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REPORT
ON THE
SULAIMÂNIA
DISTRICT OF KURDISTÂN

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REVISE: MEENA
REVIEW: Dr. ANDREW HYDE

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Author's Preface

A report upon the Sulaimānia district of Kurdistan, with some notice (attention given) of the frontier tribes of Turkey, and Persia, and history of the frontier question of the two countries.

THE following report, insomuch as it touches upon the life, language, and tribal history of the Kurds and the geographical features of the district, is the result of information gained during a stay of six months there. During this period the writer was disguised as a Persian for various reasons, mainly that of insuring easy access to every class of Kurd and unhampered passage through their country. In addition, the close intercourse, which alone confers familiarity with a people's language, all of which were essential to the completion of knowledge of southern Kurdish, and the acquisition of several more dialects, which were my principal aims.

The greater part of my stay in Kurdistan, was in Sulaimānia, but before settling there, I went to Halabja, where 'Adela Khānum Jāf was staying, and being accepted at my own valuation of a Persian "mirza and merchant," was entertained by her, for some four weeks. During which I became acquainted with Othman Pasha, Mahmud Pasha, Tahir Beg and Majid Beg of the ruling families. In addition, I had nearly arranged to remain there as a writer of Persian to Uthman Pasha when the sudden arrival of an individual from Biāra - a refugee from Sina of Persian Kurdistan, whom I had seen in Constantinople (Istanbul) and who was evilly disposed towards me, rendered (made) my departure advisable.

I therefore, made a journey to Aorāmān, Merivān, and Panjwin, taking with me the small merchandize of the country as a reasonable excuse for making a tour. I also went into partnership with a Kurd of the Mukrī who taught me his language very completely besides assisting in the innumerable and harassing pettiness (small details) that go to make up the life of a trader in Kurdistan.

During this tour, I made the acquaintance of the two chiefs of Turkish and Persian Aorāmān - Ja'far Sultan and 'Ali Shāh - and was involved in a fight between the latter and the Beg of Merivān, with whom he is at feud. By a long detour, we came to Sulaimānia, where for a short time I stayed, to make an excursion to Bāna for gum tragacanth, coming back by Marga, Keui Sanjāq and Sardasht to Sulaimānia. Here I settled, making friends with people of every class, including the Turkish officials.

When, in August, I left Sulaimānia, I stayed one week at Kirkūk - having passed through the deserted country of the Hamāvand, where, some months before, I had stayed three days with their chief. In approaching Sulaimānia in the early spring, I had already stayed three weeks in Kirkūk. From there I now went to Altūn Keuprī, where I took raft down the lower Zāb and so to the Tigris and to Baghdad.

In the compilation of the historical matter relating to the frontier, I have consulted the treaties between Persia and Turkey, Lynch's Armenia, Sir John Malcolm's History, Curzon, and for the recent events (since 1907), notes made by myself when in Persia, and Tehrān newspapers of the time. Since then,

1909, I have been on the spot, and have confirmed the accuracy of notes and papers alike, besides gleaning more information. Tribal history (except for that of the Hasanānlū) which was one of the objects of my visit, is compiled from my own notes and certain documents of which I was able to obtain a view in Halabja and Panjwin. When it was possible to check it, I have used the Gazetteer of Persia (Part III) for geographical matter outside the scope of the report, and for the Kirmānshāh province, the Kirmānshāh Gazetteer, which covers some ground mentioned in the frontier chapter. If the report is lacking in certain particulars it is because I went to Kurdistān with no ideas of writing a report; my sole object being linguistic, ethnological and historical information. I have to acknowledge the very kind assistance of Lieutenant A. T. Wilson, J.A. his Britannic Majesty's Consul at Mohammerah who arranged the report in a coherent form, and assisted greatly in the correction of the typescript

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E.B.SOANE

CONFIDENTIAL
REPORT
ON THE
SULAIMĀNIA DISTRICT OF KURDISTĀN
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(i) LIMITS OF KURDISTĀN

Kurdistān, that is, the lands inhabited by Kurds or the people calling them selves so and speaking the Kurdish languages, covers some tracts of land which should be properly included in such countries as Armenia, Mesopotamia and Āzerbaijan inhabited by Armenians, Syrians, Arabs and Tatars. The preponderance of the Kurds in some parts of these countries, and the absolute sway they hold over the mountainous districts therein substantiate (prove) their claim to be included in the term Kurdistān.

The two most important of this districts - not hitherto considered as Kurdistān - but here included in the general name are as follows:-

(i) Northern Mesopotamia bounded south by a line drawn from Birejiq on the Euphrates to Jazira ibn 'Umar on the Tigris: *north, east and west* by the Euphrates and Tigris and their affluents to the point South of Arghāna, where they very nearly meet. This triangular space has to be considered part of Kurdistān in our days though not so anciently, for it is dominated by Kurds entirely in its northern and eastern portions, and well peopled by them in the remainder, where they are increasing.

(ii) A triangular tract enclosed roughly by lines from Ararat to Van, Van to Mūsh, and Mūsh to Erzerūm, Erzerūm to Ararat. This usually considered a part of Armenia, where Kurd and Armenian dispute the right to occupation, the latter race usually falling back before the Kurds.

The western boundary of Kurdistān is formed by the Anti-Taurus range, the Vilayets of Darsīm and Māmūrat ul 'Aziz is considered Kurdish by the Turks, although a large number of Seljūk Turks and Christians inhabit the plains of these mountainous provinces.

On the north, the great tribal group of Kermānj Kurds and part of the Zāzā Kurd occupy lands south of Erzinjān, while the country north of Vān is pretty (fairly) equally divided, numerically, between Tatar, Armenian and Kurd.

The southern limit has been partly indicated, and continues from Jazira ibn 'Umar to Mosul and from there follows the road *via* Erbil, Altūn Keuprī, Kirkūk, Kifrī, to Qizil Rubat, thence to Mandali or Mandalij, and from Mandali roughly in a line to Kangavār in Persia (Kermānshāh district).

From here, the eastern boundary of Kurdistān commences and follows a line through Kangavār, Bijar-Mianduab (Mīāndāb), Ushnī (Ushnāi)-Ararat.

The limits of Kurdish occupation have certainly extended within the past few centuries, particularly west; south (into Mesopotamia); and north (into Armenia), where these warlike people have possessed themselves of lands owned by Armenian, Syrians and sedentary Turks, to become half settled in their turn, and often living when so settled, in perfect harmony with the original inhabitants, as is seen in the plains between Birejiq and Virānshahr (Northern Mesopotamia).

Kurdistān will be seen, therefore, to occupy the mountain system which, starting from the range of Anti-Taurus, sweeps east in a crescent to become the Zagros, which bounds Persia upon the west, and which the Kurds divide with the Lurish tribes south of their limit line.

This extent corresponds almost exactly with the "Lands of Nairi" of the Assyrian inscriptions, together with part of Atropatene Media and Media Magna of slightly later times, and has probably been a country inhabited by

Aryan peoples - never expelled - who settled there in the prehistoric migration of that race westwards. The area thus occupied may roughly be set at 95,000 square miles.

The plains which bound Kurdistān upon south and east confine the mountain inhabitants, for the Kurd cannot endure the heat and monotony of the flat lands, nor can his flocks, upon which he depends, find grazing all the year round. Thus, it is always in the greatest mountains that the Kurd is found, and this habit of domicile has probably kept him immune from invasion throughout the successive periods of war which have given the less defensible lands into the hands of different nations. Upon the north, the plateau of Armenia is a natural boundary, and, in the days of the strength of that country, it was a political one.

(ii) LIMITS OF DISTRICT COVERED BY REPORT

The district under more intimate review is an oblong piece of country bounded *west* by the road from Altūn Keuprī to Kirkūk, *south* a line through Kirkūk, Ibrahim Khānchi, Bāna Khilan, along the Shirwān or Sirwan River to the base of the Oraman Mountain.

East the base of the Oraman Mountain to Merwān, (Merivān) and Panjwin; and *north* Panjwin to Altūn Keuprī; These limits include the Turkomān districts of Altūn Keuprī and Kirkūk, the Kurdish Shwan country, the country of the Hamāvand Kurds, Sulaimānia and district, part of the Jāf lands, Shāhr-i-Zūr, Oraman* district, Merivān and Panjwin districts.

(iii) GENERAL NOTES ON DISTRICT GOVERNMENT

The whole of the district, except that part of it in Persian territory, is within the Vilayet of Musil (Mosul), and is sub-divided as follows:-

1. The mutasarrifliq of Sulaimānia *
2. The mutasarrifliq of Kirkūk

These are sub-divided again (in the district under report) into Qaim maqāmlīqs.

Sulaimānia: 1. Halabja and Shāhr-i-Zūr
2. Panjwin

Kirkūk, 1. Altūn Keuprī
2. Shūan district
3. Chemchemāl (Hamāvand).

Various and numerous mudirliqs exist all over the district, many being

* Aorāmān, Aorami, or Aorami or HAorāmān Haoram According as Persian singular and plural, or Kurdish singular and plural is used.

* The civil governorships in Turkish Arabia are the Vilayet Mutasarrifliq, Qāim-maqāmlīq and Mudirliq, the holders of office bearing the titles Vāli, Mutasarrif Qāim-maqāmlīq and Mudir.

unfilled posts at the present time. The system, which is that in vogue all over the empire, works but feebly here, where the tribes hold great sway. Farther north towards Rawāndūz, Keuy Sanjaq and in the Marga district, where there is a large sedentary population (all Kurdish), it is considerably firmer, and in the district of Shūān (Kirkūk), the same conditions occur. In Shāhr-i-Zūr and the Hamāvand country, however, government is but a name. For two years now the Hamāvand have been in open rebellion, owning allegiance to none but their chiefs, while Shāhr-i-Zūr, once a fertile and populous district, is now an abandoned plain through which the Jāf tribe pass twice a year.

Here the chief of the tribe, 'Othman Pasha, rules as Qāim-maqāmlīq and the government is Kurdish, as are those of Shūān and Chemchemāl. *

The government of Sulaimānia has thus only a nominal hold over its district, and its power is confined to the town and part of the Surchina district.

The Kirkūk government has, however, a well exercised power over the lands inhabited by Arabs and Turkoman, the districts between Kirkūk and Altūn Keuprī comprising plain villages, and the flat lands lying towards Sulāhīeh (Kifrī) to the south. *

The Chemchemāl Qāim Maqāmlīqs, like the government of Sulaimānia is inoperative. It is placed upon the western border of the Hamāvand country, and while, nominally, it is there to control the tribe, the town lives in daily fear of siege from its unruly subjects.

With the exceptions of the Mutasarrif of Kirkūk and the Kurdish Qāim Maqām of Halabja, the Governors of the district count among the most futile and corrupt of all Turkey. Removed far from any influence from Constantinople they are free to give way to their cupidity, which is satisfied by the unscrupulous Shaikhs of Sulaimānia in return for immunity from punishment for their system of murder and robbery.

The Vālis of Mosul are only too often themselves sufficiently complacent to accept the douceurs offered them by their subordinates; and the result of this misgovernment has been a decline in the trade of the Sulaimānia district, and the desertion by many respectable merchants of that town.

There is a small section of Aorāmān at the western foot of the Aorāmān range under Jāfar Sultān Aorami of Tavila, which is considered as Turkish, and comes under the Mudirliqs of Gul'anbār for administrative purposes. To all intents and purposes, however, it is independent. Jāfar Sultān acknowledges the suzerainty of Turkey so long as soldiers are at Sulaimānia, and now the possibility of his coalition with 'Ali Shāh of the Persian Aorami is avoided by the blood feud between the two chiefs.

* The Qāim Maqām of Chemchemāl was a Turk up to June 1909, when a prominent member of the Kurdish family of the Sulaimania Shaikhs, Shaikh Ahmad, was appointed and was still holding the post in August 1909.

* These last have been in rebellion this year, but were subdued in July 1909.

PERSIAN SECTION

This comprises -

- (i) Part of the district of Aorāmān.
- (ii) Merivān.
- (iii) Sardasht and Bāna.

The first is a sub-province of Ardalān, and ruled by the hereditary chief, Shāh Ali, who possesses a large part of the power exercised by his predecessors, who were semi-independent rulers under the old Ardalān Sultans of Sina. To all purposes he is, at present, independent, having paid no taxes for some years.

Merivān fort is the centre of a district of that name where formerly a few Persian soldiers were stationed, but at present the Merivāni are in a state of independence. They are connected with the Aorāmān tribe, and are a separate section under the administrative scheme of Ardalān.

Sardasht and Bāna are here included under the Persian section, though occupied by the Turks at present. They were both under the Government of the Kurdistān province through the sub-governorship of Sauch Bulāq (Mukrī tribe).

INHABITANTS

There is a considerable mixture of inhabitants in the district.

Altūn Keuprī and Kirkūk, together with the villages lying between them at the foot of the low range connecting the two places, are all settled Turkomān who claim direct descent from (i), the Turkish mercenaries of the later Khalifas of the dynasty of 'Abbās, (ii), from the Seljuq rulers of the eleventh century.

The Kurdish population is, however, increasing in the towns, and is spreading westwards wherever hills found; some have even taken up quarters upon the great plain of the Tigris valley.

In Kirkūk there are about 900 households of Christians, mostly Syrians and Chaldeans, and there were formerly a large number of Chaldeans in the Sulaimānia, Shāhr-i-Zūr and Panjwin districts. These latter were exterminated about 120 years ago by the massacre under Sheikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani* when all the villages in the district were destroyed. There are to-day ten families of Chaldeans in Sulaimānia, who speak and write their own language in contradistinction to their co-religionists in Kirkūk, who use Turkish and correspond in that language written in Aramaic characters.

Kirkūk, Altūn Keuprī, Sulaimānia, Halabja, Panjwin, Bāna and the Qara Dāgh district of the southeast Hamāvand possess a large number of Jews who have always been numerous in Persian Kurdistān. These people act as peddlers and petty merchants, and because of the necessity of their existence to the Kurds, who are unable to succeed in business, they are immune from any excessive degree of persecution or embarrassment in their journeying. All the retail piece goods trade of Kirkūk, Halabja and Panjwin is in Jewish hands

* Not to be confused with another and greater of the same name who lived in the 13th century.

and in Sulaimānia a large portion of this and other retail trades.

The south-western portion of the district is the residence of part of the Jabaur tribe of Arabs, and a certain number live in Kirkūk.

For the rest; the district is Kurdish, the chief tribes being Jāf, Shūān, Hamāvand, Merivān (migratory) and Shūān, Bāna, Rānīa, Marga, Aorāmān, and Merivān (sedentary).

Shāhr-i-Zūr possesses large number of villages on the fringe of the plain. These are inhabited by settled Kurds of the Bāna, Jāf, Aorāmān and one of the two old tribes* of Shāhr-i-Zūr, which were allied to the Aorāmāni or Aorami.

The population of the towns said to be as follows, but no accuracy can be attained, or attempted:-

The settled tribe's are stated to number as follows:

Shūān 15.000

Hamāvand 2.000

Aorāmān (Persian and Turkish)..... 20.000

Merivān..... 15.000

However, these latter are probably conservative estimates.

NATURE OF THE COUNTRY

The district resembles any similar section selected from the lower slopes of the Zagros Mountains towards the Euphrates. From the extreme west the country rises eastwards from Kirkūk and Altūn Keuprī (altitudes of about 1,000 feet) to Bāna, Panjwin, Aorāmān, Merivān, all at about 5,000 feet; which is the average height of the whole of the Persian plateau, upon the western edge of which they are situated. The plains have, as a rule, no perceptible rise eastwards, except the eastern border of the Tigris plain, which uninterrupted by hills rises slightly to the *foot* of the small ranges around Kirkūk and Altūn Keuprī. From the former place the view south-west is absolutely uninterrupted, and to the due west only the isolated mass of the Qara Chuq Mountain interrupts the level of the plain.

The system of the hills and mountains resembles that of all western and central Persia with ranges running north-west to south-east. The first few ranges, commencing with the western ranges, are remarkable for their uniformity of height and general conformation.

From Kirkūk, the Durami range runs north-west and continues so after being pierced by the Lesser Zāb River almost up to the Greater Zāb in a perfectly straight line. The formation is that of successive rows of mounds, rising to the summit on either side. The total height is not more than about five hundred feet above the plain. East of them, however, the plain is on a higher level, and this phenomenon repeated in a parallel manner in several ranges and plains until the Hamāvand and Keui Sanjāq countries are reached.

These are about 2,000 feet above sea level in the plains with the ranges rising another 2,000 feet. They are often precipitous upon the western or

* This was a tribe formerly known as the sharazuri, which are said to have left the district about century ago.

deeper side, although there is usually an approaching slope up. This formation is regular up to and including the Surchina and Shāhr-i-Zūr plains (about 2,500 feet), the latter of which has, however, a very deep depression in the centre, and it is said to have been a lake before the Shāhr-i-Zūr River broke through to join the Shirwān. North-east of these the levels rise rapidly. Irregularly formed peaks stand out, notably Pir-i-Mugurun or Pir-i-Umar-i-Gurān (10,000), and the ranges lose the regularity of their direction. Behind the Azmir range (behind Sulaimānia), the country breaks up, and from there to Panjwin there is but a confused mass of high hills too steep for a direct road. Towards Bāna the same phenomenon occurs. Ranges going in all directions are encountered resulting in precipitous ravines and tortuous tracks. These mountains are the ramparts of the Persian plateau. In addition, the same system continues northeast until the confused mountain masses north of Bana and Saqqiz are reached, which attain very great heights. Referring back to the Azmir range (see above), this range loses itself in the plain of Shāhr-i-Zūr. In addition, the Aorāmān range which is high and forbidding, and of a perpendicular precipitous appearance bounds (forms a boundary for) the plain. This range represents the highest development of the little regular lines of hills near Kirkūk. It runs from near Panjwin completely uninterrupted (except where the Shirwān river has broken through) to near Kermānshāh, and in the north-western, its highest portion, it attains an altitude of probably not less than 10,000 feet, or 7,500 feet sheer above the Shāhr-i-Zūr plain. Its precipitousness has prevented any traffic across it, and from Panjwin to the Shirwān it presents an impassable barrier and forms a gigantic natural frontier. There is snow on the northern face all the year round.

Behind the northern end of this range is another mass running parallel for a short distance. At the eastern foot of this we find the Merivān Lake, which is roughly two miles long and it is very deep at the point where it touches the mountain. The water is always too cold to bathe in, and approach from the east is difficult, as the Merivān plain becomes muddy. This lake is called Zhir-i-ba by the Kurds "under the wind ", and not Zir-i-bar as often quoted on maps - which would have a different and inapplicable meaning. Its name, as above quoted, has evidently been given it from the keen (sharp) wind that blows during a great part of the day off the mountain behind it. Farther south is a broken country, the back of the Agrarian range and eastwards, the view is that of masses of mountains with small plains at their feet. Until May, the view eastwards from any hill of the middle country (Hamāvand) is one of confused mass of ever-rising, snow covered mountains.

WATER SUPPLY

The water supply of the country is little short of magnificent in every part except its south-western corner. The north is watered by the Lesser Zāb River, which rising in the mountains of Sauj Bulaq (Lahijan), flows south-east finding a way between the hills. After passing Sardasht, it breaks through the hills to take an irregular south-west direction flowing through the plains of the Pishdar, Rānā, Shūān Kurds and Southern Baba Kurds to Altūn Keuprī. From here its volume is sufficient to float rafts laden (carrying) up to 12 tons, which float down to Baghdad, joining the Tigris half way along the Jabal Hamrin range. In its course through the mountains, it joined by the following streams:-

Tributaries of lower Zāb-

1. Bāna Su, which is formed of:

(a) The river of Bāna rising north of the Kal-i-Balin Mountain;

(b) The smaller affluent (tributary stream) which, rising below the pass at the head of the Bāna Valley, sometimes called Mil-i-Kal or Mil-i-Balin, flows south of the Arbābā Mountain, and joins the Bāna Su, at its western extremity.

2. Qara Chualan River, which is formed of-

(a) Maskhal river which rises in the eastern end of the Chwais plain under the Kuh-i-Chil Chama, and flows due west.

(b) Ao-i-Panjwin, or Qizilja which rises south of the Kuh-i-Kedar, crosses the Panjwin-Bistan plain and joins the Maskhal about two farsakhs below Bistan (west).

(c) Cham-i-Qara-Chualan, a small stream rising in the Azmir system, flowing north past Qara Chualan village, to give its name to the combined rivers which join the Zāb in a plain to the south of a hill, sometimes called Kur Kur, in the Marga district.

Below this point, there is no access for any considerable streams from the watershed of the Zagros; nor do any large rivers rise lower than the 5,000 feet level (Bāna-Bistan-Panjwin-Merivān-Aorāmān plains).

A number of brooks enter it from the north of the Hamāvand country and the Shūān hills, but the slope of the country is to the southwest from these hills, and whatever water escapes does so in that direction.

The broad plains east of Erbil and Altūn Keuprī supply no affluents (tributary streams).

The south-east boundaries of the district are watered by the upper waters of the stream known lower down as the Diala River, which is composed of the following affluents:

1. A stream called the Cham-i-Haoram or Ao-i-Shai or Ao-i-Sirwan or Ao-i-Shirwān, the last name being the one used infrequently here.

This rises in the Kuh-i-Gurān, one source being by Asraba, and one is at the western end of the range. This is joined in its course due south by-

(a) A slight drainage from Merivān Lake

(b) A stream flowing south-west from near Sheikh 'Attar, sometimes called the Ao-i-Katawan.

(c) A number of small streams from the valleys behind the main Aorāmān Range.

(d) The Ao-i-Hang (or "Bee River"), which rises near Duaisa in Ardalān.

(e) The Gawaru, an important affluent, which following an approximately south-west course from its source in western Ardalān between Bijar and Sina,

joins the main stream at the foot of the Aorāmān mountain below a ridge where is situated Palangān, the ancient capital of Aorāmān (see map). From the point of junction, the combined streams called Shirwān.

(f) The Ao-i-Zimkān, a stream that flowed north-west by north from its source in the defile of Bowanij near Kerind in the province of Kermānshāh.

(g) The Cham-i-Taj, a combination of two streams flowing in a parallel direction to (f) rising in parallel valleys to its course, combining below the foot of a range marked in the map as " Kuh-l-Laqlaq" (?), and running north-east to join the Shirwān.

(h) Ao-i-Darband, composed of-

(i) Cham-i-Bakhān or Cham-i-Surchina, with two sources, both flowing southeast down the Surchina valley to the depression of Shāhr-i-Zūr, where it met by

(ii) Ao-i-Sharazur (Ao-i-Shāhr-i-Zūr) which rises at the highest point of Shāhr-i-Zūr – in the north-west corner.

(iii) Ao-i Baishan, a small stream rising above the village of that name under the Aorāmān Mountain.

The streams combine at the mouth of the narrow defile of Darband between the range of Nilanbu* and its north-west continuation. From here, the course continues along the foot of the hills in a south-south-west direction.

There is a ford (shallow crossing) at Bānakhilan on the road from Halabja and Shāhr-i-Zūr to Zuhāb and another ford near the apex of the Nilanbu and Aorāmān Mountain on the Shāhr-i-Zūr Sina road.

Besides these, which are by far the most important southern drainage systems of the Zagros Range, there are only a few other insignificant supplies in the form of streams. The only ones worth mention being-

(a) Kirkūk Su or Qisa Su.

(b) Tauq Su.

The first of these raises in the Shūān hills and flows by Kirkūk in a wide bed. By August, however, irrigation diverts the whole of the scanty stream, which serves to water the gardens of Qurīa by Kirkūk.

The second rises under Bāziān of the Hamāvand, and then flows across the flats to reach Tauq, a Turkoman village in the Mutāra Dāgh, whence its bed joins that of the Kirkūk Su.

The hill country is excellently supplied by springs which are so plentiful that they make part of the country marshy, even in summer.

South-west of Qara Dāgh springs are rarer, and the country begins to assume the waterless features of Mesopotamia.

Kirkūk derives a sufficient supply from springs in the Shūān hills, and wells when the river fails.

It will seen from the map that the watersheds appear to be Aorāmān, the Azmir system, and a straight line drawn and Altūn Keuprī to Panjwin indicates very accurately the general ridge of levels from which the water assumes diverging flow-directions.

* or sometimes called Bilanbu

CLIMATE

As may be expected, the district, ranging as it does between flat plain levels of 1,000 feet to high mountain country with valleys, not lower than 5,000 feet, experiences great differences of climate.

The strip south-west of a line through Altūn Keuprī, Kani Tal, and Ibrahim Khānchi is almost as hot in summer as Baghdad. From December to April, rain falls; but from the beginning of May, temperatures rise quickly, particularly in Kirkūk, where local conditions make it warmer. In this region there is a high degree of dryness, and a hot wind sometimes blows from the north-east which is called all over this part of Kurdistān the "Rashaba" or "Black wind." This brings most of the rain in winter from the Zagros.

The second homogeneous region includes Keui Sanjāq, Shūān, Hamāvand Qara Dāgh, Surchina and Shāhr-i-Zūr. Here the winter is severe, with snow and torrential rain falling during a winter of three months, giving place to (causing) frequent rainstorms until the end of March. From then until June rain falls occasionally. The last fall this year was on June 2nd in Sulaimānia and Shāhr-i-Zūr, if an exceptional fall in July is omitted (not accepted, neglected).

The prevailing wind is the north-east (Rashaba) from the Zagros, intensely cold in winter, and burning in summer. At all times it blows with the force of a half-gale, rising and falling about sunset, although occasionally it falls at sunrise or rises about an hour before that time. Whatever be the time of rising, the duration is never less than twelve hours.

When it falls, light breezes occur from the south-west, and sometimes a fair wind from north to north-west.

While winter in Sulaimānia and the zone under consideration is severe, summer, with its intense dryness and hot winds, is very trying. In Surchina and Shāhr-i-Zūr, temperatures rise to 106° in the shade in July, falling to 82° at night. The uncertainty of the winds, for example, a hot "Rashaba" suddenly springing up, when a cool north-north-west wind had been blowing, or vice versa, cause sudden variations of temperature. This makes this whole zone very unhealthy. Fever, particularly in July and August, is very general (common). By the 2nd of August, with wonderful regularity, the climate changes, and cooler weather sets in, and by September, rain is often falling again.

The remainder of the district is all mountain land, with an extremely severe winter. Snow falls in the plains (Merivān, Bistan, etc.) to a depth of several feet, remaining unmelted for weeks at a time, and most of the passes are closed, devious routes being used. The rivers too become unfordable (uncrossable) and, as a result, the inhabitants are confined to their villages. Aorāmān, under its high ridge of mountain, experiences this severe climate to a greater degree. In April and May it is still cold, and snow is visible upon the peaks until August, particularly on the north-western face of Aorāmān. In the villages under this mountain (Biari Tavila, etc., about 2,000 feet above Shāhr-i-Zūr: that is roughly 4,000-5,000 feet) it is chilly in the summer evenings. Although this mountain climate is vigorous (tough), it is very healthy, and fever is almost unknown except in autumn.

NATURAL PRODUCTS

Near Kirkūk, at a place called Naft Tapa, there are three pits upon a hillside which remain permanently full to the brim of a substance which resembles crude petroleum in every respect, black and viscous. This never-ending supply is utilised (used) by the natives, who carry it away in old kerosene tins. Before kerosene was imported, a brisk trade was done in this commodity, which was exported to Kifrī, Altūn Keuprī, Erbil and Keui Sanjāq.

These springs, formerly the property of a private individual, have been seized by the Turkish Government, and are now rented at a price, which has robbed the commerce of any but a very small profit.

There is a fair supply of rock salt near Tuz Khurmati in various places, and gypsum abounds in the lower hills.

Coal exists in the hills behind Alabja, and, it said, in considerable quantities. The quality is similar to that found near Tehran (bituminous); soft and black, but up to the present time it has not been worked, though the owner Tahir Beg Jāf could obtain cheap labour. He fears the Turkish Government, which consistently stifles any efforts at progress of any kind.

All the higher hills and mountains are well clothed with vegetation, and gum tragacanth abounds in the north section, particularly around Bāna. "Saqqiz," or mastic, is also found, as well as gallnuts in large quantities.

These are the usual products of Kurdistān and are simply the more northern continuation of the natural mountain products of the Gurān country in Kermānshāh province, which lies in the same strata.

The Aorāmān hills are covered with oak, walnut, plane and many wild fruit trees. Salt springs are very rare, *except in the low hills, and the whole Kirkūk district around the regular north-west-south-east ranges possesses sulphur and mineral matter, which taints the water. The hills of Azmir also abound in lime and certain substances in solution render the water of the Shirwān River very indigestible or "giran" - "heavy" as the natives term this quality of water.

LANGUAGE

Kurdish is the language of the whole district, not excepting the Turkoman and Arab sections.

In Altūn Keuprī, the Turkoman dialect is spoken, but Kurdish is understood and is as much the language of the place as Turkish. This is the case, as in all the non-Kurdish parts of the district. For although they are not numerically predominant, the Kurds have succeeded here, as elsewhere, in making their language too important to be neglected.*

From Altūn Keuprī to Kirkūk both languages are equally general (prevalent) and their villages alternate (in speaking one or the other language) because the two races seldom mix in one village.

Kirkūk is probably the most polyglot of all the towns. Here a shopkeeper

* *There is salt near Geok Tapa (Qaradagh).*

* *When in Altun Keupri, I met four people speaking Persian quite well.*

must know Arabic (Baghdad or Mosul dialect), Kurdish (Hamāvand and Shūān dialect) and Turkish (Turkoman dialect). A large number of the Musulman population also understands Persian. Aramaic is spoken among the Jews, but the Chaldeans Christians use Turkish.

I found all three languages (Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish) equally understood and used in the bazaar, though Turkoman is the native language of the population. In the district south of Kirkūk, Kurdish and Turkoman villages occur and all are bi-lingual; Arabic occurs more frequently as progress is made south and west.

Immediately the hills occur, however, Kurdish becomes predominant, and except for Aorāmān or Horam as called by the Kurds, a number of dialects of Mukrī - the true Kurdish language - are spoken, which, in Rānīa, Marga, Bāna and Sardasht are nearest to the pure tongue. Sulaimānia, Shūān and Hamāvand speak a common dialect, with very slight differences.

In Sulaimānia, Persian is extremely important. Most people can speak it to a certain extent and many know it very well.

Generally speaking, a Persian is at no loss in bazaar, caravanserai or coffee shop in Sulaimānia to find plenty of men who understand and can speak with him, and are gratified at an opportunity of speaking a language which Kurds admire and cultivate.

The written language of this entire district from Sulaimānia, Qara Dāgh Rānīa and to the northeast is only Persian, and all business communications are in this language. Children are taught it in both the religious schools, and the military "academy" at Sulaimānia and even shopkeepers must be able to correspond in it.

A certain number of persons among the population understand Turkish in the town of Sulaimānia; particularly those connected with the Government, but only few are capable of writing and reading it.

Arabic also fairly well understood, as the trade connections of Sulaimānia are chiefly with Baghdad, where large numbers of Sulaimānia people reside and journey there yearly.

The language of the town is Kurdish of the Mukrī (Kurdish) language but it is very corrupted and contains a large number of Arabic words and, as has been said, the written language is Persian.

Shāhr-i-Zūr, Aorāmān, Panjwin, Bāna, Merivān, Sardasht and Marga are purely Kurdish districts, and no foreign languages are understood except Persian and to a lesser degree, Turkish. In these districts, Persian is the vehicle of all written communications without exception. In Shāhr-i-Zūr, the Jāf dialect is spoken – which is a variant of the Mukrī and Hamāvand.

Aorāmān possesses a very different language, so widely separated from the surrounding Kurdish that every Aorami and Merivāni is bilingual, speaking ordinary Kurdish with equal facility (capacity). Persian is also more widely understood in Aorāmān than in most Kurdish districts.

The Aorāmāni dialect is apparently Persian, resembling the old Gurān tongue (language) of which it is possibly a branch, though the Aorami do not admit it. It is remarkable in possessing no Kurdish grammatical forms in its verbs.

Above Bāna, the pure Mukrī dialect is spoken, as well as by the Pishdar Kurds between Sardasht and Rānīa.

The Chaldeans of Sulaimānia and Panjwin speak the Chaldeans language.

The Jews all over the district use Aramaic, which is practically identical with the Chaldean language of these parts. There is a tendency in a few places to use Kurdish written in Hebrew characters (letters).

RELIGION

The whole district is Sunni and is gradually beginning to be known as Qadiri Sunni, on account of the reverence paid to the memory of Sheikh Abdul Qadir of Gilan near Qasr-i-Shirin, who died about a hundred years ago and was interred (buried) at Baghdad.

The populations of Sulaimānia and Panjwin are noted for their fanaticism, which, in the former place, has helped to drive away some Shi'a merchants who had formerly established themselves there, and which keeps the Jews and Christian in a state of nervousness.

The present successor of Sheikh 'Abdul Qadir in degree of sanctity is Sheikh Ali of Tavila, who has satellite Shaikhs at Biāra, Naosud, and Gul'anbar. These individuals have taken possession of many of the villages laid waste in the massacres of Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir at the beginning of the 19th century.

Sulaimānia owes its decline and decay in a great measure to a still more famous family of Shaikhs, the most prominent member of which was Sheikh Sa'id. * Qara Dāgh also possesses a prominent Sheikh.

These two (Qara Dāgh and Sulaimānia Shaikhs) are noted for their abominable wickedness, which at least equals, if it does not excel, that of any former Sheikh of this district.

Kirkūk is subject to one Sheikh Riza, a person of some sanctity, but better known as a poet and writer. He is not particularly rich and consequently is not excessively offensive, though he is fanatically disposed.

COMMUNICATIONS

The usual caravan routes are marked on the map. Sulaimānia and Kirkūk are the most important places, and probably the most used track is that between the two places. The following routes are here fully described, stations and distances being summarized in an Appendix A.

Kirkūk to Sulaimānia

The usual route, in time of peace, is *via* Chemchemāl, the administrative capital of the Hamāvand and Qara Dāgh. From Kirkūk the road mounts steadily until the range above Gachi is reached when it winds in and out among the mounds, descending upon the other side to Chemchemāl, a huge village at the eastern foot of the hills. The route is easy but tedious, particularly the first fifteen miles from Kirkūk, as it crosses ridges of solid stone, which form a series of steps upon which the plain rises. These ridges, worn into deep holes by the animals, or broken in layers, require very careful

* Appendix A (*family of Sulaimania Shaikhs, and of Aoram*)

negotiation and seriously hinder progress.

The distance is about 30 miles and the time taken quite (at least) twelve and usually fourteen hours.

There is a stream at Kani Tal, but the water is bad, and water is found in the western face of the range, but in no great quantity.

Chemchemāl possesses a caravanserai, and a small bazaar, but muleteers generally throw their loads outside the village or, if the weather is bad, they will stable their animals in the houses of acquaintances.

From Chemchemāl the track leads across the remarkable plain of that name which is but a series of hummocks and low hills thrown in confusion upon the tract between the Gach Dāgh (Chemchemāl range) and Qara Dāgh and all attain roughly the same height, which gives the district the appearance of a flat plain from the distance.

From above Chemchemāl the pass through Bāziān (Qara Dāgh range) is conspicuous, as the Qara Dāgh range stands straight and high, like a wall across the landscape and the impossibility of penetrating to Kurdistān, except through Bāziān is apparent. Here the range has been broken away, the approaches rising considerably to the base of the break, which is just wide enough for two caravans to pass. Here at one time there has been a wall entirely closing the V shaped break, and it is here that the Hamāvands wait for and loot caravans coming into their country. This is also the scene of a fight between them and Turkish troops in July 1909, when the Hamāvands, attacking from above, defeated the Turks, capturing the whole force, and its arms, ammunition and clothing.

This is the western gate of the Hamāvand country proper, and the valley behind is the stronghold of their chief, Hama Beg. The road turns south-east on passing the breach and crosses the Bāziān valley after some time to reach the pass of Bābā Murda, which is but a passable way over the top of the range which is here a little broken, and also affords (allows) an approach. This ascent and descent are extremely stony and troublesome to mules and horses. From the summit of this range, the lowest range of Azmir is seen, and the position of Sulaimānia in Surchina is indicated by a white streak upon the hillside - the road from Sulaimānia to Panjwin.

Descending the pass, the Sulaimānia plain is reached and the road which is flat and stoneless for some distance, leads in a south-south-east direction to the village of Bābā Murda, where good water is found. From there to Sulaimānia reckoned as Surchina or Surchiaina ("the red hillocks"), the country becomes undulating and Sulaimānia is reached in two or three hours. From the bottom of the last pass to Sulaimānia there are no stones and no obstacle to good going, except the two rivers - one before Bābā Murda which in spring, reaches the girths of horses, -and the Bakhān stream, the approach to which is bad from the west and is itself deep and swift up till May. The ford is below the ruined bridge in spring and above it in summer and autumn.

There is water on the road three miles east of the Bāziān pass, and again on the plain, but none from the west side of Bābā Murda pass until the east foot of the hill.

Bābā Murda and a small village by the Bakhān stream are the only two places on the road from Chemchemāl to Sulaimānia, and these are deserted from early April until November, as the inhabitants are taking their flocks to

pasture.

Encampments of Hamāvand will be found on both sides of the road in Bāziān or the plain outside (west of Bābā Murda) in certain seasons of the year, particularly spring and early summer. These are best left alone for the inhabitants are quick-tempered and liable to rob and murder.

From Chemchemāl to Sulaimānia is about forty miles and halts are made in times of security by a steam at the east entrance to the Bāziān defile and at Bābā Murda. These are, however, variable, but Bābā Murda and Bāziān have been recognized as places for staying part of a night or resting. At the latter place, there are no habitations, but cultivations of wheat and beans exist, belonging to the village in the valley.

Chaff and occasionally barley can be bought at Bābā Murda when it is inhabited. Eggs and buttermilk are also obtainable.

The total distance, *via* Chemchemāl from Kirkūk to Sulaimānia is about 70 miles and usually accomplished in about 70 hours.

An alternative route to Bāziān is Kirkūk-Kani-Tal-Ibrahim Agha-Qal'a-i-Khwa-Rawa-Bāziān (see map).

II.-Kirkūk to Altūn Keuprī

This is a single stage of about 33 miles, and except for an easy passage through the hills, and a short steep descent, the road is flat and stoneless until just near Altun-Keupri, where it becomes stony. A number of villages are passed on the eastern side of the range, one or two Turkoman and the rest Kurd, but the population is unpleasant.

In times of danger from Hamāvand robbers, a westerly road is taken, leading by a mound above a village called by muleteers Tapa Keui (the village of the mound) and later, the ruins of a caravanserai of the style of Shāh 'Abbās and attributed to him. From there the road leads among foothills and past a Kurdish village to a defile and difficult pass among broken and irregular hills. Crossing the top of the range, it descends to join the ordinary track near a large village.

There is no water except near Kirkūk, and approximately 10 miles outside Altūn Keuprī, where streams are met (found).

Moreover, from Altūn Keuprī the road goes on to Erbil and Mosul. The journey, Kirkūk to Altūn Keuprī is reckoned to take one day, or ten hours, and to Mosul from Kirkūk three to four days, according to the season of the year. Altūn Keuprī is equally well known as Guntara (Arabic Qantara, "a bridge").

III. -Kirkūk via Tauq to Kifrī and Baghdad

This is not, strictly speaking, within the scope of this report, except as far as Tauq. The distance is some 65 miles to Kifrī. Stages (resting points) are usually made at Tauq and Tuz Khurmati.

Leaving Kirkūk the road takes a south to south-south-east direction and goes along the western base of the low range called the Mutāra Dāgh. Water is scarce and only at Tauq is the first constant supply encountered. This is a village of no great importance, and is reached in seven to nine hours, the distance being about 27 miles. From here to Tuz Khurmatu is a continuation of the same type of track for about 18 miles and thereafter to Kifrī is another

20 miles. The road is stony and bad in places, and very hot in all seasons except the winter and early spring. This year three people died of sunstroke between Tuz Khurmatu and Tauq in late July.

Tuz Khurmatu has a small and wretched bazaar of possibly thirty shops, and two ruinous caravanserais. A little oil, which is found in the Naft Dāgh (a hill in the long range above the road), is refined here, but the place is declining. Turkish is spoken, as well as Arabic and Kurdish. The water supply is bad, people largely relying on one spring in the hills.

Kifrī is not within the limits of this report. It is a well-known town where the Kirkūk-Baghdad and Sulaimānia-Baghdad roads meet.

This route to Baghdad from Kirkūk is an alternative one, there being a shorter way by the almost waterless desert further to the west.

From Kirkūk to Baghdad by the Kifrī route takes nine days and by the desert road six or seven days.

IV. -Kirkūk to Keui Sanjāq

There is a track between Kirkūk and Keui Sanjāq, which fairly well used by traders with Baghdad. However, it not used in winter because the ford across the Zāb is then impassable.

From Kirkūk, the road to Altūn Keuprī is followed until the traveller comes out of the hills and then a course north to north-east is taken across the undulating plain to where the river passes the range bordering the Shūān country in the west. Here there is a ford, and it is very usual to halt for the night. From the ford, after leaving the foothills, which are easily negotiated, the road crosses another plain over a pass in the next range and on to Keui Sanjāq, which is seen from the top of the pass.

There is water after leaving the Zāb under the first range of hills, and in a few villages off the road. The distances are 30 miles to the Zāb Ford, and then about 20 to Keui Sanjāq. One should reckon on a two days journey.

Travelers from Kirkūk to Marga and Bāna use this road; to the second of these there is also the road via Sulaimānia, but this road is often unsafe.

V. - Sulaimānia to Kifrī

From Sulaimānia the track lies (goes) south-west across the undulations of Surchina, and, passing the river (Cham-i-Bakhān), ascends the range opposite by a steep and precipitous road, which takes a considerable time to negotiate (pass through). As with the pass of Bābā Murda, the road is very stony, and on reaching the summit, a descent is made into the south-eastern end of the Bāziān plain, here called Qara Dāgh. It crosses this, keeping its south-west direction by a fair road and ascends the approach to the Sagirma or Sagrma neck, which is some fifteen hundred feet above the plain. This is not, like Bāziān, a complete break, but rather an interruption of the crest of the hill, and presents a long and stony climb. From the summit, a magnificent view is obtainable over the broken ground below and towards the desert westwards.

At the foot of Sagirma, there is Geok Tapa, a village where a halt (break in the journey) is often made. No caravanserai exists and muleteers usually throw the loads outside by a small stream. Eggs are obtainable and a little fruit, according to season, principally water melon.

Instead of going right through to Geok Tapa, a halt is often made by

diverging to Qara Dāgh, a considerable village, and a "mudirliq" which is at the eastern foot of the Qara Dāgh range. From Sulaimānia the distances are about 28 miles to Geok Tapa, and 22 to Qara Dāgh.

The latter is in many ways a more convenient stopping place, as it leaves the Sagirma pass for the next march.

From Geok Tapa a single march across undulating, but not very stony ground is made to Ibrahim Khānji or Khānchi, a small village with an inferior water supply, though the bed of a stream, very considerable amounts of water pass by in winter. In normal times (*i.e.*, when the tribes are quiet) there is some cultivation and the usual eggs and fruit are obtainable, as well as curds.

In the lower Qara Dāgh hills, and Geok Tapa, are indications of petroleum and this is more apparent lower down near Kifrī in workable quantities.

The way from Geok Tapa to Ibrahim Khānchi is 18 miles and easy going. From there to Kifrī the road goes across a broken plain, to cross the Naft Dāgh range and drop down some few hundred feet to Kifrī.

Sulaimānia to Baghdad is reckoned at nine days, and consists of eight days travel and one day at Kifrī.

Except for the two passes near Sulaimānia the road is easy, but, like the Sulaimānia-Kirkūk road, it always reckoned dangerous where it traverses Hamāvand country. Several caravans been looted there this year and a number of persons killed.

VI. - Sulaimānia to Alabja

Although this is a short route, it is of very considerable importance, for it is *via* Alabja that a very large traffic is carried on between Sulaimānia and Tabriz, Sina (by an alternative route) and particularly Khāniqin from where a great deal of merchandise passes. There is also a route, *via* Juanru to Kermānshāh, but I was told that caravans never use it, as there is neither sufficient trade nor security.

There is a certain small traffic as far as Juanru during May, June and early July for clarified butter, which is produced in large quantities by the tribes there, and a fair amount of piece goods trade is done by Jews from Alabja.

From Sulaimānia the road ascends to the spurs of the Azmir range, the first village being Karga, a large place belonging to the Sheikh family. The track both stony and smooth, passes a few villages in the folds of the spurs, and is then very steep for some miles taking an almost straight course up and down the hillsides until it passes Nilpariz, a large village with a little water. On both sides of the road, there are extensive wheat fields until near the end of the range which drops into the Shāhr-i-Zūr plain. The older road passed through the valley at its lowest level nearer the river, but its use has been discontinued, due to raids by the Hamāvand. From the last rise of the range, a view is obtained over the basin of Shāhr-i-Zūr, and Alabja is clearly seen upon the rising ground under the Kuh-i-Nilabu, as are the gardens under that hill and Aorāmān. The high ridge of Aorāmān shuts out any view of the Kurdistān Mountains. From this point, the road descends, crossing some small streams to a small hill under the western face of which is Mūān, a little village behind some willow trees, built upon the hillside. Here there is a good spring.

The Mūān Kurds do not inhabit their village after late March, but migrate to a spot some half-mile farther south-west near a stream where they camp

until November.

This is a usual stopping place for caravans. Curds and buttermilk are the only eatables obtainable. Bread must be brought from Sulaimānia. Eggs are sometimes obtainable, but the inhabitants are surly and sometimes refuse to sell anything. Care is necessary when camping at night, and guards are absolutely necessary, to guard against the Mūān as well as for possible raiders.

In May and October, the Jāf Kurds are passing and the road is then very dangerous.

From Mūān the track leads straight up to Alabja. It crosses two considerable streams in its course, the Ao-i-Sharazur and another sometimes called Baishan and sometimes Ao-i-Mahmud Pasha. The latter is near the lowest point crossed by the road, and luxurious vegetation occurs here, particularly around one of the many mounds that exist in Shāhr-i-Zūr. The whole plain is green throughout the year in its lower parts, and there is an abundance of water everywhere. No stones occur, and the plain is probably one of the most fertile and well watered in all Kurdistān. The Turkish rule and continual tribal warfare have prevented any use been made of it.

Very few villages exist in the plain, but as mentioned above, there are numerous mounds, which denote ancient habitations. Cylinders, seals and Sasanian coins are found in large numbers whenever the soil is excavated, and everything points to the truth of the tradition that Shāhr-i-Zūr was one of the most important places in the Holwān district in Sasanian times.

After passing the last stream, the road rises to Alabja. There are no difficulties in the second stage, except the two largest streams, which are deep in spring. Excellent fish abound in all the streams.

Alabja (or Halabja as Kurdish has the name) is the residence of Othman Pasha, Tahir Beg, Majid Beg, and 'Adela Khānum of the Jāf tribe. 'Adela Khānum, Tahir Beg, and Majid Beg all possess very large houses here, and Adela Khānum has built an excellent roofed brick bazaar containing fifty-four neat shops, which she lets at the rate of two krans (9 *d.*) per month to natives and Jews.

There is no caravanserai, but muleteers put up in the stables of acquaintances if they are strangers in Shāht-i-lur. As a rule mule transport is supplied by the natives of Abābail a little way higher up the hillside.

Everything necessary is obtainable here. The place boasts (has) tailors, drapers, butchers, grocers, cook shops, barbers, a Jewish sewing machinist and all the necessities of life. Fruit is abundant and good.

Strangers arriving rent a room in a house, or if they are above the usual grade of native traveler, Adela Khānum, who owns Alabja, insists upon their staying in her house.

VII.-Sulaimānia to Panjwin

This is one of the severest roads near Sulaimānia. Leaving the north-eastern end of Sulaimānia it passes through Karga and ascends the mountain at a steep gradient, passing over the neck above that village. From here, it pursues an undulating course, passing the ravines at the head of the Azmir mountain system. The road is stony and difficult, and forms the ascent from the middle to the highest zone of the district, about two thousand feet.

There are a few villages on the right hand of the road going to Panjwin,

which depend for their water supply upon the drainage from the spurs.

The road assumes a north-easterly direction from Sulaimānia, though Panjwin lies almost east of that place, but there is no direct caravan passage. Some twelve miles from Panjwin is a neck, and a stiff ascent and descent to the valley of the Ao-i-Panjwin River. From the foot of this the road follows the riverbank, the going being easy, until it reaches Panjwin.

The village of Panjwin is partly owned by Tahir Beg Jāf, and is his summer residence. There is a bath, a mosque and a bazaar, and considerable trade is done with Sulaimānia in cotton goods, etc. While Tahir Beg is there, supplies are obtainable and the place is busy, but in winter, it is cold, miserable, and difficult to obtain anything. The Jews here are very wealthy and do most of the piece goods trade.

Between Panjwin and Sulaimānia a halt is made, but where depends upon the muleteer. In times of grazing, March, April, May, June and July, the loads are often thrown near the foot of the last pass, at other times near encampments or villages. Water is obtainable *en route* from springs.

VIII. - Sulaimānia-Sardasht-Marga

A caravan leaves Sulaimānia every ten days or so for Marga, a large and fertile district which draws supplies of cotton goods and Baghdad wares (goods) from Sulaimānia and exports local produce.

The road leads along Surchina north-west till under the slopes of Piramagrun Mountain. It passes these slopes, traversing many valleys between the spurs, where there are villages and water, to Sardasht* a village under the northern spurs of Piramagrun in the Mudirliq of that district.

The road follows the way along the plain, undulating, but not steep, until one reaches Sardasht. From here, two roads lead to Marga - one *via* a village called Dukan westwards, and the other east. Each of these go around one end of the range between Sardasht and the Qara Chualan River, which is forded (crossed) by the eastern road a few miles from Sardasht.

The western and longer road crosses the Lesser Zāb near Dukan, a village full of ruins, and turning round to north-east recrosses it above the junction of the Qara Chualan stream. From there, it leads straight across the fertile and well populated Marga Plain to that place, a Qāim-Maqāmlīq. From here, a good track goes to Rānīa and up to Rawāndūz.

Water is plentiful. The distance from Sulaimānia to Sardasht is about 33 miles, a long stage often broken at villages *en route*. Thence to Marga by the western road is 27 miles and by the eastern road is 24 miles.

From Marga a road leads at the foot of the Kuh-i-Marga, across the Zāb, to Rānīa, chief village of the Rānīa sedentary Kurds, a distance of about 21 miles.

* *Not to be confused with Sardasht of the Mukrī (see route XIX)*

IX. - Sulaimānia-Sardasht-Keui Sanjāq (and to Mosul)

After leaving Sardasht (see route VII), the western road is taken as far as the Ford by Dukan. From there the road continues in a north-west direction under a continuation of the range in which Pir-i-Mugurun is situated across the plain of Keui Sanjāq for some twenty miles to that town. There are numerous villages under the hills and wheat cultivation in the plain. Keui Sanjāq is an important place, a Qāim-Maqāmlīq, and has a bazaar where everything necessary may be purchased.

From Keui Sanjāq to Erbil it is two stages, one high and one low range being crossed on the way.

From Sulaimānia to Keui Sanjāq there is very little traffic, the direct caravan route being seldom used, but from Keui to Mosul (not in the district) there is considerable traffic.

X. - Marga for Rānā for Rawāndūz

This is locally well used, however no through traffic passes along it. It is about 18 miles, a one-day stage, and cross the Lower Zāb River by a ford under the Kuh-i-Marga.

XI. - Marga to Keui Sanjāq and Altūn Keuprī.

This is a well-used road, as all the produce from the two districts is transported to Altūn Keuprī for dispatch by *Kulak** to Baghdad.

From Marga the western route to Sardasht is followed (see route VII) as far as opposite Dukan when the Sardasht-Keui Sanjāq road is taken (see route VIII). This is a long stage, and a break is sometimes made at the first ford or at a village opposite Dukan (Gulnari on the Indian Survey map). The total length of this Stage is about 40 miles. A shorter route across the mountains above Keui Sanjāq is sometimes taken, about 20 miles in length.

From Keui Sanjāq a road lays south-west across the plain, and passing through a neck over the dividing range enters the Erbil-Altūn Keuprī plain. The distance is about 33 miles, and the road fair, stony near the hills and smooth in most parts elsewhere. There are villages near the road all along, and water may be obtained.

XII.-Marga to Bāna for Saqqiz

Persons trading from Mosul to Bāna and Saqqiz use this road.

From Marga the eastern road to Sardasht is followed (see route VII) as far as the foot of Kuh-i-Marga, then it strikes off eastwards to Bāna.

The road is stony and difficult in places until the valley of the Bāna Su is reached, *i.e.*, in its first portion, and it rises some 4,000 feet to reach Bāna. The distance is considerable (48 miles) and two stages are always made, a halt usually occurs at a ford over the Bāna Su.

* A raft of interlaced sticks supported upon inflated skins.

XIII. - Alabja-Maidan-Shiruan (for Khāniqin).

This road is largely used for the import of supplies from Khāniqin to Shāhr-i-Zūr, Aorāmān and Panjwin and completes with the Baghdad-Sulaimānia road. There is also a fair traffic of travelers between Shāhr-i-Zūr and Khāniqin.

The route changes according to the time of year. In summer, while the Jāf nomads are away in the Panjwin hills north of Shāhr-i-Zūr, the river is forded at Bana Khilan and the valley of the stream followed to Kani Chaqal, where it again forded. Halts are then made by the river bank. In ordinary times, however, two stages are made in Persian territory, putting the river between the travelers and the Jāf nomads, crossing Sharafbaini and Bājilān Kurd country.

From Alabja a short stage is made to the ford of the Shirwān River in the defile of Darband, some twelve miles, and a halt is made at the bank or at Darband. The road is stony but not difficult. From the ford at Darband (or the spot sometimes called Shaikh Maidan or Maidar) the left bank of the river is followed to Maidan through the Shaikhān plain, where is an ancient inscription described by R. P. V. Schell as the most ancient in Kurdistān or perhaps Asia.*

Maidan is a large village, and supplies may be obtained from the inhabitants - Sharafbaini Kurds.

From there (out of the district under notice) the road follows the bank of the river to Shirwān in the Shirwān plain, at the junction of the Quratu and Shirwān rivers. From here, the river assumes (is given) the name of Diala.

Leaving this place, and Persian territory, one stage is made across the descending plain to Khāniqin.

The distances from Darband to Maidan are 19 miles, Maidan to Shirwān 17, and Shirwān to Khāniqin 27 miles. Four days are taken (to travel it).

XIV. -Alabja to Zuhāb

Since the days of Turkish supremacy in Zuhāb, and the cessation of business communications between Kermānshāh and Sulaimānia, this road has been used very little.

The road crosses the Kuh-i-Nilanbu behind Alabja, and crosses the Shirwān at Serāwān. Skirting the Shimran plain it passes through the valley by the Taj Rud and crosses the Kuh-i-Bamu by a pass, a few miles above Zuhāb. The total distance is about 40 miles.

* The translation runs, "Jar Ni... son of... has erected this image, when he restored it. Whoever destroys this image, may his descendants and name be annihilated by Sammas and Ramman". The translator believes the inscription (cuneiform) to be from the time of Sargon of Agada and Gudea, and the sculpture - representing a man with bow and arrow above two prostrate or supplicant figures - to be, as mentioned in the text, the most ancient in Asia (Gazetteer of Kermanshah).

XV. -Alabja to Juanru (for Kermanshāh)

This road well used by dealers in clarified butter, which Juanru (Gurān) supplies in great quantities for Sulaimānia and Kirkūk.

Leaving Alabja a course is taken east over stony ground round and over the spurs of Aorāmān to Tavila, or direct to Naosad, both villages are under Aorāmān and situated in deep ravines. The road mounts to some height and is very steep in places. The scenery is of an indescribable grandeur, beautiful valleys running up far into the overhanging wall of the Aorāmān Mountain.

Tavila is a fairly large village, the residence of a holy individual Shaikh 'Ali, and belonging to Ja'far Sultan Aorami. Here is a summer house of 'Adela Khānum, Chieftainess of the Jāf tribe.

The road passes several Aorāmān villages from Tavila, by a steep road descends the side of the mountain to the Shirwān River, which it crosses at a ford near a village called Hirwa. In addition, by a rocky and winding road it ascends again more gradually to Pava, a large village of the Southern Aorāmān, noted as being the birthplace of several poets who wrote in the Gurān-Aorami tongue. Here there are a number of fine gardens, and supplies are plentiful and cheap. From here to Juanru is one stage, over a plain between high mountains.

From Juanru to Kermānshāh is two stages through northern Maidasht. * The distance from Alabja to Tavila is 20 miles, Tavila to Pava 24 miles, Pava to Juanru 20 miles, and Juanru to Kermānshāh 45 miles.

A more direct road leads from Pava to Kermānshāh *via* Rawānsar (see route XXI).

XVI. - Alabja to Palangān (for Sina).

The first stage of this well used road is the same as route XV, but from Tavila the track continues over the spurs of Aorāmān. It then descends until it reaches the banks of the Shirwān River. The river is crossed and the track continues round the foot of its continuation hill, fording (crossing) the Gawaru and ascends the hillside to Palangān, the old seat of Government of Aorāmān. This is now a decayed village, but the country is very fertile and villages and gardens passed. There is plenty of water. From Palangān the hill is crossed and the Ohang stream is followed past Hang, and on to Sina, a distance from Palangān of about 36 miles, part of which is very difficult going through high mountains. The annual Tabriz caravan follows this route from Sulaimānia.

From Tavila to Palangān is about 24 miles and is reckoned to take ten hours because of the difficulty of the road.

* *It is probable that the correct spelling of this name is Maidasht there having occurred in its form an error due to ignorance of its origin, which is not the plain of the Fish.*

XVII. - Alabja to Panjwin.

This cross-country route is not much used except by local travelers. There is a certain amount of traffic during July, August and September when Tahir Beg Jāf is at Panjwin, and the itinerant peddling Jews use it frequently.

The first stage is easy and follows the Sulaimānia road for some miles across Shāhr-i-Zūr, branching off towards its extreme northern corner where a station is made at Zangisar at a pass. From here the road is bad, stony and steep, rising from the level of Shāhr-i-Zūr to that of the pass above Panjwin, a good two thousand feet at least. The distances are Alabja- Zangisar 25 miles, Zangisar to Panjwin 15 miles, but 7 hours have to be counted due to the difficulties of the route.

XVIII. - Panjwin to Merivān (and on to Sina).

This is one stage of 18 miles across the plain of Panjwin and Dasht-i-Qal'a and presents no difficulties. The Turkish frontier is passed about eight miles from Panjwin. Merivān is not a village, but a district, and a distance is needed to arrive at the fort, a ruinous building where a small garrison and the Kurdish Governor formerly resided. There is now a small village close to the fort called Merivān, and near the border of the Zhiriba lake.

The scenery is very fine here and the hills, the northern spurs of the Aorāmān system, are covered with trees.

There is no direct road from Merivān to the Shāhr-i-Zūr district except some precipitous and dangerous paths that only the mountaineers of Aorāmān can pass.

The Merivān clan is allied to both Bāna and the Aorāmāni, and the chief of the Merivāni is a relation of Shāh 'Ali of Persian Aoram.

From Merivān the main road from Turkish Kurdistān to Sina passes eastwards. Crossing some low mountains by a fairly easy road, it drops to the valley of Asraba crossing the headwaters of the Shirwān, here sometimes called the Ao-i-Shāhi. Ascending the valley between the converging ranges, the steep and arduous ascent of the Garrān pass is made and the road drops down, though not so far, and by an easier gradient to Shaikh 'Attar, a small village. From Merivān to the top of the pass is about 17 miles, and to Shaikh 'Attar another four.

From Shaikh 'Attār a mountainous country is traversed (crossed), and a stage is often made at Barudar, unless one long march is taken to Duaisa, a large village north of Sina from which the muleteers often come. This village belonged formerly to the Vazirs of Ardalān and has produced several noted Kurdish poets. From here to Sina is about 12 miles (4 hours) along the valley.

From Shaikh 'Attar to Sina the total distance is roughly 40 miles.

It is by this road that the carpets imported from Hamadān are sent to the Mosul market.

XIX. -Panjwin to Bāna and Sardasht (for Sauch Bulāq).

This constitutes the main route from Sulaimānia to Sauch Bulaq.

The first stage leads north across the plain of Panjwin, or Bimānsā, or Qizilja, crosses the Maskhāl river and proceeds to Serambal, at the foot of the

frontier range. This is about 23 miles and the fords are easy. Serambal has good water. Leaving Serambal a stage (a day's journey) is made to join the road under the Arbābā Mountain coming from Marga. From Serambal to Bāna is about 15 miles, but the road is not good.

From Bāna the road crosses the Bāna Su keeping parallel with it for some miles, then skirting the bases of the hills runs north-west to the Lesser Zāb and round a spur into Sardasht. The road is not good. A stage is often made midway at a small village about 20 miles from Bāna.

From Sardasht a mountainous and exacting (difficult) road goes in three days to Sauch Bulaq (in Kurdish Soblākh).

Water is plentiful throughout.

From Bāna to Sardasht is 35 miles.

There is a little used road from Sardasht *via* Qara Chualan to Sulaimānia, which does the journey in three days, but it is very arduous.

XX. - Bāna to Sina.

This route, though not in the district, is sufficiently important to demand notice.

From Bāna the road goes due east towards the Kal-i-Balin Mountain and crossing the pass, makes a stage at Mik. This is about 20 miles, but is reckoned as eight hours because of the pass. Nine miles east of Mik the main Tabriz-Sina road is joined and a station made at Kani Shera, whence it is three days journey to Sina.

XXI. -Merivān to Pava (for Kermānshāh).

From Merivān a road, entirely in Persian territory, runs to Kermānshāh, and is used very considerably locally.

Leaving Merivān a course is taken south-south-east across the lower hills of Aorāmān towards the Shirwān valley. A stage is sometimes made about 12 miles from Merivān at one of the villages of Aorāmān, but it is usual to go straight on to Dorud, a village at the junction of the Ohang and Shirwān streams, the latter of which is forded higher up. The road here is undulating - one or two necks offer some difficulty. From Dorud a stage is made along the banks of the Shirwān deflecting (deviating) after the spur south of Aorāmān is passed, to pass down the valley to Pava (see route XV). This stage presents no particular difficulty. From Pava to Rawānsar is the next stage. The road traverses a narrow valley to its head, crossing the Mil-i-Palangān pass, and descends to Rawānsar on the other side. This stage is difficult in its last section and stony. Water is generally obtainable from villages and streams. The pass is blocked with snow during the winter months and the lower road, via Juanru, is then taken. Rawānsar is a large village where supplies can be obtained.

From Rawānsar is one stage to Kermānshāh along an almost flat plain by a tributary of the Qara Su river of Kermānshāh.

The distances are Merivān to Dorud 30 miles, Dorud to Pava 20 miles, Pava to Rawānsar 29 miles, and Rawānsar to Kermānshāh 30 miles.

(iv) GENERAL REMARKS

As in all Kurdistan, the roads are merely the tracks made by centuries of traffic over certain pathways determined by necessity and possibility. There is no sign of any attempt at road making, except at Bāna, where a little attempt was made to construct a causeway across the marshy ground in the valley. Behind Alabja, there is the ruin of a bridge, the antiquity (age) of which is probably not less than 1,500 years, for Alabja and Shāhr-i-Zūr were important places in the time that the ancient city of Holwān flourished under the Sasanian.

Donkeys are the most usual medium of carriage; mules are used comparatively little, except in the large Sulaimānia-Baghdad and Kirkūk-Baghdad caravans. The best mules all come from Persia and bought by the Sulaimānian and Kirkūki muleteers on their journeys in that country.

The "yabu" or packhorse is largely used with mule caravans, but the general stamp (quality) of animal is far inferior to that encountered in Persia. Prices are very high for mules and horses.

Camel carriage only exists between Kirkūk and Baghdad, Kifrī and Baghdad, and, extremely rarely, Sulaimānia and Kirkūk. The mountainous nature of the rest of the country precludes any possibility of camel traffic.

Cart roads would be possible to any Government but that of the Turks between (i) Erbil-Altūn Keuprī-Kirkūk and Kifrī, (ii) Kirkūk-Sulaimānia, (iii) Sulaimānia-Shāhr-i-Zūr (Alabja), (iv) Kirkūk-Keui Sanjāq.

Railways could be possible as branches from the Baghdad railway to reach such places as Kirkūk, Altūn Keuprī, and Erbil. However, there would be great difficulties, or at least great expense that would prevent a railway line further east. For the land rises from the level of 1,000 feet to 5,000 in a linear distance of 60 miles, by a series of irregular and precipitous mountains with plains between them, to which no access is obtainable except from north-west and south-east ends, and then, often enough, only over hilly and broken ground intersected with ravines.

Water carriage (transportation)

From Altūn Keuprī a large traffic is done by "Kalaks," a kind of raft of skins and rafters, which float down to Baghdad, taking from five to nine days according to the season.

The Shirwān River is possible to be navigated in this manner below Aorāmān, but no effort been made to develop this.

Rates of transport and general summary are detailed in an Appendix (II).

(v). MILITARY CAPACITIES OF THE DISTRICT

This takes the fighting element into consideration, which is not included in the Turkish army regiments stationed in it.

The tribal forces are-

Shūān Hamāvand Rāñā	Aorāmān Merivān Sharafbaini	Pishdar Bāna Jāf
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Besides these are the muleteers of Kirkūk and the Alabja and Abābail sedentary Kurds.

1. *Shūān*

This is a wealthy sedentary tribe, which resists, and has resisted, all raids from surrounding tribes, and can now put into the field about 500 horsemen armed with Martini rifles manufactured at Sulaimānia. The fighting capacity of the tribe been said to be inferior now to former days, as the Hamāvand, their southern neighbors have ceased to harass them for many years.

2. *Hamāvand*

A small tribe, who estimate themselves as having 250 horsemen. They are armed with Mauser (10 shot) rifles captured from the Turkish troops, and are unrivalled for bravery in any part of Kurdistān. They possess, besides the 250 Mouser rifles of their horsemen, a large number of Martinis and some more Mausers. When pressed, the women fight with great bravery, using the rifle well.

3. *Rāñā*

A large district, and tribe of sedentary Kurds; who are said to be able to raise 300 horsemen with Martini rifles.

4. *Pishdar*

A savage tribe of Mukrī Kurds, who do not generally come out from their native mountains on the frontier; they are armed with Martini carbines and no estimate has been made of their numbers. They are much feared by the sedentary Kurds of Rāñā and Marga.

5. *Bāna*

This tribe is now mostly sedentary except for the sections towards Saqqiz (out of the district). Like all Kurds of the Mukrī tribe, of which they were originally a branch, they are plucky (courageous). Their mounted force is very variously estimated, but their footmen are widely armed with Martini rifles, and will and do fight well.

6. Jāf

This is the most important tribe in the district and is entirely nomadic. Mahmud Pasha, who is the chief, and accompanies the tribe, states that he can place 5,000 hardened mounted men onto the field of battle. The fighting quality of the tribe is renowned, and they have thus created themselves a state of semi-independence.

7. Aorāmān

Section I.-Aorami-I- Jāfar Sultan.

Section II. - Aorami-i- Shāhi

The first section possesses few horsemen and can place perhaps only fifty in the field. The second, based in Persian territory, is a much stronger tribe and has a reputation for fierce fighting. The majority are footmen, for the steepness of their mountains makes using horses almost impossible. The number of riflemen under Shāh 'Ali is reckoned at 500, but no correct estimate can be made.

8. Merivān

The Beg of Merivān has a small force of horsemen, about 150, recently employed to fight against the Shāhi Aorami. The two tribes, however, are all fighting men, and display great savagery in their battles. This year, 1909, Shāh Ali invaded Turkish territory, where the Merivāni followed, and a pitched battle has fought near Zangisar. It is estimated that roughly one hundred people have been killed and wounded.

9. Sharāfbaini

This is a small tribe in Persian territory, an offshoot of the Jāf. They are said to possess a force of about 120 horsemen with Martini and Snider rifles under 'Aziz Beg, their chief.

10. Kirkūk muleteers

These are a large force of Turkoman, steady, hard, plucky men, who when they are armed, are not afraid of engaging with the Arabs they meet on the road to Baghdad. The Kirkūk-Baghdad caravan, composed solely of Kirkūk Turkoman muleteers often possesses as many as 200 riflemen, who do not shirk (avoid) an engagement with marauders.

11. Alabja and Abābail

At the former place Othman Pasha and his wife Adela Khānum keep some fifty horsemen, and Abābail supplies a fierce and aggressive body of muleteers who often fight with the surrounding villages. These latter are well armed, and those who do not possess rifles are perfectly willing to engage in hand-to-hand fights with knives. The village is under Othman Pasha, and this summer, the strife raised by the Abābail with Shāhr-i-Zūr was so great that he had to go especially from Tavila with 200 horsemen to quell them. A number being killed before quiet was restored.

With regard to the fighting capacities of the Kurds generally, some general information must be given to supply an answer to the accusations made against them: that they are only of use when protected by rocks, in positions

of absolute safety from which they will not emerge, that they are useless for concentrated action, that they are nothing but braggarts and cowards, that they cannot resist any firm opposition.

It must initially be mentioned that these are the views of travellers -usually of no military knowledge- who in many cases have suffered the disquieting (unhappy) experience of bullets aimed at them from around and above, and their subsequent robbery accompanied with violence when they resisted.

Such unfortunate individuals cannot prevent a certain personal feeling from influencing their remarks, especially when they coincide with the observations of former sufferers.

Lord Curzon, whose book upon Persia was compiled with the greatest care from the best authorities upon each section of his subject, says,* "They are commonly spoken of ... as though they were all... robbers, and for the most parts monsters of iniquity..."

"As regards their character, every variety may be found in their midst, from the typical robber chieftain to the harmless peasant and from the dashing (stylish and debonair) warrior to the miserable thrall (wretch). Those who know them best, deny that they are naturally either cruel or fanatical, and credit them with a rude hospitality and high courage. "

"Ruled by a strong but just hand there is no reason why they should not become an orderly community, very useful for purposes of warfare instead of a bogey (creature that scares) to frighten the missionaries and scare the readers of the 'Daily News'..."

"From the Persian Kurds,* who are more civilized, several regiments are raised for the Persian Army, one of which from the Gurān district was for two years, 1834-6, commanded by *Sir Henry Rawlinson*."

The Kurd's independent and lawless temperament is naturally very insulted by the imposition of restraint, except by his own people, and attempts to tame him have resulted in terrible failure, particularly in Turkey, where racial antipathy is often stronger than religious sympathy.

His (the Kurds') remedy for everything is a call to arms, the Napoleonic code with its police supervision, to the rulings of which he is supposed to conform in Turkey, is regarded by him as an extraordinarily distorted idea of the way to rule the free and independent spirit, and he but acts up to his ideals in demonstrating its futility by the time-honored Kurdish methods of protest - open rebellion.

By the hide-bound system of Turkey with its corruption and its military ordinances made for bovine Turkish peasants, the high-spirited and quick-witted Kurd could never and has never been controlled or organized. The Hamidia regiments, it is well known, were a terrible failure, first, because as long as Turks were put in authority, the Kurdish Chiefs only allowed young boys and old men to enlist. In addition, when the Turkish officers found even this embryo (young) and superannuated (very old) brigands too much for them, they handed over the regiments entirely to Kurdish chiefs. These then

* *Curzon's Persia, Volume, I. p.552*

* *i.e., than the Turkish Kurds*

used the Turkish rifles and regiments as an excellent aid to extend operations against Turkish law and order, and handed the arms to their fighting men.

Here is a nation of which individuality, personal prowess, the influence, strength and acumen of the individual, is the ruling characteristic. It was but natural that when the Turkish methods of organization, drill, and fighting so admirably adapted to the stupid but brave Tatar and Turkoman element were applied to the Kurds, it was a failure.

The Kurd, purest of pure Aryans, has all the appreciation of individualism and ignorance of co-operation so well defined in the Persian character, and his dangerous life among his native mountains, where every rock and tree may conceal an enemy, develops this individuality to the highest degree, preventing co-operation except in its limited expression in clan feuds and clan fights.

Nevertheless, there is coupled with this characteristic, and consequent upon it, the blind obedience to a superior – to those recognized as superior in war, bravery* and stratagem. Their national traditions which, I venture to say, are still being made today, are those of feats of personal valour by their chiefs who are not always "traditional" in their methods.

Nor will the Kurd (I am speaking more particularly of the southern and Persian Kurds), always tolerate an effeminate (weak) ruler because he is hereditary. The Kalhur, a most powerful and warlike tribe, who are first known from history as those who fought against Shāh Tahmasp Sefavi with fierce desperation, have quite recently accepted very readily the rulership of Daud Khān, a plebeian Kurd of exceptional courage and intelligence. He used the latter to gain his position and he uses the former to confirm and retain it.

The Persians have always understood the Kurdish character better than the Turks - very naturally too, for there is little difference between them (just as we would say between the English and Scandinavians) - and they have always left the initiative in Kurdish hands. Even when the disintegration system has been applied to Kurdistan, the Persians were far too wise to interfere with tribal organization, and employed Kurds in the highest executive offices in their own country, leaving the Persians to fill nominal posts.

This system - which the Kurd appreciated up to the degenerate days (If the last two decades and does still, to a certain degree, despite them - has worked well, and under it the Kurds have furnished tremendous fighting force to the Persian armies.

It is said that Shāh 'Abbās relied upon the Mukrī chiefs and their tribesmen for half his victories, and Nadir Shāh acknowledged the same of both the Mukrī and Ardalān Kurds. Race sympathy has doubtless had, as has been remarked, something to do with the whole-hearted assistance of the Kurds when their co-operation was once gained, as was evinced (seen) when the Kurds in Ahmed Pasha's army refused to fight against Ashraf's Afghans and Persians in the eighteenth century.

The blind obedience to their chiefs is remarkable; I met a group of ten

** I may here mention about the word bravery, that I have seen during a stay among the Kurds dressed as one of them, and I heard recited many indisputable tales of remarkable personal and tribal courage. In addition, I witnessed incidents where physical bravery of a very high order were displayed.*

Aorāmāni Kurds in Shāhr-i-Zūr this year who were returning from a fight where some fifty men had been incapacitated, and fierce hand-to-hand fighting had occurred. I asked them for details regarding the cause of quarrel. Not one knew! The reply was, "The chief told us to fight Hama Bag's men, and we did."

With such a people surely little doubt can exist of their military capacity when under chiefs, European or Kurdish, whom they know to be brave and reliable in time of danger, and who have gained their esteem.

It is not out of place to remark here that the physique is necessarily very fine. Their country is cold and mountainous, their diet milk, cream, wheaten bread and meat,* and they are not distressed by abstention from anything except a little buttermilk and barley bread for indefinite periods.

Disease, particularly venereal, is rare, and promiscuous immorality with its attendant danger practically unknown. In many dialects there is no Kurdish word for a prostitute. This is true of the mountain and village particularly. Town degeneration occurs just as in any other race.

The sense of hearing and sight are highly developed, as is natural, and their feats of ordinary work-a-day endurance are remarkable. The physique generally resembles that of an athletic Englishman; hard well-developed muscles, big bones and heavy frame. Obesity is unknown even in town Kurds.

** I am speaking here of the better class of Kurds from whom the fighting element is drawn.*

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(i) TRIBES UPON THE KURDISTĀN FRONTIER

It is not proposed to write more here than to indicate, approximately, the boundaries of the tribes, which are situated on or near the frontier of Persia and Turkey, from its junction with the Russian frontier at Ararat to Gilan, south of the Holwan River, the farthest point south of the Kurds. The tribes, which are included then, are those quoted below; their positions being indicated upon the map accompanying this section. It should also be noted that boundaries change from time to time owing to inter-tribal agreement, disagreement, and arrangement, and are, in many cases, only roughly defined. In addition, some tribes have their winter and summer quarters in parts distant from one another, and separated by neutral ground, or tracts of country used by other tribes.

1- Hasanānlū	12- Zibārī	23- Jāf
2- Sipkānlū	13- Mukrī	24- Sulāhī
3- Khurāsānlū	14- Māmāsh	25- Sharāfbaini
4- Haidarenlu	15- Minkrī	26- Bājlān
5- Shekāk	16- Pishdar	27- Senjābī
6- Qarapāpākh	17- Bilbās	28- Rīzho
7- Barādūst	18- Rānīa	29- Ahmad vand
8- Hakkīārī	19- Marga	30- Gūrān
9- Jelū	20- Bāna	31- Aorāmān
10- Shamidīnān	21- Shūān	32- Merivān
11- Oramar	22- Hamāvand	

HASANĀNLŪ (SUNNI)

This is a very large tribe of the general northern Kurds, who call themselves "Kurmanj" and speak the hard-sounding language so known. These, with -the Sipkānlū, Haidarenlu, Khurāsānlū, Jibranlu, Adamanlu, Zilanlu and Zirkanlu, are the chief tribes composing the northern section of the Kurdish race, and show in the physiognomy typical of all, at once their common origin, and distinctiveness from the more southern Kurds.

From this tribe Sultan 'Abdul Hamid raised some of the Hamidia regiments, which became later so well known for their raids and widespread plunder. The headquarters of these regiments was at Melazkart in the Hasanānlū country. The nomads of this tribe, or rather, of the main tribe, do not descend to the Persian plains, but the horsemen make raids upon the villages in Persian territory.

SIPKĀNLŪ (SUNNI)

This, a branch of the Hasanānlū, extends from around Bayazid westwards into Turkish territory, and occupies some of the mountains over the Persian border. It is naturally limited on the north by Ararat, and on the south by a range of the Tandurak mountain, and descends to Persian territory along the valleys traversed by the Bayazid-Khoi and Bayazid-Maku roads. This tribe supplied three regiments to the Hamidia force.

KHURĀSĀNLŪ (SUNNI)

This small tribe occupies a tract of land north of Salmās, and is an offshoot of the Hasanānlū. The name has been given the tribe from its place of origin, which is the mountain above Khurasan, a village in the Aras valley west of Erivan.

They are in Persian territory, where they have moved from Russian soil, in order, as it is said, to escape the reprisals of Russian troops for their many offences against order. Their land does not extend to the Turkish frontier.

HAIDARĀNLŪ (SUNNI)

After the Hasanānlū, of which it is a branch, the Haidarenlu is probably the most powerful tribe of the Azerbaijan frontier. The headquarters are in Turkish territory. This tribe is, by treaty, subject to Turkey, who professes to accept responsibility for its raids. Bash-qal'a in Turkish territory harbours a local Haidarenlu chief. The tribe is noted for its savagery and raiding. It furnished (gave) several regiments to the Hamidia force.

SHEKĀK OR SHEQAQ (SUNNI)

A tribe, which is evenly, distributed over both borders, occupying, in summer, the horseshoe of mountains south-west of Salmās. In winter they descend into the Salmās plain, a certain section also going to the Bash-qal'a' district in Turkish territory. They also occupy part of the mountain land of the Barādūst people.

The tribe is said to have split from the Haidarenlu, hence its name Sheqaq.* The tribe bears a very bad reputation and lives chiefly by plunder, which it is enabled to carry out by its system of rapid marches across the frontier.

One of the chiefs was killed in Tabriz some years ago.

QARAPAPAKH (SHI' A)

A tribe of Tartar origin inhabiting a tract of land between Lake Urumia and Barādūst noted for its fighting qualities.

BARĀDŪST "THE BROTHER LOVERS" (MIXED)

This is a district upon the frontier occupied by a mixed population. There are Qarapapakh (a Tatar people) from the shores of Urumia Lake and Kurds who go to form the population, which goes a little way into Turkish territory, but does not descend to the valley of the Upper Zāb. The district of Barādūst, apart from its population, is bounded by a line passing between the following pair of villages - Gengachin (Persian) and Baizircha (Turkish) and is bounded by the frontier line. The district is also occupied by Shekāk and other nomad Kurds at certain periods.

* *There is no guarantee of the correctness of this derivation.*

HAKKIĀRĪ (SUNNI)

This, the name of a large district and a powerful tribe, is one of the best known in Kurdistān. The tribe has produced noted authors, warriors and priests, and though shorn of its ancient magnificence by the Turkish treachery of 1849, when its leaders were captured and slain, it is, after the more savage Hasanānlū, the most powerful tribe of Turkish Kurdistān.

Their territory extends from Jazira-ibn-'Omar on the Tigris, to the head of the Zāb sources, and the present tribal boundaries are the mountains south of Van Lake and the Persian frontier on the north and east respectively.

The southern portion of the once great dominions extended as far as Sulaimānia including Rawāndūz under a Bey, Keui Sanjāq, Rānīa and Marga.

The ruling Beys or Princes were members of the Kurdish dynasty of Bitlis, and three of the principalities, Jazira, Amadia, and Julamark, are in the Hakkīārī country.

Of the Hakkīārī main tribe a certain number cross the frontier between Diza and Urumia.

We are, however, more concerned with the sub-tribes of the Hakkīārī, Jelū, Shamidīnān, Oramar and Zibarī, which live on, or near, the frontier.

JELŪ (SUNNI)

An important sub-tribe of the Hakkīārī, who inhabit the plain south of the great Jelū Dāgh; Their migrations extend in a south-east direction towards, and up to, the line of the Warda Kuh.

SHAMIDĪNĀN (SUNNI)

The most easterly of the Hakkīārī Kurds, situated upon and over the frontier; they are bounded on the north by the Barādūst district, and descend into the Usbnu plains during the cold weather.

There is some difference of opinion regarding the origin of this tribe, which is stated by some to be a branch of the Zāzā, a great tribe inhabiting country much farther to the west.

ORAMAR (SUNNI)

A village and district of Hakkīārī bounded by other Hakkīārī tribes on all sides, except to the east, where it meets the northern Māmāsh sub-tribes. In the last period, this tribe has kept within Turkish territory, being very feeble, but formerly it was very aggressive, and 'Ubaidullah Beg, the invader of Persia in 1880, was then chief of the tribe.

ZIBARĪ (SUNNI)

A small Hakkīārī tribe, which is in Turkish territory, near Rawāndūz, and confines itself to its own mountains, and the plains further south-west.

MUKRĪ GROUP OF TRIBES (SUNNI)

These include the main division of Māmāsh, Minkrī and Pishdar.

The Mukrī itself is the most powerful of Kurdish Persian tribes, and the best controlled. Its hereditary ruler is at Sauch Bulaq, where he governs under the Persian Government. The tribe put forward a claim to speak the pure Kurdish language, and to have the highest antiquity (to be the oldest). It is one of the five old and renowned Kurdish kingdoms - Hakkiārī, Kermānj (Hasanānlū, etc.), Mukrī, Ardalān and Gurān.

MĀMĀSH (SUNNI)

This large sub-section of the Mukrī occupies the western portion of the great agglomeration of mountains south of Sauch Bulaq, and descends to the Lower Zāb valley in winter, sometimes crossing the frontier by the Warda pass to the lower levels around Rawāndūz, the population of which is largely Mukrī, who have settled there.

One of the chief towns of the southern Mukrī or Māmāsh is Sardasht, on the Lesser Zāb.

The frontier all along this district coincides with the tribal boundaries, as the high ridge west of the Zāb forms an effective barrier.

MINKRĪ (SUNNI)

A small section of the Mukrī, whose summer quarters are south and south-east of Sauch Bulaq. They do not approach the frontier.

PISHDIR OR PISHDR (SUNNI)

A small tribe living in the passes, and fastnesses (natural strongholds) of the mountains above Sardasht, in Turkish territory; they are by origin, said to be Mukrī.

They descend into the plains of Marga and the Bāna Su (in Persian territory), and are noted for their fierce disposition which, with the remoteness of their country, has kept them free from all retribution by their stronger neighbours.

BILBĀS (SUNNI)

This is a tribe which inhabit the mass of mountains called Kandil Dāgh, and has made for itself a name by its raids upon the caravans that used to pass along the Sauch Bulaq-Rawāndūz road, before both Persia and Turkey became too weak to control the Kurdish districts. They have not infrequently come into collision with the Mukrī tribes in Persian territory, but as a rule, respect the natural mountain boundary.

RĀNĪĀ (SUNNI)

A district and sedentary tribe of a pure Kurd stock, once under the Beg of Rawāndūz, before that potentate (ruler) was done away with; when the Turkish Vilayets were made to include this part of Kurdistān.

MARGA (SUNNI)

A district and sedentary tribe, which is mixed in origin as are many purely sedentary tribes. The Marga Kurds possess villages nearly up to the Persian frontier near Bāna, but do not cross the Bāna Su.

BĀNA (SUNNI)

A large tribe, now quite sedentary, allied to both the Mukrī and the old Ardalān tribe. There are a large number of villages on either side of the frontier, belonging to the Bāna Kurds, who have now almost forgotten their own Tribal names

SHŪĀN (SUNNI)

This tribe has been described in Part I. It is sedentary, and does not go over the Persian frontier or its own natural bounds, the Hamāvand hills and the Lesser Zāb River.

HAMĀVAND (SUNNI)

Its ridges of hills between the Lesser Zāb and Shirwān rivers confine this small but turbulent tribe, and, except in a south-east direction, do not desert its own defiles. Here the marauders of the tribe very occasionally make a hurried raid into the Sharafbaini country (across the Shirwān River). They are on bad terms with all their neighbors. The tribe is strictly speaking sedentary.

JĀF (SUNNI)

This is a very large, purely nomad tribe, which is the curse of the lives of the sedentary Kurds from Qizil Rubat to beyond Bāna.

The tribe moves regularly from the flat land near Khāniqin, passes in a north-easterly direction along the Diala river valley overflowing on its way with a little strip of land between the Sharafbaini and the Bājlān Kurds. Passing through the defiles near Alabja they cross Shāhr-i-Zūr and pass out of it to camp around Panjwin. Another section proceeds further, crosses the frontier and spends the summer months in Persian territory, where they have succeeded in making desolate many formerly large populated districts of sedentary and defenseless Kurds.

This tribe has ever been a source of great anxiety to both the Persian and Turkish Governments, and at present, it is even more unruly than formerly as it can raise several thousand fighting men, who are ready for guerilla warfare at any moment; it is a serious factor in the politics of Southern Kurdistan.

SULĀHĪ (SUNNI)

A little mixed tribe allied to the Jāf, but partly sedentary. Thieves from this tribe occasionally attack caravans just in Persian territory.

SHARAFBAINI (SUNNI)

A small tribe occupying the Haorin, and Shaikhān plains, south of the Shirwān River; they are sedentary and do not go outside their own country. The chief is subsidized by the Persian Government to keep about 100 horsemen ready for active service at any time.

The tribe been allied to the Jāf, but acknowledges no connection. While possessing land in Turkish territory, they do not use it, renting it to the Jāf nomads. The Sharafbaini and Bājlān are at blood feud.

BAJIAN- (SUNNI)

A tribe now inhabiting a tract of country, along the left bank of the Diala River, which for a long time wavered, between Turkish and Persian subjectivity. The tribe is now separated, and the Persian portions are appointed by the Persian Government wardens of the marches, bringing great trouble to the Turks by their raids across the frontier

They were originally Jāf and separated because of blood feuds, which are still sustained. The village of Shirwān or Sirwan, at the junction of the Quratu and Sirwan rivers has entirely ruined by the fighting there between Bājlān and Jāf.

The tribe bears a bad character and comes often into conflict with the Gurān.

SENJĀBĪ (SHI'A)

A small tribe, whose political headquarters is Qasr-i-Shirin. They occupy the land from there to the frontier and retire in summer to a position well within the province of Kermānshāh. Until recently their chief, and the Governor of Qasr-i-Shirin, was Shir Khān, Samsam-ul-Mamalek, but in 1908, he was deposed and Daud Khān, chief of the powerful Kalhur tribe has obtained the governorship, which he has deputed to Mansur-ul-Mulk, supreme chief of the Gurān. The relations of the tribe with the Gurān, Bājlān and Kalhur were not the most cordial.

A small section only winters over the frontier.

RĪZHO (SUNNI AND ALI ULLAHI)

A tiny tribe, offshoot the Gurān, living in a valley near Zuhāb (see map). They is sedentary, but good fighters.

AHMADĀVAND OR AHMADĀVAND BAIHTUI (SUNNI)

Said to be an offshoot the great Hamāvand tribe. They would appear to have split up into fragments called: Hamāvand, Ahmadāvand Behtui, Ahmadāvand Chalabi, and Ahmadāvand - Duru Faraman. They exist in various parts having obviously been remnants of an aggressive and foolhardy tribe which embroiled itself with all authority and all its neighbours, and has been scattered several times.

The section mentioned above, winters on the frontier west of the Gilan River and raids frequently into Turkish territory. They have been very troublesome quite recently.

GURĀN (ALI ULLAHI)

A large and famous tribe, which inhabits the country east of the Sharafbaini and Bājlān by whom they have been separated from the Turkish frontier to the west. They touch it, however, along the Sirwan or Shirwān River during its course east-west, but do not cross it at any time. Their winter quarters are all in the Kermānshāh province (see history of the tribes). During

their migrations, some of them pass up to the east of Aorāmān and Merivān to a point near Bāna, Harun Nishin Khān, in Persian territory the whole way. The ruling family is connected by marriage with Daud Khān, chief of the Kalhur.

AORĀMĀNI (SUNNI)

A tribe, inhabiting the country east of the Aorāmān range with a few villages at its south-east foot in Turkish territory.

The two sections are, however, separated and under different chiefs. The tribe is mostly sedentary, but very warlike.

One side of their country coincides with the Persian frontier, and on its northern part the Jāf nomads occasionally encroach when passing.

MERIVĀN (SUNNI)

A small tribe inhabiting a tract of plain-mountain land on the Persian frontier under the Beg of Merivān, where there is a fort, and sometimes a small Persian garrison. The Merivān territory is poorly defined in its north-west corner, the plain between Merivān and Panjwin, which is a Jāf town. Here the nomad section of the tribe, often pitch their tents in Turkish territory.

At present the Merivān tribe is at open feud with the Aorāmāni and severe fighting has taken place this and last year, some of it on Turkish territory. They are on good terms with the Jāf, whose chief sometimes spends the summer in the plain of Merivān by the lake and possesses two houses there.

(ii) THE FRONTIER LOCALLY ACCEPTED UP TO 1907

The frontier usually accepted up to 1907 by local authorities on either side (under protest from both Persia and Turkey), was in many ways very fair, as it divided the chief tribes, and followed a physical boundary of high mountain ranges and rivers.

The provinces bordering the frontier are, on the Persian side, the provinces to Azerbaijan, Kurdistān (Ardalān) and Kermānshāh; on the Turkish side the provinces of Erzerum (Bayazid section), Van, Hakkīārī and Mosul (Rawāndūz, Shāhr-i-Zūr and Kirkūk sections).

After the futile efforts of the last frontier commission, a line was locally accepted which agrees approximately with what has been the frontier -at least in its northern portion- for many years.

From Ararat, a suitable and conspicuous point of geographical boundary, the line swept in a rough crescent to a point south of Bayazid, leaving on the Persian side the villages of Halaj and Surbaghan, with Zurawa on the Turkish side. From this point, it runs roughly south to the Tandurak Mountain, the eastern spurs of which were in Persian territory, with the Villages of Qamarajiq and Tapa-riz on the Turkish and Beykandi some distance on the Persian side.

From here, a high range of hills proceeds without a break for some fifty miles almost due south, throwing off long spurs on its way. This ridge was followed until it turned eastwards. The line also followed the ridge eastwards a little way and then goes south across a joining neck to gain the continuation of the range. From Tandurak to here the following were the Turkish villages: Yengikeui, Qaisaran Kavlik, Kuchkaran, Abzirek, Bazi and Khāniga; and the Persian: Siwalan, Baoa Mandelek, Diza, Birejiq, Punamark and Larlavak.

The new range was that commencing with the Haravil Mountain and it was followed until an elbow occurred; the range striking south-west from this elbow, the line took a south-south-east direction across the valley of the Zuba River to a spur of the original range, which it crossed to continue in a general southerly direction to a high point where four ranges met.

The villages were Turkish: Albis, Khān-i-Sur, Qal'ak, Shapiran, Qal'a-i-Baniga, Bazirga or Baizircha; and Persian: Burut Kura (of which the pass was a frontier mark), Ajāfan, Qasrak, Biruza, Surian, Gengachin, and Alusan.

From there, the range is followed to the Ulakh Dāgh at Ushnī except for an elbow (a peak) in Persian territory, with villages: Persian- Tulia, Jerma, and Diriz Ushnī; and Turkish- Truman and Zevakhān.

From Ulakh Dāgh a long spine runs south-south-east, shutting in the Lower Zāb headwaters, after Warda Peak, down to Sardasht on the Persian side with villages as follows :-

Persian side: - Gek, Mabawa, Bakov, Girumar, Dega, Sardasht.

Turkish side: - Kal-i-Shin pass, Rayat, Baiz, Baitush.

The frontier line now dropped to a point a few miles west of the junction of the Bāna Su with the Aq Su (Lower Zāb), followed the stream for some distance, crossed to the mountain south of Arbābā to the Kuh-i-Chil Chama in an easterly direction. Here it turned with another ridge resuming a south by south-west course along the Kuh-i-Kedar, which is left by Kalan. Here it lay across the plain without any particular definition and crossed the intervening

mountains to the Aorāmān range. This it followed almost to its base, left it and took the course of the Shirwān River until the junction of the Quretu, then swept round in a curve to Qal'a-i-Sabzi on the Baghdad-Kermānshāh road.

The principal villages and towns near the frontier were, on the Turkish side (none mentioned where the boundary was a river) Chwais, Sheridan, Kalan, Panjwin, Gul'anbar, Tavila, Murkuz Fort, Khāniqin; and on the Persian side: Bāna, Haft-Dasht, Tajavan, Merivān; Qal'a-i-Sabzi.

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**(i) HISTORY RELATING TO FRONTIER
(ARĀRĀT-QAL'A SABZĪ)**

The many wars between Persia and Turkey, of which we have more or less precise historical record, have nearly always resulted in a new adjustment of the frontier.

We must go back to about the year 1500 A.D. when Van and Bitlis were in Persian territory, to trace the changes which have occurred, and are the only facts upon which to base any theories regarding the true situation of the frontier. Through all these wars, the independence of the Kurdish states must not be overlooked. Bitlis, the Hakkīārī, Ardalān and the Mukrī were principalities, which remained practically independent during all the wars, only assisting the monarch they favored at the time, or whose supremacy they formally acknowledged.

In 1514, a great battle was fought between Shāh Isma'il and Salim I in which the Persians were badly defeated and lost Tabriz and northern Kurdistān.* The victors retired and Isma'il Shāh advanced once more, regaining most of the lost lands, except northern Kurdistān.

However, in the succeeding reign, Sultan Suleiman won Azerbaijan and northern Kurdistān together with Baghdad, where he withdrew when winter approached. In 1587 the Turks under Othman Pasha and the Persians under Muhammad Mirza met at Basimi'h near Tabriz and a bloody battle ensued ending in the defeat of the Persians, who, however, refused to accept the Turkish terms. Othman Pasha died while still in the field, but the troops continued to occupy Tabriz and did not leave until the Persians had overrun the Araxes valley in Turkish territory.

This brings us to the time of Shāh 'Abbās the Great who at first made peace with the Turks on account of an insurrection in Khurasan requiring his presence there. The Mukrī country of Sauch Bulaq was then Persian.

Subsequently he made war and regained Erivan, Baghdad and Kurdistān and drove the Turks back from Mosul and Diarbekr, establishing a frontier at the Tigris.

He was followed by Shāh Safi and Shāh Abbās II, who allowed Baghdad, Mosul and Azerbaijan to pass back into Turkish hands. In 1639, a treaty was made where by the frontier remained substantially where it is today. By this treaty, the Jāf tribe was divided. Bitlis, in 1639, was independent, as were Hakkīārī and Amadia, under Kurdish princes, but in 1660 or thereabouts the Kurdish dynasty acknowledged Turkish suzerainty.

At the end of the Afghan supremacy in Persia (the first three decades of the 18th century), the Russian agreements with Tahmasp Mirza and the efforts of the Persians to rid themselves of the Afghans had allowed the Turks a free

** It will be noticed that Kurdistān was not in any case the scene of fighting, the armies always keeping to the lands south and east of the mountains, whose inhabitants remained unmolested and virtually independent though included in conquered lands.*

hand, and they took possession of Kurdistān, Nakhchivan, Tabriz, Khoi and Ganjah in 1725-7. At the same time, Ahmad Pasha, Vali of Baghdad, had invaded the Kermānshāh province, and made the town Turkish. He had to retreat to forestall trouble approaching from Luristan.

In 1727 Ashraf, the Afghan Shāh, entered into a treaty of peace with Turkey, but about this time Turkey and Russia negotiated for an agreement, whereby a division of Persia was drawn up, placing the frontier at a line drawn through Ardabil, Tabriz, Hamadan and Kermānshāh. This, however, did not come to working point, as it was offered to Tahmasp II as the price of Russian assistance to expel the Afghans, and refused.

Ahmad Pasha returned to Kermānshāh and was defeated by Ashraf Shāh near Isfahan and Kermānshāh became Persian again in a battle where the Kurds in the Turkish army (its main strength) refused to fight for masters who were in league with Russians, as were the Turks at that time.

A treaty was made subsequently by which Kurdistān and Azerbaijan were made Persian territory again.

Nadir, not yet Shāh, undertook operations against the Turks and cleared Persia of them, but Tahmasp II allowed Ahmad Pasha to regain five of the sub-divisions of Kermānshāh (including Zuhab, which was always reckoned a Turkish province).

A treaty was made in 1736 between Nadir Shāh and Sultan Ahmad Khān delimitating the frontier after Nadir had obtained more victories over the Turks and again in 1746, after Nadir's unsuccessful raids upon Turkish territory, a second and more important treaty was drawn up between himself and Sultan Muhammad.

In this treaty, the limits set forth in the treaty of 1639 were restored. Disturbances having not entirely ceased, a treaty was effected in 1747, and by it certain portions of Azerbaijan and 'Iraq were ceded to Turkey-including Zuhab. These treaties were, at the end of Nadir Shāh's reign, when he had failed as ignominiously in his attempts upon Turkish territory as he had gloriously succeeded in India.

Soon after this, the Pashaliq of Zuhab was organized as a purely and indisputably Turkish province, and the present town of Zuhab was built by the ruling Pasha, a chief of the Bājlān Kurds.

The limits of the province were up to the base of the Aorāmān Mountain on the north, and to the Kerind hills on the east, and thus matters remained for half a century till the Qajar dynasty of Persia had firmly established itself upon the throne and Muhammad Ali Mirza, a son of Fath 'Ali Shāh, was made Governor of Kermānshāh, in 1806.

This energetic prince succeeded in carrying fire and sword throughout the Turkish portion of Southern Kurdistān, capturing Zuhab and Sulaimānia, the latter of which he subdued about 1811. He returned in 1821, and he wounded in a battle fought in Shāhr-i-Zūr.

Peace was made in 1823, but the status of Zuhab was not properly defined. The Haidarenlu tribe was settled to be Turkish, and Turkey was to accept responsibility for their ravages over the frontier.

This treaty, however, was not by any means so definite as to preclude the possibility of further disagreements, and some further delimitation of the frontier was highly necessary.

Turkey was occupying Sulaimānia and Persia retained Zuhab. In 1847, a commission was called at Erzerum to define the disputed districts and bring the definition to expression upon paper. By this agreement, Sulaimānia was to remain in Turkish hands and the plain of Zuhab was acknowledged belonging to Turkey, as far as the Kerind hills.

Despite the definite results afforded by this agreement, the articles were not respected. Zuhab was not evacuated despite Turkey's protests; and to finally decide the question a commission consisting of English, Russian, Persian and Turkish representatives was called in 1849 to establish a line of frontier. At this time, a map was prepared but not completed.

During the period when the commissioners were engaged upon survey work, the Turks seized Qutur, which they claimed and held despite Persian protests, establishing a garrison there, which they afterwards placed under an English officer.

Later, however, some years after 1854, when Persian troops had threatened Turkish dominions from the border, England and Russia demanded the acceptance by the two disputants of a map prepared by them. This occurred in 1869, and the map was the one wherein a debatable strip from 20-40 miles wide was laid down, within which the frontier might be assumed to exist.

This strip is shown shaded on the map of the district, and it will be seen that, except in the extreme west of the Kermānshāh province; i.e., Zuhab, the Turks have pushed their line nearly as far as the utmost limit in many cases, and recently, by their seizure of Bāna, and the country beyond, have, without a doubt, exceeded the most generous limits laid down for them.

Seeing that Bāna, Merivān, and Aorāmān were from earliest times sub-provinces of Ardalān, it is a little difficult to see what reason there was in their inclusion in a tract which might eventually be decided to belong to Turkey (see map). It will be noted that the frontier claimed by Persia is not outside this line except in one small corner and actually retires well within the tract further north.

On the other hand the Turks, whose avidity (desire) for other people's land is no less keen here than elsewhere, claim a large stretch north of Bāna, which they have now seized, but even they refrain from laying claim to lands so obviously Persian as Merivān and Aorāmān.

The Turks and Persians now bound themselves to observe certain conditions relating to the debatable lands.

These agreements included among other things that no buildings should be erected upon these lands, nor should any existing marks or boundaries be considered as constituting claims when the frontier should be finally determined.

In the case of subsequent disputes arising, they were to be settled by conference between Persia and Turkey, and referral to England and Russia should their deliberations fail to arrive at a mutually satisfactory conclusion.

Finally, the agreement was regarded as temporary, pending a final delimitation - never yet made, though forty years have passed.

Such an obviously insufficient solution of a much-debated problem could only lead to renewed difficulties, and these occurred each year from 1870 to 1873. To minimize the difficulties of the question, tenants of the disputed land were ordered to retire into their respective countries. No sooner was this done

than the inevitable encroachments occurred. Qutur was still occupied by Turkey and Zuhab by Persia. By this time, however, Turkey seems to have given up all hope of recovering Zuhab, but to have resolved to hold Qutur.

Disputes and collisions kept occurring in the northern and southern parts of the frontier until 1876, when Persia officially complained of the Turkish inroads, the chief of which was the occupation of Qutur and a village near Zuhab which they now presumed to be Persian territory.*

Continued protests were made by the Persians against the occupation of Qutur and the Russians and English finally forced the Turks to evacuate and leave it in Persian hands. This occurred in 1880, and the next year one Shaikh 'Ubaidullah of Oraman of the Hakkīārī tribe invaded Persian territory and advanced to the southeast of Lake Urumia. He was finally captured after his army had become disorganized through integral strife, and finally, he was exiled by Turkey. The frontier question was not affected by this incident.

In 1889, fresh disputes arose with counter-complaints being laid. The Persians complained of Turkish aggressions in the neighborhood of Khāniqin, while the Turks claimed the withdrawal of Persia from the district of Vazneh, between Rawāndūz and Urumia, on the frontier.

Persia proposed arbitration by two engineers to decide to whom Vazneh really belonged, but Turkey did not consent, and insisted upon the Persians evacuating the district before any arrangements were made. This they did, but, no settlement having been arrived at, they subsequently reoccupied it.

Briefly this was the situation which was maintained until 1907. During this period, the lands claimed by Turkey and occupied by Persia were Khoi, Salmās, and the Urumia plain, Vazneh, Bāna and Sardasht.

The Persians claim equally Vazneh. Khoi and Salmās would appear to be theirs if the treaty of 1639 were the only basis for reconstructing a frontier. They also claim the plain of Shāhr-i-Zūr which the Turks have appropriated violating all their agreements by building barracks there, erecting telegraphs, and instituting a Local Government.

The frontier villages of this region were garrisoned until quite recently when the soldiers retired to their native villages having not been paid for many months. The military force nominally kept here is considerable, but the weakness and poverty of the Empire under the constitution has allowed mutiny to occur, and at present the frontier from Bāna southwards is unprotected.

In 1906, Persia was disorganized by the struggle for constitutionalism and the anarchy that prevailed everywhere within her borders. The Kurdish frontier tribes, which professed the Sunni faith, were very disaffected and the Turks took full advantage of this situation. Communications have opened with certain chiefs on the frontier near Urumia, from Bash Qal'a and Van, promises of bribes were made and portions of new country allotted to them, if they

* *The Turks had also resigned themselves to this condition of affairs in regard to Zuhab by now and erected a line of towers upon the frontier as far north as the Shirwan river, and across the Baghdad-Kermanshah road.*

should acknowledge Turkish supremacy. In this manner, several petty chiefs of the Māmāsh and Mukrī tribes south of Urumia became disaffected.

Muhammad 'Ali Shāh had been upon the throne only a few months when the Turks commenced to move forward. For a year they had been massing troops at all the frontier stations, particularly Bayazid and Bash Qal'a,* in expectation of a moment of sufficient weakness or pre-occupation in Persia.

Irregular troops moved up the Bash Qal'a road and invaded, or rather commenced a series of raids, into the plain of Urumia.

At the same time, Muhammad Pasha was moving forward along the Rawāndūz-Bāna road, and, without opposition from already disaffected chiefs, occupied Sardasht and marched to Bāna, where a garrison was placed and the Turkish flag hoisted.

Meanwhile the people of Urumia were becoming alarmed and telegraphed hysterically to the Parliament at Tehran. The prince Farman Farma was appointed to proceed to the frontier and suppress the Kurds, who had risen and were joining with the Turkish soldiers in spoiling the country.

A small force was encamped at Halwar under the Afkham-ul-Mamalek, and a force of Kurds under Ghalij Beg fell upon it and looted it, with few soldiers escaping to Urumia.

Farman Farma was waiting for the assistance he had been promised, namely, horsemen from Qazvin and Ardabil and the Khamsa tribal horse, who were not forthcoming.

The raiders were destroying villages in the Targavar, Margavar and Dasht districts of Urumia, and burning the harvested stacks of grain and straw.

In June Majd-us-Saltana, the Deputy Governor of Urumia, collected a force of about two thousand irregulars and ordinary "sarbaz" and encamped at Tulia, at the end of the Dasht district. Here he entered into negotiations with the Kurds who had retired to the hills. He succeeded in cutting off their supplies, and finally, induced some seven petty chiefs to surrender. These came in, bringing with them the spoils taken from Afkham-ul-Mamalek camp and were allowed to retire, after receiving presents, to bring in their fellows.

The Turks were, however, busy from the other side of the frontier, and by means of threats of burning the Kurdish villages and invading their territory with four regiments of the Kurdish Hamidia cavalry, together with promises of loot and land, induced them to remain inactive in the hills, in Persian territory.

On August 29th, the neutrality of the Kurds having been assured, a force stated to be 12 tabur (4,800) of infantry, with 12 guns, entered Persian territory by the Bash Qal'a road, and surrounded the Persian camp from the higher hills. Fire was opened without any reason and Majd-us-Sultana protested against this breach of peace, explaining his own presence there as being to control the unruly Kurds of the Persian border, and not to enter into conflict with the Turks. They replied that they were acting under the highest orders, and assigned no reason for their invasion.

* Recruiting was also going on in Mosul and Rawanduz.

Majd-us-Saltana, not wishing to involve his country in a war with Turkey by returning hostilities, and, having lost several men from cannon and rifle fire, gave the order to withdraw. This command was executed so precipitately that even the tents were left standing with all their furniture besides the heavy gear, which fell into the hands of the Turks. The invading force camped in Dasht just outside Urumia.

The Turks were all the time busy endeavoring to disaffect the Mukrī chiefs towards Sauch Bulaq by promises of bribes and playing upon their religious sympathies. Muhammad Pasha, having annexed Bāna and Sardasht, marched towards Sauch Bulaq, while the Turks at Dasht prepared to do the same from the north.

The Majlis, however, had not been idle, and representations had been made through the British and Russian Ministers to Constantinople. On the 25th September, the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Majlis that he had received a statement from the British Minister, which authorized him to give them the good news that the Turkish troops would be immediately withdrawn, and an international commission immediately appointed to settle the frontier line. At the same time the Turkish Minister in Tehran wrote a letter to the Majlis protesting against the newspaper reports of Turkish brutality in Urumia, and going so far as to deny the presence of Turkish troops in Persian territory at all.

Muhammad Pasha had arrived at Sauch Bulaq and camped near the town. The Persian Governor fled before him and the subsidized Mukrī Kurds threatened the town. Orders were received by Muhammad Pasha after he had been there a short time to retire, which he did, leaving troops in Bāna. This fact was communicated to the Persian Government in December 1907.

The Turkish troops withdrew some distance from Urumia, but did not cross the frontier back to their own territory for some time.

In the summer of 1909, Muhammad Ali Shāh was deposed, and Persia was at that time, more helpless perhaps than ever before. Advances were at once made by the roads from Bayazid, Bash Qal'a and Rawāndūz.

The land occupied in 1907-8 was once more filled with Turkish troops, and, since August, and they have occupied Qutur, to which they have always laid claim - together with several villages nearer to Khoi, Salmās, the Shekāk Country, Barādūst, Margavar, Targavar and a strip southwards from these places including Vazna. Sauch Bulaq is reoccupied, with the valley of the Lower Zāb head waters, Bāna and Sardasht, an enormous tract of country, which they claim under various frontier arrangements, which have been numerous, and indefinite enough to afford them pretexts for the occupation of almost any point along the frontier from Bayazid to Mandali Luristan.

For several years, they have followed the policy of endeavoring to win over the tribe's people by bribes and threats, and have succeeded with the Sunnis, such as the Mukrī. The Shi'ah tribes have resisted, up to the present, despite the anarchy and ruin created in their territories under the incitement of Turkish agents.

Merivān and Persian Aorāmān, though Sunnis, and tom by petty warfare, still refuse to open negotiations with the Turks. In addition, further south, the would-be invaders are confronted by the 'Aliullahi Gurān and Shi'ah Kalhur Kurds, both powerful tribes and the latter distinctly pro-Persian under a clever

and brave chief, Daud Khān, whose authority now extends up to the Persian-Turkish frontier at Qasr-i-Shirin as Samsam-ul-Mamalek of the Senjābī tribe was deprived of his frontier government.

Nevertheless the Turks have tried, unsuccessfully, to seduce the Gurān Sultans (through Mahmud Pasha Jāf), Daud Khān, and Samsam-ul-Mamalek.

By these incursions it will be seen that the frontier has been shifted east by the Turks along a strip roughly 250 miles long, and attaining a maximum breadth at Sauch Bulaq of 35 miles.

Certain places, such as Qutur, from where the Turks have been expelled in 1880, and Margavar, Barādūst and Targavar are undoubtedly Persian, and Sauch Bulaq has so far been the capital of a tribe, the Mukrī, which has been loyal to Persia practically ever since Shāh Abbās employed Mukrī troops and leaders in his armies. At any rate, Turkey's action is a violation of all existing agreements, whereby no step can be taken by either power until the question of a frontier is settled by agreement - not martial display.

(ii) REMARKS
ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE FRONTIER

The line described in (II) was best and most natural line of limitation possible considering the geography and natural boundary found throughout its length. However, if Turkish encroachment is allowed, it will create an awkward line, that is more likely to provoke dispute than at present. For the proposed line will not follow the prominent physical features of the countryside, as the old line did, and will thus be infinitely weaker.

That former line followed the main range of the mountain system for a distance of about 260 miles, except for two crescent-shaped portions where it sprung from point to point of the formation cutting off from Persia a portion geographically hers. Over this range, there were only a few passes practicable for the movement of troops and guns, and even these were sometimes impassable in winter. From Bayazid the road runs straight down a plain, before the high range starts, to Maku, or approaches Khoi by the better used road over a pass, not very high in the Tandurak mountain spurs.

Another break occurs near Qutur, where the boundary crossed a narrow plain between two branches of the range.

A high pass leads from Bash Qal'a to Salmās, but is impracticable (cannot be used) in bad winter weather.

Near Urumia, two passages over high necks are found, that permit the transportation of guns, and, owing to the desertion of the range to cut off a corner, the frontier was weak.

However, going south, there is no pass until the Kal-i-Shin, a high neck (10,000 feet) on the main Rawāndūz-Ushnu (Mosul-Urumia) road, which is impracticable in winter because the frontier is guarded better by its physical features than by battalions of soldiers. No decently practicable track occurred till the break of the range to let the lesser Zāb river through, after which the frontier line, still seeking to find physical barriers to coincide with the lands occupied by Turkey - out of the natural geographical line, was bound to cross several plains and weak spots.

The natural geographical line would be difficult to determine in this broken up region for it is bound to cross a number of valleys affording ready passage. The idea of Muhammad 'Ali Mirza (Governor of Kermānshāh in 1810), who captured Shāhr-i-Zūr, is said to have been a line from the base of the Sardasht mountain down the Bāna Su river to where it was nearest the Maskhal which it would meet, follow for a few miles, cross and take the line of the last range of the Azmir Mountain, to continue along the courses of the Shāhr-i-Zūr and Sirwan rivers.

The present line, however, has found very considerable mountain ranges along, which to run though in a serpentine manner, and is badly defined-lacking all physical features in such spots as the Merivān plain.

Muhammad 'Ali Mirza's line was of course based upon Persia's claim to Panjwin and Shāhr-i-Zūr, particularly the latter, which has been a coveted spot for centuries.

The weakness of such a line is evidenced by the inferences (conclusions) to be drawn from recent Turkish encroachment. She has sought to abolish the high and difficult mountain boundary of the northern portion, and has in

previous years pushed her way as far east as possible in the southern portion, and as far, incidentally, as any point she can or could possibly claim. She then comes up against the barriers of Ardalān, a province she never could claim; for the old dynasty of Ardalān princes, never submitted to her rule, even when she advanced to Kermānshāh on the south and Sauch Bulaq on the north.

In regard to the tribes upon the frontier while the old line was bound to split some tribes, any other will be subject to the same conditions, for so long as Kurds continue to be nomadic, and preserve their love of raiding and independence, there will always be found some tribe, usually a small one, which will place itself upon the frontier in order to facilitate its operations.

It will have been noticed that the old line very effectively separated the main tribes. The Sipkānlū or, as occasionally called Sibikli, and Haidarenlu of the Hasanānlū group acknowledge the mountain border line as bounding their own territories, and it is only the fringe of the tribes that live upon it, the body of them being domiciled very much farther in Turkish territory as far west as Patnotz and Kushk in northern Armenia.

It was from these tribes and from their easterly borders that Shāh' Abbās took the tribes of Zafaranlu Amanlu and Kaiwanlu to settle in and control the borders of Khurasan. They are branches of the Hasanānlū or Kermanj.

Further south are the Hakkīārī tribes on one side and the Mukrī tribes on the other side of the central mountain ridge, and neither transgress to any extent, regarding the spine of mountains as their natural boundaries.

So too with the Ardalān groups, the Merivān and Aorāmān, and the Kermānshāh tribes, Gurān, Sharafbaini, Senjābī and Bājlān: all accept and have always regarded the natural borders of mountain and river as their limits.

Only the Jāf have no fixed boundaries passing along certain regular tracts of country, but doing much damage in the Persian end of their migratory region over the border from Panjwin, as there are no natural boundaries on that side. For the rest, the Shirwān River and the Aorāmān mountains confine them to Turkish territory.

The old frontier then, satisfied three excellent needs: (i) an adequate physical boundary between the nations approximately coinciding with tribal limits, (ii) separation of wholly Turkish subjected tribes from those wholly under Persia, and consequent avoidance of a certain amount of collision inevitable when the boundary overthrown and the first come in closer contact with tribes, now part Persian, and part Turkish subjects. Isolation in normal times of Persian tribes from Turkish influence; (iii) homogeneity of tribes on each side of the boundary making frontier, government easier to undertake from headquarters through tribal chiefs.

The shifting of the frontier has swept away all these advantages, and laid down a line fraught with every possibility of (i) intertribal warfare, (ii) further encroachment upon Persian territory.

(ii) SOME NOTES

UPON THE HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL TRIBAL GROUPS

These are, as has been pointed out, those tribes included under the following main headings:-

1. Hasanānlū	Haidarenlu Khurāsānlū Sipkānlū Jibranlu Zilanlu Adamanlu	Not hitherto mentioned, as not near frontier
2. Hakkīārī	Jelū Shirwānan Oramaran Shamidīnān Amadia * Misurian * Zibārīan Havirīan * Barvarīan * Barchilan * Shivalan* Laihunan *	
Mukrī	Māmāsh Minbr Pishdar	
4. Ardalān	Merwan Aorāmān	Not branch tribes but formerly under the administration of Ardalān princes
5. Jāf	Jāf Muradi Taishai Qadir-I-Mir Waisi Sharafbaini Bājlān	
6. Gurān	Qalkhān chagi Yusuf Yar Ahmadi Kuyik, Gurgkest, Nairzhi,	
7. Hamāvand (the original Tribe is now dismembered).	Hamāvand Ahmadāvand Behtui Ahmadāvand Chalabi Shirazi	

* (Not near the frontier).

HASANĀNLŪ

No Kurdish tribe can claim a known history longer than about five hundred years. This is because before that time Kurdistān, a more restricted area than now, was split up into different powerful and effective dynasties, which so restricted all attempts at conquest and even entry to their country that no foreign record of their times exists.

The Hasanānlū are no exception to this rule. In fact, they can apparently claim no pride of dynasty, as can the Bitlis, Hakkiārī and Ardalān Kurds. They were always unruly nomads, and formerly inhabited the mountains near Bitlis.

In the reign of Selim, who defeated Shāh Isma'ilat Chaldiran on the Araxes in 1514, the transfer of the Hasanānlū tribe been carried out to where the frontier of Persia and Russia now lies in order to protect it. There they have multiplied undismayed by this former transplantation, happy in any country that is full of mountains and grazing grounds.*

The particular branches of the tribe settled upon the Persian border were the Sipkānlū and Haidarenlu, and their conduct was always a cause of trouble to their ruling sovereigns. From among them Shāh' Abbās, a few decades later, chose the Zafaranlu Adamanlu and Kaiwanlu to send to Khurasan, for they were under his power during his conquests of Turkey.

The treaty of 1639 gave them back to Turkey, but the Haidarenlu and Sipkānlū were so troublesome and did so much damage in Persian territory that it found necessary to add a clause in the treaty agreed between Sultan Mahmud II and Fath Ali Shāh regarding them. In this agreement, the Turkish authorities* would take responsibility for their actions, if they entered Persia.

They were used in the wars of Turkey against Russia in 1829, 1854, and 1877, but displayed such a genius for treachery against the Turks when they allowed the Russians to pass through their country, for a financial payment. They were useless in the last campaign.

The tribe has always had a bad reputation among other Kurds, and it is spoken of by the better class of southern Kurd as a tribe of savage hill shepherds, with no antecedents (past history or background).

HAKKIĀRĪ

The Hakkiārī lays claim to being the most ancient and purest in descent of all the Kurds, and from its geographical position claims to have occupied the centre of Kurdistān proper from earliest times.

In the list of sub-tribes, I have included one or two which today are included in the main family, such as Amadia and Misuri but which are of the same family, as evidenced by their habits, traditions and dialect.

* This transfer was affected by Edrisi, a Kurd of Bitlis, and a well-known, and brilliant minister of the then Sultan.

* The Sipkānlū are called Sibbik in the treaty. This is the singular form, Sipkānlū or Sipkānlū being the Kurdish plural and Turkish attributive ending.

In the ancient days of Kurdistān, there was a powerful dynasty of Princes, called the dynasty of Bitlis, which sprung from the Hakkīārī sections of the Kurdish nation, speaking the Kermānj dialect, one very closely allied to the Mukrī, the purest of all Kurdish.

The family professed to trace its descent from Amir Qara Othman, who was Seljuq, governor of Hakkīārī, when Timur-i-Lang overran the country.

Princes of this family and its connections ruled at Bitlis, Jazira ibn Omar, Amadia, Julamark and Sulaimānia. In the latter of these, the remembrance still lingers though it is not a Hakkīārī place and the dialect is a branch of Hakkīārī.

Nevertheless, Jazira ibn Omar, Julamark and Amadia are still within the limits of the Hakkīārī country and inhabited by Hakkīārī Kurds.

The dynasty was hereditary, and, like all Kurdish rulers, the Princes were upon familiar terms with great and small alike. A curious custom also provided for the disposal of undesirable rulers. A meeting of elders and nobles of the tribe was called with the undesired ruler being present. If, after deliberation, he was still held to be unworthy, a pair of shoes would be put before him, which he had to put on, and quit the assembly.

After which, the next in line of succession would take his rank but not his worldly goods, which he was allowed to retain.

Up to 1514 when the Persians were defeated at Chaldiran, the Prince of Bitlis and Hakkīārī had acknowledged Persian suzerainty. After this date, as long as Edrisi, the famous Kurdish minister of Selim I was alive, he held himself vassal to Turkey. Subsequently he declared himself independent, having a standing army and strong positions. However, in the time of Sultan Mohammed IV (1649), he again acknowledged Turkish supremacy and right up until the dynasty was finally ended in 1849. This last was the famous Sharif Bey, who was finally captured by the combined means of Turkish assault and treachery.

The borders of the country to the east were always, as now, the great ridge which marked the frontier in 1639, and until 1907, the dividing line between the Hakkīārī and Mukrī.

The tribe has produced not only great rulers, but also great literateurs (writers); the most famous of whom was Ahmadi Khāni, a Hakkīārī poet and divine (man of religious piety) who wrote several famous works.

In the nineteenth century, the tribe achieved notoriety by the massacres of Christians (1839-1843) under Nur Ullah Bey and Badar Khān Bey, both Hakkīārīs.

In Amadia, the branch of the dynasty ended with Isma'il Pasha who resisted the Turkish troops in a very brave fashion. He was finally captured by the explosions of mines under his castle and taken captive to Baghdad.

The Shaikhs of Sulaimānia claim connection in descent with the Amadia branch and there are in Sulaimānia three or four families, the ladies of which are still granted the title "Khān," who are very considerably respected for their lineage.

The dispersal of the Kurdish princes by no means broke the tribal power. Nominally they were now subject, and Turkish Pashas took up their residences in the towns, and "bimbashis" of Turkish regiments clanked their swords against the serai portals, while their soldiers stayed out of Kurdistān.

Still the Hakkiārī, like all the tribes, remained and remain unsubdued and semi-independent. In 1880, the Hakkiārī achieved their last point to fame in recent times. One Ubaidullah Khān of the Oramar sub-tribe of the Jelū Hakkiārī, invaded Persia and seized Mianduab. He would have done further damage, but his army of Hakkiārī was broken up by the outbreak of clan-feuds, and dispersed.

MUKRĪ OR MIKRI

The limits of this tribe have being described in the part dealing with that subject, and, as far as very indefinite history goes, the Mukrī have always inhabited the mountainous country about Sauch Bulaq, and were always ruled by chiefs bearing the title of Khān .

From the fact of their speaking a dialect closely linked to Avestic forms, and preserving intact grammatical inflexions and peculiarities evident in that ancient Zoroastrian language, it may be conjectured (suggested) that they have always inhabited this part of Media Magna.

Professor Williams Jackson, probably the foremost living authority upon Zoroaster, places the birthplace of that prophet south of Urumia, which is on the northern borders of Mukrī. It is a supporting feature in this theory here put forward for the first time - that the Mukrī are direct descendants of the Medes, as they find themselves, of all the peoples in Persia, placed nearest to the reputed birthplace of Zoroaster, and speaking a tongue nearest to his own.

When Shāh 'Abbās defeated the Turks in a battle about 1624, a great part of his army was composed of Mukrī Kurds, and the tribe has always held a highly respected and respectable position in the Persian governmental scheme; though never so famous nor powerful as the Ardalān, their neighbours to the south.

Nor have they produced any great priests or writers, as have the Ardalān tribes. Until quite recently they were sufficiently loyal subjects of the Shāh, despite being Sunni; however, intrigues from Tehran and Turkish efforts have completed their disaffection, while at the present moment Sauch Bulaq, their capital, is in Turkish bands.

Their subjectivity (being subjects of a country) will form a nice question in the settlement of frontier questions that is bound to occur eventually, as in some cases, they have voluntarily accepted Turkish subjectivity.

ARDALĀN

What the Hakkiārī tribe was to Western, so Ardalān was to Eastern Kurdistan. From about 1300A.D., a despotic and powerful monarch reigned at Sina* who, while claiming descent from Saladin of crusading fame, was

* This name is now spelt Sina () and written () but the form is occasionally encountered in old books, which gave rise to the European spelling "Sihna."

obviously, originated by one Ardal Khān, from which the family, according to Kurdish and Old Persian usage, took the name, Ardalān or "the sons of Ardal."

Sina is said to have been established by him upon the site of an ancient city and in it, his descendants reigned in a uninterrupted succession until 1865, a period of over 500 years, having seen the same family in power.

Up to the times of Khosru Khān (1770-1798), the rulers had been practically independent of Persia; but it were to that nation that Ardalān, though Sunni by religion was ever loyal. In addition, the chiefs consented to receive the title of Vali of Ardalān from the Shāh of Persia and became rulers for the Shāh over the sub-kingdoms farther west, which were included in Ardalān or as it often called "the province of Kurdistān"

From early times, the kingdom divided into the divisions existing to-day: - Juanru, Aorāmān, Merivān, Bāna, Saqqiz, Hasan Abad, Isfandabad; and its frontiers towards Turkey were those of Aorāmān, Merivān and Bāna to-day. Among these provinces, Bāna and Aorāmān were almost independent, the latter particularly. There in the great mountains of Aorāmān, ruled a family of Aorāmān Sultans claiming descent from Rustam the national hero, a family unequalled in its pride and exclusive manner and place of life. This people spoke a language different from the Kurds, of an antiquity doubtless as great but not of the Mukrī branch of Irānīan languages and proudly asserted that the lands of Aorāmān had been given them by the Achoemenian kings when they came from Demavand, their place of origin. The Vali of Kurdistān was content to receive tribute from this little state and his suggestions regarding succession were often conceded (accepted), but the tribe's independence was undoubted. The seat of Government was at Palangān.

Bāna, was independent to a lesser degree, but was purely Kurdish, and more under the Ardalān influence. The Khāns of Bāna, however, were suspected of undue cordiality (friendship) with the Hakkiārī rulers and the Beg of Sulaimānia.

The financial affairs of the province, or kingdom, were in the hands of a family of Vazirs, almost as ancient as the Ardalān themselves, who possessed the ancient town of Duaisa, a few miles north of Sina. While in the district of Takht, there lived a family of religious Shaikhs from which the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Sina and Ardalān was appointed.

Under the rule of the Ardalān House, the kingdom grew to a great condition of prosperity. The Kurds, originally nomad, became gradually sedentary, so that today the numbers of nomads in the province are very few.

A body of literature grew up, and among the courtiers of Sina are to be found some poets in no way inferior to the writers of Persia proper.

From all the sub-provinces a number of poets collected at Sina, and the court tongue was a peculiar dialect of ancient Persian totally unlike that of the common people, and not understood by them, The writer has in his possession a collection of these poems, by writers at the court, between the years 1450 and 1784, which display a high literary development and indicate a condition of prosperity and peace in the kingdom.

Rich, who visited Aman Ullah Khān, Vali about 1820, was surprised at the regal manner and state of his court, and the lavish hospitality he bestowed upon visitors.

When the Qajar tribe began to be known and to acquire power, the Ardalān Valis entered into treaties and compacts of friendship with them, and, true to their agreements, refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Kerim Khān Zend during his reign from 1751-1779.

Khosru Khān, who was Vali of Ardalān at the time, and Aman Ullah Khān after him, left nothing undone to prove the truth of their pledges of friendship to the Qajars, and, with the final victory of Agha Muhammad Khān Qajar, the Ardalān dynasty became more powerful than ever before.

This Khosru Khān had assisted, by the dispatch of Kurdish detachments, in the battles against, and final destruction of, Lut' Ali Khān Zend.

Subsequently, the family of the Vali was further identified with the Qajars by the marriage of the second Khosru Khān with a princess, daughter of Fath 'Ali Shāh. In the free and open atmosphere of Kurdistān, this princess was able to, and did, dispense with the seclusion and effacement of women under Persian custom; she practically reigned in Ardalān herself, exercising a firm and just rule for many years after the death of her husband, when his eldest son should have succeeded him.

However, Ghulam Shāh Khān, her son, took up the Vilayets at her death and ruled until his death in 1865.

Nasir-ud-din Shāh had looked with considerable disfavor upon this practically independent province, which did not harmonise at all with his scheme of government in Persia; and while undesirous of attempting the forcible reduction of the Ardalān power, now seized the opportunity offered by disallowing the claims of Ghulam Shāh Khān's sons, and placed the Mu'tamad-ud-Doulah, his own uncle, as Governor of Kurdistān.

The population, for centuries sedentary and quiet, had lost the martial power of the Kurd, and offered no resistance, especially so that the dynasty was growing feeble and corrupted and had ceased the beneficent and just procedure for which the ancient Valis had been renowned. Aorāmān, however, held out, trusting its remoteness to be able to sustain absolute independence.

The Persians made every effort to subdue it, and despite the resolute resistance of Hasan Khān Sultan of the Aorami, they eventually tore the little kingdom from the hands of its ruler. The power of Aorāmān, vested (found) in the independent spirit and high courage of every individual Aorāmān, was yet sufficient to claim great respect from the conquerors. Despite Aorāmān being split into two parts and the capital Palangān deserted, in order to keep the people quiet, leadership was given into the hands of Divan Begi and 'Abbās Quli Beg, respectively son and brother of Hasan Khān.

Since that time Ardalān has become a Persian province ruled by a Persian Governor. The present governor has recently identified himself with the Kurds by marrying a Kurdish wife from an old Ardalān family and establishing himself at Sina in a manner not unworthy of the old Valis.

His control over Merivān and Aorāmān is still strong, though they are nearer independence now than ever since 1865, and he himself has such relations with the impoverished descendants of Ghulam Shāh Khān as to have roused suspicions all over Kurdistān of a contemplated bid for semi-independence on the lines of the old Valis.

Sina is an extremely flourishing place, where a large number of rich

Chaldeans live in perfect harmony with the Kurds. It is greatly interesting as being an old Kurdish capital, and still possesses a population which includes a large proportion of the old Kurdish aristocracy.

JĀF

Tribal tradition and the history of Ardalān supply us with the information that this tribe, originally a much smaller one, occupied a tract of land in Juanru, of the Ardalān province. Here, up to about 200 years ago, the Jāf Begs ruled practically independent, being Persian subjects, and under the supervision of the Vali of Ardalān. For various reasons, however, enmity occurred between the Beni Ardalān and the Jāf Begs and an expedition was made from Sina to Juanru in which the chief of the Jāf, his brother and son were all caught and killed. After this, a large number of the remaining chiefs of sub-tribes fled to the protection of the Pasha of Sulaimānia. Others remained upon their ancestral soil in Juanru, where the son of the Vali of Ardalān had been appointed Governor. The main tribe of the Jāf, that section which was deprived of its ruler by his execution was the Muradi. This largest section of the Jāf, comprising some 10,000 families, immigrated to the territory of the Kurdish Pasha of Sulaimānia.

By him, and in conjunction and agreement with the Turkish Government, they were allowed to occupy the following quarters: in summer, the highlands on the Persian border near and around Panjwin; in winter, lands in the territory dependent upon the Government of Kirkūk; and in autumn and spring, the plain of Shāhr-i-Zūr in the local government of Gul'anbar. This then became the Jāf tribe as we know it to-day, and large numbers settled in the villages of Shāhr-i-Zūr becoming sedentary, particularly after the massacre under Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qadir about 1800.

Of those who remained in Juanru, a few found it impossible to submit to the arrogant rule of the Ardalān prince and migrated to the territory of the composite Gurān tribe; and putting themselves under the protection of the chief, Gurān Sultan became Gurān in name. These sections were the Qadir Mir Waisi, Taishai, Qalkhānchagi, Yusef Yar Ahmadi, Kuyik, Nairzhi, and Gurgkaish, who are still incorporated with the Gurān tribe. As an exception, one insignificant section of the tribe under Fattah Beg, a rough who has separated from Gurān and Jāf alike, earns a precarious livelihood by raiding; especially when the attention of the greater tribe is distracted by other matters. Besides these tribes, which took refuge with the Gurān, a number of families went over to the Senjābīs.

The Bājlān, who are now on the frontier, were originally a section of the Jāf who settled in Darna, which is on the old Juanrud* Jāf territory. The Gurān expelled them from here, which was a considerable and fortified town. So they took up their present quarters and, there and then, severed all connection

* *Juanrud is the Persian spelling of this name. Juanru, as hitherto quoted in these pages, the Kurdish*

with the Jāf. They eventually acquired some importance, during the Turkish occupation of Zuhab and the builder of the present town of Sar-i- Pul-i-Zuhab was a Bājlān Pasha, chief of Zuhab province under the Turks. The present Bājlān chief is Karim Khān, son of 'Aziz Bājlān. Another small tribe originally Jāf, is the Sharafbaini, north of the Bājlān, who have lost all remembrance of their connection with the great tribe.

All the tribes of the original Jāf stock, excluding the Bājlān and Sharafbaini, are estimated to be about 20,000 families, or 120,000 souls. This is exclusive of the Arab Jāf tribe of Yaman, which the Pashas of the Jāf have wished to add to the tribal total, on no other grounds apparently, than that they bear a similar name,

The Turkish Jāf are divided into three sections, which will be detailed lower; with other sections under them 'Amala Jāf-i-Sartik, Jāf-i-Tilan, Mikaili, Akhasuri, Changani, Rughzadi, Tarkhāni, Bashaki, Kilali, Shatiri, Haruni, Nurwali, Kukui, Zardawi Yazdan Bakhshi, Shaikh Isma'ili, Sadani, Badakhi, Musai and Tailaku. All these tribes are under the rule of Mahmud Pasha, the senior of the three brothers of the ruling family and chief of the largest section of the Pushtamāla sub-section. Mahmud Pasha accompanies the tribe in all its migrations and is recognized as the principal chief. Next to him comes Othman Pasha, who is chief of the second section of the Pushtamāla, which have, largely, become sedentary and settled in Shāhr-i-Zūr. As Othman Pasha has acquired nearly all the district of Gul'anbar, and is besides extremely powerful, he has been given the Government of Alabja or Shāhr-i-Zūr, which is officially termed the Qaim Maqamliq of Gul'anbar. The third and smallest portion of the Pushtamāla is the Kaikhosru Begi, whose chief, Muhammad 'Ali Beg, lives at Qizil Rubat, where he owns a large number of gardens and houses. Mahmud Pasha owns a very large quantity of land near and in Khāniqin.

Of the Jāf in Turkish territory, two little tribes have to be mentioned, which reckon themselves independent; only acknowledging the supremacy of Mahmud Pasha in a general way. These are the Bahram Begi and the Walad Begi who bind themselves to supply 100 and 80 horsemen, respectively, in case of urgent need only to Mahmud Pasha. In all other matters, they are quite independent.

The total strength of the Turkish Jāf, that is the total number of horsemen the three brothers can call upon, is 4,000 horsemen armed with Martini carbines. These are always ready for action.

The eldest brother, 'Othman Pasha, Qaim Maqam of Gul'anbar has just died and will be succeeded in the Government of his section of the Pushtamāla by Majid Beg, his eldest son, who lives at Alabja.

There are still some small Jāf tribes in Juanru, Persian subjects under the Government of Sina, and entirely separate from the Jāf. These are the Qubadi Babajani and Waladbegi, Ainakhi, Imami, Darwashi, Dīlataizha, Mirabegi, Daitiri and Namdar Begi. Some of these are sedentary and others migrate during the winter to the plain of Zuhab.

At the present moment the Jāf are a nuisance to Turkey and Persia alike. They ravage the districts about Bāna and south of Saqqiz. Fortunately, Mahmud Pasha is a strong ruler and controls the tribe to a certain extent as he travels with them. They respect the frontier up to Panjwin and raid from that

point. Mahmud Pasha, chief of the senior section of the Pushtamāla section, has a definite policy of centralization in regard to his tribe, and has ruthlessly exterminated one section that would have rebelled against his authority.

Of late years, however, suspicion has fallen upon the sedentary chiefs 'Othman Pasha, elder brother of Mahmud Pasha, Tahir Beg and Majid Beg, who have displayed distinctly pro-Persian leanings. 'Othman Pasha, who was, till his death, Governor of Shāhr-i-Zūr, further offended the Turks some years ago by marrying 'Adela Khānum, a lady of one of the most aristocratic Ardalān families, whose sympathies are so strongly for Persia that she will not tolerate any servants but Persian subjects, nor allow Turkish to be spoken in her presence.

She came to Alabja, which she owns, in company with 'Othman Pasha some fifteen years ago, and by her high qualities of intelligence, strength and arrogance very soon took a prominent part in the Government. She took the affairs out of 'Othman Pasha's hands, instituted her own court of justice, had her own prison, built a bazaar and three fine houses in Alabja, and reduced the Pasha to absolute idleness and insignificance.

Under her rule, Alabja, from being a ruinous and dirty village, has become a prosperous little town, which she keeps full of Persian Kurds and visitors. It was she who persistently destroyed the Turkish telegraph line from Sulaimānia till the Turks gave up the idea as impossible, and has kept the district in such a condition of mind that the Turks dare not dismiss 'Othman Pasha, their attempt last year producing such unpleasant results that they were bound to re-instate him.

Adela Khānum still exercises a great power. All disputes are referred to her; the religious judge dare do nothing without reference to her, though he is appointed by the Turks, and the Turkish official are bound to confine (limit) their visits to Tahir and Majid Begs, her stepsons, and see their places in her diwan taken by Persian Kurds.

She speaks and writes Persian fluently and conducts all her own correspondence, keeping up constant communication with the local Kurdish nobles of Sina, much to the disgust of the Turks who are powerless to interfere with Jāf affairs. She possesses properties in Persia and Turkey and is having her sons taught Persian in preference to Turkish, and sends them into Persia for part of the year.

She has also purchased a great deal of the land upon the frontier behind the Kuh-i-Nilambu or Bilambu at Alabja.

The other chiefs of the tribe have identified themselves to a very great extent with Sulaimānia, where Mahmud Pasha has built some fine bazaars and caravanserais, which curiously bear over their portals, the Lion and Sun of Persia!

The Turks have been pressing their power upon the Jāf recently and have attempted to enforce military service and increased taxes upon them; an action as foolish as it is abortive, for they are remarking gradually the freedom of the Persian tribes, who provide horsemen to guard the frontier, pay little or no taxes and are absolutely exempt from the, to them, degrading imposition of sending their sons away to foreign, *i.e.*, Turkish or Arab towns, where they should wear uniforms and exchange the turban for the fez.

Mahmud Pasha and 'Othman Pasha are not upon the best of terms, and on

two or three occasions have fought with knives, being both extremely choleric, but the peace is kept by 'Adela Khānum, who wishes to give the Turks no possible excuse for weakening the tribe by separating the chiefs.

The marriage to Othman Pasha has of course established very friendly relations between the Jāf and Ardalān tribes as well as with the Kuliai Kandulah, Sunqur and other small tribes to whose chiefs 'Adela Khānum is related.

GURĀN

The Gurān with their curious religious tenets and their un-Kurdish dialects present one of the most interesting of the historical problems of Kurdistan.

The most extravagant theories have been put forward to establish the origin of the tribe, for they have attracted great attention from travelers and Orientalists by the curious faith of 'Ali Ullahism which they profess. There seems to be a tendency to call them Jews, started by Rawlinson, one of whose objects appears to have been to fix a Semitic origin upon most of the Southern Kurdish tribes. The idea of the 'lost tribes of Israel' gives him, as it has others, a convenient origin for doubtful and curious races.

They claim descent from Bahram Gur, and deny that they have always inhabited their present country. Their northern boundary comes up to the Shirwān river in its westerly flowing section, but, during the spring migration, a number go almost as far as Bāna, where they come in contact with the Jāf, a lively source of disagreement and fighting.

It would appear that the Gurān, as a tribe, have no consecutive history. For it is quite certainly now known that, after the treaty of 1639, at which time the Kalhurs inhabited the present Gurān country south of the Shirwān, the peasants of Kerind, Bānawij, and the country east of Zuhāb, were generally overrun by Kalhurs, who had been expelled from Darna (near the Shirwān), where only the ruins of a town and fort now remain.

These peasants bore the name of Gurān, and are responsible for the traditions which both nomad and sedentary Gurān now claim, and the expelled Kalhurs, settling among them adopted their name, while not deserting their native Kurdish dialects, which are very different from Gurān.

Thus, the tribe now known as Gurān is divided, one portion, the nomadic speak in Kalhur Kurdish, and the other, the sedentary, the true Gurān, speaking their original Gurāni, a dialect supposed to be the old Tājiq of Persia.

Of these settled populations the Rīzho tribe are the most collected people now, having escaped absorption and interference at the time of invasion. It would appear also that the Aorāmāni, who speak a language closely allied to Rīzhoi and sedentary Gurān, are of the same settled race.

Having gained strength in their new country, the new tribe, now called Gurān, composed of Gurān settled people, Kalhur and Zangana nomads pushed northward again and dispossessed the usurping Bājlāns of Darna which they have retained.

The rulers of the tribe have always borne the title of "Sultan," and they are split into six principal sub-tribes: Gahwara, Nirji, QalKhāni, Bibyani, and Kal-i-Zanjiri; whose head quarters are at the places from which they take their names.

The present chief is Husain Khān, son of Asadullah Khān, son of Mustafa

Khān. All chiefs in their time. This chief married a princess of the Qajar and had a son by her, named Muhammad Vali Khān, Khān Khānan, who is now dead.

Husain Khān Mansur-ul-Mulk, has now been given the Governorship of Qasr-i-Shirin, and his jurisdiction thus extends to the frontier. He holds this position under the eye of Daud Khān, his powerful relation, chief of the Kalhur.

The position of Kermānshāh province is now so strong, being defended by both the Gurān and Kalhur, some 8,000 horsemen in all, that the Turks have attempted no such encroachments as in Northern Kurdistān.

The Hamāvands (see later) have taken advantage of this fact to seek refuge in a little corner of the territory near the Gurān, where they are secure, and at the same time can make raids into Turkish territory.

Under this chief, the tribe has lost the great power it formerly possessed, as he is weak, and has failed to adequately contend with the disaffection of the subordinate Khāns.

Like the old Valis of Ardalān, the Sultans of the Gurān, have adopted the faith of the Shia Mohammedans in order to gain the favor of the Persian Shāhs, but the tribe is of the Ali Ullahi faith, and has holy places, notably Zarda and Baba Yadgar in its territory, which were equally holy to the sedentary long before the expelled Kalhurs became Gurān in name and faith.

From these nomads, and the settled population, Sir Henry Rawlinson raised a regiment in 1834, and was satisfied with their military capacity and the manner in which they shaped under discipline.

They have a considerable hold over the Taishai and Murid Waisi Jāfs who look to them for protection, and count themselves almost as Gurān.

HAMĀVAND

This name is applied to a branch of the tribe living in Qara Dāgh of Sulaimānia, but further explanation is necessary regarding the various branches, which go under different names. It appears from native records that the Hamāvand was once a large tribe whose quarters were upon the frontier near Qasr-i-Shirin.

From earliest recorded times this tribe was at feud with Arab, Turk, Kurd and Persian alike. It does not appear in history until quite, recently, and would seem to be an offshoot of the Jāf: speaking, dressing, and worshipping like that tribe.

Their remarkable turbulence has always rendered them an intolerable nuisance. About the middle of the nineteenth century, possibly earlier, the tribe was split, and a section calling itself Hamāvand at first, and later Ahmadāvand (adopting the Persian pronunciation of the Kurdish "Hama"). These settled in Kermānshāh province or rather, keeping their original winter quarters south of Qasr-i-Shirin from where they raid Turkish territory, they changed their summer quarters to the Persian side.

Another, the main portion, had retired to the Qara Dāgh and become sedentary but lost none of its warlike habits in the process.

Yet another and the main section under Jawān Mir Khān remained on the old ground near Qasr-i-Shirin under Persian rule. Here he was so turbulent

and made so much trouble, scouring the country for miles around, annoying the big tribes and evading capture, that the Persian Government, in despair of subduing him by force, offered him 30,000 krans a year to guard the frontier. He accepted the salary and continued operations until it became necessary to trap and execute him, which was done successfully.

For some inexplicable reason the Turks claimed the tribe as Turkish subject and the Persians were very relieved when the tribe accepting the Turkish invitation crossed the frontier and joined their kinsmen in Qara Dāgh. This was about 1887.

Jawān Mir Khān had assumed the leadership of the whole tribe. He died, as has been said, about 1886 and his son, Hama, succeeded him, and is still chief of the Hamāvand.

In the meanwhile, the Qara Dāgh Hamāvands had not been idle. They celebrated their establishment in Qara Dāgh by a raid upon the Turkish-Russian frontier near Bayazid. Leaving, only armed with lances, they returned with money, spoil and guns, having passed unhurt through the Hakkīārī and Hasanānlū country.

Returning, they rested awhile and, in 1881, they fell upon Sulaimānia, laying siege to it for four days, and nearly capturing the town, which was saved by the appearance of two battalions of soldiers from Kirkūk.

A section was deported to the desert of Sinai for this exploit, but with the homing instinct strong upon them, they literally fought and robbed their way back. It is said the journey took six months, and it is still their boast that during it they looted Arab and Turk alike.

Then they encroached upon Jāf territory, but were warned that any attempts in that direction would be met with total effacement of the Hamāvand. As they numbered only some 300 horsemen against the Jāf thousands they considered discretion the wiser course and apologized.

In 1908, they finished two years raiding and refused to pay taxes by announcing themselves in rebellion, and proceeded to support this assertion by stripping the Governor of Sulaimānia, stopping all traffic across their country, and attacking small posts of soldiers in the Qara Dāgh. In the summer of 1909, while troops were collecting at Chemchemāl to march upon, and wipe out the Hamāvands; a "tabur" of 250 Turkish soldiers, accompanied by a colonel and other officers, and all armed with Mauser rifles dispatched to Sulaimānia to escort a consignment of 100 new Mauser rifles and ammunition, which were urgently required to quell the turbulent Kurds on the Persian border.

The Hamāvands collected all their warlike men, some 170 horses and foot men, and waited for the convoy at Bāziān. Here they surrounded them and a fight ensued. After a quarter of an hour or so, during which several soldiers and two officers killed, the force surrendered, and was allowed to proceed minus animals, guns, ammunition, food and trousers.

At this time, some 3,500 troops were collected at Chemchemāl waiting (as they had waited three months) for orders to proceed against the Hamāvands. These active horsemen, after disposing of the convoy made a night attack upon Chemchemāl cutting off the water supply, picking off several soldiers, driving off mules from within the lines, and getting away again with the loss of one man killed.

After several months delay, when 8,000 troops had collected at Chemchemāl to wipe out 250 Hamāvand horsemen, two Governors had proceeded there to judge and condemn them when caught, and a Commander-in-chief had arrived, a move was made into Hamāvand country. No resistance has offered, and they entered Bāziān to find no Hamāvand man, woman, child and animal remaining. They had all disappeared and dispersed.

This was in August 1909. Once the troops move away from where they are now wreaking their vengeance upon Shūān villages and harmless sedentary Kurds of other tribes, the Hamāvand will return and commence again the only history they are capable of making.

Their women share their extraordinary pluck and wildcat ferocity. In recent fighting eyewitnesses have confirmed to me, the popular tale that the women fight with incredible fury.

They speak the Jāf dialect but claim Arab descent, like the Jāf, nevertheless glorying in the fact that they are Kurds and, as they express it, "slave to no fez in the world."

When they fled from Qara Dāgh this summer, they took a south-easterly course and crossed the Shirwān River into Sharafbaini country, where they now remain, in Persian territory. *

* *November 1909.*

PART IV

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Miscellaneous
(i) NOTES
ON ADMINISTRATION OF TURKEY AND PERSIA IN
KURDISTĀN

The problem of the Kurds has been perhaps as difficult as any in Asiatic lands, which have given cause for thought to the rulers of Turkey. Long before Turkey claimed Kurdistan, before and after the Turks formed an empire, Kurdistan was there, and began to give trouble to her big neighbour.

Yet, before the sixteenth century, Kurdistan was smaller and Armenia was practically free of Kurds, who had not penetrated much more north than Mush and Bitlis and along the eastern coast of the lake of Van.

From there southwards along the mountains lived the eastern Kurds,* hidden among their mountains, independent States resenting interference from outside. Bitlis was, at this time, the best known of these Kurdish countries, and when Edrisi, a Kurd of Bitlis, and one of the most talented ministers that ever served a Turkish sovereign, was driven to desperation by the raids and turbulence of the Hasanānlū tribes near Bitlis, he conceived the idea of transplanting them north to hold Turkey's new frontier, acquired after the battle of 1514, peace and control over the Kurds was anticipated.

However, the shepherd rovers of the Hasanānlū ejected from their original haunts must find a permanent place, and since the land was not too fertile and already peopled, the Armenians began to suffer.

These new wardens of the marches had been granted exemption from taxation and formed a rude kind of militia, but they displayed no loyalty to Turkey for these considerations, knowing full well she had been induced to grant them for want of a better course, and knowing also, her inability to punish them.

Turkey thus let the more savage Kurds loose upon Armenia, for the Hasanānlū and Haidarenlu are the most ferocious of a fierce nation, and they have steadily pushed forward till large numbers of the populations of Erzinjan, Erzerum and Bayazid are Kurds; indeed these regions are beginning to be regarded as Kurdistan.

In addition, the Armenians have been melting away gradually. The Kurds were, after their transplantation, quartered upon the Armenians, with result that the Armenians fled, not all at once, but in tens and twenties. The Armenians suffered severely until 1842, when an effort was made to relieve Armenia by giving the Kurds such villages as had been vacated, but this measure proved ineffective to stop raiding.

Then, in 1894, Boyajejan and other Armenians conspired and drew upon themselves the culmination of Turkish displeasure, which satisfied itself by calling in that terrible weapon of castigation, the Kurds. The best estimates give 10,000 as a conservative figure for those slain among the Armenians and 60,000 for those who fled to Russia. Therefore, in one year 70,000 Armenians

* As distinct From the western Kurds of Dania etc

evacuated their villages, and, naturally, Kurds find room in their place.

Thus, gradually, and steadily the Kurd is pushing the Armenian out, is spreading on every side, and by his ferocity when wild and his usefulness and intelligence when in towns and tamed, is establishing himself in the places he invades. Yet the Kurdish question is as far from solution as ever.

The Kurds of Erzerum, all strangers in the land, after their settlement in villages, to which they were forced by the terrible climate of the mountain winters, began to seek occupation in the towns. In Bayazid there was already in the eighteenth century, a colony which included some of the finest poets and literateurs of Turkey, writing in Turkish, Arabic and Kurdish, and, as soon as communications improved, they emigrated in large numbers to Constantinople, where there are now some 10,000 mostly employed as porters and watchmen, unless as they normally try to do, they acquire education and rise in a speedy fashion. There is now a newspaper published by and for Kurds in that city called "The Kurd," written in Turkish and Kurdish. Prolonged dwelling in towns has not abated their independent and pugnacious spirit.

War, peace, bribe, threat, favor, neglect, have all been tried, and still the Kurd remains a menace to all attempts at order in his country and upon his borders.

There are those in Turkey who seriously assert that the Empire was happier in 1830, when she had not allowed pride to involve her in the difficulties which occurred after the reduction of the independent Kurdish Beys. For now, they are just as independent, and Turkey has the additional humiliation of seeing her Turkish officials flouted and ignored, and sometimes expelled from the places they have sent to govern.

To endeavour to elucidate any scheme of administration for Kurdistan seems impossible. The hereditary Princes and Beys, to whom the Kurds submitted, have been killed and their successors deprived of all power and the Turkish Government find it impossible to do with all their code of Napoleon, and their military officers in gold braid, and their spies and police, what formerly a rough filibuster did with the power of his own will. This inability is principally because they are Turks and just so hated of every one of their subjects - Arab, Armenian, Syrian, Chaldeans, Jew, and above all, Kurd.

During the last two years, when the friendly feeling that Sultan Abdul Hamid was wise enough to cultivate with leading Kurds has died, and been replaced by contempt of the Constitution, so much weaker than the old regime, Kurdistan has burst out everywhere. There are tribes who have paid no taxes for years, nor ever intend to again; tribes who are growing stronger every year, richer by accumulation of money and rifles; tribes regaining gradually independence as thoroughly as ever they possessed under their princes, though the Turkish Mutasarrif and Bimbashi clank swords behind thick walls within their borders.

As is well known to all readers of Turkish general history up to the third decade of the nineteenth century, the provinces of Hakkîârî, Bitlis, Rawândûz, Amadia and Sulaimânia had been allowed to rest in the hands of Kurdish Princes and Beys, under whose rule the Kurds were kept in a measure of subjection. These Chiefs paid yearly tribute to the Sultan, and existed practically as semi-independent and self-contained States.

With that passion for acquisition which gives Turkey so much trouble, attempts were made to dislodge these rulers and by force and stratagem, after some years the last Bey was caught and expelled. After this came the Valis, Mutasarrifs, Qaim Maqams, Mudirs, and all the machinery of the Turkish provinces and Kurdistān was split up.

Hakkiārī was placed under the Vali of Van; a large and unwieldy province Bitlis was another Vilayet, and the rest of southern Kurdistān was put under Mosul. At the various towns, officials and civil governors were installed, and at a few places, a garrison was introduced.

The system has not given satisfaction, the Turks have taken no account of the fact that among and side by side with the Kurds can be found other and Christian races, which require protection, and which they had always received under the Kurdish Beys but lost under the Turks. Van, an Armenian centre, is placed at the head of a Vilayet half Armenian and half Kurd. Formerly Hakkiārī and Van were as disconnected as their geographical positions are separate, and the affairs of either did not overlap those of its neighbour.

If another power were in possession of Kurdistān, it is probable that a military or semi-military scheme of government would be the only means of control by an alien power. Turkey, though Sunni, is no less alien to the Kurds than any other nation; for Kurdistān is by no means all Sunni, and the feeling of belonging to the Aryan race exhibits in the Kurds all its vigour against the Tatar, its hereditary foe.

The Christian element was a highly desirable leaven among the Kurds. Especially in Hakkiārī and Southern Van, they were almost as independent under the Kurds as the Kurds are themselves under the Turks. It must be noticed that no massacres occurred until the Turks had taken over the Government.

At present, the Christian population, particularly in the regions about S'ert is miserable beyond all description and the Turks still continue to use the Kurd to do the work he pretends to deprecate (denounce), the oppression of the Chaldeans, Syrian and Armenian.

Sultan 'Abdul Hamid attempted with an ill warranted optimism, to make the Kurds into good citizens by educating them, and making regiments from their horsemen. In pursuit of the first aim, he instituted schools at various places in Kurdistān, which were well enough attended, but had no effect upon the sentiment (feeling) of dislike the Kurds bear their masters, or upon its expression. The military attempt has been mentioned before in this report, and the Hamidia regiments are now reckoned as one of the troubles and scourges of Armenia.

The Persians have not had the same problems to deal with, having under their government a smaller number of Kurds, and those divided into large main tribes or provinces (there are five principal ones, Mukrī, Ardalān, Kalhur, Gurān, and Kermānshāh). The Ardalān government has been mentioned above. Sauch Buīaq ruled the Mukrī tribes, and their own Sardār, a highly educated man, was acknowledged by Persian and Kurd alike. The Kalhur and Gurān are, if not attached to Persia, at least reconciled, by the ties of common Aryan origin, a stronger bond than might be imagined, and in the case of the Kalhur by those of religion as well.

Up to the present the Kurds have not given the Persians as much trouble as

many of their other tribal subjects, and the methods adopted by the Persians have not been such as were calculated to offend the national pride. The Kurd and Persian meet upon the level of a similar type of mind and intelligence and almost a common tongue. They mingle freely, and the Kurd is not offended in his intercourse with the Persian as he is with the Turk, by a rough and overbearing boorishness and a strange and uncouth tongue, and an inelastic and humiliating code of laws.

At this time, with the exception of the Mukrī Sunni tribe, Persian Kurdistan is as tranquil as any other part of Persia, and, during the last year of troubles in both Turkey and Persia. It has been interesting to note the fact that, while in Turkish Kurdistan anarchy reigned and caravans stayed in the towns, in Persian Kurdistan communications were still open not regularly but not absolutely at a standstill. It was, and is, one of the bitterest cries of Sulaimānia against the Turkish Government that its goods from Persia get as far as the frontier, whatever be the state of Ardalān and Kermānshāh, and then stop.

Kermānshāh province is in the hands of Daud Khān Kalhur and the Gurān, and caravans pass and repass because the country is indisputably in Kurdish hands and the Kurdish chief has accepted the responsibility for the safety of goods and people in transit.

(ii) LANGUAGE

The vehicle of thought used by the Kurds is not, as been asserted by most of the few travelers to Kurdistan, an incomprehensible and uncouth jargon, a corrupt and hideous dialect of Persian.

It is, on the contrary, a remarkably pure Aryan language, which has been admirably preserved in the fastnesses of the Kurdish mountains, since the times when exact knowledge of Persian history fails, and conjecture and theory replaces it.

Alone among the languages of the Middle East it has kept itself from an admixture of Arabic words, except those applied to the religion of the Arabs, Mohammedanism, and presents to us old Aryan words, originally used in Persian but long since forgotten, which the Kurd uses every day.

It is, however, a sequence of language separations that subsections will arise and develop. Given a universal language today, it will require only two or three decades for dialects to have developed, changes of pronunciation initially, followed by changes of inflection and grammatical form which are sufficiently developed to be comprehensible to one knowing only the original language, or one of the dialects only.

So with the original branch of the Aryan tongue from which Persian, and Kurdish sprang. There is every indication that at one time Kurdish and Persian were the same language, but each has developed along definite lines till today. It can no more be said that Kurdish is a Persian dialect, than we can assert that Scandinavian is a dialect of English.

Then, Kurdish having been separated from Persian, so each one has again split into dialects. Persian presents us with such dialects as are found in provinces; dialects differing widely, but all sufficiently allied to be termed Persian and not Lur, nor Kurd nor Baluch.

Kurdish, in the same way, possesses an enormous number of dialects. As

there has been very little of the "fixing" influence at work, through the committal of the common tongue to writing, it has continued to develop and change. Thus, there remains a great difficulty to the student of Kurdish to ascertain which of all these widely varying dialects may claim to be the original and true Kurdish language; of which all the other Kurdish tongues must be termed dialects, and by this to ascertain which tribe is the oldest and purest Kurd.

Ethnologically, geographically, traditionally, and linguistically the Mukrî tribe of Sauch Bulaq fulfill all those conditions best which must to-day stand as a criterion by which to judge the Kurdish race and tongue.

As far as we can ascertain, Zoroaster, who spoke a later Medic tongue, was born upon the northern confines of what is now the Mukrî lands, and his tongue as expressed in the Zend Avesta, is most nearly approached by the Mukrî dialect, or as we shall term it hereafter the Mukrî language.

The theory advanced by Huart, Dormesteter and other authorities upon the Avestic language of Zoroaster is that Kurdish is to Medic what Persian is to the language of the Persepolitan monuments; a modern development, the difference being that Kurdish has not adopted a vast number of Arabic words as has Persian, and has preserved its verb forms more perfectly.

Of Medic we unfortunately know very little, but as Zoroaster's Zend Avesta was probably written during the Achaemenian period, we have in it a language probably very little different from Medic.

How closely Kurdish has kept to these forms is exemplified in many ways, a few words are quoted here which show this.

Mean ing	Modern Kurmanj	Avestic	Modern Persian
Great	Mazn	Maz	Sangin, Buzurg, etc
High	Barz	Bereza*	Buland
Fish	Masi	Masya	Mahi
Came	Ushtir	Ushtra	Shutur
l	Prd	Pereta	Pul
Bridg	Khwar	Hwar	Aftab
e	Wluraz	Vuraza	Guraz
Sun	Maish	Makhshi	Magas
Hog	Berkh	Varakha	Barra
Fly	Qsa	Khsa	Harf, Sukhān
Lamb	Wisu	Vas	Khvastan
Word	Zanin	Zan	Danistan
To	Az	Azeru	Man
wish	Mna	Mina	Man, Mara
To know			
I			
I			
(Genitive)			

* Confer "burz" in Eilburz

Apart from these peculiarities, is the habit of Kurdish of what was thought, until recently ignorance, the adding of "h" to words, which appear in Persian unaspirated. It now appears that it is the Persian who drops his "h" and not the Kurd who adds one, though sometimes he does, for Avestic and Pahlavi show such words as "hanjuman," "han," "hin" which exist to-day in Kurdish but have, in Persian, been shorn of their initial "h."

These brief remarks are sufficient to show how much more closely Kurdish has kept to the original Aryan language than its more famous neighbour Persian has. They are enough too to display to the student a hitherto unstudied language of the highest interest to those who look upon Persian as the purest Aryan language, for this is purer and absolutely untouched by the changes that time and conquest have wrought upon Persian.

There are, however, besides Mukrî and its branches, other languages in Kurdistân and spoken by people calling themselves Kurds. Of these the most important is Zâzâ, spoken by a very great number of Kurds north of Diarbêkr, around Erzinjan and in other parts of Asia Minor. These are a small hardy mountain people, unlike the long big-boned Kurd, and speak a language which, while pure Aryan, is not of the same branch as the Mukrî, or if so, a dialect separated from the ancient Persian at an earlier date than Kurdish. It can, however, be classed as pure Aryan tongue and nearer Kurdish than Persian. It is incomprehensible to the speaker of the Kurdish language and the Zâzâ people are usually bi-lingual.

Then there are the sedentary people of the S'ert district speaking a curious language in which an enormous number of Aramaic words occur, a dialect called sometimes Gavarnai or that of Gavar, a district in Hakkîârî near the frontier. It is a mixture of Kurdish and Chaldean, probably the lingua franca of people of Christian origin long turned Musulman. There is, near Sasun in Armenia, a small tribe called Balaki, which are neither Christian nor Muslim, and who speak a curious dialect composed equally of Kurdish Arabic and Armenian. In addition, in various parts of Kurdistân other strange tribes and peoples, the result of the flight of aborigines to the hills, of mixed peoples, of fugitives absorbed into other tribes and carrying part of their language into their new dialect.

The main language, however, is that known to the Kurds as 'Kurdi' or 'Kurmanji' of whom the best exponents at present live at Sauch Bulaq in Persia. Formerly there were, at Bayazid, a number of Hakkîârî poets, and there are still writers there who use their native Kurdish as a means of communication and vehicle of literary thought.

These northerly portions of Kurdistân, north of Van and Urumia are, so to speak, the Scotland of Kurdish. The language is the same, but harshness has crept in, a rough and hardened enunciation absent from the south, and where an Aryan "b" is softened by the Southern Kurd to "v" or "o," the northern hardens it to "p," and so forth in many instances.

This difference of pronunciation has made, or been accompanied, by

differences in grammatical form which, particularly in the verbs, have made so great a divergence as to render a separate study of each necessary. The hardening process has been towards shortening and eliminating vowels, the softening process to the erosion softening and disappearance of consonants and expansion of vowels. A result has occurred which makes the native of Erzerum almost incomprehensible to him of Sulaimānia, though both speak the original Kurmanj of which even Jāf is a branch.

These differences are made greater by the use, in some dialects of words rejected in others, and *vice versa*. The northern dialects have retained many words older compared to the Mukrî, which has imported middle Persian words. At the same time, we see the northern Kermānj losing many words and filling the vacancies with Turkish and Chaldeans words. Such as:-

Diniz (Turkish) for Kurdish (Mukrî. *etc.*) Kulao.....'A Lake'
 GumiKishli.....'A Ship'
 Ard (Arabic through Turkish).... Zewi 'The Earth'
 Qirtiq (Tartar).....Gelu.....' The Throat'
 Qish.....Drra.....' A Fragment'

And Yazmish dakam, "I write," for Kurdish "Anwism," where the art of writing, and its name have been forgotten by villagers, while in the towns where the same tribesmen live the old verb "Nwisan" still exists and is used.

These peculiarities, together with those of use and pronunciation, go to make very wide the separation. Compare for instance the following few words and examples:

Kurdish	Ao	becomes in the north	"	Ap	"Water"
"	Wafr	"	"	Barf	"Snow"
"	Khuri	"	"	Huri	"Wool"
"	Kaqaz	"	"	Kaqat	"Paper"
"	Dan	"	"	Divan	"Teeth"
"	Khwaishk	"	"	Khwalik	"Sister"
"	Kich	"	Khiz	from Turki Qiz	"Daughter"
"	Tao	"	"	Tar	"The Sun"
"	Uwi	"	"	Avish	"Hope"
"	Piao	is replaced	by Mir		"Man"
"	Mil	"	"	Ustu	"Neck"
"	Nuistu	"	"	Rrakwa	"Asleep"

Moreover, hundreds of others...

In Ardalān a dialect was formerly spoken which resembled what is now known as Aorāmāni, but when the tribe settled, and a considerable number of northern Kurds, attracted by the security of Ardalān came and settled, the dialect changed, so that today the language of Ardalān is a dialect of Mukrî with certain, but not great differences. There was also throughout northern Ardalān a large population that never spoke the dialect of the Ardalān family, and these have retained their original tongue. The dialect of Sina and its surroundings is now known as Kurdistān and is a pleasant language, much widened and enlarged by the inclusion of Persian words.

The old Ardalān dialect still understood by the educated people of Sina and Sulaimānia and, owing to its sweetness and purity, it used as the literary or poetic language of southern Kurdistān. It is not a Kurdish dialect, but a fellow development of Old Persian to Gurān and Aorāmāni, which is probably

the Tadjik language spoken at one time in middle Persia, and possibly in Southern Kurdistan by a race of immigrants from Persia or at any rate, a non-Kurdish indigenous people.

Aorāmān has preserved the dialect, as have the sedentary people of Gurān and to-day it is heard, a soft and harmonious language unintelligible to the Kurd, in Aorāmān, Pava, Palangān, and the surroundings.

The language of Kermānshāh, including the dialect used by the Kalhurs, is strictly speaking not a Kurdish dialect, and resembles much more closely the Lek branch of Irānīan languages. On the other hand, it differs from it so much in favour of Kurdish that it is safest to call it a Kurdo-Lek language. In verb forms it has rejected the Lek inflections and not adopted the Kurdish ones, with the nouns it uses plural forms at once half Kurd and half Lek, and its phraseology follows Lek closely in some particulars and Kurdish in others.

(iii) HABITS AND CUSTOMS

The Kurd is a non-moral and savage creature, with the good and bad qualities of those hill races that are used to live in a state of semi-independence and to settle their disputes by appeals to arms.

The rough exterior, however, covers an acute intelligence, which develops with surprising rapidity where given scope.

In the natural life of Kurdistān, there is little use for developed brains, for the race is confined to three pursuits, agriculture, and pastoral work and fighting. As is characteristic of other races noted for martial qualities the Kurd has no business ability, and besides regarding shop keeping and commerce as too much of a tie to one place, is not fitted for a labour of which the essentials are patience and forbearance.

He is thus forced to endure the presence in his towns and villages of numerous Christians and Jews, who passing back and forth upon errands for the Kurds, are much freer from molestation than Mohammedans. This is particularly the case in Southern Kurdistān and pre-eminently so in Ardalān, where a dynasty of civilized and liberal rulers has permitted the Christians to amass greater wealth than their masters, who treat them with the utmost consideration, and co-operate with them in all such matters as may facilitate their business. Thus, we see at Sina schools, one Catholic, the expenses of which were largely borne by the Kurdish nobility, and at which their sons attend.

The wealthy Kurd, who no longer needs to fight, nor follow his flocks, nor cultivate the soil, usually turns to literature and languages, for which the race has a talent unequalled, I believe, by any other mid-Asiatic people.

Persian is the first language learnt in Southern Kurdistān, and Turkish or Arabic in the north. Once the Kurd has mastered these, he usually devotes the best part of his time to reading and writing philosophy and theology in Arabic, and Poetry in Kurdish.

Nowadays a certain number are gaining access to the schools, and I had the pleasure of noticed the difference in progress made by the Kurdish and Turkish boys in the military school at Sulaimānia Without exception the Kurd outstripped the Turk, and passed on to higher classes leaving his Tatar classmates far behind.

Besides this ability, and passion for letters, the Kurd possesses no particular quality which would enable him to earn a comfortable income, but, if he be given charge of others his organizing and controlling powers show to advantage. His cleverness and far sight as a politician and ruler have been often seen in Turkish and Persian Kurdistān, and the prompt settlement (decision) upon the apparent right of any number of doubtful courses, and subsequent adherence (persistence) to the course adopted, is but a common characteristic of any little Kurdish ruler.

They combine with a strict aristocracy a democracy incomprehensible to the Western. The proudest Khān thinks no evil of the servant who criticises a ruling, or attempts to clear his court of the scores of individuals, attached and unattached who throng it. Yet the subordinate who, in the audience chamber would seem a forward and almost insolent fellow, is the first to obey his chief's order to mount and fight, and the last to ask the reason after it is all

over.

There is very little of the hole and corner intrigue so common among Eastern peoples, for Kurdish tradition loathes closed doors, and invites scrutiny and comment, a participation in all disputes by all, a system which results in publicity (an openness to public discussion) which has a good effect upon the racial character, inducing a kind of rough frankness and a certain adherence to a pledged word. This is not true of the degenerate Kurdish nobles of the Kermānshāh province who are, to be accurate, not by any means pure Kurd, being as much Lur and Persian.

The general characteristic of Kurdish life, which is the inevitable feature of a nomad existence, is publicity (community mindedness) and hospitality and when the Kurd settles in towns and villages, this lack of exclusiveness continues to be a striking feature, so directly in contradiction to Musulman custom. It has a good effect, for the unpleasant traits of meanness and deception is rendered very difficult. In addition, backbiting, slandering and evil reports fail to exist in a community whose individuals possess no secrets. The women do not veil, and are not disconcerted by the presence of strange men. With no affectation they continue their household labours, or pause in them to converse with the strange man, often, in the absence of their own men folk, acting the part of hostess to the traveler with admirable address (style). This is particularly true of the nomad women and the women of the richer sedentary tribes.

The social position of the women is altogether higher among the Kurds than among any other race professing Islam. Accepting as their share of the nomad life arduous domestic tasks yet they assert a sufficiently independent spirit to prevent their ever submitting to that degree of bestial degradation to which the Arab nomad woman has fallen. The Kurdish girl is well dressed if her man is not a beggar, if her work is too arduous she can find assistance from another household. Not only has that but often she herself possessed cows and sheep, the produce of which is her sole property. In addition, she employs her own servants to look after these animals, paying them in kind from the produce.

In a larger and wealthier household the woman of the house is its mistress—for the Kurd is a monogamist, rarely if ever taking a second wife. Both the male and female servants submit to her, and the master leaves all domestic matters in her hands.

The result is that the Kurdish woman is capable and clever, sharing the independent spirit of her race, a much higher standard of woman than is to be found among Arab or Turk. In such women as 'Adela Khānum, widow of the late Othman Pasha, who ruled the tribe, owning and controlling villages and lands, in the widow of Aman Ullah Khān, Vali of Ardalān (1850 circa), and in the women of the Amadia Kurdish ruling family who today exercise great power, we see the development and high expression of the system which has permitted women a nearer approach to the woman's position as it is understood in the West, than is to be seen in the economy of any other Oriental race.

(iv) TURKISH MILITARY FORCES IN THE DISTRICT

Within recent years, the permanent force allotted to the district has been increased in theory. Kirkūk, with its large barracks, is the principal depot at which troops are kept and from there they are sent out to the surrounding districts. It is also a centre for recruiting from the low level region, which possesses a mixed sedentary population of Kurd, Arab and Turkoman from whom the forces used in the district been recruited.

These forces are of the roughest nature imaginable. Every man is supplied with one tunic a year, usually of some cheap blue cotton material. He wears his ordinary head covering, handkerchiefs, if he be Turkoman or Kurd, and "Agal" and "Kefiya" if Arab. The ridiculous trousers of the irregular Turkish soldier also distinguish these forces, trousers that are the shape of a short-sleeved shirt upside down, with the neck sewn up, and the man's legs thrust through the shortened sleeves. To run or ride in these is practically impossible.

I have never seen these soldiers drilling and have not heard of their being called upon to do so, though I believe that when military Pashas are in the vicinity, a spirit of enthusiasm is observed. Bugle playing is a popular branch of training which as being an audible sign of military ardor, is indulged in by learners and masters with enthusiasm and constancy.

The forces at Kirkūk and Sulaimānia have been depleted by two causes: desertion, and the dispatch of soldiers to the frontier stations. At all the villages along the frontier ten to twelve soldiers were stationed as well as at such places as Qara Dāgh and all villages boasting a mudir. Here they were admirably situated for deserting their posts; and a large number of the Kurds among them took the opportunity to desert over the frontier, and the Turkoman and Arab to their native plains. Wages have not been paid to this army corps for many months despite the busy exertions of such officious and inefficient corruptionists as the "Tabur-Aghassi," "Askar- muhasibachi," who are entrusted with the falsification of the military accounts.

There is a plethora of officers. At Alabja, where there are as many as 25 soldiers, they were commanded by a Colonel (Bimbashi), Major (Yuzbashi) and two "Bash chaush," which did not prevent their mutinying and deserting.

At Panjwin, the same state of affairs was observed. Driven to desperation by lack of pay, the soldiers instituted a scheme of escorting caravans to Sulaimānia and back for a financial payment, leaving their officers raving impotently in Panjwin. This was also found between Qara Dāgh and Alabja to Sulaimānia.

In August, five Kurdish soldiers left their posts at a village near Qara Dāgh and came to town to agitate for pay. The authorities attempted to treat them roughly whereupon they retired to the middle of the town, barricaded themselves in a house and proceeded to fire upon all sent to arrest them. A brisk fight ensued. The Attacking force failed to gain entrance and in the night, the soldiers escaped and fled to the mountains, taking with them their Mauser rifles and ammunition.

During this summer (1909) there was not an officer in Kirkūk or Sulaimānia, who did not fear to give orders to his men. Open mutiny has existed all this year. The frontier posts are deserted and, even where occupied

the garrisons could not be reckoned upon.

These remarks apply only to the forces in the Kirkūk-Sulaimānia district raised locally and not to the Anatolian and other troops imported to Chemchemāl for the punishment of the Hamāvand.

To affect the control of the soldiers in towns a body exists called "Qanun" ("Law"), which exercises the functions of a police over the military. These persons parade bazaar and street, and when they detect soldiers misbehaving arrest and take them away. The powers of the Qanun are so extensive as to allow the ordinary policeman of that service the power to arrest a Bimbashi if he misbehaved in public. With an army of roughs and scoundrels like that of Turkey, it is a necessary and excellent measure.

The regular members of the soldiers in the Kirkūk-Sulaimānia districts are all armed with Mauser 10 shot rifles, but they are poor shots. Some carry hangers also, and many stick an ordinary Kurdish dagger in their belts.

The police of the district are confined to, the towns of Kirkūk and Sulaimānia. In the former place, there are some fifty individuals and in the latter one "Pūlis-kumisāri" and four police officers. These make a living by inspecting passports, extorting blackmail, and studying the science of practical bribery.

POSTS

These are weekly from place to place, and carried by a man on horseback. From Sulaimānia the post leaves every Monday evening for Kirkūk and arrives every Monday evening from that place. Taking two days to get to Kirkūk, it is divided into two portions, which are carried to Baghdad and Mosul by the couriers between this places, who pick the bags up in passing and drop the new ones for Sulaimānia from Baghdad and Mosul. The post from Sulaimānia-Baghdad takes seven days, Kirkūk-Baghdad five days, Sulaimānia-Mosul five days. Kirkūk -Mosul three days.

Posts leave Sulaimānia for Panjwin very occasionally; there is no regular service, a post office was established at Alabja some few years ago, but found futile. At present letters are carried by private runner.

The posts are very unsafe, and the authorities have a habit of opening any letters, which appear of a nature unusual in size, shape or superscription.

The telegraph line-from Mosul to Baghdad passes through Kirkūk and branches off to Sulaimānia, and from there a line has been erected to Alabja. The Jāf, however, so persistently pulled it down that the Turks have abandoned it, and all the signs of it are now a few spans near Sulaimānia. The Turkish telegraph service, notoriously bad everywhere is beyond all condemnation here.

(v) TRADE-AGRICULTURE

It has only proposed to indicate roughly the general outlines of trade in the district as no figures, been collected by the writer of this report.

The trade centers are Sulaimānia, Kirkūk and Altūn Keuprī (Guntara). Of these, the first is probably the most important for purely natural products, for the following articles come into it from Kurdistān.

Tobacco, wool gum, galls, sheep's, skins, cows, walnuts, marten and fox skins, almonds, manna, and beans. These come in large quantities and most are exported to Baghdad for Europe. The imports are principally loaf sugar, shirtings and prints from Baghdad, with tea, tin vessels, enamel ware, lamps and glasses.

From Mosul, a large quantity of Aleppo and Diarbekr cotton cloth called "Shaitan Baizi" is imported and used for the long tunics of the Kurds.

The total trade of Sulaimānia in a good year they said to be about 475,000 liras, and is decreasing owing to the existence of Turks and Sheikhs.

The largest export is tobacco, followed by wool.

The bazaars of Sulaimānia are very extensive and afford room for a large number of shoemakers who manufacture the red and black upturned-toe shoes used in Turkish Kurdistān, inferior and expensive articles (costing three to six shillings a pair) and wearing out in a couple of months.

About 50 gunsmiths manufacture quite serviceable Martini carbines and refill cartridges. The barrels are imported via Northern Kurdistān from Russia. A certain number of inferior daggers are also manufactured.

Kirkūk enjoys a larger and more steady import trade in cotton goods (prints and shirtings), cloth, native cotton cloth, lamps, glassware, iron and copper, sugar, tea, coffee, etc., and has a large transit trade for goods from Mosul to Sulaimānia and *vice versa*. Sheep are also exported to Baghdad.

Kirkūk has a very busy and large bazaar where a large number of iron workers, coppersmiths, and saddlers are working.

The most reliable merchants in both these places are Christians of Mosul, who are honest and wealthy and act as bankers for the rest of the community.

Altūn Keuprī, though only a small place, is a very busy one, for wool, skins and wheat from the district are brought to it to be floated down to Baghdad upon rafts, and its own environments produce large quantities of fruit, wheat, wool and almonds.

The agricultural zone includes and is composed of the immense wheat growing districts round Kirkūk and Altūn Keuprī, which produce a remarkably fine quality and quantity of grain. These flat plains are not irrigated, relying upon the plentiful spring rains for their moisture.

A little wheat is also grown in Shāhr-i-Zūr, which, is consumed in Sulaimānia. Opium is not grown anywhere in the district.

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APPENDIX A

THE SHAIKH FAMILIES OF SOUTHERN KURDISTĀN

Under the old regime of Kurdish Beys in Southern Turkish Kurdistan, several families of Religious leaders existed and acquired considerable power.

In Hakkīārī the Sheikh of Kurami, who resided in and near Amadia about 1840, and was one of the Turks' willing instruments for inciting the massacres of that time in the Tiyyari district. He was a descendant of a holy family of Seyyids, and related to the Pashas of Amadia. It was the grandson of this individual, who led the Turkish invasion from Oramar into Persia in 1880, Shaikh Ubaidullah, son of Sheikh Tahir, who achieved great renown in Hakkīārī for his fanaticism.

About the district of Shāhr-i-Zūr, there lived another family of Sheikhs, who had allied themselves with the Amadia Pashas by marriage, preserving for their daughters and female relations the title of Khān, which alone a member of the old family had a right to claim.

Of these priests, one 'Abdul Qadir was the leader, and arch fanatic. While in the Tiyyari hundreds of Christians were being massacred, 'Abdul Qadir succeeded in exterminating as many as he could find in and about Sulaimānia and Shāhr-i-Zūr, a task he performed so completely that not two Christian families remained in Sulaimānia.

These people had long settled in Sulaimānia and during the earlier years of the reign of Sultan 'Abdul Hamid, possessed themselves of great power; buying lands and villages. The Leader was then Sheikh Sa'id, related to the present Sheikh Ali of Tavila, a noted Sunni leader. The aim of the family, after the end of the rule of the last Sulaimānia Pasha, was to acquire such power in Sulaimānia as should guarantee them the government; and with this end in view, they started a long campaign against law and order which appeared most likely to succeed when Sheikh Sa'id, having obtained a great influence over the Sultan at Constantinople. Having spent some years there, he entered into a compact with Izzat Pasha through which he might work his will upon Sulaimānia unrestrained.

At that time Sulaimānia was a flourishing centre of business, a distributing point for imports, from Europe to Kurdistan via Baghdad and Mosul, and a collecting place for exports of gums, wool and the other produce of the country.

In company with local Turkish authorities, the place was oppressed and squeezed; one by one despondent villagers and merchants gave up their occupations and immigrated to Persia, impoverished by the taxes of the Local Government and the bare faced robbery of Sheikh Sa'id. It was his habit to openly demand large sums of money from merchants without pretext offering murder as the price of non-compliance.

In 1881, the people, exasperated and despondent, called in the Hamāvand to take the town and expel the Sheikh, but the situation was saved by the arrival of Turkish military just before the town fell, and the Sheikhs remained triumphant.

During these years, a policy of patriarchal hospitality and patronage instituted by Sheikh Sa'id, which enrolled among his adherents all the worthless people of the town, who had but to present themselves at the

Sheikh's house to be admitted among their followers, and receive immunity from their crimes in return for payment of a portion of their proceeds. These people also became spies, and it was unsafe to mention a Sheikh's name with anything but fervent admiration, lest one's neighbour be a spy. Nevertheless, among the respectable classes, it was impossible to conceal a hostile spirit and the campaign against the merchants was pursued with cruelty and vigour. Numbers (of people) were murdered and robbed, but the well known assailants were subject to no check and punishment.

After the assault of 1881, the Sheikhs succeeded in winning to their side the Hamāvand. A weapon the value of which they clearly perceived, and by bribes, intermarriages and loans succeeded so well that, when in 1908, they ordered the Hamāvands to rebel, those Marauders were forced to comply.

The object here was clearly rebellion against the new Majlis. The Sheikhs were naturally royalists, and were supported by Sultan Abdul Hamid's good will, if not actual monetary assistance, in this move. In addition, they hoped to show themselves so strong that the Government might be forced to place them in authority.

The merchants now commenced petitioning Parliament against their tyranny and at last, Sheikh Sa'id was called to Mosul, where he went hoping to win over the Vali.

However, after a short time, he was murdered by an undiscovered assassin. Immediately after this the other members of the family, enraged, induced the Hamāvands to commit further excesses, returned to Sulaimānia and instituted a course of violent oppression of the merchants at whose instance they said Sheikh Sa'id had been assassinated.

Their representative at Constantinople, Sheikh Qadir, a relation and chief of the Kurdish priests, then did his best to further the schemes of vengeance by screaming for retribution and punishment of the murderers. However, he was too much discredited by his former history for his tirades to bear much weight now, but the Vali of Mosul was ordered to Sulaimānia to make enquiries. The Shaikhs were able to bribe him, and he left Sulaimānia inveighing against the contumacious and unworthy merchants who would accuse their spiritual pastors of ill-wishes. A new mutasarrif was appointed, a puppet who accepted the Sheikh's bribes and saw nothing.

Traffic had been stopped for some time. Sulaimānia appeared like a deserted town, half its bazaars closed and merchants sitting in offices empty of both wares (goods) and customers.

For some months the Hamāvands ravaged the country during which Shaikh Ahmad, the oldest member of the family, was appointed Qaim Maqam of Chemchemāl, as a partial sop to the Shaikhs offended *amour propre*. The Government was not weak enough to officially give them the powers they possessed unofficially in Sulaimānia for they hoped to break it.

Troops were gradually collected at Chemchemāl to punish the Hamāvands, but the Shaikhs were yet powerful enough to avert punishment. The local authorities were heavily bribed, and when at last the troops could no longer hold back, the Hamāvands were allowed to escape untouched over the border to Persia.

Sheikh Mahmud is at present the leading member of the family, and is a scoundrel of the first order. He has sworn to ruin Sulaimānia in revenge for

the death of Shaikh Sa'id and, up to the time of writing, his power for evil, though no longer seen in the deserted Hamāvand country, is only too great in Shāhr-i-Zūr, where his men loot and kill, and in Sulaimānia, where his oppression and violence are unchecked.

It is the saying of the place that Sulaimānia belongs to the Shaikhs, not to the Government, and there will be no hope until they exterminated.

Trade is not one-half (less than 50%) of what it was formerly, and the situation has resulted in sending away the best merchants, the Mosul Christians and Hamadan Persians.

APPENDIX B
ROUTES AND HIRE RATES

	From	To	Hours	Miles approximate	Mule hire	Donkey hire
I	Kirkūk Chemchemāl Bāziān	Chemchemāl Bāziān Sulaimānia	12 5 <u>12</u> 29	30 13 <u>28</u> 71	2 Medjidia	1½ Medjidia
II	Kirkūk	Altūn Keuprī	11	33	1 Medjidia	15 Piastre
III	Kirkūk Taūq Tūz Khurmatu	Taūq Tūz Khurmatu Kifrī	9 6 7 22	27 18 <u>20</u> 65	Variable according to amount of loads for Mosul, and number of animals in Kirkūk	
IV	Kirkūk	Keui Sanjāq	2 days	50	1 Medjidia	½ Medjidia
V	Sulaimānia Qara Dāgh Ibrahim Khānj	Qara Dāgh Ibrahim Khānji Kifrī	8 9 <u>8</u> 25	22 24 <u>22</u> 68	Very Variable depending upon (1) Danger of country, (ii) Demand, according to season of year. Average 2 Medjidia for a mule,	
VI	Sulaimānia Mūān	Mūān Alabja Total	7 <u>6</u> 13	20 <u>17</u> 37	Very Variable according to loads	
VII VII I	Sulaimānia Sulaimānia Sardasht	Panjwin Sardasht Marga	2days 2days 1day	33 35 24 62	No regular rate 2 Medjidia according to road	1½ edjidia
IX	Sulaimānia Sardasht DūKhān	Sardasht DūKhān Keui Sanjāq	2days 5days 7days	35 14 <u>20</u> 69	No regular, usually about 2½ Medjidia a mule	
X	Marga	Bāna	7	18		
XI	Marga	Keui Sanjāq		30/4		

	Keui Sanjāq	Altūn Keuprī	12	0 33		
XII	Marga Ford	Ford over river Taūq	10 10	24 24	1½ Medjidia	1 Medjid ia
XII I	Alabja Darband Maidān Shirwān	Darband Maidan Shirwān Khāniqin Total:	5 7 7 <u>11</u> 29	12 19 17 <u>27</u> 75	2½ to 4 Medjidia according to season	
XI V	Alabja	Zuhab	2days	40	No rates	
XV	Alabja Tavila Jars	Tavila Jars Juanru Total:	8 9 <u>9</u> 26	20 24 <u>25</u> 69	No rates	
XV I	Alabja Tavila Palangān	Tavila Palangān Sina Total:	8 10 2days <u>36</u> 80	20 24 <u>36</u> 80	No rates	
XV II	Alabja Zangisar	Zangisar Panjwin	8 <u>7</u> 15	25 <u>15</u> 40	5 Qrans	4 Qrans
XV III	Panjwin Merivān Shaikh Attār Shaikh Attār	Merivān Shaikh Attār Pāūā /Duaisa Sina Total:	7 <u>75</u>	18 18 40 <u>75</u>	4 Qrans	2½ Qrans
XI X	Panjwin Serambal Panjwin	Serambal Pāūa Sardasht	8 6 2days <u>35</u> 71	21 15 <u>35</u> 71	No regular rates	
XX	Pane Mik Kani Shire	Mik Kani Shire Sina Total:	8 7 3days <u>60</u> 96	20 16 <u>60</u> 96		
XX I	Merivān Duru Pane Rawānsar	Duru Pane Rawānsar Kermānshāh Total:	13 7 12 <u>12</u> 44	30 20 29 <u>30</u> 109	No regular rates	

APPENDIX C
GLOSSARY OF NAMES OCCURING IN MAPS AND TEXT

Persian character	English transliteration	Language of origin	REMARKS
	A		
ابابیل	Abābail	Kurdish	the name of ابا عبیده From Arabic the founder of the village near Alabja in Shāhr-i-Zūr
ابزیرک	Abzirek	Do	“The lower waters”
ادمانلو	Adamanli	Do	The word ending is Turkish, pronounced "li," meaning “the tribe of the Adaman”
احمدوند	Ahmadāvand	Do	“The people of Ahmad”
احمدکلوان	Ahmad Kulwan	Do	A village on the road from Panjwin to Sulaimānia
اینکھی	Ainakhi	Do	A tribe in Juanru
اجفان	AJāfān	Do	A frontier village near Salmās
اکه سوری	Akha Suri	Do	A Jāf tribe
البجة	Alabja	Persian	Always pronounced by the Kurds “Halabja”
البس	A1bis		Turkish frontier village in Haidarenlu country
الوسان	Alusān	Kurdish	Persian frontier village near Urumia
الوسپی	Aluspi	Do	A village near Sulaimānia, meaning “Red and White”
التون کتوپری	A1tun Keupri	Turkish	“The Golden bridge”
عملة	‘Ama1a	Kurdish	A Jāf tribe
امانلو	Amānlu	Do	Corruption of the tribal name Adamanlu
اوبیشان	Ao-i-Baishān	Do	“The Baishan river”
او هنت	Ao-i-Hang	Do	“The river of the Bee”
اوکتاوان	Ao-i-Katawān	Do	The river of Katawan in Ardalān
اوشای	Ao-i-Shai	Do	Persian equivalent Ab-i-Shāhi
اوزمکان	Ao-i-Zimkān	Do	The Zimkan river
اورامان	Aorāmān	Do	Supposed to be plural of Aoram or Ahram or Ibrahim (Corrupted to Aoram)
اق سو	Aq Su	Turkish	"The white river" The upper lesser Zāb
عرب دیزه	Arab Diza	Kurdish	The Arab fort near Maku
اریابا	Arbābā	Do	ارایات Sometimes called
اریات	Arbat	Do	A village near Sulaimānia

اربیل	Arbil	Arabic	From Assyrian Arba-Ilu "Four God "
اردلان	Ardalān	Kurdish	Plural of Ardal, founder of a Tribe
اردانة	Ardana	Do	Old Kurdish "Buildings." A village near Panjwin
اسرابا	Asrabā	Do	Persian Asta.rabad, a village near Merivān.
اورین طاغ	Avrin Dāgh	Kurdish & Turkish	A mountain near Salmās
ازمر	Azmir	Kurdish	Mountain near Sulaimānia
	B		
باباجانی	Bābajāni	Kurdish	A people of Juanru
بابامرده	Bābā Murda	Do	A village near Sulaimānia on the Kirkūk road
بادخی	Badākhi	Do	A Jāf tribe
بیتوش	Baitush	Do	A village near Sardasht
بیض	Baiz	Arabic	A village on the frontier near Sardasht
باجلان	Bājlān	Kurdish	A tribe of southern Kurdistān
باخانی	Bākhāni	Do	"The place of gardens" near Sulaimānia
باکو	Bākov	Kurdish	A village in the Māmāsh country, upper Lesser Zāb
بالکی	Bāliki	Do	A village north of Barādūst in Urumia
بانة	Bāna	Do	"The high place"
بانخیلان	Bāna Khilān	Do	A ford over the Sirwan river in the Sharafbaini country
برادوست	Barādūst	Do	A district near Urumia "The brother lovers"
برچیلان	Barchilan	Do	
بردراش	Bardarash	Do	"The black rock," a frontier village near Qutur
بارودار	Bārūdār	Do	"The oak tree," a village in Ardalān
باروریان	Barwariān	Do	
باشکی	Bāshaki	Do	A Jāf tribe
باش قلعة	Bāsh qal'a	Turkish	"The fort at the Summit"
باسمیض	Bāsimich	Do	A village near Tabriz
باونج	Bowāniḡ	Kurdish	A district in Kermānshāh
بایزید	Bāyazid	Arabic	
بازی	Bāzi	Kurdish	A frontier village near Qutur
بازیان	Bāziān	Do	A pass and plain of the Hamāvand, "the place."
بازرگه	Bāzirga	Do	A frontier village in Barādūst, also called Baizircha

بازره	Bāzirra	Do	A pass of the Hamāvand
بيک کندي	Beykandi	Do	A frontier village near Bayazid
بياره	Biāra	Do	A village in Aorāmān
بييانى	Bibyāni	Do	
بالجق	Balajiq	Turkish	A frontier village near Qutur
بلباس	Bilbās	Kurdish	
بمان سو	Bimān su	Kurdish & Turkish	"The Biman river"
بيروزه	Biruza	Kurdish	A frontier village near Salmās, "The turquoise"
بستان	Bistān	Do	From Persian "Bustan" the Garden
برت کره	Burut Kurra	Do	A village and pass on the frontier near Salmās
	C		
چم باخان	Cham-i-Bākhān	Kurdish	A river of Surchina "The Bakhān river"
چم قره چولان	Cham-i-Qara Chualān	Do	A river near Sulaimānia, also written Qara Chualan
چم تاج	Cham-i-Taj	Do	A river of Western Kermānshāh
چنگينه	Changaina	Do	A village between Sulaimānia and Panjwin: "in the ravines"
چنگنه	Changanai	Do	A Jāf tribe
چمچمال	Chemchemāl	Do	Probably double plural of "Cham," a spring
چفتان	Chiftan	Do	A village in Surchina
چويس	Chwaīs	Do	A frontier village near Bistan
	D		
ديگه	Daiga or Doga	Kurdish	A Persian frontier village north of Sardasht, "The village"
ديتری	Daitiri	Do	A tribe in Juanru
دربند	Darband	Do	"A defile." Near Alabja Also called Darband-i-Khān
درنة	Darna	Do	A ruined town near the frontier south of Shāhr-i-Zūr
درويشی	Darwishi	Do	A people of Juanru
دشت	Dasht	Do	A plain near Urumia
ديالة	Diāla	Arabic	Corruption of Diala
دله تيزه	Dilataizhai	Kurdish	tribe in Juanru
دلاوردي	Dilaverdi	Turkish	A frontier village near Maku
ديريز	Diriz	Kurdish	A frontier village near Urumia
ديزة	Diza	Do	"A fort," village of the Hakkiārī
دوداران	Dodārān	Do	"Two trees" a place in Shāhr-i-

			Zūr
دورود	Dorud	Do	"Two rivers" a village in Aorāmān
دويسة	Duaisa	Do	A village north of Sina in Ardalān
دوخان	Dukhān	Do	A village between Sardasht and Keui Sanjāq
	G		
گچی	Gachi	Kurdish	A village near Kirkūk "Gypsum"
گهواره	Gahwāra	Do	A village near Kerind
گرچه	Garja	Do	A village in Surchina
گک	Gek	Do	A frontier village of the Māmāsh
گنگچین	Gengachin	Do	A frontier village in Barādūst
گورك	Geverek	Do	"The rock" A village near Qutur
گیلان	Gilān	Do	A Persian district, river and town south of Zuhāb
گیرمر	Girumar	Do	
گۆك تپه	Gok Tapa	Turkish	A place west of Qara Dāgh in southern Kurdistān
گلغمبر	Gul'anbar	Kurdish	Capital of Shāhr-i-Zūr "The amber flower"
گنده	Gunda	Do	A village south of Nilanbu "The fort"
قنگاره	Guntara*	Arabic	Proper Pronunciation Qantara, but it is never so pronounced
گوران	Gurān	Kurdish	"The people of Gur"
گوران قلعه	Gurān Qal'a	Do	A fort on the western hills of Shāhr-i-Zūr
گرگ کش	Gurg Kash	Do	A Jāf subsection of the Gurān
گوتان	Guvatān	Do	A pass in the Kedar mountains
	H		
هفت دشت	Haft Dasht	Kurdish	A village near "seven plains"
هکاری	Hakkiārī	Do	
هلبجة	Halabja	Do	Kurdish pronunciation of Alabja
هلاج	Halaj	Do	A frontier village near Bayazid
حماوند	Hamāvand	Do	
حسرابا	Hasraba	Do	Kurdish pronunciation of

* "u" as in English word "but"

			Astarabad or Asraba
هويريان	Havirian	Kurdish	A Hakkiārî sub-tribe
هراوا	Herawa	Do	A village on Shirwān river
هورام	Haoram	Do	Kurdish for Aoram
هورل	Haoril	Do	Kurdish for Erbil
هورين	Haorin	Do	Capital of the Sharafbaini Kurds, "the cloudy place"
هاروني	Hārūni	Do	A Jāf sub-tribe
هلوان	Hulwān	Do	Persian حلوان or هلوان
	I		
ابراهيم خانچي	Ibrahim Khān ji	Turkish
امامي	Imāmi	Kurdish	A people in Juanru
اسفندآباد	Isfandābād	Persian	A distract of Ardalān
	J		
جاف	Jāf	Arabic	"The Wanderers"
جاف تيلان	Jāf –i-Tilan	Kurdish
جبور	Jabour	Arabic
جافي سارتك	Jāf-i-Sārtik	Kurdish
جزيرة ابن عمر	Jazira ibn Umar	Arabic	"The Island of Omar" upon which the town in built
جبل حميرين	Jabal Hamrin	Do	"The red mountains"
جبرانلو	Jibranlu	Kurdish	A Hasanānlū sub-tribe
جلو	Jelū	Do	A Hakkiārî sub-tribe
جنديان	Jindiān	Do	A village of the Māmāsh Kurds
جرمة	Jirma	Do	A frontier village near Urumia
جوانرو	Juānrū	Do	"The pleasant river"
جلامرك	Julamark	Do	A town in Hakkiārî
	K		
كفر	Kafar	Arabic	A village between Kirkūk and Altūn Keuprî
كيوانلو	Kaiwānlū	Kurdish	A Kurdish tribe
كالان	Kalan	Do	"Peaks" a village near Panjwin
كلهور	Kalhur	Do	
كل بالين	Kal-i- Balin	Do	"The bolster peak"
كل شين	Kal-i-Shin	Do	A frontier pass, "The blue peak"
كل زنجيري	Kal-i-Zanjiri	Do	"The chain peak"
كندرلة	Kundulah	Do	A tribe of Kermānshāh
كانيان	Kānian	Do	"Wells, " north of Bistan
كاني چقال	Kāni Chaqāl	Do	"The jackal well, " near Khān

			iqin
کانی تال	Kāni Tāl	Do	"The bitter well," near Kirkūk
کانی شیرة	Kāni Shire	Do	"Well of syrup" in Ardalān
کاپوره	Kāpura	Do	
کرگه	Karga	Do	A village of Sulaimānia
کرمانج	Karmānj	Do	Generic name for Northern Kurdish tribes
کولک	Kavlik	Do	A Turkish frontier village near Qutur
کرنند	Kerind	Do	A town and tribe of Kermānshāh
کوی سنجا ق	Keui Sanjāq	Turkish	"The village province"
خانقین	Khāniqin	Arabic	"The stiflers"
خانی سور	Khān -i-sur	Kurdish	"The red serai," near Pasha Qal'a
خراسانلو	Khurāsānlū	Do	A branch of the Hasanānlū tribe
کفری	Kifrī	Arabic	
کلالی	Kilālī	Kurdish	A Jif tribe
کركوك	Kirkūk	Turkoman	
کوچکران	Kuchkarān	Kurdish	"The nomad, " a Turkish frontier village of the Hasanānlū
کوه بمو	Kuh-i-Bamu	Do.	A boundary mountain of the Gurān tribe
کوه چلچمه	Kuh-i-Chilchama	Do	"The hill of 40 springs" near Bistan
کوه کدر	Kuh-i-Kedar	Do.	The frontier hills North of Panjwin
کوکوی	Kukui	Do.	A Jāf tribe
کویک	Kuyik	Do	A Jāf sub-section of the Gurān
	L		
لامیجان	Lāhijān	Kurdish	The district south of Urumia lake
لیهونان	Laihunan	Do.	A sub tribe of the Hakkīārī
لولرک	Larlavak	Do.	A Persian frontier village near Qutur
	M		
مباوة	Mabawa	Kurdish	A fort on the Rawāndūz Sauch Bulaq road
ماهی دشت	Mahidasht	Do.	A district near Kermānshāh Properly Maidasht
میدان	Maidan	Do	A village in the lower Shirwān
ماکو	Maku	Do	A town of Azerbaijan
ماماش	Māmāsh	Do	

مندلك	Mandalik	Do	
مرند	Marand	Persian	A town of Azerbaijan
مرطه	Marga	Kurdish	
مرطور	Margavar	Do	A district of Urumia
مسودی	Masadi	Do	A Jif tribe
مسخال	Meskhali	Do	
مريوان	Merivān	Do.	Plural of "Marv," "the people of "Marv"
ميانداب	Mīāndāb	Persian	Properly Mīāndāb
مک	Mik	Kurdish	A village near Bāna
میکایی	Mikaili	Do.	A Jāf tribe
مل کل	Mil-i-Kal	Do	"The neck by the peak"
مل پلنگان	Mil-i-Palangān	Do	"Palangān neck"
منکری	Minkrī	Do	A sub-tribe of the Minkrī
میرابیگی	Mirabegi	Do	A tribe in' Juanru
میراده	Mirādeh		A village on the Bāna – Saqiz road
مسوری	Misuri	Do	A sub-tribe of the Hakkīārī
موان	Muān	Do	A village in Shāhr-i-Zūr
مرکز	Murkuz	Arabic	A frontier fort near Khāniqin
موسای	Musāi	Kurdish	A Jāf tribe
مطاره	Mutāra	Arabic	A range near Kirkūk
	N		
نفت داغ	Naft Dāgh	Turkish	"Oil hill"
نفت تپه	Naft Tapa	Do	"Oil hillock"
نیرژه	Nairzhi	Kurdish	A Jāf sub-section of the Gurān
نامداریگی	Nāmdar Begi	Do.	A tribe in Juanru
ناوسد	Naosad	Do.	A village of Aorāmān
نرگسجه	Nargisja	Do.	A village of Shāhr-i-Zūr
نارنجلان	Narinjalan	Do.	"The orangeries" of Shāhr-i-Zūr
ناوی	Naoi		"In the midst," in Shāhr-i-Zūr
نیلانبو یان	Nilānbū /	Do.	A range south of Shāhr-i-Zūr
بیانبو	Bilambū		
نیلپاریز	Nilpārīz	Do.	A village near Sulaimānia
نیرو	Nirwa	Do.	
نیشار	Nishār	Do.	A village of Merivān, "The reed town"
نوروالی	Nur Vāli	Do.	A Jāf tribe
	O		
اوهمنگ	Ohang	Kurdish	See Ao-i-hang
اولیانه	Oliāna	Do	"The priests," a village near Sulaimānia
اورمر	Oramar	Do	A village and sub-tribe of the

			Hakkiārī
	P		
پمگان	Palangān	Kurdish	The old capital of Aorāmān
پنجوین	Panjwin	Do	Kurdish popular derivation of "Panj din," from its former population of Jew, Christian, Shi'ah, Sunni, and 'Ali Ullah.
پوه	Pava	Do	A village of the Gurān
پیرمگون	Pir-i-Mugūrūn	Do	A mountain near Sulaimānia
پشدر	Pishdar	Do	A Sub-tribe of the Mukrī
پونمرك	Pūnamark	Do	A frontier village near Qutur
پشته ماله		Do	A Jāf tribe
	Q		
قادر میر ویسی	Qādir Mir Waisi	Kurdish	A sub-tribe of the Gurān
قیصران	Qaisaran	Arabic	A village south of the Alabja plain
قلعه پانگه	Qal'a-i-Bāniga	Kurdish	A fort on the Bash Qal'a - Urumia road "The upper fort"
قلعه حماه	Qal'a-i-Hama	Do.	A fort in the Shūān country, "Hama's fort"
قلعه خواره	Qal'a -i-Khwarawa	Do.	A fort and village near Chemchemāl of the Hamāvand, "The lower fort"
قلعه سبزی	Qal'a-i-Sabzi	Do.	A fort near Qasr-i-Shirin, "The green fort"
قلعک	Qal'ak	Kurdish	A village near Bash Qal'a
قلخانیه	Qalkhāni	Do	A branch of the Gurān tribe
قمرجق	Qamarajiq	Turkish	A village near Bayazid
قره باغ	Qarabāgh	Do	A village near Altūn Keuprī
قره چالان	Qara chulan /or Qara chwalan	Kurdish and Turkish	A river and village north of Sulaimānia "The black deserts"
قره داغ	Qara Dāgh	Turkish	A range of hills, district and village, "The black hills"
قره پاپاخ	Qarapapakh	Do	A Tatar tribe near Urumia, "The black hat"
قره تپه	Qara Tapa	Do	"The black hillock"
قصرک	Qasrak	Kurdish	A frontier village near Salmās
قصر شیرین	Qasr-i-Shirin	Persian	A town nears the frontier, "Shirin's Palace"
قرزلجه	Qiziljeh	Turkish	A district and stream near Panjwin

قزلربات	Qizilrubāt	Do	A village on the Baghdad-Kermānshāh road, "The red fort"
قوبادی	Qubādī	Do	A tribe in Juanru
قورتو	Quretu	Do	A river and village in Zuhāb
قورت کوی	Qurt Keui	Do	"Kurd village," near Altūn Keuprī
قریه	Quris	Do	A village by Kirkūk
قتور	Qutur	Do	A town on the frontier in Azerbaijan
	R		
رانیه	Rānīa	Kurdish	A town of Turkish Kurdistan
رواندوز	Rawāndūz	Do	A town in Turkish Kurdistan
روانسر	Rawānsar	Do	A Gurān village
ربات	Rayāt	Do	A village near Rawāndūz, in Turkish Kurdistan
ریژه	Rīzho	Do	A canton of Kerind
رغزادی	Rugh Zādī	Do	A Jāf tribe
	S		
صدانی	Sadāni	Kurdish	A Jāf tribe
سگره	Sagirma	Do	A pass in Qara Dāgh
صلاحیه	Salahia	Arabic	A tribe and district near Kifrī
سلماس	Salmās	Persian	A town of Azerbaijan
سقز	Saqiz	Turkish	A town of Ardalān "Gum mastic"
سردشت	Sardasht	Kurdish	"At the plain's head"
سرمبل	Serambal	Do	A frontier village near Bāna
سراوان	Serāwān	Do	"By the waters, " a village in the Nilanbu
شاهی	Shāhi	Do	A village and mountain in Ardalān
شاهدان	Shāhidan	Kurdish from the Arabic	"The martyrs, " a village near Bistan
شهرزور	Shāhr-i-Zūr	Persian	Kurd Sharazuri, "the city of strength," also known formerly as Shāhr-i-Bazar, "The market town."
شیخان	Shaikhān	Kurdish	A plain and village in Kermānshāh, "The priests."
شیخ عتار	Shaikh 'Attar	Arabic	A proper name, name of a village near Merivān
شیخ اسماعیلی	Shaikh Isma'ili	Kurdish	A Jāf tribe
شمیدینان	Shamidīnān	Do	A sub-tribe of the Hakkīārī
شاتیری	Shatiri	Do	A sub-tribe of the Jāf
شوان	Shūān	Do	"The shepherds," a tribe

شوشان	Shushān	Do	Or Shuchan, ruins near Alabja
سهكانلو	Sihkānlu	Do	A sub-tribe of the Hasanānlū
سنة	Sina	Do	Sinendij سنندج Always wirtten and formerly and occasionally صحنة and صحنج written
سنجابی	Senjābī	Do	A Persian Kurd tribe near the frontier at Qasr-i-Shirin
سوبلاخ	Soblākh	Do	From Turkish Sauch Bulaq, popular pronunciation
سليمانية	Sulaimānia	Arabic	Kurdish "sulaimani," its original name
سورباخان	Surbāghān	Kurdish	"The red gardens" near Bayazid
سورچينه	Surchina	Do	"The red hillocks" Sur Chiana
سوريان	Suriān	Do	"Redness" a frontier village between Urumia and Bash Qal'a
	T		
تيلكو	Tailaku	Kurdish	A district, and a tribe of the Jāf
تايشه	Tāishai	Do	A sub-tribe of the Gurān
تندروك	Tandurak	Do	Through Turkish from Persian "an oven"
تپه كوي	Tapa Keui	Turkish	"The village of the mound"
تپه ريز	Tapa Ruiz	Kurdish	"The little mound, " a frontier village near Bayazid
ترگور	Targavar	Do	A frontier district near Urumia
ترخانی	Tarkhāni	Do	A Jāf tribe
تاوق سو	Tauq su	Turkish	"The river of the fowl"
تويلة	Tawila	Kurdish	A village of Aorāmān
تشر	Tashar	Do	A village of Aorāmān
تولية	Tulia	Do	A village of Urumia
تمان	Tumān	Persian	A village of Hakkīārī
دوزخورما تي	Tuz Khurmati	Turkish	A village near Kifrī
	U		
ئوخداغ	UākhDāgh	Kurdish	"The ass mountain," above Ushnāi
اورمية	Urumia	Persian	Probably Median name
اشني	Ushnāi	Kurdish
	W		
ولديكي	Walad Begij	Kurdish	A people in Juanru
ورده	Warda	Do	A peak in the frontier range of Kurdistān
	Y		
يزدان بخشی	Yazdān Bakhshi	Kurdish	A Jāf tribe

یگی کوی	Yengi Keui	Turkish	"The new village," in the Abagha plain near Bayazid
یوسف یار احمدی	Yusuf Yār Ahmadi	Kurdish	A Jāf sub-section of the Gurān
	Z		
زاب	Zāb	Assyrian
زنگنه	Zangana	Persian	A tribe near Kermānshāh
زنگی سر	Zangisar	Kurdish	A village near Shāhr-i-Zūr
زرده	Zarda	Do	A village of the Gurān
زردوی	Zardawi	Do	A Jāf tribe
زبری	Zebarī	Do	A tribe of the Hakkīārī, "The tyrants"
زبرکان	Zevakān	Do	"The silver mine," a frontier village in Hakkīārī
ژیړیا	Zhiriā	Do	"Under the wind" lake at Merivān
زیمکان	Zimkan	Do	A river of Kermānshāh
زیرکانلو	Zarkanli	Do	A sub-tribe of the Hasanānlū
زهاب	Zuhab	Persian	

APPENDIX D VOCABULARY

In the following vocabulary, no attempt been made to give anything like a full list of the words most necessary to the traveler, for they would be far too many. Those that differ widely from Persian in any dialect are here given preference, but the ordinary Kurdish corruption of or difference from the same words used in Persian is along such lines as would not be familiar to one who knows colloquial Persian, and, in view of the fact that the apparent corruption is not infrequently an accuracy, and the Persian form a corruption, to give a vocabulary the size of a dictionary would alone do justice to the language.

A verb form has been detailed as an example, and certain, and in fact, most verbs are modeled upon this, the apparent differences in some irregular verbs being to meet euphonic demands. The verb is, however, difficult and the simple tenses provided here are sufficient for one who passes through the country. It is regrettable that the verbs "to be" and "to become" are far too complicated to be touched upon here

I have taken words from the Kermānj dialect of the Hasanānlū, Haidarenlu, and the tribes of that group, a language spoken in the greater part of Northern Turkish Kurdistan, and that are understood in Diarbekr and Mosul. The "middle" Kurdish is Mukrī, Sulaimānia, and where the Ardalāni differs, I have put the word thus "Khāniga" S. The Southern dialect is Kermānshāhi, which is spoken from Kermānshāh to the Turkish frontier. The Persian equivalent I have placed in the last column for contrast or comparison.

It must not be imagined that these three dialects comprise the whole of the tongue of Kurdistan. I have not touched upon the widely spread Zāzā or the old dialects of Aorāmān, Pava and Rīzho, or the Gavarnai and Balaki amalgamations, but have limited myself to the three principal tongues.

APPENDIX D -continued
Vocabulary—continued

English	Northern Kurdish Kermanji	Middle Kurdish Mukrî	Southern Kurdish Kermānshāhi	Persian
A				
After (in pursuit)	dumā	shun	duwāu	عقب، دنبال
After (time)	pāsh, pāsha	pāsh	durtr	بعد، پس
Afternoon (late)	iwāra	iwāra	iwāra	طرف غروب
Afternoon (early)	asir	pāshinima ru	asar	عصر
Ant	mura	mairula Mairucha	mur*	مورچه
Arm	bāl	bālak	bāl	دست
Ass	har	kar	kar	خر
B				
Bad	kharāp, mirdār	Kharāo	gan	بد
Beak	dunuk	nukal, dunuk	dunuk	نوک
Bear	birch	wirch	wurchi, khurs	خرس
Bee	hank	hang*	hang	زنبور عسلی
Before	baria	jārān	wartir	پیشتر
Beggar	faqir	sālkara	gia	گدا
Belly	Zik	zik	zik	شکم
Belonging	māl-i- or final-ra in pronouns only	hin-i, hi-i	mal-i	مال
Beneath	zhir	zhir	zhir	زیر
Besides	itir	tir	ditir	دیگر
Big	mazin, gaurā	zl, zlām, gawrā*	gaurā	بزرگ
Black	rash	rash	siā	سیاه
Blue	hashina	shin	kauu	ابی

* Ng__ ng as pronounced in English, long, strong, etc.

* A liquid l as in Russian < "balalaika."

* U__ as pronounced in French "pur".

Boy	kurr, zawaru	kurra	kurra	پسر
Breast	mim	mimk	māmka	پستان
Breath	hinās	hinās	hinās	نفس
Bride	buk	buk	wiw	عروس
Bridegroom	zāvā	zāvā	zāmā	داماد
Bridge	prt	prt	prt	پل
Bring	bāvar	biaina, bāvr	bār	بیار
Broom	nevlík	gissik	gissik	جاروب
Buy (to)	kirrin	kirrin, siainin	sinin	خریدن
C				
Call (to)	bān krdn	Bāng krdn chirrin (S)	Dang dān	بانك کردن
Cat	pisink	pisink, piska, katka	pishi	گربه
Charcoal	keumer	khalus	zukhāl	زغال
Child	zāwaru	Mināl	munāl	بچه
Clothing	julik, htaari	jil	jil, janik	لباس
Cock	khurus	kalashir	kalashir	خروس
Come (to)	hātin	hātin	hātin	امدن
Come back (to)	wagarin	wāgirdn hal gerriān	algirdiān	برگشتن
Complete (whole)	sākh	sākh	tawāw	درست
Cook	pāhitin	kulān	kuliān	پختن
Copper	pākhir	fākhir	mis	مس
Cream	qaimāq	sarsher, qaimāq	sershir	سرشیر
D				
Day before yesterday	pari	duduaina duduaikē, pairi	parika	پریروز
Deserted	chul, vairān	Chul	hul	خالی
Do (to)	kirrin, krdn	krdn	krdn	کردن
Down (below)	khwār	khwār	khwār	خوار
Duck	wardek	murāvi, sunā	sonā , hurdak	مرغابی
Dust, earth	khāli	khwāli	khāk	خاک
E				

Earth, ground	ard	ard, zwi	zuin	زمین
Eggs	hak	hilka	khā	تخم
Empty	batāl	batāl	khāli	خالی
Eyebrows	bri	bru	bru	ابرو
F				
Fall (to)	kastn	kaotn	kaftin	افتادن
Father	bāb	baok	baoka	پدر
Fire	āgir	āgir, ār	agir	اتش
Firewood	aizhink	hizhink	chilak	میزم
Firewood (small)	chilka	chulka		
Food	garmik	chaisht	khwārak	خوراکی
For	bo, zhibo	bo	arai	برای
Formerly	jārān	jārān	wartir	پیشتر
Fowl	mirishk	mirishk	mamar	مرغ
Forehead	nochāf	nocho	naoichao	پیشانی
From	la	la	la	هز
G				
Gazelle	Jairān, ask	jairān, ask	jairān	جیران
Give (to)	dān	dān	dān	دادن
Give (imp)	bada	bia	bia	بده
Go (to)	chun, harrn	rruin	chiān	رفتن
Go (imp)	harra	burru	buehu	برو
Goat	bzn	bizn	bizin	بز
Gold	zir	zir, altun	telā, zar	تلازر
Good	rrund*	bāsh, chāk, zarif, khās	khus	خوب
Gourd	kul	kulaka	kau	کدر
Grape	tirri	tiri, hangur	hangur	انگور
Ground, earth	ard	ard, zwi	zuin	زمین
H				
Hard	Raqq, sif	raqq	sut	سفت

* "U" as in English "but".

Hare	karwishk	karwishk	karwishk	خرگوش
Hear	bhistn	histn	zhnāftin	شنفتن
Heavy	girān	girān	girān	سنگین
Here	lawari	Hira, lawāi	waira, airda	ادجا
Himself	khud	khwāi	Khwāi	خودش
Hole	kun	kunā	kunā	سوراخ
Hornet	zambur	zardawāla	zamura-i-kāfri	زنبورزد
House	khān u	khān u, māl	māl	خانه
How	chitum	chun, chlun	chun	چتور
How much	chan	chan	chan	چقدر
Hunger	brchi	birsi	wursi	کرسنگی
I				
I	az, min	min	min	من
Ice	yekh	sāol	yekh	یخ
In front	lawā	lapaish	lawar	جلو
K				
Knee	zini	izhnu	zhānu	زانو
Know	zānin	zānin	zānisn	زانستن
L				
Lamb	barr	berkh	wurkh	بره
Later	shun, shuntir	pāsh, pāshtir	dur, durtir	بعد
Lead	qurqushun	qurqushun	surb	سرب
Leaf	chlu	glā	gilā	برگ
Leg	pai, rrān	qāch, pai	pā	پا
Little (a)	heodek	hanak, kem	kem	کم
Little	quehka	pchuk, pchuklāna , wurd	Buchik	کوچک
Look(to)	fikrrin	nairin		نگاکردن
Loss	zhlān	ziān	ziān, zerār	زیان، زرد
Lost	wāndā	gum, wān	gum	گم
M				
Mad	dāna	shait	shit	دیوانه شید
Man	mir	piāo	piāo	مرد

Many	zur, pir	zur	fera	خیخ
Melon	Qarpus, kālak	kālak	kālak	خربوزه
Mill	āsh	āsh	āsh	اسیاب
Money	pāra	pāra, pul	pul	پول
Morning	liw	baiāni	sozi	صبح
Mother	dā	dāik	dālik	مادر
Mountains	chian	ku, kuakan	ku, kuakal	کوه
Mouth	daf	dam	dam	دهان
Much	zur, pir	zur	fera	خیخ
Mule	istr	aistr, ulākh	haistr, qātir	قاتر
Myself	khwam	khwam	khwam	خودم
N				
Neck	ustu	mil	mil	گردن
Noise	bāng	dang	dang	صدا
Now	nikā	aista	Iranga	حالا
O				
Obvious	diār	diār, malum	paiā, diār, mālum	پیدا
Owl	baiqush	bāyaqush	baiqush	چفد
P				
Pear	harmi	harmu	harmu	گلابی
Pepper	isut	ālat	ālat	فلفل
Pet	qazān	qazān	tiāncha	دیک
Pretty	juān	khujuāl	juān	خوشگل
Profit	qazānj	qazānj	manfat	منفعت
Q				
Quarter	chirek	chwārek	ewārek	چارک
Quilt	yurqān	lif	lif	لحاف
R				
Ram	varan	waran	shik, waran	غوج
Red	khusur	sur	sur	سرخ
Replete	tir	tir	tir	سیر
Ruin	chul	chul	chul	خرابه
Run(to)	rāven	rrākrdn	darchian	دریدن
S				

Salt	khevi	khui	khwa	نمک
Say(to)	Kutn, bo	eln, wutn, gutn, watn	watin	گفتن
Scattered	bla	blao	prrt	پراکنده
Scissors	miqās	miqās	miqās	قیچی
Scorpion	qirzhink	dopishk	kulizhdum	عقرب
Shade	siābar	Siabar	sāyi	سایه
Sheep	parra	marr	gāvir	کفند
Silver	ziw	ziw	nuqra	نقره
Skewer	shish	Shish	shish	سیخ
Sleep	khāo	khāo	khāo	خواب
Sleep (to)	rrākafn	nuistn, khaftn	khaftin	خوابیدن
Small	Quchik, hurd	wurd	wurd	کوچک
Some	chan	chan	chan	قدری
Song	āvāz	gurāni	gurāni	آوازه
Son	zāwaru kurr	kurr	kurra	پسر
Sooner	baria	jārān (before)	wartir	پیشتر
sparrow,	kuchek	culaika, malushka	maluchik	کنجشک
Speech	qsa	qsa	qsa	حرف
Spring (a)	kāni	kāni	kāni	چشمه
Stone	Gaavr, bard	bard	kuchik	سنگ
Stop!	biskn	Rrāwuasa *	wuasa	را ایست
Strike	Biqat, laikha	laikha	Bida	بزن
Summer	Hāvin taoisin	Hāwin taoisān	toisān	تابستان
Sun	tāf	fatao	khwar	افتاب
Stairs	piliakān	jaipai, piliakān	pillakān	پله
T				
Take	bigirra	bigirra, bioiain	bistn, bigirra	بگیر
Take away	biwa	biba	buwa	ببر
Tent	māl	māl, chāir	māl, chāir	چادر

* "U" as in English "but"

That	av	ao, awa	awa	ان
Then	aowaqit	osa, owakht	owakbt	انگاه
There	laora	laora	aorda	انجا
There is	hayya	hayyi, hayyati	has, hasi	هست
There is not	tunna ,	nia	niyya	نیست
These	vān, yān	aiyāna, amāna	aiyāna	اینها
They	vān	owāna	owāna	ایشان
Thirsty	taima	tini	tini	تشنه
This	va	am, ama	yeh	این
Thorn	hai, darraka	dirrika	drrika	خار
Those	vān	ouān	awān	انها
Throw(to }	dāikhan	dāikhn, khian	khian	انداختن
Thus	vā	wā	chnu	چنین
Tired	mā	mā, hailak	shikat	خسته
To	la, bi	la,bi	wā	به
Tomorrow	sabh, sawa	subhaini	damisu	فردا
Torn	Qi-h	dr̄rāra	diri	پنره
Torrent	cham	cham	cham	سیلاب
Towel	khaoIi	khaoli	haola	حوله
Tree	dār	dār	dār	درخت
Trousers	shāl	shwāl	shalwār	شلوار
U				
Ugly	nashirin	nāshirin	zish	زشت
Uncle	mām	māmu	māmu	عمو
Under	zhir	zhir	zhir	زیر
V				
Very	zur, pir	zur	fera	خیخ
Visaible	Diār	diār	diār	پیدا
Village	gund	gund, lādi, deh	deikaya	دبه
W				
Walnut	guez	guez	guez	گردد
We	aima, aani	aima	ima	ما
We, ourselves	khwamman	khwammā n	khwammān	خودمان
Well (a)	kāni	kāni	kāni	چاه

whatever	chiqās	harchi	harchi	هەرچه
Where	laku	laku	laku	کجا
Which	kizhān	kāmin	kām	کدام
White	spi	spi	charmu	سفید
Why	baochi	bo, bocha	araicha	چرا
Word	qsa	qsa	qsa	سخن
Work	ishi	ishi	kar	کار
Y				
Yesterday	dhu	duaina, duaika	duaika	دیروز
You	hun	iwa	iwa	شما
Yourselves	khwatān	khwatān	khwatān	خودتان

APPENDIX D — continued
Vocabulary- Continued

English	Northern Kurdish Kermanji	Middle Kurdish Mukrī	Southern Kurdish (Kermanshshi)
1	yek	yek	yak
2	du	duān	du
3	si	siān	sa
4	chār	chwār	chwār
5	painch	pinj	panj
6	shash	shash	shash
7	haot	haot	haft
8	hasht	hasht	hasht
9	nia	na	nu
10	da	da	da
11	dawāyek	yānza	yānza
12	dawadudu	dwānza	dwānza
13	dawasasa	sianza, ziada	sianza
14 ... etc	dawachār	chwārda	chwārda
20	bis	bis	Bis

30	si	si	si
40	chil	chil	chil
50	painja	pinjā	panjā
60	shaist	shaist	shast
70	hafta	haftā	haftā
80	haishita	haishtā	haishtā
90	Nut	nwt	nawad
100	sat	so	so

Plurals are formed by adding -an to the singular, or -akān in the north and middle; and -al or -akāl in Southern.

Examples: murān (N), tanān (N), afān (N) pīaoakān (M), pīaowāl (S), zhenskān (M), zhenāl (S);.āũĩĩāā

In middle Kurdish to signify "one" the particle "-ek" always *follows* the noun, as "pīaoek," one man, "psinkek," one cat, "sagek," one dog, etc. Plural forms must always be used for every true plural; there is no use of the singular form for the plural as in Persian.

Verb forms.

A general idea of the difficulty of such forms and of the impossibility of giving an explanation of them, except at length, is supplied by the partial conjugation of the verb "krdn," to do, in three dialects, Kurmanj, Mukrĩ and Kermānshāhi.

PRESENT Indicative

Kurmanji	Mukrî	Kermānshāhi
Dakam or dakirrim dakai or dakirri dakin, or daka, or dakirrn or dakirra dakkin, dakirrin dakkin, dakirrin dakkin, dakirrin mukrd, * krdm takrd, krđi av krd, krd umkrd, krdin "hundkrd, krdn vānkrd, krda	dakam or akam dakai, akai dakait, daka, akait, akat dakain, akain dakain, akain dakan, akan <i>Preterite</i> amkird, krdm atkird, krdit okitd, ikird, krđi imānkird, krdin itankird krdin ayānkird krdn	kam kait kat kaimin kaitin kan kirdm kirdit kird kirdimin kirditin kirdian

* "H" as in English "much."

PAST PERFECT

Kurmanji	Mukrî	Kermānshāhi
kirdma	Krduma	krdma
kirdta	krduta	krdta
kirdia	Krdawa	krdia.
kirdna	krduna	krdina, krdiaina
kirdna	krduna	krdna, krditina
kirdna	krduna	krdiana
	<i>past Imperfect</i>	
dumkrd*	amkrd	kirdiām
dutkrd	atkrd	krdiāt,
daikrd	aikrd	krdia
damkrd	amankrd	krdiāimin
dhunkrd	atankrd	krdiātin
dyānkrd	awānkrd	krdiān

* English "u" as in "dumb."

Future

As present indicative except for the Mukrîand Sulaimānia optional forms: daba bikam, etc.

Imperative

bika bika bka.

This is the most regular of Kurdish verbs and its principal parts are here shown, and are useful for the formation of verbs with nouns as in Persian. To attempt to explain the verbs "to be" and "to become" or subtle vowel-sound differences which mark one tense from another otherwise identical would require space not available here, as they're so complicated in form and use that none but the most assiduous student can hope to master them.