah (and possibly Senne), but on p. 317 he states that "the 'ashīrat of the Kalhur is called Gūrān". He also admits, p. 83, that the ancestor of the Ardalān had long lived among the Gūrān, before, towards the end of the Chengizid rule in Persia, he became the lord of Shahrazūr. On p. 296 Sharaf Khān admits that the rulers of the Brādōst were from the Gūrān tribe, or rather from the children of Hilāl b. Badr. Speaking of the "Persian" Kurds (Siyāh-Manšūr, Chiganī, and Zangana) Sharaf Khān lets them (or perhaps their chiefs?) come from Luristan, but adds that "there is a report that they were from Gūrān and Ardalān". An interesting detail may be noted in the fact that Shāh-verdī Khān, ruler of the Northern Luristan (d. 1006/1597), trying to recover Khurram-ābād, levied "a group of the Gūrān tribe", which suggests that, as in Badr b. Ḥasan's time, Gūrān were still found in Northern Luristan.²

According to Sir H. Rawlinson³ the Kalhur were ousted from Zohāb by Sultan Murād IV, who gave their lands to the Bājilān whom he brought from Mosul.⁴ Thanks to O. Mann, we know now that the Bājilān of Mosul speak a dialect closely akin to Gūrānī. The conqueror's scheme was to control the Gūrān through his own subjects, who originally must have been a colony of the same group of tribes. After this, according to Rawlinson, the Kalhur assumed the name of Gūrān, "which had been previously applied to the Kurdish peasantry", and split into three groups: Qal'a-Zanjir, Kerend, and Bevanij. This explanation naturally applies only to the Kalhur of Zohāb. The equation Gūrān = peasantry is not in keeping with Sharaf Khān's passage (p. 317) quoted above. All we can say about the changes after A.D. 1639 is this: the Kalhurs, deprived of their privileged position, became absorbed in the Gūrān mass, and the Bājilān took the leadership over the whole conglomeration of tribes. It is characteristic, however, that the Bājilān pashas built for themselves a new residence in the plain (the now ruined borough of Zohāb) and so remained on the outskirts of the Gūrān territory. It is possible that a part of the Jāf

¹ Nothing definite is known about the origin of the Kalhur and their name. Their chiefs wanted their genealogy to go back to the Arsacid satrap Gudarz b. Giv, *Sharaf-nāma*, 317. I wonder whether Kalhur is not derived from **kal-zwar* "buffalo-eaters". An important village *Kalzorān* lies north of Ardabil: cf. *Silsilat al-nasab-i Safawiya*, p. 12.

² It is astonishing how well the Ahl-i Ḥaqq writings are acquainted with the geography of Northern Luristan; see my *Notes sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, pp. 22, 42. A number of fervent adherents of their religion are found in that region (especially the Dīlfān). It is quite possible that a number of originally "Guran" tribes have changed their speech to the local Luri dialect.

³ Sir H. Rawlinson had exceptional opportunities for observing the Gūrān in 1836 when he was in command of a Gūrān regiment: see "Notes on a march from Zohāb", in *JRGS.*, 1839, ix, 26-116. I have also used an official memorandum of the same author on the Turco-Persian frontier (1844).

⁴ Na'imā, i, 474, says that in A.D. 1630 the chief of the Bājilān arrived in Mosul with 40,000 Kurds to pay homage to Khusrev Pasha. The tribe lived in the desert in the direction of Baghdad and was a cross (*mutajānis*) between Kurds and Arabs (?).

whom the Persians called Jāf-i Murādī, i.e. those connected with Sultan Murād IV, was settled in Zohāb to support the Bājlān rulers.

When the Persians had the upper hand they tried to cripple the power of the Bājlān. Nādir Shah, who was opposed by Aḥmad Pasha Bājlān, deported a part of his tribe to the neighbourhood of Khurram-ābād.¹ The last pasha of Zohāb of the Bājlān family was removed by prince Muḥammad 'Alī Mirzā (governor of Kermanshah from 25, viii, 1806–22, xi, 1821), who restored the leadership to the original Gūrān of Qal'a-Zanjir, resident at Gahvāra.²

3. CONCLUSIONS

We come now to the conclusions resulting from the analysis of the sources :—

(1) The name of the tribe appears in early Islamic sources as *Jābāraq* > **Jauraqān* > **Gōrānān*. This development seems to exclude the etymology *gabrān* > *gōrān* and on the contrary to confirm de Goeje's explanation of the name as **gā(v)bāra(k)*, "bull-riders." I now feel confident that the old residence of the Gūrān khans *Gahvāra* is nothing but a Persian popular etymology ("cradle") for the original **Gāvāra*. The Gūrān themselves told me that the Persian transcription was inadequate, and in Chirikov, p. 302, I find the name transcribed in Russian Гаварек, i.e. presumably **Gāvārak*.

(2) This original name is most likely to be connected with the Caspian provinces. The eponym founder of the dynasty under which Gilan became united with Western Tabaristan³ was called Gil-Gāubāra. This name clearly follows the legendary tradition. If *Gīl* refers to the king's origin, *Gāubāra* apparently symbolizes his newly acquired territory connected with the memory of Faridūn. Ibn Isfandiyyār, 15, and Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 13, call this hero *gāv-savār* "bull-rider", and so he is represented on Persian miniatures.⁴ Curiously enough the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* applies the term **Gīl-i Gilān* to Dartang, which is the very heart of the Gūrān territory. Even now one of the left affluents of the Alvand is called Gilān.⁵ These cannot be mere coincidences. In their

¹ See *Tārīkh-i Nādirī*, ed. 1286, H. Nādir by-passed Tāq-i girrā by a more southerly road of Gāv-ravān which Khurshid Efendi, Russ. transl., 135, identified with Qal'a-Shahin.

² Rawlinson's 1844 memorandum.

³ This is said to have happened towards A.D. 645–660: see Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, ed. Dorn, pp. 39–40; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 117, 430, 433; Rabino, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān," in *J.As.*, juillet 1936, p. 438.

⁴ This is a further evolution of the story, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 41, according to which Faridūn was brought up on the milk of the cow Barmāya. In point of fact, Firdausi gives a twist to the original version, in which Barmāyōn is a male animal under whose feet Āṣi-vazūhi seeks refuge, *Āvesta*, *Yast* 17, 15, and Faridūn (Frētōn) collects dust to smite his enemies, *Dēnkart*, 814, 10–17 (I owe the two references to H. W. Bailey).

⁵ Also see below point (5) on the geographical proximity of some places connected with **Gāubāra* to those called after Gilān. For the location of the *Gāubāra* near the Caspian one might quote another passage from the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*: "Maḥmūd-ābād (built by Ghāzān-khan south of the Kur estuary) lies in the plain Gāvbārī on the coast of the Caspian sea." Still more interesting is the mention of a Kūrān (**Gūrān*)-dasht in the report of Uljāyṭu's campaign against Gilan (in the spring of 707/1308): the Ilkhan marching from Sultaniya reached Loushān (on the Shāh-rūd) via Kūrān-dasht. Loushān is a well-known crossing of the Shāh-rūd above Manjīl, and Kūrān-dasht must have lain west or south-west of it. Cf. *Tārīkh-i Uljāyṭu*, Bib. Nat., Supp. pers. 1419, fol. 42.

light a legend picked up by Soane from Aurāmīs acquires some practical interest. According to it, "Darius the Mede expelled the original Aorām from his native place near Demavand . . . and he fled with his brother Kandul, the supposed eponym of Kandula, to Media."¹

(3) From ancient times the Caspian provinces had been a reservoir of human energy overflowing and spreading westwards. The *Bundahishn*, xxxi, 38, describes the wooded highlands of the south-western Tabaristan (*Padhishkhwārgar*) as a country whose inhabitants go on foot, are shepherds, are prolific (*huzahishnāh*), and are victorious over their enemies. The role of the region is similar to that of Scandinavia in the Viking Age. Many place names along the western border of Iran bear witness to such infiltrations; a place called *Daylamistān* existed in Shahrāzūr, Yāqūt, ii, 711; *Dilmān* (older *Dīlmaqān*) is still the chief place of Salmas; a sizeable district to the south-west of Lake Urmia is called Lāhijān (as the town in Gilan).² *Gāvāra* (often joined with *Gīl*) would be a similar trace of migrations in the more southern area of Zagros.

(4) In the neighbourhood of the chief Zagros pass the Gūrān (**Gāvbarak*) are mentioned already by I. Khurdādhbih (end of the ninth century); but, as we have said, his list of *ostāns* is undoubtedly of Sasanian origin. As the *ostān* of Hūlwān was named after Pērōz (A.D. 459–484), it looks probable that this king might have been responsible for the settlement of the whole area. His son Kāvāt ("Fayrūz Qubādh"?) may have specially developed one of the cantons of this *ostān*. It is obvious that the Sasanian kings devoted much attention to the security of the principal pass connecting their Mesopotamian capital Ctesiphon with the Iranian homeland. The original non-Iranian tribes of Zagros³ could have easily survived down to Parthian and Sasanian times, and their displacement and iranization must have been a part of the Sasanian policy. It will be helpful to remember Marquart's conclusion, *Ērānšahr*, 126, according to which Daylam and Padhishkhwārgar were brought into a closer contact with the rest of the Empire only under Kāvāt I (485–531), or even Khusrāu I (531–579). Concurrently, the excess of population might have been diverted towards the Zagros.

(5) As regards the other colonies of Gūrān,⁴ the report of Ibn al-Faqīh on the presence of some Jābāraq near Farāhān may be substantiated by the name of the village Gevare (Gavāra) which Chirikov, 180, places at 5 farsakhs to the south-east of Sulṭānābād. Chirikov's index (p. 685) suggests even that the considerable River Gāverū (a left affluent of the Sirvān) should be explained as **Gavāra-rūd* or **Gāvāra-rūd*. Such haplology is quite likely, especially if, remembering our hypothesis on the connection of the Gūrān with the Caspian, we add that a small tributary of the Gāverū is called Kānī-Gilān. Only twenty

¹ *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, p. 377.

² In the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 420, I offered a hypothesis on the origin of the Iranian inhabitants of Shirvān and Daghestān from the Caspian provinces. I am also tempted to attribute some Caspian origins to the name of the Kūh-Gilū district of Fars (**Gēlōya*, *Gēl* + *ōya*).

³ See Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Völker*, 1908.

⁴ On p. 77, note 2, we have quoted some isolated place-names which may prove to be connected with the further western expansion of the Gūrān.

miles to the south of the Gāverū on a headwater of the River Bāniyān, there still exists a Gūrāni speaking colony of Kandūla, and twelve miles downstream from the latter lies a village Gilāna.

We have seen that several sources point to the presence of some Gūrān in the direction of Northern Luristan and the basin of the Kerkha (Saymara).¹

A village Gahwareh, lying some five miles to the south of Bisutūn, may be a colony of the well-known Gahwareh (*Gāvāra) on the Zimkān (*vide supra*). More curious is the name of the pass² leading from the Saymara valley to the district of Harāsam, over the mountain Wardalān: *Milleh Gahwareh* (*mīl*, *mēl* in Kurdish “neck, pass”). The region is very little known and thus we are still reduced to mere guesses as to who are the present-day representatives of the local Jauraqān = Gūrān. Remembering the disposition of the Gūrān towards esoteric doctrines,³ we should attach some significance to the fact that one of the most important centres of the sect, the residence of the descendants of Khan Ātash, is in Garrabān, some five miles downstream from the confluence of the Rivers Gāmāsiāb and Qara-su, on the threshold of Luristan. Khan-Ātash is said to have risen from the tribe of the Dīlfān. The latter are the most important Ahl-i Ḥaqq tribe of the Northern Luristan.⁴ The Dīlfān are said to speak the Southern Kurdish dialect Lākkī,⁵ but their group of clans may have absorbed some of the Gūrāni-speaking population. A detail may indicate a connection of the Dīlfān with the Caspian provinces: in 1891 my late friend Āghā Sām, himself of Dīlfān origin, led a religious revolt in Kalār-dasht, on the eastern frontier of the ancient Daylam.⁶

(6) The last stage of our argument ought to be a comparison between the dialects of the Gūrāni group (Gūrāni proper, Awrāmī, Bājilānī, Zāzā) and some definite group of dialects of the Central plateau. In 1906 O. Mann was ready to see in Gūrāni dialects “descendants of the old Median language” (“Abkömmlinge der alten medischen Sprache”),⁷ but three years later he less ambitiously defined Gūrāni and Zāzā as “central dialects”.⁸ That Gūrāni

¹ I wonder whether the River Gūāūr flowing into the Saymara is of the same origin. Chirikov, 278–280, transcribes this name Gavara (?).

² Names of passes are an important feature of toponymy.

³ Before the complicated doctrine of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq was definitely fixed there must have existed a suitable background for its development, going back into the remote past.

⁴ Their homes are in the plain of Khāve, lying west of Alishtar. Their clans are Kakavand, Itivand, Mūmivand, etc.

⁵ O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, p. xxiii, but without any illustrative texts.

⁶ The rather unusual name *Dīlfān* might be connected with that of the most conspicuous peak of Gilan, *Dulfak* (*Dalfak*, *Durfak*). As pointed out by Tomaschek, the latter may reflect the name of the *Δρῖβυκες*, who, according to Ptol., vi, 25, lived in the neighbourhood of the Kadusioi and Gelai, apparently to the east of the estuary of the Amardos = Sefid-rud. On the other hand, the principal tribe of Kalār-dasht is Khojāvand, a clan of the Kurds of Garrūs transplanted to Gilan by Āghā Muḥammad Shah. There is a suspicion that the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion is spread among the Garrūsī, and Āghā Sām may have availed himself of this circumstance.

⁷ Mann, *Mundarten d. Gūrān*, 52, *Mundarten der Zāzā*, 24.

⁸ *Die Tājīk-Mundarten der Provinz Fārs*, 1909, p. xxiii: “Diese beiden, fälschlich für Kurdisch gehaltene Dialekte gehören durchaus zu denjenigen Mundarten, die Geiger als ‘zentrale’ bezeichnete.”

is very distinct from Kurdish there cannot be any doubt, but the "central" dialects of Persia¹ present such extraordinary combinations of lexical and grammatical elements that a comparison with any one of them would result in a certain number of similitudes and a great number of differences.

As a special group, the "Caspian dialects" have been insufficiently explored, and we have yet to reckon with some surprises in the out-of-the-way valleys. As suggested above, Caspian provinces had been the principal reserve from which colonists had poured forth, and it is possible that whole tribes quitted their homes to be occupied by other groups. We know practically nothing² of the dialect which was spoken in the original homes of the Daylamites who in the tenth century lorded it over Persia and Mesopotamia. The divergencies of the existing dialects may have developed during their long separation. In such conditions we should prefer to leave historical suggestions to the future explorers of dialects rather than make any hasty identifications on our own behalf.

4. WRITTEN LITERATURE IN GŪRĀNĪ

For the moment one can only draw up an approximate inventory of the Gūrānī literature. Even when the names of the authors are known, the details of the latter's biographies comprising the dates are still lacking. A distinction between the dialects is equally impossible, for the written Gūrānī is a literary *κοινή* and in the eyes of the local population the Gūrānī literature appears as one indiscriminate group of compositions. In the dialect of Awrāmān "to sing" is *gūrānī čarrin*.³

In prose we know only the religious tracts of the Ahl-i Haqq. The copy of their religious book *Saranjām*, of which in 1911 I published a Russian translation, is in Persian, but apart from the intercalated verses in Gūrānī it has preserved traces of Gūrānī phrases in prose.⁴ Hājjī Ni'mat-allāh, author of the *Firqān al-akhbār*,⁵ says that he wrote in "Kurdish" a *Risāla-yi tahqīq*, and by "Kurdish" he most probably means Gūrānī, for elsewhere (p. 3) he writes that "Kurdish" was the language (*zabān-i zāhirī*) of Sultan Sohāk, whom we know to have spoken Gūrānī. The "Kurdish" quotations in the *Firqān* prove also to be in Gūrānī.⁶

The poetic literature in Gūrānī is of three classes: epic, lyric, and religious.

In what follows I often refer to the three MSS. originally acquired by Cl. Rich and R. Taylor, and now belonging to the British Museum. With no

¹ Cf. the latest survey by H. W. Bailey in *E.I.*, under "Persia".

² Only a number of typical personal names and a couple of words: *lauk* "good", *ushtulum* "a war cry". See Minorsky, *La domination des Dāilamites*, p. 22.

³ Benedictsen-Christensen, p. 122.

⁴ Minorsky, *Matériaux*, 12, 51. Only later I went through the Gūrānī verses with a Gūrān.

⁵ P. 23. On this MS. in my possession see Minorsky, "Toumari," in *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, January, 1928, pp. 90-105.

⁶ During my visit to Sulēmānī in 1934 I received as a gift a Persian MS. containing the genealogies of the Shaykhs of Barzenje, who are connected with Sultan Sohāk. I was told that a Kurdish (*sic*) translation had been made of the MS.

outside assistance Rieu succeeded in deciphering the meaning of the text and in preparing a clear resumé of the Gūrānī grammar, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, ii, 728–734. He also came to the conclusion that “although spoken in Kurdistan, the dialect is essentially Persian”. For lyrics I quote the B.M. Or. 6444 (fol. 8–54), from which excerpts were published by the late E. B. Soane, *JRAS.*, January, 1921, 57–81. A list of its contents was compiled for me by Mr. S. Topalian in 1927. Very instructive were some items on Kurdish poets which Dr. Sa’id khan Kordestani communicated to me in Tehran, on 5th July, 1917. In May, 1914, in Zohab, and in 1918, in Senna, I acquired a number of Gūrānī MSS., but most of the MSS. were stolen after I left Persia in 1919. Fortunately I have kept the passages which I had taken down under the dictation of my friend the Sālār of the Gūrān, who, as a refugee, spent some time in Tehran in 1917.

A. Epics

(1) *Kitāb-i Xuršīd-i Xāvar*, on the love of Khuršīd, prince of the country of Khavar, for Kharāmān, daughter of the Emperor of China, by an unknown author (early nineteenth century, Add. 7829, 68 ff. 15 lines to page), from which Rieu quotes seven verses, beginning *damāy hamd-i dāt || jahān āfarīn*. Here is the beginning of the letter of Khuršīd to Kharāmān, as dictated in 1917 from my own copy now lost:—

Qalām gīrt wā dās Behrūz-e sārwar
Nuwisā juwāw nāzdār-e kešwar
Sar nāmā wā āw tālā enšā kīrd
Āwāl esme zāt muškul-gušā kīrd

(2) *Leylī-vā-Majnūn*, Add. 7829, ff. 68–134 (15 lines to page). Beginning: *Vāhid-i bē čun || hayy-i bē-hamtā*. A MS. of mine contains a fragment of this poem: “Leylī goes to see Majnūn at the mountain of Najd” (186 verses). I was told that the author is Malā Wālow (**hālow* “eagle” or *walow* “child”, arab. *walad*), a Gūrān of Gahvāra who was still alive towards 1875–1885. Here is the beginning of this popular episode:—

Kūče šow meyl kārđ yāk šow Āmīr-šāh
Meyle Leylī dāšt dūszāhī leyl kārđ
Šow kūč-e sāhrāy dāšt-e Dujeyl kārđ
Jārčiyān jār dān wā hokm-e šāwā
*Bow ēta ahšām Bānī-Šīpāwā*¹

(3) *Khusrau-u-Shīrīn*, Add. 7826, dated 1231/1816, 151 ff. (circa 1,812 lines), acephalous, beginning *gašt ba-pašēw-hāl || ba-dīl-gīrānī*. A complete copy of the poem belongs to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Pertsch, p. 963, No. 995, 142 ff., copied in 1241/1825, bought by Hörnle in Tabriz in 1837. A third copy was formerly in my possession. I have now only the beginning of the passage on the birth of Khusrau-i Parvīz.

¹ Banū Shaybān.

Mawlūd(e) mawjūd bā-kām-o-wāyā
Separdāš wā-dās dāyān-u-tāyā
*Pēčānāš wā-bārg wātāy bū-amār*¹
Pārwārešēš dān be-šāhd-u-šākār

(4) *Farhād-u-Shīrīn*, MS. Hörnle, cf. Pertsch, p. 963, No. 994, fol. 70b-93, beginning:—

bā pardā-yi ghayb || bē ‘ayb pārwārdā
ki ruxūt šifāt || tamām nākārdā

My copy of the poem is incomplete, 54 ff., circa 1,680 verses, end of the nineteenth century. Beginning: *ki dinyāš wā-kām || tā bā-sar bardām*. Fol. 30v.: “Shirin goes to Bisūtūn.”

Bešnow jā Šīrīn deldār-e dīrīn
Hāwāy Fārhād kīrd nā Qāsr-e Šīrīn
Jāfākīšā wēš āwārdīš wā-yād
Bānā kīrd bāyū bāwīnū Fārhād

(5) *Bahrām-wa-Gulandām*: the love adventures of Bahrām, son of the king of Kishvar, and Gulandām, princess of China. Br. Mus., Add. 23554, 53 ff., 12 lines to a page, early nineteenth century. Beginning:—

jā ‘ešq-i yāvār || mājūša cūn bārg
jā dīgt mākīšā || na‘rāy wēnā bārg

(6) *Haft xwān-i Rustam*, MS. Hörnle, Pertsch, p. 963, No. 994, ff. 1-26b (Kurd. MSO Peterm., ii, No. 14). The poet sings Rustam’s exploits in Māzandarān, see *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 335-357. Beginnings: *Be-nām-i bē cūn || bannāy behtārīn Pādešāy bē bāk || jehān āfārīn*.

I heard mentioned a poem *Rustam-u-dīw-i sefid* (Vullers, i, 351), which must be an episode from the *Haft-xwān*.

(7) *Sohrāb-u-Rustam*, occupies ff. 26a-55a of the same MS. Hörnle.

(8) *Jahāngīr-u-Rustam*. Jahāngīr is a son of Rustam, and his adventures are reminiscent of those of his brother Sohrāb: cf. Ethé in *Grund. der Iran. Phil.*, ii, 234. A MS. formerly in my possession (bought in Zohāb) begins:—

Ebtedāy āwāt be-nām-e yāzdān
Āfārīnāndā ens-u-jinn-u jān
Ar beḍey tawfīq hayyā lā-yānām
Šāmāy buwācīm ža dāstān-e Sām
Ža ba‘da Sohrāb šahīd-e xānjār
Rostām ža hejrān wēš kārd dār-be-dār

(9) *Kitāb-i Xāwarān*, fabulous adventures of ‘Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib. Formerly in my possession. The episode on the killing of the Giant Šalsāl by ‘Alī begins:

Šāy mardān jā xāw kārdāšān bēdār
Hālāt-e Sālsāt pēš kārdān ezhār
Nā kārd mādārā āmr-e gozīn
Šī nā pēy Sālsāt mal’ūn-e bē-dīn

¹ *wālā*, “stuff”; *bū-amar*, “amber scented.”

(10) *Kitāb-i Muḥammad-i Ḥanīfa*, the story of Muḥammad son of ‘Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib and his wife Khaula al-Ḥanafīyya.¹ The MS., Paris, Bib. Nat., supp. persan No. 777, has 35 ff. Colophon: “ended the book of Muḥammad Ḥanīfa (*sic*) in the Gūrānī language, containing a praise of the imām (*sic*) ‘Alī Murtaḍā, of his face (*rūy*) and of his son M. Ḥanīfa and concerning their wars and struggles, in Sha‘bān of the year 1228 from the flight of the Prophet, peace be upon him” (August, 1813). Beginning after *basmala* :—

Yā xodāy rahmān || yā xodāy ghafūr

Yā xodāy sirr-pūsh || sāttār-u-ṣābūr

(11) *Nādir-u-Topāl*. I only heard mentioned this poem which undoubtedly refers to the war of Nādir Shāh with the gallant Topal-‘Osmān Pāshā, A.D. 1733, in the immediate neighbourhood of Zohāb: see L. Lockhart, *Nadir-shah*, 1938, p. 68.

(12) *Jang-nāma-yi shāhzāda Muhammad* **‘Alī-mīrzā bā Kahyā-pāshā*. The poem occupies fol. 55–70 of MS. Hörnle, cf. Pertsch, No. 994. The author, Mīrzā Kerendī, glorifies the victory of Prince ‘Alī Mīrzā, governor of Kerman-shah, over the Kāhyā ‘of Dāvūd Pāshā of Baghdad in June, 1821: see Rich, *Narrative*, ii, 184. This event also took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Zohāb.

(13) *Jang-i malax bā ātash-malūč*, a heroicomic poem² on the war of locusts with the birds *āyna-mal* (in Persian *ātaš-malūč*, in Kurdish *āhir-malūč*, in Arabic *samarmar*, in Latin *Pastor roseus*).³ The author is unknown. As the date of invasion of locusts quoted in the text is 1300/1882, the poem was written after this date. The MS. in my possession contains 7 ff., 15 lines to page.⁴

Beginning :—

Āvāt ebtedā be-nām-e kārīm

Fāzlā besmellā rahmān-or-rahīm

Jāng-e āynā-māl čānī šāy jārād

Buwāčūn yārān xām bedeyn wā-bād

Žā sānāy hezār sesūd yā kāmātār

Peyā bī mālāx gurūy bād-nāzār

Molkā garmāsīr tā šahr-e Bāghdād

Wā sowzī xoryā gārdāš dān wa-bād

B. Lyrics

The best guide available to Gūrān lyrics is the anthology of Br. Mus. Or. 6444, which contains poems of twenty-seven authors, who all lived before A.D. 1788, which is the date of the MS.

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 94.

² To the same class belongs the fable of the wolf and the fox, taken down by Benedictsens in Pāwa.

³ See J. Deny, “La légende de l’eau des sauterelles,” in *J.A.*, April, 1933, 323–340.

⁴ The same MS. contains a “Kurdish” (i.e. Gūrānī) alphabet in 20 verses.

1. MAHZŪNĪ, ff. 10, 32, 33, said to have been scribe at the court of the vali of Ardalān Khusrau Khān I, who ruled 1168–1204/1754–1789 (Soane : 2 poems).

2. SHAYKH AḤMAD TAKHTĪ, f. 11, native of Awrāmān-i takht, lived towards A.D. 1640 (Soane : 2 poems).

3. MUḤAMMAD QULI SULAYMĀN, ff. 12, 13 (Soane : 1 poem).

4. MĪRZĀ IBRĀHĪM, f. 26.

5. MAULĀNĀ QĀSIM, f. 28.

6. YŪSUF YĀSKA, f. 32. According to Dr. Sa'id-khān he was a servant of Khan Aḥmad Khān Ardalān.¹ His master suspected him of dallying with his wife Kolāh-zar Khānum, daughter of Shah 'Abbās,² and had him immured alive.

7. SHAYKH LUṬFULLĀH, f. 32.

8. MOLLĀ ṬĀHIR AWRĀMĀNĪ, ff. 32, 38 (Soane : 1 poem).

9. ILYĀS BEG, f. 33.

10. MOLLĀ FAḌLULLĀH, f. 33.

11. ḤĀJJĪ 'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD BEG TĪLAKŪ, f. 34. Tilakū is one of the eastern districts of Ardalān : see "Senna" in *EI*.

12. MAULĀNĀ FARRUKH PALANGĀNĪ, f. 34 (Soane : 1 poem).

13. MOLLĀ ḤĀFIZ FARHĀD, f. 34.

14. RİPĀ BEG, f. 39.

15. MUḤAMMAD AMĪN BEG AWRĀMĪ, f. 39.

16. SHAYKH YA'QŪB KHĀN, f. 40.

17. UWAYS BEG, f. 40.

18. MAULĀNĀ YŪSUF, brother of Mollā Ḥabīb Kalān, f. 41.

19. SHAYKH ḤASAN DARRA-HARDĪ, f. 45.

20. 'ABD, f. 46.

21. 'OMAR NAZZĀRĪ, f. 46.

22. SHAYKH MUṢṬAFĀ TAKHTĪ (i.e. of Awrāmān-i takht), f. 48.

23. ŞŪFĪ 'ALĪ KĒVĀNĪ (?), f. 49.

24. SHAYKH AḤMAD MŌ'Ī (?), f. 49.

25. LĀLŪ KHUSRAU, f. 50.

26. SHAYKH SHAMS AL-DĪN DARRA-HARDĪ, f. 51.

27. USTĀD MIKĀ'ĪL, f. 51.

28. KHĀNAY QUBĀDĪ, f. 51, of the Jāf tribe, which (now ?) speaks Kurdish. Should his poems prove to be in Gūrānī this would suggest the popularity of the dialect for literary purposes, or that the Jāf have changed their speech.

In addition to these names found in the Anthology the following names were dictated to me by Dr. Sa'id-khān :—

29. MOLLĀ MUṢṬAFĀ BĒSĀRĀNĪ, from the village Bēsārān, in the canton Zhāwarūd, who died *circa* A.D. 1760 and lies buried in Du-rū in Awrāmān-i takht. It is possible that he is identical with No. 22. Bēsārānī has left a *divān* (*kulliyāt*).

30. ŞAYDĪ flourished towards A.D. 1520 (?) and wrote in a particular dialect, now extinct. The specimens which Dr. Sa'id-khān communicated to me confirm its Gūrānī type, but it uses *xwēm* for the Gūrānī *wēm*. A *divān* (*kulliyāt*) of

This celebrated vali of Ardalān is often mentioned at the time of Shah 'Abbās and Shah Şafī : see 'Ālam-ārā, 762, *Dhayl-i 'Ālam-ārā*, Tehran, 1317, pp. 195, 288. He took an active part in the operations in Mesopotamia, but finally went over to the Ottomans and died in Mosul in 1046/1636. The Ibrāhīmī branch of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq consider him as one of their incarnations.

² The historian of the vālīs of Ardalān calls her Zarrīn-kolāh, sister of Shah 'Abbās; my MS., p. 111.

Şaydī existed in Razāw (Awramān-i takht), but the owner refused to let a copy of it be made.

31. MOLLĀ RAḤĪM TAYJOWZĪ of Javān-rūd (the latter name is apparently connected with the Jāf tribe). He has a *kulliyāt* and an *‘Aqida-nāma*. His language is mixed.

32. AḤMAD BEG KŌMĀSĪ is celebrated for his elegy, of which we speak below in detail. Dr. Sa‘īd-khān in his reprint of it quotes another short poem of his : *qalbām wā zuzāl*.

C. Religious Poetry

The *Şalawāt-nāma* of Khānay Qubādī (*vide supra*, lyrics No. 28) is a specimen of an orthodox Shī‘a poem in honour of Muḥammad and ‘Alī. The MS. in my possession (dated 1310/1892) contains forty-nine verses full of conventional terms and very scantily seasoned with dialectal elements.

Beginning :—

Yā rabb bē-hājāt zāt-e bē-eybāt
Be-serr-e tāqdīr zā elm-e gheybāt
Ānān-fa-ānān sā‘āt-be-sā‘āt
Hey zā rūy āzāl tā rūy qiyāmāt
Hār lāhzā hār dām hār rū ziyādātār
Şalawāt bube nūr pāk peyghāmbār

To the same category must belong the *‘Aqida-nāma* of Mollā Raḥīm Tāyjawzī (*vide supra*, lyrics No. 31). Nor does the *Kitāb-i khāwarān* (*vide supra*, epics No. 9) go beyond the usual type of Shī‘a apocrypha.

More curious are the motives for the composition of a dithyramb in honour of Muḥammad, son of the Ḥanafite (*vide supra*, epics No. 10), in view of the fact that the extremist sect Kaysāniya recognized him as imām and some of its adherents were expecting Muḥammad’s return.¹ In 65–7/685–7 the famous Mukhtār raised the banner of rebellion to support the claims of Muḥammad b. Ḥanafiya.² In 66/685 he appointed a governor to Hulwān in order to fight the Kurds (see *IA.*, iv, 187), i.e. probably the Sunni Kurds. On the contrary, for the Ahl-i Ḥaqq Gūrāns these events may symbolize the spread of the Shī‘a extremism in Zagros and even the championship for the rights of the oppressed classes (*mawālī*).

However, speaking of the religious literature in Gūrānī we have in view above all the writings of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq. We have mentioned that the founder of the sect, Sultān Sohāk, born at Barzenje, sixteen miles east of Sulēmānī, was most closely associated with the Gūrān. One of the hymns definitely insists upon S. Sohāk’s having spoken Gūrānī. Even at a later period when the religion became “Turkicized” in Azarbayjan, one of the “angels”, Khān Almās, composed hymns both in Turkish and Gūrānī (e.g. the popular *chār gūshā māt-ān*). A number of verses in a kind of archaic Gūrānī are found in the text of my copy of *Saranjām* (copied in 1259/1843). Possibly in the

¹ Friedländer, “The heterodoxies of the Shī‘ites,” in *JAOS.*, 1909, vol. 29, pp. 133–8.

² Wellhausen, *Die . . . Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, 1901, pp. 74–87.

beginning of the nineteenth century lived Shaykh Amīr (referred to by Gobineau), of whose poems I possess *Haftād-u du kalīma*.

A great number of *kalām* is due to the Khāmūshī sayyids whose headquarters are at Tū-shāmī, near Gahwāra. Sayyid Rustam, son of Sayyid Ayāz, son of the famous Sayyid Brāka, was still alive in 1920. The poet attached to this family was Darvīsh Naurūz, who often called himself "the least dog of the house of Khāmūsh". He was alive towards 1875.¹

A very notorious poet was Taymūr-qulī b. Ridā-'Alī, a Gūrān youth of Bān-Yārān (near Bābā-Yādegār). His career began under the auspices of Sayyid Brāka, but he soon claimed to be an incarnation of divinity. His activity provoked great troubles in the province of Kermanshah and the governor-general had him executed in 1268/1822.² This dreamer is credited with a complete *ḍivān*.³ Soon after Taymūr's death another youth, Ṣayfūr (or Fattāḥ), claimed to be his incarnation, and this Taymūr II is also said to have composed a *ḍivān*.⁴

The structure of the religious *kalāms* does not differ from that of the epic and lyric poetry.⁵ The attempts to imitate the *ghazal* with its rhyme running through the whole poem usually end in a fiasco, but very often the *kalāms* are arranged in strophes with a burden repeated after each. The *kalāms* are meant to be sung with the accompaniment of a *sāz* or a *tār* (*tamīra*): see *Notes*, 113-14.

It should be mentioned that the Ahl-i Ḥaqq consider as their saint the well-known dialectal poet Bābā Ṭāhir.⁶ Thirteen quatrains belonging, or ascribed, to him are found inserted in the text of my MS. of *Saranjām*,⁷ and thirty-one quatrains figure at the head of a collection of *kalāms* which was sent to me by my Ahl-i Ḥaqq friends. There is no doubt, however, that the conventional language of B. Ṭāhir presents no characteristics of the true Gūrānī, and that his metre (*hazaj*) is in the tradition of Persian (but not Gūrānī) popular poetry.

As an interesting novelty one should record the exploit of Dr. Sa'īd-khān, who published a sizeable book in which, in Gūrānī verse, he expounds the Christian doctrine.⁸ It is most curious that Gūrānī has been chosen as a surest approach to the hearts of the author's countrymen, the Kurds. Dr. Sa'īd-khān writes: "I have endeavoured, in the language of Sulṭān and Pīr and the style of the later *daftars*, or rolls, to give them the message" (*sic*).⁹

¹ I possess his *kalāms* beginning as follows: (1) *yārān kī vānān*, (2) *yārān čan čanān*, (3) *gird* (?) *gawiz-nān*, (4) *yārān čis bi-ān*, (5) *yārān yādgār*, (6) *yārān āsmān*, (7) *yārān če kārān*, (8) *yārān bārr-ām dī*.

² Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 155. Also *Firgān*, ii, 157.

³ A letter of Sayyid Nūrullāh to Dr. Sa'īd-khān, 6 Dhul-qa'da 1342. One of his poems is found in the O. Mann MS. which I analysed in my *Notes*, 171-3.

⁴ The *Kalām* in my *Saranjām* beginning *Taymūr-dhāt hastam*, "I possess the person of Taymūr," is apparently by Ṣayfūr. See my *Notes*, p. 157.

⁵ *Vide infra*, p. 96 below.

⁶ See Minorsky, "B. Ṭāhir," in *EI*.

⁷ Minorsky, *Matériaux*, pp. 99-103.

⁸ *Kitāb-i nizānī* (*mizgānī*) "Book of good tidings", 515 pages, mostly 15 lines to page, copied in 1342/1924, introduction dated Murdād 1309/1930, with a preface by S. H. Taqizadeh.

⁹ *The Moslem World*, January, 1927, p. 40.

5. THE ELEGY OF AḤMAD KHĀN KŌMĀSĪ

In 1917 my friend Dr. Sa'īd-khān Kordestānī communicated to me the text of an elegy written by Aḥmad Khān Kōmāsī on the death of his wife. The original was in Arabic script, but Dr. Sa'īd-khān dictated it to me and explained the difficult passages. Dr. Sa'īd-khān was born in a Kurdish family of Muslim divines. At an early age he embraced the Christian religion and through many vicissitudes of fortune stood firmly by his convictions. Ever faithfully attached to his people, he is deeply versed in Kurdish life, language, and traditions. To his enlightened interest we owe the salvage of the famous Greek parchments which he brought back from Awrāmān.¹ Dr. Sa'īd-khān's native language is the Kurdish of Senne (Ardalan),² but he is so well acquainted with the Gūrānī *κωιή*, which as a literary language flourished at the court of the hereditary valis of Ardalan, that he composed in it the already mentioned treatise in verse. We have to assume that Aḥmad Khān Kōmāsī himself meant his poem to be read in *κωιή*. Therefore Dr. Sa'īd-khān's reading and interpretation could hardly be improved upon, so far as our purpose goes. Some day a phonetic transcription will be taken on the spot, if possible among the Kōmāsī. Here we are interested in the elegy as a literary achievement, and for this purpose the subtleties of individual pronunciation recede to the second plane.

There is no definite information on the author of the elegy except that he belonged to the Kōmāsī tribe. The district of Kurrāvāz where the Kōmāsī are established consists of twenty villages with some 2,500 inhabitants.³ It lies in the province of Senne (the "Kurdistan proper" of the official terminology) on the road connecting this town with Mariwān, and on a left affluent of the river of Awrāmān-i takht. The district is a *terra incognita*,⁴ and we cannot assume that a "Gūrānī" dialect is spoken in it at present.⁵ It is more probable that to give expression to his sorrow Aḥmad Khān chose the usual vehicle of the poets of Ardalan.

With all its freshness and lack of convention the elegy reflects some definite poetical canon. Its outward form conforms to Gūrānī use. Each verse consists of two rhyming hemistiches, each of ten syllables divided by the cæsura into two groups of five syllables. The verse is clearly syllabic without any consideration of length.⁶ The first hemistich of the poem is incomplete: it contains

¹ See E. H. Minns, "Parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman in Kurdistan," in *JHS.*, vol. xxxv, 1915, pp. 22-65.

² See my articles "Senne" and "Sisar" in *EI*.

³ 'Alī Akbar Viqāyī-nigār, *Ḥadiqa-yi Nāsirī*—a history of Ardalan in my possession.

⁴ It was only accidentally traversed by Lycklama a Nijeholt who praises its wooded landscape, *Voyage en Russie, etc.*, 1875, iv, 60.

⁵ In spite of its lying so near to Awrāmān! The language of Mariwān which is situated immediately north of Awraman is Kurmānji.

⁶ Apart from the Avestan and Middle Persian verses built on the syllabic pattern, we have now examples of the Tajik poetry with verses of ten syllables, but based on a tonic pattern: see A. N. Boldirev, in *Trudi Tajik. bazi*, iii, 1936, 59-73. [I understand that Dr. Henning has now come to the conclusion that older Iranian poetry is tonic and not merely syllabic. After all, I should also admit that in Gūrānī poetry tonic stress appears as important as the number of syllables.]

only the second half of the hemistich, as if to announce the rhyme and subject. This practice is common in all the Gūrānī poems, lyric, epic, or religious.

The plan of the poem is very clear: Aḥmad-khan repairs to the tomb of his wife (verses 1-3), and over it gives vent to his sorrow (v. 4-19). He is full of anxiety for his beloved lying in darkness and cold (v. 20-4). He remembers her hair, her gazelle eyes. Why did she abandon him? (v. 25-32). Silence. Why does she not respond? Perhaps her love has ceased? (v. 33-9). Then a voice is heard: the tomb prevents its captive from replying; the lover's lament is of no avail against destiny (v. 40-9). There is no escape from it; the lover will take his place by the beloved (v. 50-2). Maybe! but Aḥmad till his dying hour will go on mourning his beauty (v. 53).

Several images of the elegy belong to current Islamic stock. The name of the departed wife, Leyla, suggests to the bereaved poet the attitude of Majnūn; he burns on the fire of separation as a Phoenix (*qaqnas*, **qaqnus*)¹; he calls his beloved "a walking cypress", etc.² But apart from these external embellishments he moves freely in the liberal frame of Gūrānī poetry.

The spectacle of death loosens the fetters of tradition even of the classical Persian poets. The subject is worth a special investigation, but it will be enough to remember some better known examples to set off the originality of the modest poet of Kōmāsī.

In the strophes dedicated to the memory of his son the slightly rationalizing Firdausī imagines him as having reached Light, there to prepare a place for the father. With his epic serenity Firdausī prays God to forgive the sins of the youth and to clothe him with the cuirass of Reason.

Khāqānī, son of a Christian mother, dedicated three poems to his departed wife. One of them is long and cold, but the remaining two are simple and affectionate. To prolong the days of his dying wife, he says: "Should my days be burdened with solicitude for thee, let me not consider solicitude for thee heavy." In the other poem he mourns his "faithful companion (*vafā-parvard yār*)", the trusted keeper of his secret thoughts. The poet's biographer rightly says: "la douleur lui fait oublier son érudition."³ This could not be said of another long poem on the death of Khāqānī's child. Nothing is more pathetic than the contrast between genuine despair which pervades it and the crust of pedantic learning through which it filters.⁴

The lament of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī for his mother is moderated by the

¹ I wonder whether the mysterious قننس is not a mere misspelling of فنس **finiqs*? Thus the name of Alexander's father in Arabic is *Faylaqūs* for **Filifūs*, Philippos.

² Khurshid-efendi, Russ. transl. p. 148, writes in his chapter on Zohab: "Among the desert Arabs very few can read, whereas among the Kurds many are acquainted with letters and know the stories of Farhād and Shīrīn, Rustam and Bahrām Gūr." On Leyla and Majnūn, see above, epics No. 2.

³ N. Khanikof, "Mémoire sur Khâcânî," in *Jour. As.*, August, 1864, pp. 185-190; cf. Khāqānī, *Kulliyāt*, ed. Tehran, 1316/1937, pp. 808 and 311-12. Cf. also Salemann, *Chetvero-stishiya Khāqānī*, 1875, pp. 18-19.

⁴ Khāqānī, *Kulliyāt*, ed. Tehran, 1316/1937, p. 163.

nature of the subject. The sorrow is tempered by resignation, and the reproaches of fate are familiar and rhetorical.¹

A quatrain of Ḥāfiz,² which is both a "spring-poem" (*bahārīya*) and an elegy (*marthīya*), is unique in its harmony of deep feeling and mature art. Quite naturally my old teacher, F. E. Korsh (1843–1915), tried to render it in Greek verse:—

Ἔσθηκεν μὲν ἔαρ· Θάλλει δ' ἴα καὶ νάρκισσος
Ἡδὲ ῥόδον· σὺ δέ μοι τίπτε μένεις ὑπὸ γῆς;
Εἰαρῶ ὡς ὄμβρῳ ἰὼν τεὸν, ὦ φίλε, τύμβον
Ἀρσῶ δακρυχέων ὄφρ' ἂν ὑπεκπροφανέης.

After these examples it will be easier to value the artless dirge from Zagros. The poet's feelings are simple but strong. No artifice of mysticism or theology obscures them. Like a pagan living in direct communion with nature Ahmad Khān feels the cold of Leyla's "narrow dwelling". It is vain to force the gate of the Inevitable, but the sorrow of the loss burns like a wound of which the poet speaks with the realism of a warrior. And the poem ends on the cry of no submission, no resignation!

The poem is very popular throughout Kurdistan. Benedictsens³ took down the three opening verses in Avrāmān. A truncated version of the poem was reproduced in a Kurdish anthology printed in Stambul.⁴ The complete text was lithographed in Tehran by Dr. Sa'īd-khān, who added special signs for the special retroflex *ī* (*lām* with a hook) and the strong *r* (*r* with a tashdid). The specimen annexed has been photographed from his hand-written copy.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Gîlkoy tazeŷ Leyl</i>
<i>Nā pāyey mazīr o" Leyle pîr meyl</i>
<i>Şim wā sārīnāš wā dātāy⁵ pîr jo"š</i>
<i>Wātîm : āy dîşōz, Qāyşe loŋg-wā-</i>
<i>kōt</i> | <i>Arū şim wā sār gîlkoy tazeŷ Leyl</i>
<i>Jā dîdām wārān āsrīnān çūn seyl</i>
<i>Sānge mazīrāš gîrtîm wā bāwîş</i>
<i>Mobārākîî bō yāney bîdî çōt !</i> |
| 5. <i>Sār hōr-dār nā xāk, sōle xārāmān</i>
<i>Kōçe bē-wādāt kārî p"ēm kârdān</i>
<i>Gîrrāy nāre 'eşq dūrî bātāy to</i>
<i>Waxtān çūn Qāqnās bābūn wā zoxal</i>
<i>Yā hō bā-wēney Qāyşe loŋg-wā-kōt</i> | <i>Mîŋ Mājnūne to-m, wāy-tōr p"ēm āmān</i>
<i>Bē-zārîm jā gyān rāzîm bā-mârdān</i>
<i>Kārî p"ēm kârdān, no" nāmāme no"</i>
<i>Şād bō bā-gârdîm zalān yā şamāl</i>
<i>Tān bō wā-xorāk wāşîyāne çōt</i> |
| 10. <i>So"gānd bo" xātān fîrūzey xoşrāŋg</i>
<i>Jo" sāvā gârdāş çârxe pîr setām</i>
<i>To bārdān wā-xāk siyāy tānge tār</i> | <i>Bo" dāstey zîlfān pāşewyāy pāy sāŋg</i>
<i>Mîŋ-o-to wā jo"r jîyā kârd jā hām</i>
<i>Mîŋ mām p"ēy āzār jāfāy rōzegār</i> |

¹ E. G. Browne, *LHP.*, iii, 109.

² Its genuineness is still suspect.

³ Published by A. Christensen, *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā*, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd., vi/2, 1921, p. 112.

⁴ *Anjuman-i adabiyāt-i kurd*, edited by Colonel Amin-Faydī of Sulēmāni, Stambul, 1339/1920, pp. 105–9: twenty-six verses of the elegy. The editor explains that the language is "the Kurdish of Iran. The reading is difficult (*nākhwandvār*), but the author had much power in representing life".

⁵ But see verses 16, 36, 43.

لحم یک کوماسی در ریشه کوچ خود کشته است

۱. کلکمر ناز لیل
آرد شیم و سیر کلکمر ناز لیل
نبایه هزار او لیل پر میل
میدیدیم و ارا اسر نیان چون لیل
شیم و سرنش و دله پر جوش
سنگ فزارش گریتم و باوش
وامم اردل سوز قیس لنگ و کول
سارکت بو یانه بیدی چول
۵. سر هور دار سخاک سول خزان
من محنون قوم دی طویم آمان
کوچ بیو ادت کاری هم کردن
بیزارم هگیان راضیم و مردن
گر نه ناز عشق دورر با لار تو
کار میجوی کردن فو غام نو
وختن چون قفس بون در خال
شاد بو بگردم ز لان پاشال
یا هو بویه قیس لونک و کول
رتن بود و خاک و حشیا چول
۱۰. سو گدو خالان فیر و زه و خرنک
بو رسته زلفان بشویا یار سنگ
بو رسته زلفان بشویا یار سنگ

۱۱. جو ساه و گردش جرخ پر ستم
من دو دو جو جیا کردیم
تو بردن و خاک سیاهی تنگ تار
من نام بی آزار حقای روزگار
هر روز چون محزون خاطر خمیل
هر لیل لبلمن نمرده و جیل
خان پزاران رفیق رامن
چنینو حفا و جو دایم سودمن
۱۵. بسیاری خم بی طور هجوم آوردن
فانله فام بتاراج بردن
زمان سخت ای دله پر اش
چون عای باران گز زو خا و میوش
شوکیلن زو خا و دلای حیدا
کافر نریش میو پمیدا
بایتم ویران دردم دیوان
چون آهوی تنیا سر لیم بشویان
شوان زار دی شین بولان زورین
کیبار و سوسه تنیای تو من
۲۰. حال تو چشیش شای و فادارن
کین نامر ازت صبا و ایوان؟
نوسرای تاریک پر خوف خط
مدارت چون لیل ناز پرورد؟
چطور مویاری چون قرارت
کین ما و رفیق لیل و مدارت!

- Hār rō cūn Mājnūn xatīr jā xām
kayl
Xāmān pāžārān rafēge rā-mān*
15. *Sāpāy xām bāytōr hujūm āwārdān
Zāmātāne sāxt āy dīlāy pīr ēš
Šo" kāylān zuxā" wā lāy jēm^adā
Yānām wērānān dārdīm d^ewīyān
Šāwān zārī-w-šin, rō'ān rōrō mān*
20. *"Hāle-to čēšān, šāy wāfādārān
N'o" sārāy tārīk pīr xo^f-u xātār
Četōr māwyārī cūn-ān qārārāt?
Nā sārđī hāwāy sārde siyā-sāng
Jā bātī bāhūy Qāyse xāmīnāt*
25. *Dāxām o" dāx-ān, Leyle xatīr-tāng,
Wā čānge čīl-čāng to tā-tā-t mākārd
O" dīdāy māmūr āhū-bēze to
Īsā nā gārdeš čārxe nīlī-rāng
Sā p^ey čēš sōmāy dīdām tār nābō*
30. *To xārīke qābr siyāy sārđānī
Mīn tānyā cūn Qāys lēwāy xām-
xātāt
Wāl-hāšīl hārčānd šīn-o-zārīm kārđ
Nā juwāw dā p^em, nā zārrāy dāng
kārđ
Dāysān hām jā no" wātām: "Āy
dīl-sōz*
35. *Yā p^ey čēš meylām jā-lāt kām bī-ān
Mīn wāy dīlāy xār bē-qārārāwā
Hām nā sārīnāt zār-zār mānātū
To hēc nūt wā qāyd bē-qārārī mīn
Nīmāđāy juwāw, nuxtāy xāt begārd*
40. *Đīm, sādāye nārm jā tōy xākāwā
Āmā wā gōšām cūn hārdā-jārān
So"gānd bā wāheđ farde bē-hāmtā
Rāy juwāw nī-ān, dīl bē-qārārān
Jā tā'sīre xāk hāwāy sārđ sāng*
45. *Xāne xāk bo^tōr māhbūsām kārđān
Bālē, hār čānd šīn zārī mākārī
Fā'idāš nī-ān sūd nāđārū p^et
P^ey čēš āy dīnyā xeylī bē-wāfān
Kās jā qāyde dām mākraš nārāstān*
50. *Jā āwwāt dīnyā tā wā rōy māhšār
Hār kās dīl šād bo wāy dīnyāy bē-pō
Hār čānd pārēw mīn to āl-wāđātān
Ahmāđ pārēw kōč šāy jāmin-jāmān*
- Hār: "Leyl, Leyle-mīn," nā hārdāy
Dujayl
Čānūw jāfā-w-jo^r dāyim so^adāmān
Qāfeley fāmīm bā tārāj bārdān
Čūn jāy mārān-gāz zuxā" māyū lēš
Kāfir bāzā'īs māyo [sic] p^em^adā
Čūn āhūy tānyā sār lēm šewīyān
Yāk jār wāswāsey tānyā'ī-to mān
Kī-ān hāmrazāt sabbā-w-ēwārān
Māđārāt cūn-ān, Leyle nāz-pārwar
Kī-ān hā"-rāfēq leyl-o-nāhārāt?
Četōr-ān xātān fīrūzey-wāš rāng?
Kām sānge siyā hān jā bātīnāt?
O" dāssey zīlfān pāšewīyāy pāy sāng.
Īsā pāšewān cūn rāyhāne hārd
O" Qāyse qātrān šārr-āngēze to
Bē-ro^anaq bī-ān cūn nāqš rūye sāng
Zendāgī jā lām zār^amār nābō?
Tāmām hāsrātān nā dīl bārdānī
Zendā māgētōn nā rūy sār bisāt."*
- Nā pāy qābre Leyl bē-qārārīm kārđ
Yāk jār bītesām nā gārdūn wīyārd
Hakīme dārmān dārde Mājnūn-dōz*
- Mār āhde wārīn jā yāđāt šī-ān?
Wāy jāmay siyāy yāxā-pārāwā
Xāki yānāy no^t wā čām māmatū
Jā āl-wāđāy sāxt šīn-o-zārī mīn
Ma'lūmān jā lāt meylām bī-ān sārđ
J'o" yānāy tāzāy hāsrātnākāwā
Wātāš: "Hāy, Mājnūn, wētē kōsārān
Bē-wāđā kārđān mīn jā to jīyā
Freyk sāng-u-xāk wā jāsām bārān
Rāy juwāw nī-ān, čānūt kārū dāng
Nāzārāne wēm jā yāđām bārdān
Hār čānd sār wā sāng siyā māđārī
Bišō, zārī kār pārēw bāxte wēt
Jā tānxwāy wāfāš dāyem hār jāfān
Yāk-yāk wā zānjīr āyyārī bāstān
Hēc kās jā dāmaš bār nā-šī-n wā bār
Āxīr sārānjām rānjā-rō mābō
Āxīr sārānjām āy jāgā jātān."
Restāxēz kārū tā mārge sāmān!*

Here is the translation intended to facilitate the understanding of each word of the original :—

1. . . . " The fresh mound of Leyla !
 To-day I went near the fresh mound of Leyla.
 At the foot of the tomb of the graceful Leyla,
 Like a torrent, tears showered from my eyes.
 I repaired to her bedside and with my heart surging
 Seized with my hands her tumular stone.
 I said : o thou who settest the heart on fire, lo, before you is the Qays¹
 clad-in-rags.
 Blessed be thy house in the dreary waste !
5. Raise thy head from the earth, o stately cypress.
 I am your Majnūn ; this is what has befallen me.
 Your untimely departure has afflicted me so much
 That I no more care for my soul, am ready to die.
 The leaping fire of my love and the separation from your shapely form
 Have affected me, o sweet basil just unfurled, so
 That at times, like a Phoenix, I turn to glowing coal.
 May the North wind and the West wind² play with my dust.
 Or rather, like unto the Qays clad-in-rags,
 May my body fall a prey to the wild beasts of the desert.
10. By those moles, like to turquoises of perfect colour !
 By the crown of the tresses now lying dishevelled under the stone !
 This is how the rotation of the crafty wheel of the heaven
 Has violently separated us, me from thee.
 It took you into the black earth, tight and sombre,
 While I have remained exposed to the outrages of Destiny.
 Every day, like Majnūn, overwhelmed by sorrow
 In the stony waste of the Tigris, I repeat : o Leyla, o Leyla mine !
 Sorrows and sufferings are my travelling companions.
 Worries oppress me continuously.
15. Thus has the army of troubles assailed me
 And has looted the caravan of my thoughts !
 The heavy cares of my aching heart
 Are like snake-bites suppurating.
 At night my bedside is stained with gore ;
 Even an infidel would pity me.
 My house is deserted, my pain is next to folly ;
 As of a stray gazelle my thoughts are confused.
 At night—tears and mourning ; at day—my wailing.
 And suddenly, anxiety seizes me for your solitude.
20. How art thou, o queen of the faithful ?
 Who is thy confidant in the morn and evening ?
 In that dark abode full of dismay and danger,
 How dost thou feel, o graceful Leyla ?
 How dost thou fare, art thou tranquil ?
 Day and night, who is thy companion ?
 In the cold of the black stone

¹ I.e. Majnūn. ² *Zalān* (?).

- What has become of thy turquoise-like moles ?
 Instead of the arms of thy disconsolate Qays
 What black stone serves thee for pillow ?
25. My pain, o sorrowful Leyla, is (for)
 That cluster of curls which lie scattered under the stone.
 I used to comb them one by one with a forty-toothed comb,
 And now they are dispersed like basils on the rock.
 Your languid eye which made one forget the gazelles,¹
 That pitch-dark " Qays " of yours ² sowing misfortune,
 Now through the rotation of the azure wheel
 Has lost its splendour, like a picture on water.
 Why does not the sight of my eyes become obscured,
 Why does not this life quit me to go to perdition.
30. Thou, imprisoned by the dark, black tomb,
 Hast carried away thy heart's worries ;
 But I, lonely like the mad Qays, clad-in-sorrow,³
 I wander still alive on the face of the earth,
 And at last, however much I have wailed,
 I have fainted at the foot of Leyla's tomb.
 She has not responded with a single word to me
 (Although) my flame suddenly soared beyond the sky.
 Again and again I said : ' o burner of hearts,
 O physician with a remedy for Majnun's ailment !
35. Why have my desires weighed so little with you ?
 Have the vows of yore gone from your memory ?
 And again with this vile heart of mine,
 Again in this black garment, I am fainting with torn collar.
 Here at thy bedside I am weeping bitterly
 Rubbing my eyes on the dust of thy new dwelling.
 Thou heedest not my anxiety,
 My painful farewell and laments.
 Thou givest me no answer, o dot of a flawless mole !
 It is clear, thou hast grown indifferent to my love.'
40. But lo, a sweet voice coming from the folds of the earth,
 From the new abode full of woes !
 It reached my ear, as it used to
 Saying : ' o Majnūn, gone astray in the mountains,
 I swear by the One, the Unique, the Peerless,
 Prematurely has He separated me from thee.
 The way of response is barred, and the heart is fainting.
 Stones and earth weigh heavily on my body.
 It is this earth and the cold underneath the stone
 That have barred the way of answer, for me to call you.
45. The house of earth has so enthralled me
 That it has taken from memory my own dear ones.
 No, however much thou criest and lamentest,
 In striking thy head on the black stone,

¹ *Āhū-bēz* from *bēxtan* " debilem facere ".

² Here the symbol of Majnūn stand for " darkness ".

³ *Xalāt* stands for *zal'at*.

- It is no use and has no profit for you.
 Go, weep over your ill-luck.
 Why is this world so inconstant ?
 Instead of faithfulness, it ever metes out injustice
 No one has escaped from the snare of its wiles,
 One by one, it fetters men with the chain of its craftiness.
50. From the beginning of the world till the Day of Resurrection,
 No one has escaped from its snare.
 Whoever rejoices at the weftless ¹ (fabric of this) world
 In the end has to suffer and to wail.
 In vain you say farewell to me,
 In the end, this place will be yours (as well).'
53. O Aḥmad, for the departure of the queen of (the beauties) whose forehead
 shines like a mirror,
 Thou shouldst agonize till thy mortal end."

ADDITIONS

To p. 79, point (d). Dr. W. Henning has drawn my attention to Marquart, *A Catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 1931, p. 31, where Nor-Shirakan is explained as a contraction of *Not-Artashīrakān, with reference to Ṭabarī, i, 820 and Ibn Khurdādhbih, 17. This weakens my argument ; but is not the Sasanian form only a kind of "popular etymology" of an *older* term ?

To p. 80, l. 6. The title "Gūrān-shāh" occurs in the remarkable list of Kay-Khusrau's auxiliaries arrayed against Afrāsiyāb ; see *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iv, 16, ed. Tehran 1314/1935, v, 1279 :

v'az-ū dūrtar Ārash-i razm-zan,
chu Gūrān-shāh ān gurd-i lashkar-shikan.

To p. 81, l. 25. The true reading must be *Mastakān*. There is a village of this name in Brādōst (west of Urmia).

To p. 84. *Rāwst* should probably be restored as **rūstā* "district".

¹ Meaning : frail.