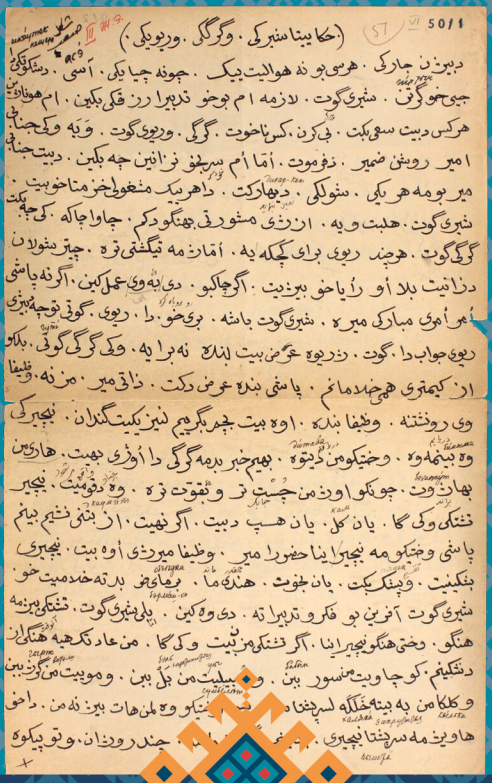
Shamdinani Stories I

Kurdish Writings on the History and Culture of Central Kurdistan by Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani

Edited by

David N. MacKenzie (†) and Ergin Öpengin



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I would like to thank especially the following people and institutions. Prof. Ludwig Paul allowed me to work on these manuscripts in David N. MacKenzie's archive that he managed in cooperation with The Göttingen State and University Library. The staff of the Manuscripts section of the library, especially Frau Bärbel Mund, have been very kind and cooperative. Likewise the staff of The National Army Museum in London allowed me to find and publish the sole correct picture of Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani. Jenny Herzky from the University of Bamberg and Rebin Özmen provided valuable assistance at OCR and text conversion stages. Dr. Numan Ertaş of Van Yüzüncü Yıl University and Dr. Masoud Mohammadirad of University of Cambridge helped with creating the map of locations mentioned in the texts. Can Örnek from INALCO helped with obtaining important manuscript sources from BULAC in Paris.

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FIGURE 1 Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani, top right hand corner, Urmia, 1918
PHOTO BY MAJOR W. LEITH-ROSS, IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, LONDON

INTRODUCTION

Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani and a Century of Kurdological Work on His Texts

During the First World War, the city of Urmia in Iran, bordering Turkey and in proximity to the Caucasus, was one of the major centres of conflict with, in addition to Ottomans and Iranians, the Russian and later British powers also fighting over it. Although until late 1917 large swathes of land in eastern Turkey and Iranian Azarbaijan were controlled by Russian troops, the power also frequently shifted in the region. With alternating rule, Urmia quickly became the refuge for various Armenian, Nestorian Christian and Kurdish communities fleeing the war and destruction in the neighboring Hakkari, Shamdinan and Barzan districts that were under Ottoman rule. Various missionary organizations and state representatives were involved in humanitarian aid to these communities, including the Russian diplomatic mission headed by Basile Nikitine (1885–1960). In order to arrange the distribution of assistance to the refugees from the Shamdinan district, Nikitine collaborated with a certain Mullah Sa'id as the representative of the displaced Kurds from that area. Nikitine's collaboration with Mullah Sa'id would lead him to develop an interest in Kurdish language and history. As part of their cooperation, Mullah Sa'id wrote for Basile Nikitine a large number of texts in Kurdish and Persian on the culture and history of Shamdinan and its surroundings. After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Russia, Basile Nikitine moved to France, taking along Mullah Sa'id's texts. Already in the early 1920s he started publishing individual pieces from among these texts and through the subsequent decades he became an eminent Kurdologist. Despite his collaboration with David Neil MacKenzie (1926–2001), the eminent philologist working on Kurdish at the time, and the latter's decades-long work on the texts stretching into late 1990s, a volume publication of all of these texts did not materialize. This book is the first complete edition of Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani's Kurdish texts in English. It thus wraps up a century of work in Kurdology. In addition to the present Introduction, the volume presents a Kurdish-English parallel text edition of all of the 61 texts by Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani, an exhaustive glossary of lexical items appearing in the texts, facsimiles of the original Kurdish texts, and indices of person and place names as well as a map of the place names mentioned in the texts.

In the remainder of the Introduction, I reconstruct Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani's profile based on the dispersed notes in his texts, Basile Nikitine's

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statements about him, and interviews I made with the descendants of his family as well as residents of Shamdinan district. This is followed by an account of a century of Kurdological work by Basile Nikitine and David N. MacKenzie on the edition and analysis of Mullah Sa'id's texts. This will incidentally reveal a lot about the state of Kurdology in the 20th century. Finally, I present the more technical aspects of the edition of the texts by describing the manuscript, the editorial principles, and a sketch grammar of the Shamdinan dialect of Kurdish. The readers not interested in the fine and technical details of text edition and dialectology are thus advised to skip the latter section and go straight to Mullah Sa'id's vivid folkloristic and historical narratives in the main body of the volume.

1 Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani's Trajectory

In the introduction to his Persian *History of Kurdistan*, Mullah Sa'id presents himself as follows:

> This humble person, Mullah Sa'id, Qazi of Kurdistan, who is of the Harki Binaji (clan) and has been engaged in teaching for ten years in the convent of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq and of his son Sayyid Taha in the township of Hakkari, centre of the district of Shamdinan, (...).[1]

Refining this statement in another section of the book on the history and major families of the Harki tribe, Mullah Sa'id states that his father Mullah Abdullah was originally from the Debokri tribe[2] of "Sawujbulagh" (today Mahabad in western Iran) and had come to study in Nehri:[3]

> The father of this humble person Mullah Abdullah was from Sawujbulagh. He came to Nehri during the time of Sayyid Taha [d. 1853]. After completing his studies with Sayyid Taha, he went among the Harki, Girdi and

1 Ergin Öpengin (ed.), *Shamdinani Stories II: A Persian 'History of Kurdistan' by Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani* (in preparation).

2 On the Debokri tribe, see Pierre Oberling, "Deh-Bokrī", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2, pp. 209–210. https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/deh-bokri. (Accessed 20 January 2025).

3 Risen to prominence as a sufi convent from early 19th century, Nehri received students from various parts of Kurdistan and beyond. In *Tuhfetu'l Muridin* [The Gift of the Disciples], written by Shaikh Ubeydullah's clerk Mirza Abdurrahman, the Kurdish poet from Mahabad known as *Vefayî*, on the life in Nehri convent, the list of *xalifa*s who obtained *ijazat* from the shaikh illustrates the diversity of the geographical provenance of the students in Nehri. See Abdulcebbar

> Mizuris to teach the path [*tariqat*] and implement the law, and settled there. He bought land and house in the Shiwa Harki and in the Argosh village of the Mizuri tribe as well as obtaining sizeable land in the villages of Begalta, Ardawil, and Basyan. He lived until the time of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq. (…) My father died in Nehri.[4]

Mullah Sa'id himself was born in the Girdi district of Shamdinan, when his father was serving as the "judge of the Girdis and Harkis".[5] He gives a summary of his own trajectory that includes studies in Erbil and work in Nehri madrasa and Van Teacher Training Institute:

> When I was done with the study of sciences and obtained the license to teach from Mullah Abu Bakr Effendi[6] the prayer-leader of Hawler, the aforementioned shaikh [i.e. Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq] asked me to move to Nehri. For seven years I taught at the madrasa in Nehri. (…) After Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq died, I went to Van to work as a teacher at the Teacher Training Institute.[7] For two years I stayed there. Sayyid Taha, Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq's son, made me return to Nehri. For several years I taught there. Due to disturbances and the enmity of the Ottomans with Sayyid Taha, our fate ended up in the land of Iran.[8]

Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq (d. 1911) succeeded his father Shaikh Ubeydullah (d. 1883) after the latter's defeat in his campaign in Iran and against the local Ottoman rule in Shamdinan.[9] He established himself as a powerful ruler from

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Kavak, "Mahabatlı Sûfî Şair Vefâyî'nin Tuhfetü'l-Müridin Adlı Eserinde Şeyh Ubeydullah-ı Nehrî ve Halifeleri," *Dicle Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 16, no. 2 (2014): 227–257.

4 Öpengin, *Shamdinani Stories II*.

5 Basile Nikitine, "Kurdish Stories from My Collection," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 4, no. 1 (1926): 121.

6 Mullah Abu Bakr Effendi (1863–1942), also known as Mullah Effendi and Mullah Gichka (Little Mullah), was the prominent religious leader based at the Great Mosque at the Citadel of Erbil. From the late 19th century he became influential both in religious and political domains. He advocated for the British mandate and Iraqi sovereignty in the Kurdish-dominant Mosul wilayat opposing the Ottomans. Various western diplomats and military officers mention Mullah Abu Bakr Effendi as one of the most influential notables of the region. See Rupert Hay, *Two Years in Kurdistan: Experiences of a political officer, 1918–1920* (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1920), 173–174.

7 *Dar'ul-muallimin*, in its Ottoman name, was established in Van in 1882.

8 Öpengin, *Shamdinani Stories II*.

9 The year of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq's death is variously given also as 1903 and 1907; but 1911 is the certain date in light of Ottoman archival documents. For the geneaology of the Nehri family, see Martin van Bruinessen, "The Sâdatê Nehrî or Gîlânîzâde of Central Kurdistan," in *The Qâdiriyya Order* (*Journal of the History of Sufism, special issue, vol. 102*),

1883 until his death in 1911. Based on these, Mullah Sa'id must have started teaching at Nehri around 1904, been to Van at around 1911–1913, and back to Nehri to teach under Sayyid Taha II's rule between 1913–1915.[10]

Mullah Sa'id's role under Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq went beyond teaching at the madrasa. In the story of Suto and Tato (LV), the shaikh asks for Mullah Sa'id's opinion on settling a local tribal conflict and tasks him with leading a punitive expedition on Suto's tribal forces in the neighbouring Oramar district. But Mullah Sa'id does not seem to have had similar good relations with his second patron Sayyid Taha II, who succeeded his father Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq in 1911. Mecithan İnan, the grandson of the chief (*beg*) of the Besosin village I interviewed, told me that Mullah Sa'id left Nehri due to disagreements he had with Sayyid Taha II and was heading southwards to his father's second home in the Argosh village in present-day northern Iraq, when his grandfather, the chief of Besosin, asked Mullah Sa'id to stay and teach in his village. Furthermore, Mullah Sa'id married in that village.[11] Mullah Sa'id's close familiarity with Besosin is also apparent in the large number of stories in his writings related to these areas mid-way between Nehri and Girdi region.

With the outbreak of the great war in 1914, the Ottomans declared *jihad* against the allied powers and had it read in the Friday sermons in the mosques of the country.[12] Having anti-Ottoman convictions and conscious of the threat the *jihad* poses to the Christians and Jews of Kurdistan, Mullah Sa'id issued a *fatwa*, religious judgement, against the Ottoman declaration of *jihad*.[13] Nikitine reports that Mullah Sa'id was arrested by the Turkish authorities in Shamdinan for his *fatwa*. Responding to the *qaimaqam*, district governor, of Shamdinan, his defence also helps us understand his reasoning and ideological position on religious diversity:[14]

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eds. T. Zarcone, E. Isin, & A. Buehler (Simurg, 2000), 79–91. For Shaikh Ubeydullah, see Sabri Ates, "In the Name of the Caliph and the Nation: The Sheikh Ubeidullah Rebellion of 1880–1881," *Iranian Studies* 47, no. 5 (2014): 735–798.

10 For Sayyid Taha II, see Metin Atmaca, "Fragile Frontiers: Sayyid Taha II and the Role of Kurdish Religio-Political Leadership in the Ottoman East during the First World War," *Middle Eastern Studies* 54, no. 3 (2018): 361–381. For oral-historical accounts of some of Sayyid Taha II's activities during and after the First World War, see Muzaffer I. Erdost, *Şemdinli Röportajı, 3rd edition* (Ankara: Onur Yayınları, 2016 [1987]), 83–90.

11 Interview with Mecithan İnan, Şemdinli, 8 August 2023.

12 On this *jihad* proclamation and its reception by the Muslims across the world, see Erik-Jan Zürcher, "Introduction: The Ottoman Jihad, the German Jihad and the Sacralization of War," in *Jihad and Islam in World War I*, ed. Erik-Jan Zürcher (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2016), 13–29.

13 The Barzan and Baban (Sulaimaniya) shaikhs did not approve of the *jihad* either. See Basile Nikitine, *Les Kurdes: Etude Sociologique et Historique* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1956), 218.

14 In one of his texts that is lost, Mullah Sa'id expresses his firm conviction that *jihad* was a

> En admettant que j'aie donné des fetwâ, je ne suis responsable ni d'après la loi religieuse, *char'an*, ni d'après la loi civile, *qanoûnan*. Car je n'ai pas vu dans notre Chariat qu'on y recommandât de tuer les personnes inoffensives et innocentes. D'autre part, la loi gouvernementale jusqu'à présent n'a pas ordonné d'assassiner; au contraire, elle veille plutôt à la sauvegarde des droits … Quant à la promulgation de fetwâ et d'*iradé*, je crois que la pitié et la science du cheikh oul-Islam ainsi que la justice et la miséricorde du khalife sont très, très loin de pouvoir donner une fetwâ et un ordre de la tuerie et du pillage des pauvres *raïet* (chrétiens nestoriens) qui depuis l'époque du prophète Mohammed jusqu'à présent n'ont pas pris les armes et n'ont pas fait la guerre.[15]

On the way to Mosul for the trial, he was rescued by his followers. During the summer of 1916, Mullah Sa'id emigrated to the Urmia town of Iran across the border of Ottoman Shamdinan. As stated by Mullah Sa'id above, Sayyid Taha had conflicts with the Ottomans and sought the protection of the Russians in Urmia from the Ottomans.[16] Although the majority of Shamdinan residents emigrated southwards, Nikitine reports that together with a few hundred families Mullah Sa'id ended up in Urmia fleeing the advancing Russian troops in the summer of 1916.[17] Mullah Sa'id himself, however, attributes the calamity of their exodus to the Turks:[18]

'ruse' the Germans invented to mobilise 350 million Muslims across the world. See Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 222–223.

15 Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 222. The excerpt is from a text by Mullah Sa'id that is lost, titled "Hekayêta frontê Qefqas ne Ûrus siyaset kir ne Osmanî" ("The story of the Caucasian front where neither the Russians nor the Turks conducted good politics"). See Basile Nikitine, "Les Thèmes Religieux dans les Textes Kurdes de la Collection de B. Nikitine," *Actes du Congrès International de l'Histoire de la Religion—Vol II* (Paris, 1923), 421–422.

16 See Atmaca, "Fragile frontiers," 370; David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 99.

17 For oral historical accounts about the southward migration of the Kurds of Shamdinan and Hakkari at the time, see Emel Topçu and Engin Korkmaz, "Kurdish Migration in Hakkâri in 1915 within the Context of Constructivism Theory," *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2023): 12–23; Erdost, *Şemdinli Röportaji*, 69–70. According to these accounts, in 1916 clashes took place between the advancing Russian-Nestorian and local Kurdish forces. The resistance of the Kurdish forces was pushed back to the south of Shamdinan in the Girdi district. The region remained under Russian occupation for more than a year, with its entire Muslim Kurdish population fled southward to Akre and its surrounding areas under Ottoman control.

18 Urmia region was scene for various rounds of invasions, massacres and epidemics during the First World War. Urmia and much of the Iranian Azarbaijan and Kurdistan was taken by the Russian troops in 1914. In early 1915 the Ottoman and Kurdish forces retook the

> (…) for about 2000 of us Kurds from Nawchiya[19] of the Ottoman Shamdinan had been smitten by misfortune and plundered, we had fled from the Turks and come to the town of Urmia. We had submitted to the mercy and justice of the august Russian government. For the period of a year assistance was given to us month by month by the august government through his honour the Consul, M. Nikitine, six roubles for adults and three for children. (LII:473)[20]

In Urmia, based at the Sunni Mosque, Mullah Sa'id took active part in organizing the delivery of aid from the American Mission[21] and the Russian Consul to the refugee community, which he calls 'the affairs of the poor' (LVII:486). He was employed by the American Mission (that he variously refers to as *daîre*, that is 'office', and *mîsyon*, that is 'mission') and acted as Basile Nikitine's tutor for Kurdish language. His prominent role is certified at least in three other respects. First, he took part in a committee of Kurdish leaders' visit to Tiflis in 1916 or 1917.[22] Second, in 1917 when a certain Musayyib Beg Ilyasof from the Assistance Board (apparently a Caucasian Kurdish-Muslim organization) visits Urmia, Mullah Sa'id is offered to be the representative of all of the

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region only to be retaken by the Russians in May 1915 until the end of 1917, when after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia the region was controlled by the British and the Ottomans. Although the migration of the Hakkari and Shamdinan Christians to Urmia and Salmas areas in Iran are well documented, there are no sources or studies known to me that specifically mention the migration of the Shamdinan Kurds to Urmia during the First World War. For a summary of the emigration of Hakkari Christians into Iran see John Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East: Encounters with Western Christian Missions, Archaeologists, and Colonial Powers* (Brill, 2000 [1961]), 141–144.

19 Nawchiya, literally "among the mountains", is another name used by the Kurds and Christians (who have it as Nochea) to refer to Shamdinan and other mountainous areas of Hakkari such as Oramar.

20 The first number refers to the text number in this collection while the number following the colons refers to the paragraph number within the text.

21 This is most probably the American Presbyterian Mission. This mission was active in Urmia and elswhere in Iran from late 19th century onwards, but the mission turned especially influential in organizing relief to Christian communities of Iran during the WWI. See Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia during the Great War," in *La Perse et la Grande Guerre*, ed. Oliver Bast (Tehran: Institut Français, 2002), 353–372. It is unlikely to be the American Bible Society, that was busy translating the Bible into Kurdish during those decades, as the society did not have a mission in Urmia at the time nor do they have the name of Mullah Sa'id in their records. (E-mail communication with American Bible Society, 15 August 2021).

22 Öpengin, *Shamdinani Stories II*. There is no further information about this visit, although various Kurdish leaders, including Sayyid Taha II, are known to have stayed in or travelled to Russia before and during the WWI years. See Atmaca, "Fragile Frontiers," 365.

Kurds of Urmia (LVII:477). Finally, in the only picture of Mullah Sa'id left to day, he is accompanied by Agha Petros, one of the two prominent leaders of the Hakkari Nestorians in Urmia and Iraq.[23] The photo was taken by Major W. Leith-Ross, one of the important officers of the Allied "Dunsterforce" with a background in army intelligence, in 1918, who captioned the photo as following:[24]

> The man in the top right hand corner is Mullah Saiyed of Shimsdinan. He is the most learned Kurd in the district, knowing Kurdish, Persian and Arabic. Recently translated the New Testament into Kurdish for the American Mission. He is a trustworthy man and exceedingly pro-English.

Perhaps related to his increasing importance, relations with these non-Kurdish parties, and, as MacKenzie states, because his pen "did not spare his compatriots belonging to different tribes or following other religious shaikhs",[25] Mullah Sa'id "was murdered in Urumia in July, 1918, by his [own] countrymen. Peace be upon him!"[26] It is not known who killed him, and the descendants of his family only speculate that "whoever must have become unhappy with Mullah Sa'id's speeches and writings must have perpetrated this murder." They do state with certainty though that Mullah Sa'id's wife and two children died in the cholera

23 Daniel Methy, "L'action des Grandes Puissances dans la Région d'Urmia et les Assyro-Chaldéens: 1917–1918," *Studia Kurdica* 1–5 (1988): 77–100.

24 I obtained the picture, reproduced on p. XII (see Figure 1), from the National Army Museum in London in July 2025. This is an opportunity to rectify an important mistake. Since at least 2004 there has been a picture in circulation purportedly showing Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani with Agha Petros (See Figure 10). It was apparently first published by the Kurdish historian Najat Abdulla in his *Basile Nikitine û Kurdnasî* [Basile Nikitine and Kurdology] (Sulaimania: Jîn, 2004), 237. Najat Abdulla stated that the picture was obtained by Amir Hassanpour from the National Army Museum with no further precision of the location of the museum nor the collection within which it was kept. I used the same picture as the cover image for my Kurdish edition of Mullah Sa'id's Kurdish texts in 2021. However, the person in that picture is Sulaiman Khan, the chief of the Zarzan Kurds of Ushnuye who was at the time a refugee with the American mission, nor is Agha Petros in the picture, who would be much easier to identify thanks to many extant pictures of him. This mistake (by Amir Hassanpour or Najat Abdulla) must have occurred due to a confusion with picture captions, since in the album both of the pictures are found on the same page with captions at the bottom.

25 David N. MacKenzie, "The Prophet of the Donkeys," in *Florilegium Linguisticum, Festschrift für Wolfgang P. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. E. Eggers, W. Wolfang P. and J. Becker (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1999), 313.

26 Basile Nikitine and Ely Banister Soane, "The Tale of Suto and Tato: Kurdish Text with Translation and Notes," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 3/1 (1923): 69.

in Urmia, leaving behind no direct descendants.[27] Nikitine never mentioned of Mullah Sa'id's age, but MacKenzie, judging from the fact that Mullah Sa'id had issued a *fatwa* in 1914, conjectured that he must have been born in around 1884. This is supported also by the fact that in the picture from 1918 he does look in his mid 30s.

Having thus summarized Mullah Sa'id's biographical profile, we now turn to his collaboration with Basile Nikitine.

2 Mullah Sa'id and Basile Nikitine Cooperation

Born in 1885 in a small Polish town, Nikitine had studied at the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow (1904–1907) and then at the Oriental Institute attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg (1908–1910) with the perspective of becoming a diplomat in Russian missions in Muslim countries, specializing in Turkology. Although interested in scientific career than that of a diplomat, he was prevented from pursuing further studies due to bureaucratic and family reasons. After some years of training at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1909–1912), he was appointed as secretary to the Russian consulate of Gilan province in Rasht (1912–1914) and Tabriz (1914), before being appointed as the vice-consul to Urmia in 1914.[28]

Nikitine first got involved in the study of Kurdish and the Kurds with more diplomatic and political motivations than scientific ones, since seeing the repeatedly failing Russian attempts at attracting Kurdish population to side

27 Interview with Ahmet Yücel, the grandson of Mullah Sa'id's brother, on 20 June 2022, in Şemdinli. There was indeed a major cholera in Urmia in 1918 that decimated the population, including the American missionary Dr. Shedd. See Mary Lewis Shedd, *The Measure of a Man: The Life of William Ambrose Shedd, Missionary to Persia: With a Biography of W.A. Shedd by Heleen (H.L.) Murre-van den Berg* (Piscataway, NJ, USA: Gorgias Press, 2006), 266–270.

28 This biographical synopsis is gathered from various sections of Nikitine's memoir, Basile Nikitine, *La Perse Que J'ai Connu: 1909–1919* (Bibliotheque universitaire des langues et civilsations, Paris, Unpublished Ms, 1941). A comprehensive biographical account together with a presentation of his orientalistic legacy can be found in Marina Y. Sorokina, "Basile Nikitine: «Emir» iz «Strany Golubych Antilop»" [Basile Nikitine: "emir" from "the country of blue antelopes"], *Neizvestnyje Stranitsy Otechestvennogo Vostokovedenija* [Unknown pages of Russian Oriental Studies], Vol. 5 (Moscow: Nauka, 2014), 429–466. Nikitine's archive is kept in two collections, the Bakhmetev Archive at Columbia University and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, as reported in Sorokina, "Basile Nikitine: «Emir» iz «Strany Golubych Antilop»", 455.

with them in the war, Nikitine resorted to the study of the Kurdish language and country in order to facilitate the orientation of their politics:[29]

> Il est certain qu'à Ourmiah je n'ai pas échappé aux erreurs, mais bientôt m'étant rendu compte de la stérilité manifeste de toutes nos négociations je me suis renfermé dans l'étude de la langue et du pays kurde qui ne prétendant influencer la marche des évènements pouvait tout au moins faciliter l'orientation nécessaire.[30]

As he states in his memoir, in the autumn of 1915 he first started to study Kurdish with a resident of Saoudj-Boulak (Mahabad) then with "a brave mullah from Nehri, erudite and educated in the oriental fashion", the results of which being a Kurdish-Russian conversation guide to be used by the military personnel as well as a brochure about the Kurds.[31] The "mullah" from Nehri is Mullah Sa'id, whom he recruited for helping him in his contacts with the Kurds but also as his Kurdish language tutor. Already in his first publications in early 1920s, Nikitine would introduce his teacher in these laudatory and enthusiastic words:

> This man was my teacher of Kurdish. He knew his own language well, and many of its dialects; as well as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was a very learned Mulla, and the breadth of his views and understanding were astonishing in one who had spent all his life in a remote corner of an unknown country.[32]

They seem to have worked closely during 1916–1917. In this period, Mullah Sa'id wrote a large number of texts for Basile Nikitine. Meeting for three lessons per week (LVII:477), they followed a method according to which Mullah Sa'id would write by hand a page of a text and Nikitine would read it aloud and translate it. Leaving it entirely to Mullah Sa'id to decide on the contents of the texts as he deemed interesting, these texts added up to a collection of more than 60 texts of varying length dealing with a diverse set of themes.[33] These are folk-

29 It should be noted that regardless of the Russian policy in the region, Nikitine steered his mission with a view to appease the antagonisms and reconciliate the conflicting interests of the Kurdish, Christian Nestorian and Shiite Iranian Muslim communities in the Urmia region. See Nikitine, *La Perse Que J'ai Connu*, 169.

30 Nikitine, *La Perse Que J'ai Connu*, 171–172.

31 Nikitine, *La Perse Que J'ai Connu*, 171.

32 Nikitine and Soane, "The Tale of Suto and Tato," 69.

33 Nikitine, "Les Thèmes Religieux," 415.

loristic fables and anecdotes as well as historical-political accounts related to Central Kurdistan with Shamdinan (Tr. Şemdinli) and north of today's Erbil province in its centre.

Mullah Sa'id also wrote a book in Persian for Nikitine. This Persian manuscript is titled *Tarikh-e Kordestan* ("the history of Kurdistan"), but it is a description of the geography and the history of major tribes and clans of Shamdinan district as well as 23 *waqi'a* or historical accounts related to Shamdinan region.[34]

Following the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, Basile Nikitine remained dependent to the anti-Bolshevik government and ended up exiling himself to France after the war. He took with him Mullah Sa'id's manuscripts and began publishing individual Kurdish texts from them as of 1922, publishing several of the fables,[35] anecdotal stories,[36] and political and religious accounts,[37] sometimes only in French or English translation or in the form of summarizing the contents of several texts. Nikitine's interest in Kurdology over the following decades, visibly ignited by his stay in Urmia and his interactions with Mullah Sa'id, would culminate in his book *Les Kurdes: étude sociologique et historique* that he completed in 1943 but published only in 1956.[38] This seminal monograph that has over time become a classic of the 20th century Kurdology deals with diverse aspects of the social life among the Kurds as well as their history. In its preface, Nikitine acknowledged the abundant contribution of his experience and studies with Mullah Sa'id in shaping his knowledge about the Kurds.[39] Frequently referring to Mullah Sa'id as his source in various topics of the book, Nikitine generously praised him and his contributions:

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34 Although Major W. Leith-Ross stated that Mullah Sa'id completed a New Testament translation for the American Mission, there is as yet no trace of such a translation. It may be that Leith-Ross confused Mullah Sa'id with another Kurdish convert to Christianity, Saeed Khan Kordestani, who indeed translated the Bible into Kurdish. For the latter, see Marcin Rzepka, "Unthinkable Translation, Conversion and the Kurdish Soul: Said Khan Kurdistani's Response to Christianity," *Fritillaria Kurdica Bulletin of Kurdish studies* 7–8 (2015): 4–14.

35 Basile Nikitine, "Un Sujet de Fable: Variantes Kurde et Persane," *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires* 10 (1922): 129–140; Basile Nikitine, "Quelques Fables Kurdes d'Animaux," *Folklore* 40/3 (1929): 228–224.

36 Basile Nikitine and Ely Banister Soane, "Kurdish Stories from My Collection," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 4/1 (1926): 121–138.

37 Nikitine, "Les Thèmes Religieux,"; Basile Nikitine, "Les Kurdes Racontés par Eux-mêmes," *L'Asie Française* 25 (1925): 148–157; Basile Nikitine, "Une Apologie Kurde du Sunnisme," *Rocznik Orjentalistyeczny* 8 (1933): 116–160.

38 Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*.

39 Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, VII.

> Molla Said, dont le nom est, je l'espère, déja devenu familier au lecteur, rédigea à mon intention un certain nombre de textes ayant trait aux questions religieuses chez les Kurdes. Ce Kurde musulman érudit vécut dans l'intimité des cheikhs de Nehri et connut leur vrai visage. En outre, bon observateur et conteur, il nota pour moi beaucoup d'autres traits de la vie religieuse de ses compatriotes. Ces textes m'ont permis de faire une communication intitulée *Thèmes religieux kurdes* (…).[40]

His book liberally draws on the contents of the texts provided by Mullah Sa'id, often quoting them in translation. Featuring in the book is also a list, prepared by Mullah Sa'id, of the 44 *madrasa*s that were active in Kurdistan in 1914 together with the name of their teachers.[41] It appears that Mullah Sa'id transcribed for Nikitine at least one *lawij*, or sung "short lyrical poem", about a battle taking place between the Kurds and Russians in the autumn of 1914 in a village called Anhar, some 10 kms to the west of Urmia.[42]

Nikitine would also publish a number of articles for the first edition of the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, including a long article on the Shamdinan district that incorporates information from Mullah Sa'id's texts.[43] It is thus probably no exaggeration to claim that Mullah Sa'id's cooperation with Basile Nikitine had an important influence on the development of Kurdology in the first half of the 20th century through Nikitine's contributions to the field.

In his exile years in France, in addition to writing abundantly in the French outlets on the Kurds, Nikitine would become a vocal defender of Kurdish rights, sending letters to such newspapers as *The Times* in protest to their coverage of the Dersim massacres from the perspective of the Turkish state.[44] He entertained close contacts with Kurdish writers and circles in Europe, though he does not seem to have become organically involved in the formation of Kurdish organizations. In a letter addressed to the editor of the *Kurdistan* magazine, the organ of the Kurdish Students' Association in Europe, he expressed his contentment with reading the first issue of the magazine and acknowledged its important role for Kurdish intellectuals. In addition to his various publications on Kurds throughout his orientalist career, he also translated, in 1946, the first Kurdish "novel" from Russian into French. As the editor

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40 Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 220.
41 Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 256, 305–307.
42 Nikitine *Les Kurdes*, 266–267.
43 See, among others, Basile Nikitine, "Shamdīnān", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (1933): 313–316.
44 Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 303–304.

of the *Kurdistan* magazine put it, Nikitine had "unconcealed sympathy" for Kurds.[45]

At the cost of digression, the cooperation between Nikitine and Mullah Sa'id seems to be rather different from another better-known example of such cooperation in the history of Kurdish studies, that between Molla Mahmoud Bayazidi and the Russian consul of Erzurum Alexandre Jaba in late 1850s. Despite his extensive manuscript productions for the Russian consul, and their exploitation by the traditional philological and ethnographic circles of Kurdology, Bayazidi's role is often invisibilised in the history of Kurdish studies, often reduced to a "collaborator" and "informant".[46] Different from the latter, Mullah Sa'id often distilled his ideological positions into his writings, developing thus a political discourse that was impossible to be ignored by Nikitine and others who dealt with his texts. Nikitine's repetitive appreciation of Mullah Sa'id as his teacher in the matters related to Kurds thus reverts the widely-held positions that reduce the role of indigenous scholars to one of providing information rather than attributing any agency to them in the development of respective fields.

Repeatedly expressing his admiration for Mullah Sa'id in his subsequent writings, and referring to him variously as "excellent molla et professeur", "vrai kurde", "musulman fin et lettré", "cultivé et raisonable", Nikitine remembered him fondly as late as 1947, close to three decades after his death:

> En terminant ces notes rapides sur la poésie kurde, je ne puis me rappeler, sans émotion, Mollah Said, Qazi de Kurdistan, qui fut, il y a trente ans, à OUrmiah (actuellement Rézayeh), mon maître de la langue kurde. C'était un type parfait d'intellectuel kurde, connaissant aussi bien sa langue maternelle que l'arabe, le persan et le turc. C'était aussi un honnête homme, au sens ancien du mot, avec des vues très larges, étranger à tout fanatisme. Je lui dois beaucoup de mes connaissances sur le Kurdistan, dont il s'est appliqué à me faire comprendre l'âme. Qu'Allah ait son âme en paix![47]

Unfortunately, Nikitine's more precise knowledge about Mullah Sa'id did not reach us, as this was something he planned to present in the complete edition

45 "Letters to the Editor", *Kurdistan* 2 (1958): 16.

46 Michiel Leezenberg, "Between Islamic Learning and Philological Nationalism: Mullah Mahmûdê Bayazîdî's Auto-Ethnography of the Kurds," *Die Welt Des Islams* 60/4 (2020): 434.

47 Basile Nikitine, "Poésie Lyrique Kurde," *Ethnographie* (1947): 51.

of Mullah Sa'id's texts in collaboration with David N. MacKenzie, to which we turn now.

3 20th Century Kurdological Work on Mullah Sa'id's Texts

Having been able to publish only a small portion of Mullah Sa'id's texts, Nikitine offered collaboration to David N. MacKenzie in late 1957 to prepare an exhaustive publication of all of Mullah Sa'id's texts. Since MacKenzie had studied Iranian philology at SOAS, completed his doctoral research on Kurdish dialects, and was teaching Kurdish and Iranian studies at SOAS, he was very well suited to undertake the task.[48] In his first letter to MacKenzie, dated 20th May 1957, Nikitine shared the list of Mullah Sa'id's stories in typed Arabic letters. Considering them under the four themes of history, religion, humour, animals' folklore, he thought that they all "give a vivid picture of Kurdish life and caracter [*sic*!]".[49] After sharing his opinion on the method of their collaboration for preparing the edition of the texts, he suggested that the resulting book "may be entitled: KURDISH STORIES BY MULLA SA'ID OF NEHRI (SHAMDINAN) edited & commented by BN & D.M."

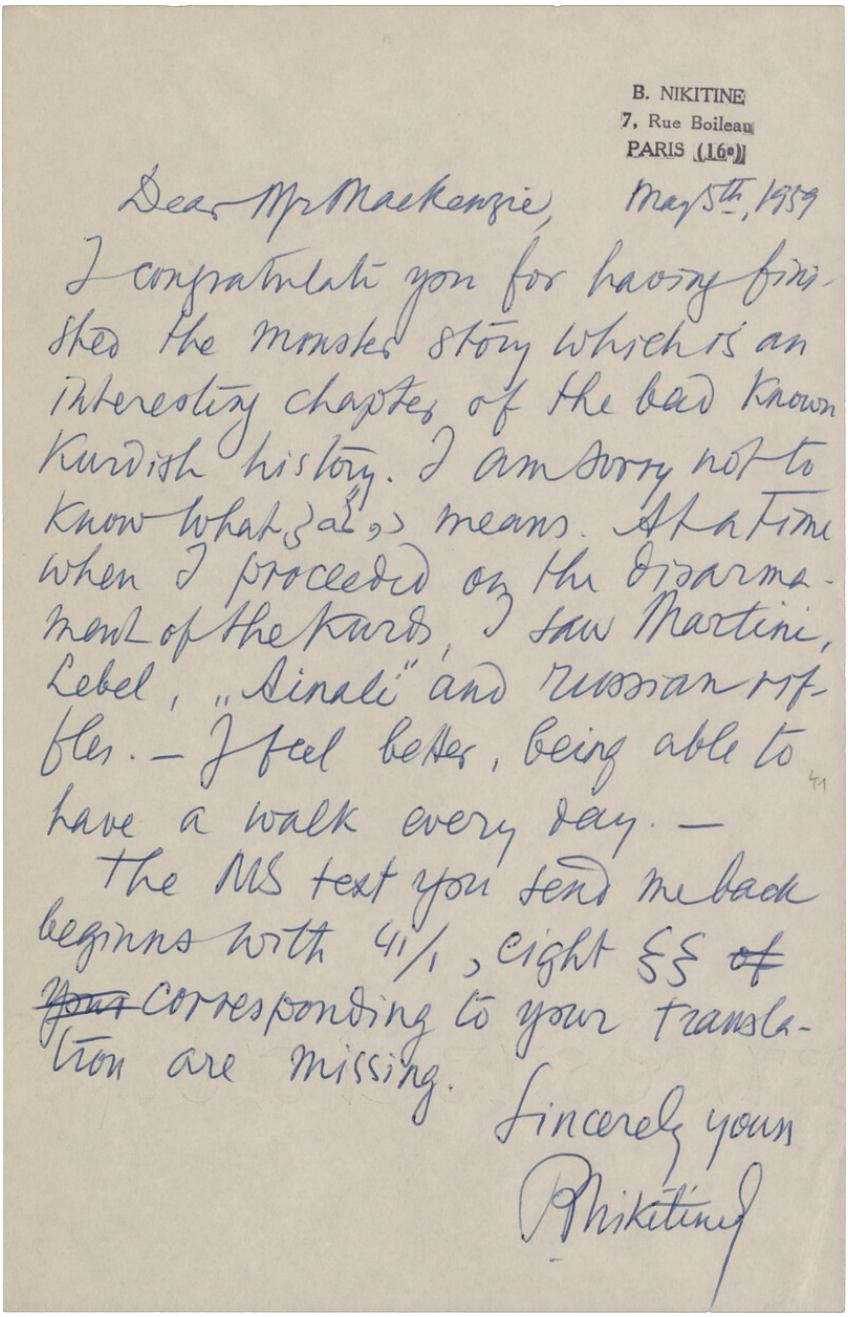
It appears from the 24 letters sent by Nikitine to MacKenzie that they discussed the pronunciation, transcription, and meaning of various words, and that Nikitine very often agreed completely with MacKenzie's transcription and translations (See Figure 2). They rarely diverged on the analysis of certain forms (e.g. Nikitine insisting, in May 1957, on the existence of a distinct plural article including *-t* sound in Kurdish while MacKenzie seeing the sound *-t* as part of the plural *ezafe/izafet* marker). In these letters, Nikitine also provided ample information on persons, areas, and historical events, to be used as commentary.

Later in the year (18th September 1957), Nikitine introduced Mullah Sa'id's Persian "History of Kurdistan" to MacKenzie, in following words:

> I am now reading a kind of Shamdinan "history" written in Persian by Mulla Said. I think it will allow me to write a foreword to our M.S.'s stor-

48 MacKenzie's major contribution to Kurdish linguistics is his two-volume *Kurdish dialect studies* (Oxford University Press, 1961, 1962). For more on MacKenzie, see Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, "MacKenzie, David Neil", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Published July 20, 2002. https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mackenzie-david-neil-1/ (5 August 2025).

49 All of the letters referred to here are from MacKenzie's archive held at the Manuscripts section of the Göttingen State and University Library, with the reference "Nachlass MacKenzie, Cod. Ms. MacKenzie A36". Letters will not be individually referenced hereafter.



B. NIKITINE
7, Rue Boileau
PARIS (16e)

Dear Mr MacKenzie, May 5th, 1959

I congratulate you for having finished the monster story which is an interesting chapter of the bad known Kurdish history. I am sorry not to know what „al" means. At a time when I proceeded on the disarmament of the Kurds, I saw Martini, Lebel, „Sinali" and russian rifles. – I feel better, being able to have a walk every day. –

The MS text you send me back begins with 41/1, eight §§ ~~of your~~ corresponding to your translation are missing.

Sincerely yours
B. Nikitine

FIGURE 2 A letter from Basile Nikitine to David N. MacKenzie, dated 5.5.1959 FROM DAVID N. MACKENZIE'S ARCHIVE (COD. MS. MACKENZIE A 36), GÖTTINGEN STATE AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

> ies and to annex—in fine—a list of Shamdinan "personalities" (40 years ago, alas!) & some other details (more than in my E.I. article) about this region.

Apparently impressed by the contents of the Persian history of Shamdinan, MacKenzie suggested including it in the published volume, to which Nikitine agreed. In a draft plan dated 20th March 1958 (See Figure 3), MacKenzie restructured their joint work and the contents of the volume. According to this, the book would be entitled "Shemdinani Stories: The Kurdish and Persian writings of Mullah Saʿid of Nehri", edited by B.P. Nikitine and D.N. MacKenzie. It would consist of two parts. Part 1 would include an Introduction and the Kurdish texts and translations. In the Introduction Nikitine would present Mullah Sa'id and Shamdinan, and MacKenzie would present the principles of editing the texts and the transcription system. Part 2 would consist of five sections as "Grammatical description of Shemdini Kurdish by MacKenzie; Notes and commentary on the Kurdish texts by Nikitine; Complete translation of the Persian "History"; Combined Topographical Index and Gazetteer; and Index of Persons."

In early 1958 (29/1/1958, 6/2/1958), however, Nikitine announced to MacKenzie that he has "lungs' disease" from which he cannot recover but that he hopes to be able to finish with MacKenzie their "Mullah Saʿid stories' business". They worked actively until mid 1959, when their collaboration halted for unknown reasons, and Nikitine's last reach out on the matter was from 17th May 1960 asking about what MacKenzie thought of the completion of the work and that he would be resting till mid June. However, Nikitine would die on 7th June 1960, and fail to see through the publication of Mullah Sa'id's texts that had accompanied him for more than four decades.

Probably sometime after Nikitine's death, MacKenzie modified the plan of the contents of the book by crossing over the contributions due to Nikitine as well as the Persian "History" (See Figure 3), restricting thus the volume to include only the edition of the Kurdish texts. Two years after Nikitine's death, MacKenzie, in the introduction to the edition of a text by another author from Shamdinan, summarized the background of Mullah Sa'id's texts and noted that they were at his disposal and "nearly ready for publication, in transcription, with translation."[50] However, the announced publication would not materialize. Instead, MacKenzie would lose interest in them and pass his material (the manuscripts and his transcription and translations) to the Paris-based Kurdo-

50 David N. MacKenzie, "A Kurdish Creed," in *A Locust's Leg: Studies in Honour of S.H. Taqizadeh* (Humphries & Co., 1962), 163.

SHEMDINANI STORIES

The Kurdish and Persian writings of Mullah Said of Nehri,

edited by B.P. Nikitine and D.N. MacKenzie.

PART I

Introduction (i) ~~Mullah Said and Shemdinan (BPN)~~

(ii) The texts and transcription (DNM).

Kurdish texts and translations : (ca. 330 pp. !)

(i) anecdotes, (ii) folklore, (iii) historical,

(iv) political.

PART II

1. Grammatical description of Shemdini Kurdish (DNM)
2. ~~Notes and commentary on the Kurd. texts. (BPN)~~
3. ~~Complete translation of the Persian "History".~~
4. Combined Topographical Index and Gazetteer.
5. Index of Persons.

29/3/58

FIGURE 3 An image of Basile Nikitine and David N. MacKenzie's publication plan on Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani's texts

FROM DAVID N. MACKENZIE'S ARCHIVE; WITH FUTURE REFERENCE NUMBER AT GÖTTINGEN STATE AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: SUB GÖTTINGEN, COD. MS. MACKENZIE A 31

logist Thomas Bois. Some years after the latter's death in 1975, his student the late Joyce Blau sent the material back to MacKenzie, but as they were posted unregistered at Christmas time all was lost. Left now with "a poor xerox of a xerox of the originals" and of his own notes, MacKenzie got furious and decided to publish them after all. By 1983, he had re-typed all of the texts on computer only awaiting to check the accuracy of the translation and write an introduction to justify the choices made in the transcription, the stage where he worried that "the whole scheme may founder again."[51]

It is at this stage that he started collaborating with the Soviet Iranologist Yuri Borshchevsky in Leningrad on the edition of Mullah Sa'id's "History of Shamdinan". In a letter dated August 12th, 1983, Borshchevsky brought back to MacKenzie's attention that the latter had offered, in a letter back from February 10th, 1965, to publish together the Persian "description of the Kurdish area around N. Urmia". After sharing the specificities of the manuscript ("a xerox copy of 28 pp. of the 'Description of Shamdinan', an autograph of Mullah Sa'id (b. Mullah ʿAbdallah) Harki Binaji. Size 23 × 15 mm, text 20 × 11 mm, between 42–43 lines per page, written in very small cursive *shikaste*"), Borshchevsky listed the contents under six headings: autographical note, account of the geography of Shamdinan, the tombs of prominent local saints, ancient families of Shamdinan, churches, and 22 tales about different local persons. Likening the tales in the book to the "so-called noodle-stories from books like *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham*, but (...) of a somewhat more sinister tinge", he thought that "the wide public *must* be introduced to this clean healthy folkloristic fun." He then announced that he had finished transcribing the whole text ("... a hell of a job, ... 45 big pp. in mine handwriting") and made a rough Russian translation of the whole text—80 pp. in handwriting. His suggested publication would be around 170–200 pages and it would include an introduction from MacKenzie, the printed Persian text and may be the facsimile, an English translation from MacKenzie, commentary mainly from MacKenzie (as "there are about 50 Kurdish words and expressions explained in Persian in the text"), and indices.

In his response from 24/9/1983, MacKenzie expressed his satisfaction about the quality of the contents of the history book and that it supplements Mullah Sa'id's Kurdish texts. Expressing his agreement with the suggested plan, MacKenzie added that he will be able to make sketch-maps based on the "old military maps of the whole Kurdish area" to illustrate the texts. However, when

51 Letter from David N. MacKenzie to Yuri Borshchevksy, 4/9/1983. These letters are part of MacKenzie's archive but not yet registered in his "Nachlass" at the Göttingen State and University Library.

the contents of the book became clearer to MacKenzie, he considered it as a good companion to be published in conjunction with the Kurdish texts,[52] though leaving it unclear whether it would be a separate volume.

Borshchevsky announced on February 1984 that he was done with a total of 20 pages typing of the Persian transcription. However, Borshchevsky died on 31st March 1984. MacKenzie, writing alongside his condolences message to Borshchevsky's son (4/5/1984), asked for the copy of the "History of Kurdestan" and the transcription and the Russian translation Yuri Borshchevsky had completed. But none of these texts were to be found as understood in the responses he received from Borshchevsky's son Nicolaj but also from a common friend of his and Borshchevsky's signed as Muhammad al-Daghistani (19/5/1984).

This second death likewise was followed by a long break in MacKenzie's work on Mullah Sa'id's texts, returning to work on them again only in 1995, when he published one of Mullah Sa'id's texts, "The Story of Suto and Tato", in the first issue of the newly-established *Journal of Kurdish Studies*. There he summarized succinctly the frame of his collaboration with Nikitine, the long hiatus, and his renewed interest in Mullah Sa'id's texts:

> As Kurdish teaching material for his employer Mullā Saʿīd composed, and wrote in a very fair hand, a large number of short texts of varied content (anecdotal, folkloristic, historical and political), leaving plenty of space between the lines for annotations by his pupil. Some five dozen of these original scripts survived, providing an excellent corpus of what can be counted as a literary version of the Šamdīnānī dialect. Nikitine has exploited several of them, mostly in paraphrased translation in his book, but also in separate publications, with the original text set in type. Much, however, remains unpublished. In his last years Nikitine made contact with me and suggested a joint publication of Mullā Saʿīd's writings, both Kurdish and Persian. All the manuscripts, in batches, were for a time in my hands, and I was able to analyse, transcribe and translate all the Kurdish texts. Regrettably Nikitine (d. 7th June 1960) was not spared to formulate his own planned contribution, on Mullā Saʿīd and Šamdīnān. Other tasks have delayed the completion of the edition to this day. A further misfortune has since led to the loss (in the post!) of the greater part of the original manuscripts, only a half dozen of which I still have. At least nearly complete (though reduced) photocopies survive, but Nikitine's annotations are no longer legible from these.

52 Letter from David N. MacKenzie to Yuri Borshchevsky, 10/2/1984.

> The publication of a new periodical devoted to Kurdish studies offers a favourable opportunity to draw attention again to this valuable corpus of historical Kurdish texts from a still largely inaccessible part of Kurdistan.[53]

MacKenzie would publish yet another text, "The Prophet of the Donkeys", in a Festschrift volume in 1999.[54] He would die on 13th October 2001, however, and he too, like his three collaborators, would not see Mullah Sa'id's texts through publication.[55]

4 "Re-Discovering" Mullah Sa'id's Texts

During my graduate studies in Paris in 2010, I came across MacKenzie's aforementioned 1995 publication. It soon became clear to me that the Kurdology circles in Paris were not informed about the Mullah Sa'id texts.[56] During my postdoctoral research stay in Berlin in 2015, I learned from Prof. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst of Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, a former student of MacKenzie's, that the transcribed Shamdinani texts were safe and kept in MacKenzie's "Nachlass" (i.e. archive of unpublished materials), which was under the custody by Prof. Ludwig Paul, also a former student of MacKenzie's. Visiting Prof. Paul in Hamburg, I received his permission and guidance to work on MacKenzie's edition of Mullah Sa'id's texts, which

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53 David N. MacKenzie, "The Kurdish of Mullā Saʿīd Šamdīnānī," *The Journal of Kurdish Studies* 1 (1995): 2.

54 MacKenzie, "The Prophet of the Donkeys".

55 It seems though that in 1988 MacKenzie submitted the Kurdish texts to Oxford Bodlean Library's Oxford Text Archive in "Legacy Collections", description available at: https://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/handle/20.500.12024/0249?show=full# (5 August 2025). Not being an edition, the archive does not even display the text contents properly; it is thus at best only useful as a short note on the history of texts and for digital humanities research.

56 As I read some years later, a franchophone Kurdish historian, who in 2004 edited a volume out of Basile Nikitine's articles, in Sorani Kurdish translation, mentioned that Mullah Sa'id's invaluable texts are lost and that he hoped that one day someone could find them. Abdulla, *Basile Nikitine û Kurdnasî*, 15. Late Joyce Blau too, who had gathered all of Nikitine's publications with the view of making a publication out of them, was not aware of the texts, and she also informed me that Basile Nikitine's "bibliothèque" was lost and there was thus no trace of his correspondence and drafts (personal communication, 4 July 2024). Though, as noted before (see fn. 28), parts of Nikitine's archive is kept at Columbia University and Russian Academy of Sciences.

were catalogued and kept at the Manuscripts section of the Göttingen State and University Library. In 2021, I published a Kurmanji Kurdish edition of Mullah Sa'id's Kurdish texts.[57] The present English edition, described in what follows, builds upon Basile Nikitine and David N. MacKenzie's work, and finally brings to a closure a century of Kurdological work on the edition of Mullah Sa'id's Kurdish texts.

5 Manuscripts and Texts

There are a total of 62 texts in Kurdish in the corpus. One of these is a draft, thus the two texts numbered LX1a and LX1b could be considered as one. MacKenzie did not transcribe the draft text LX1b in the corpus, but it is included here for the sake of completeness.

There are at least two texts that are lost as they are referred to at length in Nikitine's book and elsewhere but not found among the existing corpus of manuscripts. These are two texts entitled "Hekayêta çakiyê serê Kurdan şikandîye" ("Comment on a abusé de la bonté des Kurdes" / "How their goodness ruined the Kurds") and "Hekayêta frontê Qefqas ne Ûrus siyaset kir ne Osmanî" ("l'Histoire du front du Caucase où ni les Russes ni les Turcs n'ont fait une bonne politique" / "The story of the Caucasus front where neither the Russians nor the Turcs conducted good politics"). The first one is only cited in one of Nikitine's articles, where its contents are summarized as relating to how aghas and shaikhs, who were often initially foreigner to the country, made use of the good reception of the naïve and entrusting Kurds to exploit them for their self interests.[58] The second text is cited in his book where he quotes a lengthy passage from it:

> « Ils ont voulu fuir l'averse et ils se sont trouvés sous la gouttière.» L'armée russe en molestant le peuple kurde a rendu un tel service et fait preuve d'une telle fidélité aux Ottomans que ni le Sultan Rechad ni Enver pacha ne la pouvaient égaler … *Al-harbou khoud'atoun*, «la guerre c'est la ruse». Il faut, pour atteindre son but, que l'homme, si possible, emploie la complaisance, prodigue les faveurs; et, seulement après l'échec de ce procédé,

57 Ergin Öpengin (ed.), *Bazeber: Nivîsarên Mela Se'id Şemdînanî li ser Dîrok û Çanda Kurdistana Navendî* [*Stepping Stones: Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani's Texts on the Culture and History of the Central Kurdistan*] (Istanbul, Avesta, 2021).

58 Nikitine, "Les Thèmes Religieux", 418.

> recoure à la bataille, au glaive. Le prophète a dit: *Akhirou-lhaili s-saifou*. Quelques officiers allemands, venus parmi les Turcs, ont tous cousu sur les revers de leurs vestes des insignes avec *La ilaha illa llah wa Mouhammad rassoulou llah*. Certes, les Allemands les premiers sont des chrétiens (et des ennemis d'Islam désireux d'anéantir les Turcs). N'importe. Pour les convenances du moment, ils ont inventé ces insignes (mensongers) et ils ont contenté 350 millions de Musulmans partout dans le monde. «L'intelligence des simples est dans leurs yeux.» La plèbe suit ses sensations. Quelque chose a-t-il plu, on l'accepte, bien qu'en réalité ce soit mauvais.
>
> Quant aux Turcs, du moment qu'ils avaient décidé la guerre, il était nécessaire de rendre les communautés des Arméniens et des Assoris tellement contentes et confiantes pour qu'elles soient comme en fraternité avec les Kurdes et qu'elles érigent ensemble un mur solide contre les Russes. Les Turcs n'auraient peut-être pas pris le Caucase, mais ils n'auraient pas permis aux Russes d'occuper tant de places ottomanes … »[59]

Manuscript copies of all the transcribed texts are available except for the six texts numbered: IX, XVII, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLIV, LV. These texts are only available in the form of Roman transcription that MacKenzie provided. It was thus not possible to check the accuracy of MacKenzie's transcription of these texts in cases of doubt. The manuscripts of the texts amount to 166 folio sides. 18 of these are original manuscripts while the rest are photocopies of the originals—as the majority of the originals were lost in the post in the 1970s. In terms of manuscript features, they are of varying sizes but the majority consist of long papers of 30 cm long and 18 cm wide. The paper is thick yellow, without lines, written in black ink and prose format. They are entirely written in Arabic script with the *riq'ah* style. Each folio side has in average 26 lines of writing. In the ample space between lines figure Nikitine's glosses in Russian and sometimes Persian, but they are legible only in the original manuscripts and not in the photocopies. All of the 18 folio sides of the original manuscripts are provided in the Appendix 3.

59 Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 222–223.

6 David N. MacKenzie's Edition

As stated before, MacKenzie had prepared a fairly advanced edition of the Kurdish texts. The undated edition materials from MacKenzie's archive consist of the numbered parallel text transcriptions and translations of all of the Kurdish texts as well as a glossary of all lexical items found in the texts with cross-references to the context (paragraph number) in which a lexical item occurs. MacKenzie developed a unique transcription for these texts based on the traditional Iranian philological transcription system, as seen in Figure 4.

In the introduction to his 1995 article,[60] MacKenzie presented a number of phonological and morphological justifications for his choices in his transcription system. Based also on the Cyrillic transcriptions of Nikitine on the manuscripts, he correctly identified a good number of features of the Shamdinan dialect, such as the absence of *v* sound in favour of a generalized *w*, the shift of *o* [o:] and *û* [u:] to *û* [u:] and *ü* [y:], respectively (See Figure 5). He also correctly concluded that although the manuscripts have both *xw* (خو) and *x* (خ) for words such as *xwarin* (خوارن ~ خارن) 'to eat', the full writing *xw* is probably a borrowing from Persian historical practice and that the Shamdinan dialect has only *x*. He faithfully transliterated the pharyngeal and emphatic consonants both in Arabic borrowings and native words. As the Arabic *shadda* appears only on the Arabic words in the manuscript, he hypothetically assigned the distinction between a trill and flap /r/ based on the comparison with neighbouring Akre and Amadiya dialects, though this sometimes led to mistakes in his transcription. He was uncertain whether there is a distinction between the two sets of aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops in the Shamdinan dialect and this is left unmarked in the transcription.

There are nevertheless a number of shortages of MacKenzie's transcription system. MacKenzie used the symbols *ô* and *û* to represent the vowel sounds /u/ and /y/, respectively. He thus did not distinguish between a mid back round /o/ and high back round /u/. This is indeed a particularity of the Shamdinani dialect where the mid back round vowel has turned into a high back round vowel, and the historical high back vowel has been fronted to /y/ (usually transcribed as *ü*) and in some dialects (such as Duhok, Amadiya, etc.) to a high front vowel /i/. Conflating these two historical sounds (/o/ and /u/) creates a great deal of difficulty in reading MacKenzie's transcription, since we end up, for instance, with forms such as *habô* and *gôt*, for the past tense forms of the verbs "have" and "say", respectively. On one hand, this systematic transliteration does not

60 MacKenzie, "The Kurdish of Mullā Saʿīd Šamdīnānī," 3–7.

pinyānišī sôr māqûl:a, galak bi-marḫamat:a. xôsī min sānībā ḫasratē mām rīwī di aǧl ô nasabdā ši kīšk 'ašīratē:ya ši har dôyān.' mām rīwī tīq tīq kanī, gôt, ''aǰāib ši āqlē ta. mā hēštā ta nasānīa as pinyānišī:ma?' digal dirēš kirinā 'yā' dawē rīwī sist bô. qal fiřī, jīqak hāwēt, čāwē rīwī kôra kir, xô xilās kir.

27 balē, galak kas wakī rīwī kilkā xô barāmbarī qudratā xudē kirina. galak kasān wakī qalē nasīḫatēt [āqil kirina], pāšī kawtīna dawē rīwī, pāšī bi āqlī xô xilās kirina, čāwē rīwī kôra kirina. *wa-s-salām.*

IV. ḫakāētā rīwīakī šawakī čô mirīšk xārinē.

28. dibēšin ximdārak habô, šaš ḫawt mirīškēt qalaw habôn. šawē di ôdā ximīdā līs dibôn. li hindāwē ǰařikēt ximī qāyda:ya kulak bô řônāīē dibīt. šawakī wa qawimī rīwīak hāt a sarbānē ôdā ximī, sarē xô di kulakēdā šôr kir, bēnā mirīškān li difnā wī dā. ēdī ḫawīā wī li *ču jīān nahāt. damakī li sarbānī hāt ô čô, dûmāē watô āql ši sarē wī čô, xô di kulakēdā hāwēt a xār. kawt a ǰařikē ximī, tē niqô bô. hēdī hēdī palapal kir, bi hisār dardasarī w īsā ši ǰařikē ximī hāt a dar. ēdī bīrā mirīškān nakir, xabātā wī kir kô bi či ṭars xô xilās bikat.

FIGURE 4 An excerpt from David N. MacKenzie's transcription

always lead to an accurate representation of the dialect phonology, since, for instance in this case, the actual sound in the past stem of the verb "to have" is /y/, and thus should be represented with *û* in MacKenzie's transcription. More importantly, however, any reader of Kurdish, whether Kurmanji or Sorani, is familiar with a clear distinction of *o* and *û* vowels, and conflating these leads to a great deal of difficulty in identifying the words in reading in addition to its alienating effect.

MacKenzie had a number of other particular orthographic solutions that would not be convenient for the present-day readers. He writes separately the directional verbal enclitics *-e* and *-ê*, as *digôt a* 'he was saying to (...)' *digôtin ē* 'they were calling him'. Not being independent words, these are better written together with their verb base. Furthermore, MacKenzie writes the conjugations of the verb 'be' in Kurmanji (enclitic person endings as *-im, -î*, etc.) separated from the verb with colons, as *az:im* 'I am'. Another issue concerns the transcription of the singular *ezafe* and case suffixes following the indefinite suffix *-ek*. These are *-ê* and *-î* in Shamdinan dialect, for feminine and masculine, respectively. However since the original Arabic writing has the same letter (ی) for both of these, MacKenzie uses an invariant masculine form *-î* in all instances, both with masculine nouns as *kātibakī* 'a clerk' and feminine nouns as *kičakī baš* 'a good daughter'. This conflation likewise does not represent the actual grammar

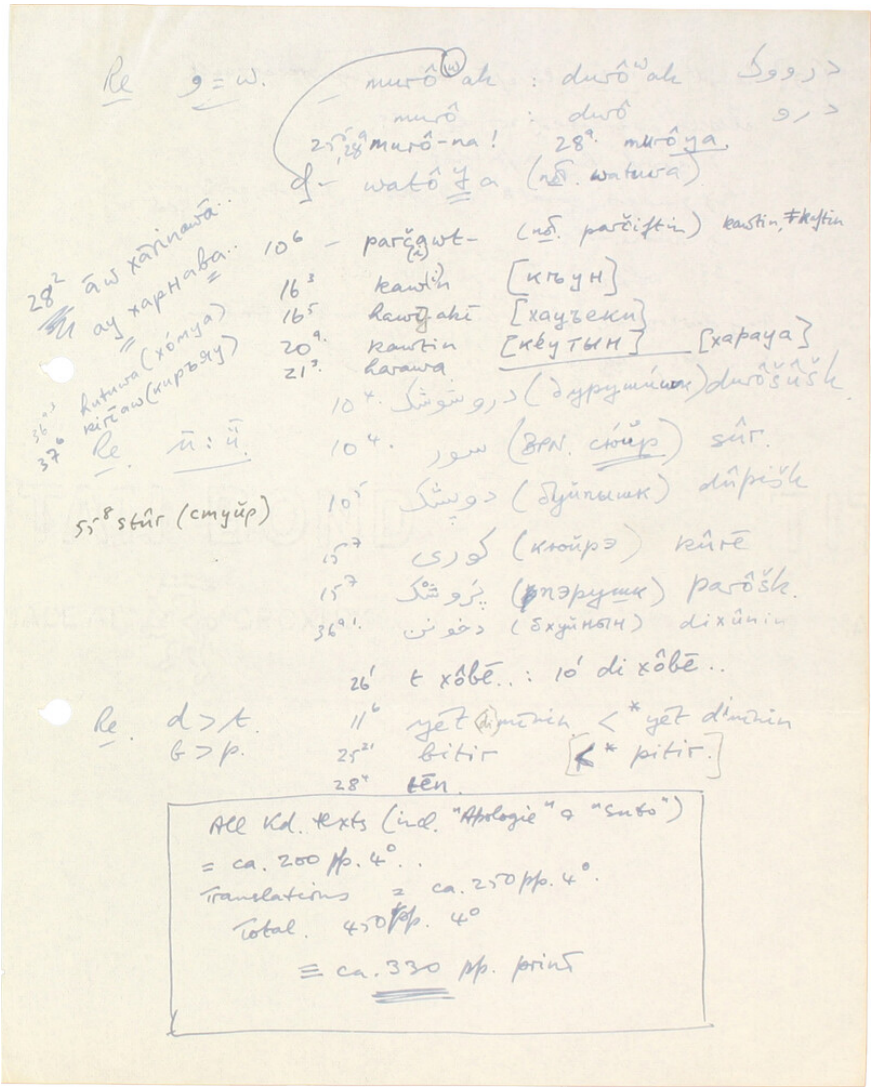

FIGURE 5 An image of David N. MacKenzie's work on transcribing the manuscript texts with the help of Basile Nikitine's transliteration in Cyrillic alphabet
FROM DAVID N. MACKENZIE'S ARCHIVE; WITH FUTURE REFERENCE NUMBER AT GÖTTINGEN STATE AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: SUB GÖTTINGEN, COD. MS. MACKENZIE A 31

of the dialect while it also glosses over an important distinction in Kurmanji grammar and could create confusion and potentially lead to inaccurate analyses on the grammar of the dialect.

As for the reading of the texts, it is indeed astonishing how accurately MacKenzie was able to identify the words and meanings in Mullah Sa'id's texts that were, in addition to be representing a previously undocumented dialect, highly elaborate in style and lexical diversity. It is safe to estimate that MacKenzie's transcription was around 90 %-95 % correct. There were a good number of important shortcomings nevertheless. Especially mistaken were the transcriptions of place and person names. Thus the word *nawşar*, literally 'city centre', was the name of a village at the time (currently the centre of the Shamdinan district), but MacKenzie understood it in the literal sense and conjectured that it was referring to the Urmia city (XLV:308). There are also a number of wrongly identified words: *dawatî* 'wedding cortege' transcribed as *dawatê* 'to the wedding' (XLV:307), *dûwar* 'wall' as *dewar* 'cattle' (I:7), *têşt* 'breakfast' as *tişt* 'thing' (XXXIX:265). He naturally missed also a number of highly dialect-specific usages, such as *naw êk* 'into each other' was interpreted as *nawîk* and translated as 'container' (XXXVIII:181), or the associative word *kal*, in the phrase *kur û kal* 'boys and the like', was understood as the homonym in the sense of 'old' (which is not used in the Shamdinan dialect but exists in more western dialects of Kurmanji) (XLI:287).

To illustrate a misunderstanding in context, in the text "The bilind Koran-reciter from Pawa" (XXXIV:217), a woman trying to repel a man seeking to have sex with her says "*noke di 'uzrey da me. Bila biçime kelê, paşî dê keyfa xo keyn*", which MacKenzie translated as "Now I am (still) a virgin. Let me (first) go to the bull, then we shall enjoy ourselves." The translation does not make good sense for two reasons: the word *'uzre*, translated as 'virgin', is actually 'menstrual cycle' while the word *kelê*, translated as 'bull' (confused with the word *keł* in that sense), means 'washing/bathing in the river'. The updated translation is as follows: "Now I have my period. Let me (first) go take a bath (in the river), then we shall enjoy ourselves."

MacKenzie seems to have had some difficulties also with idioms. The phrase *xudê quwetê bidet*, literally 'May God give you strength', is used to greet someone at work, but MacKenzie not being familiar with the expression understood it as 'May God give you sustenance' (VIII:76) since he interpreted the word *quwet* as *qût* 'food' (XLIII:259). Likewise, the phrase *dewlet serê Mam Gurd* (XXXVI:232), literally 'richness to Uncle Gurd's head', was translated as 'power to Mam Gurd (?)' with a question mark indicating uncertainty, whereas it means 'thanks to'. There are indeed many other instances of translation that MacKenzie was not certain about their accuracy, thus marked with a question

mark. Those indeterminacies may have been the reason behind MacKenzie's repeatedly delaying the publication of the texts, as reported by his former student.[61]

7 The Present Updated Edition

Despite its high rigour and exemplary consistency, MacKenzie's transcription system would remain out of reach for the majority of the people reading Kurdish, barring the philologists working on Iranian and Kurdish. For this reason, I have re-transcribed the entirety of the texts in an adapted version of the modern Latin-Kurdish orthography (see Table 2 for the transcription characters) and addressed both the orthographical and textual shortcomings identified above.

The edition process involved several steps. In the absence of any digital files of MacKenzie's transcriptions, the hard copies of his texts were first scanned and then converted via Optical Character Recognition technology. The initial result was rather poor, hence the texts were double-keyed and manually corrected while the glossary part was entirely manually typed. The transcription texts were then transliterated according to the adapted Latin-Kurdish orthography. Finally, all of the transcription texts were checked against the existing manuscripts in order to correct the shortcomings of transcription and meaning. The translation texts were likewise adjusted according to the corrections in the transcription. The present edition has an entirely new transcription from MacKenzie's while it also offers a more accurate reading and translation of the texts. This edition was also an opportunity to re-order the texts more thematically along the categories of folkloric, anecdotal, religious, political texts, following also a loose geographic grouping of the texts where possible. The texts were also reassigned into paragraphs so as to make them more coherent, leading thus usually to longer content per paragraph. The paragraph numbers are intended to facilitate the comparison in parallel texts enabling also more specific cross-referencing beyond a page. MacKenzie's cross-referencing to paragraph numbers for word contexts in the Glossary is thus not retained in this edition.

In what follows I present more linguistic aspects of the transcription in relation to the distinctive features of the Shamdinan dialect of Kurdish.

61 Durkin-Meisterernst, "MacKenzie, David Neil."

7.1 *The Shamdinan Dialect and the Principles of Transcription*

Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani's texts are written in a literary form of the Shamdinan dialect of Northern Kurdish or Kurmanji Kurdish. Shamdinan dialect together with the dialects of Mergasor-Barzan and southern Urmia form the eastern branch of the conservative Southeastern Kurmanji dialects (more widely referred to as Bahdini). A detailed description of this dialect is missing, but a basic sketch of its phonology and grammar is available.[62] What follows are only those features of the Shamdinan dialect that are relevant in the context of the language of the texts edited in the volume.

7.1.1 Phonology

A number conspicous characteristics of the phonology of the Shamdinan dialect are reflected in Mss. First, the historical Iranian combination /xw/, a bilabialized velar fricative, is simplified to the velar /x/ in Shamdinan. The Mss are inconsistent on this, having both the full (خوارن) and simplified (خارن) forms. The full spelling is probably due to interference from Persian norms. The full spelling is represented with a superscript as x^w. Second, the Shamdinan dialect, just as in Central Kurdish, does not have a /v/ phoneme, and all of the *v* sounds in Kurmanji are found as /w/. This is systematically noted as such in Mss, as in *çaw* 'eye', *mêwan* 'guest', etc., that would be found with the sound *v* in other Kurmanji dialects. Finally, the Kurdish vowel phonemes *o* and *û* are found as *û* [u:] and *ü* [y:], respectively. Thus the words *gotin* 'saying' and *dûr* 'far' are pronounced as *gûtin* and *dür* in the Shamdinan dialect. This is rather systematical except with the past stem of the verb *çûn*, which is *çû-* in Shamdinan as in the rest of Kurdish. This shift, however, is not marked in transcription, instead the wider *o* and *û* letters are used. Thanks to the systematicity and predictability of the sound shift it is possible for the readers to follow that each time they see the letters *o* and *û* they are pronounced as *û* [u:] and *ü* [y:], respectively, in the Shamdinan dialect and in the texts.

The Shamdinan dialect distinguishes between a flap *r* [ɾ] and a trill *ṛ* [r] though the Mss do not show the distinction. Following our knowledge of the dialect today this distinction is marked everywhere except word-initially where all of the rhotic occurrences are predictably trill. The dialect has also a light and dark (velarized) *l* distinction that is not marked in Mss. It is likewise not marked in transcription due to high level dialect-internal variation, but more certain instances of dark *l* (*ɫ*) realizations are noted in footnotes and glossary. Finally, although aspirated (*p' t' k' ç'*) and unaspirated (*p t k ç*) voiceless stops

62 Geoffrey Haig and Ergin Öpengin, "Kurmanji Kurdish in Turkey: structure, varieties and status," in *Linguistic Minorities in Turkey and Turkic-speaking Minorities of the Peripheries*, ed. Cristiane Bulut (Harrassowitz, 2018), 157–230.

are distinct phonemes in the Shamdinan dialect, as in the majority of the Kurmanji dialects, the distinction is not marked in the texts since they show a great deal of variation even within the tribal dialects of Shamdinan. But the distinction is marked in footnotes when it is crucial for the correct reading and understanding of a word.

The pharyngeal and emphatic consonants originating from Arabic are represented with distinct characters, *ʿ, ḥ, ṭ, ẓ, ṣ*, when they have phonemic equivalents in Kurdish. Thus both ض and ظ are represented with *ẓ* in Kurdish as the pronunciation of the two Arabic phonemes is conflated in Kurdish. Moreover, some Arabic borrowings containing emphatic consonants in their original form have lost their pharyngeal feature and have been simplified in Kurdish, such as *qesab* 'butcher' and *ʿesl* 'origin'. Both of these have an emphatic *ṣ* ص in their original Arabic spelling and in Mss, but they are transcribed according to their current pronunciation in Kurdish and the discrepancy is noted in footnotes where necessary. Finally, although the interdental phonemes ث and ذ appear in various Arabic borrowings, they are transcribed as plain alveolars *s* and *z*, reflecting their pronunciation in Kurdish.

As for the spelling of vowel sequences, Mullah Sa'id often separated them with a semivowel *y* or *w* word-internally, as in *bira-y-êt wî* 'his brothers' (برایيت وی) and *miro-w-ek* 'a man' (مرووک). Rarely such additional letters are used in word-final position, such as *senaî* (سنای) 'easy', but *şahîyê* (شاهِيِ) with a *kasra* indicating *î* (Ms of XXXVIII, Line 3). Since such spelling of vowel sequences would lead to positing a glottal stop between the vowels, we have opted for inserting a glide in all such instances, bringing also the text closer to the modern Kurdish writing practices. A glottal stop is marked either via the absence of such separation or through a *hamza*, as in *mîkaîl* (میکاوئیل) or *smail* (سمائل). Finally, the coordination conjunction *û* is transcribed as *w* after a vowel-final word.

7.1.2 Morphology

The primary *ezafe* and oblique case suffixes (i.e. those used with plain nouns that do not carry any additional inflectional affixes such as indefiniteness) are clear. The *ezafe* forms are: *-ê, -a, -êt*, for masculine, feminine and plural, respectively. The oblique case forms are: *-î, -ê, -an*, for masculine, feminine and plural, respectively. In present-day Shamdinan dialect the plural case marker is a reduced form *-a*, which only appears once in the texts (§ 507).

The secondary forms, that occur following an indefiniteness suffix *-ek*, are more complicated. Both *ezafe* and oblique case suffixes are written indistinctly as ی- in the Mss, which can be *-î* or *-ê*. In present-day Shamdinan dialect, the singular secondary *ezafe* forms are either masculine *-î* and feminine *-e*, or masculine *-î/-ê* and feminine *-ê*. MacKenzie transcribes all of the secondary *ezafe*

forms as *-î* claiming that a feminine *ezafe* form as *-ê* is not attested in any other dialect. But the form he choses, *-î*, is even further from any exponent of feminine *ezafe* forms (*-a* and *-e*). Based also on the secondary *ezafe* forms in present-day Shamdinani Kurdish, we have transcribed the secondary forms as masculine *-î* and feminine *-ê*.

The secondary forms of singular oblique case in present-day Shamdinan dialect are masculine *-î* and feminine *-ê*, but in the speech of many people the distinction is lost in favor of an invariant *-ê* form.[63] MacKenzie transcribes masculine -(*ek*)*î* and feminine -(*ek*)*ê* and assigns the masculine form to nouns he is not sure of its gender. This is also the practice we adopted in this edition.

The masculine singular oblique case suffix *-î* is realized as a mid-central short vowel *-i* in the present-day Shamdinan dialect. In Mss, the oblique case is realized as *-î* with common nouns (e.g. *mizgînîya ṭeyrî* 'the good news of the bird', § 172) but with no marker at all with person names (e.g. *Mam Tal got* 'Mam Tal said', § 176) and titles standing for the names (*Mîr got* 'Mir said', § 177). Since there is no distinct letter representing *i* [ɪ] in Arabic script, the absence of *-î* (ی-) marker can either be understood as non-marking of masculine singular oblique case or as a centralized form *-i*. Although many more central and western Kurmanji dialects do not mark the singular masculine oblique case, some neighbouring dialects, such Gawar, do not mark it only with person names. Since the exact source of Mullah Sa'id's practice here cannot be established, only the full writing (ی-) has been transcribed as masculine singular oblique case.

Personal endings of verbs in Shamdinan dialect and in the Mss have two particular forms, the third person singular *-ît/-t* and the first person plural *-în/-yne*, as in *he-b-ît* 'if it exists' and *em dê niwîs-în* 'we shall write'. Although not independent words but rather enclitics, the copular verb endings (i.e. the conjugations of the verb *bûn* 'to be' in present tense) are written separately following the established norm in the Kurdish-Latin orthography.

The equivalent of the Kurmanji aspectual preverb *ve-* (as in *ve-kirin* 'to open') is a verbal enclitic *-ewe* in the Shamdinan dialect and Sorani (and *-eve* in Akre-Amadiya dialects). The texts make abundant use of this verbal enclitic, as *hat-ewe* 'came back', *dît-ewe* 'found' (based on the verb *dît-* 'to see'). In at least one verb, in *we-kujît-ewe* 'to slaughter', it appears simultaneously as a preverb and enclitic. A number of verbs have the so-called 'heavy' present tense stems by virtue of having a vowel, where other Kurmanji dia-

63 Haig and Öpengin, "Kurdish in Turkey," 196.

lects have only the consonant, such as *kirin / ke-* 'do', *birin / be-* 'take', *xwarin / xo-* 'eat', *dan / de-* 'give'. Although the indicative prefix is *di-* in the texts, with the verb *hatin* 'come' it is *t-*, as in *t-ê-m* 'I come'. In subjunctive mood, however, the present stem of this verb is found both as reduced to vowel *-ê*, e.g. *b-ê-m* '(that) I come' (§ 376) and in full as *hê-*, e.g. *bi-hê-m* '(that) I come' (§ 99). The subjunctive prefix is sometimes devoiced to *p-* when the verb stem starts with *h* sound, as in *p-awêj-e* 'throw it' (from *bi-hawêj-e*). The past tense stems *hinar-* (§ 204) and *veşar-* (§ 90) are particular as they are found with a final *-t*, as *hinart-* and *veşart-*, in present day Shamdinan dialect as well as in the rest of Kurmanji dialects. The forms in the text are used both in literary Kurdish of previous centuries but also available in the dialect of some tribes to the south of Shamdinan district such as Sherwani and Girdi. Finally, some particular intransitive verbs employ "medio-passive" suffixes *-yê* and *-ya* for present and past, respectively, as in: *bi-ger-iyê* 'look for (him)' (§ 157), *neşel-iyê-n* 'if you do not undress' (§ 225), *lê di-ger-iya-n* 'they were searching' (§ 419).

As MacKenzie rightly noted, it is surprising that there are no instances of the so-called Demonstrative Ezafe constructions where an ezafe form is used in the formation of various tenses and non-verbal constructions. These are documented to be extremely active both in Bahdini and the Shamdinan dialect.[64] It may be because Mullah Sa'id's intimate familiarity with Persian and Sorani written norms discouraged him to include spoken language constructions that deviated from the literary norms of those languages.

Demonstratives in the Shamdinan dialect and in the texts are significantly different from the rest of Kurdish. Given that there is no v/w distinction in this dialect, a close or proximate entity (e.g. 'this', as opposed to 'that') is expressed only by the presence of a defining marker *-e*, as in the direct case forms *ew tanc-e* 'this crown' but *ew delîl* 'that proof', and the plural oblique case forms *li wan serḥed-an-e* 'in these borderlands' but *li naw wan ʿeşîret-an* 'among those tribes'. Table 1 summarizes all of the demonstrative forms, both determiners and pronouns.

The use of alternatives *ewane* and *ewan* as plural direct case forms is observed in various instances in the texts: *ewan jî sunnî ne* 'they are also Sunnites' (§ 274) or *ewane zor weḥşî ne* 'these are very wild' (§ 203). These usages are rather unexpected since these forms contain the plural suffix that is exclusively used in oblique case in Kurmanji. In Shamdinan dialect the corresponding plural direct case forms are *ewene* 'these' and *ew* 'those'. Note finally also that

64 MacKenzie, *Kurdish Dialect Studies vol. 1*, 205–208; Haig and Öpengin, "Kurdish in Turkey," 188–189.

TABLE 1 Demonstrative forms in the texts[a]

				Pronoun	Adjective
'this'	Direct	Sg.		*ewe*	*ew …-e*
		Pl.		*ewe / ewene / ewane*	*ew …-e-ne / ewan …-an-e*
	Oblique	Sg.	M.	*wî / wihî*	*(e)wî …-e-y*
			F.	*wê / wihê*	*wê …ê*
		Pl.		*(e)wane*	*wan …-an-e*
'that'	Direct	Sg.		*ew*	*ew*
		Pl.		*ew / ewan*	*ew / ewan*
	Oblique	Sg.	M.	*(e)wî*	*wî …î*
			F.	*wê*	*wê …ê*
		Pl.		*wan*	*wan …an*

a Adapted from MacKenzie, "The Kurdish of Mullā Saʿīd Šamdīnānī", 7; Haig and Öpengin, "Kurdish in Turkey," 199.

the proximate demonstrative *ewe* is also often used in the expression of immediacy, as in *Ewe Xudê ḥukm da destê hingo* 'Now that God has entrusted the rule to you' (§ 287).

7.2 *Symbols and Punctuation*

Elements in other languages, excluding borrowings or loanwords, are in italics. The source of these as well as their meaning, when not easily found in the parallel text, are provided in footnotes. Elements that are not clearly readable in the Mss but readily established are placed in angle brackets. Likewise, letters that are contextually necessary but that are not noted in the source Ms due to Arabic writing system are added in angle brackets. Items with less certain reading but still possible to establish in the context are marked with an asterisk. All of the brackets and quotation marks are added in transcription as the Mss lack them altogether. Hypen is used often only to separate two or more words that together form a compound. Although the names of tribes, nations and religions are spelled with small initials in widespread Kurdish orthography, these and all other proper names are spelled with a capital initial here to facilitate the reading.

7.3 *Transcription of Proper Names*

In English translation text, the proper (person, tribe, and place) names are written in convenient and common English forms, with no characters and diacritics

alien to English writing system. This is to enable a reading of the English texts in their own right, with no dependence on fine linguistic particularities of the source language and texts. This is also entirely in line with the free and idiomatic style that MacKenzie adopted for the translation of the texts. There are a few place names, however, that have come to be used more commonly in a slightly different spelling than when MacKenzie was writing, such as *Arbil, Nahri, Kerbela*, that I have adapted according to their currently widespread forms, as *Erbil*, *Nehri*, *Karbala*.

7.4 *Arabic and Persian Quotations: Transcription and Translation*

There are a good number of quotations, mostly proverbs and poetry, in Arabic and Persian. These are transcribed in adapted versions of the Brill's simple Arabic transliteration system for Arabic and Encyclopaedia Iranica for Persian.[65] Arabic and Persian words and phrases that are well integrated into the running Kurdish sentences are not considered as quotes but as borrowings in Kurdish, hence transcribed as the rest of Kurdish material. In the Kurdish text, most of the quotations are already translated into Kurdish by Mullah Sa'id in a rather free style. The many shorter Arabic and Persian phrases and expressions are put in italics, with the source language identified in footnote, with usually no further translation supplied as Mullah Sa'id must have considered those as part of the literary language. In the Kurdish text, translations are provided in the footnotes only for the Arabic and Persian quotes and shorter phrase and expressions that are not translated within the Kurdish text or for which the English translation may not be convenient to identify in the corresponding English text. In the English text, the source language of the quotations and non-Kurdish phrases is not made explicit, instead the translation approach in the English text has been to recreate the original meaning in an idiomatic English, disregarding thus the finer linguistic details of the source text which are retrievable in the facing Kurdish edition of the texts.

7.5 *Annotations and Commentary*

The annotations of the Kurdish texts are limited to clarifications related to language. Any textual commentary is only done in relation to the translation texts. The notes here are limited to essential explanations of idioms or cultural references, quoted or unquoted sources of materials, contextualization of persons and places that are crucial in a given text. Where applicable, the attestation of a

65 https://brill.com/fileasset/downloads_static/static_fonts_simple_arabic_transliteration.pdf (16 January 2025); https://www.iranicaonline.org/pages/guidelines (16 January 2025).

story or historical account in other sources is also given. Indices of person and place names as well as the map of locations mentioned in the stories partially compensate for the absence of further commentary. A more liberal approach to commenting on all of the important persons, places and concepts in the texts would amount to an unreasonably lengthy critical apparatus.

7.6 *Thematic Organization of the Texts*

The 62 texts in this collection are numbered and ordered following a broad thematic and geographical basis. Thematically, the eight fables (I–VIII) are followed by a large body of humorous and wisdom accounts (IX–XXXVIII), which are in turn followed by accounts of religious and political content (XXXIX–LXI). More specifically, however, taking into account also the geographical dimension, the stories from I to VIII are fables that are commonly known and told in Shamdinan, Hakkari, and Duhok and Akre areas; stories from IX to XXII are humorous accounts attributed to persons in an area from the south of Shamdinan to the Akre and Amadiya regions. Three wisdom stories of Isa Dalani (XXIV–XXVI), part of a much wider corpus commonly told in Amadiya and Hakkari regions, are followed by a tale (XXVII) and humorous accounts from Hakkari and north of Mosul areas (XXVIII–XXXI). Three stories about the cleverness of the people of Pawa (in Iranian Kurdistan) (XXXII–XXXV) are followed by those related to the quarrelsome nature of people from more outlier areas such as Motki (XXXVI) and Diyarbakir (XXXVII). These must have most likely come to Mullah Sa'id from his *madrasa* education, where students from various regions would come together for studying over extended periods of time. Although religion and religious personalities are found in many of the texts, the stories XXXVIII and XXXIX are more directly related to the Shi'ites, the story XL is about the Yazidis, and XLI about the Jews of Amadiya. The six stories from XLII to XLVII relate to tribal personalities and conflicts in Shamdinan and Akre regions, followed by an account of the last ruler of the Soran emirate (XLVIII). A broad category involving the religious and political activities of the shaikhs in the second half of the 19th and early 20th century are the stories from XLIX to LV. Finally, the stories from LV to LXI relate to the political situation of the Kurds at the time that the narrator Mullah Sa'id has either taken part in or heard of.

Ergin Öpengin
Cambridge, 24 April 2025

TABLE 2 Transcription table

Transcription	Manuscript	Transcription	Manuscript
a	ا	ł	—
e	ا,—	m	م
ê	ی	n	ن
i	—	p	پ
î	ی	r	ر
o	و	ṛ	—
û	و	s	س
u	و,—	ṣ	ص
b	ب	ş	ش
c	ج	t	ت
ç	چ	ṭ	ط
d	د	w	و
f	ف	x	خ
g	گ	ẋ	غ
h	ه	y	ی
ḥ	ح	z	ز
j	ژ	ẓ	ظ, ض
k	ک	ʾ	ء
l	ل	ʿ	ع

Texts and Translations

∴

I

Ḥekayêta Mişkî w Marî w Dûpişkî w Keşkelê w Kolarê

1 Wan pêncane dibêjinê "*fasiqêt xemse*", yeʿnî pênc fasiq û xirabîker. Derheq wan hatiye gotin, "*fasiqêt xemse*, diyar e mişk û dûpişk û mar e, keşkele[1] ye, paşî kolare." Her pênc rojekê çûne ḥuzûra şeytanî, gotin, "em hatîne me xelat bikey. Me gelek xizmet kiriye w noke jî dikeyn û ji noke paş we jî dê her keyn." Şeytanî got, "xizmeta hingo çi ye w hingo çiyê weto kiriye ku ez pê keyfxoş bibim, da hingo ji bedel wê çakîyê xelat bikem?" Gotin, "ma tu dujminê benî-ademî nîy?" Got, "belê, ez zor dujminê wan im."

2 Gotin, "çak e. Bes eger kesek zerera dujminê miro biket, miro wî kesî nakete dostê xo w çakîyê digel wî kesî naket?" Şeytanî got, "belê, bo çî?" Gotin, "bes lazim e ku me xelat bikey, çunko em daymî zerera benî-ademî dikeyn." Şeytanî got, "xizmeta xo w zerera xo derheq benî-ademî bo min beyan ken da xelatê her kesekî bi qeder xizmeta wî bihête dan, çunko di her tiştekî da inṣaf û ʿedalet çak e." Gotin, "belê, dê noke ʿerz-i ḥuzûra aẋayê xo keyn."

3 Ji rêwe kolare hate pêş, got, "zerera min ewe ye, wextê mirîşkêt wan cûcikan diînine der, ez ḥeta bişêm dibem, dixom. We hawînê keşkêt wan li serbanêt reşmalan û keprokan û xanîyan direwêm, dixom. Ma ewe xizmetekê çak nîye?" Şeytanî got, "çak e, belê kêm e." Kolarê got, "ez jî dizanim kêm e, emma eger xulam çi ji destê wî têt teqsîr neket, layîqî keremê ye. Çi bikem, hinde ji destê min têt, wê jî dikem." Şeytanî got, "here, min çiyayêt bilind û di asê dane te. Hêlîna xo têda çêke." Kolare demana wî maç kir, çû.

4 Dû ra keşkele hate pêş, got, "zerera min ewe ye, ez genimê wan dixom, cehê wan, genime-şamîyê wan, ṭale[2] w herzinêt wan, xiro w nîsk û maş û nokêt wan, xulase hemî dexl-û-danê wan teqsîr nakem, dixom." Şeytanî got, "çak e, xizmeta te pîçek pitir e ji xizmeta kolare. Min dane te spîndar û çinar û gûz û her darekî bilind û ḥilû di naw gorange w rezan da heye. Hêlîna xo li ser gulîya wan çêke." Keşkele jî memnûn bû, çû.

5 Paşî dûpişk hate pêş, got, "zerera min ewe ye, ez her wextê bigeme wan bi wan we didem. Şûna durûşûşka min bi layê kêmî we deh saʿetan diêşît û hindek jî

1 In the present-day Shamdinan dialect also pronounced as *qeşqele*.

2 In the present-day Shamdinan dialect, the initial consonant *t* is aspirated and not emphatic or pharyngealized.

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I

The Mouse, the Snake, the Scorpion, the Magpie and the Kite

These five they call the '*five villains*,' or pests. It has been said of them, 'The *five villains*, it is clear, are the mouse and the scorpion and the snake, the magpie and then the kite.' One day all five of them went to Satan and said, 'We have come for you to reward us. We have done you much service, and are still doing it, and hereafter shall continue to do it.' Satan said, 'What is your service and what sort of thing have you done that I should be pleased at it, so that I should reward you in return for the favour?' They said, 'Are you not then the enemy of mankind?' He said, 'Yes, I am very much their enemy.' 1

They said, 'Very well. Now if someone injures a man's enemy, doesn't the man make that person his friend and favour him?' Satan said, 'Yes, why?' They said, 'Then you must needs reward us, for we are constantly injuring mankind.' Satan said, 'Tell me of your service and of your injuries to mankind, so that each may be rewarded according to his service, for justice and equity are good in everything.' They said, 'Yes, we shall now inform our Master.' 2

First the kite came forward and said, 'This is my injury. When their hens hatch chicks I carry off as many as I can and eat them. And in summer I snatch their buttermilk, (drying) on the roofs of tents and bough-huts and houses, and eat it. Isn't that a good service?' Satan said, 'It is good, but little.' The kite said, 'I too know that it is little, but if a servant does not stint doing what he can do, he is deserving of favour. What should I do? I do what I can.' Satan said, 'Go, I have given you the high and inaccessible mountains. Build your nest in them.' The kite kissed the hem of his garment and went. 3

After (him) the magpie came forward and said, 'This is my injury. I eat their wheat, their barley, their maize, their millet, their durra and lentils and grams and chickpeas—in short, I do not stint eating all their crops.' Satan said, 'It is good. Your service is a little greater than that of the kite. I have given you the poplars and planes and walnut trees and every high and smooth tree there is in woods and orchards. Build your nest in their branches.' The magpie too was grateful and went. 4

Then the scorpion came forward and said, 'This is my injury. Whenever I (can) reach them I sting them. The place of my sting hurts for at least ten hours and some even die from it. And I hole grain sacks and leather churns and cooking-pots and even copper vessels.' Satan said, 'Your service too has pleased 5

pê dimirin. We himban û meşk û qazan û amanêt sifr jî bi-kun dikem." Şeytanî got, "xizmeta te jî li min xoş hat. Seṛak û naw ṣapîtke w kunedîwar jî min dane te. Mala xo têda danê." Dûpişk jî keyfxoş bû, demana aẋayê xo ramûsî, çû.

6 Paşî mar hate pêş, got, "zerera min mezintir e, dibît xelatê min çêtir bît. Çunko ez bi wan we didem, neku çawa bît egerne kêm kes sax dimînin, dimirin. Jehra min gelek dijwar e. Ewê nemirît eẋleb seqet dibît. We paşî mirina wî jî ez dest ji wî nahelgirim, diçime di qebrê wî da, bedenî dixom ḥetta dimînît hêstikêt hişk û req. Emma dûpişk kêm dikujît û êşa wî jî hindî êşa min nîye w şûna durûşûşka wî nabîte birîn, belê şûna didanê min derḥal diperçiwît û dibîte birînekî kirêt, awa zer jê têt." Şeytanî got, "we ye, te rast got. Min dane te şeqlêt çiyan û naw lêrêt ṭarî w şkêrêt asê w kewnexanî w naw qebran. Mala xo têda danê. We her sal kirasekî nû jî dê deme te." Mar jî zor razî w memnûn bû, bi dilxoşî çû.

7 Paşî mişk hate pêş, got, "xizmeta min ji hemîyan zêdetir e, bes lazim e xelatê min ji yê hemîyan çêtir bît, çunko ez hawînê w zistanê w biharê w payîzê, her çar wextan, dexl-û-danê wan dixom li naw zewîyan û li naw xanîyan. We cihal û himban û kuwaran jî didirînim û bi-kun dikem û dûwaran xirab dikem û rizqê dî jî dixom û pîs dikem û goştê mirîyan jî dixom û hêstikan jî dikojim. We bo girtin û kuştina min kitikan bi xudan diken û ṭepikan dikiṛin. Ewane jî hemîyan meṣref lazim e. We şirîkêt min zistanê qir dibin, çu ji dest nahêt. Ez li kî derê, ewan li kî derê?! Tefawut gelek e."

8 Şeytanî got, "*el-ḥeqq*, weto ye. Min dane te xanî w xirabat û awî w dêmî. Mala xo li hemî cîyan çêke û min da te solêt sor, daymî di pêyê te da bin. We ʿebayê mahodê gewr daîmen di ber te da bît." Mişk çû, pêyê aẋa ramûsî. We aẋa jî çawê wî maç kir. Herdu ji yêkudu zor memnûn bûn. Rabûn, cuda bûn, çûn. *Wesselam*.

me. I have given you the rafters and crannies in the ceiling and holes in walls. Make your home in them.' The scorpion too was happy, kissed the hem of his Master's garment and went.

Then the snake came forward and said, 'My injury is greater. My reward 6
ought to be better, for when I strike them—let it not be so, otherwise few would stay alive—they die. My venom is very strong. He who does not die is generally maimed. And, moreover, after his death I do not leave him alone. I go into his grave and eat his body until there are (only) dry, hard bones left. But the scorpion kills little and the pain he causes is not as much as the pain I cause, and the place of his sting does not become a wound, but the place where my fangs strike swells immediately and becomes an ugly wound and pus comes from it.' Satan said, 'It is so, you have spoken truth. I have given you the crevices of mountains and the middles of dark forests and inaccessible crags and old houses and the insides of graves. Make your home in them. And every year I shall give you a new shirt.' The snake was also very grateful and went away pleased.

Then the mouse came forward and said, 'My service is greater than all, so my 7
reward must needs be better than everybody's, for I eat their grain in summer and winter and spring and autumn, at all four seasons, both in the ground and in the houses. And I tear sacks and bags and hole corn-bins. And I spoil the walls and eat other provisions and foul it. And I eat the flesh of the dead too and gnaw the bones. And to catch and kill me they keep cats and buy traps. All these cost money. And my companions hibernate in winter and are good for nothing. Where do I stand and where do they?! The difference is great.'

Satan said, 'Truly it is so. I have given you houses and ruins and irrigated and 8
unirrigated land. Build your home in all places. And I have given you red shoes to wear at all times. And you shall always wear a cloak of fine grey cloth.' The mouse went and kissed his Master's foot. His Master, moreover, kissed his eyes. Each was most grateful to the other. They rose, separated and went.

II

Ḥekayêta Marî w Rîwî

9 Dibêjin di nihalekê da rîwîyek hebû. Awek nîw boş bi nîweka nihalê da dihate xar. Bazeberek hebû, rîwî lê derbaz dibû her wextê ḥez kiriba. Car diçû berojî, car diçû nizarî, bo xo keyf dikir. Marek jî di wê nihalê da hebû. Nedişiya li bazeberî derbaz bibît. Zor ḥez dikir ew jî wekî rîwî hat-u-çûnê biket, çu çare nedît. Rojekê got, "çak ew e xo digel rîwî bikeme dost, belko bi harîkarîya wî ez jî bo xo muddetekî seyrê bikem."

10 Mar çû, li nik bazeberî xo dirêj kir ḥeta rîwî hat. Wextê hat, çû pêşwazîya rîwî silaw lê kir, serê xo bo wî çemand. Rîwî jî cewaba silawa wî da, eḥwalpirsîya wî kir. Gotê, "te çi şol heye? Bêje." Got, "şola min ewwelen saxîya serê cenabê mam rîwî ye. Paşî wê, eger merḥemet bifermot, bende bi xizmetkarê xo qebûl biket, ḥeta rojekê ez sax bim ji zatê wî cuda nabim." Rîwî jî keyfxoş bû, got, "madam tu ho bo min muxlis bî, digel min were. Ez jî terka te nakem."

11 Marî got, "meʿlûmî cenabê hingo ye ez bêpê me. Neşêm li bazeberî derbaz bim. Dibît cenabê mam rîwî himmet biket, bende derbaz ket." Rîwî got, "were, xo li stukira min bialîne da te derbaz kem." Marî jî xo li stukira rîwî aland. Wextê derbaz bûn marî xûkêt xo ji stukira rîwî kirinewe, herdu bo xo geriyan û ṣuḥbet kirin. Dîsa êwarî bi wî ṭerzî derbaz bûne layê dî. Her weto ḥeta du hewîyan, sêyan, pêkwe rabarin.

12 Payîz dahat, dunya pîçek sar bû. Êdî marî hewesa geriyanê nema. Di dilê xo da xiyal kir, got, "ez mar im, ewe rîwî. Her yêk ji me newʿek e, tebîʿetek e. Iḥtimal e salekê dî em yêkudu nebînînewe. Wezîfa min jî pêwedan e. Xudê lewa ez xeliqandime da bi ruḥtiberî we dem." Ewcar wextê dîsa li ser ʿadetê xo marî xo li stukira rîwî aland û derbaz bûn, marî xo gîro kir, xûkêt xo nekirinewe.

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11

The Snake and the Fox

They[1] say that there was a fox (living) in a ravine. A fairly full stream came down 9
the middle of the ravine. There were stepping-stones (across it) and the fox crossed over whenever he liked. Sometimes he would go on the sunny side, sometimes on the shady side, and enjoy himself. There was also a snake in that ravine. He could not cross over the stepping-stones. He very much wanted to come and go like the fox, but could see no solution. One day he said, 'It would be best for me to make friends with the fox and perhaps with his help I may be able to travel about for a while.'

The snake went and stretched itself out near the stepping-stones until the 10
fox came. When the fox came it went to meet him, saluted him and bowed its head to him. The fox returned its greeting and asked after its health. He said to it, 'Tell me, what can I do for you?' The snake said, 'My first concern is for the health of your honour Uncle Fox. After that, if you would be so kind as to accept me as your servant, I shall not leave you so long as I live.' The fox was delighted and said, 'Since you are so devoted to me, come with me. I won't leave you either.'

The snake said, 'As your honour knows, I have no feet. I cannot cross over 11
the stepping-stones. Your honour Uncle Fox must help me to cross.' The fox said, 'Come, wind yourself round my neck so that I can take you across.' The snake wound itself round the fox's neck. When they crossed over the snake unwound its coils from the fox's neck and they both went about and conversed together. Again at evening they crossed over to the other side in the same way. They passed the time together in this way for two or three months.

Autumn came and the weather became a little cold. The snake no longer 12
had any desire to wander about. It thought to itself, 'I am a snake and he is a fox. Each of us is off a (different) species and nature. We shall probably not see each other again next year. My duty, moreover, is to strike. God has created me for that reason to strike (other) living creatures.' Then, when the snake wound himself round the fox's neck again in the usual way and they crossed over, the snake delayed and did not unwind its coils.

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1 Different versions of this fable are found in the Middle Eastern traditions. A Kurdish version from Akre, titled *Çakî Nemaye* 'There is no recognition of goodness anymore', was published in MacKenzie, *Kurdish Dialect Studies II*, 248–252.

13 Rîwî got, “tu ewro pîçek xo gîro dikey. Ewe te çi ye? Inşaellah xêr e.” Marî got, “çi li te weşêrim? Xulasey kelam, min nîyet heye bi te we dem.” Rîwî got, “ʻecaîb, tu micit î yan bi tirane we dibêjî?” Marî got, “ne, bi serê te, ez micit im. Ma li ḥuzûra mezina tirane têne kirin?” Rîwî ku zanî mar micit e gote marî, “min çu xirabî digel te nekiriye, min çakî kiriye. Me ḥeqê dostînî w hewalînîyê li ser yêkudu heye. Qerara me ewe nebû, te bo çî weʻdê xo şkand? Bo te şerm e, ʻeyb e, we neke.”

14 Marî got, “waqiʻen we ye wekî difermoy, emma çi bikem, Xudê ez bo wê çêkirime da bi xelkî we dem.” Rîwî got, “bes madam tu dê her bi min we dey ez dê hîwîyekê ji te kem. Bo xatira ḥeqê dostînîya me wê hîwîya min qebûl bike, paşî bi min we de.” Marî got, “çi ye? Bêje, dê hîwîyekê te qebûl kem ji ber xatira çakîya te.”

15 Rîwî got, “wextê ku ez û tu wêkra digeriyayn gelek meḥebbeta min hebû derheq çawêt te. Eger te hind musaʻede kiriba, pîçek stukira xo kêşaba pêş çawêt min û carekê dî di pêş mirina xo da min çawêt te dîtibana, paşî bila ez miribam, da di dilê min da nebîte keser.” Marî got, “ser çawan, ser seran, ew hinde çu nîye. Ez bêxatirîya te nakem.” Marî stukira xo kêşa, serê xo îna pêş çawêt rîwî w çawêt xo zil kirin.

16 Rîwî got, “oxey! oxey! elḥemdulillah min carekê dî çawêt te dîtin. Stukira xo êrwe bîne da maçî kem. Êdî dûmayî ye, dê mirim.” Marî stukira xo nêzîkî dewê rîwî kir. Rîwî ji xeflet we dew hawête stukira marî, girt û çak giwişî. Marî sîresîr û çîzeçîz kir, rîwî çêtir stukira marî giwişî ḥeta mar temam bêrûh kir û kuşt. Xûkêt wî ji ḥewka rîwî bûnewe, kewte ʻerdî. Ewcar rîwî ṭermê marî dirêj kir û xûkêt wî rast kirin. Got, “tu ho rast çak î. Refîqê pêç-pêç bo min lazim nîye, refîqê rast lazim e. Êdî ji noke paş we tobe bît, ḥeta sax bim nebime hewalê pêç-pêçan. Egerne dê rojekê bi bineguha miro we den, miro haga ji xo ne.”

17 Bes insan jî lazim e bo xo nesîḥetê ji wê ḥekayetê bigirît. Dostê xar negirît. Bi dewê herkesî nelêbyêt, temaşay kirinê biket, ne gotinê, çunko di ber şolan da kirin şert e. Gotina bê kirin fayde nîye. Rastî di her babekî da meqbûl e, cuwan e. Xarî mekrûh e, kirêt e. Eger rîwî bi tedbîr û ḥîle xo ji destê marî xilas nekiriba da bi bineguha wî we det û da kujît. Her kes wekî rîwî neşêt xo xilas ket. Lazim e pêş wext fikr û mulaḥeze di her karekî da biket, paşî biket. *Wesselam*.

The fox said, 'You are delaying a little today. What is the matter with you? I 13
hope all is well.' The snake said, 'What should I hide from you? In a few words, I intend to strike you.' The fox said, 'Extraordinary! Are you serious or do you say this as a joke?' The snake said, 'No, by your head, I'm serious. Are jokes made in the presence of great ones?' When the fox realized that the snake was serious he said to the snake, 'I have done you no harm. Rather have I done well by you. We owe each other a debt of friendship and companionship. Wasn't that our agreement? Why have you broken your promise? It is a shame for you, so do not do this.'

The snake said, 'It is indeed as you say, but what can I do? God has made 14
me to strike people.' The fox said, 'Well, since you will strike me anyway I have one request to make of you. For the sake of our debt of friendship grant me this request, then strike me.' The snake said, 'What is it? Tell me. I shall grant you a request for the sake of your kindness.'

The fox said, 'When you and I used to go about together I had a great affec- 15
tion for your eyes. If you would be so kind as to stretch your neck a little in front of my eyes so that I could see your eyes once again before my death, then let me die, there would be no regret in my heart.' The snake said, 'On my head and eyes (be it), that much is nothing. I shall not disappoint you.' The snake stretched its neck and brought its head in front of the fox's eyes and opened its eyes wide.

The fox said, 'Oh! oh! Praise be to God that I have seen your eyes once again. 16
Bring your neck a little nearer so that I may kiss them. After that it is the end, I shall die.' The snake brought its neck near the fox's mouth. The fox suddenly snapped at the snake's neck, seized it and squeezed it hard until he completely throttled the snake and killed it. Its coils unwound from the fox's throat and it fell to the ground. Then the fox stretched out the snake's corpse and straightened out its coils. He said, 'You are well straight like that. I don't need a crooked friend, I need a straight friend. Hereafter I repent, as long as I live I shall not keep company with crooked ones. Otherwise one day they will strike at a fellow's throat when he is unaware of himself.'

Man too should draw the moral from this story. Let him not take a crooked 17
friend. Let him not be deceived by what each person says. Let him observe their deeds, not their words, for in everything deeds are the criterion. There is no profit in words without action. Truth is right and proper in every matter. Crookedness is abominable and evil. If the fox had not freed himself from the snake by a trick it would have struck his neck and killed him. Not everybody can free himself as the fox did. One must think and consider every affair in advance and then act.

III

Ḥekayêta Kotrê w Rîwî

18 Digêṛinewe kotrekê hêlîna xo di çiyayekî bilind da çêkiribû. Wextê ku kêjik diînane derê, pîçek ferace dibûn, hêşta temam nedişiyan bifirin, rîwîyek fêr bûbû her sal di wî wextî da dihat, kilika xo dihelpisare çiyay, gazî dikire kotrê, "hey kotrê!" Kotrê jî cewab dida, "belê, qurban. Cenabê mam rîwî çi emir difermon?"

19 Rîwî digot, "ma tu nizanî? Ew çiyaye ne bi qudreta Xudê belko bi sebeb kilika min rawestaye, çi dema ez kilika xo ji çiyay wekem çiya dê herifît, hêlîna te dê xirab bît, kêjikêt te dê kewine ʻerdî, hêstikêt wan dê hûr hûr bin, dê mirin. Wê carê, madam we ye, zû be, kêjikekê bo min hawêje xarê da bixom, dilê min qahîm bibît, bişêm çiyay ragirim. Zû be, gelekê nede bi kêmekê." Kotr jî dilsaf û bêeql bû, ji xeberê rîwî bawir dikir, ditirsa. Zû zû kêjik bo rîwî dihawête xar. Her weto ḥeta xilas dibûn.

20 Rojekê kotr gelek xemgîr bû ji ber kêjikêt xo. Got, "çak e demekê bigeriyêm, biçime lalî destexîşka xo, qelê, belko pîçek dilê min reḥet bibît." Rabû, çû nik qelê, dil bi xem, pejmurde, ʻeciz. Qelê gotê, "ewe te çi ye, xîşka min, tu bo çî ho ʻeciz î?" Kotrê got, "tu nizanî çawa cergê min bo biçûkêt xo disojît." Qelê got, "ma çi qewimîye?" Kotrê jî eḥwalê xo w rîwî bi temamî bo qelê gêṛawe. Qelê jî got, "teḥ! teḥ! ṣed ḥeyf û mixabin. Xolî-bi-ser, te bo çî hinde sal e bo min negot? Da min tola te ji wî kiribawe, çî dî neşiyaba wê ḥîlê li te biket."

21 Kotrê got, "ewê çûy çû, emma eger tu bizanî çareyekê bikey da sala têt nehêlîn wê zererê li min bidet." Qelê got, "sala têt tu kêjikan bîne der, her wextê rîwî hat û got, bêjê, ʻhere, durohîn, çiya bi qudreta Xudê rawestaye. Delîl ewe ye. Gelek bît ʻemrê te deh-pazde sal e, ew çiyaye hizar sal zêdetir e ku heye. Bes çawa dibît bi kilika te rawesta bît? Ez bo te çu kêjikan nahawêjim. Minnetê jî ji te nahelgirim. Herçî ji destê te têt teqsîr neke. Çi dikey, bike.ʼ" Hotowe qelê kotr nesîḥet kir. Kotrê jî weto ʻemel bi xeberê qelê kir.

22 ⟨Sala⟩ paşî ku hat kotrê kêjikêt xo înane der. Dîsa rîwî wekî caran hat, hindî hewar kir, gazî kir, kotrê hîç guhê xo nedayê. Qelê çi gotibû weto cewab dayê

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III

The Pigeon and the Fox

It is related that a pigeon had made her nest on a high mountain. When 18
she hatched out her young and they had grown a little, but could not yet fly properly—every year at that time a fox had learnt to come along, to prop its tail up against the mountain and call to the pigeon, 'Hi, pigeon!' The pigeon would answer, 'Yes, what does his honour Uncle Fox wish?'

The fox would say, 'Don't you know that this mountain stands up by reason of 19
my tail, and not by the power of God? If ever I take my tail away from the mountain it will collapse, your nest will be ruined, your chicks will fall to the ground, their bones will be shattered and they will die. Now, since this is so, hurry up and throw down a chick for me to eat so that my heart may be strengthened and I may be able to hold up the mountain. Hurry up, don't sacrifice much for a little.' The pigeon was innocent and stupid. She used to believe the fox's words and be afraid. She would quickly throw down a chick for the fox. And so on in the same way until they were all finished.

One day the pigeon was very sad about her chicks. She said, 'It would be best 20
for me to go off for a while, to go and see my dear friend the crow, then perhaps my heart may find a little solace.' She got up and went to see the crow, her heart wrung with sorrow. The crow said to her, 'What is the matter with you, my sister? Why are you so miserable?' The pigeon said, 'You don't know how my heart burns for my chicks.' The crow said, 'Why, what has happened?' The pigeon then told the crow the whole story of herself and the fox. Then the crow said, 'Tut! tut! a hundred pities. Wretched one, why haven't you told me in all these years, so that I could have avenged you on him and he could not have played this trick on you any more?'

The pigeon said, 'What's past is past, but if you know of a way do something 21
so that next year we do not let him do me this harm.' The crow said, 'Next year you hatch your young out and when the fox comes and says anything tell him, "Go away, liar. The mountain stands up by the power of God. This is the proof. At the most your age is ten or fifteen years and this mountain has been here more than a thousand years. How can it be that it is supported by your tail? I shan't throw you any chicks. Nor do I have anything to thank you for. Don't fail to do whatever you can. Do what you will."' Thus the crow advised the pigeon. And so the pigeon did, as the crow had said.

When the next year came the pigeon hatched out her young. The fox came 22
again, as before, but however much he called and shouted the pigeon paid

w gelek cûnêt kirêt jî dane rîwî. Wextê rîwî yeqîn kir ku êdî dirêj kirin fayde nîye, hinde gote kotrê, “ewe aqlê te nîye, ema xozî min zanîba ew aqle kê nîşa te daye.” Kotrê got, “ma tu nizanî qel destexîşka min e? Ewe wê bo min gotiye. Hêlîna min li çiyan e, hêlîna wê li ser darêt bilind e. Destê te ne digete min, ne digete wê. Here, êdî pişka te li nik min nema.”

23 Rîwî çû, got, “çak e biçim, ḥîleyekê li qelê bikem, belko tola xo jê wekem.” Rîwî çû bin dara gûzê, berê xo dayê, hêlîna destexîşka kotrê li ser gulîya gûzê ye. Xo li bin gûzê dirêj kir, xo mirand. Çawêt xo ber-spî kirin, dewê xo beş kir, kêlbêt xo giṛ kirin, mêş hatine dewê wî. Qel ji çerê hatewe, ṭermekî rîwî dît li bin gûzê. Qel keyfxoş bû, got, “*elḥemdulillah*, Xudê da min. Ew keleşe têra min heye ḥeta deh roj dî.”

24 Qel hate ser keleşê rîwî, dimik li kilika rîwî da. Rîwî hîç xo nebizawt. Çunko ʿadetê qelê ew e ji rêwe çawan diînîte der, ew çû çawêt rîwî bixot. Ji xeflet we rîwî dew hawête lingêt qelê, girt. Rîwî gote qelê, “noke cezayê te çi ye? Ez çi li te bikem? Te bo çî ew nesîḥet li kotrê kir? Te rizqê min birî. Noke tu musteḥeqê wihê-y te hûr hûr bikem, paşî bixom.”

25 Qelê hizra xo kir, got, “ewe ez kewtime destê wî ẓalimey. Dibît bi tedbîr û mudara xo xilas kem, egerne ez çûm.” Qelê aqlê xo cema kir, şîrê ʿezmanê fesaḥet û cablûsîyê kêşa der, got, “cenabê mustetabî muqeddes-elqabî ḥezretê mam rîwî, *ʾarw⟨ā⟩ḥunā fidāh*, noke emir û irade bi destê zatê meʿdelet-simatê mam rîwî ye, lakin mesela mezinan e, “ji biçûkan xeta, ji mezinan ʿeta.” *El-ḥeqq* ez gelek xudan-qusûr im, emma bi merḥemeta zatê hingo jî meẋrûr û mesrûr im. Tiştekî dê ʿerzi ḥuzûra mam rîwî kem, cewaba eseḥ merḥemet bifermot, paşî min bixot.”

26 Rîwî got, “çi ye? Bêje.” ⟨Qelê got,⟩ “du ʿeşîret hene, yêk Kuresinî ye, kewtiye nêzîkî Selmasê, yêk Pinyanişî ye, kewtiye mabeyna Elbakê w Gewerê. ʿEşîreta Kuresinî maqûl nîye, bêinṣaf e, bêmerḥemet e, emma ʿeşîreta Pinyanişî zor maqûl e, gelek bi merḥemet e. Xozî min zanîba ḥezretê mam rîwî di eṣl û neseb da ji kîşk ʿeşîretê ye ji herduyan.” Mam rîwî tîq-tîq kenî, got, “ecaʾib ji aqlê te. Ma hêşta te nezaniye ez Pinyanişî me?” Digel dirêj kirina “ya” dewê rîwî sist bû. Qel firî, cîqek hawêt, çawê rîwî kore kir, xo xilas kir.

no heed to him. She answered him as the crow had said, and abused the fox roundly as well. When the fox realised that there was no point in carrying on he said this much to the pigeon, 'This wasn't your idea, but I wish I knew who has given you this sense.' The pigeon said, 'Why, don't you know the crow is my dear friend? She told me this. My nest is in the mountains, her nest is in high trees. You can't lay hands on me or on her. Go away, for you'll get no more from me.'

23 The fox went away, saying, 'I had better go and play a trick on the crow. Perhaps I can have my revenge on her.' The fox went beneath a walnut tree, looked up at it and saw that the nest of the pigeon's dear friend was on a branch of the walnut tree. He stretched himself out at the foot of the walnut tree and made out to be dead. He turned up the whites of his eyes, hung his mouth open and bared his teeth. Flies came to his mouth. The crow came back from foraging and saw the body of a fox at the foot of the tree. The crow was delighted and said, 'Praise be to God, for He has given me this. This carcass will suffice me for another ten days.'

24 The crow alighted on the fox's corpse and pecked at his tail. The fox did not budge. As it is a habit of crows to peck out the eyes first, she went to eat the fox's eyes. Suddenly the fox snapped at the crow's legs and seized her. The fox said to the crow, 'Now what shall your punishment be? What shall I do with you? Why did you give the pigeon that advice? You deprived me of my sustenance. You deserve that I tear you to pieces and then eat you.'

25 The crow thought to itself, 'Now I've fallen into the hands of this tyrant. I must free myself by cunning and friendliness, otherwise I am lost.' The crow gathered her wits, drew the sword of her sly and flattering tongue and said, 'O most noble, sanctified and excellent Uncle Fox—*may our souls be his sacrifice*—now the power of decision is in the hands of Uncle Fox of just mien, but there is an axiom of the great, "Faults from the feeble, grace from the great." It is true that I am greatly at fault, but I am happy to rely on your excellency's mercy. I wish to ask Uncle Fox something and, if he will favour me with a true answer, then let him eat me.'

26 The fox said, 'What is it? Say on.' The crow said, 'There are two tribes, one the Kurasini, which lives near Salmas, and one the Pinyanishi, which lives between Albak and Gawar. The Kurasini tribe is not an honoured one but unjust and merciless, whereas the Pinyanishi tribe is much honoured and very merciful. I wish I knew to which of these two tribes his excellency Uncle Fox belongs by origin.' Uncle Fox chuckled and said, 'I'm surprised at your poor intelligence. Don't you know yet that I'm a Pinyanishi?' With the long 'ya' the fox's mouth came open. The crow flew off, defecated and blinded the fox's eye and so freed itself.

27 ⟨Belê, gelek kes wekî kotran bûne.⟩ Gelek kes wekî rîwî kilika xo beramberî qudreta Xudê kirine. Gelek kesan wekî qelê nesîḥetêt ⟨aqil kirine⟩, paşî kewtîne dewê rîwî, paşî bi aqlî xo xilas kirine, çawê rîwî kore kirine. *Wesselam*.

Yes, there have been many people like pigeons. Many people, like the fox, 27
have exalted their tails against the power of God. Many people have given good advice, like the crow, and then fallen into the fox's mouth, and then freed themselves by wit and blinded the fox's eye.

IV

Ḥekayêta Rîwîyekî Şewekê Çû Mirîşk-xarinê

28 Dibêjin ximdarek hebû, şeş-ḥewt mirîşkêt qelew hebûn. Şewê di oda ximî da lîs dibûn. Li hindawê ceṛikêt ximî qayde ye kulek bo ronayîyê dibît. Şewekê we qewimî rîwîyek hate serbanê oda ximî, serê xo di kulekê da şoṛ kir, bêna mirîşkan li difna wî da. Êdî ḥewîya wî li çi cîyan nehat. Demekê li serbanî hat û çû, dûmayê weto aqil ji serê wî çû, xo di kulekê da hawête xwar. Kewte ceṛikê ximî, tê niqo bû. Hêdî hêdî pelepel kir, bi hizar derdeserî w îza ji ceṛikê ximî hate der. Êdî bîra mirîşkan nekir, xebata wê kir ku bi çi ṭerz xo xilas biket.

29 Bi her ḥalê bû, dîsa ji kulekê serkewte serbanî. Spêde helat. Temaşe giyanê xo kir, dît hemî giyanê wî ji serî heta nînûkêt dest û pêyan temam kesk bûy. Rîwî gelek hizrêt xo kirin. Got, "ewe çi kerem e Xudê digel min kirî! Ez kirime seyîd, *awlādu-rasūl*. Bes bo min çêtir çêbû. Egerçî ez bêbehr bûm ji xarina mirîşkêt wê malê ema Xudê weto merḥemet digel min kir ez kirime seyîd, iʿtibar da min. Bes ji noke paş hemî ṭeyr û heywanatê hûrde dê ji min emîn bin, dê hêne lalî min, ji ber min naḥelên. Çi dema birsî bûm yêkî dê beme di kunekê da, dê xom û hême der."

30 Rîwî çû, geşte kelekokekê li qeraẋê gundî bi tinê diçerît. Silaw li kelekokî kir. Kelekokî silaw jê wergirt, gotê, "ewe çi ye, mam rîwî? Tu kengî bûye seyîd?" Rîwî got, "Xudê her wextî muwafiqî niyeta miro keremê digel miro diket. Hindî ku fikra min li ser ḥîle w dizîyê w xurtîyê bû min zikek têr bû deh birsî. Rojekê ez di binê kuna xo da bûm, gelek birsî bûm, derkewtim, biçim, dizîyekê bikem, tiştekî bixom. Hindî geriyam çu dest min nekewt. Ez jî geriyamewe bo mala xo.

31 Min got, dê çim, di kuna xo da rûnêm, gelek duʿa ji Xudê xazim. Raziqê hemî mexluqî ew e. Êdî dê tobe kem û eger mumkin bît dê çime ḥecê, ziyareta

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IV

A Fox Who Went One Night to Eat Chickens

They say there was once a dyer who had six or seven fat chickens. At night they 28
used to roost in the dye-house. It is customary for there to be a skylight above the dye vats for the light to get in. One night it so happened that a fox came onto the roof of the dye-house and hung his head down through the skylight, when the smell of chickens assailed his nose. Thenceforth he could not contain himself at all. He wandered back and forth on the roof for a while and finally so took leave of his senses that he threw himself down through the skylight. He fell into the dye vat and was submerged in it. Slowly he struggled and with a thousand difficulties he got out of the dye vat. Thereafter he gave no thought to the chickens but made efforts to escape, however it might be.

However it was, he managed to climb out of the skylight again onto the roof. 29
Dawn came. He looked at his body and saw that his whole body from his head to the nails of his fore- and hind-feet had become completely green.[1] The fox thought a lot. He said, 'What a favour God has granted me! He has made me a Sayyid, a descendant of the Prophet. So much the better for me. Although I achieved nothing, as far as eating the chickens of that house was concerned, God has been so kind as to make me a Sayyid and make me respectable. From now on all the birds and small animals will feel secure with me, they will come to me and not flee from me. Whenever I am hungry I shall take one into a hole, eat it and come out.'

The fox went and came to a cock pecking by itself at the edge of a village. He 30
saluted the cock. The cock acknowledged his salute and said to him, 'What's this, Uncle Fox? When did you become a Sayyid?' The fox said, 'God always grants favours to a person according to the person's intentions. As long as my thoughts were on trickery and theft and oppression I used to have a full stomach but once for ten hungry ones. One day I was at the bottom of my lair and I was very hungry. I came out to go and steal something to eat. However much I wandered about I could find nothing, so I went back to my own home.

I said, "I shall go and sit down in my lair and pray much to God. He is the 31
Provider for all creatures. Henceforth I shall repent and if possible shall go on

1 In Islam green is the colour of saints and of Sayyids, (real or reputed) descendants of the prophet Muhammad from his daughter Fatima by Ali, i.e. descended either from Hasan or Husain.

Keʿbeya muʿezzeme w Medîneya munewwere w *rawza-y muṭahhara-y* resûlê ekrem Muḥemmed pêẋember kem û dê hêm, li mala xo rûnêm. Eger Xudê rizqek da min zor şukr, we eger neda dîsa razî me bi irada wî. Bila bimirim, elbette dûmayîya hemîyan mirin e. Bila di gunahî da nemirim.

32 Ez li ser wê niyetê çûme mala xo. Çawa min bo te got, weto min duʿa kir. Pîçek xewa min hat, ez razam, demekê niwistim. Hay bûmewe, min dît sifreyekê pêçay li rex min danay, bêna kebab û buryanan jê têt. ʿAdeten wekî sifreya bo hezretê ʿÎsa pêẋember ji ʿesmanî hatiye xar, tejî tiştê xarinê bû. Hindî min xar xilas nebû. Çendî mêwan bo min hatin, wan jî xarin, qet xilas nebû. Wextê me dixar û me dipêçawe, dîsa wextê me dikirewe ew tiştê me xarî wekî berê tejî bîyewe. Wextê derkewtim min giyanê xo jî ho dît. Noke jî hatime, digeriyêm bizanim kî ḥez diket biçîte sefera ḥecê, digel min bihêt. Her meṣrefekî hebît hemî li stukira min bît, ḥeta diçîn û têynewe nahêlim pûlekê serf ket. Elḥemdulillah, Xudê keremekê weto digel min kiriye, min hîç minnet û ḥacet bi kes nîye."

33 Kelekok got, "tu dişêy tomikê min jî bidey?" Rîwî got, "ewe çi xeber e tu dibêjî? Ew kesê hind li nik Xudê bi qedr û ḥurmet bît sifrê ji ʿesmanî bo bihinêrît û ji ẋeybî xorakî bidetê elbette dişêt duʿayekê weto biket, her roj himbanekê herzinî bo te ji Xudê bixazît û hîç şubhe nîye dema min xast dê det." Kelekokî got, "madam ho ye, ewe ez ḥazir im. Here, da biçîn. *Inşa'eIlah* sefera me xêr e."

34 Çûn ḥeta geştine gorangeyekê, dîtin hupopke-silêmank li ser darekî dixûnît, "hup-hup" dikir. Hupopkê mandî-nebûn li rîwî kir, gote rîwî, "mandî nebî, bi xêr bêy, ser çawan, ser seran." Ema rîwî serê xo bi girîwanê xo da şoṛ kiribû, çawêt xo miçandibûn, bi saʿetekê carekê çawêt xo dihelînan û didanan. Hîç cewaba hupopkê neda.

35 Ewcar hupopkê gote kelekokî, "ewe bo çî mam rîwî cewaba min nadet? Qatî ji min sil e çi ye?" Kelekokî got, "ji te sil nîye. Ewe çend roj e tobe kiriye. Xudê keremekê weto digel wî kiriye ku ḥeta noke bo çu kes nebûye. Ma tu giyanê wî nabînî, hemî kesk e? Bûye seyîd, dê çîte ḥecê. Şewê w rojê şola wî duʿa ye w tesbîḥat û zikr û muraqebet e. Mestê şeraba ʿalema lahût û serxoşê cemala bezma melekot e. Neşêt biaxiwît."

the pilgrimage, visit the exalted Kaaba and illustrious Medina and the pure garden (of the tomb) of the most noble Prophet Muhammad, and then I shall come and settle in my own home. If God should grant me my sustenance I shall be most thankful, and even if He should not I shall still be happy to obey His will. Let me die, for certainly death is the end of all. But let me not die in sin."

With this intention I went home. I prayed just as I have told you. I became 32
rather sleepy, I lay down and slept a while. I woke up again and saw that a wrapped-up table-cloth had been placed next to me, from which came the aroma of kebabs and roast meats. As is customary, like the table-cloth which came down from heaven for the Lord Jesus, it was full of things to eat. However much I ate it was not finished. A few guests came to me and they too ate, but it was still not finished. When we had eaten it and wrapped it up, when we opened it again the things that we had eaten had been replenished as before. When I came outside I saw that my body was like this. Now I have come to look around and see who would care to go on the pilgrimage journey and come with me. Whatever expenses there may be, let them all be on my shoulders. Until we have gone and returned I shall not let anyone spend a farthing. Praise be to God, for He has granted me such a favour that I have no need of the favours of anybody.'

The cock said, 'Can you provide grain for me too?' The fox said, 'What is this 33
you are saying? A person who is so honoured and respected in the sight of God that He sends him a table-cloth from heaven and gives him food from the other world can certainly pray and ask God for a sack of millet for you every day, and there can be no doubt that when I ask He will give it.' The cock said, 'Since that is the case, then I am ready. Come, let us go. God willing, our journey will prosper.'

They went until they reached a wood and saw a hoopoe on a tree, singing 34
"hoop-hoop". The hoopoe greeted the fox, saying to him, 'May you not be tired. You are welcome, upon my head and eyes.' But the fox hung his head down out of his collar and shut his eyes, only raising and lowering his eyes once in a while. He gave the hoopoe no answer.

Then the hoopoe said to the cock, 'Why then doesn't Uncle Fox answer me? 35
Can he perhaps be angry with me? What is it?' The cock said, 'He is not angry with you. For some days now he has repented. God has granted him such a favour as has hitherto not been granted to anybody. Don't you see that his whole body is green? He has become a Sayyid and will go on the pilgrimage. Night and day he does nothing but pray and praise God and recite His names and meditate. He is drunk with the wine of the divine world and intoxicated by the beauty of the assembly of angels. He cannot talk.'

36 Kelekokî got, “ewe ez jî dê di xizmeta cenabê siyadet-intisabî *xayri-l-ḥajji-l-ḥaramayni-š-šarīfayn* ḥacî mam rîwî da, *sallamahu-llāh wa waffaqahu ʿala-l-xayr*, çime sefera xeyrîyet-esera mubareka ḥecê. Hemî mesrefê min kêşaye stukira xo w her kesê niyet hebît biçîte ḥecê weʿde daye meṣarifê wî bikêşît ḥeta diçît û têtewe. Eger tu jî ḥez dikey biçîye ḥecê, were, da biçîn, xercîya te jî dê kêşît.”

37 Hupopkê got, “bes pîçek ṣebr ken. Lêre rawestin ḥeta digeme mal, xudêḥafizîyê li mala xo w biçûkêt xo dikem û tertîba şolêt wan bo wan dibêjim. Dê zû geriyêmewe, çunko dunya ye, merg û mirin e w diqewimît carekê dî ʿeyalê xo nebînimewe. Ewe seferekê dûr û dirêj e.” Kelekokî got, “çak e, ema zû were. Cenabê mustetabê ḥecî seyîd mam rîwî gelek gîro neke. Şerm e bo te mirowê hinde mezin û maqûl li çawrê te li ser pêyan rawestît.” Hupopkê got, “helbet, xo ez ker nîme. Ez jî wê hindê dizanim.” Hupopke çû, du-sê deqîqan gîro bû, hatewe. Got, “kerem ken, da biçîn.”

38 Çûn ḥeta geştine gomekê. Dîtin ṣoneyek di gomê da melewanî[yê] diket. Dema ku çawê mam rîwî bi ṣoneyê kewt, dît ṣone gelek qelew, dilê wî qewî çû goştê wê. Gote kelekokî, “tu bêdeng be. Ez bi xo dê digel ṣoneyê axiwim, çunko ṣone maqûl e, mezin e, temîs e. Qedr û ḥurmeta wê lazim e.” Kelekokî got, “emir emirê mubarekê ḥezretê ʿalî ye. Tu çawa munasib difermoy, dibît weto bît.”

39 Rîwî gote ṣoneyê, “*as-salāmu ʿalayk, yā ʾaḥsana-ṭ-ṭuyūr wa ašrafuhā*”,[2] yeʿnî, selam li ser te, ey cuwantir ji hemî ṭeyran û maqûltir ji wan. Ṣoneyê got, “*wa ʿalaykumu s-salām wa raḥmatu-llāh wa barakātuh*,[3] yeʿnî, we li ser hingo selam û reḥmeta Xudê w bereketêt wî. Hung gelek bi xêr bihên, mandî nebin. Ewe dê kê-we teşrîf ken? Ewe çito miro ne di xizmet cenabê ʿalî da?” Wextê ku ṣoneyê cewaba selama wî ho şirîn û nerm dawe rîwî ji keyfxoşîyan wext bû bifirît.

40 Gote ṣoneyê, “ḥewce nîye gelek dirêj kem. Tu giyanê min dibînî w hewalêt min jî dibînî. Tu jî zîrek û biaqil î, tu dizanî ku ew kereme bo kes nebûye. Ez jî ji şukra wê iḥsana hinde mezin diçime ḥecê. Zor ḥez dikem tu jî zeḥmetê bikêşî, bihêy da wêkra biçîn. Xercîya te hemî xema min.” Ṣoneyê got, “eger tu min bi xizmetkar qebûl bikey zor dê memnûn bim.” Ṣone jî ji gomê hate der, digel wan kewt.

41 Çûn ḥeta geştine lêrekê. Dîtin qele-belekek, ku dibêjinê keşkele, li ser darekê. Rîwî gote hewalêt xo, “guh bidene min, tiştekî dê bêjime hingo. Em dê çîn. Keşkele zor fasiq e, hîç tobe naket, daimî fikra wî zerera xelkî ye, iʿtiqada wî ne bi muʿcizatêt pêxemberan e w ne bi keramatêt ewliyaʾullan e. Ew dê gelek

2 In Arabic.

3 In Arabic.

The cock went on, 'I too then shall go on the blessed and advantageous journey of the pilgrimage, in attendance on his excellency, kinsman of the Prophet, the best of pilgrims to the holy places, Haji Uncle Fox—may God pardon him and keep him in the right way. He has taken all my expenses on his own shoulders and he has promised to undertake the expenses of whoever may intend to go on the pilgrimage, while he goes and returns. If you would like to go on the pilgrimage too, come, let us go, and he will provide your expenses also.' 36

The hoopoe said, 'Just wait a little. Wait here while I go home and take leave of my wife and children and tell them the arrangements for their affairs. I shall soon come back, for it is the world and there is death (to think of) and it may happen that I shall not see my family again. It is a long (and difficult) journey.' The cock said, 'Very well, but come soon. Don't delay his excellency Haji Sayyid Uncle Fox for long. It is a shame for you that such a great and respected person should stand and wait for you.' The hoopoe said, 'Certainly, I'm not a donkey. I too know that much.' The hoopoe went, was detained for two or three minutes, and came back. He said, 'Please, let us go.' 37

They went until they came to a pond. They saw a drake swimming in the pond. When Uncle Fox caught sight of the drake, and saw that it was very fat, he took a great fancy to its flesh. He said to the cock, 'You be silent. I shall speak to the drake myself, for the drake is honoured, great and pure. It is necessary to treat him with honour and respect.' The cock said, 'It is for your honour to command. It must be as you hold to be best.' 38

The fox said to the drake, 'Peace be upon you, O most handsome and most honoured of birds.' The drake said, 'And upon you peace and the mercy of God and His blessings. You are most welcome. May you not be tired. Whither then are you bound? What sort of people are these in attendance on your excellency?' When the drake answered his greeting so gently and sweetly the fox could almost have flown for joy. 39

He said to the drake, 'There is no need for me to talk at great length. You see my body and you also see my companions. Moreover you are wise and intelligent, you know this favour has been granted to nobody else. I am going on the pilgrimage in thanksgiving for this great bounty. I would very much like you to take the trouble and come, so that we may go together. I shall be responsible for all your expenses.' The drake said, 'If you will accept me as your servant I shall be very grateful.' The drake too left the pond and set out with them. 40

They went until they reached a forest. They saw a pied crow, called a magpie, on a tree. The fox said to his companions, 'Listen to me; I shall tell you something. We shall go on. The magpie is very villainous and does not repent. He is always thinking of how to harm people and he believes neither in the miracles of the prophets nor in the wondrous deeds of holy men. He will give you 41

nesîḥetêt xirab li hingo ket. Iḥtimal heye hingo bilêbînît, çunko zor şeytan e w daimî xiyala şeytanî ew e welîyan û ṣofîyan û tobekaran ji rêka beḥeştê w necatê derêxît û bibete ser rêka cehennemê w helakê.

42 Şaʿirê ʿereb çi xoş gotiye derheq wê meyşûmê:

ʾiḏā kāna-l-ẋurābu dalīla qawmin
sa-yahdīhim ʾilā subuli-l-halākī[4]

Yeʿnî, eger keşkele bît şarezakerê qewmî, dê rêberîya wan ket bo rêkêt helakê. Bes hişyar bin, bi xeberêt keşkelê iʿtiqada xo xirab neken, we eger keşkelê muwafiqî gotina min gote hingo, bizanin ez şolan pêş wext dizanim û Xudê kerem digel min kiriye."

43 Her sêyan wêkra gotin, "*esteẋfirullah*, Xudê em bi ḥeq dizanîn, me îman heye bi muʿcizatan û bi kerametan. Em ewro zor xo xudan feyz û bereket û xêr û seʿadet dizanîn di xizmet qedema mubareka zatê ʿalî da. Îmana xo derheq zatê ʿalî wekî îmana ḥewarîyan derheq ḥezretê Mesîḥ û îmana çar yaran derheq ḥezretê Muḥemmed dizanîn. Xatircem be, hizar şeytanêt wekî qelê me nalêbînin, belko mumkin e em bi himmeta hingo wan ṭerze şeytanan bînîne ser hidayetê." Rîwî got, "bes, herin, da biçîn bi tewekkula Xudê."

44 Çûne nêzîkî qelê. Rîwî rûyê xo di qiblê kir, çû sicdê, rabûwe, destêt xo bilind kirin, demekê li ber Xudê paṛiyawe, duʿa kir. Keşkelê weto dît, li cîyê xo rawesta, muteḥeyyir bû. Di dilê xo da got, "ez ji êre nefirim ḥeta nepirsim û nezanim ewe çi ye." Gote ṣoneyê, "ferzen kelekok û hupopke digel rîwî çûn, tu bo çî xo dîn dikey? Rîwî bi ḥîle ye, dê hingo xot."

45 Her sêyan wêkra gotin, "*esteẋfirullah*, we nebêje. Te xo kafir kir. Ma tu kore yî, nabînî Xudê çi kerem digel wî kiriye? Bûye seyîd, *awlādu-rāsūl*, tobe kiriye, dê çîte ḥecê. Şewê w rojê şola wî duʿa ye, sicde ye, ʿibadet e. Me jî digel xo dibet, xercîya me hemîyan dikêşît. Dibêjît, "her kesê ṭalibî wê sefera xêrê bît li ser min nezr bît ez hemî meṣarifê wî bikêşim." Ew nîye ya tu dibêjî. Tu jî were, tobe bike, da biçîne ḥecê. Da di gunahan da nemirî. Tu ji me hemîyan gunahkartir î. Tobe w ḥec bo te lazimtir in ji me."

46 Xulase gelek bo keşkelê gotin. Ew jî hate xarê, çû destê rîwî, ziyaret kir, maçî kir, gote rîwî, "cenabê seyîd ḥacî mam rîwî, min nezanî, qusûra bende ʿefû bike. *Al-ẋarību ka-l-aʿmā wa law kāna baṣīran*,[5] yeʿnî, mirowê nabeled wekî kore ye egerçî bi çaw bît. Li min negire." Rîwî got, "ma çi qewimîye? Ez nizanim çi ye tu dibêjî. Te çu xirabîya min nekiriye. Eger te kiribît jî gerdena te aza. Ewro wezîfa

4 In Arabic.
5 In Arabic.

much bad advice. He will probably deceive you, for he is a very devil, and the devil's thoughts are always directed towards leading holy and pious and repentant men astray from the road to paradise and salvation and setting them on the road to hell and destruction.

How well the Arab poet has said in connection with this ill-omened creature: 42

If the magpie becomes the guide of a people
He will lead them along the roads of destruction.

So take care and do not destroy your faith for the words of the magpie, and if he should speak to you as I have said, remember that I know of these affairs beforehand and that God has granted me this favour.'

All three said together, 'God forbid! We know God truly and we have faith in 43
miracles and wondrous deeds. Today we consider ourselves most favoured and blest and happy and fortunate in following your excellency's blessed footsteps. Our faith in your excellency is like the faith of the apostles in the Lord Jesus and the faith of the four Companions in the Lord Muhammad. Rest assured, a thousand devils like the crow cannot deceive us. Rather is it possible that, with your grace, we may bring such devils on to the right way.' The fox said, 'Come then, let us go, trusting in God.'

They approached the crow. The fox turned towards Mecca, prostrated him- 44
self and got up again, raised his fore-paws and prayed to God for a while. The magpie saw this and stopped in his place, astonished. He said to himself, 'I shan't fly from here until I have asked and found out what this is.' He said to the drake, 'Supposing the cock and the hoopoe have gone with the fox, why do you make yourself mad? The fox is cunning and will eat you.'

All three together said, 'God forbid, don't speak thus. You have made your- 45
self an infidel. Why, are you blind, do you not see what favour God has granted him? He has become a Sayyid, a descendant of the prophet, he has repented and will go on the pilgrimage. Night and day he is engaged in prayer and prostrations and worship. He is taking us with him too, and is supporting us all. He says, "Whoever desires to undertake this righteous journey, I vow that I shall be responsible for all his expenses." It is not as you say. You come too, repent and let us go on the pilgrimage. You should not die in sin. You sure are a greater sinner than us all. You have a greater need of repentance and of the pilgrimage.'

In short, they said much to the magpie. He too came down, went to the fox, 46
paid his respects, kissed his hand and said to the fox, 'Your excellency Sayyid Haji Uncle Fox, I didn't know. Forgive your servant's fault. The stranger is like a blind man, although he has his sight. Do not be angry with me.' The fox said, 'Why, what has happened? I don't know what you are saying. You have done

min ew e, bo dujminan û gunahkaran jî çakîyê bikem." Keşkelê got, "ruḥa min ji ruḥa wane hemîyan çêtir û ʿezîztir nîye. Her seferekê teşrîfa mubarek biçîtê ez hîwî dikem min jî di xizmet xo da bibey." Rîwî got, "madam tu jî ṭalib î, were." Ew jî digel wan kewt, çûn.

47 Kelekok, hupopke, ṣone gotine qelê, "cenabê seyîd ḥacî mam rîwî, *ʾarwāḥunā fidāh*, xudan-keşf-û-keramet e, hêşta em negeştine nik te ew hindê xeberêt te gotiye me, ku, "neçin, rîwî dê hingo xot," hemî bo me gotin, ku, "keşkele dê ho bêjîte hingo." Temam xeberê wî derkewt rast." Iʿtiqada qelê zêdetir qahîm bû. Rîwî sê-çar pêngawan diçû, radiwesta, diçû sicdê, duʿa dikir, da dilê hewalan zêdetir qahîm bibît derheq wî. Hewalan weto bawir kirin ku êdî çu şêx wekî seyîd ḥacî rîwî di dunyayê nebûne w nabin.

48 Rîwî jî di dilê xo da ẋayet keyfxoş e ku, "ew çar nêçîre dest min kewtine, her wextê ḥez bikem dê xom." Bi wî ṭerzî çûn ḥeta êwarî geştine çiyayekî dûr ji gundan û awayîyan. Rîwî got, "çak e ew şewe lêre bîn." Gotin, "emir emirê zatê ʿalî ye." Rîwî çû, geriya, kunek dît. Hemî birine kunê, bi xo li derê kunê rûnişt. Dilê qelê mişewweş bû. Gote hewalêt xo, "ez we texmîn dikem dê me xot." Hemîyan xatire kirin, tirsiyan.

49 Ji rêwe gazî kelekokî kir, gotê, "te bo çî xew li xelkî ḥeram kiriye? Nîwşewê dest bi qîjeqîjê dikey, nahêlî xelk biniwît." Kelekokî got, "ruḥa min fidayê hingo bît, min gelek menfeʿet bo xelkî heye. Ez wan bo niwêjan, bo şolan hay dikem." Got, "belê, ez wê ʿuzrê ji te qebûl dikem, ema tu bo çî hinde bêşerm î, li pêş çawêt hemî kes li ser mirîşkê siwar dibî w şermê ji şay nakey." Kelekok kiṛ bû. Rîwî dew hawête stukira wî, xar.

50 Demek çû, gazî hupopke kir. Gotê, "ew çi tanc e te danaye serê xo? Tu ne sultan î tu ne şa yî, tu çîy?" Hupopkê got, "belê qurban, ez ne sultan im û ne şa me, ema min gelek xizmeta ḥezretê Silêmen pêẋember kiriye. Ew tance bi xelat daye min." Rîwî got, "duro dikey." Ew jî xar. Nîwşewê gazî ṣoneyê kir, gotê, "ṣone, bo çî tu daimî li ser beḥran û li naw mêrgen bi keyf û hewesêt xo digeriyêy û kesî bi çu ḥisab nakey? Ma tu ji hemî xelkî zêdetir î?" Ṣone ji tirsan lerizî, kewte ʿerdî, nehişyar bû. Ew jî xar.

51 Nêzîkî spêdê gazî qelê kir. Gotê, "tu bo çî ziraʿeta xelkî dixoy û xirab dikey? Ma xelkî ew çandine bo te kiriye? Ma tu ji Xudê natirsî?" Qelê got, "waqiʿen

me no harm. Even if you have, I absolve you. Today my duty is this, to do good to enemies and sinners alike.' The magpie said, 'My soul is no better or dearer than all theirs. Whatever journey your excellency may go on, I hope you will take me to wait on you.' The fox said, 'Since you too are a seeker, come.' He too set off with them and they went.

The cock, the hoopoe and the drake said to the crow, 'His excellency Sayyid 47
Haji Uncle Fox—may our souls be a sacrifice to him—is a worker of miracles. Before we had even reached you what you said to us, namely, "Don't go, the fox will eat you"—all that he told us, that, "The magpie will say this to you". Everything he said turned out true.' The crow's trust became stronger. The fox would walk three or four paces, stop, prostrate himself and pray, so that his companions' hearts would become more firmly attached to him. The companions believed that there had been no other spiritual leader like Sayyid Haji Fox in the world, and would not be.

As for the fox, he was extremely pleased in his heart, (thinking), 'These four 48
preys have fallen into my hands. I shall eat them whenever I please.' In that way they went until in the evening they reached a mountain far from villages and hamlets. The fox said, 'It is good for us to spend the night here.' They said, 'It is as your excellency wishes.' The fox went and wandered about and found a hole. He took them all to the hole and himself sat at the mouth of it. The crow's heart was troubled. He said to his companions, 'I imagine he will eat us.' They all thought and were afraid.

First (the fox) summoned the cock and said to it, 'Why have you made sleep 49
impossible for people? You start crowing in the middle of the night and do not let people sleep.' The cock said, 'May my soul be a sacrifice for you, I am very helpful for people. I wake them up for their prayers and for work.' He said, 'Yes, I accept that excuse from you, but why are you so shameless? You mount a chicken in front of everybody and are not ashamed (even) before the king.' The cock was silent. The fox seized its neck in his mouth and ate it.

A while passed and he summoned the hoopoe. He said to it, 'What crown is 50
that you have put on your head? You are not a sultan or a king, what are you?' The hoopoe said, 'Yes, Excellency, I am not a sultan or a king, but I have served the Lord Solomon the prophet very well. He gave me this crown as a reward.' The fox said, 'You are lying.' And he ate it too. At midnight he summoned the drake and said to him, 'Drake, why do you always wander about on the lakes and over the meadows as you please and count nobody as anything? Why, are you more (important) than everybody?' The drake shivered with fright, fell to the ground and fainted. And he ate it too.

Near dawn he summoned the crow. He said to it, 'Why do you eat what peo- 51
ple sow and spoil it? Have people done this planting for you, then? Have you no

gunahêt min zor in. Min çu cewab nîne, belê tiştekî ji rûyê xêrxazîyê dê ʿerzi ḥuzûra mubarek kem, eger ruxset bifermon." Got, "çi ye? Bêje." Qelê got, "kelekok û mirîşkek min dîtine li malekê, ji zemanê ḥezretê Adem pêxember heta noke mane. Zor qelew in, qewî laîq in bo sertêşta ḥezretê ʿalî. Eger izn hebît dê çim, wan înim. Di pêş da wan bixo, paşî min jî bixo. Goştê min bi tinê çu fayde nîye." Rîwî got, "çak e, here, belê zû were, çunko ez birsî me."

52 Qel çû gundekê, du ṣe dîtin li naw ḥewşekê tirane dikirin. Xo nîşa ṣa da. Ṣe derkewtin, qel bi lotik di pêş ṣa hat, ṣe jî dû kewtin. Her weto hatin ḥeta geştine nêzîkî cîyê rîwî. Qelê gote wan, "hung lêre xo li naw teṛaşekê weşêrin, ez dê çim, bo hingo nêçîrekê înim." Gotin, "çak e." Qel hate nêzîkî derê kuna rîwî, gotê, "*rūḥī fidākum*,[6] yeʿnî, ruḥa min qurbanê hingo, ewe min herdu înan, li naw teṛaşî rûniştî ne, çunko zor bi goşt in, bezî hinawêt wan girtine, neşên çî dî ewrazî bihên. Eger zatê ʿalî pîçek zeḥmetê bikêşît, teşrîf biken, bihên, ez dibêjim xirab nîye. Egerçî bo zatê hingo zeḥmet e jî, ema mesleḥet weto iqtiza diket."

53 Rîwî got, "çi ʿeyb e?! Dê hêm. Zor memnûn bûm ji te. Here, pêş kewe, da biçîn." Hatin ḥeta geştine pişta teṛaşî. Ji xeflet herdu ṣe derkewtin. Rîwî ḥelat, destê xo raweşand, gote qelê, "qebûl e, neîne, têr im." Qelê guh nedayê. Ṣe geştinê, rîwî xendiqandin, kuştin û xarin û tola hersêkêt dî ji wî kirinewe. Qel jî bi xo bi raḥetî firî, çû naw ʿeyalê xo, şukra Xudê kir. *Wesselam*.

6 In Arabic.

fear of God?' The crow said, 'My sins are indeed many. I have no answer, but, if you will kindly permit me, I have something to tell your excellency out of good will.' He said, 'What is it? Say on.' The crow said, 'I have seen a cock and a hen in a (certain) house which have survived from the days of Lord Adam the prophet. They are very fat, and very suitable for your excellency's breakfast. If you will permit me I shall go and fetch them. First eat them, then eat me too. My flesh alone is no good.' The fox said, 'Very well, go, but come back soon, because I'm hungry.'

The crow went to the village and saw two dogs romping in a courtyard. He 52
showed himself to the dogs. The dogs came out and the crow hopped in front of the dogs while they followed. They came in this way until they reached near to where the fox was. The crow said to them, 'You hide yourselves here in a bush and I will go and bring you some prey.' They said, 'Good.' The crow came near to the mouth of the fox's hole and said, 'May my soul be a sacrifice for you, I've brought both of them. They are sitting in the bush, for they are very fat, suet has surrounded their innards, and they can't come uphill any more. If your excellency will take a little trouble to step out and come, I suggest it would not be bad. Even though it is a trouble for your excellency, it is most expedient that you should.'

The fox said, 'What harm is there? I shall come. I am most grateful to you. Go 53
in front and let us go.' They came until they reached behind the bush. Suddenly both dogs jumped out. The fox fled, waving his paw and saying to the crow, 'All right, don't bring them, I'm full.' The crow paid no heed. The dogs reached him, strangled the fox, killed him and ate him and so avenged all the other three. The crow himself flew back at leisure, rejoined his family and thanked God.

V

Ḥekayêta Gurgî w Berxê

54 Dibêjin carekê gurg çû ser kanîyekê aw dixarewe. Di wî wextî da berxek hate ser awê, qiyasê du werîsan ji gurgî pêda dest bi aw xarinewê kir. Gurgî serê xo rakir, dît berxek ji wî pêda awê dixotewe. Ṭemaʿa goştê berxê weto ẋelebe li wî kir, aqil ji mêjîyê wî derkewt. Ḥez kir bixot, ema di dilê xo da fikr kir, got, "çak e hecetekê webînimewe, paşî bixom. Eger bê hecet bixom dê li nik mexlûqê dî mesʾûl bim, paşî iḥtimal heye ji min qebûl neken."

55 Gurgî dest bi heceten kir, belê hecetekê weto neîna ku bikewîte ʿeqlê ehlê siyaset. Di axir da bi ṣûretê xurtî xar, wekî rîwî hecetêt meqbûl bo xarina hupopke w kelekokî w ṣone-gewrikî neînan, çunko gurgî ho gote berxê, "tu bo çî awê li min şwêlî dikey, nahêlî awa temîs wexomewe?" Berxê got, "qurbanê ḥuzûra mubarekê te bim, ez bende li kî derê me, zatê aẋa li kî derê ye? Bende du werîsan ji cenabê aẋa pêda ye. Çawa awa cenabê aẋa şwêlî bûye? Qusûra bende ʿefû bifermon."

56 Gurgî got, "ew iʿtizar û cewabe ferzen bihête qebûl kirin, emma wextê ez biçûk min ji babê xo bihîst, got, "wê berxê gelek cûn dane min. Ṣe w şiwan ḥazir bûn, neşiyam tola xo wekem." Wesyet li me ewladê xo kiriye, gotiye, "her cîyê hung wê berxê bibînin tola min weken." Bo wihê te cewab nîye, elbette tola babê xo nahêlim, wesyeta babê xo beṭal nakem."

57 Berxê got, "aẋayê min, ruha min fidayê wucûda mubarek bît, bi diqqet mulaḥeze bifermon, ʿemrê bende sê hewî kêmtir e. Her nebî cenabê aẋa sê çar sal ji bende mezintir e. Çawa mumkin e bende wextê biçûkînîya aẋa ew bêedebî w ʿezmandirêjî derheq babê reḥmetîyê zatê aẋa kiribît? Hîwî dikem bi inṣaf û ʿedalet bende meḥkûm bifermon."

58 Gurgî got, "belê, ferzen gotina te rast bît, ema tu dizanî ez aẋa me, ji te xurttir im. Ḥez bikem dê te xom, ḥez bikem dê te ʿefû kem. Bes madam weto ye ew hinde cedele kirin û ʿezmandirêjî li ḥuzûra min qebeḥetekê gelek mezin e. Qet nahête ʿefû kirin." Xulase, çunko meqsûda gurgî xarina berxê bû, êdî nehêla çî dî biaxiwît, stukira berxê girt, xendiqand û xar.

59 Ew suwal-û-cewab bêfayde bû, çunko ew mesele li naw ʿereban meşhûr e, dibêjin, "*al-ḥukmu li man ẋalaba*",[1] yeʿnî ḥukm bo wî kesî ye yê ẋalib bît, çi

1 In Arabic.

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V

The Wolf and the Lamb

They say that a wolf once went to a spring and was drinking some water. At the 54
same time a lamb came to the water and began to drink about two rope-lengths below the wolf. The wolf raised his head and saw that a lamb was drinking below him. The desire for the lamb's flesh so overcame him that he quite lost his senses. He wanted to eat it, but he thought to himself, 'I had better find an excuse and then eat it. If I eat it without an excuse I shall have to answer for it before other creatures and they may not accept (my behaviour).'

The wolf set about (inventing) excuses, but he could not produce one which 55
would satisfy intelligent people. Finally he ate it by main force. The wolf did not find acceptable excuses—as the fox did for eating the hoopoe and the magpie and the grey drake—for he said to the lamb, 'Why do you make the water turbid for me and not let me drink clear water?' The lamb said, 'May I be a sacrifice to your blessed excellency, where am I (standing) and where is your noble self? I am two rope-lengths below your honour. How can your honour's water have become turbid? Please pardon my fault.'

The wolf said, 'Even supposing this excuse and answer be accepted, still 56
when I was small I heard my father say, "That lamb abused me greatly. The shepherd and his dog were present so I could not take my revenge." His last words to us his children were, "Avenge me on that lamb whenever you may see him." You have no answer to this. Certainly I shall not fail to avenge my father nor betray his last words.'

The lamb said, 'My master, may my soul be a sacrifice to your blessed pres- 57
ence, please note carefully that my age is less than three months. At the very least your honour is three or four years older than me. How could I possibly have done this discourtesy and insolence to your late lamented father during your honour's childhood? I hope you will judge me justly and fairly.'

The wolf said, 'Yes, supposing what you say is true, nevertheless you know 58
that I am the master and more powerful than you. If I like I shall eat you and if I like I shall pardon you. Since this is the case all this arguing and insolence towards me is a great offence. It can never be forgiven.' In short, since it was the wolf's intention to eat the lamb, he did not let it say any more but seized it by the neck, strangled it and ate it.

This conversation was pointless, for this proverb is famous among the Arabs 59
that 'Power is for him who wins the upper hand (whether he be right or wrong).' The Kurds also say that 'The water of force flows uphill.' In other words although

ḥeq bît çi naḥeq. Kurd jî dibêjin, “awa xurtî ser ewrazî diçît,” yeʿnî egerçî bi muqtezayê tebîʿetê xo nişîwî diçît, ema wextê ku esbabêt tezyîqatî geheştin dê ewrazî çît, çawa ku li memleketêt muntezem awê dibene tebeqêt serî.

water, in accordance with its nature, flows downhill, when means of restraint are applied it will go uphill, in the same way that in developed countries they take water to upper stories.

VI

Ḥekayêta Şêrekî w Gurgekî w Rîwîyekî

60 Dibêjin carekê her sê bûne hewalêt yêk. Çûne çiyayekî asê, di şkewtekê da cîyê xo girtin. Şêrî got, "lazim e em bo xo tedbîra rizqî bikeyn. Em ho najîn. Her kes dibît seʿî biket. Bê kirin kes naxot." Gurgî w rîwî got, "we ye wekî cenabê emîrê rûşen-zemîr difermot, ema em serbixo nizanîn çi bikeyn. Dibît cenabê mîr bo me her yekî şolekê dîhar ket, da her yêk meşxûlî xizmeta xo bît." Şêrî got, "helbet we ye. Ez jî mişûretê bi hingo dikem çawa çak e, kî çi biket."

61 Gurgî got, "herçend rîwî birayê kiçke ye, ema ji me têgeştîtir e, çêtir şolan dizanît. Bila ew reʾya xo bêjît. Eger çak bû, dê bi wê ʿemel keyn, egerne paşî emr emrê mubarekî mîr e." Şêrî got, "baş e." Berê xo da rîwî, gotê, "tu çi dibêjî?" Rîwî cewab da, got, "ji rêwe ʿerz bît bende ne bira ye, wekî gurgî gotî belko ez kêmtirê hemî xulaman im. Paşî bende ʿerz diket, zatê mîr mezin e. Wezîfa wî rûniştin e. Wezîfa bende ewe bît, biçim, bigeriyêm, li nêzîkêt gundan nêçîrekî webînimewe. Wextê ku min dîtewe bihêm, xeber bideme gurgî, da ew jî bihêt, harî min bihajot, çunko ew ji min çusttir û biquwettir e. We diqewimît nêçîr tiştekî wekî ga yan kell yan hesp dibît. Eger nehêt ez bi tinê neşêm bînim. Paşî, wextê ku me nêçîr îna ḥuzûra mîr, wezîfa mîr jî ewe bît nêçîrê bişkînît û pişk biket, yan bixot. Hindî ma bermayê xo bidete xulamêt xo."

62 Şêrî got, "aferîn bo fikr û tedbîra te. Dê we keyn. Belê," şêrî got, "tiştekî bêjime hingo. Wextê hingo nêçîr îna, eger tiştekî mezin bît, wekî ga, min ʿadetek heye hingî ez dişkînim ku çawêt min sor bibin û simbêlêt min bel bibin û mûyêt min girj bibin û kilika min bibîte xeleke li ser pişta min. Bes wextê ku we li min hat bêjine min da xo hawêjime ser pişta nêçîrê, bişkînim." Gotin, baş e.

63 Çend rojan weto pêkwe rabarin. Rojekê şêrî got, "ji mêj e ez rûniştî me. Demekê ḥez dikem bigeriyêm da pîçek ji xawî derkewim, wehisêmewe. Belê ḥeta ez têm, eger nêçîrek hingo îna, ragirin da wextê hatim bişkînim." Gotin, "belê, emrê cenabê mîr ser serê me." Şêr çû geryanê. Gurgî w rîwî dîtin garana gundekî hate çiyayê wan. Gayekî sor, qelew hate pêş derê şkewta ku cîyê wan

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VI

A Lion and a Wolf and a Fox

They say that all three once became companions. They went to an inaccessi- 60
ble mountain and settled down in a cave. The lion said, 'We must make some arrangement for our sustenance. We can't live like this. Everybody must make some effort. Without action nobody eats.' The wolf and the fox said, 'It is as your enlightened excellency says, but we do not know of our own what to do. Your excellency must indicate a job for each one of us so that each may be occupied with his own service.' The lion said, 'It is certainly so. I am consulting you as to what is best, and who shall do what.'

The wolf said, 'Although the fox is the younger brother he is nevertheless 61
more intelligent than us and understands affairs better. Let him give his opinion. If it is good we shall act on it, and if not then it is for the chief to give his auspicious command.' The lion said, 'It is well.' He turned to the fox and said to him, 'What do you say?' The fox answered saying, 'To begin with I submit that I am not a brother, as the wolf has said, but the least of all servants. Then I would suggest that the chief is a great personage. His (only) duty is to sit. Let it be my duty to go and wander about and discover some prey near the villages. When I have found it let me come and inform the wolf so that he too may come and help me drive it, for he is more nimble and stronger than me. It may be that the prey will be something like an ox or a buffalo or a horse. If he doesn't come I shan't be able to bring it myself. Then, when we have brought the prey into the chief's presence, let the chief's duty be to rend the prey and divide it, or eat it and give his servants whatever he leaves over.'

The lion said, 'Bravo for your thoughts and your plans. We shall do thus. But,' 62
said the lion, 'I tell you something. When you bring some prey, if it should be something big like an ox, I am accustomed to rend it only when my eyes become red and my whiskers bristle and my hair rises and my tail becomes an arc above my back. So when this happens to me tell me, so that I may throw myself upon the back of the prey and rend it.' They said, 'Very well!'

They passed some days together in this way. One day the lion said, 'I have 63
been sitting down for a long time. I'd like to wander about for a while to relieve the boredom a little and relax. But, if you bring some prey before I return, keep it for me to rend when I come.' They said, 'Yes, his excellency the chief's wish is our command.' The lion went for a stroll. The wolf and the fox saw that the herd of a village came to their mountain. A fat, red ox came before the mouth of the cave where they lived. The wolf said to the fox, 'That's fine prey. I'm afraid it

bû. Gurgî gote rîwî, “ewe xoş nêçîr e. Ditirsim ḥeta şêr têtewe biçît. Em neşêyn gîro keyn. Çak ewe em herdu xo tecribe bikeyn, qemî çareyekê bikeyn, bişkînîn.” Rîwî got, “şkandina gay ji quweta min zêde ye. Nizanim tu di xo ra dibînî gay bişkînî yan ne?”

64 Gurgî got, “min çu caran ga neşkandiye belê min gelek caran zikê keran dirandiye. Min gelek ker kuştine w xarine. Ga jî yan wekî kerî ye, yan pîçek biquwettir e.” Rîwî got, “rastî, eger tu bişêy ga bişkînî namûsekê gelek mezin e, qedr û ḥurmeta te li nik cenabê mîr û li nik hemî xelkê dunyayê dê gelek mezintir û zêdetir bît.” Gurgî gote rîwî, “berê xo bide min da bizanî ka nîşanêt şêrî dê peyda bin di min da yan ne.” Rîwî got, “belê, rabe ser dest û pêyêt xo, da te bibînim.” Gurg rabû, gote rîwî, “simbêlêt min bel bûne?” Rîwî got, “weto bel bûne dê bêjî şaxêt mambizî ne.” Gurgî got, “çawêt min sor bûne?” Rîwî got, “helbet. Dibêjî dermanê qurmizî hatiye têkirin.” Gurgî got, “mûyêt min girj bûne?” Rîwî got, “hey, beḥs neke! Hemî wekî dirêşan qişt rawestane.” Gurgî got, “kilika min bûye xeleke li ser pişta min?” Rîwî got, “weto nîye kes bizanît. Wekî kewanê Rostemê Zal e.” Gurgî got, “bes wext temam bû.” Rîwî got, “temam e w zêdetir e.”

65 Gurgî ji xeflet xo hawête ser pişta gayê sor, leqek dana pişta stukira gay. Kilbêt wî tê çûn, ga birîndar kir. Gay rewek da xo, çû, xo di bin ṭayê darekê kêşa. Gurg kewte ber pêyêt gay. Derḥal gay qoçek dana gurgî. Şaxê gay çû di zikê gurgî da. Serê xo bilind kir, gurg pê we ma. Kire hewar, “ez mirim, were, çareyekê li min bike. Bes te got, ‘wext temam bû.’” Rîwî got, “ne simbêlêt te bel bûbûn û ne çawêt te sor bûbûn û ne mûyêt te girj bûbûn û ne kilka te bûbû xelek, ema min ‘eql û me‘rîfeta te tecribe dikir, da bizanim tu çîy.” Xulase gurg mir. Ḥeta şêr hat ga jî çû. Man bê şîw. Şêrî got, “kesê bi xeberê mezinan neket û qiyasa gay li kerî biket, cezayê wî ewe ye.” *Wesselam*.

may go before the lion returns. We can't restrain it. It would be best for us both to try and see if we can't somehow manage to rend it.' The fox said, 'The rending of an ox is beyond my strength. I don't know whether you consider yourself capable of rending an ox or not?'

The wolf said, 'I've never rent an ox, but I have often ripped the stomachs of 64
donkeys. I've killed and eaten many donkeys. An ox is either like a donkey or a bit stronger.' The fox said, 'Certainly, if you can rend an ox it will be a great honour and your stock will stand much higher with his excellency the chief and with all the people of the world.' The wolf said to the fox, 'Look at me and see whether the signs of the lion will appear in me or not.' The fox said, 'Yes, get up on your fore- and hind-legs so that I can see you.' The wolf got up and said to the fox, 'Have my whiskers bristled?' The fox said, 'They've bristled so much you'd think they were deer's antlers.' The wolf said, 'Have my eyes become red?' The fox said, 'Certainly, you'd think red dye had been poured into them.' The wolf said, 'Have my hairs stood up?' The fox said, 'Oh, don't mention it! They are all standing up as straight as bradawls.' The wolf said, 'Has my tail become an arc above my back?' The fox said, 'One can't tell the difference. It's just like the bow of Rostam,[1] son of Zal.' The wolf said, 'Then the time is ripe.' The fox said, 'It is ripe and more so.'

The wolf suddenly flung himself onto the back of the red ox and bit into the 65
back of the ox's neck. His fangs went in and wounded the ox. The ox shied, went and dragged itself under the bough of a tree. The wolf fell in front of the ox's feet. Immediately the ox butted the wolf. Its horns went into the wolf's belly. It raised its head and the wolf stayed on them. He gave a shout, 'I'm killed, come, save me somehow. You said, "The time is ripe."' The fox said, 'Neither had your whiskers bristled, nor had your eyes become red, nor had your hair risen, nor had your tail become an arc, but I was testing your sense and your wisdom so as to see what you are.' In short, the wolf died. By the time the lion returned the ox had gone too. They remained supperless. The lion said, 'This is the reward of a person who does not do as great ones tell him, and who compares an ox with a donkey.'

1 Rostam, a legendary Iranian hero whose deeds are related in Abolqasem Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* [*Šāhnāma*] "Book of Kings".

VII

Ḥekayêta Şêrî Gurgek Kuşt û Rîwî Aqil Girt

66 Dibêjin şêrek û gurgek û rîwîyek bûne şirîk. Çûne çiyayekî, gayekî kîwî w bizinekî kîwî w kêrûşkek girtin, înane lana xo. Şêrî gote gurgî "wan sêyane teqsîm ke, da bixoyn." Gurgî got, "çunko cenabê mîr zatekî mezin e, ez û rîwî xulam în, dibît pişka zatê wî zêdetir bît. Bes lazim e ga bo cenabê mîr bît. We ez jî nawincî me, ji cenabê mîr kiçketir û ji rîwî mezintir im, bes lazim û munasib ew e bizin bo min bît, çunko ew jî nawincî ye. We kêrûşk bo rîwî bît, çunko herdu kiçke ne, bo yêkudu çak in."

67 Gurgî ku ho got, kerbêt şêrî bûnewe. Di dilê xo da gelek ʿaciz bû. Gote gurgî, "êrwe were da min guh lê bît, çunko guhêt min pîçek giran in. Ez têneges̱tim te çi got." Gurg hat, serê xo îna nik guhê şêrî ku bi dengekî bilind beyana teqsîmê biket. Şêrî penceyek li serê gurgî da, çermê ser⟨ê⟩ wî rakir, hêstik derkewt, gurg kuşt.

68 Şêrî gote rîwî, "tu were, teqsîm ke." Rîwî got, "teqsîm kirin di mabeyna wan ṭerze şirîkan da dibît ku hemberanêt yêkudu bin. Di mabeyna aẋa w xulaman da çu teqsîm nîye. Mal û xulam hemî bo aẋa ye. Çi bixot, çi bidet, bi destê cenabê wî ye, kes ḥeqê axiwtinê nîne." Şêrî got, "we ye, ema dîsa lazim e, çi kêm çi zor, pişkek jî bo xulamî bête danan."

69 Rîwî got, "belê, qurbanê wucûda mubarek im, emrê hingo naşkînim. Dê noke ʿerz kem." Rîwî got, "ga bo têşta mîr çak e, çunko mîr zatekî mezin e, her kes tête ḥuzûra wî, lazim e daymî têr bît da fikra wî mişewwiş nebît. Bizin jî bo firawîna mîr bît, kêrûşk jî bo şîwa mîr bît. Eger tiştek jî ma, ew jî bo şewçera mîr bît, çunko mêwanêt mezin, mirowêt maqûl têne ḥuzûra cenabê mîr, direng diniwît, ḥeta wextê niwistinê iḥtimel e birsî bibît, şewçere lazim e."

70 Şêrî got, "bes tu dê çi xoy? Te çu bo xo nedana. Ma tu mar î ku bi axê bijî⟨y⟩?" Rîwî got, "qurbanê te bim, ḥeqê bende nîye bo xo danêm. Kerem û iḥsan bi

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VII

How the Lion Killed a Wolf and the Fox Learnt Sense

They say that a lion, a wolf and a fox became companions. They went to a mountain, caught a wild ox, a wild goat and a hare and brought them to their lair. 66
The lion said to the wolf, 'Divide these three, so that we may eat.' The wolf said, 'Since his excellency the chief is a great person, while the fox and I are servants, his personal portion must be greater. The ox must therefore be for his excellency the chief. And then I am the middle one—I am smaller than his excellency the chief and bigger than the fox—so it is therefore right and proper that the goat should be for me, as that is also the middle one. And the hare should be for the fox, for as they are both small they suit each other.'

When the wolf spoke thus the lion's temper rose. In his heart he was very 67
angry. He said to the wolf, 'Come here so that I can hear, for I'm a bit deaf. I didn't understand what you said.' The wolf came, put his head near the lion's ear in order to explain his division in a loud voice. The lion struck the wolf on the head with one paw, lifting the skin on it so that the bone was bared, and killed the wolf.

The lion said to the fox, 'You come and divide them.' The fox said, 'Making a division must be between such companions as are equals of each other. 68
Between the master and servants there can be no division. The property and the servants are all for the master. What he eats and what he gives away is in his excellency's hands and nobody has a right to speak.' The lion said, 'That is so, but it is still necessary that some portion, whether small or great, be put aside for the servant.'

The fox said, 'I am your excellency's sacrifice, and will not disregard your 69
command. I will now make my representation.' The fox said, 'The ox is good for the chief's breakfast, for the chief is a great person and everybody comes to call on him. He must, therefore, always be replete so that his thoughts may not be confused. Let the goat be for the chief's midday meal and the hare for his evening meal. If anything is left let it be for the chief's late supper, for important guests and honoured men come to wait on his excellency, he goes to sleep late, and he will probably be hungry before it is time to sleep, so he will need a late supper.'

The lion said, 'What will you eat then? You haven't put anything by for your- 70
self. Are you a snake then, that you can live on earth?' The fox said, 'May I be

destê ḥezretê mîr e." Şêrî got, "te ew aqle bo xo ji kê girtiye? Te li kîşk mektebê xundiye? Tu zor têgeştî ⟨yî⟩, zor biaqil î. Aferîn bo fam û zîrekîya te!" Rîwî got, "min ew aqle girt ji kilbêt giṛ û serê sor ku ez li pêş çawêt xo dibînim. Ez gelek şukra Xudê dikem ku gurg hate terbiye kirin, min bo xo aqil girt, we nebû ku ez bême terbiye kirin û ew aqlî bigirît. Ez gelek ji lutfa Xudê memnûn im, şukra wê niʿmetê neşêm bi cî bînim."

71 Şêrî got, "madam tu ho xudan aqil û meʿrifet bî w ho ṣadiq û xêrxazê aẋayê xo bî, were, her sêyan helgire, bo xo bibe. Min dane te, bo te pîroz bin. Ez biquwwet im, dişêm biçim bo xo nêçîrekî çêtir bikem." Rîwî jî du-sê caran hat, demana wî maç kir. Serê xo çemand, gelek duʿa selametîyê w muwaffeqiyetê bo cenabê mîr kir. Ew gelek memnûn bû ji mîr û mîr jî gelek razî bû ji wî.

72 Bes miro jî çak e bo xo ji xelkî ʿibret-girtî bibît da meqbûl bibît û daymî wucûda xo kêmas bizanît da wekî rîwî sê çendan qazanc biket, ne wekî gurgî xo mezin ḥisab biket, paşî serê wî bihête şkandin û mêjîyê wî bihête înane-der. Lazim e bo kiçke muwafiqî mezinê xo reftarê biket, muxalifî tebîʿetê wî di rê we neçît. Egerne dê gelek zererê bînît. Xulam digel aẋayê xo eger we nebît wekî Şêx Seʿdî gotî qet meqbûl nabît. Ho gotiye,

agar xud rūz-rā gūyad, "šab ast īn,"
bibāyad guft, "īnak māh u parvīn."

Yeʿnî, eger bêjîte rojê, "ewe şew e," lazim e xulam bêjît, "ewe hewî, ewe pêro dîhar in li ʿesmanî." *Wesselam*.

your sacrifice, I have no right to put anything by for myself. Bounty and generosity are for his excellency the chief.' The lion said, 'From whom did you learn this sense? At which school have you studied? You are very wise, very intelligent. Bravo for your cleverness and understanding!' The fox said, 'I learnt this sense from the grinning fangs and the gory head I see before me. I thank God very much that the wolf was punished and I learnt sense, and that it wasn't me who was punished while he learnt sense. I am most grateful for God's kindness and I cannot thank Him enough for this bounty.'

The lion said, 'Since you are so wise and knowledgeable, and so loyal and 71
well-wishing towards your master, come, take up all three and carry them off for yourself. I give them to you with my blessing. I am powerful and can go and get myself some better prey.' The fox came and kissed the skirt of his garment two or three times. He bowed his head and uttered many prayers for the safety and success of his excellency the chief. He was very grateful to the chief and the chief was very pleased with him.

Now it is good for a man too to take a warning from people, so that he may 72
be acceptable, and always to consider himself wanting so that, like the fox, he may make treble the profit, and not consider himself great, like the wolf, so that in the end his head is broken and his brains knocked out. The small man must behave in accordance with his leader and not proceed contrary to his nature. Otherwise he will suffer much injury. If a servant does not act towards his master as Shaikh Sa'di[1] has said he will never be acceptable. He has said:

If he says of the day, 'This is night,'
The servant must say, 'There is the moon and there are the Pleiades visible in the sky.'

1 Shaikh Muslihuddin Sa'di of Shiraz, renowned Persian poet, ca. 1200–1292: the verse is from his *Golestan* [*Gulistān*], I, 31.

VIII

Ḥekayêta Rezewanî w Xudanê Hespî w Hêstirê w Kerî

73 Dibêjin carekê sê kes çûne karwanî, yêkî hebû hesp, yêkî hêstir, yêkî ker. Geheştine rezekî dûr ji gundî. Dewarêt wan birsî bûbûn, ew jî mandî bûbûn. Gotin, "çak e lêre bêna xo bideyn, pîçek wehisyêyn, paşî biçîn." Wan her sê dewar berdane naw rezî, giya w zira'et dixarin û wan jî fêqî xarin. Rezewan hat, gote wan, "hung bo çî wihê diken? Gunah e, zerer e." Her sê li wî xurîn, gotine wî, "kiṛ be, egerne dê ẓopan xoy!"

74 Rezewan jî, çunko bi tinê bû w xelk dûr bû, kes dîhar nebû ku di hewara wî bihêt, tirsa. Di dilê xo da got, "lazim e bi hostayî wane ji naw rezê xo bikeme der û terbiye bikem. Ew sê ne, ez bi tinê, ez newêrime wan. Dibît wane bêtifaq kem." Ewcar çû nik xudanê hespî w hêstirê, hêdî di guhî da gote wan, "eger hung harî min biken, kerî bikeyne der, ez bo hingo razî me w dê firawînekê xoş deme hingo w her yêkî ji hingo jî du zêrê zer dê demê, bo xo biden ḥeq-barî."[1] Wan jî gotin, "eger tu wê bikey em bêxatirîya te nakeyn."

75 Rezewan hate nik xudanê kerî, gote wî, "ferzen xudanê hespî w hêstirê qedrê min negirin, dewarêt xo bînine naw rezê min, çunko hesp û hêstir gelek biqîmet in, kewtina wan ji birsan zererekê mezin e, ema kerê pîs te bo çî berdaye naw rezê min? Noke cezayê te çi ye?" Çunko xudanê kerî jî weto xiyal dikir ku herdu hewalêt wî dê harî wî ken, nedizanî ku rezewanî herdu lêbandine, dest da gopalê xo, hate rezewanî. Rezewanî jî dest da bêrikê, çûyê. Rezewanî ew da ber bêrikan ḥeta li 'erdî dirêj kir. Hindî hewar kir hewalêt wî di hewara wî neçûn,

1 This may also be read an ezafe phrase, as *ḥeqê barî* 'the fee for the load'.

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VIII

The Gardener and the Owners of a Horse, a Mule and a Donkey

They[2] say that three men once went on a caravan, one having a horse, one a 73
mule and one a donkey. They arrived at a garden far from a village. Their beasts had become hungry, and they themselves tired. They said, 'We had better take a rest here, relax a little and then go on.' They all three set their beasts loose in the orchard, where they grazed on the grass and the crops, and they themselves ate the fruit. The gardener came and said to them, 'Why do you do that? It is a shameful and damaging thing.' All three abused him, saying, 'Shut up, or you'll take a cudgelling.'

As he was alone and people were far off, and there was nobody in sight who 74
might come to his help, the gardener was afraid. He said to himself, 'I must get them out of my orchard and teach them a lesson, by cunning. They are three and I am alone, so I'm no match for them. I must disunite them.' Then he went up to the owners of the horse and the mule and said quietly into their ears, 'If you will help me while we throw the donkey out I don't mind you staying and I'll give you an excellent lunch, and moreover I'll give you each two gold pieces which you can spend on a load to trade with.' They said, 'If you will do that we shan't disappoint you.'

The gardener came to the owner of the donkey and said to him, 'Even sup- 75
posing the owners of the horse and the mule are slighting me by bringing their beasts into my orchard (I can see their point), for a horse and a mule are very valuable and their collapsing from hunger is a great loss, but why have you set your filthy donkey loose in my orchard? Now what is your punishment?' Since the owner of the donkey thought that his two companions would help him, not knowing that the gardener had deceived them, he reached for his staff and came at the gardener. The gardener, for his part, seised a wooden shovel and went for him. The gardener belaboured him with the shovel until he stretched him out on the ground. However much he shouted for help his companions did

2 A version of this story is recorded among the Kurds of Armenia, with the title *Xayê kerê, xayê hespê û xayê gê* 'The owner of the donkey, the owner of the horse and the owner of the ox', in Hecîyê Cindî, *Hikyatêd Cimeata Kurda* [*The stories of Kurdish people*], vol. VI (Rûpel, 2016[1959]), 340–342.

gotin, “xudanê rezî heq e, rast dibêjît. Ma tu dê çaw li me key?” Xulase ker û xudanê kerî herdu ji şûra rezî wajî kirin.

76 Paşî çû, hêdî gote xudanê hespî, “ez pîçek şikan ji te dibem, texmîn dikem tu kurê Xal Eḥmed î. Babê min û Xal Eḥmed qewî dost bûn, wekî birayêt daybabî bûn, malek ḥisab bûn. Gelek caran babê min Ṣofî Silêman, rehmet li qebrê wî bît, behsê Xal Eḥmed⟨ê⟩ rehmetî dikir. Tu bi Xudê bo min rastî bêje ka tu kurê wî ⟨yî⟩ yan ne?” Xudanê hespî, çi ji duro çi ji rast, gote rezewanî, “belê, ez kurê Xal Eḥmed im. Babê min jî rehmetî gelek caran teʿrîfa mirowanîya Ṣofî Silêmanê rehmetî dikir.”

77 Wextê we got rezewanî destê wî w rûyê wî maç kir, got, “tu qewî bi xêr bihêy, ser seran, ser çawan hatî. Mala min mala te ye, ḥez dikey agirî berdê.” Gazî jina xo kir, “zû be, doşek û balgan danê w zadekî xoş ḥazir ke, ku mêwanekî zor ʿezîz bo me hatiye.” We gotê jî, “eger tu muhlet bidey û dilê te ʿaciz nebît, da xudanê hêstirê bi rê biêxim. Bila ew biçît, tu ew şewe lêre be. Sebra min qewî bi te têt. Ṣubey du zêrêt wî jî dê deme te, her çar zêr bo te mubarek bin. Tişt bo dostan çak e.” Xudanê hespî jî ji ber ṭemaʿa pare w ʿezman-lûsîya rezewanî got, “qewî baş e.”

78 Wextê wan ho tedbîra xo kirin rezewanî gote xudanê hêstirê, “ewe ʿElî kurê Xal Eḥmed e. Ji mêj e min nedîtiye. Ez ew şewe wî ruxset nadem, ihtimal e ṣube jî ruxset nedem. Eger tu bi lez bî, teşrîf ke, here w hindek tirî bo rêka xo bibe.” Xudanê hêstirê got, “madam ku ʿElî nahêt ez dê çim. Me hêṛwan nemaye, neşêm xo gîro bikem.” Xudanê hêstirê çû.

79 Rezewanî gote xudanê hespî, “tu teşrîf ke, here mal, rûnê. Ez dê çime ser awê, ṭeharetekî girim û hêm.” ʿElî çû mala rezewanî, rûnişt. Rezewan li dû xudanê hêstirê çû hêdî hêdî ḥeta geheştine kendekî. Rezewanî gazî kir, “neçe, te tiştekî xo ji bîr kiriye. Min bo te înaye.” Xudanê hêstirê rawesta. Rezewan geheşte wî, bê suwal û cewab da ber bêrikan, weto kuta hemî giyanê wî reş-û-şîn kir, ew jî li wê derê nîw-mirî hêla. Geriyawe bo mala xo. Hat, dît ʿElî li ser doşekê rûniştî, palê xo daye balgêt nerm, cigara xo dikêşît. Gotê, “ʿElî!” ʿElî jî got, “belê, bira.” Rezewanî got, “ez bira nî-me, ez ew im keran li ser dayka te girê didem.” Destê xo da destike-biwirekî stûr, hind li ṭeniştêt ʿElî da ḥeta nehişyar kir, bê ʿezman bû. Jina wî got, “ewe çi bû? Te got dostekî ʿezîz e, paşî te îna ḥalê mirinê.” Rezewanî

not go to help him, but said, 'The owner of the orchard is in the right and speaks truly. Why would you imitate us?!' In short he tipped both the donkey and its owner over the wall of the (terraced) orchard.

Then he went and said quietly to the owner of the horse, 'I'm not quite 76
sure about you, but I think you must be the son of Uncle Ahmad. My father and Uncle Ahmad were great friends, they were like blood brothers, they were (almost) counted as one family. Many a time my father, Sofi Sulaiman, may mercy be on his grave, would talk of the late Uncle Ahmad. Tell me truly, by God, are you his son, or not?' The owner of the horse, whether lying or telling the truth, said to the gardener, 'Yes, I'm the son of Uncle Ahmad. My late father too often spoke highly of the generosity of the late Sofi Sulaiman.'

When he said this the gardener kissed his hand and his face and said, 'You 77
are very welcome, upon my head and eyes. My house is your house, to set fire to if you will.' He called to his wife, 'Hurry, set out mattresses and cushions and prepare some good food, for a very dear guest has come to us.' And he also said to him, 'If you will spare me a moment, and it won't distress you, we ought to set the owner of the mule on his way. Let him go and you stay here tonight. I'm delighted to have you. Tomorrow I give you his two pieces of gold also, and you are welcome to all four pieces of gold. It is best to do things for friends.' The owner of the horse, both from desire for the money and on account of the gardener's flattery, said, 'Very well.'

When they had made their plan in this way the gardener said to the owner 78
of the mule, 'This is Ali, the son of Uncle Ahmad. I haven't seen him for a long time. I shan't let him go tonight, and maybe not even tomorrow. If you are in a hurry, (in your place) I should go on, and take a few grapes with you for the road.' The owner of the mule said, 'Since Ali isn't coming, I shall go on. We have no grain left and I can't delay myself.' The mule-owner went.

The gardener said to the horse-owner, 'You please go into the house and sit 79
down. I shall go to the outhouse, make my ablutions and then come.' Ali went to the gardener's house and sat down. The gardener went quietly after the owner of the mule until they came to a small ravine. The gardener called, 'Don't go on, you forgot something and I've brought it for you.' The mule-owner stopped. The gardener came up to him and without further ado set about him with the shovel, beat him until his whole body was black and blue, and left him there half-dead. He returned to his own home. He came and saw Ali sitting on a mattress, leaning against soft cushions, smoking a cigarette. He said to him, 'Ali!' Ali said, 'Yes, brother.' The gardener said, 'I'm no brother, I'm the one who defiles your mother.' He reached for a stout axe-helve and belaboured Ali's sides with it until he knocked him unconscious and speechless. His wife said, 'What was this? You said he was a dear friend, then you nearly killed him.' The gardener

got, “ma tu kore yî, nabînî rezê me çend xirab kiriye? Eger ho neba elbette, ez bi tinê ew sê, ez nedişiyam tola xo wekem.”

80 Rezewanî bi hostayî her sê çak terbiye kirin, tola xirab kirina rezê xo ji wan wekir, reḥet li mala xo rûnişt. Çak e di wê ḥerba ʿumûmî da herkes wê ḥekayêtê di dilê xo da hizr biket, çu wext ji bîr neket, çunko hene noke di fikra rezewanî da. Hişyar bin! *Wesselam*.

said, 'Why, are you blind? Don't you see how they have spoilt our orchard? If it hadn't been this way I could certainly not have avenged myself on these three by myself.'

The gardener taught all three of them a good lesson by guile, and took 80
revenge on them for the spoiling of his orchard, and sat back in comfort in his own home. It would be best for everybody to bear this story in mind during this Great War, and never forget it, for there are those now thinking like the gardener. Beware!

IX

Mirowê Ḥîlebaz Kerê Mirowê Bêʿeql Dizî

81 Mirowekî ebleh diçû, hewsarê kerekî girtibû, li dû xo dikêşa. Du mirowêt ḥîlebaz ew dît. Yêkî ji wan got, “ez wî kerey dê ji wî mirowey dizim.” Ewê dî got, “çito dê girî?” Got, “digel min were da girtinê nîşa te bidem.” Paşî ew ḥîlebaz hate bi layê kerî we, hewsar ji serê kerî kirewe, ker da destê hewalê xo, hewsar di serê xo kir, li dû ew bêʿeql⟨î⟩ çû ḥeta şirîkê wî ker ji wê mabeynê bire layekî. Ew wextî mirowê ḥîlebaz rawesta, pêyêt xo nerakirin.

82 Mirowê ebleh berê xo da layê wî, dît hewsar di serê mirowekî da, gote wî, “tu çi tişt î?” Got, “ez kerê te me. Ḥekayêta min ʿecîb e, ew jî ewe ye: Min daykek hebû, pîr, ʿemel-çak. Ez rojekê serxoş bûm, çûme nik wê. Wê jî gote min, “kurê min, ji wî gunahî tobe bike.” Min jî dar helgirt, ew kuta. Wê jî duʿa li min kir, Xudê ez îname ser şiklê kerî, êxistime destê te. Ew hinde qeder roj e ez li nik te bûm, ewro dayka min ez bîra xo înam û meḥebbeta wê w reḥma wê bo layê min peyda bû w bo min duʿa kir. Xudayê teʿala ez carekê dî îname ser şiklê xo yê eslî.”

83 Paşî ew mirowê ebleh got, “ez te bi Xudê dideme sûndê ku ji şolêt min bi te kirî gerdena min aza ke.” Wê demê hewsar ji serî kir û ebleh geriyawe, hate mala xo, qewî xemgîr û ṭirş-û-şîn bû. Jina wî gote wî, “çi li te qewimîye? Kerê te li kî derê ye?” Wê carê wî jî ḥekayêt ji serî ḥeta dûmayê bo jina xo gêṛawe. Jinê got, “way bo ḥalê me. Em dê çito cewaba Xudê deyn? Em gelek gunehkar û rûreş bûyn li ber dergahê Xudê.”

84 Jinê ew gotine dikirin, dihate ranêt xo bi tep û mist û ser-û-çawêt xo dibiskuṛînewe, digirî. Digot, “me çawa ḥeta noke hinde muddey benî-ademek li cîyê kerî da şolê? Me xizmet pê kir, me lê dan, me zeḥmet da, me birsî kir, me tênî kir, gelek caran me bê ceh, bê alîk dihinare daran.” Paşî rabû, şekek kuştewe, kire xêr, sedeqe dane feqîran. Zor tobe w istiẋfar kirin, digot, “ya Xudê, tu li me xoş bî, qusûra me ʿefû key.”

85 Ew mirowê bêmêjî qederê çend rojekan bêşol li mala xo rûnişt. Biçûkêt wî man bê nan û birsî di xanî da. Rojekê jinê gotê, “ḥeta kengî dê hotowe bê şol di xanî da rûnêy, linga dirêj key? Rabe, here bazarê, kerekî bikire, bi xo bi şolekî

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IX

(How) the Trickster Stole the Fool's Donkey

A fool was walking along, holding the halter of a donkey and pulling it after 81
him. Two tricksters saw him. One of them said, 'I shall steal this donkey from this man.' The other said, 'How will you take it?' He said, 'Come with me so that I (can) show you the taking.' Then the trickster came up to beside the donkey, undid the halter from the donkey's head, gave the donkey into his companion's hands, put the halter on his own head and followed the fool until his partner had removed the donkey from the neighbourhood. Then the trickster stopped and would not lift his feet.

The foolish fellow turned towards him and saw the halter on the head of a 82
man. He said to him, 'What thing are you?' He said, 'I am your donkey. My story is a strange one and it is this. I had a mother, old and pious. One day I got drunk and went to her. She said to me, "My son, repent of that sin." I took up a stick and beat her. She prayed over me and God changed me into a donkey and put me into your hands. So many days I have been with you and today my mother remembered me and her love and her mercy towards me were kindled and she prayed for me and Almighty God has changed me back again to my original shape.'

Then the fool said, 'I conjure you by God to pardon me for all the works I 83
have made you do.' Then he took the halter off his head and the fool turned back and went home, much distressed and sad. His wife said to him, 'What has happened to you? Where is your donkey?' Then he related the whole story for his wife, from beginning to end. His wife said, 'Alas for us. How shall we answer to God? We have become most guilty and shamed before the court of God.'

The wife said this and fell to beating her thighs and scratching her face and 84
weeping, saying, 'How could we have made a human being work instead of a donkey for so long up till now? We made use of it, we beat it, we plagued it, we made it hungry and thirsty, often we sent it to fetch wood without barley or fodder.' Afterwards she got up and killed a young ram and distributed it as alms among the poor. She repented greatly and begged for mercy, saying, 'O God, forgive us and pardon our fault.'

The brainless fellow sat at home idle for a few days. His children stayed in 85
the house without food and hungry. One day his wife said, 'How long are you going to sit idle like this in the house, (simply) stretching your legs? Get up and go to the market and buy a donkey, busy yourself with some work and get some

meşẋûl be, nanekî, rizqekî bo ʿeyalê xo peyda bike. Em ho najîn ṭerzê tu dikey." Ebleh rabû, çû bazara dewarfiroşa, kerê xo dît ku difiroşin.

86 Wextê ku kerê xo nasî hêdî çû nik kerî, dewê xo bi guhê wî we na w gote wî, "hey meyşûm, hey bêyom, ez texmîn dikem dîsa te mehe xarîyewe w dayka xo îza daye, wê jî duʿa li te kiriye, lewanê dîsa Xudê ew ẋezebe li te kiriye, tu carekê dî kiriye-w ker. Bi Xudê, bi Xudê, carekê dî te nakirim. Here, ho siket bibe." Paşî ebleh jê geriya, ker weto li wê derê bi cî hêla, hatewe bo mala xo.

87 Nesîḥet. Belê, miro lazim e daymî hişyar bît, tiştê muxalifî qanûna Xudê bît qebûl neket. We ye Xudê her tiştî dişêt biket, ema tiştê muẋayirî ʿadet hemî wexta naket, da nizam û rewişta dunyayê têk neçît. Bo ẋeyrî pêẋemberan, ew jî ne hemî wextan, *xariqu-l-ʿadet* nekiriye w naket. Bes hişyar bin, nelêbyên!

bread, some food for your family. We cannot live in this way, as you are doing.' The fool rose and went to the cattle market—and saw his own donkey that they were selling!

When he recognized his own donkey he went slowly up to it, put his mouth 86
to its ear and said to it, 'O luckless wretch, I suppose you've been drinking too much again and hurting your mother, she has prayed over you and that's why God has been angry with you again and turned you back into a donkey. By God, by God, I'll not buy you again. Go, and may you die thus.' Then the fool turned away, leaving the donkey there so, and went back home.

Moral. Yes, a man must always have his wits about him and not accept any- 87
thing which goes against the laws of God. It is so, that God can do everything, but He does not always do extraordinary things lest the order and course of the world be destroyed. Neither has He ever done, nor ever will do, anything unnatural for any but the Prophets. So take heed and do not be deceived!

x

Ḥekayêta Nêçîrwanî w Hirçê

88 Dibêjin nêçîrwanekî zor çak li naw ʻeşîreta Mizûrî Jorîyan hebû, nawê wî Silêman Bazîd bû. Gelek meşhûr e. Behsê wî bi ʻecaib digêṛinewe. Dibêjin ḥeta pezê kîwî ji ḥukmê tifenga wî derdikewt ewî li beza pezî sê caran tifenga xo xalî dikir û dadigirtewe. Çu caran tifenga wî xora nediçû, sê diêxistin. Tifeng jî ṭerzê kewn bû ku ji derî ra dihate dagirtin.

89 Dibêjin carekê Silêman Bazîd bi tinê çû çiyayê Hewêdî nêçîrê biket. Çû serê kopikî, pariste hindawê lata çiyay, bizanît pezê kîwî li wê derê heye yan ne. Wextê çû hindawê latê dît hirçek li ser dara keskanê ye w pilingek jî li bin darê ye. Hirçê niṛ-niṛ dikir, pilingî jî ziṛ-ziṛ dikir. Hirç zor ditirsa, nediwêra bihête xarê. Silêman jî hizr kir, "eger hirçê bikujim iḥtimal e piling xilas bibît. Çak e di pêş da pilingî bikujim. Hirç neşêt ji destê min xilas bibît."

90 Silêman sêra[1] tifengê da serê kalkaloka milê pilingî, çeqmaqa tifengê çeqand. Tifeng çû der, ew cî girt yê wî sêre lê girtî. Piling li cîyê xo kewt, nebiziwt, mir. Hirçê ku dît piling mir hate xarê, neçû. Silêman got, "ez carê nakujim, bizanim dê çi ket." Hirç li bin darê rûnişt, hawrîyêt xo gêṛan, neçû. Dewê xo bilind dikir, piṛmepiṛm dikir. Silêman got, "da xo nîşa bidem, ka dê çi ket." Wextê nîşa da hirçê limûzê xo di axê husû, kilka xo hijand, hêdî hêdî hat bo layê Silêman. Silêman jî got, "eger ez xarime carê nakujim, bizanim dê çi ket." Xulase hirç hat, li nik Silêman heltûtirî, her piṛmepiṛm dikir. Silêman got, "da biçim, ka dê çi ket." Silêman çû, hirç jî dû wî kewt. Bi wî ḥalî Silêman hate mala xo, hirç jî digel wî hat. Her cîyekî Silêman çûbayê hirç jî digel wî diçû. Şewê w rôjê ji wî cuda nedibû. Weku diniwist hirçê baweşîn li wî dikir. Eger roj ba mêşereşk ji wî direwandin.

91 Rojekê Silêman çû pişta gundî, li bin sîbera berekî niwist. Hirç jî digel da bû. Mêş dihatine dew, çaw, difnêt Silêman. Hirçê jî baweşîn dikir û mêş direwandin. Silêman zû hay nebû, ji xewê nerabû. Destê hirçê jî şil bû hindî baweşînê biket. Hirçê jî hizr kir, "çak e rawestim ḥeta mêş hemî tên, li ser-û-çawêt wî dihinin, paşî dê pelxekî pê da dem, hemîyan kujim."

1 Pronunciation variant of *stêre* 'foresight of gun'.

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x

The Huntsman and the Bear

They say that there was once a very fine huntsman among the Upper Mizuri 88
tribe whose name was Sulaiman Bazid. He is very famous. They tell wonderful stories about him. They say that before wild sheep could flee beyond range of his gun he would fire three times into their path and reload. He never wasted a shot, always hitting three. Moreover, his gun was of the old type which was loaded by the muzzle!

They say that once Sulaiman Bazid went to hunt alone on the mountain of 89
Hawedi. He went on top of the crest and crept above a patch of mountain pasture to see whether there were wild sheep there or not. When he went above the stretch of meadow he saw that there was a bear in the top of a terebinth tree and also a leopard at the foot of the tree. The bear was whimpering and the leopard snarling. The bear was very afraid and dared not come down. Sulaiman thought, 'If I kill the bear the leopard will probably escape. It would be better to kill the leopard first. The bear can't escape me.'

Sulaiman pointed the foresight of his gun at the leopard's shoulder-blade 90
and loosed the cock. The gun went off and hit the very place that he had aimed at. The leopard dropped in its tracks, motionless, and died. When the bear saw that the leopard was dead it came down and did not go away. Sulaiman said, 'I won't kill it for the moment, so as to see what it will do.' The bear sat beneath the tree looking about it and did not go away. It raised its mouth and snuffled. Sulaiman said, 'Let me show myself, to see what it will do.' When he showed himself the bear rubbed its muzzle in the dust, wagged its tail and slowly came up to Sulaiman. Sulaiman said, 'Even if it should eat me I won't kill it for the moment, so as to see what it will do.' In short, the bear came and squatted by Sulaiman, snuffling all the time. Sulaiman said, 'Let me go, to see what it does.' Sulaiman went off and the bear followed him. In that way Sulaiman came home and the bear with him. Wherever Sulaiman might go the bear would go with him. It would not be separated from him night or day. When he slept the bear would fan him and, if it were daytime, would also drive the flies away from him.

One day Sulaiman went behind the village and fell asleep in the shade of a 91
boulder. The bear was also with him. Flies came on Sulaiman's mouth and eyes and nose. The bear was fanning him and driving away the flies. Sulaiman did not soon waken or get up from his sleep. The bear's arm became limp from so much fanning. It thought to itself, 'It would be best to stop until all the flies come and settle on his face, then I shall hit them with a stone and kill them all.'

92 Hirç rawesta ḥeta mêş li ser-û-çawêt wî bûne gumtil. Hirç çû, pelxek îna hindî destarekê, jor da bi serê Silêman dada, serê wî hûr kir, mêjîyê wî belaw kir, Silêman kuşt. Hirçê nezanî ku miriye, li nik wê we bû şolekê gelek çak kiriye. Ji ber xûnê w birînê mêş zêdetir dihatin. Hirçê jî her seʿetekê ew pelx li ser û cendekê Silêman dida.

93 Bû meẋreb, Silêman nehatewe. Seʿetek ji şewê çû, Silêman nehat. Ehlê mala wî gotin, "ewe Silêman gîro bû. Em dibêjîn bê bela nîye, lewa hinde gîro bûye." Rabûn çûn teftîşa ḥalê Silêmanî biken. Qederekê li çarnikarêt gundî geriyan. Silêman dîtin mirî, hirç li hindaw serî piṛmepiṛmê diket. Jin û biçûk û xizmêt Silêmanî hemî hatin, kirine qorî w girîn û tejî ser serê xo kuṛ û xolî kirin. Meytê Silêmanî danane ser darbestê, înane gundî. Wê şewê şuştin û kifn kirin, ṣubey birine ser meẋberê, şarinewe. Hirç jî ma li mala Silêman. Hindekan gotin, "çak e bikujîn." Hindekan gotin, "hirça Silêmanî ye, nakujîn." Xulase dûmayê reʾya hemîyan hate ser kuştina hirçê. Gotin, "hewalê ho bê-meʿrifet, eḥmeq, bê-şuʿûr bo kuştinê çak e."

94 Hirç kuştin, ema çi fayde hebû! Mêrekî wekî Silêman fewitî. Insan lazim e bo xo ji ḥekayêta Silêman û hirçê nesîḥetê bigirît, nebîte dostê bê-meʿrifetan. Hatiye gotin: *"Dušman-i dānā bih az nādān dūst.*[2] *Al-ʿadūwu-l-ʿāqil xayr mina-ṣ-ṣadīqi-l-ʾaḥmaq."*[3] Yeʿnî, dujminê aqil çêtir e ji dostê bêaqil. *Wesselam*.

2 In Persian.

3 In Arabic.

The bear waited until there was a cluster of flies on his face, took a stone as 92
big as a quern-stone and brought it down on Sulaiman, shattering his head and scattering his brains, killing him. The bear did not realise that he was dead but thought to herself that she had done something very fine. On account of the blood and the wound more and more flies came. Every now and then the bear would strike Sulaiman's head and lifeless body with the stone.

The sun set and Sulaiman did not return. An hour of the night passed and 93
still Sulaiman did not come. The people of his house said, 'Sulaiman has been delayed. We think there must be something wrong and that is why he is so delayed.' They got up and went to find what was wrong with Sulaiman. For a while they went all about the village. Then they saw Sulaiman, dead, and the bear snuffling above his head. Sulaiman's wife and children and relatives all came and began wailing and crying and throwing earth and ashes all over their heads. They placed Sulaiman's corpse on a stretcher and brought it to the village. That night they washed him and enshrouded him, and on the morrow they carried him to the graveyard and buried him. The bear stayed in Sulaiman's house. Some said, 'We ought to kill it.' Some said, 'It is Sulaiman's bear. We won't kill it.' In short, they all finally decided to kill the bear. They said, 'Such an ignorant, foolish, stupid companion deserves to be killed.'

They killed the bear, but what was the use? A man such as Sulaiman had per- 94
ished. People should be warned by the story of Sulaiman and the bear not to make friends with the ignorant. It has been said (in both Persian and Arabic), '*A wise enemy is better than a foolish friend.*'

XI

Ḥekayêta Bêgalteyî Keran Dibuẋzînin

95 Gundekî dibêjinê Bêgalte, ji ʿeşîreta Herkî Binecî, daxilê qeza Şemdînan, ser tixûbê ʿeşîreta Herkî w Gerdî w Mizûrî Jorî ye. Ehlê Bêgalte aqil-siwik in. Berê qewî bêaqil bûn, noke pîçek çak in.

96 Digêṛinewe carekê melayê wan ḥekayêta Deccal bo wan dixund, digot, "gelî millet, çak guhê xo bidenê, ewe gotina min nîye. Ez ji kîsê xo nabêjim, belko ewe gotina pêẋemberê me ye. Ferman kiriye di axirê zemanî da, nêzîkî dunya-xirab-bûnê, Deccal dê rabît, dunyayê dê êxîte belayê, dunya hemî ji destê wî dê wêzar bît. Ḥeta ʿÎsa pêẋember ji ʿesmanan nehête xar, wî nekujît, dunya raḥet nabît. Dewara suwarîya wî jî ker e. Hîç ḥeywan qebûl naket Deccal li ser pişta wî suwar bît ji bil[1] kerî."

97 Wextê mela ho got ji mela pisyar kirin, gotin, "bê şik, mela, Deccal dê li pişta kerî suwar bît?" Mela cewab da, "belê, bê şik bizanin weto ye w Muḥemmed pêẋember weto fermoye." Paşî wan got, "bes, mela, me jî ker hene. Çak e hemîyan bikujîn. Ḥeywanê ho ṭerêf, ho kirêt bo çî ragirîn?" Mela jî got, "zor baş e, bikujin, gîro neken. Bila ew melʿûn li pêş çawêt me nebin. Ji mêj e min dil hebû bêjime hingo, ema noke helkewt."

98 Ewcar her kes rabû, tifenga xo helgirt, kerê xo da pêşa xo, ji gundî bire der, bire kendikekî, tifengek li ṭenişta kerê xo da, kerê xo kuşt. Wextê hatinewe bo gundî mela ẋeza-pîrozî li wan kir, gote wan, "ẋeza hingo pîroz bît. Xozî bo hingo, Xudê bo hingo beḥeştê qesran dê çêket, ḥorîyan dete hingo."

99 Ji hingî paş we Bêgalteyî qet keran qebûl naken, xêya barê kerî jî naxon. Wextê keran dibînin tif dikenê. Eger mêwanek bihête gundê wan, eger xurt nebît, ji wî netirsin, kerê wî ji derwe dê mînît, kes nadaket, alifî nadenê w eger bişên û biwêrin dê kujin. Gelek caran kerêt mêwanan ji peni we kuştine. Ew ḥale derheq kerî noke jî maye. Kêmek ferq kiriye, ema ne çendan, ḥeta sala pêrar jî du nêçîrwanêt wan kerek li şûnmalêt Herkî[yê] rewend li çolê dîtinewe, du tifeng lê dan, kuştin, bezir kirin.

1 Elsewhere in the text and in its more common form in Kurmanji: *ji bilî* 'apart from'.

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XI

The People of Begalta Detest Donkeys

There[2] is a village called Begalta belonging to the settled Harki tribe in the district of Shamdinan, on the boundary between the Harki and Girdi and Upper Mizuri tribes. The people of Begalta are feeble-minded. Formerly they were extremely stupid, but now they are a bit better. 95

It is related that once their mullah was telling them the story of Antichrist and said, 'O people, listen well to this, for this is not simply my saying. I am not speaking for myself, but rather is this the saying of our Prophet. He has said that at the end of time, near the (end and) destruction of the world, Antichrist will rise up in the world and inflict calamity upon it and the whole world will be distressed at his hands. Until the prophet Jesus comes down from heaven and kills him the earth will have no rest. His mount will be a donkey. No animal will allow Antichrist to mount on its back except the donkey.' 96

When the mullah spoke in this way they asked him, saying, 'Mullah, will Antichrist be mounted on a donkey for certain?' The mullah answered, 'Yes, know that it is so, without a doubt and the Prophet Muhammad has said so.' Then they said, 'Well, Mullah, we have donkeys too. We had better kill them all. Why should we keep such a strange and hideous animal?' The mullah said, 'Very well, kill them without delay. Let the accursed one not remain in our sight. I have been wanting to say this to you for a long time, but now it has cropped up.' 97

Then everybody got up, took up his gun, drove his donkey before him out of the village, took it to a ravine, and shot it in the side and killed it. When they came back to the village the mullah welcomed them as returning fighters for the faith. He said to them, 'May your war against the infidels be blessed. Happily for you, God will prepare mansions for you in paradise and give you houris.' 98

Since then people of the Begalta will not accept donkeys; they will not even eat salt from a donkey's load. When they see donkeys they spit at them. If a guest comes to their village, and if he is not powerful and they do not fear him, his donkey will stay outside, nobody will take it in (to his stall) or give it fodder, and if they can, and dare, they will kill it. Many times they have secretly killed the donkeys of guests. This state, with regard to donkeys, still remains now. Things have changed a little, but not so much, for even the year before last two of their huntsmen found a donkey in the wilderness, in the tracks of some nomad Harki households, shot at it twice and killed it, destroying it. 99

2 This story is still known by the elderly in Shamdinan.

XII

Ḥekayêta Ṣofî Şêx Herkî Binecî

100 Mirowekî ji ʿeşîreta Herkî Binecî, nawê wî Ṣofî Şêx bû. Carekê we helkewt, bo şolekê bi sefer çû naw ʿeşîreta Rêkanîya, li malekê bû mêwan. Malxê mala wan li mal nebû. Jin û biçûk hebûn, çu mêr li wê derê ḥazir nebûn. Wê salê derdega li naw çawrîyêt wan hebû. Her roj çil-pênce çêl û ga dimirin. Wê şewê gayê wê malê î nexoş bû, di helê da bû. Kerek jî di helê da bû.

101 Wê şewê jinêt wê malê ji ber nexoşîya gayê xo neniwistin, her bi hay bûn, nobe digirtin li gay. Nîwşewê jinekê got, "da biçim, temaşe kem kanê ga çawan e." Çû helê, guhê xo dayê, xirexira gay bihîst, zanî ku di be rûḥê da ye. Zû zû hat, gazî kire Ṣofî Şêx, gotê, "hay, ez qurbanê te me, Ṣofî Şêx, zû rabe. Gayê me wê di be[1] rûḥê da. Eger zû negehiyê dê mirar bît. Mixabin e. Wekuje, her nebît çermê wî xesar nabît."

102 Ṣofî Şêx rabû, çaw-bi-xew, her diborijî, çû di helê da. Ṭarî bû, çu çira jî nebûn, çu bizot jî digel xo nebiribûn, her weto çûbû. Wextê jûr kewt xencera xo kêşa, bi destqutan ew la ew la li gay geriya. Ji xeflet we destê wî geşte stukira wulaxekê razayî, kewtiye ser ṭenişte. Wî jî xencer hawête stukira wî, kuştewe. Hate der, gote jinan, "herin, ronayîyekê bibene helê, da bihêm çêkem, ser-û-ber kem. Min bi zor ḥelal kir."

103 Wextê jin çûn, şemala şemayê birine hindaw gay, dîtin ku ga mirar bûye. Pîçek şemal wêwetir birin, dîtin ker kuştîyewe. Hatine serê xo bi çepelan, gotine Ṣofî Şêx, "te mala me xirab kir. Ga mirar bû, ker jî te kuştewe." Ṣofî Şêx got, "ez çi bikem?! Ṭarî bû, ez ji xewê rabûbûm. Min nezanî, bê destî bû, qeza bû qewimî. Min bi qestî ewe nekiriye." Xulase di wê şewê da ji şerma xo rabû, ji wê derê çû.

1 Short form of *ber*.

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XII

Sofi Shaikh of the Settled Harki

There was a man of the settled Harki tribe whose name was Sofi Shaikh. Once 100
it so happened that for some affair he went on a journey among the Rekani tribe. He was guest in a certain house. The head of the house was not at home. There were the women and children, but no men present there. That year there was cattle-plague among their livestock. Every day forty or fifty cows and oxen would die. That night the ox of that household was ill in the stall. There was a donkey in the stall too.

That night the women of the house did not sleep, because of the illness 101
of their ox, they stayed awake and watched the ox by turns. At midnight one woman said, 'I ought to go and see how the ox is.' She went to the stall and listened, heard the rattling breathing of the ox and realised that it was at the point of death. She came quickly and called Sofi Shaikh, saying, 'Hi, please get up quickly, Sofi Shaikh. Our ox is at the point of death. If you do not reach it soon it will (die of itself and) become carrion. It is a pity. Slaughter it, at least do not let the hide be wasted.'

Sofi Shaikh got up, his eyes full of sleep and still dozing he went into the stall. 102
It was dark and there were no lamps and he had not taken a brand with him, but had gone just like that. When he went in he drew his dagger and searched for the ox by beating his hands this way and that. By chance his hand fell on the neck of a sleeping animal, lying on its side. He struck at its neck with his dagger and slaughtered it. He came out and said to the women, 'Go and take a light into the stall so that I can come and prepare it. I had a job slaughtering it.'

When the women went and took a wax candle to the ox they saw that it had 103
died of itself. They took the candle a little to one side and saw that the donkey was slaughtered. They came out beating their heads and said to Sofi Shaikh, 'You have ruined our house. The ox died and you have slaughtered our donkey too.' Sofi Shaikh said, 'What can I do? It was dark and I had just woken up. I did not know, it was unintentional. It was an accident. I did not do it on purpose.' In short he got up and left there that night, for shame.

XIII

Ḥekayêta ʿElî Teşqelan

104 Mirowek hebû ji ʿeşîreta Surçîyan, daxil qeza Akrê, nawê wî ʿElî bû. Gelek dewletmend bû, pare, pez, sifr, niwîn, xişr, çek, her tişt hebû, ema daymî tund û tebîʿet-nexoş bû. Eger ḥisab digel kesekî heba dikire teşqele, şer û ʿedawet dikir. Nawê wî meşḥûr bû, digotinê ʿElî Teşqelan.

105 Hemî salan, wextê xerca ḥukûmetê, ku cendirme dihatine naw ʿeşîreta Surçîyan, li mala aẋayê wan dirûniştin, aẋa xeber dida rispîyêt gundan, herkes pareyê xo diîna, dida aẋa, bi reḥetî diçû mala xo, ema ʿElî we nedikir. Wextê cewaba aẋa ji rêwe dixast ho digote qasidê aẋa, "here, bêje aẋayê xo ez xercê nadem." Qasidî digot, "belê, wezîfa min xeber dan e. Dê çim, we bêjime aẋay. Paşî tu w aẋa dizanin." Dîsa aẋa qasidekî dî dihinare nik ʿElî, digot, "ez hatîme xerca dewletê." ʿElî gelek cûn didanê, digot, "ma min negotibû qasidê berê, ez xercê nedem? We dîhar e qasidî xeber nedaye aẋay, yan aẋa ker e, çu nizanît. Rabe, derkewe. Tu di kîşk rêkê da hatî di wê rêkê da herewe, egerne dê ẓopan xoy, dê weto te li ʿerdî pan kem ku mar li bin ṭenişta te nerabirît." Ew qasid jî bi wî ṭerzî diçû, destxalî.

106 Cara sêyê qasidek digel cendirmeyekî dihatin, digotine ʿElî, "mala xo xirab neke. Xerca dewletê bide. Tu neşêy parê dewletê ẓewt bikey. Ewe ḥukûmet e, ʿesker heye, ṭop û cebilxane heye, kêrûşkê bi gerdomê digirît.[1] Merḥemetê digel te diket, egerne dişêt bi deqîqeyekî te xirab ket." ʿElî digot, "ew dewleta ku ʿeskerê wê cendirmêt wekî hingo di ling-diriyayî û ji-birsa-mirî bin çawa dişên pilingêt wekî ʿElî bê şer û zeḥmet bigirin û xirab biken? Belê madam hingo hinde zeḥmete kêşaye, hatine mala min, ewe bo hingo her yêkî cotekî kalikêt Akrê bi mecîdîyekî dê kirim, deme hingo, we berxekê jî biben bo şîwa aẋay û çawuşê cendirman." Wan jî digot, "me ji te minnet e, belê fayde nîye. Dewlet

1 In the current Shamdinan dialect this idiom is used as: *kêrûşkê bi erebê digirît*.

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XIII

The Story of Ali 'Brawler'

There was once a man of the Surchi tribe, in the district of Akre, whose name 104
was Ali. He was very rich, having money, sheep, copper (pots and pans), bedding, jewelry, weapons, everything, but he was always fierce and bad-tempered. If ever he had an account to settle with anyone he would brawl and cause quarrelling and enmity. His name became notorious—they called him Ali 'Brawler'.

Every year, at the time of government taxes, when the zaptiehs used to come 105
among the Surchi tribe, they would stay at the house of their agha, the agha would inform the elders of the villages and each person would bring his own money, give it to the agha, and go quietly back home—but not Ali. When first an answer was requested for the agha he used to say to the agha's messenger, 'Go and tell your agha I'm not paying any taxes.' The messenger would say, 'Right, my duty is to bear news. I shall go and tell this to the agha. Afterwards you and he know best.' Again the agha would send another messenger to Ali, saying, 'I have come for the government taxes.' Ali would abuse him roundly, saying, 'Why, didn't I tell the first messenger that I'm not paying any taxes? Obviously the messenger didn't tell the agha, or the agha is an ass and knows nothing. Get up and clear out. Go back the way you came, otherwise you'll suffer a few cudgel blows, I'll flatten you to the ground so much that a snake won't be able to pass under your side.' That messenger too would return thus, empty-handed.

The third time a messenger would come with a zaptieh and say to Ali, 'Don't 106
destroy your house. Pay the government taxes. You can't possess yourself of state monies. It's the government, it has soldiers, guns and ammunition. (It may) catch a hare with a cart[2] and be merciful to you, otherwise it can destroy you in a minute.' Ali said, 'How can a government, whose army consists of ragged-trousered, starving zaptiehs like you, catch and destroy leopards like Ali without fighting and trouble? But since you have taken so much trouble and come to my house, I'll buy a pair of Akre sandals[3] each for you for a *mejidi*[4] and give them to you, and take a lamb too for the agha's and the zaptieh sergeant's supper.' They would say, 'Thank you, but there is nothing to be gained by it. The

2 I.e. Turkish *tavşanı araba ile tutacak* "take its time, act calmly and easily".

3 A type of mocassin made from a single piece of leather, with an embroidered, corded toe.

4 Also used as *medjidie*; Ottoman gold and silver coins minted from 1844 onward. See "Mecidiye," *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mecidiye (28 June 2025).

bi wihê xerca xo nahêlît." ʿElî got, "biben ewe ye, neben jî ewe ye, keyfa hingo ye. Êdî bes çîṛa xo dirêj ken." Wan jî digot, "zor çak e. Bîne, bide, em razî ne." ʿElî jî ew kalik û berx diînan, didanê w diçûn. Paşî, wextê ku dihatin, temam ḥekayêta ḥalê ʿElî bo aẋa w çawuşî digotin. Aẋa digel bîst xulaman û çawuş digel deh-pazde cendirman dihatine mala ʿElî. Pareyekî zor ji wî distandin û ʿElî li stûnekî pêçek didan, gelek dikutan, serê wî dişkandin, hewyekî duyan dikewte naw niwînan. Her sal ḥalê wî ewe bû. Aẋa dizanî, ema lewa we dikir da li nik dewletê neḥeq nebît.

107 Paşî çend salan ʿElî mir. Kurekî biçûk hebû, nawê wî ʿEḥmed bû. Wextê mezin bû, hate naw mirowan, gelek bieqil û têgeştî bû. Xelk hemî ji wî razî bû. Her sal, wextê xercê, du-sê roj pêş hatina cendirman bo mala aẋa, ʿEḥmed xerca xo bi temamî diîna, teslîm destê aẋa dikir û beranekî xesandî qelew jî bi dîharî bo aẋayê xo diîna, we aẋay jî destekê ranî-bergûzêt Akrê, bi armîşê dûrî,[5] bi zêrekî hatî, bi xelat dida ʿEḥmed û raḥet diçû, li mala xo dirûnişt.

108 Dayka ʿEḥmed jî, Esmer digotinê, çunko digel ʿElî Teşqelan rabaribû ew jî wekî wî tund-û-tîj bû. Carekê gote ʿEḥmed, "ʿElî mal-mîrat çû, çu ewladê xêrê li paş nema. Xoşmêr bû. Her sal hingî xerca xo dida ku sê-çar qasid hatiban, dîsa nedida. Aẋa w çawuş dihatin, ʿElî şer dikir, serê xo dida şkandin, paşî dida. Ew wekî te namerd nebû, cû nebû, ku pêşwext zêreserî bidet. Xozî paşî ʿElî ez nemabam, min ew rezîlîye nedîtiba." ʿEḥmed jî gote dayka xo, "babê min, ku ewe dikir, pare bi kîsê wî dima yan dida?" Dayka wî got, "çawa dima? Mumkin e parê dewletê bi kîsê kesekî bimînît?" ʿEḥmed got, "bes, madam dûmayê dan bît, şer û kêşekêş çi fayde ye? Bo min bêje, da bizanim. Ema we dîhar e tu w babim herdu ker bûn. Ez xo ker nakem." *Wesselam*.

5 Present-day Shamdinan dialect: *dirûyî*.

government won't give up its taxes for this.' Ali said, 'If you take it, that's it, if you don't take it, that's still it—it's as you will. Now that is enough of your nonsense.' They would say, 'Very well. Bring them and give them to us, we agree.' Ali would bring the sandals and the lamb and give them to them and they would go. Afterwards, when they returned, they would tell the agha and the sergeant their full story. The agha with twenty followers and the sergeant with ten to fifteen zaptiehs would come to Ali's house. They used to take a lot of money from him and Ali they would tie up to a post and beat him soundly and break his head and he would take to his bed for a month or two. Every year this was his condition. The agha knew, but he did this so as not to be in the wrong with the government.

After some years Ali died. He had a young son whose name was Ahmad. 107
When he grow up and came amongst the men, he was very wise and intelligent, and people were all pleased with him. Each year, at the time of taxes, Ahmad would bring his taxes complete and hand them over to the agha two or three days before the arrival of the zaptiehs at the agha's house, and he would bring a fat gelded ram too as a present for the agha and the agha in turn would present Ahmad with a suit of jacket and trousers from Akre,[6] embroidered in silk and costing a gold piece, and he would go quietly and stay at his home.

Ahmad's mother, who was called Asmar, because she had lived with Ali 108
'Brawler', was also fierce and sharp like him. Once she said to Ahmad, 'Ali's lineage died out, there is no son left as a blessing. He was a fine man. Every year he used to pay his taxes only when three or four messengers had come, and not even then. The agha and the sergeant would come and Ali would fight and get his head broken and only then would he pay. He wasn't a coward or a Jew, like you, who pays poll-tax before time. Would that I had not survived Ali to see this meanness.' Ahmad said to his mother, 'When my father did this did the money stay in his purse or did he pay?' His mother said, 'How could it stay? Is it possible that government money will stay in anybody's purse?' Ahmad said, 'Well, since one has to pay in the end, what is the point of fighting and struggling? Tell me, so that I may know. But it is obvious that you and my father were both asses, I am not making an ass of myself.'

6 A buttonless jacket, tucked into wide-legged pyjama trousers, both made of the same fine homespun woollen material with broad stripes, and embroidered at the neck, cuffs and ankles. A wide cotton cummerbund is worn over this, twisted to and fro around the waist, covering the drawstring of the trousers.

XIV

Ḥekayêta Mu'ezzinê Akrê

109 Nîmçe-melayek li Akrê hebû, nawê wî Mela ʿEbbas bû. Mu'ezzinê mizgewta camiʿa Akrê bû. Pênc wextê niwêjê bang dida w şewêt eyînî w rojêt eyînî jî kebar dikir û bo biçûkan jî dersêt elifbê w Qur'anê digotin. Mirowek cînarê mizgewtê bû, nawê wî Ḥacî ʿElî bû. Her kurek hebû, nawê wî Muḥemmed Selîm bû, ḥewt-ḥeşt-salî bû. Ḥacî ʿElî mir, jina wî Faṭime ma. Gelek cuwan bû. Mala Ḥacî gelek xoş û dewletmend bû. Faṭime lalî kurê xo li ser mal û dewleta Ḥacî rûnişt. Kurê xo teslîm Mela ʿEbbas kir ku dersêt Qur'anê nîşa wî bidet.

110 Mela ʿEbbas jî, ji ber xatira babê wî, gelek iḥtimam bi wî kir. Faṭime, ji ber xatira kurê xo, her roj bo wî kade, naske-nan, zadê xoş dihinar û hindek caran gazî dikire mal, ziyafet bo wî dikir. Xulase hêdî hêdî mabeyna Mela ʿEbbas û Faṭime dostî peyda bû w her roj Mela ʿEbbas bi heceta destniwêjê ji medresê diçû mala Ḥacî, suḥbeta xo dikir, dihat.

111 Dûmayê Muḥemmed Selîm zanî ku ḥalê Mela ʿEbbas û dayka wî çi ye. Wextê mela digot, "ez dê çime destniwêjê," Muḥemmed Selîm dizanî, ew jî li dû wî diçû, weto ku ew nezanît, diçû li pişta derî, temaşe dikir di kulekê ra, didît ku mela w dayka wî keyfê diken. Muḥemmed Selîm di dilê xo da gelek ʿaciz û xemgîr bû. Roj bi roj zeʿîf bû. Carekê gote dayka xo, "ez wext e ji kerbêt xo bimirim ku tu digel Mela ʿEbbas keyfê dikey." Dayka wî jî got, "xem nexo, tu dersêt xo bixûne. Mela ḥewaley qeḥra Xudê bike." Herro kurî dayka xo nesîḥet dikir, dayka wî jî digot, "ḥewaley Xudê bike." Kur ji ber dersêt xo nediwêra bêjîte mela.

112 Rojekê Ḥacî ʿEbdulwehhab Akreyî, ku mirowekî ʿaqil bû, kurê Ḥacî ʿElî dît zor zeʿîf, rengê wî zer bûy. Gotê, "tu bo çî ho zeʿîf î? *Elḥemdulillah*, tu ne birsî w ne rûs î, te çu kêm nîye. Nizanim bo çî tu ho yî." Muḥemmed Selîm jî got, "waqiʿen min çu qusûr û kêmasî nîne, ema derdek min heye, bêderman e. Ez dê bi wî derdî mirim." Ḥacî ʿEbdulwehhab got, "ew çi derd e? Elbette dibît bo min bêjî." Herçend Muḥemmed Selîm got, "nabît, mumkin nîye bêjim," Ḥacî zêdetir ilḥaḥ kir ko, "dibît bi temamî bo min ḥalê xo beyan bikey."

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XIV

The Muezzin of Akre

There was once a rather mediocre mullah in Akre whose name was Mullah 109
Abbas. He was the muezzin of the main mosque of Akre. He would give the call to prayer at the five times of prayer and (late) on Thursday nights[1] and on Fridays also, he would recite the *takbir*,[2] and he used to give the children lessons on the alphabet and the Koran. There was a man who was a neighbour of the mosque, and whose name was Haji Ali. He had only one son, called Muhammad Salim, who was about seven or eight years old. Haji Ali died and his wife Fatima was left. She was very beautiful. The Haji's home was very pleasant and opulent. Fatima settled down with her son to live on the Haji's wealth. She entrusted her son to Mullah Abbas, for him to teach him the Koran.

Mullah Abbas took great care with him, for his father's sake. Fatima, for the 110
sake of her son, would send him cakes and puff-pastry and pleasant foods every day and sometimes she would invite him home and entertain him. In short illicit relationship gradually arose between Mullah Abbas and Fatima and every day Mullah Abbas would go from the school to the Haji's home on the pretext of performing his ritual ablutions, would amuse himself and come back.

Finally Muhammad Salim learnt how matters stood between Mullah Abbas 111
and his mother. Whenever the mullah said, 'I am going to perform my ablutions,' Muhammad Salim knew and would follow him, in such a way that he did not know, and would go behind the door and look through a skylight and see the mullah and his mother enjoying themselves. Muhammad Salim was very distressed and sad at heart. Daily he became thinner. Once he said to his mother, 'I am nearly dying of agony because you enjoy yourself with Mullah Abbas.' His mother said, 'Don't you worry, you study your lessons. Leave the mullah to the wrath of God.' Every day the boy would admonish his mother, but all she would say was, 'Leave him to God.' The boy durst not say anything to the mullah on account of his lessons.

One day Haji Abdulwahhab of Akre, who was a wise man, saw Haji Ali's son 112
very thin and pale. He said to him, 'Why are you so thin? Thank God, you are neither hungry nor naked, you lack nothing. I don't know why you are like this.'

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1 Lit. Friday nights.

2 The pseudo-Arabic word *kabār* means the *takbīr*, i.e. the expression *allāhu akbar* 'God is most great', uttered multiple times in calls to prayer and the five daily prayers. It is also used specifically to refer to the first call to prayer just before dawn.

113 Xulase bi temamî bo Ḥacî got. Ḥacî jî gote wî, “ez çareyekê bo te bêjim, bike. Meqsûda te dê ḥasil bît.” Muḥemmed Selîm got, “her emrê bifermoy dê kem.” Ḥacî got, “roja eyînî, ku ew bo kebarê çû ser minarê, here, tejî centeyekî maşan bibe, ji dereca serê ḥeta binê maşan li ser derecan bireşîne w bihêle. Paşî tu dê bînî dê çi bi ser wî hêt.” Roja eyînî Mela ʿEbbas bi hemî keyf û hewesa xo çû ser minarê, muqabilî pencera Faṭime xanimê wekî kewê ribad kebar dikir, diqîrand. Muḥemmed Selîm jî centeyê maşan bir, muwafiqî *destûru-l-ʿemel*a Ḥacî ʿEbdulwehhab, li hemî derecan reşandin. Hat, weto hêla.

114 Wextê ku mela ʿEbbas kebar temam kir, bang da, hat ku bihête xarê. Solekê nû w ḥilû di pêyê wî da bû. Pêyê xo dana ser dereca ewil. Pêyê wî li maşan tasiya. Pişt-û-pişt kewt, ḥeta binê minarê newesta. Ji wê derecê dipeşî li dereca dî dikewt. Hemî serê wî tebiqî w perasî w dest û pêyêt wî şkestin, birîndar bûn. Li binê minarê Mela ʿEbbas temam bû, mir.

115 Ehlê mizgewtê nezanîn mela miriye, man li çawrê wî ku noke dê hêt, qametê w tesbîḥatê bo cimaʿetê ket. Hindî xo girtin mela nehat. Çûn temaşe biken ka bo çî gîro bûye, dîtin ku mela miriye. Hemî muteḥeyyir bûn û ʿaciz bûn. Kewtine xema Mela ʿEbbas. Ḥacî ʿEbdulwehhab got, “rabin da niwêja xo bikeyn û meytê mela defn keyn. Ewe teqdîra Xudê bû.”

116 Digel kewtina Mela ʿEbbas, Muḥemmed Selîm çû, xeber da Faṭime xanim, dayka xo. Gotê, “seydayê me ji minarê kewt, mir.” Dayka wî gotê, “kurê min, ma min negote te, xem nexo, ḥewaley Xudê bike?” Kurî jî got, “eger min centê maşan nebiriba harî Xudê w min bi hîwîya Xudê bi tinê ḥêlaba, Mela ʿEbbas da qûna te dirînît. Belê min centê maşan bire harî Xudê, lewanê Xudê zû qeḥra xo li wî kir, em ji şerê wî xilas kirîn.”

117 Wextê Mela ʿEbbas birine ser meqberê w defn kirin Ḥacî ʿEbdulwehhab gote xizmêt Mela ʿEbbas û gote ehlê mizgewtê, “ez qebûl nakem kes xo ʿaciz biket. Ewe eḥwalê Mela ʿEbbas bo hingo bêjim, ho bû, we ew kurê min ji xeman xilas kir. Muʾezzinekî dî bigirin.” We hemî razî bûn. *Wesselam*.

Muhammad Salim said, 'Truly I have no deficiencies, but I have an incurable pain. I shall die of that pain.' Haji Abdulwahhab said, 'What is that pain? You must certainly tell me.' However much Muhammed Salim said, 'It cannot be, it is impossible for me to tell you,' the Haji pressed him all the more, saying, 'You must tell me of your condition in full.'

113 In short, he told the Haji in full. The Haji said to him, 'I shall tell you of a remedy, you do it. Your end will be achieved.' Muhammad Salim said, 'I'll do whatever you command.' The Haji said, 'On Friday, when he goes up the minaret to recite the *takbir*, go and take a bag full of green gram and sprinkle the gram out on the stairs from the top step down to the bottom and leave them. Then you'll see what will happen to him.' On Friday Mullah Abbas went up the minaret full of his pleasure and began to bawl the *takbir* opposite Madam Fatima's window, like a decoy partridge. Muhammad Salim, for his part, took the bag of gram, according to Haji Abdulwahhab's instructions, and sprinkled them on every step. He came back and left them so.

114 When Mullah Abbas had finished the *takbir* and given the call to prayer he came to descend. He had new and slippery shoes on. He put his foot on the first step and his foot slipped on the gram. He fell down backwards and did not stop until he reached the bottom of the minaret. He fell off one step and fell onto the next. All his head was smashed and his ribs and hands and feet were broken and wounded. At the bottom of the minaret Mullah Abbas came to his end and died.

115 The people of the mosque did not know that the mullah was dead and were waiting for him to come and lead the congregation in prayer and recite the praises of God. However long they restrained themselves the mullah did not come. They went to see why he was delayed and saw that the mullah was dead. They were all astonished and distressed and fell to sorrowing for Mullah Abbas. Haji Abdulwahhab said, 'Get up and let us perform our prayers and bury the mullah's corpse. This was the decree of God.'

116 When Mullah Abbas fell Muhammad Salim went and informed Madam Fatima, his mother. He told her, 'Our teacher has fallen from the minaret and died.' His mother said to him, 'My son, didn't I tell you, "Don't worry, leave him to God"?' The boy said, 'If I hadn't taken a bag of green gram to the assistance of God and if I had left it in hope of God alone, Mullah Abbas would have split you apart. But I did take a bag of gram to the help of God and that is why God soon visited him with His wrath and freed us from the evil of him.'

117 When they carried Mullah Abbas to the graveyard and buried him Haji Abdulwahhab said to the relatives of Mullah Abbas and to the people of the mosque, 'I will not accept that anyone should distress himself. So I shall tell you the case of Mullah Abbas. It was thus, and I have freed this boy from sorrow. Get another muezzin.' And they were all satisfied.

XV

Ḥekayêta Mirowê Akreyî w Jina Kelêtî

118 Gundek li naw ʻeşîreta Gerdî Jorîyan heye, Kelêt dibêjinê. Di zemanê berê da zor kesad bûn, rûs û birsî bûn. Salekê bazirganekî Akreyî xiyal kir, got, "çak ew e ew sale rabim, biçime kûstanê, kerê xo bar kem ji cang-û-colî w ji şure-mure w pêlaw û mêlaw, bibeme naw ʻeşîreta Gerdî Jorîyan, belko qazancekê bikem, bo biçûkêt xo rizqekê peyda bikem. Ḥeta payîzê dê li kûstanê bim, payîzekê dereng dê hêmewe bo Akrê."

119 Rabû, kerê xo bar kir, hêdî hêdî hat bo Naw Gerdîyan. Got, "gundê Kelêt ji hemî gundan muḥtactir e. Çak e barê xo li çu cîyan nehawêjim ḥeta digeme Kelêt. Meʻlûm li wê derê ji hemî cîyan çêtir dê qazancê kem, çunko meselê mezinan e, 'kê mamilet kir? Muḥtacî.'" Xulase hate Kelêt, geşte qeraẋê gundî. Malek li ser rê bû. Çû bi derê wê malê, got, "da bizanim ka ew male tiştekî nakirin." Wextê çû jor dît jinek meşkê dihijînît, ye rûs bû, tiştek di ber da nebû. Ṭayekî bendikî li pişta xo girê dabû, peṛokekê kewn-qirêjî li layê ber we, yêk ji layê pişt we di bendikî alandibûn. Çi wextê kurk li meşkê dida herdu peṛok bilind dibûn, pêş û paşêt wê derdikewtin.

120 Bazirgan di dilê xo da zor keyfxoş bû, got, "şukr bo Xudê, eziyeta min xorayî neçû. Ez dê gelek qazanc kem. Madam ew gunde ho muḥtac e hêşta barê min negeştiye ʻerdî hind kiṛyar dê cema bin. Du saʻet nakêşît hemî tiştê min dê kirin bi qîmeta ku ez ḥez dikem." Ew di wê xiyalê da bû, jinikê gote wî, "ho mirow, tu ji kê we têy, dê kê we çî, şola te çi ye, tu bo çî hatiye êre?" Wî jî cewab da, got, "ez ji Akrê têm, hatîme êre bo tişt firotinê. Barê min ew e, hemî libas e, cang-û-col e. Were, bikire." Jinikê digel gotina wî hawrîya xo ji wî bada, kurkek li meşka xo da, got, "here, em *elḥemdulillah* ji mala xo di kok în, em muḥtac nîne. Keyfa xelkê dî ye, belko ew bikirin."

121 Bazirgan teʻeccub kir, got, "*subḥanellah*, madam ewe kok bît bes noke yêt nekok di çawa ne?" Gelek xemgîr bû, bê hîwî geriyawe. Kerê xo da pêşîya xo, çû

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XV

The Man from Akre and the Woman of Kalet

There is a village among the Upper Girdi tribe called Kalet.[1] In former times 118
they were very poor, naked and hungry. One year a merchant from Akre thought to himself, 'This year it would be good to go into the mountains, to load up my donkey with cloth and haberdashery and footwear and take it among the Upper Girdi tribe. Maybe I shall make a profit and gain sustenance for my children. I shalI stay in the mountains until autumn and come back to Akre late in the autumn.'

He got up, loaded his donkey and slowly came among the Girdis. He said, 119
'Kalet is the neediest village of all. I had better not put my load down anywhere until I reach Kalet. Obviously I shall make a better profit there than anywhere, for there is a proverb "Who did shopping?[2] The needy man." In short, he came to Kalet and reached the edge of the village. There was a house on the road, so he went to the door of the house, saying, 'Let me see whether this house won't buy anything.' When he went inside he saw a woman shaking a goatskin churn, naked, without a thing on. She had tied a woollen thread round her waist and hung a filthy old rag on the thread in front and another one behind. Whenever she gave the skin-bag a jerk both rags flew up revealing her fore and aft.

The merchant was very pleased in his heart and said, 'Thanks be to God, 120
my trouble was not wasted. I shall make a lot of profit. Since this village is so needy many customers will gather before my load reaches the ground. It won't take two hours for them to buy all my things at whatever price I like.' He was thinking this when the woman said to him, 'Hi, man, where do you come from, where are you going, what is your business, what have you come here for?' He answered, saying, 'I come from Akre and I've come here to sell things. That is my load, all clothes and fabric. Come and buy.' The woman turned away from him as she spoke and gave her churn a jerk, saying, 'Go away. We have all we want. Thank God, we need nothing. Perhaps other people will buy something—it's just as they like.'

The merchant was amazed and said, 'Praise be to God, if this one is satis- 121
fied, then what will the dissatisfied be like?' He was very depressed and turned back in despair. He drove his donkey in front of him and went to another vil-

1 This story is still known and told in Girdi and Shamdinan regions.
2 Lit. business.

gundekî dî. Got, “êdî li min ḥeram bît. Ḥeta ez sax bim carekê dî nehême welatê ho.” Bazirgan sil bû. Tiştê xo nîw-qîmet firot, zû geriyawe bo Akrê, li mala xo rûnişt. *Wesselam*.

lage. He said, 'I'll never do this again. As long as I live I'll not come to such a country again.' The merchant became angry. He sold his things at half price and returned quickly to Akre and stayed at home.

XVI

Ḥekayêta Mam Bapîr û Imamê Gundî

122 Li naw ʿeşîreta Zêbarîyan gundek heye, dibêjinê Ḥesnekan, kewtiye bin çiyayê Şirînê li pişta Barzanê. Dibêjin wextekê aẋayek li wî gundî hebû, nawê wî Mam Bapîr bû. Gelek peẓ û pare w her tişt hebû, zor dewletmend bû, ema sefîh bû. Imamek bo pêşniwêjîya gundî w xuṭbe xundinê ragirtibû. Çunko li naw musulmanan ʿadet e nawê padişahê Islamê, ewê ku li ser textî bît, di xuṭbê da dixûnin û duʿa bo diken, imamê Mam Bapîr jî li ser wî ʿadetî nawê padişah digot û duʿa bo dikir.

123 Rojekê Mam Bapîr gote imamê xo, "ez gelek teʿeccubê dikem ji te. Tu nanê min dixoy, di xanîyê min da dirûnêy, li ser beṛika min diniwî, digel wihê jî tu qet nawê min di xuṭbê da nabêjî, beḥsê min nakey. Tu w Xudê, ḥeqîyê bêje, ewe inṣaf e? Ma kengî sultanê Istembolê nanek daye te, kêm yan zor çakîyek digel te kiriye? Tu fam nakey ho bê fayde hemî eyînîyan li ser mimberê ḥewka xo tejî dikey ji nawê wî?" Imam jî mirowekî biaqil bû, têgeştî bû. Got, "aẋa, waqiʿen xeberê te ye. Tu rast dibêjî. Ez zor şermende me. Qusûra min ʿefû bike. Bila bo ji noke wê we bît, hemî caran weʿde ew bît nawê te di xuṭbê da bixûnim." Mam Bapîr got, "qerar bît, bes ez jî li cîyê wê çakîyê sihî bizinêt bi-şîr xelat bideme te." Hotowe qerara xo girê dan.

124 Roja eyînî hat, xelkê gundî hemî cema bûn li mizgewtê bo niwêja cumʿê. Wê rojê melayê gundekî dî jî mêwan bû li gundê Mam Bapîr. Melayê mêwan agah ji tedbîr û ḥekayêta Mam Bapîr û imam nebû. Ew jî hate mizgewtê, di ṣefê da rûnişt ku guh bidete xuṭbê. We li naw musulmanan ʿadet e ku xuṭbe dibît bi ʿerebî bête xundin, millet çi ʿereb bît çi ẋeyri ʿereb.

125 Wextê imam çû ser mimberê dest bi xuṭbê kir. Geşte cîyê nawê sultanî, qet nawê sultanî neîna, ho bi ʿerebî got, "*ʾayyuha-l-Mām-Bāpīr, ʾinnaka dubbun kabīr, makānuka jahannamu wa biʾsa-l-maṣīr*." Tercume ewe ye: ey Mam Bapîr, tu hirçekî mezin î, cîyê te cehennem e w ji hemî cîyan xirabtir e. Melayê mêwan, çunko nedizanî çi ḥal e, got, "*lā, lā*," yeʿnî, "ne, ne." Xiyala wî ew bû ku imam xelet kir yan nezanî.

126 Imam jî derḥal cewab da bi ʿerebî, got, "*uskut, uskutūna, al-maʿaz ṯalāṯūna, laka ʿašar wa lī ʿišrūna*." Tercume ewe ye: kiṛ be, kiṛ be, bizin sihî ne, deh bo te, bîst bo min. Mêwan jî kiṛ bû, qet deng nekir. Mam Bapîr hind keyfxoş bû, kewek

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XVI

Mam Bapir and the Village Imam

Among the Zebari tribe there is a village called Hasnakan, which lies below the 122
mountain of Shirin behind Barzan. They say that there was once an agha in that village called Mam Bapir. He had many sheep, much money and everything, and was very rich, but stupid. He had procured an imam to lead the village in prayer and to recite the khutbah—for among Muslims it is customary to recite the name of the Islamic king, who is on the throne, in the khutbah and to pray for him. Mam Bapir's imam also mentioned the king's name and prayed for him according to this custom.

One day Mam Bapir said to his imam, 'I'm very surprised at you. You eat my 123
food, you stay in my house, you sleep on my rug, and for all this you never say my name in the khutbah nor mention me. Tell me truly, by God, is that justice? When has the Sultan of Istanbul ever given you a loaf, or done you any good, great or small? Don't you realise that it's useless filling your throat with his name every Friday in the pulpit?' The imam was a clever man and intelligent. He said, 'Agha, it is indeed as you say, you are right. I'm very ashamed. Please forgive my fault. I promise that henceforth I shall always recite your name in the khutbah.' Mam Bapir said, 'So be it. In return for that favour I give you thirty milch goats.' Thus they agreed with each other.

Friday came. The people of the village all gathered in the mosque for the Fri- 124
day prayers. That day the mullah of another village was also a guest in Mam Bapir's village. The guest mullah was not aware of the plan or of the story of Mam Bapir and the imam. He too came to the mosque and sat in the ranks of the congregation to hear the khutbah. Now among Muslims it is the custom that the khutbah must be recited in Arabic, whether the population be Arab or not.

When the imam mounted the pulpit he began the khutbah. Reaching the 125
place for the Sultan's name he did not mention the Sultan's name at all but said, in Arabic, 'O Mam Bapir, you are a great bear. Hell is the place for you and the worst of all places.' The guest mullah, not knowing the state of affairs, said, 'No! no!' He thought that the imam had made a mistake, or just did not know.

The imam immediately answered in Arabic (doggerel), 'Shut up! shut up! 126
There are thirty goats, ten for you and twenty for me.' The guest fell silent and made not another sound. Mam Bapir was so delighted (and beamed so wide) that a partridge, wings and all, could have gone into his mouth. When they had

bi peṛ we da çîte dewê wî. Wextê niwêj kirin mam Bapîr gote şuwanê xo, “here naw peẓî, sihî bizinê destbijar bo imamî bîne.” Şuwan çû, sihî bizinêt çak bo imamî înan. Imam jî deh dane melayê mêwan, bîst bo xo helgirtin.

said their prayers Mam Bapir said to his shepherd, 'Go among the flock and bring thirty hand-picked goats for the imam.' The shepherd went and brought thirty fine goats for the imam. The imam for his part gave ten to the guest mullah and kept twenty for himself.

XVII

Ḥekayêta Ṣofî Badînê Ḥesnekî

127 Wextê Şêx Muḥemmed Barzanîyê babê Şêx ʻEbdusselam, ku ʻUsmanîyan helawîstibû, mirîdek li Hesnekan hebû, nawê wî Ṣofî Badîn bû. Daymî bi cuzûb bû, dîn dibû, diçû kewşî. Wextê dîn dibû dikire qorî, "ez kerê mirîdan im."

128 We qewimî rojekê Ṣofî Badîn digel ṣofîyan çûne Akrê bo xo tişt-û-mişt bikirin. Çûne ewrazîyê serê Pîrisê. Hemî mandî bûn. Gotine Ṣofî Badîn, "tu daymî dibêjî, 'ez kerê mirîdan im.' Eger duro nakey bes were, centêt me hemîyan helgire. Ma faydê kerî ew nîye ku miro barî lê ket?" Wextê we gotin Ṣofî Badîn sil bû, got, "êdî ez nabime hewalê hingo."

129 Wextê geriyanewe bo malêt xo ḥekayêta Ṣofî Badîn bo Şêx Muḥemmed gêṛanewe. Şêx gelek pê kenî. Ṣofî Badîn gazî kir, gotê, "tu bo çî sil bûy? Hewalêt te ji te heqtir in. Yan çî dî nebêje 'ez kerê mirîdan im,' yan dê barê wan li pişta xo key. Egerne dê durohîn bêye der. Duro jî bo mirowê ṣofî, terîqedar, zor zor kirêt e." Ṣofî Badîn jî got, "belê, ez qurbanê te bim. Ji noke paş yan we nabêjim, yan dê barî qebûl kem. Belê hung jî himmet bifermon, bêje wan, da ew jî çî dî tiranan bi min neken." Şêxî ew hemî gazî kirin, gote wan ji Ṣofî Badîn bigeriyên. Pêk hatin. *Wesselam*.

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XVII

Sofi Badin of Hasnakan

In the time of Shaikh Muhammad of Barzan, the father of Shaikh Abdussalam, 127
whom the Turks hanged, there was a disciple in Hasnakan whose name was Sofi Badin. He was always having ecstasies, going mad, and going into the wilderness. When he was mad he used to shout out, 'I am the donkey of the disciples.'

It so happened that one day Sofi Badin was going to Akre with the other sofis 128
to buy things for themselves. They went up the steep side up the Piris mountain and were all tired. They said to Sofi Badin, 'You're always saying, "I am the donkey of the disciples." If you're not lying come and carry all our bags. Isn't that what a donkey is for, for a man to put his loads on?' When they spoke in this way Sofi Badin became angry and said, 'I won't be your companion any longer.'

When they returned to their homes they related the story of Sofi Badin to 129
Shaikh Muhammad. The Shaikh laughed very much. He called Sofi Badin and said to him, 'Why did you lose your temper? Your companions are more in the right than you. Either don't say "I am the donkey of the disciples" any more, or you must carry their loads. Otherwise you'll come out as a liar. A lie is a very, very heinous thing for a sofi, a follower of the path.' Sofi Badin said, 'Yes, may I be your sacrifice. Henceforth I'll either not speak in that way or I'll accept their loads. But you please do me a favour and tell them not to play jokes on me any more.' The Shaikh summoned them all and told them to leave Sofi Badin alone. So they were reconciled.

XVIII

Ḥekayête Şêx Silêman Pê-bi-Zengil

130 Dibêjin wextekê ji ʿeşîreta Zêbarîyan mirowekî gelek mêrçak hebû, nawê wî Silêman bû. Daymî şola wî dizî bû, talan bû. Carekê dizîyekê gelek mezin li Akrê kir. Li ser wî aşkera bû, ḥukûmetê ew girt. Bi her ṭerzê ku mumkin bû xo ji ḥebsê xilas kir. Fikr kir, got, "çak e biçime Beẋdayê, li ser merqedê Ẋewsî qederekê rûnêm, tobe bikem, iʿtibarê peyda bikem. Paşî eger gelek dizî bikem kes xiyala min naket." Rabû, cilêt derwêşan di ber xo kirin û def û keşkol bi milê xo we kirin, rêka Beẋdayê girt. Çû ser mezarê Şêx ʿEbdulqadir Geylanî, ku meşhûr e, dibêjinê Ẋewsê Beẋdayê. Li wê derê rûnişt, dest bi ʿibadetê kir. Şewê w rojê ji kuncê mizgewtê dernedikewt. Xelkê ku dihatine ziyaretê Ẋewsî qewî muʿteqidî wî bûn, ji wî dipirsîn, "nawê te çi ye?" Digot, "nawê min Silêmanê rûreşê dergahê Xudê ye." Xelkî jî digotin, "xêr, *esteẋfirullah*, tu çawa we difermoy? Etû[1] Şêx Silêman î, tancê serê me hemîyan î."

131 Xelkî gote wî, "em hîwî dikeyn car-baran teşrîfa mubareka zatê hingo derkewin, da hemî kes bi dîtina wucûda mesʿûd a ʿalî xudan, feyz û bereket bibît." Wî jî got, "ne, wî bendeyê gunahkar liyaqeta wê nîye w ji ẋeyri wê jî sebebekî dî heye neşêm derkewim." Gotin, "çi ye?" Got, "ewe ye, li ser hemî rêkan gelek mêrû hene. Ji Xudê ditirsim ku pêyê min bikewîte ser wî mexlûqê bêçare, bimirît û ez zêdetir gunahkar bibim."

132 Xelkî zêdetir derheq wî iʿtiqad peyda bû, gotin, "ew inṣaf û sulûke zemanê Ẋewsî jî nebûye." Gotin, "qet nebît eger me tu bi piştê birî lazim e ku teşrîfa xo bînîye malêt me." Wî jî got, "ez qet hatina li pişta çi kes qebûl nakem, belê bo xatira hingo bi ṭerzekî dî dê hêm. Bo min du zengilan bînin. Dê bi serê sola xo we dirûm da deng bihêt, mêrû biḥelên, pêyê min nekewîte ser wan." Xelkî hemîyan gotin, "*subḥanellah*, çend fikrekê kûr û hûr kir." Zêdetir muʿteqid bûn. Xulase zengil bi ṣolêt xo we dirûn. Her roj malekê dewletmend ji mezinêt Beẋdayê ew

1 Variant of *tu* 'you' that is found in the Sorani or Central Kurdish dialects of the north of Erbil province.

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XVIII

Shaikh Sulaiman 'Tinkle-Toes'

They say that once there was a very brave man of the Zebari tribe whose name 130
was Sulaiman. He was constantly engaged in stealing and plundering. Once he carried out a very big theft in Akre. It was traced to him and the government arrested him. By whatever means it was possible he freed himself from captivity. He thought, 'It would be good for me to go to Baghdad and settle for a while at the tomb of Ghaus[2] to repent and gain some trust. Afterwards, even if I do a lot of stealing, nobody will think of me.' He arose and dressed himself in dervish clothes, hung a tambourine and a begging-bowl round his neck and took the road for Baghdad. He went to the tomb of Shaikh Abdulqadir Gailani, who is famous as 'Ghaus' of Baghdad. There he settled and began to worship. Night and day he did not leave the corner of the mosque. People who came to visit Ghaus were very impressed by him. They asked him, 'What is your name?' He said, 'My name is Sulaiman, disgraced before the court of God.' People said, 'No, God forbid, how can you say this? You are Shaikh Sulaiman, the crown of all our heads.'

People said to him, 'We hope that from time to time your blessed person 131
will deign to come out so that everybody may acquire favour and blessing from seeing your fortunate and exalted person.' He said, 'No, this sinful slave is not worthy and moreover there is another reason why I cannot go out.' They said, 'What is it?' He said, 'It is this. On all the roads there are many ants. Before God I am afraid that my foot will fall upon these innocent creatures and they will die and I shall become even more guilty.'

People had even more confidence in him and they said, 'Such justice and 132
behaviour as this did not exist even in the time of Ghaus.' They said, 'Can it not be, if we were to carry you on our backs? You must deign to honour our houses.' He said, 'I simply cannot accept to be carried on anybody's back, but for your sakes I shall come another way. Bring me two bells and I shall sew them on to my shoes so that they ring, the ants run away and my foot may not fall on them.' The people all said, 'Praise be to God, what a deep and fine thought.' They were even more impressed. In short he sewed bells to his shoes. Every day one of

2 'Abd-al-Qāder Jīlānī (470/1077-78-561/1166), Sufi shaikh and founder of the Qādirī order. The title 'ghaus/ġawṯ' is from the word for 'help' in Arabic. See B. Lawrence, "'Abd-Al-Qader Jilani," *Encyclopædia Iranica*. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abd-al-qader-jilani (1 August 2025).

gazî dikir û mêwandarî bo wî dikir. Li bajêrê Beẋdayê şuhretekî mezin peyda kir. Nawê wî meşhûr bû "şêx Silêmanê Pê-bi-zengil" û gelek mirîd û meḥsûb peyda kirin.

133 Dûmayê ku zanî temam xelk muʿteqidî wî ne, êdî kes xiyala xirabîyê ji wî naket, gote mezinan, "ez ḥez dikem ji derwey bajêrî bo min xanîyekî çêken. Ez û çend derwêşêt feqîr li wê derê rûnêyn, ʿibadetê Xudê bikeyn, çunko naw bajêrî qelebaliẋ e, qelbê miro mişewwiş dibît, miro neşêt bi diristî zikrê Xudê biket." Hemîyan gotin, "ser çawan, ser seran, her emrê ḥezretê şêx bifermot em bi rûḥ û mal ḥazir în bo itaʿeta wî." Xanîyekî mezin bo wî çêkirin. Digel çend derwêşêt ku wî ḥez kir li wê derê rûnişt. Bi her ṭerzê ku bi xo dizanî derwêş înane ser reʾya xo.

134 Rojekê bi heceta ziyaret hatine ser merqedê Ẋewsî. Şewê man li wê derê, binê dûwarê xezîna malê tekya Ẋewsî kun kirin, qiyasê milyonek lîre pare w cewahir înane der. Du roj dî jî man, paşî çûne xanîyê xo. Şêx Silêman digel sê-çar derwêşan miqdarekî kullî ji cewahir û ji zêr bo xo helgirtin, gotine derwêş⟨ê⟩t dî, "hung jî pişka xo helgirin, herçî ku em neşêyn helgirîn, bibeyn, li cîyekî dûr çal keyn. Paşî çend sal dî bi libasekî dî w bi şiklekî dî dê hêyn, bo xo înîne der û beyn." Got, "noke çak e belaw bîn, biçîn, her kes bo memleketê xo. Egerne elbette dê li ser me aşkera bît. Paşî em ji destê ḥukûmetê xilas nabîn." Rabûn, çûn, belaw bûn.

135 Paşî çend rojan mutewellî w micêwirêt Ẋewsî zanîn, xeber dane hukûmetê, ema çi fayde? Kî dizanît kê we çûn? Wekî gurgan her yêk çû çîyayekî w çû kunekê. Şêx Silêman hate welatê xo, rûnişt, tobe kir. Emlak û peẓ û dewar kirî, bû dewletmendekî mezin. Noke jî li naw Zêbarîyan, li gundê Perîse, ûcaẋa wî mayne, dîsa dewletmend in. Nawê mezinê ûcaẋa wî Mela Ḥacî ye.

136 Hingî nufûza ḥukûmetê hîç li ser Kurdistanê nebû. Kes neşîya wî malî li naw Kurdan teḥsîl biket. Çû, çû. Paşî xelkî digotine Silêman, "malxirab, ewe gunahekê mezin bû te kir. Ẋewsê Beẋdayê dê te hingêwît." Wî jî digot, "ne, xêrekê mezin bû min kir, çunko saxan mal lazim e, mirîyan lazim nîye. Eger ew ẋewsekî rast e hîç ʿelaqey min naket, çunko bi sebeb malê wî min dest ji dizî kêşa. Eger duro ye, bes neşêt eser biket. Madam we ye hîç natirsim." *Wesselam*.

the rich houses from the leading men of Baghdad would invite him and entertain him. In the city of Baghdad he attained great fame. He became famous as Shaikh Sulaiman 'Tinkle-toes' and acquired many disciples and followers.

Finally, when he knew that everybody believed in him and that nobody 133
would any more think evil of him, he said to the great men, 'I would like you to build me a house outside the city. Some poor dervishes and I shall settle there and worship God, for in the city there are crowds and commotion and a man's heart is disturbed and he cannot properly worship God.' They all said, 'On our heads and eyes, whatever his excellency the Shaikh commands we are ready with body and soul to obey him.' They built a big house for him. With a number of dervishes, whom he chose, he settled there. In whatever way he knew best he brought the dervishes round to his way of thinking.

One day, on the pretext of a pilgrimage they came to the tomb of Ghaus. 134
They stayed there at night and made a hole at the foot of the wall of the treasury of the convent of Ghaus and they brought out about a million lire's worth of money and jewels. They stayed for another two days, then they went to their own house. Shaikh Sulaiman and three or four dervishes took a goodly amount of the jewels and gold for themselves and said to the other dervishes, 'You too take your share and whatever we cannot take away let us take it and bury it in some distant place. After some years we shall come in different clothes and in different disguise and fetch it out and carry it off for ourselves.' He said, 'Now we had better disperse and go, each one of us, to his own country. Otherwise it will certainly be traced to us. Then we shall never escape the government.' They arose and dispersed.

After some days the custodian and the servants of the shrine of Ghaus dis- 135
covered the theft and informed the government, but what was the good? Who knows whither they had gone? Each one went to a different mountain and a different hole, like wolves. Shaikh Sulaiman came to his own country, settled down and 'repented'. He bought land, sheep and cattle and became a very rich man. Even now his descendants are still to be found in the village of Parisa, among the Zebaris, and they are still rich. The name of the head of his family is Mullah Haji.

At that time the government had absolutely no influence in Kurdistan. 136
Nobody could recover that property from among the Kurds. Once it had gone it had gone for good. Afterwards people said to Sulaiman, 'Wretch, this was a great sin that you have committed. Ghaus of Baghdad will strike you down.' He said, 'No, I have done a very good deed, for the quick need wealth, not the dead. If he is a true Ghaus he will have no interest in me, for thanks to his wealth I have given up stealing. If he is a false one, there's an end, he cannot affect me. Since that is the case I have no fear.'

XIX

Ḥekayêta Eḥwalê ʻEcaibê Sefaheta Têlîya di Zemanê Berê da ku Pişt-bi-Pişt ji Bab û Bapîr Geheştiye Me

137 Gundekî Têlî dibêjinê, ji ʻeşîreta Mizûrîyan, kewtiye tixûbê ʻeşîrêta Rêkanîyan û Zêbarîyan, mabeyna wî w Amedîyê w Akrê rêka rojek û danekan e. Dibêjin zemanê berê gelek bêaqil û bêmêjî bûn. Gelek ṭerze ḥekayetêt seyr û ṣuḥbet laîqê pêkenînê ji wan digêṛinewe. Ḥekayêtek ewe ye.

138 Dibêjin carekê mezinêt gundî cema bûn, hatine nik aqildarê ji hemîyan zanatir di gundî da, gotine wî, "Kak Şasuwar." Wî jî got, "belê, çi dibêjin?" Gotin, "me tiştek xiyal kiriye, qewî lazim e bo reḥetîya me." Gote wan, "çi ye? bêjin." Gotin, "tu dizanî ku cîyê me gelek dûr e ji şar û bajêran. Em daymî bo xo meʻtel dibîn. Ḥeta em bi karwanê keran diçîne Ûrmîyê yan Mûsilê w têynewe pişka pitir ji kerêt me di bin barî da siket dibin. Ewêt mînin jî pişta wan birîndar dibît, du hewya we lê nahên ku bi kêr barî bihên. Ewcar me hîwî heye, tedbîrekê, rêkekê bo me bêje." Wî jî got, "zor baş e. Tedbîr bi senayî ye, ema ḥeta noke me ji tembelî nekiriye." Gotin, "dê, dê, emr ke. *Inşa'ellaḥ* aqildarê me tiştekî çak wê hizr kirî." Wî jî got, "ew sale ḥukmê min li ser hingo ewe ye, her yêk bi layê kêmî we, her nebît nebît, dibît fetrekî xê bi xo biçînît. Her kesê neçînît gayê wî yê cotî dê lê kujimewe." Hemîyan pêkwe gotin, "aferîn! aferîn bo re'ya Kak Şasuwar! *Elḥeqq* ḥeta noke qet me ew hizre nekiriye. Çu ji wî çêtir nîye."

139 Rabûn, her yêkî zewîyek kire xê. Mirowek ji wan rojekê çû sera zewîya kiriye xê bidet, da bizanît ka şîn bîye, şîn nebîye, çizika xê daye, nedaye. Wextê çû, di naw zewîyê geriya, ji wî serey çû wî serî, çu nedît. Got, "da gumtilekî axê rakemewe, belko di bin gumtilî da çizika xo dabît." Wextê gumtilê axê rakir durûşûşika dûpişkî derkewt. Wî xiyal kir ewe çizika xê ye. Got, "da ʻezmanê xo

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XIX

A Story of the Strange Stupidity of the Telis in Former Times, Which Has Come down to Us, Generation by Generation, from Our Ancestors

A village they call Teli, of the Mizuri tribe, lies on the border between the Rekani 137
and Zebari tribes and is a journey of a day and a bit from Amadiya and Akre. They say that in former times the people were very stupid and brainless. They tell many kinds of entertaining stories about them. This is one such story.

They say that once the elders of the village assembled and came to the wisest 138
man of all in the village and said to him, 'Mister Shasuwar.' He said, 'Yes, what say you?' They said, 'We have thought of something which is very necessary for our comfort.' He said, 'What is it, say on.' They said, 'You know that our place is very far from the towns and cities. We are constantly in straits for want of salt. By the time we go to Urmia and Mosul with a donkey caravan and return the greater part of our donkeys die under the loads. Even those that remain have sore backs and do not recover enough for carrying loads for another two months. Now we hope that you will tell us some remedy, some way out.' He said, 'Very well. The remedy is easy, but up till now we have not applied it out of laziness.' They said, 'Go on, go on, tell us. God willing, our wise man has thought of something good.' He said, 'My command to you is this, that this year each one of you plant at least—at the very least—a *fitra*[1] of salt for himself. Whoever does not plant it, I shall slaughter his plough-ox.' They all said together, 'Bravo! hurrah for Mister Shasuwar's idea! Truly we have never thought of this until now. There is nothing better than this.'

They went away and each one put a field to salt. One of them went one day to 139
visit his field put to salt, to see whether it had sprouted or not. When he went he wandered about the field from this side to that, but saw nothing. He said, 'Let me lift a clod of earth, perhaps it has sprouted under the clod.' When he lifted the clod of earth the sting of a scorpion appeared. He thought this was a

1 Nikitine noted "6 *fitra = 1 b.* (rest illegible), *10 b. = 1 bār.*" If *bār* "load" is the same as the *xarwār* "ass-load" of 83,3 kg., 1 fitra = 1.388 kg. or roughly 3 lb. avdp. Alternatively, if the mediaeval *bahār* is meant, reckoned by W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1955), 8, at around 210–250 kg., the fitra would lie between 3.5–4.2 kg. Cf. *fetr* "Im mittelalterlichen Persien gebräuchliche Gewichtseinheit, der 10. Teil einer Saumlast (*xarwār*), somit in der Regel = 10 mann = 8,33 kg." (Hinz, op. cit. 11) or over 18 lb. avdp.

bigehînimê, ka çi ṭam jê têt, ka qewî sûr e yan ne." Wextê ʿezmanê xo gehande serê durûşûşika dûpişkî wê leḥzê dûpişkî bi serê ʿezmanê wî we da. Qorî w hewar ji wî bilind bû, got, "ey babo, ewe çito xê ye, ho dijwar, ho har, ho tîj, ho sûr? *Subḥanellah*, madam hêj çizik ho bît, bes wekî bigehît dê çawa bît! Meʿlûm hingî dê gelek çêtir bît. Çingekî bikene naw mencelekê dê weto sûr bît nahête xarin. Xudê ji kak Şasuwar razî bît. Waqiʿen ewî xoş tedbîr li me kir. Ji noke wê we êdî me muḥtacî nîye bi Ûrmîyê w Mûsilê, çî dî minneta taciran nahelgirîn." Zû geriyawe bo mala xo, mizgînî da mala xo, da cîranêt xo, we ʿezmanê wî jî qewî diêşa, di dewî da perçiwtibû, reş-û-şîn bibû, belê digel wê hindê jî zor keyfxoş bû ku, "xêya me dê gelek baş bît." Jina wî got, "rabe, ji bedel wê çakîya Kak Şasuwar bizinekê bi kar bo bibe, pêşkêş bike, ʿerz bike, me qewî ji wî minnet e." Rabû, bizin bi karik we bo bir. Şasuwar got, "*inşa'ellah* xêr e." Got, "belê, xêr e, ema çawa xêr e? Bi serê te, me ew sale dê weto xê bît ku ḥeta bîst salê dî têra me heye." Ew jî zor keyfxoş bû, got, "min jî daimî qazancê hingo diwîst."

sprout of salt. He said, 'I must put my tongue to it to see whether it tastes, and if it is very salty or not.' When he put his tongue to the tip of the scorpion's sting the scorpion immediately struck the tip of his tongue. He let out a howl and a shout. He said, 'Oh man, what sort of salt is this, so fierce, so hot, so sharp and so salty. Praise be to God, if it is like this when still a sprout, then how will it be when it ripens?! Certainly it will be much better then. If they put a handful into a cauldron it will be too salty to eat. May God be pleased with Mister Shasuwar. Indeed he found a fine remedy for us. Henceforth we have no need for Urmia and Mosul, no longer shall we be obliged to the merchants.' He quickly went home and gave the good news to his wife and neigh- bours and, although bis tongue hurt very much and had swollen in his mouth and turned black and blue, nevertheless he was very happy, saying, 'Our salt will be very good.' His wife said, 'In return for this favour of Mister Shasuwar, get up and take a goat with a kid to him, present it to him and tell him we are very grateful to him.' He got up and took a goat with a kid to him. Shasuwar said, 'I trust all is well.' He said, 'Yes, indeed, and how! By thy head, we shall have such salt this year as will last us another twenty years.' He was very happy too and said, 'I always wanted what was best for you.'

XX

Ḥekayetekê Dî ji Ḥekayetêt Têlîyan

140 Dibêjin carekê mirowekî Têlî çû naw rezê xo, çû bin dara hijîrê, temaşa kir hijîrekê geheştî bi tayê hijîrê we. Qewî çak geheştibû, dobe bi serî kewtibû. Di dilê xo da hizr kir, "ew hijîre layîq e bi dîharî bibem bo muxtarê gundî." Dana ser destê xo, bir, li pêş muxtar ragirt, gotê, "min ew hijîre bo te bi dîharî înaye." Got, "bîne, da bibînim." Wextê bire nêzîkî wî dît ku hijîrekê gelek taze. Got, "ew hijîre layîq e bi dîharî bihinêrim bo paşayê Amêdîyê. Bila du mirowêt têgeştî bihên, wê hijîrê helgirin, biben bo Smail Paşa." Ewcar ṣewîyek înan, ḥeta nîwekê belgêt hijîrê têkirin, hijîr danane têda, ḥeta derê ṣewîyê jî tejî kirin ji belga. Dane pişta herdu mirowan. Bên-bêne helgirtin, çûn ḥeta geheştine Amêdîyê.

141 Gotine dergewanî, "xeber bide paşay, aẋayê Têlîyan du miro hinarine, hijîr bi dîharî bo înane." Paşay got, "bêjine wan, bila bihêne jûr." Hatine jûr, ṣewî danane ber paşay. Paşay jî weto texmîn kir ku tejî hijîr in. Emr kir, "sê-çar sênîya bînin da hijîran xalî keynê, bixoyn." Sênî înan, wan jî belg înane der, têkirine sênîyan. Paşa dît hemî belg bûn, gote wan, "bes ka hijîrêt hingo?" Gotin, "carê ṣebr ke, dê bînî." Wextê geheştine hijîrê înane der, danane ser destê xo, birine nêzîkî paşay, gotinê, "paşay xoş bît, ewe ye. Kerem ke, bixo." Paşay jî got, "ez çi lê bikem?" Mirowê Têlî jî got, "*subḥanellaḥ*, ez teʿeccubê dikem, paşa, te çawa ḥeta noke paşatî kiriye, te ridîna xo spî kiriye w ʿemrê xo rabariye di paşatîyê da, hêşta nizanî dê çawa hijîrê xoy?!" Hijîr hawête dewê xo, got, "aha, dê ho lê keyewe." Hijîra xo her bi xo xarin.

142 Paşa jî gelek pê kenî, got, "rûnên, hung bi xêr bên. Qewî ji hingo memnûn bûm." Gote xulaman, "herin, hindek mewîjan bînin, nîwek birûḥ, nîwek di bêrûḥ, da hindekan ew mêwanane bixon û hindekan jî bo aẋayê Têlîyan bihinêrim şûndîharî." Xulam jî têgeştin, çûn, tejî mecimʿekê, nîwek mewîjêt reş, nîwek gûgêṛik înan, danane ber herdu mirowêt Têlî. Paşay got, "hindekan bixon,

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XX

Another Story of the Telis

It is said that once a man of Teli went into his orchard and under a fig tree and 140
saw a ripe fig on the fig-branch; it had ripened well and was exuding juice. He thought to himself, 'It is fitting that I take this fig as a present to the headman of the village.' He placed it on his hand, took it and held it out before the headman, saying, 'I have brought you this fig as a present.' He said, 'Bring it and let me see.' When he took it up to him he saw that it was a very fresh fig. He said, 'It is fitting that I send this fig as a present to the ruler of Amadiya. Let two intelligent men come and pick up this fig and take it to Ismail Pasha.'[1] So they brought a basket, half-filled it with fig leaves, placed the fig in it, then filled the basket up to the top with leaves. They placed it on the backs of both men. They carried it in turns and journeyed until they reached Amadiya.

They said to the gate-keeper, 'Tell the Pasha that the Agha of the Telis has 141
sent two men with figs as a present,' The Pasha said, 'Tell them to come inside.' They entered and put the basket down before the Pasha. The Pasha thought that it was full of figs. He ordered them to bring three or four trays to empty the figs into so that they might eat them. Trays were brought and they took out (only) leaves and filled the trays with them. The Pasha saw that it was all leaves and said to them, 'Well, where are your figs?' They said, 'Wait a while and you will see.' When they reached the fig they took it out, placed it on (one of) their hands and took it up to the Pasha, saying, 'May it please the Pasha, this is it. Be so good as to eat it.' The Pasha said, 'What should I do with it?' The man of Teli said, 'Praise be to God. I wonder, Pasha, how can you have ruled as Pasha until now and let your beard grow white and passed all your life as Pasha and still not know how to eat a fig?' He popped the fig into his own mouth and said, 'Hah, that's how you do it.' They ate their own fig themselves.

The Pasha laughed very much and said, 'Be seated, you are welcome. I am 142
very grateful to you.' He said to the attendants, 'Go, bring some raisins, one half alive and the other half lifeless, so that these guests may eat some and that I may send some to the Agha of the Telis in return for his gift.' The servants understood. They went and brought a large trayful, half of black raisins and half of dung-beetles, and set it down in front of both men of Teli. The Pasha said, 'Eat

1 Ismail Pasha, last hereditary chief of Bahdinan principality in its capital Amadiya, ruled for the last three decades of the 18th century. See Öpengin, "Kronîkek li ser Tarîxa Badînan û Mezopotamyaya Bakûrî," 49–50.

yêt dimînin jî biben bo aẋayê xo şûndîharî." Wextê wan temaşa kir gûgêṛik di naw mewîjan da biziwtin. Gotine yêkudu, "çak e zû zû mewîjêt bi-pê bixoyn, yêt bê-pê her yêt xo ne." Hindek xarin, herçî man têkirine cente. Destûrîya xo ji paşa xastin, gotinê, "paşa, çûyn. Xatira te." Paşay jî got, "qewî bi xêr hatin. Herin, weẋer xêr bît. Gelek silawa li aẋayê xo biken ji pêr min we[2] w eḥwal-pirsîya wî biken. Bêjinê, "paşa zor zor ji te memnûn bû w mewîj bo te şûndîharî hinarine."

143 Çûn, geheştine mal. Çûne nik aẋay, gotinê, "aẋa bi serê te, bi serê te, paşa weto memnûn nebû kesek bizanît. Êdî qedr û ḥurmet ji wê hindê zêdetir nabît ku paşay derḥeqa me kir. We ewe bo te jî mewîj hinarîne." Centa mewîja xalî kirine pêş aẋay. Wextê aẋay dîtin got, "herin, çend mezin û rispîyêt gundî gazî biken, da bihên şûndîharîya Smail paşa bixoyn. Teberruk in." Wextê hatin, dîtin, pêk-we gotin, "*bismillah*. Da ji rê-we yêt bi-pê bixoyn da biçin, paşî yêt bê-pê." Weto xarin. Gelek keyfxoş bûn, gotin, "ya Rebbî Xudê, ʿemrê Smaîl Paşa dirêj ket zor bi merḥemet e."

2 Pronounced with unaspirated *p*, *ji pêr min we* is a rare phrase used in the Girdi tribe dialect.

some of them and those which are left take back to your Agha in return for his gift.' When they looked the beetles were moving among the raisins. They said to one another, 'We had better eat the raisins with legs quickly. The ones without legs belong to us anyway.' They ate some and what was left they put in a bag. They begged leave of the Pasha saying, 'Pasha, we are leaving. Good-bye.' The Pasha said, 'You were very welcome. May you have a safe journey. Give your Agha many greetings from me and ask after his health. Tell him, "The Pasha was very grateful to you and has sent you some raisins in return for your gift."'

They went and reached home. They went to the Agha and said, 'Agha, by thy 143
head, really, the Pasha was more grateful to you than one can imagine. What's more, nobody could be more honoured and respected than we were by the Pasha. And here, he has sent some raisins for you.' They emptied the bag of raisins in front of the Agha. When the Agha saw he said, 'Go and call all the great ones and elders of the village. Let them come after Ismail Pasha's present, that we may eat it. They are welcome.' When they came and saw they all said together, 'In the name of God! First we should eat the ones with legs so that they don't go, then the ones without legs.' And so they ate them. They were very happy and said, 'May our Lord God in His mercy grant Ismail Pasha a long life.'

XXI

Ḥekayêta Silê Şemfaṭa

144 Ji gundê Ergoş, ji ʿeşîreta Mizûrî Jorî, mirowek hebû, digotinê Silê Şemfaṭa. Silê, Silêman; Şem, Şemdîn; Faṭa, Faṭma. Yeʿnî Silêman kurê Şemdîn kurê Faṭma. ʿEmrê wî nêzîkî ṣed salan bû, ridîna wî wekî kulîya befrê spî bû, belê li ser xo bû, bi ṭaqet bû, aqlê wî siwik bû. Biçûkêt gundî daimî tirane bi wî dikirin, fîtî didane wî, ew jî tûre dibû, cûnêt kirêt didane biçûkan. Eger kesekî fîtî daba ṣeyê xo w Silê bihîstiba cûn didan. Min jî Silê dîtibû.

145 Mirowek cînarê Silê hebû, nawê wî ʿEbbas kurê Surê bû, gelek tiraneker bû. Hemî biçûk lalî ʿEbbas cema dibûn da tirana bi Silê biken. Carekê ʿEbbas gote Silê, "kîrê te sê bisṭan dirêj e. Ez gelek muteḥeyyir im çawa Sêwê, jina te, teḥemmul diket. Ez texmîn dikem te cîyê biçûkî dirandiye w xirab kiriye, lewanê Sêwê qet biçûk nabin." Silê jî qet ewlad nebûbûn. Wextê ʿEbbas ho got, Silê ji hemî caran pitir tûre bû, cûn dan. Rabû, çû lalî Mîrza aẋa, got, "Qazî Mela Xalid ḥazir bike. Hîwî dikem, deʿwa min û ʿEbbasê Surê ṣafî bike." Mîrza Aẋa jî zanî ḥal çi ye. Qazî w ʿEbbas ḥazir kirin. Gote Silê, "her deʿwa te heye, bêje qazî." Silê jî gote qazî, "ʿEbbas gûyek ji xo zêde xariye. Iftirayekê ho derheq min kiriye. Senedekî ji min bigire, yêkî ji wî, paşî kiwşîya min bide kirin. Eger gotina wî rast bît bila hemî milkê min nezr bît bo mizgewta Ergoş. Eger duro bît milkê wî nezri mizgewtê bît."

146 Qazî gote ʿEbbas, "mam Silêman çak difermot. Tu çi dibêjî?" ʿEbbas got, "min qebûl e. Ewe me li ḥuzûra te w aẋa qerar girt. Ḥacet bi senedan nîye. Ez dê gotina xo noke bi delîl sabit kem. Bila ʿEbdulmecîd kurê Feq ʿEḥmed û ʿElî kurê Musṭefa w Nasir kurê Mela Ḥesê w Silêman kurê ʿEbdî, ewene şahidêt muʿteber in, ḥazir bin li wê meclisê, kiwşîya wî biken. Eger gotina min duro bît her ḥukmê qazî w aẋa biken, ez razî me." Qazî gote Silê, "tu çi difermoy, Mam Silêman?" Silê got, "ez razî me, eger şahid bextê xo nesojin û xo ji Xudê neken." Qazî got, "çawa dê bextê xo sojin? Ewe şolekê bi-çaw-diyar e, duro nahête kirin." Ew çar

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XXI

The Tale of Sile Shamfata

There was a man from the village of Argosh, of the Upper Mizuri tribe, whom 144
they called Sile Shamfata. Sile—Sulaiman, Sham—Sham(sud)din, Fata—Fatima, i.e. Sulaiman son of Shamdin son of Fatima. He was nearly a hundred years old, his beard was as white as a snowflake, but he was in control of himself and strong (although) he was rather feeble-minded. The children of the village were always playing jokes on him, whistling at him, and he used to get angry and abuse them foully. If someone whistled to his own dog and Sile heard it he would curse. I had seen Sile (in those days).

There was a neighbour of Sile whose name was Abbas, son of Sure, a great 145
joker. All the children used to gather round Abbas to play jokes on Sile. Once Abbas said to Sile, 'Your penis is three spans long. I am very amazed that Sewe your wife can stand it. I reckon you have torn her womb and spoilt it and that is why Sewe never has any children.' Sile (you must know) had had no offspring. When Abbas spoke thus, Sile got angrier than ever before and abused him. He got up and went to Mirza Agha and said, 'Summon Cadi[1] Mullah Khalid. I want him to settle the case between me and Abbas Sure.' Mirza Agha knew what was up. He summoned the Cadi and Abbas, and said to Sile, 'Tell the Cadi whatever plaint you have.' Sile said to the Cadi, 'Abbas has eaten more dung than himself. He has made this calumny against me. Take a written statement from me and one from him, then have me examined. If what he says is true, let all my property be vowed to the mosque of Argosh. If it be a lie, let his property be vowed to the mosque.'

The Cadi said to Abbas, 'Uncle Sulaiman says well. What do you say?' Abbas 146
said, 'I agree. We have settled this in the presence of you and the Agha. There is no need for written statements. I shall now establish what I said by proof. Let Abdulmajid, son of Faq-Ahmad, and Ali, son of Mustafa, and Nasir, son of Mullah Hase, and Sulaiman, son of Abdi—they are reputable witnesses—be present in the assembly to examine him. If what I said should be a lie I am content with whatever the Cadi and the Agha order.' The Cadi said to Sile, 'What do you say, Uncle Sulaiman?' Sile said, 'I am content if the witnesses do not burn their fate and remove themselves from God.' The Cadi said, 'How will they burn their fate? This is an obvious matter, no lie will be told.' These four men

1 A Muslim judge. Variant: *qadi*.

mirowane jî gelek tiraneker bûn. Ji ʿEbbas xirabtir bûn. Qazî w aẋa jî di bin lêwan da gelek dikenîn, ema bo ṣuḥbet aşkera nedikirin, da Silê tûre nebît.

147 Xulase şahidêt ʿEbbas hatin, gotin, "bila Mam Silêman çarmêrkî rûnêt, weto dê kiwşîya wî keyn, serê aẋayê wî geşte kê derê, dê ji wê derê ḥeta binê ranî pîwîn. Çend bû dirêjatîya aẋayê wî jî, hinde şerm e Mam Silêman ji pê we bihête keşf kirin." Silê keyfxoş û razî bû, got, "ewane bi inṣaf in." Silê çarmêrkî rûnişt, doxîna xo kirewe, panîya pêyê wî geşte serê aẋayê wî hemîyan dît, gotin, "Silê, bes e, rabe, doxîna xo girê de."

148 Silê rabû, doxîn girê da, got, "hingo çawa ḥukm kir?" ʿEbbas got, "ez teʿeccub dikem, hêşta tu qaniʿ nebûy ku xeberê min dirist derkewt?" Silê got, "çawa?" ʿEbbas got, "ma serê wî negeşte panîya pêyê te?" Silê got, "belê, geştê, ema paşî çi ye? Çi delîl heye?" ʿEbbas got, "delîl hinde bes e. Ji wihê qahîmtir delîl nîye, ku şahidan dît û te bi dewê xo jî iqrar kir ku serê wî geşte panîya pê. Bila noke li ḥuzûra wê cimaʿetê ji panîya pêyê te ḥeta binê ranê te bipîwin, ka çend bisṭ e." Wextê pîwan ji sê bisṭan tiştek zêde bû. ʿEbbas got, "êdî te çi hecet ma?" Silê got, "ez qebûl nakem. Noke dê tejî ser serê xo xolî kem, çime lalî qaymiqam Saliḥ Efendî li Bîrekepran." Qazî got, "Mam Silêman, çûna te fayde nîye. Ew teḥqîqe lêre hatiye kirin li çu cîyan weto nahête kirin. Her cîyê biçî suwal dê ji meclisa êre hête kirin. Paşî tu dê şerminde derkewî." Aẋa got, "ez meʾmûr im bi icra kirina ḥukmê qazî. Noke qazî çawa ḥukm bifermot ez dê icra kem."

149 Qazî got, "nizanim çi bêjim. Eger rastîyê bêjim Mam Silêman qebûl naket, dê tûre bît. Duro jî bo min munasib nîye. Ez qewî muteḥeyyir mame. Emma tiştek min mulaḥeze kiriye, bo mesleḥeta ḥalê Mam Silêman gelek çak e. *Aṣ-ṣulḥu sayyidu l-aḥkām*, yeʿnî, musaleḥe aẋayê hemî ḥukman e. Mam Silêman eger musaleḥe neket şola wî dê bi zeḥmettir kewît. Ewe şerm e li her meclisekê bihête gotin. Ez noke ho munasib dibînim Mam Silêman peẓekî qelew wekujîtewe, ziyafetekê çak ḥazir biket û rispî w muʿteberêt Ergoşîyan gazî biket. Em jî dê iʿlamekî niwîsîn we muhr keyn, deyne destê Mam Silêman ku êdî ji noke paş carekê dî ʿEbbas deʿwayê li Mam Silêman neket." Aẋa got, "reʾya qazî zor baş e." Mam Silêman jî biwêt we newêt razî bû. Weto ziyafet kir û xarin, her kes çû mala xo. Meʿlûm e eger şahid ḥez biken çar tiplan dê bi sê bisṭ dene muhr kirin bi qazî. Çak û xirab muteʿelliq e bi gotina şahidan. *Wesselam*.

were also great jokers. They were worse than Abbas. The Cadi and the Agha also smiled very much to themselves, but for a joke did not show it, so that Sile should not become angry.

In short, Abbas' witnesses came and said, 'Let Uncle Sulaiman sit cross- 147
legged. We shall examine him so, and measure from where the tip of his rod reaches to the base of his thigh. However long his rod may be, it is a shame that Uncle Sulaiman should be uncovered while standing up.' Sile was happy and content, saying, 'These are just men.' Sile sat down cross-legged, opened the string of his trousers, and the heel of his foot reached the tip of his rod. They all looked and said, 'Sile, that's enough, stand up, do up your trouser-cord.'

Sile got up, did up his trouser-cord and said, 'What did you decide?' Abbas 148
said, 'I am amazed that you still haven't been convinced that what I said has turned out correct.' Sile said, 'How so?' Abbas said, 'Why, didn't the tip of it reach your heel?' Sile said, 'Yes, it reached it, but what then? What proof is that?' Abbas said, 'This is sufficient proof. There is no firmer proof than this, that witnesses have seen and you with your own mouth have admitted that the tip of it reached your heel. Now in the presence of this company let them measure from your heel to the base of your thigh, how many spans it is.' When they measured, it was something more than three spans. Abbas said, 'What further excuse have you?' Sile said, 'I don't accept. Now I shall cover my head in ashes and go to the district governor, Salih Effendi, in Birakapran.' The Cadi said, 'Uncle Sulaiman, there is no point in your going. This investigation which has been made here will not be made so anywhere (else). Wherever you go there will be an enquiry from this assembly. Then you will be shamed.' The Agha said, 'I am charged with carrying out the verdict of the Cadi. Now however the Cadi judges, I shall carry it out.'

The Cadi said, 'I don't know what to say. If I speak the truth, Uncle Sulaiman 149
will not accept it, he will be angry. A lie is also not fitting for me. I am left very amazed. But I have considered something which is very good for the welfare of Uncle Sulaiman. "Reconciliation is the chief of all judgements." If Uncle Sulaiman doesn't make peace his affair will be even more difficult. This is a shame which will be spoken of in every assembly. I consider it fitting now that Uncle Sulaiman slaughter a fat sheep, prepare a good feast and invite the elders and respected men of the Argoshis. We too shall write a proclamation and seal it and give it to Uncle Sulaiman, that henceforth Abbas will not again dispute with him.' The Agha said, 'The Cadi's opinion is very good.' Uncle Sulaiman was also content, whether he liked it or not. He made such a feast and they ate it, and everybody went home. It is well-known that if witnesses want to they will get four finger-breadths (certified and) sealed by the Cadi as three spans. Good and evil depends on what the witnesses say.

XXII

Ḥekayêta Muḥemmed Aẋayê Berwarî w Miṭirbî

150 Li naw ʿeşîreta Berwarîyan du aẋa hebûn. Nawê yêkî Muḥemmed Aẋa bû, nawê yê dî Eḥmed Aẋa bû. Muḥemmed Aẋa mirowekî tiraneker, şeytan bû. Jina wî jî wekî wî bû. Rojekê dît du-sê miṭirb bo mala wî tên. Hêşta dûr bûn, gote xulamêt xo, "ewro ḥeta ṣubey nawê min Eḥmed Aẋa ye. Her kesê bêjîte min Muḥemmed Aẋa ez ʿezmanê wî di binî ra dê birim." Xulaman got, "bo çî? Ewe çi ye? Em tênageyn." Muḥemmed Aẋa got, "êdî ez hind dibêjim. Dirêj neken. Paşî hung jî dê zanin." Gotin, "belê, aẋa. Emr emrê te ye. Çawa difermoy dê we keyn."

151 Wextê ku ho tedbîra xo kirin, di wê mabeynê da miṭirb geştine bederê qesra aẋa, gotin, "ewe mala kê ye? Nawê aẋay çi ye?" Xulaman got, "ewe mala Eḥmed Aẋayê Berwarî ye." Gotin, "zor baş e. Em jî ewe heşt-neh roj e ji layê Silêmanî w Kerkûkê li dû nawbangê Eḥmed Aẋayê Berwarî têyn da bo wî def û kemançe lêdeyn û lawjan bêjîn, belko keremekê çak digel me biket." Aẋa got, "hung bi xêr bên, ser çawan, ser seran. Zaten xelat, kerem bo yêt wekî hingo lazim in. Dê, werin, rûnên. Ew şewe hung mêwanêt min in." Wextê şîw xarin aẋa got, "werin, bêjin." Wan jî dest pê kir, medḥa Eḥmed Aẋa gelek gotin.

152 Paşî ku seʿetek çû aẋa gazî jina xo kir, "xanim." Xanimê jî cewab da, "belê, aẋa, emr ke." Aẋa got, "ew cotê çekmêt firengî ku bo min ji Istenbolê bi sê zêran hatine ji xurcî bîne der, ḥazir bike dê ṣubey bideme begzade bi xelat, çunko dengê wî, lawjê wî gelek li min xoş hatiye." Xanimê jî got, "belê, aẋa, min înane der. Ḥazir in." Miṭirban zêdetir qîjand, ḥewka xo diradin. Keyfa wan qewî hat. Dîsa ku saʿetek çû aẋa gazî kir, "xanim." Cewab da, "belê, aẋa, bifermo." Aẋa got, "ew ʿebayê Beẋdayê ku berçêlêt wî bi zîwî tê şolkirî, hatiye bi çar lîrayê zer, wî jî ji xurcî bîne der da bi xelat bideme begzade. Her bo wî layîq e." Xanimê got, "belê, ew jî ḥazir e." Dîsa paşî seʿetekê gazî kire xanimê, "kurtekê min yê şore, ṭaqê Hindê, ku hatiye bi pênc zêran, wî jî bîne der." Xanimê got, "ew jî min îna der." Miṭirbî çêtir xoş kir, ḥewka ⟨xo⟩ tejî kir. Dîsa paşî seʿetekê got, "şala bo min

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XXII

Muhammad Agha Barwari and the Travelling Minstrel

There were once two aghas among the Barwari tribe. The name of one was 150
Muhammad Agha and the name of the other was Ahmad Agha. Muhammad Agha was a great practical joker. His wife too was like him. One day he saw two or three travelling minstrels coming towards his home. When they were still far off he said to his henchmen, 'From now until tomorrow my name is Ahmad Agha. Whoever calls me Muhammad Agha I shall cut his tongue out from the root.' The henchmen said, 'Why? What is this? We don't understand.' Muhammad Agha said, 'That's all I'm saying. Don't carry on. You'll find out later.' They said, 'Yes, Agha. Yours is to command. We shall do as you say.'

While they were planning this the minstrels arrived before the gate of the 151
agha's mansion and said, 'Whose home is this? What is the agha's name?' The henchmen said, 'This is the home of Ahmad Agha Barwari.' They said, 'That is well. For eight or nine days now we have come from the direction of Sulaimaniya and Kerkuk following the fame of Ahmad Agha Barwari, in order to play the drum and viol for him and to sing him songs, hoping that he will reward us well.' The agha said, 'You are welcome, upon my head and eyes. Naturally you and your like deserve presents and favours. Come, be seated. Tonight you are my guests.' When they had supped the agha said, 'Come, sing.' They set to and praised Ahmad Agha greatly.

After some time had passed the agha called his wife, 'My lady.' The lady 152
answered, 'Yes, Agha, what can I do?' The agha said, 'Bring that pair of European boots, which came for me from Istanbul for three pieces of gold, out of the hold-all so that I may give them to the gentleman as a present tomorrow, for I like his voice and his songs very much.' The lady said, 'Yes, Agha, I have brought them out. They are here.' The minstrels squalled all the more and tore their throats. They were very pleased. Again after some time had passed the agha called, 'My lady.' She answered, 'Yes, Agha, say on.' He said, 'Bring that cloak from Baghdad with the lapels worked in silver, which I got for four gold lire, out of the hold-all so that I can present it to the gentleman. It is just right for him.' The lady said, 'Yes, that is here too.' Again after a while he called to his wife, 'My bug quilted waistcoat of Indian stuff which came for five pieces of gold—bring that out too.' The lady said, 'I've got that out too.' The minstrels played more lively and filled their throats. Again after a while he said, 'The shawl which came for me

ji Isfehanê hatî bi deh kete zêran, wî jî ḥazir ke." Xanimê got, "belê, aẋa, herçî te fermoy hemî ḥazir in." Ḥeta şew geşte ḥewt-heşt seʿetan her demê tiştek zêde dikir. Paşî çûn, niwistin.

153 Wextê bû ṣube aẋa hat, li dîwanxanê rûnişt, gote xulaman, "sertêştê bînin." Sertêşt xar, qet negote miṭirban, "werin, bixon." Hîç rûyê xo neda wan, eṣlen digel wan neaxiwt. Paşî miṭirban got, "aẋa, ew şekira cenabê aẋa şewê dî xarî, em hîwî dikeyn zû bi cê bînît, da biçîne ser rêka xo." Aẋa got, "ez nizanim çi ye hung dibêjin." Miṭirban gotin, "ma cenabê aẋa nefermo, filan filan tiştî bo miṭirban ḥazir biken?" Aẋa got, "werin, murafeʿe bikeyn. Eger hingo çi ḥeq li ser min hebît dê dem, egerne ne." Gotin, "baş e." Aẋa got, "dê, bêjin." Gotin, "me şewê dî gelek keyfa te îna." Aẋa got, "hingo keyfa min bi çî îna?" Gotin, "bi gotinê." Aẋa got, "baş e. Bes hingo ḥeqê xo zêdetir biriye." Gotin, "çawa?" Aẋa got, "wextê hingo keyfa min diîna bi gotina saz û lawjan min deh car hind keyfa hingo diîna bi gotina xelatan. Bes hingo keyfa min îna bi gotinê, min jî keyfa hingo îna bi gotinê. Ewe em jêk xilas. Herine ser rêka xo, êdî dirêj neken."

154 Rabûn, çûn. Gundê Eḥmed Aẋayê ku eṣil Eḥmed Aẋa bû du seʿetan dûr bû ji gundê Muḥemmed Aẋa. Wextê çûne gundê wî, rûniştin. Ema xulamêt Muḥemmed Aẋa di pêş da gotibûne miṭirban, "ewê henê gundê Muḥemmed Aẋa ye." Miṭirban li dîwanxana Eḥmed Aẋayê eṣlî dest bi zemma Eḥmed Aẋa kir û medḥê Muḥemmed Aẋa gotin. Xulamêt Eḥmed Aẋayê eṣlî dest dane metreqan, rabûne miṭirban, têr kutan, kirine der, ṣe berdanê. Ḥeta çûne pişta gundî dû ra çûn. Muṭirban gotin, "hay hewar! Ewe çi ye? Ma me çi qebaḥet kiriye?" Xulaman gotin, "çawa? Ma qebaḥet ji wê mezintir heye hingo li dîwanxana Eḥmed Aẋa cûn dane wî? Rabin, herin, xo gîro neken." Xulase ji wê derê bê hîwî çûn. *Wesselam*.

from Isfahan for ten pieces of gold—bring that here too.' The lady said, 'Yes, Agha, everything you have said is here.' Until the night reached seven or eight hours (after sunset) he added something else every now and then. After that they went and slept.

When it was morning the agha came and sat in his audience chamber and 153
said to his henchmen, 'Bring breakfast.' He ate breakfast. Not once did he say to the minstrels, 'Come and eat.' He did not look at them or talk to them at all. After a while the minstrels said, 'Agha, those sweet words you said last night—we hope that you will soon carry out your promise so that we may be on our way.' The agha said, 'I don't know what you are talking about.' The minstrels said, 'Why, didn't the Agha say, "Bring such-and-such things for the minstrels"?' The agha said, 'Come, let us litigate. If you have any claim upon me I shall pay it, otherwise not.' They said, 'Right.' The agha said, 'Well, speak.' They said, 'We gave you great pleasure last night.' The agha said, 'How did you give me pleasure?' They said, 'By singing.' The agha said, 'Fine. So you have had more than your right.' They said, 'How so?' He said, 'While you were giving me pleasure with your music and singing songs I was giving you ten times as much pleasure by talking of presents. So you gave me pleasure by word of mouth and I gave you pleasure by word of mouth. We are quits with one another. Go your ways and don't carry on.'

They got up and went. The village of Ahmad Agha, who really was Ahmad 154
Agha, was two hours away from Muhammad Agha's village. When they got to his village they sat down. But Muhammad Agha's henchmen had previously told the minstrels, 'Yonder is Muhammad Agha's village.' In the real Ahmad Agha's audience chamber the minstrels began to denigrate Ahmad Agha and to praise Muhammad Agha. The real Ahmad Agha's henchmen laid hold of their sticks and went for the minstrels, giving them a thorough beating. They drove them out and set the dogs on them, following them until they were clear of the village. The minstrels cried, 'Oh, help! What is this? What is our offence?' The henchmen said, 'What indeed! Is there any offence greater than abusing Ahmad Agha in his own audience chamber? Get up and begone without delay.' In short they went from there without hope (of reward).

XXIII

Ḥekayêta Mam Talê Berwarî

155 Gundek heye li naw ʿeşîreta Berwarîyan, daxilê qeza Amedîyê, Spîndar dibêjinê. Mirowek hebû ji wî gundî, nawê wî Mam Tal bû. Gelek caran diçû Mûsilê, şuremure dikirî, diîna gundê xo, difirot, qazanc dikir. Carekê li ser ʿadetê xo çû Mûsilê, qîmeta bîst lîrey, belko zêdetir tişt kirî. Şewê hate qehwexaneyekê, li wê derê cihalê pertalê xo dana ku ṣubey rêka hatinewê bigirît.

156 Mirowêt qehwexanê qewî şeytan û ḥîlebaz bûn. Gotine yêkudu, "werin, tedbîrekê weto bikeyn ku pertalê wî mirowê kurd bibeyn û ew bizanît û hîç deng neket û razî bît, û razî nebît bo wî cîyê axiwtinê nebît." Gotin, "baş e, ema ewe dê çawa mumkin bît em malê wî bibeyn û ew neşêt biaxiwît?" Yêk ji wan zêdetir şeytan bû, got, "ez çawa tedbîrê dikem, hung guh bidene min, paşî eger çênebû destê min bibirin." Hemîyan gotin, "çak e, bêje."

157 Got, "herin, hindek pîsîyê insan yê teṛ di naw şema-miştê werpêçin digel du-sê xiṛeberêt giran danêne naw ṣindoqekê kiçke, danêne ṭaqçeyekî li qehwexanê." Înan, wekî wî got. Paşî gote wan, "ewe dê razêt, biniwît. Wextê ew raza, hêşta neniwistî, em dê xelweyekê keyn, ho bêjîn, weto ku ew bibihît, "werin, da têla şurêt wî mirowey bidizin. Biçîn, xo weşêrîn ḥeta ew diçîte ser rêka xo. Paşî em dê hêyne cîyê xo. Bajêrê Mûsilê hizar kolan hene, ew neşêt li hemîyan bigeriyêt, dê çît bo memleketê xo." Yêkê dî ji me ho bêjît, "belê, em dê şurêt wî beyn, ema ṣindoqa me du-hizar lîrey zêdetir têda hene. Belko ew rabû, ṣindoqa me bir, paşî ẓerera me zêdetir e çi fayde." Yêkê dî bêjît, "tedbîra ṣindoqê senayî ye. Noke ew niwistî ye, ṣindoqê dê danêyne bin serê beṛikê. Wextê ew rabît, ji ber xema şurêt xo temaşe bin rayêxan naket. Wê saʿetê dê derkewît." Wextê me ho got ew jî di dilê xo da dê bêjît, "dê, herin, biben. Min zanî hingo çi got." Paşî eger em şurêt wî bibeyn û derkewin ew ji keyfxoşîya ṣindoqa du hizar lîran hîç deng naket. Ew dê ṣindoqê bet ḥeta memleketê xo, li cîyekî gîro nabît."

158 Bi wî ṭerzî tedbîr kirin. Wextê ew raza, weto xelwe kirin. Mam Tal dibihîst, ema xo nebizawt, pirxe-pirx ji xo diîna ku, "ez di xewê da me, min agah ji hingo nîye." Xulase têla şurêt Mam Tal ji bin serê wî înane der û derkewtin. Mam Tal

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XXIII

Mam Tal the Barwari

There is a village among the Barwari tribe, in the district of Amadiya, called 155
Spindar. There was once a man from that village whose name was Mam Tal. He used to go often to Mosul and buy goods, bring them back to his village, sell them and make a profit. Once he went to Mosul in the usual way and bought things to the value of twenty lire, maybe more. At night he came to a coffee-house and there set down his bag full of merchandise, (intending) to set out on the way back on the morrow.

The men of the coffee-house were great tricksters. They said to one another, 156
'Come, let us make such a plan that we may take this Kurdish fellow's goods and when he discovers it he will acquiesce and say nothing, and even if he doesn't acquiesce he won't have room to say anything.' They said, 'Fine, but how will it be possible for us to take his property and for him not to be able to say anything?' One of them was more cunning (than the others) and said, 'Listen to what I suggest and if later it doesn't work out (you can) cut off my hand.' They all said, 'Right, say on.'

He said, 'Go and wrap up some fresh human excrement in something water- 157
proof together with two or three heavy round stones, put it into a small chest and place it in a niche in the coffee-house.' They brought it, as he had said. Then he said to them, 'He will lie down to sleep. When he lies down but is not yet asleep, we shall gather together secretly and say, in a way that he can hear, "Come, let's steal this man's bag of goods and go and hide ourselves until he goes on his way. Afterwards we shall come back home. The city of Mosul has a thousand streets and he cannot search them all, so he will go to his own country." Another one of us should say, "Yes, we'll take his goods, but our chest has got more than two thousand lire in it. He may get up and take our chest, then we'll lose more than we gain." Another one should say, "The chest is easily arranged. Now that he's asleep we'll put the chest under the end of the rug. When he gets up he'll be so worried about his goods that he won't look under the floor coverings. He'll go (straight) out then." When we talk like this he'll say to himself, "Go on, take it. I know what you said." Then if we take his goods and go away he won't say anything, he'll be so pleased about the chest with two thousand lire. He'll take the chest as far as his own country without stopping anywhere.'

They planned in that way. When he lay down they gathered together secretly 158
thus. Mam Tal could hear but he did not move, he pretended to snore (as if to say), "I'm asleep, I cannot hear you." In short, they took the bag of Mam Tal's

hîç deng nekir. Wextê ew derkewtin Mam Tal siwik rabû, ṣindoq helgirt, hate mala xo. Gote jina xo, "wê keredê qazancek min kiriye kes nekirî." Jinê got, "çi ye?" Mam Tal got, "ṣindoqek du hizar lîre min înaye, şurê xo min hêlaye." Jinê got, "bîne derê, ṣindoqê weke, da bibînim û bawir bikem." Mam Tal bi keyfxoşî tewşî îna, ṣindoq şkand, şema-mişt wekir. Bêna gû tejî xanî bû. Hindî helkolî ji xeyrî gû w xiṛeberan çî dî nedît. Jinê got, "ez xiyal dikem cembazêt Mûsilê ew singe li qûna te daye?" Mam Tal got, "hişe, ḥurmet. Ew tole bi hostayî nebît çênabît. Sebr ke. Bila kes nezanît ḥeta ez tola xo dikemewe."

159 Mam Tal rabû, deh hêstir bi kirê girtin. Bîst meşkêt mezin peyda kirin, tejî pîsî kirin. Her yêkî miqdarê nîw hewtig hingûn kire ser derê wan, rêka Mûsilê girt. Libasê xo temam guhorî, rast çû heman qehwexaneya şurê wî lê çûy. Barêt xo hawêtin, rûnişt. Heman mirowêt şurê wî birî hatine lalî wî, belê ew nenasîn. Gotine wî, "barêt te çi ne?" Got, "hemî hingûnê kûstanê ye. Ṣubey dê beme meydanê, firoşim." Wan mirowan gotin, "were, em bazarekê bikeyn, nebe meydanê. Ewe bajêrê Mûsilê ye, hizar cembaz hene. Neko teşqele li te biken." Mam Tal got, "baş e, ema ez meşkan nadem." Meqsûda Mam Tal ew bû, çak bibine muşterî. Wan jî gotin, "bazara me dê bi hemî tiştan bît. Qet meşkan nadeyn. Bila tiştek ji qîmeta hingûnî zêde bît bo meşkan." Mam Tal got, "bes ez bêxatirîya hingo nakem. Ji noke paş em dê bîne dost."

160 Her barek qîmet kirin bi deh lîre. Derê meşkan kirinewe, her yêkî pîçek jê xarin, qewî pesend kirin. Gotin, "*el-ḥeq* hingûnekê gelek taze w eʿla ye." Mam Tal got, "mislê hingûnê min li dinyayê hingûn nîye. Hingî hung dê hunera wî zanin wextê xalî diken û bêna ʿeṭra wî li difna hingo didet." Xulase ṣed lîre wergirt, hate mala xo, tola xo wekir. Jina wî got, "aferîn, Mam Tal." Mirowêt Mûsilê ku meşk xalî kirin bêna gû li difna wan da. Zanîn ewe xudanê şuran kiriye, hîç deng nekirin. *Wesselam*.

things from under his head and went away. Mam Tal said nothing. When they went away Mam Tal got up quietly, took up the chest and went home. He said to his wife, 'This time I've made such a profit as no man has ever made.' His wife said, 'What is it?' Mam Tal said, 'I've brought a chest with two thousand lire and left my goods behind.' His wife said, 'Bring it out and open the chest so that I can see and believe it.' Mam Tal, very pleased, brought an adze and broke open the chest. He undid the waterproof stuff. The stench of excrement filled the house. However deep he dug he found nothing but filth and round stones. His wife said, 'I imagine the swindlers of Mosul played this one on you.' Mam Tal said, 'Hush, wife. To take revenge for this will need a cunning hand. Just wait. Let nobody know until I've taken my revenge.'

Mam Tal got up and hired ten mules. He procured twenty large skin bags and 159
filled them with filth. In the mouth of each one he put honey to the amount of a half-measure[1] and set out for Mosul. He changed his clothes completely and went straight to that same coffee-house where he had lost his goods. He put down his loads and sat down. Those same men who had taken his things came up to him but did not recognize him. They said to him, 'What are your loads?' He said, 'They are all highland honey. Tomorrow I shall take them to the square and sell them.' The men said, 'Come, let us do a deal. Don't take them to the square. This is Mosul city and there are a thousand swindlers. Mind they don't cheat you.' Mam Tal said, 'Very well, but I won't give up the skin bags.' Mam Tal intended they should really become customers. They said, 'We must do a deal for everything. We certainly won't give up the bags. Let there be something over the price of the honey for the bags.' Mam Tal said, 'Well, I won't disappoint you. We'll be friends from now on.'

They priced each load (of two bags) at ten lire. They opened the necks of 160
the bags and tasted a little from each one and liked it very much. They said, 'This certainly is a fresh and excellent honey.' Mam Tal said, 'There is no honey like mine in the world. You'll discover its real excellence when you empty it out and its bouquet reaches your noses.' In short, he took a hundred lire and went home, having taken his revenge. His wife said, 'Bravo, Mam Tal.' When the men of Mosul emptied the skin bags they smelt the filth. They realised that the owner of the goods (they had stolen) had done this and said nothing.

1 One *hewtig*, pronounced with an unaspirated *t*, is around two kilograms.

XXIV

Ḥekayêta Smail Paşa w ʿÎsa Delanî

161 Zemanê Smail paşa ḥakimê Kurdistanê bû li Amêdîyê, gundek heye li deşta Zê, Delan dibêjinê, mirowek ji wî gundî hebû, nawê wî ʿÎsa bû. Zor ʿaqil û zana w tedbîrkar bû. Li naw ekserê Kurdistanê meşhûr e. Meselêt wî w Smail paşa gelek hene. Wezîr û mudebbirê Smail paşa ew bû. Li nik Smail paşa kes ji ʿÎsa pêştir û muʿtebertir nebû. Li mal û li seferê daymî digel wî bû. Çu şol û tedbîr bê reʾy û bê mişûreta ʿÎsa nedikirin.

162 Weto qewimî, rojekê paşa çû bo rawê, ʿÎsa jî digel bû. Wextê nîwro çûne şkewtekê. Paşa gote xulaman, "hung hemî ji derwe rûnên, gurdegurdê neken. ʿÎsa bi tinê digel min bihête şkewtê, mêşan ji min birewînît. Ez pîçek dê niwim." Paşa raza, di xewê da bû, ʿÎsa jî baweşîn li wî dikir. Dît dûpişkek li nik serê paşa ji bin berekî derkewt, hat bo layê paşa. ʿÎsa jî xencera xo kêşa, dirêj kire layê dûpişkê. Dûpişk zû çû kuna xo, nekuşt. Di wê demê da paşa hay bû, çawêt xo rakirin, dît xencer rûs di destê ʿÎsa da. Paşa pîçek endêşe kir, got, "ewe çi ye, ʿÎso?" ʿÎsa jî hinde got, "paşa, çû." Paşa got, "çi çû?" Meqsûda wî ewe bû ku dilê paşa endêşe kir, êdî iʿtibara wî çû, herçî wî wextî gotiba fayde nebû.

163 Wextê ku ji rawê hatinewe ʿÎso cilêt derwêşan di ber xo kirin, bi şew derkewt, çû deşta Hewlêrê, bû aşewan. Salek çû, ʿÎso bezir bû. Kes nezanî ʿÎso kê we çûye. Paşî ʿÎso, bêtifaqî li naw xulam û reʿîyet û mezinêt Smail paşa peyda bû. Aẋayêt ʿeşîretan daymî şer kirin, hindek eşqî bûn. Xulase ḥukmê paşa w umûrêt wî gelek meẋşûş û perîşan bûn, nezanî çi biket.

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XXIV

Ismail Pasha and Isa Dalani

There[1] is a village in the Zab valley called Dalan and, when Ismail Pasha was 161
the ruler of Kurdistan in Amadiya, there was a man of that village whose name was Isa. He was very wise and learned and resourceful. He is famous throughout most of Kurdistan. There are many stories of him and Ismail Pasha. He was Ismail Pasha's minister and administrator. There was nobody more honoured or trusted by Ismail Pasha than Isa. He was always with him at home and on journeys. He did no task and took no meaures without the advice and counsel of Isa.

It so happened that one day the Pasha went hunting and Isa was with him. 162
At midday they went to a cave. The Pasha said to the servants, 'You all sit outside and do not make a noise. Let Isa alone come into the cave with me and drive the flies off me. I shall sleep for a while.' The Pasha dosed off and slept while Isa was fanning him. He saw a scorpion come out from under a stone by the Pasha's head and come towards the Pasha. Isa drew his dagger and pointed it at the scorpion. The scorpion quickly went back into its hole and he did not kill it. At that moment the Pasha woke, looked up and saw the dagger naked in Isa's hand. The Pasha was a little anxious and said, 'What's this, Iso?' All Isa said was, 'Pasha, it's gone.' The Pasha said, 'What's gone?' His meaning was that the Pasha had been anxious in his heart and that thenceforth his trust had gone. Whatever he might have said then, it would have been of no use.

When they came back from the hunt Iso put on dervishes' clothes, set off at 163
night and went to the plain of Erbil and became a miller. A year went by and there was no sign of Iso. No one knew whither Iso had gone. After Iso's (departure) discord grew among the henchmen and the subjects and the great men of Ismail Pasha. The aghas of the tribes were always fighting and some rebelled. In short, the Pasha's rule and his affairs were in great disorder and he did not know what to do.

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1 Isa Dalani is a historical character considered to have served as a councilor to several pashas of the Bahdinan principality in the 18th century. He often appears as a wise character in contrast to a less competent ruler. His stories are particularly widespread in Bahdinan and Hakkari regions, including Shamdinan. See Yusuf Başargan, *Serhatiyên Îsê Delan û Analîza wan* [The stories of Isa Dalan and Their Analysis] (Van Yüzüncü Yıl University MA Thesis, 2024]), 12–17.

164 ʿÎso kurek hebû, nawê wî ʿElî bû, çarde-pazde salî bû. Ew û dayka xo mabûn li Amêdîyê. ʿÎso bi tinê çûbû. Gotibû kurê xo, "ez diçime fulan derê. Bo kes nebêje." Paşa kurê ʿÎsa gazî kir, got, "tu nizanî babê te li kê derê ye?" Wî jî got, "ez nizanim." Paşa got, "min bo xirabîyê nîye, xatircem be. Eger babê te min bikujît jî dilê min ji wî namînît. Paşî wî mala min xirab bû. Eger ew nebît ez dê meḥw bim. Rabe, here, li hemî welatan bigeriyê. Eger te dîtewe ḥeta mumkin bît bila digel te bihêt. Eger nehat hinde bêje wî, 'şola paşa gelek perîşan e. Tedbîr çi ye?'" ʿElî jî got, "belê, dê çim, pirsim."

165 ʿElî çû nik babê xo, eḥwalê paşa w gotina wî bo neql kir. ʿÎso gote kurê xo, "min bîstanek çandiye. Were biçin ade bikeyn. Ṣube dê cewaba te bidem, here bêje paşa." Ew û kurê xo çûne naw bîstanî. Herçî bina mezin û biquwet ba ʿÎso ew helşkawt û binêt kiçke w zeʿîf hêlan. Kurê wî got, "babo, te bîstanê xo xirab kir." ʿÎso got, "ne, kurê min, dê zêdetir berî det." Hatinewe bo cîyê şewê.

166 ʿElî got, "ez ṣube dê çim. Çi cewab bideme paşay? ʿÎso got, "cewab hatin û çûna te ye. Hinde bêje paşa, 'çûbû, ema hatewe.'" ʿElî got, "babo, tu dîn î. Ewe cewab nîye. Ez çito wihê bêjime paşa? Şesl e, ʿeyb e." ʿÎso got, "êdî dirêj neke, ḥeqê te nîye." ʿElî got, "ne tu bî, ne paşa. Tu bi wî ʿeqley dê xizmeta paşa çêkey?" Sil bû, hatewe bo Amêdîyê. Çû nik paşa, got, "ez çûm, min dît, çu cewab neda. Bîstanek hebû, ew jî xirab kir." Paşa got, "çawa xirab kir?" ʿElî jî çawa dîtibû neql kir. Paşa got, "çî dî bi dew negot?" ʿElî got, "hinde jî gote min, 'bêje paşa, çûbû, ema hatewe.'" Paşa gote ʿElî, "bes tu dibêjî cewab neda? Cewab ji wê çêtir nîye." ʿElî got, "belê, li nik dînan xeberêt dînan meqbûl in." Paşa got, "êdî ez dizanim."

167 Çend axayêt ʿeşîretan gazî kirin, mezin û ehlê şeraret, hemî kuştin. Yêt dilṣaf û bêxerez û caḥêl kirine mezin. Ḥukmê wî wekî berê muntezem bû. Çend mirowêt muʿteber hinarine nik ʿÎso. Hespê xo hinar ku ʿÎso siwar bît. ʿÎso bi iḥtiram înane Amêdîyê, ema li hespê paşa siwar nebû. Got, "ez layîq nîme li hespê paşa siwar bim." Wextê ʿÎso hat ḥekayêta dûpişkê got. Paşa bawir kir. Ji berê zêdetir merteba wî mezin bû. ʿÎso got, "paşa, wextê çû êdî hecet fayde nîye, wextê hat zeḥmet lazim nîye." *Wesselam*.

Iso had a son called Ali who was fourteen or fifteen years old. He and his 164
mother had stayed in Amadiya. Iso had gone alone. He had said to his son, 'I am going to such-and-such a place. Don't tell anybody.' The Pasha summoned Isa's son and said, 'Don't you know where your father is?' He said, 'I don't know.' The Pasha said, 'Rest assured, I don't want to harm him. Even if your father should kill me I would not lose my affection for him. Since he has gone my house has been spoilt. If he doesn't come back I shall be destroyed. Get up, go and search in all countries. If you find him, let him come back with you if it is at all possible. If he cannot come say this much to him, that, "The Pasha's affairs are greatly disordered. What is to be done?"' So Ali said, 'Very well, I will go and ask him.'

Ali went to his father and related to him the condition of the Pasha and what 165
he had said. Iso said to his son, 'I have planted a garden. Come, let us go and weed it. Tomorrow I shall give you an answer, then go and tell the Pasha.' He and his son went into the garden. Whichever stem was big and powerful Iso would pull it out and the small and weak stems he would leave. His son said, 'Father, you've ruined your garden.' Iso said, 'No, my son, it will give more fruit.' They came back to the place (where they would spend) the night.

Ali said, 'Tomorrow I shall go. What answer should I give the Pasha?' Iso said, 166
'Your coming and going is the answer. Just tell the Pasha, "He had gone, but he has come back."' Ali said, 'Father, you're crazy. This isn't an answer. How can I say this to the Pasha? It is shameful.' Iso said, 'Don't carry on, it is nothing to do with you.' Ali said, '(I care for) neither you nor the Pasha. Will you serve the Pasha with this wisdom?' He became annoyed and came back to Amadiya. He went to the Pasha and said, 'I went and saw him but he made no answer. He had a garden and spoilt that too.' The Pasha said, 'How did he spoil it?' Ali related what he had seen. The Pasha said, 'Didn't he say anything else, by mouth?' Ali said, 'He said this much to me, "Tell the Pasha, 'He had gone, but he has come back.'"' The Pasha said to Ali, 'And you say he made no answer? There is no answer better than that.' All said, 'Yes, the words of the crazy are acceptable to the crazy.' The Pasha said, 'Well, now I know.'

He summoned several aghas of the tribes, the great men and the evildoers, 167
and killed them all. The innocent and the disinterested and the young ones he made the leaders. His rule was re-established as before. He sent a number of trusted men to Iso. He sent his own horse for Iso to ride. They brought Iso to Amadiya with honour, but he would not ride the Pasha's horse. He said, 'I am not fit to ride the Pasha's horse.' When Iso came he told the story of the scorpion. The Pasha believed him. His rank was even greater than before. Iso said, 'Pasha, when it has gone there is no use making excuses, when it has come back there is no need to bother.'

XXV

Ḥekayêta Xulamêt Smail Paşa w ʿÎsa Delanî

168 Dibêjin carekê xulamêt Smail paşa di naw xo da gotin, “em nizanin bo çî paşa hinde ʿÎsa xoş diwêt. Ew ne ji me eṣlîtir e w ne ji me lawtir e w ne ji me mêrçaktir e, xulase bi çi ṭerzan ji me zêdetir nîye. Xozî me zanîba sebeb çi ye.” Ewe geheşte guhê paşa. Paşa jî got, “bes çak e hemîyan tecribe bikem, da bizanin ku ʿÎsa ji hemîyan xudan-meʿrifettir e, lewanê min ew ji hemîyan zêdetir xoş diwêt.”

169 Paşa kasikekê çînî bo aw-xarinewa xo hebû, gelek çak bû. Li meclisê ḥazir kir. Hemî xulamêt xo gazî kirin. ʿÎsa ḥazir nebû. Gote xulaman, “ḥez dikem yêk ji hingo wê kasikê bişkînît.” Hemîyan gotin, “*esteẋfirullah*, ji me zêde ye em kasika paşa bişkînîn. Belko dilê paşa di mal da ji biçûkan û ji ehlê ḥeremê ʿaciz bûbît, lewa wî emrey difermot. Em hîwî dikeyn ewro paşa sebr biket, muhlet bidet, paşî, eger ḥeta ṣube paşa ma li ser wê fikrê, em dê şkînîn.” Paşa deng nekir. Got, “ʿÎsa hazir biken.” Yêk çû, ʿÎsa îna. Paşa got, “ʿÎso, wê kasikê bişkîne.” ʿÎso bê gotin hat, li nîweka meclisê kasik hûr kir. Hemîyan gotin, “*subḥaneIlaḥ*, ʿÎso çend bê inṣaf û bê meʿrifet e ew zerera hinde mezin gehande paşa. Qet hecetek negirt.” Paşa got, “bê inṣaf û bê şuʿûr hung in. Hingo hemîyan kasik bi qîmettir zanî ji emrê min, ema ʿÎso emrê min bi qîmettir zanî ji kasikê.” Hemîyan şesl kirin, bêdeng bûn. Gotin, “we ye. Me nezanî.”

170 Rojekê dî paşa derkewte seyranê, qiyasê ṣed gustîrêt zêr digel xo birin. Çû serê girekê, rawesta. Hemî siwar bûn. Kîsikê gustîran ji berîka xo îna der, gote xulaman, “ez dê wî kîsikey rijînim. Her kesê hindî helgirît bo wî bin. Ez dê hespê xo ẋar dem, çime serkanîyê ḥeta hung tên.” Kîsik rijand. Paşa hespê xo ẋar da, ji naw derkewt. Xulam hemî peya bûn gustîran helgirin. ʿÎso peya nebû. Wî jî digel paşa hespê xo ẋar da. Wextê hemîyan gustîr înan, cema bûn, paşa ji hemîyan pirsî, “her yêkî ji hingo çend gustîr helgirtine?” Her yêkî got, “hinde.” Paşa gote ʿÎso, “te bo çî çu nehelgirtin? Ma tu bi xelatê min razî nebûy?” Xulaman gotin, “ʿÎso bêẋîret bû, neşiya peya bît, lewa çu gustîr nehelgirtin.” ʿÎso got, “guh biden, cewabê bidem. Eger çak bû qebûl biken, eger xirab bû ez hingî razî me

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XXV

Ismail Pasha's Henchmen and Isa Dalani

They say that once the henchmen of Ismail Pasha said among themselves, 'We do not know why the Pasha likes Isa so much. He is not more highborn than us, nor is he more handsome, nor brave than us, in short he is in no way superior to us. We wish we knew what is the reason.' This reached the Pasha's ears. He said, 'It is well that I should test them all so that they may know that Isa is more knowledgeable than all of them, and therefore I prefer him to all.' 168

The Pasha had a very fine china cup from which to drink water. He brought it to the assembly and summoned all his henchmen. Isa was not present. He said to the henchmen, 'I want one of you to break this cup.' They all said, 'God forbid! It is beyond us to break the Pasha's cup. Perhaps the Pasha's heart has been grieved at home by the children or the ladies and therefore he commands this. We trust that today the Pasha will be patient and grant a respite. Then, if the Pasha is still of this mind by tomorrow, we shall break it.' The Pasha was quiet. He said, 'Fetch Isa.' Someone went and brought Isa. The Pasha said, 'Iso, break this cup.' Without a word Iso came and smashed the cup in the middle of the assembly. They all said, 'O my God! How unscrupulous and ignorant Iso is to cause the Pasha such a great injury. He did not make any excuse.' The Pasha said, 'You are the unscrupulous and senseless ones. You all considered the cup more valuable than my command, but Iso thought my order more valuable than the cup.' They were all ashamed and were silent. They said, 'It is so. We did not know.' 169

Another day the Pasha went out for an excursion, taking about a hundred gold rings with him. He went to the top of a hill and stopped. They were all mounted. He brought the bag of rings out of his pocket and said to the henchmen, 'I shall pour out (the rings in) this bag. However many each person picks up, they are for him. I shall gallop my horse off to the spring until you come.' He poured out the bag. Then the Pasha put his horse to the gallop and rode out from among them. The henchmen all dismounted and picked up the rings. Iso did not dismount. He also galloped his horse off with the Pasha. When they all brought the rings and gathered together the Pasha asked them all, 'How many rings have each of you picked up?' Each one said, 'So many.' The Pasha said to Iso, 'Why didn't you pick any up? Weren't you satisfied with my gift?' The henchmen said, 'Iso hadn't the courage to dismount. That's why he didn't pick up any rings.' Iso said, 'Listen and I'll give you an answer. If it is good then accept it, if it is bad then I am prepared to accept the shame. They said, 'Say on.' Iso said, 'All 170

bi ʿeyba xo." Gotin, "bêje." ʿÎso got, "gustîrêt hingo hemî qîmeta ṣed zêr nîne. Wucûda ḥezretê paşa ji hemî duṛ û cewahirêt dunyayê li nik min giran-qîmettir e. Demekî şerefa xidmeta wî ez bi hemî malê dunyayê nadem. Eger wucûda wî selamet bît û digel bende xudan-merḥemet bît hemî dunya mala min e. Sebeb ewe bû ez peya nebûm." Paşa aferîn kir bo ʿÎso, xulam hemî bêdeng û şerminde bûn.

171 Rojekê dî qafileyek hate Amêdîyê. Paşa hemî xulamêt xo ḥazir kirin. ʿÎso ḥazir nebû. Paşa gote xulamekî, "here, bizane nawê mezinê qafile çi ye." Çû, hat, got, "nawê wî fulan e." Meselen ʿEḥmed, ya ʿElî, ye xeyr herçî bû, bi dirustî got, ema paşa got, "te cewaba min neîna." Gote xulamekî dî, "here, bizane barêt wan çi ne." Wî jî cewab îna, "ewe ne." Paşa got, "te jî cewaba min neîna." Gote xulamekî dî, "here, bizane ji kê derê tên." Ew jî çû, hat, got, "ji fulan derê." Paşa got, "te jî cewab neda." Gote xulamekî dî, "here, bipirse dê kê we çît." Çû, hat, got, "dê çîte fulan derê." Got, "te jî cewab neda." Xulase bi wî ṭerzî ḥeta hemî xulam xilas bûn. Paşî ʿÎso ḥazir kir, gote ʿÎso, "here, bizane ew çi qafile ye." ʿÎso çû, hat, got, "ewe qafilê fulan mirowî ye, ji fulan derê têt, dê çîte fulan derê, metaʿê wan ewe ye, bi hindê kirîne, dê bi hindê firoşin, hinde bar in, hinde dewar in, hinde miro ne, fulan millet in, nawê wan ewe ne, mezinê wan ewe ye." Paşa gote ʿÎso, "aferîn, te cewaba min bi temamî îna."

172 Paşa gote xulemêt xo, "hingo zanî ku ʿÎso beramberî hingo hemîyan e w hingo zanî sebeb çi min ʿÎso xoş diwêt. Carekî dî nebêjin, "em hemî ji ʿÎso zêdetir în û xozî me zanîba bo çî paşa ʿÎso zêdetir ji me xoş diwêt." " Hemîyan gotin, "belê, me qebûl kir. *El-ḥeqq* ʿÎso layîq e ku paşa zêdetir xoş biwêt û em peşîman în ji fikra me kirî." Paşa xelatekî çak da ʿÎso w hemî bêdeng bûn. Belê, Şêx Seʿdî xoş gotiye:

> *Buzurgī ba ʿaql ast, na ba sāl,*
> *Tavāngarī ba hunar ast, na ba māl.*

Yeʿnî, mezinatî bi eqlî ye, ne bi sal e; dewletmendî bi meʿrifetê ye, ne bi malî ye. ʿEreb dibêjin, *"ʾal-marʾu bi ʾasẖarayhi,"* yeʿnî, miro bi du eʿzaêt xo yêt kiçketir miro ye, dil e w ʿezman. *Wesselam.*

your rings are not worth a hundred pieces of gold. The presence of his excellency the Pasha is more valuable to me than all the pearls and jewels of the world. I would not exchange one moment of the honour of waiting on him for all the riches of the world. So long as he is safe and well and kind to his servant then all the world's richs are mine. That is why I didn't dismount.' The Pasha praised Iso and the henchmen were all quiet and ashamed.

Another day a caravan came to Amadiya. The Pasha summoned all his 171
henchmen. Iso was not present. The Pasha said to one follower, 'Go and find out the name of the leader of the caravan.' He went, returned and said, 'His name is so-and-so.' For example Ahmad, or Ali, or whatever else it was, he said correctly, but the Pasha said, 'You haven't brought my answer.' He said to another follower, 'Go and find out what their loads are.' He also brought the answer, 'They are this and that.' The Pasha said, 'You have not answered me either.' He said to another follower, 'Go and find out where they come from.' He too went, returned and said, 'From such-and-such a place.' The Pasha said, 'You haven't answered either.' He said to another follower, 'Go and ask where it is going.' He went, returned and said, 'It is going to such-and-such a place.' He said, 'You haven't answered either.' In short, the same until there were no followers left. Then he had Iso brought and said to him, 'Go and find out what caravan this is.' Iso went, returned and said, 'It is the caravan of such-and-such a man, it comes from such-and-such a place, it is going to such-and-such a place, their merchandise is this, they brought it for so much and will sell it for so much, there are so many loads, so many animals, so many men, they are such-and-such people, their names are these, and their leader is so-and-so.' The Pasha said to Iso, 'Bravo, you have answered me completely.'

The Pasha said to his henchmen, 'You have seen that Iso is the match of all 172
of you and you have learnt the reason for my liking Iso. Another time don't say, "We are all superior to Iso and we wish we knew why the Pasha prefers Iso to us."' They all said, 'Yes, we agree. Iso is truly worthy of the Pasha's greater liking and we repent of what we have thought.' The Pasha gave Iso a handsome present and they were all quiet. Indeed, Shaikh Sa'di has well said (in Persian), 'Greatness is in wisdom, not in years; wealth is in knowledge, not in property.'[1] The Arabs say, 'Man is man by virtue of his two smallest members.' That is, the heart and the tongue.

1 Shaikh Muslihuddin Sa'di of Shiraz, renowned Persian poet, ca. 1200–1292: the verse is from his *Golestan* [*Gulistān*].

XXVI

Ḥekayêta Smail Paşa Gote ʿÎsa Delanî, "Kîşk Jin Çak e?"

173 Dibêjin carekê Smail Paşa gote ʿÎsa, "li dunyayê kîşk jin çak e?" ʿÎsa got, "paşa, jina ku diz bît, ḥîz bît, durohîn bît ji hemî jinêt dunyayê çêtir e." Paşa got, "ʿÎso, xesletêt ji hemîyan xirabtir û kirêttir ewe ne. Bes çawa ew jina weto bît ji hemîyan çêtir e? Ev xebere nakewîte aqlê min. Ez tênagem çi ye tu dibêjî." Îso got, "belê paşa, we ye wekî bende ʿerz diket, ema delîla rastîya wî xeberî noke ʿerz nakem. Çak ew e paşa bizzat bi çawê xo bibînît. Hingî delîla xeberê bende dê meʿlûm bît û ḥezretê paşa çak dê têget û bawir ket." Paşa got, "çawa dê mumkin bît ez wihê bibînim? Ew xebere gelek li min bû meraq. Dibît ez her bizanim." ʿÎso got, "belê, ser çawan, ser seran. Bila teşrîfa paşa xo şiklguhor ket bi libasê derwêşan, bende jî bi libasê derwêşan dê di xizmeta paşa da hêt, dê çîne naw ʿeşîreta Mizûrî Jêrîyan, gundê Etrûşê. Sê bira hene li wê derê, her yêkê şewekê dê lê bîne mêwan. Hingî paşa dê bînît û dê zanît."

174 Rabûn, çûn. Ji rêwe geheştine mala birayê kiçke. Gotin, "em ew şewe mêwanêt te-yne." Wî jî got, "bi xêr bihên, baba derwêş." Li mala wî rûniştin. Dîtin ridîna wî temam spî, pişta wî çemiyay, didanêt wî kewtî. Paşa gote wî, "ʿemrê te çend sal heye?" Got, "çil sal." Paşa got, "ʿecaib. Miro bi çil salan hinde pîr nabît." Wî jî got, "min birayê ji xo mezintir heye. Ṣube herin, bibînin ew dê ḥikmeta wihê bêjîte hingo." Gazî jina xo kir, "xanim." Jinê got, "quzulqurt, jehremar, çi dibêjî?" Mêrî gotê, "dibêjim du derwêş mêwanêt me ne. Zadekî ḥazir ke." Jinê got, "ma tu nizanî çu di kawile-mala te da nîne? Ez ji kê derê ḥazir bikem?" Xulase her xeberê mêrî got jinê cewabekê req û kirêt da.

175 Wextê niwistinê mêrî got, "xanim, tu dizanî me du liḥêf û du ḥesîr hene. Bila ew şewe liḥêfek û ḥesîrek bo herdu derwêşan bin, liḥêfek û ḥesîrek jî bo min û te bin." Jinê got, "korayî li çawêt te bikewît. Wellaḥ, wî miradî nabînî. Ma tu nizanî hewyê ji carekê zêdetir nabît ṭenişta çi kes bigete ṭenişta min. Ez liḥêf û ḥesîra xo nadem. Hung her sê ḥesîrekê li bin xo raêxin û liḥêfekê bi ser xo daden."

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XXVI

Ismail Pasha Said to Isa Dalani, 'Which Kind of Woman Is Best?'

They say that Ismail Pasha once said to Isa, 'Which kind of woman is best in 173
the world?' Isa said, 'Pasha, the woman who is a thief, a wanton and a liar is better than all the other women in the world.' The Pasha said, 'Isa, these are the worst and ugliest characteristics. How can such a woman be best of all? I can't take this in. I don't understand what you say.' Isa said, 'Yes, Pasha, it is as I say, but I shall not tell you the proof of the truth of the matter now. It is best that the Pasha should see it personally with his own eyes. Then the proof of what I say will appear and his excellency the Pasha will understand well and believe it.' The Pasha said, 'How can I see this thing? This matter has greatly intrigued me. I must certainly know.' Isa said, 'Yes, on my head and eyes. Let the Pasha disguise himself in dervish clothes, I too shall come in company with the Pasha in dervish clothes, and we shall go among the Lower Mizuri tribe, to the village of Atrush. There are three brothers there and we shall be guests of each of them for one night. Then the Pasha will see and understand.'

They arose and went. First they reached the house of the youngest brother. 174
They said, 'We are your guests tonight.' He said, 'Welcome, father dervish.' They settled in his house. They saw that his beard was completely white, his back bent and all his teeth fallen out. The Pasha said to him, 'How many years old are you?' He said, 'Forty years.' The Pasha said, 'Extraordinary! A man does not become so old in forty years.' He said, 'I have a brother older than myself. Tomorrow go and see him, he will explain the reason for this to you.' He called his wife, 'My lady!' His wife said, 'Red worms and snake's venom (afflict you), what do you want?' The husband said, 'I say that we have two dervishes as guests. Prepare a meal.' The wife said, 'Why, don't you know that in this ruin of yours there isn't anything? Where am I to prepare it from?' In short, whatever the husband said the wife gave him a harsh and unpleasant answer.

When it was time to sleep the husband said, 'My lady, you know that we have 175
two quilts and two reed mats. Tonight let one quilt and one mat be for the two dervishes and one quilt and one mat be for you and me.' The wife said, 'May your eyes go blind! By God, you're not having your way there! Don't you know that nobody sleeps next to me more than once a month? I'm not giving up my quilt and mat. You three spread a mat out under you and cover yourselves with one quilt.'

176 Wê şewê bi hizar derd û bela rabarin. Ṣubey rabûn, çûne mala birayê nawê. Dîtin ridîna wî dane-maş, yeʿnî nîwek spî nîwek reş. Paşa got, "ʿemrê te çend e?" Got, "şêst sal." Paşa got, "kesê şêst salî, ridîna wî kêm-kême reş dibît, pişka bitir spî dibît. Ewe bo çî ridîna te nîwe-nîwe ye?" Wî jî got, "hung ew şewe mêwanêt min in. Ṣube herin, birayê ji min mezintir heye, bibînin, ew dê cewaba te bidet." Wê şewê man li wê derê. Xanima wî hindek şol bi xeberê wî dikir, hindek nedikir, hindek cewaba nerm dida, hindek caran req.

177 Ṣubey rabûn, çûne mala birayê mezin. Dîtin ridîna wî hemî reş. Paşa got, "ʿemrê te çend e?" Got, "ḥeştê sal." Paşa teʿeccub kir. Wî jî got, "derwêş, teʿeccub neke. Tu ew şewe mêwanê min î. Tu dê zanî." Ew miro jî ji herdu birayêt xo kesadtir bû, ema jina wî di her şolan da bi emrê wî bû. Gote jina xo, "xanim." Xanimê got, "belê, ez qurban." Got, "zad heye?" Xanimê got, "sayey serê te tiştê mişe birinc û rûn û hêlik û hingûn û her tişt." Şîwekê weto ḥazir kir, neku li mala paşa egerne li çu cîyan mumkin nedibû. Wextê niwistinê mêrî got, "niwîn ḥazir in?" Xanimê got, "sayey te hindek liḥêf û doşek hene, bi zor li mala paşa ew ṭerz dest dikewin." Çû, ji malêt cînaran înan. Gote xanimê, "ew şewe me mêwan hene. Pîçek şerm e em wêkra biniwîn. Çak e cîyan cuda raêxîn." Xanimê got, "derwêş birayêt me ne, hîç şerm nîye. Tu dizanî eger şewekê ez ji te dûr bim najîm."

178 Ṣube paşa gote wî mirowî, "jina çak kîşk e?" Got, "jina min e, çunko bo min zor ḥîz e. Te dît çawa bû. We ji her tiştî pîçekê bê min didizît, ku rojekê ez şerm nekem ji mêwanê xo. We duro diket. Mala min hîç niwîn nîne, belê çû, ji malêt cînaran îna da ez şerm nekem ji hingo. Meʿlûm e her kesê ew ṭerze jine hebît çu wextan pîr nabît. ʿEmrê mêrî di destê jinê da ye. Jin ḥez biket dê pîr ket, ḥez biket dê caḥêl ket." Paşa bawir kir û aferîn bo ʿÎso got û xo bo wî mirowî aşkera kir û hind mal da wî, dewletmend kir. We jina birayê kiçke da berdan, jinekê çak bo îna. We gote birayê nawê, "ew jine bila bimînît. Yêka dî jî dê bo te înim." Her sê bira memnûn kirin, ji penî hatinewe bo Amêdîyê. *Wesselam*.

They passed that night with a thousand pains and misfortunes. In the morning they got up and went to the house of the middle brother. They saw that his beard was particoloured, half white and half black. The Pasha said, 'How old are you?' He said, 'Sixty years.' The Pasha said, 'A person sixty years old usually has a mainly white beard with only a little black. Why then is your beard half-and-half?' He said, 'Tonight you are my guests. Tomorrow go and see my brother, who is older than me, he will answer you.' That night they stayed there. His lady did some things as he told her, some she did not, sometimes she gave him a soft answer, sometimes a harsh one. 176

In the morning they got up and went to the house of the eldest brother. They saw that his beard was all black. The Pasha said, 'How old are you?' He said, 'Eighty years.' The Pasha was amazed. He said, 'Dervish, don't be surprised. Tonight you are my guest. You will understand.' The man was poorer than both his brothers, but his wife obeyed him in everything he said. He said to his wife, 'My lady.' The lady said, 'Yes, at your service.' He said, 'Is there any food?' The lady said, 'Under your auspices, an abundance of everything—rice and clarified butter and eggs and honey and everything.' She prepared such a supper as it would be impossible to find anywhere except in the Pasha's home. When it was time to sleep, the husband said, 'Is bedding ready?' The lady said, 'Under your auspices there are quilts and mattresses of a kind that you would hardly find in the Pasha's home.' She went and brought them from the homes of neighbours. He said to his lady, 'Tonight we have guests. It is a little improper that we should sleep together. We had better lay the beds separately.' The lady said, 'The dervishes are our brothers. There is nothing improper about it. You know that I cannot live if I am away from you for one night.' 177

In the morning the Pasha said to the man, 'Which is the best kind of woman?' He said, 'My wife is it, for she is very wanton with me. You saw how she was. And she steals a little of everything without my (knowledge), be that one day I should not be shamed before my guests. And she lies. There is no bedding in my house but she went and brought it from the houses of neighbours so that I should not be shamed before you. Obviously whoever has this sort of wife will never grow old. A husband's age is in his wife's hands. If the wife likes she can make him old and if she likes young.' The Pasha believed it and applauded Iso and revealed himself to the man and gave him enough property to make him rich. The wife of the youngest brother he had divorced and brought him a good wife. To the middle brother he said, 'Let this wife stay. I shall bring you another one too.' He gave all three brothers cause to be grateful and then they returned secretly to Amadiya. 178

XXVII

Ḥekayêta Mîrê Ḥekarîyan û Mizgînîya Ṭeyrê Biharê

179 Zemanê berê Ḥekarîyan mîrek hebû, gelek biaqil bû, nawê wî Mîr Ḥesen Beg bû. Axiwtinêt wî hemî mesel û işaret û nesîḥet bûn. Rojekê zistan bû, di meclisa wî da bû beḥsê çakî w xirabî w wefadarî w bêwefayîya dostan û xulaman. Yêkî got, "filan mirow çak e." Yêkê dî got, "ne, ewe çak e." Her yêkî xeberek got. Mîr jî guh didayê, paşî mîr got, "her kesê mizgînîya ṭeyrî bo min bînît ez dê xelatekê bi keyfa wî demê." Xelkî jî weto texmîn kirin mîr beḥsê mizgînîya ṭeyrê biharê ye. Meqseda mîr têneges̱tin çi ye.

180 Paşî ku nîwa hewya şuwaṭê hat, reşwêle peyda bû. Xulamek çust hat, gote mîr, "mizgînî li mîr, reşwêle hat, ewe bihar nêzîk bû." Mîr hîç cewab neda, deng nekir. Hindekan gotin, "çunko reşwêle qewî zû têt, hêşta zistan gelek may ew peyda dibît, lewa mîr çu deng nekir."

181 Sebr kirin ḥeta legleg hat. Mirowek zû bezî, hate ḥuzûra mîr, got, "mizgînî li cenabê mîr bît, ewe legleg hat." Dîsa mîr hîç cewab neda. Xelkî gotin, "legleg jî zû têt, wextê hatina wê hêşta befr û şilowe ye, serma ye, bihar nîye, lewa mîr dîsa cewab neda."

182 Çend rojan xo girtin, wextê Newrozê kew hat. Hemîyan gotin, "wextê hatina kewê serê biharê ye. Êdî eger mîr bo kewê cewabê nedet neheq e." Mirowek hat, got, "mizgînî li mîr, ewe kew hat, êdî bihar e, zistan çû." Dîsa mîr cewab neda. Xelkî teʿeccub kirin, bo çî mîr çi cewab neda. Qurîng jî hat, mizgînî dane mîr, dîsa çi negot. Xulase çend ṭeyrêt ku zistanê diçine germîyanê hemî hatin, ket-ket mizgînî dane mîr, ema mîr hîç cewab neda. Mezin û muʿteberêt meclisa mîr çûne cîyekî, bi tinê rûniştin, digel yêkudu axiwtin, gotin, "em nizanin sebeb çi ye mîr qerara xo bi cî neîna. Qet ew şole bê ḥikmet nîye, çu caran mîr ho weʿde neşkandîye."

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XXVII

The Mir of the Hakaris and the Good News of the Bird of Spring

In former times the Hakaris had a Mir who was very wise and whose name was 179
Mir Hasan Beg. His words were all proverbs and hints and advice. One day in winter in his company there was talk of the goodness and badness and faithfulness and faithlessness of friends and servants. One said, 'Such a fellow is good.' Another said, 'No, this one is good.' Each one said something. The Mir too was listening and at last he said, 'Whoever brings me the good news of the bird I shall give him a present which will please him.' People imagined that the Mir was talking of the good news of the coming of the bird of spring. They did not understand the Mir's meaning.

After half the month of February had passed the starling appeared. A ser- 180
vant came quickly and said to the Mir, 'Good news for the Mir. The starling has come and spring is near.' The Mir neither made any answer nor said anything. Some said, 'Because the starling comes very early. There is still a lot of winter left when it comes, that is why the Mir said nothing.'

They waited until the stork arrived. A man ran quickly, came into the Mir's 181
presence and said, 'Good news for his excellency the Mir, see, the stork has come.' Again the Mir answered nothing. People said, The stork also comes early. When it comes there is still snow and slush and it is cold, it is not spring, that is why the Mir again did not answer.'

They restrained themselves for some days (then) at the New Year festi- 182
val the partridge came. They all said, The time of the partridge's coming is the beginning of spring. If the Mir does not give an answer for the partridge then he is unfair.' A man came and said, 'Good news for the Mir, the partridge has come and now it is spring and winter has gone.' Again the Mir gave no answer. People were amased, wondering why the Mir did not answer. The crane came also, they gave the Mir the good news but again he said nothing. In short, all the birds which go to the warm countries for the winter came and one by one they gave the Mir the good news, but he gave no answer. The leaders and honoured men of the Mir's company went somewhere and sat down alone to converse together, saying, 'We do not know what the reason is that the Mir has not carried out his promise. This business is not without some meaning, for the Mir has never broken his word thus.'

183 Mirowek hebû, nawê wî Mam Tal bû, tiraneker bû. Gote wan, rawestin ez dê çim bêjime mîr, “mizgînî li mîr, keşkele hat.” Madam ku wî bo çu ṭeyrê biharê xelat neda, bes em jî çak e mizgînîya ṭeyrêt zistanê bideyne wî.” Hemî pê kenîn, gotine Mam Tal, “tu dîn î. Dê çawa wê qebaḥetê key? Mîr dê ji te sil bît. Ewe nabît.” Mam Tal got, “bi Xudê, eger serê min biṛîye dê çim, we bêjim.” Welḥasil, Mam Tal hat, li naw derê dîwanxanê rawesta, destêt xo muwafiqî ʿadetê wî zemanî li ser yêk danan, serê xo çemand, gote mîr, “mizgînî li cenabê mîr, keşkele hat.” Mîr got, “hay, te mizgînî xoş bît. Tu qewî bi xêr bihêy digel wê mizgînîyê. Aferîn bo eql û têgeştina te.” Mam Tal jî weto xiyal kir ku mîr tirane bi wî diket, ema mîr bi tirane we nedigot, temam micit bû.

184 Mîr gote pêşxizmetê xo, “here, sako w şelwalêt min bo Mam Tal bîne.” Înan, dane wî. Mîr gotê, “te ew xelate pîroz bît.” Ehlê meclis zêdetir teʿeccub kirin, gotine mîr, “ew hinde ṭeyrêt biharê temîz û ṣpehî hatin, bo hemîyan mizgînî dane te w bo çuyan te xelat neda, belê keşkela gûxor her çar wextêt salê daymî li ser kulîngan pîsîyê dixot, te bo wê xelat da. Ewe cîyê teʿeccubê ye.” Mîr got, “ne, eger berʿeks ba cîyê teʿeccubê bû.” Gotin, “sebeb çî? Em tênageyn.”

185 Mîr got, “elbette ḥeta bo hingo nehête beyan kirin, hingo ew hind fam nîye têbigen. Sebeb ewe ye. Ṭeyrêt biharê hemî li dû hewesa xo digeriyên. Wextê xoşî w raḥetîyê digel me dibin, ema dema ku pîçek nêzîkî ṭengawî w zeḥmeta zistanê bûn me li naw zeḥmeta kûstanê bi tinê dihêlin, dû keyfa xo dikewin, diçin. Ema keşkele, egerçî pîs e, belê hemî wext digel me ye, li raḥetîyê w zeḥmetê digel me refîq e, xudan-wefa ye. Ew qenaʿetê diket bi pîsîyê ser kulîngêt me. Bes dostê ho wefadar, lazim e her kes xelatê mizgînîya wî bidet. Refîqê dirust ewe ye li xoşî w ṭengawîyê refîq bît, ne li xoşîyê bi tinê.” Hemîyan fermodey cenabê Mîr Ḥesen bi dil teṣdîq kirin. *Wesselam*.

There was one man named Mam Tal who was a joker. He said to them, 'Wait, 183
I shall go and say to the Mir, "Good news for the Mir, the magpie has come." Since he has given no reward for any of the birds of spring it is right that we should give him the good news of the birds of winter.' They all laughed and said to Mam Tal, 'You are crazy, how can you do such a shameful thing? The Mir will be angry with you. That cannot be.' Mam Tal said, 'By God, I shall go and say this even if my head is cut off.' In short, Mam Tal came and stood in the doorway of the audience chamber, placed his hands one upon the other, as was the custom in those times, bowed his head and said to the Mir, 'Good news for his excellency the Mir, the magpie has come.' The Mir said, 'Ha, may your good news be pleasant for you. You are very welcome with that good news. Bravo, far your wisdom and understanding.' Mam Tal thought that the Mir was joking with him, but the Mir was not joking, he was perfectly serious.

The Mir said to his attendant, 'Go, bring my jacket and trousers for Mam Tal.' 184
They brought them and gave them to him. The Mir said, 'May this present be fortunate for you.' The assembled company were even more amazed and said to the Mir, 'All those clean and beautiful birds of spring came and you were given the good news of all of them but you gave no reward for any of them, but you have given a reward for the muck-eating magpie which is always eating filth on the middens all four seasons of the year. This is very surprising.' The Mir said, 'No, it would have been surprising if it had been the opposite.' They said, 'For what reason? We don't understand.'

The Mir said, 'Certainly you have not got the intelligence to understand until 185
it is explained to you. The reason is this, that the birds of spring all go about after their own desires. They are with us in pleasant and comfortable times but as soon as it gets a little near the difficulties and troubles of winter they leave us behind in the cold country and go off after their own pleasure. But the magpie, although it is dirty, is always with us. It is our faithful companion in easy times and hard. It is satisfied with the dirt on our middens. So everybody should give a present for the good news of such a faithful friend. That is a proper companion, who is a companion in pleasant times and in difficulty, not just in pleasant times.' They all agreed heartily with his excellency Mir Hasan's saying.

XXVIII

Ḥekayêta Derwêş Begê Elbakî

186 Li deşta Elbakê, nêzîkî Başqelʿe, gundek heye, dibêjinê Îrisan, gundê Begzadan e. Li wî gundî Derwêş Beg hebû, mirowekî gelek dewletmend bû, gelek sexî bû. Dûmayê gelek kesad û muṭhac û perîşan bû w gelek qerdar bû. Hemî emlakê xo firot, muʿettel ma. Rojekê ew û jina wî bo ḥalê xo digirîn, gelek xemgîr bûn.

187 Di wî wextî da melayek li gundê Elenya hebû, nawê wî Mela Meʿsûm bû, niwîştî çêdikirin. Jina Derwêş Beg gote mêrê xo, "çak e biçîne ser munasibê Elenya, duʿayekê bixazîn û niwîştîyekî bi Mela Meʿsûm bideyne çêkirin. Belko ṭaliʿê me webîtewe, Xudê keremekê digel me biket." Derwêş Beg jî got, "rastî, ewe tedbîrekê çak e. Hindî mulaḥeze dikem ji wê çêtir nahête xiyala min." Ew û jina xo rabûn, çûne Elenye lalî Mela Meʿsûm. Gotine wî, "em hatîne mala te, bo xatira Xudê tedbîrekê li ḥalê me bike. Çi bi duʿa, çi bi niwîştî, bi her ṭerzê dibît bo me himmetekê bifermo." Mela Meʿsûm got, "belê, zor baş e. Teqsîr nakem, ema tedbîrekê dî ji hemîyan çêtir min bo te mulaḥeze kiriye. Eger wê bikey ḥalê te dê çak xoş bît." Derwêş beg got, "herçî bifermoy dê kem."

188 Mela Meʿsûm got, "tu dizanî Romî ker in, xasma xelkê Istembolê. Ew yêkcar kertir in, çunko ez salekê çûme Istembolê, min niwîştî çêdikirin. Xanimêt wan, mezinêt wan, ḥeta ji wezîran dihatin, min kaẋeza spî di naw êk werdipêça. Hindek caran min cûn li naw kaẋezê diniwîsîn, dikirine niwîştî, didane wan. Hindekan ṣed qurûş, hindekan duṣed, ḥeta hizar qurûş ḥeqê niwîştîyê didane min. Noke jî dewleta min hemî ew pare ye. Ḥîleyek heye, wê tu bike, here Istembolê, hîç şubhe nîye ku Sultan Mecîd dê bo te meʿaşekê weto girê det ku tu bi raḥetî bijîy." Derwêş Beg got, "ew ḥîle çi ye?" Mela Meʿsûm got, "ewe ye. Here, liẋawekî asin du gez dirêj, gezek pan, bi qeder zenda destî stûr bide çêkirin. Ema ji peni we bît, kes nezanît, û hosta bide sûndê bo kes nebêjît. We li ser rexê liẋawî bi kolîn bide niwîsîn bi xetê farsî, "*īn ligām-i raxš-i Rūstam-i pisar-i Zāl ast*", yeʿnî, "ewe liẋawê hespê Rostemê kurê Zal e." Paşî, weku te da çêkirin, dane naw ʿerdî li cîyekî şihe. Qiyasê du hewyan weto bihêle ḥeta çak jengî dibît, paşî bîne der, were, meḥremane xeber bide min."

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XXVIII

The Story of Darwesh Beg of Albak

In the Albak plain, near Bashqala, there is a village called Irisan, belonging to 186
the Begzadas. There was a certain Darwesh Beg in that village, a very rich and generous man. In the end he became very poor and needy and wretched and greatly in debt. He sold all his properties and was left helpless. One day he and his wife were bewailing their condition and were very depressed.

At that time there was a mullah in the village of Alanya, called Mullah 187
Ma'sum, who used to make charms. Darwesh Beg's wife said to her husband, 'We should go to the shrine of Alanya and say a prayer and have Mullah Ma'sum make a charm. Maybe our fortunes will recover and God will grant us a favour.' Darwesh Beg said, 'Truly this is a good idea. However much I consider it I can think of nothing better.' He and his wife rose and went to Alanya to Mullah Ma'sum. They said to him, 'We have come to your house that, for God's sake, you may do something for us. Either by prayer or by charms, however it may be, please arrange something for us.' Mullah Ma'sum said, 'Very well. I shall not fail you, for I have thought of another plan for you, better than everything else. If you do this you will be very well off.' Darwesh Beg said, 'I shall do whatever you say.'

Mullah Ma'sum said, 'You know the Turks are fools, especially the people of 188
Istanbul. They are quite the biggest fools of all, for one year I went to Istanbul making charms. The ladies and the great men among them, even some of the ministers would come and I would wrap blank paper up (for them). Sometimes I would write abuse on the paper, make it into charms and give it to them. Some would give me a hundred piastres, some two hundred, even a thousand piastres, in payment for the charm. Now all my wealth is that money. There is a trick. You do it, go to Istanbul and without a doubt Sultan Mejid[1] will arrange such a salary for you that you will live in ease.' Darwesh Beg said, 'What is the trick?' Mullah Ma'sum said, This is it. Go and get an iron bridle made, two yards long, a yard wide and as thick as a man's wrist, but let it be secretly, let nobody know, and make the smith swear to tell no one. On the side of the bridle have engraved, in Persian script, "This is the bridle of the steed of Rostam, son of Zal". Then, when you have had it made, put it in the earth in some damp place and leave it so for a couple of months or so, until it gets well and truly rusty, then take it out and come and tell me in secret.'

1 Sultan Abdülmecid I (reign 1839–1861).

189 Derwêş Beg çû, muwafiqî gotina Mela Meʿsûm ʿemel kir. Paşî du hewyan liẋaw îna der, hemî jengî bûyî. Hat, xeber da Mela Meʿsûm, got, "ewe liẋaw ḥazir e." Mela Meʿsûm hat, liẋaw dît, got, "ṣindoqekê çêke, dane têda, bide pişta ḥemalekî, digel min were, biçîne Wanê lalî Teḥsîn Paşayê walî." Xulase çûn. Mela Meʿsûm got, "ḥez dikem meḥremane du-sê kelime digel ḥezretê paşa biaxiwim." Paşa xelkê meclisê kire der, ma mela w beg û paşa. Mela got, "paşa, xanedana Derwêş Beg ji ocaxa ḥezretê Imam ʿEbbas e. Tiştekî gelek ʿecîb, zor kewn, ji asarêt qedîme pişt bi pişt ji bab û bapîrêt wî hatiye ḥeta geştiye wî. Ewe zemanê ṣeḥabêt kiram, wextê fetḥa Medayinê, ji xanedana Kisraê Îranê kewtiye destê ḥezretê Imam ʿEbbas. Noke cenabê Derwêş Beg kesad-ḥal bûye. Xiyala wî ew bû, wî tiştê ho qedîm, mubarek, ʿecîb bibete memleketê Îranê, bi dîharî bo şahê Îranê bibet. Min nehêla, min got, "ewe bo Mûzexana *Xalīfa-y Rū-yi Zamīn*,[2] canişînê pêẋember layîq e. Qet nabît biçîte cîyekî dî." Noke me înaye ḥuzûra ḥezretê paşa, êdî rê w tedbîr ḥewaley reʾya ʿalî ye."

190 Paşa got, "ḥez dikem bibînim, bizanim ewe çi ye." Înane ḥuzûra paşa. Weku dît, bi dil bawir kir û qewî muteḥeyyir û muteʿeccib bû. Beyana ḥalî bi temamî bo Sultan Mecîd niwîsî w hinare Istembolê. Irade-y sultanîye derkewt ku Derwêş Beg û Mela Meʿsûm digel wî liẋawî bi qedr û ḥurmetê temam bihinêrine Istembol. Paşa jî bi wî ṭerzî hinarin.

191 Weku çûne Istembolê Sultan Mecîd wê saʿetê xastine ḥuzûra xo. Wuzera w mezinêt Istembolê hemî ḥazir kirin û mozîqe lêdan. Ew tiştê ʿecîb înane ḥuzûra zatê şahane. Wî jî zêdetir ji Teḥsîn Paşa bawir kir. Xeberê Mela Meʿsûm derheq Romîyan rast derkewt. Du hewyan musafir bûn li seray-i humayûn, roj bi roj iḥtirama wan zêdetir bû. Liẋawê hespê Rostem, ḥesb-i fermana Sultan Mecîd danane mûzexanê. Noke jî dibêjin maye, xelk diçîte temaşe. Hewyê hizar û panṣed qurûş bo Derwêş Beg û panṣed qurûş bo Mela Meʿsûm *bā farmān-i šāhāna*[3] meʿaş hate muqerrer kirin û xercîya rê duṣed lîre dane wan.

2 In Persian.

3 In Persian.

Darwesh Beg went and did as Mullah Ma'sum had said. After two months 189
he took the bridle out, all rusted over. He came and told Mullah Ma'sum, saying, 'The bridle is ready now.' Mullah Ma'sum came and saw the bridle and said, 'Make a box, put it in it, put it on a porter's back and come with me to Van, to the Governor, Tahsin Pasha. In short, they went. Mullah Ma'sum said, 'I would like to say a few words to his excellency the Pasha in private.' The Pasha put the assembled company out, leaving the mullah, the Beg and the Pasha. The Mullah said, 'Pasha, Darwesh Beg's family is descended from the holy Imam Abbas.[4] A very remarkable and old thing, an ancient relic, has come down from his ancestors, generation by generation, until it has reached him. From the family of the Emperor of Iran it fell into the hands of the holy Imam Abbas at the victory of Madayin,[5] in the time of the noble Companions. Now Darwesh Beg is not so well off. He was thinking of taking this rare and ancient thing to Iran, as a gift for the Shah. I did not allow him to. I said, "This is fit for the museum of the Caliph of all the world, the vicar of the Prophet. It must never go anywhere else." Now we have brought it to your excellency's presence. The rest is for your excellency to decide.'

The Pasha said, 'I would like to see it and know what it is.' They brought it 190
before the Pasha. When he saw it he believed it wholeheartedly and was very astonished. He wrote a full report of the affair for Sultan Mejid and sent it to Istanbul. A royal decree was issued to the effect that Darwesh Beg and Mullah Ma'sum should be sent to Istanbul with the bridle with all honour and respect. Accordingly he sent them in that way.

When they went to Istanbul Sultan Mejid called them into his presence 191
at once. All the ministers and great men of Istanbul were assembled and a band was playing. The wonderful thing they brought into the royal presence. He believed it even more than Tahsin Pasha. Mullah Ma'sum's remark about the Turks turned out to be true. For two months they were guests in the royal palace, and every day they were honoured more. The bridle of Rostam's steed was placed in the museum by royal command. They say it is still there and people go and look at it. A salary of one thousand five hundred piastres a month for Darwesh Beg and five hundred piastres for Mullah Ma'sum was appointed by royal command and two hundred pounds was given them for travelling expenses.

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4 Abbas b. Abdulmuttalib, paternal uncle and the most celebrated of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad.

5 Madayin, the Sasanian capital Ctesiphon, captured and looted by the advancing Muslim armies in A.D. 636.

192 Bi iḥtiramekê temam geriyanewe bo Elbakê. Ew meʿaşe weto hatibû teʿyîn kirin ku paşî wan bo nesla wan, çu wextan nehête biṛîn. Derwêş Beg bi sebeb tedbîra Mela Meʿsûm asûde bû, gelek ḥalxoş bû. Mela Meʾṣûm jî faydeyekî çak dît. Dibêjin paşî mirina Derwêş Beg hostayê liẋawî ewe aşkera kir. Hindek dibêjin jina Derwêş Beg bo kurê xo ḥekayêt kiribû. Xulase, bi her ṭerzê dibît, ewe meşhûr bû w meʿaş ḥeta noke jî şol diket. *Wesselam*.

They returned to Albak loaded with honours. The salary had been appointed 192
in such a way that it should be for their offspring after them and should never be cancelled. Darwesh Beg became well-off, thanks to the plan of Mullah Ma'sum, and in very happy circumstances. Mullah Ma'sum too made a good profit. They say that after the death of Darwesh Beg the smith who made the bridle disclosed the story. Some say that Darwesh Beg's wife had told her son. In short, however it was, it became well known but the salary still operates till now.

XXIX

Ḥekayêta Kamoyê Hingûndiz

193 Mirowek[1] ji ʿeşîreta Doskî Jorîyan, ji gundê Şagulordê, daxilê qeza Gewerê hebû, nawê wî Kamo bû. Daymî şola wî hingûn dizîn bû. Diçû gundan, bi şew mêşêt hingûnî bi xelêf we dibirin, li awê didan. Mêş dimirin, hingûn dikire meşkan, dibire qesebeya Diza Gewerê, difirot. Rojekê jina wî got, "Kamo, ew şole dê aşkera bît. Romî dê te girin, ḥebs ken, mala me dê xirab bît. Lazim e tedbîrekê weto bikey ku kes xiyal neket tu hingûnê xelkî didizî, her kes weto bizanît tu jî xudan-mêş î, xudan-hungûn î" Kamo gote jina xo, "belê, tu çak dibêjî, ema nizanim ewe dê çawa çêbît." Jinê got, "here, hindek şiwkêt bîyê bîne, li pêş çawêt xelkî sê-çar xelêfan çêke. Her kesê ji te bipirsît, "ew xelêfan bo çi ne?" Bêje, "min sê çar mêş li naw lêrî dîtine, dê çim, girim, keme xelêfan." Paşî ku te xelêf dirust kirin, here, hindek zirkêtan bigire, têke xelêfan, danê kulekêt xanî w her xelêfekê şaneyekê hingûnî dane têda. Wiz-wiz xema zirkêtan, hingûn xema te. Şola me ho nebît ser nagirît." Kamo rabû, weto kir wekî jina wî gotê.

194 Şewekê Kamo çû kûlîtê mêşêt cînarekî. Xudanê kulîtî wê şewê li kulîtî bû, nobe digirt. Wextê Kamo li kulîtî jor kewt ji xiflet xudanê kulîtî Kamo girt. Gotê, "ewe tu hatiye çî? Şola te bi wê nîwşewê lêre çi ye?" Kamo gote wî, "ma tu nizanî li naw hemî Kurdistanê ew mesele meşhûr e, "hingî mêşêt hingûnî zêde dibin, şilxan diden û hingûnê çak diken ku xudanê mêşan mêşekî bikirît û yêkî bixazît û yêkî bidizît"? Tu jî dizanî ewe çend roj e ez xelêfan ḥazir dikem, çend mêş min peyda kirîne. Noke hatîme mêşekê ji mêşêt te bidizim. Tûmenek pare jî min înaye, danême cîyê xelêfa mêşa te. Belê madam dizî çênebû yan bi xastin ya bi kirîn bide min." Xudanê kulîtî qaniʿ bû, çunko ewe ʿadet e li naw kurdan, hîç ʿeyb nîye. Mêşek da Kamo, tûmenek pare wergirt. Dizîya Kamo nebû qebaḥet.

195 Carekê cînarekî gote Kamo, "ez teʿeccub dikem. Te kêm mêş hene, tu zor hingûnî difiroşî. Xudanê ṣed mêşan bawir nakem hindî te hingûnî bifiroşît. Ez nizanim ḥikmet çi ye." Kamo got, "ma tu nizanî mêş eger stêwîr bît gelek şol diket, quwetê didete layê kirina hingûnî, belê eger şilxe bidet quwet kêm dibît,

1 Probably intended spelling is "hinguwîn", as this is the form in the Shamdinan dialect.

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XXIX

The Story of Kamo the Honey-Stealer

There was once a man called Kamo of the Upper Doski tribe, from the village 193
of Shagulord in the district of Gawar. His trade was always stealing honey. He used to go to villages and at night carry off the bees with the hive-basket and put them in water. The bees would die, he would put the honey in skin bags and take it to the town of Dize in Gawar and sell it. One day his wife said, 'Kamo, this business will become known. The Turks will catch you and imprison you and we shall be ruined. You must do something so that nobody thinks you steal people's honey but that everybody thinks that you have bees and honey of your own.' Kamo said to his wife, 'Yes, you say well, but I don't know how this can be arranged.' His wife said, 'Go and bring some osiers and make three or four hive-baskets in the sight of people. Tell anybody who asks you what the baskets are for, "I have seen three of four bees in the forest. I shall go and catch them and put them in the basket." When you have made the baskets go and catch some wasps, put them in the baskets, put them by the window of the house and put a honeycomb in each basket. The buzzing will be the wasps' affair and the honey yours. If we do not arrange it so we shall not succeed.' Kamo went and did as his wife had told him.

One night Kamo went to the hut where a neighbour kept his bees. The 194
owner of the hut was in it that night keeping watch. When Kamo entered the hut suddenly the owner caught him. He said, 'What have you come for? What business have you here at midnight?' Kamo said to him, 'Don't you know that all over Kurdistan this saying is famous that "bees increase and swarm and make a good honey when their owner buys a bee, begs one and steals one"? You know that I have been making hives for some days now and that I have obtained some bees. Now I have come to steal one of your bees. I've brought a toman in money too, to put in the place of your beehive. But since the theft did not succeed give me one either for the asking or by buying.' The owner of the hut was satisfied, for this is the custom among Kurds and no crime. He gave Kamo a bee and took a toman. Kamo's theft was not counted an offence.

Once a neighbour said to Kamo, 'I'm surprised. You have only a few bees 195
but you sell a lot of honey. I don't believe the owner of a hundred bees could sell as much honey as you. I don't know how you manage it.' Kamo said, 'Don't you know that if a bee is sterile it works a lot and puts its effort into making honey, but if it swarms it has less strength and cannot work so much and

gelek neşêt şol biket, hingûn kêm dibît. Lewanê hingûnê min gelek e çunko mêşêt min daimî stêwîr in, hîç şilxan naden." Cînarê xo bi wê cewabê qaniʿ kir.

196 Carekê mirowek hate pişta xanîyê Kamo, temaşey çawîyêt mêşêt Kamo kir, dît zirkête ji çawîyêt xelêfan têne der û diçine jor. Wî mirowî xiyal kir ku zirkête çûne mêşan, çunko zirkête gelek caran digel mêşan şer diken, dikujin. Ew miro wê demê hat, gote Kamo, "mala te xirab bît, ma te nezaniye zirkêtan mêşêt te xilas kirin? Rabe, çareyekê bike." Kamo got, "ez noke dizanim." Ew jî digel wî mirowî hat, temaşe kir. Gote wî mirowî, "te şolekê gelek çak bo min kir. Gelek ji te memnûn bûm. Ez weto texmîn dikem ewe esera çawêt ḥesûdan e. Dê çime lalî mela, niwîştîyekê deme çêkirin bo defʿa bela w muṣîbetan." Kamo çû lalî mela, hewtigekî hingûnî bo mela bir, got, "ez hatîme, niwîştîyekê bo mêşêt min çêke ku zirkête çî dî mêşêt min nexon û çawêt ḥesûdane teʾsîrê neken." Mela niwîştî çêkir. Kamo niwîştî îna, bi hindawê mêşan helawîst. Ew şubhe jî bi wî ṭerzî defʿ kir.

197 Carekê meʾmûrê mêş-hejmarî ji terefê ḥukûmetê hate Şagulordê. Kamo gelek dilṭeng bû neku şola wî aşkera bibît, çunko xiyal kir, "eger bêjim mêşêt min kêm in yan nîne dê xelk bêjît, "bes ew hinde hingûne te ji kê derê îna?" Eger bêjim mêşêt min gelek in meʾmûr dê hêt, muʿayene biket û hejmêrît û ji ẋeyrî zirkêten çî dî nabînît."

198 Ho mesleḥeta ḥalê xo zanî, şurêt xo bi şew guhastine mala dostekî xo, agir berda menzila mêşan, xanîyê wî nîwek sot, mêşêt wî, ku zirkête bûn, sotin. Xelk cema bûn, agir wemirandin. Meʾmûr got, "ewe çi bû?" Kamo got, "min şemal bire cîyê mêşan, bo şîwa efendî hingûnî ji xelêfê bînime der, agir berbû xanî, sot." Baṭmanek hingûn da meʾmûrî. Keyfiyet bo ḥukûmetê niwîsî, Kamo ʿefû kirin ji xerca mêşan û iʿane bo xanîyê wî dan, asûde bû. *Wesselam*.

there is less honey. That is why I have a lot of honey, because my bees are always sterile and do not swarm at all.' He satisfied his neighbour with this answer.

Once a man came behind Kamo's house and looked at the eyeholes for 196
Kamo's bees and saw wasps coming out and going in the eyeholes of the hives. The man thought that the wasps were going after the bees, for wasps often fight with bees and kill them. The man then came and said to Kamo, 'Bad luck to you, didn't you know that wasps have finished off your bees? Get up and do something about it.' Kamo said, 'Now I know.' He came along with the man and looked. He said to the man, 'You have done me a very good turn. I am very grateful to you. I imagine this is the result of envious eyes. I shall go to the mullah and get him to make a charm to ward off calamities and misfortunes.' Kamo went to the mullah, taking a measure of honey for him, and said, 'I have come for you to make a charm for my bees so that the wasps won't eat them any more, and envious eyes will have no more effect.' The mullah made a charm. Kamo brought and hung it above the bees. In that way he warded off that suspicion too.

Once the bee-counting official came to Shagulord from the government. 197
Kamo was very distressed lest his business should become known, for he thought, 'If I say I have few bees, or none, people will say, "Well, where did you get so much honey from?" If I say I have a lot of bees the official will come to inspect and count them and find nothing but wasps.'

He decided that the best thing in the circumstances was to transfer his 198
belongings by night to the house of a friend and set fire to the room with the bees. Half of his house was burnt and his bees, which were wasps, were burnt. People gathered round and put the fire out. The official said, 'What happened?' Kamo said, 'I took a candle to the bees' place to get some honey out of the hive for your worship's supper and the house caught fire and burnt.' He gave the official a stone of honey. He described the circumstances to the government and they excused Kamo the bee-tax and gave him assistance for his house, so he was well off.

XXX

Ḥekayêta Smaîl Gaxor

199 Dibêjin li naw ʿeşîreta Merzikî, zemanê Omer Aẋa, mirowek hebû, nawê wî Smaîl bû. Rojekê li naw xelkî suḥbet qewimî di beḥsê têşt û şîwêt Omer Aẋa. Hindekan gotin, "kes ji Omer Aẋa bi seḥettir nîye di mala xo da." Smaîl jî ḥazir bû, got, "seḥeta wî çi ye?" Ehlê meclisê gotin, "têşta wî berxek e digel birincê, şîwa wî jî her weto." Ewcar Smaîl got, "seḥeta wî hind e, çî dî nîye?" Gotin, "ma ew hind kêm e?" Smaîl jî, çunko zor dewletmend bû, got, "bes ez jî ji noke paş we, qerar bît her roj conegayekî bixom. Ma ez ji Omer Aẋa kêmtir im?" Xelkî gotin, "Omer Aẋa aẋayê hemî ʿeşîreta Merzikî ye. Tu kedxudayê gundekî yî." Got, "egerçî kedxudayê gundekî bim dîsa dişêm hindî wî bixom." Ewcar her roj conegayek kuştewe, xar. Nawê wî meşhûr bû "Smaîl Gaxor".

200 Rojekê ta hate Smaîl, meʿda wî pîçek nexoş bû. Nîw keleş xar, neşiya keleşê gay hemîyê bixot. Gote jina xo, "ḥurmet, ṣube cirîya rêkê bo min dirust ke, dê çime gundê Elenya li rex qeseba Başqelʿe. Dibêjin munasibekî çak li wê derê heye, qewî duʿa-qebûl e. Dê çim, duʿayekî ji wî xazim, belko Xudê bo xatira wî merḥemetê bi ḥalê min biket, şifa min bidet, meʿda min xoş biket, dîsa bibînim her roj gayekî bixom." Jina wî jî serûberê wî kir. Ṣubey zû rê kewt. Şewê negeşte Elenya, ma li gundekî, bîye mêwanê malekê. Wê malê jî nedinasîn ewe kî ye, şîw bo wî înan. Herçî înan hemî xar. Carekê dî înan, ew jî xar, ḥeta sê caran her weto herçî înan xar, hîç nehêla. Ṣubey wextê sertêştê jî her weto.

201 Paşî, wextê ku da rê kewît, xudanê malê ji wî pirsî, "tu dê kê we çî?" Got, "dê çime ser munasibê Elenya, belko himmetekî bo min biket, pîçek meʿda min xoş bît. Du sê rojan ez tawî bûm, iştiha min kêm bû. Êdî neşêm wekî berê bixom." Xudanê malê got, "*subḥanellah*, wekî ewe hêşta meʿda te nexoş tu hindê bixoy, bes eger meʿda te xoş bît tu çendê dê xoy?"

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XXX

Ismail the Ox-Eater

They say that among the Marziki tribe,[1] in the time of Omar Agha, there was a 199
man whose name was Ismail. One day people happened to be talking about Omar Agha's morning and evening meals. Some said, 'Nobody is a heartier (eater) than Omar Agha in his own home.' Ismail too was present and said, 'What is so hearty about him?' Those present said, 'He breakfasts off a lamb with rice and sups in the same way.' Then Ismail said, 'Is that all his heartiness, nothing else?' They said, 'Why, is that little?' Ismail, since he was very rich, said, 'I declare that from now on I shall eat a young ox every day. Am I then less than Omar Agha?' People scud, 'Omar Agha is the Chief of the whole Marziki tribe and you are headman of a village.' He said, 'Even if I am only headman of a village I can still eat as much as he.' Thereafter he would slaughter a young ox every day and eat it. He became famous as Ismail the Ox-eater.

One day Ismail was unwell and his stomach was a little upset. He ate half a 200
carcase but could not eat the whole carcase of the ox. He said to his wife, 'Wife, tomorrow make me some provisions for the road, I am going to the village of Alanya beside the town of Bashqala. They say there is the shrine of a good man there whose prayers are accepted. I shall go and ask a prayer of him. Perhaps for his sake God will have mercy on my state and cure me and mend my stomach, then I see if I can eat an ox a day again.' His wife made preparations for him. Early next day he set off. By night he did not reach Alanya but stayed in a village as guest of some house. In that house, moreover, they did not know who he was and brought supper for him. He ate everything they brought. Again they brought things and he ate them, until three times, in the same way, whatever they brought he ate and left nothing. In the morning it was the same at breakfast time.

Afterwards, when he was about to set out, the owner of the house asked, 201
'Where are you going?' He said, 'I am going to the shrine of Alanya in the hope that it will be of some benefit to me and my stomach will be a bit better. I have been unwell for two or three days and I have lost my appetite. I cannot eat as I used to.' The owner of the house said, 'O my God, if you eat so much when your stomach is still upset, how much will you eat when it is better?'

1 A tribe of the Saralbak region in the north of Bashqala [Başkale].

202 Smaîl jî got, “ma te nawê min nebihîstiye? Ez Smaîl Gaxor im.” Got, “min ji dewêt xelkî bihîstîbû, ema bawir nedikir. Min got, “belko duro bît.” Belê min noke bawir kir ku weto ye w rast e w zêdetir e. Belê ez dê hîwîyekê ji te kem, bo xatira Xudê hîwîya min qebûl ke.” Smaîl got, “hîwîya te çi ye?” Got, “hîwîya min ew e. Ji ser hatinewê di mala min ra nehê, çunko ez dizanim munasibê Elenya mirad-ḥasilker e, duʿa te dê qebûl bît. Ḥeta noke eger te gayek xaribît paşî himmeta munasibî tu dê duyan xoy. Ez jî feqîr im, neşêm te têr kem. Yan dibît nehêye mala min yan mesrefê te li stukira te ye.” Smaîl got, “min hîwîya te qebûl kir, bêxem be. Nabime mêwanê te, yan eger bihême mala te dê ḥeqê te dem.” *Wesselam*.

Ismail said, 'Haven't you heard my name, then? I am Ismail the ox-eater.' He 202
said, 'I have heard people talking but I did not believe it. I said, "It is probably a lie." But now I believe that it is so and true and more so. But I will ask you for a favour and for God's sake grant it.' Ismail said, 'What is your favour?' He said, 'It is this. On your way back don't come by my house, because I know that the shrine at Alanya grants desires and that your prayer will be accepted. If up to now you have eaten one ox, after the intervention of the shrine you will eat two. I, for my part, am poor and I cannot satisfy you. Either you must not come by my house or you must pay for your own board.' Ismail said, 'I'll grant your favour, don't worry. I shall not be your guest, or if I come to your house I pay you.'

XXXI

Ḥekayêta Mirowê Ertoşî[yê] Koçer û Tacirê Mûsilî

203 Mirowekî Ertoşî koçer digel tacirekî Mûsilî dost bû. Her sal mirowê Ertoşî diçû Mûsilê, xurî, rûn, penîr, celeb dibir, li Mûsilê difirot, dibû mêwanê dostê xo. Dostê wî jî gelek qedrê wî digirt. Her tuxme teʿamê xoş ba, bi lezet ba, ew bo wî dirust dikir. Xarina bajêrîya, ku şirînî, pilaw, goşt, îprax, şorbawa bi dermanêt bênxoş û tiştêt wekî wane, bo wî didanane ser sifrê. Bo niwistinê jî niwînêt çak bo wî diraêxistin, liḥêf, doşek, balge, herçî çak ban ew bo wî diînan. Ertoşî digote Mûsilî, "xozî tu jî rojekê li min bûbaye mêwan, da min çak qedrê te girtiba, xizmeta te kiriba, da min çakîya te, minneta te ji ser xo rakiriba." Paşî çend salekan hate dilê Mûsilî ku seferekê kûstanê biket. Got, "ew sale çak e biçime kûstanêt Ertoşîyan, hem ziyaret, hem ticaret. Dê bime mêwanê dostê xo. Barekî şuran dê digel xo bem, du-sê hewyêt hawînê li kûstanê rabêrim, payîzê ku hewa pîçek hînik bû dê bêmewe bo Mûsilê."

204 Xulase rabû, barekî çak ji şurêt eʿla dagirt, rêka kûstanê girt. Hat ḥeta geşte mala dostê xo. Mala dostî dît li bin reşmalekê diriyayî, du kere-beṛikêt qîrêjî, xirab, li bin reşmalê raêxistî, ne çu amanêt sifr, ne çu niwînêt baş li wê derê nedîtin. Mûsilî di dilê xo da nijinî w heraft, gele hizr kir, got, "ewe çi bû min kir? Eger rabim biçim, şerm e. Eger neçim, ez ho najîm. Belê da sebr kem, kanê ew şîwê dê çi zad bo min ḥazir ket û dê çi niwîn bo min raêxît." Ḥeta seʿetekê paş mexribê çu şîw neîna. Paşî ku saʿetek çû, gote jina xo, "ḥurmet, rabe, koda mezin bibe bin mihîya reş, bidoşe, tejî şîr bike. Du nanêt kulore-genim jî danê ser tiryanî, bo şîwa mêwanî bîne. Ew mêwane li nik me gelek ʿezîz e." Jinê jî we kir wekî mêrî got. Wextê niwistinê jî gote jina xo, "ḥurmet, rabe, ṭaṭîyê[1] bi bisk, gul-gul, ḥazir bike bo niwîna mêwanî w ṭaṭîyekî jî lûl de, bike balge." Ew jî çêkir.

205 Ṣubey zû Mûsilî got, "xatira te. Ez dê çim, ema ez zor muteḥeyyir mam ji gotina te w ji kirina te." Ertoşî got, "bo çî? Ma min çi qusûrî kiriye di xizmeta te da? Min bo te îna şîr; çend qatixê hebît hemî ji şîrî ye. Min bo te îna nanê genim; çend ṭeʿamêt bi lezet hene hemî ji genimî çêdibin. Min bo te îna ṭaṭîyê xurî w

1 Present day Shamdinan dialect: *taṭî*, with aspirated initial *t*.

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XXXI

The Artushi Nomad and the Merchant of Mosul

A man of the Artushi nomads was friendly with a merchant of Mosul. Every 203
year the Artushi used to go to Mosul, taking wool, butter, cheese and livestock, which he sold, and was the guest of his friend. His friend would treat him with great respect. He would prepare for him every kind of good and tasty food. He would set on the table-cloth townsmen's food, which is sweetmeats, pilaff, meat, stuffed vine-leaves, soup with fragrant spices and other such things. He would spread fine bedding for him also, to sleep on; quilts, mattresses, cushions, whatever fine things there were he would bring for him. The Artushi used to say to the Mosuli, 'I wish that one day you would be my guest so that I could honour and serve you and rid myself of the debt of gratitude I owe you for your goodness.' After some years it occurred to the Mosuli to make a journey into the highlands. He said, 'This year it would be good for me to go to the Artushi highlands both for a visit and for business. I shall be the guest of my friend. I shall take a load of things (to sell) with me, spend the two or three months of summer in the highlands, and in autumn, when it becomes a little cooler, I shall come back to Mosul.'

In short, he got up and loaded up a good load of superior merchandise and 204
took the road for the highlands. He continued until he reached the home of his friend. He saw his friend's home under a torn black tent, with two evil, filthy bits of rug spread under the tent; neither copper vessels nor good bedding did he see there. The Mosuli turned the matter over in his mind and thought a great deal saying, 'Now what have I done? If I get up and go it will be shameful. And if I do not go, I cannot live like this. But I must wait and see what food he will bring me for supper and what bedding he will spread for me.' Until an hour after sunset he brought no supper. After an hour passed he said to his wife, 'Wife, go and take the big wooden bowl to the black ewe, milk her and fill it with milk. Put two wheaten loaves on the tray and bring them for our guest's supper. This guest is very dear to us.' The wife did as her husband said. When it was time to sleep again he said to his wife, 'Wife, go and bring an embroidered and fringed felt-rug for our guest's bedding, and roll up another rug and make it into a cushion.' This too she did.

Early the next morning the Mosuli said, 'Good-bye. I'm going, but I am greatly 205
surprised at the difference between your words and your deeds.' The Artushi said, 'Why? What fault was there in my serving you? I brought milk for you, and all relishes are made from milk. I brought you wheaten bread, and all tasty

çend parça eʿla-qîmet hene hemî ji xurîyê çêdibin." Mûsilî got, "wehe. Bes min ḥeta noke nezanî, ez jî ji noke wê we tedbîra xo dizanim." Rabû, çû Mûsilê.

206 Wextê bû zistan dîsa Ertoşî her weku caran rabû, çû Mûsilê, qesda mala dostê xo kir. Wextê çû pêş derê mala wî li derî da. Mûsilî serê xo ji pencerê îna der, got, "ew kî ye?" Ertoşî got, "ez im, dostê te." Mûsilî got, "bi xêr hatî, ser çawa." Ertoşî got, "derî weke da bihêm, selamekê li kulfetê te bikem û biçûkan bibînim, eḥwal-pirsîya wan bikem." Mûsilî got, "sebr ke, bihême pişta derî, bo te bêjim." Mûsilî hat, kîrê xo di kuna derî ra bire der, gote Ertoşî, "ewey bibîne, ewey maçî ke, çunko kur kiç hemî ji wihî bûne, jin li ser wihî rûniştîye, eṣlê hemîyan ewe ye. Wekî te ewe dît û maç kir, we bizane te hemî dîtin û maç kirin. Hîç ḥewce nîye kesekî dî bibînî. Here ser rêka xo. Êdî hatina te bo êre lazim nîye." Ertoşî têgeşt, çû, êdî carekê dî nehat. Dostînîya wan helweşîyawe. *Wesselam*.

foods are made of wheat. I brought you woollen rugs and all costly materials are made of wool.' The Mosuli said, 'It is so. It is just that I did not know till now, but from now on I know what to do.' He arose and went to Mosul.

When it was winter the Artushi rose again, as before, went to Mosul, and 206
made for his friend's house. When he went before the door of his house he knocked at it. The Mosuli put his head out of the window and said, 'Who is it?' The Artushi said, 'It is I, your friend.' The Mosuli said, 'Welcome, upon my eyes.' The Artushi said, 'Open the door so that I can come and pay my respects to your wife and see the children and ask after them.' The Mosuli said, 'Wait while I come to the door and tell you.' The Mosuli came, put his penis through the hole in the door and said to the Artushi, 'See this and kiss it. This is the *fons et origo* of them all—sons, daughters and wife. When you have seen and kissed this you can take it that you have seen and kissed everybody; there is no need to see anybody else. Go on your way. There is no need for you to come here again.' The Artushi understood, went away and never came again. Their friendship was dissolved.

XXXII

Ḥekayêta Pêẋemberê Keran

207 ʻEşîretek heye li nêzîkî Selmasê, Kuresinî dibêjinê, kurdêt gelek weḥşî ne. Zemanê pêşî weḥşîtir bûn, nedizanîn Xudê çi ye w şertêt pêẋemberan çi ne. Carekê melayekî xelkê Pawe bû, ji layê Sine hate naw ʻeşîreta Kuresinîyan, li melatîyê digerîya ku wî bikene melayê gundekî, pêşniwêjî bo wan biket û bangî bidet û millet jî fitran bidene wî w ṣedeqe w xêran bi wî biken.

208 Wextê ku ehlê Kuresinîyan dîtin mirowekî bi ʻeba w şaşika spî w zibonê şore w ridîna dirêj, wan çu caran ew ṭerze mirowe nedîtibûn. Gelek teʻeccub kirin, di naw xo da gotin, "em nizanîn ewe çi ye, bi ṣûret wekî benî-adem e w bi qiyafet û reftar wekî kes nîye." Hindekan gotin, "me ji mezinan û bab û bapîran bihîstiye, dibêjin zemanê qedîm pêẋember hebûn. Iḥtimal heye ku ewe ji wan bît." Hindekan gotin, "me bihîstiye canewerek heye rûḥan dikêşît, belko ew bît." Hindekan gotin, "cin e." Hindekan gotin, "şeytan e." Her yêkî bi xiyala xo tiştek got. Tedbîra xo înane ser wihê ku ji wî bipirsin, "tu çî yî?" Wekî mela jî bi wî eḥwalî nizanît. Mezinêt wan hatine lalî mela, gotine wî, "tu çî yî? Tu ji insanan î yan ji cinan yan ji melayketan? Em zor muteḥeyyir mayne di te da." Mela pîçek tirsa, di dilê xo da got, "*subḥanellah*, ew qewme çawa weḥşî ye! Min xiyal kir dê bime melayê wan, ema ewane qabil nîne ku miro li naw wan rûnêt." Dîsan xiyal kir, got, "da digel wan biaxiwim, belko çaktir mumkin bibît."

209 Xulase gote wan, "ez mela me, hatîme bo hingo melatîyê bikem û hung jî meʻaş bidene min." Wan jî gotin, "ew şola tu dibêjî, bo peẓê me çu zerer nîye?" Mela zêdetir teʻeccub kir, got, "ne, gelek bo peẓî baş e, xêr e, bereket e." Xulase gelek weʻz bo wan gotin, ayet, ḥedîs bo wan xundin.

210 Paşî ʻeqlmendêt wan gotine yêkudu, "ewe pêẋember e. Xiyala me dirust derkewt, çunko ew kesê hinde bizanît miro nîye, bê şik pêẋember e." Hemîyan

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XXXII

The Prophet of the Donkeys

Near Salmas there is a tribe of very wild Kurds called Kurasini.[1] In former times 207
they were even wilder, neither knowing what God was nor the provisions (for being) prophets. Once there was a mullah from Pawa who came amongst the Kurasini tribe from Sanandaj seeking a post as mullah, that they should make him mullah of a village, to lead them in prayer and give the calls to prayer, and the people give him tithes and alms.

When the Kurasini people saw a man with a cloak and a white turban and 208
a flowing gown and with a long beard, they had never seen this sort of man before. They were greatly puzzled. Among themselves they said, 'We don't know what this is. It looks like a human being but in manner and behaviour it is like nobody.' Some said, 'We have heard from the elders and our forefathers, they say that in olden times there were prophets. This is probably one of them.' Some said, 'We have heard that there is a creature which carries off souls. Perhaps it is that.' Some said, 'It is a Jinn.' Some said, 'It is a devil.' Each one expressed his own opinion. They decided to ask him, 'What are you?' The mullah, meanwhile, knew nothing of all this. Their leaders came to the mullah and said to him, 'What are you? Are you human, or of the Jinns, or of the angels? We are very puzzled about you.' The mullah was a little afraid and said to himself, 'O my God, how wild these people are! I was thinking of becoming their mullah, but they are not fit for a man to settle amongst them.' Again he thought and said, 'I had better talk with them. It may turn out better.'

In short, he said to them, 'I am a mullah and have come to be your mullah and 209
for you to pay me a salary.' They said, 'That business you are talking about won't harm our sheep, will it?' The mullah was even more amazed. He said, 'No, it is very good for the sheep, a boon and a blessing.' In short, he preached to them a great deal and read passages of the Koran and from the Traditions to them.

Then the intelligent ones among them said to one another, 'This is a prophet. 210
Our idea turned out to be right, for one who knows so much is not a man, but is

1 Kurasinis (also Kurasinli and Kora-sunnis) are a tribe in Khoy and Salmas in northwest Iran. They are Sunni and speak Kurdish but their ethnicity is contentious. Writing in mid 19th century, Molla Mahmoud Bayazidi referred to them as a Kurdish tribe that have shifted to Iranian Azeri. (Mela Mehmûd Baîdî, *Cami'eya Risaleyan û Hikayetan bi Zimanê Kurmancî* (Lîs, 2010), 32.) Whereas Basile Nikitine referred to them as a recently Kurdicized Turkic tribe. See Oberling, Pierre. "KORA-SONNI." Encyclopaedia Iranica. Published July 20, 2005. https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kora-sonni/

li naw xo teṣdîq kirin ku ewe pêẋember e. Pêkwe hatin, destê wî ramûsîn, pîyê wî maçî kirin. Mela nezanî ewe bo çî wihê diken. Gote wan, "ewe çi ye?" Gotine wî, "tu pêẋember î." Mela gote wan, "hung dizanin pêẋember çi ne w çawa ne?" Gotin, "me ḥeta noke pêẋember nedîtibûn ku eḥwalê wan bizanîn, belê me ji mezinêt xo bihîstiye, digotin pêẋember gelek şolan ji xelkî çêtir û zêdetir dizanin. Ji ber wihê dizanîn ku tu pêẋember î. Me tu qebûl kirî. Li naw me rûnê, bo me pêẋemberînîyê bike." Wextê ku mela têgeşt ku ewane zor weḥşî ne gote wan, "min jî qebûl kir, ema çawa teʿlîma hingo didem weto ʿemel biken." Hemîyan gotin, "elbette, nabît ji emrê pêẋemberê xo derkewîn."

211 Du-sê salan ewe li naw kurdan û li naw ehlê Selmasê w etrafan meşhûr bû ku pêẋemberek li naw ʿeşîreta Kuresinîyan peyda bûye. Ew xebere geşte şahê Îranê. Şah emr kir bo ḥakimê Xoy ku, "tiştekî ho min bihîstiye. Teḥqîq bike. Eger rast e, wî mirowî terbiye bike. Ewe muxalifî kitêbêt Xudê ye." Ḥakimê Xoy çend meʾmûr hinarin, pêẋemberê Kuresinîyan birine Xoy. Milletê Kuresinî, mêr û jin û biçûk, qiyasê hizar nufûs, digel pêẋemberê xo çûne Xoy.

212 Ḥakimî pêẋember istinṭaq kir, "aya rast e ku tu dibêjî, ez pêẋember im?" Mela jî ji ewwel ḥeta axir ḥekayêta ḥalê xo bo ḥakimî neql kir. Got, "eger ew behane neba ew qewme hîç adabê dînî w eḥkamê şerʿî nedizanîn. Min noke bi wê ḥîlê ewane fêre dîn kirîne." Meʿlûm e, "*irtikābu l-qabīḥi li dafʿi l-ʾaqbaḥi wajibun*",[2] yeʿnî, şola kirêt kirin bo defʿa şola kirêttir lazim e. Bes egerçî deʿwa pêẋemberî kirêt e, belê bêdînî kirêttir bû. Min bi wî tiştê kirêt defʿ kir tiştê kirêttir û ez mesʾûl nîme. We bo rastîya xeberê min qewmê min li pêş derê ḥukûmetê ḥazir bike, hingî dê ḥal meʿlûm bît."

213 Hemî ḥazir kirin. Ḥakim hat, temaşe kir, mela destê rastê bilind kir, ʿumûmi millet ziṛîn wekî keran, destê çepê bilind kir, hemî lûṛîn û rewîn wekî ṣan. Mela gote ⟨ḥakimî⟩, "ez pêẋemberê kera me, pêẋemberê mirowan nîme." Ḥakimê Xoy temam keyfiyet bo şah niwîsî. Şah mela ʿefû kir û gelek kenî w bi nawê pêẋemberînîya keran rutbe w nîşan û meʿaş ji terefê dewleta Îranê bo pêẋemberê keran derkewt.

214 Her sal carekê pêẋember digel qewmê xo dihate Xoy, ṣef-ṣef dirawestan. Pêẋember duʿa bo şahê Îranê dikir û qewmê wî wekî keran diziṛîn, digotin, "amîn." We ḥakimî aferîn bo pêẋemberê keran digot û xelat dikir. Diçû mala xo. Ew ḥekayête li naw kurdan û li naw ehlê Azerbeycanê jî meşhûr e w zurrîyeta pêẋemberê keran noke li naw Kuresinîyan maye. *Wesselam*.

2 In Arabic.

certainly a prophet.' They were all convinced among themselves that this was a prophet. They came together and kissed his hands and feet. The mullah did not know why they were doing this. He said to them, 'What's this?' They said to him, 'You are a prophet.' The mullah said to them, 'Do you know what and how prophets are?' They said, 'We have not seen any prophets till now to know about them, but we have heard from our elders, who used to say that prophets know many affairs more, and better, than other people. For this reason we know that you are a prophet. We have accepted you. Settle among us and act as prophet for us.' When the mullah realized how ignorant they were he said to them, 'I too accept, but you must behave as I teach you.' They all said, 'Certainly, it would not do for us to disobey our own prophet.'

211 In two or three years it became known among the Kurds and the people of Salmas and the neighbourhood that a prophet had appeared among the Kurasini tribe. This news reached the Shah of Persia. The Shah ordered the Governor of Khoy, 'I have heard such a thing. Investigate the matter and if it is true punish the man, for this is contrary to God's scriptures.' The Governor of Khoy sent some officials and they took the prophet of the Kurasinis to Khoy. The Kurasini people, men, women and children, about a thousand souls, went with their prophet to Khoy.

212 The Governor interrogated the prophet, 'Is it true that you say, "I am a prophet"?' The mullah related his story from beginning to end for the Governor. He said, 'If it were not for this pretext this people would have no knowledge of the rites of religion nor of the commands of the holy law. By this trick I have now taught them religion. You know that (in Arabic), "It is necessary to perform an evil deed to prevent a more evil one." Now although claiming prophethood is evil, yet irreligion is more evil. By means of this evil thing I have repelled a more evil thing and I am not answerable. And to prove what I say summon my people before the gate of the Government house, then the matter will be clear.'

213 They were all summoned. The governor came and saw that when the mullah raised his right hand the people all brayed like asses, and when he raised his left hand they all howled and barked like dogs. The mullah said to the governor, 'I am Prophet of the donkeys, not of men.' The governor of Khoy wrote a report of the state of affairs to the Shah. The Shah forgave the mullah and laughed greatly, and he was given a rank and insignia and a salary from the government of Iran in the position of Prophet of the donkeys.

214 Once every year the Prophet would come to Khoy with his people where they would stand, rank upon rank. The Prophet would pray for the Shah of Iran and his people would bray like donkeys, saying, 'Amen.' The governor would congratulate the Prophet of the donkeys and reward him and he would go home. This story is famous among the Kurds and the people of Azarbaijan, and the progeny of the Prophet of the donkeys still live among the Kurasinis.

XXXIII

Ḥekayêta Pawe

215 Gundek heye li terefê Silêmanîyê, Pawe dibêjinê. Xelkê wî gundî qewî ʿezmandirêj û cablûs û bêşerm in. Diçine hemî cîyan, digeriyên, dixazin û eger mumkin bît didizin û distînin. Li naw hemî Kurdistanê weto meşḥûr in. Eger kesek ʿezmandirêj û bêşerm bît dibêjin, "ewe wekî ehlê Pawe ye." Gundekî boş e jî, qederê sêṣed mal heye, aw-û-hewa xoş e.

216 Wextê ku yêk ji wan bo Istembolê w Tiflîsê w Şamê w emsalê wan deran ji mala xo derdikewît, eger kesek ji wî bipirsît, "dê kê we çî?" Dê bêjît, "demekê ḥeta wan nêzîkane dê çim û hêmewe," çunko li nik wan ew cîyane nêzîk in. Dibêjin, "em bo wan cîyane panîya solika xo nahelkêşîn. Çîn, Awropa, Hindustan, Emrîka," dibêjin, "pîçek dûr in. Em bo wane panîya solikê dihelkêşîn." Ekser xo dikene seyîd û şêx û derwêş û xo libasguhor diken bi libasê wan û diçin, li hindek cîyan dibêjin, "em seyîd in," li hindek cîyan dibêjin, "em şêx in, hatîne irşad bikeyn." Xulase çawa şola wan dirust bibît we diken. Wextê bo yêkî ji wan kurek dibît duʿayê diket, dibêjît, "ya Ellah, ya Rebbî, tu ridînekê dirêj û pan û ʿezmanekî lûs bideye kurê min, êdî hîç rizqî nede wî, bila rizqê wî li ser wî bît."

217 Dibêjin bestekê beran li ṭenişt gundê wan heye. Wextê diçine seferê ji rêwe diçine naw besta beran, çawêt xo dimiçînin, pêş-paş diçin, panîya pîyê wan geheşte kîşk berî dê înin, bi ṭerazîyê kêşin, çend derkewt dê sûndekê mezin û kirêt xot ku, "ḥetta bi qeder giranîya wî berey parey zêr yan zîw neînim nahêmewe." Ho dê çît û bi her ṭerz dê xebatê ket ḥeta digete meqsûda xo.

218 Dibêjin carekê mirowekî Paweyî hate layê Ṣomayê û Biradost û Kuresinîyan, xo kiribû şêx. Şaşika kesk li serê xo alandibû, zibonê şore w ʿebayê dirêj di ber xo kiribû w secade w tizbî helgirtibû, digot, "ez seyîd im, şêx im. Hatîme ku xelkî bînime ser hidayetê, rêka ḥeq nîşa xelkî bidem." Her gundê diçûyê, li pêş çawêt xelkî, tizbîyêt xo li bin huçikê ʿebay li hindawê şerbikê aw xarinewê digiwişî. Aw bi şuṛuk jê dihate xar. Xelk hemî muteḥeyyir dibûn, digotin, "çu ewliyallah ewe nekiriye." Hemî bûne mirîdêt wî. Digote xelkî, "her kesê peşkekê ji awa tizbîyêt min wexotewe, cendekê wî agirê cehennemê nabînît. Ewe awa

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XXXIII

The Story of Pawa

There is a village in the direction of Sulaimaniya called Pawa. The people of 215
that village are very impudent and cunning and shameless. They go everywhere and wander about begging and, if possible, stealing and taking things. They are famous for this throughout all Kurdistan. If someone is impudent and shameless people say, 'He is like a Pawai.' It is a populous village moreover, having about three hundred houses, and has a pleasant climate.

When one of them leaves his home to go to Istanbul or Tiflis or Damascus 216
or such places, if someone asks him where he is going he will say, 'I am going to a few places in the neighbourhood for a while, and then I shall return,' for to them these places are near. They say, 'We don't heel our sandals for these places. China, Europe, India, America,' they say, 'are a bit far off. We heel our sandals for them.' They mostly make themselves out to be Sayyids and Shaikhs and dervishes and disguise themselves in the clothes of these and go, and in some places they say, 'We are Sayyids,' and in some places they say, 'We are Shaikhs who have come to teach.' In short, they do whatever will help to achieve their ends. When a son is born to one of them he will pray, saying, 'O God, my Lord, (if) Thou givest my son a long and broad beard and a smooth tongue, give him no further sustenance, let his sustenance be on his own head.'

They say that there is a stony vale next to their village. When they go on a 217
journey they go first of all to the vale of stones, shut their eyes, go back and forth and, whichever stone the heel of their foot touches, they will bring it and weigh it in a balance and, however much it turns out, they will swear a mighty and ugly oath that, 'I shall not return until I bring the weight of this stone in gold or silver.' In this way he will go and, however (it may be), will work until he achieves his goal.

They say that a Pawai man came to Somay and Biradost and the Kurasinis 218
and made himself out to be a Shaikh. He had wound a green turban round his head and put on a flowing gown and a long cloak. He was carrying a prayer-rug and a rosary. He would say, 'I am a Sayyid and a Shaikh. I have come to bring people to salvation and to show them the right way.' In every village that he visited he would, in full view of the people, squeeze his rosary, under the sleeve of his cloak, over a water-pot. Water would flow in a stream out of it. The people were all amazed, saying, 'No (other) holy man has done this.' They all became his disciples. He used to tell the people, 'Whoever drinks a drop of the water from my rosary, his body will not see the fire of Hell. This is the Water of Life

ḥeyatê ye dideme hingo, cîyê hingo beḥeşta ebedî ye." Hemîyan bawir dikirin. Mêr û jin û biçûk dihatin, malekî bêḥisab bo wî diînan, ew awe bo teberuk dibirin, dixarinewe w dikirine şûşan, li malêt xo diragirtin.

219 Xulase zor dewletmend bû. Şuhretekî mezin kewte ser wî, ḥeta xeber geheşte Mela Fehîm Erwasî li terefê Wanê w Başqelʿe ku mirowekî ho li naw ʿeşîretêt Şikak peyda bûye. Mela Fehîm ʿalimekî ʿaqil bû. Got, "her tişt di qudreta Xudê da mumkin e, ema tiştê *xilāfu-l-ʿādat* bo ẋeyrî pêẋemberan Xudê nekiriye w naket. *Murīdu-l-xayri wa-š- šarri-l-qabīḥi wa lākin laysa yardā bi-l-muḥāl*,[1] yeʿnî, çak û xirab hemî bi qudret û iradeta Xudê ne, lakin Xudê razî nîye tiştê muḥal, *xilāfu-l-ʿādat*[2] bibît." Got, "iḥtimal e ewe Paweyî bît, ḥîlebaz e." Kaẋezek niwîsî bo ʿElî Xanê Şikak, bapîrê Simko, "tiştekî ho min bihîstiye. Wê şolê teḥqîq bike."

220 ʿElî Xan şêx gazî kire mala xo li qelata Çarîyê. Gote wî, "ḥez dikem awa ḥeyatê bideye min jî." Şêx got, "baş e." Şerbikê awê xalî îna, tizbî giwişî, aw jê hat. ʿElî Xan muteḥeyyir bû, nezanî ewe çawan e. Gote xulaman, "şêxî rûs ken." Şêx ṭengaw bû, ema çare nebû. Xulase şêx rûs kirin. Dîtin rîwîyekî gay, tejî aw, serek li bin şûtikê girê day, serê dî li naw paxilê li naw huçikê kirasî înaye nik zenda destî, girê day. Wextê tizbî digiwişît serê rîwîyê diînîte hindawê şerbikî, aw ji rîwîyê tête xar. Bi wê ḥîlê cahilêt ker hemî lêbandibûn.

221 Wextê ho dîtin ḥîla wî aşkera bû. Şêx çak kutan û mala wî talan kirin, tiştek bo wî nehêlan. Ji wan welatan kirine der. We cewaba Mela Fehîm gelek bi memnûnî niwîsî, Xudê ji wî razî bît, bi sebeb wî xelk ji ḥîla mirowê Paweyî xilas bû. Êdî paşî hingî ehlê Pawe li wan etrafane hîç xo aşkera naken. *Wesselam*.

1 In Arabic.

2 In Arabic, *against the law, abnormal*.

which I give you and your place will be Paradise eternal.' They all believed him. Men, women and children came, bringing him countless wealth, and took the water for good luck, and drank it and put it into bottles and kept it in their homes. In short, he became very rich.

He acquired a considerable reputation, until word reached Mullah Fahim of 219
Arwas,[3] in the direction of Van and Bashqala, that such a man had appeared among the Shikak tribes. Mullah Fahim was an intelligent and learned man. He said, 'Everything is possible in the power of God, but God has never done anything abnormal for anybody other than the Prophets, and nor will He: (in Arabic) *Good and bad are all within the power and will of God, but God is not pleased that anything impossible, abnormal should happen.*' He said, 'This is probably a Pawai and a trickster.' He wrote a letter to Ali Khan Shikak, the grandfather of Simko,[4] saying, 'I have heard of such a thing. Investigate this matter.'

Ali Khan summoned the Shaikh to his home in the fortress of Chari. He said 220
to him, 'I would like you to give me some of the Water of Life too.' The Shaikh said, 'Very well.' They brought an empty water-pot, he squeezed his rosary and water came out of it. Ali Khan was amazed and did not know how it was. He said to his servants, 'Strip the Shaikh.' The Shaikh was desperate but there was no escape. In the end they stripped the Shaikh. They saw that he had the gut of an ox, full of water, with one end tied under his cummerbund and the other end coming under his armpit, inside his shirt- sleeve, being brought down and tied near his wrist. When he squeezed his rosary he would bring the end of the gut over the water-pot and water would come down out of the gut. By means of this trick he had deceived all the ignorant fools.

When they saw this, his trick became known. They beat the 'Shaikh' soundly 221
and robbed him of his wealth, leaving him nothing. They threw him out of those territories. Then (Ali Khan) wrote a very grateful answer to Mullah Fahim, asking God to be pleased with him as on account of him the people had been saved from the trickery of the Pawai man. Moreover, people from Pawa never show themselves in these parts since then.

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3 Mullah Fahim Arwasi (1825–1896), from the Arvas family in Miks [Bahçesaray], a khalifa of Sayyid Taha I.

4 Ismail Agha Abdoi of Shikak tribe, also known as Ismail Agha Simko Shikak or as Simko Shikak, the chief of the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds of the north of Urmia province in Iran from 1905 to 1922. See Kamal Soleimani, "The Kurdish Image in Statist Historiography: The Case of Simko," *Middle Eastern Studies* 53 (2017): 949–965; Mehrdad Kia, *The Clash of Empires and the Rise of Kurdish Proto-nationalism, 1905–1926: Ismail Agha Simko and the Campaign for an Independent Kurdish State* (Springer, 2023).

XXXIV

Ḥekayêta Ḥafizê Paweyî

222 Sala ku bende li Hewlêrê li xizmet Mela Ebû Bekr Efendî meşxûlî teḥsîlê bû ḥafizekî Paweyî hate Hewlêrê, li mizgewta Şêx ʿEbdurrehman Efendî hewya remezanê Qurʾan bo cimaʿetê dixund. Xelkî gelek pare dane wî. Mirowek cînarê mizgewtê hebû, nawê wî Ṣofî Eḥmed bû, jinekê pîçek munasib hebû. Ḥafiz hat-u-çûna mala Ṣofî Eḥmed dikir, nan li wê derê dixar. Jina wî cilkêt ḥafizî dişuştin. Xulase ḥafiz bû dostê Ṣofî Eḥmed. Ḥafizê Paweyî şeytan bû, jina Ṣofî Eḥmed ji wî şeytantir û ḥîlebaztir bû. Xiyala ḥafiz ew bû keyfa xo digel jinikê biket. Xiyala jinikê ew bû parê ḥafiz helgirît û inkar biket û meqsûda ḥafiz jî bi cî neînît. Waqiʿeyekî weto li mabeyna herduyan peyda bû ku hîç emsal nîne. Ḥekayeta wan li temam⟨ê⟩ ʿUsmanî w Kurdistanê meşhûr bû, li cerîdan hate niwîsîn.

223 Wextê bende şehadetname wergirt, hatime Nehrîyê. Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq li selamlixê rûniştî bû. Muḥemmed Efendî gumrikçî Xerpûtî w Muḥemmed Efendî zabitê cendirman-ê Mûsilî jî ḥazir bûn. Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq ji bende pirsî, ʿeḥwal[ê] ḥafiz çawa bû?" Bende got, "qurban, bêedebî ye li ḥuzûra ḥezretê şêx wan ṭerze ḥekayetan bêjim." Şêx qewî xoşmeşreb bû, got, "dibît bêjî. Qet ʿeyb nîye." Gumrikçî jî ḥez dikir, belê zabitî ḥez nedikir. Gote şêx. "Ewe zor ʿeyb e. Qet nabît li ḥuzûra zatê hingo bihête gotin." Şêx zêdetir micit bû, ilḥaḥ kir. Zabitî got, "ez dê derkewim, paşî bila bêjît." Şêx gotî, "nahêlim derkewî ḥeta temam eḥwalê ḥafiz dibêjît."

224 Xulase hemî rûniştin, derik pêwe dan. Bende got, "egerçî bêedebî ye, emma *ḥesbu-l-emrî* ḥezretê şêx tefsîlê ho ʿerz dikem. Ḥafiz hemî rojan wextê Ṣofî derdikewt digote jina Ṣofî, "were, keyfê bikeyn. Ez gelek pare dê deme te." Jina Ṣofî digot, "hung kore, xusûsen Paweyî, zor ḥîlebaz in. Min bawirî nîye. Ema bîne, pare bide, paşî çi dibêjî dê kem." Ḥafiz çend parê hebû bi torpe we da jina Ṣofî. Ḥafiz got, "êdî te çu hecet nema." Jinikê got, "noke di ʿuzrey da me. Bila biçime kelê, paşî dê keyfa xo keyn." Jinikê eḥwal bo Ṣofî got. Ṣofî gote jina xo, "ez gelek ji te memnûn bûm. Madam xiyala ḥafiz ewe ye, çak e derdekî weto

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XXXIV

The Blind Koran-Reciter from Pawa

In the year that I was engaged in study in Erbil in the service of Mullah Abu 222
Bakr Effendi, a blind hafiz from Pawa came to Erbil and recited the Koran for the congregation in the mosque of Shaikh Abdurrahman Effendi in the month of Ramazan. The people gave him a lot of money. There was a man named Sofi Ahmad, a neighbour of the mosque, who had quite a passable wife. The hafiz used to come and go in Sofi Ahmad's house, eating his meals there. His wife used to wash the hafiz' clothes. In short, the hafiz became a friend of Sofi Ahmad. The hafiz from Pawa was a rogue, and Sofi Ahmad's wife more of a rogue and trickster than him. The idea of the hafiz was to have his pleasure with the little woman. The idea of the little woman was to get hold of the hafiz' money and to deny it and not to fulfil the hafiz' intention. Such a thing happened between the two of them as had no like. Their story became famous in the whole Ottoman empire and Kurdistan, and was written in the newspapers.

When I graduated (*lit*. got my testimonial) I came to Nehri. Shaikh Muham- 223
mad Siddiq was seated in the audience chamber. Muhammad Effendi the Customs officer from Kharput and Muhammad Effendi the zaptieh officer from Mosul were also present. Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq asked me, 'How was the affair of the hafiz?' I said, 'Sir, it is impolite for me to tell these sorts of story in the presence of his excellency the Shaikh.' The Shaikh was very merry. He said, 'You must tell it. It is no shame at all.' The customs man also wanted it, but the officer did not like it. He said to the Shaikh, 'This is a great shame. It cannot be told in your exalted presence.' The Shaikh became more serious and insisted. The officer said, 'I shall go out, then let him speak.' The Shaikh said, 'I shall not let you go until he has told the whole story of the hafiz.'

In short, they all sat down and shut the door. I said, 'Although it is impolite, 224
still in conformity with the command of his excellency the Shaikh I shall tell it in short. Every day when Sofi went out the hafiz used to say to Sofi's wife, "Come, let us enjoy ourselves. I shall give you a lot of money." Sofi's wife used to say, "You blind men, especially from Pawa, are great tricksters. I don't believe you. But come, give me the money, then I shall do whatever you say." The hafiz gave Sofi's wife as much money as he had in his bag. He said, "Now you have no further excuse." The little woman said, "Now I have my period. Let me (first) go take a bath (in the river), then we shall enjoy ourselves." The little woman told Sofi the state of affairs. Sofi said to his wife, "I'm very grateful to you. Since this is the hafiz' idea, it will be good to cause him such a hurt as will be a warning in

bi wî bikeyn ḥeta dunya heye ʿibret bît di guhêt ʿalemê da." Jinê got, "tu çawa mesleḥet dizanî dê we keyn." Ṣofî got, "ḥafiz kore ye, çu nabînît. Ez dê xo li kuncekê xanî şêrimewe. Bila ew bihêt. Bêjê, "were, keyfê bikeyn." Paşî ez tedbîra wî dizanim."

225 Xulase ḥafiz gazî kir, jinikê, got, "ez ḥazir im. Doxîna xo wekewe da keyfê bikeyn. Kes lêre nîye, derik min girtiye." Ḥafiz weto keyfxoş bû, hewesa wî rabû, êdî ʿeql di mêjîyê wî da nema. Zû-zû doxîna xo kirewe, hate nik jinikê. Ṣofî hêdî hate nik ḥafiz, gûzanek di destî da, hawête kîrê ḥafiz, di binî ra birî. Ḥafiz kire qorî. Ṣofî gote jina xo, "derî weke, bila derkewît. Terbiya wî hinde bes e." Ḥafiz bi qorî w bi girî derkewte ḥewşa mizgewtê, xîn ji birîna wî bi şuṛuk tête xar. Xelk hemî cema bûn, cendirme hatin, ḥafiz û Ṣofî w jina wî w kîrê ḥafizî hemî birine daireya ḥukûmetê. Kîrê ḥafiz li naw parçeyekî fatisqe werpêçan, danane naw ṣindoqekê. Ḥafiz derman kirin ḥeta sax bû, paşî her sê hinarine Mûsilê. Wextê bo teḥqîqa madde derê ṣindoqê dikirinewe, gelek xanimêt Mûsilîyan dihatine temaşe, digotin bi turkî, "*yazıx, yazıx şu sike, ne qeder büyükdür*." Yeʿnî, mixabin, mixabin bo wî kîrî, çi qeder mezin e.

226 Ḥafizî digot, "Ṣofî w jina xo ho digel min kirin da parê min bixon. Ṣed lîrey zêdetir parê min birine." Ṣofî digot, "me parê wî nedîtiye. Em nizanîn aya wî pare heye yan nîye. Ez hatim, wî jina min girtibû, qesda fiʿla şenîʿ dikir. Min jî ji ẋîreta xo ewe kir. Noke emr emrê ḥukûmeta ʿelîye ye. Min ʿefû diken yan dikujin ez razî me." Xeber dane Istembolê. Cewab hat ku, "isbata wê madde ne şerʿen ne qanûnen ẋeyri-mumkin e, çunko kîrê ḥafiz sabit e ku hatiye birîn û qesda fiʿla şenîʿ şahid nîne. Hewyê lîreyek meʿaş bidene wî. We çunko ẓahirê ḥal bena li ser gotina ehalîyê Hewlêrê Ṣofî Eḥmed mirowê durowê nîye wî jî ʿefû biken, biçîte mala xo." Bi wî ṭerzî iqnaʿ kirin, maddê wan feysel kirin."

227 Wextê bende got, "xanimêt Mûsilîyan dihatine temaşe, ho digotin," Muḥemmed Efendî Mûsilî sil bû. Gote Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣidîq "ewe ṣirf duro ye. Qet xanimêt Mûsilîyan we negotine. Iḥtimal heye xanimêt turkan ew xebere gotibît, ema Mela Seʿîd sebeb min dibêjît xanimêt Mûsilîyan ewe gotin." Bende got, "ez nizanim ḥeqîqet çawa bû, ema min çawa bihîstiye we dibêjim."

228 Muḥemmed Efendî Xerpûtî mirowekî ṣuḥbetçî bû, li her meclisekê ew ḥekayete digot da Muḥemmed Efendî Mûsilî sil bibît. Dûmayê weto kewte naw dewêt xelkê Nehrî, ji mezinan û biçûkan û meʾmûrêt ḥukûmetê, her cîyê Muḥemmed Efendî Mûsilî ḥazir bûba digotin, "yazix." Digel wî xeberî Muḥemmed

the ears of all mankind as long as the world lasts." The woman said, "We shall do however you consider best." Sofi said, "The hafiz is blind, he can see nothing. I shall hide myself in a corner of the house. Let him come. Say to him, 'Come, let us enjoy ourselves.' Thereafter I know how to deal with him."

In short, the little woman called to the hafiz, saying, "I am ready. Undo the 225
cord of your trousers so that we can enjoy ourselves. There is nobody here, I have shut the door." The hafiz was so happy, his desire so aroused, that no sense remained in his brain. Quickly he undid his trouser-cord and approached the little woman. Sofi slowly approached the hafiz with a rasor in his hand, which he struck at the hafiz' penis, cutting it off at the base. The hafiz began to shout. Sofi said to his wife, "Open the door, let him out. That is enough punishment for him." The hafiz went out into the courtyard of the mosque shouting and crying, blood streaming from his wound. People all collected, zaptiehs came and they took the hafiz and Sofi and his wife and the hafiz' penis to the government offices. They wrapped the hafiz' penis in a piece of white cloth and put it into a box. The hafiz they treated until he was healed, then they sent all three to Mosul. When the matter was investigated they opened up the box. Many ladies of Mosul came to see and said, in Turkish, "What a pity about this penis, how big it is."

The hafiz said, "Sofi and his wife did this to me to consume my money. They 226
have taken more than a hundred liras of my money." Sofi said, "We haven't seen his money. We don't know whether he has any money or not. I came and he had caught my wife and was attempting an abominable act. I did this in my ardour. Now the exalted government may command. If they pardon me or kill me I am content." They informed Istanbul. The answer came, "Proof of this matter is impossible either by religious or statute law, since the hafiz' penis is proof that it was cut off, but not evidence of an attempted abominable act. Give him one lira a month pension. And since apparently, according to what the people of Erbil say, Sofi Ahmad is not a man of lies, let him be pardoned and go to his home." In that way they were given satisfaction and their affair was decided.

When I said, 'The ladies of Mosul came to look and spoke thus,' Muhammad 227
Effendi of Mosul was angry. He said to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq, 'This is just a lie. Never have the ladies of Mosul spoken thus. Probably the ladies of the Turks said these words, but Mullah Sa'id says that the ladies of the Mosulites said this because of me.' I said, 'I don't know how the truth was, but I tell it as I have heard it.'

Muhammad Effendi of Kharput was a joker. He told this story in every assem- 228
bly so that Muhammad Effendi of Mosul would be angry. Finally it came into the mouths of the people of Nehri, of adults and children and government officials. Wherever Muhammad Effendi of Mosul might be present they used to say,

Efendî sil dibû, cûn didan, radibû, diçû. Hindekan bi wechê ṣuḥbet kaẋez diniwîsî, "yazix," didana ser derazîna xanîyê wî. Wextê didît cûn didan. *Āxiru-l-amr*[1] istiʿfa kir, çû Mûsilê. Li wê derê jî noke dibêjine wî "yazix efendî".[2] *Wesselam*.

1 In Arabic, *at the end*.
2 In Turkish, for "yazık efendi".

'A pity.' At that word Muhammad Effendi would get angry and curse, and get up and go. Some, by way of a joke, used to write 'A pity' on a paper and put it on the threshold of his house. When he saw it he would curse. Finally he resigned and went to Mosul. There too they now call him 'A pity Effendi'.

XXXV

Ḥekayêta Mirowê Kore w Du Feqîyan

229 Carekê du feqî ji Rewandizê diçûne Ḥewlêrê bo xundinê. Li rêkê gehiştine mirowekî kore, hindek caran pişt rê dikewît, hindek caran ber rê, gelek bi eziyet dihat. Feqîyan jî gotin, "em dê suḥbetekê bi wî korey keyn ka dê çi ket." Feqîyek çû pêşîya kore, sîngê xo li sîngê wî da. Feqî got, "ewe kî ye? Ferzen ez kore, min tu nedîtî, ma tu jî kore bûy? Te sîngê xo li sîngê min da, wext bû sîngê min tebiqî." Feqîyê dî gazî kir, "ew çi bû?" Cewab da, "em di kore-yne. Mirowekî biçaw ji wê we hat, sîngê xo li sîngê min da, wext bû ez kuştî. Xozî me zanîba ewe kî ye ho bêinṣaf, qet reḥm bi ḥalê me, wan korane, nekir."

230 Wextê mirowê kore zanî ku herdu feqî kore ne, we meşḥûr e dibêjin kore zor biṭemaʿ û zor ẓalim in, gote feqîyan, "bo çî bê edeb diaxiwin, dibêjine min bêinṣaf? Serê min di ber xo da bû, min hung nedîtin ḥeta min serê xo rakir û min hung dîtin, weto qewimî sîngê min li sîngê te kewt. Êdî bo çî bê edeb diaxiwî? Noke cezayê hingo ew e, hingo di bin daran da bimirînim, ema dîsa reḥmê bi ḥalê hingo dikem, hingo nakutim. Belê cezayê bêedebî w ʿezmandirêjîya hingo ewe ye hingo bişelînim, da çu car dî wan ṭerze bêedebîyane neken. Bizanin, ez xulamê mîrê Şeqlawê me. Rojê deh kesan zêdetir dişelînim û dikujim, belê hingo nakujim. Zû bin, cente w şure-mureyê xo herçî heye danên û herine ser rêka xo. Êdî dirêj kirin fayde nîye."

231 Feqîyan gotin, "bo xatira Xudê dest ji me bikêşe, me nezanî, qusûra me ʿefû bike. Te bi serê mîrê Şeqlawê dideyne sûndê, wê carê bêedebîya ma bibexşe. Me tewbe, carekê dî bêedebî derheq çu kes nakeyn, xasma zatêt wekî cenabê te. Em feqî ne, *ṭalibu-l-ʿilm*[1] în. Xudê di Qurʾanê da fermoye, '*innallāha* ⟨*huwa*⟩ *yaqbalu at-tawbata ʿan ʿibādihi*',[2] yeʿnî, Xudê qebûl diket tewbe ji bendeyêt xo, we pêxember fermoye, '*at-tāʾibu mina-ḏ-ḏanbi ka man lā ḏanba lahu*',[3] yeʿnî, tewbekar ji gunahî wekî wî kesî ye çu gunah bo wî nebît."

232 Kore got, "ayet-mayet, hedîs-medîs lazim nîne. Bes dirêj ken, egerne min çeqmaqa Sarimê siwar kiriye, derê wê daye ser memikê çepê hingo, eger zû neşeliyên êdî kuştin e, çî dî nîye. Zû bin, direng e, zêdetir bi gotinêt piṛ-û-pûç kerbêt min nekenewe. Bes e." Wextê feqîyan zanîn bi çi ṭerzan hîwîya wan qebûl naket, gotine kore, "ewe em cente w tiştêt xo dideyn, belê em dê duʿayekî ji Xudê xazîn, eger em ḥeq bîn tola me biketewe, egerne tiştê me bo te ḥelal bît." Kore

1 In Arabic, *seekers of knowledge*.
2 In Arabic.
3 In Arabic.

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XXXV

The Blind Man and the Two Students

Once two theological students from Rawandiz were going to Erbil to study. On 229
the way they came upon a blind man coming along with great difficulty, sometimes wandering off the road, sometimes on it. The students said, 'We'll play a joke on this blind man to see what he does.' One student went up to the blind man and bumped straight into him. The student said, 'Who is that? Even if I am blind and didn't see you, have you become blind too? You bumped your chest straight into mine and my chest was nearly shattered.' The other student called out, 'What's happened?' He answered, 'We are blind. A sighted man came from that direction and bumped straight into me and nearly killed me. If only we knew who it was, so unjust that he had no mercy on us poor blind men.'

When the blind man learnt that both the students were blind—and it is well 230
known that blind men are said to be very greedy and oppressive—he said to the students, 'Why do you speak so rudely, calling me merciless? I was looking down and I didn't see you until I raised my head and saw you. That's how I bumped straight into you. So why do you speak rudely? Now your punishment is this, that I should beat you to death with sticks, but I shall have mercy on your condition, I won't hit you; but the punishment for your rudeness and insolence is that I should strip you, so that you aren't ever so rude again. Know that I am a servant of the Mir of Shaqlawa. Every day I strip and kill more than ten people, but I won't kill you. Hurry up, put your satchels and all your stuff down and go your way. There is no point in arguing.'

The students said, 'For God's sake leave us alone, we didn't know. Forgive our 231
fault. We conjure you by the head of the Mir of Shaqlawa, forgive our rudeness this time. We repent and will never be rude to anybody again, especially to such persons as your honour. We are students, seekers of knowledge. God has said in the Koran, "God accepts repentance from His servants," and the Prophet has said, "He who repents of sin is like him who has no sin."'

The blind man said, 'There is no need for scriptures and traditions and what 232
not. Don't carry on, otherwise I've cocked my Sarima flintlock and its muzzle is pointed at your left breast, and if you don't strip quickly it will be killing and nothing else. Hurry up, it's late, so don't make me angry with talking any more nonsense. That's enough.' When the students realised that he would not accept their request on any account they said to the blind man, 'Then we'll give up our satchels and things, but we shall pray to God to avenge us if we are in the right, and if we are not then our things are yours.' The blind man said, 'I've stripped a

got, “min ṣed kesê ji hingo saliḥtir şelandine w çûne w noke jî diçin. Hung jî bişeliyên, paşî çi diken biken.” Feqîyan hemî tiştêt xo danan. Kore bi destkutan hêdî hêdî hat, gehişte tiştêt feqîyan, hemî lêk bestin, kirine têle, dane pişta xo, hêdî hêdî kewte rê.

233 Feqîyan her yêkî xiṛeberek tejî destê xo helgirt, gotin, “ya Ellah, ya Rebbê hemî ʿalemê, em wan du xiṛeberane bilind dikeyne layê ʿesmanî eger em naḥeq bîn xora biçin û eger em ḥeq bîn her yêk li ṭenişteki wî ẓalimey bikewît.” Feqî hêdî nêzîkî kore bûn. Her yêkî berê xo li ṭenişteki da, belê weto lê nedan zor biêşît. Kore got, “duʿa hingo qebûl nebû.” Dest kir bi kenîyê.

234 Dîsa her feqîyekî xiṛeberekî dî helgirt. Duʿa kirin, “ya Ellah, wê carê yêk li sîngê wî bikewît, yêk li pişta wî.” Herdu her wêkra li wî kewtin. Pîçek ji cara pêşî zêdetir êşa, ema deng nekir û negot, “duʿa hingo qebûl.” Guhê xo da xo, bêdeng rawesta, got, “da bizanim ka wê carê dê çawa bit.” Dîsa feqîyan xiṛeber helgirtin, gotin, “ya ilahel ʿalemîn, tu dizanî em kore-yne, feqîr în, me tewbe ji hemî gunahan. Hîwî dikeyn wê carê duʿa me qebûl bikey, wan xiṛeberane weto li hêstikê pişta wî bidey ku qorî biket û bikewît.” Herçend kore xo newî kir û xo bi ʿerdî we nûsand emma fayde nekir. Ḥeta quwwet hebûn herdu xiṛeber weto li hêstikê pişta kore dan.

235 Kore kewt, kire qorî, “hey, bo xatira Xudê w pêxemberan. Min xelet kir, min tewbe. Wellah, ez kore me, hung biçaw. Destê min bi demana hingo, min nekujin. Min gelek bêedebî kir. Hung noke “emel biken ji wan ayet û ḥedîsan ku hingo bo min gotin û min guh neda wan. Noke hung çi digel min biken ḥeqê hingo heye.” Feqîyan gotin, “êdî bes e, emîn be. Çî dî digel te nakeyn û em ji gotina ayet û ḥedîsan naderkewîn.”

236 Belê, da bizanî gelek kore hene xo biçaw dizanin û yêt biçaw kore, ḥeta digene belayê, paşî hişyar dibin û tewbe diken. *Wesselam*.

hundred people more pious than you, and they have gone off and are still going. You strip too, then do what you will.' The students put all their things down. The blind man came up, feeling his way, reached the students' things, tied them all together, made them into a bundle, put them on his back and set off slowly on his way.

The students each picked up a round stone big enough to fill his hand and 233
they said, 'O God, Lord of all the world, we shall throw these two stones up to heaven. If we are in the wrong let them go in vain, and if we are in the right let each one fall on one side of this tyrant.' The students came quietly up to the blind man. Each one struck him on one side with his stone, but not so that it would hurt much. The blind man said, 'Your prayer wasn't accepted.' He began to laugh.

Again each student picked up another stone. They prayed, 'O God, this time 234
let one fall on his chest and one on his back.' Both stones struck him together. It hurt a bit more than the previous time but he made no sound and did not say, 'Your prayer has been accepted.' He listened attentively, standing silently, and said (to himself), 'Let's see how it will be this time.' Again the students picked up stones and said, 'O Lord of the worlds, Thou knowest that we are blind and poor, that we have repented of all sins. We hope that this time Thou wilt accept our prayer and so strike his backbone with these stones that he will shout and fall down.' However much the blind man crouched and clung to the earth it was pointless. They struck the blind man's backbone with both stones with all the strength they had.

The blind man fell, shouting, 'Oh, for the sake of God and the prophets. I 235
made a mistake, I repent. By God, I am blind and you are sighted. I beseech you, don't kill me. I was very rude. Now you act by those scriptures and traditions you quoted to me, and I wouldn't listen to. Now it is your right to do with me what you will.' The students said, 'That's enough, you can go in safety. We won't do any more to you. We don't go beyond what the scriptures and the traditions enjoin.'

Yes, you should know that there are many blind men who consider them- 236
selves sighted, and sighted (men who are) blind, until they come to some misfortune, then they come to their senses and repent.

XXXVI

Ḥekayêta Mirowekî ji ʻEşîreta Motkî

237 ʻEşîretek heye di wilayeta Bidlîsê da, dibêjinê Motkî. Milletê wan bêaqil in, serserkî ne, wekî dîna ne. Nawê mezinê wan, Mam Gurd dibêjinê. Sala Sultan Ḥemîd hatîye ʻezl kirin li naw xelkî dihate gotin, Meḥmûd Şewket Paşa ṣed hizar ʻesker û çarṣed ṭop ji Selanîkê digel xo înan, hate Istembol, şer kir. Sultan Ḥemîd ji textî înane xar. Her kesê terefdarê wî bû ʻezl kirin, hindek kuştin, hindek nefî kirin. Hotowe ḥekayêt digêṛanewe.

238 Paşî mirowekî got, "ez nizanim bo çî Sultan Ḥemîd hinde bêaqil e. Wextê li wî bû ṭengawî bo çî hewar nehinar bo nik Mam Gurd? Em de[1] hizar mêr da di hewara wî çîn, paşî Meḥmûd Şewket⟨ê⟩ ṭiṛken da çi peyn belaw ket? Eger hewar jî nedihinar bila rast rêka xo girtiba, hatiba mala Mam Gurd. Kê ḥed hebû ji qirşekî ḥeta pûşekî tiştekî bêjîte wî? Paşî eger Meḥmûd Şewket xo bizawtiba hinde pêna da li pişta wî dem ku li bin xo rîtiba."

239 Cendirmeyek bo xerc standinê hatibû mala Mam Gurd, ew jî ḥazir bû. Wextê mirowê Motkî we digot wî cendirmey gote wî mirowî, "kuro, tu bo çî we dibêjî? Walî bizanît dê te seqet ket, belko iḥtimal e te helawîsît. Hişyar be, neku carekî dî wan xeberane bêjî." Mirowê Motkî got, "çî çî çî?! Dewlet serê Mam Gurd, min çi minnet bi walîyê te heye? Ez hebca nizanim ew heye yan nîye. Serê Mam Gurd bo me sax bît, ṣed kerêt wekî te w walîyê te dê wekî ṣa[2] dirînin. Eger tu qewî sil î, here, awa sar pawêje gunêt xo, here, biṛî, were gûyê xo bi zile w şimaq."

240 Cendirme dest da tifenga xo ku rabît, şerî biket, ema hindek dî ji xelkê layde li wê derê hebûn, nehêlan. Gotine cendirmey, "raweste, ferz ew dîn, xo tu dîn nîy. Em hemî ḥalê milletê Motkî dizanîn çawa ne. Li nik wan we ye ku çu kes di dunyayê da neşête Mam Gurd. Jê geṛê. Çi dibêjît, bila bêjît, guh nedê. Tu jî tebay xelkî bo xo pê bikene." Bi hizar weʻz û nesîḥet herdu jêk wekirin, pêk înan, rûniştin.

1 Read: *deh*.
2 Read: *ṣeya*(*n*)

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XXXVI

The Tale of a Man of the Motki Tribe

There is a tribe in the province of Bitlis they call Motki. Its people are stupid, 237
impetuous, like idiots. The name of their leader—they call him Mam Gurd. The year Sultan Hamid was deposed it was said amongst the people, 'Mahmud Shevket Pasha brought 100,000 soldiers and 400 guns with him from Salonika,[3] came to Istanbul and did battle. They deposed Sultan Hamid from the throne. Whoever was his protagonist was deposed, some were killed, some banished.' In this way they told the story.

Then a man said, 'I do not know why Sultan Hamid is so stupid. When he was 238
in trouble why did he not send to Mam Gurd for help? We 10,000 men would have gone to his assistance, then what dung would that puffed up Mahmud Shevket spread? If he did not (want to) send for help he should have set out straight away and come to Mam Gurd's house. Then who would have dared to say anything to him? Then if Mahmud Shevket had budged I would have given him so many kicks in the back that he would have fouled himself.'

A zaptieh had come to the house of Mam Gurd to collect taxes and he too 239
was present. When the Motki man spoke thus the zaptieh said to the man, 'Why do you speak thus, lad? If the Governor learns (of it) he will have you maimed, indeed he will probably hang you. Take care you do not say those things again.' The Motki man said, 'What, what? Thanks to Mam Gurd, what obligation have I towards your Governor? I have no idea at all whether he exists or not. So long as Mam Gurd is spared for us we shall rend a hundred donkeys like you and your Governor like dogs. If you are very upset go and throw cold water on your testicles, go and relieve yourself, (then) come and slap your own dung.'

The zaptieh seized his gun to get up and fight but some people from round 240
about were there and they did not let him. They said to the zaptieh, 'Stop. Supposing he is mad, you are not. We all know about the Motki people, how it is with them. They consider that nobody in the world is equal to Mam Gurd. Let him be. Let him say what he likes, do not listen to him. Laugh, like everybody else.' With a thousand homilies they separated them both, reconciled them and sat down again.

3 Thessaloniki.

XXXVII

Ḥekayeta Rizgînê Rêgir, Lawê Nemerd, Kalê Merd

241 Sê-çar sal pêş noke li nêzîkêt Diyarbekrê mirowekî eşqî, rêgir, mêrçak hebû, Rizgîn digotinê. Xulamekî wî rojekê bo me ḥekayetêt ḥalê baxê xo dikir. Digot, "em carekê çûbûyne rêgirîyê, me peẓek dizîbû, li şîwikekê me bi xo dibiraşt. Em çil xulam digel mam Rizgo da bûyn. Mamê Rizgo çû serê girî, bi dûrbînê temaşay deştê kir, dît lawekî taze li serê deştê derkewt. *Martîn*ekî telîʿe, reş wekî çawê mambizî, bi mil we bû, du rext fîşengêt karxane, her rextekî pênce fîşeng têda, yêk pişta xo bestî, yêk ber pîlê xo danay, ṣola Diyarbekrê di pê da, pestekê Geremûsê di ber da, ranî-bergûzêt Dihê ber da, çefî w ʿekalêt Mûsilê li serî. Destê xo biribû bineguha xo, lawje digot, şa bi ṣepanê xo ḥisab nedikir.

242 Mamê Rizgo got, "gelî xulaman, ew mirowe yan gele mêrçak e yan eḥmeq e. Yêk herine pêşîya wî, bişelînin," çunko ʿedetê me ye yêk dibît biçîte pêşîya yêkî, şirîk dê seyrê ken. Ewcar yêk çû, gazî kirê, "ho lo lo!" Cewab da, "ho lo lo!" Gotê, "tifenga xo danê, rextan danê ser, ṣolêt ⟨xo⟩ ji pê ke, pestek û ranî-bergûz û çefî-ʿekalan[1] danê, here, bi xêr biçî." Gotê, "zor baş e, kiras û derpîyan jî danêm, yan ne?" Gotê, "ne, ew bila xatira te bin." Hemî şure-murêt wî înan, danane pêş mamê Rizgo.

243 Dîsa Mam Rizgo dûrbîn hawête deştê, dît pîremêrek têt, kerek li berayîkê hêdî hêdî dihajot, ʿebayekî kewn hawêtibû ser milê xo, şîrek û meṭalek di ber

1 More commonly found as "*kefî û ʿegal*". They are not used in Shamdinan dialect; Mullah Sa'id's spelling may thus be impressionistic or representative of another dialect he has been in contact with.

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XXXVII

Rizgin the Highwayman, the Cowardly Youth and the Brave Old Man

Three or four yean ago in the vicinity of Diyarbakir there lived an outlaw, a brave 241
highwayman called Rizgin.[2] One day one of his henchmen was telling us stories of his master. He said, 'Once we had gone to rob on the high road, we had stolen a sheep and were roasting it for ourselves in a gorge. We were forty men with Mam Rizgo. Mam Rizgo went to the top of a hillock and scanned the plain with his glasses. He saw a likely lad appear across the plain. He had a scout's Martini rifle over his shoulder, black as a gazelle's eye, with two bandoliers of factory-made cartridges, each containing fifty rounds, one tied on his back and one across his shoulder, wearing Diyarbakir shoes on his feet, a felt waistcoat from Garamus[3] and an embroidered jacket and trousers from Dih[4] and a kerchief and bands from Mosul on his head. He was holding his hand under his ear (loudly) singing a song, and not counting the Shah worthy to be a hired reaper for him.

Mam Razgo said, "Men, this man is either very brave or else a fool. One of 242
you go and strip him," for it is our custom for one man to take on one, while his companions look on. So one man went and called to him, "Ho lo lo!" He answered, "Ho lo lo!" He said to him, "Put down your gun, your bandoliers on top of it, take off your shoes, put down your waistcoat, jacket and trousers and kerchief and bands and be off, farewell." He said, "Very well, should I put down my shirt and drawers as well, or not?" He said, "No, let them be for your sake." He brought all his things and laid them before Mam Rizgo.

Again Mam Rizgo scanned the plain with his glasses and saw an old man 243
coming, slowly driving a donkey before him, with an old cloak thrown over his

2 MacKenzie transcribed Razgin, probably in connection to the word *raz* "garden", but the name in Kurdish is Rizgin (Rizgîn). Since no manuscript copies of this text remain, it is not possible to verify the exact spelling.

3 There are multiple places with this name in Kurdistan, but most likely the reference is to a well-known village of Beshabab (Tr. Beytüşebap), today inhabited by Artushi Kurdish tribe.

4 Dih (Turkish: Eruh), 30 miles due north of Jizra, was the home of a community of Armenian weavers producing the finest homespun woollen cloth. After the First World War they emigrated to Zakho, where (in 1955), entirely Kurdish-speaking, they inhabited one quarter of the town.

xo danay, her "wuşewuş" li kerê xo dikir. Mamê Rizgo got, "yêk herin, wî jî bişelînin." Yêk çû, gazî kirê, "ho lo lo!" Cewab da, "ho lo lo! quzulqurt, jehremar, hung wekî ṣa li wan derane çi diken?" Xulam gotê, "dirêj neke, kerê xo bihêle w ʿebay û şîr û meṭalî, here, rûḥa xo xilas ke." Gotê, "te kengî dêle dayka xo bo min înaye, ez wane nextê wê bideme te?" Xulamî fîşeng li tifengê da, derê tifengê rast kire mamê kal, ema mamê kal hind muhlet neda, şîrê xo kêşa, hucûm kire ser xulamî, nehêla xulam tifenga xo agir det. Geheşte ser, xulam ḥelat. Mamê kal ridîna xo kire dewê xo, ser dû na, her weto ḥeta nêzîkî şîwikê bûn. Xulam hat bo naw me, mamê kal hate ser girî. Me qesd kir biçîne hewara şirîkê xo. Mamê Rizgo nehêla, got, "qebûl nakem." Mamê Rizgo gazî kirê, "ho mamê kal, were, digel me kebaba bixo." Got, "ez digel ṣa naçime ser keleşê mirar." Dîsa xulaman gotin, "aẋa, da biçînê, ewî hetika me bir." Mamê Rizgo dîsa got, "qebûl nakem."

244 Dîsa Mamê Rizgo gazî kirê, "were, mamê kal, bextê Xudê w pêẋemberan bo te." Mamê kal got, "ewe hatim, da nebêjin newêra." Hat, şîrê wî rûs di destî da, beramberî Mamê Rizgo li ser çokekî xo rûnişt, gotê, "dê, bêje, te çi şol heye? Ez bi lez im, dê çime ser rêka xo." Gotê, "kebaba bixo, paşî dê bêjime te." Dest bi kebab xarinê kir. Wextê kebabêt xo xarin Mamê Rizgo çend tiştêt ji lawê nemerd standibûn hemî dane wî w ji nik xo ra jî xencerek xelat da mamê kal, gotê, "here, bi xêr biçî, tu li ser çawêt me hatî. Te ḥelal bin ew tiştene, bo te layîq in, te pîroz bin." *Wesselam*.

shoulder, wearing a sword and shield and urging his donkey, "Woosh, woosh," the while. Mam Rizgo said, "One of you go and strip him too." One man went and called to him, "Ho lo lo!" He retorted, "Ho lo lo! red worms and snakes venom (afflict you). What are you doing here like dogs?" Our man said to him, "That's enough, leave your donkey and cloak and sword and shield and be off, save your life." He said to him, "When have you brought me your bitch of a mother that I should give you these as a bride-price for her?" Our man loaded his rifle and pointed it at the old man, but the old fellow didn't give him the chance, but drew his sword and went for him, not letting him fire his rifle. He came up to him and our man fled. The old fellow put his beard in his mouth and chased him in this way until they reached the gorge. Our man came among us and the old fellow came on top of the hill. We intended to go to the help of our comrade. Mam Rizgo would not allow it and said so. Mam Rizgo called to him, "Ho, old fellow, come and eat kebabs with us." He said, "I don't go to a carcase of carrion with dogs." Again we henchmen said, "Agha, let us go for him, he has disgraced us." Mam Rizgo again said, "I won't permit it."

Again Mam Rizgo called to him, "Come, old fellow, the fortune of God and 244
the Prophets to you." The old fellow said, "Here I've come, so that you shan't say I daren't." He came, with his naked sword in his hand and squatted on one knee in front of Mam Rizgo and said, "Well, say on, what do you want? I'm in a hurry and shall go on my way." He said, "Eat some kebabs, then I'll tell you." He began to eat kebabs. When he had eaten his kebabs Mam Rizgo gave him all the things which had been taken from the cowardly youth and added a dagger as a present from himself, saying, "Go, farewell! We were very pleased to have met you. It is right for you to take these things, and they befit you, may they be fortunate for you."'

XXXVIII

Ḥekayêta Muwezzinê Kerbelayê

245 Pêş zemanê Nadir Şah milletê Îranê gelek derheq Ebû Bekr û ʿUmer û ʿUsman ʿezmandirêjî dikirin. Muwezzinan li ser minaran leʿnet û cûnêt kirêt digotine her sê îmaman. Wextê Nadir Şah li ser textê şahîyê rûnişt hemî milletê Îranê ji wî ʿadetê kirêt menʿ kir. Gote milletî, "em Ceʿferî-mezheb ku xo bi Şîʿe w tabiʿêt ʿElî w muḥibê dwazde imaman dizanin, lazim e mulaḥeze bikeyn aya pêẋember yan yêkî ji dwazde imaman gotiye cûn dan, leʿnet kirin bo wan xêr e, yan negotiye. Em ne di Qurʾanê da w ne di ḥedîsan da nabînîn ku cûn dan bo wan xêr e. Bes ew ʿadete çak nîye. Ez qebûl nakem, dibît terk ken."

246 Çunko daimî li nik kurtbînan ʿadetê bab û bapîran, bila kirêt û dûr ji tebʿê selîm û ʿeqlê musteqîm bît, dîsa meqbûl û şirîntir e ji gotina Xudê w pêẋemberan ku muxalifî ʿadetê wan bît, sebeb wihê temam milletê Îranê di dilê xo da ji Nadir Şah ʿaciz bûn, tedbîra kuştina wî kirin, ḥeta dûmayê dane kuştin.

247 Wextê Nadir Şah ew ḥukme kir li her cîyekî ew ʿadet hate terk kirin, ema cenabê muctehid⟨ê⟩ Kerbelayê qebûl nekir. Got, "li Kerbelayê ewe bimînît, da meḥebbeta ʿElî w buẋza Ebû Bekr û ʿUmer û ʿUsman ji qelbê ehl-i Şîʿe dernekewît." Çunko Kerbela li nik Şîʿe gelek muqeddes û muḥterem e Nadir Şah got, "ez ʿelaqey Kerbelayê nakem. Bila wê derê bi keyfa xo bin."

248 Muwezzinê Kerbelayê li ser emrê cenabê aqaê[1] muctehid, *qarrasa-llāhu asnānahu wa harrasa-llāhu lisānahu*,[2] zêdetir derheq imaman ʿezmandirêjî kir. Wî wextî çar derwêş, kurdêt gundê Pawe, xo kirine seyîd, çûne terefê Beẋdayê w

1 A Persian rendering of *aẋa* "lord, sir".

2 In Arabic, *may God numb his teeth and bruise his tongue*.

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XXXVIII

The Story of the Muezzin of Karbala

Before the time of Nadir[3] Shah the people of Iran used to abuse Abu Bakr and 245
Umar and Usman greatly.[4] The muezzins used to cry foul curses and abuse against all three Imams from the minarets. When Nadir Shah ascended the throne of kingship he prohibited this ugly custom for all the people of Iran. He said to the people, 'We of the Ja'fari sect, who consider ourselves the party and followers of Ali and lovers of the twelve Imams, must consider whether the Prophet or any one of the twelve Imams, has said that abusing and cursing them is a good deed, or not. Neither in the Koran nor in the traditions do we see that abusing them is a good deed. So this custom is not a good one. I do not accept it and you must abandon it.'

Since among the short-sighted the customs of their ancestors, even when 246
they are ugly and far removed from good nature and sense, are nevertheless always more acceptable and sweeter than the word of God and the Prophets which are against their customs, for this reason all the people of Iran were angry with Nadir Shah in their hearts and planned to kill him, till they finally caused him to be killed.

When Nadir Shah made this command the custom was abandoned every- 247
where, but his honour the Mujtahid[5] of Karbala did not accept this. He said, 'In Karbala let it remain. Let not the love of Ali and hatred of Abu Bakr and Umar and Usman leave the hearts of the Shiah.' Since Karbala is very holy and sacred to the Shiah, Nadir Shah said, 'I have no interest in Karbala. Let them do what they like there.'

The muezzin of Karbala, on the orders of his honour the Mujtahid—may 248
God numb his teeth and bruise his tongue—abused the Imams even more. Then four dervishes, Kurds from the village of Pawa,[6] made themselves out to be Sayyids, and set out for Baghdad and Karbala to get themselves some

3 Also spelled as "Nader".

4 Shiite Muslims do not recognise the first three Sunnite successors of the Prophet Muhammad, the caliphs Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman. Nadir Shah, 1736–1747 (here represented as a Ja'fari, i.e. "Twelver Shiite", follower of the sixth Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq), succeeding the Shiite Safavid dynasty, in fact favoured the Sunnis.

5 The leading Shiite dignitary.

6 Pawa is a district in the Avroman (Hawrāmān) region of Iranian Kurdistan, some 60 miles south-east of Sulaimania.

Kerbelayê bo xo bi ḥîleyekê pare peyda biken. Çûne Kerbelayê, dîtin muwezzin xeberêt pîs dibêjît. Wan jî li naw xo tedbîra zerbekî kirin ku li wî muwezzinî biden. Çûne ḥuzûra muctehid, gotin, "em ji Silêmaniyê hatîne bo ṭewafa merqedê muberekê ḥezretê Imam Ḥuseyn û bo ziyaret kirina destê meymenet-peywestê cenabê aqaê muctehid, çunko me xewnekê zor ʿecîb derheq Imam Ḥuseyn û muctehidê Kerbelayê w muwezzinê Kerbelayê w Nadir Şah dîtiye.

249 Tefsîla xewnê ewe ye. Me her çaran sê şewan li-dû-yêk ho dît ku dibû roja qiyametê. Mexlûqat hemî cema dibûn, hemî bo ḥalê xo digirîn, dikirine qorî, "ya Rebbî, çarey me çi ye? Em çi bikeyn ku ji wê ṭengawîyê xilas bibîn?" Paşî me dît ronaîyek ji ʿesmanî peyda bû, hate hindaw serê mexlûqatî, rawesta. Me temaşe kir, sê kursî hebûn li naw wê ronaîyê. Kursîyek li layê jorê, yêk li layê rastê, yêk li layê çepê bû. Kursîya layê jorê ḥezretê Imam Ḥuseyn li ser rûniştî bû, kursîya layê rastê cenabê muctehid, kursîya layê çepê muwezzin li ser rûniştî bûn. Paşî me dît ʿewrekî reş-ṭarî li bin ronaîyê peyda dibû, zincîrekê asin, gelek stûr, wekî taze ji kûrê înaye der ṣor bû, pirûşk didan, li naw wê ʿewrê hebû, we stukira Nadir Şah bi zincîrê helawîstî bû. Ḥezretê Imam Ḥuseyn digote cimaʿetê, "hung dibînin ḥalê min û ḥurmeta muctehid û muwezzinî lalî min, we hung dibînin stukira Nadirê ẓalim li naw zincîra ṣorkirî. Her kesê tabi'î min bît dê wekî muctehid û muwezzinî lalî min bît. Her kesê tabiʿî Nadirî bît dê wekî Nadirî stukira wî li naw zincîra agirî bît." Em noke hatîne êre da Xudê me ji tabiʿêt ḥezretê Imam Ḥuseyn ḥisêb biket."

250 Wextê derwêşan ewe gotin gelek keyfa muctehid xoş bû. Iʿaneyekî zor bo wan cema kir û gote muwezzin, "cîyê wan bila nêzîkî mizgewta ḥezretê Imam bît." Du-sê şewan man, gotin, "wextê me hat." Wê roja ku da çin, wextê muwezzin bo bangê ṣubeyî çû ser minarê, hêşta çend deqîqe şew mabû, ṭarî bû, derwêşek çû nêzîkî serê minarê, nawê xo dana Ebû Bekr, yêkê dî ji wî pêda nawê xo dana ʿUmer, yê dî pêdatir nawê xo dana ʿUsman, yê dî li binê minarê nawê xo dana ʿElî. Her çar ho rawestan.

251 Wextê ku muwezzin xilas bû, hat ku bihête xarê, Ebû Bekr got, "dê kê we çî? Ez Ebû Bekr im, dê noke te nerm kem li ber metreqan." Xulase helawête ber ẓopan, palek pê ra na, hawête ber ʿUmer. Wî jî wekî Ebû Bekr got û kir, hawête ber ʿUsman. Wî jî çak kuta, hawête ber ʿElî. Got, "ya ʿElî, ya ʿElî, hîwîya min tu yî." ʿElî got, "were, ez pismamê Muḥemmed im. Wan çak tu nekutay. Ez dê noke tola ʿEyşê, jina pismamê xo, ji te wergirim."

money by some trick. They went to Karbala and saw that the muezzin was uttering obscenities. They planned among themselves how to deal that muezzin a blow. They went into the Mujtahid's presence and said, 'We have come from Sulaimaniya to perform the circumambulation of the blessed tomb of the great Imam Husain and to pay our respects to your fortunate and honourable self, for we have seen a most extraordinary dream concerning the Imam Husain and the Mujtahid and the muezzin of Karbala and Nadir Shah.

This was our dream in detail. All four of us, for three nights in succession, dreamt that it was the Day of Resurrection. All creatures were gathered together, weeping for their present state and crying, "O Lord, what must we do to be free from this distress?" Then we saw a light appear from heaven and come down to stay above the heads of the creatures. We saw that there were three thrones in this light. One throne was above, one on the right and one on the left. The great Imam Husain was seated on the upper throne, his honour the Mujtahid was seated on the right-hand throne and the muezzin on the left-hand throne. Then we saw a dark, black cloud appearing beneath the light. In that cloud there was a very thick iron chain, red and sparking as if it had just been brought out of the furnace, and Nadir Shah was hanging from this chain by the neck. The great Imam Husain said to the assembled company, "You see my state and the veneration paid to the Mujtahid and the muezzin beside me, and you see the neck of the tyrant Nadir in the red-hot chain. Whosoever follows me shall be as the Mujtahid and the muezzin beside me. Whosoever follows Nadir shall have his neck in a chain of fire like Nadir." Now we have come here that God may reckon us among the followers of the great Imam Husain.' 249

When the dervishes said this the Mujtahid was delighted. He collected a great deal of alms for them and said to the muezzin, 'Let them lodge near the mosque of the great Imam.' They stayed for two or three nights, then they said, 'Our time has come.' On the day that they should depart, when the muezzin ascended the minaret for the morning call to prayer, there being still some minutes of night left and it was dark, one dervish went near the top of the minaret, calling himself Abu Bakr, another one below him called himself Umar, the other one lower still called himself Osman and the other one at the foot of the minaret called himself Ali. All four stood waiting thus. 250

When the muezzin had finished and came to descend 'Abu Bakr' said, 'Whither away? I am Abu Bakr. Now I'll soften you up a bit with my club.' In short he thrashed him with his stick, gave him a push and threw him down to 'Omar'. He said and did just as Abu Bakr had done and threw him down to 'Osman'. He beat him well too and threw him down to 'Ali'. He said, 'O Ali, Ali, you are my (only) hope.' 'Ali' said, 'Come, I am Muhammad's cousin. They did not beat you well enough. Now I shall avenge Aisha, wife of my cousin (Muhammad, and daughter of Abu Bakr).' 251

252 Xulase hindî kire qorî fayde neda, weto kuta ḥeta ji ʿezman kewt, nehiş bû, erzingêt mirinê dan. Wê saʿetê her çar derwêşêt Paweyî ḥelatin, pareyê xo înan û gelek tiştêt zêr û zîw ji mizgewt û gumbetê Imam Ḥuseyn birin, çûne welatê xo. Muwezzin weto hêlan. Ma ḥeta roj helat. Xelk hat, dîtin muwezzin bûye ṭerm. Hatine hindawê serê wî, gotine wî, "ewe ḥalê te çi bû?" Bi her ṭerzê bû bi işaret got, "Ebû Bekr ez hingawtim." Gotine wî, "ew bi tinê, tu bi tinê, çawa tu hingawtî?" Got, "ʿUmer û ʿUsman jî digel bûn." Gotine wî, "te bo çî gazî ʿElî nekir da hatiba harî te?" Hawrîya xo wergêṛa, got, "bes digel min biaxiwin. Awê bidene min, ez dê mirim. Qurumsax ʿElî ez heṛişandim." Xulase pîçek aw xarewe, mir, temam bû. *Wesselam*.

In short, however much he shouted it was of no avail. He beat him until he 252
could no longer speak and fell unconscious, groaning like a dying man. Then all four of the Pawai dervishes fled, took their money and carried off many things of gold and silver from the mosque and the dome of the Imam Husain, and went to their own country. They left the muezzin in this way and there he stayed until the sun rose. People came and saw the muezzin's lifeless body. They came to him and said to him, 'What has happened to you?' However it was, he managed to tell them by signs, 'Abu Bakr beat me.' They said, 'If both he and you were alone how could he beat you?' He said, 'Omar and Osman were with him too.' They said to him, 'Why didn't you call Ali, he could have come to your aid?' He looked round at them and said, 'Do not talk to me any more. Give me water, I am dying. Ali, the pimp, knocked me to pieces.' In short, he drank a little water and died.

XXXIX

Ḥekayêta Derwêşê Kurdê Silêmanî w Muctehidê Kerbelayê

253 Deh sal pêş noke Derwêş ʿElî hebû li bajêrê Silêmanîyê, kêm tiştek ji ʿilm û farsî xundibû, emma mirowekî zîrek û têgeştî bû. Gelek caran digel melayêt çak jî cedele w axiwtin dikir. Şola wî daymî geriyan bû. Diçû Beẋdayê, Kerkûkê, Hewlêrê, Mûsilê, bo xo tişt ji dewletmendan dixast, ʿeyalê xo bi wî ṭerzî bi xudan dikir. Carekê got, "dê çime Kerbelayê. Egerçî şîʿe ne, emma nawê min li wê derê jî meşhûr e. Mumkin e ku ji ber xatira ziyaret kirina merqedê Imam Ḥuseyn bo min *bareyekî[1] baş biken."

254 Xulase çû Kerbelayê. Çû ḥuzura Muctehid, izhara ixlas û meḥebbeta Imam Ḥuseyn kir. Muctehid gote wî "beḥsê qabiliyet û zîrekîya te li naw me jî meʿlûm e. Hîç ʿeyb û kêmasî te nîye, feqet tiştek ʿeyba te heye. Eger ew jî *nebî[2] êdî yêt wekî te nedibûn." Derwêş ʿElî got, "ʿeyba min çi ye? Eger mumkin bît bo xatira cenabê Muctehid dê hêlim." Muctehid got, "belê, mumkin e w gelek bi senayî ye." Derwêş ʿElî got, "çawa mumkin e?" Muctehid got, "tu sunnî-y. Were, bibe şîʿe."

255 Derwêş ʿElî got, "belê, bi dew bi senayî ye bêjim ez bûme şîʿe, ema ji mezhebê xo çûn bo mezhebekî dî bê delîlekî muḥkem û aşkera mumkin nîye dil bawir biket. Noke ez gelek memnûn û muteşekkir im cenabê muctehid delîlekî weto bo min bînît dilê min bawir biket ku şîʿetî ḥeqtir e ji sunnîyetî. Hingî elbette bê xahişa cenabê muctehid tebîʿî dê bime şîʿe. Emma pêş wext ez hîwî ji cenabê Muctehid dikem. Eger bi muqtezayê mubaḥese cewabekê nelayîq yan iʿtirazekê kirêt waqiʿ bibît ji bende" ʿaciz nebî w temam azadîya axiwtinê bideye bende." Muctehid got, "elbette di guftugoya mezhebî da zêdetir azadîya kelam lazim e, *wa-illā*[3] ḥeqqanîyet aşkera nabît."

256 Derwêş ʿElî got, "*xūb*,[4] bila cenabê ʿalî bifermot bi çi delîl şîʿetî ḥeqtir e ji sunnîyetî." Muctehid got, "ya ʿElî weliyullah, ya dwazde imam, bi bereketa nawê mubarekê hingo ez guftugoyekê bê teʿeṣṣub û bê meyl-û-ẋerez digel birayê muḥterem Derwêş ʿElî dikem. Umîda min ew e ku bi himmet û bereket û

1 Although contextually the word *bare* should be related to the *bar* and *behr*, both meaning "share, portion", its use as part of a compound verb as *bare kirin* is not attested in Kurdish. Since the manuscript of this text is missing, we cannot check for potential other readings.

2 Expected: *neba*.

3 In Arabic.

4 In Persian.

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XXXIX

The Kurdish Dervish from Sulaimaniya and the Mujtahid of Karbala

Ten years ago there was a dervish named Ali in the town of Sulaimaniya. He 253
had studied (only) a little science and Persian, but he was a clever and intelligent man. Often he used to dispute and discuss with well-educated mullahs. His occupation was constantly wandering. He used to go to Baghdad, Kirkuk, Erbil, Mosul, asking for something for himself from the rich and caring for his family in that way. Once he said (to himself), 'I shall go to Karbala. Although they are Shiites, still my name is well-known there too. It is possible that, for (my) paying homage to the tomb of the Imam Husain, they will give me a good portion.'

In short, he went to Karbala. He went into the presence of the Mujtahid and 254
declared his sincerity and love for the Imam Husain. The Mujtahid said to him, 'Mention of your ability and cleverness is known among us also. You have no fault except one thing. If it were not for that, there would be none like you.' Dervish Ali said, 'What is my fault? If it is possible, I shall abandon it for the sake of his honour the Mujtahid.' The Mujtahid said, 'Yes, it is possible and very easy.' Dervish Ali said, 'How is it possible?' The Mujtahid said, 'You are a Sunnite. Come, become Shiite.'

Dervish Ali said, 'Yes, it is easy for me to say with my mouth that I have 255
become Shiite, but it is not possible for the heart to believe and to go from my own faith to another faith without a firm and evident proof. Now I shall be grateful to his honour the Mujtahid if he brings me such a proof that my heart believes that Shiism is more lawful than Sunnism. Then, without his honour the Mujtahid asking, I shall naturally become Shiite. But first I request of his honour the Mujtahid that, if in the course of the discussion an improper answer or a harsh criticism should occur, he should not be angry with me and will grant me full freedom of speech.' The Mujtahid said, 'Certainly in religious discussion freedom of speech is even more necessary, otherwise the truth will not be revealed.'

Dervish Ali said, 'Well, let your honour please say by what proof Shiism is 256
more lawful than Sunnism.' The Mujtahid said, 'O Ali, Friend of God! O Twelve Imams! With the blessing of your fortunate names I shall have a discussion without fanaticism, disinterestedly and impartially, with our respected brother Dervish Ali. I hope that through your favour and blessing and auspiciousness

meymeneta hingo Derwêş ʿElî dê qebûla mezhebê ḥeq ket. Ya Derwêş ʿElîyê muḥterem, nawê te qewî mubarek e. Hîç şubhe nîye tu dê li dû nawê xo çî. Merteba te dê ʿalî bît. Noke mezhebê şîʿe dibêjinê Ceʿferî çunko li ser gotina Imam Ceʿferê Sadiq ʿemel dikeyn û ruknekî dînê me tewellî w teberrî ye, yeʿnî meḥebbeta dwazde imaman û buẋz û kîn digel dujminêt imaman ewwel şert e bo mezhebê şîʿe. Ewe di mezhebê sunnî da nîye. Egerçî delîl gelek hene li ser efzeliyeta mezhebê şîʿe, emma ewe bi tinê bo yêt wekî te têgeştî ez texmîn dikem kafî ye."

257 Derwêş ʿElî got, "egerçî bêedebî ye, emma bende ʿerzi ḥuzûra aqayê Muctehid diket, ewwel fermode-y cenabê muctehid, "*yā ʿAlī waliyu-llāh*," munasibi meqam nebû, çunko ewwelê kelam nawê Xudê munasib e. Bes çak ewe bû hingo fermoba, "ya Ellah, bi bereketa nawê ʿElî". We fermode-y cenabê Muctehid, "tewellî w teberrî ruknê mezhebê şîʿe ye," eger meqsed ji tewellî meḥebbeta dwazde imaman e, ku zatêt necîb û mutedeyyin û ṣaḥib-ẋîret in û seʿî ne di neşra dînî da, em sunnî jî wihê teṣdîq dikeyn. We eger meqsed ji meḥebbetê îman e bi niyabeta wane bo pêẋember û niyabeta ẋeyrî wan naḥeq e, em sunnî dibêjîn dînê me bi ayet ⟨û⟩ ḥedîsa seḥîḥ sabit e. Ne li Qurʾanê, ne li ḥedîsan me çu delîlêt waziḥ nîne ku neṣṣa qatiʿ bît li ser efzeliyeta imamiyeta dwazdan ji Ebû Bekr û ʿUmer û ʿUsman. Ayetê *ẓāhiru-d-dalālat*[5] nîye. Ḥedîs jî ku mutewatir nebît û *qatʿīyu-d-dalālat*[6] nebît iʿtibar bo nîye di babê îmanê da. Eger hene, bêje." Çunko nebûn, muctehid muʿettel bû. Gelek înan emma neṣṣa serîḥ nebûn di meṭlebê da.

258 "We eger meqsed ji teberrîyê buẋz û kîn bît digel kesê bêjît dwazde imam xirab in *esteẋfirullah* sunnîyan jî ew ṭerze kes xoş newên. We eger meqsed ji teberrîyê buẋz û kîna Ebû Bekr û ʿUmer û ʿUsman bît, em sunnî bê ayet û ḥedîsêt seḥîḥe ne teṣdîqa meḥebbetê w ne teṣdîqa ʿedawetê digel hîç kes nakeyn, xasma emsalê Ebû Bekr û ʿUmer û ʿUsman, ku ẋîreta wan li ser pêẋember gelek hebû. Em çawa dê teberrîyê ji wan keyn? Yan ew dînê Islamê dibît naḥeq bît, yan eger ḥeq e ewane efzal in."

259 Muctehid got, "belê, weto bû. Ebû Bekr, ʿUmer, ʿUsman gelek ẋîret li ser pêẋember û li ser dînê wî kêşan, emma dûmayê derheq ḥezretê ʿElî gelek ẓulm kirin. Niyabeta pêẋember ḥeqê wî bû, belê wan bi xurtî standin. Ma em şîʿe ḥeq nîne teberrîye ji wane bikeyn? Çunko wan bêbextî digel pismamê pêẋember kirin."

5 In Arabic, referring to Koran verses that do not have a straightforward interpretation and as such require exegesis.

6 In Arabic, referring to hadiths/traditions that are most reliable.

Dervish Ali will accept the true faith. O respected Dervish Ali, your name is very blessed. There is no doubt that you will follow your name. Your rank will be high. Now they call the Shiite sect "Ja'fari" because we act according to the words of the Imam Ja'far Sadiq, and one pillar of our religion is "friendship and opposition", that is to say, love of the Twelve Imams and hatred for the enemies of the Imams is the first condition for the Shiite faith. That is not in the Sunnite faith. Although there are several proofs about the superiority of the Shiite faith, that alone is sufficient, I imagine, for such intelligent persons as you.'

Dervish Ali said, 'Although it is impolite, I beg to inform his honour the Mujtahid that his first words, "O Ali, Friend of God," were not in place, because the name of God (alone) is appropriate to the beginning of speech. Thus it would have been good if you had said "O God, with the blessing of the name of Ali." And (as for) his honour the Mujtahid's saying that "friendship and opposition is a pillar of the Shiite faith," if the intention of "friendship" is love of the Twelve Imams, who are noble and pious and zealous persons, diligent in propagating the religion, we Sunnites agree to that. But if the intention of "love" is belief in the (right of) succession to the Prophet of these (persons only), and that the succession of others is unlawful, we Sunnites say that our religion is established by verses (of the Koran) and true Traditions (of the sayings of the Prophet). Neither in the Koran nor in the Traditions are there any manifest proofs which would be decisive evidence for the superiority of the imamhood of the Twelve over Abu Bakr and Umar and Usman. There is no explicit verse. And a Tradition which is neither related by successive witnesses nor of definite meaning cannot be trusted in the matter of faith. If there are, tell (me).' Since there were none the Mujtahid was at a loss. He quoted several, but there was no definite evidence in the matter. 257

'And if the intention of "opposition" is hatred towards a person who says that the Twelve Imams are—God forbid!—bad, the Sunnites also do not like this kind of person. But if the intention of "opposition" is hatred of Abu Bakr and Umar and Usman, we Sunnites do not agree with either love or enmity towards anybody without valid verses and Traditions—especially towards the likes of Abu Bakr and Umar and Osman, whose zeal for the Prophet was great. How shall we oppose them? Either this Islamic religion must be wrong, or if it is right these persons are superior.' 258

The Mujtahid said, 'Yes, it was so. Abu Bakr and Umar and Osman showed much zeal for the Prophet and his religion, but afterwards they practised great tyranny concerning the Lord Ali. The succession to the Prophet was his right, but they took it by force. Are not we Shiites right to oppose them? For they acted dishonourably to the nephew of the Prophet.' 259

260 Derwêş ʿElî got, "hung şîʿe du xeberêt munafî yêkudu dibêjin, çunko hung carekê dibêjin ʿElî şêrê Xudê ye, ji hemî newʿê benî-beşer şecîʿtir û muqtedirtir bû, paşî dibêjin Ebû Bekr, ʿUmer, ʿUsman xurtî li wî kirin. Bes eger ʿElî zanîbît ewane pêştir û ḥeqtir bûn ji wî, lewa sukût kir û razî bû bi niyabeta wan, hingî weto tête zanîn ku wane ẓulm nekirine, belko şolekê di cîyê xo da kirine. Bes lazim têt ewane efzeltir bin ji ʿElî. We eger ʿElî ji tirsê newêrabît defʿa ẓulma wan biket, hingî çawa mumkin e bêjine wî şêrê Xudê? Ji Ebû Bekr bitirsît, ḥeqqanîyetê bezir ket, paşî her weto ji ʿUmer, ʿUsman jî bitirsît, hingî layîqtir nîye bêjine wî rîwîyê Xudê jî? Çi cîyê şêrînîyê? Bes, ya cenabê Muctehid, yan şêrê Xudê rast e, qebûl kirina xurtî w ẓulma her sêyan duro ye, yan xurtî w ẓulma wan rast e, şêrê Xudê duro ye. Kîşkî dihelgirî helgire. Min ixtiyar hawête destê cenabê aqayê Muctehid."

261 Wextê Derwêş ʿElî ho got, cenabê Muctehid *qarrasa-llāhu asnānahu, qawwasa-llāhu ẓahrahu*[7] wekî mirîşkê li bin kelekokî mat û muteḥeyyir û bêdeng bû. Paşî miqdarekî sukûtê Muctehid got, "belê, mumkin e ji ber mesleḥeta wextî ḥezretê ʿElî ẓulma wan qebûl kiribît, *wa-illā* dişiya wan defʿ biket." Derwêş ʿElî got, "şola ḥeq kî bişêt biket û ihmalê w teʾxîrê biket, hingî sefahet e. Ewe cenabê aqayê Muctehid ḥezretê ʿElî zêdetir rezîl û ruswa kir." Muctehid got, "êdî beḥsê ḥezretê ʿElî nakem. Tu delîlan qebûl nakey. Meqsûda te cedele ye. Beḥsê mesʾeleyekê dî dê keyn." Derwêş ʿElî got, "esteẋfirullah çawa bende delîlan qebûl nakem? Meqsûda min cedele nîye, belko temam merama min ewe ye bi delîlekî waziḥ heqqaniyet sabit û aşkera bibît, ema cenabê Muctehid hêşta delîlekî weto neînaye ku biçûkê landikê jî qaniʿ biket. Madam cenabê muctehid ḥez diket beḥsê mesʾeleyekê dî bikeyn, ṣahib-ixtiyar e, bifermon."

262 Muctehid got, "hung sunnî gelek bêinṣaf in. Qelbê hingo gelek req e. Hung qet tazîyê bo Imam Ḥuseynê meẓlûm, şehîdê Kerbelayê, naken, xo nakutin, nagirîn, belê em ehlê şîʿe bo newîyê ḥezretê pêẋember tazîyekê mezin hewya muḥerremê dikeyn. Li nik me yeqîn e Xudê dê me ʿefû ket bo xatira Imam Ḥuseyn, ku dilê me gelek bo wî dişojît."

263 Derwêş ʿElî got, "ewwelen ḥukmê şerʿî bê delîla ayet û ḥedîsa seḥîḥ sabit nabît. Derheq wê tazîyê elbette ayet û ḥedîs nîye, çunko paşî pêẋember waqiʿ bûye, û icmaʿ û qiyas jî nîye, çunko hemî ummet naket û nekiriye jî. Saniyen wihê ʿerzê ḥuzûra aqayê Muctehid dikem: Aya pêẋember mezintir û eşreftir e

7 In Arabic.

Dervish Ali said, 'You Shiites say two incompatible things, for at one time 260
you say that Ali is the Lion of God, braver and mightier than all kinds of men, then you say that Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman used force against him. Now if Ali should have known that these were before him and had more right, and therefore kept silent and acquiesced in their succession, then it becomes clear that they used no tyranny, but rather did something which was in order. Then it necessarily follows that they are superior to Ali. And if Ali out of fear should not have dared to repulse their tyranny, how is it possible that you call him the Lion of God? If he fears Abu Bakr, abandons his right, then in the same way fears Umar and Usman too, isn't it more fitting to call him the Fox of God? What place is there for lionhood? So, your honour the Mujtahid, either Lion of God is true, and accepting the force and tyranny of the other three is false, or their force and tyranny is true and the Lion of God is false. Take whichever you will. I have thrown the choice into the hands of your honour the Mujtahid.'

When Dervish Ali spoke thus, his honour the Mujtahid—may God numb 261
his teeth and bend his back—was still and bewildered and silent like a hen under the cock. After a period of silence the Mujtahid said, 'Yes, it is possible that the Lord Ali may have accepted their tyranny out of expediency, but he could have repulsed them.' Dervish Ali said, 'He who can perform a rightful deed, but neglects and delays it, that is then stupidity. So, your honour the Mujtahid has made the Lord Ali more ignoble and disgraced.' The Mujtahid said, 'I shall not discuss the Lord Ali further. You do not accept proofs. Your aim is (simply) dispute. We shall discuss another question.' Dervish Ali said, 'God forbid! How don't I accept proofs? My aim is not dispute. Rather is it my whole desire that by an evident proof the truth be proven and revealed, but your honour the Mujtahid has not yet brought such a proof as would satisfy a baby in the cradle. Since his honour the Mujtahid prefers us to discuss another question, he is free to choose. Let him speak.'

The Mujtahid said, 'You Sunnites are very unjust. Your hearts are very hard. 262
You never perform a passion-play for the oppressed Imam Husain, the martyr of Karbala, you do not beat yourselves, you do not weep, but we Shiites make a big passion-play in the month of Muharram for the grandson of the Lord Prophet. For us it is certain that God will forgive us for the sake of the Imam Husain, because our hearts burn so much for him.'

Dervish Ali said, 'Firstly, a legal authority is not established without the proof 263
of an authentic verse or Tradition. Concerning this passion-play there is certainly no verse or Tradition, because it happened after the Prophet, and there is no (question of) concensus or analogy, because the whole community (of Islam) does not do it, nor (ever) has. Secondly, I represent to his honour the Mujtahid this: is the Prophet greater and nobler or Husain, and is Ali supe-

yan Ḥuseyn, we aya ʿElî efzeltir e yan Ḥuseyn?" Muctehid got, "*elbette* pêẋember û ʿElî mezintir û eşreftir in şi[8] Ḥuseyn." Derwêş ʿElî got, "bes tu may bê delîl û mulzem." Muctehid got, "bo çî?"

264 Derwêş ʿElî got, "çawa bo çî? Bes madam pêẋember û ʿElî eşreftir in, pêẋember herçend bi kuştin nemiriye ema ʿElî bi destê Ibn Mulcem hatiye şehîd kirin. Em eger tazîyê bikeyn lazim e ji rê-we bo wan bikeyn, paşî bo Ḥuseyn. Madam me bo efzel û eşref nekir, bo çî bo yê edna w eqell bikeyn? ʿElawe⟨y⟩ wihê kuştina Ḥuseyn eger ḥeq bû şehîd nîye. Eger naḥeq bû şehîd e w merteba wî ʿalî ye li nik Xudê. Bê mirina wî bi wî ṭerzî çêtir bû? Bes tiştê ku bo axireta wî çêtir bît lazim e em keyfxoş bîn ku waqiʿ bûye, ne xemgîn bîn. Aya em sunnî bêinṣaf în yan hung şîʿe sefîh in, ku ferqê naken di mabeyna çak û xirab da w şola bicî dihêlin, şola bêcî diken?" Dîsa Muctehid muteḥeyyir ma. Nezanî çi cewab bidet, çunko xeberê Derwêş ʿElî ʿeqlîtir bû. Muctehid got, "*subḥanellah* qelbê te wekî asinê req e. Hîç nerm nabît." Derwêş ʿElî got, "qelbê min ji pola jî reqtir e li ber wan ṭerze delîlane, emma gelek ji şemayê nermtir e li ber delîlêt qahîm û bicî."

265 Muctehid got, "tiştekî dî heye, herkes teṣdîq diket. Ewe ye, hemîşe em dibînîn û dibihîsîn ehlê sunnî gelek dibine şîʿe, emma me qet nezaniye kesekî şîʿe bûbîte sunnî. Ewe ḥikmeta ilahî ye bo nuṣreta mezhebê heq û emareyekê qewî ye li ser şerefa mezhebê şîʿe w bo xudanê wicdan [û] inṣafê delîlekî kafî w ʿeqlî ye li ser ḥeqqanîyeta mezhebê ʿElîyê şîʿe. Ez dibêjim ʿezîzê muḥterem, birayê mukerrem Derwêş ʿElî dê wihê qelben teṣdîq ket û êdî hîç guftugo neket. Bê suwal û cewab dê bi şerefa mezhebê mubarekê şîʿe muşerref û behrewer bît û me hemî dost û biraderan jî dê gelek keyfxoş û memnûn ket."

266 Derwêş ʿElî ewwelen pîçek kenî, paşî got, "*subḥanellah* ez gelek teʿeccubê dikem ji ʿilm û fezla cenabê aqayê Muctehid û ji iʿtimada wî li ser wan ṭerze delîlane ku ji tewnê dapîroşkê sisttir in. Mezhebê ku esasê wî li ser wan ṭerze delîlane bît wekî dîwarê ser cemedê ye. Her wextê hetawek lê det cemed dê buhujît, dîwar dê herifît." Muctehid got, "bo çî tu we dibêjî? Ma wê delîlê tiştek ʿeyb û nuqsanî heye? Eger ew mezhebe heq neba bo çî Xudê daymî sunnîyan dikete şîʿe? Bo çî carekê şîʿe nakete sunnî? Meger Xudê dujminê şola çak e?" Derwêş ʿElî got, "ez ricayê ji cenabê aqayê Muctehid dikem, sil nebît, çunko di cewaba wê delîlê da ez mecbûr im hindek temsîl û teşbîhan bêjim û di wan da tiştêt kirêt û nelayîq dê hêne gotin, *mabādā*[9] dilê cenabê ʿalî biêşît." Muctehid got, "ne, xatircem be. Herçî dibêjî, bêje. Ez hîç sil nabim."

8 Pronunciation variant of *ji*.

9 In Persian, *lest*.

rior or Husain?' The Mujtahid said, 'Certainly the Prophet and Ali are greater and nobler than Husain.' Dervish Ali said, 'Then you are left without proof and obliged to cede.' The Mujtahid said, 'Why?'

Dervish Ali said, 'How "Why?"? Since the Prophet and Ali are nobler, al- 264
though the Prophet did not die by killing, nevertheless Ali was martyred at the hand of Ibn Muljam. If we should make a passion-play it is necessary that we make it first for them, afterwards for Husain. Since we have not made one for the superior and nobler, why should we make it for the inferior and lesser? Moreover, if the killing of Husain was lawful he was not a martyr. If it was unlawful, he is a martyr and his rank is high with God. Without his dying, would it have been better in that way? Then for a thing which is better for his life beyond, we must necessarily be pleased that it occurred, not sad. Are we Sunnites unjust or are you Shiites stupid, that you do not distinguish between good and bad, and leave a deed which is in order to perform one which is not in order?' Again the Mujtahid was left astonished. He did not know what answer to give, because Dervish Ali's words were more sensible. The Mujtahid said, 'My God, your heart is hard as iron. It will not soften.' Dervish Ali said, 'My heart is harder even than steel before such proofs, but much softer than wax before firm and appropriate proofs.'

The Mujtahid said, 'There is another thing to which everybody agrees, 265
namely that we always see and hear that many Sunnite people become Shiite, but we have never learnt of a Shiite becoming a Sunnite. This is divine wisdom, for the victory of the true faith, and a strong sign of the superiority of the Shiite faith, and for those with conscience and a sense of justice it is a sufficient and reasonable proof of the truth of the exalted Shiite path. I say that the honoured friend and revered brother Dervish Ali will agree to that in his heart and say no more. Without further discussion he will be honoured and partake of the superiority of the blessed Shiite faith and will make all of us friends very happy and grateful.'

Dervish Ali first smiled a little, then said, 'My God, I am surprised at the per- 266
ception and learning of his honour the Mujtahid and at his confidence in this sort of proofs, which are as weak as a spider's web. A faith which is based on such proofs is like a wall (built) on ice. Whenever the sun shines on it the ice will melt and the wall will collapse.' The Mujtahid said, 'Why do you say so? Has this proof any fault? If this faith were not true, why does God constantly make Sunnites into Shiites? Why does He not sometimes make a Shiite into a Sunnite? Is God then the enemy of a good work?' Dervish Ali said, 'I beg his honour the Mujtahid not to be angry, because in answering this proof I am obliged to tell a few parables and comparisons and in them some ugly and improper things will be said. Let your honour's heart not be pained.' The Mujtahid said, 'No, rest assured. Say what you want to say. I shall not be angry.'

267 Derwêş ʿElî got, "genim eşreftir e yan gû?" Muctehid got, "ewe çi xeber e tu dibêjî?" Derwêş ʿElî got, "çawa çi xeber e? Ewe xeberekî gelek bicî ye, çunko Xudê daymî bi qudret û iradeya xo genimî dikete gû, qet me nedîtiye w nebihîstiye carekê Xudê gû bikete genim. Meger Xudê *naʿūḏu bi-llāh*[10] dujminê genimî w dostê gû ye? We li nik xiyala cenabê Muctehid ew e ku her tiştê xelk ṭalib û muştaqî wî bît, ew ḥeqtir û eşreftir e? *Bā wucūdi*[11] ew hîç musellem nîye, çunko hewesa insanî hemîşe tiştê edna ji tiştê eʿla çêtir diwêt. Ma te nexundîye xelk çêtir li dû Firʿewnî diçû, ne li dû Mûsa, we li dû Ferîsîyan diçû, ne li dû ʿÎsa, we li dû Ebû Leheb diçû, ne li dû Muḥemmed, we li dû Yezîd diçû, ne li dû Imam Ḥuseyn. Bes li ser fermode⟨y⟩ cenabê aqayê Muctehid her kê tabiʿêt wî zêdetir bin, ew kes heqtir e. Ewe jî li hîç dînekî musellem nîye. Eger musellem bît ḥeqqanîyeta hîç dînekî tu neşêy izbat bikey."

268 Wextê Derwêş ʿElî ew beyane kir dîsa cenabê Muctehid *warrama-llahu baṭnahu*[12] bû mirîşka bin kelekokî. Qederekê sukût kir, paşî got, "tiştekî dî heye. Hung sunnî jina bêedeb, faḥişe diḥebînnin. Em şîʿe xudan-wicdan û pak-qelb în, hîç wihê qebûl nakeyn." Derwêş ʿElî got, "ew jin kê ye?" Muctehid got, "*subḥanellah* hêşta te nezaniye ew jin kê ye? Ew ji rojê aşkeratir e. Madam tiştê ho aşkera tu qebûl nakey, delîlêt ʿeqlî çawa dê selimînî?" Derwêş ʿElî got, "ḥez dikem wê jinê beyan bikey. Paşî eger neşiyam cewabê bidem, hingî iʿtiraza cenabê hingo heq e." Muctehid got, "ew jin ʿAyşe ye." Dewê xo bi wê gotinê herimand. Derwêş ʿElî got, "ew jina kê ye?" Muctehid got, "*subḥanellah* dîsa şola aşkera nizanî." Derwêş ʿElî got, "bizanim yan nezanim, ḥez dikem tu bêjî, iqrarê ji te wergirim." Muctehid got, "Ayşe jina Muḥemmed bû, kiça Ebû Bekr bû. Gelek xirab û pîs bû." Dîsa dewê xo herimand.

269 Derwêş ʿElî got, "cewaba wihê gelek bi senayî ye, emma ditirsim cenabê muctehid ʿaciz bibît, çunko weto iqtiza diket hindek xeberêt kirêt bihêne gotin." Muctehid got, "ne, ne. Min ewwelen gotiye, xatircem be. Herçî tête dilê te, bêje. Hîç şerm û endêşe neke, çunko eger endêşe w mulaḥeza dilê xeṣmî hebît axiwtin bi heq nahête kirin." Derwêş ʿElî got, "*Xūb*. Sebr bifermon ḥeta diçime

10 In Arabic, *God forbid*.

11 In Persian, *according to*.

12 In Arabic, *may God make his belly swell*.

Dervish Ali said, 'Is wheat more noble or excrement?' The Mujtahid said, 267
'What is this you are saying?' Dervish Ali said, 'Why do you ask? This is a very appropriate matter, for God by His power and wish constantly turns wheat into excrement, but we have never seen or heard that God has turned excrement into wheat. Is God then—God forbid!—the enemy of wheat and the friend of excrement? And is it the opinion of his honour the Mujtahid that everything which people seek and desire is more right and noble? Notwithstanding, it is not certain at all, for human desire always prefers a lower thing to a higher. Haven't you read that the people preferred to follow Pharaoh, not Moses, and to follow the Pharisees,[13] not Jesus, and to follow Abu Lahab, not Muhammad, and to follow Yazid, not the Imam Husain? So according to what his honour the Mujtahid says, whoever has the more followers is more in the right. That is not established in any religion. If it were esatblished, you could not prove the truth of any religion.'

When Dervish Ali made this exposition, his honour the Mujtahid—may God 268
make his belly swell—became (like) a hen under the cock. He was silent for a while, then he said, 'There is another thing. You Sunnites love a shameless harlot. We Shiites are conscientious and pure-hearted, we do not accept this at all.' Dervish Ali said, 'Who is that woman?' The Mujtahid said, 'My God, haven't you yet realised who the woman is? It is clearer than the day. Since you won't accept something so obvious, how will you give in (to) rational proofs?' Dervish Ali said, 'I should like you to explain who the woman is. Then, if I cannot give an answer, your honour's criticism is right.' The Mujtahid said, 'The woman is Aisha.' He befouled his mouth with these words. Dervish Ali said, 'Whose wife is she?' The Mujtahid said, 'My God, again you do not know something obvious.' Dervish Ali said, 'Whether I know or not, I should like you to say it, so that I get the admission from you.' The Mujtahid said., 'Aisha was the wife of Muhammad, the daughter of Abu Bakr. She was very bad and evil.' Again he befouled his mouth.

Dervish Ali said, 'The answer to that is very easy, but I am afraid his honour 269
the Mujtahid will be offended, because it requires that a few ugly words be said.' The Mujtahid said, 'No, no. I said at the beginning, rest assured. Say whatever comes into your heart. Have no shame or anxiety, because if there should be anxiety and consideration of the feelings of the opponent no true discussion can be made.' Dervish Ali said, 'Good. Please wait until I go to the lavatory, make my ablutions and perform my prayers. Then I shall come and give your honour

13 A Jewish sect that emerged in Palestine around 150 BCE, who insisted on the binding force of oral tradition.

serawê, destniwêjê dişom, niwêjê dikem. Paşî dê hêm, cewabekê baş û bi senayî derheqê ʿAyşe deme cenabê ʿalî." Muctehid got, "baş e. Ez jî dê çime mal ḥeta tu têyewe."

270 Derwêş ʿElî çû serawê, muctehid çû mala xo. Pîçek ma, zû hat. Paşî Derwêş ʿElî jî hat. Wextê hate jûr, solêt xo helgirtin, înane naw meclisê, li ber xo danan. Xelkê ḥazir bûn gotine Derwêş ʿElî, "Elî, ewe çi ye? Te bo çî ewe kir li ḥuzûra cenabê Muctehid sol danan li ber xo? Şolekê munasib nîye." Derwêş ʿElî got, "belê, ez jî dizanim kirêt e, bêedebî ye, muxalifî ʿadetê cî ye, emma çi bikem, çare nîye, dibît bikem, çunko zemanê Muḥemmed xelkî solêt xo dibirine mizgewtê, li ber xo didanan, ji tirsa şîʿan, da nedizin. Noke êre cîyê şîʿan e, ditirsim solêt min bidizin, paşî dê pêxas mînim. Feqîr im, min çu pare nîye bo xo solekê bikirim." Muctehid got, "*subḥanellah* ez teʿeccubê dikem ji durowa hinde mezin. Kengî zemanê Muḥemmed şîʿe hebûn? Nêzîkî duṣed salan paşî Muḥemmed cimaʿeta şîʿan peyda bûye, bes çawa dê çêbît ku *ewan zemanê Muḥemmed solan bidizin? Iftira ji wihê mezintir nîye derheq milletê şîʿe."

271 Derwêş ʿElî got, "ey ehlê meclisê, hingo hemîyan bihîst ku cenabê Muctehid bi ʿezmanê xo iqrar kir ku zemanê Muḥemmed şîʿe nebûn. Bes mezhebê ku duṣed salan paşî pêẋemberekî peyda bûbît û *der*[14] zemanê wî pêẋemberî da eṣlen nebûbît, hîç heqê wî mezhebî nîye bêjît, "em tabiʿî wî pêẋemberî ne." Bes em sunnî bi tinê Muḥemmedî ne. We li naw me hîç beḥsê xirabîya ʿAyşe nîye. Tiştê paşî duṣed salan hatiye gotin ṣirf duro ye w iftirayekî mezin e."

272 Dîsa cenabê Muctehid, *qabbaḥa-llāhu šuẋlahu*[15] wekî makerê sukût kir, dewê xo kuta. Nezanî çi cewab bidet û Derwêş ʿElî gote cenabê Muctehid, "em birsî ne. Têştê bînin da bixoyn." Muctehid emr kire xidmetçîyan, "herin, zadekî çak bînin, çunko mêwanê me gelek ʿezîz û muḥterem e." Xidmetçî çûn, zadêt layîq înan. Têşt xarin, destêt xo şuştin. Qehwe w çay înan, xarinewe. Paşî Derwêş ʿElî gote xelkê meclisê, "ez dibêjim xanima cenabê aqayê Muctehid jinekê gelek maqûl, temîs, aqil, cuwan û nerm û nazik û xoş-xeber e." Muctehid ji wî xeberî pîçek têkçû, enîya xo kire kurîşk.

273 Xelkê meclisê gote Derwêş ʿElî, "ew ṭerze xebere li naw meclisê gotin lalî me gelek ʿeyb e. Li wê derecê serbestîya axiwtinê çak nîye. Emma cenabê Muctehid derheq te zor bi merḥemet e. Dilê wî ʿaciz nabît. Eger kesekî dî ba da hête

14 In Persian, *in*.
15 In Arabic.

a good and simple answer concerning Aisha.' The Mujtahid said, 'Very well, I too shall go home until you return.'

Dervish Ali went to the lavatory and the Mujtahid went to his home. He 270
stayed a short while and came quickly back. Then Dervish Ali also came. When he came in, he picked up his shoes and brought them into the assembly and put them down in front of him. The people who were present said to Dervish Ali, 'Ali, what is this? Why did you do this? Putting your shoes down in front of you in the presence of his honour the Mujtahid is not a fitting thing to do.' Dervish Ali said, 'Yes, I too know that it is ugly, bad manners and against the custom of the place, but what should I do? There is no remedy, I must do it, because at the time of Muhammad people used to take their shoes into the mosque and put them down in front of them far fear of the Shiites, lest they steal them. Now here is a place of Shiites and I am afraid they will steal my shoes, then I shall be left barefoot. I am poor, I have no money to buy myself shoes.' The Mujtahid said, 'My God, I am amazed at such a great lie. When at the time of Muhammad were there Shiites? The community of Shiites appeared nearly 200 years after Muhammad, so how can it be that they should steal shoes at the time of Muhammad? There is no greater calumny than that concerning the Shiite community.'

Dervish Ali said, 'O people of the assembly, you all heard what his honour the 271
Mujtahid with his own tongue has admitted, that there were no Shiites at the time of Muhammad. Now a sect which appeared 200 years after a prophet, and did not exist at all in the time of that prophet, has no right to say, "We are followers of that prophet." So we Sunnites alone are Muhammadans. And among us there is no mention of the badness of Aisha. Something which was (first) said 200 years later is simply a lie and a great calumny.'

Again his honour the Mujtahid—may God denounce his deeds—was silent, 272
like a she-ass, and shut his mouth tight. He did not know what to answer. Dervish Ali said to his honour the Mujtahid, 'We are hungry. Bring food so that we may eat.' The Mujtahid gave orders to his servants, 'Go and bring good food, for our guest is very dear and honoured.' The servants went and brought fitting food. They ate the food and washed their hands. Coffee and tea were brought and they drank it. Then Dervish Ali said to the people of the assembly, 'I suppose that the wife of his honour the Mujtahid is a very respectable, pure, intelligent, beautiful and tender and well-spoken woman.' The Mujtahid was a little amazed at these words and frowned.

The people of the assembly said to Dervish Ali, 'Saying this kind of words 273
in an assembly is a great fault with us. To that extent freedom of speech is not good. But his honour the Mujtahid is very merciful towards you. His heart will not be troubled. Had it been anybody else he would have been punished.'

tembî kirin." Derwêş ʿElî got, "min hîç xeberê bêrêz derheq xanimê negotiye. Min medḥ kiriye, melamet nekiriye. Ez nizanim sûça min çi ye." Ehlê meclisê got, "we ye wekî difermoy. Te medḥ kiriye. Emma medḥ kirin jî bo jinan li naw meclisan ʿeyb e."

274 Derwêş ʿElî got, "bes madam we ye, ʿumûmê şîʿe cehennemî ye, çunko yan Muḥemmed hîç nîye, *pêżember nîye, mirowekî zor bêʿar û bênamûs û rezîl e, her cûn û kirêtî derheq xanima wî bihête gotin lalî wî ʿeyb nîye, hingî elbette tabiʿî wan ṭerze pêżemberane cehennemî ye, yan eger, wekî hemî Islam dibêjin, *zatekî ʿalî-cenab bû we efzelê pêżemberan bû we żayet şecîʿ û cesûr û żeyûr bû, hingî dîsa şîʿe cehennemî ye, çunko elbette żîreta wî pîçek ji żîreta cenabê aqayê Muctehid zêdetir e. Ew hinde li ser minaran û mimberan rewzexanêt şîʿan derheq ʿAyşe, xanima Resûlê Ekrem *ṣallallāh ʿalayhi wa sallam*, dewê xo diherimînin, çawa ew ʿaciz nabît ji milletê şîʿe? Ey ehlê meclisê, hung inṣafê biken. Aya we ye yan we nîye."

275 Muctehid û ehlê meclisê hemî mat û muteḥeyyir man. Nezanîn çi cewab biden, çunko xeberê wî waqiʿen rast bû. Paşî qederekî ku hemî bêdeng bûn Muctehid got, "em ʿumûmê ehlê şîʿe cennetî ne ji ber du tiştan. Yêk ewe ye, meḥebbeta me derheq ehlê beyta Resûlullah gelek e w ji meḥebbeta sunnîyan gelek zêdetir e. Wihê ʿalem dizanît. Tiştê dî ewe ye, hindî mumkin bît em hêstikêt mirîyêt xo diînîne Kerbelayê, nêzîkî Imam Ḥuseyn defn dikeyn. Eger mumkin nebît di qelbê xo da zor arezû dikeyn ku li wê derê bihêne defn kirin. Elbette meḥebbeta me bo ehlê beyta pêżember û defn kirina mirîyêt me li Kerbelayê dê bîte sebebê necata me, belê sunnîyan çi umîd heye?"

276 Derwêş ʿElî got, "cewaba wihê ji aw-xarinewê bi senayîtir e. Hîwî dikem kes sil nebît, çunko di cewabê da gelek xeberêt nelayîq dê hêne gotin." Hemîyan gotin, "bêje. Kes sil nabît." Derwêş ʿElî got, "waqiʿen meḥebbeta ehlê beytê baş e. Mumkin e bibîte sebebê necatê, emma bi şertê ku ew meḥebbet li ser ḥeddê xo bît, ne kêm bît, ne zêde. Meḥebbeta me sunnîyan weto ye, belê meḥebbeta hingo milletê şîʿe, ku paşî duṣed salan ji hicreta nebewîye peyda bûye, weto nîye, çunko hindekan ji eṣḥaban û xanimêt pêżember żayet dibużzînin û hindekan ji pêżember zêdetir diḥebînin. Ew meḥebbeta ho muştemil li ser ifrat û tefrît baʿisê ẓelalet û helaketê ye, ne sebebê necatê w seʿadetê ye. Ḥaşa, ṣed ḥaşa. We defn kirin li cîyê eşref *ʿaqlan wa naqlan*[16] musellem nîye ku bibîte sebebê necatê, çunko "*al-marʾu majziyun bi ʿamalihi, in xayran fa-xayrun wa in*

16 In Arabic, *by reason or by the related traditions.*

Dervish Ali said, 'I have not said any disrespectful words about the lady. I praised her, not blamed her. I don't know what my fault is.' The people of the assembly said, 'It is as you say. You praised her. But praising women in the assembly is a fault.'

Dervish Ali said, 'Since it is so, all Shiites are damned, for either Muhammad is nothing, not a prophet, but a very immodest, shameless and mean man, and every abuse and ugliness said about his wife is no fault with him—then certainly the followers of this sort of prophet are damned—or else, as all Islam says, he was a most honourable person and the greatest of prophets and extremely brave and bold and zealous—then the Shiites are damned again, for the respect due to him is certainly a little more than that due to his honour the Mujtahid. The extent to which the Shiite narrators (of the tragedy of Karbala) befoul their mouths concerning Aisha, the wife of the most noble Prophet—may God bless and absolve him—from minarets and pulpits—how will he not be angry with the Shiite community? O people of the assembly, you judge. Is it so or not?' 274

The Mujtahid and the people of the assembly all remained silent and astonished. They did not know what to answer, because what he said was indeed true. After a while, during which they were all silent, the Mujtahid said, 'All we Shiites are sure of paradise on account of two things. One is this, that we have much love towards the family of the Prophet of God and it is much greater than the love of the Sunnites. (All) the world knows this. The other thing is this, that as far as it is possible we bring the bones of our dead to Karbala and bury them near the Imam Husain. If it is not possible, in our hearts we very much desire that they should be buried there. Certainly our love for the family of the Prophet and the burying of our dead in Karbala will be a cause of our salvation, but what hope is there for the Sunnites?' 275

Dervish Ali said, 'The answer to that is easier than drinking water. I hope nobody will be angry, because in the answer many improper words will be said.' All said, 'Say on. Nobody will be angry.' Dervish Ali said, 'Love of the family is indeed good. Perhaps it will be the cause of salvation, but (only) on condition that that love is within bounds, not too little, not too much. The love of us Sunnites is so, but the love of you, the Shiite community, which arose 200 years after the Prophet's Hegira, is not so, because you hate some of the Companions and his wives extremely, and some you love more than the Prophet (himself). Such a love, consisting of immoderation and neglect, is the cause of ruin and perdition, not salvation and bliss. God forbid! A hundred times! And as for burying (the dead) in a noble place—neither by reason nor by tradition is it certain to be a cause of salvation, because "Men will be requited according to their works; 276

šarran fa-šarrun,"[17] yeʿnî, miro bi ʿemelê xo têne ceza dan; eger çakî bît bi çakî we eger xirabî bît bi xirabî. Meselen eger mirowekî çak li naw qebrêt cûyan defn biken hîç zerer nîye, we eger cû li naw qebrê Imam Ḥuseyn defn biken hîç fayde nîye. Eṣl û esasê necatê li ser îmana bi Xudê w îmana bi herçî nazil bûy ji canibê Xudê ye. Ji ẋeyri wihê hemî dodî-bodî ye.

277 We eger ferzen defn kirin li cîyê eşref û cîranîya eşrefan sebebê necatê bît, bes lazim têt ku necata Ebû Bekr, ʿUmer, ʿAyşe muḥeqqeq û bê şubhe bît, çunko ewane li nêzîkî Muḥemmed hatine defn kirin, we elbette şerafeta Muḥemmed zêdetir e ji şerafeta Imam Ḥuseyn, çunko şerafeta Imam Ḥuseyn ji ber xatira Muḥemmed e, ne ji ber xatira xo ye. *Maʿa-hāḏā*[18] hung şîʿe daymî derheq wane dawê xo pîs diken. Ey ehlê meclis, inṣaf biken. Ma we nîye wekî dibêjim?"

278 Dîsa hemî muʿettel man. Nezanîn çi cewab biden. Dîsa Derwêş ʿElî wekî kewê ribad qebqeb kir, dest bi axiwtinê kir, got, "milletê şîʿe qebaḥetek heye li naw çu milletan nîye. Çunko her millet medḥ û iftixar diket bi naṣir û harîkarêt pêẋemberê xo, meselen Cû bi Harûn û Neṣranî bi ḥewarîyan û sunnî bi çar yaran û esḥaban, emma şîʿe daymî lomê w zemmê diken bo emsalê Ebû Bekr û ʿUmer, ku esasê tereqqîya Islamê sayey himmet û xîreta wan bû. Ew hindê wan danay emsalê ʿElî w Ḥuseyn neşiyan muḥafeze biken. Hemîşe fikra milletê şîʿe xar e, berûwajî ye. Sunnî dibêjin Qurʾanê gotiye, *"wa lā tujādilū ahla-l-kitābi illā bi-llātī hiya aḥsanu*,"[19] yeʿnî, hung cedele neken digel Yehûd û Neṣranî, ku ehlê kitab in, meger bi xeberêt baştir û nerm û xoştir.

279 We Qurʾanê gotiye, *"ṭaʿāmu-llazīna ūtu-l-kitāba ḥillun lakum wa ṭaʿāmukum ḥillun lahum*,"[20] yeʿnî, ṭeʿamê ehlê kitaban bo hingo ḥelal e we ṭeʿamê hingo jî ḥelal e bo wan. *Maʿa-hāzā* hung şîʿe dibêjin Yehûdî w Neṣranî pîs in û mirar in û iftiraê bi Qurʾanê w dînê Islamê diken. We Xudê jin bo mêran ḥelal kiriye da nesla benî-adem munqetiʿ nebît. Hung şîʿe dibêjin qûna jina xo ḥelal e muro bigêt. Ey ehlê meclisê, hung bo Xudê bêjin, aya gotinêt me çêtir in û em heqtir în yan şîʿe?"

280 Dîsa hemî mulzem bûn. Derwêş ʿElî got, "hung Şêx Rizayê Kerkûkê dinasin?" Hemîyan gotin, "belê, çak dinasîn. Mirowekî gelek ʿalim û fazil e." Derwêş ʿElî

17 In Arabic.
18 In Arabic, *nevertheless*.
19 In Arabic.
20 In Arabic.

if they be good, with good, and if they be evil, with evil."[21] For example, if they bury a good man among the graves of Jews it does no harm, and if they bury a Jew in the grave of the Imam Husain it is of no avail. The basis and foundation of salvation rests on faith in God and faith in everything that has been revealed by God. Apart from that everything is flim-flam.

And supposing burying in a noble place and in the neighbourhood of noble 277
beings should be a cause of salvation, then necessarily the salvation of Abu Bakr, Umar and Aisha is certain without doubt, because they were buried near Muhammad, and certainly the nobility of Muhammad is greater than the nobility of the Imam Husain, for the nobility of the Imam Husain is on account of Muhammad, not on his own account. Notwithstanding, you Shiites are constantly sullying your mouths concerning them. People of the assembly, you judge. Is it not so, as I say?'

Again they all remained helpless, not knowing what to answer. Again 278
Dervish Ali crowed like a decoy partridge and began to speak. 'The Shiite community has one offence which occurs in no other community, because every community praises and boasts of the defenders and helpers of its own prophet; for example the Jews of Aaron, and the Christians of the disciples, and the Sunnites of the Four Friends and Companions, but the Shiites are always blaming and denigrating the likes of Abu Bakr and Umar, in the shade of whose favour and seal was the basis of the advance of Islam. That much that they established, the likes of Ali and Husain could not preserve. Always the thought of the Shiite community is crooked and upside down. The Sunnites quote the Koran, "Do not dispute with the Jews and Christians, who are people of the book, other than with better and milder and more pleasant words."[22]

And the Koran has said, "The food of the peoples of the book is lawful for 279
you and your food is lawful for them."[23] Nevertheless you Shiites say that Jews and Christians are unclean and impure, and you calumniate the Koran and the religion of Islam. And God has made women lawful for men so that the race of man should not be cut off. You Shiites say that it is lawful for a man to copulate with his wife per anum. O people of the assembly, for God's sake say, are our words better and more right or (those of) the Shiites?'

Again they were all obliged to cede. Dervish Ali said, 'Do you know Shaikh 280
Raza[24] of Kirkuk?' They all said, 'Yes, we know him well. He is a very wise and

21 A hadith. See İbn-i Malik, *Šarḥu l-kāfiyati š-Šāfiya Vol. 1* (Mecca: Jāmiʿatu *Ummu l-Qura*, 1982), 418.

22 Koran, XXIX, 45.

23 Koran, V, 7.

24 Shaikh Raza Talabani (ca. 1835–1910), the Kurdish poet from Kirkuk, famous for his satiri-

got, "bes Şêx Riza rast fermoye, çunko wî du beyt derheq milletê şîʿe gotiye. Zor çak e bi munasibî meqamê. Egerçî bêedebî ye bêjim, du beyt ewe ne:

Masnadārā-yi xilāfat ba ḥaqīqat ʿUmar ast
Gūš bar šīʿa-yi nāpāk makun, šīʿa xar ast
"Šiʿatun fāḥišatun" āyat-i ḥaqq dar Qurʾān
Bahr-i napākī-yi īn qawm dalīl-i dīgar ast[25]

Yeʿnî, cîyê xilafetê ʿUmer muzeyyen kiriye, guh nede şîʿeyê pîs, şîʿe ker e. Di Qurʾanê da gotîye, "*şîʿetun faḥişetun*", yeʿnî, cimaʿetekê kirêt e, ewe jî delîlekî dî ye bo pîsîya wî qewmî."

281 Muctehid got, "êdî bes e. Ḥez dikem ez û tu bi tinê biaxiwîn." Xelkê meclis belaw bûn. Muctehid got, "ez dizanim milletê şîʿe awrûyê Islamiyetê w insaniyetê biriye. Pîs in, bêbext in, rezîl in, delîlêt wan hemî zeʿîf in. Tabiʿî teqlîda bapîrêt xo ne. Min zor ḥez kir te ew delîlane *înan da bizanin ku şîʿe ji keran sefîhtir in. Tu bizane ez sunnî me w hemî ʿulemaêt me ku gelek baş û mahir û munṣif bin, ewan jî sunnî ne, emma em neşêyn xo aşkera bikeyn, çunko jîna me li ser wî qewmê ker e. Eger aşkera bikeyn dê me kujin. Ḥalê me zor zeḥmet e ji destê wan ṣan."[26] Xulase Muctehid bû sunnî. Derwêş ʿElî xo nekire ker, nebû şîʿe. *Wesselam*.

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cal poetry. But there is no such verse in Shaikh Raza Talabani's existing poetry nor is this his style of satire (E-mail communication with Farhad Shakeli, 25 July 2025). There is also no such verse in the Koran, but in XXIV, 19 are the words *ʾan tašīʿa l-fāḥišatu* "that abomination should be spread".

25 In Persian.

26 Pronounciation and shortened form of *ṣeyan*, the plural declination of *ṣe* 'dog'.

virtuous man.' Dervish Ali said, 'Then Shaikh Raza has spoken truly, for he has composed two verses about the Shiite community. It is very appropriate. Although it is impolite that I should say them, the two verses are these:

> *Omar is truly the adorner of the throne of the Caliphate.*
> *Do not pay heed to the unclean Shiah, the Shiah is a donkey.*
> *There is a verse in the Koran (saying,) "An ugly community."*
> *It is another proof for the uncleanness of this people.'*

The Mujtahid said, 'That is enough. I should like us to speak alone, you and I.' 281
The people of the assembly dispersed. The Mujtahid said, 'I know that the Shiite community has disgraced Islam and mankind. They are unclean, ill-omened and mean, and their proofs are all weak. They follow the example of their grandfathers. I was very pleased that you brought these proofs, so that they should know that the Shiites are more stupid then donkeys. Know that I am a Sunnite and all our divines who are good skilled and just are Sunnites too, but we cannot reveal ourselves because our lives depend on this tribe of asses. If we reveal ourselves they will kill us. Our situation is very difficult at the hands of these dogs.' In short, the Mujtahid became a Sunnite. Dervish Ali did not make himself into a donkey and become a Shiite.

XL

Ḥekayêta ʿElî Begê Dasinî w Melayêt Ḥuseynîyan û Koçekêt Dasinîyan

282 Dasinî mezhebek e, Êzidî jî dibêjinê. Eslê wan mirîd û tabiʿêt Şêx Hadî bûn. Qebrê wî nêzîkî Duhokê ye li naw ʿeşîreta Berwarîyan. Mezinê wan li gundê Bêʿedrê[1] dirûnêt. Mezinekî wan zemanekî hebû, nawê wî ʿElî Beg bû. Dibêjin mirowekî gelek biaqil bû, zor sexî w xudan mêwan û xudan kerem û iḥsan bû. Zêdetir ḥurmeta melan û qeşan digirt ji koçekan. Ew dibêjine ʿulemaêt xo "koçek" û dibêjine musulmanan "ḥuseynî". Daymî mabeyna Dasinî w Ḥuseynîyan dujminatî ye. Her wextê ferset helkewît yêkudu dikujin. Ew dujminatîye zêdetir di naw melan û koçekan da heye. ʿElî Beg jî, çunko xoşmeşreb bû, ḥej tirane w ṣuḥbetan dikir. Rojekê gote xulamêt xo, "keyfa min diînît koçekan, melan gazî bikem, herduyan rûbirûyê yêkudu bikem, di mabeyna wan da bikeme cedele, da bizanim kî dê kê bezînît û mulzem ket." Hemîyan gotin, "çu ji wihê çêtîr nîye. Hem seyr û suḥbet e, hem şolekê dînî ye."

283 ʿElî Beg qiyasê neh-deh ser ḥeywanêt qelew ji beranan û şekan înan, dane kuştinewe. Birincekê zor jî îna, ziyafetekê mezin da dirust kirin. Paşî mela w

1 Today used as *Baʿedrê*, in the southeast of Duhok in the Shekhan district.

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XL

Ali Beg Dasini, the Mullahs of the 'Husainis' and the Kochaks of the Dasinis

The Dasinis are a sect, also called Yazidis. By origin they were disciples and fol- 282
lowers of Shaikh Adi. His tomb is near Duhok among the Barwari tribe. Their leader resides in the village of Be'adri.[2] Once they had a leader whose name was Ali Beg.[3] They say that he was very wise, very generous and hospitable and obliging. He respected the mullahs and Christian priests more than the *kochaks*. They call their own divines 'kochak'[4] and Muslims they call 'Husaini'. There is always enmity between the Dasinis and the 'Husainis'. Whenever an opportunity arises they kill one another. This enmity is even greater between the mullahs and the *kochaks*. Now Ali Beg, being merry-natured, liked jokes. One day he said to his servants, 'I have a mind to summon the *kochaks* and the mullahs, to set them down facing each other and start a discussion between them to see who will overcome whom, and oblige whom to cede.' They all said, 'There isn't a better idea. It is both an entertaining spectacle and a religious duty.'

Ali Beg brought about nine or ten head of fat young rams and had them 283
slaughtered. He also brought a lot of rice and had a big feast prepared. Then he summoned the mullah and the head *kochak* and all their followers and set

2 *Ba'adre*, small town in the Shekhan district of North Iraq.

3 There were two Mir Ali Begs as appears in the family tree in C.J. Edmonds, *A Pilgrimage to Lalish* (London 1967), 29. According to H.C. Luke, "Said Beg's great-grandfather, Ali Beg, was killed by the … Rowanduz Kurds; his father, another Ali Beg, was shot by his mother's paramour, with the connivance, it is said, of the lady. This was the Ali Beg to whom Layard stood godfather, not without qualms as to the exact measure of responsibility which a Christian was assuming in sponsoring a devil-worshipping baby." H.C. Luke, *Mosul and its Minorities* (London 1925), 131.

4 The real ulema of the Yazidis are called *qawwāl*. The mention of *kochaks* here was perhaps because it is the only specifically Kurdish title used by the Yazidis. (The manuscript vowels the word only once, as *kawcak*. This must have been a *lapsus calami*, as Nikitine transcribed in Cyrillic *kuchak*.) On the *kochaks*, see Luke, *Mosul and its Minorities*, 135; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar* (Beirut 1938), 97; Lady Drower, *Peacock Angel* (London 1941), 16 (where the "kocheks" are described as a non-hereditary caste of ascetics "credited with seeing visions and prophetic gifts"), and Edmonds, *A Pilgrimage to Lalish*, 8 ("the Kochaks, who are volunteers for the religious life"), 26, 36 ("At ordinary times the Kochaks live at home in their own villages").

baş-koçek digel tabiʿêt wan hemî ḥazir kirin, kirine du rêz beramberî yêkudu w bi xo li serê jêrî dîwanê rûnişt. Gote wan, "reîsêt mezhebî hung ewe ne. Ew ʿedawete hemî xeta hingo ye. Cahil feqîr in, çu nizanin. Werin, wê şolê ṣafî ken. Delîlêt xo beyan ken, da bizanîn çawa dê kewîte aqlê me." Hemîyan gotin, "gelek baş e." Gote koçekan, "delîla mezhebê me Dasinîyan çi ye?" Koçekan gotin, "delîla me ewe ye. Şêx Hadî emr kiriye, "paşî mirina min melekek dê xo nîşa tabiʿêt min det û koçek dê hemî rojan bibînin û ʿerş û kursîyan û ga w masîyan, hemî ʿesmanan dê nîşa wan det." Em jî wane hemîyan dibînîn û dizanîn rast e w bo milletê xo dibêjîn."

284 Gote melan, "delîla hingo çi ye?" Melan gotin, "delîla her dînekî ḥeq bît çar tişt in. Eger yêk nuqsan bît ḥeq nîye. Ewwel, dibît reîsê wî dînî iddiʿa biket ku, "ez ji layê Xudê hatime hinarin bo teʿlîma insanan." Duyê, dibît li ser gotina xo rawestît, ji çu padişahan û dujminan bak nebît. Bi girtin û kuştin û derêxistin ji gotina xo paşwe neçît. Sêyê, dibît kelam hebît. Çarê, dibît ew nufûz û teʾsîrê biket di qelbêt xudan aqil û insafan da. Ji Adem ḥeta xatim her kesê dîn danabît bi wan çarane danaye. Di hemî kitêban da weto hatiye zanîn.

285 Bes iddiʿa bê istiqame w istiqame bê iddiʿa, yan herdu bê kelam, yan her sê bê teʾsîr, yan kelam û teʾsîr bê iddiʿa we yan bê istiqame hîç nabîte delîl, eger li hewa bifirît yan li ser beḥrê bi pêyan biçît. We em tabiʿ în bo ew mezahirêt qudsîya ku Xudê *qādiri kull šayʾ*[5] bi muqtezayê ḥikmeta xo, her yêk di wextê wî ḥez kir, hinare dunyayê. Ewê Xudê irade kir tabiʿ bû, ewê irade nekir munkir bû. Em ne ʿerş û kursîyan dibînîn û ne ga w masîyan. Em noke pişta gunê xo jî nabînîn."

286 ʿElî Beg bi wî xeberî kenî w ehlê dîwanê jî hemî kenîn. ʿElî Beg got, "bes e, zadî bînin, da bixoyn." Ji peni we gote xulaman, "bo melan goştî danêne ser birincê, ema bo koçekan birincê danêne ser goştî." Wextê mecimʿêt pilawê înan koçekan dîtin bo melan goşt înane, bo koçekan birinc bi tinê, çi goşt dîhar nîye. Hemî koçek sil bûn, destêt xo kêşane paş. Hemîyan zad xarin, koçekan hîç nexarin. ʿElî Beg gote koçeken, "hung bo çî naxon? Qatî hung malê min bi ḥeram dizanin? Ewe çi ye?" Koçekan gotin, "em çawa bixoyn? Ma me hindî melayêt Ḥuseynîyan jî qedr û ḥurmet nîye li nik te ku bo wan goşt înane w bo me ne? Ewan ji ẋeyri leqleqa ʿezmanî tiştekî dî nizanin. Em ʿerş û kursîyan û ga w masîyan jî dibînin." ʿElî Beg gote xulaman, "koçek heq in. Werin, wihê

5 In Arabic, *who is capable of everything*.

them in two rows facing each other, and himself sat at the lower end of the audience chamber. He said to them, 'You here are the leaders of the sects. This enmity is all your fault. The common people are innocent and know nothing. Come, settle this matter, put forward your proofs so that we may see what we think of them.' They all said, 'Very well.' He said to the *kochaks*, 'What is the proof of the faith of us Dasinis?' The *kochaks* said, 'This is our proof. Shaikh Adi said, "After my death an angel will reveal himself to my followers and the *kochaks* will see him every day and he will show them the Dais and the Throne of God and the Ox and the Fish and all the heavens." We see all these and we know it is true and tell our people.'

He said to the mullahs, 'What is your proof?' The mullahs said, 'The proof of 284
every true religion lies in four things. If one is lacking it is not true. First, the leader of the religion must claim that, "I have been sent from God to instruct mankind." Second, he must abide by his word and not fear either kings or enemies. He must not retract his words if he is imprisoned or killed or banished. Third, there must be a (revealed) Word. Fourth, he must have some influence and effect on the hearts of wise and just men. From Adam to (Muhammad,) the Seal (of the Prophets,) whoever has established a religion has done so with these four. In all the books it has been so explained.

So the claim without the perseverance, and perseverance without the claim, 285
or both of them without the (revelation of the) Word, or all three without the effect, or the Word and the effect without the claim or without the perseverance are no proof, even if he should fly in the air or walk on the sea. And we are followers because of those holy manifestations which the Omnipotent God, in His wisdom, has sent into the world whenever He has wished it. He whom God chooses is a believer, and he whom He does not choose is a denier. We see neither the Dais and the Throne, nor the Ox and the Fish. We cannot even see behind our own testicles now.'

Ali Beg laughed at that and everybody present laughed. Ali Beg said, 'Enough, 286
bring the food and let us eat.' Secretly he said to the servants, 'For the mullahs put the meat on top of the rice, but for the *kochaks* put the rice on top of the meat.' When they brought the trays of pilaff the *kochaks* saw that they had brought meat for the mullahs but for the *kochaks* only rice with no meat visible. All the kochaks were offended. They withdrew their hands. Everybody else ate but the *kochaks* ate nothing. Ali Beg said to the *kochaks*, 'Why don't you eat? Perhaps you consider my property is unlawful for you. Why so?' The *kochaks* said, 'How should we eat? Have we not even as much honour and respect with you as the mullahs of the Husainis, that they have been brought meat and not us? They know nothing but the wagging of tongues, while we see the Dais and the Throne, the Ox and the Fish.' Ali Beg said to the servants, 'The *kochaks* are

bixon, herin, hindekê dî bi goşt bo koçekan bînin. Bêjine kabanîyê, bo çî ez li nik cenabêt koçekan şerminde kirim."

287 Wextê xulaman dest bi xarinê kirin goşt ji bin birincê derkewt. ʿElî Beg got, "ewe çi bû? Bes bo çî koçek difermon, goşt bo me neînane?" Koçekan gotin, "me nezanî goşt danane bin birincê." ʿElî Beg got, "çar tipilan birinc li ser goştî nebû. Madam hingo ewe nedît û nezanî, bes çawa hung ʿerş û kursîyan dibînin, ku ji hemî ʿesmanan pêhel in we çawa ga w masîyan dibînin, ku ji hemî ʿerdî pêda ne? Hingo bo çî ḥeta noke mala feqîran xirab kiriye bi xeberêt piṛ-û-pûç û duro?"

288 Koçek kewtine şermê, zêdetir sil bûn, rabûn, çûn. Tiştek nexarin. Hindî ʿElî Beg got, "werin, sil nebin, nanî bixon," her çûn, cewaba ʿElî Beg nedan. ʿElî Beg jî got, "jê geṛiyên, bila biçin." ʿElî Beg gote pêşxizmetê xo, "here, bo melayêt Ḥuseynîyan her yêkî ʿebayekî bi xelat bîne." Mela hemî xelat kirin, gelek razî w memnûn bûn, bi dilxoşî çûn. *Wesselam*.

right. Come, eat these and go and bring others with meat for the *kochaks*. Ask my lady why I have been shamed before the noble kochaks.'

When the servants began to eat the meat appeared from beneath the rice. 287
Ali Beg said, 'What was this? Why did the *kochaks* say no meat was brought for them?' The kochaks said, 'We did not know that the meat had been put under the rice.' Ali Beg said, 'There wasn't four fingers of rice over the meat. Since you didn't see that or know it how could you see the Dais and the Throne, which are above all Heavens? And how could you see the Ox and the Fish which are below all the earth? Why have you ruined the poor people up till now with these lies and nonsense?'

The *kochaks* were abashed and more offended and got up and went. They 288
ate nothing. Then Ali Beg said, 'Come, don't be offended. Eat!' They still went, without answering him. Ali Beg said, 'Leave them alone. Let them go.' He said to his head servant, 'Go and bring a cloak as a present for each mullah of the Husainis.' He gave a present to each mullah and they were very pleased and grateful and went away happy.

XLI

Ḥekayêta Ṣadiq Beg û Cûyêt Amêdîyê

289 Dibêjin zemanê begêt Mîrsêwdînan, ku ḥukumdarî dikirin li ser ʻeşairê etrafê Amêdîyê, Ṣadiq Beg hebû, li Amêdîyê dirûnişt, mîr bû w gelek mirowekî xurt bû. Hingî nêzîkî sêṣed mal cû hebûn li bajêrê Amêdîyê, gelek dewletmend bûn. Cûyêt Kurdistanê, çunko zor cahil in, tabiʻî gotina bab û bapîra ne, êdî hîç mulaḥeza meʻanî w esrarêt ḥeqîqîye-y kitabêt Xudê naken, çawê wan li ẓahirê mefhûmê lefzî ye w kirina mezinêt xo ye, çî dî nîye. Lewanê noke jî li naw cûyêt Kurdistanê weto meşhûr e di axirê zemanî da cû dê şîrê xo bîninewe, ḥukm û seltenet temam dê kewîte dest wan. Hemî rojêt şembî diçin li rexêt rûbaran û şîwan û coyîkan digeriyên, xîzî dikolin, belko şîrê xo webîninewe. Li nik wan jî weto meʻlûm e, çi wextê şîrê xo dîtinewe êdî bê gotin Xudê hemî dunyayê dê bo wan musexxer ket, kes neşêt şerê wan biket. Li ser wî ʻadetî cûyêt Amêdîyê jî hemî şembîyan ji qelatê dihatine xarê, diçûne ser rûbarî, ewrazî-nişîwî diçûn xîz dikolîn.

290 Rojekê Ṣadiq Beg weto dibînît, dizanît fikra wan çi ye. Dibêjîte xulamêt xo, “ez dê seyrekî bi wan cûyane bikem.” Şîrekî gelek kewn hebû, kalwanê wî zîw bû, destikê wî zêr bû, qaşêt elmas û pîrûze hatibûne têgirtin, tîyê wî kerman bû. Gote xulamêt xo, “şîrê min li rexê rûbarî li naw xîzî weşêrin, pîçek ji destikê wî diyar bît.” Xulaman jî we kirin.

291 Roja paşî bû şembî cû çûn, şîr dîtin, înane kinîştê nik Malim Zexeriya. Cû hemî cema bûn, gotin, “muwafiqî gotina Tewratê me şîrê xo dîtewe. Êdî ḥukm ḥukmê me ye.” Malim Zexeriya got, “herin, bêjine xulamêt Ṣadiq Beg êdî bi

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XLI

The Story of Sadiq Beg and the Jews of Amadiya

They say that in the time of the Mirsewdinan Begs, who ruled over the tribes 289
about Amadiya, there was one Sadiq Beg,[1] a Mir, who dwelt in Amadiya, and was a very despotic man.[2] At that time there were about three hundred families of Jews in the town of Amadiya, who were very rich. The Jews of Kurdistan, as they are very ignorant, follow the sayings of their ancestors and do not otherwise examine the true meanings and secrets of God's Books, and regard only their external, literal sense and the deeds of their leaders, nothing else. So even today among the Jews of Kurdistan it is notorious that at the end of time the Jews will find their sword again and authority and majesty will fall entirely into their hands. Every sabbath day they go and wander about the banks of the rivers and streams and channels, digging up the gravel, hoping to find their sword. It is also known among them that whenever they find their sword again then without further ado God will conquer the whole world for them and nobody will be able to withstand them. In accordance with this custom the Jews of Amadiya would also come down from the fortress every sabbath and go to the river,[3] going up- and downstream digging up the gravel.

One day Sadiq Beg saw this and, knowing what they were thinking, said 290
to his henchmen, 'I'll put on a show for these Jews.' There was a very ancient sword with a silver scabbard, its hilt of gold inlaid with gems of diamond and turquoise, and its blade of Kermani steel. He said to his henchmen, 'Hide my sword in the gravel by the edge of the river with a little of its hilt showing.' The henchmen did so.

The next day was Saturday. The Jews went, saw the sword, and brought it to 291
Rabbi Zachariah at the synagogue. All the Jews gathered together and said, 'We have found our sword again as it says in the Torah. Henceforth authority is ours.' Rabbi Zachariah said, 'Go and tell the henchmen of Sadiq Beg not to go about

1 There is no ruler with this name in the lists of Bahdinan principality rulers (also called Mirsevdinan Begs), see Öpengin, "Kronîkek li ser Tarîxa Badînan û Mezopotamyaya Bakûrî," 49; Bahzad Niheli, *Mîrgeha Behdînan di Hevrikiyên Navxweyî da 1515–1842*, (University of Zakho Doctoral Dissertation, 2023).

2 The Jewish version of this gruesome story is recorded under the title "The Sword of Redemption" in Yona Sabar, *The Folk Literature of the Kurdistani Jews: An Anthology* (Yale University Press 1982), 187–189.

3 The Sipna, a right tributary of the Greater Zab, runs some five hundred feet below and two miles away from Amadiya.

çek negeriyên. Eger qebûl kirin ewe bê şubhe ji terefê Xudê ye." Ṣadiq Beg jî gotibû xulamêt xo, "ḥeta hewyekê cû çi biken razî nîme kes cewaba wan bidet." Wextê ku emrê Malim Zexeriya geheşte xulamêt Ṣadiq Beg hemîyan gotin, "emrê cenabê Malim li ser serê me." Malim got, "belê, ewe meʿlûm bû ku ew şîre ji terefê Xudê ye." We xeber dane cûyêt Akrê, Zaxowê w Şemdînan û Zêbarê w hemî etrafêt nêzîk ku ḥal û keyfiyet ho ye. Hemî hatin, dîharî bo Malim Zexeriya înan.

292 Ṣadiq Beg ji penî da xeber da aẋayêt ʿeşairê nêzîkêt Amêdîyê ku hemî bihên, dîharîyan bo Malim Zexeriya bînin, herçî ḥukmî biket qebûl biken. Wan jî we kirin. Rojekê çend tolazek ji cûyan çûne pêş derê qesra Ṣadiq Beg, gazî kirin, "Ṣaqo, Ṣaqo, ewe hemî xelk, mezin û kiçke, hatine ḥuzûra ḥezretê reʾîs, tu bo çî nahêy? Yan were yan bo xo tedbîra cîyekî dî bike." Ṣadiq Beg jî got, "belê, ser çawan, ser seran."

293 Ṣubey zû Ṣadiq Beg deh peẓêt qelew înan, du xulam bê çek digel xo birin, çû ber derê kinîştê, rawesta. Gote xizmetkarê kinîştê, "here, ʿerzi ḥuzûra ḥezretê reʾîs bike, Ṣaqo rêka xo dixazît, ḥez diket deh deqîqan şerefyabî ḥuzûra mubarek bibît." Xizmetkar çû, xeber da wî. Got, "zerer nîye. Ew kewne-mîrê me ye. Izn heye, bila bihêt." Ṣadiq Beg jî hate jûr, destêt xo danane ser yêk, ji pê we rawesta. Du-sê deqîqan weto ma, paşî Malimî got, "rûnê, Ṣaqo, tu bi xêr bihêy. Xizmeta te çi ye? Zû bêje, wextê min nîye gelek biaxiwim."

294 Ṣadiq Beg got, "ewwelen meqsûda me hemîyan ew e Xudê wucûda ḥezretê reʾîs berqerar ket, sîbera merḥemeta wî li ser serê me feqîran daymî bît. Ḥeta noke ḥukm di destê me da bû. Ewe Xudê ḥukm da destê hingo, çak e hingo jî merḥemetê digel me biken." Malim got, "elbette, Ṣaqo, em jî teqsîr nakeyn. Ez bi xo herçîya te nabêjim, ema eger kur û kal tiştekî biken ew bi destê me nîne. Tu jî gazinde neke." Ṣadiq Beg got, "mala hingo awa, qewî memnûn û muteşekkir im."

295 Ṣadiq Beg izna xo xast, çû mala xo. Şewê hemî xulamêt xo digel aẋayêt ḥazir bûn gazî kirin, got, "hingo şuʿûr û inṣafa cûyan dît. Ew şewe rabin, malêt wan talan biken. Mezinan bigirin, bînine nik min, yêt dî jî hemîyan bikujin. Çar-pênc mencelêt dohînê çêken, dest û pê w serêt cûyan têkene naw, bikelînin.

armed any more. If they obey then without doubt this is from God.' Sadiq Beg had told his henchmen, 'For a month I do not want anybody to gainsay the Jews, whatever they do.' When Rabbi Zachariah's order reached Sadiq Beg's henchmen they all said, 'His excellency the Rabbi's wish is our command.' The Rabbi said, 'Indeed, it is evident that this sword is from God.' They informed the Jews of Akre, Zakho and Shamdinan and Zebar and all the neighbourhood of how things were. They all came, bringing gifts for Rabbi Zachariah.

Sadiq Beg secretly told the aghas of the tribes neighbouring Amadiya that 292
they should all come, bringing presents for Rabbi Zachariah, and accept every order that he should make. This they did. One day some Jewish youths went to the door of Sadiq Beg's palace and called, 'Saqo, Saqo,[4] everyone, great and small, has presented himself to his excellency the Chief, why don't you come? Either come or find yourself somewhere else to live.' Sadiq Beg said, 'Certainly, on my head and eyes be it.'

Early next morning Sadiq Beg brought ten fat sheep, took two unarmed fol- 293
lowers with him and went to the door of the synagogue and stopped. He said to the servant of the synagogue, 'Go and tell his excellency the Chief that Saqo seeks entrance and would like to have ten minutes audience of his auspicious presence.' The servant went and told him. He said, 'There is no harm in it. He is our old Mir. He is permitted to enter.' Sadiq Beg came inside, placed his hands one on the other and remained standing. He stayed in this way for two or three minutes, then the Rabbi said, 'Sit down, Saqo, and welcome. Why do you wait upon me? Say quickly, for I haven't time to talk much.'

Sadiq Beg said, 'First we all hope that God will long preserve his excellency 294
the Chief's existence and that the shadow of his mercy will be constantly over our poor heads. Until now authority was in our hands. Now that God has given authority into your hands it is right that you too should have mercy upon us.' The Rabbi said, 'Certainly, Saqo, we shall not be at fault. For myself I have nothing to say against you, but if the men, young and old, do anything, that is not in our hands, so do not complain.' Sadiq Beg said, 'May your house flourish, I am very grateful.'

Sadiq Beg took his leave and went home. At night he summoned all his 295
henchmen and the aghas who were present and said, 'You have seen the sense and the justice of the Jews. Tonight rise and plunder their homes. Capture the elders and bring them to me, and kill all the rest. Prepare four or five cauldrons of curds dish and rice and put the hands and feet and heads of the Jews in them and stew them. Let that be the breakfast of the Chief and the elders tomorrow,

4 Derogatory disformation of the name Sadiq.

Ṣube têşta reʾîs û mezinan ew bît, bi kutekî bi wan bidene xarin, paşî bikujin." Wan jî emrê mîr bi cê înan. Noke jî cûyêt Kurdistanê goştî digel dohînê naxon.

296 Ḥekayêta "cûyê şîrê xo dîtîyewe" li naw Kurdistanê meşhûr e. Eger kesekî kirmanc, feqîr xurtîyê biket wê meselê derheq wî dibêjin. *Wesselam*.

use a stick to force them to eat it, then kill them.' They carried out the Mir's orders. Even now the Jews of Kurdistan do not eat meat with curds dish.

The story of 'the Jew who found his sword' is famous in Kurdistan. If a hum- 296
ble peasant fellow throws his weight about they quote this adage about him.

XLII

Ḥekayêta Mizûrî Naxot Kilika Kwîrî

297 Dibêjin zemanê Smail Paşayê Amêdîyê, ku bi texmîn ṣed û pênce sal heye, çu ḥukûmet li naw ʿeşairê kurdêt Nawçiyayê qeraẋêt Amêdîyê w Akrê w Rewandizê w Nehrîyê nebûn. Began û aẋayan dixarin. Ḥukm bi destê wan bû. Carekê mezinêt ʿeşîreta Mizûrî Jêrî hatine dîtina Smail paşa. Her mezinekî kwîrek[1] bi dîharî înabû bo paşay. Qayde jî ew bû her mezinê hatiba hêstirek yan hespek yan gayek, her neba beranekî çak, qelew, xesandî, bi dîharî diîna.

298 Wextê ku Smail paşa zanî dîharîya maqûlêt Mizûrîyan kwîr in pîçek di dilê xo da sil bû. Gote pêşxizmetêt xo, "têşta wan ṣewar bît. Sênîyan tejî biken, serê wan qubbeyî biken, pişkêt qelîya goştê kwîran bi rexêt ṣewarê we nên. Her sênîyekê kilikekê kwîrî di nawa serî biçeqînin weto ku qund rawestît." Wê carê çawa paşa emr kiribû, ʿeynî weto çêkirin. Wextê têştê hat, xulamek çû, gazî kire maqûlêt Mizûrîyan, gotê, "werin, paşa hingo dixazît da têştê li selamlixa paşay bixon." Ew jî siwik rabûn, gele keyfa wan hat. Wan weto texmîn kir ku paşa gele ji wan razî ye. Wextê çûne jûr yêk yêk serê xo çemand, paşa emr kir, "bi xêr bên, rûnên, da têştê bixoyn."

299 Wextê wan temaşa kir ku têşta wan ṣewar, we li nik wan ṣewar gelek ʿeybekê mezin e bo mêwanêt muʿteber, we se⟨r⟩ wê hindê ra jî kilikêt kwîran li ser sênîyan çeqandine, di yêkudu fukurîn, destêt xo kêşane paş. Pêkwe gotin, "paşa, me têr xar, Xudê zêde ket. Werin, gelî xulaman, zadî raken ji naw dest û pêyan da bi xûna mêran pîs nebît." Paşa têgeşt, siwik rabû, negeşt sola xo di pê ket, bi goran derkewt.

300 Maqûlêt Mizûrîyan dest birine xenceran, her xulamekî geheştinê dane ber xenceran. Gazî paşa kirin, "neḥelê cûyo! neḥelê cûyo!" Ewcar ji her layekî we xulamêt paşa xir bûnewe, dest bi şerî kirin. Maqûlêt Mizûrîyan sihî kes bûn.

1 Spelled with a (و) that normally stands for the vowel *û*, as كور, but the word is normally pronounced with a high front round vowel that can be represented as *kwîr* or *kür*. Translated as '(goat) kid', more specifically it refers to a two year old male goat kid.

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XLII

A Mizuri Will Not Eat a Kid's Tail

They say that in the time of Ismail Pasha of Amadiya,[2] which at a guess was a 297
hundred and fifty years ago, there was no authority among the tribes of Kurds in the mountain districts round about Amadiya and Akre and Rawandiz and Nehri. The begs and aghas consumed (what they wanted, for) the power was in their hands. Once the leaders of the Lower Mizuri tribe came to visit Ismail Pasha. Each leader had brought a kid as a present for the Pasha. Now the custom was for every leader who might come to bring a mule or a horse or an ox as a present or at the very least a fine fat gelded ram.

When Ismail Pasha learnt that the present of the Mizuri elders was kids he 298
became a little annoyed in his heart. He said to his attendants, 'Let their morning meal be of crushed wheat. Fill the trays, pile them up like a dome and put the pieces of fried kid-meat round the boiled wheat. On each tray stick a kid's tail in the middle of the pile so that it stands erect.' Then they prepared them just as the Pasha had ordered. The time for the meal came and a servant went and summoned the Mizuri elders, saying, 'Come, the Pasha invites you to eat in his guest-room.' They got up gradually and were delighted. They imagined that the Pasha was very pleased with them. When they entered each one bowed his head. The Pasha said, 'Welcome. Do sit down so that we may eat something.'

When they saw that their meal was of crushed wheat—and with them 299
crushed wheat (instead of rice) was a most shameful thing for respectable guests—and that in addition the tails of kids had been stuck on top of the trays, they looked at each other and withdrew their hands. They all said together, 'Pasha, we have eaten our fill. May God increase it for you. Come, you servants, take the food away from between our hands and feet so that it doesn't get defiled with men's blood.' The Pasha understood, got up quietly and, not managing to put on his shoes, escaped in his stockings.

The Mizuri elders seized their daggers and stabbed every servant they came 300
upon. They called to the Pasha, 'Don't run away, Jew! Don't run away, Jew!' Then the Pasha's followers gathered from all sides and began to fight. The Mizuri elders were thirty in number. Twenty-nine were killed on the spot. One they

2 Ismail Pasha is mentioned in a chronicle on the history of Amadiya and its surroundings in relation to an expedition he led in 1775 onto the northern Nestorian Tyari tribe. See Clément Huart, "La Prière Canonique Musulmane", *Journal Asiatique v* (1895), 90; Öpengin, "Kronîkek li ser Tarîxa Badînan û Mezopotamyaya Bakûrî", 49.

Bîst û neh li wê derê temam bûn. Yêk bi birîndarî gehandine mala wî. Xizmêt wî hatin, gotinê, “em dibêjîn tu cû bûy, lewanê ji hemîyan tu sax may.” Wî jî ji kerbêt wan da destê xo da xencera xo, li serê dilê xo da, xo temam kir. Wan jî ṣed û pênc xulamêt paşa temam kiribûn, ji bilî birîndaran.

301 Ji wî wextî we êdî Mizûrî, ne jin, ne mêr, ne biçûkê fama, kilika ḥeywanê reşokî qet naxon. Noke jî, eger bi tirane yêk bêjîte wan, “Mizûrî, tu naxoy kilika kwîrî?” Eger bişêt dê qesta kuştina wî ket, yan cûnêt kirêt dê det, eger her çi ji destê wî nehêt dê ji wê derê çît, da guh li dengê nawê “kilika kwîrî” nebît. Belê noke qewî wekî berê nîye.

brought to his home wounded. His relatives came and said to him, 'We say you have become a Jew, and that's why of all you (alone) are left alive.' He too, tormented by them, seized his dagger and stabbed himself in the heart, killing himself.

They, for their part, had finished off a hundred and five of the Pasha's follow- 301
ers, apart from the wounded. Since that time no Mizuri, neither man, woman nor child with any understanding, will eat the tail of a black-haired animal. Even now, if someone says to them in jest, 'Mizuri, won't you eat a kid's tail?' he will try, if he can, to kill him, or will abuse him foully, or if he can do nothing else will leave the place so as not to hear the sound of the words 'kid's tail'. But nowadays it is not quite as it used to be.

XLIII

Ḥekayêta ʿEbdî w ʿEzîz

302 Du mirow hebûn ji ʿeşîreta Mizûrî Jorî, ji gundê Ergoş, nawê yêkî ʿEbdî bû, nawê yê dî ʿEzîz. Herdu ji ûcaẋekê bûn, ûcaẋa wan dibêjinê Mam Şaran. Herdu xizmêt yêk jî bûn. ʿEbdî kurê meta ʿEzîz bû, ʿEzîz kurê xalê ʿEbdî bû. ʿEbdî rispîyê Mam Şaran bû. Birayê ʿEzîz, Eḥmed, paş-rispî bû.

303 Salekê gelek ʿeskerê ʿUsmanî bo xerc standinê hate naw ʿeşîretêt kurdêt Nawçiya. Wê salê gelek pare hate standin. Paşî ku ʿesker çû her ûcaẋekê gazinde ji rispîyê xo kirin, gotin, "xetayêt hingo bûn ew hinde ʿeskere hate naw me. Em dê hingo ji rispîyatîyê êxîn." ʿEbdî got, "qeydî nîye, ema wextê ku hingo ez ji rispîyatîyê êxistim ew kîşk day-ḥîz e, ew kîşk ṣebab e dê li cîyê min rûnêt? Wellah, her kesê min ji rispîyatîyê biêxît, yan li cîyê min rûnêt, ez dê derê tifenga xo ya şînik dirêj keme ṭenişta wî." ʿEzîz got, "za ez dê te êxim. Paşî çiya ji te têt bike." ʿEbdî got, "çak e, qerara me ew bît." Li wê meclisê herdu jêk sil bûn. Rabûn, her yêk çû mala xo. Weto man ḥeta çend rojekan.

304 Ewcar, çunko ʿadetê Mizûrîyan ew e, eger du kes li rê bigene yêk û "Xudê-quwet" ê lêk neken dê bi şer bên. Rojekê we qewimî, ʿEbdî ji ẓomê dihat, tifenga şînik bi milî we bû, geşte ʿEzîz û Eḥmed ku cotî diken. Wan çu çek ji bilî xenceran digel da nebûn. ʿEbdî ji wan rabirî negote wan, "Xudê quweta hingo bidet," û ne silaw kir û ne çi. ʿEzîz gote Eḥmed, "bira, ewî ṣey çu awrû bo me nehêla. Ez qebûl nakem." Eḥmed got, "bira, jê geṛê. Bila biçîte ser rêka xo. Bela wî li serê wî" ʿEzîz got, "xêr, paşî çawa em dê li naw mirowan rûnêyn? Çawêt me êdî bi xelkî narabin. Ewe bo me ji ker-ganekê kirêttir e." Welḥasil ʿEzîz bi xeberê Eḥmed nekir, gazî kire ʿEbdî, "lingdirêj, lingcû, tu ser pêyêt xo hatî!"

305 ʿEbdî cewaba wî dawe, "teresê jin-ḥîz, pêyê te dê li quzê jina te dem." ʿEbdî çeqmaqa şînikê siwar kir, bezîye ʿEzîz. ʿEzîz jî xencera deban helkêşa, hat pêşîya ʿEbdî. Dema nêzîkî yêk bûn ʿEbdî, çawa qerar dabû, weto derê şînikê dirêj

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XLIII

Abdi and Aziz

There were two men of the Upper Mizuri tribe, from the village of Argosh, one 302
of whom was called Abdi and the other Aziz. They were both of the one clan, called Mam Sharan. Moreover they were related to each other. Abdi was the son of Aziz's paternal aunt, Aziz (therefore) the son of Abdi's maternal uncle. Abdi was the elder of the Mam Sharan. Aziz's brother, Ahmad, was the vice-elder.

One year many Ottoman soldiers came among the Kurdish tribes of the 303
mountain districts to collect taxes. That year much money was collected. After the soldiers left each clan complained about its elders, saying, 'It was your fault that this many soldiers came among us, we are going to remove you from eldership.' Abdi said, 'No matter, but when you have removed me from the eldership which whoreson, which son of a dog is going to sit in my place? By God, whoever removes me from the eldership, or takes my place, I shall point my musket at his side.' Aziz said, 'Well, I shall remove you. Afterwards do what you can.' Abdi said, 'Very well, so be it between us.' At that meeting they fell out with one another. They got up and each went to his own home. They stayed thus for a few days.

Then, since it is the custom of the Mizuris that, if two people meet each 304
other on the road and do not say 'God keep you' to one another, they will fight, one day it happened that Abdi was coining from the summer pastures with his musket over his shoulder when he met Aziz and Ahmad ploughing. They had no weapons with them apart from daggers. Abdi passed by them and did not say to them, 'May God provide for you,' nor saluted them nor anything. Aziz said to Ahmad, 'Brother, that dog has left us no honour. I won't put up with it.' Ahmad said, 'Brother, leave him alone. Let him go his way. May his misfortunes fall on his own head.' Aziz said, 'No, how can we sit down among people after this? We shall not be able to look up at people. This is a worse (shame) for us than buggery with a donkey.' In short, Aziz did not do as Ahmad said. He called to Abdi, 'Long-leg, Jew-leg, you have come on your own feet!'[1]

Abdi answered him, 'You cuckolded pimp, I have you defile your own wife.' 305
Abdi cocked his musket and ran at Aziz. Aziz, for his part, drew a damask dagger and confronted Abdi. When they were near each other Abdi pointed his mus-

1 A mocking corruption of the welcoming *li-ser çawêt me hatî, ser çawan, ser seran* "you have come on our eyes, on (our) eyes (and) heads".

kire ṭenişta ʿEzîz, dest kêşa celeboka tifengê, "ḥiṛing" ew tifeng berda ṭenişta ʿEzîz. Li mabeyna ṭeniştê w hêstika piştê kewt. Gule li rexê çepê nawikê westa, dernekewt. Ḥêşta birîna wî germ, geşte ʿEbdî, xencerek dana riha qolincê. Sernikilê xencerê li pişta nawikê derkewt. Xencerekê dî dana ṭenişta ʿEbdî, sê tibla çû. Xencera sêyê dana, cilik biṛîn, geşte zendî, tê neçû. Destê ʿEzîz sist bû. ʿEzîz bi layekî da kewt, ʿEbdî bi layekî da. ʿEḥmed jî, wextê ʿEzîz hatibû ʿEbdî, hindî dû ra bezî negeştibû wan. Ḥeta ew geştê wan şola xo temam kir.

306 Wextê ʿEḥmed dît ʿEzîz rûniştî, destek bi ṭenişta xo we nabû, destê dî danabû ser cîyê gule lê westay, çu deng nedikir, ne of, ne nalî, ne çi, ema qorî w hewar ji ʿEbdî radibûn, Eḥmed çû hindaw ʿEbdî, dît firefira derê birînê, ba ji herdu la we derdikewît. Ewî jî we xiyal kir ku tifengê ʿEzîz negirtiye, lewanê bêdeng e. Hate hindaw ʿEzîz, gotê, "xolî bi mal, malwêran, te bo çî mêrekî wekî ʿEbdî kuşt? Ṣed ḥeyf û mixabin nebû te ew qebaḥete kir? ʿEbdî xizmê me bû, biyanî nebû." Xulase gelek lomeya ʿEzîz kir.

307 ʿEzîz deng nekir ḥeta ku Eḥmed xeberêt xo temam kirin. Paşî ʿEzîz li ser raḥetî, bê ofeof gote Eḥmed, "bira, tu bo çî loma min dikey? Tu qet nabêjî mala min xirab bû, pişta min şkest. Were, gulê şînikê ji birîna min bîne der, paşî loma min bike." Wextê ʿEḥmed şûtika wî kirewe birîna birayê xo dît. Hate serê xo li çepelan û hate ranêt xo li ṭepan û tejî ser serê xo ax kir. Ewî jî dest da xencerê ku biçîte ʿEbdî. ʿEzîz got, "bira, neçe. Min zerbekê weto li wî daye êdî najît. Ḥewce nîye tu xo zeḥmet bidey. Rabe zû, min bide pişta xo, bigeyne mal. Ez ewro dê temam bim." ʿEḥmed ʿEzîz gehande mal. Du saʿet paşî nîwro temam bû. Xizm û mirowêt ʿEbdî jî ji gundî hatin, rakirin, darbesta wî gehandine gundî. Nîw saʿet may bo roj awabûnê, ew jî temam bû. Sê çar salan daymî şer û ʿedawet bû di naw xizmêt wan da. Paşî mezin kewtine mabeyna wan, pêk înan. *Wesselam*.

ket at Aziz's side, as he had declared he would, pulled the trigger and 'bang', let off the gun at Aziz's side. He was hit between his side and backbone. The bullet stopped on the left side of his navel and did not come out. With his wound still reeking he reached Abdi and plunged a dagger into the small of his back. The tip of the dagger emerged behind his navel. He stabbed Abdi again in the side, to the depth of three fingers. A third blow with the dagger cut his clothes and reached his forearm but did not go in. Aziz's arm slackened. Aziz fell to one side and Abdi to the other. Ahmad, when Aziz had come at Abdi, however much he ran after them, had not reached them. By the time he reached them they had finished their work.

When Ahmad saw Aziz sitting, with one hand placed to his side and the 306
other hand laid over the place where the bullet had stopped, not making any noise, neither a moan nor a groan nor anything, but wailing and shouting coming from Abdi, then Ahmad went up to Abdi and saw the frothing of the open wounds, and air coming out from both sides. He thought that the gun had not hit Aziz and that he was silent for that reason. He came up to Aziz and said to him, 'You wretch, why have you killed a man like Abdi? Was it not a hundred pities that you did this shameful thing? Abdi was a relative of ours, not a stranger.' In short, he upbraided Aziz a great deal.

Aziz said nothing until Ahmad had finished his say. Then easily, without any 307
groaning, Aziz said to Ahmad, 'Brother, why do you chide me, but you do not say at all that my house has been ruined, my back broken? Come and take the musket ball out of my wound and chide me afterwards.' When Ahmad undid his cummerbund he saw his brother's wound. He began to slap his head and beat his thighs and pour earth on his head. He too grasped a dagger to go for Abdi. Aziz said, 'Don't go, brother. I have given him such a blow that he won't live any longer. There's no need for you to trouble yourself. Hurry up and put me on your back and let us reach home. I shall die today.' Ahmad brought Aziz home. He died two hours after midday. Abdi's relatives and friends came from the village, lifted him and brought him to the village on a stretcher. He too died half an hour before sunset. For three or four years there was constant fighting and enmity between their relatives. Then the leading men intervened between them and reconciled them.

XLIV

"Mulk Tabiʿî Kalûme ye"

308 Mirowekî[1] Herkîyê binecî hebû, nawê wî Gul Muḥemmed bû. Digel pismamê xo Şerîf hatine lalî babê min, Mela ʿEbdullah, qazîyê Herkîyan û Gerdîyan, ku bo wan mesʾeleya şerîʿetê beyan biket. Deʿwa zewîyekê Gul Muḥemmed li Şerîf dikir. Zewî ji zemanê bab û bapîran di destê Şerîf da bû, çu wextan Gul Muḥemmed teṣerrufa wê zewîyê nekiribû.

309 Gul Muḥemmed gote babê min, "Ewe zewîya min e. Şerîf ḥeq nîye zewîya min teṣerruf biket." Babê min gote Gul Muḥemmed, "delîla te çi ye? Bi çi mumsek tu deʿwa dikey? Te qebale heye, şahidêt muʿteber hene, yan ṭapoya dewletê heye? Yan te yan babê te çi wextan teṣerruf kiriye? Delîla xo herçî heye beyan bike, *wa-illā*[2] deʿwa bê delîl qebûl nîye. Şerîf dê heq bît eger tu çu delîlan neînî."

310 Gul Muḥemmed got, "belê, qazî efendî, dirust weto ye weko tu dibêjî. Ez jî dizanim ku bê delîl nabît. Min çu delîl ji wane yêt te fermoy di desta nîne, belê delîlekî dî ji wane hemîyan muḥkemtir min heye." Babê min gotê, "*subḥanellah*, ew çi delîl e ji wane hemîyan muḥkemtir? Ewe çil sal zêdetir e ez qazî me, çend kitêbêt şerʿ û qanûn min xundine w mutaleʿe kirine, ji ẋeyri wane min çu delîl, ne zeʿîf, ne muḥkem, nedîtine."

311 Gul Muḥemmed got, "*subḥanellaḥ*, ez teʿeccub dikem ji ʿilm û meʿrifeta te, çawa ḥeta noke te ew delîl fam nekiriye. Ma tu nizanî delîla ji hemî delîlan qahîmtir kalûme ye? Her kesê kalûme heye, mulk bo wî ye. Noke kalûme bi destê min e. Şerîf feqîr e, ṭaqeta min nîye. Zewîyê elbette ez dê xom. Ew delîlêt şerʿ û qanûnan hemî piṛ-û-pûç in, bêfayde ne. Ew hingî bi kar tên ku kalûme nebît. Wextê kalûme hebît delîlêt dî hemî duro ne w hîç in."

312 Babê min gelek kenî, got, "madam we ye, ez bi wê deʿwayê naaxiwim. *Fi-l-ḥaqīqa*[3] weto ye, egerçî heq nîye." Noke jî mesela Gul Muḥemmed meşhûr e. Dibêjin, "mulk tabiʿî kalûme ye." Bes bo her dewletê kalûme lazim e. Xo bi hîwîya qanûn û qerarname w muʿahedename nehêlît, egerne dê meḥw bît. *Wesselam*.

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1 Not commonly known anymore in Shamdinan, this word means *old, rusty*, but always used in combination with another word, usually a tool. It is used here in the sense of 'sword', thus probably from an earlier phrase as *kalûmekî şûran* 'an old, rusty sword'. Cf. Michael Chyet, *Kurdish-English Dictionary* (Yale, 2003), 295.

2 In Arabic, *otherwise*.

3 In Arabic, *in truth*.

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XLIV

'Possession Follows the Sword'

There was a man of the settled Harki whose name was Gul Muhammad. He and 308
his cousin Sharif came to my father, Mullah Abdullah, the Cadi of the Harki and Girdi tribes, for him to settle a matter of law for them. Gul Muhammad was claiming a field from Sharif. The field had been in Sharif's possession since the time of his father and his forefathers and Gul Muhammad had never had possession of that field.

Gul Muhammad said to my father, 'This is my field. Sharif has no right to 309
occupy my field.' My father said to Gul Muhammad, 'What is your proof? On what evidence do you make the claim? Have you a purchase-deed or reliable witnesses or a government title-deed? Have you or your father ever possessed it? Show whatever proof you have, for otherwise a claim without any proof cannot be accepted. Sharif will be in the right if you do not produce any proofs.'

Gul Muhammad said, 'Yes, Cadi effendi, it is true what you say. I too know 310
that without proof it cannot be. I have no such proofs as you mention in the hand, but I do have another proof stronger than all these.' My father said, 'My God, what proof is this that is stronger than all these? Here have I been Cadi for more than forty years, have read and studied so many books of religious and civil law, and I have never seen any proof other than these, weak or strong.'

Gul Muhammad said, 'My God, I am surprised at your learning and wisdom, 311
that you have not understood that proof until now. Why, do you not know that the sword is a stronger proof than any other? Whoever has the sword, possession is for him. Now the sword is in my hands. Sharif is a poor man and no match for me. I shall certainly appropriate the field. Those proofs of the religious and civil law are all rubbish and quite useless. They are only of any use when there is no sword. When there is a sword all other proofs are lies and void.'

My father laughed very much and said, 'Since that is the case I shall say noth- 312
ing on this claim. In truth it is so, though it is not right.' Now too the story of Gul Muhammad is famous. They say 'Possession follows the sword.' So for every state the sword is necessary. It should not let itself trust (only) in the law and treaties and pacts, otherwise it will be destroyed.

XLV

Ḥekayêta ʻEbdal Beg Mîrê Şemdînan û Jina Wî Perîxanê

313 Nêzîkî ṣed sal pêş noke ʻEbdal Beg hebû, mîrê Şemdînan, mala wî li qeseba Nehrîyê di qelatê da bû. Mîrekî gelek bi ḥukm û xurt bû. Li ser ʻeşîreta Şemdînan, ḥeta li ser Herkîyê koçer jî ḥukm dikir. Aẋayê naḥiya Zerzan Ṭahir Aẋa hebû, li gundê Masîro dirûnişt. Ew Ṭahir Aẋa zor siwik-ʻeql û tund-tebîʻet bû. Kiçek hebû, nawê wê Perîxan bû. Gelek law-çak û cuwan bû, ema di ʻeqlê xo da temam nebû.

314 ʻEbdal Beg gote mezinêt meclisa xo, "dibêjin aẋayê Zerzan kiçekê gelek çak heye. Ḥez dikem biçin, bo min ji babî bixazin, belê hindî teṣewwur dikem nizanim dê çawa mumkin bît, çunko Ṭahir Aẋa tebîʻet-tund e. Her kesê wî beḥsey digel wî biket dê cûnan detê, we meʻlûm nîye ku qesda kuştina wî jî neket. Nizanim tedbîr çi ye. Hung rêkekê bo wê şolê webînin." Mezinan gotin, "belê, cenabê mîr, we ye wekî hung difermon. Ṭahir Aẋa zor tund e, ema em weto texmîn dikeyn ku bo zatê hingo çu gotinan naket, belko dê memnûn bît. Ma ew kiça xo dê dete kê ji hingo mezintir û mesleḥettir?" Mîr got, "ewe bo xudan-ʻeqlan we ye, ema bo emsalêt Ṭahir Aẋa, ku ferqê naken di mabeyna do w doşawê da, zor muşkil e." Mezinan jî gotin, "em jî dê çîn bi tewekkula Xudê, bizanîn dê çi cewab det. Eger wekî mirowan bi dilxoşî da, çak e, egerne dê bi rewan înîn." Mîr got, "belê, ez dişêm birewêm, ema bo min ʻeyb e kiça rispîyê milletê xo birewêm. Ḥez nakem dilê milletê Zerzan ʻaciz bît. Ḥeta mumkin bît bi dilxoşî çêken. Eger bi çu ṭerzan çênebû, werin, jê geṛiyên."

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XLV

The Story of Abdal Beg, the Mir of Shamdinan, and His Wife Pari Khan

About a hundred years ago the Mir of Shamdinan was one Abdal Beg. His home 313
was in the fort in the town of Nehri. He was a very powerful and despotic Mir, ruling over the Shamdinan tribe and even over the nomadic Harki. The agha of the district of Zarzan[1] was one Tahir Agha who resided in the village of Masiro.[2] This Tahir Agha was very stupid and bad-tempered. He had a daughter called Pari Khan. She was very gracious and beautiful but not quite all there.

Abdal Beg said to the leaders of his assembly, 'They say that the agha of 314
Zarzan has a very fine daughter. I would like you to go and ask her father for her hand for me, but however much I consider it I do not know how it will be possible, because Tahir Agha is bad-tempered. Whoever discusses this matter with him he will abuse him and it is not certain that he may not try to kill him. I do not know what to do. You discover some way for this affair.' The leaders said, 'Yes, your excellency, it is as you say. Tahir Agha is very fierce, but we consider that he will not say anything about your good self, rather he will be grateful. Why, to whom greater and more advantageous than yourself could he give this daughter of his?' The Mir said, 'It is so for the wise, but for the likes of Tahir Agha, who cannot discern buttermilk from grape-syrup, it is very difficult.' The leaders said, 'We shall go, trusting in God, and see what answer he gives. If he gives her happily, as other men would, it is well, otherwise we shall abduct her.' The Mir said, 'Yes, I can abduct her, but it would be a shameful thing for me to abduct the daughter of an elder of my own people. I do not want the people of Zarzan to be offended. As far as is possible arrange it in a friendly way. If it cannot be arranged then come back and abandon it.'

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1 Mentioned also in *Sharafnama*, Zarzan (Kr. Zerza) is a tribe that used to dominate the area in the east of Shamdinan but also found in Ushnuye (Kr. Şino) where they speak Sorani/Central Kurdish. Their rule in Shamdinan seems to have dwindled with the ascendance of the Abbasi Begzada family but ultimately also at the time of Shaikh Ubeydullah of Nehri in 1870s. See Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 129.

2 Masiro lies about 18 km. upstream from Nehri.

315 Qazîyê Şemdînan, Mela Xalid Efendî, û paşmîrê Şemdînan, ʿEbdulʿezîz Aẋa, digel çend mezin û muʿteberêt xulamêt mîr, hemî rabûn, çûne Masîro, mala Ṭahir Aẋa. Şewê, paşî şîw-xarinê, qazî gote Ṭahir Aẋa, "ez nizanim em meqseda xo ʿerz bikeyn yan cenabê aẋa dê pisyara ḥalê mêwanan fermot." Ṭahir Aẋa got, "bêjin, hingo çi diwêt? Eger mumkin bît teqsîr nakem." Qazî got, "meʿlûmî cenabê aẋa ye, cenabê Mîr ʿEbdal Beg çi qeder mezin e w li wan serḥedane kes hemberanê wî nîye." Ṭahir Aẋa got, "belê, qazî efendî, we ye. Meqsûda xo bêje, dirêj neke." Qazî pîçek tirsa, demekê bêdeng bû. Ṭahir Aẋa got, "bo çî naaxiwî?" Qazî got, "te fermo, "dirêj neke," ez tirsam, çunko hindek şol hene, bê dirêj kirin çênabin." Ṭahir Aẋa got, "wekî ez temaşa dikem hung ew mezinane hemî hatine quzê Perokê ji min bixazin. Hingo qet şerm nekir. We dîyar e mîr jî kerek e wekî hingo. Rabin, herine ser gunê mîr, egerne dê noke hingo li ber dewê şîran qed-qed kem. Herin, bêjine ʿEbdal, bila qûna xo bo hespê min bihinêrît, paşî Perokê bixazît." Êdî çî dî negotin. Ṣubey zû geṛiyanewe.

316 Hatin, gotine mîr, "xizmeta me mumkin nebû." Mîr kenî, got, "hung bi Xudê ken, çi gotiye bo min bi temamî neql ken." Wan jî gotin, "şerm e, nabît. Ewî çu awuṛû[3] bo me nehêla. Me mirin pê xoştir bû ji wê rezaleta wî bi me kir." Xulase mîr got, "elbette dibît bêjin." Wan jî çi bihîstibûn û dîtibûn gotin. Mîr hîç sil nebû, kenî, got, "ʿeyb nîye, çunko meselekê meşhûr e li naw me kurdan. Dibêjin ew kesê jinê dixazît maker e, ew kesê jinê didet nêreker e, belê paşî birinê şol berʿeks e."

317 Cûyek li Nehrîyê hebû, gelek aqil bû, nawê wî Moşê bû. Gote mîr, "ew şole xema bendeyê te ye. Kerêt wekî Ṭahir aẋa bi ṣeyêt wekî min dê rêkê girin." Moşê çû. Wî wextî Ṭahir Aẋa li ser rûbarî bû, meşẋûlî rîtinê bû, hêşta nerabûy Moşê got, "baxê Ṭahir Aẋa, êwarî bi xêr. Keyfa hingo w biçûkan çawan e?" Ṭahir Aẋa jî hêşta di wî ḥalî da, cewab da, "tu gelek bi xêr hatî, ser seran, ser çawan. Axiwtina te li min weto xoş hat, eger tu Perokê jî bi xo bixazî qet bêkeyfîya te nakem." Moşê got, "ew ji min zêde ye. Ew layîq e bo xudanê xo." Dest bi kenîyê kir, got, "êdî keyfa te ye. Her kesê te reʾy li ser bît min da wî." Moşê ji wê derê geriyawe,

3 Variant of *awṛû*, in Kurmanji *avrû*.

The Cadi of Shamdinan, Mullah Khalid, and the vice-Mir[4] of Shamdinan, 315
Abdul'aziz Agha, with some leaders and trusted servants of the Mir, all rose and went to Masiro, to the home of Tahir Agha. At night, after supper the Cadi said to Tahir Agha, 'I do not know whether we should explain our mission or if your honour intends to ask after his guests?' Tahir Agha said, 'Speak, what do you want? If it is possible I shall not stint you.' The Cadi said, 'Your honour knows how great is his excellency Abdal Beg and that in these regions he has no peer.' Tahir Agha said, 'Yes, Cadi, it is so. Say what you want to, don't drag it out.' The Cadi was a little afraid and was quiet for a while. Tahir Agha said, 'Why do you not talk?' The Cadi said, 'You said, "Don't drag it out." I was afraid, because there are a number of matters which cannot be settled without dragging it out.' Tahir Agha said, 'As I see it you, these leaders, have all come to seek Pari Khan's cunny from me. You had no shame at all. Evidently the Mir is a donkey like yourselves. Get up and get back to the Mir's testicles, otherwise I shall have you cut to pieces by the sword. Go and tell Abdal to send his arse for my horse, then let him ask for little Pari.' They said nothing else. Early next morning they returned home.

They came and said to the Mir, 'Our mission on your behalf was impossible.' 316
The Mir laughed and said, 'Do it, by God. What did he say? Tell me everything.' They said, 'It is a disgrace, it cannot be. He has left us no honour. We would rather have died than bear the baseness he inflicted on us.' In short the Mir said, 'You must certainly tell me.' So they told him what they had heard and seen. The Mir was not at all angry and laughed. He said, 'This is no shame, for it is a well-known proverb among us Kurds. They say that the person who asks for a woman is a she-donkey and the one who gives her is a he-ass, but after she has been taken the case is reversed.'

There was a very clever Jew in Nehri called Moshe. He said to the Mir, 'Let this 317
affair be my worry. Donkeys like Tahir Agha need dogs like me to get them going on the road.' Moshe went. When (he arrived) Tahir Agha was by the riverside engaged in defecating and had not yet risen. Moshe said, 'Master Tahir Agha, good evening. How are you and all the little ones?' Tahir Agha, still in the same condition, answered, 'You are very welcome, on my head and eyes. What you said has pleased me so much that even if you ask for little Pari for yourself I shall not disappoint you.' Moshe said, 'That is above me. She is suitable for her proper owner.' He began to laugh and said, 'Just as you wish. I shall give her to whomsoever you consider fit.' Moshe returned from that place without going

4 *Paşmîr*, literally 'vice-Mir', but these formed a family of *mullahzada*s that had come to an end already at the time of Mullah Sa'id. On the vice-Mir family, see Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 129.

neçû gundî. Şola xo dirist kir. Hat, temam bo mîr ḥekayêt kir. Dawatî dirist kirin, çûn, Perîxan bo ʻEbdal Beg înane Nehrîyê.

318 Dibêjin paşî çend salan carekê Perîxan zîz bû, ji qelatê derkewt, rêka Zînî girt ku biçîte mala babê xo. Çend mirowêt muʻteber çûne pêşîya wê, hîwî kirin, "were, bo xatira me, wegeriyêwe, neçe." Qebûl ⟨nekir⟩. Perîxan geheşte serê Zînî, we qewimî Moşê ji Nawşarê dihatewe bo Nehrîyê. Li wê derê Moşê got, "ay xanim, ewe xêr e? Dê kê we çî? Babê te qedrê min neşkand, çawa tu dê şkînî?" Perîxanê qedrê Moşê neşkand, digel wî hate mala xo. *Wesselam*.

to the village. He arranged his business, then came and related it all to the Mir. They arranged the wedding convoy, then went and brought Pari Khan to Nehri for Abdal Beg.

They say that once, some years later, Pari Khan was disgruntled and left the 318
fort and took the road over the Zini[5] pass to return to her father's home. A number of trusted men went to intercept her and requested her, 'Come, for our sakes, return, do not go.' She did not accept. Pari Khan reached the top of the pass. It so happened that Moshe was coming back to Nehri from Nawshar.[6] He (met her) there and said, 'O, my lady, is all well? Where are you going? Your father did not treat me disrespectfully; will you then?' Pari Khan did not disrespect Moshe, she came back home with him.

5 A pass on the old mountain road from Nehri to Nawshar.
6 The district centre of Shamdinan since 1936.

XLVI

Ḥekayêta Osê Ḥacî Qaso w Cindî Aẋa

319 Pênce sal berî noke, li Şîwa Herkî Binecî, mirowekî gelek mêrçak hebû, nawê wî Oso bû, kurê Ḥacî Qaso. Hingî aẋayê ʿeşîreta Herkîyê Binecî Cindî Aẋa bû. Oso çar kur hebûn, Temer, Xanemîr, Teto, Sîno. Cindî Aẋa jî çar kur hebûn, Suwar Aẋa, Rostem Aẋa, Muḥemmed Aẋa, ʿEzîz Aẋa. Ema kurêt Osê wekî şêran bûn. Kurêt Cindî Aẋa jî mêrçak bûn, belê ne wekî kurêt Osê bûn. Gelek tefawut hebû.

320 Rojekê Osê gote Cindî Aẋa, "ûcaẋa me Yûsuf Bekiran kêm in, kesad in. Çak e ew sale ji xercê ʿefû bikey. Em bo te xulamêt zîrek în." Cindî Aẋa jî got, "weto ye, belê neşêm bikeme ʿadet. Paşî gelek xelkê dî, dilê wan dê ʿaciz bît." Osê got, "bes madam tu hîwîya min qebûl nekey ez nahêlim ûcaẋa min xercê bidet. Paşî tu çi dikey, bike." Cindî Aẋa jî cûn dane Osê. Li wê derê dest dane xenceran, rabûne yêk, ema berewanan nehêlan bigehine yêkudu. Osê mişext bû, mala xo bire Bêtkarê, çar pênc saʿeten ji gundê Şîwa Herkî dûr e. Daimî bi xo w kurêt xo bi şew dihate Şîwa Herkî, xirabî dikirin û diçû mala xo. Cindî Aẋa pênce mêrêt bijare ḥazir kirin, digel çawuşê xulaman, Ḥaco kurê Mela Rostem Bêdawî, hinarine ser mala Osê. Gote wan, "bi şew herin, dewranê li mala wî biden, digel spêdê hawêjine ser mala wî, nehêlin kes ji wan xilas bît, hemîyan bikujin, da em ji bela wan xilas bîn."

321 Ew jî çawa aẋa gotibû weto çûn, dewrane li mala wî dan. Wextê hawînê bû. Mala Osê hemî di keprê da bû. Herzalekê bilind jî çêkirî bû, Oso w jina xo li ser herzalê diniwistin, kurêt wî w mala wî jî di kepra binî da bûn. Jina Osê biçûkekî sawa hebû, di landikê da bû. Berê spêdê biçûk girî, jina Osê rabû ser landikê memikî bidete biçûkî, reşatîya du mirowan dît li pişta binedara gûzê. Hêdî Osê têk-hijand, gazî kirê, "Oso, rabe, ez dibêjim diz hatine me." Oso rabû, hûr tê fikirî, wî jî meʿlûm kir miro ne. Gote jina xo, "bi heceta awê here xarê, bo min du ṣeleberan bîne, danême pêş enîya xo. Şewê li dû dizan çûn çak nîye. Da bizanim

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XLVI

Oso, Son of Haji Qaso, and Jindi Agha

Fifty[1] years ago in the valley of the settled Harki[2] there was a very brave man 319
whose name was Oso, son of Haji Qaso. The agha of the settled Harki tribe was then Jindi Agha. Oso had four sons, Tamar, Khanamir, Tato and Sino. Jindi Agha also had four sons, Suar Agha, Rostam Agha, Muhammad Agha and Aziz Agha. But Oso's sons were like lions. Jindi Agha's sons were also brave, but not like Oso's sons. There was a great difference.

One day Oso said to Jindi Agha, 'Our clan of Yusuf Bakir, are few and badly 320
off. It would be good if you were to excuse us taxes this year. We are capable henchmen for you.' Jindi Agha said, 'That is so, but I cannot make a custom of it. Then many other people will be offended.' Oso said, 'Then since you won't grant my wish I shan't allow my clan to pay taxes. Do what you will then.' Jindi Agha abused Oso. There and then they grasped their daggers and went for each other, but mediators did not let them reach one another. Oso decamped and took his family to Betkar, four or five hours journey away from the village of Shiwa Harki. He and his sons would constantly come to Shiwa Harki by night, do some damage and return home. Jindi Agha assembled fifty chosen men and sent them against Oso's house with Hajo, son of Mullah Rostam of Bedaw, the sergeant of his henchmen. He said, 'Go by night, surround his house, and attack it at dawn. Don't let any one of them escape, kill them all so that we may be free of the trouble they cause.'

They went, as the agha had said, and surrounded his house. It was summer- 321
time. All of Oso's family was in a bough-hut. A high superstructure had also been made, and Oso and his wife were sleeping on the superstructure while his sons and household were in the hut beneath. Oso's wife had a suckling infant which was in a cradle. Before dawn the baby cried. Oso's wife got up to the cradle to suckle the child and saw the dark form of two men behind a walnut tree. Softly she shook Oso and called to him, 'Oso, get up, I think thieves have come to us.' Oso got up, looked closely and he too ascertained that they were men. He said to his wife, 'Go below on the pretext of (fetching) water and bring me two flat stones to put in front of my forehead. It is not good to go after thieves

1 The descendants of these two persons live in Shamdinan and relate the events in more-or-less like Mullah Sa'id's account.

2 Shiwa Harki (Kr. Şîwa Herkê) is a valley consisting of four villages belonging to the settled Harki in the southwest of Shamdinan.

ewe çi ye w ewane kî ne. Eger hebît, ewe nijda Cindî Aẋa ye w eger nijda wî bît bê şik noke Ḥeco Çawuş hatiye, çunko ez dizanim li naw ʿeşîreta Herkîyan ji ẋeyrî Ḥeco kes neşêt ḥukmê tifenga min ya *quteboṭanî* nêzîkî cîyê min bît."

322 Hêdî gote jina xo, "tu kurê sawa ji landikê bîne der, bibe xarê w Temer jî hişyar ke. Yêt dî hêşta qahîm nebûne, hişyar neke, bila biniwin." Jina wî çû, du ṣel înan, Temer jî hişyar kir. Tifeng û rextêt xo girê dan, li kepra binî kewte ber jora keprê, ma li çawrê emrê babê xo. Biçûkê sawa jî bire xarê. Osê rextê xo li pişta xo girê da, çeqmaqa quteboṭanîyê suwar kir, herdu ṣel dane pêş enîya xo. Osê weto tifengçî bû gula wî qet xorayî nediçû. Wextê xo ḥazir kir gazî kir, "ew kî ne li pişta gûzê? Herin, egerne dê hingo kujim."

323 Ḥeco Çawuş li dû xeberê Osê cewab da, got, "ez Ḥecê mala Rostê me, qesabê serê Osê me. Wextê te maye bîst deqîqe. Kifnê xo ḥazir ke, wesyetêt xo bike w destûrîyê ji mal û ʿeyalê xo bixaze. Nawê Xudê bîne, êdî dûmayîya ʿemrê te ye. Ma tu nizanî Ḥecê mala Rostê wekî melekê ʿIzraîl e? Her kesê ew lê bîye mêwan êdî xilas bûna wî mumkin nîye. Ez û tu li naw Herkîyan cotê kela-yne. Digel spêdê şaxêt xo deyne ber yêk ka kê dê kê heṛişînît."

324 Osê cewab da, "Ḥeco, ewe tu yî? Min nezanî teşrîfa Ḥeco ye, egerne lazim bû hatibame Kêṛîyê Bêzelê bo pêşwezîya te. Tu gelek bi xêr bihêy, ser çawan, ser seran. Min jî bi qeder ji-dest-hatina xo sertêşta mêwanêt ʿezîz ḥazir kiriye. Eger kêmasîyek hebît qusûra me ʿefû bike. Ema noke li ser fermodey te hêşta bîst deqîqe ʿemrê Osê maye. Hêşta ew bîst deqîqe neçûy zor ḥez dikem hindî qiranekî enîya xo nîşa min bidey. Da nebît bimirim û mêwanê ʿezîz nebînim." Digel xeberê wî Ḥeco pîçek enîya xo ji pişta binegûzê îna der. Osê derḥal celeboka quteboṭanîyê kêşa, gule li nîweka herdu birûyan kewt, ji patika ser çû der. Ḥeco derḥal bêrûḥ bû. Osê hate xar, gote Temer, "kurê min, ez li rast, tu li çep, hucûm keyn, yêt dî bigirîn, çekan ji wan bistînîn, çunko ji ẋeyri Ḥeco yêt dî hemî wekî jina ne. Serbixo bê şer çekan dê den." *Fi-l-ḥaqīqa* çawa Osê got weto bû. Hemî şelandin. Her yêkî pîçek ji guhê wî birî w berdan. Bi çawşorî w şermokî çûne nik Cindî Aẋa.

at night. Let me learn what this is and who they are. If it is anything this is a raiding party of Jindi Agha's and if it is one of his raiding parties then without doubt Hajo his sergeant has come, for I know that among the Harki tribe there is nobody but Hajo who can come near my place within range of my Short Botani gun.'

Softly he said to his wife, 'Take the baby boy out of the cradle and take him 322
below and wake Tamar up. The others are not reliable yet. Don't wake them, let them sleep.' His wife went and brought two flat stones and woke Tamar up. He put on his cartridge-belts and took his gun and went up to the roof of the hut, waiting for his father's orders. And the baby was taken below. Oso put his cartridge-belt on, cocked his Short Botani and put both the flat stones in front of his forehead. Oso was such a good shot that he never wasted a bullet. When he had made himself ready he called out, 'Who are you behind the walnut tree? Clear off, or I'll kill you.'

Sergeant Hajo immediately answered Oso's words, 'I'm Hajo, son of Mul- 323
lah Rosto, the butcher for the head of Oso. You have twenty minutes left. Get your shroud ready, make your testament and take leave of your wife and family. Invoke the name of God, for the end of your life has come. Don't you know that Hajo the son of Mullah Rosto is like the Angel Izrail. Whoever entertains him as a guest has no further possibility of escape. You and I are a pair of buffaloes among the Harkis. At dawn let us put our horns together to see who will crush whom.'

Oso answered, 'Hajo, is that you? I didn't know Hajo was honouring us, oth- 324
erwise I should have come to meet you at the Bezali pass. You are very welcome, on my head and eyes. I too have prepared a feast for my honoured guests to the best of my ability. If anything is lacking please forgive our shortcomings. But now, according to what you say, Oso has only twenty minutes to live. Before that twenty minutes has gone I would very much like you to show me just as much of your forehead as a shilling would cover. I ought not to die without seeing my dear guest.' When he said this Hajo brought his forehead out a little from behind the trunk of the walnut tree. Oso immediately pulled the trigger of his Short Botani and the bullet hit him right between the eyebrows and went out at the back of his neck. Hajo immediately dropped lifeless. Oso came down and said to Tamar, 'My son, I'll go right, you go left. Let's attack and capture the others and disarm them, for except for Hajo all the others are like women. Of their own they'll give up their arms without a fight.' And indeed it turned out as Oso had said. They stripped them all. They nicked a piece out of all their ears and set them free. With hanging heads and in shame they went back to Jindi Agha.

325 Wextê ku nijda Cindî Aẋa bi wî ḥalê kirêt û perîşan geriyawe Cindî Aẋa nihayet ʿaciz bû. Ḥewîya wî li cîyekî nehat. Got, “nan û awê mêran li min ḥeram bît. Ḥeta tola Ḥeco nekemewe dest ji Osê nakêşim.” Cindî Aẋa duṣed mêr ji Şîwa Herkî w Bêdawê w Dirê w Stûnê digel xo înan, hate Bêtkarê ser mala Osê. Digel nîwro berayîya leşkirê Cindî Aẋa geheşte nêzîkî gundî. Osê dît ku gelek bûn. Gote jin û biçûkan, “hung rabin, ji naw me derkewin, rêka Serê Salaran bigirin, herine Nehrîyê, mala Muṣṭefa Beg mîrê Şemdînan. Ez û çar kurêt xo bê şer gundî naberdeyn.” Jin û biçûk derkewtin.

326 Oso w Temer kewtine sitareyê sîngê şerî w Xanemîr û Teto w Sîno kewtine girê pişta rêkê, bose danan. Ḥeta leşkirê Cindî Aẋa hat, ji wan rabirî, geheşte gundî, çi tifeng nehawêtin. Xo girtin ḥeta aẋa bi xo têt, belê aẋa li Niẋayîlan rûnişt, gote Ḥetem, pismamê xo, “tu digel leşkirî here, dest bi şerî biken, ḥeta ez lêre pîçek dihisêmewe, paşî ez jî dê hêm.”

327 Wextê dûmayîya leşkirî hat, aẋa digel nebû, Osê zanî Aẋa newêraye bihêt. Gote kurê xo, “aẋa nehat. Çak e nehêlîn Ḥetem xilas bibît.” Wan du tifeng wêkra hawêtine Ḥetem, guleyek li ser kewt, y⟨ê⟩k li hêstikê piştê. Ḥetem li cîyê xo temam bû. Xanemîr û du biran jî sê tifeng wêkra hawêtine koma leşkirî, sê miro êxistin. Leşkirê Cindî Aẋa li rastê bû w Oso w kuran li sitaran. Ḥeta ku leşkir ji rastê derkewte guhandêt zewîyêt mabeyna Niẋaylan û Bêtkarê deh zêdetir hatine kuştin. Li wê derê bû şer. Cîyê Osê w kuran asê bû. Leşkir neşiya hucûm kete wan. Ḥeta meẋrib ṭarî bû, Osê w her çar kuran şer digel duṣed mêran kirin. Êdî Osê got, “ewe bû şew. Meselekê meşhûr e, dibêjin, “şew qelata mêran e.” Çak e em ji sitaran derkewîn, biçîn, bigehîne ʿeyalê xo. Bi wê şewê leşkir neşêt li dû me bihêt. Ḥeta dibîte roj em dê xilas bîn. Dê çîne ber ḥukmê mîrê Şemdînan.” Rabûn, çûn, xilas bûn.

328 Leşkirê Cindî Aẋa hate Bêtkarê. Her sifr û niwîn û tiştê mala Osê ku mabû bi talan birin we meytê Ḥetem û meytêt kuştî w birîndarêt xo helgirtin, geriyanewe bo Şîwa Herkî, zor xemgîr û ʿaciz, wekî mirowê ku dibêjin, “çû da ridînê dirêj ket, simbêl jî danane ser.”

When Jindi Agha's raiding party returned in this ugly and distressed state 325
Jindi Agha was extremely angry. Nothing would console him. He said, 'May the food and water of mankind be forbidden me. I shall not leave Oso until I have avenged Hajo.' Jindi Agha brought two hundred men with him from Shiwa Harki and Bedaw and Diri and Stuni and came to Betkar against Oso's house. At midday the van of Jindi Agha's army came near the village. Oso saw that they were many. He said to his wife and small children, 'You get up and leave us, take the road over the Sare Salaran[3] and go to Nehri to the house of Mustafa Beg, the Mir of Shamdinan. My four sons and I won't give up the village without a fight.' His wife and children left.

Oso and Tamar went behind a breastwork and Khanamir and Tato and Sino 326
went to the hill behind the road and laid an ambush. They did not fire any gun until Jindi Agha's army came and passed them and reached the village. They restrained themselves until the agha himself came, but the agha stayed in Nighailan and said to Hatam, his cousin, 'You go with the army and start fighting while I rest here a little, then I'll come too.'

When the tail of the army came and the agha was not with it Oso knew that 327
the agha durst not come. He said to his son, 'The agha hasn't come. We'd better not let Hatam escape.' They both fired at Hatam together and one bullet hit him in the head and one in the spine. Hatam died on the spot. Khanamir and his two brothers all three fired together at the bulk of the army and felled three men. Jindi Agha's army was in the open and Oso and his sons were behind cover. By the time the army had left the open and reached the boundaries of the fields between Nighailan and Betkar more than ten were killed. There was a fight there. The place of Oso and his sons was inaccessible. The army could not attack them until the evening became dark. Oso and all four sons fought with two hundred men. Then Oso said, 'Night has fallen. It is a well-known proverb that "the night is the fortress of men". We had better leave our cover and go and catch up with our family. In this night the army can't follow us. By the time it is day we shall have escaped. We shall go under the sway of the Mir of Shamdinan.' They got up and went and escaped.

Jindi Agha's army came to Betkar. All the copper (pots) and bedding and 328
things of Oso's house that were left they plundered and they took up the body of Hatam and the other dead and wounded and went back to Shiwa Harki, very distressed and miserable, as they say of a man, 'He went to lengthen his beard and they added moustaches as well.'[4]

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3 A mountain to the north of the Salaran village in Shamdinan.

4 The meaning here is presumably "to set out to gain something and come off worse", thus comes close to English proverb "Go further and fare worse".

329 Osê hate Nehrîyê nik Muṣṭefa Beg, mîrê Şemdînan, got, “min xo hawêtîye mala mîr. Dibît min weḥewînît û ruxseta min jî bidet ez xirabîya cîyê Herkîyan bikem û karwanêt wan bişelînim û talanêt wan bînim û gîyayêt wan bisojim û mêrêt wan bikujim û her tiştê bînim nîwek bo min, nîwek bo mîr bît.” Muṣṭefa Beg got, “elbette cûcik xo dihawêjine deʿlan. Ewro tu kewtiye ṭengawîyê, bo min şerm e ez te qebûl nekem. Lazim e bi her ṭerzekî te bi xudan bikem û ruxseta te bidem, egerçî dizanim ez û aẋayê Herkîyan dê bîne dujminêt yêk, ema çi bikem? Çare nîye. Dibît te weḥewînim.”

330 Muṣṭefa Beg mala Osê hinare qesra gundê Kepenekyan nik Qubad Aẋayê Zerzan, li wê derê damezirand, çunko Osê xudan-dujmin bû w qesra Kepenekyan jî asê bû. Wextê Osê cîyê xo girt û emîn bû dest kir bi xirabîya cîyê Herkîyan. Mabeyna ʿeşîreta Şemdînan û Herkîyan gelek bû dujminatî. Çar salan dujminatî roj bi roj zêde dibû.

331 Carekê sala çarê, wextê hawînê, malêt Herkîyan li waran bûn, mala Cindî Aẋa jî li warê Zawange bû li nik çîyayê Çarçelê. Temer û Xanemîr digel şeş ḥewt xulamêt Muṣṭefa Beg çûne nijdê. Li ser rêka mabeyna Şîwa Herkî w Zawange rûniştin. Weto qewimî, ew di bosê da bûn, dîtin Suwar Aẋa w Muḥemmed Aẋa, herdu kurêt Cindî Aẋa, digel deh xulaman ji warî dihatine xarê bo gundî. Xulamêt Muṣṭefa Beg gotin, “ewane ji me pitir in û cîyê me dûr e, hewar nagete me. Selaḥ ew e ʿelaqey wane nekeyn. Bila biçin.” Belê Xanemîr û Temer gotin, “em şêr în, kurêt şêrî. Me rojekê ḥeta meẋreb şer digel hemî Herkîyan kir. Çawa noke em ji wane bitirsîn û nêçîrê ho destûr bideyn?” Xulase wêkra oẋilmeyekê tifengan kirine mirowêt Cindî Aẋa. Suwar Aẋa digel sê xulaman kuştin û Muḥemmed Aẋa w çar xulam jî birîndar bûn. Sê xulaman xo hawêtine pişta beran, şer kirin, nehêlan nijde bigehte ser cendekêt wan. Temer got, “me nêçîrê xo kir. Rêka me jî dûr e, çak e wê carê bes bît. Da biçîn.” Rabûn, çûnewe bo naw Şemdînan.

332 Wextê ku ew xebere geheşte Cindî Aẋa, weto ʿaciz bû, wext bû bimirît. Rabû, çû mala Ḥecî Aẋayê Herkîyê koçer, got, “nijda mîrê Şemdînan kurê min Suwar Aẋa w sê xulam kuştine w kurê min Muḥemmed Aẋa w çar xulam birîndar kirine. Êdî bo me Herkîyan çi awrû nema. Koçer û binecî yêk in. Lazim e em

Oso came to Nehri to Mustafa Beg, the Mir of Shamdinan, and said, 'I have 329
taken refuge in the Mir's house. He must accomodate me and permit me to despoil the place of the Harkis and plunder their caravans and bring booty from them and burn their pastures and kill their men and of everything I bring half shall be for me and half for the Mir.' Mustafa Beg said, 'Of course chicks take refuge in thickets. Today you have got into difficulties and it would be shameful for me not to accept you: I must look after you, however it may be, and give you leave (to do all this) although I know that the agha of the Harkis and I will become enemies, but what can I do? There is no alternative. I must accomodate you.'

Mustafa Beg sent Oso's family to the fort in the village of Kapanakian, to 330
Qubad Agha of the Zarzan, and settled it there as Oso had enemies and the fort of Kapanakian was impregnable. When Oso was settled and felt secure he began to despoil the Harkis' place. There arose great enmity between the tribes of Shamdinan and Harki. For four years the enmity increased daily.

Once in the fourth year, in summertime, the Harki families were in the sum- 331
mer camps. Jindi Agha's household was in the camp of Zawanga near the mountain called Charchal (Four Cliffs).[5] Tamar and Khanamir together with six or seven of Mustafa Beg's henchmen went on a raiding party. They settled down on the road between Shiwa Harki and Zawanga. It happened that they were in ambush when they saw Suar Agha and Muhammad Agha, both sons of Jindi Agha, coming down from the camp to the village with ten followers. Mustafa Beg's followers said, 'They are more than us and our place is a long way off and help cannot reach us. We had better not take any notice of them. Let's go.' But Khanamir and Tamar said, 'We are lions, the sons of a lion. One day we fought until sunset with all the Harkis. How should we now be afraid of them and let such a prey escape?' In short, they all fired a volley at Jindi Agha's men together. Suar Agha and three followers were killed and Muhammad Agha and four followers got injured. Three followers flung themselves behind rocks and fought back, not allowing the raiding party to reach their corpses. Tamar said, 'We have bagged our prey. We have a long way to go so let that be enough for now. Let's go.' They got up and went back into Shamdinan.

When this news reached Jindi Agha he was so angry he nearly died. He got 332
up and went to the home of Haji Agha of the nomad Harkis and said, 'A raiding party of the Mir of Shamdinan has killed my son Suar Agha and three followers and wounded my son Muhammad Agha and four followers. We Harki have no honour left any more. The nomads and the settled are one. We must avenge this

5 Charchal (Kr. Çarçel), literally 'four cliffs', in the southwest of Shamdinan.

pêkwe wê tolê wekeynewe." Çunko ûcaẋa Cindî Aẋa, ku mala Şaba Aẋa dibêjinê, li naw ʿumûmê Herkîyan gelek muḥterem e, ji hemî aẋayêt Herkîyan necîbtir in, Ḥecî Aẋa got, "tu çi bifermoy teqsîr nakeyn." Cindî Aẋa got, "rabe, çend Herkîyê koçer ḥazir ke w çend Herkîyê binecî ez dê ḥazir kem, dê hucûm keyne welatê Zerzan, ji ẋeyrî Nehrîyê, ku cîyê meşaixan e, we ji ẋeyrî gundêt felan, hemîyan dê talan keyn û sojîn û her mêrê ber destê me bikewît dê kujîn." Ḥecî Aẋa got, "baş e, mirowêt min ḥazir in. Tu jî xeber bide Herkîyê binecî, bihên."

333 Herkîyê binecî hatin. Mala Ḥecî Aẋa li warê Gewerokê bû. Koçerê wî jî li Dola Mehendê w Zînîya Asingeran û li çîyayê Serdeşta Gewerê bû. Hemî cema bûn, du hizar mêr zêde bûn. Hucûm kirin, gundêt Xumaro hemî talan kirin û sotin. Hatine welatê Zerzan. Ji Nawşarê ḥeta Gelêşim hemî talan kirin û sotin. Şer çû ser Kepenekyan. Qubad Aẋayê Zerzan û xulamêt wî w Osê w kurêt wî w çend xudan-silaḥêt Zerzan hemî kewtine qesra Qubad Aẋa. Muḥasere bûn pênc şew û pênc rojan. Li ser qesrê bû şer. Hindî Herkîyan hucûm kirine qesrê, çi fayde nebû. Her hucûmê bîst mêr zêde li bin qesrê ji Herkîyan telef dibûn. Çend rexêt qesrê ji ber cendekan dîhar nebûn.

334 Egerçî welatê mîrê Şemdînan hemî xirab bû, ema mêrçakêt Herkîyan jî kêm man. Şêx Saliḥ û Mela Silêman, pêşniwêjê Nehrîyê, digel çend ʿulemayêt ʿeşîreta Gerdîyan û Şemdînan û Herkîyan, mîrê Biradostan û mîrê Gerdîyan, hemî kewtine mabeynê, leşkirê Ḥecî Aẋa w Cindî Aẋa bi hizar hîwî ji bin qesra Qubad Aẋa rakirin, gêranewe. Herkî çûne mala xo. Şemdînan jî man li ser kawilêt sotî. Ewcar Şêx Saliḥ û ʿulema w mezinêt ʿeşîretan muşawere kirin, gotin, "çak e musaleḥe bikeyn, çunko "*aṣ-ṣulḥu sayyidu-l-aḥkām*,"[6] yeʿnî, sulḥ serdarê hemî ḥukman e." Xulase, paşî gelek muxabere w murasele, musaleḥe kirin û şert kirin ku êdî Osê çi xirabî neket û rûnêt li Kepenekîyan. Ḥasilatê emlakê wî li naw Herkîyan bo wî bidene icare w ḥeta Osê sax bît nehête naw Herkîyan.

335 Çar-pênc sal ho ma. Osê li Kepenekyan mir. Malxê Herkîyê Binecî nawê wî Şerwedîn bû, ew jî ji ûcaẋa Osê bû. Mirowekî gelek ehlê tedbîr bû. Daymî terefdarê Cindî Aẋa bû. Gote Cindî aẋa, "ewe Oso mir. Selaḥ ew e, em kurêt wî dilxoş keyn, bînînewe. Paşî ku çak emîn bûn hemîyan dê kujîn, çunko "*al-ḥarbu xudʿatun*,"[7] yeʿnî, şer ḥîle ye. Dujminê qewî-pence dibît bi ḥîle w pîlan bihête fewt kirin."

6 In Arabic.
7 In Arabic.

together.' Since the clan of Jindi Agha, which is called the family of Shaba Agha, is greatly respected among all the Harkis, they are the most noble of all the Harki aghas, Haji Agha said, 'Whatever you say we shall not fail you.' Jindi Agha said, 'Get up and assemble as many nomad Harkis as possible and I shall collect as many settled Harkis as possible and we shall attack the Zarzan country and, except for Nehri, which is the home of the Shaikhs, and the Christian villages, we shall plunder and burn them all and kill whoever falls into our hands.' Haji Agha said, 'Very well, my men are ready. You tell the settled Harki to come.'

The settled Harki came. Haji Agha's home was in the camp of Gawarok. 333
His nomads were in the Mahandi Valley and the Asingaran (Blacksmith's) Pass and on the mountain overlooking the Gawar plain.[8] They all gathered together, more than two thousand men. They attacked and plundered and burnt all the villages of Khumaro.[9] They came to the Zarzan country. They plundered and burnt everything from Nawshar to Galeshim. The fighting came to Kapanakian. Qubad Agha of Zarzan and his henchmen and Oso and his sons and some armed men of the Zarzan all went into Qubad Agha's fort. They were besieged for five nights and days. The fighting was around the fort. However much the Harkis attacked the fort it was of no avail. At every attack more than twenty men of the Harkis perished at the foot of the fort. Some sides of the fort could not be seen for corpses.

Although the territory of the Mir of Shamdinan was all ruined, still of the 334
fighting men of the Harkis few remained. Shaikh Salih[10] and Mullah Sulaiman, the prayer-leader of Nehri, together with a number of divines of the Girdi and Shamdinan and Harki tribes, the Mir of the Biradost and the Mir of the Girdis, all intervened and with a thousand entreaties got the army of Haji Agha and Jindi Agha away from under Qubad Agha's fort and sent them home. The Harki went to their homes. The Shamdinan were left among their burnt ruins. Then Shaikh Salih and the divines and leaders of the tribes consulted together and said, 'We must arrange a reconciliation for (in Arabic) *"Peace is the chief of all commands."*' In short, after a lot of talking and correspondence, they all were reconciled and on the following conditions, that Oso should do no more damage and should settle in Kapanakian, that the produce of his properties among the Harkis would be put out to lease for him, and that Oso should not come amongst the Harkis as long as he lived.

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8 Sardasht (Kr. Serdeşt), literally 'beginning of the plain', the eastern stretches of the Gawar (Tr. Yüksekova) plain bordering Shamdinan regions.

9 One of the four major regions of Shamdinan, located in the west of the district, consisting of such villages as Gulank and Surunis, etc.

10 Shaikh Salih succeded his brother Sayyid Taha in 1853 and died in 1865. These events must have taken during this period, which is congruent with Mullah Sa'id's approximation.

336 Xulase Cindî Aẋa xeberê Şerwedîn gelek pesend kir û ʿemel pê kir. Paşî sê salan mezinêt Herkîyê Binecî digel Cindî Aẋa muttefiq bûn, gotin, "çak e her çar biran jêk cuda bikeyn, egerne her çar eger wêkra bin, gelek zeḥmet e." Şerwedîn got, "ez dê Xanemîr gazî mala xo kem, ew ji min emîn e. We Teto gazî bikene mala Nebî, ew jî ji ûcaẋa Osê bû. Sîno gazî bikene mala ʿUmer, ew dostê wî bû. Temer li mala xo bît, çunko ew ḥîlebaz e, belko neçît. Paşî weku ma Temer bi tinê ew jî senayî ye." We kirin wekî tedbîr kiribûn. Her sê bi wî ṭerzî kuştin. Wê şewê pêkwe hatine ser mala Temer.

337 Dostekî Temer hebû, nawê wî Ḥesen bû. Gazî Temer kir, "were der. Min çek li xo bestîne da biçîne çîyay, nêçîrê bikeyn." Temer zû rabû, rextê xo girê da, tifeng helgirt, hate der. Wextê serê xo ji derikî îna der bîst sihî tifeng wêkra berdane wî. Temer kewt. Hêşta birînêt wî germ bûn, rabû ser çokan, tifengek hawête koma wan, yêk kuşt, belê pêkwe hucûm kirine derikê xanî, Temer girtin. Cindî Aẋa gazî kir, "temam neken ḥeta ez têm." Cindî Aẋa hat, got, "Temer, te Suwar Aẋa kuşt?" Got, "belê, aẋa, min ew cûyê kurê cû siket kir. Dûmayîya her kes mirin e. Hindî em hebûyn ṣeyêt wekî te nedişiyan birewin. Noke jî em çûyn. Ḥukmê Xudê ye, hîç xem nîye, çi dikey, bike." Cindî Aẋa bi destê xo Temer bi biwirî temam kir.

338 Paşî çend salan Cindî Aẋa jî mir. Bû zemanê Şêx ʿUbeydullah. Jin û biçûk û ʿeyalê kurêt Osê hemî çûne tekya Şêx ʿUbeydullah. Ew jî qewî xurt bû. Kurêt Cindî Aẋa gazî kirin, çarṣed lîrayê ʿusmanî ji wan stand, da ʿeyalê kurêt Osê. Êdî mala wan kesekî weto nema ku xudan naw-û-nîşan bît.

339 Mesela meşhûr e, "eger darê kirm ji xo nebît, ʿemrê wê ji hizar salan zêde ye, belê kirm ku ji xo bû, dewam nîye, dê qulêr bît, kewît." *Wesselam*.

For four or five years things remained so. Oso died in Kapanakian. There was 335
a head of one of the houses of the settled Harki whose name was Sharwadin, and who was also of the same clan as Oso. He was a very wise man. He was always a partisan of Jindi Agha. He said to Jindi Agha, 'Now Oso is dead. The best thing is for us to placate his sons and bring them back. Then, when they feel quite secure, we shall kill them all, for (in Arabic) "*War is deceit*". A strong-handed enemy must be destroyed by deceit and cunning.'

In short, Jindi Agha greatly approved of Sharwadin's words and acted on 336
them. After three years all the leaders of the settled Harki were united with Jindi Agha, saying, 'We had better separate all four brothers, otherwise, if all four of them are together, it will be very difficult.' Sharwadin said, 'I shall summon Khanamir to my house, he trusts me. Call Tato to the house of Nabi, as he is also of Oso's clan. Summon Sino to Umar's house, he was his friend. Let Tamar stay in his own home because he is a trickster and might not go. Afterwards, when Tamar is left alone, it will be easy.' They did as he had advised. In that way they killed all three of them. That night they came to Tamar's house.

Tamar had a friend whose name was Hasan. He called to Tamar, 'Come out. 337
I have armed myself so that we can go to the mountain to hunt.' Tamar got up quickly, put on his cartridge-belt, took up his gun and came out. When he put his head out of the door they fired twenty or thirty guns at him together. Tamar fell. With his wounds still reeking he rose to his knees, and shot at the group of them, killing one, but they rushed the door of the house together and seized Tamar. Jindi Agha called, 'Don't finish him off till I come.' Jindi Agha came up and said, 'Tamar, did you kill Suar Agha?' He said, 'Yes, agha, I slew that Jew, son of a Jew. Everybody dies in the end. While we lasted dogs like you couldn't bark. Now that we have gone, it is God's will. I'm not worried, do what you will.' Jindi Agha finished Tamar off with his own hands with an axe.

After some years Jindi Agha died too. It was at the time of Shaikh Ubaidullah. 338
The wives and children and families of Oso's sons all went to Shaikh Ubeidullah's convent. He was very powerful. He summoned the sons of Jindi Agha and took four hundred Ottoman pounds and gave them to the families of Oso's sons. For the rest there remained nobody in their family of any name or fame.

It is a well-known proverb, 'If a tree has no worms within it, its life is longer 339
than a thousand years, but if it does have worms within it, it will not last but will become hollow and fall.'

XLVII

Ḥekayêta Gûza Kilawan

340 Bine-gûzek gelek kewn li gundê Benawokê, tixûbê Gerdî w Şemdînan, heye, dibêjine wê bine-gûzê "gûza kilawan". Sebebê wî nawî ewe ye: Dibêjin zemanê pêşî bû dujminî li mabeyna Ḥesen Beg, mîrê Şemdînan, û Selîm Beg, mîrê Gerdîyan, li ser gundê Rûyan û gundê Benawokê w gundê Bêsosin. Ḥesen Beg got, "ew her sê gunde ji Zînîya Berdîyê êrwe ne. Dibît bo min bin." Selîm Beg got, "hemî ʿalem dizanît ew her sê gunde ne heqê min e w ne heqê te ye, heqê aẋayê Herkîyê Binecî ye. Ez û aẋayê wan dost în. Dayne min, çunko ji wî dûr in, neşêt teṣerruf biket. Bes ez qebûl nakem mirowêt te hat-û-çûna wan gundane biken."

341 Sê-çar salan weto dujminatî kêşa, daymî mêr ji yêkudu dikuştin û talan dibirin. Mabeyna wan qewî nexoş bû. Dujminatîya wan gelek şedîd bû, çunko hingî çu ḥukûmetan bi resmî teserruf di cîyê kurdan nedikir. Mezinêt kurdan her yêk di cîyê xo da serbixo bû. Wê carê, çunko Ḥesen Beg zor xurt bû, ḥeta nawê wî danabûn Ḥesen Paşa, kesek ji mezinêt ʿeşîretêt nêzîkêt wî nedişiya beramberîya wî biket. Got, "we dîyar e Selîmok xo bi tiştek dizanît, lewanê hinde dujminatîyê digel min diket." Gote katibê xo, "were, kaẋezekê ji terefê min biniwîse bo Selîmokê Gerdî berûxor, ji-birsa-mirî, ema çawa dibêjim weto biniwîse, egerne dê tipila te biṛim."

342 Katib mirowekî aqil bû. Gote mîr, "belê, çawa difermon elbette wezîfa meʾmûrî itaʿeta emrê amirî ye, lakin mişûret di her karekî da zor munasib e. Qurʾanê fermoye, "*wa šāwirhum fi l-ʾamri*,"[1] yeʿnî Xudê dibêjît, "ey Muḥemmed, muşawere bike digel esḥabêt xo di her karekî da."[2] We Muḥemmed gotiye, "*lā nadima man istašāra*,"[3] yeʿnî, "peşîman nebûye her kesê muşawere kiribît".

1 In Arabic.
2 In Arabic.
3 In Arabic.

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XLVII

The Walnut of the Caps

There[4] is a very old walnut tree in the village of Banawok, on the boundary 340
between the Girdi and the Shamdinan, which they call the 'Walnut of the caps'. The reason for the name is this. They say that in former times enmity arose between Hasan Beg, Mir of Shamdinan, and Salim Beg, Mir of the Girdis, over the villages of Ruyan and Banawok and Besosin.[5] Hasan Beg said, 'All three of these villages are this side of the Bardi pass. They must be mine.' Salim Beg said, 'Everybody knows that all three of these villages belong by right neither to you nor to me. They belong to the agha of the settled Harki. Their agha and I are friends. He has given them to me because they are far from him and he cannot control them. So I will not permit your men to come and go among these villages.'

For three or four years enmity dragged on in this way and they were con- 341
stantly killing and plundering men from each other's sides. There was great unpleasantness between them. Their enmity became very intense, for then no government exercised any regular control in the Kurdish area. The leaders of the Kurds were all supreme in their own areas. At that time, as Hasan Beg was very powerful, so much so that they had dubbed him Hasan Pasha, no one among the leaders of the neighbouring tribes was able to oppose him. He said, 'Evidently little Salim thinks he is something and that's why he opposes me so much.' He said to his scribe, 'Come, write a letter from me to that acorn-eating starveling little Salim Girdi. But write it as I say, otherwise I'll cut your finger off.'

The scribe was an intelligent man. He said to the Mir, 'Indeed as you say, it is 342
the duty of the servant to obey the orders of his master, but consultation is most fitting in all affairs. As God says to Muhammad in the Koran, "Consult with your companions in all affairs." And Muhammad has said, "*He who has consulted with others has never repented*."

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4 This battle between the Shamdinan and the Girdi tribe told in this story is still known and told in Shamdinan.

5 Mid-way between the Shamdinan and the Girdi regions, these three villages were indeed subject to much contention between the rulers of these two regions, a fact known by the elderly of Shamdinan today. Especially Besosin was home to an important Christian population. The current residents are mostly of the Girdi Begzada families. Having lived and married in this village, Mullah Said is closely familiar with its history and stories, of which he relates several in his Persian history and description of Shamdinan, see Öpengin, *Shamdinani Stories II*.

343 Mesnewî dibêjît:

ʿAql-rā bā ʿaql-i yārī yār kun,
"ʾAmruhum šūrā" bixᵛān u kār kun.[6]

Yeʿnî, ʿeqlê xo digel ʿeqlê hewalekî bike hewal, ayeta "*ʾamruhum šurā*" bixûne w şol bike. Yeʿnî ew ayet dibêjît, "karê muʾminan şûra ye," yeʿnî bi mişûret e, serbixo nîye. We ʿeqlê mirowekî yek dawa mû ye, zeʿîf e, belê wextê gelek mû geheştine yêkudu dibîte werîs, kelan[7] pê girê diden."

344 Çi xoş gotiye şaʿirê farsî:

Ṣad hazārān rišta yaktā-rā nabāšad quvvatī,
Čūn bar-ī ham tāftī isfandiyār-aš nagsilad.
Rišta čūn yaktā buvad az zūr-i zālī bugsilad,
Līk čūn payvand šud az zūr-i Rustam nagsilad.

Yeʿnî, ṣed hizar mûyê yekta hîç quwet nîye. Wextê te pêkwe badan Isfendiyar nabizdînît. Mû wextê yekta bît ji quweta pîrejinekê dibizdiyêt, ema wextê pêkwe nûsyan ji quweta Rostem nabizdiyêt.

345 Bes selaḥ ew e kaẋeza mîrê Gerdîyan bi mişûreta mezinan û aqilmendan biniwîsî, çunko herçend emsalêt Selîm Gerdî liyaqeta dujminatîya zatê paşa nîye, belê dîsa di her şolekê da nermî w xoşî çêtir e w tewfîq bi Xudê ye. *Mebada* em axîrî şerminde bibîn."

346 Hindî katibî got mîr qebûl nekir, gote katibî, biniwîse, "Selîmokê berûxor, destê xo ji gundêt min bikêşe, egerne karê xo bike. Qerar bît leşkirekî weto bînime ser ʿeşîreta Gerdîyan ku berêt binaẋêt xanîyêt wan raken, bînine Nehrîyê." Weto niwîsî, kaẋez da destê cûyekî, bir bo Selîm Beg.

347 Wextê Selîm Beg mezmûnê kaẋezê zanî cû xelat kir, cewaba mîrê Şemdînan ho da niwîsîn: "Emrê ʿalî geheşt. Herçend zatê hingo reîsê me hemîyan e, ema dest ji huqûqî helgirtin gelek zeḥmet e. Mirin xoştir e. Me hîç wext ṭaqeta şerê hingo nîye, belê wextê muṣîbet hat, ji ber naḥelêyn. Tewfîq ji Xudê ye. Mirin bi ʿizzet xoştir e ji jîn bi zillet. Ḥeta kiçekê Gerdî maye dest ji wan gundane nakêşim. Herçî dikey bike. Teqdîra Xudê çi ye elbette ew dê bît, belê we diyar e cenabê mîr kelamê ḥukema ji bîr kiriye ku gotîne, "*man takabbara fa qad takassara*,"[8] yeʿnî, her kesê xo mezin bizanît dişkêt. *Wesselam*."

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6 In Persian.

7 Pronounced with a dark *l* and unaspirated *k*.

8 In Arabic.

The Masnavi[9] says, "Make your mind the companion of the mind of a com- 343
panion, read the verse of the Koran which says, "Consultation is the business of believers," (that is, to consult with one another, not to act independently) and then act." A man's mind is but a single thread of hair, and weak, but when many hairs come together it becomes a rope fit to tie buffaloes.

How well has the Persian poet[10] said, 344

A hundred thousand single hairs have no strength.
When you have twisted them together Isfandiyar himself cannot sever them.
When a hair is single it can be severed by the strength of an old woman,
but when they are united they cannot be severed by the strength of Rostam.

It is best, therefore, that you should write this letter to the Mir of the Girdis in 345
consultation with the leaders and wise men, for, although the likes of Salim Girdi are not worthy to oppose your noble self, nevertheless in every affair gentleness and pleasantness is better, and success is with God. Let us not be shamed in the end.'

Whatever the scribe said the Mir would not agree and said to the scribe, 346
'Write, "Little Salim, acorn-eater, take your hands off my villages, or else prepare yourself. I declare I shall bring such an army against the Girdi tribe that it will lift the foundation stones of their houses and bring them to Nehri."' He wrote thus and gave the letter to a Jew, who took it to Salim Beg.

When Salim Beg learnt the contents of the letter he rewarded the Jew, and 347
had the following reply written to the Mir of Shamdinan. 'Your exalted command has arrived. Although your noble self is head of us all, nevertheless to relinquish one's rights is very difficult. Death is preferable. We have never the strength to fight with you, but when the calamity occurs we shall not run away. Success is from God. To die with honour is better than to live in abasement. As long as a Girdi girl remains (to defend them) I shall not relinquish these villages. Do what you will. Whatever is the will of God will certainly be done, but obviously Your excellency has forgotten the saying of the wise men, that "Whoever thinks himself great will be broken." Salutations.'

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9 The celebrated "Spiritual Masnavi" by Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–1273), a long poem of about 28,000 lines, in six "books", which has been called "a veritable encyclopaedia of Sufi lore".

10 The Persian text is fairly corrupt. The first verse approximates to a verse of Sa'di (v. 77), the second to one of Sana'i (mid-11th-century-1130/1).

348 Wextê ew cewabe geheşte Mîr Ḥesen zêdetir ḥiddetê girt. Çar hizar mêr ji Şemdînan û ji Herkîyê koçer û Beresorîyan cema kirin, înane Rûyan û Benawokê. Mîr Ḥesen bi xo li gundê Ewlîyan rûnişt. Xeber geheşte Selîm Beg, li gundê Zerin bû, ku leşkirekî weto hatiye, êdî Gerdî neşên bibiziwin. Selîm Beg got, "bi quweta Xudê ṣube dê belaw kem."

349 Xeber da Gerdîyêt Nawparê w Berojîyan, "xo ḥazir ken. Ṣube ez bi xulamêt xo w Gerdîyêt Binçîya dê hucûm kem bo ser Benawokê. Hung jî ḥeta duṣibe bigene min." Selîm Beg sêṣed mêrêt bijare digel xo rakirin, nîw saʿet berî spêdê hawête ser Benawokê. Şêlikêt tifengan li-dû-yêk kirine gundî. Dest dane xenceran, hucûm kirine koma wan. Weto ḥelatin, dibêjin ḥeştê kilaw bi gûzê we man, çunko ṭayêt wê newî bûn. Xulase leşkirê Mîr Ḥesen şkest, gelek kuştin. Selîm Beg li Rûyan rûnişt. Roj⟨a⟩ paşî pêncṣed mêr Gerdî hatin, pêkwe hucûm kirine Ewlîyan. Li wê derê jî şkandin. Leşkirê Gerdîyan li Ewlîyan rûnişt, qereqolêt wan hatine Bêgirdî.

350 Mîr Ḥesen hate Nehrîyê zor şerminde. Meşaix û ʿulema w mezinêt ʿeşîretan kewtine mabeynê, musaleḥe kirin. Ewlîyan û Bêgirdî dane mîrê Şemdînan, Rûyan û Benawok û Bêsosîn man bo Gerdîyan. Nawê gûza Benawokê danan "gûza kilawan".

351 Ji hingî paş çu wext ʿeşîreta Şemdînan ẋalib nebûye li ser Gerdîyan. Mêrekî Gerdî muqabilî deh mêr Şemdînan şer kiriye w Şemdînan şkandiye. Ḥeta zemanê ḥukûmeta ʿUsmanî tesellut li ser Kurdistanê kirî ew gundane di teṣerrufa Gerdîyan da bûn. Paşî hingî ḥukûmetê hemî ji destê ʿeşîretan derêxistin. Belê noke jî gelek kesan tekebbur kirin û ḥerba ʿumûmî kirin. Mumkin e ʿaqibeta Ḥesen Paşa bi ser wan bihêt. *Wesselam*.

When this answer reached Mir Hasan he was even more furious. He gathered 348
four thousand men from Shamdinan and the nomad Harki and the Barasoris and brought them to Ruyan and Banawok. Mir Hasan himself stayed in Awlian. News reached Salim Beg, who was in the village of Zaran, that such an army had come that the Girdi could not move any more. Salim Beg said, 'Tomorrow I shall scatter them, with the help of God.'

He sent word to the Nawpari and Barozhi Girdis, 'Get ready. Tomorrow I shall 349
attack Banawok with my own followers and the Girdis of Binchya.[11] You reach me by the day after tomorrow.' Salim Beg took three hundred chosen men with him and half an hour before dawn flung them against Banawok. They fired volleys one after the other on the village. Then they seized their daggers and attacked the opposing group. These fled so precipitately that they say eighty caps were left on the walnut tree, for its branches were low. In short, Mir Hasan's army was defeated and many were killed. Salim Beg stopped in Ruyan. The next day five hundred Girdis came and together they attacked Awlian. There too they were victorious. The Girdi army settled in Awlian and their patrols came to Begirdi.[12]

Mir Hasan came to Nehri in great shame. The elders and divines and leaders 350
of the tribes intervened and made a compromise. Awlian and Begirdi they gave to the Mir of Shamdinan, while Ruyan and Banawok and Besosin were left to the Girdis. People called the walnut tree of Banawok the 'Walnut of the Caps'.

Since then the Shamdinan tribe has never conquered the Girdis. One Girdi 351
has fought with ten Shamdinanis and defeated them. Until the Ottoman government established its sovereignty over Kurdistan these villages were controlled by the Girdis. Afterwards the government wrested them all from the tribes, but now many people have become arrogant and started a general war. Maybe the fate of Hasan Pasha will befall them too.

11 The Girdi *nāḥiya* (district) was divided into three parts, *Girdie Barozh* (lit. sunny), *Girdie Nawpar* (lit. surrounding), and *Girdie Binchya* (lit. mountain-feet).

12 A village several kilometres south of Nehri district centre.

XLVIII

Ḥekayêta Muḥemmed Paşayê Rewandizê

352 Begêt Rewandizê dibêjin ewladê mirowekî ʿereb in, ji naw ʿErebê Şemer hat, çend salan li deşta Rewandizê, li gundê Badilyan û Bapiştîyan şuwanî w gawanî kir. Hindek dibêjin bi kesba xo gelek pare peyda kir. Hindek dibêjin xezîneyek dîtewe. Bi her ṭerzê dibît gelek dewletmend bû. Li gundê Badilyan, du saʿet nêzîkî Rewandizê terefê şimal, rûnişt. Emlak, xanî kirî, bû kedxudayê gundî. Ewladê wî gelek bûn, reşîd, qabil bûn. Xelk ji wan tirsa. Bûne aẋa, hêdî hêdî bûne beg. Ûcaẋa wan meşhûr in bi deʿîye w ṭemaʿ û gelek iḥtiramê diken bo ehlê ʿilm û meʿrifet.

353 Yêk ji wan ṣed sal berî noke peyda bû li bajêrê Rewandizê, nawê wî Muḥemmed Beg. Çawekî wî kore bû. Gelek cesûr bû. Ji terefê Sultan Mecîd rutbe w nîşan bo hat, bû Muḥemmed Paşa. Li naw Kurdistan meşhûr e bi Paşayê Kore. Li naw ʿUsmanîyan Kör Paşa dibêjinê. Roj bi roj xurt bû, tereqqî kir. Dûmayê dest hawête cehangîrîyê, ḥeta Mirgewerê, Şinoyê girt. ʿEşîreta Lîtana hebû, aẋayê wan ʿEzîz Begê Lîtanê bû. Qelata wî li pişta gundê Nalosê bû. Wan ḥukmê paşa qebûl nekirin, şer digel leşkirê paşa kirin. Hemî mêrêt cesûr êt wan hatine qelata ʿEzîz Beg. Pazde rojan kewtine muḥasere. Leşkirê paşa hucûm dikirin, wan jî mudafeʿe dikirin. Hosta Receb Rewandizî hebû, ṭop bo paşa çêdikirin. Du ṭop înan, qelata ʿEzîz Beg dane ber ṭopan, xirab kirin. Lîtanî pişka pitir kuştin. Yêt dî ji welatê Şino w Lacanê kirine der, tefriqe kirin. Noke ʿeşîreta Lîtana naw maye, bi xo nemaye. Ket-ket malêt wan li her memleketê etrafê dûr û nêzîk hene.

354 We leşkirê paşa çû terefê Hewlêrê w Kerkûkê w Silêmanîyê, hemî girtin. Sê rojan li ser qelata Hewlêrê şer kir, da ber ṭopan, ew jî teslîm bû. Şemdînan, Akrê, Amêdî jî girt. ʿEşîreta Zêbarîyan bi tinê qebûl nekir. Şerekî mezin digel leşkirê paşa kirin li ser gundê Sewtê.

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XLVIII

The Story of Muhammad Pasha of Rawandiz

They say that the Begs of Rawandiz are the descendants of an Arab man who 352
came from the Shamar tribe and worked as a shepherd and a cowherd for some years in the Rawandiz plain, in the villages of Badilyan and Bapishtian. Some say that he gained much money by his own efforts. Some say that he discovered a treasure. However it may be, he became very rich. He settled in the village of Badilyan, two hours journey north of Rawandiz. He bought a house and land and became headman of the village. His descendants were many, brave and able. People feared them. They became aghas and gradually rose to be Begs. The members of their family are famous for pretension and greed, but they hold men of science and learning in great respect.

One of them was bom a hundred years ago in the town of Rawandiz, whose 353
name was Muhammad Beg. One of his eyes was blind. He was very brave. Honours and insignia came for him from Sultan Mejid and he became Muhammad Pasha. In Kurdistan he is famous as the 'Blind Pasha' (*Paşayê Kore*). Among the Ottomans they also call him 'Blind Pasha' (*Kör Paşa*). Day by day he became (more) powerful and progressed. Finally he set his hand to conquest and captured as far as Margawar and Ushnuye.[1] There was a tribe (called) Litan[2] and their agha was Aziz Beg Litani. His fort was behind the village of Nalos. They did not accept the Pasha's rule and fought with his army. All their brave men came to the fort of Aziz Beg. They were besieged for a fortnight. The Pasha's army kept attacking and they repelled them. There was a certain Master Rajab Rawandizi who used to make guns for the Pasha. They brought two guns and bombarded Aziz Beg's fort and razed it. The greater part of the Litanis were killed. The others were driven out of the country of Ushnuye and Lajan and scattered. Now nothing remains of the Litan tribe but the name. There are individual families of them all over the surrounding country, far and near.

And the Pasha's army went in the direction of Erbil and Kirkuk and 354
Sulaimaniya and captured them all. For three days they fought for the citadel of Erbil, then they bombarded it and it too surrendered. He also took Shamdinan, Akre and Amadiya. The Zebari tribe alone did not accept (his rule). They fought a great battle with the Pasha's army over the village of Sawti.

1 More widelys spelled as Oshnaviyeh.
2 An erstwhile influential tribe in the Ushnuye region that has since perished.

355 ʿEzo hebû, ehlê gundî bû, reʿîyet bû, gelek şer bû. Ṣed mêr zêde ʿEzo li ser dereca xanîyê xo kuştin. Dibêjin ʿEzo hind bi quwet bû, du-du digirtin, lêk didan, fiṛe didane xarê, dimirin. Dûmayê ʿEzo girtin, birine Akrê. Paşa jî hatibû Akrê. ʿEzo gazî ḥuzûra xo kir. Paşa gote ʿEzo, "tu gelek cesûr î. Mixabin e te bikujim. Were, bibe xulamê min. Gelek meʿaşî dê deme te w dê te keme serekê ṣed xulaman. Çawa tu ḥez bikey bo te dê kem." ʿEzo got, "paşa, madam tu min dikeye xulam ez bo şolekê dî gelek baş im. Min zaniye paşa bêewlad e. Eger min bibey, hawêjîye ser jina xo kurêt wekî ʿEzo cesûr dê bin. Mixabin e paşa bêewlad bît." Wextê ʿEzo ho got paşa gote xulaman, "wî bêedebey zû biben, bikujin." ʿEzo birin, kuştin.

356 Paşa gelek qelat li naw ʿeşîretan çêkirin. Noke jî asarêt dîwarêt wan mayne. Yêk li naw Sîdekan, yêk li naw Şêrwanîyan, yêk li Akrê, yêk li ṭenişt bajêrê Rewandizê, yêk li Dêrê mabeyna Rewandizê w deşta Hewlêrê heye. Rêkek li gelîyê Rewandizê, li çîyay çêkiriye. Hemî singêt asin, gelek stûr, li çîyay dane. Gelek medrese jî danabûn. Terẋîba ʿilmî qewî dikir.

357 Dûmayê ji dewleta ʿUsmanî ʿasî bû. Hîç xerc neda dewletê. Heşt-neh salan weto ma, ḥukmdarî li Kurdistanê kir. Di zemanê wî da ebeden dizî w talan û jin rewan û ẓulm nema. Her şolekê waqiʿ biba çend ʿulemaêt muʿteber ḥazir dikirin, muwafiqî gotina ʿulema icra dikir. Wîşîyê tirî li hindawê rêkan ḥeta nêzîkî zistanê dima. Kes nediwêra dest biketê. Noke jî ḥukmê Paşayê Kore li naw Kurdistanê bi ḥekayet neql diken. Paşî dewleta ʿUsmanî gelek ʿesker îna ser wî. Du salan şer kir, dûmayê kewte muḥasere li Rewandizê. Çar hewyan mudafeʿe kir. Cebexane nema, eman xast, teslîm bû. Romîyan girtin, birine Istembolê. Paşî ku birin kes eḥwalê wî bi diristî nizanît, çi bi ser wî înan. Hindek dibêjin li rêkê kuştin. Hindek dibêjin ji rêkê hawêtine beḥrê. Hindek dibêjin gehandine

There was a man of the village, a peasant, called Azo, a great fighter.[3] Azo 355
killed more than a hundred men on the stairs of his own house. They say that Azo was so powerful that he would seize two at a time, strike them together and throw them down and they would die. Finally they captured Azo and took him to Akre. The Pasha had also come to Akre. He called Azo into his presence. The Pasha said to Azo, 'You are very brave. It is a pity for me to kill you. Come, be my man. I shall give you much pay and make you leader of a hundred men. I will do whatever you want for you.' Azo said, 'Pasha, since you will make me one of your men I am very good for another job. I have learnt that the Pasha is childless. If you take me and set me on your wife you will have sons as brave as Azo. It is a pity for the Pasha to be childless.' When Azo spoke in that way the Pasha said to his followers, 'Take this insolent fellow away immediately and kill him.' They took Azo and killed him.

The Pasha built many forts among the tribes. Now still the traces of their 356
walls remain. There is one in Sidakan, one among the Shirwanis, one at Akre, one next to the town of Rawandiz, one at Der, between Rawandiz and the plain of Erbil. He built a road in the Rawandiz Gorge, in the mountain. They have knocked all iron pegs, very thick, into the mountain. He founded many mosque schools also and he used greatly to encourage learning.

Finally he rebelled against the Ottoman government. He gave no taxes to the 357
government. For eight or nine years he remained thus, ruling in Kurdistan. In his time no theft or looting or abduction of women or oppression remained at all. Whatever affair might arise he would gather a number of respected divines and act according to their decision. Bunches of grapes would remain (hanging) above the roads until nearly winter. Nobody dared to touch them. Even now they still relate stories of the Blind Pasha's rule in Kurdistan.[4] In the end the Ottoman government brought up many troops against him. He fought for two years and finally he was besieged in Rawandiz. For four months he held out. Then ammunition ran out and he sought quarter and surrendered. The Turks captured him and took him to Istanbul. After they took him away nobody knows exactly what befell him or what they did to him. Some say they killed him on the way. Some say that they threw him from the road into the sea. Some say

3 Azo Sabti, one of the leaders of the Zebaris. There is a song honouring his bravery against the Blind Pasha in "the battle of Zebar and Soran". See Yaşar Kaplan, *Kaniya Stranan* [The Fountain of Songs] (Nubihar, 2014), 625.

4 The British traveller James Baillie Fraser commends the order and "moral change" the Pasha brought to the country and states in congruence to Mullah Sa'id's description, "there is not now a thief or theft in the country". James Baillie Fraser, *Travels in Kurdistan and Mesopotamia* (London, Richard Bentley, 1840), 65.

Istembolê w iḥtiram li wî girtin, du hewyan ma, nexoş bû, mir. Hindek dibêjin derman dane wî, mir. Hindek dibêjin birine Girîtê, qelʿe-bend kirin ḥeta mir. Xulase, kes bi meʿlûmî ḥalê wî nizanît.

358 Paşa hîç ewlad nebûn. Dibêjin feqet kiçek bûbû. Wextê di landikê da bû hate menzila jina xo, got, "ewe çi ye?" Jina wî got, "ewe kiç e. Xudê bo me kerem kiriye." Paşa got, "ewe kerem nîye. Ewe ẋezeb e Xudê li me kirî." Landik bi kiç we li pencerê hawête rûbarî. Qelata wî li ser çîya bû li hindawê rûbarî, sê hizar gez bilind e. Kiç û landik hemî li binê çîya hûr bûn, kewtine rûbarî, awê birin. Êdî paşa ewlad nedît. Çunko bi kerema Xudê razî nebû, lewanê Xudê jî tola kiçê ji wî kirewe.

359 Noke ji ûcaẋa Paşa çend kesek mane. Yêk heye, ʿEbdullah Paşa dibêjinê, gelek pîr e. Kurê wî Seʿîd Beg gelek qabil û cesûr û xudan-ẋîret e. Gelek caran dibû qaymeqam. *Bîmbaşî*yek[5] li Rewandizê hate kuştin. Nisbet dane layê xulamêt Seʿîd Beg. Salek pêş muḥarebe girtin, birine Beẋda. Noke dibêjin berdane, li Hewlêr e. Yêkê dî ji pismamêt wan heye, Yûsuf Beg kurê Muṣṭefa Beg, li Badilyan, ew jî cesûr e. Gelek li naw Romîyan bi ḥurmet e. Mabeyna wî w Seʿîd Beg daymî ʿedawet û burûdet heye. *Wesselam*.

5 Turkish for the military term 'major'.

they brought him to Istanbul and treated him with respect, that he stayed for two months, then fell ill and died. Some say that they gave him a potion and he died. Some say that they took him to Crete and imprisoned him until he died. In short, nobody really knows what happened to him.[6]

The Pasha had no descendants. They say that he had had only a daughter. 358
When she was in the cradle he came to his wife's room and said, 'What is it?' His wife said, 'It is a girl, God has been bountiful to us.' The Pasha said, 'That is not bounty, God has wrought His anger on us.' He threw the cradle together with the girl through the window into the river. His fort was on a mountain above the river, three thousand ells high. The girl and the cradle were both shattered at the bottom of the mountain, fell into the river and were carried away by the water. Thereafter the Pasha saw no (other) children. Since he was not satisfied with God's bounty, God took revenge on him for the girl.

Now there are a few of the Pasha's family left. There is one they call Abdullah 359
Pasha, who is very old. His son, Sa'id Beg, is very able and brave and zealous. He has often been District Governor. (Then) a major was killed in Rawandiz. They blamed (the crime) on Sa'id Beg's followers. A year before the war they seized him and took him to Baghdad. Now they say that they have freed him and he is in Erbil. There is another, a cousin of theirs, Yusuf Beg son of Mustafa Beg, in Badilyan. He too is brave. He is much respected by the Turks. There is always hostility and coldness between him and Sa'id Beg.

6 Having assumed unprecedented authority through his strong army over a large portion of Iraqi Kurdistan as well as Shamdinan and Ushnuye, Mir Muhammad was started to be seen as a threat by the Ottoman government. In coordination with the British policy of countering the Russian and Qajar influence in the region, the Ottomans enticed Mir Muhammad to submit and in return receive reinstalment to protect the border areas and rule Kurdistan. After submitting to the approaching Ottoman army in 1835, he was sent to Istanbul where he was received by the sultan; however, on his way back to Kurdistan, in the sea journey from Istanbul to Trabzon, Mir Muhammad disappeared, most likely killed by the Ottoman officials. See McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 42–44.

XLIX

Ḥekayêta Mewlana Xalid

360 Ji kurdêt Şarezûrê melayekî gelek muʿteber peyda bû, nawê wî Mela Xalid bû. Çend salan tedrîs kir, çend kitêb, ẋezeliyat, ʿeqaidê farsî ⟨w⟩ ʿerebî teʾlîf kirin. Paşî ku meʾzûn bû di irşada terîqeta Neqşbendîye da gotinê "Mewlana Xalid". ʿUlema w meşaixêt kurdan ekser, belke hemî, muʿteqidêt kemalat û kerametêt wî ne. Tefsîlen meʾzûnîyeta wî, wekî me bihîstî, ho ye.

361 Dibêjin wextê ku li Silêmanîyê muderris bû, Şêx ʿEbdullah Dehlawî bi sûretê derwêşî di xewnê dît, nezanî kî ye. Gotê, "Xalid, here ḥecê. Tu dê bînî derwêşekî wekî min li naw beyta Keʿbe, hispîyan dikujît. Çu iʿtiraz li wî negire, demana wî bigire w maç ke. Ew dê meqsûda te ḥasil ket." Paşî wê xewnê çend sal çûn, wî jî iʿtibar bi xewnê nekir. Got, "ewe xewn e. Aya reḥmanî ye yan şeytanî ye, cîyê bawirîyê nîye." Xulase xewna xo ji bîr kir. Paşî çû ḥecê. Derwêşek dît li naw Keʿbe hispîyan dikujît. Mewlana Xalid xo ji wî sil kir, "tu bi çi şerʿ û bi çi mezheb şola ho bêedeb dikey?" Wextê ho got derwêş rabû, kenî, got, "Xalid, te xewna Silêmanî ji bîr kiriye. Sefera te dûr kewt, neku li Dehlawî bibînî egerne ji destê te çû." Digel wê xeberê derwêş ji pêş çawêt wî bezir bû. Mewlane Xalid gelek peşîman û xemgîr bû. Hatewe bo Silêmenîyê, tedaruka sefera Hindustanê kir. Herçend ʿulema gotin, "neçe, bo ʿilmê te gelek mixabin e. Tu dîn bûyî." Got, "ez ḥalê xo elbette ji hingo çêtir dizanim. Dibît biçim."

362 Wextê çûnê rêka wî kewte Nehrî w Ûrmî. Hingî ʿEbdullah li Nehrî muderris bû, gote Mewlana, "ez gelek teessuf dikem bo ʿilmê te. Ḥez nakem biçî. Eger dê her çî, min jî di xizmet xo da bibe." Mewlana got, "kes zeḥmetê nekêşin. ʿEhd bît her faydeê li wê seferê dest min bikewît muxlis hemî şirîk bin." Ew şiʿra farsî derheq Seyîd ʿEbdullah Şemdînanî got:

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XLIX

The Story of Maulana Khalid

There was once a greatly esteemed mullah of the Kurds of Sharazur whose 360
name was Mullah Khalid.[1] He taught for some years and wrote a number of books and odes and creeds in Persian and Arabic. Later, when he graduated to teach the Naqshbandi path, he was called Maulana Khalid. Most, nay, all of the divines and shaikhs among the Kurds believe in his perfections and his miracles. The detailed story of his graduation, as we have heard it, is as follows.

They say that when he was a teacher in Sulaimaniya he saw Shaikh Abdullah 361
of Delhi in a dream, dressed as a dervish, but did not know who it was. He said to him, 'Khalid, go on the pilgrimage. You will see a dervish like me in the Kaaba killing lice. Do not find fault vith him, but seize the hem of his robe and kiss it. He will bring about what you seek.' Some years passed after this dream and he did not give it any credence. He said, 'This is a dream. Whether it is divine or satanic it is not to be believed.' In short, he forgot his dream. Later he went on the pilgrimage. He saw a dervish inside the Kaaba killing lice. Maulana Khalid lost his temper with him. 'What law and what sect are you following in doing such an ill-mannered thing?' When he spoke thus the dervish got up, smiled and said, 'Khalid, you have forgotten the dream of Sulaimaniya. Your journey is longer now. Either you will find (what you seek) in Delhi or not at all.' With these words the dervish disappeared from before his eyes. Maulana Khalid was full of remorse and sorrow. He came back to Sulaimaniya and made preparations for the journey to India. Although the divines said, 'Do not go. It is a great pity for your learning. You have lost your senses,' he said, 'I certainly know my own state better than you. I must go.'

When he went his road lay through Nehri and Urmia. Abdullah[2] was then 362
the teacher at Nehri. He said to Maulana, 'I am very sorry for your learning. I do not like you to go. If you insist on going then take me with you.' Maulana said, 'Let nobody trouble themselves. I promise that any advantage I may gain from this journey all sincere men shall share.' He composed this verse in Persian, concerning Sayyid Abdullah Shamdinani.

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1 Sharazur (Middle Persian *Syārazūr* "Black Forest") is the now deforested plain of Sulaimania. On Maulana Khalid, see Martin van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State* (London, 1992), 223–228; C.J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs* (London, 1987), 72.

2 Sayyid Abdullah of Nehri / Shamdinani (died around 1811) was the founder of the Nehri convent. See Bruinessen, "The Sâdatê Nehrî".

Adīb-i man jalīs-i man šavad dar ḥalqa-yi rindān,
Ba gūš-aš gar rasānam nāla-yi mastāna-yi xud-rā.

Yeʿnî, ewê ku edebê nîşa min didet, eger ez nalîya ḥalê serxoşîya xo bigehînime guhê wî, yeʿnî ew ḥalê bi ser min hatî bi ser wî jî bihêt, ew jî dê li naw meclisa lûtîyan rûnêt, yeʿnî rêka me dê qebûl ket, egerçî di nezera ʿewamî da em lûtî w xirab în.

363 Xulase Mewlana çû Dehlawê, çend salan ma lalî Şêx ʿEbdullah Dehlawî. Sulûk û riyazet kêşa, meʾzûn bû. Hatewe bo Silêmanîyê, teʿlîma terîqeta Neqşbendîye kir. Ḥeta hingî ji ẋeyri terîqeta Qadirîye nebû li Kurdistanê.

364 ʿUlemaêt Kurdistanê, emsalê Seyîd ʿEbdullah û Seyîd Ṭaha Nehrî w Mela Yeḥya Efendî Mizûrî Jêrî w Mela Ṭahirê Bamernî w Mela ʿEbdulfettaḥê Akreyî w Mela Eḥmedê Bicîlî w Mela Muṣṭefay Şinoyî w Mela ʿUsmanê Ṭewêleyî w gelek dî ji ʿulemaêt mezin bûne mirîd û meʾzûnêt Mewlana. Her yêk li cîyê xo bo şêx û irşada terîqeta Neqşbendîye kir, we ew terîqe li naw Kurdistanê belaw û meşhûr bû, we terîqeta Qadirîye roj bi roj kêm û bê reẋbet bû.

365 Hingî Şêx Meʿrûf hebû li Silêmanîyê, ʿalimekî gelek mezin bû we ewwel dereceê murşidêt Qadirî bû. Beʿzekî ʿulemaêt wekî Mela Muḥemmed kurê Mela Ademê Balekî tabiʿî wî bûn. Gotin, "bûna Mewlana li Kurdistanê zererekê mezin e, hem bo dînî, hem bo dunyayê, çunko kurd milletekî dilṣaf û weḥşî ye, malê xo nîwekê zêdetir dê kene ṣedeqe bo tekyayêt xulefeyêt Mewlana w gelek dê dewletmend bin. Ewladê wan dê bi naz û niʿmet perwerde bît, nefsa wan dê meẋrûr bît, cîyê babêt xo nagirin. Mesleka rûḥanî dê mubeddel ken bi umûrêt siyasî w dunyayî. Ji layekî dê iddiʿa meşeyxetê ken, ji layekî dê dest hawêjine ḥukimdarîyê. Hingî ʿulema dê iʿtirazê li wan girin. Ew jî dê bêjine cahilan, "ʿulema hemî munkirêt terîqeta ʿelîye ne." ʿUlema dê bê ḥurmet bin û ʿilm dê bê reẋbet bît. Wextê ku ʿilm nema dîn jî dê meḥw bît. We dewletmendîya wan dê bîte sebebê ʿisyana wan ji dewletan. Kurdistan dê bîte cîyê şer û ʿedawet û leşkirkêşîya dewlet û ʿeşîretan. Çu raḥetî bo kes namînît. Hingî dîn û dunya

'My teacher would become my companion in the circle of revellers
if I were to let him hear my drunken lament.'

That is to say, 'He who reveals the doctrine to me, if I were to let him hear the lamentation of my drunken state (in other words, if the state which has come upon me were to come upon him too), he too would sit down in the company of rascals (that is, he would accept our way), even if in the general view we are rascals and evil men.'

In short, Maulana went to Delhi and stayed with Shaikh Abdullah of Delhi 363
for some years. He followed the rules[3] and exercises and (finally) graduated. He came back to Sulaimaniya and gave instruction in the Naqshbandi path. Until then there had been no path but the Qadiri in Kurdistan.

The divines of Kurdistan, such as Sayyid Abdullah (Shamdinani) and Sayyid 364
Taha of Nehri and Mullah Yahya Effendi of Lower Mizuri and Mullah Tahir of Bamarni and Mullah Abdulfattah of Akre and Mullah Ahmad of Bijil and Mullah Mustafa of Ushnuye and Mullah Usman of Tawela, and many other leading divines became disciples and graduates of Maulana. Each one became a Shaikh in his own place and taught the Naqshbandi path and that order spread and became famous in Kurdistan, while the Qadiri path daily declined and lost favour.

At that time there was a certain Shaikh Ma'ruf in Sulaimaniya, a very learned 365
man and the foremost of Qadiri guides. A few divines, such as Mullah Muhammad, son of Mullah Adam Balaki, were his followers. They said, 'Maulana's presence in Kurdistan is highly injurious, both spiritually and temporally, for the Kurds are a simple and credulous poeple; they will give more than half of their property as pious gifts for the convents of Maulana's successors and these will become very rich. Their offspring will be brought up in the lap of luxury, they will be conceited and will not follow their fathers. They will change the spiritual way of life to one of political and secular affairs. On one hand they will claim the dignity of shaikhs, on the other they will seek temporal rule. Then the divines will find fault with them. They will say to the ignorant, "The divines are all deniers of the high path." The divines will lose respect and learning will lose favour. When there is no learning left the faith too will be destroyed. Their wealth too will be the cause of their revolting against the government. Kurdistan will become a field of battle and enmity and of manoeuvres of government and tribal armies. No rest will be left for anybody. Then we shall lose control of

3 Rendition of the concept of *sulūk*, which in Islamic mysticism stands for the "course of practice" to be followed on the way to leaving behind the illusory selfhood. See, "Sulūk", *EI*[2].

herdu dê ji destê me derkewin. Bes muwafiqî qaʿideê *uṣūlu-l-fiqh*, "*irtikābu l-qabīḥi li dafʿi l-ʾaqbaḥi wājibun*,"[4] yeʿnî, kirina tiştê kirêt bo defʿ kirina tiştekî kirêttir lazim e. Bes wacib e, bo girtina pêşîya fesada dînî w dunyayê, em cenabê Mewlana bikujîn."

366 Xulase Şêx Meʿrûf û tabiʿêt wî qerar înane ser kuştina Mewlana. Gotin, "eger ew mirowe xirab e wacib e kuştina wî. Eger çak e, çunko dûmayê dê bîte sebebê xirabîyekê mezin, dîsa lazim e kuştina wî." Bi wî mezmûney xeber dane Mewlana, "em xahiş dikeyn, ji Kurdistanê derkewe, egerne muwafiqî qaʿideê uṣûl dê te kujîn."

367 Mewlana jî ʿalimekî ʿaqil û munṣif bû. Zanî fermodeê Şêx Meʿrûf dirist e w bi diristî hate cî. Tedaruka xo kir, çû Istembolê. Li wê derê jî qiyasê du salan irşad kir û çend xulefa meʾzûn kirin. Egerçî weḥşeta kurdan ji bêterbiye w bêteʿlîmî bû, emma sefaheta turkan tiştekî tebîʿî w xelqî bû. Li Istembolê zêdetir bû baʿisê endêşe w iẋtişaşê. ʿUlema ho munasib dîtin biçîte ʿErebistanê. Gotin, "ereb milletekî muteʿessib û ẋeyûr û dil-qahîm in. Gelek tabiʿî tiştê rûḥanî nîne. Wê derê bo cenabê resadet-meʾabê Mewlana ji hemî cîyan selaḥtir û bê endêşetir e."

368 Mewlana ji Istembolê çû Şamê, çend salan li wê derê jî irşad kir. Li Saliḥîyê wefat kir. Noke merqedê wî meşhûr e, tekya li ser heye. Xelk diçine ziyaretê. Mewaciba ḥukûmetî heye bo meṣarifê tekya wî. *El-ḥeqq*, Mewlana bi xo zatekî mubarek bû, emma towekî weto li Kurdistanê çand, bû baʿisê meḥwa asayişa wan. *Wesselam*.

4 In Arabic.

both spiritual and secular matters. Therefore, in accordance with the doctrinal rule that "the performance of an evil act for the prevention of one more evil is necessary," it is obligatory for us to kill Mr. Maulana, to forestall spiritual and secular corruption.'

In short, Shaikh Ma'ruf and his followers decided to kill Maulana. They said, 366
'If this man is evil then killing him is permissible. If he is good it is still necessary to kill him, for in the end he will be the cause of great evil.' They informed Maulana to this effect, 'We wish you to leave Kurdistan, otherwise, according to the doctrinal rule we shall kill you.'

Maulana also was a wise, just and learned man. He knew that Shaikh Ma'ruf's 367
words were true and had been justly conceived. He made his preparations and went to Istanbul. There too he taught for the extent of two years and authorised a number of successors to teach. While the naivety of the Kurds was the result of lack of teaching and education the stupidity of the Turks was something natural and innate. In Istanbul he was even more the cause of anxiety and disturbance. The divines considered it best that he should go to Arabia. They said, 'The Arabs are a very zealous and resolute people. They are not great followers of spiritual things. That is by far the best and most trouble-free place for his excellency Maulana.'

Maulana went from Istanbul to Damascus and taught there too for a num- 368
ber of years. He died in Salihiya. Now his tomb is famous and there is a convent around it.[5] People make pilgrimages to it. There is a government stipend for the expenses of his convent. In truth, Maulana was himself a holy person, but he sowed such a seed in Kurdistan as caused the destruction of their peace.

5 See Metin Atmaca, "Kurdish Naqshbandi-Khalidi Sheikhs of Damascus in the Nineteenth Century," in *Syrian-Kurdish Intersections in the Ottoman Period*, eds. Stefan Winter & Zainab HajHasan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2024), 272–286.

L

Ḥekayêta Şêx Nebîyê Mawîlî

369 Gundek heye nêzîkî Rewandizê, Mawîlan dibêjinê, reʿîyet in, feqîr in. Melayek ji wî gundî peyda bû, gelek melayekî çak bû, di her ʿilmekî da mahir bû. Babê min digot, wextê ez feqî bûm ew musteʿidd bû. Min ders lalî wî dixund. Gelek zîrek bû. Paşî ku muntehî bû çû gundê Ṭewêle, lalî Şêx ʿUsman, xelîfeyê Mewlana Xalid, daxilî terîqeta Neqşbendî bû. Çend salan ma, sulûk û riyazat kêşa. Bû xelîfe w ji teref Şêx ʿUsman izna şêxînîyê wergirt. Bû şêx, hatewe bo naw ʿeşîreta Balekan. Gundek ji nû awa kir li mabeyna ʿeşîreta Balekan û ʿeşîreta Xoşnawan. Nawê wî gundî dana Xaneqa, yeʿnî *jā-yi iršād-i murīdān*,[1] li wê-derê rûnişt, dest bi irşadê kir. Ehlê Balekan û Xoşnawan hemî bûne mirîdêt wî. Xaneqayek jî li Koy Senceq awa kir. Zistanan diçû Koy, irşad dikir. Gelek meşhûr bû.

370 Paşî ku Şêx ʿUsman mir gote mirîdan, "ez di wê terîqeta ʿelîye da muctehid im. Hindek adab hene bo wî zemaney lazim in beyan bikem, çunko qelbêt ehlê zemanê me weto reş û req bûne bi zikrê Xudê nerm nabin. Nefsa wan bi deʿîye ye. Ḥeta deʿîya nefsê nehête şkandin zikrê Xudê hîç teʾsîrê di qelbî da naket. Madam we ye bes min bo şkandina hewa w hewesan rêka munasib dîtiye ku tiştê li naw xelkî zor şerm û kirêt bît biken, da xelk loma wan biket, belko nefsa wan newî bibît û zikrê Xudê teʾsîrê biket. Wextê hung cema dibin bo niwêjê, her kesê bête jûr li dû silawê bêjît, "ey ehlê meclisê, ez hingo bigêm." Ehlê meclisê jî bêjine wî "ser çawan, ser seran, em jî te bigêyn." Wextê radibine niwêjê imam bêjît, "rast rawestin, min di qûna hingo we." Cimaʿet jî di cewaba imamî da bêjin, "reḥmet li te, em hemî di qûna te." Paşî ku niwêj temam bû imam ṭiṛekî mezin biket. Hemî bêjin, "li ser kîrê me." Paşî her yêk ṭiṛekî biket. Imam bêjît, "li ser kîrê min." Paşî hemî biziṛin wekî keran û xo hawêjine ser yêkudu, bikene qorî w galte. We her yêk bo karwanî makerekê ragirît, wextê diçine karwanan makeran bigên. Paşî ganê bihêt, li naw cimaʿetê iqrar biket." Xulase ew şolêt ho kirêt û muxalifî edeb û munafî ʿeql û insaniyetê gelek bo mirîdan gotin û mirîdan qebûl kirin.

371 We bi xo jî çil jin înan, çu wextan ji hejde jinan kêmtir nebûn. Wextê diçû gundan her mirîdê kiçekê baş û jîroke heba dixemiland, bo cenabê şêx diîna, digot, "hîwî dikem şêx kiça min qebûl biket û kiça min teberruk biket, da bedenê bab û day û bapîr û dapîr ḥeta ḥewt piştan li agirê cehennemê ḥeram bibît." Çunko hindek xelîfe peyde kiribûn ho digotine xelkî w paşî ku şêx kiça

1 In Persian, *place where disciples are taught*.

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L

Shaikh Nabi Mawili

There is a village near Rawandiz called Mawilan, whose inhabitants are poor 369
peasants. A mullah appeared from that village who was a very good mullah, skilled in all the sciences. My father used to say: When I was a theological student he was most able, and I studied with him. He was very clever. When he finished he went to the village of Tawela, to Shaikh Usman, the successor of Maulana Khalid, and entered the Naqshbandi path. He stayed there for some years, following the rules and exercises. Then he became a Khalifa and received the licence to teach as a shaikh from Shaikh Usman. He became a shaikh and came back among the Balak tribe. He re-established a village between the Balak and Khoshnaw tribes. He called the village Khanaqa (i.e. a place where disciples are taught), and there he settled and began to teach. All the people of the Balak and the Khoshnaw became his disciples. He also established a convent in Koy Sanjaq. In winter he would go to Koy and teach. He became very famous.

After Shaikh Usman died he said to his disciples, 'I am the leading divine in 370
this exalted order. There are a number of ceremonies appropiate to this time which I must reveal, for the hearts of the people of our time have become so black and hard that they are not softened by the remembrance of God. Their souls are full of pride. Until the pride of their souls is broken the remembrance of God will have no effect on their hearts. Since this is so I have decided that, to break their desires and lusts, the proper course is for them to do things which are considered by people to be most shameful and reprehensible, so that people should upbraid them, that their souls may be brought low and the remembrance of God may have some effect on them.'[2] (He then enjoined them, in vivid detail, various grossly obscene greetings and practices.) In short, he told the disciples many such things which were odious and vulgar and contrary to sense and humanity, and the disciples accepted them.

For himself, moreover, he took forty wives, and never had less than eighteen 371
wives. When he went to the villages every disciple who had a good and pretty daughter would adorn her and bring her for his honour the Shaikh, saying, 'I hope the Shaikh will accept my daughter and bless her, so that the bodies of her father and mother and grandfathers and grandmothers for seven generations may avoid the fire of Hell.' For he had produced a number of Khalifas who told

2 Regarding such acts of self-abasement, see Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 214, n. 1.

ṣofî teberruk dikir, eger ḥez kiriba bi xo heldigirt, yan dida xelîfeyekî, yan dida babê kiçê. Ew kiç dibû teberruk û muqeddes. Edî ji ẋeyri şêx yan xelîfe kes nedişiya nêzîk bît, bo xelkî ḥeram dibû.

372 Mela ʻUmer Efendî Rewandizî di zemanê wî da hebû, melayekî gelek mutebeḥḥir bû. Hindî seʻî kir ku Şêx Nebî w mirîdan hişyar biket bi weʻz, bi ḥukûmet, bi aẋayêt ʻeşîretan, çu teqsîr nekir, ema hîç fayde neda, belko xirabtir bûn. Noke jî ket-ket li ser wî ʻadetî mane li naw Xoşnaw û Balekan.

373 Carekê mirîdekî wî gû xar bo şkandina nefsa xo. Xeber geheşte Mela ʻUmer Efendî ku ḥalê mirîdekî Şêx Nebî ewe ye. Mela ʻUmer Efendî du-sê cendirme ji ḥukûmetê xastin ku biçin, wî mirîdî bigirin, bînin da ji wî bipirsin aya rast e yan ne. Çûn, înan. Efendî ji wî pirsî got, "ṣofî, min tiştekî ho zaniye, ema min bawir nekiriye. Ez dibêjim ewe duro ye. Insan şolêt ho pîs qet naket. Kesê wihê biket elbette bi şerîʻet û qanûn dê hête tembî kirin." Ṣofî kenî, got, "*subḥanellah*, mela, tu çi qeder sefîh û nezan î! Çawa ewe duro ye? Selaḥ û munasib ewe ye ku cenabê mela jî wê şekirê bixot, belko pîçek nasîna Xudê di qelbê cenabê mela da ḥasil bibît." Mela efendî ṣofî da ḥebs kirin. Salekê ma di ḥebsê da, her roj digot, "min ew şekir xariye. Gelek çak e, mela jî bixot." Hîç fayde neda, dûmayê berdan.

374 Ḥemzey şaʻir derheqq Mela Nebî gotîye:

Çil jin heye Şêx Nebî bi mezhebê ḥimarî
Ibni Adem nemaye, serî pan ket wek marî.

Yeʻnî, Şêx Nebî, ku çil jin hene, muwafiqî şerîʻet nîye, belko muwafiqî mezhebê keran e; Mela Muḥemmed kurê Mela Adem nemaye, ku ḥukm biket, serê wî pan biken wekî serê marî, çunko Mela Muḥemmed zor bi ḥukm û bi ẋîret bû. Wî weto digel Şêx Meʻrûfê Silêmanî selaḥ dît ku Mewlana Xalid ji Kurdistanê derkewît, da ew ṭerze bidʻete peyda nebin, emma dîsa fayde nebû.

the people this, and after the Shaikh had "blessed" the disciples' daughter, if he should have liked her he would keep her for himself, or give her to a Khalifa, or give her back to her father. That girl became "blessed" and holy. Henceforth nobody but the Shaikh or a Khalifa could approach her and she was forbidden to other people.

In his time there was one Mullah Umar Effendi of Rawandiz, a most eru- 372
dite mullah. Although he strove to bring Shaikh Nabi and the disciples to their senses, through sermons, through the government and through the aghas of the tribes, never giving up, nevertheless it was to no avail, rather they became worse. Even now there are a few left among the Khoshnaw and the Balak following their customs.

Once one of his disciples ate dung to humble his soul. Word reached Mul- 373
lah Umar Effendi that such was the case of a disciple of Shaikh Nabi. Mullah Umar Effendi asked for two or three gendarmes from the government, to go and arrest the disciple and bring him in so as to ask him whether it was true or not. They went and brought him. Effendi asked him, saying, 'Sufi, I have heard such a thing, but I did not believe it. I say it is a lie. Men never do such foul things. A person who does such a thing must certainly be punished, in both religious and civil law.' The Sufi laughed and said, 'My God, mullah, how foolish and ignorant you are! How should it be a lie? It is right and fitting that his honour the mullah should eat that sugar too, then perhaps a little recognition of God might enter the heart of his honour the mullah.' Mullah Effendi had the disciple imprisoned. He stayed in prison for a year and every day he said, 'I have eaten that sugar. It would be very good if the mullah eat it too.' It was no use and finally they freed him.

The poet Hamza has a poem concerning Shaikh Nabi which means, 'Shaikh 374
Nabi, who has forty wives, does not follow the holy law, but rather the religion of the donkeys. Mullah Muhammad, the son of Mullah Adam,[3] is no longer there to order that his head should be flattened like the head of a snake.' For Mullah Muhammad was very powerful and zealous. He agreed with Shaikh Ma'ruf of Sulaimaniya that Maulana Khalid should leave Kurdistan so that such heretical innovations should not occur, but again it was of no avail.

3 Mullah Muhammad Ibn Adam (1750–1844), a well-known Kurdish scholar during Muhammad Pasha's reign in Soran Emirate. Among his students was Haji Qadir of Koy Sanjaq. Sabah A. Ghalib, "The Emergence of Kurdism with Special Reference to the Three Kurdish Emirates within the Ottoman Empire 1800–1850," (University of Exeter Doctoral Dissertation, 2011), 117.

375 Ḥacî, şaʿirê Koyî, derheq xaneqa wî gotîye:

Xaneqakey Kenefi emn û edebxaney ʿamm,
Cêy qesay ḥacet e, xelqî be zerûrî deçinê.

Li nik mirîdan digot, “meʿna ho ye ku, xaneqa wî cîyê emnîyet û cîyê edebê ʿumûmi insan e, cîyê ḥasil bûna muḥtacîyan e, xelk lazim e biçine wê derê.” Li nik xelkê dî digot, “meqsûda min ewe ye. Xaneqa wî cîyê rîtina min û abdestxaney *ʿewammu-n-nasî* ye, cîyê qeza⟨ya⟩ ḥaceta rîtinê ye, xelk wextê ṭengaw dibin bo rîtinê diçine wê derê.” *Wesselam*.

Haji,[4] the poet of Koy, has written about his convent (in an equivocal verse). 375
To the disciples he used to say that its meaning was thus, 'His convent is the place of security and of propriety of all mankind, the place where the desires of the needy are fulfilled. People must go there.' To people in general he used to say, 'This was my intended meaning: His convent is the place where I relieve myself and a privy for all mankind. It is a place for the necessity of defecating, where people go when they must.'

4 Haji Qadir of Koy Sanjaq (ca. 1817–1897), a well-known poet in Sorani (Central) Kurdish.

LI

Ḥekayêta Şêx ʿEbdusselamê Ewwel

376 Gundek heye li naw ʿeşîreta Zêbarî, Barzan dibêjinê. Ji hemî gundêt Zêbarî mezintir û muʿtebertir e. Ji qedîm cîyê mela w feqîyan bû. Male-melayek heye li wê derê, bab û bapîrêt wan hemî melayêt qewî çak bûn. Yêk hebû, nawê wî Mela ʿEbdullah, du kur hebûn. Kurê mezin nawê wî Mela ʿEbdurreḥman bû, kurê kiçke Mela ʿEbdusselem bû. Herdu qewî ʿalim û saliḥ bûn, digotine wan seydayêt Barzanî. Seyda li naw kurdan bi meʿna ustad e.

377 Wextê ku Seyîd Ṭaha Şemdînanî izna irşada terîqeta Neqşebendî ji Mewlana Xalid wergirt, bû murşid, li Nehrî rûnişt. Mela ʿEbdurreḥman Barzanî hate lalî Seyîd Ṭaha, bû mirîdê wî. Muddetekê sulûk û riyazet kêşa ḥeta bû xelîfe. Çû, li Barzanê dest bi irşadê kir. Mela ʿEbdusselam jî hate Nehrî ku bibîte xelîfe, ema Seyîd Ṭaha got, "ez ḥez nakem tu daxilê terîqetê bibî. Ez weto mesleḥet dibînim tu tedrîsê bikey, kurê min Şêx ʿUbeydullah jî lalî te bixûnît." Mela ʿEbdusselam jî, egerçî di dilê xo da ʿaciz bû, emma qebûl kir. Hindek wextan li Nehrî, hindek wextan li Barzanê tedrîs dikir. Ḥeta Seyîd Ṭaha mir wî jî tedrîs kir. Paşî Seyîd Ṭaha, Şêx Saliḥ, birayê wî, li Nehrî bû murşid. Mela ʿEbdusselam ferset dît, sulûk û riyazet kêşa ku Şêx Saliḥ wî bikete xelîfe. Mela ʿEbdurreḥman digote Şêx Saliḥ, "ez selaḥ nabînim tu birayê min bikeye xelîfe, çunko ez wî dinasim. Dûmayê dê bîte sebebê ixtişaşekê mezin." Ema Şêx Saliḥ nesîḥetê Mela ʿEbdurreḥman qebûl nekir, Mela ʿEbdusselam kire xelîfe. Ew jî li Barzanê meşxûlî irşadê bû.

378 Mela ʿEbdurreḥman mir. Du-sê kurêt bêçare, bênaw hebûn. Meydan ma bo Mela ʿEbdusselam bi tinê. Roj bi roj terîqeta Mela ʿEbdusselam tereqqî kir. Nawê wî danan Şêx ʿEbdusselam. Paşî Şêx Saliḥ jî mir. Şêx ʿUbeydullah li cîyê wî rûnişt. Şêx ʿUbeydullah gelek dunyadar û dewletmend bû. Zor ḥez dikir reîsê rûḥanî w cismanî ew bît. Gote Şêx ʿEbdusselam, "ez qebûl nakem bêjine te şêx. Tu yan

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LI

Shaikh Abdussalam I

There[1] is a village among the Zebari tribe called Barzan. It is bigger and more 376
important than all the (other) Zebari villages. It has been a place of mullahs and religious students from olden times. There is a family of mullahs there whose ancestors were all very good mullahs. There was one, whose name was Mullah Abdullah, who had two sons. The elder son's name was Mullah Abdurrahman and the younger son was Mullah Abdussalam. Both were very wise and pious and they were called the "Teachers of Barzan". "Sayda" means "teacher" among the Kurds.

When Sayyid Taha of Shamdinan received permission from Maulana Khalid 377
to give instruction in the Naqshbandi path he became a Guide and settled in Nehri. Mullah Abdurrahman Barzani came to Sayyid Taha and became his disciple. For some time he followed the rules and exercises until he became qualified as a Khalifa. He went and began to give instruction in Barzan. Mullah Abdussalam also came to Nehri in order to become a Khalifa, but Sayyid Taha said, 'I do not want you to enter on the path. I think it would be better for you to teach and for my son Shaikh Ubaidullah to study with you.' Although Mullah Abdussalam was pained at heart he accepted. Sometimes he taught in Nehri, sometimes in Barzan. He continued teaching until Sayyid Taha died. After Sayyid Taha his brother Shaikh Salih became Guide in Nehri. Mullah Abdussalam saw his opportunity and followed the rules and exercises so that Shaikh Salih should make him a Khalifa. Mullah Abdurrahman used to say to Shaikh Salih, 'I do not think it advisable that you should make my brother a Khalifa, because I know him. In the end he will be the cause of great disturbance.' But Shaikh Salih did not accept Mullah Abdurrahman's advice and made Mullah Abdussalam a Khalifa. He too began to give instruction in Barzan.

Mullah Abdurrahman died. He had two or three helpless and unknown sons. 378
The field was left to Mullah Abdussalam alone. Daily his path made progress. They named him Shaikh Abdussalam. Then Shaikh Salih also died. Shaikh Ubaidullah succeeded him. Shaikh Ubaidullah was very worldly and rich. He very much wanted to be both spiritual and physical leader. He said to Shaikh Abdussalam, I will not permit you to be called Shaikh. You are either Mullah, or

1 This and the following two texts were translated into French by B. Nikitine under the title "Les Kurdes Racontés par Eux-mêmes. La famille des Cheikhs de Barzan" in *Bulletin de l'Asie française* 231 (May 1925): 148–187.

mela yî, yan seyda yî, yan xelîfe yî. Tu şêx nîy, ez im şêx." Mela ʿEbdusselem jî got, "her tiştê Xudê biket kes neşêt menʿ biket. Xudê melatî w seydatî w xelîfetî daye min. Li nik wî senayî ye şêxatîyê jî bidete min." Li ser wihê mabeyna wan nexoş bû. Êdî Şêx ʿEbdusselam nehate Nehrî, hat-u-çûna xo birî. Mirîdêt Şêx ʿEbdusselam û Şêx ʿUbeydullah bûne dujminêt yêkudu. Dûmayê mirîdêt Şêx ʿEbdusselam gotine wî "ẋews". Ẋews li naw kurdan dibêjine Şêx ʿEbdulqadir Geylanî, ku li Beẋdayê medfûn e, yeʿnî feryadresê hemî musulmanan.

379 Wextê ewe meşhûr bû Şêx ʿUbeydullah got, "Şêx ʿEbdusselam û mirîdêt wî dêwane ne, wergeriyayne, dû şeytanî kewtine." Şêx ʿEbdusselam digot, "paşî mirina Şêx Saliḥ serkanîya Nehrî çik bû, li Barzanê derkewt. Êdî Mala Nehrî şêx nîne, aẋa ne, dunyadar in." Mirîdêt Şêx ʿEbdusselam zêde bûn. Gerdî w Mizûrî w Şêrwanî w Zêbarî hemî tabiʿ bûn. Şêx ʿUbeydullah tirsa. Leşkirekî mezin ji ʿeşîretêt etrafan ḥazir kir, çûne Naw Gerdîyan, her kesê tabiʿê Şêx ʿEbdusselam bû talan kirin û hindek kuştin. We çûne naw Şêrwanîyan, digel wan jî weto kirin. Li naw Mizûrîyan jî weto kirin. Paşî, hêşta negeştîye naw Zêbarîyan, Şêx ʿEbdusselam ḥelat, çû Akrê. Salekê ma. Dîsa hatewe bo Barzanê, belê wekî berê ʿedaweta mabeyna xo w Şêx ʿUbeydullah aşkera nedikir. Ema mirîdêt wî zêde dibûn.

380 Dûmayê mirîdan gote wî "tu Mehdî yî. Rabe, biçîne Şamê. Tabiʿan peyda bike, Istembolê bigirîn, tu li cîyê pêẋember rûnê. Ḥeqê sultanêt ʿUsmanîyan nîye, ew hemî ẓalim in." Şêx ʿEbdusselam got, "ewe ji min zêde ye. Neşêm wihê bikem. Ez feqîr im, Mehdî nîme." Dûmayê Şêx ʿEbdusselam kore bû. Ji mirîdan diḥelat, xo dişarewe. Mirîdan teftîşa wî dikirin ḥeta didîtinewe. Hindek caran dikutan, digotinê, "tu Mehdî yî, bo çî xo aşkera nakey?" Çend salan weto ma, ji destê mirîdêt xo gelek zeḥmet kêşa. Paşî mir. Kurê wî Şêx Muḥemmed li cîyê wî rûnişt. *Wesselam*.

Teacher, or Khalifa. You are not Shaikh, I am Shaikh.' Mullah Abdussalam said, 'No man can prevent what God does. God gave me my position as Mullah and Teacher and Khalifa. It is easy for him to give me the position of Shaikh also.' They fell out over this. Shaikh Abdussalam no longer came to Nehri and ceased his coming and going. The disciples of Shaikh Abdussalam and Shaikh Ubaidullah became mutual enemies. Finally Shaikh Abdussalam's disciples called him 'Ghaus'. Among the Kurds Shaikh Abdulqadir Gailani, who is buried in Baghdad, is called 'Ghaus', the 'Helper' of all Muslims.

When this became known Shaikh Ubaidullah said, 'Shaikh Abdussalam and 379
his disciples are mad. They have gone astray and are following the devil.' Shaikh Abdussalam used to say, 'After the death of Shaikh Salih the spring of Nehri ran dry and came forth at Barzan. The Nehri family are no longer Shaikhs, they are aghas, worldly men.' Shaikh Abdussalam's disciples increased. The Girdi and Mizuri and Shirwani and Zebari all became his followers. Shaikh Ubaidullah was afraid. He gathered a large army from the surrounding tribes, and they went among the Girdis and plundered everybody who was a follower of Shaikh Abdussalam and killed a few. Then they went among the Shirwanis and dealt the same with them. They did likewise among the Mizuris. Then, when they had not yet come among the Zebaris, Shaikh Abdussalam fled to Akre. He stayed for a year and then returned to Barzan, but did not parade his enmity with Shaikh Ubaidullah as before. But his disciples increased in number.

Finally his disciples said to him, 'You are the Mahdi.[2] Arise and let us go to 380
Syria. Gather followers so that we may take Istanbul and you sit in place of the Prophet. It is not the right of the Ottoman Sultans, they are all tyrants.' Shaikh Abdussalam said, 'This is beyond me. I cannot do it. I am a poor man, not the Mahdi.' Finally Shaikh Abdussalam became blind. He used to flee from his disciples and hide himself. His disciples used to search for him until they found him. Sometimes they would beat him and say to him, 'You are the Mahdi, why don't you reveal yourself?' Things stayed so for a number of years and he suffered much at the hands of his disciples. In the end he died and was succeeded by his son Shaikh Muhammad.

2 The Mahdi is the "rightly guided" leader of the faithful who is to appear on earth in the last days.

LII

Ḥekayêta Şêx Muḥemmedê Barzanî

381 Paşî mirina Şêx ʿEbdusselamê Ewwel kurê wî Şêx Muḥemmed li cîyê wî rûnişt. Nîw-mela bû, wekî babê xo gelek ʿalim nebû. ʿEzmanê wî pîçek giran bû. Dest bi irşadê kir. Mirîdêt wî zêdetir bûn. Hemî rojêt sêşembî w eyînî mêr û jin cema dibûn li Barzanê, şêx bo wan teweccuh dikir. Teweccuh di mezhebê kurdan da ew e, şêx li naw mirîdan rawestît, nawê meşaixêt silsila terîqetê bixûnît, mirîd jî bikene qorî. Hindek caran dilûrin wekî ṣan, hindek caran diziṛin wekî keran. Xulase ewê muxalifî insanîyetê w munafî ʿeql û edeb e ji mirîdan peyda dibît.

382 Dîsa Şêx ʿUbeydullah leşkirê kurdan ḥazir kir ku biçîte ser Barzanê, ema Şêx Muḥemmed zanî, zû rabû, bi şew hate Nehrî, xo hawête mizgewta Şêx ʿUbeydullah. Got, "min xewnek dîtiye, silsila meşaixan gote min, "rabe, here ḥuzûra Şêx ʿUbeydullah, izna terîqetê ji wî wergire. Noke li ser rûyê ʿerdî pîr-i rewşen-zemîr, murşid-i kamil u mukemmil ew e." Noke ez hatîme, her emrê ḥezretê şêx bifermot dê kem." Şêx ʿUbeydullah gelek keyfxoş bû. Gote mela Sadiq Katûneyî, xelîfey xo, "tertîba terîqetê nîşa Şêx Muḥemmed bide. Ez dê wî keme xelîfe. Wî gelek mirîd û tabiʿ hene, bo me lazim e."

383 Xulase Şêx ʿUbeydullah gelek iḥtirama wî girt û kire xelîfe w hinare Barzanê w xelîfe Mela Sadiq jî digel wî hinar. Xelîfe Sadiq salekê ma lalî wî, paşî hatewe. Sê-çar salan weto ji dostînî rabarin ḥeta ku Şêx ʿUbeydullah digel ʿUsmanîyan şer kir û nefî kirine Ḥicazê. Paşî hingî Şêx Muḥemmed Barzanî tereqqî kir. Aẋayêt ʿeşîretan pişka pitir bûne tabiʿêt wî. Mirîdan dîsa nawê Mehdî nû kirin. Gotin, "nawê wî Muḥemmed e. Di ḥedîsan da nawê Mehdî jî Muḥemmed e. Bes şêxê me Mehdîyê ḥeqîqî ye." Dest bi silaḥ kirînê kirin, çunko ji hemî Kurdistanê weḥşîtir Zêbarî w Şêrwanî w Mizûrî bûn, ewan jî tabiʿêt wî bûn. Pênc hizar mêr zêdetir cema bûn. Gotin, "êdî kes neşêt beramberîya me biket. Em dê çîn, Mûsilê girîn û çîne Şamê w ji wê derê hucûm keyne Istembolê, lingê Ḥemîdokî girîn, ji textî înîne xarê, ḥezretê Mehdî danêyne ser textî bila ew li cîyê pêẋemberî rûnêt."

384 Wextê ew ḥale aşkera bû ʿulemaêt wan ʿeşîretan gotin, "rawestin, ewe mumkin nabît. Ḥukûmet dê hingo meḥw ket." Mirîdan gotin, "elbette mela

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LII

Shaikh Muhammad Barzani

After the death of Shaikh Abdussalam I his son Shaikh Muhammad succeeded 381
him. He was semi-literate, not very learned, as his father was, and he stuttered a little. He began to give instruction and his disciples increased in number. Every Tuesday and Friday men and women gathered at Barzan and the Shaikh would perform the 'tawajjuh' for them. 'Tawajjuh' in the religion of the Kurds is this. The Shaikh stands among his disciples to recite the names of the shaikhs of the line of the path, for the disciples to shout. Sometimes they howl like dogs, sometimes they bray like asses. In short, the disciples evince that which is the opposite of humanity and inconsistent with intelligence and good manners.

Shaikh Ubaidullah again gathered an army of Kurds to go against Barzan, 382
but Shaikh Muhammad learned of this and quickly arose, came by night to Nehri and took refuge in the mosque of Shaikh Ubaidullah. He said, 'I have had a dream and the line of the Shaikhs said to me, "Arise and go into the presence of Shaikh Ubaidullah and obtain his permission to enter the path. He is now the most enlightened Guide and perfect Teacher on the face of the earth." Now I have come to do whatever his excellency the Shaikh commands.' Shaikh Ubaidullah was very pleased. He said to Mullah Sadiq of Katuna, his Khalifa, 'Show Shaikh Muhammad the ways of the path. I shall make him a Khalifa. He has many disciples and followers, so it is necessary for us.'

In short, Shaikh Ubaidullah treated him with great respect and made him 383
a Khalifa and sent him to Barzan, sending the Khalifa Mullah Sadiq with him. Khalifa Sadiq stayed with him for a year then returned. They passed three or four years in this way in friendship until Shaikh Ubaidullah fought with the Turks and they banished him to Hijaz. After that Shaikh Muhammad Barzani prospered. The majority of the aghas of the tribes became his followers. His disciples revived the name of Mahdi. They said, 'His name is Muhammad. In the Traditions the name of the Mahdi is also Muhammad. So our Shaikh is the true Mahdi.' They began to buy arms, for in all Kurdistan the Zebari and the Shirwani and the Mizuri were the wildest, and they were his followers. More than five thousand men gathered. They said, 'Nobody can oppose us any longer. We shall go and take Mosul, go to Syria, and from there attack Istanbul, grab little Hamid by the leg, drag him off the throne and set his Lordship the Mahdi on the throne. Let him sit in the place of the Prophet.'

When this matter became known the divines of those tribes said, 'Wait, this 384
is impossible. The government will wipe you out.' The disciples said, 'The mul-

kafir in, munkîr in. Lazim e hemîyan bikujîn, egerne şola me qet çênabît." Mela Ḥacîyê Perîseyî hebû, mirowekî ʿaqil û ʿalim bû. Li naw Zêbarîyan gelek xanedan û muʿteber bû. Ji rêwe mirîdan ew kuştin, parçe-parçe kirin, cendekê wî danane qulêre-gûzê, agir berdanê, sotin. Her mirîdê dihat, ṭopizek li quromê gûzê dida, digot, "ez negeheştime xêra ẋeza⟨ya⟩ Mela Ḥacî, ew bi nîyeta cendekê wî ṭopizê xo li quromê gûzê didem." Mirîdan digotin, "belê, ferq nîye, Xudê xêra te niwîsî." Paşî çûn, Mela Muṣṭefayê Mizûrî li gundê Êdilbê girtin, birine serbanê sê-tebeqîyê, hawêtine xarê. Li binî dane ber ko-biwiran, herişandin. Paşî çûn, mela Muḥemmed Mizûrî li gundê Gûzê kuştin. Mela Meʿrûfê Şêrwanî li gundê Pîranê kuştin. Paşî, wextê ewane kuştin, melayêt Gerdîyan û ket-ketêt mayî ji Zêbar û Şêrwan û Mizûrîyan ḥelatin, çûne layê Amedîyê w Akrê w Rewandizê, xo şarinewe. Noke jî hîç mela li naw wan ʿeşîretan nemane.

385 Paşî ku ewe kirin leşkirê mirîdan bû du firqe. Yêk li rêka Akrê, yêk li rêka Rewandizê, çûn bo ser Mûsilê. Qaymeqamê Akrê w Rewandizê girtin, kutan, mala wan talan kirin. Xeber geheşte Mûsilê, ḥal ho ye. Walî Saliḥ Zekî Paşa hebû, mirowekî ʿaqil bû, got, "netirsin, ez dê wan bi hostayî w bi senayî defʿ û terbiye kem." Wextê leşkirê mirîdan sê saʿet ma bigete Mûsilê walî got, "çend ʿeskerê Mûsilê hemî ḥazir bît, ṭopan li hemî derwazan ḥazir ken, ṭopçî rawestin. Ez digel çar-pênc cendirme dê çime istiqbala Mehdî."

386 Weto dameziran û hate istiqbala Mehdî. Wextê geheşte naw leşkirê mirîdan dît hemî tifengêt kurdewarî xirab, bêkare. Walî gote şêx, "tu gelek bi xêr bihêy. Ji mêj e em muntezirî ẓuhûra eʿla-ḥezretê Mehdî-yne. Ez xo gelek xudan-seʿadet dizanim ku Xudê di zemanê min da ew kereme digel me kir. Çend ʿeskerê Mûsilê jî min ḥazir kiriye, hemî di xizmet ḥezretê Mehdî da bihêne ser Ḥemîdokî. Ez jî, eger qebûl bifermon, dê di xizmeta hingo da bêm."

lahs are certainly infidels and apostates. We must kill them all or our work will never succeed.' There was one Mullah Haji of Parisa, a wise and learned man. He was of good family and greatly respected among the Zebaris. To start with the disciples killed him, cut him up, put his corpse into the hollow of a walnut tree, set fire to it and burnt it. All the disciples would come, strike the stump of the walnut tree a blow with a club and say, 'I did not manage to acquire merit in the holy war against Mullah Haji, but now I strike the stump of the walnut tree with my club, intending it for his corpse.' The disciples would say, 'Yes, it makes no difference, God has recorded your merit.' Then they went, seized Mullah Mustafa Mizuri in the village of Edilbe, took him to the roof of a three-storied house and threw him down. Below they struck him with axe-butts and crushed him. Then they went and killed Mullah Muhammad Mizuri in the village of Guzi. They killed Mullah Maruf Shirwani in the village of Piran. Then, when they killed these, the Mullahs of the Girdis and the few left of the Zebaris and Shirwanis and Mizuris fled and went to Amadiya and Akre and Rawandiz and hid themselves. Now still no mullahs remain among those tribes.

After they had done this the army of the disciples split into two parties. 385
They went against Mosul, one by way of Akre, one by way of Rawandiz.[1] They captured the district governors of Akre and Rawandiz and beat them and plundered their homes. News reached Mosul that such was the case. The governor was one Salih Zeki Pasha,[2] an intelligent man. He said, 'Do not be afraid, I shall repel them and teach them a lesson by cunning and with ease.' When the army of the disciples was yet three hours journey away from Mosul the governor said, 'Bring all the troops in Mosul, put guns at all the gates and man them with gunners. I shall go with four or five zaptiehs to welcome the Mahdi.'

He arranged things so and came to meet the Mahdi. When he came among 386
the army of the disciples he saw that they all had bad, useless locally-made guns. The governor said to the Shaikh, 'You are most welcome. We have long awaited the appearance of his Supreme Highness the Mahdi. I count myself most fortunate that God has granted us this favour in my time. I have assembled all the troops in Mosul for them to go against little Hamid in the service of the Mahdi. I too shall come with you, if you will accept me.'

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1 There is no attestation in historical documents and in literature about Shaikh Muhammad's attack on Mosul, but in 1897 his forces attacked Akre and released the prisoners there. BAO.Y.PRK.UM.47.105, 19 May 1314/31 May 1898.

2 There is no Mosul governor in this name, but a certain Salih Beg, who was also appointed as the qaimaqam of Barzan in 1898. At the time of Mullah Sa'id's writing this piece, a certain Salih Zeki (Kuşarkov) was an active member of the Committee of Union and Progress and serving as a district governor in various places in Turkey and Dayr-az-Zor in Syria. Mullah Sa'id would have confused the names in that case.

387 Şêx gelek memnûn û keyfxoş bû. Gote mirîdan, “ew walîye musulmanekî gelek baş e, hemî destê wî maç ken.” Hemî hatin, bi qorî w cezbe, destê walî maç kirin û ikrama walî gelek girtin. Walî got, “madam ḥezretê Mehdî ez qebûl fermom bes ji êre wê we, ḥeta diçîne Istembolê, çunko bende şarezatir im, xahiş dikem bo tedbîra çûnê w şer kirinê ḥezretê Mehdî mişûretê bi bende bifermot.” Şêx got, “elbette bê re’ya hingo çu nakem.”

388 Mirîdan gotin, “kilawê tomê sor gelek kirêt e li pêş çawêt me. Em ḥez dikeyn walî paşa kilawê xo biguhorît.” Walî got, “ez jî zor ji kilawê wan ṣan wêzar im, ema ji ber ʿadetê wan min danaye serê xo. Noke teşrîfa Mehdî ḥazir e her ṭerze kilawî bifermot wî dê danême serê xo.” Şêx got, “kilawê dezî w cemedanîya sor bo paşa baş e.” Walî jî wê saʿetê cendirmeyek hinar, kilawekî dezî w cemedanîyekê sor înan, danane serê xo. Got, “êdî ez walî nîme, ez bendeyê ḥezretê Mehdî me.”

389 Walî got, “noke şeş-ḥewt hizar mêrêt kurd bi çek ji xeflet we biçine naw şarî, xelk dê tirsît. Ez ho munasib dibînim ḥezretê Mehdî digel çend mirowêt mezin û muʿteber bihêne menzila bende, leşkirê dî jî bibîte sê firqe, her firqeyek biçîte qişleyekê. Êdî ʿeskerê me jî hemî tabiʿêt ḥezretê Mehdî ne, xizmetê bo Ḥemîdokî naken.” Şêx got, “elbette her re’ya cenabê walî munasib bizanît selaḥ ew e.” Walî got, “ḥezretê Mehdî hîç ẋem nexot, yeqîn bifermot, ḥeta diçîne Istembolê kes şerê me naket. Hemî dujminêt Ḥemîdokî ne, hemî dê xizmeta eʿla-ḥezretê Mehdî ken.” Xulase xeberê walî temam kewte ʿeqlê şêxî w mirîdan, hemîyan bawir kirin. Çawa ku walî tertîb danabû weto çûne şarê Mûsilê. Mirîdan gotin, “*elḥemdulillah*, me şarê Mûsilê bê şer girt.” Du-sê rojan man li naw ʿeskerê Romîyan, gelek iḥtirama wan girtin. Çak bawir kirin ku walî w ʿesker û ehlê Mûsilê hemî li ser fikra wan e.

390 Paşî walî gote şêx, “ḥez dikem mirîd hemî libasê xo hawêjin da bişoyn, çunko sefera me dûr û dirêj e.” Şêx got, “baş e, tu wekîl î.” Walî gote mirîdan, “hemî cilêt xo biêxin da bişoyn.” Hemîyan li naw qişlan cilêt xo êxistin, emîn bûn. Ji xeflet we ji her terefekî ʿeskerê ḥukûmetê w ehlê Mûsilê dewre li mirîdan da, hemî girtin û çekêt wan standin. We şêx digel Feqî ʿEbdurrehman û Muḥê Çîçî birine menzilekî sê-tebeqî li hindawê şeṭî, li wê derê ḥebs kirin û xeber dane

The Shaikh was very pleased and grateful. He said to the disciples, 'This gov- 387
ernor is a very good Muslim. All of you kiss his hand.' They all came, shouting ecstatically, kissed the governor's hand and treated him with great respect. The governor said, 'As his Highness the Mahdi accepts me I request that henceforth, until we go to Istanbul, his Highness the Mahdi should deign to consult with me concerning the manner of going and of fighting, since I am better acquainted with such matters.' The Shaikh said, 'Of course I shall do nothing without your advice.'

The disciples said, 'A red fes is very ugly in our eyes. We would like the gover- 388
nor Pasha to change his hat.' The governor said, 'I too am disgusted with the hat of those dogs, but I have worn it because of their custom. Now that his excellency the Mahdi is here I shall don whatever kind of hat he commands.' The Shaikh said, 'A cotton bonnet and a red kerchief is good for the Pasha.' The governor immediately sent a zaptieh, fetched a cotton bonnet and a red kerchief and put them on. He said, 'I am no longer governor. I am a servant of his Highness the Mahdi.'

The governor said, 'Now if six or seven thousand armed Kurds go into the 389
city unexpectedly the people will be afraid. I consider it best that his Highness the Mahdi and a few leaders and honoured men should come to my house and that the rest of the army should split into three parties and each party go to a different barrack. Henceforth my troops are all followers of his Highness the Mahdi too and will not serve little Hamid.' The Shaikh said, 'Certainly whatever his excellency the governor advises is best.' The governor said, 'Let his Highness the Mahdi not worry about anything, but believe that until we go to Istanbul nobody will fight with us. Everybody is little Hamid's enemy and will serve his Supreme Highness the Mahdi.' In short, everything the governor said pleased the Shaikh and the disciples and they all believed him. They went into the city of Mosul as the governor had planned. The disciples said, 'Praise to God, we have taken the city of Mosul without a fight.' For two or three days they stayed among the Turkish troops, who treated them with great respect, until they quite believed that the governor and the troops and the people of Mosul were all of one mind with them.

Then the governor said to the Shaikh, 'I would like all the disciples to take off 390
their clothes so that we can wash them, for the campaign before us is a long one.' The Shaikh said, 'Very well, you are in charge.' The governor said to the disciples, 'All take off your clothes so that we can wash them.' They all took off their clothes in the barracks, as they felt secure. Suddenly the government troops and the people of Mosul surrounded the disciples on all sides, seized them all and took their arms. The Shaikh, with Faqi Abdurrahman and Muhi Chichi, was taken to a three-storied house overlooking the river Tigris and imprisoned

Istembolê, ḥal ho ye. Cewab hat, "hemîyan nefî kene Terabulosa Ẋerbî." Şêx zanî hîç xilas bûna wî mumkin nîye. Gote Feqî ʿEbdurrehman û Muḥê, "Selaḥ ew e xo li pencerê hawêjîne şeṭî. Eger mirîn dê raḥet bîn û eger xilas bûyn çêtir. Çarey me ji ẋeyri ḥelatinê çî dî nîye." Xulase şûtikêt xo pêkwe bestin, li pencerê girê dan, nîweka şewê ket-ket her sêyan xo dahêlane şeṭî. Wextê biharê bû, aw gelek boş bû, ema ʿumûmê ehlê Barzanê ji masîyan melewantir in, ew hîç ji rûbaran natirsin. Her sê bi melewanî derbaz bûn û kiras û derpê jî bo xo xilas kirin, hatinewe bo welatê Zêbarê w Şêrwanê.

391 Ḥeta salekê xo aşkera nekirin, kes nezanî kê we çûn. Mirîdêt dî jî hemî birin bo Terabulosê w Yemenê. Paşî çend salan ket-ket firar dikirin, dihatine welatê xo, ema pişka pitir man, noke jî kes nizanît mane yan mirine. Wextê ku ho tefreqe bûn êdî nawê Mehdî ji-naw xo rakirin. Ḥeta şeş-ḥewt salan kes newêra beḥsê terîqetê li naw Zêbarîyan û Şêrwanîyan û Mizûrîyan aşkera biket. Paşî dîsa hêdî hêdî, bi mexfî, dest bi terîqetê kir û digel qaymiqamê Zêbarê, Şewqî Efendî, dostînî peyda kir. Mabeyna xo digel ḥukûmetê xoş kir, êdî qet bêemrîya ḥukûmetê nekir.

392 Sihî salan zêdetir li Barzanê irşad kir. Mirîdêt wî hindek caran xirabî dikirin û cûn digotine ʿulema, belê dema ku şêxî dizanî tembî dikirin, nedihêla ḥerekan biken. Dûmayê digel şêxê Bicîlê bû dujmin. Gelek muro ji Zêbarî w Surçîyan hatine kuştin. Çend salan dujminatîya wan kêşa. Paşî Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq musaleḥe kir li mabeyna Zêbarî w Surçî w herdu şêxan. Paşî Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq ṭemaʿa cîyê Zêbarî w Mizûrîyan kir û ʿeşîretan ṭemaʿa wî qebûl nekirin, şer digel Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq kirin û mabeyna wî w Şêx Muḥemmed Barzanî jî nexoş bû. Gelek şer hatine kirin.

393 Carekê leşkirê Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq çû ser Barzanê, hemî xirab kir. Şêx ḥelat, çû Rewandizê. Ḥukûmet carekê dî muḥafezeya Şêx Muḥemmed kir. Înane Barzanê. Dîsa ẋelebe kir li ser xulamêt Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq. Di wî wextî da Şêx Muḥemmed Barzanî mir. Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq keyfxoş bû, belê kurê Şêx Muḥemmed, Şêx ʿEbdusselamê sanî, li cîyê babê xo rûnişt, dest bi irşadê kir. Cahil bû, hîç nexundibû.

there. They informed Istanbul that this was the case. The reply came, 'Banish them all to Tripoli in Africa.' The Shaikh knew that no escape was possible for him. He said to Faqi Abdurrahman and Muhi, 'It is best that we throw ourselves through the window into the river. If we die we shall be at rest, and if we escape so much better. There is no other way out for us but to escape.' In short, they tied their cummerbunds together and lashed them to the window. In the middle of the night all three of them let themselves down into the river, one by one. It was springtime and the river was very full, but most of the people of Barzan swim better than fishes and are not afraid of rivers. All three swam across, saving their shirts and pants, and returned to the Zebar and Shirwan country.

For a year they did not reveal themselves and nobody knew where they 391
had gone. The other disciples were all taken to Tripoli and Yemen. After a few years they began to flee one by one and to return to their own country, but the majority remained and still now nobody knows whether they are alive or dead. When they were scattered in this way they disposed of the name of Mahdi. For six or seven years nobody dared to mention the path among the Zebaris and Shirwanis and Mizuris. Then (the Shaikh) slowly began to preach the path again in secret and made friends with Shevqi Effendi, the district governor of Zebar. Between them they placated the government and thereafter he never disobeyed the government.

For thirty years more he gave instruction in Barzan. Occasionally his disci- 392
ples did wrong and abused the divines but as soon as the Shaikh learnt of it he warned them and did not let them make a move. Finally he became the enemy of the Shaikh of Bijil. Many men of the Zebaris and the Surchis were killed. Their enmity continued for some years. Then Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq brought about a reconciliation between the Zebaris and the Surchis and the two shaikhs. Then Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq demanded the lands of the Zebaris and the Mizuris, but the tribes did not accede to his demand and fought with him. Then there was ill-feeling between Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq and Shaikh Muhammad Barzani and many battles occurred.

Once the army of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq went against Barzan and 393
destroyed it all. The Shaikh escaped and went to Rawandiz. The government protected Shaikh Muhammad once again and brought him to Barzan. Again he overcame Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq's henchmen. At that time Shaikh Muhammad Barzani died. Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq was pleased, but Shaikh Muhammad's son, Shaikh Abdussalam II succeeded his father and began to give instruction. He was ignorant and had studied nothing.

LIII

Ḥekayêta Şêx ʿEbdusselamê Sanî

394 Wextê ku Şêx ʿEbdusselamê sanî li cîyê babê xo Şêx Muḥemmed rûnişt iḥtirama ʿulema çak girt. Got, "babê min gelek xelet kir ku ʿulema dane kuştin. Dînê her milletekî bi ʿulemaêt wî milletî rawestaye. Ez cahil im, çu nizanim, lazim e bo xo melayekî peyda bikem, dersan bixûnim da tiştekî bizanim." Hinar, Mela Eḥmed Efendî hebû li Akrê, îna Barzanê, kire muderis, ders lalî wî xund du-sê salan. Bû nîw-mela, ji babê xo çêtir bû. Gelek sexî bû. Mezinêt ʿeşîretan hemî tabiʿî wî bûn. Her mezinê diçû lalî wî çak xelat dikir, dilê wî xoş dikir. Daymî digote milletê xo, "ʿittifaqê biken, kes neşête hingo. Eger hung muttefiq nebin dê bine rajêra xelkî." Li wî ṭerzî ʿeşîreta Zêbarî w Şêrwanî w Mizûrî w Biradostî w Rêkanî w Gerdî hemî bûne tabiʿêt wî. Wextê xo kire sê pişk. Pişkekî dixund, pişkekê irşada mirîdan dikir, pişkekê şola ʿeşîretan û umûrêt siyasî temaşe dikir.

395 Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq bi mirina babê wî gelek keyfxoş bû, belê dûmayê bi tereqqîya Şêx ʿEbdusselamê sanî gelek ʿaciz û dilṭeng bû. Bi çu ṭerzan neşiya wî bişkînît. Di wê mabeynê da Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq mir. Seyîd Ṭaha, kurê wî, li cîyê wî rûnişt. Şêx ʿEbdusselam xeber da Seyîd Ṭaha, "bapîrêt me dost bûn. Babêt me jî, egerçî hindek wextan dujminî kirine, emma zêdetir dostî kirine. Ez ḥez dikem ṣerfi-nezer bikeyn ji dujminîya wan, em di mabeyna xo da musaleḥe bikeyn." Seyîd Ṭaha razî bû, musaleḥe kirin. Lalî yêkudu nerûniştin belê bi wasite w muxabere bûne dostêt yêkudu.

396 Wextê Sultan Ḥemîd hate ʿezl kirin bû meşrûte li naw ʿUsmanîyan, walîyê Mûsilê Fazil Paşa hem firqe-qumandanî bû. Xeber da Şêx ʿEbdusselam, "ḥez

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LIII

Shaikh Abdussalam II

When Shaikh Abdussalam II succeeded his father Shaikh Muhammad he 394
treated the divines with great respect. He said, 'My father made a big mistake when he had the divines killed. The faith of any people depends upon the divines of that people. I am ignorant and know nothing. I must get myself a mullah and study so that I may learn something.' There was a certain Mullah Ahmad Effendi in Akre whom he sent for, brought to Barzan and made his teacher. He studied with him for two or three years and became at least semi-literate, and better than his father. He was very generous. The leaders of the tribes were all attached to him. Every leader who went to him he would reward well and placate him. He used constantly to say to his people, 'If you unite nobody can withstand you. If you are not united, people will tread you underfoot.' In that way the Zebari and Shirwani and Mizuri and Biradost and Rekani and Girdi tribes all became his followers. He divided his time into three portions. In one portion he studied, in one he gave instruction to his disciples, in one he dealt with the business of the tribes and political affairs.

Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq was very pleased at the death of his father, but 395
later he was very annoyed and vexed at the progress made by Shaikh Abdussalam II. He could not break him anyway. About this time Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq died. Sayyid Taha, his son, succeeded him. Shaikh Abdussalam sent word to Sayyid Taha, 'Our grandfathers were friends. Our fathers too, although they were sometimes at enmity, were more often on friendly terms. I would like us to overlook their enmity and to be reconciled.' Sayyid Taha was agreeable and they were reconciled. They did not actually sit down with one another but became friendly through correspondence.

When Sultan Hamid was deposed[1] the Constitution came into force among 396
the Turks. The governor of Mosul, Fazil Pasha, was also a Divisional Commander. He sent word to Shaikh Abdussalam, 'I would like you to be so good as to

1 For an account of this Shaikh of Barzan and his troubles with the Ottoman government in this year 1909, see W.A. and E.T.A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind: Life in Eastern Kurdistan* (London 1914), 137–147. The authors' last visit to the area evidently took place in 1912. For a comprehensive account of Shaikh Abdussalam II's conflicts with the Ottoman government between 1909–1914 based on Ottoman archival documents, see Yaşar Kaplan, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Şeyh Abdüsselam Barzani (1908–1914)," [Shaikh Abdussalam Barzani in Ottoman Archival Documents] in *Osmanlı Devleti ve* Kürtler [Ottoman State and the Kurds] (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2017), 179–205.

dikem teşrîf bikeye Mûsilê te bibînim." Hindek dostêt wî ji Mûsilê, ji Akrê, ji Amêdîyê xeber dane şêxî hişyar bît, neçîte Mûsilê, fikra ḥukûmetê girtina wî ye. wî *j (...) nîye. Fazil Paşa zanî nahête Mûsilê. Pênc hizar ʿesker û şeş ṭop digel xo înan, hate Akrê. Xeber da şêxî, "yan were, yan dê Barzanê xirab kem." Şêxî cewab da, "qet nahêm." Guleyekê *martînî* dana naw pakêtê, bo Fazil Paşa hinar, niwîsî, "min dest ji rûḥa xo helgirtiye. Ji noke paş we muxabera min û Romîyan bi gule ye. Herçî dikey bike, *wesselam*."

397 Fazil Paşa,ʿeşîreta Surçîyan û Xoşnaw û Balekan û Mameş û Şinoyî jî hingî di destê ʿUsmanîyan da bûn, Qerenî Aẋayê Mameş û Silêman Xan Uşnoyî jî digel hemî mirowêt xo çûn geheştine Fazil Paşa. Leşkirê kurdan û Romîyan pêkwe çûne ser mirîdan. Hewyekê şer kirin. Gelek ʿeskerê Romîyan hate kuştin. Dûmayê mirowêt şêx bê cebexane man, şkestin, belaw bûn. Şêx ḥelat, çû çîyayê Horê. Li wê derê jî ḥifz nebû, xo libasguhor kir, çû Tixûb û Tîyarê, lalî mirowêt Mar Şemon Efendî xo şarewe.

398 ʿEşîretêt tabiʿêt wî hindekan dexalet kirin, Fazil Paşa qebûl kirin, hatine ser cîyê xo, rûniştin. Hindek hatine girtin, birine Mûsilê, hindek jî kuştin. Ṣefwet Beg⟨ê⟩ turk hebû, qaymeqamê ʿeskerî bû. Ji penî Fazil Paşa muxabere digel Istembolê kir ku, "ez selaḥ dibînim bo şa'n û şerefa *dewr-i dilara-yi mesʿûd-i meşrûtîyet-i şerʿîye*[2] taifeya tabiʿêt Şêx ʿEbdusselam bihêne ʿefû kirin, hemî bihêne ser cîyê xo, rûnên û şêx jî bihête Barzanê ser tekya xo, duʿa bo ʿafiyet û muwaffeqîyeta umenaêt dewleta ʿelîye biket."

399 Xulase, bi her ṭerzê bû, ʿefwa şêxî w mirîdan teḥsîl kir. Xeber da mirowêt şêxî, "ewe dewleta ʿelîye şêx ʿefû kir. Li kê derê ye bila bihêt, li ser cîyê xo rûnêt." Wan jî xeber dane şêxî. Ew jî hate gundekî naw Mizûrî Jorîyan. Nawê wî gundî Bab Ṣeyfan e. Li wê derê rûnişt. Xeber da Ṣefwet Beg, "ez li Bab Ṣeyfa me. Newêrim bihême Barzanê. Bila bi xo teşrîf kete êre, bibînim. Eger kewte ʿeqlê min dê hême Barzanê, egerne ji êre jî dê ḥelêm."

2 In Ottoman Turkish, *the dignity and honour of the glorious and auspicious era of the Constitution*.

come to Mosul so that I may see you.' Various of his friends from Mosul, from Akre, from Amadiya warned the Shaikh to be careful and not to go to Mosul, for the government intended to seize him. He answered Fazil Pasha, 'I shall not come to Mosul. If there is anything you want done be so good as to say what it is so that I may do it. There is no need for me to come.' Fazil Pasha realized that he would not come to Mosul. He came to Akre, bringing five thousand troops and six guns with him. He sent word to the Shaikh, 'Either come, or I shall lay Barzan waste.' The Shaikh replied, 'I shall never come.' He put a Martini bullet into an envelope and sent it to Fazil Pasha, writing, 'I have given up all thought of my safety. From now on correspondence between me and the Turks will be by bullet. Do what you can.'

397 The Surchi and Khoshnaw and Balakan and Mamesh and even the Ushnuyi tribes were at that time in the hands of the Turks. Qarani Agha of the Mamesh and Sulaiman Khan Ushnuyi with all their men went and joined Fazil Pasha. The army of both Kurds and Turks together went against the disciples. They fought for a month. Many Turkish troops were killed.[3] Finally the Shaikh's men ran out of ammunition and were defeated and scattered. The Shaikh escaped and went to the mountain of Hor. Even there he was not safe so he disguised himself and went to Tkhub and Tyari, amongst the Mar Shamun's men, and hid himself.

398 Of the tribes which followed him, some surrendered and were accepted by Fazil Pasha and came and settled in their own place. Some were captured and taken to Mosul, and some were killed. There was a Turk called Saffet Beg, a military district-governor. Unknown to Fazil Pasha he corresponded with Istanbul, saying, 'I consider it most in keeping with the dignity and honour of the glorious and auspicious era of the Constitution that the body of followers of Shaikh Abdussalam should be pardoned and that they should come and settle in their own place, and that the Shaikh too should come to his convent at Barzan and pray for the health and success of the functionaries of the exalted Government.'

399 In short, by one means or another he obtained a pardon for the Shaikh and the disciples. He sent word to the Shaikh's men, 'The exalted Government has pardoned the Shaikh. Wherever he is, let him come and settle in his own place.' They in turn informed the Shaikh. He came to a village in the upper Mizuris called Bab Saifan and settled there. He sent word to Saffet Beg, 'I am at Bab Saifan. I dare not come to Barzan. Be so good as to come here yourself so that I may see you. If I am satisfied I shall come to Barzan, and if not I shall escape from here.'

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3 This defeat of the Ottoman forces was on 21 August 1909. See Kaplan, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde," 182.

400 Wextê ku xeberê Şêx ʿEbdusselam geheşte Ṣefwet Beg ew li Barzanê bû, Fazil Paşa li Akrê bû. Ṣefwet Beg xeber da Fazil Paşa, "Şêx ʿEbdusselam ho xeber daye min. Biçim yan neçim?" Çunko Fazil Paşa ḥez nedikir şêxê Barzanê bihête ʿefû kirin cewaba Ṣefwet Beg da, "ez selaḥ û munasib nabînim ew bi xo biçît, çunko ewan kurd in û dêwane ne, gelek weḥşî ne, iḥtimal heye wî bigirin. Bila neçît, emma ṣûretê ʿefwa dewletê digel du cendirman bo şêx bihinêrît. Eger bawir kir çak e, egerne bila biçîte cehennemê." Ṣefwet Beg bi wê cewabê ʿaciz bû, ema neşiya bêemrîya Fazil Paşa biket, muwafiqî emrê wî ʿemel kir. Fermana ʿefwê da du cendirman, bo şêx hinare Bab Ṣeyfa. Şêx pîçek emîn bû ema çak bawir nekir. Got, "bo çî teşrîfa Ṣefwet Beg nahêt?" Cendirman got, "em nizanîn. Wezîfa me qasidînî ye. Zanîna esrarêt mezinan wezîfa me nîye."

401 Şêx cewaba Ṣefwet Beg da, "ez ji lutf û merḥemeta dewleta ʿelîye w himmet û ḥemîyeta cenabê begî gelek memnûn û muteşekkir bûm. Noke serê zistanê ye. Xanîyê me li Barzanê hatiye sotin. Wê zistanê dê li Bab Ṣeyfan bim, biharê *inşaellah* dê bême Barzanê w her emrê umenaêt dewleta ʿelîye bifermon me qebûl e w stukira me mû ye li ber şîrê padişahê Islamê, *xelîfe-yi rû-yi zemîn, canişîn-i ḥezret-i seyyidu-l-murselîn*."

402 Ṣefwet beg jî ew cewabe dana naw pakêtê w bi tefsîltir jî ji terefê xo eḥwalê şêxî w mirîdan û weṣfê memleketî w weḥşet û ṣafî-dilîya tabiʿêt şêxî niwîsî w hinare Istembolê. Cewab ji Istembolê bo Fazil Paşa hat, ʿelaqey şêxî neket. Fazil Paşa sil bû. Muxalifî tefsîla Ṣefwet Beg bo Istembolê niwîsî w beyan kir ku Ṣefwet Beg rişwet ji şêxî wergirtiye, lewanê bi çakî derheq wî niwîsiye. Çu cewaba Fazil Paşa, ne çak ne xirab, nehat, belê Ṣefwet Beg xastine Istembolê. Wextê ku Ṣefwet Beg ji Barzanê ḥereket kir xeber da şêx, "ewe ez xastime Istembolê. *Inşaellah* xêr e. Eger Fazil Paşa ʿeskerî bihinêrîte ser hingo teqsîr neken, mudafeʿe biken. Ez li Istembolê weto dê axiwim ku mesʾûlîyet ʿaidî Fazil Paşa bibît." Ṣefwet Beg çû Istembolê.

403 Fazil Paşa got, "milletê turk bênamûs e, bo çar qurûşan dînê xo difiroşin," çunko Fazil Paşa çaçan bû, ji xizmêt Şêx Şamilê Daẋistanî bû, ji ber Urûsî ḥelatibû. Nêzîkî du hizar malan ji Daẋistanê hatibûne naw ʿUsmanîyan, digel Fazil Paşa li etrafêt Beẋdayê cîbicî kiribûn. Çarṣed ʿesker ji çaçan û gelek ji çerkes

When Shaikh Abdussalam's message reached Saffet Beg he was in Barzan 400
and Fazil Pasha was in Akre. Saffet Beg informed Fazil Pasha, 'Shaikh Abdussalam has sent me this message. Should I go or not?' As Fazil Pasha did not like that the Barzani Shaikh should be pardoned he answered Saffet Beg, 'I do not consider it prudent or proper that he should go himself, for they are Kurds and madmen and very wild, it is probable that they will seize him. Let him not go, but send a copy of the Government's pardon to the Shaikh with two zaptiehs. If he believes it, it is well, otherwise let him go to hell.' Saffet Beg was annoyed at this answer, but he could not disobey Fazil Pasha, so he acted according to his orders. He gave the order of pardon to two zaptiehs and sent it to Bab Saifan to the Shaikh. The Shaikh felt a little more secure but he did not completely believe it. He said, 'Why didn't Saffet Beg honour us by coming?' The zaptiehs said, 'We don't know. Our duty is to act as messengers. It isn't our duty to know the secrets of our leader.'

The Shaikh answered Saffet Beg, 'I am most grateful for the generosity and 401
mercy of the exalted Government and for the favour and protection of his excellency the Beg. Now it is the beginning of winter. Our house in Barzan has been burnt. This winter I shall stay in Bab Saifan and in spring, God willing, I shall come to Barzan and accept whatever command the officials of the exalted Government may make, and our neck is but a hair before the sword of the Sovereign of Islam, the Caliph of the world, the Vicar of his Highness the Prince of the Apostles.'

Saffet Beg put his answer into an envelope and himself wrote in more detail 402
about the situation of the Shaikh and his disciples and a description of the country and of the wildness and innocence of the Shaikh's followers and sent it to Istanbul. The answer came from Istanbul for Fazil Pasha, that he should not concern himself with the Shaikh. Fazil Pasha was annoyed. He wrote to Istanbul the opposite of Saffet Beg's analysis and stated that Saffet Beg had accepted a bribe from the Shaikh and for this reason had written well of him. No answer, good or bad, came for Fazil Pasha, but Saffet Beg was summoned to Istanbul. When Saffet Beg moved from Barzan he informed the Shaikh, 'Now I have been summoned to Istanbul. God willing all is well. If Fazil Pasha should send troops against you do not fail to defend yourself. In Istanbul I shall speak in such a way that the responsibility will be attributed to Fazil Pasha.' Saffet Beg went to Istanbul.

Fazil Pasha said, 'The Turkish people are shameless and will sell their reli- 403
gion for four farthings,' for Fazil Pasha was a Chechen, a relative of Shaikh Shamil Daghistani, who had fled from the Russians. About two thousand families had come from Daghistan among the Turks and had been settled, with Fazil Pasha, round about Baghdad. He assembled four hundred Chechen troops and

û ernahûd û miqdarekî kafî ji ʿeşîretêt dujminêt dêwanan digel du ṭop û çar mitralyoz ḥazir kirin, digel xo birine Barzanê. Mabeyna Bab Ṣeyfa w Barzanê teqrîben şeş saʿet e. Fazil paşa gote ʿeskerê xo, "hung wekî turkan bênamûs nîne. Hung hemî ʿeşîret in, cesûr in. *Inşaellah* hung dê şêxê Barzanê digel hemî tabiʿêt wî ji Bab Ṣeyfa girin yan kujin, bi carekê wan dê meḥw ken." Hemîyan gotin, "*Inşaellah* ḥezretê paşa çawa emr difermot zêdetir dê keyn." Xulase Fazil Paşa ʿeskerê xo bi şew bi mexfî ji Barzanê hinar bo ser Bab Ṣeyfa, ema hêşta ji Barzanê ḥereket nekiribûn du miro ji penî hatin, temam eḥwal bo şêx got.

404 Sêṣed mêr muselleḥ lalî şêx hebûn. Şêx gote mirowêt xo, "Fazil Paşa digel me qewî dujmin e. Ṣefwet Beg jî çûye Istembolê. Ewe serê zistanê ye, neşêyn bo çi cîyan biḥelêyn. Çarey me ewe ye, ḥeta yêk ji me maye dest helînîn, bila bi namûs meḥw bibîn." Hemîyan li ser fermodey şêx sûnd bi telaq xarin. Şêx got, "mawzerekî jî ez dê helgirim, digel hingo hême şerî w çawa ez bo hingo tertîbê dadimezirînim, weto şerî biken. Ḥeta dengê tifenga min nehêt kes çu tifengan nehawêjît. Inşallah, bi himmeta bab û bapîran, wê carê ḥeşrekê weto dê bi ʿeskerê Fuzûl Paşa keyn ku bibîte ʿibret di guhêt hemî xelkî da, we daẋistanî w çerkes û ernahûd jî ceserat û ẋîreta milletê kurd, xasma kurdêt Zêbarî w Şêrwanî w Mizûrî, bi dirustî bizanin, carekê dî ho serserî hucûm nekene ser kurdan. Da bizanin her wextê deh mêr kurd bi ittifaq çokêt xo li ʿerdî qahîm biken ṣed kerêt daẋistanî w çerkes û ernahûd neşên wan helşkêwin."

405 Xulase şêxî milletê xo çak dilqahîm kir. Pişta Bab Ṣeyfa dolekê dirêj e, ṭeng e, kûr e. Mirowêt xo kirine du rêz li ber du layêt dolê. Şêx bi xo çû serê dolê, got, "ḥeta ʿeskerê Fuzûl Paşa ji me danekewît, dûmayî nebît, em şerî nakeyn." Şêxî hotowe sêṣed murowêt xo danane sitaran. Berî spêdê ʿeskerê Fazil Paşa geheşte serê dola pişta Bab Ṣeyfa. Çu rêk dî nebûn ji layê Barzanê bo Bab Ṣeyfa ji ẋeyrî wê dolê. Mulazimê ṭopan got, "ew dole bo ṭopan asê ye. Bila ʿesker biçît bo gundî, em ṭopan dê lêre qahîm keyn. Wextê ʿesker geheşte gundî hingî em dê ṭopan hawêjîn. Kurdan ku dengê ṭopan bihîstin dê ḥelên. ʿEsker dê kewîte

many Circassians and Albanians and a fair number of the tribes who were enemies of the madmen, together with two guns and four machine-guns, and took them with him to Barzan. It is about six hours journey between Bab Saifan and Barzan. Fazil Pasha said to his troops, 'You are not shameless like the Turks. You are bold tribesmen. If God wills, you will either capture or kill the Barzani Shaikh and all his followers from Bab Saifan, and wipe them out once and for all.' They all said, 'God willing, we shall do more than his Highness the Pasha says.' In short, Fazil Pasha sent his troops from Barzan against Bab Saifan secretly by night, but they had not yet moved from Barzan when two men came secretly and told the Shaikh of the whole affair.

There were three hundred armed men with the Shaikh. The Shaikh said to 404
his men, 'Fazil Pasha is a great enemy of ours. Saffet Beg has gone to Istanbul. Now it is the beginning of winter and we cannot flee to any other place. Our only remedy is to strive for as long as one of us is left. Let us be destroyed with honour.' They all swore an oath of divorce[4] on what the Shaikh had said. The Shaikh said, 'I too shall take up a Mauser and come to fight with you, and you fight as I shall plan for you. Let nobody fire a rifle until the sound of my rifle is heard. God willing, by the grace of (my) ancestors we shall cause such a commotion among the troops of Fuzul ('Meddlesome') Pasha that it will be a warning (reaching) the ears of all people, and the Daghistanis and Circassians and Albanians will learn of the bravery and zeal of the Kurdish people, especially the Zebari and Shirwani and Mizuri Kurds, and they will not again attack Kurds so impetuously. They should know that when ten Kurds in concord put their knees firmly to the ground then a hundred Daghistani and Circassian and Albanian donkeys cannot budge them.'

In short, the Shaikh made his people resolute. Behind Bab Saifan there is 405
a long, narrow, deep combe. He put his men in two lines on either side of the combe. The Shaikh himself went to the head of the combe, saying, 'We shall not fight until Fuzul Pasha's troops have passed us completely.' The Shaikh put his three hundred men behind cover in this way. Before dawn Fazil Pasha's troops reached the head of the combe behind Bab Saifan. There was no other road to Bab Saifan from the Barzan side except by this combe. The lieutenant (in charge) of the guns said, 'This combe is impassable for the guns. Let the troops go to the village and we shall fix the guns here. We shall fire the guns when the troops have reached the village. When the Kurds hear the noise of the guns they will run away. The troops will pursue them and kill or capture them all.' In

4 One of the most solemn ways of taking an oath, by saying "I impose divorcement on myself (if I do so-and-so)".

dû wan, hemîyan dê kujin yan dê girin." Xulase li ser gotina zabitê ṭopan ʿesker çû xarê bo naw dolê. Hêşta dunya ṭarî bû, ʿesker pişka pitir kewte naw dolê.

406 Şêxî gote mirowêt xo, "sebr ken. Ewan xatircem in, hîç agah ji me nîye. Bila hemî bikewine dolê, paşî em dê oẋilman li-dû-yêk keyne wan." Wextê dûmayîya ʿeskerî ji serê dolê çû xarê şêx got, "Wext hat. Wêkra bikene oẋilme." Şêx tifeng agir kir. Bi carekê sêṣed tifeng bûne dengek. ʿEskerê Fazil Paşa li naw dolê şaş bûn, nezanîn kê we biḥelên. Leşkirê ʿeşîretan ku digel ʿeskerê Fazil Paşa hatibûn hindek şareza bûn, serkewtine çîyan, xo xilas kirin. Ket-ket jî ji ʿeskerê Fazil Paşa digel wan xilas bûn. Yêt dî hemî qir kirin. Duṣed ʿesker êxsîr kirin, destêt wan girê dan, birine Bab Ṣeyfa, li mizgewtê ḥebs kirin.

407 Ṭopçî ṭopa ji rê-we agir kir, ṭop diṛîya. Ṭopa dî çar-pênc caran agir kir, fayde neda. Dêwanan hucûm kirine ser ṭopê, zabit û ṭopçî jî hindek kuştin, hindek êxsîr kirin. Dêwanan gotin, "ṭopa diṛîyay îman heye, teberuk e çunko şerê ḥezretê Şêx nekir. Ew şehîd e, hemî werin, maç ken." Mirîdan ew ṭop helgirtin, birine Bab Ṣeyfe. Hemî dihatin, maç kirin. Belê ṭopa dî înan, dane ber beran, hemî şkand, parçe-parçe kirin. Gotin, "ew ṭope kafir e, bêîman e, şerê ḥezretê Şêx kiriye. Ew jî wekî Fuzûl Paşa fuzûl e." Ṭopçîyêt ṭopa diṛîyay hemî ʿefû kirin û xelat kirin. Du miro dane gel wan, hinarin ḥeta pişta Barzanê murexxes kirin. Ṭopçîyêt ṭopa bêîman digel zabitî li pêş çawêt êxsîrêt daẋistanî kirine armancê tifengan, kuştin. Gotine êxsîran, "em dizanîn em neşêyn beramberîya dewleta ʿelîye bikeyn, emma me ew şere digel Fuzûl Paşa w digel kerêt daẋistanî kiriye da hunera xo w mêrînîya kurdan bizanin."

408 Wextê ewe qewimî şêx zû xeber da ʿEbdulʿezîz Aẋayê Amêdî, xezûrê xo, ku bihête Bab Ṣeyfa w katibekî çak qanûnzan digel xo bînît. ʿEbdulʿezîz Aẋa hate Bab Ṣeyfa, katib digel xo îna. Bi tefsîl bo Istembolê niwîsî ku, "bena li ser ʿefwa şahane ez hatim, li Bab Ṣeyfa rûniştim, ku ewwelê biharê biçim, xanîyê xo li Barzanê awa kem, li ser cîyê xo rûnêm, duʿa bo dewama dewleta ʿelîye bikem. Me agah ji xo ne, ji xeflet we Fazil Paşa ʿeşairêt kurdan digel beʿzekî daẋistanîyan hinarine ser me. Mirîdan jî xiyal kirin ewene kurd in, bê emrê dewletê hatîne ser me, mudafeʿe kirin. Paşî beyan bû ku ʿesker jî digel da ye. Em gelek peşîman bûyn. Em rica dikeyn dewleta ʿelîye bi lutf û merḥemeta xo me ʿefû biket. Fazil Paşa, çunko ʿeşîret e, xudan-buẋz û kudûret e, mulaḥeza şe'⟨n⟩ û şeref û merḥemeta dewleta ʿelîye naket. Em gelek rica dikeyn Fazil Paşa

short, the troops went down into the combe as the gun officer suggested. It was still dark when the greater part of the troops entered the combe.

The Shaikh said to his men, 'Wait. They are unsuspecting and have no idea of 406
our presence. Let them all enter the combe, then we shall fire volleys one after the other at them.' When the last of the troops went down into the combe the Shaikh said, 'The time has come. Fire volleys together.' The Shaikh fired his rifle. Immediately three hundred rifles sounded as one. Fazil Pasha's troops were distracted in the middle of the combe, not knowing whither to flee. Some of the tribal force which had come with Fazil Pasha's troops knew the country and climbed up into the hills and so saved themselves. Small groups of Fazil Pasha's troops also escaped with them. All the others they put out of action. They captured two hundred troops, bound their hands, took them to Bab Saifan and imprisoned them in the mosque.

The first gun that the gunners fired exploded. The other gun fired four or 407
five times, but to no avail. The disciples attacked the gun and killed some of the officers and men, capturing others. The madmen said, 'The exploded gun has faith, it is a good omen, for it did not fight against the Shaikh. It is a martyr, so all come and kiss it.' The disciples took the gun and carried it to Bab Saifan. They all came and kissed it. But the other gun they brought and threw stones at it, breaking it all to pieces. They said, 'This gun is an infidel and has no faith, for it has fought against the Shaikh. It is meddlesome, like the Meddlesome Pasha.' All the gunners of the exploded gun they pardoned and rewarded. They gave them two men (to guide them) and sent them away to free them beyond Barzan. The gunners of the irreligious gun, and its officer, they put before a firing squad and killed them before the eyes of the other Daghistani prisoners. They said to the prisoners, 'We know that we cannot oppose the exalted government, but we have had this fight with the Meddlesome Pasha and the Daghistani donkeys so that they may know (the limits of) their own skill and the bravery of the Kurds.'

When all this happened the Shaikh quickly sent word to Abdul'aziz Agha 408
of Amadiya, his father-in-law, to come to Bab Saifan and to bring with him a good clerk with a knowledge of law. Abdul'aziz Agha came to Bab Saifan and brought a clerk with him. He wrote in detail to Istanbul, saying, 'On the basis of the royal pardon I came and settled in Bab Saifan, intending to go at the beginning of spring and rebuild my house at Barzan, and settle in my own place and pray for the continued prosperity of the exalted government. We were taken unawares when Fazil Pasha sent Kurdish tribes and a number of Daghistanis against us secretly. The disciples, for their part, thought that these were Kurds who had come against us without the government's orders and repelled them. Afterwards it became clear that there were troops with them. We were very sorry. We beg that the exalted government should kindly forgive us. Fazil Pasha,

ji cîyê me raken, me'mûrekî xêrxaz, bêẋerez, xudan-merḥemet bihinêrine Barzanê, şahidê ḥalê me bît. Em dê ji noke paş temam itaʿeta ewamirêt dewleta ʿelîye keyn. Eger me nekir hingî dîsa dewleta ʿelîye muqtedir e li ser terbiya me."

409 Xulase kaẋezekê gelek çak niwîsîn, hinarine Amêdîyê, teslîm poste kirin. Wextê ew kaẋez geheşte Istembolê mulaḥeze kirin, muşawere kirin, we Ṣefwet Beg jî teqwiya kaẋeza wan kir û dîsa zêdetir Ṣefwet Beg seʿî kir. Xulase wê carê jî ʿefwa şêxî hat û xahişa wî qebûl kirin û xeber dane Fazil Paşa ji Barzanê rabît, bihête merkezê wilayetê, bajêrê Mûsilê. Fazil Paşa gelek ʿaciz bû, geriyawe bo Mûsilê. Çend mirowêt muʿteber ji Akrê hinarine lalî şêxî ku rica biken êxsîrêt daẋistanî berden. Wextê ew mirowene hatine lalî şêxî gotin, "em hatîne wan êxsîrane w silaḥ û cebexaneya dewletê teslîmî me bikey." Şêx got, "ser çawan, ser seran, ez xahişa hingo qebûl dikem. Belê çunko wan kerane bi emrê dewletê şer nekirine, belko paşî ʿefwa dewletê bo me hat, wane bena li ser ẋereza Fuzûl paşa şer digel me kirine, bes wane yan dibît bikujîn yan Fuzûl Paşa ji kîsê xo wan kerane ji me bikirît." Xulase xeber dane Fazil Paşa, ḥal ho ye. Fazil Paşa jî duṣed lîrayê ʿUsmanî bo şêx hinarin. Şêx jî êxsîr teslîmî mirowêt Akreyî kirin.

410 Paşî bo sileḥan rica kirin. Şêx got, "silaḥêt çak bo mêrêt çak lazim in, silaḥêt xirab bo keran çak in." Çend tifengêt xirab, kewn, hindek kurdî, hindek dugmelî, hindek silêmanî w meraẋe dane mirowêt Akreyî. Hemî înane Akrê, teslîm Fazil Paşa kirin. Wextê ku Fazil Paşa ho dît zêdetir ʿaciz bû, gelek cûnêt kirêt gotine ʿUsmanîyan. Geheşte Mûsilê, istiʿfa ji walîtîyê kir. Çû mala xo li Beẋdayê, meşẋûlî wezîfa xo bû. Firqe-qumandanê ʿeskerî bû.

411 Ewwelê biharê şêx hate Barzanê, xanîyê xo awa kir. Mektebek bo biçûkan çêkir, muʿellim ji ḥukûmetê xast. Muʿellim ji Mûsilê hat, dest bi dersan kir. Qaymeqam Ḥusnî Efendî digel deh cendirme hatin, li Barzanê rûniştin ku şahidê ḥalê şêxî w mirîdan bin. Şêxî muddetê du salan weto bi ṣedaqet reftar kir, her emrê ḥukûmetê kiriba qebûl kir. We mabeyna Şêx ʿEbdusselamê sanî w Seyîd Ṭahayê sanî gelek xoş bû, dostî hebû. Paşî ku mamê Seyîd Ṭaha ji Istembolê hate Kurdistanê mabeyna wî w mamî nexoş bû w Seyîd Ṭaha bû

being tribal, is full of hatred and resentment and does not consider the status and honour and mercy of the exalted government. We very much hope that Fazil Pasha will be removed from our place and that a well-intentioned, unbiased and merciful official will be sent to Barzan to watch over us. Henceforth we shall obey to the full the commands of the exalted government. If we should not do so then the exalted government is capable of punishing us.'

In short, they wrote a very fine letter, sent it to Amadiya and put it in the post. 409
When the letter reached Istanbul they examined it and consulted about it, and Saffet Beg supported their letter and again strove even more on their behalf. In short, this time also a pardon came for the Shaikh and his request was granted and Fazil Pasha was told to leave Barzan and come to the provincial centre, the town of Mosul. Fazil Pasha was very angry and returned to Mosul. They sent a number of respected men from Akre to request the Shaikh to set the Daghistani prisoners free. When these men came to the Shaikh they said, 'We have come for you to hand over the prisoners and the weapons and ammunition.' The Shaikh said, 'On my head and eyes be it, I agree to your request. But since these donkeys did not fight on government orders, but rather after the government's pardon had come for us, since they fought against us on account of the spite of the Meddlesome Pasha we should either kill them, or else the Meddlesome Pasha should buy these donkeys from us out of his own purse.' In short they sent word to Fazil Pasha that this was the case. Fazil Pasha sent two hundred Turkish pounds far the Shaikh. The Shaikh handed over the prisoners to the men of Akre.

Then they asked for the arms. The Shaikh said, 'Good weapons are needed 410
by good men, bad weapons are good enough for donkeys.' They gave the men of Akre a number of bad rifles, old, some Kurdish(-made), some flintlock some made in Sulaimaniya and Maragha. They brought them all to Akre and handed them over to Fazil Pasha. When Fazil Pasha saw this he was even more angry and abused the Turks roundly. He reached Mosul and resigned from the Governorship. He went to his home in Baghdad and busied himself with his duties. He was a Divisional Commander of the army.

At the beginning of spring the Shaikh came to Barzan and rebuilt his house. 411
He built a school for the children and asked the government for a teacher. A teacher came from Mosul and began to teach. A district governor, Husni Effendi, came with ten zaptiehs to settle in Barzan and to watch over the Shaikh and the disciples. The Shaikh behaved in this sincere manner for two years, obeying whatever order the government might make. Between Shaikh Abdussalam II and Sayyid Taha II there were very pleasant relations and friendship. After Sayyid Taha's uncle came to Kurdistan from Istanbul there was unpleasantness between him and his uncle and Sayyid Taha became an enemy of the

dujminê ʻUsmanîyan. Hate girtin, birine Istembolê. Ji wê derê firar kir, hate naw Urûsî, dexalet kir. Hate Ûrmî, bi emrê qunsolî li Rajanê rûnişt. Şêx ʻEbdusselam bi mexfî muxabere digel Seyîd Ṭaha kir, bo wî xeber hinar ku, "hişyar bît, mabeyna xo digel dewleta Urûsî çak xoş biket û meḥebbeta xo çak qahîm biket, çunko milletê turk bêbext in, rojekê me hemîyan dê meḥw ken. Selaḥ û munasib ew e ku pêşwext em bo xo penahekî peyda bikeyn."

412 Wextê ew muxabere hate kirin ji gelek terefan ixbar hate kirin bo ḥukûmetê, we Fazil Paşa jî daymî bi xirabî derheq wî diniwîsî w derheq Ṣefwet Beg jî. Bi gelek ṭerzan xirab xeber da Istembolê. Ṣefwet Beg têgeşt, dûmayê dê mes'ûl ken. Hêşta mes'ûl nebûy ji Istembolê bi mexfî hate Barzanê. Gote şêxî, "dewleta ʻUsmanî bêinṣaf û bêwicdan û bêʻedalet û bêmerḥemet e. Insan giyanê xo bo xizmet û ṣedaqeta wan bidoṛînît, li nik wan çu nîye. Qedr û qîmeta ṣedaqetê hîç li nik wan nîye. Ewe bizane, ez hatîme, dê çime naw Urûsî dê gehime ʻEbdurrezzaq Beg û Seyîd Ṭaha. Eger bo me li naw Urûsî şolekê weto çêbû, em digel milletê kurd bi raḥetî w serferazî li Kurdistanê rûniştîn, zor baş e. Eger li naw Urûsî şola me çênebû, yan dê çîne naw Inglîsî yan dewletekî dî ji dewletêt mutemeddine yêt Ewrûpa. Êdî me qetʻa umîdê kiriye ji merḥemeta ʻUsmanîyan."

413 Gote şêx, "ez yeqîn dizanim dîsa dê te xazine Mûsilê, ema nebît biçî. Dê te xendiqînin. Ḥeta bişêy xo li cîyê xo muḥafeze bike. Eger tu neşiyay, here, dexaleta Urûsî bike." Ṣefwet Beg ho nesîḥetê şêx kir. Ji wê derê hate Ûrmîyê, çû naw Urûsî. Êdî çu xeber ji Ṣefwet Beg peyda nebû. Me nezanî ḥalê wî bû çi.

Turks. He was seized and taken to Istanbul. He fled from there and came among the Russians and made his submission. He came to Urmia and, on the orders of the Consul, settled in Razhan. Shaikh Abdussalam communicated secretly with Sayyid Taha, sending him word, 'Let him be careful and improve his relations with the Russian government and establish himself in their affections, for the Turkish people are ill-omened, one day they will destroy us all. It is right and proper that before that time comes we should find ourselves a refuge.'

When this communication was made the government was informed from 412
many sides, and Fazil Pasha was constantly writing ill of him and of Saffet Beg also. In many ways he gave bad information to Istanbul. Saffet Beg realised that they would make him responsible in the end. When he had still not been made responsible he came to Barzan secretly from Istanbul. He said to the Shaikh, 'The Ottoman government is unjust and faithless and merciless. A person loses his soul to serve them loyally and it is nothing to them. Sincerity has neither respect or value with them. Know then that I have come and shall go to the Russians to join Abdurrazzaq Beg and Sayyid Taha. If affairs are so arranged for us among the Russians that we and the Kurdish people can settle in Kurdistan in peace and with honour, well and good. If we have no success among the Russians, we shall either go to the British or to another of the civilised governments of Europe. We have given up all hope of mercy from the Turks.'

He said to the Shaikh, 'I know for certain that they will summon you to Mosul 413
again, but you must not go. They will hang you. Protect yourself in your own home while you can. When you can no longer, go and make submission to the Russians.' This was how Saffet Beg advised the Shaikh. He came from there to Urmia and went to the Russians. Thereafter no news of Saffet Beg was heard. We do not know what became of him.[5]

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5 Saffet Bey was initially appointed as the *qaimaqam* to Barzan by the Baghdad governor Nazim Pasha in order to prevent the Mosul governor Fazil Pasha's insistence on using coercive force against Shaikh Abdussalam instead of settling the issue peacefully at a time the Shaikh had repeatedly expressed his loyalty to the Ottoman government. Ideologically he was, like Nazım Pasha, against the İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Committee of Union and Progress) and was part of Hürriyet ve İtilâf Fırkası (Freedom and Accord Party). After the instalment of the complete authority of the İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti in 1913, Nazım Pasha, who was the defence minister, was killed, and dissidents like Saffet Bey had to escape. Saffet Bey was charged with plotting against the state. In fact, the russophile Kurdish leader Abdurrazak Badr Khan confirms this in his memoir stating that he met Saffet Bey in Khoy, Iran, who from there went to meet Abdussalam Barzani. In Ottoman official correspondence from April 1914, he is said to have escaped to Paris and Athens. See Mustafa Giresun, *Osmanlı Dönemi'nde Şeyh Abdüsselam Barzani ve İsyanları (1908–1914)* [Shaikh Abdusselam Barzani in the Ottoman Period and Rebellions (1908–1914)], (Marmara University MA Dissertation, 2020), 104.

414 Çawa Ṣefwet Beg gotibû şêxî, dirist weto qewimî. Şêx xastine Mûsilê, dîsa neçû. ʿEskerê Romî w ʿeşîretan ewwelê biharê hate şêxî. Hewyekê şer kir, gelek ʿesker hate kuştin. Dûmayê şêx digel tabiʿêt xo hatine Ûrmîyê, dexaleta qunsûl-xana Urûsî kir. Qunsûlê Urûsî hingî Wêdênskî bû. Ḥakimê Ûrmîyê Iʿtimadu-d-Dewle bû. Gelek iḥtirama şêxê Barzanê girtin. Qunsûl xeber da Tiflîsê, tedbîra şêx çi ye. Ji Tiflîsê şêx xastin. Şêx jî çû Tiflîsê, meqamêt lazim dîtin. Carekê dî hinarine Ûrmîyê. Tabiʿêt wî li Mirgewerê damezirandin. ʿEyalê şêxî danane naw mala Seyîd Ṭaha li Rajanê. Hingî Seyîd Ṭaha bo murafeʿa emlakê xo li Tewrêzê bû. Wî w şêx⟨ê⟩ Barzanê yêkudu nedîtin.

415 Qunsûl gote şêx, "emrek taze hatiye ku şêx xo aşkera neket, çunko ʿUsmanî firarêt xo ji Îranê dixazît, we noke poltîka me digel ʿUsmanî pîçek xoş e, bêxatirîya yêkudu nakeyn. Noke ho munasib hatiye dîtin tu aşkera nebî. Sebr ke ḥeta sê hewî dî. Şubhe nîye, yan em digel dewleta ʿUsmanî çak dê bîne dost, hingî em dê ʿefwa te w emsalêt te ji ʿUsmanî xahiş keyn, ew jî dilê me naşkînin, dê hingo ʿefû ken, yan dê çak bîne dujmin, hingî em dê ʿeskerî w quwwetê deyne te, bê minneta ʿUsmanî dê te danêyne Barzanê w te ḥimayet keyn. Emma noke dibît mexfî bî."

416 Şêx bi wî emrey pîçek ʿaciz bû, belê izhar nekir. Şêx gote qunsûl, "bes madam ez mexfî bim, neşêm li cîyekî rûnêm ḥeta sê hewyan, ḥez dikem ruxseta min bidey wan sê hewyane bigeṛiyêm, xo libasguhoṛ bikem, digel sê-çar mirowêt xo bi mexfî siyaḥetê bikem, çend rojan li Rajanê bim, hindek caran biçime layê Mirgewerê w Şinoyê, hindek caran biçime layê Ṣomaê w Biradost û ḥeta lalî Simko jî biçim." Qunsûl got, "egerçî ḥez nakem bêkeyfîya te bikem, emma ez wihê bi ʿeqlê xo munasib û mesleḥeta cenabê hingo nabînim, çunko cenabê şêx mirowekî mezin û meşhûr û meʿrûf e. *Mebada*, Xudê neket, belayek bi ser wî bihêt, paşî em dê li nik mezinêt dewleta xo şerminde w mesʾûl bîn." Şêx, çunko hêşta di umûrêt siyasî da puxte nebibû, we di meşrebê ʿeşîretî w kurdewarî da bû, we ecela wî jî hatibû, nesîḥetê qunsûl nekewte ʿeqlê wî, xiyalekê dî kir. Gote qunsûl, "ez texmîn dikem ku tu dê dûmayê min teslîmî destê Romîyan key, egerne çi zerer e ez bigeṛiyêm?" Qunsûl got, "ez gelek teʿeccub û teessufê dikem

Things happened just as Saffet Beg had told the Shaikh. They summoned the 414
Shaikh to Mosul and again he did not go. At the beginning of spring an army of Turks and tribesmen came against the Shaikh. They fought for a month and many troops were killed. Finally the Shaikh and his followers came to Urmia and made submission at the Russian consulate. At that time the Russian Consul was Vedenski.[6] The governor of Urmia was I'timaduddawla. They treated the Shaikh of Barzan with great respect. The Consul informed Tiflis of the Shaikh's plans. They summoned the Shaikh from Tiflis. He went to Tiflis and saw the necessary authorities. They sent him back to Urmia again and settled his followers in Margawar. The Shaikh's family was put in Sayyid Taha's house in Razhan. Sayyid Taha was in Tabriz at the time, for a lawsuit about his property. He and the Shaikh of Barzan did not see each other.

The Consul said to the Shaikh, 'A new order has come that the Shaikh should 415
not reveal himself, because the Turks are demanding their refugees back from Persia, and at the moment our political relations with the Turks are a little better, we are not disobliging one another. It has been considered better that you should not now reveal yourself. Wait for another three months. Doubtless we shall either become firm friends with the Ottoman government, when we shall ask the Turks for a pardon for you and your like, and they will not offend us but will pardon you, or else we shall become real enemies, when we shall give you troops and support you and without leave from the Turks we shall set you up in Barzan and protect you. But now you must be hidden.'

The Shaikh was a little vexed at this order, but he did not show it. He said 416
to the Consul, 'Since I must be hidden and can not settle in one place for three months, I would like you to permit me to go about during these three months, to disguise myself and to travel in secret with three or four of my men, to be in Razhan for a few days, sometimes to go to Margawar and Ushnuye, sometimes to go to Soma and Biradost and even to see Simko.' The Consul said, 'Although I do not like to disappoint you, nevertheless I do not consider this proper or right for your honour, for your honour is a great man and very well-known. If, God forbid, some misfortune should befall you we shall be disgraced and responsible to the leaders of our government.' The Shaikh, as he was not yet versed in political affairs, and was fixed in his tribal, Kurdish nature, and also because it was his fate, did not accept the Consul's advice but thought otherwise. He said to the Consul, 'I imagine that in the end you will hand me over to the Turks, otherwise what harm is there in my going about?' The Consul said, 'I am very

6 Pavel Vvedenski, the Russian vice-consul in Urmia before being replaced by Basile Nikitine in early 1915.

ji xiyala te. Ewe hîç di qelbê me da nîye, we dewleta behîye dewletekê ṣadiq û bê ḥîle w xudan-namûs-û-iʿtibar e. Hîç endêşe w xiyal neke. Min mexsûs bo mesleḥeta ḥalê te ho got, ema madam tu tiştekî dî teṣewwur dikey ewe min ruxseta te da, muxeyyer be."

417 Wextê qunsûl ruxseta geṛiyana şêx da şêx miqdarê hewyekê, bi ṭerzê wî gotibû, bi mexfî geriya, siyaḥet kir. Çû layê Ṣomayê w Biradost, qesda lalî Simko kir. Di pêş da Cewdet Beg, walîyê Wanê, xeber dabû Şikakan, "min zaniye şêxê Barzanê digeṛiyêt. Her kesê wî bigirît yan bikujît, dewleta ʿUsmanî gelek çakî w meʿaş û nîşan dê dete wî." Ṣofî ʿEbdullah hebû ji mirowêt Biroxlû, ji ʿeşîreta Şikakêt Biradostan. Digel pênc-şeş suwaran çû, li ser rêka şêx rûnişt. Şêxî pênc miro peyade digel da bûn, ew bi xo jî li hêstirê suwar bû. Wextê li Ṣofî ʿEbdullah rast hatin şêlikekî tifengan kirine mirowêt şêxî, sê kuştin, yêk birîndar kirin, yêk jî ḥelat. Nawê yê ḥelatî ʿElî bû, kurê Muhê Çîçî. Hatin, şêx girtin, birine Wanê. Malêt xo jî birine Elbakê, nêzîkî Başqalan.

418 ʿElî hate Rajanê w Mirgewerê, ḥekayêta ḥalê şêxî bo mala wî w mirowêt wî got, bo kesê dî aşkera nekir. Hemî mala wî w mirowêt wî bi şew rabûn, ḥelatin, çûne naw ʿUsmanî, gotin, "paşî şêx em lêre nabîn. Me bikujin yan ʿefû biken. Em hemî dê çîn, gehîne şêxî." ʿUsmanîyan jî şêx bi iḥtiram ji Wanê birine Mûsilê, meşhûr kirin ku dewleta ʿUsmanî şêx ʿefû kiriye, tekyayekî dî bo wî li Mûsilê çêken, şêx dê li Mûsilê irşadê ket. Mirowêt şêxî gelek keyfxoş bûn. ʿEqlê wan yê hirçan bû, nezanîn ḥîle ye, hingûn e digel mergemûşî didene wan. Xulase gelek mezinêt tabiʿêt şêxî çûne Mûsilê w milletê wî hemî li ser cîyê xo rûnişt. Weto ma ḥeta du hewyan.

surprised and disappointed by your ideas. This is certainly not in our mind and the august government is a truthful, honest, honourable and trustworthy government. Have no doubt about it. I spoke in this way especially for your own good, but since you think otherwise you may go, and please yourself.'

When the Consul gave permission for the Shaikh to go about he did travel 417
and go about in secret, in the way he had said he would, for about a month. He went to Soma and Biradost and intended to go to Simko. Beforehand Jevdet Beg,[7] the governor of Van, had sent word to the Shikak, 'I have learnt that the Shaikh of Barzan is wandering about. Whoever captures him or kills him, the Ottoman government will give him many favours and a pension and a medal.' There was one Sofi Abdullah[8] of the people of Birokhlo, of the Shikak tribe of Biradost. He went with five or six horsemen and waited on the Shaikh's road. The Shaikh had five men walking with him, while he himself was riding a mule. When they came up to Sofi Abdullah they fired a rifle volley at the Shaikh's men, killing three and wounding one, while one escaped.[9] The name of the one who escaped was Ali, the son of Muhi Chichi. They came and captured the Shaikh and took him to Van. They took their families to Albak, near Bashqala.

Ali came to Razhan and Margawar, and related the story of what had befallen 418
the Shaikh to his family and his own people, but did not reveal it to anybody else. All his family and men got up at night, fled and went among the Turks, saying, 'We shall not stay here after the Shaikh has gone. Whether they kill us or pardon us we shall all go to the Shaikh.' The Turks took the Shaikh from Van to Mosul with honour and made it known that the Ottoman government had pardoned him, would build another convent for him at Mosul and that the Shaikh would teach in Mosul. The Shaikh's men were very pleased. Their intelligence was that of bears. They did not know that it was a trick, that it was honey they were being given with the ratsbane. In short, many leading followers of the Shaikh went to Mosul and his people all settled in their own homes. Things remained thus for two months.

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7 Cevdet Bey or Djevdet Tahir Belbez (1878–1955), the Ottoman Albanian governor of Van during 1914–1915.

8 Abdullah b. Canko.

9 According to the document-based account, Abdullah b. Canko invited the Shaikh and when the Shaikh went to the village, he was attacked by Abdullah Canko's men. Shaikh was accompanied by seven men, two of whom died in fighting, one escaped, and four others were captured and sent to Mosul along with the Shaikh. See Kaplan, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde", 202.

419 Rojekê ji xeflet we şêx digel çar mezinêt wî gazî kirine ḥukûmetê. Şêx nezanî bo çi ye diben ḥeta çû bin tenefê. Li wê derê gotine şêxî, "here ser kursîyê." Got, "ewe çi ye?" Gotin, "emrê dewletê hatiye ku, "cenabê şêx efendî helawêsin." Ew dê te helawîsin." Herçend şêxî qorî w hewar kir fayde neda. Tenef têkirine stukira wî, helawêstin. Her çar şirîkêt wî jî helawêstin. Paşî ku şêx xendiqandin ʿesker hate Barzanê, çekêt mirowêt wî standin, bûne reʿîyet, li ser cîyê xo rûniştin, meşẋûlî kesb-û-karê xo bûn.

420 Ṣofî ʿEbdullah Şikak û mirowêt wî gelek li Wanê rûniştin ku dê bo wan rutbe w meʿaş û nîşan derkewît, pîwazek bo wan ḥasil nebû. Gelek peşîman bûn, gotin, "ewe çi gû bû me xarî?" Cewdet Beg gote wan, "ʿelbette gû bû hingo xar. Çakî bo hingo ewe ye dewê hingo bişon." Xulase li naw ʿUsmanîyan bêçare bûn û neşiyan bihêne cîyê xo. Wextê ḥerba ʿumûmî bû, çûne deşta Mûsilê, hindek ji birsan mirin, hindekan qesda ser cîyê xo kirin. ʿUsmanîyan zanî, hatin, hindek ji wan kuştin, hindek girtin, birine Mûsilê, ḥebs kirin. Çunko bêbextî digel mêwanê xo kirin, cezayê ʿemelê xo dîtin. Wan stirî çandin, xiyala wan ew bû dê tirî çinin; nezanîn berê stirî stirî ye, tirî nîye.

421 Jin û dayik û biçûkêt şêxî w du birayêt wî neh-deh salî man li naw Şêrwanîyan. Gundek heye Bîyê dibêjinê, milkê babê wan e, li wê derê rûniştin, bi ḥasilatê milkê xo dijîn.

422 Mela Eḥmed, muderrisê şêx, ji tirsa Romîyan qet nediwêra xo aşkera biket. Li naw ʿeşîreta Şêrwanî w Mizûrî w Gerdî xo dişarewe. Derheq wî şikayêt hatibû kirin ku mela Eḥmed gotiye şêx, "kuştina Romîyan muwafiqî şerîʿetê Islamê dirist e, çunko di şerîʿetê Islamê da kuştina ehlê kitab dirist nîye, kuştina wî kesî dirist e ku tabiʿî kitaba Xudê nebît. Dînê Yehûdîyan meʿlûm e ku ʿemelê wan bi Tewratê ye. Dînê Neṣranîyan meʿlûm e ʿemelê wan bi Incîlê ye. Şerîʿetê ḥeq û bê

One day they suddenly summoned the Shaikh and four leading men to the 419
seat of government. The Shaikh did not know what they were taking them for until he went under the rope. There they said to the Shaikh, 'Go and sit on the chair.' He said, 'What is that?' They said, 'The government's order has come, "Hang his honour the Shaikh." So we are going to hang you.' However much the Shaikh shouted and cried out it was no use. They put the rope round his neck and hanged him.[10] They hanged all four of his companions also. After they had hanged the Shaikh the troops came to Barzan and took the arms of his men, who became mere peasants, settled in their homes and busied themselves in making a livelihood.

Sofi Abdullah Shikak and his men sat in Van for a long time, waiting for rank 420
and a pension and medals to turn up for them, but not an onion did they get. They were most regretful, saying, 'What dung we have eaten!' Jevdet Beg said to them, 'It was certainly dung that you ate. It is best for you to wash your mouths out.' In short, they had no remedy among the Turks and could not return to their own place. When the Great War broke out they went to the Mosul plain, some of them died of hunger, some set out for their own place. The Turks learnt of this, came, killed some of them, and captured some of them, took them to Mosul and imprisoned them. As they had acted dishonourably towards their guest they received the reward for their deed. They planted thorns, thinking to reap grapes. They did not know that a thorn-bush bears thorns, not grapes.

The wife and mother and children of the Shaikh and his two brothers stayed 421
for nine or ten years among the Shirwanis. There is a village called Bie which belonged to their father and there they settled, living off the income from their property.

Mullah Ahmad, the Shaikh's teacher, dared not reveal himself for fear of 422
the Turks. He hid himself among the Shirwani and Mizuri and Girdi tribes. A complaint had been made about him to the effect that Mullah Ahmad had said to the Shaikh, 'The killing of Turks is right, according to the religious law of Islam, for in the law of Islam the killing of the People of the Book is not right, but the killing of that person is right who is not a follower of God's Book. It is well-known that the religion of the Jews follows the Torah. It is well-known that the religion of the Christians follows the Gospels. It is true, and no

10 The attribution of this particular example of perfidy to the Turks appears not to be justified, to judge by the detailed account of the trial and execution of the Shaikh and his companions by a witness, Siddiq al-Damluji, *Imarat Bahdinān al-kurdīya*, Mosul 1952, 94–104. Accordingly, the trial deliberation was reached on 16 November 1914 and the execution of the Shaikh along with five other Kurdish notables took place either in December 1914 or January 1915. See Kaplan, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde", 203.

bidʿet li naw Islamê ewe ye ku ewane, çunko ehlê kitab in, nahêne kuştin. ʿEyba wan ew hinde ye îman bi Muḥemmed nîye. We Muḥemmed negotiye, "her kesê îmanê bi min neket bikujin." Gotiye, "her kesê şirîkan bo Xudê çêket û sicde bo seneman biket, wî bikujin, bila îmanê bi min biket." Emma beʿzekî muctehidêt musulmanan paşî Muḥemmed peyda bûn, ne Qurʾan, ne ḥedîs li ser meʿna dirist nehêlan, ḥeta bûne beʿisê fesadê li naw benî-ademî. Lewa dibêjim kuştina Romîyan dirist e, çunko ewan meʿlûm e tabiʿî Tewrat û Incîl nîne, we bi dew dibêjin, "em tabiʿê Qurʾanê-yne," ema dibêjin qanûna Eḥmed Midḥet Paşa ji Qurʾanê çêtir e w ew pîçek ji Xudê bi ʿeqltir e. We ʿemelê wan jî muwafiqî hîç kitabekî nîye. Bes bi wê gotinê w wê ʿeqîdê kuştina wan dirist e."

423 Ew xebere meşhûr bû ku Mela Eḥmed ho gotiye w temam geheştibû guhê Fazil Paşa. Wî jî bi tefsîl niwîsî bo Istembolê. Êdî cîyê Mela Eḥmed, feqîr, hawînan çîya bû, zistanan her du-sê rojan diçû gundekî, li naw helêt pezî xo dişarewe. Romî bi şiddet li dû wî digeṛiyan. Ewe salek e ji ḥalê wî bê xeber în, nizanîn miriye yan girtiye yan maye, ʿefû kiriye. Çu meʿlûm nîye. *Wesselam*.

innovation, that according to the law they should not be killed, being People of the Book. Their fault is only this much, that they do not believe in Muhammad. And Muhammad did not say, "Kill everyone who does not believe in me." He said, "Kill him who makes partners for God and worships idols, even if he believes in me." But some Muslim divines have appeared since Muhammad and they have left neither the Koran nor the Tradition in their proper meaning, so that they have become a cause of disruption among mankind. Therefore I say that the killing of Turks is right, for it is known that they do not follow the Torah or the Gospels, and they say with their mouths, "We follow the Koran," but they say that the laws of Ahmad Midhat Pasha[11] are better than the Koran and he is a little more intelligent than God. And their actions, moreover, do not accord with any Book. So, for these sayings and this belief, killing them is right.'

This became well-known, that Mullah Ahmad had spoken thus, and it had 423
all reached the ears of Fazil Pasha. He wrote in detail to Istanbul. Thereafter the place of Mullah Ahmad, poor fellow, was the mountains in summer, and in winter he would go to a different village every two or three days, hiding himself in the sheep-pens. The Turks searched for him diligently. It is a year now that we have heard nothing of him. We do not know whether he is dead or has been captured or is still alive and has been pardoned. Nothing is known.

11 In reference to the Constitution of 1876 (*Kanun-i Esasi*) that was prepared by a board led by Ahmed Şefik Midhat Paşa (1822–1884).

LIV

Ḥekayêta Şêx Muḥemmedê Bicîlê

424 Gundek heye li naw ʿeşîreta Surçîyan, daxilê qeza Akrê ji wilayeta Mûsilê, Bicîl dibêjinê. Şêx Muḥemmed hebû li wî gundî, kurê Şêx Eḥmed, we Şêx Eḥmed yêk bû ji xelîfeyêt Şêx Xalidê Silêmanî ku meşhûr e, dibêjinê Mewlana Xalid. Ew Şêx Muḥemmed li naw ʿeşîreta Surçîyan gelek muqeddes bû. Di ʿeqîda wan da welîyê Xudê bû, zor kamil bû, xudanê keşf-û-keramet bû. Rûḥa xo w malê xo bo wî dizanîn. Ẋayet dewletmend bû. Bende, naqilê ḥekayetê, Mela Seʿîd jî ew dîtîbû.

425 Noke kurê wî Şêx Bedîʿ li cîyê wî rûniştiye, mesleka rûḥanî li destê wî ye. Kurekî dî, ʿUbeydullah dibêjinê, umûrêt ʿeşîretê w şolêt dunyayê bi destê wî ne. Gelek kurêt dî jî hene. Ema ew Şêx Muḥemmed di nezera Zêbarîyan da, li naw mirîd û meḥsûbêt şêxê Barzanê, gelek xirab bû. Digotin, "şêxê Bicîlê şeytan e, xo êxistiye libasê şêxan. Gurg e çûye di pîstê mihîyê da. Saḥir e, durohîn e, ḥîlebaz e." We di nezera Surçîyan da jî Şêx ʿEbdusselam Barzanî w babê wî, Şêx Muḥemmed, û babê Şêx Muḥemmed, Şêx ʿEbdusselamê ewwel, ewane hemî durohîn û fasiq û ḥîlebaz bûn. Herçî pîs e, xirab e, derheq yêkudu dibêjin û diken. Surçîyan digotin, "çend kiçêt bakire Şêx Muḥemmed⟨ê⟩ Bicîlê pif kiriye dewê wan, bi ḥemle bûne w kur bi weled înane." Zêbarîyan digotin, "qet weto nabît. Şêx ji peni we kiça bakire gaye. Ji şêx ḥamile bûye, elbette ew *rūḥu-l-qudus*[1] nîye."

426 Zêbarîyan dibêjin, "carekê mirowekî Zêbarî jinek rewa, çû Bicîlê, bû xulamê tekya Şêx Muḥemmed. Jina wî reway gelek spehî bû. Şêx kewte xiyala wihê ku bi ṭerzekî mumkin bît wê jinê teṣerruf biket. Bi fikra xo ho çêkir. Gote mirowê Zêbarî, "tu qewî mirowekî çak û emîn î. Ḥez dikem wextê niwistinê tu w jina xo bihêne menzila pêş derê menzila min, çunko ez pêşî spêdê dirabim, diçim bo mizgewtê. Lazim e ku yêkî wekî te saliḥ û emîn ḥazir bît da zû bo min awa destniwêjê ḥazir biket." Wî jî fikra şêx nedizanî, gelek memnûn bû. Got, "we diyar e merḥemeta şêx derheq min zêde ye, lewa ho emr difermot." Rabû, niwînêt xo înane wî cîyê şêx emr kiribû. Şêx hemî rojan zû radibû, gazî dikir, "Ṣofî, here, mesînê min ji birka pişta gundî tejî bike, bibe edebxana mizgewtê, li

1 In Arabic, *holy soul.*

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LIV

The Story of Shaikh Muhammad of Bijil

There is a village among the Surchi tribe, in the district of Akre, belonging to 424
the province of Mosul, called Bijil. There was once a Shaikh Muhammad in that village, the son of Shaikh Ahmad, and Shaikh Ahmad was one of the khalifas of the famous Shaikh Khalid of Sulaimaniya, whom they call Maulana Khalid. This Shaikh Muhammad was considered very holy among the Surchi tribe. In their opinion he was a friend of God, most perfect and a master of miracles. They counted their own souls and wealth as his. He was extremely rich. I, the narrator of the account, Mullah Sa'id have seen him.

Now his son Shaikh Badi' is established in his place and the spiritual path 425
is in his hands. Another son, called Ubaidullah, has the affairs of the tribe and temporal matters in his hands. There are many other sons too. Now in the view of the Zebaris, among the disciples and followers of the Shaikh of Barzan, this Shaikh Muhammad was very bad. They used to say, 'The Shaikh of Bijil is the devil who has put himself in the dress of Shaikhs. He is a wolf in sheep's clothing. He is a magician, a liar and a trickster.' In the view of the Surchis, on the other hand, Shaikh Abdussalam of Barzan and his father, Shaikh Muhammad, and Shaikh Muhammad's father, Shaikh Abdussalam I, were all liars, profligates and tricksters. Whatever is foul and bad they say and do concerning each other. The Surchis would say, 'As many virgins as have had Shaikh Muhammad of Bijil blow into their mouths, they have conceived and borne sons.' The Zebaris used to say, 'It is never so. The Shaikh has copulated with the virgin in secret. She was pregnant by the Shaikh. This was certainly no Holy Spirit.'

The Zebaris say, 'Once a Zebari man abducted a woman, went to Bijil and 426
became a servant of Shaikh Muhammad's convent. The woman he abducted was very pretty. The Shaikh began to think how it might be possible to possess himself of this woman. This is how he planned it. He said to the Zebari, "You are a very good and trustworthy man. I would like you and your wife to come to the room opposite the door of my room to sleep, because I get up before dawn and go to the mosque. It is necessary for someone as pious and trustworthy as yourself to be present to bring me water early for my ablutions." He did not know what was in the Shaikh's mind and was very grateful. He said, "Evidently the Shaikh favours me very much, that is why he tells me this." He got up and brought his bedding to the place the Shaikh had ordered. Every day the Shaikh would get up early and call, "Sofi, go and fill my water-pot at the pool behind the village, take it to the lavatory of the mosque and wait there till I

wê derê raweste ḥeta ez têm." Ṣofîyê feqîr jî dilṣaf bû, diçû. Çend caran şêx digel Ṣofî derdikewt, hindek caran jî Ṣofî diçû, paşî saʿetekê şêx diçû. Di wê mabeynê da şêx dihate ser cîyê jina Ṣofî, gelek teltîf û ʿezmanxoşî bo jina Ṣofî dikir ḥeta îna ser fikra xo. Êdî her wextê keyfa şêxî înaba digel jina Ṣofî meḥebbeta xo dikir.

427 Qederê salekê bi wî ṭerzî rabar. Li naw Zêbarîyan ew şole meşhûr bû. Warisêt jinê digotin, "ewî ṣebabê Ṣofî du şerm bo me çêkir. Yêk ew e jinek ji me rewa, ya dî ew e, bi şêxê Bicîlê bi gan da." Ji êrwe wêwe, bi her ḥalê hebû, ew çikçike geheşte guhê Ṣofî, ema çu deng nekir. Got, "dê nobê girim, bizanim rast e yan ne." Carekê ku şêx li ser ʿedetê xo gazî kir Ṣofî çû, li kolanê, li pişta derî xo şarewe. Dît ku şêx digel jina wî ṣuḥbet diket, dizanî rast e, ema dîsa çu deng nekir. Rojekê Ṣofî gote jina xo, "were, biçîne ser merqedê Şêx Eḥmed, babê Şêx Muḥemmed, duʿayekî ji Xudê bixazîn, belko bi yumn û bereketa wî Xudê kurekî bidete me." Jin jî digel Ṣofî çû. Meqber qederê pazde deqîqe ji gundî dûr e. Li wê derê Ṣofî jina xo xendiqand. Ḥelat, xo hawête tekya şêxê Barzanê. Ew ḥal û ḥekayête li naw Zêbarîyan meşhûr kir û xizmêt jinê Ṣofî ʿefû kirin."

428 Ema Surçî dibêjin, "ne, weto nîye, ho ye. Wextê Ṣofî w jina xo çûne ser merqedê Şêx Eḥmed, duʿa kirin, Ṣofî bi sebeb aşkera bûna rûḥaniyeta Şêx Eḥmed meczûb bû, dîn bû, jina xo kuşt. Paşî, ku ʿeqlê wî hate serê wî, neşiya bihête gundî, ḥelat, çû Zêbarîyan. Ew durowe çêkir da wî qebûl biken û ʿefû biken." Zêbarî dibêjin, "wellah, weto ye, belko zêdetir e."

429 Zêbarî dibêjin, "Şêx Muḥemmedê Bicîlê ʿadetekî dî jî hebû. Miqdarê sihî-çil xulamêt mexsûs hebûn. Hemî esrar û ḥîlêt wî dizanîn, meḥrem bûn di xizmeta wî da, we ew xulamane xudan-çek bûn, gelek mêrçak bûn. Eger kesekî ji ʿeşîreta Surçîyan tiştekî muxalifî reʾya şêxî kiriba şêx diçû mizgewtê, cemʿîyetekî mirîdan û muʿteberan ḥazir dikir û xulamêt mexsûs jî ḥazir dikirin. Li naw wê cemʿîyetê şêx da bêjît, "fulan kes derheq ew feqîre pîçek bêinṣafî diket. Ez razî me sebeb xo, ji kes ʿaciz nîme, ema ditirsim ku silsila meşaixan ji wî ʿaciz bît, baṭinî wî bigirin û bezir ken." Wextê ku şêx ew xebere digot xulaman dizanî çi ye dibêjît, çunko di pêş da têgehandibûn. Ew xulamane wê saʿetê diçûn, lê digeriyan ku wî mirowî bi kewlîyekî bikujin. Hingî dihatine mala xo ku ew miro kuştiban û bezir kiriban. Paşî kuştina wî şêx li naw cimaʿetê digot, "fulan

come." And poor Sofi, the innocent, would go. Sometimes the Shaikh would go out with Sofi, sometimes Sofi would go and the Shaikh would go an hour later. In the meanwhile the Shaikh would come to the bed of Sofi's wife and indulge in many blandishments and soft words, until he brought her round to his idea. Thereafter whenever the Shaikh might be moved by desire he would make love to Sofi's wife.

He passed about a year in that manner. This affair was well known among the 427
Zebaris. The woman's family said, "That son of a dog Sofi has doubly shamed us. For one thing he has abducted one of our women and for another he lets the Shaikh of Bijil copulate with her." From here to there, however it happened, this gossip reached Sofi's ears, but he said nothing. He said, "I shall keep watch and see whether it is true or not." Once, when the Shaikh called him in his customary way, Sofi went and hid himself in the street, behind the door. He saw the Shaikh having intercourse with his wife and knew that it was true, but he still said nothing. One day Sofi said to his wife, "Come, let us go to the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh Muhammad's father, and pray to God. Perhaps through his blessing and fortunate presence God will grant us a son." The wife went with Sofi. The grave was about fifteen minutes distance from the village and there Sofi strangled his wife. He fled and took refuge in the convent of the Shaikh of Barzan. He spread his story among the Zebaris and the woman's relatives forgave Sofi.'

But the Surchis say, 'No, it was not thus, but so. When Sofi and his wife went to 428
the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad and prayed Sofi was carried away by the revelation of the spirituality of Shaikh Ahmad, went mad and killed his wife. Afterwards, when he regained his senses, he could not come back to the village so he fled, went to the Zebaris and invented this lie so that they would accept and forgive him.' The Zebaris say, 'By God, it was thus, if not more so.'

The Zebaris say, 'Shaikh Muhammad of Bijil had another custom. He had 429
about thirty or forty special henchmen. They knew all his secrets and tricks and were his confidential servants, and these henchmen were well armed and brave men. If anybody of the Surchi tribe were to do anything not to the liking of the Shaikh he would go to the mosque, summon up a group of his disciples and trusted followers and his henchmen too. In this gathering the Shaikh would then say, "So-and-so is being a little unjust to this wretched person. For myself I do not mind, I am not angry with any one, but I fear that the line of Shaikhs may be angry with him and take him and spirit him away in secret." When the Shaikh said this the henchmen knew what he was implying because he had previously given them to understand. These henchmen went on the moment, seeking for an opportunity to kill that man. Then, when they had killed the man and disposed of the body, they would return home. After the killing the Shaikh

saʿetê erwaḥêt meşaixan ew miro hingawt. Dilê min qewî xemgîr e." Xelk jî hemî muteʿeccib dibûn, ditirsan. Êdî nedişiyan ji emrê şêxî derkewin." Ema Zêbarîyan ew bi ḥîle dizanîn û Surçîyan digotin, "keramet e."

430 Micêwirê mizgewta şêxê Bicîlê digot, "gelek caran şewê ez tême mizgewtê, dibînim şêx di miḥraba mizgewtê da, we derê mizgewtê daêxistîye, kilîl lalî min." Surçîyan digotin, "şêx wekî rûḥ e, dîwar bo wî maniʿ nîne." Belê Zêbarîyan digotin, "şêxî kilîla mûyê kilika hespan çêkiribû. Her derê ku bi dor-û-pişk hatiba daêxistin wî bi kilîla mûy dikirewe." Xulase mabeyna Surçî w Zêbarîyan sebeb şêxan gelek nexoş bû, noke jî nexoş e.

431 Kurê şêxê Bicîlê yêk hebû, nawê wî Muḥemmed Ḥafiz bû. Wî kurî jina Xalidê Doberdanê rewa. Xalid ji mirîdêt şêxê Barzanê bû. Wextê ku hawîn dihat hemî salan peẓê şêxê Bicîlê digel gelek Surçîyan dihatine kûstanêt Kêleşîna pişta Gaderê, nêzîkî Şino. Sala ku jina Xalid rewa Muḥemmed Ḥafiz ew jin digel xo îna ku bihête kûstanê. Li Zê derbaz bû, hate Rêzanê. Şewê çadira xo dawe, ew û jina reway di bin çadirê da bûn. Nêzîkî spêdê duṣed mêr Zêbarî dewrane li ẓoma Muḥemmed Ḥafiz da, wêkra oẋilme kirine çadira Muḥemmed Ḥafiz. Ew û gelek xulamêt wî hatine kuştin. Jina Xalid jî birîndar bû. Înan, teslîm kirine destê Xalid. Derman kirin, sax bû.

432 Karwanekî şêxê Barzanê diçû Akrê. Nijda Surçîyan hat, karwan şeland û deh miro kuştin. Sebeb wihê Zêbarî hizar mêr rabûn, çûne ser gundê Bicîlê, hemî ṣotin, talan kirin. Mizgewta şêxî jî sotin. Qur'ana wî hemî parçe-parçe kirin. Şêx digel jinan û çend xulaman ji gundî xilas bûn. Muḥemmed Reqîb, kurê kiçke, digel hindek ʿeyal xilas nebûn, girtin.

433 Zêbarî li gundê Bicîlê rûniştî bûn. Wan dît ji xeflet we li hemî qeraẋêt gundî oẋilmeyêt tifengan hatine wan. Ḥelatin, çûne di qesra şêxî da, hêşta nesotibûn. Kurê şêxî jî digel xo birine naw ḥewşa qesrê. Xulase sê rojan Zêbarî kewtine muḥasere. Roja çarê hewara Zêbarîyan gelek hat, Surçî ji gundî rakirin, ewêt muḥasere da derkewtin. Kurê şêxê Bicîlê jî digel xo înane lalî şêxê Barzanê, nekuştin. Hingî Şêx Muḥemmed⟨ê⟩ bab⟨ê⟩ Şêx ʿEbdusselamê dûyê bû.

would say to the gathering, "At such-and-such a time the spirits of the Shaikhs smote that man. My heart is greatly distressed." The people were all amazed and afraid. They dared not disobey the Shaikh thereafter.' But the Zebaris knew that this was a trick, while the Surchis said it was a miracle.

The sexton of the mosque of the Shaikh of Bijil used to say, 'Often when I 430
come to the mosque at night I see the Shaikh in the prayer niche of the mosque, though the door is locked and the key with me.' The Surchis said, 'The Shaikh is like a spirit and walls are no hindrance to him.' But the Zebaris said, 'The Shaikh had made a "key" of horse-tail hair. He used to undo any door which had been locked with a bar-and-pawls with his hair "key".' In short, there was, and still is, a great deal of unpleasantness between the Surchis and the Zebaris on account of the Shaikhs.

There was one son of the Shaikh of Bijil whose name was Muhammad Hafiz. 431
That son abducted the wife of Khalid of Dobardan. Khalid was a disciple of the Shaikh of Barzan. Every year when summer came the Shaikh of Bijil's sheep used to come, with many Surchis, to the highlands of Kelashin, beyond the river Gadar, near Ushnuye. The year that he abducted Khalid's wife Muhammad Hafiz brought the woman with him on the way to the highlands. He crossed the river Zab and came to Rezan. At night he pitched his tent and he and the abducted woman were under the tent. Towards dawn two hundred Zebaris surrounded Muhammad Hafiz's camp and all together fired a volley at the tent of Muhammad Hafiz. He and many of his men were killed. Khalid's wife was wounded too. They brought her and gave her back to Khalid. They treated her and she recovered.

A caravan of the Shaikh of Barzan was going to Akre. A Surchi raiding party 432
came, plundered the caravan and killed ten men. On account of this a thousand Zebaris rose and went against the village of Bijil. They burnt and looted it all. They burnt the Shaikh's mosque too and tore his Koran in pieces. The Shaikh, with the women and some followers, escaped from the village. Muhammad Raqib, his youngest son, and some women, did not escape and were caught.

The Zebaris were sitting in the village of Bijil. Suddenly and unexpectedly 433
they found that rifle volleys were coming at them from all sides of the village. They fled into the Shaikh's mansion, which they had not yet burnt. They took the Shaikh's son into the courtyard of the mansion with them. In short, the Zebaris were besieged for three days. On the fourth day a large relieving party of Zebaris came, the Surchis fled from the village and the besieged men came out. They took the Shaikh of Bijil's son with them to the Shaikh of Barzan and did not kill him. At that time it was Shaikh Muhammad, the father of Shaikh Abdussalam II.

434 Gelek miro ji herduyan hatine kuştin, belê mala şêxê Bicîlê digotin nîw milyon lîre zerer hatê. Şêxê Bicilê ʿerzi-ḥal dane walîyê Mûsilê. Telẋraf kêşane meqamêt ʿaliye. Şêx Muḥemmed Barzanî xastine Mûsilê bo muḥakemeya wî w şêxê Bicîlê, ema Şêx Muḥemmed Barzanî neçû. Ẋiyaben hate meḥkûm kirin. **Tabûrek*[2] ʿesker ji Mûsilê derkewt, hate Akrê. Xeber dane şêx⟨ê⟩ Barzanê, "yan were, yan em dê bêne ser Barzanê." Şêx newêra biçît, ḥelat, hate Nehrîyê lalî Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq, got, "hîwî dikem tedbîrekî li ḥalê min bike." Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq got, "eger ez weto çêkem ku ḥukûmet te ʿefû biket, tu dê musaleḥe digel şêxê Bicîlê bikey, yan ne?" Şêxê Barzanê gote Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq, "her emrê tu bifermoy min qebûl e."

435 Hingî walîyê Wanê Ṭahir Paşa bû, qewî dostê Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq bû. Bi wasitey wî emrê ʿefwa Şêx Muḥemmed⟨ê⟩ Barzanê ji Sultan Ḥemîd da istiḥsal kirin û kaẋez bo Şêx Muḥemmed⟨ê⟩ Bicîlê hinar, "ḥez dikem tu jî teşrîf bikeye êre, Nehrîyê, li nik min sulḥa hingo bibît." Wextê şêxê Bicîlê zanî ku şêxê Barzanê ʿefû bûye êdî ji ẋeyri sulḥê çare nîye, hate Nehrîyê lalî Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq. Sêṣed kawirêt qelew û pênc hespêt keḥêl û pênc hêstirêt kilik-çak bo şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq bi dîharî înan.

436 Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq gelek ḥurmeta wî girt, gote şêxê Bicîlê, "tu çawa ḥez dikey û musaleḥe bi çi ṭerz bît? Fikra xo beyan ke. We çi zerer hatiye te? Da bizanim." Şêxê Bicîlê mirowekî ʿezman-fesîḥ û xoş-xeber bû w zor têgeştî bû. Zanî ku mumkin nîye muxalifi reʾya Şêx Muḥemmed biket. Gote Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq, "min çu fikr nîne. Zatê hingo ḥezretê ṣiddîqê ṣadiq e, wekîlê muṭleq e. Min ji ẋeyri imtisal û itaʿeta emr û fermanê *wacibu-l izʿan*ê[3] ḥezretê ʿalî hîç fikr û axiwtin nîne. Emr emrê mubarekî ʿalî ye. We zerera hatiye min qabilê ḥisabê nîye, çunko kes ṭaqet nîye ḥisab ket. Ew jî li nik min çu nîye. Hemî bo xatira zatê hingo ʿefû bin. Ema eger ew hindê ḥeqaret û rezalet û bêḥeysîyet⟨îy⟩ê ku wê taifeya fecere, wê zumreya şenîʿe derheq ew ḥeqîre kirine ez hemîyê bêjim û li ḥuzûra mubarek bînime ḥeyyizê ẓuhûrê, hingo ṭaqeta istimaʿê w qerarê namînît, dê ji weḥşet û dehşeta wî xeberî firarê ixtiyar biken. *Ez-cumle-y*[4] hemî seyyiʾat û bedkarîya wan ewe bû, temzîqa suḥufêt Qurʾana ʿezîmu-ş-şaʾn kirin, hawêtine ser mezbelan, û meʿbeda bab û bapîrêt ew ḥeqîre *bi-l-merre*[5] telwîs û tencîs kirin, û guhêt jina w xulaman biṛîn bo

2 Turkish word for *a battalion*.

3 In Arabic, *the one whose commands should be followed*.

4 In Persian, *of all*.

5 In Arabic, *at once*.

Many men were killed on both sides but it was said that the Shaikh of Bijil's 434
family suffered a loss of half a million liras. The Shaikh of Bijil sent petitions to the Governor of Mosul. Telegrams were sent to higher authorities. Shaikh Muhammad of Barzan was summoned to Mosul for the case between himself and the Shaikh of Bijil, but Shaikh Muhammad of Barzan did not go. He was sentenced in his absence. A battalion of troops set out from Mosul and came to Akre. Word was sent to the Shaikh of Barzan, 'Either come in or we shall come against Barzan.' The Shaikh dared not go so he fled and came to Nehri to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq. He said, 'I hope you will arrange something for me.' Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq said, 'If I arrange it so that the government pardons you, will you be reconciled with the Shaikh of Bijil or not?' The Shaikh of Barzan said to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq, 'I accept whatever you are pleased to say.'

The governor of Van was then Tahir Pasha, a great friend of Shaikh Muham- 435
mad Siddiq. Through him he obtained an order from Sultan Hamid pardoning Shaikh Muhammad of Barzan, and he sent a letter to Shaikh Muhammad of Bijil saying, 'I should like you kindly to come here to Nehri so that by me there should be peace between you.' When the Shaikh of Bijil learnt that the Shaikh of Barzan had been pardoned he had no alternative but to accept peace. He came to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq at Nehri, bringing three hundred fat yearling lambs, five thoroughbred horses and five fine-tailed mules as a gift for the Shaikh.

Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq treated him with great respect and said to the 436
Shaikh of Bijil, 'How would you prefer it and what sort of reconciliation should it be? Tell me what you think, and what loss have you suffered, so that I may know.' The Shaikh of Bijil was an eloquent and fluent speaker, and very intelligent. He knew that it would be impossible to act against the wishes of Shaikh Muhammad. He said to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq, 'I have no ideas. Your excellency is a just (*siddiq*) and sincere witness and you have absolute discretion. I have no ideas, nor anything to say, beyond a desire to obey your excellency's potent commands. It is for your excellency to command. As for the loss I have suffered, it cannot be reckoned for nobody has the patience to reckon it. And it is nothing to me. Let it all be forgiven for your sake. But if I were to tell and bring to your notice all the degradation and baseness and ignominy that I have suffered from this wicked tribe, this abominable band, you would not have the patience to stay and hear, but would rather choose flight from the horror of what I have to say. Of all their evil deeds this was but one, that they tore to pieces the pages of the glorious Koran and threw them on the dungheaps, and they defiled and desecrated the mosque of this wretched person's ancestors entirely. They cut off the ears of the women and servants to take

birina guharan. Xulase ewê kirêt û xirab e ew kirine. *Meʿemafihi*[6] min çu gotin nîne. Çawa emr difermon min qelben we lisanen qebûl e."

437 Wextê şêxê Bicîlê ho axiwt teʾsîr kir di qelbê Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq. Got, "madam we ye bes çak e şêxê Barzanê jî bi tinê bibînim, bizanim gotina wî çi ye." Gazî kir, gote wî, "ew musaleḥe çawa dê çêbît?" Şêxê Barzanê got, "em ʿeşîret în. Hindî dujminatî ye xirabîyan dikeyn, wextê bû musaleḥe silawekê li yêkudu dikeyn, her kes diçîte mala xo. Çu ji yêk ṭeleb naken. Em jî noke li ḥuzora ḥingo dê destê yêkudu maç keyn û çîn."

438 Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq got, "*fi-l ḥeqîqe*[7] ʿadetê ʿeşîretî weto ye, ema ʿedaweta hingo du cihet hene. Yêk ʿeşîretî ye, bila ew ʿeşîretî bît. Yêk şexsî ye, bila ew bi tole bît. Cihetê ʿeşîretî we ye, mêrêt Zêbarîyan hatine kuştin û mêrêt Surçîyan jî hatîne kuştin û ji herdu ʿeşîretan jî talan hatine birin. Ewane bê redd û bedel bin. Cihetê şexsî ewe ye, zererekî mezin hatiye mala şêxê Bicîlê w kurê wî jî hatiye kuştin. Ew ji her cihet meẋdûr bît, inṣaf û murowet nîye. Ew jî mirowekî qedîm-xanedan e, mala wî tekya ye. Ez ho selaḥ dizanim xesareta mala wî hindî mumkin bo biden. Eger tiştek ma, bo xatira min dê ʿefû ket."

439 Şêxê Barzanê razî bû, got, "min qebûl e, ema belko aẋayêt Zêbarî qebûl neken. Wan jî ḥazir bike, digel wan biaxiwe." Ew jî ḥazir kirin. Ḥesen Aẋa w Fettaḥ Aẋa w Selîm xan Aẋa mezinêt wan bûn. Wan jî gotin, "çawa Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq efendî munasib dibînît em razî-yne." Pênc hizar lîrey ʿUsmanî li ser ʿeşîreta Zêbarîyan hate pelate kirin û hemî bi muddetê hewyekê qerar dan ku temam bînin, teslîmi destê Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq biken, ew bo şêxê Bicîlê bihinêrît. Bi wî ṭerzî musaleḥe-name w sened dane yêkudu w li ser destê Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq pêk hatin. We Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq xeber da mabeyna Humayûn li Deri Seʿadet. Muqabil⟨î⟩ wê xizmetê ji teref Sultan Ḥemîd *Izmir-payesi*[8] rutbe w ferman bo Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq hate dan. Zêbarî w Surçî çûn bo malêt xo. Paşî hewyekê pare hemî înane Nehrîyê. Du hizar lîre bo xo hêlan, sê hizar bo şêxê Bicîlê hinarin. Arekî hûr ji naw du berêt req geşte[9] Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq. *Wesselam*.

6 In Arabic, *nothwithstanding*.
7 In Arabic, *in truth, indeed*.
8 In Turkish.
9 Shortened of *gehişte*.

their ear-rings. In short, they did everything foul and bad. Notwithstanding this I have nothing to say. Whatever you command I accept with heart and tongue.'

When the Shaikh of Bijil spoke in this way it had its effect on Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq. He said, 'Since that is the case I had better see the Shaikh of Barzan alone and see what he has to say.' He summoned him and said, 'How will this reconciliation be arranged?' The Shaikh of Barzan said, 'We are tribesmen. We do damage so long as there is enmity and when there is reconciliation we salute one another and go to our homes. No one seeks anything from the other. In this way we shall now kiss each other's hands, in your presence, and go our ways.' 437

Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq said, 'Indeed this is the tribal custom, but your enmity has two causes. One is tribal, let that be settled tribally. One is personal and that must be (settled) by a fine. The tribal cause is this, that both Zebari and Surchi men have been killed and plunder has been taken from both tribes. Let these matters go unrequited. The personal cause is this, that great loss has been suffered by the Shaikh of Bijil's family and his son has been killed. It is neither just nor humane that he should be betrayed in both matters. Moreover he is a man of an ancient family, his home is a convent. I think it right that you should make good the loss to his family as far as possible. If there still remains something he will forgive it for my sake.' 438

The Shaikh of Barzan agreed and said, 'I accept but perhaps the Zebari aghas will not accept. Summon them too and talk with them.' They too were summoned. Hasan Agha and Fattah Agha and Salim Khan Agha were their leaders. They too said, 'We agree to whatever Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq Effendi sees fit.' Five thousand Ottoman liras were distributed over the Zebari tribe and they promised to bring it all in a period of one month and hand it over to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq for him to send to the Shaikh of Bijil. They exchanged letters of reconciliation and documents to that effect with one another and so came to an agreement through Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq. Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq informed the royal palace at Istanbul and for this service he was awarded the rank and title of 'Izmir Payesi'[10] by Sultan Hamid. The Zebaris and Surchis went to their homes. After a month all the money was brought to Nehri. He put aside two thousand liras for himself and sent three thousand to the Shaikh of Bijil. Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq got very fine flour from between two hard stones! 439

10 Ottoman honorary title awarded to retiring bureaucrats to ensure higher pension as well as to individuals in recognition of their exceptional services to the society and government. See Fahri Unan, "Osmanlı İlmiye Tarîkinde 'Pâye'li Tayinler Yahut Devlette Kazanç Kapısı," *Belleten* 62 (1998): 41–64.

LV

Ḥekayêta Sûto w Teto

440 Sûto aẋayê ʿeşîreta Doskanî ji gundê Horemarê, ji ûcaẋa Mala Mîrî ye. Teto Aẋayê ʿeşîreta Rêkanî ji gundê Rezge, ji mala Mîkaîl Aẋa bû. ʿEşîreta Rêkanî ji zemanê qedîm ḥeta noke daymî jêr destê aẋayêt Horemarîya bûne w zemanê Sûto Aẋa zêdetir kewtine bin destê Horemarîyan û Sûto w kurêt wî w birayêt wî w hemî mezinêt ûcaẋa wî gelek ẓulm û *teʾeddî li Rêkanîyan kirin, zêde ʿaciz kirin. Êdî ṭaqeta teḥemmulê nema. Teto taze caḥêl bû, mirowekî gelek cesûr bû. Di naw aẋayêt Rêkanîyan da kesek wekî wî peyda nebûbû. Çî dî ẋîreta wî teḥemmula ẓulma Horemarîyan nekir. Gote birayêt xo Temo w Hadî w Resûl, her sê ji wî mezintir bûn, "Ez wekî hingo qebûl nakem. Xo di destê Sûto da nakeme cû. Bo me mirin xoştir e ji jîna ho. Ez bi tewfîqa Xudê pencey xo dê deme ber pencey Sûto, çi mirim, çi mam." Birayêt wî w milletê wî gotin, "Tu çawa munasib dizanî, ji xeberê te dernakewîn, emma em dê meḥw bîn. Me ṭaqeta Horemarîyan nîye." Teto got, "Bila meḥw bibîn. Hîç zerer nîye. Eger ẋalib bûyn, ewe me ḥeta qiyametê naw û namûs qazanc kir û eger meẋlûb bûyn dê mirîn û raḥet bîn. Bi her ṭerzê bît ez gelek razî me." Xulase hemîyan qerar înane ser dujminîya digel Horemarîyan.

441 Rojekê weto qewimî Ḥeyo, birayê Sûto, dîsa li ser ʿadetê xo hate gundêt Rêkanî, dest kir bi xurtî w tişt standinê. Teto w Temo digel deh mirowan çûne

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LV

The Tale of Suto and Tato

Suto[1] is agha of the Doskani tribe,[2] from the village of Horamar and from the 440
clan of Mala Miri. Tato was agha of the Rekani tribe, of the village of Razga and the clan of Mala Mikail Agha. The Rekani tribe, from early times till now, have always been under the hands of the aghas of the Horamaris and in the time of Suto Agha they fell even more completely under their dominance and Suto and his sons, his brothers, and all the elders of his clan inflicted many persecutions and impositions on the Rekanis, and made them even more desperate. The power of forbearance no longer remained to them. Tato, yet a youth, was a man of much courage, the like of whom had never been seen among the Rekani aghas. Now his self-respect could no longer brook the oppression of the Horamaris. He said to his brothers, Tamo, Hadi, and Rasul (all three of whom were older than he), 'I cannot submit like you. I will not make a Jew of myself in Suto's hands. Death is pleasanter for us than such a life. With God's help I shall set my hand against Suto whether I die or survive.' His brothers and people replied, 'We shall not run counter to whatever you may consider advisable, but we shall be annihilated. We are not strong enough to cope with the Horamaris.' Tato replied, 'Let us be annihilated. It doesn't matter. If we prevail, we have gained fame and honour till the Day of Judgement, and if we are vanquished we shall die and be at rest. However it comes to pass I am satisfied.' In short, they all agreed to enmity with the Horamaris.

One day it so happened that Hayo, Suto's brother, in accordance with his cus- 441
tom, again visited the Rekani villages and began using force and taking things. Tato and Tamo with ten men went up to him and said, 'Go out from amongst our

1 In notes to the translation of this text which he published in 1923 (see Nikitine and Soane, "The Tale of Suto and Tato," 69–106), B. Nikitine gave several details concerning the topography of the area in which the events took place and the families of the participants. Suto (still alive in 1920, according to Soane)—'Sutu Agha of Oramar,' is mentioned by the Wigrams (Wigram and Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, 366–369), in their added account of the years of the First World War, as having by treachery caused the massacre of 400 Cossacks. This text was previously also published in David N. MacKenzie, "The Kurdish of Mullā Sa'īd Šamdīnānī," *The Journal of Kurdish Studies* 1 (1995): 1–28. The memory of the event described in the story lives on in the region also in the form of a folk ballad that is known by many traditional bards but they would not sing it to avoid contributing to the inter-tribal conflicts.

2 Today more commonly referred to as Doski tribe, living primarily in the south of Gawar plateau as well as in the north of Duhok province.

nik Ḥeyo, gotin, “Derkewe ji naw milletê me. Ji ewro paş qebûl nakeyn hung hatu-çûna Rêkanê biken.” Ḥeyo got, “Em dê hêyn û hingo bi tiştekî nizanîn.” Wextê Ḥeyo ho got, Teto derê *Martînî*yê da layê Ḥeyo, fîşekek li wî xesar kir, li wê derê Ḥeyo kuşt û xulamêt Ḥeyo jî hindek kuştin û hindek ḥelatin. Çûne Nêrwekê, gundê Sûto, ku mabeyna Nêrwekê w Rezge du saʿet kêmtir e.

442 Roja paşî Sûto hemî ʿeşîreta Doskanî w Horemarî cema kirin. Got, “Dê çim, mala Mîkaîl Aẋayê Rêkanî bi carekê birînimewe w cîyê Rêkanê bi temamî zewt kem bo tola Ḥeyo.” Hemîyan gotin, “Em ḥazir în. Tu çawa emr difermoy tecawuzê ji emrê cenabê aẋa nakeyn. Elbette tola birayê aẋa li ser me hemîyan lazim e. Bê gotina aẋa wacib e em şew û roj bixebitîn li tola Ḥeyo.” Xulase Sûto digel leşkirê xo hate ser gundê Rezge, dest kirin bi şerî.

443 Mirowêt Teto kêm bûn, neşiyan ji derwe şer biken. Xo hawêtine qesra Teto, di qesrê da şer digel leşkirê Sûto kirin. Kewtine muḥasere. Leşkirê Sûto hucûm dikirine derê qesrê. Teto li ser tîrendaza hindawê derî rûniştibû, her carê pênc ji wan dikuştin û didane paş. Sûto got, “Ho nabît. Lazim e bi çirpe biçîne bin qesrê.” Çend darêt li gundê Rezge hemî biṛîn, qed-qed kirin û kirine çirpe, çûn bo bin qesrê. Şewê saʿet çar û pênc çirpe gehandine qesrê. Hindek mirowêt leşkirî li ser çirpe çûne serbanê qesrê. Mirowêt Teto ṭengaw bûn. Teto got, “Hîç netirsin. Mêr bo rojekê ho ne. Girtin, kuştin rêka mêran e. Sebr ken, noke dê wan belaw kem.” Teto çar-pênc liḥêf di naw neftê helînan, bi serê çelan we kirin, dirêj kirine naw çirpe, agir berda çirpe. Siwandêt qesrê hemî ber bûn, nedisotin. Wextê guṛîya agirî ji çirpe bilind bû hemî qeraẋêt qesrê rona bûn. Teto w xulaman şêlikêt tifengan li-dû-yêk kirine leşkirê Sûto. Wê defʿê bîst û çar kes temam kirin. Dîsa leşkirê Sûto ji qesrê dane paş. Çirpe jî fayde nekir.

444 Sûto gazî kire Teto, “hingî dê çim, te meḥw kem. Ewe noke dê çirpeyê beran çêkem, êdî tu neş⟨ê⟩y wî bisojî.” Teto cewaba wî da, gazî kir, “min babê te ga. Çirpê daran fayde nekir. Ḥeta tu çirpê beran digehînîye qesrê gelek dê dûr kêşît. Belko ḥeta hingî Xudê bo me çareyekê biket.” Dest kirin bi çêkirina çirpê beran, ema wekî çirpê daran senayî nebû. Di wê mabeynê da xeber geheşte ḥukûmeta Amêdîyê ku ewe dwazde roj e leşkirê Sûto li ser qesra Teto ye w Teto digel mirowêt xo di muḥasere da ye.

445 Qaymeqamê Amêdîyê zabitê cendirman digel bîst cendirman hinarine Rezge ku bi her ṭerzê dibît leşkirê Sûto li ser Teto defʿ biken. Zabit û cendirme hatine Rezge, dîtin qelebaliẋekê mezin li ser Rezge. Fikr kirin ku ew şole bi

people! From this day on we do not consent to your coming or going in Rekan.' Hayo said, 'We shall come, and we do not consider you as anything.' When Hayo spoke thus Tato pointed the muzzle of his Martini at him, discharged a cartridge and killed him on the spot. Some of Hayo's followers were also killed and some fled to Nerwa, Suto's village, the distance between Nerwa and Razga being less than two hours.

The following day Suto collected all the Doskani and Horamari tribe and 442
said, 'I shall go and annihilate the clan of Mikail Agha Rekani and seize all the Rekani land as revenge for Hayo.' All said, 'We are ready. Whatever you order, we shall not disobey. Certainly it is an obligation on us all to avenge the Agha's brother. Even without your orders it is incumbent upon us to strive night and day for Hayo's revenge.' In short Suto came with his army upon Razga village and they began to fight.

Tato's men were few, and could not fight in the open. They took cover in 443
Tato's fort and from there engaged Suto's forces. They were besieged. Suto's men attacked the gate of the fort. Tato was seated at an embrasure over the gate and killed four or five at every rush, throwing them back. Suto said, 'This will not do. We must approach the fort with a siege-tower.' They cut all the trees in Razga village, chopped them up and constructed a siege-tower and advanced towards the fort. About the fourth or fifth hour of the night they got the siege-tower up to it. A few men of the troop got onto the roof of the fort from on top of the siege-tower. Tato's men became hard pressed. Tato said, 'Don't be afraid. Men are for such a day as this. To seize, to kill, that is the way of men. Wait, now I shall scatter them.' He steeped four or five quilts in kerosene, spread them on poles, thrust them into the siege-tower and set fire to it. The eaves of the fort were all stone and did not catch fire. When the flames rose from the siege-tower all sides of the fort were lit up. Tato and his men fired volley after volley at Suto's army. That time they finished off twenty-four people. Again they drove Suto's army back from the fort. The siege-tower availed nothing.

Suto called out to Tato, 'Then I shall go when I have destroyed you. Now I 444
shall make a siege-tower of stone, then you cannot fire it.' Tato answered him and called out, 'I buggered your father! The wooden siege-tower did not avail, and before you can bring a stone one to the fort it will take a long time. Perhaps by then God will find some means for me.' They commenced the construction of a stone siege-tower, but it was not so easy as the wooden one. Meanwhile information reached the government of Amadiya that for twelve days Suto had been attacking Tato's fort and he was besieged with his men.

The district governor of Amadiya sent a zaptieh officer with twenty zaptiehs 445
to Razga to restrain Suto's army from attacking Tato by whatever means be possible. The officer and zaptiehs reached Razga and saw a great crowd about it.

tundî çênabît. Bi tedbîr û ḥekîmane dê mumkin bît, çunko gelek miro hatibûne kuştin. Bi bîst cendirme bi şer defʿ kirin nedibû w bi hîwî qebûl kirin jî ji ʿeqlî dûr bû.

446 Zabit gote Sûto, "ez hatime mexsûs bêjime te ku ez ḥez nakem mala te xirab bibît, çunko tu axayekî xanedan û muʿteber î. Ewe hinde roj e te ew leşkire înaye ser cîyê Rêkanê, şerî dikey. Deng geştîye wilayeta Mûsilê. Walî xeber daye qaymeqamê Amêdîyê, "min tiştekî ho zaniye. Teḥqîqa *maddê bike. Eger rast e zû xeber bide min, dê xeber bideme walîyê Wanê, ʿeskerê şahane ji Wanê bihinêrît bo ser ʿeşîreta Sûto. We ji wilayeta Mûsilê jî du tabûr ʿesker digel du ṭopan dê hên bo terbiya Sûto w muḥafeza Teto. Madam ke ho ye, selaḥa ḥalê te ewe ye, yêk saʿet ewwel wê cemʿîyetê belaw bikey. Em jî dê cewaba walîyê Mûsilê deyn ku tiştekî mûcibî ehemmîyetê waqiʿ nebûye. Çend xulamêt Sûto w Teto li pişta gundî li ser mesʾeleya dizîya rezan du-sê saʿetan şer kirin û ji yêk webûn û du yan sê miro hatine brîndar kirin. Hingî tu mesʾûl nabî. Ewe min gote te. Qebûl dikey keyfa te ye, qebûl jî nekey keyfa te ye." Wextê zabitî ho got, hemî milletî gote Sûto, "em mala xo xirab nakeyn bi şerê dewletan. Ji me zêde ye. Eger şerê ʿeşîretan e em hemî ḥazir în xo bo te bideyne kuştin, ema layê ḥukûmetê bi me mumkin nabît." Xulase Sûto qebûl kir. Leşkirê xo paş we bir.

447 Zabitî gelek pare ji Sûto wergirt û minnetekê mezin jî dana ser Sûto, ku, "min şola te bi senayî çêkir." We gote Teto jî, "selaḥa halê te ewe ye, tu mal û ʿeyal û xizmêt xo hemîyan neql keye merkezê qeza Amêdîyê, xeber bideye wilayetê w Babê ʿAlî li Istembolê w meẋdûriyet û mezlûmiyeta xo bo hemî meqamatêt lazime *bar-wajh-i tafsīl*[3] beyan bikey, belko ḥukûmet te muḥafeze biket. Egerne tu neşêy xo ji ẓulma axayêt Horemarîyan ḥifz bikey. We em hemî dê bo te şahidîyê deyn." Xulase Teto jî qaniʿ kir û mala wî w mirowêt wî hemî digel xo birine Amêdîyê. We gelek pare ji Teto jî qazanc kir, çunko li naw kurdan meselekê meşhûr heye, "Romî xertel in, xoşîya wan ew e keleş mişe bin."

448 Wextê Teto bi mirowêt xo we çû Amêdîyê cîyê Rêkanê bêxudan ma. Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq jî xertelekî mezin bû. Cîyê Rêkanê jî keleşekî gelek xoş û qelew bû. Temaʿa cenabê şêx gelek ẋalib bû. Fikra xo kir ku bi ṭerzekî senayî cîyê Rêkanê bînîte bin destê xo. Kaẋezek meḥremane digel du-sê mirowêt muʿteber

3 In Persian, *in detail*.

They reasoned that the affair could not be settled by force, it would only be possible with stratagem and cunning, for many men had been killed. With (only) twenty zaptiehs it was not possible to repel them by fighting and to make them agree (to retire simply) by asking was beyond reason.

The officer said to Suto, 'I have come specially to tell you that I do not want 446
your house to be destroyed, as you are a well-born and respectable agha. It is now several days since you have brought your force against Rekan and are fighting. The noise of it has reached the provincial government of Mosul. The governor has sent word to the district governor of Amadiya saying, "I have heard such a rumour. Look into the matter. If it is correct let me know quickly, so that I can inform the governor of Van that he may send royal troops from Van against the tribe of Suto. Also from the province of Mosul two battalions with two guns will come to discipline Suto and protect Tato." Since things are thus, the saving of your position is that in one hour you disband your force. We shall inform the governor of Mosul that nothing of importance has occurred. Some men of Suto and Tato had fought behind the village about the matter of some vineyard theft for two or three hours, and had now separated with two or three men wounded. Then you will not be responsible. So, I have told you. Whether you agree or don't agree is up to you.' When the officer spoke thus all the people said to Suto, 'We shall not destroy our homes by conflict with the government. It is too much for us. If it is tribal warfare we are all ready to get ourselves killed for you, but against the government is not possible for us.' In the end Suto consented and withdrew his army.

The officer took much money from Suto and also placed a heavy obligation 447
on him, inasmuch as he had arranged his affair with ease. He also said to Tato, 'The best thing for you to do is that you should transport all your household and family and your relatives to the headquarters of the Amadiya district; inform the provincial government and the Sublime Porte at Istanbul, catalogue your grievances and injuries to all the necessary quarters, and perhaps the government may give you its protection. Otherwise you will not be able to defend yourselves against the oppression of the aghas of the Horamaris. We shall all bear witness for you.' In the end he convinced Tato also and took all his family and following with him to Amadiya. He also gained much money from Tato, for there is a well-known proverb amongst the Kurds, 'Turks are vultures; they are pleased when there are plenty of carcases.'

When Tato with his people went to Amadiya Rekan was left ownerless. 448
Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq was also a great vulture, and Rekan was equally a very fat and pleasing carcase. The avidity of the noble Shaikh became most overpowering. He took thought how he could easily bring Rekan under his own hand. He sent a letter in confidence with two or three respectable and intel-

û zana û çend pare bo qaymeqamê Amêdîyê hinarin ku, "ez xahiş dikem tu weto çêkey Teto muḥtacî min bibît, bihête êre, ez digel wî biaxiwim, şola wî ez bideme çêkirin. Tu şola wî li wê derê pîçek teʾxîr bike."

449 Wextê ku xeberê şêx geheşte qaymeqam, gelek keyfxoş bû. Muwafiqî meqsûda şêx ʿemel kir. Gote Teto, "rêkekê qahîmtir û bi senayîtir min bo te mulaḥeze kiriye. Egerçî lêre jî şola te mumkin dibît, emma wilayeta Mûsilê şolan pîçek teʾxîr diket. Ḥeta netîce derdikewît miro gelek ʿaciz dibît. Wilayeta Wanê zûtir icraʾatan diken û wilayeta Wanê herçî heye der destê Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq da ye. Herçî ḥez biket diket. Ez dibêjim, eger tu w birayêt xo w çend muʿteberêt ʿeşîreta Rêkanî biçine Nehrî lalî Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq, şola hingo dê zûtir çêbît û hem ʿeşîretî w hem ḥukûmetî zatê şêx şirîk û piştîwan bît bo hingo çêtir e w pişta Sûto dê şikêt." Xulase Teto razî kir û ji qaymeqam memnûn bû ku rêkekê ho nîşa wî da.

450 Teto digel biran û muʿteberan hate Nehrî. Nêçîrê şêx hate dawa wî. Wextê Teto hate lalî Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq gelek iḥtirama wî girt û memnûn kir. Şêx ji Paweyîyan ʿezman-lûstir bû. Bi her ṭerzekî dilê Teto razî kir. Gote Teto, "cîyê qesra Rezge bifiroşe min. Ez dê qesrê temam xirab kem. Carekê dî ji nû dê mezintir û qahîmtir çêkem û bîst xulamêt xo dê danême lalî te w ṣed tifeng *Martîn* û *Sozenî* dê deme mirowêt te. We ji terefê ḥukûmetê jî emrekî xusûsî bo muḥafeza te dê deme teḥsîl kirin. We bedel wihê mezinêt Rêkanî deh-yêka ḥasilatê xo her sal bidene min." Teto got, "her emrê şêx bifermot min qebûl e."

451 Xulase weto muʿamela xo girê dan û Teto xelat kir û Sore Çawuş digel bîst xulamêt bijare digel Teto hinarine naw Rêkanîyan. Qesra Rezge ji bin xirab kirin. Hosta hinarin, dest kirin bi çêkirina qesrê. Tebeqêt binî nêzîkî temambûnê bûn, Sûto mulaḥeze kir, eger qesra Rezge bi wî ṭerzî temam bibît û destê şêxî bikewîte naw Rêkanê hingî quweta Teto dê gete[4] dereceyekê êdî neşêt beramberîya wî biket. Paşî bo aẋayêt Horemarî ṭengawîyekê mezin dê peyda bît, çunko rêka karwanê Horemarîyan bo layê Mûsilê, Akrê, Amêdîyê li naw Rêkanê diçît.

452 Sûto hemî Doskanî w Horemarî gazî kirin, gote wan, "hung dizanin Tetoyê Rêkanî çawa dujminê me ye." Gotin, "belê, aẋa, çak dizanîn." Got, "hung dizanin Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq çawa xurt û ṭemaʿkar e." Gotin, "belê, aẋa." Got, "hung dizanin eger Qesra Rezge li ser wê esasê temam bibît û şêx digel Teto muttefiq

4 Reduced pronunciation form of *gehîte*.

ligent men, together with some money, to the district governor of Amadiya (saying), 'I beg of you to so arrange that Tato should have need of me, and come here, that I may say to him that I will get his business arranged. You, on your side, delay it somewhat.'

When the letter reached the district governor he was very pleased. He acted 449
in accordance with the Shaikh's aims, saying to Tato, 'I have thought of a surer and easier way for you. Although your affairs may also be arranged here, the provincial government of Mosul delays matters somewhat. Before a result emerges a man gets very disgusted. The provincial government of Van puts things in hand more quickly, and in that province everything is in the hands of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq. He does as he likes. I say that if you and your brothers and some of the notables of the Rekani tribe go to Nehri, to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq, your affairs will be sooner arranged, and if both tribally and officially the Shaikh be partner and protector, it is better for you, and Suto's back will break.' In short he convinced Tato, who was grateful to the district governor for showing him such a course.

Tato with his brothers and the notables came to Nehri. The Shaikh's prey 450
came into his snare. When he came to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq, he showed him much honour and made him grateful. The Shaikh was more soft-tongued than Pawais. He soothed Tato's heart by all means possible. He said, 'Sell me the site of Razga Fort, I shall then demolish entirely and build it again larger and stronger. I shall place twenty of my own men with you, and give your men a hundred Martini and Mauser rifles, and I shall also procure a special order from government for your protection. In exchange for this let the elders of the Rekani give me one tenth of their harvests each year.' Tato replied, 'Whatever the Shaikh may command, I consent.'

In the end they settled their business so and Tato was rewarded and Sura 451
Chawush (*lit*., Red sergeant) with twenty chosen men was sent with Tato among the Rekanis. They entirely razed Razga fort, and sent masons, who commenced rebuilding it. The lower stories were approaching completion when Suto came to the conclusion that if Razga fort be completed in that style and the Shaikh involve himself in Rekan, Tato's strength would reach such a degree that he could no longer oppose him. Then there would be a great distress for the aghas of Horamar, because the caravan road of the Horamaris towards Mosul, Akre, and Amadiya passes through Rekan.

Suto therefore summoned all the Doskani and Horamari, and said to them, 452
'You know how Tato of Rekan is our enemy.' They replied, 'Yes, Agha, we know well.' He said, 'You know how forceful and rapacious Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq is.' They replied, 'Yes, Agha.' He said, 'You know that if the Razga fort be finished on this foundation and the Shaikh combine with Tato the lands of Doskan and

bibît, cîyê Doskanê w Horemarê dê kewîte muḥasere. Em hingî lazim e bibîne cûyêt Teto, egerne najîn." Hemîyan pêkwe gotin, "belê, aẋa, dizanîn we ye w zêdetir e." Sûto gote milletê xo, "bes madam hung wane hemîyan teṣdîq diken, hung bo çî tedbîra girtina pêşîya wane naken? Noke em di mabeyna mirinê w jînê da-yne w mirin nêzîktir e. Bes yan hung tedbîrê biken û ez dê tabiʿî fikra hingo bim, yan ez bikem, hung muwafiqî gotina min ʿemel biken." Hemîyan gotin, "ḥeta wucûda zatê aẋa ḥazir e kes ji me xudan-reʾy nîye. Her reʾyekî aẋa bifermot wezîfa me itaʿet e."

453 Sûto got, "madam ku hung ho mutîʿ bin, qerar bît ez wucûda xo fidaê mesleḥeta ḥalê hingo bikem." Ewwelen got, "ey millet, hung dizanin eger ez tenezzul bo Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq bikem, feqet gundekî hingo bideme wî, ew dê gelek ji min memnûn bît û iḥtirama min gelek dê ji iḥtirama Teto zêdetir bît." Hemîyan gotin, "bawir dikeyn. We ye wekî aẋa difermot." Sûto got, "bes herçî bikem bo xatira hingo ye, bo xo nîye. Fikra min noke ewe ye. Hucûm bikeyne Rezge, Sore Çawuş û xulamêt şêxî bikujîn û nehêlîn qesra Rezge temam biken. Hung çawa munasib dizanin?" Hemîyan gotin, "em hemî li ser reʾya aẋa ḥazir în, çunko madam qesra Rezge temam bû em dê meḥw bîn, bes bo me şer selaḥtir e, da eger meḥw dibîn bi şeref û namûs meḥw bibîn, ne bi rezîlî û bênamûsî."

454 Xulase digel spêdê nehṣed mêr, Doskî w Horemarî, hucûm kirine ser Rezge. Wê rojê Teto w mirowêt xo çûbûne Amêdîyê ku malêt xo bînine Rezge. Sore Çawuş digel bîst xulaman ḥazir bûn. Qesr jî dirist nebûbû. Saʿetekê şer kirin. Ji hemî qeraẋan leşkirê Sûto dewre li wan da. Sore w xulamêt xo çûne xanîyekî. Ew xanî bo şerî çak nebû. Mirowêt Sûto geştine bin dûwarêt xanî. Di kulekan da Sore du-sê mirowêt Sûto kuştin ema fayde nebû. Ji hemî rexan agir berdane xanî. Sore digel dwazde xulaman hate sotin. Ḥeta şiyan şer kirin û çekêt xo nedan. Ḥewt xulaman eman xastin, derkewtin. Sûto gote wan ḥewtan, "çekêt xo biden. Herine nik şêxê xo, bêjine wî carekê dî xiyala cîyê Rêkanê neket. Ḥeta kurekî Mala Mîrî maye mumkin nîye kes bi reḥetî teṣerrufê di ʿeşîreta Rêkanî da biket."

455 Ew ḥewt xulam hatin, rûs, bê çek, kirêt, şerminde. Hemî muteḥeyyir man, gotin, "ewe çi ḥal e?" Wan jî ḥalê xo bi temamî ḥekayet kirin. Wextê wan ḥewt xulaman ḥekayêta ḥalê xo bo Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq beyan kirin, şêx ẋayet ʿaciz bû, ji du cihetan. Yêk ewe bû, genim û birincê Rêkanê nehate destê wî. Yê dî ewe bû, zerer û bênamûsîyekî mezin hate wî. Şêx kewte fikra tola wê waqiʿê. Hemî mezinêt xo ḥazir kirin û mişûret bi wan kir, got, "hung çawa selaḥ dibînin?"

Horamar will be surrounded. Then we shall necessarily become Tato's Jews, or not be able to live.' They all said together, 'Yes, Agha, we know it is thus, and more.' Suto said to his people, 'Then since you confirm all this, why do you not plan how to prevent them? We are now placed between life and death, and death is the nearer. Either you make a plan, and I shall fall in with your ideas, or I shall, and you will act in accordance with what I say.' All replied, 'So long as the Agha is present, no one of us has an opinion. Whatever the Agha decide, our duty is obedience.'

Suto said, 'Since you are so submissive, let it be agreed that I sacrifice myself 453
for your well-being.' First he said, 'My people! You know that if I humble myself to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq and only give him one of your villages, he will be very grateful to me and my honour will be much greater than that of Tato.' They all said, 'We believe it. It is as the Agha says.' Suto said, 'Then whatever I do is for your sakes, not for myself. My idea is this. Let us attack Razga and kill Sura Chawush and the Shaikh's servants and not allow them to complete Razga fort. How do you think?' They said, 'We are all of the Agha's opinion, for whenever the Razga fort be finished we shall be destroyed. So battle is better for us so that, if we are to be destroyed, it should be with honour and good fame, not with meanness and dishonour.'

In short, at dawn 900 men of the Doski and Horamari attacked Razga. 454
That day Tato and his men had gone to Amadiya to fetch their families to Razga. (Only) Sura Chawush with twenty men were present. The fort had not been finished. They fought for an hour. Suto's army surrounded them on all sides. Sura and his men went into a house, but it was not suitable for fighting. Suto's men came right up to the walls of the house. Through the window-holes Sura killed two or three of Suto's men, but it was of no avail. They fired the house from all sides and Sura with twelve men were burnt. They fought as long as they could and did not surrender their arms. Seven men asked for mercy and emerged. Suto said to those seven, 'Give up your arms, and go to your Shaikh and tell him not to think again of Rekan. So long as a lad of the Mala Miri is left, no one can with ease trespass among the Rekani tribe.'

Those seven henchmen came (to the Shaikh) stripped, disarmed, wretched, 455
and shamefaced. Everyone was aghast and said, 'What is this?' They described their misfortunes in full. When they had told the tale of their condition to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq he was extremely angry, for two reasons. One was that the wheat and rice of Rekan had not fallen into his hands. The other was this, that a great loss and dishonour had come to him. The Shaikh fell to thoughts of vengeance for this affair. He collected his chief men and consulted with them, saying, 'What do you think best?'

456 Hindekan gotin, “dê leşkirekî mezin ji ʿeşîretan dirust keyn, çîne ser wî, hemîyan birînînewe.” Hindekan gotin, “selaḥ ewe ye eḥwalê wî bi temamî bo walîyê Wanê w walîyê Mûsilê bihête beyan kirin û li ḥukûmetê bihête meḥkûm kirin û bi destê ḥukûmetê bihête terbiye kirin.” We hindekan gotin, “çak e ḥezretê Şêx ʿEbdurrehîm Aẋa teltîf biket. Ew ji mala Mefî ye. Mabeyna wan û Mala Mîrî daymî nexoş e. Hingî ew û Teto dê bine yêk. Dujminê ji derwe w nawda ku peyda bûn dê perîşan bît.” Hindekan gotin, “dê nijdan beyne gundêt wan û çîne ser rêkêt karwanêt wan, nahêlîn raḥet bît ḥeta bi temamî tola xo dikeynewe.” Xulase her yêkî reʾyek got.

457 Bendeyê ḥeqîr Mela Seʿîd li meclisê ḥazir nebû, li medrese bû, dersa feqîyan digot. Xulamek hat, got, “şêx te ⟨di⟩xazît.” Bende çû ḥuzûra şêx. Fermo, “tu çawa selaḥ dizanî bo tola Sore Çawus û xulaman?” Bende got, “ez mela me, taze caḥêl im. Şolêt siyasî nizanim. Min ne gelek belkî pîçek jî têkelîya umûrêt dunyayê nekiriye. Ewete yêt ḥazir hemî ʿeqldar in, mezin in, şoldîtî ne. Ewan elbette ji bende çêtir dizanin.” Şêx fermo, “we ye wekî dibêjî, ema ez ḥez dikem tu jî reʾya xo beyan key, çi çak, çi xirab, çunko wane hemîyan reʾya xo beyan kirîne.”

458 Bende got, “ji hemî reʾyan kîşk meqbûlî nezera mubarekê ḥezretê *rûḥuna fidah* bûye?” Şêx fermo, “hêşta min çu izhar nekiriye, ḥeta tu jî reʾya xo dibêjî.” Bende got, “xahiş dikem bizanim reʾyêt wan çi ne, da eger muwafiqî fikra bende bin teṣdîq bikem. Eger muwafiq nebûn, hingî bi qeder ʿeqlê naqisê xo bende jî dê tişteki ʿerzî ḥuzûra mubarek ket.” Şêx reʾyêt meclisê ket-ket ḥekayet kirin. Got, “ewete ne reʾyêt wan. Bizanim ka tu dê çi bêjî.”

459 Bende got, “reʾya leşkirê ʿeşîretî bê ittilaʿî w bê têkelîya destê ḥukûmetê xirab e. Ḥerekatêt xudserane dûmayê baʿisê xesaret û nedametê ye. Nijde kirin û karwan şelandin jî şola eşqîyan e. Layîq nîye bo mezinatîya şeʾn û şerefa ḥezretê mewlayê bendegan. Teltîfa ʿEbdurreḥîm Aẋa waqiʿen çak e, emma di wê esnaê da, wextê muweffeqîyeta Sûto, zeḥmet e ku fayde bidet bo meqsûda me w eger fayde bidet jî direng dê bît. We beyana eḥwalê wî bo walîyan û meḥkûm kirina wî li ḥukûmetê elbette lazim e w şertê ewwel e. Belê ew hind bi tinê jî kafî nîye. Derdê me derman naket. Nihayet ḥukûmet dê wî ḥebs ket, paşî muddetekî gelek pare dê ji wî wergirît û wî berdet. Hingî Sûto dê xurttir bît û şola me dê asêtir bît.

Some replied, 'We shall collect a large force from the tribes, attack him and 456
annihilate them all.' Some said, 'The best course is this, that full details of his actions be laid before the governors of Van and Mosul, and that he be condemned by the government and punished by the hand of government.' And others said, 'It is well that the Shaikh show favour to Abdurrahim Agha. He is of the Mala Miri. Between them and the Mala Miri is always enmity. Then he and Tato will unite. When enemies thus appear from outside and inside, (Suto) will be hard pressed.' Some said, 'We shall raid their villages and go against their caravan roads, not allow him rest till we fully achieve our revenge.' In short, each one gave a (different) opinion.

Your humble servant, Mullah Sa'id, was not at the conference. I was at the 457
school teaching the religious students. A servant came and said, 'The Shaikh wants you.' I went into his presence and he asked me, 'What do you think is the best method of avenging Sura Chawush and (my) henchmen?' I replied, 'I am a mullah and still young. Of matters of policy I know nothing. I have not mixed much, but rather little, in mundane affairs. All those present are intelligent, important, and experienced. They certainly know better than I.' The Shaikh said, 'It is as you say, but I desire that you also give your opinion, whether good or bad, for they have all expounded their own ideas.'

I asked, 'Of all their opinions, which has appeared to your excellency the 458
most acceptable?' The Shaikh replied, 'As yet I have not said anything, till you also say what is your opinion.' I said, 'I beg that I may know the opinion of the others, so that if they agree with mine I may confirm them. If they do not agree, then to the extent of my defective wits I also will lay some proposal before your excellency.' The Shaikh repeated the opinions of the conference one by one and said, 'These are their ideas. Let me see what you will say.'

I replied, 'The idea of the tribal force without the knowledge or involvement 459
of the government is bad. Headstrong actions are eventually the cause of damage and remorse. Raiding and caravan-plundering also are the work of brigands. They are not worthy of the honour and repute of your excellency, our spiritual head. Friendliness towards Abdurrahim Agha is indeed good, but meanwhile, while Suto is successful, it is unlikely to profit our cause, and even if it do so will take a long time. Reporting his conduct to the governors and his being brought to justice by the government is certainly necessary, and the first consideration. But so much alone is not enough. It will not cure our ills. At most, the government will imprison him and after a time will take a deal of money from him and release him. Then Suto will become still stronger and our affairs yet more difficult.

460 Bende ho munasib dizanît: Ewwelen beyana ḥalê wî bo ḥukûmetê, paşî teḥsîla emrê resmî w dana deh cendirme bo teʿmîra qesra Rezge. We iqrara Teto li ḥukûmetê ku, "gundê Rezge w qesra Rezge min firotine Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq." We ḥukûmet ruxset bidet ku şêx bo muḥafeza gundî mirowêt xo bi silaḥ danête Rezge. Hingî her waqiʿeyekî biqewimît sûç bo şêx nîye, bo Sûto ye. We dîharîyêt gelek çak bo qaymeqamê Gewerê w qaymeqamê Amêdîyê bihinêrin, dilê wan çak xoş ken, weto ku derheq şêx daymî bi çakî w derheq Sûto bi xirabî biniwîsin. We çarṣed mêran, ṣed Şemdînan, ṣed Gerdî, ṣed Ḥerkî, ṣed Mizûrî, ku ewe xo bi meḥ⟨b⟩ûbêt te dizanin, digel Teto rê ke Rezge ḥeta qesr temam dibît. Cendirme w hosta li ser qesrê bin, ewan mêrane her şewê biçine ser gundekî Doskanî, hingî hem ʿeşîretî dê tola me bît, hem ḥukûmetî. We meqsûda şêx, ku teṣerrufa Rêkanê ye, ew jî dê ḥasil bît. We her çar ʿeşîret jî dê bine dujmin digel Sûto. Êdî ne ew û ne ewladê wî ji destê wan çar ʿeşîretane raḥet nabin."

461 Wextê bende ho tertîb beyan kir şêx weto keyfxoş bû, weto kenî, mumkin bû mirîşk bi hemî peṛan biçîte dewê wî. Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq got, "aferîn, Mela Seʿîd, reʾya te ji hemîyan çêtir kewte ʿeqlê min. Dê ʿemel bi reʾya te kem." We ehlê meclisê jî hemîyan gotin, "*el-ḥeqq* reʾya wî ji hemîyan munasibtir û bi faydetir e." Şêx fermo, "bes madam reʾya te ji hemîyan munasibtir bû, ez ḥez dikem tu zeḥmetê bikêşî, biçîye Rezge, li nik mirowêt min bî ḥeta qesr temam dibît, û bê reʾya te kes ḥereke neket." Hindî bende rica kir, "wezîfa min nîye," emma şêx micittir bû. Xulase çarṣed mêr bi ṭerzê bende gotibû w deh cendirme ḥazir kirin, teslîm bende kirin.

462 Bende ʿerzi şêx kir, "ḥez dikem Şihabuddîn, xarzayê şêx, û Mela Mûsa, katibê şêx, û Quṭas Aẋa, wekîlê xercê şêx, ew her sêke jî bihên." Şêx emr fermo, "ewe bo çi ne? Lazim nîne. Madam ku tu çûy kesê dî ḥacet nîye." Bende got, "karîtê giran, dibît gelek milê xo bidene bin, egerne milê yêkî bi tinê dê di bin da şkêt. Ewe şolekê mezin e. Gelek xizmet hene. Eger hemî xizmetan yêk biket fikra wî dê mişewwiş bît, şol dê aloz bît. Şihabuddîn, çunko xarzayê ḥezretê şêx e, sehm û siyaneta wî zêdetir e. Lazim e ew bihêt bo qumandarîya xulaman. We Mela Mûsa lazim e bo kaẋez niwîsîn û mişûret kirina umûran. We Quṭas Aẋa lazim e bo dana erzaqê xulaman û cema kirina ḥasilatî. Eger wane hemîyan

I consider best thus: first, reporting his conduct to the government; next, the 460
procuring of an official order and the provision of ten zaptiehs for the repair of Razga fort. And the testimony of Tato to the government that, "I have sold the village and fort of Razga to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq." And that the government give permission to Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq to instal his own men, armed, at Razga to protect the village. Then, whatever may happen, the fault is not of the Shaikh, but of Suto. And you should send very good presents to the district governors of Gawar and Amadiya to gratify their hearts, so that they will always write well of the Shaikh and ill of Suto. And send 400 men, 100 Shamdinan, 100 Girdi, 100 Harki, 100 Mizuri, who regard themselves as your adherents, with Tato to Razga till the fort is finished. Let the zaptiehs and masons be in the fort and these men attack one village of Doskan every night, then our revenge will be both tribal and governmental. And the aim of the Shaikh, which is to possess Rekan, will be achieved. And all four tribes will become enemies of Suto. Then neither he nor his descendants can ever be at rest from those four tribes.'

When I expounded this plan, the Shaikh was so pleased, and laughed so 461
much, that a hen with all its feathers might have flown into his mouth. Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq said, 'Bravo! Mullah Sa'id. Your idea pleases my mind better than any other. I shall work according to your scheme.' The members of the conference also said, 'His ideas are more fitting and profitable than all the others.' The Shaikh continued, 'Since your plan is more suitable than all the others, I should like you to take the trouble to go to Razga and be with my men till the fort is finished, and nobody shall do anything without your consent.' Then I represented that such was not my duty, but the Shaikh became more persistent. In the end 400 men, as I had suggested, and ten zaptiehs were collected, and were handed over to me.

I petitioned the Shaikh that I should like Shihabuddin, his nephew, Mullah 462
Musa, his secretary, and Qutas Agha, his steward, all three, to come as well. The Shaikh asked, 'What are they for? They are not necessary. Since you are going, nobody else is needed.' I replied, 'Many have to put their shoulders under a heavy beam, otherwise the shoulder of one alone will break under it. This is a great undertaking. There is much to do. If one person has to cope with all its demands, his thoughts will be confused and the affair in disorder. Since Shihabuddin is your excellency's nephew, the awe and protection (he provides) are greater. It is necessary that he come to command the men. Mullah Musa is necessary for writing letters and for advice on affairs, and Qutas Agha is needed for issuing the men's rations and collecting the harvests. If I have to do all these

bende biket fikr dê parçe-parçe bît, ḥella muşkilatan neşêt biket." Dîsa hemî ehlê meclisê teṣdîq kirin, gotin, "weto ye wekî Mela Seʿîd dibêjît." Şêx jî teṣdîq kir, dîsa aferîn got û em hinarin.

463 Şewê çûyne Mezre w Bêgoz. Roja paşî çûyne Şîwa Herkê. Roja paştir çûyne Dirê. Wê şewê pênce mêr⟨êt⟩ dest-bijarî me hinarine Çîyayê hindawê Piremîzê, ku serḥedê Rêkanê w Herkîyan û Doskîyan e, çunko eger ew çîya bihête girtin kes neşêt biçîte layê Rêkanê. Digel spêdê em rabûyn, yek menzil me hajo⟨t⟩, nerûniştîn ḥeta geheştîne Rezge. Wextê em geheştîne wê derê nîw saʿet mabû bo meẋrebê. Wê saʿetê ṣed mêr, ji her ʿeşîretekê bîst û pênc mêr, me hinarine girê pêş Nêrwekê, gundê Sûto. Bende weto *tembî li wan kir ku, "kes çu tifengan nehawêjît û hucûm neken ḥeta ṣube ez bi xo têm. Eger ew şewe Sûto ḥelat, çû, çak e, egerne dê dewre li gundî deyn, nahêlîn kes derkewît."

464 Wê şewê xefîyêt Sûto li naw Rêkanê hebûn. Xeber dane Sûto ku, "wê keredê quwetekê weto hatiye Rezge, hem ʿeşîretî, hem ḥukûmetî, ku êdî tu neşêy li Nêrwe rûnêy." Wê şewê Sûto ḥelat, çû Horemarê. Digel spêdê em yêt mayî li Rezge çûyn, geheştîne yêt çûye girê pêş Nêrwekê. Me pêkwe dewre li gundî da w şêlikêt tifengan kirine gundî. Çu deng ji gundî nehat. Hêdî hêdî xulam paristine gundî, zanîn çol e, kes têda nîye. Em jî çûyne gundî. Me gote Teto, "wê carê nobeta te ye. Tola xo weke." Teto w mirowêt wî agir berdane qesrêt Nêrwekê, gund hemî sot. Wextê tirî bû. Leşkir çû rezan, barêt tirî înan bo Rezge. Hostan dest kir bi çêkirina qesrê. Roja paştir ṣed mêr me li Rezge hêlan, sêṣed mêr digel Eḥmed Begê Beresorî, ku yêk bû ji çawuşêt xulamêt Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq, me hinarine ser gundê Bîrê w gundê Çê. Temîs talan kirin û pezê wan û hêstirêt wan hemî înan, hatine Rezge.

465 We me kaẋez bo şêxî hinar ku, "elḥemdulillah saye-y himmeta ecdadê ʿalî-nijadê ḥezretê şêx, *arwāḥunā fidāh, *bā-kamāl-i movaffaghiyat*[5] geheştîne Rezge w li-dû-yêk ẋelebe w muzefferiyet *ba ḥusūl-i har marām u axz-i intiqām az dušman-i bad-anjām*[6] di kar da ye w keyfiyeta ḥal ho ye. *Dāma ẓilluhu-l-ʿālī.*[7] Amîn. Bende, Seʿîd." Şêx gelek keyfxoş bû. Tebrîka futûḥatêt me bo me şerefi iṣdar fermo. Niwîsîbû, "zaten daimî umîda daʿî ji kemala firaset û dirayet û cesareta emsalê hingo ji wan futûḥatêt musirretengîz zêdetir heye. *Waffaqakum Allāh, āmīn. Ad-daʿī,*[8] Ṣiddîq."

5 In Persian, *with success*.

6 In Persian, *with the attainment of all desires and the exaction of revenge from the evil enemy*.

7 In Arabic, *may his exalted shadow never diminish*.

8 In Arabic, *God grant you success*.

my thoughts will become dispersed and unable to solve the difficulties.' Once more all the members of the meeting confirmed this, saying, 'It is as Mullah Sa'id says.' The Shaikh also agreed, again commended me and sent us off.

At night we arrived at Mazra and Begoz. The following day we reached the 463
gorge of Harki. The next night we went to Dre. That same night we sent fifty selected men to the hill above Piramiz, which is at the boundary of Rekan and the Harkis and Doskanis, because if that hill be taken no one can get to Rekan. We rose with the dawn and pressed forward for one stage, not resting till we reached Razga. When we arrived there half an hour was left to sunset. At once we sent 100 men, 25 from each tribe, to the hillock before Nerwa, Suto's village. I exhorted them, 'No one should fire a rifle nor should you attack till I come myself in the morning. If Suto escapes tonight, good; otherwise we shall surround the village and not allow anyone to emerge.'

That night Suto's spies were in Rekan. They warned him, 'This time such a 464
force had come to Razga, both tribal and governmental, that you can no longer remain at Nerwa.' That night Suto escaped and went to Horamar. With the dawn those of us at Razga reached the others who had gone to the hillock before Nerwa. Together we surrounded the village and fired volleys at it. No sound came from the village. By degrees the men sneaked up to it and found it was deserted and no one in it. We also went to the village, and said to Tato, 'This time it is your turn. Take your revenge.' Tato and his men set fire to the forts of Nerwa and burned the whole village. It was the time of the grapes. The force went into the vineyards and brought loads of grapes to Razga. The masons began to build the fort. The next day we left 100 men in Razga and sent 300 men with Ahmad Beg of Barasor, who was one of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq's *chawush*es, against the villages of Biri and Chi.[9] They plundered them thoroughly, and brought back all their sheep and mules to Razga.

We sent a letter to the Shaikh, 'Praise be to God, in the shadow of the favour 465
of the exalted ancestors of your excellency (may our souls be your sacrifice) we have reached Razga with success. One success and victory after the other is being gained, with the attainment of all desires and the exaction of revenge from the evil enemy, and the particulars are thus. May his exalted shadow never diminish. Amen. Your servant, Sa'id.' The Shaikh was most delighted. He honoured us with congratulations on our victories. He wrote, 'The constant hope of your servant personally from the perfect understanding and wisdom and courage of such as yourself is for more of those gratifying victories. God grant you success. Amen. Your well-wisher, Siddiq.'

9 Two Doski tribe villages in the north of Amadiya, in the Rekan subdistrict.

466 Biçîne ser beḥsê ḥalê Sûto. Wextê Sûto çû Horemarê, Mela Ḥesen Şûkî ku katibê wî bû w qazî[yê] Doskanê w Horemarê bû, hinare lalî Ṭahir Aẋayê Gewerî. Wextê Mela Ḥesen hate lalî Ṭahir Aẋa, got, "Sûto Aẋa ez hinarîme xizmet hingo. Tu Esed Aẋayî ⟨yî⟩, serê me hemî ʿeşîreta Doskîyan î w tu eʿzayê ḥukûmeta Gewerê yî. Xizmetî w dostînî bo rojekê ho ye. Noke tedbîra me çi ye w em çi bikeyn çak e?"

467 Ṭahir Aẋa mirowekî têgeştî ye. Gote Mela Ḥesen, "hindî ez mulaḥeze dikem noke bo Sûto ji ẋeyrî razî kirina Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq çu rê nemane, çunko şerê wî digel Teto w digel xulamêt şêxî û kuştina Sore Çawuş digel dwazde xulaman meʿlûmî hemî meqamatan bûye. Ḥukûmet terefdarê şêxî ye. Bes noke lazim e dilê şêxî bête xoş kirin." Mela Ḥesen got, "belê, we ye wekî difermoy. Ez jî weto dizanim, ema nizanim rêka dilxoş kirina şêxî dê çawa bît." Ṭahir Aẋa got, "ḥeqîqeten bi zeḥmet e, ema eger mumkin bît tu biş⟨ê⟩y biçîye Rezge lalî Mela Seʿîd, ji wî bipirsî, mumkin e ku ew rêkekê bo te bêjît."

468 Mela Ḥesen ji lalî Ṭahir Aẋa geriyawe, qesda lalî bende kir. Xo gehande gundê Hîşî, ji ʿeşîreta Rêkanî. Gundê Mesîḥîyan e, saʿetekê dûr e ji Rezge. Şewê mela Ḥesen li wê derê ma. Ṣubey zû me dît mirowekî neṣranî ji Hîşî hate lalî me. Got, "ḥez dikem Mela Seʿîd bi tinê bibînim." Wextê bende dît got, "melayê Sûto li mala min rûniştî ye, dibêjît, "qewî ḥez dikem bihême lalî Mela Seʿîd, çend xeber hene ʿerz bikem, ema newêrim bihêm ji ber qerawulan, neku min bikujin."" Bende jî deh xulam digel neṣranî hinarin, min got, "herin, Mela Ḥesen ji Hîşî bi selametî bînine êre mûyek ji serê Mela Ḥesen bikewît, hingo hemîyan dê keme armancê *Martîn*an."

469 Xulase xulam çûn, Mela Ḥesen îna. Du şewan ma lalî me. Hemî guftûgo me kirin. Bende gote Mela Ḥesen, "eger ḥezretê şêx Sûto qebûl biket û ji kuştinê ʿefû biket, tu weʿde didey ku Sûto biçîte ḥuzûra şêx?" Got, "belê, ema bi şertê ku emîn bît ji rûḥa xo." Bende got, "bes tu here lalî Sûto, bi temamî digel wî biaxiwe w qewlê ji wî wergire. Ḥeta tu têyewe ez jî dê digel ḥezretê şêx muxabere bikem, bizanim reʾya şêx çi ye." Mela Ḥesen me hinarewe bo lalî Sûto w bende dest kir bi kaẋez niwîsînê w suwal-û-cewabê digel şêxî.

470 Çunko bende ʿadetê meʾmûrêt ʿUsmanîyan dizanî, ku çu wextan qewl û fiʿlêt wan muwafiq nîne, ji ẋeyrî patina kebaba ẋereza xo çu meqsûd nîne, me dizanî ku muddetekî dê Sûto ṭengaw ken, ḥeta pareyekî zor ji şêxî dixon, paşî dûmayê hêdî hêdî dê Sûto teltîf ken ḥeta gelek pare ji wî jî dixon. Kesek bo kes meḥw naken. Bende weto selaḥ û munasib dît ku şêx Sûto qebûl biket hêşta şol ji destê wî dernekewtî. Xulase bi wî mezmûnî bende bo şêx niwisî w keyfiyeta hatin û

Let us turn to Suto's plight. When Suto went to Horamar he sent Mullah Hasan Shoki, who was his clerk, and Qazi of Doskan and Horamar, to Tahir Agha of Gawar. When Mullah Hasan reached Tahir Agha he said, 'Suto Agha has sent me to you. You are an Asad Aghai, the head of all the Doski tribe, and you are a member of the government of Gawar. Kinship and friendship are for such a day. Now what is our best plan and what are we to do?' 466

Tahir Agha is an intelligent man. He said to Mullah Hasan, 'As far as I can see there is no way now for Suto except to pacify Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq, for his fight with Tato and the Shaikh's men and the killing of Sura Chawush and twelve men, is well known to all quarters. The government is a supporter of the Shaikh. Therefore, it is now necessary that the Shaikh be placated.' Mullah Hasan said, 'Yes, it is as you say. I also think the same, but I do not know how the way to placate the Shaikh should be.' Tahir Agha replied, 'It is certainly difficult, but, if it be possible for you to go to Razga to Mullah Sa'id and ask him, he may be able to tell you some way.' 467

Mullah Hasan returned from Tahir Agha and set out to come to me. He arrived at the village of Hishi, of the Rekani tribe. It is a Christian village, an hour distant from Razga. He remained there the night. Early next morning we saw a Christian man coming to us from Hishi. He said, 'I want to see Mullah Sa'id alone.' When he saw me he said, 'Suto's clerk is sitting in my house and says, "I would much like to come to Mullah Sa'id, there are some representations I have to make, but I dare not come on account of the outposts, lest they kill me."' I sent ten men with the Christian, and said to them, 'Go and bring Mullah Hasan safely here from Hishi. If a hair of his head fall, I will make you all a target for Martinis.' 468

In short, the men went and fetched Mullah Hasan. He remained two nights with us, and we discussed everything. I said to him, 'If his excellency the Shaikh accept Suto and forgive him for the killing, do you promise that Suto will go before the Shaikh?' He said, 'Yes, but on condition that he be certain of his life.' I said, 'Then go to Suto, discuss it all with him and get a promise. By the time you return I shall have communicated with the Shaikh and obtained his opinion.' We sent Mullah Hasan back to Suto and I commenced writing letters and discussing with the Shaikh. 469

Since I knew the habit of Turkish officials, how their words and deeds were never in agreement, and that they have no aim except cooking the kebab of their own ends, we knew that for a while they would make difficulties for Suto, and even take large sums of money from the Shaikh, and afterwards, favour Suto, so as to take money from him. They destroy no man for another's sake. I therefore deemed it fitting that the Shaikh should accept Suto while the affair was still in his hands. In short, I wrote to the Shaikh in this sense and set forth 470

çûn û axiwtina me digel Mela Ḥesen bi tefsîl me bo ḥuzûra şêx beyan kir û hinar. Ḥezretê şêx cewab bo bende hinar, "her ṭerzê ku mûcibê ḥifza şeref û namûsa daʿî bît, di wê maddeyê da tu wekîl û meʾzûn î. *Z-īn pas*[10] hîç ḥacet bi muraceʿa daʿî nîye. Çawa bi fikra xo dizanî ʿemel bike, *ʿezîz-im, we-s-selam. Ad-daʿî*, Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq."

471 Wextê ew cewabe hat Mela Ḥesen jî roja paştir ḥate Rezge. Mela Ḥesen got, "eger tu ji lalî şêxî xatircemʿ bî ez jî ji layê Sûto xatircemʿ im ku ji xeberê min dernekewît." Bende got, "madam we ye ewe em herdu wekîl în. Ez ho selaḥa Sûto dizanim Ṭahir Aẋa w ʿElî Efendî Paylanî digel xo bibet, biçîte Nehrî, ser merqedê Seyîd Ṭaha, da şêx wî ʿefû biket. Eger Sûto wihê neket tu dizanî ew li dewletê meḥkûm e, dê hête meḥw kirin." Mela Ḥesen got, "eger tu dizanî dê ho çêbît, ez dê wihê kem." Min jî teʾmînat da Mela Ḥesen, ew jî çû, bi wî ṭerzî bo Sûto got û Sûto jî qebûl kir. Digel Ṭahîr Aẋa w ʿElî Efendî çû Nehrî. Şêx gelek keyfxoş bû, çunko daymî meqsûda cenabê şêx arekî hûr bû ji naw du berêt req. Ew di xema Sore Çawuş da nebû. Wî pare diwîya. Gote Sûto, "bo xatira Ṭahir Aẋa w ʿElî Efendî w bo xatira şerefa merqedê bapîrê xo min tu ʿefû kirî ji kuştinê w girtinê w surgûn kirinê, emma hêtîmêt Sore Çawuş feqîr in û hêtîmêt xulaman bêçare ne. Xûna her yêkî ṣed lîran, hizar û sêṣed lîre bidet, bi xêr biçîte mala xo." Sûto jî qaniʿ bû. Du cendirme w heşt xulam dane Sûto ku biçîte naw Doskî w Horemarîyan ku hizar û sêṣed lîre bo şêx cema ket, bînît. Xulase çû, sê hizar lîre zêdetir pelate kir li ser ʿeşîreta Doskî w Horemarîyan û teḥsîl kirin. Hizar û sêṣed dane şêx, yê zêde bo xo helgirt.

472 Wextê ku Sûto mulaḥeze kir, têgeşt ku eger Teto mirowê şêx bît û daymî xulamêt şêx lalî Teto bin, ḥalê wî dê nexoş bît, menfeʿetê wî dê kêm bît. Got, "çak e tedbîrekî weto bikem Teto bi dostînî telef bikem." Paşî salekê ku cîyê Rêkanê temam kewte destê şêx û ḥasilatê Rêkanê ji kerî guh negeşte Teto, Sûto zanî kewlî heye ku Teto bilêbînît. Sûto Mela Ḥesen hinare lalî Teto, ku bêjîte wî "herçî çûy, çû. Bila bihêt, ez ⟨û⟩ ew ʿehdekê bigirîn ji noke wê we bibîne dost, çu caran zerera yêkudu nekeyn. Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq ejdeha ye, dê me herduyan xot. Ewe salek e ew dizanît çi menfeʿet geştiye wî. Ferqa wî w kirmancekî nîye li nik xulamêt şêxî. Madam ke şêx dê me meḥw ket em musaleḥe bikeyn selaḥtir e. Eger bawir neket, ez dê kiça xo jî deme wî da çak bawir biket ku ez ji dil mesleḥetê dixazim." Mela Ḥesen çû lalî Teto, bi wî ṭerzî bo Teto got. Temam

10 In Persian, *from now on*.

the details of Mullah Hasan's coming and going and our conversations together, and sent the letter. The Shaikh sent me a reply, 'Whatever be the means of protecting the name and honour of your well-wisher, in this matter, you are my agent and have a free hand. In future you need not refer to me. Act as you think best, my friend. Farewell. Your well-wisher, Muhammad Siddiq.'

When the reply came, on the next day Mullah Hasan returned to Razga and 471
said, 'If you are certain of the Shaikh, I am certain of Suto, that he will not disregard my advice.' I said, 'Since it is so, we are both agents. I consider Suto's best course is to take Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi Paylani with him and go to Nehri to the tomb of Sayyid Taha, so that the Shaikh may forgive him. If Suto does not do so, you know he is condemned by the government and will be destroyed.' Mullah Hasan said, 'If you know that it will be well thus, I will do so.' I reassured him and he departed and spoke to Suto in that sense, and Suto consented. He went with Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi to Nehri. The Shaikh was very pleased, for his honour's desire was always to get fine flour from between two hard stones. He was not grieving for Sura Chawush: he wanted money. He said to Suto, 'For the sake of Tahir Agha and Ali Effendi, and for the sake of the honour of my grandfather's grave, I have forgiven you for killing and seizing and banishing, but the orphans of Sura Chawush are poor, and the dependants of the henchmen are helpless. The blood-money of each is one hundred liras. Give one thousand three hundred liras, go home in peace.' Suto having agreed, two zaptiehs and eight men were given to him to go among the Doskis and Horamaris to collect one thousand three hundred liras for the Shaikh and bring it. In the end he apportioned more than three thousand among the Doskis and Horamaris, and collected it. One thousand three hundred were given to the Shaikh, and the excess he took for himself.

When Suto thought it over, he realized that if Tato became the Shaikh's man, 472
and the Shaikh's servants be continuously with Tato, his own condition would become unpleasant and his profits diminish. He said to himself, 'It is best I make a plan to destroy Tato by friendship.' After a year, when Rekan had entirely fallen into the Shaikh's hands and not a donkey's ear of the harvests reached Tato, Suto knew that there was a chance to trick Tato. He sent Mullah Hasan to him to say to him, 'What is past is past. Let him come and he and I will make a compact that from now on we become friends and never do one another harm. Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq is a dragon and will devour both of us. It is now a year that he (Tato) sees what profit has come to him. To the Shaikh's henchmen there is no difference between him and a common peasant. Since the Shaikh will destroy us, it is better that we make peace. If he does not believe, I will even give him my daughter (in marriage) so that he believe that I want a settlement from my heart.' Mullah Hasan went to Tato and spoke to him after

kewte ʿeqlê Teto w qebûl kir. Sûto kiça xo da Teto. Rojekê Teto hecetek peyda kir, hemî çekêt xulamêt Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq standin û xulam bê çek kirine der. Hatine lalî şêxî. Şêx gelek ʿaciz bû, emma fayde nekir, çunko Sûto w Teto temam muttefiq bûn, we Şêxê Barzanê jî dujminê Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq bû. Sûto w Teto pêkwe çûne lalî Şêxê Barzanê, bûne tabiʿêt wî.

473 Du salan ho rabarin, Teto temam xatircemʿ bû. Paşî Şêx Muḥemmed Ṣiddîq mir û Şêxê Barzanê ji ḥukûmeta ʿUsmanî ʿisyan kir. Hêdî hêdî esbabêt Sûto muheyya bûn. Zanî ku êdî Teto çu penah neman û Sûto mulaḥeze kir, "çak e li ḥukûmetê jî wî meḥkûm bikem, da çu rê bo wî nemînin, paşî wî bifewitînim." Xeber da Teto, "ew her sal hinde parê eẋnamî didete ḥukûmetê. Çi luzûm heye? Hemî ʿeşîreta Doskîyan nîweka wî naden. Ew sale wextê peẓ-hejmarîyê ḥeywanê Rêkanîyan bihinêrîte lalî me ḥeta meʾmûr diçin, paşî peẓê xo biben." Teto jî we kir. Sûto bi mexfî xeber da qaymeqamê Amêdîyê, "ḥalê Teto ewe ye. Hindî nesîḥet dikem, qebûl naket. Nizanim çi bikem. Ji tirsa dewletê newêrim terbiye bikem, egerne li nik min terbiya wî ji aw-xarineweyekê senayîtir e." Qaymeqamê Amêdîyê cewabekê gelek bi teşekkur û memnûnî bo Sûto hinar. Gotibû, "tu meʾzûn î. Her kesê zeṛṛe-qeder xiyanetê digel dewleta ʿelîye ya Islamîye biket terbiye bike." Sûto temam xatircemʿ bû.

474 Rojekê xo nexoş kir, kewte naw niwînan. Xeber bo hemî dostan û xizman hinar ku, "Sûto nêzîkî mirinê ye. Bila hemî bihên da wextê mirinê ḥazir bin." Mela Ḥesen li nik balgê wî rûniştibû, li-dû-yêk Sûreê Yasîn dixund. Hemî qewmê wî cema bû, bo wî digirîn. Cewab dane Teto jî, ku ew jî zawayê Sûto ye, bila bihêt û kiça Sûto jî digel xo bînît ku ewe aẋa li ser mirinê ye, neku carekê dî bi saxî yêkudu nebînin. Teto w jina xo w birayê wî Temo digel çar-pênc xulaman çûne Nêrwekê, gundê Sûto. Wextê çûn, dîtin xelk hemî bo aẋa digirîn. Teto w Temo jî gelek girîn. Teto gazî kir, "aẋa, aẋa, pîçek çawêt xo rake. Em hemî qurbanê te bin. Xozî carekê dî tu ji wê nexoşîyê rabûbay, bila min çu li dunyayê nemaba." Sûto pîçek çawêt xo rakirin, ahîyek kêşa, got, "Teto, ez mirî me. Elḥemdulillah carekê dî min hemî mirowêt xo dîtin. Mirin ḥukmê Xudê ye, rêka me hemîyan e." Got, "Osman, Têlî, xizmetekê çak bo Teto biken. Ewe ez dimirim. Teto bira-mezinê hingo ye. Çu caran ji xeberê Teto dernekewin." Hemîyan gotin, "belê, her emrê aẋa bifermot bi can û dil me qebûl e."

that fashion. It convinced him completely, and he consented. Suto gave him his daughter. One day Tato found a pretext to take all their arms from the Shaikh's henchmen, and turned them out disarmed. They came to the Shaikh, who was extremely angry, but to no avail, for Suto and Tato were now entirely reconciled, and together went to the Shaikh of Barzan, who was also an enemy of Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq, and became his adherents.

They passed two years thus, and Tato was entirely reassured. Thereafter 473
Shaikh Muhammad Siddiq died, and the Shaikh of Barzan rebelled against the Ottoman government. By degrees Suto's plans were maturing. He knew that there remained now no sanctuary for Tato, and he considered, 'It is well to get him condenmed by the government, so that no course be left for him, and then destroy him.' He sent word to Tato, 'Every year he pays so much money to the government as sheep tax. What is the need? All the Doski tribe do not pay the half of that. This year, at the time of the sheep-count, send the Rekani animals to us till the officials go, then take the sheep back.' Tato did accordingly. Suto secretly advised the district governor of Amadiya that, 'Tato acts in this manner. However much I admonish him he heeds it not. I do not know what to do. For fear of the government I do not dare punish him, otherwise for me to punish him is easier than drinking a draught of water.' The district governor of Amadiya sent Suto a most grateful reply to the effect, 'You have a free hand. Punish any person who practises a jot of deception on the exalted Islamic government.' Suto was entirely reassured.

One day he feigned illness and took to his bed. He sent word to all his friends 474
and relatives that, 'Suto is near to dying. Let all come that they may be present at his death.' Mullah Hasan was seated by his pillow, repeatedly reading the surah Yasin. All his relatives collected and were weeping for him. Tato, who was also Suto's son-in-law, was also sent for to come and bring Suto's daughter with him, for the agha was at the point of death, in case they should not see one another again alive. Tato, with his wife and brother Tamo and four or five servants, went to Nerwa, Suto's village. When they arrived they saw everyone weeping for the agha. Tato and Tamo also wept a lot. Tato cried, 'Agha! Agha! Lift your eyes a little! May we all be thy sacrifice! Would that you might once again rise from this sickness, even if I should not remain in the world.' Suto raised his eyes a little, sighed, and said, 'Tato, I am dying. Praise be to God, I have seen all my men once more. Death is God's ordinance, and it is the way of all of us.' He continued, 'Osman, Teli, serve Tato well. I am dying. Tato is your elder brother. Never disobey him.' All said, 'Yes, whatever the Agha orders, we accept with heart and soul.'

475 Şewê menzilek cuda dane Teto w Temo. Wextê niwistin, Sûto Osman û Têlî gazî kirin, hingî gote wan, “ez sax im. Fikra min ewe ye.” Ew jî siwik çûn, çend miro lazim bûn digel xo birin, çûne menzila Teto w Temo, herdu di xewê da kuştin û xulamêt wan ji çek kirin. Sûto rabû, got, “şukr bo Xudê ku min dujminê xo telef kir û tola xo kirewe, ez mam selamet.” *Wesselam*.

That night they gave Tato and Tamo separate room. At the time of sleeping 475
Suto called Osman and Teli, then he said to them, 'I am well. This is my idea.' They went lightly, taking as many men as necessary with them, to the room of Tato and Tamo, killed both in their sleep, and disarmed their henchmen. Suto got up and said, 'Thank God I have destroyed my enemy and taken my revenge and I remain safe and sound.'[11]

11 This murder must have occurred in 1912, since in a petition to the Interior Ministry of the Ottoman government dated 25 September 1912, the residents of Rekan complained that Suto had killed two of their leaders Tatar and Tamar and that due to incessant disturbances and plundering of Suto's forces they will have to abandon their land and emigrate unless the government takes measures to protect them against Suto. Following this incident, an arrest warrant was issued for Suto, but after several years he was pardonned. BYO, DH.H.53.37.02; see Yaşar Kaplan, forthcoming, "Di Belgenameyên Osmanî da Milmilaneya di Navbera Tekya Nehrî û Tekya Barzan û Rengvedana Wê ya li Ser 'Eşîretan" [Competition Between the Nehri and Barzan convents as reflected in the Ottoman Archival Documents and its Impact on the Tribes].

LVI

Ḥekayêta Simko Dibêjît, "Birincî Impirator Ez im, Îkincî Wîlhelim"

476 Reîsê ʿeşîreta Şikak, ʿEbdoyê Ismaʿîl Aẋa, ku meşhûr e bi Simko, mala wî li Çarîyê ji wilayeta Selmasê, texmînen hizar miro bi çek quweta wî heye. Meḥallê Ṣoma, Biradost, Çarî, Şipîran, Kuresinî li bin destê wî ne.

477 Wan rojane mirowekî Biradostî, nawê wî ʿEbdurreḥman, hate Ûrmîyê. Me ji wî pirsî, "çi beḥs û xeber li layê hingo heye? Eḥwalê hingo çawan e? Ew jî wekî êre şuloẋ e yan raḥet e?" ʿEbdurrehman got, "*elḥemdulillah*, saye-y serê *salaru-l-ʿeşair*[1] cenabê Ismaʿîl Aẋa beḥs û xeberêt xoş layê me hene. Eḥwalê me gelek çak e. Raḥet e, qet şuloẋî nîye. Barê genimî ji dwazde tûmen pêheltir nîye. Aẋa ḥukm kiriye, "nebît pêheltir bît û nabît kes bifiroşîte ji derwey welatê me." Paşî me gote wî, "eḥwalê Simko çi ye? Ew çi dibêjît û di çi xiyal da ye?" Got, "eḥwalê wî çak e, gelek bikeyf e. Dibêjît, "birincî[2] impirator li dunyayê noke ez im, îkincî[3] Wîlhelim, çunko noke dewlet hemî yan meşrûte yan cumhûriyet e, dewleta Elman bi tinê mustebidd maye. Ew jî bi temamî mustebidd nîye, çunko gelek şol hene Wîlhelim neşêt bêxatirîya milletê xo biket, emma ez dişêm. Eger ḥez bikem hemîyan dê kujim, dê keme der, belê Wîlhelim neşêt wê biket. We milletê Wîlhelim, eger ḥez biket, dê iẋtişaşekê zêdetir ji iẋtişaşa Urûsî ket, emma milletê min neşêt biket. Wîlhelim ji ʿezla xo ditirsît, emma ez natirsim. Dunya hemî noke muttefiq e li ser meḥw kirin û kuştina Wîlhelim, çunko sebebê zeḥmeta hemî dunyayê ew e, emma derheq min weto nîye. We dujminê wî, ku Ingilîs û Firense w Emrîka ye, di hucûm da ye, emma dujminê min, ku Urûs û Fille ye, di ḥelatin da ye. Bes madam ho ye elbette birincî ez im, îkincî Wîlhelim, belko nêzîk e rutba îkincî jî bo wî nemînît."

1 Persian-Arabic, *the leader of the tribes*.
2 Turkish *birinci* 'first'.
3 Turkish *ikinci* 'second'.

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LVI

Simko Says, 'I Am the First Emperor, Wilhelm the Second'

The[4] head of the Shikak tribe, Abdu Ismail Agha, who is known as Simko,[5] 476
has his home in Chari in the province of Selmas. His strength is approximately one thousand armed men. The districts of Soma, Biradost, Chari, Shipiran and Kurasini are under his authority.

Recently a man of Biradost called Abdurrahman came to Urmia. We asked 477
him, 'Is there any news from your parts? How are you? Is everything in disorder there, as it is here, or is it all quiet?' Abdurrahman said, 'Thank God, in the protection of the leader of the tribes his honour Ismail Agha there is good news from our parts. We are in very good state. All is quiet, there is absolutely no disorder. A load of wheat costs no more than twelve tomans. The agha has ordered that it shall not be more, and that nobody may sell it to outside our area.' Then we said to Him, 'How is Simko? What is he saying and what does he think?' He said, 'He is very well and very happy. He says, "I am now the first Emperor in the world and Wilhelm is the second, because now all governments are either constitutional or republican. The German government alone remains absolute. Even that is not completely absolute, because there are many things Wilhelm cannot do without the approval of his people, but which I can do. If I like I shall kill or banish everybody, but Wilhelm cannot do that. And Wilhelm's people can make a bigger revolution than the Russian revolution if they like, but my people cannot. Wilhelm is afraid of being deposed, but I am not afraid. All the world is now unanimous (in its determination) to destroy and kill Wilhelm, for he is the cause of the troubles of all the world, but it is not so with me. Moreover his enemies, the English and French and Americans, are on the attack, but my enemies, the Russians and the Christians, are fleeing. Since this is the case I am certainly the first Emperor and Wilhelm is the second—indeed the time is near when he will no longer rank as second."'

4 Wilhelm II, the German emperor and king of Prussia from 1888 until 1918.

5 For an extensive account of Simko's (also known as Ismail Agha 'Abdoi) political activities during and in the aftermath of the First World War, see Soleimani, "The Kurdish Image in Statist Historiography"; McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 214–222; Kia, *The Clash of Empires and the Rise of Kurdish Proto-nationalism, 1905–1926*.

478 Paşî me gote ʿEbdurreḥman, “çî dî heye?” Got, “nîşanek taze ji layê Şah bo Simko hatiye. Hemî rojan keyf e, armancane ye. We serdarê Makû digel Simko muttefiq e. Xeber daye Simko, “her wextê tiştek li te biqewimît ez bo hewara te ḥazir im. Hîç netirse, ṭop, mitralyoz, cebexane hemî ḥazir in.”” Me got, “xanê Mako ewane ji kê derê hene?” ʿEbdurreḥman got, “nizanim ji kê derê hene, emma min ho zaniye w ho dibêjin.”

479 Me got, “çî dî heye?” Got, “Simko bo feqîran gelek baş e, çunko gelek muhacirêt Şikak, Begzade, Gewerî, Elbakî hatîne layê Simko, hemîyan bi xudan diket. Çend mal li welatê wî hene her malekê du-sê ser muhacir danane naw û ḥukm kiriye, “her kesê muhaciran wekî ʿeyalê xo bi xudan neket mala wî dê talan kem, deme muhaciran.” We iʿlan kiriye, “her feqîrê bihête cîyê min dê bi xudan kem. Her wextê malê min xilas bû malê Urûsî w Fillan û ʿEceman dê stînim, deme feqîran.””

480 Me got, “çawa dê şêt malê Urûsî bistînît? Urûs dewletekê gelek mezin û bi quwet e.” Got, “berê we bû, emma noke ji ber şuloẋîyê zeʿîf e. Simko muqtedirtir e, çunko Romî w kurd jî dê harî Simko ken.” Me got, “ma ew natirsît ku Urûs û ermenî w asûrî hucûm bikene ser wî?” Got, “ne. Ew dibêjît, “Urûs çû, we ermenî jî neşên layê Ṣarîqamîş bihêlin, asûrî hemî têra parîyekî min naken. Asûrî mirowêt şerî nîne, wezîfa wan piştî kêşan û xizmet kirin e, çek helgirtin û şer kirin nîye.”” Me got, ʿUrûs neçûye w naçît. Noke şola Urûsî baş e, şuloẋî nîye.” Got, “ne, şola Urûsî roj bi roj xirabtir e, dê her çît. Fille jî dê pûç bin.” Simko dibêjît, “ewwelê biharê dê çekan ji wan stînim.””

481 Me got, “çî dî heye?” Got, “ehlê Gewerê gelek mal hatîne ser cîyê xo, çalêt genimî diînine der. We biharê ehlê Gewerê w Elbakê w Şemdînan hemî dê hêne ser cîyê xo. Daymî muxabera Simko digel ʿUsmanî w ʿeşîretêt kurdan heye. Cewaba Simko dihinêrin, “biharê em ḥazir în bo harîkarîya te. Xatircem be, netirse. Her kesê bibiziwît dê riha ji pişta wî kêşîn.””

482 Paşî me gote ʿEbdurreḥman, “meḥallê Çarîyê nêzîkî Kuresinî ye. ʿAdetê wane gelek şolêt ji xo zêde diken û xeberêt ne ji rengê xo dibêjin. Zemanekî wan pêẋemberê keran hebû. Noke jî em texmîn dikeyn Simko impiratorê keran e. Ewe dîsa hingo pêẋemberê keran nû kir.” ʿEbdurreḥman ji xeberê me têkçû,

Then we said to Abdurrahman, 'What else is there?' He said, 'A new honour has come for Simko from the Shah. Every day there is merrymaking and target-shooting. The chief of Maku is in alliance with Simko too. He has told Simko, "Whenever anything happens to you I am ready to come to your aid. Do not fear, guns, machine-guns and ammunition are ready."' We said, 'Where does the Khan of Maku have these from?' Abdurrahman said, 'I do not know where they are from, but I have heard it said thus.' 478

We said, 'What else is there?' He said, 'Simko is very good to the poor, because many Shikak and Begzada and Gawari and Albaki refugees have come to Simko and he is looking after them all. He has placed two or three refugees in every home in his province and has given an order to the effect that, "Whoever does not care for the refugees in the same way as his own family I shall plunder his house and give it to the refugees." And he has announced that, "I shall care for every poor person who comes to my place. When my property is consumed I shall take the property of the Russians and the Christians and the Persians and give it to the poor."' 479

We said, 'How can he take the property of the Russians? Russia is a great and powerful state.' He said, 'It used to be so, but now it is weak because of the disorder. Simko is more powerful, because the Turks and the Kurds will help him.' We said, 'Isn't he afraid that the Russians and Armenians and Assyrians will attack him?' He said, 'No. He says, "The Russians have gone, and the Armenians cannot leave Sarikamish, and all the Assyrians together do not make one mouthful for me. The Assyrians are not fighting men. Their job is carrying loads and serving, not bearing arms and fighting."' We said, 'The Russians have not gone, nor will they go. All is now well with the Russians, there is no disorder.' He said, 'No, Russian affairs get worse day by day, they will certainly go. The Christians are worthless. Simko says he will disarm them at the beginning of spring.' 480

We said, 'What else is there?' He said, 'Many families of people from Gawar have come back home and are bringing out their stores of corn. In spring all the people of Gawar and Albak and Shamdinan will come home. Simko has constant correspondence with the Turks and the Kurdish tribes. They inform Simko saying, "We shall be ready to help you in spring. Rest assured, do not be afraid. Whosoever makes a move we shall pull the sinews from his back."' 481

Then we said to Abdurrahman, 'The Chari area is near the Kurasini. They are accustomed to doing things beyond their means and talking above themselves. Once they had a Prophet of the donkeys.[6] Now we think that Simko is the Emperor of the donkeys. You have now renewed the Prophet of the don- 482

6 See Text XXXII.

enîya xo kire kurîşk, pîçek sil bû, emma aşkera nekir. Gote me, “belê, ez jî dizanim Simko nabîte impirator, we Simko jî dizanît, emma Simko ji cihetê misal weto dibêjît. Yeʿnî ḥalê dunyayê weto perîşan e, ḥalê Simko li çaw wan ji ḥalê Wîlhelim xoştir e, çunko em dibînîn şarê Ûrmîyê hinde dewairêt resmîye hene, rojekê bê şuloxî nîye, emma cîyê Simko asûde w muntezem û erzanî ye.” *Wesselam*.

keys.' Abdurrahman was annoyed at our words and frowned and was a little angry, but he did not show it. He said to us, 'Yes, I know that Simko will not be Emperor, and Simko knows it too, but he speaks in this way metaphorically. In other words the world is in such a disturbed state that Simko is better off, compared to Wilhelm. For we see that in the town of Urmia there are so many official bodies (yet) not a day passes without some disorder, but Simko's area is peaceful and orderly and there is plenty.'

LVII

Ḥekayêta Mîrza Ḥesenê Sineyî w Muṣeyyib Beg Ilyasofê Genceyî

483 Mirowekî dibêjinê Mîrza Ḥesen, xelkê Sine ye, katibê farisîye-y Seyîd Ṭaha, rûniştî ye li Ûrmî, cînarê bende, Mela Seʿîd, qazîyê Kurdistanê, li Mizgewta Sunnîyan, çunko em felekzede w talan kirî bûyn, nêzîkî du hizar nufûs em kurdêt Nawçiyayê Şemdînanê ʿUsmanî ji ber Romîyan ḥelatibûyn, hatibûyne şarê Ûrmî. Me dexaleta merḥemet û ʿedaleta dewleta behîyeê Rûs kiribû. Iʿane-y xeyrîye muddetê salekê ji terefê dewleta behîye bi tewesseta cenabê qunsûl Nikîtîn hewî bi hewî dihate dan, bo mezinan şeş manot, bo biçûkan sê manot⟨ê⟩ Urûsî.

484 Paşî rojekê, Mîrza Ḥesen gelek keyfxoş ji naw bajêrî hate mal. Gote min, "mizgînîyekê bideme te?" Min jî got, "bifermo. Inşaellah mizgînîya xêrê bît." Got, "elbette mizgînîya xêrê ye." Min got, "dê, bifermo." Mîrza Ḥesen got, "taze mirowek ji Tiflîsê hatiye, wekîlê Encumena Xeyrîye, nawê wî Muṣeyyib Beg e, dibêjinê Ilyasof. Ew dibêjît, "êdî ji noke paş ez dê iʿane-y xeyrîye deme feqîran.

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LVII

The Story of Mirza Hasan Sinai and Musayyib Beg Ilyasof Ganjei

There is a man called Mirza Hasan, from Sina, Persian secretary to Sayyid Taha, 483
settled in Urmia. He is neighbour to your servant, Mullah Sa'id, Cadi of Kurdistan, at the Sunni Mosque, for about 2000 of us Kurds from Nawchiya[1] of the Ottoman Shamdinan had been smitten by misfortune and plundered, we had fled from the Turks and come to the town of Urmia. We had submitted to the mercy and justice of the august Russian government. For the period of a year assistance was given to us month by month by the august government through his honour the Consul, M. Nikitine, six roubles for adults and three for children.[2]

Then one day Mirza Hasan came back from the market very happy. He said 484
to me, 'Shall I tell you some news?' I said, 'Please do. I hope it will be good news.' He said, 'Certainly it is good news.' I said, 'Well, be so good.' Mirza Hasan said, 'A man has just come from Tiflis, an agent of the Assistance Board. His name is Musayyib Beg and they call him Ilyasof.[3] He says, "From now on I shall give assistance to the poor. The Consul has nothing more to do with it.

1 Literally 'amid mountains', another name for Shamdinan and other mountainous areas around it.

2 In his letter to MacKenzie dated 21.1.1958, Nikitine states that 'this story of M[ullah] S[a'id] shows incidentally that I made no difference between Christian and Kurd refugees as I say in my book *Les Kurdes* (p. 297) (…) Both of these miserable people were victims of the "Holy" War—"made in Germany". In another letter, dated 18.9.1957, Nikitine frames the relief assistance he provided as an effort to rectify the image of the Russian government among the Kurds: "one can understand (…) that the Russian policy towards the Kurds was spoiled by the Christians' exactions. It was for me a very difficult matter, these Christians taking their revenge on the Kurds. They (I mean Christians) were "helping" our military people to get hay, barley and so on, from the Kurdish "passified" villages, and there were cases of murder, nothing to say about stealing cattle, food, and other mischiefs. It was impossible to stop them. I could not have my men every where, but in order to show to the Kurds our real intentions I distributed for them (through M.S.) a money help on the same lines as to the Christian refugees. There has been a committee for that purpose, which I presided and where missionaries and Persian authority were represented."

3 Basile Nikitine's note (letter dated 21.1.1958): "Musaib Ilyasov represented a Caucasian Moslem Relief Committee, without any acknowledged connection with my official work on this field."

Hîç teʿelluqa qunsûl pê we nemaye. Ez musulman im, sunnî me, bo mezinan deh, bo biçûkan pênc dê dem. Êdî hung qet xemê nexon, xatircem bin." Ma ewe mizgînîya xêrê nîye?" Bende got, "cenabê Mîrza, mabeyna gotinê w kirinê gelek dûr e. Bizanîn tertîba wî w kerem û iḥsana wî dê bîte çi. Xudê biket Muṣeyyib nebîte muṣîbet gelek baş e, çunko ez gelek ji nawê wî ditirsim. Ḥeta noke cenabê qunsûl em baş idare kirîne. Eger kêm, eger zor, hewî bi hewî iʿane daye me. Gelek ditirsim ewe carekê bidet, êdî parîyê pê mirinê bît, çî dî ji naw dernekewît." Mîrza Ḥesen got, "*efendim*,[4] çawa tu we difermoy? Ewe zatekî gelek mezin û muʿteber e. Çawa dê xeberê xo înîte der duro?" Min got, "beḥsê me ji mezin û muʿteberan nîye. Şertê şolan fiʿl e w dûmayî ye, çi mezin, çi kiçke." Mîrza Ḥesen got, "munasib ew e tu jî bihêy, biçîne dîtina cenabê Muṣeyyib Beg Efendî. Da me jî binasît, belko inʿamekî bo me jî biket, mewacibekî çak bidete me." Min got, "belê, çunko mêwan e, elbette ziyareta wî lazim e."

485 Ṣubey, du saʿet bo nîwro may, em digel Mela Muḥemmed Balawî w çend kesêt muʿteber çûyne ziyareta Ilyasof li mala Meşhedî Şirîn. Wî jî gelek iḥtirama me girt. Got, "hung lêre çawa idare diken?" Me jî got, "saye-y merḥemeta dewleta behîye w iltifata cenabê qunsûl ḥalê me baş e. Ḥeta noke me bi xoşî w serferazî rabarîye. Umîda me ew e ku ji noke paş saye-y iltifat û merḥemeta cenabê begî çêtir û xoştir dê rabêrîn." Ilyasof got, "elbette. Inşaellah, xiyala min ew e, ne hingo bi tinê belke ʿumûmê birayêt dînê xo ji kurdan û Îranîyan dê serferaz û xoṣḥal bikem û iʿaneyekê çak dê deme feqîran."

486 Me jî gelek izhara teşekkur û memnûniyetê bo cenabê beg kir. Paşî gote bende, "Mela Seʿîd, tu yî qazîyê Kurdistanê?" Bende got, "belê, dibêjin ew feqîre ye." Got, "estexfirullah. Zatê hingo meşhûr û meʿrûf in. Min gelek beḥsê hingo lêre bi çakî bihîstiye." Bende got, "xêr. Ew zatê hingo bihîstî emsalê cenabê fezail-meʾab Mela Muḥemmed Efendî Balawî w cenab⟨ê⟩ kemalat-iktisab Mîrza Ḥesen Efendî ye." Paşî got, "belê, ewan jî ehlê fezl-û-kemal in, emma dibêjin cenabê qazî murowekî qabil û zîrek e w şola feqîran çak dirist diket."

487 Bende got, "dirist kirina şola feqîran ne ji qabiliyet û zîrekîya bende ye, belko ji zêde iltifat û merḥemeta cenabê qunsûl û ji ḥusna teweccuhatê cenabê Duktûr Şêt û mîsyona muḥteremê Emrîkayî ye." Paşî got, "ez gelek ḥez dikem

4 In Turkish, *Sir*.

I am a Muslim, a Sunni. I shall give ten roubles for adults and five for children. You need not worry any more, rest assured." Isn't that good news?' I said, 'My dear Mirza, there is a long way between saying and doing. Let us see what his arrangements and his generosity and kindness will come to. It will be a very good thing if God grant that Musayyib (*msyb*) does not turn out a calamity (*msybt*) for I am very much afraid of his name. Up till now the Consul has looked after us well. Whether it was little or much he has given us assistance month by month. I am very much afraid that this one will give it once and that thereafter it will be a mouthful just enough to die on, and that he will not belie his name.' Mirza Hasan said, 'My good sir, how can you say this? He is a great and honoured person. How could he break his promises?' I said, 'We are not talking about great and honoured men. The important thing in all affairs is action and the consequences, be it great or small.' Mirza Hasan said, 'The proper thing is for you too to come, for us to visit his honour Musayyib Beg Effendi. He should get to know us too, and perhaps he will reward us, and give us a good stipend.' I said, 'Yes, as he is a guest, we must certainly visit him.'

Next day, two hours before noon, we went with Mullah Muhammad Balawi 485
and several respected persons to visit Ilyasof at the home of Mashhadi Shirin. He treated us with great respect and said, 'How do you manage here?' We said, 'Thanks to the mercy of the august government and the kindness of his honour the Consul we are very well. Until now we have passed the time pleasantly and honourably. We hope that from now on, under the auspices of your honour's kindness and mercy we shall live better and yet more pleasantly.' Ilyasof said, 'Certainly. God willing, I intend to bring honour and happiness not only to you but to all my brother co-religionists, Kurds and Persians, and to give a good dole to the poor.'

We made great representations of gratitude to his honour the Beg. Then 486
he said to me, 'Mullah Sa'id, are you the Cadi of Kurdistan?' I said, 'Yes, they call your humble servant so.' He said, 'God forbid (that you should be so modest), your honour is famous. I have heard much good about you here.' I said, 'No. The persons of whom you have heard are his honour the repository of virtues, Mullah Muhammad Effendi Balawi, and his honour the striver after perfection, Mirza Hasan Effendi.' Then he said, 'Yes, they too are virtuous and accomplished people, but it is said that the Cadi is a capable and clever man and deals well with the affairs of the poor.'

I said, 'Dealing well with the affairs of the poor is not from my ability or 487
cleverness but from the great kindness and mercy of his honour the Consul, and from the favours of Dr. Shedd[5] and the honoured American Mis-

5 Dr. William A. Shedd (1865–1918), member of American Presbyterian Mission, who was born

tu lêre bibîye nimayinde-y kurdan." Bende got, "ez li daira Emrîka me'mûr û wezîfedar im û ḥawtîyê sê dersan jî bo cenabê qunsûl dibêjim. Wextê bende musaʿid nîye w hem min liyaqeta nimayindegariyê jî nîye. Ez munasib dibînim Mîrza Ḥesen nimayinde bît." Ilyasof got, "belê, Mîrza Ḥesen jî çak e, ema ez ho munasib dibînim tu nimayinde bî w Mîrza Ḥesen katib bît, çunko me xizmetêt mezintir û lazimtir ji iʿane-y xeyrîye hene." Bende got, "xizmetêt lazimtir çi ne? Ḥez dikem bizanim, çunko hindî fikr dikem noke xizmet ji şola feqîran lazimtir nîye." Ilyasof got, "ḥez dikem bi tinê biaxiwîn, paşî digel Mela Muḥemmed û Mîrza Ḥesen dê axiwim." Bende got, "bila ewane biçin da biaxiwîn."

488 Xelkê meclisê belaw bû, ez û Ilyasof bi tinê mayn. Got, "noke dewleta Urûsî zor meẋşûş û perîşan-ḥal e. Meʿlûm dê meḥw bît. ʿEskerê Urûsî kes li cîyê Îranê namînît. Lazim e ewro em û kurd û asûrî w Îranî bibîne yêk, muxtariyetê bixazîn, yan dexaleta ʿUsmanî w Alman bikeyn, egerne milletê ermenî dê me hemîyan meḥw ken. Noke ez ji terefê musulmanêt Qefqasîye wekîl im, we ehlê Azerbeycanê jî ḥazir in, nimayindeyê xo heye, we mezinê asûrîyan jî noke Mar Şemon Efendî ye, lêre ḥazir e. Munasib e biçîn, wî jî bibînîn."

489 Bende got, "*fi-l ḥeqîqe*,[6] tedbîra selametîya ḥalê xo şerʿen we ʿeqlen we ʿurfen her wext lazim e, belke elzem we eqdemê hemî şolan e, emma teşebbus kirin bi her şolekê lazim e weto bît ku nebîte sebebê ṣedeme w helakê. Noke meḥw bûna dewletekê wekî dewleta Urûsî mezin temam nakewîte ʿeqlê min. Milletekî zor e, ḥeta ewan meḥw dibin gelek dewlet dê meḥw bin. Ew iẋtişaşa noke muweqqetî ye. Tebîʿî inqilab hemîşe baʿisê iẋtişaşê ye, emma paşî dibîte sebebê tereqqîyekî gelek mezin. Eger ewro em tiştekî muxalifî re'ya dewleta Urûsî bikeyn, paşî ṣube Urûs muntezem bû, me hemîyan dê meḥw ket. Bes ez ho selaḥ û munasib dizanim em pirsekê bi cenabê qunsûl û bi cenabê Duktûr Şêt bikeyn, ho bêjîn, "noke dewleta meẋşûş e, wextê wan nîye ku hem şerê dujminî, hem islaḥa daxilî biken. Bes eger dewleta behîye musaʿede bifermot em ehlê Qefqas û Azerbeycan û Kurdistan û Ermenistanê bê tefewuta mezheb û bê ferq

there and died in 1918 in Sain Kala while fleeing from the advancing Turkish troops together with the Christian communities. For his life written by his wife, see Mary Lewis Shedd, *The Measure of a Man. The Life of William Ambrose Shedd, Missionary to Persia*. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922). In a letter to MacKenzie, Nikitine notes that they were working together "in a Relief Committee and for other purposes concerning the Assyrians and their mountaineer brothers called Djiloo by the Persians."

6 In Arabic, *truly*.

sion.'[7] Then he said, 'I would very much like you to become the representative of the Kurds here.' I said, 'I am employed and have duties in the American (Mission) office and I give his honour the Consul three lessons a week. My time does not permit it, nor do I merit the position of representative. I consider it fitting that Mirza Hasan should be the representative.' Ilyasof said, 'Yes, Mirza Hasan is also good, but I consider it fitting that you should be the representative and Mirza Hasan the secretary, for we have greater and more necessary services to perform than distributing assistance.' I said, 'What are these more necessary services? I would like to know, because I think that there is now no service more necessary than the affairs of the poor.' Ilyasof said, 'I would prefer that we discuss it alone (first), then we will talk with Mullah Muhammad and Mirza Hasan Effendi afterwards.' I said, 'Let them go, so that we may speak (privately).'

Those present dispersed and Ilyasof and I remained alone. He said, 'The 488
Russian state is now greatly disordered and distressed. It will certainly be destroyed. Not a single Russian soldier will remain in Persia. We and the Kurds and the Assyrians and the Persians must unite today and demand independence, or submit to the Turks and the Germans, otherwise the Armenian nation will destroy us all. I am now agent for the Caucasian Muslims and the people of Azarbaijan are also ready and have their own representative. The leader of the Assyrians, Mar Shamun Effendi is present here too. We should go and see him.'

I said, 'Truly self-preservation is a necessary consideration at all times, in 489
law and sense and practice, indeed it is the first and most necessary consideration. But in taking the initiative in any affair it is necessary to ensure that it will not cause damage and destruction (to oneself). Now I simply cannot conceive of the destruction of a great state such as Russia. It is a great nation. Many other states will be destroyed before they are. The present disorder is temporary. Naturally a revolution always causes disorder, but afterwards it is the cause of a great advancement. If we today do something opposed to the interests of the Russian state then tomorrow, when Russia is again orderly, she will destroy us all. I consider it best and fitting that we should discuss it with his honour the Consul and Dr. Shedd, that we should say, "Now the august (Russian) state is disordered and they have no time both to fight the enemy and to carry out internal reforms. So, if the august government approves, we people of the Caucasus and Azarbaijan and Kurdistan and Armenia, regardless of our differences

7 The American Presbyterian Mission in Urmia. For an account of the mission's activity during the First World War, see Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia during the Great War," in *La Perse et la Grande Guerre*, edited by Oliver Bast (Tehran: Institut Français, 2002), 353–372.

û cudayîya millet li naw xo ittifaqekê girê deyn û ḥuqûqê xo muḥafeze bikeyn, asûde rûnêyn, ḥeta bizanîn dûmayîya ḥalê dewleta behîye dê çi bît, we ḥalê wê ḥerba ʿumûmî dê li ser çi qerarê girît. Aya munasib e yan?"

490 Wextê em ho bêjîn, cenabê qunsûl û cenabê Duktûr Şêt mirowêt ʿaqil û siyasî ne. Eger munasib bibînin dê bêjine me, "biken," egerne dê bêjin, "ṣebr ken." Her teşebbusa em bikeyn çak e di bin ḥimayeta dewleta Urûs bikeyn, da dûmayîyê bo me nebîte sebebê peşîmanî w derdeserîyê, çunko eger çak, eger xirab, noke li *furent*ê[8] Qefqas, Urûs ẋalibtir e ji ʿUsmanî, we Inglîs j⟨î⟩ li *furent*ê Beynu-n-Nehreyn û li furentê Bêlcîk ẋalibtir e ji ʿUsmanî w Alman. Bi tinê li *furent*ê Urûsî Alman ẋalib e, ew jî ne sebeb quweta xo ye belke sebeb iẋtişaş û inqilaba Urûsî ye. Bes bi her ḥal noke bê emr û icazeya dewleta Urûs em tiştekî bikeyn hîç mesleḥet nîye. Mumkin e dûmayîyê bo me bibîte sebebê ʿacizîyekê mezin. Ez wê şolê neşêm bikem."

491 Ilyasof got, "belê, min pirsa qunsûlî kiriye. Gotiye, "şolekê gelek baş û munasib e."" Min jî got, "ez li ḥuzûra cenabê qunsûl aza me. Ḥewtiyê sê caran diçime ḥuzûra wî. Ez jî dê ʿerz kem. Eger emr fermo, baş e, hingî rûḥa xo dê bo wê şolê ṣerf kem, egerne ez hîç bi wê şolê naaxiwim." Mîrza Ḥesen got, "*subḥanellah*, tu çawa ho dibêjî? Ma emsalê cenabê begî çawa dê şêt durowa hinde mezin ji ʿezmanê emsalê cenabê qunsûl biket?" Min jî got, "*esteẋfirullah*, ez nabêjim fermodeê cenabê begî duro ye, emma dibêjim mumkin e cenabê qunsûl bi çend şertan fermobît baş e, yeʿnî şertê ewwel û muhim ew e ku li zerera dewleta behîye nebît. Ḥez dikem cenabê qunsûl teʿlîm û tertîba wê xizmetê beyan bifermot, paşî bikem." Ilyasof got, "baş e, bipirse," emma pîçek têkçû, li wî xoş nehat. Wê carê axiwtina me bû hind.

492 Paşî carekê di naw axiwtinê da min ʿerzi ḥuzûra cenabê qunsûl kir, "Ilyasof tiştekî ho dibêjît. Nizanim eṣl û esasek heye yan nîye, çak e, xirab e, çawan e." Cenabê qunsûl fermo, "eṣlen min teṣdîq nekiriye w min negotiye baş e w min agahî ji wê şolê nîye. *Welḥemdulillah* ḥalê dewleta behîye negeştiye wê derecê ku her kes bişêt kebaba ẋereza xo bipêjît, belko ji noke paş jî muqeyyed be, bizane eger tiştekî muxalifî poltîka dewleta Urûsî heye, zû xeber bide min, da çareyê defʿa wî bibînim."

493 Ez hatim, min gote Mîrza Ḥesen, "te got, "çawa beg duro diket?" Emma min teḥqîq kir, durowekê hindî xo mezin kir. Ew bege, durowa wî jî li naw durowan beg e." Mîrza Ḥesen got, "çi bêjim? Min nezanî ku şola hinde mezin dê ji duro

8 The English word '(war) front'.

of religion and race, shall unite amongst ourselves to protect our rights and sit quietly until we learn what will finally befall the august government, and how this World War will be settled. Is this fitting or not?"

When we say this, the Consul and Dr. Shedd are intelligent and politic men, 490
if they consider it fitting they will tell us to proceed, and if not they will tell us to wait. Whatever initiative we take it is best that we should take it under the auspices of the Russian government, so that in the end it should not be a cause of regret and difficulty for us, because, for better or for worse, the Russians are now prevailing over the Turks on the Caucasian front, and the British are prevailing over the Turks and the Germans on the Mesopotamian and Belgian fronts. Only on the Russian front are the Germans prevailing, and the reason for that is not their own strength so much as the Russian disorder and revolution. In any case it is not advisable for us to do anything without the permission of the Russian government, otherwise it is possible that in the end it will be the cause of great distress for us. I cannot do this thing.'

Ilyasof said, 'Yes, I have discussed it with the Consul. He said it was a very 491
fine and proper business.' I said, 'I have free access to the Consul. I go to see him three times a week. I too shall put it to him. If he permits, very well, then I shall put my soul into the affair, otherwise I shall say nothing to it.' Mirza Hasan said, 'Praise be to God, how can you speak thus? How could anyone such as his honour the Beg relate such a lie from the tongue of someone like his honour the Consul?' I said, 'God forbid, I do not say that what his honour the Beg has vouchsafed is a lie, but I do say that possibly his honour the Consul may have approved the idea with certain conditions, that is to say that the first and most important condition is that it should not be to the detriment of the august government. I would like the Consul to instruct and advise me on this service, then I shall do it.' Ilyasof said, 'Very well, ask him,' but he was a little angry, he did not approve. Then our discussion came to an end.

Afterwards I once mentioned the matter to his honour the Consul in the 492
course of conversation. 'Ilyasof says such a thing. I do not know whether it has any basis or foundation or not, whether it is good or bad or how it is.' The Consul said, 'I did not consent to it at all, nor did I say it was a good thing and I know nothing of the matter. Moreover, praise be to God, the august government has not reached such a state that everybody can cook the kebab of his own interests. Henceforth rather take heed and make sure that, if anything occurs contrary to the policies of the Russian government, you tell me quickly so that I may deal with it.'

I returned and said to Mirza Hasan, 'You said, "How can the Beg tell a lie?" 493
but I have ascertained that he has told a lie as big as himself. That Beg's lie is a Beg among lies too.' Mirza Hasan said, 'What can I say? I did not know that

bêjît." Min got, "belê, weto ye. Emma min ewwel gotiye, nawê wî gelek nêzîkî muṣîbetê ye. Ez dibêjim rizqê me feqîran dê birît. Meqsûda wê encumenê ez texmîn dikem mexsûs teşkîla qomîteyekê w ittiḥadekê ye, çî dî ne. Emma ṣebr ke, bizanîn xiyala wî çi ye, paşî çawa munasib bû dê we keyn."

494 Roja paşî Ilyasof hate mala me, rûnişt. Me jî bi qederê jêhatina xo xizmeta wî kir. Dîsa got, "ḥez dikem hindî mumkin bît tu bibe nimayinde. Eger her mumkin nebît, bila Mîrza Ḥesen bît." Min got, "bila Mîrza Ḥesen bît. Ez jî wextê bişêm dê harîkarîya hingo kem." Xulase Mîrza Ḥesen bû nimayindeyê kurdan û deftera nufûsêt kurdan girt. Min hîç ʿelaqe nekir. Şeş hizar manotê Urûsî Ilyasof da Mela ʿEbdullah Balawî ku bi ittilaʿî Mela Muḥemmed Balawî w Mela Seʿîd û Mîrza Ḥesen û Meşhedî ʿEbbas ʿElî w yêkî ji terefê qomîta Urûsî bihête pelate kirin li ser feqîran. Ilyasof çû Tiflîsê w roja paşî Mela ʿEbdullah pare îna Mizgewta Sunnîyan li mala Mîrza Ḥesen, we mirowêt beyan kirî ḥazir bûn, dest kirin bi pelate kirina pare.

495 Mirowek hat, hêdî gote min, "Mîrza Ḥesen millet du-qet niwîsîye." Min jî bo teḥqîqa madde gote Ḥacî Muḥemmed û Seyîd Ḥebîb û Ibrahîm û Feqîh Ḥesen û ʿEbdullah Xan ku biçin, li mezela binî rûnên, her kesê pareyê xo wergirt, biçîte lalî wan, teslîmi wan biket da muwafiqî nufûsan teqsîm bikeyn, bizanîn çend ser in û çend zêde ne. Weko me weto çêkir, heştṣed û bîst menat zêde bû. Ew jî roja paşî hate pelate kirin li ser feqîrêt Mirgewerê w Balawê, we hizar û sêṣed û bîst menat min û Mîrza Ḥesen qer kirin ji ṣeṛafan, bo feqîrêt taze hatî ji gundan, bi weʿdeyê hatina Ilyasof ji Tiflîsê, ku pazde roj bûn. Hindî min gote Mîrza Ḥesen, "ew qere dûmayîyê dê mînît di stukira me da." Mîrza Ḥesen got, "çawa dê mînît? Encumena Xeyrîye muqtedîr e da hizar manot qer bidet." Min jî got, "belê, we ye, emma ji nawê muṣîbet ditirsim." Mîrza Ḥesen ji ẋeyrî miqdarê me gotî şêst tomen pareyê Îranî bo kifinan qer kir, bi hîwîya hatina Ilyasof.

496 Paşî hewyekê Ilyasof hat, zanî ku hizar û sêṣed û bîst manot⟨ê⟩ Urûsî w şêst tûmen pûlê Îranî qerê me heye li ser encumenê. Gelek xemgîr bû, nezanî çi biket. Bi xiyala xo hinde pîlan çêkir. Bi mexfî Ḥacî Muḥemmed û Feqîh Ḥesen û Ibrahîm gazî kirin, gote wan, "hung bêjin, "Mela Seʿîd û Mîrza Ḥesen pareyê me nedaye me," ez jî dê harîkarîya hingo kem, we eger hung wihê biken her yêkî ji hingo ṣed û pênce manotan dê demê." Me jî nezanî wî ew ḥîle kiriye. Paşî sê-çar rojan ku wî istiraḥet kir ji seferê Tiflîsê Mîrza Ḥesen carekê gote wî, "cenabê

he would lie about something so important.' I said, 'Well, that is how it is. But at the beginning I said his name was very like Calamity. I say he will cut off the means of subsistence of us poor folk. I imagine that the purpose of this council is especially the formation of a committee and a union, nothing else. But let us wait and see what he is thinking, then we shall do whatever is most fitting.'

The next day Ilyasof came to our house and sat down. We made him as welcome as we were able. Again he said, 'As far as it is possible I would like you to be the representative. If it is not possible at all let it be Mirza Hasan.' I said, 'Let it be Mirza Hasan. When I am able then I shall help you also.' In short, Mirza Hasan became representative of the Kurds and got the population register of the Kurds. I had nothing to do with it. Ilyasof gave six thousand roubles to Mullah Abdullah Balawi to be distributed among the poor, with the knowledge of Mullah Muhammad Balawi and Mullah Sa'id and Mirza Hasan and Mashhadi Abbas Ali and someone from the Russian committee. Ilyasof went to Tiflis and on the next day Mullah Abdullah brought the money to the Sunni Mosque into Mirza Hasan's house and the men mentioned were present, and they began to distribute the money. 494

A man came and said to me quietly, 'Mirza Hasan has written the people down double.' To make sure of the matter I told Haji Muhammad and Sayyid Habib and Ibrahim and Faqih Hasan and Abdullah Khan to go and sit in the room below, that as every person took his money he should go and entrust it to them so that we could divide it according to the population and see how many they were and how many extra. When we did this there were eight hundred and twenty roubles over. That was distributed to the poor of Margawar and Balaw on the next day, and Mirza Hasan and I borrowed one thousand three hundred and twenty roubles from the bankers for the poor just arrived from the villages, until Ilyasof should return from Tiflis, in a fortnight. I said this much to Mirza Hasan, 'In the end this debt will be left on our necks.' Mirza Hasan said, 'How will it be left? The Assistance Board is capable of repaying a debt of ten thousand roubles.' I said, 'That is so, but I am afraid of Calamity's name.' Mirza Hasan borrowed sixty Persian tomans, apart from the sum mentioned, for shrouds, in anticipation of Ilyasof's coming. 495

After a month Ilyasof came back and learnt that we were owed one thousand three hundred and twenty roubles and sixty tomans in Persian money by the Board. He was very upset and did not know what to do. He thought up a number of plans. Then he summoned Haji Muhammad and Faqih Hasan and Ibrahim in secret and said to them, 'You say that Mullah Sa'id and Mirza Hasan did not give us our money and I will help you. If you will do this I shall give each of you a hundred and fifty roubles.' We did not know that he had done this trick. After three or four days, when he had rested from the Tiflis journey, 496

beg efendî, hung qerdarê me ne. Em jî gelek muḥtac în. Me ew pare hemî ji ṣeṛafan qer kiriye, noke qerî dixazin. Me jî çu pare nîye. Ew qere jî me bi hîwîya cenabê begî kiriye." Wextê Mîrza Ḥesen ho got, Ilyasof beg got, "belê, me ḥeq û ḥisab digel yêk heye. Her wextê me ḥisaba xo kir û ez bûme qerdarê hingo, hingî qerê hingo li cîyekî dê hejmêrim û eger hung bûne qerdarê min hingî dibit hung musaʿede biken, qerê min biden."

497 Wextê Ilyasof ew cewabe da Mîrza Ḥesen, lêwêt mîrzayê feqîr li ser didanan hişk bûn. Ma muteḥeyyir, nezanî çi bêjît. Zû hat, xeber da min, got, "min ho gote Ilyasof, wî jî ho cewaba min da." Min jî gote Mîrza Ḥesen, "ewwel min gotiye te, "ez ji nawê wî ditirsim."" Mîrza Ḥesen jî got, "*fi-l ḥeqîqe* min jî noke xeberê te bawir kir, emma tedbîr çi ye? Ez dibêjim xiyala wî ew e, ḥeqê me bibeliʿînît." Min jî got, "ma tu taze dizanî xiyala wî ew e?" Got, "ma min çi zanî ho durohîn e?" Min jî got, "hêşta maye muṣîbeta kirêttir, paşî dê bînî." Xulase Mîrza Ḥesen carekê dî qer xast, Ilyasof aşkera got, "nadem. Hingo pareyê feqîran xariye w mirowêt hingo jî dibêjin." Mîrza Ḥesen ji wê gotinê zêdetir ʿaciz û muteḥeyyir bû. Hate mal, gote min, "muṣîbet meʿlûm bû." Min jî got, "elbette meʿlûm e, emma tu zû şolan nizanî, lewa daymî peşîman î."

498 Ez çûm, min gote Ilyasof, "cenabê begî, ez nizanim tu micitî difermoy "hingo pareyê feqîran xariye," yan ji ṣuḥbet û tirane we difermoy." Got, "ez micit im, çunko mirowêt hingo şahidîyê diden. Ez çi bikem, teqsîra min çi ye?" Min jî got, "ew miro kî ne?" Got, "fulan we fulan in." Min jî got, "bes madam we ye ḥez dikem rojekê ew teḥqîqe bihête kirin, belê lazim e nimayindeyê qunsûlxanê jî wextê teḥqîqatê ḥazir bît. Eger şerʿen we ʿeqlen we wicdanen beyan bû me pareyê feqîran xariye hingî em layîqê terbiyeyekê gelek mezin în, egerne lazim e mufterîyan terbiye bifermon."

499 Nimayindeyê qunsûlxanê, Rabî Binyamîn, hate menzila Mîrza Ḥesen, we Nadir Beg û ʿElauddîn ji mirowêt Ilyasof û Mela Muḥemmed Balawî ḥazir bûn. Ḥacî Muḥemmed û Feq-Ḥesen û Ibrahîm jî ḥazir kirin. Min got, "noke meclis ḥazir e. Kî deʿwa diket? Deʿwa çi diket? Deʿwa li kê diket?" Nadir Beg got, "ez

Mirza Hasan once said to him, 'Your honour, you owe us some money. We are very much in need of it. We borrowed all this money from the bankers and now they want their loan back. We have no money. We incurred this debt in anticipation of your honour's (honouring it).' When Mirza Hasan said this Ilyasof Beg said, 'Yes, we have accounts to settle with one another. When we reckon them up, and it transpires that I am in debt to you, then I shall count (out) your debt in one place, and if you are in debt to me you must be so good as to repay me.'

When Ilyasof answered Mirza Hasan in this way the poor Mirza's lips dried 497
on his teeth. He was astonished and did not know what to say. He came quickly and informed me, saying, 'I said this to Ilyasof and this was how he answered me.' I said to Mirza Hasan, 'I said to you in the beginning that I feared his name.' Mirza Hasan said, 'Truly I believe what you say now, what must be done? I suppose he intends to swallow our due.' I said, 'Have you only just realized that is what he intends?' He said, 'How did I know he was such a liar?' I said, 'There is a worse calamity to come, you will see.' In short, Mirza Hasan asked for his debt once again and Ilyasof said plainly, 'I shall not give it. You have embezzled the money of the poor, and your own men say so.' Mirza Hasan was even more distressed and astonished at these words. He came home and said to me, 'The calamity is obvious now.' I said, 'Certainly it is obvious, but you do not recognise things quickly, that is why you are always regretful.'

I went and said to Ilyasof, 'Your honour, I do not know whether you are seri- 498
ous when you say that we have embezzled the money of the poor, or if you are saying it for a joke.' He said, 'I am serious, because your own men bear witness. What should I do, what fault is it of mine?' Then I said, 'Who are those men?' He said, 'So-and-so and such-and-such.' I said, 'Since that is the case I would like this to be investigated one day, but a representative from the Consulate must be present during the investigation. If in law and sense and conscience it transpires that we have embezzled the money of the poor then we deserve a severe punishment, otherwise the slanderers must be punished.'

The representative of the Consulate, Rabbi Benjamin,[9] came to Mirza 499
Hasan's room and Nadir Beg and Ala'uddin of Ilyasof's men and Mullah Muhammad Balawi were present. They brought Haji Muhammad and Faqih Hasan and Ibrahim too. I said, 'Now the company is assembled. Who is the plaintif? What is his plaint? Against whom does he complain?' Nadir Beg said, 'I

9 Basile Nikitine's note (letter dated 21.1.1958): "Rabbi Benyamin Arsanis (...) was a cleric in the Consulate office. He had a diploma of the Lazarev Institute in Moscow. I trusted him."

deʿwa pareyê feqîran li te w Mîrza Ḥesen dikem." Min got, "li min jî yan li Mîrza Ḥesen bi tinê?" Nadir Beg got, "li te jî." Min got, "ez nimayinde me?" Got, "ne." Min got, "min deftera nufûsan girtiye?" Got, "ne." Min got, "pare min pelate kiriye?" Got, "ne." Min got, "bes bi çi cihet deʿwa li min dikey?" Got, "cihet ewe ye. Ew mirowêt hingo dibêjin hingo herduyan pareyê feqîran xariye." Min got, "ji wan bipirsin çawa me xariye." Ji wan pirsîn. Wan jî gotin, "tefsîl ho bû. Em li mezela binî rûniştîn, bi xeberê Mela Seʿîd û Mîrza Ḥesen, we her kesê pareyê xo diîna, teslîm me dikir. Me jî şewê diîna mezela Mîrza Ḥesen, bi ittilaʿîya me herduyan pare pelate dikirine ser feqîran. Tiştê zêde dibû dixarin." Nadir Beg got, "ewene mirowêt hingo ne, ho dibêjin. Ma şahid ji wane qahîmtir û muʿtebertir dibin?" Min got, "elḥemdulillah, ehlê meclisê erbabê inṣaf û qanûn û meʿrifetê ne, şahidîya meqbûl û nemeqbûl jêk didenewe. Ez dê cewabê dem. Eger cewaba min meqbûltir bû ji şahidîya wan, hingî te hîç ḥeqê axiwtinê digel me nîye, egerne hingî em mesʾûl û qerdar în."

500 Got, "cewaba te çi ye?" Min got, "cewaba min ewe ye. Bi çend cihetan şahidîya wane meqbûl nîye. Cihetê ewwel ewe ye. Ewan dibêjin, "me pare ji feqîran wergirt, paşî me îna, teslîm kire Mela Seʿîd û Mîrza Ḥesen." Ewan bi ʿezmanê xo iqrar diken ku pareyê feqîran geştîye destê wan. *Ṣaḥibu-l-yed*[10] bûne ew. Eger wan isbat kir ku teslîmi me yan feqîran bûye çak e, egerne şerʿen û qanûnen dikewîte ser wan, çunko şahidîya ku zimmeta şahidê berê biket eṣlen qebûl nîye. Noke şahidîya wane weto ye, çunko ewan dibêjin, "me nexar, me teslîmi Mela Seʿîd û Mîrza Ḥesen kir, wan jî hindek da feqîran û hindek xarin." Eger madam ew ṭerze şahidîye meqbûl bît, bo min meydan gelek firetir dê bît. Bes em jî dê bêjin, "me ew pare hindek da Nadir Beg, hindek da Rabî Binyamî⟨n⟩ û hindek da ʿEleuddîn û hindek da Mela Muḥemmed Balawî. Muṣeyyib Beg bila pare ji hingo bixazît." Eger em ho bêjîn tu dê qebûl key, yan ne?" Got, "ne, ez qebûl nakem." Min got, "bi çi delîl tu qebûl nakey?" Got, "çunko hung ji xo defʿ diken, dihawêjine ser me." Min jî got, "bes şahidîya wane jî weto ye." Rabî Binyamîn û hemî ehlê meclisê gotin, "weto ye."

501 Min gote Nadir Beg, "bes yan dibît noke çawa ez bi muqtezaê wicdan û inṣafa xo ḥeqîqeta madde ʿerzî ḥuzûra meclisê bikem qebûl biken, yan em *bi-l-kullî*[11] inkar dikeyn. Tu here, bo xo teḥqîq bike ji feqîran û ẋeyri wan. Her wextê manotek muwafiqî şerʿ û qanûn te li ser me tebeyyun kir, hingî em bi her newʿ

10 In Arabic, *possessor*.
11 In Arabic, *completely*.

sue you and Mirza Hasan for the money of the poor.' I said, 'From me too or only from Mirza Hasan?' Nadir Beg said, 'From you too.' I said, 'Am I the representative?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Did I take the population register?' 'No,' he said. I said, 'Did I distribute the money?' 'No,' he said. I said, 'Then for what reason do you sue me for it?' He said, 'For this reason that these your own men say you have both embezzled the money of the poor.' I said, 'Ask them how we embezzled it.' They asked them. They said, 'These are the details. We were sitting in the room below, on the instructions of Mullah Sa'id and Mirza Hasan, and each person brought his money and handed it over to us. At night we brought it to Mirza Hasan's room and with our knowledge both of them divided the money among the poor. What was left over they embezzled.' Nadir Beg said, 'These are your own men and they say thus. Can there be any stronger or more trustworthy witnesses than these?' I said, 'Thank God, those present are masters of justice, law and learning, and are able to distinguish acceptable from unacceptable testimony. I shall reply. If my reply is more acceptable than their testimony then you have no right to speak to us. If not then we are responsible and acknowledge the debt.'

He said, 'What is your answer?' I said, 'This is my answer. Their testimony 500
is unacceptable for a number of reasons. The first reason is this. They say, "We took the money from the poor, afterwards we brought it and handed it over to Mullah Sa'id and Mirza Hasan." They admit with their own tongues that the money of the poor came into their hands. They became the actual possessor. If they prove that it was handed over to us, or to the poor, all right, otherwise in religious and civil law it falls on them, because testimony which puts the burden on the previous witness is utterly unacceptable. Now their testimony is of this sort, because they say, "We did not embezzle it, we handed it over to Mullah Sa'id and Mirza Hasan. They gave some of it to the poor and embezzled some of it!" If that sort of testimony is acceptable then the field will be much wider for me. We shall say, "We gave some of that money to Nadir Beg, some to Rabbi Benjamin and some to Ala'uddin and some to Mullah Muhammad Balawi. Let Musayyib Beg ask you for the money." If we say this, will you accept it or not?' He said, 'No, I do not accept it.' I said, 'On what grounds do you not accept it?' He said, 'Because you are averting (the charge) from yourselves and throwing it at us.' Then I said, 'Well, their testimony is just the same.' Rabbi Benjamin and all the assembled company said, 'That is so.'

I said to Nadir Beg, 'Now either you must accept my account of the facts as 501
I present them to the assembled company in accordance with my conscience and (sense of) justice, or we deny it completely. You go and verify the matter among the poor and others. When you have established (responsibility) for one rouble against us, according to law, we shall accept any kind of punishment.'

ceza razî-yne." Nadir Beg got, "xêr, ez qebûl nakem. Dibît hung pareyê feqîran biden, egerne dê hingo deme ḥebs kirin." Min got, "eger bi sûretê xurtî me ḥebs biken me hîç guftugo nîye. Şola ku xurtî kewte naw êdî suwal-û-cewab bê fayde ye. We eger bi sûretê ʿedalet û ḥeqqanîyet me ḥebs biken lazim e ehlê meclisê qerar bikêşine ser neḥeqîya me, paşî me ḥebs biken. Noke cenabê Nadir Beg Efendî bi çi sûret difermot, 'dê ḥingo deme ḥebs kirin'?" Got, "bi ʿedalet." Min jî got, "ey ehlê meclisê, çi li ser me sabit bîye?"[12]

502 Paşî Rabî Bunyamîn bi ʿezmanê urûsî digel Nadir Beg axiwt, min nezanî çi got, ema bi *qerîneyê ḥal* ez ho têgeştim ku dibêjîte Nadir Beg, "Mela Seʿîd muʿellimê cenabê qunsûl e w ewe salekê iʿana feqîran bi destê wî hatiye dan, kes gazinde ji wî nekiriye, emma mumkin e Mîrza Ḥesen xaribît, çunko ew bê wezîfe w muḥtactir e." Paşî Nadir Beg gote min, "bila ewro bes bît. Ṣubey dîsa em dê hêyn, carekê dî bi ṭerzekî dî suwal-û-cewab û teḥqîqetê keyn. Min ewro hung teʿcîz kirin, teqsîra min ʿefû biken." Min got, "*esteẋfirullah*, te em teʿcîz nekirîne, te em muşerref û serferaz kirîn. Elbette lazim e li ser hemîyan, xusûsen cenabê hingo, ku daimî derheqî ḥuqûqê feqîran muqeyyed bin û seʿî biken."

503 Roja paştir dîsa Nadir Beg û Rabî Binyamîn û ehlê meclisê hemî li menzila Mîrza Ḥesen cema bûn. Nadir Beg got, "baş e, teḥqîqa madde dê ḥewaleyê wicdan û inṣafa te keyn, emma ez gelek teʿeccubê dikem, bo çî ewan mirowêt hingo şahidîyê diden li ser hingo." Min got, "qet teʿeccubê neke. Eger ehlê meclisê musaʿede bifermon, guh bidene min, ez bi tefsîl dê eḥwalê wan mirowane bêjim, ku sebeb çi şahidîye diden li ser me." Ehlê meclisê gotin, "bêje."

504 Min got, "sebebê Ḥacî Muḥemmed ewe ye. Gelek hîwî kir, "ḥez dikem min pazde nufûs biniwîsin." Mîrza Ḥesen gote wî, "tu ḥewt nufûs î. Mumkin e ḥeşt yan neh bihêne niwîsîn, emma pazde qet mumkin nabît." Ji ber wihê Ḥacî Muḥemmed sil bûye. Sebebê Feqî Ḥesen ewe ye. Daymî mamê wî w xalê wî ji gundê Ḥisarê têne şarî. Feqî Ḥesen jî li naw ʿeceman digeriyêt, xeberan peyda diket, bo Simko dihinêrît. Min jî rojekê cûn dane wî ku, "eger tu çî dî wê ispîyonîyê bo Simko bikey dê te teslîmi iştaba Urûsî kem." Ji ber wihê Feqî Ḥesen sil bûye. Sebebê Ibrahîm ewe ye. Jinek heye, Asê, par xidama me bû. Ibrahîm jî li naw ḥewşa me bû. Ibraḥîm bi kefalet û zemaneta min çil tûmen pare ewwelê biharê ji Eḥmed Aẋayê ṣeṛaf, bi her tûman hewyê ʿebbasîyek faiz bît. Ibrabîm

12 The occasional dialectal spelling of *bûye*.

Nadir Beg said, 'No, I do not accept. You must repay the money of the poor, otherwise I shall have you imprisoned.' I said, 'If you will imprison us by force we have nothing to say. When force comes into play then further discussion is pointless. And if you will imprison us by law then the assembled company must agree upon our guilt, then imprison us. Now in which way does Nadir Beg Effendi say, "I shall have you imprisoned."?' He said, 'By law.' I said, 'You present! What has been proved against us?'

Then Rabbi Benjamin talked with Nadir Beg in Russian. I did not know what 502
he was saying but from the situation I understood that he was saying to Nadir Beg, 'Mullah Sa'id is the Consul's teacher and for a year now assistance has been given to the poor through his hands and nobody has complained against him. But it is possible that Mirza Hasan may have embezzled it, because he has no position and is more needy.' Then Nadir Beg said to me, 'Let that be enough for today. We shall come again tomorrow and investigate and discuss the matter again in a different way. I have distressed you today, please forgive my fault.' I said, 'God forbid, you have not distressed us, you have honoured us. Of course it is incumbent upon everybody, especially your honour, constantly to be diligent and to strive in guarding the rights of the poor.'

The next day again Nadir Beg and Rabbi Benjamin and the rest of the com- 503
pany all assembled in Mirza Hasan's room. Nadir Beg said, 'Right, we shall continue the inquiry in the light of your conscience and sense of justice, but I wonder very much why these your own men bear witness against you.' I said, 'Do not be surprised. If the company will be so kind as to pay heed I shall relate the affair of these men in detail, as to why they bear witness against us.' The assembled company said, 'Say on.'

I said, 'Haji Muhammad's reason is this. He pressed us, saying, "I would like 504
you to write me down for fifteen persons." Mirza Hasan said to him, "You are seven persons. It might be possible to write eight or nine, but fifteen is quite impossible." Haji Muhammad became angry over this. Faqih Hasan's reason is this. His uncles are always coming to town from the village of Hisar and Faqih Hasan also goes about among the Persians collecting news and sends it to Simko. One day I abused him and said, "If you do any more of this spying for Simko I shall hand you over to the Russian Staff." Faqih Hasan became angry over this. Ibrahim's reason is this. There is a woman, Ase, who was our maid-servant last year. Ibrahim was (living) in our courtyard too. On my surety and pledge he borrowed forty tomans at the beginning of spring from Ahmad Agha the banker, at one abbasi interest per toman per month.[13] Every day Ibrahim

13 I.e. at 2 per month. 1 abbasi (formerly) = 1/50 toman.

hemî rojan bi mexfî pare dida Asê. Min jî herdu ji ḥewşa me kirine der. Ji ber wihê Ibrahîm sil bûye. Noke bila teḥqîq biḥête kirin. Eger ew sebebene hemî rast nebin em mes'ûl bîn. ʿElaweyê wihê jî bi diqqet ji ʿumûmê feqîran bipirsin. Eger feqet yêk qepêk me ji pareyê feqîran xaribît, hingî serê me bibirin.

505 Dimînît mes'ela fezle, ku me egerçi malê feqîran nexariye emma fezle, ku malê encumenê ye, me xariye. Bo wî jî me memsek heye ku hîç fezle bo me nemaye, hemî geştiye feqîran, çunko bi ittilaʿîya Mela Muḥemmed û Mela ʿEbdullaḥ Balawî w Meşhedî ʿEbbas ʿElî Qefqasî w nimayindeyê qomîta Urûsî, we çend kesêt dî ji ehlê Balawê ḥazir bûn, ku min û Mîrza Ḥesen hizar û heştṣed û çil manotê Urûsî teslîmi Mela ʿEbdullah kirin, wî jî wê saʿetê di wê meclisê da li ser feqîran pelate kir. Heştṣed û bîst ew bû yê fezle, hizar û sêṣed û bîst me qer kiriye ji ṣeṛafan. Noke encumen miqdarê hizar û sêṣed û bîst manot qerdarî me ye."

506 Nadir Beg got, "ez dibêjim ewe hemî fezle ye, pareyê me ye, belkî fezle zêdetir bûye w hingo hinde daye, yê dî hingo xariye." Min got, "cenabê hingo bi delîl û isbat we difermon, yan bi xiyal û texmîn?" Got, "bi delîl." Min got, "*xûb*, bi çi delîl?" Got, "bi gotina mirowêt hingo." Min got, "delîla te hind e?" Got, "ma ew bes nîye?" Min got, "egerçi duhî bi tefsîl min şahidîyê wan red kiriye, we ewro jî min ḥalê wan ket-ket ʿerzê ḥuzûra hingo kir, we gotina wan derheq me hîç muʿteber nîye, emma dîsa bo defʿa şubhe ji wan bipirsin ka çi qeder fezle bûye."

507 Wextê ku Rabî Binyamîn ji wan pirsî Ḥacî Muḥemmed û Feqî Ḥesen gotin, "em dizanîn fezle bû, emma nizanîn çend bû." Ibrahîm got, "ez dizanim fezle ji hizar manot zêdetir bû, emma nizanim çi qeder zêdetir bû." Rabî Binyamîn gote wan, "bi gotina hingo çu meʿlûm nebû. Ewwelen hung digel Mela Seʿîd û Mîrza Ḥesen ẋerezdar in, we ji ẋeyri wî jî miqdarê fezle bi gotina hingo nameʿlûm e. Hung feqet hinde dizanin ku tiştek bûye fezle. Ji wî zêdetir hung çî dî nizanin. Ew hind jî fayde nîye bo isbata muddeʿayê cenabê Nadir Beg, çunko Mela Seʿîd jî

used to give money to Ase in secret. I threw them both out of our courtyard. Ibrahim became angry over this. Now let it be investigated. If these reasons are not all true then we are responsible. In addition to this, enquire carefully of the poor people in general. If we should have embezzled but one copeck of the money of the poor then cut off our heads.

There remains the question of the surplus, (namely) that although we have 505
not embezzled the property of the poor we have embezzled the surplus, which is the property of the Board. Regarding this too we have evidence that no surplus was left, that it all went to the poor, because with the knowledge of Mullah Muhammad and Mullah Abdullah Balawi and Mashhadi Abbas Ali the Caucasian and the representative of the Russian Committee, and a number of other people from Balaw were also present, when Mirza Hasan and I gave one thousand eight hundred and forty roubles to Mullah Abdullah, and he distributed it among the poor in that company within the hour. Eight[14] hundred and twenty was the surplus (from the first distribution), one thousand three hundred and twenty we borrowed from the bankers. Now the Board owes us the sum of one thousand three hundred and twenty roubles.'

Nadir Beg said, 'I say this is all surplus and our money, indeed that the sur- 506
plus was more and you gave some of it out and embezzled the rest.' I said, 'Does your honour say this with proof and certainty, or by conjecture?' He said, 'With proof.' I said, 'Well, with what proof?' He said, 'With the words of your own men.' I said, 'Is that all your proof?' He said, 'Is not that enough?' I said, 'Although I have refuted their evidence in detail yesterday, and presented their affairs to your honour individually today, and what they say about us is quite unreliable, nevertheless, to remove any doubt, ask them again how much surplus there was.'

When Rabbi Benjamin asked them Haji Muhammad and Faqih Hasan said, 507
'We know there was a surplus, but we do not know how much it was.' Ibrahim said, 'I know the surplus was more than a thousand roubles, but I do not know how much more.' Rabbi Benjamin said to them, 'Nothing is clear from what you say. In the first place you have a grudge against Mullah Sa'id and Mirza Hasan and apart from that the quantity of the surplus is not clear from what you say. You only know this much that something was surplus. You have nothing but that. That much is of no value for proving Nadir Beg's allegation, because

14 This seems to be a lapsus for 'five hundred' (*520 surplus + 1320 borrowed = 1840 distributed), but is repeated twice. The figures in Mullah Sa'id's account seem more than a little vague and inexact.

iqrar diket ku tiştek fezle bûye, we eger Mela Seʿîd bêʿedaletî kiriba, gotiba, "bîst manot fezle bû," dîsa ji şahidîya hingo çêtir bû, çunko hung dibêjin "tiştek". Yêk jî tiştek e, milyonek jî tiştek e."

508 Ibrahîm got, "ma gotina min jî muʿteber nîye? Min gotiye ji hizaran fezle zêde bûye. Nihayet nizanim ji hizaran çend zêdetir bûye." Rabî Binyamîn got, "*xûb*, ferzen em bi gotina te ḥukm bikeyn, bêjîn hizar fezle bû, we tiştê zêde, madam tu nizanî, ḥewaleyê inṣafa Mela Seʿîd û Mîrza Ḥesen e. Eger ewan jî bêjin tiştê zêde ji hizaran yêk yan bîst yan çil bû, hingî dîsa encumen heştṣed manot qerdar dimînît." Ibrahîm got, "ewe ho nabît. Em dizanîn encumen nabîte qerdar." Rabî Binyamîn got, "em jî ḥez dikeyn encumen nebîte qerdar, emma te şahidîyekî weto neda ku çi meḥkeme qebûl biken." Ibrahîm got, "hemî meḥkeme şahidîya me qebûl diken, emma hung qebûl naken." Wextê ho got Rabî Binyamîn ji inṣaf û x̌îreta xo gote Ibrahîm, "*köpek oğlu*,[15] (yeʿnî, kurê ṣey,) tu hem muddeʿî, hem şahid î. Ewe qet mumkin e? X̌ereza hingo aşkera bû. Meqsûda hingo ewe ye, abrûyê wane biben." Min gote Rabî Binyamîn, "tu ʿaciz nebe. Bila bi keyfa xo biaxiwît." Dîsa ehlê meclisê got, "ewro bes e. Bila bo ṣube bît."

509 Roja paştir dîsa cara sêyê ehlê meclisê li menzila Mîrza Ḥesen ḥazir bû. Muṣeyyib Beg xizmetçîyê xo hinar, got, "bila hemî bihêne cîyê min." Em çûyn. Wî got, "netîca teḥqîqatê bû çi?" Rabî Binyamîn got, "çu meʿlûm nebû, çunko ez weto têgeştim ku x̌erez li mabeynê heye." Ilyasof got, "çawa çu meʿlûm nebû? Elbette dê meʿlûm bît. Ez Mela Seʿîd bê dexl û ʿelaqe dizanim. Emma Mîrza Ḥesen ew pare xariye. Ṣubey dê wî deme ḥebs kirin, pare dê aşkera bît."

510 Mîrza Ḥesen gelek tirsa. Min gote Ilyasof, "bê isbat kes ḥeq nîye Mîrza Ḥesen ḥebs biket. Madam bi xurtî ḥebs biken me çu gotin nîne." Ilyasof got, "xurtî nîye, ʿedalet e." Min got, "bes eger ʿedalet bît lazim e ho bihête teḥqîq kirin. Ewwelen miqdarê pareyê te bizanîn, paşî miqdarê nufûsan, mezin û biçûk, bizanîn çend in û ḥazir bikeyn, ket-ket ji wan bipirsîn, hingî dê meʿlûm bît ka çend bûye fezle, we aya ew fezle me xariye yan geştîye feqîran. Noke cenabê begî muxeyyer bît. Ḥez diket deftera nufûsan ḥazir biken, ku ji terefê Mela Muḥemmed û Mela ʿEbdullah û Meşhedî ʿEbbas û ʿumûmê ehlê meclisê hatiye teṣdîq kirin, ḥez diket nufûsan ḥazir biken, kîşkê cenabê begî difermot da ʿemel bi wî bikeyn."

15 In Turkish.

Mullah Sa'id also admits that there was something surplus, and if Mullah Sa'id had acted unjustly and had said, "There were twenty roubles surplus," it would have been better than your evidence, because you say "something". One is something, and a million is something.'

Ibrahim said, 'Is not what I say trustworthy then? I have said that the surplus was more than a thousand. I do not know how much more than a thousand, that is all.' Rabbi Benjamin said, 'Well, suppose we act on what you say, and we say that a thousand was surplus and let the excess be what Mullah Sa'id and Mirza Hasan claim it to have been, since you do not know. If they say that the excess over a thousand was one or twenty or forty then again the Board still owes eight hundred roubles.' Ibrahim said, 'It is not so. We know that the Board owes nothing.' Rabbi Benjamin said, 'We too would like the Board not to be in debt, but you have produced no evidence which any court would accept.' Ibrahim said, 'Every court would accept our evidence, but you will not.' When he spoke in this way Rabbi Benjamin in his sense of justice and zeal said to Ibrahim, 'Son of a dog, you are both plaintiff and witness. Is that possible? Your intention has come out. Your intention is to disgrace them.' I said to Rabbi Benjamin, 'Do not be angry. Let him talk as he wants.' Again the company said, 'That is enough for today. Let it be for tomorrow.' 508

The next day again for the third time the company presented themselves in Mirza Hasan's flat. Musayyib Beg sent his servant to say, 'Let everybody come to my place.' We went. He said, 'What was the result of the investigation?' Rabbi Benjamin said, 'Nothing came out because I realized that there was prejudice involved.' Ilyasof said, 'How could nothing come out? Certainly it will come out. I know Mullah Sa'id to be without interest or concern in the matter, but Mirza Hasan has embezzled that money. Tomorrow I shall have him imprisoned, then the money will be discovered.' 509

Mirza Hasan was much afraid. I said to Ilyasof, 'Without proof nobody has the right to imprison Mirza Hasan. Since you are going to imprison him by force we have nothing to say.' Ilyasof said, 'It is not force but justice.' I said, 'If it is justice then it must be verified in this way. First we must know how much your money was, then we must know the number of persons, adults and children, and summon them and ask them one by one, then it will come out how much was surplus, and whether we have embezzled that surplus or it has reached the poor. Now his honour the Beg may please himself. If he likes then bring the population register, which has been certified by Mullah Muhammad and Mullah Abdullah and Mashhadi Abbas and the generality of those present, or if he prefers it then bring the people. Whichever his honour the Beg commands let us act on that.' 510

511 Begî got, “carê da temaşeyê defterê bikeyn.” Wextê temaşe kirin, mezin ji ḥewtṣedan zêde w biçûk ji duṣedan zêdetir bûn. Ji pênc-salî pêdatir biçûk û pêheltir mezin ḥisêb kiribûn, bo mezinî deh manot û sihî qepêk, bo biçûkî pênc manot sêzde qepêk hatibû dan.

512 Min gote begî, “*xûb*, noke em feqet ḥewtṣed mezinan ḥisab keyn, diket ḥewt hizar manot. Pareyê te şeş hizar manot bû. Eger biçûkan duṣed ḥisab keyn diket hizar manot. Em qepêkan jî nabêjîn. Bes encumen ji du hizar manot zêdetir dibîte qerdarî me, we eger me rastî w ṣedaqet nekiriba, me negotiba heştṣed û bîst bûye fezle, elbette hingî her mûcibi deftera muṣeddeq hung ji du hizar manot zêdetir dibûne qerdarî me. Emma me inṣaf kir, me rastî got, ku heştṣed û bîst fezle bû. Hizar û sêṣed û bîst qerê me ye, we Mela Muḥemmed û Mela ʿEbdullah û Meşhedî ʿEbbas û nimayindeyê Qomîta Qurposî jî qerê me teṣdîq kirîne w sened noke lalî Mela Muḥemmed Efendî ye. Eger deftera nufûsan qebûl nekey da nufûsan ḥazir bikeyn, çunko em gelek şerm dikeyn ji wî nawê kirêt. Te bila gotiba, “ḥez dikem qerê xo nexazin.” Me bêemrîya cenabê begî nedikir. Hîç ḥacet nebû ew hinde kêşkêşe w ezîyete w ew hinde şerm û bednawî, çunko egerçî ewro em felekzede w talan kirî w muḥtacî nanekî bîn, emma wextê ẋîret û ḥemiyetê demara me kurdan gelek stûr e. Li nik me hespek û qespek hîç tefawut nîye. Em kurd mirina xo ixtiyar dikeyn, nawê kirêt û bêẋîretîyê qebûl nakeyn.”

513 Wextê min ew axiwtine kir, êdî Ilyasof muteḥeyyir bû, nezanî çi bêjît, çunko çu delîl di destê wî da neman. Ez rabûm, min got, “noke saʿet yazde ye, wextê dersa qunsûlî ye, dibît biçim.” Ilyasof got, “çak e, emma gelek ḥez dikem wextekî dî te bibînim.” Min got, “baş e, ṣubey dê şerefyabî ḥuzûra cenabê beg efendî bim.” Ez derkewtim. Mîrza Ḥesen jî hat, gote min, “ez hîwî dikem, çî dî beḥsê qerî digel muṣîbet neke, bila bo wî bit. We diyar e wî di ʿumrê xo da eṣlen pare nedîtiye, ḥeta noke delû we qereç bûye.” Min jî got, “ḥeqîqeten weto munasibtir e, çunko Şêx Seʿdî di kitêbê *Gulistan*ê da gotîye, “*dahān-i sag ba luqma-ī duxta bih*,”[16] yeʿnî, “dewê ṣey bi parîyekî girê-dayî bît çêtir e”. Ew bêḥeya ye. Em jî bêawrû kirîn.”

16 In Persian.

The Beg said, 'For the moment let us look at the register.' When they looked 511
the adults were more than seven hundred and the children more than two hundred. Those below five years of age had been reckoned as children and those above as adults, and for adults ten roubles and thirty copecks, for children five roubles and thirteen copecks (*sic*) had been given.

I said to the Beg, 'Right, now let us reckon seven hundred adults and it makes 512
seven thousand roubles. Your money was six thousand roubles. If we count the children as two hundred that makes a thousand roubles. Nor are we mentioning the copecks. So the Board owes us more than two thousand roubles, and if we had not been honest and told the truth, had we not said that eight hundred and twenty was surplus, then you would have owed us more than two thousand roubles according to the certified Register. But we were honest and told the truth, that eight hundred and twenty were surplus. Our debt is one thousand three hundred and twenty, and Mullah Muhammad and Mullah Abdullah and Mashhadi Abbas and the representative of the Corps committee have certified our debt too, and the certificate is now with Mullah Muhammad Effendi. If you do not accept the population register then let us bring the people, for we are very ashamed of this bad name. You should have said, "I would like you not to ask for your debt." We would not have disregarded the Beg's wishes. There was no need for all this trouble and strife or this shame and disgrace because, although today we have been smitten by misfortune and plundered, and are in need for our daily bread, nevertheless when we Kurds are full of zeal and indignation our rancour is very strong. A lion and a lamb[17] are both the same to us. We Kurds choose our own death rather than accepting a bad name and dishonour.'

When I spoke like this Ilyasof was amazed, he did not know what to say, as 513
he had no proof left. I got up and said, 'It is now eleven o'clock, time for the Consul's lesson. I must go.' Ilyasof said, 'Very well, but I would very much like to see you again.' I said, 'Right, I shall give myself the honour of waiting on your honour tomorrow.' I left and Mirza Hasan came too. He said to me, 'I hope you will not mention the debt to Calamity again. Let him have it. Obviously he has never seen any money in his life, up till he has been just a minstrel and a gipsy.' I said, 'Certainly it is best so, for as Shaikh Sa'di has said in the *Gulistan*, "A dog's mouth is best sealed with a morsel."[18] He is shameless and he has disgraced us.'

17 Lit. 'a horse (*hasp*) and a dry date (*qasp*)'.
18 Sa'di, *Golestan*, Bab 1, 7.

514 Xulase ṣubey dîsa ez çûme menzila cenabê muṣîbet. Gote min, “bo xatira te min Mîrza Ḥesen ʿefû kir.” Min jî got, “xatira min qet mulaḥeze nefermo. Eger çi ez, çi Mîrza Ḥesen, muwafiqî ʿurf û qanûn xudan-sûç bûyn me terbiye bike, egerne madam xeta w gunah nebît bi xo ʿefû kirî ye, çu iḥtiyac bi xatira kes nîye. Emma eger em bêjîn me bo xatira cenabê begî qerê xo hêla xeberek e di cîyê xo da, çunko qerê me bi delîl û sened sabit e. Wextê em bi wê tengawî w iḥtiyacê qerê xo bihêlîn, elbette xatira te gelek tête mulaḥeze kirin.”

515 Xulase çunko beg ji marî rûstir û ji ṣey birsîtir û ji gurgî hartir bû, me muweqqeten sukût ji ḥeqê xo kir. *Wesselam*.

In short, I went to the house of his honour the Calamity again the next day. 514
He said to me, 'I have forgiven Mirza Hasan for your sake.' I said, 'Please do not consider "my sake". If either Mirza Hasan or I have been at fault according to common or statute law then punish us, otherwise, since there is no fault or sin, he is automatically excused, there is no need for anybody's "sake". But if we say that we have abandoned our debt for the sake of his honour the Beg, then the expression is appropriate, since our debt is established by proof and document. When we, in our difficulty and need, abandon our debt then certainly it is rather your "sake" that is being considered.'

In short as the Beg was more naked than a snake, more ravenous than a dog 515
and more fierce than a wolf we said no more about our rights for the time being.

LVIII

Ḥekayêta Kuştina Rizwan Paşa bi Destê Mirowêt ʻElî Şamil Paşa

516 Zemanê Sultan ʻEbdulḥemîd Xan, *xaqan-i mexloʻ*,[1] Rizwan Paşa hebû, walî[yê] şehrê Istembolê bû. Bi istilaḥa turkan dibêjine walîyê Istembolê "şehir emini". ʻElî Şamil Paşa ji ewladê Bedirxan Begê Boṭanî bû, li nik Sultan Ḥemîd gelek muʻteber bû. Ji hemî wezîran xoştir diwîya. Hemîyan ḥesûdî bi ḥalê wî dibirin. Rojekê wezîrêt turkan tedbîr kirin ku tişteki weto biken ʻElî Şamil Paşa li nik Sultan Ḥemîd lekedar bibît. Ji teref xefîyan rapor dane çêkirin ku ʻElî Şamil Paşa xain e, milletê kurd ittifaq diket, xiyala babê wî, Bedirxan Beg, di serê wî da ye w digel welî-ʻehd, ku Muḥemmed Reşad bû, meḥremane muxabere w dostî heye. Herçend bi wî ṭerzî rapor dane emînêt sultanî belê hîç ehemmiyet neda wan, digot, "ewe hemî duro ne. ʻElî Şamil bo min rast e."

517 Wextê ku bêhîwî bûn gotine Rizwan Paşa, "tu ji me hemîyan muʻtebertir î. Tu were, çareyekê bike. Tu dişêy ʻElî Şamil qulp key." Wî jî got, "sebr ken. Ez dê bi senayî çêkem. Hîç ḥacet bi sextekarîya raportan nîye. Ewe kurd e, *ḥedîdu-l-mizac*[2] e. Wextê ku ez diçime sera Humayûn, ew jî têt, ez qiyamê ji ber wî nakem. Kerbêt wî dê binewe, dê cûna det, şerî dê ket. Ehlê serayê jî dê bêne berewanîyê, dê wî naḥeq ken, dê qedrê wî şkêt." Hemîyan aferîn gotin bo fikra Rizwan Paşa li ser wê tedbîrê.

1 In Persian, *the deposed monarch*.

2 In Arabic, *harsh-natured person*.

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LVIII

The Story of the Killing of Rizvan Pasha at the Hands of Ali Shamil Pasha's Men

In[3] the time of Sultan Abdulhamid Khan, the deposed monarch, there was (a 516
certain) Rizvan Pasha, governor of the city of Istanbul.[4] In Turkish terminology they call the governor of Istanbul 'şehir emini'. There was (also one) Ali Shamil Pasha, one of the children of Badr Khan Beg of Bohtan.[5] He was greatly esteemed by Sultan Hamid and he preferred him above all the viziers. They all envied him his status. One day the Turkish viziers planned to do something which would sully Ali Shamil Pasha in the eyes of Sultan Hamid. They had a report made by the secret agents to the effect that Ali Shamil Pasha was a traitor, that he was uniting the Kurdish nation, that he had the ideas of his father, Badr Khan Beg, in his head and had secret correspondence and friendship with the heir to the throne, Muhammad Rashad. Although they gave reports after that fashion to the Sultan's confidants he attached no importance to them and said, 'They are all lies. Ali Shamil is true to me.'

When they despaired they said to Rizvan Pasha, 'You are more respected 517
than all of us. You come and find some means. You can overthrow Ali Shamil.' He said, 'Be patient. I shall arrange this quite simply. There is no need to fabricate reports. He is a Kurd and quick-tempered. When I go to the imperial palace and he comes too I shall not stand up for him. He will lose his temper and become abusive and start fighting. The palace attendants will come between us, they will put him in the wrong and he will be put to shame.' Everybody praised Rizvan Pasha's ingenuity over this plan.

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3 This is an important event in the history of Istanbul and the relations of Kurdish Badr Khan family and the Ottoman government. The storyline Mullah Sa'id provides is only partially parallel to the actual event and its consequences. For an exact and comprehensive account of the murder, the ensuing trial and the collective banishment of the Badr Khan family, see Barbara Henning, *Narratives of the History of the Ottoman-Kurdish Bedirhani Family in Imperial and Post-Imperial Contexts: Continuities and Changes*, (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2018), 262–298.

4 Rıdvan İsmail Paşa (1856–1906), the "mayor" (*şehremini*) of Istanbul from 1890 till his death.

5 Ali Şamil Paşa was the military governor of Uskudar district of Istanbul. Mullah Sa'id is probably confusing him with Abdurrazak Badr Khan Beg, since the latter was fairly close to the sultan working in the sultan's palace as assistant to the master of ceremonies.

518 Rojekê Rizwan Paşa digel sê-çar ʿulemaêt muʿteber çû sera sultanî. ʿElî Şamil Paşa jî daymî li serayê dibû, ji qumandanêt tifengdarêt Sultan Ḥemîd bû. Rizwan Paşa w ʿulema li nik ʿIzzet Paşayê baş-katibê mabeyna Humayûn rûniştî bûn. Di wî wextî da ʿElî Şamil Paşa hate jûr. Hemî ji ber wî rabûn, merḥeba kirin, ema Rizwan Paşa digel yêkî ji ʿulema diaxiwt, hîç qiyam nekir û merḥeba negot. ʿElî Şamil Paşa got, "ez nizanim, Rizwan Paşa ker bû, fam nekir ez hatim, yan wî em kurd bi ker ḥisab kirin, lewa qiyam nekir?" Rizwan Paşa hîç ḥiddet nekir, kenî, got, "estexfirullah, min nezanî teşrîfa hingo hat. Ez di mesʾeleyekê da digel wî efendî diaxiwtim. Qusûra min ʿefû bike." ʿElî Şamil Paşa got, "xêr, xêr! Eger qusûrî ba da hête ʿefû kirin, emma ewe istihza ye tu bi min dikey. Yan ez ker im, yan tu." Rizwan Paşa got, "*elḥemdulillah*, Xudê kerem kiriye, ez benî-adem xelq kirîme. Tu jî muxeyyer be, ji insaniyetê, ji ḥimariyetê kîşkê helgirî ez maniʿ nîme."

519 Wextê we got ʿElî Şamil Paşa mistek li serê wî da, cûnêt kirêt gotine wî. Berewanan nehêlan, egerne li wê derê da kujît. Ehlê ser⟨ay⟩ê hemîyan digel ʿulema raport dane Sultan Ḥemîd ku ḥalê ʿElî Şamil paşa ewe ye. Sultan Ḥemîd herdu gazî ḥuzûra xo kirin, gote wan, "hung herdu dizanin ku li nik min kesek nîye wekî hingo muʿteber û emîn. Ez bê teref, bizzat dê muḥakema hingo kem. Herçî naḥeq derkewt paşî ez terbiya wî bi xo dizanim." Gotin, "*belî, efendimiz*."[6] Gote Rizwan Paşa, "ewwel tu bêje. Ewe çi bû?" Rizwan Paşa got, "ez çu nizanim û çu ʿerz nakem û çu nebûye. Ez nizanim ewe kî teʿcîza qelbê ḥezretê şehryarî kiriye. Qusûr herçî heye bende kiriye. ʿElî Şamil Paşa li nik me hemîyan ʿezîz û muḥterem e. Wextê teşrîfa wî hate jûr bende nezanî w muxalifî şeʾnê mezinîya wî bêedebî ji bende ṣadir bû. Wî jî merḥemet fermo, nîw terbiye da min, nîwa dî da xatira ehlê serayê. Ez noke zor memnûn im. Hîç gazinde nîye ji ʿElî Şamil Paşa."

520 Ewcar sultan Ḥemîd gote ʿElî Şamil Paşa, "paşa, tu çi dibêjî?" Wî jî got, "ez çi ʿerz kem? Wî bi xo iqrar kir. Emma wextê bende hat ewî agah jê hebû, mexsûs tirane bi min kir. Duro diket. Ez dê ḥeqê wî dem, ema noke li ḥuzûra hingo çu nabêjim." Sultan Ḥemîd got, "Elî, tu naḥeq î. Ḥeta du hewyan cezayê te ew e, nêzîkî serayê nebî."

521 ʿElî Şamil Paşa derkewt. Ji mirowêt xo Emîn, ʿEbdullah, Muḥemmed, ʿElî danane ser rêka Rizwan Paşa. Wextê derkewt, pêyê xo dana ser paytûnê, her çaran ṭepançeyêt xo li wî xalî kirin. Ji sihî gulle zêde li wî kewtin, li cî temam

6 In Ottoman Turkish, *yes sir*.

One day Rizvan Pasha and three or four respected divines went to the royal 518
palace. Ali Shamil Pasha, for his part, was constantly at the palace, being a commander of Sultan Hamid's guard. Rizvan Pasha and the divines were sitting with Izzet Pasha, the Chief Secretary of the Imperial Apartments. Then Ali Shamil Pasha came in. Everyone stood up for him and greeted him, but Rizvan Pasha was talking with one of the divines and neither stood up nor greeted him. Ali Shamil Pasha said, 'I wonder whether Rizvan Pasha has become a donkey and did not understand that I had come, or if he considers us Kurds as donkeys and did not rise for that reason?' Rizvan Pasha did not get angry, he smiled and said, 'God forbid, I did not know that your honour had come. I was talking about something with this gentleman. Please pardon my fault.' Ali Shamil Pasha said, 'Oh no! Had it been by mistake it would have been pardonable, but you are deriding me. Either I am a donkey or you are.' Rizvan Pasha said, 'Praise be to God, He has been gracious and created me a human being. You may please yourself—whichever you choose of humanness or donkeyhood I shall not intervene.'

When he spoke in this way Ali Shamil Pasha punched him on the head and 519
abused him foully. Mediators prevented him, otherwise he would have killed him there and then. All the Palace attendants and the divines reported to Sultan Hamid that Ali Shamil Pasha had behaved in this way. Sultan Hamid summoned them both into his presence and said to them, 'You both know that I trust and esteem nobody more than you. I shall personally and impartially judge you. Whoever turns out to be in the wrong I shall know how to deal with him.' They said, 'Yes, Sire.' He said to Rizvan Pasha, 'You speak first. What happened?' Rizvan Pasha said, 'I know nothing and I have nothing to say and nothing happened. I do not know who has distressed Your Majesty's heart. If there is any fault at all it is mine. We all love and respect Ali Shamil Pasha. When his honour came in I did not realize and I was guilty of impoliteness unfitting to his great rank. But he was merciful and only half punished me and pardoned me the other half for the sake of the palace attendants. I am now most grateful. I have no complaint to make of Ali Shamil Pasha.'

Then Sultan Hamid said to Ali Shamil Pasha, 'Pasha, what have you to say?' 520
He said, 'What can I say? He has confessed himself. But when I came in he knew perfectly well, he purposely mocked me. He is lying. I shall give him his deserts, but now, in your presence, I shall say nothing.' Sultan Hamid said, 'Ali, you are in the wrong. Your punishment is that you shall not come near the palace for two months.'

Ali Shamil Pasha went out. Of his own men, he set Amin, Abdullah, Muham- 521
mad and Ali on Rizvan Pasha's way. When he came out and set foot in his carriage all four of them emptied their pistols at him. He was struck by more than

bû. Her çar ḥelatin. Polîsan ʻEbdullah girtin, her sêyêt dî xilas bûn, çûne Miṣrê. ʻElî Şamil Paşa jî nefî kirine Selanîkê. ʻEbdullah jî du salan di ḥebsê da ma, istinṭaq dikirin. Muwafiqî qanûn neşiyan isbat biken, dûmayê berdan. Paşî iʻlana meşrûtiyetê ʻefwa ʻumûmî derkewt, menfî hemî hatine Istembolê. Rizwan Paşa çû ji kîsê biçûkêt xo.

522 Insan hemî caran lazim e hişyar bît ḥiddetê neket. Mesela meşhûr e, "her tiştê req dibirît tiştê nerm, emma xeberê nerm dibirît xeberê req." Çi qeder insan mezin û muʻteber bît lazim e zêdetir ḥelîm û selîm û mutewaziʻ bît. *Wesselam*.

thirty bullets and died on the spot. All four fled. The police caught Abdullah but the other three escaped and went to Egypt. Ali Shamil Pasha was banished to Salonika. Abdullah stayed in prison for two years and they tried to make him talk (but) they could not prove anything according to law and in the end they released him. After the proclamation of the Constitution there was a general amnesty and all the exiles returned to Istanbul. (But) Rizvan Pasha was lost to his children!

A man must be careful never to lose his temper. There is a well-known 522
proverb, 'A hard thing will cut a soft thing, but soft words will cut hard words.' The greater and more respected a man is the more gentle and pacific and modest he must be.

LIX

Ḥekayêta Beṭal Kirina Ẋezeta *Hetawî Kurd*

523 Wextê iʿlana ḥurriyetê bû li Istembol her milletekî bo xo cuda tedbîra qewmiyeta xo dikir. Kurdan jî bo xo ittifaq girê da. Ẋezeteyek ji rêwe îcad kirin, naw lê danan "Kürd Teʿavün ve Teraqqîsi Cemʿîyeti", paşî guhorîn, kirine "Hetawî Kurd". Ji her layekî, ji teref munşî w ʿulema w şaʿirêt Kurdistanê meqale w şiʿr û siyasiyat hatine niwîsîn bo idara *Hetawî Kurd*.

524 Qederê şeş hewî, belkî zêdetir, weto ma. Paşî milletê kurd di Istembolê da dubiṛ bû. Sebebê dubiṛ bûnê ewe bû. Şêx ʿEbdulqadir, ji sadatêt Nehrî, qeza Şemdînan, û kurêt Bedirxan Begê Boṭanî, her yêkî ji wan gotin, "eger azadîya milletê kurd ser bigirît em dê reîsê ʿumûmê Kurdistanê bîn." Mirowêt ûcaẋa Bedirxan Beg gotin, "çunko ji zemanê berê mezinê eẋlebê ʿeşîretan bab û bapîrêt ûcaẋa Bedirxan Begî bûne, bes lazim e mezin ji wan bît. Ema bab û bapîrêt Şêx ʿEbdulqadir postnişîn bûne, reîsêt rûḥanî bûne. Wezîfa wan irşad e w şêxatî ye, dibît ew ʿelaqeê şola siyasî neken." Mirowêt Şêx ʿEbdulqadir gotin, "em wihê qebûl nakeyn. Şêx ʿEbdulqadir û ewladê wî dibît reîsê ʿumûmî bît, çunko ew seyîd in, Qureyşî ne, ḥeta ew hebin nabît kesekî dî reîs bît. Mala Bedirxa[n] Beg layîq in bibine reîsêt quşonî, layîq nîne bibine reîsêt ʿumûmî." Li

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LIX

The Story of the Abolition of the Journal *Hatawi Kurd* (Kurdish Sun)

When (the policy of) 'Freedom (and Unity)' was declared in Istanbul each 523
nation was privately and separately discussing its own national status.[1] The Kurds also came to an agreement. First they produced a journal and called it the *Kurdish Society for Mutual Assistance and Progress*,[2] later they changed it to *Hatawi Kurd* (Kurdish Sun).[3] On all sides, articles and poetry and political essays were written by the teachers and divines and poets of Kurdistan to maintain the *Hatawi Kurd*.

For six months, or rather longer, things were thus. Then the Kurds in Istan- 524
bul were divided into two parties. The reason for the division was this. Shaikh Abdulqadir of the Sayyids of Nehri,[4] in the Shamdinan district, and the sons of Badr Khan Beg of Bohtan each said, 'If freedom for the Kurdish nation should come about we shall be general leaders of Kurdistan.' The men of Badr Khan Beg's family said, 'As the leaders of the majority of the tribes have, since older times, been ancestors of Badr Khan Beg's family the leader must be from among them. But the ancestors of Shaikh Abdulqadir have been Sufis and spiritual leaders. Their duty is teaching and following the calling of Shaikh. They should not concern themselves with political matters.' Shaikh Abdulqadir's men said, 'We do not accept this. Shaikh Abdulqadir and his children must be paramount chiefs because they are Sayyids and of the Quraish tribe. While they live no one else can be leader. Badr Khan Beg's family are worthy to be chiefs of the army

1 Referring to the reinstituion of the constitutional government in 1908, starting the Second Constitutional Era in late Ottoman history.

2 The organ of the Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti (founded in 1908 under the leadership of Sayyid Abdulkadir) that was published in Istanbul between 1908 and 1909. See Ahmet Alan, *Hetawî Kurd 1913–1914* (Mardin Artuklu University MA Thesis, 2015), 11.

3 A bi-monthly Kurdish magazine published in Kurdish and Turkish in Istanbul from 1913 to 1914. See Alan, *Hetawî Kurd*, 13.

4 Shaikh Ubeydullah's elder son, born in Nehri in 1856, one of the most prominent Kurdish elites in Istanbul who, after a long exile in Madina was appointed to the Ottoman senate from 1908 to 1920. He was hanged in Diyarbakir in 1925 accused of complicity in the Shaikh Said revolt (1925). See Metin Atmaca, "The Road to Sèvres: Kurdish Elites and Question of Self-Determination After the First World War," *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 16 (2022): 6–7.

ser wihê ʿedawet peyda bû li naw wan. Hêşta wan tow neçandibû, li ser teqsîma ḥasilatî bi şer hatin.

525 Şikayêt li yêkudu kirin. Tabiʿêt Bedirxan Beg gotin, "Şêx ʿEbdulqadir xain e. Fikra wî istiqlala Kurdistanê ye, ku ji bin destê ʿUsmanî derêxît." Tabiʿêt Şêx ʿEbdulqadir gotin, "xiyala Kamil Beg û ʿElî Şamil Paşa w ʿEbdurrezzaq Beg û ʿumûmê mirowêt mala wan ewe ye, digel dewleta Urûsî bibine yêk, quwetê ji wan bixazin, ittifaqê digel ermenîyan biken, xo ji bin destê ʿUsmanîyan bînine der, bibine *beglik* di bin destê Urûsî da."

526 Bi wî ṭerzî li ser yêkudu ʿerzi-ḥal dane meqamatan û ixbarê kirin. Paşî meʾmûrêt ʿUsmanîyan jê kewtine şubhe, gotin, "bes lazim nîye ji noke wê we çi ẋezete bi nawê ittifaqa kurdan bihêne tebʿ dan." Ewcar *Hetawî Kurd* hate beṭal kirin. Sefaheta milletê wan bîye ʿewrekî reş, ṭarî, kewte ber hetawê, nehêla kurdan germ bibît û nehêla ronayî li çawêt wan ⟨bidet⟩, man di sermayê w ṭarîyê da.

527 Hindek ji tabiʿêt mala Bedirxan Beg ḥelatin. ʿEbdurrezzaq çû naw Urûsî w Eḥmed Ramiz Beg û Emîn Beg çûne Miṣrê w Xelîfe Selîm Bidlîsî digel ʿElî Aẋayê Bidlîsî ji Istembolê hatine nefî kirin bo cîyê wan. Herdu tabiʿêt Şêx ʿEbdulqadir bûn. Wextê Xelîfe Selîm hate Bidlîsê çend ehalî bi mexfî ittifaq kir, şer digel ḥukûmeta Bidlîsê kir. Paşî imdada ʿeskerî ji her layekî geheştê, kurd şkandin û Xelîfe Selîm çû qunsûlxana Urûsî. We Seyîd ʿElî Hîzanî digel pazde mirowêt muʿteber û ʿElî Aẋayê me gotî hatine xendiqandin. Xelîfe Selîm ma ḥeta wextê iʿlana ḥerba ʿumûmî, ew jî girtin û xendiqandin.

528 Şêx ʿEbdulqadir jî ma li Istembolê. Eʿzayê meclisa eʿyan bû, emma iʿtibara berê nema, ḥeta noke dibêjin ew û kurê wî Seyîd Muḥemmed ji Istembolê

but they are not worthy to be general leaders.' Enmity arose between them over this. They had not yet planted the seed and they started quarrelling over the division of the crops.[5]

They registered complaints against each other. Badr Khan Beg's followers 525
said, 'Shaikh Abdulqadir is a traitor. He is thinking of the independence of Kurdistan and of freeing it from Ottoman control.' Shaikh Abdulqadir's followers said, 'Kamil Beg and Ali Shamil Pasha and Abdurrazzaq Beg and most of the men of that family are thinking of uniting with the Russian government, and asking them for forces, of coming to an agreement with the Armenians, of freeing themselves from Ottoman control and becoming a beylik under the Russians.'

In that way they submitted petitions to the authorities and informed about 526
each other. Finally the Ottoman officials became suspicious of them and said, 'It is not necessary that any journal in the name of Kurdish unity be printed henceforth.' Then the *Hatawi Kurd* was abolished. The stupidity of their nation became a black, dark cloud which covered the 'Sun' and did not allow it to warm the Kurds or to lighten their eyes, and so they remained in the cold and darkness.

Some of the followers of the house of Badr Khan Beg fled. Abdurrazzaq went 527
among the Russians and Ahmad Ramiz Beg and Amin Beg went to Egypt. Khalifa Salim Bitlisi and Ali Agha of Bitlis were banished from Istanbul to their homes. Both were followers of Shaikh Abdulqadir. When Khalifa Salim came to Bitlis some people came secretly to an agreement and fought with the government of Bitlis.[6] Later military help reached (the government) from all sides, the Kurds were defeated and Khalifa Salim went to the Russian Consulate. Sayyid Ali Hizani was hanged with fifteen (other) notables and the Ali Agha we have mentioned. Khalifa Salim stayed until at the declaration of the Great War he too was caught and hanged.

Shaikh Abdulqadir, for his part, stayed in Istanbul. He was a member of the 528
Senate but the respect formerly paid him did not remain, to the extent that they now say he and his son Sayyid Muhammad have fled from Istanbul and gone to

5 For the mentioned rivalry as well as other competing political positions among the Kurdish notables in the last two decades of the Ottoman Empire, see McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 90–100; Atmaca "The Road to Sèvres".

6 Known as Bitlis revolt, it was led by Mullah Salim of Bitlis in cooperation with the local shaikhs, and potentially with the encouragement of the Badr Khan family, in 1914. See McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 101; Sedat Ulugana, *Kürt-Ermeni Coğrafyasının Sosyopolitik Dönüşümü (1908–1914): Halidîler, Hamidiyeliler, Bedirhaniler ve Taşnaklar* [The Sociopolitical Transformation of the Kurdish-Armenian Country from 1908 to 1914: Halidis, Hamidiyas, Badr Khanis and Dashnaksutyun] (İletişim Yayınları, 2022), 302–356.

ḥelatine, çûne nik şerîfê Mekkê. Niyeta wan ewe ye ku dexaleta Inglîsî biken. We kurê wî Seyîd ʻEbdullah li Mûsilê bû. Ew jî noke, di hewya nîsanê da, 1917 mîladî, ʻUsmanîyan girtin û birin bo Istembolê.

529 Sebebê muweffeqiyetê her wextekî ittifaq e w xêrxazîya hewalê xo ye w baʻisê şkestin û perîşanîyê daymî şiqaq e w bedxahîya hewalê xo ye. Şêx Seʻdî Şîrazî xoş gotiye, *Murčagān-rā ču buvad ittifāq, šīr-i jiyān-rā bidarānand pūst*.[7] Yeʻnî, mêrû eger digel yêkudu muttefiq bin pîstê şêrê ḥêc dê dirînin. Bes wekû mêrû, digel wê zeʻîfî, bi sebeb ittifaqê li ser şêrî ẋalib bibît, ku ji hemî ḥeywanan diṛindetir û xurttir e, lazim e her milletê ḥez biket muweffeq bibît û bigehite meqsûda xo, ewwel meḥebbet, dûyê ṣedaqet, sêyê ittifaq, çarê seʻy. *Wesselam*.

7 In Persian.

the Sharif of Mecca. Their intention is to make their submission to the British. His son Sayyid Abdullah was in Mosul. The Ottomans have seized him too now, April 1917, and taken him to Istanbul.

At all times the cause of success is harmony and consideration for one's com- 529
panions, and the cause of defeat and regret is always discord and ill-will towards one's companions. Shaikh Sa'di of Shiraz has well said, 'If the ants unite with one another they will tear the hide off a fierce lion.'[8] So since the ants, for all their weakness, can overcome a lion, which is the fiercest and strongest of all the animals, by means of their unity, every nation which desires to be successful and attain its ends needs—first love, second sincerity, third concord, fourth endeavour.

8 The second verse of a distich in Sa'di's *Golestan*, Part 1, Anecdote 26.

LX

Beyana Wêzarîya Kurdan ji ʻUsmanîyan

530 Hindî me bihîstiye w zaniye ji mezinêt xo w ji bab û bapîrêt xo, daymî mabeyna kurdan û ʻUsmanîyan nexoş bûye w şer û ʻedawet bûye. Çu zemanan deh sal li-dû-yêk neçûne ku li cîyekî mezinekî kurdan ji ẓulm û teʻeddîya ʻUsmanîyan neçar nebûbît bi eşqiyatîyê yan ḥelatinê bo naw dewletekê dî yan bi şer kirinê ḥeta meḥw bûy.

531 Ma xanedana Bedirxan Begê Boṭanî her kes nizanît çawa surgûn kirin û hemî li der û kolanêt xelkî mirin? ʻEbdurrezzaq Beg ewe çend sal e mala xo ⟨w⟩ ʻeyalê xo nedîtiye, li naw dewleta Urûsî digeriyêt, neşêt biçîte mala xo ji ber ẓulma wan turkan. Xanedana Şêx ʻUbeydullah Şemdînî ji mêj nîye wan binaẋe lê înaye der? Noke jî Şêx ʻEbdulqadir Efendî li Istembolê, herçend eʻzaê eʻyan e, emma esîr ḥisab e. We Seyîd Ṭaha çend sal e ji ber ẓulma wan ḥelat, dexaleta ʻedaleta dewleta behîye ya Rûs kir. Şêxê Barzanê, şêxêt Bidlîsê w Hîzanê, paşayê Rewandizê, şêxêt Silêmanî w begêt Mîrsêwdînan û paşayêt Baban û mîrêt Ḥekarîyan û ẋeyri wan ji began, ji aẋan, ji ʻulema w seyîdan, ku nahêne çi defteran, ma ewe delîlekî kafî nîye ku elbette milletê kurd *mine-l-qedîm*[1] ʻaciz e ji destê wan, we ʻUsmanîyan çu wextan ʻedalet nekiriye digel milletê kurd? Egerne bo çî ḥeta noke nîşaneyekê medeniyetê, ji mekteb, ji senʻet di naw wan de çênekirine?

532 Wextê mezinêt wan dikuştin, surgûn dikirin, nedigotin, "da milletê dî yê feqîr bi xudan bikeyn û reḥmê bi ḥalê wan bikeyn." Weto dihêlan. Ji mêj bû qewmê kurd xiyal hebû dexaleta dewletê dî biken, emma destê wan nedigeştê. We kurd qewmekî nexundî ye, tedbîra paşeroja xo nizanin, bêtifaq in. Elbette her milletê cahil zêdetir bin ji ʻaliman çu meqsûdêt wan ḥasil nabin. Dibît ḥekîm nexoşan derman ken, dibît hosta şolan, senʻetan biken. Nexoş bi xo nizanît xo çêket û şol û senʻet bi xo nahêne ḥusûlê. Eger ḥekîmêt ḥaziq û hostayêt mahir hebin, bi zûyî dişên nexoşîya wan derman biken û cewher[ê] meʻdena wan ji naw ax û berê bêcewher ê ʻUsmanîyan derêxin.

1 In Arabic, *since olden days*.

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LX

A Statement of the Kurds' Distress on Account of the Turks

So much we have heard and learnt from our leaders and our ancestors, that 530
there has always been ill-will and enmity between the Kurds and the Turks. At no time have ten years on end gone by without some Kurdish leader in some place having been obliged, by the oppression and tyranny of the Turks, to take either to rebellion or flight to another state or fighting to the death.

Does not everybody know how the family of Badr Khan Beg of Bohtan was 531
exiled and how they all died at people's doors and in their streets? For some years now Abdurrazzaq Beg has not seen his home and family; he is wandering about in Russia and cannot go home because of the tyranny of the Turks. It is not long since they have overthrown the family of Shaikh Ubaidullah of Shamdinan. Even now Shaikh Abdulqadir Effendi in Istanbul, although he is a member of the Senate, is as good as a prisoner. It is some years since Sayyid Taha fled from their tyranny and took refuge with the justice of the august Russian government. The Shaikh of Barzan, the Shaikhs of Bitlis and Hizan, the Pasha of Rawandiz, the Shaikhs of Sulaimaniya and the Mirsewdinan Begs and the Baban Pashas and the Mirs of Hakari, and other begs and aghas, divines and sayyids who cannot be listed—is this (their story) not sufficient proof that since olden days the Kurdish nation has certainly been distressed at the hands of the Turks and that they have at no time acted justly towards the Kurdish nation? Otherwise why have they not yet made a sign of civilisation among them, in the way of schools and industry?

When they were killing and exiling their leaders they did not say, 'Let us take 532
care of this poor nation and have mercy on them.' They simply left them. For some time the Kurdish people had been thinking of making their submission to another state but they did not achieve it. The Kurds are an illiterate people, improvident of their future and disunited. Without doubt a nation whose ignorant men outnumber its learned will achieve none of its ends. Physicians must treat the sick, craftsmen must practise the crafts. The sick man does not know how to cure himself and crafts are not carried out by themselves. If there were skilled physicians and expert craftsmen they could soon treat their (the Kurds') sickness and extract their metal from amidst the dirt and dross[2] of the Turks.

2 Lit. 'the essence of their ore from the essenceless earth and stone.'

533 Di wê ḥerba ʿumûmî da hemî kurdan xo ḥazir kiribûn bo dexaleta Urûsî w gelek jî hatine dexaletê. We noke jî xiyala hemîyan dexalet e, emma meʿlûmî ḥukema w ʿeqildaran e ku ḥusûla her tiştî bi ḥusûla esbab û rakirina maniʿan e, egerne ew tişt *ʿadetu-llah* we ye nahête ḥusûlê. Ne milletê kurd ew hind medeniyet û meʿrifet heye ku rêka ḥusûla meṭlûba xo bizanin we ne siyasîyûnêt dewletan ḥeta noke himmeta xo bi layê wan da ṣerf kirine w nepirsîne ka bo çî milletê kurd di pêş muḥarebê da her sal ṣed eşqiya w qaçaq hebûn şer dikirin digel ʿUsmanî, dihatine naw Urûsî, ema noke nahên. Elbette ewe bê sebeb, bê ḥikmet nîye.

534 Sebebê ewwel ewe ye, çunko ʿUsmanîyan zanî bo kurdan ferseta tolê helkewt û zanî eger tedbîrekê neken temamê şeş wilayetê Anatolê bê şer dê kewîte destê Urûsî, we nezer bi mulaḥeza muwafeqeta mezheb û zortirîya nufûsan ʿUsmanîyan teltîfa kurdan û lêbandina wan faydetir û senayîtir zanîn. Lewanê ewan bi ḥîle w desîse ʿedawet û qetl û ẋaret peyda kir di mabeyna kurdan û ermenîyan û neṣranîyan da, we eşqiyayêt kurdan ʿefwa ʿumûmî danê, we mezinêt wan nîşan û meʿaş danê, ḥeta ku bi carekê mala wan xirab kirin. Pencey zeʿîfê wan di naw pencey qewî ⟨yê⟩ dewleta behîye ra kirin, kirine dujminêt wan.

535 Wê carê noke ditirsin bawirî nahêt ji ber ermenî w neṣranîyan bihên bo naw Urûsî. Ḥeta par du hizar mal zêdetir ji Şemdînan û Gerdîyan û Biradostan hatine dexaletê we Cenral[3] Lewendoski hemî qebûl kirin û kaẋez û beydaẋêt emniyetê danê. Dîsa digel wê hindê jî beʿzî kesan ʿedawetê pêşîne bîra xo înan. Ewanêt hatiye dexaletê bi standina pare w dizîya malî w bi kuştina hindek bêgunahan, mexsûs bo ṭemaʿ, bi dereceyekê weto dilreş kirin, ṭengaw kirin, qerifandin, ku êdî gotin, "em dê xo hawêjîne naw agirî em ho narûnêyn." Elbette bi wextê xo dewleta behîye wane hemîyan dê teḥqîq û beyan ket we naḥeq bi cezaê xo dê *gehit. Bila noke tefsîl bimînît ḥeta hingî.

536 Sebebekî dî ji esbabêt xo-dane-paşa kurdan ji dexaleta dewleta behîye ya Urûsî ewe ye, dibêjin dewleta Urûsî dilṣaf e. Her kesê bi duro tiştekî bêjîte wan zû bawir diken, bi temamî teḥqîq û beyan naken, dê miro kujin yan nefî ken

3 The English military term 'general'.

533 In this Great War all the Kurds had made themselves ready to submit to the Russians and many have indeed taken refuge. And even now they are all thinking of taking refuge but, as the wise and learned know, everything is achieved by acquiring the means and removing the obstacles, otherwise it is ordained that that thing will not be achieved. Neither is the Kurdish nation civilised or educated enough to know the way to achieve their goal, nor have the statesmen of (other) nations so far shown any favour towards them, nor have they asked themselves why every year before the war there were a hundred rebels and outlaws of the Kurdish nation fighting against the Turks and joining to the Russians, whereas now they do not come. Certainly this is not without cause or reason.

534 The first reason is that the Turks realised that an opportunity for revenge had arisen for the Kurds and that if they did not contrive something all six provinces of Anatolia would fall into the hands of the Russians without a fight, so in view of the congruence of faith and of the larger numbers of (their) population the Turks considered it more profitable and easier to placate the Kurds and deceive them. So by stratagem they instigated enmity, killing and rapine between the Kurds and the Armenians and Christians, gave the Kurdish rebels a general amnesty and gave their leaders insignia and salaries and so destroyed their house at one stroke. They took (the Kurds') weak hand out of the strong hand of the august (Russian) government and made them enemies.

535 Now this time they fear and have no confidence to come among the Russians because of the Armenians and Christians. Up till last year more than two thousand families from Shamdinan and the Girdi and Biradost made their submission and General Levandovski accepted them all and gave them letters and flags of safe-conduct. But despite all this some people have remembered old enmities.[4] They have so angered and distressed and derided those who have submitted, by taking money and stealing property and killing some innocent people, especially for greed, that they have said, 'We shall throw ourselves into the fire. We cannot abide like this.' Certainly the august government will investigate them all in good time and the guilty will get his deserts. Let the details now wait till then.

536 Another of the reasons for the Kurds' reluctance to submit to the august Russian government is this: it is said that the Russian government is (too) artless. Whoever tells them a lie they believe it immediately and do not investigate it properly and will kill or banish or imprison a man (on the strength of it).

4 Referring to Assyrians and Armenians, a situation that Nikitine also acknowledged, see Text LVII, fn 2.

yan ḥebs ken. Sebebekî dî ewe ye, dibêjin neferatê ʻeskerê Urûsî meʼmûr nîye bi emrê qumandarê xo, herçî ḥez biket dê ket, zabit neşêt terbiye biket. Millet ji destê wan az⟨ur⟩de dibît, kes lê napirsît. Sebebekî dî ewe ye, dibêjin azadîya edyan ku li naw dewletêt mutemeddine heye li naw Urûsî weto nîye. Sebebekî dî ewe ye, ḥeta noke weto meşhûr bû, digotin reʻîyeta cîyê Urûsî kes xudanê mulk û erazî nîye. Herçî erzê malê padişahî ye, bi ṣûretê icare didete reʻîyetê. Her wextê padişah ḥez biket dê jê stînît.

537 Sebebekî dî jî heye, ema ew ne ji Urûsî w ne xasî dewletekê ye, belê ew sebeb xasî tebîʻetê ʻumûmê dewletêt muʻezzeme-y munezzeme ye. Ewe ye ku her şêxek û her aẋayek û her begek nabît padişahek bît, we çawa ḥez biket weto digel reʻîyeta bêçare biket. Ew sebebe di naw milletê kurd da zor pîs e w derdekî zor muşkil e. Ḥekîmê wî ʻilletî dibît gelek ḥaziq û mahir bît, çunko milletê kurd sê pişk e. Yêk meşaix in, yêk aẋa w beg in, yêk reʻîyet in, ku ehlê kesb-û-kar in. Qismê reʻîyet jî pişkek mirîd û ṣofî ne bo şêxan, pişkek xulam û tabiʻ in bo aẋa w began.

538 Şêx û beg û aẋa zor bo ḥalê xo w menfeʻetê zatî ê xo zana w şeytan in, ema reʻîyet zor bêçare w nezan û weḥşî ne. Daimî şêx mirîdan û ṣofîyan nesîḥet diken, dibêjin, “hişyar bin, tabiʻî kafiran nebin. Dînê hingo dê çît, hung dê ebedî bin di cehennemê da.” Xulase bi wan ṭerze axiwtinane nesîḥet diken. Beg û aẋa dibêjine xulam û tabiʻan, “mala hingo xirab bît, neçine naw dewletêt kafiran. Ew xurt in, çekan dê ji me stînin, jinan dê ben, dê me kene çu ne, dê me bêçare ken. Em neşêyn bi keyfa xo bîn.”

539 Meqsûda şêxan û began û aẋan jî ji wan nutq û nesîḥetane ew e ku da reʻîyeta bêçare wekî zemanê pêşî di bin destê wan bît û barê xo li pişta wan biken û kebaba xo bi hêstikê wan bibirêjin, egerne ew bi temamî dizanin ku nesayiḥêt wan duro ne, çu dewlet reʻîyeta xo we lê naket wekî ew dibêjin, xusûsen dewleta behîye ku zêdetir ji hemî dewletan ḥez diket ji az⟨a⟩dîya edyan û ḥez diket ji ʻedalet û merḥemetê digel reʻyeta xo. We şêx û beg û aẋa jî dizanin bê şik weto ye, ema dizanin ku dewletêt xudan quwet-û-iqtidar, wekî dewleta behîye, qebûl naken her yêk ji wan bibîte padişahekî musteqil û mustebidd di naw reʻîyeta feqîr da. We dizanin ku êdî çî dî neşên leqan li ṭeniştêt feqîran biden û goştê perasîyêt wan bikene kebab. Lewanê wan ṭerze nesîḥetan bo reʻîyetê dibêjin.

Another reason is this; it is said that the troops of the Russian army do not obey their commanders' orders. Each does as he likes and the officers cannot control them. The people are harrassed by them and nobody does anything about it. Another reason is this; it is said that religious freedom does not exist among the Russians, as it does among the (other) civilised states. Another reason is this; up till now it has been generally believed and said that among the peasantry in Russia nobody owns any land. All the land belongs to the king and he lets it to the people. Whenever the king pleases he may take it from them.

There is yet another reason, but it is not because of the Russians, nor peculiar 537
to any state, but rather it is characteristic of all great and organised states. It is this, that every shaikh and agha and beg cannot be a king and do as he pleases with the hapless peasantry. This is a very bad matter among the Kurdish nation and a very troublesome ailment. The physician of this ailment must be very clever and skilful because the Kurdish nation consists of three parts; one is the shaikhs, one is the aghas and begs and one is the peasantry, who are the workers. Of the peasantry too one part are disciples and devotees of the shaikhs and one part are servants and followers of the aghas and begs.

The shaikhs and begs and aghas are very wise and cunning in looking after 538
their own case and their personal profit, but the peasantry are quite hapless and rude and ignorant. The shaikhs are always advising their disciples and devotees, saying, 'Take care, do not become followers of infidels. Your faith will be lost, and you will go to hell for eternity.' In short they advise them with this sort of talk. The begs and aghas say to their servants and followers, 'May your homes be ruined! Do not go to the infidel states. They are powerful; they will take our arms from us, carry off our women and make us nothing. They will make us helpless. We shall not be able to do as we want.'

The aim of the shaikhs and begs and aghas from these speeches and exhorta- 539
tions is to bring the hapless peasantry under their power as before, and to shift their own load on to their backs and to roast their own kebab with their bones, otherwise they realise perfectly well that their exhortations are lies, that no government treats its subjects in the way that they say, particularly the august (Russian) government which, more than all (other) governments, approves of religious freedom and justice and clemency for its subjects. And the shaikhs and begs and aghas know that this is so without doubt, but they know that powerful governments, such as the august (Russian) government will not allow each one of them to be an independent and autocratic king among the wretched peasantry. And they know that they will no longer be able to kick the poor in the sides and make kebabs with the flesh of their ribs. For this reason they exhort the peasantry in this way.

540 Belê noke, çunko yeqîn dizanin paşî wê ḥerba ʿumûmî dunya dê bîte rengekî dî, we her dewleta ku li ser her cîyekî bû ḥukmdar weto dê cîyê xo islaḥ biket, weto dê mustebiddan birînît ku di ḥuqûqê şexsî da tefawut nebît di mabeyna feqîr û wezîran da, lewanê noke êdî zor wan nesîḥetane naken. Noke tedbîra islaḥa wan ew e ku dewleta behîye muweqqeten teltîfa mezinêt wan biket, teʾmîn û tetyîba dilê wan biket û nîşanan bidene wan, we ḥeta çend salekan ji xercê w ji xizmetê reʿîyeta wan jî ʿefû biken, we kesanêt hatiye talan û hatiye sotin, eger bi qer jî bît, cotî w toyî w iʿanê bidenê.

541 Milletê Mesîḥî jî ji xirabîya digel kurdan menʿ biken, we kesanêt xudan-ẋerez û xudan-ṭemaʿ nehêlin digel quşûnî da bin û nehêlin bo xatira kîsikê xo milletê reʿîyeta dewletê xirab û perîşan biken, we gunahêt zemanê ʿedawetê ṣerfi-nezer jê biken. We neferatêt quşûnî ket-ket têbigehînin ku serbixo reʿîyetê ʿaciz neken we milletî dilxoş biken, çunko meʿlûm e milletê kurd dê destêt xo ji ʿUsmanîyan kêşît we ḥeta ji Urûsî emîn û xatircemʿ bît berê xo nadete dewletekê dî, çunko Urûs bo wan ji hemîyan nêzîktir e w bo ḥalê wan çêtir e.

542 Ema eger ji Urûsî bêhîwî bibin elbette dê muxabere w reftara xo digel Ingilîsî ken. Eger ew jî bo wan çênebît û ser negirît bê şik û bê şubhe dê ḥimayeta xo *ʿela-ḥide*[5] ji Elman ṭeleb ken, we di bin destê ʿUsmanî da xo nahêlin. Bes madam we ye, lazim e li ser umenaêt dewleta behîye, qitʿeyê Kurdistana qedîm, ku teqrîben şeş, belkî ḥewt milyon heye, ji dest xo neken, bi ḥekîmane w hostayî ewan weḥşîyane keyî biken, bînine rista xo, nedene destê kesê dî. *Wesselam, wa-llāhu-l-muwāffiq li kulli marām.*[6]

5 In Arabic, *one by one, separately*.

6 In Arabic, *it is God who prospers all desires*.

But now, as they know for certain that after this World War the world will be of a different kind and every government, wherever it may be in authority, will so reform its territory and so eradicate the despots that there will be no difference in individual rights between a poor man and a minister, for this reason they do not now make these exhortations so much any more. Now the way to reform them is for the august (Russian) government temporarily to placate their leaders, to reassure them and to give them signs of favour, and for some years to excuse them taxes and the care of their peasantry, and to give plough-oxen and seed and assistance, even if it be on loan, to those who have been plundered and burnt out. 540

They should also forbid the Christian people from doing harm to the Kurds and should not allow people with grudges or greedy men to be with the army, nor let them despoil the government's subjects for the benefit of their own pockets. And they should pass over the crimes of the time of enmity, and they should give the personnel of the army to understand, one by one, that they should not independently annoy the populace, and they should placate the people, because it is well known that the Kurdish nation will extricate itself from the Ottoman (empire) and so long as it is confident of and satisfied with the Russians it will not turn to another state, because Russia is nearest of all to them and best for them. 541

But if they despair of the Russians then certainly they will have dealings with the English. If nothing comes of that either and it is not successful for them then without any doubt they will seek protection separately from the Germans, rather than leave themselves under the Ottomans. Since this is so it is up to the authorities of the august (Russian) government not to alienate the territory of ancient Kurdistan, which comprises about six, nay seven million (souls); they should wisely and skilfully tame these rude men and bring them on their leash, not let anybody else take them. And it is God who prospers all desires. 542

Nesîḥetê Xêrxazîyê bo ʻUmûmê Qewmê Kurd

543 Gelî kurdan! Bes di xewa ẋefletê da bin, hişyar bin. Çak ʻeqlê xo bînine serê xo. Hêşta mala hingo xirab nebûy û hung bi carekê meḥw nebûy, tedbîra ḥal û teʼmîna istiqbala xo bi diqqet mulaḥeze biken, egerne wextê ferset fewitî w kar ji dest çû, peşîmanî fayde nîye. Hung noke wêt mabeyna mirin û jînê da. Eger saʻetekê pêştir hung nexoşîya xo bi ḥekîmêt ḥaziq û xêrxaz derman neken mikrobê cehaletê w ṣefraê sefahetê, ku ji zemanê bab û bapîran dewê xo di qelb û cigerêt hingo naye, pîçek maye hingo bikujît.

544 *Mina-l-qadīm* hingo ʻadet kiriye, kesê destê merḥemetê bi serê hingo da bînît dê leqekê li wî destî den, we kesê pêyê bi gû di serê hingo bihusût mirç-mirç dê wî pêyî maç ken. Lewanê mala hingo xirab bû. Nawê hingo di naw ʻumûmê milletan da meşhûr bûye bi qewmê nezan. Ewe bo hingo ʻeybekê gelek mezin e. Bes hung jî wekî hemî milletan çawêt xo weken, pembîyê ẋefletê ji guhê xo derînin, da ew nawê kirêt ji ser hingo rabît.

545 Yêk ji hizar delîlêt nezanîya hingo ewe ye ku şeşşed sal, belko zêdetir e, dewleta ʻUsmanî ḥukm li ser hingo diket, hêşta nîşanekê medeniyetê w insaniyetê di naw hingo da îcad nekirine, mekteba senayiʻan û meʻarifan neçêkirine, rêkêt memleketê hingo xoş nekirine, meʻdeniyat li naw hingo nederêxistine, eṣlen bi qeder zeṛeyekî menfeʻet bo ḥal û istiqbalê hingo nedane.

546 Se⟨r⟩ wê hindê ra jî çend xanedanêt hingo ji şêxan û ji began û ji aẋan hemî weto meḥw û perîşan kirîne, noke biçûkêt wan bûne feqîrêt der û bin-dûwarêt xelkî. Ma hingo nedît çi kirin digel qutbê hingo Şêx ʻUbeydullah Şemdînî, we murşidê hingo Şêx ʻEbdusselam Barzanî, we seyîdê hingo Şêx Seʻîd Silêmanî, we waʻizê hingo Şêx Selîmê Bidlîsî w Seyîd ʻElî Hîzanî w Şêx Şihabuddîn pismamê wî, digel pazde mezinêt muʻteber ji xanedana Şêx Hîzanî, we Şêx Nûr Muḥemmed Birîfkî, we ji ẋeyri wane jî gelek dî ji şêxan?

547 Ma hingo nebihîstiye çi kirin digel xanedana Bedirxan Begê Boṭanî w Ibrahîm Paşayê Milanî w begêt Mîrsêwdînan û mîrêt Ḥekarîyan û begêt Mehmedan û Muḥemmed Paşayê Rewandizê w paşayêt Beban[1] li Silêmanî w aẋayêt Nûruddînîyan û ji ẋeyri wane ku nahêne defter û ḥisaban?

1 Another version for 'Baban' family in Sharezur, seen also in other historical sources as "Bebe" and "Beban". See, Öpengin, "Kronîkek ji Sedsala 18an li ser Tarîxa Badînan û Mezopotamyaya Bakurî".

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LXIA

Well-Meaning Advice for the Whole Kurdish Nation

Kurds! have done with the sleep of negligence, awake! Take good heed of yourselves. While your house is yet not ruined and you are not completely destroyed consider carefully measures for your present and the security of your future state, otherwise the opportune moment will have passed and the chance been lost. Regrets are of no value. You are now between life and death. If you do not have skilled and well-meaning physicians treat your disease within the hour then the microbe of ignorance and the bile of stupidity, which has battened on your heart and liver since the time of your forefathers, will kill you within a short while. 543

Since olden times, if anyone lays a compassionate hand upon your head you have been accustomed to bite that hand, and if anyone wipes a dung-covered foot on your face then you kiss that foot noisily. For this reason your house has been ruined. Your name has become famous among all the nations as an ignorant people. That is a great shame for you. You too must open your eyes, like all the nations, and take the cotton of negligence out of your ears so that you may lose that ugly name. 544

One of the thousand proofs of your ignorance is that for six hundred years, nay, longer, the Ottoman government has ruled over you and has not as yet produced a sign of civilization or humanity among you, has not built a school of trades and crafts, has not improved the roads of your country, has not extracted the minerals from your (country), has not even done one atom of good for your present state or your future. 545

Moreover they have so destroyed and dispersed certain families of your shaikhs and begs and aghas that now their children have become beggars at people's doors and at the foot of their walls. Did you not see what they did with your leader Shaikh Ubaidullah Shamdini, and your guide Shaikh Abdussalam Barzani, and your Sayyid Shaikh Said of Sulaimaniya, and your preacher Shaikh Salim Bitlisi, and Sayyid Ali Hizani, and Shaikh Shihabuddin his cousin, together with fifteen respected leaders of Shaikh Hizani's family, and Shaikh Nur Muhammad Birifki, and many other shaikhs besides these? 546

Haven't you heard what they did with the family of Badr Khan Beg Botani, and Ibrahim Pasha Milani, and the Mirsewdinan begs, and the Hakari begs, and the Mahmadan begs, and Muhammad Pasha of Rawandiz, and the Baban pashas in Sulaimaniya, and the Nuraddin aghas, and others besides these who cannot be listed and accounted? 547

548 Ew dewleta ku ho bît, ḥeta noke çu menfeʿet bo milletê xo nedabît, belko daimî seʿî kiribît bo meḥw û perîşanîya hingo, bes xizmet kirin bo wan fewqulʿade sefahet û ḥemaqet e, we hîç şubhe nîye ji noke paş we jî çu fayde nadet, belko bilʿeks çi wextê bi temamî destê wan bigete hingo bi carekê hingo dê meḥw ken.

549 Ewe seyyi'ata wan bû ji bo dunya hingo, we seyyi'ata wan ji bo dînî jî meʿlûmî hingo ye. Her milletek tabiʿî kitabekê ye ji kitabêt semawîye, ema ʿUsmanî hêşta me nezaniye tabiʿî kîşk kitabê ye. Bi naw dibêjin, "em Islam în," we hîç ʿemel bi Qur'anê naken, we gotina Tewrat û Incîlan jî li nik wan hîç iʿtibar bo nîye, ʿemelê bi wan jî naken. Bes dewleta ji hemî dîn û mezheban dûr û bêxeber bît, we şew û roj wekî mikrobî cergê milletê xo bixot, bi çi umîd hung xizmeta wan diken? Axir xizmet yan bo menafiʿê dunyayê ye yan bo seʿadeta axiretê ye. Madam hîç yêk ji her dûyan nebît, bes kesê xizmetê biket bêʿeql e.

550 *El'an*[2] selaḥa ḥal û raḥeta istiqbala hingo ewe ye, hung ʿumûmê milletê kurd *bi-l-ittifaq*[3] xeberê xo bikene yêk, dexaletê biken bi ʿedalet û merḥemeta dewleta behîye ya Rûs, çunko her wext dewleta behîye her ṭerze qewm û ʿunsur û her cor dîn û mezheb bê ferq û cudayî di bin sîbera ʿedaleta xo da bi temamî azadî ḥifz û ḥimayet kiriye, *ʿala-l-xusūs dawr-i masʿūd-i jadīd-i mašrūtīyat*[4] azadî zêdetir ⟨e⟩. *Ba kemal-i azadî*[5] hemî qewm û milletan dê ḥimayet ket, we ji her cihet û di her bab da ṭalib e bo azadîya millet we raẋib û muştaq e bo teltîf û tetyîba dilê reʿîyet û feqîr û miskînan we bo serferaz kirina mezinan, bi şertê ku millet jî xiyanetê neket û bi dilekî ṣaf û ṣadiq xizmeta dewletê biket. Hung xatircem bin ku bo hingo hîç ʿacizî w bênamûsî nabît. Qebaḥetêt pêş noke dê hêne ʿefû kirin, emma ji noke paş we dê hêne ḥisab kirin.

551 *Elḥemdulillah* dewleta behîye digel muttefiqêt xo ji her cihet ẋalib e. Ewe qerîbî sê salan e şer û deʿwa ye, hung bi çawêt xo dibînin her roj parçeyek ji Anatol û ʿIraqê diçît. Ma ewe bes nîye bo hingo bawir biken? Eger insan tiştê meʿqûli ẋeyr-meḥsûs bawir neket mumkin e, ema eger tiştê meḥsûsê bi çaw diyar bawir neket bêfamî ye. *Ba wucûdi* noke dewleta Emrîka jî harî Urûsî w muttefiqêt wî diket. Dunya hemî muttefiq e li ser wî xeberey, ku ẓulma Elman û ʿUsmanî ji dunya raken. We diyar e irada Xudê jî li ser wî xebere ye. Xulase *ʿeqlen we ḥissen* ʿaqibeta Elman û ʿUsmanî meḥw bûn e, çî dî nîye.

2 Arabic-Persian, *now*.

3 In Arabic, *together, unanimously*.

4 Arabic-Persian, *particularly in the present happy time of Constitutional government*.

5 Persian-Kurdish, *with complete freedom*.

A government of this nature, which until now has done no good to its people, 548
but has rather constantly striven to destroy and disperse you—is not obedience to such as these extraordinary foolishness and stupidity? And there is no doubt whatever that from now on it will gain you nothing. On the contrary, when they finally get hold of you they will destroy you utterly.

These were the evil things they have done for your wordly state, and you 549
know too of the evil things they have done for (your) faith. Every nation follows one of the books of holy scripture, but we have not yet discovered which book the Turks follow. By name they call themselves Muslims, but they do not act according to the Koran at all, nor do they have any respect for the teachings of the Torah or the Gospels nor act according to them. So what do you hope from obedience to a government ignorant of all faith and religion, which day and night gnaws the liver of its people like a microbe? After all, obedience is either for earthly profit or for happiness in the hereafter. Since neither of these two can be got, a person who serves (such a government) is stupid.

Now the best thing for your present state and the comfort of your future is 550
this, that the whole Kurdish nation should unanimously decide to submit to the justice and mercy of the august Russian government, because at all times the august government has, without distinction or partiality, and with complete freedom, preserved and protected in the shadow of its justice every kind of people and (national) element, and every type of faith and religion, particularly in the present happy time of Constitutional government (when) freedom (is even) greater. (The Russian government) protects all peoples and nations with complete freedom, and in every respect and connection it seeks the freedom of its peoples and strives to conciliate and reassure the peasantry and the poor and to honour their leaders, provided that the nation, for its part, is not treacherous and obeys the government with a true and sincere heart. Rest assured that there will be no distress or dishonour for you. Former offences will be forgiven, but from now on (new offences) will be counted.

Praise be to God, the august (Russian) government and its allies are victori- 551
ous in every respect. War and strife have been going on for almost three years and you can see with your own eyes that every day a portion of Anatolia and Iraq goes. Is this not enough to convince you? It is possible for a man not to believe something, (however) reasonable, that he cannot see, but if he disbelieve something evident and visible to the eye that is stupidity. Moreover the American government too is now helping the Russians and their allies. The world is unanimous in being determined to eradicate the tyranny of the Germans and the Turks. Evidently this is God's will also. In short both sense and intuition (tell that) the Germans and the Turks face final destruction and nothing else.

552 Ew nesîḥete meḥzen bo xatira raḥet û menfeʿetê hingo ye, da hung bi carekê meḥw nebin. Ne we ye ku dewleta behîye muḥtac e bi quweta hingo, çunko hung reʿîyet in, ehlê kesb û kar in. Dewleta behîye ḥez naket kesba hingo bifewitît, mala hingo xirab bibît, lewanê hingo nesîḥet diket. Egerne çi minnet bi hingo heye? Wextê sala ewwelê şerî, ku Elman pîçek ẋalib, hingî hîwî ji hingo nekir, elbette ewro ku kuna rîwî jî bi hizar lîrayê ʿUsmanî êdî dest nakewît ku Elman û ʿUsmanî xo têda weşêrin hîç hîwîyan ji hingo naket. Yeqîn bizanin û bi delîl bawir biken ku meqsûd raḥet û seʿadeta hingo ye, çî dî nîye. Bes werin, li ser cîyê xo rûnên, kesb-û-karê xo biken. Şer kirin harî ʿUsmanî bo hingo zererekê mezin e. Dewleta behîye di her xusûs da *ḥatta-l-maqdūr*[6] dê çakîyê w merḥemetê bo hingo ket.

553 Ewe sê sal e hung şerî diken harî ʿUsmanî, hingo ji ẋeyri zerer û perîşanî çî dî qazanc nekir, we ji noke paş we dê xirabtir bît. Ḥeta rojekê zûtir bihên, li ser cîyê xo rûnên, çêtir e. Hung çûne germîyanê, pişka bitirê mirin ji germa, ji têna, ji birsa, nîwek jî hatine kuştin, nîwek jî hatine girtin û talan kirin.

554 Eger meqsûda hingo qazancê dunyayê ye ewe aşkera ye ku ḥeta noke hingo w bab û bapîrêt hingo jî qazancê dunyayê ji wan nedîtine. Bes ji noke wê we jî qetʿîyen nabînin. We eger meqsûda hingo seʿadeta axiretê ye, elbette hingo mela hene, bila bê riya, bê duro bo hingo beyan biken ka ew şerê hung diken *fī sabīli-llāh*[7] û xêr e, yan *fī sabīli-š-šayṭān*[8] û gunah e. Eger xo ji Xudê neken û biwêrin bêjin, dê iqrarê ken bi ḥeqqanîyetê w dê bêjin *şerʿen we ʿeqlen* yan rûniştin çak e yan muʿaweneta Urûsî çêtir e ji muʿaweneta Elman, çunko eger hung mulaḥeza mezhebê diken Elman jî ji mezhebê hingo nîye w Urûsî cînarê hingo ye, dişêt çakîyê digel hingo biket û dişêt xirabîyê jî biket. Bes *ʿalā ʾayyi ḥālin*[9] lazim e li-ser ʿumûmê milletê ʿUsmanî, *ʿala-l-xusūs*[10] milletê Kurd, yan li mala xo rûnên yan harî Urûsî w muttefiqêt wî biken. Hung bipirsin ji melayêt wekî Ebû Bekr Efendî Erbilî w Muḥemmed Efendî[yê] Koy Senceq û ʿEbdulqadir Efendî[yê] Biyarê w Şêx Ṭaha Efendî Ḥekarî, elbette ew dizanin û dê bêjin ku şerê hingo gunah e, cihada camiʿê şeraitê şerîʿetê hingo nîye. Bes xo nekene xesaretê dunya w axiretê, werin, teslîm bin.

6 In Arabic, *as much as possible*.
7 In Arabic, *in the way of God*.
8 In Arabic, *in the way of Satan*.
9 In Arabic, *in every respect*.
10 In Arabic, *especially*.

This advice is simply for your comfort and benefit, so that you will not be 552
completely destroyed. It is not that the august government needs your strength, for you are peasants and workers. The august government does not wish your livelihood to be destroyed or your house to be ruined, therefore it advises you. Otherwise what does it owe to you? In the first year of the war, when the Germans were gaining a little, then they expected nothing from you. Certainly today, when not a foxhole can be found any more for a thousand Turkish liras, for the Germans and the Turks to hide themselves in, they do not expect anything from you. Know for sure and believe the evidence that their goal is your comfort and happiness, and nothing else. Come, then, to your place, settle down and gain your livelihood. To fight for the Turks will do you great harm. The august (Russian) government will treat you well and mercifully in every particular to the best of its ability.

For three years now you have fought for the Turks and apart from injury 553
and regret you have gained nothing, and from now on it will be worse. Every day sooner that you come to your place and settle down the better it will be. You went to the low country,[11] the greater part died from heat and hunger and thirst—half of you were killed and half were captured and robbed.

If your goal is worldly profit it is obvious that up till now neither you nor your 554
ancestors has seen any worldly profit from them. Nor, certainly, will you see any henceforth. If your goal is happiness in the hereafter—well, you have mullahs. Let them tell you, without hypocrisy or lies, whether this war that you are fighting is in the way of God and worthy, or in the way of Satan and sinful. If they do not alienate themselves from God, and dare to talk, they will confess the truth and will say that, both in law and in reason, either settling down or helping the Russians is better than helping the Germans, because, if you consider religion, the Germans are not of your religion, and the Russians are your neighbours, and can do you either good or ill. Thus in every way it is incumbent upon all the people of the Ottoman empire, especially the Kurdish nation, either to settle down at home or to help the Russians and their allies. Ask mullahs such as Abu Bakr Effendi of Erbil and Muhammad Effendi of Koy Sanjaq and Abdulqadir Effendi of Biyare and Shaikh Taha Effendi of Hakari. Certainly they know, and will say, that this war of yours is sinful, that you are not waging a holy war (satisfying) all the conditions of the Law. Do not, therefore, destroy yourselves in this world and the next. Come and surrender.

11 Lit. *warm lands*; referring to the areas to the south of present-day Turkey-Iraq border with warmer climate.

555 Em dizanîn ku ji mêj e hung ji ʿUsmanîyan ʿaciz in û dilreş in, emma bo hingo çu rêk, çu wasite nebûn, lewanê her newʿe eziyet û derdeserî hingo qebûl dikir. We noke bo hingo wasiteyekî zor muḥkem heye, eger hung bizanin. Dewleta qewî-şewketa Urûsî quwetekê gelek mezin e li pişta hingo. Eger hung bihên, tiştekî weto biken, *bi-l-ittifaq* ʿeskerê ʿUsmanî ku li naw hingo ye bigirin, bişelînin, tiştê wan çi heye ẓewt ken, zû xeber bidene Urûsî, bo hingo dê bîte sebebê iʿtibar û namûs û serferazîyekê gelek çak. Mezinêt hingo hemî dê bine xudan rutbe-w-nîşan, we hemî milletê hingo dê gelek asûde w xudan qedr-û-ḥeysiyet bît. Bes hişyar bin, çak bizanin, fersetê fewt neken. Taze kewlîya hingo hatiye. Her wext ho nahelkewît ku hung tola xo w bab û bapîrêt xo ji wan weken. Zêde çi beyan kem? *Agar dar xāne kas ast, yak harf bas ast.*[12] *Wesselam ʿeleykum.*

12 In Persian, lit. *if there is someone in the house, one word is sufficient.*

We know that for a long time you have been distressed and angry with the 555
Turks, but that you have had no way or means, therefore you have accepted all kinds of injury and distress. But now there is a very strong means for you, if you would recognise it. The magnificent Russian government is a great power behind you. If you will come and do something, such as unanimously seizing the Turkish troops among you, stripping them, confiscating whatever they have, and promptly informing the Russians, it will be a very good means for you to gain respect and honour and eminence. Your leaders will all obtain rank and insignia and your whole nation will be at peace and possessed of dignity and prestige. Awake, therefore, and be sure not to waste the opportunity. Your chance has come at last. It does not often happen that you can take your revenge, and that of your ancestors, upon them. What more need I say? 'A word to the wise is sufficient.'

LXIB

Nesîḥetê Xêrxwazane bo Hemî Kurdan

556 Gelî kurdan! Hişyar bin. Hêşta hung meḥw nebûy tedbîra ḥal û istiqbala xo biken. Noke bo hingo kewlî ye tola bab û bapîrêt xo ji ʻUsmanîyan weken. Em dizanîn ji mêj e hung ji ẓulma ʻUsmanîyan ʻaciz in, çunko meʻlûmê hingo ye çi digel xanedanêt kurdan kirine. Şêxêt Nehrî w Silêmanî w Barzanê w Bidlîsê w Hîzanê û ẋeyr wan û begêt Boṭan û Baban û Rewandiz û Amêdî w Ḥekarî w ẋeyr wan. We aẋayêt Nûreddînî w Zêbarî w Ertoşî w ẋeyr wan. Hingo dîtine w bihîstine çi bi ser wan înan. We ḥeta noke dewleta ʻUsmanî di zemanê şeşṣed salan da nîşanekê medeniyetê di nav hingo da çênekiriye. Ne mekteb, ne senʻet, ne meʻrifet, ne rêk, ne meʻden, ne çi bo hingo dirist nekirine. Xeyala wan daymî zerera millet e w her wextê bo wan ferset hebît dê hingo meḥw ken.

557 We aqildarêt hingo jî wane hemîyan dizanin û tesdîq diken. Ema hung ḥeta noke neçar bûn belê noke quweta Urûsî bo hingo piştîwan e, harîkar e. Hung noke dişên ʻeskerê di naw xo da bigirin û bişelînin û ḥukûmeta wan ji naw xo bibirînin. Bo çi hung naken? Çi faide ji wan bo hingo heye? Dûmayîya wan û Elman bê şubhe meḥw û perîşanî ye. Xo şaş neken. Zû bo xo iʻtibarekê, nawekê li nik dewleta behiye ya Rûs peyda biken. Xatircem bin dewleta behiye ji her cihet ḥimayeta hingo dê ket, xusûsen dewrê meşrûtiyetê azadî talib e bo ḥifz û ḥimayeta azadîya her millet û her qewm û her mezheb. Hîç ferq û cudayî û terefdarî nîye. Eger hung di wê mabeynê bo xo iʻtibarekê peyda neken paşî dê ji destê hingo çît û nagenê.

558 Ewe nêzîkî sê salan e hingo şer harî ʻUsmanîyan kir, hingo gelek zerer kir. Nîwek mirin ji germa û ji têna û ji birsa û nîwek hatine kuştin û talan kirin. Xulase hîç faideê dinyayê bo hingo ḥasil nebû. We ji alimêt muʻteberêt xo suwal biken ka bo axiretê jî faide heye yan nîye. Elbette nîye. Ewe cîhada şerʻî nîye. Elman jî mezhebê hingo nîye. Ḥeqê cînarîyê Urûsî li ser hingo heye. Elman hîç munasibe digel hingo nîye. *Ne hung belke ʻumûmê milletê Islam di harîkarîya Elman da xisaretê dinya w axiretê ye. Ewe şolekê aşkira ye. Kesê biwêrît dibêjît.

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LXIB

Well-Meaning Advice for All Kurds

O Kurds, awake! Before you are destroyed consider what is to be done for your 556
present and future. Now is an opportunity for you to exact revenge on the Turks for (what they did to) your forefathers. We know that you have been suffering from the oppression of the Turks, since it is clear to you what they have done to Kurdish dynasties. The shaikhs of Nehri, Sulaimaniya, Barzan, Bidlis, Hizan and others; the begs of Botan, Baban, Rawandiz, Amadiya, Hakari and others; and the aghas of the Nuraddini, Zebari, Artushi and others. You have seen and heard of what they have done to them. Up until now, in six hundred years' time the Ottoman state has not produced a sign of civilisation among you. Neither schools, crafts, knowledge, nor roads, mines, they have not built anything for you. They only think of harming people and whenever the opportunity arises they will destroy you.

The knowledgeable ones among you all know and confirm this. It is true 557
that until now you did not have any other option, but now the Russian army is backing you. Now you can seize the Turkish troops among you, strip them (of their weapons), and wipe out their government on your land. Why don't you do this? What use do they have for you? No doubt they and the Germans will face destruction and destitution in the end. Don't hesitate. Don't lose time to gain respect and honour in the eyes of the august Russian state. Rest assured that the august (Russian) state will protect you in all respects, particularly under the free Constitutional time it is willing for the preservation and protection of every people and every faith. There will be no discrimination or favouritism. If you fail to gain respect for yourself in this period, the chance will slip out of your hands and you won't catch it.

It has been three years that you are helping the Turks in the war. You have 558
brought a lot of harms to yourself. Half of you died from heat and hunger and thirst, and half of you were killed or plundered. In short, you have not seen any worldly profits out of that. And ask of your reliable divines whether there is any profit for you in the hereafter. Of course there is none. This is not a legitimate jihad. The Germans are not of your religion. The Russians have (at least) the rights from being your neighbours. The Germans have no relationship with you. Not only you but the whole Islamic peoples are harming their world and hereafter by helping the Germans. This is obvious. Anyone who dares could acknowledge it.

559 Xiyal neken ku dewleta behiye muḥtac e bi hingo. Çunko sala berê ku Elman pîçek ẋalib bû, dewleta behiye hingî jî hîwî ji hingo nekir, elbette noke bi hemî ṭerzan minet bi hingo nîye. Çunko dewleta Rûs digel muttefiqêt xo ji her ṭerz û ji her cihet ẋalib in. We Emrîka jî harî muttefiqan diket. Meḥw û perîşanîya Elman û ʿUsmanî yeqîn e. Meqsûd ji *nesîʿetê raḥetîya hingo ye. Dewleta behiye ḥez naket hung bi carekê bi meḥw bibin. Bes zû rabine ser pêyan iʿtibarekê bo xo peyda ken. Werin asûde li ser cîyê xo rûnên. Lêb û ferîba ḥîlebazêt ʿUsmanîyan we Elmanîyan çî dî bawir neken. Mala xo xirab neken û xo neken zererdarêt dinya û axretê. Zêde çi bêjim, bo xudan ʿeqlan hind bes e. *Wesselam*.

Don't think that the august government needs you. In the first year of the 559
war, when the Germans were doing somehow better, the Russians expected nothing from you, now they do not need you at all, as the august (Russian) government and its allies are victorious in every respect. Moreover the American government too is now helping the Russians and their allies. The destruction and destitution of the Turks and the Germans is inevitable. The purpose of the advice is your comfort. The august government does not want you to be destroyed. So rise immediately and obtain your due dignity. Come, settle down in your country. No longer believe in the tricks of the Turks and Germans. Do not wreck your home and don't bring harm to your world and hereafter. What more need I say? That is enough for the reasonable ones.

Kurdish–English Glossary

Abbreviations

.	intervening word(s)
<	from
A	Arabic
adj.	adjective
adj.f	adjective, feminine
adv.	adverb
cf.	compare
conj.	conjunction
dem.	demonstrative
do.	ditto, same meaning as prec.
E	European (English, French, German)
f.	feminine
fol.	following word
GN	geographical name
Heb.	Hebrew
hypoc.	hypocorism
imperf.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive, feminine
inh.	inhabitant
int.	interjection
interr.	interrogative
lit.	literally
m.	masculine
n.	noun
neg.	negative
nf.	noun, feminine
nm.	noun, masculine
npl.	noun, plural
num.	numeral
obl.	oblique
onom.	onomatopoeic
P	Persian
pl.	plural
PN	proper name
pro.	pronoun
pp.	pre, postposition
prec.	preceding word
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
pt.	particle
R	Russian
s.	see
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
Syr	Syriac
T	Turkish
vi.	verb, intransitive
voc.	vocative
vt.	verb, transitive

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A

abdestxane (P) *n.* lavatory.
abrû (P) *nm.* reputation.
  abrû birin disgrace, put to shame.
adab (A) *npl.* rites, ceremonies.
ade *n.* weed.
  ade kirin weed.
aferîn (P) *n.* praise, *int.* bravo!
  aferîn gotin, kirin praise.
agah (P) *adj.* aware, knowing.
  agah bûn (ji) be aware (of).
agahî (P) *n.* knowledge; see *haga*.
agir *nm.* fire.
  agir berbûn catch fire.
  agir berdan set fire.
  agir dan, kirin fire (gun).
axa (T) *nm.* chieftain, agha (title); *pl.obl.* *axan*, *axayan*.
aha *int.* aha! ha!
ahî *n.* sigh.
  ahî kêşan sigh.
akreyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Akre town.
alandin *alîn-*, *vt.* wind, twist.
alif (A *ʿalaf*) *nm.* fodder.
alîk (A *ʿalīq*) *nm.* fodder.
alman (E) *adj.* German; see *elman*.
aloz *adj.* confused, muddled.
aman (Arm.) *nf.* vessel, pot.
amir (A) *nm.* superior, master.
amîn *int.* amen.
anatol *GNf.* Anatolia.
aqa (P) *nm.* (title) Sir; see *axa*.
aqil *adj.* intelligent, wise; see *ʿaqil*.
aqildar wise man.
aql *nm.* intelligence, sense; see *ʿeql*, *bêʿeql*, *bêaql*.
  aql girtin learn sense.
aqlmend wise (man).
aql-siwik *adj.* feeble-minded.
ar *nm.* flour.
arezû *n.* desire.
armanc (P *āmāj*) *nm.* target.
armancane *n.* target-shooting.
armîş *nf.* silk (embroidery). [Ak. *armûş*]
asar (A) *npl.* (of asar) traces, relics.
asayiş (P) *nf.* rest, peace.
asê 1. *adj.* difficult, inaccessible; 2. PNf Ase.
asin *nm.* iron.
asinger *nm.* blacksmith.
asman *n.* heaven; see *ʿesman*.
asûde (P) *adj.* quiet, peaceful; in easy circumstances, well off.
asûrî (A) *adj.* Assyrian (Christian).
aşewan *nm.* miller. [Ak. *aşevan*]
aw *nf.* water. [Ak. *av*]
  awa ḥeyatê the water of life.
  awa zer pus.
awa *adj.* flourishing, prosperous. [Ak. *ava*]
awayî *n.* village, hamlet. [Ak. *avayî*, building]
awî *adj.* irrigated (land).
aw-û-hewa *nm.* climate.
awropa (E) *GN* Europe.
awurû *nm.* reputation; see. *abrû, bê-awrû*. [Ak. *avuṛû*]
aw-xarinewe *inf.* drinking water.
ax *nf.* earth.
axir (A) *nm.* end; *adv.* in the end, after all.
axiru-l-emr (A) *adv.* at last.
axiwtin *inf.* speaking, speech. [Ak. *axiftin*]
axiwtin *axiw-*, *vt.* speak, talk. [Ak. *axiftin, axiv-*]
ay *int.* O!; see *ay*.
ayet (A) *nf.* verse (of the Koran).

ayet-mayet *n.* verses of scripture and the like.
aya (P) *interr. pt.*
aza *adv.* free.
azadî (P) *nf.* freedom.
azurde (P) *adj.* harrassed, distressed.

‘

‘adet (A) *nm.* custom, manner.
‘adet (A) *adv.* customarily, as is customary.
‘adetu-llah (A) *n.* God’s wont, what is ordained.
‘afîyet (A) *nf.* health, welfare.
‘aid(î) (P) *adj.* attributed (to).
‘aciz (A) *adj.* 1. miserable, distressed; 2. angry, offended. [Ak. *‘eciz*]
‘acizî (A) *nf.* distress. [Ak. *‘ecizî*]
‘alem (A) *nf.* world.
  ‘alema lahût the spiritual world.
‘alim (A) *adj.* wise (man).
‘aliye (A *f.* of fol.) *adj.* high, exalted.
‘alî (A) *adj.* high, exalted.
‘alî-cenab (P) *adj.* honourable.
‘alî-nijad (P) *adj.* of high, noble birth.
‘amm (A) *adj.* common, public.
‘aqibet (A) *nf.* end.
‘aqil (A) *adj.* wise, intelligent; see *aqil*.
‘asî (A) *adj.* rebellious.
‘eba (A) *nm.* cloak.
‘ebbasî (P) *n.* a coin, worth 4 shahis = 1/50 tuman.
‘ebdî PNm. Abdi, *hypoc.* of Abdullah.
‘ebdo PNm. Abdo, *hypoc.* of Abdullah.
‘edalet (A) *nf.* justice, equity.
‘edawet (A) *nf.* enmity.
‘efw, ‘efû (A) *nf.* pardon, forgiveness.
  ‘efw / ‘efû kirin, fermon pardon.
‘ehd (A) *nf.* promise, agreement; see *welî ‘ehd*.
‘ecem (A) *n.* Persian.
‘ecaîb (A) *n.* wonder(s); *adj.* wonderful, strange.
‘ecîb (A) a. strange.
‘ele-l-xusûs (A) *adv.* especially.
‘ela-ḥida (A) *adv.* separately.
‘elaqe (A) *n.* interest, concern. [Ak. *‘elaqet*]
  ‘elaqe-y ... kirin be interested in.
‘elawe-y (P) *pp.* in addition to.
‘elîye (A) *adj.* exalted, high: see *dewlet*.
‘emel (A) *nm.* deed.
  ‘emel kirin act.
‘emel-çak *adj.* pious.
‘eqaid (A) *npl.* (of *‘eqîde*) religious tenets.
‘eqîde (A) *nf.* belief.
‘eql (A) *nm.* intelligence, wisdom, sense; see *aql*.
‘eqldar *n.* wise man, sage.
‘eqlî *adj.* reasonable, sensible.
‘eqlmend *adj.* wise (man).
‘ereb (A) *n.* Arab (s).
‘erebistan (P) *GNf.* Arabia.
‘erebî (A) *adj.* Arabic.
‘erd *nm.* earth, ground; see *erz*.
‘erş (A) *nm.* throne of God.
  ‘erş û kursî *npl.* dais and throne of God.
‘erz (A) *nm.* exposition, submission.
  ‘erz(î ...) kirin represent (to), say (to), tell.
‘erzi-ḥal *n.* petition.
‘esa (A) *nm.* rod, (euph. for) penis.
‘esker (A) *nm.* soldier(s), troop(s), army.
‘eskerî *adj.* military.
‘esman *nm.* heaven; see *asman*.
‘esr (A) *nm.* age, time.

ʿeşair (A) *npl.* (of *ʿeşîret*) tribes.
ʿeşîret (A) *nf.* tribe; *adj.* tribal.
ʿeşîretî *adj.* tribal.
ʿeşîrêt = **ʿeşîret**.
ʿeta (A) *n.* gift.
ʿetr (A) *nf.* perfume.
ʿewamm (A) *nm.* common people.
ʿewammu-n-nas (A) *n.* the common people.
ʿewr *nf.* cloud. [Ak. *ʿevr*]
ʿeyal (A) *nm.* family.
ʿeyb (A) *nf.* fault, shame, disgrace.
ʿeyn (A) *n.* essence.
ʿeynî weto exactly, just so.
ʿezab (A) *nf.* punishment.
ʿezîmu-ş-şa'n (A) *adj.* glorious.
ʿezîz (A) *adj.* dear.
ʿezl (A) *nf.* deposal, removal.
ʿezl kirin depose.
ʿezman *nm.* tongue, language. [Ak. *ziman*]
ji ʿezman kewtin become speechless.
ʿezman-dirêj *adj.* long-tongued, impudent, insolent.
ʿezman-dirêjî *nf.* insolence.
ʿezman-fesîḥ *adj.* eloquent.
ʿezman-lûs *adj.* smooth-tongued.
ʿezman-lûsî *nf.* flattery.
ʿezman-xoşî *nf.* soft words, flattery.
ʿezo *PNm. hypoc.* of Aziz.
ʿibadet (A) *nf.* worship.
ʿibret (A) *n.* warning.
ʿibret-girtî *adj.* having taken a warning, warned.
ʿillet (A) *nm.* disease, complaint.
ʿilm (A) *nm.* learning, knowledge.
ʿisyan (A) *nf.* rebellion; see *ʿasî*
ʿizraîl (A) *PNm.* Ezrail (Azrael), the angel of death.
ʿizzet (A) *n.* honour.
ʿîso *PNm. hypoc.* of Isa.
ʿulema (A) *npl.* ulema, divines, religious authorities.
ʿumûm (A) *nm.* generality, community.
ʿumûmi/ ʿumûmê the generality of all.
ʿumûmî (P) *adj.* general, universal.
ʿumr (A) *nm.* age; see *ʿamr*.
ʿunsur (A) *n.* element.
ʿurf (A) *n.* common law.
ʿusmanî (A) *adj.* Ottoman, Turkish, Turk; *n.* Ottoman empire.
ʿuzr (A) *nf.* excuse.
ʿuzre (A) *nm.* menstrual period.

B

ba 1. *nm.* air, wind.
ba 2. *n.* turn, twist.
ba dan *vt.* turn, twist.
baʿis (A) *nm.* cause.
bab 1. *nm.* father.
baba *nm.* father.
babo *n. voc.* father, (addressed to any) man.
bab 2. (A) *n.* affair, matter.
bak (P) *n.* fear.
bakire (A) *nf.* virgin.
balawî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Balaw village.
balge *nm.* cushion.
balikî *adj.* (member) of the Balikan tribe.
bamernî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Bamarni.
bang *nf.* call to prayer.
bang dan call to prayer.
bapîr *nm.* grandfather; *PN*.
bar 1. *nm.* load, burden.
bar kirin load (up).
bar 2. (P) *n.* time; see *car-baran*.
bare *n.* share, portion.

baran *nf.* rain.
bar-miz *n.* the price of a load (to trade with?).
barzanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Barzan village.
baş *adj.* good, well.
baş-katib (T) *nm.* chief secretary.
baş-koçek *nm.* head kouchek; see *koçek*.
batinî (A) *adv.* secretly.
batman *n.* a weight (1 batman = 7.77 kg.), a stone.
baweşîn *nf.* fanning.
bawir kirin *vt.* believe.
bawirî *nf.* belief, confidence.
ba-wucûdi (P) *adv.* notwithstanding, moreover.
baxê *nm.* master.
bazeber *nm.* stepping-stone.
bazar *nf.* market; trading.
  bazar kirin make a deal.
bazirgan *nm.* merchant.
bajarî *n.* town-dweller.
bajêr *nm.* town.
beʿz (A) few.
  beʿzekî a few (of).
beʿzî (P) *adj.* some.
beban *GN* Baban principality.
bedel (A) *n.* substitute, exchange; *pp.* in exchange for; see *ji bedel*.
beden *nm.* body.
beder *nm.* outside.
bed-esl (P) *adj.* low-born.
bed-karî *nf.* wrong-doing.
bed-nawî *nf.* infamy, disgrace.
bedr *PNm.* Badr.
bedxahî (P) *nf.* ill-will, malevolence.
befr *nf.* snow.
beg (T) *nm.* Beg, Bey (title).
beglik (T) *n.* beylik, district governed by a Bey.
begzade (P) *nm.* 1. gentleman, nobility; 2. *PN* a tribe.
beẋda *GNf.* Baghdad.
behane (P) *n.* pretext.
behîye (A) *adj.* splendid, magnificent; see *dewlet*.
behrewer (P) *adj.* having a share, fortunate.
beheşt *nf.* paradise.
beheştî *n.* denizen of paradise.
beḥr (A) *nf.* sea, lake.
beḥs (A) *nm.* discussion, topic.
  beḥs kirin discuss, mention.
bekr see *ebû bekr*.
bel *adj.* erect, bristling.
bela (A) *nf.* misfortune, calamity.
belaw *adj.* scattered, spread. [Ak. *belav*]
  belaw bûn scatter, disperse (*vi.*).
  belaw kirin scatter, disperse (*vt.*).
belê 1. *int.* yes; 2. *conj.* but.
belg *nm.* leaf.
beliʿandin *beliʿîn-*, *vt.* swallow (up).
belkî, belko *adv.*, *conj.* rather, perhaps.
bena (A) *n.* foundation, basis.
  bena li ser *pp.* on the basis of, on account of.
bende (P) *n.* (your) servant, (used as 1st pers. pron.); *pl.obl. bendegan*.
bendik *nm.* woollen thread.
benî-adem (A) *nm.* mankind, human being.
benî-beşer *nm.* human being.
ber 1. *nm.* stone, rock.
ber 2. *nm.* front, bosom.
  berê xo dan-e turn towards, face, regard, consider.
  di ber da on, being worn; see *di ber … da*.
  li layê ber we in front.
ber 3. *nm.* fruit.

ber 4. *adv.* free, loose.
ber-bûn become free; see *agir*.
ber-dan set free, divorce.
ber-dan-e set (dog) onto; let off (gun) at; see *agir*.
ber 5. *pp.* on, before; see *ji ber*; see *dan-e ber*.
berî *pp.* before (in time).
bereket (A) *nf.* blessing; see *xudan-bereket*.
beresorî *PN* Barasori tribe.
beṛewan *nm.* mediator. [Ak. *beṛevan*]
beṛewanî *nf.* mediation.
beraber = **beramber**.
berayî *nf.* van, front.
berayîk do.
li berayîkê in front, before.
beramber *adj.* equal;
beramberî *pp.* opposite, against.
beramberî *nf.* opposition.
beramberî kirin oppose.
beran *nm.* ram.
ber-ʿeks (P) *adj.* on the contrary.
berçêl *nf.* front of a cloak, lapel.
berdî *GN* Bardi pass.
berê *adj.* former, previous; *adv.* formerly.
bergûz see *ranî-bergûz*.
berîk *nf.* pocket.
bermay *nm.* what is left over.
ber-mûcibî (P) according to.
berûwajî (ber-û-wajî) *adj.* inverted, upside down. [Ak. *ber-o-vajî*]
ber-qerar (P) *adj.* established.
ber-wechi (P) *pp.* in the manner of.
berwarî *PN* Barwari tribe.
berx *n.* lamb.
beṛik *nf.* rug; see *kere-beṛik*.
beṛoj *nm.* sunny side (of mountain, valley).
beṛojî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Girdi Barozh.
berûxor *adj.* acorn-eating (i.e. hog).
bes *adv.* enough; well, then, so.
best *nf.* vale.
bestin *vt.* tie, bind.
beş *n.* part, division.
beş kirin divide, separate.
beṭal (A) *adj.* worthless, void, abrogated.
beṭal kirin nullify, abolish.
bexş- *vt.* forgive.
bext (P) *nm.* fortune.
beyan (A) *nf.* exposition, description, explanation.
beyan bûn become evident.
beyan kirin, fermon, describe, tell, explain, expose.
beydaẋ (<T) *n.* flag.
beynu-n-nehreyn (A) *GN* Mesopotamia.
beyt 1. (A) *n.* verse.
beyt 2. (A) *n.* house.
bez 1. *nm.* fat, suet.
bez 2. *nf.* run, path.
bezandin *bezîn-*, *vt.* make run, put to flight.
bezir *adj.* lost, disappeared.
bezir bûn disappear.
bezir kirin lose, destroy, eliminate.
bezîn *bez-*, *vi.* run.
bezm (P) *nf.* assembly.
bejn *nf.* stature, figure.
bê *pp.* without.
bê-edeb *adj.* rude, impolite.
bê-edebî *nf.* rudeness, impoliteness, discourtesy.
bê-emrî *nf.* disobedience; see *emr*.
bê-emrî(ya ...) kirin disobey.
bê-endêşe *adj.* without anxiety, trouble-free.
bê-ewlad *adj.* childless.
bê-aql *adj.* stupid; see *bê-ʿeql*.

bê-awrû *adj.* disgraced, dishonoured; see *aw(u)ṛû*.
bê-ʿedalet *adj.* unjust.
bê-ʿedaletî *adj.* injustice.
bê-ʿeql *adj.* stupid; see *bê-aql*.
bê-ʿezman *adj.* speechless.
bê-ʿar *adj.* immodest, profligate.
bê-bext *adj.* ill-omened, dishonourable.
bê-bextî *nf.* dishonourableness.
bê-ber *adj.* portionless, empty-handed.
bê-bidʿet *adj.* unchanged, without innovation.
bê-çek *adj.* disarmed.
bê-çare *adj.* helpless, destitute.
bê-deng *adj.* silent.
bê-derman *adj.* incurable, irremediable.
bê-destî *nf.* inadvertance.
bêdawî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Bedaw village.
bê-dînî *nf.* irreligion, lacking religion.
bê-famî *nf.* stupidity.
bê-fayde *adj.* useless, pointless.
bêgalteyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Begalta village.
bê-gunah *adj.* innocent.
bê-ẋerez *adj.* disinterested, impartial.
bê-ẋîret *adj.* cowardly.
bê-ẋîretî *nf.* cowardice.
bê-hîwî *adj.* desprairing, hopeless.
bê-ḥeya *adj.* shameless.
bê-ḥeysîyetî *n.* ignominy.
bê-ḥikmet *adj.* unwise, groundless.
bê-ḥisab *adj.* countless.
bê-ḥîle *adj.* straightforward, honest.
bê-ḥurmet *adj.* dishonoured.
bê-inṣaf *adj.* unjust.
bê-inṣafî *nf.* injustice.
bê-îman *adj.* infidel, irreligious.
bê-cewher *adj.* without worth.
bêcî *adj.* out of place, improper.
bê-keyfî *nf.* disappointment.
bê-keyfî(ya ...) kirin disappoint.
bê-kar *adj.* useless.
bêljîk (E) *adj.* Belgian.
bê-meʿrîfet *adj.* ignorant.
bê-merḥemet *adj.* merciless.
bê-meyl-û-ẋerez *adj.* disinterested, impartial; see *bê-ẋerez*.
bê-mêjî *adj.* brainless.
bê-misl *adj.* peerless.
bên 1. *nf.* smell, scent. [Ak. *bêhn, bihn*]
bên 2. *nf.* breath.
bêna xo dan take a rest, a breather.
bê-namûs *adj.* dishonourable.
bê-namûsî *nf.* dishonour.
bê-nan *adj.* without food.
bê-naw *adj.* nameless, unknown.
bên-bêne *adv.* in turns.
bên-xoş *adj.* fragrant.
bê-pê *adj.* legless.
bêrik *nf.* wooden shovel.
bê-reẋbet *adj.* without favour, disfavoured.
bê-ṛêz *adj.* disrespectful.
bê-ṛûh *adj.* lifeless.
bê-sebeb *adj.* without cause.
bê-şerm *adj.* shameless.
bê-şik *adv.* doubtless, certainly.
bê-şol *adj.* idle, unemployed.
bê-şuʿûr *adj.* stupid, foolish.
bê-şubhe *adj.* doubtless, certain.
bê-teʿeṣṣub *adj.* unfanatical, tolerant.
bê-teʿlîmî *nf.* lack of education.
bê-teref *adj.* impartial.
bê-terbiye *n.* lack of teaching.
bê-tifaq *adj.* disunited; cf. *bi-ittifaq*.
bê-tifaqî *nf.* discord, disunity.
bê-wefayî *nf.* faithlessness.
bê-wezîfe *adj.* without a post, unemployed.
bê-wijdan *adj.* unscrupulous.

bê-xeber *adj.* uninformed, ignorant.
bê-xem *adj.* assured, carefree.
bê-xatirî *nf.* disregard.
bê-xatirî(ya ...) kirin disappoint.
bê-xudan *adj.* ownerless.
bê-yumn *adj.* unfortunate, luckless.
bêj- see *gotin*.
bi *pp.* at, by, with, to, etc.; see *pê* 2.
bi ... da through; see *pê da*.
bi ... ṛa see *pê ṛa*.
bi ... we with, in, along; see *pê we*.
bi-aql *adj.* intelligent.
bi-ʿeql *adj.* intelligent.
bi-bisk *adj.* embroidered.
bi-çek *adj.* armed.
bi-çaw *adj.* sighted.
bi-çaw-diyar *adj.* obvious.
biçûk *adj.* young; *nm.* child.
biçûkînî *nf.* childhood. [Ak. *biçûkî*]
bi-deʿîye *adj.* full of pride, presumptious.
bidʿet (A) *n.* heresy.
bidlîsî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Bitlis.
bi-fayde *adj.* useful, profitable.
bi-goşt *adj.* fat, fleshy.
bi-gû *adj.* dung-covered.
bi-ẋîret *adj.* zealous.
bihar *nf.* spring.
bi-hay *adj.* awake.
bihîstin *inf.* hearing.
bihîstin *bihîz-*, *vt.* hear. [Ak. *b*(*ih*)*îstin*]
bi-ḥemle *adj.* pregnant.
bi-ḥeqq *adj.* true.
bi-ḥîle *adj.* cunning.
bi-ḥukm *adj.* powerful.
bi-ḥurmet *adj.* respected.
bi-inṣaf *adj.* just.
bi-ittifaq *adj.* united, in concord; see *bi-l-ittifaq*, *bê-ittifaq*.
bi-cî *adj.* proper, pertinent.
bicîlî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Bijil village.
bi-cuzûb *adj.* ecstatic.
bi-kar hatin be of use.
bi kêr ... hatin be of use for.
bi-kun *adj.* holed, holey.
bi-lez *adj.* in a hurry.
bi-lezet *adj.* tasty.
bila *pt.* (+*subj.*) let ...
bi-l-ʿeks (A) *adv.* on the contrary.
bilind *adj.* high, loud.
bi-l-ittifaq (A) *adv.* unanimously; see *bi-ittifaq*.
bi-l-kullî (A) *adv.* completely.
bi-l-meṛe (A) *adv.* entirely.
bi-merḥemet *adj.* merciful.
bin 1. *nm.* bottom, base.
bin 2. *nf.* stem.
bin *pp.* under, beneath.
binedar *nf.* tree.
binegûz *nf.* walnut-tree.
binecî *adj.* settled (Harki tribe).
binaguh *nf.* jaw under the ear.
binaẋe *n.* base, foundation.
binçiya *GN* district "below the mountain".
bin-dîwar *n.* foot of the wall; see *dîwar*.
binî *adj.* lower, ground floor.
bi-pê *adj.* having feet, legs.
bi-qeder *pp.* to the extent of.
bi-qedr-û-ḥurmet *adj.* honoured and respected.
bi-qer *adv.* on loan.
bi-qîmet *adj.* valuable.
bi-quwet *adj.* strong.
biṛ *n.* division, *part.*
bira *nm.* brother.
birader *nm.* friend.
biradostî *adj.* of the Bradost tribe.
biraştin *birêj-*, *vt.* roast, fry.

birin *be-*, *vt.* carry, take.
birinc *nf.* rice.
birincî (T) *adj.* first.
birîfkî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Birifk.
birîn *nf.* wound.
birîndar *adj.* wounded.
birîndarî *nf.* state of being wounded.
birk (<A) *nf.* pool
birû *n.* eyebrow.
birs *nf.* hunger.
  ji birsa(n) of hunger.
birsî *adj.* hungry.
biṛîn *biṛ-*, *vt.* cut (off).
***birandinewe** *birîn-*, *vt.* eradicate, annihilate.
bi-rûḥ *adj.* alive.
  di be(r) rûhê da on the point of death.
bi-rojî *adj.* fasting.
  bi-rojî bûn *inf.* fasting.
bi-sebeb *pp.* on account of
bi-senayî *adj.* easy; *adv.* easily.
bi-ser *pp.* upon.
bi-silaḥ *adj.* armed.
biskuṛînewe *vt.* scratch.
bisṭ *n.* span.
bi-şîr *adj.* milch.
bi-tefsîl *adj.* detailed.
bi-tinê *adv.* alone.
bitir *adj.* more, greater = pitir.
bitirê most of.
bi-tema' *adj.* greedy.
bi-ṭaqet *adj.* powerful.
biwir *nm.* axe. [Ak. *bivir*]
bi-xudan kirin *vt.* care for, look after, keep, raise.
biyanî *n.* stranger, foreigner.
bi-zeḥmet *adj.* difficult.
bizawtin *bizêw-*, *vt.* move. [Ak. *bizaftin, bizêv-*]
  xo bizawtin move, stir oneself.
bizdandin *bizdîn-*, *vt.* tear, break.
bizdiyan *bizdiyê-*, *vi.* tear, break.
bizin *nf.* goat.
bizot *nm.* brand [Sham. *biẓoṭ*]
bi-z-zat (A) *adv.* personally.
bijare *adj.* chosen, selected.
bî *nf.* willow.
bîmbaşî (<T) *n.* major.
bîn- see *dîtin*.
bîr *nf.* memory.
  bîra xo înan remember, recall.
  ji bîr kirin forget.
bîst *num.* twenty.
bîstan *nm.* garden. [Sham. *bîsṭan*]
bo *pp.* for, to; see *ji bo*.
  bo çi for what?
  bo çî why?
  bo layê *pp.* to, towards.
  bo xo for, by (one)self.
  bo lalî *pp.* to.
  bo naw *pp.* among.
  bo nik *pp.* to.
  bo ser *pp.* against.
borijîn *vi.* yawn.
bose *nf.* ambush.
  bose danan lay an ambush.
boş *adj.* abundant, populous.
boṭanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Bohtan district.
buẋz (A) *nf.* hatred.
***buẋzandin** *buẋzîn-*, *vt.* hate, detest.
***buhujîn** *buhuj-*, *vt.* melt.
burûdet (A) *n.* coldness.
buryan *n.* roast meat.
bûn *inf.* being, becoming.
bûn *b-*, *vi.* be, become.
  bûn-e become
  bûnewe *inf.* come free.

C

cablûs *adj.* flattering.
cablûsî (P) *nf.* flattery.
cahil (A) *adj.* ignorant, stupid.
caḥêl *adj.* young.
camiʿ (A) 1. *adj.* comprehensive, comprising; 2. *nf.* main mosque.
can (P) *n.* soul; cf. *giyan*.
  can û dil heart and soul.
canewer (P) *n.* creature, animal.
cang cloth, fabric.
cang-û-col *nm.* cloth.
canib (A) *nm.* side, direction.
canişîn (P) *nm.* vicar.
car *nf.* time, occasion.
  car sometimes.
  carekê once.
caran formerly.
car-baran from time to time.
carê for a while, for the moment.
  wê carê now, then.
ceʿferî *adj.* (follower) of the Imam Jaʾfar, Shiite.
ceʿferî-mezheb *adj.* of the Jaʾfari, Shiite sect.
cebexane (T) *n.* ammunition.
cebilxane = **cebexane**.
cedele (A) *nf.* dispute, debate.
  cedele kirin argue, dispute.
ceh *nm.* barley.
cehennem (A) *nf.* Hell. [Ak. *cehnem*]
cehennemî (A) *adj.* hellish, damned.
cehalet (A) *nf.* ignorance.
cehangîrî (P) *nf.* (world-)conquest.
celeb (A) *n.* flock (for sale).
celebok *nf.* trigger.
cemed (A) *nf.* ice.
cemedanî *nf.* kerchief.
cema (A) *adj.* gathered.
cema bûn gather, assemble.
cema kirin gather.
cemal (A) *nf.* beauty.
cemʿîyet (A) *nf.* group, assembly.
cembaz (P *jānbāz*) *nm.* swindler.
cenab (A) *nm.* Mister, your honour.
  cenabê ʿalî, mîr, mustetab your excellency.
cendek *nm.* corpse.
cendirme (T) *nm.* gendarme, zaptieh.
cennetî (P) *adj.* heavenly.
cenral (E) *nm.* general.
cente (T) *nf.* satchel, bag.
cerg *nm.* liver.
ceṛik (A *jarra*) *nm.* pot, vat.
cesaret (A) *nf.* boldness, audacity.
cesûr (A) *adj.* bold.
cewab (A) *nf.* answer. [Ak. *cab*]
  cewab dan(ewe) answer.
cewahir (A) *npl.* (of *jawhar*) jewels.
cewher (A) *n.* essence.
ceza (A) *nm.* requital, punishment.
  ceza dan requite.
cezbe (A) *n.* passion, ecstasy.
cezîre-y ʿereb *GN* the Arabian peninsula.
cê *nm.* place. = *cî*.
ciger (P) *n.* liver; see *cerg*.
cigare (E) *nf.* cigarette.
cihet (A) *nm.* cause, reason.
cihad (A) *nf.* holy war.
cihal *nm.* sack.
cil *n.* clothing, clothes.
cilik do.
cimaʿet (A) *nf.* gathering, assembly.
cin (A) *n.* jinn.
cirî *nf.* provisions.
cism (A) *n.* body.
cismanî (A) *adj.* corporeal, worldly.
cî *nm.* place; see *hatin, hêlan, înan, cîyek*.
cî-bi-cî kirin settle.

cînar *nm.* neighbour; see *cîran*.
cîq *n.* bird's dropping.
cîran (A *pl.*) *nm.* neighbour; see *cînar*.
cîranî *nf.* neighbourhood.
conega *n.* young ox.
cor (P) *n.* kind, type.
cot *nm.* pair (footwear, oxen)
  cot kirin plough.
coyîk *nf.* channel.
cuda (P) *adj.* separate.
  cuda bûn depart.
cudayî (P) *nf.* difference.
cumʿe (A) *nf.* Friday.
cumhûrîyet (A) *n.* republic.
cuwan *adj.* handsome, beautiful, proper.
cû *n.* Jew.
  cûyo *voc.*
cûcik *n.* chick. [Ak. *cûcelok*]
cûn *n.* abuse, curses. [Ak. *civîn*]
  cûn dan curse, abuse.

Ç

ç- see *çûn*.
çaçan *n.* Chechen.
çadir *nf.* tent.
çak *adj.* good, well.
çakî *nf.* goodness, favour.
çal *n.* pit.
  çal kirin bury.
çandin *çîn-*, *vt.* sow, plant.
çar *num.* four.
çare *n.* remedy.
çarçelê GN Charchal ["Four cliffs"] mountain.
çarmêrkî *adv.* cross-legged. [Ak. *çarmêrkanî*]
çarnikar *n.* all four sides.
çar-ṣed *num.* four hundred.
çaw *nm.* eye.
  çaw kirin li look (to).
çawa(n) *adv.* how, as.
çaw-bi-xew *adj.* sleepy.
çawî *n.* eye-hole (of beehive).
çawrî *n.* livestock.
çaw-ṛeş *adj.* black-eyed.
çawṛê *n.* expectation.
  li çawṛê waiting for.
çaw-şorî *n.* hanging the head in shame.
çawuş (T) *n.* sergeant.
çay *n.* tea.
çefî-(w)-ʿekal (A) *npl.* Arab head-dress, *kūfīya* and *ʿiqāl*.
çek *n.* weapon.
çekme (T) *n.* boot.
çemandin *vt.* bend.
  ser çemandin bow.
çemiyan *vi.* be bent.
  çemiyayî *adj.* bent.
çend *adj.* some, several, a few; how many, how much?
çendan *adv.* so much; see. *sê çendan*.
çendî *adv.* however much, many.
çep *adj.* left (hand).
çepel *n.* slap.
çeqandin, çeqîn- *vt.* loose (cock of gun), stick in.
çeqmaq (T) *nf.* cock of a flintlock.
çerê *n.* foraging.
***çerîn** *çer-*, *vi.* forage, graze.
çerkes *n.* Circassian.
çerm *nm.* skin.
çê from *çiyê*, oblique form of *çi*, see *çi*.
çê-bûn *-b-*, *vi.* be, become, be achieved.
çê-kirin *-ke-*, *vt.* make, fulfil.
çêl *nf.* cow.
çêtir *adj.* better.
çêtir wiyan prefer.

çi 1. *adj.* what; *adv.* how.
çi qeder how (much).
çi 2. *pro.* what, some(thing), any(thing); emphatic also *çî*.
çî dî anything else, any more.
çî weto anything of that sort.
çi 3. ... *çi*, *conj.* whether ... or.
çik *adj.* dry (source).
çikçik *nf.* rumour.
çil *num.* forty.
çinar *n.* plane tree.
çing *n.* fist, handful.
***çinîn** *çin-*, *vt.* pluck, gather.
çira *n.* lamp.
çirpe *nm.* siege tower.
çito *adv.* how. [Ak. *çitov*]
çiya *nm.* mountain.
çizik *çisk*, *nf.* sprout, shoot.
çî see *çi*.
çînî *adj.* China, porcelain.
çîr̥ *nf.* chatter, nonsense.
çok *nm.* knee.
çol (T) *adj.* bare, empty; *nm.* plain, wilderness.
çunko *conj.* for, because.
çu (+ neg) *adj.*, *pro.* no, none, nothing.
çu car(an) never.
çu ne *pro.* nothing.
çust *adj.* quick, nimble.
çûn *ç-*, *vi.* go.
çûn-e der go off (gun)
çûnewe *vi.* go back.

D

da 1. *conj.* so that.
da 2. *pt.* forming present imperfective.
da- *preverb.* down, etc.
da [*enclitic*] *postposition*, see *bi, di*.
da'î (A) *n.* petitioner, (polite for) I.
dabbetu-l-arz (A) *n.* the Beast of the earth.
dadan *-d-*, *vt.* put down.
daêxistin *-êx-*, *vt.* lock.
dagirtin *-gir-*, *vt.* load.
dagirtinewe reload.
daẋistanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Daghestan.
dahatin *-ê-*, *vi.* come (in).
dahêlan *-hêl-*, *vt.* let down.
daim, daimen (A) *adv.* permanently, always.
daimî (P) *adv.* permanently, constantly, always.
daire (A) *nf.* office; see *dewair*.
dakewtin (ji) *vi.* pass (by).
dakirin *-k-*, *vt.* take in.
damezirandin *-mezirîn-*, *vt.* settle, establish.
dan 1. *inf.* giving.
dan *de-*, *vt.* give; see *lê dan*.
dan-e + *inf.*, cause to be ... ed.
dane paş repel; see *xo dan-e paş*.
dan-e ber put to, attack with.
dan li hit, strike, beat, fire (gun); see *lê dan*.
danewe 1. give back, see *cewab*; 2. pitch (tent).
dan 2. *nm.* grain; see *dexl-û-dan*.
dan 3. *nm.* the portion corresponding to one third of the day.
rojek û danekan a day and a bit.
danemaş *adj.* particoloured, speckled (like gram).
dapîr *nf.* grandmother.
dapîroşk *nf. nf.* spider.
dar 1. *nm.* wood, stick.
dar 2. *nf.* tree.
darbest *nf.* litter, stretcher.

dasinî *PN* Yazidi.
daw *nf.* 1. thread; 2. snare. [Ak. *dav*]
dawat (A *daʿwat*) *nf.* celebration, wedding. [Ak. *dewat*]
daxil *pp.* inside, in.
  daxili ... bûn enter.
daxilî (P) *adj.* internal.
day-bab *npl.* parents.
day-babî *adj.* full, blood-(brother, sister).
day-ḥîz *n.* whoreson.
dayik *nf.* mother.
de- see *dan*.
deʿîye (A) *nf.* pretension, pride.
deʿl *n.* thicket, forest.
deʿwa (A) *nf.* claim, plaint, dispute.
deban *adj.* damascened.
def (A) *n.* tambourine.
defʿ (A) *nf.* repulsion.
  defʿ kirin repulse.
defʿe (A) *nf.* time, occasion.
defter *nf.* register, list.
deftera nufûsan population register.
deh *num.* ten.
de-hizar ten thousand.
dehlewî *adj.* of Delhi.
deh-salî *n.* peiod of ten year.
dehşet (A) *nf.* consternation, fear.
deh-yêk *nf.* tithe, tenth.
deccal (A) *PN* Antichrist.
delanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Dalan (village).
delîl (A) *nf.* proof, reason.
delû *n.* minstrel.
dem *nf.* moment, instant.
  dema (ko) when.
  demekê for a while.
deman *nf.* hem, skirt.
demar (A) *nf.* vein; desire for revenge, rancour.
deng *nm.* voice, sound, report.
deqîqe (A) *n.* minute.
der 1. door, opening, muzzle (of gun); see *derik*.
deri seʿadet (P) *GN* Istanbul.
der 2. *nf.* place: see *kê-derê*, *wê-derê*.
der 3. *adv.* out; see *ji derwe*.
der 4. (P) *pp.* in. see *der-heq*.
der destê ... da in the hand of.
der zemanê ... da in the time of.
derece (A) *nf.* step, degree; see *ewwel derece*.
direng *adv.* late.
derazîn *nf.* threshold, doorstep.
derbaz bûn *vi.* pass, cross over.
derbaz kirin *vt.* carry over.
derd *nm.* pain, illness, disease.
derdega *nf.* cattle-plague.
derdeserî *nf.* pain, difficulty.
der-êxistin *-êx-*, *vt.* put out, remove.
dergeh *nm.* gate, court.
dergewan *nm.* gate-keeper.
dergah (P) *nm.* gate, court.
der-heq (P) *pp.* concerning.
der-ḥal (P) *adv.* immediately, instantly.
derik *nm.* door.
***der-înan** *-în-*, *vt.* take out.
der-kewtin *-kew-*, *vi.* come out, go out, fall out, turn out (to be). [Ak. *der-keftin, -kev-*]
derman *nm.* remedy, medicine, spice, dye.
  derman kirin treat, cure.
derpê *nf.* underpants.
ders (A) *nf.* lesson.
  ders gotin teach.
  ders xundin learn, study.
derwaze (P) *nm.* gate.
derwêş *n.* dervish.
desîse (A) *n.* plot, intrigue.
dest *nm.* 1. hand; 2. suit.
  dest dan-e grasp, seize.

dest kirin bi begin, start.
dest kirin ji give up, abondon.
ji dest hatin be possible.
destexîşk *nf.* blood-sister, friend.
dest-bijar *adj.* hand-picked, selected.
destik *nm.* handle, hilt.
destikebiwir *n.* pick-handle, axe-helve.
dest-kutan, -qutan *inf.* feeling one's way.
dest-niwêj *nf.* ritual ablution.
destûr *n.* permission.
destûr dan let go.
destûrî *nf.* leave.
destûrî xastin take leave.
desturu-l-ʿemel (A) *nf.* instructions.
dest-xalî *adj.* empty-handed.
deşt *nf.* plain.
dew *nm.* mouth. [Ak. *dev*]
dewair (A) *npl.* (of *daire*) offices.
dewam (A) *nf.* durability.
dewar (T) *nf.* cattle, beast.
dewarfiroş *n.* cattle-dealer.
dewlet (A) *nf.* 1. wealth, riches; 2. government.
dewleta ʿelîye the exalted (Ottoman) government.
dewleta behîye the august (Ottoman, or Russian) government.
dewletî (P) *adj.* governmental.
dewletmend (P.) *adj.* rich, wealthy.
dewletmendî (P.) *nf.* wealth.
dewre (A) *n.* surrounding.
dewre dan (li) surround, encircle.
dewrane *nf.* surrounding, siege.
dewrane dan surround.
dexalet (A) *nf.* refuge, submission.
dexalet kirin submit, surrender.
dexl (A) *n.* interest, concern, connection.
dexl-û-dan *nm.* crops.
dezî *n.* (crocheted from) cotton thread. [Ak. *dezû*]
defn (A) *n.* burial.
defn kirin bury.
dê 1. *pt.* forming future tense.
dê 2. *int.* well! go on!.
dêl *nf.* bitch.
dêm *nm.* dry, unirrigated land.
dêmî *adj.* dry, unirrigated.
dêr (Syr *dayr*) *nf.* church, monastery.
dêwane (P) *adj.* mad(man).
di *pp.* in, at.
di ... da in, on.
di mabeyna ... da between; see *mabeyn*.
di pêş da at first, previously, beforehand.
di ... ra across, by; see *tê-ṛa*.
di ... we through.
di ber (... da) *pp.* on.
di ber xo kirin put on, don.
di bin (... da) *pp.* under.
dibît must. [Ak. *tbît*]
didan *nm.* tooth.
difn *nf.* nose.
digel *pp.* with.
dil *nm.* heart, mind.
dil(ê ...) xoş kirin satisfy, placate; see *dilxoş*.
dil-qahîm *adj.* firm-minded, resolute.
dilreş *adj.* angered, angry.
dilṣaf *adj.* innocent.
dilṭeng *adj.* distressed.
dilxoş *adj.* satisfied, placated.
dilxoş kirin satisfy, placate; see *dil*.
dilxoşî *nf.* satisfaction, pleasure.
dimik *nm.* beak.
dimik dan (li) peck (at).
di naw ... da within, among.
di pêş ... da before. cf. *di pêş da*.

diqqet (A) *n.* care, attention.
bi diqqet carefully.
dirêşe *n.* awl.
dirêj *adj.* long.
dirêj kirin extend, stretch.
dirêjatî *nf.* length. [Ak. *dirêjayî*]
dirust *adj.* right, proper, correct.
dirust kirin prepare.
dirustî *nf.* correctness.
bi dirustî correctly.
dirûn, *dirê- vt.* sew; see *dûrîn*.
diṛandin *diṛîn-*, *vt.* tear.
diṛinde *adj.* fierce.
diṛyan *vi.* tear, be torn (apart).
destar *n.* quern.
diyar *adj.* apparent, evident, visible; = *dîhar*.
diz 1. *n.* thief.
diz 2. *nf.* fortress.
dizî *nf.* theft.
dizîn *diz-*, *vt.* steal.
dijwar *adj.* strong, fierce.
dî *adj.* other, another.
dîhar *adj.* apparent, evident, visible; = *diyar*.
dîhar kirin indicate, point out.
dîharî *nf.* gift, present. [Ak. *diyarî*]
dîn 1. *adj.* mad, crazy.
dîn 2. (A) *nm.* religion.
dînî (P), *adj.* religious.
dîsa(n) *adv.* again.
dîtin *inf.* seeing, sight.
dîtin *bîn-*, *vt.* see.
dîtinewe 1. see again; 2. find, discover. [Ak. *dîtineve*]
dîwan *nf.* audience chamber.
dîwanxane (P) *nf.* audience chamber.
dîwar *nm.* wall.
do *nm.* buttermilk.
dobe *nm.* sap, juice.
dodî-bodî *n.* irrelevance, fatuity.
du-hizar *num.* two thousand.
dol *nf.* deep valley, combe.
dor-û-pişk *n.* bar and latch.
***doṛandin**, *doṛîn- vt.* lose.
doskanî *PN* (of the) Doski tribe.
dost *n.* friend.
dostî *nf.* friendship.
dostînî *nf.* friendship.
doşek *n.* mattress.
doşaw *nf.* grape-syrup. [Ak. *doşav*]
***dotin** *doş-*, *vt.* milk.
doxîn *nf.* pyjama-cord.
du *num.* two.
du-qat *adj.* double.
du-ṣed *num.* two hundred.
duyê *adj.* second.
duʿa (A) *nf.* prayer.
duʿa-qebûl *adj.* one whose prayers are answered.
dugmelî (T) flintlock.
duhî *adv.* yesterday.
dohîn *nm.* curds.
duktor *nm.* doctor.
dunya (A) *nf.* world, weather.
dunyadar (P) *adj.* worldly, well-to-do.
dunyayî *adj.* worldly, secular.
dunya-xirab-bûn *nf.* end of the world.
duro *nf.* lie. [Ak. *diro*]
duro kirin lie.
durohîn *n.* liar.
durûşûşk *nf.* sting.
duṛ (A) *n.* pearl.
duṣbe, duṣibe *n.* day after tomorrow.
dujmin *nm.* enemy.
dujminatî *nf.* enmity.
dujminî *nf.* enmity.
dû 1. *pp.* after; see *li dû*; 2. *adv.* behind.
dû kewtin follow.
dûmayê *adv.* afterwards.

dûmayî *nf.* end.
dûpişk *nm.* scorpion.
dûr *adj.* far, distant.
dûrbîn *nf.* binocular, telescope.
dûrîn *vt.* sew, embroider.
dû ṛa *adv.* afterwards, behind.
dwazde *num.* twelve. [Ak. *dwanzde*]

E

ecel (A) *nf.* (hour of) death.
ecdad (A *pl.*) *nm.* ancestors, forefathers.
eʿla (A) *adj.* superior, excellent.
eʿla-ḥezret (A). Supreme Highness.
eʿla-qîmet high-priced, costly.
eʿyan (A) *npl.* nobles.
eʿza (A *pl.*) *nm.* member, organ.
ebeden (A) *adv.* not at all, never.
ebedî (A) *adj.* eternal; *adv.* eternally.
ebleh (A) *adj.* foolish.
edeb (A) *nm.* good manners, civility.
edebxane (P) *nf.* 1. school; 2. lavatory.
edna (A) *adj.* inferior.
edyan (A) *npl.* (of *dîn*) religions.
efendî (T) *nm.* gentleman; (as title) Mr.
efzel (A) *adj.* superior, better, best.
efzelîyet (A) *nf.* superiority.
eger *conj.* if.
egerçi, -çî (... emma) *conj.* although, even if (... yet, nevertheless).
egerne *conj.* if not, else, otherwise
eẋleb (A) *n.* most; *adv.* mostly.
eẋnam (A) *npl.* flocks.
ehemmîyet (A) *nf.* importance.
ehalî (A *pl.* of *ahl*) *n.* people, inhabitants.
ehl (A), *nm.* people, inhabitant(s).
ehli fezl-û-kemal (P) *adj.* virtuous and accomplished people.
ehlê kesb-û-kar workers.
ehli, -ê kitab (P) people of the book (Muslims, Jews and Christians).
ehlê siyaset rational people.
ehli şeraret (P) evildoers.
ehli tedbîr (P) prudent, wise people.
eḥkam (A) *npl.* (of *ḥukm*) commands, precepts.
eḥmeq (A) *adj.* fool, foolish.
eḥwal (A *pl.* of *ḥāl*) *nm.* circumstances, situation, health.
eḥwal-pirsî *nf.* inquiry after one's health.
ejdeha (P) *n.* dragon.
ekrem (A) *adj.* most noble.
ekser (A) *n.* most (*-î, -ê*, of); *adv.* mostly.
el-ʿan (A) *adv.* now.
elbette (A) *adv.* certainly, undoubtedly; see *helbet*.
elbakî *n.* (*inh.*) of Albak.
el-ḥeqq (A) in truth, truly.
elif-bê *n.* alphabet.
ellah (A) *nm.* God, Allah.
elman (E) *adj.* German; see *alman*.
elmas *nf.* diamond.
elzem (A) *adj.* most necessary; see *lazim*.
em *pro.* we; *obl. me*.
eman (A) *n.* safety, quarter, pardon.
emare (A) *nm.* sign, token.
emîn (A) *n.* functionary; *adj.* secure, confident, trustworthy.
emîr (A) *nm.* commander, chief; see *mîr*.
emlak (A *pl.* of *mulk*) *nm.* properties.
emma (A) *conj.* but; however, yet, nevertheless.
emn (A) *n.* security.
emnîyet (A) *nf.* security, safe-conduct.
emr (A) *nm.* order, command.
emr kirin, fermon, command.
emr û ferman *nm.* command; see *ferman*.

emrîkayî *adj.* American.
emsal (A *pl.* of *misl*) *nm.* the like(s).
endêşe (P) *nf.* anxiety.
endêşe kirin be anxious, worry.
enî *nf.* forehead.
enîya xo kirin-e kurîşk wrinkle, pucker one's brow, frown.
enî-guşad *adj.* having an open, broad forehead.
encumen (P) *nf.* assembly, society.
encumena xeyrîye Assistance Board.
eqell (A) *adj.* least
eqdem (A) *adj.* foremost.
erazî (A) *npl.* (of erz) lands.
ergoşî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Argosh.
ermenî *adj.* Armenian.
ernahûd (<T) *adj.* Albanian.
erbab (A) *nm.* masters.
erwaḥ (A) *npl.* (*rûḥ*) souls, spirits.
erwasî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Arwas.
erz (A) *nm.* land; see *erazî, ʿerd*.
erzanî (P) *n.* plenty.
erzaq (A *pl.* of *ṛizq*) *nm.* provisions, rations.
erzing (Arm. *haṛacank'*) *n.* sigh, groan.
eseḥ (A) *adj.* most correct, true.
eser (A) *nf.* effect, result, trace; work, opus; see *asar*.
eser kirin affect.
esas (A) *nm.* basis, foundation.
esbab (A) *npl.* (of *sabab*) causes, reasons.
esîr (A) *n.* prisoner; see *êxsîr*.
esîr-ḥisab *adj.* counted as, as good as a prisoner.
eṣl (A) *nm.* origin, basis.
eṣlen (A) (+ neg) *adv.* not at all.
eṣlî (A) *adj.* original, noble.
esna (A) *nf.* space of time, meanwhile
esrar (A) *npl.* secrets.
esḥab (A) *npl.* (of *ṣaḥib*) Companions (of the Prophet Muhammed).
eslen (A)not at all
eşqî (A) *adj.* rebellious.
eşqîya (A *pl.*) *nm.* rebel.
eşqîyatî *nf.* rebellion.
eşref (A) *adj.* (more) noble.
etû *pro.* thou; = *tu*.
etraf (A *pl.* of *taraf*) mm. sides, directions, parts.
ew 1. *dem. pro.* that, he, she, it; *pl. ewan*, they; *obl.m.* (*e*)*wî, f. wê, pl. wan*.
ew 2. *dem. adj.* that; *pl. ewan*, those; *obl.m. wî, f. wê, pl. wan*; see *wihê, wihî*.
ew hind see hind.
ew ... e *dem. adj.* this; *pl.* (*e*)*wan ... e*, these.
ew hinde see *hinde*.
ewe 1. *dem. pro.* this; *pl. ewane*, these.
ewe 2. *adv.* then, now, (giving a sense of actuality to the verb).
-ewe postverb. again, back, etc.; see *bûn, çûn, dîtin, hatin, kirin*, etc.
ewete *int.* behold.
ewamir (A) *npl.* commands.
ewcar *adv.* then.
ewlad (A *pl.* of *walad*) *nm.* offspring, children.
ewladu-resûl (A) *nm.* descendant of the prophet.
ewliyaʾu-llah (A) *n.* holy man.
ewrazî *nm.* uphill slope, incline; *adv.* uphill, upstream. [Ak. *evrazî*]
ewro *n.*, *adv.* today. [Ak. *evro*]
ewsale *adv.* this year.
ewwel (A) *adv.* first; *nm.* beginning.
ewwelen (A) *adv.* at first, firstly.
ewwel-derece *nm.* the foremost, first-ranking.

ey *int.* O! oh!; see *ay*.
eyînî *n.* Friday. [Ak. *ehînî*, Am. *înî*]
ez *pro.* I, *obl. min*.
ezel (A) *n.* eternity without beginning.
ezelî (A) *adj.* pre-existent, eternal.
ezîyet (A) *nf.* difficulty, trouble, hardship, injury.
ez-cumle-y (P) *pp.* from among.

Ê

êdî *adv.* henceforth, then.
êprax (<T) *n.* stuffed vine leaves.
êre *adv.* here.
  ji êre wê-we from here on, henceforth.
êrwe *adv.* hither.
  ji êrwe wê-we from here to there.
êş *nf.* pain.
êşan *êş-*, *vi.* ache, hurt.
êwarî *nf.* evening, in the evening. [Ak. *hêvarî*]
  êwarî bi xêr good evening.
êxistin *êx-*, *vt.* set, put; throw off, out; shoot down.
êxsîr (A *asīr*) *n.* prisoner.
  êxsîr kirin capture, take prisoner.
êzidî *n.* Yazidi.

F

faʿil (A) *nm.* agent.
fahişe (A) *adj.* obscene, shameless.
faiz (A) *n.* interest.
fam (A) *n.* intelligence, understanding.
  fam kirin understand, realize.
fama *adj.* intelligent.
farisîye (A) *n.* Persian language.
farsî *adj.* Persian.
fasiq (A) *n.* villain.
fatisqe *n.* white cloth.
fayde (A) *nm.* advantage.
  faydetir *adj.* more advantageous, profitable.
fazil (A) *adj.* excellent, virtuous.
fecere (A) *adj.* wicked, debauched.
fele *n.* (Assyrian) Christian.
felekzede (P) *adj.* stricken by fate, unfortunate.
feqet (A) *adv.* only.
feqî(h) (A) faqih, religious student.
feqîr (A) *adj.* poor (man).
ferîsî (A) *n.* Pharisee.
ferman *nf.* order, command.
  ferman kirin command.
fermode (P) *nm.* utterance, words.
fermon *fermo-*, *vt.* command, (of a superior) say, do.
ferq (A) *nf.* difference, distinction.
  ferq(ê) kirin 1. distinguish; 2. change.
ferset (A) *nf.* opportunity.
feryadres (P) *n.* helper in need.
ferz (A) *n.* 1. supposition, presumption; 2. duty, obligation.
ferzen (A) *conj.* supposing.
fesad (A) *nf.* corruption. [Ak. *fesadî*]
fesaḥet (A) *n.* eloquence.
fetḥ (A) *nf.* victory; see *futûḥat*.
***fewitandin,** *fewitîn- vt.* destroy.
fewitîn, *fewit- vi.* die, lapse; see *fewt*.
fewqu-l-ʿade (A) *adj.* extraordinary.
fewt (A) *n.* destruction, lapse.
  fewt kirin destroy.
feysel (A) *n.* decision.
  feysel kirin settle (a dispute).
feyz (A) *n.* bounty; see *xudan-feyz*.
fezail-me'ab (A) repository of virtues.
fezl (A) *nf.* virtue; see. *ehli fezl-û-kemal*.
fezle (A) *n.* remainder, surplus.
fêqî (A) *n.* fruit.

fêr bûn *vi.* learn, become accustomed.
fêr(e ...) kirin *vt.* teach, acquaint with.
fiʿl (A) *n.* deed, action.
fida (A) *nm.* sacrifice, ransom.
fikirîn di *vt.* consider, watch.
fikr (A) *nf.* thought.
fikr kirin think.
fi-l-ḥeqîqe (A) *adv.* in truth, indeed.
fille *n.* (Assyrian) Christian; see *fele*.
firefir *nf.* frothing.
firengî *adj.* European.
firense *GN* France.
firar (A) *n.* 1. flight; 2. fugitive, refugee.
firar kirin flee.
firaset (A) *n.* perspicacity, discernment.
firawîn *nf.* midday meal, lunch. [Ak. *firavîn*]
ferace *adj.* grown up (for chicks).
firʿewn (A) *nm.* Paraoh.
firotin *firoş-*, *vt.* sell.
firqe (A) *n.* sect, party, (mil.) division.
firqe-qumandan(î) (T) *nf.* Divisional Commander.
fiṛe dan *vt.* throw.
fiṛîn *fiṛ-*, *vi.* fly.
fisq (A) *n.* iniquity.
fitre 1. *n.* a weight, ca. 3 lbs (?).
fitre 2. (A) *n.* alms given at the end of Ramazan.
fîşek (T) *n.* cartridge.
fîşeng *n.* cartridge.
fîtî *n.* whistle.
fîtî dan(e) whistle (to).
fulan (A) such-and-such, so-and-so. [Ak. *filan*]
furent (E) *nm.* front.
futûḥat (A) *npl.* (of *fatḥ*) victories.
fuzûl (A) *adj.* meddlesome.

G

ga *nm.* ox.
gader *GN* Gadar river.
galte *n.* joke.
gan *gê-*, *vt.* copulate with (of male).
gaṛan *nf.* herd of cattle.
gawan *nm.* cowherd.
gawanî *nf.* job of cowherd.
gaxor *adj.* ox-eater.
gazinde *n.* complaint.
gazinde kirin (ji) complain (about).
gazî kirin *vt.* cry, shout, summon.
ge- see *geştin*.
geheştin *geh-*, *vi.* arrive (at, reach); ripen, mature; see *geştin*. [Ak. *gehiştin*]
geheştî ripe.
gehandin *gehîn-*, *vt.* cause to arrive (at, reach).
gel see *digel*.
gele *adv.* much, very.
gelek *pro.* much; *adj.*, *adv.* much, many, very.
gelek caran often.
gelî 1. (*voc. pl. pt.*) O you ...
gelî 2. *nm.* gorge.
genim *nm.* wheat.
genimeşamî *nm.* maize.
genceyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Ganja.
geremûsî *adj.* of Garamus village.
gerden *nf.* neck.
gerden aza kirin pardon, let go.
gerdom *nf.* cart.
germ *adj.* warm, hot.
germa *nf.* heat.
germîyan *nf.* warm country.
geṛyan *inf.* going about.
geṛyan *geṛyê-*, *vi.* go about, walk.
geṛyan li seek, search for.

geṛyan ji leave alone, abandon.
geṛyanewe return; see *we-geṛyanewe*.
geştin *ge-* (= *geheştin, geh-*).
gewer *GN* plain, district of Gawar.
gewerî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Gawar.
gewerok *GN* Gawarok camp.
gewr *adj.* grey; see *ṣone-gewrik*. [Ak. *gevr*]
geylanî *adj.* of Gilan.
gez *n.* ell.
gêṛan *gêṛ-*, *vt.* turn. see *hawiṛî*.
gêṛanewe *vt.* send back; relate.
giya *nm.* grass, pasture.
giyan *nm.* body, soul.
gir *n.* hill.
giṛ *adj.* bare (teeth).
gir- see *girtin*.
giran *adj.* heavy; expensive.
giran-qîmet *adj.* valuable.
giranî *nf.* weight.
girdî *PN* Girdi tribe(sman).
girê *n.* knot.
girê dan tie.
girê-dayî tied.
girî *nf.* weeping.
girîn *vi.* weep.
girît *GN* Crete.
girîwan *nm.* collar. [Ak. *girîvan*]
girtin *gir-*, *vt.* hold, catch, take, seize.
xo girtin restrain oneself.
girj *adj.* bristling, erect.
girj bûn bristle (hair).
giwişîn *vt.* squeeze.
gîro *adj.* delayed.
gîro kirin delay, restrain.
gom *nf.* pond.
gopal *nm.* staff.
gore *n.* stocking.
gorange *n.* grove, wood.
goşt *nm.* meat, flesh.
gotin *inf.* speech, words.
gotin *bêj-* (*-e*), *vt.* say (to, tell).
guftugo (P) *n.* talk, discussion.
guh *nm.* ear.
guh dan(-e) listen to.
guh li ... bûn hear.
guhand *n.* boundary.
guhar *n.* earring.
guhastin *vt.* transfer, transport.
guhorîn *guhor-*, *vt.* exchange; see *libas-guhor*, *şiklguhor*.
gul *nf.* flower, rose.
gul-gul *adj.* fringed (rug).
gulî *nf.* branch.
gulle *nm.* musket ball, bullet.
gumbet *nm.* dome.
gumrikçî (T) *nm.* customs officer.
gumtil *nm.* cluster, clump, clod.
gun *nm.* testicle.
gunah (P) *nf.* sin. [Ak. *guneh*]
gunahkar (P) *adj.* sinner, sinful. [Ak. *gunehkar*]
gund *nm.* village.
gurd *nm.* hero.
gurdegurd *nf.* noise.
gurg *nm.* wolf.
guṛî *nf.* flame.
gustîr *nf.* finger ring. [Ak. *gustîl*]
gû *nm.* excrement.
gûgêṛik *n.* dung-beetle.
gûxor *adj.* muck-eating.
gûz *nf.* walnut (tree).
gûzan *nf.* razor.

H

haga *n.* awareness, consciousness. cf. *agah*.
har *adj.* fierce.

harî *n.* help, assistance.
harî ... kirin help.
harîkar *nm.* helper.
harîkarî *nf.* help, assistance.
hatin (*h*)*ê-*, *vi.* come; *pres. ind. tê-*, *pres. subj. b*(*ih*)*ê-*, *pret. hat*, *imperf. dihat*.
hatine (+ *inf*), *aux.* verb of the passive.
hatinewe come back, return. [Ak. *hatineve*]
hat-û-çûn *nf.* coming and going, intercourse.
hat-û-çûn kirin hold familiar intercourse.
hawêtin *hawêj-*, *vt.* throw, cast; loose off, fire (gun); imper. *pawêje*. [Ak. (*h*)*avêtin,* (*h*)*avêj-*]
hawiṛî *nf.* attention, glance. [Ak. *havirî*]
hawiṛî (wer-)gêṛan turn the attention.
hawîn *nf.* summer. [Ak. *havîn*]
hawînan *hawînê*, in summer.
hay 1. *int.* Oh!
hay 2. *adj.* awake, alert.
hay bûn(ewe) wake up.
hay kirin awaken.
hajotin *hajo-*, *vt.* drive, hasten.
hebca (+ neg), *adv.* not at all.
hebûn *heb-*, *vi.* be, exist.
hecet (A) *nf.* excuse, pretext.
hel *nf.* stall, pen.
hel- *preverb.* up, out, etc.
helaket (A) *nf.* perdition, destruction.
helak (A) *nf.* perdition, destruction.
helatin *inf.* rising, rise.
helatin *vi.* rise (sun, dawn); see *rojhelat*; cf. *ḥelatin*.
helawêtin *vt.* throw onto. [Ak. *helavêtin*]
helawêtine ber submit to a beating with.
helawîstin *-awîs-/-awês-*, *vt.* hang up.
helbet *adv.* certainly.
helgirtin *-gir-* *vt.* lift, raise, take.
helînan *-în-*, *vt.* raise; steep.
helkewtin *-kew-*, *vi.* crop up, happen. [Ak. *helkeftin*, *-kev-*]
helkêşan *vt.* draw (up, out); see *panî*.
helkolîn *vt.* dig out.
helpisarin(e) *vt.* lean (against). [Ak. *helpisartin*]
helşkawtin *-şkêw-*, *vt.* pull up, out, uproot.
heltûtirîn *vi.* squat.
helweşyanewe *vi.* disintegrate, be dissolved.
hem *adv.* also, too.
hem ... hem ... both ... and ...
heman (P) *dem. adj.* that, those same.
hemberan *n.* equal, peer.
hemban *nf.* grain sack.
hemî 1. *adj.* all; *pl. hemîyan*; 2. *nf.* everything.
hemîşe (P) *adv.* always.
hene there are; see *heye*.
her 1. *adj.* all, each, every.
her çar *pl. çaran*, all four.
her du *pl. duyan*, both.
her pênc all five.
her sê *pl. siyan / sêyan*, all three; *her sêk*.
her yek *yêk*, each one.
he(r) 2. *adv.* continuously; nevertheless; just, absolutely.
her neba *her nebît*, at the very least.
here imper. go!; *pl. herin*.
herewe go back!
heraftin *vt.* destroy; see *heriftin*, *nijinîn*. [Ak. *herifandin*]
herçend *adv.* although.

herçi, -çî *pro.* whatever, everything.
heriftin *herif-*, *vi.* collapse; see *heraftin*.
herimandin *vt.* render (ritually) impure, befoul. [Ak. *ḥ*]
herin see *here*.
herkî PN Harki tribe (sman).
herkîyê binecî settled Harki.
herkîyê koçer nomadic Harki.
herzal *nf.* summer shelter of reeds erected on the roof.
herzin *nm.* millet.
heṛişandin *heṛişîn-*, *vt.* thrash, shatter.
heṛo *adv.* daily, every day. = *her roj*.
hesp *nm.* horse.
heşt *num.* eight; see *ḥeşt*.
heşt-salî eight-years-old.
heşt-ṣed *num.* eight hundred.
hetaw *nf.* sun, sunshine. [Ak. *hetav*]
hetik *nf.* honour, decency.
hetik birin dishonour, insult, disgrace.
hewes (A) *nf.* fancy, desire.
hewa 1. (A) *nm.* air, weather.
hewa 2. (A) *n.* passion.
hewa û hewes *n.* whims and passions.
hewal *n.* companion, comrade.
hewalînî *nf.* companionship. [Ak. *hevalînî*]
hewar *nf.* cry, call (esp. for help).
hewsar *nm.* halter. [Ak. *hefsar*]
hewtig *n.* a dry measure.
hewî *nf.* moon, month. [Ak. *heyv*]
hay *int.* oh! hi!
heye there is; see *hebûn*, *hene*.
heyî *nf.* existence, being.
hejde *num.* eighteen.
***hejmarin** *hejmêr-*, *vt.* count; see *mêj-hejmarî*. [Ak. *hijmartin*, *hijmêr*]
hêdî *adv.* slowly, softly.
hêlan *hêl-*, *vt.* let leave.
bi cê/cî hêlan leave, abandon.
hêlik *nf.* egg.
hêlîn *nf.* nest.
hê- see *hatin*.
hêrwan *n.* provisions of grain.
hêstik *nm.* bone.
hêstikepişt back-bone.
hêstikê piştê do.
hêstir *nf.* mule.
hêşta *adv.* yet, still; see *hêj*.
hêtîm (A) *n.* orphan.
hêj *adv.* still.
hidayet (A) *nf.* right guidance, salvation.
hicret (A) *nf.* departure, emigration.
himmet (A) *nf.* high-mindedness, magnanimity, favour.
hinarin *hinêr-*, *vt.* send. [Ak. *hinartin*]
hinarinewe send back.
hinaw *npl.* intestines. [Ak. *hinav*]
hind 1. *adj.*, *pro.* so; that much, so much.
ew hind that much; *obl. wê hindê*.
se⟨r⟩ wê hindê ra jî moreover, what is more.
hindî so much, many as.
hind 2. India.
hinde *adj.*, *pro.* so; this much, so much.
ew hinde this much.
hindek *adj.*, *pro.* some, a little.
hindek caran sometimes.
hindaw *nm.* position above. [Ak. *hindav*]
hingawtin *hingêw-*, *vt.* beat, strike.
bi, li hindawê … above, over.
hindî 1. see *hind* 1.
hindî 2. *adv.* however much, so much.
hindî (ko) as long as.
hindustan GN India.
hingawtin *hingêw-*, *vt.* beat, strike. [Ak. *hingaftin, hingêv-*]
hingî *adv.* then.

hingo *pro. obl.* you, your; see *hung*.
hingûn / hingiwîn *nm.* honey.
hingûndiz *n.* honey-stealer.
hinîn *hin- vi.* settle, alight.
hirç *n.* bear.
hisê- see *hisyanewe*.
hispî *n.* louse. [Ak. *spî*]
hisyanewe *hisê-*, *vi.* rest; see *we-hisyanewe*. [Ak. *ve-hisyan*]
hişe *int.* hush!
hişk *adj.* dry.
hişyar *adj.* careful, prudent.
  hişyar kirin awaken, bring to sense.
hizar *num.* thousand.
hizr *nf.* thought, consideration, appraisal.
  hizr kirin think, consider.
hijandin *hijîn-*, *vt.* shake, wag; see *têk-hijandin*.
hijîr *nf.* fig.
hîç (+ neg) *adj.* not any, no; *adv.* not at all; *pro.* not anything, nothing.
hînik *adj.* cool.
hîwî *nf.* hope, expectation, request. [Ak. *hîvî*]
  hîwî kirin hope.
hîzanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Hizan.
ho 1. *adj.* such a; *adv.* so, thus; see *hotowe*.
ho 2. *int.* hi! ho!
horemar *GN* Horemar district.
horemarî *PN* Horenari tribe(sman).
hosta *n.* craftsman.
hostayî *nf.* craftsmanship, skill, cunning.
huçik *nm.* sleeve.
hucûm (A) *nf.* attack.
  hucûm kirin attack, assault.
humayûn (P) *adj.* imperial.
huner (P) *nf.* virtue, excellence.
hung *pro. pl.* you; *obl. hingo*.
hupopke *nf.* hoopoe.
  hupopke-silêmank *nf.* do.
husûn / hisûn *husû-*, *vt.* rub.
hutuwe *adv.* so, thus; see *ho* 1.
hûr *adj.* fine; crushed, smashed to pieces.
  hûr bûn *inf.* crumbling, being smashed.
hûrde *adj.* small.

Ḥ

ḥafiz (A) *nm.* one who knows the Koran by heart
ḥacet (A) *nf.* need, necessity.
ḥacî (P) *nm.* one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, Haji; see *hecî*.
ḥakim (A) *nm.* ruler, governor.
ḥal (A) *nm.* present state, condition, case.
ḥal-xoş *adj.* contended, in happy circumstances; cf. *xoş-ḥal*.
ḥamile (A) *adj.* pregnant.
ḥasil (A) *n.* product.
  ḥasil bûn be produced, result.
  ḥasil kirin produce.
ḥasilat *n.* crops, produce.
ḥaşa (A) *int.* never! God forbid!
ḥaziq (A) *adj.* skilful.
ḥazir (A) *adj.* ready, present.
  ḥazir kirin prepare, bring.
ḥebandin *ḥebîn-*, (A) *vt.* love.
ḥebs (A) *nf.* prison; imprisonment.
  ḥebs kirin imprison.
ḥedd also *ḥed* (A) *nm.* limit, extent.
  kê ḥed hebû who would have dared?
ḥedîdu-l-mizac (A) *adj.* hot-spirited, quick-tempered.
ḥedîs (A) *nf.* tradition, saying of the Prophet.

ḥeft *num.* seven; see *ḥewt*.
ḥej also *hecc*, 1. pilgrimace; 2. *PN hypoc.* of fol.
ḥecî *nm.* one who has made the pilgrimace to Mecca; see *ḥacî*.
ḥaco *PN hypoc.* of *ḥacî*.
ḥekayêt also *ḥekayet*, *nf.* story.
ḥekarî 1. *GN* Hakari province.
ḥekarî 2. *adj.* (*inh.*) of Hakari.
ḥekîm (A) physician.
ḥekîmane (P) *adj.* wise.
  bi ḥekîmane wisely.
ḥelal (A) *adj.* lawful, legitimate.
  ḥelal kirin slaughter ritually.
ḥelatin *ḥelê-*, *vi.* escape, flee; cf. *helatin*.
ḥelîm (A) *adj.* gentle.
ḥel also *ḥell* (A) *nf.* solution.
ḥilû *adj.* smooth. [Ak. *ḥulî*]
ḥemaqet (A) *nf.* stupidity.
ḥemîdok *PN* Little Hamid.
ḥemîyet (A) *nf.* ardour, indignation.
ḥemal (A) *nm.* porter.
ḥeqaret (A) *n.* degradation.
ḥeqîqet *nf.* truth.
ḥeqîqeten (A) *adv.* in truth, truly.
ḥeqîqî (A) *adj.* true.
ḥeqîr (A) *adj.* humble, wretched.
ḥeq also *ḥeqq*, (A) *nm.* right, truth; *adj.* in the right, rightful; cf. *der-ḥeq*.
ḥeqqanîyet (P) *nf.* truth, justice.
ḥeq-barî = *bar-miz*.
ḥeqî *nf.* truth.
ḥereke (A) *n.* movement.
ḥereket *pl. ḥerekat*, do.
  ḥereket kirin move.
ḥerem (A) *nf.* harem.
  ehlê ḥeremê womenfolk.
ḥeram (A) *adj.* unlawful.
ḥerb (A) *nf.* war.
ḥerba ʻumûmî Great War.
ḥesbi (P) *pp.* according to.
ḥesbu-l-emrî *pp.* according to the order of.
ḥesê *PN* hypoc. of Hasan.
ḥesîr (A) *nf.* reed-mat. [Ak. *ḥesîl*]
ḥesnekî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Hasnak.
ḥesûd (A) *n.* jealous person.
ḥesûdane (P) *adj.* jealous.
ḥesûdî (P) *n.* jealousy.
ḥeşr (A) *nf.* Resurrection.
ḥeşt *num.* eight; see *heşt*.
ḥeştê *num.* eighty.
ḥette-l-meqdûr (A) *adv.* to the utmost.
ḥeta (A) *pp.*, *conj.* until, by (the time that), as long as, as much as.
ḥewale (A) *n.* assignment.
  ḥewale-y ... kirin assign, leave to.
***ḥewandin, ḥewîn-** see **we-ḥewandin*.
ḥewarî (A) *nm.* disciple (of Christ).
ḥewik *nf.* throat. [Ak. *ḥefik*]
ḥewî *nf.* patience.
ḥewce (A) *n.* need.
ḥewş (A) *nf.* courtyard.
ḥewt *num.* seven; see *ḥeft*.
ḥewt-hizar *num.* seven thousand.
ḥewt-salî *adj.* seven-years-old.
ḥewt-ṣed *num.* seven hundred.
ḥewtî *nf.* week. [Ak. *ḥeftî*]
ḥewz (A) *nf.* pool.
ḥeyat (A) *nf.* life; see *awa ḥeyatê*.
ḥeyf (A) *nf.* pity.
ḥeysîyet (A) *nf.* prestige; see *xudan qedr û ḥeysîyet*.
ḥeywan (A) *nm.* animal.
ḥeywanat (A *pl.*) *n.* animals.
ḥeyyiz (A) *nm.* sphere, reach.
  înane ḥeyyizê ẕuhûrê make public.
ḥez kirin *vt.* like, love.
ḥezret (A) *nm.* excellency, majesty.

ḥej ... kirin = *hez ji ... kirin* like.
ḥêc *adj.* fierce, raging.
ḥiddet (A) *nf.* vehemence, passion, fury.
ḥifz (A) *nf.* preservation.
ḥifz bûn be safe.
ḥifz kirin protect.
ḥicaz *GN* Hejaz.
ḥikmet (A) *nf.* reason, wisdom.
ḥimarî (A) *adj.* asinine, donkeyish.
ḥimarîyet (A) asininity, donkeyhood.
ḥimayet (A) *nf.* patronage, protection.
ḥimayet kirin protect, support.
ḥiring *onom.* bang!
ḥisab (A) *nf.* account, reckoning; see *axir-ḥisab*.
ḥisab bûn be counted.
ḥisab kirin count, reckon.
ḥisêb kirin = *ḥisab kirin*.
ḥizr see *hizr*.
ḥîle (A) *nf.* ruse, trick, cunning.
ḥîlebaz (P) *adj.*, *n.* cunning, trickster.
ḥîz *adj.* wanton.
ḥorî (A) *nf.* houri.
ḥukema (A) *npl.* (of *ḥakim*) wise men.
ḥukm (A) *nm.* order, command, authority, judgment.
ḥukm kirin command, rule.
ḥukmdar *adj.* in authority, ruling.
ḥukmdarî *nf.* rule.
ḥukmdarî kirin rule.
ḥukûmet (A) *nf.* government.
ḥukûmetî *adj.* governmental.
ḥuqûq (A *pl.* of *ḥaqq*) *n.* rights.
ḥurmet (A) *nf.* respect; (as title) wife; see *bi-qedr-û-ḥurmet*.
ḥurîyet (A) *nf.* freedom.
ḥuseyn (A) *PN* Husain.
ḥuseynî *n.* Moslem.
ḥusn (A) *nf.* beauty.
ḥusûl (A) *nf.* acquisition, attainment.
ḥuzûr (A) *nf.* presence, (as title) excellency.

I

iʿane (A) *nf.* assistance, relief.
iʿane-y xeyrîye do.
iʿlam (A) *n.* announcement.
iʿlan (A) *nf.* declaration, proclamation.
iʿlan kirin proclaim, announce.
iʿtibar (A) *nf.* trust, confidence.
iʿtibar kirin trust.
iʿtimad (A) *nf.* trust, confidence.
iʿtiqad (A) *nf.* belief, faith.
iʿtiraz (A) *nf.* criticism, objection.
iʿtiraz girtin critcize, object.
iʿtizar (A) *n.* excuse.
ibni adem *n.* son of Adam.
ibrahîm (A) Ibrahim, Abraham.
idare (A) *nf.* management, running.
idare kirin manage, administer.
iddiʿa (A) *nf.* claim.
iddʿa kirin claim.
ifrat (A) *n.* excess, immoderation.
iftira (A) *nf.* calumny.
iftixar (A) *n.* glory.
iftixar kirin boast.
iẋtişaş (A) *nf.* disturbance, rebellion.
ihmal (A) *nf.* negligence.
ihtimam (A) *n.* care, effort.
iḥsan (A) *nf.* bounty, benevolence.
iḥtimal (A) *n.* probability.
iḥtiram (A) *nf.* honour.
iḥtiram girtin honour.
iḥtiyac (A) *nf.* need.
icare (A) *n.* lease.
icaze (A) *nf.* permission.
icmaʿ (A) *n.* unanimity.
icra (A) *nf.* execution; *pl. icra'at*.
icra kirin execute, carry out.

ikram (A) *nf.* honour.
ikram girtin honour.
ilahî (A) *adj.* divine.
ilḥaḥ (A) *n.* insistence.
ilḥaḥ kirin insist.
iltifat (A) *nf.* favour, consideration.
imam (A) *nm.* religious leader, prayer-leader, imam.
imamîyet *nf.* imamhood.
imdad (A) *nf.* help.
impirator (P) *nm.* emperor.
imtisal (A) *n.* obedience.
inʿam (A) *n.* reward, gratuity.
inglîs *GN* Britain.
inglîsî *adj.* British.
incîl (A) *nf.* Gospel.
inkar (A) *n.* denial.
inkar kirin deny.
inqilab (A) *nf.* revolution.
insan (A) *n.* man, mankind.
insanî (A) *adj.* human.
insanîyet (A) *nf.* humanity.
inṣaf (A) *nf.* justice.
iqnaʿ (A) *n.* satisfaction.
iqnaʿ kirin satisfy, convince.
iqrar (A) *nf.* confession.
iqrar kirin confess, admit.
iqtidar (A) *n.* power; see *xudan-quwet-û-iqtidar*.
iqtiza (A) *n.* exigency.
iqtiza kirin demand, require.
irade (A) *nf.* will, desire.
irade kirin will.
iradet = *irade*.
irşad (A) *nf.* guidance, teaching.
irşad kirin teach.
isbat (A) *nf.* proof.
isbat kirin prove.
islaḥ (A) *nf.* adjustment, settlement.
islaḥ kirin adjust, settle.
islam (A) *nf.* Islam.
islamî (A) *adj.* Islamic.
islamîyet (A) *nf.* Islamism.
ismaʿîl (A) PNm. Ismail.
ispîyonî (E) *nf.* spying, espionage.
istembol *GN* Istanbul. = *stembol*.
istiʿfa (A) *nf.* resignation.
istiʿfa kirin resign.
istiẋfar (A) *n.* asking forgiveness.
istiẋfar kirin ask forgiveness.
istihza (A) *n.* mockery, derision.
istiḥsal (A) *n.* obtaining, acquisition.
istiḥsal kirin acquire, obtain.
istilah (A) *nf.* idiom, terminology.
istimaʿ (A) *nf.* hearing, listening.
istinṭaq (A) *n.* interrogation.
istinṭaq kirin interrogate.
istiqame (A) perseverance, integrity.
istiqbal (A) *nf.* 1. future; 2. welcome.
istiqlal (A) *nf.* independence.
istireḥet (A) *n.* rest, repose.
istireḥet kirin rest.
isdar (A) *n.* issuing.
isdar kirin *fermon*, utter.
isfehan *GN* Isfahan.
işaret (A) *nf.* sign, hint.
iştab *nf.* staff, headquarters.
iştiha (A) appetite.
itaʿet (A) *nf.* obedience.
ittifaq (A) *nf.* agreement, union.
ittifaq kirin agree, unite.
ittihad (A) *n.* union.
ittilaʿî (A) *nf.* information.
ixbar (A) *nf.* notification.
ixbar kirin notify, inform.
ixlas (A) *nf.* sincerity.
ixtiyar (A) *n.* choice.
ixtiyar kirin choose.
ixtiyarî (A) *adj.* voluntary.

izhar (A) *nf.* declaration.
izhar kirin declare.
izn (A) *nf.* permission, leave.
izna xo xastin take one's leave.

Î

îcad (A) *nf.* creation.
îcad kirin create, produce, invent.
îkincî (T) *adj.* second.
îman (A) *nf.* faith.
îman kirin (bi) believe (in).
înan *în-*, *vt.* bring.
înane der bring forth, hatch out, peck out.
bi cî înan carry out.
îran *GN* Iran, Persia.
îranî *n.* Iranian, Persian
îprax (T) *n.* stuffed vine leaves.
îza (A) *n.* annoyance, trouble.
îza dan annoy, trouble.

J

jehr *nf.* poison, venom.
jehremar *n.* snake's venom; *int.* snake's venom (afflict you!).
jengî *adj.* rusty.
jê (absolute form of *ji*) therefrom.
jê hatin *inf.* ability; see *ji dest hatin*.
jêk (= *ji* + *yêk*) *adv.* from one another.
jêrî *adj.* lower.
jêr-destî / jêr destê *pp.* under.
ji *pp.* from, than.
ji ... paş(we) after.
ji ... pê-da below.
ji ... pêhel(tir) above.
ji bedel *pp.* in return, exchange.
ji ber *pp.* on account of, because of, for.
ji ber *adv.* away (from before).
ji bilî *pp.* except, apart from.
ji bin *pp.* from under, below.
ji-birsa-mirî *adj.* starved to death, dying of hunger.
ji bo *pp.* for.
ji dest hatin *inf.* ability.
ji lalî *pp.* from beside.
jin *nf.* woman, wife.
jin-ḥîz *nm.* pimp, pander.
jinik *nf.* little woman.
ji nik ... ra *pp.* from beside.
ji pîr ... we *pp.* from (the direction of).
ji rê-we first.
ji ser *pp.* from upon.
ji teref *pp.* from.
jî *adv.* also, too.
jîn *inf.* living, life.
jîn *jî-*, *vi.* live.
jîroke *adj.* pretty.
jor *nf.* top, upper part
jûr *adv.* inside.
jêr kewtin enter.
jor da *adv.* downwards.
jorî *adj.* upper.

K

ka 1. *interr. pro.* where (is, are).
ka 2. *conj.* (converting interrogative to relative) that, if, whether; see *kanê*.
kabanî *nf.* lady of the house.
kade *nf.* a round cake/bread with sweetened or savoury filling of crushed walnuts or cheese.
kafir (A) *nm.* infidel.
kafî (A) *adj.* sufficient, adequate.
kaẋez (P) *nf.* paper, letter.
kak *nm.* elder brother.

kal (A *kahl*?) *adj.* old (person).
kalik *n.* shoe, sandal.
kalkalok *nf.* shoulder-blade.
kalûme *n.* old sword, sickle, etc.
kalwan *nm.* scabbard.
kamil (A) *adj.* perfect.
kanê *conj.* that; see *ka* 2.
kar 1. *nm.* work, affair, matter; see *bi-kar*, *bê-kar*.
kar 2. *n.* kid. [Ak. *karik*]
karîte *nm.* beam.
karwan (P) *nm.* caravan.
karxane *n.* factory.
kasik *nf.* cup.
katib (A) *nm.* scribe.
kawil *n.* ruin. [Ak. *kavil*]
  kawilemal ruined house.
kawiṛ *n.* yearling lamb. [Ak. *kaviṛ*]
ke- see kirin.
keʿbe (A) *n.* Kaaba.
kebab (A) *nf.* kebab, grilled meat.
kebar (A) *nf.* dawn call to prayer, recitation of *allāhu akbar* "God is most great".
  kebar kirin recite *allāhu akbar*.
kedxuda (P) *nm.* headman.
kefalet (A) *n.* surety.
keḥêl (<A) *n.* thoroughbred (horse).
keł *nm.* buffalo.
kelê *n.* washing or bathing on the river.
kelekok *nm.* cock.
keleş *nm.* carcase.
kelam (A) *n.* speech, discourse.
***kelandin** *kelîn-*, *vt.* boil, stew.
kelêtî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Kalet (village).
kelime (A) *n.* word.
kemal (A) *nf.* perfection; *pl. kemalat*; see *ehli fezl-û-kemal*.
kemalat-iktisab *n.* striver after perfection.
kemançe (P) *n.* violin, fiddle. [Ak. *kivançe*]
kendik *nf.* ravine.
kengî *adv.* when.
kenî *nf.* laughter.
kenîn *ken-*, *vi.* laugh.
kepr *nf.* temporary hut made of branches.
keprok = **kepr**.
ker 1. *nm.* ass, donkey; a stupid.
ker 2. *nm.* piece.
kerebeṛik *n.* piece of rug; see *beṛik*.
keṛed (A *karrad*) *nf.* time.
  wê keṛedê then.
kerem (A) *nf.* favour.
  kerem kirin favour, reward.
keramet (A) *n.* wonder, marvel; see *keşf-û-keramet*.
kerb (A) *n.* agony, torment.
  kerbêt ... bûnewe become angry.
  kerbêt ... kirinawa anger.
ker-gan *nf.* buggery.
ker-ker bûn *inf.* being broken into pieces.
kerman *adj.* of Kermani steel.
keṛûbî (A) *n.* cherub.
kes *nm.* person.
keser *n.* affliction, regret.
kesad (A) *adj.* poor.
  kesad-ḥal *adj.* poor.
kesb (A) *nf.* business, trade.
  kesb-û-kar *nm.* business.
kesk *adj.* green.
keskan *nf.* terebinth nut.
  dara keskanê terebinth tree.
keşf (A) *n.* discovery, revelation.
  keşf kirin reveal.
keşf-û-keramet *n.* revelation and miracle.
keşk *n.* dried buttermilk.

keşkele *nf.* magpie.
keşkol (P) *n.* dervish's begging bowl.
ket *adj.* single.
ketezêr single piece of gold.
ket-ket 1. *npl.* individuals; *adv.* one by one, singly.
kew *nm.* partridge.
kew- s. *kewtin*.
kewan *nm.* bow. [Ak. *kivan*]
kewlî *nf.* the (temporary) halt of snowing; opportunity.
kewn *adj.* old. [Ak. *kevn*]
kewnemîr *nm.* the old (former) Mir.
kewnexanî *n.* old, ruined house.
kewser *GN* a pool in paradise.
kewş *nm.* desert, wilderness.
kewtin *kew-*, *vi.* fall, lie.
keyf (A) *nf.* pleasure, enjoyment, mood.
keyf(ê) kirin enjoy oneself.
keyfîyet (A) *nf.* circumstances, state of affairs.
keyf-xoş *adj.* pleased, satisfied.
keyf-xoşî *nf.* pleasure.
keyî *adj.* domesticated, tame. [Ak. *kehî*]
keyî kirin tame.
kê see *kî*.
kê derê *obl.* where.
li kê derê where.
ji kê derê whence.
kêleşîn *GN* Kelashin, the Green Monolith.
kêlb (<A) *n.* canine tooth, fang; see *kilb*.
kêm *adj.* little, few.
kêm-kême a little.
kêmas *adj.* wanting, lacking.
kêmasî *nf.* want, lack, shortcoming.
kêmî *nf.* paucity, deficiency.
bi layê kêmî we at (the) least.
kêm-û-zêdeyî *n.* substraction and addition.
kêrî *nm.* mountain pass, col.
kêrûşk *nf.* hare.
kêş(e)kêş *n.* struggle.
kêşan *kêş-*, *vt.* pull, draw, drag, stretch, withdraw, weigh, smoke (tobacco).
kêşan-e paş withdraw.
kê-we *adv.* whither.
kêjik *n.* chick.
kiç *nf.* girl, daughter.
kiçke *adj.* small, young.
kifin (<A) *nm.* shroud.
kifin kirin enshroud.
kilaw *nm.* cap, bonnet. [Ak. *kilav*]
kilawê tom fez.
kilb (<A) *n.* canine tooth, fang; see *kêlb*.
kilîl *nf.* key.
kilik / kilk *nf.* tail.
kilik-çak *adj.* having a good tail.
kinîşt *nf.* synagogue.
kiram (A *pl.*) *adj.* noble.
kiras *nm.* shirt.
kirê *n.* hire.
bi kirê girtin hire.
kirêt *adj.* ugly, evil.
kirêtî *nf.* ugliness, nastiness.
kirin *inf.* action, making, performance.
kirin *ke-*, *vt.* do, make, perform.
kirin-e dost make a friend of.
kirin-e der put out, expel.
kirine-w re-make (into)
kirinewe open, loosen; see *we-kirin*(*ewe*).
kirm *nm.* worm.
kirmanc *nm.* Kurdish peasant.
kiṛ *adj.* silent.
kiṛîn *inf.* buying, purchase.
kiṛîn *kiṛ-*, *vt.* buy.
kiṛyar *n.* purchaser, customer.
kisra (A) *nm.* (Sassanian) emperor.
kitab (A) *nf.* holy book, scripture.

kitêb *nf.* book.
kitik *n.* cat.
kiwşî *nf.* clarity.
  kiwşî kirin investigate.
kî *pro.* who; *obl. kê*, whom.
kîn (P) *nf.* rancour, hatred.
kîr *nm.* penis.
kîse (P) *nm.* purse; (met.) account, behalf.
kîsik *nm.* bag.
kîşk *pro.* which.
kîwî *adj.* wild, mountain-. [Ak. *kûvî*]
ko-biwir *n.* axe-butt.
koçek *nm.* Yazidi divine.
koçer *nm.* nomad.
kod *nf.* wooden bowl. [Am. *kodik*]
koj- *s.* **kotin*.
kok *adj.* well-off, well appointed.
kolan *nf.* street, alley.
kolare *nf.* kite.
kolîn *kol-*, *vt.* dig, engrave.
kom *nf.* heap, group.
kopik *nm.* hummock, crest.
kore *adj.* blind.
koreyî *nf.* blindness.
***kotin** *koj-*, *vt.* gnaw. [Ak. *kuroştin*, *kuroj-*]
kotir *nf.* pigeon.
koyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Koy.
ku 1. *rel. pt.* who, which, that.
ku 2. *conj.* that, since, when.
kudûret (A) *n.* resentment; see *xudan-buẋz-û-kudûret*.
kulek *nf.* skylight, window.
kulfet (A) *nm.* maidservant, (euph. for) wife.
kulî *nf.* flake.
  kulîya befrê snowflake.
kulîng *n.* midden, dung-heap.
kulît *nm.* hut.
kullî (A) *adj.* large (quantity).
kulore *n.* loaf. [Ak. *kulêre*]
  kuloregenim wheaten loaf.
kun *nf.* hole, lair.
  kun kirin make a hole in.
kunedîwar hole in a wall, cranny.
kunc *nm.* corner.
kuresinî *PN* Kurasini tribe(sman).
kurd *PN* Kurd.
kurdewarî *adj.* (typically, peculiarly) Kurdish.
kurdî *adj.* Kurdish.
kurîş *n.* pleat, pucke; see *enî*.
kurk *n.* shake.
  kurk dan li shake.
kursî (A) *nf.* chair, throne.
kurt *adj.* short.
kurtek *nm.* waistcoat, jacket.
kurtbîn *adj.* short-sighted.
kuṛ 1. *nm.* boy, son.
  kuṛ û kal young boys and the like.
kuṛ 2. *nf.* mud. [Ak. *quṛ*]
kuştin *inf.* killing.
kuştin *kuj-*, *vt.* kill.
  kuştinewe slaughter.
kutek *nm.* stick.
kutan *kut-*, *vt.* beat, strike; [Ak. *qutan*]
kuwar *n.* corn-bin.
kuj- see *kuştin*.
kûr 1. *adj.* deep.
kûr / kwîr 2. *nm.* kid.
kûre *nm.* furnace.
kûstan *n.* mountain country, highlands.

L

la *nm.* side, direction.
  ew la, ew la this side and that.

bi layê ... we to beside.
bi layê ... da towards.
bi layê ... we see *kêmî*.
lahût (A) *n.* divinity.
layde / lade *n.* environs; village.
xelkê layde people from round about; people from the villages.
laîq (A) *adj.* deserving, worthy, proper.
lakin (A) *conj.* but.
lalî *pp.* beside, by.
lan *nf.* lair.
landik *nf.* cradle.
lat *nf.* plot of land, terrace.
law *adj.* youthful, handsome; *nm.* youth.
law-çak *adj.* lusty. [Ak. *lav-çak*]
lawje *nm.* song. [Ak. *lavje*]
lazim (A) *adj.* necessary.
leʿnet (A) *nf.* curse. [Ak. *neʿlet*]
lefzî (A) *adj.* literal.
legleg *n.* stork.
leheb (A) see *Abo Lahab*.
leḥze (A) *nf.* moment, instant.
lekedar (P) *adj.* stained, sullied.
leq *n.* bite.
leq dan (li) bite.
leqleq *nf.* wagging (of tongue).
lerizîn *vi.* tremble.
leşkir *nm.* army.
leşkirkêşî *nf.* manoeuvres.
leṭîf (A) *adj.* delicate.
lewa *adv.* therefore.
lewanê do.
lê (absolute form of *li*).
lê dan see *dan li*; cf. *lêdan*.
lê geryan see *geriyan li*.
lêbandin *inf.* deceit, deception.
lêbandin *lêbîn-*, *vt.* deceive.
***lêbyan** *lêbyê-, vi.* be deceived.
lêdan *-da-*, *vt.* play (music, instrument)
lêk (*li* + *yêk*) from one another.
lêk bestin tie together.
lêk dan strike together.
lêr *nf.* forest. [Ak. *rêl*]
lêre *adv.* here.
lêw *n.* lip. [Ak. *lêv*]
di bin lêwan da kenîn smile to oneself.
li *pp.* at, from, in, on, to.
li kê-derê see *kê-derê*.
li paş *adv.* behind.
li wê-derê see *wê-derê*.
li ber *pp.* before.
libas (A) *nm.* clothes.
libasguhor *adj.* changing clothes.
xo libasguhor kirin disguise oneself.
li bin *pp.* below, beneath, under.
li çaw *pp.* in the view of.
li dû *pp.* after, behind.
li dû yêk one after the other.
liẋaw *nm.* bridle. [Ak. *liẋav*]
li hindaw *pp.* above.
liḥêf (<A) *n.* quilt.
limûz *nm.* muzzle, snout.
li naw *pp.* among, in, inside, within. [Ak. *l-nav*]
ling *nm.* leg.
ling-dirêj *adj.* long-legged.
ling-diṛyayî *adj.* ragged-trousered (*lit.* torn-legged).
ling-cû (abusive) *adj.* Jew-legged.
li nik *pp.* near, beside.
li pêş *pp.* before.
li rex *pp.* beside.
li ser *pp.* on, above.
li ser yêk one on top of the other.
li şûn *pp.* in the tracks of.
li teniş̇t *pp.* beside.
liyaqet (A) *nf.* merit, dignity.
lîre (T) *nm.* (Turkish) pound.

lîs *n.* roost.
lîs bûn *vi.* roost.
lo *int.* hey, hallo!
lome (<A) *nf.* blame, reproach.
lome kirin reproach.
lotik *n.* hopping.
lutf (A) *nf.* kindness, favour.
luzûm (A) *n.* necessity.
lûl *n.* roll.
lûl dan roll up.
lûrîn *vi.* howl.
lûs *adj.* smooth, ingratiating.
lûtî (A) *n.* rascal, rogue.

M

ma *interr. pt.*
ma-beyn (A) *nf.* (place, space) between, meanwhile.
ma-beyna humayûn the private apartments of the Sultan.
maç *nm.* kiss.
maç(î) kirin kiss.
madam (A) *conj.* while, so long as, since.
madam ku since.
made (A) *nf.* matter.
mahir (A) *adj.* skilled, skilful.
mahod (<A) *nm.* broadcloth.
macûc (A) *PN* Magog; see *yacûc*.
maker *nf.* she-donkey.
mal 1. (A) *nm.* property.
mal 2. *nf.* house, home; (euphemism for) wife.
malim (A) *nm.* rabbi.
mal-wêran *adj.* wretch (having a ruined house).
malxo / malxwê *nm.* householder, head of the house; + Izafe *malxê / malxwê*.
mal-xirab = *mal-wêran*.
mam *nm.* paternal uncle.
mambiz *nm.* deer, gazelle.
mamilet (A) *n.* business, transaction.
man *mîn-*, *vi.* stay, remain, survive.
mandî *adj.* tired.
mandî-nebûn *nf.* greeting *mandî nebî, nebin* "may you not be tired"
mandî-nebûn kirin greet so.
maniʿ (A) *n.* obstacle, impediment.
manot (<R) *nm.* rouble; see *menat*.
maqûl (<A) *adj.* respected, honoured; *nm.* elder; see *meʿqûl*.
mar 1. *nm.* snake.
mar 2. (Syr.) *n.* lord, title of Patriarchs of the Nestorian church.
martînî (E) *nm.* Martini rifle.
masî *nf.* fish.
maş *n.* pulse, green gram.
mat (A) *adj.* silent, voiceless.
mawîlî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Mawilan (village).
mawzer (E) *n.* Mauser rifle.
me *pro. obl.* us, our; see *em*.
meʾmûr (A) *adj.* charged, commissioned; official.
meʾzûn (A) *adj.* authorized, permitted.
meʾzûnîyet *nf.* authorization.
meʿe-haza (A) *adv.* nevertheless, notwithstanding.
meʿanî (A) *npl.* (of *maʿnā*) meanings.
meʿarif (A) *npl.* (of *maʿrifat*) sciences.
meʿaş (A) *nm.* subsistence, pension.
meʿbed (A) *nf.* place of worship, mosque.
meʿbûd (A) *nm.* deity.
meʿde (A) *n.* stomach.
meʿdelet-simat of just mien.
meʿden (A) *nf.* mine, mineral, ore.
meʿdenîyat *npl.* minerals.

meʿlûm (A) *adj.* known, evident, obvious.
bi meʿlûmî *adv.* certainly.
meʿna (A) *nf.* meaning.
meʿqûl (A) *adj.* reasonable.
meʿrifet (A) *nf.* knowledge, wisdom.
meʿrûf (A) *adj.* well-known.
meʿtel (A *muʿaṭṭal*) *adj.* straitened.
mebada (P) let it not be, lest.
medenîyet (A) *nf.* civilization.
medayin (A) *GN* Ctesiphon.
medfûn (A) *adj.* buried.
medḥ (A) *nf.* praise.
medḥ kirin praise.
medîne (A) *GN* Madina.
medrese (A) *nf.* (mosque) school.
mefhûm (A) *nm.* sense, tenor.
meger *conj.* except; *interr. pro.* (expecting a negative answer).
meẋber *nf.* graveyard; see *meqbere*.
meẋdûr (A) *adj.* betrayed.
meẋdûrîyet *nf.* being betrayed.
meẋlûb (A) *adj.* defeated.
meẋrib (A) *nf.* sunset, west.
meẋrûr (A) *adj.* proud, conceited.
meẋşûş (A) *adj.* disarranged, disorderly.
meḥebbet (A) *nf.* love.
meḥall (A *pl.*) *nm.* district(s).
meḥbûb (A) *adj.* beloved.
meḥkeme (A) *nf.* court (of law).
meḥkûm (A) *adj.* judged, sentenced.
meḥkûm kirin *fermon*, judge, sentence.
meḥrem (A) *adj.* intimate, initiated.
meḥremane (P) *adv.* confidentially.
meḥsûb (A) *nm.* (reckoned as) follower.
meḥsûs (A) *adj.* perceptible, visible.
meḥw (A) *nf.* elimination, destruction.
meḥw bûn be eliminated, destroyed.
meḥw kirin eliminate, destroy.
meḥzen (A) *adv.* simply, solely.
mecbûr (A) *adj.* obliged.
mecîdî (A) *n.* Turkish silver coin, 20 piastres.
meclis (A) *nf.* meeting, assembly.
meclisa eʿyan (Ottoman) Senate.
mecimʿe / mecmeʿ (A) *n.* large tray.
meczûb (A) *adj.* possessed, ecstasized.
mekan (A) *n.* place.
mekke (A) *GN* Mecca.
mekrûh (A) *adj.* abominable.
mekteb (A) *nf.* school.
melek (A) *nm.* angel.
melekot (A) *n.* kingdom (of heaven).
melewan *adj.* (capable of) swimming. [Ak. *melevan*]
melewanî kirin swim.
mela (<A) *nm.* mullah.
melaîket (A) *npl.* (of *malak*) angels.
melamet (A) *n.* blame.
melamet kirin blame, reproach.
melatî *nf.* office of a mullah.
melʿûn (A) *adj.* accursed.
memik *nm.* breast.
memik(î) dan-e suckle.
memleket (A) *nm.* country.
memnûn (A) *adj.* obliged, pleased, grateful.
memnûnî *n.* gratitude.
memnûnîyet (A) *nf.* gratitude.
memsek (A) *n.* firm evidence.
menafiʿ (A *pl.* of *manfaʿat*) *n.* profits, advantages.
menat (R), *n.* rouble; see *manot*.
menʿ (A) *n.* prohibition.
menʿ kirin forbid, prevent.
menfeʿet (A) *nm.* advantage.
menfî (A) *n.* exile, banished.
mencel *n.* cauldron.
menzil (A) *nf.* room, lodgings; see *mezel*.

meqale (A) *n.* article, essay.
meqam (A) *n.* place, office, authority.
meqamat *npl.* authorities.
meqbere (A) *nf.* graveyard.
meqbûl (A) *adj.* accepted, acceptable.
meqsed (A) *nf.* intention, purpose.
meqsûd (A) *nf.* intention, meaning.
meram (A) *nf.* aim, purpose.
meraq (T<A) *n.* (matter of) great interest.
merd (P) *adj.* brave.
merg *n.* death.
mergemûş *nm.* rat poison, ratsbane, arsenic.
merḥeba (A) *n.* greeting.
merḥemet (A) *nf.* favour, kindness.
merḥûm (A) *adj.* deceased.
merkez (A) *nm.* centre.
merqed (A) *nm.* tomb.
mertebe (A) *nf.* rank.
mesel (A) *nf.* parable, legend, proverb, adage.
meselen (A) *adv.* for example.
mes'ele (A) *nf.* problem, question. [Am. *mesele*]
mes'ûl (A) *adj.* responsible.
mes'ûlîyet (A) *nf.* responsibility.
mesʿûd (A) *adj.* fortunate.
mesîḥ (A) *nm.* Messiah.
mesîḥî (A) *adj.* Christian.
mesîn *nm.* water-pot with a spout (used in the lavatory).
mesleḥet (A) *adj.* advisable; *nf.* advisable thing, welfare, benefit.
meslek (A) *nf.* way, course.
mesrûr (A) *adj.* happy.
mest *adj.* drunk, intoxicated.
meṣarif (A *pl.* of *maṣraf*) *n.* expenses.
maṣraf (A) *nm.* expense.
meşeyxet (A) *nf.* shaikhhood.
meşaix (A) *npl.* shaikhs.
meşġûl (A) *adj.* busy, occupied. [Ak. *mijûl*]
meşhedî *n.* title of one who has made the pilgrimage to Mashhad.
meşhûr (A) *adj.* famous.
meşk *n.* goatskin as sack, water-container, churn.
meşreb (A) *nm.* nature, disposition.
meşriq (A) *n.* east.
meşrûte (A) *nf.* constitutional government.
meşrûtîyet *nf.* constitution.
met *nf.* paternal aunt.
metaʿ (A) *nm.* merchandise.
metreq (A) *n.* club, stick.
meṭal *nm.* shield.
meṭleb (A) *n.* subject, matter.
meṭlûb (A) *nf.* desire.
mewacib (A) *nf.* salary, stipend.
mewîj *n.* raisin. [Ak. *mêwîj*]
mewla (A) *nm.* master.
mewlana (A) *nm.* (religious title) our lord, master.
mexfî (A) *adj.* hidden, concealed.
  bi mexfî secretly.
mexlûʿ (A) *adj.* deposed.
mexlûq (A) *nm.* creature(s), being(s).
mexlûqat (A *pl.*) *nm.* do.
mexsûs (A) *adj.* especially.
meydan (P) *nf.* square, field.
meymenet (A) *nf.* auspiciousness.
  meymenet-peywest *adj.* auspicious, fortunate.
meyşûm (A) *adj.* inauspicious, ill-omened.
meyt (A) *nm.* corpse.
mezel *nf.* room; see *menzil*.
mezahir (A) *npl.* manifestations.
mezar (A) *nm.* tomb.

mezbele (A) *n.* dung-heap.
mezheb (A) *nm.* religion, sect.
mezin *adj.* big, great; *nm.* great man, leader.
mezinatî *nf.* greatness.
mezinî *nf.* greatness.
mezmûn (A) *nm.* content(s).
meẓlûm (A) *adj.* oppressed.
meẓlûmîyet (A) *n.* oppressed state.
mêr *nm.* man.
mêr-çak *adj.* manly, brave.
mêrg *n.* meadow.
mêrînî *nf.* manliness, bravery.
mêrû *n.* ant.
mêş *nf.* fly, bee.
  mêşa hingûnî honey-bee. [Ak. *mêşa hingvînî*]
mêşereşik *n.* fly.
mêş-hejmarî *n.* bee-census.
mêwan *nm.* guest. [Ak. *mêvan*]
mêwandarî *n.* hospitality.
mêj *n.* time past.
  ji mêj since long ago.
mêjî *nm.* brain. [Ak. *mêjû, mêşk*]
miçandin *miçîn-, vt.* shut, screw up (eyes).
mihe *n.* wine.
mihî *nf.* ewe.
miḥrab (A) *nf.* prayer niche.
micêwr (<A) *nm.* mosque attendant.
micit (A) *adj.* serious, insistent. [Ak. *micid*]
mikrob (E) *nm.* microbe.
mil *nm.* shoulder.
milanî *adj.* of the Milan district.
milk (A) *nm.* property, possession.
millet (A) *nm.* people, nation, community.
milyon (E) *num.* million.
mimber (A) *nf.* pulpit.
min *pro. obl.* me, my; see *ez*.
minare (A) *nf.* minaret.
minnet (A) *nf.* obligation.
  me ji ... minnet e we thank ..., are obliged to ...
  minnet hel-girtin be under obligation.
miqdar (A) *nm.* amount, quantity.
mir- see *mirin*.
mirad (A) *nm.* desire.
  mirad-hasilker *nm.* granter of wishes, desires.
mirandin *mirîn-, vt.* put to death.
  xo mirandin act dead.
mirar *adj.* carrion, impure.
  mirar bûn die without being ritually slaughtered.
mirç-mirç *n.* loud soud (of a kiss, eating).
mirin *inf.* death, dying.
mirin *mir-, vi.* die.
mirî *adj.* dead; see *ji-birsa-mirî*.
mirîd (<A) *nm.* disciple, henchman.
mirîşk *nf.* hen, chicken.
miro *n.* man, human.
mirow = **miro**.
misal (A) *n.* example, metaphor.
miskîn (A) *adj.* poor, wretched.
misl (A) *nm.* the like, equal.
mist *n.* fist; see *tep-û-mist*.
mişe *adj.* abundant.
mişewweş (<A) *adj.* confused, bewildered.
mişext bûn *vi.* decamp, migrate.
mişk *nm.* mouse.
mişûret (<A) *nf.* counsel.
mitralyoz (E) *n.* machine-gun.
mixabin *n.* pity, shame.
mizgewt *nf.* mosque. [Ak. *mizgeft*]
mizgînî *nf.* good news.

mîrza *n.* scribe; (title) mister.
mîladî (A) *adj.* of the Christian era.
mîn- see *man*.
mîr *nm.* leader, ruler, (title of) Shaikh.
mîrat (A) *n.* heritage.
mîrza (P) *n.* scribe; (title) mister.
mîsyon (E) *n.* Mission.
mûcib (A) *n.* motive, reason.
  mûcibî ... causing ...
moşê (Heb.) *PN* Moses.
mozîqa (T) *n.* (military) band.
muʾezzin (A) *nm.* muezzin, who calls the faithful to prayer.
muʾmin (A) *nm.* believer.
muʿellim (A) *nm.* teacher; cf. *malim*.
muʿettel (A) *adj.* idle, incapable, helpless. [Ak. *meʿtel*]
muʿezzem (A) *adj.* exalted, great.
muʿahede (A) *n.* treaty.
muʿahede-name (P) *n.* pact.
muʿamele (A) *nf.* transaction. [Ak. *miʿamile*]
muʿawenet (A) *nf.* help, assistance.
muʿayene (A) *n.* examination.
  muʿayene kirin examine, investigate.
muʿcize (A) *n.* miracle.
muʿcizat (A) *npl.* (of prec.) miracles.
muʿteber (A) *adj.* reputable, trusted, respected.
muʿteqid (A) *adj.* believing, convinced.
mubeddel (A) *adj.* changed.
  mubeddel kirin change.
mubaḥese (A) *n.* discussion.
mubarek (A) *adj.* blessed.
mudebbir (A) *nm.* administrator.
mudeṛis (A) *nm.* teacher.
mudafeʿe (A) *n.* defence, repulsion.
  mudafeʿe kirin repel.
mudara (A) *n.* friendliness.
mudde (A) *nm.* period; see *muddet*.
muddeʿa (A) *nm.* claim, allegation.
muddeʿî (A) *nm.* plaintif.
muddet (A) *nm.* a while, period.
mufterî (A) *nm.* slanderer.
muẋayir (A) *adj.* contrary.
muheyya (A) *adj.* ready.
mihacir (A) *n.* refugee.
muhimm (A) *adj.* important. [Ak. *muhîm*]
muhlet (A) *n.* respite.
  muhlet dan grant a respite.
muhr (P) *n.* seal.
  muhr kirin seal.
muḥemmedî *n.* Muhammadan.
muḥeqqeq (A) *adj.* ascertained, verified.
muḥeṛem (A) *nf.* month of Muharram.
muḥafeze (A) *nf.* protection.
  muḥafeze kirin protect.
muḥakeme (A) *nf.* trial, hearing.
  muḥakeme kirin try, judge.
muḥal (A) *adj.* impossible.
muḥarebe (A) *nf.* war.
muḥasere (A) *n.* siege.
  muḥasere bûn be besieged.
  kewtine muḥasere be besieged.
muḥibb (A) *n.* friend, lover.
muḥkem (A) *adj.* firm, strong.
muḥterem (A) *adj.* respected, revered.
muḥtac (A) *adj.* needy, wanting.
muḥtacî *n.* need.
muctehid (A) *nm.* mujtahid, (leading) Muslim jurisprudent.
mukeṛem (A) *adj.* revered, honoured.
mulaḥeze (A) *nf.* consideration.
  mulaḥeze kirin *fermon*, consider.
mulazim (T) *nm.* lieutenant.
mulk (A) *n.* possession, property.
mulzem (A) *adj.* convinced, obliged to cede.

mulzem kirin convince, oblige to cede.
mumkin (A) *adj.* possible.
munewwer (A) *adj.* bright, illustrious; adjf. *munewwere*.
munezzem (A) *adj.* regular, organized.
munafî (A) *adj.* incompatible, contrary.
munasib (A) *adj.* suitable; *nm.* shrine of a saint.
munasibî meqam appropriate.
munkir (A) *n.* denier, apostate.
munqeti‘ (A) *adj.* cut off, terminated.
munṣif (A) *adj.* just, equitable.
munşî (A) *n.* writer.
muntehî (A) *adj.* finished.
muntezem (A) *adj.* orderly.
muntezir (A) *adj.* awaiting.
muqeddes (A) *adj.* holy.
muqeddes-elqab *adj.* having holy titles, sanctified.
muqeṛeb (A) *adj.* near(est), kept near.
muqeṛer (A) *adj.* appointed.
muqeṛer kirin fix, appoint.
muqeyyed (A) *adj.* attentive.
muqeyyed bûn (A) pay attention.
muqabil (A) *adj.* opposite, equivalent.
muqtedir (A) *adj.* capable, powerful, mighty.
muqteza (A) *nm.* exigency, necessity.
bi muqtezaê in accordance with.
murexxes (A) *adj.* dismissed.
murexxes kirin dismiss, free.
murafe‘e (A) *nf.* lawsuit.
murafe‘e kirin litigate.
murace‘e (A) *nf.* reference, recourse.
muraqebet (A) *n.* meditation.
murasele (A) *n.* correspondence.
muro *nm.* man; see *mirow*, *miro*.
murowanî *nf.* generosity.
murowet *n.* humanity.
murşid (A) *n.* religious teacher, guide.
muselleḥ (A) *adj.* armed.
musellem (A) *adj.* proved, established.
musellet (A) *adj.* dominant, ruling.
musexxer (A) *adj.* conquered.
musexxer kirin (A) conquer.
musa‘ede (A) *n.* favour.
musa‘ede kirin *fermon*, be so kind (as to).
musa‘id (A) *adj.* favourable.
musa‘id nîye it does not permit.
musafir (A) *n.* traveller, guest.
musaleḥe (A) *n.* reconciliation, peace.
musaleḥe-name (P) *n.* letter of reconciliation.
muste‘idd (A) *adj.* capable.
mustebidd (A) *adj.* absolute, despotic.
musteḥeqq (A) *adj.* deserving, worthy.
musteqil (A) *adj.* independent.
musteqîm (A) *adj.* right, true.
mustetab (A) *adj.* excellent, honourable.
musulman (P) *n.* Muslim. [Ak. *bisilman*]
muṣeddeq (A) *adj.* certified.
muṣîbet (A) *nf.* misfortune, calamity.
muşeṛef (A) *adj.* honoured.
muşawere (A) *n.* consultation.
muşawere kirin consult together.
muşkil (A) *adj.* difficult.
muşkilat (A) *npl.* difficulties.
muştemil (A) *adj.* consisting (of).
muşterî (A) *n.* customer.
muştaq (A) *adj.* desirous.
mute‘eccib (A) *adj.* surprised, amazed.
mute‘essib (A) *adj.* zealous.
mutebeḥḥir (A) *adj.* erudite.
mutedeyyin (A) *adj.* religious, pious.
muteḥeyyir (A) *adj.* astonished, bewildered.
muteḥeyyir ma *adj.* left amazed; see *man*.

mutemeddin (A) *adj.* civilized.
muteşekkir (A) *adj.* grateful.
mutewefa (A) *adj.* deceased.
mutewefa bûn die.
mutewellî (A) *n.* custodian, superintendent.
mutewatir (A) *adj.* related by successive witnesses.
mutewaziʿ (A) *adj.* modest.
mutaleʿe (A) *n.* studying.
mutaleʿe kirin study.
mutîʿ (A) *adj.* submissive.
muttefiq (A) *adj.* united, unanimous; *n.* ally.
muṭehher (A) *adj.* pure.
muṭirb (A) *nm.* minstrel, gypsy.
muṭleq (A) *adj.* absolute, independent.
muweffeq (A) *adj.* successful.
muweffeqîyet (A) *nf.* success.
muweqqeten (A) *adv.* temporarily.
muweqqetî (P) *adj.* temporary.
muwafeqet (A) *nf.* conformity, congruence.
muwafiq (A) *adj.* conforming, consonant.
muxeyyer (A) *adj.* free to choose.
muxeyyer bûn please oneself.
muxabere (A) *n.* correspondance.
muxabere kirin correspond.
muxalif (A) *adj.* contrary.
muxlis (A) *adj.* devoted, sincere.
muxtar (A) *adj.* free, independent; *nm.* headman.
muxtarîyet (A) *nf.* independence.
muzefferîyet (A) *nf.* victory.
muzeyyen (A) *adj.* adorned.
muzeyyen kirin adorn.
mû *nm.* hair.
mûsilî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Mosul.
mûzexane (E, P) *nf.* museum.

N

nabeled (P) *adj.* unacquainted, stranger.
nafermanî *nf.* disobedience.
naḥeq *adj.* unlawful, wrong.
naḥeqî *nf.* guilt.
naḥiye (A) *nf.* district.
nalî *nf.* moan, sigh.
nameʿlûm *adj.* unknown.
namerd *adj.* cowardly.
namûs (A) *nf.* honour.
nan *nm.* bread, food.
naqil (A) *nm.* relater, story-teller.
naqis (A) *adj.* defective, imperfect.
nasîn *nas-*, *vt.* know, recognize.
naskenan *n.* a kind of puff-pastry; see *nazik*.
naṣir (A) *nm.* defender.
naw 1. *nm.* name. [Ak. *nav*]
naw 2. *nf.* middle. [Ak. *nav*]
naw 3. *pp.* in, among.
naw êk together, among each other.
nawbang *nm.* fame. [Ak. *nav-û-bang*]
nawçiya *nawçiya*, *nm.* mountainous district, Shamdinan district.
nawik *nf.* navel. [Ak. *navik, nafk*]
nawincî *adj.* middle, medium.
nawparî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Nawpar district.
nawşar *GN* Nawshar village (current district centre of Shamdinan).
naz (P) *n.* fondling, pampering.
nazik *adj.* gentle, fine.
nazil (A) *adj.* descending, sent down.
ne *adv.* no, not.
ne … ne neither … nor.
ne- *neg.* prefix of verbs, not.
neçar *adj.* obliged, compelled.
nedamet (A) *nf.* regret.
neferat (A, *pl.*) *n.* troops.

nefî (A) *n.* banishment.
nefî kirin banish.
nefs (A) *nf.* self, soul.
neft *nf.* petroleum, oil.
nefx (A) *nf.* blowing.
ne(h) *num.* nine.
nehiş *adj.* unconscious.
nehişyar *adj.* unconscious.
neh-salî *n.* peiod of nine years.
neḥeq *adj.* unjust, unlawful; see *naḥeq*.
necat (A) *nf.* salvation.
necîb (A) *adj.* noble.
neku *conj.* lest, unless.
nekok *adj.* not well-off, not well appointed.
nelaîq *adj.* inappropriate.
nemeqbûl *adj.* unacceptable.
neql (A) *n.* relation.
neql kirin relate.
neqşbendî (P) *adj.* Naqshbandi (Sufi order).
nerm *adj.* soft, gentle.
nermî *n.* gentleness.
neseb (A) *n.* lineage, family.
nesayiḥ (A) *npl.* (of *nesîḥet*) exhortations.
nesîḥet (A) *nm.* advice.
nesîḥet kirin advise.
nesl (A) *nf.* offspring.
ne(h)-ṣed *num.* nine hundred.
nesranî (A) *n.* Christian.
neṣṣ (A) *nf.* text, evidence.
neşr (A) *nf.* propagation.
netîce (A) *nf.* result.
newʿ (A) *nm.* kind, species.
newî 1. *adj.* low. [Ak. *nevî*]
xo newî kirin bend down, crouch.
newî 2. *nm.* grandson. [Ak. *nevî*]
newroz (P) *nf.* New Year festival (at the spring equinox).
nexandî *adj.* illiterate
nexoş *adj.* 1 unpleasant; 2. ill.
nexoşî *n.* illness.
next (A *naqd*) *nm.* bride-price.
nexundî *adj.* illiterate. [Ak. *nexûndewar*]
nînûk *n.* finger-, toe-nail.
nezer (A) *nf.* view; see *ṣerf-i nezer*.
nezer bi in view of.
nezan *adj.* ignorant.
nezanî *nf.* ignorance.
nezr (A) *n.* oath, vow.
nezr bûn be vowed, dedicated.
nêçîr *nf.* game, prey.
nêçîr kirin hunt.
nêçîrwan *nm.* huntsman. [Ak. *neçîrvan*]
nêreker *nm.* he-ass.
nêzîk *adj.* near; *npl.* neighbourhood.
nêzîkî ... near to.
niʿmet (A) *nf.* affluence, comfort, favour.
nihal *nf.* ravine.
nihayet (A) *n.* end, extremity; *adv.* finally, extremely.
nik *pp.* to, beside.
nikil *n.* tip; see *ser-nikil*.
nimayinde (<P) *nm.* representative.
nimayindegerî *nf.* representation.
niqo bûn be submerged.
niṛ-niṛ *n.* whimpering.
nisbet (A) *n.* connection.
nisbet dan charge, impute.
nişîwî *adv.* downhill. [Ak. *nişîwî*]
niwêj *nf.* prayer. [Ak. *nivêj*]
niwistin *inf.* sleeping, going to sleep.
niwistin *niw-*, *vi.* sleep, go to sleep. [Ak. *nivistin, niv-*]
niwîn *nf.* bedding. [Ak. *nivîn*]
niwîsîn *inf.* writing.
niwîsîn *niwîs-*, *vt.* write. [Ak. *nivîsîn, nivîs-*]

niwîştî (<P) *nf.* charm, amulet. [Ak. *niviştî*]
niyabet (A) *nf.* deputyship, succession.
nizam (A) *n.* order.
nizar *nm.* shady side (of mountain, valley).
nijde *nf.* raiding-party.
nijinîn *vt.* build, construct.
  nijinîn û heraftin build up and destroy, i.e. turn over a proposition in the mind.
nî- *neg.* prefix of the copula.
  nîme (I) am not.
  nîy (you) are not (sg.).
  nîye (she/he/it) is not.
  nîne are not.
  nînin are not.
nîmçe *adj.* mediocre.
  nîmçe-mela *nm.* mediocre, part-educated mullah.
nîsan (A) *nf.* April.
nîsk *nf.* lentil.
nîşa (...) dan *vt.* show, teach (to).
nîşan *n.* sign, medal, order.
nîşane = **nîşan.**
nîw *nf.* half; middle. [Ak. *nîv*]
nîwek *nf.* 1. half; 2. centre, middle. [Ak. *nîvek*]
nîwe-nîwe *adj.* half-and-half.
  nîw-hewtig *n.* half a measure; see *hewtig*.
  nîw-mela *n.* half-, part-educated mullah; see *nîmçe-mela*.
  nîw-mirî *adj.* half-dead.
  nîw-qîmet *adj.* half-price.
nîwro *n.* midday, noon. [Ak. *nîvro*]
nîw-sa'et *n.* half an hour.
nîwşew *nf.* midnight. [Ak. *nîvşev*]
  nîwşewê *adv.* at midnight.
nîyet *nf.* intention.
nobe (<A) *nf.* watch.
  nobe (nobê) girtin keep watch.
nobet (<A) *nf.* time, turn.
noke *adv.* now.
  ji noke paş(-we) hereafter.
  ji noke wê-wa henceforth.
nufûs (A) *npl.* (of *nefs*) soulds, people, population.
nufûz (A) *nf.* influence.
nuqsan (A) *adj.* deficient.
nuqsanî *n.* deficiency.
nuṣret (A) *nf.* triumph.
nutq (A) *n.* speech.
nû *adj.* new.
  ji nû anew.
nûreddînî *PN* Nuraddini tribe.
nûsandin *vt.* cause to cling, stick.
  xo (bi ...-we) nûsandin cling (to).
nûsyan *vi.* stick, adhere.
  pêk-we nûsyan stick together.

O

ode (T) *nf.* room.
  oda ximî dye-house.
of (T) *n.* moan.
  ofeof *n.* moaning.
oso PNm. Oso, *hypoc.* of Osman.
oxey *int.* oh!
oẋilme (T?) *n.* volley.
  oẋilme kirin fire a volley.

P

padşah (P) *nm.* king.
pak (P) *adj.* pure, holy.
pakêt (E) *nm.* envelope.
pak-qelb (P) *adj.* pure-hearted.
pal *nm.* side.

pal(ê xo) dan(-e) lean (on)
pal bi ...-ra nan push.
pan *adj.* flat, extended, wide.
pan kirin flatten.
panî *nf.* heel.
panîya sol(ik) helkêşan heel shoes, sandals.
panṣed *num.* five hundred; see *penc-ṣed*.
par *adv.* last year.
pare (T) *nm.* money.
parçe (P) *nf.* piece, portion; cloth, stuff.
parçe-parçe *adj.* in pieces.
parçe-parçe kirin tear, cut, break to pieces.
paristin *vi.* creep, sneak.
parî *nm.* portion, mouthful.
pariyanewe *parê-... ewe*, *vi.* pray, beg.
paş *nm.* hind part; *pp.* after; *adv.* behind, afterwards; see *dan, kêşan-e paş; ji ... paş; pêş paş*, cf. *paşî*.
paşeroj *nf.* future.
paşa (T) *nm.* Pasha.
paşatî *nf.* office of Pasha.
paşî *adj.* following, next; *adv.* then, afterwards, next; *pp.* after.
paşî ku after.
paş-mîr *nm.* vice-Mir.
paş-rispî *nm.* vice-elder
paştir *adj.* after next; see *roj*.
paşwe *adv.* after(wards), back; see *ji ... paşwe*.
patik *nf.* back of the neck.
patin *inf.* cooking.
patin *pêj-*, *vt.* cook.
paweyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Pawe.
pawêje see *hawêtin*.
paxil *nf.* bosom (of jacket).
payîz *nf.* autumn.
paylanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Paylan.
paytûn (E) *nm.* carriage, phaeton.
pazde *num.* fifteen. [Ak. *panzde*]
pazde roj a fortnight.
pazde-salî *adj.* fifteen-years-old.
pelepel *n.* struggle.
pelepel kirin struggle.
pelate *n.* distribution.
pelate kirin distribute.
pelx *n.* large stone.
pembî *nm.* cotton. [Ak. *pembû*]
penah (P) *n.* refuge.
penî,
ji penî (da) secretly.
ji penî-we secretly.
penîr *n.* cheese.
pence (P) *n.* hand, paw.
pencere (P) *nf.* window.
perasî *n.* ribs. [Ak. *perasû*]
perçiwtin *perçiw-*, *vi.* swell.
perîseyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Parisa village.
perîşan (P) *adj.* distressed, afflicted, disturbed.
perîşan-ḥal (P) *adj.* distressed.
perîşanî (P) *nf.* distress, dispersion.
perok *PN* (hpoc. of) Pari.
pirûşk *n.* spark.
pertal *nm.* merchandise. [Ak. *pirtal*]
perwerde *adj.* nourished, reared.
peṛ *nm.* feather.
peṛok *n.* rag.
pesend (P) *n.* approval.
pesend kirin like, approve.
pestek *nm.* sleeveless felt waistcoat.
peşîman (P) *adj.* repentant.
peşîmanî (P) *n.* repentance, regret.
peşîn *peş-*, *vi.* slip, splatter, bounce, fall off.
peşk *n.* drop.
peya *adj.* dismounted, on foot.
peya bûn dismount.

peyade (<P) *adj.* dismounted, on foot.
peyda (P) *adj.* visible.
peyda bûn appear; be born.
peyda kirin look for, find, obtain.
peyîn *nm.* dung.
pez, peẓ *nm.* sheep. [Ak. *pezí*, Am. *peẓ*]
peẓ-hejmarî *n.* sheep-census.
pê 1. *nm.* foot; + Izafe *pîyê, pîyêt*; *pl.* *pîyan*.
di pê kirin put on (shoe)
ji pê kirin take off (shoe)
ji pê-we on foot, standing up.
pê 2. (absolute form of *bi*) thereat, thereof, therewith.
pê-we dan *bi ...-we dan*, strike (of snake).
pê-bi-zengil *adj.* with bells on the feet.
pêç *n.* coil, twist.
pêçan *pêç-*, *vt.* wrap up; see *werpêçan*.
pêçayî *adj.* wrapped up.
pêçek dan tie up.
pêç-pêç *adj.* coiled, twisted, crooked.
pê-da *adv.* below, downwards; see *ji ... pê-da*.
pêdatir *adv.* further down, below.
pêẋember (<P) *nm.* prophet.
pêẋemberî *nf.* prophethood.
pêẋemberînî *nf.* office of prophet.
pê-hel *adv.* above; see *ji ... pê-hel*.
pêheltir *adv.* further above; see *ji ... pêheltir*.
pêk, (= bi + yêk) *adv.* to one another.
pêk hatin be reconciled.
pêk înan bring together, reconcile.
pê-kenîn *inf.* laughter.
pê-kenîn *-ken-*, *vi.* laugh.
pêkwe (= bi yêkwe) *adv.* together. [Ak. *pêkve*]
pêlaw *nf.* footwear. [Ak. *pêlav*]
pêlaw-û-mêlaw footwear and the like.
pên *n.* kick.
pên dan li kick.
pêngaw *n.* step, pace. [Ak. *pêngav*]
pênc *num.* five.
pênce *num.* fifty.
pêncê *adj.* fifth.
pênc-hizar *num.* five thousand.
pênc-salî *n.* age of five years.
pênc-ṣed *num.* five hundred; cf. *panṣed*.
pêrar *n.* year before last.
pêro *n.* Pleiades.
pê-ra (absolute form of *bi ... ra*) against.
pêş *n.* front; see *pêş-da*; *adv.* forwards; *pp.* before; see *ji pêş*.
pêş noke before now, ago.
pêş wext in advance, beforehand.
pêş kewtin *kew-*, *vi.* go ahead. [Ak. *pêş keftin*]
pêş paş *adv.* to and fro, back and forth.
pêşî *adj.* previous, last, former; *pp.* before; *nf.* place before.
pêşîya ... before.
girtina pêşî forestalment, prevention.
pêşîne (P) *adj.* former.
pêşkêş *n.* gift, present.
pêşkêş kirin make a present of.
pêş-niewêj *nm.* prayer-leader.
pêş-niwêjî *nf.* leading the prayers.
pêştir *adj.* prior, earlier.
pêşwazî *nf.* meeting, welcoming.
çûne pêşwazîya ... go out to meet.
pêş-xizmet *n.* attendant.
pê-we (absolute form of *bi ...-we*) thereon, therewith. [Ak. *pê-ve*]
pêwe-dan *-de-*, *vt.* shut (door).
pê-we-dan *inf.* striking.
pêxas *adj.* barefoot.
pêj- see *patin*.
pif *n.* puff. [Ak. *puf*]
pif kirin blow, puff.

pilaw *nf.* pilaff, rice dish. [Ak. *pelav*]
piling *nm.* leopard.
pir *nf.* bridge.
pirs *nf.* question.
pirs(a ...) kirin ask (someone).
pirsîn *pirs-*, *vt.* ask.
pirxepirx *n.* snoring.
piṛ *adj.* full.
piṛmepiṛm *nf.* snuffling.
piṛmepiṛm kirin snuffle.
piṛ-û-pûç *adj.* nonsensical.
pismam *nm.* cousin (father's brother's son)
pisyar *nf.* enquiry.
pisyar kirin, fermon enquire, ask.
pişk *nf.* share, portion.
pişk kirin apportion.
pişka bitir, pitir greater part, majority.
pişt *nf.* back; generation; *pp.* off (the road).
li pişta ... behind.
ji pişta ... from behind.
ji layê pişt-we behind.
pişti *n.* load carried on the back.
piştîwan *n.* supporter. [Ak. *pişstîvan*]
pişt-û-pişt *adv.* backwards.
pitir *adj.* more, greater.
ji hemî caran pitir more than ever.
pejmurde (P) *adj.* withered.
pîçek *nm.* a little; *adv.* a little, somewhat.
pîl *nm.* shoulder.
pîlan (E) *n.* plan, strategem.
pîr 1. *adj.* old.
pîr 2. see *ji pîr ...-we*.
pîremêr *nm.* old man.
pîrejin *nf.* old woman.
pîroz *adj.* fortunate, blessed.
pîroze *n.* turquoise.
pîs (T) *adj.* dirty, foul.
pîsî 1. *nm.* filth, excrement.
pîsî 2. foulness.
pîst *nm.* skin, hide.
pîwan *pîw-*, *vt.* measure. [Ak. *pîvan*]
pîwaz *nf.* onion.
pola *n.* steel.
polîs (E) *n.* police.
poltîk (E) *nf.* politics, policy.
poste (E) *n.* post.
postnişîn (P) *n.* Sufi.
puxte *adj.* mature.
pûç *adj.* worthless; see *piṛ-û-pûç*.
pûl *nm.* money; small coin, farthing.
pûş *n.* corn-husk, chaff.

Q

qa'ide (A) *nm.* rule; see *qayde*.
qabil (A) *adj.* able, capable.
qabili ḥisab (P) *adj.* calculable.
qabilîyet (A) *nf.* ability.
qaçaq (T) *nm.* outlaw. [Sham. qaçax, Ak. *qaçaẋ*]
qadirî *adj.* (of the) Qadiri Sufi order.
qafile (A) *nm.* caravan.
qahîm (A) *adj.* strong, firm. [Ak. *qaîm*]
qaim-meqam (T) *nm.* district governor; see *qaymeqam*.
qamet (A) *nf.* pareyer beginning an act of worship.
qamîş (T) *n.* reed, cane.
qani' (A) *adj.* contented, satisfled.
qani' kirin satisfy, convince.
qanûn (A) *nf.* civil law.
qanûnen (A) *adv.* in (civil) law.
qanûnzan *adj.* knowledgeable in law.
qasid (A) *nm.* messenger.
qaşe (<T) *n.* gem.
qati' (A) *adj.* decisive.

qatix (T) *nm.* anything eaten with bread as a relish.
qatî *interr. part.*
qayde (<A) *n.* custom, habit.
qazan (T) *n.* cooking-pot.
qazanc (T) *nm.* profit.
qazanc kirin make a profit.
qazî (A) *nm.* cadi, judge.
qebaḥet (A) *nf.* shamefulness, offence.
qebale (A) *n.* deed of purchase.
qebqeb *nf.* call of a partridge.
qebr (A) *nm.* grave, tomb.
qebûl (A) *nf.* acceptance, consent.
qebûl bûn be accepted.
qebûl kirin, fermon, accept.
qebûla ... kirin accept.
qedem (A) *nf.* footstep.
qeder (A) *nm.* amount, extent.
bi qederê to the extent of; see *bi-qeder*.
qederekê (for) a while.
qedîm (A) *adj.* old, ancient.
qedîm-xanedan *adj.* of ancient stock, family.
qed-qed kirin *vt.* cut up.
qedr (A) *nm.* worth, respect.
qedrê ... girtin respect.
qedrê ... şkandin put to shame, disgrace.
qefqas *GN* Caucasus.
qefqasî *adj.* Caucasian.
qehr (A) *nf.* wrath, anger.
qehwe (A) *nf.* coffee.
qehwe-xane (P) *nf.* coffee-house.
qel *nf.* crow.
qelebelek *n.* pied crow, magpie. [Ak. *qelebaşk*]
qelebaliẋ (T) *n.* crowd, commotion. [Ak., Am. *qerebaliẋ*]
qelew *adj.* fat, stout.
qelat (A) *nf.* fort.
qelʿebend (P) *adj.* imprisoned in a fortress.
qelʿebend kirin imprison in a fortress.
qelb (A) *nm.* heart.
qelî (<A) *nf.* fried meat.
qemî *adv.* maybe, perhaps.
qeneʿet (A) *nf.* contentment.
qeneʿet kirin be content.
qepêk (R) *n.* copeck.
qer *nm.* debt, loan.
qer dan lend; repay a debt.
qer kirin borrow.
qereç *n.* gipsy.
qereqol (T) *n.* patrol, military outpost; see *qerewul*.
qerar (A) *nf.* rest, constancy; decision, agreement; see *ber-qerar*.
qerar bûn be decided, resolved, agreed.
qerar dan arrange, declare.
qerar girtin agree.
qerar înan agree, decide.
qerar kêşan make a decision.
qerarname (P) *n.* treaty, agreement.
qeraẋ *nm.* side, edge; *pl.* surroundings.
qerewul (T) *n.* sentry.
qerdar *adj.* indebted, in debt, owing.
qerifandin *vt.* deride.
qerîb (A) *adj.* near.
qerîne (A) *n.* context, indication, sign.
qesebe (A) *nf.* (small) town.
qesd (A) *nf.* intention, attempt; see *qest*.
qesd(a ...) kirin intend, attempt, set out (for).
qesp *nf.* dried date.
qesr (A) *nf.* mansion, palace.
qesab (A) *nm.* butcher.
qest = *qesd*.

qest kirin attempt.
bi qestî on purpose, intentionally.
qeşe (Syr.) *n.* Christian priest.
qet (<A) not at all.
qetʿ (A) breaking.
qetʿa umîdê kirin give up hope.
qetʿîyen (A) *adv.* definitely.
qetl (A) *n.* killing.
qewimîn *qewim-*, *vi.* happen.
qewî (A) *adj.* strong; *adv.* very, very much.
qewî-pence *adj.* strong-handed.
qewî-şewket *adj.* magnificent.
qewl (A) *nf.* words, speech.
qewm (A) *nm.* people, nation.
qewmîyet (A) *nf.* nationality, national status.
qeyd (A) *nm.* restriction.
qeydî nîye it does not matter.
qeza 1. (A) *n.* fulfllment, accomplishment; fate, destiny.
qeza 2. (T<A) *n.* administrative district.
qible (A) *nf.* the direction of Mecca, to which Muslims turn in prayer.
qir *adj.* out of action, annihilated.
qir bûn be out of action.
qir kirin put out of action.
qiran *n.* (P) Persian coin.
qirêjî *adj.* dirty, filthy.
qirmizî (A) *adj.* red.
qirş (A) *n.* wood-shaving.
qism (A) *n.* part, portion.
qişt *adj.* erect, straight.
qitʿe (A) *n.* section, territory.
qiyafet (A) appearance, aspect.
qiyam (A) *nf.* rising, standing up.
qiyam kirin rise, stand up.
qiyamet (A) *nf.* resurrection.
qiyas 1. (A) *nm.* measure, extent; 2. *nf.* comparison.
qîmet kirin price.
qiṛandin *vt.* bawl, cry.
qîjeqîj *nf.* crowing.
qîjandin *vt.* crow, squall.
qîmet (A) *nf.* price.
qoç *n.* butting.
qoç danan butt. [Ak. *qoç dan*]
qolinc (<T) *nf.* lumbago; see *rih*.
qomîte (E) *nf.* committee.
qorî *n.* shouting, wailing.
qorî kirin shout.
kirine qorî shout.
quwet (A) *nf.* strength.
qubbeyî *adj.* dome-shaped.
qudret (A) *nf.* power.
qudsî (A) *adj.* holy.
qulêr *adj.* hollow; *nf.* hollow (of a tree).
qulp kirin *vt.* overthrow.
qumandan (T) *n.* commander.
qumandar (E) *nm.* commander.
qumandarî *nf.* command.
qund *adj.* erect.
qunsol (E) *nm.* consul.
qunsolxane (P) *nf.* consulate.
qureyşî (A) *adj.* (descendant) of the Quraish tribe.
qur'an (A) *nf.* Koran.
qurban (A) *nm.* sacrifice; *int.* "at your service".
qurbanê ... bûn be a sacrifice for.
qurîng *n.* crane.
qurom (A) *nf.* stump (of a tree).
qurûş (T) *n.* piastre.
qurpûs (E) *nm.* (army) corps.
qurumsax (T) *n.* pimp, pander.
qusûr (A) *nf.* fault.
qusûrî *n.* deficiency, fault.

quşûn (P) *nm.* army.
qut *adj.* short.
qutebotanî short flintlock gun made in Bohtan.
qutan *vt.* beat; see *dest-qutan*.
qutb (A) *nm.* leader.
quz *nm.* vulva.
quzulqurt (<T) *int.* (may) red words (afflict you). [Ak. *quzilqurt*]
qûn *nf.* anus.
qût (A) *nf.* food, nourishment.

R

ra- preverb. up, out.
ra postposition.
rabarin *-bêr-*, *vt.* spend, pass (time).
rabirîn *-bir-*, *vi.* pass.
rabî *nm.* Rabbi.
rabûn *-b-*, *vi.* rise, get up. [Ak. *rabîn*]
rabûnewe get up again, wake up.
raêxistin *-êx-*, *vt.* spread out.
ragirtin *-gir-*, *vt.* hold (up), keep.
raẋib (A) *adj.* desirous.
raḥet (A) *nf.* ease, comfort, rest; *adj.* quiet, tranquil.
raḥetî *nf.* ease, comfort, rest.
rakirin *-ke-*, *vt.* raise, lift, remove.
rakirinewe lift up.
ramûsîn *vt.* kiss.
ran *nm.* thigh.
ranî *n.* trousers.
ranî-bergûz *npl.* suit of homespun jacket and trousers.
rapor(t) (E) *n.* report.
rapor(t) dan report.
rast *adj.* true, right, correct, straight; *nf.* right (side).
rast kirin straighten, aim.
rastî *nf.* truth, righteousness; open country.
raw *nf.* hunt. [Ak. *rav*]
rawestan *-west-*, *vi.* stand, stop.
raweşandin *vt.* wave, shake.
rayex *n.* floor covering.
razan *-zê-*, *vi.* lie down, sleep.
raziq (A) *nm.* provider.
razî (A) *adj.* satisfied, content.
rajêr *nf.* underlay (of carpet).
re'îs (A) *nm.* chief, leader.
re'y (A) *nf.* opinion.
reʿîyet (A) *nf.* subject, peasant.
rebb (A) *nm.* Lord.
rebbî (A) my Lord.
redd (A) *n.* restitution; rejection, refutation.
redd kirin refute.
refîq (A) *nm.* friend, companion.
reftar *nf.* behaviour, dealings.
reftar kirin behave.
reḥetî *nf.* ease, comfort; cf. *raḥet(î)*.
reḥm (<A) mercy.
reḥm(ê) bi ... kirin have mercy on.
reḥmet (A) *nf.* mercy.
reḥmetî (P) *adj.* the late, deceased.
reḥmanî (P) *adj.* divine.
rehmanî *adj.* divine.
remezan (A) *nf.* Ramadan, month of fasting.
reng *nm.* colour; kind, sort.
req *adj.* hard, harsh.
resm (A) *nm.* rule.
resmî (A) *adj.* official.
resûl (A) *nm.* prophet.
resûlullah (A) the prophet of God.
reş *adj.* black.
reşadet-me'ab (P) *adj.* of right conduct, (title of a leading divine).
reşandin *vt.* sprinkle.

reşatî *nf.* blackness, silhouette.
reşîd (A) *adj.* brave.
reş-mal *nf.* black tent.
reşokî *adj.* black-(haired) animals (i.e. goats, etc.).
reşwêle *n.* starling.
rew *n.* shying.
rew(ek) dane xo shy.
rew- see *rewîn*.
rewend *adj.* nomad(ic). [Ak. *revend*]
rewan *inf.* abduction.
rewan *rewê-*, *vt.* snatch, abduct.
rewandin *rewîn-*, *vt.* drive away. [Ak. *revandin*]
rewandizî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Rawandiz.
rewişt *nf.* course.
rewîn *rew-*, *vi.* bark.
rewze (A) *n.* garden, the tomb of the prophet.
rewzexan *n.* professional Shiite narrator of the tragedies of Karbala.
rex *nm.* side; see *li-rex*.
rext (P) *nm.* bandolier.
rez *nm.* orchard, vineyard.
rezewan *nm.* gardener. [Ak. *rez(e)van*]
rezalet (A) *nf.* baseness.
rezîl (A) *adj.* mean, ignoble.
rezîlî *n.* meanness, ignominy.
rê *nf.* road, way; see *rêk*.
ji rêwe firstly.
rê kewtin set out. [Ak. *rê keftin*]
rê kirin send. [Ak. *v(i) rê kirin*]
rêberî *nf.* guidance.
***rêgirî** highway robbery.
rêk *nf.* road, way.
rêkanî PN. Rekani tribe(sman).
rêz *n.* row, line.
ribad (A) *n.* decoy partridge.
rica (<A) *nf.* hope.
rica kirin beg, request.
ridîn *nf.* beard.
rih *nf.* nerve.
riha qolincê lumbar nerve (plexus).
rijandin *rijîn-*, *vt.* pour out.
rijyan *inf.* spilling, falling.
rispî *nm.* elder. [Ak. *rûspî*]
rispîyatî *nf.* eldership.
rist *nf.* line, leash.
rişwet (A) *n.* bribe.
riya (A) *n.* hypocrisy.
riyazet (A) *n.* exercise; see *sulûk*.
rizq (A) *nm.* sustenance, provision.
rîtin *inf.* defacation.
rîtin *rî-*, *vt.* defacate.
rîwî 1. *n.* fox. [Sham. *rûwî*, Ak. *rûvî*]
rîwî 2. gut, intestine. [Sham. *rûwî*, Ak. *rîvî*]
romî (A) *nm.* Turk.
rona *adj.* light, bright. [Ak. *ron*]
ronaî *nf.* light.
roj *nf.* day; sun.
rojawa *n.* sunset. [Ak. *rojava*]
rojhelat *n.* sunrise.
rukn (A) *nm.* pillar.
rukû' (A) *nf.* genuflection.
ruswa (P) *adj.* disgraced.
ruswa kirin disgrace.
rutbe (A) *nf.* rank.
ruxset (A) *nf.* leave, permission.
rû 1. *nm.* face.
ji rûyê from, out of.
rû 2. *preverb*. down.
rû-bi-rûyê *pp.* facing, opposite.
rûbar *n.* river.
rû-çûn *inf.* going down, sinking.
rûn *nm.* clarified butter, cooking oil.
rûniştin *-nê-*, *vi.* sit down, settle, dwell.
rûniştî *adj.* seated.
rûḥ (A) *nf.* soul, spirit.
rûḥanî (A) *adj.* spiritual.

rûḥanîyet (A) *nf.* spirituality.
rûḥtuber *nm.* creature, animal.
rûreş *adj.* shamed, disgraced.
rûs (E) GN Russia; see *urûs*.
rûs *adj.* naked; smooth; cf. *lûs*.
  rûs kirin strip naked.
rûşen-zemîr (P) *adj.* enlightened.

S

saʿet (A) *nf.* hour; see *seʿet*.
saʿî (A) *adj.* diligent.
sabit (A) *adj.* proven, established.
  sabit kirin prove.
sadat (A) *npl.* (of *sayyid*, seyîd) *Sayyids*.
saḥir (A) *n.* magician.
sako (A) *n.* jacket.
sal *nf.* year.
salar *n.* leader.
  salaru-l-ʿeşair leader of the tribes.
saliḥ (A) *adj.* pious.
-salî see *çarde-, deh-, heşt-, ḥewt-, neh-, pazde-, şêst-salî*.
saniyen (A) *adv.* secondly.
sanî (A) *adj.* second.
sar *adj.* cold; = *ṣar*.
sarime (T *sarma*?) *nf.* flintlock gun (decorated with a pattern of rings).
sawa *n.* suckling infant. [Ak. *sava*]
sax (<T) *adj.* sound, well, alive.
saxî *nf.* good health, life.
saxtekarî (P) *nf.* fabrication, falsification.
saye *n.* shade, shadow.
  saye-y under the auspices of.
saz *n.* (instrumental) music.
se *n.* dog.
seʿet (<A) *n.* time, hour; = *saʿet*.
seʿadet (A) *nf.* happiness, bliss; see *der* 1, *xudan-seʿadet*.
seʿî / seʿy (A) *n.* effort, endeavour.
  seʿî kirin try, endeavour.
sebeb (A) *nm.* cause, reason; *pp.* because.
seccade (A) *n.* prayer-mat.
sefer (A) *nf.* journey.
sefahet (A) *nf.* stupidity.
sefîh (A) *adj.* stupid.
sehm *n.* awe.
seḥet (A) *nf.* health, heartiness.
seḥîḥ (A) *adj.* correct, authentic.
selaḥ (A) *nf.* goodness, welfare, advisability; *adj.* advisable, expedient.
selam (A) *n.* greeting; see *silaw*.
selamet (A) *adj.* safe, well.
selametî (P) *nf.* security.
selamliẋ (T) *nf.* guest-room, audience.
***selimandin** *selimîn-*, *vt.* submit.
selîm (A) *adj.* sound, peaceable.
seltenet (A) *n.* authority, rule.
semawî (A) *adj.* holy, heavenly.
sened (A) *n.* document.
senem (A) *n.* idol.
senayî *adj.* easy. [Ak. *sanayî*]
senayiʿ (A) *npl.* (of *senʿet*) trades, crafts.
senʿet (A) *n.* trade, industry.
seqet (A) *adj.* mutilated, dead; see *siket / seket*.
  seqet bûn be maimed, mutilated, perish.
  seqet kirin mutilate, kill.
ser *nm.* head, top, end, tip; *pp.* on, upon, above.
  ser çawan *ser seran*, on my eyes, head, willingly, with pleasure, welcome.
  ser dû nan chase, follow.
  ser girtin succeed.

ser kewtin mount, ascend, climb. [Ak. *ser keftin*]
se⟨r⟩ wê hindê ra moreover, on top of that.
sera ... dan visit.
serek *nf.* leader.
sera *nf.* palace.
sera(yi) humayûn royal palace.
seṛak *n.* rafter.
seraw (< ser aw) *nf.* lavatory.
serbestî *nf.* freedom.
serban *nm.* roof.
ser-bi-xo *adv.* on one's own, independently.
serdar *nm.* chief.
serdarî *nf.* rule.
serferaz (P) *adj.* honourable, eminent. [Sham., Ak. *serfiraz*]
serferazî (P) *nf.* honour.
serḥed (P) *nm.* boundary, border; *pl.* regions.
serî *adj.* upper.
serîḥ (A) *adj.* definite.
serkanî *nf.* spring, source.
serma *nf.* cold.
ser-nikil *nm.* point, tip.
ser-û-ber *nm.* preparation(s), order.
ser-û-ber kirin prepare, order.
ser-û-çaw *npl.* face. [Ak. *ser-û-çav*]
serser(k)î *adj.* impetuous.
sertêşt *nf.* breakfast.
serxoş *adj.* intoxicated, drunk.
serxoşî *nf.* intoxication, drunkennes.
sexî (A) *adj.* generous.
seyda (A) *nm.* teacher.
seydatî *nf.* teachership.
seyr (A) *nf.* spectacle.
seyr kirin watch, look on; go about sightseeing.
seyr û suḥbet entertainment, entertaining spectacle.
seyran (A) *nf.* sightseeing, stroll.
seyyi'at (A *pl.*) *nf.* evil, sin.
seyîd (A) *nm.* Sayyid, descendant of the Prophet; see *sadat*.
sê *num.* three; *obl. sêyan*; Izafe *sêyêt*.
sîber ~ sêber *nf.* shade, shadow
sê-çendan *adj.* three times as much.
sê-hizar *num.* three thousand.
sênî *nf.* tray.
sêre *nf.* fore-sight of gun. [Sham. *stêre*; Ak. *stêrik*]
sêre girtin take sight.
sê-sed *num.* three hundred.
sêşembî *n.* Tuesday.
sê-tebeqî *adj.* three-storey; *nf.* three-storied house.
sêyê *adj.* third.
sêzde *num.* thirteen.
sicde (A) *nf.* prosternation, worship.
sifr (A) *n.* copper, brass.
sifre (<A) *nf.* table-cloth.
sihî *num.* thirty. [Ak. *sî(h)*]
siket ~ seket *adj.* dead; see *seqet*.
siket bûn perish.
siket kirin kill.
sil *adj.* angry, annoyed.
silaḥ (A) *n.* arms.
silaw *nf.* greeting, salute; cf. *selam*. [Ak. *silav*]
silaw kirin greet.
silsile (A) *nf.* lineage, succession.
simbêl (A *pl. sibal*) *n.* whiskers, moustache.
sineyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Sanandaj town.
sing *n.* pole, staff.
sist *adj.* loose, weak, slack.
sitare (A) *nm.* cover.
sitareyê sîngê şerî breastwork.

siwande *n.* eaves. [Ak. *sivande*]
siwik *adj.* light, weak; *adv.* quietly. [Ak. *sivik*]
siwik-ʻeql *adj.* weak-minded, stupid.
siyadet-intisab *adj.* claiming descent from the Prophet.
siyaḥet (A) *nf.* travelling.
  siyaḥet kirin travel.
siyaset (A) *n.* tact, diplomacy; see *ehl*.
siyasî (A) *adj.* political.
siyasîyat (A *pl.*) *n.* politics.
siyasîyûn (A) *npl.* politicians, statesmen.
sîng *nm.* breast, chest; see *sitare*.
sol *nf.* shoe; = *ṣol*.
solik *nf.* sandal.
sor *adj.* red; = *ṣor*.
sotin *soj-*, *vi.* & *vt.* burn; = *ṣotin*.
sotî *adj.* burnt; see *ṣotî*.
sozenî (P) *n.* needle-rifle, Mauser.
spehî *adj.* pretty, beautiful; = *ṣpehî*.
spêde *nf.* dawn.
spî *adj.* white.
spîndar *n.* poplar tree. [Ak. *spî*(*n*)*dar*]
standin *stîn-*, *vt.* take, seize.
stêwir *adj.* sterile, barren. [Sham. *stîwir*; Ak. *stewir*]
stirî *n.* thorn.
stukir *nf.* neck.
stûn *n.* post, pillar.
stûr *adj.* thick, stout.
suḥuf (A) *npl.* leaves, pages.
sukût (A) *nf.* silence.
  sukût kirin remain silent.
sulḥ (A) *nf.* peace.
sulûk (A) *n.* behaviour, way of living.
  sulûk û riyazet kêşan follow the rules and exercises.
sultan (A) *nm.* Sultan. [Sham., Ak. *ṣultan*]
sultanî (A) *adj.* royal.
sunnî (A) *adj.* Sunnite.
sunnîyatî *nf.* Sunnism.
surgûn (T) *n.* banishment, exile.
  surgûn kirin banish, exile.
suruk *n.* stream, jet.
suwal (A) *nf.* questions.
suwal-û-cewab *nf.* question and answer, conversation, debate.
suwar *adj.* mounted; *n.* horseman, rider.
  suwar bûn mount.
  suwar kirin cock (the cock of a gun).
suwarî *adj.* riding-(animal).
sûç (T) *nf.* fault.
sûnd *nf.* oath.
  dane sûndê administer an oath, make swear.
  sûnd xarin take an oath.
sûr *adj.* salty.
sûre *n.* surah, chapter of the Koran.

Ṣ

ṣadiq (A) *adj.* truthful, sincere.
ṣadir (A) *adj.* issuing.
  ṣadir bûn issue, emanate.
ṣaf (A) *adj.* clear, pure.
ṣafî (A) *adj.* clear, pure.
ṣafî-dilî *nf.* innocence.
ṣaḥib (A) *n.* owner, master.
ṣahib-ẋîret *adj.* zealous.
ṣaḥib-ixtiyar *adj.* free to choose.
ṣapîtke *n.* ceiling. [Ak. *sapûtik*]
ṣar *adj.* cold; = *sar*.
ṣe *nm.* dog; *pl. obl. ṣa*
ṣe-bab *nm.* son of a dog.
ṣebr (A) *nf.* patience. [Sham., Ak. *sebr*]
  ṣebra ... hatin pass the time pleasantly.
  ṣebr kirin, fermon be patient, wait.

ṣed *num.* hundred.
ṣedeme (A) *n.* injury, damage.
ṣedeqe (A) *n.* charity, alms.
ṣedaqet (A) *nf.* truth, sincerity.
ṣef (A) *nm.* rank, row.
ṣefra (A) *nm.* bile.
ṣeḥabe (A) *npl.* (of *ṣaḥib*) friend.
  ṣeḥabêt kiram the noble Companions (of the Prophet).
ṣel *n.* broad stone.
ṣeleber *nf.* broad stone; see *ber*.
ṣepan *nf.* hired reaper. [Ak. *sepan*]
ṣerf (A) *n.* spending, expense.
  ṣerf kirin spend, expend.
  ṣerfi nezer (P) disregard.
  ṣerfi nezer kirin ji dispense with, disregard.
ṣeṛaf (A) *n.* banker.
ṣewar *nf.* boiled, dried, and crushed wheat, grits. [Ak. *savar*]
ṣewî *nf.* basket. [Ak. *sevî*]
ṣindoq (A) *nf.* chest, box, coffer. [Ak. *sindoq*]
ṣirf (A) *adj.* pure, sheer.
  ṣirf duro a downright lie.
ṣiyanet (A) *nf.* protection.
ṣofî (A) *nm.* Sufi, mystic, devotee.
ṣol *nf.* shoe; = *sol*.
ṣone (T) *nm.* drake, (*nf.* duck). [Ak. *sone*]
ṣone-gewrik *nm.* grey drake.
ṣor *adj.* red; = *sor*.
ṣor-kirî *adj.* made red-hot.
ṣotin *ṣoj-*, *vt.* burn; = *sotin*.
ṣpehî (A *ṣabîḥ*) *adj.* pretty, beautiful; = *spehî*.
ṣube ~ **ṣibe** (A) *nm.* tomorrow. [Ak. *ṣibe*]
  ṣube(yî) *adv.* tomorrow.
ṣubeyî *adv.* at morning.
ṣuḥbet (A) *nf.* talk, story, joke, jest; intercourse; see *seyr*.
  ṣuḥbet kirin converse, keep company, have intercourse.
  ṣuḥbet bi ... kirin play a joke on.
ṣuḥbetçî *n.* joker.
ṣûret (A) *nm.* face; manner. [Sham. *sûret*]

Ş

şa *nm.* shah, king.
şa'ir (A) *nm.* poet.
şah (P) Shah of lran.
şahane (P) *adj.* royal.
şahid (A) *nm.* witness.
şahidî *nf.* testimony.
şahî (P) *nf.* kingship, sovereignty.
şal (P) *nf.* shawl.
şam (A) GN Damascus.
şane (P) *nm.* comb.
  şaneyekî hingûnî a honeycomb.
şar *nm.* town.
şareza *adj.* knowing the country, the way, knowledgeable.
şarezaker *nm.* guide.
şarinewe *şêr-*, *vt.* hide, bury. [Ak. *veşartin*]
şaş *adj.* perplexed, distracted.
şaşik *nf.* turban.
şax *nm.* horn, antler.
şe'n (A) *nm.* dignity.
şedîd (A) *adj.* severe, intense.
şehadetname (P) *n.* testimonial.
şehîd (A) *nm.* martyr.
  şehîd kirin martyrize.
şehr (P) *nm.* city; see *şar*.
şehryar (P) *nf.* monarch.
şecî' (A) *adj.* brave.
şek *nm.* three-year-old ram.
şekir *nf.* sugar.

şelandin *şelîn-*, *vt.* strip, plunder.
şelwal *npl.* trousers. [Sham. *şelwar*]
şeliyan *şeliyê-*, *vi.* strip.
şema (A) *nf.* wax.
şemal *nf.* candle.
şemamişt *nm.* waterproof cloth.
şembî *n.* Sabbath, Saturday.
şemdînanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Shamdinan district.
şemdînî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Shamdinan district.
şemûn (Syr) *PN* Mar Shamun, Nestorian Patriarch.
şenîʿ (A) *adj.* abominable.
şeql *n.* crevice.
şeref (A) *nf.* honour, superiority.
şerefyab *adj.* honoured.
  şerefyab bûn have the honour of being received.
şerab (A) *nf.* wine.
şerafet (A) *nf.* nobility.
şerait (A) *npl.* conditions.
şeraret (A) *n.* wickedness.
şerʿ (A) *nm.* divine law.
şerʿen (A) *adv.* according to divine law.
şerʿî (A) *adj.* of the divine law.
şeṛ (A) *nm.* evil; quarrel, war, fighting; *adj.* pugnacious.
şeṛî *adj.* of fighting; see *sitare*.
şerbik *nm.* water-pot, pitcher.
şerîʿet (A) *nf.* divine law.
şerîʿet (A) *adj.* of the divine law.
şerîf (A) *nm.* the Sharif of Mecca.
şerm *nf.* shame.
  şerm kirin be ashamed.
şerminde (<P) *adj.* ashamed.
şermokî *adv.* ashamedly.
şert (A) *nm.* condition, criterion.
  bi şertê ku on condition that.
şeş *num.* six.
şeşê *adj.* sixth.
şeş-hizar *num.* six thousand.
şeş-ṣed *num.* six hundred.
şeṭṭ (A) *n.* river (Tigris).
şew *nf.* night. [Ak. *şev*]
şewat (A *şubat*) *nf.* February.
şewçere *nf.* late supper, night refreshment.
şexsî (A) *adj.* personal.
şeytan (A) *nm.* devil, Satan; rogue.
şeytanî *adj.* devilish, satanic.
şê- see *şiyan*.
şêlik *n.* volley.
şêr *nm.* lion.
şêrînî *nf.* lionhood.
şêst *num.* sixty.
şêst-salî *adj.* sixty-years-old.
şêt *adj.* mad.
şêx (<A) *nm.* Shaikh, spiritual leader.
şêxatî *n.* rank of Shaikh.
şêxînî *nf.* shaikhhood.
şiʿr (A) *nf.* poem.
şiddet (A) *n.* intensity, diligence.
şihe *adj.* damp. [Ak. *şeh*]
şik (<A) *n.* doubt.
  şik ji ... birin have doubts about, not be sure of.
şifa (A) *nf.* healing.
  şifa dan cure, heal.
şikayêt (<A) *n.* complaint.
şikl (A) *nm.* form, appearance.
şiklguhor *adj.* changing form.
  xo şiklguhor kirin disguise oneself.
şil *adj.* limp.
şilowe *n.* slush, snow water. [Ak. *şilove*]
şilxe *n.* swarm.
  şilxe dan swarm.

şimal (A) *n.* north.
şimaq *n.* slap.
şinoyî Ushnuyi tribe.
şiqaq (A) *n.* discord.
şirîk (<A) *nm.* companion, partner.
şirîn *adj.* sweet.
şirînî *n.* sweetmeat.
şiyan *şê-*, *vt.* be able.
  neşê- *neg.* cannot.
şîʻe (A) *adj.* Shiah, Shiite.
şîʻetî *n.* Shiism.
şîn green, blue; see *reş-û-şîn*.
  şîn bûn sprout.
şînik *nf.* muzzle-loader musket.
şîr 1. *nm.* milk; 2. *nm.* sword.
şîrwanî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Shirwan, Shirwani tribe(sman).
şîw 1. *nf.* supper; 2. *nf.* stream. [Ak. *şîv*]
şîwik *nf.* gorge. [Ak. *şîvik*]
şkandin *inf.* breaking, rending.
şkandin *şkîn-*, *vt.* break, rend.
şkestin *şkê-*, *vi.* break.
şkewt *nf.* cave. [Ak. *şkeft*]
şkêr *n.* craggy place.
şo- see *şuştin*.
şol (A) *nf.* work, affair.
şoṛ *adj.* hanging.
  şoṛ kirin hang, lower.
şore *adj.* long, flowing (robe).
şorbaw *nf.* soup, stew.
şuʻûr (A) *n.* sense, intelligence.
şubhe (A) *n.* doubt.
şuhret (A) *n.* fame, reputation.
şukr (A) *nf.* thanks.
şuloẋ *adj.* disorderly.
şure *nm.* things, wares.
  şure-mure.
şuştin *şo-*, *vt.* wash.
şuwan *nm.* shepherd. [Ak. *şivan*]
şuwanî *n.* shepherding.
  şuwanî kirin work as a shepherd.
şûn *nf.* place, trace; *pp.* in place of, after.
şûre *nf.* wall. [Ak. *şûr*(*e*)]
şûra (A) *n.* consultation.
şûşe *n.* glass, bottle.
şûtik *nf.* sash, cummerbund.
şûw(i)k *nm.* thin branch.
  şûwkêt bîyê osiers.
şwêlî *adj.* turbid. [Ak. *şêlû*]

T

ta 1. *n.* fever, illness.
ta 2. *nm.* branch; = *ṭa*.
ta 3. *conj.* so that.
tabiʻ (A) *n.* follower, adherent.
  tabiʻ(î ...) bûn follow.
tabûr (T) *n.* battalion, regiment.
tacir (A) *nm.* merchant.
taife (A) *nf.* group, body, tribe.
talan (P) *n.* plundering.
  talan kirin rob, plunder.
talan-kirî *adj.* plundered.
tanc *nm.* crown.
tasiyan *vi.* slip. [Ak. *tehisîn*]
tawî *adj.* feverish, unwell.
taze *adj.* new, fresh, recent.
taziye (A) *nf.* passion play.
te *pro. obl.* sg. you, your.
teʻala (A) *adj.* exalted.
teʻcîz (A) *nf.* distress, annoyance.
  teʻcîz kirin annoy, distress.
teʼessuf (A) *nf.* regret.
  teʼessuf(ê) kirin regret, be sorry.
teʻeccub (A) *nf.* amazement.
  teʻeccub(ê) kirin ji be amazed (at).
teʻelluq (A) *nf.* connection, concern.
teʼlîf (A) *n.* compilation.
  teʼlîf kirin compile.

te'mîn (A) *nf.* guarantee, assurance, security.
te'mîn kirin assure.
te'sîr (A) *nf.* effect, impression.
te'sîr(ê) kirin leave an impression, have an effect.
teʿlîm (A) *nf.* instruction.
teʿlîm kirin teach, instruct.
teʿmîr (A) *nf.* repairing.
teʿrîf (A) *nf.* commendation, praise.
teʿrîf kirin praise.
teʿyîn (A) *n.* appointment.
teʿyîn kirin appoint.
tebeq (A) *n.* layer, storey.
tebeṛî (A) *nf.* opposition.
tebeṛuk (A) *n.* good omen, blessing.
tebeṛuk kirin regard as a blessing, a good omen.
tebeyyun (A) *n.* clarity, certainty.
tebeyyun kirin ascertain.
tebay *pp.* in common with. [Ak. *tebayî*]
tebʿ (A) *nm.* nature; printing.
tebʿ dan print.
tebiqîn *vi.* be smashed.
tebîʿet (A) *nm.* nature, character.
tebîʿet-nexoş *adj.* bad-tempered.
tebîʿet-tund *adj.* sharp-tempered = *tund-tebîʿet*.
tebîʿî (A) *adj.* natural, innate.
tebrîk (A) *nf.* congratulation.
tecawuz (A) *n.* transgression.
tecawuz kirin exceed, infringe.
tecribe (<A) *n.* test, trial.
tecribe kirin try, prove.
tedaruk (A) *nf.* preparation.
tedbîr (A) *nf.* deliberation, management, expedient, plan. [Ak. *tekbîr*]
tedbîr(ê) kirin deliberate, plan.
tedbîrker *adj.* prudent.
tedrîs (A) *nf.* teaching.
tedrîs(ê) kirin teach.
tefawut (A) *nf.* difference.
tefriqe (A) *n.* dispersion.
tefriqe bûn be dispersed.
tefriqe kirin disperse, scatter.
tefrît (A) *n.* negligence.
tefsîl (A) *nf.* details.
bi tefsîl in detail.
tefsîlen (A) *adv.* in detail.
teftîş (A) *nf.* search, investigation.
teftîş kirin search, investigate.
teḥ teḥ *int.* tut tut!
teḥemmul (A) *n.* patience, endurance.
teḥemmul kirin endure.
teḥqîq (A) *nf.* verification, investigation.
teḥqîq kirin investigate.
teḥqîqa madde investigation, verification of the matter.
teḥqîqat (A *pl.*) *n.* investigation.
teḥsîl (A) *nf.* acquisition, studying.
tejî *adj.* full (of). [Ak. *tijî*]
tejî kirin fill.
tekebbur (A) *n.* pride, arrogance.
tekebbur kirin become arrogant.
tekye ~ **tekya** (A) *nf.* dervish convent.
telef (A) *n.* destruction.
telef bûn perish.
telef kirin destroy.
telaq (A) *n.* divorce.
telẋraf (E) *n.* telegram.
telîʿe (A) *n.* picket, scout.
teltîf (A) *nf.* kindness, conciliation.
teltîf kirin conciliate.
telwîs (A) *n.* soiling.
telwîs kirin soil, defile.
temam (A) *adj.* whole, complete, all.
temam bûn *inf.* completion.

temam bûn be finished, die.
temam kirin finish.
temamî (P) *n.* entirety.
bi temamî entirely.
temaşe ~ **temaşa** *n.* spectacle.
temaşe ~ **temaşa kirin** look at, watch, behold.
tembelî (P) *n.* laziness.
tembî (A) *n.* admonition, punishment.
tembî kirin admonish, punish.
temîs ~ **temîz** (<P) *adj.* clear, clean, pure.
temsîl (A) *n.* parable.
temzîq (A) *nf.* tearing.
temzîq kirin tear up.
tenef *nf.* rope. [Ak. *tenav*]
tenezul (A) *n.* decline.
tenezul kirin decline, stoop, humble oneself.
tengawî *nf.* difficulty; = *ṭengawî*.
tencîs (A) *n.* pollution.
tencîs kirin pollute.
tep *n.* slap; = *ṭep*.
tep-û-mist *n.* slapping and thumping.
teqdîr (A) *nf.* predestination, decree.
teqlîd (A) *nf.* imitation, example.
teqrîben (A) *adv.* approximately.
teqsîm (A) *nf.* division.
teqsîm kirin divide.
teqsîr (A) *nf.* fault.
teqsîr kirin offend, stint, fall short.
teqwiye (A) *nf.* support, strengthening.
teqwiye kirin support, uphold.
teref (A) *nm.* side, direction.
ji terefê from (the side of).
terefdar (P) *nm.* protagonist, supporter.
tereqqî (A) *nf.* progress, advance.
tereqqî kirin advance, make progres.
teres (T) *nm.* cuckold.
terbiye (A) *nf.* discipline, punishment.
terbiye kirin, fermon discipline, punish.
terẋîb (A) *nf.* encouragement.
terêf (A) *adj.* strange.
terîqe (A) *nf.* way, path, Sufi order.
terîqedar (P) *nm.* follower of a Sufî order.
terîqet (A) *n.* Sufi order.
tercume (A) *n.* translation.
terk (A) *nf.* abandonment.
terk kirin abandon.
tertîb (A) *nf.* arrangement, order.
teṛ *adj.* moist, fresh.
teṛaş *nf.* bush, thicket.
tesellut (A) *n.* domination.
tesellut kirin rule.
tesbîḥat (A) *n.* praising God; see *tizbî*.
teslîm (A) *n.* surrender, submission.
teslîm bûn surrender, submit.
teslîm(i, î ...) kirin surrender.
teseṛuf (A) *nf.* possession, occupation, control.
teseṛuf kirin possess, control, occupy.
tesewur (A) *n.* imagination.
tesewur kirin suppose, imagine.
tesdîq (A) *nf.* confirmation.
tesdîq kirin confirm, certify, agree.
teşebus (A) *nf.* enterprise.
teşebus kirin take the initiative.
teşekkur (A) *n.* gratitude, thanks.
teşbîh (A) *n.* comparison.
teşkîl (A) *nf.* formation.
teşqele *n.* cheating, fraud.
teşqele kirin li cheat.
teşrîf (A) *nf.* honour.
teşrîf kirin do someone the honour, visit.
tetyîb (A) *nf.* reassurance, consolation.
tetyîb kirin reassure.
teweccuh (A) *n.* attention, heed.

teweccuhat (A) *npl.* attentions, favours.
tewekkul (A) *nf.* trust.
tewellî (A) *n.* friendship.
tewesset (A) *nf.* mediation.
tewbe (A) *n.* repentance.
tewbe kirin repent.
tewbekar *adj.* penitent.
tewfîq (A) *nf.* grace, favour, success.
tewn *nm.* tissue. [Ak. *tevn*]
tewnê dapîroşkê spider's web. [Ak. *tevnpîrk*]
tewrat (A) *nf.* Torah.
tewşî *nm.* adze. [Ak. *tefşî*]
texmîn (A) *n.* estimate, guess.
texmîn kirin estimate, guess.
texmînen (A) *adv.* approximately.
text *nm.* throne.
te'xîr (A) *nf.* delay.
te'xîr(ê) kirin delay.
tezyîqat (A *pl.*) *n.* restraining.
tê (absolute form of *di*) (there)in.
tê- see *hatin*.
têgehandin *-gehîn-*, *vt.* explain.
têgeştin *-ge-*, *vi.* understand. [Sham. *têgehiştin*]
têgeştî *adj.* intelligent. [Sham., Ak. *têgehiştî*]
tê-girtin *inf.* inlay.
têk (= *di* + *yêk*), in one another.
têkelî *nf.* mixing, involvement. [Ak. *têkhelî*]
têk-çûn *-ç-*, fall apart, be destroyed; be angry.
têk-hijandin *vt.* shake.
tê-kirin *-ke-*, *vt.* put in, insert, pour in.
têle *nf.* bundle.
tên *n.* thirst.
ji têna of thirst.
têni *adj.* thirsty.
têr *adj.* satiatedî satisfied; *nf.* sufficiency.
têşt *nf.* breakfast, morning meal.
tibil ~ **tipil** *n.* finger('s-breadth).
ticaret (A) *n.* business, trade.
tif *n.* spit.
tif kirin spit.
tifeng (<P) *nf.* gun, musket. [Ak. *tiving*]
tifengçî (<P) *nm.* musketeer, marksman.
tifengdar (<P) *nm.* musketeer, (palace) guard.
tipil *nf.* finger, finger's breadth.
tirane ~ **terane** *n.* joke, game.
tirane kirin (bi) play joke (on).
tiraneker *adj.* joker.
tirî *n.* grape(s).
tirs *nf.* fear.
tirsan ~ **tirsiyan** *tirs-* (*ji*), *vi.* fear, be afraid (of).
tiryan *nf.* wickerwork tray (on which dry, folded wafer bread is laid and sprinkled with water before being eaten).
tişt *nm.* thing.
her tişt everything.
tiştek something, anything.
tişt-û-mişt things, odds and ends.
tixûb (Syr.) *nm.* boundary, border.
tizbî (A) *n.* chaplet of beads.
tî *nm.* blade.
tîj *adj.* sharp.
tîrendaz (P) *nf.* embrasure.
tobe (A) *nf.* repentance.
tobe kirin repent.
tobekar *adj.* penitent.
tol ~ **tole** *nf.* vengeance, revenge.
tolê (ji ...) wekirin / kirinewe take revenge (on).
tola (...) (ji ...) wekirin take revenge (for ...) (on ...).

tolaz *n.* youth.
tom *adj.* (?).
  kilawê tom fez.
tomik *nm.* grain (as fodder).
torpe (T *torba*) *nm.* bag, satchel. [Ak. *torbe*]
tow *nm.* seed. [Ak. *tov*]
tund *adj.* sharp, violent, fierce.
tundî *n.* violence.
tund-tebîʿet *adj.* bad-tempered.
turk *n.* Turk.
turkî *n.* Turkish (language).
tuxm (P) *n.* kind, sort.
tûmen (P) *n.* Persian unit of currency.
tûṛe *adj.* indignant, angry.

Ṭ

ṭa 1. *nm.* cotton thread.
ṭa 2. *nm.* bough, branch.
ṭale *n.* sorghum. [Sham. *tale*]
ṭaliʿ (A) *nm.* ascendant, (star of) destiny, fortune.
ṭalib (A) *adj.* seeking, desirous.
  ṭalib bûn desire.
ṭalibu-l-ʿilm (A) *n.* student.
ṭam (A *ṭaʿm*) *n.* taste, flavour.
ṭapo (T) *nf.* title deed. [Sham. *ṭepo*]
ṭaqe *nm.* a kind of material, stuff.
ṭaqet (A) *nf.* endurance, strength. [Sham. *taqet*]
ṭaqçe (P) *n.* niche.
ṭarî *adj.* dark; *nf.* darkness.
ṭaṭî *nm.* fell rug. [Sham. *taṭî*]
ṭaw *nf.* sunlight, sunshine. [Ak. *ṭav*]
ṭeʿam (A) *nm.* food.
ṭeharet (A) *n.* cleanliness, ablution.
ṭeleb (A) *n.* claim, demand.
  ṭeleb kirin claim, ask form.
ṭelîʾa (A) *n.* scout, vanguard.
ṭemaʿ (A) *nf.* greed, covetousness, appetite.
ṭemaʿkar (P) *adj.* covetous.
ṭengaw *adj.* hard-pressed, desperate. [Ak. *ṭengav*]
ṭengawî *nf.* distress, difficulty. [Ak. *ṭengavî*]
ṭenişt *nf.* side.
ṭep *n.* slap; = *tep*.
ṭepançe (<T) *n.* pistol.
ṭepik *n.* trap.
ṭerazî *nf.* balance, scales; = *terazû*.
ṭerm *nm.* cadaver, corpse.
ṭerz (A) *nm.* manner, method.
ṭewaf (A) *nf.* circumambulation.
ṭewêleyî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Tawela village.
ṭeyr (A) *nm.* bird.
ṭirş *adj.* sour.
  ṭirş-û-şîn sad.
ṭiṛ *n.* fart. [Am. *tiṛ*]
ṭiṛken *n.* farter, puffed up with pride.
ṭomik (*ṭomik*) *nm.* grain (as fodder).
ṭop (T) *nf.* gun, cannon.
ṭopçî (T) *n.* gunner.
ṭopiz (<T) *nm.* (blow with a) club.

U

umena (A) *npl.* (of *amīn*) functionaries.
umîd (P) *nf.* hope.
ummet (A) *n.* community.
umûr (A) *npl.* (of *amr*) affairs.
urûs *GN* Russia; *PN* the Russians.
urûsî *adj.* Russian.
ustad *n.* teacher; cf. *hosta*.
uşnoyî *adj.* of Ushnuye town. see *şinoyî*.

Û

û *conj.* and; see *w*.
ûcaẋ (T) *nf.* hearth, home, family, clan.
ûrmî *GN* Urmia town.

W

w *conj.* (for *û*, forming a diphtong after vowels) and.
wa 1. *adv.* there, indeed.
wa 2. *pro. obl.* them, their; = *wan*.
waʿiz (A) *nm.* preacher.
wacib (A) *adj.* obligatory, incumbent.
wacibu-l-izʿan (A) *adj.* to be obeyed.
wajî *adj.* inverted, upside down. [Ak. *vajî*]
  wajî kirin tip up.
walî (A) *nm.* governor.
walîtî *nf.* governorship.
wan *pro. obl.* them, their; see *ew*.
wane *pro. obl.* these; see *ewe*.
waqiʿ (A) *adj.* happening.
  waqiʿ bûn happen, occur.
  waqiʿe (A) *nf.* event.
waqiʿet (A) *npl.* (of *waqiʿe*) events.
waqiʿen (A) *adv.* really, indeed.
war *nm.* (summer) camp.
warîs (A) *n.* heir; *pl.* (loosely) relatives, family.
wasite (A) *n.* means, cause.
way *int.* alas!.
waziḥ (A) *adj.* evident, manifest.
we 1. (A) *conj.* (after a pause) and.
we 2. *adv.* thus, so.
we- preverb. again, back, etc.
-we postposition; see *bi, di, ji*.
weʿde (A) *nm.* promise.
weʿz (A) *n.* preaching.
we-bîn- see *we-dîtin*.
webûn *-b-*, *vi.* open, be separated. [Ak. *ve-bûn*]
  we-bûnewe open again.
wech (A) *nm.* way, manner.
we-dan bi *vt.* strike (of snake, scorpion); see *pê-we-dan*.
***we-dîtin** *bîn-*, *vt.* find, discover.
  ***we-dîtinewe** do.
wefadar (P) *adj.* loyal, faithful.
wefadarî (P) *n.* loyalty,
wefat (A) *n.* death, demise.
  wefat kirin die.
***we-geṛiyanewe** *-geṛiyê-*, *vi.* return. [Ak. *ve-geṛyaneve*]
weh *adv.* so; = *we*.
***we-hisyan(ewe)** *-hisê-*, *vi.* rest, relax. [Ak. *ve-hisyan*]
***we-ḥewandin** *-ḥewîn-*, *vt.* shelter, lodge. [Ak. *ve-ḥewandin*]
weḥşet (A) *nf.* wildness, naivety.
weḥşî (A) *adj.* wild, savage, uncivilized.
weḥy (A) *n.* inspiration, revelation.
we-illa (A) *adv.* if not, otherwise.
wek *pp.* like; = *wekî*.
we-kirin(ewe) *-ke-*, *vt.* open, undo, take away. [Ak. *ve-kirin*]
wekî *conj.* as; *pp.* like.
wekîl (A) *nm.* agent, advocate.
weku *conj.* when.
we-kuştin *-kuj-*, *vt.* slaughter. [Ak. *ve-kuştin*]
  we-kuştinewe slaughter.
weled (A) *nm.* child, offspring; see *ewlad*.
  bi weled înan bear, give birth.
welat (<A) *nm.* country; cf. *wilayet*.
we-l-ḥasil (A) *adv.* in short, to sum up.
weliyu-llah (A) *n.* friend of God, title of Ali.
welî (A) *nm.* holy man, friend of God.
welî-ʿehd (P) *n.* heir apparent.

wellah (A) *int.* by God!
we-mirandin *vt.* extinguish (fire). [Ak. *ve-mirandin*]
were imper. come!; *pl. werin*.
wer- preverb. back, etc.
wergeṛyan *vi.* turn away, go astray.
wergêṛan *vt.* turn round; see *hawirî*.
wergirtin *-gir-*, *vt.* take, receive, accept, acknowledge.
werin see *were*.
werîs *n.* rope, rope's length.
werpêçan *-pêç-*, *vt.* wrap (up).
westan **west-*, *vi.* stop; see *rawestan*.
weṣf (A) *nm.* description.
weṣyet (<A) *nf.* will, testament, precept.
we-şarin *-şêr-*, *vt.* hide, conceal. [Ak. *ve-şartin*]
weto *adv.* so, thus. [Ak. *wetuv*]
***we-xarinewe** *-xo-*, *vt.* drink; see *xarinewe*. [Ak. *ve-xarin*]
wext (A) *nm.* time, season.
  wextê (ku) (at the time) when.
  her wextê whenever.
weẋer (<T) *nf.* good luck.
  weẋer xêr bît good journey, bon voyage.
wezîfe (A) *nf.* duty.
wezîfedar (P) *adj.* having duties.
wezîr (A) *n.* minister.
wê *pro., dem. adj. obl.f.* her, this, that; see *ew, ew ... e*.
wê- see *wiyan*.
wê-derê *obl.* there.
  -e wê-derê thither.
  li wê-derê there.
  ji wê-derê thence.
wêk-ṛa *adv.* together. [Ak. *vêk-ṛa*]
wêran *wêr-*, *vt.* dare; *neg. newêr-*.
  wêrane (...) be equal to.
wêt *dem.* Izafe *pl.*; = *yêt*.
wê-we *adv.* that way, direction. [Ak. *wê-ve*]
  ji wê-we from there.
wêzar *adj.* distressed, wearied, disgusted.
wêzarî *nf.* distress, disgust.
wihê emph. *pro. obl.f* this.
wihî *emph. pro. obl.m* this.
wijdan (A) *n.* conscience.
wilayet (A) *nf.* province; cf. *welat*.
wiyan *wê-*, *vt.* want, wish; see *wîstin, xoş*. [Ak. *viyan, vê*]
  biwêt we newêt willy nilly.
wiz-wiz *n.* buzzing.
wî *pro., dem.adj. obl.m.* him, his, that, this.
wîstin *vt.* want, wish.
wîşî *nm.* bunch of grapes.
wucûd (A) *nf.* existence, presence, being.
wulax (<T) *n.* animal.
wuşewuş *int.* woosh, woosh! gee-up!
wuzera (A) *npl.* (of *wezîr*) ministers.

X

xahiş (P) *nf.* request.
  xahiş kirin request.
xaîn (<A) *n.* traitor.
xal (A) *nm.* maternal uncle.
xalî (A) *adj.* empty.
  xalî kirin empty.
xan *PN* (title) Khan.
xanedan (P) *nf.* family; *adj.* of good family; see *qedîm-xanedan*.
xaneqa *nf.* dervish convent.
xanim *nf.* lady, wife, madam.
xanî *nm.* house.
xaqan (T) *nm.* emperor.
xar *adj.* low, base; crooked.
xarin *inf.* eating.

xarin *xo-*, *vt.* eat.
xarinewe drink; see *we-xarinewe*.
xariqu-l-ʿadet (A) *adj.* unnatural.
xarî *n.* crookedness.
xarza *nm.* nephew, sister's son.
xas (A) *adj.* special, peculiar.
xasî peculiar to.
xasma *adv.* especially (such as).
xastin *xaz-*, *vt.* ask for, beg, summon.
xatim (A) *n.* the Seal (i.e. last, of the Prophets, Muhammad).
xatir (A) *nf.* mind, remembrance; sake.
xatira te good-bye (to you). [Ak. *p(i) xatira te*]
xatir-cem(ʿ) (P) *adj.* assured, composed.
xawî *n.* boredom. [Ak. *xavî*]
xaz- see *xastin*.
xeber (A) *nm.* information, words.
xeber dan(e) inform, tell.
xebat *nf.* work.
***xebitîn,** *xebit- vi.* work.
xefî (A) *n.* secret agent.
xeflet *n.* inadvertance; = *ẋeflet, xilfet*.
ji xeflet we suddenly, by chance.
xelek *n.* ring, curlç
xelet (A) *n.* mistake.
xelat (A) *nm.* present, reward.
xelat kirin reward.
xeliqandin *vt.* create; see *xelq*.
xelîfe (A) *nm.* Khalifa, vicar, successor.
xelîfetî *n.* position of Khalifa.
xelk (<A) *nm.* people, creature.
xelq (A) *nm.* do.
xelq kirin create; see *xeliqandin*.
xelqî (P) *adj.* inborn, natural.
xelwe (A) *n.* private, secret gathering.
xelwe kirin gather privately.
xem *nf.* sorrow, concern.
xem xarin worry.
xemgîn (<P) *adj.* sad, sorrowful, worried.
xemgîr (<P) *adj.* do.
xemilandin *vt.* adorn.
xemse (A) *num.* five.
xendiqandin *xendiqîn-*, *vt.* strangle.
xencer *nf.* dagger.
xerc (A) *nf.* tax.
xercî (P) *nf.* expense(s).
xerpûtî *adj.* (*inh.*) of Kharput town.
xertel *n.* vulture.
xesandî *adj.* castrated.
xesar (A) *n.* loss.
xesar bûn be lost.
xesar kirin loose, let off.
xesaret (A) *nf.* loss.
xeslet (A) *n.* quality, characteristic.
xeṣm (A) *nm.* opponent, adversary.
xet (A) *nm.* script.
xeta (A) *nf.* fault, mistake.
xatire (A) *n.* thought.
xatire kirin think.
xew *nf.* sleep.
xewn *nf.* dream.
xeyr (A) *n.* good.
xeyrîye (A) *adj.f.* charitable; see *encumen, iʿane*.
xeyrîyet (A) *n.* goodness.
xeyrîyet-eser (A) *adj.* advantageous.
xezîne (A) *nf.* treasury.
xezûr *nm.* father-in-law.
xê *nf.* salt. [Ak. *xwê*]
xêr (<A) *nf.* good, merit, benefit, charity; *adj.* good, well, blessed; *int.* no!
bi xêr çûn fare well.
bi xêr hatin be welcome.
xêrxaz *adj.* well-wishing.
xêrxazî *nf.* good will.
xidam (A) *nf.* maidservant.
xidmet *nf.* service.
xidmetçî *n.* servant.

xiflet = *xeflet*.
ji xilfet suddenly.
xilafet (A) *nf.* Caliphate.
xilafu-l-ʿadet (A) *adj.* unusual, abnormal.
xilas (A) *adj.* free, delivered.
xilas bûn escape; be finished.
xilas kirin free, finish, kill.
xilêf *nf.* basket used as a beehive.
xim *nm.* dye.
ximdar *nm.* dyer.
xirab (<A) *adj.* bad, destroyed.
xirab bûn be destroyed.
xirab kirin *inf.* destruction.
xirab kirin spoil, destroy.
xirabat (<A) *npl.* ruins.
xirabî *nf.* harm, injury.
xirabîker *n.* destroyer, pest.
xiro *n.* durra, guinea corn. [Ak. *xirovî*]
xiṛ *adj.* round.
xir bûnewe gather round. [Ak. *xir ve-bûn*]
xireber *n.* round stone, pebble.
xirexir *nf.* death rattle.
xişr *n.* jewelry.
xiyal (A) *nf.* thought.
xiyal kirin think, imagine.
xiyanet (A) *nf.* treachery.
xizm *n.* relative, relation.
xizmet (<A) *nf.* service; = *xidmet*.
xizmet kirin serve.
xizmetçî *nm.* servant.
xizmetkar (<P) *nm.* servant.
xizmatî *nf.* kinship.
xîn *nf.* blood.
xîşk *nf.* sister. [Ak. *xûşk*]
xîz *nm.* gravel, sand.
xo refl. *pro.* self; *adj.* own.
bi xo by (one)self; cf. *bo xo*.
xo- see *xarin*.
xo-dane-paş *inf.* retiring, reluctance.
xolî *nf.* ashes.
xorak *nm.* food.
xoṛayî *adj.* gratuitous.
xoṛa(yî) çûn be in vain.
xoş *adj.* good, well, fine, pleasant.
xoş hatin li please.
xoş kirin please, make good.
xoş wiyan *wê-*, like, love; *neg. newê-*.
xoş-ḥal *adj.* happy; cf. *ḥal-xoş*.
xoşî *nf.* pleasantness.
xoş-meşreb *adj.* good-natured, merry.
xoş-xeber *adj.* eloquent.
xozî *part.* would that.
xozî bo happily for.
xuda (P) *nm.* God; see *xudê*.
xudan *nm.* owner, leader; see *bi xudan kirin*.
forming compound adjectives, 'possessing', 'full of ...'
xudan-aql-û-inṣaf wise and just.
xudan-aql-û-meʿrifet wise and knowledgeable.
xudan-ʿeql wise.
xudan-bereket blessed.
xudan-buż-û-kudûret full of hate and resentment.
xudan-çek armed.
xudan-dujmin having enemies.
xudan-feyz favoured.
xudan-żerez bearing grudges.
xudan- żîret zealous.
xudan-hingûn possessing honey.
xudan-kerem-û-iḥsan obliging.
xudan-keşf-û-keramet miracle-worker.
xudan-meʿrifet knowledgeable.
xudan-merḥemet kind, merciful.

xudan-mêş bee-owner.
xudan-mêwan hospitable.
xudan-namûs-û-iʻtibar honourable and trustworthy.
xudan-naw-û-nîşan famous, renowned.
xudan- qedr-û-ḥeysîyet having dignity and prestige.
xudan-quwet-û-iqtidar powerful.
xudan-qusûr at fault.
xudan-re'y having an opinion.
xudan-rutbe-w-nîşan having rank and insignia.
xudan-seʻadet fortunate.
xudan-silaḥ armed.
xudan-sûç at fault.
xudan-ṭemaʻ greedy, covetous.
xudan-wefa faithful.
xudan-wijdan conscientious.
xudan-xêr happy.
xudê *n.* God.
xudê-ḥafizî *nf.* bidding "farewell".
xudê-quwet *nf.* greeting "may God give you strength".
xudê quweta hingo bidet may God give you strength.
xudserane (P) *adj.* headstrong.
xulefa (A) *npl.* (of *xelîfe*), Khalifa.
xulam (<A) *nm.* servant, follower.
xulase *n.* summary; *adv.* in short.
xulasey kelam in a few words.
xundin *xûn-*, *vt.* read, study, recite.
xurî *nf.* wool.
xurîn li *vt.* attack, abuse, revile.
xurc (A) *nf.* saddle-bag, hold-all.
xurt *adj.* powerful, despotic.
xurtî *nf.* force, oppression.
xusûs *n.* concern, affair.
xusûsen (A) *adv.* especially.
xusûsî *adj.* special.
xuṭbe (A) *nf.* Friday sermon (in which the sovereign's name is mentioned).
xûk *n.* coil.
xûn *nf.* blood; see *xîn*.

Ẋ

ẋalib (A) *adj.* predominant, victorious.
ẋar *n.* gallop.
ẋar dan make gallop.
ẋaret (A) *n.* plundering, rapine.
ẋayet (A) *adv.* extremely.
ẋeflet (A) *nf.* nefligence.
ẋelebe (A) *n.* victory.
ẋelebe (li ...) kirin prevail, overcome.
ẋem (A) *nf.* sorrow; = *xem*.
ẋem xarin worry.
ẋerez (A) *nf.* 1. interest; 2. grudge.
ẋerezdar *adj.* bearing a grudge.
ẋerbî *adj.* western.
ẋerq (P < A) *adj.* immersed, absorbed.
ẋews (A) *nm.* Help, Succour (title of the Sufi saint Shaikh Abdulqadir Gailani).
ẋeyb (A) *nm.* the invisible, other world.
ẋeyûr (A) *adj.* zealous.
ẋeyr (A) *nm.* other.
ji ẋeyri, -î other than, apart from.
ẋeyr-meḥsûs (A) *adj.* insensible, intangible.
ẋeza (A) *nf.* war against infidels.
ẋeza-pîrozî *n.* blessing as fighter for the faith.
ẋezeb (A) *nf.* anger, wrath.
ẋezeliyat (A *pl.*) *n.* odes.
ẋezete (T < E) *nf.* newspaper, journal.
ẋiyaben (A) *adv.* in absentia.
ẋîret (A) *nf.* zeal, ardour, self-respect.
ẋulam (A) *nm.* servant; = *xulam*.

Y

ya 1. *dem.* Izafe *f.*
ya 2. *conj.* or.
ya 3. *int.* O!
yan *conj.* or.
yan ... yan ... either ... or.
yar (P) friend.
çar yar the four successors of the Prophet Muhammad.
yasîn (A) *n.* the 36th Surah pf the Koran (usually read to dying persons).
yazde *num.* eleven.
ye'nî (A) that is, namely.
yehûd (A) *n.* the Jews, Jewry.
yehûdî (A) *n.* Jew.
yek *num.* one; = *yêk*.
yekta (P) *adj.* alone, single.
yeqîn (A) *adj.* certain; for certain.
yeqîn kirin, fermon ascertain, be sure.
yê *dem.* Izafe *m.*
yêk *num.* one; one another
yêk yêk one by one.
bûne yêk unite.
yêk-car *adv.* absolutely.
yêk-u-du *pro.* one another.
yêt *dem.* Izafe *pl.*
yumn (A) *n.* blessing.

Z

za pa, well, then.
ẓabit (A) *nm.* officer.
zad (A) *nm.* food, sustenance.
zana *adj.* wise.
zanîn *inf.* knowing.
zanîn *zan-*, *vt.* know.
zat (A) *nm.* (noble) person, personage.
zaten (A) *adv.* naturally.
zatî (P) *adj.* personal.
zawa *nm.* son-in-law. [Ak. *zava*]
ze'îf (A) *adj.* thin, weak.
ze'îfî *nf.* weakness.
zeḥmet (A) *nf.* trouble; *adj.* difficult.
zeḥmet kêşan take trouble.
zeman (A) *nm.* time, period.
zemanet (A) *nf.* pledge.
zemm (A) *nf.* denigration.
zend 1. (A) *nm.* forearm.
zend 2. *nf.* joint.
zenda destî wrist.
zengil *n.* little bell.
zer *adj.* yellow.
zerer (A) *nf.* loss, damage, harm.
zerer kirin injure, harm.
zerb (A) *n.* blow.
zeṛe (A) *n.* atom, particle.
zeṛe-qeder *adv.* as much as a particle.
zewî *nf.* land, ground, field.
zewt *n.* confiscation; = *ẕewt*.
zewt kirin seize, confiscate.
zê *GN* (Greater) Zab river.
zêde *adj.* more, most; see *kêm-û-zêdeyî*.
zêdetir *adj.* more.
zêṛ *nm.* gold.
zêṛeser *nm.* poll-tax.
zibon (A) *nm.* gown.
zik *nm.* abdomen.
zikr (A) *nm.* recitation of the names of God.
zil *adj.* big.
zile *n.* slap.
zillet (A) *n.* humbleness, abasement.
zimmet (A) *nf.* responsibility.
zincîr *nf.* chain.
zira'et (A) *nf.* crops.
zirkête *nf.* wasp.

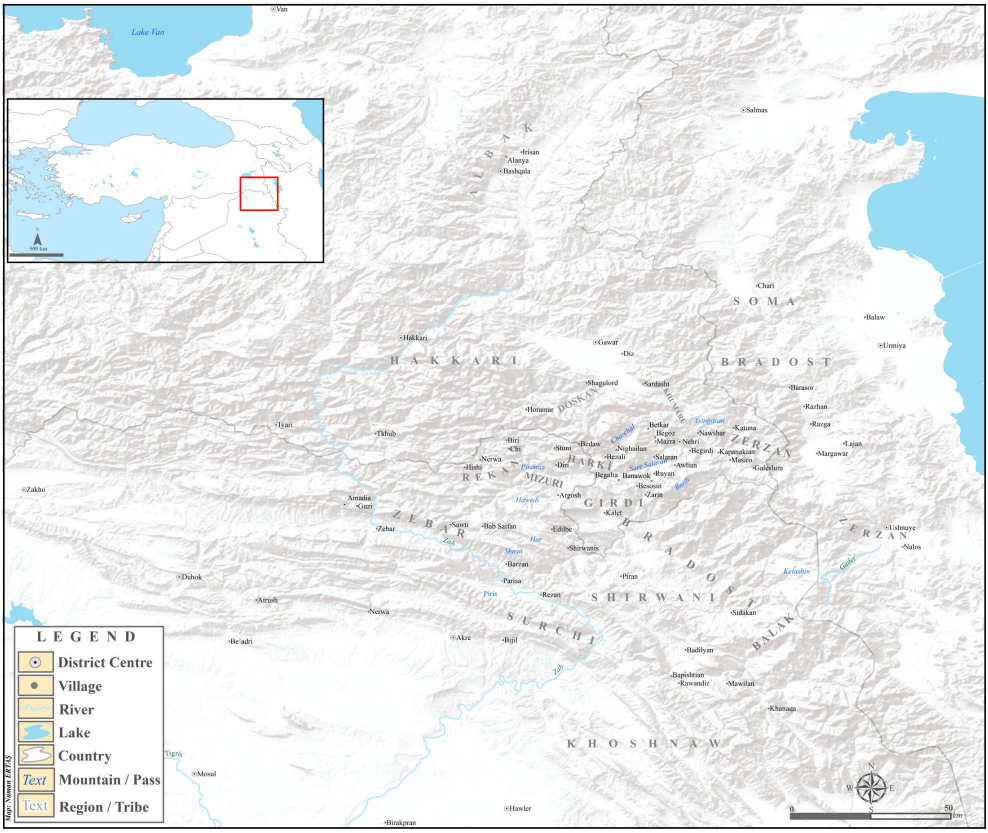
ziṛ-ziṛ kirin *vt.* snarl.
ziṛîn *ziṛ-*, *vi.* bray.
zistan *nf.* winter.
ziyafet (A) *n.* feast.
ziyaret (A) 1. *nm.* shrine; 2. *nf.* visit, pilgrimage.
  ziyaret kirin *inf.* paying homage.
  ziyaret(a ...) kirin make a pilgrimage, pay homage (to).
zîn *nm.* saddle.
zînî *nm.* pass, col (mountain).
z-în-pes (P) *adv.* hereafter.
zîrek (P) *adj.* wise, clever, capable.
zîrekî *nf.* wisdom, ability.
zîw *nm.* silver. [Ak. *zîv*]
zîz *adj.* annoyed, disgruntled.
zor 1. *n.* force.
zor 2. *adj.* much; *adv.* very.
zortirî *nf.* majority.
zumre (A) *nf.* group, branch.
zuṛîyet (A) *nf.* progeny, offspring.
zû *adj.* quick, early.
zûyî *n.* speed.

Ẓ

ẓahir (A) *nm.* exterior, appearance.
ẓahiru-d-delalet (A) *adj.* explicit.
ẓalim (A) *nm.* tyrant.
ẓelalet (A) *nf.* ruin, loss.
ẓewt *n.* confiscation.
  ẓewt kirin confiscate, seize.
ẓom *nf.* summer pasture.
ẓope *n.* cudgel.
zuhûr (A) *nf.* appearance.
ẓulm (A) *nf.* tyranny, oppression.
  ẓulm kirin oppress.

APPENDIX 1

Map of Locations Mentioned in the Texts



Note: This map includes only the locations from the core areas of Central Kurdistan that are mentioned in the texts. The placenames are presented in their convenient English rendering as in the texts; they thus do not correspond to their Kurdish or official Turkish, Arabic and Persian spellings.

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APPENDIX 2

Images of Urmia in 1918

FIGURE 6 The city of Urmia, Iran, 1918
PHOTO BY MAJOR W. LEITH-ROSS. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, LONDON

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FIGURE 7 "The French colony in Urmia", with Basile Nikitine (d) and his wife (b), 1918
PHOTO BY MAJOR W. LEITH-ROSS. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, LONDON

FIGURE 8 Kurdish refugees in Urmia, Iran, 1918
PHOTO BY MAJOR W. LEITH-ROSS. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, LONDON

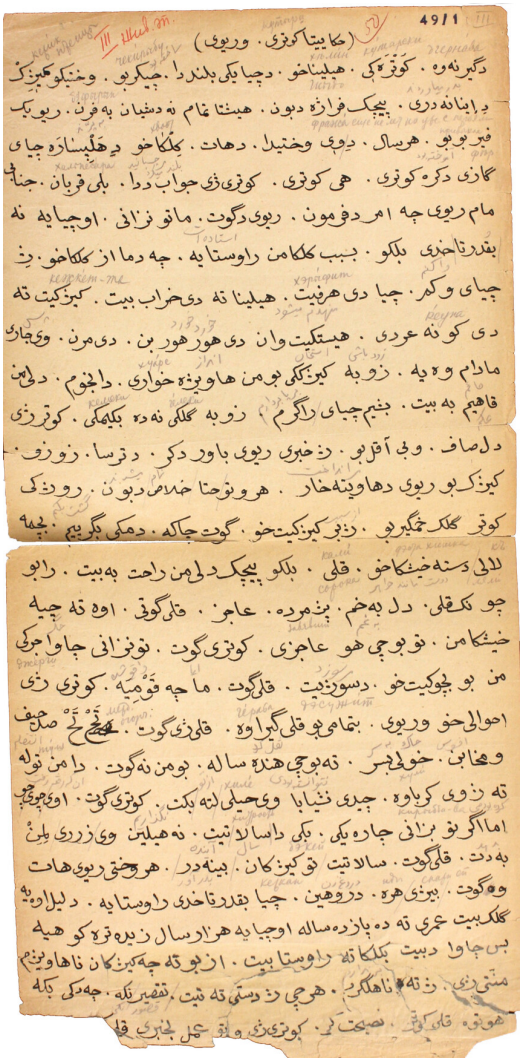
FIGURE 9 Shikak Kurds in Urmia, Iran, 1918
PHOTO BY MAJOR W. LEITH-ROSS. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, LONDON

FIGURE 10 Sulaiman Khan, the chief of Zarzan tribe of Ushnuye, Iran, who was a refugee with the American Mission in Urmia, 1918
PHOTO BY MAJOR W. LEITH-ROSS. IMAGE COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM, LONDON

APPENDIX 3

Sample Manuscripts

These are the scans of the remaining 18 original manuscripts, currently held at Prof. Ludwig Paul's at the University of Hamburg; once registered, their reference number at the Göttingen State and University Library will be "SUB Göttingen, Cod. Ms. MacKenzie A 31".



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49/2

پاشی کوهات . کوتری کیز کیت خو اینانه در . دیاریوی وکی جاران هات . هندی
هوارگر . گازی کر . کوتری هیچ گهی خو . نه دای . قلی چه گوتبو . و تو جواب
دای . و گلک جو نیت کریت زی . دانه ریوی . وختی ریوی یقین کر . کو ایدی
دریغ کرن فایده نیه . هنده گوته کوتری . اوه آقلی ته نیه . اما خوزی من زانی با
او آقله کی نینانته دایه . کوتری کوت . ماتو نزانی قل دسته خینکامنه . اوه
وی بو من گوتیه . هیلینا من . لچیانه . هیلینا وی . لسر داریت بلنده . دستی ته
نه دگته من . نه دگته وی . هره ایدی پیتکانه لنک من نما . ریوی جو . گوت .
چاکه به چم حیله یکی لقلی بکم . بلکو تو لاخو زی وه کم . ریو جو بن دار اگوزی
بری خو دای . هیلینا دسته خینکا کوتری . لسر گلیا گوزی یه . خو لبن گوزی دریغ کر
خو مراند . چاویت خو بر سپی کرن . روی خو دش کر . کیلبیت خو گر کرن . بمیش
هاته روی وی . قل ز چری هاته وه . طرمکی ریوی دیت . لبن گوزی . قل
کیف خوشبو . گوت الحمد لله خدی دامن . او کلشه تیر امن هیه حتا ده روز دی . قل
هاته سر کلشی ریوی . دمک لکلکا ریوی دا . ریو هیچ خو نه نزاوت . جو نکو
عادتی قلی اوه . ز ریوه . چاوان . داینیته در . او جو چاویت ریوی لجوت .
ز خفتوه . ریوی دو هاویته لنگیت قلی . گرت . ریوی گوته قلی . نوکه
جزای ته چیه . از چه لته بکم . نه بوچی . او نصیحت لکوتری کر . نه رزقی
من بری . نوکه تو مستحق وهی . نه هور هور . بکم پاشی لجوم . قلی هزا
خو کر . گوت . اوه از کوته دستی وی ظالمی . دبیت بندبیر . و مدار اخو خدمکم
اگر نه از چم . قلی آقلی خو جاکر . شیری عزمانی فصاحت و جابلوسی کیشا در
گوت جنابی مستطابی مقدس القابی حضرتی مام ریوی ار وصافداه . نوکه امر و اراده
به دستی ذاتی معدلت سماتی مام ریوی یه . لکن . مثلا مزنانه . ز چوکان
خطا ز مزنان عطا . الحق از گلک خدان . قصورم . اما بمرحمتا ذاتی هنگوزی
مغرور . و مسرورم . تشنکی دی عرض حضورا مام ریوی کم . جوابا اصح مرحمت بفرموت
پاشی من لجوت . ریوی گوت . چیه . بیژه . دو عنیرت هنه . یک کوره سنیه
کوتیه نیز یکی سلماسی . بیک پنیانشیه کوتیه ما بینا ا لباکی و گوری . عنیرتا
کوره سنی ما قول نیه . بی انصافه . بی مرحمته . اما عنیرتا پنیانشی ز و سما توله . گلک
به مرحمته . خوزی من زانی با حضرتی مام ریوی دا اصل و نسب دا . ز کیتک عنیرتی یه
ز هر دویا . مام ریوی تبق تبق کنی . گوت . عجائب ز آقلی ته . ما هیشتا ته
نه زانیه از پنیانشیه . دگل دریغ کرنا . با . دوی ریوی . سست بو . قل فری
جیفک هاویت چاوی ریوی کوره کر . خو خدمس کر . بلکو گلک کس وکی گوترا ن
بوبه . گلک کس وکی ریوی . گلکا خو برامبری قدر تا خدی کرنه . گلک کرن وکی قلی نصیحتیت
نه . پاشی کوتینه دهنی ریوی . پاشی آقلی خو خدمکرنه . چاوی ریوی کوره کرنه

50/1

(حکایینا شیرکی . وگرگی . وریویکی .)

دبیرن جارکی . هرسی بو نه هوالیت بیک . چونه چیا یکی . آسی . دشکوتکی
جیی خو گرتن . شیری گوت . لازمه ام بوخو تدبیرا رز فکی بکین . ام هوناژین
هرکس دبیت سعی بکت . بی کرن . کس ناخوت . گرگی . وریوی گوت . وَیه وکی جنابی
امیر روشن ضمیر . نفرموت . اَمّا اُم سرجو نزانین چه بکین . دبیت جنابی
میر بومه هر یکی . شولکی . دیهارکت . داهر بیک مشغولی خزمتا خو بیت .
شیری گوت . هلبت و یه . ازرژی مشورتی بهنگو دکم . چاوا چاکه . کی چه بکت
گرگی گوت . هرچند ریوی برای کچکه یه . اَمارژ مه تیگشتی ترہ . چیتر شولان
دزانیت بلا اُو رُیاخو بیرژیت . اگر چاکبو . دی به وی عمل کین . اگر نه پاشی
اُمر اُمری مبارکی میرہ . شیری گوت باشه . بری خو . دا . ریوی . گوتی توچه بیژی
ریوی جواب دا . گوت . زریوه عرض بیت لبنده نه برا یه . وکی گرگی گوتی . بلکو
از کیمتری همی خلدمانم . پاشی بنده عرض دکت . ذاتی میر . من نه . وظیفا
وی رونشتنه . وظیفا بنده . اوه بیت بچم بگریم لنیز یکیت گندان . نیچیرکی
وه بینمه وه . وختیکو من دیتوه . بهیم خبر بدمه گرگی دا اُوژی بهیت . هاری من
بهارژ وت . چونکو اوژ من چُست تر و بقوت ترہ . وه دقومیت . نیچیر
تشتکی وکی گا . یان کل . یان هپ دبیت . اگر نهیت . از بتنی نشیم بینم
پاشی وختیکو مه نیچیرا اینا حضورا میر . وظیفا میرژی اُوه بیت . نیچیری
بشکینیت . وپشتک بکت . یان بجوت . هندی ما . برمای خو بدته خدمیت خو .
شیری گوت آفرین بو فکر و تدبیرا ته . دی وه کین . پلی شیری گوت . تشتکی بین مه
هنگو . وختی هنگو نیچیرا اینا . اگر تشتکی من نیت وکی گا . من عادتکهیه هنگی از
دشکینم . کو چاویت من سور بین . وسمبیلیت من بل بین . وموییت من گرژ بین
وکلکا من به بینه خلگه لسرپشتا من . بس وختیکو وه لمن هات بین نه من . داخو
هاویژ مه سرپشتا نیچیری . بشکینم . گوتن باشه . چند روژان . وتو پیکوه

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را بارن . روژکی شیری گوت ژ میژه از روشتیمه . دمکی حزدکم بگریم
را پیچک ژ خاوی درکوم . وه هسیمه وه . بلی حتا از نیم اگر نیچیرک هنگر
اینا . راگرن . دا وختی هاتم بشکینم . گوتن بلی امری جنابی میر سرسری مه ..
شیر چو گریانی . گرگی وریوی دیتن . گاردانا گندکی ها ته چیای وان . گا یکی سور
قلو . ها ته پیشی دری شکونا کوجیی وان بو . گرگی گوته ریوی . اوه خوش
نیچیره . دترسم حتا شیر تیته وه . بچیت . اُم نشیئن گیرو کین . چاک اوه ام هرو
خوجی به بکین . قمی چاره یکی بکین . بشکینین . ریوی گوت شکاندنا گای . ث
من زیده یه . نزانم . تو ژخودرا . دبینی گای بشکینی یان نه . گرگی گوت . من
چه جاران گانه شکاندیه . بلی من گلک جاران زکی کران . دراندیه . من گلک کر
کشتنه وخوارنه . گازی یان وکی کریه . یان پیچک بقوة تره . ریوی گوت . راستی اگر
تو بنی گا بشکینی ناموسکی گلک من نه . قدر وحرمتا لنک جنابی میر . ولنک همی خلک
دنیای دی گلک مزن تر . وزیده تربیت . گرگی گوته ریوی . بری خو بده من . دا
بزانی کا نیشانیت شیری دی پیدابن . دمندا . یان نه . ریوی گوت بلی را به سر
دست وپیت خو . دا ته به بینم . گرگرا بو . گوته ریوی سمبلیت من بل بونه . ریوی
گوت . وتو بل بونه دی بیزی شاخیت ما مبزی نه . گرگی گوت . چاویت من سور
بونه . ریوی گوت هلبت . دبیزی درمانی قرمزی ها تیه تیکرن . گرگی گوت . مویت
من گرژ بونه . ریوی گوت . همی نجت نکه . همی وکی دریشان فشت راوستانه . گرگی گوت
کلکا من بویه خلکه لیر پشتا من . ریوی گوت . وتو نیه کس بزانیت . وکی کوانی روستمی
زاله . گرگی گوت . بس وخت تمام بو . ریوی گوت تمامه . وزیده تره . گرگی ژ خفلت
خوها ویته سر پشتا گای سور . لنک دا ناپشتا ستوکرا گای . کلبیت وی / ژ جون گا بر بندار
کر گای روک داخو . چو خو . دبن طای دا رکی کیشا . گرگ کوته بر پشت گای
درهاک گای قوجیک دا ناگرگی . شاخی گای چو دزکی گرگی را . سری خو بلند کر . گرگ پیوه
ما کره هوار . از مرم وره چاره یکی ملی بکه . بس ته گوت وخت تمام بو . ریوی گوت
نه سمبلیت ته . بل بو بون . ونه چاویت ته سور بو بون . ونه مویت ته گرژ بو بون . و
نه کلکا ته بو بو خلک اما من عقل ومعرفتا ته ژبه دکر . دا بزانم تو چی . خدمه گرگ
مر / ضا شیر هات . گاژی چو . مان . بی شیو . شیری گوت . کسی خبری من نان نکت ژ جزای وی اوه به
وا لیم

ژ وقیاسا گای لکری بکت .

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(حکایت گرگی . و برخی)

دبیرز جارکی . گرگ چو سر کا ئیکی . آو دخوارہ وہ . دوی وختی دا . برخک
ھانہ سرآوی . قیاسی دو وریسان . ز گرگی پیدا . دست یا آو خوارزنہ وی کر .
گرگی سری خوداکر . دیت . برخک ز وی پیدا . آوی دخوتہ وہ . طمعاً گوشتی
برخی . وتوغلبہ لوی کر . آقل ز میز پی وی دزگوت . حز کر بخوت . اما درلی
خودا . فکر کر . گوت . چاکہ . ھجتکی وہ بینمہ وہ . پاشی بخوم . اگر بی ھجت بخوم
دی لینک مخلوقی دی مسئول بم . پاشی احتمال ھیہ ز من قبول نکن . گرگی دست بھجتان
کر . بلی ھجتکی وتو نہ اینا کو بکوینہ عقلی اھلی سیاست . د آخردا . بصورتی
خورتی خوار . وکی ریوی ھجتیت مقبول بوخوار ناھیوئیکہ . وکلہ کوکی . وصونہ
گورکی نہ اینان . چونکو گرگی ھوگوتہ برخی . تو بوچی آوی ملن شویلی دکی .
ناھیلی آوا تمیس وخومہ . برخی گوت . قربانی حضورا مبارکی تہ بم . از بندہ
لہ کیدری مہ . ذاتی آغا لہ کیدری یہ . بندہ دو وریسان ز جنابی آغا پیدایہ
چاوا . آو اجنابی آغا شویلی بویہ . قصورا بندہ عفو بفرمون . گرگی گوت . آو
اعتذار وجوابہ فرضاً بھینہ قبول کرن . اما وختی از بچوکہ من ز بابی خو بھیست
گوت . وی برخی گلک جون دانہ من . سہ وشوان حاز ربون . نشیام تولا خو وکم .
وصیت لمہ اولادی خو کریہ . گوتیہ ھرجیی ھونگ وی برخی بہ بینن تولا من وکن .
بو وھی تہ جواب نیہ . البتہ تولا بابی خو ناھیلم . وصیتا بابی خو بطال ناکم . برخی گوت
آغای من . روحا من فدای وجودا مبارکیت . بدقت ملاحظہ بفرمون عمری بندہ
سی ھوی کیمترہ . ھر نبیت جنابی آغا سی چار سال ز بندہ من ترہ . چاوا .
ممکنہ بندہ وختی بچوکینیا آغا . او بی ادبی . وعزمان دریزی . درحق
بابی رحمتی ذاتی آغا کربیت . ھیوی دکم . بہ انصاف وعدالت . بندہ محکوم
بفرمون . گرگی گوت . بلی فرضاً گوتنا نہ راست بیت . اما تو دزانی از آغامہ . ز تہ
خورت . ترم . حز بکم دی تہ خوم . حز بکم دی تہ عفو کم . بس . مادام وتویہ . او
ھندہ جدلہ کرن . وعزمان دریزی . لہ حضورا من . قباحتکی گلک من نہ . قت .
ناھیتہ عفو کرن . خلاصہ چونکو مقصودا گرگی خوارنا برخی . ایدی نہ ھیلا چیدی

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به آخوند ستوکرا برخی گرت . خندقاند . وخوار . اُو سوال وجواب بی فایده بو .
چونکو اُو منله لناوعربان مشهوره دبیژن اَلْحُکْمُ لِمَنْ غَلَبَ . یعنی حکم بو وی کسیه
بی غالب بیت . چه حق بیت . چه ناحق . کو ردژی دبیژن . آو اخوری سَرْ اُوراژی
دچیت . یعنی اگرچه آو بمقتضای طبیعت خو . نشیوی دچیت . اُما وختی کو اُسبابیت
تضییفانی گهشتن دی اُوراژی چیت . چاواکو لِمُلْکِتیت . منتظم . آوی دبنه .
تَبَقیتْ سَری . مَروکی . هرکیی بنه جمهو ناوی وی گل محمد بو . دگل پیمامی خو
شریف . هاتنه لالی بابی من . ملا عبدالله قاضی هرکیان وگردیان . کو بو وان مسئله یا
شریعتی بیان بکت . دعوا ژو یکی . گل محمد له شریف دکر . ژوی ژ زمانی باب
و پاپیران ددستی شریف رابو . چه وختان گل محمد تصرفا وی ژو یی نکر بو . گل محمد
گوته بابی من اُوه ژو یا منه . شریف حق نیه ژو یا من تصرف بکت . بابی من گوته گل محمد
دلیلا ته چیه . بچه ممسک تو دعوا دکی . ته قباله هیه . یان شاهدیت معتبر هنه
یان طابو یا . دولتی هیه . یان ته یان بابی ته چه وختان تصرف کریه . دلیلا خو
هرچی هیه بیان بکه . والا دعوی . بی دلیل قبول نیه . شریف دی حق بیت اگر تو
چه دلیلان نه اینی . گل محمد گوت . بلی قاضی افندی . درست وتو یه . وکی تو
دبیژی . اُژژی دزانم . کو بی دلیل نابیت . من چه دلیل ژوانه بیت ته فرموی
ددستانینه . بلی دلیلکی دی ژوانه همیان محکم تر من هیه . بابی من گوتی سبحان الله
اُوچه دلیله ژوانه همیان محکم تر . اُوه چل سال زیده تره اُژ قاضیها . چند کتبیت
شرح وقانون . من خوندنه . ومطالعه وملاحظه کرنه . ژغیر وانه من چه
دلیل . نه ضعیف نه محکم نه دیتنه . گل محمد گوت . سبحان الله . اُژ تعجب دکم ژ علم
ومعرفتا ته . چاواحتی نوکه ته اُو دلیل فام نکریه . ماتو نزانی . دلیلا ژهمی
دلیلان قاهیم تر . کالومه یه . هرکسی کالومه هیه . ملک بو ویه . نوکه کالومه
بدستی منه . شریف فقیره . طاقتا من نیه ژو یی البته اُژ دی خوم . اُو دلیلیت
شرح وقانونان . همی پو پوچن . بی فایده نه . اُو هنگی بکارتین . کو کالومه
نبیت . وختی کالومه . هبیت دلیلیت دی همی درونه . وهیچی . بابی من گلک کنی گوت
مادام ویه اُژ بوی دعوای نا آخوم . فی الحقیقه وتو یه . اگرچه حق نیه . نوکه ژی
منلا گل محمد مشهوره . دبیژن ملک تا بی کالومه یه . بس بو هر دولتی کالومه لازمه . خو به
هیو یا قانون . وقرار نامه . ومعاهده نامه هیلیت اگر نه دی محو بیت والسلام

(حکایت نیچیروانی . وهرچی) 521/1

دبیژن نیچیروانکی زورچاک . لنا وعشیرتا مزوری ژوریان هبو . ناوی وی
سلیمان بازید بو . گلک مشهوره . بختی وی بعجائب دگیرنه وه . دبیژن
حتا پرگی کیوی ژ حکمی تفنگاوی دردکوت . اوی لبزا پزی . سی جاران تفنگاخو
خالی دکر . ودا دگرته وه . چه جاران تفنگاوی خورا نه دچو . سی دایخستن . تفنگژی
طرزی کوڤ بو . کو ژ دری را . دهاته داگرتن . دبیژن . جارکی سلیمان
بازید . بنی چوچیای هویدی . نیچیری بکت . چو سری کو پکی . پارسنه وی
هنداوی لا ناچیای . بزانیت پزی کیوی لویدری هیه . یان نیه . وختی چوهندا
لاتی . دیت هرچک لسر دارا کسکانی یه . و پلنگک ژی لبن داری یه . هرچی
نزنز دکر . پلنگی ژی زرزر دکر . هرچ زور دترسا . نه دویرا .

بهیته خواری . سلیمان ژی هزر کر . اگر چو بکژم احتماله پلنگ خلاص به بیت
چاکه دپیشدا پلنگی بکژم . هرچ فشیت ژ دستی من خلاص ببیت . سلیمان سیرا
تفنگی داسری کالکانوکا ملی پلنگی چقما چقما تفنگی چقاند . تفنگ چودر . اوجی
گوت . یی وی سیره لی گرتی . پلنگ لجی خو کوت . نه بزوت . مر . هرچی کوریت
پلنگ مرهاته خواری . نچو . سلیمان گوت . از جاری ناکژم بزانم دی چه کت . هرچ
لبن داری روینشت . هاوریت خو گیران . نچو دوی خو بلند دکن پرمه پرم دکن
سلیمان داخو نبنا بدم کا . دی چه کت . وختی نبنادا . هرچی ملوزی خو داخی هسو
کلکا خو هژاند . هیدی هیدی هات بو لای سلیمان . سلیمان ژی گرتی اگر از خارمه . جاری
ناکژم بزانم دی چه کت . خلاصه هرچ هات . لنک سلیمان هلتوتری . هر پرمه
پرم دکر . سلیمان گوت . دایجم . کا . دی چه کت . سلیمان چو . هرچ ژی دو وی
کوت . بوی مالی سلیمان هاته مالاخو . هرچ ژی دگل وی هات . هرچیکی سلیمان
چو بابی . هرچ ژی دگل وی دچو . شوی . ورو ژی . ژ وی جدا ندبو . وکو
دنوست . هرچی باوشین لوی دکر . اگر روژ با . میشه رشک ژ وی دروانن

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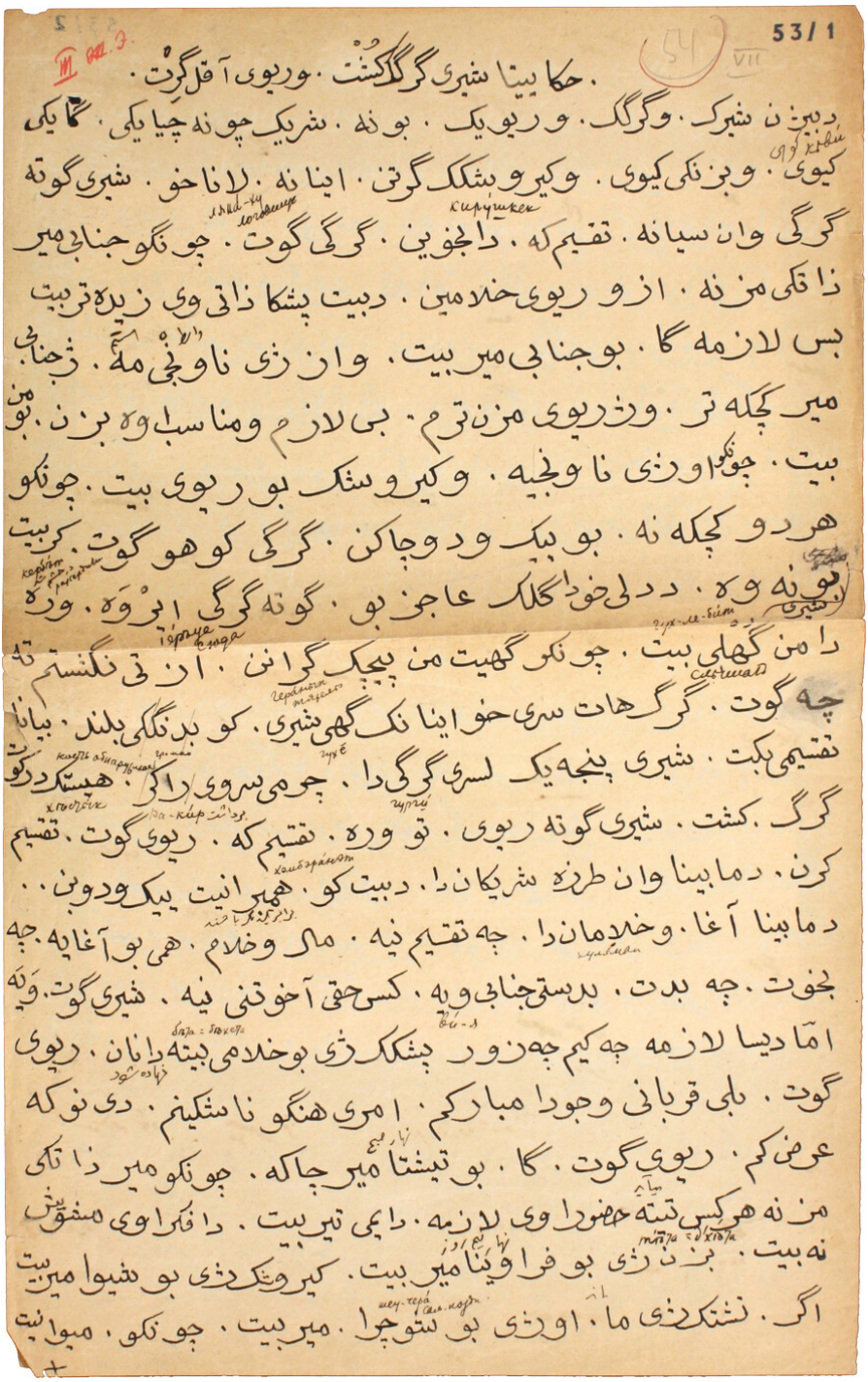
رو دزکی . سلیمان چو پنتا گندری . لبن سیبرا برکی نوست . هرچ دزی دگلدا بو
میش دهاتنه دو . چاو . دفنیت سلیمان . هرچی دزی باوشین دگر . و میش
دروا ندن . سلیمان زو های نبو . دزخوی نه رابو . دستی هرچی دزی
شل بو . هندری باوشینی بکت . هرچی دزی هزرکر . چاکه راوستم حتا
میش همی تین لسروچاویت وی . دِهِنْ . پاشی دی پضخکی پیدا دم همیان
کژم . هرچ راوستا حتا میش لسروچاویت بو نه گُمْتِلْ . هرچ چوتهه
پضخک اینا هندری دستارکی . دزوردا بسری سلیمان دادا . سری وی هور
کر . میزبی بلاوکر . سلیمان کشت . هرچی نزانی کومریه . لنکوی وه بو
شولکی گلدچاک کریه . دزبرخونی وبرینی . میش دزیده تی دهاتن
هرچی دزی هر سعتکی او پضخ لسروجندکی سلیمان دردا . بومغرب سلیمان
نهاته وه . ساعتک دزشوی چو سلیمان نه هات اهلی مالاوی گوتن . او وه
سلیمان گیروبو . ام دیزین بی بلا نیه . لوا هندره گیروبویه . رابون
چون تفتیشا حالی سلیمانی بکن . قدرکی . لچار نکاریت گندری گریان .
سلیمان دیتن . مری . هرچ لهندا وسری . پرمه پرمی دکت . دزن
وبچوک وخزمیت سلیمانی . همی هاتن . کرنه قوری . وگرین . وتزی
سر سری خو کور . خولی . کرن . میتی سلیمانی دانانه سر دار بستی . اینانه
گندری . وی شوی شتن . وکفن کرن . صبی برنه سر مغبری . شارنه وه هرچ
مالما لا سلیمان . هندکان . گوتن چاکه بکزین . هندکان گوتن هرچا سلیمانینه
ناکزین . خدصه دومای رایا همیان هاته سرکشتنا هرچی . گوتن هوالی هو بی
معرفت . احمق . بی شعور . بوکشتنی چاکه . هرچ کشتن . اماچه فایده هبو .
میرکی . وکی سلیمان . فوتی . انسان لازمه بوخو دزحکایتا سلیمان وهرچی
نصیحتی بگریت . نه بینه دوستی بی معرفتان . هاتیه گوتن . دشمنی دانا به از نادان دوست
العدو العاقل خیر من الصدیق الاحمق . یعنی دزمنی آقل چیتره دزدوستی بی آقل والله



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حکایتا شیری گرگ کشت . وریوی آقل گرت .

دبیت ن شیرک . وگرگ . وریو یک . بو نه . شریک چونه چیا یکی . گا یکی
کیوی . وبز نکی کیوی . وکیر وشکک گرتن . اینا نه . لاناخو . شیری گوته
گرگی وان سیانه . تقسیم که . داجوین . گرگی گوت . چونکو جنابی میر
ذاتکی من نه . ازو ریوی خلامین . دبیت پشکا ذاتی وی زیده تر بیت
بس لازمه گا . بوجنابی میر بیت . وان زی ناوجی مه . ژجنابی
میر کچکه تر . وژریوی من ترم . بی لازم ومناسب وه بزن . بو من
بیت . چونکو اوزی ناوجیه . وکیر وشک بو ریوی بیت . چونکو
هردو کچکه نه . بو بیک ودوچاکن . گرگی کوهو گوت . کربیت
بونه وه . ددلی خوا گلک عاجز بو . گوته گرگی ایروه . وره
را من گهلی بیت . چونکو گهیت من پیچک گرانن . ان تی نگنستم ته
چه گوت . گرگ هات سری خو اینا نک گهی شیری . کو بدنگکی بلند . بیانا
تقسیمی بکت . شیری پنجه یک لسری گرگی دا . چومی سروی راگر . هیشتک درکوت
گرگ . کشت . شیری گوته ریوی . تو وره . تقسیم که . ریوی گوت . تقسیم
کرن . دما بینا وان طرزه شریکان را . دبیت کو . همیر انیت یک ودوبن . .
دما بینا آغا . وخلدمان را . چه تقسیم نیه . ملک وخلام . همی بو آغایه . چه
بخوت . چه بدت . بدستی جنابی وه . کسی حقی آخوتنی نیه . شیری گوت . وَیه
امّا دیسا لازمه چه کیم چه زور پشکک زی بو خلامی بیته رانان . ریوی
گوت . بلی قربانی وجودا مبارکم . امری هنگو ناشکینم . دی نوکه
عرض کم . ریوی گوت . گا . بو تیشتا میر چاکه . چونکو میر ذاتکی
من نه هرکس تیته حضورا وی لازمه . دایمی تیر بیت . دافکر اوی مشوش
نه بیت . بزن زی بو فراوینا میر بیت . کیر وشک زی بو شیوا میر بیت
اگر . نشتک زی ما . اوزی بو نتوچرا . میر بیت . چونکو . میوانیت

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مزن مرو ویت ماقول تینه حضورا جنابی میر. درنگ دنویت. حتا
وختی نوستی احتماله. برسی ببیت. شوچره لازمه. شیری گوت. بس
تو دی چه خوی. ته چه بوخو نه دانا. ماتو ماری. کو به آخی بزی. ریوی
گوت. قربانی ته بم. حق بنده نیه بوخو دانیم. کرم واحسان بدستی
حضرتی میره. شیری گوت. ته أو آقله. بوخو. ز کی. گر تیه
ته لکیشک مکتبی خوندیه. تو زور تیگشتی. زور به آقلی
آفرین بو فام و زیره کیا ته. ریوی گوت. من أو آقله گرت. ز
گلیت گر. وسری سور. کواز پیش چاویت خو دبینم. از گلک
شکرا خدی دکم. کو گرگ ها ته تربیه کرن. من بوخو آقل گرت. وه نبو
کو أز بیمه تربیه کرن. وأو آقلی بگریت. از گلک ز لطفا خدی
ممنونم. شکرا. وی نعمتی نشیم بچی بینم. شیری گوت مادام تو هو
خدان آقل و معرفت بی. وهو صادق و خیرخوازی آغای خو بی.
وره هسریان هلگره. بوخو بیه. من دانه ته. بو ته پیروزبن
آز بقوتم دشیم بچم بوخو نیچیر کی چیتر بکم. ریوی زی دو بنی جارا
هات دمانا وی ماچ کر. سری خو چماند. گلک دعا سلامتی
و موفقیتی بو جنابی میر کر. او گلک ممنون بو ز میر. و میر زی
گلک رازی بو ز وی. بس مرو زی چاکه بوخو ز خلکی عبرتگرتی ببیت
دا مقبول به بیت. و دایمی وجود اخو کیماس بزانیت. دا وکی ریوی
سی چندان قازانج بکت. نه وکی گرگی. خو مزن حساب بکت. پاشی سری وی
بهیته شکاندن. و میزی وی بهیته اینانه در. لازمه بوکچکه. موافق
من نی خو رفتاری بکت. مخالف طبیعتی وی. دریوه نچیت. اگر نه. دی گلک زدری
ببیت. خلام. دگل آغای خو اگر وه نبیت وکی شیخ سعدی گوتی. قیمه مقبول نابیت
هو گوتیه. اگر خود روز را گوید شب است این. بباید گفت اینک ماه و پروین. یعنی اگر بیزیته روزی
اوه شوه. لازمه خدم بیزیت. اوه هوی اوه پیرو. دبهارن لعسمانی و لسم

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(حکایتا مرووی کوره . ودو فقیان)

جارکی دو فقی ز روا ندزی دچونه هولیری بوخو نزنی . لر یکی گهشتنه
مرووکی کوره هندک جاران پشتری دکویت . هندک جاران بزری . گلک
به اذیت دهات . فقیان زی گوتن اُم دی صحبتکی بوی کوری کین
کا . دی چه کت . فقیک چو پیشیا کوره سینگی خو لسینگی وی دا . فقی گوت .
اُوه کیه . فرضًا اُز کوره من تو نه دیتی . ما تو زی کوره بوی . ته
سینگی خو لسینگی من دا . وختبو سینگی تیجق . فقی دی گازی کر . اُو جوب
جواب دا . اُم دکوره نیه . مرووکی بجاو ز ویوه هات . سینگی خو
لسینگی من دا وختبو اُز کشتی . خوزی مه زا نیبا اُوه کیه . هو بی انصاف .
فت رحم بحالی مه وان کودانه . نکر . وختی مرووی کوره زانی . کو هرو
فقی کوره نه . ومشهوره دبیژن کوره زور بطع . وزور ظالمی . گوته
فقیان بوچی بی ادب د آخون . دیژنه من انصاف سری ادبر خو دابو . من
هونگ نه دیتن . حتا من سری ذ اگر وین هونگ دیتن . وتو قومی سینگی
من لسینگی ته کوت . ایدی بوچی بی اُدب د آخوی . نوکه جزای هنگو اُوه .
هنگو دیتن داران دا . بلی نکم . اما دیسا رحمی بحالی هنگو دکی . هنگو ناکتم . بلی
جزای بی ادبی وعزیان دریز یا هنگو اُوه یه . هنگو بشلینم . راچه جاری
وان طرزه بی اُدبیا نه نکن . بزانن اُز خلا می میری بشقلاوی مه . روزی
ره کس زیده تر . دشلینم . ودکژم . بلی هنگر ناکژم . زوین جنته و
شوره مرهٔ خو هوچی هیه دانین . وهرنه سر ریکا خو . ایدی دریز کرن
فایده نیه . فقیان گوتن بوخاترا خدی دست ز مه بکیشه . مه نزانی
قصورا مه عفو بکه . ته بسری میری بشقلاوی دریه سوندی . وی جاری .
بی اُدبیا مه ببخشه . مه توبه . جارکی دی بی اُدبی درحق چه کس ناکین
خاسها ذاتیت وکی جنابی ته . اُم فقینه طالب العلمین . خدی دقرآنی دا
فرمویه . اِنَّ اللهَ یَقبَلُ التَّوبَةَ عَن عِبادِهِ . یعنی خدی قبول دکت . توبه .
ز بنده ییت خو . وپیغمبر فرمویه . التائبُ مِنَ الذَّنبِ کَمَن لا ذَنبَ لَهُ .
یعنی توبه کر . ز گناهی . وکی وی کیه چه گناه بوی نبیت . گوره گوت .
آیت مایت . حدیث لازم نینه بس دریز کن . اگر نه من چقماقا
سارمی سوار کریه . دری وی دایه سر تمکی چپی هنگو . اگر زو .

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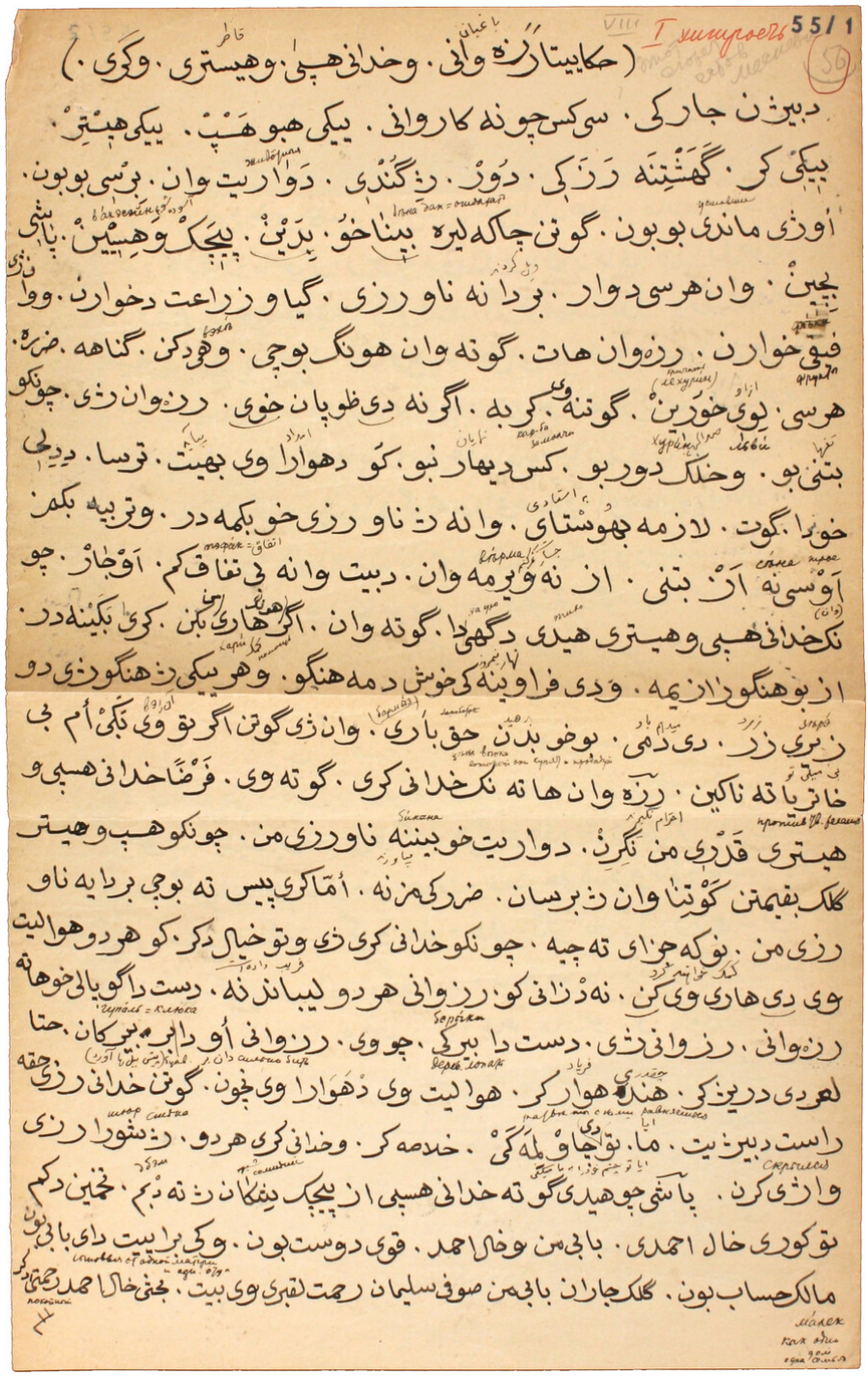
نه شلیین ایدی کشتنه چیدی نیه. زوبن درنگه زیده تر به گوتیت
پرو پوچ کربیت من نه کنه وه بسه. وختی فقیان زانین بچه طرزان
هیو یا وان قبول ناکت. گوتنه کوده. اوه ام جنته وتشتیت خو دین
بلی امری دعا یکی زخدی خوازین. اگر ام حق بین /تو لدمه/ بکته وه. اگر ته
تشتی مه بو ته حلال بیت. کوده گوت من صد کسی زهنگو صالح تر شلا ندنه
وچونه و نوکه زی دچن. هونگ زی بشلیین. پاشی چه دکن. بکن. فقیان
همی تشتیت خو دانان. گوده بدست کتان هیدی هیدی هات. گهشته
تشتیت فقیان همی لیک بستن کرنه تیله. دانه پشتا خو. هیدی هیدی
کوته دی. فقیان هر یکی خره ترک تزی دستی خو هلگرت. گوتن. یا
الله یا رب همی عالمی ام وان دو خره برانه. بلند دکینه لای عسمانی
اگر ام ناحق بین خوراجن. واگر ام حق بین هر یک له طنشتکی وی
ظالمی بکویت. فقی هیدی نین یکی کوده بون. هر یکی بری خوله طنشتکی
بلی وتولی نه دان. زور به اینیت. کوده گوت دعا هنگو قبول نبو
دست کر بکنیی. دیسا هر فقیکی خره برکی دی هلگرت. دعا کرن یا الله
وی جاری یک لسینگی وی بکویت. یک پشتا وی. هر دو بر. و یکرا
لوی کوتن پیچک زجاد اپیشی زیده ترا ینشا. اما دنگ نکر. و نه گوت
دعا هنگو قبول. گهی خو داخو. بید نگ راوستا. گوت رابزانم کا. وی جاری
دی چاوا بیت. دیسا فقیان خره برهلگرتن یا اله العالمین. تو دزانی
ام کورینه فقیرین. مه توبه زهی گناهان. هیوی دکین وی جاری دعا مه
قبول بکی ان خره او تو لهیستکی پشتا وی بدی کو قوری بکت. و بکویت.
هرچند کوده خو نوی کر. و خو بوری وه نوسانن. اما فایده نکر حتا قوت
هبون هر دو خره بر. و تو لهیستکی پشتا کوده دان. کوده گوت کره قوری
های بو خاتر اخدی و پیغمبران. من خلت کر. من توبه. والله ان کوده مه
هونگ بچاو. دستی من بد ما ناهنگو من نه کژن. من گلک بی ادبی کر
هونگ نو که عمل بکن به وان آیت وحدیثان کو هنگو بو من گوتن و من
گه ندا وان. نو که هونگ چه دگل من بکن حقی هنگو هیه. فقیان گوتن ایدی
بسه امین به چیدی دگل ته ناکین. و ام زگوتنا آیت وحدیثان نادر کوین
بلی دا بزانی گلک کوده هنه خو بچاو دزانی. و بیت بچاو کوده حتا دگنه بدی
پاشی هشیار دبن و توبه دکن والسلام



(حکایت ارزه وانی . وخدانی هپی . وهیستری . وکری .)

دبیژن جارکی . سی کس چونه کاروانی . یکی هبو هپ . یکی هپتر .
یکی کر . گهشتنه رزکی . دور . ژگندی . دواریت وان . برسی بوبون .
اوزی ماندی بوبون . گوتن چاکه لیره بیناخو . بدین . پیچک وهیسین . پاشی
بچین . وان هرسی دوار . بردا نه ناو رزی . گیاو زراعت دخوارن . ووازی
فیق خوارن . رزه وان هات . گوته وان هونگ بوچی . وهودکن . گناهه . ضرره .
هرسی . لوی خورین . گوتنه . کربه . اگرنه دی ظوپان خوی . رزه وان زی . چونکو
بتنی بو . وخلک دور بو . کس دیهار نبو . کو دهوارا وی بهیت . ترسا . دیدی
خوارا . گوت . لازمه بهوشتای . وانه ژ ناو رزی خو بکمه در . وتربیه بکمن
اوسی نه ارن بتنی . از نه وریمه وان . دبیت وانه بی نفاق کم . اوجار . چو
نک خدانی هپی وهیستری هیدی دگهیدا . گوته وان . اگر هاری بکن . کری بکینه در .
از بوهنگوراز یمه . ودی فراوینه کی خوش دمه هنگو . وهر یکی ژ هنگوزی دو
زیری زر . دی دمی . بوخو بدن حق باری . وان زی گوتن اگر تو وی نکی ام بی
خاتر یاته ناکین . رزه وان ها ته نک خدانی کری . گوته وی . فرضا خدانی هپی و
هیستری قدری من نگرن . دواریت خو بینه ناو رزی من . چونکو هپ وهیستر
گلک بقیمتن کوتنا وان ژ برسان . ضرر کی مزنه . اما کری پیس نه بوچی بردایه ناو
رزی من . نوکه جوای ته چیه . چونکو خدانی کری زی وتو خیال دکر . کو هردو هوالیت
وی دی هاری وی کن . نه ژ انی کو رزوانی هردو لیبانن نه . دست دا گو پالی خو هانه
رزوانی . رزوانی ژی . دست دا بیرکی . چو وی . رزوانی او دا بیرکان . حتا
لعوری دریژکی . هندی هوار کر . هوالیت وی دهوارا وی چون . گوتن خدانی رزی حقه
راست دبیژیت . ما . تو چاو مه کی . خدمه کر . وخدانی کری هردو . ژ شورا رزی
وازی کرن . پاشی چو هیدی گوته خدانی هپی از پیچک ینکان ژ نه دبم . تخمین دکم
تو کوری خال احمدی . بابی من وخال احمد . قوی دوست بون . وکی برایت دای بابی بون
مالک حساب بون . گلک جاران بابی من صوفی سلیمان رحمت لقبری وی بیت . بخشی خال احمد رحمتی دکر

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تو بخدی بو من راستی بیژه . کا . تو کوری . وی . یا نه . خدانی هیچه ژ دروجه ژ
راست گوته رزوانی . بلی از کوری خاک احمدم . بابی من ژی رحمتی گلک جاران .
تعریفا مرقوانیا صوفی سلیمانی رحمتی دکر . وختی . وه گوت . رزوانی دستی وی و روی
ماچ کر . گوت تو قوی بخیر بهیتی . سرسران سرچاوان هاتی . مالامن مالا تیه حزرکی
آگری بردی . گازی ژ ناخو کر . زو به دوستک و باگان دانی . وزادکی خوش حازرکه
کومیوانکی زور عزیز بومه هاتیه . وگوتی ژی . اگر تو مهلت بدی . ودلی ته عاجز نه بیت
راخدانی هیتری بری به ایخین . بلا اوبچیت . تو اوشوه لیره به/صبرا من قوی بته تیت
وصبی دو وزیریت وی ژی دی دمه . هرچار زیر بوته مبارکبن . تشت بو دوستان
چاکه خدانی هیچی ژی . ژ بر طمعا پاره . وعزمان لوسیا رزوانی . گوت قوی باشه .
وختی وان هو ندبیرا خو کرن . رزوانی گوته خدانی هیتری اوه علی کوری خاک احمد ژ بیژه
من نه دیتیه از اوشوه وی رخصت نادم احتماله صبه ژی رخصت ندم . اگر تو بلزی
تشریف که هره . وهندک تری بو ریکا خو بیه . خدانی هیتری گوت ما دام کو . علی نهیتان
دی چم/مه هیرزوان ها نایه نشیم خو گیر و بکم . خدانی هیتری چو . رزوانی گوته خدانی
هیچی تو تشریفکه هره مال روتی . از دی چمه سر آوی طهارتکی گرم وهیم . علی چو مالا رزوانی
رونشت . رزوان لدو خدانی هیتری چو . هیدی هیدی حتا گهشتنه گندکی . رزوانی
گازی کرنچه ته تشتکی خو ژ بیر کریه من بوته اینایه . خدانی هیتری راوستا رزوان گهشتی
بی سوآل وجواب . دابر بیرکان وتو کتا . هی گیانی وی ریش وشین کر . اوژی لوی دری
نیو مری هیلا . گریاوه بو مالا خو . هات . دیت علی لسر دوشکی روشتی . پائی خو رایه
باللگیت نرم . چکاراضو ژکیشیت . گوتی علی . علی ژی گوت بلی برا . رزوانی گوت . از
برا نیمه از اوم کران لسر دایکا ته گری دردم . دستی خو دا . دستکه بوری ستور .
هند لطنشتیت علی دا . حتا نه هشیار کر . بی عزمان بو . ژ ناوی گوت اوه چبو
ته گوت دوستکی عزیزه . پاشی ته اینا حالی مرنی . رزوانی گوت ما تو کوره ی نابینی
رزی مه چند خراب کریه . اگر هو نا . البته از بتنی اوشی از ژ شیام تو لاخو
وکم . رزوانی بهوستایی هرسی چاک تربیه کرن . تو لاخراب کرنا رزی خو ژ وان
وه کر . راحت لما لاخو رونشت . چاکه دوی هر باعمو میدا هر کس وی حکا بیتی
دلی خو دا حفز بکت . چه وخت ژ بیر نکت چو نکو . هنه تو که دفکار رزوانی دا . هشیار بن
والسلام

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(حکایتا مزوری . ناخوت کلکا کوری)

دبیژن زمانی سمائل پاشای آمدی . کو بتخمین صدو پینج سال هیه . چه حکومت دناو عشائر . کردیت ناوچیای . فراغیت آمدی . و آکری . وروانزی . ونهری . نبون . بگان . وآغایان دخوارن . حکم بدستی وان بو . جارکی . مزنیت عشیرتا . مزوری ژیری . هاتنه دیتنا سمائل پاشا . هرمزنکی . کورك . بدیهاری . اینابو . بوپاشای . قایده ژی . اوبو . هرمزنی . هاتیا . هبترك . یان هیك . یان گایك . هرنبا برانکی . چاك . قلوخاندی بدیهاری دِاینا . وختی کو . سمائل پاشا . زانی . دیهاریا . ماقولیت . مزوریان . کورن . پیچك دد لی خودا . سلبو . گوته . پیش خزمیتیت خو . تیشتاوان . صوار بیت . سینیان . ترژی بکن . سری وان قبّه یی بکن . پتکیت قلیا گوشتی کوران . برخیت صواری ونین . هر سینیکی . کلکی کوری . دناواسری بچقینن . وتو . کو . قند . راوستیت . وی جاری چاوا پاشا امرکری بو . عینی وتو . چیکرن . وختی تیشتی هات . خلامك چو گازی کره ماقولیت مزوریان . گوتی ورن . پاشاهنگو دخوازیت . داتیشتی . لسلاملغا پاشای بخون . اوژی سوك رابون . گله کیفاوان . هات . وان وتو تخمین کر . کو پاشا . گله ژ وان رازیه . . وختی چونه زور . بیك بیك سری خو چاندن . پاشا امرکر . بخیر بین . رونین . دا تشتی بخوین . وختی . وان . تماشه کر . کو . تیشتاوان . صوار . ولنك وان صوار . گلك عیبکی مزنه . بومیوانیت . معنبر . وسوی هندی رازی . کلکیت کوران . لسری سینیان چقاندنه . دبیك ودو فکرین . دستیت خو کیشانه پاش . پیکوه گوتن پاشا . مه تیرخار . خدی زیده کت . ورن گلی خلامان . ژ ناو . دست وپیان . داچونا میران . پیس نبیت . پاشا تیکشت . سوك رابو . نگشت . سولاخو دیکت . بگوران . درکوت . ماقولیت مزوریان . دست برنه خنجران . هرخلامکی گهشتنی دانه برخنجران . گازی پاشا کرن نه حلی جیو . نه حلی جیو . اوجار . ژ هرلایکی وه . خلامیت پاشا خربونه وه . دست بژی کرن . ماقولیت مزوریان . سهی کس بون . بیت ونه . لویدری تمام بون . بیك به بریندار گهاندنه مالاوی . خزمیت هاتن . گوتنی . ام دبیژین تو جو بوی . لوانی . ژ همیان تو ساغ وی ژی ژ کربیت واندا دستی خودا . خنجر اخو . لسری دلی خودا . خو تمام کر . وان ژی صدو پینج خلامیت پاشا تمام کر . ژ بکی . بریندار ان . ژ وی وختی وه . ایدی . مزوری . نه ژ ن نه میر نه بچوکی فاما کلکا حیوانی رشوکی قت ناخون . نوکه ژی اگر بترانه بیك بیژیته وان . مزوری تو ناخوی

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کلکاکوری . اگر بنیت دی قصدا کشتنا وی کت . یان جونیت کریت دی رت . اگر هرچه ز دستی وی
نهیت . دی ز وی دری چیت . داگه . لدنگی . ناوی . کلکاکوری . نبیت . بلی نوکه . قوی وکی بری نیا

(حکایتا بیگالتهٔ کران دبغزینن)

گندکی دبیزنی . بیگالته . ز عشیرتا هرکی بنه جی . داخل قضا شمدینان . سرتخوبی عشیرتا هرکی
وگردی . ومزوری زوری یه . اهلی بیگالته . آقل سوکن . بری قوی بی آقل بون . نوکه پیچک
چاکن . دگیرنه وه . جارکی . ملای وان . حکایتا دجال بو وان دخوند . دگوت .
گلی ملت . چاک گهی خو بدنی . اوه گوتنا من نیه . از ز کیسی خو . نابینم . بلکو اوه
گوتنا پیغمبری مه یه . فرمان کریه . د آخری زمانی را نیز یکی دنیا خراب بونی . دجال وی
رابیت دنیای . دی ایخته بلدی . دنیا همی ز دستی وی دی ویزار بیت . حتا عیسی
پیغمبر ز عسمانان نهیته خار . وی نکرنیت دنیا . راحت نابیت . دوارا . سوار با
وی زی کره . هیچ حیوان قبول ناکت دجال لسر پشتا وی سوار بیت . ز بلکری . وختی
ملا هو گوت . ز ملا پسیار کرن . گوتن . بینک ملا دجال دی پشتا کری سوار بیت .
ملا جواب را . بلی بینک برانن وتو یه . و محمد پیغمبر وتو فرمویه . پاشنی وان گوت . بس
ملا . مه زی کرهنه . چاکه همیان بکرنین . حیوانی . هو طریف . هو کریت . بوچی
راگرین . ملا زی گوت . زور باسنه . بکرن . گیرو نکن . بلا . او ملعون لیش چاوا بیت
مه نبن . ز میزه . من دلهو بیز مه هنگو . اما نوکه . هلکوت . اوجار . هرکس ابو
تفنگا خو هلگرت . کری خو . دا پیشا خو . ز گندی . بره در . بره کندکی . تفنگک
لطنشا کری خو را . کری خو کشت . وختی هاتنه وه بو گندی . ملا (غزا پیروزی)
لوان کر . گوته وان . غزا هنگو پیروز بیت . خوزی بو هنگو . خدی . بو هنگو لیخنی
قصران دی چیکت . حوریان . دته هنگو . ز هنگی پاشوه . بیگالته . قت کران قبولنان
خی یا باری کری زی ناخون . وختی کران دبینن تف دکنی . اگر میوانک بهیته
گندی وان . اگر . خورت نبیت . ز وی ترسن . کری وی ز دروه . دی هینیت . کس نادا
آنی نادنی . واگر بنین . وبو برن . دکرن . گلک جاران . کریت میوانان . ز
پنوه . کشتنه . اوحاله . درحق کری . نوکه زی . مایه . کیمک . فرق کر یه .
امانه چندان . حتا سالا پیار زی . دو نیچیر وانیت وان . کرک . لشتون
مالیت . هرکی روند . لچولی دیتنه وه . دو تفنگ لیدان . کشتن . بزرکن :

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I отписом
ко руми

(نصیحتی کردان)

ای گلی ملتی کرد . هونگ بوچی . خودین دکن . عقلی خو . نا اینه .
سری خو . بوچی . هونگ . ستری . دولتا اروسی دکن . ما حتا .
نوکه . هنگو . چه منفعت . ز دولتا خمانی دیتیه . هنده سیاله .
ز زمانی باب و باپیریت . مه کردان . هیشتا . مکتبک . بومه چی نکرنه .
صنعتک نیشامه . ندایه . ام وحشی وزان . ماینه . او دولتا وتق .
ام بوچی خو قربان بکین . ز بابی وهی زنی . هونگ دزانن . چند خاندانیت
مه . ز . شیخان . ز بگان . ز آغایان محو . وپریشان کرنه . مادام کو
وه یه . هونگ ورن . پیکوه دخالتا . عدالتا دولتا اروسی بکن . از
یقین دزانم بو هنگو . بو خاندانیت هنگو . بو همی ملتی دی گلک خوشتر بیت
اگر . هونگ بین ز . بو دینی مه خرابه . او وه خبریت . خدان محرضانه .
داهونگ مالاخو خراب بکن . نهینه دخالتی . اگر نه . او خبی صرف دروه
. او وه چند ساله از خزمتا اروسی دکم . از دیاو . وان دامه . او ساله
چو مه تفلیسی . هیچ بی حرمتی وکیماسیا مسلمانان . من ندیت . بلکو قدری
وان زیده تر دگرن . هیچ منعا دینی ناکن . بلکو زیده ز تر غیب وتشویق دکن
. کسی خیانتا حکومتی نکت اصلا اذیت نادن بلکو . زور احترامی
دگرن . اگر هونگ بدلکی . صاف وصادق . بهین خزمتا دولتا
اروسی بکن . از کفیل هنگو مه . هونگ راحت لس جی خو دی دوینی
وچند کسیت وکو سیط و بکن ادیت بره سوری وغیروان کو هاتینه
گرتن همی دی هینه بردان . کیفا هنگو یه . مقصود من خبی خوان یا هنگو یه

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اگر ش . دولتا اروسی ش هر جهت . قوتکی وتوهیه هیچ محتاج دهنگو
نیه . ماداکه . اوس و دولتا اروسی . ش اقصای شمال ش نهایت
شرقی عسکری خو رئیس کریه . راجاندیه . کریه چیز حتا تیته
غربی وعراقی کو ریکا شش حاوت هویانه . اگر شمند وفی نبا .
چه منت بفقیریت بی چاره بیت وکی هنگویه . اما مقصود امن خدی
دزانیت . اوه یه کو مالا هنگو بجارکی خراب نبیت . قوتی هنگو .
نه بریته وه . ش دنیای . پاشی هونگ چاک هر زاخو بکن
اوشر دعوایه نه لس شولا دگینیه . ماداکو هونگ هاری
آمانی دکن . اوشی ش دینی هنگو نیه . وجیرانی مه ش نیه چه مناسباوی
دگل مه نیه . ام بوجی هاری اروسی ناکین . کو جیرانی مه یه . جیی
مه هیچ شبهه نیه . دی کو بیته دستی وان اوساک یان سالکیدی . اوه
دی هر بیت معلوم بکن . بس ورن . پمبی غفلتی ش گهیت خو بیته دری
ریکا مصلحتا حالی خو بگن . اگر نه دوماری . دی محو بن . کار ندکی نکن
. نه بیش ش چه خیرخوان نبون . بیش نه مه . اوه چندساله دیکه هوار هونگ
گهی خو نادنه من . دوماری دی بشیمان بن . پاشی فائده نیه . اگر هونگ ش بضرر نیا
دترسن . حتا بیت هنگو نه . البته وکی هونگ خیانتی بکن . وفدار بکن ش اروس
قبول ناکت . وچه دولت خیانتی قبول ناکن . اما اگر خوشاخ بکن . تو به
بکن محقق اروس قدری هنگو چیش ش فلا دی گریت . وناهیلیت
فله چیدی بگونه پیشیا قشونی . کو هنگو تالان بکن . وبسوزن . وبکش ش . ورن
بدل کرم ورن . خاتر جم بن . نه ترسن . اگر وه نکن . هونگ دی محو بن والله

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During the First World War, the Russian consul Basile Nikitine recruited the Kurdish Mullah Sa'id of Shamdinan to assist him in the study of the Kurdish language and history in the city of Urmiya in northwest Iran. Their collaboration resulted in a rich corpus of cultural and historical texts, which Nikitine subsequently intended to publish in cooperation with the British scholar David N. MacKenzie. The plan, however, was never brought to fruition, and MacKenzie's copious unpublished material remained undiscovered until after his death. This volume presents facsimiles of the original Kurdish texts, a normalized transliteration with parallel English translations, an introduction sketching the life of Mullah Sa'id Shamdinani and the historical and literary context, as well as a Kurdish-English glossary and a map of locations. The result is a unique compilation of primary sources in Kurdish that document the cultural and political life of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Kurdistan, and significantly contribute to the study of the Kurdish language and history.

David Neil MacKenzie (1926–2001) was a philologist of Iranian languages. He obtained his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London in 1957 and worked in the same university as a Lecturer of Kurdish and Iranian languages. In 1975 he was appointed as the chair of Oriental Philology at the University of Göttingen in Germany where he worked until his retirement in 1994. He was elected as a fellow of British Academy. MacKenzie published extensively on Middle Iranian languages as well as the Kurdish and Pashto. He is best known for his two volume *Kurdish Dialect Studies* (Oxford University Press, 1961, 1962) and *Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 1971).

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