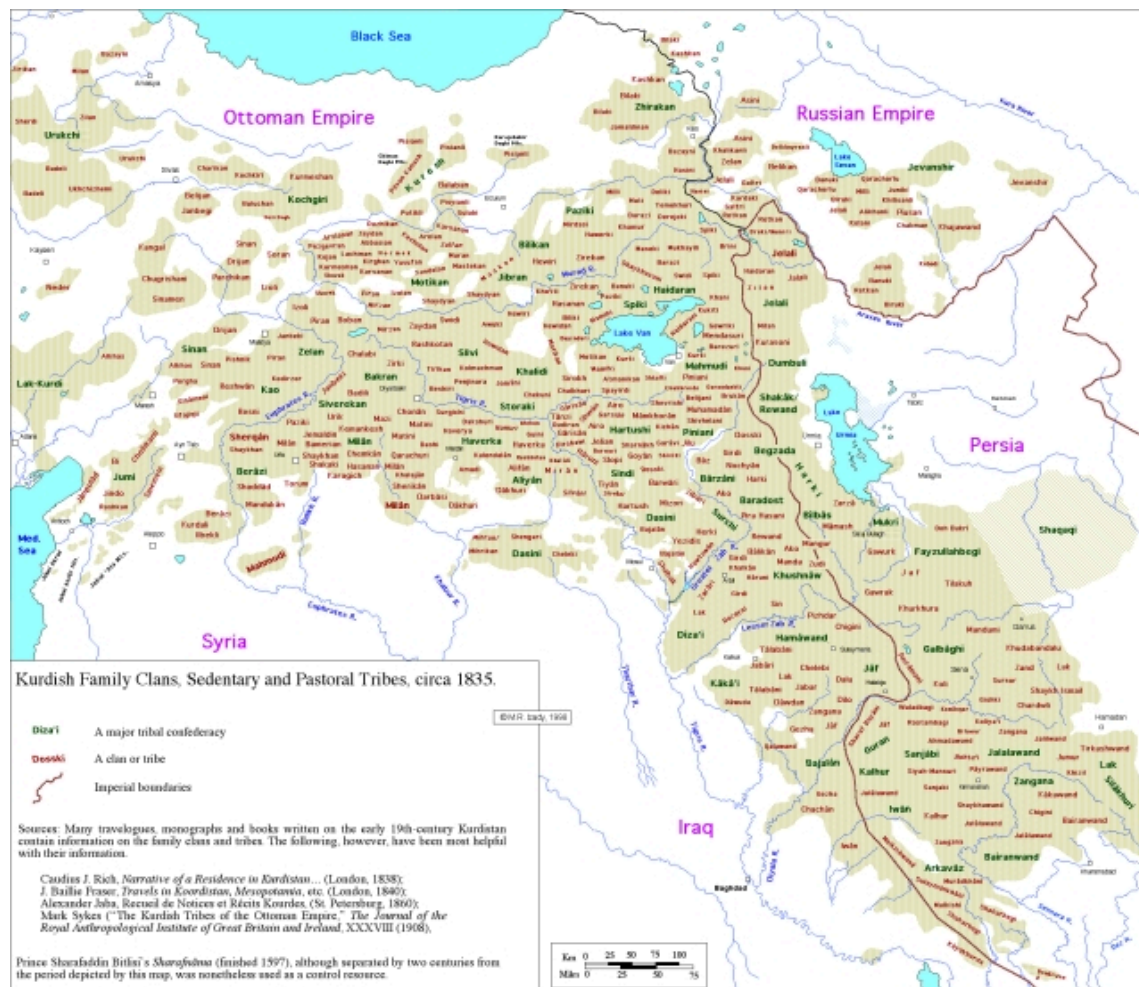


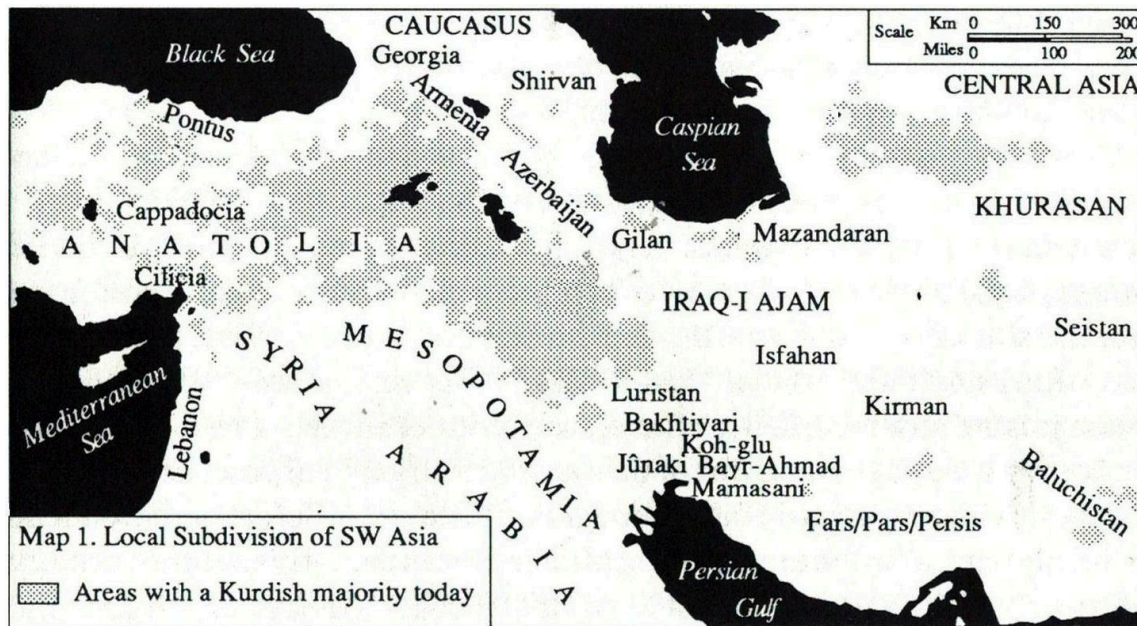
Chapter One

Introduction and a survey of the relevant primary sources

Detailed study of clan names and historic family houses among the Kurds reveals an etymological affinity among a majority of them. The very same ethnonyms, or variations thereof, are also found in the names of many ruling dynasties, historical individuals, and in fact, toponyms, dispersed over a large area of Western Asia, some dating back to remote antiquity. Equally important is the frequent incidence of these same names among neighboring ethnic groups and cultures that are not Kurdish. These archaic progenitic names are listed as onomasticons, standing roughly for "formative root-names," what is known as *onomasticon* in classical Greek. As a convenient marker, the onomasticon will carry an asterisk.



The incidence of these onomastics in toponyms and ethnonyms in non-Kurdish regions is most frequent in the southern Zagros. This is the mountainous area that now includes the territories of Luristan, Bakhtiyari, Kuh Giluya, Boir Ahmadi, Mamasani, Junaki, Mand, Fars (ancient Pars/Persis), and Shabankara in western Kirman near the Straits of Hormuz (Map 1). The incidence of these onomastics across many ethnic boundaries and many ages can be explained only through transplantation by migrations of groups who were then assimilated into local ethnic groups, leaving behind only the ever-evolving onomastics as "calling cards."



Until relatively recently, a large number of the inhabitants of the mountain ranges of southwest Asia practiced pastoral nomadism, which entailed great physical mobility. This phenomenon surely included the Kurds. Pastoralists routinely moved into new territories when conditions were more favorable there. This survey indicates that those people who carried the onomastics as their identity, be they pastoralists or otherwise, settled most of the local mountain systems. A very large number of these were eventually assimilated, hence the incidence of the onomastics among different ethnic groups.

onomastics have been and continue to be used most frequently in Kurdistan and among its inhabitants. It is therefore logical to assume that they are the primary originators of the onomastics. This ethnic group has constituted the numerical majority of all the mountain inhabitants of the Zagros-Taurus systems for a very long time. Thus, in tracing the distribution of the onomastics, we are mainly mapping the past population movements of the Kurds, but also some of the common ancestors of modern local ethnic groups such as the Baluch, Lur, and Gilanis.

Even though impressive in the geographical extent of their migrations, these episodes of population movement and territorial expansion are dwarfed by those registered by the Turkic and Arabian nomads. As steppe and desert (horizontal) nomads, they expanded many thousands of miles from their original homelands. Kurdish pastoralists, being mountain (transhumant, or vertical) nomads, expanded only in the relatively limited mountain environment. Any large intervening gaps normally hindered their expansion even into the next mountain system. The vast Barez-Zagros-Taurus mountain systems (respectively

meaning: “High”, and “the Sagarthians” in the Iranic languages, and the last one from the Aramaic “Tur”, meaning a mountain) was the most natural route of expansion, and the majority of onomastics are concentrated in that region. The Alburz, Caucasus, and the Amanus could be reached only by overcoming intervening narrow gaps of steppes, and they yield many fewer onomastics. The wide tract of steppes (Meshhad-Herat gap) has rendered the Paropamisus and the Hindu Kush relatively free of the onomastics.¹ (Map 2)

It is important to recognize that, here at least, the term “clan or tribe” should by no means be equated with nomad, or “tribal” with nomadic life-style. A majority of Kurds have by necessity always been farmers and town-dwellers throughout the long history of that society.² As a rule of thumb, the originators of any given onomasticon were more likely to have been sedentary people than pastoralists, although the latter were the likely vehicle for their wide distribution.

Tribal affiliation in Kurdistan has served as the paramount form of social identity, similar to what the clans have been in Irish society until this day. A clan may or may not include a pastoralist segment, but the existence and mobility of a nomadic segment in a clan would naturally have helped the rapid expansion of the domain of the onomastics present in their collective name.

How, when, and by whom the original onomastics were coined will almost certainly remain a mystery forever. Nevertheless, they have been imparted to mountain systems, small brooks, major cities, small grazing grounds, scientists, authors, royal families, and chiefs of tiny, poor clans. Most of these onomastics, with the aim of denoting specific tribal affiliation, have now been adopted by many Kurds as their official “last names.”³ But this is new only in that the onomastics are now recorded in official state birth certificates. Pre-modern Kurds commonly used the ethnonym for the same identifying purpose, and examples of such pre-modern usage abound throughout this survey.

Before the introduction of “family names” in the modernizing Middle East in the early twentieth century,⁴ The concept was so alien to all but Kurds that it confused observers from neighboring ethnic groups. Well-known medieval Islamic writers never seem to have been able to fathom the function of the ethnonyms when attached to the proper name of a Kurdish individual. Since all others in the region used onomastic phrases for identification (e.g., Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ali ibn...*ad infinitum*), they naturally took the Kurdish tribal “last name” to be the name of the father of the bearer. Thus, when written

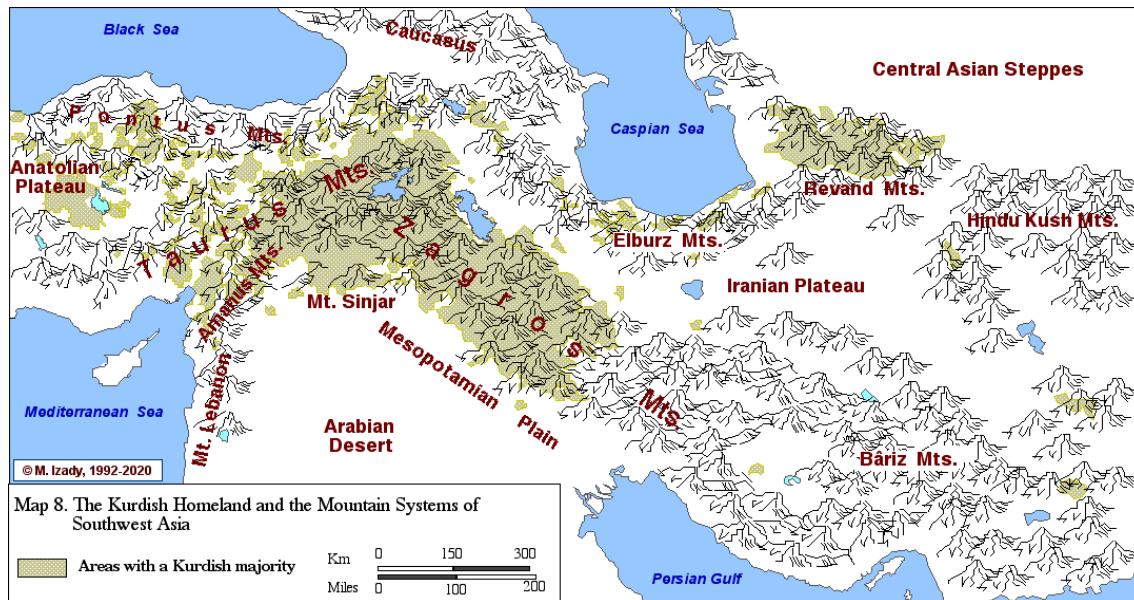
¹ The appearance of Kurdish contingents in the Ghaznavid army in Central Asia and Afghanistan should point to the presence of Kurds in some numbers in the Hindu Kush or, at least, the Paropamisus mountains. Kurdish troop activities are recorded, for example, by Bayhaqi (writing in AD 1043) against the Seljuks and Turcoman nomads in Khwārazm near the Aral Sea, northern Khurasan, Merv, Herat, and Hazārajāt in the central Hindu Kush (Abu'l-Fadi Muhammad Bayhaqi, *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi*, ed. A. Fayyad (Tehran: Irānmīhr, 1971), events for the years AH 423, 427 and 431 (AD 1032, 1035, and 1039).

² Like neighboring societies, all of which contained a nomadic component that varied in size over time. None could have reached the point of tolerating as much as half of the society practicing nomadism. The same unit of land normally supports twenty times as many settled people as nomads. A twentieth of the ethnic land, if given solely to agriculture, would contain half the total over-all population. At no time do farmers or town-dwellers disappear from Kurdistan and neighboring regions, or come close to doing so, even at the height of the nomadic period in the 17th and 18th centuries. Less than 3% of the Kurds still practice pastoralism—a number that is also fast declining.

³ The Kurds of Turkey still may not freely choose their first or family names. Only “Turkic” names (many of them being Arabic or Persian!) are permitted and registered by the state apparatus

⁴ This was, along with the adoption of European clothing, one of the important prerequisites of change for the modernizing governments of the area in the 1920s and '30s. Only a few countries, like Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, remain that do not require their citizens to have a “last name.”

in an Arabic text, these onomastic last names were given the qualifier *ibn* "son of." Thus were born the erroneous, but official names of medieval Kurdish luminaries like Ibn Khallikān (of the Khallikān clan), Ibn Fadlān (of the Padhel tribe), Ibn Shaddād (of the Shadād tribe), and the like.



Almost every medieval Kurdish dynasty of fame was also provided with a genealogy invented by historians, beginning with a fictitious individual who carried the tribal "last name" as his first name. The ancestry of Husayn, the founder of the Marwānid Kurdish dynasty, therefore, reads as "Husayn ibn Dostak" (Husayn son of Dostak). The Shaddādid dynasty of the Caucasus and the Rawwādids of Azerbaijan find respectively a Muhammad ibn Shaddād and Husayn ibn Rawwād at the beginning of their genealogies. In dealing with Kurdish historical entities, the *ibn* found in the Arabic sources should be interpreted, in such cases, as a type of definite article to imply the sense of "the" in English. These dynastic founders must thus be identified as Husayn from the clan of Dustak (the modern Dosski), Muhammad from the tribe of Shadād/Shādian, and Husayn from the clan of Rēwand. Noting this phenomenon, the dynastic and onomastic names of individuals as they appear in historical texts should and are here utilized to study the incidence and etymological evolution of onomastics during any given period.

While, as mentioned before, the onomastic ethnonyms and toponyms outside Kurdistan are found in the southern Zagros, in the case of dynastic and aristocratic names, they appear most frequently among the Armenians. This can spring from the fact that the Armenians have been the ethnic group physically the most intertwined with the Kurds since the earliest times.⁵ The Georgians, Persians, and Turcomans follow the Armenians in having onomastics among their aristocratic houses.

⁵ There is no period of history in which a line, however jagged or fuzzy, can be drawn to separate the ethnic Armenians from the Kurds on a map. In fact the present-day situation, in which a quasi dividing line can be drawn between the two, is the anomalous result of the massive killings and thorough "ethnic cleansing" of Armenians from Anatolia by the end of WWI, and then the thorough expulsion of the non-Yezidi Kurds from newly-independent Armenia and the Armenian-occupied Azeri territories of former "Red Kurdistan." Trustworthy ethnic maps produced shortly before that time depict the customary strong intermix of Armenian and Kurdish elements from Arabkir in the west on to Lake Van in the south and Nagorno-Karabakh in the east. See, e.g., *Map of Eastern Turkey in Asia, Syria, and Western Persia (Ethnographical)* (London: The Royal Geographic Society, 1906, updated in 1914).

Available historical records indicate that in the case of dynastic-aristocratic names, the importation of blue-blooded houses is the most common way to account for this phenomenon. These usually assimilated into the new culture swiftly, while retaining the old Kurdish names. Armenia was just one of the fertile grounds for such Kurdish aristocratic transplants. To name only a few of these, one can list the Armenian Mamigonians, Mandukanians, Muratseans, Baseans, and the Bagratids. On the other hand, ethnonymic and toponymic occurrences most commonly denote past episodes of mass migration.

Conversely, in surveying for the onomasticos, equally valuable data emerge for the episodes of immigration of non-Kurds into Kurdistan and their subsequent assimilation into the Kurdish ethnic pool. Ethnonyms like Karachol, Karakich (Qaraqich), Qarachurlu, Girayli, Takkalū, Ojāq (Ushak), Oghāz, Chichaklū, Bayāt, and perhaps Stājilū are all Turkic in origin. The name of the paramount Yezidi ruling house of Chol is also clearly of Turkic origin.⁶ However, one should be careful not to ascribe to this group some Turkic-sounding ethnonyms like Lāchin and Kazak without ascertaining that such names were absent in pre-Turkic times and have not evolved from other, known onomasticos. Minorsky's proposal for a Mongolian origin of the ethnonyms Mukri and Mangur is of this kind.⁷ The name Mukri, at least as a toponym in eastern Kurdistan, is attested by the pre-Islamic, Middle Persian chronicle *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshēr-i Pāpakān*.⁸ If this is a homophonic coincidence, then a case needs to be made to discount one of these two possible origins. Mangur is an etymological kin of the name Mukrī, and hence, of a pre-Islamic, non-Turkic, non-Mongolian root (see the onomasticon ***Mand**). The Turkic tribes and clans also have introduced the clan and tribal suffix -li and lu into Kurdistan. This suffix has occasionally replaced the older Aryan ones, but more often it has attached itself to the end, e.g., Kēkānlū.

There is also a limited number of Kurdish ethnonyms and toponyms of Arabic origin, such as Mughīra (of the Kalhur confederacy of southern Kurdistan), Khizil of southern Kurdistan and Luristan (presumably from the Arabian tribe of Khaz'al), and possibly Jabur/Jobur.⁹ This last name is carried by clans and tribes that represent Kurds in Kurdistan and Arabs along the immediate banks of the middle Tigris and lower Khabur Rivers. Variants of the name are Jamhūr (Kurds), Jamūr (Arabians and Kurds), Jumayr (Arabians), and Jubayr (Arabians). Far more Arabic words are now found in the names of less important Kurdish tribes and clans, but these are Islamic names of a chieftain (or a perceived great chieftain of some murky past) adopted by splinter tribal groups. Therefore, names such as Azdīnān, Shamdīnān and Bahdīnān are ostensibly constructed by adopting the personal Arabic names 'Izz al-Dīn, Shams al-Dīn, and Bahā' al-Dīn with an added suffix -ān. Some ethnonyms constructed this way are centuries old.

⁶ *Chōl* in most Turkic languages stands for any empty land, steppe, desert or any wilderness. Qara chōl (as in the tribal name Karachorlu) would mean "great wilderness." (*Kara/qara*, meaning color black in modern Turkic languages. But earlier, it also stood for great/large in classical Turkic, as *ak/aq* stood for color white, also for small/lesser) When dealing with the Kurds in his encyclopedic work finished in AD 1338, al-'Umari dedicates a chapter to the district of Chol JoJl. He ascribes the term to that portion of Kurdistan between Arbil, Mosul, and Jazirat ibn 'Umar (*Masālik al-absār*, ed. F. Sezgin [Frankfurt: Goethe University, 1989], III, 3). Considering that this is one of three Yezidi strongholds and the paramount station of the contemporary Chol in that community, we may well be dealing with the first mention of the establishment of the house (and presumably the tribe) of Chol among the Yezidi Kurds.

⁷ Vladimir Minorsky, "Mongolian Place Names in Mukri Kurdistan," *Mongolica* 4 (1957): 58–82.

⁸ See, e.g., Peshotan H. Sanjana, *The Pahlavi Kārnāmē i Artakhshiri Pāpakān* (Bombay, 1896), particularly chapters v, vi, and vii. This edition provides the Pahlavi text, transliteration, and an English translation.

⁹ I am inclined to believe that the name is derived from Khabūr, which is preserved in the major river system between the Tigris and Euphrates and was known by the very common West Iranian name Harāz ("tall, mighty"), derivations of which are found today in the names of the rivers Araxes and Arsani (the Murat River in Anatolia). The Jubūr tribe of the Syrian Jazira (Khabūr river basin) still uses the names Khabūr and Jubūr interchangeably (Henry Field, *The Anthropology of Iraq* (Cambridge: Harvard Peabody Museum of Anthropology, 1952]). I am not at all sure whether the name Khabūr, or Khābūr, is Arabic or Aramaic in origin. A relationship with the onomasticon *Gāwr/Gāw may also be worth pondering.

The dearth of Arabian names is surprising. Large numbers of migrating Arabian tribes settled in Kurdistan over the course of the 7th–10th centuries. Since medieval records indicate a concentration of Arabs in the cities and surrounding farmlands in Kurdistan, one would expect to encounter at least as many Arabian names as Turkic ones in Kurdistan. But one does not.

This study has covered a large portion of all the historic and pervasive onomastics and extensively analyzed those for which substantial data could be furnished. The results can be summarized as follows:

1. There is an astonishingly limited number of onomastics from which most of the myriad contemporary derivatives have evolved.
2. There is no uniformity observed in the onomastics. They come in various numbers of syllables, age, degree of etymological evolution, frequency of incidence, and probable ethnic origin.
3. Over half of the onomastics are certainly pre-Aryan in origin. They seem mostly to be Hurrian (6th to 2nd millennium BC).¹⁰ Several are even older, possibly of Ubaidian origins (7th to 6th millennium BC).
4. The onomastics, clearly Aryan in origin, are mostly Scythian and usually have a larger number of syllables, making them relatively easy to recognize and trace. While a source of relatively few onomastics, the Aryans supplied the common tribal suffixes -wand/vand/wan/ban/bān/mān (in the southern regions of Kurdistan) and -gān/kānlān (in the northern regions of Kurdistan), meaning “of the line of,” or “connected to.” These suffixes are all etymologically the same, and akin to the Persian suffix-mand.¹¹ In two cases, the endings-gān and -ān are found in pre-Aryan onomastics with no clear meaning—it is not certain that they were suffixes at all (see *Bokhtān and *Tirikān).
5. An enigmatic terminal r frequently appears with an otherwise acceptable variant of these archaic names. I have used this appearance as a disqualifier and not included an otherwise acceptable candidate among those in the survey of the respective onomasticon. I have made one exception, and that is in dealing with the name Gurān. Justification for this one exception is provided when, in the encyclopedic work finished in AD 1338, al-'Umari dedicates a chapter to the district of Chol/Jol. He ascribes the term to that portion of Kurdistan between Arbil, Mosul, and Jazirat ibn 'Umar (*Masālik al-absār*; ed. F. Sezgin (Frankfurt: Goethe University, 1989), III, 3). Considering that this is one of three Yezidi strongholds and the paramount station of the contemporary Chol in that community, we may well be dealing with the first mention of the establishment of the house (and presumably the clan) of Chol among the Yezidi Kurds. (see *Gaw as it is analyzed below). In dealing with this terminal r, I suspect we are dealing with a non-random element and rather a suffix of a sort, which perhaps had a clear role, like the contemporary -kān/lān or wand/lu tribal suffixes. If so, it is neither an Indo-European Kurdish root nor of any other local language. In view of the fact that the Hurrian factor in these names is so prominent, and that the archaic names in which it appears designate subdivisions of peoples, this terminal r (or an element that included it or its variants) may be similarly a survivor of a Hurrian tribal suffix.
6. Semitic and Altaic ethnonyms and toponyms are not onomastics, as they remain close to what they were when adopted by the Kurds. The lack of evolution is due to their relatively recent adoption.
7. Some onomastics can be shown to have been an ethnic or national name, such as the archaic onomasticon Kharkhar. But there is no reason to conclude that the search for older forms of the onomasticon should stop at such a point.
8. Non-onomastic, ephemeral names are abundant and found in all periods of Kurdish history. About a quarter of the names surveyed for this essay fell within this category.

¹⁰ Hurrians dominated the Kurdish highlands for about 4,000 years, starting from around 6,500 and lasting up to 2,500 years ago, with the firm establishment of the Aryans in the Zagros-Taurus mountain systems.

¹¹ In fact, in some instances, the Kurdish suffix has evolved organically into the Persian suffix in the names of a few tribes.

9. A clear picture emerges of the roots of many controversial terms, ethnic and otherwise. These have, in the past, led many prominent linguists, historians, and politicians to a philological-semantic-sentimental dispute with each other. Among these terms, Kurd, Carduchi, and Guti are the most popular subjects of analysis and controversy. Here they prove to be in fact just some normal and separate onomastics, not any different from the others studied. Some of these have now evolved to serve as ethnic names in one place (e.g., Kurd, Lur, Bokhtān/ Bakhtiyārī, Gilān, and Baluch), and just one ordinary onomasticon among many, somewhere else.

This author is not the first to note the etymological evolution of these onomastics. The similarity of the names and variants prompted comments by authors as early as 2,200 years ago. Polybius (204–121 B.C.), Livy (d. AD 17), Strabo (d. AD 48), and Pliny the Elder (d. AD 79) are among these outside observers.¹² Pliny, for example, notes: "Adiabenis connectuntur Carduchi quondam dicti, nunc Cordueni, praefluence Tigri..." ("joined on to the Adiabene are the people formerly called the Carduchi and now the Cordueni, past whom flows the river Tigris").¹³ "Strabo's account is shorter, but a little older: *πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἰσχυρῇ τὰ τῶν Γορδναίων χωρία, οὓς οἱ πάλαι Καρδούχους ἔλεγον* ("near the Tigris lie the places belonging to the Gordyaeans, whom the ancients called the Carduchi").¹⁴ Claudius Ptolemy (d. AD 168) even calls the Kurds of the Elburz mountains, whom Strabo (XIII.ii.3) calls the *Cyrtii* (Κύρτιοι)—Kurd, by the old name, Kardukhs (Carduchi).¹⁵ Of the interchangeability (and presumably the simultaneous existence at his time) of another onomasticon, Mard/Amard, Strabo again wrote: *κοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι Κύρτιοι καὶ Μάρδοι καὶ γὰρ οὕτω λέγονται οἱ Ἀμαρδοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ μέχρι νῦν δμωδύως προσασσόμενοι τῆς αὐτῆς εἰσιν ἰδέας* ("and the Cyrtii in Persis, and the Mards—for the Amards are also thus called—and those in Armenia who to this day are called by the same name, are of the same character" (XI.xiii.3).

I believe this study will be a helpful tool in the hands of all historians, historical demographers, and palaeo-linguists interested in the Kurds and their neighboring ethnic groups past and present. It should also help answer some murky and controversial questions on the ethnic identity of Kurds and their neighbors that are based on philological and/or etymological arguments. Primary Sources of Data Some onomastics can be recognized in early Mesopotamian tablets due to the pristine state of their recording. Despite their age, these tablets contain a much more exact record of the spelling of the toponyms and ethnonyms than classical and medieval textual sources. The reason is, of course, the antiquity of the actual clay records. Unlike subsequent books written on paper, they have not reached us through innumerable copyings and distortions by copyists. The names read from the tablets are exactly as the ancient writer recorded by pressing the characters into the clay tablet. No such thing can be stated with certainty in any classical or medieval paper texts.

A particularly rich source of onomastics is the foreign expeditionary itineraries, and in the case of the Assyrians, also the extensive population deportation records. The itinerary of Sargon II's eighth campaign into the Zagros in the 8th century B.C. includes, for example, names of peoples and places such as the Aiadi, Alabria, Armarili, Hubushkia, Mt. Kullar, Missi, Musasir, Nairi, Panzish, Parsuash, Sangibu, Simirra, Subi, Surikash, Mt. Suya, Uaias, Uishdish, Zamua

¹² Polybius, *Histories*, ed. and trs. by E. Shuckburgh, 2 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1889). Livy, *Histories*, trs. by E. Sage and A. Schlesinger. (Cambridge: Harvard Loeb Classical Series, 1991). Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. and trs. by T.E. Page et al., Loeb Classical Library, 8 vols. (New York: William Heinemann, 1917–1932). Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, ed. and trs. by H. Rackham, 10 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

¹³ Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, xvii, 44.

¹⁴ Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, i, 24.

¹⁵ Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography*, ed. and trs. E. Luther Stevenson (New York: New York Public Library, 1932), VI, ii.

Sumbi, and Zikirtu. Other researchers have already determined the geographical location of these entities with good approximation.¹⁶ Among these names I can recognize, with various degrees of certainty, four protonyms. Mt. Kullar of the Assyrian record (the modern Bāzyān range southwest of Sulaymania) preserves the protonym that survives today in the tribal name Kalhur (*q.v.*).

This early form of the onomasticon was still preserved as the name of the district of Kulār in 3rd-century Sasanian records. Mt. Suya, described as being between Zaumua (Sulaymania region) and Surikash (Bāna-Marīvān region), is the modern sacred Mt. Shāwa, in the same locality, and the earliest incidence for the existence of the onomasticon ***Shaw** (*q.v.*). The name Parsuash is preserved in the modern district (and medieval tribal name) Pārsiān/Bārsiān in the Arak-Malāyir area and is apparently the same as the ethnic name Pārsa, “Persian.”¹⁷ Strabo, Mas“ūdi, and Ibn Hawqal also record names similar to the latter for a clan and a district in the same locality (*vide infra*). Uaias may also be an onomasticon that evolved to produce tribal, personal, baronical and dynastic and place names that include the element Ways, Visa, or Vēsa.¹⁸

Assyrians were avid human movers and social engineers. They also kept records of and boasted about such incidents. The result is that the names of the localities and affected people have survived until now. Some of these deportation lists constitute the oldest records of the incidence of the onomasticon. Of the long list provided by the Assyriologist B. Oded, several groups such as the Bāla and Bigali can be recognized to carry onomastic names stemming from ***Bayer** and ***Bello**.¹⁹

The name Saubar, Subiru, and other derivatives are already recorded for the inhabitants of the northern Zagros Mountains and the upper Mesopotamia by 3000 BC. The Sumerians held that the Saubar pre-dated them in occupying Mesopotamia.²⁰ The Saubar may have been the same as, or an off-shoot of, the Ubaidian people(s), whose culture and power dominated the area from 7,300 to about 6,300 years ago and the advent of the Hurrian culture in the mountains.

Their heartland seems to have spanned that part of the northern Zagros between the Lesser Zab river and the confluence of the Bohtān and Tigris Rivers. The name of the Zibārī Kurdish confederacy of north-central Kurdistan on the middle Greater Zab river is an off-shoot of that prehistoric onomasticon. In the upper Zab basin, Ptolemy records a locality (town?) of Zibira (VI.i). Pliny gives the name Zerbis for the Peshkhābur River, which forms part of the modern boundary between Iraq and Turkey, just a stone's throw from the territories of the modern Zibāris (VI.xxx.118). The Jebzāri (*a.k.a.* Jebbārī) clan, inhabiting the area south and southeast of Kirkuk stretching into the Chamchamāl and Laylān regions in central Kurdistan, preserve an etymological variant of that onomasticon.

A divergent branch of the onomasticon *Saubar evolved to produce the variant Tebāl/Tabāl, which in turn evolved into Tibār. Tebāl/Tabāl and Mushku, whose name survives today in the city of Mush in northwestern Kurdistan, are recorded as two neighboring peoples against whom the invading Assyrian forces had to fight in the area of the upper Tigris and Lake Van (Olmstead 1948:241).²¹ Both names are

¹⁶ Louis Levine, “Sargon's Eighth Campaign,” in G. Buccellati, ed., *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia* (Malibu: Undena, 1977).

¹⁷ Uishdish is also preserved as Uzhdēsh in Middle Persian sources for the Takāb-Bijār region, and specifically for the site of the much later Zoroastrian grand fire temple Gushaspa.

¹⁸ Examples include the archaic name Vēs (in the Parthian romance of *Vēs u Rāmin*), Vēs: (still of one of the holy families of the Yarsan (Ahl-i Haqq) sect), the Sasanian administrative title Vēsamakān (i.e., Vēsa-Magu), and as the Turanian grand vizier Visa in the *Shāhnāma*.

¹⁹ See, for example, Bustenai Oded, *Forced Migrations and Deportations of People in the Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979), p. 118.

²⁰ S.N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

²¹ A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), p. 241.

again registered together by Greek and Graeco-Roman authors over 500 years later as the Tiban (Τιβάρων) and the Mushki (Μουσχικοί), who, even though they bordered on the land of the Armenians, were separate “nations” from the Armenians (Strabo, XI.xiv.1). The exact location is given by Strabo as being in the eastern Pontus mountains, in the environs of the modern Erzurum (XII.iii.18). Troops recruited from these were led by Ariomardus (son of Darius III and Parmys) and served in the Achaemenid imperial army (Olmstead 1948: 242). They joined forces with king Mithridates VI of Pontus during Strabo's lifetime (XII.iii.28), by which time they had moved westward to the area of modern Erzincan, on the headwaters of the Halys (Kızılırmak) River (XII.iii.1). It is interesting to note that after the fall of Mithridates, in conforming to the tradition that allows for women rulers in Kurdistan,²² the Tiban came under the rule of their half-Greek queen Pythodoris (XII.iii.29).²³

No single etymological issue has caused so much controversy among Kurdologists as the possible relationship between the onomasticon *Qardu/Kardu (Greek Καρδοῦχοι; Latinized form, Carduchi) and the ethnic term Kurd. As will be discussed in detail later under the onomasticon *Kortei, the former, is not the root for the latter, despite the time-honored observations of Strabo (XVI.i.24), Pliny (VI.xvii.44), and Ptolemy (VI.ii) already noted above. The term appears in early Akkadian records, particularly those found rather miraculously among the Amarna archives in Egypt of 1400 B.C. Later Babylonian sources mention the Kardaka (Latinized later as the Cardaces) in the 7th century B.C. (Olmstead 1948:193). There is mention of the Kardaka, Lukshu (see *Laktz), the Inahud, and the Hanana, who provided mercenaries and guards in the Babylonian royal service.²⁴ From one Neo-Babylonian business record dated to 515 B.C., we learn that “Lukshu the Kardaka has received silver for his sheep, flour, salt, mustard, oil, and good date brandy—all rations for the first three months of the year seven [of the reign of Persian king Darius I, 522_486 B.C.]” (*ibidem*).

This passage is the earliest definitive record of the simultaneous incidence of a onomasticon for a personal name as well as for a tribal name, as far as I am aware. As seen above, the Lukshu were already recorded as being a group of people on a par with the Kardaka, Inahud, and the Hanana. Lukshu the Kardaka is clearly a single man who carries the onomasticon as his personal name. Further, it demonstrates that one could (as one still can) have one's personal name derived from one onomasticon while belonging to a clan or tribal confederacy named after another. But as early as the 3rd century AD it can be shown (see *Bāw) that this double onomastic identity can only occur when the two names are found to belong respectively to a member tribe and the tribal confederacy to which the tribe belongs. Since there is no reason for believing otherwise, in this earlier case one may presume a tribe called Lukshu serving as a member of the Kardaka confederacy. Of course, Lukshu could have also served simultaneously as the name of many other, independent tribes and confederacies, unconnected to the Kardaka.

Since those early days, the Hurrian onomasticon *Qardu/Kardu has evolved slightly to provide us with the prolific Kurdish tribal name Girdi. Girdi clans and tribes are now found dispersed in central and northern

²² M.R. Izady, *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook* (Washington: Taylor & Francis, 1992), pp. 193-96.

²³ “The Tibarene [Tibaran] and Chaldaei (see onomasticon Khalid/Khalib), extending as far as Colchis [western Georgia], Pharnacia [Ardahan] and Trapezus [Trabzon] are ruled by Pythodoris, a woman who is wise and qualified to preside over affairs of state. She is the daughter of Pythodorus of Tralles. She became the wife of Polemon and reigned along with him for a time, and then, when he died in the country of the Aspurgiani (Vaspurakān, east-northeast of Lake Van) as they say migrating Scytho-Sarmatian tribes are called, one of the foreign [βαρβάρων] tribes around Sindicē [i.e., the country of the Sindi tribe; see onomasticon Sindi/Sinni], she succeeded to the rulership; she had two sons and a daughter... one of them [i.e., Polemon II] as a private is assisting his mother in the administration of her empire, whereas the other [i.e., Zenon] has recently been established to use the controversial name Carduchi (Καρδοῦχοι, i.e., the onomasticon *Qardu/ Kardu) as king of Greater Armenia.” (Geo. XII.iii.29). Pythodoris later married again and died in AD 17 near the city of Akhlāt on Lake Van.

²⁴ A.T. Clay, ed., *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1932), 1, 71.

Kurdistan, from Kirkuk and Koy Sanjaq/Bijhenjar to Agri, north of Lake Van. A branch of the Girdi is also present west of the Hakkari highlands—the very exact area where Xenophon first encountered the Carduchi in 401 B.C.

Another much-discussed Hurrian name Guti (or Qutil) also survives today as a onomasticon serving, among others, as the root-name for two populous Kurdish tribes, both named Judikānlu, one in far western Kurdistan in the Adyaman Malatya region, and the other northwest of lake Tuz Gölü in central Anatolia. It also survives in the name of the Biblical and contemporary Mt. Jūdi²⁵ (Jabal Jūdī, northeast of Cizre in north-central Kurdistan) and in a major Lur tribe, the Jūdaki in Bālā Garīva, central Luristan (see **Guti*).

The name **Kharkhar* also appears in Assyrian records for a group of Hurrians in the general southern environs of Lake Urmia in north Kurdistan. The Kharkhar's name survives in one of the two subdivisions of the populous Shakāk confederacy in north Kurdistan. The name Kharkhār, or Kārkār, recorded at the beginning of this century is now pseudo-authenticated to a more “meaningful” name, Kārdār (Persian for “the one in charge”). Other Kurdish tribes such as the Khorkhora of the Galbāghi confederacy in the Sardasht region of east Kurdistan, Kolkol of the Sanjābi confederacy in south Kurdistan, and possibly the Kolkuh of the Fayli confederacy of south Kurdistan and the Girgir of the Haverka confederacy of west Kurdistan preserve the name. The ancient name also survives in the name of the town of Khalkhāl in Azerbaijan.²⁶

Greek and Roman historians and geographers are much more generous with their details of the mountain peoples, tribes, cultures, and toponyms than are Mesopotamian tablets. Tantalizing names appear early in the works of Xenophon and Herodotus. Herodotus (d. ca. 430 B.C.) records the constituting tribes of the Medes as including the Busae, Parataceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and the Magi.²⁷ Among these, Parataceni is recognized here as an onomasticon and discussed later. Xenophon (d. ca. 360 B.C.) provides the celebrated eye-witness account of the march of the ten thousand Greek mercenaries fleeing through Kurdistan, from Dahok to Bitlis, in 401 B.C. As noted earlier, he is also the first to use the controversial name Carduchi (Καρδούχοι, i.e., the onomasticon **Qardu/ Kardu*).²⁸

These and other early Greek texts are very limited in detail and often too corrupted in the spelling of proper names to allow for extensive usage. One has to wait until the arrival of the Roman Empire in the Middle East (1st century B.C.) for detailed and useful recordings.

Among the Graeco-Roman works, a good deal of attention must go to the geographical- historical works of the locally-born Strabo.²⁹ His extensive recordings of ethnonyms and toponyms are frequently used in this

²⁵ The resting place for Noah's ark was considered by the Akkadians to have been at Mt. Nimush (modern Mt. Nisir), northwest of Kirkuk in central Kurdistan. By the time of the first exile of the Jews, the resting place had moved to the much higher Mt. Jūdi in north-central Kurdistan, only to move farther north to the tallest peak in the entire Zagros chain, Mt. Ararat.

²⁶ Today, only the Kurdish tribes of Jānpulāt and Delikānlu still live in the northern environs of Khalkhāl. The city, once a stronghold of the Hadhabāni Kurds (*vide* Hazo*) in the medieval times (Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 89), is mostly Turkified now, with only a shrinking minorities of Kurds and Tats.

²⁷ Herodotus, *Histories*, ed. and trs. by A.B. Gdly (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Series, 1990), I, 103.

²⁸ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, ed. and trs. by W. Miller (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Series, 1989), IV, i-iii.

²⁹ He was born of a mixed lineage of illustrious Greek and Iranic blood-lines in Amasea (the modern Amasya) in Pontus (north-central Anatolia) in 64 or 63 B.C. His family included high ranking generals, administrators and even high priests of the local Moon goddess Mā. They served at the court of the Pontian king Mithridates VI, Eupator and his father, Mithridates V, Euergetes. His mother's paternal uncle, was Moaphernes, a Phasean (*vide* *Pāz).

survey. Even though Strabo's education and upbringing was doubtless in Greek,³⁰ he must have known and spoken to some extent the local Iranic language(s), akin to if not predecessors of modern Dimili (Zāzā) Kurdish, which is still spoken in some parts of the classical Cappadocia and Pontus. For example, while discussing a migrating Thracian tribe, the Saraparae,³¹ he translates their name to mean "decapitators" (*Geog.*, XI.xiv.14). Obviously this is a name given by the local people to these menacing migrants from the Balkans, since the compound is not at all ancient Thracian, but instead, and expectedly, Iranic. With little change, even today this is what Sarapara means in modern Dimili Kurdish (*sara-bera*, "decapitator").³² This would explain this and other instances where Strabo uses Middle Iranic words and phrases in his work and provides accurate translations for them in Greek.

Pliny the Elder is second only to Strabo for his detailed recording of tribes and places in Kurdistan. For the area around Duhok, for example, he records: "Adjoining the Gurdiaei are the Azoni, through whose country flows the Zerbis [Peshkhābur], a tributary of the Tigris, and adjoining the Azoni the mountain tribes of the Silices and the Orontes; west of whom is the town of Gaugamela, and also Suae on a cliff. Above the Silices are the Sitrae, through which flows the Lycus (the Greater Zab River) from its source in Armenia, and south-east of the Sitrae to the town of Azochis" (*Nat. Hist.* VI.xxx.118). Three of these, the Azoni, Silices, and Orontes, can be easily recognized as *Hado, *Shir, and *Halwand protonyms are discussed later. Zerbis is already noted above for being related to the very ancient onomasticon *Saubar/Zibār. In northern Syria, Pliny also makes note of several "tetrarchies" (tribal confederacies). Of those tetrarchies, the Gabeni, Mammisea, Pagras, and Paradisum (VI.xix.81) can be compared to the onomastics *Gāw, *Mamas, *Bager, and *Paerateza of this survey.

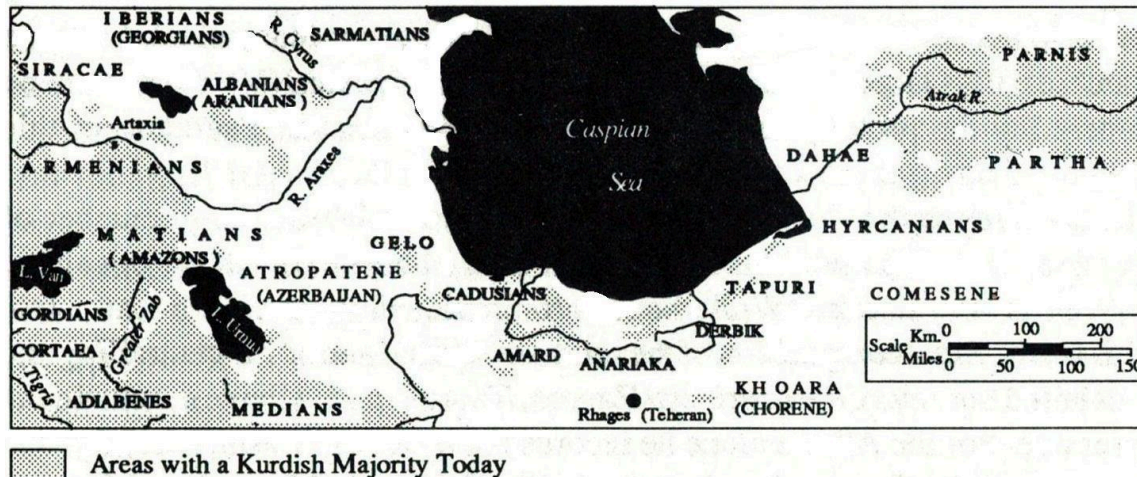
In his *Geography*, Claudius Ptolemy (d. 168) furnishes a large number of clans, tribes and toponyms useful here. The detail with which he covers various areas, however, is very uneven. While he fails to provide anything more than a few words for the tribal composition of the southern, central and north-central Zagros, his detailed survey of the northern Zagros, Taurus, and Elburz mountains is impressive. For the Alburz alone he records the tribes of "Caspi, Mar[a]lgiana, Cadusi, Geli, Dribyces, Anariacae, Mardi, Carduchi, Marundae, Margasi, Delymais, Tapur, Vadassi, and the Dariti" (VI.ii). (Map 3.) Among these the protonymic variants Geli, Mardi, Carduchi, and Delymais can be recognized.

³⁰ "Now the territory of Amisus extends to this point; and the city has produced men noteworthy for their learning, Demetrius, the son of Rhathenus, and Dionysodorus, the mathematicians, the latter bearing the same name as the Melian geometer, and Tyrranian the grammarian, of whom I was a pupil" (*Geog.* XII.iii. 16).

³¹ More on this tribe later on under the protonym *Gāw/Gāwr.

³² The modern Kurmanji Kurdish is *sara-bra* and modern Persian *sar-bor*. Strabo's knowledge of the Persian language should be at once discounted, as the ethnic Persians were by then confined to their far-away home region of Persis/Pārs on the Persian Gulf. The Macedonian, Seleucid, and Parthian dynasties had successively ruled after the fall of the Achaemenid Persians in the 4th century B.C., and Persians carried no political or cultural weight at this time. The Parthian Federation and the allies that bordered Strabo's home state of Pontus did not employ the Persian language at any level known to us so as to mandate anyone in central or western Anatolia to learn it.

While the possibility of Strabo's knowledge of the Persian language is remote, his knowledge of Pahlawanik (*a.k.a.*, Middle Parthian, the language of the western Parthia and the Zagros region, of which Dimili, Gurāni and Laki-Pahli are the likely modern offshoots) should, on the other hand, be presumed. In another place, Strabo records a presumably Persian noun *kardak* (κάρδακς) that he says is given to the Persian boy camp trainees: "for κάρδα means the manly and warlike spirit" (*Geog.*, XV.3.18). This is not accurate for either Old or Middle Persian as we know them today. It cannot be akin to the New Persian word *gord*, which actually does mean "manly and warlike," since the Middle Persian form is known already to be *gort* (glt), with the vowel o, not ā as Strabo has. There are, on the other hand, the Pahlawanik words *kāra* and *kārda* (cognates of the modern English/Spanish term guerrilla), which mean scout and militia and may be the source of Strabo's term.



Map 3a. Peoples inhabiting the Alburz Mountains in the 2nd century BC.

Livy (d. AD 17) in *Histories* (particularly Books 37 and 42) and Plutarch (d. AD 120) in *Parallel Lives* (particularly those of Sulla, Lucullus, Crassus, Pompey, Demetrius, and Anthony) often mention peoples and tribes when they enter an event deemed important.³³ Only seldom do they mention peoples and places beyond the area where historic events of their interest are transpiring. The historical works of Polybius (*Histories*, particularly in Books 5 and 31), remain, however, the oldest regular source of information utilized for the purpose of this survey. Procopius (*History of the Wars*, vols. I, II, and VIII, *The Persian Wars* himself served in the Byzantine army of Emperor Justinian under General Belisarius.³⁴ He was an eyewitness to the Byzantine-Sassanid wars of the early 6th century, fought in eastern Anatolia and northern Syria—primarily on Kurdish and Armenian territories. Many onomastics (like in the clan names Delomini and Belcanae in Anatolia) can be recovered from Procopius' work, but only after a careful (and time-consuming) review of those volumes.

Other works of classical Graeco-Roman authors who provide some auxiliary information pertinent to this survey are those of Tacitus (d.ca. AD 120, *Annals*, particularly chapters 5–16), Flavius Arrian (d. AD 180, particularly the *Parthica*, Book VIII), Dio Cassius (d. AD 235, *Roman History*), and the very valuable military history by Appian (d. ca. AD 165), *Roman History*.³⁵

Non-Graeco-Roman classical texts useful for studies like the present must include Armenian, Aramaic, and Middle Persian sources.³⁶ Of the most value are the works of the Armenian Moses of Chorene (lived

³³ Livy, *Histories*, trs. by E. Sage and A. Schlesinger (Cambridge: Harvard Loeb Classical Series, 1991). Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, ed. and trs. by B. Perrin (Cambridge: Harvard Loeb Classical Series, 1985).

³⁴ Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. and trs. by H.B. Dewing (Cambridge: Harvard Loeb Classical Series, 1992).

³⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, ed. and trs. by J. Jackson (Cambridge: Harvard Loeb Classical Series, 1986). Flavius Arrian, *Parthica*, ed. and trs. by G. Selincourt (Baltimore: Penguin, 1959). Dio Cassius (Cassius Dio Caccianus), *Roman History*, ed. and trs. by G.P. Goold (Cambridge: Harvard Loeb Classical Series, 1990).

³⁶ Even though the role of the Parthians in the history and philology of the Kurds is paramount, including the imparting of several onomastics, little has survived of the Parthian records per se. The Parthian materials are transmitted to us primarily through the Armenian, Aramaic, and Middle Persian sources, with various degrees of trustworthiness. The surviving Parthian rock inscriptions are rare. A valuable but short parchment from Awrāman in southern Kurdistan was for a while the most "extensive" Parthian record, until the discovery of a large number of ostrachi at the Parthian city of Nisaea south of Ashkhabad. The early Islamic historians, and particularly the Persian poets such as Asadi, Gurgāni and Firdawsi, have recorded a very large body of material that can be assumed to be Parthian in origin.

sometime between AD 490 and 760) and Moses Dasxuranci,³⁷ which are abrim with onomastic names.³⁸ Aramaic sources produced by writers native to Kurdistan such as M'shihā-Z'khā and M'shīhā-Sabrān provide Parthian and early Sasanian records of Kurdish clans-, tribe-, place-, dynastic and royal names and titles found in central Kurdistan (classical Adiabene) and much more.³⁹ M'shīhā-Z'khā's recording of the still ongoing Alanic nomadic pressure and settlement in northern, eastern and central Kurdistan as late as the 4th century AD is most illuminating a period in which the onomasticon *Ālān (q.v.) may have been introduced into Kurdistan when most traces of other onomastics were enigmatically wiped out from eastern Kurdistan.

With the advent of Islam, our textual resources for this subject expand exponentially. The works of Ibn Khurdādhbih, Qudāma, Ya'qūbī, followed by Ibn Faḡih and Jayhānī are the earliest Muslim geographical texts that provide a wealth of Kurdish place names as well as some tribal and dynastic names clearly of onomastic origins.

In *Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, written in AD 864,⁴⁰ Ibn Khurdādhbih gives a list of Kurds of the southern Zagros and Fārs province. His list was copied and recopied by subsequent authors, with additions, deletions, or plain confusion. Under the title “Kurdish Tribal Confederacies (*zumūm*, plural of *zumm*) of Fārs” he states: “There are four *zumūm*, and the definition of *zumām* is the territories of the Kurds. These are the *zumm* of Husayn b. Jilū جيلويه, called, the Bāzanjān بازنجان, ca. 56 miles from Shiraz, (2) the *zumm* of A.rdām b. Jawānāh اردم بن جونا, ca. 106 miles from Shiraz, (3) the *zumm* of Qāsim b. Shahrbarāz شهربراز, called the Kūrīyān كوريان (or Kūrbān), 200 miles from Shiraz, (4) the *zumm* of Husayn b. Sālih, called the Sūrān سوران (or Mūzān موزان), around 228 miles from Shiraz.”⁴¹ He is also the first to employ the term *zumm* for the Kurdish tribal confederacies. Khwārazmī translates *zumām* as “the lands of the Kurds.”⁴² Imām-Shushtari, after explaining *zumm* as “a Kurdish village, more specifically any of their summer camping grounds,” adds that it has also entered classical Arabic poetry.⁴³ In its broken plural form, *zumūm*, e.g., it was used by the famed medieval Arab poet al-Buhturī.⁴⁴

³⁷ Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, English trs. by Robert Thomson. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). Based on Moses's material, Joseph Marquart (Markwart) has produced a very valuable geographical treatise of pre-Islamic places, peoples, and sources pertinent to this essay in *Eranšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (Berlin, 1901). This is a much-cited classic on the historical geography of the Iranic world. Some of Marquart's citations, however, do not match the sources, either by page numbers or reading, and thus must be double-checked before any citation. Movses Dasxuranci, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians*, edited and translated by C.J. Dowsett (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

³⁸ Much extra information can be found in Joseph Marquart (Markwart), *Erānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (Berlin, 1901). Marquart uses material from these two and other Armenian and non-Armenian sources in his very useful geographical work on the region between Khurasan and the Euphrates of the late classical and early medieval periods.

³⁹ A. Mingana, *Sources Syriaques*, vol. I: Histoire de l'Eglise d'Adiabène sous les Parthes et les Sassanides par M'shiha-Zkha (Leipzig, 1908); Eduard Sachau, “Die Chronik von Arbela,” *Abhandlungen der Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* 6 (Berlin: 1915). J.B. Chabot, “Histoire de Jésus-Sabran écrite par Jésus-yab d'Adiabène, publiée d'après le MS. Syr. CXL de la Bibliothèque Vaticane,” *Nouvelles archives de missions scientifiques et littéraires*, VII (Paris: 1897), p. 524.

⁴⁰ Abu'l-Qāsim Ubaydullāh Ibn Khurdādhbih, *al-Masālik wa' l-mamālik*, ed. M.J. De Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1889, rpt. 1967), p. 47.

⁴¹ «وهي أربعة زوموم و تفسير الزوموم محال الأكراد»

⁴² Abu 'Abdallāh Muhammad al-Kātib al-Khwārazmī, *Maḡātib al—'ulum* (Tehran: 'Ilmi u Farhangi, 1983), p. 117.

⁴³ Muhammad Ali Imām-Shūshtari, *al-Ajam fi lughat al-'arab* (Tehran: Āthār-i Milli, 1968)

⁴⁴ *Fasaqat hādīra 'l-zumūmi fa-mā qama bi-tilka 'l-khiyāmi badu 'amūdu* (“They destroyed the *zumms*: there is not a pole left standing in the tents”).

The term zumm has been read and copied in every way, and has been the topic of far too many heated discussions in the past.⁴⁵ In hand copying, often the dot on the Arabic letter z is dropped, resulting in the reading ramm and rumūm.⁴⁶ Now the term ramak, or rama, does have a pastoral meaning in Persian, as it means a flock or herd of sheep, goat, horses, or cattle,⁴⁷ but there is no etymological connection between rama and zumm.

In Kurmānji Kurdish, the term *zom*, or *zoma*, means a mountain pastoral site and pasture camp. It usually refers to a summer grazing camp, equivalent to *yaylagh* in the Turkic nomadic lexicon. The grazing camps naturally were hotly defended by the pastoralists and were shared by the member tribes of a single confederacy, which imparted its name to the camps (a tradition still practiced among the Bakhtiyari and those Kurds who remain nomadic in the Hakkari district in northern Kurdistan).

William Ainsworth writes of the Kurdish summer camps north of Amadiya, stating that “they are called yayla by the local Turks, while the Kurds and Assyrian Christians call them zómá.”⁴⁸ He adds that in Kurmānji Kurdish they are sometimes called zozan as well. F.R. Maunsell, when describing the summer pastures in the Hakkari highlands of north-central Kurdistan, calls them the zomá.⁴⁹ Bertram Dickson, describing life among the Hakkari, writes that in the summertime when it gets too hot, the villagers move up to their summer station, or zoma.⁵⁰ Most recently, in her study of the Kurdish rural population of Hakkari province in Turkey, L. Yalçın notes: “Outside the administrative classification, the local settlement pattern and system of classification emphasize the summer *zoma* (pastor camp) versus winter village dichotomy....The formation of *zoma* groups depends on kin and affinal ties as well as economic relations.”⁵¹ Even among the Lur, the term finds the cognate *zimga*, although with the Lur it stands for the winter quarters—actually the permanent huts built in the countryside that house the nomadic tribe for about six months of the year, longer than any other forms of housing.⁵²

This needlessly controversial term has strangely entered the heated debate on the question of the ethnic identity of the Kurds prior to modern times.

Prominent scholars of the stature and sobriety of Minorsky and Spuler chose this term and the question of Kurdish onomastics as a springboard to attack rather odiously the scholarly credentials of the other.⁵³

⁴⁵ G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (London: Frank Cass, 1966), p. 266: “In this mountain region of Fārs, known later as the Jabal Jilūyah, the five Kurdish tribes, called collectively the Zamm al-Akrād, had in the 4th (10th) century their pastures and camping grounds.” Also: “Zamm means in Kurdish a tribe' (more correctly written Zūmah), and by mistake the word has often been given as Ramm” (*ibid.*, 266, n. 2).

⁴⁶ M.J. de Goeje in his translation of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work (*op. cit.*, p. 33, note 1) notes this when he comments: “La prononciation de Ramm, que j'ai adoptée chez Istakhry et Mokaddasy selon Yākut, est évidemment mauvaise, car c'est le mot Kurde ZWMH.”

⁴⁷ *Farhang-i Amid*, 549.

⁴⁸ William Ainsworth, “An Account of a Visit to the Chaldeans, inhabiting Central Kurdistan,” *Journal of Royal Geographical Society* XI (1840): 33. He also notes the other compounds using this term, such as *zómá-swārri* (“riding on the pastures”) (p. 43f.).

⁴⁹ F.R. Maunsell, “Central Kurdistan,” *Geographical Journal* 18/2 (1901): 138.

⁵⁰ Bertram Dickson, “Journeys in Kurdistan,” *Geographical Journal* 35/4 (1910): 365.

⁵¹ Lale Yalçın-Heckmann, *Tribe and Kinship among the Kurds* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH, 1991), pp. 78–82. Like Ainsworth, Yalçın also asserts that the zoma is also known “both as zoma and zozan to other Kurds” (p. 78). This must be just a repetition of Ainsworth's line, since it is not true, and Ainsworth seems to have been the person originally mistaken in his recording.

⁵² Inge Demant Mortensen, *Nomads of Kurdistan* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1993), pp. 78–82.

⁵³ Reviewing Bertold Spuler's valuable book, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (1952), Minorsky writes: “Even on a cursory perusal, one finds a number of corrections or additions to be made to the shorter paragraphs. For example, under “Sprachliche Verhältnisse” (pp. 237–247) it is inexact to say that only one tribal word (*kākūy*) is attested in the sources, for there exists a mass of Daylamite names (a question left out under ‘Namengebung,’ pp.

Much more information surfaces in Ibn Khurdādhbih's toponymic recordings than his tribal ones. Districts such as Barjawān and Delok in the coastal Amanus mountains of Syria, the Dāsin, Bajili, Bajarmi and Hazza, in Mosul province, and Jāwūd and Bajirwān in the Khābur basin (*Masālik* 94-95) are just some examples of the wealth of medieval incidences of onomastics found in his work.

Qudāma b. Jafar's work *Kitāb al-kharāj*, written in AD 880,⁵⁴ provides parallel checking of names and locations recorded by Ibn Khurdādhbih. In fact, the spelling of the less corrupt text of *Kitāb al-kharāj* (p. 240) proved necessary in restoring the *Masālik*'s nomenclature just provided above. These two authors were contemporaries of each other and must have heard the names more or less the same. As the title of Qudāma's book, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, "The Book of Taxation," implies, it also contains detailed tax records for all the provinces and districts under Abbasid caliphal jurisdiction. Additionally, he records the number of troops each province yields. Used alongside other factors, these have a strong potential for providing rough, but reliable and detailed demographic figures for the period.

Ahmad b. Wādih Yaqūbi al-Isfahāni in *Buldān* (written AD 891) only mentions the Kurdish population of southern Kurdistan and Luristan (1.44-45), and notes a single confederacy, the Jāwānī (or Jāwdānīyya) of Badh in Azerbaijan, adding that the province contained a mixed ethnic population. (1.47) His recording of place names is valuable in providing parallel references to the numerous corrupted names of the other, more useful sources.

Ibn Faqih al-Hamadānī is perhaps one of the most, if not the most, important source on geography and folklore of the Kurds in medieval times. In his book *Mukhtasar kitāb al-buldān* written in AD 903, however, he hardly mentions any Kurdish tribes at all. He says he is repeating the account of the geographer Ibn Khurdādhbih even when he writes of the Kurdish tribal confederations of Fārs.⁵⁵ Except for the spelling of the names, which must be the result of the copyists' perennial misspellings, this is true (*Kitāb al-buldān*, 204).⁵⁶ However, he provides a large array of place names in Fārs and other places that help in reconstructing the corrupted tribal names.⁵⁷

In his *Ashkāl al-'ālam*,⁵⁸ written ca. A.D.932, Jayhāni includes in the description of Fārs: "And there are localities called *zumm* (tribal confederacies). The largest is that of Jilū جيلويه, [that is also] known as the Ramjān رميجان, then the Shahrīrā شهريرا (also) known as the Bāsanjān باسنجان, [then] that of Ahmad b. Hasan [also] known as the Kārīyān كاريان, and the Zumm of Ardashir. As to the number of pastoralists, they are innumerable, and it is said that in all of Fārs there may be five hundred thousand black tents set up in the wilderness, moving winters and summers to pasture lands like the Arabs. Each tent houses ten people, including the head of the family, family and the servants and shepherds" (*Ashkāl*, 110).⁵⁹

220-224) admitting of a series of linguistic conclusions. Muqaddasi too has a number of paragraphs on the local particularities of speech. The form *zumām* for the "federation" of nomad tribes in Fars (p. 241) is certainly wrong, and in *Fārsnāma*, 168, the basic term appears as *ramm* (probably connected with Persian *ramma* 'a flock') (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 3-4 (1953): 191-203).

⁵⁴ Qudāma b. Jafar al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1967). Reprint of the 1889 original.

⁵⁵ Ibn Faqih al-Hamadānī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1967). Reprint of the 1886 original.

⁵⁶ Ibn Faqih's list includes (1) the Zumm of Husayn b. Jilu, called the Bāzanjān, (2) the Zumm of A.rjām b. Khwānjāh, (3) the Zumm of Qāsim b. Shariyār, called the Kuriyān (or Kurbān), (4) the Zumm of Husyan b. Sālīh, called the Sūrān (or Mūzān).

⁵⁷ For Fārs, he gives the localities of Rāmjān, Shāhijān, and Tirmardān, all useful in deciphering Ibn Hawqal's list.

⁵⁸ Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ahmad Jayhāni, *Ashkāl al-'ālam*, original Persian translation by 'Abd al-Salām al-Kātib, ed. By F. Mansuri (Mashhad: Astan-i Quds, 1990).

⁵⁹ There has been a great deal of controversy over the attribution of a text that has been published as *Ashkāl al-'alam* (attributed to Jayhāni), *Suwar al-aqālīm* (attributed to Abū-Zayn Sahl al-Balkhi, d. AD 934), and *Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (attributed to Abū-Is'hāq Īstakhri, d. A.D.957). The texts vary little from one book to the other, and ample

Following the valuable toponymic and dynastic recordings of these earliest of the medieval Islamic geographic works, the Kurdish family clans and tribes are given the coverage missing in the earlier works. Mas'ūdī in *Murūj al-dhahab*, finished in AD 943, mentions sixteen tribes of the Kurds.⁶⁰ He also notes the geographical location of some of them, as he does the religion for the others. "Of the Kurdish people," says Mas'ūdī, "are the Shawahjān شوهجان, who inhabit the cities [districts] of Median Kufa and Basra, that is to say, the regions of Dinawar and Hamadān. And the Bajirwān باجروان (variant: ماجردان) who inhabit Kangawar, which is in the province of Azerbaijan.⁶¹ And the Hadhabani هذبانية (variant: هلبانية), the Shadijan شاديجان (variant: شادنجان), the Lurs لريه (variant: لزيه), the Maranjan مارنجان (variants: مادنجان, مازنجان), the M.z.dan.kan مزدانكان, the Barsian بارسيان (variant: باريسان), the Jaliya جاليه (variants: خاليه, جلاليه), the Jabar.qiyya جابارقيه (variant: جابارقه), the Jawaniyya جاوانيه, and the Mastakan مستكان, who inhabit the Jibāl. They are [found] about the regions of Syria, from the [Cilician] Gates to the other places. Of the Kurds are [also] the Yaqubiyya يعقوبيه and the Juriqān جورقان who are Christians and whose abodes are in the districts skirting Mosul, and Mt. Jūdī. Among the Kurds are found Kharijites who rejected both the Caliphs 'Uthmān and Ali."⁶²

In his other impressive work, *Tanbih*, finished AD 956, Mas'ūdī enumerates again 16 tribes of the Kurds.⁶³ These, however, are not the exact sixteen given in the *Murūj*, and he gives a much more general and vaster territory to cover "all" his Kurdish tribes, "who inhabit the territories of Fārs, Kirmān, Sistān, Khurāsān, Isfahān, the land of Jibāl, and the Māhs: Māh Kūfa, Māh BaSra, Māsabadhān, Ighārayn (Malāyir-Arak district), which are the Barj and the Karaj of Abū-Dulaf, Hamadān, Shahrazur, Darābād, Sāmghān, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Arān and Biliqān (Baylaqān), Bāb al-Abwāb [Darbent], Jazira in [northern] Mesopotamia, Syria, and the [Cilician] Passes" (*Tanbih*, p. 84f.). Mas'ūdī describes the Kurds in the same chapter where he also describes other ethnic groups like the Arabs, Berbers, Baluch, and others inhabiting the mountains, plains, or deserts. He clearly distinguishes each group from the other, and together they form a chapter of his work.

The tribal list of the *Tanbih* includes the Badhanjān بادنجان (variants in different copies of the work: مادنجان, بادنجان), the Shuwahjan شوهجان, the Shadijan شاديجان (variant: شادنجان), Budhikan بونيكان, the Hadhabaniyya هذبانية, the Jawaniyya جاوانيه, the Kekān كيكان and the Jaliya جاليه (variants: خاليه, جلاليه), the Luriyya لريه, the Juraqān جورقان, the Bajurwan باجروان (variant: ماجردان), the Mastakan مستكان, the Jabar.qa جابارقه (variant: جابارقيه), Jurughan جروغان, N.Sawarah نشاوره, and the Barisan باريسان (variant: بارسان) (*Muruj*, i.251).

These two lists of Mas'ūdī seem to be those of large Kurdish tribal confederacies and not a simple tribe or clan—the same concept advanced by Pliny's "tetrarchs" noted earlier. Occasionally one finds the names of smaller tribes and clans mentioned casually by him in relation to other events. For example, talking of the imposing structures along the upper Tigris, he records: "On the Tigris at Mt. Jūdi and Mt. Tinnin, (many)

scholarly talent and ink have gone to prove or disprove the proverbial chicken and egg puzzle. I have here reported from the text that is now published under Jayhani's name as *Ashkāl al-'alam*. I will, however, include any valuable additional information that appears in other two variant "books" when necessary under the title and author in which the information is found, without entering into the controversy over who the "real" author was.

⁶⁰ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawāhir*, ed. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1966).

⁶¹ Apparently, the administrative parameters of Azerbaijan of Mas'ūdī's time included all of eastern and parts of southern Kurdistan. The city of Kangawar is between Kirmanshah and Hamadan, far from the traditional boundary of Azerbaijan, which lies to the north.

⁶² Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, I, 251.

⁶³ Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbih wa'l-ishrāf*, ed. A. Pāyanda (Tehran, Ilmi, 1986). A reprint of the original edition by de Goeje.

palaces belonging to one Ali b. Dāwūd al-Kurdi, who is of the Rehẓādī رَهزادی (confederacy)” (*Tanbih*, p. 53).

Many of these confederacies are recognizable once their onomastic connection is established. The Shawahjan, Bajurwān and Bādhanjān, Hadhabānī, Shādiĵān/Shādhānjān, Jāliya, Jāwāniyya and Jurūqān, and Budhikān are recognizable as permutations of the onomastics *Shāw, ***Bayēr** ***Hazo**, ***Shaḍ**, *Gelo, *Gāw, and *Pāz (*q.t.v.*). The Luriyay لُریه of Mas’ūdī clearly denotes the ancestors of the modern Lurs, who have since adopted the Persian language and forged their own ethnic identity separate from the Kurds. For the Bārsiān, a relationship can be seen with the Parsii tribe (Strabo, *Geog.*, XI.vii.1), who lived along with the Geloe and the Amardi in the Alburz mountains of the first century B.C. The aforementioned campaign itinerary of the Assyrian Sargon I includes a Parsuash in the central Zagros that should be connected with the development of the topo- and ethnonym given by Strabo and Mas’ūdī. Ibn Hawqal also records Bārsiān as the name of a locality forty miles from Hamadān, apparently to the northwest towards Qazvin (*Sūrat*, 360). Mas’ūdī’s eponymous tribe can well be assumed to have inhabited this area. There also remains a Fārsi tribe among the Bayr-Ahmad in the southern Zagros as well.

A toponym similar to Mas’ūdī’s clan name of Mastakān is attested by Istakhri in the Persian *Masālik u mamālik* where he records a Mastajān in the district (*kura*) of Shāpur (the modern Kāzirūn) in Fārs.⁶⁴ This name may in fact be of the rank of an onomasticon, even though it has not been included here as such due to a dearth of attested examples. There is still a Kurdish tribe of Mizhdakānlu (of the Zafrānlu confederacy in Khurasan) and a Mazdakānlū in Turkmenistan.⁶⁵ There is also the proper name of the 5th-century social revolutionary Mazdak, who came from the foothills of the Zagros above Isfahan. His name may bear an etymological connection to the later Mastakān. The Ya’qubiyya may simply mean the Jacobites—a name denoting their religion rather than their Kurdish tribal affiliation.⁶⁶

Minorsky (1946) is certain that Mas’ūdī’s Jābārqa/Jābārqa جَبَارِقَه represents the etymological ancestor of the contemporary tribal name Gurān. This is untenable, as discussed here under the onomasticon *Gāw/*Gāwr.

A distinction lost in the midst of all the copyists’ corruptions is the one between Māranjān and Bāzanjān. In corrupted form, one can more or less reconstruct the garbled result into either of these two forms. But while the change of the letter *r* for *d* or *dh* by copyists of Arabic script is easy to presume, it is not so, however, of *m* to *b*. We must assume that Māranjan is what *Murūj* intends to report, and not just a corrupted form of *Tanbih*’s Bādhanjān.

Here we are definitely dealing with two onomastics, which are confused with each other due to their similarity in spelling in the Arabic alphabet. The fact that they both were also found in the southern Zagros and were Kurdish at the time of reporting just compounds the problem. The pre-Islamic, Middle Persian geographical treatise *Shatristānhā i Erānshatr*⁶⁷ records a mountain principality (*kufyar*) of Māranchān/Māranjān. As to its whereabouts, the location of Māranchān should, with little doubt, be placed in the mountainous regions of the south-central Zagros in Fārs, between Khuzistan and Isfahan. Nyberg identifies Māranjān (with no supporting arguments, however) as “Marinjān [مازنجان] a Kurdish tribe.”⁶⁸ He

⁶⁴ Istakhri, *Masālik u mamālik*, the 11th-century Persian translation, ed. I. Afshar (Tehran: Ilmi, 1989), p. 101f.

⁶⁵ Ch.Kh. Bakaev, *Govor Kurdiv Turkmenii*, (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1962), p. 3.

⁶⁶ This cannot be asserted conclusively, as nothing precludes a double usage for the name.

⁶⁷ *Shatristānhā-i Erānshatr*, ed. and German trs. by Joseph Marquart (Markwart), of which see the English trs. and further editing by G. Messina, *A Catalog of the Provincial Capitals of Irānshahr* (Rome: Pontificio istituto Biblico, 1931).

⁶⁸ H.S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi* (Wiesbaden: 1974), II, 126.

would have been more certain had he noted that this name is still preserved in the name of Mārūn/Māran, a major river of the southern Zagros that flows into the Persian Gulf through Khuzistan.⁶⁹ There is also a Marini tribe (of the Boir-Ahmad confederacy) at the headwaters of the Mārūn. Ibn Hawqal recorded a nearby town of Mihranjān (variant: Mīhrzanjān), which should be identified with the modern village of Mehranjān south of Kāzīrūn. There is also a village of Māranj south of Sanandaj in east Kurdistan.

Regarding the remaining two confederacies of the N.šāwarah and the M.z.dān.kān, as of yet I cannot even supply an educated guess. Future attempts may be more fruitful in deciphering them.

Following Mas'ūdī, the information becomes even more detailed *vis-à-vis* the tribes. Ibn Hawqal in *Sūrat al-Ard* (finished AD 977), provides a detailed list of Kurdish tribes and confederacies in the southern Zagros and Fārs, supplemented by occasional mention of others in various parts of the Kurd-inhabited lands. This land he delineates as: “[on one side] between Hamadan, Qum and Ray that is mostly plains and few mountains, (on the other) by the forbidding mountains from Shahrazur (the modern Sulaymania) to Amid [the modern Diyarbakir], between the territories of Azerbaijan and Jazira and the environs of Mosul. This is its length, its width being between thirty and forty parasangs (120-160 miles), more or less. No flat plain is found in the country. And those mountains and its adjacent lands are populated by the Kurds of the [confederacies of] H.midi, Lārī, Hadhabānī, and others of the Kurds of Shahrazur and Suhraward to Halwān, Saymara, Sirawān, Luristan, Isfahān to the borders of Fārs, and from there to Kāshān, Qazvin, and Dēlam (Daylam). It continues into Azerbaijan, on the steppes and into the mountains to Mt. Caucasus and the mountain of the Khuramites, and from there to the Māhāts (southern Kurdistan and northern Luristan).⁷⁰ The Kurds of Fārs and the southern Zagros he divides into several major confederacies, or *zumms*: “the Jilū جيلو, also known as Ramījān رميجان, between Isfahān and Istakhr [Persepolis] to Baydā and [borders of] Khuzistan. The people of Māzanjān مازنجان who are on the territories of Isfahān are neighbors of the Jilū and counted within the Shahriyār شهریار confederacy.... Next is the confederacy of the Diwān دیوان, which is located between the districts (*kura*) of Ardasher [the modern Firūzābād] and the district of Shapur (the modern Kāzīrūn]. The territories of the confederacy of L.w.ljān لولجان stretch to the sea [Persian Gulf] from the district of Ardasher, where two thirds of its domain is located. As to the confederacy of Kāriyān کاریان, it stretches from the borders of Kirman to the territories of] the Māzanjān مازنجان [should be Bāzranjān] confederacy, all being within the district of Ardasher” (*ibid.*, 269f.).

For the member tribes, presumably to these confederacies: “The Kurdish tribes of Fārs include: the K.rmāni کرمانیه, Rāmāni راماني [variant: Zāmānī], M.din مدین [variant: Madthar], the tribe of the Muhammad b. Bashar, the Baqili بقلیه [variant: Qabila], B.ndādhmihri بندانمهریه, the tribe of Muhammad b. Is'hāq, the S.bāhī صباحیه, Is'hāqī سحاقیه, Azokāni ذوکانی [variants: Āzarkāni, Adrakānī], S.hr.ki سهرکیه, T.mād.h.ni طمادهنیه [variant: Tādahbi], Ziyādi زیادی; [variant: Zabādi], Shahrawayh شهبویه [variant: Suhrawi], B.n.dādh.qi il بندانقیه [variant: Bundāwqi], Khusrawi خسرویه, Zanji زنجه [variant: Ranji], S.f.ri صفریه, Shah.yari شهباریه, Mehraki مهرکیه, Mubarakī مبارکیه, Ustam.h.ri استامهریه [variant: Usamihri], Shahwayh شاهویه [variant: Shahwani], Furati فراتی, S.l.mini سلمونیه, Sayri صیریه, Azad-Dukhti ازاددختیه [variant: Arādwahnī], M.t.l.bi مطلبیه [variant: Maltabī], M.'ālī معالیه, Lārī لاریه [variant: Adana], Barāz-Dukhti برادختیه [variant: Barāwdukhtī], Shāhkānī شاهکانیه, and Jalilīl جلیلیه. These are the well-known Kurdish tribes, and knowledge of all [others] is not possible but through the office of endowment records. The Kurds in Fārs are 500,000 families strong, and each confederacy has more or less 100,000

⁶⁹ J. Markwart tries to connect Māranjān with one of the four Kurdish confederacies in Fārs, but commits the mistake of taking Bādhinjān as the candidate. He adds: “The Māranjān had recently migrated from Fārs into Ispahān when they were reported by the Islamic sources” (*ibid.*).

⁷⁰ Abu'l-Qāsim Ibn Hawqal, *Sūrat al-ard*, ed. J.H. Kramers (Leiden: Brill, 1967), p. 370f.

horsemen...⁷¹ It is said they are more than a hundred tribes, and here I have mentioned a mere thirty or so" (*Sūrat*, 270-71).⁷²

The names in Ibn Hawqal's list are so corrupt that, except for the very obvious ones, they are nearly impossible to reconstruct at this time. Only nine of thirty-eight names mentioned above can be recognized with certainty: the Jilu, Māranjān, Rāmānī, Baqilī, Azokānī, Zanji/Ranji, Shahwayh, Shāhkānī, Jalīlī and possibly the Barāwdukhti and Rāmijān. This is the result of the author's failure to provide safeguards to prevent gradual corruption of these proper names through subsequent hand-copying. The time-consuming method of spelling out the words letter by letter as, for instance, the Damascene geographer Abu'l-Fidā' does in his geographical work, *Taqwīm al-buldān*, finished in AD 1321, is an excellent safeguard against subsequent corruption. In fact, in the opening lines of his own book, Abu'l-Fidā' makes the same criticism of Ibn Hawqal's method. He also extended the criticism to other geographers like Ibn Khurdādhbih and Idrīsī for the same shortcoming.⁷³ Despite this, even Abu'l-Fidā' himself fails to spell out all the words, and, to my chagrin, his failure is especially evident regarding those names pertaining to the Kurds!

The occasional mentions of Kurdish tribes by Ibn Hawqal are inexplicably less problematic to reconstruct. For instance, the two tribal names of Qirdī and Bāzaydi (*Sūrat*, 216) for Kurds and their eponymous town near Mosul, can easily be reconstructed as the Girdi and Bazayni, who are still where Ibn Hawqal placed them 1000 years ago. For Mosul province at large he notes the Hadhabānī, Hamidi (or Humaydi) and Lāriyya (*Ibid.*, 214). He also helpfully records many towns with clear onomastic connections.

Muqaddasi in *Ahsan al-taqāsim*,⁷⁴ written in AD 983, only marginally adds to the detailed information of Ibn Hawqal regarding the tribes per se. His information on the distribution of Kurds in general, and those in Anatolia, Syria and the Caucasus in particular, is, however, very valuable in its own right.

Ibn Balkhi's work, *Fārsnāma*, finished in AD 1116, focuses only on the southern Zagros and Fārs province. It provides the customary short list of five Kurdish *zumms* of Jilu جيلويه, Dhiwan ذيوان, Kariyan كاريان, Bazanjan باندجان, and L.lwāl.jān للوالجان a hundred thousand strong" (*Farsnāma*, p. 240). This last name in the list is too corrupted in transmission to permit a satisfactory reconstruction at this time. The other four, of course, are found in Ibn Hawqal's much more detailed list cited above. Throughout his text, he adds more valuable onomastic tribal and other names to this list, with no mention of their ethnic affiliations. These have proven a valuable resource of names for this survey.

Ibn Balkhi's account is however much more valuable for his commentary than for the tribal list. He writes that his recording of the Kurdish confederacies was for those that *had been* but no longer were at his time. To account for the disappearance of such a multitude of Kurds in his home country of Fārs and the southern

⁷¹ With all these Kurds in Fārs, Ibn Hawqal estimates that only a third of the population of the province spoke Persian (meaning New Persian, or Dari), as their native language. The others, he states, spoke dialects (*ibid.*, 289). Jayhāni goes even farther to recognize two distinct races of peoples in Fārs, one those living in the warmer territories (slight of build, olive-complected, with little hair), and those in the colder climes (heavy of build, light-complected, and hairy) (*Ashkāl*, 120).

⁷² Much more than the tribal list is found in Ibn Hawqal's works. As to the nature and authority of these Kurdish confederacies, for example, he writes: "The Kurdish *zumms* ("confederacies") of Fārs include conglomerates of lands, villages and towns, with tax collection duties entrusted to the Kurdish chiefs, as is the upkeep of roads, protection of the caravans and commerce, and administration of those regions in the name of the sultan, as these regions are like states" (*Sūrat*, 369).

⁷³ Abu'l-Fidā', living towards the end of the medieval period, had first-hand experience of what could happen to a text full of strange names and foreign locations in a few centuries of copying and recopying. Earlier authors may be excused for not having lived long enough to see the horrendous results of the ignorance and carelessness of under-paid copyists.

⁷⁴ Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-taqāsim fī ma'rifat al-aqālim*, ed. M..J. De Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1967), reprint of the 1877 edition.

Zagros, he adds that "they all were killed in wars of the Islamic times, or dispersed into the world at large. None of these Kurds survived, except for one "Malik Bawer," who converted to Islam and whose descendants still survive. The Kurds that one encounters nowadays in Fārs are a group brought by [the Buwayhid Daylamite] king 'Adud al-Dawla from the environs of Isfahan, who survive to this day" (*ibidem*). Ibn Balkhi is the first known author to note that the Kurds were mostly gone from Fārs by the 12th century. His observation becomes more valuable when one realizes that he was a native of Fārs and the southern Zagros. Not being aware of the assimilative forces at work, he naturally attributes the visible Kurdish disappearance to wars and/or mass dispersal. A Kurdish presence in the southern Zagros, which was first remarked by the earliest Graeco-Roman recordings of the Kurti (including the Mardi and Paratacene) in the 3rd century BC, now had largely come to an end through assimilation. All subsequent reports of Kurds in Fārs must be taken to be uninformed parroting earlier reports. This includes the reports by the famed Andalusian social historian Ibn Khaldūn and the Moroccan traveler Ibn Battūta.⁷⁵

Ibn Balkhi's text is also relatively free of copyists' corruption,⁷⁶ and the well-preserved recordings of key place names in Fārs are a great tool in reconstructing many of the highly corrupted tribal names in his and others' works. His recording of Buzanjān and Shakān (both in the Kazirūn area), Bazrang or Bazranjān (in the Istakhr region) and the like are unique and invaluable for the history of the evolution of the onomasticons *Bayer and *Shaw.

Ibn Balkhi may have been the first to note the assimilation of the Kurds of the southern Zagros, but he was not the first to note the emergence of new ethnic groups from their ashes. That distinction may rest with the poet-historian Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī, the first source known to me to list Kurds and Lurs alongside each other, implying that the Lur enjoyed the same status as Kurds.⁷⁷ Prior to this, Lurs were listed as just another confederacy of the Kurds of the southern Zagros (see the lists above). An awareness of an ethnic divergence between the Kurds and the Lurs can have been known to Gurgānī, a native of the Caspian littoral, and a poet by profession, only if it had become more or less common knowledge. After this date at the latest, one may no longer consider the incidence of the onomasticons in the southern Zagros to be among ethnic Kurds, and this study observes this temporal threshold in its listings.

Ibn Balkhi's important observation of the disappearance of the Kurds from the southern Zagros is progressively expressed, although never directly, by the subsequent geographers. Abu'l-Fidā', for example, routinely refers to the southern Zagros Mountains as the Jibāl al-Lur, "the mountains of the Lurs" (*Taqwīm al-buldān*, p. 354).⁷⁸ Kurds of the southern Zagros were being linguistically, religiously, and culturally assimilated to forge their new Lur-Bakhtiyari ethnic identity, living behind the onomasticons under study as a form of archaeological evidence.

Subsequent to Ibn Balkhi, the geographical works with useful references to the Kurds and other mountain-dwelling peoples include Sharif Idrīsī (*Nuz'hat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, written in AD

⁷⁵ Ibn Battūta, *Travels*, ed. Defréméry and Sanguinetti, trs. H.A.R. Gibb, particularly, vol. 2, p. 352. Original Arabic text: *Rihlat ibn Battūta* (Beirut: Dār Sādir, 1964). In his account of his travels, which took place between AD 1325 and 1354, Ibn Battūta provides a short account of the Kurdish tribes of southern Zagros. This is not, however, an eye-witness account as expected, but clearly a parroting of the earlier formula.

⁷⁶ *Fārsnāma*, "the Book of the Province of Fārs," being of special interest to natives of Fārs, must have been copied mostly by local copyists of Fars and for local use, since the copyists seem to have known the localities in their own province well. This results in the relative absence of outlandish spelling mistakes in most place names in *Fārsnāma*. The Kurdish tribes, mostly a thing of the past, even at the time of the writing of that work, expectedly fell victim to the usual spelling corruption in subsequent copying.

⁷⁷ Fakhr al-Dīn As'ad Gurgānī, *Vēš u Rāmin* (ca. 1045), ed. K. Aini, A. Gwakharia, and M.A. Todua, Persian and Georgian texts (Tehran, 1971).

⁷⁸ Under the rubric "the land of the Lurs," he states: "It is a prosperous and mountainous land, adjacent to Khuzistan but not a part of it... It is located between Tustar (Shushtar) and Isfahān, and is a six-day journey long. It has a plentiful population of Kurds, who have kings and princes of their own" (*Taqwīm*, 355f.).

1154), Ibn Jubayr's travelog written in 1184, the eccentric Yāqūt al-Himawī (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, written in 1225), Zakaryā Qazwīnī (*Athār al-bilād*, written in 1275), Sayf al-Dīn Baghdādī (*Mirsād al-ittilā*, written in 1300) and Hamdullāh Mustawfī (*Nuz'hat al-qulūb*, written in 1340).

The works of medieval Muslim historians and even some poets are of importance equal to these geographical works in searching for onomasticons. While the poems of Khāqānī of Shirwān are already recognized for their importance to reconstructing the Kurdish dynastic lists and place-names in the Caucasus of the 11th century, even Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāma* (written in 1011) should not be overlooked. The *Shāhnāma* does in fact provide the names for some Kurdish tribes and particularly the onomasticons, as they are preserved in the personal names of its heroes (tribe: Lāchin, hero's Gurān-Shāh, Gew, Gūdarz, Weysa etc.).

In his seminal work, *Vēs u Rāmin* the poet-historian Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī mentions among the sons of the Parthian Queen Shahru, Āzarbād/Adurpād, Farrukhzād, Vēro, Bahrām, Sāsān, Kurdān-Shāh, Izadyār, Royen, and finally a Jilo (Gurgānī, *Vēs u Rāmin*, line 47f.). The onomasticons *Gelo, *Sāsa, *Kortei, and possibly *Rēw can be recognized among these personal names.

The work of Balādhuri (d. AD 892) is dedicated, as the title *Futūh al-buldān* ("Conquest of the Lands") implies, to the initial Muslim conquest of the territories. As he carries the reader much too quickly through the stages of conquest, Kurdish tribes are encountered with frequency. The incidence of onomasticons in *Futūh* is plentiful, even though most require much reconstruction. Concerning the conquest of Mosul and Shahrāzur he records the "towns, and districts of Marj, Bāhudhrī, Bā'adhrī, H.b.tūn, Hanāna (note the district of Hanana in the Assyrian campaign records noted above), Ma'ala, Dāmir and all (other) castles and fortresses of the Kurds were conquered. From there the conquest proceeded to Hazza, Bān'ātha, Tall Chahārja... the district of Bājarmī, Sāmghān, Darābādh, Halwān and Shahrāzur" (*Futūh*, 89-92). For the Kurdish tribes of Azerbaijan Balādhuri relates that when Muslims first conquered Azerbaijan the peace terms included "payment of eight hundred thousand silver pieces, under the condition that [the Muslim general] Hudhayfa does not kill or enslave anyone, destroy the fire temples, or trouble the Kurds of Balāšgān, Sabalān (Saylān?), and Sāt.r.w.rdān (الكراد البلاسجان و سبلان و ساترودان)" (*Futūh* 213.1-8). He also notes the Hadhabānī tribe to be dominant in Miyāna and Khalkhāl (*Ibid.*, 89). The extensive works of Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari (d. AD 922), *The History of Tabari*, contains many dynastic, individual and place names useful to this survey, and will appear when needed.⁷⁹

The last of the great medieval Muslim historians, the Egyptian encyclopaedist Shihāb al-Dīn Fad'lallāh al-'Umari, furnishes a complete, detailed chapter (III.4) on the Kurdish tribes and principalities in his enormous 27-volume work *Masālik al-abSār* (finished in 1338).⁸⁰ Umari's review of the tribes *per se* is comparatively detailed, even though he largely excludes Kurdish communities in Anatolia.

In early modern times, several works stand out for their specific notation of Kurdish and neighboring tribes. The chronicler, Taqi al-Din Maqrīzī includes material on the Kurds, but particularly on the Yezidis and their tribes in his *Kitāb al-sulūk*, written ca. 1435.⁸¹ The Kurdish historian Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī (*Sharafnāma*, written 1596) occupies a special place of his own by giving numerous references to the tribes, individuals,

⁷⁹ Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari, *Tārikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. M. Ibrāhīm, 10 volumes (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif bi MiSr, 1967-68).

⁸⁰ Shihāb al-Din Fadlallāh al-'Umari, *Masālik al-absār*, photostat of the original manuscript printed under supervision of F. Sezgin (Frankfurt: Goethe University, 1989). For a partial French translation, see *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques*, ed. and trs. by Quatremère (Paris, 1838), vol. 13, part 1, pp. 305-25.

⁸¹ Taqi al-Din al-Maqrizi, *Kitāb al-sulūk* (Cairo, 1921).

dynasties and localities bearing onomastic names.⁸² The proximity of these early modern authors to the present, however, markedly reduces their archaeological value *vis-à-vis* the onomasticons. Let us not forget the assistance that ancient and classical sources can provide alongside these late Medieval writers. Strabo's recording for example, of a tribe of "Dosce" in northern Kurdistan 2,100 years ago is more valuable for the study of the roots of the medieval Dostaki and the modern Dosski tribes, than perhaps all the detailed records of the same tribe in the 400-year-old *Sharafnāma*. The recentness of this and other early modern sources, despite their otherwise great value, renders them of lesser use to a survey of this nature. Of similar nature to the works of Maqrizi and Bitlisi would be the important works of Muhammad b. Najīb Bakrān⁸³ and the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi.⁸⁴

Modern works by Mark Sykes,⁸⁵ W. Ivanov,⁸⁶ and Henry Field,⁸⁷ which record the Kurdish tribes, have been supplemented by much ethnographical field work and various publications by organizations and entities of modern states on the Kurdish and non-Kurdish tribes (see the supplemental bibliography at the end of this essay). Even the Soviet Kurds have their clan and tribal names recorded—rather unexpectedly, since this form of social organization was not supposed to exist in that Communist utopia after Joseph Stalin decreed it null and void in 1932.⁸⁸

In summary, this survey of the primary sources includes only that small fraction of the available literature actually used in its preparation. A more extensive scrutiny of the ancient and classical sources would doubtlessly multiply the number of references gathered for this study in a single short month. The very important geographical works of Isidore of Charax (whose hometown was in the foothills of the south-central Zagros) or that of Diodorus Siculus should, for example, shed a great deal of new light on the incidence of onomasticons in the southern Zagros of the Seleucid and Parthian eras.⁸⁹ The massive historical compositions of Livy and Dio Cassius are other highly informative primary resources, but regrettably utilized only superficially for this study due to time constraints.

In tandem, hundreds upon hundreds of general, dynastic, and local histories and geographies written during Islamic times should prove to be a treasure trove of onomastic dynastic and place names. The prodigious volume of information extracted here from Ibn Balkhi's *Fārsnāma*, a single local historical-geographical

⁸² Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlisi, *Sharafnāma* (Tehran: 'Ilmi, 1985). French trs. and ed., *Chèref-nameh ou Fastes de la nation kourde*, trans. Charmoy, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1868-75).

⁸³ Muhammad b. Najīb Bakrān, *Jahan-namā*, ed. Muhammad Amin Riyāhi (Tehran, 1963).

⁸⁴ Evliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhatnāma: Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, abridged trs. and ed. by Joseph von Hammer, 3 vols. (London, 1834-50). This rather overrated work is now being translated from the Ottoman Turkish original and commented upon in the same extensive manner as the grand history of Tabari, to which it bears little comparison. The portions relating to Kurds include M. van Bruinessen and H.E. Boeschoten, *Evliya Çelebi in Diyarbekir* (Leiden: Brill, 1988). The unpublished doctoral thesis of W. Köhler, "Die Kurdenstadt Bitlis nach dem türkischen Reisewerk des Ewlija Tschelēbi" (Munich, 1928), can also be helpful.

⁸⁵ Mark Sykes, "The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 38 (1908). The work contains an admirable tabulation of the Kurdish tribes in that empire, gathered during Sykes' "seven thousand miles of personal journey."

⁸⁶ W. Ivanov [Ivanov], "Notes on the Ethnology of Khurasan," *The Geographical Journal* 67/2 (1926).

⁸⁷ Henry Field, *Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1939), and *The Anthropology of Iraq* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952).

⁸⁸ See, for example, Ch. Kh. Bakaev, who lists the Kurdish tribes of Turkmenistan as Zakranli, Sevkanli, Zhiristanli, Qoshkhanagi, Sömölg'anli, Managi, Qaramani, Daragazi, Bicharanli, Quchani, and Topi. *Govor Kurdov Turkmenii* (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1962), p. 3). T.F. Aristova provides a map and names Kurdish tribes of Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan, rather haphazardly in "Poyezdka k Kurdam Zakavkazya" (A Visit to the Kurds of Transcaucasia), *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 6 (Moscow: 1958). This was translated and much shortened by C.J. Edmonds as "The Kurds of Transcaucasia," *Central Asian Review* 7 (1959): 163-74. See also T.F. Aristova and G.P. Vasil'yeva, "Kurds of the Turkmen SSR," *Central Asian Review* 134 (1965): 302-9.

⁸⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, ed. and trs. by E.H. Warmington (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1970).

book on Fārs province, is just a sample of what there is that can be found. I should therefore conclude that it is the sheer mass of primary information available for research on this and other Kurdish topics that is worrisome, not the lack of it. After all, Kurds share their past with all the other Middle Eastern peoples, who constitute the oldest literate societies on the planet.

B. Methodology and Key to Abbreviations

Only the obvious etymological cases are included in this study, as they are plentiful in themselves and require little or no conjecture or undue presumptions. I have first reconstructed a plausible ancient onomasticon if none is already attested in historical records (as is the case of most Aryan onomastics). Then, I have provided the etymological evolution, spatial dispersion and historical significance of each as they appear at present in historical records. Each onomasticon is also supplemented by a map of its geographical distribution.

Letters such as **T** (for tribal names), **P** (place-names), **D** (dynastic or proper names) and **M** (for miscellaneous), placed on each map represent the incidence of each type of name in a geographical setting. The abbreviations **N**, **S**, **W**, **E** and **C** used in the text for locational purposes stand respectively for north, south, west, east, and central. **NE**, **SC** and the like stand for northeast, south-central, etc. The letter **K** represents Kurdistan. A combination like **NCK** should therefore be read as “north-central Kurdistan.” Geographical subdivisions of Kurdistan utilized for this survey follow the guidelines of this journal (see maps on the end pages).

By this standard, Kurdish regions of Turkey comprise most of the western and northern Kurdistan, while Iraq contains primarily central Kurdistan. Southern and eastern Kurdistan are largely in Iran. The more recent and popular groupings (North Kurdistan for Kurdish areas of Turkey, South Kurdistan for that of Iraq, and East Kurdistan of Iran) are based on state boundaries drawn arbitrarily only since the end of W.W.I. This grouping is inefficient for defining Kurdish society today and irrelevant to the long portion of history prior to 1921.⁹⁰

The abbreviations *arc* (for archaic, i.e., pre-300 B.c.), *cls* (for classical, i.e., 300 B.C. to AD 500), *mdv* (for medieval, i.e., AD 500-1500) that follow many names denote the time that the earliest evidence for their occurrence is available. Without that, the incidence should be taken to be either contemporary or early modern (i.e., post-1500).

I have classified these onomasticons into five groups: primary onomasticons (**I**), secondary (**II**) and tertiary (**III**). These are followed by the younger onomastics of clear Indo-European, Iranic roots (**IV**). A miscellaneous group (**V**) is the last, and includes historic onomastics with limited incidence, or those Kurdish tribal names that cannot be placed in any of these groupings or ascribed to any known outside source. These groupings together cover about four fifths of all the hundreds of Kurdish tribes and a large number of neighboring ethnic groups with a tribal past. Only a handful of now prominent tribal confederacies in Kurdistan and its immediate mountainous neighborhoods do not conform to the first four classifications—a most interesting result.

Chapter Two

⁹⁰ See “Internal Subdivisions” in M. Izady (1992): 8-12.

Primary onomasticon

*And the branches of this people have reached from the extremities
of the lands of the East to the extremities of the lands of the West*

Sharaf al-Din Bitlīsī, Introduction to the *Sharafnāma*

1. The onomasticon ***Bayer**

For its historical proliferation, multi-faceted etymological evolution, and its abundance in the region, ***Bayer** ranks first among the primary onomasticon. Various permutations of the original ***Bayer** are now found in every corner of Kurdistan and far beyond.

The oldest incidence of this onomasticon is perhaps its appearance on the Assyrian imperial deportation lists. A people named the Bigali were deported by Sargon II to an unknown destination from the areas of southern Kurdistan, referred to in the same documents as Madaya (Media).⁹¹ The early Aramaic sources (of the late Seleucid period of 4th-3rd century B.C.) frequently record the district of Bādarāyā from the Diyāla river to the modern town of Badra on the foothills of south-central Zagros. The name survived into the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods. The Aramaic documents found at Elephantine on the Nile also record a personal name "wydrng," which is a surprisingly well-evolved form of this onomasticon from the tribal construction Badhrang (*vide infra*).⁹²

Strabo mentions a few common local names for the area on the lower Iris river (the modern Yesilirmak basin, NE of Ankara (XII.iii.25)).⁹³ Two of those, Bagas (Βάγας) and Biasas (Βιάσας) are of possible onomastic origins. The first is also given by Strabo for a mountain in Cappadocia. Ptolemy records the city of Bag[r]auan (on or near the middle Murat river in **WK**) and a large region "towards the east from the sources of the Tigris River is Bagrauandene (*Geog.*, V.xii). This is the general area east of modern Diyarbakir to Mayyafariqin and the eastern shores of Lake Van. Interestingly, Ptolemy's Bagrauandene Regio progressively moves northeastward in subsequent, mostly Armenian recordings, from the Diyarbakir region to the area between Mt. Ararat and the city of Kars. This may be assumed to have been brought about by the gradual northwestward spatial shift of the clan that carried the name and impart it to the land. This is where the Armenian sources place their province of Bagravand. Ibn Khurdādhbih records the name for the same northerly position as Baghrawand بغروند in the Dvin-Nakhichevan region (*Masālik*, 122).

⁹¹ Oded (1979), p. 118.

⁹² See, e.g., Richard Frye, *Heritage of Persia* (New York: World Publishing, 1963), p. 206, n. 94.

⁹³ "...that part of Cappadocia that extends along Paphlagonia [i.e., the Iris or Yesilirmak river basin] uses two languages which abound in Paphlagonian names, as Bagas, Biasas, Aeniates, Rhatotes, Zardoces, Tibius, Gasys, Oligasys and Manes (Βάγας, Βιάσας, Αινιάτης, Ρατώτης, Ζαρδόκης, ΐβιος, Γάγυς, Ολίγασυς, Μάνης), for these names are prevalent (also) in Phazemonitis, Pimolitis, Gaselonitis, Gazacenē and most of the other districts (districts between the Yesilirmak river and the Black Sea coast at Samsun)" (XII.17.25).

Farther to the west, Ptolemy gives Mt. Pieria for the modern Mediterranean coastal mountains of Jabal Sim'ān and Jabal Qusayr (west of Aleppo), in which he locates the town of Pagrae (V.xiv). This is what Ibn Khurdādhbih also notes over 700 years later as the district of Barjawān برجوان (variant: مرتحوان) in Jabal Qusayr (near the modern Kurdish town of Afrin] (*Masālik*, 75). Both names can be derivatives of the ***Bayer** onomasticon. One should remember that Pliny had already given the Pagras as one of the five tetrarchies (tribal confederacies) of northern Syria (V.xix.82).

Ibn Khurdādhbih's notation of Barjawān in Jabal Qusayr is the farthest west the onomasticon is attested in any Islamic source, therefore falling far short of Strabo's recordings for western Pontus. Farthest east-southeast is Ptolemy's recording of the Bagraes River for the boundary separating Persis from Carmania, the modern Kirmān (VI.iv).⁹⁴ The place name Bajirwān and its close permutations are some of the most common place names derived from this onomasticon that one encounters in medieval sources. Balādhurī, for example, records two of these in eastern Azerbaijan alone: Bājirwān باجروان, a major district and fortified city north of Ardabil, and a town of Jābirwān south of Ardabil (*Futūh*, 213.1-8). There is still a Jabirwand tribe (of the Fayli/Pahla confederacy in SK), which preserves this stage of onomastic evolution as the toponym. There is still a Jabirwand tribe (of the Fayli/Pahala conf. in SK) that preserves this stage of onomastic evolution as the medieval toponym Jābirwān of Azerbaijan.

For dynastic incidences of the onomasticon, one may begin with the famed Georgio Armenian dynasty of the Bagratids.⁹⁵ The great Bagratids, like the medieval Kurdish Badhirkhānid of SC Zagros and the early modern Kurdish Badirkhānids (*a.k.a.*, the Bokhti) of NC Zagros, have the onomasticon ***Bayer** at the root of their names.

An important ruling house in the southern Zagros, the Badhrangi, merits special attention. This onomastic name went through metathesis, probably shortly before the advent of Islam. It is recorded as metathetic Bārdhang/Bāzranj for place names by the early Islamic sources. It survives in that form for a few localities in Fārs until today. Ibn Hawqal records a Bāzranj (near Charām) in the district of Fasā in eastern Fārs (*Sūrat*, 288), and a Bahrzanjān in neighboring western Kirman (*Sūrat*, 307). Ibn Balkhi (Fārsnāma, p.195) writes of Bāzrang in NE Fārs, with "many herders inhabiting its cold highland territories." He also records Bozanjān north of Baydā (NW of Shiraz). Istakhri in the Persian *Masālik wa' l-mamālik* records a Bāzranj in the district (*kura*) of Shāpur (the modern Kazirun) as well as a Bādhir (variants: Bāzir) in the same region.⁹⁶

With the tribal suffix -wand (instead of the abbreviated - gānkān present in Bādhrangān > Badhrangi), Ibn Khurdādhbih (*Masālik*, 21) records Barzāwand (or Bazrawand) for a locality in southeastern Isfahan province, respectively north and northeast of the towns in Ibn Hawqal's recordings.

It has already been seen that one of the major Kurdish confederacies in the southern Zagros and Fārs reported most frequently in the medieval sources is Bāzanjān. Ibn Khurdādhbih (Bāzanjān بازانجان), Jayhānī (Bāsanjān باسنجان), Mas ūdī (Badhanjān باندنجان), Ibn Hawqal (Zanji زنجيه, variant: Ranji), and Ibn Balkhi (Bāzanjāno بازانجان) all show the permutation of the name with the dropping of the medial r. (The source onomasticon is clearly ***Bayer** and not ***Pāz** [*q.v.*]) 'Umari (*Masālik al-absār*, III.4.127) reports for AD 1338 a Kurdish Bāzanjān tribe of the Humaydi (or Hamīdī) confederacy around Arbil and Mosul in CK.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ This may be the long river that is known now as Qara in its upper course and Mand in its lower.

⁹⁵ Much information on the roots and ethnic connections of the Bagratids is found in Joseph Marquart (Markwart), *Die Genealogie der Bagratiden* Caucasica (Leipzig, 1930).

⁹⁶ Istakhri, *Masālik u mamālik*, the 11th-century Persian translation, ed. I. Afshar (Tehran: 'Ilmi, 1989), p. 101f.

⁹⁷ The spelling is actually Māzanjān, but it should be read as Bāzanjān. Even though orthographically it is difficult for a copyist to mistake an *m* for a *b*, it is not beyond their capacity for misspelling. In Mas'ūdī's list, for example, the

The domain of the Kurdish confederacy of Bāzanjān in the southern Zagros is the same as the district (*kura*) of Ardasher in EC Fārs. Tabari and Bal'ami, in recording the ancestry of king Ardasher, the founder of the Persian Sasanian Empire, report that the prince of that district was "a man named Jozihr [Gochihr], from the line of the Bāzranjān. The [house of] Bāzranjān was among the [Parthian] Federation's baronial principalities that ruled Fārs. Sāsān the Younger (*vide* *Sāsa), the grandfather of Ardasher, "who was not a prince married Rāmbihisht from the line of these Bazranjians (al-Bāzranjayn of the later Arabic sources), who were the princes of Fārs. Sāsān so begat Pāpak [*vide* *Bāw] who begat Ardasher" (*Tārikh-i Bal'ami*, II.874f.).⁹⁸ The genealogy in this account does not agree with that of the pre-Islamic chronicle of the king Ardasher, which declares Pāpak to have been the [Badhrangi] prince of Pārs/Fārs.⁹⁹ Lacking male offspring, Pāpak takes an interest in his hired shepherd, Sāsān. "Sāsān was a shepherd, always with the sheep, [even though] he was of the seed of the king] Darius the Achaemenid... He went shepherding with the Kurds [kwlt'n]" (*Kārnāmak*, 1.7). Only in the Kurdish connection through the Badhrangi house do all the sources agree.¹⁰⁰

These many lines connecting Ardasher's past with the Kurds of Fārs must have been the reason that, according to Tabari, when Ardasher finally faced the last Parthian ruler Ardavān V, he addressed Ardasher as, "O you Kurd, bred in the tents of the Kurds" (*History* II, 256).¹⁰¹

This metathetic form of the onomasticon is still found predominantly in central Kurdistan. As Barzanja, it is the name of one of the most venerated sites in all Kurdistan, a town between Halabja and Sulaymania (former Shahrazur). Barzanja now serves as the center of the Qādiri Sufi order in Kurdistan, as well as being the venerated legendary birthplace of the founder of the Yārsān (Ahl-i Haqq) religion, Sultan Sahāk. It is also the common last name of innumerable luminaries in the recent history of Kurdistan, such as Shaykh Mahmūd Barzanji (the leader of the Kurdish uprisings under the British mandate of Iraq).

I am not certain if one may include under this onomasticon the now-famed tribal name of the Bārzāni confederacy (located on the banks of the upper Greater Zāb river, to western Hakkari). As just noted, 'Umari does report a Bāzanjān tribe for the late medieval period in the same area where the Bārzāni tribe is found today, which could share a common etymological parent. What is more interesting is the recording, in that same general area, of a locality and people named Bārchān/Bārzān by the same classical chronicle of the Sasanian king Ardasher, whom he fights and is subdued by Ardasher in AD 224 (*Kārnāmak*, IX.1). This incidence, so early in time and the name in a shape nearly identical to its modern form, it reminds one of the few others onomasticos occurring in that same area of northern Kurdistan that have also remained inexplicably pristine over long stretches of time. These are the Bokhtān, Tirikān, and Khārkhār.

Bājirwān are often recorded as Mājirdān or Mājirwān. Additionally, they are now in existence in the same general area's topo- and ethnonyms that require an earlier entity bearing a name similar to Bāzranjan or Bāzangān for their evolution.

⁹⁸ Abū--Ali Muhammad b. Balfami, *Tārikh-i Bal'ami*, ed. Bahār (Tehran: Tābish, 1974). This is a 9th-century Persian translation and abridgement of the much more extensive history of Tabari. Bal'ami's work, however, contains extra information regarding Iranic peoples and lands that Tabari's original lacks.

⁹⁹ Peshotan H. Sanjana, *The Pahlavi Kārnāmē i Artakshir i Pāpakān* (Bombay, 1896), I, 716.

¹⁰⁰ S. Wikander is unaware of the existence of the Kurdish confederacy with the same onomastic name and an eponymous district when he tries to analyze philologically the name Bādhrang, which he reconstructs as *vāzrang*. His conclusion, that the name is "a title with the the same ending as [Middle Persian] *kanārang*, 'margrave,' is silly, since we would have something like "holder or preserver of "vāz," for which there is no meaning (*Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938), p. 105). Frye also rejects Wikander's hypothesis, noting that "it may be mentioned in passing that a Kurdish tribe in Fars, the [Zam] of Bāzinjān considers itself descended from a Bāzrang" (Richard Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (New York: World Publishing Company, 1963), p. 272).

¹⁰¹ ايها الكردي المربي في خيام الأكراد

The case of the Bārzāni is applicable to the array of tribes and dynasties carrying the name of Zangana and its derivative Zangi. It could be the abbreviated form of Barzanga, dropping the first syllable. This by itself does not pose any linguistic obstacle. The contraction process is also observed in regard to other multi syllable onomastics such as **Paeratezā* (*q.v.*). The obstacle is that I have not been able so far to find transitional cases to confirm this, and therefore I have left these prolific tribal and dynastic names as “conjectural.”

In the southern Zagros, the Bayer (*a.k.a.* the Boir-Ahmad),¹⁰² living now near the Persian Gulf between the Mamasani (*vide* **Mamas*) and the Koh-Glu (*vide* **Gelo*), are a long-Luricized, archaic division of the old **Bayer*. In Luristan per se, the most populous Lur tribe of Bahārvand can derive its name also from **Bayer* (Bagir > Bayir > Bayir > Baer > [Ba'ar?], as can the local Turkic Bāharlu and the toponym, Bahār (a town north of Hamadan). The “Baer” stage of evolution of the name is attested by the existence of two Kurdish tribes. One is the Bawerka (seemingly a corruption of a “Baerkān”) in **CK** and a Bawermānd (through mutation of “Ba'arvand”) in **WK** in Anatolia. Bahārvand is a pseudo-authentication of either ‘Baervand’ or ‘Ba'arvand’ clan names, to make it sound more “properly” Persian (*vide infra*).¹⁰³ The modern Bahārvands are speakers of Luri—a dialect of Persian.

The Bahārlū constituted one of the seven constituent tribes of the Safavid Qizilbash tribal force.¹⁰⁴ There is still a Bahārlū tribe near Hamadan, presently a Turkic-speaking people of unusually common fair complexion.¹⁰⁵ These set up a ruling dynasty in the area in the 14th century. Bahārlū are also found in Fars, in southern Iran, and are likewise Turkic in speech and ethnicity, although not in history or physiology.

The onomasticon **Bayer* (through a presumed bayr-ān evolutionary stage, as in the existing Bērānawand) has also evolved into Barāwand (medieval), Bayrānvand (modern), Barāni (medieval and modern) and Barini (modern). Barāwand is the medieval name of the populous modern Lak tribe of Bayrānvand (*a.k.a.* Bīrānvand). Barini is the name of several minor Kurdish clans, dispersed in central and northern Kurdistan. Some of the Barāni or Bārāni were Turkified before the 15th century and, joining as clans to the great Turcoman Qaraqoyunlu confederacy, gave birth to the greatest king of an eponymous dynasty: Jahānshāh the Bārāni.

All said, there still remains an old Gurānī-speaking Bajalān **NE** of Mosul. The etymological evolution of **Bayer* to Bajalān/Bajilān is very old. It is first encountered in the 7th century AD as a contemporary of its supposed immediate etymological predecessor: Bajorwān. Balādhuri (*Futūh*, 158.5-8) records “Jarīr conquered Halwān (modern Sarpol-i Zohāb in **SK**) peacefully... Then Sa'd (bin Waqqās) appointed Jarir along with Azrā al-Bajili [i.e., “that of the Bajilān,”] over Halwān.” This is followed by his report of a march on the town of Bajirwān.

¹⁰² The name is pronounced Bayra'mad by the tribal members. In conformity with the official spelling and pronunciation of the central Iranian government, the Bayra'mad to present themselves now as “Boir Ahmadi” to the outside world. The correct pronunciation is present in many lines of folk poetry, such as: *Bayra' mad tā Koh-Glu qeshen row idā*, “he led his troops from Bayra'ahmadi to Koh-Giluya” (H. Ghaffāri, *Social Structures Among Boir Ahmad Tribes* (Tehran: Ney, 1989), p.43f.; 'Aziz Kiyāvand, *Hukumat, Siyasat u Ashayir* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i 'Ashāyiri, 1989), p. 105. With such official “reconstruction,” the Lurish “Boyir Ahmads” are even given a Turkic ancestry, with “boyir” presumably standing for “lower” in Turkic. This is just a pseudo-authentication and the name, when correctly pronounced, is clearly a derivative of **Bayer*.

¹⁰³ *Bahār* is the Persian word for springtime. It is an attractive and poetic term in any context, and particularly for a Persianized tribe whose better-educated elite might need a “more meaningful” name for their clan than an incomprehensible, archaic enigma.

¹⁰⁴ The others are the Kurdish Stājilū and Shāmlū, and the Turcoman Tākālū, Dulgadir (Dhu'l-Qadr), Afshār, and Qajar. The Kurdish Shaykhāwand joined these later on.

¹⁰⁵ Although all Turkic-speaking now, these are linguistic assimilation, as their physiology, among others, attests.

The metathetic incidence of the onomasticon is also found in modern variants as Porgha (conf. south of Malatya in **WK**), Barga (of the Kalhur conf. in **SK**), and Barguhān (of the Milān confederacy of **WK**). In the medieval setting, Ibn Hawqal provides for a Kurdish tribe of Baqiliyya in Fārs (*Sūrat*, 270). The name was also that of a small town within the domain of the same clan near the coast of the Persian Gulf. Baqil became the birthplace of one of the most important founding fathers of the Carmatian (*Qarmatiyya*) religious movement, Abū-Saʿid Hasan al-Baqili al-Janābi (“hailing from Baqil and Ganaveh”), and was also home to the historian Fadlullāh Rūzbihān al-Baqilī al-Khunji (“hailing from Baqil and Khunji”).

Given the proliferation, and particularly the etymological diversity, of this name already observed in the texts dating to the 8th century B.C., a pre-Aryan, perhaps a Hurrian, origin for the name is a logical presumption.

(a) Onomastic tribal names:

KURDS

Bāchvanlū (or Bāchyān of the Zafrānlū in Khurasan)
 Bādelānlū (or Bāhādūrān of the Zafrānlū in Khurasan)
 Badeli (south and SW of Yozgat)
 Bādeli (of the Kuresh conf. in NWK)
 Bahadirlū (of the Reyhānlī conf. Of WK and central Anatolia)
 Bahā-Davallu (of the Amārlu conf in Gilan)
 Bajalān (in Shāhrūd river valley in Gilan)
 Bajalān (NE of Mosul)
 Bajorwān (or Bajalān conf. in Qasri Shirin, Khānaqīn, Quratu, Shaykhān, Dargazin (near Sulaymāniya), Horin, and Jizani in SK)
 Bakrān (conf. WNW of Diyarbakir, WK)
 Bālawand (north of Kirmanshah)
 Bālawand (of Holaylān conf. in SK)
 Bālābrān (of the Kuresh of NWK)
 Bāpirvand (of the Fayli of SK, W Luristan and NW Khuzistan)
 Bārawli (or Bārwalī of the Qalkhāni in SK)
 Bārāni (of Birānvand one of the 6 main tribes of Ālāyno subdivision of Birānvand. The other is Dasheyno).
 Barga (of the Kalhur in SK)
 Barguhān (of the Milān of WK)
 Barivanlū (or Barikān of the Zafrānlū in Khurasan)
 Barwārī (or Berwārī. Two confs. Amadiya to Uludara in NK)
 Barzanji (or Berzinji. Khānaqīn in SK)
 Barzawān (of Bān-sayra conf. Ilam prov., SK)
 Bāseri (of the Jāf of CK)
 Bayrānawand (or Birānvand of the Silākhur conf., south of Hamadan into the Silākhur district of Luristan)

Barvan (of the Mahmūd-Sālihi of the Chār-Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
 Barā'i (a historic tribe, now shrunk to a small clan of the Koh-Glu)
 Barā'i (of the Boir-Ahmad)
 Bashirāni (of the Boir-Ahmad)
 Bawiri (or Buyirī of Dinarvand of the Haft-Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
 Behdārvand (of the Haft Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
 Boger (of Bendārvand of the Haft Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
 Bājulwand (in Luristan)
 Bājulwand (of the Sagvand. Some are Laks. Luristan)
 Bāmadi (conf. of the Haft Lang of the Bakhtiyari; likely a shortened form for Bāw-Ahmadi on the line of Bayr-Ahmadi and not derived from the onomasticon ***Bāw**)
 Bāmedī (of the Doraki of the Haft Lang of the Bakhtiyari; likely a shortened form of Bayr-Ahmadi)
 Bārāni (in Sistan)
 Bāver-Sād (of the Doraki conf. of the Haft Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
 Bāvil (is written Bāvi in official records; a large tribe north of Behbahān in the southern Zagros)
 Bāyārī (of the Charām of the Boir Ahmad)

CONJECTURAL

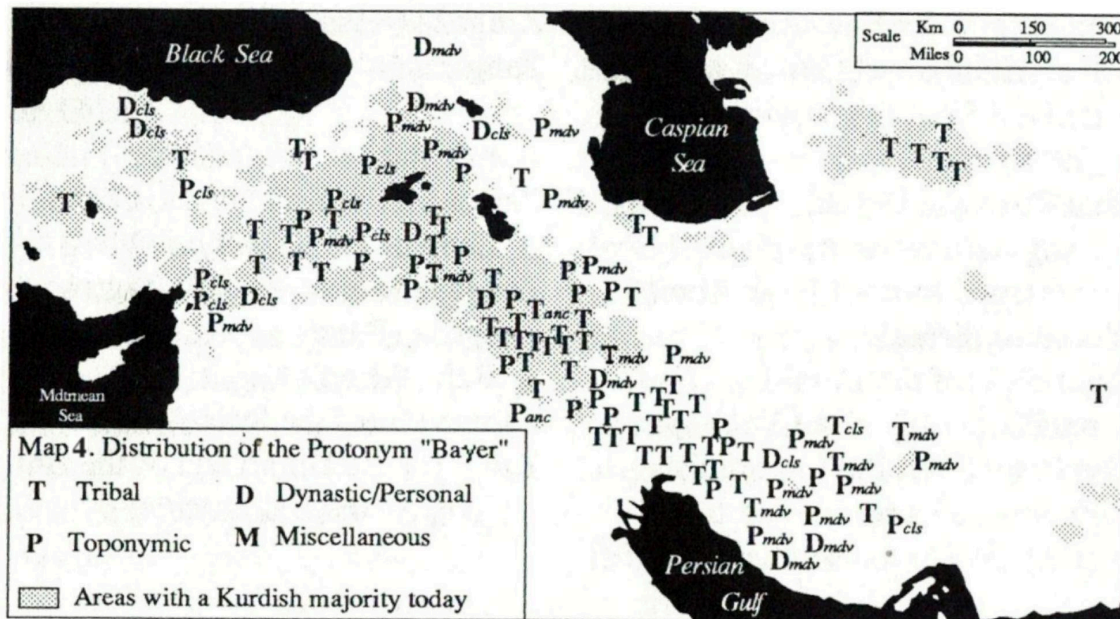
Barakat ([Barākān?]) north of Nevshahir across the Kızılırmak)
 Barakat (north of Antep)
 Barlān (of the Kochkir of NWK)

Bichrānlū (of the Zafrānlū in Khurasan)
 Biwaniĵ (of the Gurān conf. in SK)
 Bizirābādī (of the Qalkhāni in SK)
 Buraka'i (of the Zafrānlū in Khurasan)
 Buraka'i (various locations in SK and EK)
 Pāyrawand (north of Kirmānshāh) Piriya'i (of
 the Hamāwand of CK) NON-KURDS
 Baderi (of the Bahma'i) Badilāni (of the
 Boir-Ahmadis) Albu Badrān (Arab tribe SW of
 Mosul)
 Bahārlū (one of the five members of the Khamsa
 of Fārs; they live near Dārāb; Turkic-speaking)

Bārushi (of the. Bārzāni conf. of NK) Fadli (of
 Bayrānavand)

Non-Kurds:

Zangavā'i (of the Boir-Ahmad)
 Zangi (of the Dinarvand of the Haft Lang of the
 Bakhtiyari)



(b) Onomastic place names

In addition to toponyms already noted in the text above: The district of Bagraoandene (classical) on the upper Tigris basin in WK; Armenian district of Bagravand (classical) NW of Lake Van in NK; Armenian district of Bakravand (medieval) (region from Ağrı to Kars in NK), town of Bajurwān (classical-medieval) in NE Azerbaijan; district of Diyārbakir on the upper Tigris river (medieval-modern); early modern and modern town of Diyarbakir (from *diyār*, plural of *dayr*, Aramaic and Arabic for "monastery", evolved into Persian and Kurdish to mean a county---of the Bakir) in WK; modern town of Bijār in EK; town of Bayar [medieval and modern] (officially Bahār. See Bahārvand above) in SEK; natural-gas fields of Tanga Bijār in SWK; town of Badra (medieval-modern) in extreme SWK in Iraq; two Badras (medieval-modern) in Luristan; village of Bidarbān (between Sahna and Kangawar in SK); town of Abhar-Badir (Ilam province, Iran); Shār-Bažir (formerly Sulaimania, a dependency of Shahrazur; Mt. Bader (*alias* Meyhemīn) NE of Sanandaj in the Suhravard district; Baherka (village north of Arbil); border town of Bāzargān between Iran and Turkey, NW of Mākū; Bāgurīn and Bāqiri in Fahliyūn of Mamasani; village of Baker of Dārāb of Fasā; town of Bajirwan (medieval) in Diyār Rabi'a province, towns of Bājili and Bajarmi (medieval) in Mosul province; town of Bājarwān (medieval) in Diyārbakir district; town of Jābirwān thirty two miles from Maragha in Azerbaijan (medieval); Bāzanjan near Kazerun in western Fārs. Marivān in EK may also be a

corruption of this onomasticon (through switching of initial b for an m, as in the case of the medieval Barzand that has become the modern Marand. (Map 4)

(c) Onomastic dynastic and historic names.

Badhir/Badīr such as the medieval Badhirkhānid/Hasanwayhid dynasty of the southern and central Kurdistan and the early-modern Badirkhānids of Jezira and northern Zagros (*a.k.a.*, the Bokhti).

By way of pseudo-authentication, many Kurds and non-Kurds alike have tried to "correct" names like Badirkhān and Diyarbakir to "Badr Khān" and "Diyar Bakr" (*badr* is Arabic for full moon and also a proper name, while Bakr is the name of the first Muslim Caliph, Abū-Bakr).¹⁰⁶ I even suspect the second portion of the dynastic name of Badirkhānid to also be a victim of pseudo-authentication, and should be restored to the tribal suffix *kān* (see the Bāwandids dynasty under the onomasticon ***Bāw**). That particular dynastic name then can be restored as Badhrakān—what is actually attested to as Bazrakan/Barzakan in some texts produced at the time.

In Armenia, the Bagrātūnī (Bagratids) dynasty of classical times preserved the onomasticon in Armenia and later also in Georgian until today. Meanwhile, Bader is still a common, popular name in SK, EK and to some degree in CK.

Another distinct variant of the onomasticon is one evolved through a conjectural "Padhel" stage to give the tribal name Fadelān, and thus the proper name Fadlūn or Fadelūn found in the king lists of various Kurdish and non-Kurdish dynasties of medieval times. The medieval Muslim traveller to the Arctics, Ibn Fadlān, is also a bearer of the onomasticon. The Fadelwayh dynasty of the southern Zagros and Fārs sprang from a Fadelān tribe of the Rāmiyān confederacy of the Shabānkāras of western Kirman and eastern Fārs.

The medieval Zangid dynasty of Fārs (the patrons of the poet Sa'dī) carry the conjectural variant of the onomasticon (a garbled and abbreviated version of the venerable late classical Badhrangi/Barzangi).

¹⁰⁶ Not a new endeavor indeed. The medieval Badīr of the Hasanwayhid/Badirkhānid dynasty actually named his son Hilāl (Arabic for crescent of the moon), clearly showing that pseudo-authentication is nothing new, at least in respect to this archaic Kurdish name.

2. The Onomasticon ***Δela**

This and the next onomasticon, ***Gelo** may in fact be two branches of a yet older onomasticon. I am not certain of this and therefore review ***Δela** and ***Gelo** separately. If they did in fact spring from a common root, which I suspect would be one closer in form to ***Δela** than ***Gelo**, the outcome of their merger will be a primary onomasticon outranking even ***Bayer**, as the most important of the kind.

There is preserved in Sumerian and early Akkadian tablets the name of two Hurrian kings of the Gutti dynasty (ca. 2100 BC): a Yarlagan and a Tirigan (Kramer 1963:66).¹⁰⁷ The name of the second king may preserve for us the ancestral root of the onomasticon ***Δela**. The element *gan* in these archaic royal names is much older than the Aryan tribal suffix -*gān/kān* described in the opening lines of this essay. Besides, the Aryans would not arrive in Zagros for another millennium. There is no reason why we should treat the element as a tribal suffix or even a suffix at all. Whatever the nature of the elements in the name, it evolved on two distinct tracks. On the one hand, it eventually disappeared to leave Tiri (or Tira) as a free radical, which continued with further evolution that led to the onomasticon ***Δela**. On the other hand, Tirigan remained in a pristine state of etymological stasis and survives today in the name of a few far-flung Kurdish tribes. The modern Tirikān and the Tirikānlū in NK, WK and central Anatolia, among others (see the list below), preserve the ostensible ancestral onomasticon nearly intact.

The branch that led to ***Δela** had already begun etymological evolution by the beginning of the common era. Ptolemy records Tigranoana for the highland region of Hakkari in north-central Kurdistan. This name must be reconstructed as Tigrānawand, a *bonafide* clan name with the customary southern tribal suffix -*wand*. The name has also seen a metathesis of its medial consonants (Tirikan > Tikiran > Tigiran > Tigrān) before assuming the clan suffix. Naturally the element *gan* must have been distinguished by the common people as an integral part of the onomasticon at that time and not the homophonic tribal suffix - *gān/kān*, or the addition of the tribal suffix -*wand* would have been a redundancy, and the metathesis an anomaly.

In time, however, such a strong similarity can be expected to dilute and then eliminate any recognition of the original difference, allowing for the treatment of the terminal *gān* in the onomasticon Tirigan as just the common Aryan clan suffix. As such, the free radical Tiri is what goes through subsequent etymological evolution in the ***Δela** branch. In fact, there are available records of just such development in two incidences of the free *Tiri* radical: (1) Ibn Balkhi records in detail Tir-Mardān as a bountiful tribal district and a tribe in Fārs. The politicized chiefs of the Tir-Mard (of the Rāmān confederacy; *vide* onomasticon ***Rēw**) were busy for a very long time in king-making endeavors, most recently in the rise of the Shabānkāra dynasty of eastern Fārs and western Kirmān with which they shared the Rāmān tribal confederacy (*Fārsnāma*, 194,234-39). The most prominent of the Tir-Mard were Abū-Nasr and his son Bājol (a derivative of the onomasticon ***Bayer**). (2) Tabari relates in the history of the rise to power of the Sasanian king Ardasher that: “ The prince of Fārs at this time was Jozihr [Gochihr], whose court was at Baydā [NW of Shiraz]. He had a protege named Tiri, to whom he had given the fief over the district of Dārābjird. When Ardasher grew to seven years of age, Pāpak (*vide* ***Bāw**) took him to prince Jozihr, the king of Fārs, asking him to receive Ardasher and send him to Tiri to nurture and raise him properly so that after Tiri, he [Ardasher] might become the fief holder of Dārābjird. Prince Jozihr accepted. Tiri nurtured and raised Ardasher. When he died, Ardasher replaced him as the fief holder of Dārābjird” (*History*, II.256; also Bal'amī, *Tārikh-i Bal'amī*, II.874-75). (3) From about the 5th to 10th century, the name Nahr-Tirik (or Nahr-Tīrak, an Aramaic name, nahr, meaning river, plus Tirik) was applied to a river (possibly the Diz

¹⁰⁷ S.N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), Introduction.

River) and a city on its bank (possibly Khurramābād of Luristan), in south central Zagros.¹⁰⁸ In all the three cases above, the stem *Tiri* is serving as a personal, tribal- and place name without the ending *-gan*.

The earliest records for the ***Aela** branch of the onomasticon appears in the form Zela for a people and their eponymous metropolis in the works of Strabo. Reporting on a portion (perhaps a tribe) of the inhabitants of Cappadocia-Pontus,¹⁰⁹ he writes: "As for the Zelites (Ζηλίτες), they have a city Zela (Ζήλα) (*vide infra*), fortified on a mound of Semiramis,¹¹⁰ with the temple of Anaïtis [Iranic goddess Anāhīta), who is also revered by the Armenians" (*Geography*, XII.iii.37).¹¹¹

Pontus, or more correctly Cappadocia-Pontus, as it was known at his time,¹¹² was largely inhabited by Iranic peoples, whose religion and language predominated in the region.¹¹³ The Iranic names of the royal and aristocratic families, including Strabo's own maternal uncle Moaphernes, are found to be commonplace. Ptolemy (*Geography*, VI, "Cappadocia") also records this same Zela, nearly 150 years after Strabo. To the immediate south of Amasya, there still can be found the town of Zile, which quite likely should be identified with the classical Zela. As Delikān, this evolution of the protonym survives today as the name of one of the largest Kurdish tribes in NK and WK.

In early Islamic times, Ibn Khurdādhbih noted a district of Delok دلولك in Jabal Qusayr (eastern Amanus) west of Aleppo towards the Mediterranean Sea (*Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, 75). Even today, Qusayr has a Delikān Kurdish tribe. Balādhuri, meanwhile, records a Kurdish district named Zerān in Mosul province (*Futūh*, 90).

Strabo makes mention of another etymological branch of this onomasticon. It is what comes to be known as Daylam in medieval times. In enumerating the districts he places under the general geographic designator "the country of the Assyrians," he mentions a region of Dolomenê (Δολομενή, *Geography*, XVI.i.1). Dolomenê is arrayed with Adiabene (Arbil), Gordyaeane (Bokhtān River basin in upper Tigris), Khazene

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Shatristānhā-i Erānshatr*, 149: "the city of Nahr Tirak was founded by Azhidahāk."

¹⁰⁹ Having himself been born in Pontus ("My city Amaseia (the modern Amasya) is situated in a large valley through which flows the Iris River," the modern Yesil Irmak, XII.iii.39). During the reign of Mithridates VI, Strabo is virtually reported about his very own geographical neighborhood and in his own lifetime. His account must be the most accurate *vis-à-vis* the Zela, who lived only a few hours' journey from Amaseia.

¹¹⁰ This is the mythical Assyrian queen and the wife of the equally mythical king Sardanapalus (possibly Sargon II). She was commonly credited (mostly in the Mediterranean coastal world and the West) with any imposing ruins of earlier times that showed some exotic connection to Mesopotamia and the central Zagros.

¹¹¹ Strabo continues: "Now the sacred rites performed here are characterized by greater sanctity; and it is here that all the people of Pontus make their oaths concerning their matters of the greatest importance... In early times the kings governed Zela, not as a city, but as a sacred precinct of the Persian gods, and the priests were the masters of the whole thing... Pompey (after defeating the Pontian king Mithridates VI) added many provinces to the boundaries of Zelitiss, and named Zela (after the inhabitants?], as he did with Megalopolis."

¹¹² Apparently as a result of a more recent heavy settlement of the land by the Cappadocians.

¹¹³ The Greek element there, even though it constituted an elite class, was limited in numbers, and mostly in the coastal cities.

(Khizān, the modern Hizān to the southwest of Lake Van), and Kalakhene (area north of Samara).¹¹⁴ His Dolomenê is thus in this general area in the Tigris river basin.

This placement on the upper Tigris would seem out of place to anyone familiar with the name Daylam in early Islamic times. The Daylamites best known to students of Middle Eastern history are those originating from the Daylamite colony of the Elburz mountains. The main body, and the original home of the bearers of the name, however, was eastern Anatolia, as it is today. Strabo's placing of the Daylamites in Anatolia is repeated by the Aramaic and Middle Persian sources as well. M'shīhā-Z'khā's Syriac chronicle lists the early Christian episcopates of Bēt Zabday (Siirt), Karkā d'Bēt S'lokh (Kirkuk), Kashkar, Bēt Lāpāt (Jundishapur, Khuzistan), Hormizd Ardashīr (Ahwaz), P'rāt Mayshān (Susangird), Hānitā, Herbat G'lāl, Arzon (Bitlis region), Bēt Niqtōr (Baghdad region), Shar Qard (Amadiya), Bēt Meskēnē (Lake Tharthār region NW of Baghdad), Holwān (Sarpul-i Zohāb), Bēt Qetrāyē, Bēt Hazzāyē (Arbil), Bēt Daylomāyē, Shigār (Sanjar), and Nisibin.¹¹⁵ All of these are in Mesopotamia or the Zagros piedmont along the Tigris. It is only natural to consider Bēt Daylomāyē also in the same locale. In addition, there has never been a report of Christianity among the Alburz Daylamites, let alone the growth of a bonafide Christian see. On the other hand, the early and vigorous penetration of Mesopotamia, central and western Kurdistan and Armenia by that religion is too well known to need documentation.

If this circumstantial evidence is not fully convincing, the recording by the Zoroastrian Book of Genesis, the *Bundahishn*, is. It clearly states: "The river Tigris comes out of Dēlamān and pours into the sea in Khūzistān" (XI.6).¹¹⁶ There is only one Dēlamān that can fit the specifications of Strabo, M'shīhā-Z'khā and the *Bundahishn*: the Dēlamān in Anatolia, home to the Dimila Kurds. The Dimila are known, along with their language (Dimilī), to outsiders as the Zāzā (*vide* *Sasa). They, however, seldom call themselves by this term, which could also roughly mean "buzzers," although the latter is indeed a respectable appellation, connecting them by the same roots to the illustrious Sasanian dynasty, and much more, through the onomasticon *Sasa! Their home still occupies the land from west of Bitlis to the upper Euphrates, and includes the headwaters of the Tigris.

¹¹⁴ "The country of Assyrians (Ἀσσύριοι) borders on Persis and Susiana. This name [i.e., Assyria] is given to Babylonia and to much of the country all round, which latter, in part, is also called Aturia, in which are Ninus (Nineveh), Apolloniatis (on the lower Lesser Zāb), the Elymaei [southern Luristan], the Paraetacae (western Fars), the Chalonitis [Khanaqin-Ctesiphon area] in the neighborhood of Mt. Zagros, the plains in the neighborhood of Ninus, and also Dolomenē (Δολομηνή) and Calakhenē and Khazenē and Adiabene [Arbil], and the tribes of Mesopotamia in the neighborhood of the Gordyaeans [modern Girdi tribal region], and the Mygdonians in the neighborhood of Nisibis, as far as the Zeugma (a bridge town sixty miles south of Samosata) of the Euphrates, as also much of the country on the far side of the Euphrates which is occupied by the Arabians, and those people who in a special sense of the term are called by the men of today Syrians, who extend as far as the Cilicians and the Phoenicians and the Judaeans and the sea that is opposite the eastern Mediterranean (Egyptian) Sea and the Gulf of Alexandretta (Issus). It seems that the name of the Syrians (Σύροι) extended not only from Babylonia to the Gulf of Alexandretta (Issus), but also in ancient times from this gulf to the Black Sea (Euxine)" (*Geog.*, XVI.1.1).

¹¹⁵ A. Mingana, *Sources Syriacques*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1980), p. 106f. For identification of these locales, with the exception of Bēt Daylomāyē, see F. Zorell, "Chronica Ecclesiae Arbelensis," *Orientalia Christiana* VIII.4 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1927), p. 2. Zorell gives up trying to locate Bēt Daylomāyē after realizing it cannot be the better-known locality in the Alburz/Caspian Sea littoral.

¹¹⁶ "Dajlīt rūt hac Dēlamān be-āyēt ut pat Khūzistān ò drayāp ricēt" (Behramgore T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Akāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bundahishn* [Bombay, 1956], XI, 6).

fringed by Delymaeans,¹¹⁸ Aniaracae, Cadusii, and Matiani” (*Hist.*, V.44). Ptolemy includes the Delymais with the Caspi, Mar[a]giana, Cadusi, Geli, Dribyces, Anariacae, Mardi, Carduchi [Kardukhs), Marundae, Margasi, Tapur, Vadassi, and the Dariti, all in the Caspian region (VI.ii). (Map 3) The last report on the incidence of this name before the advent of Islam is made by Procopius for the sixth century. He records the participation of the Dēlamites (Δολομίτας) in the Sassanid army, particularly under Chosroēs I Anoshervan (*Hist. of Wars* VIII.xiv.5-9).

In time, those Dēlam who settled the Elburz mountain range and the Caspian littoral gave rise to many well-known medieval dynasties, the most famous of which are the Buwayhids (*vide* *Bāw). The dynastic incidences of this branch of this onomasticon are far too great to allow a listing, or needing one.

The Daylamites' outburst in early Islamic times into the rest of the Middle East entailed large population resettlement as well—a point that precludes the Alburz colony's having been the only source of all those medieval peoples we recognize as Daylamites.¹¹⁹ From the Caucasus to Egypt Daylamites settled in many cities and countryside alike. The medieval traveler Nāsir Khusraw, e.g., reports on a city quarter populated by them in Cairo!¹²⁰

Finally, a point that has baffled many a medieval historian, geographer, and genealogist—and still does to some extent today—can be clarified here. That is the “meaning” of the name of the district and city of Shahrazur. The name is missing from the classical Graeco-Roman sources, but it is attested in the Sasanian chronicle *Kārnāmak* (*ibid.*, VI.1), which assigns to it a Yazdān-Kart as king.¹²¹ From Ibn Faḡih and Hamdullāh Mustawfī to Fakhr al-Kuttāb,¹²² the second portion, zur/zor/zul,¹²³ has been variously defined as derived from the Kurdish word *zor* (“plenty”) or the Persian *zur* (“force”). Mustawfī justifies it in his usual manner, by saying it was so called because it was taken “by force” by the Kurds! Ibn Faḡih believes it was named after a son of the mythological king Azhidahāk named Zur. The onomasticon *Aela is obviously the root. Serendipitously, there is still a Kurdish tribe named the Zola (of the Arkuwāz confederacy) in the nearby Mandali-Gelān district in SK (where strangely there is also found a mountain range named Sharazula!).

(a) Onomastic clan and tribal names:	Tirikān (west of Ankara, and south of Cankiri)
KURDS	Tirkān (of the Milān of WK)
	Tiyān (or Shirnākh of the Bokhtān conf. in NK)
Delikān (Khalkhāl region of Azerbaijan)	Torini (of the Jibrān of NK) Zēlan (Ilam prov.)
	Zhiriki (of the Artūsh of NK)

¹¹⁸ This name is often missing the initial *d*, becoming confused with the Elymaeans (of southern Luristan). This cannot be, as the Elymaeans are living in the southern Zagros (south of Media). In the preceding lines of text, Polybius already covers the Elymaeans and places them properly to the south of Media. Here we are dealing with the Alburz and northern Zagros. Minorsky (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. “Daylam”) also correctly recognizes this subsequent misspelling of Polybius' text.

¹¹⁹ Daylamān in the Alburz refers to the narrow and heavily forested rugged mountainous region of the western and later central region of that mountain chain south of the Caspian Sea. Even at its greatest extent, it covered an area only about the size of Long Island, with very limited prospects for breeding populations large enough to populate city quarters as far away as Sīrāf, Baghdad, and Cairo.

¹²⁰ Nāsir-i Khusraw, *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, trs. by W.M. Thackston (Albany: State University of New York, 1986), p. 51.

¹²¹ He is noted for having participated in a coalition of Kurdish principalities to repel the Sasanian invasion.

¹²² Mīrzā Shukrullāh Sanandajī Fakhr al-Kuttāb, *Tuhfa-I Nāsiri* (Tehran: Amir-i Kabir, 1987). This is a dynastic history dedicated to the Kurdish princely house of Ardalān, written after their fall, by their last court historian and scribe in February 1902.

¹²³ In the *Kārnāmak* the name of the city can be read either as Shahrazur or Shahrazul, and it has been recorded in Islamic times with both spellings.

Delikān (NW and west of Aleppo) Delikānlū (of the Reyhānli conf. Of WK and central Anatolia) Delo (conf. Khush mountains to Sarkala and Khānaqin in SK) Delāzhiri (of the Salās conf. west of Kirmanshah to Kirind in SK) Derejān (Nw of Malātiya) Derejān (of the Milān of WK) Derikānli (of Kēki conf. south of Antep in WK) Dēlān (of the Abdavi conf. of the Shakāk of NK) Dīlfān (of the Khājavand in Mazandaran) Dīlmaqān (Dimilakān of the Millān conf. of NK) Dirqān (of the Shādlū in Khurasan) Dolamayri (of the Bārzāni conf. Of NK) Dolān (Dlāyn of the Milān conf. Of NK) Dolān (of the Shakāk conf. of NK) Dorkān (of the Yezidi conf. of WK) Dorrāji (EK) Dumbuli (or Dunbeli, in Jabal Sanjār in WK) Dumbuli (Dunbeli, in Shaykhān) Duru'i (of the Salās conf. west of Kirmanshah to Kirind in SK) Tālabāni (In pockets SE of Kirkuk, NE of Klār) Tarkawand (of the Delo of CK) Tarkhāni (of the Jāf of CK) Tarkhāni (of the Jāf of EK) Tilekān (or Tileku, NW of Bijār) Tirikān (NE of Diyārbakir)	Zilāni (of the Salās conf. west of Kirmanshah to Kirind in SK) Zilānli (conf. N. of Kağızman in NK) Zirikān (major conf. SE of Erzurum near Hınıs and Tekman in NK) Zirikān (SE of Cankiri, and west of Samsun) Zula (sw of Kirmānshāh) NON-KURDS Dālvan (of the Dushmanzārī conf. of the Mamasani) Dālwand (of the Sagvand Lur conf.; some are Laks; in Luristan) Deli (of Charām conf. of the Boir Ahmad) Deli (of Sagvand conf. Of Khuzistan) Dilekani (of the Boir-Ahmad) Dili (of the Boir-Ahmad) Diligān (of the Boir-Ahmad) Silān (of the Kiānī of the Chār-Lang of the Bakhtiyari) Zila'i (north of Bihbahān. Was once known as the Nu'i or Nuva'i and was very large) CONJECTURAL Dari (of the Shakāk conf. of NK) Doraki (of the Haft Lang of the Bakhīyāri) Tālshāni (or Telshāni, Ski Kifri to Zardāwa) Tarhān (of Holaylān conf. in SK) Telesh (or Tālsh of the Kalhur conf. in SK) Tirkāshvand (conf. Asadābād to Hamadān and Tusirkān in SK)
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(b) Onomastic place names:

In addition to toponyms already noted in the text above: Tigranoceta (Tigrānakert, the classical capital of king Tigran of Armenia, near the modern Siirt, in WK); Dīlmaqān (Modern Salmās, E. Azerbaijan); Delamān (district in Gilān); Daylam (port on the far northern Persian Gulf); the village of Dilamān ten miles southeast of Rewāndiz, CK; the district of Dālaki (south of Kazirun in SW Fars); Barm Dilak (village in central Fars); the Dalālhu (Dālāwa) mountains in SK (through “Dhalawand” stage of evolution); the village of Zelān (south of Kirmanshah city in SK); Zālaki River in Western Bakhtiyari country (a tributary of the Diz); the village of Zālī-Ab (east of Khurramabad, Luristan); and the Dālaki Heights in south-central Luristan.

(c) Onomastic dynastic and historic names.

These have already and richly been noted in the text above.

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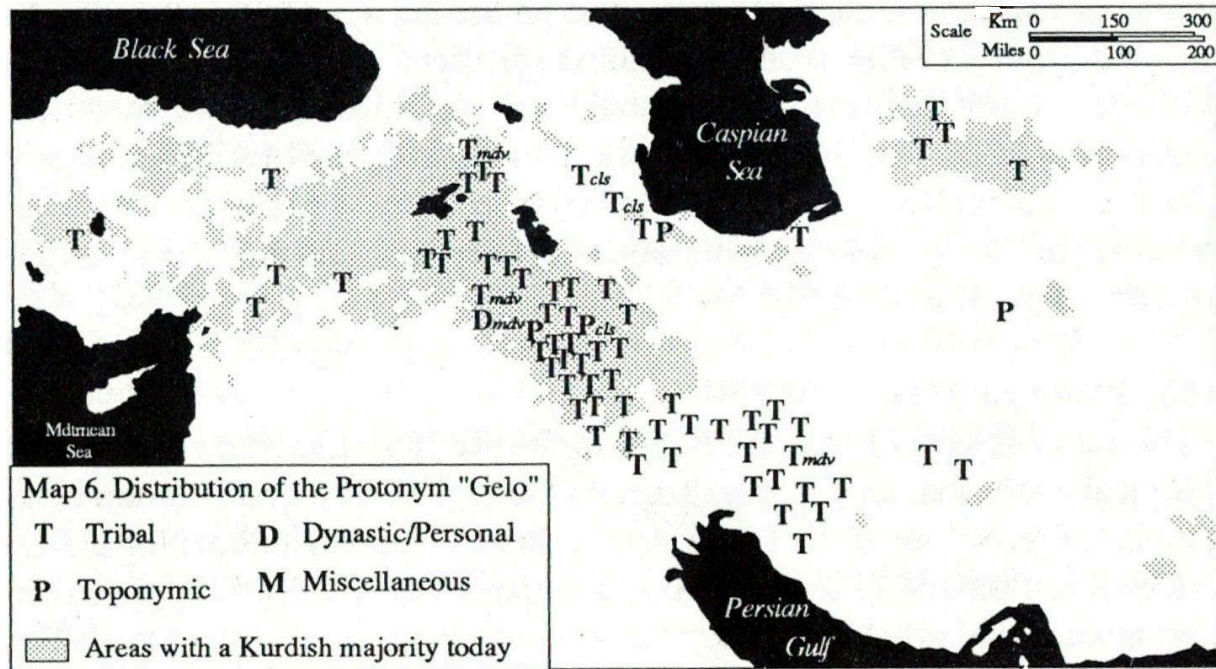
3. The Onomasticon *Gelo

This name is second only to ***Bayer** for its proliferation, multi-faceted etymological evolution, and its abundance in the region. The first mention of the name is the recording of the Gelae, by the Graeco-Roman authors for the 2nd century B.C. Plutarch (*Parallel Lives: Pompey*) records the Gelo in eastern Azerbaijan in the early first century B.C. as they were poised to enter the Alburz range and the Caspian Sea littoral—the so-called Cadusia. From the various accounts of Strabo in the first century AD (*Geography*, XI.v.1; XI.vi.1; XI.viii.1) the Gelo seem to have entered the Alburz chain through the Talish region, but they were still living to the west of the Cadusian peasants of the Caspian lowlands. Strabo reports having read in the much earlier and now lost geographical writings of the explorer Patrocles (lived *ca.* 312-261 B.c.), that “the greater part of the (Caspian) seaboard round the mountainous country (was) occupied by the Cadusis (Καδούσιοι), for a stretch of almost five thousand stadia” with no mention of the Gelo at all (*Geography* XI.vii.1). The spatial arrangement of the Gelo *vis-à-vis* the others in the western Alburz was recorded by Strabo as follows: from west to east “first the Gelas (Γήλας), Cadusis and Amards and certain Hyrcanians, and after them the tribes of the Parthians and that of Margianis” (*Geography*, XI.xiii.1).

The immigrating Gelo appear to have overwhelmed the Cadusian lowlanders rather quickly, imparting to them their own tribal name and likely their own language. The ancient Cadusia soon came to be called Gīlān after these newcomers, with later reporters noting only the name change and little else in this ethnic metamorphosis. Pliny (died AD 79) thus wrote: “the Gaeli, [who are] called the Cadusi by the Greeks...” (*Natural History*, VI.xviii.48).¹²⁴ The “new” name Gīlān has survived until today. The Gelo were accompanied by several other kindred tribes whose names also survive today, mainly among the Kurds, such as the Dēlam, the Mard (Amard), and the Rew, who also settled the Alburz range.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ “Gaeli quos Graeci Cadusios appellaverent....” Pliny is ideal for his recording of just such name changes in the history of the Kurds and othes. His writing on the now controversial prototype “Kardu/ Carduchi”, (a name that was mentioned by Xenophon in 401 B.C.), and Cordueni is already noted in the text above (*ibid.*, VI.xvii.44).

¹²⁵ It seems that before final settlement in the Caspian lowlands, the Gelo had come to add the tribal suffix -kān to the name, becoming the Gelakan. This stage of philological evolution may be a prerequisite for the modern situation: the Gīlānis call their language Gilaki (the k presumably left from the suffix -kān). They call themselves Gilamard, i.e., the “Gila men.”



The Gelo who remained in the Zagros experienced various fates. Those in the southern Zagros were Luricized starting in the 10th century and survive today as a major subdivision of the greater Lur ethnic pool, the populous Koh-Gelu (Kuh Giluya). In Kurdistan, the Gelo became the ancestors of the modern populous tribes of the Jelālī and the nearly extinct Assyrian and Kurdish Jilū clan (northern Kurdistan as well as the Jelālāwand, Galāwand, Kalālāwand and an array of other tribes). The place-names derived from this onomasticon, some in a surprisingly pristine etymological state, abound in the region. These have confused many a hapless historian, genealogist, or geographer into assigning historical peoples and events to the wrong locality. This includes Claudius Ptolemy, who records a city as Gala for eastern Kurdistan (VI.iii) and then another in the Alburz among the Gala (i.e., the Gilanis), baffling over what is where!

(a) Onomastic tribal names:

KURDS

Galbādi (between Behshahr and Bandar Gaz in Mazandaran)
Galbāghi (conf. west of Bijār)
Galladār (of the Kalhur conf. in SK)
Galālī (of the Jāf of EK)
Garivān (of the Shādlū in Khurasan)
Garāwan (or Garāwand of the Kochkir conf. of NWK)
Grāviyān (of the Artūsh conf. of NK)
Gulī (of the Silvān conf. of WK)

NON-KURDS

Gale (of the Bābādi of the Haft-Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
Gerāwand (of Pāpi conf. in Luristan)
Jalīl (of the Bahma'i)
Jalāla'i (of the Boir-Ahmad)
Jalāllu (of the Afshars of Kirman)
Jalālu (of the Boir-Ahmad)
Jalālī (of Dinarvand of the Haft-Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
Jalālī (of Jūnaki of S. Zagros)
Jalālī (of the Bahma'i)
Jalālī (in Kirman)
Jalīl (of the Mahmūd-Şālihi of the Chār-Lang of the

Guli (or Geli, Gili; Zakho to the Peshkhābur River)
 Guliyānlū (of the Zafrānlū conf. in Khurasan)
 Jalikān (or Jalilkān, south of Adiyāman to Antep)
 Jalikānli (of Kēki conf. south of Antep in WK)
 Jalilvand (in Gilan)
 Jalālawand (of Holaylān conf. in SK)
 Jalālawand (of the Sanjābi in SK)
 Jalāli (east of Sanandaj)
 Jalāli (of the Zafrānlū in Khurasan)
 Jalāli (or Galāla) (of the Jāf of CK)
 Jelowgir (of the Kalhur in SK)
 Jelāli (or Gelāli conf., Māku to Doğubayazıt and Kars)
 Jilū (north of Çukurca on the upper Greater Zab river)
 Kalaywand (of Shuhān of Arkuvāz extreme SK)
 Kalālawand (or Kalāwand of the Sanjābi in SK)
 Kalāli (Around Saqqiz)
 Kalāshi (or Kalāshin of the Jāf of EK)
 Kalāsi (Near Sardasht)
 Kalāwand (of Arkuvāz conf., extreme SWK)
 Kāleka (of the Salās conf. west of Kirmanshah to Kirind in SK)
 Khaylāni (of the Bārzānī conf., ne Rewānduz in NK)
 Koli (or Guli, NE of Sanandaj)
 Kolivand (of the Faylī of SK, W Luristan and NW Khuzistan)
 Kolyā'i (between Sunqor and Qor in SK)

Bakhtiyari)
 Jalilvand (of the Mamivand of the Chār-Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
 Jalīlī (of the Boir-Ahmad)
 Jalīlī (of the Behdārvand of the Haft-Lang of the Bakhtiyari)
 Jelū'i (in Luristan)
 Kelan (of Chulak conf. of Boir-Ahmad)
 Koh-Glu (a mega conf. in the southern Zagros)
 Koliwand (of Sagvand of Khuzistan)
 Qalāvand (a Lur conf. in central Luristan)

CONJECTURAL

Kalajub (of the Kalhur conf. in SK)
 Kalapā (of the Kalhur in SK)
 Kalkeni (or Qalqālī of the Galbāghī, west of Bijār)
 Kalkuh (of the Faylī of SK, W Luristan and NW Khuzistan)
 Khalkān (around Jehānbayli in central Anatolia)
 Khalkān (of the Milān conf. of NK)
 Khalkān (or Khalhāni, northern Balik mountains and NE of Arbil)
 Khalkān (or Khalajān, of the Milān conf. of WK)
 Khalkān (or Khalikān of the Jelāli of the NK)
 Khalwān (of the Salās conf. west of Kirmanshah to Kirind in SK)
 Qalkhāni-Bahrāmi (of the Gurān conf. in SK)
 Qalkhāni-Speri (of the Gurān conf. in SK)
 Qalkhānī (conf. NW of Kirmanshah in SK)
 Qilichān (of the Shādlū in Khurasan)

(b) Onomastic place names

In addition to toponyms already noted in the text above: Far too many to list. Most importantly, Gilan province, Iran; Kuh-Giluya province, Iran; Gelan city in SK; the town of Tabas-i Gilaki in Qohistan, Iran,¹²⁶ etc.

(c) Dynastic and historic proper names

In sharp contrast to its occurrence in toponyms, the incidences of dynastic and individual names derived from this primary onomasticon are far fewer than those for ***Bayer** and ***Aela** (in fact even fewer than many secondary onomastics, like ***Bāw**). Among the noteworthy few is the name Jilo that appears among the sons of the Queen Shahru as preserved in the Parthian romance *Vēs u Rāmin* by Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ This is how the city is known in medieval texts in order to distinguish it from the nearby Tabas-i Mesīnā. It is not at all far-fetched to think that a maverick spur of the migrating Gelo made it this far in late classical times. The Rēwands (*vide* ***Rēw**) made just the same trip, ending up in northern Khurasan to the north of Tabas, likewise imparting their name to the local mountains as the Rivand Heights. Today, Kurds are still found in a small pocket in nearby Birjand as well.

¹²⁷ Gurgānī, *Vēs u Rāmin* (Tehran, 1971), "Return of King Mōbad from Kuhistān," line 47f.

If the conjectural variant Khallikān were to be confirmed as having evolved from this onomasticon (the other possibility is the onomasticon ***Kharkhar**, *q.v.*), then the name of the medieval Muslim historian and genealogist Ibn Khallikān could be added to this short list.