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SOME GŪRĀNĪ GLEANINGS FROM PERSIAN CODICES*

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ABSTRACT

A search in the archives and rare collections of the National Library, Tehran, intended primarily to find the Arabic polemics against Yezidi religion, has resulted in the discovery of another source of information on the Gūrānī literature. To my knowledge, this collection has never previously appeared in print. It contains some Persian codices, entitled, *jung* in which there are unpublished material of the Gūrānī literature. Most of the Persian material given in the *jungs* were considered by Library's staff. However, they chose not to give details on Gūrānī fragments, and the fact that this material exists has largely been ignored by scholars up to the present day. This paper gives a presentation of this Gūrānī unpublished material, making it widely available for the first time.

Key words: Gūrānī, Persian, Kurdish, Kurdistan, *jung*, codices, Iran

ÖZET

Fars Elyazmalarında Bazı Goranî Derlemeleri

Tahran'daki Ulusal Kütüphane arşivlerinde ve nadir koleksiyonlarındaki bir araştırmada temel amacım Yezidi dinine karşı yazılan Arapça tartışmaları bulmaktı, fakat sonunda Gorani edebiyatı hakkındaki yeni bir bilgi kaynağı keşfettim. Bildiğim kadarıyla bu derleme daha önce herhangi bir yerde yayınlanmadı. Derlemede *jung* adı verilen ve Gorani edebiyatının yayınlanmayan malzemelerini içeren bazı elyazmaları mevcut. Elyazmalarında yer alan Farça materyalin çoğu kütüphane çalışanları tarafından kaydedilmişti, fakat Gorani parçaların paylaşımındaki kapalı tutumlarından dolayı bu malzemenin varlığı günümüze kadar bilinmemekteydi. Bu makale Gorani edebiyatının bu yayınlanmayan malzemelerinin tanıtımını yaparak onları geniş kesimlerin kullanımına sunmaktadır

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gorani, Farsça, Kürtçe, Kürdistan, *jung*, elyazmaları, İran

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KURTE

Hinek Berhevokên Goranî di Destxetên Farisî de

Li Pirtûkxaneyê Neteweyî ya li Tehranê armanca min a sereke ew bû ku li arşiv û koleksiyonên kêmpêyda de nîqaşên bi erebî yê li hember dîne êzidî hatine nivîsîn peyda bikim. Lê di encamê de min çavkaniyeke nû ya edebiyata Goranî peyda kir. Ya ez dizanim ew berhevok heta niha li çî cihan nehatiye çapkirin. Di berhevokê de hinek destxetên edebiyata Goranî yê neçapkirî hene ku wek *jung* têne binavkirin. Piraniya malzemeyên bi farisî yê di desxetan de ji aliyê xebatkarên pirtûkxaneyê hatine tomarkirin, lê bele ji ber ku destgirtî bûn ji bo parvekirina parçeyên bi goranî, ew malzeme heta niha nedihatine zanîn. Ev gotar hewl dide ku wan malzemeyên neçapkirî yê edebiyata Goranî bide nasîn û wan peşkeş bike ji bo bikaranîna raya giştî.

Peyvên Sereke: Goranî, Farisî, Kurdî, Kurdistan, Jung, Destxet, Îran

Introduction

Classical Gūrānī literature rests upon a rich heritage of written tradition. The major dialects of Gūrānī with approximately three hundreds famous manuscripts altogether (including those outside Iranian and Iraqī Kurdistan), possess a wealth of literature, unfortunately mostly unstudied, marginalized, and known to few². Talking about Gūrānī literature, you are often forced into a discussion on ‘unpublished material’. Much of the Gūrānī literature is channeled through personal libraries, in the canonical as well as in the noncanonical, in the unedited and unstudied formats. Mining the unknown and unpublished Gūrānī literature is the most important way to introduce its treasures to a broader public³.

That Persian literary compositions, known as *jung*⁴, despite the unworldly nature of much of their content, could prove to be significant source material for such practical matter as Gūrānī poetry, has been known a long time, ever since the text of some Gūrānī hymns was edited and published some decades ago⁵. When therefore the theme of this issue was announced, it occurred to me that it might be useful to search through all, or at least some, of the available unpublished Persian *jungs* with an eye for those fragments that have some relevance for Gūrānī literature. This paper will present a glimpse into the results of this search. The allusions to and quotations from Gūrānī poetry in Persian literary compositions or *jungs* have not yet been systematically collected and analyzed; this paper, therefore, aims to illustrate the inherent interest of this tradition and its significance in reconstructing the multilateral picture of Gūrānī literature.

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² The Gūrānī literary tradition, in general, is rightly tackled by Blau (1989). The Gūrānī varieties have been studied by Hadank (1930) and MacKenzie (1956, 1966).

³ The earliest important works on Gūrānī grammar and literature were published by Rieu (1881) and Soane (1921). Of new studies one may mention the work by Chaman Ara (2015), with a special focus on Gūrānī epic texts.

⁴ *jung* (also known as *safîna*) is a literary miscellany of prose and poetry, and sometimes album of pictures and illustrations. For some details on *jungs*, see Afshār (1982).

⁵ Compare Minorsky (1943) and MacKenzie (1965).

A few number of Persian *jungs*, however, came to be linked with Gūrānī Literature. These codices are recently purchased from Kurdish individuals⁶. While the depository of the following Persian codices are subject to scholarly debate, the fragments discussed below probably originated in western Iran during the 19th to 20th centuries. Some of the folios show traces of a later revision. The date of all Gūrānī fragments given in the Persian codices is difficult to ascertain, though there are some dated pieces and colophons. While the Gūrānī poems have normally been ascribed to certain authors, such claims sometimes lack scholarly support. Some Arabic and Turkish prose and poetries are also found, as well as later Persian glosses. At some point after these codices were made, the Gūrānī texts were damaged and consequently, the possible variants need to be employed to reconstruct lost words and passages. Some lines of the manuscripts have been damaged by recent bindings and restorations.

The manuscripts discussed below include some important Gūrānī poems and texts, which are, to my knowledge, absent from available Gūrānī texts. The following list of manuscripts is the result of the compilation of chronologically heterogeneous materials. The five main codices concerning Gūrānī literature are:

MS 1330041

Jung-i Ash'ār-i Gūnāgūn (Bayād-i Majmū'a); dated 1248 AH/1832 CE; 148 fols.; various lines; 85 x 185 mm.; *Farangī, Nukhudī* paper; brown leather hardcover

The copyist was a Kurd from Saqiz in Iranian Kurdistan, named Muḥammad Jadīd, who wrote the name and dating of the codex in fols. 45r., 104v., and 144v. (normally as *tammāt shud az dast-i Muḥammad*). The codex is valuable in its own right because of its being written by a Kurd from, Saqiz, a Kurdish-Sōrānī speaking area (fol.1r.), which makes it unique, unlike Gūrānī folios that are produced massively. Among all known Kurdish manuscripts in current collections, those coming from the Sōrānī Kurdish areas are clearly the rarest. If none of the poems given in the codex ever was Sōrānī, it is all the more interesting that the incipit (*min xane xirab bûm le qem-i iŝq-i cūanan ▪ piyweste dekîŝim qem û hicran û feqanan*, fol.1v.) and excipit (*derd-i gyan dadin sextewe*, fol.129r.) present Sōrānī fragments.

Most of the codex is in Persian but there are some poems, short texts, and expressions usually detected in margins, which are written in Arabic (e.g. *al-muslimu man salima al-muslimūna min lisānih wa yadih*; or *lā yu'minu aḥadukum ḥattā yuḥibbu li-akhīyi mā yuḥibbu*, fol.102r.). The Arabic phrases are sometimes vocalized.

⁶ Of famous manuscript dealers who sold these *jungs* to the Library one may mention Mihryār Āzādī and Murtaḍā 'Alī Ḥusaynī.

The Persian poems include some fragments in *qaṣīda*, *ghazal*, and *mukhammas* that are quite revealing for the wider range of regional intercourse and relations in western Iran. The poems are part of a benediction bestowed by copyist upon his readers, the contents of which no doubt reflect the ethical importance of Persian poetry in Kurdistan. Though the reading of some names are still doubtful, it is reasonably to assert that the following poets had a great contribution to the codex: Kamāl Khujandī, Mīrzā Ṭāhir, Khusru Bayg, Ādhar, Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī, Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī, Mushtāq Issfahānī, Sheikh Aḥmad Ghazzālī, Kalīm Kāshānī (fols.13r.-17v.), Jāmī (fol.24r.), an unidentified *mathnawī* (fols.25r.-28v.), Muḥtasham Kāshānī (fols.31v.-38v.), Wahshī of Bāfq (fols.37v.-40v.), Zulālī Kh^wānsārī, Rūmī, Fuḍūlī (fols.40v.-51r.), Kh^wāja Afḍal al-Dīn, Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Abū Sa’īd Abu al-Khayr, Ḥāfīz, Sa’dī, Sanā’ī, Khāqānī...etc. (fols.52r.-80v.). Besides these short poems, a number of works were also inserted in the codex, the most notable being the Persian verse version of *Chihil Ḥadīth* by Jāmī (fols.100v.-107r.). Mention also should be made of *Khawāṣṣ-i Ruba’īyāt* by Abū Sa’īd Abu al-Khayr (fols.92r.-109r.) and the *takhmīs* of *al-Jawhar al-Maḍī’a Khawāṣṣ-i ī’a* by Sulaymān b. Ḥijāzī (fols.117r.-120r.).

Kurdish folios of the codex in a broad sense include texts written in Gūrānī and Sōrānī dialects. As it is clear from paleography and codicological elements, the older Kurdish poems are in Gūrānī, for example the fragments attributed to Sheikh Aḥmad Kasnazānī, Sheikh Nudahī, and especially a well known *rūla bizānī* fragment by Sheikh ‘Abd Allāh (fols.81r.-87b.).⁷

From religious themes a Gūrānī work has survived, originally composed in Arabic but preserved here in Gūrānī. It is entitled *Ṣallū ‘Alā Muḥammad* and reflect Kurdish Sunni respect for Rashidun Caliphs (fol.115r.). A smaller number of Gūrānī poems by Walī Dīwāna and Bēsārānī exist in the last folios (fol.127r. ff.).

Gūrānī is, however, also attested in some parts of Sōrānī poems. In other words, in form and content Sōrānī poems appear to be somewhat influenced by Gūrānī and show some connection with its linguistic characters (e.g. *sed hezaran ṣīt û şeydaten ce dana û lebīb*, fol.121r.). The Sōrānī section of the codex consists of more than twenty folios, but unfortunately it is usually impossible to identify its structure and author(s). Some Sōrānī folios are in the wrong order and some others are missing, notably at the middle. The fragments of Kurdish poems consist of *qaṣīdas* by Malā Maḥmūd, Khākī, Fikrī, Baḥrī, Amīn, Murtaḍā, Khasta, ‘Uyūnī, and Kurdī (e.g. fols.108r.-116v.).

Finally, it should be noted that religious interests were always part of the Kurdish literary tradition. Thus the codex compiler would take the field at the head of his collection to acquire the charisma demanded of a compiler through

⁷ A sample of texts, known as *rūla bizānī*, is published by Dehqan (2015).

gallantry and religious skill and to prove that he was favoured by God. In comparison to other codices, however, Gūrānī and especially Sōrānī fragments presented in the codex preserves no important religious features.

MS 5-24046

Jung; dated Shawwāl 1261 AH/October 1845 CE; 45 fols.; various lines; 165 x 82 mm; *Farangī-yi Alwān* paper; black hardcover

The newly found manuscript *jung* 5-24046, described by the Library's staff as a Persian manuscript, gives us a most welcome addition to our knowledge of Gūrānī literature. The fact that the manuscript contains some Gūrānī compositions previously unknown from other sources clearly indicates how little we know of the total repertory of the literature. It is interesting that the access to the manuscript was made possible through the personal courtesy of certain Kurdish donors, who sent the manuscript from Kurdistan to Tehran. According to the colophon, it is written in the village Nēsāra⁸, in Iranian Kurdistan (fol.42v.). The incipit starts with *hādhā du'ā' imām 'Alī* (fol.8r.) and excipit reads as follows: *qiṣmat min...min* (fol.42v.). Some parts of the manuscript are incomplete. From the remaining segments, it appears that the missing portion must have consisted of two exclamations, of which the first (i.e. the Persian one) is entirely lacking and only part of the second Gūrānī part remains.

In this codex there are some general problems of classification, viz. the types of poems and literary pieces on which a classification can be based, the relation between these types and, finally, the relative importance of the pagination. Omissions and stains are the specific instances of this general problem (e.g. fols.1r., 2r., 12r., 13r., 25v., 26v., 42v., 44r.-44v., 45r.-45v.). What is clear, however, is that literary items given here can be grouped into Persian and Gūrānī fragments.

The Persian fragments are many, such as the Persian translation of *imām 'Alī's* Arabic prayer, the poems by Mullā Mīrzā (fol.9r.), Aṭṭār (fol.18v.), Sa'dī (fol.23r.), and Shams Tabrīzī (fol.23v.). Other important Persian fragments are two fragments whose attributes are not known (fol.10r., fol.34v.).

Of the Gūrānī literature, the poems by Asad Allāh Baqqāl (fols.6r., 32v.), Malā Raḥīm (fol.27r.), and Mīrzā Qādir Pāwa'ī (fol.35r.) should be mentioned. These are important unknown poets which are here mentioned by the compiler of the codex. These clearly maintain a 'popular' distinction between less known rustic poets and those who practiced professional Gūrānī literature (e.g. Bēsārānī, Qubādī, Walī Dīwāna, etc.). It may be that whatever it was that made a poet a poet, was here a personal addition to Gūrānī literature to which the exalted and professional poems by someone like Bēsārānī did not necessarily subscribe. In

⁸ The reference is to either Nēsāra 'Ulyā or Nēsāra Suflā of Ḥusayn Ābād County in Iranian province of Kurdistan. See Farīdī Majīd (2011: 161).

other words, the difference between present Gūrānī poets, who are unknown elsewhere, and the very well known ones, could have only been personal taste of compiler, not literary or linguistic issues. It should be of course mentioned that there is a very short Gūrānī poem by Khānāy Qubādī (fol.19r.) which can be seen as compiler's sympathetic to classical Gūrānī poets as well. This can not, however, lead to the reconciliation between the large number of unknown poets, who possibly were compiler's contemporaries, and that of Qubādī.

Among other Gūrānī texts are a short *mathnawī* on *Laylī wa Majnūn* (fol.15r.) and some unidentified poems, including parts of a lyric fragment (fol.43r.). Also prominent are an unidentified Arabic poem whose *maṭla'* reads: *al-mawtu ka'sun kullu nāsin shāribuhu* (fol.11v.) and a Turkish poem by Aḥmad Bayg Kifāyatī (fol.17r.).

It is advisable, not least because of the predominantly unknown nature of the available Gūrānī fragments gathered here, to study the present codex as a break with the famous classical Gūrānī poets and traditions; among some folios, however, this approach has been somewhat challenged. As might be expected in view of the close entanglement between interests of compiler and his readers, Gūrānī literature presented here was not only understood by aristocracy of Ardalāns and by the religious or administrative officials, but also by ordinary people.

MS 5-22742

Jung-i Ash'ār; late 12th/18th century; 109 fols.; various lines; 202 x 115 mm.; *Farangī*, *Nukhudī* paper; brown *tīmāj* hardcover

The specific copyist of this codex is not clear. Apart from the information in the first folios, little is known about its depository as well. The unknown author of early folios reports on economic situation of Kirind (Kd.Kirin)⁹ in *sīyāqat* script (fols.5r.-6v.); thus the codex comes from western Kirmānshāh province and possibly it is a product of the religious school of Ahl-i Haqq of Gūrān district¹⁰. While the codex has received attention mainly from Library's staff as a unique Persian *jung*, it is a complete Gūrānī collection with only five Persian folios. The incipit and excipit respectively read: *a Teymūr meremō* (fol.8r.) and *yarī ewel axir yar* (fol.109v.). This manuscript is written both recto and verso in *nasta'liq* script that is mostly difficult to read.

The present Gūrānī text, known as *kalām*, is part of *Saranjām*¹¹. It has a significant status in Ahl-i Haqq culture of scripture or revelation. It is in fact the

⁹ A standard book on Kirind, its geography and history, is Subhānī (2007).

¹⁰ For the doctrines of Gūrān's Ahl-i Haqq, see Bruinessen (2014).

¹¹ *Saranjām* has long existed in the Ahl-i Haqq tradition as a name for a hypothetical holy text, but that objectively very few, or no comprehensive collections of *kalāms* existed until recently, and no fixed name for such collections existed. *Saranjām* is Ṭāhirī's and Ṣafīzāda's name, but one cannot say that *Saranjām* "is" the name of a Gūrānī text. It is one of the names used for the new collections of these

most revered and celebrated text in Ahl-i Haqq tradition. Even if someone should think this appraisal somewhat effusive, the fact that it can be seriously offered says something about the great influence the present text wields.

As might be expected in the case of such a difficult Gūrānī text which has wide popular appeal, not everyone finds the same things in the text. Unless the Gūrānī is radically vague (having no theological and linguistic interpretation) or inconsistent, not everyone who knows what it says also know what it means. As a first principle, noncontroversial in itself (I hope), but far-reaching in its implications, let me advance the observation that, unlike other Gūrānī texts, those that constitute themselves as religious texts of Ahl-i Haqq are hard products. The authors of Gūrānī poems given in the codex connect themselves—either explicitly or in some indirect fashion—to a sphere and knowledge of transcendent or metaphysical nature. In other words, the texts abound in allusions to elements of a religious tradition which are only intelligible to insiders and need to be interpreted by a learned member of the Ahl-i Haqq.

The main text starts with the Prayer of Pirdīwar (fol.8r.)¹²; then is followed by a very interesting fragment on the Ablution of Truth (*ghusl-i haqīqat*, fol.10r. and fol.17r.). A great section of the codex, however, mentions the names and poems of Ahl-i Haqq religious leaders and *pīrs*, such as Sheikh Amīr (fol.10r., fol.15r.)¹³, Salmān Saysayāfī (fol.10r.), Qābīl Samarqandī, Rukn al-Dīn (fol.10v.), Tāhīr Iṣfahānī (fol.11r.), Rāstgūy Qaradāghī (fol.11v.), Ḥusayn Kāshāfī, Ibrāhīm Jāf (fol.12r.), Māyil Māhīdashī (fol.13r.), Khalīl Mawṣilī (fol.13v.), Taymūr Awrāmānī (fol.15r.), Qubād Dīwāna (fol.15v.), Ṭayyār Khurāsānī (fol.19r.), Aḥmad Ganja (fol.19v.), Shams al-Dīn, Pīr Bābā (fol.23r.), Pīr Rustam (fol.24r., fol.42r.), Khalīfa ‘Azīz Sulaymānī (fol.33r.), Khalīfa Muḥammad Khālīṣ (fol.33v.), Khalīfa Shābdīn (< Shahāb al-Dīn, fol.35r., fol.46r.), Sayyid Ḥabīb Shā (fols.46r.-47v.), Bābā Nā’ūs (also as Bābā Nā’ūz, fols.50r., 54r., 55r., 57v., 62r., 64r., 80r., etc.), Sheikh Bāwa (fol.70v.), Sheikh Jamāl Kāzhāwī (fol.72v.), Kāk Aḥmad (fol.78v.)...etc.

These names and their poems are curiously-worded, nonetheless are potentially important pieces of information. Some of the names and poems presented in the codex are well represented in Gūrānī classical sources¹⁴ as also well as the recent studies (e.g. Pīr Shālyār and Pīr Kāzīm Kangāwarī, fols.15v., 20v., 42r.)¹⁵. Among the others and their religious poems, however, there are some unknown Ahl-i Haqq *pīrs*, such as Aḥmad Barshāhī (fol.20r.), Khalīfa Amīr

text, another being e.g. *Diwān-e Gewre*. For the text of *Saranjām*, see Tāhirī (2007, 2009), though it should be used with caution.

¹² Pirdīwar (lit. beyond the bridge) refers to a very religious important place in Shaykhān, near the shrine of Sulṭān Sahāk, in Kirmānshāh province. Details in Daryā’ī (2009).

¹³ Some of the *kalāms* of Sheikh Amīr, including those mentioned here, are previously published by Mokri (1956).

¹⁴ See, for example, Sūrī (1965) and Nīknizhād (n.d.).

¹⁵ On the Ahl-i Haqq famous *pīrs* it is still rewarding-despite all the more recent progress made on questions of detail—to read Ṣafīzāda (1997) and Akbarī Mafākhir (2011).

(fol.36r.), Qāḍī Nabī (fols.51r., 63v., 84r.), Khātūn Gulī (fols.61r., 100v.)...etc. There are also some significant fragments on the Heptads of Ahl-i Haqq (Haftan and Haftwāna¹⁶, fols.56r., 63r., 73v., 84r., 87v.), Dāwud, Binyāmīn (also mentioned as Binyām), Muṣṭafā, Mūsā, Rōchyār, Ēwat, and Razbār (fols.39r., 40r., 43v.).

One need not exclude Persian language from consideration of present Gūrānī codex, for there are some Ahl-i Haqq texts written in Persian. These Persian *kalāms* are attributed to a certain Mīr Khusru whose identity is unknown (fols.26v., 27r.-27v., 29v.-30v.). This author also added some explanatory notes to address a range of Ahl-i Haqq religious subjects but these are not rich and varied (fol.82v.). By placing these lines at the margins of Gūrānī text, Mīr Khusru (if identification is correct) evidently seeks to help his readers understand the Gūrānī text. This is unusual, and it is surprising that author considers it worthy of special note. The fact that most of other Gūrānī texts are allowed to be uncommented, despite the urgent need for interpretation and clarification, fortifies the confusion and accidental comment rather than any methodology for these Persian prose lines.

MS 5-21712

Jung-i Shi'r; 1317 AH/1899 CE; 87 fols.; 13 lines per folio; 185 x 110 mm.; *Farangī, Nukhudī* paper; brown hardcover

The focus in this *jung* is also on the Persian literature, including topics relating to Persian poetry and prose masters, and the part played by them in the transmission of Persian literature. Announcements of the Gūrānī fragments, contents, and discussions, are not included. The lack of attention by the compiler to Gūrānī fragments and hence the scanty coverage by the *jung* of non-Persian material, is not a complete loss from our point of view. They should be only consulted by modern Kurdish researchers by taking time at the Library.

The sources that served for the preparation of the Persian section of the present *jung* (from early times to compiler's own time) are rather easy to trace. The compiler sometimes mentions them by author and title. These include a Persian short poem known as *Dar Sifat-i Tā'at* (fol.23r.); a *maṭla'* by Ḥāfiẓ (*agar ān Turk-i Shīrāzī*...fol.24v.); some poems by Sa'dī (fol.42v.); a long poem by Shams Tabrīzī (fols.69r.-69v.), a Persian *mukhammas* on the Arabic *qaṣīda* by Abūbākr (fols.70r.-71r.); a Persian prose fragment on Islamic *ḥadīth* (fol.71r.), a Persian verse translation of some Arabic *ḥadīths* (fols.71v.-76r.), and 13 scattered prose lines on the worthlessness of the world and life (excipit: *ki āyā bibārīm yā nabārīm*, fol.85r.).

It is interesting that the manuscript (known as Persian *jung*) starts with the Gūrānī *mathnawī* of Sheikh Ṣan'ān (incipit *buwaḥūn te'rīf Sen'an-i gumrah ▪ ce*

¹⁶ For the Heptad of Ahl-i Haqq, see, for example, Kreyenbroek (1992: 69).

gumrahî wîş çun berşî ce, fol.3r.). We can take one further step towards a more complete and critical edition of Sheikh San‘ān book on the basis of present-and so far neglected¹⁷- version, and by reinterpreting already familiar material (fols.3r.-14v.). The overall picture of the story of San‘ān presented here is based on a broad concept that is not confined to the details mentioned elsewhere. These are followed by a Persian colophon in which a certain Kawkab interestingly is mentioned as the author of Sheikh Şan‘ān’s *mathnawī* (fol.15r.). Here, there is also a reference to Sayyid Muḥammad Chashmīdarī as the scribe of Sheikh Şan‘ān and the codex in its entire form (fol.15r. and fol.22v.).

What follows is the Gūrānī *mathnawī* of *Āsmān wa Zamīn* (Heaven and Earth), a very significant literary *munā zira*, which is presented in a neat *nasta‘līq* script (incipit: *yaran zemīnen* ▪ *seyr-i guftuguy sema’ u zemīnen*, fol.15r.; excipit: *şûm-i bed ‘emel hem bî-ta‘etim*, fol.22v.). As far as I know, this long *mathnawī* in Gūrānī is otherwise unknown. The literary substance underlying this important Gūrānī work can be traced back to Persian literature. Long poems in Persian, known as *munāzira*, in narrative form, representing dialogue between two parties, were very popular due to their style and presentation¹⁸. As the Persian genre of *munāzira*, some tales of heroism and adventure are reflected in the Gūrānī text, but a main debate between Heaven and Earth in its Gūrānī version is an illuminating battle of religious ideas. Avoiding overly esoteric arguments, they directly address issues such as religious experience and the part they can play in relation to God.

In the next Gūrānī folios of the codex, the unknown author gives a complete religious *mathnawī*, named *Baḥs-i Namāz Guzārdan* ‘The Debate of Praying’ (fols.25r.-35r.). As the title indicates, it is a religious Gūrānī text on the importance of praying in Islamic doctrine, but the author also distinguishes between Islam and other Prophets (such as Moses and Jesus) and the credit they gave to praying. Some parts of the text indicates Islamic canonical law of praying based on the teachings of the *Qur‘ān* and the traditions of the Prophet, prescribing both religious and secular duties and sometimes penalties for lawbreaking.

There is another untitled Gūrānī poem which follows the *Baḥs-i Namāz Guzārdan*. It is untitled (fols.35r.-39v.). There are more signs that the text was not fully revised and one or two promised cross-references are not followed up. It is possible to say that the present Gūrānī text (incipit: *yaran-i canî* ▪ ‘*erze bû we lay yaran-i canî*, fol.35r.) comes from the *andarz* genre, insisting on ethical

¹⁷ Compare Ābbārīkī Ḥusaynī & Nurūzī Musta‘lī (2014). They have considered merely MS 11923 (Majlis Library), MS 5-9251 (National Library), and personal MS of Jabbār Ḥusaynī. They were unaware of the present version of Sheikh Sān‘ān.

¹⁸ As far as general literature and textbooks of *munāzira* are concerned, I refer the readers to Pūrjawādī (2004).

instructions, and advice for the readers, but there are also some *bayts* providing religious issues.

The following Gūrānī poem, again untitled, mentioned precisely after the previous one (incipit: *gunakaranim* ▪ *hay min ser defter gunakaranim*, fols.39v.-41v.). Here the unknown author confesses his feeling as a sinful and flawed person, but at the same time he tries to suggest the mystic idea that every one is welcome (to religion) and no one told he is a sinner. It is interesting that there are some Ahl-i Haqq phrases and expressions in this Gūrānī text. If there is doubt to say about Ahl-i Haqq religious trends of the author, it is highly probable that the text comes from Gūrān district or its vicinity.

The next Gūrānī text is the *Mi 'rājnāma-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Rasūl* (fols.43r.-47r.). Apart from small differences between the Gūrānī version and other Islamic accounts, the text presents parts of the miraculous journey that Prophet Muḥammad took in one night from Mecca to Jerusalem and then an ascension to the heavens. Here, the Gūrānī language is quite naturally given a certain prominence but there are seven Arabic *bayts*, perhaps because of the key role the Arabic poetry played in the history of *mi 'rāj* stories (fols.45v.-46r.).

The uncertainties about title, author, and contents, are typical of an increasing sense of disorder in the next Gūrānī part of the codex (fols.48r.-69r.). Based on the Arabic and Persian allusions in the folios 57v. and 64r., it is almost certain that the present Gūrānī verse is the continuation of *Mi 'rājnāma*.

Another Gūrānī *mathnawī* to add is *Wafātnāma-yi Ḥaḍrat -i Rasūl* 'The Book of the Prophet's Death' (fols.76r.-79v.). The unknown author of this text, although he made little or no direct use of historical sources, admired Prophet and his coverage of Islamic affairs, while remaining descriptive about his death. This is significant in the light of the Gūrānī religious comments.

In the last Gūrānī section of the codex, the compiler gives a long *mathnawī* on the dialogue between 'Alī and Prophet Muḥammad (fols.79v.-84r.). Several ethical and religious disputes and issues are discussed in the text.

And finally, several texts are found in the MS 5-21712, which is handed down in 1317 AH/1899 CE. Here, however, there are some significant references to literary poems, with the conclusion that religious poems take precedence in the codex because it forms the foundation of the Gūrānī literature, while Gūrānī literary fragments (including lyrics and epics) merely serve as a prop, but that seems too weak.

MS 1325617

Jung-i Ash 'ār, Rabī' I 1348 AH/August 1929 CE; 58 fols.; various lines; 115 x 178 mm.; *Daftarī* paper; hardcover

The Gūrānī literature, in the last *jung* considered here, is in decline. What the compiler gathered in the 58 folios of verse is an alphabetic succession (...*ḥarf al-dāl*, *ḥarf al-dhāl*...etc.) of Persian lyrics and *ghazals*, beginning with a large number of poems by Yaghmā Jundaqī (fol.3v.ff.), and ending with some unidentified *ghazals* (fol.43v.). Beside the references to the Persian poems by Yaghmā, attention should be drawn to the fragmentary poems by Anwarī (fol.15r.), Mushāwir al-Mulk (20r.), Mīr Nawrūz(ī) (fol.20v.ff.; fol.30r., fol.34r.), Mīrzā Mūsā, known as Mujrim (fol.35r.), and Hātif Iṣfahānī (fol.39v.). Persian poems in praise of Prophet Muḥammad (fol.24r.) and his *mi'rāj* (fol.25r.), and a Persian poem in praise of 'Alī (fol.29v.) are also included in the *jung*. Penned in a very neat *nasta'liq*, the text alternates between paragraphs written horizontally and diagonally from the right to the left. These poems generally date between early 1347 AH/1928 CE to early 1348 AH/1929 CE.

It is undeniable that most, if not all the Persian information given by the compiler on the classical, well known Persian poets can still be extracted from the extant Persian *dīwāns* and *jungs* consulted by our compiler himself. The same is even more true of his mention of Prophet and his *mi'rāj*. No such reconstruction can be attempted, however, when it comes to the Kurdish poems of his contemporary literati in Kurdistan, which the *jung* presented here is unique in providing. Alternative sources of information in this regard are absent or very sketchy at best.

Two Kurdish fragments given solely here are the ones attempted on 15 Rabī' I 1348 AH/August 1929 CE by a Kurd, Malā Rustam, in a variety of Faylī dialect of southern Kurdish and one most probably native to him (fols.42v.-43v.)¹⁹. Both fragments are by Malā Rustam and in praise of his beloved (wife) Ḥamīda Khānim Jāf (incipit: *dilber eme çawit weke çawan-i qezale*, fol.42v.). It is clear that the Faylī poems by Malā Rustam are under the influence of Gūrānī and especially Sōrānī.

Conclusion

What Persian *jungs* provide for Kurdish literature is scattered Gūrānī and sometimes southern Kurdish and Sōrānī information. As Kurdish researchers, we certainly cannot manage without very large number of Persian *jungs*, but managing with them can be a challenging business, requiring a machine with many different moving parts. So many diverse procedures are involved in *jung* management and so many different Persian, Arabic, and Turkish contributions must be coordinated in the creation, transmission, and implementation of literary fragments that collaborative coordination across a wide spectrum of contributions becomes necessary. Luckily for present-day inquirers like ourselves, the Kurds living in western Iran felt compelled to lend full Persian

¹⁹ For this Kurdish dialect, see Fattah (2000).

written sources to their Persian aspirations. Consequently their Persian works have come down to us in numerous examples. In addition, Kurdish writers took issue with Persian *jungs* and *dīwāns* because they had past or present experiences with it as their ‘neighbouring’ literature. It is therefore wise that they sometimes tried to insert their own Kurdish literature into the context of the Persian literature.

The Gūrānī fragments in these *jungs* concentrate-in rather different ways-on some unknown Kurdish poets and *mathnawīs*. While the geographical focus lies on Iranian Kurdistan itself, the area under scrutiny extends from southern districts of Kirmānshāh to northern districts of Saqiz. This guarantees a broad perspective in that the Gūrānī gleanings do not only examine Gūrānī literature in the Iranian Kurdistan, but, using more western manuscripts, also provide greater insight into the Gūrānī poetry of Iraqi Kurdistan on the frontier districts close to Awrāmānāt.

Several of the paleographical traces show that the Gūrānī folios are based on analyses of one or just a few manuscripts, treating the fate of unique manuscripts. While many of the Gūrānī contributions treat individual cases of Gūrānī literature, the entirety of the fragments gives an interesting insight into a kind of literature that has-as was mentioned in the introduction-up to now not found the interest it deserves. In this sense the Gūrānī gleanings given here, especially the unknown poets and texts enriches our knowledge of the history of Kurdish literature.

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