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A Mazandarani Account of the Babi Incident at Shaikh Tabarsi

This article transcribes and glosses a nineteenth-century Mazandarani document on Babi-state conflict at Shaikh Tabarsi. Collected in 1860 in the town of Barfurush, it was published five years later by Boris Andreevich Dorn in Perso-Arabic characters. The text is the first known prose document based on natural speech in the modern Mazandarani language. The language of the text is fundamentally the same as that spoken today in the Persian province of Mazandaran, located south of the Caspian Sea. As one expects, however, there are certain extinct traits in the text, which could be identified only by comparison with other surviving Mazandarani documents of the same period. The text will contribute to the study of the largely understudied language of Mazandaran, particularly to its development since the composition of the text. It may also serve as a supplementary historical document for the historic incident it narrates.

The Caspian provinces of Persia attracted the attention of many nineteenth-century orientalists, particularly Russians whose political interests in the region were coupled with their intellectual pursuit. One of the earliest and most prolific was Boris Andreevich Dorn, the German-Russian orientalist who worked at the Saint Petersburg's Imperial Academy.¹ His multi-faceted interests in the Caspian region included language, literature, ethnography, geography, history, and the contemporary socio-political events. Of the latter, none was more dramatic than the Babi-state conflict of 1848–49 at Shaikh Tabarsi near Barfurush (now Babul), whose details and causes were not as obvious then as they are now, after nearly a century-and-a-half. The incident was indeed the first and harshest of the series of clashes between the followers of Bab and government forces.²

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¹See N. L. Luzhetskaya, s.v. "Dorn," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York, 1983 ff.), 7: 511–13.

²See Siyamak Zabihi-Moghaddam, "The Babi-State Conflict at Shaykh Tabarsi," *Iranian Studies* 35 (2002): 87–112; Mohammad Ali Kazembeyki, *Society, Politics and Economics in Māzandarān, Iran, 1848–1914* (London, 2003), 116–125.

An eyewitness account of the Babi incident appears in the Mazandarani text that follows. It was collected in Barfurush in 1860 and was among Nikolai Khanykov's manuscripts and notes kept in the Imperial Public Library at Saint Petersburg. Dorn, who provides also a German translation, published the text in 1865 in Perso-Arabic characters.³ He states two reasons for publishing the text: "(1) so that one sees the details recounted by a witness whose truth I do not advocate; (2) (the main reason) that the Mazandarani text be shown as a language." For the sake of comparison, Dorn also provides a summary of the incident based on materials that had hitherto been published by Mirza (Aleksandr) Kazem Beg⁴ and Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Lisan-al-Mulk Sipihur in *Nāsikh al-Tavārikh*. Moreover, the text in Dorn's edition carries the title *min kalām Shaykh-al-'Ajam māzandarānī* (*From the words of Shaykh-al-'Ajam Mazandarani*). The latter is the epithet of Amir Pazvari,⁵ the semi-legendary Mazandarani poet so much adored by Dorn, who seems to have used the title symbolically to allude to the Mazandarani language in general. The author of the text remains anonymous.

The primary purpose here is to provide historical data for the Mazandarani language, which remains largely understudied in spite of its large number of speakers and its long literary tradition that rivals that of New Persian in age. The peak of the language goes back to the early Islamic centuries, when it thrived under the long reign of the independent and semi-independent provincial rulers of Tabaristan, commonly known as the Ispahbads. The works written in Tabari (the older form of Mazandarani) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as *Marzbān-nāma*, *Bāvand-nāma*, *Nekī-nūma*, and *Shakara*, are lost in the original language; only a number of poems and individual verses are poorly preserved by means of the Persian works connected to the province.⁶

³Boris Andreevich Dorn, *Morgenländische handschriften der kaiserlichen öffentlichen bibliothek zu St. Petersburg. Nachträge zu dem Verzeichniss der im Jahre 1861 erworbenen Chanykov'schen Sammlung* (St. Petersburg, 1865). Reprinted as "Nachträge zu dem Verzeichniss der von der Kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek erworbenen Chanykov'schen Handschriften und den da mitgetheilten Nachrichten über die Baby und deren Koran," in *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de L'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg* V. 1864–1868 (St. Petersburg, 1968), 377–419.

⁴*Bab' i Babidy: religiozno-politicheskiya smuty v Persii v 1844–1852 godakh* (St. Petersburg, 1865).

⁵An unidentified Mazandarani poet, who is believed to have composed, among other dialect poems, the quatrains known as *amīrī*, a popular genre still sung widely in rural communities throughout the province. See Habib Borjian and Maryam Borjian (Mohammadi Kordkheili), s.v. "Amir Pāvāri," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Supplement (available on the Internet site www.Iranica.com).

⁶An introductory study of these documents is available in Sadiq Kia, "Chand vāzha az Tārikh-i Tabaristān," *Sukhan* 1 (1943–44), 135–136, 344–346, 440–441, 514; idem, *Vāzhanāma-yi tabarī Irānkude* 9 (Tehran, 1947), 9–20, 225–246. Kia's notes are commented on by Davoud Monchi-Zadeh in "Contribution to Iranian Dialectology: Explanation of Verses in Old Tabari," *Orientalia Suecana* 18 (1969) 163–182.

From the post-Ispahbad era survive a full Tabari translation of *Maqāmāt al-Harīrī* as well as the word-by-word translations added interlineally to several manuscripts of the Koran.⁷ Worth mentioning are also the documents of the Hurufi movement in the dialect of Gorgan, closely related to Tabari, from the late fourteenth century.⁸ After several centuries of silence, a new series of Mazandarani documents emerges from the nineteenth century, thanks to the efforts of the European travelers and diplomats who aimed at documenting the language. The resulting materials are considerable, among which stands out *Kanz al-Asrār*,⁹ a collection of verses attributed to Amir Pazvari. Several smaller collections of folk poems and songs as well as individual words and sentences are also available.¹⁰ Moreover, there are a few works of prose, the most valuable of which are the text of the present study and the two manuscripts written in 1889 on geography and history of the towns of Barfurush and Amul.¹¹ These prose texts are essential in the study of the language as it was spoken in the nineteenth century.¹²

The linguistic interest aside, the present text on the Babi upheaval may also serve as an historical reference. It is one of the earliest original accounts of the incident and has certain details absent in other contemporary sources. Nonetheless, the text has largely been overlooked in the recent scholarship.¹³

⁷None of these translations are published or studied, except a study of the manuscript of the Koran, kept at Edinburg, by L. P. Elwell-Sutton in "An Eighteenth Century (?) Caspian Dialect," *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts a Henri Massé* (Tehran, 1963): 110–140. See also H. Borjjan, "Historical Sources in Old Tabari (in Persian)," *Dialectology/Gūyish-shimāsi* no. 4 (2005), forthcoming.

⁸A manuscript is published in Clément Huart, *Textes persans relatifs a la sectes des Houroufīs*, (Leiden, 1909), based on which and other Hurufi documents a glossary is compiled in Sadeq Kia, *Vāzhanāma-yi gurgāni*, 2nd ed. (Tehran, 1951).

⁹Edited by B. A. Dorn (in the series *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der iranischen Sprachen*), 2 vols. (Saint Petersburg, 1860–66).

¹⁰See H. Borjjan, "Mazandaran: Language and People: The State of Research," *Iran and the Caucasus* 8 no. 2 (2004): 289–328; H. Borjjan, "The Oldest Known Texts in New Tabari: Collection of Aleksander Chodzko," *Archiv Orientalní* 74 (2006), forthcoming.

¹¹They appear as facsimilies in Jacques de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse* 5 (Paris, 1904), 248–260. The texts have neither been translated nor studied. See H. Borjjan, "Two Mazandarani Texts from the Nineteenth Century," *JAOS*, forthcoming.

¹²Somewhat less authentic Mazandarani prose works are those translated from Persian literature in *Kanz al-Asrār* 1: 1–122; and the Mazandarani translation of a passage from *Tūfān al-Bukā*, in E. Berésine, *Recherche sur les dialectes persans* (Kazan, 1853), 2: 72–79. See H. Borjjan, "The oldest known prose text in Modern Tabari: A translation from *Tufan al-Boka*," *Studies in Persianate Societies* 3 (2005), forthcoming; H. Borjjan, "Tabari language materials from I. N. Berezin's *Recherches sur les dialectes persans*," *Iran and the Caucasus* 10 (2006), forthcoming.

¹³Of the numerous recent studies on the Babi-government conflicts of the mid-nineteenth century none has used this Mazandarani text as a source. It is also absent in Denis MacEion, *The Sources for Early Babi Doctrine and History: A Survey* (Leiden, 1992).

*A Summary of the Incident*¹⁴

The Mazandarani account opens with a short biography of Mullah Muhammad-‘Ali Barfurushi (Kal Mandali or Haj Mamdali in the text). The son of a farmer in Barfurush, the commercial capital of Mazandaran, he went to school in Sari and Mashhad before going to Karbala’ in 1840, where he studied for some four years under Sayyid Kazim Rashti, head of the Shaikhi school. Soon he became a disciple of Bab and for a couple of years traveled around Persia promoting the Babi doctrine before returning to Mazandaran, where he remained in relative seclusion for some two years. In 1847, he set off for Mashhad to assist Mullah Muhammad-Husayn Bushru’i, another of the Bab’s leading devotees, who had recruited a large number of followers. Following a clash between the Babis and local authorities, Barfurushi returned from Mashhad to Mazandaran and played a leading role in organizing an assembly in July 1848 in the village of Badash, near Shahrud, in which some eighty leaders of the sect participated. Following this, Barfurushi was imprisoned in Sari.

Shortly afterward, a party of Babis led by Mullah Muhammad-Husayn Bushru’i left Mashhad, possibly heading for Tabriz to rescue the Bab from prison. Joined along the route by supporters, the group encountered hostile forces as they marched into Mazandaran. On 11 September, they reached Barfurush whose residents, alarmed by the arrival of a band of armed men a few days after the death of Muhammad Shah, refused to let them into the town. Clashes broke out and several were killed. A group of the Babis who had managed to take lodging in a caravansarai at Sabza-Maydan in the outskirts of Barfurush were also attacked. The fighting temporarily receded with the arrival of Abbasquli Khan, the tribal chief (*sardār*) of Larijan, who ordered the Babis to leave the area.

Forced to travel and attacked by a band of local horsemen, the Babis finally took refuge in the nearby mausoleum of Sahikh Tabarsi (21 September) and began to reinforce it by constructing defensive fortifications. Other Babis from all parts of the country joined them, and thus the number of insurgents almost doubled from an original of about 300. They were soon joined by Mullah Muhammad-‘Ali Barfurushi who had escaped from detention in Sari and now shared the leadership of the fort with Bushru’i. The mausoleum was soon surrounded by the contingents of provincial and state troops under the overall command of Prince Mahdiquli Mirza, Nasir-al-Din Shah’s uncle and the newly appointed governor of Mazandaran. The siege lasted nearly six months, from 13 October 1848 to 9 May 1849, during which time a series of battles ensued.

¹⁴This summary is based on the present text and the following secondary sources: Kazembeyki, *Society, Politics and Economics*, 116 ff.; Zabihi-Moghaddam, “The Babi-State Conflict at Shaykh Tabarsi,” 96–99; Moojan Momen, “The Social Basis of the Bābī Upheavals in Iran (1848–53),” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15 (1983): 157–183, especially 161–165; and D. M. MacEoin, “Babism,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 3: 309–317. See also “Dizh-i Tabarsi,” *Abākhhtar* 2 no. 5 & 6 (2004) 109–122.

Both sides suffered many casualties, including Bushru'i, who died in the course of a sortie on 2 February. A stratagem finally ended the siege and the surviving Babis surrendered. They were either executed or taken prisoner. Barfurushi was taken to his hometown and put to death on 16 May of that year.

Linguistic Notes

The Mazandarani text appears in Dorn's edition in a standard Perso-Arabic script with diacritic marks (*barakāt*), which are used neither completely nor consistently. Many words are spelled variously, for example, اون <'-v-n>, ان <o-n>, ان̄ <ā-n>, corresponding, respectively, to the possible pronunciations *un*, *on*, *ān* 'that'; <j-m->, <ja-m>, representing *ja(:)m* (with a choice of short or long vowel) 'assembly'; the name of the town Barfurush appears in three forms: *Bālforus̄* (Paragraph 10), *Bālforus̄* (Paragraphs 16, 18, 27, 28), and *Bārforus̄* (Paragraphs 12, 15–17, 32). No attempt was made to render a consistent spelling; instead, individual cases of corrections and reconstructions are explained in the footnotes. Nevertheless, my transcription includes two Mazandarani phonemes absent in the text: (1) *g*, in contradistinction to *k* (the text follows an obsolete Persian orthographic tradition which represents both phonemes by the letter ك <k>); (2) *ə*, formally a mid-low, front-center vowel, but varies throughout Mazandaran: while the phoneme is perceived as a *kasra* [e,ɛ] in eastern Mazandaran, the Babulis find it more relevant to render it a *fatha* [a,æ] when writing their vernacular. Hence, the *fatha* mark in the text implies two distinct phonemes: *a* and *ə*, as in *darəna* for the spelling <da-ra-na-h> 'they are (in)'.

The text is presented, as far as possible, in a normal phonemic transcription that represents the Mazandarani dialect of Babul in which the account is narrated.¹⁵ There are cases, however, where a plain phonemic transcription would disguise or conceal morphological processes. When an essential phoneme is unrealized, it is recovered by raised letters. Thus, *ba^ʿštəna* indicates a pronunciation *baštəna*, but arising from the combination of the morphemes *ba-est-ənə* 'they let'; *dingu^ʿ* 'he placed' represents a pronunciation *dingu*, where the morpheme *-ə*, the 3rd person singular ending, is arbitrarily but predictably omitted. An analogue from English would be the written form "Let^us see" for "Let us see," when pronounced as "Let's see". Moreover, when *i* in verb stems is realized as a phoneme, it is retained in the transcription even when *i* turns to *y* due to verb stress shift, e.g. *baitə* [bæ^ʰitə, 'bæjtə] 'he grabbed,' *baitən* [bæj^ʰtən] 'to grab,' *bai(r)* [bæ^ʰi^ʰr] 'grab!' This rule generally holds for the verbs 'to be,' 'to be in,' and 'to become,' the pronunciation of which is a matter of choice, e.g. *baiə*¹⁶ [bæ^ʰi^ʰə, 'bæijə, 'bæjjə] 'it became'.

¹⁵As the text belongs to a century-and-a-half ago, it exhibits certain differences with the dialect as spoken today. Many textual problems, both phonologic and morphologic, were tackled by drawing parallels from the other nineteenth-century texts.

¹⁶In *ia*, *ie*, *ia*, *io*, *iu*, and *iā* the euphonic glide *y* between the two vowels is implied.

The original text lacks punctuation and paragraphs. The translation is meant to remain as close as possible to the Mazandarani words and grammar. As the composition of the text is generally poor, in many instances, certain material is added in square brackets for clarification. Explanations are added in parentheses.

THE TEXT

1. [381]¹⁷ hekāyət-e Bābi-rā xāmmə banəvisəm. šaxs-i daiə dar Čahāršanbe-piš, vəne esm-rə Sāleh gətənə. və¹⁸ əttə vačə dāštə, vəne vačə-e esm-rə [382] Kal Mandali gətənə. və kači še vəlāt jā birun burdə o təmām-e velāyat gardeš hākərdə.
2. əttə-xal sāl bagzeštə, və əttə ruz biamu³ še pər-e¹⁹ səre manzəl hākərdə. vəne²⁰ piš mardəm xale biamunə burdənə. və anne xoš-ahvāl biə ke vəne ahvāl mardəm-rə xale xoš biamuə. mardəm dāyəm šinə vəne pali.
3. və badiə²¹ ke mardəm xub vəne pali enənə, və mardəm[-rə] kam-kam gul bədāə—ke “mən mard-e xədā hassəmə, mən nāyeb-e Sāhebozzamān hassəmə, o mən hačči gommə me harf bašnuin! in mollāhā ke darənə,²² har-či gonənə hamə dəruq gonənə, o mən har-či gommə rāssə gommə.” ānhā bautənə ke “to har-či goni rāssə goni”.
4. və bautə ke “sir harām hassə, vərə naxərin! piāz harām, vərə naxərin! qalyān harām, vərə nak³šin!” əttə-əttə ke vəne jā dust bāinə,²³ sir o piāz naxərdənə o qalyān nak³šinə. har-či və gətə, vəne harf-rə ašnussənə.²⁴
5. əttə šū vərə əttə²⁵ jā va’də bavərdənə. ān šū čelā-plū plā biə. və əttə də-sə loqmə plā baxərdə, badiə plā-e [383] darim mamej darə, digər naxərdə. ba’d [və]rə āb-dast biārdənə, bavərdənə vəne piš. və še dass-ə-tək-rə ū bakəšio. mardəm bautənə, “və antəri če hākərdə? magər in plā najes biə ke və še dass-ə-tək-rə ū bakəšio?”

¹⁷The numbers in square brackets indicate page numbers in Dorn 1868.

¹⁸*və/ve* ‘he, she, it’ is rendered with a *kasra* mark throughout the text, perhaps to avoid confusion with the morpheme *o* ‘and,’ which is, following a Persian orthographic tradition, represented in the text by **و** <v>. I show the word as *və* throughout the text. Note that certain Mazandarani dialects use the form *ve* as the oblique case of the 3rd person singular pronoun, for which the parallel form *vəne* ‘him, his’ is used throughout this text. For a more detailed discussion, see H. Borjian “Personal and Reflexive Pronouns in Mazandarani,” *Orientalia* 2 (2004): 7–13.

¹⁹*pər* ‘father,’ deduced from the spelling <pa-r> in the Perso-Arabic alphabet used in the script. The current pronunciation is *pər*, *pɪr*, *piər*, or *piēr*, depending on the locality in Mazandaran.

²⁰The written form <ve-n-h> (= *venə* ‘must’) is obviously a misprint.

²¹Spelled <ba-de-ya-h>.

²²In the text: <d-r-n-n-h> (= *darnənə*) ‘they are not’.

²³Written <b-a-ye-na-h>.

²⁴*ašnuss-ənə* ‘they heard’; the text’s spelling is <a-š-no-v-sse-na>, corresponding to *ašnuss.ənə*, in which the Mazandarani phonological rule of the shift from *ə* to *e* after a sonant governs. Cf. *bašnuss.ənə* in Paragraph 10.

²⁵<a-tte> (= *əttə*).

6. ay də-sə jā-ye digər ettefāq dakətə, və ay hamin kār-rə hākərdə. əttə-əttə ke vəne dust naibinə, bautənə ke “və yaqin Bābi hassə; agər navve/navue,²⁶ və antəri çe kənnə?”
7. in xabər be guš-e Mollā Qāsem-e piš-namāz barəsio. Mollā Qāsem bautə, “və, mal’un, najes hassə, və kāfer hassə—ādəm-i ke və mosalmān hassə, və in kār nakənnə. vərə venə in mahallə-e jā birun hākərdən. və agər in mahallə davv(u)e,²⁷ xale kār-hā-ye bad kənnə. və mardəm-rə az rāh dar-varnə.”
8. be hokm-e Mollā Qāsem vərə dar Čahāršnbe-piš birun hākərdənə. və burdə; har ke vəne jā dust biə vəne həmrāh burdə. čand vaqt bak³šio, və ay biamuə əttə yek māh daiə. ay vərə birun hākərdənə. və burdə. əttə də-sə māh bakšio və ay biamuə. vərə in-jə manzəl nədənə. və dar Piākolāh on-jə manzəl hākərdə.
9. Mollā Hoseyn bā də-sə nafər-e digər vəne həmrāh dai-binə. əttə-xale-tum on-jə dainə. on-jə jā ham vəšunrə birun hākərdənə. vəšun [384] burdənə ke vəšun sar-e sərāq naiə.²⁸
10. əttə ruz xabər biārdənə ke pānsad nafər Bābi xoruj hākərdənə, xānənə Bālfəruš-rə šəbxun bazənən. mardəmān-e Bālfəruš in harf bašnussənə.²⁹ əttə čū baitə, əttə čəmāq baitə, əttə təfəng baitə. hamə rāh dāštə ke vəšun beənd,³⁰ vəšunnə bakušənd³¹.
11. mardəm əttə šū əttə ruz rāh dāštə, badinə ke vəšun niamunə. əttə ruz-e digər xabər biārdənə ke Bābi biamunə dar Sabzə-midān³² dar kāləmsarā manzəl hākərdənə. še xar-e pālunn-ə baitənə sangar hākərdənə, on-e darim darənə. mardəm hamə burdənə on-jə badinə či anne Bābi dar³nə; ān kāləmsarā-ye darim hantə mašt ənə.
12. əttə rikā əttə dassə gaznə bačio, dingu³ vəšune xar-e dom-e bən. vəšune xar bənā hākərdə be joftə bazuən. vəšunnə bad biamuə. Mollā Hoseyn əttə xār-e asb savār baiə, əttə šəmšir-rə bərhənə hākərdə, še dass³³ haitə, bənā hākərdə Bārforuši-rə bakuštən. in-var bakuštə, burdə on-var bakuštə, biamu³ in-var. mardəm badinə və xub košənə, hamə fərār hākərdənə. har-či biə, haf^f-haš^t nafər-rə bakuštə, digər həčči nautə.
13. mardəm badinə ke və nakuštə, mardəm dəlir bāinə. kam-kam šinə vəšune [385] pali iamunə. Bābihā badinə ke vəšun xub dəlir bāinə, bautənə ke “əsā vəšun bakuštən mazə dārnə.” in mardəm-e sar-rə ke aql danibiə! əttə ruz əttə-xale mardəm burdənə vəšune pali. vəšun badinə ke xub ja:m binə, bautənə, “əsā bakuštən mazə dārnə.”

²⁶Both forms are valid pronunciations for the puzzling orthography <na-v’e-ve>.

²⁷<da-vv’e>.

²⁸Represented as <na-yya-h> (=nāyyə), a parallel pronunciation.

²⁹<ba-š-no-v-sse-na-h> (=bašnussənə); cf *asnussənə* in Paragraph 4.

³⁰<be-ya-n-d> (=beyand); the final *d* is superfluous.

³¹For Mazandarani *bakušən*.

³²For the truly Mazandarani *midun*.

³³Appears as <da-sa>; thus could read also as *še dassə* ‘its handle’.

14. “yā Allāh” bautəṇə, šamšir bərhəṇə hākərdəṇə, dakətəṇə vəšune darim; bəṇā hākərdəṇə³⁴ bakuštəṇ. vəšun badinə ke xub košənnəṇə, bəṇā hākərdəṇə fəṛār hākərdəṇ. hamə dar-burdəṇə.
15. xalq-e Bārforuš be-tang biamunə. əttə estešhād doross hākərdəṇə, hamə-ye mōllāyān-e Bārforuš mohr hākərdəṇə burdəṇə Te:run, Šāh-e pali ba^cštəṇə.
16. Šāh ān kāqəz baitə baxunəssə, əttə kāqəz banvištə Sardār-e Lārjun^c pali, ke “əy Sardār! tā me kāqəz te pali barəse, to venə ke nasl-e Bābi-rə bairi, vəšunnə az Bālforuš birun hākəni.” əttə kāqəz banvištə Šāzdə Mehdiqoli Mirzā-ye vəsse, ke “əy Šāzdə! tā me kāqəz be to barəse, to venə Bābi hamə-rə bakuši. vəšun hamə-rə az Bārforuš birun hākə!”
17. Abbāsqolixān-e Sardār haštad nafər nükər az Lārjun baitə. biamunə dar Bārforuš. Bābi Sardār-e jā qəṛār hədə^o ke da:vā hākəṇənd [386].
18. Bābi badinə ke vəšun^c nükər əttə-xale hassə [o] vəšun^{c35} nükər əttə tikko hassəṇə, vəšun xalvət hākərdə az Bālforuš birun burdəṇə, dar Šeyx Tabarsi manzəl hākərdəṇə. Sardār badiə ke vəšun burdəṇə Šeyx Tabarsi, və ham še nükər-rə baitə vəšune sar^c aqab burdə.
19. dar Šeyx Tabarsi Bābihā āstunə-e darim manzəl hākərdəṇə. Sardār bā še nükər birun manzəl hākərdəṇə. əttə-xale-tum on-jə bamunəssəṇə. Sardār badiə ke be in šivə vəšun [rə] natunnə bakuše, əttə ādam barəssiə vəšune pali. bautə, “agər šəmā xāṇəni in-jə bamunin, mən šəmārə košəmmə.”
20. vəšun mohlət baxəssəṇə. hamin ke šū baiə, nesfe-šū Bābihā Sardār-e bičār-rə šəbxun bazunə, vəne ādəmun-rə əttə-xale bakuštəṇə. Sardār fəṛār hākərdə. Bābihā še burdəṇə. Sardār-e ādəmun še bā-hamdigər-rə bakuštəṇə. haminke ān šū ruz baiə sardār-e ādəmun badinə či amšū tā səvāi vəšun še bā-hamdigər-rə koštəṇə.
21. Sardār ādəm barəssiə dar Sāri Mehdiqoli Mirzā-ye pali, ke “Šāzdə jān! har çe nükər dārni bāir³⁶ beru ke əmā in Bābihā-rə bakušim; [387] ke agər vəšunnə daf^o nakənim, vəšun hamə-ye Māzəndərūni-rə košənnəṇə.”
22. Šāzdə har çe nükər dəštə hamə-rə ja:m hākərdə baitə burdə dar Šeyx Tabarsi. Sardār burdə Lārjun əttə-xale nükər ja:m hākərdə, ay du-dafə biamu^o dar Šeyx Tabarsi. badiə ke Šāzdə ham əttə-xale nükər ja:m hākərd^o biamuə dar Šeyx Tabarsi.
23. čand ruz on-jə bamunəssəṇə. bā ham mašvərət hākərdəṇə, ke çe kār venə hākərdəṇ. “Bābi ame nükər əttə-xale-rə bakuštəṇə. Šāzdə jān, əttə bəṇā ba^c!” Šāzdə bautə, “əy Sardār jān, sabr hākəni! xədə sāberun-rə dust dārṇə. əttə-anne sabr hākəni ke vəšune xərāki hamə tum bavv(u)e. vəšun

³⁴Dorn added [ba] here, presumably after the Persian paradigm. In Mazandarani, however, the verb *bəṇā hākərdəṇ* ‘to begin’ does not normally take the postposition *be*, maybe because it is followed as a rule by an infinitive, which itself begins with a *b-* (when the verb lacks a preverb). Cf. the next sentence and Paragraphs 12, 24, and 27.

³⁵For genuine Mazandarani *še* ‘(their) own’; see Borjian, “Personal and Reflexive Pronouns in Mazandarani,” *Orientalia* 2 (2004): 7–13.

³⁶<b-a-ye-r>.

- še amān enənə;³⁷ ānvaqt vəšun hamə-rə girmi košəmmi.” Sardār bautə, “Šāzdə jān! bad nauti, sabr kəmmi.”
24. vəšun panj-šəš mäh sabr hākərdənə, tā vəšune xərāki təmām baiə. digər həčci nadāštənə baxərdənd. anne vəšunnə vəšnā hākərdə biə ke vəšun on-jə-e dār-e gəlām hamə-rə baxərdənə. badinə ke dār-e gəlām hamə tum baiə, bənā hākərdənə be gel baxərdən. əttə də-sə ruz gel baxərdənə. badinə ke gel vəšunrə aziyət kənnə—əttə də-sə-tā xār-xār^c asb dāštənə—in asbun-rə bakuštənə, əttə čan ruz asb-e gušt baxərdənə; tā vəšune asb təmām baiə. vənə [388] puss-ə baxərdənə, tā asb^c puss ham təmām baiə. digər həčci nadāštənə ke baxərdən.
 25. har čə fekr hākərdənə, fekr-ešan³⁸ be jā-yⁱ narəsiə. āxər bautənə ke “əttə šū vəšunnə šəbxun zammī. vəšun az tars-e əmā fərār kənnənə, har on-čə biə³⁹ əmā še girmi iārmi xārmi.” hamin-ke šū baiə, əttə-xale šū burdə, onhā ke bāx^ʔtənə, vəšun hamə še manzəl-e jā birun biamunə, yābāš-yābāš burdənə vəšune darim. badinə ke vəšun bāx^ʔt niannənə,⁴⁰ vəšun əttə-xale xəšāl bainə. bautənə, “əsā har kār venə hākənim, še kəmmi”.
 26. dar in xiāl dai-binə ke vəšun hamə xū-e jā bidār bainə, “yā Allāh” bautənə, dakətənə Bābi-e darim, vəšun əttə-xal-rə bakuštənə. vəšun az vəšnāi qovvat nadāštənə ke fərār hākənd. onhā vəšunrə baitənə habs hākərdənə, o əttə-xale xəšāl bainə ke “əmə alān Bābi-rə baitəmi”. xabər nadāštənə ke əttə-xale ham on-e darim darənə.
 27. əttə čan ruz sabr hākərdənə. vəšun az vəšnāi Hāji Mamdali-rə baitənə birun biamunə. še xəd-bə-xəd biamunə vəšune pali. Šāzdə-e ādəmun vəšunrə baitənə hamə-rə bakuštənə. əttə čan-tā-rə ba^cštənə ke biārənd Bālfuruš mardəm təmāšā bakənd. vaqt-i ke vəšun hamə-rə baitənə anne xəšāl [389] binə, əttə-xale bənā hākərdənə be təmək bazuən. ān šū tā səvāi nāx^ʔtənə. hamin təmək bazunə, pəspəsi bazunə.
 28. on fardā Hāji Mamdali bā vənə moridun hamə-rə baitənə biamunə Bālfuruš. Mardəm dassə-dassə iamunə vəšunrə təmāšā kərdənə. də-sə ruz vəšunrə dar Bālfuruš dāštənə ke mardəm o zənān hamə beənd⁴¹ təmāšā bak^ʔnənd. hamə ke təmāšā bakərdənə, əsā vəšunnə iārdənə mahallə-mahallə gaštənə. əttə əttə ke āšnā dāštənə vəšunrə xarinə vardənə.
 29. tā nübət be Hāji Mamdali barəsiə. əttə bautə, ke “vərə bakušin! — ke in hamə asās-rə və bāes baiə; ke anne xun-e nāhaq hākərdənə.” əttə bautə ke “vərə nakušin! ke və jəvun-e xob hassə; he:f ə ādəm vərə bakuše.”

³⁷The script form, <e-y-na-na-h>, corresponds to *inənə*, another acceptable pronunciation.

³⁸Persianism for Mazandarani *vəšime fekr*.

³⁹*biə* ‘it was’ is used for the expected *daiə* ‘it existed, there was’.

⁴⁰The word is problematic. It clearly spells <ne-ya-nna-na-h>, which, if we neglect the gemmination of *n*, renders *n-ia-nənə*, a parallel form of *n-e-nənə* ‘they do not come’. But this is out of the context of the sentence. Alternatively, the word could be a typo for *ninə* ‘they are not,’ but the expected auxiliary verb is *-ənə* or *hassənə* ‘they are’.

⁴¹<be-ya-n-d> *beyənd*; again, the final **d** is added under Persian influence.

- Šāzdə bautə ke “mən venə vərə zendə bavərəm Te:run Šāh-e pali, Šāh bavine ke və čantəri ādəm hassə.” əttə bautə, “bavər!”. əttə bautə, “navər!”
30. əttə mollā daiə vəne num-rə Mollā Ja’farqoli ta’ziə-xun⁴² gətənə. və bā čantā mollā burdənə Saydələmə-e pali; bautənə, “āqā jān! yā venə Hāji Mamdali davv(u)e yā əmā davv(u)im. agər və davv(u)e, əmā še xod-rə zennə-zennə košəmmi. agər venə əmā davv(u)im, vərə venə bakušim.” āqā bautə ke “mən šəmārə moraxxas [390] hākərdəmə. burin vərə bāirin bavərin bakušin!” ān mollāhā bautənə ke “Šāzdə əmārə nadenə ke vərə bakušim.”
31. Saydələmə əttə kəqəz banvištə ke “əy Šāzdə! tā me kəqəz be to barəse Hāji Mamdali-rə deni hazarāt āxundhā vərə bakušənd!” Šāzdə hamin ke kəqəz^c āqā-rə badiə, vərə hədā⁷ bavərdənə bakušən. biārdənə Saydələmə-e pali. Saydələmə bautə ke “əy vərə me pali biārdəni čə kənin? bavərin bakušin!”
32. təmām^c xalq^c Bārforuš ja:m bainə. vərə bavərdənə dar Sabzə midān bakušən. anne jamiyat baiə ke natunəssənə vərə bakušən. hamān hərəsəi vərə bakuštənə. vəne sar-rə bavərdənə rāstə bāzār bəgārdənninə.⁴³ mardəm hamə ebrat baitənə.
33. vəne na:š-rə basuzənninə, bavərdənə Dazəkk-e čāl daftuninə. Bābihā bautənə ke “və ba’d az sə ruz zennə bunə”.⁴⁴ vəšune harf hamə dəruq biə. in hekāyət təmām baiə.

TRANSLATION

1. I want to write the story of the Babis.⁴⁵ There was someone in Chaharshanbe-pish who was known as Saleh. He had a child whose name was Kal Mandali.⁴⁶ He left his country [in his] youth and traveled around everywhere.
2. After some years, he came back one day and stayed in his father’s residence. People frequently visited him. He was so good-natured that people approved of his habits. The people would always pay him visits.
3. When he noticed that he was being well received, he gradually [began] to deceive the people—that “I am a man of God, I am the regent to the lord of the age,⁴⁷ and to whatever I say must be paid heed. These mullahs who are there, everything they say is lie, [whereas] my words are all true.” They said, “Whatever you say is the truth.”
4. He said: “Garlic is forbidden by religion, do not eat it! Onion is prohibited; do not eat it! Water pipe is unlawful; do not smoke it!” One by one, those

⁴²Appears in the text as *ta’bia xun*, apparently a typographical error, as noted by Dorn.

⁴³Scribed as <ba-k-a-r-da-nne-y-na-h>.

⁴⁴The spelling <bo-v-na-h> naturally yields *bunə*, a variant of *vu-nə* ‘he becomes’; cf. *ba-vu-e* ‘that he becomes’.

⁴⁵Appear in the text as *Bābi*, singular noun in plural sense.

⁴⁶*Kal* is an abbreviation of *Karbalā’i* (lit. ‘of or related to Karbala’), one who has made pilgrimage to the Mesopotamian town of Karbala’.

⁴⁷*Sāhib-al-ḡamān*, i.e., the twelfth successor of the Prophet in Shi’i beliefs.

- who cherished him refrained from eating garlic and onion and from smoking the water pipe. Whatever he said, they would take his words.
5. One night he was taken as a guest to somewhere. That night the meal was chela pilaf. He had eaten two or three mouthfuls of the pilaf [when] he became aware that there were raisins in it; he stopped eating. Then they brought him water for ablution. He rinsed his hands and lips. People said: "Why did he do so? Was the pilaf unclean that he rinsed his hands and lips?"
 6. Later on, on two or three occasions [a similar episode] took place and he did the same thing. Little by little, [those] who were not his intimates said: "He must be a Babi; if he is not, [then] why does he do this?"
 7. The news came to the attention of Mullah Qasim, the imam. "Curse be upon him," he said, "he is an unclean infidel. One who is a Moslem does not do this. He must be exiled from this neighborhood. If he stays here he will commit many evil things and will lead the people astray."
 8. By Mullah Qasim's order he (Barfurushi) was expelled from Chaharshanbepish. He left and with him all his companions. A while later, he came back and stayed for about a month. He was driven out again. He went. A couple of months later he returned. He was refused to stay. [Finally] he lodged there in Piakolah.
 9. Mullah Husayn with two or three others accompanied him. For a while they stayed there. From there, too, they were dismissed. They left and no word came from them [any more].
 10. One day it became known that 500 Babis had rebelled and were about to launch an attack on Barfurush. [When] the people of Barfurush received the news, one took a stick, another a mace, one a rifle; they all kept [vigilance] on the road, so that [the moment] they (the Babis) arrive, they [could] destroy them.
 11. The people kept [watching] on the road [but] they saw nobody coming. Another day, news broke out that the Babis had come to Sabza-Maydan and had lodged in the caravanserai; [and] that they had made entrenchments with their donkeys' pack-saddles and were staying in them. Everybody went there and saw that a great many Babis were there, crammed in the caravanserai.
 12. A boy picked a bunch of nettles and placed it under the tail of their (the Babis') donkey. The animal started to kick. They were annoyed. Mullah Husayn mounted a fine horse, pulled out [his] sword with his hand and began killing the Barfurushis. He fought here, and then rode on and fought there, and then he came here again. When the people saw [how] well he was killing, they all ran away. All in all he killed seven or eight men, and no more he pursued (lit. 'said').
 13. When the people saw that he killed no [more], they dared in time to come back to them. When the Babis took notice of their trust, they said: "Now it would be good to kill them!" People have no common sense! One day

- some people went to visit them. When they (the Babis) saw that a good number [of Barfurushis] had assembled, they said [to themselves]: “Now it would be good to kill.”
14. “Praise to God,” they said, pulled out the swords, laid into them and began to slay. When they saw [how] well they (the Babis) were killing, they started to escape. All ran away.
 15. The people of Barfurush were wearied. They made a petition [which] all the clergy of Barfurush sealed, took to Tehran, and left with the Shah.
 16. The Shah took and read the letter. He [then] wrote a letter to the Sardar (Commander) of Larijan: “O Sardar, as soon as you receive my letter, you must get rid of the Babis [and] force them out of Barfurush.” [In] a[nother] letter to Prince Mahdiquli Mirza he wrote: “O prince, as soon as my letter reaches you, you must wipe out all the Babis. Drive them all out of the town!”⁴⁸
 17. Abbasquli Khan the chief took 800 men from Larijan. They came to Barfurush. The Babis made an appointment with the chief to fight.
 18. [When] the Babis discovered that their (the enemy’s) men were plenty and their [own] men were few, they left Barfurush covertly and lodged in [the mausoleum of] Shaikh Tabarsi. As soon as the Sardar become aware that they had left for Shaikh Tabarsi, he took his men to chase them.
 19. In Shaikh Tabarsi the Babis resided inside the shrine. The Sardar stayed outside with his retainers. For a while they were there. When the Sardar realized that he could not destroy them this way, he sent them a messenger, [who] said: “If it is your wish to stay here, I will kill you.”
 20. The Babis asked for more time. When the night came, at midnight, the Babis took the poor Sardar by surprise and killed many of his troops. The Sardar escaped. The Babis left [too]. In the confusion following the Babis’ sortie, the Sardar’s men [unintentionally] killed each other [in the dark]. As soon as the night turned to day, the Sardar’s men realized that they had been killing one another all night long.
 21. Sardar sent men off to Sari to Mahdiquli Mirza, [with the message]: “Dear prince, take all the soldiers you have and come [to our aid] to slay these Babis; if we do not repel them, they will kill all Mazandarani.”
 22. The prince gathered all the men he had and took them to Shaikh Tabarsi. Sardar, [on the other hand,] went to Larijan, recruited many men, and once again came to Shaikh Tabarsi. [There] he saw that the prince too had recruited many men and had come to Shaikh Tabarsi.
 23. They spent there a few days [and] put heads together as what to do [next]. “The Babis have killed many of our men. Dear prince, propose a plan!”⁴⁹ [requested the Sardar]. The prince said: “Be patient, dear Sardar! God

⁴⁸A facsimile of this letter is published in *The Babā’ī World* 5 (1936), 58; apud Zabihi-Moqaddam, “The Babi-State Conflict,” *Iranian Studies* 35 (2002): 89.

⁴⁹Lit. ‘lay out a building’.

- favors the patient. Wait a while till their store of provisions is all consumed. [Then] they will surrender themselves. As a result, we will capture and kill them all.” “That’s not a bad idea,” replied Sardar, “We shall wait.”
24. They waited for five or six months, until they (the Babis) ran out of supplies. No more they had to eat. So hungry they had become that they ate all the leaves of trees nearby. When the leaves were all consumed, they began eating dirt. Doing so for a couple of days, they realized that the mud harms them. They had two or three⁵⁰ very fine horses, who were slaughtered and [whose] flesh was consumed for a few days until it [too] was expended. They ate their skin until that too was finished. Nothing was left to eat.
 25. No matter what they thought of, it was of no avail. At last they said: “One night we will launch an ambush; they will run away out of fear. [Then] whatever is there we will fetch and eat.” As soon as the evening arrived [and] the night turned dark, [and] they (the Babis) went to bed, they all came out of their lodging and calmly went inside them. As they saw that they were not awake, they became very happy and said: “Now we will do whatever is to be done ourselves.”
 26. They (the Babis) were busy with this idea when they (the enemy) all woke up, praised God, and ran into the Babis, of whom they killed ample. They were so hungry that they had no strength to flee. They took them, locked them up, and were very happy that the Babis were now caught. They were not aware [though] that many were still inside [the shrine].
 27. They waited a few days. Out of hunger they (the Babis) took Hajji Muhammad-‘Ali and came out. They went to them of their own [free will]. The prince’s men took and massacred them. A few were kept [alive] to be taken to Barfurush [so that] the people could watch [them]. When they were all captured, they (the victors) were so happy [that] a group of them began drumming. They stayed awake all night long, constantly playing drums and trumpets.
 28. The next morning, they took Hajji Muhammad-‘Ali and his followers to Barfurush. The people came in groups to watch them. For two or three days they were kept in Barfurush for the men and women all to come and watch them. When everybody had watched, they were then taken around from quarter to quarter. A few [of the captives] were claimed and ransom money was paid to gain [their release].
 29. Until it was Hajji Muhammad-‘Ali’s turn. Someone [in the crowd] said: ‘Kill him, [for] he is the one who has made all the trouble—that so much blood has been shed.’ [Another] one said: “Don’t kill him; he is [a] fine young fellow, it is a pity to kill him.” The prince said: “I have

⁵⁰Thirty, according to other primary sources; see Zabih-Moqaddam, “The Babi-State Conflict,” *Iranian Studies* 35 (2002): 98.

- to take him alive to Tehran to the king; he will decide what sort of person he is.” “Take [him]!” said one; “Don’t!” said another.
30. There was a mullah who was known as Ja‘farquli the tragedian.⁵¹ He went to Sa‘id-al-‘ulama’ with several [other] mullahs. They said: “Dear sir, either Hajji Muhammad-‘Ali should stay [alive] or we should. If *he* stays, we will kill ourselves alive (sic!). If *we* are to exist, we must kill him.” The gentleman said: “I grant you authorization; go get him killed!” “The prince won’t leave him to us to do so,” replied the mullahs.
31. Sa‘id-al-‘ulama’ wrote a letter, [stating]: “O prince! The moment you receive my letter, you will hand over Hajji Muhammad-‘Ali to [these] gentlemen [in order that] the clergy slay him.” As soon as the prince saw the letter, he let them take the man. He was taken to Sa‘id-al-‘ulama’, who said: “You have brought him again to me, what for? Get him killed!”
32. All the people of Barfurush assembled. They led him to his death to Sabza-Maydan. There was such a [thick] crowd that they could not kill him. So they killed him standing (i.e. on the spot). His head was carried around the marketplace. People took warning.
33. His corpse was burnt [and] the remains were thrown into Dazzak-chal.⁵² The Babis maintained that he would become alive again after three days. Their words were all lie. This story is over.

GLOSSARY⁵³

Excluding most words which are the same as Persian, or practically so, namely those differing only in

- a* for Persian short vowels: *daruq* for Pers. *dorugh* ‘lie,’ *jəvum* for *javān* ‘young (man),’ *xabər* for *xabar* ‘news,’ etc.;
- u* for *ā*: *num* for *nām* ‘name,’ etc.;
- ū* for *ow*: *nūbət* for *nowbat* ‘turn,’ *nūkər* for *nowkar* ‘retainer, soldier’; or vowel lengthening due to omission of a consonant: *da:vā* for *dā’vā* ‘dispute,’ *ja(:)m* for *jam* ‘gathering,’ *na:sh* for *na’s* ‘corpse,’ *be:f* for *beyf* ‘pity’.

Abbreviations

pers.	person(al)
postp.	postposition
pron.	pronoun
sing.	singular
v.	verb
v. c.	causative verb

⁵¹*ta* ‘*zija-ke’ān*, an actor of passion-plays.

⁵²A pond near the town; appears as *Daḡḡəke(ə)cāl*, etc., in other sources.

⁵³Numbers in parentheses refer to the text paragraphs.

- ame** (pers. pron.) us, our (the oblique case of *amā*) (23)
amšū tonight (20)
anne so much (2, 11, 23, 24, 27, 29, 32)
antəri that way, as such (5, 6)
ašnu-, **ašnuss-** (v.) listen, hear—**b-ašnu-in** listen ye! (3), **ašnuss-ənə** they would listen to (4), **b-ašnuss-ənə** they listened to (10)
āstunə shrine (19)
ay again, then, thus (6, 8, 22, 31)
bael-, **baešt-** → *el-*, *ešt-*
bai-/bāi-, **bu-**, **bav-** (v.) become—**bai-ə** it became (12, 20, 24, 25, 29, 32, 33), **nai-ə** it became not (9), **bai-nə** they became (25, 26, 32), **bāi-nə** they became (4, 13), **bunə** he becomes (33), **bavv(u)-e** that it becomes, it would become (23); cf. *bi-*, *dar-*
bair-/bāir-, **bait-** (v.) → *gir-*
baut- → *gō-*
-bən (postpos.) under (12)
bərhanə naked (12, 14)
beru → *e-*, *amu-*
bi- (v.) be—**bi-ə** it was (2, 5, 8, 12, 24, 25, 33), **bi-nə** they were (13, 27), **nai-bi-nə** they had not been/become (6); cf. *hass-*, *bai-*, *dar-*
biamu- → *e-*
biār(d)- → *iār-*
bu- → *bai-*
bur-, **burd-**, **ši-** (v.) go—**bur-in** go ye! (30), **burd-ə** he went (1, 8, 12, 18, 22, 25), **burd-ənə** they went (2, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 25, 30), **dar-burd-ənə** they ran away (14), **ši-nə** they would go (2, 13)
čan(tā) several, a few (24, 27, 30)
čan-təri what kind (29)
če what (5, 6, 21–23, 25, 31)
čelā-plū/ō a rice-based stew (5)
či what (3, 11, 12, 20)
či- (v.) pick—**ba-či-ə** he picked (12)
čū wood (10)
dā- (v.) give—**bə-dā-ə** he gave (3), **hə-dā-ə** he gave (17, 31), **nə-dā-nə** they did not give (8)
daftuni-nə (v. c.?)⁵⁴ they threw (away) (33)
dakət- → *kət-*
dār tree (24)
dar-, **da(i)-**, **davu-** (v.) be in, exist—**dar-ə** it is in (5), **dar-ənə** they are in (3, 11, 26), **dai-ə** it was in (1, 8, 30), **dai-nə** they were in (9), **dai-bi-nə** they had been in (9, 26), **da-ni-bi-ə** it had not been in (13), **da-vu-e/da-vv-e** (subjunctive)

⁵⁴ < *daft-und-i-?* Cf. *dapatunninə* ‘they hurled’ (Jacques de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse* 5, [Paris, 1904], 260, line 4); *dāpartum’iyə* ‘he shot (an arrow) at’ (*Kanz al-asrār* 1:25, line 7).

- that he is, he would be (7, 30), **na-vv-e/na-vu-e** he would not be (6), **davu-im/davv-im** we would be (30); cf. *hass-*, *bi-*, *bai-*
- dār-**, **dāšt-** (v.) have, hold—**dār-ni** you have (21), **dār-nə** it has (13, 23), **dāšt-ə** it had/held (1, 11, 22, 10), **dāšt-ənə** they had (24, 28), **na-dāšt-ənə** they had not (24, 26)
- dar-burd-** → *bur-*
- darim** (postp.) inside (5, 11, 14, 19, 25, 26)
- dar-var-** → *var-*
- dass** hand (5)
- dassə** handle (12)
- dāšt-** → *dār-*
- də** two (5, 6, 8, 9, 24, 28); cf. *du/do* in *du-dafə* (q.v.)
- də-sə** (lit. ‘two-three’) a couple, a few (5, 6, 8, 9, 24)
- de-** (v.) give—**de-ni** you give (31), **na-de-nə** he gives not (30)
- di-** → *vin-*
- dingu-** → *ingu-*
- du-dafə** (lit. ‘twice’) again (22)
- e-**, **iamu-** (v.) come—**beru** come! (21), **e-nənə** they come (3, 23), **b-e-ənə** that they come (10, 28), **b-iamu-ə** it came (2, 8, 12, 22), **b-iamu-nə** they came (2, 11, 15, 17, 25, 27, 28), **iamu-nə** they would come (13, 28), **n-iamu-nə** they did/would not come (11)
- e** oblique marker; *iṣāfa* marker
- ə** → *-(r)ə*
- ə** → *hass-*
- el-**, **ešt-** (v.) place, let—**ba-ʿl** let! (23), **ba-ʿšt-ənə** they placed (15, 27); cf. *ingu-əmā* (pers. pron.) we (21, 25, 26, 30), **əmā-rə** (accusative) (30); cf. *ame əsā* now (13, 25, 28)
- əttə/ətte/əttə** one, few, little (1, 2, 4–6, 8–13, 15, 16, 18–20, 22–31)
- əttə-anne** a little, a bit (23)
- əttə-əttə** one by one, little by little (4, 6, 28)
- əttə-xal(e)** many, several, a lot (9, 13, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25–27)
- əttə-xale-tum** a whole lot (9, 19)
- gārdənni-** (v. c.; < *gārd-ənd-i-*) turn, rotate—**bə-gārdənni-nə** they turned around (32)
- gašt-** (v.) turn—**gašt-ənə** they went around (28)
- gəznə** nettles (12)
- gəlām** leaf (24)
- g^əzešt-** (v.) pass, elapse—**ba-g^əzešt-ə** it went by (2)
- (g)ir-**, **it-** (v.) get, grab—**bā-ir** take! (21), **bā-ir-in** take ye! (30), **bā-ir-i** that you (sing.) take (16), **gir-mi** we take (23, 25), **ba-it-ə** he took (10, 16–18, 22), **ha-it-ə** he grabbed (12), **ba-it-əmi** we took (26), **ba-it-ənə** they took (11, 26–28, 32)
- go-**, **gət-**, **baut-** (v.) say—**go-mmə** I say (3), **go-ni** you (sing.) say (3), **go-nənə** they say (3), **gət-ə** he would say, he was saying (4), **gət-ənə** they would say (1, 30), **naut-i** you did not say (23), **baut-ə** he said (4, 7, 19, 23, 29–31), **naut-ə** he did not say (12), **baut-ənə** they said (3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 25, 26, 30, 33)

- hačči** no matter what, everything (3); also *bar-čī* (3, etc.)
hait- → *ir-*
hā-kərd-, **hā-kən-** → *kən-*
hantə randomly (11)
hass- (v.) be—**hass-əmə** I am (3), **-ə** is (29), **hass-ə** is (4, 6, 7, 18, 29), **-ənə** they are (11), **hass-ənə** they are (18); cf. *bi-*, *dar-*
həčči nothing (12, 24)
hərəsəi (p. p. *hərəsə?* + *i*) standing (32)
-i (indefinite article) a, one (7)
iamu- → *e-*
iār-, **iārd-** (v.) bring—**iār-mi** we bring (25), **b-iār-ən_d** that they bring (27), **b-iārd-əni** you brought (31), **iārd-ənə** they would bring (28), **b-iārd-ənə** they brought (5, 10, 11, 31)
ingu- (v.) put—**d-ingu-^ə** he placed (12); cf. *el-*
in-jə here (8, 19)
ir-, **it-** → (*g*)*ir-*
-jā (postp.) from, to, with (1, 4, 7–9, 17, 25, 26)
jə place (8, 9, 11, 19, 23, 24); also *jā* (5, 6)
joftə kick, fling (12)
kači small, child (1)
kāləmsarā caravansarai (11)
kən-/kon-, **kərd-** (v.) do (mostly used as an auxiliary verb)—**hā-kən** do! (16), **hā-kon** do! (23), **kən-in** do ye! (31), **kən-nə** he does (6, 7, 24), **na-kən-nə** he does not (7), **kəm-mi** (< *kən-mi*) we do (23, 25), **kən-nənə** they do (25), **hā-kən-i** that you do (16), **hā-kən-im** that we do (25), **na-kən-im** that we do not (21), **ba-kən-ən_d** that they do (27, 28), **hā-kən-ən_d** that they do (17, 26), **hā-kərd-ən** to do (7, 14, 23), **hā-kərd-əmə** I did (30), **hā-kərd-ə** he did (1, 2, 5–8, 12, 18, 20, 22, 24), **kərd-ənə** they would do (28), **ba-kərd-ənə** they did (28), **hā-kərd-ənə** they did (8–12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 24–27, 29)
kəš-, **kəši-** (v.) pull, drag (auxiliary), smoke—**na-k^əš-in** do not smoke! (4), **ba-kəši-ə** he pulled (5, 8), **na-k^əši-nə** they did/would not smoke (4)
kət- (v.) fall—**da-kət-ə** it fell (6), **da-kət-ənə** they fell (14, 26)
kuš-/koš-, **kušt/košt-** (v.) kill—**na-kuš-in** kill not ye! (29), **koš-əmmə** I kill (19), **koš-ənə** he kills (12), **koš-əmmi** we kill (23, 30), **košənnənə**⁵⁵ they kill (14, 21), **ba-kuš-i** that you kill, (16), **ba-kuš-e** that he kills, (19, 29), **ba-kuš-im** that we kill, (21, 30), **ba-kuš-in** that you kill, (29–31), **ba-kuš-ən** that they kill, (31, 32), **ba-kuš-ən_d** that they kill, (10, 31), **ba-kušt-ən** to kill (12–14), **košt-ənə** they would kill, they were killing (20), **ba-kušt-ə**

⁵⁵The expected form is *koš-ənnənə*. The gemination of *n* may correspond to the causative stem *koš-ənd-* > *koš-ənn-*, contracted when the 3rd plural ending *-(ə)nənə* is suffixed: *košənn-* + *-nənə* > *košənnənə*; see H. Borjian, “Personal Endings in Eastern Mazandarani Verbs (in Persian),” *Dialectology/Gūyish-shināsi*, no. 3, (2005): 13–19. Cf. the causative form *košəndan* in Tajiki Persian.

- he killed (12), **na-kušt-ə** he did/would not kill (13), **ba-kušt-ənə** they killed (20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 32)
- mamej** raisins (5)
- mašt** full (11)
- me** (pers. pron.) me, my (the oblique form of *mən*) (3, 16, 31)
- mən** (pers. pron.) I (3, 19, 29, 30); cf. *me*
- mun-**, **munəss-** (v.) stay—**ba-mun-in** stay ye! (19), **ba-munəss-ənə** they stayed (19, 23)
- nəvis-**, **nəvišt-** (v.) write—**ba-nəvis-əm** that I write (1), **ba-n³višt-ə** he wrote (16, 31)
- o** and (appears also as **-ə**, 5)
- on** that (11, 12, 25, 26), otherwise *ān*
- on-jə** there (8, 9, 11, 19, 23, 24)
- pali** (postp.) toward, near, at (2, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 27, 29, 30, 31)
- pər/per** father (2)
- pəspəsi** trumpet (27)
- piš** (postp.) near, beside, before, to (2, 5)
- plā** pilaf (5)
- puss** skin (24)
- rāssə** truth, true (3)
- (r)ə** (postp.) accusative marker
- rəs-**, **rəsi-** (v.) arrive—**ba-rəs-e** that it arrives (16, 31), **ba-rəsi-ə** it arrived (7, 29), **na-rəsi-ə** it did not arrive (25)
- rəssi-** (v.) send—**ba-rəssi-ə** he sent (19, 21)
- rikā** boy (12)
- sə/se** three (28)
- səre** house (2)
- səvāi** tomorrow (20, 27)
- suzənni-** (v. c.; < *suz-ənd-i-*) **ba-suzənni-nə** they burned (33)
- šəbxun** raid (10, 20, 25)
- še** (reflexive and pers. pron.) self (all persons), his, their (1, 2, 5, 11, 12, 18–20, 23, 25, 27, 30)
- šəmə** you (pl.) (19), **šəmə-rə** (19, 30) (19)
- ši-** → *bur-*
- šivə** manner
- šū** night (5, 11, 20, 25)
- te** (pers. pron.) your (2nd pers. sing. pron.; oblique case of *to/tə*) (16)
- tək** lip (5)
- təmək** drum (27)
- tikkə** piece, little (18)
- to** (pers. pron.) you (sing.) (3, 16, 31); cf. *te*
- tum** complete (9, 19, 23, 24)
- tun-**, **tunəss-** (v.) be able—**na-tun-nə** he cannot (19), **na-tunəss-ənə** they could not (32)

- û** water (5)
-un plural ending: *âdemun* (20, 27), *asbun* (24), *moridun* (28)
vačə child (1)
var way, direction (12)
var-/vər-, vard-/vərd- (v.) carry—**ba-vər** take! (29), **na-vər** do not take! (29), **ba-vər-in** take ye! (30, 31), **ba-vər-əm** that I take (29), **dar-var-nə** he takes off the track (7), **vərd-ənə** they would take (28), **bá-vərd-ənə** they took (5, 31–33)
-vässe (postp.) for (16)
və/ve (pers. pron.) he, it (1–8, 12, 13, 18, 29, 30, 33), **və-rə** (4, 5, 7, 8, 29–32); cf. *vəne*
vəlāt district, province (1)
venə must (7, 16, 23, 25, 29, 30)
vəne (pers. pron.) his, him (oblique case of *və/ve*) (1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 20, 24, 28, 30, 32, 33)
vəšnā hungry (24)
vəšnāi hunger (26, 27)
vəšun (pers. pron.) they (9–11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25–27)
vəšune (pers. pron.) them, their (oblique form of *vəšun*) (12–14, 18, 19, 23–25, 27, 33)
vəšunnə (pers. pron.) < *vəšun* + *rə* (10, 12, 16, 21, 24, 25, 28), also **vəšun-rə** (9, 24, 26–28)
vin-, di- (v.) see—**ba-vin-e** that he sees (29), **ba-di-ə** he saw (3, 5, 18, 19, 22, 31), **ba-di-nə** they saw (11–14, 18, 20, 24, 25)
xā-, xāss- (v.) want—**xā-mmə** I want (1), **xā-nəni** you (pl.) want (19), **xā-nənə** they want (10), **ba-xāss-ənə** they wanted (20)
xāl(e) many
xār fine, good (12, 24)
xari- (v.) buy—**xari-nə** they would buy (28)
xəd-bə-xəd automatically (27)
xər-/xār-, xərd- (v.) eat—**na-xər-in** do not eat! (4), **xār-mi** we eat (25), **bá-xər-ən** that they eat (24), **ba-xər-ən_d** that they eat (24), **ba-xərd-ən** to eat (24), **ba-xərd-ə** he ate (5), **na-xərd-ə** he did not eat (5), **ba-xərd-ənə** they ate (24), **na-xərd-ənə** they did/would not eat (4)
xəš(h)āl happy (25–27)
xət- (v.) sleep—**bā-x^ət^ə** (past participle) slept (25), **bā-x^ət^ə-ənə** they slept (25), **nā-x^ət^ə-ənə** they did not sleep (27)
xob fine, good (29)
xod self (30)
xoš pleasant (2)
xū sleep (26)
xub well (12, 13)
xunəss- (v.) read—**ba-xunəss-ə** he read (16)
yābāš slow (25)
zan-/zən-, zu- (v.) hit—**zá-mmī** (< *zan-mmī*) we strike (25), **bá-zən-ən** that they hit (10), **ba-zu-ən** to hit/blow (12, 27), **ba-zu-nə** they hit (20, 27)
zennə alive (30, 33); but also *zendə* (29)