

have been accomplished in the past had communications between Burma and China been more favourably looked upon by the Indian Government. Even now, though Burma exports little to Yunnan, she benefits to a slight extent from the export trade. At least, she picks up the crumbs—neither a very dignified nor a very profitable rôle, but the only one which is left her. Valuable trade will always choose the railway; more and more as feeding trunk roads strike out from the capital. But Bhamo and Keng Tung, especially the latter, can still profit by opportunism such as eventuated in the tea trade of late years and the development of the lead mines.

It is in the highest degree unlikely that new railways will be projected in Yunnan, at least for the present. But if peace were assured it is not impossible that the French railway might be extended northwards. Its logical terminus is on the Yang-tze.

One further point. What effect will an independent Burma have on Yunnan? So far as the trade question is concerned, one may confidently say, none. The Burma Government intends—hopes—to work in the closest touch with the Indian Government as regards foreign policy. And the foreign policy of the Indian Government, which for forty years has been anti-Chinese and against closer relationship with Yunnan, is not going to take a reasonable view of the situation overnight. And so far as the overland trade route to China is concerned, it is too late. Nothing the Indian Government could do now would be of much use. It has locked the back door; and the cat has slipped out through the front one.

But events are often more powerful than men—at least unimaginative men; and the separation of India and Burma may have unlooked-for consequences. It can hardly be denied that Burma cleaves to Yunnan much more easily than it does to India. The separation will strengthen the older ties. Both Chinese and Burmans will combine to bring about a closer association between the two countries, though the Indian element in Burma may be expected to resist. If the Yunnan Government, satisfied with the progress made in eastern Yunnan, and aware that it cannot profitably do anything for the extreme west of the province, beyond the Salween, decides to neglect that distressful country, we may be in for a period of considerable unrest along the frontier. If on the other hand China decides that now is the time to make overtures to Burma, she will probably meet with that success which has so long been denied her. The Indian Government could scarcely have chosen a less apt moment to grant Burma independence.

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## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN KURDISH, 1920-36

By C. J. EDMONDS

**K**URDISTAN in Iraq is divided into three parts, corresponding approximately to three earlier principalities: Badinan, between the national frontiers and the Great Zab, comprising the northern districts of Mosul *liwa*; Soran, between the two Zabs, corresponding to Arbil *liwa*; and Baban, from the Little Zab to the Sirwan (Diyala), including the *liwa* of Sulaimani and part of the *liwa* of Kirkuk. Between the Sirwan and the Iranian boundary the *qadha* of Khanaqin is part of the old pashaliq of Zohab and is also predominantly Kurdish. East of Baban, in Iran, is the province officially called Kurdistan, the old Ardelan with its capital at Senna; north of it and east of Soran, in the province of Azarbaijan, is the district of Mukriyan with headquarters at Sauj Bulaq.

Badinan speaks a distinct dialect of Kurdish, referred to by people as Kirmanji; it has been almost entirely illiterate and inarticulate; it will not concern us further in this paper.

Soran, Baban, Ardelan and Mukriyan, on the other hand, form a single linguistic group in that the dialects there spoken, though varying in different degrees amongst themselves, yet share certain marked characteristics that distinguish them from other groups; the people refer to their language as Kurdi.

Dialects belonging to a third group, designated by the Kurds themselves *macho-macho*, and generally called Gorani,\* are spoken by certain tribes along the southern fringe of this block: the Kakai near Tauq, the Zangana near Kifri, the Bajilan near Khanaqin, and in Iran the Goran confederation along or north of the great high road to Kirmanshah. The Hewraman tribes inhabiting the main watershed of the Zagros form a *macho-macho* wedge, running south to north, between Baban and Ardelan.

It is a curious circumstance that, while Mukriyan produced a voluminous literature in Southern Kurdish, the Ardelani men of letters

\* It has generally been maintained by European scholars that Gorani is not Kurdish; this opinion will probably have to be revised in the light of the researches of my learned Kurdish friend, Taufiq Wahbi Beg.



at Senna invariably used Gorani for their compositions. Most of the popular poetry current in Baban also was in Gorani until the beginning of the nineteenth century (the Kurds say that the change came with the reign of Aw Rahman Pasha\*), when the Sulaimani poets first began to use the local language; the word *goraniy* is to-day still the ordinary word for song (see the Bibliography III. 4 and 5). It is also relevant to note that in the Sulaimani *liwa* the name *Goran* is used to describe villagers with no tribal connection in contradistinction to Kurd, meaning either nomads or villagers of tribal origin, generally Jaf: the corresponding term in Kirkuk is *Miskên*, suggesting "serf," and in Arbil, *Kirmanj*.† It would seem that most of this region was formerly inhabited by a comparatively advanced Gorani-speaking people, that it was overrun by waves of rough Kurdi-speaking nomads who imposed their speech upon this earlier population, and that the tradition of domination and submission is not entirely forgotten between the conquering and the conquered stocks.

Although Mukri, the Doric of Southern Kurdish, has retained a certain prestige as the purest of the dialects, it is the lively and elastic idiom of Sulaimani that has now established itself as the ordinary vehicle of literary expression. This pre-eminence is probably due in part to the patronage extended to letters by the autonomous Baban dynasty, which survived until the middle of the nineteenth century; and in part to the subsequent foundation at Sulaimani by the Turks of a military school, cadets from which went on to the academy and the staff college at Constantinople, and so reached a standard of education denied to other Kurds: since 1919, moreover, it has been the language of official correspondence in the region.

The following bibliography‡ is a list (I hope almost complete) of periodicals, pamphlets, and books written (with one exception) in the Southern Kurdish language and published (with two exceptions) in 'Iraq. The exception as to language is the romance of Khurshid of

\* See my article, "A Kurdish Lampoonist," in the *Journal*, vol. xxii., 1935, Part I.

† On May 11, 1930, I had occasion to spend the night at the small village of Kelisa on the Little Zab, south-east of Koi Sanjaq. I was told that the villagers were extraordinary people, *Kirmanj* really, but nevertheless very brave and able to resist aggression and to look after themselves.

‡ The Bibliography is based on my own collection. I have to thank Taufiq Wahbi Beg for drawing my attention to five publications which I had missed; to Saiyid Jela Sa'ib for helping to fill up some of the lacunæ in my collection of periodicals; and to Major W. A. Lyon, Captain C. H. Gowan and Mr. A. J. Chapman for sundry items of information regarding the periodicals.

Khawar (III. 6\*) in Gorani; Gorani literature forms an integral and important part of the cultural treasure of the Southern Kurds, and more books in this dialect are likely to issue from the 'Iraqi-Kurdish presses as the collection of the scattered works of the early favourites progresses. The exceptions as regards publication are the *Anthology* of Amin Faizi (II. 1), and the *Blossom of Spring* (IV. 1) by Saiyid Husain Huzni: the first, though published in Constantinople, is the work of a Sulaimani officer and, being composed entirely of selections from the classic poets of that region, forms the best possible introduction to the subject; the second, though published at Aleppo, is the earlier work of the most prolific of the authors represented in the list, and thus appeared to merit inclusion.

On the other hand, I have not given details of half a score or so of school-books (other than grammars, VII. 2, 3, and 12) published for the State educational authorities in 1928 and 1929, nor of some half-dozen laws printed in 1933, since these are for the most part close and unidiomatic translations from the Arabic and thus do not constitute spontaneous manifestations of the Kurdish genius; a notice of these school-books by Professor V. Minorsky will, however, be found in the *Revue des Études Islamiques* of 1931.

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\* Having been edited by persons insufficiently acquainted with the dialect the text as published is unfortunately very corrupt.

† For the system of transcription of Kurdish here used see "A Kurdish Lampoonist," footnote at p. 112.

‡ See my article, "A Kurdish Newspaper," in the *Journal*, vol. xii., 1925, Part I. The descriptions "weekly," "monthly," etc., are not to be taken seriously. All Kurdish periodicals have appeared at the most erratic intervals.



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\* *Rhuwnakiy* is in fact the successor of *Zar y Kirmanciy*, printed, published and largely written by Saiyid Husain Huzni; under the new Press Law the responsible editor must be named on the title-page and must have the diploma of a "High School," a distinction which the learned and cultured S. Husain does not possess.

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4. *Wênegeriy w Kolhiyn* (Photography and Zincography). By Saiyid Husain Mukriyani. Ruwandiz: Z.K. pub. No. 20, 1934.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 95 pages.
5. *Tuwtinekeman* (Our Tobacco). Baghdad: Meriwani Press, 1935.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 40 pages.
6. *Sereta y Ilm y Jmare: Berg y Duwen* (Introduction to Arithmetic), part 2. By Rafiq Hilmi. Baghdad: Fanniya Press, 1936.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 65 pages.

#### IX.—POLITICAL, ETC.

1. *Proghram y Cemiyet y Zanistiy' Kurdan* (Programme of the Kurdish Scientific Society). Sulaimani: Municipal Press, 1926.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$  inches; 6 pages.

2. *Muhasebe y Niyabet* (An Account of Stewardship). By Muhammad Amin Zaki, Ex-Deputy for Sulaimani. Baghdad: Dar-us-Salam Press, 1928.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 31 pages.
3. *Destuwr y Bnagheyi' Yane y Serkewtin* (Fundamental Rules of the Uplift Club). In Arabic and Kurdish. By Ma'ruf Jiyawuk. Baghdad: Sha'b Press, 1930.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  inches; 13 pages.
4. *Xelhase y Mesele y Kurd* (Summary of the Kurdish Question). Translated by Rafiq Hilmi from *L'Iraq et la Société des Nations*. Mosul: 1934.  $8 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$  inches; 32 pages.



British soldier but gave him something to read and digest, telling him exactly what he will find when he goes to India.

You may have irritated us, Sir Torick, but you have done us a lot of good, and we do thank you most sincerely for your very, very interesting lecture.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN KURDISH, 1937-1944

By C. J. EDMONDS, C.M.G., C.B.E.

IN the Society's Journal for July, 1937, will be found a Bibliography of Kurdish Periodicals and Books published in Iraq up to the end of 1936, with a short introduction on the distribution of Kurdish dialects. Twenty-four years have now elapsed since the first number of *Pêshkewtin* (September 20, 1920) was issued to a delighted Sulaimani, and a quarter of a century since Kurdish was made for the first time the official language of an administration. The present is thus perhaps an appropriate moment to bring the record up to date and to analyse progress.

At first sight the literary output of the Kurds in this period seems to have been astonishingly meagre. The four-page *Pêshkewtin*, with changes of the name to *Bang y Kurdistan*, *Rhoj y Kurdistan*, *Umiyd y Istyqlal*, *Jiyanewe* and *Jiyan*, has continued to appear in Sulaimani, as a bi-weekly, weekly, or fortnightly, almost without interruption (the temporary rival *Zuban*, No. 1, 16, was published during the eleven months of *Jiyan's* suspension from March, 1938, to February, 1939, so that Sulaimani has never been without its newspaper) and must still be considered the main bulwark of Kurdish literary activity.

In the first four years counting from 1920 only one real book was printed, the Collected Works of the classic poet Shaikh Muhammad, "*Mahwi*," and this was primarily due to the initiative of a British officer, Captain V. Holt, then Assistant Political Officer and until recently Oriental Counsellor at the British Embassy in Baghdad. The year 1925 was marked by the first publications outside Sulaimani: in Baghdad, Salih Zaki Sahibqiran began the issue of *Diyariy' Kurdistan*, No. 1, 12, a magazine in three languages; at Ruwandiz Saiyid Husain Huzni Mukriyani, the Kurdish Caxton, founded the *Zar y Kirmanciy* press and printed two short religious tracts (VI, 2 and 3). For the next five years output continued on much the same scale, with brochures little more than pamphlets, mostly of contemporary verse or histories of Kurdish dynasties or religious matter; half of these were written, printed, illustrated with woodcuts and published by the indefatigable Saiyid Huzni at his little hand-press at Ruwandiz; the rest were printed in Baghdad. In 1931 appeared the first two books of any size, a collection of biographies of Kurdish celebrities by S. Huzni, and the first volume of the *History of the Kurds and Kurdistan* by Muhammad Amin Zaki Beg (now, 1944, a member of the Iraq Senate); among other items the list shows three small editions of classic poets published in Baghdad by Kurdi and Meriwani.

This first peak of 1931 was followed immediately by a slump in 1932, the last year of the Mandate, when politics tended to monopolize attention, but there was a partial recovery in 1933. From 1935, following the taking over of the former Municipal Press by the talented and whimsical



poet, Hajji Taufiq "Piyre Mêrd," Sulaimani began to show a more varied activity and compensated for the extinction of the Zar y Kirmanci press in the unfavourable atmosphere of Ruwandiz; several considerable books were published in Baghdad during the same period. In 1938 there was a new high peak, far beyond anything hitherto approached, though still very modest; the peak was not only in volume of out-turn, but also in the number of publications, pointing to a healthy independent activity among individuals.

Since the outbreak of war, conditions have of course completely changed, principally owing to paper shortage. The small independent publicist has disappeared and Kurdish literary work has come to be restricted to three periodicals: the ever-persistent Sulaimani weekly *Jiyn*; *Gelawêj*, the monthly magazine of Baghdad; and the war-propaganda publications of the British Embassy, first as isolated broadsheets, then as a weekly news-bulletin, and finally as a monthly magazine, *Deng y Gêtiy' Taze*, in which war publicity is combined with material of more general literary and historical interest.

Strange as the statement may sound, the broadsheets and weekly bulletins just mentioned are, from the literary point of view, the most interesting of all publications in the new list, by reason of the studied purity of the language employed. Arabic is the most vital and exuberant of tongues; almost everywhere the Arabs went, whether for conquest or for commerce, they imposed their religion; wherever they imposed their religion they imposed their alphabet; and wherever they imposed their alphabet Arabic words have tended to overgrow and even obliterate the native vocabulary, sparing little more than the skeleton of the syntax with the prepositions, pronouns, demonstratives, and a few verbs. In contact with other languages Arabic is like the luxuriant, splendid, unmanageable forests\* of the tropics which, once vigilance and effort to keep them back are relaxed, will overwhelm the clearings and destroy the stoutest works of man. It is only in comparatively recent times that language has been associated with national or racial consciousness and religion has lost its spell. For centuries, throughout the Islamic world, there was no resistance whatever to the encroaching Arabic. Attempts made to cut it back in the last twenty-five years of greater racial or nationalistic sensitiveness have achieved little or nothing, and even to-day three out of four of the nouns and adjectives in an ordinary Persian newspaper article will be found to be Arabic; nor has the process of encroachment been confined to the literary language, for original native words have dropped out of common speech also.

Fortunately for itself (if it be granted that the purity of a yet unadulterated and philologically interesting language is worth preserving) Kurdish had hardly been written during the age of indifference and had in consequence preserved its rich and lively vocabulary unspoiled. But the moment it began to be written for official administrative purposes the danger arose. The literate classes were either *mullas* brought up on

\* This simile of the "unmanageable forest" has been suggested to my mind by an article entitled "Mankind and the Jungle," by Sir Hugh Clifford in an old "Blackwood."

religious books, or men of Persian or Turkish education who, without having forgotten their mother tongue, had been trained to think their professional, scientific or even literary thoughts in those languages and so tended to use the Arabic words already there present and naturalized; it was the line of least resistance and, moreover, gave authors a comfortable feeling of superior learning or of genteelism. The encroaching forest would naturally be particularly "unmanageable" in war-time, when countless new or unfamiliar objects and ideas, with their special vocabulary, are pressed on the attention of the reading or listening public. In Iraq these first reach the Kurds through the medium of the Arabic newspapers or broadcasts, whose writers and speakers have perhaps themselves invented (by literal translation), or selected, Arabic equivalents for the new European words; without a conscious act of resistance, such words, though quite new even in Arabic, would have been accepted into Kurdish and so have enlarged the area of encroachment. Uninstructed resistance might have led to chaos, and future generations will have to thank Taufiq Wahbi Beg,\* a real scholar, for the care with which he has guided this war-time development along the lines of philological rectitude. This guidance has been consciously or unconsciously followed by writers in the other periodicals and by broadcasters on the Baghdad and *Sharq-al-Adna* wireless. The appearance of some of the new words has led to a certain amount of criticism among the conservatives; but the Arabic words were equally unfamiliar two years ago, and cannot suggest to the mind of the common Kurdish man the real meaning of the new word as effectively as the Kurdish word compounded of familiar elements or constructed by analogy. The position was aptly put to the present writer by a Begzada of the great Jaf tribe, whose education was of the Persian-mulla type, thus: "My eye is not yet quite used to the news bulletins; but when they are read out they are very sweet to the ear and the meaning is perfectly clear to all of us; indeed, when the word used in the Arabic newspapers is placed in brackets after a new Kurdish compound word to explain it, the effect is the opposite, and it is in the light of the Kurdish word that I see for the first time the exact meaning of the Arabic, which I had only perceived dimly before as through dark glasses."

Finally, though strictly speaking not within the terms of reference of this article, mention must be made of the beginnings of Kurdish literary activity on the Persian side of the border at Sauj Bulaq (now called Mahabad), the headquarters of the Mukri country. A list of publications is added at the end of the Bibliography below. A point of great interest is that in spite of the probably justifiable claim of Mukri to be the purest of the dialects, the Mukri authors seem inclined to accept the Sulaimani idiom (the difference is, in fact, very small) as the vehicle of literary expression for all.

\* Since July, 1944, Minister of Economics in the Iraqi Cabinet.



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 I. 9. *Rhuwnakiy* (Light). A No. 11 appeared on May 16, 1936.  
 VIII. 1. *Te'liym y Taqim* (Platoon Drill). Add "9 pages"; omit words in brackets at end.

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 7. *Duw Teqela y Bêsuwd* (Two Fruitless Efforts). Petitions addressed to the late King Faisal I in 1930 by Muhammad Amin Zaki. Baghdad: Meriwani Press, 1935.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 69 pages.

## PART III.—CONTINUATIONS AND NEW PUBLICATIONS 1937-1944

## I.—PERIODICAL JOURNALISM

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 15. *Mecelle y Zanistiy* (Review of Learning). "A scientific, literary, technical, historical, economic fortnightly." First (and apparently only) issue February 25, 1937.  $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$  inches; 8 pages. Founder and editor: Salih Qaftan.

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 16. *Zuban* (Tongue). "A Kurdish Weekly." Municipal Press.  $17\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$  inches. First issue (with pirated title *Jiyan*) September 11, 1937; No. 4 (with name changed to *Zuban*) September 26, 1937; last issue No. 73 of July 16, 1939; special unnumbered issue on April 10, 1939, on occasion of death of King Ghazi.

## E.—Baghdad

17. *Gelawêj* (Sirius). "A literary and cultural monthly Kurdish magazine." Najah Press, later Ma'arif Press, first issue January, 1940;  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, then, from last issue of 1941  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$  inches. Year 1940 issues 10, pages 640; year 1941 issues 5, pages 492; year 1942 issues 6, pages 576; year 1943 issues 12, pages 768; year 1944 issues 12, pages 864. Founder: Ibrahim Ahmad. Editor (1943-44): Ala-ul-Din Sajjadi.  
 18. *Deng y Gêtiy' Taze* (Voice of the New World). An illustrated monthly. Ma'arif Press (except Vol. I, No. 6, at Suryan Press), first issue October, 1943; Vol. I, October, 1943, to March, 1944,  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$  inches, issues 6, pages 288; Vol. II, April to September, 1944, format reduced to  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, issues 6, pages 576; Vol. III, from October, 1944, latest issue No. 3, December, 1944, issues 3, pages 288. Editor till June, 1943, Taufiq Wahbi; sub-editor, then editor since June, 1943, Husain Huzni Mukriyani.

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10. *Diywan y Heriyq* (Collected Verse of Mulla Salih of Zaiwiya "Hariq"). Introduction by Meriwani. Baghdad: Meriwani Press, 1938.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 104 pages.  
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 13. *The Same*. Vol. II, 1940.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$  inches; 188 pages.  
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 15. *Gulhdeste y Shu'era y Haw'esrim* (A Posy from my Poet-Contemporaries). An anthology edited by Ali Kemal Bapir Agha. Sulaimani: Jiyan Press, 1939.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7$  inches; 56 pages.  
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## IV.—HISTORY

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25. *Hendê Phrupuwch y Pêshiyan we Metel* (Some Superstitions of the Ancients and Conundrums). By Ismail Haqqi Shawais. Baghdad: Najah Press, 1938.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 48 pages.

26. *Hezar Bêj u Pend* (A Thousand Sayings and Maxims). By Ma'ruf Jiyawuk. Baghdad: Najah Press, 1938.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 91 pages.

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#### IX.—POLITICAL, ETC.

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6. *Rhuwnakiy' Rhê-w Ban* (Light on the Highway). Anon. Sulaimani: Jiyani Press, 1940.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 14 pages.

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8. *Beyan y Heqiyet* (A Statement of the Truth). By Taufiq Wahbi. Baghdad: Najah Press, 1941.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 50 pages.

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10. *Bawerh y Naziyeke Beramber be Ayinekan Têkra we Islamiyet be Taybetiy* (The Opinion of the Nazis on Religion in general and Islam in particular). Issued by the Public Relations Section of the British Embassy, Baghdad: Ma'arif Press, 1942.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 18 pages.

11. *Blhawîrdinewe y Heftewi* (Weekly Bulletin). Published by the Public Relations Section of the British Embassy, Baghdad: first issue September 6, 1942.  $13 \times 8$  inches. Year 1942, issues 14 pages 166; year 1943, issues 17 pages 210. Last issue No. 31 of October 28, 1943.

12. *Barbuw* (Subscription). Issued by the Central Committee of the Serkewtin (Advancement) Club; being the description of a tour in the Kurdish districts by the founder of the Club, Ma'ruf Jiyawuk. Baghdad: Najah Press, 1944.  $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 96 pages.

13. *Dawa y Milli' Kurd* (The National Claim of the Kurds). Anon. Place and date of printing not shown (probably 1943 or 1944).  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 21 pages.

#### X.—PUBLICATIONS IN PERSIAN KURDISTAN

[NOTE.—The following are publications of a society styled "J.K." (? Jiyaneve y Kurd=Kurdish Revival), with headquarters at Sauj Bulaq, now called Mahabad.]

1. *Rhoj-Ejmer y Taybetiy' Komelhe y "J.K."* (Special Calendar of the "J.K." Society). Comparative Calendar showing the months of the Persian solar year (with new Kurdish names appropriate to the seasons), the Hijri lunar and the Christian years. (a) For 1322 (1943-44) with Kurdish verses of Ahmad Beg-i Fattah Beg of Sulaimani and Hajji Qadir of Koi at foot of each page; 1943;  $6 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 12 pages. (b) For 1923 (1944-45) with verses by various authors; 1944;  $7 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  inches; 12 pages.

2. *Nyshtman* (Homeland). "A social, cultural, literary Kurdish monthly." No. 1 July, No. 2 November, 1943, double number 3 and 4 December, 1943, and January, 1944, No. 5 February, No. 6 March, 1944: each  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; single numbers 24 pages, double numbers 36 pages.

3. *Diariy' Komelhe y "J.K." bo Lawekan y Kurd* (Gift of the "J.K." Society to Kurdish Youths). Selections from the poems of (a) Mulla Muhammad of Koi, (b) Hajji Qadir of Koi, and (c) various patriotic poets. 1943.  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  inches; 96 pages.



oder in Jahrhunderten, nicht die gegenseitige Entwaffnung, nicht das Gegentheil des Schauspiels erleben, das heute Frankreich giebt, welches seinen Rock verkaufen will, um sich einen Harnisch anzuschaffen?

Man hat gesagt, wenn es keinen Krieg mehr gäbe, würde die Menschheit ihre moralische Energie einbüßen, indem sie für eine Idee, sei es Ehre, Treue, Ruhm, Vaterlandsliebe oder Religion, ihr Leben zu opfern verlöre. Dies dürfte nicht ganz ungegründet sein. Uebrigens, je seltener der Krieg in Europa je nöthiger wird es, für die übersprudelnde Kraft der jungen Generationen ein Feld der Thätigkeit zu finden. England hat sich in allen Welttheilen und auf allen Meeren einen Schauplatz geschaffen, wo es die nachgeborenen Söhne seines Adels versorgt, den kriegerischen Muth seiner Jugend erprobt, seinem Handel neue Kanäle, seinem Gewerbfleiß neue Märkte eröffnet. Frankreich suchte in Algier den Ableiter für den oft krankhaften Ueberfluß seiner Kraft, und wenn ihm die Kolonisation bisher schlecht genug gelungen, so wünschen wir seinem Streben im Interesse der Civilisation den besten Erfolg. Sollte aber Deutschland nicht begierig zugreifen, wenn sich ihm eine Möglichkeit bietet, deutsche Gesittung und Thatkraft, Arbeitsamkeit und Redlichkeit über die deutschen Marken hinaus zu verbreiten?



HELMUT VON MOLTKE  
VERMISCHTE SCHRIFTEN  
[GESAMMELTE SCHRIFTEN UND DENKWÜRDIGKEITEN...  
Das Land und Volk der Kurden. Bd. 2]

Berlin. 1892

Ein bis jetzt noch nicht ganz verbürgtes Gerücht von neuen Aufständen in Kurdistan, in eben dem Augenblick, wo man durch das Einschreiten von vier europäischen Großmächten die Angelegen-

heiten des türkischen Reichs geregelt glaubte, setzt Viele in Erstaunen, welche der Entwicklung der orientalischen Tragödie ihre Aufmerksamkeit schenken. Und doch ist der Aufstand nur eine Folge eben jenes Einschreitens. — Mit dem Tage von Nisib hatte die Herrschaft des Padischahs über das kaum erst besiegte, aber nie wirklich unterworfenen Kurdenvolk faktisch aufgehört. Man hatte keine Macht mehr über die Gebirgsbewohner, und so ließ man sie eben zufrieden. Jetzt, wo englische und österreichische Kanonen der Pforte freie Hand in Asien geschafft, fordert die Regierung, wie früher, Abgaben und Frohnen, Geld und Rekruten, und sofort ist der Aufruhr da, oder, wenn er es noch nicht ist, so wird er in nächster Zukunft unausbleiblich eintreten. Dieses Phänomen gleicht einem mächtigen Strom, der mit glatter Oberfläche dahinzieht, bis Felsklippen ihm entgegentreten und sein Brausen und Toben erst die Gewalt seiner Bewegung anschaulich macht. — Der Abfall der Provinz war bereits geschehen, der erste Versuch, ihn rückgängig zu machen, ruft die offene Empörung hervor.

Wenn wir hier eine kurze Skizze des Volkes und des Landes entwerfen, welches jetzt die Blicke Europas auf sich ziehen dürfte, so wollen wir dabei nicht mit Xenophon anfangen, nicht näher erwähnen, wie die „böartigen Karduchen“ noch heute ein Schrecken für alle Eindringlinge sind, noch heute ihre Häuser mit den kleinen Thürmen erbauen, von welchen der griechische Feldherr erzählt; wir wollen die lange und dunkle Geschichte dieses Volkes nicht vergeblich aufzuhellen suchen und nicht dabei verweilen, ob sie ein eingewanderter tatarischer Stamm, oder vielmehr die Entel der alten Meder und Chaldäer sind, deren Sprache sich in den Bibeln der christlich gebliebenen Dorfschaften an der persischen Grenze erhalten hat. Wir schildern vielmehr die Kurden und ihre Heimat, so wie sie sich gegenwärtig Beobachtern darstellen, welche Gelegenheit hatten, länger unter ihnen zu verweilen, als Reisende, die, jeder Sprache des Landes unkundig, umringt

Graf von Moltke, Vermischte Schriften.



von tausend wirklichen und eingebildeten Gefahren, eilig auf den halbsbrechenden Straßen von Bitlis und Dschinamerik dies Gebirge durchzogen.

Wenn je ein Volk, so sind die Kurden an die Scholle gebunden. Als Erben einer sehr alten Bodenkultur haufen sie in den Thälern des kleinarmenischen Hochlandes, verabscheuen die Ebene, in welcher die klaren Bäche ihrer heimatlichen Gebirge versiegen, und erfreuen sich dort trotz eines strengen Winters eines langen und schönen Sommers. Nur sehr wenige von ihnen sind wandernde Hirten, fast alle ein wesentlich Ackerbau treibendes Volk, und nur insofern Nomaden, als sie, je nachdem die Hitze in den niederen Thälern drückend wird und die Strahlen der Sonne die Alpenweiden vom Schnee entblößen, ihre Heerden eine Stufe höher hinauftreiben und dabei ihre Häuser einstweilen gegen Zelte aus schwarzem Ziegenhaar vertauschen.

Ganz in Uebereinstimmung mit dieser Lebensweise ist, daß man innerhalb des von ihnen bewohnten Bezirks nur Dörfer, nirgends aber einzelne Gehöfte und ebenso wenig größere Städte findet. Diese liegen nicht in, sondern um Kurdistan. Wenn man eine Linie über Diarbekir, Mardin, Nisibin, Dschesireh-Zbn-Omar, Wan, Musch, Baluh, Derindeh, Marasch und Andiaman zieht, so umfaßt diese das eigentliche Kurdistan. Im Innern des so umgrenzten Gebietes trifft man selbst kleine Städte, wie Socho, Bitlis, Söört, Hafn-Rejsa, Schiro, Bertel Troglu etc., welche überwiegend kurdische Bevölkerung haben, nur selten und nur in den Ebenen von Karput und Malatia die beiden Städte dieses Namens, welche von Bedeutung, aber auch entschieden nicht kurdisch sind. In diesen wie in den zuvor genannten größeren Städten findet eine wunderbare Mischung von Volksstämmen, Sprachen und Religionen statt. Die Christen, der ältere Theil der Bevölkerung, sind die Enkel der alten Assyrier und Chaldäer, mit später eingewanderten Armeniern vermischt. Die ersteren sind meist Jakobiten und Nestorianer, die unter sich

durch Meinungszwiespalt scharf geschieden sind; die letzteren der griechischen Kirche angehörig, mit Ausnahme einiger Profelyten, welche die Propaganda zu Rom und St. Lazarus zu Venedig gemacht hat. Mit ihnen mischten sich die benachbarten Kurden, und über diese Bevölkerung zog die Fluth der Sarazenen hin, welche die Kreuzfahrer dort zu bekämpfen hatten, und ließen einen größeren oder geringeren Niederschlag in Allen zurück. Endlich nehmen die Türken Besitz von der Herrschaft, und auch die Juden, welche wie das Eisen im Weltall verbreitet sind, bleiben nicht aus.

Besonders gegen Süden ist die Heimat der Kurden scharf durch den Gebirgsfuß begrenzt. Ueber denselben hinaus streift schon der Araber, dort giebt es keine Dörfer, keinen Anbau mehr, und nur noch Städte mit Mauern gewähren die nöthige Sicherheit gegen die Streifereien der Letzteren. Als ein isolirter Außenposten sind die kurdischen Bewohner auf dem Sindschargebirge anzusehen, welches sich scharf und mauerartig aus der unabsehbaren Steppe Mesopotamiens erhebt. Im Norden und Osten hingegen verfließt die kurdische mit der armenischen Bevölkerung, und nur das hohe, ganz unzugängliche Waldgebirge nördlich von Palu, in welches bis jetzt weder ein türkisches Heer noch ein wißbegieriger Reisender eindrang, ist ihr ausschließliches Domainium. Die Unterwerfung dieses letzten Schlupfwinkels kurdischer Unabhängigkeit war von Hafis Pascha\*) beabsichtigt, eben als der Krieg gegen die Aegypter ihnen zu Hülfe kam und diesen Bezirk, wahrscheinlich auf lange Zeit hinaus, der europäischen Forderung wieder verschloß.

Innerhalb der oben bezeichneten Raumausdehnung bewohnen die Kurden die Höhenzone von der Region der Fichte und Palamuteiche hinunter bis zu der des Oliven- und Granatbaums, von den schroffen Felswänden, aus deren Quellen und Schneedecken die Bäche rauschend hervorbrechen, bis zu den grünen

\*) Hafis Pascha war Oberkommandirender der türkischen Armee in Syrien 1838 und 1839 und verlor die Schlacht bei Nisib. S.



Thalgründen und Reisfeldern, die sie am Fuße der Berge in sanften Krümmungen durchziehen. Auf diesen Gürtel ist der Anbau beschränkt, weil höher hinauf um eben die Zeit noch Eis und Schneemassen die Gipfel bedecken, wo abwärts in der wasser- und baumlosen Steppe die Sonne schon alle Vegetation versengt hat.

Die Kurdendörfer gewähren einen freundlichen Anblick. Wenn man sich ihnen nähert, so erblickt man schon aus der Ferne prachtvolle Gruppen von Rußbäumen, unter deren breitem Schatten die Wohnungen versteckt liegen. An der Quelle oder dem Bach, welcher niemals fehlt, erhebt sich ein Hain von Pappeln, welche zum Bau der Hütten unentbehrlich sind. Reichlich getränkt und unter einer befruchtenden Sonne erreichen sie in unglaublich kurzer Zeit eine außerordentliche Höhe, und eng aneinander gedrängt, wie die Halme eines Kornfeldes, gedeihen die Stämme schlank und gerade wie ein Schilfrohr. Je nach der höheren oder niederen Lage der Ortschaft ist sie von Weinbergen, Olivenpflanzungen, Gärten oder Kornfeldern umgeben, aber äußerst selten erhebt sich ein Minaret, dessen selbst die kleinste türkische Dorfschaft nicht entbehrt.

Die Seitenmauern der Wohnungen sind von einer Art Luftziegel aus Lehm und zermalmtem Stroh, ganz ohne Holz, erbaut und statt der Fenster nur mit wenigen engen Oeffnungen versehen, welche hoch angebracht und nicht verschlossen sind, weil weder die Erfindung des Glases noch des Papiers bis in diese Berge vordrang. Der Eingang wird durch eine starke Thür aus Eichenholz geschlossen. Ueber diese Wand wird eine Lage von Pappelstämmen gestreckt, in Entfernungen von 9 Zoll auseinander, mit Zweigen bedeckt und über das Ganze eine Schicht Lehm und Kies, etwa 1 oder 1½ Fuß dick, gestampft. Die so entstandene Plattform dient der Familie zum nächtlichen Aufenthalt während des Sommers und ist oft mit einer vier Fuß hohen Wand als Brustwehr umgeben. Die Häuser der Vornehmen haben zwei solche Stockwerke und sind zuweilen von

Stein und meist an einer Seite mit einem viereckigen Thurm versehen. Die ganze Einrichtung ist auf Vertheidigung in den heimatlichen Fehden berechnet.

Im Innern der Wohnung findet man außer den kleinen Gemächern der streng abgesonderten Frauen ein größeres Gemach, das Selamlık der Türken. An dessen oberem Ende erblickt man den Kamin oder Herd zu ebener Erde, zu beiden Seiten auf einer niedrigen Estrade einige Kissen, und bei den Vornehmeren bedeckt ein Teppich den Boden. Dies ist die ganze Ausstattung.

Alle Ortschaften sind unter sich durch die halbschneidenden Fußpfade verbunden, welche selbst auf Maulthieren nicht ohne Gefahr zu passiren sind und dem ungewohnten Reiter Entsetzen einflößen. Jede Gemeinde genügt sich selbst, sie braucht und will keinen Verkehr mit den übrigen. Die Frauen weben die baumwollenen und halbseidenen Hemden, die roth- und schwarzgestreiften Stoffe zu den weiten Beinkleidern, die schwarzen Mäntel aus Ziegenhaar, welche nebst Bundschuhen und einer weißen Filzkappe den Anzug der Männer ausmachen. Zwischen einigen in die Erde gepflanzten Stöcken weben sie die schönen und dauerhaften Teppiche, welche den Hauptluxus der Wohnungen ausmachen. Die Männer bestellen das Feld, warten ihre Heerden und rauchen Tabak oder ziehen auf Fehden aus.

Die Zahl der kurdischen Bevölkerung anzugeben, ist selbst annäherungsweise sehr schwer, jedenfalls übersteigt sie eine halbe Million. Die große Mehrzahl derselben besteht aus Moslemin, an der persischen Grenze giebt es christliche Kurden und auf dem Sindshar und am Südrande ihres Gebietes wohnen Jeziden, von welchen die Türken annehmen, daß sie den Teufel anbeten, und die deshalb in Sklaverei verkauft werden dürfen. Die Armenier, welche in nicht geringer Zahl unter ihnen wohnen, sind sämtlich griechische Christen. Alle Kurden haben eine nationale Aehnlichkeit. Ihre Hautfarbe ist nicht gebräunter als die der sie umgebenden Turkomanen und Armenier; sie sind



meist von hohem, stämmigem Wuchs, die Nase ist gekrümmt, aber die Augen sitzen sehr nahe aneinander und geben ihn oft das Ansehen, als ob sie schielten.

Eine besondere Gewandtheit und praktische Kenntniß beweist der Kurde in Anlegung von Wasserleitungen. Ohne alle Nivellementinstrumente ziehen sie die Wasserfäden von den hochliegenden Quellen und Bächen oft Stunden weit an den Gebirgswänden hin bis zu dem Punkt, wo sie des Elements bedürfen, welches hier die Bedingung aller Vegetation ist. Die Berglehnen sind oft bis in erstaunliche Höhe terrassenförmig aufgebaut wie in unseren kultivirtesten Weinländern, um eine Spanne tragfähigen Landes zu gewinnen, und Baumpflanzungen, Felder und Wasserleitungen bezeichnen vorzugsweise die kurdische Kultur.

So ist die Heimat und der heitere Himmel, an welchen dies Volk mit ganzer Seele hängt. Als Hafis Pascha im Jahre 1838 mit Feuer und Schwert die Bewohner des Karsum-Dagh bis in ihre höchsten und unersteiglichsten Schlupfwinkel getrieben, und als ihnen, die rings umstellt waren, die Lebensmittel zu mangeln anfangen, erschienen die Ältesten vor dem Zelt des Siegers, um seine Gnade anzusuchen. Der Pascha wußte kein anderes Mittel, dies Volk in treue Unterthanen der Pforte umzuwandeln, als sie aus ihren unzugänglichen Gebirgen in die Ebene zu verpflanzen. Dort versprach er ihnen den zehnfachen Grundbesitz (er konnte in dieser Beziehung von unbegrenzter Freigebigkeit sein); er gelobte ihnen drei Jahre lang völlige Befreiung von allen Steuern und Aushebungen und schilderte ihnen die Reichthümer, die sie durch Seidenkultur und Pferdebezücht gewinnen könnten, statt Maulbeeren zu pflücken und Schafe zu hüten. Aber man könnte ebenso gut einem Fische vorschlagen, künftig ein Nest zu bauen. Die Greise blickten kummervoll zum Himmel und gelobten Alles, was man forderte. Reich beschenkt kehrten sie zu den Ihrigen zurück und erzählten, was sie erfahren. Da griffen Weiber und Kinder zu den Waffen, die Megeleien mußten erneut

werden und endigten erst mit der gänzlichen Besiegung der Widerspenstigen, aber das Projekt der Kolonisirung in der Ebene wurde als unausführbar aufgegeben.

Kurdistan ist ein Aggregat von lauter einzelnen Dorfschaften ohne allen weiteren Verband. Nur sehr selten erblickt man ein altes Raubschloß, auf hohen, unersteiglichen Berggipfeln aufgethürmt oder zwischen schroffe Thalwände eingeklemmt. Sie dienen einigen wenigen Beyn nicht als bleibende Wohnung, sondern als Zuflucht in Zeiten der Gefahr. Keiner dieser kleinen Fürsten übt eine beständige Herrschaft über einen größeren Theil des Landes, und nur in Zeiten der Noth und Bedrängniß vermochten Männer, wie Rewanduz-Bey, Bedehan-Bey und Sayd-Bey eine beträchtliche Schaar ihrer Landsleute um ihre Fahnen zu versammeln. Diese fielen dann auch ebenso schnell wieder von ihnen ab, und jeder vertheidigte ausschließlich nur seinen Herd. Hierin liegt die Schwäche des Volkes. Sie würden unbezwinglich sein, wären sie vereint, aber die Einen haben sich nie geregt, den Anderen beizustehen, und während Meschid und Hafis Pascha irgend einen Bezirk überzogen, freuten die übrigen sich in ihrer einstweiligen Freiheit, bis auch an sie die Reihe kam.

Gegen die Araber, die den völligen Gegensatz dieses Volkes bilden, haben die Kurden, indem ihre letzten Ansiedelungen in der Ebene von den Reiterchaaren der Wüste zerstört wurden, ihre natürliche Grenze erreicht. Der arabische Löwe kann dem kurdischen Falken in seinen Gebirgsklüften nichts mehr anhaben, und umgekehrt dieser jenem nicht, ohne aus seinem Element herauszutreten. Der gefährlichste Feind der Kurden mußte wegen seiner unmittelbaren Nähe Persien sein, wenn dies Land nicht in gänzliche Unmacht versunken wäre. Allerdings erlagen sie den Paschas von Bagdad und Diarbekir, aber hauptsächlich nur, weil zu jener Zeit die großen Hülfsmittel eines Heeres von 50 000 Mann gegen sie verwendet werden konnten, welches der Padischah zu ganz anderen Zwecken in jenen fernen Gegenden zu



unterhalten gezwungen war, nämlich zur Beobachtung Ibrahims. Uebrigens weiß die Pforte am besten, welche Opfer an Menschen, Geld und Material die Gewalt ihr gekostet hat, Kurdistan einen Zeitraum von wenigen Jahren hindurch brandschatzen zu dürfen. Sie mußte diese Opfer freilich bringen, weil ohne die Hilfsmittel Kurdistans es ihr geradezu unmöglich gewesen wäre, die Last des status quo sieben Jahre lang zu ertragen. Ihre Artillerie, wenn die Geschütze durch unfägliche Anstrengungen auf Kameelen oder durch Menschenhände in diese Gebirgsthäler geschafft waren, gewährte ihr eine Waffe, der die Kurden nichts Ähnliches entgegensetzen konnten, und doch widerstanden Schlösser mit 40 bis 80 Mann Besatzung 32, selbst 40 Tage lang allen ihren Anstrengungen.

Mittlerweile räumten Hungersnoth und Krankheit furchtbar unter den Belagerern auf, und wenn die letzte Expedition Hafisz Paschas schnell zum Ziele führte, so lag dies größtentheils mit in dem Umstande, daß man hier Kurden gegen Kurden ins Gefecht brachte.

Dieselben Männer, welche sich in der Ebene und unter türkischen Fahnen so schlecht geschlagen, sah man damals mit der äußersten Verwegenheit verschanzte Höhlen, Dörfer und Schlupfwinkel erstürmen oder vertheidigen. Beuteluft und Liebe zur Heimat waren die Motive, welche bei der einen Gelegenheit wirkten, bei der anderen fehlten.

Die Natur des Bodens erlaubt den Kurden nur selten, zu Pferde zu fechten. Ihre Reiter, auf trefflichen Rossen, sind meist noch mit Pfeil und Bogen oder mit langen Bambuslanzen bewaffnet, deren oberes Ende mit einem dicken Wulst von Straußfedern geschmückt ist, auch führen sie noch den kleinen runden Schild aus Flechtwerk und mit Häuten überzogen zu ihrem Schutz. Dagegen ist das lange Gewehr mit den schönen persischen Läufen, von damasziertem Eisen und oft noch mit Luntenschlössern versehen, eine furchtbare Waffe bei dem zu Fuß fech-

tenden Kurden in einem so schwierigen, oft fast unersteiglichen Terrain. Es liegt nach all diesem ein sehr starkes defensives Element in der kurdischen Nation, und man darf keineswegs glauben, daß die Russen nicht einen äußerst hartnäckigen Widerstand finden würden, sollten sie je die Eroberung des Landes versuchen. Sie würden hier auf denselben Fanatismus und auf alle die Schwierigkeiten eines dem russischen Soldaten vorzugsweise nicht zufagenden Gebirgskrieges stoßen, die sie schon seit langer Zeit vergeblich im Kaukasus zu bewältigen streben, wo doch die Nachbarschaft und die See ihnen sehr zu Hülfe kommen.

Aus eben diesen Betrachtungen geht aber zugleich hervor, daß die Kurden in offensiver Hinsicht wenig zu fürchten sind. Die großen Städte zunächst außerhalb ihres Gebietes sind vielleicht eine Lockung für sie, um sie dann und wann zu plündern, nicht aber, um sie zu besetzen und um sich in ihren, von der Sonnenhitze glühenden Mauern einzuschließen. Mossul und Bagdad namentlich liegen ganz außer ihrer Wirkungssphäre. Wir möchten daher auch den neuen Aufstand keineswegs als eine Lebensfrage für die Fortdauer des türkischen Reiches ansehen. Kurdistan ist diesem überhaupt nie chemisch verschmolzen gewesen, sondern es war nur mechanisch mit den übrigen Provinzen eine Zeit lang vermischt. Es ist im gegenwärtigen Zustande nicht wie Aegypten als ein fressender Krebschaden, sondern wie ein abgelöstes Glied des großen Staatskörpers anzusehen, von welchem schon so viele Extremitäten abgestorben sind.

Es ist auch sehr wohl möglich, daß die jetzt disponibel gewordene türkische Heeresmacht in Asien, indem sie aufs Neue diese schönen Thäler überzieht, die Dörfer verbrennt und die Saaten niedertritt, abermals einige kurdische Bezirke zum Gehorsam gegen den Padischah zwingt. Aber eben der Umstand, daß immer dieselbe Blutarbeit wieder nothwendig wird, und daß für jede Rekrutenaushebung oder Steuerforderung eine solche Machtent-



faltung aufs Neue geboten ist, führt auf die ernsthaftesten Betrachtungen über den Zustand des Reiches, welches Europa durch seine Flotten und Heere zu erhalten sich jetzt so angelegen sein läßt.



### Militärisch-politische Lage des osmanischen Reichs.

Wer der Entwicklung der Begebenheiten im Orient mit aufmerksamem Blicke folgt, kann sich nicht verhehlen, daß das türkische Reich mit immer zunehmender Schnelligkeit auf dem jähen Abhänge des Verfalls hinabsteigt. Seit Navarin und Adria-nopel hat der Padischah keine Schlachten mehr gegen die Fremden, sondern nur gegen seine Unterthanen gefochten. Seine hundert-jährigen Feinde wurden plötzlich ebenso viele Freunde und bald darauf Beschützer. Rath und Beistand wurde ihm von allen geboten, mehr selbst, als er davon gebrauchen zu können glaubte; und aus jeder Hülfsleistung ging er schwächer hervor, als er in der Noth gewesen war, welche den Beistand veranlaßt hatte. Eben jetzt, nachdem englische und österreichische Kanonen ihm den langersehnten Besitz von Syrien zurückgegeben, bildet das osmanische Reich aufs Neue einen weiten Schauplatz von Unzufriedenheit und Empörung auf der einen, von Verwirrung und Schwäche auf der anderen Seite.

Wir lesen in den Zeitungen, der Aufstand in Bulgarien sei beschwichtigt. Hussein, Pascha von Widdin, der Vertilger der Janitscharen, der giftbrüchige Greis von nahe an 90 Jahren, hat von seinen Polstern aus das Werk der „Beruhigung“ vollbracht. Der alte Würger hat seine Arnauten gegen die mißvergnügten Rajahs losgelassen. Die heutebegierige Schaar seiner Söldlinge stürzt sich auf die zum Theil unbewaffneten Haufen

der bulgarischen Christen, verbrennt ihre Dörfer und Saaten, schleppt Weiber und Kinder in die Gefangenschaft und treibt, was nicht dem Säbel erliegt, in die Gebirge, wo die dem Hunger und Elend Preisgegebenen ihrerseits in Räuberbanden verwandelt werden. Allein die Sache ist damit vertagt, und dies, so scheint es, ist überhaupt die einzige Erledigung, deren die Angelegenheiten jenes Landes fähig sind.

Wir stehen an, ob wir bei unserer Musterung als zum türkischen Reich gehörig die Fürstenthümer erwähnen sollen, in welchen kein Türke mehr wohnen darf und denen die türkische Regierung ihre Befehle nicht schicken kann, ohne ihren Tataren auf ein österreichisches Dampfschiff zu setzen und ihn 14 Tage in eine Quarantäne einsperren zu lassen. Indes sehen wir in Serbien einen großherrslichen Kammerherrn nach dem anderen eintreffen, ohne daß einer derselben die dortigen Wirren zu beenden wüßte. Der alte Milosch Obrenowitsch sieht dem Treiben vom anderen Ufer der Donau zu, als ob er glaubte, die Zeit dürfe wohl noch kommen, wo er wieder unter seine alten Waffengefährten hintreten, sie an den glorreichen Kampf ihrer Jugend erinnern und sein Land für immer von den Moslemin unabhängig machen könne.

Die Provinzen, aus welchen die Pforte ihr Beruhigungsmittel für Bulgarien entnahm oder richtiger für hohen Sold erkaufte, Albanien und Bosnien, befinden sich in einem Zustande, welcher nichts weniger als befriedigend genannt werden kann. Indes ist man in Stambul schon gewohnt, es als eine besondere Vergünstigung des Schicksals anzusehen, wenn der Divan eine vorübergehende Gewalt in jenen Bergen ausüben darf. Ali Pascha von Janina ist ja nicht mehr, und schlimmsten Falls machen die österreichischen Grenzer Ordnung, so ungern sie sich auch in fremde Händel mischen.

Viel ernstere Gesichter wird man zu Pascha Kapussi sehen, wenn von der schwierigen Stimmung der „Römer“ in Thessalien



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## Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet

By V. MINORSKY

MR. C. J. EDMONDS'S "Suggestions for the use of Latin characters in the writing of Kurdish" merit the attention of all those interested practically and theoretically in Kurdish, for no one probably has had better opportunities for studying the practical side of the question than Mr. Edmonds in his surrounding of Kurdish intelligentsia.

The inconvenient side of all Semitic alphabets is their disregard of vowels (not only short ones, but some of the long ones and the diphthongs). Those alphabets are sufficiently adapted to the languages for which they were invented and in which the consonantic frame (cf. Arabic, mostly triliteral, roots) forms the real backbone of the word of which the basic sense is more or less recognizable from the consonantic symbols.

This system is entirely unsuitable for languages with a developed vocalic system where vowels are not accessories of the consonantic frame but integral parts of the stem. In Kurdish *dār* "tree" and *dūr* "far" have nothing to do with each other in spite of their similar consonantic frame (*d.r*). Here the vowels make all the difference of the basic meaning, whereas the vocalic system itself is considerably complicated by the existence of *ē*, *ō* (> *üē*) which the Arabs in their own terminology call *majhūl*, i.e. "unknown" to themselves.

The Arabic script has been occasionally used for writing many different languages (Albanian, Turkish, Malay, numerous Caucasian, African, and Indian idioms and occasionally even Spanish and Serbian), but whenever the considerations of direct convenience of the writing were no more obscured by any reflexions of political and religious order, phonetic alphabets have triumphed all along the line.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We leave for the moment out of the question such languages with developed literatures closely associated with Muslim (Arabic) culture, as Persian, for instance.



Nothing can be said against the special phonetic alphabets of long standing, such as Greek, Russian, Armenian, Georgian, well adapted to their object, but as the Latin script is the most widespread in the world and has reached the highest technical perfection in its printed form (artistic consistency of the outer form of the whole scale of signs, lack of confusion in characters, existence of different varieties of type), only Latin script comes into question when a new form of phonetic script is under consideration for a language just acquiring a literary importance.

For the success of the reform in Kurdish it is essential that the Latin alphabet should be utilized in its most simple form with as few additions of conventional signs as possible. In this respect Mr. Edmonds's effort to remain within the possibilities of the ordinary type seems quite comprehensible and well founded. The Kurdish alphabet as a practical instrument need not aim at an absolutely rigorous application of the principles: "Each sound to have a single and non-compound sign, each sound to be pronounced only in one way." For example, there is no practical inconvenience of writing *sh* (ش) instead of the Czecho-Slovakian *š* (whatever its well-known scientific convenience in connection with the other special signs), or the Turkish *ş* (borrowed obviously from Rumanian).

I should formulate the principles underlying Mr. Edmonds's scheme as follows:—

(1) Avoidance of any unusual signs which would embarrass the Kurdish presses.

(2) Use of double signs for "long" vowels [only in Mr. Edmonds's first article!].

(3) Use of *h* after some consonants to connote some aberrant use of these characters.

(4) To these points I should add the desideratum of the slightest possible variance from the established use of the original Latin script. All alphabets are conventional and even if instead of *a, b, c* we write respectively *k, l, m* (as in

some unsophisticated schoolboys' cipher) it can be learnt after some practice, yet any queer functions of the familiar signs are apt to mislead the Kurds in the scientific study of their language in comparison with the other Iranian languages. In this respect the new Turkish alphabet, which gives a practical solution for local use, is certainly inconvenient for comparative purposes, such words as *gelecek* necessitating their retranscription into *gelejek*, etc. It is likewise undesirable to introduce new peculiar spellings for the words belonging to international scientific vocabulary.

The following are my more detailed observations on, and suggestions in regard to, the systems proposed by Mr. Edmonds in his two articles which hereafter will be respectively referred to as E 1 and E 2.

As regards the "long" vowels their exact duration as compared to that of the "short" ones may need some further investigation, but there is no doubt that the respective sounds of the two classes—*ā, ī, ū* and *a, i, u*—are felt as distinct phonemes, and, in the case of *ā* and *a*, differ in timbre; *ē* (closed sound palatalizing the preceding consonant) has no corresponding short sound; and *o* in *dost* and *xosh* (*xwosh*?) (though entirely of distinct origin) seems to be confused in Kurdish while the typical treatment of the original long *ō* in Kurdish is the diphthong *ūē* (with palatalization of the preceding consonant), e.g. *k'ūēr* (< *kōr*) "blind", *g'ūēz* < *gōz* "nut". There is consequently no practical need for introducing a distinction of *ō* and *o* but the sign *ō* (E 2) will be quite welcome as a comparatively simple conventional expression for *ūē*, and find its justification in the etymological origin of this sound (from *ō*).

Following the principle of reduplication of the characters in order to express the length of a vowel, I should write *aa* for Kurdish long *ā* and leave simple *a* for its corresponding short sound. Such a system is one of the practical characteristics of the Dutch script. As a matter of fact, short Kurdish *a* sounds like *ā* (cf. English "man"), or even



as a real short *ă*, while with the use of *e* (E 1 and E 2) we are distinctly drifting to a different class of sounds. The proposed use of *aa* and *a* will allow us to restrict the use of *e* to the real *e* (see above). This unique *e* will be written without any diacritical sign (as against E 1 and E 2: *ê*), just as in Sanskrit transcriptions *e* stands exclusively for a long *ē*.

The signs *ii* and *i* are quite natural, but there exists in Kurdish a characteristic sound of an extra-short *i* perfectly distinguishable on account of its dull timbre. It somewhat reminds one of Russian *ы* (Polish *y*) and Turkish *ı* (*î*) in *aldı* (الدى), but is a furtive intermediate sound which for an untrained English ear would perhaps resemble the vowel in "but". In E 1 and E 2 it is conveniently expressed by *y* (cf. Polish *y*!), but it would be very desirable to reserve to *y* the obvious function of *ی* (English and French *y*). One could think then of the new Turkish *ı* (without dot), but even the Turks admit now that this sign is conducive to confusion and seem disposed to replace it by *î*. As we have obtained the elimination of one character with diacritic sign (*ê*) by a simple one, we could afford to introduce in the present case *î*<sup>1</sup>, but perhaps it would be more advantageous to adopt for our case *ı* (with a dot underneath) which would be better distinguishable from both *ii* and *i* and in case of emergency could be easily improvised by the printers; it would suffice for them to place an ordinary *i* upside down.

I should rather not follow E 2 in transcribing *û* by *uw* and *î* by *iy* for the "Dutch" principle of doubling letters of the long sounds seems to me to possess all the advantages of clearness,<sup>2</sup> but I should admit the use of *uw*- and *iy*- in the cases when the long *û*- and *î*-, being followed by a vowel, phonetically become a group composed respectively of

<sup>1</sup> The special signs in our alphabet would consequently remain restricted to two: *î* and *ô*.

<sup>2</sup> In E 2 *y* has a threefold use for expressing consonantic *y*, short *ı*, and the length of *î* (*iy*).

*u + w* or *i + y*. This orthographical rule would be conditioned in this special case by the phonetic modification.

Coming to the consonants I should reserve simple *j* and *c* respectively for *ج* and *چ*, in conformity with the very clearly established use (see the hallowed Sanskrit transcription) and the historical tradition of *c* which in all the systems derived from Latin stands for voiceless *k*, *ç*, or *ts*. The only exception is the new Turkish alphabet, but we have mentioned its philological inadequacy for scientific purposes.

*Zh* and *sh* seem to be quite suitable expressions of *ژ* and *ش* logically consistent with *z* and *s* for *ز* and *س*.

The use of *h* as an auxiliary sign in *lh* and *rh* as differentiated from *l* and *r* is a happy idea already realized in Albanian script. Kurdish *lh* is a hard cerebral *l* pronounced with the tip of the tongue upturned (a characteristic very distinct from Turkish and Russian hard *l* (л); *rh* is the rolled *r* pronounced with the tip of the tongue (a similar distinction between *r* and *ṛ* exists in Armenian and Albanian).

As regards the harsh guttural sounds, the use of *x* for *خ* (as in Spanish, Greek, Russian) would be consistent with the general scientific practice. As we connote the corresponding voiced *غ* by *gh*, it was first suggested (E 1) to express this sound with *xh*, but as *خ* is frequent in Kurdish the new simplification (E 2) will be very welcome. On the other hand, Mr. Edmonds feels inclined to disregard the *ح* sound, occurring in Kurdish, and not only in Arabic loan-words, but also in some purely Iranian words as *هفت* *hawt* "seven". This sound, though rare, is very characteristic of Kurdish and I should allot to it precisely the conventional *xh*, where *-h*, following our practice, will indicate an aberrant use of the original symbol *x*.

Contrary to the Turks and Persians, the Kurds very naturally pronounce *ع* (and prefix it even to such an



Iranian word as *asp* "horse" which in Kurdish sounds عسب). It would be helpful to express ع with an apostrophe whenever the Kurds pronounce it: 'ajbat عجت but there is of course no question of simply reproducing Arabic forms: if عباس and عثمان are pronounced Habbās and Watmān they will be spelt accordingly.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, there is no need to transcribe the Arabic *hamza* in the beginning and at the end of words (أنس رجاء), though in the middle of words it would be helpful to express it by a hyphen هيت hay-at.

Likewise no special mark of elision seems to be necessary in such words as *lērā* < *l'ērā*, any more than in separating the locative ending -*da*, but, if so desired, the same hyphen could be used for such purposes as well.

We need not be more precise about Kurdish sounds, as time will show what particular nuances and *sandhi* phenomena will be discovered by specialists in phonetics. Under this ruling come the Sulēmānī spirants δ (ذ) and θ (ث), which can hardly be considered as real phonemes and do not represent a general phenomenon even in southern Kurdish.

It must be finally well understood that the suggested Kurdish alphabet has in view principally the convenience and development of printing. As regards the writing in Kurdish considerable simplifications will be introduced in due course: for instance, double vowels *aa*, *ii*, *uu* will be easily replaced by some signs like *ā*, *ī*, *ū* or *á*, *í*, *ú*. Many people in Europe instead of double consonants still write only one with a dash over it (as a substitute for an Arabic *tashdīd*). Kurdish orthography and calligraphy will follow their own ways, while we are trying to find some practical and simple solution of the fundamental problem of the basic alphabet.

<sup>1</sup> In handwriting ع could be expressed still better by *spiritus asper*.

The following is the comparative table of Kurdish sounds as figured in Mr. Edmonds's two articles and in my additional remarks:—

## A. VOWELS

	E 1.	E 2.	M.
<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aa</i>
<i>ā</i> (ā)	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>iy</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>î</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>ĩ</i> (dull)	<i>y</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ĩ</i> (or <i>ı</i> )
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>üē</i>	<i>uy</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ö</i>
<i>ū</i>	<i>uu</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>uu</i>
<i>ũ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>

B. CONSONANTS (disposed by groups)<sup>1</sup>

<i>b</i>	—	—	—
<i>p</i>	—	—	—
<i>v</i>	—	—	—
<i>f</i>	—	—	—
<i>w</i>	—	—	—
<i>d</i>	—	—	—
<i>t</i>	—	—	—
δ (ذ)	<i>dh</i>	?	?
θ (ث)	<i>th</i>	?	?
ج (ج)	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>
چ (چ)	<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>k</i>	—	—	—
<i>g</i>	—	—	—
ق	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>h</i>	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> — means "no change", and ? "not expressed".



غ	gh	gh	gh
خ	xh	x	x
ع	'	?	' or '
ح	x	?	xh
ل	-	-	-
ل	lh	lh	lh
ر	-	-	-
ر	rh	rh	rh
م	-	-	-
ن	-	-	-
ز	z	z	z
س	s	s	s
ژ (ژ)	zh	j	zh
ش (ش)	sh	sh	sh
ی (ی)	y	y	y

P.S.—The above suggestions are based on the assumption that, for the facility of Kurdish printing, signs with diacritical points must be avoided as far as possible. On the other hand, as shown by the latest experiments in Erivan and Damascus, this practical consideration need not be overestimated. Under such conditions, a more liberal use of diacritical points would very likely represent a further convenience and simplification in Kurdish writing.—V. M.



y ewtowe le zalhiyda payedare, ke le gêtîy' rhojawada be xew nebiynrawe.

*Original English*

The central mass of Asia throws out to the west, beyond the Urals, the sub-continent which we call Europe, and to the south, beyond the higher barrier of the Himalayas, the sub-continent which we call India. Various races of the same Aryan stock, presumably migrating from some common centre in distant ages, have established themselves in both these sub-continents. Whence they came, and what proportions they bear to other and earlier races, are matters of doubt and controversy. In the case of India, at any rate, there remain intermingled with the descendants of Aryan invaders, as we shall have occasion to point out later on, very large numbers who are believed to represent pre-Aryan inhabitants, as well as considerable infiltrations from other sources. There are civilizations of equal antiquity with that of India which have passed completely away; but in much of India there is an unchanged outlook on life, a continuing social tradition, and a characteristic philosophy that endures. Hindu orthodoxy is still governed by interpretations of the contents of the Vedas. Systems of medicine which are coeval with Hippocrates still have their exponents and their adherents. In spite of the eagerness with which political India is embracing modern ideas of government, the ancient social system of Hinduism, which has evolved a rigid complication of innumerable castes, from the Brahmin at the top to the pariah at the bottom, continues to control the lives and thoughts of more than two hundred out of the three hundred and twenty millions of the population of India with a persistence and authority undreamed of in the Western world.



wazirs; for sometimes the secretaries become dishonest, make common cause with the *'Amils*, and embezzle public money. You should pull in their reins from time to time. You should remember all that I have said to you and engrave it on your heart so that you may be among the fortunate ones.

This is my counsel and injunction to you, (by offering which) I have removed the responsibility from off my shoulders. AND GOD IS THE BEST KNOWER AND JUDGE.

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## Some Developments in the use of Latin Character for the Writing of Kurdish

By C. J. EDMONDS

IN the *JRAS.* of January, 1931, I offered some "Suggestions for the Use of Latin Character in the Writing of Kurdish". A certain number of changes in these first proposals subsequently appeared desirable in the light of criticism and of further experiment and experience. In the meantime Tewfiq Wehbi Beg, on whose modified Arabic alphabet my suggestions had been based, finding that his new system made little appeal to his compatriots, decided to abandon it, for the purposes of his future work, in favour of Latin. European students of Iranian philology will welcome the appearance in Latin character of the work of an accomplished native Kurdish scholar; how far the books now in the press and under preparation will appeal to other Kurds remains to be seen.

The following modifications of the first system have recommended themselves:—

(1) The distinction between *d* and *dh*, *t* and *th*, described as being restricted to part of the Sulaimani *liwa* only, has been abandoned, with a view to making the system as widely acceptable as possible.

(2) The preservation of the distinction between the two *h*'s for the sake of three or four native Kurdish words (only the sophisticated mark the distinction in Arabic borrowings) appeared hardly justified, and has been abandoned.

(3) The letter *x* is thus released to replace *kh*.

(4) The adoption of the letter *j* with the German value proved most unpopular not only with English but also with Kurdish critics; the difficulty has been met by using *y* both with its English consonantal value and also for pure short *i*, a comparatively rare sound in Kurdish.



(5) The letter *i* now represents the neutral vowel (except as provided by rules (8) and (13) below); to use a letter with a diacritical mark would have been out of the question owing to the high frequency of this sound.

(6) The letter *j* is thus released for use with its Turkish, i.e. the French, value; this may be distasteful to English readers but is liked by Kurds.

(7) The sound for which the rather clumsy digraph *uy* was first suggested is now represented by *ö*, and since the sound is rare little violence is done to the principle of avoiding diacritical marks; it is not spoken alike by all Kurds; the majority seem to pronounce it like French *ué*, but with the two vowel sounds run more together; it is not *wê*.

(8) Long *i* is now written *iy* (instead of *ii*) except after a vowel when it is written *yi*; since the combination of the neutral vowel and pure short *i* must form long *i* (see rule (e) at p. 34 of the "Suggestions") no difficulty arises; thus: *bi-xo* "eat!" makes *bi-y xo*, i.e. *biy xo* "eat it!"

(9) Similarly long *u* is now written *uw* instead of *uu*; after a vowel it is *wu*.

(10) Hemze is no longer represented since it appears, except as the initial soft breathing, in no native Kurdish words, and in Arabic borrowings merely has the effect of lengthening the adjacent vowel. Vowels found in juxtaposition are pronounced separately.

(11) Similarly ' for 'ain is no longer considered as a letter of the alphabet; it is detected as an initial sound in a very few native Kurdish words; in Arabic borrowings it generally, like hemze, lengthens the adjacent vowel, and sometimes, at the beginning of a word, aspirates it: thus عباس makes Hebbas, عمر makes Homer; in his recent work کرد و کردستان (Dar-ul-Islam Press, Baghdad, 1931) Amin Zaki Bey, recently Minister of Economics and Communications in the Iraqi Cabinet, who seldom spells Arabic words otherwise than in the correct Arabic way, writes on

p. 2 موتالا for مطالعة; where it is desired to represent the ع in a borrowed word the symbol ' can nevertheless be used unobjectionably.

(12) In consequence of (10) the apostrophe becomes available for its natural function of representing an elided vowel: *l'êrewe* for *le êrewe* "from here".

(13) Since a syllable cannot begin with the neutral vowel, initial pure short *i* is written *i* and not *y*.

These modifications, which all arise out of the abandonment of the superfluous symbols *dh*, *th*, *x* (for ح), ' and ' (for hemze), and the adoption of *i* for the neutral vowel, have been achieved without violence to the fundamental principles (1) that diacritical marks must be reduced to a minimum, and (2) that the system must be adequate to reproduce the nicest subtleties of Kurdish grammar.

A restatement of the five rules given in the "Suggestions" (p. 34 of the JOURNAL, January, 1931) now becomes necessary.

(a) This rule must be worded as follows: "The vowel *u*, if brought into juxtaposition with another vowel, is changed into *w*, e.g. *kewti-bu* "he had fallen", makes the subjunctive *kewti-bw-aye*; other vowels in juxtaposition are pronounced separately.<sup>1</sup>

(b) This rule holds *mutatis mutandis* and might read: The combination *iiy* is not possible and is shortened to *iy*, the suppressed letter being represented by apostrophe; thus, *tanciy* "gazelle-hound" makes *tanci'yan* "their gazelle-hound", not *tanciyyan*, and *tanciy' Puwsho* "Pūsho's hound", not *tanciy y Puwsho*.

(c) The rule holds *mutatis mutandis*, but further experience has suggested that the fall of the accent in some measure limits freedom in the dropping of the neutral vowel; e.g. *leshkir* "army" makes *leshkreke* "the army"

<sup>1</sup> Such juxtaposition occurs as a result of dropping the symbol for hemze in pure Kurdish words only when the present tense particle *de* is prefixed to a verb beginning with a vowel.



(since the definite article *-eke* takes the accent), but *leshkirêk* "an army" (since the indefinite article *êk* does not take the accent).

(d) With the dropping of the hemze the need for this statement disappears: A word like *serêshe* "headache" is simply written as one word; a new convention regarding the preposition *e*, "to" is referred to below.

(e) The new orthography represents this change of sound automatically and no statement of rule is necessary (see modification No. 8 above).

The alphabet now being used by the leading native Kurdish philologist thus contains thirty-three letters (instead of the thirty-eight of the original "Suggestions"); these are the ordinary twenty-six letters, with two vowels having diacritical marks *ê* and *ö*, and five digraph consonants, *ch*, *gh*, *lh*, *rh*, *sh*.

## TABLE

<i>a</i>	always long as in father.
<i>b</i>	as in English.
<i>c</i>	with Turkish value, English <i>j</i> .
<i>ch</i>	as in English church.
<i>d</i>	as in English.
<i>e</i>	short <i>a</i> as in English bat.
<i>ê</i>	the open sound, not the diphthong which is <i>ey</i> .
<i>f</i>	as in English.
<i>g</i>	as in English.
<i>gh</i>	as in Arabic <i>ghain</i> .
<i>h</i>	as in English.
<i>i</i>	the neutral vowel.
<i>j</i>	with Turkish value, French <i>j</i> .
<i>k</i>	as in English.
<i>l</i>	as in English.
<i>lh</i>	velar <i>l</i> .
<i>m</i>	as in English.
<i>n</i>	as in English.
<i>o</i>	always long.
<i>ö</i>	like French <i>ué</i> .
<i>p</i>	as in English.

<i>q</i>	guttural <i>k</i> .
<i>r</i>	as in English.
<i>rh</i>	rolled <i>r</i> .
<i>s</i>	always sibilant.
<i>sh</i>	as in English.
<i>t</i>	as in English.
<i>u</i>	always short.
<i>v</i>	as in English.
<i>w</i>	bilabial.
<i>x</i>	as Arabic خ.
<i>y</i>	consonant as in English and also short pure <i>i</i> .
<i>z</i>	as in English.

The following examples are appended to illustrate the modified system:—

I. "The Adventure of the Goat-herd," with translation.

II. Kurdish translation of an extract from the Simon report.

No. II is something of a *tour de force* done for me by a group of Kurdish friends. The intention of the inclusion of this is to suggest that the Kurdish language is so rich as to be capable of expressing any normal conception of the European mind almost without recourse to borrowing.

For greater clearness the izafe *y*, the preposition *e* "to" (with its compounds *enaw* "into the middle of", *eser* "to the top of", etc., which are easily recognizable in that they are not followed by izafe), and the conjunction *u* "and" (except in compounds) are written separately; they must, however, be pronounced in liaison with the preceding word. Kurdish is particularly rich in compounds in every part of speech, and it is not always easy to judge how far the component parts should be written together or separately, or how far the aid of hyphens should be resorted to. In the examples I have endeavoured to follow consistently a set of experimental conventional rules, but it would be premature to state them at this stage.



## EXAMPLE I

*Beser Hat y Xawensabrên*

Piyawêk y ladêyi buw; sabrênêky hebu: zory xosh dewyst; herchiy xwardinêk y chaky des bikewtaye, derxward y ewy deda. Jinekey leser eme rhiqy lêy helh sa we êwarêyêk legelh sabrênekey, l'em dê bo ew dê, dery kirdin. Kabra rhêy lê helhe buw; her derhoyi w nedegeyisht e dêyêk. Sabrênekey leber birsêtiy w manduwiy desy kird be harhjin. Kabra dilhy pêy suwta we be giryanewe desy kird e mily, we wuty; "Xozge bimirdmaye w tom wa nediaye."

L'ew demeda le nziykewe deng y segwerhêk hat; eme dêyê bu; rhuwy tê kird. Ke geyisht, chuw e berdem y malh y kôxa; le dergay da. Jin y kôxa hat episht dergake we pirsîy: "Ewe kêye?" Kabra pêy wut: "Biy kerewe, miywanim." Jine lêy gêrhayewe: "Kôxa le ashe; derga nakemewe." Kabra göy neda yê; sabrênekey xist eser shany w be serbanda ser kewt we chuw e xwarewe; legelh sabrênekeyda chuwn e kayênêkewe.

Buw be niyweshew; le dergayan da; kôxajin chuw, kirdyewe. Xawensabrên chawy pê kewt ke ewa kôxajin legelh kabrayêkda des lemîl yek, be machu muwch gerhanewe w chuwn e juwrewe. Lepash nextêk le derga drayewe. Xawensabrên temashay kird ke ew kabraye y legelh jine bu hat, xoy kuta ye kayênêkewe. Kôxajinysh chuw, dergay kirdewe we diysanewe legelh kabrayêk y tazehatuw be machu muwch gerhayewe, we chuwn e juwrewe.

Hemdiysan le derga drayewe; kabra y duwemysh xoy kuta ye kayênêkewe. Xawensabrên rhuwy tê kirdin: "Bragel, pê nenên we sabrênêkema." Kabrakan, ke em dengeyan byst le tariykaiyekeda, pêyda helh shaxiyn: "Wis, deng meke."

Jine chuwbû be deng y dergawe; tumez eme mêrdekey bu ke le ash ard y alêstay des kewtibû, legelh genimekeyda gorhiybuyewe w be pêchewane y hiywa y kôxajin zuw gerhabwewe. Jine dergakey lê kirdewe, we pêkewe hatin e hewshê. L'ewêwe kôxa piyawekey, ke leber derga westabu,

we nawy Cherkesiy bu, bang kird: "Cherkesiy!" Xawensabrên le kayênêkewe qiyrandy: "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn." Kôxa l'em denge sery suwrh ma; diysanewe bangy kird: "Cherkesiy!" we göy girt. Xawensabrên be mirqe mirq hawary kird: "Sê kes u sabrênêkyn; eyhawar! kushtyanim." Duw kabrake y dyke desyan kirdibu be siyxurme têwejandiny, belham, ke zaniyan ewa kôxa berew kayên d'êt, boy der chun. Kôxa chuw e juwrewe; xawensabrên y be diz zaniy w desy kird be tê helhdany we lêy helh kêsha ye xencer ke biy kujêt. Kabra y tayen, ke chawy be xencer kewt, sabrênu mabrên y becê hêst u der perhiy w rhuwy kird e dêyêk y dyke.

Weku cardy le derga y malh y kôxay da. Kôxajin pirsîy "Ewe kêye?" Xawensabrên wuty: "Miywanim, biy kerewe." Kôxajin wuty: "Kôxa le ashe; nay kemewe." Kabra y xawensabrên weku car y pêshuw göy neda yê we be serbanda chuw e xwarewe w l'ewêwe bonaw kayênêke.

Le prhêka le derga dra. Xawensabrên dilhy da xurpa; wuty: "Hemysan tê helhdan nebêt?" Kôxajin dergakey kirdewe w babayêky kird e juwrewe. Kayênêke beramber be hodew heywaneke bu; xawensabrên l'ewêwe chawy lê bu ke jineke kabray le hodeke da na, xoy hat e derewe; le heywaneke agirêky kirdewe, taweyêky xist eser, shtêky lê na w day girt ke sard bêtewe; we chuwewe juwrê. Xawensabrên y le birsda mirduw helh sa, be penapena chuw eser taweke; gezow rhony têda bu; desy kird be xwardiny. Ke be layen y xoyda wurd bwewe le heywanekeda beranêk y dabestrawy diy. Chuw, beranekey kirdewe w hênay, ewe y lebery mabwewe suwy le demu lmoz u sim y beraneke. Beranysh ney kird e namerdiy; lê nakawda qochêky le pishtewe lê da, lepew rhuw frhêy da yenaw derk y juwrekewe. Xawensabrên hawarêky kird: "Eyhawar! Bawke rho! Pishtim shka." Kabra w kôxajin l'em denge rha perhiyn we pirsîyan: "To kêyt, krambawgaw?" we pelamaryan da yê w desyan kird be tê helhdany. Duwbare le derga dra. Be herduwkyan xawensabrên y helh girt u xistyan e



kenduweke y ardewe; we jine'sh kabrakey na yenaw tenguwrekewe w pneyêky xist eser, we chuw dergakey kirdewe.

Tumez em köxaye'sh ard y alêstay des kewtibu, genimekey pê gorhiybwewe w be bedbextiy' köxajin xêra gerhabwewe. Köxa be barashewe hat e juwrê, we be jiney wut: "Ard y nawhorheke biker e kenduwekewe." Jine wuty: "Pele pely chiye? Beyaniy." Köxa pêy lê da girt, wuty: "Her debêt êsta horheke betalh keyt." Jine her xoy lê la deda; köxa pelamar y horhy da, birdy eser kenduw y xawensabrên, we desy kird be ard rhjandin e nawyewe. Hêšta horheke niywey mabu, kenduw pirh buw. Köxa pirsy: "Afret, xo to wutit ardman nemawe?" Jine y zerd helhgerhaw wuty: "Lepash to biyrim kewtewe ke ardman mawe."

Köxa neqiyzeyêky girt be desewe we peyta peyta kirdy be kenduwekeda ke ardeke chak bichêt e xwarewe. Em neqiyzane dekewtin le seru gölak y xawensabrên, ke le tawana xoy rha piskand, kenduw y kird be duw kertewe w der perhiy. Köxa, ke chawy b'em kabra ardawiye w seru chaw xönawiye kewt, be cnokey zaniy, da chlhekiy we hawary kird: "Naw y Xwa! A! Afret, ew tfengem bo b'êne."

Xawensabrên y zaretrek desy kird be lalhanewe: "Boch dem kujyt? Min her gezow rhonekem xwardibu; sza y xom diy; belham herchiy kirdy Agha y nawtenguwr kirdy; emca nore y ew bêt." Kabra y nawtenduwr, ke emey byst, der perhiy e derewe; xeriyk bu boy der chê, köxa qiyrh girty. Be Xwa, legelh köxada kewtn e seru gölhak y yektiry. L'em helhkewteda xawensabrên perhiy e serban; l'ewê temashay kird ke leshy be dwayda nayêt; wuty: "Xo, emane minyan kusht; ba tolheyan lê bikemewe."

Gerha bo berdê, pêyanda bikêshêt; kurtanêky le serbaneke doziyewe; xisty eser sery we hat egeragh serbaneke ke biy kêshêt beser herduw kabrada ke le hewshê le yek ber buwbun. Ney zaniy ke qushqun y kurtaneke kewtuwet episht mily; hêzy da ye xoy ke biy da be seryanda; qushqun ewyshy rhapêch kird; kabra girmha be xoy u kurtanewe

kewt e xwarewe; nqeyêky lê'we der hat: "Bawke rho! Psam."

Sherhkerekan desyan l'êk ber bu, we kabra y dosteyan boy der chu. Köxa emca pelamar y xawensabrên da w desy kird be tê helhdany. Xawensabrên wuty: "Besye; mem kuje; rhastiyeket pê bêjim." Köxa desy lê ber da; xawensabrênsh ew shewe chi' beser hatibu boy gêrhayewe. Leser eme köxa jinekey der kird we kerêk u tuwrekeyê ardy da be xawensabrên we nardyeve dêyeke y xoy.

Minysh hatmewe w hychyan nedam ê.

#### TRANSLATION

##### *The Adventure of the Goatherd*

There was a villager; he had a billy-goat; he was very fond (of it); whatever good food came to hand he used to give it to it to eat. His wife thereupon got annoyed and one evening turned them, him with his billy-goat, right out of the village. The fellow lost his way; he kept going on and not arriving at any village. His billy-goat began to whimper with hunger and fatigue. The fellow's heart burned for it and he tearfully put his arms round its neck and said: "Would that I might die and not see thee thus."

At that moment there came a sound of barking from nearby; this was a village; he turned towards (it). When he arrived he went to the front of the headman's house; he knocked on the door. The headman's wife came to behind the door and asked: "Who is that?" The fellow said to (her): "Open it, I am a guest." The woman answered (him): "The headman is at the mill; I shall not open the door." The fellow did not listen to (her); he hoisted the billy-goat on his shoulder and climbed up on the roof and went down; they went, he with the billy-goat, to the straw-store.

Midnight came; someone knocked on the door; the headman's wife went and opened (it). The goat-herd saw that, lo, the headman's wife and a fellow came back, arms round



each other's necks, kissing and bussing, and went into the room. After a little there was a knock on the door. The goat-herd saw that that fellow who was with the woman came and thrust himself into the straw-store. The headman's wife also went, opened the door, and again came back with a new-comer, kissing and bussing, and they went into the room.

Yet again there was a knock on the door; the second fellow also thrust himself into the straw-store. The goat-herd turned towards them: "Don't tread atop o' my billy-goat, mates." The fellows, when they heard this sound in the darkness, scolded him: "Sh-sh, don't make a noise."

The woman had gone to investigate the noise at the door; but this was her husband, who had found flour ready at the mill, had exchanged (it) for his wheat and returned early, contrary to the expectation of the headman's wife. The woman opened the door to (him) and together they came into the courtyard. From there the headman called his man who was standing in front of the door and whose name was Homany: "Homany!" The goat-herd bawled from the straw-store: "We are three men and a billy-goat!" The headman was astonished at this sound; again he called: "Homany!" and listened. The goat-herd yelled plaintively: "We are three men and a billy-goat. . . . Help! They have killed me." The two other fellows had begun to punch him, but when they realized that, lo, the headman is coming towards the straw-store they decamped. The headman went into the room; he took the goat-herd for a thief and began to thrash him, and threatened him with a dagger, to kill him. The poor fellow, when he saw the dagger, abandoned billy-goat and all and fled and made towards another village.

Like last time he knocked at the door of the headman. The headman's wife asked: "Who is that?" The goat-herd said: "I am a guest, open it." The headman's wife said: "The headman is at the mill; I shall not open it." The goat-herd fellow, as the time before, did not listen to (her)

and by the roof went down and from there inside the straw-store.

At once there was a knock on the door; the goat-herd's heart beat fast; he said: "I hope there will be no thrashing again." The headman's wife opened the door and let an individual into her room. The straw-store was opposite the room with the verandah; from there the goat-herd could see that the woman put the man in the room and herself came outside; she made a fire on the verandah, put on a frying-pan, cooked something and took it off to cool; and she went into the room. The famished goat-herd got up and went stealthily up to the frying-pan; it had manna and butter-sauce in it; he began to eat it. When he had taken in what was around him he saw a ram tied up on the verandah. He went and untied the ram and proceeded to wipe his leavings over the muzzle and feet of the ram. The ram did not fail to play the man. Unexpectedly he gave him a butt behind and threw him sprawling into the doorway of the room. The goat-herd gave a yell: "Help! Mercy on an orphan! My back is broken." The fellow and the headman's wife started at this sound and asked: "Who are you, son of sin?" And they attacked (him) and began to thrash him. A second time there was a knock on the door. The two of them picked up the goat-herd and put him into the flour-jar; and the woman too put the fellow into the oven and set the pastry-board on top, and went and opened the door.

But this headman too had found ready-milled flour, had exchanged the wheat for (it) and, unfortunately for the headman's wife, had come back quickly. The headman came into the room with the mill-load and said to the wife: "Put the sackful of flour into the jar." The wife said: "What's the hurry? To-morrow." The headman insisted and said: "All the same you must empty the sack now." The wife kept trying to avoid it; the headman rushed at the sack, carried it on to the goat-herd's jar, and began to pour flour into it. Half the sack was still left when the jar was



full. The headman asked: "Woman, you said, didn't you, that we had no flour left." The wife, coming over all pale, said: "After you (had gone) I remembered that we had some flour left."

The headman took up a goad and pushed it into the jar so that the flour should go well down. These prods kept coming down on the goat-herd's cranium so that in consequence he struggled with his elbows, broke the jar in two pieces, and jumped out. The headman, when he saw this fellow all covered with flour and with his head bleeding, took (him) for a demon, started up and yelled: "'S truth! Ho! Woman! bring me that gun."

The terrified goat-herd began to implore: "Why will you kill me? I had only eaten the manna and butter-sauce; I have had my punishment; whatever anyone has done the gent in the oven did; so let it be his turn." The fellow in the oven, when he heard this, jumped out; he was about to decamp, the headman gripped him. Then, by God, he and the headman fell to scragging each other. At this juncture the goat-herd fled to the roof; there he saw that he can hardly drag himself along; he said: "Well, they knocked me about; let me have my revenge on them."

He looked about for a stone to throw at them; he found a pack-saddle on the roof; he put (it) on his head and came to the edge of the roof to throw it at the two fellows who had set about each other in the court-yard. He did not know that the crupper of the pack-saddle has fallen behind his neck; he braced himself to throw it on to their heads; the crupper dragged him along, too; the fellow bumped and fell down below, (himself), pack-saddle, and all; a gasp escaped from him: "Mercy on an orphan! I'm bust."

The combatants broke apart and the lover fellow decamped. Then the headman rushed at the goat-herd and began to thrash him. The goat-herd said: "That's enough; don't kill me. Let me tell you the truth." The headman took his hands off him; the goat-herd, too, that night related

to (him) what had happened to him. Thereupon the headman expelled (his) wife and gave the goat-herd a donkey and a bag of flour and sent (him) back to his own village.

I too have come back and they gave me nothing.

## EXAMPLE II

### *Kurdish Translation of an extract from the Simon Report*

15. Komelhe gewre y nawcheyi' Asiya, bo la y rhojawa, b'ew diyw Uralekan-da, ew kerte kyshwerey frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Ewruwpa, we bo la y niywe rho, b'ew diyw qorte here berzeke y Hymalaye-yshda, ew kerte kyshwerey frhê dawe ke pêy delhêyn Hyndistan. Gelê rhég y cöchesn, ke hemuw le yek rhechelhak y Ariy buwn we ke, rhenge, le serdemêk y zor konda her le nawcheyêkewe kochyan kirdibêt, xoyan l'em duw kerte kyshwereda da mezranduwe. Cêga y hatinyan, we besh'y têkelhawî'yan legelh rhegekan y tir we legelh rhege kontrekan, babet y gumane, we zor qse helh degrêt. Herchy Hyndistane, l'ewêda, her chonê bê, weku le dwayida hel y lêy dwanman des dekwê, jmareyêk y zor gewre, ke birhwa dekrêt ke wêne y danyштуwekan y ber le Ariyekan bin, we gelêk y tir, ke le serchawe y tirewe tê rhjawn, legelh netewe y Ariye dagiyr kerekanda, be têkelhawiyê mawnetewe. Gelê sharistanêtiy heye, ke legelh hiy Hyndistan le koniyda hawtan, we ke be tewawiy beser chuwn; belham le zor y Hyndistan-da temashayêk y negorhaw bo jiyan, bastanêk y yekbiyneyi' komelhiy, we feylesuwfiyêk y taybetiy' payedar heye. Yasayi' Hynduw êstaysh firmanber y l'êk danewe y nawerok y Vêdakane. Ew cheshne pezyshkiyane, ke legelh Hyppokrates-da hawdem buwn, êsta'sh bekar hên u pêwe nuwsawyan heye. Legelh ew arezuwe gewreye'shda, ke Hyndistan y siyasiy pêyewe biyre bawekan y dewlhetgêrhiy des lemil dekat, terze kon y komelhiy' Hynduwayetiy, ke, her le Bramen-ewe biy gre heta dêt eser Glhawekan, têkelhawiyêk y chiynchiyn y hozêk y bêjmarey da hênawe, ke beser jiyan u biyr y le duw sed milwên ptir y danyштуwekan y sê sed u biyst milwênîy' Hyndistan-da be rhiq we deselhatêk



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# THE KURDISH TRIBES OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

BY MARK SYKES.

## PREFACE.

THE materials collected in the ensuing pages are the results of about 7,500 miles of riding and innumerable conversations with policemen, muleteers, mullahs, chieftains, sheep drovers, horse dealers, carriers and other people capable of giving one first hand information. The results I fear are extremely meagre, but I hope they may prove of use to future travellers.

As hardly anything has been written on the subject in the English language heretofore, I have not been able to make a study of the Kurds from a bibliographical point of view. However, I trust that this will not detract from the interest of the work, I may add that I had among my servants on my last journey representatives from the three most important sections of the Kurds, so that I was able to obtain interpreters without any great difficulty, a matter of some importance amidst the conflicting dialects of the nomads and sedentary mountaineers.

In preparing the following list of the various tribes of the Kurdish race I have endeavoured to simplify the work of future students by marking down and cataloguing as many of the tribes as have come either directly or indirectly under my notice.

After various abortive attempts at setting them down in a manner comprehensible to any one but myself, I have decided for the purposes of this work to break up the regions inhabited by Kurds into six zones; to each of these zones a section of the catalogue is devoted, each section containing a separate enumeration. Thus in the alphabetical list a tribe will be found, as for instance the Merzigi 76B, section A. To find the position of the tribe the reader must look in zone A on the map for the number 76; he will find this number is connected to a chain of letters; the letter B in this chain will mark the spot where this tribe is to be found, in the catalogue he will find such particulars as I can supply under the number 76B in the printed section A.

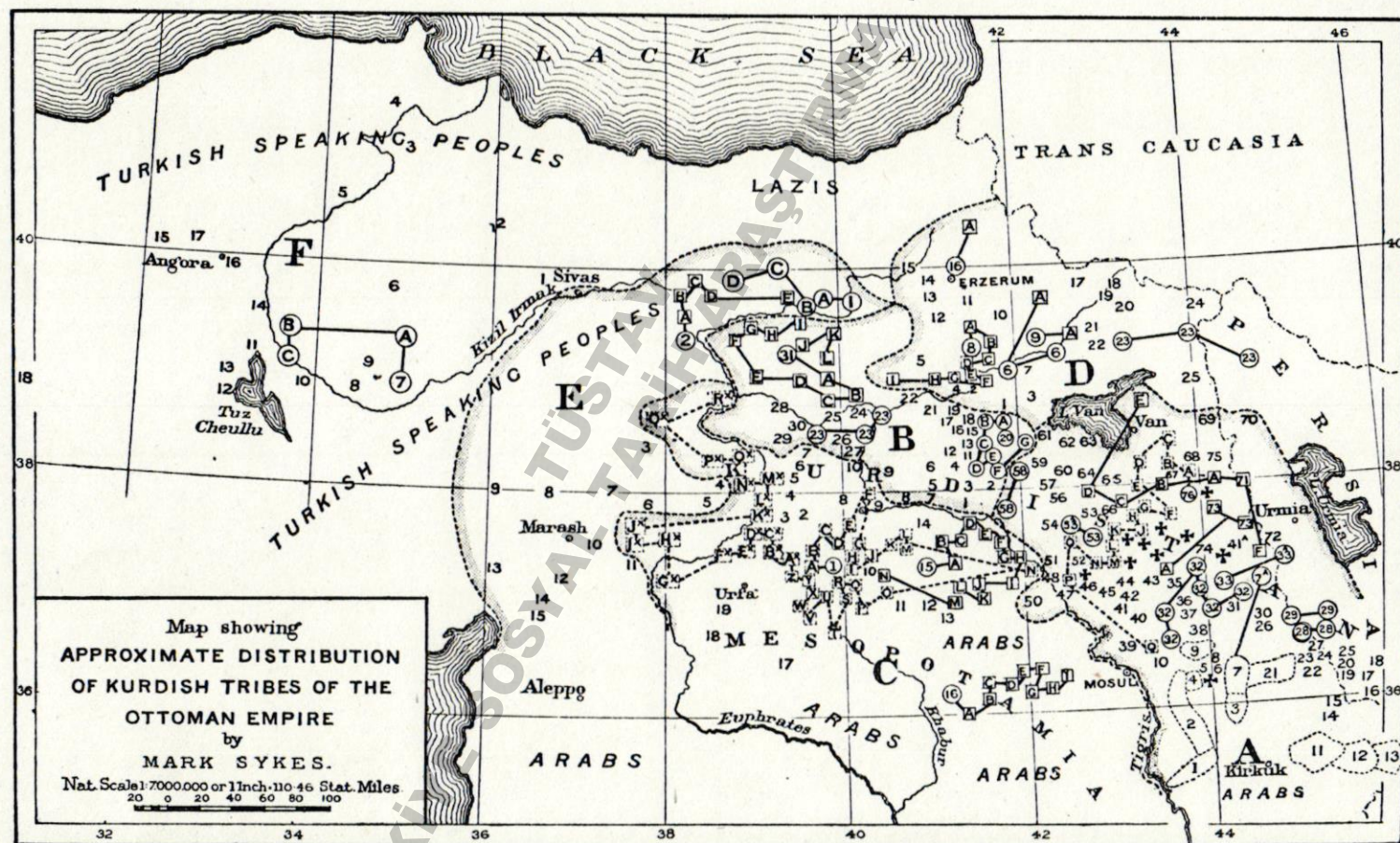
Before closing this preface may I say that the zones marked on the map are not ethnological but merely a convenient form of grouping.

## SECTION A.

### *Introduction.*

I have chosen this zone as the first to be treated chiefly because the Kurds dwelling in it are apparently the descendants of those ancient Cordueni who







harassed Xenophon's retreat, and it is at least the theatre of the Kurds' first appearance on the stage of history. The densely populated zone is bounded on the north by Lake Van and the Armenian table land, on the west by the Tigris, and on the south by the plains of the Irak. I should imagine that the majority of its inhabitants are Kurds; however, we have a considerable foreign element in the plains, and it may be that some of the tribes mentioned in my list are not in fact Kurdish tribes but branches of other peoples who have become affiliated to the original mountain race. The foreign or at least non-Kurdish stocks may briefly be enumerated as the Arabo-Aramean population of Mossul, the pure Arameans as typified in the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians of Ain Kawa, Akra, and Keui Sanjak, the Turkish peoples of Altyn Kiopru, Kerkuk and Erbil, and the Bedawin and Felahin Arabs on the banks of the Tigris and the plains eastward of Mossul.

The two peoples in this zone concerning whom I am completely in doubt are the Shabak No. 5 and Bejwan No. 10, and the Nestorian Christians of Hakkari, Amadia and Zakho. The presence of the latter are denoted by a black ✠. The question as to whether these Nestorian Christians of Hakkari, who have a tribal organization, are indigenous Kurds or fugitive Christians of Aramean stock, is I think still open; several learned Kurdish<sup>1</sup> notables are of opinion that the Nestorians of Hakkari are Kurds who were converted to Christianity before the advent of Al Islam; on the other hand the Christian clergy are firmly convinced that this is not the case. Personally I suspect that both theories are in part true, and that when the Christians fled from Mossul and Irak, they took refuge with the Kurdish Christians of Hakkari. This would make the Episcopal families new comers, just as many of the Kurdish Moslem chiefs trace their ancestry to Arabian Emirs. I regret that I was unable to obtain particulars as to the names of the Nestorian tribes, but it is to be hoped that the English Mission of the Archbishop of Canterbury will some day supply the deficiency.

With regard to the Kurds I think they may be divided into three classes. Class I.—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, who are the semi-nomads of the plains and southern hills; Class II, Nos. 21, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41A, 44, 48, 52, 53, 53A, 65, 68, 71A, 71B, 71C, 72, 73, who are the sedentary mountain tribes; Class III, the semi-nomadic mountaineers comprising the remainder of the tribes with the exception of No. 50.

As regards Class I the tribes catalogued under these figures are very similar to one another in habits and appearance. They are usually wealthy shepherds and only cultivate the ground for auxiliary purposes, though they frequently employ extraneous labour for agriculture and traffic in the produce thus obtained. They are expert smiths, weavers, and tent makers. Mentally they are far superior to the majority of Kurds, being apt to education, astute men of business and very indus-

<sup>1</sup> The names of these gentlemen are :—Shaykh Nasreddin of Tillu; Shaykh Sadiq, of Neheri (now dead); Shaykh Hamid Pasha of Bashkala.



trious. They live under the rule of hereditary tribal nobles, who are usually very quarrelsome, feuds and intertribal wars being common. These semi-nomads, who are known as the Baba or Baban Kurds, are noted for their chivalry, valour, and thieving proclivities; they are all fine horsemen, and expert marksmen, having of late years discarded the lance and sword in favour of the rifle. I should imagine that the great cavalry armies of the Parthians were recruited from similar tribes, as the present evolutions and tactics of these people resemble those of the troops of Surenas as described in Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*. The patron Saint of the Baban Kurds is Khalid ibn Walid, whom they hold in great reverence, saying that he converted them from Paganism and the worship of fire.

All the tribes mentioned in this class are strictly orthodox Sunni Moslems.

During the months of October, November, December, January and February, they dwell in villages in the vicinity of the numbers as marked on the map; in March they go into tents and remain in them till early in June, at which period many families from each tribe migrate to the Wazna district with their flocks; during the summer months of July, August and September, whether at Wazna or elsewhere they lay up their tents and construct bowers of green wood, in which they live until the autumn nights grow chilly, when they return to their villages. Most of the noble families of the tribes in this class intermarry with the Arabs of Mesopotamia. However, their own women are strikingly beautiful and are allowed great freedom, many of the women can ride and shoot as well as the men, but undertake no manual labour beyond making butter and performing ordinary household duties.

*Class II.*—The sedentary mountaineers are completely distinct in custom and dress from the Baban Kurds. They are industrious agriculturists, and cultivate every available piece of ground in the vicinity of their villages, showing great capacity in diverting and damming streams, draining and ditching for the purpose of irrigating the terraced fields in the vicinity of their villages; these fields bear crops of barley, wheat, maize, rice, and excellent tobacco. They live under the rule of tribal chiefs and like the Baban Kurds are constantly at war with one another. The men carry rifles and daggers, and are active fighters and hunters. Each village has in its centre or near it a small double bastioned block-house or castle of hewn stone, where in times of war the people take refuge for purposes of defence. The intertribal battles are often extremely bloody, six or seven men killed out of a party of twenty being not uncommon.

As regards mode of life these Kurds, though sedentary, dwell in bowers erected on the flat roofs of their houses in summer. Like the Baban Kurds their women do not veil and are well treated. Some of the tribes in this category are of opinion that they were converted from Christianity, but most of them have Pagan traditions. Among them dwell a good many Jewish families who are never maltreated, but are not permitted to carry arms or engage in tribal feuds, consequently the Jews travel on trading expeditions from tribe to tribe whether the latter are friends or enemies. Nestorian Christians dwelling amongst these tribes are occasionally



found living in a condition of vassalage, but as often as not share and own lands on an equal footing with the Moslem tribesmen.

*Class III.*—The remainder of the Kurds in section A are semi-nomadic mountaineers, being partly agriculturists, partly shepherds, and partly horse dealers; in dress they resemble Class II rather than Class I; they are of a thievish disposition, bloodthirsty, cowardly, and often cruel. Their women are ugly and hard worked, they usually ride donkeys or mules, and are extremely erratic in their movements. Speaking generally, they differ in appearance from Kurds of Class I and Class II, being big boned, heavily built men, of a very dark complexion. No one who saw them could imagine they were of the same origin. In their wanderings they frequently dispense with tents and shelter behind bales or reed screens. As a rule these semi-nomads are badly armed, poor in goods and of a cowardly nature. In religion they appear to have no fixed belief of any kind, and care very little for such matters, though they are counted as Moslems.

As regards No. 50, section A; the Miran, they are an exception to the above description, and the reader must look under their number for details concerning them. I would also note that in the South Irak, Wazna, and in the vicinity of Mossul, to be a nomad is considered noble; while in the mountains the word *kochar*, or shepherd, is synonymous with "savage," "ignorant" or "brutish."

1. *Daudich*. 4,000 families. A warlike semi-nomadic tribe inhabiting the banks of the lower Zab. Noted swimmers, poor horsemen, Baban Kurds.
2. *D'sdie*. 5,000 families. A large tribe, partly composed of nomads and partly agriculturists. They intermarry freely with the Gibbur Arab women. This tribe has lost much of its wealth owing to locusts and drought. Their women are exceedingly handsome and affect a peculiar and distinctive dress, *i.e.*, blue turbans like the men, and dark heavy garments, no colour or ornaments of any kind being worn. The men are good horsemen and agriculturists, the headquarters of the tribe are on the Sultan's farm in the Kara Chok Dag. Baban Kurds.
3. *Shaykh Bezeini*. 4,000 families. A great and warlike tribe, turbulent and fierce. Noted robbers. Great horsemen. Very intelligent, make Martini Henry rifles. Live in villages in winter, dwell in tents in the vicinity of their villages in spring. After the harvest (June) proceed to Persian frontier with their flocks. Return in September, or later if the season is hot. Dress in Persian fashion. Baban Kurds.
4. *Shaykhan*. 500 families. Completely nomadic, wealthy shepherds, pasture flocks between Tigris and both Zabs. Avow no connection with Yezidis,<sup>1</sup> and often camp with the Tai Arabs, with whom however they do not intermarry. Baban Kurds.
5. *Shabak*. 500 families. Sedentary, said to be Shias by some, others

<sup>1</sup> See No. 46, Section A.



- affirm them to have a secret religion, others that they are Babis, others that they acknowledge a prophet named *Baba*.
6. *Mamund*. ? families. I know nothing of this tribe but I expect it is really a sub-tribe of the Hamawand No. II, section A.
  7. *Girdi*. 6,000 families. A powerful tribe of shepherds, agriculturists and warriors, occasionally robbers. Dress in Persian fashion, very wealthy and good horsemen. They employ the Khoshnao No. 21, section A, to do agricultural work for them. They proceed to the Wazna district in summer to pasture their flocks. One section of this tribe dwelling at Ushkafsakka is well disposed to strangers, another, living about four hours west of Ain Kawa, are noted highwaymen. Baban Kurds.
  - A. *Girdi*. 1,200 families. These Girdi migrated from the vicinity of Girdmamik about sixty years ago; they have abandoned the use of tents in the summer and are now not to be distinguished from the surrounding mountaineers. They are industrious and wealthy. They still correspond with the mother tribe and send presents to the chief at Ushkafsakka each spring. Baban Kurds.
  8. *Khalkani*. 700 families. Semi-nomadic, but unwarlike. Baban Kurds.
  9. *Surchi*. 3,000 families. 1,000 of the households are complete nomads. The Surchi have no peculiarities. Baban Kurds. A small tribe of Mamakanli, see section D. Nos. 8G and 9A are attached to the Surchi, evidently they migrated southward at some time, and have become absorbed; see section A, No. 26.
  10. *Bejwan*. 800 families. Speak a mixed language, apparently half Arabic, half Kurd, said by neighbours to be of Turkish origin and to be followers of Hajji Bektash.
  11. *Hamawand*. 1,200 families. The most valiant, courageous, and intelligent of the Baban Kurd tribes. Splendid horsemen, crack shots, capable smiths, bold robbers, good agriculturists; such as enter the government service prove capable officials. In 1878, 600 Hamawand horsemen armed only with lances penetrated far into the Caucasus, and brought back immense spoils. The Turkish government has of late years done much to suppress this tribe's power, but the men are still famous for their prowess and intelligence, and the women for their beauty. The Hamawand intermarry freely with the Arabs, and reckon themselves of Arabian origin. Most of the Hamawand speak Arabic, their language is, however, Kurdish. Dress, partly Arab, partly Persian. Formerly they were noted lancers, however they now only carry a modern rifle and dagger.
  12. *Jaff*. 10,000 families. A great semi-nomadic tribe, as famous as the Hamawand; Saladin was supposed to have been of this tribe; they



inhabit both sides of the frontier. The Jaff leaders are noted for not betraying one another as do other Kurdish chiefs, hence their numbers and independence. They are supposed to dislike Europeans. Baban Kurds.

13. *Guran*. ? families. Baban Kurds.
14. *Nuredi*. ? families. Baban Kurds.
15. *Piran*. 900 families. Similar in customs to No. 3, section A; said to be a sub-tribe of the Hartushi, No. 76, section A. However, as I am not certain on this point, I have marked them as a separate tribe.
16. *Alan*. ? families. This name recurs in a sub-tribe of the Hartushi, (see No. 76E, section A) but I could find no connection. We see a tribe in section C, No. 15M, called Alian. Baban Kurds.
17. *Baki Khassa*. ? families. Baban Kurds.
18. *Kialoner*. ? families. Baban Kurds.
19. *Ghowruk*. ? families. Baban Kurds.
20. *Malkari*. ? families. Baban Kurds.
21. *Khoshnao*. 2,000 families. Completely sedentary. Work for Girdi and Shaykh Bezeini, Nos. 7 and 3, and occasionally look after crops of latter tribes during season of absence. Reputed to be poor fighters. Following account of origin was given me by chief Agha of the tribe:—"Ambesbudast was the son of Saranduz, and Saranduz was the Wazir of Sultan Selim. The son of Imam Hussein gave the forefathers of Ambesbudast a seal-ring and lordship over all the lands between Kermanshah and Mossul. Ambesbudast was the forefather of the Khosnao. The two saints of the tribe are Hanifa and Mazdak."<sup>1</sup>
22. *Bilbas*. 400 families. Frontier tribe. Baban Kurds. Semi-nomadic, spend the summer at Wazna.
23. *Acu*. 500 families. Semi-nomadic, some live in the town of Rania, great warriors and good horsemen. Spend summer at Wazna. Baban Kurds.
24. *Mamash*. 2,000 families. Complete nomads. Baban Kurds, spend summer at Wazna.
25. *Mengor*. 2,000 families. A warlike tribe, semi-nomadic, spend summer at Wazna.
26. *Mamakan*. ? families. This tribe now counts as a sub-tribe of the Surchi, No. 9, section A; the name Mamakan, or variations of it, reappears in section C, No. 15E Del Mamikan, and in section D, No. 8G Mamagan, a sub-tribe of the No. 8 Jibranlı, and No. 9A Mamakanlı, a sub-tribe of No. 9 Sipikanlı. Armenian priests and

<sup>1</sup> Mazdak, it will be remembered, was a founder of a religion in Persia during the sixth century



- the tribesmen of No. 9A state that the Mamakanli were Armenians who became Moslems. Probably they were a Christian tribe of nomads and have been completely scattered. The Mamakan, Mamagan, and the Del Mamakan have no tradition that I know of.
27. *Baliki*. ? families. A frontier tribe of which I know nothing more than that it exists, however it may be in some way connected with the Bellikan, No. 81, section D, and with No. 15, section E, Bellikanli. However, as the Bellikan, No. 81, are Zazas, it seems to me improbable.
28. *Pirastini*. 1,100 families. Baban Kurds. Village dwellers, similar to the Khosnao, No. 21, section A.
29. *Zemzan*. ? families.
30. *Badeli*. ? families. This is the name of a small sedentary tribe of Sunni Kurds living at Rowanduz; they acknowledge no connection with the Badeli, No. 1D, section E.
31. *Shirwan*. 1,800 families. Sedentary, their name is taken from the locality in which they live, industrious, hospitable, but warlike.
32. *Herki*. 3,000 families. A great nomadic tribe, much scattered, some are to be found near Erzerum, others near Van, and great numbers near Mossul. The Herki are a very dark-skinned people; their neighbours say they are not Kurds at all but some savage race. The Herki women are very bold and manly. The Herki sleep out in autumn without any tents. Taken as a whole they are a low, dirty tribe, owning large flocks of sheep, and dealing in inferior pack horses; it is impossible to mark them down with any accuracy, as they seem to have no fixed beats. They generally camp in small numbers and move about in little detachments. Their divisions are as follows:—
- Mendan*. We see the name again as a sub-tribe of the Milli in North Mesopotamia, see section C, No. 1G.
- Zerhati*. Sub-tribe of Herki, roves about in the vicinity of Van.
- Zeydan*. Sub-tribe of Herki. This name appears again as a sub-tribe of the great Pinianishli, No. 73, section A, and once again as a sub-tribe of Motikan, section B, No. 20E.
- Haji*. 200 families. Sub-tribe of Herki. This is the sedentary section of the Herki, and lives in the centre of the place marked with the number 32.
33. *Baradost*. 1,500 families. Tribe taking its name from Baradost river.
- A. *Baradost*. 650 families. Tribe taking its name from Baradost river.
34. *Berzan*. 750 families. Taking tribal name from district of Berzan; this tribe is famous for its fighting qualities and a certain holy family known as that of the Shaykhs of Berzan.



35. *Nirva*. 800 families. Sedentary.
36. *Reikan*. 800 families. Sedentary.
37. *Zebar*. 1,000 families. This is a district containing about 30 villages inhabited almost entirely by sedentary Kurds who are called Zebar Kurds. They are careful farmers, good vine growers, good builders, hospitable to strangers, but incredibly quarrelsome among themselves. Their chiefs build small castles in which they are generally being besieged unless they are besieging some one else. These Kurds are usually plucky fighters on their own ground. They have a chronic feud with the Shaykhs of Berzan, see No. 34, section A.
38. *Ashaghi*. I can give no particulars of this tribe.
39. *Hasseina*. ? families. A small broken tribe of nomads and villagers near Mossul.
40. *Misuri*. 120 families. A poor sedentary tribe.
41. *Doshki*. 500 families. At Dehok. This section has a bad name for thieving and brigandage. Kermanji, evidently an offshoot of No. 41A; section A.
- A. *Doshki*. 2,000 families. Industrious agriculturists at Geaver (Giaver).
42. *Jellali*. 4,000 families. Both sedentary and nomadic near Amadia. We find the name reappear in section B, No. 14. The latter is evidently a migration from Amadia. However, whether this Jellali is the mother tribe of the Jellikanli, No. 12, section E, is by no means certain.
43. *Dere*. 800 families.
44. *Berwari*. 600 families. Sedentary.
45. *Kohan*. 70 families. Nomads, probably a sub-tribe, but of which I know not.
46. *Shaykhan*. Yezidis or devil worshippers. ? families. Semi-nomadic. This tribe dwells near Shaykh Adi, the religious centre of the Yezidis and the dwelling place of the religious head of the sect. There is also a temporal chief who used to live there, but I understand that he now keeps his whereabouts a secret. The tribe takes its name from Shaykh Adi. There is nothing to show that it has any connection, other than religious, with the Yezidis of the Sinjar. See section C, No. 16.
47. *Reshkan*. ? families. There are said to be some Yezidis in this tribe.
48. *Haweri*. Yezidis or devil worshippers. 300 families. These live near Zakho. I suspect some connection with the Haverka, section C, No. 151.
49. *Spirti*. 70 families. Nomads. The name was given me while passing their tents. I had not, however, time to investigate.



50. *Miran*. 1,000 families. Low tribe of shepherds migrating from Jeziret ibn Omar to Lake Van in spring and returning in autumn. This tribe has an atrocious reputation for all kinds of villainy. Curiously enough they are usually very friendly to Christians and Europeans, but treat Moslems in a scandalous fashion. They move up to within about 15 miles of Lake Van annually, passing Shernakh on their way. They have a chronic feud with the Goyan tribe, section A, No. 53A.
51. *Hasscina*. 500 families. I cannot connect this with Hasseina, No. 39, section A.
52. *Sindi*. Total number of families 1,500. A mixed tribe of Moslems and Nestorians, latter in a minority. Sedentary. Two sub-tribes—*Slope*, 600 families, and *Guli*, 30 families.
53. *Goyan*. 1,400 families. A large and powerful tribe of sedentary and semi-nomadic Kurds. They have, I expect, several sub-divisions, but I have been unable to obtain their names. This branch contains a certain number of Zazas, for particulars of whom see section B. The Goyan are noted for independence and valour. They slew Mustapha Pasha, the great chief of the Miran, in a pitched battle in 1899.
- A. *Shernakhli*. 600 families. Name given to a sedentary section of the Goyan living at Shernakh.
54. *Dakhori*. ? families. A few sedentary Kurds in the vicinity of Shernakh, probably a section of the Goyan.
55. *Shiriki*. 200 families. Wealthy sedentary tribe. Name suggests connection with the Zirikanli, No. 10, section D.
56. *Balian*. 70 families. Semi-nomadic, poor and scattered. Similar to the Herki, No. 32, section A.
57. *Eiru*. 100 families.
58. *Atmanikan*. 5,000 families. Very wealthy nomads. May be often seen in the Bitlis pass and near Bohtan, where their headquarters are. They dress like the Herki, No. 32, section A, but have not the bad reputation of the latter. They have hardly any horses. In summer they migrate up to the Mush plain.
59. *Silukan*. 900 families. Cultivators and nomads. Similar to No. 58, section A. Also migrate in summer to the Mush plain.
60. *Kichian*. 150 families. Nomads.
61. *Duderi*. 400 families. Nomads in summer on the south shore of Lake Van.
62. *Alikanli*. 150 families. Nomads. Very insignificant. Probably a sub-tribe, but could not discover whose.
63. *Halaji*. 900 families. Mixed sedentary Kurds, Turks, and Armenians. dwelling on the southern shores of Lake Van.



64. *Tiyan*. 300 families. This tribe has a bad name. It is said by some to be an isolated fragment of the great Arab tribe of Tai, but I do not know if there are any grounds for this belief.
65. *Hawatan*. 300 families. Sedentary in the Boltan district.
66. *Keka*. ? families. Near Julamerik.
67. *Bellicar*. 180 families. A small tribe of semi-nomadic Kurds; no connection with Belliki or Bellikanli. They state that they were converted from heathenism by Khalid Ibn Walid.
68. *Khani*. 180 families. Sedentary near Khoshab.
69. *Takuli*. 450 families. Perhaps a sub-tribe of the Zilanli; the Takuli think they came from Erzerum about 100 years ago. They are now sedentary, very poor physique, and appear to be of the same low race as the Sipikanli north of Lake Van mentioned in the introduction to section D.
70. ? families. Owing to an accident the name of a tribe has here been lost. I leave the number blank in hopes of some day re-discovering the right name.
71. *Shekak*. Total number of families 6,000. A notable tribe; they are called Revand by the local Armenians. They only spend three months in tents, and therefore may be called sedentary. The following sub-tribes are, I think, only an ancient political confederation, and not attached by ties of blood.
- A. *Shekifti*. 1,200 families. Completely sedentary.
- B. *Mukeri*. 1,200 families. Completely sedentary; said to have migrated from Persia fifty years ago; split in two portions, one at Nourdous and one at Khoshab.
- C. *Sheveli*. ? families. This tribe crops up again near Iskilip; I presume a forcible migration in Selim's time.
- D. *Butan*. ? families.
- E. *Sheveli*. ? families.
- F. *Shekak*. 1,000 families. A southern branch of the Shekak; complete nomads.
72. *Zerzan*. 100 families.
73. *Pinianishli*. 1,200 families. A large tribe and head of a confederation of which the following are the chief branches. It is impossible to locate them more precisely than by saying they inhabit the country in the vicinity of the No. 73, section A. The following are the names of the affiliated tribes.
- Zeydan*. There are some Zeydan in Modeki, No. 20E, section B, and as we have seen a sub-tribe of the Herki, No 32C, section A.
- Barkoshan*. ? families,
- Kinarberosh*. ?
- Suratawan*. ?



*Billijan.* ?

*Jelli.* ? families. I suggest the mother tribe of No. 12, section E.

*Gewiji.* ? families. I suggest the mother tribe of No. 12, section E.

*Shevilan.* Obviously a fragment of No. 71C and 71E, section A.

*Musanan.* For remarks see section B, No. 12.

- A. *Little Pinianishli.* 500 families. Apparently an offshoot of No. 73. There is supposed to be something disgraceful about this tribe, what I do not know. 13 of its families are Yezidis, others Christians.

74. *Givran.* ? families. This is the name of a small tribe in the district of Giaver. Local authorities state that the name merely indicates Giaver-an, *i.e.*, Giaver people, in which case it may have no connection with No. 8, section C, and No. 31L, section B.

75. *Shemsiki.* 900 families. An interesting tribe, once nomadic, now sedentary. The chiefs consider themselves of Arab stock and look on the common tribesmen as of low race. The tribesmen are very ugly as a rule, the chiefs refined and handsome.

76. *Hartushi.* This is a very important Kurdish tribe, and I suggest that investigation may some day show that it is the connecting link between the Kurds of Irak and the Kurds of Armenia. The nomadic branches of this tribe have a very bad reputation. Although richer than the Herki, No. 32, section A, they resemble them in mode of life and general appearance. The following are the sub-tribes.

- A. *Ezdinan.* ? families. Said to be Yezidis. There is no mistake about the name.

- B. *Merzigi.* 900 families. Sedentary near Bashkala.

- C. *Mamresh.* 200 families. Yezidi religion but belong to Hartushi tribe.

- D. *Mamed.* 200 families. I believe this sub-tribe of the Hartushi to be sedentary.

- E. *Alan.* ? families.

- F. *Beroz.* 60 families. Famous as cultivators of tobacco.

- G. *Jiriki.* ? families.

- H. *Shidan.* ? families.

- J. *Mamkhor.* 400 families. Very warlike nomads.

- K. *Khawistan.* ? families.

- L. *Sharafan.* 3,000 families. The largest branch of the Hartushi nomads; descend south of Akra in spring.

- M. *Mamadan.* 200 families. I think sedentary; some occasionally descend to the Beykhey Dag, near Zakho.

- N. *Gavdan.* 300 families. Nomads, very bad reputation as thieves, unhospitable and savage. Wealthy horse breeders. Camp in spring near Zakho.



O. *Zedek*. Nomads.

P. *Zefki*. 150 families. Nomads, shepherds.

Q. *Hafjan*. 500 families. Nomads.

#### SECTION B.

The tribes inhabiting this zone are completely cut off from the others mentioned in the catalogue, and have little or nothing in common with them. The barriers which divide this region from the zones A, C, D and E, may be enumerated as follows.

Firstly, the great Bitlis Gorge, which can only be approached from either extremity and forms a kind of natural dyke between zone B and A. Secondly, the Tigris which is usually unfordable and practically interrupts all communication with C. Thirdly, the huge spurs of the Eastern Taurus range which act as a protecting wall against D. Fourthly, the upper Euphrates which separates the Dersim Mountains from the overlapping portions of zone E.

From the point of view of a casual observer, I should be inclined to group the Kurdish tribes in this zone into five classes—

Class I. Would include numbers 1 to 10, 27 and 29.

Class II. No. 20 and its appendant letters.

Class III. Nos. 12 to 19.

Class IV. No. 23.

Class V. No. 31 and its appendant letters.

As regards Class I, they appear to be semi-nomadic and sedentary tribes who have at some period migrated *via* the Bitlis Pass into the undulating arable pasture land between Diabekir and the Bitlis Su. These people may quite possibly be a part of that multitude of tribes who lived in a state of vassalage to the ancient Kings of Armenia; the names Bekran, No. 6, and Musik, No. 1, both well known in the old histories, give colour to this idea. At any rate these tribes of the southern plains own no connection with any of the tribes mentioned in the other classes.

As to the habits and dress of this class, I can give very few details, as on each occasion that I passed through their country, I was unable to make any study of them with the exception of the Tirikan, No. 9. The men appear to be tall and well built, fairly industrious, but not very hospitable.

Classes II, III, IV and V, are dealt with in the catalogue as classes *en bloc* and need no further comment.

1. *Musik*. ? families. This tribe has been mentioned by previous travellers, but I could obtain no account of it. I do not omit it because the Chaldean Historian Toma of Merdis makes mention of the name. There is, however, a village in Motikan called *Mosik*. None of the Motikan Kurds, however, make use of the name as a tribal designation.



2. *Penjinan*. 500 families. A tribe noted for its fighting qualities. There are said to be some Yezidi families among them.
3. *Keskoli*. ? families. I am doubtful as to this tribes existence, it is probably a local name for a division of the *Penjinan*.
4. *Pouran*. 200 families. Semi-nomads, pastoral and agriculturists.
5. *Shaykhodanli*. 200 families. I do not know if this tribe is sedentary or nomadic. There are a great number of non-tribal Kurds in this neighbourhood. A further difficulty lies in the fact that the Kurds of this region are averse to making known their tribal names or customs; resemblance of the name to the *Duderi* and *Dudikanli* should be noted.
6. *Bekran*. 500 families. Nomads; winter near *Diabekir*, and summer near *Sairt*; tradition states that they are the descendants of the *Bagratians*. The Armenian clergy generally speak with some certainty on this point. We see the name *Bekiran*, No. 16H, section C, among the Yezidis of the *Sinjar*. The Yezidis of the *Sinjar* believe that they came from a country north of the *Tigris*.
7. *Reshkotanli*. 500 families. Nomads; the *Rushdunians* are often mentioned in the history of *Chamich*, the Armenian priest; there is a peculiar resemblance in the name.
8. *Besheri*. ? families. A sedentary tribe between *Sairt*, *Meyfarkin* and *Diabekir*.
9. *Tirikan*. 650 families. A sedentary tribe between the *Euphrates* and *Haini*; fond of bright coloured clothes; wealthy and intelligent; kindly disposed to the few Armenians who live among them. The local Armenians state that they are of common origin and that they (the Armenians) are not of Armenian race; this idea is naturally discouraged by the Armenian clergy and laity of *Diabekir*, but I have it on the authority of a priest and Christian headman of the district.
10. *Kuzlichan*. ? families. This is a small tribe located as on map; the name is that of a district in the *Dersim Mountains*, about 80 miles north. I think we may infer a southerly migration from that region.
11. *Zekeri*. ? families.
12. *Musi*. ?     "
13. *Sarmi*.     400     "
14. *Jellali*.    100     "
15. *Khazali*.    50     "
16. *Bederi*.     ?     "
17. *Malashigo*.   ?     "
18. *Bosikan*.    180     "
19. *Kurian*.     180     "

} See note, next paragraph.

NOTE.—The *Bosikan* and *Kurian*, Nos. 18 and 19, and the sub-tribe of



the Bosikan, No. 15, inhabit the district between Mush and Kabeljôus. Their tradition is that they used to worship a sword thrust in the ground and the moon and stars, and that they lived under the government of a Christian King named Tavit, who dwelt in the castle of Boso. Presently there came a certain Shaykh Nasredin, from the Khalif at Baghdad, who slew King Tavit and enlightened the people in the truths of Islam. The Emirs of Nasredin were Zakharia, Saru and Musa, and these brought with them their henchmen who formed the tribes of Zekeri, No. 11, Musi, No. 12, Sarmi, No. 13; after this settlement other tribes, namely, Malashigo, No. 17, Bederi, No. 16, and Jellali, No. 14, followed in the wake of the first and helped to drive the Bosikan and Kurian into the northern mountains. All these tribes have Armenians attached, and those with the Bosikan and Kurian are said to be the descendants of followers of King Tavit. None of the Armenians in this district bear any resemblance to those of the Mush plain or the villagers near Van, nor are they to be distinguished from the Bosikan and Kurian Kurds in dress or appearance. The Malashigo and tribes Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 call themselves Arabs, and besides talking Kermanji and Armenian, also talk among themselves a peculiar bastard Arabic which is just comprehensible, but almost as different from ordinary Arabic as is Italian from French. It is far more difficult to understand than the Arabic spoken at Sairt. At Tillu, a large village in the vicinity of Sairt, resides at present a certain Shaykh Nasredin, who is supposed to be the lineal descendant of the Shaykh Nasredin, previously mentioned. I met one of his nephews who told me that the family had a document giving them Tillu and certain lands; this paper was signed by Sultan Selim the conqueror of Persia. The family consider themselves to be of Abbasid stock and although few of them ever leave Kurdistan they make it a point to talk good Arabic among themselves. Shaykh Nasredin's nephew, who appeared a very well read man, told me he thought that the tribes Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17 were not really of Arabian origin but that they had accepted Islam and changed their tribal names for those of their conquerors whose language they adopted and then corrupted.<sup>1</sup>

20. *Modeki (Motikan)*. This is the name of a peculiar and inaccessible mountain region north of Bitlis, and incidentally the appellation of

<sup>1</sup> We have already seen the name Jellali in section A, No. 42, and the Musanan, No. 73, section A, perhaps the tribes Musi and Jellali, Nos. 12 and 14, section B, are descendants of some of the former who may have assisted Shaykh Nasredin.



all Kurds who dwell within it. I endeavoured to effect an entrance but was unable to do so; anyone wishing to explore this district must do so on foot; the tribes inhabiting it are apparently mostly Zazas; they are extremely wild and shy, and difficult to talk to. Other Kurds who had been into the Motikan district supplied me with the following particulars:—

- A. *Keyburan.* Zaza Kurds.
- B. *Bubanli.* " "
- C. *Kusan.* " "
- D. *Rutchaba.* " "
- E. *Zeidan.* Kermanji Kurds.
- F. *Erikli.* " " (Sometimes called Khiarta).
- G. *Pir Musi.* " "

By all accounts the Bubanli are the most ancient tribe in Modeki, the Zeydan, as we have seen in No. 32, section A, and No. 73, section A, are split as sub-tribes elsewhere. If the story that the Kermanjis of Motikani are slaves to the Zazas be true, there would be some ground for supposing that the former entered as refugees, particularly as the extremely difficult nature of the ground forbids the idea of its being conquered by anything but a regular army. Apparently the Zazas of Motikan are neither Moslems nor Christians. I would suggest that a thorough exploration of this district would prove very interesting, and might throw a wonderful light on the history of Armenia, if a good collection of folk songs and legends could be made.

- 21. *Pinjari.* 450 families. Sasun district speak Kermanji.
- 22. *Slivan.* ? families. Probably Zazas.
- 23. *Non-Tribal Zazas.* 1,000 families. In the locality where this number appears there are a quantity of non-tribal Zazas. Their state is almost anarchical, and they seem, although not naturally cruel or vicious, to have hardly any regard for human life; they frankly say they are as beasts of the field, and have hardly any religion. As an example of how unsophisticated these people are, I might cite the fact that such as I have met who have served in the Army have often become devout Moslems and look with shame on their previous state. They appear to have no idea of tribal organization. They speak the Zaza language and seem very poor farmers.

The Zazas are small, impish people with shrill voices, and are extremely shy before strangers. I should imagine that they are the remains of a primitive mountain race, similar to the Bihls.

The only instance I have encountered of Zazas living on the plains or in the country is at Suverek, where a few live with the Karagetich.



24. *Kedak*. 600 families. Zazas due south of Peru on the Veshin Dag.
25. *Ashmishart*. 500 families. Zazas. Shia sect.
26. *Kulbin*. ? families. Zazas.
27. *Gurus*. ? families. Beyond the name I could obtain no particulars concerning this tribe. Ibrahim Pasha,<sup>1</sup> however, knows the name.
28. *Sinan*. ? families. Zazas.
29. *Elia*. ? families. Nomads; impossible to ascertain whether Zazas or Kermanji Kurds.
30. *Behirmaz*. 500 families. Zazas. Shia sect.
31. *Dersimli*. General appellation of Kurds living in the Dersim. With the exception of No. 31C, section B, Shawak, all the Dersim tribes are apparently Pagans, who call themselves Shias, their religion, as far as I could ascertain, being a mixture of magic and nature worship, which again develops into Pantheism. A man of this region said to me, "I do not worship God, for a part cannot worship the whole." However, they are Shia Moslems in outward form, swearing by Ali, and call him the greatest of the prophets, this, I think, chiefly to annoy the Sunnis. The Dersimli are doubtless robbers and cut-throats, but I doubt their courage, since a very little show of authority suffices to keep them in their fastnesses, whither it is difficult to follow them. All round the foot of the Dersim there are tribes who live in a kind of feudal vassalage to Beys who talk Turkish and veil their women; at first I imagined these Beys were the descendants of Turkish Military Fiefs, of whom one is always hearing and never meeting; as on former occasions these "Turkish" Beys turned out to be the descendants of indigenous chiefs, who have settled down and adopted Turkish customs. The Dersimli are small, wiry men with sharp features; they are intelligent and have a keenly developed artistic sense for colour and dress. There are indeed on the slopes of the Dersim some Turks, but they are Ak Koyunlu, of Usun Hassan, and live in a kind of commune of their own; for history of latter see Deguigne's *Histoire des Huns*. As far as I could ascertain, the Dersimli have a special dialect of their own but it is closely allied to Zaza. Most of the Dersim tribes are regular migrants from south to north in late spring; their villages are left quite empty without caretakers.
- A. *Milan*. This is the original mother tribe of the great Milli confederation in North Mesopotamia, with whom they still keep up communication. For particulars of the legend and importance attached to the name Milli or Milan, see No. 1, section C.
- B. *Kechel*. 1,000 families. Near Palu.

<sup>1</sup> No. 1, section C.



- C. *Shawak*. ? families. Sedentary ; lately converted to orthodox Sunnism.
- D. *Ferhad Ushaghi*. ? families. In the vicinity of Surpignan. This is the only Kurdish tribal name beginning with F.
- E. *Bakhtiarli*. ? families. Perhaps 30 villages near Chemishgezek ; semi-nomadic, or at least migratory, having two villages, one on the high land and one in the valley.
- F. *Karabanli*. ? families. At Asunik.
- G. *Mirzanli*. ? families. Exact location in Dersim unknown.
- H. *Abbasanli*. ? families. Make splendid carpets of great intricacy of design and fineness in weaving.
- I. *Balashaghi*. 2,000 families. Sedentary.
- J. *Latchin Ushaghi*. ? families. At Amuga.
- K. *Kuzlichan*. ? families. This is certainly not the name of a tribe, but of a Dersim district containing several tribes ; however, the name crops up as that of a tribe north of Diabekir, I presume a migration of some families from the Dersim.
- L. *Givran*. ? families. Reported to be in Dersim, but I am doubtful.

## SECTION C.

This zone is in reality the ancient province of the Northern Jazirah of the Empire of the Khalifs of Baghdad ; the Kurds inhabiting it may be roughly classed as follows :—

Class I, No. 1 and appendant letters. This class may be divided into two subsections—

- (1) No. 1 to No. 1 Dx.
- (2) No. 1 Ex to No. 1 Rx.

Class II, No. 15 and appendant letters.

Class III, No. 16 and appendant letters.

Class IV, the remaining numbers with the exception of 18 and 19.

With regard to Class I, subsection 1, they are evidently partly formed of a great migration from the Dersim district in the reign of Sultan Selim, but owing to intermarriage for many generations with the Arab, Aramean and Kurdish peoples of the district, and by absorbing many of the local tribes, they have lost their original characteristics. They are poor cultivators, but good herdsmen and carpet weavers.

Their mode of life is simple, January, February, March and April they spend in the lower slopes of the Karaja Dag ; April and May on the plains of Mesopotamia ; June, July, August and September sees them move up towards Diabekir ; in October, November and December they move once more southwards.

Subsection No. 2. These tribes admit themselves of the same race and origin as subsection No. 1, but are cut off from it by the Euphrates river ; they are



all Shias or Pagans of the Dersimli type. At certain seasons priests from the Dersim district visit them and hold religious services.

Their dress is similar to that of the Turkish speaking people of Anatolia; however, their women veil before Moslems and Christians. The men are not very remarkable for any particular characteristic.

*Class II.*—It is very difficult to state with any preciseness whether the tribes included in this class can be termed Kurds proper or no. I presume that they represent scattered fragments of the old Aramean population, mixed with Imperial colonists of Roman times, Kurds, Persians, Turks and Mongols.

Some tribes are wholly Moslem, others wholly Christian (Jacobite sect), others Devil worshippers, others contain adherents of all three religions. Taken as a whole they are industrious and capable people, good stone-masons, and admirable vine-growers, but withal fierce, bloodthirsty, vindictive, revengeful, and treacherous. Peculiar religious movements are not uncommon amongst them, and the adoption of Evangelical Protestantism by a certain number has been productive of unexpected developments.

*Class III.*—The great Yezidi or devil worshipping community and tribal confederation of the Sinjar is entirely Kurdish. In physique the Yezidis of the Sinjar resemble the Dersimli Kurds, being small-boned, wiry, lean and hungry-looking men, with pinched features, small hooked noses, pointed chins, broad shallow lower jaws, high cheek bones, narrow close set black eyes, and thin lips. They twist their hair in six or seven small braided plaits which hang down on either side of their faces.

The dress of the Sinjar tribes is unlike that of any other people, and I should imagine of remote antiquity. It consists of a pointed brown felt cap, a white shirt of cotton cut square at the neck and with no opening in front, a cloak of gazelle skin or light brown leather, raw hide sandals, and leather belt.

By their own tradition they migrated to the Sinjar after Timur's invasion. However, they admit that the Yezidi faith existed in the Sinjar Mountain long before that date.

*Class IV.*—These Kurds of North Mesopotamia are the off-scourings and riff-raff of all Kurdistan, rogues, thieves, vagabonds and bullies almost to a man; they seem to have no single redeeming virtue, being idle, cowardly and cruel. They have little pride of race and seemingly intermarry and mix with gypsies and other low nomad tribes. From this class, however, must be excepted No. 18, No. 19, and No. 10, who have evidently migrated at some period from the plains north of Lake Van.

*Note.*—East of Urfa there is a large settlement of gypsies, who will pretend they are Kurdish tribesmen; the traveller should be on his guard against the information they will give him. The word "Nowar," or the question, "Do you come from Howek?" will invariably silence them, or make them admit their true origin.

1. *Milli.* 30 families. This name has a curious and peculiar mystery attached to it, which innumerable cross-examinations on my part of



every kind of Kurd has failed to elucidate to my own satisfaction. Some people merely say that the Milli were a powerful tribe who were broken up by the Turks in the 18th century. The facts at present stand as follows:—Ibrahim Pasha is chief of the Milli, and although his own tents do not amount to more than 30, he has complete jurisdiction over more than 2,000. Secondly, he is spoken of with great respect and reverence by the Kizilbash of Malatia, not because he is wealthy but because he is the head of the Milli; thirdly, he is the only stranger who can travel through the Dersim without an escort; fourthly, the Shemsiki, No. 75, section A, look on him as their nominal head; fifthly, isolated villages in Anatolia and the Erzinjian district speak of him as their patriarchal chief. Now this is all the more peculiar since in the Kurds enumerated there are Shias, Pagans, Pantheists, Zazas and orthodox Moslems, of which latter faith he is; his influence is therefore neither political nor religious, and yet influence he has, for Kurds will come from miles around to ask his opinion on family quarrels and generally take his verdict as final.

Again there are certain tribes which although allied to him in war have no regard for his Patriarchal position. Ibrahim's own explanation is as follows:—"Years and years ago the Kurds were divided into two branches, the Milan and Zilan; there were 1,200 tribes of the Milan, but God was displeased with them and they were scattered in all directions, some vanished, others remained; such as remained respect me as the head of the Milan."

Now the tradition with Ibrahim is that all this happened long before the days of Mohammed, thus some Milan are Christians, others Yezidis; the Milan tradition is that they are children of Shem and came from Arabia, but that the Zilan are from the East. Now this vague legend is found almost in its entirety among the Kurds of the Dersim, save that there we have the following variation:—

The Milan came from Arabia and settled in the Dersim; however, when Sultan Selim conquered West Kurdistan, his Vizier saw that the Kurds wandered up and down the Dersim slopes, and that the land was crowded with nomads, the Vizier ordered such as wished to cultivate, to build houses, and such as wished to remain in tents, to go south; some built houses, learned Turkish and veiled their women, others fled to the Dersim fastnesses, and others went south, among the latter the chief family of whom Ibrahim Pasha is now the head.

Among other stories of the Milan is the one that the Zilan are a base and ignoble race; curiously enough, wherever one meets a tribe admittedly of Zilan origin (they are in section D, Nos. 6, 9,



9A, and 17) you find rough and barbarous people with a peculiarly hideous cast of countenance. The legend to me is extremely interesting, but the way in which Milan Kurds would suddenly grow vague or change the subject while relating fragments of it was more than maddening. The reader would be surprised if he knew the months of toil I endured in collecting the above small paragraph.

All avowed Milan tribes are starred.

- \*A. *Danan*. 250 families. Nomads.
- \*B. *Seidan*. 450 families. Nomads. We have seen a similar name in section A, Nos. 32 and 73, and section B, No. 20E, but on this occasion I suggest the name is derived from some leader, either a Sayad or a man called Said.
- \*C. *Kiran*. 550 families. Nomads. Ibrahim Pasha suggests that these are of the same tribe as the Yezidi tribes; of course these *Kiran* are orthodox Moslems.
- \*D. *Dudikanli*. ? families. Nomads. With Ibrahim in N. Mesopotamia; there are five villages near Varto who speak Zaza, and there are said to be some in the Dersim, see section B.
- (?)\*E. *Khalajan*. 700 families. Nomads.
- (?)\*F. *Kelish*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*G. *Mendan*. ? families. Nomads, a small sub-tribe of No. 1; whether these have moved from the Herki, No. 32, section A, to the Karaja Dagh or *vice versa*, is difficult to say.
- \*H. *Kumnaresh*. 350 families. Nomads.
- \*I. *Sherkian*. 80 families. Nomads.
- \*J. *El Kawat*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*K. *Dashi*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*L. *Meshkenli*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*M. *Kalendelan*. ? families. Nomads reported in the Dersim, section B.
- \*N. *Haji Bairam*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*O. *Hassanekan*. 260 families. Nomads. These have nothing to do with the Hassanani, who are avowedly Zilan.
- \*P. *Khalajari*. 700 families. Nomads.
- \*Q. *Elia*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*R. *Isiadat*. 85 families. Nomads.
- \*S. *Terkan*. 700 families. Nomads.
- \*T. *Nasrian*. 75 families. Nomads.
- \*U. *Tchuran*. 210 families. Nomads.
- \*V. *Sartan*. 80 families. Nomads near Ras-ul-Ain.
- \*W. *Usbakhani*. 70 families. Nomads.
- \*X. *Matmieh*. 800 families. Nomads.
- \*Y. *Chemikan*. 250 families. Nomads.
- \*Z. *Barguhan*. 130 families. Nomads.



- \*Ax. *Hisulieh*. 550 families. Nomads.
- \*Bx. *Chiaresh*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*Cx. *Zirofkan*. 2,000 families. Semi-nomads of the Karaja Dagħ.
- \*Dx. *Dagħbashi*. ? families. A large semi-nomadic tribe east of Suverek.
- \*Ex. *Bujak*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*Fx. *Hoshian*. ? families. Nomads.
- (?)\*Gx. *Beski*. 800 families. Apparently sedentary. A curious legend of this tribe is that they are of English or Frank origin and that their ancient name was *Salargan*. With reserve I suggest the name *Lusignan*, and as an explanation that some member of that house once had dealings with the tribe or took refuge in its tents.
- \*Hx. *Haji Manli*. 500 families. Nomads. No horses, travel small stages with donkeys.
- \*Ix. *Kassiani*. 500 families. Sedentary.
- \*Jx. *Chakali*. 1,000 families. Nomads.
- \*Kx. *Merdis*. 1,000 families. Sedentary, I think.
- \*Lx. *Eutergetch*. ? families. Nomads.
- \*Mx. *Janbeg*. ? families. Sedentary; obviously a fragment of No. 18, section F.
- \*Nx. *Beyleyan Porga*. 500 families. Sedentary.
- \*Ox. *Derejan*. 800 families. Nomads.
- \*Px. *Kao*. 5,000 families. Nomads and sedentary.
- \*Qx. *Mulikan*. 500 families. I do not know if nomad or sedentary.
- \*Rx. *Derejan*. ? families. Possibly a separate branch of No. 10x, section C or perhaps only the summer quarters of that tribe.
- 2. *Karagetch*. 1,700 families. This is the name of a low tribe of semi-nomads dwelling near Suverek; brutal, savage and indescribably filthy. This tribe has a bad name in every respect, and being on a high road gets a bad name for Kurds from many travellers. Curiously enough many of the *Karagetch* speak Zaza, but between Diabekir and the Tur Abdin there is a vast quantity of nameless non-tribal Kurds, who apparently are outcasts from their own clans; the worst of these "undesirables" seem to attach themselves to the *Karagetch*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Karagetch*. This tribe was originally a nomad Turcoman clan of Western Anatolia and was settled by Sultan Selim on the slopes of the Karaja Dagħ. The object of this transfer was to compensate Kurdistan for the loss of the Ziriki, Tirikan and other tribes which the Ottoman Government had forcibly settled in West Anatolia. The *Karagetch*, however, rapidly intermarried with local non-tribal Kurds of low origin, and being illiterate soon lost their language and became to all intents and purposes a Kurdish tribe. Further, owing to the fact that for some years after their re-settlement they were protected and favoured by the Ottoman Government, many families of local nomadic Kurds joined their encampment and so helped not only to increase their numbers but to complete the transformation of the Turcoman clan into a Kurdish tribe.



3. *Non-tribal Zazas.* For an account see No. 23, section B.
4. *Chai-kessen.* ? families.
5. *Barhan.* ? families.
6. *Hasseran.* ? families.
7. *Abu Tahir.* ? families. These are said to be of Arab origin but talk Kermanji.
- \*8. *Givran.* ? families. Sub-tribe of No. 1, section C. (Accidentally left out of the letters.)
9. *Eimerzan.* ? families. This is a doubtful tribe.
10. *Chichichieh (Kiki) (Kikie).* 1,200 families. This is a large tribe of semi-nomadic Kurds, now inhabiting the slopes of the Karaja Dagh in winter (in villages) and descending in the Jagh-Jagh River in spring and early summer. Their chiefs state that they are the descendants of an Emir sent to rule the Diar *Erabieh* by the Abbasid Khalifs. When the Khalifate grew weak this family remained and was taken by the Kikieh Kurds as a ruling family. The local Bedawin look on this family of chiefs as men of good blood. The chiefs have a notable contempt for their tribesmen, who they talk of as "Kurdish Dogs," and I believe will not marry their women. The chief Agha of the Kikieh, Abdur Rahman, is a well read man, and has done a good deal of work with a view to locating the ancient cities on the banks of the Khabur; he has read a certain amount of history, and states that the Kikieh were one of the last remnants of the sedentary population of the Jazirah, that they were driven north by the Shammar, and only come south with the object of showing their rights of settlement in event of further re-establishment of agriculture in the north Jazirah.
11. *Dakhori.* ? families. A small migration from Shernakh.
12. *Bunesi.* ? families. I think this tribe does not exist, but as travellers have reported it I give the name.
13. *Mirsinan.* ? families. No particulars obtainable.
14. *Surkishli.* 900 families. Sedentary. This tribe is said to speak the dialect of Baban Kurds; if so, perhaps, connected with Surchi, No. 9, section A.
15. Under this number I have grouped the Moslem, Yezidi and Christian tribes of the Tur Abdin.
  - A. *Mizizakh.* 390 families. Tur Abdin. Moslem. Kurds.
  - B. *Saur.* ? families. Tribe of the Tur Abdin; mixed Christians and Moslems; speak Arabic.
  - C. *Mahalemi.* 800 families. This tribe has a peculiar history. They state that 350 years ago they were Christians. During a famine of corn they asked the Patriarch permission to eat meat during Lent. The Patriarch refused, and they became Moslems. They speak a



bastard Arabic, and the women wear red clothes and do not veil. Ibrahim Pasha says they are now a mixed race of Arabs and Kurds. Some families are still supposed to be Christians.

- D. *Haruna*. 750 families. Sedentary Kurds; 90 of the families are Jacobite Christians.
- E. *Del Mamikan*. ? families. A tribe of the Tur Abdin; speak bastard Arabic.
- F. *Domana*. 180 families. Tribe of the Tur Abdin; Christians and Moslems.
- G. *Dorkan*. 120 families. Tribe of the Tur Abdin mountain, composed of Yezidis and Moslems.
- H. *Moman*. 600 families. Moslems, speak Kermanji; 90 families are Christians, also three of the tribal leaders.
- I. *Haverka*. 1,800 families. Half Christian, half Moslem, speak Kermanji. I suspect some connection with the Haweri Yezidis, No. 48, section A.
- J. *Salahan*. ? families.
- K. *Girgiri*. 500 families. Tent-dwelling agriculturists; talk Kermanji, but said to be of Arabian origin.
- L. *Dasikan*. 900 families. Yezidis, Moslems and Christians; speak Kermanji; Tur Abdin.
- M. *Alian*. 1,200 families. Christians, Moslems and Yezidis; language, I think, Kermanji.
- N. *Mizidagh*. ? families. See No. 15A. I suspect these to be a small nomadic section of No. 15A, who live close at hand.
- 16. *Yezidis of the Sinjar*.
  - A. *Bumteywit*. ? families. A tribe of Arabs living in a state of serfdom to the Yezidis of the Sinjar.
  - B. *Mirkan*. ? families. Sedentary.
  - C. *Samuga*. ? families. Dwell in tents near the Sinjar; I suspect the name of this tribe is derived from the locality in which they live.
  - D. *Beit-el-Khulta*. ? families. Sedentary.
  - E. *Hababa*. ? families. Sedentary.
  - F. *Kiran*. ? families. Tent dwellers in Sinjar; there are some other Moslem Kiran which have been noted. See No. 1, section C.
  - G. *Beled*. ? families. Sedentary Yezidis dwelling near the town of Beled Sinjar, and go by this name.
  - H. *Bekiran*. ? families. Sedentary; perhaps a section of the Bekiran near Diabekir.
  - I. *Mendikan*. 300 families. A tribe of nomadic Yezidis between Tell Afar and Beled. A certain number of the Mendikan are Moslems, and do not intermarry with the Yezidis. I could not ascertain whether they were Arabs who had attached themselves to the



Mendikan or not. At any rate on all matters of business they are on good terms with their devil-worshipping fellow tribesmen. I may note that Father Chamich's *History of Armenia* makes frequent mention of the Mandukanians.

17. *Alush*. 200 families. A tribe of outcasts and refugees under a Kurd chief; language Arabic.
18. *Berazieh*. 9,000 families. A branch of the Berizanli, No. 6A, section D, who have migrated at an unknown period to Seruj in North Mesopotamia. This is a confederation of the following tribes:—

	Families.
<i>Keytkan</i> ... ..	700
<i>Shaykhan</i> ...	600
<i>Okian</i> ... ..	700
<i>Shadadan</i> ... ..	700
<i>Alidinli</i> ... ..	700
<i>Ma'afan</i> ... ..	700
<i>Zerwan</i> ... ..	500
<i>Pijan</i> ... ..	800
<i>Karagetchan</i> ... ..	500
<i>Dinan</i> ... ..	1,000
<i>Mir</i> ... ..	1,000
<i>Didan</i> ... ..	300

The fact that the Karagetchan appear in this list does not prove that the rest of the confederation should date their settlement at Seruj from post-Selim times. Their tradition is that they hail from Lake Van, whence they came during a famine year. They are now partly "Arabised," and many wear Arab dress and have adopted Arab speech. They are partly complete nomads, partly completely sedentary, and partly semi-nomadic. They have rather a bad reputation for freebooting, but are industrious and intelligent.

#### SECTION D.

The tribes inhabiting this zone are extremely complicated in organization, and very difficult to order and catalogue. As far as I can see they seem to fall into three classes.

*Class I.*—Nos. 6, 6A, 8, 9 to 13, 17, 23, 24.

These tribes are of a distinct and distinguishable race of tall, heavily built men, of surpassing ugliness of face and peculiar uncouthness of behaviour. Many travellers have generalized from them and imagine all Kurds to resemble them.

They are seemingly true nomads by instinct, and lack capacity of any kind for either war or agriculture, they appear at once stupid and treacherous, disloyal, rapacious and quarrelsome. However, they must have some qualities which are not apparent, since they seem to have been the masters of the country which they inhabit long before the government of Constantinople had any



power there. Their traditions state that they originally came from Diabekir, and were at one time either Armenian Christians or worshippers of fire. In many cases they have affiliated local tribes to themselves, notably the Jibranlı, No. 8. But the affiliated tribesmen such as the Bellikan, No. 8I, are very easy to distinguish by physiognomy alone. A peculiar custom subsists among them as their women shave the hair of the scalp in a tonsure-like form. They are all orthodox Sunnis.

*Class II*, in which I would include Nos. 8A, 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F, 8G, 8H, 8I, 9A, 18, 19. These tribes I am inclined to look on as the original shepherd tribes of the region, who inhabited it before Class I entered the district; they are usually small, fine-featured, inoffensive people, with no very salient characteristics.

The Mamakanlı are the most interesting in this division, for details see catalogue.

*Class III*.—I would suggest that Nos. 7, 16, and 16A are bodies of exiles sent from their native places by Sultan Selim the conqueror of Erzerum.

*Class IV*.—The remainder of the tribes in this region of whom I can give no details.

1. *Penjinan*. ? families. Nomads. Summer quarters, a few villages in the vicinity; call themselves Penjinan, No. 2, section B.
2. *Silukan*. ? families.
3. *Chukurli*. ? families.
4. *Azli*. ? families.
5. *Lolanli*. 480 families. Shia section.
6. *Hassananli*. 3,300 families. A large tribe owning 110 villages in the districts of Hınıs Melasgird and Wardo. Some of the members of this tribe are semi-nomadic, but have been gradually abandoning their tents of late years.
- 6A. *Berizanli*. 900 families. This is a sub-tribe of the Hassananlı; all are now sedentary; probably the mother tribe of No. 19, section C.
7. *Isoli*. ? families. Some near Lake Van, possibly a fragment of the Hisulieh, No. 1Ax, section C.
8. *Jibranlı*. 2,000 families. This is a tribe and confederation of 8 tribes as follows:—
  - A. *Mukhel*. ? families.
  - B. *Arab Agha*. ? families.
  - C. *Torini*. ? families.
  - D. *Atiki*. ? families.
  - E. *Asdini*. ? families.
  - F. *Shaykhekan*. ? families.
  - G. *Mamagan*. ? families. Probably connected with the Mamakanlı, see No. 9A, section D.
  - H. *Shadelri*. ? families. Shias. A break off from No. 1C, section E.
  - I. *Bellikan*. 6,000 families. Zaza speaking Kurds, Shias.



The tradition of the Jibranlı is as follows:—They lived in Arabistan (this to a Northern Kurd may mean Diabekir) three months in houses, nine months in tents each year. A certain Assad Pasha ordered them to go to Bingöl, near Mush. The Jibranlı are now rapidly becoming completely sedentary. It seems pretty clear to me that this tribe is composed of the Jibranlı and fractions of others who have separated from their own clans. These, I expect, were the original inhabitants of the mountains before the arrival of the Jibranlı, by whom even now they are roughly treated, and apparently live in a kind of vassalage to them. The Bellikan are somewhat more independent of the Jibranlı and keep to themselves. The Jibranlı women shave the top of their heads as do the men. The men wear the most extraordinary clothes, something after the fashion of East-end costermongers, pearl buttons, black velvet collar and cuffs, baggy trousers, sash, and, among the well-to-do, a collar and tie; on the head is worn an enormous white felt tarbush about 1 foot high bulging out like a busby; around this is turned a very small turban of silk. These are the only Kurds I have seen who dress in this way; I expect the costume, except for the tarbush, is a modern development. Another peculiarity of the Jibranlı is that they wear carefully trimmed mutton-chop whiskers and long hair; the whole combination is more than fantastic. I might add the Jibranlı in appearance resemble the Haideranlı, being grotesquely ugly.

9. *Sipikanlı*. 3,000 families. This is a base tribe dwelling north of Lake Van, they have the same rough manners as the Haideranlı.
- A. *Mamakanlı*. ? families. Now count as a sub-tribe of the *Sipikanlı*; they have been stated by some to be the ancient Mamagonians of the Armenian histories.
10. *Zirikanlı*. 6,000 families. A tribe similar in all respects to the Jibranlı, No. 8, section D, save it is one block tribe, as far as I know, with no proper subdivisions. I could not ascertain whether they also reckoned themselves from Arabistan. They were nomadic, but have settled during the last 10 years.
11. *Rashwan*. 70 families. Nomads.
12. *Bazıklı*. 70 families. Nomads.
13. *Putikanlı*. ? families. Near Khighi Kermanji, sedentary.
14. *Girdi*. ? families. Evidently a migration from No. 7, section A.
15. *Pisianlı*. 700 families. Kermanji. Sedentary.
16. *Shaykh Bezeini*. 450 families. Two or three sedentary villages at Erzerum, obviously a migration from No. 3, section A.
- A. *Shaykh Bezeini*. ? families. Reported to be some near Tortwin, a migration from No. 3, section A.
17. *Zılanlı*. ? families.



18. *Badeli*. ? families. At Alashgerd. Shias.
19. *Shaderli*. ? families. A few semi-nomads at Alashgerd. Shias.
20. *Bashmanli*. ? families. Same as No. 56, section A? There are said to be many of this tribe in Persia, similar to, and connected with, No. 56, section A.
21. *Hamdikan*. ? families.
22. *Manuranli*. ? families.
23. *Haideranli*. 20,000 families. The largest Kurdish tribe in existence to be met with from Mush to Urumia. The whole tribe are a low rough race of people of no merit either as soldiers, agriculturists or shepherds.
24. *Adamanli*. 1,800 families. Semi-nomadic.
25. *Yezidis*. I was unable to discover the name of this tribe, who are devil-worshippers.

## SECTION E.

This zone, which lies between the Kizil Irmak and the Euphrates, presents the traveller with a picture totally different to any other in Kurdistan. The Kurds have a different position, and no observer could imagine they belonged to the same race as those described in the preceding catalogues; however, the dialects correspond pretty closely, though a Kurd from section A would find great difficulty in making himself understood. The tribes fall fairly easily into four classes:—

Class I. Containing all Kurds included in No. 1 and its appendant letters.

Class II. No. 2 and its appendant letters.

Class III. No. 3 and other tribes in its vicinity whom I have been unable to catalogue.

Class IV. The remaining numbers.

With regard to Class I, the Kurds in this division are completely sedentary, build fine villages, are industrious and intelligent, peaceful, but extremely treacherous, and on occasion ruthless and cruel. Fair hair and blue eyes are not uncommon among them; the men are generally short but handsome, and very submissive in their demeanour. To each of these tribes are attached certain families of nomads, all extremely poor, dark skinned and repulsively ugly, who claim common origin with the village dwellers.

The whole of Class I are reputed Shias, but undoubtedly have a secret religion.

*Class II* stands by itself, and I must refer the student to the catalogue.

*Class III*, the Sinaminli, I have been inclined to connect with the Milan tribes Nos. 1Hx to 1Rx, section C.

However, I have come to the conclusion that this would be a mistake. Police and government officials count them all as Kizilbash Kurds, but I am inclined to



think the Sinaminli are really exiles from Azerbaijan. They are complete Shias, but certainly have no Pagan rites or secrets.

They are fine handsome people, good farmers, literate, and very artistic in the painting of the interior of their houses.

*Class IV* are, generally speaking, nomads from Diabekir or Lake Van, who have drifted down the Taurus slopes toward the Mediterranean.

They are now settling down as sedentary agriculturists, or hire themselves out as shepherds. The shepherds dwell in tents with stone walls in winter, tents in summer, and bowers in autumn, they are kind and hospitable; and have a good reputation.

1. *Kureshli*. 2,000 families. Speak Kermanji; Shias or Pantheists. These Kermanji speaking Kurds of the north are an utterly different race to any of the foregoing tribes; they are a handsome, quiet people, who detest orthodox Moslems, and are always very reserved and quiet in the presence of the latter; they seem to have no predatory or nomadic instincts at all, but behind their silent demeanour there is a strange, savage spirit, which I have noticed among no other Kurds. They are excellent farmers and much inclined to philosophic speculation, this latter point is curious since they are seemingly illiterate. Another point in which they differ from all other Kurds is their peculiarly quiet manners and lack of humour.
- A. *Balabranli (small)*. 60 families. Shias in name; dwell on the opposite bank of Euphrates; curiously enough these people talk the Kermanji dialect. Seemingly they are more akin to the Badeli, No. 1D and No. 1C, section E, in appearance than to the Dersimli.
- B. *Balabranli (great)*. 500 families. A little south of Erzinjan, Zaza speaking, Shias in name, apparently Pantheists.
- C. *Shaderli*. 3,000 families. Shias or Pantheists, a type similar to, but lower than, the Kureshli; live in underground houses; very poor agriculturists.
- D. *Badeli*. 700 families. Kermanji Shias, semi-nomadic. There are said to be a few near Rowanduz.
2. *Kochkiri*. 10,000 families. This is a very peculiar tribe, or perhaps one might almost call them a separate nation. The men and women are of a peculiar type, being dark with finely-chiselled features, and resembling no other Kurdish race. Their language is seemingly a dialect of Kurdish, but hardly comprehensible to Zazas or Baba Kurds, or Diabekir Kermanjis. In religion I take them to be advanced Pantheists, who recognize nature as a female principal and God as a male. This opinion I give with every reservation as the result of interpreted conversations with well-to-do elders. The Kochkiri are miserable farmers, and dwell in semi-underground dwellings similar to those in the Mush plain and north of Lake Van.



A fact made the more peculiar when one notices that the Armenians and Moslems, who live near the Kochkiri, live in well built villages with hewn stone houses. The Kochkiri tradition is that they lived on the Dersim but were driven thence by the present mountaineers. The Kochkiri are an unwarlike people who bear no arms, and are extremely submissive. The Moslems say that they are treacherous and have very little regard for human life. I am inclined to believe that many Kochkiri inhabit the little known district north of the Sivas-Zara road. I had not time to make further investigations.

The divisions of the Kochkiri are as follows:—

- A. *Sarolar*
  - B. *Barlolar*
  - C. *Garnolar*
- } in the vicinity of Karajaran.
- D. *Ibolar*. In the vicinity of Hamobad.
  - E. *Eski Kochkiri (old)*. 400 families. This is a tribe near Erzinjian who the Kochkiri say has no connection with them but was driven out of the Kochkiri district by tribes Sec. E., No. 2, A, B, C, D, from which we may infer that Kochkiri is not the real name of Sec. E, No. 2, A, B, C, D.
  3. *Sinaminli*. 2,500 families. This is a large tribe of real Shias dwelling in the vicinity of Malatia. These are true Shias and by report their dialect more nearly approaches modern Persian than that of any other of the Kurds. They are very friendly to Europeans and strangers, a fact that may have given rise to the idea that all Shias or Kizilbash are so, but I have had bitter experience to the contrary.
  4. *Kurejik*. ? families. This sounds an unlikely name.
  5. *Al Khass*. 500 families. There is a mountain called Al Khass, south-east of Aleppo, from which this tribe may have taken its name.
  6. *Kodir Zor*. 600 families.
  7. *Kara Hassan*. 300 families. This may be a Turkoman tribe; see De Guigne's *Index of Names*, to the *Histoire des Huns*.
  8. *Chughrishanli*. 500 families. Probably sedentary.
  9. *Nederli*. ? families.
  10. *Doghanli*. 250 families. Nomads.
  11. *Dellianli*. ? families. A small tribe of nomads near Marash.
  12. *Jellikanli*. ? families. Some at Van, others in the Marash plain. Latter are poor shepherds.
  13. *Lek Kurdi*. ? families. This is a small tribe near Adana; they are said to speak Turkish. The name is familiar to Kurds on the Persian border, who say there are some in the Persian dominions.
  14. *Delli Kanli*. 200 families. A small tribe of nomads of the Marash plain, the men are tall and well built, the women good looking.



These people live in ordinary Kurdish tents in summer on the Taurus slopes, in winter they proceed to fixed camps about 30 miles west of Killis. The fixed camps have stone walls for the tents. This applies equally to Nos. 10, 11 and 12, and No. 1Hx in section C.

15. *Bellikanli*. 250 families. Complete nomads. Kermanji dialect; rove about the Marash valley; no horses.

#### SECTION F.

This zone is quite outside the Kurdistan proper, and represents the various forcible migrations of tribes from all parts of Kurdistan undertaken by Sultan Selim the conqueror. The catalogue will give approximate points from whence they came.

Interest is given to the matter by the following trifle which I remarked. Near Angora I met men from tribes Nos. 15 and 17, they wore a similar dress and turban, the turban being twisted in a peculiar manner. Near Erzinjian I remarked the same peculiar turban, which I had not seen elsewhere, being worn by certain Turks. I asked them what was the meaning of this head-dress, whereupon they replied that they were descendants of Janissaries who had been given lands by Sultan Selim after his conquest. A visit to the Museum of the Janissaries and reference to some prints of Sultan Selim's period showed me that this turban, which has now gone out of fashion, was the common head-dress of that day.

The reason it is worn by these two colonies is obvious. The descendants of the Janissaries were isolated from other Turks and observed the fashion of their fathers. The tribesmen in Anatolia had evidently adopted or been obliged to adopt Turkish dress soon after being exiled, but being an isolated people did not follow the changing fashions of later times.

1. *Ukhchicemi*. 300 families. Sedentary.
2. *Urukchili*. 400 families. These may be Yuruks.
- \*3. *Milli*. 20 families. A small band of shepherds I met near Osmanjik; they said they were Milli, and have evidently come from either the Dersim or Karaja Dag.
4. *Shaykh Bezeini*. 120 families. Nomads living near Boiabad in Anatolia; say they were driven there from No. 3, section A, by Sultan Selim. Wear Anatolian dress and now talk Kermanji dialect.
5. *Sheveli*. ? families. A forcible migration from No. 71E, section A.
6. *Badeli*. 200 families. Sedentary branch, have settled near Yuzghat; these are now orthodox Moslems and date their conversion 70 years back. I presume a forcible migration from No. 1D, section E.
7. *Haji Banli*. 300 families. Semi-nomadic, sub-tribe of No. 1, section C. A forcible migration from the Dersim or Karaja Dag.



- A. *Khatun Oghli*. 400 families. Semi-nomadic, subtribe of No. 1. section C, from Karaja Dag. (Possibly Turkomans.)
- B. *Makhani*. 300 families. Semi-nomadic, sub-tribe of No. 1, section C, from Karaja Dag.
- C. *Omaranli*. 800 families. Semi-nomadic, sub-tribe of No. 1, section C, from Karaja Dag.
8. *Barakatli*. 1,000 families.
9. *Tabur Oghli*. 300 families. Semi-nomadic, might be Turkomans, but I was assured they were not.
10. *Shaykh Bezeini*. ? families. Reported to be some near Alashgerd, a migration from No. 3, section A.
11. *Judi Kanli*. 200 families. Perhaps a migration from Jebel Judi, near Shernakh.
12. *Khalkani*. 400 families. The name of a tribe now extinct which used to live near Rowanduz.
13. *Seif Kani*. 500 families. Semi-nomadic.
14. *Nasurli*. 600 families.
15. *Tirikan*. 400 families. A colony of Kurds planted north of the railway line, about 24 miles west of Angora; for origin see No. 9, section B.
16. *Atmanakin*. ? families. A small section reported in tents near Angora, probably a forcible migration from No. 58, section A.
17. *Zirikanli*. 500 families. Near Angora, migration from No. 10, section D.
18. *Janbekli*. 5,000 families. Mixed, nomads, semi-nomads and sedentary; expelled by Selim from No. 1Mx, section C (the most westerly Kurds).

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## Suggestions for the Use of Latin Character in the Writing of Kurdish

By C. J. EDMONDS

THE Kurdish language resembles the Persian in that it belongs to the Western Iranian group, but is distinguished from it by striking differences of sound, form, vocabulary, and syntax. Before the year 1919 Kurdish was not ordinarily written: only poetry had been to any extent committed to writing, although a newspaper in the Bohtan dialect is recorded to have been published in Cairo and England between 1892 and 1902, and there was a certain amount of journalistic activity in Constantinople about 1912, following the Turkish revolution.<sup>1</sup>

After the armistice of November, 1918, Turkish Southern Kurdistan was included in the territories occupied by the British Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia. In pursuance of the policy of avoiding military commitments in the hills, a semi-autonomous Kurdish province was formed comprising the whole *liwa* of Sulaimani and the adjoining districts of the present *liwas* of Arbil and Kirkuk. Kurdish was introduced as the written official language of this administration in place of Turkish.

This is not the place to trace the political and administrative fortunes of the territory. Suffice to say that Turkish Southern Kurdistan was finally incorporated in the Iraq state, following the Mosul award of the League of Nations, in 1926; in giving this award the League made certain stipulations intended to ensure the continued official use of the local language in the Kurdish districts.

In the early days even native civil servants and officers had found great difficulty in expressing themselves, but a set official style gradually developed. By 1930 Kurdish has

<sup>1</sup> See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, art. "Kurds", by V. Minorsky.



largely ousted Persian as the medium of private correspondence, and is widely used far beyond the limits of the original experimental province.

The script employed is, of course, the entirely unsuitable Arabic. Arabic and familiar Persian words generally retain their original form, while in distinctively Kurdish words there is a tendency to follow the Turkish practice of using the letter *ه* to represent *e* or short *a*, and the letters *و* and *ی* to represent short *u* and *i*. Actually little consistency is observed, whether in official and private correspondence or in the press. For example, *هه کر* or *هه گر* will be found alongside of *اکر* meaning *if*, and the bolder spirits freely introduce *ه*, *و*, and *ی* to represent short vowels in Arabic words, going so far as to write *عرب* for *عرب*.

As early as 1920 the adoption of the Latin alphabet was considered, and the Department of Education in Baghdad even published a small pamphlet, *Kitab i Awalamin i Qiraat i Kurdi*, by two Sulaimani schoolmasters, Muhammad Zaki Effendi and Mirza Muhammad Bashka, assisted by Major E. B. Soane and Captain W. J. Farrel, explaining the proposed system in Turkish and Persian. The matter does not appear to have progressed much beyond this stage; in any case the system recommended would not be satisfactory. It is sufficient to note that the characteristically Kurdish velar *l* and rolled *r*, and the peculiar swallowed *dh* referred to below, are recognized.

The *Short Kurdish Accidence and Syntax* of Sa'id Sidqi (Mulla Sa'id), written in Kurdish, printed at Baghdad in 1928 and adopted by the Iraq Ministry of Education for the fourth and fifth primary classes, admits in addition to the ordinary Arabic alphabet and the Persian additions two consonants, *ف* (with three dots) already adopted in Arabic-speaking countries to represent *v*, and *ل* (with a dot)

to represent the velar *l* resembling the Russian. Mulla Sa'id also suggests, but does not use owing to absence of type, the diacritical mark *˘* over *و* and *ی* to distinguish the open sounds *ô* and *ê*, which have quite disappeared in Modern Persian but appear in Kurdish and survive in Persian as pronounced in India. As regards spelling, Mulla Sa'id lays down that Arabic words must retain their Arabic form; in other words also it is unnecessary to represent short vowels (the examples given are the Persian words *خدا* god, *غنچه* bud, *برنج* rice) unless the pronunciation is open to doubt (the examples given are *کرد* Kurd, and the Kurdish words *کور* boy and *کودر* a bitter herb).

The *Kurdish ABC* of Ahmad-i-Aziz Agha (second edition, Baghdad, 1929) follows the system of Mulla Sa'id with the added recognition of rolled *r*: the distinction is again not made in writing owing to absence of type.

An important stage in the development of Kurdish as a written language is marked by the publication in August, 1929, of the first part of a new grammar, *Usage of the Kurdish Language*,<sup>1</sup> by Tewfiq Wehbi Bey, Commandant of the Iraq Royal Military College at Baghdad. This talented officer has succeeded in evolving a system of spelling Kurdish based on the Arabic alphabet, which renders possible the reproduction of the nicest subtleties of Kurdish grammar and opens the road to the satisfactory employment of Latin character. Tewfiq Bey has, moreover, caused to be constructed at his own expense a special type including the new letters required for his publication.

It should be clearly understood that neither Tewfiq Bey's alphabet nor the Latin equivalents I suggest in the following paragraph are intended to be systems of phonetic transcription. The intention is to produce a practical alphabet of reasonable

<sup>1</sup> *دەستووری زمانی کوردی*. Part i by Tewfiq Wehbi (Haditha Press, Baghdad).



size which shall be adequate to represent accurately the grammatical phenomena of the language. The systems, nevertheless, are sufficiently accurate phonetically to enable any Kurdish boy or foreigner knowing Kurdish to read any word correctly.

The following table shows Tewfiq Bey's alphabet, the suggested Latin equivalents, and the names of the letters spelt accordingly.

Modified Arabic.	Latin.	Name.	Modified Arabic.	Latin.	Name.
ء	'	<i>Hemze</i>	غ	<i>gh</i>	<i>ghejn</i>
ب	<i>b</i>	<i>bê</i>	ف	<i>f</i>	<i>fê</i>
پ	<i>p</i>	<i>pê</i>	ق	<i>q</i>	<i>qaf</i>
ت	<i>t</i>	<i>tê</i>	ك	<i>k</i>	<i>kaf</i>
ث	<i>th</i>	<i>thê</i>	گ	<i>g</i>	<i>gaf</i>
ج	<i>c</i>	<i>ciim</i>	ل	<i>l</i>	<i>lam</i>
چ	<i>ch</i>	<i>chiim</i>	ل	<i>lh</i>	<i>lham</i>
ح	<i>x</i>	<i>xê</i>	م	<i>m</i>	<i>miim</i>
خ	<i>kh</i>	<i>khê</i>	ن	<i>n</i>	<i>nurun</i>
د	<i>d</i>	<i>dal</i>	و	<i>w, u</i>	<i>waw, 'u</i>
ذ	<i>dh</i>	<i>dhal</i>	ه	<i>h, e</i>	<i>hê, 'e</i>
ر	<i>r</i>	<i>rê</i>	ی	<i>j, i</i>	<i>jê, 'i</i>
ز	<i>rh</i>	<i>rhê</i>	ی	<i>ê</i>	<i>'ê</i>
ژ	<i>z</i>	<i>zê</i>	ی	<i>y</i>	<i>'y</i>
س	<i>zh</i>	<i>zhê</i>	و	<i>o</i>	<i>'o</i>
ش	<i>s</i>	<i>siin</i>	ا	<i>a</i>	<i>'a</i>
ع	<i>sh</i>	<i>shiin</i>			
	'	<i>'ejn</i>			

It will be seen that of the twenty-nine Arabic letters (including *hemze*) six disappear entirely: ظ, ط, ص, ذ, ث, ع.

Three letters, representing sounds taken over by the Kurds in rather softened form with the Arabic words containing them, are retained: ق, ع, ح.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the four Persian additions: گ, ژ, چ, پ and the modern ف are retained. Seven letters are entirely new. Of these five represent sounds already noticed in this note: ی, و, ل, ر, د. The sixth ب represents a swallowed *t* and corresponds to د, as ت to د. The seventh is ی written without dots (alike in the initial, medial, and final forms) and represents both consonantal and short-vowel *i*, which I distinguish in transcription by using *j* and *i*. The letter ی with the dots is reserved for the neutral vowel.

Tewfiq Bey recognizes three double consonants; ند *ndh*, نگ *ng*, and لل *lh*: and three "compound vowels"; یی *ii* representing long *i*, وو *uu* representing long *u*, and وی *uy* representing French *eu*. (He has a fourth long compound vowel یو *yu* to represent the sound of German *ü*, but since the sound does not generally occur in Sulaimani it may be treated as a provincialism for *uu*: the peculiar pronunciation can, when necessary, be indicated by writing *ü*.)

Since the letters ه, و, and ی have each a consonantal and a vowel value, thirty-eight Latin symbols are required to correspond to Tewfiq Bey's alphabet of thirty-five letters. These are found by adopting the twenty-six letters of the alphabet, nine digraphs composed of simple consonants combined with *h*, one vowel distinguished by a diacritical mark, the apostrophe and the inverted comma.

My choice of symbols may require some justification. Since the intention was to evolve a system for ordinary

<sup>1</sup> These sounds appear in a very few native Kurdish words.



everyday use and not merely a method of phonetic transcription, it seemed essential to avoid invented letters and, as far as possible, diacritical marks, without sacrificing the accuracy so particularly necessary in Kurdish; no existing letter of the alphabet has therefore been left unused.

C for  $\text{ج}$  has the advantage of corresponding with the Turkish, and unless used here would go begging and necessitate another diacritical mark elsewhere; incidentally, it contributes to uniformity in the construction of the digraphs;  $j$  is not available. The use of  $x$  to represent the sound of  $\text{خ}$  is familiar, but  $kh$  is adequate for this; and since a distinct symbol is required to represent the allied sound of  $\text{ح}$ ,  $x$  appears suitable, and moreover, as remarked below, serves to hint at the foreign origin of the sound. In Kurdish words the proportion of vowels and weak consonants to strong consonants is peculiarly high and every available symbol is required for them. To take an example almost at random, 'ew *pjawe*, that man, contains, besides inaudible *hemze*, only one strong consonant against three weak consonants and three vowels. I do not therefore suppose that anyone will be disposed to quarrel with my adoption of  $y$  as a vowel and of the consonant  $j$  with its German value.

Of the nine digraphs, in seven the  $h$  reflects the additional dots on the Arabic letter corresponding to the simple letter to which the  $h$  is attached, thus:—

ت $t$ has ت $th$	ج $c$ has ج $ch$
د $d$ has د $dh$	ر $r$ has ر $rh$
ز $z$ has ز $zh$	س $s$ has ش $sh$
ل $l$ has ل $lh$	

In the remaining two cases,  $\text{غ}$   $gh$  and  $\text{خ}$   $kh$ , I have preferred to keep the existing convention, though  $xh$  would have been typographically possible. But the apparent inconsistency is not without its significance. The letters

$\text{غ}$ ,  $\text{خ}$  represent native Kurdish sounds and are best represented by natural combinations such as  $gh$  and  $kh$ , while the corresponding undotted letters of the Arabic script being foreign to Kurdish are not inappropriately represented by distinct and exotic-looking symbols ' and  $x$ . Thus all the digraphs either correspond to existing convention or, in the case of new letters, satisfactorily suggest the sound to the eye.

The two sounds represented by  $th$  and  $dh$  can perhaps best be produced by endeavouring to pronounce  $t$  and  $d$  while pressing the tongue against the lower teeth. The necessity of admitting them to independent places in the alphabet is open to argument. They appear to be restricted to part of the Sulaimani *liwa* only and the use of the simple sound in place of them could never be considered incorrect. Nevertheless in and around Sulaimani, the dialect of which is rapidly establishing itself as standard Kurdish, the distinction is very marked.

There is no *shadda* in Tewfiq Bey's script, and double consonants are written twice as in the Latin.

Initial *hemze* need not be written when the Latin character is used, but it is important, for certain purposes, to remember that in theory it is there before the initial vowel.

Where in the same word independent  $h$  follows a simple letter having a corresponding digraph, a short hyphen would be used to separate the two. Instances must be rare: I have not found a Kurdish example at the time of writing and can only give in illustration the Persian proper name, *Fer-had*, and the Arabic word محبول (*mec-huul*), unknown, passive voice.

Of the seven vowels four,  $e$ ,  $i$ ,  $u$ ,  $y$ , are always short, and three,  $a$ ,  $\hat{e}$ ,  $o$ , are always long; long  $i$  and long  $u$  are represented by doubling the letters,  $ii$ ,  $uu$ ; the diphthong which approximates to the sound of French *eu* is represented by  $uy$ , following Tewfiq Bey's Arabic  $\text{وي}$ . It is to be noted



that *e* represents the sound approximating to the English short *a* and should be pronounced as in *bat* rather than as in *bet*.

In order that the system here suggested may be adequately judged, three passages of some length are appended to this note. Before they are read, however, five simple rules touching modifications of vowel forms in certain circumstances must be mentioned:—

(a) Three of Tewfiq Bey's symbols—*ا*, *و*, *ى*—have each both a consonant and a vowel value; he therefore gives a set of rather elaborate rules for distinguishing between them. In the Latin script, where separate symbols are used, little difficulty arises. Briefly, the principle is that no two vowels (except the two members of the recognized "compound vowels") may come together; consequently if *i* or *u* is brought into juxtaposition with another vowel, it is changed into the corresponding weak consonant: e.g. *Kerkukii*, man of Kirkuk, makes *Kerkukijeke*, the man of Kirkuk; and *khanu*, house, makes *khanweke*, the house.

(b) If the weak consonant *j* follows the compound vowel *ii*, the second member of the compound is dropped; e.g. *tancii*, gazelle-hound, makes *tancijan* not *tanciijan*, their gazelle-hound: this spelling actually represents the shortening of the long vowel *ii* before the suffix.

(c) The neutral vowel *y* may be dropped between two consonants of which the second is followed by a vowel, e.g. *shywan*, shepherd, has the alternative form *shwan*; and *'asyn*, iron, with the demonstrative adjective makes *'em 'asyne* or *'em asne*, this iron.

(d) Initial *hemze* following a word ending in a vowel is sometimes suppressed by contraction, e.g. *ser*, head, and *'éshe*, ache, make *seréshe*, headache; and *'echym 'e malheve*, I go home, makes *'echyme malheve*, or again, by rule (c), which now becomes applicable, *'echme malheve*.

(e) The *y* of the imperative prefix *by*, when followed

by the *i* or *j* of the enclytic pronouns of the third person, becomes *i*, e.g. *bykho*, eat! *biikho* eat it! and *bijankho*, eat them!

The measure of the unsuitability of the Arabic script is given by the circumstance that it has only three symbols to represent all vowels and the weak consonants, while the Latin, as here suggested, offers no fewer than nine or, counting the "compound vowels", twelve. In Kurdish, as I have already remarked, the proportion of vowels and weak consonants to strong consonants is high, and careful analysis of vowel sounds is required for the comprehension of the nicer points of the grammar.

Nevertheless, there can hardly be any question of substituting either Tewfiq Bey's system or the Latin character for the Arabic in present circumstances. Religious prejudice against such a change would undoubtedly be strong. Furthermore, Kurdish is now ordinarily written only in Iraq, where the Kurds are a minority and where the official language of the state as a whole is Arabic. Kurdish boys who wish to rise in Government service or are obliged, like men of the hills everywhere, to seek their fortune in the plains of the south, must be proficient in Arabic: there are many Arabic words currently used in Kurdish, and to learn them first in the modified Kurdish alphabet would lead to confusion and the serious handicap of bad spelling. The use of the Latin character for instruction in Kurdish would obviate these disadvantages but would tend to make Arabic, with its different script, even more than at present a foreign language difficult to acquire. Tewfiq Bey's grammar, must, however, be indispensable to every serious student of Kurdish, and to every Kurdish schoolmaster, even though precluded from imparting to his pupils its contents as they stand.

The possibility of using the Latin alphabet has always, since the early experiment of 1920 already noticed, excited keen interest in enlightened Kurdish circles; and indeed several of my friends, having doubtless heard that I was



studying the matter, have recently written to me in Latin character. An increasing number of Europeans, whether civil officials, military and air officers, or servants of the great oil companies, are being brought into contact with Kurds and require to use their language. Use of the Latin character would contribute to rapidity in learning and ensure far greater accuracy than can be attained through the medium of the vague and inconsistent approximations of the Arabic script as used by the Kurds themselves. The adoption of the Latin character by the grown-up intelligentsia for literary and scientific purposes might well give a valuable fillip to Kurdish culture.

## EXAMPLE I

*Chiïroki Merh u Bzyn*

Byznêk u merhêk legelh jek dost bun. Byzneke be merhekej wut, "Ewa zystan hat, ba bo khoman khanujêk bkejn, em zystanej tija helh kejn." Merhe wuti, "Myn duugi khom khosh bê le serma natyrsym." Byzneke khanujêki bo khoj duryst kyrd.

Zystan hat. Terh u tuushii w befr u baran desi pê kyrd. Merheke hate laj byzneke, wuti, "Le rhêj khwadha cêgam bkerewe; eger cêgat keme cêj serym bkerewe, cêj duugym mekerewe; jan cêj duugym bkerewe, cêj serym mekerewe." Byzneke bezeji piya hat, cêj ser u niwey leshi kyrdewe. Shewê le shewan gurgê merhekej frhandh u rhoji. Byzneke le ser eme dergajêki bashi bo khanwekej duryst kyrd.

Khwan te'ala lem khanwedha chendh bêchuulejêki dhaje. Rhaburdyni zor bash bu; be rozh echu bo lewerh, êwaran gwan pyrh le shiir egerhajewe. Ke echuwe derewe mnalhekani teme ekyrd ke le khoj zijatyr derga le kes nekenewe.

Tumez gurgêki xeramzadhe chawi le bêchwe besezmanekani byzne bêdeselhateke brhii bu. Byzne agaj le Mexmuudhi bê zewadh nebu. Rhozhê le rhozhan ke puure bzyn le derewe bu, mam gurg be heli zani chuwe ber dergakejan. Derga

kliil u kulhom kra bu. Le dergaj dha. Karzholekan pyrsijan, "Ewe kêje?" Wuti, "Tiitile w biibilej daje, derga we ken le daje, shiiri spiim le byn gwanaje, gijaj sewzym le byn danaje." Bêchuulekan le kuni dergawe rhwanijan, tê gejishtyn ke eme dajki khojan nije, wutjan, "Dajki ême suure." Gurge chu khoj le qurhe suurewe dha w gerhajewe. Disanewe le dergaj dha, wuti, "Tiitile w biibilej daje, derga we ken le daje; shiiri spiim le byn gwanaje, gijaj sewzym le byn danaje." Karzholekan wutjan, "Dajki ême spiije." Gurge chu khoj le gle spijewe dha, gerhajewe ber dergakejan. Wutjan, "Dajki ême dêze." Gurge chu, khoj le kholhe mêshewe dha, gerhajewe serjan. Jekê le karzholekan wuti, "Be khwa, eme dajkmane, ba dergakej lê bkejnewe." We weha dergakejan lê kyrdewe. Gurge lêjan chuwe zhuurê. Bêchuulekani khward u hate derewe. Belham jekê le bêchuulekan ke le hemuujan bchuuktyr bu le gulhbênej tenuura khoj shardbwewe, le kelhbej mam gurg ryzgar buu bu.

Katê dajkekejan hatewe, temashaj kyrd; dergake le ser pyshte, bêchwekani niin dijar. Desi kyrd be qurh pêwan. Ew bêchwe ke khoj shardbwewe desi kyrde myl dajki we be gyrjanewe xikajetekej bo gerhajewe. Byzne hezhareke nej ezani kê em ketnej pê kyrdywe, wuti, "Her kesê emej kyrdybê ebê bgerhêm biidozmewe bangi kem bo sherh legelh kyrdyn ke tolhej lê bsênym."

Hesta le pêsha chuwe serbani khanuj seg, desi kyrd be tepetep. Sege le khwarewe wuti, "Xuu, xuu, xuu! Ewe kêje, le ser ban teptepan eka; kase w kewchkym pyrh le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka?" Byzneke wuti, "Maa! Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke, duu chawym pêweje byz bzoke; kê khwarduujê tiiti myn, kê khwarduujê biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn." Sege wuti, "Myn nemkhwarduwe tiiti to, myn nemkhwarduwe biibi to, najeme sherh u cengi to." Lewêwe byzneke chuwe bani khanuj cheqelh, disanewe desi kyrd be tepetep. Cheqelh le zhuurewe wuti, "Iiw! iiw! iiw!



Ewe kêje, teptepan eka, kase w kewchkym pyrh le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka?" Bzyn wuti, "Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke duu chawym pêweje, byz bzoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke; kê khwarduue tiiti myn, kê khwarduue biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn." Cheqelh wuti, "Myn nemkhwarduwe tiiti to, myn nemkhwarduwe biibi to; najeme sherh u cengi to."

Lewêwe chuwe ser bani gurg, desi kyrd be tepetep. Gurgeke le khwarewe wuti, "Huu, huu, huu! Ewe kêje, teptepan eka, kase w kewchkym pyr le kholhan eka, le miiwananym shermesar eka?" Byzneke wuti, "Mnym, mnym, myn mnoke, duu shakhym pêweje, bêlh bêlhoke, duu chawym pêweje, byz bzoke; kê khwarduue tiiti myn, kê khwarduue biibi myn, bête sherh u cengi myn?" Gurgeke wuti, "Myn khwarduume tiiti to, myn khwarduume biibi to, dhême sherh u cengi to."

Hestan chune laj qazii. Gurgeke le gelh khoja be dijarii hemanêjêki hêna bu; prhi kyrdybu le fuu; derkekej tundh bestybu, belham le pêsha denke nokishi tê hawishtybu. Hemanêj le ber dem qaziidha da na, wuti, "Qazii gijan, em dijarije tuutni Shawure henawmete khyzmetyth." Byznesh kase mastêki ke le shiiri khoj duryst kyrdybu be destewe rha gyrtlybu.

Khalho Qazii, chunke dijarii gurgekej la khoshtyr bu, be khyzmethkarekej wut, "A biikerewe temashajêki bkem." Khyzmethkareke le ber demi qazii dha, derki hemanekêj kyrdewe, denkenok der perhii, dhaj le chawi qazii, chawêki kuyr kyrd. Desubyrd puure bzyn kasekej byrde pêshewe. Ke qazii emustêki le mastêke dha chawi cha bwewe. Emca qazii le ber khojewê wuti, "Ej gurgi zolhek! shert bê em dakheth pê brhêzhym."

Fermunij mejdhan rhêk khen bo sherh, we nardi duu shakhi asyn u duu shakhi lbadhjan bo hena. Shakhe lbadhekani kyrd be ser gurgekewe, kiife asniinekani kyrd be shakhekani byzneshedha. Emca hemanêj mejdhan, we wuti, "De bcengyn." Gurg u bzyn destjan kyrd be sherhe qoch.

Mam gurg le pêsha qochêki dha le byzneke, shakhekani nushtajewe. Ke byzneke qochêki dha le wurgi gurgeke drhii. Karzholekan hatnê derewe. Dajkjan desi kyrd be lêstnewejan, we lêj pyrsiin, "Rholhe, lekuy bun?" Wutjan, "Le mali khalhman danuuleman ekward." Wuti, "Ej beshi myn!" Hemuu be dengê wutjan, "Kyrdme koshym, koshym suuta; kyrdme desym, desym suuta; kyrdme demym, demym suuta." Wuti, "Rholhej dajkiine, ja khwa, be khêr bènewe."

Herwa be jektyr shadh bunewe; mnish hatmewe, hiichjan nedhamê.

## TRANSLATION

*Fable of the Sheep and the Goat*

A goat and a sheep were friends together. The goat said to the sheep: "Now winter has come, let us make a house for ourselves, where we may spend this winter." The sheep said: "All being well with my tail, I am not afraid of the cold." The goat made a house for herself.

Winter came. Wet and bad weather and snow and rain began. The sheep came to the goat and said: "In the way of God, make room for me; if your room is scanty, make place for my head and do not make place for my tail, or make place for my tail and do not make place for my head." The goat took pity on him and made place for his head and half his body. One night of the nights a wolf snatched the sheep and went. The goat thereupon made a good door for her house.

God Almighty gave her some children in this house. Her existence was very good. By day she used to go to graze; in the evening she used to return, the udder full of milk. When she used to go out she used to admonish the children not to open the door to anybody besides herself.

But a base-born wolf had fixed his eyes on the poor young ones of the helpless goat. The goat was not aware of the fate awaiting her. A day of the days when Aunt Goat was out, Uncle Wolf thought it a good opportunity and went to their



door. The door had been locked and barred. He knocked on the door. The kids asked: "Who is that?" He said, "Mother's darlings and sweetings, open the door to Mother! I have white milk under my udder and I have green grass under my teeth." The youngsters looked through the hole in the door; they understood that this is not their mother; they said: "Our mother is brown." The wolf went, smeared himself with brown mud and returned. He knocked again on the door and said: "Mother's darlings and sweetings, open the door to Mother! I have white milk under my udder, I have green grass under my teeth." The kids said: "Our mother is white." The wolf went, smeared himself with chalk and returned to their door. They said: "Our mother is grey." The wolf went, smeared himself with ash and returned to them. One of the kids said: "By God this is our mother, let us open the door to her." And so they opened the door to him. The wolf went into the room against them. He ate the youngsters and came out. But one of the youngsters, who was smaller than all of them, had hidden himself in the flue of the oven, and had escaped from the fangs of Uncle Wolf.

When their mother returned she looked; the door is open, the young ones are not visible. She began to pour dust on her head. That young one which had hidden himself threw his arms around his mother's neck and weepingly related the story to her. The poor goat did not know who has done this mischief to her and said: "Whoever may have done this, I must look for and find him and challenge him to a duel, that I may take vengeance on him."

She got up and first she went onto the roof of the dog's house and began to stamp. The dog from below said: "Bow, wow, wow! who is that stamping on the roof, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests?" The goat said: "Maa! It is I, I, little I! I have got two horns like two little hoes, I have got two eyes, open wide; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting,

let him come and fight and war with me. The dog said: "I have not eaten your darling, I have not eaten your sweeting; I will not come to fight and war with you."

From there the goat went to the roof of the jackal's house and again began to stamp. The jackal from below said: "Yap, yap, yap! who is that stamping, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests?" The goat said: "It is I, I, little I! I have got two eyes wide open, I have got two horns like little hoes; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting, let him come to fight and war with me. The jackal said: "I have not eaten your darling, I have not eaten your sweeting; I shall not come to fight and war with you."

From there she went onto the wolf's roof and began to stamp. The wolf from below said: "Hoo, hoo, hoo! Who is that stamping, filling my bowl and spoon with dust and making me ashamed before my guests?" The goat said: "It is I, I, little I! I have got two horns like two little hoes, I have got two eyes open wide; whoever has eaten my darling, whoever has eaten my sweeting, let him come to fight and war with me." The wolf said: "I have eaten your darling, I have eaten your sweeting; I will come to fight and war with you."

They started off and went to the Qazi. The wolf had brought a small skin sack with himself as a present; he had blown it up, and tied the mouth tight, but beforehand he had thrown a single pea inside it. He put the skin down in front of the Qazi and said: "Qazi dear, this present is Shawr tobacco, I have brought to your service." The goat also was holding a bowl of curds which she had made of her own milk.

As the wolf's present was more acceptable to him Uncle Qazi said to the servant: "Here, open it and let me have a look at it." The servant opened the mouth of the skin in front of the Qazi, the pea flew out, hit the Qazi in the eye and blinded one eye. Immediately Aunt Goat carried the bowl forward. When the Qazi took a fingerful of the curds his eye got better again. Then the Qazi said to himself: "O bastard wolf! I swear to take vengeance on you for this hurt."



He ordered the ring to be prepared for the fight and sent to fetch two horns of iron and two horns of felt for them. He put the felt horns on the head of the wolf and the iron scabbards on the horns of the goat. Then he brought them into the ring and said: "Off! fight!" The wolf and the goat began to have a bout of butting. Uncle Wolf first butted the goat, his horns bent. When the goat gave a butt in the belly of the wolf, he ripped it. The kids came out. Their mother began to lick them and asked them: "My pets, where were you?" They said: "We were eating porridge at our uncle's house." She said: "And my share?" They all said with one voice: "I put it in my shirt tail, my shirt tail burnt; I put it in my hand, my hand burnt; I put it in my mouth, my mouth burnt." She said: "Mother's pets! O God! May you be welcome."

And so they rejoiced over each other. I too have returned and they gave me nothing.

## EXAMPLE II

*Dwanze Swarej Meriwan*

Egêrhnewe ke le zemani xakmêtî Brajim Pashaj Bebedha, ke ew xele le Qelha Chwalan da nishtybu, Nadhyr Shaj Êran be leshkrêki dwanze hezar kesijewe wistybu be ser wulhati Bebedha rha buurê bchête ser shari Muusylh, ke ew deme be des Tyrkekanewe buwe. Nadhyr Sha kheberêki nardybu bo Brajim ke rhêgaj bdhatê be ser wulhati Kurdekana bchête ser Muusylh, ke biigrê. Brajim Pasha lew serdemedha legelh Tyrkekan dost bu. Cge leme be shiini ezani ke leshkri bégane be ser wulhatja byrhwa. Em tekliifej pesendh nekyrd, cwabi narhezaji bo Nadhyr Sha nardewe. Nadhyr Sha le ser eme zor dylhgiir u zür bu, we wuti: "Her ebê be ser wulhati Bebedha brhom." We bem core qerari dha.

Brajim Pasha kheberi wer gyrtybu ke chy rhozhê Êranijekan xereket eken. Desubyrd leshkrêk ke be destewe ebê koj ekatewe. Dwanze swar ke zor dynjadiiw u shareza bun kyrdni be pêshrhewi em leshkyrej khoj. Emane le pêsh

leshkyrekewe be ghar erhon we le niiwej shewdha egene leshkrekej Nadhyr Sha, ke le deshti Meriwan helhjan dha bu. Her dwan dwan u sjan sjan ebyne destejêk, le rhast u chep u pysht u pêsh dewrej leshkyreke edhen, we le hemuu lajekewe ejkene hera w desrêzh.

Be helhkewt ew shewe zor tariik u nuutek u befr u baran ebê. Be cheshnêk serjan lê eshêwênyn ke leshkyreke wa ezanyan ke quwetêki zor dewrej dhawyn. Be rhengêki wa shêwan ke dost u dyzhmynjan pê lêk nekrajewe. Pelamari jektyr edhen. Ew shewe ta beri bejan le naw khojana le jektyr kushtar eken. Qelachojan khystanaw khojan.

Ke dynja rhuunak ebêtewe ebiinyn ke gelekjan le jektyr kushtuwe, zor shpyrze bun we pelupoj xereket u hêzi beramber westanjan nemawe; be nacharii egerhênewe dwawe.

Em azajije her le lajeni em dwanze swarewe krawe. Xele ke leshkrekej Brajim Pasha egat temasha eken ke leshkyri Êran hiichjan nemawe we zor pêjan nakhosh ebê ke be ser hewari khaliidha egen.

## TRANSLATION

*The Twelve Horsemen of Meriwan*

They relate that in the time of the rulership of Ibrahim Pasha Baban, who at that epoch resided at Qala Chwalan, Nadir Shah of Persia with an army of twelve thousand persons had wished to traverse the Baban country and march against the city of Mosul, which at that moment was in the hands of the Turks. Nadir Shah had sent a message to Ibrahim to give him passage through the country of the Kurds, for him to march against Mosul, to take it. Ibrahim Pasha at that particular moment was friendly with the Turks. Apart from this he thought it disgraceful that a foreign army should go through his country. He did not approve of this demand and sent an answer of refusal back to Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah for this reason became very annoyed and upset, and he said: "I must nevertheless go through the Baban country." And thus he decided.



Ibrahim Pasha had received information as to which day the Persians are to start. As quickly as possible he collects an army such as can be got. He made twelve horsemen, who were very experienced and acquainted with the ground, the advance-guard of this army of his. These gallop in front of the army and in the middle of the night reach the army of Nadir Shah, which had camped in the plain of Meriwan. They form sections by twos and threes. They surround the army to right and left, in rear and in front, and shout and fire volleys from every side.

By chance that night is pitch dark with snow and rain. They confuse them in such a way that the army think that a very large force has surrounded them. They were confused in such a way that friend and enemy could not be distinguished by them. They attack one another. All that night till dawn they make a slaughter of each other among themselves. They reduced themselves to exhaustion.

When it gets light they see that they have killed many of each other, they have become very demoralized and ability to move and strength to resist has not remained. They are obliged to retreat.

This brave deed was performed by these twelve horsemen only. When the army of Ibrahim Pasha arrives they see that none of the Persian army have remained and they are very sorry that they find an empty camp.

### EXAMPLE III

From "Usage of the Kurdish Language," by Tewfiq Wehbi Bey

(a) Edati nida dengêke ke bo pishandhani xissêki weku khoshii, 'acbatii, pzhare, tyrs . . . htd: be kelhk ehênre. Emane legelh kelimekanityri cumledha laqejêkjan nabê; weku:—

Aj! le biirym chu.  
Okhkhej! rhyzgar bum.  
Of! le des to wekhte shêt bym.

Lem cumlanedha "Aj!" bo 'acbatii, "Okhkhej!" bo khoshii, "Of!" bo pzhare be kelhk hênrawyn.

(b) Bonawi lêkdher emanen: ke, -i; weku:—

Myn le khanweke ke par êwe krhiitan da nishtuum.

Ew pjawej bêredha rha burd nasjawym bu.

Emane ew mnalhanen ke duyne le imtixan der chun.

Le cumlej jekema duwem "ke" bonawi lêkdhere; chunke cêj nawi "khanweke" egrête we cumlej "myn le khanwekedha da nishtuum" -i be cumlej "êwe par krhiitan" -ewe nuusandhywe. Le cumlej duwema "j" -i dwaj "ew pjawe" bonawi lêkdhere, chunke cêj "ew pjawe" egrête we cumlej "ew pjawe bêredha rha burd" -i be cumlej "ew pjawe nasjawym bu" -wewe nuusandhywe. Le cumlej sejema "ke" -j dwaj "ew mnalhanen" bonawi lêkdhere, chunke cêj "ew mnalhane" egrête we cumlej "emane ew mnalhanen" -i be cumlej "ew mnalhane duynê le imtixan der chun" -ewe nuusandhywe.

### TRANSLATION

(a) An interjection is a sound which is used to express a feeling such as joy, surprise, grief, fear, etc. These can have no connection with the other words of the sentence, e.g.,

Oh! I forgot.

Hurrah! I am freed.

Alas! I shall soon be driven mad by you.

In these sentences "Oh!" is used for surprise, "Hurrah!" is used for joy, "Alas!" is used for grief.

(b) Relative pronouns are the following: ke, -i, which, that, e.g.,

I am living in the house which you bought last year.

That man that passed by here was an acquaintance of mine.

These are the children who passed the examination yesterday.

In the first sentence the second *ke* (which) is a relative pronoun, because it takes the place of "the house" and has



connected the sentence "I am living in the house" to the sentence "You bought last year." In the second sentence the "that" (-i) after "that man" is a relative pronoun because it takes the place of "that man" and has connected the sentence "that man passed by here" to the sentence "that man was an acquaintance of mine". In the third sentence the "who" (ke) after "those children" is a relative pronoun because it takes the place of "those children" and has connected the sentence "these are those children" to the sentence "those children passed the examination yesterday".

## On the Tibetan Transcriptions of Si-Hia Words

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

SINCE, during the last few years, Si-Hia texts with transliterations into Tibetan character have been brought to light,<sup>1</sup> it seems that a new aspect may be put upon the morphology of this language.

Previously the texts studied provided us only with transcriptions into Chinese characters, and it is on their evidence that reconstructions of Si-Hia words were first based. Writing in 1916 with this class of material before him, Laufer<sup>2</sup> consequently stated that "consonantal prefixes can be pointed out only in four cases: *k-nü* or *k-nu* ('five'), *k-nüm* ('heaven'), *r-ni* ('ear'), and possibly *m-ru*, *m-lu* ('worm')".

Again, more recently (1926), though in this case with the evidence of Tibetan transcriptions at hand, Nevsky<sup>3</sup> has stated his belief that the prefixed letters in the Tibetan transcriptions of Si-Hia words were probably not pronounced, a conclusion to which he was evidently largely led "by keeping in mind its Chinese transcription" when dealing with a Si-Hia word and its variants.

But there seems very little justification for this. In Nevsky's material the Tibetan transcriptions actually give us directly contrary evidence powerful enough to go far, with supporting material from related languages (examples of which are given below), to negative the idea that Si-Hia was a language devoid of spoken prefixes. It is not exactly probable, to say the least, that in the eleventh century, when the script was invented and introduced, that the language had no such prefixes to record. All the evidence, internal and external, is opposed to such a view.

<sup>1</sup> See Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. iii, pl. cxxxiv, and Nevsky, "A Brief Manual of the Si-Hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions," *Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*, No. 4, March, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> *Toung Pao*, vol. xvii, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. xxiv.



## VII

### PERSIAN GULF RIVALRIES IN MOSCOW'S EQUATION

WHEN not engaged in confrontation with Israel, inter-Arab and Arab-Iranian rivalries emerge as the dominant theme in the areas contiguous to the Persian Gulf.

In Saudi Arabia, the traditional insular perception of security was altered by events in Yemen and Southern Arabia in the 1962-67 period.<sup>1</sup> But even before Nasser failed to recognize his dream of hegemony, the major Saudi task was to ensure that no united Yemen came into existence. United, the two Yemens would have a population more than twice that of Saudi Arabia, and if oil were ever discovered, the southwestern part of Arabia would become an important factor in the politics of the peninsula. Moreover, if the regime in Aden were to change, there could well be important support in the



southern parts of North Yemen for breaking away from Sana and joining with a moderate regime in Aden. The possibility is not remote considering that many of the old South Yemen politicians, particularly those from the South Arabian League and FLOSY\* who are now living in North Yemen, would like to return to Aden and establish a new regime. While some would be more "traditional" than others in their form of rule, most would espouse a united Yemen policy and would certainly attempt to win over the southern part of North Yemen. In that event, Saudi Arabia would cease supporting these leaders and would instead vigorously oppose them. Here one must note the persistent and widespread belief in North Yemen that the Saudis will one day seek direct access to the Indian Ocean by making a territorial claim on the Hadhramout area. Any sign promising unification of the two Yemens would prompt such a claim in order to outflank any union.

As for the United Arab Emirates, they could not alone resist an attack by either Saudi Arabia or Iran. Formerly known as the Trucial States, the newly formed UAE is comprised of the seven ministates on the Arab side of the Gulf: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharja, Ras al Khaima, Ajman, Umm al-Qaiwain, and Fujaira. Collectively, they share a quarrelsome historical background, and notwithstanding the imbalance caused by Abu Dhabi's wealth, they are at a comparable stage of social development. But Dubai is the natural rival of Abu Dhabi, and Saudi Arabia is fearful of an Abu Dhabi-dominated federation. Thus there are two sets of fears: the smaller states

\* The Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen.



believe they will one day be "absorbed" by Abu Dhabi, while Abu Dhabi fears that all of the UAE will be annexed by Saudi Arabia.

This fear is a direct consequence of the British evacuation from Aden in 1968 and from the Persian Gulf in December 1971. For until the withdrawals, the deterrent effect of Britain's small ground forces preserved a balance of power in the subregion. Although Iran, Saudi Arabia and Iraq had superior forces, their political effect was not decisive as long as the British military presence remained. Thus in 1961, when the strongest threat to stability came from Iraq and Saudi Arabia, with the former seeking to annex Kuwait and the latter pressing its claims to parts of Qatar and the Trucial States, Britain's willingness to employ force proved sufficient to maintain the status quo. With the British deterrent no longer in the equation, the conflicting ambitions of Saudi Arabia, Iran and Iraq acquire renewed significance.<sup>(2)</sup>

Throughout the sixties, as Iran became more concerned with militant Arab nationalism to the west and south, it downgraded the traditional Soviet threat from the north. Given Moscow's conciliatory policy toward Iran and Turkey, the Shah argued that the Soviets were less a danger than was the Egyptian military presence in the Arabian Peninsula. His concern over an Egyptian scheme to move through Southern Arabia and capture the oil fields of the peninsula was nevertheless based on the belief that such designs could succeed only with Soviet support. Consequently, the Shah's policy was to woo the Soviets away from strengthening the Egyptian hand. But the same policy meant taking a calculated risk with Moscow and inevitably led the Iranians into a dilemma.



The Soviets, through the Egyptians, not only provided all the military hardware for the Yemen republicans, but also modernized the port of Hodeida and constructed at Sana the longest airstrip—11,500 feet—in the Middle East. The growing Soviet influence in Egypt, Syria and Iraq; their parade of warships in the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean; their provision of missile-armed boats to Iraq; and their shift to the more radical South Yemen as the focal point of penetration all combined to reinforce the Shah's concern over heightened tensions in the subregion.

It did not escape the Shah that Egypt had the support of both Moscow and Washington. Doubts about American behavior concerning Cyprus, the Kashmir and Yemen led the Shah to believe that in the event of a confrontation with militant Arab nationalism, no aid would be forthcoming from the United States. In addition, the other CENTO allies, Turkey and Pakistan, would themselves be preoccupied with their own regional quarrels. Thus Iranian policy moved perceptibly in the direction of greater independence. Closer relations were forged with the regional opponents of radical Arab nationalism—the Saudis, Yemeni royalists, Jordanians, Kurds and Israelis. In the mid-sixties, Teheran's concern also focused on the Arab threat to Khuzistan, Iran's single most important province because of its strategic position, large oil reserves and important oil installations. In the Arab view, Khuzistan is historically and ethnically Arab. On 11 December 1964, a Conference of Arab Jurists declared the province "an integral part of the Arab homeland," and on 10 November 1965, the Baath regime in Syria did likewise.



Additionally, there were two pressing political and strategic problems. One was the long-standing difference with Iraq regarding navigation rights on the Shatt al-Arab—the river running from the confluence of the Tigris, Euphrates and Karun rivers at the head of the Gulf and forming part of the southern boundary between the two countries. The other was Iran's long-standing claim to Bahrein, which it pressed because of the strategic significance of this small island to the Gulf—from which nearly 86 percent of Middle East petroleum exports and half the world's oil flow. Thus, when the Bahrein issue became entangled with the future of the Trucial States and Qatar, Iran strongly opposed attempts to link Bahrein with the projected Arab federation. At the same time, accommodation with Saudi Arabia led to the establishment in October 1968 of a median line in the Gulf that paved the way for a settlement on Bahrein by the spring of 1970. This accommodation in turn allowed the formation of the United Arab Emirates. Just prior to the UAE's formal creation, Iran asserted its "sovereignty" over the disputed tiny islands of Abu Musa and the two Tumbs. The takeover of the islands in December 1971 and the conciliatory policy in regard to Bahrein were both tied to Teheran's strategic interest in the Strait of Hormuz and the overall security problem of the Gulf. The guiding principles of Iran's security policy gradually emerged as follows: neither superpower should succeed to the former British naval monopoly in the Gulf; Gulf security would be the responsibility of the local powers; Iran should be prepared to act on its own to maintain security in the absence of cooperation at the local level.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, the Shah remained troubled by the dan-



ger of Soviet involvement. Soviet influence in Iraq, Afghanistan and India could outflank Iran. A breakup of West Pakistan was regarded as intolerable because of the need to guard the approaches to the Strait of Hormuz and the Gulf. Similarly, it is likely that in the event of a radical coup in any one of the Arab emirates, Iran would intervene militarily across the Gulf as it did with Oman's consent against the Dhofar rebels in 1973. Within two years, the Marxist-led Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) was defeated and the rebellion brought to an end.

After the Yom Kippur War, Iran moved toward closer alignment with certain Arab states. Relations with Egypt were reinforced chiefly by means of economic aid. In return, the Shah sought Egyptian noninterference in the affairs of Arabia and the endorsement of Iran's security policy in the Gulf.

More significantly, in March 1975, Iran moved toward accommodation with Iraq and gained recognition of its claim to partial control of the Shatt al-Arab River and rectification of the land borders. In exchange, the Shah agreed to terminate his support to the Kurdish rebels in Iraq by sealing his borders and prohibiting the delivery of any aid.

The American role in the abandonment of the Kurdish struggle is far from obscure and is another example of the defeatist mentality pervading our diplomacy in the region.

As has been clearly established in the now famous secret report of the House Select Subcommittee on Intelligence, chaired by Representative Otis Pike, the Kurds were assured by former President Nixon and Henry Kissinger in June 1972 that the United States would sup-



port resumption of their armed rebellion in Iraq.<sup>4</sup> The Kurds, a Muslim but non-Arab people, have risen in revolt against Turkish, British, Persian and Arab rulers throughout the century. Numbering approximately two million, the Iraqi Kurds inhabit a 43,000-square-mile area of mountains, valleys and plains in northern Iraq. Units of Kurdish leader Mulla Mustapha Barzani fought Iraqi forces to a standstill with their guerrilla campaigns from 1961 to 1970, when Baghdad agreed to give them autonomy within four years. The terms of the 11 March 1970 settlement also included Kurdish participation in government, economic development for Kurdish regions and measures recognizing Kurdish cultural and ethnic identity. From the outset it was doubtful the Iraqi government would honor its obligations.

The American decision to support the Kurds was made in response to a specific request by the Shah of Iran, who had earlier pledged assistance to the Kurds in their battle against rival Iraq. Barzani welcomed the American assistance, believing that the American commitment would "guarantee" Iranian support. Interestingly, the timing of the positive American response seems to have been related to Iraq's conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union on 9 April 1972, and with the subsequent appointment of two Communists in a cabinet reshuffle and the nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company—a consortium of European and American firms. One may speculate which if any of these events prompted the United States commitment to support covertly the Kurdish struggle.

Despite the American pledge, it remains doubtful whether the Nixon-Kissinger intent was to ensure the



establishment of an independent sovereign Kurdistan. Such a state might be seen as undermining the security of Iran and Turkey, where sizable Kurdish communities might also seek independence and union with any new state. More likely the American objective was to undermine the Iraqi regime, possibly leading to another coup in Baghdad—whose leaders would allow American companies to operate the rich Kirkuk oil fields. Such American objectives did not, however, conflict with those of the Kurds, who in any case were demanding autonomy, not independence.

The missed opportunity of the Kurds—and the Americans—came during the Yom Kippur War. Iraqi forces were fighting against Israel on the Syrian front and were temporarily distracted from Kurdistan. Israel, anxious to keep the Iraqis engaged at home rather than on the Golan Heights, urged the Kurds to unleash a major offensive. However, in another demonstration of unilateral concession, Kissinger instructed the CIA to advise Barzani not to undertake new offensive operations. This order was all the more astonishing in light of the contrasting Soviet behavior in urging all the Arab states to join the fighting against Israel. Soviet actions in this crisis belied a mutual concern for detente. Nevertheless, Secretary Kissinger seemed determined to make up in American concessions for the Soviet “lapse,” and gave more consideration to the military welfare of Iraq—a Soviet ally—than to our natural friends, Israel and the Kurds. The Kissinger “advice” to Barzani was both a disservice to the Kurds and the Israelis and a signal of things to come.

That was October 1973. By April 1975 the Kurdish



resistance suddenly crumbled in the face of a concentrated Iraqi offensive and the termination of American-Iranian aid. This abandonment of the Kurds was preceded by the Iraqi-Iranian border agreement in March 1975.

Two Kurdish scholars argue that Iran reached this agreement with Iraq on instructions from a government in Washington which was anxious to see the matter resolved. "A host of concessions were exacted from Iraq, such as the granting of huge contracts to American corporations to operate in Iraq, the cessation of leftist activities from Iraq against Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iran, and the silencing of Iraqi criticism of Sadat."<sup>5</sup>

Secretary of State Kissinger and other officials deny this accusation, insisting that once Iran and Iraq reached agreement the United States had no alternative but to abandon the Kurds. The Kurds believe otherwise. In their view, it was Washington—not Teheran—that first sold them out.

The fact is that despite the absence of formal diplomatic relations and the vitriolic anti-American rhetoric from Baghdad, American-Iraqi business is increasing dramatically. Recently, the State Department expanded the United States diplomatic "interest section" in Iraq to accommodate this growing trade. Washington has even authorized the sale of the civilian version of the Hercules transport aircraft to Iraq on a commercial basis. This followed a sale in 1975 of eight Boeing jet airliners valued at over \$170 million. In addition, American technicians have been brought into Iraq to operate some of its oil fields despite Iraq's nationalization of all its oil resources.



While all this was taking place, the International League for Human Rights, an independent, nongovernmental organization affiliated with the United Nations, charged Iraq on 14 January 1977 with violating the United Nations convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination by systematically attempting "to destroy the political, economic, cultural and linguistic identity of the Kurdish ethnic group."

In a statement sent to the 18 members of the United Nations committee established to monitor the convention, the league presented evidence that Kurdish homes have been confiscated without compensation; that Arab citizens have been settled in those lands; that 30,000 former members of the Kurdish fighting forces have been placed in concentration camps, where they have been beaten and tortured, in contravention of the Iraq amnesty law of 1975; that 227 Kurds have been executed for political reasons; that the Iraqi government has restricted Kurdish ownership of land in oil-rich areas and has authorized the payment of 500 dinars—\$1,500—to any Arab who takes a Kurdish spouse.

"The Iraqi government's prewar Arabization policy, that is, the Arabization of Kurdistan and the destruction of Kurdish culture, is still in force," the report said. It added that towns and villages, previously Kurdish, have been resettled with Arabs and renamed with Arab names. It is instructive to note the lack of American concern with these developments when compared to the recurring cries from Washington about Israeli settlement on vacant lands in the West Bank.

The tragic events of the past three years, with Soviet-armed Iraqi forces defeating an American-inspired insur-



gency, has yet to be fully related. What is now certain is that after encouraging the Kurds to rebel and offering a "guarantee" for continued Iranian support, America, along with Iran, precipitously withdrew its assistance in March 1975, thereby assuring an Iraqi victory. Whether Iran or the United States withdrew first is not the primary issue. The Kurds took to the offensive only because of the American commitment.

Even if it was not Washington that made the first move of betrayal, how does one explain the absence of American pressure on Iran that it not abandon a people who had placed their trust and destiny in an American commitment? Henry Kissinger's statement that "covert action should not be confused with missionary work" is, unwittingly, a lesson for all oppressed freedom-loving peoples not to confuse their aspirations for human rights with American so-called interests and "guarantees." The Kurds were done in not by their enemies but by their friends.<sup>6</sup>

It is little wonder that matters evolved as tragically as they did in the Kurdish affair given the predominance of defeatism in American foreign policy circles. American dishonor in this affair is one more example of the bitter fruits we continue to harvest from our politics of defeat. Most ironic of all, our ally Iran has also learned something about American weakness from the deferential way in which we, in the best of interpretations, allowed them to abandon the Kurds.

It can be little expected that Iran will continue to bear the burden and risks of defending pro-Western interests in the region when American policy in this regard is both fretful and indecisive. The Shah of Iran prides



**TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI**



himself on being a good judge of character, both national and personal. He worries about our reliability in the defense of Western security in the Middle East. He is not alone in this concern, for Turkey among other powers also has its doubts about America's inertia in the face of a growing Soviet challenge.

An illuminating sequel to the Iranian-Iraqi "settlement" of 1975 is Iraq's renewed demands for Warba and Bubiyan, two islands near the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab River, which are part of Kuwait. The Iraqis claim both and want to build a new deep water port on Bubiyan—to be open, of course, to Soviet warships. This issue first surfaced in March 1973, when Iraqi troops attacked two Kuwaiti border outposts and took up positions on Kuwaiti territory before subsequently withdrawing. Again in 1976, after an Iraqi force crossed the desert border and took up positions inside Kuwait, the latter openly demanded that Iraq withdraw its troops. Relations between these two Arab states remain strained and must be viewed in the context of Iraq's dormant claim to all of Kuwait. In 1961, it was Britain's military deployment that had deterred an Iraqi threat to invade and annex Kuwait. Today, it is Iran that expresses concern about preserving Kuwait's integrity against Iraqi claims. One would have thought that the American-Iranian offering up of their Kurdish prize would have moderated Iraqi actions. It hasn't, principally because of the abiding Soviet designs for the region.

The Soviets recognize the subregion for what it truly is: an area of inter-Arab and Arab-Iranian rivalries that can be fully exploited by Moscow at the opportune time in its global strategy. When the Kremlin is ready, it will pass the word to Iraq that her "manifest destiny" south-



ward into Arabia can finally be realized through Soviet neutralization of Iran and with the cooperation of a defeatist United States. To be sure, there will always be a few "realists" who will contend that an Iraqi takeover of Arabia might "stabilize" the area.

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TÜSTAV



army leadership, although the effects of the party action were the removal of four leading cabinet members from office.

This, more than anything else, prompted President Arif into action. On 18 November he took full emergency powers in the name of the NCRC, dissolved the National Guard, and appointed the chief of staff, General Tahir Yahya, as prime minister. The Air Force commander, Brigadier Takriti, became minister of defence. General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, the former premier and one of the five Iraqi members of the Ba'th National Command, became deputy premier. But the new regime, it soon became clear, was in no way Ba'thist in sympathy. Arif himself was a pan-Arab nationalist and a supporter of President Nasser.

With this, the Syrian bid to make Ba'thist doctrine an alternative focus for Arab nationalist aspirations virtually collapsed. Syria once again was isolated within the Arab world. Damascus and Baghdad were embroiled in a vicious propaganda battle. The Syrian extremists even turned in their folly on Hafiz and the military committee. With this, however, they went too far. The new Syrian regional congress meeting in February 1964 saw an alliance between the military committee and Aflaq's faction. A new Syrian regional command of seven military and eight civilians, dominated by General Hafiz, was elected. And the seventh National Congress meeting on 12 February 1964 was flooded with obedient delegates from some fictitious branches (there were even five delegates from Yugoslavia!). The ultra-leftists were expelled from the new National Command, and the Shufi faction, deprived of its leader, dismissed from the regional secretary-generalship, collapsed. The minority element was stronger than ever (the six Syrian members of the National Command in February 1964 were all from different minority groups; of the twelve members of the Regional Command, three were Alawis, two were Druses, two Ismailis); but the defeat of the extremists had already been demonstrated. The regime had to proceed shortly thereafter to the violent suppression of Sunni Moslem discontent in Banyas, Homs, and Hama. Bitar made a comeback as premier of a new Syrian cabinet in May 1964. But the course of Syrian politics thereafter was to reveal the continuing problem to which the lack of any recognized source of legitimacy gave rise.

(b) *Iraq and the Kurdish problem*

Nowhere was the question of legitimacy more of an embarrassment to the political regime than in Iraq. Reference has already been made to the fragmented state of Iraqi politics, the Arab population being divided so deeply between Sunni and Shi'ite. The position was, however, even more complicated by the existence in the northern third of Iraq of a race whose very existence made a nonsense of the idea of Iraq being part of the Arab nation. The Kurdish nationalist movement has been dealt with

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before in the pages of the *Survey of international affairs*.<sup>1</sup> In Iraq it comprised an uneasy alliance between the tribal adherents of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, a brilliant guerrilla leader, and the intellectuals of the Kurdish Democratic Party. Barzani had a long record as a leader of Kurdish nationalist uprisings. He had led the 1945 uprising in Iraq, served with the so-called Kurdish republic of Mahabad in Iran in 1946<sup>2</sup> and, on its suppression, had taken refuge in the Soviet Union, where the rank of general had been conferred upon him. It was with Soviet assistance that he had returned to Iraq in 1958 after the overthrow of the monarchy.

Despite this apparent record of pan-Kurdish revolutionary activity, Mulla Mustafa Barzani was essentially concerned with the Kurds of Iraq alone, among whom his tribe was the largest and wealthiest. He was, in fact, much more indispensable to the intellectuals of the KDP than they to him. His prestige, his powers of leadership among the tribes, his international connections were of immense advantage to them. The confinement of his ambitions to Iraq made him persona grata to the Turks and Iranians as well as to the Soviets, each of which, remembering their own Kurdish minorities, might have looked at him askance. His twelve years of exile in the Soviet Union had immunized him against any tendencies towards social change he might otherwise have been expected to entertain. He leaned, in fact, heavily towards the maintenance of the traditional organs of Kurdish society in which, by virtue of his blood, his birth, his ability, and experience, he was the recognized leader.

The KDP, by contrast, lacked any outstanding leader, preferring a collegiate direction, with a political bureau of six members and a central committee of twenty-one. Its aspirations, like its history, were pan-Kurdish, the KDP of Iraq being the surviving wing of an organization founded in Iran in 1945, itself the heir to a succession of organizations mainly clandestine, whose overt activities could only manifest themselves among Kurdish exiles in Cairo or Paris. Its members were urbanized, detribalized, professionally educated intellectuals and its organization correspondingly rigidly structured, with an agreed 'party line' and ideology. Essentially it was a nationalist quasi-conspiratorial political organization of the didactic, reformist left.

On his return to Iraq in 1958, Barzani had initially supported the regime of Qasim; his efforts were mainly devoted to securing the leadership within the tribes. Frequent inter-tribal clashes and the murder of a former Kurdish member of the Iraqi national assembly marked his path to success. As Qasim came for a time heavily under the influence of the

<sup>1</sup> *Survey of international affairs, 1939-1946, The Middle East in the war*, pp. 156, 466-7; *Survey, The Middle East, 1945-1950*, pp. 62, 72, 83, 147; *Survey, 1961*, pp. 518, 545; *Survey, 1962*, p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> On the Kurdish republic of Mahabad see William Eagleton, *The Kurdish republic of 1946* (London, 1963).



Iraqi Communist Party, so their efforts were concentrated against the urban Kurdish populations and the KDP. The Mosul massacres in 1961 were directed against KDP claims on the surrounding oilfields as Kurdish rather than Arab property. The Kurdish alarm and fury at the massacres led directly to the rising of the Kurdish tribes under Barzani's leadership in December 1961. A Kurdish 'government' was established for a time in the mountain town of Amadija. Iraqi reluctance to commit ground forces in the inhospitable mountain terrain led to an ill-judged attempt to control the rising by aerial bombardment of Kurdish townships and villages and the imposition of a blockade of the mountains. The effect of this was to drive the wobblers and neutrals into Barzani's camp. Armed groups came together into the *Lachkari Shawreshgari Kurd* (Kurdish Revolutionary Army) whose strength was speedily augmented by Kurdish deserters and prisoners of Kurdish origin from the Iraqi army. Offers of amnesties, as in March 1962 and January 1963, were met by counter-demands for genuine Kurdish autonomy within an Iraq governed by constitution not by military fiat.

The KDP took a little time to recover from the initial suppression of the rising of September 1961 and to define their attitude to Barzani's leadership. But the success of the LSK drove their more adventurous members into the hills to join its ranks. From volunteering to the sporadic proselytization of KDP doctrines, to the establishment of KDP political 'advisers' at the shoulder of the LSK unit commanders and the attempt to carry through agrarian reform in areas under Kurdish control were logical developments limited by the difficulty of imposing ideas of urban intellectual origin upon land-hungry devotees of the practice of peasant proprietorship. By January 1963 the Barzani forces had brought about the virtual collapse of Iraqi defences in Northern Iraq.

The military coup d'état by Ba'thist officers of 8 February 1963 followed the normal traditions of such coups in proffering the 'hand of friendship' to the Kurdish people. A Kurdish officer, Brigadier Fu'ad Arif, became minister of state, and Hasim Jawad, one of the leading members of the National Committee of the Revolutionary Council, was quoted on Baghdad radio as alleging that the Kurdish issue had been fabricated by the Qasim regime in order to undermine Iraqi unity.<sup>1</sup> Not to be outdone, the Barzanists in north Iraq were quoted as talking of the brotherhood of Kurds and Arabs; more seriously their message spoke of the 'realization of autonomy within true Iraqi unity', a theme echoed in a message from KDP members in Baghdad who spoke of 'just self-government within the beloved Iraqi people'. This last message bore Brigadier Fu'ad Arif's name.

The Ba'thist officers of the new regime began by recognizing the 'nationalist rights of the Kurdish people on the basis of decentralization'

<sup>1</sup> SWB, ME 1175/A/1, 15 Feb. 1963.



in an NCRC statement of 9 February 1963. 'Co-operation among Arabs, Kurds and other nationalities' the statement said, constituted the basis of Iraq's unity.<sup>1</sup> A law of amnesty was announced.<sup>2</sup> And a special committee was set up to draw up the broad lines of 'decentralization'. This, so Ali Salih al-Sa'di, the new deputy premier, said in an interview on Damascus radio, in no way implied Kurdish secession. The new local administration would not handle foreign policy; nor would they deal with economic or defence matters.<sup>3</sup> The blockade of the Kurdish-held areas was lifted on 18 March.

These new developments contained within themselves the seeds of future disagreement. In the first place, the NCRC's ideology with its heavy emphasis on the organic unity of the Arab people made it, in an Iraqi context, particularly hostile to 'divisionism' (*shu'ubiyya*), that is, the encouragement of non-Arab nationalism. It was, in their doctrine, an imperialist invention. The inclusion of various arabized Kurds such as Fu'ad Arif in the NCRC administration in comparatively subordinate positions was as far as they could be expected to go: and any sign of outside support for Kurdish aspirations was certain to awaken their suspicions.

In the second place, the NCRC found themselves faced with two Kurdish organizations, the KDP and the Barzanists. The principal Kurdish representative in the subsequent negotiations, Jalal al-Talabani, was of KDP origin though more than a little independently ambitious. Having decided to enlist the support of other Arab leaders, he visited Cairo and Algiers at the end of February 1963, action which gave him an international status he was quick to exploit and which the NCRC found impossible to reconcile ideologically with what to them were essentially discussions about local government reform. The temptation to play the KDP off against the Barzanists, and, after he had established residence abroad and began visiting Kurdish communities in Europe, denouncing al-Talabani for *shu'ubiyya*, was to prove too difficult to resist.

In the third place, the success of al-Talabani in Cairo and elsewhere in no way discouraged the Kurds, whether Barzanist or KDP, from interpreting decentralization as implying autonomy. In Algiers, Ben Bella publicly praised the Kurdish movements while in Cairo, according to Mohammed Haikal's later revelations in *al-Ahram*,<sup>4</sup> al-Talabani defined autonomy as 'involving an executive and a legislative council as in any state in India. We Kurds do not want or seek secession . . . all we are afraid of is that the fighting will begin again.' 'Autonomy' was the only basis on which any Kurd who hoped to retain any position of authority among his fellows would settle, whether within an independent Iraq, or an Iraq as a member

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ME/1197/A/1-2, 12 Mar. 1963; *Arab political documents, 1963*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *SWB*, ME/1198/i, 13 Mar. 1963.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., ME/1199/A/3-5, 14 Mar. 1963.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in *ibid.*, ME/1288/A 2-2, 1 July 1963.



of an Arab federation or a unified Arab state, depending on the development of Arab unity. The, at first sight, successful outcome of the talks in Cairo between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq only strengthened their determination on this point.

In the fourth place, the Communist reactions to the violent action taken by the NCRC against the Iraqi Communist Party switched at once from supporting action against the Kurds by Qasim to incitement of the Kurds not to accept the blandishments of the new regime. As early as 12 February an alleged statement by the Iraqi Communist leadership appealing to the Kurds not to support the regime was broadcast on East German radio.<sup>1</sup> After the arrest and execution of the secretary and the other members of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party by the NCRC, Radio Iran Courier, a Soviet-sponsored 'black radio' broadcasting (actually from Soviet Azerbaijan) in Persian, Arabic, and Kurdish, began a series of broadcasts designed to represent the Barzanists as hostile to the Ba'athist regime.<sup>2</sup> On 19 April,<sup>3</sup> for example, it alleged that the Iraqi government was discussing joint measures against the Kurds with the Turkish and Iranian governments. Similar warnings were issued on 13 May both by RIC, and the clandestine Turkish Communist radio,<sup>4</sup> while five days later the 'National Voice of Iran', another black radio less obviously identifiable with the Tudeh party, announced that Iraqi military operations against the Kurds had reopened<sup>5</sup> (a piece of clairvoyance to be confirmed by the events of 10 June).

The negotiations themselves are difficult to follow in detail. The critical period appears to have come during the Cairo unity talks. On 4 April al-Talabani was quoted by Reuters as saying that 'under special circumstances the Kurds were prepared to delegate questions of defence, foreign policy and financial affairs to the Iraqi Central Government'.<sup>6</sup> This corresponds very closely with the definition of decentralization by Ali Salih al-Sa'di quoted above. The Kurdish demands of 24 April<sup>7</sup> went, however, a long way further than this; while conceding citizenship of Iraq and no separatism they demanded a share of the revenues from the 'Kurdish' oilfields of Mosul and Kirkuk and that the 'Kurdish national armed forces' be stationed on Kurdish territory.

Under the circumstances, Hazim Jawad's remark, quoted by the Iraqi News Agency on 29 April, that having studied decentralization with a view to its implementation in practice, the national authorities of Iraq

<sup>1</sup> SWB, ME/1175/i, 15 Feb. 1963.

<sup>2</sup> SWB, ME/1215/A/6-7, 2 Apr. 1963; ME/1220/A/2, 8 Apr. 1963.

<sup>3</sup> SWB, ME/1230/D/1-2, 23 Apr. 1963.

<sup>4</sup> SWB, ME/1251/i, 17 May 1963.

<sup>5</sup> SWB, ME/1254/D/1-2, 21 May 1963.

<sup>6</sup> SWB, ME/1220/A/2, 8 Apr. 1963. See also the Memorandum of 8 April presented by the Kurdish members of the delegation in Cairo, *Arab political documents, 1963*, pp. 222-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Arab political documents, 1963*, pp. 248-51.



were not 'prepared to allow anything to happen which might shatter the united struggle of Arabs and Kurds', was understandable, if ominous.<sup>1</sup> Barzani, it emerged, was struck by the Iraqi failure to release Kurdish prisoners under the terms of the amnesty. Optimistic noises made by al-Talabani in mid-May did nothing to bridge the gap and on 10 June the NCRC issued a proclamation denouncing Barzani as a factionalist (*shu'ubiyuu*) and putting a price of 10,000 dinars on his head. Barzani, the proclamation alleged, wrongly claimed the right to represent all Kurds. He had supported the Qasim regime. His men had participated in the Mosul and Kirkuk massacres in 1959. He had showed 'friendliness to local Communists in their criminal and hostile policy towards the people'. He had a 'clear feudal identity'. He had a 'relationship with imperialism and Zionist antagonism and their committing of crimes towards other Kurdish citizens'. His followers continued to exercise authority, fired on Iraqi troops and police, arrested Iraqi officials, attacked arms stores and seized arms, and incited Kurdish members of the army and the police to desert. 'As from today', the proclamation continued, it had been decided to clear the 'remnants of the Barzanis and their followers from the northern regions of Iraq.' The rebels were given 24 hours to surrender. The north of Iraq was to be considered as a war zone.<sup>2</sup>

The Iraqis scored a certain success for the time being in parading various other Kurdish feudal leaders, rival agas, to denounce Barzani. In October they even induced his brother to declare for the government. But although individual KDP personalities at first acceded to NCRC's propaganda, it took the KDP only six weeks to see that negotiation with the Ba'thist officers was impossible. At the end of June al-Talabani was already addressing groups of Communist Kurdish *émigrés* in Berlin (and receiving publicity for this over Radio Iran Courier). On 4 August an official KDP statement was issued accusing the NCRC of having gone back on its agreement and proclamation of 9 March and saying of its proposals for decentralization that 'no sincere or honourable Kurd can accept this cheap price for his struggle and bloodshed'.<sup>3</sup>

The Iraqi assault was no more successful under President Arif than that under Qasim had been. The date for final surrender was regularly advanced, regular victories and lifting of the blockade on selected areas were announced, mopping-up operations were said to be all that were left; but all in vain. A novelty was the arrival of Syrian troops in October to take part in the action against the Kurds, in consequence of the Treaty of Military Union of 8 October. President Arif's overthrow of the Ba'thi officers in mid-November and the appointment of the partisans of Bakr

<sup>1</sup> SWB, ME/1237/A/3-4, 1 May 1963.

<sup>2</sup> SWB, ME/1771/A/5-8, 11 June 1963. See also *Arab political documents, 1963*, pp. 285-90.

<sup>3</sup> SWB, ME/1319/A/6-7, 7 Aug. 1963.



and Air Force commander Takriti was made the occasion for new offers of amnesty and clemency.<sup>1</sup> But the Barzanis were by now immune to such diplomacy. Iraq retained its divided state, and the Kurds remained in control of their mountain fastnesses.

(c) *The Jordan waters crisis*

The future of the hopes, if any, President Nasser had pinned on the strength of the popular support his name could arouse in Syria and Iraq and the defeat of Ba'th hopes of an Arab union under their revamped revolutionary ideology had profound effects for the future of the Middle East and for the relations of its states with the outside world. These events implied the destruction of any possibility that the very strong consciousness of identity within diversity throughout the Arabic-speaking world including North Africa would find any political expression other than in its reactions to the external world. The *dar al-Islam* of the twentieth century could be defined only in terms of its relations with the *dar al-Harb* and by nothing else. The events of 1947-9 had provided its members with a permanent embodiment of that hostile external world, the world of imperialism, in their midst, the state of Israel. By that and by that alone could Arab states and governments now appeal for recognition and legitimization.

The intrusion into the various internecine Arab conflicts at the end of 1963 of the issue of the Jordan waters, and the rapid if temporary suppression of those conflicts at the Arab summit of January 1964 provides a more remarkable illustration of this development in that so much of the conflict stemmed from exactly these issues of legitimization discussed in the preceding sections.

The river Jordan provides the main, almost the only, source of water for Israel, Jordan, and the southern sections of Syria and the Lebanon. Its tributaries, the Hisbani, the Banias, and the Dan, with sources inside the Lebanon, Syria, and Israel met, under the demarcation lines of 1956, inside Israeli territory to form the river Jordan. From their juncture the Jordan flowed through Israeli territory down the Hulah Valley into Lake Tiberias. Emerging again at the south end of Lake Tiberias, it flowed for five miles through Israeli territory or through the then demilitarized zones to the point where it joined the river Yarmuk, which formed the Syrian-Jordanian frontier. For the next twenty miles it divided Israeli-held territory from that held by Jordan and then flowed for forty miles through Jordanian-held territory until it emptied itself in the Dead Sea. Of its total flow of 1,800 million cubic metres, about 77 per cent originated in Arab-held territories, 23 per cent in land held by Israel.

The idea of using the common sharing of the Jordan waters as a link

<sup>1</sup> *Arab political documents, 1963*, p. 486.



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become'.<sup>1</sup> As events were to show the patience of the Arabs was not inexhaustible and their memories were short. Two days after the British had finally left the sheikhdom, on 12 October, the U.A.R. informed the Arab League that it had decided to remove its forces from Kuwait. Nasser told the Sheikh that he believed that 'attempts were to take place to make the U.A.R. force, or some of its members, appear to you as if they were interfering in the internal affairs of Kuwait. It would have appeared to you and the people of Kuwait as though a conspiracy was being hatched by us against you, while the real conspiracy was against us'.<sup>2</sup>

The Egyptian troops withdrew, but the other forces of the Arab League remained for another year, providing a moral if not militarily effective deterrent against a possible Iraqi attack. Since the Arab force was little more than an *ad hoc* solution to the immediate problem of securing the withdrawal of British troops, it is not surprising that it did not last for very long. All but the forces of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Sudan failed to materialize, and during 1962 Kuwait's relations with her protecting countries grew noticeably cool, chiefly with Saudi Arabia due to a dispute over the Neutral Zone where they shared the oil royalties. Kuwait's policy was to build up her own defences with a view to becoming more self-sufficient,<sup>3</sup> and in November 1962 it was made known that she was considering asking the Arab League forces to withdraw.<sup>4</sup> The Sudanese had decided to withdraw in any case by January 1963, and in that month it was announced that the Saudi Arabians and the Jordanians were to begin pulling out, despite a last-minute attempt by Mr. Hassouna to secure a token observer corps of 300.<sup>5</sup>

There were three further ways in which Kuwait's security could be assured: by obtaining her admission to the United Nations; by encouraging democratisation within Kuwait to avoid an internal coup; and by keeping British troops in constant readiness at Bahrein and Aden. At the end of 1961 all three methods were tried. On 30 November, Kuwait's application to the United Nations, sponsored by the U.A.R., was vetoed by the Soviet Union. Having removed his troops from Kuwait, and disquieted by the break-up of the U.A.R. and the possible *rapprochement* between Syria and Iraq, Nasser was bound to turn to the U.N. solution as being preferable to any other. Mr. Loutfi, the U.A.R. delegate at the U.N., went to inordinate lengths to indicate how 'highly gratified' his government was to sponsor Kuwait's application for membership. He praised Kuwait for its policy of investing a high percentage of its income in national welfare measures and education. But faced with the Soviet veto,

<sup>1</sup> *Guardian*, 20 September 1961.

<sup>2</sup> *Times*, 19 October 1961.

<sup>3</sup> In April 1962 Kuwait ordered the Vickers Vigilant anti-tank gun, suitable for use against Iraq's Russian tanks, *ibid.*, 16 April 1962.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Monde*, 27 November 1962.

<sup>5</sup> *Observer*, 20 January 1963.



such praises were ineffective. There was to be no salvation for Kuwait in that direction.

A decree of 27 August providing for general elections to a constituent assembly proved more successful. Twenty members were elected on 30 December, and it was agreed that they should draft a constitution for a form of government 'based on democratic principles inspired by the character and conditions of Kuwait'. That the change towards democracy was more apparent than real was indicated by the decree of 17 January 1962 establishing a new Council of 14 Ministers. Eleven of them were members of the ruling family.

Kassem could not be deflected from his claims, which he continued to issue on all occasions.<sup>1</sup> At the end of December 1961, Hashem Jawad gave a warning that Iraq would reconsider her relations with any states which established diplomatic relations with Kuwait. This development, coupled with rumours that Kassem was planning to take a leaf out of India's book and was going to invade Kuwait along the lines of the Goan operation,<sup>2</sup> brought a new period of tension to the Gulf. The year ended with warships at Mombasa under alert, and cancelled Christmas leave for British troops. Complaints to the United Nations from Iraq and Kuwait followed the same pattern as before, but the Sheikh of Kuwait made no appeal for British troops, and it proved unnecessary to land them.

The Kuwait 'Incident' had perhaps shown that Kassem's bark was worse than his bite. It had also revealed, despite the efforts of Mr. Hassouna, that Arab unity was as far off as ever. More encouraging was the indication that the cold war had not returned to the Middle East. Although Nasser and Kassem maintained their anti-imperialist and anti-western stance, there was no corresponding tilt towards the Soviet Union.<sup>3</sup> Britain's defence planners continued to spend considerable time planning against possible Soviet threats to her oil supplies from Kuwait, but, if the events of 1961 were any guide, it was clear that any Soviet action would have to be direct rather than by proxy. The only principle of action the Arab states shared in common was their determination to remain outside the conflicts of the cold war.

<sup>1</sup> *Times*, 16 and 25 November, 5 and 18 December.

<sup>2</sup> *Sunday Telegraph*, 24 December 1961. For the invasion of Goa, see Chapter IX above.

<sup>3</sup> Symptomatic of this was the ideological confusion occasioned by the Kurdish revolt. Throughout 1961 the Kurds had been in revolt in Northern Iraq, agitating for the establishment of an independent state of Kurdistan, comprising territory from Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Iran and the Soviet Union. The rebellion was virtually crushed in the autumn of 1961 with the aid of most of the techniques of modern warfare. Independent Kurdistan, as the Americans were aware (see Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Foreign Policy, *Compilation of Studies*, vol. 11, 1960, pp. 1325-7), appeared to be more in the interest of the Soviet Union than of the West, since it offered the prospect of disrupting the Middle East's 'northern tier'. The Iraqi press, however, believed that the establishment of a Kurdish state was the aim of the Anglo-American imperialists.



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paration and development of the supply route through Persia to Russia was at an end and beginning to show results, so that its capacity was three times what it had been at the beginning of the year, the share of the task which had been assumed by Britain had proved too much for her. This was partly because the limited quantity of man-power available and the material equipment provided were inadequate to overcome the physical obstacles, but also because it had been insufficiently appreciated that the operation would encounter formidable difficulties arising out of the economic, social, and political structure of the Persian Government and people. Accordingly, the United States had assumed a greater share of the burden: in the following year she was able, with a greater degree of success, to bring her much greater resources in men and material into play against the physical obstacles; but her experts were to need all the efficiency and patience they possessed in their hard and unrelenting struggle with the inordinate national vanity and the financial corruption that pervaded the entire tissue of Persian life.<sup>1</sup>

Diplomatic and political problems had, however, proved somewhat more tractable than those of economics and finance. At the beginning of 1942 there had been great tribal insecurity, resulting from the sudden removal of the iron hand of Rizā Shāh and aggravated by the sale or abandonment of large numbers of arms to the tribesmen by the demoralized Persian troops after the Allied intervention in August 1941. There was a serious Kurdish rising in north-west Persia; in the south-west also, such tribes as the Bakhtiyārī and the formidable Buir Ahmadi had reasserted their independence of governmental authority, and the great Qashqā'ī tribe was stirring.<sup>2</sup> The Kurdish disorders and his inability to deal with the economic problems had led to the resignation on 28 February 1942 of the Prime Minister, Muhammad 'Alī Furūqī, an elderly and ailing, though completely honest and cultivated, man. His successor 'Alī Suhaili had complied with Allied insistence on the internment of a number of Persians who had been harbouring German nationals or otherwise assisting the Axis. On 13 April the Government had broken off diplomatic relations with Japan and closed the Japanese Legation, which since the Allied intervention had been a headquarters of Axis espionage and conspiracy;<sup>3</sup> and on 22 April they announced that they would severely punish the spreading of anti-Allied or pro-Axis propaganda or the harbouring of Axis nationals, as activities directed against the interests of the state. Qavām us-Saltana's succession to the premiership in August had been followed by the arrest of a number of pro-Axis Persians; but there were many influential persons

<sup>1</sup> Millspaugh, op. cit. pp. 84-86 and *passim*; Hull: *Memoirs*, ii. 1503-8.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson: *Despatch* i, para. 11. On the Qashqā'ī rising against the British in the First World War see Sir P. Sykes: *History of Persia*, ii. 499-514.

<sup>3</sup> Because Japan was not at war with the U.S.S.R., diplomatic relations between Persia and Japan had been maintained after those with the other Axis Powers were severed.



who consistently hoped for a German victory, or at least thought it expedient to reinsure against a German invasion of Persia through the U.S.S.R. In January 1942 the German Secret Service agent Franz Mayr, who had been in hiding with an Armenian collaborator since the Allied intervention, made contact with these elements. They organized together a movement called *Milliyūn-i Irān* ('Nationalists of Persia'), which included a Cabinet Minister, three members of the *Majlis*, eleven generals, and other senior officers. Its object was to stir up revolts among the Kurds and other tribes in northern Persia, while in the south Major Berthold Schultze, who also had escaped arrest in September 1941, was to incite the *Qashqā'i*, keeping in touch with Mayr by special courier (the conspirators had also taken over five wireless transmitters from the Japanese Legation). During 1942 Mayr went to Isfahān, and made plans with the Persian General Zāhidī (who was to become Minister of the Interior in 1951) for the co-operation of the southern tribes and for revolt when German troops arrived on Persia's frontiers; final details were to be worked out after the fall of Stalingrad. Mayr also intended to organize a *putsch* to depose the young Shāh, and to carry out military operations behind the Allies' lines. However, when the German army failed before Stalingrad and at al-'Alamain, Mayr's Persian collaborators at Isfahān took fright; and though he himself slipped away to Tehrān, one of them in November led a British intelligence officer to Mayr's suitcase of files, which provided a useful 'Who's Who' of the Persian fifth column. General Zāhidī was arrested and deported for internment early in December, and the first phase of the German plan had failed.<sup>1</sup>

In 'Irāq the Government formed by Jamīl al-Midfā'i after the sup-

<sup>1</sup> See *Paiforce*, pp. 62, 121-2; Wilson: *Despatch i*, para. 12; Fitzroy Maclean: *Eastern Approaches* (London, Cape, 1949), pp. 265-74. The second phase began when on 30 March 1943 six German agents were dropped by parachute near the salt lake *Darya-yi Namak* south of Tehrān, and were conveyed to Tehrān with money and arms for their accomplices. On 17 June three more Germans and an 'Irāqī accomplice should have been dropped near the 'Irāqī-Persian frontier to raise the tribes of 'Irāqī Kurdistan, but owing to a mistake by the pilot landed north of Mosul—a most amateurish expedition'. On 16 July three more Germans and a Persian in their employ were landed near Shīrāz, joined Schultze, and established communication with Mayr in Tehrān. The German plan now was to bring about an armed rising against the Persian Government, and to carry out sabotage on the Trans-Iranian Railway in order to interfere with Aid to Russia and the precarious supply of consumer goods to Persia. The British security authorities, however, soon became aware of their activities. On 15 August they arrested Mayr in Tehrān and rounded up several of the other Germans. The internment of 170 Persian collaborators, many of them employed on the railway, considerably reduced the amount of railway sabotage. Finally in the spring of 1944 the *Qashqā'i* chiefs, who had been holding Schultze and the remaining Germans in conditions which were an ill-defined hybrid of sanctuary and confinement, were induced to hand them over for internment (Press release from British Embassy, Tehrān: *Birmingham Post*, 15 March, and *Tehran Daily News*, 16 March 1945; cf. *Paiforce*, p. 131, which, however, confused the dates of the first two parachute landings).



reorganization inaugurated by the Kemālist revolution, and not to see South-Eastern Europe dominated by either Germany or Russia. It can be argued cogently that this policy assisted the Allies, notably Britain, far more than the Axis Powers;<sup>1</sup> but it earned Turkey the bitter resentment of the Soviet Union, who had not only suffered grievously but whose ideology of group self-interest as the sole basis of conduct prevented her statesmen from having the smallest glimmering of sympathy with the motives and actions of any other 'class' or nation. Before many more weeks of 1945 had passed Turkey was to learn what price the Soviet Union thought she should pay for her neutrality.

### (ii) Persia

'We have not, and cannot have, such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories and the subjugation of foreign peoples—whether it be the peoples and territories of Europe or the peoples and territories of Asia, including Iran.'

(J. Stalin, speech of 6 November 1941)<sup>2</sup>

DESPITE this fair-sounding declaration, the policy of the Soviet Union, on placing the northern provinces of Persia under her military occupation in August 1941, was evidently to treat them as an autonomous area distinct from the rest of the country. Her representatives regulated their economic relations with the Persian Government like conquerors, with regard only to Russia's advantage; and while economic conditions in the Soviet-occupied zone, normally a food-exporting region, remained comparatively good, they were quite indifferent to the plight of the food-deficit areas occupied by their allies.<sup>3</sup> They excluded Persian troops from Āzarbāijān, not allowing them to return even to Tabrīz, the provincial capital, until 25 May 1942; in western Āzarbāijān they disarmed the Persian gendarmerie and police at the time of the occupation<sup>4</sup> and subsequently would not allow Persian troops north of the line Qazvīn-Tehrān-Mashhad. They filled Tabrīz with political officers, mainly from Soviet Āzarbāijān, who were believed to have as their object the fusion with that province of Persian Āzarbāijān, at first culturally and afterwards politically. They suppressed the Tabrīz newspaper which supported the Persian Government, and were believed early in 1942 to be encouraging newspapers in the local Turkish dialect (Āzarī) which favoured separation from Persia. They also gave some encouragement to the autonomous aspirations of the Kurdish chiefs west and south of Lake Rīzā'īya (formerly Urmiya), who had been ruthlessly repressed by Rīzā Shāh, and once took

<sup>1</sup> See Hugh Seton-Watson: *The East European Revolution* (London, Methuen, 1950), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> J. Stalin: *War Speeches . . . July 3rd, 1941–June 22nd, 1945* (London, Hutchinson, n.d.), p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lenczowski: *Russia and the West in Iran*, pp. 195–6; Millspaugh: *Americans in Persia*, pp. 174–9; Groseclose: *Introduction to Iran*, pp. 185–6; A. K. S. Lambton: 'Some of the Problems Facing Persia', *International Affairs*, April 1946, xxii. 258.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 261; but cf. next note.



a number of them on a 'cultural' visit to Baku.<sup>1</sup> Before the signing of the Anglo-Soviet-Persian Treaty of 29 January 1942, the United States Government, advised by their Legation in Tehrān, had taken up strongly with the Soviet Government the allegations of their support of separatism in northern Persia; but the Deputy Foreign Commissar, Vyshinsky, had denied that his Government had any knowledge of such activities.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of Persia in 1942 as a transit route for the supply of military aid deterred Russia, in fact, from pressing forward with the encouragement of separatism at that stage; but, though her officers and officials had free access to the British-occupied zone in southern Persia, they showed themselves very unwilling to allow British officers to enter their northern zone, even for the purpose of preparing its defence in the event of a German break-through;<sup>3</sup> and when in 1943 the (American) Millspaugh financial mission, as officials of the Persian Government, sought to extend their economic controls to the northern provinces, they met with total opposition from the Russians.<sup>4</sup> In the day-to-day dealings of the latter with their allies the rigidity of their organization, leaving little initiative or power of decision to the man on the spot and compelling him to seek higher authority for matters of mere routine, multiplied delays and made it very difficult for local inter-Allied problems to be settled by local consultation.<sup>5</sup> Even while they were receiving indispensable aid from the United States and Britain, they sought opportunities to pose, without cost to themselves, as more generous than their allies to the Persian Government and people. When in September 1942, for example, the British and

<sup>1</sup> Kurdish raiding west of Lake Riza'ya in the spring of 1942 caused the Russians to bring back the Persian army and gendarmerie into the district, 'though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference' (Archie Roosevelt, jr.: 'The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad', *Middle East Journal*, July 1947, i. 250-1; Lenczowski, op. cit. p. 249).

<sup>2</sup> Hull: *Memoirs*, ii. 1502.

<sup>3</sup> Auchinleck: *Despatch* ii, p. 324. Churchill (iii. 430; U.S. edition, iii. 483-4) had instructed Wavell on 1 September 1941 to ensure 'that Russian influence is kept within reasonable bounds'. In response to an appeal from Stalin that Britain should send twenty-five or thirty divisions across Persia to the southern Russian front (which Churchill described as a 'physical absurdity') he had telegraphed to Stalin on 12 October: 'If you wish to withdraw the five or six Russian divisions [from Persia] for use on the battle-front we will take over the whole responsibility of keeping order and maintaining and improving the supply route. I pledge the faith of Britain that we will not seek any advantage for ourselves at the expense of any rightful Russian interest during the war or at the end' (ibid. pp. 431 and 485 respectively). This assurance did not allay Soviet suspicions. On 20 October Churchill remarked to Roosevelt: 'The Russians much disturb Persia by their presence, their theories, and their behaviour' (ibid. pp. 484 and 546 respectively).

For differences arising out of the programme of Anglo-American military supplies to the U.S.S.R. (Aid to Russia), see *Paiforce*, pp. 96-97; and on Russian conduct in Persia generally, Sydney Morrell: *Spheres of Influence* (New York, Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1946), pp. 51-54.

<sup>4</sup> Millspaugh, op. cit. pp. 183-6; cf. the pro-Soviet Michael Brooks: *Oil and Foreign Policy* (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1949), pp. 48-49: 'Millspaugh and his group . . . have a knack of always turning up when U.S. Oil Companies attempt to gain ground in Persia. Between 1922 and 1927 he had managed Persia's finances and many other things. In the United States he had once been the petroleum expert to the Secretary of State, and his contact with the American oil industry was of the closest.'

<sup>5</sup> Morrell, op. cit. p. 71.



Government of Persian Azarbaijan', led by Ja'far Pīshavārī. Its first proclamation declared private property to be inviolable; but, 'in order to eliminate the ever-increasing unemployment in towns and villages, the "Government" will divide among the peasants the State lands and the lands of reactionaries who have fled from Azarbaijan and are instigating propaganda against the autonomy of Azarbaijan'. The proclamation also threatened with punishment as 'enemies of the people' 'all those who threaten order and security by sabotage and harmful actions'; the National Government recognized the Persian Central Government, and would execute its orders in so far as they were not 'contradictory to the autonomy of Persian Azarbaijan, the rights of the people, and the decisions of the national *majlis* (Parliament) of Persian Azarbaijan'.<sup>1</sup>

→ In their promotion of autonomous movements against the central Government the Russians had meanwhile turned also to the Kurdish inhabitants of the mountain region south-west of Āzarbāijān towards the 'Irāqī frontier, with whom they had already had a temporary liaison in 1942.'<sup>2</sup> In 1944 the Soviet Consulate at Rīzā'īya had resumed contacts with the Kurdish nationalists there, and a Kurdistan-Soviet Society for Cultural Relations was founded at Mahābād. To lead the Kurdish nationalist movement the Russians had after some difficulty chosen Qādī<sup>3</sup> Muhammad, hereditary judge and religious leader of Mahābād, a man of 'strong and authoritarian character' who, after being 'hustled' off with other notables to Baku for Soviet indoctrination in September 1945, announced the formation of a Kurdish 'Democratic' Party and issued a manifesto with aims resembling those of the Āzarbāijānī 'Democrats'. The movement was opportunely reinforced in October by a band of 'Irāqī Kurds of the Barzānī tribe under their leader, Mullā Mustafā. After a protracted rebellion against the 'Irāqī Government, they had at length been dislodged from their mountain stronghold and, having crossed the frontier into Persia, were placed by Soviet officers under the orders of Qādī Muhammad and there attracted other Kurdish refugees and adventurers from 'Irāq to a total of nearly 3,000 men, well equipped with British arms which they had captured from the 'Irāqī army. The fall of Tabrīz to the Āzarbāijānī 'Democrats' was the cue for Qādī Muhammad to proclaim on 15 December a 'Kurdish People's Government', which controlled the

showed those overwhelming majorities . . . which are the hallmark of the supervised "free" election' (*The Times*, 26 January 1946).

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 17 December 1945.

<sup>2</sup> See *Survey* for 1939-46: *The Middle East in the War*, pp. 156, 466-7; and, on Kurdish nationalism generally, W. G. Elphinston: 'The Kurdish Question', *International Affairs*, January 1946, xxii. 91-103; Centre d'Études Kurdes: *Memorandum sur la situation des Kurdes et leurs revendications* (Paris, 1948).

<sup>3</sup> The Persian pronunciation of this Arabic word (= judge) is almost identical with that of the Arabic *ghāzī* (victorious), and contemporary press reports often styled Qādī Muhammad 'ghazi' or 'qazi'.



area within a radius of about fifty miles of Mahābād. A 'national parliament' of thirteen members was formed, and on 22 January 1946 Qādi Muhammad was elected President. A number of men from the middle or upper classes were appointed 'cabinet ministers', and five tribal leaders received the rank of 'marshal' and were provided with Soviet senior officers' uniforms.<sup>1</sup>

At the opening of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers on 19 December 1945, Stalin, at his first meeting with the United States Secretary of State, James Byrnes, emphasized the danger to the Baku oilfields of sabotage<sup>2</sup> directed from Persia, in whose Government, he said, no confidence could be placed. The withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Persia on the stipulated date in March would depend on the conduct of the Persian Government; and he reminded Byrnes that the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921 authorized the Soviet Government to send troops into Persia if there were a threat to Soviet security from a third party making use of Persia.<sup>3</sup> Stalin was non-committal to Byrnes, at their second meeting, on a proposal made by Bevin that the Big Three should send a joint commission to Persia to investigate the various aspects of the problem; but on the afternoon of Christmas Day Molotov privately told Byrnes that he thought Bevin's proposal was generally acceptable, to which Byrnes replied that he was 'particularly anxious' that the Persian question should not be raised at the impending first meeting of the United Nations. On that same evening Bevin accepted all of several amendments to his proposal put forward by Molotov, except one that left in doubt the stipulated date for the withdrawal of troops from Persia (Bevin's contention was that this date had been established by the Anglo-Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1942 and should not be changed).<sup>4</sup> When the three Foreign Ministers met again on the following afternoon it was evident that the Soviet attitude had hardened, for Molotov now said that the Persian question was not properly on their agenda and could not be considered.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archie Roosevelt, Jr., 'The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad', *Middle East Journal*, July 1947, i. 247-57.

<sup>2</sup> For Stalin's repetition of this argument to the newly arrived United States Ambassador to Moscow on 4 April 1946 see Walter Bedell Smith: *Moscow Mission, 1946-1949* (London, Heinemann, 1950), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> For the Soviet invocation of this Treaty to justify the intervention in Persia in August 1941 see *Survey for 1939-46: The Middle East in the War*, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Byrnes: *Speaking Frankly*, pp. 118-21; Bevin, in the House of Commons, 21 February 1946 (H.C. Deb. 5th ser., vol. 419, coll. 1357-8). On 24 April 1952, by way of clarifying a Presidential statement concerning United States policy over Persia in 1945-6, Byrnes said that on 19 December 1945 he had delivered a message to Stalin advising him 'that if the Soviet Union did not withdraw its troops from Persia, in accordance with its solemn promise made at Teheran in 1942 and if the Persian Government filed a protest in the United Nations, then the United States Government would support Persia in the United Nations' (*The Times*, 26 April 1952). The evidence previously published did not suggest that the United States Government had taken so firm a stand before March 1946; see below, pp. 66-67.



Defeated on this procedural point after a lengthy discussion, he then asked again for postponement until 10 April, asserting that an understanding between the Soviet and Persian Governments had already been reached, and warned the delegates that his Government were not prepared to take part in discussing the question at the Council before that date. Defeated again on this point, on which only the Polish delegate supported him, he angrily left the Council chamber on 28 March, leaving the Persian representative to state that, while he was aware of the reports that the Soviet withdrawal had begun, he knew of 'no agreement or understanding, secret or otherwise', between the two Governments concerning any of the matters in dispute. On the 29th, in the continued absence of the Soviet delegation, it was unanimously agreed that the two Governments should be asked to report by 3 April on the progress of their negotiations, and particularly whether or not the reported withdrawal of troops was being made conditional on their reaching an agreement.

The Soviet Embassy in Tehrān now appears to have endeavoured to secure Husain 'Alā's replacement as Persia's delegate at the Security Council,<sup>1</sup> but on 1 April the Council's president received a communication from Qavām confirming 'Alā's accreditation. On the 3rd 'Alā told the Council, in reply to a message from Gromyko reiterating that an agreement had been reached between the two Governments on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, that his latest information from his Government, dated 1 April, did not confirm this: Qavām had commented on the Soviet proposals of 24 March that he could not accept the imposing of any conditions for the complete withdrawal of the Soviet forces from the whole of Persia; that the status of Āzarbāijān was an internal matter with which his Government would deal; and that the proposal for a joint Soviet-Persian oil company was a matter for submission to the next Parliament, after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops should have made it possible to hold lawful elections. Husain 'Alā went on to say (doubtless on instructions from Tehrān) that if the Soviet delegate would withdraw the condition about 'unforeseen circumstances' attached to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and would assure the Council that their unconditional withdrawal would be completed by 6 May, he would not ask the Council to consider the matter further at present, provided that it remained on the agenda. The Council accordingly agreed to defer further proceedings until 6 May,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> This is an inference from a statement made on 31 March by the Persian Director of Propaganda, Prince Muzaffar Firūz. His father—Prince Firūz, Nusrat ud-Dawla—was a scion of the former Qājar dynasty who had actively opposed British policy in Persia immediately after the First World War and had subsequently died in prison under Rizā Shāh (see the Hon. J. M. Balfour: *Recent Happenings in Persia* (Edinburgh and London, Blackwood, 1922), pp. 123-4, 156, 218, 227, 254-5, 276, 280; Lenczowski: *Russia and the West in Iran*, p. 231).

<sup>2</sup> The *London Daily Worker* commented (5 April 1946): 'The adventure of the anti-Soviet cohorts at U.N.O. has for the time being petered out. . . . The United Nations Organization . . . can flourish only on the basis of equal rights and equal respect for the rights of every nation.'



in the early morning of 5 April the Persian Cabinet formally approved an agreement with the Soviet Government on the following bases:

1. Persian territory was to be evacuated completely within six weeks of 24 March.
2. A project for a joint oil company with a duration of fifty years, for the first half of which Russia would hold fifty-one, and Persia forty-nine per cent. of the shares,<sup>1</sup> was to be submitted to the Persian Parliament within seven months of 24 March.
3. Āzarbāijān was to be recognized as being an internal problem, with which the Persian Government would deal benevolently and with consideration for the need for reforms under the existing laws.

On 22 April Tehrān Radio broadcast the central Government's proposals for Āzarbāijān:

It stated that the heads of departments . . . would be selected by the provincial council and confirmed by the central Government. A Governor-General would be appointed by the central Government in agreement with the provincial council. The commandant of the gendarmerie would be appointed by the central Government. The official language would be Persian. . . . The activities of democratic political organizations and workers' unions in Azerbaijan would be free. . . . No action would be taken against the people or workers of Azerbaijan in respect of any part taken by them in the 'democratic' movement. A Bill would be submitted to the next *Majlis* to increase the number of deputies from Azerbaijan to correspond with the real population of that province.<sup>2</sup>

An Āzarbāijānī mission, wearing the uniforms of their 'National Army', arrived in Tehrān on the 28th. They were led by Ja'far Pishavāri, and included Sādiq Pādīgān, the Russian-born chairman of the central committee of the 'Democratic' party; the governor of the Khamsa province (south-east of Āzarbāijān; capital, Zinjān), which the 'Democrats' with Red Army connivance had overrun during the winter; and a representa-

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the draft oil agreement see *Soviet News*, 13 September 1947. On paper it seemed considerably more favourable to Persia than the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession (as *Pravda* asserted on 24 August 1947), but the Persians' experience of the Soviet-Persian Caspian Fisheries Company, set up by an agreement of 1 October 1927 for twenty-five years, and nominally giving the Persian Government a half-share of the capital and half the seats on the board of directors, had not been encouraging. 'The convention sets up no authority to cast the deciding vote when the board is evenly divided; but in practice the Soviets insist that the three Persian members shall be "friendly". Persians and Russians are supposed to alternate in the position of manager; but in 1941, when the Persian turn came, the Russians refused to permit Persian direction of the company. When on rare occasions the directors get into a deadlock the Russian manager proceeds to follow the views of the Russian members of the board and refers objections to the Soviet Embassy at Teheran' (Arthur C. Millspaugh: *Americans in Persia* (Washington, Brookings Institution, 1946), p. 175; cf. E. P. Harries: *World Federation of Trades Unions Delegation to Iran: [Minority] Report*, 1947, Appendix, p. 2; Édouard Sablier in *Monde*, 12 August, M. Philips Price, M.P., in *Manchester Guardian*, 25 October, Elizabeth Monroe in *Observer*, 2 November 1947).

<sup>2</sup> *The Times*, 23 April 1946.



tive of the 'Kurdish Republic'. The negotiations were protracted and on 3 May Tabriz Radio, which had all along been displaying a defiant attitude towards Tehrān, announced that a twenty-years' treaty between the 'National Governments' of Āzarbāijān and Kurdistān had been signed on 23 April.<sup>1</sup>

On 6 May Husain 'Alā informed the Security Council that official investigations by his Government had shown that the evacuation of the north-eastern and Caspian provinces by Soviet troops was complete.<sup>2</sup> His Government had been informed 'through other sources' that the evacuation of Āzarbāijān would be completed before 7 May; but, because of the interferences previously complained of, Persian Government officials had exercised no effective authority in the province since 7 November 1945 and had therefore been unable to verify these reports by direct observation; they would report to the Council as soon as they were able to ascertain the true state of affairs. They were accordingly asked (the Soviet delegation again resentfully absenting itself<sup>3</sup>) to make a further report by 20 May. On the 11th Tabriz Radio announced that the negotiations with the central Government had broken down; 'The Āzarbāijān nation will not submit to the tyranny of the central Government. . . . The Āzarbāijān national army is now ready to fight against the enemies of freedom.' According to the Persian Premier, the deadlock had arisen over the demand of the 'Democrats' that they, and not the central Government, should appoint the provincial governor and the commanders of the army and the gendarmerie (with the approval of Tehrān), and that they should be free to distribute state land among the peasants. The delegates had returned to Tabriz for further instructions and the talks would be continued later. On the evening of the 19th, however, Tabriz Radio announced in several languages: 'Bloodshed has started. At 5 p.m. the news was received that Government armies had taken up the offensive. A state of war has been proclaimed. Be ready to fight. Stand firm. Defend your freedom. Fight without ceasing to the last drop of blood.' It stated further that all large towns had been placed under martial law, and that military governors

<sup>1</sup> Text in Archie Roosevelt, Jr.: 'The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad', *Middle East Journal*, July 1947, i. 258-9.

<sup>2</sup> The Soviet forces were reported to have 'not only lived on the country but stripped it of real property ranging from its forests to the very doors and windows of its barracks' (A special correspondent, *The Economist*, 29 March 1947, p. 460).

<sup>3</sup> A majority on the Security Council, led by the United States and Britain, had on 15 and 23 April ruled that the Persian case should remain on the agenda until 6 May, despite the Persian Government's withdrawal of their complaint on 15 April in 'complete confidence in the word and pledge of the U.S.S.R. Government'. This had led Gromyko to protest with injured innocence 'that certain States consider Iran as a sort of pawn, which may be moved in any direction, depending upon circumstances and upon the political game which is being played at the moment. . . . Efforts to use Iran as small change in the bargaining game of international politics can serve no good purpose' (U.N., Security Council: *Official Records*, 1st year, 1st series, no. 2, pp. 140, 203).



had been appointed for the province and the chief towns.<sup>1</sup> On the following day the Persian delegate to the Security Council made the report for which he had been asked a fortnight earlier: his Government were still being prevented from exercising effective authority in Āzarbāijān and particularly from investigating reports that Soviet troops in civilian clothes had been left there and Soviet military equipment placed at the disposal of the autonomists. He added, however, that a commission of investigation had been appointed and was now stated to be in Tabriz; and on the following day he reported information from his Government that the commission, after a week's careful investigation of Tabriz and seven other towns, had found 'no trace whatever of USSR troops, equipment or means of transport. . . . According to trustworthy local people, who were questioned in all these places, USSR troops evacuated Azarbaijan on 6 May. (Signed) Ghavam es-Sultaneh.'<sup>2</sup>

Shortly before this the Tabriz 'Government' had withdrawn its proclamation of martial law, with the announcement that 'peaceful methods prevail'. In Tehrān the Minister for War informed the Cabinet that it was believed that a local commander had been bribed to begin the attack that had alarmed the Tabriz 'Government',<sup>3</sup> and on the following day Tabriz Radio announced that the area of the recent fighting would be inspected by two missions, from Tabriz and Tehrān respectively. The Persian Embassy in Washington stated on 29 May that their Government had instructed Husain 'Alā not to make any further statements to the Security Council about the Soviet-Persian dispute.<sup>4</sup> The tone of Tabriz Radio now became conciliatory, and on 11 June Muzaffar Firūz led a central Government mission to Tabriz to 'work out full details for accepting the province back into the Government'. Received by a guard of honour and led through cheering crowds to the autonomous Government's headquarters, he needed only two days to reach agreement on a programme not very different from that proposed by Qavām us-Saltana on 22 April. The Āzarbāijān 'parliament' would become a provincial council with the right to retain three-quarters of the provincial revenues; the central Government would appoint a Governor-General chosen from a panel of nominees of the provincial council;<sup>5</sup> a joint commission would determine the future of the 'national army'; Āzarī (the Turkish of Āzarbāijān) or, where appropriate, Kurdish would be taught in the primary schools alongside Persian.<sup>6</sup> The explana-

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, 20 May 1946.

<sup>2</sup> U.N., Security Council: *Official Records*, 1st year, 1st series, supplement no. 2, pp. 52-54. Simultaneously Muzaffar Firūz stated in Tehrān that Husain 'Alā's first report had been 'his own personal views, not the view of the Persian Government'.

<sup>3</sup> *New York Times*, 22 May 1946.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 30 May 1946.

<sup>5</sup> Lenczowski: *Russia and the West in Iran*, p. 290. Its choice fell on the Minister of the Interior of the Tabriz Government, Dr. Salāmullāh Jāvid, a Communist of long standing and Russian education who had been recently engaged in building up the secret police.

<sup>6</sup> *New York Times*, 15 June 1946.



security'. He admitted, however, that the withdrawal of the 'popular' forces immediately became a 'disorganized rout'.<sup>1</sup> While Pishavārī and other 'Democrat' leaders made good their escape to the Soviet Union,<sup>2</sup> some hundreds of their luckless followers were hunted down and slaughtered in the days that elapsed between the capitulation and the 'restoration of order' by the government forces.

Three United States and British press correspondents who had already arrived in Tabriz on 12 December reported that the government forces were received with enthusiasm.<sup>3</sup> A year later, a 'progressive' foreign observer reported that the 'Democrat' régime had initiated more reforms in one year than Tabriz had ever known—founding a maternity hospital, a university, and a radio station, diminishing crime and molestation by efficient policing, enforcing the labour law, fighting the opium traffic, starting (though not carrying very far) a land reform, and dismissing redundant civil servants. Nevertheless, he heard 'harsh words, even from its friends, of the abuses of its power and of the terror it had fostered. It had frightened merchants away from the city, and business had slumped heavily.' Moreover, the 'Democrats' had 'utterly failed' to win support for separatism among the mass of the population, or to awaken the 'decisive or enthusiastic support' of the peasantry.

By collecting the landlord's share of the crop, they kept alive the suspicion that landlordism had not vanished. The Azerbaijani peasants drew no distinction between the landlord's agent and the representative of the Tabriz Government. While they were promised land, and in some parts of the province had actually received grants, they were still under obligation to pay tribute to outsiders. . . . Pledges of ultimate complete land reforms and of the importation of machinery and livestock . . . had fallen on ears that were becoming increasingly deaf to eloquent rhetoric.<sup>4</sup>

△ The Persian central authorities now set themselves to eradicate all traces of the autonomist régimes in Āzarbāijān and Kurdistān. In the former province the students were reported to have 'spontaneously' destroyed the textbooks in the local Turkish dialect with which the 'Democrat' régime had provided them, and Persian became once again the language of Tabriz Radio and the local press. The central government troops, on arriving at Mahābād, had arrested most of the leaders of the

<sup>1</sup> Iskandari (*Moyen-Orient*, October–November 1950, pp. 13–14, and January 1951, pp. 12–13).

<sup>2</sup> It was afterwards reported in Tehrān that, after a Persian Government request for Pishavārī's extradition, news was received from Soviet sources that he had been killed in a car accident at Baku (*New York Times*, 20 September 1947).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 14 December 1946.

<sup>4</sup> Maurice Hindus: *In Search of a Future* (London, Gollancz, 1949), pp. 92–94: the writer had visited Persia, including Āzarbāijān, in the summer of 1947. See also the report by Joseph and Stewart Alsop in *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 December 1946.



autonomist Kurdish Republic, and a number of them, including Qādī Muhammad himself and two of his kinsmen, were later tried by military court and publicly hanged, while Mullā Mustafā and about a thousand of his Barzānī followers succeeded in crossing the frontier into Soviet Āzarbāijān. The Persian authorities prohibited teaching in the Kurdish language, closed the Kurdish printing-press, and publicly burnt all the Kurdish books they could find.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, in Tehrān the witch-hunt against the Tūda party was in full hue and cry. On 13 December a mob of Āzarbāijānī expatriates, exultant at the capitulation of the 'Democrats' in that province and unhindered by the Tehrān police, destroyed the party headquarters; their newspapers *Rahbar* and *Zafar* had been suppressed, and their clubs attacked and closed, allegedly by a uniformed force called the 'Liberation Guard'; and it was said that workers in government factories were threatened with dismissal unless they tore up their Tūda union cards and joined the new union sponsored by Qavām's party.<sup>2</sup> Within the Tūda itself, the Central Committee delegated its powers to a provisional executive committee which on 5 January 1947 issued a manifesto denouncing 'past errors', condemning the Āzarbāijānī movement, appointing a committee to purge the party of undesirables, and declaring that its political attitude was intended to 'conform with the democratic principles applied in Great Britain, the United States, and Sweden'.<sup>3</sup> This seems to have been purely an expedient, however, for six months later a French journalist reported that, while he found the leaders of the new executive committee 'decent, intelligent, and in more than one respect likeable personalities' with a better reputation for financial honesty than those in power in Persia,

like the European models that they diligently imitate, they have an unfortunate tendency to distort every truth which would not harmonize with their views. They watch the course of events in the light of a dogmatism that perverts its meaning for them, and makes them the tools—more or less consciously—of the masters whom they claim as their inspiration. In Persian eyes they are deliberately playing Russia's game, most commonly to the detriment of national interests.<sup>4</sup>

In a country so vast, thinly populated, and ill-administered as Persia

<sup>1</sup> Archie Roosevelt, Jr.: 'The Kurdish republic of Mahabad', *Middle East Journal*, July 1947, i. 266-8; James de Coquet in *Figaro*, 30-31 March, Édouard Sablier in *Monde*, 14 August, *The Times*, 24 October 1947.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Times*, 14, 17, and 21 December 1946; Andrew Roth: 'Backstage in the Persian Theater', *Nation*, 3 May 1947, p. 516.

<sup>3</sup> See *Bourse Égyptienne*, 6 January, *The Times*, 10 January 1947; Iskandarī (*Moyen-Orient*, January 1951, pp. 12-13).

<sup>4</sup> Édouard Sablier in *Monde*, 15-16 August 1947. The Tūda Party newspaper *Mardum* ('the people') which was now their principal organ (*Rahbar* having been discontinued as hopelessly compromised) was described as 'merely a pallid edition of *Pravda*' (*The Times* Tehrān correspondent, 24 October 1947).



Egyptian company law of July 1947 required companies established in Egypt, and the branches or agencies in Egypt of companies established abroad, to allot within three years 40 per cent. of their directorships to Egyptians, and to employ Egyptians to the proportion of 70 per cent. among their clerical and technical employees and of 90 per cent. among their labourers. The Canal Company argued that, because of their international responsibilities, this company law ought not to be applied to them; but the Egyptian Government insisted on their point, and the Company had to take into account that in twenty years, namely in 1968, their concession was due to revert to Egypt. It was accordingly agreed that two existing French vacancies on the board of directors should be transferred to Egypt, who would also receive the next British vacancy, and two further vacancies within the next fifteen years, a total of seven seats in all; her annual royalty would be converted into a 7 per cent. share of the gross profits, with an annual minimum of £E 350,000; the increase in the proportion of Egyptians employed by the Company would be applied more gradually, so as not to impair the efficient working of the Canal; 95 per cent. of the labour to be employed on a new by-pass in the Canal was to be Egyptian; and Egypt would benefit from the concession of transit *gratis* to vessels of under 300 tons. The bill ratifying this agreement was attacked in the Senate by the Wafdist Opposition, but it was carried by sixty-one votes against forty.<sup>1</sup>

The fundamental Anglo-Egyptian question of the defence of Egypt was not so readily to be resolved, however. The lesson which the Egyptian Government drew from the defeat of their armed forces by Israel was that expenditure on them should be greatly increased, to a figure of £52 million in a total budget of £193 million for the following year; and the president of the Chamber (a prominent member of the Sa'dist Party, and therefore presumably representing Government views) declared that the Egyptian forces had shown that they were able to fill any vacuum left by the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The Chief of the Imperial General Staff (Field-Marshal Sir William Slim), who visited Egypt in March 1949 'as the result of an Egyptian approach', and Sir William Strang (Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs), who followed him, repeated the British arguments for a joint defence pact. Technical discussions in the summer and autumn of 1949 worked out an air defence scheme for Egypt, providing for a force of twenty squadrons at the outbreak of war and for appropriate airfields and communications, radar, an observer

<sup>1</sup> See el-Hefnaoui, *op. cit.* pp. 257-77; and for the text of the agreement *ibid.* pp. 364-86.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-'Assās*, quoted by *Egyptian Gazette*, 30 May 1949. This was in answer to a statement by the veteran Ismā'il Sidqī pointing out that Egypt was technically outclassed by Israel, and that Egypt should associate herself with the Atlantic Pact, 'the Powers whose interests coincide with ours, and who can help us in the realization of our aspirations' (letter to *al-Ahrām*, quoted by *Bourse Égyptienne*, 28 May 1949).



corps, anti-aircraft, and civil air defence; but, while the British envisaged this scheme on a joint Anglo-Egyptian basis, the Egyptian Government 'lacked sufficient support to commit themselves', and their spokesmen in the technical discussions maintained the Egyptian thesis that the existing British fighter strength of five squadrons should be withdrawn in peacetime from Egypt to the British bases in Cyprus, Malta, Cyrenaica, Jordan, and 'Irāq, and that the Egyptian air force should be equipped by Britain to take their place.<sup>1</sup> A general election in Egypt was constitutionally necessary in or before January 1950; and it was probably hoped on the British side that this would produce (to quote Bevin's words in 1947)<sup>2</sup> 'a more fully representative Egyptian Government' with which negotiations might 'avoid being the subject of Egyptian party politics', as they always were when the Wafd Party was in opposition. The return of the Wafd to power as a result of this general election opened a new phase of Anglo-Egyptian relations, whose unpropitious course is treated in the *Survey of International Affairs* for 1951.

### (iii) Anglo-'Irāqī Relations

In October 1941, four months after the collapse of the short-lived anti-British *putsch* in 'Irāq,<sup>3</sup> Nūrī as-Sa'id, who among that country's politicians was the warmest supporter of the alliance with Britain, had taken over the premiership and had retained it without a break (though with a number of Cabinet re-shuffles) until the beginning of June 1944, when he had resigned, ostensibly for reasons of health.<sup>4</sup> During this tenure of office, exceptionally long for 'Irāq (whose political life, especially since 1933, had been volatile),<sup>5</sup> he had worked in close collaboration with the British Ambassador, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, who had had a long experience as a British adviser in 'Irāq. The chief problems had been the maintaining of essential supplies and the attempt to keep inflation within reasonable limits amid the war-time difficulties,<sup>6</sup> and tribal revolt among the Kurds of northern 'Irāq. Meanwhile political effervescence in the towns had been kept within prudent bounds by the collaboration of the 'Irāqī and British security authorities, a vigilant press censorship, and the presence of British ground forces since May 1941.

<sup>1</sup> See Great Britain, Foreign Office: *Anglo-Egyptian Conversations on the Defence of the Suez Canal and on the Sudan, December 1950–November 1951*, Cmd. 8419, p. 3; Egypt, Ministry of Foreign Affairs: *Records of Conversations, Notes and Papers exchanged between the Royal Egyptian Government and the United Kingdom Government (March 1950–November 1951)*, pp. 44–47, 54–55.

<sup>2</sup> 27 January 1947, H.C. Deb. 5th ser., vol. 432, col. 620; see above, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Survey* for 1939–46: *The Middle East in the War*, pp. 56–78.

<sup>4</sup> *The Times*, 5 June 1944.

<sup>5</sup> Khadduri: *Independent Iraq*, chapters iii–ix.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. R. Prest: *War Economics of Primary Producing Countries* (Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. 199–200.



# Phonetik

Das kurdische Alphabet mit lateinischen Buchstaben ist ein phonetisches Alphabet. Es besteht aus 31 bzw. 33 Buchstaben, wenn man die beiden zusätzlichen Buchstaben 'ñ' und 'x', die in einigen Mundarten des Nordkurmandji alternativ benutzt werden, berücksichtigt. Jeder der Buchstaben, die mit kleinen Abweichungen gesprochen werden, wie man sie schreibt, hat einen ausgeprägten eigenen Klang, jedoch ist die Aussprache der kurdischen Wörter für einen Deutschen ohne große Schwierigkeiten möglich.

Die Buchstaben des kurdischen Alphabets, einschließlich der beiden fakultativ benutzten, lauten:

a b c ç d e ê f g h ñ i î j k l m n o p q r s s̄ t u û v  
w x x̄ y z

Tabellarische Übersicht über die Lautung des kurdischen Alphabets, dargestellt durch Phonetikschrift nach IPA und orientalische Transkription sowie Wortbeispielen

IPA	ori.Trans.	Schriftz.	Wortbeispiele
/a:/	ā	a	av(āv) 'Wasser' bav(bāv) 'Vater' ba(bā) 'Wind' <i>Ringar</i>
/b/	b	b	bira(bīrā) 'Bruder' dehbe(dahba) 'Tier' kitēb(kītēb) 'Buch'
/ɕ/	ğ	c	cil(ğıl) 'Bekleidung' dicle(dığla) 'Tigris' pênc(pēng) 'fünf'
/ɟ/	ç	ç	çem(çam) 'Fluß' kûçik(kūçık) 'Hund' keç(kaç) 'Mädchen'
/d/	d	d	deng(dang) 'Stimme' dendik(dandık) 'Kern' <i>çikodek</i> gund(günd) 'Dorf'



IPA	ori.Trans.	Schriftz.	Wortbeispiele
/ə/	a	e	em(am) 'Wir' beq(baq) 'Frosch' <i>Kurbaja</i> mase(māsa) 'Tisch'
/e:/	ē	ê	êl(ēl) 'Sippe' zêr(zēr) 'Gold' rê(rē) 'Weg'
/f/	f	f	firok(fīrök) 'Flugzeug' refik(rafīk) 'Vogelbauer' kef(kaf) 'Schaum' <i>Köpük</i>
/g/	g	g	germ(garm) 'warm' hingiv(hīngiv) 'Honig' <i>Bal</i> mêrg(mērg) 'Aue'
/h/	h	h	havîn(hāvîn) 'Sommer' behîv(bahîv) 'Mandel' <i>Bademcik</i> guh(guh) 'Ohr' <i>Kulak</i>
/ħ/	ḥ	ḥ	ḥeq(ḥaq) 'Recht' qeḥwe(qaḥwa) 'Kaffee' riḥ(rīḥ) '(Lebens-)Geist'
/i:/	ī	i	insan(īnsān) 'Mensch' mişk(mīšk) 'Maus' <i>Fare</i> li(lī) 'in'
/i:/	ī	î	în(īn) 'Freitag' jîn(žīn) 'Leben' azadî(āzādī) 'Freiheit'
/ɜ/	ž	j	jîr(žîr) 'klug' bajar(bāžār) 'Stadt' tayîj(tāyīž) 'Teppich'



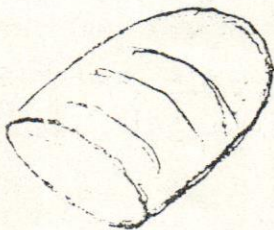
IPA	ori.Trans.	Schriftz.	Wortbeispiele
/k/	k	k	<u>kar</u> (kār) 'Arbeit' <i>duşukmak</i> <u>sekinin</u> (sakinin) 'anhalten' <u>bük</u> (bük) 'Braut' <i>Gelin</i>
/l/	l	l	<u>ling</u> (līng) 'Fuß' <u>pale</u> (pāla) 'Tagelöhner' <i>işçi</i> <u>dil</u> (dīl) 'Herz'
/m/	m	m	<u>masi</u> (māsī) 'Fisch' <u>çima</u> (çīmā) 'warum' <u>çerm</u> (çarm) 'Leder'
/n/	n	n	<u>nan</u> (nān) 'Brot' <u>rengin</u> (rangin) 'bunt' <i>renge renk</i> <u>hin</u> (hīn) 'einige'
/o:/	ō	o	<u>ol</u> (ōl) 'Religion' <i>din</i> <u>mirov</u> (mīrōv) 'Mensch' <u>co</u> (çō) 'Kanal'
/p/	p	p	<u>pirs</u> (pīrs) 'Frage' <u>koṣal</u> (kōpāl) 'Stock' <u>lep</u> (lap) 'Pfote'
/q/	q	q	<u>qenc</u> (qanğ) 'gut' <u>paqij</u> (pāqiz) 'sauber' <i>kaplumbağa</i> <u>req</u> (raq) 'Schildkröte'
/r/	r	r	<u>reng</u> (rang) 'Farbe' <u>mirin</u> (mīrīn) 'sterben' <u>kêr</u> (kēr) 'Messer'
/s/	s	s	<u>sar</u> (sār) 'kalt' <u>masi</u> (māsī) 'Fisch' <u>kes</u> (kas) 'jemand'



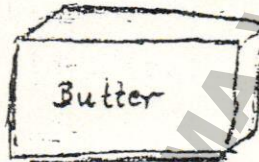
IPA	ori. Trans.	Schriftz.	Wortbeispiele
/ʃ/	š	š	<u>š</u> īr(šīr) 'Milch' <u>š</u> īstīn(šīštīn) 'waschen' <u>reš</u> (raš) 'schwarz'
/t/	t	t	<u>t</u> eng(tang) 'eng' <i>sık</i> <u>ke</u> tīn(katīn) 'fallen' <u>š</u> ēst(šēst) 'sechzig'
/ʊ/	u	u	<u>U</u> rmiya(Urmīyā) 'Urmia' <u>ku</u> r(kur) 'Junge' <u>du</u> (du) 'zwei'
/u:/	ū	û	<u>û</u> r(ūr) 'Bauch' <i>karn</i> <u>kû</u> r(kūr) 'tief' <u>dû</u> (dū) 'Rauch' <i>duman</i>
/v/	v	v	<u>va</u> la(vālā) 'leer' <u>ti</u> ving(tīvīng) 'Gewehr' <i>Tüfenk</i> <u>ba</u> v(bāv) 'Vater'
/w/	w	w	<u>w</u> elat(walāt) 'Vaterland' <u>dî</u> war(dīwār) 'Wand' <u>de</u> w(daw) 'Buttermilch'
/x/	x	x	<u>x</u> anî(xānī) 'Haus' <u>a</u> xur(āxur) 'Stall' <i>Ahur</i> <u>ber</u> x(barx) 'Lamm' <i>kuru</i>
/ɣ/	ḡ	ḡ	<u>ḡ</u> erîb(ḡarîb) 'Fremder' <u>aḡ</u> a(āḡā) 'Stammesober- haupt' <i>aga</i> <u>daḡ</u> (dāḡ) 'Brandmal'
/j/	y	y	<u>y</u> ek(yak) 'eins' <u>š</u> iya(čīyā) 'Berg' <u>li</u> pey(līpay) 'hinterher'
/z/	z	z	<u>z</u> îv(sîv) 'Silber' <u>der</u> zî(darzî) 'Nadel' <i>igne</i> <u>diz</u> (diz) 'Dieb' <i>Hrsiz</i>



Ev şî ye ?



Ev nan e.



Ev nîvişk e.



Ev şa û şekir e.



Ev goşt e.



Ev masî û penîr e.



Ev şîr û hêk e.

Im Kurdischen ist das Substantiv in sich bestimmt, d.h. es gibt keine bestimmten Artikel.

z.B.

penîr = der Käse  
şîr = die Milch  
goşt = das Fleisch

EV - ist ein Demonstrativpronomen und bedeutet :  
'dieser, diese, dieses oder das'

Das 'e', z.B. bei 'nîvişk e' ist die konjugierte Form des Verbes 'bûn' 'sein', in der 3. Person Singular.





Ev xilam in.



Ev pîrek in.



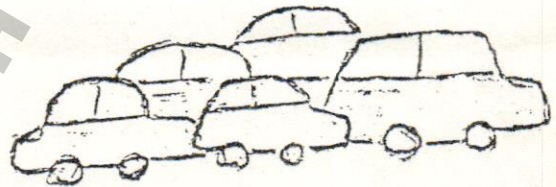
Ev karker in.



Ev cotkar in.



Ev kitêb in.



Ev otombîl in.

Das 'in' z.B. bei 'karker in' ist die konjugierte Form des Verbes 'bûn' 'sein', in der 3. Person Plural.

Die kurdische Sprache besitzt zwei Genera :

Maskulin und Feminin

Die Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Genus ist im Nominativ nicht gekennzeichnet, erst in der Deklination wird definiert.

Beachten Sie !

Das Genus kurdischer Substantive stimmt mit dem Genus des entsprechenden deutschen Substantivs häufig nicht überein !



Prägen Sie sich folgende Wörter ein !

û	und	ve
ev	dieser, diese, dieses, das	bu
nan, n.	das Brot	ekmek
nîvişk, m.	die Butter	tereyağı
masî, m.	der Fisch	balık
penîr, m.	der Käse	
<u>şîr, m.</u>	die Milch	süt
<u>mast, m.</u>	die Dickmilch	[kesik süt] yağurt
goşt, m.	das Fleisch	et
ça, f.	der Tee	çay
şeker, m.	der Zucker	şeker
hâk, f.	das Ei	yumurta
pîrek, f.	die Frau, die Ehefrau	kadın
zîlam, m.	der Mann, der Ehemann	kızi, erkek kis!
karker, m./f.	der Arbeiter, die Arbeiterin	işçi
oatkar, m.	der Bauer	çiftçi
kitêb, f.	das Buch	
otombîl, f.	das Auto	

### 1. Übung

a. Bestimmen Sie das Genus folgender Substantive !

Nan, masî, ça, goşt, şîr, penîr, mast, şeker, nîvişk.

b. Bilden Sie Wortverbindungen, indem Sie zwei Substantive durch 'û' verbinden ! (Verwenden Sie alle bisher bekannten Substantive)

Beispiel :

nan û goşt 'Brot und Fleisch'

c. Bilden Sie einfache Sätze unter Verwendung aller bisher bekannten Substantive !

Beispiel :

1. Ev şeker e.
2. Ev ça û penîr e.
3. Ev zîlam in.



xort, m.	der junge Mann
xwundegeh, f.	die Schule
mamoste, m.	der Lehrer
keç, f.	das Mädchen, die Tochter
qelem, f.	der Bleistift, der Kugelschreiber
jin, f.	die Frau

#### 4. Übung

Versuchen Sie mithilfe der oben angegebenen Nomen die Bedeutung folgender Sätze zu erfassen :

1. Ev kurek e. 2. Ev kitêbek e. 3. Ev qelemek e. 4. Ev karkerek e. 5. Ev pêşmergeyek e. 6. Ev çî ye ? 7. Ev otombîlek e. 8. Ev mamosteyek e.

Im Kurdischen existiert jedoch ein unbestimmter Artikel. Dieser unbestimmte Artikel ist nichts anderes als das Zahlwort 'yek' 'eins', das als Suffix dem Nomen hinzugefügt wird. Es bedeutet gleichzeitig die Bezeichnung der Einheit 'eins'. z.B.

Mamoste	'der Lehrer'
mamosteyek	'ein Lehrer'

Endet das Nomen auf einen Konsonanten, so entfällt das 'y' des unbestimmten Artikels 'yek'.

z.B.

nan	'das Brot'
nanek	'ein Brot'

Bei Substantiven, die auf einen Vokal auslauten, wird häufig die verkürzte Form des unbestimmten Artikels 'k' suffigiert.

z.B.

mamosteyek	oder	mamostek	'ein Lehrer'
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Beachten Sie !

Wird einem auf 'î' auslautenden Teminus ein 'y' hinzugefügt, so verändert sich 'î' zu 'i'.



'A' oder 'erê' heißt 'ja' und 'na' heißt 'nein'.

## 2. Übung

Übersetzen Sie !

1. Ev nan e, ? 2. Erê, ev nan e. 3. Ev şîr e ? 4. Erê, ev şîr e.  
 5. Ev masî û penîr e ? 6. Erê, ev masî û penîr e. 7. Ev nan e ?  
 8. Na, ev goşt e. 9. Ev şekir û şîr e ? 10. Na, ev mast û nî-  
 vişk e. yoğurt

Prägen Sie sich folgende Wörter ein !

mase, f.	der Tisch
a, erê	ja <i>evet</i>
na	nein <i>hayır</i>
kakawa, f.	der Kakao
çi	was <i>ne</i>
fêkî, m.	das Obst, die Früchte <i>meyve</i>
kursî, m.	der Stuhl <i>iskençe</i>
lê	aber <i>sakat</i>
jî	auch <i>da</i>
liser	auf, über <i>üskünde</i>

## 3. Übung

Übersetzen Sie !

1. Ev nîvişk û nan e. 2. Ê ev penîr e ? 3. Erê, ev penîr, nî-  
 vişk û nan e. 4. Lê ev ça û şekir e. 5. Ev şîr e ? 6. Na, ev  
 penîr e. 7. Ev kakawa û penîr e. 8. Ev fêkî û mast e. 9. Ev çi  
 ye ? 10. Ev kursî ye. 11. Nan liser kursî ye ? 12. Na, nan li-  
 ser masê ye.

Lernen Sie die Bedeutung folgender Nomen mit dem jeweiligen Genus !

kur, m.	der Junge, der Sohn
pêşmerge, m./f.	der Partisan, die Partisanin
dikan, f.	das Geschäft, der Laden



z.B.

masi	'der Fisch'
masiyek	'ein Fisch'

### 5. Übung

Fügen Sie die richtige Form hinzu !

yek bzw. k oder ek ?

1. Kur...., 2. dikanek, 3. xortek, 4. mamosteyek, 5. otom-  
bilek, 6. masiyek, 7. xwendekar ek, 8. pêşmergeyek, 9. cot-  
kar ek, 10. maseyek, 11. xwendeghe ek, 12. keş ek, 13. kar-  
ker ek, 14. kursiyek, 15. kitêb ek, 16. qelem ek, 17. jinek ..

### 6. Übung

Übersetzen Sie ins Kurdische !

1. Das ist ein Junge. 2. Was ist das ? 3. Das ist ein Stuhl.  
4. Das ist der Käse und die Butter. 5. Das ist der Lehrer. 6.  
Das ist ein Arbeiter. 7. Das ist der Partisan. 8. Das ist ein  
Buch und ein Bleistift. 9. Das Buch ist auf dem Stuhl.  
*kitêb li ser kursî ye.*

Der Plural des unbestimmten Artikels ist nichts anderes, als  
das Wort 'hin' 'einige', das als Suffix dem Nomen hinzuge-  
fügt wird. Bei der Suffigierung entfällt das 'h' und wird bei  
Substantiva, die auf einen Vokal enden durch 'y' ersetzt.  
Analog zum Singular des unbestimmten Artikels existiert auch  
hier eine verkürzte Form, die Substantiven mit vokalischem  
Auslaut alternativ suffigiert werden kann. Diese verkürzte Form  
lautet 'n'

z.B.

hêk	'das Ei'	
hêkin	'(einige) Eier'	
mamoste	'der Lehrer'	
mamosteyin	'(einige) Lehrer'	<u>verkürzt</u> mamosten



✓ 7. Übung

*eflenek  
dolchurak* Fügen Sie die richtige Form des unbestimmten Artikels Plural hinzu !

yin bzw. n oder in ?

1. Zilam *yîn* , 2. pîrek *în* , 3. mamostey *yîn* , 4. masî *yîn* , 5. di-  
kang *yîn* , 6. mase *yîn* , 7. keç *în* , 8. kursî *yîn* , 9. otombîl *în* ,  
10. pêşmerge *yîn* , 11. xwendegêh *în* , 12. cotkar *în* , 13. nan *în* ,  
14. xwendekar *în* , 15. xort *în* , 16. hêk *în* , 17. qelem *în* .

8. Übung

Übersetzen Sie ins Kurdische !

1. Das sind Männer. 2. Das sind Frauen. 3. Das sind Tische und  
Stühle. 4. Das sind Lehrer. 5. Das sind Arbeiter. 6. Das sind  
Fische. 7. Das sind Eier. 8. Das sind Mädchen. 9. Das sind Par-  
tisanen. 10. Das sind Bauern.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH  
TÜSTAN ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ



Prägen Sie sich folgende Vokabeln ein !

kirîn, f.

îro

şûn

niha

xwestin

firoşkar, m./f.

arg, m.

birinc, m.

birinc, f.

nîv

litir, f.

evna

tişte

tişteki dî

hemû

tevde

kirin

roj, f.

man

bimêne !

Roja te bimêne xweş

xweş

hê

Ev dîkin çiqas ?

çiqas

das Einkaufen

heute

gehen

jetzt

wollen, möchten

Verkäufer(in)

Mehl

ungekochter Reis

gekochter Reis

halb

Liter

das, dieser, diese, dieses

etwas

noch etwas, wörtl. etwas anderes

alles

zusammen

machen

Tag, Sonne

bleiben

bleibe ! (Imp. von 'man')

Dein Tag bleibe schön

'Ich wünsche dir weiterhin  
einen schönen Tag'

schön

noch

Was macht das ? wörtl. wieviel...

wieviel



Das Verb

Der Infinitiv der kurdischen Verben besteht aus einem Stamm und einer Endung.

Die Endung ist 'n', wenn der Verbalstamm auf einen Vokal auslautet.

z.B.

der Infinitiv des Verbes 'gehen' ist çûn  
 der Stamm des Verbes 'çûn' ist çû  
 die Endung ist --n

Die Endung ist 'in', wenn der Stamm des Verbes auf einen Konsonanten auslautet.

z.B.

der Infinitiv des Verbes 'machen' ist kirin  
 der Stamm des Verbes 'kirin' ist kir  
 die Endung ist ---in

1. Übung

Bilden Sie aus den folgenden Verbalstämmen den Infinitiv der jeweiligen Verben !

1. Kirî<sup>n</sup>.. , 2. xwestî<sup>n</sup>.. , 3. dîtî<sup>n</sup>.. , 4. kirî<sup>n</sup>.. , 5. birî<sup>n</sup>.. ,  
 6. xwendî<sup>n</sup> , 7. çûn.. , 8. kenî<sup>n</sup>.. , 9. birî<sup>n</sup>.. , 10. mirî<sup>n</sup>.. ,  
 11. şîstî<sup>n</sup>.. , 12. dan.. , 13. leyistî<sup>n</sup>.. , 14. firî<sup>n</sup>...

Ez çûn  
 Lişîmî  
 waschen

lachen

schneiden

geben

spielen

fliegen

sterben

Es ist eine Eigentümlichkeit der kurdischen Sprache, daß man die Tempora Präsens und Futur I nicht aus dem Stamm des Infinitivs bildet. Der Stamm des Infinitivs stellt im Kurdischen nur den Vergangenheitsstamm dar. Den sogenannten Präsensstamm kann man mithilfe des Imperativs bilden. Man muß sich also bei jedem Verb Infinitiv und Imperativ einprägen, um alle Tempora bilden zu können.

Der Imperativ

Der Imperativ der meisten einfachen Verben besteht aus der



Vorsilbe 'bi' und der Endung 'e' für Singular, bzw. 'in' für Plural.

z.B.

xwendin 'lesen'

ditin 'sehen'

Imperativ Singular

Imperativ Plural

bixwêne ! 'lies !'

bixwênin ! 'lest !'

bibîne ! 'sieh !'

bibînin ! 'seht !'

Bei Verben, die mit einem Vokal anlauten ist die Vorsilbe des Imperativs 'b' .

z.B.

axiftin 'sprechen'

Imperativ Singular

Imperativ Plural

baxive ! 'sprich !'

baxivin ! 'sprecht !'

Bei einigen Verben lautet der Imperativ Singular auf die langen Vokale 'î', 'û' oder 'o' aus, die Endung des Imperativ Plural lautet in diesen Fällen '-n' .

z.B.

jîn 'leben'

sûtin 'schleifen'

sîstin 'waschen'

Imperativ Singular

Imperativ Plural

bijî ! 'lebe !'

bijîn ! 'lebt !'

bisû ! 'schleife !'

bisûn ! 'schleift !'

biso ! 'wasche !'

bison ! 'wascht !'

Prägen Sie sich den Imperativ und die Bedeutung folgender Verben ein !

kirîn, bikire !

kaufen, einkaufen



kirin, bike !	machen, tun
birin, bibe !	(mit)nehmen
girîn, bigrî !	weinen
xwendin, bixwêne !	studieren, lesen
çûn, biçe !	gehen
kenîn, bikene !	lachen
mirin, bimre !	sterben
şîştin, bişo !	waschen
dan, bide !	geben
leyistin, bileyize !	spielen
firîn, bifire !	fliegen
kuştin, bikuje !	töten
hiştin, bihêle !	lassen
xwarin, bixwe !	essen
jîn, bijî !	leben
sûtin, bisû	schleifen
şkestin, bişke !	zerbrechen
exiftin, bexive !	sprechen
ajotin, bajo !	fahren
xwestin, bixwaze !	wollen, möchten
dîtin, bibîne !	sehen, treffen

## 2. Übung

Nennen Sie den Imperativ Singular und Plural folgender Verben !

çûn, xwerin, kirin, birin, dîtin, kuştin, hiştin, xwestin, şîştin, mirin, kirîn, birîn, jîn, sûtin, şkestin, kenîn.

## Der Präsensstamm

Löst man das Imperativpräfix 'bi' und die Endung 'e' so erhält man aus dem Imperativ Singular den Präsensstamm.

z.B.

dîtin 'lesen' *sehen*

Imperativ Sing. : bibîne !

Präsensstamm : bîn



Analog dazu erhält man den Präsensstamm der Verben die mit einem langen Vokal anlauten durch ablösen der Imperativindexe 'b' und 'e'.

z.B.

axiftin 'sprechen'

Imperativ Sing. : baxive !

Präsensstamm : axiv

Bei Verben, deren Imperativ Singular auf einen langen Vokal auslautet, erhält man den Präsensstamm durch ablösen des Imperativpräfixes 'bi'.

z.B.

sistin 'waschen'

Imperativ Sing. : bişo !

Präsensstamm : so

Einige Verben bilden den Imperativ ohne Präfix 'bi', jedoch mit den jeweiligen Endungen für Singular bzw. Plural. Der Präsensstamm dieser Verben wird dann durch Abfall der Imperativendung gebildet.

z.B.

rûniştin 'sich setzen'

Imperativ Sing. : rûne !

Präsensstamm : rûn

### 3. Übung

in Übung 2

Bilden Sie aus dem Imperativ der angegebenen Verben den Präsensstamm !

### 4. Übung

Versuchen Sie die Bedeutung folgender Sätze zu erfassen !

1. Azad dixwe. 2. Hûn dişin. 3. Em dixwênin. 4. Ez dibînim.
5. Eu dikujin. 6. Klaus û Azad dikirin. 7. Tu dibî . 8. Rêgîna û Remo dikenin.



### Das Präsens

Mit dem Präsens wird im Kurdischen eine Handlung oder ein Geschehen bezeichnet, das gerade jetzt, sich ständig wiederholend oder allgemeingültig verläuft.

### Die Bildung

Das Präsens bildet man mithilfe des Präsensstammes, des Präfixes 'di' und der Personalendungen. Als Personalendungen fungiert die 1. Form der Konjugation des Verbes 'bûn':

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1. Pers.	-im	-in
2. Pers.	-î	-in
3. Pers.	-e	-in

### Beispiel:

Konjugation Präsens Indikativ des Verbes 'dîtin'

<u>Infinitiv</u>	:	<u>dîtin</u>	'sehen'
<u>Imperativ Sing</u>	:	<u>bîbine</u> !	
<u>Präsensstamm</u>	:	<u>bîn</u>	

	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
1. Pers.	ez dibînim	'ich sehe'	em dibînin 'wir sehen'
2. Pers.	tu dibînî	'du siehst'	hûn dibînin 'ihr seht'
3. Pers.	ew dibîne	'er sieht'	ew dibînin 'sie sehen'

### 5. Übung

Bestimmen Sie aus dem Imperativ folgender Verben den Präsensstamm !

Bibe !, bixwîne !, bibire !, bikire !, bihêle !, bibîne ! .



## 6. Übung

Konjugieren Sie die folgenden Verben im Präsens Indikativ !

1. çûn, 2. xwarin, 3. kenîn, 4. kirin, 5. hiştin, 6. firîn, 7. leyistin.

Beachten Sie !

Verben, bei denen der Präsensstamm mit einem langen Vokal anlautet, haben eine leicht veränderte Form der Konjugation des Präsens Indikativ. Die Präsensvorsilbe lautet statt 'di' nur 'd' .

z.B.

axiftin 'sprechen'

Präsensstamm : axiv

ez	<u>daxivim</u>	'ich spreche'
tu	<u>daxivî</u>	'du sprichst'
ew	<u>daxive</u>	'er spricht'
em	<u>daxivin</u>	'wir sprechen'
	usw.	

Bei Verben, deren Präsensstamm mit einem langen Vokal anlautet, werden folgende Personalendungen für die Konjugation benutzt.

Auslaut : û, o : -m, -yî, --, -n, -n, -n

Auslaut : ê, î : -m, --, --, -n, -n, -n

z.B.

şîştin 'waschen'

Präs.st. : şo

ez	dişom	'ich wasche'
tu	dişoyî	'du wäschst'
ew	dişo	'er wäscht'
em	dişon	'wir waschen'

usw.

jîn 'leben'

Präs.st. : jî

ez	dijîm	'ich lebe'
tu	dijî	'du lebst'
ew	dijî	'er lebt'
em	dijîn	'wir leben'

usw.



7. Übung

Konjugieren Sie folgende Verben !

1. sûtin, 2. ajotin, 3. axiftin, 4. şkestin.

8. Übung

Übersetzen Sie ins Kurdische !

1. Klaus und Azad lesen und wir kaufen ein. 2. Nimm, lies- und lache ! 3. Wer spricht ? 4. Was willst du ? 5. Dein Tag bleibe schön. 6. Ferîdon kauft ein. 7. Remo ist der Verkäufer.

Die Zahlen

Die Kardinalzahlen des Kurdischen lauten :

1 yek	11 yazdeh	21 bîstûyek	10 deh
2 du	12 diwazdeh	22 bîstûdu	20 bîst
3 sê	13 sêzdeh	23 bîstûsê	30 seh
4 çar	14 çardeh	24 bîstûçar	40 çil
5 pênc	15 pazdeh	25 bîstûpênc	50 pênceh
6 şeş	16 şezdeh	26 bîstûşeş	60 şêst
7 heft	17 hevdeh	27 bîstûheft	70 heftê
8 heşt	18 hejdeh	28 bîstûheşt	80 heştê
9 neh	19 nozdeh	29 bîstûneh	90 not
10 deh	20 bîst	30 seh	100 sed
100 sed	200 dused	500 pênsed	
101 sedûyek	300 sêsed	1000 hezar	
110 sedûdeh	400 çarsed	10000 dehezar	

Beachten Sie !

Bei zusammengesetzten Zahlen von 20 aufwärts wird stets die größere Zahl zuerst genannt (Zehner, Hunderter, Tausender), die anderen Zahlen werden mit 'û' 'und' angefügt.  
z.B.

Pêncehûpênc 'fünfundfünfzig' wörtl. 50 und 5

hezarûdused 'eintausendzweihundert' wörtl. 1000 und 20



### Der Nominativ (Casus rectus)

Im Nominativ ist das Substantiv unveränderlich hinsichtlich von Numerus und Genus, der Numerus ist nur aus der Form des Verbes zu erkennen. Das Substantiv kann jedoch von dem unbestimmten Artikel bzw. den Genuspartikeln suffigiert sein. z.B.

#### 1. Singular (bestimmt) maskulin und feminin

Keç dikire.	'Das Mädchen kauft ein.'
Kur dikire.	'Der Junge kauft ein.'

#### 2. Plural (bestimmt) maskulin und feminin

Keç dikirin.	'Die Mädchen kaufen ein.'
Kur dikirin.	'Die Jungen kaufen ein.'

#### 1. Singular (unbestimmt) maskulin und feminin

Keçek dikire.	'Ein Mädchen kauft ein.'
Kurek dikire.	'Ein Junge kauft ein.'

#### 2. Plural (unbestimmt) maskulin und feminin

Keçin dikirin.	'Mädchen kaufen ein.'
Kurin dikirin.	'Jungen kaufen ein.'

### 1. Übung

Bestimmen Sie die Substantive folgender Sätze !

Muster:      Xwendekar dixwêne. 'Der Student liest.'

Xwendekar: Nominativ, maskulin, Singular, bestimmt.

1. Karkerek diçe. 2. Kur dibîne. 3. Jinek dikire. 4. Pêşmerge mîr (tapfer) in. 5. Keçin dişon. 6. Mamostoyek dikene. 7. Xwendekar dixwênin. 8. Jinin dikirin. 9. Firoşkar difroşe (verkauft). 10. Keç dileyizin. 11. Kurin daxivin.



2. Übung

Übersetzen Sie die vorstehenden Sätze !

3. Übung

Bilden Sie aus jedem, der in Übung 1. angegebenen Sätze alle im Nominativ möglichen Formen !

Muster:

Xwendekar dixwêne.

Xwendekarek dixwêne.

Xwendekar dixwênin.

Xwendekarin dixwênin.

Prägen Sie sich folgende Vokabeln ein !

mêr

tapfer

erd, f.

Erdboden, Fußboden

erd, m.

Land (Grund und Boden)

cotkirin, cotbike !

pflügen

av, f.

Wasser

vexwarin, vexwe !

trinken

sêv, f.

Apfel

gund, m.

Dorf

çêl, f.

Kuh

geya, m.

Gras

4. Übung

Versuchen Sie den Sinn folgender Sätze zu erfassen !

1. Cotkar erdê cotdikin. 2. Mamoste çayê vedixwe. 3. Xwendekar kitêbê dixwêne. 4. Siyamend kursiyekî dikire. 5. Klaus sêvekê dixwe. 6. Kî avê vedixwe ? 7. Kur cotkaran dibînin. 8. Çêlek geza dixwe. 9. Ew otombîlê dajo. 10. Azad goşt dikire. 11. Remo hêkan difroşe. 12. Klaus sê kîlo şekir dikire. 13. Em we dibînin. 14. Azad niha li dikanê ye. 15. Kitêb liser masê ne. 16. Ew çar kursiyan dikire. 17. Tu fêkî jî dixwazî ?



Der Ausdruck des deutschen Akkusativs  
im Kurdischen

Der Akkusativ antwortet auf die Fragen :

kê ? 'wen ?' (bei Personen)

çi ? 'was ?' (bei Gegenständen)

z.B.

<u>Feminin</u>	Azad <u>keçê</u> dibîne. 'Azad sieht das Mädchen.'
	Azad <u>kê</u> dibîne ? 'Wen sieht Azad ?'
	Keçê . 'Das Mädchen.'
	Keçê = Akkusativ Singular bestimmt

<u>Maskulin</u>	Azad <u>kur</u> dibîne. 'Azad sieht den Jungen.'
	Azad <u>kê</u> dibîne ? 'Wen sieht Azad ?'
	Kur . 'Den Jungen.'
	Kur = Akkusativ Singular bestimmt

Im Kurdischen wird der Akkusativ wie folgt gebildet :

1. Singular bestimmt

Feminine Nomen, die Singular und bestimmt sind, bilden den Akkusativ Singular durch die Endung '-ê' .

Maskuline Nomen, die Singular und bestimmt sind, werden bei der Bildung des Akkusativs nicht verändert.

z.B.

<u>Feminin</u>	:	Azad keçê dibîne. 'Azad sieht das Mädchen.'
<u>Maskulin</u>	:	Azad kur dibîne. 'Azad sieht den Jungen.'



## 2.Plural bestimmt

Nomen, die bestimmt sind, bilden den Akkusativ Plural bei Aufhebung der Genusdifferenzierung durch die Endung '-an'.  
z.B.

Feminin : Azad keçan dibîne. 'Azad sieht die Mädchen.'  
Maskulin : Azad kuran dibîne. 'Azad sieht die Jungen.'

## 1.Singular unbestimmt

Feminine Nomen, die Singular und unbestimmt sind, bilden den Akkusativ durch die Endung '-ê'.

Maskuline Nomen, die Singular und unbestimmt sind, werden im Akkusativ von der Endung '-î' suffigiert.  
z.B.

Feminin : Azad keçekê dibîne. 'Azad sieht ein Mädchen.'  
Maskulin : Azad kurekî dibîne. 'Azad sieht einen Jungen.'

## 2.Plural unbestimmt

Nomen, die unbestimmt sind, bilden den Akkusativ Plural bei Aufhebung der Genusdifferenzierung durch die Endung '-na'.  
z.B.

Feminin : Azad keçna dibîne. 'Azad sieht Mädchen.'  
Maskulin : Azad kurna dibîne. 'Azad sieht Jungen.'

Nomen, die auf einen Vokal auslauten, werden bei der Flexion des Akkusativs wie folgt behandelt :

### 1.Feminin

Bei Vokalauslaut auf '-î' werden sie von '-ê' suffigiert, wobei '-î' sich zu '-iy' verändert.



z.B.

hirmî, f. 'Birne'

Akkusativ Singular

hirmiyê

Akkusativ Plural

hirmiyan

Bei Vokalauslaut auf '-ê' werden sie von '-ê' suffigiert, wobei '-ê' sich zu '-iy' verändert.

z.B.

rê, f. 'Weg'

Akkusativ Singular

riyê

Akkusativ Plural

riyan

Bei Vokalauslaut auf '-a' und '-e' tritt 'y' als Hiatusfolger vor die Deklinationsendung. Mit Ausnahme von monosilbigen Wörtern können sich diese Nomen mit der Deklinationsendung unter Abfall des Endvokals des Nomens verkürzen.

z.B.

mase, f. 'Tisch'

pa, f. 'Tee'

Akkusativ Singular

maseyê

verk. mase

payê

Akkusativ Plural

maseyan

verk. masan

çayan

2. Maskulin

Maskuline Nomen, die bestimmt sind, werden nur im Akkusativ Plural suffigiert. Dabei ergeben sich folgende Regeln für vokalisches auslautende Nomen :



Bei Vokalauslaut auf '-a' wird nur '-n' suffigiert.  
z.B.

bira, m. 'Bruder'

Akkusativ Plural : biran

Bei Vokalauslaut auf '-î' wird '-an' suffigiert, wobei  
'-î' sich zu '-iy' verändert.

z.B.

masî, m. 'Fisch'

Akkusativ Plural : masiyan

Bei Vokalauslaut auf '-û' tritt in der Deklination eine  
Veränderung von '-û' zu '-iu' ein.

z.B.

mû, m. 'Haar'

Akkusativ Plural : miuan

Beachten Sie !

Bei Aufzählungen wird nur das letzte Nomen dekliniert.

z.B.

Ez keç û kuran dibînim. 'Ich sehe die Mädchen  
und Jungen.'

Prägen Sie sich folgende Vokabeln ein !

gok, f.

Ball

*yuvorlek*

xerat, m.

Tischler

*marangoz*

dar, f.

Baum

*ağac*

dar, m.

Mast

*dişek*

cigare, f.

Zigarette

firotin, bifroş !

verkaufen

*satmak*

qehue, f.

Kaffee

vexwarin, vexwe !

trinken

*içmek*

şekirin, şêke !

herstellen, machen

*yapmak*



defter, f.  
 mirandin, bimrêne !  
 text, m.  
 çigare vexwarin, vexwe !  
 çigare kişandin, bikêşene !  
 gul, f.  
 hesp, m.  
 zarok, f.  
 lempe, f. = *fonos*  
 pêxistin. pêxe !  
 ders, f.  
 şagirt, m./f.  
*ramusîn* = maşkirin, maşbike !  
 ya(n)  
 dê, f. = *daye, dade*  
 derî, m.

Heft  
 auslöschen, - schalten  
 Bett  
 Zigarette rauchen  
 Blume *gül*  
 Pferd *at*  
 Kind *çocuk*  
 Lampe *kamla*  
 anzünden, -schalten *yakmak*  
 Lektion, Unterricht  
 Schüler(in) *öğrenci*  
 küssen *öpmek*  
 oder *veya*  
 Mutter  
 Tür *kapi*

### 5. Übung

Bilden Sie aus den Akkusativobjekten der folgenden Sätze Akkusativ Plural bestimmt und unbestimmt !

1. Xwendekar kitêbê dixwêne. 2. Klaus sêvekê dixwe. 3. Tu îro hevalekî dibînî ? 4. Ew hevalekê dibîne. 5. Ez qelemê dikirim. 6. Em defterekê dikirin. 7. Xerat darekî dibire. 8. Ew textekî çedike. 9. Ew maseyekê çedike. 10. Klaus çigarê vedixwe.

### 6. Übung

Übersetzen Sie die vorstehenden Sätze !

### 7. Übung

Fügen Sie den Objekten folgender Sätze die entsprechende Endung des Akkusativ Singular hinzu !

1. Ew gulek... dixwaze. 2. Tu hespek... dibînî. 3. Remo nan... difroşe. 4. Zarok lemp... pêdixe. 5. Mamoste ders... dide. 6. Rêgîna gehweyek... vedixwe. 7. Tu çê... yan gehwe... vedixwî ? 8. Şagirt qelemek... dikire. 9. Dê kur... maşdike. 10. Ez îro hevalek... dibînîm.



8. Übung

Übersetzen Sie die Sätze der Übung 7 !

9. Übung

Übersetzen Sie ins Kurdische !

1. Rauchst du eine Zigarette ? 2. Azad kauft die Milch und den Zucker. 3. Die Kuh frißt das Gras. 4. Die Kinder kaufen den Ball und spielen. 5. Der Tischler stellt die Türen her. 6. Möchtest du einen Tee oder einen Kaffee ? 7. Der Bauer pflügt die Erde. 8. Ich kaufe ein Heft und einen Kugelschreiber. 9. Was ißt du ? 10. Ich esse einen Apfel. 11. Wen siehst du heute ? 12. Ich sehe die Freunde.

Die im Akkusativ deklinierten Personalpronomen sind :

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1. Pers.	min	me
2. Pers.	te	we
3. Pers.	wî / wê	wan

Beachten Sie !

In der 3. Person Singular wird im Gegensatz zum Nominativ zwischen maskulin und feminin unterschieden.

Beispiele für die deklinierte Form der Personalpronomen im Akkusativ

Azad	<u>min</u>	dibîne	'Azad sieht <u>mich</u> .'
Azad	<u>te</u>	dibîne	'Azad sieht <u>dich</u> .'
Azad	<u>wî</u>	dibîne	'Azad sieht <u>ihn</u> .'
Azad	<u>wê</u>	dibîne	'Azad sieht <u>sie</u> .'
Azad	<u>me</u>	dibîne	'Azad sieht <u>uns</u> .'
Azad	<u>we</u>	dibîne	'Azad sieht <u>euch</u> .'
Azad	<u>wan</u>	dibîne	'Azad sieht <u>sie</u> .'



Sînem

xuh, f.

get

~~parce~~, m.

di ... de

bin

dest, m.

Sûriya, f.

gotin, bêje ! (Präs. st. bêj)

xwe dan naskirin, bi (kesekî)

xwe bide naskirin !

mal, f. bal

mezin

kes, m.

bav, m.

hê

can

eski

kavn (bei Gegenständen)

dûr

gîş

Ereb, m./f.

tim

bi erebî

welat, m.zanîn, **bizane** !

ev der

xanî, m.

bi

serşok, f.

b pixêrî, f.

destav, f.ode, f. bermali

nêzik

çem, m.

bexçe, m.

xweşik

rengîn

weibl. Vorname

Schwester baeTeil, Stück parce

in

unter altundaHand el

Syrien

sagen demek, söylemeksich jmd. vorstellen, kendini tanıtmak

sich mit jmd. bekannt machen

Familie, Wohnung ailegroß büyükPerson kisiVater babanoch deha

jung

alt eskiweit uzakalle hepsi, bütünAraber arapimmer şürekliauf arabisch arapçaLand, Vaterland ufkewissen bilmekhier burasıHaus evmit ... la ... leBadezimmer hamamKüche bacaToiletteZimmer odanah yakınFluß nehir, aayGarten bahçeschön güzel, güzelcebunt, farbig renge renk

kistiman = Waterland = Anavatan



xwendegêh, f.

bira, m.

Komara Elmaniya yekgirtî

bajar, m.

dîrok, f.

Komela Xwendekarên Kurd

xebitîn, bixebite !

jibona

ji ... re

xwiyêkirin, f.

pirsiyar, f.

gel, m.

Ewropa, f.

qenc

bişûk

pir

nav, m.

jêhatî

avakirin, avabike !

valakirin, valabike !

dû, m.

mû, m.

Schule

Bruder

Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Stadt

Geschichte (historisch)

Vereinigung kurdischer Studenten

arbeiten

für

für (conu) tîn

Verbreitung, Publizierung

Frage, Problem

Volk

Europe

gut

klein

viel, sehr

Name

fleißig

erbauen

(aus)leeren

Rauch

Haar

Okale

Kardeş

Şehir

Tarih

Çalışmak

için

(conu) tîn

sorun

halk

iyi

çok küçük

çok.

isim.

çalışkan

inşa etmek.

boşaltmak

duman.

kul.



Die Possesivpronomen

Die Possesivpronomen für

<u>Maskulin Singular</u>	<u>Feminin Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
yê min 'mein'	ya min 'meine'	yên min 'meine'
yê te 'dein'	ya te 'deine'	yên te 'deine'
yê wî 'sein'	ya wî 'seine'	yên wî 'seine'
yê wê 'ihr'	ya wê 'ihre'	yên wê 'ihre'
yê me 'unser'	ya me 'unsere'	yên me 'unsere'
yê we 'euer'	ya we 'eure'	yên we 'eure'
yê wan 'ihr'	ya wan 'ihre'	yên wan 'ihre'

Beachten Sie die Wortstellung !

Abweichend vom Deutschen heißt es :

Birayê min 'mein Bruder'

d.h. im Kurdischen steht das Determinatum vor dem Determinans.

Wird ein Substantiv durch ein Possesivpronomen näher bezeichnet, so werden die Partikel 'yê', 'ya', 'yên' des Possesivpronomens dem näher zu bezeichnenden Substantiv enklitisch hinzugefügt. Dabei richtet sich die Partikel im Singular nach dem Genus des jeweiligen Substantivs, im Plural wird die Genusdifferenzierung jedoch wieder aufgehoben.

z.B.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
kursî, m. 'Stuhl'	kursiyê min	kursiyên min
mase, f. 'Tisch'	maseya min	maseyên min

Nomen mit Vokalauslaut auf '-e' verkürzen sich häufig mit



den Partikeln.

z.B.

Mamoste, m.	mamosteyê min	verkürzt	mamostê min
	mamosteyên min	verkürzt	mamostên min
Mase, f.	maseya min	verkürzt	masa min
	maseyên min	verkürzt	masên min

Feminine Nomen mit Vokalauslaut auf '-ê' zeigen nach Genussuffigierung einen Vokalablaute von '-ê' zu '-i'.

z.B.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Dêf.	diya me	diyên me

Maskuline Nomen mit Vokalauslaut auf '-û' werden nur von '-ê / ên' suffigiert, wobei '-û' sich zu '-iw' verändert.

z.B.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Mû, m. 'Haar'	miwê wî	miwên wî

Endet ein näher zu bezeichnendes Nomen auf einen Konsonanten, so entfällt das 'y' des Partikels.

z.B.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Kur, m.	kurê wê	kurên wê
Keç, f.	keça wê	keçên wê

### 1. Übung

Bestimmen Sie das Genus folgender Nomen und nennen Sie ihre Bedeutung !

şîr, mast, nîvişk, xwendegêh, otombîl, dikan, ard, gok, gund, sêv, geya, kursî, mase, dar, text, şigare, gul, hesp, ders, lempe, çel .



## 2. Übung

Bestimmen Sie den Imperativ folgender Verben und nennen Sie ihre Bedeutung !

Naskirin, vexwarin, vekirin, çêkirin, avakirin, rêkirin, rastkirin, valakirin, karkirin, kirin, meşkirin, cotkirin, çûn, man, mirin, şîstin .

## 3. Übung

'Yê', 'ê', 'ya', 'a', 'yên', oder 'ên' ?

Fügen Sie die jeweils richtige Form des Possessivpronomens hinzu und übersetzen Sie die folgenden Sätze !

1. Mal <sup>la</sup> te mezin e ? Na, <sup>min</sup> min biçûk e. 2. Kitêb... <sup>Pirê</sup> wî baş e ? Erê, ... wî baş e. 3. Xanî... we dûr e ? Na, ... me nêzîk e. 4. Ev xuh... te ye ? Na, ev dê... min e. 5. Bav... te kardike ? 6. Zarok... wan jêhatî ne ? 7. Xwendegêh... me kevin û dûr e. 8. ... we nêzîk e. 9. Mamoste... we kurd e ya elman e ? 10. Bexçe... wî pir xweşik û rengîn e.

## 4. Übung

Bestimmen Sie die Possessivpronomen !

1. Bav... karker e. (min) 2. Xuh... xweşik e ? (tu) 3. Xwendegêh... dur e ? (hûn) 4. Mal... nêzîk e ? (em) 5. Bexçe... xweşik û rengîn e. (ew, Pl.) 6. Bira... biçûk e. (ew, Sing. mask.) 7. Nan... xweş e. (ew, Sing. fem.) 8. Serşok... mezin e. (hûn) 9. Kitêb... baş in. (tu) 10. Xuh... jêhatî ne. (ew, Pl.) 11. Ode... biçûk in. (em) 12. Nav... şî ye ? (tu)

## Die Partikel des Genus

Wie schon in der 1. Lektion erwähnt, ist im Kurdischen die Zugehörigkeit eines Nomens zu einem bestimmten Genus im Nominativ normalerweise nicht gekennzeichnet. Soll ein Nomen



jedoch zum Beispiel durch ein Adjektiv, Substantiv, Ordinalzahl oder ein Partizip näher bezeichnet oder qualifiziert werden (Determination), müssen sogenannte Genuspartikel dem näher zu bezeichnenden Nomen hinzugefügt werden. Diese Genuspartikel übernehmen die Rolle eines Abhängigkeitsexponenten, da in der kurdischen Sprache Syntagmen, die ein Attribut enthalten, bestimmt sind von der obligatorischen Reihenfolge

### Determinatum vor Determinans

im Gegensatz zum Deutschen, wo das Determinatum dem Determinans folgt.

Zur Verdeutlichung zwei Beispiele

#### 1. Kurdisch

<u>Determinatum</u>	<u>Determinans</u>
Hevalê	baş

#### 2. Deutsch

<u>Determinans</u>	<u>Determinatum</u>
Der gute	Freund

Man unterscheidet, je nach dem, ob ein Nomen bereits mit dem unbestimmten Artikel verbunden ist oder nicht, verschiedene Formantiten, und, analog dazu, zwischen einer Primärdetermination (Nomen bestimmt) und einer Sekundärdetermination (Nomen mit unbestimmtem Artikel). Dabei gelten für die Bildung der Determination, abhängig vom Auslaut des Determinatums, die gleichen Bedingungen wie bei den Possessivpronomen.

Die Partikel für die Primärdetermination lauten :

ya (-a)	für feminin Singular
yê (-ê)	für maskulin Singular
yên (-ên)	für Plural beider Genera



z.B.

Konsonantischer Auslaut

fem.	heval <u>a</u> baş	'die gute Freundin'
mask.	heval <u>ê</u> baş	'der gute Freund'
Plur.	heval <u>ên</u> baş	'die guten Freunde'

Vokalischer Auslaut

1.fem.	-ê	<u>dê</u>	diya baş	'die gute Mutter'
	-e	<u>mase</u>	maseya mezin	
		verkürzt	masa mezin	'der große Tisch'
2.mask.	-e	<u>mamoste</u>	mamosteyê baş	'der gute Lehrer'
		verkürzt	mamostê baş	
	-û	<u>dû</u>	diwê reş	'der schwarze Rauch'

Die Partikel für die Sekundärdetermination lauten :

-e	für feminin Singular
-î	für maskulin Singular
-ne	für Plural beider Genera

z.B.

fem.	hevalek <u>e</u> baş	'eine gute Freundin'
mask.	hevalek <u>î</u> baş	'ein guter Freund'
Plur.	heval <u>ne</u> baş	'gute Freunde'

5. Übung

Ergänzen Sie die Genuspartikel (jeweils Sing. und Pl.) !

a. Primärdetermination

b. Sekundärdetermination

1. Kitêb... baş; 2. Kur... bişûk; 3. Keş... xweşik; 4. Bira...



qenc; 5.Mamose... can; 6.Bexçe... rengin; 7.Nan... xweş;  
8.Xani... kevn.

### Die Aneinanderreihung von Attributen

Sind einem Determinatum mehrere Determinantien zugeordnet, spricht man von einer attributiven Reihung. Eine Aneinanderreihung von Attributen ist immer in sich gegliedert, es finden sich folgende Typen :

#### Typ I

Eine attributive Wendung, das heißt Bezugswort + Attribut wird durch weitere Attribute erläutert  
z.B.

Kitêba baş + nû  
Das gute Buch + neu  
fem. ergibt

Kitêbe başe nû.  
Das gute neue Buch.

Birayê min + biçûk  
Mein Bruder + klein  
mask. ergibt

Birayê minî biçûk.

Das heißt einer attributiven Wendung werden weitere Attribute mithilfe der Sekundärdetermination hinzugefügt, und zwar unabhängig davon, ob die Ausgangswendung durch Primär- oder Sekundärdetermination verbunden war.

z.B.

Kitêba(Prim.det.) başe(Sek.Det.) nû.

fem. 'Das gute neue Buch.'

Kitêbeke(Sek.det.) başe(Sek.det.) nû.

'Ein gutes neues Buch.'



Xaniyê(Prim.det.) mazinî(Sek.det.) kevn.

'Das große alte Haus.'

mask.

Xanîkî(Sek.det.) mazinî(Sek.det.) kevn.

'Ein großes altes Haus.'

Steht die attributive Wendung im Plural werden weitere Attribute mithilfe der Partikel '-î' angeschlossen, wobei die Genusdifferenzierung aufgehoben wird.

z.B.

fem. Kitêbên başî nû. 'Die guten neuen Bücher.'

Kitêbne başî nû. 'Gute neue Bücher.'

mask. Xaniyên mezînî kevn. 'Die großen alten Häuser.'

Xanîne mezînî kevn. 'Große alte Häuser.'

## Typ II

Die attributive Wendung wird als zusammengesetztes neues Determinatum betrachtet, was durch ein Determinans erläutert werden soll.

z.B.

	<u>zusam. Determinatum</u>	+	<u>Determinans</u>
	birayê min	+	biçûk
	mein Bruder	+	klein
	ergibt		
<u>mask.</u>	birayê min	yê	biçûk
	mein Bruder	der	kleine
	'mein <u>kleiner</u> Bruder'		
	kitêba başî	+	nû
	das gute Buch	+	neu
	ergibt		
<u>fem.</u>	kitêba başî	ya	nû
	das gute Buch	das	neue
	'das gute <u>neue</u> Buch'		



In diesem Fall werden die Genuspartikel nicht suffigiert, sie übernehmen vielmehr die Rolle eines bestimmten Artikels. Andere Typen der Attribution werden mithilfe des Genitivs gebildet. Der Typ II kann nur bei vorangehender Primärdetermination gebildet werden.

### Der Genitiv im Kurischen

Da der Genitiv eine Form der Determination ist, gelten für das Determinatum die eben besprochenen Regeln.

Der Genetiv selbst antwortet auf die Fragen :

ya kê	?	'wessen ?'	(feminin)
yê kê	?	'wessen ?'	(maskulin)
yên kê	?	'wessen ?'	(Plural f. + m.)

Der Genitiv wird wie folgt gebildet :

#### 1. Singular bestimmt

Feminine Nomen, die Singular und bestimmt sind bilden den Genitiv durch die Endung '-ê'.

Maskuline Nomen, die Singular und bestimmt sind, werden bei der Bildung des Genitivs nicht verändert.

z.B.

<u>Feminin</u>	:	Kitêba keçê	'Das Buch des Mädchens'
<u>Maskulin</u>	:	Kitêba kur	'Das Buch des Jungen'

#### 2. Plural bestimmt

Der Genitiv Plural wird bei Nomen, die bestimmt sind, unter aufhebung der Genusdifferenzierung durch die Endung '-an' gebildet.

z.B.

<u>Feminin</u>	:	Kitêba keçan	'Das Buch der Mädchen'
<u>Maskulin</u>	:	Kitêba kuran	'Das Buch der Jungen'



### 1.Singular unbestimmt

Feminine Nomen, die unbestimmt sind, bilden den Genitiv Singular durch die Endung '-ê'.

Maskuline Nomen, die unbestimmt sind, bilden den Genitiv Singular durch die Endung '-î'.

z.B.

Feminin : Kitêba keçekê 'Das Buch eines Mädchens'

Maskulin : Kitêba kurekî 'Das Buch eines Jungen'

### 2.Plural unbestimmt

Der Genitiv Plural der unbestimmten Nomen, wird bei Aufhebung der Genusdifferenzierung durch die Endung '-na' gebildet.

z.B.

Feminin : Kitêba keçna 'Das Buch einiger Mädchen'

Maskulin : Kitêba kurna 'Das Buch einiger Jungen'

Für Nomen, die auf einen Vokal auslauten, gelten die gleichen Regeln wie für den Akkusativ.

Die deklinierten Personalpronomen im Genitiv sind mit den Possessivpronomen identisch.

### 6.Übung

Bilden Sie den Genitiv beider Numeri bestimmt und unbestimmt !  
(Die zu determinierenden Nomen sind Singular bestimmt)

1.Kitêb... şagirt...; 2.qelem... keç...; 3.mamoste... zarok...; 4.dikan... firoşkar...; 5.defter... xuendekar...; 6.gok... kur...; 7.mal... karker...; 8.ode... xanî... .

Machen Sie die gleiche Übung, wenn das zu determinierende Nomen unbestimmt ist. (Singular und Plural)



Einige Farbenbezeichnungen des Kurdischen sind :

sor	'rot'
şîn	'blau'
zer	'gelb'
kesk	'grün'
sipî	'weiß'
reş	'schwarz'
qehweyî	'braun'
pirteqanî	'orange'
pembexî	'rosa'
belek	'gescheckt'

Mithilfe der Termini 'tarî' 'dunkel' und 'vekirî' 'hell, wörtl. geöffnet' kann man Schattierungen der einzelnen Farbtöne präzisieren. 'Tarî' und 'vekirî' fungieren dabei als Determinans, die Farben, die maskulin sind, als Determinatum.

z.B.

sorê	tarî	'dunkelrot'
keskê	vekirî	'hellgrün'

### 7. Übung

Bilden Sie aus den angegebenen Wörtern Sätze unter Verwendung des Typ I und Typ II der Determination !

1. Kitêbek, ew, kevn, xwendin, baş. 2. Remo, rengîn, kirîn, gulin, xweşik. 3. Jîn, mezin, li, ew, dûr, bajarek. 4. Xwendegêh, Azad, xwendin, ya me, li, biçûk, bira. 5. mezin, bûn, bira, Azad, sinem. 6. Otombîl, em, sor, her roj, wî, dîtî, di ... de. 7. Sipî, kirîn, xanîk, xweşik, ew. 8. Firotin, ew belek, hespek, xweşik. 9. Şagirtêk, bûn, jêhatî, jîr (klug) Rêgîna. 10. Nezîkî, rengîn, xanî, bexşek, mezin, yê me, bûn.



Mithilfe des Genitivs ergeben sich weitere Typen der Determination.

### Typ III

Der Typ III besteht aus einem einfachen Determinatum und einem zusammengesetzten Determinans.

z.B.

<u>Determinatum</u>	+	<u>zusam. Determinans</u>
xanî	+	hevalê min
das Haus	+	mein Freund
ergibt		
xaniyê hevalê min		
'das Haus meines Freundes'		

Dieser Typ wird je nach dem, ob das Determinatum mit oder ohne unbestimmtem Artikel erscheint mit der Sekundär bzw. Primärdetermination gebildet.

z.B.

Kepeke (Sek.det.) xuendegehe me.

'Ein Mädchen unserer Schule.'

Xuha (Prim.det.) hevalê min.

'Die Schwester meines Freundes.'

### Typ IV

Der Typ IV besteht aus einem zusammengesetzten Determinatum und einem zusammengesetzten Determinans.

z.B.

<u>zusam. Determinatum</u>	+	<u>zusam. Determinans</u>
perdeke nû	+	pencere mezin
ein neuer Vorhang	+	das große Fenster
ergibt		
perdeke nû	ya	pencere mezin
ein neuer Vorhang	des	großen Fensters



Beim Typ IV der Determination werden Determinatum und Determinans mithilfe der nichtsuffigierten Genuspartikel verbunden.

z.B.

Kurê mezin yê xuhê min

'Der große Sohn meiner Schwester.'

### 8. Übung

Übersetzen Sie ins Deutsche :

1. Çemê gundê me mezin e. 2. Kî deriyê odê vedike ? 3. Mamoste-yê nû yê xwendegeha me hê can e. 4. Remo gulên rengîn yên bexçê me difroşe. 5. Navê dersa nû pi ye ? 6. Ez dersên kurdî yên kitêba te dixwênim. 7. Hevalê birayê te diçe xwendegehê ? 8. Hespê sipî yê hevalê me pir xurt (schnell) e. 9. Bexçê xaniyê we xweş e ? 10. Ew darên fêkî yên gundê me dibirin.

### 9. Übung

Übersetzen Sie ins Kurdische !

1. Das ist das Haus meines Vaters. 2. Unsere Familie ist groß. 3. Mein Bruder ist fleißig. 4. Der Garten des Hauses ist schön. 5. Mein Vater und meine Mutter sind Jung. 6. Das Geschäft Remos ist weit. 7. Die Schule der Kinder ist weit und alt. 8. Das Buch meiner Schwester ist schön. 9. Mein Lehrer ist Kurde. 10. Die Zimmer des Hauses sind klein.



2.Lektion

Klaus û Azad xwendekar in.Ew li Berlînê re.Siyamend mamoste ye.Ew jî Kurd e.

Siyamend : Rojbaş, wer sind wir? in, ez mamoste me. Ez jî ne ?

Klaus : Rojbaş, Em kî ne ? Klaus la û ev Azad

Siyamend : Hûn xwendekar in ?

Azad : Erê, ez xwendekar in.



Ez Azad im

Ich bin Azad

Ez Klaus im

Ez Siyamend im

Azad : Rojbaş, ez Azad im.

Klaus : Rojbaş Azad, ez Klaus im.

Azad : Klaus, tu çi yî, tu Elman î ?

Klaus : Erê, ez Elman im.

Azad : Ez jî Kurdistanê me, ez Kurd im.

Klaus û Azad xwendekar in.Ew li Berlînê re.Siyamend mamoste ye.Ew jî Kurd e.

Siyamend : Rojbaş, ez Siyamend im, ez mamoste me.Hûn kî ne ?

Klaus : Rojbaş Siyamend,Ez Klaus im û ev Azad e.

Siyamend : Hûn xwendekar in ?

Azad : Erê, em xwendekar in.

Eri



## Die Personalpronomen

Im Kurdischen gibt es zwei Gruppen von Personalpronomen.

Die erste Gruppe ist :

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1. Pers.	ez 'ich'	em 'wir'
2. Pers.	tu 'du'	hûn 'ihr'
3. Pers.	ew 'er/sie/es'	ew 'sie'

Die Personalpronomen der 1. Gruppe werden zu folgenden Konjugationen benutzt :

1. Durch alle Tempora und Modi des Verbes 'bûn' 'sein'
2. Durch alle Tempora und Modi der intransitiven Verben
3. Durch die Tempora Präsens und Futur I und alle Modi der transitiven Verben.

Prägen Sie sich folgende Wörter ein !

kî	wer
rojbaş	guten Tag
bûn	sein
Elman, f./m.	Deutsche, Deutscher
ji	von, aus
xwendekar, f./m.	Studentin, Student
li	in
Kurdistan, f.	Kurdistan

Die Konjugation Präsens Indikativ des Verbes 'bûn' 'sein'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1. Pers.	ez im 'ich bin'	em in 'wir sind'
2. Pers.	tu î 'du bist'	hûn in 'ihr seid'
3. Pers.	ew e 'er ist'	ew in 'sie sind'



Beachten Sie !

Die Wortstellung in einem kurdischen Satz ist :

<u>Subjekt</u>	<u>Objekt oder Attribut</u>	<u>Prädikat</u>
Ez	xwendekar	im

Dagegen im Deutschen : Ich bin Student.

Die Wortstellung S O P wird im Kurdischen sowohl in Aussagesätzen als auch in Interrogativsätzen beibehalten. Interrogativsätze ohne Interrogativpronomen bzw. -adverb werden nur durch die Betonung ausgedrückt.  
z.B.

Tu xwendekar î, 'Du bist Student.'  
Tu xwendekar î ? 'Bist du Student ?'

### 1. Übung

Übersetzen Sie ins Kurdische !

1. Er ist Deutscher.
2. Ist das Azad ?
3. Ich bin Student.
4. Ja, wir sind Kurden.
5. Du bist Klaus.
6. Seid ihr Deutsche ?
7. Sie sind Studenten.
8. Er ist Arbeiter.

### 2. Übung

Fügen Sie die richtige Form des Verbes 'bûn' hinzu !

1. Ez Kurd *in*.
2. Ew Elman *in*.
3. Tu xwendekar *in*.
4. Em cotkar *in*.
5. Hûn karker *in*.
6. Ew Klaus û Azad *in*.

Beachten Sie !

Im Kurdischen hat das Verb 'bûn' eine andere Konjugation, wenn das vorhergehende Attribut (Substantiv oder Adjektiv) mit einem Vokal auslautet. Die Konjugation des Verbes 'bûn' 'sein' lautet in diesem Fall :

	<u>Singular</u>	
1. Pers.	ez ... me	'ich bin ...'
2. Pers.	tu ... yî	'du bist ...'
3. Pers.	ew ... ye	'er ist ...'



Plural

1. Pers.	em ... ne	'wir sind...'
2. Pers.	hûn ... ne	'ihr seid ...'
3. Pers.	ew ... ne	'sie sind ...'

z.B.

Ew mamoste ye 'Er ist Lehrer'

1. Verb 'bûn' bei einem konsonantisch auslautenden Prädikatsnomen z.B. 'karker' 'Arbeiter'

Singular

1. Pers.	ez karker im	'ich bin Arbeiter'
2. Pers.	tu karker i	'du bist Arbeiter'
3. Pers.	ew karker e	'er/sie ist Arbeiter'

Plural

1. Pers.	em karker in	'wir sind Arbeiter'
2. Pers.	hûn karker in	'ihr seid Arbeiter'
3. Pers.	ew karker in	'sie sind Arbeiter'

2. Verb 'bûn' bei einem volisch auslautenden Prädikatsnomen z.B. 'mamoste' 'Lehrer'

Singular

1. Pers.	ez mamoste me	'ich bin Lehrer'
2. Pers.	tu mamoste yi	'du bist Lehrer'
3. Pers.	ew mamoste ye	'er/sie ist Lehrer(in)'



Plural

1. Pers.	em mamoste ne	'wir sind Lehrer'
2. Pers.	hûn mamoste ne	'ihr seid Lehrer'
3. Pers.	ew mamoste ne	'sie sind Lehrer'

3. Übung

Übersetzen Sie die folgenden Sätze !

1. Ez kî me ? <sup>was ist er</sup> 2. Ew çî ye ? 3. Ew mamoste ye. 4. Ev masî ye.  
5. Tu kî yî ? 6. Jürgen û Andreas mamoste ne. 7. Hûn li Berlinê ne.

4. Übung

Setzen Sie die richtige Form des Verbes 'bûn' ein !

1. Ez Klaus <sup>in</sup> . 2. Ez Regina <sup>ne</sup> . 3. Tu elman <sup>î</sup> . ? 4. Tu ferensî (Franzose) <sup>î</sup> . ? 5. Ew mamoste <sup>ye</sup> . 6. Ew Siyamend <sup>e</sup> . 7. Em xwendekar <sup>in</sup> . 8. Ew li Berlinê <sup>ye</sup> . 9. Hûn Kurd <sup>in</sup> . 10. Hûn mamoste <sup>ne</sup> . 11. Ew karker <sup>e</sup> . 12. Ew kî <sup>ne</sup> ?

Wer sind sie ?

5. Übung

Übersetzen Sie die vorstehenden Sätze !

Ew kî ye ?  
Wer ist er ?

6. Übung

Übersetzen Sie folgende Sätze in Kurdische !

1. Ich bin Deutsche. 2. Wir sind Freunde (heval). 3. Wer bist du ? 4. Er ist Kurde. 5. Sie sind in Berlin. 6. Siyamend ist Lehrer. 7. Was seid ihr ? 8. Das ist der Fisch. 9. Ich bin Regina. 10. Klaus und Azad sind Studenten. 11. Sie sind Arbeiter.



## 3. Lektion

## Dikana Remo

Kirin <sup>heute</sup> <sup>gibt</sup> einkauf

Azad fro diçe kirinê. Ev niha li dikanê ye. Remo <sup>heute</sup> <sup>den</sup> firoşkar e.

Azad : Rojbaş Remo.

Remo : Rojbaş Azad. Tu çî dixwazî ? <sup>möchten</sup>

Azad : Ez sê kilo şekir, çar kilo ard, du kilo birinc, <sup>mehl</sup> <sup>2</sup> nîv kilo çay û litirek şîr dixwazim. <sup>gerade</sup>

Remo : Sê kilo şekir, çar kilo ard, du kilo birinc, nîv kilo çay û litirek şîr. Evna tevde <sup>das</sup> dikan hejdeh mark. <sup>dikin</sup> <sup>das</sup> Tu tistekî dî dixwazî ?

Azad : Erê, ez hê çardeh hêkan dixwazim. Ev hemû tevde <sup>etwas</sup> <sup>noch</sup> <sup>alles zusammen</sup> dikan çiqas <sup>wieviel</sup> a dikan? <sup>macht</sup>

Remo : Hemû tevde <sup>alles zusammen</sup> dikan bistûyek mark. <sup>dikin</sup>

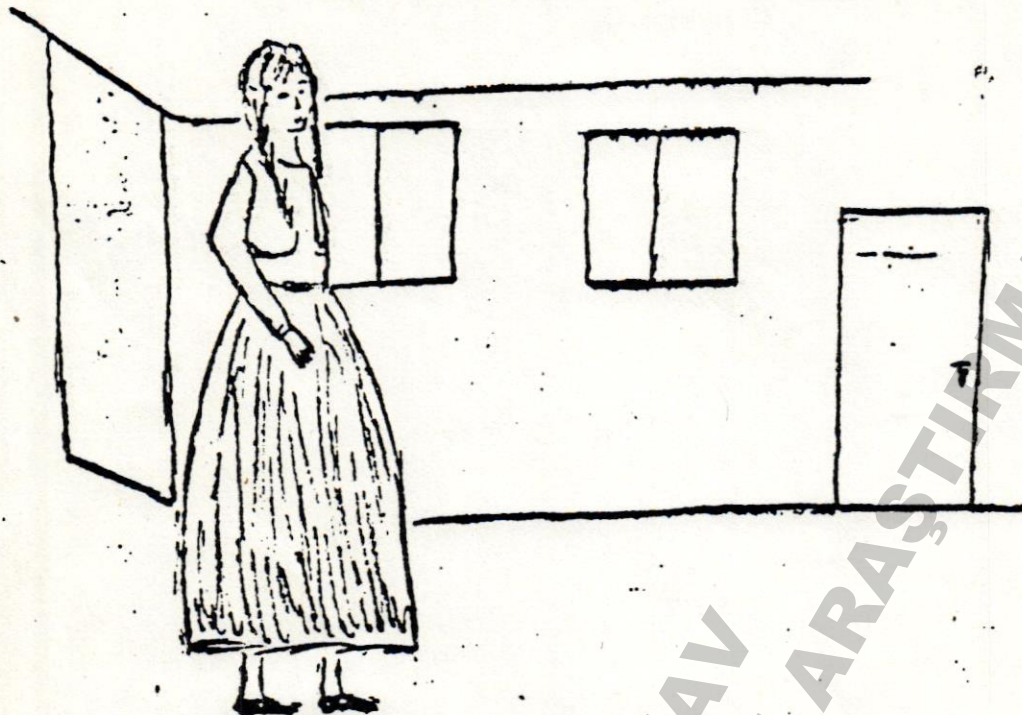
Azad : Roja te bimêne xweş. <sup>21</sup>

Remo : <sup>vielleicht</sup> <sup>ich wünsche</sup> <sup>einem schönen Tag</sup> Pir sipas, ya te jî.



## 5. Lektion

Sînem

*Schwester**Stück**unter**Hand*

Sînem xuha Azad e, ew li Kurdistanê, di parçê bin destê Sûriyayê de dijî. Sînem iro xwe bi me dide naskirin û dibêje :

Rojbaş, ez Sînem im, ez xuha Azad im. Mala me maleke mezin e, em heft kes in, Diya min û bavê min hê can in, ew kardi-kin. Xaniyê me, sê ode ne, bi serşok, pixêrî û destav e. Ew nêzîkî şem e. Bexşê me pir xweşik û rengîn e.

Em pênc zarok in, sê keç û du kur in. Em hê dixwênin. Xwendegha me kevn û dîr e. Em peya diçin wê. Şagirt, keç û kur, hemû Kurd in. Mamosteyê me Ereb e. Ew tim dibêje : 'Bi erebî baxivin. ! Ev der welatê Ereban e.' Lê em giş dizanin, ko ev der welatê me ye.

Birayê min Azad li Komara Elmanya Yekgirtî, li bajarê Berlînê, dirokê dixwêne. Azad di Komela Xwendekarên Kurd de ji-bona xwiyakirina pirsîyara gelê kurd ji gelên Ewropayê re dixebite.



## 4. Lektion



Keç dikire



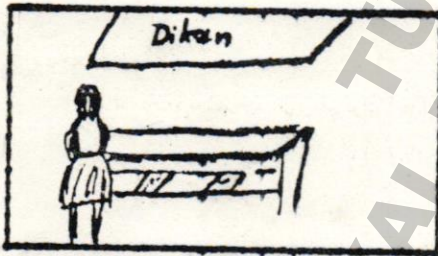
Kür dikire



Keç dikirin



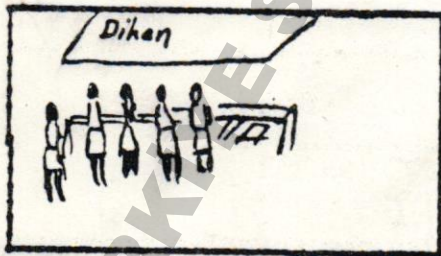
Kur dikirin



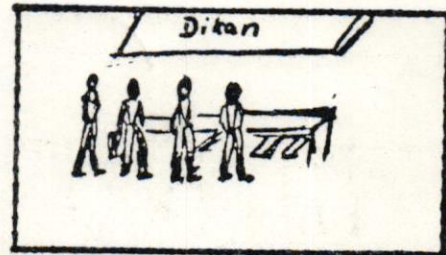
Keçek dikire



Kurek dikire



Keçin dikirin



Kurin dikirin



the Census Report about the low-birth-rate obtaining among the Bedouin (see: Census of Palestine Report, 1931, Part I, pp. 328-335).

<sup>2</sup> See: E. Elath (Epstein): "Bedouin of the Negev," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, April, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> E. H. Palmer: "The Desert of the Exodus," Part II, 1871, p. 295.

<sup>4</sup> A. Musil: "Arabia Petraea," Vol. III (1908), p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> "Kitab al Qudhā bein al Bedū, Qūds," 1351 Hijra, p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> 1 dunam = 1,000 sq. metres, or 0.247 acres. Figures given by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries of the Palestine Government (see: Area of Cultivated Land in Palestine, Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1936, p. 26). A comparison with the figures for 1928 shows that in the six-year interval there had been an increase of about 750,000 dunams in the area under cultivation. To my knowledge, there are no official figures available between 1934/35 and the end of the mandatory period.

<sup>7</sup> Census of Palestine, 1931, pp. 334, 335.

<sup>8</sup> Land without registered ownership, not used for public purposes by villages.

## THE PLACE OF THE KURDS IN THE MIDDLE EASTERN SCENE

By C. J. EDMONDS, C.M.G., C.B.E.

Report of a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, November 20, 1957, Sir Hugh Dow, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant duty to introduce our lecturer on this occasion. Mr. Edmonds is one of the oldest members of the Society in that he has been a member for over thirty-five years; he has also served on the Council of the Society. I think it fair to add that during the intervals when he has not concerned himself very much with the affairs of the Central Asian Society he has been in Central Asia concerning himself with affairs there. You are all aware that Mr. Edmonds has written a good deal in connection with the subject on which he is about to speak to us. His book, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, has been published during the last few days and has yet to be reviewed. There can be few who have a better knowledge of the peoples of the particular area, the Kurds, the Arabs and the Turks. And now I ask Mr. Edmonds to speak on "The Place of the Kurds in the Middle Eastern Scene."

WHEN the Council did me the honour of inviting me to speak to the Society about the Kurds, I wondered which particular aspect of this very wide subject I should choose. My first instinct was to invite you to share with me, in retrospect, with illustrations, some of the joys of old-fashioned caravan travel in glorious mountain country among a simple, picturesque, and hospitable people in a state of society still essentially tribal. But it is not so very long since we had something of the kind from the leader of an Oxford University Expedition; and I came to the conclusion that, at this time of political ferment and startling social change throughout the Middle East, it would be more rewarding if I tried to work out some ideas on "The Place of the Kurds in the Changing Middle Eastern Scene." Some of you will certainly have been in the country more recently than I have, and I hope that at question time you will not hesitate to supplement what I shall be saying, or to correct me where I am wrong.

I must start, then, by defining roughly the boundaries of what we may conveniently call Kurdistan, and giving an estimate of the numerical importance of the Kurds.

Kurdistan, the territory occupied more or less continuously by the Kurds as a homogeneous community, is today divided between Turkey, Persia and Iraq, with small overlaps into Syria and the Soviet Union; its boundaries do not coincide with any international frontiers, or even any internal administrative divisions within those countries. On the north the border follows roughly the line through Erivan (in Soviet Armenia), Erzurum, Erzinjan and thence an arc through Mar'ash towards Aleppo; on the south-west it runs along the foothills to Nusaibin, thence to the Tigris at Mosul, and then across in a straight line to Mandali on the Iraqi-Persian frontier; on the east, in Persia, the limit of the Kurds runs in a



Mr. EDMONDS: The British Mandate ended in 1932, and I do not think the Royal Air Force would have participated in the operations of 1944. Shaikh Ahmad combines the qualities of a hereditary tribal chief and of a religious shaikh, and so attracts to himself the superstitious devotion of his followers in a remarkable degree. Whether such influence is a menace or not depends really on the strength of the administration. With the increasing complexity of modern arms all governments are stronger than they used to be vis-à-vis tribesmen however brave and mobile. I do not think that Mulla Mustafa's broadcasts or the passage of his emissaries to his brother are much of a danger in present circumstances. But if there were a change in the international situation there is a good deal of combustible material about ready to be set alight.

H.H. Prince PETER OF GREECE: Is there any discernible connection between the Russian sponsored Kurdish movement and the latest events in Syria? I gather that the leading officers and the head of the Communist party in Syria are Kurds. It occurs to me that there might be some connection.

Mr. EDMONDS: I very much doubt it, but I do not know. It is curious how often some man who comes to the fore in the Arab countries is suddenly discovered to be of Kurdish origin; but it does not follow that he has any close connection with the really Kurdish elements of the population. Nor are the activities of such men always sinister. They are rather like the Scots who come south and make good—men like Ja'far Pasha al-Askari, who played such a prominent and honourable part in the Arab rebellion under Faisal and whose family name does not mean "the soldier" but "of Askar," a Kurdish village north-east of Kirkuk.

Mrs. HOLT: I wonder how many Kurds have gone into the Iraqi Air Force and how far they regard that as a means to an end, I mean with the idea of using the aircraft in a revolt.

Mr. EDMONDS: There was always among the Kurds a strong tradition of service in the armed forces of the Ottoman Empire, and that tradition still continues in Iraq. I know of nothing to suggest that there is any ulterior motive behind this. Of course there have been cases, at the time of the Barzan operations of 1944 for instance, when some young officers have found it difficult to reconcile their racial emotions with their duties as officers; but that has happened in other armies as well. I think that there is now much more solidarity among the different elements of the population of Iraq than there used to be.

Captain EGERTON: About eight years ago a book was published by a Mr. Safrastian, who made elaborate claims in regard to the dominance of the Kurds, asserting that 2,000 years ago they ruled over the Hittite and the Assyrian civilizations. Also his book constituted propaganda for the Kurds against Turkey; he made out that the Bakhtiyari tribes in Persia were all Kurdish, and that many of the leaders, such as Nuri Pasha, the Minister, were Kurds. Sir Leonard Woolley told me that the claims as to dominance of the Kurdish race were exaggerated. What is the lecturer's opinion?

Mr. EDMONDS: I do not think that the views expressed in that book are accepted by scholars. The region that is now Kurdistan has seen many

mass movements of peoples in the last three thousand years and the origin of the Kurds is a controversial subject. I myself think that on geographical and linguistic grounds one may reasonably say that the Kurds represent the Medes, just as the modern Persians represent the ancient Persians of Cyrus and Darius. The Bakhtiyaris are Lurs. The boundary between the Kurds proper and the Lurs is approximately the great high road from Hamadan through Kirmanshah south-westwards and then a line to Mendali on the Iraqi-Persian frontier. The earliest history of the Kurds, the *Sharafnama* (1596), certainly classes the Lurs as Kurds; politically minded Kurds maintain the claim today; the Lurs of Baghdad, for instance, are eligible for membership of the Kurdish club. But European scholars will have none of this, chiefly on linguistic grounds. I have never heard any suggestion that Nuri Pasha was a Kurd.

SAIYID WARIS AMEER ALI: Is it not correct to say that the Bakhtiyari formed a link with the Medes?

Mr. EDMONDS: For the reasons I have just given I think the Bakhtiyaris are to be linked with the Persians rather than the Medes. The Bakhtiyari dialect falls into the south-western group of Iranian languages like modern literary Persian, whereas Kurdish belongs to the north-western group. The Bakhtiyari mountains, too, are situated well to the south of the ancient Media.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, our time is up, and I feel sure you will wish me to thank Mr. Edmonds on your behalf for what has proved to be a most informative and interesting lecture. He has certainly added a good deal to my knowledge of the Kurds, but that was not difficult because I had so little. Many of you, however, have a good deal more knowledge than I started with. I am sure that whether you are familiar with the country and the people or not, you will have listened to Mr. Edmonds with much interest and you will wish now to join in heartily thanking him for what he has told us. (*Applause.*)



withal to procure them or the means to dispense the hospitality which tradition and honour demand. In many parts of the country, therefore, the old social organization is breaking down.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and the large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. In the meantime employment on the great dams, roads and other public works must be tending to create a new type of labour force very different from the simple peasantry of former times.

In conclusion, a word about the position of women. In this respect the Kurds started, morally at any rate, with no adverse handicap. Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters. Certainly it has been quite common, especially in the tribal ruling families, for strong-minded women to come forward and play an important part in local politics. In recent times the most famous of all such women was the Lady Adila of Halabja near the Iraqi-Persian boundary. Towards the end of the Ottoman régime the Government had not attempted to maintain a regular civil servant as Qaimmaqam, but had entrusted the office to a member of the ruling family of the Jaf tribe, Usman Pasha. He was an easy-going man who was frequently absent from his post and, even in his lifetime, all effective authority had passed into the hands of his wife, the Lady Adila. At the time of the British occupation in 1918 she was already a widow, but she had remained the uncrowned queen of the region, and it was with her that generals and political officers had to deal.

In Sulaimani itself there was a lady named Hafsa Khan, a sister-in-law of the Shaikh Mahmud I mentioned earlier on, who, until her death about two years ago, was a leading spirit in that centre of Kurdish nationalism. Near Ruwandiz there was a lady named Fatima Khan who after the death of her husband administered his group of eight villages; she transacted every kind of business with Government herself and was regularly chosen by the villagers to vote on their behalf at parliamentary elections, and did so, though the law said quite clearly that only males were entitled to take part either as primary or as secondary electors. (You will have noticed the interesting Kurdish practice whereby the male title "Khan" is used in conjunction with the name of a lady of aristocratic family; the feminine form "Khanim" is used when the name is not mentioned.) To descend to a humbler class, I remember that in the early days of our occupation the head of the bakers at Sulaimani was a formidable woman named Rabi'a, who herself negotiated with the municipality regarding the price to be fixed for bread in the bazaar and maintained admirable discipline among her colleagues of the craft, traditionally a factious lot second only to the butchers. And I could give many other examples.

From the outset of our administration, too, there was a constant and

pressing demand for the opening of girls' schools, and the right of women to absolute equality with men has long been a favourite topic for articles in the Kurdish press. In a recent English publication, which some of you have doubtless seen, there is a charming picture in colour of a group of children in Cub and Brownie uniforms, described in the caption as "some of the 530 boys and girls attending Sulaimani's first co-educational school, started as an experiment in 1955 and since proving an unqualified success." Officially that may be so, but I remember that thirty-five years earlier, when there were as yet no girls' schools, it was already not uncommon for enlightened parents to send their daughters, up to the age of twelve or thirteen, to attend and sit in class with the boys.

Owing to the political troubles and other unfavourable circumstances to which I referred earlier the provision of adequate public instruction for girls, like so many other things, was delayed in the Kurdish districts of Iraq. But there is now issuing from the schools a new generation of educated and progressive young women who, if the character of their mothers and grandmothers is any guide, will soon make up for lost time and will not fail to play a worthy and influential role in the social life of their country.

Mr. C. LANGE: Which town in the area outlined by the lecturer on the map could be regarded as the principal town or the capital of Kurdistan if it were one consolidated country?

Mr. EDMONDS: The Kurds have always found it difficult to combine or to agree about anything. The larger towns where there has been Kurdish intellectual activity at one time or another are Bitlis, Jazirat-ibn-Umar, Mahabad, Senna, Arbil and, most consistently, and I think pre-eminently, Sulaimani. This special status of Sulaimani is probably due to two factors: the princes of the quasi-autonomous Baban dynasty, which survived until 1847, were great patrons of learning and literature; more recently the Turks had there a military primary school, cadets from which went on to the military academy and the staff college at Constantinople and eventually supplied the intellectual element, indispensable for a nationalist movement—General Sharif Pasha, who secured the inclusion in the abortive Treaty of Sèvres of provision for an independent Kurdistan, was a Sulaimani man. Sulaimani would not be at all central but its claims would be strong. However, the question is not likely to arise as a live issue.

General ARFA: Arising out of the lecturer's reference to Communist propaganda in Kurdistan, I am reminded that Mustafa Barzani, a brother of Shaikh Ahmad of Barzan, revolted against the Government of Iraq in 1930 and 1944. Those revolts were quelled with the aid of the British Royal Air Force. Mustafa Barzani joined the Kurdish puppet republic at Mahabad in Iranian Kurdistan. He fled to Iraq after the Iranian Government restored its control over Iranian Kurdistan. In 1947 he crossed with 500 followers into Soviet territory, where he established his headquarters to the north of Erivan, from whence he directs daily propaganda in the Kurdish language broadcast from the radio station. Has he any following or influence among the Kurds?



from the very limited journalistic activity to which I have referred, Kurdish literature was more or less restricted to poetry and folklore, and practically nothing had been printed or even lithographed.

In 1918, for the reasons I have explained, Kurdish was made the official language of local administration in the Kurdish parts of the Mosul vilayet south of the Great Zab. At that time Kurdish was never used for private correspondence; the official classes used Turkish, the others Persian. I remember, in 1919, a Kurdish official complaining to me that it was not at all in accordance with what he had always heard of British justice that he should be forced to write his reports in his own language.

All that is now changed. A weekly newspaper was started at Sulaimani in 1920 and under various names has continued to appear regularly ever since. Other weekly and monthly magazines have been published at Ruwandiz, Arbil, Kirkuk and Baghdad. Side by side with these there has been a steady if not very prolific output of anthologies, collected works of the classical poets, contemporary verse, histories, books on economics and on religion and morals, fiction (mostly translated), political essays, Kurdish grammars and vocabularies, and the like, varying in size from mere pamphlets to a monumental *History of Kurdish Literature* running to 630 pages. Broadcasting in Kurdish was started by the Sharq al-Adna station during the war, and for some years now Baghdad has had a regular Kurdish programme. It is the language of instruction in the first four classes of elementary schools, and is regularly used for private correspondence.

The extended use of the language has marched hand in hand with the nationalistic spirit. There has been a conscious effort to resist the encroachment of Arabic words and to preserve the rich and lively native Kurdish vocabulary unspoiled—you will notice that I say “preserve” and not “revive.” On the whole I think that these efforts have been successful, and, if one comes across occasional eccentricities, most of the Kurdish being published today seems to me idiomatic and natural.

Literary activity has not been confined to Iraq. On the Persian side, between 1943 and 1945, newspapers and other publications appeared at Mahabad. In Syria, for some years from 1932 onwards, members of the Badr-Khan family conducted a Kurdish Cultural Centre at Damascus, where they published a monthly magazine and other small books, using both the Arabic and the Roman scripts; I do not know whether these activities really made much impact on the Kurdish populations in Northern Syria, or whether they remained largely an academic exercise for a narrow circle of intellectuals. I have seen some Kurdish booklets from Soviet Armenia in a modified Cyrillic alphabet, but here again I do not know whether there is a real development in the use of the language for ordinary purposes. Kurdish broadcasts have been heard from Erivan, so perhaps there is.

Before I leave the subject of language let me just mention a new monthly magazine that has recently begun to appear under the auspices of the Kurdish Club of Baghdad. The first numbers contain, among other titles, articles on the Kurdish Language, the Pursuit of Happiness, the Freedom of Women, Bernard Shaw, and the Atom and Atomic Energy.

We have indeed travelled far from the days, barely forty years ago, when for most Europeans the name “Kurd” was little more than a synonym for “bloodthirsty brigand.”

The rural population of Kurdistan consists for the most part of settled agriculturalists. The nomads, those who lived throughout the year in black goat-hair tents and were accustomed to migrate with their flocks between the plains of Iraq and the highlands of Turkey and Persia, were once numerous. But in recent years the three governments have been at one in regarding not only the crossing of frontiers as an administrative nuisance, but nomadism itself as a discreditable survival from a barbarous past, to be discouraged or forbidden. The true nomads are therefore dwindling rapidly and either turning to agriculture or assimilating themselves to another class, the semi-nomads, villagers whose chief wealth is in their flocks and who move out in summer to hillsides within their own frontiers.

Among settled villagers a distinction is drawn between those who claim tribal origin and those who do not. Those with no such claim are called “Miskên” or “Kirmanj”; in some places they have been virtually serfs. Tribal villagers are often referred to as “Kurd” in contradistinction to “Miskên.” For practical purposes one may nevertheless say that outside the towns Kurdish society has up to the present been essentially tribal. In nearly every tribe there is a ruling family the members of which bear the title of Agha (or Beg) placed after the name. There may be one paramount Agha, or there may be more claiming the allegiance of different sections.

The Agha is a kind of feudal baron who does no work with his hands; he lives on perquisites which vary from tribe to tribe. He is required by custom or considerations of prestige to maintain a guest-tent, or a guest-house, where even the humblest traveller may claim entertainment and bedding, and which, moreover, serves as a kind of communal hall or club for the transaction of business. Where tribal solidarity is strong, the rank and file recognize that, in addition to this service, the Agha, by representing them in dealings with the government or in the complexities of inter-tribal politics, shoulders responsibility and incurs expense on their behalf; they do not then grudge the payment of certain old-established dues such as brokerage on their sales of wool or sheep, commission on the tax on agricultural produce (in the form of collections in excess of the total demanded by government from the group), fees for intervention with a neighbouring Agha to settle a private feud, or even direct contributions in kind to the guest-house.

But, in some tribes, especially where a “Kurd” family has squatted on a group of “Miskên” villages, exactions and corvées tend to become very vexatious. An Agha who, noting the signs of the times, has had the good sense to buy land in proper legal form can claim rent as the owner and is in a stronger position in the matter of perquisites. But if he has not done this, then, as the authority of the administration grows and the villagers refuse to submit to these impositions, he tends to become a serious social problem: he likes valuable horses, a rifle and revolver with plenty of ammunition, bright clothes and good food, but he no longer has the where-



ably past, the uneasy years between 1923 (the date of the Treaty of Lausanne) and 1932 (the date of the entry of Iraq into the League) did leave certain wounds which are still not entirely healed. Even after the actual disorders had ceased there were for some years complaints that the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and in 1932 were being ignored or at any rate grudgingly implemented. I have already alluded to the geographical factors which would have tended in any case to keep the Kurdish districts relatively backward. In addition the restlessness of the Kurds themselves had brought the administration in parts of the country to a standstill for long periods. On the other hand, I think it is not unjust to say that ministers and higher policy-making civil servants would have been hardly human if they had not allowed resentment at what they regarded as the treasonable aspirations and activities of a troublesome minority to influence them in the allocation of the limited funds available for public works and social services. There were, as usual in such cases, faults on both sides.

There is a tendency in most parts of the Middle East to accuse the Western Powers—unfairly, as I think—of bolstering up the position of the old reactionary grandees, so that they have kept all effective political power in their own hands. It is not to be wondered at, then, that just as the earlier nationalist leaders, sobered by experience and the hard logic of facts, had reached the conviction that their dreams of a greater Kurdistan were no longer capable of fulfilment, and that incorporation in Iraq offered the only possible future for the Kurdish parts of the Mosul vilayat, many young Kurds, with a racial grievance added to feelings of social frustration and discontent, should have begun to look to Russia for their inspiration. For the Russians, as I have already mentioned, exploitation of Kurdish unrest is nothing new. The result is that, as I am informed, the Communist propagandists have been particularly successful among the Kurds. By this I do not mean that they know or care very much about the doctrines of Karl Marx, Lenin, Stalin or Comrade Krushchev; merely that they are conditioned to lend themselves to subversive activity inspired or directed by Russia. I hope that I am not being unduly optimistic in thinking that this state of affairs is really a hang-over from the past ascribable to factors which are now ceasing to operate, and that a healthier state of affairs is in store.

The Kurds can, of course, never be expected to have much use for pan-Arabism; indeed, pan-Arab orators have at times caused great offence by insulting references to the minorities. But, as I see it, there is no necessary conflict between Kurdish national feeling and a genuine Iraqi patriotism. A relationship between the Arabs and the Kurds of Iraq resembling that between the English and the Scots has often been suggested as the ideal at which the statesmen of Iraq should aim. It is true that in several respects the cases are not parallel; in particular it used to be argued that, since the greater part of Kurdistan lay outside Iraq, any concession to Kurdish sentiment would only encourage separatist tendencies. If there was ever any justification for the fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be nothing in it now; and I think that the ideal is by no means fanciful or unattainable. In spite of past mis-

understandings, it is in Iraq that the Kurds have the fairest treatment. Iraq is fortunate in the vast sums accruing from the oil royalties, which it is able to devote to public works and the development of social services on the most up-to-date models. The south lends itself more than the mountainous north to remunerative projects and will no doubt always attract the lion's share of the expenditure; but even so a great deal is being done in the Kurdish areas, and the proportion may be expected to increase as the urgent priorities of the centre and south are completed. The programme of development now in hand must have the effect of binding the whole country together more closely than ever before.

In this connection I should like to read to you extracts from two letters which I have received from British friends in Iraq. The first is dated June 1955 from Kirkuk:

"The face of northern Iraq is beginning to change very much these days, and it is common to hear people wondering what it will be like in ten years. Huge earth moving machines are pushing the smaller Kurdish foot-hills into unrecognizable forms as they drive a new road, straight and broad, from Kirkuk towards Sulaimani; another is being built to the Dukan dam site; another south of the Shahrizur plain;" and so on.

The second is more recent—April 1957—from Baghdad:

"Four days ago, although it may sound incredible, I ate an excellent dinner in Sulaimani's comfortable new (and already too small) 12-bedroomed guest house, surrounded at neighbouring tables by 5 Greeks (building the Sarchinar housing estate), 4 Frenchmen (from the Dukan dam), 2 Americans (agricultural experts), 3 British (from English Electric), and 4 Germans (from the Darband-i Khan road). The rest-house, being extended by a further 28 rooms, faces what used to be the landing ground, now hidden beneath a new housing estate built by the Mortgage Bank. The Sarchinar cement factory has just been inaugurated, along with the Tasluja-Dukan road, and the foundation stone of the Dukan dam. A new vocational training school greets you at the entrance to the town. Another new school is being built opposite Hama Agha's house. My old house has become the Goyzha primary school for girls. A new sugar factory is on the drawing boards. A cigarette factory to end all cigarette factories is under construction. And I know not what else. One can still recognize the town, but I wonder if one will in another decade. The Goyzha backcloth (that is to say the long ridge to the north-east of the town) is just the same, and the weather—rain, hail and spring sunshine. The Kurds, thank heaven, stick to their own costume, and are as cheerful and hospitable as ever. But change and development and progress are the new watch-words and are everywhere apparent. Even in a year one notices differences, and as a form of anti-communist propaganda I reckon this is the stuff."

So far, owing to the special nature of my subject, I have dealt (except for a few glimpses) with some of the conditioning factors of social change among the Kurds, rather than with its manifestations. In the time left I should like to touch on just three points: developments in the use of the Kurdish language, changes in tribal society, and the position of women.

At one time uninstructed travellers were accustomed to say that the Kurdish speech was nothing more than a barbarous and corrupt *patois* of the Persian. That is very far from the truth. Kurdish belongs to the north-western group of Iranian languages, whereas modern Persian falls into the south-western group; the two are related but differ in many points of vocabulary, syntax, and phonology. Up to the war of 1914-18, apart



apostles of Kurdish nationalism was the poet Hajji Qadir of Koi; he was born about 1817 and so, as a young man in his twenties, had known the Baban realm when, in the words of another poet, it was "neither subject to the Persians nor slave-driven by the House of Usman." The first Kurdish newspaper, with the title *Kurdistan*, was founded by members of the Badr-Khan family in 1897, and appeared at intervals until 1902 in Cairo, Geneva, London and, of all unlikely places, Folkestone; later, after the proclamation of the Turkish constitution in 1908, it was published at Constantinople and during the First World War again in Cairo. It was in 1908 also that the first Kurdish political club and a Kurdish literary society were founded at Constantinople by Amin Ali Badr Khan and General Sharif Pasha of Sulaimani. Kurdish nationalism thus has its roots quite deep in the past. In its modern form it developed along parallel lines with the similar movements of the other subject races of the Ottoman Empire in Asia—the Arabs and the Armenians.

The First World War is the great turning point to which we must always come back in examining current trends in the Middle East: it brought under direct European administration for a considerable time large areas which had theretofore seen only an occasional Western traveller, but at the same time the mutual slaughter undermined the old prestige of the Western peoples; it coincided with the introduction into those countries of the internal combustion engine. Although for some years after the war the attention of the intellectual classes was focused on the attainment of complete independence, Western ideas in other fields, and the material manifestations of Western progress, were simultaneously exerting a profound influence on the ways of thought of the governments and peoples.

The aspirations of the minorities received further encouragement from the military defeat of Turkey in 1918, and from point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's "programme of the world's peace," enunciated in January of that year, which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be "assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." General Sharif Pasha attended the Peace Conference as the representative of the Kurdish patriotic organizations. The Treaty of Sèvres, signed in August 1920 by the delegates of the Allies and of the Sultan, incorporated, as Part I, the Covenant of the League of Nations (art. 22 of which stated that "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized"); and Part III of the same Treaty, among other stipulations, provided for the recognition or creation, not only of the Arab states of Hijaz, Syria and Iraq, but also of an Armenia (to include territory formerly belonging to Turkey and to Russia), and a Kurdistan (which might include the eastern vilayats of what is still Turkey, south of the boundary fixed for Armenia, and the Kurdish districts of the Mosul vilayat, now part of Iraq).

Owing to the rise of Mustafa Kamal the Treaty of Sèvres was never ratified. The Treaty of Lausanne of July 1923, which replaced it, confirmed the provision for the independence of the Arab states; nothing was said about an Armenia or a Kurdistan, and Turkey maintained until 1926

a demand for the retrocession of the Mosul vilayat. But this dream of an independent Kurdistan remained on record in an international document and was not forgotten, nor could it be expected that the Persian Kurds would remain unaffected by the ambitions of their kinsmen across a very artificial frontier. After 1920, for some years, the Kurds of the Mosul vilayat south of the Great Zab (those north of that river were more or less inarticulate) continued to resist incorporation in Iraq. Armed nationalistic movements of varying importance, but all short-lived, occurred in all three countries: in Turkey the most important of these was that of Shaikh Saf'id in the Kharput region in 1925, and there were others in subsequent years at Siirt, in the Ararat district, and elsewhere; in 1922-3 Shaikh Mahmud of Sulaimani in Iraq proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistan"; as recently as 1944-5 the Mukri Kurds of Persia, with Russian support, took advantage of a temporary weakness of the central government to proclaim the "Kurdish Republic of Mahabad."

But I think that as time goes on any concerted armed revolt becomes less and less likely. With the increasing sophistication of the peoples, tribal Aghas and religious Shaikhs, the classes from which the self-appointed leaders used to be drawn, can no longer count on the same unquestioning obedience as before; in any case, improved communications, the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport, and the growing complexity of modern weapons have combined to give governments an overwhelming advantage over tribal irregulars, who no longer enjoy even the old asset of superior mobility. My feeling is that, unless there is some revolutionary change in the international situation—and that is an important reservation—nationalistic agitation is unlikely to go much beyond the circulation of leaflets by secret societies calling themselves "communist," and occasional student demonstrations or localized riots by bazaar roughs.

Of the four Muslim countries, it is only in Iraq that the Kurds are officially and legally recognized as a minority having certain rights of their own *qua* Kurds. This is due to the facts that: (1) from 1918 until 1923 there was an obligation on the Mandatory Power to keep open for them the possibility of adhering to a Kurdish state that might be formed; and (2) that in 1925 the League of Nations, when it awarded the disputed Mosul vilayat to Iraq, made it a condition of the award that "regard should be had to the desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice, and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services." When Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations in 1932 the guarantees, with slight modifications, were repeated in a Declaration that was to rank as part of the Constitution; and this was followed by a statute, the Local Languages Law, specifying the administrative units in which Kurdish is to be used. It is in Iraq, therefore, that it is easiest to follow a specifically Kurdish thread in the general pattern of social change, and the rest of this talk will deal principally with Iraq.

Although, as I have said, the day of armed nationalistic revolt is prob-



south-easterly direction from Erivan so as to include the districts of Maku, part of Khoi, Riza'iya (Urmia), Mahabad (formerly Sauj Bulaq), Saqqiz and Senna to Kirmanshah; the great high road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thence the straight line to Mandali, mark approximately the boundary between the Kurds proper and the kindred Lakks and Lurs, who are sometimes classed as Kurds.

The inhabitants of Kurdistan as so defined are, of course, not exclusively Kurdish. Before 1914, for instance, there was a large population of Armenians in the part lying north of the 38th parallel of latitude, and the Nestorian Christians, well known in England as the Assyrians, were numerous in the Hakâri province of Turkey and in the adjacent Persian district of Riza'iya; most, if not all, of these have disappeared from Turkish territory, but several thousands of the Assyrians are now compactly settled in the Amadiya region of Iraq. There are also ancient colonies of Turko-mans in a string of towns along the highway from Baghdad to Mosul: Qara Tapa, Kifri, Tuz Khurmatu, Tauq, Kirkuk, Altun Köprü, Arbil and, beyond Mosul, Tall Afar. But taken by and large the great majority of the population is Kurdish. On the other hand, there are islands of Kurds established outside these limits: to the west, for instance, at Damascus, in the Aleppo district, and as far away as Ankara; to the east, in the provinces of Qazvin, Khurasan, and Kirman.

The Kurdish population of Iraq can be estimated pretty accurately on the basis of the census of 1947, at about 900,000. My guess for Persia—I know of no reliable statistics—would be a little higher. In Turkey the Government used to deny that the Kurds formed a separate ethnic group at all, and called them "Mountain Turks"; nevertheless, the Turkish census of 1945 did give a figure for the persons whose mother tongue was Kurdish—just under 1½ millions. That is almost certainly a grave underestimate; indeed, I have heard from an exceptionally well-informed source that, with the new democratic processes in Turkey, the Kurdish vote has assumed a quite unexpected importance and that in Turkey itself three or even four millions is now sometimes suggested as a reasonable estimate. That seems to me to be pitching it rather high, and on the whole I think it safer to assume a figure about the equivalent of the total for Persia and Iraq combined. This, with Syrian, Soviet and other oddments and an allowance for natural increase in the last few years, would give us a grand total of about five millions. The Kurds form a fairly important minority of about one-fifth of the population of Iraq. In Turkey, Persia and Syria, if the actual figures for the first two are higher, the proportion is substantially lower.

As regards religion, most of the Kurds are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i rite. The mystical dervish orders, especially the Qadiri and the Naqsh-bandi, have numerous adherents in all parts of Kurdistan, and there are some Bektashis. Two heterodox groups of great interest are the Yazidis, most of whom live in Mosul district; and the Ahl-i Haqq, the People of the Divine Truth, who are known as Ali-Ilahi in Western Persia and Kakai in the Kirkuk and Khanaqin districts of Iraq.

The Kurds have, of course, been subjected in recent years to much the same influences as all the other peoples of the Middle East. I think one

can fairly say that the forms taken by the social changes induced by these common influences have been very largely governed by the policies and the financial resources of the governments or rulers of the various states into which the region is divided. But there is no such thing as a Kurdish Government or a Kurdish Treasury. In Turkey, Persia, Iraq and Syria men and women of Kurdish race have exactly the same legal status and the same civil rights as anybody else. We must be on our guard against creating an artificial distinction between the Kurds and their fellow-Muslims of the majority races in these four territories.

Nevertheless, there have been at work, side by side with or cutting across the others, certain material and moral influences peculiar to the Kurds; and if we are to consider social changes among the Kurds as distinct from social changes in Turkey, Persia, Iraq or Syria generally, it is to these that we must first address ourselves.

Physically the immediately obvious fact about Kurdistan is that much of it is a land of mountains, some of it very high mountains, with poor communications. If one is to generalize about the Kurds, I suppose one may say that on the whole they must have remained more isolated than the bulk of their fellow-citizens from modern, that is European, influences, whether direct or imparted by the reformed administrations of Turkey and Persia from the middle of the nineteenth century to 1914; and that for the same reason, since 1918, the Kurdish areas would have found themselves low in the priority lists of their respective governments for development schemes, other public works, schools, technical institutions, and the like, all powerful agents of social change. Such neglect is not necessarily to be ascribed to ill-will on the part of the ruling majority; even here at home complaints are often heard that Whitehall has little understanding of, or sympathy for, the problems and needs of the remoter country districts.

But, cut off as much as Kurdistan was, there was nothing to prevent individuals, especially the members of aristocratic families with urban contacts in the provinces, or cadets from the elementary military school at Sulaimani for instance, from doing what in this country we should call "coming south" from the Highlands, and rising to the highest offices in the government or in the army. It was men such as these that supplied the intellectual element for the nationalist movement which must come next for consideration.

In spite of the centralizing policies of the Ottoman and Persian Empires, a number of quasi-autonomous Kurdish principalities survived into the first half of the nineteenth century: Bohtan and Hakâri in territory still Turkish; Bahdinan, Soran and Baban in what is now Iraq; Mukriyan and Ardalan in Persia. Two of the ruling families played an important part in the development of Kurdish nationalism: the Badr-Khans of Bohtan (capital Jazirat-ibn-Umar, now Cizre) and the Babans of Sulaimani.

Nationalism is, of course, often used as a cloak for the ambitions of some self-appointed leader or for the impatience of tribesmen under any kind of ordered administration; both before and after the suppression of the principalities there were frequent risings against the central governments in which the leaders appealed to racial sentiment to rally their followers. In the intellectual sphere perhaps the most famous of the early



Berufsnamen), jemand, der die Waffen, das Schwert trägt; Oberlandjägermeister (Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk-er.*, S. 425), Waffenschmied, Schwertfeger; Kavallerietruppe; wachhabender Offizier, Patrouillenführer; Gendarm, Gouverneur einer Festung oder einer Stadt (Sulaimān-Efendi, *Lughāt-i dhaghātī*, S. 232); Posten, Schildwache, Inspektor (Vambéry, *Cağhataische Sprachstudien*, S. 316).

Unter den Šafawiden bezeichnete dieses Lehnwort im Persischen die Leibgarde, die zum Schutz der Person des Königs aufgestellt war und die ihn in den Krieg begleitete; nach der Schlacht bei Čaldīrān wurden alle, die davon gefangen genommen worden waren, vor Selīm I. geführt und hingerichtet (J. von Hammer, *G O R*, II, 417).

*Litteratur:* Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse*, S. 25, Anm. 8 (Ch. Schefer).

(CL. HUART)

**KURDEN**, iranisches Volk in Vorderasien, das in Persien, Transkaukasien, der Türkei und im Irāk (s. KURDISTAN) wohnt. Vor 1914 wurde die Zahl der in grossen Massen zusammen oder in abgesonderten Kolonien (Khorāsān, Kleinasien, Cilicien, Nordsyrien) lebenden Kurden auf 2—3 Millionen Seelen geschätzt.

Obleich schon viele Reisende durch Kurdistan gezogen sind und eine grosse Anzahl wichtiger Arbeiten über Sprache, Geschichte, Ethnographie und politische Bedeutung der Kurden vorliegen, fehlt es noch an einer Gesamtdarstellung. Diese wird auf jeden Fall durch den fragmentarischen und sporadischen Charakter unserer Nachrichten und durch die Verschiedenheit der von den Forschern angewandten Methoden erschwert.

#### A. Ursprung.

Die Einordnung der Kurden unter die iranischen Völker stützt sich hauptsächlich auf sprachliche und geschichtliche Momente und berücksichtigt nicht die zahlreichen ethnischen Bestandteile der Kurden. Ihr Typ ändert sich nämlich je nach den Ortschaften ganz deutlich. Wahrscheinlich breitete sich das kurdische Element von Osten (Westpersien) nach Westen (dem mittleren Kurdistan) aus, aber nichts hindert anzunehmen, dass vor der Ankunft der Kurden ein Volk anderen Ursprungs, aber mit ähnlich lautendem Namen (Kardū) im mittleren Kurdistan gewohnt hat, das sich später an die iranischen Kurden assimilierte.

Auf den beiden sumerischen Steinschwellen, die ungefähr aus dem Jahre 2000 vor Chr. stammen, hat Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, V, 99; VI, 67) die Erwähnung eines Landes *Kar-da-ka* gefunden (wobei nach persönlicher Mitteilung des Übersetzers der Anfangsbuchstabe *k* laut und nicht *q* und die Bedeutung der Silbe *-ka* zweifelhaft ist). Dies Land befand sich neben den „Leuten von Su“ (vgl. *Z A*, XXXV, 230, Anm. 3), die Driver südlich des Wansees wohnen lässt; eine alte Festung Süy liegt in der Gegend von Bidlis (*Šaraf-nāma*, I, 146). Tausend Jahre später führte Tiglath Pileser Krieg mit den Völkern Kur-ti-e in dem Gebirge Azu, in dem Driver (*J R A S*, 1923, S. 400) den heutigen Hazō (Sasun) vermutet. Indessen ist die Lesung *Kur-ti-e* unsicher.

Im V. Jahrhundert erwähnt Herodot nichts dergleichen, aber nach ihm (III, 93) umfasste der dreizehnte Nomos des Achämeniden-Reiches neben den Armeniern eine Landschaft Παντινική, die Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr.*, Leipzig 1868, S. xviii) und Kiepert (*Alte Geogr.*, § 81) mit dem

Namen Bokhtān (= Bohtān) in Zusammenhang brachten.

Der von Xenophon beschriebene Rückzug der Zehn-Tausend (401—400 v. Chr.) machte die Karduchen (Καρδοὺχοι) berühmt, deren Land sich östlich des Kentritēs (Bohtān) erstreckte. Von jener Zeit an findet man ständig einen Namen von der gleichen Wurzel auf das Gebiet am linken Tigris in der Nähe des Berges Djūdi angewandt. Bei den klassischen Schriftstellern wurde das Gebiet *Kor-dūnni* genannt (über die zahlreichen Formen dieses Namens, die wahrscheinlich durch die Schwierigkeit, das semitische *k* wiederzugeben, hervorgerufen wurden, siehe Driver, *a. a. O.*). Bei den Aramäern hiess das Gebiet Beth-Kardū und die heutige Stadt Djazīrat Ibn ‘Omar, Gāzartā d’Kardū. Die Armenier gebrauchten den Namen Kordukh, die Araber (Balādhuri, S. 176; Tabari, III, 610) Bākardā (Kardai). Nach Yāqūt (IV, 56), der sich auf die Aussage Ibn al-Athīr’s stützt, gehörte der Kanton Bākardā zu Djazīrat Ibn ‘Omar, zählte 200 Dörfer (al-Thamānīn, Djūdi, Firūz-Shābur) und lag am linken Tigrisufer gegenüber Bāzabdā am rechten Ufer (siehe die vollständige Bearbeitung der Texte in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, S. 33—5). Später verschwand der Name, der nur für den historischen Ort verwandt worden war, aus der islamischen Terminologie und wurde durch Djazīrat b. ‘Omar, Bohtān usw. ersetzt. Bei den Armeniern und Arabern hatte das eigentliche Kardū-Gebiet eine sehr begrenzte Ausdehnung. Man kennt die genauen Grenzen der Provinz *Kor-dūnni* nicht; ihre drei Städte Sareisa, Satalka und Pinaka (= Finik) lagen am Tigris; aber sehr bemerkenswert ist die Angabe Strabons (IX, 12, 4), nach der sich die Bezeichnung *Kor-dūnni* manchmal auf das Gebirge zwischen dem heutigen Diyārbakr und Mūsh bezog.

Wer waren aber die *Kαρδοὺχοι*, deren Namen zweifellos in den späteren Benennungen fortlebte (die Endung *-χοι* muss den armenischen Plural auf *-kh* wiedergeben, was sich vielleicht dadurch erklären lässt, dass die Griechen diesen Namen aus armenischem Munde kennen lernten)? Nach Xenophon (IV, 3, 1) erkannten die Karduchen weder die Oberhoheit des Königs Artaxerxes, noch die Armeniens an. Als im I. Jahrh. v. Chr. Kordüene von Tigranes II. erobert wurde, liess letzterer den dortigen König Zarbienes hinrichten. Im Jahre 115 n. Chr. hiess der König von Kordüene Manisarus. Nach Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, S. 239 und *Armen. Gramm.*, I/II (1897), S. 518—20 wurde die Provinz Kordüene nur oberflächlich armenisiert.

Im Grunde wäre es nicht erstaunlich, im Zeitalter Xenophons einen ungläubigen iranischen Stamm im Norden des Tigris zu finden, aber zur Beurteilung des ethnologischen Charakters der Karduchen haben wir nur das Zeugnis ihres Namens. Letzterer hat semitische Analogien (akkadisch-assyrisch *kar-du* „stark, Held“, *kar-ūdu* „stark sein“); andererseits hat er eine gewisse konsonantische Ähnlichkeit mit dem Namen des Volkes Khaldi, bekannter unter dem assyrischen Namen Urartu, Urashtu, im Hebräischen Ararat, bei den Griechen *Αλαρδοί*, *Χάλδοι* und manchmal *Χαλδαίοι*. Dieses Volk tauchte in Armenien um das IX. Jahrh. v. Chr. auf und gründete dann in der Gegend des Wansees ein mächtiges Königreich, das bis zu Beginn des VI. Jahrh. bestand. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mater. z. älter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttin-

gen 1907, S. 123, sieht in den Khaldi westliche Einwanderer; E. Mayer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, I/II, 1913, § 474, sucht ihren Ausgangspunkt am mittleren Araxes. Nach der Ankunft der Armenier (um das VII. Jahrh.) wurden die Khaldi zersprengt und gegen das Gebirge zurückgedrängt (Kyropaedie, III, 1—3), aber ihr Name lebte in der Toponymie des Gebiets nördlich vom Wansee fort (das byzantinische Thema *Χαλδία* in der Nähe von Trapezunt, die Stadt Khilāt = Akhlāt usw.; vgl. Belck und Lehmann, *Z A*, IX [1894], 84; de Goeje, *ibid.*, X, 100; Streck, *ibid.*, XIV, 112). Sogar im Kaukasus hat man versucht, Parallelen zu dem Namen *Khaldi* zu ziehen: die Georgier nennen sich *Khartv-eli*, *Kharth-ul-i* (swanisch *khyard*, mingrelisch *khort-u*); vgl. Adontz, *Armenia v. epokhu Iustiniana*, Petersburg 1903, S. 398.

Ob man nun Kardū mit den Semiten oder der autochthonen Bevölkerung in Zusammenhang bringt, Tatsache bleibt, dass das Gebiet der alten Karduchen heute einer der Hauptherde der kurdischen Nation bildet. Daher hat man auch auf die Identität der Karduchen mit den Kurden geschlossen; diese Ansicht war noch zu Beginn des XX. Jahrh. unangefochten, vgl. *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, II, 464. Noch weiter gehend, brachte man manchmal die Kurden direkt mit den *Χαλδοι* in Verbindung; schon Reiske schrieb in seinem Kommentar zu Constantin Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, B. 13 (713, 11): *Chaldi et Kordi vel Curti, Gordyaei iidem*. Eine ähnliche Auffassung kommt in dem Titel der Arbeit von Lerch (1857) zum Ausdruck: *Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Nord-Chaldäer*.

Diese Frage erhielt eine neue Wendung durch die Forschungen von M. Hartmann, Nöldeke und Weissbach, welche darlegten, dass aus linguistischen Gründen die Formen *kurd* und *kardū* zu unterscheiden seien. Zu gleicher Zeit haben dieselben Gelehrten vorgeschlagen, die Kurden in den *Κύρτιοι* Cyrtii zu erblicken, welche die klassischen Schriftsteller in Medien und in der Persis erwähnen (Strabon, XI, 13, 3 und XV, 3, 1). Diese Annahme wird durch das Vorhandensein zahlreicher kurdischer Stämme in Färs bestätigt, die seit der Sāsānidenzeit dort nachweisbar sind (vgl. *Kārnāmāk-i Artakhschir-i Pāpakān*, Übers. Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, S. 37, 48 und die Angaben der arabischen Schriftsteller).

Die richtige Trennung zwischen den Namen *Kurd* und *Kardū* lässt aber trotzdem die wichtige Frage unentschieden: wie kamen die Cyrtii (= die iranischen Kurden) dazu, die Länder westlich des Zagros, das Gebiet der alten Kardū und den Antitaurus bis nach Nordsyrien zu kolonisieren? Dies Problem erheischt noch eine eingehende Untersuchung. Ganz im Anfang riefen natürlich die medischen und persischen Eroberungen grosse Verschiebungen der iranischen Völker hervor. Ein Beispiel hierfür sind die Wanderungen eines Teiles der Asagartiya, die ursprünglich in Sistān beheimatet gewesen waren; im assyrischen Zeitalter findet man diese Sagartiier in Medien (*Zikirtu* oder *Zakruti*, vgl. Streck in *Z A*, XIV, 146), und zur Zeit des Darius (Inschrift von Bahistūn, 2, 90) lag ihre Hauptstadt schon in der assyrischen Ebene bei Arbela, wo Darius ihren Führer Citrantakhma hinrichten liess, dessen Bild auf dem Felsen von Bisutūn einen kurdischen (?) Typ verrät (L. W. King, *The sculptures . . . of Behistan*, London 1907). Schon zwischen 220 und 171 vor Chr.

nahmen Cyrtii als Söldner in Kleinasien an den Kriegen zwischen Rom, den Antiochiern und den Königen von Pergamon teil (Titus Livius, XLII, 58, 13, XXXVII, 40, 9; Polybius, V, 52, 5); vgl. Weissbach, in Pauly-Wissowa<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *Cyrtii*, und A. J. Reinach, *Les mercenaires de Pergame* in *Revue archéologique*, 1909, S. 115—119. Ein sehr sonderbarer Übergangszustand ergibt sich aus der armenischen Geographie des VII. Jahrhunderts in bezug auf die Provinz Korčēkh (nach Adontz, *Armenia*, S. 418: Korčēkh von *\*kortīē-aikh*, wobei *kortīē* „Kurde“ bedeutet, ebenso wie *atrpātīē* „Bewohner der Atropatene“). Zur Zeit des Faustus Byzantinus (IV. Jahrh.) war Korčēkh nur ein Kanton in der Nähe von Salmās. Als Provinz erstreckte sich Korčēkh schon zwischen Djūlāmerg und Djazīrat Ibn ‘Omar und umfasste die folgenden Kantone: Kordukh, die drei Kordrikh (Kordikh), Aituanikh, Aigarkh, Mothotankh (Othotankh), Orsiranikh (Orisanikh), Karathunikh (Saraponikh), Čahuk und Klein-Aḥbak (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, S. 93; Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, S. 255—259).

Man sieht die Veränderungen, die sich mit der Zeit gebildet hatten. Aus den drei Gebieten: Kordukh, Kordikh und Tmorikh, die Faustus an Stelle der alten Kordüene erwähnte, war Kordukh, ein einfacher Kanton von Korčēkh, geworden, und Tmorikh war zu Gunsten von Kordrikh (Kordikh) beseitigt worden, wo man nur den oberen, mittleren und unteren Kanton unterschied.

Hübschmann (*a. a. O.*, S. 385) beschränkt sich darauf, die Kordrikh/Kordikh von den *Κύρτιοι* zu unterscheiden, aber im allgemeinen schliesst die von M. Hartmann und Nöldeke aufgestellte sprachliche Unterscheidung das Vorhandensein hybrider und kontaminierter Formen nicht aus (M. Hartmann, *a. a. O.*, S. 92: „es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander“; Nöldeke unterscheidet sogar eine dritte Gruppe von Namen: aramäisch: *Kartēwāyē*/arabisch: *Kartāwiya* (?) als Bezeichnung für die wirklichen Kurden; vgl. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, S. 207, Anm. 1639).

So beginnt also zur Zeit der arabischen Eroberung ein einheitlicher ethnischer Terminus *Kurd* (Pl. *Akrād*) ein Gemisch iranischer und iranisierten Stämme zu bezeichnen. Unter diesen letzteren gab es Autochthone (die Kardū; die Tmorikh/Tamurāyē in dem Bezirk, der Alkī = Elk als Hauptstadt hat; die *Xabzīrāi* [al-Khuwaithiya] im Kanton Khoit von Sāsūn, die Ortāyē [= al-Artān] im Euphratbogen), Semiten (siehe die volkstümlichen Genealogien der Kurdenstämme) und wahrscheinlich auch Armenier (man nimmt an, dass der Mamakān-Stamm mamikonischen (?) Ursprungs sei).

Im XX. Jahrhundert hat man die Tatsache feststellen können, dass unter den Kurden ein nicht-kurdisches, iranisches Element vorhanden ist (die Gruppe Gūrān-Zāzā); in mehreren Ortschaften hat man eine soziale Schichtung bei den Kurden beobachten können, die auf die politische Herrschaft Neu-Hinzugekommener zurückgeht (in Sulaimāniya, in Sāwdj-bulāk, in Kōtūr, wo man Reste der Kūresinli (?) den *Shakāk* unterworfen sieht). Planmässiges Nachforschen wird Spuren der alten Völkerschaften, die in der einheitlichen Kurdenmasse aufgegangen sind, wieder ans Licht fördern können.

Volkstümliche Genealogien und Etymologien. Die islamischen Quellen und die kurdischen Überlieferungen erleichtern keineswegs



die Lösung des Problems über den Ursprung der Kurden. Schon Mas'ūdī (*Murūdī*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, III, 251) spricht davon, dass sie von jenen Persern abstammten, die vor dem Tyrannen Dahhāk entflohen waren. Diese Legende ist besonders in der Version des *Shāh-nāma* (Macan, Vers 27—8; Mohl, I, 71; Vullers, I, 36, Vers 29—38) bekannt. Noch im Jahre 1812 erwähnt Morier, *Second Journey*, S. 357, ein Fest, das in Damāwand (am 31. August) zum Andenken an die Befreiung Persiens von der Tyrannei Dahhāks stattfand und das den Namen *'Aid-i Kurdī* („das kurdische Fest“) trug. Andererseits legten sich die Kurden arabische Genealogien zu. Die einen (*Murūdī*, III, 253) gaben als ihren Vorfahren Rabī'a b. Nizār b. Ma'add an, die andern Muḍar b. Nizār: beide gaben den Gebieten Diyār-Rabī'a (Mawṣil) und Diyār-Muḍar (Raḡḡa) den Namen. Als sich die Kurden infolge von Zwistigkeiten mit den Ghassāniden vom arabischen Stamm trennten, sollen sie sich in die Gebirge zurückgezogen, in Verbindung mit den Fremden getreten und ihre Muttersprache vergessen haben. Noch interessanter ist eine Reihe von Ahnherren, in welcher Kurd b. Mard (vgl. die Nachbarn der Cyrtii of *Maḍḍai*) b. Sa'sa'a b. Harb b. Hawāzin eine Rolle spielt (Mas'ūdī, a. a. O., und *al-Taḥḥib*, S. 88—91: Kurd b. Isfandiādh b. Manūshahr; Ibn Hawḳal, S. 185—7: Kurd b. Mard b. 'Amr). Alle diese Genealogien können ein Körnchen historischer Wahrheiten enthalten (Irānisation der Semiten, Kreuzung der Stämme von Zagros und Fārs).

An volkstümlichen Etymologien fehlt es ebenfalls nicht. Man wollte (*Murūdī*, III, 249) den Namen mit der arabischen Wurzel *karrada* in Zusammenhang bringen (die Kurden sollen Kinder der von Salomon „verjagten“ jungen Sklavinnen und des Dāmons *Diasad* sein). Am häufigsten (vgl. Driver in *JRAS*, 1923, S. 403) ist der Name *Kurd* mit dem persischen Wort *Gurd* (Held) zusammengestellt worden, obgleich dieses letztere in Wirklichkeit ein im Pehlewī bezeugtes *g* hat und auf die Wurzel *var* „beschützen“ zurückgeht (Horn, *Neupers. Etymol.*, S. 200).

In späterer Zeit sind die Namen der Stämme oft durch diejenigen ihrer Eponymen erklärt worden. Das *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 158, lässt alle Kurden (die Stämme Badjnawī und Bokhtī) von Badjan und Bokht kommen; der erstere dieser Namen kann mit Basn-āw, einem Nebenfluss des Tigris (Andreas bei Hartmann, S. 131), in Zusammenhang gebracht werden, während der zweite an die *Πακρυνί* bei Herodot oder an den Königsdrachen (kurdisch?) Haftān-Bokht denken lässt, den Artakhschīr-i Pāpakān tötete (vgl. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, S. 11). Nach einer anderen Legende, die besonders im Norden und Westen verbreitet ist, waren die Kurden ehemals in die beiden Stämme Milān und Zilān geteilt, während die ersteren aus Arabien, sollen die letzteren aus dem Osten gekommen sein; die Zilān wurden für eine minderwertigere Rasse gehalten (vgl. M. Sykes in *J. Anthr. I.*, XXXVIII, 1908, S. 470).

**Litteratur:** F. Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, Petersburg 1880, S. XXII; W. Tomaschek, *Sasun und d. Quellengebiet d. Tigris*, *SB Ak. Wien.*, 1895, CXXXIII/IV; M. Hartmann, *Bohtan in Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.*, 1896/2, 1897/1, S. 90—103; Nöldeke, *Kardu und Kurden in Festschrift f. H. Kiepert.*, Berlin 1898, S. 73—81; Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen in Indogerm. Forsch.*, XVI (1904), S.

255—9; Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* s. v. *Καρδοὺχοι* u. *Κέρπιοι*; Driver, *The name Kurd and its philological connexions*, in *JRAS*, 1923, S. 393—403.

#### B. Geschichte.

Man hat ausführliche Nachrichten über die Kurden seit der arabischen Eroberung. In den ersten fünf Jahrhunderten der Hidjra spielen die Kurden häufig eine wichtige Rolle bei Ereignissen, zu denen sie mitunter den ersten Anstoss gaben. Mehrere Kurden-Dynastien tauchen zu dieser Zeit auf. In den Fluten der türkischen und mongolischen Invasionen scheinen die Kurden vom VI. bis zum X. Jahrhundert der Hidjra zu verschwinden. Aber mit dem Beginn der Kämpfe zwischen den türkischen Sultanen und den Saffawiden entwickelt sich in Kurdistan eine günstige Atmosphäre für das Aufblühen des Lehnswesens, von dem das *Sharaf-nāma* (1003 = 1596) ein getreues Bild wiedergibt. Die türkisch-persische Grenze nimmt allmählich feste Formen an, und die Perser ziehen sich hinter die Zagros-Kette und deren nördliche Ausläufer zurück. Dann beginnt die Türkei mit der innerpolitischen Arbeit, die Zentralgewalt in den östlichen Provinzen zu befestigen. Um die Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts verschwinden die letzten kurdischen Fürstentümer in der Türkei (Hakkārī, Bidlis, Sulaimāniya) und in Persien (Ardalān). Indessen bestehen die grossen Stämme fort und erhalten das kurdische Element mit seinen sozialen und ethnischen Eigentümlichkeiten. Persien mischt sich fast gar nicht in das innere Leben seiner Kurden-Stämme, während die Türkei versucht, sich der Kurden als einer politischen Stütze für die Zentralgewalt zu bedienen. Bald fühlen sich die Kurden geschmeichelt, bald setzen sie den Versuchen, die letzten Reste ihrer Selbstbestimmung zu beseitigen, Widerstand entgegen. Im Verlauf des XIX. Jahrhunderts finden mehrere kurdische Aufstände statt, und zu Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts wird die Zahl der nationalen Aufstände im türkischen Kaiserreiche durch eine kurdische Erhebung vermehrt. Die Revolution von 1908 zieht die Kurden ins politische Leben hinein: kurdische Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Klubs fangen an, wie Pilze aus der Erde zu schiessen. Während des Krieges 1914—18 wird zum ersten Male die Berechtigung eines autonomen Kurdistan von den Verbandsmächten anerkannt, aber dieser Plan ist nur zum Teil und auch nur in den Gebieten des alten Wilāyet Mōṣul, die dem heutigen Irākstaat angegliedert sind, verwirklicht worden.

Die Kurden nach der arabischen Eroberung. Es ist ratsam, zu allererst die Angaben der arabischen Schriftsteller über die Einteilung der Kurdenstämme zu ordnen.

Da der Ausdruck Kurdistan vor der Seldjukenzeit unbekannt war, wird das Material über die Kurden von den Arabern gewöhnlich unter Zawzān, Khilāt, Arminiya, Adharbāidjān, Djibāl, Fārs usw. angeführt (vgl. Driver, *Dispersion of the Kurds in ancient times*, in *JRAS*, 1921, S. 563—72).

Mas'ūdī (um 332 = 943) und Isṭakhri (um 340 = 951) geben zum ersten Mal systematische Aufschlüsse über die Kurden. Im *Murūdī al-Dhahab* (III, 253) zählt Mas'ūdī die folgenden Stämme auf: in Dainawar und Hamadān: die Shuhjdjān; in Kangawar: die Mādjurdjān; in Adharbāidjān (so muss man den Text verbessern): die Hadhbānī und Sarāt (wahrscheinlich Shurāt =

„Khāridjiten“, vgl. weiter unten die Geschichte von Daisam); in Djibāl: die Shādandjān, Lazba (Lurri?), Madandjān, Mazdānakān, Bārisān, Khālī (Djalālī), Djābārki, Djāwānī, Mustakān; in Syrien: die Dabābila usw.; in Mawṣil und Djūdi die christlichen Kurden: al-Ya'kūbiya („Jakobiten“) und die Djurkān (Djurughān). Dieser Liste fügt das *Tanbih* (S. 88—91) desselben Verfassers nur die Bāzindjān (vgl. Isṭakhri, S. 115), Nashawira, Būdhikān und Kikān (heute in der Nähe von Mar'ash) hinzu; aber es gibt genau die Ortschaften an, wo Kurden gelebt haben: die *Rumūm* (Zumūm?) von Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjistān, Khorāsān (Isṭakhri, S. 282: ein kurdisches Dorf im Kanton Asadābād), Isfahān (eine Abzweigung des Stammes Bāzandjān und eine blühende Stadt mit dem Namen Kurd; Ya'kūbi, S. 275, Isṭakhri, S. 125), Djibāl, besonders Māh Kūfa, Māh Baṣra, Māh Sabadḥān (Māsabadḥān) und die beiden Ighār (d. h. Karadj Ibn Dulaf und Burdj), Hamadḥān, Shahrizūr mit seinen Bezirken Darābād und Samghān (Zimkān), Adharbāidjān, Armenien (in Dwin am Araxes lebten die Kurden in Lehm- und Steinhäusern; Muḳaddasī, S. 277), Arrān (eins der Tore von Barda'a hiess Bāb al-Akrād und Ibn Miskawaihi behauptet, dass zur Zeit des Einfalls der Rūs im Jahre 332 [943] der Lokal-Gouverneur Kurden unter sich hatte), Balakān, Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), Djazira, Syrien und al-Thughūr (d. h. die Festungslinie in Cilicien).

Genauer gibt Isṭakhri, S. 98, in Fārs 5 *Rumūm* an, wobei dieser Ausdruck die Landstriche, auf die die Kurden verteilt waren, bedeutet (trotz de Goeje, *BGA*, IV, 250, ist es vorzuziehen, das Wort *rumm*, Pl. *rumūm* [vom persischen *ram* „Herde, Menge“] beizubehalten; denn es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass von *Zōma* der Plural *Zumūm* abgeleitet wurde). Jeder *Ramm* hatte seine Stadt, sein kurdisches Oberhaupt, das den *Khārādī* zu erheben hatte und für die Sicherheit verantwortlich war. Diese *Rumūm* waren: 1. *Djilōya*, sonst Rāmidjān, Grenzland von Isfahān und Khūzistān; 2. *Lawālidjān*, zwischen Shirāz und dem Persischen Golf; 3. *Dhīwān*, in der *Kūra* Sābūr; 4. *Kāriyān* in der Gegend von Kirmān; 5. *Shahriyār*, das sich nach Isfahān hin ausdehnte und nach dem Hauptstamm, dessen einer Teil nach der Provinz Isfahān verpflanzt war, auch Bāzandjān genannt wurde. Als Ergänzung zur Liste der *Rumūm*, gibt Isṭakhri, S. 114, ein Verzeichnis der 33 Nomadenstämme (*Ḥaiy*, Pl. *Ahyā*) von Fārs, das auf Angaben des *Diwān al-Ṣadaḳāt* beruht und von Ibn Hawḳal, S. 185—7 und Muḳaddasī, S. 446 abgeschrieben wurde: Kirmānī, Rāmānī, Mudaththir, Muḥammed b. Baṣhar, Baḳilī (Muḳaddasī: *Thālabī*), Bundādmahri, Muḥammed b. Ishāk, Sabāhi, Ishāki, Adharkānī, Shahraki, Tahmādhani, Zabādi, Shahrāwī, Bundādaki, Khusrāwī, Zandji, Safari, Shāhyārī, Mihraki, Mubāraki, Ishtāmharī, Shāhūnī, Furātī, Salmūnī, Širi, Azāddokhtī, Barāzdoḳhtī, Muṭallabī, Mamālī, Shāhkānī, Kadji, Djalilī, — im ganzen 500 000 in Zelten lebende Familien.

Das *Fārs-nāma* (um 500 = 1107) behauptet, S. 168, dass die Kurden der alten grossen *Ramm*: *Djilōya*, *Dhīwān*, *Lawālidjān*, *Kāriyān* und *Bāzandjān*, die den glänzendsten Teil der alten Armee in Fārs stellten, alle in den Kriegen zur Zeit der Einführung des Islām umgekommen seien, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen „Alak, der Muslim wurde und Nachkommen hinterliess. Andere Kurden wurden durch 'Aḳud al-Dawla von Isfahān nach Fārs verpflanzt. Es ist schwer, die Vernich-

tung 500 000 kurdischer Familien (?) anzunehmen, aber man muss mit der Möglichkeit von Umgruppierungen und einer Entnationalisierung der Stämme von Fārs rechnen. Der alte *Ramm* *Djilōya* (Kūh-Galū) wird heute von den Luren bewohnt, aber man weiss nicht, von wann an sie hier wohnen. Übrigens wird in dem Verzeichnis bei Isṭakhri ein Stamm namens al-Lurriya (Variante: *Lazba*?) unter den Kurden von Fārs aufgezählt. Andererseits unterscheidet das *Fārs-nāma* von den Kurden die *Shabānkara*-Stämme, die zur Zeit der letzten Būyiden in Fārs sehr mächtig geworden waren. Das *Masālik al-Aḥḳār* von al-'Umari spricht von den *Shabānkara* in einem besonderen Abschnitt, und das *Sharaf-nāma* zählt sie unter den kurdischen Dynastien nicht auf. Trotzdem trägt aber einer ihrer Stämme (Rāmānī) den Namen eines der „kurdischen“ Stämme bei Isṭakhri. All die Tatsachen lassen darauf schliessen, dass sich die „Kurden“ in Fārs sehr stark von den Stämmen Kurdistan unterschieden (s. die Artikel *SHUL* und *LUR*).

Der Terminus al-Zawzān, der sich im grossen und ganzen mit Zentral-Kurdistan deckt (*Zōzān* auf kurdisch „Sommerweiden“), hat einen sehr unbestimmten Charakter. Nach Ibn Hawḳal, S. 250 hatte der *Malik* von Zawzān den Namen al-Dairānī (= Deranik, armenischer König von Waspurakan). Muḳaddasī, S. 137, sieht in Zawzān eine *Nāhiya* von Djazirat Ibn 'Omar. In der Folgezeit nahm dieses Gebiet, das eine aus Kurden und Christen gemischte Bevölkerung aufwies, an Ausdehnung zu. Nach Ibn al-Athīr (bei Yāḳut, II, 257) fing al-Zawzān zwei Tagereisen von Mawṣil an und erstreckte sich bis an die Grenzen von Khilāt; in der Richtung auf Adharbāidjān erreichte es Salmās. Dort gehörten viele befestigte Schlösser den *Bashnawī*- und *Bokhtī*-Kurden: die ersteren besaßen Barkā, Bashīr (und Fanak); den letzteren gehörten *Djurdhakil* (Gurgil), der Sitz ihres *Malik* Atil (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 117: *Nash Atil*?), 'Allūs, Bāz al-ḥamrā. Schliesslich gehörten den Herren von Mawṣil (den Zangi): Alki (= Elk), Arwakh, *Bakhawḳha* (= Bekūki in Barwārī), Barkhō, Kingawar (?), Nirwa (im Osten von 'Akr?) und *Khawshab*. Der Text des Yāḳut ist nicht sehr zuverlässig; jedenfalls kann es sich hier um kurdische Festungen handeln, die nach und nach von den Hamdāniden annektiert wurden (siehe weiter unten).

Die Kurden unter den Khalifen und den Būyiden. Aus der vorislamischen Zeit hat Mas'ūdī (*Murūdī*, III, 249) Traditionen über die Streitigkeiten zwischen dem arabischen Fürstengeschlecht der Ghassān und den Kurden aufbewahrt. Die islamisierten Araber kamen mit den Kurden nach der Besetzung von Takrit und Hulwān im Jahre 16 (637) in Berührung. Sa'd b. Abi Waḳḳas marschierte auf Mawṣil zu, wo die von Kurden bewohnten Bezirke besetzt wurden (al-Mardj, Bā-Nuhadhā, Bā-Adhrā, Hibtūn, Dāsin u. a.; vgl. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, II, 408). Die Eroberung des Gebietes wurde von 'Iyād b. Ghānam und 'Utba (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, S. 331) zu Ende geführt. Der Baṭriḳ von al-Zawzān wurde im Jahre 19 (640) gegen Bezahlung des *Khārādī* als Herrscher anerkannt (*Futūḥ*, S. 176). In Khūzistān kämpften die Araber im Jahre 18 (639) gegen die Kurden, welche die Partei des al-Hurmuzān, des persischen Statthalters von Ahwāz, ergriffen hatten (*Kāmil*, II, 425). Auch in Fārs unterstützten die Kurden die Perser bei der Verteidigung von Fasā und Darāb-



djird im Jahre 23 (642) (a. a. O., III, 32). Gegen die Kurden von Ahwāz musste 'Omar mehrmals kriegerisch vorgehen (*Futūḥ*, S. 382, 389; *Kāmil*, III, 37). Andererseits fielen unter 'Omar die Kurden in die Gebiete des mittleren Karkhā (Saimara, Māsabadhān) ein, wo die persische Sprache noch zur Zeit des Ya'qūbī (*B G A*, VII, 236) gesprochen wurde. Die Araber waren vor dem Islām nach Shahrizūr gekommen (Ibn al-Fakīh, S. 130), aber die endgültige Besetzung von Shahrizūr, Dā-rabādh und Samghān im Jahre 22 (643) verlief unter blutigen Kämpfen (*Futūḥ*, S. 334; *Kāmil*, III, 29). Im Süden hatte Abū Mūsā, der Statthalter von Baṣra, die kurdischen Aufstände in Bērūdh und Balasdjān im Jahre 25 (645) zu unterdrücken; aber die mit Gewalt islamisierten Kurden fielen in Massen wieder vom Glauben ab (*Kāmil*, II, 66, 76). Unter dem Khalifen 'Alī nahmen die Kurden ebenso wie die Perser und die Christen an dem Aufstand al-Kharrī's in der Nähe von Ahwāz und in Fārs teil, aber dieser Führer wurde bei Rām-Hurmuz geschlagen (a. a. O., III, 309).

Al-Mukhtār, der sich unter dem omayyadischen Khalifen 'Abd al-Malik Armeniens und Adharbāidjāns bemächtigt hatte, ernannte im Jahre 66 (685) in Hulwān einen Statthalter, der die Kurden bekämpfen sollte (*Kāmil*, IV, 187); aber al-Mukhtār's Tod liess diesen Plan nicht zur Ausführung kommen. Unter demselben Khalifen verband sich im Jahre 83 (702) der aufrührerische 'Abd al-Rahmān in Fārs mit den Kurden von Sābūr (a. a. O., IV, 352). Im Jahre 90 (708) verwüsteten die Kurden Fārs und wurden von al-Hadjdjādī geächtet. Im Jahre 129 (746) widersetzten sich die Kurden von Sābūr dem Verbündeten der Khāridjiten Sulaimān, der sich gegen den Khalifen Marwān II. erhoben und Sābūr belagert hatte (a. a. O., IV, 387, 341; V, 283). Der Khalife Marwān selbst war der Sohn eines kurdischen Sklavin (Tabarī, III, 51), von der er die blauen Augen und die gesunde Gesichtsfarbe geerbt hatte (W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, London 1891, S. 429).

Unter dem 'abbāsidschen Khalifen Manṣūr zog der Einfall der Khazār in Armenien (147 = 764) zahlreiche Aufstände nach sich. Wenige Jahre später werden die Kurden (*Intishār al-Akrād*) von neuem bei Gelegenheit des Aufstandes in Mawṣil und seinen Rückwirkungen auf Hamadān erwähnt (*Kāmil*, V, 448; VI, 9). Dja'far, der Sohn Manṣūr's, war von einer kurdischen Sklavin geboren (Tabarī, III, 442).

Aus der Zeit al-Mu'tasim's wird eine kurdische Erhebung im Jahre 225 (839) erwähnt; sie wurde in der Gegend von Mawṣil durch Dja'far b. Fahardjīs, dem Sprössling einer vornehmen kurdischen Familie, entfacht. Nachdem Dja'far bei Bābaghesh geschlagen worden war, konzentrierte er seine Truppen rückwärts in dem Gebirge Dāsīn, wo er das Heer des Khalifen vollständig besiegte. Eine neue Armee, die von dem Türken Aitākḥ befehligt wurde, machte dem Aufstand ein Ende (*Kāmil*, VI, 360—1). Im Jahre 231 (845) brach eine kurdische Empörung in den Gebieten Isfahān, Djibāl und Fārs aus; sie wurde von dem türkischen General Waṣīf schnell niedergeschlagen.

Im Jahre 252 (866) schlossen sich die Kurden von Mawṣil dem khāridjischen Musawir an, der sich Mawṣil bemächtigt hatte. Im Jahre 262 (875) spielten sie in dem Aufstand der Zandji-Sklaven (vgl. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin 1892:

*Sklavenkrieg im Orient*) eine grosse Rolle, der von einem khāridjischen (?) 'Aliden 'Alī Muḥammed, genannt al-Khabīth, geführt wurde, und ebenso bei der Erhebung des Ya'qūb al-Saffār, dem Begründer der Saffariden-Dynastie. Ya'qūb setzte in Ahwāz einen Kurden namens Muḥammed b. 'Ubaidallāh b. Hazārmard ein, der, voll ehrgeiziger Pläne, geheime Besprechungen mit al-Khabīth einleitete. Mit den von letzterem gesandten Verstärkungen marschierte Muḥammed auf Sūs (Susa) zu, wurde aber von Ahmed b. Laithōya zurückgeschlagen; dieser, ebenfalls Kurde und Chef der kurdischen Miliz, war vom Khalifen hierher geschickt worden, um der Ya'qūb'schen Erhebung Einhalt zu tun (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Übers. de Slane, IV, 304—8). Nachdem Ahmed wieder abmarschiert war, bemächtigte sich Muḥammed mit Hilfe der neuen von al-Khabīth gesandten Verstärkungen, die zum Teil aus Kurden bestanden, Shustar's, wo er nach einem vorläufigen Übereinkommen, die *Khuṣba* im Namen des al-Khabīth verlesen lassen sollte, aber unerwartet liess er die Namen des Khalifen al-Mu'tamid und seines Gegners Ya'qūb al-Saffār ausrufen. Die verbündeten Zandji verliessen Muḥammed, und Shustar wurde wieder von Ibn Laithōya besetzt. Muḥammed begab sich nach Rām-Hurmuz, aber auch von dort wurde er durch Truppen des al-Khabīth verjagt. Infolge von Schwierigkeiten mit den Dārnān-Kurden, ersuchte Muḥammed den Khabīth von neuem um Hilfe. Dieser sandte ihm Truppen, die Muḥammed zur Schlacht führte, dann aber plötzlich verliess und angriff. Um einen Zwist mit al-Khabīth zu vermeiden, willigte Muḥammed darin ein, ihn zum Khalifen auszurufen. Der Tod Ya'qūb's (265 = 879) und al-Khabīth's (270 = 883) machten all diesen Abenteuern ein Ende (*Kāmil*, VII, 264).

Um das Jahr 281 (894) befanden sich die Kurden unter den Anhängern des Arabers Hamdān b. Hamdūn (s. HAMDANIDEN), als sich dieser in Mawṣil niederliess. Die im Jahre 284 (897) von Abū Lailā entfachte kurdische Empörung dauerte nicht lange (a. a. O., VII, 325, 337). Im Jahre 293 (906) verwüsteten die Hadhbāni-Kurden unter dem Befehl ihres Führers Muḥammed b. Bilāl die Gegend von Ninive. 'Abd Allāh b. Hamdān, der neue Statthalter von Mawṣil, verfolgte sie, wurde aber in Ma'ṭuba zurückgeschlagen. Im darauf folgenden Jahre machte er sich mit den vom Khalifen erhaltenen Verstärkungen an die Verfolgung von 5000 Hadhbāni-Familien. Die Kurden knüpften Verhandlungen an, um Zeit zu gewinnen, und zogen sich nach Adharbāidjān zurück. 'Abd Allāh kehrte nach Mawṣil zurück und rückte mit neuen Truppen wieder gegen die Hadhbāni vor, die sich in Djabal al-Salak (wahrscheinlich Lahidjān, vgl. den Artikel SĀWĀJ-BULĀK) verschanzt hatten. Die Hadhbāni wurden unterworfen; ihrer Befriedung folgte die des Stammes Humaidi und der Bewohner von Djabal Dāsīn (a. a. O., VII, 371). Unter dem Khalifen al-Muktadir brandschatzten die Kurden die Umgebung von Mawṣil, wurden aber von dem Statthalter Hamdāni geächtet; der Stamm Djālāl widersetzte sich mit ganz besonderer Hartnäckigkeit (a. a. O., VIII, 118). Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjarib al-Umam*, GMS, VI, 105, spricht von einer Expedition des Husain Hamdāni nach Adharbāidjān im Jahre 332 (943); zu dieser Zeit war er mit Dja'far b. Shakōya, dem Oberhaupt der in Salmās lebenden Hadhbāni, verbündet.

Um diese Zeit erscheint Daisam b. Ibrāhīm, dessen an Abenteuern reiches Leben aufs engste mit den Kurden verknüpft ist, auf dem Schauplatz. Er selbst war der Sohn eines Arabers und einer Kurdin. Seine Truppen bestanden aus Kurden, mit Ausnahme einer kleinen dailamitischen Abteilung. Daisam war Khāridjit. Nach Yusuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj hatte er sich Adharbāidjāns bemächtigt, und im Jahre 327 (938) benutzte er seine Kurden dazu, Lashkāri b. Mardī, einen der Statthalter des Ziyāriden Washmgir, zu verjagen. Aber es gelang dem Musāfriden Marzubān, der wegen seines schi'itischen Glaubens bekannt war, Daisam Adharbāidjān zu entreissen, und letzterer entfloß zu seinem Freunde Hādjik b. al-Dairāni (= dem armenischen König von Waspurakan Khačik-Gaghik, dem Sohn Deranik's). Dann riefen die Bewohner von Tabriz Daisam zurück, aber er erlitt von neuem eine Niederlage, und mit dem Einverständnis der Musāfriden zog er sich nach Tarum zurück. Im Jahre 337 wurde Marzubān von dem Büyiden Rukn al-Dawla, der einen Vertreter nach Adharbāidjān sandte, gefangen genommen. In diesem Augenblicke erinnerte sich Wahsūdān, der Bruder des Marzubān, des Daisam, dem seine Kurden treu geblieben waren, und schickte ihn gegen den Vertreter des Rukn al-Dawla. Daisam wurde geschlagen, hielt sich aber in Ardabil und Bardha'a. Als Marzubān aus seiner Gefangenschaft zurückkehrte, musste Daisam zuerst nach Armenien und dann nach Baghdād entfliehen, wo ihn der Büyide Mu'izz al-Dawla hochherzig behandelte. Da ihn seine Freunde bestürmten, doch nach Adharbāidjān zurückzukehren, ging er zu den Hamdāniden von Mawṣil und Syrien, um sie um Hilfe zu bitten. Während der Abwesenheit Marzubāns, kehrte Daisam im Jahre 344 (955) nach Salmās zurück, wo er die *Khuṣba* im Namen des Saif al-Dawla von Syrien verlesen liess. Auf's neue von Marzubān verjagt, suchte Daisam bei seinen armenischen Freunden Zuflucht. Ibn al-Dairāni (Deranik, Sohn des Khačik) musste ihn wider seinen Willen Marzubān ausliefern. Daisam wurde geblendet und starb im Jahre 345 (956) im Gefängnis (Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjarib*, ed. Amedroz, I, 345; II, 148—51; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII, 289, 361, 375—7).

Während der Gefangenschaft Marzubāns in Raiy, tauchten mehrere unabhängige Statthalter im Nordwesten Persiens auf. Einer von ihnen (um 340 = 951) hiess Muḥammed Shaddād b. Kaṭū aus dem Stamme Rawādī, aus dem später die grosse Dynastie der Aiyūbiden hervorging. Die wichtigsten Lehnsgüter der Shaddādiden waren Dabil und Gandja. Die Shaddādiden verbündeten sich mit den Byzantinern und Seldjūken. Im Jahre 465 (1072) kaufte Abū Suwār Anī für seinen jüngsten Sohn Manūche. Von diesem Moment an spaltete sich die Dynastie in zwei Teile: den von Gandja und den von Anī. Im Jahre 1124 wurde Anī von den Georgiern erobert, aber zwischen 520 (1126) und 557 (1161), sowie zwischen 1165 und 1174 war Anī wieder im Besitz der Shaddādiden. Die Shaddādiden haben als sehr aufgeklärte Fürsten bedeutende Bauten hinterlassen. Siehe die Artikel ARRĀN, DWĪN, GANDJA, SHADDĀD; die armenische Bibliographie in Lynch, *Armenia*, I, 363—7; vgl. auch Barthold im Anhang zu seiner russischen Übersetzung von Lane-Poole, *Muham. Dynasties* (St. Petersburg 1899), S. 294; Barthold, *Pers. nadpis' na ... meletī Manūche (Aniyskaya Seriya*, N<sup>o</sup>. 5); N. Marr, *Ešte o slove „elebi“ in Zapiski*, XX (1911), 120;

D. Ross, *On three muhammadan dynasties in Asia Major*, II (1925), 215.

Im Jahre 349 (960) erschien ein Prätendent in Adharbāidjān. Er hiess Ishāk b. Isā und wurde von Faql, dem Führer der Kaḥṭāni(?)-Kurden, unterstützt, während sein Gegner, der Musāfride Djastān b. Marzubān, sich auf die Hadhbāni stützte. Ishāk verlor schnell das Spiel (*Tadjarib*, II, 179). Die Kurden und die Dailamiten spielten beide eine bemerkenswerte Rolle in den Zwistigkeiten Djastān's mit seinem Bruder Nāṣir al-Dawla und in denen des Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān mit seinem Vetter Ismā'il b. Wahsūdān (*Tadjarib*, II, 219, 229; *Kāmil*, VIII, 420—3).

Um das Jahr 348 (959) trat in Djibāl die zweite kurdische Dynastie auf (Lane-Poole, *Muham. dynasties*, N<sup>o</sup>. 57), begründet von Hasanwaih (Hasanōye) b. Hasan (vgl. *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 20—3), dem Haupt des Stammes Barzīkāni (Barzīni), der dem Büyiden Rukn al-Dawla bei seiner Expedition nach Khorāsān Dienste geleistet hatte. Rukn al-Dawla zeigte den Kurden gegenüber eine grosse Nachsicht, und wenn man sich bei ihm über ihre Übergriffe beklagte, sagte er: „Auch die Kurden müssen essen“ (*Tadjarib*, II, 281). Ibn al-Athīr (VIII, 519) lobt den Edelmut Hasanwaih's, seine politische Klugheit und seinen reinen Lebenswandel. Als Hasanwaih im Jahre 369 (979) in seiner Hauptstadt Sarmādj (südlich von Bisutūn) starb, durcheilte 'Aḍud al-Dawla seine Besitzungen (Hamadān, Dainawar, Nihāwand), um dort seine Autorität zu sichern; dann aber setzte er Badr b. Hasanwaih (369—405 = 979—1014) ein, der 'Aḍud al-Dawla treu blieb und selbst seine eigenen Brüder bekämpfte, die auf die Seite des Rebellen Fakhr al-Dawla getreten waren. Der Khalife verlieh Badr den Titel *Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla*. Die Einschätzung Badr's bei den Geschichtsschreibern ist äusserst günstig: er veredelte seinen eigenen Stamm, er verteilte in gerechter Weise die Steuern, er beschützte die Bauern (*Tadjarib* [Abū Shudjā], S. 287—99, 327; [Ibn Muḥassin], S. 429, 449—54; *Utbī, Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, Übers. Reynolds, S. 424). Der Nachfolger Badr's Zāhir (Tāhir?) regierte nur ein Jahr und wurde im Jahre 406 (1015) von dem Büyiden Shams al-Dawla vertrieben. Der Onkel Hasanwaih's Wandād, das Haupt der Abteilung 'Aishiyā, starb im Jahre 349 (960), sein Bruder Abū 'l-Ghanā'im im Jahre 350 (961), und kurz darauf wurde sein Sohn Abū Sālim Daisam, der letzte dieser Seitenlinie, seiner befestigten Schlösser (Kasān oder Kasnān [Kaslān (?) in der Nähe von Bābā Yādīgār im Zohāb], Ghānim-ābād u. a.) beraubt.

Wiederholt hatte 'Aḍud al-Dawla mit den Kurden zu tun, aber er war viel strenger zu ihnen als sein Vater Rukn al-Dawla. Im Jahre 368 (978) wurde der Kurde Ibn-Bādōya [Bādḥ, v. infra] mit Hilfe des Hamdāniden Abū Taghlib unabhängiger Statthalter von Ardamusht = Kawāshī in der Nähe des Djabal Djūdī (Yāqūt, I, 199), aber er liess sich schnell durch die Versprechungen 'Aḍud al-Dawla's bestechen (*Tadjarib*, II, 392). Im Jahre 369 (979) schickte letzterer eine Expedition gegen die Kurden von Shahrizūr, um sie von den Beduinen Banū Shaibān zu trennen, die mit den Kurden durch Heirat und Interessengemeinschaften verbunden waren. Die Stadt Shahrizūr wurde besetzt, und die Araber kehrten in ihre Steppe zurück (*Tadjarib*, II, 398; *Kāmil*, VIII, 516).

Im Jahre 370 (980) wurde eine neue Expedition



gegen die Hakkāri-Kurden unternommen. Man umzingelte sie, und sie ergaben sich auf das Versprechen hin, ihr Leben zu schonen. Trotzdem aber liess sie der Führer der Expedition zu beiden Seiten des Weges zwischen Ma'alhāyā und Mawṣil auf einer Strecke von fünf Farsakḥ kreuzigen (*Kāmil*, VIII, 521).

Noch zu Lebzeiten 'Aḍud al-Dawla's hatte sich der Führer der Ḥumaidi, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusain b. Duṣḥandj (oder Abū Shudjā' Bādh b. Dustāk), unter dem Namen Bādh bekannt, eine ziemliche Berühmtheit erworben. Zuerst Hirte, wurde er nach und nach der Herr von Ardjish, Āmid und Maiyāfāriḳin. Ein Aufstand in Naṣibin brachte ihn mit Ṣamsām al-Dawla in Konflikt. Bādh schlug dessen Truppen bei Ba-Djulāiyā (am Khābūr al-Ḥusainiyya im Bezirk Kawāshī = Ardamuṣht), besetzte Mawṣil und wollte sogar nach Baghdād marschieren, um der Būyiden-Herrschaft ein Ende zu machen, als er von Ṣamsām geschlagen wurde. Er zog sich auf Maiyāfāriḳin zurück, und durch eine Übereinkunft mit dem gegen ihn gesandten Heerführer sicherte er sich den Besitz von Diyārbakr und des westlichen Teiles von Tūr 'Ābdin (374 = 984). Bādh gab aber seine Pläne betreffs Mawṣil nicht auf, und nachdem er eine grosse Zahl von Bashnawī-Kurden um sich gesammelt hatte, lagerte er bereits im Jahre 379 (990) vor den Mauern dieser Stadt und führte Verhandlungen mit ihren Bewohnern. Aber die Ḥamdānī-Fürsten, die wieder im Besitz ihres Erblandes waren, verschafften sich die Hilfe des Araberstammes der Banū 'Uḳail und besiegten den Angreifer. Ein Unfall machte Bādh kampfunfähig, und er wurde getötet. Sein Leichnam wurde gekreuzigt, aber die Bewohner von Mawṣil setzten es durch, dass er mit den üblichen Zeremonien begraben wurde, da er ja doch die Ungläubigen bekämpft hatte (*Kāmil*, IX, 25, 27, 38, 49; *Tad̄jārīb* [Abū Shudjā'], S. 83-4, 176-8; Abū 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar al-Durwal*, ed. Pocock, S. 321-3).

Im Jahre 380 (990) machte Ṣamsām al-Dawla einen Versuch, seine Stellung wiederzuerlangen, und zu diesem Zwecke verband er sich mit Fulād b. Mundhir, der sich auf die in Shīrāz mobilisierte kurdische Kavallerie stützte. Nach dem Zusammenbruch des Unternehmens suchte er bei den Kurden Zuflucht, aber diese verrieten ihn, und er flüchtete zu Fakhr al-Dawla, der wegen seiner Kurdophobie bekannt war (*Tad̄jārīb* [Abū Shudjā'], S. 184; über Ibn Fulād siehe 'Uṭbī, a. a. O., S. 424-5).

Die kurdische Dynastie der Marwāniden (Lane-Poole, N<sup>o</sup>. 47) hängt aufs engste mit Bādh zusammen. Nach der Schlacht von Mawṣil zog sich Abū 'Alī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, der die Schwester des Bādh zur Mutter hatte und sein Verbündeter war, nach Ḥiṣn-Kaifa zurück, wo die dailamitische Frau des Bādh wohnte. Er heiratete sie und riss von den befestigten Schlössern des Bādh eins nach dem andern an sich. Zweimal nahm er den Ḥamdāniden, der Bādh die Niederlage zugefügt hatte, gefangen, aber er behandelte ihn grossmütig. Ibn Marwān liess sich in Diyārbakr nieder, und durch sein entgegenkommendes Verhalten gewann er sich die Sympathie der Einwohner. Die Marwāniden regierten von 380 (990) bis 489 (1096). Ihre Macht erstreckte sich nicht nur auf Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzan, Maiyāfāriḳin, Ḥiṣn-Kaifa), sondern auch auf Khilāt, Melāzgerd, Ardjish und den Bezirk nordöstlich des Wansees. Im Westen hatte er sich augenblicklich Urfa angeeignet. Im Jahre

381 (991) drang Abū 'Alī Ḥasan bis nach Syrien vor und entriss dieses Land dem Kaiser Basilius II. von Byzanz. Bei einem Aufstand wurde er im Jahre 387 (997) von den Bewohnern Diyārbakrs getötet. Sein Bruder Abū Maṣṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawla, der nach dem Tode Bādh's Maiyāfāriḳin an sich gerissen hatte, regierte dort bis 402 = 1011 (Abū 'l-Fidā, *Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske, II, 569). Sein Bruder Abū Naṣr Ahmed (Ibn Khallikān, I, 157-8) folgte ihm und regierte von 402-53. Im Jahre 416 (1025) bemächtigte er sich Urfa's, aber im Jahre 422 (1031) stellten die Byzantiner dort ihre Herrschaft wieder her (Abū 'l-Faradj, S. 342). Er hatte sich den Namen eines gerechten, aufgeklärten und geschickten Fürsten erworben, obgleich er einen leichten Lebenswandel führte. Im Jahre 442 (1050) musste er dem Seldjuken Tughril huldigen. Sein Sohn und Nachfolger Abū 'l-Kāsim Naṣr, mit dem Beinamen Nizām al-Dawla (453-72), teilte die Herrschaftsgewalt mit seinem Bruder Sa'īd (gest. 457). Zu seinen Besitzungen erwarb er Harrān, Suwaidā u. a. hinzu. Sein Nachfolger wurde Maṣṣūr b. Sa'īd, der nominell von 472 bis 489 regierte, aber seit dem Jahre 478 (1085) hatte sich der Seldjuken-General Fakhr al-Dawla b. Dīhār fast all seiner Besitzungen bemächtigt, die dem Atābeg von Mawṣil unterstellt wurden (Abū 'l-Fidā, III, 77-9, 87, 121, 125, 249). Über die Marwāniden vgl. die Spezialstudie von Amedroz, *JRAS*, 1903, S. 123-54.

Zur Zeit vor dem türkischen Einfall hört man sehr häufig von kurdischen Heldentaten und Feldzügen. Aus der Zeit des Khalifen al-Kādir (381 = 991-1031) berichten die Geschichtsschreiber die Heldentat des Kurden Ahmed b. al-Daḥḥāk, der den General des Kaisers Basilius II. tötete und dadurch den Vormarsch der Byzantiner zum Stillstand brachte (*Tad̄jārīb* [Abū Shudjā'], S. 247). Zwischen 366 und 388 nahmen die Kurden an den Kämpfen zwischen den Būyiden und Ziyārīden um den Besitz von Djurdjān teil ('Uṭbī, S. 298-302; Ibn Isfandiyār, *GMS*, II, 226-8). Einige Jahre später setzte der Ghaznawide Mahmūd Kurden gegen die Karakhāniden ein ('Uṭbī, S. 336).

Die Kurden nahmen an den Bürgerkriegen der Būyiden, an den Kämpfen der Banū 'Uḳail um den Besitz von Mawṣil usw. teil. Im Jahre 411 (1020) widersetzten sie sich den türkischen Truppen die sich in Hamadān empört hatten. In den Jahren 415-20 kämpften sie in Fārs und in Khūzistān gegen den letzten Būyiden Abū Kalīdjār (*Kāmil*, IX, 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249, 254, 265; *Tad̄jārīb* [Ibn Muḥassin], S. 348, 376, 381). So erschöpfte sich das kurdische Element gerade zu der Zeit in zahllosen Kämpfen, als das Auftreten türkischer Horden die ethnischen Verhältnisse des Nahen Ostens vollständig verändern sollte.

Die türkische Eroberung. Als im Jahre 420 (1029) die Ghuzz, Vorläufer der Seldjuken, in Raiy ankamen, zog ihnen der türkische General der Ghaznawiden, Tāsh, mit 3000 Reitern entgegen, unter denen auch Kurden waren. Nachdem der Führer dieser Kurden von den Ghuzz gefangen genommen worden war, liess er seinen Leuten sagen, sie sollten den Kampf einstellen. Dies rief eine Verwirrung hervor, und Tāsh wurde getötet (*Kāmil*, IX, 268). Im selben Jahre liessen die Ghuzz, nachdem sie bis Marāgha vorgedrungen waren, viele Hadhbānī-Kurden hinrichten. Die Kurden verbündeten sich mit dem Statthalter von Adharbāidjān (Wahsūdān), und die Ghuzz mussten

den Rückzug antreten. Eine andere Abteilung der Ghuzz kam nach einem Raubzug durch Armenien wieder nach Urmia und in die Gebiete des Abū 'l-Haidjā Hadhbānī; die Kurden griffen die Ghuzz an, erlitten aber eine Niederlage. Im Jahre 432 (1041) liess der Musāfiride (?) Wahsūdān b. Mamlān in Tābriz eine grosse Anzahl Ghuzz niedermetzeln; die Ghuzz von Urmia drangen in das von Mawṣil abhängige Hakkāri-Gebiet ein und verwüsteten es; aber als sie in das Gebirge vordrangen, griffen die Kurden sie plötzlich an, metzelten 1500 Mann nieder und machten viele Gefangene und grosse Beute (*Kāmil*, IX, 270-2).

Beim Herannahen der Truppen des Tughril-Beg stiessen die erschreckten Ghuzz wieder vor. Kurden zeigten ihnen den Weg durch das Gebiet al-Zawzān nach Djazira. Ein Teil der Ghuzz unter Maṣṣūr b. Ghozughli blieb östlich von Djazira, während der andere Teil unter Būkā nach Diyārbakr marschierte und unterwegs die Gebiete von Kardū, Bāzabdā, Ḥusainiyya (Yākut, II, 270: eine Stadt zwischen Mawṣil und Djazira) und Feshābūr plünderte. Der Marwānide Sulaimān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, Statthalter von Djazira, bestimmte die Ghuzz dazu, vor dem Frühling sein Land nicht zu durchqueren, um sich mit den andern Ghuzz, die sich bereits in Syrien befanden, zu vereinigen. Dann brachte er durch eine List Maṣṣūr in seine Gewalt und verfolgte mit Hilfe der Bashnawī-Kurden von Finik die Ghuzz. Aber die Ghuzz hörten mit ihren Plünderungen nicht auf; sie verwüsteten das Gebiet von Diyārbakr und bemächtigten sich Mawṣil's (*Kāmil*, IX, 272-3).

Inzwischen hatte sich das Glück der Hasanwaihiden gewandt, und die Macht über Djibāl war an eine neue Familie namens Banū 'Annāz übergegangen (vgl. Huart, *Les Banou-Annāz*, Syria 1922, S. 66-79, 265-79; *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 22: 'Aiyār). Häufiger wird sie mit dem Namen Abū 'l-Shawk bezeichnet. Schon im Jahre 340 (951) bei einem türkischen Aufstand in Hamadān hatte der Būyide Mu'izz al-Dawla die Hilfe Ibn Abi 'l-Shawk's, des Machthabers von Hulwān (*Tad̄jārīb*, II, 2), in Anspruch genommen. Der wirkliche Begründer dieser Dynastie scheint Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Annāz (*Kāmil*, IX, 158) gewesen zu sein, der von 380 bis 401 regierte. Sein Sohn Abū 'l-Shawk tötete den letzten Hasanwaihiden Zāhir (Tāhir) im Jahre 406. Zu den Besitzungen der Banū 'Annāz gehörten Shahrāzūr, Kirmānshāh (im Jahre 431 erobert; *Kāmil*, IX, 300, 316), Bilawār, Ṣamghān, Daḳūka und Khūftidhakān. Im Jahre 437 schickte Tughril seinen Bruder Ibrāhīm Yanāl, um in Djibāl Ruhe herzustellen. Ibrāhīm verjagte den Kākōyiden Garhāsp aus Hamadān, der bei den Djuzkān-Kurden Schutz suchte. In Kirmānshāh lag eine Garnison Abū 'l-Shawk's, die sich aus Dailamiten und Shādjandjān-Kurden zusammensetzte. Kirmānshāh wurde besetzt, und Abū 'l-Shawk starb 438 (1046) in Sirwān. Ibrāhīm riss Ṣamirān (Ṣamirān?, Ṣaimara?) an sich und unterwarf die Djuzkān. Sa'īd, der Sohn Abū 'l-Shawk's, unterwarf sich den Seldjuken. Die Dynastie bestand bis zum Jahre 510 (1116) (Münedjim-bāshī bei Sachau, a. a. O.).

Die Niederlage des Kaisers Romanos IV. bei Melāzgerd (463 = 1071) brachte ganz Armenien an Alp Arslān. Unter den Gross-Seldjuken trat in Fārs die unruhige Dynastie der Shābānkara auf, aber es bleibt sehr fraglich, ob dieser Stamm, dessen Schicksale in die Zeit von 421-756 fallen, im eigentlichen Sinne kurdisch war (s. oben). Auf

der anderen Seite aber wurden die kleinen kurdischen Dynastien zu Gunsten der Türken unnach-sichtlich beseitigt. Im Jahre 493 (1100) verschwindet der letzte Marwānide in der Gegend von Khilāt, wo der Türke Suḳmān Kuṭbī die Dynastie der Shāh Arman begründet, die ein Jahrhundert lang bis zum Auftreten der Aiyūbiden bestand. Ibn al-Aṭhīr (X, 238) erwähnt unter dem Jahre 495 (1101) die Vernichtung von 2000 Kurden des Surkhāb b. Badr, eines Sprösslings aus der Dynastie Banū 'Annāz, durch die Turkmenen des Salghūr Ḳarabulī; diese Turkmenen bemächtigten sich dann aller Besitzungen des Surkhāb, mit Ausnahme von Shahrāzūr, Daḳūka und Khūftidhakān. Trotz dieser Rückschläge werden die Kurden im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert oft erwähnt. In seinem Kampfe gegen Kawurd von Kirmān verwandte Malik Shāh kurdische und arabische Streitkräfte, die er dann mit Lehnsgütern in Kirmān belohnte (*Kāmil*, X, 53), wo bereits kurdische Kolonien bestanden (vgl. Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, S. 88; Ibn Khallikān, I, 516). Verschiedene kurdische Raubzüge nach Dūdjal, Mārdin usw. fanden in den Jahren 496, 498, 503 statt. An dem Feldzug des Muḥammad b. Malikshāh gegen Syrien (504 = 1110) nahmen der Herr von Marāgha Ahmadil b. Wahsūdān, ein Kurde des Rawādī-Stammes (vgl. *Kāmil*, X, 391), und der „Shāh von Armenien“ Suḳmān teil. Der Feldzug scheiterte, und der Kurde rückte ab, um den Türken Suḳmān zu belagern (*Recueil des Hist. des Croisades, Docum. orientaux*, III, 542, 599).

Zu dieser Zeit hört man öfters von Kurden in Syrien, wo sie mit den Franken in Berührung kommen.

Unter Sandjar wurde die Provinz „Kurdistan“ aus dem westlichen Teile von Djibāl gebildet. Sulaimān-shāh Aiba (Aiwa) wurde ihr Statthalter mit Bahār (im Nord-Osten von Hamadān) als Residenz. Die Provinz stand in hoher Blüte. Unter Sandjar beteiligten sich die Kurden auch an den Aufständen des Jahres 513; im Jahre 516 ging eine Strafexpedition nach Hakkāri, Zōzān und in das Gebiet Bashnawī (*Kāmil*, X, 374, 377, 426); aber kurz darauf rissen die Kurden in Tūr 'Ābdin das befestigte Schloss des christlichen Patriarchen an sich (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, II, 221).

Die Atābeks von Mawṣil. Die Atābeks von Mawṣil, die unmittelbaren Nachbarn von Zentral-Kurdistan, spielten dort eine wichtige Rolle. Mehrmals fiel 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī in das kurdische Gebiet ein. Im Jahre 528 (1134) eroberte er Tanza (am linken Ufer des Bokhtān), und, um die Ḥumaidi, die den Khalifen Mustarshid bei der Belagerung von Mawṣil unterstützt hatten, zu züchtigen, bemächtigte er sich ihrer Festungen al-'Akr, Shūsh u. a. (Shams al-Dīn im *Recueil*, III, 666-67; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Atābakiya*, *ibid.*, II, 87). Abū 'l-Haidjā, der Herr von Arbīl, Āshib u. a., unterwarf sich Zangī (er musste ein Hakkāri sein: dieser Stamm wohnte zu dieser Zeit südlich des Gebietes, das heute diesen Namen trägt; vgl. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, S. 203). Nach dem Tode Abū 'l-Haidjā's mischte sich Zangī in die Streitigkeiten seiner Nachfolger ein, besetzte Āshib und liess die Ringmauern niederreissen; das Fort Djalāb erhielt den Namen 'Amādiya (= 'Imādiya, zu Ehren 'Imād al-Dīn's). Im Jahre 534 (1139) entriss Zangī dem Turkmenen Kifdjāk b. Arslān Tash die Stadt Shahrāzūr. Im Jahre 537 (1142) unternahm er einen neuen Feldzug gegen die Hakkāri und



brachte die Festung al-Sha'bāni (= Ashib?) an sich, die er wieder aufbaute. Im Jahre 538 wurden Irūn und Khizān erobert (Shams al-Dīn, im *Recueil*, III, 685). 'Alī, der Herr von al-Rābiya (vgl. *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 284: Rābiya-bulak?), Farāh und Alkā (Elk?), schloss sich aus eigenem Antrieb Zangī an. Der letzte Feldzug Zangī's war gegen die Bashnawī von Fanak (Finik) gerichtet, aber die Belagerung dieser Stadt wurde nach dem Tode des Atābek (541 = 1146) aufgehoben (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābiya*, im *Recueil*, II, 86, 114, 129, 188). Karādja Tadjna, „Muḳta' (?)“ von Hakkāri, der im Jahre 547 von dem Atābek von Mawṣil gegen den von Adharbāidjān geschickt wurde, scheint ein Türke und kein Stammesangehöriger gewesen zu sein.

Später nach dem Tode Šalāh al-Dīn's (589 = 1193) befestigten die Zangiden ihre Stellung in Zentral-Kurdistan. Im Jahre 607 (1211) erhielt 'Imād al-Dīn, der jüngste Sohn des Arslān-šāh Zangī, die befestigten Schlösser der Humaidī ('Akr und Shūsh) als Lehen; im Jahre 615 (1218) riss derselbe Fürst 'Amādiya und „die übrigen Festungen der Hakkāri und von Zawzān“ an sich, die ihm von Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūri von Arbil abgetreten wurden (Abu 'l-Faradj, S. 433, 438). Diese Ereignisse müssen das Zurückfluten der Hakkāri in die Quellgebiete des Grossen Zab hervorgerufen haben.

Die Ortokiden, die Atābeks von Diyārbakr, gerieten mehrmals mit den Kurden in Konflikt (Abu 'l-Fidā, III, 583; Usāma, I, 321). Die 'Abāsiden-Khalifen befreiten sich von der Vormundschaft ihrer Beschützer, knüpften Beziehungen mit den Kurden an (vgl. den Fall des 'Isā Humaidī im Jahre 528 und *Kāmil*, XI, 7, 188) und versuchten, die Türken zu schwächen. Im Jahre 581 (1185) verursachte unter dem Khalifen al-Nāṣir ein kleiner Zwischenfall einen Krieg zwischen den Kurden und den Turkmenen (*Kāmil*, XII, 342), der sich über ein sehr weites Gebiet erstreckte (Syrien, Diyārbakr, Djazira, Mawṣil, Shahrāzūr, Khilāt und Adharbāidjān). Nach zwei Jahren hörten die beiden Rivalen auf, sich zu bekämpfen, um vereint die Christen Armeniens, Assyriens, Mesopotamiens, Syriens und Kappadokiens anzugreifen, aber neue Meinungsverschiedenheiten trennten die Kurden und die Turkmenen wieder. Nach vielen blutigen Kämpfen wichen die Kurden bis nach Cilicien zurück. Die Turkmenen vernichteten fast alle Kurden in Cilicien und Syrien. Da die Kurden beim Verlassen ihrer alten Wohnstätten ihre Güter ihren christlichen Nachbarn anvertraut hatten und da diese Christen auch Kurden verbargen, fielen die Turkmenen zuletzt über die Christen in Thelmuzen(?) und Arabthil (Arabgir?) her (Michael der Syrer im *Recueil*, *Doc. Armén.*, S. 395).

Die Aiyūbiden. Der kurdische Ursprung dieser bemerkenswerten Dynastie steht fest (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 55—82). Der armenische Geschichtsschreiber Hayton (Hethum) sagt hierüber folgendes: „Postea vero Sarraceni amiserunt dominium Egipti et Medi, qui Cordins vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt“ (*Recueil*, *Doc. Armén.*, II, 225, 343). Der Grossvater Šalāh al-Dīn's Shādhī b. Marwān war ein Rawādī-Kurde (Rawādī, Rawanda, ein Clan der Hakkāri) aus Dwin [s. d.].

Wichtig hierbei ist, dass gerade aus Dwin die Shaddādī-Dynastie gekommen war, deren Traditionen noch zur Zeit der Shādhī lebendig gewesen

sein müssen. Aiyūb und Shīrkūh, Söhne Shādhī's, waren noch in ihrer alten Heimat (in dem Dorfe Adjdānakān) geboren. Šalāh al-Dīn erblickte in Takrit das Licht der Welt, aber die Erinnerungen an die Kurden waren ihm durch seinen Vater und seinen Onkel sicherlich vertraut. Das Fortbestehen iranischer Namen in der Familie der Aiyūbiden ist charakteristisch. Trotzdem war der Wirkungskreis dieser Dynastie hauptsächlich Syrien und Ägypten. Die Familien der alten Seldjuken-Atābeks hatten sogar noch als Vasallen der Aiyūbiden die Macht über Diyārbakr (die Ortokiden), Mawṣil (die Zangiden) und Arbil (die Beg-taginiden, zuerst nur als Vertreter der Zangiden) in Händen. Durch den Vertrag von 585 (1187) mit 'Izz al-Dīn Zangī annektierte Šalāh al-Dīn nur Aleppo und Shahrāzūr (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābiya* im *Recueil*, II, 334; *Kāmil*, XI, 340; Bahā' al-Dīn im *Recueil*, III, 85). Im Jahre 585 übergab Šalāh al-Dīn Shahrāzūr seinem Mamlūken Keshṭoghdl(?) der mit Ya'kūb b. Kifdjāk verwandt war. Die einzige unabhängige Linie, über welche Aiyūbiden in Kurdistan eindrangen, war die von Khilāt. Dieses Gebiet wurde zuerst von Taqī al-Dīn im Jahre 587 (1191) erobert (*Kāmil*, XII, 40), aber erst nach dem Tode Šalāh al-Dīn's übernahm sein Neffe Awhād Aiyūb dort die Herrschaft (604 = 1207). Später ging Khilāt an seinen Bruder Ašraf über, der den Titel *Shāh Arman* annahm, und schliesslich an den dritten Bruder Muẓaffar, der sich dort bis zum Jahre 642 (1244) behauptete. Die Verwaltung dieses Lehens wurde mehrmals durch die Einfälle der Georgier, des Khwārizmshāh und der Mongolen unterbrochen. Die georgischen Truppen, die zu dieser Zeit in der Nähe von Khilāt kämpften, wurden von den armenischen Prinzen Zakare und Iwane befehligt, deren Genealogien sie zu Nachkommen des *Kel Babirakan*, d. h. des kurdischen Stammes Bāpirakān machen (vgl. Marr in *Zap.*, XX (1911), 120).

Die Truppen der Aiyūbiden bestanden hauptsächlich aus Türken, aber nichtsdestoweniger war auch das kurdische Element darin vertreten. Im Jahre 583 (1187) richtete Šalāh al-Dīn an die Kurden jenseits des Tigris einen Aufruf zum Heiligen Krieg. Die Truppen von Djazira wurden im Jahre 584 (1188) entlassen, aber die Truppenabteilungen von Diyārbakr und einzelne Stämme werden noch öfters erwähnt. Bisweilen standen diese Kurden mit den Turkmenen in sehr schlechtem Einvernehmen (Bahā' al-Dīn im *Recueil*, III, 86, 313, 381).

In der Zivil- und Militärverwaltung der Aiyūbiden waren die Kurden zahlreich vertreten, aber ziemlich häufig arbeiteten sie der Dynastie entgegen. Als Shīrkūh starb, waren eine Reihe Kurden dagegen, dass Šalāh al-Dīn sein Nachfolger wurde (Ibn Khallikān, IV, 494). Eine wichtige Rolle spielte die Familie des Abu 'l-Haidjā (Hakkāri), des Erbherrn von Arbil (?). Er leitete die Verteidigung von 'Akkā bei der Belagerung durch die Kreuzfahrer und wurde zum *Isfahsālār* der Armee und zum Gouverneur von Jerusalem ernannt. Im Jahre 1196 wurde er nach Baghdād versetzt, leitete eine Unternehmung nach Hamadān und starb in Daḳūka. Sein Neffe Kuṭb al-Dīn erbaute die Madrasa al-Kuṭbiya in Kairo. Ein anderer Kurde (aus dem Stamme Hakkāri), Saif al-Dīn, der Sohn des Ahmed al-Mashṭūb, brachte die Abu 'l-Haidjā in 'Akkā wieder zu Ehren. Seine Nachkommen hatten sehr bewegte Laufbahnen: sein Sohn Ahmed beschloss

sein Leben im Gefängnis zu Harrān; sein Enkel, der Kaḍī 'Imād al-Dīn, zettelte eine Verschwörung gegen al-Kāmil an und musste in die Verbannung gehen.

Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn. Im Jahre 614 (1217) brachten die Kurden des Zagros den Truppen Khwārizmshāhs, die von Hamadān nach Baghdād ausgesandt waren, eine Niederlage bei. Die Unternehmungen des Djalāl al-Dīn gegen Khilāt (623—26) zerrütteten den Wohlstand des Landes, und die Kurden wurden durch Hungersnot dezimiert (*Kāmil*, XII, 207, 308). Geschlagen und von den Mongolen verfolgt, flüchtete Djalāl al-Dīn zu den Kurden von Diyārbakr, und im Jahre 628 (1321) wurde er wahrscheinlich von einem von ihnen ermordet (Djuwainī, ed. Muḥammed Kaẓwīnī, II, 190; *Kāmil*, XII, 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 62). Noch im Jahre 634 (1237) durchzogen die Überreste der Armee des Khwārizmshāh plündernd das Gebiet von Kharput (Abu 'l-Faradj, *a. a. O.*, S. 477). Nach dem Tode des Djalāl al-Dīn verheerten die Mongolen die Gegend von Diyārbakr und Khilāt. Eine andere Horde war von Marāgha nach Arbil gekommen; dies Gebiet wurde dreimal mit Krieg überzogen. Im Jahre 643 (1245) wurde Shahrāzūr verwüstet, 650 (1252) Diyārbakr.

Die mongolischen Ilkhāne. Unter den grossen Ilkhānen hört man wenig von den Kurden. Da diese Herrscher, die zuerst Heiden und dann Muslime waren, es mit den Christen hielten und da die Christen genügend Grund zur Beschwerde über ihre muslimischen Nachbarn hatten, mussten die Kurden, die noch kürzlich an den Kriegen der Aiyūbiden teilgenommen hatten, in ihren Bergen sich zurückhalten und auf den Erfolg der Feinde der Mongolen hoffen.

Die Provinz „Kurdistan“, die zur Seldjukenzeit entstanden war und deren Hauptort Bahār war (nahe Hamadān), wurde von Malik b. Tūdān, dem Vater des berühmten Amir Čobān, erobert. Von Hamadān aus wandte sich Hülāgū im Jahre 655 nach Baghdād. In Kirmānshāh begingen die Mongolen Morde und Plünderungen (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, S. 225, 255, 267). Vor der Einnahme Baghdāds entsandte Hülāgū Truppen, um sich Arbils zu bemächtigen. Der Gouverneur dieser Festung Tādj al-Dīn Šalāba (vgl. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, S. 261) unterwarf sich den Mongolen, aber die kurdische Garnison weigerte sich, seinem Beispiel zu folgen. Arbil wurde mit Hilfe des Atābeks von Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', eingenommen (d'Ohsson, III, 256). Die Eroberung Baghdāds verursachte die Entvölkerung Shahrāzūrs, dessen kurdische Bewohner nach Angabe von Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umari nach Syrien und Ägypten zogen (vgl. d'Ohsson, III, 309, 330, 337). Einen Nachhall dieser Ereignisse findet man in dem Erscheinen zweier kurdischer Stämme in Algier: Lawēn und Babīn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, Übers. de Slane, II, 461 und III, 413).

Nach Adharbāidjān zurückgekehrt, brach Hülāgū 657 von neuem nach Syrien auf. Im Lande der Hakkāri verfielen alle Kurden, die den Mongolen begegneten, dem Schwerte (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, S. 328). Dann wurden Djazira, Diyārbakr, Maiyāfāriḳin (das von dem Aiyūbiden Kāmil besetzt war) und Mardin eingenommen. Nach dem Tode des Atābek Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', der Hülāgū treu geblieben war, trat sein Sohn auf die Seite des Sultans von Ägypten Baibars und empfing

von ihm die Bestätigung seiner Beilehnung. Als bald machten die Kurden aus der Gegend von Mawṣil die Christen nieder. Die Garnison von Mawṣil, die aus Kurden, Turkmenen und Shūl bestand, leistete den Belagerern heldenmütigen Widerstand.

Auch in Syrien unterwarfen sich die Kurden den Mamlūkensultanen. Baibars rühmte sich in seinem Briefe an den Khān Berkai der Zahl seiner Truppen, die aus Türken, Kurden und Arabern zusammengesetzt waren (d'Ohsson, III, 385). Aus der Zeit des Abaka berichtet der Armenier Hayton, wie infolge eines Einfalls ägyptischer Truppen (vor 677 = 1278) die Mongolen 5000 Häuser der Kurden (*Gordius*), die in Nord-Syrien lebten, „einnahmen“ (*Recueil*, *Doc. armén.*, II, 179). Aber nach der Niederlage der Mongolen im Jahre 680 (1281) verwüstete ein Korps muslimischer Truppen, das aus Turkmenen und Kurden zusammengesetzt war, Cilicien. Die seltenen Fälle, wo die Kurden als Verbündete der Mongolen auftraten, kamen vor allem in dem entfernten Fārs vor. Unter Uldjaitu befanden sich Kurden bei den Truppen, die im Jahre 706 in Gilān einfielen. Kurz darauf wurde ein Kurde Mūsā, der sich zum *Mahdī* der Shī'iten erklärt hatte, von Uldjaitu hingerichtet. Im Jahre 712 leistete Badr al-Dīn Kurd, Herr von Rahba, den Mongolen Widerstand.

Die kurdischen Provinzen wurden von Mongolen-Amiren verwaltet. Die Kämpfe in Arbil hörten nicht auf. Die „Kayaçi“, christliche Bergbewohner, die zur mongolischen Armee gehörten und in Arbil stationiert waren, beklagten sich über ihren Führer Zain al-Dīn Bālū und gerieten in Konflikt mit den Kurden, welche die Araber unterstützten. Diese Zwischenfälle begannen 1297, aber erreichten 1310 ihren Höhepunkt. Mit grosser Mühe liessen die Mongolen die Zitadelle räumen, die von den Christen besetzt war. Die Mongolen hatten die Kurden kommen lassen, um die Besatzung zu verstärken, aber sodann wollten ihre Amire, die den Christen freundlich gesinnt waren, die Kurden dazu benutzen, um ein Blutbad der Araber unter den Christen zu verhindern. Das Blutbad fand statt, aber die Kurden nahmen nicht daran teil (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, Übers. Chabot, Paris 1895, S. 152—77).

Das Gebiet zwischen Marāgha und Arbil war ein Bollwerk für die mongolischen Heere. Zu dieser Zeit war die Gegend südlich des Urmiasees noch zum grössten Teil von den Türken und Mongolen besetzt (s. *SĀWJ-BULĀK*).

Das Zentrum der Provinz „Kurdistan“ wurde unter Uldjaitu von Bahār nach Sulṭānābād (Čam-čamāl) verlegt. Wie sehr die Provinz gelitten hatte, lässt sich aus dem Bericht des *Nuḥat al-Kulūb* (S. 107) ermassen, nach dem ihre Einkünfte nur noch ein Zehntel von denen der Seldjukenzeit betrugen.

Nach dem Verschwinden der Ilkhāne rivalisierten zwei mongolische Häuptlingsfamilien aus den Stämmen Suldaz und Djalāyir miteinander. Bei der Teilung der Lehnsgüter zwischen „den beiden Hasan“ (738 = 1338) kam (Persisch-) Kurdistan und Khūzistān an die Kinder des Amir Akrandj oder Akrash (?) zurück. Im Jahre 784—5 nahm Djalā'ir Bāyazīd für sich ein Sonderlehen aus Persisch-Kurdistan und dem 'Irāk 'Adjamī (Lane Poole, *a. a. O.*, No. 86, und d'Ohsson, IV, 747).

Übersicht über die kurdischen Stämme zur Mamlūkenzeit. Der Eroberungszug der Mongolen hatte die politische Rolle der Kurden-



Stämme vollkommen in den Schatten gestellt, aber in Ägypten, wo die Mamluken-Sultane geheime Pläne gegen die Ilkhane schmiedeten, nahm man grossen Anteil am Schicksal dieses muslimischen Elementes. Das *Masālik al-Afṣār* von Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmārī (gest. 749 = 1348) zeigt, wie genau man in den Kanzleien der Mamluken-Sultane über die Kurden unterrichtet war. Nach al-ʿUmārī gab es Kurden in der Nähe des Irāk und Diyār al-ʿArab, sowie in Syrien und im Yaman. Das Gebirge (al-Djibāl), das von den Kurden bewohnt war, beginnt bei Hamadān und endet in Cilicien (*Bilād al-Takfūr*). Westlich des Tigris sind die Kurden von Djazira und Mārdīn die Beute ihrer Nachbarn. Jedoch hatte sich gerade in Mārdīn ein gewisser Ibrāhīm al-ʿArs-Bālū (?) kurz vorher unabhängig erklärt und grosse Macht erlangt. Im folgenden seien 20 Stämme aufgezählt, die zwischen Hamadān und dem Teil der Djazira ansässig sind, der zwischen Mawṣil und Kawār (vgl. Kēwar im *Sharaf-nāma*) liegt.

1. Die Gūrānī — Krieger und Bauern (*Djund wa-Raʿīya*).

2. Die Gilālī — (vgl. das Gebirge Galāla bei den Sohrān, *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 286, und Rich, *Narrative*, I, 123: *Ghelli*). Ein Teil des Stammes wanderte nach Syrien aus. Ihr Fürst Sharaf al-Dīn war unter den Mongolen Gouverneur von Arbīl, wurde aber von einem Mongolen ermordet.

3. Die Zangālī (= Zangana?).

4. Die Kūsa und die Mabir(?) von Shahrāzūr; sie wanderten nach Syrien und Ägypten aus.

5. Die Sabūlī (Sutūnī?) — sie leben zwischen Shahrāzūr und Ushnū. Bei ihnen wohnen die Kartāwī (?; vgl. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, S. 207).

6. Die Hasnānī (*Khushnāwī*?). — Es sind mehrere Tausend Leute, die in drei Zweige zerfallen; der eine davon, der in Karkār mit den Kartāwī (?) zusammen lebt, erhebt die Durchgangszölle im Darband-i Karaboli (das Defile des Kleinen Zāb; vgl. Hoffmann, *a. a. O.*, S. 263).

7. Bei Karhīn (= Kirkūk) und Daḳūḳ war ein Stamm von 700 Leuten ansässig.

8. Ein Stamm, der „zwischen den beiden Gebirgen“ (*bain al-Djabalain*) auf dem Gebiet von Arbīl lebt, bewirbt sich im Winter um die Gunst der Mongolen und begünstigt im Sommer die Einfälle ägyptischer Truppen.

9. Die Māzandjān (?), 500 an der Zahl, wohnen in der Nähe von Arbīl, sowie in Māzandjān, Nērwa und Bēkhma (diese beiden letzteren Gebiete liegen am Grossen Zāb östlich von ʿAkr). Die Häuptlinge der Māzandjān beherrschen auch den verwandten Stamm der Hūmaidī (der 1 000 Leute zählt). Der Häuptling der Māzandjān namens Kak hatte von den ʿAbbāsiden den Titel *Mubārīz al-Dīn* erhalten. Die Mongolen teilten seine Besitzungen in zwei Teile, wobei Kak *Nāʾib* von Arbīl blieb. Man hat [v. supra] an seine Absetzung unter Arghūn geglaubt, aber nach dem *Subḥ al-Ashā* behielten seine Söhne und sein Enkel ihre Lehnsgüter (ʿAkr und Shūsh).

10. Bei Tell-Haftūn liegt das Gebiet des zahlreichen Stammes Sohrī (Sohrān).

11. Ihre Nachbarn sind die Zarzārī („die Kinder des Goldes“). Sie haben Malāzgird (= Rūbārī Barāzgird), sowie Rustāk (den südlichen Teil von Shamdīnān) inne.

12. Die Djūlāmerg, angeblich omaiyadischen Ursprungs, zählen 3 000 Leute.

13. Die Kurden des Markawāngbiets (lies:

Margawar) sind mit ihren Nachbarn, den Djūlāmergi und den Zarzārī verbündet.

14. Bei Djūlāmerg befindet sich der Bezirk Gawār.

15. Bei Djūlāmerg nach ʿAkr und ʿAmādiya zu liegt der Bezirk Zibārī, der von 500 Leuten bewohnt wird.

16. Die Hakkārī leben in ʿAmādiya und zählen 4 000 Leute.

17. Bei den Hakkārī nach Mardj zu liegen der Djabal al-ʿAmrani und die Höhle Kahf Dāwūd, wo die Besitki(?) leben.

18. Bei Djūlāmerg nach Mawṣil zu leben die Bokhtī, Rivalen der Hūmaidī.

19. Die Dāsīnī waren einst sehr zahlreich, aber ihr Führer Badr al-Dīn zog in zugänglichere Gegenden, und es blieben nur 1 000 Dāsīnī in der Provinz Mawṣil zurück. 500 Dāsīnī sind in ʿAkr ansässig.

20. Die Dumbulī(?) wohnen in den hohen Gebirgen.

An diese Berichte aus dem *Masālik* schliesst das *Subḥ al-Ashā* [nach al-Tadhkīf, der von Taḳī al-Dīn gegen 748 (1347) verfasst worden ist], eine zerstreute Liste von 25 kurdischen Fürsten an, mit denen die Kanzleien von Kairo im Briefwechsel standen.

Timur und die turkmenischen Dynastien. Nach den Mongolen breiteten ihre Nebenbuhler, die turkmenischen Dynastien, ihre Herrschaft über Kurdistan aus. Diese Zeit, von der man noch sehr wenig weiss, war für die Kurden von grosser Wichtigkeit. Die Dynastien Kara-koynlu und Ak-Koynlu drangen bis in das Herz Kurdistan vor, zogen die kurdischen Stämme in die politischen und religiösen Kämpfe (vgl. das extreme Shiʿitentum der Kara-Koynlu) und riefen beträchtliche Verschiebungen der Bevölkerung hervor; gerade zu dieser Zeit bemächtigten die Mukri-Kurden sich des Gebietes südlich des Urmiasees (s. SAWDĠ-BULĀḲ). Dagegen hatte der Eroberungszug Timurs, der für einen Augenblick die Kara-Koynlu beiseite drängte, nur vorübergehenden Charakter.

Timur unternahm gegen die Kurden die Feldzüge von 796 und 803. Nachdem Timur durch Baghdād und Diyārbakr gezogen war, wandte er sich unvermutet nach Djazira, das zerstört wurde. Die von Djazira abhängigen Gebiete wurden gleichfalls erobert. Darauf überschritt Timur das Gebirge zwischen Diyārbakr und Mūsh und empfing in freundlicher Weise den Fürsten Sharaf al-Dīn von Bidlis, der „durch seine Güte und Redlichkeit in ganz Kurdistan bekannt war“. Im Jahre 803 kehrte Timur von Baghdād nach Adharbāidjān zurück, und auf diesem Wege wurde er von Kurden angegriffen.

Nach dem Tode Timurs kehrte Kara-Yūsuf Kara-Koynlu nach Kurdistan zurück und suchte zunächst bei Shams al-Dīn von Bidlis Zuflucht. Er gab ihm seine Tochter zur Frau, und mit seiner Hilfe gelang es ihm, seine Herrschaft wieder zu erhalten. Im Jahre 820 bestätigte Kara-Yūsuf durch einen *Nishān* die Besitztümer der Fürsten von Bidlis. Als 824 (1421) der Sohn Timurs Shāhrukh in Armenien ankam, wurde er von Shams al-Dīn von Bidlis, Malik Muḥammed Hakkārī, Malik Khalīl von Hīṣn-Kaifā, den Amiren von Khizān u. a. begrüsst. Malik ʿIzz al-Dīn Shir von Hakkārī spielte eine beträchtliche Rolle in den Begebenheiten dieser Zeit (*Maṭlaʿ al-Sāʿidān*, N E, XIV, 153, 180).

Die Ak-Koynlu (die Dynastie Bayandur), deren Hauptzentrum in Diyārbakr war, betrieben eine Politik, die systematisch darauf ausging, die grossen kurdischen Familien auszurotten (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 164: *istigāl-i khalawādah-yi Kurdistan*), und verfolgten vor allem die Stämme, die sich durch ihre Anhänglichkeit an die Kara-Koynlu blossgestellt hatten, wie der grosse Stamm von Camish-gezek. Die Heerführer des Uzun Hasan Sūfi-Khalīl und ʿArab-shāh eroberten das Gebiet Hakkārī, das darauf vorübergehend von dem Dumbulistamme, der aus Bohtān gekommen war, eingenommen wurde. Von 875 (1470) ab (vgl. Behnisch, *a. a. O.*, S. 14) kam Djazira vollkommen in die Gewalt der Ak-Koynlu, die einen eigenen Gouverneur Čalabī Beg ernannten, dessen Verdienste jedoch vom *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 123 anerkannt werden. Der Heerführer der Ak-Koynlu Sulaimān b. Biḳān vertrieb Ibrāhīm Khān aus Bidlis; dieser wurde später von Yaʿqūb, dem Sohne Uzun Haṣāns, hingerichtet.

Viele Vorgänge, die sich auf die Geschichte von Hīṣn-Kaifā und Djazira zwischen den Jahren 796–897 (1393–1491) beziehen, werden in der syrischen Chronik (geschrieben in Haitham) angeführt (übersetzt von Behnisch: *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838).

Die Safawiden shāhe und die osmanischen Sultāne. Shāh Ismāʿīl war in Armenien eingefallen, als er seinen Kampf gegen den Ak-Koynlu Murād begann. Nach der Schlacht bei Sharūr (907 = 1502) bemächtigte er sich des ganzen Gebiets zwischen Baghdād und Marāsh. Die Politik Ismāʿīls I. gegen die Kurden unterschied sich nicht von der der Ak-Koynlu. Ebenso wie die letzteren stützte der Shāh sich auf die turkmenischen Stämme, aber als strenger Shiʿit (vgl. KHAṬṬĀʾI) war er noch stärker gegen die sunnitischen Kurden eingenommen. Als elf kurdische Häuptlinge ihm in Khoi ihre Aufwartung machten, nahm er die meisten von ihnen gefangen und ernannte an ihrer Stelle Gouverneure, die er aus den Kizilbashstämmen ausgewählt hatte.

Von dieser Zeit an wurde Kurdistan ungefähr drei Jahrhunderte lang der Schauplatz des Kampfes zwischen den osmanischen Sultanen und den Shāhen von Persien. Die Niederlage von Čaldīrān (1514) war für das Ansehen der neuen persischen Dynastie ein schwerer Schlag. Trotz Augenblickserfolgen der Nachfolger Shāh Ismāʿīls erreichten diese mit ihren Eroberungen nie mehr das, was Shāh Ismāʿīl mit seinen ersten Siegen erreicht hatte, und die persischen Besitzungen westlich des Zagros schmolzen allmählich zusammen. Der Versuch Ismāʿīls, den Kurden persische Gouverneure aufzuzwingen, stand im Gegensatz zur osmanischen Politik, die durch die talentvolle Leistung des Hakīm Idris, der selbst ein Kurde war, bestimmt wurde und die darin bestand, dass Kurdistan eine Feudalregierung erhielt, die dem kurdischen Adel das Übergewicht sicherte.

Die Schlacht von Čaldīrān brachte die Verhältnisse Kurdistan in grosse Verwirrung. Der abgesetzte Fürst von Hīṣn-Kaifā, Malik Khalīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 155), hatte den Besitz von Seʿerd wiedererlangt und näherte sich wieder seinem Erblehen. Muḥammed Beg von Sāsūn kämpfte gegen die Perser. Ahmed Beg von Maiyāfāriḳīn, Kāsim Beg von Agil und Djamshīd Beg von Pālū hatten sich auf Seiten der Osmanen gestellt. Dem Gouverneur von Djazira war es gelungen, die Perser von Mawṣil zurückzuschlagen. Saʿīd Beg Sohrān

hatte sich Arbīl und Kirkūks bemächtigt. Ungefähr zwanzig andere Fürsten waren wankelmütig in ihrer Treue gegen die Perser geworden. Ein persönlicher Besuch des Idris bei allen diesen Fürsten brachte 25 von ihnen unter die Botmässigkeit des Sultan.

Als Selim Tabriz verlassen hatte, sandte Ismāʿīl Verstärkungen nach Diyārbakr und Hīṣn-Kaifā. Idris rief die kurdische Miliz zu den Fahnen und brachte Kurd Beg, dem ehemaligen persischen Gouverneur von Kurdistan, eine Niederlage bei. Die Kurden von Diyārbakr leisteten den Angriffen der Perser Widerstand, bis die von Bīyḳlī Muḥammed Pasha geschickte Hilfe ankam. Bīyḳlī und Idris vereinigten sich in Hīṣn-Kaifā und schlugen die Perser. Da die Türken darauf durch 5 000 Kurden (von ʿAmādiya?) verstärkt worden waren, befreiten sie Diyārbakr und nahmen Mārdīn ein, wo nur die Zitadelle von den Persern besetzt blieb. Mittlerweile unternahm der persische Kommandant Kara-Khān mit Erfolg einen Seitenangriff von Baghdād und Kirkūk her, und die Bewohner von Mārdīn, welche die Kurden vertrieben hatten, forderten die Perser auf, die Stadt wieder zu besetzen. Die beiden Heere stiessen auf der Strasse Nişibīn-Urfa zusammen. Die Perser wurden geschlagen, und Bīyḳlī erzwang die Auslieferung Sulaimān Khān's, der sich noch in Mārdīn aufhielt. Die Besetzung von Nişibīn, Dārā, Maiyāfāriḳīn, Diyārbakr und Sindjār folgte, und Idris vervollständigte die Verwaltungsorganisation der Sandjak's. In der Provinz Diyārbakr wurden 11 Sandjak's türkischen Verwesern anvertraut, ausserdem gab es 8 kurdische Sandjak's (*Akrād Beyligi*): Die Wālī's bestätigten die neuen Begs, aber diese wurden immer aus derselben Familie genommen. Fünf erbliche *Hukūmat* (*Kurd Hükümeti*) bewahrten ihre Dynastien, wobei die Gewalt direkt vom Vater auf den Sohn überging (vgl. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in den moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, Kap. II und IV, nach ʿAin-i ʿAlī Mūʿeddhinzāde, der im Beginn des XI. [XVII.] Jahrhunderts schrieb). Ein gleiches System wurde darauf in ganz Kurdistan von Malāṭīya bis Bāyazīd und Shahrāzūr eingeführt (vgl. weiter unten das *Sharaf-nāma*, sowie die sehr interessanten Berichte des Ewliya Čelebi, IV, 176–80 und 271–316, über die 37 Sandjak's, die nach dem Gesetz Sulaimān's I. an Wān angeschlossen worden waren, und über die Marschordnung des örtlichen Heeres). Den Persern blieb nur die Provinz Kirmānshāh. Idris wurde reich belohnt, und die Firmāne für die Stellenbesetzung wurden ihm blanco übersandt, damit er die Namen der Anwärter eintragen konnte (Hammer, *G O R* 2, I, 749).

Im Jahre 936 (1530) entnahm Shāh Tahmāsp Baghdād aus den Händen des Dhu 'l-Fakār, eines Kurden vom Stamme Mūṣlū (Moşullu?), zurück. Langwierige Kriege begannen von neuem: Sultān Sulaimān führte ein Heer nach Persien in den Jahren 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 und 1554. Bei dieser letzten Gelegenheit unterwarfen die Truppen von Baghdād aus die Kurden von Belkās und von Shahrāzūr, während die Perser in Georgien beschäftigt waren (Hammer, *a. a. O.*, II, 236).

Durch den Frieden von 999 (1590) musste ʿAbbās I. den Türken die westlichen Provinzen mit Einschluss von Adharbāidjān, Shahrāzūr und Luristān (*a. a. O.*, II, 559) abtreten, aber 1010 (1601) begann der Krieg von neuem, und durch den Frieden von 1021 (1612) gelangte Persien



wieder in den Besitz der verlorenen Provinzen mit Ausnahme von *Shahrāzūr* (a. a. O., II, 745). *Shāh 'Abbās* verpflanzte 15 000 Kurden an die Grenze von *Khorāsān*, um an ihnen dort ein Bollwerk gegen die Turkmenen zu haben.

Gegen Ende der Regierung des *Shāh 'Abbās* konzentrierten sich die Bemühungen der Türken auf *Baghdād*. Während des ersten Feldzuges unter *Hāfiz Pasha* (1623) enthielt das Heer die Truppen von *Kurdistan*. Die Kurden verhielten sich tapfer. Als die Perser die Angriffe abgeschlagen hatten, schickten sie Strafkolonnen bis nach *Mārdin*. Nach dem Tode des *Shāh 'Abbās* zog der Grosswezir *Khusrew Pasha* im Jahre 1039 (1629) gegen *Baghdād*. *Saiyid Khān* aus *Amādiya*, *Mira Beg Sohrān* und der kurdisch-arabische Mischstamm *Bādijān* unterstützten *Khusrew Pasha*, während *Ahmed Khān Ardalan* die türkische Flanke bedrohte. *Khusrew Pasha* drang bis *Senna* und *Hamadān* vor. Beim Rückzug schlugen die Türken bei *Camāmāl* und *Dartang* eine persische Truppenmacht. *Baghdād* jedoch widerstand, und als *Khusrew Pasha* sich zurückgezogen hatte, besetzte *Ahmed Khān Ardalan* *Shahrāzūr* von neuem (Hammer, a. a. O., III, 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Erst im Jahre 1048 (1638) bemächtigte *Murād IV.* sich endgültig *Baghdāds*, und im folgenden Jahre wurde der Vertrag mit Persien unterzeichnet, der bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert der türkisch-persischen Grenzregulierung zu Grunde lag (*Ta'rikh-i Na'imā*, I, 686). Persien seinerseits blieb an das Zagros-Gebirge zurückgedrängt.

Der grosse safawidisch-osmanische Kampf überzeugte die Kurden von neuem von ihrer politischen Bedeutung. Das *Sharaf-nāma* hat uns ein getreues Bild des kraftvollen Aufblühens des Feudal-lebens der kurdischen Stämme und Fürsten um 1005 (1596) bewahrt.

*Sharaf-nāma*. Das Werk des Fürsten von *Bidlīs* *Sharaf al-Dīn* (s. *Bidlīs*), das im Jahre 1005 (1596) abgeschlossen wurde, nimmt einen hervorragenden Platz unter den Quellen zur kurdischen Geschichte ein. Die eigentliche Geschichte der Kurden (Band I der Ausgabe von *Véliamīnoff-Zernof*) besteht aus 4 Teilen (*Shāhifa*): der erste behandelt die kurdischen Dynastien, die tatsächlich die Vorrechte des Königtums (*Saltanat*) besessen haben; der zweite — die Dynastien, deren Vertreter zuweilen Geld prägen und die *Khutba* in ihrem Namen verkünden liessen; der dritte zählt die Häuser der erblichen Statthalter (*Hukkām*) auf; der vierte ist der ausführlichen Geschichte der Fürsten von *Bidlīs* gewidmet. Teil I erwähnt 5 Dynastien: die *Marwāniden* von *Diyārbakr* und von *Djāzira*; die *Hasanwāhididen* von *Dainawar* und *Shahrāzūr*; die *Fadluyiden* von *Gross-Lur*; die Fürsten von *Klein-Lur* (s. *Lur*) und die *Aiyūbiden*.

Da die Unterscheidung der zweiten und dritten Klasse der Fürsten ziemlich spitzfindig und die Reihenfolge, in der *Sharaf al-Dīn* diese Dynastien aufzählt, ziemlich willkürlich ist, ist es besser, diese Dynastien nach der geographischen Lage ihrer Lehnsgüter anzuordnen, indem man *Djāzira*: *Ibn 'Omar* als Mittelpunkt annimmt. Hierauf folgt eine Aufzählung der kurdischen Stämme in Persien. Die Lehnsgüter der zweiten Klasse (darunter auch *Bidlīs*) werden mit einem Sternchen (\*) bezeichnet.

*Sharaf al-Dīn* unterscheidet so viel wie möglich zwischen den Stämmen und den Familien ihrer Herren; man muss dabei immer die Grundlagen des Feudalsystems in *Kurdistan* im Auge behalten;

Vögte verschiedenartigen Ursprungs beherrschten die kurdische, kurdisierte und christliche Bevölkerung mit Hilfe der kriegerischen Kurdenstämme (*Ashirat*), die bald sesshaft, bald Nomaden oder vielmehr Halbnomaden waren.

#### Gruppe A. Zwischen *Djāzira* und *Darsīm*.

1. Die Fürsten von *Djāzira*\* behaupteten, omaiyadischen Ursprungs zu sein, aber sie geben als ihren Ahnherrn *Khalid b. Walid* an. In diesen verwirrten Genealogien handelte es sich darum, die Erinnerungen an Bündnisse zwischen den Kurden und den Omaiyaden mit dem Lokalkult der Nachkommen des berühmten Generals *Khalid b. Walid* in Verbindung zu bringen, deren Gräber man bei *Se'erd* zeigt (Hartmann, *Bontān*, S. 19, 124). Übrigens waren diese Fürsten anfangs *Yazīden*, und erst später traten sie zur sunnitischen Orthodoxie über. Nach dem Tode des *Sulaimān b. Khalid* teilten seine drei Söhne seine Besitzungen: *Djāzira* fiel an *Mir 'Abd al-'Azīz*, *Gurgil* an *Mir Hādīdī Beg* und *Finik* an *Mir Abdāl*. Diese drei Zweige bewahrten in der Folge ihre Lehnsgüter.

Das *Sharaf-nāma* (I, 310) bezeichnet die Familienbesitzer mit dem Ausdruck *Wilāyet-i Bokhti* und zählt im einzelnen, aber ohne System, die 14 *Nāhiya* auf, die dieses bedeutende Lehnsgut bilden: *Gurgil*, *Arwakh*, *Pirūz*, *Bādān* und *Tanzē* (*Kalhūk*), beide letzteren von dem Stamme *Kārsi* eingenommen; *Finik*, *Tūr*, *Haitam* (*Hethum*?) und *Shākh*, die drei letzteren von den Christen bewohnt; *Nish Atil*, *Aramshāt*, dessen Stamm (*Brāspi*) der mächtigste unter den Stämmen von *Bokht* ist; *Kēwar* oder *Kamīz* (?), *Dair-dih*, das zu *Tanzē* gehört. Trotz der genauen Untersuchung von M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, in *Mittell. d. Vorderas. Gesell.*, 1896, 2 und 1897, 1, S. 1—163, ist die Lokalisation einzelner von diesen Orten nicht ganz sicher.

Das Lehnsgut *Djāzira* *Ibn 'Omar* lag zwischen dem linken Ufer des *Bohtān* und dem *Tigris*. Die Quellen des *Bohtān* sollen nicht zu dem Fürstentum gehört haben. Nach Osten zu waren die *Sindiyan* (s. unter *AMADIYA*, No. 21), die sich am *Khābūr* niedergelassen hatten, die Nachbarn der *Bokhti*.

2. Die Ahnherrn der Statthalter von *Khizān*, *Isbāyerd* (*Sparhet*, *Isper*; bei *Ewliya Celebi*: *Isbā'ird*) und *Muks* (*Mukus*) waren die drei Brüder, die zur *Seldjukenzeit* aus *Belidjān* (*Khnis*) gekommen waren (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 217). Der Stamm des bedeutendsten Lehens war *Namiran*. Das Lehen lag längs der rechten Zuflüsse des *Bohtān* und erstreckte sich selbst auf *Marwānān*.

3. *Shirwān* (auf dem rechten Ufer des *Bohtān*, stromabwärts von *Khizān* und nordöstlich von *Se'erd*). Die Ahnherrn der Statthalter *Shirawī* standen im Dienste der *Aiyūbiden* und kamen nach *Shirwān* zu gleicher Zeit, wie die *Malikān* nach *Hişn-Kaifā*. Die *Shirawī* spielten bei den *Malikān* sogar die Rolle der *Wezire* (a. a. O., I, 155). Die Hauptstadt von *Shirwān* war *Kufra*. Die anderen Dependenzstädte waren *Awil*, *Shabistān* (auch *Garni* = *Kirnik* [?] genannt) und *Irūn*.

4 *Bidlīs*\*. Der Stamm *Rūzagī* (*Rōzagī*) soll seinen Namen von dem Ereignis erhalten haben, dass 24 Clans sich eines Tages (*Rūzi*) in dem Dorfe *Tāb* im Bezirk *Khoit* (heute der *Qazā Mōdkī* westlich von *Bidlīs*) versammelten und einen Band schlossen, der sich später in zwei

Teile spaltete: *Bilbāsi* und *Kawālisi*. *Sharaf al-Dīn* (I, 361) zählt die 24 (lies 25) Clans der *Rūzagī* auf; 5 davon waren die alten Bewohner, die übrigen die Neuangekommenen: *Bilbāsi* (10 Clans) und *Kawālisi* (10 Clans).

Die *Rūzagī* nahmen *Bidlīs* und *Hāzō* (*Sāşūn*) dem georgischen König *Tāvit* weg; darauf riefen sie aus *Akhlat* zwei Brüder sasanidischer Abstammung herbei. Der eine wurde Fürst von *Bidlīs*, der andere Fürst von *Sāşūn*. 18 Fürsten aus der Linie *Diyā al-Dīn's* haben in *Bidlīs* vor 1005 (1596) geherrscht. Die einzigen Unterbrechungen fanden statt unter den *Seldjuken* (534—76), unter den *Ak-Koyunlu* (871—900), unter *Shāh Ismā'il* (913—20?) und zwischen 941 und 986. Bei diesem letzten Mal wollte *Sultan Sulaimān* das Erblehen des Amirs *Shams al-Dīn* gegen das von *Malātiya* austauschen. *Shams al-Dīn* musste *Bidlīs* verlassen, aber da er sich vor neuen Intrigen fürchtete, begab er sich zu *Shāh Tahmāsp*, der ihn grossmütig behandelte. *Shams al-Dīn* starb 965 in Persien. Sein Sohn *Sharaf al-Dīn*, der 940 im Exil geboren war, wurde sorgfältig am Hofe erzogen (der *Shāh* forderte ihn sogar auf, die Malerei zu erlernen). Er verwaltete nacheinander mehrere persische Provinzen und wurde zum Häuptling aller persischen Kurden ernannt. Nach der Thronbesteigung *Ismā'il's II.* setzte sich *Sharaf al-Dīn* Verdächtigungen aus und wurde nach *Nakhčuwān* verwiesen. Von dort erreichte er *Wān* und wurde von *Murād III.* mit *Bidlīs* belehnt, zu dem 991 *Mūsh* hinzukam. Für den Zeitabschnitt von 1065 (1655) an hat *Ewliya Celebi* (IV, 81—128) eine ausführliche Beschreibung von *Bidlīs* gegeben. Der letzte Fürst von *Bidlīs* *Sheref Bey* wurde 1849 von den Türken abgesetzt (Lynch, *Armenia*, II, 149).

5. Die Statthalter von *Sāşūn* (*Hāzō*) hiessen *'Izzīn* nach ihrem Ahnherrn *'Izz al-Dīn*, dem Bruder des *Diyā al-Dīn* von *Bidlīs*. Die *Ashirat* von *Sāşūn* waren zuerst *Shirawī*, *Sūsānī* und *Tamūki*. Die *Rūzagī* (s. oben unter *Bidlīs*) kamen später dorthin. Dann, nach der Annexion von *Arzan*, schlossen sich die Clans dieser Gegend: *Khalidi*, *Dair Mughānī*, *'Azizān*, die zuerst zu *Hişn-Kaifā* gehört hatten, an die Clans von *Sāşūn* an.

6. Die Statthalter *Suwaidī* waren angeblich barmakidischen Ursprungs. Ihre Ahnherrn wurden von dem Stamme *Suwaidī* aufgenommen. Das Erblehen der *Suwaidī* war *Gandj* (so anstelle von *Kikh* bei *Véliamīnoff-Zernof*, I, 260).

7. Der Stamm *Pāzūki*, den *Sharaf al-Dīn* zu den Stämmen *Persiens* zählt (I, 328), soll aus dem Stamme *Suwaidī* hervorgegangen sein. Nach dem *Sharaf-nāma* (I, 328) „hatte er keine bestimmte Religion“ und wies Anzeichen von Häresie auf (*Rafā wa-llhād*). Der Stamm bestand aus zwei Zweigen: *Khalid-beglu* und *Sheker-beglu* und war den *Amīren* von *Bidlīs* unterstellt. Der „einarmlige“ *Khalid* wurde mit *Khnis*, *Malāzgerd* und dem Bezirk *Ukhān* (?) von *Mūsh* belehnt. Dadurch wurde er so übermütig, dass er seine Unabhängigkeit erklären wollte. Nach der Schlacht von *Caldīrān* nahmen die *Suwaidī* den *Pāzūki* viele ihrer Lehnsgüter fort (ebd., I, 257). Zur Zeit des *Shāh Tahmāsp* wurde *Kilidj Beg* zum Anführer der *Pāzūki* ernannt und erhielt *Zagam* (bei *Tiflis*). Darauf wurden die *Pāzūki* nach *Alashkert* verpflanzt, wo sie zu einem grossen Stamme heranwuchsen.

8. Die Statthalter *Mirdāsi* (*Mirdesi* im *Selim-nāma*) behaupteten von den *'Abbāsiden* abzustammen. Ihr Ahnherr war ein *Sufi*, der von *Hakkāri*

nach *Agil* gekommen war; die *Mirdāsi* waren seine Anhänger geworden. Der Stamm selbst behauptete, arabischen Ursprungs zu sein: die *Mirdāsi* sollen *Banū Kilāb* aus der Gegend von *Aleppo* gewesen sein, die im Jahre 420 infolge von Streitigkeiten mit den *Fātimiden* ausgewandert waren (vgl. Lane-Poole, *The Muhamm. Dynasties*, unter No. 45: die *Mirdāsididen* von *Aleppo*). Der bedeutendste der drei Zweige, *Buldukānī*, hatte seinen Sitz in *Agil*; er unterhielt freundschaftliche Beziehungen mit den *Ak-Koyunlu*, aber unter *Shāh Ismā'il* wurde *Agil* von den Persern besetzt. Von den beiden andern Zweigen der *Mirdāsi* regierte der eine in *Pālū*, *Bāghin* (im Bezirk *Kighi*) und *Kharpūt*, der andere zuerst in *Bardandj* und darauf in *Djarmūk* (südlich von *Arghana-mā'dan*).

9. Die Statthalter von *Camishgezek* behaupteten, *'abbāsiden* Abstammung zu sein, aber ihre Namen selbst weisen eher auf türkische (*seldjuksche*) Herkunft hin. Ihr *Ashirat* hiess *Malkishi* (*Malik-shāhi*?). Ungefähr 1 000 Familien standen in persischen Diensten (in Persien?). Die Besitzungen der *Malkishi* waren so zahlreich, dass der Name *Kurdistan* mit *Camishgezek* gleichbedeutend geworden war (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 163). Sie behielten diese Besitzungen während der Zeit der *Mongolen*, *Timurs* und *Kara-Yūsuf's*; aber die *Ak-Koyunlu* machten die grössten Anstrengungen, die Stämme, die den *Kara-Koyunlu* treu waren, zu unterwerfen, und schickten den türkischen Stamm *Kharbandalu* gegen die *Camishgezek*. *Shāikh Hasan* verjagte die *Kharbandalu* und unterwarf sich *Shāh Ismā'il*. Dieser ersetzte ihn durch einen persischen Statthalter. *Selim I.* setzte den erblichen Amir *Pir Husain* wieder ein.

#### Gruppe B: Zwischen *Djāzira* und *Kilis*.

10. *Hasan-keif*\*, s. *Hişn-Kaifā*. Die Lokalfürsten (*Malikān*) behaupteten *aiyūbidischen* Ursprungs zu sein, was auch sehr wahrscheinlich ist. Ihr Ahnherr hatte das Lehen *Hişn-Kaifā* vom Statthalter von *Mārdin* erhalten. Der erste Fürst, den das *Sharaf-nāma* erwähnt, ist *Malik Sulaimān*, gestorben 736 (1335). Die *Ak-Koyunlu* bemächtigten sich *Hişn-Kaifā's*, aber *Malik Khalil*, der sich nach *Hamā* geflüchtet hatte, gewann sein Lehen wieder. Später setzten die Osmanen die Söhne *Malik Khalil's* ab. Unter den Dependenzstädten *Hişn-Kaifā's* erwähnt das *Sharaf-nāma* *Se'erd*, *Bishēri*, *Tūr*, das zuweilen zu den Dependenzstädten von *Djāzira* zählt (vgl. ebd., 117, 127, 157), und *Arzan*.

11. *Sulaimānī*. Die Statthalter, die *marwānidischen* (*omaiyadischen*) Ursprungs sein sollten, setzten sich zuerst in *Khūkh* im Bezirk *Ghazālī* (zwischen dem *Kūlp* und dem *Batmān-su* vor ihrem Zusammenfluss) fest, und nach und nach bemächtigten sie sich einer Reihe fester Schlösser und des Gebietes bis zum *Tigris*. Sie beherrschten einen mächtigen Stammverband; die meisten dieser Stämme waren Nomaden und wanderten im Sommer bis nach *Ala-tagh* (*Niphates*). Der bedeutendste unter ihnen war *Bānūki*, aber der tatkräftigste *Basiyān*, von dem 1 000 Familien unter ihrem Häuptling *Shāhsuwār* nach *Bāyazid* ausgewanderten. Eine Anzahl dieser Stämme bekannte sich zu den *yazīdischen* Lehren. Die *Sulaimānī* standen mit ihren Nachbarn in *Sāşūn* sehr schlecht. Sie bestanden aus zwei Zweigen: der Zweig von *Kūlp* und *Batmān* und der Zweig von *Maiyāfārikin*.



12. Zrakî (so die moderne Aussprache nach Addai Scher in *J A*, 1910, S. 119—39; nach Sharaf al-Din war Zrakî eine Zusammenziehung aus dem arabischen Azrakî). Der Ahnherr dieser Familie, der ein arabischer Šūfi aus Syrien von 'alidischer Herkunft war, war zur Zeit Ortoğ's (gest. 516 [1122], Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtasar*, S. 379) nach Mardin gekommen. Die Familie verschwägte sich nacheinander mit den Ortoğiden und den Aq-Koyunlu. Die Zrakî bestanden aus vier Zweigen. Die Hauptzweige waren die Tardjil (westlich vom Batmān-Šu) und die 'Atāk. Die beiden anderen Verästelungen der Zrakî waren die Darzīnī (das ehemalige christliche Kloster Deir-Zir?) und die Kurdikān (zwischen Diyārbakr und Maiyāfāriqin). Die Sprösslinge aus der Ehe eines Zrakîfürsten mit einer Zigeunerin (*Dukhtar-i Kābūt*) waren.

13. Kilis. Die Dynastie der Statthalter glaubte, mit den Dynastien von Hakkārī und 'Amādiya verwandt zu sein. Ihr Ahnherr Mand (Mantashā) hatte den Aiyūbiden Dienste geleistet und von ihnen den Bezirk Kuşair (bei Antiochia) erhalten. Er vereinigte unter seiner Herrschaft die Yazidī von Kuşair und die zwischen Hamā und Mar'ash lebenden Kurden, sowie die von Džōm und Kilis. Unter den Mamlūken-Sultanen und unter Selīm I. entstanden Zwistigkeiten zwischen den Yazidī (Shaikh 'Izz al-Din) und der Familie Mand. Letztere behielt die Gewalt, aber die Erbrechte dieses nordsyrischen Lehens scheinen ohne feste Grundlage gewesen zu sein.

#### Gruppe C: Zwischen Džazīra und Khoi.

14. Hakkārī\*, siehe HAKKĀRĪ und SHAMDĪNĀN. Sharaf al-Din scheint den ehemaligen Wohnsitz des Stammes um 'Amādiya herum nicht zu kennen, woraus die Atābeks Zangī ihn nach Norden hin verdrängt hatten. Die Amire gaben an, 'abbāsidi-scher Herkunft zu sein.

Der erste Amīr, der im *Sharaf-nāma* erwähnt wird, ist 'Izz al-Din Šhīr (wahrscheinlich eine einfache Arabisierung des Namens Yezdān-Šhīr), der im Jahre 789 (1387) Timur in der Festung Wān Widerstand leistete. Unter den Aq-Koyunlu bemächtigte der Stamm Dumbulī (von Džazīra) sich des Hakkārī, aber die Christen von Diz (*Asūri* „Nestorianer“) gingen nach Ägypten, um den Nachkommen der alten Familie Asad al-Din Zar-rin-Čang („der goldene Arm“) wieder zurückzuführen. Die wiederhergestellte Dynastie erhielt den Namen Šhambō (Garzoni, *Grammatica della lingua kurda*, Rom 1787, S. 4: *Sciāmbō*). Zur Zeit Ismā'īls I. residierten die Šhambō-Fürsten in dem festen Schlosse Bāi (in Šhāmdīnān); ein Glied der Familie herrschte in Wostān (südwestlich von Wān), doch wurde der Besitz der Nāhiya Kawāsh westlich von Wostān den Hakkārī von den Rūzaki streitig gemacht. Im Norden streckte sich die Herrschaft Hakkārī über Albāk aus. Der letzte Vertreter des Hauses Hakkārī Nūrallāh Beg wurde von den Osmanen nach dem Aufstand des Badr-khān Beg von Bokhtān abgesetzt, und 1845 übergab Halime-Khānīm den Türken Bash-kāl'a. In der Nähe der Hakkārī wird der Stamm Pinyānīsh (ebd., I, 97, 100) genannt, der noch heute existiert.

15. Das Lehen Maḥmūdī liegt nördlich von Hakkārī an den Zuflüssen des Wān- und Arčak-Sees. Die Statthalter (Marwāniden oder 'Abbāsiden von Bokhtān), die sich zuerst zu den yazidischen Lehren bekannten (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 306), liessen

sich dort zur Zeit der Kara-Koyunlu nieder und gerieten bald in Streit mit den Hakkārī und den Dumbulī.

16. Die Dumbulī sind ein Stamm aus Bokhtān (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 118, 310; *Dumbul-i Bokht*, der lange yazidisch blieb). Die Dumbulī kamen darauf nach Ādharbāidjān, wo sie Sukman-ābād (Sögmān-ābād) nordwestlich von Khoi (heute: Zūrawā) als Lehen erhielten. Unter den Aq-Koyunlu hatten die Dumbulī sich des festen Schlosses Bāi (in Šhāmdīnān) und eines Teils von Hakkārī bemächtigt (ebd., I, 193). Zu ihrem *Odjak* Sukman-ābād fügte Šhāh Tahmāsp Khoi hinzu. Unter Sultan Sulaimān erhielten die Dumbulī Koṭur und Bārgiri; später annektierten sie Abaghā, Sulaimān-Sarāi (heute Sarāi) und Čaldīrān. Zain al-'Abidin Šhīrwānī berichtet in seinem *Bustān al-Siyāhat* (Anfang des XIX. Jahrhunderts), dass alle Dumbulī Šhīriten sind (vgl. die Anspielung des *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 312) und türkisch (!) sprechen.

17. Brādōst. Die Familie der Statthalter stammte von den Gūrān oder von den Nachkömmlingen der Hasanwāhid-Dynastie ab. Ihre Besitztümer lagen westlich von Urmia. Ein Zweig regierte in Šōmāi, ein anderer in Tergewer und in Kal'a-Dāwūd. Die Überreste des Stammes Brādōst wohnen jetzt südlich von Šhāmdīnān an den Ufern des Rūbārī Brādōst (ein Nebenfluss des Grossen Zāb, dessen Quellen westlich von Ushnū liegen).

18. Ustūnī. Das Kapitel, das in den Handschriften fehlt, sollte gewiss von der ersten Dynastie von Šhāmdīnān handeln, deren Sitz gerade Sutūnī in der Nāhiya Harkī war (siehe unter SHAMDĪNĀN).

19. Die Geschichte der Zarzā (vgl. die Zarzari bei Shihāb al-Din al-'Umārī), die im Vorwort zum *Sharaf-nāma* angekündigt wird, fehlt im Text.

20. Tarzā. Dieser Abschnitt fehlt in den Handschriften; man weiss von diesem Stamme nichts.

#### Gruppe D: Südlich von Hakkārī.

21. 'Amādiya. Wie bereits gesagt, ist die Stadt 'Amādiya anstelle einer ehemaligen Burg unter 'Imād al-Din Zangī (521—41) erbaut worden. Die Lokal-Dynastie Bahdīnān, von der das *Sharaf-nāma* spricht, scheint sich nach dem Verschwinden der Zangīden (im VII.—VIII. Jahrhundert) im Lande niedergelassen zu haben. Die Fürsten von 'Amādiya waren für ihren Eifer in Religionsfragen bekannt. Das *Sharaf-nāma* nennt ihre Namen von der Zeit Timurs an. Später (unter Ismā'īl I.) annektierten die Bahdīnān das Gebiet Zākhō, das von den Sindī und den Sulaimānī bewohnt wurde und das ehemals ein Lehen für sich bildete (*Wilāyat-i Sindīyān*). Daher umfasste das Lehen Bahdīnān einen grossen Teil der Gebirgsgegenden nördlich von Mawšil (das Gebirge Gāra usw.).

22. Tāsīnī (Dāsīnī). Das Kapitel über diesen bedeutenden yazidischen Stamm fehlt in den Handschriften; aber im Text ist erwähnt, dass die Amire von 'Amādiya Dohūk vom Sandjak-i Tāsīnī losrissen (I, 109) und dass Sultan Selīm I. den Sandjak Arbil und „im allgemeinen das ganze *Wilāyet* Sohrān an Husain Beg Dāsīnī, einem Yaziden-Fürsten“, im Jahre 941 (1534) gab, was einen blutigen Streit mit den Sohrān hervorrief (I, 274—77). Letztere erhielten schliesslich ihr Erbgut wieder, und Husain Beg wurde in Kon-

stantinopel hingerichtet. Über die Ortschaft Dāsīn siehe Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, S. 202—7.

23. Sohrān („die roten“), Abkömmlinge von Kalūs, eines arabischen Hirten aus Baghdād, der sich nach der Stadt Hādīyān in der Nāhiya Āwān (des Gebietes Sohrān) geflüchtet hatte. Sein Sohn wurde zum Amīr von Balakān (östlich von Rawānduz) ausgerufen und bemächtigte sich der Burg Āwān. Die Hauptstadt der Sohrān, die mit ihren Bauwerken geschmückt war (Rich, *Narrative*, I, 157), war Harir (an einem Nebenfluss des Grossen Zāb stromabwärts von Rawānduz). Die Sohrān waren um 1005 noch ein mächtiger Stamm, aber später erlagen sie den Angriffen der Nachbarn, und die Bābān (Rich, *Narrative*, I, 157) zogen Nutzen aus ihrem Verfall.

24. Bābān. In Wirklichkeit sind unter diesem Namen mehrere aufeinanderfolgende Dynastien bekannt. Ihr Erblehen lag südlich des Kleinen Zāb, und ihre Hauptstadt war Shari-bāzēr; aber 1199 (1784) erbauten die Bābān sich eine neue Hauptstadt in Sulaimāniya (Einzelheiten siehe in diesem Artikel).

25. Die Mukrī, die heute die Gegend südlich des Urmiasees innehaben (Einzelheiten siehe unter SĀWJ-BULĀK), hatten sich von dem Stamme Bābān abgezweigt.

26. Bāna. Die Fürsten Ikhtiyār al-Din trugen diesen Namen, weil sie aus eigenem Antrieb (*Ikhtiyār*) den Islām angenommen hatten (Einzelheiten siehe unter SĀWJ-BULĀK).

27. Ardilān\*, siehe ARDILĀN, SHAHRAZŪR, SENNA, SISAR.

28. Gāl-bāghī (*Sharaf-nāma*, II, add. 36—45; der Zusatz ist von 1092 datiert). Ihr Häuptling 'Abbās Agha aus dem türkischen Stamme Ustādjalū erhielt von Bige-beg Ardalān (900—42) eine „Wasserquelle“ in Mariwān (s. SENNA). Darauf liess 'Abbās Agha sich in Bilāwar, dem ehemaligen Lehen der Kalhur, nieder. Seine Anhänger rekrutierten sich aus verschiedenen Stämmen. Šhāh Tahmāsp bestätigte ihm die Statthalterschaft von Bilāwar und den „Zwölf *Oimāk*“. Später übertrug die Hohe Pforte dem 'Alī-khān Gāl-bāghī den Sandjak, der aus Kirind, Shaikhān, Čakarān (?), Khorkhōra, Zend usw. bestand, während Yār Allāh den *Timūr* Erekle (?), Rangrazān und Sahbānān (?) erhielt.

29. Kalhur (Kalhurr). Die Fürsten führen ihren Ursprung auf Gudarz zurück, den Vater des Gīw der persischen Heldensage. Das *Ashīrat* der Kalhur heisst Gūrān (I, 317), obgleich einige Handschriften von „Kalhur und Gūrān“ sprechen (*Sharaf-nāma*, II, add. 6). Die Kalhur bestanden aus drei Zweigen: die von Palangān (s. SENNA), von Dartang (s. ZOHĀB) und von Māhi-dasht (s. KIRMĀNSHĀH).

Die Besitzungen der Fürsten von Darna und Dartang (heute Ridjāb im Bezirk Zohāb) stimmten nach Sharaf al-Din (I, 319) mit dem alten Hulwān überein. Um 1005 erstreckte sich der Machtbereich des Kubād Beg von Dainawar und Bilāwar bis nach Baghdād. Māhidāsh und Bilāwar (südlich vom Murwārī-Pass) bildeten das Erbgut (*Odjak*) des dritten Zweiges der Kalhur. Der Zweig von Māhidāsh war vorwiegend nomadisch, und daraus erklären sich vielleicht auch die karglichen Auskünfte Sharaf al-Din's. Heute haben die Gūrān ihr altes Erbgut inne, aber der Stamm Kalhur sitzt in der Gegend südlich der grossen Strasse Baghdād-Kirmānshāh.

#### Gruppe E: Die persischen Kurden.

Der Aufbau des Teiles (*Firka*) im *Sharaf-nāma*, der sich mit den *Akrād-i Irān* beschäftigt, ist nicht sehr klar. Der Verfasser schrieb zu einer Zeit, in der die türkisch-persische Grenze nicht festgesetzt war.

Die Hauptstämme Persiens sind drei an der Zahl: Siyāh Maṣṣūr, Čiganī und Zangana. Ihre Eponymoi waren drei Brüder, die aus Luristān oder aus „Gūrān und Ardalān“ stammten. Ausser diesen und den von Sharaf al-Din erwähnten Stämmen gab es noch die „24 Stämme“ (*yirmi dōrt*) von Karabagh (in Transkaukasien) — ungefähr 30 000 Leute unter einem einzigen Statthalter — und den Stamm Gil in Khorāsān, ohne die Stämme von geringerer Bedeutung mitzuzählen.

Der Stamm Siyāh Maṣṣūr. Zur Zeit des Šhāh Tahmāsp war dessen Häuptling *Amīr al-Umarā'* aller Kurden von Persien geworden (sie zählten mehr als 24 Stämme).

Ein Teil der Čiganī wanderte aus Gharchistān aus.

Der Stamm Zangana (Zengene) findet sich im Irāk und in Khorāsān.

Von 1650 bis 1730. „Grosskurdistān“, so wie Sharaf al-Din es beschreibt, und insofern es sich um eine Reihe autonomer kurdischer Fürstentümer handelt, war schon durch die Einführung der türkischen Verwaltung in den Sandjaks, die Diyārbakr und Wān am nächsten lagen, vermindert worden. Nicht nur der Vertrag von 1049 (1639) setzte der Ausdehnung Persiens nach Westen zu ein Ende, sondern der Türkei gelang es auch, unter den Nachfolgern der Šafawiden die westlichen Provinzen Persiens wieder zu besetzen ebenso wie Transkaukasien (Hammer, *G O R* 2, IV, 235). In der Praxis befanden sich so alle Kurden unter osmanischer Herrschaft vereint. Als die Türken die Perser nicht mehr zu fürchten brauchten, machten sie einen systematischen Zentralisationsversuch.

Noch unter Murād IV. unternahm Malak Ahmed Pasha, der 1638 zum Generalstatthalter von Diyārbakr ernannt worden war, eine Expedition gegen die Yazidī von Sindjār. Später (1065 = 1655) unterwarf derselbe Pasha, der nach Wān versetzt worden war, die Kurden dieser Gegend.

Im Jahre 1666 erklärte sich ein Kurde, Sohn eines Shaikhs, zum *Mahdi*, wurde aber von den Statthaltern von Mawšil und 'Amādiya gefangen genommen. Die Angelegenheit nahm eine harmlose Wendung, denn Sultan Muḥammed IV. nahm diesen sogenannten Mahdi in seinen persönlichen Dienst (Hammer, III, 589).

Unter dem schwachen Šhāh Husain belagerten die Kurden des persischen Irāk 1719 Hamadān und dehnten selbst bis zur Hauptstadt ihre Plünderungen aus. Im Jahre 1722 wurde auf Befehl des Šhāh Tahmāsp II. von dem kurdischen Häuptling Fandun (Feridūn?) ein Versuch unternommen, Isfāhān, das von den Afghānen besetzt war, wiederzuerlangen; aber dieser Versuch beschränkte sich auf einen Angriff auf das armenische Viertel der Stadt Tabris. Die Afghānen warfen Fandun zurück, der seine Besitztümer wiedererhielt und sich den Türken unterwarf (Hanway, *A historical Account of the British Trade*, 1753, II, 197). Das Glück war verräterisch gegen die Šafawiden. Selbst 'Abbās Kulī Khān Ardalān unterwarf sich Hasan Pasha (Hammer, IV, 211; vgl. jedoch *R M M*, XLIX,



87). Seinem Beispiele folgten die Häuptlinge von Djawānrūd, Darna, Djāf, Harsān aber nicht der *Sipahsālār* 'Alī Mardān Teili [s. LUR-I KŪČIK] der sich nach Luristān zurückgezogen hatte (Hammer, IV, 227).

Die Afghānen. Während der blutigen und schnell vorübergehenden Herrschaft der afghānischen Dynastie in Isfāhān schlug Ashraf die Türken (Schlacht von Andidjān im Jahre 1726), die 20 000 Kurden unter Bebek Sulaimān Oghlu (Sulaimān Bābān?) in ihrem Heere hatten. Die Türken schoben ihre Schlappe auf das Verhalten der Kurden, denen Ashraf reiche Versprechungen gemacht hatte; in der Tat sah man kurz danach, dass die Kurden zu den Afghānen übergingen. Trotz des anfänglichen Erfolges musste Ashraf vom folgenden Jahre an (1140 = 1727) seine Souveränitätsrechte erkaufen, indem er den Türken den ganzen westlichen Teil Persiens, alle kurdischen und lurschen Bezirke eingeschlossen, überliess.

Nādir Shāh. Gegen Ende der Regierungszeit Sultan Ahmeds III. kam ein Umschwung. Durch den Vertrag von 1144 (1732) erhielten die Perser ihre westlichen Provinzen zurück, und bald fiel Nādir in das osmanische Gebiet bis zu den Toren Baghdāds ein. Die Türken versuchten vergebens, ihm kurdische Truppen entgegenzustellen; aber von 1733 ab erschien auf dem Schauplatz Topal 'Othmān Pasha, der in Mawṣil kurdische Verstärkungen erhalten hatte. Nādir wurde geschlagen. Im Jahre 1734 operierte er mit Erfolg in Kaukasien und nahm Tiflis ein, dessen Garnison 6 000 Kurden einschloss. Durch den Frieden von 1149 (1736) wurden die alten Grenzen von 1049 (1639) wiederhergestellt. Im Jahre 1743 fiel Nādir von neuem in die Türkei ein, aber trotz der Hilfe der Kurden und Araber wurde er bis Senna zurückgedrängt, wo er eine endgültige Niederlage erlitt (ebd., IV, 317, 398—99).

Nādir war bei den Kurden nicht beliebt, obwohl ein episches Gedicht im Gūrāni-Dialekt seine Kämpfe mit Topal 'Othmān Pasha behandelt. Bei den Ardālān setzte Nādir an die Stelle des Subhān Werdi Khān seinen Bruder ein, was einen Volksaufstand hervorrief (RMM, XLIX, 88). Im Jahre 1727 verweigerten während eines Aufstandes der Turkmenen die Kurden in Khorāsān (Čamish-gezek und Karačorlu) Nādir ihre Hilfe, der sie bestrafen und nach Mashhad bringen liess. Nādir wurde 1747 ermordet, als er im Begriff war, die Kurden von Khorāsān noch einmal zu bestrafen (Jones, *Histoire de Nādir*, London 1770, I, 10, 23, 48, 61, 92 etc.). Die Kurden (Dumbult usw.) nahmen an der Anarchie teil, die auf Nādirs Tod folgte, aber die Hohe Pforte enthielt sich jeder Einmischung.

Die Dynastie Zand. Nach dem Tode Nādir Shāhs regierte Karim Khān Zand, einer der besten Herrscher, den Persien jemals gehabt hat, den grösseren Teil dieses Landes. Die Zand waren ein kurdischer Stamm von untergeordneter Bedeutung (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 323), der zwischen Hamadān und Malāyir in der Gegend, die früher Ighār hiess, ansässig war, siehe unter LAKK. Unter Nādir waren die Zand nach Khorāsān verpflanzt worden, aber nach seinem Tode nahmen sie wieder von ihrer Heimat Besitz (*Tārīkh-i Zandiya*, ed. Beer, S. XI, XVIII). Mit dem Tode des Lutf 'Alī Khān im Jahre 1209 (1794) erlosch die Dynastie. Der Stamm Zand war gewiss zu schwach, um der Dynastie eine wirkliche Stütze zu sein, aber Karim Khān hatte nach Art seiner Vorgänger mehrere kurdische Stämme

von Kurdistan nach Shirāz kommen lassen (die Ahmādāwand, RMM, XXXVIII; die Kōrūni, die ein besonderes Viertel in Shirāz bewohnen, O. Mann, *Die Tājik-Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, S. XXIX).

Die Kādījāren. Beim Tode des Agha Muḥammed Shāh Kādījār (1211 = 1797) bemächtigte sich Šādiq Khān Shākāfi der Krondiamanten und bemühte sich eine Zeitlang, die Thronfolge anzutreten (*The dynasty of the Kajars*, Übers. Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, S. 20, 27—32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, S. 107, 115, 125). Seit 1221 (1805) haben sich die Perser zugunsten des 'Abd al-Rahmān Pasha von Sulaimāniya eingesetzt (s. d.; vgl. Rich, *Narrative*, I, 384; Watson, a. a. O., S. 155, und das Mukri-kurdische Lied in der Sammlung von O. Mann, No. XVI). Im Jahre 1236 (1821) waren die Perser infolge von Verwicklungen mit den kurdischen Stämmen Haidarānlu und Sipkān in das türkische Gebiet bis Bidlis und Mūsh eingefallen; gleichzeitig drangen sie auf der Strasse von Kirmānshāh bis Sherābān in der Nähe von Baghdād vor. Der Frieden von 1238 (1823), der in Erzerum unterzeichnet wurde, stellte die Grenzen von 1049 (1639) wieder her, aber die Perser wollten das Gebiet von Zohāb, das von Kurden bewohnt war, nicht räumen. Die Sache mit Sulaimāniya blieb unentschieden. Im Jahre 1842 drohte ein neuer Krieg auszubrechen, als Grossbritannien und Russland vermittelnd dazwischentrat, und im Jahre 1264 (1847) wurde in Erzerum ein neuer Vertrag unterzeichnet, nach dem Zohāb in zwei Teile geteilt werden sollte, während Persien zugunsten der Türkei auf jeden Anspruch auf Sulaimāniya verzichtete. Von 1848—52 bereiste eine gemischte Kommission, die aus Vertretern von vier Mächten bestand, die Grenze; aber die Haltung des osmanischen Delegierten Darwish-Pasha verhinderte, dass die Arbeiten zu einem Abschluss kamen. Darwish-Pasha liess nicht allein den Bezirk Kōtūr militärisch besetzen, sondern entwickelte auch in einer geheimen Denkschrift (die in Konstantinopel 1286 und 1321 veröffentlicht wurde) eine These über die Zugehörigkeit der gesamten kurdischen Bezirke südlich und westlich des Urmiases zur Türkei.

Die Türkei im XIX. Jahrhundert. 1826 hatte der Statthalter von Siwās Rashid Muḥammed Pasha die Aufgabe erhalten, die Kurden zu befrieden und türkische Statthalter in Kurdistan einzusetzen. Um 1830 erhob sich ein ausgedehnter kurdischer Aufstand an mehreren Orten. Die Führer dieses Aufstandes waren Badr-Khān und Sa'id Beg und Muḥammed Pasha von Rawānduz. Um 1820 (1830?) hatte letzterer sich unabhängig erklärt und die Stämme von Khoshnāw angegriffen. 1831 bemächtigte er sich Arbīl's, Altūn-köprü's, Kōi-sandjak's und Rāniya's. Im folgenden Jahre dehnte er seinen Machtbereich auf Mawṣil zu aus; in Alkosh wurden 172 Christen erschossen. Darauf wurden 'Akra, Zibar und 'Amādiya besetzt. Im Jahre 1833 waren die Truppen von Rawānduz bis nach Zakhō und Djazīra vorgedrungen, um dort Badr Khān wieder einzusetzen. Die Yazidi wurden mehrmals hart gezüchtigt: Ihr Führer 'Alī, der sich weigerte, sich zum Islām zu bekehren, wurde hingerichtet (vgl. das Volkslied darüber in JA, 1910, S. 134—6), und eine Menge Yazidi wurden auf dem Hügel von Koyundjik hingerichtet. Im Jahre 1835 wurden gegen Muḥammed Pasha von

Baghdād, Mawṣil und Siwās osmanische Truppen ausgesandt, und 1836 wurde der Mir von Rawānduz mit List gefangen genommen.

Die Aufstände und ihre Unterdrückungen dauerten noch einige Jahre lang (vgl. Poujoulat, *Voyages*, I, 373; Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, S. 259—84).

Die Niederlage von Nizib (1839), die den Osmanen von den Ägyptern beigebracht wurde, brachte neue Sorgen für Kurdistan. Im Jahre 1843 begann der Aufstand des Nūrullāh Beg von Hakkāri und des Badr Khān von Djazīra. Die Nestorianer von Hakkāri hatten sich in Mawṣil über die Bedrückungen durch Nūrullāh Beg beklagt. Als Antwort darauf verwüstete letzterer den nestorianischen Bezirk Barwāri. Die Blutbäder dauerten mehrere Jahre lang, und die Zahl der Opfer belief sich auf 10 000. Die Mächte erhoben in Konstantinopel Einspruch, und 1847 griff ein bedeutendes Heer unter 'Othmān Pasha die Kurden an. Badr Khān und Nūrullāh, die in mehreren Schlachten geschlagen worden waren, ergaben sich und wurden aus Kurdistan vertrieben (vgl. Layard, *Nineveh*, Kap. VII; ROC, V (1900), 649—53; Addai Scher in JA, 1910, a. a. O.; über die kurdisch-nestorianischen Beziehungen vgl. unter anderem: Grant, *The Nestorians*, New-York 1841; Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; Perkins, *A residence of 8 years... among the Nestorian Christians*, New-York 1852; Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1889; Heazell, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians*, New-York 1906; H. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925).

Die russisch-türkischen Kriege. Seit 1804—5 kamen die Russen mit den Kurden in Berührung, und dieser neue Einfluss machte sich fühlbar. Die russisch-türkischen Kriege von 1828—29, 1853—58, 1877—78 waren in Kurdistan jedesmal von beträchtlicher Rückwirkung (diese Frage ist besonders eingehend von Awerianow, *Kurdi v voinakh Rossii*, Tiflis 1900 untersucht worden). Schon 1829 hatten die Russen ein kurdisches Regiment ins Feuer geschickt. Infolge der Auswanderung der Christen bereiteten die Kurden sich nach dem Kriege in nördlicher und westlicher Richtung beträchtlich aus. Während des Krimkrieges stellten die Russen zwei kurdische Regimenter auf; auf der andern Seite wurde, als die türkischen Truppen nach Norden zu abgezogen waren, in Bohtān ein grosser Aufstand von Yazdān-Shēr, dem Neffen und ehemaligen Nebenbuhler des Badr-Khān, erregt.

Auf den Krieg von 1877—78 folgte zuerst ein Aufstand unter den Kurden von Hakkāri, Bahdinān und Bohtān, der von dem Sohne Badr-Khān's geleitet wurde, und darauf der Aufruhr des Shaikh 'Ubaidallāh aus dem Naqshbandi-Orden. Die räuberischen Kurden verwüsteten 1880 die persischen Gebiete Urmia, Sāwdj-bulāk, Miyāndō-āb und Marāgha und bedrohten sogar Tabriz. Die Hauptopfer waren Shi'iten. Russland sammelte eine besondere Truppenabteilung, um die Araxes-Grenze zu schützen. Persien machte bedeutende Streitkräfte mobil, unter andern die Reiter von Mākū [s. d.]. Die Türkei, die gerade einen Krieg hinter sich hatte, suchte Verwicklungen zu vermeiden. Schliesslich kehrte der Shaikh nach Shamdinān zurück, von wo er nach Konstantinopel geschickt wurde. Bald ent-

kam er aus der Hauptstadt und kehrte über Kaukasien nach Shamdinān zurück, wurde aber von neuem gefangen genommen und beschloss 1883 in Mekka sein Leben.

Die Hamidiye-Truppen. Die Entkräftung der Türkei nach 1878, Artikel 61 des Berliner Vertrages, der den Armeniern Reformen und Schutz „gegen die Kurden und die Circassier“ zusicherte, das geheime Entgegenarbeiten der osmanischen Regierung gegen die Reformen, und seit 1885 die Entwicklung der armenischen revolutionären Bewegung mit ihren Beziehungen nach Russland, der Schweiz und London erschwerten das bis dahin ziemlich friedliche Leben der Kurden und Armenier, insofern als die letzteren sich der Autorität der kurdischen Feudalherren unterwarfen. Um 1891 kam Shākir Pasha, der später mit der Durchführung der Reformen in Anatolien beauftragt wurde, auf den Gedanken, irreguläre kurdische Regimenter nach Art der russischen Kosacken zu schaffen. Diese Neuerung bezweckte, die Kurden zu erziehen und sie an den osmanischen Staat zu fesseln. Der Versuch fiel nicht befriedigend aus, denn später wurden die Hamidiye-Truppen in Linienregimenter (*Khasif Suwārī*) umgewandelt. Jedoch rief die Schaffung der Hamidiye durch die Rolle, die den Kurden dabei zuerzählt wurde, und durch den erwachten Ehrgeiz eine ziemlich starke Bewegung hervor. Es kam zu blutigen Streitigkeiten unter den Stämmen.

Die armenisch-kurdischen Beziehungen. Gleichzeitig verschlimmerte sich das Verhältnis zwischen Armeniern und Kurden (diesen „Brüdern Erde und Wasser“, ein Ausdruck, der von europäischen Konsuln gebraucht worden ist). Im Sommer 1894 kam es zu blutigen Zusammenstössen in Sāsūn, die mit der Verwüstung von 5 Dörfern und des ganzen Bezirks Talori (Dalvorikh), der von Armeniern bewohnt ist, endeten. Die Ereignisse von Sāsūn eröffneten eine lange Reihe armenischer Kundgebungen und deren blutige Unterdrückungen, an denen die Kurden tätigen Anteil nahmen. Inzwischen wurde 1895 ein Aufstand unter den Kurden von Hakkāri versucht, der rasch unterdrückt wurde; er war nicht gegen die Christen gerichtet. Vom Beginn des XX. Jahrhunderts an bis zum Weltkrieg scheint das armenisch-kurdische Verhältnis ziemlich friedlich gewesen zu sein. Im allgemeinen siehe über die kurdisch-armenischen Beziehungen: Abowian, *Kurdi* in der Zeitschrift *Kawkaz*, Tiflis 1848, No. 46, 47, 49, 50 und 51 (wo der „Vater der armenischen Litteratur“ ein ausserordentlich sympathisches Bild vom Charakter der Kurden entwirft); Creagh, *Armenians, Kurds and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte raspredeleniya armiansk. naseleniya*, in *Zapis. Kawkaz. Otd. Geogr. Obsch.*, Tiflis, XVIII, 1895; Vambéry, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, LXXXVI (1890), 216—31; Rohrbach, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Verhand. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1900, S. 128—33; Contenson, *Chrétiens et Musulmans*, Paris 1901; Lynch, *Armenia*, passim; Mayewski, *Opisanie Wanskago i Bitlis. wilayetow*, Tiflis 1904 (Standardwerk); N. Marr, *Yeshē o slove „celebi“*, in *Zap.*, XX (1910); Zarzecki (französ. Konsul in Wān), *La question kurdo-arménienne*, in *La Revue de Paris*, vom 15. April 1914 und der diplomatische Schriftwechsel in den „Gelb-“ und „Blaubüchern“ und im russischen „Orangebuch“ von 1915.



Das XX. Jahrhundert. Zu Beginn des XX. Jahrh. taucht ausserhalb der gewöhnlichen Zentren der kurdischen Bewegung eine neue Gestalt auf: Ibrahim Pasha b. Mahmud b. Timawi b. Aiyub, Führer des Stammes Milli (Milan) im Kanton Shariwiran (zwischen Diyarbakr und Aleppo). Ibrahim Pasha hatte sich eine fast unabhängige Stellung geschaffen. Als die Verfassung von 1908 verkündet wurde, empörte er sich offen und zog sich in das 'Abd al-'Aziz-Gebirge zurück, wo er getötet wurde (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende*, in *Asien*, VIII [1909], 34—7, 52—4 und M. Sykes, *The Caliph's last heritage*, S. 317—27).

Eine bedeutende Agitation unter den Kurden setzte ein bei der Wiederaufrollung der türkisch-persischen Grenzfrage. Nach der russischen Schlapp im Fernen Osten besetzte die Türkei (schon 1905) die von den Kurden bewohnten „strittigen“ Kantone der Gegenden Urmia und Sawdj-bulak. Die Kurden wurden in das vielfältige Spiel politischer Einflüsse hineingezogen. Erst als der Balkankrieg begann, nahm die türkische Besetzung ein Ende (im Oktober 1912), aber nur, um den russischen in das Gebiet von Khoi und Urmia entsandten Truppenteilen Platz zu machen. Nachkommen adliger Kurdenfamilien machten Reisen nach Russland. Am 17. November 1913 wurde in Konstantinopel ein Grenzberichtigungs-Protokoll unterzeichnet, und gerade vor dem Weltkrieg gelang es einer Viererkommission (Türkei, Persien, England, Russland), die Grenze der strittigen Gebiete festzusetzen, indem sie im grossen und ganzen den *status quo* vom Beginn des XIX. Jahrh. wiederherstellte (vgl. Minorsky, *Turetsko-persidsk razgranicheniye*, in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obsch.*, LII [Petersburg 1916], 351—92).

Der Krieg 1914—18. Im Verlauf des Krieges 1914—18 wurden die Kurden durch entgegengesetzte Einflüsse erneut in Unruhe versetzt. Über die Tätigkeit des Isma'il Agha Simko vgl. den Art. *SHAKAK*. Über die interalliierten Pläne (März 1916) Kurdistan betreffend vgl. die Dokumente in *Razdel Aziatskoi Turtsii*, Moskau 1924, S. 185—7, 225.

Nach 1917—18 änderte sich die Lage von Grund auf. Überall bildeten sich kurdische Ausschüsse (vgl. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; diese Publikation ist im Britischen Museum vorhanden). In Paris vertrat Sharif Pasha die kurdischen Interessen und legte am 22. März 1919 und am 1. März 1920 der Friedenskonferenz zwei Denkschriften vor über die kurdischen Ansprüche mit einer Karte über das „vollständige Kurdistan“ (vgl. *L'Asie Française*, 1919, No. 175, S. 192—93). Gleichzeitig wurde am 20. Dezember 1919 zwischen Sharif Pasha und den armenischen Vertretern ein Abkommen entworfen, und die beiden Parteien gaben gemeinsam der Konferenz Erklärungen ab (vgl. den Text des Abkommens in der Zeitung *Peyam-i Sabah*, Konstantinopel, 24. II. 1920; vgl. auch den *Temps*, Paris, 10. III. 1920). Der Vertrag von Sevres vom 10. August 1920, der in den Grenzen der vier Wilayets (Trapezunt, Erzerum, Wan und Bidlis) Armenien geschaffen hatte (Art. 88—93), sah in seinen Artikeln 62—4 „für die Gebiete, wo das kurdische Element vorherrscht, im Osten des Euphrat, im Süden der armenischen Grenze und im Norden der Grenze der Türkei mit Syrien und Mesopotamien eine örtliche Autonomie vor“. Wenn die kurdische Bevölkerung in den erwähnten Gren-

zen dem Rat des Völkerbundes beweist, „dass eine Mehrheit der Bevölkerung in diesen Gebieten von der Türkei unabhängig zu sein wünscht und wenn der Rat dann der Meinung ist, dass diese Bevölkerung für diese Unabhängigkeit reif ist“, ist die Türkei damit einverstanden, diesem Ersuchen nachzukommen, und in diesem Falle werden die alliierten Mächte keinen Widerspruch erheben gegen den freiwilligen Anschluss der im Wilayet Mosul wohnenden Kurden an diesen „unabhängigen kurdischen Staat“. Infolge anderweitiger Ereignisse beschränkte sich die kurdische Frage auf das Schicksal der Kurden im Wilayet Mosul. Die türkischen Vertreter verfochten die These, dass „die Kurden sich in nichts von den Türken unterscheiden und dass diese beiden Völker, obwohl sie verschiedene Sprachen sprechen, eine einzige Gesamtheit hinsichtlich der Rasse, des Glaubens und der Sitten bilden“ (Konferenz von Lausanne; Rede Ismet Pasha's in der Sitzung vom 23. Januar 1923). Durch den Beschluss des Völkerbundes vom 16. Dezember 1925 wurde das Wilayet Mosul dem Irak zugeteilt, jedoch mit einer Bestimmung, die für die Kurden die Erfüllung ihrer Wünsche vorsah, insbesondere, „dass Beamte kurdischer Rasse für die Verwaltung ihres Landes, sowie für die Ausübung der Justiz und für den Unterricht in den Schulen bestimmt würden, und dass die kurdische Sprache die offizielle Sprache aller dieser Ämter sei“.

Während der langen Verhandlungen über das Mosulgebiet brachen in der Gegend von Kharput und Diyarbakr infolge des Aufstandes des Shaikh Sa'id Nakshbandi ernste Unruhen aus. Shaikh Sa'id wurde gefangen genommen und am 16. April 1925 in Diyarbakr hingerichtet. Nach Regelung der Mosul-Frage hat die Regierung mit mehr Nachdruck eine Politik betrieben, die dahin ging, die Einflüsse des Feudalismus und der Stämme in Kurdistan zu beseitigen.

**Litteratur:** Der Verfasser ist Herrn G. R. Driver zu Dank verpflichtet, der mit grösster Uneigennützigkeit ihm eine Menge historischen Materials zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Ein Abriss der kurdischen Geschichte, deren erste Richtlinien oben in grossen Zügen entworfen sind, erfordert noch viele Vorarbeiten und Untersuchungen in der arabischen, persischen, aramäischen, armenischen und georgischen Geschichte. Eine systematische Benutzung von Quellen wie des *Selim-Nama* des Hakim Idris und seines Sohnes Abu 'l-Fadl und des *Ta'khri-i 'Alam-ara-yi 'Abbasi* wird eine reiche Ausbeute ergeben. Die Grundlage unserer Kenntnisse über die kurdische Geschichte ist unstrittig das *Sharaf-Nama* (bis 1005/1596). Den Text hat Veliaminof-Zernof hauptsächlich nach dem vom Verfasser selbst kollationierten Manuskript herausgegeben: *Scheref-Nameh*, I (Geschichte der Kurden), Petersburg 1860; Bd. II (Varianten zum ersten Band und die allgemeine Geschichte der Türkei und Persiens seit dem Beginn der osmanischen Dynastie bis 1005 = 1596), Petersburg 1862. Über die türkischen Übersetzungen siehe jetzt, Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber d. Osmanen*, 1927, S. 223. Die französische Übersetzung von F. Charmoy: *Cheref-Namah ou Fastes de la nation kurde*, in zwei Bänden und vier Bänden, Petersburg 1863—75, enthält umfassende Kommentare (u. a. die Übersetzung der entsprechenden Kapitel des *Djihan-numa*

von Haddji Khalifa), ist aber ziemlich veraltet und hat keinen Index. Vgl. ebenfalls die Studien von H. Barb, *Über die Kurden-Chronik von Scheref*; *Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter*; *Geschichte v. 5 Kurden-Dynastien*; *Geschichte v. weiteren 5 Kurden-Dynastien*; *Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstentherrschaft in Bidlis*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, X (1853), 258—76; XXII (1857), 3—28; XXVIII (1858), 3—54; XXX (1859); XXXII (1859), 145—250. Die Geschichte Kurdistan's von Muhammed Efendi Shahrazuri, gestorben 1073 (1662) in Medina (vgl. *Tadji al-'Arus*, s. v. *Kurd*), ist noch nicht wiederaufgefunden worden [1927]. Für die Geschichtswerke über das Haus Adalan s. unter SENNA, wo hinzugefügt werden muss die Geschichte (bis 1254 = 1834) von Khusraw b. Muhammed b. Minu'ichir, vgl. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, I, 305, No. 498. Über die *Risalat Ansab al-Akrad* im Asiatischen Museum zu Leningrad siehe Romaskewich, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, N. S., Petersburg 1918, S. 392. Die Zeitschrift *Zar-i Kurmandji* (in Rawanduz) hat 1926 eine kleine Geschichte *Ghunia-yi Baharistan* in Kurdisch veröffentlicht und die Herausgabe des *Tarikh-i Kurdan* von Zain al-'Abidin Beg angezeigt. Allgemeine Bemerkungen über die kurdische Geschichte findet man bei G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette di religione ivi esistenti*, Neapel 1818; Quatremère, *Notice sur le Masalik al-Absar*, NE, XIII (1838); Rich, *Narrative* (s. SULAIMANIYA); Charmoy, im Vorwort zu seiner Übers. des *Sharaf-Nama*; Lerch, *Issledovaniya ob iranskikh Kurдах*, Petersburg 1856, I, 20—33; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrisch. Akten*, 1880; Tomaschek, *Sasun*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, CXXXIII (1895); Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnujs*, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1895); Rawlinson und Wilson in *Encyclop. Britannica*, 1911, XV, 949—51; Addai Scher, *Episodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, in *JA*, XV (1910), 119—40; die Ereignisse von 1502, 1508, 1510—12 (Djizira), 1523, 1689, 1712 ('Amadiya), 1820—36 (Rawanduz); Soane, *To Mesopotamia... in disguise*, London 1912, Kap. XVI; Minorsky, *Kurdi*, Petersburg 1915; Driver, *Studies in Kurdish History*, in *BSOS*, II (1922), 491—513; im November 1926 hat Huart dem Institut des Inscriptions über die Geschichte der Kurden mehrere Mitteilungen gemacht; durch den Tod des Verfassers ist ihr Erscheinen verzögert.

#### C. Anthropologie, Soziologie, Ethnographie.

Man braucht nur die Photographien der Milli-Kurden („arabischer“ Typus), der Girdi-Kurden („Mukri“-Typus), der Köckiri-Kurden („jüdisch-biblischer“ Typus), der Shamdinan-Kurden („nestorianischer“ und „Hakkari“-Typus) zu vergleichen, die sich in Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's last heritage*, S. 321, 343, 373, 425—29 finden, oder die Typen der nördlichen Kurden, die Lynch, *Armenia*, II, Fig. 109 („turkmenischer“ Typus) und Fig. 114 (sehr ausgeprägter Typus) bietet, um sofort jeden Gedanken, für den „kurdischen Typus“ eine einheitliche Formel zu finden, für durchaus illusorisch zu erklären.

Folglich können die Verallgemeinerungen selbst

der aufmerksamsten Beobachter nur als rein persönliche Ansichten gewertet werden; so Duhoussset, *Études sur les populations de la Perse*, Paris 1863, S. 12—6; Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur l'ethnogr. de la Perse*, Paris 1866, S. 107; Chantre, *Aperçu sur les caractères ethniques des Ansaries et des Kurdes*, in *Bull. Soc. Anthropol. de Lyon*, I (1882), 162; v. Luschan, *Early inhabitants of Western Asia*, in *Annual Report Smithsonian Inst. for 1914*, S. 561—62; ders., *Die Wandervölker Kleinasien*, in *Verh. d. Gesell. f. Anthropol.*, 1886; ders., *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, Berlin 1922; ders., *Das Volk d. Kurden*, in *Globus*, LVII, 25, 355—63; Pissou, *Races des hautes vallées du Tigre et de l'Euphrate*, in *Revue Scient.*, XLIX (1892), 557—60, 581—88.

All diese Charakteristiken mit ihren Widersprüchen beziehen sich augenscheinlich nur auf Individuen, welche die Verfasser zu sehen Gelegenheit hatten; aber noch niemand hat alle kurdischen Stämme bereist. Wissenschaftliche Messungen waren bisher sehr selten: vgl. Duhoussset, *a. a. O.*, Tafel 7—8, Khanikoff, *a. a. O.*, S. 138, sowie die russischen Arbeiten des Arztes Elisewew (*Anthropol. exkursiya*, in *Izw. Geogr. Obsch.*, XXIII; ders., *Po belu Svetu*, Petersburg 1896, III, 319, 332), des Arztes Danilow, des Prof. A. A. Iwanowski (*Yezidi*, in *Russki Anthropol. Journal*, 1900, No. 3 mit russ. Bibliographie) und des Arztes Pantukhow (vgl. C. H., *Einige Notizen über die Kurden und Karapapachen nach Pantjukhow*, in *Ausland*, XXXVI, 719).

Man besitzt gegenwärtig eine ziemlich vollständige Namenliste der kurdischen Stämme und kennt annähernd ihre Verteilung. Aber ein vollständiges Verzeichnis, das die historischen Tatsachen berücksichtigt und sich auf Angaben stützt, die nach einem einheitlichen Programm gesammelt sind, erfordert noch langwierige Vorarbeiten. Man hat einen eingehenden Auszug aus dem gesamten im Jahre 1856 erreichbaren Material in der Arbeit von Lerch, *Issledovaniya ob iranskikh Kurдах*, Petersburg 1856, I, 59—121 (dieser Teil der Arbeit von Lerch ist in der deutschen Übersetzung: *Forschungen über die Kurden*, Petersburg 1857—58, ausgelassen). Von den späteren Zusammenstellungen seien genannt: Jaba, *Recueil de notices et récits kourdes*, Petersburg 1860, S. 1—7; Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, I, Leipzig 1871; Kartsew, *Zametki o kurдах*, in *Zap. Kavk. Otd. Geogr. Obsch.*, Tiflis 1897, XIX, 339—68 (mit einer Karte) und die sehr eingehende Liste (305 Namen) von Sir Mark Sykes, *The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire*, in *J. Anthropol.*, I, 1908, S. 451—80 (mit einer Karte), wieder abgedruckt in der Arbeit desselben Reisenden, *The caliph's last heritage*, London 1915, S. 553—92; Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel 1919, S. 19—74. Für die persischen Stämme siehe d. Art. KIRMANSHAH, MAKU, SAWDJ-BULAK, SENNA u. URMIA; für die Kurden in Transkaukasien s. E. Kondratenko, *Ethnogr. karti Zakavkazya*, in *Zap. Kavk. Otd. Geogr. Obsch.*, Tiflis 1896, XVIII, Anhang.

Was die Lebensweise der Kurden betrifft, so sind drei Tatsachen charakteristisch: die historische Tendenz der Kurden, sich in Lehngütern um Burgen herum zu gruppieren, in denen die meist fremdstämmigen Oberhäupter wohnen; das Bestehen einer Kriegerkaste, die den Oberhäuptern als Stütze dient und für die gegebene ethnische Ansiedlung einen Schutz bildet; das Vorhandensein von Hirten



(Nomaden und Halb-Nomaden) sowie von Ackerbauern (Sesshaften und Halbsesshaften) unter den Kurden.

Die Stämme, die ein vollständiges Nomadenleben führen, die das ganze Jahr in Zelten leben und den Winter in den warmen Ebenen Mesopotamiens in der Nähe der Araber zubringen, sind heute ziemlich selten (vgl. die Liste bei Mark Sykes). Die meisten Kurden sind Halbnomaden oder sesshaft. Die ersteren wohnen den klimatischen Verhältnissen des Landes entsprechend 5 oder 8 Monate in den Dörfern und gehen im Sommer (nach der Ernte) in die Berge und nehmen dort ganz bestimmte Plätze ein. Selbst die Etappen der Übersiedlung der Stämme wie z. B. der Djäf (vgl. den Art. SENNA) sind streng festgelegt. Die Kurden dieser Gruppe beschränken sich öfter darauf, auf die Anhöhen in der Nähe ihrer Dörfer (in der Gegend von Sāwāj-bulāk *Sarān* genannt) zu steigen.

Die sesshaften Kurden scheinen ziemlich oft den älteren Volksteil darzustellen, der von den *ʿAšīrat*-Kriegern unterjocht wurde oder sich dieser Herrschaft unterworfen hat, um sich einen Schutz gegen die Nachbarn zu sichern (vgl. SāWāj-BULĀK). Schon Strabon, XVI, 3, 1, stellte das Vorhandensein von Ackerbauern unter den Cytii von Fars fest. Früher fanden die Nomadenstämme von Mūsh im Winter Zuflucht in den armenischen Dörfern in der Ebene, aber allmählich (nach 1842) tauchten neben den armenischen Dörfern rein kurdische Dörfer auf; vgl. *Correspondence respecting the condition of population in Asia Minor and Syria*, Blue Books, Turkey 1879, N<sup>o</sup>. 10; 1880, N<sup>o</sup>. 4 und 23; 1881, N<sup>o</sup>. 6 [die Berichte von Trotter sind ins Russische übersetzt in *Izw. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obšč.*, Tiflis 1882, VII, Anhänge]; Lynch, *Armenia*, 1901, II, 423; Mayewski, *Wanskii i Bitlis. Wilayat*, Tiflis 1904 (Verzeichnis der armenischen und kurdischen Dörfer). Die allgemeine Tendenz geht bei den Kurden nach dem sesshaften Leben. Im nördlichen Mesopotamien haben die Kurden sich als ziemlich geschickte Ackerbauern erwiesen und scheinen aus diesem Grunde über das arabisch-beduinische Element die Oberhand zu haben; vgl. *Handbook* (N<sup>o</sup>. 57), *Turkey in Asia*, hrsg. vom Foreign Office, S. 104: „Nordmesopotamien scheint dazu bestimmt zu sein, kurdisches Land zu werden“.

Die Erscheinungsformen des ethnographischen Charakters (Kleidung, Sitten und Gebräuche, Beschäftigung, Spiel) unterscheiden sich in Kurdistan von Stamm zu Stamm; mit einer vorschnellen Verallgemeinerung würde man Gefahr laufen, die Tatsachen schief darzustellen. Nur die Kurden von Eriwān (die weit von den kurdischen Zentren entfernt wohnen) sind Gegenstand einer vollständigen Monographie geworden: Egiazarow (Professor der Rechte, der seit seiner Kindheit kurdisch sprach), *Krakii ethnogr. očerK Kurdow Eriwan. gubernii*, in *Zap. Kawk. otd. Geogr. Obšč.*, XIII/2, Tiflis 1891; vgl. auch Khačaturow, *Kurdi, čerti yikh-kharaktera i bita*, in *Sborn. mater. po Kavkaz.*, XX/1, Tiflis 1894, S. 64—90. Für die Kurden von Sulaimāniya vgl. die beachtenswerte Arbeit von Rich, *Narrative of a residence*, und Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, Kap. XVI; für die Gegend von Mukri und Urmia: Arakelian, *Kurdi v Persii*, in *Izw. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obšč.*, XVII/1 (1904); de Morgan, *Miss. scientifique, Études geogr.*, II; Nikitine, *Quelques observations sur les Kurdes*, in *Mercure de France*, 1921, S. 662—74; ders., *La vie domestique kurde*, in

*Revue ethnogr. et des traditions populaires*, 1923, S. 334—44.

Im *Sharaf-Nāma* (I, 98, 131, 173—74, 381; II, Anhang, S. 44) finden sich interessante Züge, welche die Rolle der Frauen bei den Kurden charakterisieren: sie genossen weniger Freiheit als bei den Turkmenen, beteiligten sich aber aktiv an den Staatsgeschäften und standen (bei den Kalhur) sogar an der Spitze ihrer Stämme. Über Halime-khānim von Hakkārī siehe Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, 717; über ʿAdila-khānim von Alabca (gest. 1924 mit dem von der britischen Regierung verliehenen Titel *Khān Bahādūr*) siehe: Soane, *To Mesopotamia*<sup>2</sup>, 1926, auch Minorsky, *Kurdi*, Petersburg 1915, S. 37. Vgl. auch Rich, *Narrative*, II, 285 u. *passim*; Jaba, *Recueil*, S. 89, 99; Hyvernat, *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, 1892, S. 174.

**Litteratur:** Weitere Abhandlungen über das Leben der Kurden: de Morgan, *La féodalité en Perse*, in *Revue d'ethnogr. et de sociol.*, Paris 1912, S. 180—2; Nikitine, *La féodalité kurde*, in *RMM*, LX, 1—27; *Kurdische Textil- und Bekleid.-Industrie*, in *Österr. Monatsschrift f. d. Orient*, 1876, S. 126—7; v. Luschān, *Zwei mit Menschenhaaren besetzte Teppiche*, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, XX (1888), 439; *Kustarn. promish. na Kawkaze*, in *Kowrow. promish. Kurdow. Eriwan. gubernii*, Tiflis 1903 (kurdische Teppiche aus Eriwān); Berliner u. Borchart, *Silber-schmiedarbeiten aus Kurdistan*, 1922; Volland, *Beiträge z. Ethnogr. d. Bewohner v. Armenien und Kurdistan*, in *Arch. f. Anthropol.*, XXXVI (1909), 183—96; Mirza M. Djewād al-Kāzi, *Studien aus dem Rechtsleben in Kurdistan*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, XXII (1909), 321—47; ders., *Der Kurdenstamm Manggur*, in *Globus*, IIC, 213—5; E. Noel, *The character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs and popular sayings*, in *BSOS*, I/IV (1921), 79—90.

#### D. Religion.

Die Kurden selbst glauben, ihre Vorfahren seien *Madjusi* (Zoroastrier) gewesen; vgl. M. Sykes, *The Caliph's last heritage*, S. 425; vielleicht ist der Name Bahdinān (ʿAmādiya) ein Rest mazdaqasnischer Terminologie (*bihdin*, „orthodox, laienhaft“). Trotzdem geben die aramäisch-christlichen Quellen an, dass die Kurden sich zuerst zu einem nicht näher bestimmten Heidentum bekannt hätten. Im III. Jahrh. soll Mār Mārī von Urfa († 226) in Shāhgert (Shāhgert zwischen Dakūkā und Arbil, Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, S. 270) den König und sein Volk, welche „Bäume anbeteten und kupfernen Bildern Opfer darbrachten“ (Raabe, *Mār Mārī*, S. 26) zum Christentum bekehrt haben. Ishō'yabē errichtete in der Nähe von Thāmānīn (bei Djazīrat b. ʿOmar) an der Stelle, „wo die Kurden den Teufeln geopfert hatten“, ein Kloster. Die Kurden, die Mār Sābbā († um 485) zum Christentum bekehrte, waren Sonnenanbeter, vgl. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, S. 75.

Die Angaben über die Versuche einer Christianisierung der Kurden sind sehr dürftig; Masʿūdi, *Murūdī*, III, 254 nennt unter den Kurden die Christen al-Yaʿkūbiya und al-Djūrkan, die in der Nähe von Mawṣil und dem Djabal al-Djūdī wohnten (vgl. Marco Polo, Kap. XXIV). Nach der Konversion zum Islām waren die Kurden oft eine Stütze für die Khāridjiten-Bewegung (der Aufstand der Zandj-Sklaven in der Gegend von Baṣra, der

des Daisam in Ādharbāidjān, vgl. Masʿūdi, a. a. O., V, 231: die in Ādharbāidjān zerstreuten Kurden sind unter dem Namen *Shurāt* = Khāridjiten bekannt). Es gab auch Kurden, welche die Khalifen ʿOthmān und ʿAlī nicht anerkannten (Masʿūdi, a. a. O., III, 233). Nach dem *Sharaf-Nāma*, I, 14 gehören alle Kurden (Muslime) dem sunnitisch-shāfiʿitischen Ritus an (ebenso Ewliya Celebi, IV, 75). Dennoch steht es fest, dass unter den von Persien unterworfenen Kurden Shīʿiten waren. Unter Uldjāitu gab es sogar einen kurdischen Mahdi. Die unter den türkischen Shāh-Sewan wohnenden Shākāki [s. d.] wurden Shīʿiten; vgl. auch die Angabe des *Sharaf-Nāma*, I, 316, über die Dumbuli, welche die shīʿitische Predigt hörten. (Der Sinn des Ausdrucks *Husaini*, den derselbe Autor, I, 117, im Gegensatz zu den drei Yazidi-Stämmen auf die vier Djazīra-Stämme anwendet, ist nicht klar).

Sehr anschaulich ist auf der anderen Seite das Zeugnis des *Sharaf-Nāma*, I, 14 über die Ausbreitung der Yazidi-Lehren unter den Kurden (die Stämme Dāseni, Khālidi, Basiyān und zum Teil Bokhti, Mahmūdī und Dumbuli, ganz zu schweigen von Sindjār, den das *Sharaf-Nāma* nicht erwähnt); vgl. den Artikel YAZIDEN.

Über den Pāzūki-Stamm bemerkt das *Sharaf-Nāma* (I, 328), dass er keine bestimmte Religion habe; aus seinen engen Beziehungen zu den Šafawiden kann man vermuten, dass er sich zu extrem-shīʿitischen Lehren bekannte.

Gegenwärtig ist die grosse Mehrzahl der Kurden shāfiʿitisch. Sogar in Senna war nur die alte Dynastie der Wālī Ardalan shīʿitisch. Die shīʿitischen Stämme der Provinz Kirmānshāh sind zum grössten Teil Extremisten, vgl. Minorsky, *Notes sur les Ahli-Haqq*, in *RMM*, 1920, XL, 59; für das Mōsul-Gebiet vgl. die Artikel SARLI und SHABAK. Aber im allgemeinen findet das mehr oder weniger extreme Shīʿitentum mehr Anhänger unter den Irānischen Stämmen Kurdistan's, die keine wirklichen Kurden sind (die Gūrān, die Zāzā). Dagegen werden die Kurden von den Shāikhēn der verschiedenen sunnitischen Orden (namentlich der Nakshbandi und der Kādīri, die ihre Hauptsitze in Awrāmān, Sulaimāniya, Mukri, Shāmdinān, Kharpūt usw. haben) stark beeinflusst. Dies ist bei dem Aufstand des Badr-Khān in vollem Umfange zu Tage getreten (vgl. Layard, *Discoveries*, London 1853, S. 375), ebenso bei dem Aufstand des ʿUbaidallāh (1880), des Shāikh Saʿīd (1926) usw.; vgl. den Art. SHĀMDINĀN und die dort angegebenen Arbeiten von Nikitine.

**Litteratur:** Ausser den erwähnten Werken vgl. N. Marr, *Yeshē o slove „celebi“*, in *Zap.*, XX (1910) (der Verfasser untersucht die kulturelle Bedeutung der Kurden in der Geschichte Vorderasiens und glaubt im kurdischen Milieu [Yazidi?] Überreste heidnischer Religion zu finden, vgl. den Art. CELEBI); S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie* (in Kurdistan), in *L'Anthropologie*, XVII (1906), 633; Volland, *Aberglauben in Armenien und Kurdistan*, in *Globus*, XCI (1907), 341—44 (über Becher mit magischen Inschriften); Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, in *BSOS*, II/II (1922), 197—215; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, in *RHR*, 1922.

#### E. Die kurdische Sprache.

Das Kurdische ist wie das Persische eine westiranische Sprache, gehört aber einem anderen

Zweige an als das Persische. Die historische Spaltung des Westiranischen in einen nördlichen und einen südlichen Zweig ist dargelegt worden von Andreas, Salemann, O. Mann (*Die Tajik-Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, S. I—XXVI); Meillet, in *MSL*, XVII (1911—12); Lentz, *Die nordiranischen Elemente in d. neuers. Literatursprache bei Firdosi*, in *ZI*, IV (1926). Jedoch hat P. Tedesco in seiner Arbeit *Dialektologie d. Westiranischen Turfantexte*, in *MO*, XV (1921) gezeigt, dass das „West“-Iranische (zum Unterschied vom Ostiranischen: dem Soghdischen, dem Sakischen) eine starke gegenseitige Durchdringung seiner beiden Zweige, des Nord- und Südiranischen, aufweist; dies Ergebnis ist durch die oben zitierte Arbeit von W. Lentz noch bekräftigt worden.

Aber trotz dieser Verwirrung und des Nebeneinanders von heterogenen Elementen in den modernen Dialekten hat das Kurdische im ganzen einen vom Persischen deutlich unterscheidbaren Charakter. Diese Tatsache würde noch viel deutlicher in Erscheinung treten, wenn unsere kurdischen Texte nicht viel jünger wären als die Zeit, wo die persische Sprache als Schriftsprache die Oberhand gewann. Die wichtigsten Merkmale des Kurdischen im Vergleich mit dem Persischen sind folgende:

a. Die eigentliche Artikulation: Häufigkeit von semitischem *ʿ* und *ṭ*, selbst in rein irānischen Wörtern wie *ʿasp* („Pferd“), *ḥawt* („sieben“); das Gaumen-*l* (etwas verschieden vom slavischen und türkischen *l*); das gerollte *r* im Gegensatz zum schwachen *r*; das bilabiale *w*; die Zulässigkeit zweier Konsonanten am Anfang (z. B. *Brā*, *Shātk*) und die Sonorlaute *n* und *r*, die einen vokalischen Charakter annehmen (beinahe *bʿg*, *kʿr*).

b. Die fundamentale Verschiedenheit in der phonetischen Behandlung desselben iranischen Wortschatzes, wie folgende Beispiele zeigen:

Persisch	Kurdisch
<i>dil</i>	<i>zird</i>
<i>ādhar</i> ( <i>ātash</i> )	<i>āhir</i> und <i>āgir</i>
<i>māhi</i>	<i>māsi</i>
<i>namāz</i>	<i>nurwēz</i>

c. Morphologische Verschiedenheiten: der casus obliquus hat sich erhalten; determinatives Suffix („bestimmter Artikel“) auf *-ākā*; verschiedene Personalendungen: Possessiv-Pronomen 3. Pers. *-i/-ian*; Plural des Präsens: 1. Person *-in*, 2. und 3. Person *-in*; eine Idāfat-Form (namentlich im Plural) auf *-t* (*-d*) [vgl. den ossetischen Plural auf *-lā*], z. B. *Yār-i te* „dein Freund“, *Yārid te* „deine Freunde“; das alte Passiv auf *-ya* (vgl. Salemann, *Zum mittelpers. Passiv*, Petersburg 1900; Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, S. 102) und ein Passiv auf *-re*.

d. Syntaktische Verschiedenheiten: Weiterbestehen der Passiv-Konstruktion der transitiven Verben im Präteritum, namentlich verwickelt bei zusammengesetzten Verben (*kūstān-ian lē briwīn* „sie haben uns des Gebirges beraubt“, wörtlich: „das Gebirge/von ihnen/von/wir-sind-abgeschnitten worden“).

e. Lexikographische Verschiedenheiten: Das Kurdische hat nicht nur wie die meisten Nord-West-Dialekte *kar*, *-kap*-[und *vāč*-] gegenüber *kun*-, *uft*-[und *gō*-] der süd-westlichen Mundarten, sondern speziell noch *hāt* gegenüber *amad*; *āni* gegenüber *āvurd*; *bist* gegenüber *shinid*; *nārd*



gegenüber *fristād* usw. Die zahlreichen Entlehnungen aus dem Schriftarabischen bilden ein Element, welches das Kurdische dem Persischen nahe bringt, aber das Kurdische entlehnt auch aus dem Vulgar-Arabischen, Osmanisch-Türkischen, Aramäischen und Armenischen. Im übrigen können das Kurdische und das Armenische auch aus denselben noch unbekannten autochthonen Sprachen geschöpft haben.

Wenn auch im Prinzip die iranischen Dialekte des Nord-Westens und des Süd-Westens keineswegs durch eine Kluft voneinander getrennt sind, so hat das Kurdische dennoch rein praktisch genommen seinen ausgesprochenen Typus, der es nicht nur von dem modernen Persisch unterscheidet, sondern auch von den übrigen Dialekten des Nord-Westens (vom Samnāni, den „Zentral“-Dialekten usw.).

Dennoch umfasst das Kurdische selbst ziemlich voneinander abweichende Dialekte. Die meisten kurdischen Dialekte werden mit dem Ausdruck *Kurmāndjī* bezeichnet. Nach dem *Šaraf-Nāma* (S. 13) besteht die gesamte „kurdische“ Nation aus vier Teilen: Kurmāndj, Lur, Kalhur und Gūrān. Von diesen Stämmen bilden die Lur, soweit es sich um ihr Äusseres und ihre Sprache, die nach der Süd-West-Gruppe neigt, handelt (O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910), eine Einheit für sich. Die Gūrān (vgl. Art. ZOHĀB) ebenso wie die gleichartigen Awrāmi (vgl. SENNA), Zāzā [s. d.] usw. sprechen Nord-West-Dialekte, die beträchtlich vom Kurdischen abweichen (vgl. „drei“ im Gūrāni: *yeri*; im Zāzā: *hirye* in Übereinstimmung mit dem Samnāni: *heirā*; dagegen Kurdisch: *sē*; die Zāzā sollen nach Andreas' Ansicht [berichtet von Christensen] mit den alten Dailamiten verwandt sein, und diese Hypothese wird durch die unter den Awrāmi lebendigen Traditionen bekräftigt; E. Soane, *In disguise to . . . Kurdistan*, S. 377).

Die Kalhur nahmen nach dem *Šaraf-Nāma* das Gebiet zwischen Senna, Kirmānshāh und Zohāb ein; danach scheint der Ausdruck „Kalhur“ im *Šaraf-Nāma*, S. 13 der kurdischen „nicht-Kurmāndjī“-Gruppe der Gebiete von Senna und Kirmānshāh zu entsprechen. Diese Dialekte sind von O. Mann untersucht worden, aber dieser Teil seiner Sammlungen ist noch nicht veröffentlicht. Nach dem Prospekt seiner *Kurdisch-persischen Forschungen* (deren Erscheinen jetzt durch K. Hadank gesichert ist), soll ein Band die Süd-Dialekte der Provinz Kirmānshāh bringen: Kirmānshāhī, Kalhurī, Lakkī, Pahrawandī, Nānakalī und Kulyāzī, letzterer im Gebiet von Sunkur; ein anderer Band soll sich mit den Dialekten der Provinz Kurdistan beschäftigen (vgl. Art. SENNA) und mit denen von Kirind und Garrūs (sonst Bidjār, im Osten von Senna). Die Leute, die alle diese Dialekte sprechen, nennen sie gewöhnlich *Kurdi* oder mit dem Namen des betreffenden Stammes. An den Grenzen von Luristan (in Lakkistan) sind die kurdischen Süd-Dialekte unter dem Namen *Lakkī* bekannt (vgl. O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze der Luridialekte*, in *SB Pr. A W*, XXXIX [1904]; Čirikow, *Putevoi journal*, Petersburg 1875, S. 227). In Salmās und in der Provinz Fārs gibt es Lak (aber der von O. Mann, *Die Tajik-Mundarten*, S. 135, beschriebene kurdische Dialekt von Kalūn-Abdū ist kein *Lakkī*). Die südkurdischen Dialekte Westpersiens haben wichtige Merkmale des Kurdischen verloren (z. B. die Passiv-Bildung

des Präteritums der transitiven Verben). Das Bestehen dieser Nicht-Kurmāndjī-Dialekte kann eine gewisse Bedeutung haben für die Aufklärung der „Kardū-Kūrti“-Frage.

Den Ursprung des Namens Kurmāndj kennt man nicht: Sollte es eine Zusammensetzung des Namens *Kurd* mit dem irgendeines anderen Stammes von Medien sein? Im Gebiet des eigentlichen Kurmāndjī unterscheidet man zwei Gruppen von Dialekten: die Ostgruppe (oder vielmehr die des Süd-Ostens) und die Westgruppe. Ihre genauen Grenzen sind noch nicht bekannt. Das Ost-Kurmāndjī wird in der Mukri-Gegend gesprochen (vgl. SĀWJ-BULĀK) und in den Becken der Nebenflüsse des Tigris: des Kleinen Zāb, des ‘Aqām und des Diyāla. Es ist ein unter morphologischem Gesichtspunkt sehr reiner und reicher Dialekt. Der Westzweig umfasst den Rest der Kurmāndjī-Dialekte mit ihren örtlichen Besonderheiten (Diyār-bakr, Mārdin, Bohtān, Bahdinān, Hakkārī, Ūrmia, Eriwān, Erzerūm, sowie die kurdischen Kolonien in Kleinasien und Khorāsān). Die Kurden Nordsyriens scheinen sich verschiedener Dialekte mit vielen Entlehnungen aus dem Türkischen zu bedienen (vgl. die Sammlung von Le Coq).

Ewliyā Ćelebi, IV, 75 zählt 15 kurdische Dialekte (*Lisān*) auf. Garzoni, *Grammatica*, unterschied den Dialekt von ‘Amādiya von den Dialekten von Bidlis, Džulāmerg, Bohtān und Sulaimāniya. Vgl. auch den Versuch einer Klassifizierung bei Soane, *Grammar of the Kurmanji*.

**Litteratur:** Eine Bibliographie der kurdischen Studien seit 1783 findet sich bei Lerch, *Isledovaniya*, III, S. I—XXXI und im *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.*, I/II, 253—4. Die einzigen wissenschaftlichen kurdischen Grammatiken sind: Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, Petersburg 1880, und Socin, *Die Sprache d. Kurden im Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, I/II, 249—86; diese beiden beschäftigen sich hauptsächlich mit dem westlichen Kurmāndjī. Für das östliche Kurmāndjī ist das Hauptwerk: O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, I (Berlin 1906), S. XXXIII—CVI: *Grammatische Skizze*; vgl. auch Soane, *Notes on the Phonology of Southern Kurmanji*, *J R A S*, 1922, S. 199—226. Das einzige kurdische Wörterbuch ist A. Jaba—F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, Petersburg 1879; es fasst alles bis dahin Erschienene zusammen (eine Ergänzung von H. Schindler erschien in *Z D M G*, XXXVIII), reicht aber für praktische Zwecke nicht aus. Über das Manuskript eines umfangreichen Wörterbuches von E. S. Soane, das der School of Oriental Studies in London gehört, vgl. E. D. Ross in *Times*, vom 19. II. 1926.

Im folgenden sind die Proben kurdischer Dialekte zusammengestellt, die man gegenwärtig zur Verfügung hat:

I. Die persische Gruppe: A. Senna-Kirmānshāh: Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, Petersburg 1857—58 (Bibliographie, ein Fragment des *Gulistān* im Dialekt von Senna); H. Schindler, *Beiträge z. kurdischen Wortschatz*, in *Z D M G*, XXXVIII, 1884 (Wörter u. Redensarten im Zangana u. Kalhurī); H. Schindler, *Weitere Beiträge*, in *Z D M G*, XLII (1888), 73—9 (Analyse eines Sennāzī-Vokabulars); Soane, *Southern Kurdish Folk-Song in Kermānshāhī*, in *J R A S*, 1909, S. 35; s. auch De Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, V (vgl. die Kritik

von O. Mann, in *Die Mundart d. Mukri-Kurden*, I, S. XXI).

B. Die zerstreuten Dialekte: A. Querry, *Le dialecte guerrouci*, *M S L*, IX (1895), 1—23 (das Garrūsī der Khodjāwand in Māzandarān); O. Mann, *Die Tajik-Mundarten*, Berlin 1909, S. 135—55 (der kurdische Dialekt von Kalūn Abdū in Fārs); W. Iwanow, *Khorāsānī Kurdish* (erscheint in den Veröffentlichungen der Royal Asiatic Society; dieser Dialekt steht dem Kurmāndjī von Erzerūm nahe); s. auch Bérézine, *Études* (Redensarten im Kurdischen von Khorāsān); H. Schindler, in *Z D M G*, XXXVIII (Dialekt Amarlu in Khorāsān) und verschiedene Reiseberichte (Brugsch, *Reise d. preussischen Gesandtschaft*, 1863, II, 496—8: die Kurden der Umgebung von Teherān).

II. Das östliche Kurmāndjī: Chodzko, *Études philologiques sur la langue kurde*, in *J A*, 1857, S. 297—356 (Dialekt von Sulaimāniya gesammelt in Paris); O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, I, Berlin 1906 (vollständige Grammatik, Texte), II, Berlin 1909 (Übersetzungen, Einleitung in die ost-kurdischen Heldenlieder); E. S. Soane, *Notes on a Kurdish dialect (Sulaimāniya)*, in *J R A S*, S. 891—940; Soane, *Grammar of the Kurmanji Language*, London 1913; Bittner, *Die heiligen Bücher d. Feziden, Denksch. Wien. Akad.*, LV/IV (1913); Soane, *Elementary Kurmanji grammar*, Bagdad 1919; Soane, *Kitāb-i Awwalamini Qiraat-i Kurdi*, Bagdad 1920; L. O. Fossum, *A practical Kurdish grammar (Mukri)*, Minneapolis 1919; s. auch: Bérézine, *Recherches sur les dialectes musulmans*, Kazan 1853; H. Schindler, in *Z D M G*, XXXVIII (1884); de Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, V (1904); von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, II (unter Bābā = Bābān).

III. Das nördliche und westliche Kurmāndjī: Eriwān: S. A. Egiazarow, *Kratkii etnograficeskii očerok Kurdow*, in *Zap. Kavkaz. otd. Geogr. Obščestwa*, XIII/1, Tiflis 1891 (Besprechung in *W Z K M*, VI, 178); Khačaturow, *Kurdskie teksty*, in *Sbornik materialow dlia opisaniya Kavkaza*, XX, 1—16, Tiflis 1894 (Sprache der Barukli Kurden, am Berge Ararat); Adjarian, *Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet*, in *M S L*, XVI (1911), 349—83. Erzerūm-Bāyazid: Jaba, *Recueil de notices et extraits kurdes*, Petersburg 1860; Jaba-Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, Petersburg 1879 (hauptsächlich auf Grund der Texte aus Bāyazid, aber mit Benutzung des gesamten erreichbaren Materials); Jaba, *Dialogues kurde-français* (Manuskript in meinem Besitz). Ūrmia-Hakkārī-Shamdinān: F. Müller, *Kurdisches und syrisches Wörterzeichniss*, in *Orient und Occident*, hrsg. von Benfey, III, 104; S. Rhea, *Brief-grammar and vocabulary of the Kurdish language of the Hakkārī district*, in *J A O S*, X (1872), 118—55; Makas, *Kurdische Studien*, Heidelberg 1900, S. 16—28; ders., *Ein Gedicht aus Gawar* (über andere Materialien aus Gawar siehe M. Hartmann in *Bull. Acad.*, Petersburg 1900); Nikitine, *Kratkii russko-kurdskii voyennii perevodnik*, Ūrmia 1916; Noel, *The Character of the Kurds as illustrated by their Proverbs (Hakkārī)*, in *B S O S*, I/IV (1921), 79—90; Agha Petros Ellow, *Assyrian, Kurdish and Yezidi*, Bagdad 1920; Nikitine und Soane, *The tale of Suto and Tato*, in *B S O S*, III/1 (1923),

69—106; Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, *ibid.*, IV/1 (1926), 121—38. Bahdinān-Bohtān: M. Garzoni, *Grammatica e vocabolario della lingua kurda*, Rom 1787 (Materialien, gesammelt in ‘Amādiya; über die Besonderheiten dieses Dialektes vgl. *Šaraf-nāma*, I, 107); A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890, II-a und II-b (Texte und Übers. im Dialekt von ‘Bohtān’, gesammelt in Zākhō); Jardine, *Bahdinan Kurmanji*, Bagdad 1922 (Materialien gesammelt in Zākhō und dargeboten als „the Kurmanji of the Kurds of Mosul division and surrounding districts of Kurdistan“); Dufresne, *Un conte kurde de la région de Sōōrd*, in *J A*, 1910, S. 107—18 (im Dialekt von Bohtān, aber diktiert von einem ‘Sa’id Hikkārī effendi’); Yūsuf Diyā al-Din Pasha al-Khālidi, *al-Hadiya al-hamidiya fi ‘l-Lughati ‘l-kurdiya*, Stambul 1310 (der Verfasser war Ka’im-makām in Mōtki [Mōdkī], s. die Bespr. in *J A*, IX. Serie, II, 545 und M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*); P. Beidar, *Grammaire Kurde*, Paris 1926 (Dialekt von Zākhō-Djāzira). Tur ‘Abdin-Mārdin-Diyār-bakr: P. Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, Petersburg 1857—58 (Texte gesammelt in Roslawl von Kriegsgefangenen aus der Umgebung von Diyār-bakr); Prym und Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, Petersburg 1887, I-a und I-b (Texte und Übers., Dialekt von Tur ‘Abdin); Makas, *Kurdische Studien*, Heidelberg 1900, S. 1—16: *Eine Probe des Dialektes v. Diyarbekir*; Makas, *Kurdische Texte*, Petersburg-Leningrad 1897—1926 (gesammelt in Budapest, Dialekt von Mārdin). Nord-Syrien: von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1903 (nicht im Handel), I, 1—81 (Texte gesammelt in Lendjirli) + 1—92 (Phototypie des *Naw-bahār* und des *Mawli-d-i Nabī*), II, 1—115 (Transkription der Texte in Bd. I und Redensarten in Zāzā, Lōlō [?] und Bābā = Mukri). Vgl. auch: Bérézine, *Études sur les dialectes musulmans*, Kazan 1853; Soane, *The Shādī branch of Kurmanji*, in *J R A S*, 1909, S. 895; Soane, *Grammar of the Kurmanji* London 1913.

#### F. Volkskunde, Litteratur, Zeitschriften.

Die Sammlungen kurdischer Erzählungen von Jaba, Lerch, Prym-Socin, Le Coq, O. Mann, Makas und Nikitine geben ein gutes Bild von der kurdischen Erzählungskunst. Der Stoff ist oft der gemeinsamen Volksüberlieferung Vorderasiens entnommen (Fabeln, Märchen, Schwänke; vgl. Mirzā M. Djewād al-Kāzī, *Ein kurdisches Märchen*, in *Globus*, XCVI, 187); zahlreicher und interessanter sind die Erzählungen über die Liebesabenteuer der Volkshelden, über die Stammesfehden usw. Prym-Socin und Makas haben über den Inhalt derartiger Erzählungen ausführliche Kommentare geschrieben; O. Mann erläuterte den Gesang über die Belagerung von Imdīm-kāl’a (im Jahre 1017 = 1608) an Hand der offiziellen Geschichte ‘Abbās I. Viele volkstümliche Stoffe sind zugleich in Prosa und in Versen behandelt. Verschiedene Zyklen mit ihren Varianten sind in der Form wirkliche Epen, wie das *Mem-u Zin*, die Geschichte zweier Liebenden am Hofe des Emīrs von Bohtān, von der noch die Version des Ahmedkhāni und zahlreiche volkstümliche Versionen vorhanden sind: Lerch, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, III, 242—55; Prym-Socin, No. XXXI, Mann, No. II, Makas, No. I. Siehe



auch: B. Chalatzianz, *Kurdische Sagen*, in *Zeitsch. d. Vereins f. Völkerkunde*, XV (1905), 322—30; XVI (1906), 35—46 und 402—14; XVII (1907), 76—80.

Der Gewährsmann von Jaba, *Recueil de Notices*, S. 7—9 hat ihm ein Verzeichnis von neun kurdischen Dichtern verschafft, deren Lebenszeiten allerdings noch der Bestätigung bedürfen. Es sind folgende Dichter:

‘Alī von Ḥarīr (in Shamdīnān), der von 400—71 (1009—78) gelebt haben soll, was ihn fast zum Zeitgenossen des Firdawsi machen würde (?). Er ist der Verfasser eines kurdischen *Diwāna*.

Shāikh Ahmed Malā-i Dīzrī, stammt aus Dīzīra, wo sich auch sein Grab befindet. Er soll seine Blütezeit zwischen 540 und 556 (1145—60) gehabt haben zur Zeit eines Fürsten ‘Imād al-Dīn. Dabei erwähnt aber der *Diwān* des Malā-i Dīzrī, den M. Hartmann, *Der kurdische Diwān des Schāh Ahmed*, Berlin 1904 in Phototypie herausgegeben hat, auf Blatt 221 den Namen des persischen Dichters Dīāmī († 898 = 1492); demnach kann er nicht vor dem Ende des XV. Jahrh. gelebt haben. Eine dem *Khān-i Khānān* gewidmete Ode — welcher der „Shāh von Kurdistan“ (Blatt 171) ist, der über Tabriz herrscht und der grösser als der Shāh von Khorāsān ist (Blatt 177) — könnte sich auf irgend einen Potentaten der Kara-Koyunlu oder Ak-Koyunlu beziehen.

Fakī Teirān (707—77 = 1302—75), geboren und begraben zu Mukus, hiess in Wirklichkeit Muhammed und bediente sich des Schriftstellernamens Mīm Haiy. Er verfasste die *Hikāyata Shāikh Sennāna* (Sannān), die Erzählungen des Barsisa, das *Kawl-i Hasp-i Rash* („Die Worte des schwarzen Streittrosses des Propheten“) und andere Gedichte.

Malā-i Batē (Mullā Ahmed), geboren und begraben in dem Dorfe Batē in Hakkārī (820—900 = 1417—94), ist der Verfasser eines *Diwān* und eines *Mawlid*. Letzteres wurde in Phototypie von A. von Le Coq herausgegeben (*Kurd. Texte*, I, 49—96).

Ahmed Khānī von Hakkārī hatte seine Blütezeit zwischen 1000 und 1063 (1591—1652) und wurde in Bāyazīd bei der Moschee, die seinen Namen trägt, bestattet. Er verfasste das Gedicht *Mem-u Zin*, das von Jaba-Lerch, *Mélanges Asiat.*, III, 242—55 untersucht und von den Herausgebern der Zeitschrift *Zin* im Jahre 1338 (1920) in Konstantinopel publiziert worden ist. Sein gereimtes arabisch-kurdisches Glossar *Naw-Bār* („Anfänge“) ist von Yūsuf Diyā al-Dīn herausgegeben worden, der es in das Jahr 1094 setzt (*al-Hadiya al-Hamidiya*, S. 279—97), und in Faksimile durch von Le Coq, *a. a. O.*, I, 1—47. Ahmed Khānī hat viele kurdische, arabische und türkische Gedichte verfasst.

Ismā‘il von Bāyazīd, Nachahmer des Ahmed Khānī (1065—1121 = 1654—1709), verfasste ein kurmāndji-arabisch-persisches Glossar *Gulzār* und viele *Ghazal*s und Gedichte. Sharīf-Khān, geboren und begraben in Dīlāmērg (1101—61 = 1689—1748), gehörte der Familie der Emire von Hakkārī an. Er ist der Verfasser einer grossen Anzahl von Versen in Kurmāndji und Persisch. Murād-Khān von Bāyazīd (1150—99 = 1737—84) verfasste lyrische Gedichte.

Über die Sammlungen kurdischer Poesie, die sich im Asiatischen Museum in Petersburg befinden, vgl. Lerch, *Istildovaniya*, III, S. xxvi. Im Jahre 1322 (1904) wurde in Kairo von Kurdi-

Zāda Ahmed Rāmiz das *Mawlid al-Nabī bi ‘l-Lughat al-kurdiya* herausgegeben.

In den kurdischen Zeitschriften (s. unten) finden sich biographische Angaben und Gedichtproben von folgenden Dichtern: Shāh Partāu von Hakkārī, dessen *Diwān* im Jahre 1221 (1806) beendet wurde; Nālī, sehr populär im Bereich des östlichen Kurmāndji, lebte um die Mitte des XIX. Jahrh., eine Auswahl aus seinen Gedichten erschien in Konstantinopel in der Sammlung *Shu‘a‘āt* (von Amin Faiḍī); Hādjdī Kādir Kō‘ī, sehr stolz auf seine kurdische Nationalität (XIX. Jahrh.); Maḥwi, im Jahre 1327 (1909) in Sulaimāniya gestorben, dessen *Diwān* ebenda um 1924 gedruckt wurde; ‘Abdullāh Beg Miṣbāḥ al-Diwan („Adab“) während des Weltkrieges in Sawdī-bulāk gestorben; Shāikh Razāy (Riḍā) aus der Familie Talabānī (am Sirwān) um 1910 gestorben; Tāhir Beg Dīf, Sohn des ‘Othmān Pasha von Alabēa, gestorben um 1920. Die Dichter unserer Zeit sind: ‘Alī Kāmil aus Sulaimāniya, ‘Abd al-Kādir Zahawī aus Baghdād, Ahmed Beg Fattāḥ Shāhib-kirān aus Sulaimāniya, Muṣṭafā Beg Dīf (Satyriker), Ahmed Beg Dīf, Sohn der ‘Adila Khānim, Kirkūkī („Athīr“). Andere Dichter, deren Namen in den Zeitschriften vorkommen, sind: Shāikh Nūrī Bābā ‘Alī, ‘Alī Beg Salār Sa‘id, Mullā Raḥīm Mukrī („Wafā‘ī“), Kāka Mīnī (= Amīn) Mukrī, Kāk Muṣṭafā Irānī („Murshid-i Kāmil“), ‘Abd al-Khālīq, Sālim u. a.

Der Gewährsmann Jaba's (*Recueil*, S. 12) nennt einige Verfasser kurdisch geschriebener Lehrbücher (‘Alī von Taramākh nach 1000 [1591] schrieb eine arabische Grammatik in kurdischer Sprache; Malā Yūnis von Halkāṭin verfasste drei grammatikalische Arbeiten über *Taṣrif*, *Zurūf* und *Tarkīb*); zu derselben Kategorie gehört das *Prière canonique musulmane*, um 1783 abgeschrieben und im *FA*, 1895, S. 86—109 von C. Huart veröffentlicht, sowie auch die angeführten Arbeiten von Ahmed Khānī u. a. Aber in der Regel zogen es die kurdischen Schriftsteller vor, über allgemeine Dinge arabisch, persisch oder türkisch zu schreiben.

Unter denen, die Arabisch schrieben, sind folgende Juristen und Theologen bekannt: Isā Hakkārī, gest. 585 (1189); Taḳī al-Dīn Shāhrazūrī, gest. in Damaskus 643 (1245) (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 188, 430); ‘Abdullāh al-Kurdī von Sindjār (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 142). Über den Aiyūbiden-Fürsten Abu‘l-Fidā‘, Historiker und Geograph, siehe den betr. Artikel. Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 49 führt die arabische Ode des Ḥusain Bāshnawī an, eines Dichters am Hofe der Marwāniden, und versichert (XI, 7—8), dass es unter den Kurden Leute gab, die in den Lokal-Traditionen wohl bewandert waren. Das *Sharaf-Nāme* (I, 341 f.) nennt unter den aus Bidlis Stammenden: Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Mawlānā Muhammed Bar-kal‘ī und Shāikh ‘Ammār Yāsir (cf. *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau-Lees, S. 479) und spricht von ‘Ulamā und *Fuḍalā* aus ‘Amādiya. Über die kurdischen Theologen der modernen Zeit vgl. die Zeitschrift *Rōzā-Kurd*, No. 2, S. 23.

Viele historische Arbeiten haben die Kurden persisch geschrieben (vgl. oben). Der *Diwān* der im Jahre 1264 (1847) gestorbenen kurdischen Dichterin Mah Shāraf-Khānim (vgl. SENNA) ist im Jahre 1344 (1926) in Teherān mit einer Lebensbeschreibung herausgegeben worden. Dabei nennt der Herausgeber ausser den oben erwähnten kurdischen Dichtern auch: Khālīd-i Shāhrazūrī, Malā Khidr-i Rūdbārī, Khānā-yi Qubādī, Malā ‘Abd al-

Raḥīm Tāidjōzi, Shāikh Muhammed Fakhr al-‘Ulamā, Ḥarīk und Hīdjri.

Von den türkischen Dichtern kurdischer Herkunft hielt man den im Jahr 968 (1556) gestorbenen Dichter Fuḍlī von Baghdād für den berühmtesten. Dennoch versichert Köprülü-zāde Mehmed Fā‘ad, *Fuḍlī, Hayāt wa-Ethari*, Istanbul 1924, S. 13—4, Fuḍlī sei Türke aus dem Stamme Bayāt gewesen. Die Bayāt sind sicher Türken, es muss aber erwähnt werden, dass Khurshīd Efendi, *Siyāhat-Nāme-i-Hudūd*, russ. Übers., S. 193—4, die Clans (*Firka*) Bayāt von Kifri und von Tuz-Khurmatū zu den Kurden rechnet. Die moderne türkische Litteratur kennt genügend Schriftsteller kurdischer Herkunft. Vgl. die Angaben von J. Deny über die Herkunft des Soziologen Ziyā Gök Alp in *RM*, LXI (1925), 3.

Eine besondere Gruppe von Publikationen in kurdischer Sprache bilden die Veröffentlichungen christlicher Missionare. Das Evangelium ist in mehrere kurdische Dialekte übersetzt worden; die Kirmānshāh-Version erschien London 1900. Das Markus-Evangelium in Mukrī wurde 1909 in Philippopoli gedruckt. M. Fossum hat einen protestantischen Katechismus in Mukrī herausgegeben und in seiner Grammatik eine gereimte Übersetzung des Ilymōus „*Onward, Christian soldiers*“ gegeben, die den örtlichen Verhältnissen angepasst ist. Mehrere dieser Publikationen sind in armenischen Buchstaben gedruckt (Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, S. XXIX) und sind anscheinend für die Armenier (von Diyārbakr) bestimmt, deren Umgangssprache das Kurdische ist. Im April 1914 erschien bei den protestantischen Missionaren von Urmia die erste Nummer der Zeitschrift *Kurdistan* (in Mukrī).

Die erste bekannte kurdische Zeitschrift ist *Kurdistan*, die nacheinander in Kairo, London und Folkstone von ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Beg, dem Sohn des Badr-Khān Beg von Bohtān, herausgegeben wurde. Von dieser Zeitschrift besitzt die Preussische Staatsbibliothek die Nummern 1—31 (1315—20 = 1892—1902); vgl. *W Z K M*, XII, 112 und Makas, *Kurd. Stud.*, S. 19. Infolge der jungtürkischen Revolution gründeten die in einer Vereinigung (*Hīwī* „Einheit“) zusammengeschlossenen kurdischen Studenten (*Tullāb*) die Monatschrift *Rōzā Kurd* („Der kurdische Tag“), von der die beiden ersten Nummern mit den Bildnissen des Salāḥ al-Dīn und des Karīm Khān Zand unter der Leitung des ‘Abd al-Karīm von Sulaimāniya am 6. Juni und 6. Juli 1329 (1912) in Istanbul erschienen. Über die Zeitschrift *Kurdistan* der Missionare von Urmia vgl. oben. Das Wiedererwachen des kurdischen Selbstbewusstseins und Geisteslebens nach dem Weltkriege zeigte sich in der Gründung mehrerer Zeitschriften in Konstantinopel, Ägypten und Kurdistan (Diyārbakr usw.). Zuerst wurde 1919 die Wochenschrift *Zin* („Das Leben“) gegründet, die zwar in Konstantinopel in türkischer Sprache erschien, aber der Propagierung des Gedankens „Kurdistan den Kurden“ diente; die Nummer 32 erschien am 1. Dīmādā I, 1338 (23. I. 1920). Aus Mangel an einem vollständigen Verzeichnis seien von den kurdischen Zeitschriften folgende erwähnt: *Kurdistan* — Halbmonatsschrift, hrsg. in Kairo von Ahmed ‘Azīzī (d. h. vom Stamm Badr-khān), No. 2 ist vom 15. Dhū ‘l-Hīdjja 1335, No. 11 vom 15. Rabī‘ I, 1336; die erste Zeitschrift in Sulaimāniya war *Pēshkaratīn* („Fortschritt“), später ersetzt durch *Bāng-i Kurdistan*, die vor der englischen Räumung von Hādjdī Muṣṭafā

Pasha herausgegeben wurde (13 Nummern vom 2. Aug. bis Okt. 1922); *Rōz-i Kurdistan*, Organ des „Königs von Kurdistan“ (Mahmūd I. = Shāikh Mahmūd), hrsg. in Sulaimāniya von Muhammed Nūrī (No. 1 vom 15. IX. 1922; No. 15 vom 8. III. 1923); *Bāng-i Haḥk*, hrsg. von Shāikh Mahmūd nach seiner Flucht (No. 1 vom 8. III.; No. 3 vom 12. IV. 1923); cf. Edmonds, *A Kurdish newspaper*, *Journ. Central Asian Soc.*, I (1925), 83—90; *Ziyānawe* („Auferstehung“), offizielle (*hukūmatī*) Wochenschrift von Sulaimāniya, No. 1 vom 18. VIII. 1924; *Diyāri-yi Kurdistan* („das Geschenk Kurdistans“), Wochenschrift in drei Sprachen (kurdisch, arabisch, türkisch), hrsg. in Baghdād von Shāhib-kirān-zāda und Rashīd Shāwqī, No. 1 vom 11. III. 1925; *Zār-i Kurmāndji*, Monatsschrift hrsg. in Rawānduz von Saiyid Ḥusain Mukrī u. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Gēw, gegründet am 12. Dhū ‘l-Kāda 1344 (24. V. 1926). (V. MINORSKY)

**KURDISTĀN**, „Land der Kurden“. Diese Bezeichnung kann unter zwei Gesichtspunkten betrachtet werden: unter historischem und ethnographischem.

1. Historisch betrachtet scheint der Name „Kurdistan“ von den Seldjuken geprägt zu sein zur Bezeichnung der Provinz, welche die zwischen Adharbājdjān und Luristān gelegenen Gebiete (Senna, Dainawar, Hamadān, Kirmānshāh usw.) sowie einige angrenzende Gebiete westlich des Zagros (Shāhrazūr, Khūftiyan = Kōi-sandjak?) umfasste. Der Hauptort der Provinz Kurdistan war anfangs Bahār (nord-östlich von Hamadān) und später Sultānābād-i Čamčāmāl (bei Bisutūn). Die 16 Kantone werden aufgezählt in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, S. 108.

Bei demselben Autor begegnet West-Kurdistan noch unter den Bezeichnungen Wilāyat-i Arman und Dīzīra (Arbil und ‘Amādiya gehören zu dem letztgenannten Bezirk). Für die mongolische Zeit hat man im allgemeinen wenig Nachrichten über das gebirgige Gebiet, das Hakkārī, Bohtān und den armenischen Anti-Taurus umfasst. Möglicherweise bezog sich der Name Kurdistan im Westen zunächst auf das Darsīm-Gebiet, denn nach dem *Sharaf-nāme*, I, 163 bezeichnete *Wilāyat-i Kurdistan* in den amtlichen Schriftstücken (*Parwānādīāt wa-Aḥkām*) ebenso wie unter den Kurden selbst hauptsächlich das Lehen Čamishgazak. Aber schon zur Zeit Timūrs spricht das *Zafar-nāme*, I, 686 von dem Emir von Bidlis als dem angesehensten Mann im ganzen *Bilād-i Kurdistan*. In der Geschichte Selīms I. (*Selīm-nāme*, Hs. der Pariser Nat. Bibl., *Pers.* 235, Fol. 109v) sagt der Autor Ḥakīm Idrīs, nach der Rückkehr von Tabriz hätte der Monarch ihn beauftragt, die ganze Gegend „vom Anfang des Kurdenlandes (*Bilād-i Akrād*)“, d. h. von Urmia und Ushnū an bis nach Amīd und Malāṭiya“ zu durchreisen, um „sich die Fürsten und Statthalter des Gebietes Kurdistan (*ta‘līf-i Mulūk wa-Hukkām-i Mamālīk-i Kurdistan*)“ gewogen zu machen und um die Verträge und den (ihnen gewährten) Schutz (*‘Uhd wa-Imān-i ishān*) zu befestigen“. So verallgemeinert sich der Gebrauch des Ausdrucks zur Bezeichnung der kurdischen Feudal-Lehen sowohl in der Türkei wie in Persien; vgl. den Plan des *Sharaf-nāme* und die Reisen des Ewliyā Čelebi, IV, 74—5: *Kurdistan Diyārī*. Für die Angelegenheiten Kurdistāns wurden allmählich die Pasha's von Diyārbakr, Wān, Baghdād, Erzerūm usw. zuständig (vgl. Sāmī-Bey, *Qāmūs al-‘A‘lām*, V, 3840).



In neuerer Zeit, gegen Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts, bezeichnete der administrative Ausdruck „*Eyālet Kurdistan*“ die *Liwa*'s Diyārbakr, Mūsh und Darsīm, aber im allgemeinen stützte sich die offizielle osmanische Nomenklatur hauptsächlich auf die Namen der Hauptorte unter Ausschluss der ethnographischen Termini. (Der Artikel Mükrimin Khālil Bey's über die Anwendung des Ausdrucks „Kurdistan“ in *Yeni Türk*, 1925, N<sup>o</sup>. 21 war mir nicht zugänglich).

Was die alten europäischen Karten betrifft (vgl. die Beispiele in Khanzadian, *Rapport sur l'unité géographique de l'Arménie, Atlas historique*, Paris 1920, und die geographische Analyse in dem *Rapport de la commission d'enquête de la Société des Nations*, C. 400, M. 147, 1925, VII, 23—8 und die zugehörige Karte, N<sup>o</sup>. 3), so scheinen sie sich auf das *Djihān-Numā*, auf die Notizen über das antike *Κορύνη* und vielleicht auf die armenischen Angaben über *Kortākh* zu stützen (vgl. Art. KURDEN, oben S. 1212 f.).

II. Wie auch immer die geographische Anwendung der Bezeichnung „Kurdistan“ war, so ist es jedenfalls klar, dass sie keineswegs etwas aussagt über die tatsächliche Ausdehnung der kurdischen Nation (vgl. Art. KURDEN). Das Wort Kurdistan in seiner allgemeinen Bedeutung dient oft einfach zur Bezeichnung der von den Kurden bewohnten Gebiete; vgl. den persischen Ausdruck *Kurdistan-i Khorāsān*, der sich auf die kurdischen Kolonien in *Khorāsān* bezieht. Nun stellt das von überwiegend kurdischer Bevölkerung bewohnte Land einen Gebietsstreifen dar, der von Süd-Osten nach Nord-Westen verläuft; er ist ungefähr 1000 km lang (Luristān-Malāṭiya) und erreicht bei einer Durchschnittsbreite von 200—250 km auf der Linie Mōsul-Ararat eine Breite von 400 km (vgl. *Djihān-numā*, S. 445—9).

Vor 1914 verteilten sich die Kurden auf die Türkei, Persien und Russland. Infolge des Vertrages vom 16. März 1921 zwischen Moskau und Angora wurden die meisten transkaukasischen Kurden der Türkei einverleibt. Andererseits bedeutete die endgültige Lösung der Mōsul-Frage für die Türkei den Verlust der Kurden dieses Wilāyets, die dem Königreich Irāk zufielen. Folglich ist die gegenwärtige Lage folgende:

A. In Persien, wo die Verhältnisse am besten bekannt sind, nehmen die Kurden die Provinzen Kirmānshāh und Senna ein, sowie den südlichen Teil von Ādharbāidjān (vgl. Art. SĀWĀJ-BULĀK) und den Kanton Bidjār (Garrūs). Die Kurden nehmen auch die Gebirgsgegenden folgender Gebiete ein: Urmia (und zwar die Kantone: Ushnū, Mergewer, Dasht, Tergewer, Brādōst), Salmās (die Kantone: Somāi, Čahrik), Khōi (die Kantone: Kōtūr, Aland) und Mākū (wo die Kurden auf den Abhängen des Ararat wohnen). Was die Kolonien betrifft, so finden sich Kurden in *Khorāsān* (die *Khānate* Kūčān, Budjūrd und Daraguz), in Kirmān, in Fārs, in Nord-Luristān, in *Pūsh-i Kūh*, in Warāmin (bei Teherān, vgl. Brugsch, *Reise*, II, 496), in Kāzwīn, in Mandjil (vgl. *R.M.M.*, XXXII, 259) usw. Die Zahl der persischen Kurden übersteigt schätzungsweise 500 000 nicht.

B. Für die Türkei ist es zur Zeit (1927) unmöglich, die Rückwirkungen des Krieges auf die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung zu übersehen; zu beachten sind dabei z. B. die Flucht der Kurden vor den russischen Truppen, die Deportation der Armenier, die Vertreibung der Nestorianer

von Djalāmerg in den Irāk, die türkischen Strafexpeditionen nach Darsīm (1921) und in das Gebiet von Kharpūt und Diyārbakr (1925). Die Karte von Sir Mark Sykes (*The caliph's last heritage*, S. 533) gibt ein annäherndes Bild von der Verteilung der Kurden in der Türkei vor dem Kriege. Die Kurden wohnten anfangs hauptsächlich längs der türkisch-persischen Grenze (in den Kantonen Bāyazid, Bargrī, Mahmūdiya, Albak, Gawar, Sham-dīnān). Mit Christen vermischt nahmen die Kurden das Gebiet südlich des Wān-Sees und um diesen bis zum Tigris ein. Zwischen dem Tigris und dem Euphrat finden sich Kurden-Gruppen vornehmlich nördlich der Linie, die Feshābūr (stromabwärts von Djazirat Ibn 'Omar) mit Sumaisat (stromaufwärts von Biredjīk) verbindet. Im Westen reicht das von den Kurden bewohnte Gebiet beträchtlich über den Euphrat hinaus (vgl. Ritter, a. a. O., XI, 144). Nach Trotter (1878) war die Grenze ihrer Ausdehnung nach Nord-Westen die Linie Diwrigi-Erzerūm-Kars-[Eriwān]. Die Kurden sind zahlreich hauptsächlich in dem Gebiet südlich und westlich von Bidlis, in dem Gebirge, das Diyārbakr von Mūsh trennt, und in dem Gabelungsgebiet zwischen den beiden Quellen des Euphrat. Jedoch ist zu bemerken, dass zwischen Arzindjān und Diyārbakr die eigentlichen Kurden mit den Zāzā [s. d.] abwechseln, einer iranischen Völkerschaft, deren Äusseres, Sprache und Religion aber keine vollständige Gleichstellung mit den Kurden zulassen. Auf dem Hochplateau von Erzerūm wechseln die Kurden mit den Türken und muslimischen Einwanderern aus dem Kaukasus (Čerkessen, Osseten u. a.) ab; man findet sie hauptsächlich im Süden und Süd-Osten von Erzerūm. In den neuerdings der Türkei einverleibten Gebieten nehmen die Kurden die West-Abhänge des Ararat ein (die Kantone Surmali, Kaghīzmān). Es bestehen weit nach Westen vorgerückte kurdische Kolonien in Cilicien, in dem Gebiet von Siwās (die *Kazā*'s Kāngāl, Kōç-Hiṣār, Zara und Diwrigi, wo man vor dem Kriege etwa 30 000 Kurden zählte), ferner im Süden von Angora (G. Perrot, *Les Kurdes de l'Haimaneh* in *Revue des deux mondes*, I/II [1865]) 607—31, usw. Nach der Statistik von Aboltin, *Nowi Wostok*, Moskau 1925, VII, 116 soll die Zahl der Kurden in der Türkei 1 500 000 erreichen. Die türkischen Quellen scheinen die Zahl der Zelte der Kurden (Nomaden?) auf 96 000 anzugeben; die Publikationen der Aufsichtsbehörde für die Stämme (*Ashā'ir Mü'triyeti*) sind in Westeuropa noch nicht zugänglich.

C. Die Kurden des Irāk (im alten Wilāyet Mōsul) betragen nach der Zählung von 1922—24: 494 007; sie nehmen den *Liwa* Sulaimāniya ganz ein (189 900), bilden im *Liwa* Arbīl eine starke Mehrheit (170 650 gegen 191 780) und eine relative Mehrheit in Kirkūk. Die ethnographischen Verhältnisse und die Wanderungen der Stämme sind auf den von der Untersuchungskommission des Völkerbundes entworfenen Karten N<sup>o</sup>. 6 und N<sup>o</sup>. 8 (C. 400, M. 157, 1925, VII) eingetragen.

D. In Russisch-Transkaukasien zählten im Jahre 1910 die Kurden von Eriwān und Kars 125 000 Seelen, einschliesslich 25 000 Yazidi. Von diesen (kurdisch sprechenden) Kurden gehört nur noch ein kleiner Teil zu der Sowjet-Republik Armenien. Andererseits hatten die alten russischen Zählungen die Kurden der Kantone Zangazūr, Djawānshir, Djibrā'il und Aresh im Gouvernement Elizawetpol (= Gandja) nicht gesondert aufgeführt.

Diese Kurden von Gandja (vgl. die Angaben der arabischen Autoren über Kurden in Arrān) bilden gegenwärtig einen besonderen Kanton (*Uyezd*) in der Sowjetrepublik Ādharbāidjān; aber es scheint, dass ihre Sprache das Ādharbāidjānisch-Türkische ist (vgl. Cursin, *Azerbaidžanskiye Kurdi*, in *Izw. Kawk. Istor.-Arkeol. Institutu*, III, Tiflis 1925).

E. In Nord-Syrien sollen die seit langem im Wilāyet Aleppo (namentlich in Kilis) ansässigen Kurden vor dem Kriege (nach Angaben des russischen Konsuls Zimmermann) 125 000 Seelen gezählt haben (vgl. auch Cuinet, II, 124; Hartmann, *Das Liwa Halab*, Berlin 1894, S. 83, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100 und 105). Nach der *R.M.M.*, LIII, 317 leben in dem französischen Mandatsgebiete Syriens 20 000 Kurden (im Norden von den 'Alawiden und in Beilān). Auch in Damaskus gibt es ein kurdisches Viertel. Über die Kurden von Sindjār, wo die Verwaltungsverhältnisse nicht ganz klar sind, vgl. den Art. YAZIDEN.

F. Die Kurden waren auch nach Osten weit vorgestossen. In Balōčistān (s. oben I, 656a) lebt unter den Brahōi ein (Brahōi sprechender?) bedeutender kurdischer Stamm. Die neueren Untersuchungen (Tedesco) haben eine gewisse nähere Verwandtschaft der kurdischen und der Balōči-Sprachen bestätigt. Für Afghanistan gibt das *Sharaf-Nāme* (I, 327) den Durchmarsch eines Teiles des Giganl-Stammes nach Ghāristān an. Morgenstierne (*Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, S. 5) hält das Vorhandensein von kurdisch-sprechenden Leuten im Westen von Harāt für möglich.

Litteratur: Vgl. die Artikel ARMENIEN, BOHTĀN, SĀWĀJ-BULĀK, SENNA, SHEHRIZŪR, SHAKĀK, SHAM-DĪNĀN, SŌMĀI, SULAIMĀNIYA. Eine ausgezeichnete Bibliographie über Kurdistan (bis 1856) findet sich in Lerch, *Isledowaniya*, Petersburg 1856, I, 5—19 (fehlt in der deutschen Übersetzung).

Die einzige Gesamtdarstellung aller von Kurden bewohnten Gebiete findet sich in dem Monumentalwerk von Ritter, *Erdkunde*, VIII (1838), 392—300 (die Kurden in *Khorāsān*); IX (1840), 412—762, 1009—48 (Persisch-Kurdistan); X (1843), 690—734, 769, 1008 (die Quellen des Tigris und Euphrat); XI (1844), 128—46 (die westlichen Kurden), 709, 749, 1007, 1026 usw.

Unter den oben noch nicht erwähnten, nach 1856 erschienenen Schriften seien genannt: Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mossul*, Stuttgart 1857; F. Jones, *Memoirs . . . on the journey to the frontier of Turkey and Persia*, Bombay 1857; O. Blau, *Die Stämme des n.-ö. Kurdistan*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, XII (1858); Bianchi, *Viaggi in Armenia*, Mailand 1863; Strecker, *Das obere Zabala Gebiet*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1863, S. 257—62; Blau, *Vom Urmia-See nach d. Wan-See*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1863; Auriema, *Reiserouten in Kurdistan*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1863; Schaeßli, *Beiträge z. Ethnographie Kurdistan*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1863; Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, in *J.R.G.S.*, XXXV (1865), 21—55; Taylor, *Journal of a tour*, in *J.R.G.S.*, XXXVIII (1868), 281—361; Marsh, *The Tennessean [S. A. Rhea] in Persia and Kurdistan*, Philadelphia 1869; Millingen, *Wild life among the Kurds*, London 1870; Lycama a Nijehold, *Voyage en Russie etc.*, Paris 1872—5; Čirikow, *Putewoi journal*, in *Zap. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsč.*, IX, Petersburg 1875; Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, Leipzig 1875; Černik,

*Technische Studien-Expedition durch d. Gebiete d. Euphrat u. Tigris* in *Pet. Mitt.*, Ergh. XLV (1876); Khurshid Efendi, *Siyāhat-nāme-i Hūdūd*, Konstantinopel 1278 [1862] (russ. Übers. Petersburg 1877); Carr, *The Kurdistan mountain ranges*, in *Four. R. United Service Institution*, XXII (1879), 135—84; Mac Coan, *Our new protectorate*, London 1879; Tozer, *Turkish Armenia*, London 1881; Ellis, *On a raft through the desert*, London 1881; H. Schindler, *Reisen in n.-w. Persien*, in *Z.G. Erdk. Berl.*, 1883; Wunsch, *Reise in Armenien*, in *M.G.G. Wien*, XXVI (1883), 409—12, 487—96, 513—20; Puchstein, *Reise in Kurdistan*, *S.B.Pr. Ak. W.*, 1883; Clayton, *The mountains of Kurdistan*, in *Alpine Journ.*, XIII, London 1887; Binder, *Au Kurdistan*, Paris 1887; Schulze, *Eine Reise n. Kurdistan*, in *Ausland*, LXI (1888); M. S. Bell, *Reconnaisances en Mesopotamie*, Simla 1889; Wunsch, *Die Quelle d. westl. Tigrisarmes*, in *M.G.G. Wien*, XXVIII (1885); Wunsch, *Das Quellengebiet d. östl. Tigrisarmes*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1889, S. 115—19, 139—41; Wunsch, *Die Landschaften Schirwan, Chisan und Tatik*, in *M.G.G. Wien*, 1890; Bishop, *Journey in Persia*, London 1891; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II, Paris 1891; Pissons, *Reise in Persisch-Kurdistan*, in *Globus*, LXI (1892), 122; Müller-Simonis u. Hyvernāt, *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, Paris 1892; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892 (Index); D. Butyka, *Das ehemalige Wilāyet Dersim*, in *M.G.G. Wien*, XXXV (1892); Maunsell, *Kurdistan*, in *G.J.*, III (1894), 81—95; Maunsell, *Geography of Eastern Turkey in Asia*, Aldershot 1894; Sir Charles Wilson, *Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor*, London 1895; Morgan, *Mission scient. en Perse, Etudes géogr.*, II, Paris 1895 (und die Karte von Zentral-Persisch-Kurdistan); S. G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, New York 1899; Maunsell, *Eastern Turkey in Asia*, in *Scot. Geogr. Mag.*, XII (1896), 225—41; Morgan, *Mission scient., Recherches archéol.*, I (1896) und II (1897); Lord Warkworth, *Notes from a diary in Asiat. Turkey*, London 1898; Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, Berlin 1899—1900 (Index); Earl Percy, *Highlands of Asiat. Turkey*, London 1901; Lynch, *Armenia*, London 1901 (Index); Maunsell, *Central Kurdistan*, in *G.J.*, 1901; K. N. Smirnow, *Poyezdka v severn. Kurdistan*, in *Izw. Kawk. Otd. Geogr. Obsč.*, XVII, N<sup>o</sup>. 4, Tiflis 1904; Lipman, *Kurdistan*, in *J.E.*, VII, 585—86; Grenard, *Kurdistan et Arménie*, in *La Géogr.*, IX (1904), 383; Sir Mark Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, London 1904; Wiedemann, *Die Kurden in Nord-Mesopot.*, in *Asien*, IV (1904), 6—9; Mayewski, *Voyenno-statist. opis. Wan. i Bitlis. wilayet.*, Tiflis 1904; Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, S. 333; Minorsky, *Poyezdka v Maku*, in *Mater. po Wostoku*, I (1909), 18—24, 51—3; Dickson, *Journeys in Kurdistan*, in *G.J.*, 1910, S. 357—79; Grothe, *Wanderungen in Persien*, Berlin 1910; E. Banse, *Kurdistan ein länderkundlicher Begriff?*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1911, S. 286—8; Price, *A journey through Turk. Arm. and Pers. Kurd.*, in *J. Manchester G. Soc.*, XXX (1914), 45—67; Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; *Materiali po Wostoku*, Petersburg 1915 (Reise von Orlow, Minorsky u. a.); Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's last heritage*, Lon-



don 1915, S. 298—388; Minorsky, *Kurdī*, Petersburg 1915; Iyas, *Poyezdka po sever. Kurdistanu*, Petersburg 1915; V. Minorsky, *Turetskopers. razgran.*, in *Izv. Russ. Geogr. Obšč.*, LII (1916); Hubbard, *From the Gulf to Ararat*, London 1916; [A. Moore], *The case of Kurdistan*, in *The Times*, vom 15., 17. u. 18. Nov. 1919; Kenneth Mason, *Central Kurdistan*, in *G J*, 1919; Napier, *The road from Baghdad to Baku*, in *G J*, 1919; Miss Stevens, *By Tigris and Euphrates*, London 1923; Lähüikhān, *Kurdistan i Kurdī*, in *Noveli Wostok*, IV (Moskau 1923), 58—71; Hay, *Two years in Kurdistan*, London 1924; Ryder, *The demarcation of the Turco-Persian Boundary*, in *G J*, 1925, S. 227—42; Klötzel, *Die Strasse d. Zehntausend*, Berlin 1926. (V. MINORSKY)

**KURKÜB**, Stadt in Khuzistān an der Strasse von Wāsi nach Sūs (Susa). Die Entfernungsangaben der arabischen Geographen finden sich jetzt in geordneter Form bei P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, IV (1921), S. 396 f.; vgl. auch S. 431. Die Stadt war durch ihre Teppichwebereien berühmt; auch ein *Tirās* des Sultāns befand sich dort. Man fabrizierte dort einen Stoff namens Sūsandjird; vgl. De Goeje's Glossar in *BGA*, IV, s. v. Al-Isṭakhrī gibt an, dass der Sūsandjird von Fasā [s. d.] besser sei als der von Kurkūb; letzterer sei ein Gemisch aus Seide und Baumwolle, während zu ersterem Wolle verwendet werde.

**Litteratur:** G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, S. 241, 246; Schwarz, *l. c.* u. II, 98. Dasselbst alle wichtigen Zitate aus den arabischen Geographen. (M. PLESSNER)

**KURRA** B. ŠARIK B. MARṬHAD B. HĀZIM B. AL-HĀRITH AL-ʿABSI AL-KĀISI, Statthalter Ägyptens, gehörte zum Stamme der Kais b. Ghailān, war also Nordaraber. Seine Heimatstadt war Kinnēsīn in Syrien. Ob er schon vor seiner Berufung auf den Statthalterposten der Provinz Ägypten eine höhere amtliche Stellung innehatte, wissen wir nicht, es ist aber durchaus wahrscheinlich, zumal man gerade unter den Umayyaden in der Regel nur erprobte Kräfte für diese wichtige Provinz auswählte. Wie die Verhältnisse damals lagen, kam nur eine Vertrauensperson des Khalifen für die Besetzung des nach dem Abgang des Prinzen ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik vakanten Statthalterpostens in Frage. Kurra traf am 3. oder 13. Rabiʿ I 90 (20. oder 30. Januar 709) in al-Fustāt ein und übernahm die gesamte Verwaltung des Landes einschliesslich der Steuerverwaltung. Er blieb bis zu seinem am 23. Rabiʿ I 96 (6. Dezember 714) erfolgten Tode im Amte. Die spätere, tendenziöse Geschichtsschreibung hat das Bild dieses Mannes stark verzerrt. Er wird in eine Linie mit dem berühmten al-Ḥadīdjādī b. Yūsuf gestellt, was an sich schon der ärgsten moralischen Verurteilung gleich kam, und als brutaler Tyrann und Ketzer gezeichnet. Mit Behagen verweilt der Geschichtsschreiber bei der Erzählung, er habe sich nicht einmal gescheut, im Neubau der ʿAmr-Moschee Zechgelage mit Musikbegleitung abzuhalten. Ganz anders freilich ist das Bild, das wir von diesem zweifelsohne bedeutenden Manne aus den Urkunden seiner Zeit erhalten, die uns die Papyrusfunde der letzten fünf Jahrzehnte geliefert haben. Sie zeigen ihn als gewissenhaften, pflichtgetreuen Beamten, streng gegen seine Untergebenen, milde gegen das Volk, dessen rücksichtsloser Ausbeutung

und Bedrückung durch die Unterbehörden er nach Möglichkeit zu steuern bestrebt war. Der gerechten, weisen und die Zukunft des Landes im Auge behaltenden Verwaltung widmete er sich aus voller Kraft; dass dabei gelegentlich Härten unterliefen, ist wohl begreiflich, aber sie sind bei ihm doch nie zum System geworden, wie bei anderen Amīren des Landes. Die empfindlichen wirtschaftlichen Schäden, die das Hungerjahr 86/87 (705/6) mit seiner entsetzlichen Teuerung dem Lande zufügte, die auch im Jahre 88 noch nicht überwunden war, zwangen Kurra, seine ganze Energie für die Hebung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und Ertragsfähigkeit Ägyptens einzusetzen. Eine ebenso wirksame wie weitschauende Massregel war da zunächst die Wiederkultivierung brachliegender Landstriche und grosszügige Ameliorisationsarbeiten, an die noch der Name *Isṭabl Kurra* für den *Birkat al-Ḥabash* erinnert, den Kurra völlig der Kultur gewann; er soll Zuckerrohrplantagen angelegt haben. Unter diesen Gesichtspunkten erscheint es uns auch in anderem Lichte, wenn sich Kurra durch die Zeitemstände gezwungen sah, von einer althergebrachten Überlieferung bei der Steuerbemessung abzugehen und nun auch die neubekehrten Kopten zur Zahlung des Tributs (*Dizya*) heranzuziehen, von dem sie bis jetzt befreit waren, indem er sie zwang, sich an der Kumulativquote ihrer Gemeinden zu beteiligen. Kurra's Name ist auch mit dem Neubau der ʿAmr-Moschee in al-Fustāt (Alt-Kairo) verbunden. Nachdem bereits Maslama b. Mukhallad im Jahre 63 die erste, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān die zweite Erweiterung dieses denkwürdigen Bauwerks unternommen hatte, wurde Kurra vom Khalifen al-Walid I. mit dem Abtragen des ganzen Gebäudes beauftragt und an seiner Stelle unter Leitung des Yahyā b. Ḥanzala vom Shaḥān 92 bis zum Ramadān 93 der Neubau aufgeführt.

**Litteratur:** al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* (ed. Rh. Guest, *GMS*, XIX, London 1912), S. 63, 65; Abu l-Mahāsīn, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, I (Leiden 1855), 78, 233, 241—44; al-Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, I, 302; al-Ṭabari, ed. de Goeje, II, 1201, 1208, 1266, 1305; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, IV, 433, 434, 460; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, I (Abh. *GW Göt.*, XX, 1875), S. 39 f.; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, Strassburg 1900, S. 100 f.; ders., *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, I (Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, III, Heidelberg 1906), S. 15—19; *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, III, series arabica, ed. A. Grohmann, I/3, Wien 1924, S. 46. Der Name Kurra's erscheint auch auf zwei Eichungstempeln der Sammlung Fouquet bei P. Casanova, *Catalogue des pièces de verre des époques byzantine et arabe de la collection Fouquet*, *M I FAO*, VI (1893), 367, I, No. 96 und 96 bis. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

**KURS.** [Siehe AKRĀS.]

**KURSI**, arabisches Wort, entlehnt aus dem Aramäischen *Kursayā* (syrische Form, hebr. *Kissē*; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, S. 128; S. Fränkel, *De vocabulis peregrinis*, S. 22), Thron. Es kommt im Korān nur zweimal vor (II, 256; XXXVIII, 33). Nach diesem Wort hat der ganze Vers II, 256 den Namen „Thronvers“ (*Āyat al-Kursi*) erhalten; es ist dort die Rede von dem Thron Gottes, der gross genug ist, Himmel und Erde zu umfassen. An der zweiten Stelle bezeichnet

es den Thron Salomons. Der Gebrauch der beiden verschiedenen Worte *ʿArsh* und *Kursi* für den Thron Gottes hat die Exegeten schon frühzeitig beschäftigt. Einige (Abū Mūsā, Asbāt, nach Suddī usw., bei Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, III, 7) verstanden unter dem zweiten Wort den Schemel vor dem Sitz, auf den der Herrscher seine beiden Füße stellt (vgl. die Skulpturen von Persepolis), während andere (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, *ebd.*) es nur für ein reines Synonym von *ʿArsh* ansahen, und eine bestimmte Schule (Saʿīd b. Djubair nach Ibn ʿAbbās, *ebd.*) erklärte es lediglich für eine Allegorie und behauptete, der *Kursi* Gottes bedeute einfach seine Weisheit. Der Gebrauch dieses Wortes an der zweiten Stelle für „einen Thron, auf dem man sitzt“, weist wohl darauf hin, dass es gleichbedeutend mit *ʿArsh* ist. Die Vorstellung eines Rahmens von quadratischer Form (die ebenfalls auch dem Worte *ʿArsh* zugrunde liegt) ist in den verschiedenen Bedeutungen erhalten, die dieses Wort angenommen hat. Dasselbe Wort wird auch gebraucht für die vier Seiten des Rechtecks, in das die Buchstaben eines Wortes oder eines Satzteils eingefügt werden sollen; im Persischen heissen diese vier Seiten *Khuṭū-i Kursi* und das Rechteck selbst *Kursi-bandi* (Huart, *Calligraphes*, S. 352). Die Perser bedienen sich dieses Ausdrucks, um ein Rahmengestell zu bezeichnen, über das man eine Leinen- oder Filzdecke spannt und unter dem man ein Kohlenbecken brennen lässt; man schiebt die Füße unter die Decke, um sich dort im Winter zu wärmen, der *Tandīr* der Türken (Polak, *Persien*, I, 65; Fraser, II, 188). Die Araber bezeichnen mit diesem Wort folgende Gegenstände: in Mekka eine fahrbare Treppe, die auf vier Rollen (heutzutage sechs) lief, die neun Stufen hatte und die man an die Mauer der Kaʿba stellte, derart, dass ihre oberste Stufe sich auf gleicher Höhe mit der Schwelle befand (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, S. 91; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 309; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 455); ein Pult, auf das man den Korān legt (Maḳḳarī, I, 404); ein Gestell für das Astrolab; die Lafette der Wurfmaschine; eine Bank mit Rückenlehne für drei oder vier Personen; einen Holzschemel, auf den man eine Platte stellt (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I, 195), auf die man während der Nacht den Turban legt (*Kursi al-ʿImāma*; Dozy, *Vêtements*, S. 343, Anm. 1; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, I, 50, 221); ein Brett, in das sich ein spitzer Gegenstand von unten einfügt (*J A*, 1850, I, 251); die Zugleine des *Tonbur* (*Description de l'Égypte*, XIII, 251). Die Mauren bezeichnen mit diesem Namen Kapseln, Kästchen aus Silber, vier- oder dreieckig, die sie an ihren Halsketten tragen, wegen der Form dieser Verzierungen (Dozy und Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, s. v.; Beaussier, S. 584). Ferner ist es das Schlossblech, das die Zündpfanne und Batterie am Steinschlossgewehr trägt; die Fassung an einem Ring; die Wachtbank bei der Marine (Beaussier, *a. a. O.*); der eigentümlich geformte Stuhl, auf den die Frau sich bei der Niederkunft setzt (*Kursi al-Wilāda*, Lane, *a. a. O.*, II, 275). Bildlich gesprochen: Sitz, Residenz, Hauptstadt eines Reiches, Sitz eines Patriarchen, eines Bischofs (Dozy, *Suppl.*, II, 456; Cuhe, *Dict. ar.-fr.*, s. v.). (CL. HUART)

**KŪS**, Stadt in Oberägypten auf dem östlichen Ufer des Nils. Die Form Kūs (Kūs bei al-Farḡhānī und Ibn Rusta) geht auf den koptischen Namen Kōs (oder Kōs Berbir) zurück, den die

Volksetymologie später mit dem koptischen Verbum mit der Bedeutung „begraben“ in Beziehung gesetzt hat. Zur Römerzeit trug die Stadt den Namen Apollinopolis Parva und bisweilen Diocletianopolis. In den ersten Jahrhunderten des Islām scheint die Stadt von viel geringerer Bedeutung gewesen zu sein als ihre Nachbarstadt Kift. Sie wird auch von einigen frühen Geographen (wie Ibn Khurdādhbeh) nicht erwähnt, obwohl sie schon in den Tabellen des al-Khwarizmi (ed. von Mzik, S. 9) und des al-Farḡhānī (ed. Golius, S. 36) steht, die ihre Lage in das zweite Klima setzen. Erst seit Beginn des V. (XI.) Jahrhunderts begann Kūs, Kift zu verdrängen (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Bulāḳ 1270, S. 236), um im VIII. (XIV.) Jahrhundert die grösste Stadt des Saʿīd und die zweitwichtigste Stadt von ganz Ägypten zu werden (Abu l-Fidā, ed. Reinaud, S. 110—11). Diese Entwicklung muss man ohne Zweifel den Umwälzungen zuschreiben, die die Kreuzzüge auf den grossen Handelsstrassen vom Abendland nach dem Orient hervorriefen. Den Beginn dieses Aufblühens kann man bei Ibn Djubair (ed. Wright-de Goeje, S. 64—5) feststellen, der hier im Jahre 1183 durchkam und der die Stadt als Handelsplatz für die Waren aus Zentralafrika und dem Yemen beschreibt. Ausserdem war sie der Treffpunkt der Pilger aus Ägypten und dem Maghrib, die nach dem Hiddjāz über den Hafen ʿAidhāb reisten (Ibn Djubair, S. 67). Später trat an die Stelle dieses Weges der Weg über al-Kūsair (Abu l-Fidā). Yāḳūt (IV, 201) bezeichnet sie schon als die dritte Stadt Ägyptens. In den ersten Jahrhunderten der Regierungszeit der Mamlūken-Sultane war die Verwaltung der *Mudiriya* Kūs (al-Kūsiya) von ausserordentlicher Bedeutung; man prägte hier sogar Münzen. Gleichzeitig war Kūs ein Verbannungsort für bedeutende Persönlichkeiten, z. B. einiger ʿAbbāsiden-Khalifen am Hofe der Mamlūken. Ausserdem war Kūs ein wichtiges Zentrum der islamischen Wissenschaft; in der Stadt gab es sechs *Madrasa*, und eine Anzahl von Gelehrten trägt die *Nisba* al-Kūsi. Auf der andern Seite ist die Bevölkerung immer teilweise christlich geblieben; die Kopten besaßen hier mehrere Kirchen. Seit 800 d. H. begann die Stadt zurückzugehen, besonders nach der Pest von 806 (1403/4), an der 17 000 Bewohner starben. Im XIX. Jahrhundert lag Kūs eine halbe Stunde vom Nil entfernt; Kūs ist noch jetzt ein wichtiger Markt für Arzneipflanzen, Gewürze und alle Arten von Gemüse. Das christliche Element in der Stadt ist noch immer sehr beträchtlich. (s. al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadida, XIV, 134).

**Litteratur:** al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Diḥāb*, ed. Barbier de Meynard u. Pavet de Courteille, III, 50; al-Makdisī, *BGA*, III, 47, 194; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, S. 61; Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, I, 192 ff.; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadida*, Bulāḳ 1305, XIV, 128 ff.; Maspero u. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Kairo 1919, S. 155 ff. (J. H. KRAMERS)

**KUSAILA** B. LEMZEM AL-AWRABI, der Nachfolger oder Mitregent des Sakardid al-Awrabi, der den grossen Stamm der Awraba, die im Westen von Tlemcen wohnten, beherrschte. (Die Stelle bei al-Bekrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, Text, S. 50, die Kusaila zur Zeit des Mūsā b. Nuṣair in Tūbna regieren lässt, ist sicher ein Irrtum, es sei denn, dass es zwei Kusaila gegeben hat). Zur Zeit der



God. Number 2 consisted of a similar diatribe, but was never printed. The manuscript fell later into the hands of the present writer; it had been returned by the printer, with an endorsement to the effect that articles were to be signed by the author and countersigned by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and King of Kurdistan.

Number 3, of 12th April, also a half-sheet of foolscap, contains only instructions and a set of rules, signed by Mahmud, for the formation of a committee of national defence. This was the last issue.\*

\* A complete collection of *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* and *Bang-i-Haqq* has been sent to the Cambridge University Library.

## REVIEWS

### FOREIGN BOOKS

MIT FELDMARSCHALL VON DER GOLTZ PASCHA IN MESOPOTAMIEN UND PERSIEN. By his late General Staff Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Hans v. Kiesling. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche, publishers.

The name of von der Goltz requires no introduction to English—particularly military—readers. His well known military publications and his activities, which extended over many years, in the improvement and reorganization of the Turkish army had gained for him a world-wide reputation long before the outbreak of the Great War.

Lieutenant-Colonel von Kiesling hopes that this book will serve to keep alive a remembrance of the German Field-Marshal who strove and planned for his country under the burning sun of Mesopotamia and laid down his life there in the execution of his duty, and also that it may serve at the same time to throw light on events which, although they did not take place at the focus of the mighty conflict, still were of great importance for the general course of the war. The book certainly fulfils both its objects.

The account of the manner in which von der Goltz, already in his seventy-third year, started off from Constantinople on the tedious journey of over 1,500 miles to Baghdad, and of the ardour and self-sacrifice with which he carried out his duties there, can excite nothing but respect and admiration for this illustrious and war-worn veteran. The history of German diplomacy in the Middle East both before and during the war, the story of the fights in Iraq up to the fall of Kut in April, 1916, the activities of the Germans in Persia and Afghanistan, are all recorded in a manner which is as full of interest as it is for the most part impartial and broadminded.

The outbreak of war found von der Goltz in retirement. He had celebrated his fifty years' military jubilee in 1911 and retired in 1913. Notwithstanding his age, he longed for an active command at the front, and was by no means satisfied when the position of Governor-General in Belgium was entrusted to him after the first victorious battles of the German army. He left Brussels of his own accord because he did not consider right the measures laid down for the treatment of the Belgians.

When Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers it naturally followed that von der Goltz was sent to Constantinople, where his long service in the Turkish army had gained for him the confidence and respect of the entire nation. He knew intimately the important



3. From a poem contributed to No. 14 from prison by Ahmad Beg Jaf, son of the celebrated Lady Adila of Halabja:

"Zephyr, take this my petition of faithful and humble duty and good wishes

To the King of the whole region of Sulaimani.  
Say, 'May I be thy sacrifice, O Saladdin son of Ayyub,  
Who art an Ali in the strength of thy hand, in beauty a second Joseph.  
Praise God, we have shaken off the grip of the unbeliever;  
With that hand and blade and zeal thou art the Lion of God.'  
After these respectful greetings say to the King of the World,  
'What is Ahmad's crime that he has been thrown into prison?  
If perchance any fault have been proved against him,  
Pardon him of thy kindness, for thou only art the Lord of favour.'"

The *Rozh* throws but little light on internal events, but it will not be without interest to examine such news-items as do appear.

From No. 1 (November, 1922) we learn that His Majesty has generously returned to the treasury ten thousand rupees of the salary allotted to him by the Council of Ministers of Kurdistan, and has offered to supplement deficiencies from his private purse. The salary actually allotted to himself by Mahmud was Rs. 30,000 a month, while the expenses of his establishment were paid from municipal funds. At this time money was plentiful, for nearly all the tobacco consumed in Iraq is grown in the Sulaimani *liwa*; the whole year's crop was in bond in the town, and was being taxed by Mahmud to the extent of a *lac* of rupees a month before release. The time was soon to come when income was barely sufficient to pay its first charge, the royal salary.

Number 3 contains a royal *irada* appointing three aides-de-camp to the King. One is an officer, but the other two are Kurdish tribal chiefs of the neighbouring *liwa* of Kirkuk. The appointments indicate Mahmud's policy of interference in the Kurdish districts outside the Sulaimani sphere, a challenge which ultimately brought him into conflict with Government.

In December Shaikh Mahmud's flag is hoisted in Halabja (No. 4) and Chamchemal (No. 5), and early in January at Rania (No. 7). These are the headquarter towns of the administrative subdivisions of Sulaimani, and occupation was then in each case a legitimate move. The move to Rania brought him into direct contact with the Turkish bands still hanging about between that place and Rowanduz, and had important consequences. The troops used were the old British-trained Sulaimani levy.

Number 5 has an obituary notice of Jemal Beg, murdered by two "unknown men." Jemal was an ex-Turkish officer of exceptional enlightenment, who had not hesitated to criticize Mahmud's methods. The murder, arranged by Mahmud himself, was merely an incident in an appalling reign of terror in Sulaimani at this time.

Number 6 chronicles the arrival of a number of tribal leaders from the Kirkuk *liwa*, another step in the campaign of encroachment.

On 3rd January (No. 7) Mahmud offers thanks to the British Government for the gift of independence. Actually a joint pronouncement had been made by the British and Iraq authorities agreeing to the principle of a Kurdish administration in the Sulaimani *liwa*.

A new development is indicated by the reproduction in the same number of correspondence between Mahmud and Simko, whose activities in Persian Kurdistan and collapse have already been noticed, and who had drifted down looking for help against the Turks, the chief authors, in his view, of his downfall. The upshot of the correspondence is that Mahmud refuses co-operation. But, a few days later, on January 8th, the "doughty champion of Kurdistan, His Excellency Ismail Aga Simko," arrives in Sulaimani (No. 8), and is received with a parade of troops and a salute of seven guns; the day is proclaimed a public holiday.

From references in Nos. 11 and 15 we learn that several deputations have made journeys to Baghdad "to settle the matter of the independence of Kurdistan."

Early in February Fattah Effendi Yuzbashi arrives from Angora (No. 12). This was the beginning of the end. Encouraged by the promises of support brought from the Turks by his brother-in-law, Mahmud finally threw off all restraint and set to work to stir up revolt in the Kurdish districts of the Kirkuk *liwa*. Numbers 13 and 14 are dull and colourless, but from No. 15 (3rd March, 1923) we feel that something has gone wrong. The leading article is an apologia for the self-sacrificing King, Mahmud I., and an appeal for unity; dissensions have broken out. And then, two pages on, a plaintive paragraph: "We looked to the favour of the English Government for the formation of a Kurdish Government, and always tried to preserve the friendship of the English Government; but, alas! it now threatens our down-trodden people. We do not understand what it means. We cannot make things out." The reference is to orders issued to Mahmud to proceed to Baghdad to explain his conduct. He disobeyed, but left the town, with his levies and the treasury, to make his headquarters in the gorges and caves of the Surdash region north-west of Sulaimani.

The *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* comes to a sudden end with his flight, but even from the caves of Jasana publicity is not neglected. On 8th March appears, on a half-sheet of foolscap, the first issue of a new organ, *Bang-i-Haqq* (the *Call of Right*), still "an official, political, literary, and social periodical," but "printed at General Headquarters of the army of Kurdistan." It is confined to a single article, a proclamation of *Jihad*, or war for the faith. Even the name conveys a subtle appeal to religious fanaticism, for *Haqq*, the Right, is the mystic's name for



Of the leading and political articles Nuri is responsible for the greatest number; nine signed and probably two more unsigned articles are from his pen. Most of his contributions appear to be translations from old Turkish books on social subjects—*e.g.*, "Nationality," "The Survival of the Fittest," "The Cure for Poverty and Oppression," "A Moral from Adversity"; there is even an article on the lessons of the Franco-Prussian War.

More original is the work of Arif Saib, who has four articles in the earlier numbers, but ceased to write after his appointment to the post of "Second Secretary in the Royal Chancery," announced in No. 7. The unfortunate royal secretary was foully murdered by the order and in the presence of his master a few months later.

The following extract, taken from No. 1, is a fair sample of his style, and will also serve to illustrate the Kurdish case as argued in Sulaimani. The article is an answer to one appearing in an Arabic newspaper of Baghdad:

"... It talks of Kurdistan as if it were part of Iraq, and calls it the Liwa of Sulaimani, because it has close commercial and economic relations with Baghdad. It calls the Cabinet of Kurdistan by the name of 'Provincial Administrative Council.' These remarks are most deplorable. It is unbelievable that any enlightened person could be so unjust or inexact. We never expected our great and friendly neighbour to trample under foot all our thousand-year-old rights and the good relations of these two governments and peoples, or ... to violate our frontiers. ... The formation of a Government of Kurdistan offers a hundred thousand benefits for Iraq; nay, the continued existence of Iraq can only be achieved through the continuance of the Government of Kurdistan. ... History and geography bear ample witness that the Kurdish people have always had an individuality in the world and have always established their nationhood by practical proofs. If they were not greater, they certainly were not less than their likes in education, crafts, commerce, human rights, civilization, lands, population, etc. ... The law and principle of self-determination are strongly impressed on the mind and soul of every individual of the nation. In the blessings of rights and frontiers, which have been justly allotted by the League of Nations, we, too, have our share. To preserve this share we shall make all necessary sacrifices with our moral and material being. ... We submit with all pride that we are a clean and fearless people. We are not slaves, but free. ... Now, to God a hundred thanks, our night has turned to day, and ... a great head and leader, like the King of Kurdistan, King Mahmud I, has, as if by the miracle of the Messiah, been brought to life again for us. ... The sacred aim of His Excellency the King of Kurdistan has ever been the protection of the rights and natural frontiers of Kurdistan and the maintenance of brotherly goodwill with our neighbours."

Other articles emphasized that the Kurdish people have been settled in their present habitat east of the Tigris for four thousand years, and have survived the rise and fall of many imperial races—

Chaldeans, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Turks. Kurdistan has also produced many heroes—Saladdin, Karim Khan Zand, King Mahmud I.

The Mosul issue at Lausanne begins to attract attention in Number 6 (27th December, 1922), which contains two separate articles on the subject by Nuri. He writes:

"As the population of Mosul is generally Kurdish, why should the recovery or retention of this vilayet be demanded by outside peoples. The Turks, Arabs, and Assyrians base their claims on the presence of a small number of their people. ... The demand we make of the Lausanne Conference is not the protection of a minority; it is the vindication of the right to live of a great independent people with a country of its own."

And again:

"Kurdistan. When an educated person pronounces this word he does not mean only this zone of Sulaimani, but a broad, geographical region, and he thinks of a united, numerous Kurdish people. The natural frontiers of this country ... are clear."

It should perhaps be mentioned here that the Kurds outside Sulaimani, and many within it, never admitted the right of Mahmud of Sulaimani to speak for more than his own immediate circle.

Several numbers of the *Rozh* have verses, but of no particular merit. One frequent contributor, Rafiq Hilmi, prefers Turkish, but most are in Kurdish. The following three examples will suffice to give an idea of the method of the Kurdish poets of Sulaimani at this time.

1. From a poem by Ali Kemal in No. 3:

"To-day our country is the envy of the meadows of Paradise;  
Its evening is like the bright morning of prosperity;  
Its season is ever spring; its night is glorious day;  
All is pleasure, all is mirth, all is gladness, all is joy;  
Strive we all with heart and soul;  
Now is the time for effort, not for lazing.  
O noble youth of our country, ye wise men,  
It is the time for effort and the end is Mahmud (= laudable)."

2. From a contribution by Shaikh Nuri Baba Ali in No. 10:

"When the countenance of Kaka Ahmad's grandson shone forth like the sun  
It caused a light to shine on the land and people.  
A sun has risen in the Kurdish firmament  
Which is a credit to the world, if ye have understanding.  
Our country prospers, like Ghazna, with a Sultan who is Mahmud;  
So prosper Sulaimani and its lands, O Lord.  
Ho! thou second Joseph. Ho! thou third Umar.  
The universe hath not seen thy like; in truth thou art a good king.  
For clemency thou art without compare, a Hatim Tai in generosity art thou.  
In the balance of justice thou art without equal, and no speech can exaggerate thy goodness."



August, 1922, before the Persian military revival that dates from Saiyid Zia-ud-Din's *coup d'état* of February, 1921. Only in Kurdistan in Iraq did a Kurdish state nearly materialize; it failed because of the overweening conceit and mad ambition of the instrument chosen to form it.

The armistice of November, 1918, found British troops in occupation of the line of Turkoman towns, Mandali, Khaniqin, Kifri, Kirkuk, Altun Keupri, Arbil, along the great high-road that runs parallel to the foot-hills of Zagros and roughly divides Kurds from Arabs. British policy then was to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up a semi-autonomous Kurdish province, and a certain Shaikh Mahmud, the head of a Sulaimani family, with a great reputation for sanctity, was chosen to be head of it. Eventually, for a variety of reasons, the scheme was much restricted, and the borders of the Kurdish province virtually coincided with the old Turkish *liwa* of Sulaimani plus the *caza* of Rania.

One of the devices adopted by the British officers in Kurdish territory for consolidating Kurdish national sentiment was the introduction of Kurdish as the written official language in place of the Turkish of Government offices and the Persian of private correspondence. Gradually a set style was evolved, but at first even native officials found great difficulty in expressing themselves, and one of them once complained to the writer: "The British Government is famous throughout the world for its justice and mercy to the weak; why does it make an exception in our case and commit the abominable tyranny of making us write our own language?"

The South Kurdistan experiment was not six months old before Shaikh Mahmud, resenting the restraints placed upon him by his advisers, rose and imprisoned the British personnel in Sulaimani. An expedition, the defeat, capture, and exile of the Shaikh, followed, and the Sulaimani division (as it was called) was brought into line with the rest of the occupied territories of Iraq and administered by British political officers. In 1920, however, the division was not included in King Faisal's Arab kingdom, but remained under direct British administration until September, 1922, when, in consequence of Turkish infiltration and a series of tribal risings, it was evacuated. Shaikh Mahmud, an exile in Kuwait, was brought back, presumably with the idea of reviving the Kurdish nationalist movement as a counter to Turkish propaganda. The second experiment was no more successful than the first. Within a month Mahmud was in communication with the Turks then established in Rania, and whom he sought to use as a lever and then discard. He claimed for himself all the Kurdish districts in mandated territory down to the Jabal Hamrin, including Kirkuk, Arbil, and even Mosul itself. In November, 1922, he assumed the title of King of Kurdistan.

It was in these circumstances that this newspaper, the *Rozh-i-*

*Kurdistan*, appeared. It is consequently of some literary and historical interest.

The *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* (the *Sun or Day of Kurdistan*) was the successor of an earlier weekly, *Bang-i-Kurdistan* (the *Call of Kurdistan*), which had commenced publication on August 2nd, 1922, just a month before the British evacuation.\* The founder and editor was Hajji Mustafa Pasha, an ardent Kurdish nationalist with pro-British sympathies. He fell foul of Shaikh Mahmud, soon after this person's return, and was dismissed at the beginning of October, when his paper had reached its thirteenth number.

The first number of the *Rozh* appeared on 25th Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 1341 (15th November, 1922), with the following foreword:

"CRY OF KURDISTAN"—"DAY OF KURDISTAN."

"The concessionaire of the newspaper *Cry of Kurdistan*, Hajji Mustafa Pasha, has resigned owing to the pressure of his official duties. The publication of that paper was indeed a good omen for the Kurds and Kurdistan—the *Cry of Kurdistan* heralded the Day. Owing to this resignation the concession and office of the *Day of Kurdistan* have, under this new name, been granted to me by decree of His Majesty the King of Kurdistan, may his glory endure. Yes, the result of the Cry that greets the dawn is the Day. That Cry was a cry that was uttered for a morning of happiness. This Day is the day when (to God be the praise) the noble Kurdish people have attained their happiness and independence through the zeal and pious activity of His Majesty. May God bless this day and the "*Day of Kurdistan*" for the whole Kurdish nation.

"Responsible Editor,  
"M. NURI."

The paper, which is printed on folded foolscap, is described as an "official, political, literary, and social periodical, published weekly, price per copy one anna; subscription, one rupee per quarter; postage abroad extra." It appeared every Thursday from 15th November, 1922, to 24th January, 1923, missing only Thursday, 29th November. Number 11 was issued three days late on Saturday, 3rd February, after which the paper appeared each Saturday up to Number 15 of 3rd March, 1923, the last issue. Number 7 is wrongly dated 3rd December instead of 3rd January. Number 12 contains a notice to the effect that owing to losses the subscription is raised to one and a half rupees per quarter.

The principal qualification of the editor, Muhammad Nuri, was his relationship to Shaikh Mahmud's second wife. The son of a Sulaimani tobacco merchant, he was brought up as a theological student. In 1918 he adopted the more lucrative profession of secret service agent to a foreign consul in Persia, and subsequently held minor posts in the Sulaimani municipality.

\* See *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. X., Part I., 1923: "Evacuation of Kurdistan," by E. B. Soane, R.G.E.



lapse of time. It was at Minab, a few miles east of Bandar Abbas, that he lost his wife, a Baghdad Christian; he carried her embalmed corpse with him on his travels, until on his return to Rome four years later he buried her remains in the family tomb. His second wife was also a lady of the country. From his matrimonial experiences and those of one, at all events, of the Sherley brothers, it would seem that "mixed marriages" were in those days less imperilled by incompatibility of education and temperament and custom than to-day; it is certain that they were not frowned on by society or Government either in Europe or the East. In this respect, as in many others, the world was perhaps a happier and less bigoted place in the sixteenth and seventeenth century than in the twentieth, and we have something to learn from our forbears, for whose religious prejudices we have substituted racial prejudices no less unreasonable and perhaps more dangerous to peace and goodwill.

In conclusion, I should like to place on record my belief that, notwithstanding the classic researches of Professor E. G. Browne and the monumental works of Curzon and later of Sykes, there is still a great field for those who will study the records of British policy in Persia in an historical spirit. Of material for such researches there is no lack; it is in our power, and it is our duty, to learn from and to profit by the mistakes of past generations. If we do so, we may look forward with confidence to the future, bearing in mind that, if we lower our standard in history, we cannot uphold it in our national life and international relations. *Magna est veritas, prevalet.*

Lastly, whilst ample facilities exist in England for the study of Persian literature and thought, it is less easy for a student to gain from lectures or from existing books an insight into the mainsprings of Persian character and an appreciation of the Persian outlook on affairs. It is the business of those whom we send to Persia to learn to understand Persian character; the amusement, contempt, or even repulsion which human observers, wedded to their own ways of life, are apt to feel for a mode of life which differs vitally from their own, gives way, on deeper acquaintance, to a measure of sympathetic understanding. There is a real need for more books which will encourage this tendency without drifting into apologetics. Meanwhile, the study of the literature of travel is an important aid in this direction which it is the duty of this Society to foster.

## A KURDISH NEWSPAPER: "ROZH- I-KURDISTAN"

By MAJOR C. J. EDMONDS

It is now generally conceded that the Kurdish language is not merely a dialect of Persian, but a remarkably pure Aryan tongue with a distinct individuality. Nevertheless, before the war Kurdish was not ordinarily written; only poetry had to any extent been committed to writing, and even so Kurdish verse was regarded much as dialect poetry is regarded in Europe.

This, like so many other things, was changed by the war, when both sides set to work to fan the flames of a new nationalism among the subject races of enemy Governments. The Turkish Empire was most vulnerable to such propaganda in its Arab and Kurdish elements. The effects on the Arabs are well known, and are attested to-day by the three infant kingdoms of Hijaz, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan. The results in Kurdistan are less familiar, and, in any case, seem likely to be soon forgotten.

The Treaty of Sèvres, Article 64, reads as follows:

"If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas. The detailed provisions for such renunciation will form the subject of a separate agreement between the principal Allied Powers and Turkey. If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul Vilayet."

This dream of an independent Kurdistan was destined not to be fulfilled. In the northern country, the area defined in Article 62 of the treaty, the idea had taken no shape before the Turkish recovery under Mustafa Kemal relegated it to the limbo of forgotten things. In Persia the Kurdish rebellion under Simko, which had wrested the whole of the border districts from Dilman to Bana from Government authority, attempted to give itself a nationalist complexion (though the treaty, of course, only affected the Turkish provinces), but collapsed in



NOTE

ON

THE KÛRDISH LANGUAGE.

BY

PROF. BELA B. EDWARDS, D.D.

IN the third volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Goettingen, 1840, there is an article of sixty-three pages, by Professors Roediger and Pott of Halle, entitled *Kûrdish Studies*. Some of the facts of more general interest contained in this article are here presented.

The principal sources of information, in regard to the Kûrds and their language, are the following:

1. *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, by the late Claudius James Rich, edited by his widow, in two volumes, London, 1836. 2. The communications of the missionary Hoernle in the *Baseler Missions-magazin*, for 1836 and 1837. 3. *Grammatica e Vocabolario della lingua Kurda, composti dal P. Maurizio Garzoni de' Predicatori Ex-Missionario Apostolico*, Rome, 1787. Mr. Rich, during his residence in Sulimania, and in his travels in various parts of the country, collected much valuable information. The missionary Hoernle resided a long time in the city Shûsha, and aiming especially at the conversion of the Kûrds, gave much attention to their language. The Grammar of Garzoni is the main source of our knowledge of the Kûrdish language. It is a small octavo of two hundred and eighty-eight pages, and contains a grammar, reading-lessons, a glossary, etc. The

author confines himself mainly to the dialect spoken in the territory of Amadia. He lived eighteen years among the Kûrds. What is found on this subject in Adelung's *Mithridates* is merely a recapitulation from Garzoni. The *Researches of Smith and Dwight*, in two volumes, Boston, 1833, contain some information in regard to the Kûrds. We may add that the volumes of the *Missionary Herald*, from 1835 to 1851, communicate a variety of important facts in respect to Kûrdistan.

The Kûrdish language prevails over the entire country from Armenia on the North to the region of Baghdad on the South, and from the Tigris on the West to Azerbaijan on the East. In the winter, the nomad Kûrds descend to the plains with their flocks. Single clans and families sometimes wander as far as the Persian Gulf, Damascus, Asia Minor, etc. The Zagros, the highest mountain-ridge in Kûrdistan, divides the country into two unequal parts. The western embraces a great part of ancient Assyria, between the Tigris and the Zagros; the eastern includes a part of ancient Media. The whole population is supposed to be between two and three millions. The Kûrds fall into two divisions, namely, the clans or tribes, *Assireta*, and the settled peasants, *Guran*. They are of very different races. The Guran, especially on the Persian side, are much the most numerous, being in the proportion of four or five to one of the Assireta. The latter are the invading victors; the Guran are in the position of serfs.

The Kûrdish language belongs, radically, to the Persian family. This is shown, incontrovertibly, by the grammatical germ, and by the main lexical contents. It has a still nearer relation to the modern Persian; but it has degenerated farther than that, by the corruption of its sounds, by the disappearance of inflections and derivation-suffixes, the substitution of periphrastic forms with auxiliaries for simple verbs, etc. The modern Persian, by its cultivation as a written language, has attained a firmer position, and a sort of security against a rapid decline; while the Kûrdish, as a popular idiom, wholly abandoned to the arbitrary caprice of general intercourse, has sunk down, without hindrance, to a lower stage of corruption. It seems to have stood somewhat nearer to the Parsî, though dialectically different, up to the time when the latter became a



written dialect, but then to have gone on its peculiar path, at a more rapid rate. Both these related dialects are about equally removed from the Zend, and they stand to each other rather in the relation of cousins german than in that of sisters. To mark the relation more precisely, the Kûrdish stands to the modern written Persian somewhat as the Milanese popular idiom stands to the more cultivated Tuscan written language. In one respect, the Kûrdish and the Persian have fared alike, namely, that since the irruption of Islam into their abodes, they have received a multitude of Arabic words, which exercise a wide control, especially in combination with native auxiliary verbs, e. g. *to make, to give, to be*. At a later period, there was a new, but much smaller addition, of Turkish words, particularly in the western and north-western parts of Kûrdistan. But neither the Turkish, nor the Arabic addition has exerted any essential influence on the internal grammatical form. The addition remains isolated; it is only borrowed, and it can be peeled off without difficulty from the genuine Kûrdish kernel. Some Greek words, used by the Kûrds, were introduced by the Arabs and Turks, as their form for the most part clearly shows; or they have had a firm hold in Central Asia from ancient times, and hence are not alien to the Persian. The Aramean words, forming a small part of the borrowed stock, were in the first instance received, for the most part, from the Syrian and Chaldee Christians, so that the talk of there being an original Chaldaic element in the Kûrdish, if thereby Aramean is meant, is wholly groundless.

The Kûrdish has a great multitude of dialects, more or less separate from each other. Different writers enumerate, some a greater number, some a less. Hoernle remarks that the northern dialects are mostly so related, mutually, that the Kûrds of different provinces could understand each other without much difficulty. Three principal dialects are in use among the northern tribes, beside that of the Yezidîs. These four have various branches, used by the Kûrds who live on the mountains West, South-West, and North-West of Orûmiah, and thence extending to Sinna, Sulimania, Diarbekr and Vân. In respect to the southern Kûrdish stock, Hoernle could not gain information equally satisfactory. He mentions five dialects as belonging to it. The

tribes which use them, dwell in the valleys of the Zagros, South of Sinna and Kermanshah, down to Loristan. It will be easily seen that our notices of these dialects are too fragmentary to enable us to give any good classification.

Most of the Kûrds, particularly the principal men, speak, in addition to their vernacular, either the Persian, or the Turkish, the first in the East and South-East, the last in the West, where individuals here and there understand Arabic. The Kûrds commonly use the Persian, or the Turkish, in their written communications. In the schools which they have here and there, a little Persian and Arabic is taught, but not the smallest portion of their vernacular tongue; by far the most of the Kûrds know not how to read or write any language. There is, consequently, no proper Kûrdish literature; the language has scarcely raised itself to a written form. It is very seldom that the Kûrds commit to writing letters, or songs, in their native language. That they have their popular songs, which they sing in their monotonous and melancholy strains, is well known. Rich often listened to their melodies and responsive songs. The most complete Kûrdish text which we have, was communicated by the missionary Hoernle. It is in two MSS., one quarto, the other octavo, and consists of Kûrdish poems in the Guran dialect, as spoken in the vicinity of Kermanshah. The quarto MS. contains, in about three thousand eight hundred and seventy rhymed double lines, the history of Khosru and Shirin, translated, as it would seem, from the Persian, and written at the close of 1825-6. The octavo MS. by a different hand, contains four poems, in four hundred and fifty, seven hundred, four hundred, and six hundred and twenty double lines, respectively.

In a second part of this article, Prof. Pott goes at some length into the nature of the sounds of the language. The general subject is pursued in the fourth, fifth and seventh volumes of the *Zeitschrift*, under the title, *Natural-Historical Notes, from the Kûrdish and other languages of Western Asia*. It is hoped that, by the labors of American and other missionaries, this interesting field will soon be thoroughly explored.



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The original Semitic alphabet spread to Arabia, and there the Arabic alphabet, an extremely cursive form, developed. When Arabic speakers came to Mesopotamia they brought this system with them. In Iraq today all normal writing of Arabic, and of Kurdish, is in the Arabic alphabet.

European languages used in Iraq are written in their usual alphabets—Latin, Greek, Cyrillic, Armenian. There is no movement to write Arabic in the Latin alphabet, nor is there yet much attempt to adapt Arabic writing to the colloquial language.

The Arabic alphabet is complicated, in some ways ill adapted even to the language for which it was developed, and poorly suited to any other language. In Iraq it is known to only a portion of the population. The illiteracy rate is high, and the language problem is such that the rate of literacy is not likely to rise rapidly. The failure of Arabic script to indicate vowels (except in certain cases such as the Koran, special literary publications, and primary school books) adds to the difficulties of education, especially of learning to read and write classical Arabic correctly. An Iraqi school child must learn not only a complex set of visual and motor skills but what is in many respects a language different from the one he usually speaks, one represented in writing mainly by consonant signs.

## RELIGIONS

ISLAM REACHED IRAQ WITHIN A FEW YEARS OF THE DEATH, IN 632, of its founder, Mohammed, and has remained the dominant faith. Like other great religions it has been much affected by sectarian schisms. The most important of these, the Sunnite-Shiite division, is almost as old as Islam itself. Of the 350 million Moslems in the world, all but about 30 million are Sunnites; in Iraq, however, the Shiites comprise about half the Moslem population. The rivalry between the two groups has given special character to the country's history, and the division continues to complicate the social, economic, and political life of the nation. The religious roots of the schism have receded and the active frictions are those that come from competition for economic and political advantage. Religious difference and the recollection of injuries inflicted in the name of doctrinal rectitude remain a reservoir of symbols to be invoked in anger, but the disposition to employ them is being tempered, however slowly, by emergent Iraqi unity.

Iraq's religious minorities—a mere 3 percent of the population—are Christians, Yezidis, Mandaeans (Sabaeans), Jews, and small numbers of Bahai. Never numerous since the mass conversions to Islam in the seventh century, the minorities at times have been subjected to discrimination and even persecution, but for the most part have been free to follow their faiths without interference. Iraq's Christians comprise adherents of the native Chaldean Church, the Assyrian (the ancient Church of the East, Nestorian), Greek, Syrian, and Armenian Orthodox churches, and the Syrian and Armenian Catholic churches. The formerly large and prosperous Jewish colony (estimated at 150,000 at the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli war in 1947) has been reduced to 10,000 by mass emigration to Israel.

Islam is the state religion of Iraq, and though adaptations of western legal codes are now in use almost everywhere in the Moslem



God's revelation to Mohammed through the angel Gabriel. Obviously, God chose Arabic over all other languages for its perfection; consequently, the language of the Koran represents an a priori standard, and deviation from it can only fall short of the pinnacle of linguistic beauty. The continuing effect of classical prose and poetry has also done much to keep the classical form alive and valued. In western Europe, Latin was held in great esteem and was a liturgical language, but an entirely different attitude toward the local developments of Latin grew up, and from the ninth century there are written documents in the local forms of Latin—French, Spanish, etc. In the Arab world this did not happen, and even though Iraqi, Syrian, Egyptian, and other forms of Arabic differ from each other to a considerable degree, they are hardly ever written and are nowhere used as teaching or official languages. When they are written at all, they appear in comic strips, jokes, plays, and folk songs.

All this means that in Iraq, as in all Arabic-speaking countries, educated persons tend to be bilingual—in the local dialect and in classical Arabic, although their classical Arabic may be somewhat weak. Even the completely uneducated have acquired some smattering of the classical language and the problems this presents for education are serious (see chap. 19).

#### Usage

In everyday usage Iraqis speak their local dialect, and people do not consciously change their dialect when they move, as from a village to a large city, though in time everybody adapts more or less to the language spoken by those about him.

Educated persons use in their spoken language varying numbers of words and expressions from the literary language. On all formal occasions, on the radio, in parliament, in schools, and in government offices, the language ideally used is the standard literary form. The pronunciation remains essentially local, though sometimes sounds are used that never occur in the colloquial form. The grammatical constructions are those of the classical language, with some tendency toward the colloquial depending on the speaker's education; the vocabulary, especially for special subjects, will often be very different from the colloquial. Classical and colloquial proverbs and religious quotations of various sorts are popular literary devices and the ability to quote them appropriately is a social asset.

On all formal occasions, educated Arabs in Iraq as elsewhere are sure that they are using pure, classical Arabic. But deviations from the ideal are extensive. More and more there is being used on formal occasions a language that in essence is a consciously archaized

#### 4. The Arabic Language

form of colloquial, with elegant turns of syntax, special grammatical forms here and there, occasional learned pronunciations, and many special words and expressions.

Poorly understood by the vast majority, classical Arabic is nevertheless regarded with reverence by all Arabs, whether or not they are able to use it. Even the illiterate refer to it as "our language," and most Arabs will declare that colloquial Arabic should be abandoned and classical used everywhere; as noted, the actual trend is toward a wider use of colloquial. Nevertheless, colloquial Arabic is looked upon, not as a separate language in itself, but as a corruption of classical Arabic. Classical Arabic is "correct"; colloquial Arabic is "incorrect"—and anyone who openly advocated the use of colloquial rather than classical would be considered at best an eccentric and at worst an enemy of religious and Arab unity.

#### Writing

Iraq is an area in which one of the world's few independently elaborated writing systems had its origin. The cuneiform system of writing was invented by the Sumerians, and it is not improbable that it evolved spontaneously—even though the Sumerians may have heard of the general idea of writing from Egypt, where writing was invented earlier, or possibly even from the Indus valley region, where there seem to have been earlier writing systems.

The Sumerian writing system is called "cuneiform" because its symbols are composed of wedge-shaped (Latin *cuneus*, "wedge") strokes made by pressing the end of a stylus into soft clay. The clay tablets were then baked into bricks, many of which still exist. The early form of this system was much like that of Egyptian hieroglyphics or modern Chinese writing. There were arbitrary symbols, some of which originated as pictures, denoting words. Some of the symbols occasionally were used to denote whole syllables simply as sounds, regardless of the original or imagined pictured meaning.

Use of the cuneiform writing system persisted despite changes of dominant language in Mesopotamia, but it was destined to be supplanted. Sometime around 4000 B.C., probably in the Sinai peninsula area, someone who was a speaker of a Semitic language had invented, on the basis of Egyptian hieroglyphics, a simple alphabet of twenty-two letters to represent the consonant sounds. From this alphabet came the known forms of Phoenician writing from which Greek writing and, eventually, all the writing systems of the western world, as well as Hebrew and Aramaic script, were derived. In Mesopotamia, Aramaic writing was used from before 1000 B.C., and it spread eastward into India, giving rise to the writing systems there.



bearing on the country since the last century. The agents of that influence are not only Westerners who come into contact with Iraqis but more importantly the growing number of Iraqis who, having acquired new skills, ideas, and behavior patterns, transmit them to their fellows. Whatever the outcome of this process, the trend is clearly toward the disappearance of the visible signs which once identified people with a particular group.

The drift of the nomads to the villages, of villagers to the towns, and the pull of the towns on all segments of the population is altering the character of Iraqi society. It is slowly breaking down the isolation which traditionally has helped to preserve the barrier between one rural community and another. In the cities it is reducing the differences between ethnic groups; the Baghdadi Kurd today is likely to have more in common with his Arab neighbor than he is with his Kurdish compatriots in his home village. The Chaldean Christian hotel owner is far removed in his daily preoccupations from his cousins in Tall Kayf but close to his Moslem patrons. The newly sedentarized nomad becomes absorbed within a generation or two into the settled existence of the agricultural village, more and more villagers, including many of recent nomad origin, continue to leave for the towns. The political control of a central government and the influence of a growing system of public education are creating a widening area of shared experience and contributing to a sense of national identity which may in time come to transcend the still primarily local focus of Iraqi life.

Nevertheless, if the old ways are giving ground, they persist and it is still possible to identify the ethnic, religious, or occupational backgrounds of many Iraqis by their dress. The bedouin wears his headcloth fastened down with a plaited camel's-hair rope (decorated according to his wealth), a long straight gown under a camel's-hair cloak, and sandals. The tribal Kurd still wears baggy pantaloons, girded at the waist with a cummerbund in which he keeps his valuables and, more likely than not, a dagger or two; he wears peaked leather slippers, and, during the inclement mountain winter, a quilted jacket and a long cloak of bright colors which contrast with the sober black, brown, and white of the bedouin.

Women of conservative Moslem households still wear out-of-doors the shapeless cloak which covers them from head to foot; underneath they wear a straight gown and pantaloons, and, if well-to-do, some gold or silver head ornaments. Many city Arabs still wear the long tunic with a divided skirt, and a turban. The Christian men of Tall Kayf often wear conical hats of silver or other metals, reminiscent of figures from the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian

#### 4. *The Arabic Language*

bas-reliefs; their women, especially the older ones, may wear gaudy orange kerchiefs and voluminous red dresses. The black-bearded Yezidis wear Kurdish pantaloons; the Sabaeans also wear beards but use Arab headdress and white robes.

In all of these groups, however, the young men who have visited the cities usually possess one suit of western clothes and a pair of factory-made shoes. Western dress is now worn by some townswomen, but the veil is only slowly being discarded; even in the case of some of the more westernized families a compromise is still sought in the combination of a western dress, silk stockings, high heels, and a veil.

The social significance of physical traits is also changing. Among the upper classes blue eyes, supposedly a sign of Turkish-Circassian origin, stamped one as a member of the ruling aristocracy. To be grossly fat was evidence of material prosperity and a matter for congratulation; obesity is still common among the prosperous townsmen, but the younger generation, exposed to physical education courses at school, is popularizing a new ideal of physical fitness.

Until recently in the cities one lived within one's own group in a well-defined quarter. Under influences emanating from the towns, villages, if they were not occupied by members of a single group, were also divided into quarters. Today the rigid association patterns of the past are breaking down. The old ways persist strongly in the countryside but they are changing; differences between various communities are visibly narrowing and the process of westernization, with Arabization, is superimposing a homogeneous pattern on the Iraqi community as a whole.

#### *The Arabic Language*

In Iraq as elsewhere in the Arab world, Arabic exists as a literary form and as various local spoken dialects. The literary language, used in all serious writing and for all official purposes, is essentially the classical Arabic of the Koran as pronounced with a more or less Iraqi dialect accent and with a modernized vocabulary adapted to the necessities of present-day life.

As Arabic followed the spread of Islam it developed local variations. But the number of literate persons in the Arab world was so small and the prestige of the traditional written language so great by virtue of its religious sanction in the Koran that the local variants which developed never came to be used as independent literary languages. Devout Moslems believe that the Koran is God's word in form and substance: with only certain sectarian differences as to detail, the words of the Koran are believed to be the very words of



**Jews**

The 1947 census figure for Iraqi Jews was 118,000, but the number was unofficially estimated at about 150,000. They were concentrated in Baghdad province (77,542) and in Mosul and Basra (over 10,000 in each), but there were also communities in most of the large towns, notably in Al Hillah, as well as in some villages in the north. In 1950-51 almost the entire Jewish population left the country for Israel. Israeli figures show that more than 120,000 Iraqi Jews have entered Israel since the establishment of the state in 1948. A few thousand went to India, Lebanon, Europe, and the United States. The Grand Rabbi of Baghdad in 1955 estimated the Iraqi Jewish community at 5,000 persons, but most other observers put the number at 8,000 to 10,000. Those who are left in Iraq abjure Zionism completely and declare their undivided attachment to the state; the official attitude is that a loyal Jew is on the same footing as any other loyal citizen.

Jews formerly constituted almost the entire body of money-changers and were also prominent in commerce and banking. Some of the younger Iraqi Jews were established in the fields of medicine and law.

**Sabaeans**

The Sabaeans, or Mandaeans, were in 1947 an urban-dwelling group of 6,597 persons, scattered among the towns along the rivers south of Baghdad. Even in the town of Suq ash Shuyukh, their principal place of settlement, they form less than 10 percent of the population. They are generally thought to be diminishing in numbers—the popular explanation being the reputed beauty of their women, who are much sought as wives by men of other groups. They are peaceable and industrious. Since they must live near running water in order to perform the numerous ablutions required by their religion, one of their principal traditional occupations has been boatbuilding. They also enjoy a high local reputation as silversmiths, specializing in Amarah-work of antimony designs on silver.

Physically, the Sabaeans stand out from among their neighbors; the women for their beauty, the men for their extreme hirsuteness.

**Turkomans**

The Turkomans are a Turkish-speaking Sunni Moslem group settled in northern Iraq in the areas of Qarah Tappah, Kirkuk, Irbil, and Tall Afar. Their numbers were put at 38,652 in 1919, and some estimates for today run as high as 75,000. Their Turkish dialect is considerably different from standard Turkish. While the Jarjariyah Turkomans around Tall Afar west of Mosul retain a tribal organization, the

**4. Aliens**

group as a whole, and particularly the younger generation, is being assimilated in language and social patterns into the larger Arab population. The Turkomans today, as in Ottoman times, furnish a much larger percentage of government functionaries than might be expected from their small numbers.

**Aliens**

In 1947 there were 73,828 persons, or about 1.5 percent of the total population, who claimed nationality other than Iraqi. This group is to be found largely in the cities: 63,886 lived in three urban centers—29,204 in Baghdad, 21,670 in Karbala, and 13,012 in Basra. More than three fourths of these—52,430—were Iranians.

The next largest group, the Indo-Pakistanis, called "Indians" in the census of 1947 but now probably Pakistani in majority, numbered 4,790 in 1947. Approximately half of these lived near the Shiite shrines, and most of the rest in the Basra district, where traditional connections with India have been close. To replace Jewish emigrants, additional numbers of Pakistanis were brought into the country in 1950-51 to work in the telegraph and railroad administrations; the exact number is not available.

Of the 3,400 Saudi Arabs, nearly 3,000 live in Az Zubayr in the Basra district, a trading center of long standing for the desert to the south. There is a Syrian-Lebanese community—most of whose members are engaged in the professions—of about 2,800, and about 1,000 Shiite Afghans live in the two holy cities of Kadhimain (Al Kazi-miyah) and An Najaf. They are closely identified with the Iranian community in language and religion.

The British community of somewhat less than 3,000 persons is not entirely European in its geographical origin. A few hundred British subjects living in the holy cities have British citizenship but are of Middle Eastern origin. Half the remainder live in Baghdad and Basra. There are some 300 British residents in Kirkuk, center of the oil-producing installations.

An insignificant category in the 1947 census was that of Palestinian Arabs, but in 1948 about 5,000 such refugees came to Iraq, almost all to the Baghdad area. They are at the present time politically suspect, and 47 of them were deported early in 1956 for "subversive" acts, that is, anti-Baghdad Pact and pro-Egyptian activity.

**Amalgamation**

Iraq's various ethnic and religious communities all are being affected to one degree or another by the western influences that have been



form a considerably smaller proportion of the population than they did some hundred years ago. They were subjected to several decimating excursions by the Turkish authorities and their Kurdish neighbors in Ottoman times. They speak Kermanji, a Kurdish dialect, but commonly know Arabic as well.

The Yezidis have traditionally been set apart from the mainstream of Iraqi life. They are execrated as "devil worshippers" by the major Moslem sects, and individual articles of faith make it difficult for them even to send their children to public schools. They were not a millet (semiautonomous non-Moslem community) under the Ottoman Empire, as were many minorities, and so were deprived of many benefits of legal status. Their emir, head of the strictly graded religious political hierarchy, exercises full control over his followers. Grave charges have been made in the past (some by Yezidis) against the cruelty and capriciousness of these hereditary leaders.

Despised by the majority and at the bottom of the economic scale in Iraq, the Yezidis have so far participated less than any other group in the benefits of the country's drive for development.

#### *Other Minorities*

##### *Assyrians*

The Assyrians, adherents of the ancient Nestorian "Church of the East" which flourished in Mesopotamia and carried on vigorous missionary activity from central Asia to China until the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century, are scattered throughout the Middle East. Their Syriac dialect is giving way to Arabic and seems likely to be relegated to the place of a liturgical language. They have a long history of difficulties with the authorities in Iraq and other countries and their communities have moved so often during the last fifty years that it is difficult to make more than a guess at how many are now in Iraq. The number in 1931 was estimated to be about 40,000; in 1933, however, after operations against them by the Iraqi army during which hundreds of Assyrians were killed, several thousand left Iraq for the settlement project sponsored by the League of Nations on the Khabur River in Syria.

In 1936 there were many Assyrians in central Iraq, the majority of whom were members of the "Iraq Levies" organized by the British as a protective force for their military bases and composed almost exclusively of Assyrians. The Levies were dissolved when the British turned over their bases to the Iraqi authorities following World War II, and many Assyrians have since moved to a new settlement at Dawrah, south of Baghdad, where they are employed in the new

#### *4. Other Minorities*

oil-refinery installations. Others reside near Kirkuk, where they work in the British-leased oilfields. There are also Assyrian settlements at Mosul and in the villages of the surrounding area.

The titular head of the Assyrians is the Patriarch of the East, now living in the United States, who was expelled from Iraq by the government in 1932 because of his pretensions to secular as well as religious authority.

The Assyrians enjoy a reputation in the area for bravery, resourcefulness, and capacity to learn technological skills. Politically, their insistence that they constitute a "nation" and the frequency with which they have petitioned foreign and international organizations for protection or redress of grievances have made them a constant problem for the authorities. Assyrian particularism seems to be breaking down and today for many Assyrians the sense of being Iraqi has transcended the concept of Assyrian nationhood.

##### *Armenians*

The Armenians, probably numbering upwards of 4,000, are relatively recent arrivals in Iraq, most of the older generation having entered the country from Anatolia following the Turkish violence against them there in 1915. Their relations with the larger community have on the whole been good but certain problems of assimilation do exist. Most of the group now speak Arabic as well as Armenian and often speak Turkish. A popular phrase of derogation in Iraq, however, is to say of someone, "He speaks Arabic like an Armenian." The Armenians are Christians, mainly Armenian Orthodox or Armenian Catholic. Quick to acquire modern skills, they have made a place for themselves in Iraq's larger cities as professionals, artisans, and, particularly, mechanics.

##### *Lurs*

The Lurs, of whom there are thought to be about 60,000 in Iraq, are settled in the eastern part of the country, which they entered generations ago over the Pusht i Kuh Mountains. Shiites who speak a dialect of Persian, they form a large part of the population of Badrah and Mandali, and are numerous at Ali al Gharbi and Qalat Sukkar and Ar Rifai on the Gharraf Canal system. More often town or village laborers than agriculturalists, they are found as porters of heavy loads in Baghdad and Basra. Nationalist Kurds refer to the Lurs as the "Fayliya" Kurds and claim them and the Persian Lurs for the proposed Kurdish state, but no such concept seems to have been accepted by Lurs themselves, who have not been a politically conscious group.



neighboring countries as Iran and Turkey. Moreover, the receptivity to western ideas and technical skills, which might have isolated the Christians from the Moslems, is spreading among the latter under a government concerned with maintaining friendly and cooperative relations with the West. Friction between the two communities is by no means absent but the present trend seems to be toward acceptance by both groups of widening areas of common interest.

#### Kurds

Iraq's 800,000 Kurds are overwhelmingly Sunnite Moslem; a small number are Shiites. Speaking various dialects of Kurdish, an Indo-European language distantly related to Persian, the Kurds, apart from the few who have drifted to the cities, live in isolated villages in the mountain valleys of the Turkish and Iranian border areas. The provinces of Mosul, Irbil, Kirkuk and Ad Diyala are heavily Kurdish and As Sulaymaniyah province is almost exclusively so.

The common stereotype of the Kurd is the hardy mountain warrior, taller and more strongly built than the Arab fellah, devoted to his upland farm and alpine pastures, fiercely resentful of his political subordination to the Arab ruling groups. The majority have been for some time settled cereal agriculturalists and transhumant stockbreeders. A few tribes are still pastoral nomads. Three general groups of Iraqi Kurds are recognized, conforming to tribal affiliation, linguistic differences, and geographical location. The first group, the Badinan, an extension of the Turkish Kurds, lives in villages which range from Lake Van in Anatolia to the Greater Zab River in Iraq. They speak Kermanji, or "literary" Kurdish. The second group, the Suran, lives between the Greater and Lesser Zab. The third, the Baban, inhabits the region from the Lesser Zab to the Diyala River. The Suran and the Baban speak a single dialect of Kurdish, found also among the Iranian Kurds. Each of these groups contains nomadic herdsmen organized in tribes, freehold farmers who retain their tribal affiliation and whose land is usually in the area of the former tribal domain, and tenant farmers and laborers who are largely detribalized.

In these predominantly Kurdish areas the spread of Arabic is seen as a threat to the survival of Kurdish as a first language. Kurdish is the language of instruction in primary schools in the Kurdish area and is insisted upon in the home. In spite of this, young Kurds, particularly those whose aspirations take them to the cities, are turning to Arabic; the Kurdish origin of many city Kurds is today revealed only in their names.

Despite their reputation for clannishness and rigid adherence to

#### 4. Kurds

traditional ways, some of the Kurds are beginning to enter more actively into the main currents of Iraqi life. This trend is made easier by their Sunni Moslem faith and is no doubt hastened by the tendency of leading Kurdish families to adopt the attitudes and aspirations of the Arab elite. Thus, paradoxically, an insistently separatist minority is showing signs of allying itself with Iraqi nationalism.

Kurdish irredentism, however, remains strong in many quarters. Dreams of a Kurdish state, carved out of parts of Turkey, Iraq, and Iran, are nurtured among Kurdish elements in the countryside. Such groups are isolated from realities of the regional political situation; they are encouraged, moreover, by propaganda emanating from the Soviet Union, which also has a Kurdish minority, and from exiled Kurdish nationalist sources in western Europe. The Kurds are far from having articulated a unified pattern of loyalty to a Kurdish nation, and their primary allegiance, except as it may be shifting to the countries in which they reside, remains focused on kin group and village.

#### Shabaks and Sarliyas

The 10,000 to 12,000 Moslem Shabaks, who speak a Kurdish dialect, may be distinguished from the main body of the Kurds by their religious beliefs and observances, which resemble those of the Ali ilahi Shiite sect but which are peculiar in respect to certain secret rites. The Shabaks live in agricultural villages on the Tigris south of Mosul and in the Sinjar district, maintaining close relationships with the neighboring Yezidis. They are gradually being absorbed linguistically and culturally into the general Arab population.

A very small Kurdish-speaking people, also Shiite, the Sarliyas occupy a few villages on both banks of the Greater Zab just above its junction with the Tigris.

#### Yezidis

The last national census in Iraq, taken in 1947, counted 32,437 Yezidis. The official use of the term "Yezidi" is indicative of their status, for the word has a pejorative connotation; the name employed by the group itself is "Dasnayi." More concentrated geographically than any other Iraqi minority, all but 27 of those listed in the census were residents of Mosul province.

The only district in which Yezidis form the majority is Sinjar, west of Mosul, where they are a rural population. They form about one third of the population of the Shaykhan district, north of Mosul. Here are located their principal shrine, Sheikh Adi, and the residence of their emir, Ba Advi. It is believed by several observers that they now



Christian minority, shares the Islamic religion. Internally, this majority is divided by differing ecological and cultural patterns, by a wide range of economic pursuits, by differences of political status (determined, though to a lessening degree, by religious affiliation), and by a sectarian split between Shiite and Sunni Moslems which continues to be the source of tensions that pose a basic obstacle to the social unification of the country.

In the northern part of the country the Arabs are found mainly along the rivers above Al Fallujah and Baghdad, on the Mosul plain, and on the Tigris tributaries up to the Kurdish-Turkoman foothills. Overwhelmingly Sunni, the population of these areas shows a higher rate of literacy and enjoys a somewhat higher standard of living than does that of the Arab areas farther to the south, where the population consists largely of Shiite agriculturalists concentrated along the banks of the Tigris south of Baghdad and on the Euphrates south of Al Fallujah. Most of these fellahin (cultivators) are not distinguishable from the Arabs of Khuzistan province in Iran; ties between them are reinforced by the presence in Iraq of such important Shiite holy places as An Najaf, Kadhimain (Al Kazimiyah), Karbala, and Samarra.

In the southern marshes of Iraq are the marsh Arabs (the Madans), remnants of conquered peoples who have found refuge there. Although those living on the peripheries of the marshes blend physically and culturally with the peasantry and have absorbed some bedouin groups, those living in the permanently flooded areas in the heart of the marshes are quite distinct, practicing little or no agriculture and living on fish and on milk products from their water buffaloes.

#### Sunnites, Shiites, Christians

Overriding all other distinctions is the Shiite-Sunni division, originally exclusively a religious one but today having equally if not more important economic and political concomitants. The Sunni Arabs, though predominant in the north, are less geographically concentrated than the Shiites. Throughout the generally Shiite south a sizable proportion of the big Arab landowners are Sunnites. About 20 percent of the population of Basra is estimated to be Sunni; there are large populations of Sunnites in the southern towns of An Nasiriyah, Suq ash Shuyukh, and Al Khamisiyah. The nomadic Arab tribes are also mainly Sunni.

Although the economic activities of the Sunni Arabs range from the top to the bottom of the occupational scale, the group as a whole feels a sense of superiority to the rest of the community. In Ottoman times Sunni Arabs furnished most of the native officials, and the royal family today is Sunni, as have been most of the ministers and

senior government officials. Sunni influence is also reflected in the output of the press and radio and other media of mass communications, which are taking on increased importance in the formation of Iraqi public opinion. Although its monopoly of power is lessening, the Sunni group will continue to play a major role in the country's affairs for some time to come.

Generally less literate and less often possessing modern technical skills than the Sunnites, the Shiite Arabs tend to be found in occupations regarded as menial. This circumstance is the source of growing resentment, and the predominantly Shiite provinces of Al Muntafiq and Ad Diwaniyah have been centers of unrest during periods of political or economic crisis.

Less than 3 percent of Iraq's Arabs are Christians. More than half of this number live in Mosul province, traditionally a Christian center in the Middle East. There are also sizable concentrations in the cities of Kirkuk, Irbil, Basra, Baghdad and in Ad Dulaym province.

Two tendencies are apparent in the Christian community. In the first place, the Christians have taken more readily to westernization than any other element of the population. They have been first to learn European languages; first to discard traditional dress; first to accept new occupational roles for women; first to grasp modern technological training. Secondly, their religion and their readiness to accept innovation have not stood in the way of an increasing identification in the secular sphere with the Arab Moslem majority, whose language, manners, and political outlook they share.

Wealthy Christians, like well-to-do Moslems, have long had educational and social access to western material and intellectual culture; significantly, however, on the lower economic levels Christians more than Moslems have been brought into direct contact with Europeans by the occupations they have pursued. There is a high percentage of Christians among house servants and among clerks in business establishments. They are also to be found as hotel owners, waiters and bartenders, dealers in antiques, assistants to archeological expeditions, in all activities connected with European influence. Christians further up the economic scale are prominent in the professions and in banking and finance.

Although this close association with Westerners has been a source of Moslem resentment in the past, the fact that the Arab Christians have never been politically wedded to any particular western country but have been strong proponents of Iraqi nationalism has minimized intergroup hostility. The loyalty of politically articulate members of the Christian group evidently reflects the better treatment given native Christians in Iraq by the Moslem ruling group than in such



George L. Harris  
New Haven 1958

4

## ETHNIC GROUPS AND LANGUAGES

WITH ITS HISTORY OF ADMIXTURE, THE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES within Iraq's population are not those of race, for almost the whole range of the eastern Mediterranean physical types is represented in the various local communities, but rather those of religion, language, social and cultural tradition. As recognized by the people themselves, these set off Moslem and Yezidi from Christian and Kurd, or Armenian from Arab. Over all, however, there is the prevailing Arab identification, formed in the centuries of Arab domination and reflected in the supremacy of Arabic speech and an ideal image rooted in the historical recollection of Arab greatness.

The largest national minority, about 17 percent of the population, consists of the Kurds, whose native speech is Kurdish rather than Arabic. Other, smaller, minorities are the Armenians, Lurs, Jews, Sabaeans, and Turkomans, who altogether make up only 8 or 9 percent of the total population.

Arabic is the official language of Iraq and the only language spoken by at least four fifths of the population. As is the case everywhere in the Arabic-speaking world, the language shows much dialectal divergence. Almost every village and town has developed its slight variations of the language; the major dialectal variations, however, are between town, village, and tribe, although these differences are less striking in Iraq than, say, in Syria or Lebanon. All Iraqi dialects generally resemble each other, in contrast with the Arabic dialects of other regions, so that Arab speakers immediately recognize an Iraqi by his pronunciation, the vocabulary he uses, and the way he uses it. This is true even when the speaker is using the literary language, a locally influenced form of classical Arabic.

Arabic is a Semitic language related to Hebrew, Aramaic, ancient Phoenician, various languages of Ethiopia, and to the ancient Akkadian of Babylonia and Assyria. In classical Mesopotamia the first language known to history (from about 4000 B.C.) is Sumerian; as

### 4. Arabs

far as linguistic science can tell, Sumerian is not related to any other known language. The Akkadians used Sumerian as a religious language. Several dialects of Akkadian speech (two being the literary languages known in history as Babylonian and Assyrian) flourished for two thousand years and then were gradually overcome by the incursion of Aramaic from the west. Syriac, a language of the Aramaic subfamily, was the liturgical language of Eastern-rite Christians of the area. When the Arab expansion took place following the introduction of Islam, this area was conquered and colonized by speakers of Arabic from farther south in Arabia. As time went on the various Aramaic dialects died out, being replaced by Arabic, and at the present time there are only a few isolated villages where Aramaic is still spoken (the so-called Syriac of the groups known as Assyrians).

The spread of Arabic is also to be observed among the peripheral ethnic minorities. Thus among the Yezidis, whose language is the Kermanji dialect of Kurdish, the younger people now for the most part speak Arabic as well and some are beginning to accept Arabic as a first language. The Armenians who when they arrived in the country at the end of World War I spoke only Armenian and Turkish today speak Armenian in the home and Arabic in outside contacts. The Aramaic dialect of the Assyrians has almost completely given way to Arabic. Classical Syriac continues to be used only by some Eastern-rite Christians of the area as a liturgical language. The Turkish of the Turkomans, the Kurdish dialects of the Sarliya and Shabak minorities, and the Persian-related language of the Lurs are now spoken mainly by the older generations of these groups.

English, introduced by the mandatory authorities and British business firms in Iraq, is used to some degree in the cities. It is also taught in the high schools and the university. It is, however, held in less esteem than formerly and is in any case generally limited to the middle and upper classes.

If the idea of Iraqi nationality continues to take hold among the minorities, it will become obvious to them that progress in most walks of life will depend upon the mastery of Arabic; the non-Arabic languages spoken in Iraq, therefore, are likely to disappear in time. Kurdish, however, will certainly last for years, and should there be any weakening of the unity of the Iraqi state it may even revive and expand.

### 'Arabs

Between three fourths and four fifths of Iraq's total population is Arab, speaks the Arabic language, and, with the exception of a small