Bābā Āb Dād

The Phenomenology of Sainthood in the Culture of Dreams in Kurdistan

With an Emphasis on Sufis of Qāderie Brotherhood

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**General Notes:**

- All through this work, the word Kurdistan stands for the Kurdistan province in Iran.
- All the Persian/Arabic words are cited in original transcript whenever it is a key term but a transliteration is given too for the convenience of the European reader. For those terms that appear frequently inside the text, the transcription in Arabic letters is omitted.
- All of the quotes cited here from the Persian, Kurdish and Arabic books or personalities are translated by me unless otherwise stated right after the quote.
- All the verses from Quran are from *Sahih* International translation ([http://quran.com/](http://quran.com/)).
- Most of the hadiths in the interviews are compared with the texts gathered in SUNNAH.COM webpage as one of the online databases of Sunnis’ books of hadith ([https://sunnah.com/](https://sunnah.com/)), however there are many hadiths (e.g. those hadiths that are directly attributed to Allāh (*hadith-i qodsī*)) that are believed by the interviewees as a trustworthy saying, however, they have no any entry or reference in SUNNAH.COM or other hadith collections.
- All the Interviews in sound tracks (App. D) are done in 2013.
- All of the footages of the film “Moloud Khān” are captured in 2007.
- All the verses from ‘Rumi’ (see the glossary) are taken from their online publish via Ganjoor and are subjected to the partitioning used in this webpage (URL: [http://ganjoor.net/moulavi/](http://ganjoor.net/moulavi/)).
- The meaning of most of the words, terms or expressions that appear between apostrophes (‘ ’) are findable in the glossary. For the English words, yet, it is not necessary to stop reading to read the meaning of a word in the glossary. Most of
them might be correct in the way that the reader perceives them in his/her very first conduction of mind. However, the glossary helps to import new connotations into the text.

- As the apostrophes are mostly reserved for the words in glossary all other terms, as well as the words in a sentence that should be conceptually compared with each other, are marked with italic.

- There are some intentional capitalizations that should not be considered as orthographical failures. Most of the words that start with a capital letter are those who are charged with symbolic meanings. For example the word king simply stands for a king but the word King could stand also for the position of a father in a patriarchal family. There are few terms—namely ‘Real’, ‘The Symbolic’, ‘name of the Father’—which are exceptional as they have their own Lacanian terminological meaning (see Glossary).

- The word Prophet (with capital P) is reserved for Mohammad the prophet of Islam for a more readability of the text.

- To avoid the problematic diversity of the transliteration systems of Arabic, Persian and Kurdish, most of the words used in the interviews are transliterated in the way they are pronounced rather than written. Some of the Arabic words that are used frequently are also replaced with their simplified form of transcription as a matter of a better readability (for example instead of ṭariqat we read tariqat).

- There are no generalizations in the text. Then, when we read “Muslims”, it stands merely for the people of Shari'at in Sanandaj. The same is true for other words and sentences.

- All of the photos that are without reference are taken by this writer.
CONTENTS

GERMAN ABSTRACT ----------------------------------------------- 8
INTRODUCTION ---------------------------------------------------- 17
FORMER STUDIES ----------------------------------------------- 47
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS --------------------------------- 51
METHOD -------------------------------------------------------- 66
FIELD QUESTIONS ----------------------------------------------- 82

PART I
ĀB ROSHANĀ-I: WATER IS LIGHT!
   CHAPTER 1-1: BĀBĀ ----------------------------------------------- 93
   CHAPTER 1-2: ĀB --------------------------------------------------- 131

PART II
KON FA YAKOUN: WORD VS. FLESH
   CHAPTER 2-1: TALISMAN --------------------------------------------- 169
   CHAPTER 2-2: REBUS VS. TALISMAN ---------------------------------- 217

EPILOGUE -------------------------------------------------------- 238
APPENDIX A -------------------------------------------------------- 379

THE STORY OF ASCENSION
APPENDIX B -------------------------------------------------------- 306

FILM DESCRIPTIONS: MOLOUD KHĀN
APPENDIX C -------------------------------------------------------- 347

ADDENDUMS
APPENDIX D -------------------------------------------------------- 396

SOUND-TRACKS: MIRECS
GLOSSARY -------------------------------------------------------- 481

BIBLIOGRAPHY ----------------------------------------------------- 536

_Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo._

_Wenn ich die Oberen (die Götter des Himmels) nicht beugen kann, werde ich die Unterwelt bewegen._

Zitat aus der Aeneis des Dichters Vergil (VII, 312)


Tabelle 1. Die wiederknehrende narrative Struktur, die in einer Tabelle dieser Arbeit (Table 1) zusammengefasst worden ist. Diese Tabelle verweist auf die syntagmatischen und paradigmatischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Erzählungsplan der Traumerzählungen. Geschlossene kurze Syntagmen sind durch offene, unendliche Paradigmen kompensiert. Die Tabelle lässt jede Menge von Linien zeichnen, die frei zwischen den Reihen von links nach rechts schwenken und schließlich zu einer strukturell korrekten Erzählung, d.h. einem normativen Handlungsablauf, führt. Die gezackte Linie in der Tabelle soll nur eine mögliche Kombination der Felder symbolisieren. Der Leser kann eine andere Linie zeichnen und dadurch ein neue, strukturell richtige Traumerzählung aufbauen. Im Gegensatz dazu wird jede Bewegung von rechts nach links einen falschen Erzählungsplan ergeben.

Fast alle der Anthropologen, die an Träumen gearbeitet haben, haben versucht, den Bereich der psychologischen und philosophischen Einflüsse jenseits freudscher Psychoanalyse zu diversifizieren und ein alternatives Traumsystem zu erreichen. Der Autor dieser Zeilen nimmt jedoch eine Rückkehr zu Freuds Ansatz (Return to Freud) vor, um die Bereiche der Anwendung von Freuds Aussage, die den Traum als Rebus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntagma 1</th>
<th>Mohhamad came into my dream and I feel Consolation in his presence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 2</td>
<td>Pir... came into my home in my dream and I found Jewels in his footprints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 3</td>
<td>I saw Sheikh... and he gave me Advice to do this...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 4</td>
<td>I saw my father... in my dream and he gave me a lantern...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 5</td>
<td>I saw Khidr before my door and he spit into my mouth his saliva And how I can cure the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
porträtiert (Freud, 1900: 235) unter einer kleinen Gemeinschaft von Sufis in Sanandaj zu untersuchen. Aus diesem Grund ist die obige Tabelle auf der syntagmatischen und der paradigmatischen Achse abgebildet. Diese Achsen, wie in den theoretischen Diskussionen dieser Arbeit behandelt worden ist, sind nicht viel anders als die beiden Rhetorik-Achsen der Metapher und Metonymie und entsprechend, die Verdichtung und Verschiebung in Traumarbeit. Folgendes Schaubild mag dazu dienen, diese komplizierten Relationen besser zu verdeutlichen, es ist auch mit den Achsen in der Tabelle 1 vergleichbar:

**Schaubild 1. Metapher gegen Metonyme**


Traumkulturen. Traumerzählungen im kurdischen Kontext brauchen schriftliche Ausarbeitenungen, um völlig verstanden zu werden und dies bestimmt die Methodik dieser Arbeit. Durch diese Methodik werden die Verbindungen und Assoziationen zwischen gezeigt/versteckt, Bild/Deutung, Fleisch/Wort entdeckt und verstanden. Traum ist hier ein archaischer Raum, in dem jedes (sichtbare) „Bild‘ ein verstecktes „Wort‘ (Nachricht) von höherer Signifikanz vertritt. In einem solchem Raum macht es Sinn sowohl die Bilder als auch die Texte heranzuziehen. Das bedeutet aber faktisch, dass wir uns in einem supramodalen Raum befinden, in dem die gelehrte und konventionelle Relation zwischen Signifikat (s) und Signifikant (S) umgekehrt ist.

Schaubild 2. Der Algorithmus von einem Traum
[Das Original (nicht umgekehrte) in: de Saussure, Ferdinand: Cours de linguistique générale, Paris 1972, S. 158.]

INTRODUCTION

Dream Interpretation is free of charge...because I cannot sell out the holy verses of Quran!

Part of the interview with Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimi, the dream Interpreter
(App. B., Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 8: Min: 11:10”- 11:30”)

From Quran to Khābnāme (Dream Manual)

“Islamic dream interpreters tend the believer what the dream means based on their understanding of the Quran and the hadiths [sayings of Mohammad] which are perceived to contain all that humans need to know to live well. While certain Western dream interpretative traditions focus on facilitating the dreamer as the expert on his/her dreams.” (Edgar: 118) This is the way that Iain Ross Edgar, a social anthropologist at Durham University and a chief expert in the field of dreams and dreaming in Islam, ends his 8th chapter of his book “The Dream in Islam”. According to my field research in the city of Sanandaj in the Kurdistan province of Iran, what Iain R. Edgar has stated above is correct just when we are dealing with the people of ‘shari‘at’ or orthodox Muslims. For Sufis or the people of ‘tariqat’، the meaning of a dream (and accordingly the life and biography of the dreamer) is tied to the hagiographies and the life-stories of the arch-sheikhs: Oneirobiography.1

However, Iain R. Edgar is referring to something very essential. Something that an ethnographer may also experience among a Sufi community in Kurdistan but to see what is essential in his cited paragraph we have to put his sentence into a more general and wide-ranging format: “Islamic dream interpreters tend the believer what the dream means based on their understanding of the script.” The ‘script’ here could be either Quran or Hadith (saying of the Mohammad) or a hagiography or even

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a similar dream or biographical scene once seen by a sheikh or Sufi. Within each of these dream-punctuated scripts, the Prophet or arch-sheikhs may appear as primary orientation points for the “subjective apprehension of a biographical experience” or a dream (cf. Berger and Luckmann: 115). This writer has done more than two hundred deep interviews with dream experts, māmoustās (mullahs), sheikhs and khalifes in Sanandaj and one can rarely find a conversation in which the interviewee does not tie his/her interpretation to a verse of Quran or a known hadith or a biographical instance of a well-known figure in Sufism (See Appendixes B, C and D). Dream interpretation in Kurdistan is a kind of exegesis of a [given] ‘script’. For the majority of the people in Kurdistan, this ‘script’ is Quran and Hadith. Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimi is today the most well-known dream interpreter in Sanandaj who constructs his interpretations mainly on the basis of his Quranic knowledge:

- [A dream interpreter] should know the Quran very well! For example you may see someone who came into your dream saying: “I am not dead!” Quran says: “And never think of those who have been killed in the cause of Allāh as dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, receiving provision [This is the verse 3:69 of Quran].”(Read the full interview in Mirec136, App. D)

This direct relation between a dream narrative and a given ‘script’ (e.g. Quran) is very conscious to a dream interpreter like Seyed Zāhid. He, as a dream expert, applies his ‘ta'bīr’ or interpretation upon the dreams in the same but parallel way that a mullah applies his tafsīr or exegesis upon the verses of Quran. To him, interpretations of dreams are not much far from interpretation of Quran. This sameness is clear in what he said in the above-mentioned epigraph: “Dream Interpretation is free of charge...because I cannot sell out the holy verses of Quran!” (App. B., Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 8: Min: 11:10”- 11:30”) Back to the quoted
paragraph from Iain R. Edgar: “[W]hat the dream means is based on their understanding of the Quran and the hadiths.” We may replace “Quran and Hadith” for “script” now the question could be: “How and why the meaning of a dream is based on a written script?” This work tries to give an answer to just one of these two questions: “How [the meaning of] a newly-seen dream is based on [the same narratological structure and symbolism used in] an older given script?”

As a person who unwillingly was subjected to Quranic teachings of the people of shari‘at all through his school and university—because of the non-secular Islamic regime reigning on Iran since 1979—and also as a person who is willingly acquainted with Sufis’ literature and poetry since his childhood, this writer has tried to give a proper answer to the above-mentioned question. This answer is based on a relatively large set of dream-material gathered through an intensive and long-term field study on the culture of dreams of Sufis in Kurdistan. All my personal background bestowed me the eyes of a ‘Tiresias’ who has “foresuffered all enacted on this same divan”2.

Through these eyes one shares both an ‘emic’ and an ‘etic’ view—though skewed, inaccurate or incomplete in many aspects—but I am not the only person who shares this Tiresias-like perspective in ethnography:

“Over the past 2 decades the discipline of anthropology also became more receptive to the idea of ethnographic study in Western societies, and even to studies done in the researcher’s own society—“anthropology at home”.”

(Stewart, 2004: 80)

From the ‘emic’ perspective, a dream is—considered by its dreamer as—a personal script or revelation and accordingly, the method that should be used for the exegesis of this personal script is that very conformist method used for a collective script (e.g. Quran). Each answer given by the interviewees is associated to the script as its origin. In the comments written on these interviews, I have tried to outline these

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associations even when they are not directly mentioned by the interviewees. For example, in the following part chosen from the sound-track Mireco8o, Khalife Hoseyn is narrating a story that shares the same symbolism used in a verse of Quran. One can take a vague figure of the whole character of the interviews—and accordingly this culture of dream—on this short evidence:

- There was a pious ascetic monk and a minstrel. They went to ask an oracle about their after-death salvation! The monk goes inside the temple and promised to ask the destiny of the minstrel too. “You two will confront the same ordeal,” the oracle answered, “You shall not be forgiven until 40 camels pass through a needle eye!” He became completely frustrated of this answer: “Ah, 40 camels from a needle eye!” and came out of the temple where the minstrel was waiting in its threshold to hear of the Oracle’s answer, “What has he said?” he asked. “We shall not be forgiven until forty camels pass through a needle eye!” answered the monk; “Hurrah!” shouted the minstrel of happiness, “I am forgiven; as it is easy for Allāh to pass forty camels through a needle eye!” And he really was because he believed in God and trusted in God’s power in contrast to his ascetic peer.

As stated before and as a general rule, most of the anecdotes have their roots in an older narrative or script. For instance this story shares the same words and symbols used in the following verse of Quran:

“To those who reject our signs and treat them with arrogance, no opening will there be of the gates of heaven, nor will they enter the garden, until the camel can pass through the eye of the needle. Such is our reward for those in sin.” (Quran, 7:40)

The two keywords used in this simple story (namely needle-eye and camel) were formerly linked by the medium of a given script. There is rarely an interview that

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3 Comparable to this verse of Bible: “Again I tell you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God.” (Matthew, 19:24)
does not follow the same citational character. This citative nature established the material-handling method used in most of the comments and descriptions given on the interviews gathered inside the appendixes at the end of this dissertation. This method may not help the reader to share the dream from an ‘emic’ perspective but it helps him/her to estimate the fixed and rigid [quality of the] ‘episteme’ in which this perspective is rooted. However, it is firstly aimed here to share this perspective by the medium of genuine translation and analysis of the answers given by the interviewees to a set of field questions. This ethnographical work is aimed to answer *how* knowledgeable informants and interviewees instantly link their discourse with a verse of Quran or an oneirobiographical analogy (e.g. between a personal event and a known story about the life event of a prophet or an arch-Sheikh). Theoretical endeavors of this work may open the way to answer to a much harder question which asks: “Why? Why are the interpretation of their dreams based on their understanding of the Quran and—in the case of Sufis—the old hagiographical stories about the prophet as the first Sufi, arch-Sheikhs or forefathers of a living Sheikh?” However, providing an answer to this new question calls for a long historical study of the administrative system of the region and accordingly for a deep study of the historical constitution of ‘political subjectivity’. Studies of this kind will indicate the nature of deep interconnectivity that exists between the subjective experience and a socially constructed system of power and meaning. The interesting question of “Why?” remains open for further studies and this thesis remains contented to ask “how?” instead of answering “why?”

Most of the interviews are taken in the city of Sanandaj from 2006 and hereafter (there are just a few interviews that are taken from the villages around this city). These interviews are done in three different periods of my field study: 2007 (Moloud Khân), 2009 (deep interviews) and 2013 (sound tracks). Each of these dream-
documents is accompanied with a set of comments that are relevant to theoretical concerns of this thesis. Reviewing these materials will help the reader to understand how members of a small group of a Kurdish community do apprehend their dream-life as instances of these ‘emic’ perspectives are documented in films (App. B), sound tracks (App. D), and deep interviews (App. C). These materials might be useful also for the people of Sanandaj and many other Kurdish communities because one of the goals of every ethnographical work is to discover the social processes that may not be visible or salient to cultural participants themselves. For other readers, the descriptive materials that are gathered here are representing an alternative dream system that—like knowing of any other culture—will help them to widen their own ‘horizon of being’. These materials provide data for an ‘etic’ cross-cultural description and comparison between different cultures of dreams. To make this comparison possible in its fullness, it was not enough to transcribe every dream narrative or relate each of them to a script as its origin. To give evidence for the lack of ‘temporal delay’ and to let the reader to hear the voice of this system of signification that works like a huge, instant citation machine, most of the interviews are accompanied with their original sound track or video footages. These sound-tracks and videos are all retrievable through the links listed in appendixes. The text, however, is mostly referring to the translations, paraphrases and comments on these tracks. Moreover, the most significant dream in the whole Islamic world and culture is the ascension of Mohammad or Mi’rāj and accordingly, there are many footages and sound tracks that are directly related to this night journey of the Prophet in which it is supposed that he has ascended through the seven heavens up to the divine throne⁴.

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⁴ These footages and sound-tracks are: Moloud Khan #2; part1; Scene 2 and Moloud Khan #2; part1; Scene 9 and Moloud Khan #2; part2; Scene 3 (App. B), addendum #3 (App. C), Mireco20, Mireco21, Mireco22, Mireco25, Mireco26, Mireco32, Mireco33, Mireco35, Mireco59, Mireco60, Mireco136 (App. D). There are a set of comments and theoretical considerations written for each of these footages.
As this story is basically constructed around a dream, the story of *mi’rāj* becomes as well a central paradigm for Sufis understandings of dream [as a mystical journey]:

“The story of Mi’rāj (Muhammad’s ascent through the seven heavens to the divine throne) becomes a central paradigm for Sufi understandings of the mystical journey. Based on a very brief mention in the Qur’an, the Mi’rāj account was elaborated in the hadith and sira (biography of Muhammad) literature and collated with key passages on Muhammad’s reception of the divine word.” (Sells: 19)

For this reason the structural analysis of this story as a *reference-dream* is very crucial in respect to the analytical concerns of this thesis. This dream (*mi’rāj*) is about the fabulous night journey of the prophet of Islam in which he visited the heaven and hell with many miraculous side-events. The night of *mi’rāj* and Mohammad’s birthday are the two most important feasts of the people of Sanandaj and many sheikhs have published one of the videos taken from one of their *mi’rāj* feasts of their convent as an effective tool and propaganda for recruiting new disciples. The most important parts of the book of ascension (*mi’rājnāme* میراج نامه) that is usually recited and sung by panegyrists on this night is translated in appendix A. Every chapter of this *miārājnāme* is accompanied with a related illustration taken from an old script of this story written in 1436 in Heart of Afghanistan. Comparisons of this kind, not only shows the unchangeability of this narrative in the large course of history [as well as in a vast geography] but also the large amount of details that are related to this fabulous dream of the prophet of Islam. Notwithstanding the different versions that the story take to itself in the course of long history, the main episodes and soundtracks. There are also a set of films that are made by the Sufis themselves documenting their yearly feast of ascension (*shab-i mi’rāj*) in the form of a DVD to use it as a propaganda media of their convent, These films are also uploaded in my YouTube channel:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbi0B7X39Rg&feature=youtu.be
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNuKbUFsNts&feature=youtu.be
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w9Es1izRpsI&feature=youtu.be
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=68McFk3Rego&feature=youtu.be
are remained untouched and the symbolism of water plays a central role. The most important part of these stories is the part in which the consciousness of the dreamer (Mohammad) takes a drastic change and transcends to a higher dimension which is inexpressible and lies beyond the language. This part is depicted in all of narratives after drinking a cup of water, wine or something sweet. In many Islamic narratives on ascension including the one narrated by Shams Qoreyshī the author of the Kurdish miʿrājnāme, this transcendental experience happened after a sweet drop falls upon Mohammad’s tongue. As we will see, water [as well as saliva] is a central element and symbol in many of dreams gathered here.

On the theoretical level it will be argued that condensation in language and poetical instances is ontologically of the same row of the condensation (Verdichtung) argued by Sigmund Freud in his “interpretation on Dreams” (1900). At the end of this dissertation this open possibility would be proposed that the more a language is condensed, the more the borders of dream and reality of its speakers will become unclear. Equally, every language produces its own culture of dream. Inside the Kurdish tradition of dreams the borders of dream and reality are distinguishable but there are moments that this border becomes blurred or even lost. It is quite possible—if not usual—to see someone who wakes up from sleep and goes directly to the water basin, opens the water tab and narrates to the running water of his/her bad dream. Read for instance the following part of my interview with a middle-age woman:

- ...One week before the death of my mother, it was 18.11.1986 (8.8.1364 in Iranian solar calendar (SH)); the dreamer was just a 15 years old teenager), I saw in my dream that my mother passed away, I cried, moaned and screamed so much in my dream that I felt that three number of my teeth are fallen, I woke up and went to my mother’s bed “I saw you dying!” telling her
while I was still crying and thinking that three number of my teeth are missing. My mother took me in her arms: “Don’t worry! Don’t worry! Go and open the water tab!...” She opened the tab and ordered me to narrate the dream [for the running water]. I told the dream for water. “God turns himself this into goodness! (khodā khodesh kheyr kone خدا خوشت خیر کنه)...” (Sound-track Mirec174)

It is supposed that water will wash the badness of dream or perhaps return it back to the other side from which the dream has come. In fact, there are many dreams that the interviewed person could not share because it is believed that to share a decisive dream with others will change or harm its meaning and effects. Especially the bad dreams should not be told to anyone except for a sheikh, a traditional dream expert (khābgozār خواب گذار) and of course to the running water. The reverse is also true: a dream-like atmosphere of ambiguity is webbed around every discourse. Traditions of this kind opens the gates of reality into dream (See Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 9) and similarly paves the way for inventing counterfeit visions for attaining more power, legitimacy and status⁵ (see Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 6). In this dissertation, the main focus is on ‘collective pattern dreams’ as a social and collective activity instead of a set of psychological conductions of mind (see Mireco88, the dream of Pouriyā the son of Sheikh Ṣanʿān Salāmī). Such dreams should have a known, popular, clear and direct interpretation in order to be able to function as a perceivable political propaganda or message. A dream could be believed as a real occurrence or vāqiʿe (from vāqeʿiyat واقعیت = reality) or perceived as a valid, inevitable predestination of something that should occur in future. The use of the expression vāqiʿe rohānī واقعه روحانی for visions and ‘true dreams’ (or roʿyāyi sādiqe

⁵ In some special cases the dreams might be used in form of a personal political direct action (See Sanandaji: 235 and 530).
is very plausible; it literally means spiritual occurrence. Sheikh Hassan-i Ṣabbāh (شیخ حسن صباح) who was the leader of a special Ismāʿīlī community named Hashāshins حشاشین or assassins had put his foot far beyond. Instead of narrating a dream, he conveyed his fans and newcomers into a lucid collective dream. He staged this dream on the hand of drugs and some other accessories such as a garden full of prostitutes: A theatrical production of heaven! After they returned from their trip they were proficient, to be turned into radical jihadists as they were ready to die to go back to the heaven that was already staged to them inside an artificial dream. Even today dreaming is one of the most important mediums and an inspiring tool for Jihadists (R. Edgar, 2011). Examples of other kinds of interferences of dreams into reality and especially in political affairs are numerous. In a political context and discourse, a dream is usually narrated to legitimize a political decision, considering it as an order that came from the other side and hence was already decreed and should happen. One of the most illustrative political dreams in modern era is perhaps the dream of ṬAlāme Nāʿīnī in the time of constitutional revolution (inqilāb-i mashrouʿiyat انقلاب مشروطیت) in Iran. He narrates a dream in a direct benefit of despots or mostabedin مستبدين in which he saw the Prophet and he asked him about constitution and if there were any use in it, etc. and the prophet answered that constitution is like a negro maid (kanīz-i siyāh کنیز سیاه) with dirty hands, it is useless to wash it as it will never become white (Hoseinian: 197). The message of the dream is a clear ‘No!’ to constitution; because seeing the prophet in a dream is per definition a ‘true dream’ and valid, then the way for raising any objection is effectively foreclosed. Utilization of a dream inside a political context is a kind of Decalogue that opens the way to the ‘appeal of the stone’ fallacy. For many reasons that are partly discussed in this dissertation, the potential of dreams in inspiring political activities and charging
these activities with symbolic meanings is even more highlighted when we come across Kurdistan. In many of the contemporary explanations of the Dutch scholar, M. M. van Bruinessen, in his book “Agha, Scheich und Staat” on Politics and community in Kurdistan, one sees similar utilization and implementation of dreams when it goes on a sheikh-pupil relationship. In full pages, he explains how Sheikh Oṭmān (or Osmān) and Sheikh Seyda, the two most influential and magnate sheikhs of the region, direct their pupils by the use of dreams and convince them of the correctness of their way (tariqat طریقت) (See Bruinessen: 331-340).

Fig.1 Sheikh Oṭmān Sirāj-o-din Naqshbandī (1896-1997) from Tawllā (A valley in Urāmānāt, Kurdistan) was one of the most prominent Sheikhs in Kurdistan whose posters and pictures are very popular in the region e.g. mounted on the front mirror of many cars in Sanandaj. His Karāmat (miracle) was curing cancers of any kind (See Mirec125).

Sheikh Ubeyd-ol-Ilāh, the leader of the first modern Kurdish nationalist struggle and the founder of the first independent Kurdish state or Kurdistan in contemporary
times has also used dreams as a strong political weapon. He, like most of the sheikhs, was a Seyid سید or a descendant from Muhammad. He claimed himself also as a descent from Abdul-Qâdir Gilâni the Arch-sheikh of Qâderie or Qâdirieh brotherhood (Qâdirieh قادریه is his patronym). Sheikh Ubeyd-ol-lâh did not let himself to be constrained by narrating dreams but he put a kind of theophany in practice: He recruited someone to play the ghost of his father, that is to wear a white clad and to appear in front of the pilgrims of the tomb of his father to instruct them for Jihad (Sanandaji: 360-370). What is important in this kind of dream narratives is the diffusible border between waking and dreaming state of consciousness. This feature is emphasized in many books written on dream in the Orient (cf. Schimmel, 1998: 318-326). This diffusible border between wakefulness and dream is reviewed in this thesis by focusing on language. Language here is considered as the main register of ‘objective unconsciousness’ or ‘objective psyche’ as a collective realm of given symbols that we are supplemented with them at early ages and over which we add our own store of repressed or personal unconscious (cf. Edgar: 118, Jung, 1959, and also introduction of Lachman, 2010). This dissertation is largely concerned with Father as the personified representative of the political order: a giant automated machine which among its other effects, shifts wish into reward, fear into punishment, and dream into reality. The condensing effect of this political order is considerable and makes the narratological structure of dreams, myths, hagiographies, administrative letters and their related treating events ‘homologic’. For instance, what we read in one of the next documents (fig.3) is quite comparable to my interview with Mohammad Šâdiq the janitor of nazargâh-i Khidr (a shrine built on the place that Khidr has once appeared and seen) in Mirec100 (App. D).
An official document (dated 1333 AH lunar calendar (late Qajar)) concerning a charlatan (as called by the Iranian chief ambassador inside the letter) named Seyed Javad Zini who tried to sell a sword as an amulet for victory to one of the sides (notwithstanding which) of Iran-Ottoman war contributors. Seyed Javad Zini spread this idea among two enemies that Hojatol-Islam Sadr-i Isfahānī one of the prominent shi‘e clergies has seen Imam Hoseyn in his dream and Imam Hoseyn has allowed him to bring one of his swords out of his haram (shrine) and bestow it to Nouro-din Beyg Koumāndān (of the ottoman side who are interestingly Sunni) in benefit of Islam against pagans and heresy (Doc. Nr. GH 1333-K12-P20-19 & 19.1 Courtesy: Archive of Iranian Foreign Ministry).
In my survey inside the documents of ministry of foreign affairs (وزارت امور خارجه) there were also many official letters concerning the political effects of dreams. A document (dated 1324 AH lunar calendar (late Qajar)) in which an unknown Sheikh or clergy has written to Moshir-o-doule the prime minister of Mohammad Ali Shâh Qâjâr. The letter is an explanation of a repeating dream in which an Imam (the name of Imam is not mentioned) has appeared to him. According to the content of these dreams, it is this sainthood that has obligated him to write this to Moshir-o-doule, reminding the recourse of prime minister to this very sainthood when he was still nobody and this Imam has apparently helped him to become the prime minister of an Islamic state. Now the prime minister should give service to the dreamer in return of his position that is given to him. Interestingly the letter fulfilled its political, commercial ends and as it is to be read on the corner of the letter, it is ordered to send him 100 Tomans with consideration of a monthly salary (Doc. Nr. GH 1324-K6-P3-25 Courtesy: Archive of Iranian Foreign Ministry).
In comments written on Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 10 (App. B) (as well as in the last comment written on Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 10 (App. B)), one can read more examples about the ‘homologic’ structure of dreams and old narratives. The story of ascension as one of these old narratives that lends its plot in many different subtle ways to the dreams of the people of Sanandaj is taken under special focus in this thesis. ‘Bābā Āb Dād’ (Papa Gave Water) is the reduction formula used here for integrating a large body of dream narratives. My first encounter with the fairy-narratives of this kind was a dream narrated by a young woman from Kermānshāh (Capital of Kermānshāh province and the largest Kurdish speaking (southern dialect or khwārig خواریگ city in Iran) in 2006. This narrative is very illustrative as it, in many aspects, follows the suit of the story of Mohammad’s ascension (cf. App. A):

“My [special] dreams started from the time that I was twelve years old. I usually see very special figures and they guide me. I have seen Sa’dī (one of the major Persian poets and literary men of the medieval period) and some prophets. The one that I ascend with was the Jesus, peace be upon him عیسی عليه سلام: We were walking in a big park and I was wearing a black chador (an open cloak worn by many Iranian women) to hide and keep myself safe from the eyes of bad people. I do not remember when I took it off. After a while we entered an old namāzkhāne ([lit.] house of prayer; mosque). Inside the namāzkhāne there were a number of men wearing the same cloths as Jesus talking with each other. I was waiting until I realized that a glass—filled with a white liquid—is in front of me. Gradually Jesus turned into a spirit that was semi-silver and semi-transparent or golden, I cannot exactly say which color it was. I was very interested; I was not yet aware who he was. He [Jesus] returned very slowly back to his body. At first he was just in
the form of colored rays of light. He had a beautiful smile and told me a lot of
good things that I do not remember now. He drank the liquid of the glass and
flew away and I did the same and followed him. His left foot was bent toward
his stomach. I did the same and we two flew up to the sky. The ceiling of the
namāzkhāne was very high and had an opening. On our way, there was
another man who tried to act like Jesus. He was following Jesus from behind
like a shadow and was in the form of a longer spirit. I did not pay attention
to him. Gradually, Jesus ascended further to the [higher] skies but I remained
suspended in the sky. I could see namāzkhāne under my feet. The man who
was following Jesus was turned into a giant frightening dragon...”

Although this woman was not a Sufi or Dervish but the culture of dream among
Dervishes of Qāderieh replicates similar fascinations for ascension as a mystical
journey (for instance see Gilānī, Introduction of Ibn-i ‘Arabi’s Resāle Ghoujie: 23-
24). Notwithstanding the different degrees of ambition, every report on ascension
instructs its reader that every true follower of Mohammad should ascend. Shams-i
Tabrizi (a Sufi master who is credited as the spiritual instructor of ‘Rumi’) has also
put this:

"To be the follower of Mohammad means to follow his footprints in his
ascension...” (Shams-i Tabrizi: 654)

A stanch devoted Sufi (wāṣil؛ [lit.] connected) is the one who is supposed to be
able to make a freely Dante-like divine visit of hell, heaven and the average people in
their dreams (read the account of Hadj Seyed Khalil Kohl in Mirec126) without being
involved with them.

Finally, in the epilogue the relation between the condensation in words—used in
everyday speech—and the ‘dream-work’ is reviewed. Dream-work for Freud is a
distorting process of mind by which repressed and forbidden desires appear in
disguised forms in the dream and this make the manifest content of the dream greatly
different from its latent meaning. The same is true for the manifest intention and the
true intention of the words that we may use. Hence, all through this text, the popular
etymology is of the same rank and importance of classical etymology used in
historical linguistics and philology. In other words, the main analytical stress is put
here upon the mesh of associations and suggestions that respectively exists between
and inside the words, i.e. different meanings that hearing a single word might light
up inside a native mind. For instance, there is no etymological connectivity between
the two homographs *djav* جَو ( = atmosphere) and *djou* جو ( = barley); however this
visual similarity of these two words in the writing gives Khalife Mousā the needed
material for making a playful speech out of them (check Mirec 072; hear also the
sound-track Mireco95 for the interplay of a disciple of Sheikh Ṣan‘ān Salāmī with two
words of *sheikh* and *sheyt* (= insane)). This diamond-like dense mesh of associations
is not far from the highly citational nature of the answers given by a sheikh or a
khalife to the meaning of a dream. In this Islamic system of [dream] interpretation
(*ta’bir* تعبير) you are free to read a word as *this* or as *that* but you should be highly
watchful as each interpretation that you take will put its own auto-affective effect
(*ta’wil* تأويل) on your life and future! Every speech or dream of this kind is actually a
*figure of speech*. To this text, dream is a rhetoric issue: a space of ambiguity in which
an explicit or poetical comparison between two essentially unlike or even opposite
entities is possible. The real function of dream happens when a word or a ‘dream-
object’ respectively sounds or looks like another word or object. Then dream here,
just like poetry, is an omni-present open possibility for seeing *this* as *that.*
Accordingly unconsciousness could be something as objective as a dream manual: It
already resides in every space in which the symbols are more real than what they
symbolize! This is how a written script takes the role of ‘objective unconsciousness’. Argumentations of this kind construct the core area of the ‘etic’ analysis of this research. The relationship between poetry, politics and dream is another aspect of this dissertation that alternatively appears and disappears all along the text. Poetry is suggested here as isomorphs of dream culture. This analogical considerations are exemplified through a content analysis of a very special Qaside (ode) of Nāli نالی (1798-1855), (a well-known Kurdish poet who wrote in Sorānī سورانی dialect), in which he has brutally sketched his sexual affairs with the wife of the ruler of Kurdistan. His descriptions are in full sensual details but accompanied by this excuse that all that he has explained is what he had dreamt in a dream. (See the comments written on sound-track Mireco16 which is mostly devoted to this Kurdish figure and his poems). Of course Nāli’s intention was to mock the ruler and to figure him as a ‘cuckold’ but he was juristically pardoned because of the passive nature of a wet dream in a land where dream is a symbolic language by which God communicated to his servants living under-heaven. Hence, a dream as a whole could work as a ‘figure of speech’, that is, “it cannot be taken by what it says literally!” And this, in itself, is perhaps the shortest definition for dream as a symbol! To suggest an example and to give my reader a sensual instance of what is discussed here according to Kurdish (and Farsi), this small part from William Shakespeare’s drama Henry IV, Part I (c. 1597), Act V, scene 1, might be shown to be illustrative:

[...] The cuckoo then, on every tree,
Mocks married men; and thus sings he
Cuckoo!
Cuckoo, cuckoo!—O word of fear,
Unpleasing to a married ear! [....]

Here, Shakespeare has played with the pun of words and simile that exists between the two words, Cuckoo and Cuckold. Why the word Cuckoo is unpleasant to a married
ear? Perhaps because it—though innocently but obscenely—reveals a potential fear: Something shameful but possible! Here and in the scope of the ambiguity that this word implies, it is unimportant to consider if these two words are etymologically of the same origin or not. Notwithstanding their related or unrelated roots, they fetch each other up into the mind of a native ear. However, if we transplant the Cuckoo inside a Kurdish culture of dream, there would be no essential difference between hearing the word Cuckoo and seeing a Cuckoo in a dream. A dream is both phony and phonic: it is a visualized voice. Interpretation of a dream is to understand the message of a dream as a voice although it initially mediates us through a sign language and a set of visible ‘dream-objects’ that are as palpable as Flesh. For someone whose mind or brain is already hardwired with the associations between these two words and images, does it make any difference to hear of the word Cuckold, or to see a cuckoo in a dream? Freud in one of his passages in “Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious” concludes that there is not just external associations that relates a translator to a traitor but there is even an internal association and kinship that gives us the right to name him as such; they simply sound similar: Traduttore-Traditore⁶. According to Freud, the dream-work (Traumarbeit) and the joke-work (Witzarbeit) have at least one point in common and that is the part that they are hiding from us (GW: 546). The main difference is that the Joke-work selects its material from the words (= verbal material) where for the Dream-work it is more favorable to select them from the images (= visual material), however, it is really hard to put a strict line between these two. According to Freud’s theory of dreams, dream is a rebus (Freud, 1900: 235). Our dreams appear to us in the form of an

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⁶ “Ein guter Witz kommt aber zu stände, wenn die Kindererwartung Recht behält und mit der Ähnlichkeit der Worte wirklich gleichzeitig eine andere, wesentliche Ähnlichkeit des Sinnes angezeigt ist wie im Beispiel: Traduttore-Traditore ... Der „Übersetzer“ heißt nicht nur ähnlich wie der Verräter; er ist auch eine Art von Verräter, er führt gleichsam mit Recht seinen Namen.” (GW: 510)
insoluble blend of Word and Flesh. A ‘dream-object’ is charged with different meanings by the medium of ‘dream-work’ and is enabled to stir simultaneously different senses in our mind. This supramodal feature of the ‘dream-object’ bestows it an aura of ambiguity. In the same way, the task of a poet, for example the task of Shakespeare in composing the verses above, is to work on words to find the proper one. This Word, like a rebus, develops a link between a perception (for instance, hearing the word Cuckoo or seeing a cuckoo) and a conception mostly of a tabooed nature (e.g. cuckoldry as a fetish). Actually we are talking about the peculiar relation between a physical association, sensuality and the phonic sense of seeing or hearing a word (=Flesh) and the intended meaning at work behind it (Word). This Word is the proper name that will solve the puzzle and it is our task to find it. The task of unconsciousness, on the other hand, was the encryption of this proper name into a ‘dream-object’ as a secret:

“Can there be unconscious proper names, names that are at work in the whole psychic organization, the whole topical structure? Can such a name exist? ... [A] kind of absolutely secret first name which functions all the time without our knowing it. (All of a sudden, when a certain appeal is made either by some voice, some tongue, some gesture, or some kind of scene, I respond to it because it touches my secret desire—that is my proper name.)”

(Derrida, Roundtable on Translation, 1985: 106)

In fact, a secret desire as the message of a dream could be ciphered or translated in many different complex ways inside ‘dream-objects’. In other words there are many different ways of producing a rebus and every culture has a different kind of puzzles. In hiding of a ‘purloined letter’ one may choose to swing more toward the visual implications of the letters to yield into a set of picture-puzzles or toward their phonic implications to suggest a word-puzzle. Perhaps every rebus-culture, as well as every culture of dream, act and weigh differently in selecting between these two poles of possibilities. Flesh and Word are two terms used all through this thesis. The term Flesh is used here to allude to a set of different but interrelated issues: Sensory
images mostly of a visual sort (e.g. a dream object) comparable to the `phenomenon’; a pure materialistic object (e.g. a piece of flesh) and finally the ‘first intention’ of a Word where the term Word is used here to allude to the ‘second intention’ already written inside the Flesh (e.g. the true meaning and interpretation of a dream-object seen in a dream) or an idea as an original intention upon which the Flesh is created analogous to a shadow created by an object.7 Inside an archaic space that is defined here as dream (see the definition on the next page) the Word is the true creator of every manifested ‘thing’ that is named here with Flesh. Without Flesh the Word remains unintelligible and without Word the Flesh does not ever exist. In two chapters entitled “Father” and “Water” it is tried to sketch those geographical and historical instances that bestow Kurdistan the aura of an archaic space.

### A Dream-Land Named Kurdistan

*And you would think them awake, while they were asleep...*_

—Quran 18:18

Kurdistan means the land of Kurds. The borders of this land is hard to define and to make matters worse, there is even no homogeneous ethnical and political territory. The absence of a unified Kurdish state as well as the special features of the Kurdistan’s history and geography as a marginal buffer zone between rival regional and colonial powers, not only has militated the situation against the formation of a Kurdish state but also has turned the [Kurdish] reality into a powerful mixture of myths, reality and ambition (see O’shea, introduction, 2004). Kurdistan is also the administrative name of a mountainous province in the west of Iran. Sanandaj (historic name *sena* or *sine*) is the capital of this province and also the field of this

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7 It was much easier to use the Freud’s concepts of ‘primary and secondary processes’ however, by using this Word vs. Flesh dichotomy, it is attempted here to hint to the materialistic aspect of unconsciousness. To read more about the “Materialist Theory of Subjectivity” or the materialistic aspect of the words read the following title: Johnson, Barbara: *Persons and Things*; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
study. Kurdistan (in the widest sense of this word) lays on the west of the Iranian plateau. The main key-point of the Kurdish culture (as far as I understood from the people of Sanandaj) is the factual and symbolic role that water, father and light play in their dream and day-life. Whenever we deal with water, father or light in a traditional Kurdish context, we are in fact dealing with a kind of over-symbolized space. For a trans-cultural study of a space of this kind we need foremost a general definition of what we may call dream in the rest of this text.

**Definition:** Dream is a scene or space in which the symbols are more significant than what they symbolize. In other words, dream is a space in which the signifier takes the features of the signified: A space in which the Word takes Flesh

Whenever the symbols appear to us in the form of corporeal objects or persons we are living a dream. In such an absolute symbolic space, every ‘thing’ is effectively a ‘dream-object’: an illusion that apart from its symbolic meaning is ‘no-thing’ or heech. In some cultures, including the culture of dream of the Dervishes in Sanandaj, the sensible ‘phenomenons’ as well as the ‘dream-objects’, are just there to communicate a Word, that is a veiled, secreted, occulted message to us. Every ‘phenomenon’ is essentially a Word translated into an *image*, a facial *form* that serves a hidden content. Accordingly, the face of a person is of no importance, provided it embodies or illustrates the taboo Word (see Abraham and Torok: 22). The same definition could be applicable whenever the symbolic meaning of a word, sentence or a full narrative becomes more *real* and significant than its conventional meaning in everyday speech. This could be referred as *imago’s image, cliché*

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8 This definition is inspired by what Lévi-Strauss wrote in 1950 in his introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss: “Like language the social is an autonomous reality (the same one, moreover); symbols are more real than what they symbolize, the signifier precedes and determines the signified. We will encounter this problem again in connection with mana” (Lévi-Strauss, 1950: 37)
(Castricano: 66) or ‘double-signification’. It occurs when a single signifier takes the whole charge of another (and almost opposite) signifier. As a direct effect of this double-signification, an aura of ambiguity encompasses a word, persuading it to perpetually swing between its symbolic and real meaning that is between a figment of a collective mind and a single veridical experience.

Map.1 Kurdistan of Iran. The nomadic life of many Kurds makes the borders of Kurdistan even more complex. Kurds from the old times were thought of a hard-to-reach ethnic group surrounded by mountains: Map of Jibal (Mountains of Eastern/Northern Mesopotamia), Highlighting Summer and winter resorts of the Kurds", the Kurdish lands, in the middle of the map. From the book Surat al-Ard (977 AC), written by Ibn Hawqal. Licensed under creative commons (CC).

According to my field studies in the region of Kurdistan there is always a plausible message in water, father or light if seen in a dream. They are rarely tossed over by the dream interpreter as a simple day residue⁹. Even in the day time, water is a general, materialized symbol for every wish and hence has the aura of a dream-object. Whenever in Kurdistan (as well as in many other regions in Iran) a glass of water

⁹ ‘Day residue’ stands for the instigation of a dream as a result of the events of the day preceding the dream for example everyday struggle for water in an arid land like Iran have definitely its own effect on the night dreams (See Mireci36).
spills on the floor, there would be no blame for it and everyone would automatically say: ‘water is [= means] light’ (āw roushanā-īya), without any further declaration, as if its meaning is too obvious to need any explanation. In fact the meaning is clear: God will soon give or show his ‘Baraka’. Spill of water is a sign showing that God has an eye upon us and will flourish our life in the near future. There is no need for interpretation, the message is clear enough. This precedence of symbolic over veracity has for its own some practical and realistic consequences in some extents, for instance no child in Iran is ever blamed for breaking a glass of water. In a similar way, when someone says that “I saw water in my dream,” he/she would receive exactly the same answer of everyday experience: ‘water is light’!

**Bābā Āb Dād: Writing the ‘Law’ onto the Mind of ‘Subjects’**

You who are asleep in the ship of your body
You have seen the water, now look in the water of water
There is a kind of water which runs the water
There is a spirit who calls the spirit.  
(Rumi, Mathnavi, vol. III, Elephant in the dark room)

The main body of descriptive material used in this study is a set of dream narratives. Then this work is full of analysis of narratives instead of dreams. A structural analysis of all the interviews has gone in parallel with the content analysis of each dream narrative. In these dream materials, the main focus has been put on the automated process by which a dream as a visual phenomenon changes into a deciphered known script through the instant replacement of each dream-object with its associated Word.
I have interviewed a lot of people in Kurdistan about their dreams; most of which, (especially in my intensive interviews) belong to the Qāderieh brotherhood. The analysis of these narratives reflects a highly stereotypical structure following the suit of a set of clichés that one hears in other genres of narrativity e.g. the old hagiographies. It is through a structural look into these interview materials as well as hagiographies that one may also recognize the reductive, but theoretically beneficial formula of ‘Papa Gave Water’. This formula or plot is, in actual fact, working behind the large amount of dream narratives that may look different and versatile at their first glance. This resourceful and versatile look has bestowed the Islamic culture the esteem of having “the largest night dream culture in the world today“ (Edgar: 1).

One of the most popular clichés in these dream narratives is the appearance of an ‘Wise Old Man’ covered in light that gives water or something valuable or symbolic to the dreamer. I have recorded some of the dreams that follow this cliché inside a set of films retrievable from the online audio-visual resources of this thesis (For instance see the footages and the comments written on the ‘daughter of Karjou’: Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene3; Min: 03:45”- 06:00”). These films and documents will help the reader to come to terms with the normative settings in which a dream is usually narrated. Water in these narratives is there to signify the dreamer’s desire. Water is an amalgamation and index of every kind of ḥājat حاجت or niyāz نیاز; a word that literally means need or demand (Mireco047 and Mireco081). Need should not be confused with desire. Seeing water in a dream means or substantiates that a personal need or ḥājat will be soon be satisfied but the water itself is a real substance that is reserved to symbolize the most collective but uncanny desires of the people of Kurdistan. By using the short sentence “Papa Gave Water” or Bābā Āb Dād, I have tried to formulate the basic structure of their collective-pattern, stereotypical dream narrativities. Bābā Āb Dād is also the first sentence that today a child learns in
modern schools in Iran (see fig.4). The acceptance of language's rules, generally coincide with the introduction of the child to the ‘name of the Father’:

“It is in the name of the father that we must recognize the basis of the symbolic function which, since the dawn of historical time, has identified his person with the figure of the law. This conception allows us to clearly distinguish in the analysis of a case, the unconscious effects of this function from the narcissistic relations, or even real relations, that the subject has with the image and actions of the person who embodies this function.”
(Écrits: 278)

The child encounters with this figure as the real embodiment of law which was there before its birth (see also Parker: 82ff.). Here and in the scope of this study, this introduction to the ‘name of the Father’ is very brutal and ‘obscene’: The first words that one should learn to read and write are water and father. Smoothing the name of father with ‘Papa’ seems to be necessary as it brings a sense of consent and fidelity for castration. This word also subjects its speaker to a sort of pre-Oedipal phase and immature position in which the true function of the Father is still unclear. In this phase of psychic life the individual is not fully entrapped in the ‘symbolic order’. The acceptance of writing rules is aligned with the child's preparation for the full encagement into the ‘symbolic order’.

**Conclusion**

*People are asleep; when they die, they awake!*

_Mohammad_

The most important dream in Islamic culture is the ascension of Mohammad in the night of mi`rāj ([Lit.] ladder, ascension). This theophanic experience of Mohammad follows the deep grammar of ‘Papa Gave Water’: Mohammad ascended into heaven and he drank water in God’s vicinity. The most important parts of the Kurdish version of this myth-like story are translated in App. A. Shams-i Qosheyri (1915-1987) the author of the Kurdish version of this story is a recent figure. These Kurdish verses are accompanied with the old illustrations of the Timurid book of ascension to
put a visible stress on the stringency of this story which in effect has all the perfections of a myth.

Fig. 4 Papa Gave Water: The first sentence that one has to learn in Iranian schools, scanned from the 1st grade school book of Persian (1373 SH, p. 16). The son is sitting very respectful (dozanou دوزانو) and attentive to father who is sitting very lax (chahārzanou چهارزانو). This sentence (Bābā Āb Dād) is of special interest in this work for many reasons but initially because it reveals the “deep grammar” (see Malkina-Pykh and Pykh: 36) and structure of most of dreams that are collected in the descriptive body and interviews. Lévi-Strauss applied the Saussurian distinction between parole and langue upon those structures that build our social lives. In this way he had already postulated what Lacan has formulated in his most celebrated phrase which says: “Unconscious is structured like a language” (Écrits: 868). We may do many different things (including dreaming) just as unwittingly [of their strict rules] as we may talk without being aware of its grammatical rules (cf. Malkina-Pykh and Pykh: 36). Here, after reducing each dream narrative to its most elementary components—considering them as individual speech acts comparable to a Saussurian parole—it is tried to come to a deeper understanding of their langue that is the underlying structural patterns (grammar) of dreams as narratives. Sometimes instead of a narrative we confront a very physical and spatial manifestation of this sentence in which the dreamer (like the boy in the picture above) is politely and attentively looking to the Water that is in the hands of Father (see addendum #4).

How this compare might be relevant to the scope of this work? Actually it reflects one psychoanalytical issue that Lacan has once called it “the insistence of the signifying
chain.” This is how that Lacan opens his celebrated seminar on “the Purloined Letter”:

“My research has led me to the realization that repetition automatism (Wiederholungszwang) has its basis in what I have called the insistence of the signifying chain. I have isolated this notion as a correlate of the existence (that is, of the eccentric place) in which we must necessarily locate the subject of the unconscious, if we are to take Freud’s discovery seriously.”

(Écrits: 11)

This is the Lacanian version of “repetition compulsion” which opens a door for the anthropologist to enter. He (the anthropologist) questions: “Why this narrative persists and repeats itself (in the long course of history)?” This is the same question that the psychoanalyst may ask: “Why this person repeats the same thing again and again?” Then, by remapping this question on the level of a historical read of this narrative we will be introduced to a traumatic signifier or symptom that should be investigated carefully. Moreover, this narrative (miʿrāj), works as a big attractor that has influenced every dream dreamt in most of the Islamic communities inside a wide range of both history and geography. It induces its form on every dream and also works as a scale to measure spirituality of its dreamer. On the one side, it puts its shadow on irregular dreams—the dreams that are structurally far from this form of divinity and divine journey—on the other hand, it has a veridical depth and measure: it is supposed by many Muslims that miʿrāj was a bodily journey. There are still disputations between the believers upon the true nature of this nightly journey (Colby, 2008: 117ff.). Ambiguities of this kind, boosts, and at the same time reveals an existing urge for making a spirit out of body seen in the rituals like ‘khawāriq’ and many other rites and rituals (watch Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 8). The duality between body and soul is very essential in Islamic teachings but for a good follower of Mohammad and especially among Sufis, this duality should be bridged by turning and transforming the body into spirit, or better to say, by
returning (taʿwil تاویل) the Flesh back into its original Word. The same duality exists
between the two realms of dream and reality. The main challenge of a Sufi is to
transcend every kind of duality. The main theoretical challenge of this thesis is to
describe the rhetorical characteristics of the speech under which the two worlds of
the dream and reality may blend. As far as I understand, in a Sufi’s conviction of life,
everything that appears in the real world is meanwhile a direct sign sent from Allāh.
It is through these signs that Allāh communicates with human-beings dwelling
under-heaven. The wisdom needed for reading these signs is taʿwil تاویل. Taʿwil
means ‘to return’ a sign to its original meaning and intention: awal اوال (= the first).
On the other hand, taʿbir تعبیر means to pass from one meaning to another level of
meaning: every [dream-] object is a signifier for something else or an omen
predestinating something that might happen in future. These signs and signifiers
could appear both in dream or wakefulness. The borders of night dream and real life
are distinguishable but eroded in many extents as both are to a large extent built
upon the same system of signification e.g. Islamic dream manuals and interpretations
are greatly based on an object-oriented reallocation of Quranic verses or āyāt (plural
of āyeh or āyat ایه; a word that literally means sign but is usually used as a general
name for every verse of Quran). In fact, the main body of all comparisons made
between rebus and ‘talismans’ in Part II is focused on this very special and enigmatic
relationship that exists between a ‘thing’ and the name given to it. Every language
develops its own archaic features because the ideological logic of perception is
nominative: you project on the ‘thing’ what you name it as a ‘thing’ and gradually you
can perceive it just through what you name it! However, the most radical replacement
of Flesh for Word is a mystical perspective that a Sufi likes to achieve as the ultimate
goal of his/her way (tariq طريق): Seeing the world as a lucid dream. An enlightened
Sufi (wāsīl or واصل) or a perfect human (insān-i kāmil or انسان کامل) is the one who is
conversant with Allāh as creator through the words of creation: signs or āyāt. The materialistic world reveals its innate secrets just to an enlightened Sufi. These secrets are supposed to be hidden from the eyes of an average man because the world—when regarded as a mere matter—is just an encrypted message: a ‘talisman’ or ‘spell’. A Sufi, however, peels off the fleshy skin under which the original Word is guised. This is the art of ta‘wil. All the discussions that are done here about the Word and Flesh dichotomy and its relationship with dreams is also not far from the frames of the modern Freudian psychology in which a dream is considered as a kind of rebus (Freud, 1900: 235): A Flesh that should be replaced with a Word. However, in a Freudian constellation, dream is a ‘subjective’ phenomena seen in a night dream configured by ‘day residues’ but in a Sufi’s constellation of mind, a truthful night dream as well as a daily ‘vision’ is a kind of revelation or ‘residue of prophecy’ power which he/she tries to foster and retain through numerous ascetic practices and disciplines.

10 In most of Sufis brotherhoods, to master this art (ta‘wil)—for being able to watch the world “as it is” (kamā hiya- following an ascetic life and discipline is necessary. Detachment from the desires of Flesh makes the flesh of things thin and invisible and their words would become hearable instead.
11 This look into a dream as a form of rebus is in many aspects comparable to Lévi-Strauss’s look into a myth as a form of bricolage (1966: 17).
Classification of dreams in terms of social classes will be discussed later but for now it would be helpful to make a short review on the way that many Orient scholars have tried to classify the huge amount of dream material in Muslim societies and narratives to increase its manageability. A full review of their works would take a dozen of pages; it suffices to remind one of the most fundamental classifications done by Gustave Edmund von Grunebaum, the Austrian historian and Arabist. Other forms of classification are more or less the same\textsuperscript{12}. Grunebaum classifies the dreams in classical Islam in the following five distinct categories:

1- The dreamer receives personal messages.

2- The dream constitutes a private prophecy.

3- The dream elucidates theological doctrine.

4- The dream bears on politics.

5- The dream is used as a tool of political prophecy. (Grunebaum: 11-21)

This kind of classification reveals for example that there might be a utilitarian purpose behind a dream; nevertheless, it is not possible to determine if there is a utilitarian purpose behind a dream in terms of its narrative structure. This categorical approach also says nothing about the structural form of dream narratives and the social class of the dreamer. For example in the famous dream of Mohammad Rezā Shāh Pahlavi the last king of Iran (See Pahlavi: 50-51), it is impossible to decide just

\textsuperscript{12} For example Barbara Langner has used more or less the same kind of categorization for the dreams of Egyptians in Mamlukian resources. In her classification of Oriental dreams they are divided as: 1- \textit{persönliche Botschaften} 2-\textit{persönliche Weissagungen} 3-\textit{eine politische Botschaft} 4-\textit{politische Weissagungen} 5-\textit{Geheimnisvolle Stimmen}. (Langner: 66-89)
on the basis of its narrative, to which above-mentioned categories it belongs. He was believed that his illness was cured by the medium of a dream in which he drank a bowl of water from the hands of Ali, the first Imam of Shiites (ibid). Dreams of this kind fit pretty well in all five categories drawn by Grunebaum. In Grunebaum’s classifications of dreams, dreams are categorized in terms of their function and not in terms of their structural form of narrativity. By doing so, one will recognize a large set of narratives who are structurally the same and are mostly cast in a similar synopsis in which an ‘Wise Old Man’ appears and ‘gives’ something to the one who has dreamt him, something like a bowl of water, a ring, an advice or else that symbolizes the fulfillment of his/her wish in future. This ‘Wise Old Man’ is terminologically named here with Bābā and accordingly what he gives in the dream is named with water or Āb. Then ‘Bābā Āb Dād’ or ‘Papa Gave Water’ may appear to be the most popular formula of dreams of sainthood in many regions of Iran including Kurdistan.

The Development of Anthropological Studies of Dreaming

The question of why some societies value dreams while others do not is not a new question in anthropology. Sir Raymond Firth was one of the first anthropologists that presents a short account on “The meaning of dreams in Tikopia” to give a partial answer to this question (Firth, 1934). His report of the explanations given by the natives of Tikopia Island on their dreams is partly about the way that the natives take them as good or bad omens and consequently the way that they justify their meanings if they turn out different in actuality from what expected and many other issues of this kind. Since the time of Raymond Firth till today, every new theoretical paradigm has pushed the anthropological study of dreams into a new direction and perspective and in every new direction the ethnographer is faced with a set of new unexplored dimensions of social life. However, Anthropology of dreams shows a little sign of life
until 1980’s but afterward we witness a vital interest in the ethnographic study of
dreaming, dreams, and dream interpretation. Some of the significant publications
Descola, 1989; Lattas, 1993; Bilu, 2000; Lohmann, 2000, 2003; Bulkeley, 2001;
Galinier, et al., 2010 …

Things changed after 1980s. Barbara Tedlock addresses to this new epistemological
turn within anthropology (Tedlock, 1991): anthropologists start to view the dream as
an alternate but equally valid sort of reality that in its extreme, holds itself as reality
in the eyes of many ethnic groups. This framework was lacked in most of the above-
mentioned works. However, there are works written on dreams that are indexing to
this lack (Herdt, 1987). Moreover, the dominant framework in all these years was
postmodernism (cf. Stewart, 2004: 89; Clifford and Marcus, 1986). The accelerating
amount of works and publications reflects a revolution in anthropological study of
dream inside the post-modern era that seeks to go beyond the previously dominant
paradigms of psychology and foremost beyond the Freudian universality. This trend
is exemplified by the collection of articles in Tedlock, 1987 and 1991. For instance, in
one of these instructive articles entitled “Selfhood and discourse in Sambia” we read:

“Had Freud known of such alternative dream systems he might have
constructed his own dream theory differently ... Freud never understood that
the symbolic basis of dream-work lay in culture, transformed into language
for dream reports (Ricoeur, 1970: 500-501). And in this context we can add
that shared dreams, like myths and religious practices, are expressed
through shared symbolic structures, not merely private fantasies ... I do not
think that anthropological studies of complex mental phenomena like dreams

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33 Iain Edgar in his academic home page, entitled “Anthropology and the dream”, has also provided a
very informative bibliographic references, research topics and links to several other pages. URL:
http://community.dur.ac.uk/i.r.edgar/ last accessed on 27.3.2016. Check also:
http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-
can do without a concept of the unconscious or without models of mind. Such
type-building is still at an early stage.” (Herdt: 81)

One can talk of a post-structural wave of challenges on the literary theory and literary
science (literaturewissenschaft) in the last decade. There are a set of studies that try
to read the dream as a text or a work of literature (read for instance Wagner-
Egelhaaf, 1997). Post-structuralism as a Zeitgeist has bestowed its aura or garb of
words to many studies of dreams even those who have not directly constructed their
theory upon a post-structural basis. Almost all anthropologists who have worked on
dreams have sought to diversify the range of psychological and philosophical
influences beyond Freudian psychoanalysis in order to reach an alternative dream
system. This writer, however, takes a ‘return to Freud’ approach to examine the
domains of appliance of Freud’s statement which portrays the dream as a Rebus
(Freud, 1900: 235) among a small community of Sufis in Sanandaj. For doing so we
should be first provided with a proper “theory of signifier” as it is all about the
relation between a [conceptual] image and its sound-image.
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A Word as ‘Real’ as Flesh

In the wish of his/her dream, I am turned into a dream
And in rival of his/her name I [commemorate the] name [of] the moon’s face
_Rumi

In our ‘Return to Freud’ and in order to construct a very basic and proper theoretical basis for the structuralistic methods used here in analysis of the dream narratives we have to shortly revisit some influences that Ferdinand de Saussure and Roman Jakobson had on Lévi-Strauss as the key figure of structural anthropology. Following this line of influences will lead us directly onto the inflictive point of both linguistic and anthropology in which these two disciplines argue—with mostly similar words and terms—about the peculiar relationship that exists between sign and meaning or symbol and symbolized or Signifier and signified etc. By following Lacan in his ‘return to Freud’ project, I will focus on a conceptual space—like mathematics—in which the conventional relationship (i.e. Saussurean model) between Signifier and signified is juxtaposed. This juxtaposition will offer us new insights into the dream as a visual-lingual problem. Lacan starts with a doxical algorithm that puts every signifier over its signified. This doxical algorithm is the following:

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It reads: “signifier over signified; the word “over” is corresponding to the bar separating the two levels.” (Écrits: 497) on next few pages he offers a specific example of this algorithm as an erroneous solution for winning over the banality of the bar:

“...we can see here how it [the Algorithm] lends itself to the kind of direction indicated above as erroneous”(Écrits: 499). Through this erroneous inversion we can pace forward into such a conceptual space in which the relationship between signs and meanings is reversed. What we see in the erroneous algorithm above is perhaps the most pure definition of dream as an archaic space in which the sound-image\textsuperscript{14} or word (TREE) dominates the flesh (image of the tree). Building our arguments upon this radical rarely-used inversion is crucial to our scope because the methods and [spiritual] therapies used by a traditional Kurd dream interpreter or a Sheikh (for example his methods in producing meaning and solutions out of a dream narrative) are based on this archaic system of signification in which the words as symbols are more real than their materialistic manifestations. In the following pages we will see how this system works and how the replacement of the dichotomic pair of signifier/signified for word/flesh will invite us to a better reading of this system that

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\textsuperscript{14} Even in the sound-image lives a sort of archaism (or a sort of Derridean ‘trace’) that holds the phenomenon (image) after the voice as its primordial origin.
like mathematics resists meaning (cf. Écrits: 497). Mathematical transformations and displacements are to explain the peculiar relationship that is hardly understandable inside any language other than mathematics. It is only in mathematics or in poetry that the symbols or words stop working for a use or purpose and take autonomy. Poetry is of special focus here. It is through the examination of this inverted algorithm that we may finally explain why Sufism is to this extent permeated with poetry. The set of keywords used by Sufis in their literature are always ‘gifted’ with opposite meanings and in this way they are meaning-proof. They are as ideal and accordingly unknown as the signs used in mathematic: “X”. The same is true when they handle with dreams: The Word that represents the dream-object has primacy over its materialistic manifestation. A dream inside the cultural context of Sanandaj is like a myth: It is a plot or fate that has a full dominance over its mortal players.

Through this idealized system of signification we may dig a way into the methods used by a traditional dream expert in Kurdistan. As we will see in the descriptive part of this work, the methods used by a traditional dream expert or a Sheikh in compare to the modern psychology are ontologically as different as the shamanistic curing schemes in compare to the methods used in contemporary physical medicine. For instance the essential difference between the methods of a shaman and a psychotherapist is superbly described by Lévi-Strauss in his seminal book Structural Anthropology especially in chapter 10 under The Effectiveness of Symbols (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 186-204). It is helpful to review the essential comparisons made by Lévi-Strauss between a shaman and a psychoanalyst (1963: 198-202) for example this passage:

“*Myth and action form a pair always associated with the duality of patient and healer. In the schizophrenic cure the healer performs the actions and the patient produces his myth; in the shamanistic cure the healer supplies the myth and the patient performs the actions.*” (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 201)
By reading this chapter of *structural Anthropology* (1963: 186-204) we are actually revisiting the theoretical junctions of anthropology and psychoanalysis and their original and overlapping domains of interest. Revisiting the earliest theoretical junctions of anthropology and psychoanalysis will provide us with the needed potential for re-interpreting the key anthropological questions when they are supposed to be applied upon the dream system of a group of Kurdish Sufi community in Sanandaj. These questions which are based on the guidelines suggested by the Canadian anthropologist and dream-specialist Roger Ivar Lohmann (2007) are listed following the theoretical part but before doing that we have to examine the similarities that exist between a dream (or a rebus) and a myth (or a bricollage).

**A Myth is a Collective Pattern Dream**

*The style is the man himself!* —Lacan, the opening words of his overtour on *Écrits (Écrits: 9)*

“The methods developed for the structural analysis of myths may be applied also to the analysis of dreams” (Kuper: 645). The science of dreams and mythology are shared in narratology as both a myth and a dream are language-mediated narratives whenever shared or remembered. Whilst “a dream recounted ends as a narrative, a myth begins as one” (Kracke, 1987: 36). However, if dreams are treated as modes of narrativities for solving problems which are collective in nature, they are already used as myths. “It has been remarked that dreams are, in a sense, individual myths, and myths collective dreams” (Kuper: 645). Those dreams that follow a collective pattern of narrativity could be handled like a myth. In the same way, one can read most of the passages written by Lévi-Strauss in describing the parallel methods of a shaman and a psychoanalyst by replacing the word *myth* for *dream* and the *shaman* for a *traditional dream expert* (or *mo’aber مخبر*), and *cure* for *interpretation*, and *patient*
for the *dreamer* etc. By doing such, it is as if I am reading a text that I wished to write as my dissertation on culture of dreams in Kurdistan, for instance:

> “Given this [physiological] hypothesis or any other of the same type, the shamanistic cure and the psychoanalytic cure would become strictly parallel. It would be a matter, either way, of stimulating an organic transformation which would consist essentially in a structural reorganization, by including the patient intensively to live out a myth—either received or created by him—whose structure would be at the unconscious level, analogous to the structures whose genesis is sought on the organic level.... Poetical metaphor provides a familiar example of this inductive process...metaphor can change the world. The comparison with psychoanalysis has allowed us to shed light on some aspects of shamanistic curing. Conversely, it is not improbable that the study of shamanism may one day serve to elucidate obscure points of Freudian theory...We saw that the only difference between the two methods...concerns the origin of the myth, which in the one case is recovered as an individual possession and in the other case is received from collective tradition.” (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 201-202)

Lévi-Strauss’s line of argumentation resembles the Lacanian notions on symbolic (metaphoric and metonymic) associations seeking a more universal theory than the theory of Freud to help the ethnologists to come across a better understanding of the native mind (or *primitive people* in his exact words). For this reason, Lévi-Strauss focused from the very beginning of his *Structural Anthropology* on unconscious. To him, anthropology is a discipline that principally “draws its originality from the unconscious nature of collective phenomena” (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 18). Moreover, for Lévi-Strauss, anthropology—in contrast to history and perhaps many other disciplines that organize their data in relation to conscious expressions of social life—proceeds by examining its unconscious foundations (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 18). What he writes about tautological and *ad hoc* nature of answers that an ethnologist usually receives from the field is one of the most important points in respect to the scope of this thesis:

> “We know that among most primitive peoples it is very difficult to obtain a moral justification or a rational explanation for any custom or institution [and accordingly for a dream as a symbol]. When he is questioned, the native merely answers that things have always been this way, that such was the command of gods or the teaching of the ancestors. Even when interpretations
are offered, they always have the character of rationalization or secondary elaborations. There is rarely any doubt that the unconscious reasons for practicing a custom or sharing a belief are remote from the reasons given to justify them.” (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 18)

This quote nearly describes the automated and equally unconscious nature of the ‘instant answer’ that I used to get from my informants. This immediate link between seeing a ‘dream-object’ and its meaning or interpretation is best exemplified in cases by which someone says that “I saw water in my dream!” The dreamer would receive the instant ready-made answer of ‘water is [= means] light’ (āw roushanā-īya ں َرُوْشَنٰی), without any further declaration. With surprising rapidity—which shows that one is dealing with an intrinsic property of certain modes of thinking or action—“collective thought assimilates what would seem the most dearing [and daring] concepts” (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1963: 19). Water and Father are two most important concepts of this kind in Kurdistan. This kind of elaboration of a collective thought is lingual in nature as described by Lévi-Strauss in the following pages of his book (ibid: 19ff.). The similarities that exists among notions of Lévi-Strauss [and those of Freud and Lacan] on unconsciousness, do not end here: “The idea of an unconscious aspect of the human mind, which is nevertheless constantly manifested in material form, is the common basis and the most fundamental starting point for Freud and Lévi-Strauss” (Kodre: 55). This fundamental starting point will be scrutinized in the next passages in our reading of one of the most complex and dense paragraphs of Écrits.

The Agency of Language

*I’m not sure I can tell the truth ... I can only tell what I know!*

(Clifford, 1986: 8)

One of the things that I know is that Sufism is a highly logocentric discipline and one needs a deeply linguistic theory to be able to describe its culture of dreams and narratology. Jacques Lacan, inspired by Roman Jakobson’s essay, *Two Aspects of*
Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances in Fundamentals of Language in a section entitled The Metaphoric and Metonymic Poles (Jakobson, 1956), argues that the unconscious has the same structure as that of language, and that condensation and displacement are equivalent to the poetic functions of metaphor and metonymy. In the rest of this chapter, I will examine this argumentation by making a reference to a paragraph in Écrits. In Écrits of Jacque Lacan there is a paragraph that is somewhat hard to perceive:

“We must thus take up Freud's work again starting with the Traumdeutung [The Interpretation of Dreams] to remind ourselves that a dream has the structure of a sentence or, rather, to keep to the letter of the work, of a rebus–that is, of a form of writing, of which children's dreams are supposed to represent the primordial ideography, and which reproduces, in adults' dreams, the simultaneously phonetic and symbolic use of signifying elements found in the hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt and in the characters still used in China. But even this is no more than the deciphering of the instrument. What is important is the version of the text, and that, Freud tells us, is given in the telling of the dream— that is, in its rhetoric. Ellipsis and pleonasm, hyperbaton or syllepsis, regression, repetition, apposition—these are the syntactical displacements; metaphor, catachresis, antonomasia, allegory, metonymy, and synecdoche—these are the semantic condensations; Freud teaches us to read in them the intentions—whether ostentatious or demonstrative, dissimulating or persuasive, retaliatory or seductive— with which the subject modulates his oneiric discourse.” (Écrits: 267-268)

To understand the meaning of this paragraph we should examine the ontological sameness of a dream and a ‘rebus’ or a picture-puzzle. Language is the most determinant factor in how we remember our dreams and how we read or solve our dreams which are mostly manifested to us in the form of a picture-puzzle, and finally, how we narrate all these to the others. Freud in his very first account on the rebus-like characteristic of dreams in his seminal book Traumdeutung [The Interpretation of Dreams] has referred to this language-based difference between cultures of dreams:

“Dr. Alfred Robitsek calls my attention to the fact that Oriental dream books, of which ours are pitiful plagiarisms, undertake the interpretation of dream elements, mostly according to the assonance and similarity of the words. Since these relationships must be lost by translation into our language, the
incomprehensibility of the substitutions in our popular “dream books” may have its origin in this fact. Information as to the extraordinary significance of puns and punning in ancient Oriental systems of culture may be found in the writings of Hugo Winckler. The nicest example of a dream interpretation which has come down to us from antiquity is based on a play upon words. Artemidoros relates the following: It seems to me that Aristandros gives a happy interpretation to Alexander of Macedon. When the latter held Tyros shut in and in a state of siege, and was angry and depressed over the great loss of time, he dreamed that he saw a Satyros dancing on his shield. It happened that Aristandros was near Tyros and the convoy of the king, who was waging war on the Syrians. By disjoining the word Satyros into σα and τύρος, he induced the king to become more aggressive in the siege, and thus he becomes master of the city. (Σατύρος—Thine is Tyros.) The dream, indeed, is so intimately connected with verbal expression that Ferenczi may justly remark that every tongue has its own dream language. Dreams are, as a rule, not translatable into other languages.” (Freud, 1900: 74)

This is the first encounter of Freud in his “Interpretation of Dreams” with a dream as a ‘rebus’ or a picture-puzzle. The second definition of a dream as a picture-puzzle appears right before his explanations on condensation work. This is not accidental and as we will see, these two (‘rebus’ and condensation) are deeply correlated with each other. Here, Freud explains how we should decode a rebus (as well as interpret a dream):

“A correct judgment of a picture-puzzle results only if I make no such objections to the whole and its parts, but if, on the contrary, I take pains to replace each picture by the syllable or word which it is capable of representing by means of any sort of reference, the words which are thus brought together are no longer meaningless, but may constitute the most beautiful and sensible expression. Now the dream is a picture-puzzle of this sort, and our predecessors in the field of dream interpretation have made the mistake of judging the rebus as an artistic composition. As such, it appears nonsensical and worthless.” (Freud, 1900: 235)

A Kurdish dream—as reflected in almost every dream narrative gathered in the interviews- is also a special sort of picture-puzzle, at least it should be solved as such, and that is by replacing each visual figure with a proper syllable or Word. This Word should be capable to work as an indexical reference to a ‘script’. This script could be a verse of Quran or a hadith or a hagiography of an arch-sheikh. According to my field work, this is the key rule for interpretation of dreams in Sanandaj.
**Dream is a Script**

*Doing ethnography is like trying to read a manuscript.*

(Geertz, 1973: 10)

This dissertation is about dreams and dreaming of the people of Sanandaj but at the same time “this is a book about plots and plotting.” One should bear in mind that this work is never about a dreamt dream but about a told dream!

Jakobson’s mapping of dream-work upon literature was indeed very constructive in western psychoanalysis. Now if we put an inverse transform on this mapping, we can conclude that a dream as a text is blended with the same tricks used in literature and for this reason, it lends itself to literal genesis and exegesis. This conclusion might be very useful in understanding the methods that are being used and applied by the traditional dream experts and interpreters in Sanandaj. All the comments written on their interpretations are just a set of secondary elaboration on their answers. These textual elaborations are supposed to lead the reader of these dream-documents to the origins (= genesis) or resources or the contexts of the interpretations suggested by these local dream interpreters. As stated by Lacan in our reference paragraph, what is important here is the “version of the text” given in the telling of the dream—that is, in its rhetoric. Every different articulation of the same dream will yield into different kind of interpretation and accordingly predestination. In Kurdish culture of dream—as far as I have experienced—it is highly important what sort of vocabulary we employ to narrate the dream. Every narrative will proposes a completely different *word-puzzle* and consequently they would suggest different answers or foretelling of the future. This latter one is very important because in this culture, dreams are mostly

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15 This is also the way that Peter Brooks starts his book “Reading for the Plot” (Brooks, 1984)
valued for their ‘oneiromancy’ uses as a method for reading the mind of the Creator and knowing of his next decree plot acting behind the dream-story.

**Condensation**

آنچه بیرون از زبان بود در بیان آوردمنش

*I brought into speech what was out of language.*

_Rumi_

By mapping the unconsciousness on the language, “*it speaks*” (*ca parle*)\(^\text{17}\). This mapping is possible if we scrutinize the relationship that exists between a ‘thing’ or ‘phenomenon’ (Flesh) and the word chosen for representing it and finally the way that this Word should be interpreted. As soon as we select a word for representing a dream-object we are confronted with condensation because this word refers also to many other things and conceptions. A good traditional dream expert is the one who knows how to read or interpret the Word to present the dreamer the best possible oneiromancy out of the dream. There is a very illustrative example of the scriptural nature of dreams in Islam from the time of Abbasids (which we will return to this example again in some other context). This example is taken by the German Orientalist Anna Marie Schimmel as an example of the art of good interpretation of the Muslim interpreters (Schimmel, 1998: 59): The Caliph *al-Mahdi* saw his face turned black in his dream and this made him so upset because it is commonly believed that the black color alludes to the face of sinners and accursed peoples in the

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\(^{16}\) There could be many other reasons behind different interpretations of just one ‘dream-object’ including the rivalry between different convents; for instance compare the answers of two *khalifes* of two rival convents to the meaning of the color yellow seen in a dream narrated with almost the same words: soundtracks Mirec079 and Mirec080.

\(^{17}\) “*It speaks*” (*ca parle*) is one of the Lacan’s axioms that one may find in few passages of Écrits but it seems to be appeared in Lacanian terminology first after his public lecture delivered in 1958: “This passion of the signifier now becomes a new dimension of the human condition in that it is not only man who speaks, but that in man and through man it speaks [*ca parle*] that his nature is woven by effects in which is to be found the structure of language…” (See Andrews: 78 also Écrits: 682, 838).
day of final judgment (*youn al-qi**ā**mah يوم القیامه*) check for instance: Quran: 3:106, 39:60). However, *Kermāni* turned this bad omen into a good one by relating it to the verse 16:58 of Quran: “And when one of them is informed of [the birth of] a female, his face becomes dark, and he suppresses grief.” Then, the true interpretation was that the caliph will happily find a new daughter. This method, used be *Kermāni* also explains the citational and rhetoric features of dream narratives inside my people as a Muslim, Sufi community. In the mentioned example, the dream in its visual form is of less importance, everything revolves instead around the word “black”—and all the different and even opposite meanings or tidings that it may bear. We can show this primacy of the *Black* (سود) as a word over the *black* as a color like this:

![Black](image)

According to the discussions at the beginning of this chapter, we have here the same primacy of the signifier [in the psyche] suggested by Lacan—by rewriting as well as reversing the model of Saussure for the sign in which a capital “S” (*signifier*) is placed over a lower case, italicized “s” (*signified*):

“To pinpoint the emergence of the discipline of linguistics, I will say that, as in the case of every science in the modern sense, it consists in the constitutive moment of an algorithm that grounds it. This algorithm is the following:

![Signifier](image)

It is read as follows: signifier over signified, "over" corresponding to the bar separating the two levels. The sign written in this way should be attributed to Ferdinand de Saussure, ... The major theme of this science is thus based, in effect, on the primordial position of the signifier and the signified as distinct
orders initially separated by a barrier resisting signification ... For this primordial distinction goes well beyond the debate over the arbitrariness of the sign...” (Écrits, The Instance of the Letter in the Unconsciousness: 497) 18

He continues a silent critic on English psychologism in next two pages with a mocking voice to show us that by continuing their track for solving this sign algorithm we will reach instead onto “the enigmatic sign of a total mystery” but he leaves us with an illustration that we had already transplanted it onto the dream-land of Caliph al-Mahdi as an enigmatic sign:

“In order to grasp its function, I will begin by reproducing the faulty illustration by which its usage is classically introduced:

We can see here how it lends itself to the kind of direction indicated above as erroneous.” (ibid.: 499)

As we saw and will be explained further, this illustration also lends itself to turn into an enigmatic sign (which terminologically named here with ‘talisman’ as a word-puzzle and also as a counterpart of rebus); for instance, if we charge the word Tree with another meanings and conceptions. To draw an extreme example, let us think of Tree as a “Tree-Axe”. If there were a condensing force to embed the word Axe into

18 This “algorithm [signifier over signified] itself is but a pure function of the signifier” (Écrits: 501)... Lacan’s point behind all his algebraic notifications “is not merely to silence the nominalist debate... but to show how the signifier in fact enters the signified” (Écrits: 500) perhaps by winning over the separating bar. Here, it is tried to focus on the nature of this emergence by considering the effect of condensation which will yield into a brand of primal words with real features of the signified. Lacan, all through this lecture (The Instance of the Letter in the Unconsciousness, 9 May, 1957), has put a silent critic on British psychologism that he found the most depressing. Then by nominalist he is apparently referring to I. A. Richards, the English philosopher, linguist and the author of “The Meaning of Meaning” (I. A. Richards and C. K. Ogden’s book, The Meaning of Meaning; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945 [1923]).
Tree, the total meaning of the Word (Tree) will become unclear and unknown. The final result of this double-negation would not be zero as it opens an empty space for storing and restor(y)ing of a set of secretive collective thoughts (these thoughts are there to resist the condensing force although being created by it). This invites the X-factor into the Tree. Now the Word Tree will function like X in mathematics. The instant example for this function of Words—as an empty register that opens the space for unconsciousness to speak—is the name that Malcom X has chosen for his family name: X; which means “I am nobody and everybody at the same time!” and you see that how everybody (actually not everybody, but definitely those black, marginalized people with unknown familial tree and background) can identify him/herself with this enigmatic X. We see that although Malcom X (as a Muslim activist) and Dr. Martin Luther King (as an activist with non-violent direct approach for his political actions) are mostly considered as two opposite models for activism of blacks for achieving their civil rights, they are actually using the same rhetoric facility in their debate: “I am X!” is essentially the same thing of saying: “I have a dream!” as both of them are addressing the repressed people to an empty register. The dream of Dr. King should never be explained in full details to reduce into a political plan. It should remain Unknown to be able to function as a source of fantasy or dream. Dream is basically a pure signifier indexing to a known Unknown: X. This is the way by which we can understand the language as a mystery:

“... language questions us about its very nature. And we will fail to sustain this question as long as we have not jettisoned the illusion that the signifier serves [repond a] the function of representing the signified, or better, that the signifier has to justify [repondre de] its existence in terms of any signification whatsoever.”(ibid.: 498)

In most of the dream interpretations gathered in this work, we are essentially confronting a set of Words as the enigmatic spaces—in which we should try to read our fate as its original message from an angle which is helplessly anamorphic.
Although the dreams are mostly appeared in the form of images but the dream expert (khābgozār خواب گزار) has instantly replaced them with the names that are called by it.

To see how this system of signification works, consider that you saw in a dream that you are reading a dissertation of a student from Iran which is about the meaning of dreams among the Kurds and so on... In your remembering of this dream—that you are living right now—you can choose another set of Words, for example thesis instead of dissertation and Persia instead of Iran and so on...The words that you use to narrate or describe your dream—when proposed to a traditional Islamic dream interpreter in Kurdistan—are the keywords to the solution of the dream as an enigma. In this system of interpretation of dreams, the interpreter looks for the meaning (of the dream) by means of the meanings (of the Words by which you narrate your dream): ‘Double-signification’.

**Conclusion**

آب مده به تشنجان عشق بس است آب ما

Don’t give water to the thirsty [people]; Love is enough [to us] as our water.
_Rumi, Diwān-i Shams, ghazal Nr. 48_

It was tried in this chapter, though not fully succeeded, to find a proper sign algorithm as “the law of the signifier” to describe the semiotic apparatus by which the meaning of a dream suspends inside the mirror of two signifiers that infinitely reflect each other: “Water is Light!” The manifestation of water as a general signifier of all desires is also conflated with its inexpressibility through language. Drinking the water in dreams (if it ever happens) from the hands of a sainthood is immediately followed by a drastic change in consciousness and transcendental state of being (e.g. being able to cure the people and so on..., see for instance Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene3 and to its related comments in App. B), or an excitement that pushes the dreamer out of his/her dream back to the desert of reality).
Every dream promises a fulfillment of a wish and every plot promises a progression
toward a meaning or intention. There is an intention behind both a dream and a story
that forces us to hear or read forward. This is the direction of metonymy. The focus
of this chapter was to understand the structure of metaphor. This structure was
somewhat complex but the structure of metonymy is very simple. Among the dream
narratives of the region, the story of Mohammad’s ascension into heaven and hell
(App. A) is selected as the overarching and overcharged mega-narrative to represent
the structure of metonymy that is working behind a large set of dream narratives. The
water episode of this story (Mohammad’s transcendental experience after he tastes a
drop of water on his tongue) is of special focus here. This water episode is that very
moment in which the dreamer goes on the other-side to experience his/her desire in
the form of a lack in language or its arbitrariness like when a Sufi utters a Shajah شطح:
“say whatever you want and that’s it!” (See Epilogue)

By unfolding every dream narrative in the interviews—notwithstanding its length or
complexity—we always arrive at a simple ‘line of intention’ that is summarized here
with “Bābā Āb Dād” or “Papa Gave Water.” The word Bābā (Papa) stands for the
real father, another person (e.g. a Sheikh in his essentially enigmatic dimension); or
it might be the assumed virtues, morals and ideals of the culture used for upbringing.
Then both Papa and Water as ‘Words’ are absolute metaphors nailed down to their
metonymic formula that determines the direction of displacement. These two
structures of metaphor and metonymy have met each other inside the Table 1 in the
next chapter.
METHODS

The Canadian ethnologist Roger Ivar Lohmann, in his essay “Dreams and Ethnography” (2007) has highlighted the methods and areas of potential further development of research in anthropology of dreams. Lohmann’s suggested methods are very useful in preparing the questionnaires and collecting interviews for this work. On the other hand, and just on the basis of the theoretical argumentations of the previous chapter, the ethnographic methods taken here would be no far from the methods used for the exegesis of a script: “like reading a manuscript”\(^\text{19}\) (Geertz 1973, 10). Here, we make an interpretation of cultures based on the interpretation of dreams, taking distance from the functionalists and instead coming closer to the arguments of Clifford Geertz just in the sense of what he thought a study of culture should be about. Inside the theoretical outlines of this work, a dream is taken as a script; accordingly, the analysis of dream-elements is basically nothing more than a text analysis: A dream narrative in a Kurdish context is a symbolic text that should be decoded. The keys of this coded language are given in the dream manuals and Islamic oneirocritic books. These books are themselves extracted from a set of religious books above all the Quran as the spoken words of God (Kalām ol-lāh).

Then a deep description of dreams in a Muslim, Sufi milieu calls for a more profound understanding of Quranic language which arises some unavoidable philosophical discussions to elucidate the strange relationship that exists between the Word and Flesh in frames of an Islamic system of knowledge and philosophy. These

\(^{19}\) Just like an oral narrative in which after a long time application would lose its original meaning and significance, this famous quote from Geertz has also ironically lost its “tendentious commentaries” in the term of a long use by other anthropologists in order to be able to be read in its final abstract and perhaps in a more meaningful form. The Original text was this: “Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of “construct a reading of”) a manuscript- foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behavior” (Geertz, 1973: 10)
philosophical discussions were inevitable because of the nature of the answers that I took from my knowledgeable informants (cf. Lohmann, 2007: 36). I have interviewed a lot of people in my field work and from the very beginning, I realized that most of interviewees are likely to link their dreams to the sayings of a māmoustā (religious priest) or—if they were Sufi practitioner—to the words of a sheikh. In any case, they tend to take the ideal answer as the meaning of their dream. This answer is already in the hand of māmoustā or a sheikh. The former (māmoustā), puts his interpretation (ta’bir) based on his understanding of Quran and the hadiths [sayings of Mohammad] and the latter (a sheikh), mostly constructs his interpretation (ta’wil) upon the hagiographies of the arch-sheikhs or his own fore-fathers. Because of the substantial reliance of dream interpretations-in both of these Islamic disciplines of ta’bīr and ta’wil-on a large amount of Quranic or hagiographic knowledge and references; the number of my informants converged rapidly into a few number of knowledgeable persons. I have selected just four of them whose interpretations are discussed in their interviews and sound tracks of appendix D. Wherever necessary, the interviews of people of lesser Quranic or hagiographical knowledge are also included. In what follows, I will introduce these people and will explain why they are selected for this study:

1- **Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimi**: a panegyrist and dream expert who has a dominant presence in the film of Moloud Khān and actually the film starts with his voice and video. Seyed Zāhid is a man who lives on the borders of both Shari‘at and Tariqat and is the most honorable and respectful dream expert in the whole Sanandaj and perhaps Kurdistan,

2- **Khalife Mousā**: he is one of the deputies of Sheikh Mohammad Kasnazān in Sanandaj. Kasnazānī is the most important branch in Qāderie in the sense that its
sheikh has gathered an incomparable number of disciples. He is sheikh ol-
mashāyekh (the sheikh of sheikhs) in the words of khalife Mousā.

3- Sheikh Ṣan‘ān Salāmī: he is a living Sheikh of Salāmī branch. They have just a few followers and as the number of the followers among the sheikhs is a matter of status, his convent stays in a very problematic situation, unable to compete with the other convents.

4- Khalife Hoseyn is the deputy of Sheikh Ṣan‘ān but as he is older than him and perhaps more knowledgeable, there is always a silent rivalry between the two of them which they try to put out of sight but it is too obvious to hide.

Gathering the Dream Material: Questionnaires

As stated before, the format of the questioner used in most of interviews (except the films) was a free adoption of the questions proposed by the Canadian ethnologist Roger Ivar in his essay ”Dreams and Ethnography” (2007) which was quite new at the time that I started my second round of interviews (2013, App. D). It offers useful guidance to fieldworkers and illustrates the possibilities for ethnography in advancing the study of dreaming. In his essay, Lohmann has highlighted the areas of potential further research by proposing a series of questions that ethnographers should ask themselves and their informants in the field. Here are some of these questions that I had selected to ask directly or indirectly of informants in the field in my interviews:

**Field Questions on Dreams in Culture and Society:**

- Have informants come upon new ideas in their dreams, and did they subsequently share these with others?
- Do informants distinguish or blur sleeping and waking events in their experiential narratives? What are the consequences for their worldview and social life?
- How were dreams differently interpreted and shared in each locally recognized phase of life?
- What environmental and cultural elements appeared?
- How do informants understand volition, choice, and action to operate in dreams, in waking life, and consequently in dreams?
- What characteristics are shared by dreams that are most often remembered and cited?
- Why are certain dreams worth remembering while others are not?
- What techniques do people use to remember or forget their dreams?

There were also a set of questions that constituted the focus of my interviews:

- How do informants say they think about and interpret dream images?
- On what basis do people evaluate the significance of a dream experience?
- What sorts of dreams do informants share frequently, not at all, and only in particular situations?
- When, why, and with whom do informants share their dreams, and for what purposes?
- Do some members of the society share dreams while others do not, or do some share dreams more often than others, and why?
- Are there particular formats or genres of dream narratives? What are their characteristics? Are they locally recognized or named?

This last one was the most important one and the formula that I used to represent this cultural pattern dream is: Bābā Āb Dād!
At the beginning of my study and during my early interviews, as I was neither trusted by the people nor able to understand every sentence in Kurdish, I used to give all the above mentioned questions to one of my informants or native-speaking students to guide a free conversation with the interviewee and I was just observing how the discussion develops by itself. Some of the side-tracks that arouse were very instructive.

**Methods Used for the Content-analysis of Dream Materials**

Methods of dream-categorization differ from one culture to another. However, a gross categorization regarding major cultural orientations is always possible, for example between:

1. Communal attunement: dream sharing (and vision seeking)
2. Individual guidance: the dream as a personal message and
3. The dream as mental noise to be disregarded or misinterpreted.

(Wax, 1999: 417)

If we disregard the third category which is almost universal among human beings to judge some dreams as insignificant, we will see that the distinction made by J. Steward Lincoln—the author of “The Dream in Primitive Cultures” (1935)—between ‘culture pattern’ or induced dreams and ‘individual dreams’ is almost remained untouched. Culture pattern dreams are indicated as an aspect of collective life since they tend to disappear when the unity of a society is broken down. There ought to be, but is not, a discussion of what are the psychic mechanisms by which a stereotyped dream may be induced in an individual (Dollard: 547-548):

“A North American Indian might distinguish between an individual dream and a culturally patterned dream, whereas a culturally patterned is unknown to members of contemporary Western society. Similarly, the importance, and even the reality, of dreams varies along a cultural continuum...Western society tends to perceive the dream in terms of the psychological reality of the dreamer and his society, other cultures demonstrate an entirely different perspective, one based on the dream coming from outside the dreamer. There is, then, a cultural distinction concerning the source of the dream. This is reflected in the language itself –
the ancient Greek was “visited” by a dream, whereas the modern Frenchman makes a dream...” (Spaulding: 330-333)

A dream, even when considered as something from outside, will not lend itself to a participatory observation as the main method in anthropology. Then, there is a need for a ‘thick description’ about the way in which people usually become doubtful and skeptical about the veracity of a dream narrative. When the plot is out of genre and far from acceptable, it is as if an essential pact between the individual and the group is broken. In sound-track Mirec126 (App. D), one may see this direct relationship between an irregular dream narrative and the danger of excommunication. The methods used here are all based on categorization of dreams in terms of the two main categories of cultural pattern and individual dreams. Wherever needed, the methods used for analyzing the dream narratives and materials gathered from the field work (the methods of gathering archive and historical materials and so on..), are explained inside the text, mostly in the comments written for each interview in the appendixes.

The methods that I have used in my films are partly based on the known methods of Visual Anthropology and ethnographic film-making and some of which such as Blind Owl are new (see Esmailpour G., Blind Owl [video], 2013). The film of Moloud Khān, however, was initially inspired by the methods used by Jean Roach in cinéma variété. For example, starting visual interviews with a spontaneous question such as “What is a good dream?” is adopted from Jean Roach and Edgar Moran’s idea in making the film “Chronicle Of A Summer” (Chronique D’un Été; France, 1961). In this seminal and absorbing piece which is a forerunner of cinéma vérité, Rouch and the sociologist

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20 To watch these films check the online links to some of these videos in the bibliography or at the beginning of the Appendix B.

Edgar Moran send out two market researchers to interview the citizens of Paris during the summer of 1960. They are to ask one question: “Are you happy?”

Narrating a fake dream and check for the responses that I may receive was also one of the most effective methods that I learned to use towards the end of my field-study. For instance, all dreams in the film Blind Owl are faked (see Esmailpour Ghoochani, Blind Owl [video], 2013). I have made this film by narrating a set of fake dreams—adapted from a known Iranian novel—to Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimi. This method is a kind of *free-association* method extensively used in psychoanalysis (which is everything other than *free* (cf. Écrits: 248)). The only difference is that instead of dropping a single word to the side of the interviewee I have narrated him a full narrative. In this case, (Blind Owl) the interviewee is a dream expert of an Islamic community. As it is clear in the film, he grasps some decisive words out of my narratives to build his interpretation as a new structure or formula upon them. As we will read, narrating a fake dream in Islamic culture of dream is believed to have the same effect of a true, authentic one (The classical and Quranic example of this power of suggestion that is believed to lie in the dream-narrative (independent of the dream itself) is the faked dream narrated by one of the two co-prisoners of Joseph the prophet. Hear the soundtrack Mirec136 for this fake dream and Joseph’s interpretation of that). During my field work, I spent some time inventing a series of dreams and asking the sheikhs and other dream experts to interpret their meanings. As such, I gradually realized which kind of dreams are interpretable and which are regarded as *adghât ol-aḥlām* (lit. medleys of dreams) or meaningless and insignificant. The methods used for handling with each of descriptive materials and interviews are mostly explained inside the appendixes where I have also done a

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22 My voice is omitted and replaced with a voice-over put on a set of footages taken from a large set of old Iranian movies.
separate content analysis of each interview. These analyses are a kind of ‘thick
description’ and hence, might be considered as interpretive Anthropology: It is
literally a read of culture [of dream] as text. But the methods used for handling these
descriptive materials as a whole—in order to invite order into them—is mainly
structuralistic but experienced under the light of a new theory of signifier discussed
in the previous chapter. As we have seen in that chapter, this alternative theory of
signifier is almost derived from Lacan’s post-structural assumptions as well as his
‘Return to Freud’ project.
Whenever we are working on institutional structures such as silsile (genealogical
trees of the sheikhs described in the chapter named Father (Bābā), we are neither
confronted with a synchronic structure—as it is favorable in structuralism—nor with a
diachronic one. For philology and historicism, to understand is to find the genesis,
however, for structuralism, the schemes and systematic organizations are of primary
significance (see Scholte: 38ff.). The narratology of many of the dreams gathered here
follows the same plot of the dreams that one reads in many hagiographies of sheikhs
or biblical prophets. This fixation of narratives in a long course of history made them
a good food for structural thinking. They are as stationary as a myth and hence,
notwithstanding all the critics that are already raised against Lévi-Strauss’s
“mythods” for the analysis of the myths (see Leach, 1961 for one of the first critics of
this kind), in the discussed theories and the discussions that will come, a set of good
reasons has been developed to show that his methods are still suitable for
narratological analysis of the dreams of the people of Sanandaj. However, the main
reason that makes the structural analysis (following suit of Lévi-Strauss’s The
Structural Study of Myth (1955)) suitable for these dream materials is the simplicity
of their narratives when mapped on their metonymic axis. It is through this structural
analysis of dream-narratives that one may come across this fact that some words like
father (bābā) and water (āb) are more doped, weighted and charged with meanings and subcontexts in comparison to other words and dream-objects. Bābā Āb Dād, as a cultural pattern, is also the story-plot of a myth-like dream i.e. the ascension of Mohammad (See App. A).

“For the dream, form takes precedence over the content of the narrative. This is, at any rate, what the analysis of a native text seems to have taught us.”

The sentence above was taken from Lévi-Strauss's classical work, Structural Anthropology, 1963, in which the word myth is replaced with dream (check Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 204). This sentence outlines the methods taken here in the analysis of dreams with strong collective components. My focus on the myth and its relation with dream-narratives is not just for the sake of doing it. As partly discussed in the previous chapter, this relation and interconnectivity between a dream and a myth is more essential especially inside a double-sided system of signification in which everything is an encrypted ‘letter’ that should be solved (returned to its origin) for reading the intention of an occulted hand who writes our fate. Dream and myth are both connected with a written fate. This fate could be written in many different forms: a rebus, a ‘talisman’ or a riddle that holds itself at the most center of a narrative (e.g. in Oedipus and conversely in Parsifal). A riddle that should [or should not] be solved or a ‘talisman’ (which connotates a curse) that could [or could not] be break. The interconnectivity between a dream narrative and a myth seems to be something universal as stated in many works of K. G. Jung, Joseph Campbell and others:

“Dream is the personalized myth, myth the depersonalized dream; both myth and dream are symbolic in the same general way of the dynamic of the psyche. But in the dream the forms are quirked by the peculiar troubles of the dreamer, whereas in myth the problems and solutions sown are directly valid for all mankind.”(Campbell, 2008: 14)
Moreover, in a dream, time and space are blended into each other; “*time and space suddenly become one*”\(^{23}\) and this, according to Lévi-Strauss’s account on Wagner’s Parsifal, defines the logic of a [Percevalian] myth (Lévi-Strauss, 1987: 219ff.)\(^{24}\). Particularly, there are some dreams that are as collective-patterned as a myth. All the theoretical endeavors conceived by Carl Gustav Jung in his notions on collective unconsciousness and its relation to mythology lays on the similar functionality that a dream and a myth share a collective-pattern narrative. Perhaps these stories (myths and collective-pattern dreams) are there to emotionalize the social values written in the body of a script. At least the harmony between these two systems of emotionalization is considerable in Kurdistan. This harmony is readable in the yearly feast of *mi’rāj* (which is factually a ritual for Sufis) since *mi’rāj*, is a myth about a dream. Notwithstanding the accuracy and the domain of appliance of *Bābā Āb Dād*, using this over simplified formula as a rule of thumb would be a helpful theoretical instrument by which one can grossly read the emotionalization of the patriarchal values. This emotionalization is readable in the word *Bābā* (lit. Papa) which is there to cover the harshness of the ‘name of the Father’ (also to allude to the ambiguous nature of what the Father has but lacks in the child; in other words, this word castrates the *murid* (pupil or [lit.] the one who desires) and puts him in an unreachable distance of his *Morād* (Master or [lit.] the desired one)).

“*The Structural Study of Myth*” (1955) by Lévi-Strauss was similarly a narratological study of myths and apparently one of the outcomes of his friendship with Roman

\(^{23}\) Alluding to this verse from the first act of Parsifal in which Gurnemanz, one of the Grail knights and mentor of Parsifal says : “*Du siehst, mein Sohn, zum Raum wird hier die Zeit.*”

\(^{24}\) The same is true in the rituals in which again the opposites unite through condensation. This reunion of the opposite is figuratively readable in the story of Parsifal as the story ends when the Spear rejoins the Grail that was open like a wound: “.../ die Wunde schließt / der Speer nur, der sie schlug.” (See also Verspohl, Franz-Joachim: “*Vom Umgang mit dem Mythos: Joseph Beuys und Anselm Kiefer – Zwei Modelle der Kritik des ästhetischen Bewußtseins*”; in: Neue Rundschau, Jg. 101, Heft 3, 1990, pp. 79–85; URL: [http://www1.uni-jena.de/beuys/Material/1990VerspohlMythos.pdf](http://www1.uni-jena.de/beuys/Material/1990VerspohlMythos.pdf) last accessed on 28.12.2016.)
Jakobson. In the same way, dreams are considered here as mere narratives that should be decoded through literal analysis. According to Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic dimensions of a narrative, each dream narrative is also abstracted in its most essential elements and substances. The story of ascension of Mohammad or miʿrāj is taken as the reference-dream in this analysis\textsuperscript{25}. This story-line is not necessarily the only existing pattern or cliché but perhaps the most illustrative one among various narrative strategies and preliminaries that are usually taken to process the story up to its unexplainable or unspeakable episode. Analogous to the method used by Lévi-Strauss in his narratological analysis of the Oedipus myth, one could differentiate between telling a dream and understanding a dream (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 213). For understanding the (structure of the) dream or the myth of miʿrāj we can divide the story into its episodes and each episode breaks into a set of mytheme-like units\textsuperscript{26}. By doing so we will realize that each episode (e.g. the cup-test) has the structure of the whole story: Papa Gave Water. Then, it is not attempted here to summarize every dream story in just one sentence, however, the narratives and their sub-stories lend themselves to shortened Syntagmatic directions. This shortness is instantly compromised by a potentially infinite freedom and versatility of the Paradigma. Paradigm and Syntagma relations co-build the supporting structure behind every dream-narrative as a symbolic language. In Table 1 (next page), I have shown some few dream narratives based on this Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic relations. These dream narratives are selected from the interviews and field material, one example of which is the second row of this table which is an abstract of a dream narrated by Seyed Arash in the first addendum (App. B). All the relations belonging


\textsuperscript{26} We should remember that in each episode of this story there are a set of biblical prophets, sainthoods, angels, people of faith, sinners and other creatures that Mohammad paces into their place to visit them. At the end of each episode he says prayer or drinks something and ascends to the next episode.
to the same column, exhibit one common feature which is our task to discover. For instance, all the events grouped in Paradigma 3 in the third column have something to do with giving (Gave). Similarly, Paradigma 1 has the feature of Papa and Paradigma 4 represents the Water. The two other unnecessary paradigmas are just there to hold these three essential paradigmas together.

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<th></th>
<th>Paradigma 1</th>
<th>Paradigma 2</th>
<th>Paradigma 3</th>
<th>Paradigma 4</th>
<th>Paradigma 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 1</td>
<td>Mohhamad</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>and I feel</td>
<td>Consolation</td>
<td>in his presence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 2</td>
<td>Pir.....</td>
<td>came into my home</td>
<td>and I found</td>
<td>Jewels</td>
<td>in his footprints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 3</td>
<td>I saw Sheikh...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>and he gave me</td>
<td>Advice</td>
<td>to do this...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 4</td>
<td>I saw my father...</td>
<td>in my dream</td>
<td>and he gave me</td>
<td>a lantern</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntagma 5</td>
<td>I saw Khidr</td>
<td>before my door</td>
<td>and he spit into my mouth</td>
<td>his saliva</td>
<td>And now I can cure the people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.** Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic relations between the story-plan of the dream narratives: Closed short Syntagmas are compensated by open infinite Paradigmas. One can draw a lot of lines that freely wave between the rows from left to right which will result in a structurally correct narrative i.e. a normative dream-story-line. The above crooked line is just one from potentially infinite story-lines that one could draw to yield into a normatively correct dream-story. Conversely, any movement from right to left will yield an improper story plan.
The Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic relations could be mapped upon Metonymy and Metaphor (and similarly to Freud’s displacement and condensation). This subject has been already considered by both Jakobson (1956) and Lacan. To remember:

“What happens in the dream is submitted to the modes and to the transformations of the signifier, to the structures of metaphor and metonymy, of condensation and of displacement. Here what gives the law of the expression of the desire in the dream is indeed the law of the signifier…”

(Lacan, Book V: 243)

The cognitive linguist, René Dirven, has considered the following two axis as two different mental strategies for conceptualization:

Diagram 1 Metonymy and Metaphor (Dirven: 77) or Freud’s metonymic “displacement” and metaphoric “condensation” (Jakobson, 1956: 80-81).

For Lévi-Strauss, totemic systems always embody metaphoric systems. The metaphoric formation and its relation to totemic systems of categorization with a thoughtful reference to Ferdinand de Saussure’s differentiation between language and speech is discussed in great detail in Edmond Leach’s review of Lévi-Strauss’s “totemism” as what constitutes the essence of structuralist method (Leach, 1974: 42-50). In this method, the “general object of analysis” is conceived as a kind of algebraic matrix of possible permutations and combinations [again comparable to Freudian displacement and condensation] located in the unconscious human mind.
(Leach, 1974: 42-43). On one dimension (syntagmatic), the elements will be brought together in a chain as a result of the rules of language and not because they are in any way similar in themselves (Leach, 1974: 47). “The [fat] cat sat on the mat!” is Leach’s example for referring to this syntagmatic chains that are formed by the application of rules of syntax (ibid.). This is the dimension of syntagmatic operation that exploits permutation, displacement, contexture: metonymy. Our example used here for this syntagmatic chain is: “Father Gave Water!” Both of them are taken from the books of children written to help them read and write. Now let us move onto the axis of metaphor. Metaphor, like totemism, is a system of categorization. It exploits similarity—as well as contrast—to combine and develop an emotional link between two words or symbols which are ontologically different. A metaphor, regardless of these differences, puts them in the same paradigm according to the same rules that two animals or humankinds may be put into the same category inside a totemic system. This is the axis or dimension of paradigmatic operation that exploits combination, condensation, selection, substitution: metaphor. Leach believes that although jargon is maddening, the principles that rule over these terms are simple (Leach, 1974: 48) and concludes [from the analysis of the works of Lévi-Strauss, that he maintains] that in the analysis of myth and of primitive mind [as a totemic system of categorization] we need to distinguish between these two poles [of metaphor and metonymy] (Leach, 1974: 48ff.). The same method is used here for the analysis of dreams. The reason that this method—despite of its oldness and numerous critics written on it (for instance check leach, 1961; Reinhardt, 2008; Bruder: 9-12)—is used here is its deep reliance upon the two poles of metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor as a system of categorization is conflated with the totemic nature of categorization by which the convents and brotherhoods in Sanadaj differentiate and recognize each other. The totemic features of these convents is reviewed in a separate chapter named
“Father” (Bābā). On the other hand, the unidirectional flow of words in the metonymic track of a narrative is comparable to the fixed structure of the water conduits used in the special watering system of the city of Sanandaj. This special watering system is studied in another chapter named “Water” (Āb). The overall analogy is condensed in the suggested formula of “Papa Gave Water.” Bābā Āb Dād is the hidden rhetorical structure in most of dream narratives collected from the region. As stated before, the shortness of this formula is compensated by a potentially infinite openness in another (metaphoric) direction. For example, mī’rāj as the most important dream in Islam has a very simple core plot and structure: Mohammad ascended to visit Allāh (the name of the Father) and drank a drop of water over there. However, this simple plot is overwhelmed with potentially infinite decorative details and enhancements that recursively repeat this very theme and plot: visiting of a large number of biblical prophets and arch angels, the cup-test episode... Mohammad transcends each of these stages which end either with drinking or praying. On the one hand, this story is the most detailed and persistent dream story that is celebrated every year in frame of the biggest yearly feast27, and on the other, it can be reduced into the basic formula of “Bābā Āb Dād!” The same is true for most of the other narratives gathered from the region, for example:

I saw Bābā in my dream and he gave me a jewel. (see App. C, addendum #1)

I saw my sheikh in my dream and he handed me a lantern. (See App. C, addendum #2)

27 The importance of this feast—which is essentially webbed around a dream narrative and has all perfections of a myth—is so high that the convent of Kasnazāni (the most important branch of Qāderieh) uses the films of this ritual or feast as its propaganda for recruiting new members. I have uploaded some of these films in my YouTube channel:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbioB7X99Gg&feature=youtu.be
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNuKbUFSnTs&feature=youtu.be
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w9Es1izKp5I&feature=youtu.be
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=68McFk3Rcg0&feature=youtu.be
I saw my father in my dream and he advised me to do so and so... (see App. C, addendum #3)

...

Most of the interviews that I recorded in Sanandaj, notwithstanding their length and specific features are founded on this simple and short formula. They are expressing a fulfillment of a wish which is reliant on the visit and approval of Father.

**Conclusion**

If we continue our myth-dream comparison and attempt to apply the same kind of operation and method used by Lévi-Strauss to the Kurdish dream, we will reach a very interesting result: There are episodes that the whole narrative repeats itself in a smaller scale. Actually *Papa Gave Water* is the supporting structure that works behind a large number (but not all) of dream-narratives and interviews. The most interesting fact in this summarization of these narratives is that most of them are fixed on their horizontal or syntagmatic level. The rows work like a set of channels that guide the narrative forward in a very unidirectional way: It is impossible to step one column back while it is absolutely possible to steadily change the rows. For example I have never seen someone in the region who says: “I saw my father in my dream and I gave him X!” (X could be anything). The act of giving in a dream-narrative is an ostentatious unruly act that automatically relates its dreamer to the people of the *other side* or those of ‘higher powers’. To give something to a dead father is considered as medleys of dreams (اغلالات الاحلام) or non- interpretable but if someone insists, there is just one meaning for it: The dreamer will soon die!
FIELD QUESTIONS

There is a lot of [Lohmann’s guideline] questions that will remain unanswered because the major focus of this thesis is put on just two interrelated questions asking:

- Is there a tradition of understanding dream images as representing something other than what they appear on the surface? If so, which specific images are regarded as symbolic, and which ones need no interpretation in local thoughts?
- What symbolic principles do people use to link dream images with their supposed meanings? (Lohmann, 2007: 46)

Giving answers to these two questions will lead us to a dream system based on the rhetoric relations that exist between “what to see” and “how to say”: between a picture puzzle and its solution. However, there are a set of Lohmann’s questions that are answered in interviews. Interview comments are not devoid of theoretical analysis and the reason they are been filed within the appendixes is that each of the dreams is related to a certain aspect of the “dream-work.” Some instant indexes to some interviews—in which some of the questions of Lohmann’s guideline are answered—are as follows:

- **Do informants distinguish or blur sleeping and waking events in their experiential narratives? What are the consequences for their worldview and social life?** (Lohmann, 2007: 39)

  Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 9; ending passages of addendum #1, Mirec016 (Part 2), Mirec047, Mirec048, Mirec075, Mirec102, Mirec105, Mirec135, Mirec179.

- **What is the vocabulary and grammar regarding dreams and dreaming in the languages of a community under study?** (Lohmann, 2007: 41)
Regardless of “Bābā Āb Dad”—as the grand-grammar of a large set of dreams—there is a recognizable set of vocabulary and grammar regarding dreams and dreaming in the community under study. Most of these vocabulary and grammar are just idiomatic and do not necessary carry a thought pattern but some of them do:

“**He stepped into my dream**” (*Āmad be khābam*): This combination appears in most of the dreams but reflected in its best in sound-track Mirec126.

“**They**” and “**we**”: “They” is a plural pronoun that appears in most of collective pattern dreams. This pronoun is usually used to refer to the sainthood or a father-like figure that *paced into the dream* even when the dreamer is visited by a single person. The thought pattern behind this pronoun is the inclusion of the forefathers of the visiting father-like figure: Mirec015, Mirec081, Mirec105, Mirec116, Mirec133, and Mirec136. Check also addendum #1 for the use of the pronoun “we” by a Pir (Sheikh) whenever he refers to himself.

“**Good dream**” (*Khāb-i khoob*): different understanding of a nightmare that enables the dreamer to see his/her dreams of horrific situations as positive reassertions of his/her high status (cf. Hollan, 2003): Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 6.

...  

- **What is the nature of dream experience (for example, soul travel, fantasy, divine messages)?**

*Bābā* (the father-like figure or sainthood) makes soul travel; however, the dreamer as the disciple is still not capable of soul travelling of such extents: Mirec015, Mirec126.

- **What is the relationship between dreaming and cosmology, mythology, and ritual?**
All of the films and sound-tracks recorded from the *miʿrāj* feast ceremony—at the end of which the ritual of ‘*khawāriq*’ took place—are actually reflecting the immense correlation that exists among dream, ritual and mythology. These footages and sound-tracks are: Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 2 and Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 9 and Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 3 (App. B), addendum #3 (App. C), Mireco20, Mireco21, Mireco22, Mireco25, Mireco26, Mireco32, Mireco33, Mireco35, Mireco59, Mireco60, Mirec136 (App. D). There are a set of comments and theoretical considerations written for each of these footages and soundtracks. There are also a set of films that are made by the Sufis themselves documenting their yearly feast of ascension (*shab-i miʿrāj*) in the form of a DVD to use it as a propaganda media of their convent, these films are also uploaded in my YouTube channel:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbioB7X39Rg&feature=youtu.be

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNuKbUFSnTs&feature=youtu.be

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w9Es1izRp5I&feature=youtu.be

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=68McFk3Rcg0&feature=youtu.be

*What kinds, causes, and uses of dreams and dreaming do informants recognize? Are attempts made to use dreaming for ritual purposes via incubation, lucid dreaming, or other methods?*

Islamic culture of dream is especially known because of its special technique of Oneiromancy or *istikhāreh*. This technique is fully explained in Mireco81 in which my own experience of this technique is also included (see also the comments on Mirec136).

*By what criteria is the legitimacy or significance of dreams and dreamers evaluated? How do they understand these dreams to be connected with events in their waking lives?* (Lohmann, 2007: 44, 57)
The dream should mark the day-reality with its manifestation to be recognized as a *truthful dream* (*rouyāyi ṣādiqe* (رویایی صادقه)). The theory used by the people of Sanandaj to evaluate the meaning and significance of their dreams is a kind of ‘Generative Theory’:

“*dream events may determine the occurrence of like events—their worldly simulacra—that have not yet happened but will transpire in waking life only as a result of their having initially been dreamed.*” (Brightman: 99)

The dream experience, as a whole, predestines its worldly ‘simulacrum’ (Compare to the meaning of the fallen teeth in Mirec174). The dreamer in this dream culture has a rather passive situation in his/her dream; therefore, he/she is not capable of influencing worldly outcomes by choosing certain courses of action in the anticipatory dream. However, the dreamer is free to choose certain interpretation to influence the nature of the events that might be happening in future as they are already foreknowledge by the medium of a dream. The dream theory used by Sufis is generative and predestinating but it is reliant on the meaning that the dreamer or his master—as a dream expert—gives to the dream:

“*When someone sees such a dream, he/she understands per intuition (bā ‘ilm-i bāqenī [lit.] with occulted wisdom) “which” is “which”, he/she should be very accurate in his/her work to be able to bring the dream into the day (khāb rā biyāwarad be ruz)!*” (Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene6)

Even a slight resemblance between the night dreams and day events will be used as a measure to evaluate its truth-value and fidelity. This simple criteria fuels from a general obsession for materialization of dreams and is detectable in most interviews and documents. However, the miracle of Karjou is very exemplary in this respect: Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene3 (check also addendum #1, 2 and 3).
- Do informants report any recognized system of dream symbolism and interpretation? Are such systems ad hoc and idiosyncratic or standardized?

- Is there only one in the society, or are there multiple competing systems, and how are these systems socially distributed and put into action? (Lohmann, 2007: 46)

There are two recognizable systems of dream interpretation in Kurdistan: *ta'bīr* and *ta'wil*. There are many passages in this work in which the differences between these two systems are being elucidated. However, all interpretations done by *Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhīmī* in the interviews belong to the system of *ta'bīr* and almost the rest of the interpretations done by sheikhs or khalifes are examples of *ta'wil* as the second parallel system of interpretation. Comparing the way in which the orthodox clergies or the people of *Shari‘ah* respond to the dream narratives with the answers given by Sufis or the people of *Tariqat*, is the main method to understand the differences between these two systems of dreams.

- What dreams do informants recall as pivotal in moments of heightened cultural change, like religious conversion, technological breakthroughs, or political transformations? (Lohmann, 2007: 61)

Dream of conversions is very usual and acceptable among the Kurds. *Khābnamā shodan* (خواب نما شدن [lit. be signed due to a dream]) is a known cultural phenomenon inside a larger geographical area and almost known by every Iranian people. An example of this experience that drastically changes the life of the dreamer is brought in addendum #1, in *Seyed Arash’s* account of the dream of his father:

“My father—before facing with Bābā Gholām-i Hematābadi—was an average man, he even drank alcohol... he always says that I was not a human and Bābā Gholām made a human (ādam) out of me.” (Addendum #1)
In addendum #2 there is more discussions about this kind of dreams.

- **What techniques do people use to remember or forget their dreams?**  
  (Lohmann, 2007: 53)

  *Ayat-ol-korsī* or the Throne Verse is the 255th verse of the second Surah of Quran. It is one of the most famous verses of Quran and protection, is one of the occulted powers—among many—which is attributed to this verse. The use of this verse for protection of a dream narrative from forgetfulness is somehow clear. Read Mirec136 for more and see also Mirec033 for a completely different approach to this issue.

  **What environmental features occur in dream narratives, and how are these alike and different from the observable physical environment?**  
  (Lohmann, 2007: 55)

  There are many dreams in which the dreamer finds himself inside a desert or Sahara. The controversial meanings of desert and Sahara both in dream and reality is discussed in many passages and interviews for instance Moloud Khān #1; part2; Scene 3 and Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 10 and Mirec101.

  - **What sorts of dreams are believed to confer subsistence, wealth production, or exchange advantage or disadvantage to the dreamer or others and on what basis? And how do these compare with observable waking behavior?**

    Some of the shared dreams of addendums #2 and addendum #3 are related to bank, wealth, charity and money and are generally about a father who takes care of the economical affairs of his sons and family. However, in a dream seen by his wife (addendum #3) he gave his wife a ring and on the next day she perceived the meaning of the dream as what it was in flesh: a ring! She did not look for a symbolic
meaning for her dream so she started to rummage around the entire house for a lost ring until she found it.

- **How do dreams inspire people politically?**

The history of Kurdistan is full of political events that are directly or indirectly inspired by dreams. Some of these events are accounted and reviewed in the introduction. One of the most instructive stories is the story of Seyid Hedāyat-ol-lāh, who rebels against the Shāh (Mohammad Shāh Qajar) in 1263-1264 AH. In his direct courageous answer that he gave to the court he said:

"اعلی حضرت شهریاری از خویشتن غافل است، والله من علامت حصول مقصود خودم را در خواب دیده ام و
به این امید آرمیده ام."

"His majesty, the King, is unaware of his own situation; I swear to god that I have seen my victory in a dream and [now] I am resting on that hope!" (Sanandaji: 235)

- **Do informants know of cases in which a dream narrative featured in a person's actual or attempted political rise or fall? Do informants suspect that dream narratives may be fabricated?** (Lohmann, 2007: 58)

Dream of Nāli in Mirec016 (part 1) and also many footages of Moloud Khān #2 are related to this question.

- **Is dream sharing a part of religious ritual, and if so, what form does it take?** (Lohmann, 2007: 60)

The profound relationship that exists between dream and feast of moloudī or mi'rāj is reflected in many different interviews and footages for instance in Moloud Khān #2; part 1; Scene 10 and all the sound-tracks concerning the feast of mi'rāj in which the biggest dream of Islam is narrated in the form of a big feast that mostly ends with the ritual of 'khawāriq'.

- **How do informants consider dreams to be related to changes in traditions and customs?**
This is a very interesting question but a full answer to these calls for a new dissertation. Actually the dream manuals used in Kurdistan have a history of formation, maturation and fragmentation; these are a skilful pillage and collage of earlier materials. They imitate each other in many different ways. On the other hand, there are a set of new dream manuals in which the meaning of modern objects such as television, airplane or computer are mentioned as meaningful dream objects. In fact, we are facing the growth of a new dream tradition inside the Middle East but this new—and still immature—trait is not authorized or gathered in a book by any cleric institute. Some of my own dreams interpreted by Sufis—which we will deal with in the following chapters—are good examples that show how Sufism is still trying to remain archaic in the modern era and to read the ‘Words’ [of Allāh] inside the modern objects. In this way, Sufism seems to be more compatible to the modernity than the orthodox schools which cannot communicate with contemporary objects for which they cannot find equivalent vocabulary in Quran.

**What features of the dream and the cultural dream theory enabled the result? What kind of political system exists in the waking society, and how do dream narratives interdigitate with it?**

These two questions are related to ‘political subjectivity’ and the historical constitution of Divān which is out of the scope of this thesis.

**Is there a tradition of understanding dream images as representing something other than what they appear on the surface? If so, which specific images are regarded as symbolic, and which ones need no interpretation in local thought?**

These words are Water and Father. Father (e.g. an arch-sheikh) usually appears in dream in the form of pure light or a man with a bright aura. However, “Water is Light” is the formula that the people of Sanandaj use to explain the meaning of seeing
water in a dream. It is so charged with meaning that disclaims any further interpretation. The next two chapters are about the social, cultural and historical reasons that have over-symbolized these words.

Basic Topics and Structure of the Rest of this Dissertation

Die Menschen machen ihre eigene Geschichte, aber sie machen sie nicht aus freien Stücken unter selbstgewählten, sondern unter unmittelbar vorhandenen, gegebenen und überlieferten Umständen.

(Marx and Engels, 1973: 115)

Even structural anthropologists could not remain indifferent to diachronic perspectives:

“His [ Anthropologist’s] goal is to grasp, beyond the conscious and always shifting images which men hold, the complete range of unconscious possibilities. These are not unlimited, and the relationships of compatibility or incompatibility which each maintains with all the others provide a logical framework for historical developments, which, while perhaps unpredictable, are never arbitrary. In this sense, the famous statement by Marx, “Men make their own history, but they do not know that they are making it,” Justifies, first, history and, second, anthropology. At the same time it shows that the two approaches are inseparable!” (Lévi-Strauss, 1963:23)

The next two chapters include a brief literary and historical survey in which ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ perspectives are meshed together and the genealogy of Bābā and Āb as two chained conceptions, is scrutinized in order to question how these words are ever charged and loaded with the associative meanings that they have today in Kurdistan. Afterward, the mentioned archaic and double-sided system of signification—which yields to dual-object or Word and Flesh duality—will be further examined on the basis of the regional dream material. A ‘thick description’ of dreams in a Muslim, Sufi milieu calls for a deeper understanding of both Quranic language and hagiographies of the arch-sheikhs as a set of scripts that construct the context and cotext (textual context of the speech (kalām) and the script (kalām)) which in itself raises some unavoidable philosophical discussions about the strange relationship between the Word and the Flesh inside an archaic system of knowledge and philosophy. First after
developing our knowledge on this archaic system of signification, it would be possible to answer the following question:

- **What symbolic principles do people use to link dream images with their supposed meanings?** (Lohmann, 2007: 46)

Again, in order to be able to describe this peculiar relation between dream images and their meanings, I refer here to a reversed Saussurian algorithm: Flesh over Word. Discussions regarding this algorithm come after the next two chapters which are mainly about *Father* and *Water*. Then each of the two singled out questions of Lohmann’s guideline is answered in a separate part: “Bābā Āb Dād” and “Word vs. Flesh.” After these two parts, this dissertation will be closed with an epilogue that opens a crucial [though unanswered] question on the linguistic basis of the ‘political subjectivity’ in Kurdistan.
PART I
Āb Roshanāī-ā: Water is Light!
CHAPTER 1
BĀBĀ (Father)
Introduction

من گنگ خواب دیده ام و عالم تمام کر، من عاجزم ز گفتن و خلق از شنیدنش
I am a dumb who is woken from a dream in a world full of deaf;
I am excused from explaining and the people from its hearing.

_Shams-i Tabrizi

There was a unanimous answer to many of my questions asked of dervishes: “Do not waste your time by writing about Sufism, Sufism is not writable.” There are many other things to suggest than such disappointing comments which make a writer lose heart whenever attempting to write about Sufism; there are so many scripts that attribute spiritual experiences of a Sufi to the realm of unknown, unknowable or the third script (khaṭi sevom خط سوم), a term that again puts emphasis on the unreadable scribbled form that a Sufi should put his/her revelations down on the paper. They are so ‘writerly’, riddle-like and of problematic nature (moshkel مشکل) that it is impossible to read them without recourse to a ‘Pir’ or mentor. The process by which the Sufis’ texts and speech are understood relies on a particular hermeneutical viewpoint, and just like dreams, they need an interpretative process to pass from the visible content into the inner latent encompassing meanings. But Sufism might be readable if we avert the focus of our eyes from its dazzling spirituality into the social context in which Sufism is rooted. As it will be shown in this chapter, the paternal authority depicted in the family trees and master-pupil chains (silṣile سلسله = clan) in Kurdish orders of Sufism is the main cultural

28 An expression for referring to something utterly secretful, derived from this famous quote ascribed to Shams Tabrizi: “He does not understand my speech, like that calligrapher who writes in three different scripts: One that he can read and no other one, and one that both he reads and others and one that nobody can ever read, neither he nor anyone else. I am that ‘third script’, neither I nor someone else would be able to decode it!”

93
context on which every different form of spiritualism has been grown. These *silsiles* are essentially a list display of the ‘name of the Father’. This chapter is concerned with the totemic-like consequences that are rooted in religious respect to the Mohammad’s blood (*silile nasab* سلسله نسب) and spiritual teachings (*silile tariqat* سلسله طریقت). *Silile tariqat* represents the Word of Mohammad where *silile nasab* represents his Flesh continuing partially to live in Sheikh as his offspring and residue of prophethood. The dichotomy between Word and Flesh is the main theoretical device all through this text and will be used in the next chapters to make the dream culture of Sufis understandable. A dream is also a residue of prophethood. According to a prophetic hadith, “*Dream of a believer is one of the forty-six parts of prophecy.*” Then it should be considered more as a text or ‘script’ than a narrative. It is a Word sent from *Allāh* and hence, it is subjected to interpretation just like a religious text or the dream seen by Abraham.

**Abraham; Father of Faith**

این گوشته چشم به فرشته ای که گوسفند را آورده نگاه می‌کنم.

غو را دوست دارم ای فرشته ای که مرا از سر بریدن نجات دادی!

*I saw the angel who brought the sheep.*

-Oh, I love you angle, you have saved my head.

—Ali Ashraf Darvishiyān; a Kurd writer

*Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham.* (Gal 3:7)

Abraham is perhaps the most archetypical Father in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; he is not only the actual corporeal father of *Isaac* and *Ishmael* (whose fatherly love and passion for his sons has been put under a special stress in both Biblical and Quranic narratives) but also the father of faith because of his readiness for breaking this actual real parental link for the benefit of a dream as a divine revelation which is essentially nothing more than a symbol (cf. Jung, 1968: 21). Moreover, Abraham is

———
the father of all Abrahamic religions including Islam (See Quran 3:67). Writing about Abraham at the beginning of this chapter is not pointless: Not only Abraham is the father of faith but also the supposed actual fore-father of Mohammad himself and more interestingly he is believed to be a Kurd among the people of Sanandaj. Therefore, there is also a belief among them that Mohammad the Prophet is originally a Kurd and their evidence is that his ancestor, Abraham, was also a Kurd. In the Kurdish oral culture, the immigration of the Abraham from Hoular or Neynawā in today’s Iraqi-based Kurdistan, is considered as the historical point of departure between the Kurds and the Jewish tribes as their far relatives.

All of the members of this tree (fig.5) are prophets. To be a prophet is a full-blooded pedigree. In this diagram one can trace those lines that connect Mohammad to Abraham and meanwhile differentiate him from the other branch of Abraham’s sons,
that is, the sons of Isaac: Christians and Jews (To see this illustrative tree in English see diag.2 on the next page). It seems that the connection with Abraham should be reassured with something more than faith, for example by a genealogical connectivity. Faith recalls fear (Kierkegaard, fear and trembling, 1843), and fear calls for some reassuring deeds, including manipulating and reconstructing the family trees to tie them better to a reputable father somewhere in the past. It may sound a little bit charging but as we will see later, recollecting a well-thought list of fathers in the familial tree—and accordingly in the collective memory of the society—is a very common strategy in Kurdistan especially for a Sheikh who is expected to represent Mohammad in both Word and Flesh!

**Bābā: A Label for a Name**

-if the sheep were not sent from the God, Bābā would chop off your head in the feast of Qorbān (sacrifice) 
- He chops my head!? 
- Yes, every year one of you, one year you and one another year [your brother] Latif, and one year... 
- Who would be beheaded if he had no sons? 

(From chon doud dar bād (like smoke in the wind); a short story from Ali Ashraf Darvishiyān a Kurd writer)

For both religious clergies and sheikhs on the one hand, and the regional rulers on the other, the blood lineage is an important issue that supports their authenticity and authority. David McDowall a Middle Eastern specialist writes:

“The question of identity is also to do with imagined lineage and, as with other Sunni Muslims, lineage that could be traced back to the Prophet and other early Arab figures in Islam is important... Arab descent had a very special practical role among the Kurds for both religious shaykhs and for the chief of tribal confederations. For the former to be a seyid and claim descent from the Prophet naturally enhanced their religious authority. For a paramount chief, the absence or diminution of blood relationship with the tribes under his authority placed him above and outside the politics of tribal kinship, and thus strengthened his credibility and authority as an impartial arbitrator among his tribes. If he could additionally claim the nobility of descent as a seyid so much the better.” (McDowall, The Kurdish Question: A Historical Review: 11-12)
In this point Abraham is not only the segregating point between Islam and "the people of the book" (ahli Kitāb, Christian, Jewish, etc.) (see Quran 29:46) but also a point of differentiation in narrativity. (In Islamic narratives, this was Ishmael who should be scarified as his most lovable son, and not Isaac.)
Then, appropriation of Mohammad as ancestral father remains not restricted to Sheikh’s familial tree and as a general rule, filling familial trees with high-status names, is to be seen more or less as a causative factor in the construction of a Kurdish lines of descent. The constructed familial trees are the most fundamental element in the construction of Kurdish societies. Sholeh A. Quinn has also listed the applications of genealogy and genealogical information in selected ‘Persianate’ and Bábí/Bahá’í sources, showing their relation with dreams as legitimating forces for promoting a particular ruling dynasty or sheikhdom i.e. the Safavids (Quinn, 2003). However, none of them is as vigilant and meanwhile complex as what one may experience in Kurdistan province in Iran. Iranian Kurdistan has experienced the longest period of governance in the hands of the family of Ardalān. This governing period was so long and lasting that the Kurdish province in Iran is sometimes named as Kurdistan-i Ardalān کردستان اردلان. Something like this is hardly discernible in other satrapies or in the central state power where we face a rather Pareto-like Circulation of the Elites with heterogeneous tribal and familial origins. Kurdish aristocracy, except for some short intervals, was rarely faced with the problem of legitimacy and succession as was the case in many central areas of Iran. Instead, Kurdistan remains in an inconsistent correspondence with two foreign state powers of Iran and Ottoman. The Kurds’ fidelity to one state power was automatically regarded as rebellious against the other. The situation in central areas and other provinces was quite different as there are rare examples of a stable governing conditions or a monotonous dynasty as it was for Kurdistan. Bābā Ardalān Ghobād ibn-i Fīrooz Sasani established Ardalān’s dynasty about 1219 AD in Kurdistan and the last ruler of this family was Abas Khān Ardalān (Sardar Rashid) who reigned until 1925 AD. In the modern era and especially in Pahlavi dynasty, this family gradually wiped out from the political scene and after the
land reforms of Mohammad Rezā Shāh (known as White Revolution, 1963), the tribe of Ardalān, has lost even its feudalistic and economic authority on Kurdistan. Hence, the symptomic manifestation of Bābā (Papa), has a longing effect of patriarchal values in Kurdistan which had more than a millennium to inscribe itself in the mind of the subjects of Ardalān family as the only ruling family in Kurdistan. This long-term inscription of patriarchal values, gathers an inescapable gravitational field around the word Bābā as a highly conceptualized memory-box\(^{30}\). The word Bābā automatically stirs the nostalgia of patriarchal leadership in mind. This nostalgic epithet is used not only for a powerful long reigning political leader, like Bābā Ardalān (epithet of Ghobād ibn Firouz Sasāni) (Sanandadjī: 471) but also for every charismatic personality, notwithstanding a king (e.g. shāh-bābā= Naṣer-o-dīn Shāh) or a sheikh (e.g. Bābā Gholām Hamedānī in Krend; see addendum #1). As we will see in what follows, these values of patrimonial kingship are always needed to be watered with the patterns of kinship. One rarely can find a word that is more doped or charged with symbolism than the word of father. Naṣer Khosro Qobādiānī, the Persian poet, philosopher and Ismā‘īlī scholar, in one of his qasides writes:

قول مسیح آنکه گفت «زی پدر خویش
می‌شوم» ابن رمز بود نزد افضل
عاقل داند که او چه گفت ولیکن
رهبان گمره گشت و هرقل جاهل

“The quote of Jesus who said: “I am returning back to my Father”
It was a ciphered [message] in the ear of the literate people
The ‘wise [old] man’ understands what he has said
But the priest become misled and also the ignorant Heraclius.”
(Nāṣer Khosro, Divān, Qaside Nr. 138)

The word Bābā which in its normal application refers to an actual corporeal father, when used figuratively (i.e. when used as an epithet ) stands for a very high-status,

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\(^{30}\) Memory-box is a concept developed by Iranian linguistic Fazad Sharifian. According to his argument, cultural conceptualization is the process by which the words let themselves to be used as a (collective) “memory box”: a term that he used allegorically to put emphasis on the way that the experience of the fore-fathers accumulates in the language as a collective memory (Sharifian, 2011).
charismatic ruler or a Sheikh with many devoted apprentices. Again and as a recurrent rule, the most ‘Symbolic’ (see glossary) is signified with that very word that is usually used for signifying the most real relations. Bābā (a term used for filling the lack of a patrimonial kin(g)ship) has attained a pivotal character in Kurdistan, partly as an effect of a long-term authority of Ardalān dynasty. This recursive pattern puts an extra emphasis on the genealogical trees as a status-bringing entity in every three domains of Siyāsat (politics), shariāt (orthodox religion) and tariqat (Sufism). The agents of these domains obsessively care about their silsile; a word that literally means chain but figuratively means a clan. The bigger the tree, the higher the status. The family tree of the Ardalān dynasty for example is one of the biggest family trees in the world with 30 lineage line of successive descendants that covers more than 13 centuries of political history of the region. In our review from Holou and Ahmad Khan history, we have examined just one chain of this long line of concatenating lineage or silsile; now let us take a closer look at this father-oriented family tree in the rest of this chapter.

**How Islam Enters Iran (The Story of Ardalāns)**

In a “Dictionary of Sufis’ Expressions” we read:

“It is said that the “actual father” is the trainer (morabbi) sheikh who cares about the spiritual condition of his pupil (murid), ..., connecting him/her to the eternal truth, where in contrast, the father of soil (ab-i īnī) relates the human to the worldly temporal life. Then the pupil owes more to his/her sheikh than his/her father because the father (of soil) is responsible for this human shape but the real father (ab-i al ḥaghighi) is a medium that lets the faith happen in its fullest shape.”(Kasnazān, Alseyed Alsheikh Mohammad: Mosou ato al-Kasnazān fīmā Islaḥaḥ ʿlayhi Ahli Taṣawwuff, Volume I, under ab)

Then, the term ab-i ḥaghighi (actual father) is one of the Sufis idioms for alluding to the Sheikh who is definitely not the corporal father of his pupils. Here, the ‘Symbolic’ relations are more ‘Real’ than real relations.
“Just as Sanandaj was founded by an offspring of Ardalāns
It is scored in the scroll list of the counties as Ardalān-ībād
Its first ruler, after the Sassanid dynasty
Became Ārd-ālān (literally miller) under the sky mandate (farrah) of the third
Imām”
(referring to Ḥoseyn gholi Khān the son of Amān-ol-lāh Khān the great)
(Sanandadjī:76)

Ardalān, as declared in the poem above, is the name of one of the oldest families in
Iran that marked its name on Kurdistan as a result of their long-term authority and
power over this province. The members of this tribe believe that their origin traces
back to the Sassanian King Ardeshir Babakān, or Babak Sassani or sometimes to
Qobad Sassani, the Sassanid King in 487 AD. Sanandadjī and many other
chroniclers have argued instead that the origin of the Ardalāns goes back to Khosro
Khān Ardalan (Ārd-ālān= miller, Ārd = flour) a miller who has killed Yazdgird III
the last king of Sassanid dynasty. This opinion is supported as well in Mardoukh’s
book of history (see fig.7). The family tree depicted in Mardoukh’s book of history
(Tarikh-i Mardoukh) reveals an outsider’s view on Ardalan’s shajare (tree). From
this viewpoint, instead of Ardeshir Babakān a simple miller is the first father in the
chain of fathers. Mardoukh the writer of this book has included the shajare of his
own family most of whose members are sheikhs. In fact, no other Kurdish family has
a similar deep-rooted genealogical tree as the Ardalan family except the Sheikhs
whose familial trees, as a rule, should be traced back to Mohammad the prophet.
These two trees are planted in two different ontological lands, growing in completely

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32 Nosratollāh Ardalan has compiled the latest version of family tree. This tree is updated and
translated by his son, Foad Ardalan. Last updated in August 2015. (check
http://www.ardalanfamilytree.com/ for more recent updates)
different category of being: one in *molk-i donyā* (land of politics and worldly affairs) and the other in *molk-i din* (land of religion and extraterrestrial life).

**Fig. 6 Ardalān** Family Tree: In wide & longest 7350 lineages, shows 29 Centuries of history (900 B.C.- 2011 A.D.). It is in a colorful painting just like a very old tree in nature. It is usual to use the word *tree* as a metaphor for family lineages but to draw it just like a real tree is again another depiction of the way that form imposes itself onto the content. (Source: This is a 200x100 cm picture hanged in the Library of Kurdish studies, Kurdistan University, faculty of literature, Sanandaj)

Notwithstanding this ontological dissimilarity and distinction, the two first personalities of these *shajares*, namely *Imam Hassan* and *Khosro Khān*, shared a common historical account that marks the first entrance of Islam in Iran: *Khosro* offered the head of the Sasanian king to the Islamic jihadists and as a reward he attained the leadership of Kurdistan. This authorization was granted by Imam *Hassan* (the son of the arch-caliph Ali and the second Imam of Shiites) with his own blessed handwriting (Sanandadji: 77). In that paper was declared that:
“Because of the noticeable efforts that Khosro Beyg has done to the eternal
government of Islam, we bestow the province of Kurdistan to him, generation
after generation (nasl ba’d nasl نسل بعد نسل), till they do not commit great sins
or unlimited violence (ظلم بی حد) or causing the death of our offspring
[offspring of the prophet’s family], this leadership might remain in his
family.” (ibid.)

Imam Hassan gave Khosro Khan this charter with an agate ring from Yemen (‘aqiq-i
yamāni عقیق یمانی) on which was engraved: “There is no god just Allāh and
Mohammad is the Allāh’s messenger(prophet).” Like many other stories of this type,
this charter (or the Word-of-power) is [conflated with the sainthood of an Imam
and] joined with an especial healing power that transfers its power-of-Word to the
normal people through water, Sanandadjī continues:

“I myself, have seen that blessed ring (khatam-i mobārak خاتم مبارک)... its
stamp-print on a blank paper (sefid mohr سفید مهر) cured every patient after
drinking the water in which the [ink of the] paper was washed. This
negligible slave [One of the usual ways that the authors refer to him/herself
in Iran] has taken some of these papers (sefid mohr) from the Khān of the
Khāns and drank its water through this prescription and it had an instant big
effect.” (ibid.: 78)

It is strongly believed that the Word is remedy: It can charge the water as a receptive
substance with its power. The water will be imbued with the healing Word and
turned into Water.

“Collective Memory” Instead of “History”

If life is gone, [do not worry] as it is rooted in this very moment
If it is dry, then, water it with repentance (toube)
Water the root of your life with the “water of life”
Until the tree of your life becomes stable
Thereof, all of the past would become good
The poison of the yesterday will turn into [something sweet like] sugar.
(Rumi, Mathnawi; Book V, verses 2222-2224)

H. Tabibi, the Iranian scholar and the editor of Tohfeyi Nāser (the book of
Sanandaji) writes in his notes on this book that the story of Yazdgerd III and his
death by a miller (Ārd-ālān) and attributing it to the Ardalān family is just a
counterfeit and not compatible with historical evidences. He argues that it is apparently a constructed story invented by the Ardalān clan (Sanandadj: 466).

Moreover, it was a custom among new rulers to make an apocryphal genealogy to affiliate their scruffy or inglorious family with historical kings or great personalities of the past. Tabibi describes that the name Ardalān clearly ascribes their fore-father to a miller. If it must be to take a miller as forefather, this miller should be the most famous one in the history and as the only notable miller in the history was a Khosrou who had killed Yazdgerd III, then they found no solution other than accepting this

**Fig. 7** Source: Mardoukh Kurdisstani, Mohammad: *Tarikhi Mardoukh*; edited by Farough Safinejad, Karang publishing, 2002 (1380 SH).
scoundrel as their fore-father, but, such a big betrayal that Khosrou has done against Shāh as the father of his homeland, rarely invites much glory to their family, hence, they were obligated to resort to another high-status personality such as Imam Hassan as a compensator (ibid). In fact, we are facing two different family trees: the one drawn by the historians and the one arranged by the members of the family. These two trees differed just in their primordial origin. Here group memberships provide the needed materials for memory and prod the individual into recalling particular events and into forgetting others, producing memories of some events that are never experienced in a historical sense. To say, the members of this old family have reconstructed their family-tree by inventing a new origin to gain a better reconciliation with the old wounds in the past. In the very act of returning to the ancient roots, they are inventing it. There is a very simple rule for the construction of many trees that we will see in this chapter: “Fake it until you make it!” What Tabibi has written about this Family is rather a polemic than a dis-proof. In fact, there is no way to prove or disapprove this genealogy because we are facing collective memory rather than the history and according to Paul Ricoeur’s account, collective memory has a lot of room for plasticity and change (Ricoeur, 2004: 382). This changing relation between past and present, enacts and reenacts networks of relations and communications: Recollection of memory by sharing it through narrativization which makes the memory collective and configures it into an intelligible whole as a coherent and intelligible object. In these narratives, every name and element is articulated with the actual norms, rules, and signs because narrativization as a rule is a kind of ordering and structuring (cf. Ricoeur, 1985: 57-59). Through this recollection and narrativization, the dead history changes into a living collective memory. This way of communication with the past is very crucial in understanding Sufism and dreams. Sufis’ ritual is essentially an act of recalling the fore-masters (mostly the fore-fathers)
of the Sheikh (see Moloud Khan #1; Part 1; Scene 6 and similarly Mircic105) and dream, as well, is one of the most essential ways for recalling the father or visiting Sainthood in a very symbolic but pseudo-real framework. In order to be shared in a community, a dream needs firstly to be narrated through a set of recognizable elements. These elements or cultural conceptualizations will circulate as collective objects (and prosperity) revitalized (and gained) by every retell of the dream. In Qāderieh33, as our case, these elements are mainly arranged in a list made of the names of (sheikh’s) fore-fathers (silisile nasab) or his34 fore-masters (silisile Tariqat).

The arrangement of these elements determines the structural position of the sheikh because every sheikh is a member of Mohammad’s family or a part of shajare, a word that literally means tree but figuratively means Mohammad the prophet himself. To be a Sufi means to be connected to this tree (through a line of descent in a silsile tariqat). This connection is possible through the act of repentance (toube, tamasok, or bey’at توبه، تمسک و بیعت) which is essentially a handshake with a sheikh. This simple handshake, figuratively holds an apprentice (murid) forever attached to his/her sheikh and a sheikh, per definition is a permanent part of shajare or Mohammad the prophet. In silsile, as the word implies (= chain), the structure as a whole has more meaning than the sum of its elements. Just like a clock that entails more meaning (i.e. time) than a heap of disintegrated cogwheels and coils or a living tree that stirs more meanings (i.e. growth) than a structure of trunks and branches or a chain (silisile) that entails more meaning (i.e. connectivity) than the sum of its rings. Each of these words, not only transmits some content, but, simultaneously, renders how the

33 This does not exclude other brotherhoods and traditions in Sufism as well as in Shi’ism who have the same patrimonial genealogies.
34 A woman could also be a Sheikh, like Sheikh Fatima (Diyanat’s convent in Sanandaj), but she cannot bear the silisile, that is she could not transfer her sheikhdom or the light of Mohammad to her children or pupils, yet a male sheikh can assign the son of his daughter as the next sheikh, chiefly when he himself has no (pious) son.
subject should relate to this content. Especially a tree (*shajare*), the most down-to-earth object, contains the most capacity for a spatial delineation of ordered relations that exists among the members in Sufi orders and its recruitments in future.

We will come back to this point later but there is yet another aspect of *Ardalāns* familial tree that should be examined as it will lead us to a better understanding of a special kind of totemic thought that shapes Sufism in Kurdistan.

**Fig. 8** Repentance: *Toube Tamasok or Bey’at: Sheikh Mohammad Al-Kasnazāni* giving the inauguration fealty to one of his pupils. (From *Kasnazāni* materials for propaganda)

**Sufis Are the Sons of Time**

صوفی ابن الوقت باشد ای رفیق
نیست فردا گفتن از شرط طریق

*O, Friend, Sufi is the son of time
It is not custom to talk about tomorrow in this way (iariq(at))
_Rumi_

As stated before, the members of the *Ardalān* tribe believe that their origin traces back to the Sassanian King *Ardeshir Babakan*, or *Babak Sassani* or sometimes to *Ghobad Sassani*, the Sassanid King in 487 AD. In another parallel narrative, their fore-father was *Khosrou*, a simple miller who has diminished the Sassanid dynasty by
killing the last king of this dynasty. They had firstly preferred an Arabian king (shāhi arab) to a Persian one with Sassanid blood but afterward (and it is not determined exactly from when and why) they tried to construct a Sassanid forebear for their familial tree. In fact, they decided to make an actual father out of that very king that was killed by them. As we have seen, the story of a miller has tied the entrance of Islam in Iran to the political history of Kurdistan. The same problem is true for other dynasties whose genealogy is confused between two repulsive poles of 1- a pure ancient Iranian blood of pre-Islamic kings and dynasties and 2- affiliation to Mohammad’s household (ahli beyt حُفْظُ اهلِ بَيْت). This confusion between a pre-Islamic and Islamic ancestor is a key-point for understanding the nature of many ‘Persianate’ cultures entrapped between two insurmountable poles, trying to conciliate new Arabian religion with old Persian mythology: ‘afterwardness’ of a collective psyche. It seems that in our review from the history of new Arab invaders, we are dealing with a seesaw movement between an actual father and the symbolic. This swinging movement in governing standards in Kurdistan will be studied further in the next chapter. However, the same dichotomy is readable in Sufis’ system of organization that strongly differentiates between nasab (affinity) and entesāb (affiliated): The dervishes who are grown in an ordinary family are differentiated from those who have sheikhdom in their blood through their father-side lineage. For example, the words chasbide (attached to) and chekide (dripped out) are used among Ahl-i-Iṭḥaq in Kermānshāh to tell these two categories apart. Moreover, the institutional structure of every brotherhood is basically constructed from a complex webbed string of names in which a line connects the name of every sheikh to his actual (corporeal) forefathers (silṣile nasab); meanwhile there is another line that connects him to his

35 For instance Quinn reports and recognized the same confusion in Shah Isma’il’s writings (Quinn, 2003: 134).
symbolic fathers namely his fore-masters (silṣile tariqat). Both of these lines should reach Mohammad the prophet as the stem of the tree. This tree is alive and growing in their viewpoint and the fore-masters in Sufism are not considered as dead but they are just veiled (dar pardeh), shifted into the realm of unseen (gheyb)\textsuperscript{36}. Silṣile tariqat determines the institutional relation or rābiƞ between a murid (pupil) and his/her sheikh and accordingly his fore-masters; on the other hand, silṣile nasab determines the relation between the sheikh and his fore-fathers and confirms his blood connectivity with Mohammad the prophet. Rābiƞ between a pupil and a sheikh starts with a simple handshaking but afterward it entails a lot of details and considerations that a pupil should keep forever (see Mirec015, Mirec105, Mirec116, Mirec127, Mirec144, Mirec147 and Mirec148).

**Silṣile Nasab and Silṣile Tariqat**

*The question of blood is the most complicated problem in the world!*  
...To draw a parallel, the most amazing combinations can result if you shuffle the pack enough.  

\_Mikhail Bulgakov (Master and Margarita)

In silṣile tariqat, one may observe that kinship relations or silṣile nasab is used as a model for the symbolic relations that connects masters to their pupils as if they are father and sons; this constructs silṣile tariqat as a model of the community as a whole that relies strongly on patrimonial values. The condensing effect of the mutual support that exists between these two parallel networks of dyadic ties is so high that it is hard to tell the model apart from what that it is supposed to modelize: The structural forms are exactly what that forms the [social] structure. This merger of kinship into mastership is the source of many manipulations in familial trees. To

\textsuperscript{36} In Sufi literature, a Sufi or a Sheikh is attributed to the realm of unseen (ālam-i gheyb) which is a higher realm of time and being. A sheikh or a skilled Sufi or sālek (literally walker or wayfarer) is not imprisoned in the zone of “mortal time” (zamāni fâni) that encompasses the mortal beings. Karāmāt and miraculous deeds such as khavāreq are all there to hint to this claim.
have a noteworthy familial tree is an important status symbol. Although theoretically
the sheikhdom is irrespective to blood relations, it is almost impossible to find a
sheikh in all Kurdistan who is not a seyed ([lit.] Sir) which means a direct descendant
of Mohammad. This leads us to this conclusion that sheikhdom (although informally)
is restricted to a special blood. The over-dominance of kinship models and the
religious respect for the blood of the members of a silsile as offspring of Mohammad
makes a silsile analogous to a totemic clan. Before going further into this subject, a
deeper look into the structure of silsile as a branch of the tree or shajare is necessary.
In fact, a Sufi—as an affiliated person to the silsile and ultimately shajareh—not only
should be aware of the familial chain (silsile nasab) of his/her Master (Ustād or
Sheikh) but also should be aware of silsile Tariqat or the string of masters that
connects his/her master to Mohammad the prophet as the first Sufi. However, there
is a strong difference between a Sufi and a sheikh. To become a sheikh is not a natural
result of becoming a superior Sufi; sheikhdom is a blood issue. Theoretically, and
according to many accounts, piety is the only criterion for measuring the status of a
Muslim including a Sufi (“... Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allāh is the
most righteous of you ...” (49:13)). In practice, however, a Sufi has many barriers for
reaching the status of a sheikh: first of all, a woman [except Fatima; the daughter of
Mohammad], could not bear the silsile, moreover, through an unwritten law, a sheikh
should be a seyed. In other words, a sheikh should be connected to Mohammed in
blood. A Sufi is bounded with Mohammad through the spiritual contract that he/she
has met with sheikh. This contract connects him/her like a new leaf to the tree of
silsile tariqat. A sheikh is not only connected to silsile tariqat through his master but
he also has a direct blood affinity with Mohammad through silsile nasab. In other
words, a sheikh is not just connected to Mohammad through silsile tariqat like every
usual Sufi, but he is Mohammad himself—at least in those aspects that have made
him a sheikh and he would remain in an after-death spiritual connection with his succeeder. There is an alleged hadith from Mohammad that states: “A sheikh in his clan is like a prophet in his nation (ommat)” (Asadī Rāzī: 91). In fact, every sheikh is a permanent part of the tree (shajare) and—as it is used to say—carries a part of Mohammadian light (nor-i Mohammadi) in his soul and Mohammad’s blood in his vessels. The chronological manual of mastership which starts with Mohammad, is always considered in a complementary relation with a parallel genealogical manual that again should end up with the name of Mohammad. As such, we are looking into a closed circle of names constructed of two complementary semicircles: Masters and fathers. All this is another example for the so-called interplay between the symbolic and the real.

![Diagram](image)

**Diag. 3** The structure of every discipline or school is built upon interwoven chains that connect fathers to sons and Masters (Ustād) to disciples. The summation of all these silsiles makes the shajare: Two intertwined trees that share Mohammad as their trunk.

All of these Fathers are potentially there, ready to be recalled in rituals (i.e. madadkhāhi) or dreams. Then, and under this light, to see a ‘Wise Old Man’
in a dream is essentially a social communicative act with the *men-of-unseen* (i.e. *rejāl-ol-gheyb*). A ‘visiting’ dream is a media to communicate with the dead Father. In a dream, he appears in the shape of a ‘Wise Old Man’ who warns his children of the future. *Collective memory* is conflated with the idea of an organic connection with the past and hence with the dead persons. This organic and live connectivity with the spirits, in turn, calls for a set of fore-fathers as well as fore-masters that are still caring about the future of their sons or pupils. Dream is a mean to communicate with under-heaven, showing them their ways to heaven that for a Sufi, ultimately means to be in the presence of the Prophet. These ways or *tariqats* are usually considered as some ropes (*ḥabl*) that retain the people of prophet (*ummati peyghabar* ) connected to him. As described, each way (or figuratively rope) is consisted of the chronologically sorted list of names or *silsile*. Every *silsile* is named by the name of the most prominent master in this chain of names. In other words, not all of the fathers possess the same level of status and respect. On the other hand, the religious roots of this *collective memory* are not far from totemic thoughts. The ‘circumlocution of tongue’—abundantly used in the Sufis language and literature—signals for a taboo as something that exists but should not be named or called directly. The language of Sufis is secretive and indexical: there are many things that should not be shared with the others. For example, among *Ahl-i ḥaq* it is a taboo to cut or shave the moustache (see the comments on Moloud Khān #1, part1; scene11). Their moustache is there to cover their lips. A symbol for the secret that they already carry in their mouth. Mustache is a curtain (*ḥijāb*) that hides their mouth as the locus of a treasure: *Kalām* or the Word. Shaving the mustache means to be ready to reveal the secret to others and to deceive the group of dervishes.
Fig. 9 Silsile tariqat and Silsile nasab: Two sets of names that are present everywhere even on the back side of an A4 paper used for propaganda for recruiting new disciples into the discipline: one starts from Mohammad and ends with the present sheikh and the other one starts with the present sheikh and ends back with Mohammad. The first set ascribes the sequence of masters or symbolic fathers and the other one ascribes the sequence of actual fathers of the sheikh. The tariqat chain starts with a verse from Quran that states: “Those who have shaken their hand with you (Mohammad) have indeed shaken their hand with Allah and the hand of Allah is over their hands...” After the name of Mohammad starts a concatenating list of names of which tariqat flows like water through a duct to hands to the new pupils; to say, each name is divided from the next one with the phrase: “and after him, on the hand of ... (the next name)” (wa minho ilā yad...) till it ends with the name of the present sheikh of the silsile. In silsile nasab, on the other hand, the manual follows the usual manual of every genealogical manual in Islamic world that starts with the name of the recent person and follows with a long list of fathers in the form of “so ibn so ibn so...” This silsile should end with Mohammad which is in a reverse direction of silsile tariqat (See the previous diagram). According to the discussions in the chapter on theory, we can read this page as Symbolic over the real. The two decorative lines in the middle are also there to materialize the bar. These two chains of Fathers are so arranged that one starts where the other-side ends and vice versa as from the dream-side, up is down and first is last. By bringing the head onto the tail this page illustrates a very chiastic and condensed embodiment of Father.
Manṣour-i Ḥallaj, one of the most prominent figures among Sufis is perhaps the best example for one who has disclosed the secret or ser and has paid its cost with his head or sar. As we will see, it is important to note that ser and sar (secret and head) are homographs. This circumlocution of utterance is similar to the primordial taboo of an exogamous clan; hence not so far from totemic deems: they should not tell the secret to the normal people. According to the argumentations presented here, blood concerns in a totemic clan are not so remote from Sufis orders and their conventional prohibitions by which they are governed; hence, a totemic clan is used as a model for Sufi disciplines that are considered here as para-totemic clans. Taboo and totem are used here just as some theoretical tools to throw light upon the obscure origin of Sufis and their secretive language. From an ‘emic’ viewpoint, Sufis may consider some other reasons for their recourse of a secretive language. For example, once I heard a story about Luqman the wise from a Khalife. Comparable to Khidr, Luqman is a legendary Islamic figure; a Wise [old] man after whom a Surah (chapter) of the Quran is named. The Khalife told me this story to highlight the fact that mystic and wise men cannot share the secrets of the occulted world to average people for many different reasons, one of which is shame. His story was about a man who was attacked by a very horrible skin disease and asked Luqman for its cure. Luqman knew the remedy but did not tell him because of the disgusting nature of the treatment. Instead, he guided him into a series of concatenate events that involuntarily made him go through such hard treatments as a result of which he was once persuaded to drink the vomit of a very poisonous snake and so on...

Qāderie’s Lineage: How A Dream Shapes the History

37 On the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain a sister, beginning with her marriage, may no longer speak with her brother, nor does she utter his name but designates him by means of a circumlocution” (Frazer, l.c., II, p.124, referring to Kleintischen: The inhabitants of the Coast of the Gazelle Peninsula; via Freud, 1950: 10).
"Then Jacob woke up from his sleep and said,... "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of [CREATOR], and this is the gate of heaven!" Then Jacob rose early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put at his head, set it up as a pillar, and poured oil on top of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel..."

(Gen. 28:10-22)

The history and movements of Israel’s wanderings in the deserted wilderness is a fascinating story and many narrators in the Islamic world have used the same plot for their narratives. First of all, the Semitic cultures of the Middle East had a tradition of using unusual stones to mark places of worship, a phenomenon which is reflected in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the Quran. In both Jewish and Islamic narratives, these stones are attributed to the home of God (Beth-el and Beyt-ol-lāh الله بیت). According to Islamic hagiographies, the Black Stone or Ḥajar ol-aswad has been dropped from heaven to earth in the time of Adam. According to regional beliefs, it is descended from paradise whiter than milk, but the sins of the sons of Adam made it black because this heavenly stone absorbs the sins of the people who kissed it in the rite of Hajj. According to this regional belief, an angel spoke to Abraham, and told him to set up the rite of this stone in the Hajj at Mecca. Selecting Mecca as the first place for worshiping God is written in the script too:

“Verily, the first House (of worship) appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah (Makkah) full of blessing and a guidance for the mankind and Jinn.”

(3:96)

The story of the entrance of the Qāderie school in Kurdistan has also got the structure similar to those of both Jacob’s account about Bethel and the story of Abraham and Ishmael in Beyt-ol-lāh in Mecca narrated in Quran. This tradition of Sufism was firstly promoted by two brothers named Seyed Mousā (Arabic form for Moses) and Seyed Isā (Arabic form for Jesus) in Kurdistan in about 1360. The story claims that these brothers were doing their Hajj ritual in Mecca when a dream revealed to them ordering them to start wandering till they find a special stone. After they found that
sacred stone through a second revelation, they should take it and continue their wandering and wait for the next revelation. The last sign was disclosed to them in a place which is currently in the middle point of Mariwān in Iran and Soleymānie in Iraq. One brother asked the other: “Where should we build the place of worship?” and he answered: “Bari-zanj” (in front of the bamboos) and now there is a village named Barzanj and the majority of Sheikhs in Qaderie school in Kurdistan are from Sadāti Barzanji that is the Seyed Isā’s offspring (because Seyed Mousā had no son). Here again, dream plays a fundamental role in the construction of the storyline having an ancient narrative as a model. In all these three stories (Barzanji brothers, Abraham and his son and Jacob) we can recognize the common story elements of immigration, dream and a special stone—that is in a secreted relation with dream—and finally the institution of a place for worship which leads to the initiation of a new religion. In Abraham’s version of this narrative, Adam's altar and the black stone are lost during Noah’s Flood and were hence forgotten. Abraham found the Black Stone at the original site of Adam's altar with the help of the arch-angel Jibraīl (Gabriel). Abraham ordered his son Ishmael—ancestor of Muhammad—to build a new temple, Kaaba, wherein to embed the Stone. It is interesting to put this beside the Kurdish belief on the Kurdish origin of Abraham mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. We will see that the wonderful symmetry of this narration closes the loop of the primordial wandering of Abraham. Abraham once has left his fatherland Kurdistan for wandering. The route of this wandering was induced by Jibrāil—the arch-angle who reveals God’s messages to the prophets—or through a prophesying dream38. Now this shepherd should come back to his tribe again to end

38 In both Islam and Judaism, seeing a prophesying dream is the same as being a prophet though with a lesser intensity. Even here the Islamic accounts and hadiths follow the suit of the Jewish scripts. In the Talmud we read: “Sleep is one sixth of death and dream is one sixth of prophesy”) (Babylonischer Talmud, Traktat Berechot, Fol. 57b. via Peter Statny in Kadi: 87). Parallel to this, one reads in an
his Odyssey. He came in the form of his offspring or better say, in the form of the
sons of Ishmael who carry the names of the sons of Isaac: Isā and Mousā (Jesus and
Moses). It seems that these names are chosen not by accident since it is important to
differentiate Abraham in his allegorical return to his tribe (that has taken now the
Islam or hanif religion (Religion of Ishmael)) from the religion of Isaac’s side progeny
that are Jews and Christians. Again and as a general rule, the shortest way to avoid
something is to appropriate it. Judaism and Christianity are two religions that
according to Islamic belief are departed both from the Islamic narratology and from
familial tree. This differentiation is doped by the same interest of Islam and Quran in
appropriating Abraham as the first Muslim:

“Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but he was a true Muslim
Hanifā (Monotheist) and he was not of polytheists.” (3:67)

Barzanjis story is a reclosed version of diffracted biblical and Quranic narratives
making a close circle of narrativity that gives a phenomenological feeling of finality
and happy-ending. The threads of the narrative meet each other in barzanj, in a
place not so far from Hoular or Neynawā where the grand-story of Abraham begins.
Abraham started from Hoular and ended his journey in Mecca and barzanji brothers
started their journey from Mecca to end it in Barzanj. In this Islamic Odyssey, the
hero returns to his fatherland in the form of his offspring: shajare. This tree does not
differ from Abraham himself because it is the blood of father that counts39. How such
a perfectness in narratology could ever happen? One explanation could be the oral

allied hadith from Mohammad: “ʾAlrouyā asḥadegha jozʾ an min sitattin wa arbaʾ in jozʾ min al
nabowwah” (Prophecying dream is one- frotysixth of prophesy) (Almojam ol Kabir, 10:223
(10540))

39 The “name of Mother” is not contributed in this structure. There is an expression among the Kurds
that used exclusively in the occasions of the birth of a son: “inshallah beyta dār hizār risha”, “ may
God turn him into tree with one thousand roots (sons)”. Expressions like this, shows how deeply the
idea of succession in a family is connected to the male side and also tied with the tree symbolism. In
this expression, tree is a symbol for a person and meanwhile it is an inclusive representation of all
progeny of this person in future that again, should be regarded as himself.
nature of these narratives. Lacking a written narrative and written culture among the Kurds helps to hold the narrative in the collective memory with a higher degree of freedom for being corrected or regulated to fit better with their expectations of the history in a long course of re-narration. This is how history changes into a myth. In fact the story of these two brothers has the function of a myth in which the world is likely to be seen as a homogeny of inconsistent categories. On the other hand, the idea that there are always two routes for a narrative that can make a complete closed circle ending to the original point of departure is one of the most general rules in Oriental—and accordingly in Sufis’—narratology. The story of Mohammad’s ascension into heaven is one of these stories. It is believed that in his ascension he has just two arches (bows) distant from Allāh (قاب قوسين). Shabestari in his Golshan-i Rāz (Garden of secrets), inspired by this account writes:

\[
\text{ز احمد تا احد یک میم فرق است}
\]
\[
\text{جهانی اندر ان یک میم غرق است}
\]

\[
\text{From Ahmad (Mohammad) to Ahad (Allāh) is just a mim (24th letter in Arabic alphabet) difference [but] There is a world drawn in that very mim.}
\]

He means that if we look into the form of Arabic words for God احد and Mohammad احمد we see that there is just a circle or two semi-circles distance between them (look at the visual form of the two words). We will come back to this two arches distance in the next passages. The biblical fall of Adam from heaven and the seeking of his sons for returning back to heaven again is also the grand narrative of every Muslim’s life. This grand narrative has reproduced itself in every individual’s life as a general micro-myth of every human beings that should carry the lamb of their faith back to heaven. Again the same familiar self-referentiality and self-similarity in Islamic world: The word Ādam, the name of the first father of every human being (ابوالبشر), is used also as a general word for every human being. We see the same
narratological structure (made of two arches or semi-circles) also in the story of Joseph and his return to Canaan (Kanʿān كنعان). Now it is as if the story of Isa and Mousā is there to complete the story of Abraham that was left open-ended. Let us come back to these two brothers: Seyed Mousā had no children and hence, all the Qāderi sheikhs are progeny of Seyed Isā. (except Sādāti nahri سادات نهری and ṭālebani طالباني). It is not clear how these two brothers were affiliated with this school of Sufism and who was their direct master but from Seyed Isā onwards, silsile tariqat or the chain of masters is descended from father to son. It is strictly believed that sheikhdom is not a hereditary task like kingdom and the next sheikh should be a jadār جادار. Jādār ([lit.] capable) stands for the one who deserves to occupy the place (jā) of the late sheikh. To be pious is the main criterion for being a jadār but practically it is very rare that this jadāri goes to someone out of the family. At the end of the sound-track Mireco8o we will see how Khalife Huseyn shares the story of the problems that he had with Sheikh Salāmī, the father of Sheikh Ṣanān and how he retreated into silence for twenty years sulking from the sheikh’s convent because he thought that he had reached a higher spiritual level of his master and that he (Khalife Huseyn) should be selected as the sheikh’s substitute instead of his son (Sheikh Ṣanān). Rivalry between different brotherhoods was another source of struggle:

“There is a stage in mysticism (ʿirfān عرفان) in which the pupil thinks that he has reached a higher level than his master. The same thing happened to me! until one night in a dream, Sheikh Ḥesāmedin (qodesa serih-o-sharif الشريف قدس سره) gave me the tariqat of Naqshbandieh, and for this reason gradually the cleavage grew and grew to a point that I said “I am the Sheikh and you are not!” That was a mistake and I should not say such a thing!” (from Mireco8o)
All of the Qāderi Sheikhs in Kurdistan, connect their genealogical tree to bābā Rasoul goureh (= the great) (970-1558). He had seventeen sons and nine daughters. Six of his sons were entitled as jādār and this constitutes the main node for breeding new different generations of Sheikhs. Here is the concatenation of fathers and sons from Isā to Bābā:

\[
\text{Seyed Isā} \\
\rightarrow \text{Seyed 'Abdolkarim} \rightarrow \text{Seyed Bayzid} \rightarrow \text{Seyed Hoseyn} \rightarrow \text{Seyed Isā Aḥdab} \\
\rightarrow \text{Seyed 'Abd ('Abdolseyed)} \rightarrow \text{Seyed 'Abdollāh} \rightarrow \text{Seyed Mohammad} \\
\rightarrow \text{Ghalandar} \rightarrow \text{Seyed 'Abdolrasoul} \\
\rightarrow \text{Sheikh Bābā Rasoul Kabir (gourah)}
\]

From Bābā Rasoul the great onwards, we are confronted with a big and complex set of branches (each defined by the name of its initiator as a patronymic name that defines the name of a new silsile) which forms also a big part of Sufis institutions and convents in Kurdistan. Each institution originates from a nodal segregating point of this familial tree. Bābā Rasoul the great is himself the greatest point of segregation among different convents and sheikhs. Just like a clan that becomes too big to be endured by a single name, the main clan of sādāts (Seyeds or the sons of Mohammad) is divided into different parts, each differentiated from the another through a patronymic name like a totem.

**Beyraq: A Thin Materialization of the ”Name of the Father”**

*Now the totem is the flag of the clan, ...*

(Emile Durkheim, Elementary Forms of Religious Life, 1976 (1915): 220)

رسیم راه فقر نخواهند یک تئوری"نام‌آبادی" است

کرت نفت با علم شده‌ای این چه برچم است؟
One who is surrendered to the way of faqr (way of poverty= tariqat) is needless of the filmy existence of the Others, [Oh,] you are thin like a figure on a banner; what kind of flag is this? 

_Bidel Dehlavi

In the work of Fredrik Barth (1953), “Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan” and in his accounts of the raising tendency for exogamic marriages among the Kurdish communities, there is a big component which is perhaps overlooked. There should be a compensating religious factor (among military and financial considerations that are in the central focus of the seminal work of Barth) to glue the clan or community together again and pay damages to the endogamous relations. Producing totemic-like relations, serves as a compensatory mechanism to milden the new inconsiderate trends against the traditional close family because totemic connections (rules) are stronger than blood relations (cf. Frazer: Totemism and Exogamy (1910), vol. I, P.35, via Freud 2004 (1913): 5-6). Para-totemic nature of Sufis traditions in Kurdistan portrays a common primordial but symbolic father for all members of a clan⁴⁰. The riddle of how it came about that the real family was replaced by the totem of a clan must perhaps remain unsolved till the nature of the totem itself is not fully explored. What we know at the moment is that every convent in Sanandaj works like a separate clan each identified with its own totemic name, color and objects, among them a flag or banner (beyraq 色彩) that carries the name of the clan. As explained before, every new follower makes him/herself connected to the ‘name of Father’ of this clan through tamasok or bey’at or Tariqat gereftan طریقت گرفتن etc. All these concepts stand figuratively for becoming connected (recouring or tawasol تواسل) to something (a name) that saves. The ritual is just a simple handshake

⁴⁰ This again explains why exogamy is so correlated with totemism (cf. Freud 2004 (1913): 5).
but it is strictly tabooed to invalidate a *tamasok* or giving a handshake to more than one sheikh. In fact, all these totemic clans are in a hidden rivalry with each other. In sound-tracks Mirec079, Mirec080, Mirec105, Mirec136, Mirec186, the reader may find many instances of this silent rivalry between convents. The more two *silṣile* are alike and lay in a closer branch, the stronger would be the rivalry. For example, it is a big taboo to take *tamasok* from two sheikhs of one discipline, where it is usually tolerated when a pupil takes completely two different disciplines (*tariqat gereftan*) from two different masters (for example to practice both Qāderieh and *Naqshbandi* commemorations (*djikir* درک) under the tutorship of two different sheikhs. Even in unobjectionable situations like this the voice of the first master is not completely clear from sarcasm and scorn. I was the witness of a situation in which a sheikh redirected one of his apprentices to another sheikh who lived in the apprentice’s new city but at the end he said this Kurdish proverb: “*Sour ke dī samāʾ farāmoush maka*” (If you see [dances in] a wedding party you should not forget *samāʾ* (the dance of Dervishes)). He implicitly connotated his higher status and spirituality. Dreams usually come to ease such offensive situations perceived by the group as disloyalty to the first sheikh. It is very common to take inoffensively *tariqat* or *tamasok* from another sheikh by the help of a dream. This unconscious *trick* would overpaint the colorable treachery for having two sheikhs with the blameless innocent color of a dream. Irrespective of the rivalry that exists among sheikhs and thereby within the Sufi traditions and disciplines, they are all theoretically connected to Mohammad as the trunk of *shajare* or tree. With every *tamasok* or *beyʿat*, this tree grows instantly in scale of a new leaf. This new pupil remains connected to this tree forever because *tamasok* is considered as a spiritual *contact* that imprints itself as a name on the soul of everyone who undergoes this *contract*. What makes a *silṣile* similar to a totemic clan is their common demand for nomenclature for being
differentiated from the other clans or silsiles. According to nominalists, a totem is a classificatory system of names that makes it possible to tell the clans apart. The clan’s mark and the clan’s name and the clan’s ancestor are all integrated into just one word worshipped by the members of the clan. It is a sign or ‘alāmat علامة. No wonder that the word ‘alāmat stands both for sign and flag. Silsile is the realization of the ‘name of Father’ in the thin flesh of his name sewed on a piece of banner. These silsiles are a set of patronymic names, and as a mere word, they always seek a way for being realized or materialized. In their search for finding a real embodiment, finally they have become thinly materialized in the form of needled names on banners and flags: Beyraq. Beyraq is the most important object in every convent. On Monday and Thursday nights when the ritual take place, the pupils come inside the convent one by one and first they kneel down in front of the Sheikh who usually sits just beside the door-gate\(^\text{41}\). After kissing the hand of the sheikh (dastbousi دستبوسي) the pupil goes toward the Beyraq, bows a little and kisses the flag. Every khalife and sheikh has a beyraq and if their silsile becomes overthrown because of the lack of a Jādār succeeder, the flag should be laid down, buried or cut into pieces. The people take these pieces as tabarok, an object that still encompasses the blessing or ‘baraka’ of the late Sheikh or khalife in its every particle. The same is true when an old worn Beyraq should be renewed with a new one but sometimes, the Beyraq is restored in the closet of the sheikh as a blessed object on which the light of verity or noori ِhaqiqat of the names (asmāء اسماء) is reflected (tajali تجلی) on the remanent words and woof of the flag. This idea that a piece of cloth contains blessing and curing craft goes back to old hagiographies renarrated also in Quran: Jacob rubbed his face with the shirt sent to him by his lost son, Joseph (Yousef) :

\(^\text{41}\) It is said that Mohammad usually sat on the lowest place to humble himself. As “the sheikh among his pupils is like Mohammad among the Muslims” he tries to imitate him in every detail. Sitting in the threshold of the door marks him even more with difference and status (see Mirec\text{135}).
“Go with this shirt and cast it over the face of my father, he will come to see clearly.” (12: 93)

The most important motif in these flags is perhaps the figure of the moon and the sun signifies those flags that belong to a Qāderi branch. The meaning behind this simple motif (the sun and the moon) is very instructive according to the main subject of this thesis. This motif comes usually in accompany of the canonical verses of Islam that is: lā elāha il-=allāh; Mohammadan rasoul-al-lāh: (There is no god except Allāh and Mohammad is his messenger) and it refers to the night of ascension or Mi‘raj of the prophet. It is believed that on that night, Mohammad was just two arches apart from God. This motif of the moon and the sun, exaggerates the proximity of moon and sun. In fact, in this motif, the sun signifies Allāh and the moon signifies Mohammad. The sun is emitting light and the moon is accepting this light through the illustrative crescent shape of the moon. It is as if the moon is trying to embrace the sun or is fully attentive to what Allāh (personified in the sun) is giving to him. In other contexts, the sun will signify the sheikh and the moon would be his pupil: He/she should also be attentive to what sheikh says to them; or when considered as a keep-safe emblem or ‘talisman’, the moon (pupil) embraces the sun (sheikh) to keep himself/herself safe and not vice versa. This is completely different from modern understanding and conceptualization of the relation between embrace and support. The image connotates that it is you (the embracer), that needs me (sheikh) as I am free from any attachment. The importance of all these becomes more apparent when we remember that the ascension of Mohammad and his visits of hell and heaven happened in a dream.

**Beyraq: To Live Under the Shadow of Bābā**

*Religion is society worshiping itself.*

—Durkheim
Researching into the origin of the above quote from Durkheim, I found out that he had ascribed it to totemism as a primary religious belief whereas nowadays, has been generalized into this radical formula to refer to every magical and religious thoughts and rituals. Here is what he is saying which is indeed instructive to the scope of our work describing the metaphoric function of a flag as totem:

“The soldier, who dies for his flag, dies for his country; but as a matter of fact, in his own consciousness, it is the flag that has the first place... He loses sight of the fact that the flag is only a sign, and that it has no value in itself, but only brings to mind the reality that it represents; it is treated as if it were this reality itself. Now the totem is the flag of the clan.” (Durkheim, 1976 (1915): 220)

So the clan member who worships his totem in fact worships his clan. In this chapter, I attributed the Sufis’ traditions in Kurdistan to totemism with this difference that the totemic entity is present not as an animal, plant and so on... but as a name or a Word materialized on a thin piece of cloth: The name is sewed on a flag (beyraq). We should remember from our previous discussions that totemic-thoughts are also correlated with the issue of metaphor.

![Fig. 10](image)

The patronymic name of a new silsile marked with the name of its initiator or the arch-sheikh of the silsili. Here, the name of Hādj Sheikh Salām, the sar-silsili of Salāmiye a sub-branch of Qhāderies is written on the bottom-left side of the Beyraq.
Fig. 11 Madad yā rouḥ ḥadratī—Sheikh Hadj Seyed Ebrāhim (Help O, the holy spirit of Sheikh Hadj Ebrāhim (The patronymic name of this silsile)): The names that come on the higher rows are the preceding masters of this most recent one, these names are a mix of Naqshbandiye and Qāderie fore-masters since the Sheikh of this convent is simultaneously affiliated to both of these tariqats. To have two Beyraqs has nothing to do with this fact that he has two schools in one. One of these flags is used for Ershād (guidance) in the out-of-convent occasions (the one on the right hand side) whereas the other one is permanently fixed in the convent.

If we take the name of a silsile as a signifier that establishes the relation between a group and a water-spirit (i.e. their common ancestor who mentors them toward the water-of-wisdom), the term totemism sounds to be not adequate, at least Lévi-Strauss has dismissed any link between these two categories of water-spirit and totem (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1983 (1965) : 158); he speaks instead of a “totemic illusion” that is worthy just on the level of a “logic that classifies”. This aspect of totem (as a name that classifies) is exactly what makes a metaphor out of totem and a totem out of a flag. On the other hand and crucial to the main subject of this chapter, many of the

42 He found also here a rather functionalist accent like Malinowski that claims “a totemic animal is an eatable one” (Lévi-Strauss, 1983 (1965): 131) he finally concludes that the natural species are not selected because they are good for eating (Bonnes a manger) but because they are good foods or
Australian materials that Lévi-Strauss gathered on the patrilinial clan totemism, are based on dreaming. This does not prove but intensifies the line that links all different issues already discussed: totemism, classificatory names, patrilineal structure of kinship and dreams. Institutional structure of Qāderie brotherhood is strongly based on ‘the name of Father’. ‘The name of Father’ functions like a totemic entity that gathers all his sons under its embodied shadow: flag.

Conclusion
Sufism in Kurdistan: Totem or Manido?

*The one who seeks righteousness must make himself the ground on which the sheikhs would walk.*

*(Kasnazāni: 316)*

The sons of every convent (bachehâyí har khâneqâh) as it is used to say, may also differentiate themselves with colors and this constructs another set of symbolism (see Mireco48, Mireco79 and Mireco80)43. But regardless of how much they differentiate themselves from other schools and sîsîles through different names, colors or signs, they are doomed to remain essentially and classificatory different from the sheikh to whom they are attached. Although they have constructed a para-totemic classificatory system of signs and symbols, based on the religious respect to a particular noble blood, but this blood does not belong to them. Instead, it is the blood of ‘the Other’: Sheikhdom is restricted to the prophet’s family (dorriyeh-yi Mohammad). Nevertheless, this does not reject this totemic belief that there is a common father who cares about the life conditions of his sons in a clan. As stated before, when one of the pupils is in a crisis, it is very common to hear from the sheikh advising: “do not worry, you have şâhib (guardian or supporter), Abdoulghâder Gilânī (or devices for thinking (*Bonnes a penser*) (Lévi-Strauss,[1965]1983:179) and this remaps nature into culture.

43 For example, to see the yellow color in a dream for a normal person is a sign of disloyalty but for the dervishes of Salamiyeh that their sîsîle is identified with yellow could be interpreted as loyalty. We are confronted with another set of symbols and accordingly another set of dreams which in turn represent another brand of desires.
sometimes another name out from the list of their arch-masters) would be your protector.” Moreover, the metaphor of tree or shajareh postulates that the murids need to be attached to this tree; otherwise, they would be like dried leaves without any tree to provide them with water through their tubers. Then, in contrast to the quasi equal order in a totemic system, we are confronted here with a hierarchical system of classification: without the water-of-life provided by the tree the leaves are worthless entities fallen dead and dry on the wasteland. Such a relationship is thus unidirectional, analogous to the relation that exists between the moon and the sun or between a fish and water. The fish needs to be in water but the water does not need to have fishes: Water is an elementary material but the fish is an animal and this non-homogeneity cast them in two different classes representing their social order configured inside the metaphoric language of totems. This vertical order is analogous to a vertical totemic order with two inanimate totems of Water and Land. Although they both belong to essential and accordingly equal rank of cosmic substances like fire and wind, according to a feudalistic economy in Iranian land tenure system, the water attains a higher rank and even attributed to God/King/sky/man/wealth/up/spirit/heaven. On the other hand the land should be (dis)regarded as created/subject/earth/woman/need/down/body and under-heaven. This vertical (= unlevel) classification is rather similar to Manido, another borrowed term from Ojibwas. Manido is a classification system for spirits, a vertical system of metaphors (that here exists between the members of a clan or silsile) perpendicular

44 This fish-water opposition is again another form of “(in)surmountable oppositions”, a term suggested by Lévi-Strauss (1967) and also similar to the opposed moieties and eagle hawk-crow opposition in Radcliffe-Brown’s account (1951: 16-18 via Lévi-Strauss 1962: 85ff.; see also Barnard: 69ff.) on the myths of aboriginals in different parts of Australia and on the Northwest Coast of North America) with this difference that the symbolism used here, and accordingly the integrity imperatives are more “urgent” because if a crow is connected to its opponent through stealing its food, the fish is biologically dependent on water as its urgent opponent. Similarly the moon catches its light from the sun whereas the light of the sun is independent from the moon.
to the totemic relations between the clans. Then in Manido, a Pantheon-like domination of a set of a society's exalted people wins over the equivalency that dominates in a totemic system of nomination. Then, here it is not said that a murid has a kinship with a spirit—as it should be in a totemic belief-system. Instead, they believe that a sheikh—as a (corpo)real continuation of the spirit—is a media for communication and connection with the spirit, comprising such a connection with celestial wine or water. Then, a murid is thirstily dependent on him like a fish that cannot live without water. Water which in its economical context is the main mean of production, here and in the Sufis literature is a metaphor for celestial spiritual capital. Analogous to a king that on political level is the owner-of-all-waters45, a sheikh is the owner-of-all-spiritualities. One can put the tree (shajareh) and its branches, vessels and tubers in a complete analogy with that network of aqua-ducts that divides water in a Kāriz or Qanāt. Analogous to the invaluable land—compared to the valuable water in this socio-economical context—the pupils and the subjects (or land-workers) are in an ontological opposition with the sheikhs and khāns (or Water-Lords). This puts the unquestionable assertive word of the king or sheikh in an adversative position to the ignorable voice of the subjects or pupils. This opposition is

45 Some scholars like Alamdari attribute the kings of Iran with “the owner of all land” as it is usual to think of a king:

“If we are to summarize the historical causes of backwardness in the Middle East, two factors emerge prominently: (1) a lack of immunity for the private property, and (2) lawlessness, or arbitrary decisions, by the rulers. Although these distinctive characteristics of dominant systems by themselves have impeded development in the Middle East, they are rooted in the land tenure system, by which they became entrenched because of natural or geographical conditions. The claim of the king as “the owner of all lands,” and his word as “unquestionable law” were two major aspects of this land tenure system and of the “oriental despotism” that was its political consequence in the East.” (Alamdari: Preface page i)

As seen above, he emphasizes again on the importance of water in his description on the land tenure system in Iran and this is why it makes sense if we replace the term for “the owner of all waters”.

129
comparable to what Lévi-Strauss has assigned them as “insurmountable oppositions” (1967:15):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endogamy</td>
<td>Exogamy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain-hunting</td>
<td>Sea-hunting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 insurmountable oppositions

Similar oppositions are serving as a schema that portraits the Kurdish order of culture as something natural asserted even by cosmological order suggested by the natural world (The rain falls from the high sky down on the dried land and so on...) and hence could be figured as sky’s mandatory and accordingly ought to be obeyed with a full resentment:

Water---------Khān/King--------Rahmat (mercy)--------Sheikh----------High

Despotic/Politics  Consent/Religion

Land---------------Subject----------------Beggar (gedā)---------------Pupil----------------Low

/Poor (faqir)

Diag.4 Kurdish spacement of insurmountable pairs. To read about a cultural instance of the words Poor (faqir) and Beggar (gedā) check Mirec106 and Mirec147.

Perhaps one of the functions of collective pattern dreams (just like the hagiographical and mystical accounts) is to depict a negative Truth, that is, to picture a counterpoint or non-existence of the brute reality. This function of dreams exalts some narratives up to the level of a myth in which all the gaps and (Water/Land) oppositions are surmounted. In such hagiographies and dreams, the Sufi as a hero, wayfarer or knight-of-faith, bridges the gap and reaches the Water of Truth and immortality by commemorating ‘the name of Father’: the gap.
CHAPTER 2
ĀB (Water)
Water is Light

May Ahura-Mazda protect this land from enemies, drought, lies...
_Cyrus the Great (576-529 B.C.E.)

You may break a glass of water in Kurdistan to instantly hear “Water is Light!” from every corner. In Kurdistan, the conception of water is tied to light, ‘loop-holed’ to the non-materialistic world of spirits (i.e. forefathers, sheikhs, sainthood, prophets, Prophet..) who are reciprocally supposed to mentor their community to water-of-life or water as life. The split of water on the floor means that deities concern about our life and affairs on earth as it symbolizes Light or a ray of godly ‘Baraka’; it promises the proximity of Father as Light who again promises the Water. There is no way out of this closed circle of symbols and this is why there is no interpretation for this phrase other than itself: “Water is Light!”

Kurdistan is one of the ‘Persianate society’ in which the ancient rituals of water are
still alive (Bahar, 2011: 288). The most glorious temples built for Zoroastrian goddess Anahita, the female guardian angel of water, reside also in western regions of Iran mostly populated by the Kurds. Anahita is the goddess of bless and ‘Baraka’ (برکت) (ibid: 95) and the one who fertilizes the land and the wombs of the women (Bahar, 2012: 395). Although no living evidence is survived from the cult of Anahita today, but some of her features have retained their popularity between the Kurdish peasants, among them the ritual of Buka-bārāna بوكه بارانه which is basically a ‘spell’ or prayer for rain باران خواهی in draught periods (Agha Abbasi: 12, see also Arjomand, 1998: 248). Houla-bārāna هوله بارانه is also a parallel ritual mostly practiced in Sanandaj in which the doll figure is made (Azimpour, 2006). In these rituals, a group of children embellish and make up a doll (buka) essentially constructed by two perpendicular sticks. This is a ritual that should be done by the children. After singing some lyrics and prayers they threw the doll into water. It is believed that this will increase the precipitation. The French Kurdologist Thomas Bois has another report of rain rituals among the Kurds: “In the country a pious man is plunged into a pool. In other parts they are content simply to throw into the pool a stone from the grave of a Pir, which will remain there until the rain comes”(Bois: 105). Pir here means an arch-sheikh but literally means old or better say a ‘Wise Old Man’ because almost all of the sheikhs are male. It is important to note that ‘sheikh’ is an Arabic word for pir which again means old. This pir or ‘Wise Old Man’ is the main personage in almost all Iranian rituals, stories, poems, arts and dreams with religious content. When one reads or hears a Kurdish narrative, sooner or later an old mentor appears whose overwhelming assertive presence will cast shadow on the whole plot of the story. This character is introduced in its best in the mythical character of Khidr خضر: The green-

46 Khidr is an archetypical and hence mythological character who learned to survive in Islamic milieu and properly appropriated by Islamic narratives. Quran has not directly mentioned his name but,
clad. Khidr has become immortal because he has found access to the water-of-life آب حیات and his name is connected with sea, lakes and rivers; thus water symbolism. The character of Khidr appears in most of the interviews but more exclusively in addendum #1; see also Mirec039, Mirec047, Mirec081, Mirec098, and Mirec100. What we are facing here is a sort of narratological reification reflected in a few prescribed stereotypical forms such as “Papa Gave Water”: It is a ‘model of’ society—that meanwhile functions as a ‘model for’ dream narratives (cf. Geertz 1973: 93). The archetypical figure of a ‘Wise Old Man’ as the owner of all waters, signifies tradition. He reflects the direct connection between gerontocracy (as a political system) and water resources (as the main mean of production).

How could one conclude that most of the dream narratives in Kurdistan follow few stereotypical forms and patterns? This sounds unreasonable as the richness of Kurdish folklore literature is apparent in proverbs, common sayings, puzzles and conundrums or in songs, stories and tales. Most of these tales recursively utilize a dream narrative as a fabulous narrating strategy to bring the story out of its deadlock. In fact, it is sometimes hard to recognize a common structure behind the apparently versatile forms of these stories. For example in the water prayers and rituals briefly described above, they might look different from each other at the first glance but they

nevertheless, some verses are attributed to him. He is the one who:

• has buried Adam and Eve,
• is the teacher of prophets and Sufis
• wherever he stand the earth turns green
• is immortal (as he drank water from the “fountain of life“)
• fire does not burn him
• is able to wander instantly big distances on land or seas.
• disappears as soon as being identified as Khidr.
• appears mostly in wakefulness
• possesses an astral body like a dream.
• has also the same guiding function of dreams.
• is “watcher of the arid” and mentors the lost people in deserts from thirst.
• is a revered figure who possessed great mystic knowledge. (Qur’an, 18:65)
• ...

133
are based on the same structure. For instance, the idea behind the two mentioned rituals above is that if a man/woman/doll of resource be dropped into the source of water, more water will birth into water. Doll is a materialized form of an unreachable resourceful holy spirit. It is supposed that throwing an object, person, or a tomb-object—possessed by a divine presence—into the water would confer the water Baraka برکت as a kind of blessing that would increase its quantity.

\textit{Ābidar: A Natural Water Pump!}

\begin{center}
\textit{aw ba-āwadān-i ya-dā da che (darvā)}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
Water (money) flows to the village (solvent)
\end{center}

(A Kurdish expression)

Just as I start to share my ideas about the relation between lack of water and its contribution in generation of a symbolic language in Kurdish “culture of dreams” to some of my informants in Sanandaj (central city in Kurdistan), a burst of laughter was the first response: “What? Lack of water? Who has said that we have shortage of water? Look! Do you ever know what the name of those mountains is over there (pointing to the nearest mountains on the east)? Ābidar! that means water, a place that water comes out (Āb (water) + dar (out)) then what a stupid thing are you writing about?”

I asked: “Then why have you marked its name with water?” No answer!

Actually, they were right. If we count the number of villages that lay around Sanandaj (between 46.5 °—48 ° N and 35 °-36 ° E) we will reach a total number of 769 villages, among them 489 villages are watered merely through rivers and springs and the rest of them use some additional artificial techniques like digging a well or Qanāt to compensate the need for water. Then spring and village are interconnected with each other in Kurdistan and the names of many villages, prefixed
with kāni (spring), is involved with this interrelationship. Today, the modern dams have changed or washed out the old traditional methods of irrigation including most of the Qanāts. To have an overview on the watering system in Kurdistan in the past times, we have to take a look at the books of history. Shokr-ol-lāh Sanandaji among his explanations, has roughly described the water quantity and the ways in which people attain their water in every district (bolouk) in Kurdistan (Sanandadji: 24-56). This rough information, to some extent reveals the high proportion of springs and other surface waters compared to the number of Qanāts but the existence of rituals such as Buka-baranah on the one hand, and Qanāts on the other, reveals to some extents the scarcity of water in the region. Above all, the entire region was always subordinated to a central state power which was marked with aridity. The existence of Divān and state power was due to the existence of Qanāts. Kurdistan was historically influenced by a central state power that was in turn subjected to the scarcity and sanctity of water.

Is there any relationship between water scarcity and its sacredness? Of course the shortage of water could be conflated with its sacredness. However, insights from Kutch in west India show that scarcity of water resources is experienced differently by different actors (Mehta, 2005). On the other hand, water as a primary need is always limited and finite (Robert, 1993) and villagers have always notions about how water should be shared, distributed, and consumed. Many of these notions, are determined and conditioned by some spatial constraints that are usually involved in water resources irrespective to their abundance.

47 (See: geographic atlas of Sanandaj (Farhangi joghrāfiyayi Sanandaj): Farhangi Joghrāfiyayi Ābādihayi Keshvarī Jomhourīyī Islami Iran, Sanandaj; vol. 35, Published by: Sāzmani joghrāfiyayi nirouhayi mosallah, 1996 (1374))
In what follows, I will explain these spatial constraints by considering the topology of a general village in Kurdistan.

**Āb is the ABC of Ābādī**

A village in Kurdistan is generally attributed with the word āwa(i) (in Persian: ābād(i)). There is an instant association between āb (water) and ābād(i) (village)
although they are not etymologically akin. According to this popular etymology ābādī means “dwelling due to water (āb)”; on the other hand, the Persian/Kurdish infinitive clause, ābād kardan/āwān kerdan, means building and signifies: to remain, to stay in a place. In the word ābādī, building as/for dwelling, unfolds into building or ābād kardan. Ābād kardan is not just erecting buildings as it also cultivates growing things. It is grounded in water (āb) instead of the ground. Water is that very tasteless, odorless, colorless substance that gathers people together and makes the community possible. Water determines the way that the villagers (ahl-i ābādī) should dwell on the earth. It arranges everything around itself and determines their horizon. It is also strictly connected to time as a concept, because water is distributed on a rotational timing basis (see Safinejad, 1981). Water resource (notwithstanding a Qanāt or a spring or ephemeral seasonal streams) Most of the names of villages in Kurdistan (just like the villages in central areas of Iran) are suffixed with ābād, and many others are prefixed with kāni, which literally means spring, mine, mineral, (and figuratively) the origin (of everything)… Water is the ground that brings the village(rs) together; then, āb (in a village= ābādī) is the main glue/substance that fulfills the integrity. However, to feel integrated in a village, one needs to feel that the same destiny reigns also on his neighbor: the one that cultivates nearby. In an ābadi, āb not only reigns on destiny but also reigns on their past as a common bequest that has glued the community together from its very beginning. Then āb is a materialistic entity that encounters our time as mortal beings but still remains distinct from us as something timeless. This bestows water a big mass of symbolism and sacredness connected to a higher realm of being: Spirit.
This symbolism or order of culture is mediated by language, because a symbol is essentially there to communicate some meanings. Water, as the source of life (māyeyi ḥayāt مایه ی حیات) in a ‘Persianate’ context functions as the main source of metaphors and recourses of discourse. Like Father, Water is highly conceptualized and charged with metaphors and meanings. Even a cursory look into Persian/Kurdish literature, will reveal that Water is staged as the main announcement of every kind of desire that should not be announced. This has automatically constructed a hugely condensed structure of ‘discursive formation’ around this word. Therefore, the discourse collapses under its own weigh and the world becomes condensed in and by the narrow circle of a set of widely cultivated words. One might question what influences would this aggregative form of utterance, impose on Kurds’ collective unconsciousness and their collective pattern narratives? Answering this question requires a primary focus on those geographical and historical factors.
Notwithstanding which figurative role we give to the traditional irrigation technique of ‘Kāriz’ or ‘Qanāt’ in respect to our analytical interests, it is clear that its innovation played a crucial role in initiating Persianate cultures (also famed as kārizian culture and civilization (tamadon va farhangi Kārizi (فرهنگ و تمدن کاریزی)) (see Nāji, 1974 and Pāpeli, 2002). Studying the formation of this culture is essentially a part of “the hydraulic theory of state formation”. According to this theory, the construction, and maintenance of hydraulic works (such as digging a Qanāt) constructs a huge, complex centralized, bureaucratic system of a state power with a despotic ruler who has arbitrary and unimpeded control on water as the most basic resource of life and mean of production (see: Wittfogel, 1957). Irrigation through the Qanāt technique, calls for a complex administrative organization. The ruler of this administrative system possesses the symbolic position of a Father for all the villagers. The effect of this symbolism is different for a tribal village compared to a non-tribal village: This Father could be also a corporal father, uncle,.. in a tribal clan/village or a regional governor (keykhā) in a non-tribal village/community or an authorized ruler, empowered by a central state in larger societies like Sanandaj. As we saw in the previous chapter, the problem of the Father is very crucial in understanding the political history of the Kurds and also in understanding their dream narratives because, aside from which theory one takes for the analysis of dreams—Freudian, Lacanian, Deleuzian, etc.—the position of Father as an analytic entity remains indisputable. In this chapter, I will shortly review the historical and geographical backgrounds that holds these two issues of Water and Father together.

Kāriz / Qanāt

chāw bikāna bi āwi khaw
Dig a well and bring it to water
(Do something good for others without thinking of its revenues)
Kāriz is the Kurdish name for Qanāt. Qanāt is perhaps the most important technological breakthrough in the history of irrigation in middle east. The first Qanāt would have been dug in the mountains of Kurdistan in western Iran, eastern Turkey, and northern Iraq more than 2,500 years ago in association with early mining in that region (English: 188 see also Wilson, 2008: 291). According to the French geologist Henri Goblot, coal miners in Zagros mountains, had developed this system of canals to draw waste water (Goblot, 1992). The way that the Kurds name their springs (Kāni) is also plausible: Kāni (= mine), mineral. Afterward, Qanāt technology, which is comparable to an underground aqueduct, was diffused on the Iranian plateau and even further in the time that Achaemenids opened new areas for human settlement. Hence, Kurdistan,—today, a peripheral province which has been inhabited for more than 2500 years (from 550 BC) under the political and cultural dominance of a central hydraulic state—was once not only the heart of Median empire but also the father of a Persian cult-of-water by providing it with its technological mean: Qanāt. Qanāt as an “irrigation technology” spread in the central arid areas in Iran and bounced back to Kurdistan in the form of water culture. Although Kurdistan is not strictly conditioned by aridness but the invention of the Qanāt has pushed its inhabitants under the shadow of this water culture imported from Persia into Media. Median people or Medes were parts of Aryan tribes that had immigrated into Kurdistan in about 4000 years ago and most of the Kurds (especially those who live in Iran) believe that they have the same racial roots with Medes (Tābāni: 166) and considering them to be their forefathers. Interestingly, the first historical notions on Qanāt (just like Goblot’s geological account) not only are attributed to the Zagros mountains but also goes back to the time of the Kurds’ subordination to a Persian empire and annihilation of the Median empire in 550 BC.
when Cyrus won over Astyages, his mother-side’s grandfather. At that time, Ekbātāna (Modern Hamadan) the capital of the Medes (ruled by the last Median king Astyages) was under the siege of Cyrus’s army and finally was plundered because the Persian army had simply deflected the Qanāt’s channels of the city: its lifeblood vessels (Nāji: 939-940). This defeat was also foretold through two warning prophecy dreams appeared to Astyages.48

**Kārizian Culture: Imported From the Persian Neighbo**

*Mirāthi hamsā wa hamsā rawās*
*Neighbor is capable to inherit from neighbor.*
*A Kurdish expression*

Kurdistan rests adjacent to arid lands in central areas of Iran plateau in which water as a primary need, forces some necessary actions for fulfillment, which consequently necessitates some collective organizations that finally led to a powerful hydraulic state in Persia. On the other hand, and in spite of water abundance in Kurdistan, it is failed to have an Egyptian-like river civilization in this region firstly because the rivers in Kurdistan have an uprising, irritable nature with seasonal overflows; this makes it impossible to build a city along the shores of a river, secondly, the Medes, (who were some Aryan immigrants who have created the first Iranian dynastic empire) were mostly nomads politically ruled by a Persian state since 550 BC and this hydraulic state, gradually forced or encouraged them to put down nomadic habits and adopt a peasant life style. Then, this life style and concomitant water culture should be conceived as an imported culture (farhangi varedati). This imported peasantry and accordingly water(ing) culture has ushered the inhabitants of this region to this dilemma in which water, notwithstanding its profusion, holds

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48 There is also another record on Qanāt that is still older than the one mentioned above and it is again related with the Medes and their capital city Ecbatana. The story goes back to the time of Cyaxares the Median king (624-584 BC) and the founder of the city of Ecbatana and describes the way in which the technology of Qanāt diffuses from Ecbatana into Babylon through a Royal political marriage between Nebuchadnezzar (Bokhtol-naṣr) king of Babylon and Nitokis, daughter of Cyaxares (Kuros and Khaneiki: 168-169).
itself in a pivotal symbolic position in every form of speech and narrativity. “Water is the initial substance for life” (āb māyeye ḥayāt ast) is a Persian expression reinforced by this celebrated verse of Quran that itself was another souvenir that came from the dry deserts of Saudi Arabia: “وجعلنا من الماء كل شيء حي...”; “We made from water everything living...”(21:30). The switch from nomadic life into peasantry was supported by the central state because it was much easier to politically control a larger, non-tribal, settled groups than mobilized, flexible, tribal nomads who live in small groups in mountains. This settling policy calls for building some military posts and castles at the center of each satrapy to protect the governmental centers, administrative agencies and satraps against nomads and also foreign governments. Among these castles, Sanandaj or Sane dej (dej means fort or castle) is the most recent one. Considering relatively new cities like Sanandaj (which was originally a castle (Dej)) or Shāh-ābād castle in Marīvān (built in 1904 for military reasons (Sanandaji: 453)) we may conclude that digging a Qanāt was a preferable (though vulnerable) strategy in building military castles as the only logistic way that guided the water inside (see Sanandaji:42). Between these new military notions and Ekbātāna, mentioned above, spans over three millennium of history that connects satraps (administrative state power) with water and its related irrigating techniques in a mountainous land like Kurdistan. These satraps where not a satellite state ruled by a client king but some subordinators of the king. This system of Satrap governance has the same age of the first Persian Empire at around 530 BC (or 599 BC which is supposed to be the year for Cyrus’s crowning). However, provincial organization originated during the Median era, from at least 648 BC. The difference between these two digits that makes 118 years is one of the controversial themes among the Kurds who know Medes as their forefathers which itself is a
controversial issue but reflects a very conscious but injured national identity. This Median-Persian rivalry reflects a long-term aggressive but vital connectivity between a province on the outskirts of the country and a central state. This connectivity is readable from the high resemblance that exists between ancient Iranian language and Median languages as well as between current Kurdish and Persian (Tabibi, 1989: 18-28). Such a familiarity is not detectable for instance between the Kurdish dialect of Soleymānie in Iraq (which is a branch of the Persian language) and Arabic (ibid:21). Although the Kurds are struggling for a long time to achieve freedom and independence, the Kurds in Iran have such a feeling that their destiny is still tied to the destiny of Iran as a whole, reflected also in the Kurds’ oppositional motto: Istiqlāl bou Kursān, Āzādi bou Irān; “Independence for Kurdistan, Freedom for Iran”. Anyway, the factors of integrity of Kurds in Kurdistan province of Iran are different in comparison to a Turkey-based or a Iraqi-based Kurdistan. J. Blau has considered the valleys of Zagros mountains in Iran as the Kurds fatherland from which the Kurds were scattered into southern Kurdistan (Iraq) and finally toward west in Turkey and Mesopotamia (Blau: 30). The “Problem of Kurds” (title of Blau’s book) is an interwoven predicament of geographical, historical, racial, political and linguistic considerations.

**Geography**

*kuṛdaḥdeh zāni laḥ kusā kinaḥ khezmānī to? go gerah bo to bel em maskan qlmānī...*

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49 On March 20, 2012 begins the first day of 2624 in the Kurdish calendar and 2571 in Iranian royal calendar, the difference is just 53 years but very meaningful for the Kurds that lets them identify themselves as an older governors of the region than other Iranian ethnicities. This challenge between Kurd and Fars is rather unidirectional today because most of the Fars ethnicities are even not aware of this difference. Most of the Kurds in Iran, would like to be regarded as Medes. Although there are many different ideas about the Kurds’ origin and race but the Kurds are likely to insist on this theory, suggested for the first time by the Russian Kurdologist, Vladimir Minorsky. This theory fuels the Kurds with pride and awareness of their ethnic identity, reminding the golden age of a Median empire. Contemporary researches has challenged Minorsky’s view but it seems that the Kurds’ intellectuals do not like to stop keeping track of their wishful-thinking in charge of allegedly wishful-thinking of some Iraqi and Turkish scholars who issued against Minorsky’s theory (See Mahir, 2011 :49; see also: Özojlu, 2004).
Oh you Kurd, do you know where your people are settled?
Listen to me, I will mark for you their living area...
(Badlisi, sharafnāmeh, 587)

The name Kurdistan is mentioned for the first time in Nozhat-ol qoloub written in 740 AH (Mostoufi: 107); but naming the Zāgros area and its hillsides as Kurdistan is seen for the first time in Sharafnāmeh (travelogue) of Badlisi written in 1005 AH (Badlisi: 23). Mardoukh has estimated an area over 130,000 km² for these regions with a major Kurd inhabitants (Mardoukh: 54) but Tābāni has raised this number up to 200,000 km² (Tābāni: 29). In fact, there is no exact border to define the Kurdish regions but one thing is in no doubt: the Kurds live along the west-north border of the Iran plateau, crossed with Zāgros mountains having the high Ārārāt mountains in its center. Although today these regions are divided by political borders of 5 different states of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Armenia and Syria, the focus of this study will remain on Kurdistan province in today’s political borders of Iran and especially on the central city of this province: Sanandaj. This province—according to the last state divisions in 1996—has 8 cities and 1765 villages (Zendehdel: 44-45). These cities are: Bāneh, Bijār, Divāndareh, Saqez, Qorveh, Kamyārān, Marivān and, Sanandaj).

The Geographical Coordination of Sanandaj and the Political Borders of the Province

The Kurdistan province in Iran—also named as Welāyat-i Sane (Sanandaj) or Kurdistan-i Ardalān—is spread over an area with 28203 km². It lies on the west of Iran, adjacent to the eastern side of Iraq. It is restricted by Iraq from the west, and

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50 He wrote:
"آب سفید رود [را] ترکان هولان خوانند از جبال یا مگنت که ترکان بش پرماق خوانند بولایت کردستان بر می خیزند."
Hamedān and Zanjān provinces from the east and Ādharbāyjān from the north and Kermānshāh from the south.

Map.3 Source: URL: http://www.nexusboard.net/sitemap/6365/brandenburger-im-iran-t283802/; last accessed on 14.4.2016.

This area is prominently featured as a mountainous land. Mountains in fact have several influences on Kurdish culture and language:

1-They work as a barrier against propagation of innovative speeches (See: Modaresi, 1990: 144-145);

2-They work also as a barrier against the enemies51;

3-Without a mountain there could be no Qanāt at all and hence they play a central role in initiating Kārizian culture and civilization.

51 These mountains also provide Yazidis, and Zoroastrians and other minorities, a shelter to hide themselves from the eyes of orthodox Muslims and hence their culture and language survived relatively untouched.
The mountains of Sanandaj (San Dej) are arrayed in a neat northwest-southeast direction. Chehelcheshmeh, is a north limit to this tidy array and from there on, the order gives place to randomness. Here, the mountains of Gerymiān, Dāni Qāshān, Ashkān and Kelasar are lined up in a clear-cut order and in parallel with the mountains on the other side of Iran-Iraq political borders. The most important mountains of the Iraqis side—laid between Kerkuk and Soleymāniyeh—are kevy ali, qreh dāgh, Sekermeh and Azmir. The southern limit of these mountains is Orāmānāt. Here, some of the mountains and rivers change their way from southwest into north east and the dialect of inhabitants changes also from sorāni (Kurdish of Sanandaj) into gorāni (Kurdish of Kermānshāh). Down in the south and in Kochiān and Gvātour, flat and broad regions with an average altitude of 2400m fill the place of high mountains (Tābāni:40). This interplay between mountain and flat deserts is a fact that could be seen everywhere in the region and in a larger scale overall in the Iran Plateau that is crossed by two main chain of mountains (Zāgros and Alborz) and several deserts. This mountain-desert compound is a prerequisite for Qanāt technology that enjoys the difference of level between the water resource in mountains and low level flat lands in deserts. Thanks to this level difference and the earth’s gravity, water springs out automatically from the outfall (mażhar) of a Qanāt as a kind of subterranean horizontal aqueduct. Many of these aqueducts were guided into Sanandaj, but before going further with the watering system of the city, we firstly need to know a little bit about the city’s history and topology, that again, just like an ābādi is tied to its watering system.

Sanandaj
Sanandaj is the provincial center of the Kurdistan in Iran. The city is surrounded by mountains from every side and one should pass a long defile to reach the city. The
city itself, is built in the armrest of Ābidar, a Zagrosian mountain that supplied its water resources through several springs and Qanāts. In 1046 AH, Soleymān Khān-i Ardalān ordered to build a citadel on the top of a strategic hill. The military function of this citadel is intensified by four towers in its every side. The military function of this castle has been continued till today, now in the city center, belonging to Sepāh (Islamic paramilitary army of Iran) and known as Bāshgāh-i Afsarān (Club of officers). Like everything else, the Kurds have found some mythological origin for this castle. According to this myth, it belongs to Tous-i Nodhar, one of the Iranian’s historical-mythological heroes (Mardoukh: 170; See also Şafizādeh: 96). There are also some evidences that support this idea that the history of the city goes far back from the time that it became to be Kurdistan’s Dārol-eyāleh (Satrapy’s house (Dār) or provincial Center or a unit that used to do the state affairs of a province under the command of a sovereign government). Some archeological findings, discovered in that hill, belong to the Sassanid time; also the existence of some tombs and graveyards that belong to some known persons like Imamzādeh Pir Omar and Hājareh Khātun and also the scripts written on the cemetery of Sheykhan proves that the history of this city goes back to at least 1300 years ago (Sanandaji: 12). But notwithstanding how old the city is, it has been developed essentially after the time that the political center has been moved for 10 kilometers from Hasanābad’s castle into Sanandaj. Afterward, eight different neighborhoods have been developed around this citadel (marked with a black rectangle in the map below) after this time: Miyān qal’eh, Āgheh zamān, Chahārbāgh, Qal’eh-i Chahārlān, Pir Omar, Qatārchiyān, jorabād and Pir Mohammad.
The Old Neighborhoods of the City

The oldest neighborhood is Miān qalʿeh that encompassed the governmental citadel in itself. Qalʿeh-i Chāhārlān is developed in front of this zone and it is now departed by Imam Khomeini Ave. Sartapouleh is another old neighborhood that is now departed from Qalʿeh-i Chāhārlān by Shohada street. Āqheh zamān is on the eastern side of the city and is more expanded with a lot of beautiful architecture. Chahārbāgh is on the north and as its name implies, it was famed because of its gardens but now it is full of houses. Qajārchiān is also a place of abode with a vast area. What makes all these neighborhoods alike is their ‘fractal geometry’: All of them obey the same order of randomness. Qasri believes that these neighborhoods enjoyed a relative sovereignty (Qasri:9) and each of which used to have a commercial center that was usually in vicinity of a mosque and *hamām* (public bath) (ibid:11). To have an idea of what the city looked like in those times we should
firstly consider it without the big avenues that today have crossed the city. Then we will reach to a city with a lot of narrow alleys with a very variable width most of which are either a cul-de-sac or lead to a small local squares. One of the characteristics of this structure is its ability for defense in the war-time. The easy connectivity of the allays and the houses for its citizens who were familiar with their own city, was a big advantage against the enemy. All of these characteristics fit to the city before the (Mohammad Reza) Shah’s White Revolution or land reforms launched in 1963. After these reforms the texture of the city changed dramatically and many peasants sold their lands and immigrated to Sanandaj. Anyway, the city was not so populated before 1957 and the maximum population in Sanandaj was 25000. Nowadays, the city is watered from the Vahdat dam but in the old times the only access of the people was through several Qanāt pipes most of whose mazhars (spring outfalls) were so conducted to be opened in the home of prosperous people or Khânehay-i aʿyānī. The word aʿyān stands for the rich people and literally means springs (ʿyn is Arabic and means water spring and aʿyan is its plural). As water was the only mean of production in Iran that made the accumulation and surplus of capital possible for its owner; then aʿyān should be translated as water-lords in comparison with the land-lords in a Feudalistic system. There were a few hours during the day when the people (mostly the women) where allowed to come in the houses of ‘water-lords’ to take water for free. The symbolic and psychological effect of this daily ritual must have been strong and considerable. This effect become more intensified if we note that these Qanāts were named after the name of its lord.

52 My personal interview with Ḥabib-ol-lah Khān-i Ārdalân the former head of ministry for registration (dârey-i ābāt-i aḵvâl).
Among the following 14 active Qanāts in the last century, only two of them (Sarnoudi, Janatbaqi) do not possess the name of a prosperous person or family: Khān, Ardalān, Vāli, Amjadolashraf, Moshiri, Ḥabibi, Āṣef, Moʿtamed, Amānol-lāh Khān Ardalān, Janatbaqi, Ḥanife Khanumi Geryāshān, Vakil, Ḥāj Aboulḥasan, and Sarnoudi (pronounced as Sarnowi by the local people) Qanāts (see Ayāzi:425). Many of these Qanāts are still active today. Once the water filled the pools in the houses of water-lords, it was distributed through a network of conduits into the other houses. They effectively used the rest-water of a ‘water-lord’. The water conduits physically trace the hierarchical social classes on the land. The social class pyramid is hence not an abstract schema anymore but something real, concrete and visibly written in the pipes of water. The domain of real coincides with symbolic.
This phenomenon renders *obedience* with *consent* making the people involuntarily fine-tasted in respect to water and respectful to the ‘water-lords’; thereof *water* works as a natural and visible status symbol that attributes its owner (‘water-lord’) with an invisible Lord. This attribution is the result of a simple logical induction that traces the aqueducts from the house of the water-lord onto an even higher status entity that like the Qanāt’s outfall is connected to the realm of the unseen (*ālam-ol qeyb*). Moreover, the water of these houses was for drinking, for other usages, the people usually dug a well in their house. Just like participating in a lottery, its deepness and clearness or saltiness,... was a matter of chance (Ayāzi: 422) or kismet (*qesmat* قسمت). In Kurdish culture of dream, we are faced with an *order-of-water* interpreted through a jointed *order-of-culture*. To make an instant channel into our main subject: it is highly decisive which kind of water one sees in his/her dreams. Not all of waters are good: seeing a muddy water is a very bad dream, seeing running clear water is a very good dream but if it runs too fast its meaning is plausible again. Accordingly, the saliva of a high status person like Mohammad the prophet, has the highest rank among the waters that one might see in a dream. This is just the point that geography meets the dream. The nature of this relationship will be clarified further in the scenes that follows: Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 2 and Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 3.

**Water Distribution in Sanandaj:**
**Houses of Water-Lords versus Their Neighborhoods**

“And [recall] when Moses prayed for water for his people, so We said, “Strike with your staff the stone.” And there gushed forth from it twelve springs, and every people knew its watering place. “Eat and drink from the provision of Allāh, and

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53 “In rural Kutch in western India, villagers also refer to water in seven ways (sweet, saline, bland, surface, subterranean, ripe, and raw), and each type has different costs and benefits for different groups “(Mehta, 2002); check also: Mehta, Lyla: *Problem of Publicness and Access Rights: Perspectives From the Water Domain*; URL: http://www.bvsde.paho.org/bvsacd/cd65/LylaMehta.pdf; last accessed on 28.12.2016.
do not commit abuse on the earth, spreading corruption.””
(Quran: 1:60)

To reach a relative pattern of water distribution in Sanandaj, I have counted the number of big houses with pool and Qanāt outfall (Khānehay-i a’yāni) and accordingly the number of Qanāts in each district and as reflected in the following table, Jorabād جوراباد neighborhood is marked with zero although it was fully populated with working class families in which domestic weaving and spinning were done by women who famed the city’s name because of their fine-knitted carpets (farši sane فرش سنه). In contrast to Jorabād, Āgheh zamān was not peopled so much and this justifies the zero number of houses or water resources in this neighborhood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of houses remained from the Safavid time</th>
<th>Number of houses remained from the time between Safavid and Qājar</th>
<th>Number of houses remained from the Qājars time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chāhārlān</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sartapouleh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chahārbāgh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āgheh zamān</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorabād</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatārchiyān</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table.3** Houses of water-lords versus their neighborhoods.

In the second column, however, we are witnessing a growing rate of houses in the course of history and especially in Qal’eh-i Chāhārlān and Sartapouleh neighborhoods. This growth stands for the radial development of the city around its center. In the third column, the growth of big houses in the city has been switched from its center to Qatārchiyān that, as Sanandaji also recounts (see the next quote),
had all the natural perfections to be populated by *aʿyān* (prosperous people). The following text also supports the dictum of the last table. The quote is written by the historian *Shokrollāh Sanandaji* in the time of *Nāṣer-ol-din shāh* about the situation of Qanāts in the old Sanandaj:

“There are so many Qanāts that enter this city: Qanāts of Dārol-eyaleh, Dārol amān, the one that is donated by the late Molla Lof-ol-lāh sheykh-ol Islam and the one another donated by Mirza Yousof shir Divān that has a very salubrious running water, (these) are very useful for this city and many of the houses would be watered through these Qanāts. In a quarter known as Qājerchiān [Today the people name it as Qatārchiān] there are many springs. The house of Amān-ol-lāh Khān Vakil that is a very pleasant place was gradually gone to be ruined. Amān-ol-lāh Khān has done an essential renovation and now it is in a very good situation. The weather of this district is much better than the other ones. The quarter of Jabr-ābād which lies in the north of Sanandaj, has very little water and its dwellers are always in trouble and difficulty. This city, in comparison to its size, does not have enough water to provide the ease and welfare of its citizens but there are a lot of springs and rivers in its surrounding area which need (a big amount of) money and effort to guide the water into the city.” (Sanandaji: 17)

In contrast to *Sanandaji’s* report, Ayāzi, counts twenty-five springs for the city none of which exists today (Ayāzi: 420-421). These springs were more attributed to sainthood and sacredness. In fact, there is not a clear distinction between a Qanāt and a spring (*kāni*) because both of them need a more or less amount of digging craft to be opened. A good example is the spring of Gorg Ali, a dervish who dug a long channel that finally reached a water resource. The spring was named *Gorg Ali* in his honor and turned out to be a place of worship (*Niyāzgāh*) for the women (Ayāzi: 421-422). In the years, between 1932 and 1939, the main avenues have been built and between 1942 and 1977 many other zones have been added to the old city as like as: Khosroābād, Kakehjār, Ṣafri, Adab, Shālmān, Molavi,... These new zones are spread in every direction because the watering system is not dependent on the

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54 The *Jabr-ābād* neighborhood mentioned in the text above is today named by the people as *Jor-ābād* but makes not a big difference in its meaning: *Jabr* جبر means despotism and *Jor* جور means suppression. Then the name of this neighborhood means a place that its dwellers live due to despotism or suppression: a fact supported by their social reality.
traditional watering system of Qanāts anymore; but the old city still shows a meaningful inclination toward Ābidar, because Ābidar was the city’s resource for Āb: the water. This inclination does not contradict its tendency for expansion in a radial form around its (political) centre. Like so many feudalistic cities, Sanandaj started to expand in a radial format, having the citadel at its very center. This radial expansion has been blocked to a certain extent by the new streets that caused a morphological shift of its center from Shāh square toward Inqilāb square in modern times. It should be noted here that using the word feudal is used here just because there is no better convenient word for it and in fact using this word for an Oriental society is not accurate because this word is bred in an Occidental peasant society which was based on land ownership, in contrast to the Oriental societies which their peasantry life was based on the ownership of water. In Iran, a Khān (Perhaps the best equivalent for feudal in Iran) and his subjects were obligated to defend against the enemies. This enemy was not necessarily another rival Khān but mostly the nomads who attack the cities and villages during dry seasons. A village in Iran as its name implies (Ābādi) is not imaginable without a stable source of water like Qanāt. The Iranian scholar in political studies, Ḩabib-ol-lāh Peyman argues that this conflict between nomads—who were vulnerable against the shortage of water—and peasants—who use artificial irrigating technology and systems—is one of the main sources for Oriental despotism (Peyman, 1995), and the initiation of the social class of Aʿyān and nobles (ashrāf) in Iran (Peyman, 1995:89). Notwithstanding the importance of the threat and danger of the nomads for initiation of Oriental civilizations or despotism, what is important in these conflicts is the confrontation of the patrimonial aspect of a dualistic society with its patriarchal aspect. Whenever we talk about a Kurdish society we are talking about a
hybrid of peasantry and nomadic life styles that are gradually tending from nomadic into peasantry and from tribal communities into non-tribal societies⁵５.

Fig.14 Aerial photo taken in 1957 (1335 SH) (Source: Archive of Cultural heritage ministry; Sanandaj.

From a Patriarchal Community to a Patrimonial Society

“The first kings were the fathers of families.”
(The opening chapter of Sir Robert Filmer’s Patriarcha)

⁵⁵ Barth has divided the villages in Kurdistan into two big categories of tribal and non-tribal (1953) but this does not means that the tribal groups overlap with nomads and non-tribal societies with the villagers.
According to Max Weber, a patriarchal community is the most primitive and traditional system of power in which the leadership is something congenital, the group is small and bureaucratic relations are seldom and unnecessary; to its contrast, a patrimonial is a traditional system with a big bureaucratic order and levels of power (Weber, Sociology of Charismatic Authority, 2009 (1922); see also Alamdāri: 202-203)\(^{56}\). To know more about the symbolic domain in which a regional ruler or a Sheikh could ever act like a father—or to see how a governmental edifice or a convent could adopt the form of ruler’s or Sheikh’s family household—I need to refer to Max Weber’s notions on the household:

“To begin with, household and kin group need a god of their own, and they naturally turn to the spirits of their ancestors, actual or imaginary... A high degree of development in the domestic cult of ancestors generally runs parallel to a patriarchal structure of the household, since only in a patriarchal structure is the home of central importance for men.” (Weber, 1978: 411)

The patrimonial system and values of the region as an extra-development of a very peculiar kind of cult-of-ancestors is tied with the initiation of a ʿyān ایمان as a ruling class. In the same way—and in parallel to the household of a kin group—two parallel households were developed which are still recognizable in Sanadaj: Khānehay-i aʿyānی or the households of the ruling class—who provide the people with drinking water—and the convents of the Sheikhs—who provide their sons with Water as a pure metaphor\(^{57}\). The members of this class are basically the owners of water. A ruler [and here we could add the character of a Sheikh] in this extra-patrimonial domain, acts like a father who steadily exercises his paternal role by examining his

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\(^{56}\) Patriarchalism is fundamental to Weber’s concept of patrimonial domination as Weber links it to the organization of the state (Adams: 240), for Weber, furthermore, patriarchy is at the heart of patrimonialism and patrimonial domination is thus, just a special case of patriarchal domination (Adams: 238).

\(^{57}\) This is the meaning of abundant use of Water as a Word in Sufis’ literature and poetry in all of its different forms that it may take: wine [sharāb شراب], water of life [āb-i ḥayāt اب حیات], spiritual wine [sharāb-i maʿnāvi شراب معنوی or sharāb-i roḥānی شراب روشنی], ..., and all the countless watering metaphors by which for example the lips of a metaphorical beloved is similed to a spring [of life], etc.
patriarchal power on his subjects (ibid.: 101ff.). He is their symbolic Father and in this social theater, they should treat each other with the same love and authority that a father treats his son or with the same consent that a son treats his father; but this is not enough as the symbolic should prove its predominance over the real: “We [= the Sheikh, as he always refers to himself in plural] love our Dervishes even more than our sons!” (Mirec105) which reads also: “You Dervishes should love Us [= the Sheikh] even more than your father!” Just like a theater, the best player is the one who does not believe in the script. This is known as the Diderot’s ‘Paradox of the Actor’. The best examples of these superb players on Persian and Kurdish political/poetical scene are Hafiz and Nālī that are partially discussed in this thesis. However, in the sentence above, the word love has a strong emotionalizing effect that forces the player to put believe in the values of his/her Sheikh’s convent as a patrimonial household. In a small tribal/patriarchal community, the leader does not need to act love; he is their corpo-real father and as such, his co-existing love and authority is too strong to be invalidated. Reaching this level of consent is the ideal/ideology of a patrimonial Father. Inside a convent as a symbolic household, this ideal is watered with love as the most ideal. 

Return to the political scene, patrimoialism is an extended form of patriarchy; an explosion of paternal values in the realm of symbols whose stability depends on its ability in protecting these values. Therefore, a just ruler is the one who revitalizes the sacred tradition of fore-fathers (iḥyāgar-i sonnati niyākān احیاگر سنت نیاکان) and supporters of religion (Shāhi din panāh شاه دین پناه). On the subject of Oriental communities, Marx writes a paragraph that despite of all general critics against his notions on Oriental despotism, shows to be useful in respect to the conclusion that comes:
“The despot here appears as the father of all the numerous lesser communities, thus realizing the common unity of all. It, therefore, follows that the surplus product belongs to this highest unity. Oriental despotism therefore appears to lead to a legal absence of property in most cases created through a combination of manufacture and agriculture within the small community which thus becomes entirely self-sustaining and contains within itself all conditions of production and surplus production. Part of its surplus labor belongs to the higher community, which ultimately appears as a person. Thus surplus labor is rendered both as tribute and as common labor for the glory of the unity, in part that of the despot, in part that of the imagined tribal entity of the god.”

If we take the familial organization as a model for state, the word tribute in Marx’s citation, is comparable with the position of bridewealth (shirbahā شیربها) in an exogamic marriage. Although such a comparison does not seem to be justifiable in the first glance, it is another attribute of the same sublimating historical force in which a blood close relation loses its importance for the benefit of some unavoidable utilitarian regulations of an exogamous relation. These regulations enjoy a set of apparatus for holding the members of society close together by multiplying cases of mutual support and joint activity. Language is a symbolic apparatus that makes the circulation of collective labor possible (cf. Brewer: 14). In these new patrimonial relations, integrity and support are no more restrained in the close tribal relations. Instead, they are public values convertible to money as it is in bridewealth. By reading the work of Fredrik Barth (1953) who has worked on the Kurds in south Kurdistan, we can recognize these values in the traditional patriarchal forms in which political support of a close relative was itself a value that produces an owe for the one


59 Which seems to be a justified assumption at least in the context of the cited works here e.g. in full chapters of the mentioned work of Weber and also in some other works written on political philosophy for instance in the work of Friedrich Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, 1884.
who receives it. Barth explains the serviceable aspects of a Father’s Brother’s Daughter marriage in which the father-in-law, discounts the bridewealth and by doing this, he makes his son-in-law indebted: a debt that should be rewarded by a probable military defense in future. Hence, these tribal values are essentially the mediums of exchange with intrinsic and real use value just like a primary form of money. In marriage with strangers, the bridewealth should be rewarded with money; integrity and military support, in turn, should be obtained by the recruitment of hirelings. Accordingly, the despot father in the quote of Marx above, accumulates the formerly real appropriated labor in the form of money and tribute that has now found a symbolic aspect: “the glory of the unity.” This accumulation is readable in the name of state in Persian and Kurdish: dowlat. Dowlat is a word that equally stands for both government and money. A set of this kind equivocal Persian and Kurdish words is listed in the epilogue. Words of this kind mirror the social and political order written in the language. In a clan, the mentioned “glory of the unity” is embodied in the real father of the clan. Just like a private language that is not capable of communication, private money is not capable of circulation. Therefore, a private father should first be publically accepted by all “lesser communities” as their Father. Just like a fiat money—that is without intrinsic value as a physical commodity and needs a government to declare its value—the Shāh as the Father and the owner of all waters, personifies the government or Dowlat. Symbolic wins over the real. This huge gap between the real and symbolic (e.g. between a corporal father and a despotic king) has been filled with numerous rational micro-decisions such as committing an exogamous marriage. The non-tribal patrimonial system, gradually wins over the patriarchal tribal systems. This decision making between a symbolic and a real father is depicted in its best in Holou Khān’s chronicle. It is worthy to recapitulate this historical account, because it goes perfectly with Kurdistan’s historical transition.
from patriarchalism into patrimonialism. In this story, Ahmad Khān rebels against Holou Khān, his father who ruled Kurdistan on patriarchal-based imperatives. Ahmad dethrones Holou to make himself closer to the throne of Shah Abbās, the King of Iran. The importance of this story is that Holou is the corporal father of Ahmad and hence,—without any need for overlaboring this historical event to make a myth out of it— it has already all the built-in allegoric precisions needed for a mythological narrative.

**Ahmad Khān: The Man Who Sold his Father**

Holou Khān (ibn Soltānali) was so powerful that he did not appreciate the kings of Iran. After the crowning of Shah Abbās in 999 AH, he arranged an army to defeat Holou Khān but this action was itself defeated. Then Shāh Abās secretly corresponded to Ahmad Khān, Holou’s son, but simultaneously invited Holou Khān to his palace in Isfahan. Holou Khān refused the king’s invitation, because it would show him subordinated, so he declared his old age as an excuse. Shāh Abās this time wrote: “Your apology has been accepted. Because of your weakness, you are excused from our visit, but your elder son, Ahmad Khān, is a completely deserved person for receiving our royal kindness!” and ended his letter with this sentence: “Therefore, send him to the stately home of the supporter of the universe (king)” (Albate 'o rā be dargāhi 'ālam panāh bedroud namāid ابتله او را به درگاه عالم پناد بدرود نمایید). Holou Khān was this time obligated to submit. Ahmad Khān stayed for two years in the Royal court and Shāh gave the hand of his sister Zarkolāh, to his hand. The Shāh also assigned him as the governor of Kurdistan (Although Kurdistan was reigned by his father with sovereignty at that time). Ahmad Khān returned to his fatherland. Holou Khān received his son and royal daughter-in-law kindly and

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60 To read the original story see: (Sanandaji: 102-111) also (Monshi and Movarekh: 867-1070).
ordered to prepare a feast in their honor. Holou Khan’s servants brought some nuts and raisin and began to break the shell of nuts with stones. In that feast, there were also a group of qizilbash and the Princess servants. Ahmad Khan—who had lived for a while in the royal palace and became civilized (tamadon hasil karde bud) (Sanandaji: 108)—felt ashamed of this stone-aged buffet and ordered to bring some cookies and drinks from the princess bar (Sharbat-Khaneyi shahzade). By seeing these modern design (jarhi jaded) and exotic device (asbabi gharib) Holou Khan lost his temper and said angrily:

“You! Ahmad Khan, you really have made my taste bitter with these sweets... curse on you as you have opened the foot of qizilbash open in this countryside (mamlkat) of Kurdistan; you have turned our own nuts and raisin –Which were better than the water of life (behtar az ahi hayat bud) into the poison of death (zahri mamat) by means of candy. Till now, we have used to eat our own Turnip (Shalgham) and Bulgur (Balghour) spiced with pride, power and easiness independent of Shah and Vizier/minister. But it is now hardly imaginable that they leave us in peace (again)...” (ibid:109). Afterward, he entered the governmental fort (qale hokoumati) and closed its gates on Ahmad Khan. Ahmad Khan was confident and hopeful of receiving help from the king of Iran, then he rebelled openly against his father. He put the castle under siege without any success to get inside. Finally he asked his mother for help and with the aid of his mother, his troop came inside the castle. His mother led him toward his father’s bedroom: “The father was abandoned in sleep where the luck of his son was awake” (ibid:111). Ahmad arrested his father and on that very night, he sent him bonded, under guard supervision toward Isfahan. He wrote a pleading letter to Shah: “... I have proved my loyalty and obedience to my patron (the king) in such a degree that I am now ashamed in front of my own father but I am requesting to forgive the faults of my
father... whenever you treat this old man with disrespectfulness I will have no other choice to turn my regards away from the royal court” (ibid:111). Holou Khān stayed in Isfahan for six months and Shah Abās treated him well. Afterward, he returned to Kurdistan that was now ruled by his son. This historical event has many interesting features which could be taken as a Kurdish (anti)-Oedipus myth. Anti-Oedipus just in this sense that Ahmad Khān was not able to escape from his position as a son. He had just reterritorized his position from a patriarchal sphere (as a son) into a patrimonial one (as a son-in-Law). He was just free to made a deal between a real father and a symbolic Father. Although he attains a more powerful status than before, he never attained the high-status position of his father as a sovereign ruler. Whenever we look inside the Kurds’ history, the same story with more or less similar patterns and scales are detectable for example nowadays and between jāshs جاش ها61 and their family. Every Kurd who contributes in a struggle against his own people on behalf of the Persian central state is confronted with the same persuasive temptations, blocking guilt and ‘afterwardness’ symptoms of Ahmad Khān.

The Kurds Historical Pattern of Paternity

This pattern of history begins when the Medias lost their sovereignty and become subordinated to a Persian empire. This happens in 550 BC. and Herodotus in his report of this event narrates the story of Cyrus that is totally similar to the story of Ahmad Khān62. Then if we refer our reader to some books of history, he/she may recognize the same so called initial sin or patricide as the essential engine of the

61 Jāsh is a pseudonym for those Kurds (usually) with Sunni backgrounds who politically collaborate with the central Shia regime after Islamic revolution of Iran in 1979. It is rather an insult and literally means donkey.
history that drove the Kurds on a converging continuous seesaw transitional route from tribal nomadic life into non-tribal peasantry. Although in some of these historical events, the Khān rebels against the state power (such as the history of Amir Khān Barādoust), the structure of narrative remains the same. In fact, by flipping through the history of Kurds, one sees that a Kurd society is in a perpetual transition phase that runs from the shadow of father-as-King into the shadow of king-as-Father, which accordingly, the words shift their meanings from real into symbolic. The limits of ‘acceptable speech’ are doomed to remain more or less the same, because patrimonialism is not essentially able to develop a new set of statements other than those used by the Wise Old Men (white-bearded old men or rish-sefidān) of a patriarchal community.

However, this is not the whole story, because a transition from the father into a king had its own side effects such as the initiation of military institution remarked by Barth (1953). For a king, a set of strategies is needed to make the subjects obedient in such an automated and natural way that they were used to obey their own father. Among these strategies was the strategy of settlement or takhte qāpou because it generally, makes them more controllable in comparison to those who live in small, flexible tribal communities who could easily immigrate or switch to a semi-pastoral life style (see Moshfeqifar, 2008)

**Settlement: Exchanging Milk for Water**

There was a tendency to make the Kurds settled as peasants from the very beginning of their tributary history i.e. when they were ruled by Seleucids

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63 Perhaps they were right in taking such a strategy. Today, all the social democratic armed oppositional troops and groups of Pishmarge (lit. devoted) and Komala (lit. association) (PJAK, PDKI, PKK,…) live like nomads in the mountains and it is nearly impossible for the regimes in Turkey and Iran to wash them out from the political scene (see Komala's official site under URL: http://www.komalah.org/ last accessed on 12.3.2013).
khodādādian:98) or the Greeks with so many yo-yo effects. For instance, under the rule of the *Parthian Empire*, the Kurds were encouraged again to bounce back to their “old habits” (Ghirshman: 340) this oscillatory path founds its way till the modern era (i.e. reforms of Reza Shah for settlement of nomads). Today, this process is completely suppressed because approximately all of the Kurds are already settled in cities and villages and besides some seasonal grazier (*ramegardānī*) they are not attached to the nomadic life style anymore whereas there are some clues reflecting the dominance of nomadic life in Kurdistan in the early centuries after Islam and annihilation of Sassanid dynasty for example *Masʿōudi* (dead in 345 AH) in *Tanbih val Ashrāf* hints to a vast region that a nomad should travel in a seasonal relocation (*yeylāq va qshlāq*) for pastry (*Masʿoudi*: 38). This dualistic/rivaled styles of *wasteriya* (peasantry) and ā*wasteria* (nomadic life) has a longer (hi)story reflected even in Avesta (the holy book of Zoroastians) *Gāthāyasnāy* 31 part 20, and continues to mark their life even after the unity of Medes (See Ghirshman: 13-68). This rivalry and swing between these two styles of life has been beautifully depicted in *Derakht Āsourik*, one of the oldest Iranian scripts. The book belongs to the *Ashkānian* time and is written in Pahlavi language. It depicts the Iranian’s reaction towards the Greeks policy for eliminating the tribal nomadic life-style. The book is the story of a tree that starts a polemic debate with a goat to prove which one is more useful. The tree is apparently a representative of agriculture and the goat represents the tribal life. The story ends with the goat’s victory and the tree comes to be defeated. Of course, this victory reflects the Parthians’ wishful thinking and the reality proves the opposite in the long course of history. In fact, with this story the Parthians intended to reinforce and revitalize the tribal traditions of Medes. This tribal life style had even triumphed over peasantry, at least till the 10th century in which *Masʿoudi* offered his report. There are so many other readings, including
Shirin o Farhād that reveals some kind of nostalgic feeling for nomadic life. This story is perhaps the most famous Iranian love story which shows the ability of a true lover for shifting a sufferable unfeasible task (such as digging 18 km milk-ducts in a mountain) into something viable. The story took place in Bistoun or Ṭāq-i Bostān in Kermānshāh. Nezāmī Ganjavi, the poet of this story who has Kurdish origin from his mother side (Sāleḥi and Pārsā: 131) has narrated the story in Persian language but the story has an achromatical Kurdish origin (sine be sine) among the Kurds and transcripted for the first time by Almās-khāni Kandoule-i in 12th AH. A short synopsis of the story is as follows:

Shirin lives in a castle and is eager for fresh milk but the cattle is in a hayfield, 18 km away from the castle. She ordered her lover Farhad, to innovate a method for transporting the fresh milk right from the mountain into the castle. Farhad designed it by digging a graved channel in the stone, a boring work that put an acceptable proof upon his faithful love to Shirin:

\begin{verbatim}
Bi manzour shiresh modām har Shirin
bi dour farsakh se rāsh āmān ne
Karim che vātesh Shāpour va Shirin
berim ikāre bechār chār o
\end{verbatim}

Shirin was yearning for milk all the time but it was not available because [the cattle was in the mountain and] 18 kilometers (three farsakh) away.

“What shall we do?”, Shirin asked Shāpour (The ‘Wise Old Man’): “How shall we overcome this trouble?” (Kandoule: 41)

Farhad who is introduced in the text as an engineer, is the one who finally accomplished the hard task for his beloved Shirin.

In this legend, one detects not only a nostalgic feeling for nomadic life but also a kind of complex rivalry between this technique of milk transportation and marvelous technique of Qanāt by a clever replacement of aqua-duct for milk-duct.
How all these concepts of *father* and *water* and ducts would ever tie to the discussion of dreams? Perhaps the omnipresent physical realization of social values and structure in the spatial order of water ducts is responsible for the condensation of its reciprocal terms in language and literature to make a diamond-like condensed language that every word is so engineered to convey both its *real* and *symbolic* meanings. This assumption is considered and partially discussed as an open question in the epilogue. Through this assumption, the administrative language evacuates an empty space in which the oppositional speech is permissible. The ambiguity of this emptiness grants the language an unbelievably large room for poetical speech and *unconsciousness* as an empty space in which the meaning can swing between a symbolic meaning and a real intention. In other words, instead of communicating an intention, the language is provided by a built-in empty space for hiding the intentions of its speakers which makes the language ‘Real’. Accordingly, in the epilogue a set of equivocals are listed. These Janus-words are a set of oxymorons crafted and condensed in just one word which reveals the hidden dynamic of a paradox existing between two different intentions suggested by a single word. Observing these features of language will lead us to some of its built-in facilities for avoiding the punishment in political life: censor. Now, we should notice that concepts of Father, censor, language and unconsciousness are correlated ideas webbed around dream. A dream just like an equivocal word or symbol says something in its overt appearance to communicate a covert message. A dream is a visual primal word and a primal word is a verbal dream...

**Conclusion**

In these two chapters, all the discussions were webbed around Water and Father. I showed the historical background that was in charge of over-charging these words with meanings. The same is true—though not in this extent—for the Janus-words
listed in the Epilogue. As discussed in the chapter on theory, this over-charging of the words with excessive meanings has a direct effect on the signification system and accordingly on the dream culture of the speakers of this language. Remember that a dream manual is nothing more than an allocation table that assigns *this* dream-object to *that* meaning. Our discussions on the Kurdish dream culture will not be completed until we scrutinize the mechanism by which this allocation table works. That is way that Word and Flesh toggle into each other to produce the meaning of a dream. This is the duty of Part II.
PART II

Konfa Yakoun: Word vs. Flesh
A dream could be full of modern dream-objects such as telephone, TV, airplane, and so on.... In film Moloud Khān #2, part 2 and 3, there are many interviews in which my interviewee talks freely of modern objects that he/she saw in a dream. For instance, there is a Dervish who associates Borāq—براق—the celestial mount of Mohammad by which he ascended to heaven in the night of miʿrāj—معراج—to an airplane and also Mohammad’s aura to a florescent lamp and so on... Notwithstanding this likening and comparisons, the whole narrative is still railed on its older features and components: airplane is a metaphor for Borāq and fluorescent is a metaphor for Mohammad’s aura, etc. On the other hand, most of the dreams have the form of narrativity of a nightly ascension especially in their final episode in which the dreamer attains a different state of consciousness after realizing that they are already visiting a dearable sainthood in their dreams. Most of them wake up excitedly as soon as they know him (Prophet, Khidr, Sheikh Abdoulqāder Gilāni, ...) by name. “This experience could not be expressed in language!”; this is a sentence that one hears in many different forms for instance, at the very end of the film Moloud Khān #2, part 3. In the above mentioned interview, the interviewee, who is a dervish, suddenly started to shout when he reached this final episode of his dream narrative and he is not the only one who howls when remembering a dream of this kind. It is as...
if the dreamer is still charged with the presence once experienced in his/her dream. This presence is visible in many ways through a miracle-like capability or wisdom or simply a strong change in behavior which is usually known among almost all Iranian people as khābnamā shodan which literally means to be guided, signed or indexed [to the righteous way of fact due to] a dream. These narratives are formulated here with “Bābā Āb Dād” as the modus operandi of a large set of dreams. These dreams are considered by the whole community as ‘true dreams’ and as such, they will affect the life of the dreamers. A true dream (a dream that could realize itself in future) is considered as a revelation from the creator and should be understood as the ‘Words’ of God. For Allāh, talking has the same effect of creating. In an Islamic system of knowledge, “to be” is essentially a command, a “Be!” and every being in its uttermost essence is a command or word (kalām and kalame) of God that has found flesh (kon fa-yakoon): “…He [God] only says to it, "Be," and it is.” (2:117). This simple ‘law’ establishes the auditive feature of a true dream. It is a golden key for understanding many features of the culture of dreams in many Sufi communities. On the other hand, a ‘true dream’ is a message sent from God (Truth = حق). Dream in Islam is a kind of revelation and part of prophethood. According to a prophetic hadith, “Dream of a believer is one of the forty-six parts of prophecy.”

Therefore, inside a dream-object seen in a prophesying dream, resides a hidden Word that will sooner or later manifest itself in reality. The way that this Word sounds predestinates its mode of occurrence. The interpreter of dreams should be the one who is acquainted with the sacred language of revelation, above all, Quran as the words of Allāh (another name of Quran is Kalām-ol-lāh).

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64 This presence or ziyārat is perhaps comparable in some ways to darshan or a favorable glimpse of a deity or a guru (See comments on Mirec080).
It apparently took a couple of centuries full of polemic struggles on the exegesis of Quran before converging into a consistent single oneirocritic tradition in ‘Persianate societies’ such as Kurdistan in which the book of Ibn-i Sirin\(^{66}\) turned to the most popular—if not the only—dream manual. Regardless of slight differences in details, there are some main features that have remained untouched in almost every Islamic dream manual used in Iran and accordingly in Kurdistan. A cursory review of these common features will help us to understand the rhetoric rules by which that Word may read from the Flesh (‘manifest content’ of a dream). Here and on the following pages, one may find the answer to the question:

**- Are these rhetoric rules ad hoc and idiosyncratic or standardized?**

(cf. Lohmann, 2007: 46)

To answer this question, it is better to start from a verse in Quran that usually appears in the first few pages of most versions of Ibn-i Sirin’s dream manuals:

“…[Then Yousof (Joseph) gave his thanks to God and said:] “My Lord, You have given me [something] of sovereignty and taught me of the interpretation (ta’wil) of narratives.”” (Quran 12:101)

It is supposed that this knowledge of dreams—that was given to Joseph—could not be learned through books or dream manuals: it is the science of *ta’wil* (exegesis of a scripture) which is different from the science of *ta’bir* (interpretation of dreams. Although the difference between these two words is usually lost in translation as both of them are usually translated as *interpretation* but it is important to care about the vast difference between these two words. The difference between these two words is the difference that exists between *wisdom* and *knowledge*. It is through the wisdom of *ta’wil* that a sheikh can tell the meaning of almost every dream object notwithstanding written formerly in a book or a manual.

\(^{66}\) There are a set of different dream manuals in the region, for instance the dream manual of Daniel, Kermānī, Imām Jafar Sādiq, Ibn-i Sirin … All of these manuals are usually collected in one volume known as the book of Ibn-i Sirin.
**Ta’wil**

“The seven heavens and the earth and whatever is in them exalt Him. And there is not a thing except that it exalts [Allāh] by His praise, but you do not understand their [way of] exalting. Indeed, He is ever Forbearing and Forgiving.”

(Quran 17:44)

Nowadays, one may find a lot of new versions of dream manuals in Islamic countries in which the meaning of new modern objects such as a television, airplane or computers are mentioned as dream objects but they are neither authorized by orthodox clergies or *Shari‘ah* شريعت nor do they officially belong to any Islamic tradition of dream. In fact, we are facing a new interesting era of the formation of a new dream tradition in the middle east which would be an interesting theme but this new trait is still neither mature nor are gathered in a book by any Islamic institute. Parallel to this written tradition, there exists a verbal tradition of dream among the Sufis handled in a face to face consultation of a pupil with the Sheikh or Khalife as his deputy. They interpret almost everything per intuition without a need of a book but nevertheless their approach is based on the verses of Sufi poets and hagiographies. This is a very common feature and one can recognize it in every interview carried out by a sheikh or a khalife in App. D. For example, this is the way that my very first interview (with Seyed Arash Shahriyāri a pir of ahl-i ḥaq brotherhood) begins in addendum #1:

- **Is “dream” true or false?**

- It depends on our perspective. If we believe that there is a world of *gheyb* (unseen or *Das Jenseits*) and *asrār* (secrets) (*Serr ol gheyb* = secret of unseen) to which we are also reliant from birth to death, then, it exists. *Mawlānā* (Rumi) said: “While images that saints may often love...”
As expected, he instantly ties his speech to a fixed script. This time he refers to the first story in Mathnavi Maʿnavi of Rumi (the story of “The Healing of the Sick Slave-Girl”, see addendum #1 for the synopsis of this story).

On the other hand, and in contrast to this citational feature, one of the most interesting features of this oral culture, profoundly practiced among Sufis, is that they can interpret the meaning of almost every modern object appeared in a dream. For instance, once I recounted one of my dreams for Sheikh Ṣanʿān the head of Salâmie silsile. In my dream everything was related to modern era and space: I was in Munich; a city of which Sheikh Ṣanʿān had no primary experience. The dream was so:

“I came out from the Munich library and stepped out from the main building of university toward Marienplatz and in between I felt a woman was sitting on my shoulder. I could not see her face but I felt as if I knew her from before. In contrast to her load, my speed became much higher as if I am a motorcycle and we started to visit the city in full detail including old sightseeing and modern places. We even visited some séances of cinema and theatre and all in all in a very short time.”

After hearing this dream Sheikh Ṣanʿān asked me some questions about some details; questions such as the color of my cloth and the size of some places etc. I explained these details and afterward he said that the woman was a symbol for Sufism (Tariqat) because in every step that we take in our spiritual way of life we lose a part of our masculinity and roughness and become more tended into a kind of smooth and fluid femininity. This will lead us to womanly privacy and intimacy with the world. Because the world is also made from matter (māde) and hence the world is a female (māde). Afterward, he recited these verses from Rumi:
He concluded that the world has started to show other aspects of itself to me which are hidden from the eyes of average people because now I am already touched by Sufism. In other words, every modern object that I had seen in my dream was considered by Sheikh as a communicating *sign or nishāneh* sent from the other-side. To my understanding of all this, the Sufis’ tradition of dream interpretation is highly citational and at the same time very intuitive and flexible. In contrast to the written dream manuals, Sufis are able to interpret almost every modern dream-object; for example seeing a motorcycle is related in Sheikh Ṣan`ān’s interpretation to a more speed and fluidity which are rather attributes of the soul. As stated before, there is no Islamic dream manual for finding the interpretation of motorcycle, cinema, theatre and advertising billboards that I had seen in my dream. However, the main book of reference is Ibn-i Sirin that is usually used by normal people who are not affiliated to a convent and a sheikh. A sheikh has basically no need to look into any kind of book because he is supposed to have a deep *original* understanding of the psychical life (or better to say spiritual moods) of his pupils and can *return* every image reflected on the mirror of their dream, back to its original (spiritual) meaning. What he does is in fact a hermeneutic read from the dream as a script to reach a coherent explanation of it. The sheikh (or Khalife) may ask the pupil some detailed questions. Many dreams are considered too earthly to deserve a *ta`wil*.

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67 Moloud Khan#2, part1, scene 4 is also related to a similar argument.
(for example, the dreams that are seen at early hours of the night. It is supposed that the spirit is still not transcended to the realm of spiritualities at these hours (addendum #1) but many of them are considered as spiritual events حوادث روحاني. Spiritual events are considered to be sacred like a holy scripture—or a revelation as a residue of prophethood that potentially resides in the soul of every human being—and hence the wisdom of taʿwil as a kind of ‘aletheia’ is needed here to disclose their true meaning.

**Taʿwil vs. Taʿbir**

> يا آتيا العلماً أقتوني في رؤيتي إن كنت للرؤى تعبرون
> "O eminent ones, explain to me my vision, if you should (taʿbir) interpret visions."
> (Quran 12:43)

> رب قد أتیتني من الملك، وعلّمتني من تأویل الأحادیث
> "My Lord, You have given me [something] of sovereignty and taught me of the interpretation (taʿwil) of narratives."
> (Quran 12:101)

In the two above verses of Quran, we confront two different words that are usually translated in English as interpretation, however, there is a big difference between the way that a Sheikh handles with a dream and that of a traditional dream expert (معبر خواب). Our understanding of this difference is subjected to our understanding of the difference (Derrida, 1982) that exists between these two words: taʿwil and taʿbir. This différence was partially explained before (in our chapter on theoretical considerations) but it might be helpful to go deeper into it. Moreover, many versions of Ibn-i Sirin dream manuals recall these verses in their very first page to attribute the old science of dreams to Quran. Interpretation of dreams is similar to the interpretation of Quran because both of them are ‘scripts’ which require a kind of hermeneutics or exegesis for revelation of their occulted meanings. This relationship between dream and revelation is established in a creditable hadith from prophet. According to this hadith, on the day before his death, the prophet Mohammad
announced in the mosque of Medina: “when I am gone there shall remain naught of the glad tidings of prophecy, except for true dreams” (Lamoreaux: 84). While the prophet’s death would signal the end of Quranic revelation, God would continue to reveal himself to the Muslim community through dreams. In a more direct hadith we have “Dream of a believer is one of the forty-six parts of prophecy.”

Imam Ali has also said that “Dream of the prophets is revelation”\(^{69}\) (Sheikh-i Tousi, Amālī, vol. 1, hadith Nr. 28: 338). Considering a dream as a revelation means that dream is a sacred text that calls for taʿwil (intuitive and original understanding of a text). Taʿbir on the other hand means interpretation through the known dream manuals. Revelation is something new and hence could not be driven out from any book. A sheikh is the residue of the prophet: “The sheikh among his tribe is like a prophet among his people”\(^{69}\) (Asadī Rāzī: 91). This means that a sheikh has a residue of prophetic knowledge for returning the encoded message of a dream into its original meaning or intention (cf. Quran 12:101).

In a parallel evaluation—that puts stress on the visual aspect of dreams—the difference between taʿwil and taʿbir is the difference that exists between vision and dream or roʾyat and roʾyā\(^{70}\) (Nekoozad: 306). Roʾyat is a vision that one sees in wakefulness and roʾyā means dream. Ibn-i ‘Arabi, the most prominent theoretician of Sufism has explained the difference between roʾyat and roʾyā and accordingly between taʿwil and taʿbir:

“What one sees in wakefulness is roʾyat and what one sees in sleep is roʾyā... Taʾbir of a dream is passing\(^{70}\) from the form seen in the dream into another issue. [But] Understanding the intention of God inside the visible things is reliant on another science which we call it the science of perception or science...

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\(^{68}\) Ibn Majah, hadith Nr. 3917; URL: https://sunnah.com/ibnmajah/35/25; last accessed on 2.1.2017.

\(^{69}\) Sheikh Najm-ol-din Rāzi in mersād-ol- ibād has attributed this hadith to Mohammad the prophet (Asadī Rāzī: 191).

\(^{70}\) Taʾbir literally means passing (fromʿobūr عبور = to pass) where taʾwil means to return back to the origin, fromʿawal اوال = first.
of taʿwil ... And everything that one sees in his earthly life is in fact a dream, seen by a dreamer or nāʿīm that calls for Taʿwil for its meaning." (Ibn-i ʿArabi, Faṣ-ol Ishāq, Naqsh-ol-Fosous: 18-19)

Then the person who has the knowledge of taʿwil can see the truthful and original meaning of the “things as they are” (اَلشَّيَاء كَمَا هُوَ). This, again is related to a basic doctrine of Sufism in which the materialistic world should be perceived as a dream:

کلِ فِی الکون وَهُمْ اَو خُيال او عَكوس فِی المرَآیا او ظَلال

Everything in this materialistic world is either illusion or a dream

Or reflection in a mirror or shadows

Sheikh [Mahmoud ʿAbdolkarim-i Nadhmol-din-i] Shabestari, a Sufi poet of 7th A.H, has written a concise description on Sufis’ secretive language that still works as a handbook for coming into terms of Sufism. In his seminal famous work which is a mystic text called “The Secret Rose Garden” (Gulshan-i Rāz) written about 1311 in rhyming couplets (Mathnawi) he explains the dreamy nature of the world and the importance of reading the real message behind the curtain of visual objects:

تَوْ در خوابِی و این دیدن خیال است
هر آنچه دیده‌ای از وی مثال است
به صبح حشر چون گردی تو بیدار
بناتی کین همه و هم است و بنیاد

... 
برو اندر پی خواجه به اسیری
تماشا کن همه آیات کبیری
برون آی از سرا یم هاتی
بگو مطلق حديث «من رآی»
گذاری کن ز کاف و نون کوئن

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71 At the beginning of this book ʿIbn-i ʿArabi explains how Mohammad the prophet appeared in his dream and gave him this book to him for the guidance of the people.

72 A very famous verse attributed to Ibn-i ʿArabi cited in the works of many other Sufis, for instance these verses that are attributed to Abdol-Rahmān-i Jāmī:
You are asleep, and this seeing (real life) is an illusion,  
All that you see thereby is an allegory.  
On the morn of the last day, when you shall awake,  
You will know that all this was just a baseless fabric of fancy.  

Follow the steps of the prophet in his ascension,  
Marvel at all the mighty signs.  
Come forth from the house of Um-i Hāni (The daughter of Abu Ṭalib according to hagiographies, Prophet was resting in her house when the ascension happened to him.)  
Say only, "Whoso hath seen me hath seen The Truth."(a hadith from Mohammad (see “true dream” in glossary))  
Forsake the Kāf (ک , One of the Arabic letters) and Nūn (ن , another Arabic letter) of the corner of both worlds73,  
Sit on the mount of Qāf (ق , another Arabic letter, mount Qāf was also the abode of the Simurg, the archetype of absolute Being in Iranian mythology) at "the distance of two arches’ lengths قاب قوسین."  
"The Truth" will then grant you whatsoever you ask,  
And will show you all things as they really are.”  
(Golshan-i rāz, verses 174-200)

Shabestarī is alluding here to the well-known hadith اللَّه مَّ أَرِنَا الاَشْيَاءَ كَمَا هِي which has the form of a prayer: “Oh God, show me the truth of the things as they are.”74 Then it is supposed that the illumined Sufi sees 'things' as they are because after the annihilation of ego or fanāفنا, he/she endures and abides (baqāبقا) in God. The basic idea behind this conviction is that we don’t “see the things as they are” until we become free from our ego! Temptation of Flesh distracts us from reading the Word inside. To be able to read these words—which are supposed to be the ultimate mission of the objects as the handwritings of Allāh—is the meaning of the above-mentioned hadith. As it is seen in the verses above, in Sufism, the (physical) world is a dream: a symbolic text that should be read and deciphered by a Sufi, the fact that

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73 Kāf and Nūn make together the word كن (be) in Arabic, explanations of this will come in the next passages.  
74 'Abdolqader Gilāni the founder of Qāderie discipline narrates another version with the same meaning of this hadith in his book Sir-ol Asrār (The secrets of the secrets) “Oh God, Show us the truth as truth and make it our kismet to follow it and show us the untruth as untruth and make it our kismet to abide it” . اللَّه مَّ أَرِنَا الاَشْيَاءَ كَمَا هِي و اَرْزُقْنَا عَلَيْهِ و اَرْنَا البِطَال باَطِلًا و اَرْزُقْنَا اجْتِنَابَهُ (Gilāni: 48)
explains why this prayer of Mohammad has become one of the most important principles of Sufis as reflected in many of Sufis' poetical works and texts. Rumi writes:

He shows itself to us as bait but it was a hunt
So, show us that as it really is.

Again, it is clear that in the eyes of an enlightened Sufi, the world is a picture-puzzle or rebus for the understanding of whose meaning everything should be returned to its original word. This process of returning is ta‘wil. Ta‘wil conveys a deeper meaning than ta‘bir but these two words are usually used interchangeably. Ta‘wil is the way that a Sufi or a Sheikh tries to return the meaning to ‘things’—notwithstanding seen in a dream or wakefulness- and ta‘bir is the way that a traditional dream expert or khābgozār  خواب گزار tries to pass from the manifestation of a dream-object into its real objectification in the daytime. Ta‘bir is based on the given scripts (علم حصولی) whereas Ta‘wil is based on intuition and presence (علم حضوری) which one learns just when one comes in حضور ([lit.] presence) or vicinity of a deity. In the dreams proposed by murids to a sheikh, the disciples are expecting the sheikh to use his undeliberate unlearned insight of ta‘wil to help them see (or read) the original undistorted message of their dream. For example, in my own dream (in which a woman rode on my shoulders and turned me into a motorcycle and so on...) Sheikh Ṣan‘ān, by using his art of ta‘wil, (which allegedly is the art of seeing things as they really are) was able to recognize Sufism in the woman of my dream. This eagerness to reach that level of purity in order to be able to read the message directly, immediately and without distortion, is perhaps the utmost desire of every Sufi as reflected in this verse of Rumi:

179
I wish king-recognizing eyes
To recognize him in every guise\textsuperscript{75}

Or in a more direct way, in this verse:

\textit{Oh God, show the soul that position}
\textit{In which the words grow without [the need of] letters/speech}
(Rumi, \textit{Mathnavi}, vol. I, Part 144)

Notwithstanding the truth-value of interpretations of this kind, sheikh was able to interpret in such a way that was impossible to be interpreted through \textit{ta‘bir}. One could not be sure but my dream was very likely to be considered as an uninterpretable dream if it was proposed to a \textit{khābgozār} foremost because there is not a verse in Quran in which we can find the word \textit{motorcycle}. Interpretation of dream-objects of this kind needs the science of \textit{Ta‘wil}.

The Relation Between Dream and Esoteric Sciences

A dream expert \textit{khābgozār} is mostly an expert in writing ‘spells’ and incantations too: \textit{do‘ā nevis}. The knowledge of dreams and the knowledge of words—i.e. their secrets and powers—are interconnected. \textit{Seyed Zahid Ibrāhimī}, a famous dream interpreter in Kurdistan and one of my informants—filmed in many of the films of this project—usually looks into \textit{Ibn-i Sirin’s} dream manual while listening to the dreams of his clients (e.g. see Blind Owl [video]; min 05:00-06:00, Esmailpour G., 2013)). His look into the book might also be a job-related technique as his clients are mostly women and in this way he has a superb excuse for distracting his gaze from them into something neutral or even status-bringing in a milieu that still many

\textsuperscript{75} This verse is recited by a khalife in Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 7.
of the people are illiterate. The people come to him and explain their dreams in full detail in a room in which other women also come and go to talk of their own dreams and problems. He is busy and his room is usually populated with his clients and hence, they should dare to share their most intimate experiences and wishes with others in this chatting room. Seyed Zāhid listens to their words and looks for the meaning into his old felicitous book. They usually sit very close to him and it is hard to hear what they are saying (Mirec168). His clients want to know about the meaning of the ‘things’ that they saw in their dreams and their effects on their life and future. By listening to their dreams, he tries to bring the dream objects in the form of a happy tiding. This ability is a gifted art of a dream expert known as hosn-i ta ‘bīr حسن تعبير ([lit.] good interpretation). Sometimes there is a sign of sickness or a devil eye in a dream that should be stopped and inhibited through a doā دعا (a written ‘spell’ or prayer). He also writes doā as a remedy (shafā شفاء). The paper should be held in a nylon cover. In order for the remedy to be effective, it is instructed to fill the nylon cover with water after a while. This water should be drunk or splashed in the living place, room or bed of the dreamer. This is a hydrothropical treatment in which the words are supposed to give their power into the nylon bag and the nylon bag to the water. After drinking or sputtering the water into the living place, the written doā should be returned into its bag till the next treatment (See Mirec107-108 and Mirec136 for this word-into-water treatment and the relation that exists between doā and shafā). Doā has also got a close relationship with ta ‘viz تعريض which is a written text full of esoteric signs and symbols that one carries in his/her cloth or hides in his/her home to be protected against a devil eye. Belief in a devil eye is even approved by Quran specifically in a pair of verses known as wa-an-yakād وان يكاد: “And indeed, those who disbelieve would almost make you slip with their eyes when they hear the message, and they say: "Indeed, he is mad." But it is not except a reminder to the
worlds” (Quran, 68:51,52). The use of these two verses as a ‘spell’ against the devil eye is very known in Iran and it is hanged on the wall of almost every home in Iran to protect the indwellers from the jealous eyes چشم حسود (Mirec107-108). The most popular book about esoteric knowledge and techniques of Islam in Iran is perhaps Ser-ol-Mostatar wa khābnāme (book of dreams) of Sheikh Bahāī. This book has got some chapters about the techniques by which one can bring the dream under control and also about numerous forms of ‘spells’, doā and ta ‘viz.

Fig.15 Piece of a page from Ser-ol-Mostatar and khābnāme (book of dreams) of sheikh Bahāī (Sheikh Bahāī : 127); An esoteric book which includes dream techniques. The signs drawn under the verses are known as ‘asmā’ or names and it is supposed that the carrier of these signs can call the support of supernatural powers. One reads in the verses: “Oh, you the carrier of these names (signs) / You are safe from every badness and disaster / And free from cholera and diseases / from fever and ache and every pain / You will not be bitten by scorpion and snake and you never become sad at any moment.”

In Islamic world and culture, there is a general belief on a so-called ʾism-i aʿzam اسماعظم which literally means the greatest name of God (See Mirec133). ʾism-i aʿzam اسماعظم works as the most powerful ‘spell’ to which every other spell, word or drawn figure—used to bring the physical world under control—is a poor imitation. It is a kind of logus philosophorum (in comparison to lapis philosophorum or philosopher’s stone in alchemy). All the figures and signs drown and written in ‘spells’, doā and taʿviz are derived from a long tradition of Muslim’s mystics and philosophers in search of ʾism-i aʿzam: the highest and greatest name of God. The derivation of Ibn-i
Arabi (1165-1240)—the first Sufi who has analytically and theoretically explained the basic doctrines of Sufism—of this word is very instructive:

Fig. 16 Verd-i Aʿzam (biggest commemoration) of Ibn-i Arabi. (Ibn al-'Arabi: Majmou'e Sāʿat al-Khabar, 1949: 11)

These figures are still used in the esoteric knowledge of Sufis and also in popular Islamic esoteric knowledge for example in Ser-ol-Mostatar and khābnāme Sheikh Bahāi these forms are explained in the form of a poem (Sheikh Bahāi, Ser-ol-Mostatar: 127). The Islamic popular esoteric knowledge and culture of dream is a kind of popularization of Sufis’ severe and relentless pursuit of ʿism-i ʿaʿzam. Below, is a part of a very instructive interview in this respect:

“... ʾİsm-i Āʿzam ([lit.] the biggest name) of God ... is a word in Quran but only his messenger, ḥaqrat-i Mohammad (Peace be upon him) knows which word is the biggest name of him! Nobody else is shared with this knowledge and this is why we should respect Quran!” (from my interview with a pupil (Murid) named Borjali in Mirec133)

The interview Mirec133 reveals also the effect of Word (here a verse of Quran) on Flesh. This interview is mainly about a date palm (khormā خرماء) and a verse of Quran that contains the word date palm. This verse should be written on the date palm and it is believed that this will charge the date palm with the same power-of-Word that has once caused the virgin birth of the Jesus and hence, can reproduce the same miracle for anyone who eats it. Actually, the verse that should be written on this date concerns with the Quran’s account on this very miracle (19:25). This interview
(Mirec133) reveals how derwishes may employ the science of words (ilm-olasmā علم الأسماء) for the fulfillment of their wishes on earth (e.g. having a baby):

“- Look! Tariqat of Kasnazānī is the continuation of about 30 generations after Imām Rizā and those who have no children and have come to our convent (khāneqāh) would become a baby under God’s approval only if they eat the date of tariqat-i Kasnazānī ... The ‘Words’ of Uliyā’ (the friends of God) is the continuation of the miracles of the prophets of God! Karāmat (the wonder deed of Uliyā’) is [also] the proof of the prophets’ miracles. What is the miracle of a prophet? It is the words of Quran, or the words of the New Testament (Indjil انجيل) or the words of Torah ... It is said that ḥaḏrat-i ‘Isā (Jesus) has made a dead alive, or it is said that he is born without having a father. Then, there is a related verse for this miracle [in Quran]. If the same verse is written on a date and read by a pious Insān (human being) like our sheikh of tariqat the shāh (king) of Kasnaẓān, and ḥaḏrat-i shāh Huseyn and ḥaḏrat-i shāh Qāder [and so on...] anyone who eats from that date will become a baby if he/she had not a child before.” (Read Mirec133 for more)

In a similar but parallel way and inside the system of dream of the people of shari’at, one can recognize the same Word/Flesh relation. In fact, the dream manuals like Ibn-i Sirin is a reallocation table of ‘Words’ whose associations or meanings are based on a set of older scripts and foremost among them is Quran.

**Manuals: Thus Said the Son of Sirin ...**

“‘Who has taught you the science of dreams?’ They asked Kermānī; “from the books of Abraham, peace be upon him,” he answered: “and from the manuscript of Daniel and from Saʿīd ibn-Mosayib and from the son of Sirin who appeared to me in my dream and told me: “Today you have answered that problem so and so, that part of your answer was correct and those parts were false!” and as they [late dream experts] were happy with me, they turned towards me but as my heart
was still inclined towards the earth[ly desires] they turned their face from me in my dream."

(Ibn-Sirin: 62)

There are many popular editions of Ibn-i Sirin’s dream manual that are widely circulated in Kurdish societies; however, the main body of the dream manual has remained the same and relatively untouched. The new editions have no essential difference with respect to the dream symbols, their order and meanings but usually they have a shorter introduction and entrance into dream as a spiritual issue. In terms of its format, the dream manual of Ibn-i Sirin, is like a dictionary which starts the explanation of each word with “Thus said the son of Sirin...” ; but most of its versions have a brief introduction offering an overview of the author’s life or editor’s reason for gathering the book, etc. In fact, the author of most dream manuals is anonymous in this sense that Ibn-i Sirin is a register name for a blend of several legendary characters such as Ibn-i Sirin, Kermani, Dāniyāl, etc. The dream manuals available today have a history of formation, maturation and fragmentation. They imitate each other in many ways and due to this imitative feature we can figure out some general features of these manuals. Almost all dream manuals have a short introduction about the importance of dream as a residue of prophethood followed by an alphabetical list of dream symbols and their meanings. In the book used here as the main reference edited by Iraj Afshar, the late scholar and specialist of Iranian old handscripts, the dream symbols are alphabetically ordered just like a dictionary but each item begins with the word رویه seeing; for example رویه السکر or seeing a drunk and so on ... Although the book is written in Farsi, the dream-objects are sorted alphabetically and in accordance to their Arabic names. Again, the associations and

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76 It is strongly believed that if a dreamer follows a dead person in his/her dream he/she would die very soon and will join the one who has seen in the dream in the world of spirits.

77 The title of the book is khābgozarī or “dream interpretation” which is based on an old singular manuscript which again has a group of authors but as usually the dream manuals in Iran have Ibn-i Sirin as their generic name, this name is also used here when referring to this book.
accordingly the meaning that a dream-object may convey is a matter of language. For a faithful Muslim, these dream-objects should find their meanings in Quran hence, the primacy of Arabic! Most dream objects are accompanied by a short description of the condition in which a dream might have been seen and the different meaning that it might have produced. Below is a translation of what may be read under seeing a rooster:

“Bāb ro‘yat-ol al-dick (entry on seeing a Rooster (the word is Arabic))—Andar didan-i khorous (translation of the first line in Farsi): “If he (the dreamer) sees that he has found a rooster, it means that he will win over a Persian"78 guy. If he sees that he has killed a rooster, he will find a bonded-man. If he sees himself fighting a rooster, it means that he will fight a man of the same attributes of that very rooster seen in the dream. All the rooster limbs stand for the appropriate limbs of slaves. If he sees that someone gives him a chicken, it means that he will find a son or bring a young slave into his home.”” (Ibn-i Sirin: 194)

The Primacy of Word in Reporting the Dreams

We, sometimes forget that when we are reading Quran we are in fact reading a dream manual. A text whose language is not the language of awakens but the language of dreamers.79

In Islamic dream culture and especially among Sufis, it is hard to tell ‘dream-objects’ and omens apart. It is as if they are ontologically the same; hence the interpretation of seeing a ‘dream-object’ is largely subjected to the meaning of its name. Taking a ‘dream-object’ as a bad omen (ṭire gereftan) is mostly related to the

78 Rooster is a symbol of Iranian people perhaps because it was a sacred animal in the eyes of Zoroastrians. In the stories of ascension, both before and after Islam, the rooster always plays an important role (See explanations of Shams on Mohammad’s visit of an angel-like rooster (Shams: 81) and its related illustration in Appendix A.

79 This quote is taken from an article entitled “Mohammad Rāvi Royāhāy-i Rasoulāne” (Mohammad; the Narrator of Prophetic Dreams). This article caused a huge amount of discourse and critic around itself when published in the cyber space (5.7.2013). It was originally published under: URL: http://www.rahesabz.net/story/72728/ last accessed on 12.2.2014.
meaning of the names of that thing in wakefulness (Ibn-i Sirin: 31-32). This paragraph from the dream manual of Ibn-i Sirin is helpful in understanding of the subtle relationship that exists between ‘things’ and ‘Words’:

“Ishāq Mouselī had a maid and asked her: “Would you obey me?” she answered “Yes! Swear to God!”, and Ishāq said: “give me your ring!” and the maid answered: “My ring is golden and I am afraid that I cannot take it back, because gold in Arabic sounds like ḍāhab which means “gone!” and whoever who goes they say ḍāhaba! which means “he is gone!”; then take this piece of wood from me because wood is called ‘ūd in Arabic which means “come back!” and they say ‘ūd whoever they want someone to return.”” (Ibn-i Sirin: 31)

And the author continues in his explanation of the functionality and effects of the ‘Words’ and names by bringing a set of stories like this:

“A man came to the prophet and asked for the interpretation of his dream. He asked: “What is your name?” he said: “Jomreh جمره (lightning)”. He asked again: “Where do you live?” and he answered: “in ḍāt ol ḍaraqe ذات الحرقه (lit. the essence of fire)”. And he said your people are in fire now and when he returned he really found them burned.” And in some other occasion he asked: “Which one of you can wipe the sorrow from my heart?” One man stood up. He asked of his name and he answered: “ḥarb حرب (war)”. He said sit down and some other person stood up and he asked of his name. He answered: “yū ʿīsh يعيش (living happily (usually used in hedonistic context))”. Prophet said: “live well! My sorrow is away now.” Then the Prophet and his followers took the names as omen.” (Ibn-i Sirin: 40)

Remember that stories of this kind which are rather about the primacy of words are usually explained inside a dream manual. Islamic dream interpretation is rather an art of exegesis. Moreover, interpretation of dreams is not far from the interpretation of a script like Quran. Everything seen in a dream may be related to its meaning in Quran. For example, seeing the number six or six objects means the end of works because: “...[God] created the heavens and earth in six days ...” (Quran, 7:54) and eating meat in a dream means backbiting someone as it is stated in Quran that: “And do not spy or backbite each other. Would one of you like to eat the flesh of his brother when dead?” (Quran, 49:12) or seeing a stone stands for ruthlessness: “Then your hearts became hardened after that, being like stones or even harder.”(Quran
and seeing sandals stands for obedience and becoming closer to God, referring to this verse in Quran where God asked Moses to come closer after taking his sandals off: “Indeed, I am your Lord, so remove your sandals. Indeed, you are in the sacred valley of Ṭuwa ظوی” (Quran, 20:12), and finally opening a door with a key stands for victory and acceptance of the prayers from God not only because of the 48th Surrah of Quran (Al-Fath which means victory) or the verses like 8:19 (cf. Rāzi: 143) but also because of the relationship that exists between the word key or miftāḥ (مفتاح) and the root of this word in Arabic, F T H (فتح) which means victory and opening. The examples are numerous. In fact, the whole life of a practicing Muslim is constellated with Quranic formulas, as well as prayers, litanies and invocations in Arabic as seen in the examples above. The interpretation of many dream objects relies on their interpretation in Quran (See Mirec064, Mirec065, Mirec080, Mirec136, Mirec174 for the interviews in which the use of Quran is instant and absolute). In an Islamic dream culture, it is highly important which kind of words we are using in reporting or naming our dream objects. The interpretation of the dream is based on the words by which it is reported. It is a hadith from Mohammad which states that one should start the report on his/her dream with fine words (اندر گزارش گنت این دادن ) (Ibn-i Sirin: 7):

Daniel said: When they ask you a dream whose answer is concealed to you look into the mood of speaking of the dreamer. If the modality of his speech gives you a good sense, the meaning of the dream would be also good and vice versa. If the first words of his/her report was imprecating (marqhowā مرغوا the dream is not good. If the first letter starts with letter خ it should have a nice meaning and it leads into happiness خرمي (this word starts also with خ) and if it starts with خ it implicates badness٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠٨٠ (Ibn-i Sirin: 33).

In the same way, it is important to notice the words and names that one hears in the dream. If one sees something turquoise-colored or a turquoise stone it might be a very good dream because turquoise (firouze) is in homophonity (both is Farsi

٨٠ He does not explain but perhaps because this letter implies badness or شومي.
and Kurdish) with the word winner (firūz or pirūz). In the same way, it is ultimately nice when one comes across someone in a dream named pirūz (winner) or sees himself in a village named firouz-ābād (a very common name for villages in Iran which literally means win-land) (Rāzi: 139). These examples remind us of what Freud has once named “assonance and similarity of the words” in his recall of Oriental dream manuals (Freud, 1900: 74) and our reference paragraph of Lacan in Écrits (Lacan, Écrits: 268).

Dream is a secretive script that like any secretive script has an apparent facial meaning and a hidden symbolic meaning. These two meanings of dream as a Janus-word are interchangeable but when it happens in its facial format, the symbolic interpret of the dream would be automatically inhibited. This is why that some Islamic dream experts believe that the bad symbolic consequences of a bad omen (which is essentially a Word) seen in a dream should be returned through a factual prove of it in reality. For example, seeing that a tooth falls has the meaning of the death of a very close relative (Mireci74), however it could be avoided or returned by taking the same tooth off in wakefulness (Ibn-i Sirin: 8). Ibn-i Sirin also believed that the interpretation of many dreams is just their factual happening and there is no need to look for any symbolization (Ibn-i Sirin: 47). The literal realization of a dream prevents the dream from realization of its metaphoric meaning however the interpreter should not make the dreamer aware of the [bad] symbolic meaning of his/her dream (Ibn-i Sirin: 10). The interesting story of Haroun ol Rashid is very exemplary in this respect:

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81 There is a lot of stories around this Khalife in Islamic milieus and narratives. Many of the stories of “one thousand and one night” are related to him. Among the Ahl-i Haq he is the symbol of darkness and opponent of Bohloul the founder of Ahl-i Haq tradition in Urāmānāt in Kurdistan (Safizade: 23-26).
“One night Haroun ol-Rashid saw a dream and became frightened. He called a dream interpreter. The dream expert said that there is a betrayer among those who sit around your stand (basāṭ). Afterward, Haroun calls the astronomers to extract the name of betrayer from the stars and it was Sharik the son of ‘Abdollāh. He summons Sharik and told him that “I want to kill you!” He answered: “might you be in the hell if you do so as I have neither killed anybody nor committed adultery nor become a pagan to be condemned to death!” Haroun answered: “This is because of a dream that I saw last night and I become afraid and the forecasters have interpreted it so and so…” Sharik replied: “Dream is the play of div (demon). Do you want to kill a Muslim for the sake of a dream? You are not Joseph the prophet!” Haroun became calmed a little and let Sharik sit beside him. After a while, Sharik turned his head and spat on the floor. Faḍl-i Rabi’ said to him: “How you dare to spit on the Caliph’s stand?” Sharik answered: “Silent! You damned! Where should I spit then? On your eye perhaps? Because everywhere is the stand of our Caliph!” Haroun laughed on his answer and his heart became unruffled because what he had seen in his dream (spitting on his stand) has already happened untroubled.” (Ibn-i Sirin: 10-11)

Then seeing the dream content in its non-figurative format hinders its symbolic meaning. Moreover, it is believed that the interpreter should start his answer with a positive read of the dream: “It’s a good thing that you see!” (نیک دیدی) which was the habit and tradition سنت of Mohammad the prophet in interpreting the dreams of his followers (ibid). This is the founding stone of the art of ta’bir: Guiding the dream’s content into happy happenings in future. Even today the one who hears the dream should say: “It is good on God’s will!” خير است ان شاء الله and it is somehow impolite if one remains silent after hearing of a dream. There are some occasions in which the dream hardly lets itself for a good interpretation. It is believed that Mohammad the prophet was apparently the only person who could return (ta’wil) every dream into a glad tiding for his/her followers (Ibn-i Sirin: 7) but not all of interpreters could find a glad solution for every dream. This is the situation of Seyed Zahid Ibrāhimi in the third dream in the film Blind Owl (see Esmailpour G., Blind Owl [video], 2013: min 12:20-13:40). The interpreter struggles to find a proper word because his heart and his dream science do not show him an outdoor from the badness that the dream implies.
In such cases, it is usually recommended to the dreamer to pay alms and recourse to God because his/her dream has no good interpretation. The dream expert usually gives an elusive reply and evades any direct answer to avoid it from happening. All of this argument is summarized in two hadith from Mohammad the prophet that are described by Imām fakhr-i Rāzī in his book altahrīr fi 'ilm-i al-ta'bir التحریر فی علم التعبیر:

“In the meaning of this hadith from the prophet, peace be upon him, who says: “The dream is dependent on its interpretation: الرویا علی ما تعبر” and also has said: “The dream is like a flying bird that descends [= happens] first when become interpreted: الرویا برجل طائر فاذا عبرت وقعت”.” (Rāzi: 37)

The meaning of the first hadith is that the sense of a dream is reliant on the way that we interpret it and the meaning of the second hadith is that the dream is hung on the wings of a bird; it would happen just as it is interpreted. We should know that dreams, in this culture of dream, are either apparent (ظاهر) or secretive. When apparent, dreams do not need any interpretation or elucidation and that the interpretation (ta‘bir) of the dream expert would have no influence on it: It will happen in that exact way that was seen in the dream and interpretation will have no effect on its real, decreed and accurate occurrence. When they are secretive (مرموزه), the dreams appear in the form of signs and symbols. However, it is very rare that a dream prove itself in reality in the same exact way that is seen in the dream (There are 46 different possible deviations (jahāt) for dreams and just one of them is in full similarity and direction (jahat) of its worldly ‘simulacrum’ or Flesh; see Mirec107-108). These dreams are dependent on their [mode of] interpretation and they will happen in the way that they are interpreted. This art of divination is considered as a kind of God’s approbation عتایت حق received by the interpreters of dreams. This conviction that the dream is subordinated to the meaning that its interpreter puts on it, is justified in Quran and in the story (Surrah) of Josef who says: “قضی الامر الذی فيه” قصی الامر الذي فيه

191
(Quran 12:42) which means: “The matter has been decreed about which I put my interpretation notwithstanding you have seen it or not.” (See Rāzi: 39-40). Rāzi continues:

“But the Prophet’s (peace be upon him) metaphor of dream (dream is hung from the wings of a bird) proves that the dream is subjected to the interpretation suggested by its forecaster. And the meaning of this saying which states (knowledge is by God) is that everything seen in dreams is not stable and firm but it is floating and it becomes decreed and realized first after being interpreted by a forecaster. Bringing it in analogy with floating on the bird’s wings refers to its inevitable nature after being interpreted.” (Rāzi: 41)

Therefore, it is up to us (the interpreter) to decide how to see or better to say, how to hear the dream-object as a signifier. Dream objects are Words in their essence and as Words they could have many meanings. Through the art of divination or the art of seeing this as that, the meaning of a dream object and accordingly its effect on the events of future could be changed: This is the key-point in understanding the Kurdish culture of dream and it deeply relies on the particular relationship that it establishes between the signifier and the signified in which the Word finds primacy over Flesh as its auto-affective and ideoplastic appearance in reality. This relationship between the dream events as ‘Words’ and their effect on this worldly simulacra or Flesh is reflected in many interviews, for instance: Mireco41, Mireco064, Mireco065, Mireco077, Mireco85, Mireco87, Mireco88, Mirec137, Mirec159, Mirec169. This particular relationship is also the key-point for understanding the ‘khawāriq’, commemoration and many other rituals of the Sufis in which a Word is supposed to have a direct affection on the physical world as Flesh. When we say Flesh, it includes as well the most literal sense of the word (e.g. the meat) for example in ‘khawāriq’ the physical body changes its conventional manners and behavior. The following interview with Sheikh Ṣanʿān صنعان explains:
“... His (referring to Abdol-Qāder Gilānī the chief master of Qāderieh brotherhood) tomb has two gates. Once a Jew was heard that whoever enters a gate and exits from the other gate with pure intention (niyat-i pāk, نیت پاک, the fire of hell will never burn him... He had a piece of meat of cow with himself when he passed the two gates and when he returned to his home he realized that the fire has no effect on the meat and he understood that this is because of the karāmat of the Bābā Sheikh. He converted into Islam and became a murid of Abdol Qāder. This is why that the dervishes of Abdol-Qāder can do firewalking because they have full control on their nafs (ego)...”

(From Mirec159)

This primacy of word over flesh is also the main reason behind the privacy of dreams because the dream takes the features of its interpreters including those who hear of the dream.

The Privacy of Dreams:

“Do not tell your dream to the others!”

Thus said Mohammad Ibn-i Sirin: “When you see a dream do not tell it to anybody who does not have the knowledge of dream and not to a woman even if she is your mother or sister and not to a foolish-old (پیرى که خرف گشته پاشد) and not to a lunatic or a child or a Zoroastrian or a Christian and not to an enemy because a dream takes the features of its interpreter (خواب بدان پای دارد، که امر پاگیس).

(Ibn-i Sirin: 46-47)

One of the most important rules in Islamic dream culture is its privacy. It should be kept hidden and not shared with the others because of the auto-effective relationship that exists between a dream as a text and the bad events that may be caused on the hand of a bad reading of this text. There is a direct relationship between Word and Flesh in an archaic culture. A dream should be narrated just for a running water (Mirec136, Mirec174, Mirec187) –that can wash its badness away—or a Sheikh—who
as a residue of prophethood with the science of *ta‘wil*\(^{82}\) (in Moloud Khān #2 there are some scenes that stress the privacy of the dreams namely in part 1; scene 3)—or for a pious dream expert who knows how to lead the dream into a good happening through his art of *hosn-i ta‘bir*. This rule of privacy is hence in a direct connectivity with “hung on the bird’s wing” metaphor described before (Rāzi: 37). Rāzi continues:

“The reason that a dream becomes decreed after its interpretation and becomes stable and calm is that the prophet, peace be upon him, has said: “when someone from you sees a dream he/she should be alarmed of it and should not tell it to anyone else.” He/She should recourse to God and plea to decrease its harm.” (Rāzi: 41).

The story of Joseph the prophet who is the archetypical figure of a dream expert starts with his dream in which he sees eleven stars bowing to him. Although the dreams of the children are not interpretable in Islam (Ibn-i Sirin: 48), this dream is an exception because Joseph has a privileged status in the science of dreams. The first reaction of Jacob, his father, after hearing his dream was:

“O my son, do not relate your vision to your brothers or they will contrive a plan against you. Indeed, to man, Satan is a manifest enemy.” (12:5)

Another reason for hiding the content of a divine event in a dream is a provisional protective policy to keep the dreamer safe from the jealousy of other people because many dreams are status bringing for its dreamer like this dream of Joseph and also the story told about the nightly ascension of Mohammad into heaven. According to the story, the ascension of Mohammad caused a lot of arguments among the Arabs of that time: They called him a liar and hence the nightly ascension of Mohammad—which is the most spiritual and divine dream in Islam—is also referred to in Quran as a *fitnah* or sedition among the people:

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82 This fact that a bad dream could be just narrated to the running water and a Sheikh emphasizes again the ontological relationship and the similarity that exists between Sheikh and water. Sheikh has the power of *ta‘wil* that is returning to the origin (*awal* حَرَب) like water that washes the dirt away.
“And [remember, O Muhammad], when We told you; "Indeed, your Lord has encompassed the people." And We did not make the sight which We showed you except as a trial (sedition) for the people...” (Quran, 17:60)

There are a lot of stories and lore around this. After Mohammad’s claim of his visit from Jerusalem and masjid-ol aqṣā مسجد الاقصى there were people in Mecca who had seen the city and asked him for detail to check the truth-value of his claim. In some narratives, Mohammad gave them even some news about the caravans that were on the way between Jerusalem and Mecca and so on…but the interpretation of Sufis is quite different: In Qāderie and according to sir-ol Asrār (secret of the secrets) the book written by the founder of this school, ‘Abdol Qāder-i Gilāni, The secret is what has been exposed in the night of ascension upon the heart of the prophet and it was veiled under 30000 layers بطن and he did not reveal it to anybody except to his close friends and fellows of șoffeh صحب صفة(Gilāni: 71). Fellows of șoffeh where a group of his followers who lived a very ascetic life and many scholars believe that the name of Sufism or تصوف is also derived from the word șoffeh, that is, a corner in prophet’s mosque in which they used to get together. Gilāni believes that they knew about the secret (apparently he refers to the biggest name or ʾism-i aʿẓam اسم أعظم) even before prophet’s ascension into heaven (Gilāni: 70). However, the most important reason for hiding the content of a dream is again the primacy of Word onto Flesh and the effects that a dream as a narrative (or a set of words) could invite in reality as a result of its creative power. In this system of dream, even a fake dream could cause dangerous effects. In the continuation of the Joseph (Yousof) story, we reach a part where a prisoner shares a fake dream to Yousof which leads to his execution. This part of the story is the most classical and Quranic example of this magical power of suggestion that lies in the dream-narrative (and not necessarily in the dream). It is about the faked dream of one of the two co-prisoners of Joseph the prophet who narrates their dreams to him in the prison. Joseph interpreted this cooked-up dream as a foretelling
of the dreamer’s execution. An accident that has been fulfilled although it was not ever seen by that person. Even when he become repentant of narrating that false dream, Joseph replied that there is no way back and “the matter was already been decreed”:

“O two companions of prison, as for one of you, he will give drink to his master of wine; but as for the other, he will be crucified, and the birds will eat from his head. The matter has been decreed about which you both inquire.” (12:41)

Joseph has used the same words qadā al-'amr (to decree an imperative) used in the following verse:

“Originator of the heavens and the earth. When He (Allāh) decrees a matter, He only says to it, "Be," and it is.” (2:117)

This important verse formulates the most fundamental relationship between Flesh and Word, that is, between the sensory image of a phenomena seen in the world of creation or ālam-i khalgh (also known as ālam-i koun) to what had been decreed in the world-of-Words or the world-of-imperative or ālam-i 'amr as the original creator (also known as ālam-i kon or roughly ālam-i 'asmā'.

Stereotypical Interpretation of Dreams

From the previous discussions, one can conclude that there exists a direct, firm and tit for tat relationship between the appearance of a ‘thing’ in a dream and its meaning according to Quran and hadiths. This makes the methods taken for the interpretation of dreams very literal, scriptural and straightforward so that the interpreter can directly derive the meaning behind a dream-object according to the text of Quran and

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hadiths irrespective of the way that the dreamer him/herself may think about it. It is mostly supposed that the dreamer is also a believer otherwise it does not make sense to commission a dream expert of an Islamic tradition. Moreover, when someone narrates a dream seen by a friend or relative to a dream expert it might be very common to be asked of his/her religion, piety and faith of that absent dreamer (see Esmailpour G., Blind Owl [video], 2013: min 13:00-13:40). In fact, there are two main and common starting questions that might be asked by a dream expert:

1- What is the profession of the dreamer?

2- Is he/she religious (اهل نماز و دعا هست یا نه)?

The first question is usually asked because the occupation of a dreamer automatically reflects his/her mind occupation too as well as his/her social class. On the other hand, to be a believer and Muslim means to be obedient to the Law of Islam. The word Muslim or مسلمان literally means the one who is taslim تسليم or surrendered. Relatively, all the dreams which are offshoots of humanly individuality and subjective wishes (نفسانی هواهای) should be ‘foreclosed’ or glossed over as non-interpretable dreams. This kind of filtering bestowed this tradition of interpretation a stereotypical figure. This stereotypicality is referred by the word straightforward by I. R. Edgar:

“In Islamic dream theory, the core distinction is between true, false, and desire dreams. True dreams are often straightforward to interpret: the message is clearly articulated as in an auditory instruction.” (Edgar: 112pp.)

Or:

“In contradiction with Western dream interpretation, Islamic dream interpretation is much more scripturally based and therefore more directive towards the dreamer. Also, the manifest content of the dream often leads to a very straightforward and literal interpretation.” (Edgar: 33)

This feature of Islamic dream culture has wondered him (Edgar) whenever he makes a comparison between Oriental and Occidental approach. To him, the “dream-work movement” is more democratic in comparison to the Islamic approach toward interpretation of dream (Edgar: 117). It is shown in this thesis that even the Islamic
approach toward the interpretation of dreams could be interpreted in terms of Freudian ‘dream-work’.

The Importance of Being Religious

Kermāni said that whoever sees himself as an Arab (in a dream) he would talk nonsense and lies. (Ibn-i Sirin: 287)

Another principle in the Islamic dream culture—which is reflected in the second question above—is that the dream of a Muslim is essentially different from a non-Muslim and its content should be handled differently:

“Two men (one was a pious fellow while the other one was a sinful guy) came to Imam Ibn-i Sirin to hear of the interpretation of their dreams. Both of them have seen that they are calling Athan (the Islamic call for prayer), so he interpreted it for the pious man as a sign of a pilgrimage while he interpreted it for the other man as a completely bad omen: “You will steal something and your hand will be cut [Islamic juristical punishment for rubbery]!” When the people asked of the reason behind this double standard and different interpretations for just one dream, he answered that—via two different places that the word Athan is appeared in Quran—he has attributed each verse to each person to fit them better to their appearance and character. For the first person who was a pious Muslim, the interpretation should be done according to the 3rd verse of the repentance Surah (Towbah توبة) which says:

> And [it is] an announcement from Allāh and His Messenger to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage ....” (9:3)

But for the second dreamer this trace of the word Athan in Quran fits better:
“...Then an announcer called out, “O caravan, indeed you are thieves.”” (12:70)

...” (From comments written on Mirec064 and Mirec065)

This is one of the most important and general techniques in Kurdish Islamic culture of dreams that is to put the focus on the words that the dreamer says and trace its meaning in Quran according to the social class, piety, gender, appearance and other attributes of the dreamer. Then the answer given to the second question (Is he/she religious?) will drastically change the meaning of the whole dream. Being a religious Muslim who is faithful to the religion’s law or shari’a stands for an even organically hard-wired relationship between his/her psyche and Quran as if Quran has written on his/her soul what is usually referred to as the board (louḥ) of soul or mind or heart (louḥ-i jān or louḥ-i ẓamīr or louḥ-dil). This louḥ is also the word used to name the board on which the school children learn to read and write. Ibn-i Ṭebā’i explains the nature of this louḥ for Sufis and people of tariqah:

“The depiction of God’s knowledge is what we name as Louḥ-i Mahfouz or protected board because everything that becomes decreed (and inevitably should happen) will be written and depicted on a “protected board” so it will remain protected from the demons and their falsifying deeds. It is depicted to be read by the angles and prophets. And do not think that this protected board is a square object made of wood or something else that one can see with bodily eyes or scriptures that one can read; this is a false thought. A true instance of this board is a person who has memorized the whole Quran as if it is written on him and he sees it and reads its words and letters. If someone rips his body into pieces and looks into it, he will not see Quran or a written thing anywhere in his body. Then the depiction of things in the protected board is like the reflections in a mirror that is capable of showing everything in itself.” (Ibn-i Ṭebā’i, Ma’rifat-i Rijāl ol Gheyb wa Ma’rifat-i Ālam-i Asghar wa Ālam-i Akbar: 17)

From every direction that we look into Sufism, we will witness the same imperatives that are aimed to sublimate the Flesh (even in a very direct meaning of the word; that is the meat (Mirec159)) into Word. Commemoration is one of the main methods for
sublimating Flesh into Word. It is believed that commemoration or ذکر has the purifying\(^{84}\) effect on the body as a board to turn it into a clear mirror capable of producing a truthful reflection of images as seen in a dream. True dreams may reproduce similar effects on the listeners of the dream retelling (See the comments at the end of Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 10). As the interpretation of dream objects are mainly derived from Quran, this organically hard-wired relationship between the dreamer’s mind and Quran make the meaning of what he/she sees in the dream clearer and more direct like the objects seen in a clean mirror. The more one is faithful and pious, the more he/she is likely to see a ‘true dream’. From any perspective we look inside the Islamic esoterism of the region, we see a process during which a Word is affecting a body notwithstanding the body of a human or a physical object.

The Dream and Death: Body/Spirit Duality

The secretful (ramzbār) says:
Benyāmin (one of the arch-saints in ahl-ि ḥaq) has spread his trap
He draws a body
And spirit enters into it from that highness

\(\text{And it is He who takes your souls by night...}\)
(Quran, 6:60)

\(^{84}\) It is hard to name a known theory for purity in anthropology for what is just written above. It might be a complex issue which needs a separate dissertation for a full explanation, because it is hard to locate and find the source of pollution: body or soul? (See Mireci124) Blood is the core signifier for contamination for example during ‘khawāreq’ it signifies the sin. On the contrary, blood as a sign of virginity might be considered as a sign of/purify. Menstruation at any case is considered to be very pollutive which endangers the success of a ritual as well as khawāreq which is a kind of miracle. Again menstruation in the words of Sufis has found its para-sexual counterpart and meaning: “Miracles are the menstruation of men” (see Schimmel, 1975: 212) which means that similar to menstruation that hinders sexual intercourse, doing miracles hinders the men to be fully touched with spirituality and spirits, however, and just like menstruation in women, it is not intentional. Purity in Islam and Sufism is a very interesting but complex issue indeed.
In Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 5; we see an 8 year boy who recites his bed prayer:

I acknowledge that there is no deity but Allāh
And I acknowledge that Mohammad is the messenger of Allāh
Oh my dear dear dear God, I give up myself to you!

The first two lines of this short pray is ashhad اشهد the most canonical rules of Islam that turns everyone who recite them into a Muslim! The Muslims usually recite their ashhad اشهد in danger and in the vicinity of death in order to die as a Muslim. Reciting these two verses before going to bed echoes the closeness of sleep with death. On the other hand, death for Sufis is associated with fanā فنّ: salvation or sublimation into something of a higher order. Fanā is the last stage in the spiritual path that a Sufi takes in his/her life. The aim of a Sufi is to die from body (i.e. bodily desires) before the body dies. This closeness between death and dream is reflected in the following verse of Quran: “Allāh takes the souls at the time of their death, and those that do not die [He takes] during their sleep. Then He keeps those for which He has decreed death and releases the others for a specified term. Indeed in that are signs for a people who give thought” (Quran, 39:42). Ibn-iʿAbās a prominent dream interpreter of medieval era has a very strange interpretation on this verse. He says:

“Every desire/intention has a cause behind; this cause is integrated with the desire and when God says (referring to the verse above): “Then He keeps those for which He has decreed death” it means that God takes the soul of the desiring person (in death or dream) to make a split between the desire and its cause.” (Ibn-i Sirin: 4)\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{85} The Persian text as a matter of comparison is:

و پسر عباس گوید اندار تفسیر این آیت: “الله یتوفی الانفس حین موتها و التی لم تمت منامها” گفت هر نیتی را سببی همی گردد او را یار کرد تا ن سبب بریدی گردد

This interpretation sounds very mystical and secretive; however, the terms that are used (dream, desire and the death (instinct)) are very similar to Freudian discourses.
ʿAbdolqāder Gilāni, the founder of Qaderie brotherhood, puts another interpretation on this Quranic verse that also justifies the similarity between dream and wakefulness in the eyes of a Sufi. He writes:

“The return of the selected human to his original homeland and vicinity of God is just possible through the knowledge of truth that very “divine unity.” Reaching this state of “divine unity” is possible in this very earthly life, notwithstanding in dream or wakefulness, by taking an ascetic style of life. When the body falls asleep, the spirit has the opportunity to return to its homeland. Sometimes this return is permanent (referring to death) and sometimes momentarily (referring to dream) as God says: “Allāh takes the souls at the time of their death, and those that do not die [He takes] during their sleep. ...”” (Gilāni: 48-49)

He continues:

“This is why the prophet said: “The dream of a knower is better than the prayer of an ignorant” and this position is attainable after the exposure of the light of unity upon the heart of human and aliveness of his heart as the effect of that light and familiarity of human with the names of unity (God) not via letters and voice but through the secreted language as the God says in a sacred hadith: “human is my secret and I am its answer/secret” He (Allāh) also says: “The hidden knowledge is a secret of my secrets that I put in the heart of my servant and nobody knows it other than me.”” (Gilāni: 49)

This “return to human’s original homeland” cited above alludes to the undeliberate return of every being to God: Death. These two concepts (death and God) are so interlaced in Islam and especially in Sufism that they could be considered as the same thing. For instance, Quran says: “... Surely we belong to Allāh and to Him shall we return” (Quran, 2:156). This verse is usually recited by Muslims upon hearing news on a Muslim’s death. On the other hand and as stated earlier, Sufism is a death institute: Its ultimate goal is fanā (death, salvation, sublimation,...) as well as nothingness or ʿadam:

پس عدم گرددم عدم چون ارغنون
گویدم که انا الیه راجعون

Then I will become nothing and nothingness as Organon is saying to me: “... to Him shall we return.” (referring to the above mentioned verse 2:156 in Quran)
There is just one true and worthy aim for life in Sufism: \textit{fanā}. In Sufism death or \textit{fanā fi-l-lāh} (fanā في الله is also in an immediate connectivity with \textit{baqā bellāh} (baqā= survival) or birth in God. It is through the ascetic life and death from bodily and earthly desires that one can reach God and perpetually live inside him. A Sufi’s life-long struggle is to kill his/her ego before being touched by physical death. There is a known citation from \textit{Ali Ibn-i ʿAbīālib} the arch-Caliph and the \textit{moulā} or model of dervishes which says “\textit{Die before being died}”. Hafiz has also formulated this conception in one of his monumental verses:

\begin{quote}
میان عاشق و معشوق هیچ حایل نیست
تو خود حجاب خودی حافظ از میان برخیز
\end{quote}

\textit{There is no barrier between the lover and the beloved}
\textit{You, Hafiz, are the veil of yourself: Pass away!}

Sufism is a way for experiencing death before the physical death of the body. Dream as a nightly out-of-body stroll and journey of the spirit into ‘\textit{arsh} or throne of God\textsuperscript{86} is a spiritual experience which for a dedicated Sufi, should become the most normal state of being. To understand this we should return to the citation of ‘\textit{Abdolqāder Gilāni}. According to him, the situation in which one experiences a spiritual life right inside the physical world is attainable through commemoration or once human’s heart familiarizes itself with the names of God as a secretive language or \textit{zabān-i ser} . The urge for understanding this language explains the passion of his followers (and Sufis in general) for poetry, pun, metaphor, etc. Check Mireco72 and Mireco95.

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Ka b-i Moʿāvie} has said that his life is in his hands and all of the god’s creatures on earth have their souls hung from the ‘\textit{arsh} (god’s throne). Then when God decides a creature to pass away, he orders to cut off its soul from his throne to fall like a leaf from a tree and the owner of that soul will abruptly die on earth. He also said that when a man sleeps, his spirit (jān) comes out of his body and like a fly which follows the smell of honey, it comes up to the underneath of ‘\textit{arsh}. When the mighty God, wills him to die, he does not let his soul to return into his body and when he wants to return the soul back to its place (body) the person will wake up from his dream.(Ibn-i Sirin: 4)
The main technique practiced in every discipline of Sufism is commemoration or \( \text{zikr} \) ذکر. Each one of the seven stages of Sufism is correlated with one of the names of God and calls for a special practice of commemoration that should be learned directly from the sheikh or his deputy (\( \text{khalife} \)). As we will see, every commemoration is rather a kind of writing of words on the body than a mere repetition of a word and because of the high sensitivity of this process, it is strictly recommended to be learned just from a sophisticated teacher (pir, sheikh or a khalife), otherwise one would not find his/her way out of the darkness or ظلمات of the body and materialistic world and would not be able to reach the water-of-life آب زندگانی. Qāderieh and most of the brotherhoods that I know in Iran are a set of disciplines structured with full obedience and discipline. Each \( \text{zikr} \) ذکر is conflated with a special breathing technique that could not be practiced without the help and the instructions of a master. Hafiz writes:

\[
\text{قطع این مرحله بی همرهی خضر مکن ظلمات است بترس از خطر گمراهمی}
\]

*Do not path this stage without a mentor (khidr)*

*It is darkness ظلمات, be aware of the danger of misleading!*

One should note that ظلامات or darkness in the Sufis’ lingo is this substantial world and foremost the body which always comes in contrast to water as if the water is light. The situation is very paradoxical: on the one hand, \( \text{nafs} \) نفس or ego is attributed with bodily desires, darkness and ignorance as in a saying attributed to the Prophet we read: “*Your most enemy is your nafs who resides at the middle of your sides*” (اعدا عدوك نفسك التي بين جنبيك). On the other, to reach the wisdom and the water of life there is no way other than to take the courage to go inside the abyss of this darkness in order to recognize its features as it is also stated in a well-known hadith:
(Whoever recognized his/her nafs has definitely recognized his/her God). The stages that a Sufi should follow in his/her spiritual life are generally called maqāmāt zolamāt or the stages of darkness. By passing each stage, a Sufi bypasses one of the traps of nafs (ego). As mentioned before, Darkness is here counterposed with Water. Water as a strong metaphor has written itself in the most central teaching of Sufism. In this metaphoric language, body is seen like a dry desert (wādi) that should be dug with the repetitive act of commemoration to be able to reach the water hidden down in the darkness. There are seven stages or wādis (valley) in tariqat (Sufism = way) that are almost common in every discipline. Sheikh ʿAṭṭār-i Neishābourī has explained these wādis in his seminal book Manṭeq-ol-Ṭeyr (Attar, 2001: 169-180). These stages are abstracted in table.4. Each stage is also correlated to some attributes of nafs and degrees of darkness مقامات ظلمات. Accordingly, there is a special ḥād or commemoration that should be practiced by the pupil under the supervision of sheikh in order for him/her to be able to successfully pass each stage or maqām مقام.

Each stage, as listed on the last column, is also attributed to a color89. First, once each ḥād is accurately written and imprinted on the board of soul (louḥ-i jān لوح جان), murid is allowed to take the next ḥād for commemoration. The ḥād might be

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88 Wadi (wādi) is the Arabic term for a valley inside a desert or a dry riverbed that contains water only during times of heavy rain.

89 There is no consistency between the colors attributed to each stage at least with the colors that are learned in the convent of Qāderie in Kurdistan. The arrangement of colors in accordance to each stage of nafs in Qāderie discipline—as I learned it from Sheikh Sanʿân— are respectively: Orange, yellow, red, white, green, black and colorless. This arrangement is mentioned in meryād-ol- ibad as follows: “white which is a sign of Islam, yellow which signifies the faith, magenta which signifies the generosity, green which signifies the trust اعتماد, blue which signifies certainty ایقان, red which signifies mysticism عرفان, and the seventh color is black which signifies perplexity هیمان…And the rationale does not accept the 'black light' نور ظلمانی because the union of two opposites is impossible for a rational mind...” (meryād-ol- ibad: 198-199) (To see the relationship between colors and spiritual stages of nafs see Zakariyaaee Kermani: 6 pp. also Corbin, 1996: 179-181)
different for each discipline. What is tabled here are the set of commemorations (aḏkār) that are taught in Salāmi silsile of Qāderie brotherhood in Sanandaj. Gradually and through the supposedly alchemic effect of these commemorations, the body will take the features of spirit. Rituals like ‘khawāriq’ خوارق serve as a handy proof of this successful transformation of Flesh into Word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Darajāt-i nafs</th>
<th>Wādi or stage</th>
<th>Maqām مقام (lit. status but here means stage)</th>
<th>ūfāt-i nafs صفات نفس (attributes of ego)</th>
<th>ūkr ذکر (commemoration)</th>
<th>Color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nafs-i 'amāre نفس امارة</td>
<td>ʿalab (will) طلب</td>
<td>zolamāt (Darkness) ظلمات</td>
<td>Greed, stinginess, jealousy, ignorance</td>
<td>ħr</td>
<td>Orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafs-i lavāme نفس لوامه</td>
<td>ʿeshq (love) عشق</td>
<td>anwār (lights) انوار</td>
<td>self-conceit egotism</td>
<td>āl</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafs-i molhame نفس ملهمه</td>
<td>maʿrifat (wisdom) معرفت</td>
<td>asrār (secrets: In this level the pupil can become a khalife) اسرار</td>
<td>Generosity, humbleness, Patience</td>
<td>la la la al la</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafs-i moṣma ʾine نفس متعتنئة</td>
<td>ʿisteghna (self-sufficiency) استغنا</td>
<td>kamāl (perfectness) کمال</td>
<td>Thankfulness, trust in God</td>
<td>la la la la la la</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafs-i rāde نفس راضية</td>
<td>touhid (oneness) توحید</td>
<td>weṣāl (union) وصال</td>
<td>Loyalty, Ascetic life</td>
<td>ʿ la la la la la</td>
<td>Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafs-i marḏe نفس مرذبة</td>
<td>ḥeyrat (wonder) حیرات</td>
<td>tajaliyāt-i af āl (manifestation of verbs/deeds) تجلیات افعال</td>
<td>Kindness</td>
<td>ʿ la la la la la</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nafs-i kāmele نفس کامل</td>
<td>fanā (death) فنا</td>
<td>tajaliyāt-i ṣefāt (manifestation of adjectives/attributes) تجلیات صفات</td>
<td>All of the good moralities and the rest of them of which God is more knowable</td>
<td>ʿ la la la la la</td>
<td>Colorless</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table.4 Different levels/layers of nafs in tariqat Qāderieh.

For example, one entrusts a sword through his stomach and there should be no bleeding. This shows that the body has taken the attributes of the spirit. Blood is a
contaminating substance that invalidates the rule of purity which is a direct effect of a full transformation (or displacement) of Flesh into Word, body into spirit and solid wakefulness into a fluid realm of dream in which everything is possible and out of habits [= ‘khawāriq’ خوارق]. Once this transformation is realized, the dream becomes also as real as the reality itself and vice versa. For Mohammad as the ultimate model of a Sufi, there is no difference between his body and spirit: his body casts no shadow (Asadi Rāzī: 76-77) and Seeing of Prophet in a dream is considered by Muslims as seeing him in reality (Mohuld Khān #2; part1; Scene 6). The climax and ultimate model for such Geistlieblichkeit (See Corbin, 1986: 183-198) is the ascension of Mohammad or mi ṭārj معراج. In mi ṭārj, he had taken a bodily journey into ‘arsh عرش 90. Theoretically, every devoted Sufi tries to tend into this ascension as a limit for humanity and this casts the narrativity of dreams into a general report of a divine journey. I think that the Sufis do not tell the body and spirit of Mohammad apart. However, for an average man there is a wide spectrum between these two apexes of body and spirit. It could be said that in this system of thought (Sufism) there is a spectrum or continuum by which the physical world could turn into spiritual conductions and vice versa. Shams-i Tabrizi, the spiritual mentor of Rumi, writes: “The dream منام of the servants of God is not sleeping but it is that very event of

90 Ibn-i Ishāq, the first biographer of Mohammad, has considered his ascension as a mere spiritual experience but the next chroniclers, including Moahammad Jarir-i jabari and Ibn-i Ka’ ir have considered it as a divine journey with body (see Amir-Moezzi, Mohammad Ali: “Mi ṭārj ”; in: Encyclopædia Iranica, originally published: June 25, 2010; URL: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/meraj-i last accessed on 28.12.2016; check also Horvitz, J.: “Mi ṭārj”, in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition (1913-1936), Edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset, R. Hartmann, URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2214-871X_eii_SIM_4682 last accessed on 28.12.2016) First published online: 2012). The relationship between the physical body (in which the spirit finds its locality), dream and ascension is essential in Islamic system of thought and philosophy. Henry Corbin has related the realm of dreams to nākojāabād or lāmakān or placelessness (Corbin, 1993: 54-65) or mundus imaginalis (عالم-بماذا), an intermediate world between heaven and earth. (See Corbin, Henry: Mundus Imaginalis; translated by Klaus Stichweh (German translation of one of Prof. Corbin’s lectures in Eranos-Forum first published in: Cahiers internationaux de symbolisme 6, Brüssel 1964, pp. 3-26; URL: http://hermetic.com/bey/mundus_imaginalis.htm last accessed on 22.12.2016)
Rumi in the second volume of *Mathnavi*, explains this through a hadith from Mohammad, exemplifying him as the ultimate model of this state of mind in which dreaming becomes a real dimension of life:

*My eyes are asleep but consider my heart as awake
Consider my idle form (my sleeping body) at work
Prophet has said: “my eyes may go sleep
But my heart never become distracted from the one who creates the dreams”
Your eyes are awake and your heart has slept
My eyes have slept but my heart is in epiphany*

It is worthy to bring Shams-i Tabrizi’s description in a full paragraph although his style of writing like many works of Sufis is very secretive and ‘writerly’:

“*Dream (manām منام of the servants of God is not sleeping but that very “event” of “wakefulness” because there are things that they do not show him in awareness because of his delicacy and fragility. He sees them in his dream in order to be able to bear them. When he becomes mature and perfect, they show him unveiled. One asked: “How far is the distance between a servant and God?” He answered: “As far as the distance exists between God and his servants!”, because if we say 30000 years it is not correct as he (God) is boundless and measureless ...and we should know that there is a long distance between infinite and finite and all these are the form of speech and has nothing to do with infinity. Where is the words of God and where is God? This is the Word till the determined day.*” *(Shams-i Tabrizi: 175)*

Sufism and the way of a Sufi should be considered as a long way (*tariq*) and process in which the Flesh is processed into Word or *kalame* and reality into dream. This

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91 The phrase “اللکمله الى يوم الوقت المعلوم” is repeated in Quran twice (in 15:38 and 38:81) and in both cases in relation with Satan and its excommunication from heaven and the group of angles: “[Allah] said, “Then get out of Paradise, for indeed, you are expelled. and indeed, upon you is My curse until the Day of Recompense. He said, “My Lord, then reprieve me until the Day they are resurrected. [Allah] said, “So indeed, you are of those reprieved Until the Day of the time well-known.” (38:77-81)

To my understanding, Shams-i Tabrizi is alluding here to the reunion of human and God after death which could be either a symbolic death like Sufis (death from earthly desires) or real death.
goal is mainly reachable through commemoration: reciting and repeating the name of God in a meditative state of mind: The word gradually writes itself on body, comparable to stigmatic signs as well as tracing the cross on body in Christianity. My first encounter with commemoration was very close to this perception of body as a board (لوح ذكرى) deserved and reserved for writing the names of Allāh. I once asked Khalife Hoseyn to teach me a ẓikr or commemoration. The ẓikr that he taught me was simply the word Allāh that should be commemorated in a very artful and refined way. He said that I should start from my heart (قلب قلب) two fingers under my nipple and say Allāh once and afterward my concentration should shift into the right side of my body where he named it as the local of spirit (روح روح); from there on I should shift into a point on my neck where according to khalife is the locus of secret (سر سر) and from there on to the hidden (خفی خفي ) which is located on the forehead and finally to a point behind the head which is the locus of the most hidden or akhfā or اخفى. These names which are mostly known as Lataif-e-sitta are the Sufis’ version of chakras. This constructs a full cycle of commemoration and after each cycle it should be repeated. Commemoration has perhaps a direct effect on the topology of mind through circuiting, developing and paving some neural paths in nervous system that changes the perception and sensory systems of the whole body. Commemoration is an internal tune that founds its circulative, resonating path through the members of the body. Each of these names corresponds as well to a member of body (related to different portions of nafs) which are again classified in seven fractions: طبع نفس قلب روح سر خفي اخفى. Dervishes rarely use the human figures and body in their writings and spells but they have a complete bodily imagination of the locus of names and commemorations (اسماء واذكار) that they use. This bodily representation of the

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sacred words has found their way in Islamic ‘talismans’ and esoteric knowledge. The definition of ‘Talisman’ by the Poet and theoretician of Sufism, ʿAffar-i Neyshābourī is very interesting as he relates the ‘talisman’ to the Quranic idea of exhalation of soul into body. To him, human body and soul are making together a talisman-like a fabulous blend of Word with Flesh:

جزاء كل شد حون فرو شد جان به جسم
کس نسارد زین عجایب طلسم

After the soul goes into body, the “whole” unites “debris”
Nobody can make more fabulous talisman than this.
(ʿAffar, Manteq-ol Ṭeyr منطق الطیر)

Conclusion
To Kurdish Muslim community that I have studied, seeing the prophet in a dream is not an illusion but more real than whatever one can ever take as reality. The stories about seeing the Prophet in a dream or even in wakefulness are numerous (See for instance Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 9). Many of these examples could also be found in the verses that are inspired by prophet like a muse or poems that are directly patronized by him (See addendum #3 and the comments written on qaside bordiye (Ode of Clad)).
Fig. 17 To die (fanā) in the Word Allāh as the name of ‘quidity’ (‘ism-i ḫātit) by imagining it as [a written word] on body: a page (p.43) from ṭamarāt ol-mākiyāh fi tariq al-qāderieh (written by Mohammad ibn-i Mohammad ibn-i Mohammad Qandehārī al-Daknī; date: unknown. This book is not written in Kurdistan but the rules and techniques for commemoration are almost the same (source: The digital library of TOTFIM (The Open Treasure From Islamic-Iranian Manuscripts), the archive code of the manuscript: Nr. 1. in PAK-001-1348; URL: http://totfim.com/Manuscripts/Details/33649 last accessed on 2.12.2016). In this page we read: “... after this commemoration properly puts its effect [one] may start to annihilate (fanā) in ‘ism-i ḫātit and to do this he/she should imagine the Word الله (Allāh) in him/her [body] in this way that the fingers of hand and feet should take the form of the letter [some words and letters are unreadable]... like this [the following figure drawn]:...
Fig. 18 ‘Talisman’: A Human figure taken from “Javāher maknoune wa laʿāli al-makhzoune” جواهر مکنونه و لعالی مخزونه (hidden jewelries and stored gemstones); a book about esoteric knowledge based on Sufi’s science of words (ʿilm-i Ḥorouf علم الحروف) written by Mohammad ʿAttari, National Library and Museum of Malek, Tehran (Reg. Nr.: 3954825). What is written on the body of this human figure is the following verse of Quran in its Arabic: “That Day, We will seal over their mouths, and their hands will speak to Us, and their feet will testify about what they used to earn.” (36:65) (see Mirec137)

The stories in which one dreams the Prophet and sees the direct real effect of his dream on the next day are also numerous. Shams-i Tabrizi, narrates one of these stories in his maqālāt:

“[That prominent person] came to visit the sheikh and saw him playing chess with a young boy. He lost his faith on him. He came back. He saw Moṣṭafā مصطفی (Mohammad) in his dream. He tried to run and catch his clad but he turned his face away from him. He started to cry saying: “Why do you turn your face away from me?” Moṣṭafā answered: “Why do you deny me?” He said: “When have I ever denied you?” He said: “You have denied my friend... The verse: “the people of faith are one” is sent for people like him”. He put his face on the ground and cried and repented توبه کرد. Moṣṭafā put a handful of sultana and hazel-nut in his pocket. He woke up, ran to the place of sheikh and again saw him playing chess with a young boy. The sultanas were still in his pocket. He lost his faith again and wanted to return. Sheikh yelled at him: “Till when then? Be ashamed of seyed سید (Mohammad)!” He fell to the feet of Sheikh. Sheikh asked him to bring the tray. He saw a heap of sultanas and hazel-nut of which a handful was lacking. Sheikh said: Put that handful of sultanas back as Mohammad took it from this very tray!” (Shams-i Tabrizi: 617)
The next story is even more instructive because it contains the notions of rendī (rascality) and the benefits that a trickster one can attain by narrating a fake, cooked dream:

“A Jew, a Christian and a Muslim were friends. They found money and prepared halvā. It was late: “We’ll eat it tomorrow,” they said, “But it isn’t so much. Whoever has a fine dream will eat it!”

The next morning, the Christian was the first who narrated his dream: “Jesus came down and pulled me up”. The Jew said: “Moses took me to gaze upon paradise. Your Jesus was down in the fourth sky when I was ascended with Moses up to the heaven”.

The Muslim said: “Muhammad came. He said; “O, Helpless fellow! Jesus has taken this one to the fourth heaven, and Moses took the other to paradise. You’re deprived and helpless. At least get up and eat the halvā”. So I got up and ate the halvā”.

They said:” Alas, the true dream was what you saw, Ours was all false and illusive.”” (Shams-i Tabrizi: 652)

There is no need to say that most of the dream narratives collected in this project have almost the same structure of “Papa Gave Water.” Here, Papa (the Prophet) comes and orders: “Eat!” In his presence, the heaven and under-heaven, sacred and profane are blended and condensed into each other. The dreamer reaches something that the others were not able to find by ascending up to the fourth or seventh sky!

However, this fact that seeing Mohammad has direct effects on reality is boosted through some hadiths such as this one:

من رأى في المنام سيدنا في اليقظة و لا يمثل الشيطان بي

“Whosoever saw me in his dream shall see me with his waking eyes (yaqaza يقظه and the devil cannot impersonate me.” (Al Bukhārī, Nr. 6993; see “true dream” in glossary)

93 Rumi has narrated the same story in the 1st volume of his mathnavi:

پس بگفتندش که والله خواب راست تو بیدیدی وین به از صد خواب ماست خواب تو بیداریست ای بو بطر که به پدیدای عباسنش اثر

They [the Jew and the Christian] told him: “What you have seen was a truthful dream, swear to God, and hundred times better than our dreams.

Your dream; Oh son of happiness, is wakefulness as its trace is visible in reality!”

(Rumi, Mathnavi, vol.6, part 83.)
In fact, in the eyes of Sufis, Mohammad possesses a kind of astral body which reflects Mohammadian truth or ḥaqiqat-i Mohammdieh حقيقة محمدیه. This is why Sufis (and a large portion of Muslims) believe that Mohammad’s body is made of light; hence it casts no shadow:

“One who sees the prophet will not be disgraced neither in this world nor in his/her after-death. Prophet is light. He casts no shadow!” (Moloud Khan #2; part1; Scene 6; check also Asadī Rāzī: 76-77)

Mohammadian truth (حقیقت محمدیه) is a term used by Sufis in order to refer to the “origin of life, the spirit of every being, the medium between God and his creatures and the source of illumination, manbaʿ-ʿi feyḍ مثبت فیض” (Gilāni: 151)

This Mohammadian truth is believed by the derwishes of Qāderie to partially exist in the body of sheikhs; hence seeing a sheikh, sainthood or a wali ولی in a dream follows the same rules of seeing Muhammad. Gilāni, the founder of Qāderie discipline, explains this situation—as well as the relationship between the dream of Mohammad and the names of God—by producing his own version and interpretation on Bukhāri’s hadith:

“The prophet said:” Whenever he saw me in his dream, he really saw me with his waking eyes, because the devil cannot impersonate me and those who follow me.”... then the devil cannot appear in any kind of “fine lights” (anwār-ī laṭif) and this is not restricted to the prophet of Islam. Devil cannot go under the cloak of any symbols of kindness, guidance and mercy such as all the prophets, saints (ʿulīyāʾ اولیاء pl. of wali ولی), Kaaba, sun, moon, white cloud and Quran (masḥaf مصحف). Because the devil is the symbol of wrath مظهر قهر and can appear only in the shape of a misguiding name اسم مضلل which cannot appear in the form of a thing that is a symbol of a guiding name جبزی که مظهر اسم هادی است (Gilāni: 133-134)

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95 The use of this term as the origin of life is supported by a sacred hadith (حدیث قدسی). This sacred hadith is known as the hadith of lolāk لولاک. The hadith is لولاک لم خلقت الاрак which means “If it was not because of you (prophet), I never created the universes”. Then and according to this hadith, every creature on earth owed its life to Mohammad.
What is interesting in Gilānī’s explanation on dreams is the way that he categorizes the names of God and its deep connectivity to his understanding of the meaning of dreams. What is perhaps even more interesting than the agency of words in interpreting the meaning of dream-objects is that in Gilānī’s constellation, devil can rightly claim himself as God.

According to Gilānī’s explanations on the meaning of names and words, Devil could not claim goodness; however, he could claim godness:

“Devil can appear in a godly cast His claim on being a God is rooted in the fact that jalāl and jamāl (glory and beauty) are both adjectives of the glorious God and devil can appear in the form of jalāl which is a symbol of wrath; hence his godly appearance could be just from the side of misguiding name and not in the cast of general name (ism-i jāmi’ that includes the meaning of guidance.” (Gilānī: 134)

Mohammad’s ascension is the model for every dream and his body as light is also the model for everybody to whom the dreams and bodies of all Muslims as his followers should converge. In both these models, dream and reality, as well as Word and Flesh;
Water and Light, ... are blended e.g. It is not clear if Mohammad’s ascension was a

dream or a real event, accordingly it is not clear if his body is made out of flesh or

light as he casts no shadow and so on... This eroded border has put its own effect on

the life of the followers of these models of dream and body⁹⁶.

This chapter introduced Sufism as an archaic discipline in which these models of
dream and body are idealized. It is due to this idealization that Sufis have developed a
set of techniques to converge these models. As a mode of philosophy, Sufism

considers the Kalame or Word as something decreed, directive and unchangeable,
that is, analogous to Plato’s ‘eidos’, idea, ideal or what Husserl has considered as the

‘primacy of speech’ or in Gospel when we read: “In the beginning (arche) was the

Word (logos)” (John 1:1). This archaism will not be fully introduced unless we

consider these ideal types of dream and body just as models of a much larger system

of signification. In the next chapter, I will make a short review of some features of this
ideology in which the Word—as an idea or an imperative voice—is considered as the

ideal model of every kind of Flesh one ever sees in ‘things’: objects and ‘dream-

objects’.

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⁹⁶ In the interviews, there are a lot of instances in which the borderline between dream and reality is

unclear. Check the keywords of the interviews to find a lot of these instances for example in the ending

part of my interview with Qadîr, a young Dervish in the convent of Salâmi in the sound-track

Mireco48.
CHAPTER 2
Rebus vs. Talisman
From the World of Imperative (ālam-i ʿamrعالم امر) to the World of Creation (ālam-i khalghعالم خلق)

مرغ بر بالا و زیر آن سایه اش
میدود بر خاک پران سایه وش
ابلهی صیاد آن سایه شود
میدود جننان که بی مایه شود
بی خبر کان عکس آن مرغ هواست
بی خبر که اصل آن سایه کجاست؟

The bird is above, and its shadow
is a running bird-like below on the earth.
A fool becomes the hunter of that shadow
Running so much that he runs out of breath.
unaware that this is the reflection of the bird above
unaware of the origin of this shadow

_Rumi

One of the most astonishing features of dream culture in Kurdistan is the fact that a faked dream has the same phenomenological effects as the authentic one. It reflects a decreed fate in the future or as A. M. Schimmel has put it: “Der Traum folgt dem Mund.” (Schimmel, 1998: 325) In this chapter I will examine one of the sufis’ conviction that is reflected in the following verses of Rumi:

اسم هر چیزی بر ما ظاهرش
اسم هر چیزی بر خلق سرس
نرد موسي نام جویش به عصا
نرد خالق بود نامش آردها

Our names of things convey the way they are seen
Their inner natures are what God’s names mean
For Moses simply called his stick a rod97
While snake was what had been assigned by God.
(Rumi: Mathnawi, Book one, “The Lion and the Rabbit”; translated by Mojaddadi: 79)

97 Here, Rumi alludes to one of the miracle of Moses whose staff turned into a snake when he throws it down on the floor (See also Quran, 28:31). To know more about the meaning of these verses read the comments written on Moloudkhàn #2, part 1, scene 4 and also the comments of sound track Mirec135.
According to this philosophical system, every ‘thing’ under-heaven is a logical analogy or effect of a name (ʾism اسم), word or logos (λόγος) and inversely, every ‘thing’ is an allegory (tamīl تمثيل) of its name from which it was once called or named. This Islamic-philosophy has tied itself firmly to the eidos of Plato after the translation movement of the Muslims in the Middle Ages (see Jamalpour: 343 ff.) with a large influence on Islamic Sufism and Iranian Literature. The above poem by Rumi is an example. Then the unchangeable world of words in Islam finds its analogy with Plato’s “theory of ideas” known in Islamic philosophy as alam-i miğāl. According to this philosophical groundwork, in the Kurdish, Islamic culture of dreams one may recognize a direct relationship between what one sees as a vision (notwithstanding made-up or authentic) and what should happen in future as the effect of that vision. A. M. Schimmel has related the foreboding aspect of dreams with alam-i miğāl or the (Platonian) world of ideas and also with the fate of the human, prescribed in Loh-i mahfouzi (Schimmel, 1998: 325). Loh-i mahfouz or the protected board is a board on which God has written all that is happened and should be happened with a feather (qalam قلم) (See Quran 68:1 and 85:22). Schimmel has also noticed that made-up visions may reveal the suppressed wishes and hopes of the dreamer (Schimmel, 1998: 325): An aspect that has no essential difference with western psychoanalytical theories of dream. Allegorically, a dream is both a mirror of the decreed facts in the future and also a mirror of the soul (reflecting its contaminations). This latter aspect of dreams, which serves as the soul’s mirror has a therapeutic and diagnostic usefulness similar to the treats used in modern

98 Perhaps this philosophical background justifies the great sympathy that the Iranian intellectuals found with the famous quote of Heidegger that states “Language is the house of being” [Die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins] in his “letter to humanism” (1949).

99 Many Muslim scholars think of it as this very world in which all of our deeds remain perpetually in the form of its effects (to read more about Loh-i mahfouz and its relating highly controversial discussions see: Kalantari: 117ff.).
psychoanalysis but it is not a matter of direct emphasis and discussion in an Islamic culture and society like Kurdistan in which individuality\textsuperscript{100} is not celebrated. Iain R. Edgar has also described this:

“...[W]hile in Freudian theory the latent meaning of the dream is usually perceived as a repressed sexual desire and deciphering this latent meaning is part of the purpose of psychoanalysis, such encoded sexual dreams in Islamic dream theory are not considered important, as desire is seen as appropriately regulated through the Shari’a law, based on the teaching of the Quran and the hadithes.” (Edgar: 113)

However there are some dreams in which these two blend into each other specially when the dreamer is in his/her puberty (Read the dreams of the young woman in addendum \#3). Inside a Kurdish Muslim society and especially among the Sufis, the individualistic needs and traits are mostly read as different attributes of \textit{nafs} or ego: an elusive and illusive entity that should be controlled if not eliminated. Ego for a mystic is of no existential essence and hence, it is of no importance (though it has immense virtual effects on psychological state and real effects on social status) and because of its illusive nature, it is considered as an obstacle or veil (\textit{hijāb}) in the way of God (\textit{ḥaq}= truth). The removal of this veil is the only life-long duty of every Sufi. It is usually named as \textit{jihād-i akbar} (جهاد اكبر) or the biggest Jihad to allude to its hardness (in contrast to the holy war against the pagans or \textit{jihād-i aṣghar} (جهاد اصغر)). The full elimination of \textit{nafs} is the ultimate—and almost unreachable—goal of a Sufi. Almost all Sufis are in a consensus that the killing of the \textit{nafs} (\textit{koshtan-i nafs} (کشتن نفس)) is impossible. Instead, they try to degrade or enervate or—as it is said—to break it (\textit{shekastan-i nafs} (شکستن نفس)) or to tame it (\textit{rām kardan-i nafs} (رام کردن نفس))\textsuperscript{101}. A visual

\textsuperscript{100} This is not necessarily valid for the sheikhs as it is believed that they are free from personal needs and temptations. A sheikh is supposed to be annihilated in God (\textit{fanā fi-lāh} (فنا في الله)). A poet is also celebrated because of his/her command on language and hence the dream of a poet is also \textit{truthful} and needs no interpretation (See Mireci\textsuperscript{107-108}).

\textsuperscript{101} \textit{Nafs} has a pre-ontological nature: it is not based on being or not-being (because it is impossible to kill the \textit{nafs}) but on castrated and not-castrated; that is to be fairly adopted with the rules of \textit{Shar’iat} and the norms of an Islamic society as the big ‘Other’ or to rebel against these rules. All these might be
representation of this taming can be found in the painted picture of Sheikh ‘Abdol-
Qāder-i Gilānī the founder of Qāderie brotherhood in which a lion is kneeled in front
of his feet. The lion symbolizes his nafs that—regardless of its enormous power—is
fully under his control.

“...the dervishes of Abdol-Qāder can do firewalking, because they have full
control on their nafs (ego). This lion or dragons that we see leaned in front of
Sheikh Abdol-Qāder Gilānī icons are also a symbol of nafs which is tamed by
him and he has full control on them ... Even the most dangerous animals will
never attack a friend of Allāh...” (Interview with a sheikh in Mirec159, see also
Mireco86)

Rumi, instead, used the metaphor of a snake or a dragon for the incredible power of
nafs which could be utterly dangerous without a good command for example in the
hands of an unlearned pupil. In the third book of Mathnavi, Rumi narrates the story
of a snake-catcher (metaphor for an unripe Sufi) who brought a dormant dragon
(nafs) out from a cold mountain to the warm Baghdad. The sun of Baghdad activates
the dragon and devours the snake-catcher. Rumi concludes:

نفس از دره هاست، ار کی مرده است؟
از غم بی آلتی، فسرده است

...  
Nafs is a dragon asleep, but not dead,
With the right weapon will leave the bed

...  
The dragon remains dormant in the cold;
Keep him off the sun and the warm wind.
If he is sleeping or down, he is tame;
As he wakes up, you are his game.

...  
As the hot sun brings out the lust,
The inner bat will venture out.
Venture a holy war (Jihad) and kill him fast
You will see your freedom at last

read in the literature of the region and in notions on submissive slave (bandey-i šālıh صالح) and
rebellious slave (bandey-i āšī غاصبی).
(Rumi, Mathnavi, vol. III, ver. 1053ff., translated by Aghevli; Aghevli: 78)

Now it is time to come back to our Staff to see how Rumi concludes from the story of Moses:

که آمدش پیغام از وحی مهم
كه کری بگذار اکنون فاستم
این درخت تن عصای موسيت
كه امرش امد که بپبدازش ز دست
تا بیتی خیر آو و شر آفر
بعد آز أن برگیر او راز امر هو
پیش از افکندن نبود او غیر جوه
جون به امرش بر گرفتی گشت خوب

[Then] he received the message from the mighty revelation:
“Do not be inclined [like a staff] but remain straight”\textsuperscript{102}
This tree of body is the [wooden] Staff of Moses
that is commanded to “throw it down”\textsuperscript{103}
in order to see both its Go[o]d and Evil [sides]
first afterward; [without fear] “take it”\textsuperscript{104} as the command/imperative (‘amr
امر) of God (hou هو lit. = he).
Before a full detachment of it [= before being fully neglected]; it was nothing
more than [a piece of] wood
but as you take it as what was commanded, it turned into Go[o]d!

Here, the Staff is a metaphor for soul blended with nafs as the stiff inclinations of
body for returning into its bodily pleasures just like the head of a staff that is rigidly
inclined downwards. Having a good command on nafs is deeply related to the God’s
command or ‘amr-i kon کن امر which is the Islamic formula for every kind of magic
(“Be! And here it is!”: Quran, 2:117).

Caring about nafs is the hygiene of soul. Actually, it is hard to find a proper
established theory of purity; just like the dream, we are faced with the conceptions of
purity and pollution. These conceptions are of illusive nature and call for

\textsuperscript{102} Rumi is alluding here to the following verse of Quran:
\begin{quote}
“So to that [religion of Allah] invite, [O Muhammad], and remain on a right course as you
are commanded and do not follow their inclinations but say, “I have believed in what
Allah has revealed of the Qur’an, and I have been commanded to do justice among you.
Allah is our Lord and your Lord. For us are our deeds, and for you your deeds. There is no
[need for] argument between us and you. Allah will bring us together, and to Him is the
[final] destination.”” (Quran: 11:112)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{103} Alluding to the verse 28:31.

\textsuperscript{104} Alluding again to the verse 28:31.
development of an appropriated theory for purity. Inside this conviction, all that one sees in the mirror of the soul (i.e. in a dream) is a direct reflection of God’s will or message. The clarity of this message depends to the extent to which the soul has retained itself clean and hygienic. Rumi writes:

\[\text{عشق خواهد کین سخن بیرون بود}
\text{آلیه غمز نبود چون بود}
\text{اینها ات دانی چرا غماز نیست}
\text{زانگار از رخش ممتاز نیست}
\]

Love wants its tale (sokhan) revealed to everyone
But your heart’s mirror won’t reflect this sun
Don’t you know why we can’t perceive it here?
Your mirror’s face is rusty, scrap it clear!
(Rumi, Mathnavi, translated by Mojaddadi: 6)

When a Sufi is advanced in his/her way (jariqat) he/she will see the ‘Truth’ clearly and his/her soul reflects nothing other than the will of Ḥaq (lit. Truth; this is the way that Sufis used to name Allāh). Otherwise, the uncanny images in this mirror (e.g. the ‘dream-objects’ seen in a dream) are rather the reflections of the obstacles that the Sufi has in his/her way: his/her unfulfilled missions for elimination of nafs as the source of desires (hawāhāyi nafsāni). In such a case, instead of clear images, the dreamer sees some reflections of his/her own ego or better say, a composite structure with different degrees of truth and falsity, similar to the images that one sees in a dusty mirror. For a clear mirror of the soul, instead, a dream entails a prophesying capacity which could be used as a reliable medium for oneiromancy. It will clearly and truly reflect the will of God as ‘Truth’ (= Ḥaq). The ‘tongue’ of the dreamer (as a negligible servant of God (bandeyi khodā)) should

\[\text{For a new apprentice (murid), the Sufis’ culture of dreams has a lot to share with a Freudian theory of dreams. By listening to the dream narrations of his pupils, a Sheikh understands the obstacles through which they should battle their way for reaching God/Truth (Ḥaq) and he gives each of them the necessary instructions regarding how to evade the involved desires of nafs.}
\]

\[\text{Considerations of this kind, may lead us to a crucial difference and diffraction from a Western psychological theory of the night dream and an Islamic Kurdish system of dream. The difference lies in the big shift of focus from the dreamer into the dream.}
\]
function like a high fidelity, clean mirror for a true reflection of the full language of God spoken in a dream. It is not accidental that Rumi uses the word *sokhan* (speech) here in the verse above as the *voice of Love* (= God in Sufis’ utterance) and relates it to a mirror, which is, above all, an optical device. In the allegorical language of Sufis, the soul is considered as a mirror, expressed in many poetical combinations and forms such as āyīne-yi rouh, āyīne-yi jān, āyīne-yi qalb, āyīne-yi dil, āyīne-yi jām, jām-i jahān bin etc.

**Fig.20** Two pictures from *Moḥi-oddin ʿAbdol Qāderi Gilānī*, the initiator of Qāderi school. This is almost the only form that he has been ever depicted by his followers, that is with a book in one hand and a rosary (*tasbiḥ*) in the other and a lion kneeled in front of his feet. This lion symbolizes *nafs* (Mirec159) and its enormous power could be tamed just through Quran and commemoration: *Fikr wa ḏikir*. (Left: a painting hanged on the wall of the convent of *Sheikh Diyānat*; right: a poster hanged on the convent of *Sheikh Salāmī*).

Whatever is said by the medium of this ‘oneiric discourse’ is ‘decreed’ and would be possible to happen. This is the meaning of a ‘truthful dream’ or *ro yāy-i ṣādiqeh*: The materialistic world follows the Word of the dream like a shadow or an image reflected in a mirror. Hence, in an Islamic context the Word works as a *model* or *idea* for
materialistic world as Flesh. These two are in a kind of indexical relationship with each other. For example, seeing teeth in a dream meant the members of the family and it is more or less clear which tooth stands for which member and hence seeing that a tooth is fallen foretells the death of that member etc.\(^{107}\) (See Mirec174).

Although a dream is a mirror of future as a decreed command of God—in a similar manner in which a person can bypass the decreed order of a despot\(^{108}\) ruler and change his/her bad fortune into a good one—there is also some degrees of flexibility to change what is seen in a dream. This change is subjected to the art of a good skilled interpreter who enjoys all the facilities given in the elaborate set of interpretive devices inside the large Islamic culture of dream for bringing a happy dream into life. Then, interpretation or *taʿbīr* is essentially an effort for giving birth to a bad-fated dream into the real world in the form of a good-featured happy tiding. It is an art for bypassing or avoiding the bad-fated meaning *written* in the decreed Word of God as the ultimate ruler (*ḥākim*) or Sultan on our life. In this art, the instant direct meaning of the dream may be bypassed by using the capacity of the words for being read differently. Here a *moʿaber* or interpreter—like a midwife—cares for a dream to be correctly materialized in our sensual world, that is, to come correctly and healthily from the world of imperative *ālam-i ‘amr*, as its origin, into our side, that is, in the world of creation *ālam-i khalgh*. A skilled *moʿaber* can turn a bad dream into a happy incident or even to abort it by giving some advice to the dreamer. Such advices are mostly about giving alms (*ṣadaghe*) and charity. The main instrument in the hand of a dream expert is *hosn-i taʿbīr* that is to take the dream content as a

\(^{107}\) According to Wyman (1970) the same relationship exists between teeth falling and the death of one’s self or of a member of one’s family among the North-American: Wyman, Leland Clifton: *Blessingway*; University of Arizona Press, 1970, 337ff.

\(^{108}\) Despot or *Jabār* is one of the names of Allah (*āsmāʾ ol-lah*) in Islamic philosophy and mindset, for example, Allah is attributed as despot or *jabār* in the verse 59:23 of Quran. The word *Sultān* is also used in many places in Quran as authority which mostly reflected back to God. Then this comparison is not extraneous from the issue.
good tiding and this mostly happens by means of his expertise on the symbols and their alternative meanings in Quran and books of hadiths. The meaning of these words are mostly ‘primal’ and are based on its special science of hermeneutics thereof the meaning of a word is changeable. The interpreter modifies the meaning of a word and accordingly the dreamer’s future. The earlier explained story of *Caliph al-Mahdi* was a good example that reflects the citational and scriptural nature of many dreams in an Islamic theory of dream109.

**Primal Words**

*The clack of chip-axe was not heard from (the mountain of) Bistoun last night
Perhaps Farhād has gone to a deep sweet sleep.*

This epigraph is a verse that is usually used in Iranian high schools to teach the students about *sanʿat-i ʿihām* (= pun) or the technique of writing with suggestiveness in Persian poetry. It is again about the Kurdish legend of *Shirin* and *Farhād*. The word *Shirin* and *khāb* have both two parallel collocations as well. The word *khāb* could stand for both *dream* and *sleep*. *Shirin* is also the name of *Farhād*’s beloved but meanwhile means *sweet*. Then it is quite unclear if *Farhād* has fallen in a deep sweet sleep—because he was tired of digging the ducts and channels in the mountain—or he is paced in the dream as well as the bedroom (*khābgāh*) of his sweet beloved (*Shirin*). Then again two opposite meanings is considerable for this verse: one stands for a lover who is finally got tired of love and the other marks *Farhad* as a faithful lover who finally meets his beloved in a dream. The aesthetic function of

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109 All these are also not far from the concept of protected board (*louḥ-i maḥfouz*) and its embedded paradoxical options for changeability known in Islamic philosophy as *louḥ-i maḥu wa Iḥbāt* or the board of elimination and confirmation which again is based on some verses of Quran: “*Allah eliminates what He wills or confirms, and with Him is the Mother of the Book.*” (13:39) To know more about the relationship between these boards: Jafari, 2001.
condensations of this kind for hiding a secondary but perhaps true intention should not be overlooked here. It is under a sense of beauty that the two opposites could ever tame in a word. Roger Caillois in his stances on camouflage in his seminal article “Mimicry and Legendary Psychasthenia” (1984) argues that “assimilation to space” is necessarily accompanied by a decline in the feeling of personality and life but at the same time is accompanied with a strange sense of beauty and aesthetics. Through this instinct, life takes a step back as the insect turns into leafs (planet) or crabs into stones to gain something more than revival because—regardless of how skillful is their camouflaging tricks—they are still likely to be eaten by their foes. This camouflaging trait is not restricted to the animals and in fact the same logic rules over the ‘primal words’ in Arabic, Kurdish, Persian poetry and especially in Sufis literature and also on the dream manuals. As our focus is on the Kurdish people and the book of Ibn-i Sirin is the most favored and popular dream book in the Kurdish culture, here are some examples of this logic in which two opposite things share the same interpretation: To see heaven (jannah) mostly predestinates its dreamer as one who enters the heaven after death but seeing the hell (jahîm) could be interpreted either as hell or heaven that is as its far opposite (cf. Ibn-i Sirin: 125-126). Water and fire as an insurmountable pair have also the same interpretation, seeing water and fire have the same meaning as both are standing for a king (Ibn-i Sirin: 375). Seeing a desert without water and also a land without food (qahî [قحطی] ) stands both for a fertile time and richness (Ibn-i Sirin: 386-387) … Examples of this kind are numerous. The complexity of understanding the logic working behind the dream books and dream manuals in an Islamic culture lies in what Freud has once named assonance and “similarity of the words” (Freud, 1900: 74). The meaning of a symbol seen in a dream is more complex to be deducted from its conventional meaning. A dream, in this culture, is a nominal riddle which is supposed to have actual
consequences in appropriation to the way that is interpreted. However, the fact that a dream is a riddle is seemed to be universal. Every dream is a riddle that should be solved. Every word is also in an unchangeable relation to an object in a very auto-affective way: kon fa yakoun ("Be! And here it is!": Quran, 2:117). To be able to read both objects and dream-objects on the same level of reality one needs to master the science of names or 'ilm ol-asma (and also the science of numbers, read for instance the comments of Mirec137 on Islamic numerology). It is alleged that this science is the point of privilege of human being (ādam) in comparison to the other creatures of the God in an Islamic system of philosophy ("And He taught Adam the names—all of them..." (Quran, 2: 31)). A good interpreter is the one who masters this science—and through this science-helps the dreamer to avoid the consequences of the dream as a generative script through a different reading of its dream-objects that potentially entails opposite interpretations, meanings and hence, happenings. Dream in an Islamic Kurdish context is a kind of revelation and obeys the same kernel rule of “kon fa yakoun”: Whatever you read is whatever you get! Then, this verse justifies the intrinsic, instant and auto-affective relation between hadith (saying) and hādethe (event) and hādeth (just created). These words are linguistically of the same root: [ح د ث]. ‘Thing’ will be just-created in the form of an ‘event’ whenever called by the medium of a dream. Dream in this context is rather a verse (āyeh = [lit.] sign): an ‘event’ that happens immediately in language and not an event mediated by language. Language is here an autonomous machine of creation. What is created is subjected to the way that we read [a dream-object as] a Word with all of its ambiguities and multiple entendres. The truth value of a dream becomes a function of the truthfulness of its dreamer and accordingly its use for oneiromancy

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110 This makes at least one element in the Oedipus complex universal: the sphinx, as the one who asks the riddles. In contrast to sphinx, Oedipus is the prototype of a dream interpreter who is tragically confronted with the consequences of his knowledge.
(i.e. how accurately it realizes itself in wakefulness and real life). What the dreamer says, however, could never be evaluated by anyone (Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 10). In an Islamic culture of dream, the linguistic and verbal facets of the dreams are in central focus. Ibn-i Sirin heard it from Abu Hurayrah that the Prophet said: “...He whose dreams are most true is he whose speech is most true.” (See Lamoreaux: 132)

In my own experience, I would like to recall my interview with khalife Mousā:

-You once told me that a Sheikh works with the beginners by the medium of dream. Does the beginner remember these dreams the day after?

- Yes if he/she is not used to lie!

- I do not lie but I rarely remember my dreams! What is the reason?

- You talk too much! ...You want to find a proper word but you lie instead [because] of just a slight difference in a word or even a letter or just a false intonation or diacritic...(See Mirecé033 for full interview)

Accordingly, it is utterly crucial how one remembers a dream because a dream is a symbol that will fulfill itself in reality in the exact way that you read it! (And not necessarily in the same way that you see it!) Different readings can give it a completely inverse meaning and fulfillment. No wonder that kon fa yakoun (كن فيكون ), when used as an expression, means to reverse or to make a qualitative change in something. Within this cultural context, to see a dream is to read a statement as a changeable fate. This fate changes in accordance with the way we read this statement. The way that we read and see our dreams is subject to our ‘visual system’. Visual system differs from culture to culture (and in this context, even from one Sufis’

\footnote{In Iranian cultures to say: "kon fa yakounesh mikonom!" (كن فيكونش مي كنوم) for example, means: “ I will change it drastically!”}
brotherhood to another (see for instance Mireco48 and Mireco79)) and accordingly, dreams are not translatable. Dream is a visual riddle and to read it one should know how to solve the visual riddles in that culture of riddle. We will return to this in a full epilogue but for now, it might be helpful to provide the reader with an example:

**Bee or “Be!”? That Is the Questio**

The origin of seeing a chess player in a dream is lying as [the origin of] chess is all [made] of images.

(Ibn-i Sirin: 245)

To bring a parallel and palpable example let us consider a dream which follows the logic of a rebus: to see a bee buzzing around a watch in a dream could be interpreted as direct warning of “Be watchful!” if we just consider English words as if they are Kurdish for a while. Here, one may replace the bee with its connotative replacement: “Be! and a watch for an imperative instead of a ‘thing’: [be] Watch[ful]! This replacement revolts the entire scene into an urgent warning of a danger. In the same way, and in a fictional ideal model that is considered here for a better understandability of the issue, the mind of a loyal obedient Muslim ([lit.] obedient) should associate every ‘thing’ with its corresponding word in the *script* or *maktoub* ([lit.] written but it is to be noted here that *maktoub* in Arabic stands also for ‘law’ or something obligatory as well as the destiny) or spoken (*kalām*; see addendum #1). For such a devoted person, the message of a dream is articulated in an auditory instruction. This instruction is already there, written in the dream as a *script* which mediates itself through a set of visual, audio and kinesthetic communication styles.

Now to see a bee in a dream for a faithful Muslim who practices commemorations (ṣikr) might be associated with this verse of Quran:

“And your Lord inspired (ارحی[literally of the same root of وحی or revelation]) to the bee, “Take for yourself among the mountains, houses, and among the trees and [in] that which they construct.”” (16:68)
And seeing a watch (ساعت) might become associated with the last verse of Quran that in Islamic esoterism works like a chiming clock:

“Say, “I am only a man like you, to whom has been revealed [literally of the same root of from وحی or revelation]) that your God is one God. So whoever would hope for the meeting with his Lord— let him do righteous work and not associate in the worship of his Lord anyone.”” (18:110)

Then, to see a bee buzzing around a clock could have a very positive as well as very warning message because both of these verses have one word in common: وحی = revelation. What we have here is a clear dominance of Word over the Flesh or written (maktoub) over images (mosawwar). The nature of this dominancy might be more discernible if we continue to follow the rebus analogy of Freud. Freud has corresponded the decoding of the riddle of a dream to the way that we usually handle a rebus. Although he has also corresponded the Oriental dreams to a similar solution of a rebus (the solution was Satyros = Thine is Tyros; Freud, 1900: 74) he did not go deeper in the subject as he was convinced that the subtle relation between the words—and the different meanings that they associate in these societies—is not clear to him (ibid.).

Now to bring the dreams of a Kurdish Muslim society in an analogy with a Western rebus culture, it would be helpful to map the same route that Freud has once proceeded on a culture in which dreams are considered as a kind of revelation, a sign (آیت) whose genesis or origin is an outspoken Word of ‘Truth’.

In the Sufi communities and in their visual culture, one rarely finds a rebus like the following picture i.e. an image or flesh that should be replaced by its proper word and so on...

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112 It is believed that one who reads the following verse and thinks afterward of a time; he/she will be awakening on that time in accuracy of a second.
Instead of this kind of rebus—and specially in a Sufi and Islamic context— one can find a lot of figures in which the words and images are blended and condensed into each other like these pictures:

![Rebus](Image)

**Fig. 21** Rebus: “This is the way that I disappear.”
(Source: Iradj Esmailpour Ghouchani’s art collection in Saatchi Art Gallery; Permanent URL: http://www.saatchiart.com/account/artworks/398483)

**Fig. 22** A human face made of the words, Allāh, Muhammad, Ali, Hasan and Husayan.— 19th century (URL: http://www.artarena.force9.co.uk/cur.htm last accessed on 23.1.2013; check also Mirec169)
Fig. 23 Morghe besmil مَرْجَعُ بِسْمِلٍ: A very popular zoographical writing of the first verse of Quran (In the name of God, he compassionate the merciful) in the form of a bird. This one is written reversely (mirrored) on a wall of a Qāderieh convent in a village in Kurdistan.

In these examples from the visual culture of Qāderieh brotherhood a double-sided model of sign is at work. In the plastic arts used for decorating the convents of the Sufis, the artist is cautious not to violate this precedence of Word over Flesh and every picture should conduce the Word embedded in the things like a radiological photo that discloses the flesh to reveal the bones as the real skeleton or structure upon which the flesh is assembled. This precedence of Word over Flesh does not remain restricted in visuality and has its own reflections in Islamic-based dreams and visions for example Kermānī insists that in the case of seeing a ring in a dream, the strong interpretation belongs on what that is written on its gem and not on the

113 In Islamic culture, the images are mostly tolerated if drawn in company with the calligraphic forms of the words. Equally in the Quran, the materialistic world is considered as a lahuw o la’aib or “amusement and diversion” (Quran 6: 32, 47: 36, 57: 20). The materialistic and fleshy aspect of the things in this worldly life is considered analogous to Plato’s paradigmatic assembly: A shadow, hijāb or a veil that hinders us from seeing them as they truly are, that is, in the gesture of their ‘Words’. Moreover, every pure form of plastic arts is not only considered as a mere mimicry of a shadowy illusion that veils the truth, but also as some reflections of idolism, paganism or atheism or kofr which again means veiling (see also Naef).

114 Even the Iranian miniatures should not be considered as mere visual pictures, as they are mostly some courtly patronized illustrations that usually drawn to serve a written text or a poem.
material from which the ring is ever made of (Ibn-i Sirin: 179). The examples of this kind are many but to see the same talismanic nature of some dreams among the Sufis, let us return to the dream of Sheikh Mohammad Kasnazānī. As we remember, the prophet appeared to him very literally, that is, in the form of his name (Mohammad) with letters that were mainly made of two moons and one sun (Mirec185):

![Diagram](image)

**Fig.24** A typographical appearance of Mohammad the prophet in a dream in the form of his name (محمد). The dream is essentially constructed by two moons and a sun. The dreamer needs to connect the moons and the sun to read the name of Mohammad as the message. The first picture is a copy of what sheikh has drawn with his own hand to show the content as well as the meaning of his dream to his followers.
Attributing persons to the astronomical objects is one of the features of a highly spiritual dream e.g. the first dream of Joseph:

“[Of these stories mention] when Joseph said to his father, “O my father, indeed I have seen [in a dream] eleven stars and the sun and the moon; I saw them prostrating to me.”” (12: 4)

Dreams of this kind are very status-bringing, for instance Jacob (father of Joseph) asked him not to share his dream with his brothers (See addendum #2 and also Quran, 12: 1-14). Seeing Mohammad in the form of his name instead of his face is a dream of a very high spiritual level. It is supposed that only a sheikh could possibly be shared with such a top-secret message by the medium of a picture-puzzled dream. What we have here is an extra emphasize on the importance and essentiality of the Word in this culture [of dream] as the ideal reality (miṯāl) of everything and everyone under-heaven. Everything or everyone in the materialistic world is an incomplete deficient copy or reflection (tajalī تجلی) of its name. In this context, the relationship between a ‘thing’ and its name is hierarchical: a name as a signifier is of higher order and belongs to the world of ‘law’ and imperatives (ālam-iʾamr). “People are asleep and once they die, they become awake” (الناس نِيامُ و اذَا ماتوا انتبهوا) is a hadith from Mohammad that almost all of the dream books on Islamic culture begins with a recall of it in their opening pages115. According to this mindset, we are living in a lucid rebus, a secretful Wor(l)d that reveals its true meaning just to the one who has the science of the names (‘ilm ol-ʾasmāʾ). This science is respectively correlated with the science of dreams (‘ilm ol-royāʾ). From this perspective, there is no essential difference between the dream-objects and those objects seen in the daytime as all of them are composing a secretive language of a pictorial nature whose meaning is hidden from the eyes of non-confidents (nāmahram نامحرم).

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115 This hadith is engraved on the grave of Annemarie Schimmel (1922-2003) both in Arabic and German. To pay a tribute to her: “Die Menschen schlafen, und wenn sie sterben, erwachen sie.”
examples—about the dominance of Word over Flesh, voice over image, intelligible over sensible, signifier over signified and so on...—are substantiating the ‘double signification’ and its mutual effect on a ‘visual system’ in which the Word is more ‘Real’ than Flesh! We will return to the features of this peculiar ‘visual system’ in the epilogue but before that, we should note that this dominance is not restricted to the Kurdish system of signification or ‘visual system’. In what that follows I will exemplify a dream that is quite close to the idea of ‘double signification’ and condensation in words instead of images. This is a very exemplary dream in which the envy against Father results in the condensation of two words. In this example (Dream of K. G. Jung on (December 18, 1913)), the name of “Sigmund Freud” as the name of the father of psychoanalysis, has been condensed unconsciously into the name Siegfried; Jung writes:

“I had the following dream. I was with an unknown, brown-skinned man, a savage, I was in a lonely, rocky mountain landscape. It was before dawn; the eastern sky was already bright, and the stars fading. Then I heard Siegfried’s horn sounding over the mountains and I knew that we had to kill him. We were armed with rifles and lay in wait for him on a narrow path over the rocks. Then Siegfried appeared high up on the crest of the mountain, in the first ray of the rising sun. On a chariot made of the bones of the dead he drove at furious speed down the precipitous slope. When he turned a corner, we shot at him, and he plunged down, struck dead. Filled with disgust and remorse for having destroyed something so great and beautiful, I turned to flee, impelled by the fear that the murder might be discovered. But a tremendous downfall of rain began, and I knew that it would wipe out all traces of the dead. I had escaped the danger of discovery; life could go on, but an unbearable feeling of guilt remained.” (Jung, 1973: 220)

A Freudian analysis of this dream will reveal to us that Jung has killed his alter ego Siegfried and at the same time killed Sigmund Freud (Obeyesekere, 421).¹¹⁶ Siegfried,

¹¹⁶ Jung appears here as a jealous son who wished to take the place of Freud as the powerful father of psychoanalysis and this dream discloses this hidden desire and so on. Freud himself was suspected of such a feeling in his best pupil: “In 1909, while waiting to board a ship to the United States,...ceaselessly, Jung spoke of prehistoric remains being dug up in Germany. This got on Freud’s nerves; he commented, ”Why are you so concerned with these corpses?”. Freud suddenly fainted.
here is the condensed name of the visualized hero. To solve the dream one should break this name into its original elements. This unzipping process is a necessary step in order to reach to the true message behind the dream. First after a process of decryption, the *name* would lead us to the true meaning of its *image* and the riddle of the dream is solved:

**Siegfried= Sigmund + Freud**

The act of interpretation here is in fact an act of *word resolution* and not an act of *image resolution*. Again, it would be misleading to search for a meaning for the presence of this mythological figure (*Siegfried*) in the dream as a symbol: it is there as an *image* to be substituted with its *name*. This example supports our next discussions in the epilogue about a list of Janus-words that simultaneously convey two meanings showing the subtle relationship that exists between the ‘dream-work’ and language. It will be shown in the epilogue that the condensation of the words could entail a very strong unconscious component. In Janus-words or ‘primal words’, Language functions as a collective and objective\(^{117}\) form of unconsciousness, that is, “a true return of the repressed”\(^ {118} \) in the *Words* that has finally found Flesh due to condensation.

**Conclusion**

*True thoughts are those alone which do not understand themselves.*  
_Theodore W. Adorno (MM: 192)  

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\(^{117}\) The collective feature of primal words is clear because they are modified in language which is collective by nature; they are also objective because they—even when used in every-day speech—are constituted beyond the subject’s conscious control.

\(^{118}\) Slavoj Žižek has discovered many kinds of these “true return of the repressed” usually attributed to the survived forms of primitive and archaic communities in the modern societies for example in the *canned-laughter* of the TV shows or in the *weepers* (women hired to cry in funeral ceremonies). (See: http://www.16beavergroup.org/intarchive/archives/000330.php last accessed on 14.1.2013)
This function of words in their primal format is not restricted to archaism and is traceable more or less in every culture. But in ‘Persianate societies’ this element is particularly conspicuous. A language full of ‘primal words’ is ‘empty’ as well; everything could be interpreted as its opposite. Now we have reached again to the main obstacle regarding Grunebaum’s categorization of Oriental dreams (Grunebaum: 11-21). How we could ever categorize the Oriental dreams according to the intentions? It seems impossible to develop an efficient theory of dreams or a method to lead us from the manifest dream to the authentic but latent intention of its dreamer and/or narrator. Nevertheless, we can care about the differences that exist in unlike ‘visual systems’ and the dissimilar ways which people are acculturated to merge or condense words and images into each other. However, even for a ‘native eye’ it is sometimes hard to decide about the real, true intention of a dream(er) or the one who is narrating it: It is Unknown!
EPILOGUE
Encountering With the Unknown
Dream of a Sufi: The Third Script

I am a dumb who is woken from a dream in a world full of deaf, I am excused from explaining and the people from hearing.

_Shams-i Tabrizi_

In Sufis’ symbolism knowing of the _ser_ or secret will cost _sar_ (its homograph) or head. They saw themselves like butterflies ( _parvāneh_ ) who are in love with light (e.g. light of a candle) whirling around it until getting caught by the fire. A Sufi is destined to be perished and burned in the fire of love: _fanā_. These are a group of butterflies who are spell-bound by something _unknowable_. This _unknowable_ in terminology of Sufism is named ‘ _black light_ ’ ( _nour-i siyāh_ or _gheyb-i hoviyat_ ( _ غیب هویت_ (lit. occultation of identity or essence))). Terms of this kind explain the unreadable scribbled words by which a Sufi puts his/her revelations down on the paper or cries them out in dance and ecstasy in the form of a set of incomprehensible sounds and howls (see for example Moloud Khān #2, Part 3; Scene 1). It is also possible that a Sufi starts to take off his cloth during the _ziqr_ (commemoration). Acts of this kind will rapidly stop and will be controlled by the khalife or those of higher experience (Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 5). _Shaṭḥ_ is the general name for what the Sufis say during the trance. _Shaṭḥiyāt_ (pl. of _shaṭḥ_) are a set of heathenish expressions and axioms that a Sufi says when he/she is allegorically intoxicated by the wine or water of wisdom. These short axioms are mostly so abstract and formalistic that may sound meaningless. However, many of them are accompanied with such meanings and actions that are strictly against the norms of a
Muslim society. ‘Ana-al-haq ṣana’ta is perhaps the most known sha’ah: “I am the truth/ God!” expressed by the Iranian arch-Sufi Maḥsour al-Ḥallaj (244-309 AH.), accused of heresy and executed for his self-identification with ‘truth’ (ḥaq or God). People of Shari‘ah (ahl-i-shar‘ ʼahl شرع) like mullahs and māmoustās mاموستا could not understand the language of ḥallaj. This puts Tariqat and Shari‘at into an essential inconsistency with each other and specifies their different approach to every script, notwithstanding a verse from Quran or a dream. Quran and a true dream are ontologically considered of the same row as both are scripts sent from Allāh. Dream is considered as a residue of revelation and prophethood. For a Sufi, the door of revelation is not closed (in contrast to the orthodoxal beliefs of the people of Shari‘at ) and every modern object could be considered as a new Word sent to us from Allāh. Sufism is a discipline for mastering the science of words and names (or علم الاسماء) as well as for mastering the art of seeing this as that by a simple switch in the meanings of their names. This is exactly what they show off with it in their rituals of fire-walking and ‘khawāriq’. Fire-walking is a solid proof that they are the ‘truth’ or ḥaq and the physical rules and locks of this world—that looks so firm and solid in the eyes of the people of Shari‘ah—could be as flexible and flowing as a dream (see the text and comments of sound tracks Mirec039 and Mirec117-118 to know more about the relation between fire-walking and verses of Quran). This fundamental difference is reflected in its best in a quote attributed to Shahāb-il-din Suhrīwardī شیخ اشراق (549-587 AH.) and the founder of the school of illumination اشراق: “Read Quran as a revelation that is already descended for you and not for anybody else!”119 He himself

119 It is famed that Suhrewardi has written this in his testament at the end of his book “ḥikmat-ol-Ishrāq” حکمه الاشراق. I personally did not find this book but it is very frequently narrated nevertheless Suhrewardi has devoted a large part of his book to hermeneutic (which was first revealed to Idris (Hermes) the prophet) and esoteric sciences (i.e. science of letters ʿIlm-olhorof). The similar personalized codification of dreams has been documented among the Toraja of Indonesia (Hollan, 1989).
has claimed at the end of his seminal work, *Ḥikmat-ol-Ishrāq* (حكمه الاشراق), that these secrets are induced to his spirit and soul by the holy spirit (*Rouḥ-ol-qodos* روح القدس) all in once and in a very strange day and occasion (Suhrewardi: 403). Similar claims are also settled by Ibn-i ʿArabī and many other Sufi authors including *Shams-i Qosheyri* the author of Kurdish *book of Ascension* which is reviewed in Appendix A. Claims of this kind reveal some hidden aspects of Sufis’ topology of mind. Here, topology is not necessarily a science about the nature of surfaces but as drawn by Heidegger on its Greek roots, topology is a place (*topos*) that speaks (*logos*): ”*Saying of a place*” (Ort-Reden) (Heidegger via Malpas: 33). “*Saying of a place*” is also the shortest definition for the dream. Double suggestiveness of the word *ḍamīr* (a word that means both mind and pronoun) is also not accidental and reflects the agency of the language in the construction of the mind. However, there are assumably some spiritual experiences that do not even let themselves to *taʿwil* and could neither be perceived nor expressed by the language. One Sufi of *Khidrieh* brotherhood once told me:

“Sufis are matured in comparison to normal people who are still entrapped in their mind, like a fetus who is still living an embryonic life or a child who has still not reached his/her puberty. How you can explain the feeling of sexual love to a child? Perhaps through a set of metonymies. For example, to say that: “Having sex is something like tasting honey!” But you have not explained it! Sex is far different from honey! The same is true when a Sufi tries to cast his/her feeling of celestial love in language. He has no way just to

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120 Heidegger has rarely used the word topology, however, Jeff Malpas has constructed an extensive book of theory upon just one paragraph from Heidegger which says:

appropriate a set of words to index into something which is essentially unexplainable.”

Shams-i Tabrīzī, the master of Rumi has called this unexplainable the third script (khāf-i sevomخطوط سوم): An expression that is still used when referring to something utterly secretive, unknown and unchallenged new ways (khāf also means line). In his famous quote or shafāḥ we read:

"چنان که آن خطاط سه گونه خط نوشتی: یکی ای که خواندی، لا غیر .... یکی را هم ای که خواندی هم غیر او .... یکی نه ای که خواندی نه غیر او آن خط سوم منم که سخن گویم. نه من دانم، نه غیر من...."

“... like that calligrapher who writes in three different scripts: One that he can read and no other one, and [second] one that both he reads and others and [third] one that nobody can ever read, neither he nor anyone else. I am that “third script”, I speak but neither I nor anybody else could understand it!...”

One can accordingly divide the dreams as scripts (revelations, godly messages etc.) into three main categories:

1- Taʾwil pazīr: Interpretable dreams which have truth-value and true content and contain a message from God. It could be partly contaminated like a noised message (cf. Suhrewardi, Ḥikmat-ol-Ishrāq: 379) but the main message as ‘truth’ will become true: It will happen! These dreams are a mirror of future. This kind of dream as a script is not easily readable and should be returned to its original format. Interpretation of these dreams needs a large extent of enlightenment. One should be able to transcend to the realm of truth to see the embedded meaning of the script per intuition. This is the art of taʾwil. These dreams, like poems, are events that happen in-the-language and not through-language.

121 Again it is unclear to whom this pronoun or ʿādamīr is referring, Shams or the ‘truth’ or ḫaq by whom he was possessed (like being possessed by a spirit) at the time these words were disclosing themselves on his tongue. The mind (pronom) is a stage whose main character is constantly changing but for a Sufi all of these characters are just one, just like a dream in which so many people may talk with each other but in fact there is just one speaker: the dreamer!
2- Taʿbir pazir: Interpretable but common, stereotypical dreams that could be seen by every average man or a normal subject. For example, dreams of the “Papa Gave Water” genre, lie in this category. Dreams of this kind are very easy to understand and everybody can read the message or look for their taʿbir inside the conventional dream manuals. These are the events that happen through-language.

3- Not interpretable: Dreams which do not let themselves to any interpretation (neither taʿwil nor taʿbir). These are new just like a shafāhe and most of them are pure and formalistic in nature. Dreams of this kind could not be narrated because there are no words for what is experienced in these dreams. Most of them could not be even remembered. To remember a dream, one should be able to narrate it to him/herself. However, these dreams are such ‘events’ (hawādi̇ or sawāneh or waqāye, pl. of hādi̇e sawanāhe and waqe’e, sawanāhe and waqe’ē) that happen outside the boundaries of language. These dreams or realities are some new ‘Words’ that still possess no Flesh. They are unknown.

The Sufis are mostly related to the third category but also to the first one; they have always tried to push the walls of language to its most primal extremes to enable the conventional language to hold, as much as possible, unknown inside its words. No matter how hard they have tried to make the language ‘primal’, ‘empty’ and ‘loop-holed’, there are moments in these dreams and visions that are unexplainable: “It is a dream seen by a dumb in a world full of deaf.”

Dreamers of the third kind are

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122 A free translation of this celebrated quote from Shams-i Tabrizi the master of Rumi:

من گنگ خواب دیده و خلقی تمام کر
من عاجز از گفتن و خلق از شنیدن کر

242
transported from the walls of social reality to the boundless zone of the unknown. In this zone lie the freedom and the reign of a Sufi:

Vous libérez nos âmes du théâtre de la réprimande! 
Prisonniers de la nuit sont libres des sentences, discours et récits 
Et les sultans pensent plus à leurs régnes, 
Et les prisonniers pensent plus à leurs prisons, 
Aucune perte ou profit, ni stress, 
Pas même une pensée de “ce” ou “celui” d’ici-bas! 
Le mystique est dans cet état alors que tout est en éveil: 
Dieu dit, “Ils dorment123”, donc ne soyez pas effrayés! 

(Rumi, Mathnavi, vol. I, verses 391-394)

Rumi speaks here of freedom from everyday’s ‘symbolic order’ and the content of such dreams might not be reducible into everyday language. In fact, such a zone or possibility for becoming free from language-mediated ‘symbolic order’ of the social reality exists at least in the language when it starts to resist against meanings (for instance, the unknown “X” in mathematic) or when the words are highly charged with meanings as in a poem. Perhaps Rumi is referring to this poetical facility of language-mind (damīr ضمير) largely examined and practiced in Sufism but as they put it, “it is unexplainable!” Regardless of how fascinating it could be to work on the unknown, we turn our focus back to something explainable in terms of modern theories. In our review of Islamic of dream narratives that follow the same story-plot of an ascension, it became clear that the large set of ascensions follow a similar structure of narrative and the way that the dreamer has ascended to the

123 Rumi refers here to the verse 18:18 from Quran saying: “And you would think them awake, while they were asleep...”
unexplainable or unspeakable is usually explained through the same set of repetitive events and preludes: the unknown and unexplainable happens after drinking the water of knowledge from the hands of a deity. Therefore, in these clichés, the unexplainable still holds its position at the most central part of all narratives.

Fig. 25 Passion for unknown; A page (p.26) from Resāle Shaṭāreih wa Qāderieh, written by Bahā’-o-din ibn-i Ibrāhim al-Qāderi al-Ansāri al-Hoseyni (source: The digital library of TOTFIM (The Open Treasure From Islamic-Iranian Manuscripts), the archive code of the manuscript: Nr. 1. in PAK-001-1891; URL: http://totfim.com/Manuscripts/Details/35201 last accessed on 3.12.2016). Although this esoteric book of Qāderieh brotherhood is not from Kurdistan but the same passion for esoterism is detectable in almost all of the writings of this discipline.

The substance of water could be metaphorically replaced by another object or substance and vice versa; however, the general story plot remains untouched. Ascension of Mohammad or mi‘rāj was the reference-dream or general story-plot in our analysis. This story-line is not necessarily the only cliché but perhaps the most illustrative one among various narrative strategies and preliminaries that are usually taken to process the story up to its unexplainable episode. But in what ways are these clichés related to unconsciousness?
Unconsciousness
"Knowledge Which Doesn't Know Itself"

The concept of unconsciousness is strongly geared with automaticity, machination, every repetitive social and collective practice and automation especially in the bureaucratic sense of this word. In social psychology, unconsciousness rules on every automatic form of psychological and behavioral process (Bargh, 2007). Stereotyping is one of these automatic influences (ibid: 1). The following definition, suggested by Elisabeth Roudinesco, is the way that she summarizes Lévi-Strauss’s understanding of unconsciousness as an empty template:

“What is called unconsciousness is merely an empty space in which the symbolic function achieves autonomy.” (Roudinesco, 1999: 211)

Although Lévi-Strauss’s words might be a bit different but this shows to be a very helpful formulation of his thoughts. Here the word ‘empty’ is very central and explains how unconsciousness works:

“The unconscious is always empty—or, more accurately, it is as alien to mental images as is the stomach to the foods which pass through it. As the organ of a specific function, the unconscious merely imposes structural laws upon inarticulated elements which originate elsewhere—impulses, emotions, representations and memories.” (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 203)

He concludes that the “individual lexicon” becomes significant only to the extent that the unconscious structures it according to its laws and thus transforms it into

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The objective common-life aspect of unconsciousness is broadly scrutinized by the psychoanalyst and philosopher Slavoj Žižek who has developed and applied the theories of Jacques Lacan in his studies on popular culture. Check the following link for more: URL: http://www.lacan.com/zizekrumsfeld.htm last accessed 2.06.2014.
language (ibid.). This brings us of one of the most celebrated quotes of Lacan who says: “Unconscious is structured like a language” to be more accurate:

“...no language being able to say the truth about truth, since truth is grounded in the fact that truth speaks, and that it has no other means by which to become grounded. This is precisely why the unconscious, which tells the truth about truth, is structured like a language,...” (Écrits: 867-868)

Actually, unconsciousness is resided inside every empty “Fine, thanks!” that we automatically say after hearing “How are you?!?” which its formulation is for sure different in every culture however it does not require a literal response as it should remain empty to function as an informal formal greeting. In this way the task of an ethnographer becomes very similar to the task of a psychoanalyst. The answer is never in what the interviewee is saying (“I saw my father in my dream and he gave me a bowl of water, and so on and so on...”). The task of the ethnographer, as like the psychoanalyst, is rather to ask “why my interviewee is saying again and again the same thing to me?”

**Cliché Is an Unconscious Image**

“Here, we might even use the word imago to suggest what is at stake in crossing the abyss separating the real from the symbolic... [T]he term is defined ...as an unconscious image or cliché”

(Castricano: 66)

_We should try to grasp subjection in its material instance as a constitution of subjects._

_Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures"

All the discussions around the truism of dream narratives as well as different stories told about ascensions in Kurdistan as a collective social practice, sit pretty well with the formation of a collective and objective kind of unconsciousness. It is objective in the sense that it exists as a social practice and has its own _value_ regardless of being really seen in a dream as a subjective experience or not. On the other hand, the dream narratives that I have encountered with during my field study are mostly collective in
nature firstly because of their truism and secondly because of the strong presence of an archetypical unconscious image of a primal Father who mentors his children into Water as the source of life. This over-narrated theme has gradually found the function of a myth by which the social values become emotionalized. Iain R. Edgar is also emphasizing this collective aspect of the unconsciousness inside an Islamic context when he writes:

“I suggest that the Jungian dream-work tradition, with its concept of the collective unconsciousness and its related therapeutic practice of active imagination is closest to the Islamic dream interpretative model.” (Edgar: 6)

And also here:

“The essence of Islam is surrender to the will of God/Allāh. The essence of certainly Jungian psychoanalytical practices is to develop a creative union of the ego with the archetype of the Self, an intuitive connection with the core creative dynamic of the collective unconscious. The grab of words may be different, but there is an affinity, as realized in their respective dreamwork practices, between the two paths.” (Edgar: 118)

Argumentations of this kind are for sure the closest model that one can find in western psychology to the Sufis’ system of dream and model as a kind of mysticism. Gary Lachman in his book “Jung the Mystic” explains widely “the esoteric dimensions of Carl Jung’s life and teachings” (Lachman, 2010). For Jung “mystics are people who have particularly vivid experience of the processes of the collective unconsciousness (cf. Lachman, introduction). The main idea behind this hint to Jungian model of psychoanalysis is to denote that the unconsciousness is not necessarily a set of complex suppressed emotions seen via a set of images or clichés that appear to us in our night dreams. It could be also as collective as the language that we speak: “It speaks!” (“ca parle!” (cf. Écrits: 682, 838)). It is argued here that the repressed desires of a group of people can gradually deposit themselves inside the ‘Words’ of a jargon language (for example, in Sufis ‘fellowship of utterance’ or ākhwān ol-qouliyat that has lend its features to Persian and Kurdish
poetry). Due to this jargon language, the repressed desires do not remain restricted to the subjectivity of a dream-mind, the desire which makes the concept of the unconsciousness not only collective but also objective as it provides the administrative system of the state power (*Divān*) with the symbolic material of which it is ever made. In order to understand this argument, it is important firstly to understand how *symbolic language* (or *Divān* (as the book of a poet)) and ‘*symbolic order*’ (or *divān* (as an administrative system)) have ever become amalgamated into each other. First we reconsider a *dream* as a kind of *capital* and afterward we consider those technological determinants that portray *Water* as the metaphor for every kind of capital.

“**I dream, therefore I am”**

“Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Zhuangzi. But he didn’t know if he was Zhuangzi who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Zhuangzi. Between Zhuangzi and a butterfly there must be some distinction!”

(Watson: 49)

We know that in Kurdistan, if someone sees the prophet or many other Islamic saint figures and fore-Sheikhs in his/her dream, it is not a dream but a factual event (*vāqe’e* ṭafṣer) (cf. gloss.5 and also Albaqdadi: 406). Now, the ambiguity has shifted from the dream to the daytime in which it is even unclear if the narrator has really seen any ‘Wise Old Man’ figure in his dream or it is just a dissimulation to gain his/her social status and symbolic capital (See Moloud Khān #2, part1, scene 6). The functionality of a dream also depends on if it is narrated to others or not. If the dream is narrated to the public, the dreamer brings himself/herself a new point of equilibrium with the public by representing a new *outer-self*. On the other hand, if he/she decides to keep his/her dream as a private secret for himself/herself, he/she would become in a new point of equilibrium with his/her *inner-self* although these
two are not easily separable. Dream is hence more like a treasure, either you share it with the others to come into balance and integrity with the community or you hide it in order to preserve the integrity of your treasure. For Jung seeing a ‘Wise Old Man’ in a dream is a kind of symbolic personification of the superior Self and insight (Jung, 1964: 196 pp.). There is a spectrum between ego and self and every setting in which a dream is shared with the others automatically interpolates the psychic make-up of its dreamer at some points between these two extremes as a new point of equilibrium. Seeing a spiritual vision or event (vāqe’e-y rouḥānī or a ‘true dream’ (royāy-i șādeqe) gives relief to its dreamer that “I am in faith!” On the other hand, narrating a ready-made dream narrative which guarantees its acceptance by the society would give the narrator the relief that “I am a member of the faith society!” The society also benefits from listening to this tradition of narratives and reinforces itself as a tradition: “[narrating a dream] is good for the faith of the people;” as said by a dervish in the last scene of Moloud Khān #2, part 2.

**Qanāt: How the Technology Calcifies Culture in Stone**

*From the spring of life is a conduit to the home of every poor person*  
*Like a Qanāt, needless of pickaxes and hatchets*  
(Rumi)

*Qanāt* as the main technical apparatus of this civilization lacks any technological body. It is an omni-present machine in which no technical part is used. It works like a natural pump of water without any rolls and bolts. Lack of technological body in this technology has a strong symbolic effect on subjects and figures, that is, the power of the water-lord as something natural or a ‘mandate of heaven’. Every *Qanāt* is basically constructed of a network of channels that lead the underground water out of
the mountain into the houses and farming lands. When we look into a Qanāt, we solely see some bores and traces in soil and stones. Moreover, these channels implicitly draw or write the social pyramid in the very spatial form that the channels take: The water should lead first to the house of the water-lord and from there on, to the house of the other people in a full accordance with their social wealth and status. The two-sided connectivity of this pyramid between water-lord and land-workers, and its structural unchangeability has conferred it a strong stance of a myth: The social pyramid as something ‘Symbolic’ is fixed and mapped onto real Qanāt channels. It is much harder for a ‘subject’ to escape from the gravitational field of this symbolic order historically watered by Qanāt as the most technological reality. Roland Barthes considers this kind of naturalization of the history as myth; according to him, the function of a myth is to put a particular assertion of the world instead of the world (Barthes, 1964). Qanāt, like an irresistible myth imprints the ‘order of things’ on earth and outlines the way that subjects should dwell on earth under the supervision of God and ‘higher powers’. This high/low opposition is again comparable to what Lévi-Strauss’s insurmountable oppositions (1967: 15). Thus, it takes us back to our discussions at the end of our chapter on Father (Bābā) (see diag.4 and table.2). Taking the symbolic relations as natural, renders a situation in which the individual is absent. The ‘subjects’ see themselves as some powerless pawns in the hand of a fatalistic kismet (qesmat قسمت)125. This cosmological position of land-worker as an autochthonous being that cannot fight the fate (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1955: 434) is again another feature of Divān as a living myth. Every minute ‘will to power’ from below would be answered with terrifying punishments from the ‘higher powers’. Then, in every class and discipline—including Sufism as the Islamic form of

125 This situation is perhaps what Marx has regarded as “the general slavery of the Orient” (Marx, 1973: 493-5).
intellectuality—the ‘will to power’ is learned to be buried and camouflaged—hence, survived: There is always a hidden interplay between two conflicting demands of the ‘will to power’ and the ‘will to live’ (*conatus*). For instance, in Sufism, every strategic word has found a new secretive and subversive meaning. The social praxis gives place to poetry to capsulate the collective repressed desires (≈ dreams) in the hidden intentionality buried in the secretive language which is transparently expressed in the words of everyday speech. In this respect, Persian as well as Kurdish poetry provides one of the most vital contexts for the creation of the elaborated Sufis’ literature:

“[T]he Sufis, who had already established their seemingly heterodox convention of describing the mystical experience as intoxication, and the presence of God as the union of lovers, ... lent itself to even more extravagant metaphors and allegories about the mystical life than did Arabic.” (Mottahedeh: 162)

Moreover, and as seen in the interviews, the Sufis usually return (*ta'wil* تاویل) or relate the dream thoughts to the old hagiographies and stories of the arch-sheikhs of the past where the Mullahs and traditional dream experts interpret (*ta'bir* تعبیر) them in accordance with the associations between dream-objects as Flesh to their related Word and sign (*ayat* آیت) in Quran. In *ta'bir*, the dream is handled like a sacred script that should be subjected to exegesis in order to be *read*. This returns us back to our first discussions on ‘dual-object’.

**Primacy of Word over Flesh: Language as Hyper-Reality**

“What looks as if it had to exist, is part of the language!”

(Wittgenstein, 1958: 25)

It is time to get back to the point that we leave Lacan when he juxtaposed the conventional relationship between the signifier and the signified:
"Here, we see that, without greatly extending the scope of the signifier involved in the experiment—that is, by simply doubling the nominal type through the mere juxtaposition of two terms whose complementary meanings would seem to have to reinforce each other—surprise is produced by the precipitation of an unexpected meaning: the image of two twin doors that symbolize, with the private stall offered Western man for the satisfaction of his natural needs when away from home, the imperative he seems to share with the vast majority of primitive communities that subjects his public life to the laws of urinary segregation.” (499-500)

Here, the Word as a symbol (e.g. Ladies or Gentlemen in the picture above) finds primacy over the same Flesh (the toilet door). The Word is so powerful that forces the same door to sound differently. It is our episteme (e.g. our knowledge about the laws of urinary segregation) that determines the ontological whatness of the thing out there. This supremacy has already doped our life with symbols. Dream is also a symbol; a message or a picture-puzzle: A door as a condensed image (≈ a red-light or Ladies/Gentlemen) that should be decoded or opened with a proper key-Word: Ladies or Gentlemen. It is due to this substitution that we can ever understand or interpret the meaning of a dream. However, there are always a set of words which convey another meaning. In such a case, the word itself works like a dream-object and is subject to interpretation. Interpretation on this level means substitution of a Word (with capital W) with a word. In the same way, most of the texts and scripts need also interpretation just like a dream. This overtake of dream-work by language is not
restricted to the ‘archaic’ communities. As we have already seen in the example of Jung’s dream (on Siegfried) and inside the Freud’s argumentations on “the joke and its relationship to the unconscious” (Freud: 1905 or in GW: 411-606) the dream is at work in every kind of narrative. However, it seems that this relationship has been put to its extreme in Sufism and actually by the medium of their very special use of language for hinting into the unknown. A language full of homophones, double entendres and deferral meanings will bestow every word an aura of ambiguity. Dwelling inside a language of this kind will process a very special kind of ‘visual system’ because the language is a life form and there is a mutually constitutive relationship between the language that we use and the world that we live in: the horizons of our words determine the horizon of our world. A ‘visual system’ is also:

“... the process that results in humans producing visible objects, reflexively constructing their visual environment and communicating by visual means; visual worlds reflect different ways of seeing.” (Banks and Murphy, 1997:21)

‘Visual systems’ are part of a more general cultural process that influences the construction of the world. The construction of the visual system inside a Kurdish community is subject to a long term materialization of culture under a very special technical determination which should be analyzed in frames of a multidisciplinary study. On the other hand, dreams (visions) and visual arts of every culture are primarily based on the ‘visual system’ developed in that culture. Every culture of dream is strongly based on the visual culture of its people and a dream—as a rebus—is a pictorial modification of the essential conflict that exists between the unconscious and conscious mind\textsuperscript{126}.

\textsuperscript{126} In the same manner, the word \textit{tajasom} (literally: to give body or to embody) which means imagination or visualization is also the word which is used in Iran to allude to visual or plastic arts (\textit{honarhāy-i tajasomi}).
Instead of falling into an endless abyss of cultural materialism—which could also be an interesting journey—let us turn our attention into visual anthropology. “Visual Anthropology is the study of the properties of visual systems; of how things are seen and how what is seen is understood” (Banks and Murphy, 1997:21). Dream is a visual text and Visual Anthropology is a science developed for interpretation of texts of this kind:

“Images are “everywhere”. They permeate our academic work, everyday lives, conversations and dreams (...). They are inextricably interwoven with our personal identities, narratives, lifestyles, cultures and societies, as well as our definitions of history, space and truth. Ethnographic research is likewise intertwined with visual images and metaphors.” (Pink, 2001: 17)

As stated above, one of the objectives of Visual Anthropology is to reveal different ways-of-seeing within and between societies. Here, I have monitored some regional samples of visual art-works as the products of a very special ‘visual system’. They are in a very ‘homologous’ manner related to other socio-cultural sorts of riddle e.g. literature, narratives, dream, etc.: “Unconsciousness is structured like a language” (Écrits: 868) and rebus (as well as talisman) is also a kind of language. The study of the rebus culture is factually the study of unconsciousness. Studies of this kind will give us an immense insight to answer the old but not fully answered riddle that asks: “Why calligraphy and accordingly mirror-writing is so praised in Islamic culture?”

Sufism, among its various artistic genres, has also developed a very special visual art which is rather a kind of zoographical painting with words: It is as if the words are the skeleton of the world and creatures; A hidden structure that holds up this materialistic world. In the eyes of a perfect human insān-i kāmil، إنسان كامل، the riddle of this materialistic world is solved and its ‘talisman’ becomes broken.127

127 This is how the spirit lives immanently inside the bones of the words comparable to this quote from Hegel which says: “Spirit is a bone!” (Der Geist ist ein Knochen). However, this famous quote is a simplification of a Hegel’s relatively long discussion on the way that skull is developed in the field of spirit; hence in a kind of conformity with it: “Die Wirklichkeit und Dasein des Menschen ist sein…
And the Flesh became Word: The figure of *insān-i kāmil*, انسان كامل depicted in a Sufi tradition of painting. Source: (Aksel: 107). The ultimate goal of a Sufi is to become a perfect human or *insān-i kāmil*. Equally, the goal of Sufism is to see the world as such: a distinguishable blend of *flesh* and *word* (*bone* and *spirit*) or perhaps a set of words that outline the body.

**Pipe vs. Heech:**

*Some Considerations on Ideoplasticity of the Script*

ای بیخبران شکل مجسم هیچ است
خیام

*Oh ignorant people, the visual-form is Heech (nothing)!*

_—_ Khayam

*Spirit is a bone
_—_ G.F. Hegel

*We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep.*

— William Shakespeare, The Tempest

Now, this strange relationship between Word and Flesh will be scrutinized via a comparative example taken from modern art:

“A carefully drawn pipe, and underneath it (handwritten in a steady, painstaking, artificial script, a script from the convent, like that found

_Schädelknochen . . . Wenn das Sein als solches oder Dingsein von dem Geiste prädiziert wird, so ist darum der wahrhafte Ausdruck hiervon, dass er ein solches wie ein Knochen ist.” (Hegel, G. F.: _Phänomenologie des Geistes_, Ullstein, 1973, PP. 180-202.)*
heading the notebooks of schoolboys, or on a blackboard after an object lesson!), this note: “This is not a pipe.”” (Foucault, 1983: 15)

“This is not a pipe” is an important art-work but perhaps not because it undermines the ordinary ‘order of things’ but because it undermines the learned identification of a ‘thing’ (pipe) with its Word (pipe). The work also makes the arbitrariness of this relationship sensible. The word pipe is of course a mere symbol for a pipe as a smoking device. “This is not a pipe” as a surreal art-work communicates with our unconscious by disturbing its borders as the space in which the symbol (pipe as a word) has dominance and primacy over the visual forms.

![Image of a pipe with the text “Ceci n’est pas une pipe.”](image_url)

**Fig.28** René Magritte (1898-1967) (*this is not a pipe*) *Ceci n’est pas une pipe* (1926).

In this work of René Magritte which both imitates the style and the hand-writing of the teaching boards usually hung in the school class-rooms, the visual form of the pipe is put higher than its written form. If we take this positional hierarchy notable, what would be the positional order between the written and visual forms inside an archaic language and culture? Perhaps this position should be juxtaposed: Being archaic means that the Word has an ontological superiority over the ‘thing’. Every
‘thing’ is just a cheap copy of its name. The philosophical painting of René Magritte indexes to this essential opposition of an archaic system of notification. In an archaic language, the Word is the primordial model of the ‘thing’ and attains the higher position than its Flesh as its visual form. This archaism or passion for a transcendental signifier, for the Unknown, which proclaims its absence by means of the presence of every imageable and imaginable thing ever present (cf. Derrida, positions: 29) is readable in pictorial inhibition in Islam and accordingly in the abundance of calligraphic arts in comparison with assimilative arts such as painting. What we have recognized here is the arbitrary but learned relationship between the Flesh and the Word which was sentenced in a very painterly way by René Magritte in Ceçi n'est pas une pipe (1926). Flesh here is the pictorial embodiment of something i.e. a tube of wood or hard rubber with a small bowl at one end, used for smoking tobacco. The Word in turn, is a sign (pipe), a written replacement for ‘Real’ which does not allow itself to be fully entrapped in language. ‘This is not a pipe’ is based on a very philosophical subject that is about the universal and essential inconsistency between the Word (pipe) and the Flesh (the image of the pipe). In “This is not a pipe!” the pipe as a word has preserved its arbitrary and non-directive nature, however, this arbitrariness is used and challenged here in a very neat sense. Every visual culture has its own way to reflect or challenge this inconsistency. As a matter of comparison, I have chosen the “Heech” (nothing) of Parviz Tanavoli as an Iranian counterpart for “This is not a pipe!” In his Heech series of sculptures, Tanavoli has tried to challenge the same problem. “This is a nothing” (this is not a ‘thing’) is what Tanavoli says by the name that he has chosen for his sculptures: Heech.
Comparison of the Heech of Tanavoli with Ceçi n’est pas une pipe of Magritte is not merely a comparison between two artworks of two modern artists but a comparison between two different visual systems developed in two different cultures. Surrealism, in the sense of the works of Magritte is based on a special philosophical constellation that deconstructs the European system of signification learned in the school. This subversive attitude is exactly what taken by Tanavoli for deconstructing the ‘Persianate’ system of signification. By comparing these two works, I want to visually lead the attention of my reader to the spatial relation between the signified and the signifier which could differ from one cultural context to another: In Ceçi n’est pas une pipe the picture of the pipe as the signified is located above its Word as the signifier while in Heech, the signified is integrated with its signifier: there is no
distancing space between the Word and Flesh. A Word has found Flesh. They are all united in oneness and this oneness is proposed to nothingness. He himself is very conscious of this unity as he used to say: “I live on selling my Heech (nothing).”

In the Heech sculptures of Tanavoli the word nothingness as an eidos determines the essence or whatness of his sculptures as a form and consequently the stuff that the thing is made of: matter. The radical conclusion is that “everything is nothing!” and this adds a new dimension to the basic duality that essentially exists between the form and the matter. A dilemma that makes a koan\textsuperscript{128} out of a piece of matter cut out from wood or metal; a dilemma which never ends. Signifier and signified are frozen inside an endless dialogue with each other. It puts the conscious mind aside and as an ideoplastic dream-object, provides a good food for meditation and also a good substrate for this discussion about Kurdish cult of visuality and visions. It provides a space in which the conscious thought cannot proceed. There is something that despite being palpable, insists to be ‘no-thing’. How a Heech (as no-thing) is capable to sustain our thoughts? In Heech, the Word has preserved its archaic nature and power although this power is used in a very negating sense. It is as if it says: “In the beginning there was the flesh and the flesh became word and that word was ‘no-thing’!” Heech is also rooted in the Islamic approach toward the Word as something sacred and archaic that devised the bond between language and reality as fundamentally mystical and mutual sharing of essences. The names of things are lodged in the things they represented, just as “the strength is written in the body of the lion, regality in the eye of the eagle, just as the influence of the planets is marked upon the brows of men: by the form of similitude” (Foucault, 1983, translator’s introduction: 7). On the other hand, the Heech of Tanavoli enjoys the Babylonian

\textsuperscript{128} A Zen practice of producing and asking riddles with meaningless or paradoxical answers to provoke the students of Zen for coming out from routines and formalities.
literal reciprocity of the language and the world. It is rather the figuration of the world redeeming itself from the ‘name of Father’ as its ultimate representative: Everything is unreal. The beauty of this work is in the amalgamation of opposites. The form and the content are the same: Nothing, Māyā, an illusion: a dream. The content is finally contented in its ideal form and spirituality: the Flesh turns into the spiritual thing: nothing! Tanavoli has taken a very Islamic issue by bringing calligraphy into his art: The union of Word in Flesh is the central idea behind the ‘archaic’ fact. Tanavoli has invented a visual ‘primal word’ or a ‘dual-object’ out of the words: Making nothing out of something. Here, it is again a matter of transforming both everything and nothing (as objects of thought), into just one thought-object; into a phenomenon as a hybrid of [the signifier of the unknowable] nomenon and phenomenon to yield into a ‘dual object’ that through its flesh indexes to its essential duality (a Think + Thing = Thing); that is, into a single word (Heech) materialized in the form of a sculpture (mojasame which like a dream, produces a visual embodiment of a thought (tajasom from jesm or body) of a Word which has no body. The occulted idea of nothingness or ‘adam علم or heech as a Word is now up-earthed and has found its flesh. As discussed before, this is the basic trick of Iranian poetry as what one reads in the quatrains of Khayam or love-poems of Hafiz. This trick is based on one of the most essential features of a language who stage itself as archaic and enables its speaker to talk round the clock about wine, women and any kind of hedonistic pleasures in a society in which all of these enjoyments are prohibited. The repressed is in a steady process of expression. You can say something but meanwhile mean its opposite and it is!

Dream as a Double-Signified Symbolic System
Behold! The fire of youth is water!
Listen! The tossing of odds is a dream!

_Khayam

To imagine a language means to imagine a form of life.

_L. Wittgenstein

Language is a symbolic system. “Ha-hat!” is not laughing and “Alas!” is not sighing but we use these words as symbols to represent, as well as to hide, our true feelings and emotions. They are rigid masks or containers for our juicy emotions. Dream is a contextualized symbol whose meaning differs from one language to another. Dream, generally mediates its meaning through a double-signified system: In order to understand the meaning of a dream, we should look into dream-dictionaries which is basically a word-dictionary of a higher order. Dream is a symbolic language and as such every ‘thing’ that appears in a dream is a dual-object or a Janus-word: one apparent meaning that is findable in a word-dictionary and one symbolic meaning that is findable in dream manuals which of course differs from culture to culture. Dream is a product of its contextual system of signification; otherwise, it was not ever communicable as a narrative. Everything seen in a dream—as dream content—is originally an unknown idea. We usually replace this idea on the next morning with an appropriate word in the process of remembering during which we make an effort to write the unknown down into a narrative. We turn our dreams into narratives first when we narrate them to ourselves. Then there are some parts that we do not remember and also some unexplainable parts that again we cannot remember simply because they do not let themselves to be entrapped in the language: there are no words for them. Unknown is unspeakable. The dream becomes both truncated and ciphered from that very moment that we cast it into the sentence: “I saw a rabbit!” or “I saw a river in my dream last night!” and so on... Rabbit and river are now a set of
Words. The dream on this level is transformed into a set of Words. A dream manual an allocation table of these symbols: Seeing a rabbit in a dream means this and seeing a river in a dream means that and so on ... If the dreaming mind—as a machine that translates the dream as a visual media into Words—was not automated and objective, it was not ever possible to find the meaning of a dream-object inside a dream manual\textsuperscript{129}. It is due to this automation that we see certain motives that are repeating themselves inside the dream narratives. Words, sentences and full narratives constantly collapse into each other under the unifying pressure of the ‘law’ as ‘the name of Father’: like a bricoleur, it makes the same structure out of ‘events’ (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 22). Subjection here means—not to live under—but to become a part of the condensing gravitational field of this automation that has even found a real embodiment outside: Diwān. Diwān is the name of the administrative system inside the state power of a Persianate state that automates the circulation of capital and the daily affairs of the subjects mostly the land-workers (roʿāyā pl. of raʿyat which means obedient). This subjectivation opens a very interesting but extensive question which will remain open in this thesis.

Now the question is what if a full narrative drops into this condensing field of formality? By reviewing the stories of ascension (see App. A), as well as by comparing the large amount of dream narratives that follow the suit of “Bābā Āb Dād” we can see that how even a new dream cannot escape the condensing, implosive and subordinating field or the power of its discursive conditionality that forces it into its

\textsuperscript{129} You dream something and the next morning you may search for its meaning inside a dream manual. Your mind and your unconscious have found an objective presence on the surface of an open book. One can conclude that the subject and existence of human being is open like a wound to the outer world. This is comparable to the Lacan’s idea of the split of subject in the mirror stage.
This elaborated and condensed traditional system of signification finds its symbolic embodiment in the figure of Father and every new experience fuels this old figure with something new. Father and Water are two elementary figures that have attained a multi-level of spiritual and narratological meaning under the pressure of a static administrative system. Father is a universal symbol that is in a steady communication and interaction with local symbolism of Water, generating one of the most popular dream narratives: Bābā Āb Dād.

**Kurdish Empire of Signs**

*Every Kurd, man and woman, is a poet.*

(Bois: 62)

Although one should not necessarily believe in what the French Kurdologist, Thomas bois has expressed in the epigraph above, according to the previous discussions we may now understand what he is going to say by such a biased sentence. Every language has this in-built capability to evoke meanings in addition to the prosaic ostensible meaning of a word. Every language entails unconscious poetical stances in its expressions and figures of speech but the amount and modality of this reification of expression differs from culture to culture. It is also not accidental that the word used for signifying a collective canonical thought is expression. The word used in Kurdish for expression is also illustrative: pand-i pishīniyān پند پیشینیان which literally means “the advice of the ancestors (fore-fathers).” Here, we are faced with a sort of reified and ready-made poetry of an over-symbolized language that should be melting back to consciousness to be understood again as poetry or symbol. One may hear

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130 This is comparable to what Lacan calls his realization on this fact that repetition automatism (Wiederholungszwang) suggested by Freud has its basis in what he (Lacan) has called the insistence of the signifying chain (Écrits: 11).

131 The same is true for political jokes and the ‘hate speech’, otherwise the alternative meanings of the words remain unconscious under the shadow of their ostensible meanings. Sometimes just a ‘twitch of an eyebrow’ اشارت ابرو is enough to guide the ‘native ear’ into the factual meaning behind the whole speech. For example there is an important article written by Abdoul-Karim-i Soroush, one of the Iranian famous intellectuals, in the time of Khatami, the former Iranian president and reformist (He
the word Father, the single Word which simultaneously alludes to two or more different fathers: his corporeal father or his Sheikh as his symbolic father and so on...

The ‘overdetermination’ here has taken place in the Word and not in the image. This should be explained with an example: Once I narrate one of my dreams to khalife Hoseyn; in my dream, I saw my father riding a motorcycle (my father is passed away). I sat on the back of motorcycle and he takes me inside a wonderful world. In one of the scenes there was a desert with a red sky and there were a lot of papers rolled and hung with some strings to the sky. I dare not touch any of these papers. Having visited some other spaces, I told my father that I want to get off. In my dream it seemed quite normal to get off from a motorcycle running in speed. I kissed my father on the back of his neck and he smiled. I saw his smile though I was sitting behind. Afterward, I got off and dismounted the motorcycle. In Iranian culture of dream, following a dead person till the end has just one meaning: death. The navel point of this dream is the figure of my father. He was my own father in every details but khalife Hoseyn told me that this father-figure was my spiritual guide and it is normal to see such dreams for one who gradually becomes acquainted with Sufism.

He asked me if I used to see fancy dreams like this before. And I replied “No!” He

was president of Iran before Ahmadinejād between 1997-2005). His letter starts with this sentence:

"The democratic and calm revolution of people against the religious despotism on May 1997 was a sweet experience that the non-appreciativeness and untimely indolence of that smiling master/eunuch (khāje) put an end (khātemat =Khātami) on it and makes a big mass of people anxious and angry..." (Read the full article in the official site of Dr. Abdoul-Karim-i Soroush’s site under: http://www.drsoroush.com/Persian/By_DrSoroush/F-CMB-13820417-1.htm last accessed on 13.3.2014).

The navel of this sentence is the word khāje: The author is alluding here not to the bigness and greatness of Khātami but instead to his political impotence. The primal feature of this word lets the writer to say in the face of president what the mass say in their jokes in the street about his impotence. A serial of jokes like this was very fashionable in that times:

“There was a woman who was still a virgin though she was married twice. Her first husband was a macho who believed that “a real man should never rape his own wife!” Her next husband was Khātami, the president.”

264
said: “You see?! That figure was an occulted Pir; they can appear in many forms.” The key directive of interpretation was the word Father and not my father. Perhaps it was irrelative for khalife Hoseyn to ask of my father or his manners when he was alive or my childhood with my father and so on... To him, my father was just a word: Father. By comparing this to Freud’s discussions on the appearance of a mixed personality in a dream—and the distinction that he makes between Identification and composition—the common feature that connects my father in dream to a Sheikh or a sainthood is the name of Father:

“Identification consists in giving representation in the dream content to only one of a number of persons who are connected by some common feature, while the second or the other persons seem to be suppressed as far as the dream is concerned. This one “screening” person in the dream enters into all the relations and situations which belong to itself or to the persons who are covered by it. In cases of composition, however, when this has to do with persons, there are already present in the dream image features which are characteristic of, but not common to, the persons in question, so that a new unity, a composite person, appears as the result of the union of these features.” (Freud, 1900, chapter IV, dream-work: 146)

In my dream of my father nothing was changed or mixed however his appearance in my dream was interpreted by khalife as a Pir or sainthood who mentors me to higher levels of spirituality. Then the locus of condensation is a name: Father which is basically a word and not the character or mannerism of the person who I identified as my father in dream. Actually I saw my father in an exact way that he was used to be and not in a new mixed characteristic and composition. In a Freudian theory of overdetermination it is likely to see a person in a dream who is partly like my father and partly like my sheikh, for example he looks like dreamer’s father but has the eyes

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32 This is the key point for a better understanding of Iranian visual system which is visible in every aspect of its visual culture for example in a large number of Iranian films the old men are symbolizing the tradition (for example in “Nader and Simin: A Separation” directed by Asghar Farhadi): We are dealing with a peculiar system of signification in which the position that a person occupies in a film or a dream-play is more real than the person himself.
and look of his/her sheikh. However, in this culture of dream, one may see his/her father in a dream without any ‘overdetermination’ in his facial and corporal attributes but he might merely be just a symbol for his sheikh because it is believed that the sheikh of a true pupil or murid is his/her true father or ab-il-haqiqī. Why here the ‘overdetermination’ took place in the Word of father instead of his image? Perhaps the reason is that in this system of signification, the word as a symbol is more real than the reality. In other words all Freud’s arguments about the ‘overdetermination’ as the condensation of a number of thoughts in a single image have happened objectively inside the words. This could be used as our main reference point for comparing those two different visual systems that one of them produces “this is not a pipe” and the other one “nothing”. This difference could be grossly summarized as follows: "A picture is worth a thousand words." However a Word is one of the most capable templates for carrying condensation as one of the main assets of dream-work. For instance, in my dream, the images and figures (like my father) seen in a dream could be free from ‘overdetermination’ because the Word—that the image is representing it in a dream (my corporeal father)—is already condensed and could mediate several symbolic meanings just like an over-determined image: An image artlessly and genuinely represents a Word but the Word instead, represents many images: A word hides thousand images.

133 In the first volume of “Kasnazān Derivation of Sufis Expressions” which is an encyclopedia of the words used in Sufism developed and published by Kasnazānī Qāderi convent in Soleymānie (and Baghdād) we read under “true father” that: "the “true father” is the teaching Sheikh who is spiritually present in the selves of his pupils and supporting them in every moment and place no matter far or near or long-term or short-term. He connects them via the eternal truth. He is against the "soil father" (corporeal father) who relates us to this physical world. Then one owes much more to his Sheikh than to his own corporeal father because the corporeal father a tool for casting us in the facial figure of a human but the Sheikh or the “true father” is a tool for reaching the summit of faith".
Condensation—as the main distorting operation of dreams—has partly found its objective and collective placement in the words spoken in the day life instead of images seen in a night dream. This is also readable in the visual arts of the ‘Persianate’ Islamic cultures which are strongly impacted by calligraphy.

**Condensation**

And there are those
Linguistic twins cleave and cleave
Which stem from opposites, meaning
Split and stick, two same
Sounds arriving like coincidence
In the day or in a breath:
I felt such freedom when you walked away;
I won’t stop loving you, even in death.  
(Hillman, Fortress: 26)

In condensation, two or more thought objects are combined to make up one thought-object or *phenomenon* which we may see in dream or in a joke or in a piece of art or in a performative situation or in a ritual or in a poem and so on... Condensation does not occur mainly in the domain of images but also in words:

“The condensation-work of dreams becomes most palpable when it takes words and means as its objects. Generally speaking, words are often treated in dreams as things, and therefore undergo the same combinations as the ideas of things ... The analysis of nonsensical word-formations in dreams is particularly well suited to demonstrate the degree of condensation effected in the dream-work.” (Freud, Interpretation of Dreams, chapter IV: 149)

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134 “Das erste, was dem Untersucher bei der Vergleichung von Trauminhalt und Traumgedanken klar wird, ist, daß hier eine großartige Verdichtungsarbeit geleistet wurde.” (Freud, GW: 215)

135 It is worthy to bring a summary of all his examples in his book “Interpretation of Dreams” as a reference because condensation, when occurs in words is very essential to the theoretical frames of this work (The reader can read these dreams and their explanation in their fullness in the fourth chapter of the Freud’s “Interpretation of Dreams”; here is a short paraphrase of them:

1. ... I [Freud] dreamed a sentence ...: “That is in true norekdal style.” The solution of this word-formation at first gave me some difficulty.... At last the monster fell apart into the two names Nora and Ekdal, from two well-known plays by Ibsen.

2. One of my female patients dreams that a man with a fair beard and a peculiar glittering eye is pointing to a sign-board attached to a tree which reads: uclamparia- wet...The word uclamparia ...resolves itself into eucalyptus and malaria, and the word wet refers to the former swampy nature of the locality.

3. In a rather long and confused dream of my (Freud) own, the apparent nucleus of which is a sea-voyage, it occurs to me that the next port is Hearsing, and next after that Fliess. The latter is the name of my friend in B, to which city I have often journeyed. But Hearsing is put together from the names of the places in the neighborhood of Vienna, which so frequently end in “ing”: Hietzing, Liesing, Moedling (the old Medelitz, meae deliciae, my joy; that is, my own name, the German for joy being Freude), ...
Moreover, the Freud’s examples [on condensation] in his “Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious” (Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten) are all about the words. For example in a sentence by which a normal person boasted that R. (Baron Rothschild) has treated him as an equal person: “R. behandelte mich ganz wie seinesgleichen, ganz famillionär” (GW: 423). Freud’s graphical demonstration of this joke is very instructive (GW: 424):

F a m i l i ä r
M i l i o n ä r
F a m i l i o n ä r

We see how some letters are bolded or densed in the writing of Freud on this witty sentence. It is because of the direct superpositioning of two first thought objects and the effect of that “amalgamating force” (zusammendrängende Kraft) (ibid.) that pushed them into one ‘object-of-thought’\textsuperscript{136}. Considerations of this kind opens the door to a kind of deconstructive discussion. From this perspective, Freud’s zusammendrängende Kraft\textsuperscript{137} that produces a Familionär out of Familiär–Milionär

\textsuperscript{4} Upon another occasion I (Freud) had a dream which consisted of two separate parts. The first was the vividly remembered word Autodidasker: the second was a faithful reproduction in the dream- content of a short and harmless fancy which had been developed a few days earlier, and which was to the effect that I must tell Professor N, when I next saw him: “The patient about whose condition I last consulted you is really suffering from a neurosis, just as you suspected.” So not only must the newly- coined Autodidasker satisfy the requirement that it should contain or represent a compressed meaning, but this meaning must have a valid connection with my resolve- repeated from waking life- to give Professor N due credit for his diagnosis. Now Autodidasker is easily separated into author (German, Autor), autodidact, and Lasker, with whom is associated the name Lasalle …” (Freud, Interpretation of Dreams, chapter IV: 149ff.)

\textsuperscript{136} This mental technique for compounding two unrelated words to cast them into one new word has a known name in Arabic: \textit{naḥṭ}. The literal meaning of \textit{naḥṭ} is very instructive: sculpturing; that is chiseling the word until it fits to its \textit{cast} (\textit{qālib} قاب) (read Stetkevych: 48-55).

\textsuperscript{137} I want to lead shortly the attention of my reader to this word and also some other words that Freud has used in his descriptions on “this technique of the joke”:

“\textit{Den Vorgang, welcher den Gedanken in den Witz übergeführt hat, kann man in folgender Weise darstellen…}” „R. behandelte mich ganz familiär, d.h. soweit ein Millionär es zustande
is not far from the meaning of that *force* that randomly appears in the writings of
Derrida. Actually the word *Famillionär* are quite comparable to the set of
*undecidable* words suggested by Derrida: *gram, pharmakon, supplement,* etc. The
archaic ‘trace’ or ‘primal’ features of each of these words are elucidated in a separate
work of Derrida. In *positions* we can see them once together under the name of
*undecidebles* that according to Derrida, neither could be included within
philosophical binary opposition nor constituting a third term by a dialectics of the
Hegelian type:

“The *pharmakon* is neither remedy nor poison, neither good nor evil, neither
the inside nor the outside, neither speech nor writing; the *supplement* is neither a plus
nor a minus, neither an outside nor the complement of an inside, neither accident
nor essence, etc., the *hymen* is neither confusion nor distinction, neither identity
nor difference, neither consummation nor virginity, neither the veil nor unveiling,
neither the inside nor the outside, etc.; the *gram* is neither a signifier nor a
signified, neither a sign nor a thing, neither a presence nor an absence, neither a
position nor a negation, etc., *spacing* is neither space nor time; the *incision* is
neither the incised integrity of a beginning, or of a simple cutting into, nor simple
secondarity. *Neither/nor,* that is, simultaneously *either or;* the mark is
also the *marginal* limit, the *march,* etc.”  
(Derrida, POSITIONS: 43)

This thesis considers a large set of similar words used commonly by Sufis, poets and
the administrative system inside a ‘Persianate state’ as a set of ready-made condensed
dream-objects: A word conveys the same functionality for a dream-work. Inside a

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ist.” Nun denke man sich eine *zusammendrängende Kraft* auf diese Sätze einwirken und
nehme an, daß der Nachsatz aus irgendeinem Grunde der weniger *resistente* sei. Dieser
wird dann zum Schwinden gebracht werden, der bedeutsame Bestandteil desselben, das
Wort „millionär“ welches sich gegen die Unterdrückung so sehr ähnlichen Element dieses
Satzes „familiär“ *verschmolzen,* und gerade diese zufällig gegebene Möglichkeit, das
Wesentliche des zweiten Satzes zu reten. ...” (GW: 424)

In the next pages, Freud continues to use the words like *pressure* and *condensation* as the main
technique of a large group of Jokes. He characterizes this technique by naming it with “*condensation
by surrogate-creation*” (Verdichtung mit Ersatzbildung) which ends to the creation of a “*mix-word*”
(Mischwort). Freud provides his reader with a number of these mix-words in both German and
English: Forekenbecken, Cleopold, Scheusalinger, Trauring (aber wahr), monumentanen,
aneccdotage, alchoholiday, tête-à-bête, Orienterpreßzug, etc. (GW: 424ff.).According to him, these
words could be also considered as a product of “*condensation with the slightest modification*”
(Verdichtung mit leichter Modifikation) (GW: 429-431). The slighter the modification, the more
powerful the joke will be (ibid.). The content character of this modification could be a representation
of the opposite [sense]: a non-sense (Widersinn) (GW: 430). His example is the replacement of “in
front of” for “behind” in : “He has a big future *behind* himself!” (ibid.)
homonym (or homographs and homophones), different and deferent meanings are so highly condensed that we cannot tell the Familliär apart from the Millionär, however, its pun is by no means unintended. As we may see in the next suggested list of Iranian/Kurdish undecidable words, the double-entendres of the words are not paired arbitrarily. It is as if that they are set in such a strategic positioning to each other to mirror the social order as a condensing force. According to this order, the words do not convey arbitrary, completely incongruent meanings, but those meanings that also have an intimate relation to one another inside the political order. The examples are many:

خدا (khodā) .................................................. God/owner
حق (ḥaq) .................................................. God/Truth
پیر (pir) .................................................... old/sheikh
بابا (bābā) ................................................. father/arch-sheikh
مراد (morād) ............................................. desired/sheikh
دلیل (dalīl.....) ........................................... reason/sheikh
زیارت (ziyārat) ........................................... pilgriming/visiting
ولايت (velāyat) ........................................... fatherhood/authority
طریقت (ṭariqat) ......................................... sufism/way
شريعت (sharī'at) ......................................... law/religion/way
سباست (siyāsat) .......................................... punishment/politics
فلک (falak) ............................................... punishment/cosmos
تنبیه (tanbīh) ........................................... punishment/awaking
ظلمات (ẓolamāt) ....................................... deep darkness/violence
دولت (dowlat) ............................................ government/capital
ديوان (Divān) ....... book of poems/court and administration
daftar ............................ notebook/bureau
mahram ............................ close incest relation/tabooed
modaber ............................ bad-fortuned/cirumspect
ā-yīn ............................... mirror/ritual
āyeh or āyat ........................ sign/verse of Quran
harf ................................. letter/speech
adab ............................... literature/moral
naẓām .............................. order/poetry
riyāḍiyāt .......................... torture/arithmetic
shan’at ............................ synthesis/genre in literature
jabr ............................... algebra/despotism
manṭiq ............................. logic/rhetoric
tamīl .............................. allegory/analogy
tajasom ........................... imagination/ideoplasticity
khāje .............................. master/eunuch
hākim .............................. ruler/judge
qismat ............................ lot/destiny
hāl ................................. present/ecstasy
qāl ................................. speech/negligence
khāb .............................. dream/sleep
hawā .............................. air/(satanic)/desire
cheshme .......................... water source/resource
farhang ........................... culture/dictionary
bande ............................. I/bonded-man
ḍamīr .............................. pronoun/mind
Iranian poetry—mostly invented and developed by Sufis—has bred a large brand of strategic Words of this kind. These Words are communicating some reified (frozen) poetical and political thoughts and no word is in an accidental homophony with its other meaning. It seems that the Word hides something in itself but the mind could not arrest it in just one meaning. Every Word is perhaps bonded in a larger, firm diamond-like structure of connotative meanings but our knowledge about this huge lattice of Words is very little. This list of deceitful Words could be sorted in a lexicographical order—that may yield into interesting results—but the focus here is

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138 Check Moloud khān #2, part 1, scene 9.

139 Derrida, however, did not try to map his set of words onto a higher class of order. We should not necessarily believe him, however, his reasons are partly that of:
mainly on meaningful association, double-binding and the inner tension that exists between two oppositional meaning who are forced to live inside just one body of letters due to an extreme sort of amalgamating force. The most extreme form of condensation as a by-product of this force is readable in the archaic and secretive Words used by Sufis. Considerations of this kind, makes these Words comparable to the issues of ‘trace’, différance and ‘archi-writing’ in the writings of Derrida. In our own list of Words, the Words could endlessly grow if one continues to focus on any lexicon of an Iranian language. Now, we leave this list of words this long as it is! Nevertheless, it is utterly luring to see that there is a political tension inside most of these Words and to think why it is so? What is the nature of that invisible force that constructs this condensed lattice of Words that paradoxically hides the truth through its infinite transparency? Lacan, in his seminar on “the Purloined Letter”, renarrates a joke that was once narrated by Freud in his “Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious” (GW: 504):

“Which is to say that we shift here from the field of accuracy to the register of truth. Now this register—I dare think I need not go back over this—is situated somewhere else altogether: at the very foundation of intersubjectivity. It is situated where the subject can grasp nothing but the very subjectivity that constitutes an Other as an absolute. I shall confine my

“By definition the list has no taxonomical closure, and even less does it constitute a lexicon. First, because these are not atoms, but rather focal points of economic condensation, sites of passage necessary for a very large number of marks, slightly more effervescent crucibles. Further, their effects do not simply turn back on themselves by means of an autoaffection without opening.” (Derrida, positions: 40)

Actually it seems that in the domain of the secretive language of Sufus, one can see crystal clear all the discussions that are almost evasive in the writings of Derrida himself especially his arguments about différance. The words ferāgh فراغ (from فراغ = void ≈ defer as a time-void) and ferāq فراق (separation, from فراق = differ), for example, belong to the most frequent words used in Sufis’ literature findable in almost every ghazal of a poet’s Diwān. However their difference (différrance) is only visible in their written form and could be hardly distinguished by the ear. Rumi writes:

\[
\text{بود عاشق فراق اندر چو اسمی خالی از معنی}
\]
\[
\text{و لی معنی چو معشوقی فراغت دارد از اسمی}
\]

The lover is in separation (ferāq) like a name empty from meaning
But the meaning—like belovedness—is avoiding (ferāgh) from the names.
attention, in order to indicate its place here, to evoking the dialogue which seems to me to warrant its attribution as a Jewish joke due to the nakedness with which the relation between the signifier and speech appears in the entreaty which brings it to a head: “Why are you lying to me?” one character exclaims exasperatedly, “Yes, why are you lying to me by saying you’re going to Cracow in order to make me believe you’re going to Lemberg, when in reality you are going to Cracow?”” (Écrits: 20)

The secretive language used by Sufis is basically built upon the same technique used for making a skeptical joke (the name given by Freud to this kind of jokes; GW: 504) that is naming Cracow for Lemberg and that’s all! Nobody will guess where are you ever going! This technique is based on giving a double meaning to a set of subversive words that in their normative usage convey hedonistic pleasures: wine, woman, beautiful young boys or girls, etc.\(^{141}\) Sexual prohibition was the first ‘Law’ of Father and Sufis has found the ‘obscenity’ of these words as the best locus to hide their treasure. A treasure shall be hidden in a ruin (\(\text{virāne}\)) as nobody will be able to guess it (and this is all that we could learn from the story of ‘purloined letter’). To draw a parallel for this kind of inhibition of the bar in Western literature I suggest the following verse from Heinrich Heine:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bis mir endlich,} \\
\text{Endlich alle knöpfe rissen} \\
\text{An der Hose der Geduld.}
\end{align*}
\]

**Till at last I burst the buttons**

**Of the breeches of my patience**\(^{142}\).

Freud argues that in this verse a most abstract conception (patience) is put together with something of a very concrete and low nature (a button of a trouser) (GW: 478-479). Sufis’ figures of speech are a secretive language figured in terms of similar oxymorons: “*Man should tread on hawā [desires of flesh], in order to fly in the air,*

\(^{141}\) There is a plenty of works written on the “para-sexual symbolism” (Schimmel, 1997: 274) used in Sufis’ figure of speech and writings. Instead of reviewing all of these materials I prefer to reference my reader to the work of Mahdi Tourage, “Rumi and the Hermeneutics of Erotism” who has used Lacan’s theory of signification in his interpretations on “the bawdy tales of Mathnavi in the context of Persian mystical poetry”: Tourage, Mahdi: *Rumi and the Hermeneutics of Erotism*; Brill, 2007.

"hawā, as the early Sufis said with a pun." (Schimmel, 1997: 279). There are a set of ‘primal words’ like qāf قاف (which means both the most near and the most far) that will lose much of their meanings if used outside of the circle of Sufis however they put their shadow on the practical speech. Sufism was used to be a Word-generator institute that most of these Words were ‘no-thing’. As explained at the beginning of this epilogue, there is a large set of shaṭḥīyāt شطحييات (plural of shaṭḥ or meaningful-meaningless word) that are pure formalistic. They are not there to convey a meaning or communicating a message. Shaṭḥ is like the Words spoken by Nimrod143, so private that God only knows of their meaning.

**Conclusion**

“...When that “pathetic of Adam” [Mohammad] returns back from his ascension to the world of being (koun) he wanted to see the friend [God] in ...the mirror of being and [thus] asked: “Show me the things as they are” (ارنی الاشیاء كما هی)”

(Rouzbahān-i Baghli, Sharḥi Shaṭḥiyāt: 317, 581 via Gheysari: 146)

Discussions of this kind will address Kurdish or Persian language as an archaic language. Over-simplifications of this kind are just for its theoretical benefit as I had to make a compromise between simplicity, accuracy and generality to make the dream culture among the Sufis in Kurdistan more sensible and explainable. Then all the specifications and features that are listed here for the language spoken by the dwellers in this language is a magnification of some specific features that exist almost in every language for example the suggestiveness of the word Father which is relatively a universal fact. As homo loquens or talking animals, our after-birth behavior is doomed to be conditioned through language that functions like a cultural instinct and hence the suggestiveness of the word sentence is also not accidental. If

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143 Nimrod is one of the outstanding figures in the Divine Comedy of Dante. In Dante’s visit of the Hell, Nimrod forms a ring surrounding the central pit of Hell guarding the ninth circle of Hell, a ring that Dante from a distance mistakes as a series of towers. Nimrod was shouting " Raphael mai amèche zabi almi" (Dante’s Inferno, XXXI.67.) : A verse whose literal meaning is uncertain and usually left untranslated.
we look in a dictionary under the entry of “sentence” we almost read:

1- A grammatical unit that is syntactically independent, [and at the same time]

2- A judicial decision of the punishment to be inflicted on one adjudged guilty.

In language, we are sentenced to live with the ideology of Father or Father as ideology, mediated through our mother tongue. This accidental fact that the first sentence that most of the Iranian people learn in the modern schools is again the so called sentence of “Bābā Āb Dād” (Papa Gave Water) is very inspiring and leads us to those unconscious thoughts that are at work behind the selection of this sentence—as the first sentence that one should learn to read—that by no means is accidental. The resemblance between the grammar of dreams and the most known sentence in Iranian system of education was very meaningful to the scope of this work. The Kurdish community, as far as I know, is the territory of an omnipresent old figure named in many different names of Pir, Bābā, Sheikh, etc. His omnipresence has however multifaceted and demarcated manifestations in Politics (e.g. gerontocracy), Sufism (e.g. in Sheikh which literally means old man), myths (e.g. Zāl144 in Shāhnāme), education system (e.g. Bābā Āb Dād) and dreams. This Father figure appears inside the dreams to give advices to his children and/or pupils. It was suggested here that due to the condensing effect or the force of ‘the name of Father’ manifested in Divān, a large set of words are so extremely condensed into each other that makes them dreamy (as suggestive and ambiguous as an dream-object). Father as a word, provides the needed grammar for the story-line of dream narratives and stories told about ascension. But the agency of language does not stop here. Every sentence is constituted from words. To the argumentations of this thesis, every entity or image seen in a dream is a symbol that should be compiled into a Word for

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144 Zāl is the father of Rostam the main hero and character of Shāhnāme. Zāl literally means old and in this mythological story he came into birth with white hair. This made his father fearful and ordered to kill him but as it is usual in these myths (e.g. the story of Oedipus), he was kept alive.
remembering, narrating and interpretation. In fact there is a constant interplay as well as interchangeability between the Word (or kalame كلامه which stands here for meaning or ma’nî میت or ma’qoul متعلق) and Flesh (which stands for sensibility or sensible: Maḥsūs محسوس) in the studied culture of dream. This interplay is ‘archaic’ in nature. In this thesis it was tried to show the mechanism of this archaic interplay in both doctrines of shari’at and tariqat. It was seen through the interviews that the people of shari’at are mostly used to link their dream-objects to the Words written in Quran. This is ta’bir (= to pass the dream into a meaning). The Sufis on the other hand, connect every argument to an immediate instant of intuition or a hagiographic instance comparable to the narrated hagiographies of arch-sheikhs of the past: sainthoods like Khidr, biblical prophets and foremost Mohammad which is considered as the first Sufi in Islam. This intuitive and revelation-like mode of interpretation is ta’wil (= to return to the original meaning). Both of these systems of interpretation are ‘archaic’ and supposed to be based on the ‘Words’ of Allāh. Moreover a large number of dream narratives have the story of Mohammad’s ascension as their referential model. This model was summarized in the formula of “Papa Gave Water” with a symbolism which was strongly impacted by the watering system of the region.

At the end of this thesis it might be instructive to remind that archaism is very close to esoterism. Analogous to the primitive suggestion that naming a person with a curse could really harm the health of that person. As discussed before, in Kurdish culture of dreams, the way that we name our dream-object is of highest importance. It is highly important with which words we are remembering our dream. The name predestinates the meaning and this, in turn, determines its mode of ideoplasticity in a very self-affective way. It is supposed that narrating a dream could have a very dangerous consequence! There is always a constant interplay between a public
exposure of a dream narrative and a dream that should be kept as a secret. Interplays of this kind transform the social life into a stage (cf. Goffman, 1959: 72). In the same way the interviews in the appendixes are accompanied with a lot of comments and ‘thick descriptions’ to describe firstly the archaic features of two parallel system of interpretation that coexist in the region (ta’wil and ta’bir) and also to describe the real intentions that perhaps are hidden behind the words of the interviewee as the ‘stage of the Other’. The analytical approach of this work which is developed in parallel to these interpretive methods, led into a structural analysis of the dream materials and perhaps to a post-structural double-sided model of sign.

A dream is rich in symbols but at the same time structured by them. “Papa Gave Water” is the formula of a structure recognized by this writer during his study on the culture of dreams in Kurdistan among the people of Sanandaj. The word Papa is itself a symbol for a long list of masculine sainthoods that one could ever see in a dream e.g. his own father, Sheikh, fathers of the Sheikh, arch-Sheikhs, other Islamic sainthoods, Khidr, Mohammad and so on... and Water, in the same way, symbolizes everything that could be asked or taken from them e.g. Jewelry, advice, physical help, etc. There are also a set of ‘koans’ comparable to ‘no-thing’ or Heech which stand out of language to index into something that has ever no name to be asked: Unknown.
APPENDIX A

Translation of the key verses of the Kurdish book of ascension written by Seyed Bahā’-o-din Shams-i Qosheyrī (1915-1987) compared with the parallel illustrations of the Timurid’s book of ascension from 15th century

Beside from the open discussions on “Cross-cultural Encounters with the Islamic Mi’rāj Tales”\(^\text{145}\) which is out of the scope of this study, it still might be interesting to see how this structure of narrative is conserved and preserved itself during the long history and wide geography. Comparing the most illustrated manuscript from Timurid era in Herat (Afghanistan) with the most contemporary Mi’rājname (Mi’rājname-yi Shams) might be very instructive in this respect. Mi’rājname-yi Shams is the newest and the most popular Kurdish version of the book of ascension. The book is read thoroughly as the core part of the “night of ascension” (shab-i mi’rāj شیب معراج) ceremony which in turn is the biggest feast of the year in Sanandaj.\(^\text{146}\) On the other hand, the illustrated manuscript of the “Book of Ascension” produced for the

\(^{145}\) The adaption of Mi’rāj narratives in esoteric and literary contexts and their formation as usage as missionary texts and eschatology etc. (see Gruber and Colby).

\(^{146}\) Hear the sound tracks, Mirec020-027 and Mirec051-060 which are the sound records of four successive feasts in Sanandaj on the 27th of Rajab in Arabic lunar calendar or a few nights before and after (These four ceremonies held on Rajab 1434 AH= 7 June 2013).
Timurid ruler Shahrukh ca. 1436–37 (conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Ms. Suppl. Turc. 190). According to the catalogue of this Museum, this book contains the most complete cycle of ascension (mi’raj) paintings in Islamic art (Gruber, 2008: 247). No other known Islamic manuscript provides a more complete pictorial cycle of the Prophet Muhammad’s ascension—or more graphic representations of the heavens, angels, and hell—than the Timurid Mi’rajnama (ibid.).

Plate.1
A Page from the Timurid mi’raj-nāme

A little further, they saw on the shore of a large sea sits a giant angel. He had seventy heads. Many angels were sitting around him.

Then they saw an angel who had seventy heads. Night and day he recited praises to God. Next to him stood an angel so great that one of his eyes might have contained all the seas of the earth.

Beside the polyccephalous angelic figures (see the three plates above) and Mohammad’s visits of the prophets of the Old Testament which are omitted in the Mi’rājname-yi Shams, the main body of the narrative is remained untouched although some parts are juxtaposed. These few omitted parts are appeared in the Kurdish mi’rāj-nāmeh in some other different form and formats, For example for Mohammad’s visit from the polycephyalic angel who is drown by commemoration of
God (up) there is an equivalent episode in Shams’s book of ascension. The only
difference is that there is no direct talk about its polycephality and Avalokitesvara-
like head (cf. Séguy: Pl.12):

I came across a big angel
Very appalling sit upon a throne
The motif drawn on its forehead
Was signaling the bigness of its status:
First [it was written on its forehead] there is no God other than Allah
Secondly: Mohammad is his prophet
Several rows of angels were present there
All of them were busy in commemorating God
(Shams: 94-95)

This part comes directly after Mohammad’s visit from Adam. The high-status angel
did not answer Mohammad’s greeting as it was totally drown by its commemoration
and prayers and God doomed it to fall into hell and remain there until the last day. In
this way the story of Lucifer and Adam is appropriated to Mohammad. Regardless of
some small details of this kind, the whole narrative is remained untouched although
Qosheyri’i’s report from heaven and its pleasures is highly abstracted in just few verses
in a contrast to his explanations of hell—which are more lengthily and detailed
however much shorter than of the Timurid Mi’rajnama. Shams-i Qosheyri writes at
the very beginning of his mi’rajnâme that his work is a direct adaption of the
narrative told by Ibn-i ‘Abbâs ابن عباس, an early Quran scholar that a large number of
hadiths are transmitted by him. Qosheyri believed that Ibn-i ‘Abbâs’s Report on the
Prophet’s Ascension¹⁴⁸ is more famous and reliable (Shams: 55).

¹⁴⁸ To know more about this narrative see: Colby, Frederick: “Narrating Muhammad’s Night Journey: Tracing the Development of the Ibn ‘Abbâs Ascension Discourse”; Reviewed by: Christiane Gruber in: Religion & Literature, vol. 41, Nr. 3 (autumn 2009), pp. 139-142; Published by: The University of Notre Dame; Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25746551 last accessed on 19.1.2016.
However, in all of the ascension narratives that were available to this writer, the ascender or dreamer is mentored by a holy spirit and finally reaches up to a transcendental state: A flashy moment that neither could be illustrated nor written in phrases. He reaches to the water of wisdom and truth which resides beyond the words and any language.

Plate.4 Muhammad prostrating
Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 22; © National Library of France
At the bottom of the divine throne, Muhammad bowed, immersed completely in the worship of God.

The Story

Plate.5 Muhammad and Gabriel
(Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 2 v °;© National Library of France)
One night while Muhammad was sitting in his room in Mecca, the angel Gabriel appeared and asked him to follow him. In the scene above, the Prophet, still lying, is represented as a simple human with the only distinctive feature an aureole of flames that means the prophetic state. The angel Gabriel, on his right, takes the form of a winged human. He wears a crown which marks its special status in the hierarchy of angels. His lower limbs terminate in two kinds of flames which replace the legs.
Shams writes:

حه نیسی سه حیح وا داد کا به یان
نه و ب و که حه زره ت جزو بولا مه کان
مه نزلی له مال ام هاتی بیوو
وه زاهیر یه کسات چاواوى ود خه و چو
وه جار به خه و چوو ود لن بیوو بیدار
مه شغول بیوو وه زیکر حه بی کرگار
رووی ره چا و نوپارد له ده درگای ره حمته ت
پر خاکسازی نه مفرته ی نو ممه ت
ته شریفی له به بین سه فا و مه روه دا
هات له زانتی حه ق بو (جبریل) نیدا

... 

So narrated the reliable narrative
About that night that his holiness went to placelessness (lāmakān [lit.] لامکان no-place)
He was in the home of Omm-i Hānī
And outwardly his eyes went to sleep for a slight moment
His eyes slept but his heart was awake
Busy with commemorating of the ever-alive God
He was putting his face of hope and trust upon the gate of mercy
Humbling in sake of his poor people
Then came the voice of ultimate truth (God) by the medium of Gabriel
From somewhere between ṣafā and Marweh (two holy places in Mecca)
...

(Shams: 57)
شمس نوشت:

دیم یه ک مه رکه بی سفیده ره نگی
چابوک و چالاک، جوست و زره نگی
ناماده و حارز به زین و هورس
په س تره هیسر به زترز له حمار
من خو ام له حه ودا بوراق دیگه
تا بیکه م به یان وه سفی له م جیگه
وه ختی که شغول به حس میعراج بیوم
بو قفاینه و وساف بوراق موحتاج بیوم
قه زا هره و شه و حوسن نتفاق
دیم له حه و حه زرهت وه سواری بوراق
...
ته خمین چوار گه ز نوآله په روبال
به ده نوه ک نوقسرم سفيد بور شه فاف
زین به رگ هنه و له دیبابي زه ریباف
سه ر گرد وک گوریه، گه ره ن بلندته ر
پاوا بر و ره ش، روخصار وه ک به شه ر
سمی وه ک ناهو شکافته هه روا
گویچکه هه روه کوو کورگ جاروا
قه د باریک، نازک، لاغر په یکه ر بیو
چابوک، سه یک خیز، چه هان به ی گه ر بیو
وه زاهیر سوروه تمه رکه ب سواری
وه باتینه وله ک شبیه و ناساری
وام دی نه و سالی م وه نبشیاق
دروت بو ناکه موه ساحیب بوراق...

"... I saw a white mule
Which was speedy, fast, quick and rapid
It was ready, saddled and bridled.
Smaller than a mule but larger than a donkey,
I myself, have seen Buraq in a dream
I will say its characters in its own place
When I was busy with writing the book of ascension
I needed to know the features of Buraq
Incidentally I saw of the good luck in that very night
His holiness riding on the back of Buraq
...
The length of its wings are approximately four gaz (An old outmoded unit of length of about 106 cm.)
It is steep, hasty and precipitous in nature
The body is like silver, white and transparent
Its harness is made from a golden silk
Head is round like a cat, its neck is longer

285
Its eyes are black and its face is human-like
Its hooves are cleaved like a deer’s
Its ears (?)
It was slim, thin with a slender body
Agile, sprightly and swift in (?)
Its appearance was like riding mount
But its behavior, effects and inward shows like an angel
This was its characteristics that I saw with a great enthusiasm
I do not lie; swear to the owner of Buraq....”
(Shams: 64-65)

Plate.7 Muhammad in the mosque of Jerusalem
Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 3 v°; © National Library of France;
After quickly covered the distance that separated him from Jerusalem, Muhammad entered the al-Aqsa mosque, where he was greeted by five prophets three of which were prophets Abraham, Moses and Jesus...

I rode it [Borāq] and came in half a breath
At the middle of the mountains of Jerusalem
“Oh, honorable Prophet!” told Gabriel to me,

149 There are words that I do not understand.
“Here is the birth-place of Jesus the son of Maria!”
I [Mohammad] descend easily from the saddle
And recite a two-time (do rakʿat دو رکعت) prayer
(Shams:75)

Plate.8 Muhammad and the prophets praying
Mir Haydar, Miraʾj-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 4; © National Library of France;
After the angel Gabriel was called to prayer, Abraham asked him to be the Imām (the one who stands in front of the others and handles the collective prayer) and he immediately did.

I entered the building of al-Aqsa mosque
Different groups of prophets and angels were standing there ḥaʿrat-i Adam and the rest of the prophets
All of them were there to visit the best son [=Mohammad]
Gabriel called for prayer
And they asked me to be their Imām
I stand before all the prophets and the angels
And they all follow me [in their prayer]
(shams: 78)
When the prayer ended. He saw a ladder of light that left the earth and went up to heaven. He climbed without any difficulty while reciting prayers. Arriving in heaven, he saw the sea of Kawthar, so wide that no one, except God, knew its size.

I saw from that rock till the sky
There is a mi’rāj which means “ladder”

Although it was supposed to be an ascend into the sky
But there was no need for a ladder
as a mere formality of his holy arrival
and in sake of his glorious fame and highest perfection
It was brought there, installed till the first sky
Totally prepared for welcoming ceremony
(Shams: 78-79)
“Once exceeded Kawthar sea, Muhammad and the angel Gabriel came to the first heaven, made of turquoise enamel. Its width was such that five hundred years had to go. The angel Gabriel knocked on the door and his guardian respectfully asked them to enter.

From the earth to the sky there was fifty stages
[Passing] each stage takes a full seventy years [time]
In each stage of that fifty stage until the first heavenly sphere
There were one hundred thousand angels

... Highness Gabriel knocked the door
The gateman was an angel named Ismāīl
“Who is knocking the door at this night?” he asked
“Gabriel the honest!” replied [Gabriel]
“[and] your friend?” he asked; “Mohammad” answered [Gabriel]
“Is Ahmad (another name of the Prophet) is invited by the almighty?”
“He is ready to attend!” answered [Gabriel]
“He is going to visit the essence (zāt) of God” (Shams: 79-80)
This episode (knocking the door of the next sky) is repeated with the same pattern for almost every heavenly sphere and are omitted from this review.

Plate 11 Muhammad and Adam
Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 5 v °; © National Library of France.

Muhammad then saw a man who greeted him. It was the prophet Adam. He had on his right the souls of prophets and believers, which filled him with joy and to his left, those unbelievers and polytheists that made him cry.

I saw a big person with glory and dignity
Sweet, beautiful, brown-skinned
Sit upon a throne made of light
And I saw two passing gates
One on the right side, open
And one on the left side, ready
When he looked at the right side
He became drowned by joy and happiness
But when he looked on his left

290
He became sad, stoned and scattered
“He is his highness, Adam” said Gabriel
“Heaven is on his right and hell on his left!”
(Shams: 93)

Further, Muhammad saw a white rooster. His head went up to the throne of God and his feet touched the ground. It was an angel who counted the hours of day and night. When it came time for prayers, he began to recite the roosters and all the earth then followed him in unison.

I saw in the first sky one rooster
Reciting: “Exalted is the sovereign, the pure!”
His first leg was of red gold
The second [leg] and also around his head was made of pearls
His eyes was from ruby and his crown was made of agate
Each wing covers all the distance between east and west

Plate 12 Muhammad and the angel-shaped cock
Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 6; © National Library of France.

Referring to this verse of Quran: “He is Allah, other than whom there is no deity, the Sovereign, the Pure, the Perfection, the Bestower of Faith, the Overseer, the Exalted in Might, the Compeller, the Superior. Exalted is Allah above whatever they associate with Him.” (59:23)
Each time that it sings with a loud voice  
All the roosters of the world start to sing  
(Shams: 81)

Plate.13 Muhammad and the angel of snow and fire
Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. V 6 °; © National Library of France.

Between the first and second heaven, they flew over a sea called "creatures of the sea". Muhammad saw an angel made of half snow and half fire, holding a rosary in each hand. The noise made by the grains running between his fingers was as strong as thunder.

And there an angel appeared to me  
Half made of snow and half of fire  
Commemorating: "Oh ever-living almighty"  
"[you are] the one who affects snow and fire"  
“Oh God! make the hearts of your worshipers  
Connected with affection as close as possible!"  
(Shams: 82)
They passed an angel in charge of providing for the subsistence of all creatures.

The Islam scholar, Marie-Rose Séguy, in her commentaries on this page argues that this angel should be Īẓrā’il, the archangel of death in Islam (Séguy: Pl.12).

When I entered to the second sky
I crossed over a giant creature, an angel
his body was transparent (?)  
And the world to him was just a morsel of bread
He was sitting upon a throne of light
And thousands of angels was standing in his presence
I informed the Gabriel very instantly
And he said: ”Oh Prophet, he is the Īẓrā’il!”
(Shams: 83)
They then met Jacob and Joseph prophets who bowed respectfully Muhammad.

“That endearing person” said Gabriel, “Is his highness Joseph the son of Jacob” I went close to him and greeted him He stood up instantly in [my] homage (Shams: 86)

Gabriel then announced Muhammad that they are heading for the homes of the enemies of God. At the door of this terrible and scary place stood an angel dreadful and intimidating face: Mālik, the Guardian of hell who never smiles.
Shams explanation of the hell occurs right after Mohammad’s visit from Joseph where it appears first in the next 30 pages in Timurid Mi‘rāj-nāme.

I was yet not distanced so much from his highness Joseph
That I came across a giant-creature angel
Preparing and arranging and organizing
The cloth and the accessories (?) and a chain of fire
“Oh, the last Prophet!” said Gabriel,
“This person is the gateman of the hell!”
(Shams: 87)

Plate.17 and 18
Muhammad the prophets and the edge of the sea of fire
A little later, they met in the fifth heaven the prophets Ishmael, Isaac, Aaron, and Loth. They then reached the sea of fire. Gabriel then said that on the day of the resurrection this sea of fire will be thrown into hell, and all who live there will be tortured.
I found no equivalent for these three successive illustrations in Shams’s book of ascension. Instead of visiting the prophets of the old testament and the sea of fire, Mohammad visits directly the gateman of the hell.
Moses and his servants were standing near a flag. After the greetings, Moses began to cry because, with the advent of Muhammad, he lost his status as the most important prophet.

I went close and greeted him
He answered but did not raised his head
“Oh, Moses! Hold up your head” I asked
“Oh Mohammad, please forgive me!”
“I shame to raise my head to see you
There is no truthful remained among the Jewish people
They attribute false accusatory things to me!”
(Shamd: 96-97)
They then met the prophets Noah and Idris who greeted them and recited many prayers.

No trace of this found in Shams’s narrative either.
I saw a person sit upon a throne made of light
Rows and rows of angels were standing in his presence
Gabriel informed me that he is my forefather
Abraham the friend [of Allāh]
I closed him and greeted him
“You are welcome, you blessed foot [= the one who brings bless wherever he walks]
You are the remedy of my sorrows and grief!”
(Shams: 98)
No trace of this episode found in Shams's narrative; all those pages in which some scenes of heaven and hell are drawn are also abstracted in just one or two pages in Sham's compilation of this story into Kurdish. Of this reason, the one to one comparison between the images of the heaven and hell in these two books is spared in this review.

Plate.25 Muhammad and the tree of Sidrat al-Muntahah
Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 17; © National Library of France.
They arrived at the "Lote tree of the limit "that no one can surpass. It was a big tree with branches of beryl and pearls, with large leaves like elephant ears and huge fruit. From its base flowed four rivers. The first two were the Nile and the Euphrates, the third Salsabil flowing in paradise and the fourth-Kawthar.

The Shams’s descriptions of this tree is very detailed. Here are some selected verses:

سه مای حه وته مین گه به نینتبها
هم ل بریان لبو سدار المنتهی
سدار المنتهی ده پرسی چیه؟
هم به دره خته نینتبهاشان ییه
یه ک که گه لا له نه وله گه ر به روی
دنیا ده بوشی ناساری نه یی وی
...
جه زره ت دوه رمواوهته ختخی شه دره
دیم جاور نه هری بوزورگ وگه ورد
نه هریکی نار ونه هری فورات بوو
نه هریکی به هره شت مای الحیات بوو
We went till the end of the seventh sky
Where there was the lote tree of the limit
You ask what it is?
It’s a tree that has no limit
If a leaf of it falls upon the earth
It will cover it and you will see no trace of earth
...
His holiness said: “Underneath that tree
I saw four big and giant rivers
One river was of water and the other of Euphrates
One river heaven and [the fourth ] was the “water of life”
(Shams: 99-101)

Plate.26 Muhammad drinking one of the light cuts
Mir Haydar, Mira’j-nameh; Herat (Afghanistan), 1436; Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm; BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 17° v; © National Library of France.

Angels came to Muhammad and handed him three cups. The first contained milk, the second and third wine and honey. He took milk. The angels said to him that he had done well. If he had drunk the wine, he would have drunk his community and they would have misled.

This is an episode that panegyrists never miss to explain it in more details to their audience when they reach to this point of the book:

بومی حازر کرد جو بره نیل نه مین
ناو و شه راب و شیر و نه نگه بین
به ته وقیفی حی ق من شیرم نوشی
له بالی نیتر من جاوم پوشی
نیدا هات ل حه ق بور موژده ی خوشنی
خاسی کرد نه حمه د وا شیری نوشی
نه گه رده پلوشی نه لاشیره به کسه ر
نوممه تی هیچ چگی نه ی نه در سه قه در
The honest Gabriel prepared for me
Water and wine; milk [mixed] with honey
I drank milk thanks to God
And neglected from the rest
A voice came from the God in happy tiding:
“Well done Aḥmad! You drank the milk!
If you had drank all of the grail [of milk]
None of your people were ever misled!”
(Shams:117-118)

Comment: Why milk and not water or wine? Perhaps milk has all the symbolic features of water, wine and honey and reminds the water of Kawthar (a fountain in heaven); in Bakrī’s “total and complete” narrative of ascension we read:

“[God said] I split your name from mine, and I granted you a river named Kauthar” [Quran 108:1]. Its banks are made out of pearls and sapphires, and on its side runs water that is more intensely white than snow, more sweet than honey, and more fragrant than fine musk.”
(Bakrī, fol. 67v-68r via Colby: 233)

Moreover Abu Hurayra narrative offers a different twist on the cup test:

“Mohammad drinks both from the cup of water and from the cup of milk, and claims to refuse the cup of wine because he was already full.“
(Colby: 96)

Plate.27  Muhammad leaving Gabriel
Mir Haydar, Miraˈj-nameh;
Herat (Afghanistan), 1436;
Paper, 265 f., 34 × 25.5 cm.
BnF Department of Manuscripts, Turkish supplement 190, f. 18; © National Library of France.
The angel Gabriel said to Muhammad he would not go beyond. He invited him to go ahead and worship before God.
[Gabriel] Said: “Oh, Prophet! I am a spiritual being [however] I cannot pace over this place I ask for your forgiveness It’s [always] shortcoming from me and leniency from your side I am not allowed to pace more forward Otherwise my wings would be burnt by the glance of tajalī ([lit.] manifestation [of secret])
(Shams: 103)
It was the privacy hall of the secrets of the ultimate essence (ḏāt-i aḥad).

In this hall was no body allowed except me

To dispose my fear with a kind voice

Like the song of a truthful boy

Yells my name my greatest creator

He said: “Oh my dear, come closer”

I heard this voice for 1000 times repeatedly

He said “come closer oh my dear ” (In its Arabic cite to refer to the verse (53:8) in Quran)

I exceed (tajawoz which also stands for discourtesy) from the low limit(danā)51

Till the “ghāb-i ghayesyn” (the two arcs) or even “ aw adnā” (even closer, here the poet again refers to the next verse in Quran(53:9))

Each time I take one step forward

(till) he said “stop”. Then I held my steps and stopped

I knew that I have reached between the two hands of power

And fell in a big fear because of the manifestation of (his) proximity (tajalāy-i ghorbat)

On the tip of my tongue falls a drop

I realize that it is sweeter than honey

As soon as I taste that drop on my tongue

All of the sciences of the world became disclosed to me...”

(Shams: 107)

As stated before this scene is the peak point of the story. The rest of the story which is mainly based on the descriptions of hell and heaven is excluded from this comparative review between the illustrations of Timurid book of ascension and the writings of Shams-i Qosheyri in his miʿrājnāme.

51Again the poet refers to the verse (53:8) in Quran which is one of the most ambitious verses that claims: “ṯoma danā fatadallā” which literally means: “Then he approached and descended” but it is not clear who approached and who descends and from where? This verse is very crucial in Sufism and has invoked a lot of discussions and controversial interpretations around itself made by many prominent Sufis such as Ibn-i Arabi and Rumi.
Conclusion:

Notwithstanding the different versions that the story take to itself in the course of long history, the main episodes are remained untouched and the symbolism of water plays a central role. The most important part of these stories is the part in which the consciousness takes a drastic change and transcends to a higher dimension and beyond the language. This part is depicted in all of narratives after drinking a cup of water, wine or something sweet. In any Islamic narratives on ascension, including the one narrated by *Shams-i Qosheyri*, this transcendental experience happened after a sweet drop falls upon Mohammad’s tongue. This theme had already become relatively a standard feature in later versions of Ibn-i Abbas’s narrative (Colby: 238). In all dream narratives that similarly follow this pattern of “Papa Gave Water” (*Bābā Āb Dād*) including the interviews in which the people have seen sainthoods in their dreams, there is always an unspeakable moment of “transcend”. The dreamer usually wakes up because of the excitation of this moment. This transcendence of consciousness is a repetitive theme and actually there is a strong link between drinking as a symbolic act and ascending to a higher stage of awareness and wisdom or calmness (in some variants this sweet drop calms Muhammad’s nerves (Colby: 254)). Anyway, the intimate colloquy scene in which Mohammad become conversant with Allāh is the climax of Mohammad’s ascent in which he nears the divine throne. This scene encompasses the sweet drop episode as a standard portion of Islamic ascension narratives after medieval centuries. Colby has recognized a symbolic and allegorical aspect inside the Islamic ascension narratives. After discussing on *Ibn Sinā’s* philosophical treatise, he denotes that such an allegorical approach to the Prophet’s ascension is by no means unique (Colby: 153). *Ibn Arabī*’s own visionary ascension has Mohammad’s ascension as its model152. Both *Ibn Sinā’s* and *Ibn Arabī*’s version offer a mystical and allegorical commentary on the experience of proximity with Allāh: Intoxication for *Ibn Sinā* (Colby: 152) and a sweet drop for *Ibn-i Arabī* (Colby: 154).

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APPENDIX B

Film: Moloud Khān (The Panegyrist)

Filmed and Directed by Irdaj Esmailpour Ghucahnai
Filmed in spring of 2007 (1386 SH)
URLs:
Moloud Khān #1; part1; URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQNqmjxL05s
Moloud Khān #1; part2; URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFuYQ4nRAj8
Moloud Khān #2; part1; URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5XS-0KJoDc4
Moloud Khān #2; part2; URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4PZE9u0oon8
Moloud Khān #2; part3; URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BPBmoi15b-E

Note: All of the songs being sung by the panegyrist in the films or interviews are chosen by themselves and mostly accidentally. I understand the relation between these poems and the dream culture of the region, first after doing deeper studies on this theme. Then these poems should be considered as a set of data whose content is more important for the people who sing it than the filmmaker who at the time of filmmaking was totally unaware of the hidden relation between these issues.

Descriptions on the Scenes:

Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 1:
Min: 00:00”-01:00”
Description: Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimi the panegyrist is singing the opening verses of Mouloud-nāme:

“This is a majlis (session) [prepared] for describing of [the features of] his holy presence (ḥāḍrat حضرت) Which is the sign of mercy and blessing beautify the atmosphere of this session with commemorating ṣalawāt (salute) [which should be] free from impurity and contaminations. This session is prepared for the auspicious Prophet God and the angels are pleased of him It is said in Islam’s canonical law (shar‘ شرع) That the Mouloudi session is repellent to disasters [and takes disasters away from the house].”
Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 2:
Min: 01:00”-01:45”
Location: The convent of one of the khalife’s of Sheikh Mohammd Kasnazānī in Sanandaj. Sheikh Mohammd is the most prominent living sheikh of Kasnazānī branch in Bagdad with many khalifes all around the Kurdistan including Sanandaj.
Description: The pupils and other khalifes are gradually gathering before the ritual of madjlis-i ẓikr ( مجلس ذکر) which usually held twice a week (the nights of every Monday and Thursday). They usually come one or half an hour sooner. This short time interval helps them to adapt themselves with the convent’s atmosphere and to come out from the rush and hecticness of everyday life and routines.

Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 3:
Min: 01:46”-03:07”

The two panegyrists (maddah مداح) which one of them is a khalife, signal to each other for starting the ritual and the ritual begins by a light opening song in praise of the prophet of Islam:

"موسم غم آمد و ایام شادی دور شد  
صد هزاران دل شکست و دیده ها بی نور شد  
یا رسول الله دوچشمن رانتظارت کور شد  
... 
“It is now the time of sorrow and the days of happiness are all gone  

307
One hundred thousand hearts are now broken and the eyes are blind
Oh, messenger of Allāh! My eyes became blind in your separation

..."

This song followed by another song in praise of Ali. There is no dance during these warm-up songs. Everybody is sitting in his own place listening. There is no place for women in this convent however in some special occasions they may come to hear the ritual and in few ceremonies such as shab-i mi’rāj (the night of ascension) or moloudī (birthday party [of Mohammad]) they can even see the ritual. (The women cannot watch the manly ritual as their gaze will affect the ḥāl ([lit.] presence usually used for ascribing the state of trance) of the group. Except the two feasts of mi’rāj (ascension) and prophet’s birthday (moloudī) or open space performances of a convent that they usually prepare for tabligh (tabligh ([lit.] advertisement or propaganda). During the days considered for tabligh, the followers of a sheikh dance or perform ‘khawāriq’ in group on the streets and in front of the eyes of ordinary people: men and women. Tabligh is aimed to recruit new disciples for an absent sheikh whose presence is signified by his flag or beyraq.

Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 4:
Min: 03:08”- 04:08”

The dervishes come together, sitting in a circle to recite collectively their ẓikr (commemoration). This is the heart of this ritual and sometimes one session could be summarized into these few minutes in which the group pound their ẓikr upon their heart (ẓikr rā bar qalbishān mikouband). All other parts even samā’ or dance of dervishes are some add-ons to this central part of the ritual.
As described in sound track Mirec135, the khalife of this convent as the most important person in this group of dervishes, is sitting before the door of entrance which in this culture is the most (in)significant place of a room. He is sitting there to imitate the prophet of Islam who was used to sit at door-gates as the most minor place of every room and space.

Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 5:

After the sitting commemoration (ẓikr-i neshaste) the dervishes stand up to say one of the most important ẓikrs of dervishes: ḥay Allāh [lit.] “Allāh is [the only] alive” which means that everything other than Allāh is mortal. Every Sufi is aimed to die first from his mortal aspect of being usually conflated with bodily desires or nafs (=ego) and experience fanā, annihilation or death, to be able to live in his sheikh, prophet and finally Allāh and become immortal [lit.] (baqā). They articulate this ẓikr by bowing down and up in several intervals. This is also a breathing technique with a special stress on the ending sound of the word ḥay. At the end of the first dancing round, one of the dervishes went into trance (ḥāl). Trance usually happens every time with a completely different effect on its concerning person. This time the dervish starts to take off his cloth by opening his long Kurdish shawl that the men use as their belt. In moments of experiencing a really deep trance, the khalifes are there to calm the individual down.
These moments are allegorically compared with the moments of being drunken by wine. In the same way one should know his limits. Hafiz writes:

صوفی ار باده به اندازه خورد نوشش باد
ورنه اندیشه این کار فراموشش باد

If Sufi knows his limits, may his drink prove wholesome to him
Otherwise he should [even] forget thinking about it!

**Moloud Khān #1; Part1; Scene 6:**

Min: 06:11”09:12”

A madjlis can be consisted of several repeating cycles of ḥikr, semā’ (dance of dervishes), do’ā (prayer), rest, tea-drinking and so on...

*Madadkhāhī* is also an important part of every session in which the group ask for the help from the forefathers of their sheikh to bless their ritual. During the resting time, it is always possible that one of the participators be touched by the trance. In the moments in which one dervish is authentically dived into trance, the other members of the group cannot remain neutral to it and usually it puts its effect on the others in a very infective way and after a few moments a new round of *semā’* is started or fired(= *semā’ dar migirad*).
The trance is very infectious; it develops itself inside the group like a fire as it does in this scene.

**Moloud Khan #1; part1; Scene 7:**

Min: 09:12”- 12:05”

*Salawāt* is a standard sentence by which the Muslims praise their messenger. In contrast to its standard format there are numerous verses by which one person can invite other people to recite *salawāt* to Mohammad. In this scene we see a retired
military officer that invites energetically the dervishes for saying ṣalawat by the medium of seven different verses.

**Moloud Khan #1; part1; Scene 8:**

Min: 12:06”- 15:14”

2. April 2007

This scene is all about a *mouloudi* ceremony: A collective feast thrown because of the birth of Mohammad the prophet. In one or two days and nights, the dervishes visit mutually the convent of other sheikhs or khalifes through a preannounced time schedule. It is as if a family goes to visit another family and relatives in their home and invite them back into their own home as a return. At this night they are gathered in the convent of *Sheikh Ṣan‘ān Salāmī*. *Sheikh Ṣan‘ān* as the host of this ceremony has taken rather a controlling role. He usually wears a white *dashdāshe* (Arabic cloth) which makes him distinguishable from most of other sheikhs and khalifes who wear ordinary Kurdish cloths. He wear Arabic cloths perhaps because of his grandfather, the founder of the branch of *Salāmī* who has lived in Medinna for most of his life.

Most of the dervishes were ready in this night to do *khāwareq* armed with different kinds of nails, knifes and so on… but Sheikh Salāmi did not allow that. Actually doing *khāwareq* is becoming much rarely year after year because its success is becoming doubtful as the dervishes are not disciplined as before.
For knowing more about the relation between 'khawāriq' and bodily disciplines and practices watch the following video in which I interviewed with Friad, a Kurd immigrant in Germany who was a derwish in his youth. He also explained in this interview—which is recorded in German language—about the reasons that he stopped to be a derwish.

(URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AwFXIIIT5Rws&feature=youtu.be)

**Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 9:**

Min: 15:20”- 18:37”

A visit of a village of **Sorkhe Desaj** which is a small village in **Arandan** Rural District, in the Central District of Sanandaj County. At the time of filmmaking and according to the official results of 2006 census, the population of this village was 525, in 131 families153.

The singing style of panegyrist in villages are slightly different from those in Sanadaj. In this scene we can hear a very short sample of the voice of two of panegyrist of this village.

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Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 10:
Min: 18:47” - 22:15”
This is the first moment that I saw Seyed Zahid Ibrāhimī in my life. He is the most known panegyrist and dream interpreter in Sanandaj with a very respectful character both among the people of shari‘at and tariqat, Mullahs and sheikhs. During my fieldwork, he and khalife Mousā have shared the most important body of my descriptive data about the culture of dream among the ordinary people as well as the dervishes in Sanandaj. In this scene Seyed Zāhid explains the general form of a feast of moloudī in Sanandaj which held in homes or mosques. This ceremony that he explains is structurally different from those thrown by dervishes in their convents. In the next table it is tried to point out some of the major differences between these two occurrences although they both held for the same occasion (birthday of Mohammad) and they both carry the same name (Jashn-i Moloudī جشن مولودی which literally means the feast of birthday):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jashn-i Moloudī among the dervishes</th>
<th>Jashn-i Moloudī among the ordinary people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Held in convents</td>
<td>Held in mosques or homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief organizer: the Sheikh or his khalifes</td>
<td>Chief organizer: Mamousta (Mullah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial order: circular having the sheikh or khalife or the one in trance at the center</td>
<td>Spatial order: array of rows facing Kaaba or qiblah (Mecca) having mamoustā in front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time-oriented: Their pivotal point is the sheikh as prophet’s residue</td>
<td>Place-oriented: Their pivotal point is Kaaba known by Muslims as the house of Allāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual</td>
<td>Feast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.** Feast vs. Ritual. (To know more about the general differences between a feast and a ritual, read the 11th chapter of the following book: Heidemann, Frank: Akka Bakka, Religion, Politik und Duale Souveränität der Badaga in den Nilgiri Südindiens; Berlin: Lit, 2006.)
Till now the film was concerned with recording the moloudī inside the convents. In the rest of the film, the camera changes its direction toward the mosques and the people of shari’ah. He describes the feast of Moloudī inside the mosques and homes of Sanandaj: “..In the old times the people just recite qaside (ode, a kind of lyrical stanza) and there was less daf [playing]. But they used to cook a large variety of foods. In some ceremonies they served the food at the beginning and in some other ceremonies they served it at the end, following this wisdom which says:

Make your inside [= stomach] empty from the food
To see the light of wisdom inside it
...
Comment: this is a verse from Sa’dī, (Golestan, Chapter II, Anecdote Nr. 22, in the Morals of the Dervishes.
URL: http://ganjoor.net/saadi/golestan/gbab2/sh22/ last accessed on 12.1.2016)

And everyone that enters in the feast everybody greet him/her and he/her says his/her greetings to the one who has prepared and hosted the ceremony by wishing: “qaboul bāsha; Mobārak bāsha inshāllāh (Hope to be accepted [by God], hope to be blessed by God’s will...)

Comment: Many people in Sanandaj host a Moloudī because of a nazr (religious plight or pledge) or because of a dream.

... There are many different kinds of qasides: qaside bordiyeh, kordiyeh, Mohammadiyeh or Seyed ‘Abdol-Aziz... reading of qaside and moloud-nāmeh is usually intertwined with several pauses to let the people rest or eat something to change their taste (taghir-i zāīqe (تغییر ذائقه) and find their peace of mind again to be able to continue with the hearing of the qaside. [Qaside and moloudi-nāmeh of a] Moloudī has many chapters, it is not just one or two, three or ten.. it provides you the text as long as you want to read it:

The description of the prophet is as much as you want

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54 Daf is an Iranian instrument bigger than dayere: A large framed drum with jingles.
But “less is more”, hence, Shams it is better to stop [your ode]!

Comment: Here Seyed Zāhid brings the ending verse of the Moloudnāme written by Shams-i Qosheyri.

At the end of Moloudī all the participators stand up and raise their hands up in do‘ā (prayer) saying:

“Oh god, in sake of this prophet and in sake of the strength of Islam, have mercy upon us and accept this ceremony from this fellow [the name of the patron or the organizer of the Moloudi] and this people! Make our destiny accompanied with goodness and our life with esteem! Keep our children safe and guide us into the right way!..”

It is really much more than this but I have tried to summarize it!

Comment: As described inside the text, it is strongly believed that part of the qaside-yi Bordiye was induced to Imām Bouṣīrī by the medium of a dream and the people also believe that if they recite it again with innocence and purity (kholous خلوص) the spirit of the prophet will be present in the session to solve their problems. It is a very special kind of séance that should be understood through its context based on a true dream.

Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 11:

Min: 22:15”- 23:30”
A short interview with a Sufi who nobody knows his name. The people believe that he had one hundred and ten years old at the time of this filming (2006) and used to sleep in empty graves. [I personally do not like the way that the camera objectifies this interesting old man and for sure I would make the video completely differently if it was today.]

Sleeping in grave was a very strong technique for ego-denunciation or killing the nafs (nafs-koshī نفس کشی) among the Sufis that according to my experience was still practiced on some pupils among ahl-i ḥaq brotherhood in Kermānshāh. I know a young man who was punished by his Sheikh to sleep in an empty grave because he had shaved his mustache⁵⁵. He had experienced a deep hallucination and fear on that night and as he explained he saw the one or two meters walls of his grave an infinite way into stars until the sheikh came and put him out by offering his hand that again looked in his feared eyes like an infinite long white ribbon.

In this interview the old man has such a strong Kurdish accent that I asked someone (As’ad Ardalān) for translation to be able to communicate. He explained that in the old times that he remember, the madjlis of moloudī was much simpler and not so detailed as it is in these recent days: “They just read the qaside of Bordiyeh and qaside of Amin tazakorī(امین تذكری)and that was it!”

Comment: It seems that he is talking about another qaside by saying qasid-i amin Tazakorīقصیده امین تندرکی but this is a changed read of the second verse of qaside-yi Bordiye:

\[
\text{امین تذكر جیران بذى سلم} \\
\text{مزجت دمها جزى من مقتله بدم}
\]


Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 12:
Min: 23:30”- 28:58”

In this scene, Seyed Zāhid starts by singing the Arabic [and original] version of Bordieh and afterward he sung it in other variations of this ode and the ending chant of marḥabā (مرحبا [lit.] welcome).

⁵⁵ Mustache for dervishes of ahl-i ḥaq is a symbol for a curtain that hides their mouth as a treasure that holds a treasure inside: Kalām or the Word. Shaving the mustache means to be ready to reveal the secret راز to others and deceiving the group of dervishes.
Moloud khān #1 (Panegerist) Part2

URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFuYQ4nRAj8

Filmed in spring of 2007 (1386 SH)

Moloud Khān #1; part2; Scene 1:

Min: 00:00”-03:12”

Continuation of the songs and chants from the first part of the video. In between he explained the motivation that forced him to sing in this age:
“My children are not easy with my singing. “Why you are continuing to sing?!” they always ask me; “if it is for status or for making a name (nām o nishān نام و نشان) you have it already! And if it is for money, there is enough either..” but I have become accustomed to this art of singing firstly and secondly I afraid from the prophet to ask me in the day of resurrection:”Why you stopped of being my panegyrist?””

Moloud Khān #1; part2; Scene 2:
Min: 03:13”- 06:00”

Some footages from sisdah-be-dar سیزده به دار festival as a part of the Nowruz new year celebration rituals, held on the 13th of Farvardin (the 1st month of the Iranian calendar), during which people spend time picnicking outdoors. In 2007, that this video was filming, the moloudi of the prophet coincides with sisdah-be-dar. The next scenes were filmed on the very night of this day of picnicking festival.

Moloud Khān #1; part2; Scene 3:
Min: 06:00”- 13:00”
This scene is a summarized report of a moloudikhānī session in a mosque. At the beginning of this scene I asked the people of the place if they have picnicked on that day? Seyed Zāhid answered: “I was in Ṣahrā” [Ṣahrā literally means sahara but here means a pleasant open and infinite space]. After a few while he corrected his answer: “I was in the mosque...my sahrā is the mosque!” insisting that he was talking allegorically at first. This is an ever happening discourse by which the true intention of the speaker remained unclear and unknown. Ṣahrā here is a double-signified signifier. As a general rule, the discourse of Sufis and those who are acquainted with their poetry and literature is very figurative and citational; every word refers to many or a very special verse of Quran, hadith or a poem from a well-known author, Sufi etc., here he is referring to this verse of Hafiz:

خلو گزیده را به تماشا چه حاجت است؟
چون کوی دوست هست به صحرا چه حاجت است؟

What is the need of excursion for the one who has selected solitude? What is the need of Sahara when there is the alley of ally? [ally or friend here is a metaphor for Allāh, prophet, a friend, a beloved, a woman ...potentially everyone]

By saying “my sahrā is the mosque”, Seyed Zāhid attributes himself with those ascetic persons and hermits and in the same time distances from the mass majority who go out picnicking on days like that.
At the end of this scene we see how the women are descending down from behind the curtain. All the participants say their good wishes to the man who has organized this ceremony before leaving for home.

**Moloud khān #2 (Panegerist) Part1**

URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5XS-0KJoDc4

Filmed in spring of 2007 (1386 SH)

**Under-titled Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 1:**
Min: 00:00”-00:32”

The same Sufi of the scene 11 of Moloud Khān #1, part 1, is now reciting a Surah of Quran named elephant (*Surah al-Fil*) (105:1-5). This Surah refers to an army of little birds (*abābīl*) who win over the big elephant-riding army of *Abrahe*, the king of Yemen. The way that he recites Quran was very impressive and different from the usual ways of recitation that one usually hears in Sanandaj however the conceptual play in which the most small and the most big [which is portrayed here by the fight of two armies of *abābīl* and elephants] come into compare is one of the most favorite forms of narratives. In Mirec077, khalife Mousā hints to this very chapter of Quran.

**Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 2:**
Min: 00:33”-01:36”
Shams-i Qosheyrî, the composer of Mouloudi-nâme (panegyric) had trouble while he was writing mirājnâme (the book of [heavenly] ascension). It was because of Burāq (horse-like mount of the prophet) as it as a word, hardly came in rhyme with the rest of work. One night he saw in his dream the prophet riding on the back of Burāq in the mountain of Ābidar (mountains around Sanandaj) on his way to this mountain. He woke up from his dream and writes: “ghazâ ou shou Hosni itifâgh, dim la khau ḥazrat wa sowârī Borâq…” Then these verses of Mouloudi-nâme are inculcated by a dream of prophet. There is a full description on these special verses in addendum #3 of the next appendix and in my interview with kā Ali. Here and in this scene Seyed Zâhid is reciting these very verses from Mîrājnâme:

*Incidentally I saw of the good luck in that very night
His holiness riding on the back of Burâq
Buraq, what a Buraq? It means barq-ro (speedy like lightning)
How should I explain it? With a speed of the running water
Mount of the land and bird of the air
It is as if it cannot cast in itself when ....(?)
I swear to the esteem of his never-ending quintessence (God)
The air was full of its wings whenever it started to fly
It is so quick and fast in its running speed
that as soon as you raise your head, you cannot see it anymore...*
This was its characteristics that I saw with a great enthusiasm
I do not lie, swear to the owner of Burāq....” (Shams: 64,65)

And he ends his chant by saying

"له بيت الموقه ده س تا نرز اكبر"
صله وات له سه ر روله ي بي قمبر"

“From Jerusalem till the biggest throne [of Allāh]
Ṣalawāt [greeting] to the sons of the prophet.”

Jerusalem was the first station of Mohammad in his nightly ascension. His first rout was his journey from Mecca to Jerusalem. From Jerusalem, it is supposed that he has ascended up to ‘Arsh-i Akbar or the biggest throne.

Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 3:
Min: 01:36”-02:33”

Three interviews about the dream of prophet: A sheikh who said that some dreams should not be shared in the public; an old woman who remembers him in anthropometrical measures [as she explained his appearance in next few scenes of the film]; and finally a man who strangely said that he had neither saw Mohammad in dream nor heard from someone else who had seen him in a dream! The answer of this man is the most unusual and singular answer that I have received in course of the
years of my study on dream culture in Kurdistan in which visiting the prophet in a
dream is the most favorite and discussable occurrence: a testimony which assures
them that they are still belonging to his people (ommat-i peyghambar امت پیامبر) and
he lives among them.

Moloud Khan #2; part1; Scene 4:
Min: 02:33″- 03:30″

In this footage Seyed Zähid Ibrāhimī recites a poem of Rumi who he sings between
the episodes of moloudi ceremonies. He repeats it again at his home to explain me
the origin of all miracles, karāmāt or ‘khawāriqs’. The poem is about one of the
miracles of Mohammad in which a stone started to talk with the unbelievers:

سنگها اندر کف بوجهل بود
گفت ای احمد بگو این چیست زود
گر رسولی بچنست در مشتم نهان
چون خبر داری ز راز انسان
گفت چون خواهم بگویم آن چیه هاست
با چگونه چه ما حقیق و راست
گفت بوجهل این دوم نادرترست
گفت آری حق از آن قادرترست
از میان مشت او هر باره سنگ
در شهادت گفتین آمد بی درنگ

...
The stones were in the hand of Bou-Jahl (A close relative of Mohammad who is fame because of the denials that he proposed against his prophethood.)

“Oh, Ahmad [nickname of Mohammad], Tell what is in my hand?” Asked Bou-Jahl,

“If are aware of the [hidden] secrets of the heaven, Tell me of what I have hidden in my hand!”

“I will say!” Answered [Mohammad]; “If you are wishing so! But they can also say that “we” are righteous and ħaq (truthful, truth, God)”

“Yes!” Answered Bou-Jahl; “This second one is much harder!”

“Yes!” Answered [Mohammad]; “but ħaq [= Allāh] is much more powerful than this!”

And suddenly every part of the stones
Start to give witness (shahādat!)

Seyed Zāhid’s focus on this poem reveals the deep relation that exists between miracles of the prophets (A stone that started to speak with the prophet or in the story of the mourning column, a wooden column that moaned after Mohammad and we will read its account in the next passages), The karāmāt of sheikhs, ‘khawāriq’ of derwishes from one side and jomoud and jamādāt جمادات ([[lit.] solids and solidity) from the other side. Rumi writes in some other place:

The stone came to speech with thee overtly:
“Take me for your fight against Goliath”

... This is itself the soul of all miracles:
Bestowing everlasting life to the dead.
(Masnavī, Rumi, vol. III, part 115, the story of “David’s execution of the murderer”

In another place he concludes after listing the major miracles of all prophets:
با شما نامحرم‌مان ما خامشیم
چون شما سوی جمادی می‌روید
محرم‌جان جمادان چون شوید
از جمادی عالم جان‌ها روید
غلغل اجزای عالم شنوید
فاش تسیب حمادات آیدت
وسوسه تاویل‌ها نربایدت
چون ندارد جان تو قندیل‌ها
پهرب پیش کرده‌ای تاویل‌ها

The soil swallows Korah (Qāroun) like a snake
The moaning column [in Korah’s contrary] comes into the salvation (The moaning column is another miracle of Mohammad; see the sound track Mirec135)
The stone salutes to Ahmad (alluding to that very miracle described above)
The mountain sends messages to John [the Baptist]
We [materialistic objects] are hearing and seeing and we are happy
[But] we are silent with you who are not intimate with us (نامحرم‌نامحرم)
When you are going toward solidity (here means dryness)
How you could become intimate with solids?
Travel from dryness toward the world of souls
To be able to hear the chirp of the world’s particles!
[Afterward] you can got clearly the commemoration of the solids
And the passion for [different] interpretations will never embezzle you!
(Mathnavi, Rumi, vol. III, Part 37, The story of snake-catcher)

Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 5:
Min: 03:31” - 04:17”
Seyed Zāhid explains here the way that he usually handles with his customers who come to him for interpretation of their dreams:

- Actually I swear them to God from the very beginning to say the truth and just the truth without adding a bit more or less! Saying less would cause no harm but exaggeration of a dream is a sin and will bring the tooth of the Prophet to ache! Narrating a constructed dream is a major sin (gonāh-i kabireh گناه کبیره).

Comment: Major sins are more punishable than others. A clear distinction is made between major and minor sins in Quran:

“And to Allāh belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth— that He may recompense those who do evil with [the penalty of] what they have done and recompense those who do good with the best [reward]—Those who avoid the major sins and immoralities, only [committing] slight ones. Indeed, your Lord is vast in forgiveness. He was most knowing of you when He produced you from the earth and when you were fetuses in the wombs of your mothers. So do not claim yourselves to be pure; He is most knowing of who fears Him.”(53:31-32).

These verses indicate that if a Muslim avoids committing the major sins, then he/she will be forgiven of the minor sins. But why telling a constructed dream is a major sin as stated in this interview? The answer is to be found, as usual, in a direct read of Quran and the close associations that may be provided if we
put far conceptions as words inside a single verse. This is the core logic of exegesis and interpretation of almost everything including a dream in this culture. At the end of the verse of Quran above we read: “So do not claim yourselves to be pure; He is most knowing of who fears Him.” Narrating a dream about seeing Sainthood is a “claim for purity” which is definitely a major sin.

[he continues...] If someone intentionally narrates a dream falsely, it will cause aching to the tooth of the prophet. It causes tooth-ache as much as in the *Uhud* battleground.

Comment: What has the *Uhud* battleground to do with falsifying the content of a dream? Historically, the Muslims become defeated in this battle because of the disobedience of some Muslims and the chaos brought into the Muslims ranks partly as a result of a false claim that Mohammad has been killed. In this battle many Muslims have been killed and Mohammad became injured and one of his teeth broke, etc. Then *Uhud* here is representative for the hazardous effects that a lie can bring to Muslims and the Prophet!

*Moloud Khan #2; part1; Scene 6:*

Min: 04:20"- 07:08”

In this scene the main theme is dissimulation: There were some interviews in which I sensed that my interviewee is either hiding something or even pretend that he is hiding something. It was really hard to decide which one is correct. Similarly there
were a small number of interviews in which the interviewee radiates a sense of exaggeration. I asked from *Seyed Zāhid* if—in the long course of his job as dream interpreter—he has ever sensed that someone is narrating him a faked dream or not? and his answer to my question was a very humble one:

— I cannot answer you on this question because I have not that insight but I know some people that they can read the heart of other people, for example my father who was a pure Muslim and ate just *ḥalāl* ([lit.] allowed) foods. I remember that once someone came to him and my father realized that he is telling a faked narrative. He had a dream manual at home and came to my father telling of his dream of Mecca and *Meddina*. My father answered him that it was just a visionary. My mother objected my father: “Why you make that man disappointed?!” “It doesn’t seem to have seen such a dream” he replied; “He has seen the corresponding interpretation in the dream manual about visiting Mecca or Jerusalem or Meddina in dream will bring good fortune for its dreamer, so he made it up!”. I heard this from my father. I was just five years old at that time!

... Is there any problem if somebody narrates his /her dreams of the prophet? 
-No! But it should be just for its own fellowship and those confident people (*mahram* محترم) and not to make benefit out of it or to show off with it or to gather the people to dance around him/her or to kiss his/her hands or feet! It would be a sin in this case and the prophet would be disturbed but if he/she narrates it just to know of its meaning and message, it would be alright!...as it is said:

*هر که سی له خوو به وینی
بی غه مه له وا اسه فا
Anyone who saw me [Mohammad] would be freed from sorrow and regression!*

One who sees the prophet will not be disgraced neither in this world nor in his/her after-death. Prophet is light. He cast no shadow!

*Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 7:*

Min: 07:08”- 11:06”

This contains different interviews about the appearance of Mohammad in dream in his anthropometrical measures (color of eyes, hair, cloth, tallness, etc.).
Among these interviews there is a khalife of sheikh Mohammad Kasnazáni who says:
- I cannot say how he looks because I have not seen him however every Muslim or member of the Muslims’ community will definitely visit at least once the prophet in his/her dream but they cannot recognize him, maybe he appears like this guy here (showing a person sitting beside him) but there are just a few people who can recognize him:

دیده ای خواهم که باند شه شناس
تا شناسد شهر را در هر لباس

*I wish king-recognizing eyes
To recognize him in every guise*

Comment: This verse is attributed to Rumi.

**Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 8:**

Min: 11:10”- 11:30”

In this scene Seyed Zāhid explains about his income from dream interpretation:
“Dream interpretation” is free from charge; or those who come here to ask of the future consequences of their today’s plans—a travel for example—they are all free. But if someone insists to give me this 50 or 500 Toumans (a very negligible amount of money in Iran; he brings out the money from underneath of the blanket that he is sitting upon it)

Comment: The honorarium of religious figures should not be paid directly to their hand as it is insulting to them. Putting the money under a blanket or upon a shelf is the most common places to put the money. The giver usually make a sound by saying “I am so sorry (bebakhsheid ببخشید) or “I am so ashamed [as it has not comparable to your spirituality and services]! (khejālat mikhesham خجالت می کشم)” and phrases like this to call his attention to the [place that they are putting the] money. He usually stands on the ceremony by replying them back with proper complements and phrases.

...I do not accept money from those that I know who have not much money, swear to god, because I cannot sell out the holy verses of Quran.

Comment: It is very important what he says. In his mind the interpretation of dreams and isikhāreh (consulting for the future) are nothing other than the verses of Quran.

Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 9:

Min: 11:32”- 12:00”
In this scene Seyed Zāhid is reciting the last verse of this ghazal in this film:

زشرح سینه اش جامی 
أَلَمْ نَشْرَحْ لَكَ
ز معراجش خبر دادند که 
س بْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى

Oh, Jāmī, read from his open/injured heart the [verse]: „ Did We not expand for you...”
They inform of his ascension as “Exalted is He who took His Servant by night...”

Comment : Seyed Zāhid is singing the last verse of a Ghazal composed by Sheikh ‘Abdol-Rahmān-i Jāmī, one of the greatest Sufi poets of the 15th century. Jāmī refers in this short verse to two different verses of Quran:

“Did We not expand for you, [O Muhammad], your breast?” (94:1)

„Exalted is He who took His Servant by night from al-Masjid al- Haram to al-Masjid al-Aqsa, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him of Our signs. Indeed, He is the Hearing, the Seeing.” (17:1)

The first verse is from a Surah of Quran named Ash-Sharh which means both cutting the flesh as well as exegesis. Jāmī and many other Sufis have played with the double entendre that resides in this Janus-word (opening or cutting

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156 The poem in its fullness is retrievable from the following link: URL: http://habibi-rasoolallah.blogfa.com/post/50 last accessed on 15.1.2016.
the flesh and exegesis). For instance Rumi in the opening verses of his Masnavī writes:

سیبی خواهند شرحه شرحه از فراق
تا بگویم شرح درد اشتیاق

I need a heart cut [and expanded] into pieces from [the sorrows of] separation
To [be capable to comprehend what I] say [about] the sorrow[s] of passion

No wonder that Jāmī is the author of Tajnīs 'al-lughāt (Homonymy/Punning of Languages): A lexicographical work containing homonymous Persian and Arabic words.

[Seyed Zāhid continues...] Jāmī has seen the prophet in reality (ظاهراً). “Is this your poem?” asked the Prophet from Jāmī. “Yes!” Jāmī replied and prophet accepted him as one of his followers and took Jāmī in his heart.

Comment: This narrative (and narratives of this kind) opens a door for dream to come into this side as visible (ظاهر) reality.

Moloud Khān #2; partı; Scene 10:
Min: 12:01”- 15:00”

There is close relation between the presence of Mohammad in dreams and moloudī ceremony (the feast for his birthday). We should remember that the house or mosque or convent in which Moloudī takes place is also a place that Mohammad himself will
visit as its host if the purity criterions are met. There are many dream narratives that reflects the connectivity between these two: presence of Mohammad in dream and in moloudi. In this scene four dreams about moloudi and dreams are selected. In the first dream Seyed Zāhid explains a dream that he saw after he decided to stop singing as panegyrist in moloudī. He saw in his dream a house full of snakes “I will ask my cousin to kill them!” he says to his friend in his dream; “How could it be?” answers his friend; “You cannot sing moloudi [which is much simpler] and you expect him to kill this much snakes?”

In the second dream a sheikh explains that one year he decided to neglect preparation of moloudī and he saw in his dream that Mohammad and Ali came into his convent to check of the feast’s condition and organization; so he understood that he should put the moloudī back in order. Narrating these dreams to the people and those who help in preparation of the feast has an enormous effect and implicitly signals this message to them that the presence of prophet in the ceremony is already guaranteed. He will come even in accompany of a group of significant Islamic figures such as Imām Ali and others...

In the third dream, a panegyrist decided not to panegyrize anymore and one night he saw himself in a desert. ‘They’ announced him that the prophet will come to see them (the queue of Muslims standing in the desert) marching and you should continue your duty as a panegyrist of the prophet.

In these series of dreams, the moloudī ceremony or a habit related to this ceremony (e.g. panegyrizing) is stopped by any reason and continued because of a dream usually seen by the organizers or patron of the ceremony. Some of these dreams are a sign of acceptance and approval of a ritual which was momentarily suspended.

In another series of dreams, like the fourth dream in this scene, one panegyrist or māmousta (mullah) refuses to sing or preach in the ceremony of a man or a woman who has a vulgar job. One dream of this kind is narrated here by Seyed Zāhid:

—This story is about a mystic and panegyrist named khalife Alibar. Once a popular blind musician asked him for performing in prophet’s birth ceremony but he refused by making lots of excuses. Khalife Alibar was intended to avoid this performance because he was a drummer (dayerezan دایره زن). One night Mohammad appeared to him asking: “Why you do not go to the ceremony of that faqir ([lit.] poor that in this context also means a pure mystic)? If you refuse him again I will be disliked!”
khalife Alibar went on that very night to the visit of that blind musician and he immediately felt his presence: “Ah! You again! You did not accept my request unless Mohammad himself asked you, isn’t it?”

This story with the same exact narrative structure has been repeated itself in the old books, stories, narratives and hagiographies and biographies. For instance in the hagiography of Joneyd-i Baqdādī in Tazkirat al-Awliyā (Biographies of the Saints) of ‘Aṯār-i Neyshābourī we read:

“he [Joneyd] said “I saw Sirri [Saqti] standing on the door saying: “Ah! You did not accept my request unless the others ask you to preach isn’t it?”He asked: “How you ever know that I saw Mohammad in my dream?” “I saw the God in my dream” he replied; “He told me that I [God] sent the Prophet to the dream of Joneyd to ask him to preach on the pulpit (minbar)”...”

The message of this set of dream narratives is clear: One should not judge the others by their appearance. Those who look far from the righteous way might be the most proximate one! Narratives of this kind have a large effect on the general atmosphere of the rituals as they widen the domain of acceptance and approval (or success in the case of khāwareq) by widening the domain of purity.

Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 11:
Min: 15:00” - 16:10”

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There are some short considerations on time, prayer times, clock and its meanings among the people of Sanandaj in this scene.

**Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 12:**
Min: 16:10”- 17:31”

Khalife Mousā explains different kinds of Khāwareq through the photos of the promoting book of his Sheikh, Sheikh Mohammad Kasnazānī.
Film Moloud Khān #2, part 2
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4PZE9u0on8
Under-titled

Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 1:
Min: 00:00” - 02:55”

Different footages and interviews about ‘khawāriq’.

Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 2:
Min: 02:55” - 03:45”

Coffeehouses in Iran are the best place for interviewing. The people gather there after their daily work to relax and everyone is somehow ready to start or being invited to a sudden conversation as I did with this open-hearted man. What he narrates is just an example of a large series of narrative with the same plot. (For instance and at the end of this interview Seyed Zāhid narrates the same story). He reports:
- [Once upon a time] There was a hādjī (someone who has pilgrimed Mecca and has done the ritual of Hadj, here this title is used to address an unknown Muslim). Once this hādjī visited Mohammad in his dream: “Why you do not pray?” asked Mohammad; “Why the doors of the mosque are closed?” The guy argued that it is because of draught however he did not know Mohammad: “Bābā I am hadrat-i Mohammad” so said the Prophet in the dream of that hadjī; “Go up the village and dig beneath that stone and the water will flow into the village!” A Dream that reality proved it as truthful.

Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene3:
Min: 03:45”- 06:00”
This part is about the village of Karju and to its related miracle that again brings water (as well as the saliva of the prophet), dream and miracle together inside a three-fold.
Karju also known as Qaraju is a village in Abidar Rural District, in the Central District of Sanandaj County. At the time of filming (2006) the population of this village was about 2000 people. There was a very popular and recent story about a young fifteen years old girl who saw Mohammad in her dream and afterward she served the people as a healer of every disease. Although the main story is the same but there are many different variants of it with changing details. Some say that Mohammad has spit his saliva in her mouth and hereafter she achieved this healing power. She practiced first her new ability on her own father who was blind for 20 years. This healing process was prohibited one year before starting this research (2006) but there was fortunately a documentary film made by one of my friends As'ad-i Soufieh a young filmmaker who lent me his video materials and I put some footages of his films in this scene.

A young man from the city of Paveh has also shared his own experience of one of these collective healing sessions and the miracle of Karju, in which the young girl appears on the balcony and waves her hand to the people:

“...The miracle of Karju had achieved a large publicity and curiosity forced me to make a visit of Karju...This young girl only accept the people only on the even days and on special hours... It was a hot August day that I entered to this newly known village... There was a placard mounted at the entrance of the village: “Welcome to the village of remedy (shafā شفا)!" and it was as if
the life and business of the people has been drastically changed. Most of the villagers were gathered in a special place and everyone was busy...everyone was looking for his/her daily bread under the guise of shafā [by selling] shafā chocolate, shāfā fruits, shafā...Everybody was happy of earning more than before. I put my car inside a parking that was a wheat-store before but it was changed into a parking with much more revenue for its owner. There were a lot of cars but no people. Some of them were gathered in front of a house for taking water and someone was busy with filling the bowls of the people. Nobody knows about the origin of this water or if it is ever hygienic or not! ...At the afternoon all the people were gathered in front of the girl's house waiting her to come. I started to ask the people about this girl. Her name was ʿUSRĀ ([lit.] nightly ascension and is a name of a chapter in Quran) from a very poor family... Everyone talked about her healing-craft and its celestial and heavenly origin. That she cures paralysis and so on but every sentence was mixed with a scoffing smile that I never understood its meaning!! About the starting point and origin of this issue there was a lot of paradoxical rumors: Some people talked about her truthful dream and some about heavenly lights, while some others believed that she is the representative of the prophet of Islam. There was also one who talked about the seal/mark (mohr مهر) of the Prophet on her hand. Everyone reported differently although the village was not that much big. However most of them refer their reports to sheikh Raʿūf شیخ رئوف the Māmoustā (mullah) of the village. I visited him to hear of his report on Dokhtar-i Shafā دختر شفا ([lit.] the girl of remedy) [This was the title that the people gave to that young girl]: “The brother of ʿUSRĀ was one of my pupils” sheikh Raʿūf told me; “One day he came to visit me and said:"My sister have something to tell you that she like to tell it by herself!” “I saw two lights!” said his sister [USRĀ]; “One of them was big and the other one was smaller. They appear in our small house. The big light introduced himself as ḥaḍrat-i Mohammad and the smaller one as ḥaḍrat-i 'Umar [the second arch-khalife of the prophet]. They told me:"ʿUSRĀ recite our ʿadʿīyeh [plural of doʿā] on the patients to make them healed!” I [sheikh Raʿūf] told her that it might be an illusion and it would be better to take it as a secret but after a while the issue became so big and exaggerated that it is now completely out of control. After two month ʿUSRĀ came to me again: “[Oh] Māmoustā, I saw again those two lights, They ask me to recite this very ʿadʿīyeh upon the water to be able to cure a larger amount of people!”...

The rest of the report of this man from Paveh about the way that the girl appeared on the balcony and waved the people is completely the same of what we can see in the related footage in the film.

From this scene till the end of the film we moved to the village of Sorkhe Desaj near Sanandaj because in the city everybody knew us and they also knew in a very instinctive way that to us the religious dreams is somehow of more importance than other kind of dreams and hence the people all narrate us of their dream of the Prophet and other sainthoods. I think that they do that to make us (the filming group) happy in their own way of hospitality.

In this scene the men are sitting at the entrance of their village talking practically about everything and nothing!

**Moloud Khān #2; part2; Scene 5:**
Min: 07:15“- 7:23“

Here an 8 year boy recites his bed prayer:

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الله اشهد ان لا لاه الا الله
اشهد ان محمذ رسول الله
خدا گیانی گیانی گیانی من خو بسپارم و تو
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_I acknowledge that there is no deity but Allāh
And I acknowledge that Mohammad is the messenger of Allāh
Oh my dear dear dear God, I give up myself to you!_
Comment: The first two lines of this short pray is *ashhad* اشهد the most canonical rules of Islam that turns everyone who recite them into a Muslim: A way that you can never return back! The Muslims recite their *ashhad* اشهد in danger and in the vicinity of death in order to die as a Muslim. Reciting these two verses before going to bed reflects the closeness of sleep and death. The last sentence is also comparable to the classical children bedtime prayer in English:

“Now I lay me down to sleep,  
I pray the Lord my soul to keep,  
If I shall die when I’m wake  
I pray the Lord my soul to take,  
Amen.”

This little boy is the son of the mosque janitor who also washes the dead corpses of the dead people of his village according to Islamic ceremonies of death-bath and as he explained later, he helps his father deliberately in washing the dead bodies without having any fear or seeing bad dreams hereafter!!
In this long take footage which is without any cut—except a few minutes that it takes to change a tape—we (I and Ali Akherati, a friend of me) go inside a coffeehouse and put our camera on a tripod and started interviewing with the youngest of the people. We done our best to hide our aim and give the people around not a clue of our interests and true intentions. In contrast to what we had experienced in Sanandaj, proposing the simple question: “What is the best dream that you have ever seen?” does not necessarily lead into a dream of Mohammad or sainthood. The word khāb خواب for the young generation implies the meaning of dream as a wish where for the old generation it implies its other meaning: sleep or better to say the world of sleep: ‘ālam-i khāb عالم خواب. The young generation in this footage and in the other interviews was more likely to speak about their wishes when answering to this question. For the older generation a “good dream” was rather a dream that proves itself in the daytime as truthful or rāst راست for example in minute 12:00 of this footage we hear of this conversation between me and an old man:

- Narrate us one of your best dreams!
- One night in my dream I saw two people knocked off by an accident. In the next morning they were both dead as I reached the scene and my dream was true!
- I asked you to narrate a nice dream! Is it nice to see the people dead?
- Yes! That was what I saw!
The next few interviews are the same, holding the calamities, flood and disasters as something good! So it is not the content of the dream that is significant but the synchronicity and its connectivity with the day-time is of most importance! I continued with this kind of questioning inspired by the “Chronicle of a Summer” a ground-breaking documentary, made in 1960 by Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin, which used the new technology of the day – handheld cameras and sync sound – to look at the “tribe of people living in Paris”. Changing the question from “Are you happy?!” into “What is a good dream?” or “Narrate me a good dream!” I tried to paint a picture of Kurdish dream culture in 2006. The experiment led to this conclusion that good here does not necessarily means happy or happy-ending. A good dream is a dream that can communicate with the realm of truth. The relief of these dreams is enormous: Such dreams mean that the dreamer is mahram or confidential to the secrets of the occulted (gheyb غیب ) or the other side! Notwithstanding what is happening on this materialistic world.

The last interviewed person is a dervish who talks in a part of his interview about some techniques for bringing a dream from the night into the light! In this interview he shares a report on his best dream:

-I saw his holiness, Mohammad (peace be upon him) in my dream. He came to negotiate with our Māmoustā (mullah), with brā (= brother) Bahā-o-din and other white-bearded of our village...He was riding Borāq (his supernatural mount). Borāq has brown wings with the speed of light; it landed like an airplane in our village.

- Have you ever narrated this to anyone else in your village?
  - Yes! To my friends and Māmoustā!
- Does anyone regularly narrate such a dream to other fellows?
  - Yes! He/She should narrate sometimes! It’s good for their faith. you trait them If you don’t! But he/she should not lie...
- How did you know that he is holy Mohammad?
- By means of the book that Mullah read for us. By means of holy verses and sayings. When someone sees such a dream, he/she understands per intuition (bā ‘ilm-i bāstenī با علم باطنی [lit.] with occulted wisdom) which is which, he/she should be very accurate in his/her work to be able to bring the dream into the day (khāb rā biyāwarad be ruz خواب را بیاورد به روز)!
-How did you know that he is holy Mohammad?
-By his signs! His beard has a few white threads and he has long hair falling on his shoulder.

[Continued in the next clip...]

**Film Moloud Khān 2; Part 3**
URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BPBmoi15b-E

**Film Moloud Khān 2, Part 3; Scene 1:**
Min: 00:00"- 00:50"

[Continuation of the last clip...]
-...He is well-dressed and has no special place. He is like light with no shadows. When he arrives he looks like a lamp or this flourcent light. This much he is delicate and beautiful.
-How about his face?
-He has a red face, red mixed with yellow and green. These three are interwoven.
...HAAAAAAAAAAAA, HAAAAAIALAAAAA, HAAAAALAAAAA.....
(after half a while I asked:)
-What was this?
-I don’t know! It’s the love of holy Mohammad!

Comment: What he has done is ṣeyhe صبيه or faryād فرياد or na‘re نعره. They have no meanings and they usually happen to a dervish when he/she confronts to something highly exciting, thrilling, stirring, exhilarating, lifting or stimulating but still inexpressible with language.
APPENDIX C

Addendum #1

Interview with Seyed Arash-i Shahriarī

Fig. 31 and map. 5
Seyed Arash-i Shahriarī: One of the Pir’s of the ahl-i-ḥaq brotherhood; a well-known ‘kalām-khān’ and tanbūr player in Iran. His lineage goes back to Shahriarī (Khândān)159, born in Sanandaj but originally belonging to Krind-i-gharb. Mother-side germane to Sahneh, Fatherside to Krind (look at the map). He was 36 years old at the time of the interview (2009).

A general note on this interview: This is a literal transcription of an audio tape record from a free conversation with a ‘Pir’ (highest title for a Sufi master) of the ahl-i-ḥaq brotherhood, which I knew personally since 1999. Perhaps I should say

159 Pir Shahriyār is the nickname of one of the saints of the Yarestan who lived in Aurāmān. He left a book known as Ma’refat-i Pir= Wisdom of Pir Shahriyār which is very respected by the people of Aurāmān.
something about why him and why not somebody else of the group? Or do they not
talk to outsiders and one can only do so if personally acquainted? And, why the ahl-i-
ḥaq are relevant?
In anthropology it is crucial to explain the methodology and as explained at its own
point, the methodology used here is similar to the exegesis of a sacred script. The
special hierarchy of the ahl-i-ḥaq brotherhood, their attachment to kalām as their
sacred script and its meaning, role, function and reflection in the dreams seen by the
dervishes of this Kurdish brotherhood (cult of ahl-i-ḥaq) supports the most basic
argumentation of this thesis about the construction of a space in which the words are
overcharged and condensed by meanings notwithstanding the source of these
meanings: Qurān or ‘kalām’. The conversation here has also a colloquial nature of a
very spoken language that is to say, it has its own set of grammatical patterns which
sometimes may be quite different from that in a written language.

Definition: Ahl-i ḥaq (or Ahl-e ḥaqq)
([lit.] people of truth), also known as Kākā‘i or Yārsān. They are
predominantly a Kurdish religious group, settled between the border of the
autonomous region of Kurdistan in Iraq (at Halabja) and Iran in Lorestān and
Kermanshāh. Recently, they are scattered all around the world and also
experiencing Diaspora in Western countries. Most of Ahl-i ḥaq are Leki and
Gurani (a Kurdish dialect) speakers. Although they are dominantly Kurdish
there are also other communities of followers who have different ethnical
identities as the Lurs, Azeris, Fars and Arabs. The religion of the Ahl-i ḥaq has
eclectic facets of several religions: Shi‘ism, Yazidism and Alevism. From
Sufism (Islamic mysticism) they have adopted the practice of ḡziek (commemoration). The first scientific descriptions of the Ahl-i ḥaq includes
the works of the Russian Orientalist and diplomat Vladimir Minorsky (1877-
1966) and his notes on the cult of Ahl-i ḥaq (Minorsky, 1921)\textsuperscript{160}.

- Is “dream” true or false?
- It depends on our perspective. If we believe that there is a world of gheyb (unseen= “Das Jenseits”) and asrār (secrets) (Serr ol gheyb= secret of unseen) to which we are

\textsuperscript{160} One can find more information about Ahl-i ḥaq in the glossary or from the following official website of Ahl-i-Haqq but be aware of the emic nature of this web page; URL= http://www.ahle-haqq.com/intro.html last accessed 5.2.2016.
also reliant, from birth to death, then, it exists. Mawlānā [Rumi] said: “While images that saints may often love...”

Comment: Here he refers to the first story in Mathnavi Maʾnavi of Rumi (the story of the healing of the sick Slave-Girl). Here is a synopsis:

“A prince, while engaged on a hunting excursion, espied a fair maiden, and by promises of gold induced her to accompany him. After a time she fell sick, and the prince had her tended by divers physicians. However, their treatment was of no avail. So the prince offered prayer, and in answer (This answer has been revealed to him through a dream) thereto a physician was sent from heaven. By a very skilful diagnosis, he discovered that the real cause of the maiden’s illness was her love for a certain goldsmith of Samarkand. In accordance with the physician’s advice, the prince sent to Samarkand and fetched the goldsmith, and married him to the lovesick maiden, and for six months the pair lived together in the utmost harmony and happiness. At the end of that period the physician, by divine command, gave the goldsmith a poisonous draught, which caused his strength and beauty to decay, and he then lost favour with the maiden, and she was reunited to the king.”

Seyed Ārash-i Shahriārī refers to verse number 72 of this story when he recites: “While images that saints may often love...”

Here are the verses (from 68 to 74)

“Beyond the crowd he saw a virtuous one
Among the shadows he was like a sun!
Just like a crescent moon he came to view
A non-existent image seen by you,
In form existing only in one’s mind
The world is turned by forces of this kind:
Their war and peace are based on fantasy,
And shame and pride are both illusory,
While images that saints may often love
Are visions of the moon-faced ones above;
(Moon-faced ones above: an allusion to the hurries or female denizens of Paradise)

The image which while dreaming he’d just seen
The king saw in him just as it has been…”


This is what happens over and over in almost all of the interviews whenever I ask a sheikh or a khalife about the nature of dreams. Their answers are the most condensed way of answering: So short, direct, instant, dense and citational full of references into the books of fore-masters, Quran or hints to the fables, life and biography of arch-Shaikhs, sainthoods and prophets. He says just a short hemistich but to understand its relation to the asked question one should know firstly a lot about poetry and to its related figures of speech.

…it depends on the way that a dream appears but [nevertheless] it is the fundamental nature of wojūd (= existence, the world, being, or perhaps in its best translation: Dasein).

Comment: He means that the life itself is a dream!

-What are the contents of a dream? Which ones are true and linked to the realm of gheyb?

-Generally when a human—disengaged from this world—rests in the realm of dream, he befall active in another world, in other words he/she continues to live in a higher-ranked world. It depends (both) on this world and the phase that his/her spirit lays in. According to the dreams of Yārestān or Ahl-i-ḥaq [brotherhood], there are many different types of dreams: [1-] khāb or rūyā or [2-] a ālam (world) between sleep and wakefulness which also termed as royāy-i-sādighe (True dream) and has a latent aspect linked to the world of gheyb. This type of dream is chiefly for sālikin [[lit.] wayfarer] and generally appears in a special time: at noon or early in the mornings before the sunrise or when the morning’s prayer (aẓān-i-ṣubḥ) is called out.

Comment: As far as I understand from my field work, the dreams seen early in the night have usually no interpretation. They are usually considered to be too concerned with bodily conductions to be able to retrieve a divine message out of them. These dreams are usually considered as adghūy ol-ahlām إضغث الأحلاة. A Quranic name for disturbed, false dreams: “They said, “[It is but] a mixture of false dreams, and we are not learned in the interpretation of dreams.””

(Quran, 12:44)
The dreams seen at the midnight are half true and half false and the dreams seen early in the morning are more likely to become true. Then the more the time in which one sees a dream is closer to the morning the more it is reliable. Then the time in which the dream is seen is very important and somehow determines its truth-value. There are a lot of inconsistent ideas about the relation between time and dream in the dream manuals. For example in our reference version of dream manual we read that “it takes a longer time for a happy dream to come true than a sad dream” (Ibn-i Sirin: 9). the reason behind this is again derived from Quran: “Indeed, with hardship [will be] ease” (Quran, 94:6). In this verse hardship has precedence over ease and one reads it sooner than the word ease, then, it should happen sooner than the ease (ibid). Every dream manual holds a set of argumentations like this that is not findable in other manuals nevertheless; the relation between dream and time is a general feature in every Islamic culture of dream and Islamic dream manual. There are a lot of discussions around the role of the season in which the dream is seen and its interpretation. The days of the year are usually divided into two categories of good and evil or sa’d o nahs سعد و نحس and hence seeing the interpretation of dream is partly subjected to the day that one has seen the dream but in understanding which day is good and which time is evil there is no consistency in the dream manuals. Sometimes seeing the same dream in two different times could drastically change its meaning for example:

“And this is a knowledge that nobody can reach to its end. Don’t you see an unassuming modest man that the mighty God raises him up to the shadow of the kings and rulers and pushes down the other one who has risen before? Those dreams that the dreamer hides some part of it or distorts it are not interpretable for example he might say that I saw this dream in night where it was a day-dream and vice versa. There is a big difference between these two, for example, when someone dreams himself in night sitting on a high place, it means that he is in a battle but will win over his enemy....If he saw the same dream at the daytime it means that he will divorce his wife and soon there would be fight and separation between them.” (Ibn-i Sirin: 18)

There are also many different versions of stories in every dream manual that stresses on the importance of the season and daytime in which one dreams:
“Someone saw in his dream that he has found 40 fruits before the court of the king. The interpretation was that he will found 40000 coins (درهم). He saw the same dream in an untimely time and the interpretation states for 40 whips which he received. This was because he saw these two dreams in two different seasons” (Ibn-i Sirin: 26-27).

The dreams that repeat in several consequent nights are likely to be regarded as a ‘true dream’ containing an important message from God: a godly expedition\(^{162}\) that inevitably should be done, but according to Islamic hagiographies there might be also some inductions sent from a div or demon (Ibn-i Sirin: 14).

**-Why it should not be at the night?**

- Because the body needs to rest. For example when it [= body] falls asleep at 10 O’clock, then till 2 or 4 O’clock it has done a full rest and hereafter starts the touring and surfing in the world of man‘ā (ma’nā literally stands for meaning but alternatively means spiritual[ity] as well). One can set himself consciously in terms of dreaming. It has a special zikr; this kind of zikr is khafīyah.

He must do them and ask for madad (assistance/recourse) from the Pīr and zāt-i-haq.

Comment: zāt means essence and ḥaq stands for truth, here he addresses to the innermost core of the truth. Moreover, zikr khafīyah is a kind of commemoration in which the practitioner does not recite it loudly. It is a kind of smooth inner whisper or mantra. khafīyah literally means disclosed or secreted.

Then he should sleep for two hours and wake up after a full rest to make a ghusl (Ritual bath) and sleep again with the niyat ([lit.] intention) of pīr and dalīl and just after this intention he may get in touch with the realm of asrār (secrets). There is another type of dreams in which one receives abruptly and without any intentionality a message right from the world of gheyb by means of Pīr-i-bašin (Pīr-i-benyāmin) or haft-tan. Sometimes there is a message for someone else and sometimes for him, himself. For example one may see a ruined awkward and shattered home, this ruin is his existence and he must bring it into reclamation again; or when one sees someone

\(^{162}\) The classical Quranic example for a dream as a godly mission is the dream of Abraham in which he saw himself sacrificing his son (Quran, 37:102).
who ruins the home, this means that he must take him/herself away from this person because his/her friendship is not fine for the wayfarer. Let’s go for a tangible story: Someone saw another person in a dream in the form of a very huge palace with 4 gates with different shapes and qualities. Here the palace is a symbol of that person who is the subject of the dream and the doors are symbols of his sons; [hence] he had four sons. There is another type of dream... It is [just] special for bāţīn-dārs (Those who have bāţīn ([lit.] interior but here stands for advanced, mature spirit) or selected (gifted) persons of Ahl-i ḥaq and that is the dream of asrār (secrets) in which there is neither time nor place and could be [happen] even in the [day-time and] wakefulness or in sleep, at night. One falls all of a sudden in a dream; [and as said before] this kind of dreams goes just for bāţīn-dārs as referred also in the kalām-i Saranjām in its barzanjeh chapter which is devoted to [the tale of] “the appearance of Sultan“ and its associated preliminaries done by his friends. The most important friends of him are rūḥtāf, Khavandegar who is the Sultan himself, kashkūl who is isrāfil, qalam or izra’il and asta or Ramzbār.


These are four dervishes who according to their received covert messages and dreams, came together in the Shahū mountain (Fogh-i-Shahū= Kani-rash) although they do not knew each other before. Following their dreams, they gathered and met each other in the castle of Shahū.

(Here he recites a few verses from kalām—i – barzanjeh:)

“Oh, tender-hearted dervishes, Oh abdāls (mentors) who live in the mountains
And any of you three, possesses an enlightened view
and a heart intoxicated from the wine of azal (Perpetuity)
do not fear from the people or any other power
Your skin is as fine and soft as a lam’s skin
And your soul is fruitful like a sheep.
You are lovely and abundant... “

Comment: By reading the original verses from kalām—i–barzanjeh, one realizes that the verses that are about the dream will appear first after the verses that he recited above:
“You smell from perfumes in a perfume-shop
From your Ḿāt (essence) and Ṣefāt (Attributes) one smells the perfume of Ḥaq
The perfume of azal (eternity)
I had met you always in the realm of dreams and newly was also so.
I dream in a consecutive forty nights
and every night the azalī (eternal) Master promised me
the ziārat (Pilgrim but here stands for visiting a very important person) of Ḥaq.
I saw a golden house which follows me also in my wakefulness.
It was [both] the sorrow of [their]imaginary [nature] and the joy of
their afterglow remembrance.
Sometimes I was asleep and sometimes awake
I saw them in my dreams when I dream; but in my intuition when I
am awake
I knew my bāṭini (hidden, inners) Master and he introduced himself to
me.”

As we may see (also further) in this interview, the intentions of Sey-yed Ārashi-Shahriārī’s of bringing a quote into account would become cleared first when we take a look into the original texts that he citates from them. Like a dream, he hides as well as hints to his message in the context of what he says and he usually selects this context from kalām as a sacred text analogous to Quran for Muslims.

- **Could it be that some vicious satanic creatures appear in your dreams?**
  - We consider Satan as the god’s guile (malice) and we do not consider him devilish. But we do not adore him. It is very complex to explain. We name the bad creatures as Ahriman or Chāhārdah-badān (lit. the fourteen bads). As their counter-part, there is also 14 number of lights; [that means] 14 good persons in front of 14 bad ones [Hence; it is a matter of relativity] if we take Mu’awieh as light, our Mowla (= master) Ali as its counterpoint would become darkened and if we take Ali as light then Mu’awieh goes into the darkness, they are complement of each other.

- **In which shape and form the devil power may appear and what is their function?**
  Sometimes in the form of a pig or a najis (impure or unclean) dog or different shapes of animals but there is always different types of interpretations. Sometimes dog should not be taken as a bad omen: the watch dog is a good omen, one who guards your nafs (here soul, self, existence). The dog of Aṣḥāb-i-Kahf (Seven sleepers of
Ephesus) was a good one. Sometimes some murids (pupils) come to me for the interpretation of their dreams. Sometimes their dreams have not a clear meaning as it may be illusionary or hallucinatory.

Comment: Every culture sees itself—not least the fact that it sits in relation to nature, but—in the mirror of nature. Thus, everywhere and at all times comparisons with the animal world used to describe human characteristics and behaviors to make them comprehensible and this abundant use has definitely its effect on the meaning of dreams. At least this relation is visible in Islamic dream manuals (e.g. Ibn-i Sirin: 42-46). Dream of animals and their interpretation might be related to the stereotypical and popular understanding of the behavior of each animal. In this sense every animal stands for a similar behavior. For example a pig as a tabooed animal has rarely a chance to be seen as a good omen in a dream of a Muslim. ʿAbdolqāder Gilāni, founder of Qāderieh brotherhood, relates the visions of rapacious fierce animals like panther, lion, bear, wolf, dog and pig to the bad mannerism of the dreamer and contamination of his/her self (nafs) in each of its different stages (امامه، لمهمه):

“Seeing a panther stands for arrogance against God and lion means being arrogant against the people. Bear means dominancy over the higher-hands and wolf means eating something religiously unclean or ּحرام as well as violence and wrath for the sake of worldly desires. Pig stands for rancor, jealousy and uncontrollable appeal to sex. Rabbit means disloyalty and treachery in worldly affairs. Fox is like rabbit with more awareness. Chita is the arrogant ignorant who loves power and leadership. Cat is hypocrisy and meanness and snake is the one who bothers with his words, things like insulting, backbiting and lying. The one who sees animal in his dreams sees them in their true meaning that the enlighten individuals usually see and perceive them in everyday life. Scorpion is attributed to stinging, gossiping and satiric speech. Bee means secretly annoying of the people and snake can also stand for enemy. If a sālik (Sufi) sees himself/herself fighting in a dream with annoying insects but could not win over them, he/she should do more commemoration and prayer to be able to overcome them either through killing them or by turning them into a humanistic form. Then winning over them or killing them means compensation of sins ... and if he sees them turning into human it means that his sins are changed into virtue in the eyes of God as God says: “Except for those who repent, believe and do righteous work. For
them Allāh will replace their evil deeds with good. And ever is Allāh Forgiving and Merciful.” (Quran, 25:70) (Gilāni: 141-142).

Similar descriptions could be finding in many other books written on dreams in Islamic cultures e.g. in meršād-ol-ʿibād (Asadī Rāżī: 163). Attributing the features of animals to the states of nafs and humanity is so common that in the book of manāfi-ol-ḥayvān (the benefits of the animals)—which is essentially a book on biology— one finds also a description on the meaning of each animal in dreams.

...“We” open up the book of kalām and then we understand its meaning and through the horouf (letters) we would be able to show the way and [interpret] its different layers.

Comment: Seyed Ārash Shahriyārī (and almost every sheikh that I met) always uses the pronoun of “we” to refer to himself. By this “we” actually he refers to himself as well as his entire familial tree: forefathers and foresheikhs)

- Can we name it as disturbed dreams?
  - Yes
  - Because of bulimia for example?
  - Yes, we have nothing to do with them (= disturbed dreams).
  - Ok, after 2 hours sleep and ghuşl and ʿikr,.. what else? What should be eaten?
  - Normally must be vegetarian foods. Milk, egg and oil should not be eaten; sometimes there is no restriction of this kind but generally the stomach must not be full; rather half-empty.
  - Is there any possibility for a kind of “conversion” to happen on the hand of a dream? For example a sinner surceases (his/her behavior) because of his/her ancestors such as those who are seyed; or in sake of Sheikh’s benedictions (duʿā) or blessings of ahl-i-ḥaq. Have you seen an example?
  - Yes, yes, maybe it is not fair to say at least not with this degree of strength: My father before facing with Bābā Gholām-i Hematābadi was an average man, he even drank alcohol... he always says that I was not a human and Bābā Gholām made a human (ādam) out of me. My father said:”When Bābā Gholām come up to Krind I was also passing my holidays there; I saw the people who came to kiss his feet. I
found it risible. I felt nasty and held it as a spiteful act. I asked [myself] what is the difference between Bābā Gholām and the others who kiss his feet? It was so unpleasant to me. I mumbled with myself insulting and thought that how silly they are and what for a charlatan is he who let them kiss his feet.”

He accounted then of Bābā Gholām’s appearance in his dream on that night:” He was in our house and everywhere he walks, jewelries were on his footprints (qadamgāh) and I was kissing his footprints in an insentience way ... “. The life of my father changed drastically afterward, he became a murid and one of the truest (mukhlīṣ) pupils of Bābā Gholām. Mawlānā (Rumi) said: “Why shall I not pivot around you when you are the home of God, Why shall I not kiss your foot while you became our pillar/pivot”...

**Conclusion**

The interview goes forward for another three quarters of an hour but I stop its translation here because it reaches yet to such a point that enables us to drew out an ending result from what he just narrated on his father’s dream at the end of this incision. Bābā is appeared here in the dream like a walking fountain of jewelries. Jewelry just like water is of the same row of metaphors. Again, notwithstanding the bedecking details, the dream could be summarized into this simple sentence: “Bābā gave jewelries!” and jewelry is a metaphor for money and capital by which one can
satisfy his/her desires. The relation between Bābā and the dreamer is unlevel: He kisses the feet of Bābā as a sign of respect however this act, highlights the position of bābā as someone of a higher power: The jewels spring out from his feet, the feet of bābā are like a pair of ducts that conduit the Baraka from the sky unto earth and earthy creatures. Jewel is a metaphor for water! Although the relation between the miracle, dream, water and the fluidity of sainthood in the Kurdish dream culture is not explicitly denoted here in his narration on his father’s dream but it must be deciphered to refine the hidden “water” element out of it. This will lead us to the following diamond-like interwoven relation between all these elements:

![Diagram]

**Diag.5** (+ and – poles might be considered for Visibility/Invisibility, provable/improvable or Phenomenal/Narrative and so on...)

This short narration has the same structure of stereotypical legends and folktales in Iranian culture usually acquainted with Khidr who is in turn celebrated as “watcher of the arid “ (movakil-i-khoshki), the one who quenches the people in deserts from thirst, leading them into water whereas his complement, Elijah is known as movakil-i-daryā (watcher of the seas) and saves the people from drowning in water. Attributing a miracle to the footprints is strictly dedicated to Khidr as he is the one whose “green-foot” brings graciousness, clemency and fertility for instance:
“Some traditions state that Al Khidr bathed three times in the Well of Life: in consequence, his skin and all his apparel turned entirely green, and he leaves green foot prints wherever he goes.” (Hutton, 1991: 33)

Although “water” is colorless but it paints green every arid that it touches. Then there is a strong but implicit correlation between the narrated story of Bābā Gholām and this archetypical character of an immortal ‘Wise Old Man’ that mentors people into valuable Water. Water metaphorically stands in Sufis literature for celestial knowledge; capital is achievable just through a full obedience of a pir or sheikh.

Now to quote him again:

"He (Bābā Gholām) was in our house and every where he walks, jewelries were on his footprints and I was kissing his footprints in an insentience way ...“Why shall I not pivot around you when you are the home of God, Why shall I not kiss your foot while you became our pillar/ pivot...“

To be more specific, this dream is another stereotypical recount of an old narrative form usually used folklore sayings over qadamgāh, a celebrated place in which a prophet, Khidr (khiḍr) or a saint is supposed to be appeared to an average man/woman, notwithstanding in a dream or his/her wakefulness. Hence a qadamgāh like Bethel has all the characters of an axis mundi and should be also understood as a world pillar reflected beautifully in home of god and pivot in the poem of Rumi that Seyed Arash-i Shahriari recited above. On the other hand, Mircea Eliade has discussed over the human body as a symbol of axis mundi (1991: 54) and in a reverse mode—among the much known characteristics of an axis mundi as a place – it signifies the presence of a body and the most undeniable testimony for the presence of somebody is a footprint but it should be associated with miracles to prove the holiness of its associated body.

On the other hand, his footprint justifies or imprints his heavenly presence among his people. Through its cohesive miracle, it justifies both the heaven and the grace of god which find an outlet to flow toward under-heaven; And this is perhaps the most elementary character of every axis mundi (cosmic axis):

“In reality, what transforms a newly occupied area into cosmos is its consecration by a hierophantic event. The world is seen as a space in which the sacred has already manifested itself and thus a break-through from plane to plane has taken place, an opening has also made, either upward (to the
divine world) or downward (to the underworld, to the world of the dead).”
(Franke, 2004: 37)

Of course for an arid area like Iran where “water” is a synonym for “life”, this “hierophantic event” or presence of a saint would be proven in its best through the appearance of a new fountain. It is also plausible that in many occasions, water is referred interchangeably by grace (rahmah). Then, in this narrative format, the saint who leads into water and knowledge must be considered as fountain-of-life or the source of every resource; one who opens up a way into an unseen resource that was hidden (gheyb) from our worldly eyes. He could also be considered as a fountain-of-knowledge of/from a realm that is essentially unknowable (‘īlm-i-gheyb or ‘īlm-i-ladoni). According to this, the metaphorical usage of water or wine in Persian literature for celestial knowledge is apparently a clever choice as the word water (āb) is the concourse point of all kind of capitals: economic and symbolic, worldly and heavenly: this overlapping of domains, redefines a fountain as the best choice for representing an axis mundi. Therefore we would be able to detect an interrelation between sainthood, dream, and miracle in every axis mundi/qadamgāh in Iran and its related folktales: Khidr is the only one who appears both in reality and dreams because he has such a vague nature that disappears as soon he were identified as Khidr; to write it in a more lyrical way: he has an ethereal body “made of the same stuff our dreams made on”\(^{163}\). It is noteworthy that the equivalent verb for “disappearing” is gheyb-raftan which stands rather for “to go into gheyb”. Gheyb is a superior world that is in a continuous interaction with our visible world of materials.\(^{164}\)This brings again the interactive relation between earthly life and ālam-i-gheyb (the realm of unseen) under consideration and puts another stress on the importance of the foot (qadam) of a saint as a connected pillar to heaven; the place that his foot lands (qadamgāh) would be turned into a sacred place or a gateway that separates two spaces of profane and sacred. It separates and (simultaneously)

\(^{163}\) “We are such stuff as dreams are made on” a line from a play, “The Tempest” by William Shakespeare, it continues as such: “and our little life is rounded with a sleep.”

\(^{164}\) This interwoven arrangement of sainthood, miracle, dream, water and (the realm of) gheyb could be seen in a qadamgāh in Khorasan district in Binaloud, 24 kilometers north from Neyshabour. There is a fountain in a garden over there with a peculiar way of appearance and disappearance that strengthened the belief of its sanctification and linkage with ālam-i-gheyb (the realm of unseen) (Pakdaman, 2005: 144-151). “Fluidity of sainthood” is also very typical in respect to qadamgāh, for instance this fountain who was a Zoroastrian temple (ātashgāh), is now believed to be the qadamgāh of both Imam Reza and Imam Ali (ibid.).

360
connects these two inhomogeneous spheres of profane and sacred; thus it is quite comparable with a door that opens into the interior of a church and as a result, brings a break into the continuity of the profane space that the church lays on (Eliade, 1959). This kind of conceptualization is in a full harmony with the word pivot in the verse of Rumi cited by Seyed Arash Shahriyāri. Patrick Franke has brought together many handwritings from many different areas of the Middle-East (check for instance 2000: 82-83, 104). On the appendix of his book, one can find many other reports on Khidr’s green -foot (qadam-i-sabz) from a total of 173 different reports that he has collected on encountering with the Khidr (Franke, 2000: 381-562). In addition to some other reports that simile the water or the jug in the hand of Khidr with gold and jewelry (See Franke, 2000: ex. report §32-b). This means that the attribution of Khidr and his foot (qadam) with water and green plants is so conventional and—according to it related system of meanings—so dense that they come rarely alone and as a result, every call of khidr in a narration or a text, fetches automatically his green-foot as a medium, and the costly water as a symbol for his valuable teachings where khidr himself is a symbol for teaching. He is even the teacher of the prophets as he is the one who according to an implicit hint in Quran has a full command on ‘Im-i-gheyb or knowledge of unknown/unknowable (cf. Quran 18:65) then khidr serve as a perfect metaphor/synecdoche for every prophet/pir/sheikh in Iranian literature. Hence, Khidr—when used in his metaphoric status—is a register that could be incorporated or embodied by any astral body (wojud-i gheybi) or celestial teacher that comes from the other side. He is usually asked to come, through the act of recourse (tavasol or madad-khāhī) of the people living under-heaven. These heavenly spirits descend to our world as a matter of grace, to help and purify the contaminated souls and hence they are considered as the fountain or life and mercy (Chashmey-i rahmah wa ḥay-yāt) who pours the water of knowledge/wisdom (āb-i-marifat) into our souls to make it pure/clean. As these spirits are supposed to belong to the same unified field of an ultimate being (ḥaq= truth) that lives consistently in its oneness (nour-i-vāhide hastand) then their earthly appearance could be alternatively considered as a general sainthood of fluidly nature that epitomizes every

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\[^{165}\text{We read also in the encyclopedia of Islam under the name of Khidr: "His name means “the green one,” ...they (Muslims) also associated his color with plant, life and fertility, and that the earth turned green wherever he stood or prayed." (Encyclopedia of Islam, Juan E. Campo, J. Gordon Melton, Series Editor, Facts On Files Inc., 2009, p. 428)}\]
sacred being including Khidr, a Prophet or a Pir as teacher. Among all these appearances, Khidr plays a more archetypical role as he is simultaneously a prophet and a teacher: He is the teacher of the prophets. We may understand this condensed system of meanings better if we just take a more intensive look to the last part of our interview with Seyyed ārash-i Shahriarī: The last verse which was quoted by him was a citation of Rumī’s 2934th ghasal from Divān-i-kabir. Divān-i-kabir (literally: Big book of poems) is a sum of adoring ghasals that Rumī has composed in his fever love of his master Shams-i Tabrizī that in many verses and sayings is referred as khidr. The original first three verses of this ghasal are as follows:

گفتی قرار یابم خود بی قرار گشتی
گفتی شکار گیرم رفتی شکار گشتی
خضرت چرا نخوانم کآب حیات خوردی؟
یشت چرا نمیرم چون یار یار گشتی؟
گردت چرا نگردم چون خانه خدا؟
پایت چرا نبوسم چون پایدار گشتی?

You told me: “I am going for a hunt”; now you are the hunted one instead
you told me: “I go to find my stable state; now you become labile instead
why shall I not call you Khidr? As you drank the water of life
why shall I not be sacrificed in front of you, as you rest now in the friend’s front?
Why shall I not pivot around you when you are the “home of God”?
Why shall I not kiss your foot whilst you became our pillar/pivot...

Although just the last verse in this interview was recited by Seyyed ārash-i Shahriarī but there is an interrelated set of unseen significances and connotations that ties the issue of teacher with khidr in Iranian mysticism. This interview shows that how condensation works on every level of narrativity in the teaching of Sufis.

166 It’s a quite expected assignment as khidr is at the first place a symbol for a master. Aflâki narrates that Rumi mounted a panel on the Tabrizi’s room (hojreh) after his disappearance and writes on it with his own blessed hand (dast-i-mubārak): "Here is the place (maghām) of the beloved, Khidr (peace be upon him)" (Bar dar-i hojre-i ki Shams dar ān manzil dāsht bi dast-i mobārak-i khod nebeshthī ast ki maghāmi mashough khidr ʿalayhi-salām) (Managhib-i Aflâki, vol.1: 349, via Movahid: 580). The high amount of sayings and narrations about the alternative appearance of Mohammad or Khidr in the dreams (as a mentor/teacher) and their cultural significance ends to a special genre of mystical literature of marāʿi (appearances). Some of these books contain some interpretations of these narrations as well as some lessons for murids.
Here in his recitation of *Rumi’s* poem; he implicitly brought again the archetypical character of *Khidr* (as the ‘Wise Old Man’) in correspond with the character of his own teacher.\(^\text{167}\) Thus there was a latent presence of *Khidr* (and respectively water) in this condensed narration of a “dream of conversion”: 1- By means of its content, namely: “the foot-print miracle” and 2- by means of the narrator’s choice from *Rumi’s* poems that its inherent connotations to *khidr* would remain unheard for an unacquainted ear.

![Image](image.png)

**Fig. 33** Sey-yed ārash-i Shahriarī having *kalām* in hand and *Tanbūr* by his side.

\(^{167}\) This latter analogy is in a full consistency with the Ahl-i-haqq tradition of thinking: In this tradition, a *pir* who literally stands for an “old man” could be a young reincarnation of an “old essence/spirit” (*pir-i-bātini*). *Sey-yed ārash-i Shahriarī*, himself, is a good example in this respect as he is just 36 years old at the time of this interview but were considered as a *pir* among his followers because of his high ranked family and approval of his *pir*. Analogous to this, *khidr* is also the one who per definition has gained immortality because of bathing in the spring of life; hence he is coevally young and old.
Addendum #2

This interview and the next one are two interviews with two well-known khalifes in Sanandaj who are the sons of late Khalife Mirzā Āgeh Ghouṯī who had a convent (Khāneghāh) in Sanandaj which is still active and being organized by his sons and grandsons.

Fig. 34 From left to right: Khalife Mirzā Āgeh Ghouṯī (the father), Khalife Raḥmān Ghouṯī and Khalife Alirezā Ghouṯī (his two sons); (source: www.khalifeg.blogfa.com last accessed on 27.5.2014)

- Hi, Khalife Raḥmān....
- I am not khalife I am still that very negligible.
- But we do believe in you as a khalife...
- Health be with you, amen (Khosh bī, yā khoā)

Comment: This is ta ārof and shekastenafsi. From the very beginning of this conversation a hidden social play is started and every side should stand on a ping-pong like ceremony of complementary exchanges.
- Is dream true (rāst) or not?

- Dream is essential (aṣl = the origin). It is also [narrated] in the Quran and verses that dream is essential as like as the dream of Joseph the prophet [in which it is narrated that] how they became separated and who has separated them and so on...Yes! It is in Quran that dream is true. Some dreams give notice of the future and the way that the things will be happen.

Comment: He is referring to this verse of Quran:

"And he raised his parents upon the throne and they (the brothers) fell down in prostration before him, and he said: O my father! (yaa abat) this is the significance (tawil) of my vision of old; my Lord has indeed made it to be true; and He was indeed kind to me when He brought me forth from the prison and brought you from the desert after the Shaitan (Satan) had sown dissensions between me and my brothers, surely my Lord is benignant to whom He pleases; surely He is the Knowing, the Wise." (Qur’an 12:100)

This verse itself refers to another verse at the beginning of this Surah:

"When Yusuf said to his father: O my father! Surely I saw eleven stars and the sun and the moon— I saw them making obeisance to me." (Qur’an 12:4)

The meaning of this is that he [Yusuf = Joseph] will come to a position of authority and will be reunited with his family who will recognize his authority. The further meaning of this is that he will become the spiritual centre of the constellation of his family and they will orbit around him and be guided (suggested by their prostration) through his spiritual authority but all these could be also read as the egocentric constellation mirrored in a religious fantasy that fuels the fire of envy in his brothers. In verse 100 (as well as in verses 4 and 5 of the Surah), Yusuf addresses his father with “yaa abat” which is an intimate form for calling a father168 like Bābā in Kurdish or Farsi; whereas the brothers were used to address their father through a more formal set of words. This Surah is named also as aḥsan-ol-qoasaṣ or “the best of stories or narrativities”. The symbolization behind this dream or drama is also very important: It reveals again the centric role of ego in religious dreams or dramas: “The ego creates and takes part in religious dramas which present an illusory world of wholeness and completion of self.” (Gay: 1). Here in this

168 Check the URL: http://www.islamquest.net/fa/archive/question/fa43530 last accessed on 7.2.2016.
story, his brothers threw Joseph into the well, which both physically and mentally should set him in a humiliated degraded state of being but on the other hand, he is the only who is allowed to call his father with a word like abati and moreover the only who inherits prophecy and ‘ilm-ol-royā (the science of dreams) as the source of envy and jealousy in his brothers:

“He [Jacob] said, "O my son, do not relate your vision to your brothers or they will contrive against you a plan. Indeed Satan, to man, is a manifest enemy.” (12: 5)

In the entire story the reader feels him/herself impersonated with Joseph as a beautiful surrounded by the envy of the beast others. The Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno has mapped the same argumentation on the origin of religious envy in his modern read of biblical story of Cain and Abel: Abel Sánchez: the History of a Passion (1917).

-Have you yourself seen some examples of prophesying dreams?
I do not remember right now but it has happened to me that a thought hit my intuition (be dil zadan) at work [and in the day time] and little afterward I saw the realization of my vision.

-Has ever Khalife Ghouṯi (the father of this khalife Raḥmān) narrated a special dream story-line?
- [Yes]. He [Khalife Ghouṯi] once said: “I was not a Sufi (ahli tariqat) in my youth. I only went [to the convent] very rarely. Sheikh Abdolkarim came into my dream and gave me a kerosene lamp (cherāgh tourī) (see the picture). This was the cause of my immigration to Iraq as its interpretation was that I should become a murid of his family (khāndān).”

Fig.35
kerosene lamp (cherāgh tourī)

Comment: Of course to become an ordinary murid is not all the message that a Kerosene lantern as a symbol conveys in this dream. The symbolism of light and lantern implies more meanings and in fact it is chosen very precisely. One
who understands about the sheikhdom and the process that a wayfarer should pass to reach to the level of fana and enlightenment (vesāl, roushanbinī...) can also understand that why the image of a kerosene lantern (cherāgh tourī) is borrowed here and put in use as a dream symbol. The grid (tour) of the lantern is so thin that one can say that it has no materiality at all but in spite of its thin body, it is capable to stray a big amount of light on the objects in its nearby analogous to a sheikh who likewise has no materialistic concerns for himself but guides the people through his inner light. Then this modern object has been chosen and appropriated very accurately to serve as a new symbol for inner light. Lévi-Strauss also stresses on what takes place in a primitive mind\textsuperscript{169} is not substantially or fundamentally different from a civilized mind and both of them are different forms of a basic phenomenon of what he once named it “the originality of mythical thinking” (Lévi-Strauss, 1978: 8). The implicit function of this dream of conversion is to communicate a predestinating message by configuring its dreamer as the deputy (khalife) of silsile who is missioned to spread the light of Mohammad from the hands of Sheikh to the others. Again shekaste-nafsi or self-denunciation as a rule of speech hinders him to talk directly about his status as a khalife but a native ear usually gets this blank message. At any rate, it is very rare to see a sheikh, khalife or any spiritual leader who has not seen a kind of dream-of-conversion in his youth, something that we can name it dream-of-passage comparable to the rite-of-passage (see also addendum #1).

-Is the dream of the prophet ‘true’?

- Eh!!?? (with surprise) How could it be false? Nobody has that grade (hadi ān rā nadārad) to deem him someone else.

Comment: It is needed to explain or define what exactly is understood by a ‘true dream’ (khāb-i rāst): A true dream is such a dream that proves itself as authentic for example by its realization in the daytime. According to the Kurdish believes, to see the prophet in a dream will automatically prove it as ‘true’ (rāst) because according to a hadith attributed to him, he has said that: "Whoever sees me (in a dream) then

\textsuperscript{169} (Lévi-Strauss accepts that this term—he has adopted for addressing the people who are without writing- is discriminative and describes them wrongly. (Lévi-Strauss, 1979: 15))
he indeed has seen the truth, as Satan cannot appear in my shape." (Saḥīḥ-i Bukhārī, hadith Nr.6993\textsuperscript{170})

**-Have you ever seen the prophet in your dream?**
- I do not remember.

Comment: This is a very polite way for not answering but I am still not sure that he was not likely to answer.

**-How about your father?**
- I have not heard from him but when we were in Mecca he prays: “Oh God, I have asked you for being here in Mecca and also in Medina for three times. Although this last one was just for a night and day [and too short] but it finally become thrice.”

Comment: Here the interviewee answers something completely detracted from the original question. Anyway it seems that there is something that strongly binds the appearance of Mohammad in a dream with the fulfillment of a religious wish or vow in the daytime. It seems on the first level that he recognizes the question as my need for hearing about something supernatural that is, the commitment of a super-power for the compliancy of a wish (=dream). Other interpretation could be that in his eyes, seeing the Prophet’s tomb is deeply related to the visiting of the Prophet himself. Perhaps this is the why that the Word زیارت means both pilgrimage and visiting.

**-What happened afterward?**
Nothing, he died of a heart attack in the airplane [in the way back home from Mecca]... He told me all the times: "Rahmān, let’s be together as I soon will be dead.” ...he was prepared somehow.

**-Is it possible to see the Satan in the dream?**
- Why not?

**-Is it possible for the Satan to guise itself in the form of prophet?**
- No, never, it is impossible!

**-Why?**
- When someone is a believer and the prophet paces in his/her dream, then the prophet is truly the prophet himself and when he/she is a sinner he/she would see the same satanic things and these two are not mixable with each other. The good ones

\textsuperscript{170} URL: https://sunnah.com/bukhari/91; last accessed 2.1.2017.
see the Prophet because he/she has a good intention (niyāt) and faith and a satanic person would see that very satanic dreams [instead].

Comment: Here the faithfulness of the dreamer has considered as the prerequisite for the truthfulness of his/her dreams. Then to see the prophet in a dream is a reliable milestone for every ‘knight of faith’. This again delivers a special amount of relief in opposition to the “fear and trembling” as the fruit of faith.

All of this part of interview is based on this hadith or saying from Mohammad:

"True dreams are from Allāh and bad dreams are from Satan."

[Saḥīḥ-i Bukhari, hadith Nr.6984]^{172}

and also in some other hadiths (Nr.6993-6997). For example the Hadith Nr. 6997 we read:

"Whoever sees me (in a dream) then he indeed has seen the truth, as Satan cannot appear in my shape."^{173}

Then The dream of Mohammad needs to be necessarily ‘true’ to be able to do its function (that is delivering relief to its dreamer).

- Do these divine personalities also appear in the dreams of the women?

- How not? Believe me that my father was used to say that [among] those who are wayfarers of tariqat and regularly do their commemorations, duties and austerities... and [moreover] if they have a clear way, vision and behavior... a woman will reach to the fruit [of her deeds] in just 40 days where a man needs at least 40 years of practice [to reach on that level of spirituality]. Think the difference!

Comment: This does not coincide with the social reality that the women are living in. I have asked the same question of many other people and the result was interestingly the same. Anyway I am personally not sure if they heartily believe in this. For this writer, this claim that “the women are more capable to come near to God” is a claim of power to gloss over the discriminative situation that the women are experiencing as their social reality through a fake form of suavity. This claim of power does not hide or deny their discriminative condition on account of the

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^{171} Fear and Trembling is an influential philosophical work by Søren Kierkegaard, published in 1843. 'Knight of faith' is also one of his central terms.

^{172} URL: [https://sunnah.com/bukhari/91/3]{; last accessed 2.1.2017.}

^{173} URL: [https://sunnah.com/bukhari/91]{; last accessed 2.1.2017.}
male authority, instead, it fixes them in their condition by a fake praise of their sorrows spiced with some emotionalizing narratives. Narratives as like those who claim that Allāh is more close to the broken-heart people (broken in heart as a result of love and tenderness, as well as through an imposed disadvantage, discrimination, etc.). This is reflected in its best in this sacral narrative or hadith-i qodsī (These are Islamic God-narratives that are not in Quran instead they are narrated from Mohammad or an Imam as a God’s saying but none of the canonical book of Shari‘at supports them): “Ana ‘ind al-monkaserah gholoubohom” which means: “I am near to those whose heart is broken” (See Mireco41).

-Has your mother seen a [special] dream?
- My mother has seen some saints in her dreams but I have not heard from her that she has seen the Prophet. Newly we slept one night in Javānroud, it was a Thursday night. My mother said: “Rahmān, I saw your father in my dream and he gave me a pocket full of money.” In that very day we travelled back [to Sanandaj] and we arrived home on Saturday. Someone called us in the morning that here is a few million Tomans that belongs to you. Yes! I swear to Quran. I said to my mother that even a bank could not transfer this much money with this accuracy [and speed] so that in just 24 hours one remits it [in a dream] and early in the morning we receive it back [in the reality] (he laughs).

-What about the modern things? Like cars,...do dervishes see such a things in their dreams? For example money that your mother has seen in a dream is a modern thing.
- Money in our [dream] interpretation is [a symbol for] sorrow and humiliation but it is good when it appears in the form of big notes.

Comment: This is partly because in a Kurdish cultural context, a coin reminds charity and alms moreover and in the same context it is a custom to drop coins on the dead body of an unknown person who is dead because of an accident. They do this to become protected from unexpected death (marg-i mofājāt) and bad fortune.

-Then a coin stands for sorrow?
- Yes, wāllāh (swear to God) ...

- What about the modern things like mobile, watch and ...?
- They are not bad, they are worldly things and gifts...To see a gift [in dream] is generally good.

- **Is it a taboo to narrate a dream for the others?**

  - One should believe in his/her dream. The dreamer should also compare it with his/her condition i.e. in which situation he/she has slept or he/she was thinking about that thing before sleep or not, etc. If he/she was thinking about that special thing then the dream has a message and it shows to its dreamer if it is well and advisable to do a thing or not. Then it is true.

  Comment: Here he hints to istekhāreh, literally means asking for wellness but it means presage or soothsay.

- **What is a true dream?**

  - If those who appear in a dream are a member of his/her family or ‘Uliyā (saints) or prophets or from the good persons or those things that one by him/herself recognize them as good entities, then it would be good to follow [the message of] the dream. The dreamer will know that [by his/her own intuition]!

- **Has it ever happened that a dervish was used to be a sinner and then became dervish and converted to tariqat as a result of a dream?**

  - Yes, swear to God! Yes, I swear to God that it has happened very often times that someone narrates his/her dream in one of Sufis’ occasions (marāsim-i darwishi) and they tell him/her as interpretation that :”You should do toube (act of remorse after which one will be recognized as a dervish) on the hand of that sheikh and so on... “

- **Have you seen such a thing by yourself?**

  - Yes, swear to God!

- **What is a disturbed dream? Is it because of overeating, tiredness or what?**

  - If it is scattered and you see a dream with 7 or 8 different passages and you remind just one piece from each, then it is a disturbed dream. One usually forgets most of the parts and it appears in a very chopped form.

- **Is it possible to abuse of a dream?**

  - Yes, there are some people that do that.

- **What about dreaming of God?**

  - I have not seen.

- **Quran?**

  - Yes, if it be given or you recite it.
- **What is the difference?**
  - Both of them are good dreams. If you see yourself reciting Quran you should read one or two *Surah* after being awake.
    
    Comment: Reading Quran remind the death of a close relative, funeral and so on...Reciting Quran at the next day will redirect this bad fortune to a direct read of the dream.

- **What shall we do when it is given in a dream?**
  - That is also a gift, what is better than that?

- **What about the angels?**
  - They are also good, it is obvious.

- **Dreaming of the opposite sex?**
  - When nothing has been happened, why not? It is possible that it carries a message or what [that he/her had] on his/her mind.

- **I mean sex!**
  - No problem.

- **With maḥram or nāmahram?**
  
  *Comment: Maḥram and nāmahram are two words that stand respectively for a marriageable and non-marriageable person on the basis of the Islamic family law. In the special symbolic language of Sufis, these word rather stand for confident and non-confident person.*
  
  - It has no certainty (*qaṭiyat* قطعیت), it is possible that his/her eyes are dropped on someone somatically desirable to him/her and then she/he came in his/her dream.
    
    Comment: He means that most of them are not interpretable and just some residues of the day time.

- **Is it possible for a Kurd woman in Qāderie discipline to dream of pregnancy and became pregnant afterward?**
  - Yes, I heard swear to God.

- **What is the meaning of a dead person?**
  - If one sees him/herself dead, it means that they (apparently the angels) are “writing his/her age” (*‘omrash rā minevisand*).
    
    Comment: “Writing someone’s age” is an expression which actually means: “they are adding to the number that he/she should live on earth!” Therefore when someone him/herself dead in a dream it might have a completely opposite meaning (See also the comments on the sound track Mirec136).
- **What does it mean?**
- It means that his/her life would become either longer or shorter. It changes anyway.

- **Sickness?**
- I do not know but death has to do with the length of life. For example in *shabe qadr* ([lit.] *night-of-worth* is a night in which the Quran has revealed in its fullness to Mohammad. Although it is the most holy night in Islamic culture but it is not revealed to anyone that in which night of the year it has been occurred.). In this night, the length of life (in our fate) changes and become renewed.

- **What if a dead person paces in dream?**
- It is said that if a dead person comes in your dream you should pay *sadagheh* (alms) for the benefit (*iḥsān*) of that dead person.

- **How the prophet looks like in a dream?**
- Most of the people who saw him in a dream say that he looks like his iconography (*temjāl*) but [of course] that is not his picture, it is just attributed to him.

  Comment: There are two major effigies of Mohammad the prophet in Kurdistan (and Iran) that have a very high publicity. One of them shows him as a man in his 40 or in that age in which he declared himself as a prophet (fig.36). The other one (fig.37) is even more populated and shows him in his juvenile. This new one is more beloved and is not banned by Islamic prohibition laws against pictorial illustrations of the prophet because, as often is said, “*his holy body (in this picture) has not accepted its prophetic duty yet*” (*hanuz badani mobārakash ghabouli peyghambarī nakarde bood*).

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**Fig.36** This figure is in accord with the descriptions of the people (e.g. in the film Moloud Khān #2) on the Prophet’s features in anthropometrical terms: White skinned, slightly blushed black eyes, wide eyebrows with smooth cheeks and curves...
Fig. 37 In this picture (that a copy of it is hanged on the wall of Salāmieh’s convent) Mohammad is painted amid a vault spangled with stars. This kind of beautification matches with what the young Mohammad has said to Bahira: “When I look at the heaven and the stars, I see myself above the stars” (Centlivres and Centlivers-Demont, 19).

Pierre Centlivres and Micheline Centlivers-Demont, both anthropologists have worked on the origin of this picture (Centlivres and Centlivers-Demont, 2006) and they have no doubt that a photo taken by Rudolf Franz Lehnert (1878-1948) from a tunesian young man named Mohamed [Mohammad] (probably between 1904 and 1906) was the model for these posters:

Fig. 38 There is no doubt that the picture on the right is served as model to the Iranian posters (left). The Iranian publishers have chosen a model of Prophet Muhammad representing an ideal of youth, beauty and harmony (Centlivres and Centlivers-Demont: 19).
In contrast to the explained origin of this painting, it is believed by most of the people of Sanandaj to be the portrait of Mohammad the Prophet—drawn by an Nestorian priest named Bahira in the 9th century who saw the mark of prophethood (mohr-i nabowwat) between the shoulders of Mohammad who at that time was a young man spending his sojourn in Syria. One may find many versions of this narrative in Islamic books as like as tārikhi ḥabarī, širat-ol-nabī, etc.\(^\text{174}\) In many of these narratives, Bahirā asks the young Mohammad about his dreams and he answers that he usually sees true dreams, dreams that happen in the daytime but in spite of Bahirā’s insistence he refuses to give more explanation about the nature of his dreams. This kind of narratives support this belief among many Muslim communities—including people of shari‘at in Sanandaj—that one should not talk abundantly about his/her true dreams. There are even some versions of Bahirā’s narrative of which all of the story is based on a dream that Abu Bakr the first caliph/khalife of Mohammad has seen and narrated for Bahirā (Ibn ‘Asākir via Rogemma: 339). Rogemma considers this narrative as a counterweight to the presence of Ali’s father in the story of Ibn Isḥāgh (Rogemma, 48). In the Ibn ‘Asāker’s narrative, Bahirā interprets the dream of Abu Bakr as a reference to the forthcoming prophet and Abu Bakr’s own subsequent position as Caliph/khalife. Then, we see how a ‘true dream’ as an incontrovertible ‘true’ statement (Argumentum ad lapidem) could be utilized as a powerful discourse in Islamic narratology. The legend of Bahirā is the second story that usually comes in the prophet’s timeline (the first story is the legend of Aṣḥāb-i fil; see Moloud khān #2, part 2, scene 1). By looking to the Ibn ‘Asāker’s version of this story, one may see how a dream finds its way inside the Islamic hagiography from the very beginning of this tradition and also how it takes a mitigating role for the justification of a power-discourse (i.e. imperative of succession discussed in the chapter of Bābā).

Back to our topic: Among all of my interviews with the people who have seen the prophet of Islam in their dreams, I have rarely met a person who saw him in his teenage years and most of them recognize him as a man in his middle age and hence more similar to the first effigy described here.

\(^{174}\) A concise reference of these narratives is available in the second chapter of “The Legend of Sergius Bahirā” written by Barbara Rogemma (Rogemma: 37-60).
-He has a “face” you mean?
- Yes, swear to God, just like his pictures.
-What is the color of his clad?
- I did not see him. What should I say?
He is like a feeling that comes inside the heart.
Addendum #3

Interview with Khalife Alirezā Ghouū the junior son of the late Khalife Mirzā Āgeh Ghouū.

What we are dealing here are obviously prophetic and visionary dreams. In the context of the collected interviews in this work, prophetic and visionary dreams are widespread and are mentioned by people a lot.

- Is dream true (rāst) or not?
- It is true, as it is narrated in the Quran about Ḥadrat-i Yūsuf (Joseph, son of Jacob). There are two kinds: sādeqe (true) and kādhebe (false). Those that appear after the morning’s prayer are more likely to become true and they are named sādeqe but those who appear before the Morning Prayer or at night, might be nonsense as a result of gluttony but [generally] yes! dream is true (ḥaq)! Like that dream that Ḥadrat-i Yūsuf saw about 12 stars.

Comment: Just like his brother in the previous addendum he is referring as well to the verses (12:4) and (12:100) in the Quran (see addendum #2).

Ulīyā (saints) see also dreams and the good people see also dreams and we do too. There is a hierarchy among the dreams, some of them came true sooner and some later, but Yes! Swear to god! (wal-lāh) dream is factual (ḥaq= based on truth).

Comment: Here he makes some kind of self-denunciation or shekastenafsi by ranking himself out from the good people.

- What kind of dreams have you seen?
- I saw a dream about Khalife (he means his late father). He wanted to issue an order to me. It was 3 or 4 years ago. We had distributed money among the poor people. He came in my dream in the night. I told him that we have given money to the people. He answered I know but there is still a trifle more that should be distributed.

Comment: Although the father and son both belong to the same social class and status (as both are khalifes), but there is a hidden administrative system that puts the father on a higher status and rank; the dream content puts stress on the fact that the father is the real organizer of the alms that should be distributed among the poor people through the hands of his sons. He appears to demonstrate his deciding role where he is in charge of a higher hidden

175 Ḥadrat literally means "Presence" and is an honorific title used to honour a person.
resource of capital in the widest sense of the word. On another level of analysis, this “Papa Gave Water” (Bābā Āb Dād) rule of dreams that hands the God’s mercy to the poor people in many different forms of water, capital, ecstasy (hāl) etc., constructs an unchangeable solid structure of bureaucratic order that starts from the hand of Allāh—which is “over their hands” (48:10)—to hierarchical lower hands. This order of capital obeys the same form of objectified pyramid of society that one may watch in the real water ducts of a Qanāt discussed in the chapter named Āb (The water that one uses is the rest-water of a wealthier person in overhand that the water flows first through his house and so on...). Considering this conformity between two distributing system of symbolic and economical capitals, there remains no wonder that the word poor or faqīr stands both for a poor person and a real Sufi.

... In these very nights my mother saw my father in a dream and he gave her a ring and said to her: “Here you are! This is for you”. In the morning she looked inside her bed but it was not there and she thought with herself: “Oh God, what is this ring?” and she looked inside the clothes afterward and said to herself: “All right! I have looked for it for 20 times but let’s run another search for it!” and then she found it in a pocket of her coat (or his coat as it is unclear in this interview to whom does the coat belong) and realized that it is that very ring that she had seen in her dream. She gave it to me and we put it as his aide memoire among other objects that remained from him. Yes, swear to God! “It (the dream) is accurate (khalāf nadārad)”, she told me.

Comment: Why she did not take the ring as a heavenly sign of her spiritual development in the way of God? She started with the question of “What is this ring?” but her reactions are to reply “Where is the ring?” instead! Why she does not take the ring simply as a symbol for a wealth, duty or a good happening in the future as also the dream catalogue of Ibn-i Sirīn suggests (See Ibn-i Sirīn: 178-180)? Why she looks for a real manifestation of her dream? What was special in that dream that forces its dreamer to chase with a delusive obsession after a ring to unite the symbol with a real body of that symbol as a ‘thing’? Finding an object in the daytime that was originally seen in a dream (which is essentially a symbolic language) is itself a symbol or sign that confirms the truth value of the dream and accordingly the truthfulness of its dreamer. Her faith in God as a whole is in a direct appropriation with her faith
in her dream and this latter one was so big that she searched the same place for 21 times. All the symbolic meanings of a ring appeared in a dream are redirected on a real ring in the daytime to become a ‘dual-object’ or a ‘thing’ that scales her faith. This materialization of a dream sets a big amount of ‘jouissance’ free: the real objectification of a symbolic image that finally gives body to her faith. The ring justifies this fact that she is correctly communicating with the [archaic features of the] dream-side as a creating voice: ‘They’ said [to the ring] “Be!” and there it is!

**- Have you seen the Prophet in your dreams?**

I have seen the saints (˚uliya) but not the prophet.

**- Who have you seen?**

Our own ˚uliya, the big ones, but nothing was exchanged between us.

Comment: Here he apparently refers to some prominent personalities in his silsile which is Qāderie Kasnazānie. Here he also answers to a question that was never asked and this highlights the importance of what he said. In other words, his reference to this fact that “nothing was exchanged” reveals the importance of symbols (objects in a dream) not only as what they are but also as how they circulate as some mediums for exchange similar to what that circulates between the people such as gifts or currency in the normal life. The word that he used for exchange (rad o badal [lit.] “give and take”) implies some kind of bilateral transaction but according to all the dreams that I have gathered, it is rather impossible for a dreamer to give something to a dead person or one of a higher status. There is no circulation of symbols instead a unilateral duct in which the symbols flow from a high status personality toward the ones of lesser importance and esteem.

**- How were they dressed?**

[They appeared] in their usual dress and status, the Sheikh who appeared in my dream was in the same figure that I knew before. My father appeared in my dream with the same turban (jāmāne), merry face and white beard and smile. There are many dreams in which he has appeared. To say more, yes! I swear to God that dream is true (khāw rāse) as also stated by the God.

**- Have you seen somebody who has seen the Prophet and afterwards he/she has narrated his/her dream to the others?**
Yes, It was, but I do not remember now, let me ask from the others... [He asked loudly from the other persons in his household]: “Is there somebody who has seen the prophet in dream?”
Yes! there is someone!

- Can I ask her to narrate her dream?
- Yes! but before that there is something that I have remembered: Mullah Barādar passed away in 3 or 4 years ago. We had a moloudi. We have also its film. He [Mullah Barādar] said that someone has dreamed the Prophet on the Abīdar mountain who said thus: “This city (Sanandaj) is full of light and rahmah (mercy) and/as they host moloudis and they recite ṣalawwat (salute for Mohammad)...” I will give you the tape if you want to hear by yourself. He narrates it in a very interesting way....Now talk with Shivā.

[Here the interviewee is changed to a middle age woman who has seen the Prophet in her dream.]

- Are you the daughter of Khalife Ghouḡi?
No, I am the sister-in-law of Kā Ali (the first interviewee).

- Narrate your dream please!
I was in my sixteen. Twenty years ago in a mountain a piece of light appeared. I was dokhtar 176 at that time; I was totally devoted and used to pray so much. Then a point of light appeared in the mountain and morphs into the prophet with a Quran under his arm and a green turban on his head. I touched his turban with my hand and at that time I received my niyāz from him because I had a niyāz in those times.

Comment: Niyāz literally means need but here means a kind of naẓr or woe: a spiritual contract with sainthood or a problem that could be solved by supernatural powers. I am not still sure but I guess that one can find more physical free contacts with a holy person in the dream of a woman in compare with the dream of a man. Most of the women that I interviewed could bear the presence of holy personalities relatively better than the men who usually wake up of excitement. In many books of dreams, the appearance of a turban or a manly hat in a woman’s dream is considered as a phallic object who reveals a hidden sexual intention of its dreamer (cf. Ibn-i Sirin: 122). As the Islamic manuals of dreams are usually based on the Quranic verses, cross-dressing or

176 Literally means daughter but here and in this context means unmarried and virgin.
seeing the clothes of an opposite sex have to do with marriage (ibid) as in
Quran we read:

“It has been made permissible for you the night preceding fasting to go
to your wives [for sexual relations]. They are clothing for you and you
are clothing for them. Allāh knows that you used to deceive yourselves,
so He accepted your repentance and forgave you...” (2:187).

Then if a woman sees herself wearing a hat it means that she would be married
in the near future (or bring a son into birth if she is already married) (Sirin: 320) but if she sees herself talking with a hat, it means that she is talking with
her master (mehtar) (ibid); clearly this latter interpretation matches better
with what this woman has seen in her dream. Interestingly she starts his
narrative by saying that she was virgin at the time that she saw this dream
which seems to be very meaningful for her in respect to the way that she,
herself understands the dream. To be virgin is perhaps a sign of purity as a
time that all sexual energy and libido was sublimated into faith: “I was
dokhtar at that time; I was totally devoted and used to pray so much...”

- What was your niyāz?
- How could I say?
- Please tell!
- [She murmured something but said nothing.]

-Have you seen any other prominent other than the Prophet?
- Yes, swear to God. They told me that this one here is the Jesus and that one there
who has a stick in his hand lecturing is the Moses and so on... I saw a series of dreams
of this kind.

Comment: Dreams of this kind in which the dreamer sees the biblical prophets
follow the same format and genre of mi’rāj or ascension dreams.

-Have you seen a dream of prophets or saints preaching you?
- No, no; swear to God, ‘they’ do not preach [me]. It was just a public sermon
(mo’ezeh) and I was also among the crowd who had gathered. I was even not aware
that they are Jesus and Moses, ‘they’ told me who is who.

Comment: To whom does this ‘they’ refer? However there is an abundant use
of this pronoun ‘they’ in dream narratives as a mentoring voice.

-Have you seen ḥaḍrat-i Khidr?
- No!
Have you ever narrated these dreams to someone else in that time that you saw them?

- Just for my mother.

What did she said?

- She said that I should not narrate it to the others.

Comment: To tell a dream is an act of confidentiality and it is not normative to reveal its content out to everyone especially in such an interview with a distant person who asks pushy questions with a slight sense of superiority, however she shared her dream. I do not know if she shared it if Kā Ali was not asked her to do that!

Why not?

- I do not know. I narrate them just for our family... I was just a child that time and she said that it is not good to unveil such dreams, perhaps because she thought by herself that they do not believe them...

Comment: Although a need (niyāz) is the main subject of this kind of dreams but the re-narration of these dreams also signals or signifies the dreamer as a figure with a high spiritual status and meanwhile as a ambitious person who boasts about his/her dreams and this is why one should be cautious about the setting in which he/she re-narrates a dream to avoid the sham that it may produce.

... But I once saw myself in Mecca in a dream and even I stretched my hand to its lock behind the veil of Kaaba. I saw these dreams all in those times [When I was 16].

Comment: The meaning and importance of the padlock of Kaaba (and also a padlock in general) in Islam has a parallel and interesting long history that is out of the scope of this work. The story of the padlock of Kaaba is tied to the history of Islam from its very beginning as the grandfather of Mohammad had the presidency or custody of Kaaba in his office. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the key has completely attained its position as sacred objects in the eyes of Arabs (F. V. P.: 23). “It was not simply an instrument with which to unlock a box or open a door, but it signified power, possession or conquest” (ibid) moreover, holding the key of a sanctuary place like Kaaba bestows its holder the aura of a person who can unlock a door that opens into the realm of unseen (‘ālamol gheyb) because a sacred place like Kaaba “constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space; this break is symbolized by
an opening [i.e. a door] by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible (from heaven to earth and vice versa; from earth to the underworld)” (Eliade, 1959: 37). "Communication with heaven is expressed by one or another of certain images, all of which refer to the axis mundi” (ibid).

In the same manner, the gate or lock of the holy places as like as Kaaba could be regarded as a gate that opens into an axis mundi or cosmic pillar (or Jacob’s ladder to make it more close to the nature of an ascension) that may find its symbolic installation in the form of a house (see Eliade, 1959: 52). Then a padlock—as an object that blocks the access—becomes a symbol for a need, wish or an unsolved problem, a woe or a naẓr, and respectively, a key as a symbol of power and status that enables its owner to communicate with supernatural powers of the hidden worlds. Then, no wonder that the old locks are usually covered with the names, ‘spells’ and esoteric talisman-like letters and prayers. These words of recourse reinforce the symbolic relation between a closed door, or its padlock with unsolved problems that their salvation is a subject of a recourse action (tawassol). The collection of locks and keys of Kaaba kept at Topkapi Museum in Istanbul is full of these words of recourse which most of them are a partial or a full inscription of Fatḥ (lit. victory, open,..) or Fatihah (lit. opening) Surahs of Quran or with the exclamatory forms of the names of God (ʾsmāʾ al-lāh) such as yā Fataḥ (Oh, the Opener), yā wakhāb (Oh, the generous) or prayers like “allāhoma mofatiḥ al abwāb iftah ‘laynā kheyr al bāb” (Oh Allah,

177 The big powers in Islamic world were in a big rival to represent themselves as a true representative of Islam by obtaining the presidency over the Kaaba and they do that symbolically by sending a padlock to Mecca as a present that automatically bestows them the esteem of a symbolic key-bearer and custody of Kaaba which in turn symbolizes Islam. These keys are usually inscripted with the Sultan’s name who has commissioned the padlock. For example there are many Locks and keys of Kaaba collected in the Topkapi palace in Istanbul. On some of these locks one may read some verses that declares a vision or a dream as the actual motive (or excuse) behind renewing the lock of the Kaaba; for example the lock commissioned by Sultan Mehmed III in 1600 (Topkapi's Museum ref. code: 2/2260, see Yilmaz, Tercan: The Holy Kaaba, a study of the collection of locks and keys kept at Topkapi Museum in Istanbul); edited by Ahmad M. Issa, translated into Arabic by Tahsin Omer Tahaoglu; Istanbul: ISBN 92-9063-102-8, 1993.

178 These are two Surahs that their names imply fatḥ or victory that meanwhile means opening (goshāyesh in Farsi and Kurdish). The inscription of Surah of victory (Fatḥ) is not restricted to padlocks as this Surah or parts thereof are predominantly found on other objects with talismanic uses. Individual verses as well as complete versions appear on inscribed and painted talismans, talisman tunics and flags. (Helmecke:192)
the opener of all gates, open the best gate (of fortune) for us) and so on...(see Yilmaz, 1993).

Again the same paradox that resides in the word *tariqat* or *way* as a *distance-that-connects* is appeared here: A lock is an object that blocks the access but it as well re-marks the way that we should go. It is a way index that paradoxically has blocked the way and remarks *recourse* as the only keyword that opens it up (as the only ‘spell’ that breaks its ‘talisman’). Therefore a lock is the *need* or *wish* that has found a Flesh. This Flesh is covered with decorative ‘Words’.

What we see here is not an object of desire but the embodiment of desire itself. The appearance of a padlock or a closed door in a dream does not symbolise any fulfilment of a desire instead it indexes toward the fulfilment of a desire. This is a kind of double-signification fully discussed in the theoretical discussions of this work. Lock is a *symbol* for an unsolved problem or a *wish* that situates its dreamer in front of a consecrated door behind which all the problems are solved and every pending need (niyāz) is rewarded and all the *wishes* are fulfilled: Dream-land!

The structure of the dreams of this woman is also very interesting as she achieved her *niyāz* through a simple touch with a part of a sacred being which could be a person or a place or a part of them (Turban of Mohammad or the lock of Kaaba). This simple slight physical touch also symbolises her deep spiritual touch with these sublime beings. We should also remember the way that she insists on that period of her life as a time in which she was still a virgin and more pious than today. It is in this period of her life that these kinds of visions appeared to her more often as if these dreams were the natural reward for her piety. This *touch* should be very light and superficial to function as a sign for a deep piety otherwise the truth-value of the dream would be strongly brought on speculation, for example if someone insists on having a strong embrace or hug of the prophet in a dream, the dream would be taken as a fake constructed dream by the community because although it highlights his/her level of passion for the prophet but meanwhile it violates the fear and respect as another criterion that one should hold in confrontation with a sublime being with the most *unknown* nature. In the same manner, this lock, curtain (*pardeh*) of Kaaba and Turban of the prophet (and other objects that may be appeared in her set of dreams seen in her youth) could be considered as a
threshold that restrains her spiritual level behind a higher space of spirituality precluding her from entrance. In other words, the privacy of the occulted realm should not be violated by those of a lesser spiritual status and this is also readable in mi'rajnāme or the book of ascension in which every creature is restricted by some borders from which it is impossible to transcend and should behave with great respect and reverence. The main focus of the next passage in this interview is again about a dream seen by Shams Qosheyrī, the author of the Kurdish version of mi'rajnāme. Then, it is worthy to scrutinize this subject a little further:

In appendix A, the Kurdish books of ascension as Mohammad’s dream travelogue is introduced. This dream is the model or meta-narrative of many dream narratives that one may hear in Sanandaj. For example both Buraq and Gabriel—each after reaching to a special stage of Mohammad’s ascension—claim that: “I cannot travel further otherwise my wings would be burned” and even the prophet himself is not allowed to exceed from a certain limit and as we will see, every narrative of this kind uses a special set of words to explain that the prophet was getting too near to God in his mi’rāj or night-journey into heaven.

There is a general passion in this kind of dream narratives for showing a simultaneous eagerness for stepping further a limit and meanwhile subordinating a wave of respect and fear that proscribes the transgression of this limit. This interplay between enthusiasm and respect is fully dramatized in the last chapter of mi'rajnāme (The entrance of the holy prophet in the pardeh-i lāmakān (curtain of placelessness)) which is based on these verses of Quran that says:

“Then he approached and descended. And was at a distance of two bow lengths or nearer.” (53:8, 9)

It is believed that these verses are discussing how near the prophet was (ever allowed in his mi’rāj to come) close to the highest throne of the God (arshi akbar) or ḍāt-i elāh.

Now, It is worthwhile to review some verses from the last chapter of the Kurdish mi’rajnāme (the entrance of the prophet of Islam in the curtain of placelessness (tashrif bordan-i peyghambar-i islām bi pardehī lāmakān), written by Seyed Bahā ‘o-din Shams Qosheyrī. In the last chapter of his book
of ascension one sees that how directly and without mincing the word he connects the prophet’s vicinity (ghorbat) to ‘arshi akbar with notions of fear and status:

„It was the privacy hall of the secrets of the ultimate essence (ḏāt-i aḥad)
In this hall was no body allowed except me
To dispose my fear with a kind voice
Like the song of a truthful boy
Yells my name my greatest creator
He said:” Oh my dear, come closer”
I heard this voice for 1000 times repeatedly
He said “come closer oh my dear” (referring to the verse (53:8) in Quran)
I exceed (tajawoz which also stands for discourtesy)
from the low limit (danā)\(^{179}\)
Till the “gḥāb-i ghousayn” (the two arcs) or even “aw adnā” (even closer, here the poet again refers to the next verse in Quran (53:9))
Each time I take one step forward

\(^{179}\)Again the poet refers to the verse (53:8) in Quran which is one of the most ambitious verses that claims: “ṯɔma danā fatadallā” which literally means: “Then he approached and descended” but it is not clear who approached and who descends and from where? This verse is very crucial in Sufism and has invoked a lot of discussions and controversial interpretations around itself made by many prominent Sufis such as Ibn-i Arabi and Rumi.
(till) he said “stop!” Then I held my steps and stopped
I knew that I have reached between the two hands of power
And fell in a big fear because of the manifestation of (his) proximity
(tajalāy-i ghorbat)
On the tip of my tongue falls a drop
I realize that it is sweeter than honey
As soon as I taste that drop on my tongue
All of the sciences of the world became disclosed to me…”
(Shams: 107)

The importance of this narrative lies in this fact that the narrator is the prophet himself who narrates his night-journey and confrontation with God who in this book of journey, is called by many different names. It is still an open argument between the Islamic scholars (and they still are not able to conclude from the theosophistical content of the existing hagiographies) if the prophet was awake or was in a dream when he ascended to heaven. Notwithstanding this discussion, most of the religious dreams in Kurdistan follow the suit of the prophet’s night-journey to heaven. Taking miʿrāj or ascension as the blue-print of such dreams should be considered with this notion that the dreamer feels ascended to a higher spiritual level or status. This meanwhile reveals the nature of every confrontation with a sublime being as a self-similar and self-referent structure like a piece of ‘fractal’. In other words, every confrontation with a sublime being (including every night-dream and night-journey as well as miʿrāj, the biggest night-journey in the world of Islam obeys an unvarying reified hidden syntax that is tried here to refine it into its most basic elements. In all of these dreams, the act of recourse conditions the direct access of the dreamer to his/her veiled object of desire. Then, every night-dream (in which the prophet or a sheikh or a holly entity like Kaaba appears to the dreamer) is measured in a direct proportionality and scaling with miʿrāj of the prophet. Accordingly, the dreamer takes the role of Prophet and afterward in a very precise and one to one correspondence they play the same blended scene of enthusiasm, fear, status and vicinity in which the fear comes into balance with hope (khouf wa rajāʾ) and enthusiasm by the medium of a very slight touch.

- Thank you very much, now I want to continue my interview with Kā Ali. [Here the interviewee is changed back to Kā Ali.]
(Kā Ali continues:)... I remembered two cases about dreams. **Seyed Shams**, the one who has composed *Mouloudînâme* (panegyric) has been passed away in 45 or 50 years ago. His son narrated to us that his father had trouble [writer’s block] while he was writing *mi’râjnâme* (the book of [heavenly] ascension). It was because of *Buraq* or another special word that hardly came in rhyme with the rest of work.

Comment: Kā Ali is referring to Seyed Bahā’-o-din Shams Qosheyrī, the author of *mi’râj-nâme*. This narratological correlation that exists between the dream of his sister-in-law and *mi’râj* as its model of narrativity is plausible.

... In the night and after the night’s prayer (*namâz-i ashâʾ*) and ablution (*dast namâz*) he slept and saw in his dream the prophet riding on the back of *Burāq* in the mountain of Ābidar. He was on his way in this mountain. He woke up from his dream and writes: “*ghazā ou shou hosni itifâgh, dim la khau ḥazrat wa sowârī Burâgh*...”

Comment: He refers to these verses in his book of ascension:

من خوم له خه ودا بوراقم دیگه
تا بیپکه م به یان وه سفی له م جهیگه
وه ختی که م شغول به حس مبیرج بوم
بو زانین نه وساف بوراق موحتاج بوم
قه زا هه رنه و حصول نینیفق
دیم له خه و حه زره ت وه سواری بوراق
بوراق کام بوراق بانی به رق و
چی بیزم له وه سف سورعه اروین نه و
مه رکه ب سواری و په ره ندی ی هه وا
نه یژی نا گوجچی وه قه ت نابی وه ها
قه سه م ویعزن ت زان بی زه وآل
له وحختنی جوستنی هه ودا وه بال
واتوند و تیجه سورعه ت رینی
تی سه رله لیزی له چاوه نانوینی
ته خمن جوار گه ز نویلی په روبال
پی نارام. عجول. مضطرد نه حوال
به دهون وه ک نوقرف. سفید پور شه فاف
ژین و به رگ نه و له دیبای زه رباف
سه ر گرد وه ک گوریه. که رهده ن بلئنده ر
پاوو بر وره ش. رخشار وه ک به شه ر
سمی وه ک ناهو شلفه هه روا
گویچکه هه روه کوو کورگ جاروا
قه د باریک. نازک. لاغر په یکه ر بوو
چاوه. سه یکن خیز. جه هان تی که روو
وه زاهیر سووره ت مه رکه ب سواری
وه باتینی مله ک شهو و ناساری
وام دی نه و سافی من وه نیشتیاق
I myself, have seen Buraq in a dream
I will say its characters in its own place
When I was busy with writing the book of ascension
I needed to know the features of Buraq
Incidentally I saw of the good luck in that very night
His holiness riding on the back of Buraq
Buraq, what a Buraq? It means bargh-ro (speedy like lightning)
Who should I explain it? With a speed of the running water
Mount of the land and bird of the air
It is as if it cannot cast in itself when ....(?)
I swear to the esteem of his never-ending quintessence (God)
The air was full of its wings whenever it started to fly
It is so quick and fast in its running speed
that as soon as you raise your head, you cannot see it anymore
The length of its wings is approximately four gaz (An old outmoded
unit of length of about 106 cm.)
It is steep, hasty and precipitous in nature
The body is like silver, white and transparent
Its harness is made from a golden silk
Head is round like a cat, its neck is longer
Its eyes are black and its face is human-like
Its hooves are cleaved like a deer’s
Its ears ......................
It was slim, thin with a slender body
Agile, sprightly and swift in ....
Its appearance was like riding mount
But its behavior, effects and inward shows like an angel
This was its characteristics that I saw with a great enthusiasm
I do not lie, swear to the owner of Buraq....”
(Shams: 64,65)

These verses are also recited in the very beginning of the film Moloud Khān #1. This is a very interesting narrative which is based on a dream-journey in which the narrator explains a heavenly mount in its biometrical terms. This dream-journey recursively helps him to write about Mirāj or the prophet’s ascend into heaven which itself is a dream-journey in its nature.
In the next few pages, the interviewee continues to explain the story of *Imām Sharaf ol Din ‘abd-ol-lāh Mohammad Boušīrī* the author of *qašideyi Bordiye* which its structural conformity with the previous story of *Buraq* is obvious. Some verses of this ode are also recited in the film Moloud Khān #1 (part1; Scene 12: Min: 23:30”- 28:58”; and also at the beginning of part2, scene 1). These two narratives are bundled together and belong to the same cluster of meanings, then, no wonder that both of them are recalled jointly out from the memory of Kā Ali:

- **His holiness has dictated him what to write?**

  - No, the flicker of Buraq who passed [in his dream] was inspiring for him. The next story belongs to Sheikh Boušīrī who is the author of *ghašideyi Bordiye* (the Ode of Clad). He wrote [or weaves] this Ode for the [stature of] prophet [he uses here a pun of word] in a time that he was sick...

  Comment: here he reads some parts of it with some descriptions about how Boušīrī saw the prophet in his dream and how the prophet healed him with his clad and also made well his writer’s block by helping him with a verse. This
verse today is regarded as a hadith (sayings of the prophet) among the Kurds although it is heard from him by the medium of a dream.

- **Is it a sin to see a dream with sinful content?**
  - If one sees a dream that in which he/she receives something, it is good (kheyr) but if one loses something it is evil (shar). If you see that you are crying it means that you will laugh tomorrow, or if you are laughing (in a dream) it means that tomorrow you will be break in tears. If you see snow or rice it means sorrow.

  Comment: According to Ibn-i Sirin, rice stands for death. (Sirin: 117) and snow means trouble but it may have many other meanings too (See Sirin: 119-120).

Notes of money means happiness but coins are sorrow. Mirror is light. Tree is beautiful. Sugarplum (nabāt) is also beautiful (good omen).

  Comment: Anyway he did not answer the question.

- **Why one puffs on the sugarplum?**
  - Comment: A semi-magical act for curing diseases through the breath exhaled from the mouth after reciting a special amount of commemorations. This act imbues the sugarplum the magical power of a remedy. This believe that there is a magical power in the breath is essential in Islam e.g. the verse 113:4 in Quran states: “[say:”I seek refuge to the Lord from ...”] and from the evil of the blowers in knots”.

When someone feels pain in the stomach it is advisable to eat a sugarplum. It is a remedy and so on...

- **Is it sinful to see a next to kin (maḥram) or non-relative (nāhmaḥram) woman in a dream?**
  - Khalife (he refers to his father) has said – I am talking of 60 or 70 years ago – “I was beside Khalife Nabi in the convent (Takiyeh), [then] someone entered and said:” lead that woman out from here”.

  Comment: It is really a taboo to let a woman in the ritual of the men. I have heard that the gaze of women in the ritual of Khawāriq may cause bleeding that marks all the ritualistic endeavours with unsuccessfulness and despair. (See Stausberg: 62-64 for similar taboos among Zoroastrian in which the women were strictly prohibited from participating in the rituals.)

Every one said that there is no woman here but he insisted and pointed to someone as a woman. Everyone said something to support that fellow until he broke in tears saying: “What a dreadful play, I was looking to a woman (nāmahrām) today.”
The image of that woman was recorded on his face. If one saw a nāmahrām in his/her dream for 2 or 3 times there is no problem but seeing more may be troublesome. But to see an angel means bless.

**-If someone becomes advised in a dream is that advise true (advisable to follow)?**

- Yes, I have seen a dream that I should do this and this and on the next day I follow that advice.

**-What is the difference between the world of dream (ālam rouyā) and wakefulness (bidārī)?**

- In the world of dream, the soul departs from the body as if it is dead but not completely...This does not means that one experiences the death absolutely in dream or something like this but it has some features of death. For example one laughs in a dream and also laughs when awake, then a dream shares some features of wakefulness, or [for example] one hears his /her own snore and this proves that his/her spirit was not completely gone otherwise he/she would never wake up again.

**-Is gheyb (The world of unseen) the origin of our dreams?**

- It comes from the world of inspirations (ilhāmāt). There were some people who were willing to see someone in a dream and they recited ṣalawwāt (Islamic salute to the soul of the prophet and his offspring) and did a two-stance prayer (namāz-i do rikʿati).

Comment: He means here the petitionary prayer or namāz-i ḥājat.

After they went to sleep they saw that person. Especially the dream is a strong proof (dalīl-i moḥkam). I myself had seen a dream and after 20 years it has happened exactly in the same way that I saw in my dream.

**-What was that dream?**

- I do not remember now but something like bombardments or accidents that become realized first after few years and then I remember them as a dream that I saw many years before.

Comment: To my experience there are many ‘true dream’ narratives that are hardly distinguishable from a déjā vu because they remember the dream on the same time that they see it happened and as they usually say, they hold it as a forgotten dream that is fetched to their memory after its re-experience in the real world. To the scope of this book it is not of so much importance to know if they really saw a déjā vu or whatever else but it is of the highest importance to
realize that why (among many different para-psychological interpretations that the phenomenon of déjà vu may ever take, (as like as reincarnation (See McClelland: 74))) the Kurds that I interviewed are all advocating a dream-based interpretation of déjà vu?

Now I remember another story from Khalife (his father). He said: “I had a store in Farah cross street... One night there was a robbery in my premises and Seyed ‘Ārif (who is still alive) have told him about the theft in the morning. I was very sad on that day recounting by myself the goods that were missing. Then when I went sleep after my night’s prayer (namāz-i ʿashā) Seyed Karīm paced into my dream and asked me: “Khalife, Why you are sad?” And I answered: “Qorbān (Sir), there was a robbery in my shop.” He said: “I am here to say [do not worry] that Haḍrat-i Ghouṯ (he refers to Sheikh ‘Abdol Ghāder-i Ghouṯ-i Gilāni, the most prominent character in Qāderie) has found it for you”. The day after [policemen] came from the police station to declare some found goods as my property.”

Comment: This starting question in which a ‘Wise Old Man’ asks: “Why are you sad my son?” is an ever repeating question. Although the listener of this narrative understands from their next conversations that this holy figure was not only aware of the source of his sadness but also he knew of the way that his problem should be recovered. With this technique of evasion (tajāhol) or ‘empty’ question he opens his way into the conversation; it also functions as an excuse to propel an emotional wave of passion toward the dreamer and meanwhile the dreamer finds a chance to behave with courtesy with a man who come from a higher realm of spirituality ( realm of unseen or qheyb). Then, every element are so arranged as if he is innocently answering to an asked question instead of asking for help from his superior and in this way his self-esteem remains unharmed.

—Very interesting!
- Yes it is really interesting, Like Ḥaḍrat-i Yūṣuf (Joseph) who saw 12 stars bowing toward him and he narrates this dream to his father and he said do not tell anyone about your dreams...

Comment: The relation between this Quranic narrative and the previous is still not clear to me.
Addendum #4

This (paraphrased) short interview happened accidentally in one of my participatory film workshops in Sanandaj. We were talking about the subject of the films that we may make together. Among these topics was the issue of dreams. We were inside a lax talk that one of the students started to share one of his dreams that was very striking to him:

- I saw myself in my dream walking in a way with my Quran teacher and a young woman. We were apparently heading for the peak of a mountain in Abīdar. I was looking for an opportunity to set myself in contact with her. Finally I take her number and suddenly I woke up. I entered hurrying the number in my mobile. It was about 4:00 O’clock in morning. I fell asleep again. On the next day I call the number and she answered!

- *What do you mean with “she answered”?*
  - She was herself I mean!

- *How could you ever be sure?*
  - From the signs and her appearance.

- *Do you saw her?*
  - No!

- *How are you sure then that she was the one that you saw in your dream?*
  - From the signs that she shared with me on our next calls; from her face and tallness and so on... for example she had a round face in the same exact way that I saw in my dream.

- *This is not convincing!*
  - You have right not to believe me. Even she did not believe me at first. She said: “This is perhaps a new clever way that the men have invented to cheat the women!”

- *Why you have not date her?*
  - Because she lived in Kermān and inside a very conservative family.

- *How you were walking together in your dream?*
  - I was on one side and the girl was on the other side of the road and my Quran-teacher was walking between us.

Comment: In this dream, Quran as law or ‘the name of Father’ is personified in the figure of Quran-teacher. This figure disrupts the access of dreamer to the
girl as *object of desire*. This dream is important because it sketches the intrusion of Father in a very spatial and even physical configuration by which these three persons (dreamer, Quran-teacher and the young woman) are walking in a row.
APPENDIX D

Sound Tracks 2013

Permanent URL:
https://www.dropbox.com/sh/pm9otv8l70elrzz/AAB2zpROmtCRHpQLFWYRYJJqRa?dl=0

The translations and comments that are listed here are a shorter version of the original interviews. To see them in its fullness check the following permanent link:
https://www.dropbox.com/s/9z2b4p1rdeg8en8/Appendix%20D.pdf?dl=0

● Mirec015

Keywords: rābi‘ē, catch phrase (="They show me….in my dream") در خواب نشانم دادند, relation between commemoration (zihr) and dream...

Interview with Khalife Mousā. Khalife Mousā is one of the most important informants during this study. He is one of the deputies of Sheikh Kasnazān (head of Kasnazān silsile) in Kurdistan. The Sheikh himself lives in Soleymāniye in Iraq.
What is rābiye (lit. the relation) between Murid and Morād?

- The problem of Murid and Morād is this: After someone takes tamassok (the act of repentance)—the spirit of human being is very strong—that is after he/she devotes his/her spirit to the hands of pir, that pir of tariqat is able to adjust the voltage of that spirit to the body (jīsm) and thought (fikr) of that human being.

Comment: Here khalife uses a very modern metaphor (voltage) to explain better the relation that according to Sufis teachings exists between three different dimensions of a human being namely: physical body (جسم = jīsm), mental thoughts (فکر = fikr) and spirit (روح = rouḥ).

**Diagram 6** Four dimensions of renewal (Covey: 288)

Stephan R. Covey might have right to say that: “Although different words are used, most philosophies of life deal either explicitly or implicitly with these four dimensions” (Covey: 288). Here and in Sufis’ context, the fourth dimension (social/emotional) is filled with rābe ye (the relation between murid and morād and other people of the convent).

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There is a contextual consistency between Covey’s categorization of human’s dimensions with the teaching of Sufism. For instance this book is recommended and cited by Parviz Shahbazi, the modern interpreter of Rumi’s poems in many of his online programs (Ganj-i Hozour) for example watch this video (program Nr. 281): http://www.parvizshahbazi.com/ganj_videos/musicvideo.php?vid=d8e06ffcf (last accessed on 12.5.2015)
Otherwise the thoughts of that pupil will reach to such an extent that he/she will lose a lot or even becomes insane. This is why [ it is said that]:

بی پیر مرو به خرابات گر خود سکندر زمانی

Without pir never pace into the convent even if you are the Alexander [the great] of your time.

Comment: It is a Persian expression which is usually attributed to Hafiz. It highlights the importance of a master (here a spiritual leader in *tariqat*). In other version of this expression, the word convent (حرفه = *khārābāt*) is replaced with darkness (ظلمات = *ẓolamāt*) which pass better with the legend of Alexander the great who had an unsuccessful trial in his fabulous journey into darkness in search of water of life. In contrast to Alexander, Khidr found the water of life and become immortal. Hafiz writes:

قطع این مرحله بی همرهی خضر مکن ظلمات است بترس از خطر گمراهی

Do not travel this stage without being mentored by Khidr
It is violently dark, be aware of the danger of being misled.

Verses of this kind are often recited for convincing the murids to be obedient to their sheikh or his deputies if they want to progress in their spiritual way or *tariqat*.

When a human accepts a *pir* of *tariqat* in his spiritual way and dedicates his/her spirit to him, this spirit would be in service of that *pir* of *tariqat*, he can assign it whatever expedition that he wants, asking it to do some tasks. For example he calls the spirit of Mr. *Iraj* (he addresses me) tonight to the dream of *Mousā* (hinting to himself). Neither *Iraj* is aware that his spirit has paced in my dream [nor *Mousā*],...

I saw your spirit, you say something, you meet me but you are yourself unaware of it (this way of talking is very colloquial in nature with a lot of movements of hands for a better convey of meanings. Most of the next interviews are of this nature as well).

Then, it is through this [peculiar] relation that exists between spirit, physical body and mind that *pir* of *tariqat* could ever authorize a murid’s spirit for accomplishing an expedition inside the body of a sleeping person who is not in a conscious mood. This is why [ it is used to say]:

بی پیر مرو به خرابات گر خود سکندر زمانی
Without pir never pace into the convent even if you are the Alexander [the great] of your time.

(He repeats the same last verse that he cited in few passages before)

The spirit of a murid is not in his own service but it is in the service of pir of tariqat. Then, if a murid wants to have two pir of tariqat, this [sheikh] comes to him and he sees that the spirit is in the service of that other one, the same is also true for the other [sheikh].... I am so sorry of using this vulgar example: Imagine that there is a dog in the street. A boy throws a stone to it and it starts to howl and yowl. If it was the dog of just one house, the owner of that dog knows the voice of his dog and would come into the street for help. But if this dog had used to go to every house, everyone would hear its bay but they might think that the other one would come out for help and finally nobody would come! It is in this way that the dog become stoned and tortured without any owner to appear for help although it thinks that it has several owners! One day here! One day there!...it is a dog without sāhib (owner or master).

Human being should learn fidelity from dog...from dove and horse. This is why that it is impossible to be qāderi for a while and afterward naqshbandi and sometimes kebravī and so on...(he named different schools of tariqat). Sometime in this convent and sometime in that one...

● Mireco16 (Part 1)

Keywords: The story of Nāli, Dream and politics, Dream as pretext, Seeing Mohammad in dreams...

This interview is one of the most instructive interviews that I had with a group of young intellectuals of the city. Most of them are leftists which is still an intellectual trend in Kurdistan. To be proud of Kurdish nationality, race, language, literature, etc. is not something that they want to hide. Many of them (specially the elder members of the group) do not participate in the discussions and prefer to throw a skeptic gaze upon the whole setting of this interview. This gaze was very disturbing at first but gradually I learned to adopt the situation. Although this group of intellectuals meet each other very frequently specially in the afternoons after the work, but they do not constitute a cultural institute or something of this kind. I like to name this group as Sepidār (Populous) because we used to meet each other in a café inside a park named Sepidār. This interview was my first interview with this group and took place in a relative formal place which was the office of one of the participants. There was no woman among them in this first gathering but in the next sessions, some women also
appeared and actively participate in the discussions. At the beginning they talk in Farsi for my ease but gradually they all spoke in Kurdish which was sometimes really hard to follow. Knowing about the ideas and viewpoints of the educated young generation—who were relatively disappointed of finding the solution to their needs and wishes through the local institutes such as convents—helped me to watch Sufism and Sufis’ literature from a completely different perspective. Most of them asked me to not to mention their full name in my interviews. Although we become true friends after six months but I think that they are still prefer to remain anonymous so I just name them with their first name. In this part of my interview with Said, he explains the peculiar relation between Kurdish poetry and dream and he starts with Nāli, the most important Kurdish poet in Sorāni dialect (Kurdish dialect used in Sanandaj). Nāli (1798-1855) was a Kurdish poet, translator, mathematician and linguist in the Ottoman Empire. He was also a māmoustā (Kurdish word for a Mullah) and the key figure in the Kurdish Sorāni development through his poetry.

Little is known about his life. After an education at a madrasa Nāli undertook study tours in many cities like Sanandaj, Mahabad, Halabja and Sulaimaniya. In 1830 he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and visited on the way back Damascus, where he lived for several years. In addition to Kurdish language he also wrote fluently in Arabic and Persian.

Sa’id: -Nāli is a person who grew up in the Mosque [but] he perceived a radical change in his thoughts and mindset. In a poem of Nāli which is of about 47 or 48 verses, he has implicitly depicted his sexual intercourse with Mastoure Ardālān (the wife of the Khosro Khān Ardālān the ruler of Kurdistan)[in dream]. For example in one verse he says:

\[
\text{ده عواي نومه راچه نده له س هر ته ختي کرابێ}
\]
\[
\text{ه ند خوين گه رژابێت و چ خويني نه رژابێن}
\]

And the fight of kings is because of capturing that throne (Mastoure’s genital)

How many blood has shed on the earth but the blood (of her virginity) is not discharged yet (alluding to the ruler’s impotence). From this point on, this way of thinking (expression of thoughts) enters in Kurdish culture by the medium of dreams because it could never be expressed explicitly. He is a Mullah and grown up inside this maktab (school) [of tradition]. He cannot [out himself] and there was [already] a lot of critics issued upon him. As this woman was the wife of the Kurdistan’s ruler,
Khosro Khān, he cannot express it [in public without any pretext] and of this reason he cast it inside a dream narrative. When Khosro Khān decided to give him a proper answer [= punishment] Mastoure objected and her declaration was that, what is done by Nālī is a literary attack and should be replied just with an appropriate work of literature. And afterward she wrote a satiric answer in which Nālī was pictured as an uncivilized, coarse and uncultured man. This issue continued until we reach Wafayi.

Comment: “Wafayi or Wefayi (1844-1902) is another famous Kurdish poet whose real name was Abdurahim. He completed his religious studies in his birthplace, Mahabad and became a cleric or mamoustā (Mullah). At the end of his life he moved to Sulaymaniyah in Iraq. Wefayi went three times to the Hajj pilgrim to Mecca. In his Farewell Pilgrimage In 1902, he became ill and died. Wefayi followed in his poems the classic rhymes and rhythms of his time. Mostly he wrote in ghazals and qassides (odes). His poetry often dealt with nature, love and mystical conceptions of Sufism. His great merit was that he introduced the poetic form of the Sorāni of Sulaymaniyah into other Kurdish areas of Iran. Subsequent Kurdish poets such as Hejār were influenced by him”\(^{181}\).

Wefayi was also a cleric (ākhound) like Nālī and went three times bare-feet to Mecca. He said: “Everybody knows me as a person with physical tendencies but it is not true! I am someone who has seen the Prophet in his dream!” . He even died ‘there’!

Comment: ‘There’ here means either Medina or Mecca as Wefayi died in his last pilgrimage of Hadj. Interestingly, even in the mind of a pro-western, intellectual, leftist, young poet, the Prophet of Islam has a some kind of real coordination. He speaks of him as if he is already ‘there’ in Mecca or Medina. The answer of Wefayi to those who blame him is very instructive and reflects the importance as well as the justifying effect of seeing Mohammad the Prophet in a dream.

This trend [of expressing the wishes and justifying the passion for worldly hedonistic pleasures by the medium of literary reports of dreams] continues until we reach Sheikh Reza Talebani.

Comment: Sheikh Reza Talebani (Kurdish شێخ ڕەزای تالیبەنی; 1835-1910) is a Kurdish poet from what is now Iraq. Talebani wrote his poems both in Kurdish, Turkish and in Persian and Arabic. His works give off a good picture of the life and history in Kirkuk. His poems usually consist of satire. Interestingly he is contemporaneous of Iraj-Mirzā, the Persian poet famous because of his satiric poems.

At his time this trend came out from the shell of dream [as a cover] and became overtly exposed as a daytime reality.

Comment: I found a poem in Talebani’s divan which is supportive to Sa‘id’s argument:

If I find a moon-like beautiful [woman] in an empty place
I will raise up her feet up to the level of her neck just like [what I have done with] the ruler’s wife
No one considers the one who make something high-rate into a down-rate an artist
Artist is the one who [like me] could bring the most low into the highest. (Talebani: 71)

Again the poet has made a dirty joke out of his relations with the ruler’s wife. In contrast to the risāle-yi Nālī, in Talebani’s poem, both the ruler and his wife are unknown and perhaps this is the reason that Talebani did not used a dream narrative as a cover.

Talebani writes (here the interviewee excuses from all the audience because of the obscene, vulgar, dirty words that Talabani has used in his poem. Reciting of these verses cause a wave of laughter among the listeners):

I went to see my distinguished beloved, she said: “Go away! You are a thief!”
[She meant here] the thief of love!

He answered:

"I Show her the ultimate goal“ [metaphoric allusion to his penis]

He wants to say that “our love has now reached to its dead-lock and end” and this is why that he shows her his genital organ. (He apologizes again from the group of his friends because of the dirty words that will come. The people are laughing because apparently they all know this poem from memory!)

Talebani continues:

She also hands me her vagina

Although I plead my penis and tried to abandoning the idea of “fuck”,
It did not listen to me and made itself drowned into the deep abyss of her vagina

Here the [romantic] love has reached to an end and became a mere physiological matter.

Comment: Here I feel that Said is projecting his own read of this poem on its meaning. The poem itself tells nothing about the disparity between projections of sublime Romantic love and adulterous liaisons. Talabani’s beloved only called him a thief. What is stolen? The nature of the stolen ‘thing’ is quite unclear. In spite of Said’s interpretation, I think that accusing Talabani as a thief is itself a kind of sexual seduction. Behind this word stands a instinctive drive that violates the private garden of woman and not a sublimated romantic love but in Said’s mind these two are not unrelated. Replacement of lust with love is just Said’s aspiration who just like American poet T.S. Eliot in his Wasteland feels pity for the virginity— and accordingly the romantic love—that was “so rudely forced183”.

What Sheikh Reza [Talebani] has done in this poem is a remonstrant deployment. He is a protesting figure like Bohloul.

Comment: Bohloul or Bahlūl is a common name used for a very sane person who deliberately acts like insane to escape the authority and punishment. As a historical figure, Bahlūl was the nick name of a Mullah (Wāhab ibn Amr (واهب ابن عمرو)) of the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. He acted like an insane to
cover this fact that he is a sincere follower of the imprisoned Shi'a Imam, Imam Musa al-Kazim.

[In the recent era] the poets talk with candor about the oppositional positioning of religion against love. For example Homar Dowzay [ tên chú: (هو مه ر دزه ی) [a recent Kurdish vocalist and politician] explains in a poem that: “I was on the roof of her house with my beloved, There was a delightful breath and my beloved opened her beautiful hairs upon my chest ...and suddenly the Mullah yells the adhān [Islamic call for worship] and I woke up [frustrated]!”

Dream in our literature is an exit-way from vain and misuse. We express our own realities by the medium of dream because we are confronting censor in our day-life. Modernity in the Europe has progressed just because the pioneers of modernity dared to speak their thoughts out of their mouth and hence their thought find its way into the society on a practical level and made progress; but here, we were doomed to express our thoughts just through the dream narratives and hence it remains forever as a dream. “I saw it in a dream, where is my fault?” This is what Nālī had said as an excuse [after writing and handing out of his satiric poem which caused strong critics from the public and establishment]. This is why that our protests remained confined inside the dream narratives and never found out a way into the social-political [scene].

(He continues his description on this symbolism in which the sexual and worldly matters are used as a set of indexes to something sublimated and celestial)

[Symbolism in the] poems of Nālī are alike that wine that came out from the breasts of a woman [in this poem]:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{لله دوگمی ی سوخمه دوینی نوزی هیت} \\
\text{به یانی دا سفیده ی باغی سیوان} \\
\text{لله خه و فی ته لعه تی روز هه رو هه کوو شیت} \\
\text{به روزه ردیبی هه لات و هه کو و هه کویان}
\end{align*}
\]

From the button of her undertvest and from her garden of apples such a strong blast of light came out that from its fear and glance the day/sun came up from the mountain

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184 There are o many anecdotes attributed to this figure, check for instance: Marzloph, Ulrich: “Der Weise Narr Buhlül in den modernen Volksliteraturen der islamischen Länder”; in: Fabula, 28, 1987, pp. 72-89 and alo Marzloph, Ulrich: Bohlul-náme; Tehran, Behnegar Pub., 2014 (1392 SH) .
and did not stayed upon the earth and went back to its orbit in empyrean

Comment: He did not explain the relation between wine, breast and to their related symbolism. It comes first in the next verses of this poem

Here he stopped his interpretation and asked one of his friends to recite another poem with this very subject.

“Explain to him that poem about the milk, I have forgotten it! It is Freudian by all means!” Said addressed Yaddollāh:

Comment: Yaddollāh refrained to talk in Farsi. He started directly with reciting the following poem from Nālī:

He explained that Nālī has caused a drastic change and inflecting point [in Kurdish culture].

- Consider that 250 years ago and amid the crisis of Sufism and in the time that Islam had brought one thousand and one different schools of thinking, a Mullah (he alludes to Nālī), someone who has basically learned to read and write by the medium of Quran, reaches to such a state of mind that writes (he interprets and paraphrases the meaning of the poem above) : “The goal of my life is to reach that celestial wine which is that white milk that comes out from the breasts of an adolescent girl; This is exactly what I am looking for, with my hairs which are turned now to whiteness: As white as the milk!”

405
This issue is the same issue that Mamousta *Hajar* has reflected in his Kurdish translations of Khayam’s quatrains, where he says:

“My pocket as a dervish had a hole

Whatever I threw into it went in vain

My true leader was but that very young cup-bearer in the tavern

In my way back to that tavern in my long-life idling in the mosque”

Comment: This poem is written or translated by Abdurrahman Sharaf-Kandi known as *Hajār* or *Hejar* (1920—1991). *Hajār* is a distinguished Kurdish writer, poet, linguist, and translator. *Hajār* literally means Dervish and poor. I did not find the original poem in any text.

Kurdish folkloric poems and stories are rich of symbolisms of this kind. Some of them are “super-sexual” [This is *Yadollāh*’s expression] and one can recite them just inside the very confidential settings of this kind. Both normal people and Mullahs enjoy hearing them.

This interview shows that how the social order and class of the dreamer is reflected in the dream narratives. Actually one can grossly conclude here—through an “inductive inference”—that there are just two kind of dreams: 1- The subjective dreams of Sultans, Sufis and poets and 2- the objective, reified dreams seen by the Sultan’s subjects.

● Mireco16 (Part 2)

**Keywords: Naqshbandiyeh, rābete, differences between dream, sleep, khāb and ro’yā...**

Interview with a person named ‘Irfān عرفان who was almost silent all the time that I was interviewing with other young people of the Sepidar circle. Gradually I understand that he is one of the key figures of the group and in spite of the other members of the group, he was neither a leftist nor a fan of literature but a Sufi who had spent a lot of time in practicing some advanced techniques in *Naqshbandiyeh* brotherhood and school. He did not like to interview about his own dreams and experiences in front of others and we postpone our interview to another time (this next interview is recorded in track Mirec125). Here is this interview we talked just about some general features of Sufis’ culture of dream:

- What is a dream?
- Dream is a tool for escaping from censor and environmental restrictions that have surrounded a person. Whoever cannot express his/her mood and feelings in the real world recourses to dream.

  Comment: His explanation may seem to match with a Freudian frame of mind but in the discussions that comes it will become clear that he is alluding to a completely different theoretical frame.

- In Naqshbandiyeh [brotherhood] dream has a pivotal role, relation with sheikh (rābete bā sheikh رابطه با شيخ), and relation with grave (rābete bā qabr رابطه با قبر) and so on...

Dream is a communicating medium between a murid and a dead morād (morād-i morde) and also a medium for a murid who cannot set him/herself in communication with a living morād (morād-i zinde). The first is the postulate and the second is its consequence. I, myself, have seen both of these dreams. When you set yourself in rābete in a dream, [you will say] those things that you cannot express in the daytime because you presume that it will disgrace you in the ear of those who are listening to you. As in the dream you are just alone (you and your Sheikh) you can freely express yourself. It has even happened that a murid has criticized his/her murād in dream whereas he/she will sentence to death if he/she ever says it in the real vigilance world (‘ālam-i vāqi‘ wa bidārī عالم واقع و بیداری).

  - Why? Do a murād kill his murids?

- Not the murād but his murids; as the charisma encompasses him in a sort of a superhuman sacredness.

  Comment: The interviewee abstained to explain his dreams in front of the others although they belong all to his close circle of friends. Narrating a dream is always conflated with strong feeling of confidentiality. He told me that he will share his dream with me just because of the scientific benefits that they may have for my research. The dream or khāb seems to be emptied from ambiguity, oblivion or unconscious features that it is usually conflated with them. It was as if that in his mindset, he perceived it completely as a real space. This is perhaps the reason behind this fact that he speaks in his next interview of ‘ālam-i khāb عالم خواب and ‘ālam-i vāqe’ عالم واقع instead of dream and reality. To him khāb is a parallel world and universe. However, dream or khāb is here also a space in which one sees his/her wishes fulfilled (e.g. an empty room in which one can freely communicate with his/her sheikh as his/her own sublime
being or morād (literally wish, goal, etc.) but it is still far different from what Freud has sketched as a dream. Dream here is a world or ʿālam for itself and in the same row of reality or ʿālam-i vāqʿiyat or even more real than reality, this is why that it could be referred as the realm of truth or ʿālam-i haqiqat. This consideration of dream or khāb as a parallel universe is an ever repeating pattern that appears in most of the interviews of this study. Dream as a word has found equivocalness with the “wish” (i.e. dream job, dreamhouse, dreamgirl,…) and dream itself with wish-fulfillment (e.g. Freud’s theory of dream). Conversely, the Kurdish word khaw (as well as the Persian word khāb) is equivocal with what in English we understand under the word “sleep”. (Royā is an Arabic word that shows a better consistency with Western amplifications of the meaning of dream as a wish. Royā implies both “wish” and “dream”. The word khāb or khaw are suggesting instead a parallel state of being to the wakefulness: Sleep. This implies that the world of dream (ʿālam-i khāb) is a ‘real’ parallel world or universe that we live it in khāb or see it in our royā (royā is derived from seeing or رای and has the same root of roʿyat or رویت or seeing). There is a kind of discrepancy between dream and wish-fulfillment] in Persian/Kurdish in price of a consistency or equivocality between “dream” and “sleep”. Again the word as a signifier has invested its first direct implication on the social order: Sleep as something conceivable by others in contrast to dream which is to be conceived by that only one person who dreams.

● Mirec017

Keywords: khalwah

● Mirec020

6. Jun. 2013, (27th Rajab Arabic lunar calendar), according to the Sunnis’ beliefs, 27th of Rajab is the night of Mohammad’s ascension.

Keywords: Ceremony of Miʿrāj (Night of Ascension),…

● Mirec021


Keywords: Ceremony of Miʿrāj (Night of Ascension), monājāt, cup test,…

An example of feverent prayer (monājāt) at the miʿrājkhāni ceremony. It includes my interview about the cup test episode of the story of the ascension.
One of the anecdotes and side-story that was narrated between the episodes of mi‘rāj-nāme in the ceremony of mi‘rāj held in the convent of Diyānāt was this one:

-There was a illiterate naïve person who was sitting in the presence of the Prophet and some educated persons were also sitting there to write the Prophet’s revelations as script of Quran. Suddenly that illiterate person objected to a word. The Prophet declared that he was right and the word that he just said should be written differently. Those literate people asked that naïve person: “How you ever understood that that word was incorrect as you cannot neither read nor write?” he replied: “Whenever a word revealed to the Prophet I saw a burst of light that was missed by this false word then I understand that it should not be from Allāh.”

This is a kind of ideasthesia in which a conception or Word is linked to a physical perception e.g. seeing rays of light. This peculiar link between conceptions and perceptions and utterly between word and flesh is the central theme of this thesis.
- I have heard that Shams has seen his book in a dream isn’t it?
- Shams was a mystic (‘āref). His son had rent one of our apartments and used to live in our neighborhood. One day my father asked from the Sheikh (shams): “How you could ever visualize Borāq in this [fascinating] way?
He answered:”I did two solitary treatments (do tā chelle keshidam) until I saw the Prophet himself riding on the back of Borāq. He told me: “Oh Shams, this is Borāq””...Borāq means bargh-ro (bargh means lightning and bargh-ro means to be as speedy as the lightning). Borāq is this very rocket (moushak)...
(Unfortunately I interrupt him although he was going to say something interesting)

- The same thing (inspiration of a full poem by the medium of a dream) had also happened for the composer of the Bordiyeh ode, isn’t it?
- These are inspirations (ilhāmāt). [You know about this just] if you have studied the poems of Hafiz, Sa’dī, Rumi, Ferdousi, etc. One cannot bear it with intellect! Milliards of word and speech (kalām o kalame) are just made of 24 letters. Brain cannot bear it. It is nothing other than inspiration or a dream. Inspiration itself is a dream. The dream of a Dervish or a mystic is inspiration. It is revelation (wahy وحي); what could it be other than revelation? How much is the capacity of human’s brain?

-You once told me that a Sheikh works with the beginners by the medium of dream. Does the beginner remember of these dreams on the day after?
- Yes if he/she is not used to lie!

- I do not lie but I rarely remember of my dreams! What is the reason?
- You talk too much! ...You want to find a proper word but you lie instead [because] of just a slight difference in a word or even a letter or just a false intonation or diacritic...

Comment: Here I became impressed by his insight. There was also a peculiar and parallel sense in between that is hard to explain, perhaps some kind of transcend from the ‘metaphysic of presence’ that abruptly filled the space of
his small shop in which we were in interview. He sensed my situation and made a loud howl (صیحه). There were some customers inside the shop but for the people in Sanandaj in which a lot of Derwishes are living, hearing a prompt howl is something usual and normative. The next few interviews are the continuation of this session after I made a short rest.

● Mirec035

*Keywords: khawariq, spirit, ...*

● Mirec039

*Keywords: khawariq, taṣarofāt, Khidr, ouliyā’ (saints) and anbiyā’ (prophets), karāmāt and mo’jizāt, fire-walking, Abraham, ...*

● Mirec040

*Keywords: khawariq, ‘ishq= love, secret, ...*

● Mirec041

*Keywords: ʿsanʿat صنعت, karāmat, holy breath, Sufism and women, khawāriq, ḥāl vs. qāl, Word vs. Flesh, howl, ...*

Khalife abruptly says: Sufism is ʿsanʿat صنعت ([lit.] industry)!

- Why?
- ʿsanʿat means manufactory, rolls and bolts, mechanization and so on...
- Yes! We have also five daily prayers (namāz نماز in a day in Sufism and 30 days fasting per year and chelleh ([lit.] forty (days and nights) and here means undergoing solitary retreat for forty days) and 1115 number of this zikr ذكر (commemoration) and 315 number of that and that much number for this and so on... It is all alike a woman who knits a carpet and considers 10 yellow and 20 purple knots for a flower motif and if she made a mistake the colors will blend into each other and her ʿsanʿat would become distorted. Derwishi (Sufism) is exactly the same. One should pinpoint all the duties, works and assignments given to him/her. When you do all these, the carpet is knitted and ʿsanʿat blooms out [in its correct way and manner]...If you do not recite your prayer or do not recite them timely, it is as if that you are knitting a carpet with distorted motifs and patterns. It should be orderly, a Sufi should be disciplined. Sufism is ʿsanʿat, even higher [i.e. even more exact] than ʿsanʿat. When you enter a factory [he means brotherhood or a special discipline of Sufism], the owner of that
factory [he is alluding here to the Sheikh] may show you some tricks and knowhow and first hereafter you may realize that you are really dealing with a kind of ṣan’at, and you realize that he knows some details that no one knows and abruptly comes something in his/her mind that is linked with architecture, mathematic, physics or cosmos. He/she knows the galaxy even better than an astronomer who has worked on astronomy for a long life and he/she can compose better poems than someone who has lifelong worked on literature. He/she says a word that hits the heart, He/she can do such a things that an experienced lecturer is unable to do that. This is ṣan’at. All the sayings attributed to ‘Abdolqāder-i Gilānī are of this kind. Why in his time, Sufism won over Judaism and Christianity? And they become inclined to Islam? Because his word hit the heart (حرفش به دل می نشست). Why? Because what he did was what he said. He had an order from the prophet who told him: “Mobiy-o-din (محیالدین: his first name) start your mission and say what you have to say!”

Comment: This dialogue between Gilānī and the prophet should be happened by the medium of a dream.

He went up to the pulpit while a Jew had hidden himself behind a column. Gilānī said: “Hey you! You love God and hold him in your heart, then why you do not accept his messenger? I am talking with you! You who are hiding yourself behind the column!”

There are things that support the ṣan’at. It is not easy! No one learns this ṣan’at unless his/her heart become burnt (تا دلش نسوزد و جگرش کباب نشود). Bayzid-i Basgāmī had not eaten anything for ten years. He came to the city. He had also no money. Someone was cooking gray partridge in oil. He hoped that the partridge-seller would give him some partridge but he poured instead a big spoon of hot oil on his palm. His hand burnt and this fire reached [down to] his heart. As his heart became burnt he looked at the pan of fried birds and cried: “Perrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr....” [= Flyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy!] and the gray partridges started to fly. As the people saw this, they followed him. He realized that they are not leaving him alone so he went to a butchery and blow into a wineskin and made funny and fart-like noises. The people became disappointed and went away. He told his murid: “These people [are so weak in faith that] gather with a “perrrr” and scatter with a “terrrrr” [= fart]!”

Comment: A similar story that likewise handles with karāmat of the holy breath of a sheikh and his utilization of a fart as a instrument for scattering the annoying people is reflected in maqālāt of Shams-i Tabrizī (Shams-i Tabrizi:
In this story the sheikh heard for three times a voice that told him: “We have bestowed you the breath of Jesus!” and he went into Baqdad market to test the truth-value of that tiding:

“He took a bird-like Halva from the tray and blew the breath of “I design for you from clay [that which is] like the form of a bird, then I breathe into it and it becomes a bird “(انى اخلق لكم من الطين كأنه الطير “)“

The meaning and the context of the above mentioned Quranic verse is very instructive in respect to understanding the word/flesh dichotomy in Islamic culture and its special functionality in Sufis milieu and narratives. It is a part of 3:49 verse of Quran (bolded sentence):

“She [Mary] said, "My Lord, how will I have a child when no man has touched me?" [The angel] said, "Such is Alīh ; He creates what He wills. When He decrees a matter, He only says to it, “Be!” and it is. And He will teach him writing and wisdom and the Torah and the Gospel. And [make him] a messenger to the Children of Israel, [who will say], Indeed I have come to you with a sign from your Lord in that I design for you from clay [that which is] like the form of a bird, then I breathe into it and it becomes a bird by permission of Alīh . And I cure the blind and the leper, and I give life to the dead— by permission of Alīh . And I inform you of what you eat and what you store in your houses. Indeed in that is a sign for you, if you are believers.” (3:47-49)

In Sham’s version of this story, the sheikh asked the one who was still standing there after his fart and the man answered: “I am not following you because of that first wind to go away with this last one!” (من به آن باد اول نیامدم که به این باد آخرين 

...It hit his heart so hard that his Word became realized and the birds became alive and flew away. Only what that comes out from the heart will settle down on the heart [of the others]. Sufism is ṣan’at and the women reach it much sooner. A woman who commemorates will reach to what a man reaches in 40 years in just 40 days. Woman is weak and hence her heart is soft but a man is not so and has a lot of problems. Some women like Rābi‘a ‘Adawiyah185; we had a lot of female Sufis. Sheikh Hasan-i Basri186 was in love with her and he finally asked her for marriage

185 A well-known female saint whose hagiography is reflected in taṣkirat-ol-Uliyā of Farid-o-din Al-Aṣār; See: URL: http://ganjoor.net/attar/tazkerat-ol-ouliya/sh9/ last accessed on 23.4.2015.

186 One of the most early Sufis whose hagiography is also written by ‘Ajar (Check URL: http://ganjoor.net/attar/tazkerat-ol-ouliya/sh3/ last accessed on 23.4. 2015). Basri was the master of Rabī‘a at first but afterward not only he drop in love with her but also he realized that her spiritual
and she answered: “I am married!” He asked: “With whom?!” “God!” she replied [however] some people believe that this is kofr (profanation). Sheikh Hasan Basri dropped his prayer-rug upon the water and invited Rābi’a to pray with him. Rābi’a also dropped her rug on air and it remained floating on the air. She said: “You! Come with me [if you can]!”; Sheikh Hasan remained surprised. Rābi’a realized that the heart of Sheikh Hasan is broken and said: “What I have done can also be done by a cricket and what you have done could be done by every fish but we are the noble of all creatures (ashraf-i makhloqāt = one of the Islamic epithets reserved for human) and hence we should be lifted from these [cheap miracles]”… (Khalife continues with some other famous anecdotes related to Rābi’a’s hagiography)... The issues of Sufism are many and some people deny them just because it is not in their favor.

- Some say that “Ouliyā (saints) are the brides of truth/god” (اولیا عروسان حقند) What does it mean? Does it mean that they have feminine features?

- No! It is not so! What does bride (‘arous عروس) mean? ‘Arous is derived from ‘arsh (عرش = the throne of God)! ...‘arous is a metaphor for beauty... Islam from the beginning to the end is the way-of-grace (sire-i raḥm سیره رحم) and women are also graceful and weak and these features help them to come up (grow) very rapidly but they descend rapidly too but men are not so. Consider that you put a piece of zinc into the fire. It would become soft very rapidly but a piece of iron will not become soft very easily and accordingly it becomes cold much later....

**Karāmāt** of the saints is a proof on the prophets’ miracles. They could draw the arrow out of Imam Ali’s foot amid the prayer. This is *khawariq*.

Comment: Khalife is referring here to a famous story attributed to Imam Ali: Once Imam Ali was struck with an arrow. The people pulled it out during his prayer because he was so focused and dedicated to God that he didn’t feel anything. For Khalife, the content of this story is analogous to *khawariq*: entrusting and pulling out nails and spears into the body during the ḡazr ذکر, ecstasy and intoxication without feeling any pain.

With just one *istimdād* ([lit.] asking for help) that I may ask from the *pir-i tariqat* [= his sheikh] I can entrust a nail into the leg of your son (my 13 years old son was...
standing beside me during this interview) or connect a 220 v electric wire to his body without any harm to him. What does this prove?

- *Please do khawariq next time and let me take photos from it!*

  — For what reason?

- *For the readers of my dissertation!*

  - No problem! I will pass so much nails from your body until... (He laughs). *Derwishî* (Sufism) is related to *ḥāl* (حال = mood, presence) and not to *qāl* (قال = saying, speech). It is not inside the books, it is in practice!

  Comment: He is alluding to my dissertation! It is a repeating algorithm that happens whenever I start talking about any written material about Sufism especially when I talk about my intention for writing a book or dissertation on Sufism.

That third person (شخص ثالث = the reader) should drop him/herself into the channel of *ahwâlât* (حوايلات = pl. of ḥāl) otherwise he/she will never understand anything from Sufism. You tell a child that this is soar, that is bitter, and that one is sweet; it will make no sense until he/she taste it. Some people like to read and read but I think that it would be better that the scientists force the young generation to spend 20 days in a *khâneqâh* (convent). What would be the problem with that?

[This interview continues with some dicussions on the difference between *ḥāl* (حال = mood, presence) and *qāl* (قال = saying, speech)]

- **Mireco044**

  *Keywords: Naqshbandieh and Qāderieh brotherhoods, familial tree, silsile, seyed, ...*

- **Mireco045**

  *Keywords: familial trees, silsile, seyed, light, ...*

- **Mireco046**

  *Keywords: old narratives, Kurds origin, genies, ...*

- **Mireco047**

  *Keywords: truthful dream, dalīl, mentor, ḥarām vs. ḥilāl, ṣadaqeh (alms), eating, time of dreams, Khîdr, ...*

Here is a part of my interview with a very old Dervish named *Darwish Morâd* of his dreams and opinions about dream. This interview has been taken in the *Khâneqâh* of
Sheikh Salāmī in one Friday night right before the ritual (majlis-i zikr). Most of dervishes come to the convent even one hour sooner and just sit in a corner. There is no much to say. They usually let themselves relax to become prepared for the ritual. I usually used this opportunity to record my interviews. The atmosphere of the convent in these times forces us to talk in a very low and whisper-like voice:

...  

- **What is very special with the dreams that you see?**
- Whatever I see in my dreams I see it again with my own eyes in the day or days after! For example I saw in my dream that I am a pilgrim and after one week or after few days I find myself in a pilgrimage (ziyāra) or seeing an accident in a dream before being grasped in the reality. Dream is the cause/sign/signifier (Khāb dalīl ast خواب دلیل است)!  

Comment: Here the old dervish is alluding to something very special in Sufi’s tradition of life. Dalīl is a general name for anything or anyone who leads the Sufi in his/her way (ṭariq طريق) usually the khalife or pir or morshed or Sheikh himself. On the other hand dalīl means also the ground and reason of something. In short we are facing the same repetitive algorithm of Sufism by which the aim and all the signs and mediums that index or lead us to this aim are the same thing. Darwish Morād by saying that “Dream is dalīl” is highlighting the guiding role of dream as well as its close relation with rouḥ روح or spirit as our true self or sublime being or ultimate aim of a Sufi in his spiritual way of life!  

- **You say that „khāb dalīl ast“; what does it mean?**
- It means that rouḥ goes and sees that place or accident in a dream. Sometimes and some [other] times it is just a pichowāne پیچوانه (disturbed dream)!  

Comment: Afterward he claimed that he never sees a pichowāne and all of his dreams are sādiqeh صادقه or true dreams because he never eats harām حرام (opposite of hilāl خلائل foods) and never talks behind any person and so on... In continuation he claims that he sees Mohammad the prophet very often specially in the nights of Ramadān رمضان (the Muslims holy month in which they fast) or once that he was attached with a big trouble (Mohammad appeared in his dream telling him to be not sorrowful and so on...) He also explains sadaqeh صدقة (paying alms) as a way for throwing out a bad dream
from the heart (dil نَل). The amount of ṣadaqeh is not prescribed; it should be just that much to be able to deflect the bad thoughts away from the heart.

-You throw your ṣadaqeh inside the boxes of public charity?
- Either that or to the dream interpreter خواب گذار.

Comment: This shows one of the functions of the dream interpreters: To deflect the mind from bad things in return of some money paid as ṣadaqeh which is literally different from the money that they usually receive unasked as niyāz نیاز or the money considered for the dream interpreter him/herself in return to his/her service. It is really hard to determine the quantitative ratios of this economy!

-Have you ever seen ḥazrat-i Khidr also?
- Yes! I was once in grief and I was holding my hands up in pray and he came and said “do not worry as your wish is decreed now!”

- How he introduced himself as Khidr?
- Himself. He said that I am the Khidr!

-At the beginning of the encounter or at the end?
- At the end while he was taking leave!

Comment: In all of my interviews and in all of the hagiographies that I have read there is a very interesting difference between the appearance of Mohammad and Khidr in the dreams: Mohammad the prophet introduces himself always at the beginning of every encounter or after exchanging one or three sentences by saying: “I am Mohammad the messenger of Allāh, Peace be upon him”!

In contrast to him, Khidr reveals his name at the end of conversations. These conversations usually happen in frames of a day dream (reality) instead of a dream at night. As soon as khidr—as one of the most prominent sainthoods in Islamic culture—has been recognized, he disappears. Then in contrast to Mohammad the prophet, he is recognized at the most ends of his conversations with the people living under-heaven.

There is an exception to this rule. In one of my interviews (Mirec074) I talked with a man (As’ad Ardalān, an English teacher) in the way of Qadamgāh-i Khidr (a place in which Khidr has once been seen) near Sanandaj. He showed me a house in which an old man has served Hazrat-i Khidr for a night. It is believed by the Kurds that Khidr fulfills every wish that the people ask him but
as nobody knows him, they usually ask for very ordinary things or nothing and in this way they lose the incredible opportunity of being so proximate with sainthood as well as the opportunity for fulfillment of their wishes. In case of that old man the situation was quite different: “I do not want anything!” he answered to Khidr when he asked of his wishes, “and moreover, I knew you from the very beginning, you are the Khidr, the glory of God upon you!”

Keywords: dream vs. reality, color of convents, ...

This interview has been taken on the same night of last interview. I changed my sitting place to sit beside Qadīr, a young man who is a simple worker but always is dressed clean and orderly when he comes to the convent. He feels a great respect to the Sheikh Ṣanʿān Salāmi and his family and at the beginning of his interview he shared a dream with me in which he saw the Sheikh but he feels himself not easy to narrate his dream to Sheikh himself in the day-time:

- ...Yellow is the color of our convent because the forefather of Sheikh was living in Mecca for seven years.

Comment: Most of the branches are differentiated with a color. Yellow is for the pupils of Salāmi convent and red for Kasnazāni etc. In the ordinary weekly rituals there is no need to use this assignment but in collective ceremonies, this kind of color-attachment finds a very important role. The sheikhs wear their usual cloth and clads but their pupils wear a handkerchief of the color attributed to their convent. The relation between the yellow color and spending seven years in Mecca is unclear to me perhaps because of the gold color of the harem (masdjid ol-harām!

...I saw in my dream that a group of people have thrown me inside a very dark and frightening storeroom and were starting to beat me. I have tied the yellow handkerchief of our convent on my neck and suddenly one of them told to the others: “Let him go! He is a pupil of Sheikh Ṣanʿān!”

...Do you remember any special dream in your own family?

-Yes! I have heard that in about 20 or 25 years ago my father heard a knock on our door! My father opened the door and he saw two men on horses with covered faces asking the address of our neighbor who was a very pious man. My father showed them the house and on the next day the people found our neighbor dead in his house.
This was in dream or wakefulness?

In wakefulness!

It is very strange to see two masked men at the middle of the night with horses in the city! Why their appearance does not appear to your father as something utterly strange?

My father was a very simple-minded (Sāde dil) man!

Comment: I asked Qadīr to narrate a dream but he told me something that is supposed to be happening in reality. This foggy border between dream and reality is the omnipresent situation of many dream narratives

Keywords: Madjlis Mi‘rāj, Womens’ ritual, ...

Keywords: Madjlis Mi‘rāj, ...

Keywords: yawl, commemoration, eating, times that are likely to see truthful dreams, ta‘bir, word vs. flesh, Quran, water, ...

I am talking with Khalife Mousā about the different kinds of commemoration and screaming of Dervishes during the ritual or when they become an abrupt spiritual insight. Afterward he talks about the true dreams that one may see in the second half of ramāqān month after eating Sahāri and saying the prayer. He believes that if someone sleeps after the prayer most of his/her dreams would be true dreams or spiritual dreams (khāb-i Ma’navi).

Afterward he receits again that very verses from Rumi that he had receited in interview Mirec040:

Whoever to him/her has taught the secrets of the work
They have sealed and sewed his/her mouth

And he summarizes his talks into this short sentence: “Dream is a secret”! (khāb rāz ast!)

He continues:

...If two persons go to a skilled interpreter and narrate him/her the same narrative he would interpret that one dream in two different ways because the meaning of a dream differs from one dreamer to another! For example Ibn-i Sirīn used to interpret dreams differently from one person to another one!
Comment: He is alluding here to some legend-like stories that one usually finds almost in every Islamic dream manuals as a general feature of the art of dream interpretation. The most general story is this one:

Two men (one was a pious fellow while the other one was a sinful guy) came to Imam Ibn-i Sirin to hear of the interpretation of their dreams. Both of them have seen that they are calling Athan (the call for prayer), so he interpreted it for the pious man as a sign of a pilgrimage while he interpreted it for the other man as a completely bad omen: “You will steal something and your hand will be cut [Islamic juristical punishment for rubbbery]!” When the people asked of the reason behind this double standard and different interpretation for just one dream he answered that—via two different places that the word Athan is appeared in Quran—he has attributed each verse to each person to fit them better to their appearance and character. For the first person who was a pious Muslim the interpretation should be done according to the 3rd verse of the repentance Surah (Towbah) which says:

»وآذان من الله ورسوله الى الناس يوم الحج الأكبر...«

“And [it is] an announcement from Allâh and His Messenger to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage ....” (9:3)

But for the second dreamer this trace of the word أذان in Quran fits better:

»آن مؤذن ابئها العيرانكم انزلون...«

”... Then an announcer called out, "O caravan, indeed you are thieves."”(12:70)

This is one of the most important techniques in Islamic culture of dreams that is to put the focus on the words that the dreamer says and trace its meaning in Quran according to the social class, piousness, gender, appearance and other attributes of the dreamer.

... I have heard that in the time of our Prophet (peace be upon him) one ill man came to his mighty presence and asked about his dream in which he had seen himself drinking from two different fountains! Mohammad addressed him to a special fountain and told him that by drinking the water of that fountain his illness will be cured. Afterward another man came in and told the prophet of his dream in which he find himself drinking the water of a fountain which was flowing out from two different pipes! “You are a very conceited (matkaber) person!” The prophet

187 There are many interesting and diverse interpretations for Athan (the call for prayer) in Islamic culture of dream, see for instance Ibn-i Sirin: 65-67.
answered; “Why you have no fear from God?” “-why?” he asked; and the Prophet answered: “You should repent from your sin and should stop sleeping with two sisters at once!” (According to the Islamic law, it is strongly forbidden to get married with two sisters at the same time). So the dreamer put his head down of shame!

-Why you have not told me this beautiful story before?

-Because it is already there! In the book of Ibn-i Sirin!

-No! I have not seen it there!

-Yes! It is there in the book!

(In this interview he also narrated the following story): There were two poor brothers who travel in seek of their destiny. One day they drink some dough (a favorite Iranian drink made of yoghurt mixed with water, salt and mint) and one of them fell asleep after a while and the other one saw a fly that came out of his mouth and sit on one side of the bowl of dough and after a while it flies to its other side and did this for several times. Afterward the fly flies back to the mouth of the slept brother and he woke up and shared his brother of what he had seen in his dream: “I saw myself on one side of a fountain and I jumped several times from this side of it to the other side and afterward I saw a treasure under the fountain!” The other brother narrated him also of the fly that came out of his mouth and of its dance around the bowl of dough and finally its return back to his mouth! They conclude that that fly was the spirit of the sleeping brother and take it as a true dream. They dig under the bowl of dough and after two or three meters they reach to a rich treasure!

Comment: The relation between fountain of water and treasure is a constant feature of most of Kurdish dreams but the manifestation of the spirit in the form of a fly is very interesting. Usually fly is considered as an annoying insect but here it symbolizes the fluidity of soul and spirit and also as a materialistic manifestation of the spirit that maps the content of dream—as what the spirit sees—upon this materialistic world, giving the two brothers a map that helps them to solve the dream as a secret treasure. Again and according to this paradigm of thinking, whatever we see in this materialistic world is a minimal shadow of what is happening in the realm of spirit.

● Mireco72

Keywords: Homonymes, homophones, pun of words, ...
In this interview Khalife Mousā examines a funny pun of word on me. I told him that my mood (ḥāl) has been changed as long as I returned to Sanandaj. He replied: [You mean] đjo (جو)? (this word with this pronunciation means Parley)

- **No!** (laughing) đjav (جو) What you just said is the food of donkeys!

- Oh! Sorry! You know I am an analphabet uninformed man! It is possible that I confuse the words but my intention was Djo (جو) indeed! (Funnily he repeats a word that means parley in Farsi!) Now let me pour a cup of tea for you!

Comment: Here he is perhaps examining a strong pun (jenās) on me. A pun is an in-joke or as Freud has put it, a pun (Kalauer or calembourges) is a word-play that plays with words as voices rather than words (GW: 446): “Das Wortspiel aber geht von dem Klange des Wortes in das Wort selbst ein... Auch im [jeden] Wortspiel ist das Wort für uns nur ein Klangbild, mit dem sich dieser oder jener Sinn verbindet.”(ibid.) Hafiz is perhaps the greatest master in this satiric speech putting his unfathomable influence on Kurdish Sourāni literature through poets like Nāli who follow his style in ironic language or zabān-i rendāne taunting speech and especially in the way that Hafiz is learned to utilize a fake dream to fool the king:

خسروا دادگرا ثیر دلا بجر کفا
ای جلال تو به انواع حفر ارزانی
همه آفاق کشاد وهمه اطراف گشاد
صدی مسعودی آواره شده سلطانی
در سه سال آنچه بیندوختم از شاه و وزیر
همه برود به یک گذشته چوگانی
دوش در خواب جنای دید خیال که سحر
گذش افتاد بر اصطبل شهم پنهانی
بسته بر آخور او استر من حرم خورد
تیره اششان ویه من گفت: برا می دانی؟
هیچ تعریف نمی دانمش این خواب که چیست؟
تو بفرما که در فهم نداری ثانی

Oh you, the king, the just, the lion-hearted
and the (generous) maritime-handed
You who your glorious merit has included
every kind of art
The fame and celebrity of Mas‘oudī
kingdom
has conquered every horizon and every
All that I have gathered in three years
Are all gone in just a glimpse into the
hand of this polo-player (chaotic) cosmos
Last night at the dawn I saw in my dream
that
my mind's eye strolled concealed into the
royal stall
I saw my mule bonded and eating “Joe”
(parley)
He gave a big fart and asked me: “Do you
know me?”
I do not understand the meaning of this
dream
You yourself should solve it as your
wisdom is all-inclusive

This poem addresses Malek Jalol-din Masoud Shāh āal-i Injōa who reigned on Shiraz between 738-741 A.H.. In this poem, the sycophantic language is mixed with satiric especially with the play of word between joj (barley) and injō (the name of the king’s family). The interpretation of dream is clear: Give the poet ṣale (prize or honorarium given to the poets as their wage) or he will see another dream even worse than this one on the next morning! He plays as if he innocently has seen this dream and wonders of its interpretation asking the king as the wisest person for its meaning. A trick that met success (See Mohajer: 61). With this skill he simultaneously flatters and fools the king.

Examples of this rank are many and in fact the utilization of dreams for political and utilitarian ends is very common in ‘Persianate societies’ and it is according to this usage of dreams that the phrase “dreaming for someone” کسی خواب دیدن برای has found its expressive usage in Persian and Kurdish current language: To dream for someone means planning some devilish tricks for him/her.

● Mireco75

Keywords: Freud, father, son, dream vs. reality, Papa Gave Water, ...

● Mireco77

Keywords: soul, nafs, ‘aghl, commemoration, metonymy, Word vs. Flesh,....
This interview is about the different aspects of soul, nafs, ‘aghl, etc. Here khalife Mousā proposes a different technique for ḥikr which is different from what I leaned before from Khalife Hoseyn. For khalife Mousā, heart is the locus of spirit (rouḥ) symbolized as the throne of a king. Here the heart (biological heart) is the throne and rouḥ is the king. As usual he recited a saying or hadith to bind his arguments to a big body of tradition: “The heart of a believer is the throne of God (raḥmān)” (“qalb-ol moʾmen ‘arsh-ol-raḥmān”). This hadith is very celebrated by the Sufis as it instructs the most central idea of this discipline. He instruct me to punch (koubidan) the ḥikr of Allāh upon my heart. The word punch (koubidan) seemed to me as a relative strong attribute for a commemoration or manthra technique. He explained that all other parts of the body should be in service of heart and be obedient to it because it is the house of spirit: “If someone follows the nafs and bodily pleasures too much would be similar to a country whose soldiers are weak. The weakness of soldiers will result to the weakness of the king and in this way the human will be dethroned from its noble position (masāle-ye ashrafiyat ensān az beyn mi ṭarīqād).”

This dethronement of the human being from his/her noble position is mapped to the story of Solomon and Div (demon) who had momentarily captured the ring of Solomon (khātam soleymānī) which in Sufis’ terminology is a symbol for human heart or dīl. Rumi writes:

خاتم تو این دلست و هوش دار
تا نگردید دیو را خاتم شکار
پس سلیمانی کند بر تو مدام
دیو با خاتم حذر کن والسلام

Your ring is this very heart, be alert!
Not to be captured by the div (demon)
Otherwise it (the div) will rule on you forever like Solomon
Demon and the ring! Be aware! That was it!
(Matnavi Rumi, vol. 4, part44, The story of Solomon and masjdol-aqṣā)
Then Khalife is referring here to this central doctrine of Islam that considers the human being as the noblest among other creatures. There are many Quranic verses in which it is referred to the superb position of human being in compare to other creatures among them the following verse which says:

"And We have certainly honored the children of Adam and carried them on the land and sea and provided for them of the good things and preferred them over much of what We have created, with [definite] preference." (17:70)

In the second part of this interview he answers my question about another well-known phrase which is again very central to Sufis’ paradigm of thinking explaining their standpoint for metaphoric love. This phrase says: "المجاز قنطرة الحقيقة" or the "metonymy is a ladder to the Truth". His discussion is very instructive and opens a new and much wider window toward the issues like gender and earthly love in compare to the perspective proposed by juristic and orthodox Islam or shari‘ah.

I asked:

- This phrase, المجاز قنطرة الحقيقة, claims that whatever we see on this materialistic dimension of life is just an allegory that should lead us toward the true love: Love of Allāh, isn’t it?
- Exactly!
- But this border is very narrow! How can we ever tell an earthy look toward the things apart from a celestial refined one?
- [after relative long meditating silence] God loves the beautiful things!

Comment—He is referring to this hadith which says: أو أن الله جميل و يحب الجمال or “Allāh is beautiful and like the beauty!”

He is the creator of stunning things and has created everything in terms of beauty. Even those things that seems disgusting to our eyes are not empty from ḥikmat (sublime knowledge), they are also good looking. Everything is beautiful. Consider an ant for instance. Put one ant under a magnifying glass and you will realize that what beautiful eyes, neck and feet it has! Its physical characteristic is more like those heavy bulldozers who can raise the objects off from the ground which are much heavier than their own weight.

Comment: Ant is a very thought motivating creature for many Sufis who contemplate on the knowledge of the universe or ma‘rifat-ol-kawn. In Nahj-ol-balāgha a book attributed to Imam Ali’s collection of lectures and
letters, there are many passages that contain descriptions on heaven and the earth, angels and human, Satan,... and also descriptions on the creation and the properties of various animals such as the bat, the peacock and other birds ... and the ant. There are many sermons in this book in which Imam Ali is referring to the creation of the ant but this one (sermon 186) is more similar to what Khalife is saying:

“...Look at the ant with its small body and delicate form. It can hardly be seen in the corner of the eye, nor by the perception of the imagination—how it moves on the earth and leaps at its livelihood. It carries the grain to its hole and deposits it in its place of stay. If you have thought about its digestive tracts in its high and low parts, the carapace of its belly, and its eyes and its ears in its head you would be amazed at its creation and you would feel difficulty in describing it. Exalted is He who made it stand on its legs and erected it on its pillars (of limbs) ... In His creation, the big, the delicate, the heavy, the light, the strong, the weak are all equal... Therefore, you look at the sun, moon, vegetation, plants, water, stone, the difference of this night and day, the springing of the streams, the large number of the mountains, the height of their peaks, the diversity of languages and the variety of tongues.” (Nahj-ol-balāghe, sermon 186, page 722, online URL: http://dawoodi-bohras.com/pdfs/Nahjul-Balagah-English.pdf last accessed on 28.12.2015)

This special focus on the ant is not without ground. A full chapter (Surah Nr. 27) in Quran is named with “Ant” (Surah al-Naml) and we read in one of its verses:

“Till, when they reached the Valley of the Ants, an ant exclaimed: O ants! Enter your dwellings lest Solomon and his armies crush you, unperceiving.” (27:18)

In Sufi’s writings, the ant, which in Quran is frightened of Solomon is always conversant with him. Ant here is the symbol of frightening, greedy, conservative and fearful person entrapped in his/her small ego-sack or cage made of earthly desires and Solomon is accordingly the symbol of sublime self (these two are grossly comparable to “ich” and “selbst” in Jung’s psychology). The ego thinks very excessively and hence is unable to see the bigger self and get stuck to what it has like an ant that get stuck to a worthless grain. The inability to see unlimited wealth of Solomon as the true self usually leads to
this fact that one takes his/her little aims and goals very important. Rumi writes:

تو چو موری، بهر دانه می دوی
هین سلیمان جو، چه می باشی غوی?
دانه جو را دانه هاش دامی شود
وآن سلیمان جوی را هر دو بود

You are like an ant, running for a grain
Be the Solomon, why you are strayed?
The grains will become the trap of the grain-seeker
But the Solomon-seeker will be the owner of both (Solomon and the grain)

... or a fly or a mosquito (gnat). Just think! Which one is stronger in your opinion? An elephant or a mosquito?... A gnat has six feet, the elephant has just four. A gnat has wings and an elephant has not! ... A gnat can kill an elephant!

Comment: Mosquito in the book of Rumi’s mathnavi has again the same symbol of dangers that ego can bring to human being:

وان نفسی که با خودی خود تو شکار پشک یا
وان نفسی که بی خودی پیل شکار آیدت

At that moment that you are with your ego, you are the prey of a gnat
At that moment that you are ego-less, the elephant will become your prey.
(Rumi, Ghazaliyat Shams-i Tabrizi, ghazal Nr. 323)

آخر از پشه نه کم باشند تکم
ملک تمرودی به پر برهم زنم
در ضعیفی تو مرا بابیل گیر
هر یکی خصم مرا چون پیل گیر

My body is not less than a gnat
I will make the land of Nimrod upside-down with [a slight wave of my] wings
In weakness take me like Bābil
And each of my enemies are like an elephant
(Mathnavi Rumi, vol. II, part 10, Story of the King who Found his Falcon in the House of an Old Woman)
In the verses above, Rumi is referring to two similar well-known stories in which the smallest creatures win over the most big creatures and/or armies. One of these accounts is about Abraham who produced an army of gnats and win over the big armies of the despot Nimrud. The second account is similarly about an army of little birds (abābīl) who win over the big elephant-riding army of Abrahe, the king of Yemen. A chapter in Quran is named by elephant (Surah al-Fil) and refers to this story (105:1-5). In Moloud Khān #2, part1, scene 1, a very old Sufi recites these very verses of Quran and translates them in Kurdish.

According to accounts of this kind, every small or weak creature can win over every hard situation if it just count on God and wakes up of its ego-trip through Deo concedente (‘tawwakol’ (توکل) and identify itself with the whole (kol). Another form of this peculiar interchangeability between the two opposites (the tiniest and the most giant) is a nightingale that can swallow the whole when it opens its mouth:

\[
\text{I’m smitten by his wrath and kindness too,}
\]
\[
\text{My love for opposites amazes you?}
\]
\[
\text{If I escape these thorns now for a rose}
\]
\[
\text{A nightingale's lament I will compose}
\]
\[
\text{Strange nightingale whose mouth is open wide}
\]
\[
\text{To fit both theorns and roses now inside!}
\]
\[
\text{That’s no bird but a fiery dragon there}
\]
\[
\text{Love’s made all seen to him so sweet ad fair!}
\]
\[
\text{HE loves the Whole, which is here and above}
\]
\[
\text{He loves himself thus, and seeks his own love.}
\]

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188 Ego-trip is a state of differentiated consciousness that takes side in the interplay and interchangeability of the two opposite poles (for instance gnat/abābīl and Nimrud/elephant) which is again the fundamental root of mythological thinking (cf. Jung and Kerénye: 98)
- My question was about (the control of) our gaze on the tabooed women (nāmaḥram نامحرم)! (Actually he was answering me but I failed to follow the deep logic working behind his speech.)

- You look [freely at] whatever you like! Whatever that looks beautiful in your eyes! Never mind what! But you should express your gratitude (shokr شكر) to God! Say your praise (ḥamd حمد) to your God. [Say] Mashāʾallāh! (Arabic phrase used to show appreciation for a person or happening. Literally means “this is the will of Allāh”); what [a masterpiece] has created the almighty God! It is the creation of Allāh and for sure there is a reason for it. It should have a [sustain and occulted] sublime reason (ḥikmat حکمت) behind it!

Comment: In one other occasion I asked khalife the same question and he answered relatively the same. On this second occasion he told me: “Whenever you see a beautiful woman just say “fatabārekallāh o ahsan-il.ḥāleqin” (فتبارک الله احسن الخالقین). This phrase is actually a part of this verse of Quran: “Then We made the sperm-drop into a clinging clot, and We made the clot into a lump [of flesh], and We made [from] the lump, bones, and We covered the bones with flesh; then We developed him into another creation. So blessed is Allāh, the best of creators.” (23:14)

...Those who drop their heads down when confronting a woman are those who failed to overcome their nafs. Look! But do not look with a needy (nafsānī نفسانی) or lustful eyes, with satanic (sheyṭānī شیطانی) gaze but take an raḥmānی (lit. compassion, godly) look instead! Say “What [a beautiful body] has created my God!”

Comment: Raḥmān (God/compassion) and sheyṭān (devil) come always used as opposites.

- Mirec079

Keywords: Father, color,

- Mirec080

Keywords: Sheikh vs. Khalife, rivalry between convents, Naqshbandieh vs. Qāderieh, dream of conversion, Color, topology of mind, infinite flexibility, Quran...
Keywords: Khidr, istikhāreh, ‘they’, niyāz ...

Interview with a young woman who took a one month treatment for her niyāz (wish) from a Sheikh. There are many esoteric receipts which say that if you do this or that thing or commemoration for 30 or 40 days you will see the Khidr on the last day! The interview started from my question about the quality of visiting of Khidr in reality but it continued to a set of interesting explanations about khidr and dreams and methods of istikhāreh or getting answers from sainthoods by the medium of the dreams. To see dreams of this kind is sometimes reliant to a full month (or even 40 days and nights) following of the instructions given by a sheikh. Before transcription of her dream it might be more instructive if the issue of Istikhāreh be explained more deeply and in fact through my own experience of this dream technique: Istekhāre استخاره literally means “asking for goodness” (asking for خير) is one of the most celebrated features and techniques in Islamic culture of dreams. Istekhāre استخاره is comparable to a practice known as oneiromancy. There are techniques by which the dreamer, mostly a sheikh, visits the spirits of his ancestor to consult the good way into dreamer’s future. A full description of it is findable in many books written on Islam and to its related culture of dream as well as esoterism. There is no need to go deep into this issue in this thesis but as a matter of consistency and substantiation of the matter through my own experiences in my field work, I want to narrate my first encounter into Istekhāre:

It was a summer night that I was with my camera filming inside the convent of Sheikh Ṣanʿān (the same building that I filmed the birthday of Mohammad the prophet in film Moloud khān #1, scene 8). It was a Thursday night and gradually the dervishes come in the convent to do the weekly ritual of ẓikr (commemoration). It was 10 o’clock and the ritual was supposed to begin on 11. Through an unwritten law, the most important persons come later except the Sheikh himself who as a residue of Prophet follows the humble mannerism of the prophet (see the comments on mirec135). At that night he was still not there but suddenly his chief khalife (khalife Hoseyn) came in and everybody stood up of his respect. He threw an impressive look on me and sat frown at the top of the majlis or sitting room. I understood that I should stop my filming and got myself closer to him. He asked me about what I was doing and I answered with a short description of my study. The situation was for both of us miserable as there were a lot of pupils hearing us discussing about Sufism. From
one side was their khalife and the chief deputy of Sheikh and from the other side there was a seemingly educated researcher who has an distant eye on what they are doing in *tariqat* as their way of life. He was insisting in his discussions that what I was doing (filming) is nonsense because mysticism is neither writable nor watchable in a film. Sufism does not let itself for such scientific investigations. I also insisted on the usefulness of what I was doing. Finally we reach to a compromise: *Istekhāre*. He told me that I should do *Istekhāre* to know the answer, that is if there is any *goodness* in my research or not!

He said that I should make a ritual bath (*ghosl*) and do my night prayer and afterward I should recite three times *hamd-o-sureh* (that is reciting *Alḥamd*, the first Surrah of Quran and *sureh* or *Al-Ikhlās*, the 112th Surrah of Quran) and blow my breath onto my hands before sleeping and afterward I should do *niyyat* (lit. intention) that is to ask my question in my heart. Afterward the answer would be revealed to me by the medium of a truthful dream.

I did whatever he suggested. What was interesting in this preparations is their suggestive or inculcating effect. The preparation takes between one to half an hour and in this period one is concentrated on his/her question that want to ask from the *other side* or the occulted world (*ʿālam-i gheyb*). The answer of this question is supposed to be revealed on hand of a dream because in dream the spirit is partially free from conductions of body that like the dust or clouds of ignorance covers the face of truth. It is a concentrating effort that has a tremendous effect both on body and mind, preparing the psych for reaching a higher state of mind and consciousness. It seems that it works in a very auto-effective way notwithstanding the faith of its practitioner as it also worked on me. Interestingly I rarely remembered my dreams at that time but that night it comes in crystal clear vision: I saw myself dead, a dead corpse lying on the ground and *Khalife Hoseyn* was sitting on my left side with that very impressive eyes that he has; although I was dead I was seeing him both from outside and inside of my body. I suddenly awoke from this nightmare. Next morning I call Khalife Hoseyn. He was also curious of what I saw. When I told him of my dream he said that it was a very good dream (*خوب دیدی*). I answered: “how you find

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189 Hafiz writes:

حجاب چهره جان می شود غبار تتم
خوشان دمی کردن چهره پرده برفکم

The dust of my body veils the face of my soul
Great is that moment in which I put the veil (body) off from this face (soul).
this nightmare a good dream? as I was frightened to death? Moreover, you were sitting on my left side which I hold it as a bad omen.” He said that left is a very positive sign because heart is on the left side and it signifies our rābete or spiritual relation in future: “Your death is also a sign for obedience. You should become obedient to my instructions just like a dead body in the hands of a ghassāl غسّال.

Ghassāl is the person who in Islam washes the dead bodies of the Muslims in a very special ritual (See also addendum #2 and mirec136 for the meaning of seeing a dead body in a dream). As far as I understand, istikhāre is a strong technique for controlling our dreams and works through suggestion and preparation. It helps the mind to become free from the noisy thoughts of the daily life and concentrate on the problem and get its answer in the form of an epiphanic answer for example a symbolic image thrown to us from those layers of our mind in which we are much wiser than what we are in our daily routines.

My next experience with Istekhāre was also striking. Khalife Hoseyn instructed me to do Istekhāre again and ask directly about the usefulness of my writings (this very dissertation). In the dream I saw myself as a learned Sufi who is fully acquainted with the convent of Sheikh Sanʿān. Among the group of dervishes were two little boys in their age of puberty and one of them felt him very sympatric with me where the other one was a little bit skeptic about my intentions. Their names were Dehnoud and Shokārā دهنوود و شکارا. These names are very interesting because I never heard such a names before but they are really like the names used in folk stories and in fact they sound very nice and lyrical in ear. Khalife told me that these two were mowakkelin-i khāb مکلین خواب or little angles that are recruited to manage my dreams and I should not reveal their names to anyone. What I have already done here. Perhaps Shokārā had right to be skeptic of me.

Another way of doing Istekhāre is Istekhāre with Quran which again justifies the ontological resemblance between a dream (as a kind of revelation وحی) and a sacred text. To do Istekhāre with Quran, again, one should recite a hamd-o-sureh (the first and the 112th Surah of Quran) and tell the God of his/her problem with which he/she is confused e.g. asking whether it's good to do this action, contract, marriage etc. or not. Then he/she should close his/her eyes and randomly open the Quran, and interpret the first sentence of the opened page. The first verse is considered as an decreed answer to his/her question.
Now it is time to come back to our interviewee and her experience of Istikhāre: In the following dream, the interviewee saw a village named Pir-i Khidrān پیر خضران related to a pir known as Khidr who is different from the well-known mythological Khidr. She explains the reason of this designation:

- ...Khidr literally means green and he is actually Seyed Mohammad Zāhid سید محمد زاهد the pir of a region known as khidr because of its fertility and greenness. This is why they call him pir-i khidr. (Khidr here is the name of a green land) Khidr is a region in Urânāmāt of Sanandaj. He is known as pir because he is the father of many family branches and great masters today.

  Comment: Sādāt-i Shāhouī سادات شاهوی (sādāt is the plural form of Seyed or offspring of Mohammad the prophet) are all the sons of Seyed Mohammad Zāhid who is supposed to immigrate into Kurdistan on 620 AH. He is considered as the primal father of most Seyeds in Kurdistan (Sādāt-i Hoseynī) scattered in many different villages in Kurdistan.

... One of the friends of my father who is a Sheikh instruct me to follow his handling for one month and after a month ‘they’ will answer you in dream! And it was true! Exactly after following the treatment for one month I saw pir-i Khidrān and that region in my dream! ‘They’ show me the tomb of Pir-i Khidrān very clearly! There was a tomb and a graveyard and a mountain...They show me all!

  Comment: This ‘They’ comes very often in the interviews that I take from the people of Sanandaj. There is no clear answer to “Who is this ‘They’?!!” This absent voice is omnipresent as well in many Sufis’ hagiographies which are full of expressions such as nedā āmad ندا آمد which literally means “a voice came“. Then, it is a general pronoun for registering the voice of the “other side” that mentors a Sufi in his/her spiritual path.

...And we were standing in a distance and ‘they’ told me: “Here is Pir-i Khidrān, come here to take the remedy of your sorrows!”

- Have you asked anything from him?

- No! I have never heard anything from him before. It was the first time that I heard his name and that was in this dream! The next morning I asked my father if he knows someone as Pir-i Khidrān or Seyed Mohammad Zāhid but he did not know him. I narrate my dream for him and he phoned the Sheikh. He told us that he knows him and in fact he is the forefather of his family. I visited his tomb in last two month and the region was exactly the same as what I saw in my dream!
- **What was the treatment?**
- It was a very simple handling...(she shows reluctance to reveal the treatment. She asked her father if it is all-right to share it with me or not! Finally she told me about it!)

...He told me that I should eat a tea-spoon honey every morning and recite a ṣalawāt (The Arabic conventionally praising phrase recited as “ṣalla llāhu ʿalayhi wa-alehe wa-sallam” [lit.] "prayer of God be upon him and his family and peace", This phrase is usually attached to the name of the prophet of Islam). And I did it every day after doing my morning prayer.

- **Should you do niyat (wish) as well?**
- No! I should just perform this order!

- **Was that because you wanted to visit someone special in your dream?**
- No! Just to overcome my troubles. He told me that they respond to you all by themselves after doing this for a month! I think that one spoon honey and one ṣalawāt was just for the first ten days. For the next 20 days the receipt changed into three dates a day while receiting three ṣalawāts. I am not sure! I have to look up at it again! Exactly after passing of 30 days I saw that dream. It was a Friday night! I had not in mind that the 30 days are over so I was not expecting an answer because I was not thinking about it! I heard that they will never appear to answer if you expecting them.

- **When have you seen this dream? Morning, afternoon,...?**
- These dreams that come from the mystical world (‘ālam-i ʿārfāni عالم عرفاني) are completely different from other illusive dreams that one sees... They are in a state between wakefulness and sleep.

● Mireco85

**Keywords: Word vs. Flesh, ...**

I narrate one of my dreams to khalife Mousā. In this dream I start to laugh to prank my wife but at the end I heard myself that I am laughing in a very boisterous way and with roar. This dream has definitely not a good interpretation because laughing loudly is scolded among the group of Sufis that I know and is attributed to demons in contrast to smile which is very encouraged. Khalife told me: “It would be well by the will of Allāh! Dreams could be interpreted in many different ways!”

This was a very polite answer to a dream that is not promising a good happening and also a very cautious way to send a bad interpretation away by remaining silent as
every interpretation, when being told, will have its own predestinating effect! By remaining silent one can at least hold-up the activation of a bad dream if unable to inactivate it!

● Mireco87

**Keywords: Word vs. Flesh, ...**

Interview about burying of old, scattered and unreadable holy texts or verses of Quran!

● Mireco88

**Keywords: Word vs. Flesh, rābete, secret, political dreams, convents, economy, ...**

Interview with sheikh Ṣan‘ān, the Sheikh of Salāmī convent. This is a long interview about a lot of different issues. Here is some parts of it:

- **I want to interview with some of your pupils about their dreams!**
- Insha-Allāh but just if they had permission! May be some of them are not allowed to share you their dreams.

- **Do they know by themselves which one is allowable for sharing which one not?**
- Yes, there are some dreams that should never be narrated! You see? They should narrate them just to me! Those that are come from occulted (gheyb غيب) and have secrets! Some dreams are secrets! Dreams of this kind should not be revealed. ‘They’ do not allow them to reveal their dreams.

   Comment: As explained before in many places of this work, there is always an indeterminate ‘They’ present in the arguments of Sufis who instructs them and mentors them in their way or tariqat. It is rather a voice without body.

... I myself saw a dream in a Friday night. I narrated this dream unpremeditated to the pupils of my father who was alive at that time. After I finished my narrative my father looked at me and I read a lot of words from his look; he was saying: “You should not share this dream with the others!” but I unfortunately had done this failure because I was not experienced enough at that time. This story goes back to 20 or 25 years ago! The school of mysticism is the school of secrets! There are many secrets that should not be shared otherwise it would be harmful and this harm is directed just to that person who reveal this secrets and no one else! These secrets should be kept just between the master and the pupil. Morād and Murīd. The pupil
narrates the dream and the master deciphers the meaning of the narrative for him/her instructing the dreamer to do a set of bustles or bewaring him/her of doing some activities or giving him/her new zikrs or commemorations [that should be practiced] in this [special] time and this [special] way and so on... Sometimes ‘they’ show him/her a place in a dream and this means that the dervish should go to that place even for a short time. Dervish should be [always] in internal and external excursion (seyr-o-solouk...Now I share that very dream that I was not allowed to share with you by the permission of Gad and his messenger:

I saw in my dream that on one side of the staircases of the house of my late father there is a tent and a young beautiful Arab man was sitting there and my father was also standing there holding his neck a little bit bent down. Another pupil of my father—who is passed away now—was also standing there with crossed hands and bent neck! I greeted them and they replied me back!...”Do you know this man?” My father asked. “No!” I replied; “How could it be? This is the Prophet peace be upon him!” said my father and afterward I said my apologizes and woke up of excitement of being in his presence...One week passed from the night that I saw this dream and I was unable to share it with my father. We had a shrub of rosa damask (gol-i Mohammadi) in the garden of our convent. The odor of that shrub was different from the odor of other shrubs of rosa damask (all the pupils in the convent recite ṣalawāt at this point). Sheikh ordered me to transplant that shrub to another place. “Where should I transplant it?” I asked him and he showed me that very point on that I saw the prophet in my dream “Here should the shrub of rosa damask be planted; not there!” He replied. “Why?” I asked and he answered “You mean that you do not know why?” Consider that I had not narrated the dream to him!

Comment: Here the shrub of rosa damask works as a perfect symbol for the prophet because it carries the same name in Kurdish: gol-i Mohammadi which literally means the Mohammadian flower!

...As I told you, the school of ⱬırfa̱n (mysticism) is not science (‘īlm علم) it is empirical and perceptive (kasp) Comment: Here sheikh uses a word that literally means business but he actually means that mysticism should be felt by heart as it is not understandable through the head. Khalife Huseyn was also used to say a maxim: “Mysticism does not let itself to be taken by someone; it should be given instead!” (‘ırfān gereftanī nist, dādanī ast)
...I see my father very frequently but I cannot reveal them to the others. He appears very frequently and he tells me a lot of things but I cannot share them to anyone! For example this Pouriyā my son (he pointed to his son who was sitting there. In the next passages the sheikh is narrating me and all of the people who are present in his convent of one of the dreams that are supposed to be seen by his son (Pouriyā)):

We decided to renovate the tomb of our forefather but khalife Khosrou told us: “We had just 400,000 Toumans which is not sufficient. It is too little! How we can start the renovation?” I said we shall start the renovation and ‘they’ themselves will help us. God will send us because our intentions are good. We went to the tomb to take permission from the Sheikh!

Comment: He is referring here to his forefather who is buried in that sanctuary. He talks of him as if he is a living person.

We told him: “Oh Sheikh! The tomb is old now and if you allow us we want to renovate it!”

After this ritual and on the next morning my mother called me because something was wrong with Pouriyā who had slept in her home that night! “Come home, there is something with Pouriyā!” I came to the house of my mother and Pouriyā was weeping, shed in tears. “What has happened to you?” I asked him but there was no answer. Finally I asked him if it is because of a sad news or a happy one and he answered that it is a happy tiding; after a while he shared the dream that he had seen last night:

“As soon as I put my head on the pillow I find myself in the square of Sheikh Shahab-o-din Sohriwardī and all the people of Sanandaj were also there. All of the streets were full of people... I saw a lot of people that are still walking toward the square of Sheikh Shahab-o-din Sohriwardī from the direction of Saqez (name of a city in Kurdistan) and among them I recognized two lions, One of them was very big and one person was riding it and the other lion was smaller and another person was also riding on its back...and a lot of dervishes are walking behind them reciting la-ilā-ha-il-Allāh (There is no God instead of Allāh). They stopped when they reached the square. That man who was riding the big lion called me by my first-name among that crowd of people. “Pouriyā come here!” and I came closer “Pouriyā, never forget to pray” and afterward he circled his stick around his head for four or five times. It was like the day of judgment. “Who is he?” I asked from the sheikh
who was holding the line of the big lion; “This is your grandfather sheikh Salām!” (At this point all the pupils in the convent send a loud ṣalawāt) ...

...“And that other one is Sheikh Ḥesām-ol-din, they are coming to inspect the situation of the city of Sanandaj!”

*Then the lion is not necessarily the sign of Sheikh ‘Abdolqāder Gilānī, isn’t it?*

- No it is not! And we interpret this dream as their approval for renovation of the tomb and this people will pay the needed money. They paid 17 million Toumans for renovation.

- **Mireco90**

  The voice of a complete madjlis-i-ẓikr (session of commemoration) in the convent of Sheikh Salāmī

- **Mireco91**

*Keywords: Materialistic world as a deceitful bride, ...*

*Keywords: ta‘ārof, ...*

- **Mireco95**

*Keywords: Homophones, pun of words, ...*

Two pun of words used by dervishes:

If you see the Sheikh-i akbar (the biggest Sheikh) you will become Sheet-i akbar (the biggest mad (sheet ژیت in Kurdish means mad)).

I wish that you become a Dervish (Sufi) but Inshaallāh you become not a Dervish (poor)!

- **Mireco97**

*Keywords: rābeṭe, ...*

- **Mireco98**

*Keywords: Khidr, ...*

- **Mireco100**

*Keywords: Khidr, old narratives, hagiographies, dream of Mohammad, ...*

Interview with Mohammad Šādiq the janitor of nazargāh-i Khidr (a shrine built on the place that Khidr has once appeared and seen).
Mohammad Şādiq is a follower of Sheikh Ṭātīmān in Istanbul but in this interview he narrates a story about the childhood of Ghou-i Gilānī, the arch-Sheikh of Qāderieh brotherhood. At the beginning he narrated the following anecdote to tell us about the importance of dreams:

- One night a non-Muslim man saw in his dream a man telling him to go to the king of Egypt and ask for 300 derhams. “How? And for what?!?” asked the dreamer, and the figure answered that I am Mohammad! Go and tell him because of that 3000 ʿalawāts (greets) that you (the king of Egypt) are used to send me every night! The man went to the palace of the king and after insisting on visiting the king he finally became successful.
Fig. 42 A photo from the shrine’s interior. A verse of Rumi is framed on the front wall:

در آن مجلس که درویشان شراب از شوق می نوشند
در آید خضر پیغمبر شود ساقی درویشان

In that madjlis [ritual] in which the derwishes are drinking wine [because] of enthusiasm
Khidr, the prophet, will enter to serve them as the cup-bearer of the derwishes

“What do you want?” asked the king;

“300 derhams!” Her replied;

“How could it be? There are a lot of poor people like you in my country!” said the king.

“But I came here by the guidance of a dream!”

“What dream?”

“I am actually a non-Muslim but I saw a man who told me to come here and ask you for 300 derhams with this averment that the king sends me 3000 number of greets every night!”

“Its all-right! Do not tell anyone of this and come every month and take 300 derhams but you should convert to Islam because you are a perfect friend of God (ولي‌الکامل) otherwise you will never knew that I send 3000 السلام to the messenger of Allâh! As nobody knows about this!”

...
Interview with the murids of Diyānat convent about the lack of light, irtibāt, madadkhāhī, cheleneshīnī, tasbih, faqr, and occulted relationship between the pupils and the late masters in Naqshbandī brotherhood (Diyānat convent is one of the rare convents in which both tariqats of Qāderieh and Naqshbandiyeh are practiced). One of the pupils explains:

- It is possible that ‘they’ give a Dervish a tasbih (Islamic rosary) or something like that when he is doing seclusion (cheleneshīnī چله نشینی) or ‘they’ take his rosary from him for a while and return him after a few days.

Comment: These objects that are supposed to be induced by higher energies or powers and introduced to the occulted world are considered as a permanent source of Baraka برکه (continuation of spiritual presence in someone or something as well as foods and drinks).

...Most of the prophets (anbiya ʾانبياء) were instructed by the dreams, for example Abraham who saw for three times in his dream that he is decapitating his son. The dream of prophets are all true (ṣidq صدق). They are not illusions or dreams (royā رویا). The dream of the saints (uliya ʾاولیاء) are also mostly true but our dreams are very variable toggling between ṣidq and royā ([lit.]= dream but here means unimportant imaginary thoughts). During commemoration (zikr ذکر) one may go into the world of royā. It is not a dream, it is ḥāl حال (here stands for ecstasy and presence) he/she enters the world of mokāshife مکاشفه (revelation) and asrār اسرار (secrets). This state of divine contemplation is named morāqebe مراقبه (meditation). For example I fall in sleep last time during the commemoration and I saw myself with Hadj Nabi
Diānat (one of the forefathers of the Sheikh) in the dream. I do not know where he was going but we were together. We had some people who were taken by ‘them’ to Mecca inside of the dream to do the entire ritual of Hadj, hand in hand to their sheikh…”

-Is there any special dream that you want to tell me?
-There are a lot of dreams. For example there was a friend of us who saw another sheikh from another convent in his dream who warns him to wake up and go to his store because the police are already there. He did not care this warning and after a while he heard that someone is knocking the door of his house.

- In dream?
- Yes! In dream and he saw again that sheikh who said: “Why you are still in your bed? Get up and go to your shop!” This time he woke up and went to his store and his friend told him that was late as the police was already here but they cannot discover the smuggled cigarettes that he had hidden under the coals. These are Baraka of ‘ oliyā (saints)!

  Comment: This dream portrays a sheikh of another convent in a lower rank and rather like a errand boy of his own sheikh.

- Then we conclude that the saint may help the smugglers too! isn’t it?
- No! He was a dervish! (He felt offended and I apologized)

He continued pointing to my son who was there during the interview:
- Consider that your son has committed a failure! Right! He is still your son! You still support him and love him caringly! Now map this allegory up to the level of mysticism and godly patterns. Aqā Hādj Seyed Mehdi Diānat (his present Sheikh) has once sworn: “We love our Dervishes even more than our sons!”

Mirec106

Keywords: Khawāriq, water miracle, Word vs. Flesh, Feeding of Multitude, eating, food miracles, barakah, faqr, primal words, ...

Interview with Seyed Zāhid about the reasons behind his distaste about doing ‘khawāriq’ by the Dervishes which led into a long definition as well as stories according different levels and attributes of Sufism listed by Shibli (Aboubakr Shibli was an important Sufi who lived in the 3rd century AH. and was a disciple of Junayd Baghdadi). He described exclusively that according to Shibli’s explanations each of these different 6 attributes of Sufism is related to an arch-prophet:

1-  Sakhā (generosity)→ Abraham
2- *Reḍā* (consent) — Ismail
3- *Ṣabr* (patience) — Job
4- *Pashminepoushi* (wearing rough cloths) — Moses
5- *Jahāngardī* (travelling) — Jesus
6- *Faqr* (poverty) — Mohammad

He continues:

- The last attribute belongs to the prophet of Islam who says: “*Poverty is my glory*” (he is referring to a hadith of the prophet “الفقر فخری”); he holds his hand like this (indexing) and 300 numbers of people drank water from his hand. Each of them needed at least one liter water to set down their thirst. It was a time that there was no water and the people were dying of thirst and he prayed and the water came out from his hand.

Comment: Khalife *Huseyn* has also narrated this miracle of Mohammad in one of previous interviews. Of course poverty here stands for something completely different from financial poorness but what is very peculiar as well as interesting here is the relation that exists between this saying of Mohammad and his water miracle that Seyed Zahid narrated it here as an explanation on this hadith. Even in the poems of Rumi these two (the hadith and the water miracle of Mohammad) came after each other:
When his annihilation (fanā) become pure by poverty (faqr)  
He will become without shadow like Mohammad  
“Poverty is my glory” became ornamented by annihilation  
He became without shadow like a candle of fire  

The cloud has a shadow on earth  
The Moon will never accompany the shadow  
Selflessness is the state of being cloud-less, oh you friend!  
You will be like a full-moon in selflessness  

Or when you become a cloud annihilated in the way  
Who does not cover the face of the moon!  
His face will show the attribute of lā (nothingness)  
Just like the body of the prophets and the saints  
That kind of clouds are not curtaining  
It is unveiling and helpful in terms of the realm of meanings  
Just like the time that in a light bright day  
It was dripping but there was no cloud up there  
That watering was the miracle of the prophet  
The cloud was of the same color of the sky because of annihilation [in God]  
(Mathnavi Rumi, vol. V, part 34)
He said:” Oh my wife! You are a woman or the father of all sorrows? “Poverty is the glory” so do not scold me more! Wealth and gold are like a hat upon a head It’s a good shelter for those who are bald The one who has beautiful curly hair would be even happier when he/she loses his/her hat.”

The concern of Dervishes is beyond your perception Do not look on their side with ignorance and lightness Because beyond the material goods and wealth, the Dervishes Have an mighty daily bread from the almighty

“Poverty is glory” is a metaphor for abundance It is 9000 layers of hidden praise and glory (Mathnavi Rumi, vol. I, part 116, Story of the Arab and his Wife)

One sees that this hadith comes mostly in accompany of stances of Barakah. Poverty, here, is just a metaphor for celestial wealth and abundance. Seyyed Zāhid continues with some other stories that relates this hadith with two other miracles of Mohammad in which he fed his followers with a little food and milk. These miracles that led to commensality are comparable to the “Feeding of Multitude” miracles of Jesus in the Gospels. In these stories, The prophet distributed a bowl of food or drink that in contrast to its little quantity, it made all of the people fill and quenched because it was simply touched by Barakah: A creating force that starts from Allāh and flows into the body of his prophet and from him on to the massive number of his followers in the form of water, food or milk; then it should be understood as a food or drink offered by Allāh (“And in the heaven is your provision and whatever you are promised.” (51:22)) It is believed that the residue of this force is still resided in the body of Sheikhs as Prophet’s offspring. As a repeating pattern in Sufis’ use of words and terminology, the words (e.g. faqr or poverty) may stand for their opposite
(ghenā غنى or wealth). Seyed Zāhid’s answer to my next question puts additional explanation on this issue.

- What is the relation between faqr which means poverty with these stories that you tell me which are all about Barakah?

Comment: He started his answer with an instant recite of this verse from Quran: “And He found you poor and made [you] self-sufficient [wealthy]”(93:8). In this verse the word ʿālilah عائلة or “poorness” is interpreted by Seyed Zāhid as the number of heads in a “family” or group:

It is a verse in the Surah of ḍōḥā ضحى which says: “And he found you surrounded by a multitude of people and made you wealthy”. This was [the quality of] his faqr. He had a stone named the stone of patience (sang-i ṣabr) that he used to bond it at the top of his holy navel and afterward he neither felt thirsty nor hungry. It happened that he did not eat anything for 3 or 4 days.

Comment: Faqr is a prerequisite for being deserved to be touched by the force of barakah. Faqr, in this sense, means a full detachment from the materialistic world. The same allegory is the stick of the Moses discussed inside the text: It becomes fluid only when Moses drop it down, otherwise, and when he grasp it, it is just a dry piece of wood. Faqr or being a faqir/fakir or Dervish (which literally means poor) calls for following an ascetic life and discipline.

...He [Mohammad] has said: “I am pride of those foqarā (pl. of faqir) who are consent with whatever God has given to them...I am the glory of the two universe and those are my glory [this is the meaning of]: alfaqr-o fakhri “Poverty is my Glory”!

Comment: Therefore the faqr situation is comparable to the situation of a king who does not need to carry his wealth or treasures with himself wherever he goes; as he is actually the owner of everything around him. This is for sure the situation that one experiences in a lucid dream: Everything around that looks physical is just a pure reflection of a psychical conduction. The words derwish and king are always appearing as their mutual counterpoint. The hat of a dervish is also known as crown (tāj-i derwishī). The most known hagiography that shows the higher status of a celestial derwish in compare to a worldly king is reflected in the story of Ibrāhim-i Adham: a king who deliberately left his throne to become a derwish.
Keywords: Abjad, ta’bir, esoterism, Ibn-i Sīrīn, dream of poets, ‘They’, do’ā, water, breath, devil eye, wa-an-yakād, aghlāṯ o aḥlām...

Interview with Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimi: Seyed Zāhid is arguably the most important dream interpreter in Sanandaj. In this interview he explains the methods by which he interprets the dreams or calculates the abjad ciphers to foretell the future of a person’s life and so on. This interview is full of esoteric expressions that makes it impossible to translate it completely but these two tracks for those who are interested in the Islamic dream science (‘ilm ol-ro’yā) provides a firsthand descriptive material including many different details about how a traditional dream interpreter handles a client and meanwhile how he stands on ceremony or writes a do’ā (written prayer) for him/her ... and his ta’arof or complementary reactions on receiving money from the people and so on.

After he calculates my abjad number of ṭāli‘ or destiny I asked him of his method for interpreting the dreams:
- Dream has 46 different deviations [or distortions] (jahat جهت [lit.]= direction) Here is its book!
- **It is Ibn-i Sīrīn?**
  - Yes! It is an old one! For example darkness [is one jahat]!
- **What do you mean with 46 different deviations?**
  - One direction is khāb-i ṣālihe خواب صالحه (true dream), another deviation is ro’yā and the rest are all disturbed dreams (aghlāṯ o aḥlām اغلاث و احلام)...
  
  Comment: Afterward he started to read the list of contents of the book of Ibn-ī Sīrīn: 1- In features of the dreams 2- In wonders of dream and water 3-In the importance of nafs (ego)and rouḥ (spirit)...

- **These are that different 46 different directions that you just told me?**
  - Yes! They are 46 different directions [to which a dream can deviate from its original message] but the dreams of prophets, Saints, pious people and the poets (anbiyā’ o ʿoliyā’ o ʿollaḥā’ o shoʿarā’ انبياء و اولیاء و صلاحا و شعراء) are true and inevitable (rad nadārand رد ندارند); notwithstanding if he/she has seen a good dream or a bad dream. If it is bad, it means that ‘they’ are frightening him to punish him/her and if it is a good dream, it is to encourage him/her...
Comment: It is important that he puts the poets of the same rank of prophets and sainthoods.

Afterward I narrate one of my dreams to him and he looks into my ṣāliʿ or destiny and at the end he wrote me a ḏoʿā to help me in my financial progress. He instructed me to put the ḏoʿā which is a folded paper inside a nylon bag and after a while (as longer as better) I should put it out and wash the nylon bag in water and drink the water in which the nylon bag was washed. This treatment could be repeated time by time. I asked him if I can put this ḏoʿā inside my dissertation or not and he told me that the ḏoʿā should remain folded because its spelling power will be decreased by the gaze of people. At the end he recites a verse from Quran and blew into the paper. (his voices during this treatment is also recorded on track Mirec108). One set of verses that I can recognize is the following:

“If We had sent down this Qur’an upon a mountain, you would have seen it humbled and coming apart from fear of Allāh. And these examples We present to the people that perhaps they will give thought.”(59:21)

He continued with reciting three other verses till the end of Surah and afterward he recited the following two verses from the Surah of Al-i-Imrān:

“Say, “O Allāh, Owner of Sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will and You take sovereignty away from whom You will. You honor whom You will and You humble whom You will. In Your hand is [all] good. Indeed, You are over all things competent. You cause the night to enter the day, and You cause the day to enter the night; and You bring the living out of the dead, and You bring the dead out of the living. And You give provision to whom You will without account.”” (3:26-27)

The first verses guarantee the power of these words and the last two verses are the words that are supposed to put their effect on the financial situation of the owner of the ḏoʿā. He blew to the paper right after reciting these verses. According to Quran, both the look and breath can have magical effects on the physical world. Both bad and good intentions may be transmitted by the gaze or breath. The following verses are usually used in many Islamic cultures as a remedy for the bad evil eye of the jealous people: These verses are known as
wa-an-yakād and in Kurdistan is usually recited or hang on the walls and thresholds of the homes for protection from the evil eye:

“And indeed, those who disbelieve would almost make you slip with their eyes when they hear the message, and they say, "Indeed, he is mad." But it is not except a reminder to the worlds." (68:51-2)

Another kind of magic put its effect through the breath and this is exactly what Seyed Zāhid did by blowing into the paper after reciting the verses of Quran. *Falaq* is the name of a short Surah that is completely about the black magic which conveys itself by the medium of breath:

> “Say, “I seek refuge in the Lord of daybreak
> From the evil of that which He created
> And from the evil of darkness when it settles
> And from the evil of the blowers in knots
> And from the evil of an envier when he envies.”” (113:1-5)

(Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimi also narrated a water miracle of the prophet of Islam during the time that he was writing me a *do‘ā*. His story is at the very beginning of track Mirec108.)

- Mirec109-114

**Keywords: Madjlis-i ḥikr, Qāderieh and Naqshbandieh ...**

- Mirec115

**Keywords: Madjlis-i ḥikr, Qāderieh and Naqshbandieh, ...**

Interview with a pupil of the Sheikh Diyānat on the differences between *Qāderieh* and *Naqshbandieh*.

- Mirec116

**Keywords: dream, rābite, ‘they’, ...**

Continuation of the previous interview: The interviewee told me a very interesting dream:

- After six or seven years that I came to the convent, the Sheikh did not allow me to repent on his hand. He told me that I am not deserved yet to take *toube* (repentance); until last year that he finally accepted to give me repent. After one or two month I started to come to the convent very irregularly. Once I was absent from the convent for two weeks until the Sheikh paced into my dream; “*Why you did not come to the convent?*” he asked me in my dream and afterward he stared at me very furiously. I
was frightened so much and on my next visit of sheikh I asked him about the secret of this dream; “If you continue to be disorderly we will look at you even worse!” he [Sheikh] answered!

- *To whom returns this “we”? Wasn’t he alone in his dream?*
- Yes but he meant also his father, grandfather and forefathers!
- *Are you really sure that he used “we” as pronoun?*
- Yes!

● **Mirec117-118**

**Keywords: Khawāriq, firewalking, Abraham, ...**

Short interview with khalife Mousā about the difference between *garmvar* and *sardvar*:

Khalife Mousā compares the ‘khawāriq’ and fire-walking of the Dervishes of Qāderieh with the miracle of Abraham that according to Quran the fire turned to him a garden: “Allāh said, "O fire, be coolness and safety upon Abraham."” (21:69)

Afterward he explained that Abraham was a Kurd came from the region of Hawlar. He recited then a Kurdish poem in which up to seven forefathers of the Mohammad’s familial tree is listed. In this poem there are two men named *chākolāh* which as a name sounds very Kurdish (Moreover, there is no “ژ” (ch) in Arabic).

● **Mirec120**

**Keywords: Wise Old Man, Papa Gave Water, cure, ...**

● **Mirec121-122**

The direct relation between telling lies at the daylight and forgetting our dreams at night.

● **Mirec123**

The direct relation between Sufism and excommunication from the society and distancing from its normative.

● **Mirec124**

**Keywords: Khawāriq, purity, blood, ...**

● **Mirec125**

**Keywords: Naqshbandieh, curing miracle, Sheikh ‘Osmān or Osmān, Qāderieh vs. Naqshbandiyeh, karāmāt, khawāriq, breath, jādārī, khelāfat, beyraq ...**
Continuation of my interview with ‘Irfān a Sufi of Naqshbandieh on Mirec0016:
- I was always in search of inner peace and my kismet was that I become acquainted with Sufism as our family was connected to the most important leaders of *tasawuf* (Sufism) in the world ... I also knew Sheikh ‘* OMIT * and I had seen him several times before and have a deep faith to his medical treatments—because he cured any kind of cancer notwithstanding of its kind or amount of progress—and my mother was also a close relative of him... all these factors made a Sufi out of me...

Comment: His mother is the cousin of Sheikh ‘* OMIT * one of the most prominent Sheikhs of Naqshbandiyeh brotherhood. The *Kerāmat* or miracle of Sheikh ‘* OMIT * was his medical treatments and healing power.

...After the death of Sheikh ‘* OMIT * I never returned to Turkey but when he was alive and during my study in the university, it was always one of my wishes to return to Turkey to see the *khāneqāh* of Koujekmojā of Istanbul in which Sheikh ‘* OMIT * was used to sit...I simply missed the atmosphere of that *khāneqāh* and wished to return back there until one night that sheikh came to my dream and showed me a person that I knew from before and told me that I will visit him [Sheikh ‘* OMIT *] in accompany of this person two years later...I do not believed my dream because I was not feel sympathetic with that person but in one year we became close friends and after traveled to turkey and exactly on two years after seeing of that dream I visited the Sheikh and *khāneqāh* again.

(‘Irfān Continued to explain the differences between Qāderieh and Naqshbandiyeh brotherhoods in Kurdistan. He explained that Dervish and *Tekyeh* are the words that are reserved for Qāderieh to refer to them and their members and convents where *Khāneqāh* and Sufi are usually used for those of Naqshbandiehs.)

**- You call the Karāmāts of the Sheikhs of Naqshbandiye khwāriq just like Qāderies?**

-Yes but their ‘khawāriq’ is different from *tīghzāni* ([lit.] blading, alluding to entrust of knifes and nails and blades through the body or eating shaving blades) for example they foretell the future or read your heart, for example one of them may tell you “Iraj jan, the meaning of this that you are carrying in your heart is that” and so on... The biggest *kharq-i ādat* ( = ‘khawāriq’) of Sheikh ‘* OMIT * was his ability in curing every kind of cancer. For example I myself had stomach cancer when I was twelve...all the skilled doctors gave up from my health and I was supposed to die in next ten days. We call Sheikh who was gone vagrant at that time and
momentarily lived in London. He asked them to bring me by the phone because he should hear the voice of his patient to be able to practice his ‘khawāriq’ on him/her. Even a small breath would suffice (here he made an inhaling sound). Afterward he told my parents to mix pure honey with cowslip plant and mint contract in a glass of water and give him to drink after a while he will ask for bread but never give him, cook bulgur instead and give him the water of bulgur with a teaspoon of raw turmeric. After three days he can eat whatever that he wants. And I got cured.

Comment: Afterward he explained that how the skin cancer of his aunt was also cured by using the milled seeds of grape and pomegranate mixed with nettle contract as an ointment.

In this interview he also explained a lot of important issues in Sufism such as jādārī and khelāfat and beyraq and parcham,…In the next track he explained also a little bit about the silent rivalry that exists between two major brotherhoods in Sanadaj during his explanations on his dreams.

● Mirec126

**Keywords:** status-bringing dreams, truthful dreams, Qāderieh vs. Naqshbandiyeh, Sufi vs. Dervish, Mutual dreaming, Wise Old Woman,…

In another dream ‘Irfān saw a woman who showed him a manly face and told him that this man would be your brother-in-law and will marry your sister:

- I resisted in my dream but she said that it is out of his control and the matter is decreed. After a few years he appeared in reality: A man who was lesser than my sister of any aspect and the first reaction of my family members—except my sister—was to reject his proposal until I remembered of my dream…afterward I shared my dream with my father, mother and brother and gradually and through my negotiations they accept him and now they are happily married!

Comment: This is the first and only time that we confront an Wise Old Woman in a dream instead of an ‘Wise Old Man’. It is also interesting that in how many different ways a dream can change the reality. The paradox of this account is that the dreamer has helped the dream to become a true one: How the issue could be ever become “decreed” if he did not insist on the truth value of his dream?

- **When have you seen your true dreams? In which hour of the day or night?**
- I have seen all of my true dreams—which are more than 20 numbers—in one hour before the morning azān (Islamic call for prayer). I am sure because I am very exact in issues of this kind and I write them down in full details.

(In his next dream he narrates that how he saw Sheikh ‘Abdol-Qāder Gilānī the founder of Qāderie brotherhood in the dream.)

- He stroked me with his right hand on my right shoulder-blade. In that very night I look at the mirror and saw the palm of his hand is printed on my shoulder-blade and I woke up from the dream... The next day I narrated this dream to my mother but she did not believe me and told me: “Oh, son! You are an outstanding man in our family and everybody counts on you, stop saying nonsense, I am your mother, though, I do not believe your dream, how do you expect from others to believe it? You are a Sufi and he is the pole of Dervishes! What have these two to do with each other?”

Comment: By saying such, his mother has reminded him that he is a follower of her cousin, Sheikh ‘Oṯmān, the sheikh of Naqshbandieh (A Sufi) and not a Dervish. Naqshbandieh and Qāderieh are differentiated by these two words but this differentiation is not absolute hence Sufi and Dervish could be used as synonyms.

...One year I was struggling with my mother and she did not believe my dream. Until one night Hadj Seyed Khalīl paced into my dream. He is a Sufi who lives in Divāndareh (a region in Kurdistan) and has some special kinds of ‘khawāriq’ for himself. “Do not be worry! I will speak with your mother!” He told me in my dream! It was near the morning azān.

- Have you narrated your dream to Hadj Seyed Khalīl?
- Just in dream. In wakefulness I had never seen him! He asked me “Why are you so depressed? What is your problem?”

- Why were you depressed then?
- I was depressed for one year!

- One year!!??
- Yes! I was depressed for one year and my mother tortured me (zajram dād زجرم داد) because it was utterly important to gain the belief of my mother [on the dream of Sheikh ‘Abdol-Qāder Gilānī].

“Who are you?”I asked and he answered “I am Hadj Seyed Khalil Kohl!” and I told him in my dream: “Might you see no happiness in your life! I have heard that you solve the problem of all the people! Why you do not solve my problem?” He laughed
and rubbed his hand upon my head saying: “Do not be worry! I will solve your problem right tonight!” It was just a few minutes after the azān of morning that my mother woke me up... .”Let me kiss your right shoulder-blade” and she shed in tears. “Why are you crying?!” I asked her but she asked again to let her kiss my right shoulder-blade and she explained that she has seen Hadj Seyed Khalil in her dream and he has told her to believe her son!

- How many nights have been passed between your dream and the dream of your mother?

- No time! He had entered to the dream of my mother right after talking with me!

Comment: The way that 'Irfān explains his experience of mutual dreaming (or meeting dream) is very interesting. Mutual dreaming is “when two or more people share the same dream” and there are many esoteric techniques developed to induce or manipulate this experience. “Lucid mutual dream [is appeared to be] a learned skill” (Campbell, 2006: 134). An undeliberate mutual or meeting dream often occurs between friends and members of a family (see Campbell, 2006: 95-100). ‘Irfān talks of dream in such a way as if his or his mother’s dream is kind of spiritual room that sainthood can deliberately enter or exit from it. At its most powerful kind of mutual dreaming the dreamers share the same dream completely. As with lucid dreaming, this can occur spontaneously or can be induced deliberately.

We may consider two dream theories to explain those thought patterns that justify the position of the dreamer inside the body of the dream: The ‘soul travel theory’ (of the one who visits the dreamer) and the ‘visitation theory’ (as is the sense of oneself as a passive recipient of the dream rather than an active agent). In the dream of 'Irfān these two models meet each other: The soul of Hadj Seyed Khalil travels to visit the dreamer.

... He had told my mother: “this man is sediq (truthful)! Why you do not believe him?” afterward she told me: “Wake up! I will say my praying behind you this morning!”

Comment: By saying such, one usually alluded to the higher spiritual status of another person as in a collective prayer (namāz-i jamā‘at نماز جماعت ) the one who stands in front of the others is usually considered to be the most pious
and closest to Allāh. The spatial configuration of a collective prayer mirrors this proximity. The one who stands in front of the others in a collective prayer is an imām  إمام which literally means “in front of”; in other words: more proximate than others.

● Mirec127

**Keywords:** Khavāriq, rābite, karāmat, ...

‘Irfan here—just like Khalife Mousā in sound track Mirec015—warns his listener from the dangerous effects of changing the sheikhs or having more than one sheikh. This short interview portrays ‘khavāriq’ as a kind of staging that puts the truth-value of a sheikh and his convent on public inspection:

- ...when a guest arrives for a sheikh, the sheikh usually entrust a knife into the stomach of a dervish (the word dervish here means advanced pupil) to show his karāmat to his guest. There were once 4 sheikhs in a village that all of them had just one dervish; they entrust so much knife in his stomach that he died as a final point. Now when someone jumps from one mystical discipline to another, the people told him: “Oh brother, you behave like dervish Nabī [the name of that dervish], I afraid that you kill yourself at last!”  

That was the story of dervish Nabī, whoever came to the village the sheikhs sent someone after him: “Ya Allāh, show our Krāmat!”

**-Is someone died on the effect of Khavāriq?**

-No, except dervish Nabī of course who had four different sheikhs. Whoever who bring himself to dance on the orchestration of four different musicians will clearly take a heart infect.

● Mirec128

Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimī is hearing to a woman who is asking him to write her a do’ā to tackle her problems.

● Mirec129

Interview with Alirezā Borjali: a man from Tehran who has worked for several years as a reconstructive contractor in Sanandaj and become acquainted with Sufism. Now as a non-Kurd Sufi he narrates one of his dream in which an ‘Wise Old Man’ appeared and instruct him to resist against the embezzlements and misappropriations in his work place!

● Mirec130-132
Continuation of my interview with Alirezā Borjali on his dreams.

Mirec133

Keywords: birth-miracle, water miracle, Word vs. Flesh, doʻā, They, Īsm-i Aʻẓam ...

Khalife Mousā who was busy with his customers interrupts my interview with Alirezā Borjali who was talking about the birth-miracles in his family and relatives to add something about a very special ritual in tariqat of Qāderie. It seems that he was hearing to us all the time:

- Look! Tariqat of Kasnazānī is the continuation of about 30 generation after Imām Rizā and those who has no child and come to our convent (khāneqāh) would become a baby under the God’s approval if they eat the date palm of tariqat-i Kasnazānī.

  Comment: As he explains later it is a date palm on which a verse of Quran is written. The verse is related to the miracle of the virgin birth of the Jesus!

All of the words of ‘Oliyā (saints) is the continuation of ....

- ...the prophets’ miracles!

  Comment: I interrupt him by helping him in what he was trying to say as this sentence was one of his favorite pet phrases. The phrase that he usually uses is: “The wonders of the friends of God is the continuation of the miracles of the prophets of God!” (karāmāt-i ʻoliyā ʻedāmey-i moʻdjezey-i anbiyāst کرامات اولیا ادامه معجزه انبیا است) But in this interview he used a little altered version of his pet phrase to say: “The ‘Words’ of the friends of God is the continuation of the miracles of the prophets of God!” One should take this interchange between Word and wonder not accidental! This was not a slip of tongue but—as we shall see in the continuation of his explanations—it us exactly what that he really mean it: There are a set of words and ‘spells’ (doʻā for instance) put their special effects on materialistic world or flesh!

- Excellent! [karāmat] is the prove of the prophets’ miracles. What is the miracle of a prophet? It is the words of Quran, or the words of the New Testament (Indjil انگلیل) or the words of Torah. It is said that ʻaḍrat-i ʻIsā (Jesus) has made a dead alive, or it is said that he is born without having a father. Then, there is a related verse for this miracle [in Quran]. If the same verse be written on a date palm and read by a pious Insān انسان (human being) like our sheikh of tariqat the shāh (king) of Kasnazān, and ʻaḍrat-i shāh Huseyn and ʻaḍrat-i shāh Qāder [and so on...]

456
Comment: Here and as a general rule a living sheikh is seen as a representative of all his forefathers and fore-sheikhs. This is why that a living sheikh is mostly addressed with a plural pronoun for example a sheikh uses “we” instead of “I”. Anyone who eats from that date palm will become a baby if he/she had not a child before.

- They recite the same verse that is about [the virgin birth] of Jesus, isn’t it?
- [Yes!], They recite the same very verse!

- What was that verse?
- It is in the Maryam (Mary) Surah of Quran.

Comment: He is referring to this verse of Quran:

“And shake toward you the trunk of the palm tree; it will drop upon you ripe, fresh dates.” (19:25)

The relation between this verse and the virgin birth (here, unexpected birth for example when the husband is impotent) would become clear by reading some verses before:

“She [Mary] said, “How can I have a boy while no man has touched me and I have not been unchaste?”. He [the arch-angel Gabriel] said, “Thus [it will be]; your Lord says, It is easy for Me, and We will make him a sign to the people and a mercy from Us. And it is a matter [already] decreed.” So she conceived him, and she withdrew with him to a remote place. And the pains of childbirth drove her to the trunk of a palm tree. She said, "Oh, I wish I had died before this and was in oblivion, forgotten." But he called her from below her, "Do not grieve; your Lord has provided beneath you a stream. And shake toward you the trunk of the palm tree; it will drop upon you ripe, fresh dates.” (19:22-25)

-How they do that? They blow into the date palm or what?
-This is neither my job nor yours! ‘They’ know only. It has a special know-how. Does everyone can make a medicine? Or is anyone able to make a soup? That ‘oliyā (sainthood) who recites a good do‘ā is superbly skilled and this skill is out of reach of others....

(...Now Borjali takes the talking turn again)
Mary nurtured by a palm tree, as described in the Quran. 16th century, Turkey, painter anonymous.

(Source: http://www.eslam.de/begriffe/m/maria.htm; last accessed on 6.1.2016)

Mary with Jesus near the Palm tree where she gave birth. Date and painter unknown. Language: Farsi.

On this page we also read: “...As she felt the pain of birth she grabbed a column and cried of pain, right after the birth a fountain of water appeared at the beneath of that column and that column turned into a palm tree as well...”. This a direct explanation of Quranic verses however reports of water miracles is an ever repeating part of most of stories.

(Source: http://mattstone.blogs.com/photos/christian_art_middle_east/Mariam.html; last accessed on 6.1.2016)
- Three things are much esteemed in the eyes of God and you should be careful! As Khalife correctly said, even making a soup needs a special knowledge ... there are a few people who are skilled in doing such a things. One of these things is the Īsm-i Aʿẓam ([lit.] the biggest name) of God that is a word in Quran but only his messenger, hadrat-i Mohammad (Peace be upon him) knows which word is the biggest name of him!...Nobody else was shared with this knowledge and this is why that we should respect Quran! The second thing is the night of Qadr (shab-i Qadr شب قدر) which no one knows which one of the nights of the year is that night! This expedient is taken to hinder committing sin in every night of the year because one considers every night as Qadr in which every sin will wrote to his/her [in his/her annual decree] as a big sin (gonāh-i Kabireh گناه کبیره).

Comment: According to Islamic belief, Shab-i Qadr or the Night of Destiny, is better than 1000 months. There is a very short Surah in Quran in this name:

“We have indeed revealed this (Message) in the Night of Power: And what will explain to thee what the night of power is? The Night of Power is better than a thousand months. Therein come down the angels and the Spirit by Allāh’s permission, on every errand: Peace!...This until the rise of dawn!” (97:1-5)

Muslims believe that on this night the destiny of every human being under-heaven will be rewritten and it would remain decreed until the next year namely until the next night of destiny (Qadr also means value, power, measure, etc.). Comparing these with Borjali’s descriptions on this night shows that how deeply the religious conceptions of punishment and reward are intertwined.

... And finally among the humans there are some humans that they are very treasured appreciated in the eyes of God, those who when they say that this [white] yogurt is black it turned to be black! If he/she says that this shop should turn into gold it would turn into gold and so on...we should respect them and they are not recognizable through their cloth or suit that they wear or their academic title or their jeld جلد (guise used as cover), then we should respect everyone! If you break their heart you will find yourself in a bad trouble!

● Mirecl35
Interview with Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhim on different lineages and traditions of Sufism: Seyed Zāhid explained in this interview that why Ali-ibn-i Abūlīlib or Ali is the initiator of both Sohrevardie and Qāderieh. He also explained the main differences between these tariqats. We talked shortly about Iqbal Sha‘bānī the Sheikh of Khidrieh brotherhood in Sanandaj. This lax interview led to the importance of being humble for a Sheikh as an offspring of the prophet who used to sit at door-gates as a sign of him humbleness:

-There is a Kurdish verse that explains his humble behavior:

هه ر جا خا لی بو و دا دنیشت له وا
نه قله ب دا ده نیش له دا نه بین گه شت

He (Mohammad used to sit wherever that was still unoccupied
Most of the time at the lowest place than the others

This expression which says “The nobility of a place is due to the one who occupied that place” (sharaf-ol-makn-e bel-makīn شرف المكان بالمکین) is also one of his hadiths.

(Afterward he explains the story of oston-i ḵanāneh استن حنانه or the moaning column. According to tradition this was a wooden column in the Meddina’s mosque to which the prophet was used to lean. The day that Mohammad changed his sitting place from this column to his pulpit, the column started to moan in sorrow because of his distancing.)

Comment: This story is narrated once by khalife Mousā and sheikh Ṣan‘ān too. Rumi has devoted a story to this column that communicated with the early Muslims (See Mathnawi, Rumi, vol. I part 105, URL: http://ganjoor.net/moulavi/Mathnawi/daftar1/sh105/ last accessed on 3.1.2016)) In Moloud Khān #2; part1; Scene 4, Seyed Zāhid Ibrāhimī recites a poem of Rumi in which a stone started to talk with the prophet, the explanations given to that footage could be shared with this interview as in both of these stories Mohammad communicates with a solid object. In the case of the moaning column the prophet made a deal with the column: The column promised to remain silent in return of being resurrected in heaven.)

-...It is still a column in the mosque of Medinna although it is decorated and covered with stones. There are 14 columns between the pulpit and altar in this mosque and
one of them is the moaning column. Mohammad has said: “Whoever came to this mosque and say his/her prayer between these 14 columns he/she can swear: “I have prayed in heaven!”

Comment: Again the heaven—as a dream in which every wish is fulfilled—has something to share with reality—i.e. a physical place inside a mosque.

- Mirec136

Keywords: Word vs. Flesh, do‘ā, esoterism, Istikhāreh, jādāri, Hārout and Mārout, day residue, Quran, Jihad, ‘they’, heaven, ego-denunciation, similar dreams different interpretations, Joseph and his art of ta‘wil, remembering the dreams, ayat-ol-korsī, breath, narrating a dream to the running water, mutual dreaming, Purity, Papa Gave Water, Qāderieh vs. Naqshbandieh ...

This is one of the interviews in which I ask Seyed Zahid Ibrāhimī the well-known dream interpreter in Sanadaj directly about his profession:

- Your clients are mostly women isn’t it? (Every time that I drop in his house his room was full of women, there was some occasions that a man or two were also there)
- There are also men among them!
- They come with their wives or for themselves?
- Both!
- They come mostly for getting do‘ā or for dreams.
- Some of them ask for do‘ā and some others ask “if we should buy that car?!”; [or] “marry with that family?”; [or] ”should we give our daughter to that man?...his name is Ali or Mohammad or Taqī and [the name of] his mother is... ” this is what they usually want!
- Are you not afraid of making failure?
- One should be careful in calculating their abdjad algebra. The truth (ḥaqiqat حقيقة) of it knows only God, nobody is aware of the occulted (hich kasī qeyb nemidānad هیچکسی غیب نمیداند) but If their number is close to each other their ıtāle’ طالع (destiny) would be also close [it would be a lucky marriage]. If not he [the foreteller] should order them to take an Istikhāreh استخاره or advise them to use patience (ṣabr صبر). Then it is not out of these three possibilities: first: “Do it!”; second: “Don’t do it!” and finally and in the middle of these to: “Use patience!”

461
- How you ever come across to do this job, I mean dream interpreting and writing do'ā and things like this?

- These issues come down by inheritance but that human should also be jādār جادار ([lit.] having space or capacity= capable) and never change the system of his father!

  Comment: System is exactly the word that he used to explain the tradition of his father.

... When I was seven years old, my father learned me to write do'ā for welfare (kheyr خير) and not for magic or to corrupt the relation between people or families. [He taught me] To write the verses for Quran as remedy (shafā شفاعة).

- Is there any verse in Quran that can be used for inhumanity or oppression?

- Once there was two angels who came to Allāh saying “Oh God! Please let us go down on the earth to preach these ignorant human beings who do awful things on the earth!”; “Human has animalistic instinct, you cannot catch them on this!” God answered; “Yes we can!” They insisted; This is the story of Hārout and Mārout هاروت و ماروت. They were two angels that God bestowed them the ego (nafs نفس) and you know that angels per creation have no ego like us. They [the angels] do not what is this [he points to something] good for, or what is the use of a woman or what is the difference between bitterness and sweetness and so on.. Worshiping is their only pleasure! After they land on the earth they become touched by lust and it is said that Hārout has seduced six hundred girls. He wrote their names and deceived them.

  Comment: The black magic transfers itself into the Flesh of someone by the medium of his/her name. Then, revealing the name of someone could be dangerous for him/her as it is supposedly through the names that this kind of black magic works.

This is ‘ilm-i sehr علم سحر (magic) and is conflated with sin.

  Comment: Seyed Zāhid goes to the end of story but this story is a little bit different from its Quranic version although there is just one long verse in Quran in which the story of these two angels is reported:

  “And they followed [instead] what the devils had recited during the reign of Solomon. It was not Solomon who disbelieved, but the devils disbelieved, teaching people magic and that which was revealed to the two angels at Babylon, Harut and Marut. But the two angels do not teach anyone unless they say, "We are a trial, so do not disbelieve [by
practicing magic]." And [yet] they learn from them that by which they cause separation between a man and his wife. But they do not harm anyone through it except by permission of Allāh. And the people learn what harms them and does not benefit them. But the Children of Israel certainly knew that whoever purchased the magic would not have in the Hereafter any share. And wretched is that for which they sold themselves, if they only knew.” (2: 102)

Just like Ascension which has just one single verse in Quran as its reference, a full, long and detailed story is webbed around. It is possible that some of these elements are borrowed from Jewish fables (Tisdall: pp. 24). Notwithstanding these details, what is of special importance in this interview is the instant and accurate answers that Seyed Zāhid gives to my questions. It is as if everything is strongly hardwired in his brain due to a long term commemoration and reciting Quran, Hadith and books of tradition. Everything that one asked from him has a central Word that the question is constructed upon it for example “black magic” in my question. This Word respectively is tied to a special place in Quran and from there on to a large elaborated cluster of meanings, exegesis and conceptions!

...God hung them inversely in two wells as [punishment]: “Oh Harut and Marut, I sent you on earth to be my deputy (khalifegarī (خليفه گری) and not for committing crimes!” God told them, and look what a heart has our prophet [Mohammad] that the moon-like girls went to him but he did not pay attention to them, Vallāh (swear to God) every day fifty or sixty women come to this very room but I behave them just like men.

- **What is the difference between the dreams of women and men?**

  - Nothing! It is important that they be pious or have no spiritual [psychological] disorder or not be obsessed by an issue, work or idea [day residue] for example if someone is thinking about receiving of his driving license at the day time he/she would very probably see him/herself behind a car at the dream. [Dreams of this kind are not worthy for being interpreted]

  For example at the time of harvest and yielding our products and grapes we may dream ourselves harvesting again. Dreams of this kind are induced by our work at the day but if I see grape in the winter it has a completely different meaning because
there is no grape in winter. I have not done anything in the day time related to grape to see it again at the night; [then it should convey a meaning!]

Comment: Although Seyed Zāhid sees no difference between the dreams seen by men and women but there is an inversive rule that sometimes applies upon the meaning of the dream seen by a woman that should be explained here. In Zoroastrianism the women and impurity are tied together (Neshat and Beck: 57). After Islam many of these ancient laws of purity and perspectives e.g. those regarding menstruating women, reappeared in Islamic laws and disciplines for example a menstruating woman is not allowed to touch Quran or attend religious functions (Mehta (Gillian Towler), 2011: 16). The impurity of women is considered as a legitimating reason to name the women as ration-deficit and religion-deficit ناقص العقل و ناقص الدين and to handle them like devils and diits in this sense that whatever they say is a mirror-like reversed reflection of truth. This devilish aspect is formulated in a hadith attributed to Mohammad: "شاوروهم و خالفهم" which means: “Consult with them but do the opposite of what they told you!”

This negativity and reciprocality has given its features to the dream of women too: خواب زن چپه “khāb-i zan chape” is one of the most popular expressions in almost all Iranian societies which means: “whatever a woman sees in a dream should be interpreted as its opposite”. There is much hidden wisdom in this because this rule is never applied for a happy tidings or religious dreams. It does not mean that seeing a saint in a women’s dream should be interpreted as devil. This rule is practically applicable just on the bad dreams and works as an effective consolation and encouragement for the times that a woman sees a very bad dream. The neighbors and relatives who hear of her bad dream would simply say: “Do not worry because as you know khāb-i zan chape”. In this way, a potentially bad dream will drop into the line of ḥosn-i taʿbir or the art of happy interpretation.

The same unilateral rule is reported by the ethnologist Roy Dilley among the Tukolor weavers in Africa: In some cases, people who on one level regard dreams as significant, on another level dismiss them as nonsense (cf. Dilley, 1992: 74).
Discovery (aletheia) in dream (kashf dar khāb): A page from the Islamic esoteric book, “the hidden secret” Ser-ol-Mostatar (Sheikh Bahāī, Ser-ol-Mostatar : 116). In this page the writer explains about an esoteric ‘spell’ that should be written on hand before sleeping. It is supposed that it is helpful for solving a problem or an issue in dream. This ‘spell’ should be written on the right hand for men and on the left hand for women.

A dream interpreter should be a good interpreter of Quran. Isn’t it

- He should know the Quran very well! For example you may see someone who came into your dream saying: “I am not dead!” [where he/she is dead in reality] Quran says: “And never think of those who have been killed in the cause of Allāh as dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, receiving provision.“ [This is the verse 3:69 of Quran] This verse refers to those people who use their knowledge or praxis (‘ilm o ‘amal علم و عمل) in the way of God or become martyrred in his way; they should not be considered as dead as they are alive; even they receive their food and provision directly from God even in this world but it is not visible to the others. This is the meaning of Heaven.

Comment: Seeing a person in the dream who claims him/herself as alive stands for piousness of that person in this system of dream. Moreover Seyed Zāhid suggests here a very different and essential read of this verse of Quran. Actually this verse of Quran is usually used by the people of shari‘at for recruiting the Muslims, encouraging them for taking a military Jihad against the pagans and so on... because in this verse it is promised that their efforts will got even by the provisions that they will receive in heaven. To him—and to
my knowledge, for every follower of tariqat—jihad is instead an inner endeavor for getting into God’s proximity.

... If someone dreams that he/she is in Mecca or Medinna and he/she is a worshiper of Allāh (ahl-i ‘ibādat bāshad/اهل عبادت باشد), ‘they’ will write for him/her the reward of Hadj pilgrim otherwise it is just a disturbed dream.

- **How do you start to hear the dreams of your clients?**
- First of all I ask of his/her name and if he/she recites his/her daily prayers or not! If he/she is a worshiper or not! “Have you any special problem? Are you in a special predicament? Have you any enemy?” First after asking questions of this kind I start my interpretation of his/her dream.

- **Do you look into his/her forehead (jabīn/جيبين) as well?**

  Comment: jabīn literally means forehead but it is an expression to refer to someone’s spiritual capability.

- Although I have not such a pure person to see everything but of course! As it is said: “Their mark is on their faces from the trace of prostration.” (سیماهم فی وجوههم من اثر السجود)

  Comment: Here and as usual he answered with the act of ego-denunciation or shekaste-nafsi/شکسته نفسی as a general normative to avoid being seen as a pompous person pretentious of his art in seeing the most insidious thoughts and desires of the people but right afterward he accepted that this is exactly the way that he estimates the spiritual potential of his clients and to tie this into the body of tradition he recites a part of a long verse of Quran which stresses on the mark of human deeds on his/her face:

  “Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh; and those with him are forceful against the disbelievers, merciful among themselves. You see them bowing and prostrating [in prayer], seeking bounty from Allāh and [His] pleasure. Their mark is on their faces from the trace of prostration. ...” (48:29)

...Then by looking into their face one understands if he/she is a worshiper or belongs to the stone-hearted people (ahl-i-qeswat/اهل قسوت)...Some dreams are punishments. ‘They’ show it to the dreamer to frighten him/her [to return him/her back to the line]. For example if someone sees him/herself in the fire, or in a desert or being lost or barefoot or wearing no cloth or something to cover his/her genital organs...Dreams of these kinds are punishments (tanbīh/تنبيه).

- **What if two different person see the same dream?**

466
- Once a man came to the presence of the prophet and told him of his dream in which he saw himself eating [Armenian] plum. “You will receive blessing and affluences in the same weight that you ate Armenian plum in your dream!” Prophet answered. Afterward came another man and narrated the same dream; “You will become sick for few days!” This was the prophet’s answer to this one. “They have seen the same dream, then why you interpret it differently?” asked the accompanies of the prophet. “The first man was a pious” Mohammad answered, “God has written to him the fruits of the heaven, but the second man was heart-hardened (a man of qiswat) and should repent!”

Then when two people share one dream they should not share the same interpretation!

[Afterward he narrates the long story of Joseph and his art of tawil both in prison and in the palace of the pharaoh of Egypt]

... 

- What shall we do to remember of our dreams the day after?
- Recite ayat-ol-korsī! One time ayat-ol-korsī and three times qol-howallāh [Surah Ikhlās] and one time ḥamd [Surah al-ʿFātiḥah the first Surah of Quran] and he/she will see a pleasant dream inshāallāh and he/she will never forget of his/her dream!

Comment: Ayat-ol-korsī or the Throne Verse is the 255th verse of the second Surah of Quran. It is one of the most famous verses of Quran. There are a lot of occulted powers which are attributed to this verse. From my childhood I remember that we should recite this verse and blow afterward our breath onto our hands and other members of our body to bring them into God’s protection. It is the most popular keep-safe verse. The use of this verse for protection is somehow clear because it ends with this sentence:

walā yaʿāduhu ḥifżuhumā wa huwa l-ʿaliyyu l-ʿaẓīm...

... ولا يُؤدِّه حفظهما و هو العلي العظيم

...and He is never weary of preserving them. He is the Sublime, the Tremendous.

The use of this verse as a tool for remembering of the dreams may be related to the symmetry of the verses in Ayat-ol-Korsī which is considered as one of the
miracles of Quran by many knowledgeable Muslims. Each of these nine sentences is in mutual correspondence with each other around the central sentence which says: “He knows what is before them and what is behind them”. The words before and behind could be considered here respectively as day and night and in this way one can bring safely his/her dream into the day. Another reason is the usage of the words like weary and sleep in the throne-verse: It starts with: “Allāh! There is no deity save Him, the Alive, the Eternal. Neither slumber nor sleep overtake Him.”

But, and as a general rule, the main reason for using this verse as a tool for remembering the dreams should reside inside a single Word. To my understanding this word is حفظهما (preserving or protecting) at the end of this verse. The Arabic root of this word is حفظ which from which the word memory is built: حفظه.

- Is it correct that we should blow into our hands [after reciting these verses]?
- It would be good!
... It is good to narrate the dream to the running water or to an interpreter who knows good from bad; because if the dream is good narrating it to the running water will repeat it, and if it is bad it will take [its badness] away from you!

- Is it possible to see a father-like figure or a sainthood in our dream and we give them something? A present for example?
- If one sees the Prophet or one of ʿoliyā in his/her dream ‘they’ give something to the dreamer [and not vice versa]! One night Ḥadrat-i Ali saw the prophet in his dream and he gave him two date palms. The day after ʿOmar (the second arch-khalife of Muslims) gave him two date palms from a big tray of date palms. “Why just two!” asked Ali; “Did Mohammad gave you more than two in your dream last night? If so I will give you all of these date palms!”

Comment: Mutual dreaming is one of the favorite and desirable happenings for most of the people that I interviewed with them. This interest reflects itself either in the dreams that they narrate –As in the case of ʿIrfān and his mother in few tracks before—or in the hagiographies of this kind.

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468
— How the Word effects on water or a date palm or a piece of nylon and other objects through the breath of the man that recites it?
- Water and date palm and things of this kind are halāl (ceremonially clean) but the breath of the one who recites the verses into these objects should be cleaned and pure not like my breath.

- Ekhtiyār dārid (you have the power)!

  Comment: He makes shekaste-nafsī again and as a rule of politeness I should return his ego-denunciation with phrases like “ekhtiyār dārid”. There are many moments of interruptions like this during the interviews!

...The purity of the breath is important! Yusuf sent his cloth [from Egypt] to his father Jacob [in Kan‘ān] and he recognized the odor of his son and his eyes become cured that were blind for seven years [as he had cried a lot for Yusuf].

ز مصرش بوی پیراهن شندید
چرا در چاه کنعانش ندیدی؟

[oh, Jacob] You have smelled his cloth from the Egypt
How you have not seen him in the well of Kan‘ān? [although Kan‘ān is your own town and Egypt is a far country]

And Jacob answered that I was not pure in that time! But I am purified now because of my worships and prayers!

... Seyed Zāhid explains for few minutes the difference between mo‘jeze معجزه or miracle of a prophet and karāmat کرامت or wonder-deed of a sheikh. At the end he insisted as usual that such arguments cannot be caught by pen and paper, alluding to me that I was taking notes of what he was saying: Inhā dar dars nist dar sine ast اینها در درس نیست در سینه است. The English translation does not convey the meaning of this phrase; It means that “issues of this kind are not in the lessons but in the heart!” but what makes it beautiful is the esthetic that resides in the similarity of the sounds that the two opposite phrase of “dar dars nist” and “dar sine ast” are producing in the ear of their listener. It is hard to depart poetry from Sufism. Poetry as the density of meanings is present in every word and phrase that a Sufi uses!

- Is it possible to see the Sheikh in the shape of Khidr or vice versa?
- It is said that if you see your sheikh during the commemoration you should recite là-ḥoul لاحول three times. If it disappeared it was the Satan who guised itself in your sheikh otherwise it is really your sheikh.
Comment: *Lā-ḥoul* is an Arabic word referring to the statement *lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā billāh* (لا حول ولاقوة إلا بالله) which is usually translated as "There is no might nor power except in Allāh."

At the end of this long interview *Seyed Zāhid* narrated a story about a pupil who saw Sheikh *Abdolqāder-i Gilānī* in his dream in Medinna who offered him a flower but he did not accept the flower from him: “Oh, Sheikh, Pardon me! You know that my sheikh is sheikh *Hesām-o-din*!” says the disciple of Sheikh *Hesām-o-din* in his dream and Sheikh *Abdol-Qāder* yells out: “Ali, Ali, come here!” And *Hesām-odin* appeared [whose first name was Ali] and the disciple accepted the flower afterward!

Comment: Stories of this kind is very common among the dervishes. The aim of the narrative is to show that a good disciple should be loyal to his own sheikh. Although *Abdol-Qāder Gilānī* is of higher rank in compare to *Sheikh Hesām-o-din* but his disciple respected the hierarchy and did not accept the flower from the hand of the founder of *Qāderieh* brotherhood. On the other hand *Sheikh Hesām-o-din* was an influential sheikh that practiced both *Qāderieh* and *Naqshbandieh* but he is most known as Sheikh *Ali Hesām-o-din Naqshbandī*, then the dream communicates also this message that these two brotherhoods are warmly close to each other but a silent rivalry is also there. We understand this from the friendly as well as fatherly way that *Abdol-Qāder Gilānī* yells the name of *Sheikh Hesām-o-din*: “Ali! Ali...”
Keywords: Hands, palm-reading, esoterism, Word vs. Flesh, tamasok, writing, beyraq, ...

In this interview Seyed Zāhid explains the importance of hands and fingers in Quran and in tariqat, and as usual he binds his thoughts to some verses from Quran. The starting point of this interview was my question about the palm-reading as a kind of esoteric science and he told me that palm-reading is harām حرام (forbidden) but there are a lot of mysteries in human’s hand:

-[While showing his hands] Eighty one plus eighteen makes ninety-one which stands for ninety-one ʾism-i āʿzam (biggest name) [of Allāh].

Comment: He started with Islamic ardent desire for numerology and seeing signs and words on everything. Here he shared his belief that some holy numbers are digitally written on every human body (see fig.47).
Afterward he recited some verses from the Surah of resurrection:

“I swear by the Day of Resurrection. And I swear by the reproaching soul [to the certainty of resurrection]. Does man think that We will not assemble his bones? Yes. [We are] Able [even] to proportion his fingertips.“ (75: 1-4)

...Yes! God is able to give the enumeration of every person to his/her hand in the Day of Resurrection. In that day our mouth is sealed by the appalling presence (mohr-i heybat) and only our hands and feet would be able to speak. “I touched the black stone [hajar-olaswad in Mecca]” our hands will bear witness, or [our hands may say] ”I touched the prayer, or I gave money to the poor, etc...” and God will ask [from the hand] for giving evidence and its witness would be our feet because our feet have also lines! Or, “I have touched nāmahram (sexually unlawful)” [if our hands say], “I did wrong, I commit theft and so on...”; Our feet will witness that the hand is telling lie, “wa tashhado arjolihom be mā kānou yakseboun و تسحيذ ارجلهم بما كانوا يكسبون” (“And their feet will testify about what they used to earn.”).

**Comment:** All that he was saying was a clear translation of this verse that he referred to it: “That Day, We will seal over their mouths, and their hands will speak to Us, and their feet will testify about what they used to earn.” (36: 65)

Descriptions of this kind explain and reveal that why the idea of writing is so highly valued in this ideology. Here the flesh of our hands and feet is depicted as a board that records everything. Holding this in our mind we can perhaps
dig a way into a better understanding of the ideology working behind commemoration as a kind of writing or inducing a Word upon the Flesh!

- **Finger is [a symbol for] the son [in Islamic culture of dream], isn’t it?**
- Yes!
- **Why?**
- The light of the ḥaḍrat-i Mohammad was in the forehead of Adam. “Oh, God! What if I could see this light that is in my forehead!” asked Adam from God and hence, the light came from his forehead into his finger. The finger of Adam become bright by the light of ḥaḍrat-i rasoul (messenger= [here] Mohammad). This handshaking in tariqat [tamasok تمسک] is actually this light that transmits itself from hand to hand and this is the finger of shahādat (witnessing) [he shows his index finger] This finger gives witnesses between a human and a human: “he loves you” it bears [as witness] for example but in taṣawwof (Sufism) when someone says that “I bear as witness that Mohammad is the messenger of Allāh” it should be responded as such: “مرحبا يا حبيبي و قره العيني و قوه الظهرى و نور بصرى” and kiss his/her finger and put it upon his/her eyes and it is good for the eyes and they will never become blind Inshā-Allāh.

Comment: He is referring to this hadith with some variations from the book of hadiths of Imām Al-Sakhāwī, Al-Maqāṣid-ol-ḥasanah: عن الخضر عليه السلام أنه : من قال حین یسمع المؤذن یقول أشهد أن محمد رسول اللهَّ و قرة عیني محمد بن عبدالله صلى الله علیه وسلم ، ثم یقبل إبهامیه ویجعلهما على عینیه لم یرمد أبدا

“It is narrated from Khidr (peace be upon him): whoever says: “Salute my love and the light of my eyes, Mohammad ibn-i-‘Abdollāh (Mohammad the son of ‘Abdollāh) (Peace be upon him)” when hears the voice of Muazzin [the one who calls the people to prayer] who says: “I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh” and subsequently kisses his/her finger and put it upon his/her eye, his/her eyes will never incinerate!” (Al-Maqāṣid-ol-ḥasanah, Hadith Nr. 975)

One should notice that one usually uses the phrase qorat-ol-ʿayn ([lit.] the apple (= egg) of my eyes) to refer to his son. Here Seyed Zāhid has jumped to another track in the dense mesh of associations that the word shahādah (witnessing) provides: finger, son and bey’at on the hand of a sheikh; this latter one always starts with shahādateyn. Shahādateyn or the two testimonials (There is no god but God. Mohammad is the messenger of God.)

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is the most basic Islamic creed in which the core tenets of Islam are summarized. In fact tamasok or bey’at is a ritual of becoming a Muslim just in the way that the people became Muslim in the time of Muhammad himself. Knowing of this dense mesh of associations, I tried to bring him back to the subject of reciting of Shahādateyn anew in the ritual of tamasok in taṣawwuf:

- Then the handshaking in tamasok is the continuation of that very light that transferred from the forehead of Adam into his finger and from there on to the body of Mohammad and his sheikhs and khalifes and to the followers of tariqat isn’t it?

- Yes! During the handshaking a part of this light goes inside the body of the new disciple. [This discussion is continued is the next track Mirec138]

- Then it is better to give our hand to the most powerful sheikh, isn’t it?

- Now if we cannot find a perfect sheikh (sheikh-i kāmil شیخ کامل) in these days one can take tamasok from those colossal sheikhs who are passed away.

- Through beyraq?

- Yes!

  Comment: The flag or beyraq of a sheikh is usually laid down and cut into pieces after his death and everyone take a piece of it as tabarok تبرک or blessing but it is still possible to take tamasok from them by holding them in hand and reciting the text of toube-nāme.

At the end of this track [min 4:44 till the end] I narrate a dream and Seyed Zāhid explained the meaning of seeing a missed finger in a dream.

- Mirec138

**Keywords:** silsile, Khawāriq,....

- Mirec139

**Keywords:** Old narratives, hagiographies, karāmat, men and women and their differences in Sufism, purity, ...

- Mirec142-143

**Keywords:** Esoterism, the secrets of the number 19, ...

- Mirec144

**Keywords:** Convent discussions, rābite, hagiography, ...

Sheikh Ṣan‘ān talks with his disciple before the zikr session about the importance of rābite (relation [between a murid and his/her sheikh]). He continues a long
discussion about the different ways that a sheikh may control his murid. Among them there is a story about one of the murids of Sheikh Abdol-Qāder-i Gilānī who was delegated from Bagdad to Iran for doing a special mission in Iran. In Iran he became so near to commit adultery with the wife of another murid. At that very moment Abdol-Qāder Gilāni threw one of his shoes in Bagdad to the direction of Iran and it slaps the face of his murid in Iran. The murid recognized the shoe of his sheikh and returned regretfully on that very night to Bagdad to the presence of his sheikh and sheikh Abdol-Qāder told him: “You should never forget that I am always watching you!”

● Mirec147

**Keywords: Convent discussions, rābite, status, faqr, beggar, ...**

Sheikh Ṣanʿān is a little bit upset in this session because there are just a few pupils present and more importantly, the madāḥ (instrument player and panegyrist) was also absent. He allegorically resembled his convent to an open feast of rahmah (mercy) which is wide open to everyone who wants to use it but if there are just a few people who want to use the benefits of this rahmah it is not his fault. Afterward he recited a verse that is hanged in his convent:

کس درین درگه نیامد بازگردد ناامید گر گدا کاهل بود تقصیر مهمان خانه چیست؟

*Nobody will return disappointed from this door*  
*If the beggar is indolent, what is the guilt of the host?*

● Mirec148-150

**Keywords: Convent discussions, rābite, ...**

Record of a short madjlis in Sheikh Ṣanʿān’s convent and the lax talks between the murids after the session.

● Mirec151-158

**Keywords: Mouloudi ceremony, ...**

Record of a full Mouloudi ceremony (birthday of the Prophet of Islam) in Sheikh Ṣanʿān’s convent in Sanandaj.

● Mirec159

**Keywords: maqāms of tariqat, techniques of commemoration, hagiography, Word vs. Flesh, fire-walking, khawāriq, lion of nafs, ...**
In this interview, Sheikh Ṣanʿān adds some additional explanations after he explained seven different stages and maqāms of tariqat and different techniques of commemoration. As usual he blended his explanations with old hagiographies and stories. He started his explanations with the story of Sheikh Aboul-Hassan Kharqānī. I heard this story from almost every sheikh in Sanandaj. It is unclear why this story is so lovable by them! He continued with the stories about Abdol-Qāder Gilānī’s childhood extracted from his book of manāqib (the short name of his book of hagiography and biography. The full name of this book is Qalāíd ol-Jawāhir fī Manāqib ‘Abdol-Qāder written by Mohammad-ibn-i Yaḥyā al-tāwefī).

-...And he (Abdol-Qāder) went to Bagdad and he was just twelve years old that he became a Mofṭī (interpreter or expounder of Shari‘ah) which means that he ends the ‘ilm of shar ‘ (Islamic law based on interpretation and exegesis of Quran) at that age...He made a mosque in Bagdad and that street is known today as “Bābā Sheikh” street. His tomb is there and is a pole of many Islamic scholars ... he had a lot of karāmat even after his death.

Comment: Afterward he narrated a very interesting story that because of its length I paraphrase it as follows:

“His (Abdol-Qāder) tomb has two gates. Once a Jew was heard that whoever enters a gate and exits from the other gate with pure intention (niyat-i pāk) the fire of hell will never burn him... He had a piece of meat of cow with himself when he passed the two gates and when he returned to his home he realized that the fire has no effect on the meat and he understood that this is because of the karāmat of the Bābā Sheikh. He converted to Islam and became a murid of Abdol-Qāder. This is why that the dervishes of Abdol-Qāder can do firewalking because they have full control on their nafs (ego). This lion or dragons that we see leaned in front of Sheikh Abdol-Qāder Gilānī icons are also a symbol of nafs which is tamed by him and he has a full control on them...Even the most dangerous animals will never attack a friend of Allāh...”

He continues with the story of ‘Attar and some other stories...

- Mirec160

Keywords: Mutual dreams, ...

- Mirec166-167
Strange dreams of the Kings.

**Keywords:** do‘ā, ...

**Keywords:** Word vs. Flesh, Baktāshieh, rebus, ...

Khalife Mousā talks about the relation between word and flesh. After 31:30 minutes he says:
- In the time of Soltān Baktāsh [in Turkey] the face/form was in word and the word was in face/form (صورت در کلام و کلام در صورت بود). Everything and every form have taken its form from the words. If you were enlightened you will realize that those who draw the face in the word and the word in the face in the time of Sultan Bektāsh or Sultan Salīm (he refers to the rebus-like painting school of Baktāshieh) were all mystic and insān-i Kāmel because everything is initiated from the word.

**Keywords:** tawakol, fire-walking, Abraham, ...

**Keywords:** Quran and dreams, word vs. Flesh, logic of Quran, the story of Yusuf, death by suggestion, seeing a tooth fall out in a dream, narrating a bad dream to the running water, ...

Khalife Mousā starts talking in a group of men and women, we are gathering as usual in his shop:
- The dream of mōmin (faithful) is truthful (ḥaqiqat dārad) The dream of qeyr-i-mōmin (unfaithful) who has a good intention (niyatash kheyr bāshad) is also truthful. [According to what that comes he (Khalife Mousā) takes the dream of Pharaoh as an example of this kind of truthful dreams that may be seen by a unfaithful man or woman.] These are examples of those who say that there is no truth in dream. In Quran all the story of Yusuf started with a dream. He saw that the sun and moon and stars are bowing him. This is the logic of mysticism, this is the core of Quran!...

Comment: Afterward he narrated all the story. After listening to this story, I told the group that I want to record some dreams, khalife Mousā started to
recite a lyrical poem that was known for all the group as many of them suddenly started to laugh:

ديشو خاام له دی دانیک گیان دو ظلبه ره ش ره ش

... I saw in my dream oh, my dear mother, two black curls of hair ...

[he continues after correcting the poem:]

I saw in my dream oh, my dear mother, two deep black pair of snakes ...

[The people gathered in his shop started to help him to remember of this poem and after a while khalife left the group for his prayer and his cousin continued to sing the folk song]:

Her mother answered her daughter:

Oh my dear daughter, the meaning of those two black snakes
is your beautiful curls of hair,
and the meaning of those two bright candles
are your beautiful shining eyes
and the meaning of those two bowl of milk
is your good-looking breasts ..

This is a story about a girl, her dream and the interpretation of her mother on her dream. She [the mother in the story] continued her interpretation in this way until she concluded that her daughter will die. The story tells us that she really dies after a while and the mother actually moaned this poem in her funeral.

The second story that the cousin of khalife Mousā narrates is a kind of death by suggestion as well:

...One week before the death of my mother, it was 18.11.1986 (8.8.1364 in Iranian solar calendar; the dreamer was just a 15 years old teenager at that time), I saw in my dream that my mother passed away, I cried, moaned and screamed so much in my dream that I felt that three number of my teeth are fallen, I woke up and went to my mother's bed “I saw you dying!” telling her while I was still crying and thinking that three number of my teeth are missing. My mother took me in her arms: “Don’t worry! Don’t worry! Go and open the water tab!”. She opened the tab and ordered me to narrate the dream [for the running water]. I told the dream for water. “God turns himself [this dream] into goodness! (khodā khodesh kheyr kone خدا خوشش خیر کنه)“ she said, and in next three days my mother saw another dream! “I saw your father last night!” she told me the day after; “He collided with a car to our house and brought half of the house down and took me into his car and we drive away!”

478
Comment: Her father was died four years before seeing this dream and he had also no driving license in the whole of his life! In Kurdish culture of dreams, seeing a dead person in a dream and following him or her into the place that he/she is guiding us is a clear sign of death [= joining the dead people]!

After that dream I cried a lot; “What shall we do?! We have both saw bad dreams!” and it was three days later that we came back from a party and my mother dies an hour later where she was bodily in health! I saw her corpse exactly in the same position that I saw her dead body in my dream and I scream in the same exact way that I saw myself in my dream and it was as if I have seen all these scenes before! In my dream she was laying down on the threshold of our house and I saw her dead body on the same place.

- Did you know before that falling of a tooth means the death of a relative?
- No! I didn’t! My mother asked me in order to know which of my teeth was fallen in my dream and I show her and she ordered me not to narrate this dream anymore just to the water as it is believed that the running water will wash the bad aspects of the dream away and what remains is just the good parts of it!

Comment: every tooth has a different meaning and is attributed to a special relative. This is why that her mother asked her to show the exact fallen teeth. Khalife Mousă was in a happy mood and told her that it was because of your dream that your mother passed away: “You feared her to death!” At the end he insisted again this known rule that one should not disclose his/her dream as a secret!

● Mirec177

*Keywords: truthful dream, Shrine, Sainthood, Imâm Rezâ…*

● Mirec179

*Keywords: Shajareh, eroded lines of dream and reality, Naqshbandiyeh,...*

● Mirec181

*keywords: Shajareh, ethnocentrism, Abraham, ...*

● Mirec182

*Keywords: Politics, Tamasok تمسک, women and Sufism, ...*
Seeing Mohammad in the dream of Sheikh. Seeing him in the form of two moons and one sun. This is one of the most important dreams of this thesis and is exclusively described in several passages of the main text.

![Image of Mohammad written by two moons and a sun](image_url)

**Fig.48** Mohammad written by two moons and a sun; a dream seen by an arch-Sheikh.

**Keywords:** Imam Ali, Jādārī, tamasok, handshaking, Hadj Sheikh Mohammad Kasnazāni, Murid and Murād, vaṭan پوطن ...
**GLOSSARY**

**Abdāl** This word has its own meaning among ahl-i ḥaq and Alevīs but it generally refers to the elites and arch-Masters (check also “Abdāl”; in: Encyclopædia Iranica, n.d.; URL: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abdal).

**Acceptable speech** is alternatively used here instead of “acceptable discourse” used by Judith Butler. Butler argues that both the “hate speech” and “acceptable discourse” are determined or defined by the state power (Butler, Judith: *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*; New York: Routledge, 1997). By using this term, it is aimed here to emphasize on the rhetoric constitution of the *subject* in its unexitable mythological confrontation with *Divān* or *Divān* as the traditional administrative, supervisory and regulatory system of the state power in Persianate states.

**Afterwardness** or *Nachtraglichkeit* (also translated as “deferred action” or *après-coup* in Lacanian terminology (see Écrits: 839)) is a Freudian term usually used for describing a mode of belated realization of earlier events which are recorded differently in the memory as a *Wunderblock* (a metaphor used by Freud to allude to this changeability of the events in recording and reprinting process of the memory). This is perhaps how the notions of a past event (for an individual or a nation (Jagodzinski: 36)) may change. For Freud this process is decisive in developing the individual’s attitude to his father in different phases of his life including after the death of the father: “As long as his father was alive it showed itself in unmitigated rebelliousness and open discord, but immediately after his death it took the form of a neurosis based on abject submission and deferred obedience to him” (Freud, 1963: 131). However for Lacan *Nachträglichkeit* is an action “by which trauma becomes involved in symptoms, reveals a temporal structure of a higher order” (Écrits: 839):

> “Let’s be categorical: in psychoanalytic anamnesis, what is at stake is not reality, but truth, because the effect of full speech is to reorder past contingencies by conferring on them the sense of necessities to come, such as they are constituted by the scant freedom through which the subject makes them present.”
The meanders of the research pursued by Freud in his account of the case of the Wolf Man confirm these remarks by deriving their full meaning from them. Freud demands a total objectification of proof when it comes to dating the primal scene, but he simply presupposes all the resubjectivizations of the event that seem necessary to him to explain its effects at each turning point at which the subject restructures himself—that is, as many restructurings of the event as take place, as he puts it, nachträglich after the fact.” (Écrits: 256-257)

In the above mentioned definitions for deferred action, memory can be lightly replaced with collective memory to go better with the historical events cited in chapter Bābā: The killing of a Sassanid king and the later recollection of the fore-fathers on a new genealogical tree of a Sassanid origin.

ahl-i ḥaq or ahl-e haqq “People of (the absolute) Truth,” is a sect found in western Persia and some regions of northeastern Iraq; the name has also been adopted by other Islamic sects (Noṣayrīs, Ḥorūfīs) and appears to be rooted in the tradition of the extremist Shi‘ites (ḡolāt)” (“Ahl-e-haqq people”; in: Encyclopædia Iranica, n.d.; URL: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ahl-e-haqq-people). The philosophical doctrine of ahlī-i-haq is preserved and transmitted orally in form of ‘Kalām’ (check also the following link for attaining an emic view about this order of Sufism: URL: http://www.ahle-haqq.com/intro.html last accessed on 22.12.2016).

ahriman or Angra Mainyu is a term that represents Satan in Zoroastrian theology.

Aletheia (Ancient Greek: ἀλήθεια) is a Greek word for truth or disclosure finding its way into modern philosophy by Martin Heidegger as a term for revealing “The Origin of the Work of Art”:

“What is happening here? What is at work in the work? Van Gogh’s painting is the disclosure of what the equipment, the pair of peasant shoes, in truth is. This being steps forwards into the unconcealment of its being. The unconcealment of being is what the Greeks called ἀλήθεια [Aletheia].” (Heidegger, 1950: 16)

Ali (عَلِيُّ) the cousin of Muhammad and the 4th caliph of Muslims and the first Imam of Shi‘es and the most adored among ahl-i-haq.

An Other scene see obscene.
Antanomasia “the use of a proper name to designate a member of a class (as a Solomon for a wise ruler); also: the use of an epithet or title in place of a proper name (as the Bard for Shakespeare)” (“Antanomasia”; in: Merriam Webster Dic.; URL: https://www.merriam-webster.com)

Apophantic “Aristotle uses the term "apophantic logos" in order to distinguish a specific type of Logos (speech, communication)—that which discovers truth and falsehood and is, in its development, determined by the difference between truth and falsehood. It is the logic of judgment, but in the emphatic sense of a (judicial) sentence...When Husserl revived the idea of an apophantic logic, he emphasized its original critical intent. And he found this intent precisely in the idea of a logic of judgments—that is, in the fact that thought was not directly concerned with Being (das Seiende selbst) but rather with "pretensions", propositions on Being. Husserl sees in this orientation on judgments a restriction and a prejudice with respect to the task and scope of logic” (Source: Marcuse, Herbert: One-Dimensional Man; Boston: Beacon, 1964, p.130; URL: http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/pubs/64onedim/odm5.html; last accessed on 8.1.2017). Epiphanic experiences like dreams are non-apophantic in nature.

Appeal of the stone Argumentum ad lapidem (Latin: "to the stone") is a logical fallacy that dismisses an statement as absurd without proving it to be false. (check: “Argumentum ad Lapidem?”; in: Mavweick Philosopher; URL: http://www.maverickphilosopher.typepad.com/maverick_philosopher/2016/02/argumentum-ad-lapidem.html; last accessed on 8.1.2017)

Archaic this word is very central in this thesis and alludes to many different associations and contexts. To begin, Lévi-Strauss has once suggested that each society sees other societies—according to its own relative historical-point [of view]—in one of the following three categories: Contemporary cultures that are common in time but different in place; Archaic cultures which are common in place but different in time; and finally, Primitive cultures that are different in both time and place (Lévi-Strauss, 1952: 24).

Moreover, according to the ‘archi-writing’ features of Sufis’ discourse, they are grossly considered here as an archaic discipline in which the old entries of a word in a dictionary has sometimes more current usage in their
utterance. We see in these interviews that every question is answered instantly with a verse from classical Persian books of poetry which are in turn mostly written by Sufis or deeply influenced by Sufism.

On the other hand this word is used to describe the oratory and speech-making essence of what here is considered as the Quranic formula for dream-work and renders the dream into an archaic space in which a voice creates visible objects. This formula is: “Kon fa yakoun” (“Be! And here it is!”) (Quran, 2:117). This formula is all about an auto-affective Word that creates whatever it says. The Word itself remains hidden behind that very Thing that is just created—as in the dream-work in which the latent content is disguised by the a manifest content. Another association of this word is therefore, the word Origin or Genesis as it is in Gospel when we read: "In the beginning (arche) was the Word (logos)"(John 1:1) and so on...(Check also the next entry)

Arch-writing [or Arche-writing] and trace are two terms used by derrida especially in his “of grammatology” (Derrida, 1967). In writings of Derrida archi-writing can be substituted with trace. The influence of Heidegger is clear in most of Derrida’s notion on archi-writing for example:

“Heidegger reminds us constantly that the sense of being is neither the word “being” nor the concept of being. But as that sense is nothing outside of language and the language of words, it is tied, if not to a particular word or to a particular system of language (concesso non dato), at least to the possibility of the word in general.” (Derrida, 1967: 21)

To understand the Derridean sign algorithm and the way that he puts the signifiers over the signifiers in such a way that nothing remains outside-text, we should understand the meaning of [archi-]trace in his writing. A signifier is always linked to another signifier which is absent but it is partially readable through its trace like the traces of an erased word. As “being” is the master-word both for Heidegger and our own considerations on the Quranic formula of kon fa yakoun, let us consider that we are looking for the meaning of “be” in a dictionary. Notwithstanding of its various layers of different meanings we will have in its most minimized form:
\textbf{Be} \bê\:

1- to exist, [to be] present: I am, you are, they are, there are, etc.
2- (archaic) befall, [to wish] to happen as if by fate: Power be with you!

The diverse forms of the first meaning (am, is, are, was, were,...) are different from each other but nevertheless, belong to the same \textit{epoch} of the word \textbf{be} (i.e. its current usage). This constructs a horizontal axis of \textit{contemporality}. However, the second meaning (befall) is a residue, a relict, a left-over of an older \textit{epoch} and dictionary. And if we look into that older dictionary we may see a second meaning that is left from an even older dictionary. This older dictionary, in the same way, suggest an even older trace for the meaning of \textbf{be} ... and this knows no end. This constructs a vertical axis of \textit{time} made of archaic meanings (1-, 2-, 3-, etc.). This is how the issue of \textit{time} is entered in Derridean model of sign (signifier over signifier [of what is forever absent]).

The archaic (= older) meanings come in mind first after a temporal delay or \textit{defer}. They are distant meanings in compare to the first meanings written in front of a word in a new dictionary (the older meanings appear first in the second, third, ...lines).

The question of this thesis. However, is what if (perhaps among the Sufis or even inside a fictional community), the first and the second meaning (and accordingly the first and the second lines) become so condensed to each other to constitute just one line of meaning?

\begin{center}
\textit{Different}
\end{center}
Deferment (time)

Gloss.1 The derridean system of sign: Différer (différence) is a sign under erasure and a general property of every word. Every word in a new lexicon has a trace of the older lexicons in form of an archaic entry. We are surrounded with lexicons from every direction and there is nothing other than this ocean of signifiers. “l n’y a rien en dehors du texte (there is no outside-text)” (Derrida, Limited Inc, 1972: 148) (the ornamented S is taken from the following online dream dictionary to signify the archaic trace of the letter S: http://www.paranormality.com/dream_dictionary_s.shtml; last accessed on 3.1.2017.)

In other words, what if the second, older meaning becomes more current than the first meaning perhaps inside a special kind of performative discourse? Is this exactly not the case that we have in most of the interviews of this work in which every current question is answered with a proverb or a verse with archaic intonation and recitation of it? An invisible force has condensed the axis of time into an archaic space in which the old and new or Father and the son could come into dialogue with each other. This passion for tradition (sunnat or sunnah ستّت) is a prerequisite for this kind of dialogue in which for example, the Prophet or an arch-Sheikh or a fore-father appears and asks of the situation of his followers or sons. They should use the same lexicon to be able to communicate with each other and this should be that of the Father. Every narrative follows the suit of a hagiographic report.

Aṣḥāb-i-keahf or SEVEN SLEEPERS OF Ephesus, is a “Christian legend attested by texts in many languages... eight young Christians of Ephesus—rather than seven, as in most other versions—fell asleep and were walled up in the cave where they had hidden in order to escape the persecution of Decius (249-51 C.E.). Many years later, during the reign of the Christian
emperor Theodosius II (408-50 C.E.), when the church is troubled by heresy, the youths return to life to confirm the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The legend is clearly alluded to in the Quran as Aṣḥāb al-kahf (18:8-26), where the number of the sleepers (3, 5, or 7; including their dog, 4, 6, or 8) is left open. Many Muslim writers, both in Arabic and in Persian (e.g., Sa'di, Rūmī), show familiarity with the story, sometimes in its koranic and sometimes in its Christian form.” (Source: “Ephesus”; in: Encyclopædia Iranica, n.d.; URL: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ephesus; last accessed on 8.1.2017)

Bābā is softened name for father (something like Papa) but it is also a general name for an arch-Sheikh (e.g. Bābā Yādegar) or every king who reigned for a long time without being dethroned (e.g. Naser-ol-din Shāh Qājār known also as Shāh Bābā).

Baraka or Barakah or Barakat is an Arabic word meaning blessings. It is always conflated with someone whose presence will increase the amount of food and living standard of the people. See the comments on Mirec106.

Barzandjeh is the name of a village in Shāhrezur region located in Iraqi Kurdistan in the Halabceh district of Solaymanieh province and the birth place of Soltān Sohāk one of the arch-Sheikhs of ahl-i ḥaq. It usually refers to a part of Kālām (script; celestial discourse) and in the same manner it refers to an epoch (doure دوره). This village is also very important for Sufis of Qāderie.

bāṭin-dār is an expression to address those who are spiritually developed and hence have bāṭin (see the next entry).

bāṭin is derived from the Arabic word بطن which means stomach or abdomen and therefore usually stands for every hidden part of the beings in contrast to ẓāhir ظاهر which means obvious. ẓāhir and bāṭin are both asmā’ (names) of Allāh.

Black light watch my video: Esmailpour Ghouchani, Iraj: “Shadow in Iran”; in: Schatten Seminar, Prof. Dr. Thomas Reinhardt, LMU university, Institute of ethnology, winter semester 2011, permanent URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i4S8HO-bPSY.

Buraq in Islamic culture is a white horse-like mount with wings and human face on which, according to tradition, the Prophet Mohammed flew on his night journey (‘usrā) from Mecca to Jerusalem and (from there on), from earth to
heaven and back. (Check the seven credited hadiths in which this supernatural creature is described in https://www.sunnah.com/search/?q=buraq)

**Catachresis** using a word in a wrong context to induce a rhetoric effect or to produce a mixed metaphor.

**Circumlocution of tongue** is the name used by Freud in his recall of one of the Frazer’s reports on the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain:

“[A] sister, beginning with her marriage, may no longer speak with her brother, nor does she utter his name but designates him by means of a circumlocution” (Freud, 1950: 10).

**Close reading** is a kind of formalist approach toward a text, poem or an artwork. This method is used here for processing some ideas that for example a rebus may stir in the mind of its beholder regardless of the original intention of the designer of that rebus. The idea of close reading is closely coined with the name of I. A. Richards and his student William Empson. Close reading was mainly used by them in the domain of poetry. “To do a close reading, you choose a specific passage and analyze it in fine detail, as if with a magnifying glass. You then comment on points of style and on your reactions as a reader. Close reading is important because it is the building block for larger analysis. Your thoughts evolve not from someone else’s truth about the reading, but from your own observations.” (Source: “Close Reading of a Literary Passage”; in: Carson-Newman University, n.d.; URL: https://web.cn.edu/kwheeler/reading_lit.html; last accessed on 5.1.2017.


**Collective pattern dreams** are alternatively used here instead of “culture pattern dreams” suggested by the anthropologist J. Steward Lincoln. John Dollard has written a review on his book “The Dream in Primitive Cultures” in which we read:

“Mr Lincoln makes a contribution to the theory of distribution of culture patterns; ... The author makes excellent use of the distinction
between “culture pattern” or induced dreams and “individual dreams.” Culture pattern dreams are indicated as an aspect of collective life since they tend to disappear when the unity of a society is broken down. There ought to be, but is not, a discussion of what are the psychic mechanisms by which a stereotyped dream may be induced in an individual; here is a place for the creative use of Freudian perception in ethnological field work.” (Dollard: 547-548)

Competence “is a term used in linguistic theory, especially in generative grammar, to refer to person’s knowledge of his language, the system of rules which a language user has mastered so that it would be possible for that user to be able to produce and understand an indefinite number of sentences and recognize grammatical mistakes and ambiguities. Competence is said to be an idealized conception of language, which is seen in opposition to the notion of performance which refers to the specific utterances of speech. Competence, according to Chomsky, has been used as a reaction to the linguistic era before generative grammars, which was highly occupied with performance in forms of corpus of data. The aim set by the transformationalists to their work is higher than that explicitly set by any previous group of linguists. It amounts to nothing less than presenting a description of a language, everything implied by the linguistic competence of a native speaker.” (Reishaan and Taha: 37)

Culture pattern dream “The individual dream is that dream which is unsought, a typical or ordinary dream, it is not deliberately induced by the culture or the individual. The culture pattern dream, on the other hand, is actively sought or induced. Often it conforms to a specific stereotyped pattern prescribed by the culture, and in some cases the individual may be required to continue dreaming until the required pattern emerges.” (Spaulding: 333)

dalīl literally means reason but it is a general epithet to address a spiritual teacher which could be a khalīf or a Sheikh who directly guides a pupil.

damīr means both pronoun and mind. This double entendre in not accidental as discussed in some passages in this work. This suggestiveness of this word (mind/pronoun) puts forward the mind as a stage that the big Other (represented by other pronouns: it, we, you, they, etc.) can pace upon it. A dream is also a scene on which the dreamer may talk with many people but all of them are reflections of his own mind (damīr). Mind throws the voice of Other into its own throat. This is an inverse form of what a ventriloquist does.
This incredible stagecraft of mind is not restricted to dreams and is also visible in the abundant use of Iranian and Kurdish poets of their poetical pen-name or takhallos. By the using this pen-name they address themselves as someone who is hearing to the poem in the very act of writing it. For example Nāli (A Kurdish poet) at the end of his رساله احترامیه (wet-dream treatise)—in which he had ridiculed Khosro Khān Ardalān the Satrap of Kurdistan by writing a satirical and erotic poem about the Satrap’s wife Mastoure Ardalān—addresses himself from the perspective of someone else who is preaching and blaming him because of writing this scornful rubbish but this hidden person or spirit is that very person who has written the whole poem:

"نالی"! ودهرهه زلیکی که عاری شو عه را بی رو رشمه که بپیش فسه فله هر ر لج و کتابتی نه حریری خه یال و خه و نه گه ر بپیه حیسابی دهد روش و گه دا شاه و ده دبی شاه گه دا بی

O, Nāli, with this satire poem which is the shame of all poets
Do not make black the papers of books and tablets
If writing about visions and dreams were effectual anyhow,
Every dervish (poor) should be a king and kings should be Dervish.
(Nāli: 630-631)

Of course the use of penname for concealment of identity is almost common in every culture but what is special in takhallos is that the poet addresses himself at the end of his poem as someone who is listening to the poem and not composing it. The real poet is an unknown spirit who has possessed the body of a person known as a poet in social reality. The nickname or takhallos is usually called out by this alien in an imperative sentence at the end of the poem to bring him back to himself and meanwhile to ground his ego or name in the poem. The mind or ضمير is a scene that is possessed by a sublime poet: A heavenly Muse, Soroush or Hermes who imposes order on words (نظم means both order and poem) (cf. Hölderlin’s Diotima). The pen-name (takhallos) comes first at the end of the poem to construct a dialogue out of a quoted monologue. This process is not easy: takhallos literally means ‘trying to get free’. Free from what? From the possessive/possessing echo! This spirit (echo) is not like a prompter in an opera who just gives the opening words with a silent mouth but it pushes the actor (poet) completely aside and takes
its role in a full voice. This is perhaps the reason that Hafiz is famed as lesān ol-qeyb or “the tongue of the concealed”, that is, an impersonated apparatus that parrots the thoughts of an occulted someone, a sublime poet. Hafiz writes:

Like a parrot, behind a mirror they hold me
I parrot only what my master told me.\(^\text{193}\)

Hafiz could be taken as the prime example of a poet whose mind has transmuted into a “saying place”, an ideal type for a Persianeate mind\(^\text{194}\).


Dead father “The true father—that is, the symbolic father—is the dead father. And the connection between paternity and death, which Freud explicitly highlights in many case discussions, allows us to see from whence this signifier garners its primordial rank.” (Écrits: 470) A dead/symbolic Father is much more powerful than a living/corporeal father. If we read the [dead] Father as a signifier in the works of Freud—in the similar way that Lacan has done in his ‘return to Freud’ project—the social anthropological notions of Freud in “Totem and Taboo” will appear to still have a lot of considerable elements.

Decreed This word is used here to allude to the auto-affective feature attributed to the Words. In a Quranic context, it is mostly used in relation to the following verse of Quran that is used here as the main Quranic model of sign through

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\(^{193}\) There is a technique in breeding the parrots to mimic human voice by the use a mirror. The parrot assumes its image in the mirror as its opposite sex and answers to its voice that is actually from a trainer hidden behind the mirror with the same voice to seduce it. In this way the parrot become learned of human speech. What is interesting in this verse is the relation between a hidden voice and the visual reflection of the body in the mirror that is between the parroting a voice and mimicking a gesture. The parrot thinks that there is another parrot in the mirror talking with it but there is someone behind the mirror that puts the words in the beak of the parrot. This metaphor reflects the ontological priority of word (voice) over the flesh in the mystical system of thought of Sufis. (Rumi has used the same allegory in Majālis-i Sābe’ē, majlis-i dowom.)

\(^{194}\) Tafa’ol be Hafiz or fāl gereftan ba [diwān-i] Hafiz (literally to take an omen from Hafiz) is an Iranian tradition for communicating with this ideal type. To know more about this tradition, read my article: “Perpetual Dialogue or Death in Spring” (گفت و گوی ابدی یا مرگ در بهار); in: Anthropology and Culture, 21 March 2014; URL: http://vista.ir/paper/7373; last accessed on 8.1.2017.
which naming means creating: “Originator of the heavens and the earth; When He decrees a matter, He only says to it, "Be," and it is.” (2:117)

**Deferred signification** see *Archi-writing* and gloss.1.

**Desire** is neither a need nor a wish. “... Need is a purely biological INSTINCT, an appetite which emerges according to the requirements of the organism and which abates completely (even if only temporarily) when satisfied. The human subject, being born in a state of helplessness, is unable to satisfy its own needs, and hence depends on the Other to help it satisfy them. In order to get the Other’s help, the infant must express its needs vocally; need must be articulated in demand. The primitive demands of the infant may only be inarticulate screams, but they serve to bring the Other to minister to the infant’s needs. However, the presence of the Other soon acquires an importance in itself, an importance that goes beyond the satisfaction of need, since this presence symbolises the Other’s love...” (Dylan, Evans: *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.37-38)

**Différance** is one of the key-concepts of Derrida. See ‘archi-writing’ (gloss.1) and Derrida, Jacques: *Différance, Margins of Philosophy*; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

**Discursive formation** (French: *formation discursive*) “For Foucault, ‘the general enunciative principle that governs a group of verbal performances. The term is also used to refer to the particular discourse governed by this principle, in which different examples share the same patterns of concerns, perspectives, concepts, or themes. For instance, the discourses of medicine or economics. Said [for example] analysed orientalism as a discursive formation. Their relationship with non-discursive formations (institutions, political events, and economic processes) is one of relative autonomy.” (“Discursive Formation”; in: *Oxford’s Dictionary of Media and Communication*, (n.d.); URL: [http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095721480](http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095721480).

**Divān** is a word used both for the book of a poet and the notebook of a land tenure. It is the general name for the state administration and also the administrative system used by every minor land tenure in Iran by which he kept all the
bureaucratic tasks and to its related calculations. It also means the court of a king. There should be a set of determinative factors that have toothed these connotations together. This word might be the keyword for understanding the peculiar characteristic of ‘political subjectivity’ inside the Persianate states.

**Double signification** The object of desire is ambiguous in nature because it is always absent. The empty space of this object of desire is to be filled with a word as its name. Then, the original intention or meaning of using the word is to refer to an absent object. The more this word become tabooed the more it distances or defers from its original intention or meaning and accordingly the more it intensifies or signifies the lack of the object of desire. The word becomes a real representative of an absent object of desire through the absence of its own original intention. This is double signification. The word becomes a real substitute for the object of desire as the primal lack. The word takes the features of the ‘Real’; something that could not be told or entered in language although it is already there. This ‘dual-object’ made of a present absence is denoted here with Word (with capital W).

**dowlat** means both government and capital.

**Dream thought** = Latent Dream Thought, is actually the true creator of the dreams. It is a Freudean term and stands for those unconscious wishes that find no way for their expression other than manifesting themselves inside a set of dream-objects. “Manifest Dream Content and Latent Dream Thought“ is the name of the seventh lecture of Freud gathered and published in his “A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis” (1920). Because of the length of this definitions it is recommended to read about these conceptions in the original text (available in public domain for instance under http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/38219?msg=welcome_stranger; or under http://www.bartleby.com/283/7.html; last accessed on 5.1.2017)

**Dream-object** Dream-object here is a term used to refer to each distinguished visual form that one remembers in his/her manifest content of the dream: A Dream-object is mostly an image, however it could be appeared in any form
of an *oneiric speech*. For instance, in the dream narratives gathered here, there are some dreams in which a written word is manifested to the dreamer or a verse of a poem is given to him/her and so on...

**Dream-Work** is a psychical process that alters the dream thought into a set of manifested dream objects that one can consciously remember. Freud has recognized four components in dream-work: condensation, displacement, considerations of representability (or figurability), and secondary elaboration. These four components are interestingly similar to the classical *rhetorical operations* (addition, omission, permutation and transposition) in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* a book written ca. 86-82 BCE. I do not know if any other person has noted this amazing similarity or not. I found no traces. However the existence of this similarity is very instructive to the scope of this thesis that puts a special emphasize on the rhetoric aspects of the dreams of Sufis in Sanandaj. We can grossly conclude that dream-work is a rhetoric operation in its essence, at least it works on the same relation between though and expression (manifestation):

> “Rhetorica ad Herennium provides a blueprint of how the relationship between thought and expression was seen by people from another culture and period.” (Enos: 337)

**Dual-object** In a Kantian conviction, duality is the property of every object: *phenomenons* are the objects as the way that we perceive them or they appear to us, still, they have an *unknowable* aspect: *the Thing-in-itself* or *noumenon*. However, *noumenon* is not another object. these two (*phenomenon* and *noumenon*) aspects live in each other in a twofold sense (Schrader and George: 30). This general property is shown here by bolding the word nomenon in *phenomenon*\(^995\). The *noumenon* aspect of the palpable objects is conceptually coined here with the issue of *Unknown* or secret (*rāz* (رَاز) in Sufis writing and literature as something that is already there as the *thisness* of the phenomenons but–due to our restrained perspective–we are unable to perceive it as its truth. This dual picture of the world renders it to a dream. Just like a Freudean conception of dream,

\(^{995}\) In Arabic, the word *tajasom* تِجَاسُوم or imagination literally means “to give body (jesm جسم) to a thought”. Although *tajasom* or imagination is not equivalent to *nomenon* but the *unimaginable* which is a property of *nomenon* is always present in *imaginable* through its primal trace.
everything under-heaven has a latent and manifest content (har chizā zāherī darad wa bājenī).

**du‘ā** is a personal, informal prayer or benediction

**Ego psychology** is a system of psychology largely developed by American psychoanalysts by considering the Freud’s model of *id*, *ego* and *superego* as a fixed model of mind. This is for Lacan a complete misread of what Freud has written in his works. For Lacan the *id* itself is a signifier and a product of language.

**Eidos, idea, ideal** “In his Socratic dialogues Plato argues through Socrates that because the material world is changeable it is also unreliable. But Plato also believed that this is not the whole story. Behind this unreliable world of appearances is a world of permanence and reliability. Plato calls this more real (because permanent) world, the world of ‘Forms’ or ‘Ideas’ (*eidos/idea* in Greek). Take for example a perfect triangle, as it might be described by a mathematician. This would be a description of the Form or Idea of (a) Triangle. Plato says such Forms exist in an abstract state but independent of minds in their own realm. Considering this Idea of a perfect triangle, we might also be tempted to take pencil and paper and draw it. Our attempts will of course fall short. Plato would say that peoples’ attempts to recreate the Form will end up being a pale facsimile of the perfect Idea, just as everything in this world is an imperfect representation of its perfect Form. The Idea or Form of a triangle and the drawing we come up with is a way of comparing the perfect and imperfect. How good our drawing is will depend on our ability to recognise the Form of Triangle. Although no one has ever seen a perfect triangle, for Plato this is not a problem. If we can conceive the Idea or Form of a perfect triangle in our mind, then the Idea of Triangle must exist. The Forms are not limited to geometry. According to Plato, for any conceivable thing or property there is a corresponding Form, a perfect example of that thing or property. The list is almost inexhaustible. Tree, House, Mountain, Man, Woman, Ship, Cloud, Horse, Dog, Table and Chair, would all be examples of putatively independently-existing abstract perfect Ideas.”

Ellipsis or “…” (or as it is used in Farsi se-noqte سه نقطه) is a kind of intentional white censor. Ellipsis is an unwritten pact between the writer and reader assuming that the reader knows what is missing. In Ellipsis the reader has a preknowledge of what is missing.

Emic view “is when the words and beliefs of the culture's members take center stage. Rather than reading other scientists' accounts of the culture, the researcher will observe or even interview the members of the culture in order to understand why they live and believe as they do.” (Source: Whittemore, Jessica: “Etic and Emic World Views in Anthropology”; in: Study.com; Anthropology 101: General Anthropology/Social Science Courses, chapter 15, lesson 5; n.d., URL: http://study.com/academy/lesson/etic-and-emic-world-views-in-anthropology.html; last accessed on 5.1.2017.)

Empty language A language full of primal words is empty because the meaning could not be easily arrested by what is said. An empty language in its ideal form is a language in which every word and phrase sounds or behaves as paradoxical as difference in Derrida’s argumentations. So, Janus-words like différance are practically appealing their listeners to dream as an infinite mystery (similar to God in theology).

Episteme “This episteme may be suspected of being something like a world-view, a slice of history common to all branches of knowledge, which imposes on each one the same norms and postulates, a general stage of reason, a certain structure of thought that the men of a particular period cannot escape—a great body of legislation written once and for all by some anonymous hand. By episteme, we mean, in fact, the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems; the way in which, in each of these discursive formations, the transitions to epistemologization, scientificity, and formalization are situated and operate; ...” (Foucault, 1972: 191)

Etic “Opposite to the emic approach, the etic approach to studying human culture employs existing theories and perspectives that originated from outside the culture being studied. In other words, it uses preconceived notions and theories about culture in general in order to study specific cultures.” (Source:
Event= حديث حداثة سانحة واقعه is a word used here for ḥādeṯe which might be not a proper choice. Its compare to the word Ereignis may explain the difference. The word Ereignis is related with visuality because “the actual construction of the word is Er-äug-nis, which derives from the verb äugen (to look), formerly written eugen or eigen. Thus ...Ereignis must be understood as the movement which leads to visibility, makes a view possible, makes appear and thus making a standing out” (Romano: 15). Then, Ereignis is not a proper equivalent for ḥādeṯe as ḥādeṯe which is related to ḥadiṯ (saying) which is auditory in nature while Ereignis is rooted in images and visuality.

Falak means both punishment and cosmos.

Fellowship of Utterance or Fellowship of discourse “whose function is to preserve or to reproduce discourse, but in order that it should circulate within a closed community, according to strict regulations, without those in possession being dispossessed by this very distribution... It functions through various schemas of exclusivity and disclosure...” (Foucault, 1972: 225ff.). Fellowship of Utterance is conflated to secret, secrecy and logophilia.

Flesh see Word vs. Flesh

Foreclosed in Lacanian terminology, foreclosure is equivalent to Verwerfung in Freudian terminology. Again, Lacan identifies Verwerfung as the foreclosure of a signifier (Écrits: 558). One of those “detours that prop up something equivalent to negation: deferral, inhibition, and representation by means of an opposite.” (Écrits: 657)

Fractal Geometry “Benoit Mandelbrot, now both an IBM scientist and Professor of Mathematics at Yale, made his great discoveries by defying establishment, academic mathematics. In so doing he went beyond Einstein's theories to discover that the fourth dimension includes not only the first three dimensions, but also the gaps or intervals between them, the fractal dimensions ... Mandelbrot coined the word fractal based on the Latin adjective "fractus". He choose this word because the corresponding Latin
The verb "frangere" means "to break", "to create irregular fragments." He has shown mathematically and graphically how nature uses the fractal dimensions and what he calls "self constrained chance" to create the complex and irregular forms of the real world ... The overall pattern of a fractal is repeated, with similarity, and sometimes even with exactitude, when you look at a small part of the figure. It is recursive. For instance, if you look at the irregular shape of a mountain, then look closer at a small part of the mountain, you will find the same basic shape of the whole mountain repeated again on a smaller scale. When you look closer still you see the same shape again, and so on to infinity.” (Source: “Fractal Geometry: The Story of Benoit B. Mandelbrot and the Geometry of Chaos”; in: School of Wisdom, n.d.; URL: http://www.fractalwisdom.com/fractal.html; last accessed on 8.1.2017.)

**Generative Theory**

Supporters of this theory regard dreaming as not merely predicting, but contributing to the manifestation of future events. In a telling example, Robert Brightman (1993), ethnographer of the Rock Cree of Manitoba, explains "Crees say that dream events may determine the occurrence of like events—their worldly simulacra—that have not yet happened but will transpire in waking life only as a result of their having initially been dreamed" (Brightman: 99). See also Lohmann, 2007: 42.

**ghasal** or **ghazal** is a special form of poetry that usually goes on beauty/pain of beloved/love and the sorrows of separation (ferāq فراق) of a lover (the poet). The poet usually explains the features of his careless or absent beloved (ma’shouq-i fāregh معشوق فارغ) in a poem full of literary hyperboles, rhetorical questions, metaphors and similes. Ghasal sounds like a one-sided discourse between the poet and an absent reader however this is not all the story. Usually at the ending verses of a ghasal, the poet addresses himself through his pen-name in a way as if there was someone else who was writing this poem and the poet was just an attentive listener to this voice (see ḍamīr in this glossary).

**gheyb** literally means unseen but normally refers to a world of higher order which is responsible for everything under the heaven. Related to *Unknown*.

**ghuṣl** is the Islamic term for a full-body washing ritual or ablution mandatory after any sexual intercourse or any (deliberate/indeliberate) sexual discharge. To
read about the relation between the bath (which is necessary in the teachings of Islam after touching of body with body), and body/spirit duality in Sufism see Schimmel, 1997: 269ff. (and also Rumi, Mathnavi, vol. IV, part 10).

Gift is used here as a substitute for Pharmakon. Pharmakon is a word that could stand both for poison and medicine which are clearly opposite. This is perhaps the associations that already opens itself in this word (gift) when it writes itself on the ear of a German reader of this line. Pharmakon is essential in the writing of Derrida upon which he has developed his theory of deconstruction which in turn is based on Husrel’s phenomenology (see Derrida: 1981). In Plato’s Phaedrus, Theuth, the Egyptian god of writing and the inventor of numbers and calculation offers Thamus, the King of all Egypt, writing (grammata) as a remedy (= pharmakon): “This discipline, my King, will make the Egyptian wiser and will improve their memories: my invention is a recipe (pharmakon) for both memory and wisdom. [A gift that rejected by Thamus...]” (Derrida, Dissemination, 1981: 80ff. check also: Wiener Zeitschrift für Suchtforschung; In: Jg. 31 2008 _ Nr. 1, pp. 13 – 18, P: 13, URL: http://www.api.or.at/wzfs/beitrag/WZ_31_2008_1_02_Augusta.pdf; last accessed on 27.11.2015.)

ḥādeṣ see event

ḥafrat literally means "Presence" and is an honorific title (≈ excellency) used to honour a person.

haft tan [lit.] seven bodies are equivalent to “Seven Archangels”. Haft tan are key figures in the Yāresān (ahl-i ḥaq) belief system and their history. The only female among them is Khātun-e Rezbār, the mother of Soltān Sohāk.

ḥaq is the word mostly used by dervishes to call God. It means ‘truth’.

Higher powers a spirit or being (such as God) that has great power, strength, knowledge, etc., and that can affect nature and the lives of people. The term higher powers has a spiritual sense for example “to belief in a higher power” and so on... but it is as well coined here to the political conceptualizations of the words high and low.

Homologic See homologous

Homologous In biology; “a feature in two or more taxa is homologous when it is derived from the same (or a corresponding) feature of their nearest
common ancestor” (Mayr: 16). The idea of homology is not far from topology in mathematics. The forelimbs of the species in gloss.2 could be considered as different derivations of one topographic structure in which every point has potentially infinite elasticity. However, in our context, this word (homology) is used by both Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 201) and Freud (Freud, 1916: 178 ff.; see also topology in this glossary). They are alluding to homologous structures even when they do not name it directly as homologous; for example Lévi-Strauss writes:

“The transition from conscious to unconscious is associated with progression from the specific toward the general. In anthropology as in linguistics, therefore, it is not comparison that supports generalization, but the other way around. If, as we believe to be the case, the unconscious activity of the mind consists in imposing forms upon content, and if these forms are fundamentally the same for all mind, it is necessary and sufficient to grasp the unconscious structure underlying each institution and each custom, in order to obtain a principle of interpretation valid for other institutions and other customs, provided of course that the analysis is carried far enough.” (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 20-21)

For Lévi-Strauss, “the effectiveness of symbols (as well as the poetic metaphor) would consist precisely in this “inductive property” by which formally homologous structures built out of different materials at different levels of life are related to one another” (ibid.: 201)

This reflects Lévi-Strauss’s insight into the usefulness of topology as an idea even before being used in the works of Lacan. It is perhaps due to these topological features of the human psych that we can ever talk of an anthropological study of dreams in different cultural and lingual contexts. When we say dream it is as if that we know of what we are speaking even when it goes on the dream of a distant community or culture. Then, there is an unwritten premise in “the Anthropology of Dreams” which is not easily provable. This premise says: all the apparent differences, nerve mind how vast, could be understood as different [topological] variations of the same ancestral logic or structure that have made our brain. This structure, like brain or human’s mind, is that general asset by which “we” dream. This “we” could be the analyst or analysand, ethnologist or an ethnic group, etc. This structure has a name: language. Metaphoric and metonymic relations are two rhetoric components that have enormous influence on the topological space
of this structure although, to be Lacanian, means to think of these two as the same thing: “...structure is not form, and we need to learn to think in terms of a topology that is necessitated by structure alone.” (Écrits: 649)

Gloss.2 The origin of species: The homologous bone elements of human, cat, whale and bat. They all used common bone elements, ... (Mayr: 26)

Horizon of being: Heidegger asks in his “time and being”: “Offenbart sich die Zeit selbst als Horizont des Seins?” (Heidegger, Sein und Zeit: 437). Regardless of our answer to this question, there are always some materialistic constrains that have determinate character on our existence and horizon of being. For instance, there is a close relation between the issues of water and time in Iranian rotary, time-sharing system of watering imposed by the technique of Qanāt (see Safinejad, 1981). Then, time reveals itself as water and water reveals itself as the horizon of being of those people whose life is tied to Qanāt.

Individual dream “The individual dream is that dream which is unsought, a typical or ordinary dream; it is not deliberately induced by the culture or the individual.” (Spaulding: 333)
**Instant answer** is deeply related to Derrida’s “temporal delay”; (see gloss.1 in *Archi-writing* in this glossary). As we saw in the arguments on *Archi-writing*, inside archaic communities, all the deferral meanings who live inside the words are strongly linked together by the medium of a written/given script. This script is subjected to practice by a set of various techniques of commemoration *ẓikr* and remembrance. The script works practically as a learned table of allocation in which every *tit* is chained to an instant *tat*. This feature is conceivable in the *instant answer* that the interviewees have given to my questions on dreams. This feature of lack of delay could be understood just by hearing to the sound-tracks.

**Interpretation of cultures** refers to the book by American anthropologist Clifford Geertz. This book is appeared to be very seminal inside the anthropological discipline, particularly because of one of its chapters: ‘thick description’.


**Jouissance** is one of the terms used by Lacan to refer to the paradox that ontologically lies in the enjoyment [of a slave] (Écrits: 810-811). Here he explains the different connotations of this word in French:

“We must keep in mind that jouissance is prohibited [interdite] to whoever speaks, as such—or, put differently, it can only be said [dite] between the lines by whoever is a subject of the Law, since the Law is founded on that very prohibition. Indeed, were the Law to give the order, "Jouisl" ["Enjoy!" or "Come!"] , the subject could only reply "Joui's" ["I hear"], in which the jouissance would no longer be anything but understood [sous-entendue]. But it is not the Law itself that bars the subject's access to jouissance—it simply makes a barred subject out of an almost natural barrier.” (Écrits: 821)

This word could be grossly referred to the pain or excessive pleasure resulted of the fulfillment of a wish.

**kalām-i Saranjām** is the most important religious book of the *ahl-i-haṣq* which is mostly written in Kurdish (*Gorānī* dialect) poem. It is supposed that these poems are the words of the Creator.
**kalām** ([lit.] speech; a word that swings between spoken and written (*kalame* = word) for instance Quran is considered as the kalām (speech/word) of Allāh (*kalām-o-llāh*). Kalām is also a concept which is comparable to *Logos* in Greek Philosophy but among *ahl-i-ḥaq* Logos is blended with music as *ahl-i-ḥaq* considers music as a vital element for spiritual development. As a result, the music is a central component of their worshiping rituals and meetings as *ahl-i-ḥaq* believe that: “after God created Adam, He pointed to the soul of Adam to enter his body. But he refused. God then ordered the seven archangels (haft-tan) to penetrate in the body of Adam, to sing and play music. Hearing the divine melodies, the soul was overwhelmed by the love and spiritual ecstasy and entrapped in this moment into his body.” Amīr Khusraw (امیر خسرو دبلوی) was a Sufi musician, poet and scholar and has summarized this story in just two verses:

آنروز که روح پاک آدم به بدن نمی‌شود
گفتند که درآی نمی‌شود از ترس به تن
خواندنِ ملایکان به لحنِ داوود
در تن در تن در تن در تن

In that day that they told the pure spirit of Adam/human-being to enter the body;
it had reluctance and fear to enter into it!
Hence, the angles start to sing with the beautiful david-like voice:
In the body, in the body, enter! enter! In the body, in body...

Then it is by the medium of music that the soul and soil can ever be mixed with each other. Poetry (in a rhythmic meter) is conflated with a kind of bodily joy: to talk while breathing undisturbed: *dar tan dar tan dar ā dar ā dar tan dar tan...* إِدرْ تن در تن در آراً در آراً در تن

**kalām-khān** One who can recite or sing *kalāms* of *ahl-i ḥaq*

**kāriz** is the Kurdish word for *qanāt*.

**khāb** or **khāw (Kurdish)** means dream but at the same time sleep.

**khafīyah** Literally means “hidden” or “esoteric” and usually stands for a philosophical doctrine which is only available for a limited “inner” group of people—opposed to exoteric public knowledge. In addition, the term is used freely for a broad spectrum of different spiritual and occult teachings and practices. When it comes in attribution with *ẓikr*, it could be also meant a *ẓikr* which should not be recited aloud.
**Khāndān in ahl-i ḥaq (ahl-i ḥaq Familial tree)** The original 7 families or sādāt-i-ḥaqiqat established during the time of Sultān Sahāk were Shāh Ebrāhīm, Bābā Yādegār, Ali Qalandar, Khamush, Mir Sur, Sey-yed Mosaffā and Ḥājjī Bābu Isā. The 5 families established after Sultān Sahāk are Atesh Bag, Bābā Heydar, Zolnour, Shāh Hayās and Ḥājj Nematollāh. As they believe in reincarnation, the lineage relations are very important to them and in the same way complex. A schema of this complexity may be found in M. Reza Fariborz Hamzeh’ee’s book on Yāresān, (Hamyeh’ee, 1990: 216). To know more about the rules of affiliation (sar sepordan) check the following link as one of the official webpages of ahl-i ḥaq; URL: [http://www.ahle-haqq.com/rituals.html](http://www.ahle-haqq.com/rituals.html); last accessed on 5.1.2017.

**khawāriq** literally means paranormal but among the derwishes of Qāderieh this word refers to a ritual in which they do several wonder-deeds as such as fire-walking, eating stones, blades, knife, and most commonly, entrusting a nail into their body. There are many film scenes and interviews in which this ritual is discussed: Moloud Khān #1; part1; Scene 8, Mirec039, Mirec040, Mirec041, etc.

In a page of fawāyid ol-gharīb (gloss.3) we read: “One night that majesty ['ān ḥaḍrat; referring to Abdolqāder Gilānī the arch-Sheikh and founder of Qāderieh] came out from his home and he had a staff in his hand. One of his followers accidently thought by himself: “What if this staff show [me] a khawāriq?!“ Sheikh read his thought (lit. his thought lit up in Sheikh’s heart) and instantly drew the staff on the earth and the staff started to light, [standing] straight like a candle. “This is what you wanted?” asked the Sheikh. The sheikhs of his time have narrated from his khawāriqs: they sometimes appeared for him and sometimes from him and sometimes through him...”
**Khidr** (also Khadir, Khezr, Hizirm, Chidr) “a legendary man believed to be immortal, to possess divine wisdom, and to have inspired Sufis at the time of Islam’s appearance in the seventh century ... His name means “the green one”, which gave rise to attempts to explain why a man would be associated with this color. Some accounts say it derives from belief that his color was a result of having gained immortality by drinking water from the miraculous spring of life. They also associated his color with plant life and fertility, and that the earth turned green wherever he stood or prayed.” (Source: Encyclopedia of Islam, Juan E. Campo, J. Gordon Melton, Series Editor, Facts On Files Inc., 2009, p:428; URL: http://khidr.org/encyclopedia.islam.khidr.htm; last accessed on 5.1.2017.)

**Koan** in Zen Buddhist tradition is a paradox that is designed in the form of a question or a riddle. These questions help the pupils to reach into a sudden enlightenment by thinking out of the box of language.

**Knight of faith** is the key figure in Soren Kierkegaard’s book of philosophy, “Fear and Trembling” who carries the burden of the paradox of being a pure individual. Abraham is perhaps the best personification of this name.
Lacanian triad “For Lacan, the reality of human beings is constituted by three mutually entangled levels: the Symbolic, the Imaginary, and the Real. This triad can be nicely illustrated by the game of chess. The rules one has to follow in order to play it are its **symbolic** dimension: from the purely formal symbolic standpoint, “knight” is defined only by the moves this figure can make. This level is clearly different from the **imaginary** one, namely the way different pieces are shaped and characterized by their names (king, queen, knight), and it is easy to envision a game with the same rules, but with a different imaginary, in which this figure would be called “messenger” or “runner” or whatever. Finally, **real** is the entire complex set of contingent circumstances which affect the course of the game: the intelligence of the players, the unpredictable intrusions that may disconcert one of the players or directly cut the game short.” (Žižek, 2006: 8-9)

**Lack** (manque) “The term ‘lack’ is always related, in Lacan’s teaching, to DESIRE. It is a lack which causes desire to arise. However, the precise nature of what is lacking varies over the course of Lacan’s work...” (Dylan, Evans: *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.98-99).

**Latent Content** see **dream thought**

**Law** or *shar‘iat; Shar‘iat* literally means way or street and allegorically states here as the only acceptable, normative way of life. *Shar‘iat* is one of those words that like Water and Father is fully charged with meanings. It means **Law**, then it is truly the ‘name of Father’: "(loi) Lacan’s discussions of ‘the Law’ (which Lacan often writes with a capital ‘L’) owe much to the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss (see especially Lévi-Strauss, 1951). As in the work of Lévi-Strauss, the Law in Lacan’s work refers not to a particular piece of legislation, but to the fundamental principles which underlie all social relations. The law is the set of universal principles which make social existence possible, the structures that govern all forms of social exchange, whether gift-giving, kinship relations or the formation of pacts. Since the most basic form of exchange is communication itself, the law is fundamentally a linguistic entity—it is the law of the signifier [...] This legal-linguistic structure is in fact no more and no less than the symbolic order itself. Following Lévi-Strauss, Lacan argues that the law is essentially human; it is the law which separates man from the
other animals, by regulating sexual relations that are, among animals, unregulated; human law is “the primordial Law...which in regulating marriage ties superimposes the kingdom of culture on that of a nature abandoned to the law of mating. The prohibition of incest is merely its subjective pivot” (Écrits: 278). It is the FATHER who imposes this law on the subject in the OEDIPUS COMPLEX.” (Dylan, Evans: An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.101-102).

**Letter** both Lacan and Derrida have many different references to the Word “Letter”. Two of these references are of highest importance to the scope of this work: Letter as an alphabetical character and Letter as a pure signifier—that hides a secretive message like the letter in the Poe’s story of “The Purloined Letter”. This story is very fundamental in understanding many conceptions of Lacan about real, imaginary and symbolic (see his Seminar on “The Purloined Letter”, in: Écrits: 11-60).

Watch also my video “Letter” on some other considerations on this Word inspired by Lacan’s definition of “The Purloined Letter”: “... what the "purloined letter," nay, the "letter en souffrance" means is that a letter always arrives at its destination.”: “Letter” [video]; directed by Iraj Esmailpour Ghoochani, 2016. Permanent URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iMUMoMwdyvM.

**Line of intention** is the line on which the written words proceed to reach the intention of the writer.

**Linguistic turn** “Lacan’s ‘linguistic turn’ was inspired by the anthropological work of Claude Lévi-Strauss who, in the 1940s, had begun to apply the methods of structural linguistics to non-linguistic cultural data (myth, kinship relations, etc.), thus giving birth to “structural anthropology”. In so doing, Lévi-Strauss announced an ambitious programme, in which linguistics would provide a paradigm of scientificity for all the social SCIENCES; “Structural linguistics will certainly play the same renovating role with respect to the social sciences that nuclear physics, for example, has played for the physical sciences” (Lévi-Strauss, 1945: 33). Following the indications of Lévi-Strauss, Lacan turns to linguistics to provide psychoanalytic theory with a conceptual rigour that it previously lacked. The reason for this lack of conceptual rigour
was simply due, Lacan argues, to the fact that structural linguistics appeared too late for Freud to make use of it; “Geneva 1910” and “Petrograd 1920” suffice to explain why Freud lacked this particular tool. However, Lacan argues that when Freud is reread in the light of linguistic theory, a coherent logic is revealed which is not otherwise apparent; indeed, Freud can even be seen to have anticipated certain elements of modern linguistic theory” (Dylan, Evans: An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.104).

**Literary science** is the science of narratology [Literaturwissenschaft] which is also translated as "literary theory", "literary criticism", or "literary studies".

**Loophole** according to Bakhtin “A loophole is the retention for oneself of the possibility for altering the ultimate, final meaning of one's own words. If a word retains such a loophole this must inevitably be reflected in its structure. This potential other meaning, that is, the loophole left open, accompanies the word like a shadow. Judged by its meaning alone, the word with a loophole should be an ultimate word and does present itself as such, but in fact it: is only the penultimate word and places after itself only a conditional, not a final, period.” (Bakhtin: 233)

**Mandate of heaven** or farr[ah] izadi is an Iranian conceptualization of charisma and is based on an ancient belief upon which a king is a distinguished person selected by God. God throws his light or farr[ah] upon the head of the king and this is exactly what that makes him the king. Farrah is very arbitrary in nature and could easily shift from one person to another.

**Manido** In Manido, in contrast to a totemic system, the species are not equal but hierarchical:

> “Entirely distinct from the system of totemic names, which is governed by a principle of equivalence, there is a that of the “spirits” or manido, which are ordered in a hierarchized pantheon.” (Lévi-Strauss, Totemism, 1991 (1962): 22)
Lévi-Strauss in one of his exemplary conclusions insists that categorizations of this kind are actually serving a [metaphoric] system of thinking:

“We can understand, too, that natural species are chosen not because they are “good to eat” but because they are “good to think”.” (Lévi-Strauss, Totemism, 1991 (1962): 89)

**Manifest Content:** what we see in dream as a disguise of an original, true dream thought. See Dream thought.

**Metaphysics of presence** is the narrow attitude of one who thinks inside a fixed system of binaries: God/evil, metaphysics/physics, culture/nature, signifier/signified, sensible/intelligible, etc. All these binaries are a set of conceptual oppositions of metaphysics that ultimately refer to the presence of something present. (cf. Derrida, positions: 29)

**Model of vs. Model for** “The term "model" has, however, two senses—an "of " sense and a "for" sense—and though these are but aspects of the same basic concept they are very much worth distinguishing for analytic purposes. In the first, what is stressed is the manipulation of symbol structures so as to bring them, more or less closely, into parallel with the pre-established non-symbolic system, as when we grasp how dams work by developing a theory of hydraulics or constructing a flow chart. The theory or chart models physical relationships in such a way—that is, by expressing their structure in synoptic form—as to render them apprehensible; it is a model of "reality." In the second, what is stressed is the manipulation of the non-symbolic systems in
terms of the relationships expressed in the symbolic, as when we construct a
dam according to the specifications implied in an hydraulic theory or the
conclusions drawn from a flow chart. Here, the theory is a model under
whose guidance physical relationships are organized: it is a model for
"reality." For psychological and social systems, and for cultural models that
we would not ordinarily refer to as "theories," but rather as "doctrines,"
"melodies," or "rites," the case is in no way different. Unlike genes, and other
non-symbolic information sources, which are only models for, not models of,
culture patterns have an intrinsic double aspect: they give meaning, that is,
objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality both by shaping
themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves.” (Geertz, 1973: 93)

Mohammadian truth (حقيقته محمدية), is a term used by Sufis to refer into the “origin
of life, the spirit of every being, medium between God and his creatures and
the source of illumination, manbaʿ-i feyd" (شَمْبَع الْفَيْضِ) (Gilānī: 151). The use of
this term as the origin of life is supported through a sacred hadith (حديث قدسي).
This sacred hadith is known as the hadith of lolāk لولاک which means “If it was not because of you (Prophet), I never
created the universes”. Then, and according to this hadith, every creature on
earth owed its life to Mohammad.

moloudi is a feast arranged for the birthday of the prophet of Islam. This feast could
come in every day of the year and not necessarily on 12th of Rabi‘-ol-awwal
in the Islamic calendar which is believed by most of the Sunnis to be his
actual birthday.

morād literally means ‘the desired’ but in Sufism is a general name of a sheikh.

Muʿāwiya (معاوية; 603-680) was the first caliph of the Umayyads (661-680) and
founder of this dynasty. According to Shi‘as he was an opportunist utilitarian
who unfairly grasped the political power out of the hands of the sons of Ali.

murid literally means “the one who desires or intends” and is specially used in Sufis
context to refer to a pupil who has chosen a Sheikh as his spiritual mentor or
morād (the intended/desired one). Every murid has a Pir, Morād or Murshid
(≈ Erzieher), who must recognize him/her as his pupil.

nafs is mostly used for referring to the lowest dimension of man’s subjective
existence ≈ego.
**Name of the Father:** is one of the central terms in the teachings of Lacan. Father as a person has a symbolic function that personifies the **Law:**

“It is in the name of the father that we must recognize the basis of the symbolic function which, since the dawn of historical time, has identified his person with the figure of the law. This conception allows us to clearly distinguish, in the analysis of a case, the unconscious effects of this function from the narcissistic relations, or even real relations, that the subject has with the image and actions of the person who embodies this function.” (Écrits:278)

“From the beginning Lacan plays on the homophony of *le nom du père* (the name of the father) and *le ‘non’ du père* (the ‘no’ of the father), to emphasise the legislative and prohibitive function of the symbolic father.” (Dylan, Evans: *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.122).

**Native eye** highlights the incompatibility of the dreamer’s perception of his/her dream and his/her own way of knowing, with that of the anthropologist. This is a gap that we can hardly transcend through Geertz “relative contexts” (see Tedlock, 1991).

**No-thing**= **Heech** In **Heech**, **no-thingness** as an **eidos** determines the essence or whatness of the form and consequently the stuff that the thing is made of. The radical conclusion is that “thing is nothing’ (an illusion comparable to *maya*) and this puts a new dimension on the basic duality that essentially exists between form and matter. In **Heech** Signifier and signified are frozen inside an endless dialogue with each other like a stone sculpture of Buddha.

**Noumenon** or **thing-in-itself** (*Ding an sich*) is a philosophical term mostly known by its Kantian usage in “pure reason”. Noumenon could not perceived like the sensual phenomenal attributes of the thing because “noumena [as a rule]... always kept its mouth shot” (Écrits:869)

**Objet petit a** is an important term with different domains of usage in Lacan’s teachings. In his matheme of fantasy should “be conceived as the object of desire. This is the imaginary PART-OBJECT, an element which is imagined as separable from the rest of the body” (Dylan, Evans: *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.128).

**Objective psyche** “The term ‘Objective Psyche’ was first introduced by Jung to cover the field of research which he had previously defined as the collective
unconsciousness. The term ‘Objective Psyche’ has, however, the advantage ... in that it includes the individuality which the word collective excludes” (Fordham, 1951: 221).

**Objective unconsciousness** "The Collective unconsciousness could be described as “objective” because it is identical in all individuals and is therefore one.” (Jung, 1991: 164)

**Obscene**= **scene of the Other**; Ob-scene means here “on the scene”. The word obscene could be alternatively read as “[obscenely] on the scene”. This refers mostly to those Words in which the secretive message is obviously readable in the Word itself. Like the word nomenon in phenomenon or الشعر (body) in تجسم (imagination) or “scene” in the word Obscene. This reminds of that ‘purloined letter’ that is ob-scene-ly left on the desk but nobody finds it. The word “scene” has a very interesting meaning in psychoanalysis: “Freud also “borrowed the expression ‘another scene’ (der andere Schauplatz) from G. T. Fechner, and used it in The Interpretation of Dreams, stating that “the scene of action of dreams is different from that of waking ideational life” [“Er (Fechner) vermutet vielmehr, daß auch der Schauplatz der Träume ein anderer ist als der wachen Vorstellungslebens.” (Freud, GW: 47)]. This led Freud to formulate the idea of “psychical locality”. However, Freud emphasized that this concept of locality is not to be confused with physical locality or anatomical locality, and Lacan takes this as a justification for his own use of TOPOLOGY ...; the “other scene” is, in Lacanian terms, the Other. [...]” (Dylan, Evans: An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.171-172). Again, it is highly important to note that the word ذمار means both pronoun and mind (see ذمار in this glossary). This double suggestiveness reflects the agency of language in construction of subjective mind and defines the mind as a platform or a “scene” on which the Other is in its own play.

**Oneiric discourse** is a term used by Lacan in a paragraph in Écrits (Lacan, Écrits: 268) that is considered here as reference-paragraph because of its closeness to the central theme of this thesis that is the relation between what “is given in the telling of the dream—that is, in its rhetoric […] the syntactical displacements […] semantic condensations; Freud teaches us to read in them
the intentions with which the subject modulates his oneiric discourse” (Lacan, Écrits: 268).

**Oneiromancy:** divination by means of dreams.

**Order of things** is allegorically alluding to the book of Michel Foucault: “The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences” (1966). This term is used here to remind us that the same approach could be considered for the technology of Qanāt inside the Persianate states in which this technology literally writes the underlying Order of things by the medium of its aqueducts and in this way fixes the acceptable discourse by conditioning the episteme of a history-long epoch.

**Origin** here is both related to genesis [as a script] and exegesis [as the interpretation of any kind of script]. For example, the way by which the Word is portrayed as the Origin of Flesh (e.g. in John: 1-14 or Quran 2:117) is very instructive in our understanding of an archaic system of signification.

**Other; the Other; the big Other** “…The big Other designates radical alterity, an other-ness which transcends the illusory otherness of the imaginary because it cannot be assimilated through identification. Lacan equates this radical alterity with language and the law, and hence the big Other is inscribed in the order of the symbolic. Indeed, the big Other is the symbolic insofar as it is particularised for each subject. The Other is thus both another subject, in his radical alterity and unassimilable uniqueness, and also the symbolic order which mediates the relationship with that other subject. However, the meaning of ‘the Other as another subject’ is strictly secondary to the meaning of “the Other as symbolic order”; “the Other must first of all be considered a locus, the locus in which speech is constituted”…” (Dylan, Evans: An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis; London, Routledge, 1996, pp.135-136).

**Ouroboros** is a “snake that makes the perfect circle by biting its own tail. That is the same idea, binding together the many into one, and that one into many” (Jung, Carl Gustav: Nietzsche’s Zarathustra: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1934-1939; edited by James L. Jarret, vol. 1; New Jersey: Princeton, 1988, p. 784).
Overdetermination “Freud used this term to describe (among other things) the representation of the dream-thoughts in images privileged by their condensation of a number of thoughts in a single image (condensation/Verdichtung), or by the transference of psychic energy from a particularly potent thought to apparently trivial images (displacement/Verschiebung-Verstellung). Althusser uses the same term to describe the effects of the contradictions in each practice constituting the social formation on the social formation as a whole, and hence back on each practice and each contradiction, defining the pattern of dominance and subordination, antagonism and non-antagonism of the contradictions in the structure in dominance at any given historical moment. More precisely, the overdetermination of a contradiction is the reflection in it of its conditions of existence within the complex whole, that is, of the other contradictions in the complex whole, in other words its uneven development.” (Althusser, et al., Glossary in Reading Capital: 315-316)

Overdetermination is also “what Derrida calls supplementarity, undecidability or trace-like play of differential meanings. Meaning for Freud, is always ‘overdetermined’; it is never a product of a single determining cause ... this is where Derrida’s deepest, though ambivalent, indebtedness to Freud is revealed.” (Lucy: 40)

Pact is a symbol because symbolism is also a "pact which links subjects together in one action. The human action par excellence is originally founded on the

**Paradox of the Actor** is a term coined with the name of Denis Diderot (1713-1784). Diderot in his essay “the Paradox of Acting”\(^{196}\) opens and elucidates this paradox that the more an actor becomes perfect in his art of acting, the less he puts emotions in his play and paradoxically the more he will become successful to re-create emotions in his audience.

**Purloined Letter** see **Letter**

**Persianate Society:** A Persianate society (also named as persified society, greater Iran, minor Asia,...) is a society that notwithstanding its different language and/or identity, is influenced by the Persian language, culture, literature, art and/or identity (See Amir Arjomand, 2004:6). The term "Persianate" appeared first in the work of Marshall Hodgson (1974).

**Pharmakon** see **Gift**

**phenomenon** things as they appear to us.

**Pir** is a highest title for a Sufi master, and must not be confused with a sheikh. A Pir may have several sheikhs under his command. The word literally means old but is also a general name for every sheikh even when he is not aged. Among ahl-i ḥaq, pir should be from one “Seyed” families. In this tradition, a Pir—though the word literally stands for an “old man”–could be a young reincarnation of an “old essence/spirit” (pir-i-bātini). Sey-yed ārash-i Shahriārī (in addendum #1), himself, is a good example in this respect as he is just 36 years old at the time of this interview but was considered as a Pir among his followers because of his high ranked family and approval of his own Pir. Analogous to this, Khidr, is also the one who per definition has gained immortality because of bathing in the spring of life; hence he is coeovally young and old.

**Pleonasm** using more words than are necessary. Redundancy in speech or writing, comparable to ʾemāb اطمیناب or ḥashw حشو in Arabic and Farsi.

**Political subjectivity** The study of political order inside the Persianate societies is subjected to a deep study of the different features of Divān and its contribution in production of a very special kind of political subjectivity. Political subjectivity is mostly about “the relationship between subjective

\(^{196}\) Retrievable under URL: https://archive.org/details/cu31924027175961; last accessed on 8.1.2017
human experience and the political paradigm in which the individual is embedded. Current theories of human subjectivity converge on an important idea: that human subjectivity is fundamentally context-dependent—a cultural context, woven out of political and historical threads” (Rahimi: 1). Major figures have worked on the question of political subjectivity including Lacan, Michel Foucault, Slavoj Žižek... and anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz, Byron J. Good, Sadeq Rahimi, and many others.

**primacy of speech** Primacy of Speech is the central argument in Jacques Derrida’s “*Speech and Phenomena*” (1973) and his other essays on Husserl's theory of signs; and to the argumentations of this thesis, the philosophical considerations on “phenomenological voice”—in which a “silent speech” is considered as a pure phenomenon—portrays the archaic nature of the archaic system of signification discussed here all through the text inside the body of Western philosophy:

> “The importance of the voice is not fortuitous with Husserl: implicitly or explicitly, the vocal medium has always functioned as the highest, the purest, form of signification. Its primacy is also that of reason and thought ... For Derrida, however, the primacy of presence—is illusory; it seems primary because it takes place “in an instant,” in the apparent absence of the world. But in reality, speech is possible only because a certain kind of “writing” precedes it; the invisible and unconscious inscription of traces, the nonpresent and generative movement of difference that constitutes the system of language itself.” (From translator’s introduction on Derrida’s “*Speech and Phenomena*”, David B. Allison in Derrida, 1973 : xl)

**Primal word** is a word that simultaneously stands for its opposite. It is a Freudian conception suggested by him in one of his lectures entitled “*the Function of Dreams*” (Freud, 11th chapter: 1974). In his lecture, Freud attributed the primal features of words to “archaic” languages. Freud in this lecture explains how these words simultaneously refer into two opposite meanings and how this characteristic helps us to understand the way that dream functions. There are many examples that are offered by him e.g. the Janus-faced words of “altus” (high/deep) and sacer (sacred/ cursed) in Latin and so on... Due to many references in this thesis, it is vital to clarify the term in its fullness. For
Among the most surprising findings is the way in which the dream-work treats contraries that occur in the latent dream. We know already that conformities in the latent material are replaced by condensations in the manifest dream. Well, contraries are treated in the same way as conformities, and there is a special preference for expressing them by the same manifest element. Thus an element in the manifest dream which is capable of having a contrary may equally well be expressing either itself or its contrary or both together: only the sense can decide which translation is to be chosen. This connects with the further fact that a representation of ‘no’—or at any rates an unambiguous one—is not to be found in dreams. A welcome analogy to this strange behavior of the dream-work is provided for us in the development of language. Some philologists have maintained that in the most ancient languages contraries such as ‘strong—weak’, ‘light—dark’, ‘big—small’ are expressed by the same verbal roots. (What we term ‘the antithetical meaning of primal words.’) Thus in Ancient Egyptian ‘ken’ originally meant ‘strong’ and ‘weak’. In speaking, misunderstanding from the use of such ambivalent words was avoided by differences of intonation and by the accompanying gesture, and in writing, by the addition of what is termed a ‘determinative’—a picture which is not itself intended to be spoken. For instance, ‘ken’ meaning ‘strong’ was written with a picture of a little upright man after the alphabetic signs; when ‘ken’ stood for ‘weak’, what followed was the picture of a man squatting down limply. It was only later, by means of slight modifications of the original ‘homologous’ word, that two distinct representations were arrived at of the contraries included in it. Thus from ‘ken’ ‘strong—weak’ were derived ‘ken’ ‘strong’ and ‘kan’ weak’. The remains of this ancient antithetical meaning seem to have been preserved not only in the latest developments of the oldest languages but also in far younger ones and even in some that are still living. Here is some evidence of this, derived from K. Abel (1884). In Latin, words that remained ambivalent in this way are ‘altus’ (‘high’ and ‘deep’) and ‘sacer’ (‘sacred’ and ‘accursed’). As instances of modifications of the same root I may mention ‘clamare’ (‘to cry’), ‘clam’ (‘softly’, ‘quietly’, ‘secretly’); ‘succus’ (‘dry’), ‘succus’ (‘juice’). And in German: ‘Stimme’ [‘voice’], ‘stumm’ [‘dumb’]. If we compare related languages, there are numerous examples. In English, ‘to lock’; in German, ‘Loch’ [‘hole’] and ‘Lücke’ [‘gap’]. In English, ‘to cleave’; in German, ‘kleben’ [‘to stick’]. The English word ‘without’ (which is really ‘with—without’) is used to-day for ‘without’ alone. ‘With’, in addition to its combining sense, originally had a removing one; this is still to be seen in the compounds ‘withdraw’ and ‘withhold’. Similarly with the German ‘Wieder’ [‘together with’ and ‘wider’ ‘against’].

The quote is given here with all its examples in Latin. The reason will make sense first when the reader goes further through the text in which some examples in Persian and Kurdish are given related to the dreams.
Another characteristic of the dream-work also has its counterpart in the development of language. In Ancient Egyptian, as well as in other, later languages, the order of the sounds in a word can be reversed, while keeping the same meaning. Examples of this in English and German are: ‘Topf’ [‘pot’]—‘pot’; ‘boat’—‘tub’; ‘hurry’—‘Ruhe’ [‘rest’]; ‘Balken’ [‘beam’]—‘Kloven’ [‘log’] and ‘club’; ‘wait’—‘täuwen’ [‘tarry’]. Similarly in Latin and German: ‘capere’—‘packen’ [‘to seize’]; ‘ren’—‘Niere’ [‘kidney’]. Reversals like this, which occur here with individual words, take place in various ways in the dream-work. We already know reversal of meaning, replacement of something by its opposite [p. 178]. Besides this we find in dreams reversals of situation, of the relation between two people—a topsy-turvy world. Quite often in dreams it is the hare that shoots the sportsman. Or again we find a reversal in the order of events, so that what precedes an event causally comes after it in the dream—like a theatrical production by a third-rate touring company, in which the hero falls down dead and the shot that killed him is not fired in the wings till afterwards. Or there are dreams where the whole order of the elements is reversed, so that to make sense in interpreting it we must take the last one first and the first one last. You will remember too from our study of dream-symbolism that going or falling into the water means the same as coming out of it—that is, giving birth or being born [p. 153], and that climbing up a staircase or a ladder is the same thing as coming down it [p. 158]. It is not hard to see the advantage that dream-distortion can derive from this freedom of representation. These features of the dream-work may be described as archaic. They are equally characteristic of ancient systems of expression by speech and writing and they involve the same difficulties, which we shall have to discuss again later in a critical sense. And now a few more considerations. In the case of the dream-work it is clearly a matter of transforming the latent thoughts which are expressed in words into sensory images, mostly of a visual sort. Now our thoughts originally arose from sensory images of that kind: their first material and their preliminary stages were sense impressions, or, more properly, mnemic images of such impressions. Only later were words attached to them and the words in turn linked up into thoughts. The dream-work thus submits thoughts to a regressive treatment and undoes their development; and in the course of the regression everything has to be dropped that had been added as a new acquisition in the course of the development of the mnemic images into thoughts. Such then, it seems, is the dream-work. As compared with the processes we have come to know in it, interest in the manifest dream must pale into insignificance. But I will devote a few more remarks to the latter, since it is of it alone that we have immediate knowledge.”(Freud, 1916: 178 ff.)

*qadambāh* literally means footprint. *qadam* both in Farsi and Arabic means step or foot but *gāh* is a Farsi affix for a place, then, *qadambāh* is a place that a saint is believed to be seen by someone in dream (or reality in the case of Khidr).
There is a lot of qadamgāh in Iran so that each of them is associated with one or many saints or Imams (for Shi‘as).

**Qanāt** or **Kāriz** is an artificial spring or better to say a horizontal well that draws water out of the mountains without need of pumping. The flow of water is somehow “automated” and a subject of gravitational force of the earth. Kurdistan is rich in water and also resides on the mountainous western borders of Iran plateau but the technique of Qanāt does not terminate abruptly over there and today there are about eighty-four villages around Sanandaj in an area about 18,000 km² who still use this ancient irrigating technology.

**Quiddity** is a philosophical term coined with the name of Thomas Aquinas who between the existence and essence (quiddit) of a thing:

“That a thing is or has existence, is a principle really distinct from its quiddity. In no case (except for God) does the essence of a thing indicate anything about whether that thing really is. The essence of a horse that exists, and the essence of a horse that doesn’t are absolutely the same, namely horse-ness; a horse’s existing is totally different from what kind of a thing it is. Therefore, there must be something about really existing things that accounts for this very existing, and it is not their essence; it is their existence. Existence then is that which makes essences to be, to exercise the act of existing. St. Thomas indicated the activity of being, existence, with the Latin of “to be”, esse.” (“Essence and Existence”; in: Thoomistic Philosophy Page; URL: [http://www.aquinasonline.com/Topics/essencex.html](http://www.aquinasonline.com/Topics/essencex.html); last accessed on 8.1.2017)

This esse or quiditt in Aquinas’s philosophy is comparable to the Word and name (‘ism اسم) in Sufis’ conviction. To read this Word one should stand on the dream-side that is out of practical speech.

**rābete رابطه**: The pupil shares his experiences, mood (ḥāl حال) and dreams to his Sheikh and takes advises from him for his/her next practices. This direct and continuous connection between morād موراد and murid مرید (literally connection). Without rābete the murid will lost his way in darkness-of-flesh or ẓolamāt-i tan and will not reach the water-of-life. He should be mentored through a pir پیر, master مرشد (literally means reason and signifier) or khidr-of-the-way خضر راه.

**Real** (should be with capital R but denoted as well with ‘real’ in this text as a matter of inclusion) is not to be confused with social reality. Real for Lacan is that ‘Thing’ that the language stumbles in confrontation with it and as such, it
could not be defined: Unknown. Real has a diverse band of usage in the reading of Lacan and occupies the vastest entry in Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis (Dylan, Evans: An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis; London, Routledge, 1996, pp. 162-164). However, its relation to the Unknown or ser ṣer in Sufis’ literature is of special focus here: “Unknowable/rational On the one hand, the real cannot be known, since it goes beyond both the imaginary and the symbolic; it is, like the Kantian thing-in-itself, an unknowable X. On the other hand, Lacan quotes Hegel to the effect that the real is rational and the rational is real, thus implying that it is amenable to calculation and logic.” (ibid.: 163)

Rebus: A picture-puzzle or a group of words or phrase written by the medium of figures or pictures. We see objects in these pictures whose names may sound like a word of a completely different meaning, for example ☸ in a rebus might be read as “I” instead of “eye” and so on... In this way, a rebus is a visual embodiment of a ‘letter’, word or a sentence. However this thesis follows the trace of Derrida in saying that being a rebus is the general character of every signifier which is even reflected in the way that Ferdinand de Saussure addresses the signifier as a sound-image (= sound + image).

Reference-dream The story of miʿrāj (ascension of Mohammad) is considered here as the reference-dream as it outlines a central paradigm for Sufis’ understandings of dream as a mystical journey (cf. Sells: 19). This story has been remained untouched in a long history and is of special focus in scope of this study. Read appendix A for a full old and new review of this myth or dream. However, we should notice that this story is not the only collective pattern dream of the region but the most dominant one.

Return to Freud is Lacan’s project that aims to return the voice of Freud back to him which was stolen from him in misreading as well as poor translation of his works that was ended to a completely falsified theory of Freud’s psychoanalysis. IPA (International Psycho-Analytical Association) was largely contributed in proposing this false figure. Lacan, by reading Freud from its German original text, have noticed that all of the Freud’s writings is about language and it was failed to be understood in its linguistic aspects because he [Freud] was not equipped with a proper theory of signifier. Lacan returned to Freud equipped with such a theory. Return to Freud is
best described in the following paragraph that is also used to explain the **Word vs. Flesh** dichotomy in this very glossary:

“When I began to teach something about psychoanalysis I lost some of my audience, because I had perceived long before then the simple fact that if you open a book of Freud, and particularly those books which are properly about the unconscious, you can be absolutely sure – it is not a probability but a certitude – to fall on a page where it is not only a question of words – naturally in a book there are always words, many printed words – but words which are the object through which one seeks for a way to handle the unconscious. Not even the meaning of the words, but words in their flesh, in their material aspect. A great part of the speculations of Freud is about punning in a dream, or lapsus, or what in French we call calembour, homonymie, or still the division of a word into many parts with each part taking on a new meaning after it is broken down.” (Lacan, 1970: 187)

**Rezā** or **Riza (Imam Riza)** he is the 7th descendant of the Islamic prophet Muhammad and the eighth of the Twelve Imams.

**rūḥtāf** is another name or incarnation (doun) of Pîr-i-benyāmin or the custodian Jibrāʾ il (Gabriel).

**Rule of Tongue**= Rule of language; the word zabān (zamān in Kurdish tongue) stands both for language and tongue (muscular organ in the mouth). Tongue is not language, in the same way parole is not langue. However the Word zabān means language (more comparable to langue as it encompasses all the conventions of a signifying system). This double-entendre is slightly different from the double-entendre of the Word tongue in English and sounds to be very meaningful. A poet is the one who masters the rule of tongue/language (zabān) and can conversely change it by a slight wigwag of his tongue.

**Rumi** Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī، also known as Rūmī، and popularly known as Mowlānā is the author of Mathnavi، the largest collection of Sufis’ teachings. The book is written in the form of an extensive poem and is sometimes called “the Quran in Persian”.

**sālikin** Plural of sālik which literally means wayfarer but figuratively refers to every dedicated Sufi and mystic.

**Script**= kalām

**semantic condensations** is used once by Lacan all through his Écrits and actually in that very paragraph that is supposed to have the most referentiality to the discussions of this thesis. This concept considers the effect of condensation
on words in stirring actions or evoking vivid rich images in an audience. In this way the word turns into a condensation symbol as defined by political scientist Doris Graber is "a name, word, phrase, or maxim which stirs vivid impressions involving the listener's most basic values. The symbol arouses and readies him for mental or physical action" (Graber: 289).

Seyed or سید literally means Sir or Mister. An epithet exclusively used for the male descendants of Muhammad (Seyedeh سیده is for a woman whose father is a Seyed but her children cannot inherit this honorable title from her).

Shahū (Persian: شاهو) is a Mountain located in the Kurdish district of Hewraman, Kurdistan, Iran. This area contains famous villages such as Hājjīj, PirShāliār and Hourrāmān Takht.

Shari'a or Shari'ah or Shari'at is the Orthodox mindset in Islam. A set of laws that shape the way [shari'a] of lives of individuals inside a Muslim community.

simulacrum (plural: simulacra) is a [mostly unsatisfactory] copy or imitation of something. This word has also found a very special meaning in the writings of Derrida. Simulacrum stands in a full opposition to the concept of aura that radiates a sense of liveliness, authenticity and originality as defined by Walter Benjamin in “The Work of Art” as “a strange tissue of space and time: the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be” (Benjamin: 104-105). For Derrida, writing has no essence, however, it introduces “difference as the condition for the presence of essence, opening up the possibility of the double, a copy, the imitation, the simulacrum.” (Derrida, dissemination: 155)

Siyāsat means both punishment and politics but today it just means politics.

Soul Travel Theory is one type among the six type of Lohmann’s categorization on dreams: nonsense, discernment, message, generative, soul travel and visitation (2007: 41-43). Experiencing transitions in time and space is the main characteristic of this type of dreams.

Spell Different suggestion of this word in English are very instructive whenever we use this word as an equivalent for the verb تلیسم کردن (lit.] to make [someone] ‘Talisman’ or Telism) and should be recalled in mind when used as such; the word Spell (when we look into a dictionary) means:

- to form a word or words with the letters in the correct order.
- to cause something bad to happen in the future.
to do something which someone else would usually doing.

a period of time for which an activity or condition lasts continuously.

spoken words that are thought to have magical power, or (the condition of being under) the influence or control of such words.

(Compare with gloss.6)

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**Gloss.6 Spell** in Dictionary of Cambridge.

**Stage of the Other** see **Obscene Subject** this word stands both for subject of mind and subject of matter.

**Sufism** (≈tariqat) Sufi orders are a set of ascetic brotherhoods that have replaced obedience idea of Islam (*Muslim* literally means obedient) with love. This innovative read of Sufism from the canonical laws of Islam (laws of Shari'at) turns its Master-Slave dialogue into a secretive dialogue between a *beloved* and a *lover* is linguistic in nature. Notwithstanding the large amount of texts recently written on Sufism, there are very rare texts that concern with this “linguistic turn” of the medieval era to answer how this drastic change is ever possible. This thesis is concerning with this question by tracing their methods in interpretation of dreams. Sufis are normally considered as politically margined groups who propose a secular read of Islam, however, they always have a lot of influence in Iranian politics and in some periods they took the
state power for example the kings of Safavi dynasty in Iran were offspring of Sheikh Shāh Saﬁ ad-din Ardabili.

**Symbolic (order)** (=big Other) is another Lacanian concept which is equivalent to Lévi-Strauss's "order of culture" mediated through language. According to Lacan, the unconscious is the discourse of the "Other" and thus belongs to the symbolic order ("Other" with capital O used by Lacan to signify "the outer world").

"...Lacan makes it clear that his concept of the symbolic order owes much to the anthropological work of Claude Lévi-Strauss (from whom the phrase 'symbolic function' is taken; see Lévi-Strauss, 1949a:203). In particular, Lacan takes from Lévi-Strauss the idea that the social world is structured by certain laws which regulate kinship relations and the exchange of gifts (see also Mauss, 1923). The concept of the gift, and that of a circuit of exchange, are thus fundamental to Lacan's concept of the symbolic (S4, 153–4, 182). Since the most basic form of exchange is communication itself (the exchange of words, the gift of speech; S4, 189), and since the concepts of LAW and of STRUCTURE are unthinkable without LANGUAGE, the symbolic is essentially a linguistic dimension. Any aspect of the psychoanalytic experience which has a linguistic structure thus pertains to the symbolic order. However, Lacan does not simply equate the symbolic order with language. On the contrary, language involves imaginary and real dimensions in addition to its symbolic dimension. The symbolic dimension of language is that of the SIGNIFIER; a dimension in which elements have no positive existence but which are constituted purely by virtue of their mutual differences. The symbolic is also the realm of radical alterity which Lacan refers to as the OTHER. The UNCONSCIOUS is the discourse of this Other, and thus belongs wholly to the symbolic order. The symbolic is the realm of the Law which regulates desire in the Oedipus complex. It is the realm of culture as opposed to the imaginary order of nature. Whereas the imaginary is characterised by dual relations, the symbolic is characterised by triadic structures, because the intersubjective relationship is always 'mediated' by a third term, the big Other. The symbolic order is also the realm of DEATH, of ABSENCE and of LACK. The symbolic is both the PLEASURE PRINCIPLE which regulates the distance from the Thing, and the DEATH DRIVE which goes 'beyond the pleasure principle' by means of repetition (S2, 210); in fact, 'the death drive is only the mask of the symbolic order’ (S2, 326) ...” (Dylan, Evans: *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*; London, Routledge, 1996, pp. 203-204)

**syntactical displacement** or **syntactical movement** “is a sophisticated cognitive endowment, requiring the understanding that an expression appearing in one place in an utterance is semantically and syntactically
linked to a (generally) null expression elsewhere. But this ability may stem from quite an early development in the evolution of syntax. Prior to the appearance of displacement itself, it seems likely that significant freedom in linear order characterized early languages and protolanguages (and indeed persist in some languages today)... In the following sentence, phrases "probably" and "unbeknown to me" can occur at any of the points marked • (with appropriate intonation patterns)" (Carnie and Sidiqqi and Sato: 456)

• The cat • would • devour my library ticket •

\text{\textit{ta'wîl}} literally means interpretation from \text{\textquoteleft}awal\text{\textquoteright} اول or origin[al]. \text{\textit{Ta'wîl}} is a \textit{writerly} read of a script e.g. of a dream (see writerly in this glossary).

\text{\textit{ta'bîr}} literally means interpretation from \text{\textquoteleft}ubour\text{\textquoteright} عبر or passing. It's a method for bypassing the readerly features of a script through the ways that are left open in the script for being [mis]read or understood differently.

\textbf{Talisman} is one of the most important terms used in this thesis and serves as an Oriental equivalent for Rebus refered by Freud as a metaphor for every dream and by Lacan as the language of dreams. Talisman comes from the Arabic word \textit{ṭelesm} طلسم and it is believed that the word itself is an inverse write of the word \textit{mosalat} مسلط which means “the one who has power on something” (of the same root of the word \textit{Sultan} (سultan)): 

\begin{itemize}
  \item[	extbf{سلطه}] 
  \item[	extbf{سلطه}] 
  \item[	extbf{سلطه}] 
  \end{itemize}

Talisman is all about the “[will to] power” (\textit{solt}ه سلطه). Most of the Sufis' practices is a kind of recourse to the power-of-words (i.e. \textit{ḏikir} نكر as their main practice) to reach into the words-of-power (e.g. \textit{'ism-i aʿẓam} اسم اعظم; see also Mirec133). Talisman, in the context of esoteric sciences and Islamic black magic is the art of using the power-of-words to find command on Flesh (\textit{solt}ه سلطه; see also Mirec136). Talisman is where Word meets Flesh and this is readable in almost every Islamic Talisman:
**Gloss.7** Two ending pages (p.5-6) of *abyāt taṣwīr ḥorouf* (Verses on The Letters’ Image) a short essay on the meanings of letters and their relations with the organs of the human’s body; date and writer unknown (source: The digital library of TOTFIM (The Open Treasure From Islamic-Iranian Manuscripts), the archive code of the manuscript: PAK-001-1128; URL: http://totfim.com/Manuscripts/Details/33026; last accessed on 29.12.2016.) Here we read: داروی چشم از عین بین which means “See the remedy/drug of eyes in eyn عین” which is also the pronunciation of the eighteenth letter in Arabic alphabet= غ (eyn). In the figures above, the artist has also put an غ instead the eyes: “Similia similibus curantur” and the same logic goes for the rest of organs.

*tanbīh* means both punishment and awaking someone from sleep.

*tanbūr* is a very old chord instrument mainly used for religious occasions and not for secular music or entertainment. *Tanbūr* is often played in conjunction with *daf* (frame drum). It has become into a religious symbol among *ahl-i haq*.

*tariqat* or *tariqat* is another word for Sufism. It is somehow in contrast with *shari’a*. Similar to *shari’a* the word means ‘way’ but a small narrow one.

**Temporal delay** see **Instant answer**

**The (big) Other** see **Other**

**The Symbolic** see **Symbolic (order)**
They or them: Sheikhs usually use plural pronouns to refer to themselves e.g. a Sheikh instead of “share me your dream!” says (but not necessarily always): “share us your dream!”

Thick description: is a term adopted by Clifford Geertz from philosopher Gilbert Ryle. Geertz at the beginning of his “Interpretation of Cultures” (1973), explains the term: “What defines it [doing ethnography as the enterprise] is the kind of intellectual effort it is: an elaborate venture in, to borrow a notion from Gilbert Ryle, “thick description.” ... Consider, he [Ryle] says, two boys rapidly contracting the eyelids of their right eyes. In one, this is an involuntary twitch; in the other, a conspiratorial signal to a friend. The two movements are, as movements, identical; from an l-am-a-camera, "phenomenalistic" observation of them alone, one could not tell which was twitch and which was wink, or indeed whether both or either was twitch or wink. Yet the difference, however unphotographable, between a twitch and a wink is vast; as anyone unfortunate enough to have had the first taken for the second knows” (Geertz, 1973: 6). Then one needs a “thick description” to tell these two apart. With “thick description” in Anthropology one refers to those phenomenas (e.g. Islamic dreams) that calls for a lot of contextualization (e.g. discussions presented in this thesis on the complex relation between image and word or different associative meanings of Water and Father in Kurdistan). This is the only way that may make a behavior meaningful for a distant eye.

Thing “Lacan's discussion of ‘the Thing’ constitutes one of the central themes in the seminar of 1959–60, where he uses the French term la chose interchangeably with the German term das Ding” (Dylan, Evans: An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis; London, Routledge, 1996, pp. 207-208). One of the main contexts in which this term operates is the “Freud’s distinction between ‘word-presentations’ (Wortvorstellungen) and ‘thing-presentations’ (Sachvorstellungen).” (ibid.)

Tiresias or Tiresias was a famous prophet who lived in Thebes, (the city of Oedipus). Tiresias, according to his or her mythological story is the one who has experienced both sexes, both opposites and then he has remained in middle. I have considered this figure as a real embodiment of a deconstructive thinker: having a kind of sense of both without being recognized by any of them.
Tiresias, in this sense, could be considered as the one who has developed a kind of extra sensibility about the primal words. Tiresias is the one who can arrange the words according to sense: Thesaurus. This character is also used here to symbolize the situation of a person who swings between two opposite (emic and etic) views without being perfectly fit in each of them.

**Tongue** see the rule of tongue

**Topology** (see also Homologue) here is not necessarily a science about the nature of surfaces but as drawn by Heidegger on its Greek roots, topology is a place (topos) that speaks (logos): “Saying of a place” (Ort-reden) (Heidegger via Malpas: 33). “Saying of a place” is also the shortest definition for dream. Malpas has derived his theory of topology through a paragraph from Heidegger which reads:

> “With “Being and Time”...the “question of being”...concerns the question of being qua being. It becomes thematic in “Being and Time” under the name of “the question of the meaning [Sinn] of being.” Later this formulation was given up in favor of that of “the question of the truth of being.” [Ortschaft des Seins], from which the name topology of being arose [Topologie des Seins]. Three terms which succeed one another and at the same time indicate three steps along the way of thinking: MEANING-TRUTH-PLACE.” (Heidegger via Malpas: 33) (to read this paragraph in its original German check Heidegger, 1987: 129)

Topology has attained a central position in the teachings of Lacan. For Lacan topology is structure itself:

> “Freud used spatial metaphors to describe the psyche in The Interpretation of Dreams, where he cites G.T.Fechner’s idea that the scene of action of dreams is different from that of waking ideational life and proposes the concept of ‘psychical locality’ (see ob-scene in this glossary) ... His ‘first topography’ (usually referred to in English as ‘the topographic system’) divided the psyche into three systems: the conscious (Cs), the preconscious (Pcs) and the unconscious (Ucs). The ‘second topography’ (usually referred to in English as ‘the structural system’) divided the psyche into the three agencies of the ego, the superego and the id. Lacan criticises these models for not being topological enough. He argues that the diagram with which Freud had illustrated his second topology in The Ego and the Id (1923) [Evans is referring to the gloss.7 in Freud, GW: 845] led the majority of Freud’s readers to forget the analysis on which it was based because of the intuitive power of the image (see Écrits: 574). Lacan’s interest in topology arises, then, because he sees it as providing a non-intuitive, purely intellectual means of expressing the concept of STRUCTURE that is so important to his focus on the symbolic order. It is thus the task of Lacan’s topological models “to forbid imaginary capture” (Écrits: 903). Unlike intuitive images, in which “perception eclipses structure”, in Lacan’s
topology “there is no occultation of the symbolic” (ibid.). Lacan argues that topology is not simply a metaphorical way of expressing the concept of structure; it is structure itself;…” (Dylan, Evans: An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis; London, Routledge, 1996, pp. 210-211; all of the Dylan’s references used in his entries are compared and attributed to the exact pages of the bibliographic references used in this thesis.)

Gloss.8 Freud’s second topography, 1922 (GW: 845)

Trace see archi-writing

true dream or truthful dream or royāy-i ṣādiqe is a dream that the materialistic world will follow it like a decreed order in the same indexical way that an image follows the movements of a body in a mirror. However visiting the Prophet in a dream is also considered as a true dream and also many of spiritual events (see ‘event’ in this glossary). It is also related as well as overlapped with royāy-i ṣālihe seen by ṣolahā or [lit.] well-doers.

Gloss.9 A page (p.127) from Serr-oI Asrār fimā yoiktājo ilayhe al-abrār written by Abdolqāder Gilānī the arch-Sheikh and founder of Qāderie; date: unknown (source: The digital library of TOTFIM (The Open Treasure From Islamic-Iranian Manuscripts), the archive code of the manuscript: IRQ-001-0871; URL: http://totfim.com/Manuscripts/Details/13613; last accessed on 6.12.2016.)
In the script above, written by Abdolqāder Gilānī the arch-Sheikh and founder of Qāderie (gloss.9) we read: “... and the meaning of royāy-i ṣālihe (truthful dream) is one part from forty-six parts of prophethood and he [Prophet], peace be upon him, has said that whoever sees me, has seen me truthfully as the Satan cannot simile me or the one who follows my light...”

Truth (= haq) ḥaq is the word mostly used by dervishes as God or to call God.

velāyat has several meanings: fatherhood, friendship, land, patriot (waḥan) and authority.

Visitation Theory is one type among the six type of Lohmann’s categorization on dreams: nonsense, discernment, message, generative, soul travel and visitation (2007: 41-43). In visitation theory, the dream represent spiritual visitations of a stationary dreamer (for example see the notions of Raymond Firth on incest-dream in Polynsia, 2004 (1936): 328). In this example, the dreamer is visited by a spirit. The dreamer (in visitation theory) is in a passive, recipient position being visited by a spirit as an active agent (travel soul theory). We see that in all of our dream reports, these two theories are interwoven: the dreamer is being visited by a Sheikh who travels in his own dream to visit this poor dreamer. It is rather like a prisoner visited by a free relative. However, to experience multiple kind of theories by just one person, though not uncommon (see Tedlock, 1987: 25), is not frequent in Kurdistan and there is also no report of this kind inside the interviews.

Twitch of an eyebrow or isharat-i abrou is a Persian expression used for indexing those true intentions that may lie behind a superficial or facial behaviour:

تو مو می بینی و من پیچش مو
تو ابرو من اشارت های ابرو

You see hair but I see the curls of the hair
You see an eyebrow but I see the twitches of an eyebrow.

This verse is actually an altered form of Vahshi Bafqiš poem (read this poem here: http://ganjoor.net/vahshi/farhad-shirin/sh11/). See also ‘thick description’ in this glossary.
**Visual system** “...the process that result in humans producing visible objects, reflexively constructing their visual environment and communicating by visual means; visual worlds reflect different ways of seeing” (Banks and Murphy, 1997:21)

**Water-Lord** Kazem Alamdari has addressed the kings of Iran with “the owner of all land” as it is usual to think of a king (see Alamdari: Preface, page i) however, in his writings he focuses mainly on the significance of water in Iran and the differentiation between water-ownership and land-ownership in the plateau of Iran; so it makes sense if we address the king with “the owner of all waters” and his land tenures with ‘water-lord’ instead of land-lord which originally has its root in Western sociology.

**Whatness** the being or the essence or quiddity of a thing

**Will to power** The will to power (German: der Wille zur Macht) is a prominent concept in the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. Will of power is reflected here in the passion for Words as it is believed that it is the Word that has the true command over the Flesh, so, will of power is deeply related to other issues such as Sufis’ commemoration Zikrذکر and talisman.

**Will to live** or conatus opposes the described will to power but these two are interwoven concepts. For example taking the place of a despot father is both against the will to live (simply because it is dangerous) and in favor of it (it is aimed to omit the father as danger). ‘Will to power’ inevitably ends to a distinguished personality which is in turn visible and devourable by higher powers. In camouflage, these two ‘will to power’ and ‘will to live’ are contradicting but this is still not all the story (see Roger Caillois’s essay “Mimicry and Legendary Psychasthenia” (1984)).

**Wise Old Man** is an archetype, described by Carl Jung, to portray a developed or sublimated aspect of the individual: self. In Wise Old Man archetype, the ego meets the self. This archetype, is the most frequent figure that appears in dreams of the people of Sanandaj. Jung’s explanations on this archetype is extensive and should also not be taken as granted, however, here we may read something very central to our scope: “Wise Old Man is always a personification of God. That is why we represent God with a long white beard sitting upon a golden throne ...Here the Wise Old Man being the image of God: he is the Word. Thoth [the inventor of writing, see gift in this very
glossary], for instance, is the anticipation of the Logos, so he is also the anticipation of Christ inasmuch as Christ is the Logos ... So this Logos quality of the Old Man puts right in loco dei [in place of God], as Christ is the visible face of God; he is in a way like the Old Testament conception of the Angel of the face. In Islamic mysticism the Sufi God is the same idea; Chidr [Khidr], the green one, is the visible element of God...the Word that became flesh.” (Jung, Carl Gustav: Nietzsche’s Zarathustra: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1934-1939; edited by James L. Jarret, vol. 1; New Jersey: Princeton, 1988, pp. 319-320.)

Word (Kalame) In Islamic philosophy as well as in Islamic esoteric sciences, the position of Word or kalame is somehow analogous to the position that the ‘numbers’ have in Pythagorean ideas in the western philosophy: The ‘Words’ are considered as the ultimate reality. In other words, Kalame or the Word in Islamic theology is supposed to be more ‘real’ and authentic than the reality itself. In this philosophy, the materialistic world is an opaque veil (pardeh or hijāb) that hinders an immediate contact with the occult (gheyb غيب) and the realm of truth: the world of names (‘ālam-ı asmā’ عالم اسماء) which are also the ‘Words’ of power.

Word vs. Flesh The dichotomy between Word and Flesh is a relative old discussion at least it goes back to the biblical verse: “And the word became flesh...” (John 1:14). Jung in his notions on Wise Old Man in one of his seminars (2 May. 1934) has suggested the German word [die gute] Besinnung for the process by which the Word takes Flesh: “Ahura Mazda [God in Zoroastrianism], the greatest god, the wise man, is generally supposed to be Zarathustra’s creation, and he came to that formation probably through inner experiences of which his story tells. These experiences are called in the old literature, “Meeting and Questioning”; that is he met Ahura Mazda, or his spoken word called Vohu Manō, meaning the good attitude. The German word for Vohu Manō would be: die gute Besinnung, the good attitude, a good intention, a good word, the right word. We could easily translate it, with no particular philosophical difficulty, by the Christian concept of Logos; the spoken word represents God in his incarnated form, the Logos as incarnated in Christ would be the exact counterpart of Vohu Manō. One finds the same concept in Islam in the mystical Sufi sect. where Allāh, because he is
unnamedable, ineffable, and therefore formless, appears in tangible form in Chidr [Khidr], the green one, who is called ... “the angel of the Face”. (Jung, Carl Gustav: Nietzsche’s Zarathustra: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1934-1939; edited by James L. Jarret, vol. 1; New Jersey: Princeton, 1988, pp. 6-7).

It seems that most of the discussions about this dichotomy are theological, scholastical or biblical but if we take Word as a signifier or a symbol, and accordingly Flesh as the signified, this dichotomy might become vital. In one level Flesh is considered here as something like the painterly aspect of an artwork in which the artist has tried to imitate the physical world but in another level it might hint to the materialistic aspect of unconsciousness. What that could be simply named as ‘objective unconsciousness’. In other words, it is not just the meaning of the words through which one seeks for a way to handle the unconscious. The words have also an objective dimension, a material aspect: They have Flesh:

“When I began to teach something about psychoanalysis I lost some of my audience, because I had perceived long before then the simple fact that if you open a book of Freud, and particularly those books which are properly about the unconscious, you can be absolutely sure – it is not a probability but a certitude – to fall on a page where it is not only a question of words – naturally in a book there are always words, many printed words – but words which are the object through which one seeks for a way to handle the unconscious. Not even the meaning of the words, but words in their flesh, in their material aspect. A great part of the speculations of Freud is about punning in a dream, or lapsus, or what in French we call calembour, homonymie, or still the division of a word into many parts with each part taking on a new meaning after it is broken down.” (Lacan, 1970: 187)

Unconscious and language are both structures built of signifiers which are “indeed a special sort of matter, an incarnate form of material being” (ibid). The word Flesh is used here to designate both the material objects and this “special sort of matter”. When a word or letter became excessively charged with meaning (for example when used as a pun or in advertisement like M in McDonalds) it will became dense and attains a “special sort of matter” like the body. Unconsciousness returns into its real body, “such stuff as dreams are made on” (William Shakespeare, The Tempest): a dream-land

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198 Here Jung is either false translated or absolutely wrong.
in which the Things are symbols; more real than what that they ever symbolize!

Writerly and readerly are two definitions of Roland Barthes suggested at the very beginning of his S/Z by questioning the value of a text:

“what can be written (rewritten) today: the writerly! Why is the writerly our value? Because the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text. Our literature is characterized by the pitiless divorce which the literary institution maintains between the producer of the text and its user, between its owner and its customer, between its author and its reader. This reader is thereby plunged into a kind of idleness—he is intransitive; he is, in short, serious: instead of functioning himself, instead of gaining access to the magic of the signifier, to the pleasure of writing, he is left with no more than the poor freedom either to accept or reject the text: reading is nothing more than a referendum. Opposite the writerly text, then, is its countervalue, its negative, reactive value: what can be read, but not written: the readerly. We call any readerly text a classic text. Writerly is the attitude of the reader to the text.” (S/Z: 3)

A writerly text opens itself to its reader for being re-written. My personal sense is always that the people of Shari'ah read Quran as a readerly text (intolerable laws of Allāh) where Sufis (people of tariqah) have developed a writerly approach toward the script.

Ẓikr or ḍikr literally means “remembrance [of God]”, “pronouncement”) and usually translated as commemoration. Ẓikr is the main technique of Sufis. Not only the daily prayers (namāz نماز) are considered as a kind of commemoration or Ẓikr but also dancing of Dervishes is the commemoration of body. They never call it dance instead either madjilis-i Ẓikr مجلس ذکر which means session of commemoration or samā’ سماع that literally means hearing! All this again highlights the auditive nature of Sufis’ ritual: They reach intoxication through hearing. The poems that are song have the function to mix ideas (words and the meaning of the poem) with sensations (their rhythm and music). This is a strong experience of concurrent (conceptions and perceptions): to sense the vibrations of a voice as a transcendental idea in every particle of the body as
flesh. The ultimate idea I think is to sublimate the Flesh up to the Word as its origin.

ẓolamāt means deep darkness but conversely it is the place that has hidden the water of life in itself. In allegoric language of Sufis it stands for body. It also alludes to political despotism (from ẓolam ظلم or violence).


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537


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