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The International Journal of Kurdish Studies; 2007; 21, 1/2; Ethnic NewsWatch pg. 145

The International Journal of Kurdish Studies, Volume 21, Nos. 1 & 2, 2007

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urdish literature of Khurasan first appeared in Persian writing after the migration of the Kurds in 1009/1600, in the period of Shah 'Abbās1. The formal style of Khurasan's Kurds in Kurdish, known as Kurmancî, came to prominence in the middle period of the Qājārīd dynasty. Indissolubly linked with the story of its origins are the names of the cities in northern Khurasan where the new literature flourished: Qūchān, Bojnūrd, Daragaz, Shīrvān, and Isfarā'īn². The most popular Khurasani Kurd of this area is Ja'far Qolī (or Ja'far, Ja'far Qolī Bīchāra, and sometimes Ja'far Qolī 'Andalīb') Zangalī (c.1830?-1899?) whose name we know and who made it a point to write the important parts of his dīwān in Kurdish. Today his name is widely recognized in the lay community in northern Khurasan because since the early nineteenth century, it has been associated with the influential Ce'fer Qolî we Milwarî, a popular love story, which has become indispensable to Kurds of Khurasan. The poems of Ja'far Qolī have only been available in a modern edition since 1990, with Kalim Tavah.udi's careless publication of almost the unique text of this poet's dīwān3. Western studies, particularly those by A. Houtum-Schindler⁴, have called attention to some of the Kurdish words and phrases of a folkloric character produced by the Kurdish poets and writers of Khurasan in the early Qājārīd period. In 1918-1920, during W. Ivanow's residence in Khurasan, he collected about 400 specimens of Kurdish poetry and tales which give a more definite idea of the dialect which the Kurds of Khurasan speak⁵. With the exception of some very brief references to Ja'far Qolī in Ivanow's article6, to date no translations of his poems into a western language have appeared.

The purpose of the present essay is very briefly to state what is known about the life of Ja'far Qolī and to provide historical and linguistic data for Khurasani Kurdish; especially to translate his *Milwarî Dexazim* as an example of a genre of Khurasani Kurdish literature and the most well-known fragment of his *dīwān* that seems to have come into vogue in the late Qājārīd period and present-day Khurasan.

Ja'far Qoli's Life and Work

As is the case with so many of the Khurasani Kurdish writers of the Qājārīd period⁷, not much is known about the biography of Ja'far Qolī, son of Mullā Rizā Qolī Zanglānlū, beyond what can be gleaned from his surviving poems and from brief references to him in the oral literature. Only one date is known with precision. A note at the end of one of his poems mentions the year 1312 of the Hijra (i.e.1895)8, as the year in which he composed the text. This notice is sufficient to enable us to conclude that Ja'far Qolī lived during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Also, it is from the recently published poems containing the lists of Kurdish, Persian, and Turkish poems that one learns that Ja'far Qolī was a contemporary of the Shah-i Qājār, Nāsir al-Dīn Shah (r.1848-96). From the oral accounts and the events which Ja'far Qoli mentions in passing in his diwan. Tavahudī has been able to argue convincingly that the dīwān must have been written not long after the beginning of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah's reign9. Therefore, there can be no doubt that Ja'far Qolī followed his career as a Kurdish poet during the middle years of the Qājārīd dynasty. In the manuscripts, Ja'far Qolī is sometimes called Zangalī or Zangālī, meaning that he was from, or at least associated with the Kurdish tribe of Zanglanlū and the Kurdish district of Lain at the city of Daragaz¹⁰.

While the Kurdish and non-Kurdish communities of northern Khurasan were famously multilingual, there can be no doubt that Kurdish was the mother tongue of Jaʿfar Qolī, and the dominant language of his poems. But along with Kurdish the indigenous languages of Khurasan also flourished in his dīwān. These were principally Persian and Turkish¹¹. The important parts of the dīwān, including the Kurdish, Persian, and Turkish fragments, were ordered to relate his distinctive Shiite doctrine. There are some scattered discussions of the doctrines of 'Alī and *imāms*, and some Shiite religious practices, in the light of words customarily voiced by the Shiite Kurds of Khurasan¹².

The most essential topics in Ja'far Qolī's life and folktales of Khurasan have always included the love story of Ja'far Qolī and Milwārī. These two persons are in fact the two faces of the same coin as they figure in these stories. The love of Ja'far Qolī for Milwārī, probably the daughter of a Kurdish family of Zanglānlū, is a commonly repeated folktale of northern Khurasan. Efforts to compose an exact story of Ja'far Qolī's beloved have concentrated only on a few poems of his dīwān, leaving essential questions unanswered concerning his family and life.

Another event in Ja'far Qoli's life, which the Kurdish community of Daragaz and the oral sources report with pride, is the occasion in the story of his love affair when Ja'far Qoli is said to have gone to Arabia and Damascus, probably in the company of his friends and for the purpose of forgetting his Milwārī.

The Milwarî Dexazim: The Text and the Translation

Ja'far Qoli's poem entitled Milwarî Dexazim is almost in the form of a lyric chahār pāra of nine bands¹³ dedicated to his beloved, Milwārī, with whom the poet had been in conversation in the lovely sessions reported in the oral history of northern Khurasan. In private collections there are many hundreds of manuscripts of Ja'far Qoli's Milwarī Dexazim, but in this essay the published version of Tavahudī's edition in a standard Perso-Arabic script¹⁴ has been included because it represents the best of current popular versions of Khurasani Kurds from which future research seems most likely to profit. Since there are also many oral versions of Milwarī Dexazim, and both the manuscripts and the oral versions all agree on the essential outline of the poem, there is no reason to cite the variants of the fragment here. There are many unscientific transcriptions of the Kurdish language in Khurasan. We have chosen in this essay the Latin alphabet proposed by the late Emir J. Bedir Khan in Syria, and which has been adopted by the Kurdologists and the majority of literate Kurds belonging to the Kurmancî group¹⁵. The notes include most Kurdish words, which are not the same as Persian or Arabic. These are followed by some sources for the words or linguistic comments, where possible:

Milwarî¹⁶ Dexazim¹⁷ *I want Milwārī*

Evvel je¹⁸ Xudawend¹⁹, dowwom je 'Ebas, First from God, secondly from 'Abbās²⁰, Ta lêwê²¹ qewrê, Milwarî dexazim, Until the side of my grave, I want Milwārī, Delîlê gomrahan, ya Xizr û Ilyas, The guide of [the men] who are lost, O Khizr, and Elias²², Ya Milwarî xa²³, ya sewirê dexazim. Either I want Milwârî or I want the patience.

2

Adem we do derdan, bûye²⁴ mobtela,
Adam was affected by two sufferings,
Je dûrî bihiştê, je dûrî Hewa,
From paradise's remoteness, from Eve's remoteness,
'Umrê min²⁵ kûta k'e²⁶, derdê min dewa,
[O God] whether abridge my lifetime or remedy my suffering,
Ya Hewa-yê xa, ya sewirê dexazim.
Either I want [my] Eve (i.e. Milwārī) or I want the patience.

3

'Işq e Silêman k'ir, bê yar û enî
It is the love [that] made Solomon friendless and compassionless,
Her kes le² karê wî² ,k'ir mekr û telbîs,
Everyone deceived [him] and concealed his affair,
Bûye wisal axir, firaq-a Bilqis,
Bilqīs's29 remoteness [from Solomon and their love] came to fruition at the end
Ya Bilqisê xa, ya sewirê dexazim.
Either I want [my] Bilqīs (i.e.Milwārī) or I want the patience.

4

Dilê min birîye³⁰,Milwarî mehbûb,
The lovely Milwārī has carried my heart,
Ez bûme lê³¹ talib, ewê bûye metlûb,
I have been her seeker, she has been desirable,
We moradê Yûsif, we sebrê Eyyûb,
For the sake of Joseph's desire, for the sake of Job's patience
Ya Zilêxa ya kû, sewirê dexazim.
Either I want [my] Zîlkhah(i.e.Milwārī) or I want the patience.

5

Ez laçînim³², ewê tawûs-a xoşxiram, I am a falcon, she is a good-natured peacock, Ez Mecnûnim, ewê Leyla-yê gul-endam,

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I am Majnūn, she is Laylā the flowered-body, Heqq dûr k'e yarê min, je Ibn el-Selam, O God, keep my beloved from Ibn-al-Salām³³, Ya Leylî-yê xa, ya sewirê dexazim. Either I want [my] Laylā (i.e.Milwārī) or I want the patience.

6

Dilê min defiri³⁴, nawi paberca,
My heart flies, [and] it does not become firm,
Ne Meşhedê rind³⁵e, neî Boxara,
It does not admire Mashhad [and] nor does Bukhara,
Ya wetenê yarê, ya jî³⁶ Kerwela,
Either the home of beloved or even Karbalā',
Her çi meslihet wi! Sewirê dexazim.
Whatever that it would be expedient! I want the patience.

7

Awazê 'işqê min, tijî³⁷ k'ir 'alem,
My love fame covered [all over] the world,
Çi şah û çi gida, çi 'Erew û 'Ecem,
Whether king or beggar, whether Arab or Persian,
Heft salan şewitim³⁸, ez nala kurim,
I, like a glow-worm, burnt [with Milwārī's love] seven years³⁹,
Ya eslê xa ya kû, sewirê dexazim.
Either I want [my] original [Milwārī] or I want the patience.

8

Je omîdwaran ra, Xadê omîdê,
For helpful men, God is [their] hope,
Le qapûy Kirdigar, sewirê kilîdê,
Before God's door, the patience is the Key,
Ax¨ay min ʿEbas û Şahê Şehîdê,
My Lords are ʿAbbās and King the Martyr⁴0,
Je wan yarê xa, ya sewirê dexazi
[Either] I want [my] beloved from them or I want the patience.

9

Ce'fer Qolî dewê⁴¹: mecbûrim, qasir,
Ja'far Qolī says: I am obligated [to be alone and I am] a failed lover,
Yar je min hilgirtin⁴², doþmenê cabir,
The coercive enemies held my beloved,
Le wî mosîbeta, ez bûme sabir,
In this calamity, I have been patient,
Barilaha sewirê, sewirê dexazim.
O God, I want the patience, [and] the patience.

ENDNOTES

- 1. For a general discussion of this theme see J. B. Fraser, Narrative of Journey into Khorasan, in the Years 1821 and 1822, Including some Account of the Countries to the North-East of Persia (London, 1825), Appendix B, p.42; 'A. Anvār, Ta'līqāt bar Jahāngoshā-yi Nādirī-yi Muh. ammad Mahdī Astarābādī (Tehran, 1962), 537-538; M. H. Papoli-Yazdi, Le nomadisme dans le nord du Khorasan, Iran (Paris-Téhéran, 1991), 24-25.
- 2. The geography of these cities is completely discussed in C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan* (Edinburgh and London, 1900), 74ff.; M. I. Moqīmī, *Joghrāfīyā-yi Tārīkhī-yi Shīrvān* (Mashhad, 1991); A. Fadā'ī, *Joghrāfīyā-yi Shahristān-i Isfarā'īn* (Mashhad, 1994).
- 3. Dīwān-i 'Irfānī-yi Ja'far Qolī Zangalī, Malik-al-Shu'arā'-i Kurmānj (Mashhad, 1990). Reprinted as Dîwān-i 'Irfānī-yi Ja'far Qolî Zangalî, Malik-al-Shu'arā'-i Kurmānj, Vīrāyish-i 2 (Mashhad, 2002). These editions are rather faulty and incomplete, so that a new publication taking into account the various MSS. (notably that in the personal collections and libraries of Ashgabat in Turkmenistan) would be must welcome.
- 4. "Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze", *ZDMG 38* (1884): 43-116; "Weitere Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze", *ZDMG 42* (1888): 73-79.
- 5. "Notes on Khorasani Kurdish", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series) 23 (1927): 167-236.
- 6. $\it Ibid.,pp.214-216$, where some short fragments of the poems of Ja'far Qolī is given.

- 7. On the Kurdish intellectuals and the history of northern Khurasan in Qājārīd period one may refer to M. J. Khormojī, *Haqāyiq-al-Akhbār Nās.irī*, ed. H. Khadīv Jam (Tehran, 1965), 33 and 52; M. T. Sipihr, *Nāsikh-al-Tavārīkh* (Tehran, 1965), 3/193,208,213,335-336; 'A. M. I'timâd-al-Salṭana, *Mat.la*'-al-Shams (Tehran, 1976), 1/129.
- 8. See K. Tavah. udī, Dīwān-i 'Irfānī-yi Ja'far Qolī (Mashhad, 1990), 53-54.
- 9. Ibid., p.54, without giving a source of course.
- 10. On the Kurdish tribe of Zanglānlū and the other tribes of northern Khurasan see M. H. Papoli-Yazdi, *Le nomadisme* (Paris-Téhéran, 1991), 27-32; K. Khādimīyān, *Farhang-i Joghrāfīyā'ī-yi Irān*, *Khorāsān* (Mashhad, 2001), 52-55.
- 11. See in particular K. Tavah. udī, *Dīwān-i ʿIrfānī-yi Jaʿfar Qolī* (Mashhad, 1990), 380-384, 412, 481-483.
- 12. Ibid., p.59, 110-115, 124-126, 160-162, etc.
- 13. On the Kurdish poetry of northern Khurasan in general and its varieties see A. 'Ad. udī, *Pand-i Kurmānjī va Andarz-i Fārsī*, *Gűyish-i D. arb-al-Mathal Mānand az Kurdān-i Shomāl-i Khorāsān* (Bojnűrd, 1988); idem, *Nuha Kurmānjī* (Bojnűrd, 1992); K. Tavah. udī, *Tarāna-hā-yi Kurmānjī-yi Khorāsān* (Mashhad, 1995).
- 14. See K. Tavah.udī, Dīwān-i 'Irfānī-yi Ja'far Qolī (Mashhad, 1990), 129-130.
- 15. On the alphabet see P. Rondot, "Trois essais de latinisation de l'alphabet kurde: Iraq,Syrie,U.R.S.S.", *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales 5* (1935): 1-31; J. Bedir Khan et R. Lescot, *Grammaire kurde (dialecte kurmandji)* (Paris, 1970), 3-7.
- 16. The proper noun Milwarī means literally 'pearl' and it has two alternative spellings in the Kurmancî texts of Khurasan: Milwarî as given here and in Ç'êlik' ê Ecîw, see I. I. Tsukerman, Khorasanskiy Kurmandži, Issledovanie i Teksti (Moskva, 1986), 264-265; and the more archaic spelling Milê, see K. Tavah.udī, Dīwān-i 'Irfānī-yi Ja'far Qolī (Mashhad, 1990), 24. Milê could be also an abbreviation of Milwarî.
- 17. dexazim or dixazim connects to the verb transitive xwestin (-xwaz-/-xaz-) 'to want, wish; [+subj.] to want to (do something.)'. In Kurmancî dialect of Bahdinan, xwestin means only 'to request'; 'to want' is expressed by viyan. See Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Kurdsko-Russkiy Slovar* (Moskva, 1957), 404; M. L. Chyet, *Kurdish-English Dictionary* (Ferhenga Kurmancî-Inglîzî) (New Haven and London, 2003), 674. On the Khurasani prefix deinstead of di- see I. I. Tsukerman, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 143ff.

- 18. The reading of the preposition je 'from, of [often with plural], from among' is ji in Kurdistan, which is not possible in Khurasan's Kurmancî. Cf. also je...ra/şa (je omîdwaran ra in *band* 8, line 1) 'to [often shortened to simply -re/-şa], for'.
 19 Persianism for original Kurdish Xwedê/Xadê (masculine) 'God' (cf. *band* 8, line 1), which is rarely Xwed. awend in the Kurmancî texts of Turkmenistan. See Kharis Bitlisi, *Leyli i Medžnun, Perevod, Predislovie i Primeçaniya, ed. M. B. Rudenko* (Moskva, 1965), 100, 102.
- 20. 'Abbās is a well-known saint in Shiite doctrines.
- 21. For the certain Kurdish form of lêw, i.e. lêv, feminine (-a;-ê) 'lip, shore, side', see M. L. Chyet, *Kurdish-English Dictionary* (New Haven and London, 2003), 354.
- 22. Khizr and Elias (cf. also Adam and Eve in *band* 2, Solomon and Bilqīs in *band* 3, Joseph and Job in band 4 etc.) belong to the specific Islamic terminology and are also parts of the religious legendary literature introduced in Iran by Biblical traditions.
- 23. Here and in other places in this fragment xa stands for the expected present verb dexazim, perhaps to avoid confusion with the $q\bar{a}f\bar{i}ya$. I know of no other occurrence of the expression form xa in Kurmancî of Khurasan.
- 24. The form bûye (cf. bûme in band 4, line 2, nawi in band 6, line 1, and wi in band 6, line 4) corresponds to the verb intransitive wûn/bûn (-w-/-b-,-wû-/-bû-) 'to be, to become, get'. Cf. I. I. Tsukerman, *Očerki Kurdskoy Grammatiki* (Moskva, 1962), 143; idem, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 252,261,266.
- 25. min and sometimes mi are the oblique cases of ez (cf. band 4, line 2 etc.) 'I, me'.
- 26. The imperative mood k'e (cf. also k'ir in band 3, line 1 and 2), which is connected to the transitive verb k'irin (-k'-/-k'e-) 'to make, do', could also be read as the Kurdistan's Kurmancî kirin. K'irin used in conjunction with a noun, adjective, adverb, or preposition to form compound verb, e.g., kûta k'irin 'to abridge, to short' in the present text. For this verb and its occurrences see I. I. Tsukerman, *Očerki Kurdskoy Grammatiki* (Moskva, 1962), 142; idem, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 252-253; and see also R. L. Tsabolov, *Očerk Istoričeskoy Fonetiki Kurdskogo Yazika* (Moskva, 1976), 28-30; where the value of the phoneme <k'> in k'irin is given.
- 27. le 'in, at [location; with or without motion]' is the Khurasan's Kurmancî form, while the Kurdistan's Kurmancî form is li.
- 28. The pronoun wî (cf. also wan in *band* 8, line 4) is the oblique case of pronoun ew ([e]wî [m.];[e]wê [f.];[e]wan [pl.]) 'he, she, it; they' (in direct case and as subject of the intransitive verb or tense of transitive verb); 'him, her, it; them' (in direct case and as

direct object of non-past tense of transitive verb or as object of preposition); 'his, her, its; their' (oblique case and normally following *izafe*). For a more detailed discussion and the complete inflection of Kurdish pronouns in direct and oblique cases, see R. L. Tsabolov, *Očerk Istoričeskoy Morfologii Kurdskogo Yazika* (Moskva, 1978), 21-22.

- 29. This is the name by which the Queen of Sheba is known in Islamic sources.
- 30. The Kurmancî infinitive for birîye is birin (-b-/-be-) 'to carry, bring', sometimes reflected in the Khurasan's Kurmancî birdin. See A. Houtum-Schindler, "Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze", *ZDMG 38* (1884): 56; I. I. Tsukerman, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 254, 258.
- 31. lê 'from him/her/it' is a pronoun.<li=from; to+ê/wê/wî>(=lê 'her, him').
- 32. laçîn is a Turkish loanword (i.e. laçýn), see M. A. Jaba, *Dictionaire kurde-français* (St. Pétersbourg, 1879), 375; B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Dizini*, "Endex" (Ankara, 1948), 404. It, for example, occurs in its Kurdish equivalent, i.e. şahîn, in Cegerxwîn's *Hozan û Paîrên Kurd*, see K. K. Kurdoev, *Grammatika Kurdskogo Yazika* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1957), 310.
- 33. Ibn-al-Salâm is the rival to Majnűn, the lover of Laylā, in the love story of Laylā va Majnűn by Niz. āmī Ganjavī (born about 1141 to before 1146).
- 34. The inflected form defiri corresponds to the intransitive verb firîn (-fir-) 'to fly'. For another example of its occurrence, see I. I. Tsukerman, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 259.
- 35. Appear in Kurdistan as rind (adj.) 'good'.
- 36. .jî (adv.) 'also, too, as for, even[+subj.]'.Cf. I. I. Tsukerman, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 255.
- 37. The Khurasan's Kurmancî tijî (adj.) 'full (of)' is replaced by Kurdistan's Kurmancî t'ijî.
- 38. The base is intransitive verb şewitîn (-şewit-) 'to burn, be on fire', alongside the transitive verb şewitandin (-şewitîn-) 'to set on fire, kindle'. The word occurs also in two Kurmancî fragments of Khurasan. See I. I. Tsukerman, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 263, 267.
- 39. The translation here is based on oral versions of *Milwarî Dexazim*, where the noun kurm/kurim 'worm' is translated to 'glow-worm'. The translation reflects an attempt to interpret the verse according to the context, although the connection between this term and the concept of 'to burn' seems somewhat far-fetched.

- 40. King the Martyr, i.e. *imam* Hussein, the third successor of the Prophet in Shiite doctrines.
- 41. The inflected form of dewê corresponds to the transitive verb gotin (-bêj-/-bê-/-vêj-/-vê-/-wê-/-wegî-) 'to say, tell'. Cf. I. I. Tsukerman, *Khorasanskiy Kurmandži* (Moskva, 1986), 254.
- 42. The transitive verb hilgirtin (hil-g[i]r-) 'to pick out, lift, to take on, shoulder, load up, to hoist, to hold, to keep' is used in the Kurdish texts for different meanings. Cf., for example, Akhmed Khani, *Mam i Zin, Kritičeskiy Tekst, Perevod, Predisaovie i Ukazateai*, ed. M. B. Rudenko (Moskva, 1962), 144; Kharis Bitlisi, ed. M. B. Rudenko, *Leyli i Medžnun* (Moskva, 1965), 91; Ž. S. Musaelyan, *Zambil'froš, Kurdskaya Poema i Fol'klornie Versii* (Moskva, 1983), 53.

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