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# The Kurds of Khorasan\*

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### **Abstract**

The article is a demographic survey on the Kurds in Greater Khorasan including presently three separate provinces within the territorial-administrative system of Iran. The research is mainly based on the field materials; the author had identified most of the Kurdish populated localities in situ, though the data obtained from the local municipalities were also taken into consideration. The paper includes a comprehensive list of all the villages and rural centres of Greater Khorasan with compact and mixed Kurdish population, according to the minor administrative divisions, šahrestāns, i. e. districts.

The biggest part of the Khorasani Kurds is sedentary, although there are also some groups of seasonal pastoralists. All the Kurds of Khorasan are Shi'ites. Generally, there are 696 villages with a compact or prevailing Kurdish population registered on the territory of Greater Khorasan. The total number of the Khorasani Kurds can be estimated around one million.

### **Keywords**

Kurds in Khorasan, Kurdish Tribes, Iranian Ethno-Demography, Khorasan

## Introduction

Khorasan (Xorāsān)<sup>1</sup> is the biggest province of Iran, located in the North-East of the country. This region, especially in the north, is characterised by a large ethnic diversity. Over a surface of 15,444 square miles, all the ethnic groups that compose the population of contemporary Iran can be found: the Kurds, Baluches, Lurs, Turks, Turkmens, Sistanis, Afghans, Arabs, etc., though most of them have appeared here as a result of migrations from their historical homelands. At present, Khorasan is di-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> According to the Classical New Persian pronunciation, Khurasan (*Xurāsān*).

vided into three separate provinces—Northern Khorasan (Xorāsān-e šomālī), Khorasan-e Razavi (Xorāsān-e Raḍavī)—the central part of the area, and Southern Khorasan (Xorasan-e jonūbī). It should be noted, however, that the Kurds live mainly in the two northern parts of Greater Khorasan. The term Khorasan in this paper is applied to all the three provinces, usually referred to also as Greater Khorasan (Xorasan-e bo-

The research is mainly based on the author's field materials. Since the ethnic attribution of the villages is generally omitted or almost ignored in the respective sources, and the official data are often contradictive, most of the localities populated by Kurds, had been identified by the author himself in situ, though the archive materials from the local municipal centres were largely used as well.

The survey concerns exclusively the rural places as, despite the high ratio of the Kurds in the cities (Mashhad, Quchan, Bojnurd, Neyshabur, etc.), their identification in the urban environment is attended with certain difficulties. The Kurds in Khorasan, especially the educated layers, usually assimilate, sometimes even in the first generation. This phenomenon, however, has nothing to do with the purposeful policy. The authorities in present-day Iran generally promote local cultures and languages; a number of Kurdish newspapers and magazines are published today in Khorasan. The point is that the Kurdish ethnicity in Khorasan has become a rather social label, or characteristic; to be a Kurd implies the belonging to rustic milieu, a villager par excellence.

There is also another point to be taken into account. Though the overwhelming majority of the identified villages are purely Kurdish, there are also some with mixed population (with the Persian- and Turkic-speaking groups), with the Kurdish inhabitants still prevailing. Even the mixed Kurdish-Baluchi villages can be found in the area.

The biggest part of the Khorasani Kurds is sedentary, although there are also some groups of seasonal pastoralists. All the Kurds of Khorasan are Shi'its. Generally, there are 696 villages with the compact or prevailing Kurdish population registered on the territory of Greater Khorasan. Due to the lack of the exact census data on the ethnic groups in Iran, the reasonable figure on the Kurds cannot be either; yet, judging by some demographical parameters, their total number in Khorasan can be estimated around one million.

### EMERGENCE OF THE KURDS IN KHORASAN

The beginning of the 16th century was a crucial period in the history of the Kurds having populated at that time the North-West of Iran and the

adjoining areas of Northern Mesopotamia. The Safavid-Ottoman confrontation, particularly after the Chaldiran battle in 1514, revealed the significance of the Kurdish-speaking element as an important military factor in the region. The succeeding period in the internal policies of both Ottoman Empire and Safavid Persia, is marked with the conspicuous trend of using this factor as a security component.

The Ottomans started to actively populate the eastern regions of Western Armenia (the so-called Eastern Anatolia) with Kurds, displacing the autochthonous Armenians; the process of Kurdisation of the area being aimed at creating a stronghold against the Safavids.

As for the Persians, they initiated the migration of Kurds from the same territories in the opposite direction—to Khorasan, which was primarily aimed at dispersing the compact Kurdish population in the border zone with the Ottomans, as well as at creating a defense-line along the north-east frontiers of the country against the constant inroads of the Turkmen and Uzbek nomads.



Milking in Daragaz (Photo by the Author)

The enrooting of the Kurdish ethnic element on the Armenian native lands had finally resulted in the extermination of the Armenian population of the area by the beginning of the 20th century, and consequently—in the formation of a compact Kurdish populated region in the east of present-day Turkey, known today under the conditional term "Turkish Kurdistan".

The relocation of the Kurds by the Persians, however, had no geopolitical consequences. The Kurds, settled in Khorasan, played, in fact, a certain role in the defense of the north-east frontiers of Iran, although having often rebelled against the central government (e.g. the revolt of the Quchan Kurds against Fath-'Ali Shah Qajar in 1839, suppressed by the crown-prince 'Abbas Mirza).<sup>2</sup>

The process of migration to Khorasan, initiated by Shah Isma'il and continued during Shah Tahmasp, became systematic under the reign of Shah 'Abbas. In the period from 1598 to 1601, the latter forced 45,000 Kurdish families, primarily from the regions located in the historical Western Armenia and the South Caucasus, to move to Khorasan. Shah 'Abbas had actually established five Kurdish domains all over the extent of the border, from Astarabad (Astarābād) to Chinaran (Čenārān); three of them—Bojnurd (Bojnūrd), Quchan (Qūčān), and Daragaz—still existed in the 19th century. The owners of Quchan, the strongest among the domains, as well as those of Bojnurd, bore the title of *Īl-khāns*. Geographically, some tribes of the Zafaranlu (Za'farānlū) Kurds settled down in Quchan, Shadlu (Šādlū or Šādīlū)—in Bojnurd, Keyvanlu (Keyvānlū or Kāvānlū)—in Radkan (Rādkān), and Amarlu ('Amārlū)—in Neyshabur (Neyšāp/būr or Nīšābūr).3

Several migrations of the Kurds took place also in Iran in the first half of the 18th century, in the period of Nadir-Shah's rule. In all appearances, he relocated only the Iranian Kurds within the territory of Iran—from Ardalan to Khorasan, as well as those having already settled in Khorasan—to Gilan for creating an anti-Russian bastion.

All the Kurds of Khorasan are Kurmanj (Kurmānj), descending from the tribes having once lived in the Turkish domain and belonging to the northern grouping of the Kurds; the absolute majority of the latter are presently concentrated in Turkey as well, some living in Syria and Iraq. In Khorasan, the Kurds are called likewise—Kormanj (Kormānj). They speak the same dialect as the Turkish Kurds, Kormanji (Kurmānjī, in Persian rendering Kormānjī). Judging by the vocabulary of this dialect, its speakers once had definitely neighboured Armenians. Even the presence of a certain Armenian ethnic element in the bulk of the Khorasani Kurds can not be totally excluded. In my field works, while identificating villages in the district of Chenaran, for instance, I came across people who were claiming to be of Armenian origin. Even in a superficial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Sykes, A History of Persia, vol. 2, London, 1951<sup>3</sup>: 323-324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See V. V. Bartol'd, "Istoriko-geografičeskij obzor Irana", idem, Sočineniya, vol. 7, Moscow, 1971: 105-106.

skimming of the language of the Khorasani Kurds, a number of important borrowings from Armenian become apparent: xāč "cross"; čōrťān "dried cheese"; k'ōtān "plough"; panjār (pinjār) "a common denomination for edible herbs"; mandik "a sort of wild edible plant"; k'el/randū "sickle with a long wooden handle", etc. Probably, in the phonological system of the Khorasani Kurmanji, the Armenian trace is also visible. The phonological opposition of the voiceless  $\hat{c}$ /voiced  $\check{c}$ , and the voiceless occlusives p, t, k/aspirated p', t', k', typical for the Kurdish dialects of the historical Armenian lands, is explicitly visible in the Khorasani Kurmanji.<sup>5</sup> Another detail is of ethnographical character. After winnowing, when the work on the thrashing-floor is over, some groups of the Khorasani Kurds draw a cross-sign on the grain heaps cleaned from the husk, thus rendering homage to an old tradition, without realising its real meaning.

So, it is beyond controversy, that the Khorasani Kurds had migrated from the Kurdish populated regions of modern Turkey, and, judging by some tribal names, possibly from the South Caucasian regions (presentday Armenia, Azerbaijan Republic). In Turkey, it could be the area covering the Van lake basin, Bidlis, Mush, up to Diarbakr. However, the oral tradition of the Khorasani Kurds, as well as all the authors having written on the subject, localise the exodus territory of the Kurds of Khorasan in Chemishgazak (Çemişgezek), having allegedly been the dwelling area of a tribal confederation with the same name. Yet, the tribal confederation of Chemizgazak has never existed, in fact. It was just a conventional name given by Shah 'Abbas to the pro-Iranian Kurdish tribes resettled later to Khorasan. Sharaf-khan Bidlisi describes the dominion of Chemishgazak in details. It was one of the four regions once constituting the Charsanjak kaza within Kharput (Arm. Xarberd), district, i.e. in the area to the south of Dersim. According to some authors, Qarachor was a synonym of Charsanjak.7 Today, Chemishgazak (Cemisgezek) is a part of the province of Tunceli (Dersim). Anyway, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For details, see G. Asatrian, "Kurdish and Armenian", Iran and the Caucasus (forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Asatrian, ibid.; also I. I. Cukerman, Xorasanskij kurmandži. Issledovanie i teksty, Moscow, 1986: 12ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes, par Scheref, prince de Bidlis, publieé pour la première fois, traduite et annotée par V. Vélïamonof-Zernof, tome II, texte persan, St.-Pétersbourg, 1862: 162-175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See G. S. Erevanean, *Patmut'iwn Č'arsanjagi hayoc'*, Beirut, 1956: 1-3; cf. also D. Butyka, "Das ehemalige Vilajet Dersim", Mitteilungen der kais. Königl. geographisehen Gesellschaft in Wien, 35 Band (1892): 109ff.

only tribal name among the hundreds of Kurdish tribal denominations attested in Khorasan is, perhaps, Qarachorlu (Qaračorlū), which has an homonym in the toponymy of Chemishgazak, i.e. the mentioned Qarachor. Nothing else, in fact, in the Khorasani Kurds' tribal nomenclature reminds the alleged territory of their origin in this area; all the more, a tribe called Qarachorli, by the way Shi'ites, mentioned in the Erivan province of the former Russian Empire.8 Furthermore, despite the fact that the population of Chemishgazak had a significant pro-Iranian element, indeed, including the Shi'ite Qizilbashes,9 the biggest part of the inhabitants of the region are not ethnic Kurds, but Dimilis (or Zazas). Thus, Chemishgazak is a quite implausible candidate for the hypothetical exodus place of the Khorasani Kurds. In all likelihood, the name of Chemishgazak, as M. van Bruinessen believes, 10 was actually given to a group of migrants, having formed an ad hoc tribal confederation, probably due to the fact that Chemishgazak was a marked place in the whole Kurdish ethnic and geographical continuum of that time. Sharaf-khan, for instance, writes: "When someone among the Kurds, mentions (lit. names) the vilayet of Kurdistan, he means Chemishgazak". 11

In any case, the real territory of the Kurdish exodus is the mentioned area in the present-day Turkey and in the South Caucasus, but by no means Chemishgazak.

Generally, from the numerous tribal names of the Khorasani Kurds, ending, as a rule, with the Turkish suffix -lū, only few can be identified with the corresponding tribal names of the Mesopotamian and South Caucasian Kurmanjs. Cf. Sīfkānlū, as a parallel to Sīpkū (Sīpkūnlū), Pāzūkī; Bērīvānlū, vs. Berīfī between Mosul and Mardin; Mīlān (Mīlānlū); Zīlān (Zīlānlū); Šādīlū, vs. Šādīmānlū, a Shi'ite Kurdish tribe in the Erivan province; Māmyānlū, vs. Māmikānlū (Mamgūn), 2 as well as Ardalān, probably coming from the big tribe of Ardalan in the province of Kurdistan in

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  Cf. P. Lerx, Izsledovaniya ob iranskix kurdax i ix predkax, severnyx xaldeyax, kn. I, SPb., 1856: 89.

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  Cf. Scheref-Nameh ..., ibid.; M. van Bruinessen, Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan, London-New-Jersey, 1992: 134-135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> van Bruinessen, op. cit.: 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. Har-gāh dar miyāne-ye akrād velāyat-e Kordestān maðkūr sāzand, morād az Če-mišqazak ast (Scheref-Nameh..., Ibid.: 163).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Lerx, op. cit.: 67, 70, 72, 73, 87, 89, 90; W. Spottiswoode, "Sketch of Tribes of Northern Kurdistan", *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. 2 (1863): 244-245; M. Sykes, The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 38 (1908): 457, 467, 470, 476, 477.

Iran, and Zanganeh, the latter being definitely a part of the Zanganeh in Kermanshah, etc. The two last-mentioned tribes moved to Khorasan in the period of Nadir-Shah.

As for the tribal name Gūrān, attested in Quchan and Shirvan, 13 it has, of course, nothing to do with the Gūrāns of the province of Kermanshah in Iran. It is rather an echo of the social connotation of this term, applied to the non-tribal peasants in the North-West of Iran. 14

With regard to the internal definition of the Khorasani Kurds by their tribal affiliations, it should be noted that it is, indeed, a quite difficult, if not unrealistic, task. With some exceptions, most of the tribes have their own doubtful genealogical stories, extenuating the cardinally contradictory data in the relevant literature. 15 Therefore, in the present work, we confined ourselves to the simple registration of the tribes, making no further attempts to trace their genealogical affiliation. Generally, most of the tribal groups and clans of the Khorasani Kurds relate themselves to the Za'faranlu. For the time being, the major Kurdish (Kormān) tribes of Khorasan are as follows:

Zʻafarānlū	Bāčvānlū	Šeyxkānlū
Šādlū	Sīlsepūrānlū	Qāčkānlū (Qoč-qūyūnlū)
Qarāmānlū	Īzānlū	Zangalānlū
Qaračūrlū	Sēvkānlū (Syūkānlū)	Zarāqkānlū
Tū/ōpkānlū	Davānlū	Rošvānlū
'Amārlū	Zeydānlū	Šīrvānlū
Keyvānlū (Kāvānlū)	Palokānlū	Qarābāšlū
Bīčervānlū	Torosānlū	Bērīvānlū (Barīmānlū)
Māmyānlū	Mastyānlū	Moždegānlū
Ḥamazkānlū	Bādlānlū	Zardkānlū
Čāpešlū	Rūdkānlū	

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  'A. Mīr-nyā,  $\bar{l}l$ -hā va tāyefe-hā-ye 'ašāyerī-ye kord-e Irān, Mashhad, 1368/1989: 66-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cf. van Bruinessen, op. cit.: 109-115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See Lerx, op. cit.: 119-120; K. Tavaḥḥodī, Ḥarekat-e tārīxī-ye kord be Xorāsān, Mashhad, 1371/1992; 'A. Mīr-nyā, op. cit.: 111-148; also by the same author Ilāt va tavāyef-e Daragaz, Mashhad, 1361/1982 and Il-hā va tāyefehā-ye 'ašāyerī-ye Xorāsān, Mashhad, 1369/1990; cf. also M.-H. Papoli Yazdi, Le nomadism dans le north du Khorassan, (Persian version), Paris-Tehran, 1991: 76-93; R. Šākerī, Atraknāme, tārīx-e jāme'-e Qūčān, Tehran, 1365/1985: 54-58; H. Behtūyī, Kord va parākandegī-e ū dar Iran-zamīn, Tehran, 1377/1998: 87-92; 'A.-'A. Madīh, Neyšābūr va estrātešī-ye touse'e, vol. 1, Mashhad, 1385/2006; idem, Field Materials (2001-2006); etc.

TUPKANLU, THE BIGGEST NOMADIC TRIBE OF KHORASAN

Although, as was stated above, the majority of the Kurdish tribes and non-tribal groups in Khorasan are sedentary, there are still several tribes and clans practising transhumant animal husbandry. This form of household economy is most typical for the Tupkanlu (Tōpkānlū, Tūpkān $lar{u})$  from the Za'faranlu tribal group or confederation. From the very beginning of their replacement to Khorasan, the Tupkanlu settled down in the northern part of Shirvan, where soon appeared the village of Tupkanlu. Already at that time, the Tupkanlu were seasonal pastoralists, moving from qišlāqs, winter villages, to yaylāqs, summer camps, depending on season. Later, the Rudkanlu clan splintered off from the Tupkanlu, to form a separate tribe.

In general, the Tupkanlu includes ten clans ( $t\bar{t}re$ ), each consisting of approximately ten big families (tāyefe); a big family, in its turn, comprises several minor ones (xānevār).

In the period from 1872-1922, the Tupkanlu, looking for better pasture-lands, started moving from Shirvan towards Sarvelayat region of Neyshabur, where they finally settled in the areas of Dahaneye Shur and Shirin.

In the Oajar period and then, till the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty, the nomadic Tupkanlu had lived under a Khan's strict supervision. Among the Tupkanlu prominent Khans of that period Farhad-Khan Farhadi, his son 'Ali-Muhammad-Khan, and the grand-son Reza-Khan Farhadi can be mentioned; the latter had headed the tribe up to the Islamic Revolution

It is interesting to note that up to 1979, the social structure of the Tupkanlu included the associated groups of elders (riš-sefīds) within each clan, who acted as an intermediary governing body subordinated to the Khan.

According to the census of 2000, there were 306 Topkanlu families living in Neyshapur, consisting of 1848 persons.

The Tupkanlu gišlāgs are mainly situated around the town of Kashmar, as well as Daruneh, and Shahrabad, while one of the Tupkanlu groups lives, in winter-time, near Fayzabad, Mah-Valat (not far from Torbat-e Hevdarive), another group settles near the town of Marzdaran, not far from Pol-e Khatun, to the south from Sarakhs.

The Tupkanlu leave their summer camps (Kelidar, the Muhammad-Bek and Shah-Jahan foothills in Esfarayen, the Binaludi southern highlands) in early August, starting the routes going down to the south from Neyshabur, till, in mid-October, they meet all together with their flocks in the appointed time and places, and stayed there for approximately two weeks. Finally, in late October, all set their feet on the paths debouching into their winter villages. The whole process of these autumn migrations with interim camps takes around two months, so that by mid-December, the Topkanlu reach their winter villages.



Tupkanlu Women (Photo by the Author)

One group moves to the south (Kashmar, Bardeskan and Mah-Valat of Torbat-e Heydariye), another one—to Kela-shuri, passing by Dizbad and Sangbast, as well as Abravan, towards the regions of Marzdaran and Bagh-baghu in Sarakhs, and finally both settle down for the winter in Sarakhs (which is a warm place), from where they can easily return back, following the same route.

The spring migration starts on early April; its first stage takes some two weeks, and the second one—another two months, when after the interim camp, the tribe moves directly to their yaylāgs.

Nowadays, all women and children, with the necessary household effects, are transported by vehicle and settle down by themselves in the interim camps. It is only herders, who drive their flocks along the described route. Of course, previously, till some 20 years ago, they had used camels, bat-mules, horses, and donkeys as transportation means; camels as the most important among the beasts of burden, being approached almost as family members. There were two kinds of camels used by the Tupkanlu: one of the Arabic breed (Arvāne), a comparatively

small and lean but fast animal, and that of the Bukhara breed—a huge animal able to bear a heavy load up to 300 kg.

In yaylāgs, the Tupkanlu live in the so-called siyāh-čādor, the black tents usually pitched on camps sites. In the mentioned interim camps, they stay in temporary houses made of various kinds of available materials—clay bricks, wood, etc. In the same way they build temporary shelters for cattle.

The tents themselves are usually made of goat wool and camel felt, covered with waterproof tent-cloth. They can be of different size.<sup>16</sup>



A Kurdish Lady in the Tent, Sabzevar (Photo by the Author)

The Tupkanlu, in all appearances, may become generally sedentary in the nearest decade; only the herders will move seasonally, riding live-stock from gišlāgs to yaylāgs and back. There are several factors pointing to such a sedenterisation forecast: reduction of grasslands, caused by the development of industry in the region, as well as lands' degradation caused by increase in herd size; the influence of the urban

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  The black tent is almost a common type of temporary dwelling place among the Iranian transhumant population. It is usually called syāh-čādor, although there are some other synonyms for it: melegā—in Luristan (see L. Edelberg, "Seasonal Dwellings of Farmers in North-Western Luristan", Folk, vol. 8-9, København, 1966/67: 384ff.), kōnē raš—among the Mesopotamian and Eastern Anatolian Kurmanji-speaking Kurds, etc.

culture and, accordingly, the drift from the land; substandard social services, generally resulting in rural depopulation; and, finally, the rapid development and obvious advantages of the sedentary cattlebreeding. The Iranian authorities support transhumant tribes in various ways-food coupons for the staples of wheat, barley, rice, and sugar amount to government subsidies; necessary human services are provided (schooling in nearby villages for the children, and occasional veterinary visits to their encampments), etc.

### KURDISH VILLAGES IN NORTHERN KHORASAN

### a) Bojnūrd district

Location: On the North-West

District centre: Bojnūrd Population: app. 330,700 Number of Kurdish villages: 122

Zarneh Pašandeh Parkānlū Qūštappeh Pīr-e boz Pasandareh Hasanlū Tār yolām Čahār-xarvār Kārlūq Bazrānlū Kalāte-ve čelū Qādī Bozgānī Kalāte-ye Hājigāsem Qarājeh Band-e Xodānlū Kalāte-ye Ḥāji-noṣrat **Qaradānlū** Band-e yaymūr Kalāte-ye Sohrāb Qarehbāšlū

Būrbūr-e kord Kalāte-ye Farščī Qarehjangal-e 'oulyā Beydak Kalāte-ye Mollāγolāmḥoseyn

Qarehkānlū Pāy kotel Ark Kalāb Qarehlū

Qarehbānlūy Ādīne golī Kalāte-ye Āšiyān Qezalḥeṣār Vāšlī gal'e Kalāte-ye Āgānabi Qezalgān Siyūxosū-Morādxān<sup>17</sup> Kalāte-ye Ardešīrxān Qešlāq-e 'Abdollāh- ābād Ābxūr Kalate-ye eşlāḥāt-e arḍi Qešlāq-e kāveh Āq-tappeh Kalāte-ye Bāqerxān-e yek Qešlāq-e langar Axlī Kalāte-ye Bāqerxān-e do Qaṣr-e qajar Mahnān Kalāte-ye Bāqerxān-e se

Seisāb Mirzāḥasānlū Kalāte-ye borj Šāh-ojāq Nāv Kalāte-ye Pahlevānlū Šāh-pasand Najaf-ābād Ḥāj-Zeynol'ābedīn Šeyx 'Alī-ābād-e Qarhār Nargeslū-e soflā Ḥāj-'Alīdād Materānlū Nargeslū-e 'oulyā Barbar-qal'e Xandaqlū Nodeh Ūbeh

Ūtar-ābād-e soflā Dāngol Yeksar-šāx

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$  The local version of this name in Kurdish is  $\it S\bar{e}vxas\bar{u}\text{-}Mor\bar{a}dx\bar{a}n.$ 

Darāgānlū Nīkī-qal'e (ḥūme) Ūtar-ābād-e 'oulyā Rešvānlū Nīkī-qal'e Ūzane-bijah Ra'nā-ābād Kalātey-e Nagī Īdeh Zangāneh Kalātey-e Valīxān Īnjānlū Sarīvān- tappeh Kūhkamar Bābā-Amān Sarīvān-e 'āšegān Keykey Bādāmleq Garmxān Bāzxāne Sūrg Sūlūklū Gomhāy-e Būrbūr<sup>18</sup> Bāγčaq Heşār-e Karamxān Qal'e-tāt Badarānlū Halīm-ābād Qal'e-tappeh Barbar qal'e Qal'e-tūt **Ḥamāmī** Borj Čerīk Hamezānlū Qal'e-jag-e bozorg Čahārborj-e soflā Hamīd Qal'e-jag-e kūčak I'afar-ābād Qal'e-ša'bān Čahārborj-e 'oulyā

Jelf-darreh Qal'e-marmar Xatāb

'Ouš-gal'e-ye bālā Jamī

b) Torbat-e Jām district

Location: East of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Torbat-e Jām Population: app. 250,000

Number of Kurdish villages:

Zeyli (Zīlī)

c) Jājarm district

Location: South-West of Greater Khorasan

District centre: Garm-e Jājarm Population: app. 66,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 32

Barāzānlū Arg Rabāţ-e Qarebīl Barzaneh Kalāte-ye Šouγānihā Šogān Pošt-e bām Kalāte-ye šūr Šūrīk Bašīdar Kalāte-ye Qājār 'Emārat Taδar Kalāte-ye Mūri Qarje-rabāţ Joydī Gāzān Qezelheşār-e 'oulyā Joušaqān Mas'ūd-ābād Qezelheşār-e pāyin Čopeh Mašmā Qelī Češme-ye Ţabari Mirz-ābād

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  In the local Kurdish, as in Turkish Kurmanji in general,  $g\bar{o}m$  means "cow-shed" (from Arm. gom id.); this toponym can be translated as "the cow-sheds of the Borbor (tribe)". On the Borbor (Būrbūr) tribe, see D. Borbor, "Notes on the New Iranian Toponomastics (The Element -būr)", Iran and the Caucasus, vol. 6.1-2 (2002): 189-193.

Bām Ḥeṣār-e 'Īsā Nāvyā

Aşγar-ābād Darkeš

d) Čenārān district

Location: North of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Čenārān Population: app. 125,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 71

Talqūr Golgūn Čamleh Kamandar-e bālā Gabrī Čamgerd Bīdābīd Kühestān-e salxī Čašm-e māhī Bahmanjān-e pāyin Kūnān Kalāte-ye Ārāz Bahmanjān-e bālā Kalāte-ye sādū Qeys-ābād Ilehesār Kalāte-ye šarīf Qeyās-ābād Il-ābād Kalāte-ye Kāzem Qal'e-Bahmanjān Ūtān Kalāte-ve Kolbeja'far Qašq-ābād

Kalāte-ye Moḥammad-

Aḥmad-ābād )Dādkān) Bāger

Ahmad-ābād Kalāte-ye malū Гadir-ābād-e Qezelhesār

Qoroq

Dastgerd

Helāl Deraxt-e senjed Гadīr-ābād Haft-čāh Darbyābān 'Abdol-ābād

Xāje-ye gerdāb Mahd-ābād 'Abbās-xān-e Qaregol Nūh Hasan Xazīj 'Abbās-ābād-e jangalī

Tūdeh Tāher-ābād Xāmī Nou-bahār Šams-ābād Ḥakīm-ābād Šāh-ābād Manqešli Ḥoseyn-najū

Ḥoseyn-ābād-e Mazang Sark Nyāzmandī Ḥoseyn-ābād Mirjegān Mārūjeh Moḥammad ābād-e balūč Ḥoseyn-ābād-e Rādkān Riyāḍ Mohammad-ābād Ḥājī Esmā'īl Dehbāy Mās-e Māškānlū Hājī-ābād Dūxān

Čahčahe

Gavāreškān Čahārmahen

e) Daragaz district

Mās-e Hadrati

Location: North of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Daragaz Population: app. 95,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 59

Moḥammad-Taqī-beyg 'Abbās-qal'e Xādemānlū Miyāb Гafar-ābād Jankānlū Minā Aḥmad ābād-e Dāγdār

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Davarānlū Darband-e bālā 'oulyā Dehešt Ilānjeg Darband-e pāyīn Raḥmān-qolī Borj-qal'e Qāzān-beyg Bešārat Zar-ābād Qorbān-ābād Zangelānlū Šabdareh Qezlaq Zamīndānlū-ye 'oulyā Bahādor-xān Qešlāq Zamīndānlū-ye soflā Pāykān-e soflā Qalčeq Sanqez-e bālā Pāykān-e 'oulyā Qal'ačeh Tappehlīk Sanqez-e pāyīn Qal'e-ye Ḥātam Sangez-e vasat Kālū Tūt Tūzānlū Kāhū Masūgtalī Seyyedhā Hasan-ābād Kabkān Šūrkāl Hasan kadxodā Kalāte-ye arbāb Šū-ve soflā Hadrat-e Soltān Gapī . Gadūgānlū Šū-ye vostā Hagverdī Šū-ye 'oulyā Halgeh Garmdareh Šeyxānlū-ye 'oulyā Xāfīyān Gandāb

f) Sabzevār district

Location: East of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Sabzevār Population: app. 500,000

Number of Kurdish villages:

Ūler Ḥojjjat-ābād Seyyed-ābād Bābā-češmeh Zard-kūh Kāyef

g) Šīrvān district

East of Northern Khorasan Location:

District centre: Šīrvān Population: app. 170,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 73

Šokrānlū Xādemī Ābselx Šūrīk-e Takmerān Xān-hesār Mollā Bāger Šūrīk-e Ziyārat Varaqī Xānloq 'Abd-ābād Vark Xeder

'Alī-xān Xatāb Kalāte-ye Hendesī

Fāzel Češmeh-dūzān Garzū Darbālā Čaklānlū Ganj-ābād Sar-češmeh Čūkānlū Gūglī Dolū Pīr šahīd Lūjlī

Razm-ābād Tabarān-e soflā Moḥammad 'Ali-xān

Reḍa-ābād Tork Marzaq-ābād Ziyārat Taqī-ābād Qol jaq

Sorx-rū Tasnovān Qal'eče Sardār-ābād Tūpkānlū Qal'ezū Sekke Tūdeh Qūrdānlū Tūkūr<sup>19</sup> Qūrīdarband Sangčīn Sarīk-ābād Qūlānlū-ye bālā Borzū Qūlānlū-ye pāyīn Ḥasan-ābād (Takmerān) Boz-ābād Ḥasan-ābād (Zavārem) Bolyān-e soflā Qavīnānlū Ḥeṣār-e Pahlevānlū Bolγān-e 'oulyā Kārxāne-ye qand Kalāte-ye Tūkānlū Ḥeṣār-e Davīn Bize-ye Zeynal-beyg Amān-ābād Hesār-e Mūsa beyg Beyg Amīr-ābād Hesār-e Nāmeh Beyg-e Tūkūr Heidar-ābād Amīrānlū Beygān

Borj

h) Fārūj district

Location: East of Northern Khorasan

District centre: Fārūj Population: app. 68,000 Number of Kurdish villages:

Yām Kore-tappeh Jahān-ābād Kūrān-e kordame Darband-e Esfajīr Ja'far-ābād Xabūšān Tarqī Hesār-e Andaf

Āqbāγ

i) Qūčān district

Location: North of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Qūčān Population: app. 180,000 Number of Kurdish villages: 220

Nāvax Šahr-e kohne Āsībelānj Yādegār Šeyxkānlū Āgā Loṭfali Yadak Šīr-zan Ālašlū Yūsef-ābād Šīrγān Ālxās Zūxāneh Ţabarīyān Abr-ābād Soltān-e Zīrābeh Ţarāqī-ye kord Farxān-e soflā Šorak-e Tūpkānlū 'Alī Mohammad Farxān-e šāhrāh Tavīl Ābjahān Farxān-e kohne 'Emārat Xelājlū Qāčkānlū Fath-ābād Xomārtāš Qal'e-mošarraf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Another version of this place-name (twkwr) is Takfūr (tkfwr), which seems to be more correct; t'akfūr in Turkish Kurmanji means "prince, noble" (from Arm. dial. t'äkfor, t'äkfur, Classical Arm. t'agawor "king").

Nūr-Moḥammad Xājehā Qal'e-kamar Ārčīn-ābād Xūkānlū Qeytāqī Āqmazār Dāsanjān-e kordī-ye Kačlānlū Kordakānlū Āqkahrīz Dadeh-xān Kalāte-ye Šāh 'Allāhiyān Zādag Mohammad Emāmqolī Zartānlū Gol Ahmad-beyg Emāmdordī-xān Gadegānlū Zīndanlū Inč-e sāblāy Zubārān Mefranqāh Inč-e šāhbāz Zeydānlū Magjī Malavānlū Inč-e kikānlū Zīgānlū Bādxūr Sālāmfūj Mīr Fadlollāh Borj-e Kārdāš Sarānī Milānlū-e soflā Pāykotal Sardāb Milānlū-ye 'oulyā Soleymān-ābād Perū-ābād Nāmānlū Pirānlū Negāb Sar-gonbad Šahrīk-e Javānlū Hesār Nagdū Hamzekānlū-ye bālā Nīyyat Jānān Čarān Hamzekānlū-ye pāyīn Čūnlī Xersekānlū Heidar-ābād Xorram-ābād Xabkānlū Tītkānlū Darānlū Jartūdeh Šādābeh Ja'far ābād 'Erāqī Jangāh Kavākī Qare-tappeh Jūzān Qare-čāh Čapānlū Qešlāq Čarkāxneh Qal'e-'Abbās Čarmeh

Čāh-e Redā-ābād Čāh-е Гоlāmhoseyn-е Aždarī

Kalāte-ye Aḥamad

Čāh-e Ḥājī 'Eṣmatī

Čāh-e Ja'farzāde

Čāh-e Moqaddam Čahārbāγ-e jadīd Hasan-ābād Heṣār-e Allāhverdī Xeyr-ābād

Xeyr-ābād (Dūγāyī)

Fīlāb

Qāl-e Kamāklū Qarjaye-ye Qahremānlū Pīr 'Ali Pirūdānlū Pīreh Taxt Tarānlū Tarnīk

Čarī

Čūkānlū

Ḥāj Tagi

Hājī Kāhū

Borj-e Zeydānlū Bardar Barzal-ābād Barzalān-e soflā

Valī-ābād Hašt-mory Yārem-Gonbad Yengīgal'-e 'oulyā Kalāte-ye nourūzī Golmakān Kürkānlū-ye soflā Kūrkānlū-ye 'oulyā Kohne Farūd Kadūgānlū Gazkū Gonbad-jag Moḥammad-dolū

Mardkānlū Qal'e-beyg Qal'e-Hasan Qal'e-ṣafā Qal'e-valī Qolhak-e 'oulyā Qušxāne-ye soflā Kāklī

Moḥammad Redā- xān

Kalāte-ve Bālī Kalāte-ye J'afarābād Qarjayeh Qelqel Qarjayeh (Xarq) Qare-češmeh Qare-gol Sīsbarānlū-ye soflā Sīsbarānlū-ye 'oulyā

Sīngelī-e šūr Sīngelī-e šīrīn Šamxāl Šouq-ābād Šahrānlū

Darbādām Darbandī Doāb Doulat-xāne Dūldānlū Dolū

Rostam-ābād

Rešvānlū (Māyūn) Reḍā-ābād-e Āstāneh Rīzeh Barzalan-e ʻoulyā Bargerd Beglar Bavānlū

Bībahre Pālkānlū-ye soflā Pālkānlū-ye 'oulyā Kalāte-ye Čambar-xān Kalāte-ye Ḥasan Reḍāyī Kalāte-ye Reḍā Kalāte-ye Sālārī Kalāte-ye Mollā

Moḥammadqolī Kalāte-ye Mahdavīyān Gabr-ābād Gūrexar Lālū Motor-e Ḥājī Panāhī Motor-e Ḥāj Ḥasan-e Hamīdelāhī

Motor-e Ḥāj Ḥeydar-e Ebrāhīmī

Motor-e sarhang Ṭahmāsebī Mīr-ābād Kalāte-ye Raḥīmīyān Kalāte-ye Zamān Kalāte-ye Siyāhdašt Kalāte-ye Šāh Moḥammad Kalāte-ye Šāhmīr Kalāte-ye Nazar 'Ali Kalāte-ye Nazar Moḥammad Esṭarxī Injī-xān Bīdak-e pāyīn Kadgol-bāγ

Qušxāne-ye ʻoulyā

Katlar Andarzī Nabābīd Emām-moršed Ūrte-češmeh Ūγāz-e tāzeh

Izmān-e bālā

Izmān-e pāyīn Bāγ-maḥalleh

North of Xorasan-e Razavi

Kalāt

20

app. 40,000

j) Kalāt district

Lāyīn-e kohne

Lāyīn-e nou

Rajab-ābād

'Azīz-ābād

Asad-ābād

Bābā Ramaḍān

Rabāţ

Location:
District centre:
Population:

Number of Kurdish villages:

Pol-gerd Tīregān Čaram Čaram-e nou Čahār-rāh Ḥājī-ābād Xākestar

Karnāve-ye šīrīn Qezelqī Kahlāb Karīm-ābād Sang-e divār Čenār k) Māneh-Samalqān district

Location: West of Northern Khorasan

District centre: Ašxāneh Population: app. 95,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 63

Āgmazār Borj-e Zangāngū Kalāte-ye Naqdūjān

Eslām-ābād Pīšqal'e Kalāyen Kīkānlū Resālat Iozak Čaxmāqlū Qal'ebarbar Zard Zamānṣūfī Čamanbīd Qalandar-tappeh Zadī-ye 'oulyā Hasan-ābād Kašk-ābād Šeš-xāneh Ḥeydara-ābād Kalāte-čenār Mehr-ābād-e Xāvar Xorramdeh-e šargī Kalāte-kaši Šahr-ābād-e kord Qarečāy Kalātegamū Šīr-ābād Qarekānlū Kalātekālīmānī 'Azīz-ābād Qasrī Garmāb 'Ešq-ābād Šīrīn-darreh Garmak Qādī 'Ali-ābād Gaz-ābād Qare-āγāj-e Sarband Rahīmdād Mollā Hasan Qare-āγāj-e pāyīn Ḥaṣrgāh Mehmānak Qar-e moșallā Češmegāh Najaf Qesţī-ye Šāpūr-xān Tāze-qal'e Hāvard Qesțī-ye Moʻāven Tappeh Ūstād

Kerik Taxtmīš Bāzāre-ye Qārnās

Kešānak Taqečenār Āqče Kalāte-ye āzādegān Tūpčenār Espāxū

l) Mašhad district

Location: North of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Mašhad Population: app. 300,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 1

Marγzār

m) Neyšābūr (Nīšābūr) district

Location: the centre of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Neyšābūr app. 500,000 Population:

Number of Kurdish villages: 18

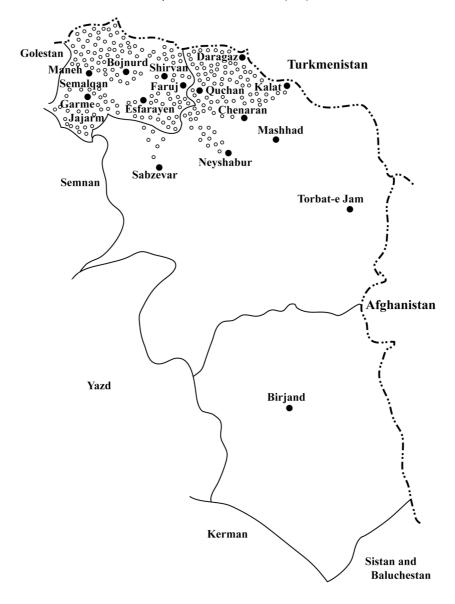
Naṣr-ābād Sūrandeh Nou omīdī Sargerik Andarāb Zolm-ābād Pīre-šahbāz Şebyān 'Ešq ābād

A. Madih /	Iran and	the	Caucasus	11	(2007)	) 11-31
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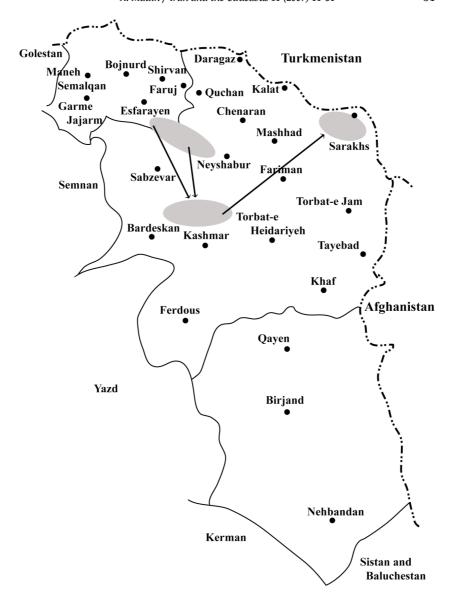
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Kalāte-ye Bojnū Taxte-mašīd Fāḍel-ābād Kalāte-ye Reḍā Xān Čahārgūšlī Ḥoseyn-ābād Kalāte-ye Moḥammadjān Goδār Zarandeh

Judging by the above list, most of the Kurdish villages of Northern Khorasan are concentrated in the Quchan (221 villages) and Bojnurd (122 villages) districts. Mashhad and Torbat-e-Jam have one Kurdish village each.



Map 1. Concentration of the Kurds in Greater Khorasan



 $\label{eq:map-2.2} \textbf{Map 2. Seasonal Migration Routes of the Tupkanlu}$