The Gürân

By V. MINORSKY

THE vague and indiscriminate use of the term Kurd goes back to early times. According to Ḥamza Ishāhānī (circa 350/961), ed. Berlin, 151, "The Persians used to call Daylamites 'the Kurds of Šabaristân', as they used to call Arabs 'the Kurds of Sīrāstān', 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 Khan 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 Läkkī—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-Kerman-

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.
Awrāmān-i luhūn to the west of the lofty range, and Awrāmān-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 Dinavar. A similar dialect is spoken by the Bājlān living immediately north of Mosol in the basin of the Khosar; 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 populations; but, no doubt, originally they covered a much larger territory. Their instinct, at least at present, is agricultural. In the gorges of Awrāmān (near Tawāle 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 ʿHaqq that this religion in its final form was born in the Gūrān-Awrāmān area. No less remarkable are the achievements of the Gūrān in the field of literature, for they developed a kawāfī which as a means of poetical expression was cultivated even by the neighbours of the Gūrān: it flourished at the court of the Kurdish valis of Ardalan (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 ʿHaqq 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 ʿHaqq 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. Manān, and added to them an Introduction in which he put together the facts culled from

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1 Locally known as Bājūrān. They are apparently Ahl-i ʿHaqq. 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.


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 Gürän; (2) their origins; (3) the written literature in common Güräni, as distinct from the popular stories collected by M. A. Benedictsen 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 Gürän and Kurds.

1. The Various Uses of the Terms Górän/Gürän

The Gürän 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 ethничal 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: Górän or Górän? The tribesmen forming the federation of clans in the region Kerend-Zohab call themselves Gürän, but the disappearance of the earlier ö in Güräni can be a later phenomenon, as in Persian. Even in Kurdish, which is more conservative, one finds mostly the pronunciation Gürän. But the form Górän is also attested. 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 Gürän. Mann’s explanation that Górän in this case is only a family name (which in the Mukri country has the meaning of “highwayman”) is insufficient. The story definitely refers to a social conflict, and görän apparently means “a peasant, a man of non-tribal origin.” A text from Zakho published by Socin has:

“I was not a Jew, nor a Muslim,
Nor a Christian (falläh), nor a Gürän.”

1 In the texts dictated to me by the Sālār of the Guran I find kū < kōh; rūz < rōz; dāeszāki < dōst-xwāhī. The diphthong au sounds or, and the number of such cases is increased by the frequent spirantization of b: sowz < subz; ayan < adab, but this diphthong sounds differently from the long ö. 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 gürän in Awrāmān-i luhūn; Gürän-kala, north of Jawānrūd. A Gürän-gah(ḥ) exists on the territory of the Mamash branch of Bilbās; a Gürän-awā in Brādōst, west of Urmiya. Chirikov, lxix, mentions a Gürän-dash in Bohītān.

3 The typical Mukri Kurdish correspondence of ō is ūe: kōh > kʿūṭ; gōz > gʿūṭ.

4 Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden, text, p. 253, translation, p. 396. In 1934 I met in Sulēmānī a teacher called “Görän”. He was from the neighbouring district of Qaradagh and spoke the Mukri dialect of Kurdish. He said that some Güräni was spoken only near Alabech (in Shahrzār, west of Awrāmān).

5 However, in this sense, too, Rich, i, 152, as informed by a Kurd of Sulēmānī, gives Gürän; cf. also Jaba-Justi, Dict. kurde, p. 368: gürän “people 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 (Farid 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 gabrân > görân. At another place (text, p. 265, transl. p. 265) the Görân are mentioned among the soldiers of a Muḥammad ʿAlī 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 ə and ǎ is accounted for by the existence of two different but closely resembling words: gabr-ān "Zoroastrians, subjects" > gaurān > görān, and the tribal name *Gāubārakān > Gāurakān > *Gōrakān > Görān > Görān. — At some later stage of their development both words must have sounded görān (finally becoming, or tending to become görān). That the tribal name Görān must have passed through the stage Görān is proved by its pronunciation in Turkish Gōrān ² (as applied to the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion professed by the Görān), for Turkish is very conservative in indicating the old ə.³

(c) Very definite is the extensive use of the term Gürān 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 kelou-spec 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 ethnic name to designate a social category and vice versa ⁵ is of course possible, but the Görān are mentioned as a warlike tribe already in the tenth century and it is very doubtful that all the peasant population in Kurdistan surnamed Görān/Gürān has any direct relation to the Görān 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 > görān.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 (< *gābra-kān).
² Cf. Qubnāme, v. 43: Bābā Khosīn fārsī dedi, Sullān Sōkā g'orānī. A group of places near Ganja is called after the Gōrān. Cf. also the title of an article by H. Adjarian, "Gyrans (sic) and Tamaries": see Rev. Hist. Rel., January, 1928.
³ Kōr > mod. Pers. kūr, but in Turkish kör "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 Jēle, Jaba-Justi, 294 (< fallāh, Prym-Socin, p. 64).
⁶ The etymology of gabr is still doubtful.
THE GŪRĀN

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-hunters 2 could not have been a very important tribe, the Gurani 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 people 4 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 Σιρακηνί{l} lay in Hyrcania on the Ochus (Tejen); Kretschmer connects with it the name of the present day Sarakhs (?).

(b) Another Σιρακηνί{l}, coupled with Σακασηνί{l}, 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 Sakašené (Arm. and Arab. Shakashên) lay in the region of the present-day Ganja,6 Sirakêni 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 *Sirакêni, confused by Ptolemy with (b), corresponds to the Armenian district Shirak (Balâdhu, 193: Taýr-Sîrât) 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"): Hübchschmann, op. cit., 319. Some districts of the region of Arabela (Erbil) were under its ruler (bdeašx), and in his posthumous Siûdarmenien, 1930, p. *59, Marquart resolutely identifies Nor-Shirakan with Adiabêni, i.e. the plains of Assyria (Nineveh, Arabela). 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

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1 xi, 14, 14: Φασὶ δὲ καὶ Θρακῶν τινάς τῶν προσαγορευομένων Ἑπαρασάρας, ὅλον κεφαλοτόμους, οἶκοσι ὑπὲρ τῆς Αρμενίας πηγάτων Γουρανίων καὶ Μῆδων.
2 See on them a short notice by Weisbach in Pauli-Wissowa, viii, 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 Saraparēs as περοκυκθητάς "scalers", and this was a Scythian custom.
5 See Kretschmer in Pauli-Wissowa, i, 5, 1927. The Siraci should be distinguished from the Silices (Sidlices) connected with Sidakâni (between Ushnû and Rawándur): see Marquart, Siûdarmenien, Index.
7 Rawlinson identified Ptolemy's Σιραγανῶν κόμη with Sirgân, west of Ushnû, 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 Gurani and Medes, to Nor-Shirakan, which lay in the direction of the present territory of the Gurān.

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

In spite of these new facts there is still some difficulty about the bridging of the ancient Gurani with the later Gurān (< *Gāvārakān).

The position grows much clearer under the Muslims. The oldest Arab geographer (end of the ninth century), Ibn Khurdādbih, 14, quotes a list of the districts of the Mesopotamian Savād, which without any doubt goes back to Sasanian times. “The district (kūra), Ostān Shādh Fayrūz, which is Ḥulwān: the revenue of Ḥulwan 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 Dargān, drains the region of the Gurāns and joins the Diyāla near Khāniqān. In another passage, p. 4, I. Khurdādbih explains that the kūra in question consists of five subdivisions (tassūj): Fayrūz-Qobādh, al-Jabal, Tāmarrā, Irbil, and Khāniqān. The latter is the well known place on the highway Baghdad-Kermanshah. Irbil is definitely a mistake, for the ancient Arbel lies too far from Ḥulwān and outside the Savād. In the parallel passage of Qudāma, 235, the name is spelt درسک which I should restore as Dargān, 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 ostsān. The third name is vocalized in the text al-Jabal, but a variant is dotless. I feel confident that one should read *al-Ṭil, with reference to the district of Gīlān, in the valley of a left affluent of the Alvand. Fayrūz-Qobādh is most probably the

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1 Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, p. 121, after Ḥamza, 61 (Berlin ed., 42); repeated in Mujmal al-tawāriḥ, ed. Tehran, 1939, p. 37.
2 Justi, op. cit., 121, arbitrarily explains it as Bahrām-dukhāt.
3 Ποταμος < Raozina (Ctesias); Περεσ < Pēroς; Γωσθρος < Gaozithra. The Greeks rather abuse the timbre o: Σαβρός < Sāyūr, Sāyūr.
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-Ṭirhān and Daqiqā is are under the dependencies of Maurit, which is described outside the Savād.
6 Also vide infra the quotation from the Nuzhat al-qulūb.
upper (eastern) part of Ḫulwān near Sarpol. Roughly speaking the ostān of Ḫulwān 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. Faqih, 245, who, among the marvels of Hamadān, describes the salt lake (mamlīḥa) 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 گوبار which he translated as "a herd", and freely interpreted as "herdsmen" ("pasteurs"), whereas the true translation of gāubāra 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-Jībāl), Murūj, iii, 253: "Shādanjān, Lazba (Luri ?), Madanjan, Mazdanakān, Bārisān, Khālī (*Jalālī < Galālī), Jābār.qī, Jāwānī, Mastakān." This list is slightly completed in Mas'ūdī's Tanbīh, 88-91: "Bāz.njān, Shūhjān, Shād.njān, N.saw.raq, Būdhīkān (*Barzikān ?), Luri, Jwr.qān, Jāwānī, Bārisī, Jalālī, Mashtakān, Jābār.qa, Jurūghān, Kikān, Mājurūdān, 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. Jwrqān (*Jawaraqān) 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 *Jūrāghān, *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 (< Jawān-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 Hasanbāya 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 historians 1: he re-educated his tribe, protected the


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peasants, and equitably assessed the taxes. His possessions extended from Northern Luristan (Sābūr-khwāst) and even the approaches of Khūzistān, *IA.*, ix, 172, to Shahrazūr, *IA.*, ix, 173. Under Badr, the Ḵwrgan (*Jauraqân*) are often mentioned. In 405/1014 Badr marched against the Kurdish chief Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd and laid siege to his castle. The hardships of a winter campaign provoked discontent among his men, and he was killed by “one of their division called Jāraqān”. Ḥusayn sent his body to be buried at Mashhad ‘Ali (Kūfa), which would indicate some Shīʿa leanings on the part of Badr. The Jūraqān fled to the Buṭayd Shams al-Daula, but possibly only the guilty part of the tribe is meant in this case. Under 417/1026 the Kāḵyid ‘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 Abūl-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 Kāḵyid ‘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 Yīnnāl sent by Tughril took Hamadan, the master of this city, Karshāf b. ‘Alā al-Daula, fled to the Jūraqān. Yīnnāl set out for al-Ṣaymara, lying in North-Western Luristan on the upper Karkha, and attacked “the Kurds established in the neighbourhood and belonging (mīn) to the Jūraqān”. The latter with Karshāf fled to the country of Shīhāb al-Daula Abūl Fawāris Manṣūr b. Ḥusayn, who apparently was the ruler of *Huwayza* (not al-Jaṣīra) 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-tawārikh* (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 *Jawraqān*,3 the author substitutes *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 Hīlēl (Hīlāl) Badr fought against his own tribe the Barzikānān (Barzikān).

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1 The *Mujmal* has been carefully edited by Bahār, Tehran, 621/1939.
2 *Kitāb-i Tājī* of Šābī.
Then he elevated (bar kashūd) the Gūrānān, so that nobody stood closer to Badr than they. Nevertheless they conspired and killed him in 405/1014 while he was besieging Kūshin (sic) b. Masʿūd in his fortress on the banks of the Safid-rūd. It looks improbable that Badr could have extended his operations to the basin of the Safid-rūd flowing into the Caspian Sea, and I strongly suspect that this name stands in the Mujmal for Sīrfaqan (misread: Sirdrūd), i.e. the middle course of the Diyāla which separates Zohāb (in the south) from Awrāmān (in the north). Sharafnāma (I.A. Koṣḥ al-Din) cannot be identified, but if Safid-rūd = Sīrfaqan it is likely that the fortress in question was Koṣḥ Kūsaj and stood near the present-day village Kūsaj-i Hajjī in Awrāmān-i takht. 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 ʿHulwān, ii, 151.

Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī, Nushat al-qulūb (740/1340), p. 165, in describing the highway from Kermānshāh to Ḥulwān (via Kerend and the famous pass of Ṭaq-i gīrārā) 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 Nahrawān, i.e. Diyāla, consists of two branches. One of them (i.e. Sīrva and Diyāla proper) comes from “the side of Sīrvān”, whereas the other (i.e. the Ḥulwān, Ḥalawān, Alwand) “rises from the region (ḥudūd) of Gil-u-Gilān and the pass of Ṭaq-i gīrārā; it rises from a great spring sufficient to turn some ten water-mills and passes ʿHulwān, 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. Thus the characteristic name *Gil-u-Gilān in Ḥamdullāh’s text refers to the heart of the Gūrān territory and not to the valley of Gilān joining the Alwand much lower down. With this reservation the term used by Qazvīnī is noteworthy.

Towards 744/1343 the Egyptian scholar Shīhāb al-Dīn al-ʿOmārī 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-Kūrānīya),

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1 There is a famous sanctuary in the village. In Awrāmān I was told that Kūsaj does not stand for Persian “beardless” (kūsaj, kūsa). I think the name is connected with the tribe Kōsa which was formerly in occupation of Shahrazūr. Its remnants live now among the Zāzās.

2 Evliyā-čelebi, iv, 377; A. Pinçon in Sir D. Ross, Sir Anthony Sherley, p. 148; Sir H. Rawlinson, JRS, 1839, p. 33; Chirikov, Putevoy zhurnal, 1849-1852, St. Petersburg, 1875, 301–5: Kerend-Bivanlî-Rījāb; description of the source of the Alwand which lies in the Rījāb gorge but closely north of Taq-i gīrārā (in its “region”).
qui sont puissants, belliqueux et se composent de soldats et d’agriculteurs (jund-ve-ra-ri’miyya). Ils habitent un lieu appelé Raoust alemir Mohammad (Rāwst al-amir Muhammad) 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 disorde.” 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 (*Kūsā) and (??) emigrated to Syria and Egypt, and their place was taken “par une autre nation حوسة dont les membres ne sont point de véritables Kurdes”. Quatremerre restores this latter name as حسنوية, 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 Kalhurst and

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1 Translated by Quatremerre, 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 Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Quatremerre, p. 255.
2 Its centre Rijāb > Rīzhāw is situated at the western end of the defile through which the Alvand debouches into the Zohab plain.
3 See our interpretation of I. Khurdādbīh, 14, v.s, p. 89.
4 Possibly Samghān of Baladhūrī.
5 Perhaps: *Daudān, a village behind Dālahū.
6 It is quite possible that Ḥasanoya’s tribe Barzīkān were of an origin similar to that of the Gūrān.
the Ardalân, and this led to the usual confusion of dynasties and tribes. Sharaf Khân’s intention was apparently to group under Kalhur ¹ all the southern (non-Kurmânj) Kurds of Kermanshah (and possibly Senne), but on p. 317 he states that “the ‘ashirat of the Kalhur is called Gürân’”. He also admits, p. 83, that the ancestor of the Ardalân had long lived among the Gürân, before, towards the end of the Chengizid rule in Persia, he became the lord of Shahrazûr. On p. 296 Sharaf Khân admits that the rulers of the Brâdost were from the Gürân tribe, or rather from the children of Hilîl b. Badr. Speaking of the “Persian” Kurds (Siyâh-Mansûr, Chiganî, and Zangana) Sharaf Khân lets them (or perhaps their chiefs?) come from Luristan, but adds that “there is a report that they were from Gürân and Ardalân”. An interesting detail may be noted in the fact that Shâh-verdi Khân, ruler of the Northern Luristan (d. 1006/1597), trying to recover Khurram-âbâd, levied “a group of the Gürân tribe”, which suggests that, as in Badr b. Hasan’s time, Gürân were still found in Northern Luristan.²

According to Sir H. Rawlinson ³ the Kalhur were ousted from Zohâb by Sultan Murâd IV, who gave their lands to the Bâjilân whom he brought from Mosul.⁴ Thanks to O. Mann, we know now that the Bâjilân of Mosul speak a dialect closely akin to Gürânî. The conqueror’s scheme was to control the Gürân 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 Gürân, “which had been previously applied to the Kurdish peasantry”, and split into three groups: Qâl’a-Zanjîr, Kerend, and Bevanî. This explanation naturally applies only to the Kalhur of Zohâb. The equation Gürân = peasantry is not in keeping with Sharaf Khân’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 Gürân mass, and the Bâjilân took the leadership over the whole conglomeration of tribes. It is characteristic, however, that the Bâjilân pashas built for themselves a new residence in the plain (the now ruined borough of Zohâb) and so remained on the outskirts of the Gürân territory. It is possible that a part of the Jâf

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 Gûdarz b. Giv, Sharâr-nâmä, 317. I wonder whether Kalhur is not derived from *kal-xwar “buffalo-eaters”. An important village Kalxorân lies north of Ardabil: cf. Sîsîlât al-nasab-i Şafaviya, p. 12.

² It is astonishing how well the Ahl-i Hâqq writings are acquainted with the geography of Northern Luristan; see my Notes sur les Ahl-i Hâqq, pp. 22, 42. A number of fervent adherents of religion are found in that region (especially the Dilfân). 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 Gürân in 1836 when he was in command of a Gürân regiment: see “Notes on a march from Gürân”, in JBGs., 1839, ix, 26–116. I have also used an official memorandum of the same author on the Turco-Persian frontier (1844).

⁴ Na’imâ, i, 474, says that in A.D. 1630 the chief of the Bâjilân 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 (mutajânîs) 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 Bājilān rulers.

When the Persians had the upper hand they tried to cripple the power of the Bājilān. Nādir Shah, who was opposed by Ḍām Pasha Bājilān, deported a part of his tribe to the neighbourhood of Khurram-ābād.¹ The last pasha of Zohāb of the Bājilān family was removed by prince Muḥammad ‘Alī Mīrzā (governor of Kermanshah from 25, viii, 1806–22, xi, 1821), who restored the leadership to the original Gūrān of Qal’a-Zanjīr, 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 > *Jauraq > *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 Gavapek, 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 Tabaristan ³ was called Gil-Gāubārā. This name clearly follows the legendary tradition. If Gil refers to the king’s origin, Gāubārā apparently symbolizes his newly acquired territory connected with the memory of Farīdūn. Ibn Isfandiyār, 15, and Zāhīr 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 *Gil-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 Tārīḵ-i Nādiri, ed. 1286, H. Nādir by-passed Tāq-i girbā 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 Zāhīr al-Dīn, ed. Dorn, pp. 39–40; Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, 117, 430, 433; Rabino, “Les dynasties du Māzandarān,” in J.ÁS., juillet 1936, p. 438.
⁴ This is a further evolution of the story, Shāh-nāma, ed. Vullers, i, 41, according to which Farīdūn was brought up on the milk of the cow Barnāya. In point of fact, Firdausi gives a twist to the original version, in which Barmāya is a male animal under whose feet Aši-vanuhi seeks refuge, Avesta, Yašt 17, 15, and Farīdūn (Frētān) 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 *Gāubārā to those called after Gilān. For the location of the Gāubārā near the Caspian one might quote another passage from the Nuzhat al-qulūb: “Mahmūd-ābād (built by Ghārān-khan south of the Kur estuary) lies in the plain Gāvārī on the coast of the Caspian sea.” Still more interesting is the mention of a Kūrān (*Gūrān)-dasht in the report of Uljāytu’s campaign against Gilan (in the spring of 707/1308): the Ilkhan marching from Sultanīya reached Loushān (on the Shāh-rūd) via Kūrān-dasht. Loushān is a well-known crossing of the Shāh-rūd above Manjūl, and Kūrān-dasht must have lain west or south-west of it. Cf. Ta’rīḵ-i Uljāytu, Bib. Nat., Supp. pers. 1419, fol. 42.
light a legend picked up by Soane from Aurāmis acquires some practical interest. According to it, “Darius the Mede expelled the original Aoram 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 (Padishkhwārgar) as a country whose inhabitants go on foot, are shepherds, are prolific (huzahishnīh), 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 Shahrazūr, Yaqūt, ii, 711; Dilmān (older Dilmaqān) is still the chief place of Salmas; a sizeable district to the south-west of Lake Urmia is called Lāhiǰān (as the town in Gilān).² Gāvbāra (often joined with Gil) 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 (*Gāvbārak) are mentioned already by I. Khurādāḥib (end of the ninth century); but, as we have said, his list of ostāns is undoubtedly of Sasanian origin. As the ostān of Ḥulwān 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 (“Fayarūz Qubād” ?) 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 Zagros ³ 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, Erānsahr, 126, according to which Daylam and Padishkhwārgar were brought into a closer contact with the rest of the Empire only under Kāvāt I (485–531), or even Khusraw I (531–579). Concurrently, the excess of population might have been diverted toward the Zagros.

(5) As regards the other colonies of Gūrān,⁴ the report of Ibn al-Faṣḥī on the presence of some Jābārāqa near Farāhān may be substantiated by the name of the village Gevare (Gavāra) which Chirikov, 180, places at 5 farsaks 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 haplography 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 Ḥulūd 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 (*Gēlo gaya, Gēl + ġyā).
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 Gūrānī speaking colony of Kandūla, and twelve miles downstream from the latter lies a village Gīlānā.

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 Zīmkān (vide supra). More curious is the name of the pass ² leading from the Saymara valley to the district of Harāsam, over the mountain Wardalān: Milēh Gahawarch (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 Gārrabān, 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 Dilfān. The latter are the most important Ahl-i Ḥaqq tribe of the Northern Luristan.⁴ The Dilfān are said to speak the Southern Kurdish dialect Lākki,⁵ but their group of clans may have absorbed some of the Gūrānī-speaking population. A detail may indicate a connection of the Dilfan with the Caspian provinces: in 1891 my late friend Aḡhā Sām, himself of Dilfān 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 Gūrānī group (Gūrānī proper, Awrāmī, Bājilānī, Zāzā) and some definite group of dialects of the Central plateau. In 1906 O. Mann was ready to see in Gūrānī dialects “descendants of the old Median language” (“Abkömmlinge der alten medischen Sprache”), but three years later he less ambitiously defined Gūrānī and Zāzā as “central dialects.”⁷ That Gūrānī

¹ I wonder whether the River Gūāür 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 Kḥāve, lying west of Allīshār. Their clans are Kakavand, Ḥīvand, Mūmīvand, etc.
⁵ O. Mann, Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme, p. xxxii, but without any illustrative texts.
⁶ The rather unusual name Dilfān might be connected with that of the most conspicuous peak of Gilan, Dufjak (DOLFak, DURFak). As pointed out by Tomasevich, the latter may reflect the name of the Ḍolbōxes, who, according to Ptol., vi, 25, lived in the neighbourhood of the Kadusoi and Gelai, apparently to the east of the estuary of the Amardos = Seīf-rud. On the other hand, the principal tribe of Kalār-dasht is Khojavand, a clan of the Kurds of Gārrūs transplanted to Gilan by Aḡhā Muḥammad Shah. There is a suspicion that the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion is spread among the Gārrūs, and Aḡhā Sām may have availed himself of this circumstance.
⁷ Mann, Mundarten d. Gūrān, 52, Mundarten der Zāzā, 24.
is very distinct from Kurdish there cannot be any doubt, but the “central”
dialects of Persia\(^1\) 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 nothing\(^2\)
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
kowrī 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 Ḥaqq. 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.\(^4\) Ḥājji 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 zāhibī) 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 Dailamites, 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 Sulaimānī 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 résumé of the Gürānī 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’īd 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 Gürānī 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 Xuršid-i Xāvar*, on the love of Khuršid, 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 ḥamd-i āt || jahān āfarīn*. Here is the beginning of the letter of Khuršid to Kharāmān, as dictated in 1917 from my own copy now lost:—

Qalām girt wā dās Behrūz-e sārvar
Nuvisā juwānā nāzār-e kešvar
Sar nāmā wā āw tālā enšā kird
Āvāl esme zāt muşkul-gušā kird

(2) *Leyli-vā-Majnūn*, Add. 7829, ff. 68–134 (15 lines to page). Beginning: *Vāhid-i bē čun || ḥayy-i bē-hamtā*. A MS. of mine contains a fragment of this poem: "Leyli goes to see Majnūn at the mountain of Najd" (186 verses). I was told that the author is Malā Wālow (*ḥālow* "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:—

*Kūçe șow meyl kārd yāk șow Āmīr-sāh
Meyle Leyli dāst āūzāhī leyl kārd
Șow kūĉ-e sāriyā dāst-e Dujeyl kārd
Jārčiyān jār dān wā hokm-e šāwā
Bow ēla akšām Bānī-Šīpāwā* ¹

(3) *Khusrav-u-Shārīn*, Add. 7826, dated 1231/1816, 151 ff. (circa 1,812 lines), acephalous, beginning *gašt ba-pašēn-hal || ba-dil-girānī*. 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 Khusrav-i Parviz.

¹ Banū Shaybān.
Mavljūd(e) mawjūd bā-kām-o-vāyā
Separdāš wā-dās dāyān-u-tāyā
Pēcānās wā-bārg wālāy bā-āmar
Pārwarēsē dān be-sāhā-u-sākār

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

bā pardā-yi ghayb || bē ‘ayb pārvārdā
ki ruzū šifāt || tamām nakārdā


Bešnow jā Šīrīn deldār-e dīrīn
Hāvā Yāfrād kīrd nā Qāsr-e Šīrīn
Jāsākhīšē wēš āvardīš wā-yād
Bānā kīrd bāyū bāwīnū Yāfrād


jā ‘esq-i yāvār || mājāsha čūn bārq
jā dīl mākāša || na’raye vēnā bārq


I heard mentioned a poem Rustam-u-div-i sefīd (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. Ethē in Grund. der Iran. Phil., ii, 234. A MS. formerly in my possession (bought in Zohāb) begins:—

Ebtdāy āwāl be-nām-e yāzdān
Afārināndā ens-u-jinn-u jān
Ar bešey tawfīq hayyā lā-yānām
Šāmāy buwāshim ža dāstān-e Sām
žā ba ’da Sohrāb sāhūd-e xānrār
Rustām ža hejran wēš āfār dār-be-dār


Šey mardān ža xāw kārdāsān bēdār
Hālūt-e Šalsāl pēs kārdān ezār
Nā kārd mādārā āmār-e gozīn
Šī nā pēy Šalsāl mal’īn-e bē-dīn

1 wūlā, “stuff”; bā-āmar, “amber scented.”

\[ \text{Yā xodāy rāhmān || yā xodāy ghafār} \\
\text{Yā xodāy sīr-pūsh || sātār-u-sābūr} \]

(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.


(13) *Jang-i malax bā ātash-malūc*, a heroicomical poem on the war of locusts with the birds *āyna-mal* (in Persian *ātās-malūc*, in Kurdish *āhir-malūc*, in Arabic *samarmar*, in Latin *Pastor roseus*). 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.

Beginning:

\[ \text{Āvāt əbtedā be-nām-e kārīm} \\
\text{Fāzlā besmellā rāhmān-or-rāhīm} \\
\text{. . . . . .} \\
\text{Jāng-e āyna-mal ēnī šay jārād} \\
\text{Buwačān yārān xām beşeyn wā-bād} \\
\text{Zhā sānāy hezār sēsūd ū yā kāmār} \\
\text{Peyā bī mālāx gurūy bād-nāzār} \\
\text{Molkā gärnāsir tā šahr-e Bāghdād} \\
\text{Wā sωezī zoryā gärdaq dān wa-bād} \]

B. Lyrics

The best guide available to Gūrānī 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.

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1 *Vide infra*, p. 94.
2 To the same class belongs the fable of the wolf and the fox, taken down by Benedictsen in Pāwa.
4 The same MS. contains a “Kurdish” (i.e. Gūrānī) alphabet in 20 verses.
THE GÜRÄN

1. MAHŽÜÑI, ff. 10, 32, 33, said to have been scribe at the court of the vali of Ardalân Khusrâu Khân I, who ruled 1168–1204/1754–1789 (Soane: 2 poems).
2. SHAYKH 'AHMAD TAKHTI’, f. 11, native of Awrâmân-i takht, lived towards A.D. 1640 (Soane: 2 poems).
3. MU'HAMMAD QULI SULAYMÂN, ff. 12, 13 (Soane: 1 poem).
5. MAULÂNÃ QÂSIM, f. 28.
6. YÜSUF YÅSKA, f. 32. According to Dr. Sa‘îd-khân he was a servant of Khan Ahmad Khân Ardalân.¹ His master suspected him of dallying with his wife Kolâh-zar Khânum, daughter of Shah 'Abbâs,² and had him immured alive.
7. SHAYKH LU'TFULLÃH, f. 32.
8. MOLLÃ TÄHIR AWRAHMÂNI, ff. 32, 38 (Soane: 1 poem).
9. ILYÄS BEG, f. 33.
10. MOLLÃ FAD'LULLAH, f. 33.
11. HÄJJÌ 'ALÌ MU'HAMMAD BEG TILAKU, f. 34. Tilakû is one of the eastern districts of Ardalân: see “Senna” in EI.
12. MAULÂNÃ FARRUKH PALANGÂNI, f. 34 (Soane: 1 poem).
13. MOLLÃ HÄFIZ FARHÄD, f. 34.
15. MU'HAMMAD AMÎN BEG AWRAHMÂNI, f. 39.
16. SHAYKH YA'QUB KHÄN, f. 40.
17. UWAYS BEG, f. 40.
18. MAULÂNÃ YÜSUF, brother of Mollâ Ḥabîb Kalân, f. 41.
19. SHAYKH ḤASAN DARRA-HARDI, f. 45.
20. 'ABD, f. 46.
21. 'OMAR NÅZZÄRÌ, f. 46.
22. SHAYKH MU'ŠTAFÄ TAKHTI (i.e. of Awrämân-i takht), f. 48.
23. ŞÜFÎ 'ALÌ KÊVÂNÎ (?), f. 49.
24. SHAYKH 'AHMAD MÖ'İ (?), f. 49.
25. LÄLÜ KHUSRAU, f. 50.
27. USTÄD MIKA'T, f. 51.
28. KHÄNAY QU'BÄDI, f. 51, of the Jäf tribe, which (now ?) speaks Kurdish. Should his poems prove to be in Gûrânî this would suggest the popularity of the dialect for literary purposes, or that the Jäf have changed their speech.

In addition to these names found in the Anthology the following names were dictated to me by Dr. Sa‘îd-khân:—

29. MOLLÄ MU'ŠTÄFA BÊSÅRÄNI, from the village Bêsårân, in the canton Zhâwarûd, who died circa A.D. 1760 and lies buried in Du-rû in Awrämân-i takht. It is possible that he is identical with No. 22. Bêsårân has left a divân (kulliyât).
30. ŞAYDI flourished towards A.D. 1520 (?) and wrote in a particular dialect, now extinct. The specimens which Dr. Sa‘îd-khân communicated to me confirm its Gûrânî type, but it uses xwém for the Gûrânî wém. A divân (kulliyât) of

This celebrated vali of Ardalân is often mentioned at the time of Shah ‘Abbâs and Shah Şafî; see ‘Ālam-ārâ, 762, Dha'yî-i ‘Ālam-ārâ, 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 1696/1636. The fırâhîmî branch of the Ahl-i Ḥaqûq consider him as one of their incarnations.

¹ The historian of the vâlis of Ardalân calls her Zarrûn-kolâh, sister of Shah 'Abbâs; my MS., p. 111.
Şaydi existed in Razâw (Awrâmân-i takht), but the owner refused to let a copy of it be made.

31. MOLLÀ RAHÎM TAYJOWZÎ of Javân-rûd (the latter name is apparently connected with the Jâf tribe). He has a kulliyât and an ‘Aqîda-nâma. His language is mixed.

32. ÂHMAD BÈG KÔMÂSÎ is celebrated for his elegy, of which we speak below in detail. Dr. Sa‘îd-khân in his reprint of it quotes another short poem of his: qalbâm wâ zuzâl.

C. Religious Poetry

The Salawât-nâma of Khânay Qubâdî (vide supra, lyrics No. 28) is a specimen of an orthodox Shi‘a poem in honour of Muḥammad and ‘Alî. The MS. in my possession (dated 1310/1892) contains forty-nine verses full of conventional terms and very scantily seasoned with dialectal elements.

Beginning:—

Yâ râbû bê-hâjût zât-e bê-eybât
Be-serr-e tâqîr zâ elm-e gheybât
Ânân-fa-ânân sâ‘ât-be-sâ‘ât
Hey zâ rûy azâl tâ rûy qiyâmât
Hâr lâhzâ hâr dâm hâr rû ziîyâtûr
Salâwât bûbe nîr pâk peyghâmîr

To the same category must belong the ‘Aqîda-nâma of Mollà Rahîm Tayjowzî (vide supra, lyrics No. 31). Nor does the Kitâb-i khâwarân (vide supra, epics No. 9) go beyond the usual type of Shi‘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 Kaysâniya recognized him as imâm and some of its adherents were expecting Muḥammad’s return.¹ In 65-7/685-7 the famous Mukhtâr raised the banner of rebellion to support the claims of Muḥammad b. Ḥanafîya.² In 66/685 he appointed a governor to Ḥulwân in order to fight the Kurds (see IA., iv, 187), i.e. probably the Sunni Kurds. On the contrary, for the Ahl-i Ḥaqq Gûrânî these events may symbolize the spread of the Shi‘a extremism in Zagros and even the championship for the rights of the oppressed classes (mawâtî).

However, speaking of the religious literature in Gûrânî we have in view above all the writings of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq. We have mentioned that the founder of the sect, Sulṭân Sohâk, born at Barzenje, sixteen miles east of Sulêmânî, was most closely associated with the Gûrânî. One of the hymns definitely insists upon S. Sohâk’s having spoken Gûrânî. Even at a later period when the religion became “Turkicized” in Azarbâyjan, one of the “angels”, Khân Almâs, composed hymns both in Turkish and Gûrânî (e.g. the popular châr gûshâ mât-ân). A number of verses in a kind of archaic Gûrânî are found in the text of my copy of Saranjâm (copied in 1259/1843). Possibly in the

beginning of the nineteenth century lived Shaykh Amîr (referred to by Gobineau), of whose poems I possess Ḥaftād-u du kalima.

A great number of kalâms is due to the Khâmûshî sayyids whose headquarters are at Tû-shâmî, near Gahwâra. Sayyid Rustam, son of Sayyid Ayâz, son of the famous Sayyid Brâka, was still alive in 1920. The poet attached to this family was Darvish Naurûz, who often called himself "the least dog of the house of Khâmûsh". He was alive towards 1875.¹

A very notorious poet was Taymûr-qiî b. Rîdâ-‘Ali, a Gûrân youth of Bân-Yârân (near Bâbâ-Yâdegêr). His career began under the auspices of Sayyid Brâka, but he soon claimed to be an incarnation of divinity. His acitivity 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 divân.³ Soon after Taymûr’s death another youth, Şayfûr (or Fattâh), claimed to be his incarnation, and this Taymûr II is also said to have composed a divân.⁴

The structure of the religious kalâms 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 kalâms are arranged in strophes with a burden repeated after each. The kalâms are meant to be sung with the accompaniment of a säz or a lâr (tamûra): see Notes, 113–14.

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

As an interesting novelty one should record the exploit of Dr. Sa‘îd-khân, who published a sizeable book in which, in Gûrânî verse, he expounds the Christian doctrine.⁸ It is most curious that Gûrânî has been chosen as a surest approach to the hearts of the author’s countrymen, the Kurds. Dr. Sa‘îd-khân writes: “I have endeavoured, in the language of Sulţân and Pir and the style of the later daftars, or rolls, to give them the message” (sic).⁹

¹ I possess his kalâm beginning as follows: (1) yârân kî vânân, (2) yârân êm êmân, (3) gîrî (7) gawûz-nûn, (4) yârân êsê bî-ân, (5) yârân yâdûr, (6) yârân äsmân, (7) yârân ê kârân, (8) yârân bârûr-ân dî.
² Minorsky, Notes, p. 155. Also Firqân, ii, 157.
³ A letter of Sayyid Nûrûllâh to Dr. Sa‘îd-khân, 6 Dhul-qâ’dâ 1342. One of his poems is found in the O. Mann MS. which I analysed in my Notes, 171–3.
⁴ The Kalâm in my Saranjâm beginning Taymûr-dhât hastam, “I possess the person of Taymûr,” is apparently by Şayfûr. See my Notes, p. 157.
⁵ Vide infra, p. 96 below.
⁶ See Minorsky, “B. Ţâhir,” in EI.
5. The Elegy of Ahmad Khan Komäsi

In 1917 my friend Dr. Saʿid-khan Kordestānī communicated to me the text of an elegy written by Ahmad Khan Komāsi on the death of his wife. The original was in Arabic script, but Dr. Saʿid-khan dictated it to me and explained the difficult passages. Dr. Saʿid-khan 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. Dr. Saʿid-khan's native language is the Kurdish of Senne (Ardalan), but he is so well acquainted with the Gūrānī kouwγ, 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 Ahmad Khan Komāsi himself meant his poem to be read in kouwγ. Therefore Dr. Saʿid-khan'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 Komāsi. 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 Komāsi tribe. The district of Kurrāvāz where the Komāsi are established consists of twenty villages with some 2,500 inhabitants. 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, and we cannot assume that a "Gūrānī" dialect is spoken in it at present. It is more probable that to give expression to his sorrow Ahmad Khan 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 caesura into two groups of five syllables. The verse is clearly syllabic without any consideration of length. The first hemistich of the poem is incomplete: it contains

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2 See my articles "Senne " and "Sisar " in EI.
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 Kurmāni.
6 Apart from the Avestan and Middle Persian verses built on the syllabic pattern, we have now examples of the Tājīk poetry with verses of ten syllables, but based on a tonic pattern; see A. N. Boldirev, in Trudi Tājīk. bezī, 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 Gūrān 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 Mājniūn; he burns on the fire of separation as a Phœnix (qaqqanās, *qaqqanus)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 (vaftā-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 Dihlāvī for his father is moderated by the

¹ I wonder whether the mysterious *finiga*? Thus the name of Alexander’s father in Arabic is Faylaqūs for *Filīfūs, Philippus.

² Khurshīd-esfendi, 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 Bahram Gūr.” On Leyla and Mājniūn, see above, epics No. 2.


⁴ Khāqānī, Kutlīят, ed. Tehran, 1316/1937, p. 163.

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

A quatrain of Ḥāfīz,² which is both a “spring-poem” (bahārīya) and an elegy (martlīya), 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:—

"Εστηκεν μὲν ἐαρ. Θάλλει δ’ ια καὶ πάρκισσος
'Ηδὲ ρόδων· σὺ δὲ μοι τίπτε μένεις ὑπὸ γῆς;
Εἰαρνῷ ὡς δύμβηρ ὅν τενō, ὡ δίλε, τῷ βου
"Ἀραὶ δακρυχέων ὑφ’ ἀν ὑπεκπροφανεῖς.

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 Ahmād 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. Benediction³ 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 t (lām with a hook) and the strong r (r with a tashdid). The specimen annexed has been photographed from his hand-written copy.

1. . . . . . Gītkoy tāzey Leyl
Nā pāyey māzār o Leyle pīr meyl
Šīm wa sārīnās wa dālāy pīr joštī
Wāṭīm: āy dištīz, Qāyey long-wā-kōlt

2. . . . Sār hōr-dār nā xāk, sōle xārāmān
Kūcē bē-wādāt kāri pēm kārdān
Gīrrāy nāre ‘esq dūrī bālāy to
Waxtān čūn Qāngās bārān wa xōzal
Yā hō bā-vēney Qāyey long-wā-kōlt

3. . . . Sōyānd bo xālān fīrūzey xośrāng
Jo sāwū gārdēs čārēs pīr setām
To bārdān wā-xāk siyāy tānge tār

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¹ E. G. Browne, L.H., 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 adabīyat-i kurd, edited by Colonel Amin-Fayḍi of Sulāmānī, Stambul, 1939/1920, pp. 105–9: twenty-six verses of the elegy. The editor explains that the language is “the Kurdish of Iran. The reading is difficult (nākhwanāt), but the author had much power in representing life”.
⁵ But see verses 11, 36, 43.
۱۰. سوگند قطع‌القلم در زیور‌العطر

۱۱. جواده گریش دینی نسبت

۱۲. پرخور و ویلک در اردشیر

۱۳. نگهبان زمان و پیام

۱۴. مهربانی در وطن کنار

۱۵. گنگیم نوازه و نور

۱۶. به سرمایه‌های ازدیاد و نداشتن

۱۷. دل‌سوزی در زبان و دل‌بریدگی

۱۸. به سپاهیان و نیروها

۱۹. چهارمین قرنیل و همگن

۲۰. بهترین دروازه و نشان‌های
Hár ő cún Májnún xátir jú xám káyl
Xámán pázárán rašege rú-mán
15. Sápáy xám báytúr hujúm áwárdán
Zámátáne sázt áj dílay pír ée
Soú káylán xuzáu vá lág jémééuá
Yándám wéránán dádyám d'ééviýán
Śaván zári-wé-sín, rú'an róor mán
20. “ Háte-to césán, sáy wáfádárán
N'oú sáray tárík pír zo'ufu xátár
Četőr máwyári cún-an qárárát?
Ná sárdi háváy sárdle siyá-sánd
Já báit báháy Qáyse xáménát
25. Dáxám oú dáx-án, Leyle xájtir-táng,
Wá cáángé cíl-cángé to tá-tá-t mákárd
Oú dídáy mázmúr áhú-hése to
Isá ná gárdeš čárze níté-ráng
Sá p'éy éé sémáy dídáy tár nábó
30. To xáríké qábr siyáy sárdán
Mín tányá cún Qáys levéy xám-xátá
Wál-hášil hárán dá šín-o-zárím kárd
Ná jwuáw dá p'éém, ná záraytá dáng kárd
Dáysán hám já noú wátam: “Áy dít-sóz
35. Yá p'éy éé meylám jú-lát kám bi-án
Mín váy dílay zár bá-goáráráwá
Hám ná sáránt zár-zár málnátu
To héé ní táy qáyl bá-qárúrí mín
Njámadáy jwuáw, nuxáy xáit bégárd
40. Dóm, sádyé nárm já tóy xákáwá
Ámá wá gósáim cún hárlá-járán
Sógánd bá wáheş farde bá-hámáta
Ráy jwuáw ní-an, dít bá-qáráárán
Já tá-síre zák háváy sárd sánd
45. Xáne zák bo'ttor mádhúsá làmdán
Bále, hár cánd šín zári mákári
Fá'ósáš ní-an suú nóáárú p'éém
P'éy éé ay dínáy xeyli bá-wáfán
Kás já gáyde dám mákárs nárástán
50. Já álwał dínáy tá wá róy máhár
Hár kás dít sád bo wá dínáyá bá-pó
Hár cánd päréw mín to ál-wáddátan
Ahmád päréw kóc sáy jámín-jámán
Hár: “ Leyl, Leyle-miん, ná hárdáy Dujáyl
Čánúw jáfa-w-ló'v ráyim sóu'dámán
Qáfíley fámim bá táraj bárdán
Čún jáy márát-guzáu mágyú lés
Kářír bázú'iš máyó [sic] p'éém édá
Čún áhuy tányá sárd lém sëvéiyán
Yák jár wáswásey tányá'i-to mán
Ki-án hámrázát sáá-w-éwárán
Máárát cún-án, Leyle náź-páwrár
Ki-án há'-ráfóq leyl-o-náhárát?
Četór-án xátán fírúzeq-váš ráng?
Kám sángé siyá hán já báitnát?
Oú dáséy zílfân pášéwáy pág sánd?
Isá páshrán cún râyháne hárd
Oú Qáyse gárán sár-ángéze to
Bé-ro'naq bi-án cún nágş ruýe sánd
Zéndági já lám zár'már nábó?
Támám hásrátnán ná dít bárdání
Zéndá mágéló ná rúy sár bísát.”
Már ahde wárín já yádáit sí-án?
Wáy jámáy siyáy yáza-párdáwa
Xákí yándáy no u vá cám mámátu
Já ál-wádáy sázt šín-o-zárí mín
Ma'lúmán já lát meylám bi-án sárd
J'o'ú yánáy tááy hásrátnákáwá
Wátás: “ Háy, Májnún, wéle kósárán
Bé-wádá kárán mín já to jiýá
Freyk sáng-u-zák wá jásám bárán
Ráy jwuáw ní-an, cánit kárú dáng
Názáráne wém já yádám bárán
Bíső, zári kár päréw báxé wé
Já táncxwáy wáfás dáyém hár jísáñ
Yák-yáw vá zántźr ágári bástán
Héé kás já dámsá bár ná-si-n wá bár
Axír sáxnjém ránja-ró mábó
Axír sáxnjém aşt jáká jíntán.”
Restáxé kárú tá márge sámán!
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 Qays\(^1\)
      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 wind\(^2\) 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 yours² 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 waited,
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 Majnûn, 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 Áhû-bêz from bêzta “debilem facere”.
² Here the symbol of Majnûn stand for “darkness”.
³ Xalát stands for za’bat.
THE GÜRÂN

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 Ėrānshahr, 1931, p. 31, where Norshirakan 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 Ürmia).

To p. 84. Rāwest should probably be restored as *rāstā “district”.

1 Meaning: frail.