

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 Shiʻites. 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*)¹ 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-

^{*}I would like to acknowledge my debt to my teacher Prof. G. Asatrian for his help in preparing this paper and generally for furthering my work in the field.

¹ 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 bozorg*).

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).²

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 (Neysāp/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

² Cf. P. Sykes, A History of Persia, vol. 2, London, 1951³: 323-324.

³ 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: $x\bar{a}\check{c}$ "cross"; $\check{c}\bar{o}rt'\bar{a}n$ "dried cheese"; $k'\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$ "plough"; $pan\check{j}\bar{a}r$ ($pin\check{j}\bar{a}r$) "a common denomination for edible herbs"; mandik "a sort of wild edible plant"; $k'el/rand\bar{u}$ "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. 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

⁴ For details, see G. Asatrian, "Kurdish and Armenian", *Iran and the Caucasus* (forthcoming).

⁵ Cf. Asatrian, ibid.; also I. I. Cukerman, *Xorasanskij kurmandži. Issledovanie i teksty*, Moscow, 1986: 12ff.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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

 $^{^{8}}$ Cf. P. Lerx, Izsledovaniya ob iranskix kurdax i ix predkax, severnyx xaldeyax, kn. I, SPb., 1856: 89.

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

¹⁰ van Bruinessen, op. cit.: 134.

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

¹² 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 $G\bar{u}r\bar{a}n$, attested in Quchan and Shirvan, ¹³ it has, of course, nothing to do with the $G\bar{u}r\bar{a}ns$ 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. 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
,		2
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	

 $^{^{13}}$ 'A. Mīr-nyā, $\bar{l}l$ -hā va tāyefe-hā-ye 'ašāyerī-ye kord-e Irān, Mashhad, 1368/1989: 66-67.

¹⁴ Cf. van Bruinessen, op. cit.: 109-115.

¹⁵ 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 ṭavāyef-e Daragaz, Mashhad, 1361/1982 and Il-hā va ṭāyefehā-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; Ḥ. Behtūyī, Kord va parākandegī-e ū dar Iran-zamīn, Tehran, 1377/1998: 87-92; 'A.-'A. Madīḥ, Neyšābūr va estrātešī-ye ṭouse'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 ($T\bar{o}pk\bar{a}nl\bar{u}$, $T\bar{u}pk\bar{a}nl\bar{u}$) 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 $qi\bar{s}l\bar{a}qs$, winter villages, to $yayl\bar{a}qs$, 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 ($t\bar{t}ayefe$); a big family, in its turn, comprises several minor ones ($x\bar{a}nev\bar{a}r$).

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 Qajar 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 in 1979.

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 qišlāqs 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 Heydariye), 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 yaylāqs, 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.¹⁶



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 *qišlāqs* to *yaylāqs* 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

¹⁶ 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 cattle-breeding. 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-ye čelū Qādī Bozgānī Kalāte-ye Ḥājigāsem Qarājeh Band-e Xodānlū Kalāte-ye Ḥāji-noṣrat Qaradānlū Band-e yaymūr Kalāte-ye Sohrāb Qarehbāšlū Būrbūr-e kord Kalāte-ye Farščī

Qarehjangal-e ʻoulyā Beydak Kalāte-ye Mollāyolāmḥoseyn

Qarehkānlū Pāy kotel Ark Qarehlū Kalāb

Qarehbānlūy Ādīne golī Kalāte-ye Āšiyān Qezalḥeṣār Vāšlī gal'e Kalāte-ye Āgānabi Qezalgān Siyūxosū-Morādxān¹⁷ 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

Dāngol Yeksar-šāx Ūtar-ābād-e soflā

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

Nīkī-qal'e (ḥūme) Ūtar-ābād-e 'oulyā Darāqānlū Rešvānlū Nīkī-qal'e Ūzane-bijah Ra'nā-ābād Kalātey-e Nagī Īdeh Kalātey-e Valīxān Zangāneh Īnjānlū Sarīvān- tappeh Kūhkamar Bābā-Amān Sarīvān-e 'āšegān Keykey Bādāmleq Garmxān Bāzxāne Sūrg Sūlūklū Gomhāy-e Būrbūr¹⁸ Bāγčaq Heşār-e Karamxān Qal'e-tāt Badarānlū Ḥalīm-ābād Qal'e-tappeh Barbar qal'e Qal'e-tūt Ḥamāmī Borj Čerīk Qal'e-jag-e bozorg Hamezānlū Čahārborj-e soflā Qal'e-jag-e kūčak Hamīd

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 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 Masʻūd-ābād Qezelheşār-e pāyin Čopeh Mašmā Qelī Češme-ye Ţabari Mirz-ābād

¹⁸ In the local Kurdish, as in Turkish Kurmanji in general, *qōm* 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.

Ḥeṣār-e 'Īsā Bām Nāvyā Aşγar-ābād Darkeš

d) Čenārān district

North of Khorasan-e Razavi Location:

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 Ileheşār 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

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

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

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

Čahčahe

Mās-e Hadrati Gavāreškān Čahārmahen

e) Daragaz district

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

Davarānlū Darband-e bālā 'oulyā Darband-e pāyīn Dehešt Ilānjeg Raḥmān-qolī Borj-qal'e Qāzān-beyg Zar-ābād Bešārat 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 Sanqez-e pāyīn Tappehlīk Qal'e-ye Ḥātam Kālū Sangez-e vasat 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 Gandāb Xāfīyān

f) Sabzevār district

Location: East of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Sabzevār
Population: app. 500,000

Number of Kurdish villages:

ŪlerḤojjĭat-ābādSeyyed-ābādBābā-češmehZard-kūhKāyef

g) Šīrvān district

Location: East of Northern Khorasan

District centre: Šīrvān
Population: app. 170,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 73

ŠokrānlūXādemīĀbselxŠūrīk-e TakmerānXān-ḥeṣārMollā BāqerŠūrīk-e ZiyāratXānloqVaraqī'Abd-ābādXederVark

'Alī-xān Xaṭāb 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 $T\bar{u}k\bar{u}r^{19}$ 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 Ḥeṣār-e Davīn Bize-ye Zeynal-beyg Kalāte-ye Tūkānlū Hesār-e Mūsa beyg Amān-ābād Beyg Heşār-e Nāmeh Beyg-e Tūkūr Amīr-ābād Heidar-ābād Amīrānlū Beygān

Borj

h) Fārūj district

Location: East of Northern Khorasan

District centre: Fārūj Population: app. 68,000 Number of Kurdish villages: 10

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

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 Āsībelānĭ 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 Xelājlū Qāčkānlū 'Emārat Fath-ābād Qal'e-mošarraf Xomārtāš

¹⁹ 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'äkfur*, *t'akfūr*, *t'akfūr*, Classical Arm. *t'agawor* "king").

Nūr-Moḥammad
Ārčīn-ābād
Āqmazār
Āqkahrīz

'Allāhiyān
Emāmqolī
Emāmdordī-xān
Inč-e sāblāγ
Inč-e šāhbāz
Inč-e kikānlū
Bādxūr
Borj-e Kārdāš
Pāykotal
Perū-ābād
Pirānlū

Peru-abda
Pirānlū
Šahrīk-e Javānlū
Jānān
Čarān
Čūnlī
Ḥeidar-ābād
Xabkānlū
Darānlū
Šādābeh
'Erāqī
Qare-tappeh
Qare-čāh

Kalāte-ye Aḥamad Čāh-e Ja'farzāde Čāh-e Ḥājī'Eṣmatī Čāh-e Reḍā-ābād

Čāh-e Γolāmḥoseyn-e

Aždarī Čāh-e N

Qešlāq

Qal'e-'Abbās

Čāh-e Moqaddam Čahārbāγ-e jadīd Ḥasan-ābād Ḥeṣār-e Allāhverdī Xeyr-ābād

Xeyr-ābād (Dūγāyī)

Fīlāb

Qāl-e Kamāklū Qarjaγe-ye Qahremānlū Xājehā Xūkānlū

Dāsanjān-e kordī-ye Dadeh-xān

Zādag
Zartānlū
Zīndanlū
Zubārān
Zeydānlū
Zīgānlū
Sālāmfūj
Sarānī
Sardāb
Soleymān-ābād

Sar-gonbad Ḥeṣār Ḥamzekānlū-ye bālā Ḥamzekānlū-ye pāyīn Xersekānlū Xorram-ābād Tītkānlū

Jaʻfar ābād Jangāh Jūzān Čapānlū Čarkāxneh Čarmeh Čarī Čūkānlū Hāj Taqi

Jartūdeh

Pīr 'Ali Pirūdānlū Pīreh Taxt Tarānlū Tarnīk

Hājī Kāhū

Tarnīk Borj-e Zeydānlū Bardar Barzal-ābād Barzalān-e soflā Qeyṭāqī
Kačlānlū
Kordakānlū
Kalāte-ye Šāh
Moḥammad
Gol Aḥmad-beyg
Gadegānlū
Mefranqāh
Magjī
Malavānlū
Mīr Faḍlollāh
Milānlū-e soflā
Milānlū-ye 'oulyā
Nāmānlū

Qal'e-kamar

Milaniu-ye ouiya
Nāmānlū
Neqāb
Naqdū
Nīyyat
Valī-ābād
Hašt-mory
Yārem-Gonbad
Yengīqal'-e 'oulyā
Kalāte-ye nourūzī
Golmakān
Kavākī

Kürkānlū-ye soflā Kürkānlū-ye 'oulyā Kohne Farūd Kadūgānlū Gazkū Gonbad-jaq Moḥammad-dolū Moḥammad Reḍā- xān

Mardkānlū

Qalʻe-beyg
Qalʻe-Ḥasan
Qalʻe-ṣafā
Qalʻe-valī
Qolhak-e ʻoulyā
Qušxāne-ye soflā

Kāklī Kalāte-ye Bālī Kalāte-ye J'afarābād

Kalāte-ye Raḥīmīyān Qarjayeh Barzalan-e 'oulyā Qelgel Kalāte-ye Zamān Bargerd Beglar Kalāte-ye Siyāhdašt Qarjayeh (Xarq) Kalāte-ye Šāh Qare-češmeh Bavānlū Moḥammad Qare-gol Bībahre Kalāte-ye Šāhmīr Sīsbarānlū-ye soflā Pālkānlū-ye soflā Kalāte-ye Nazar 'Ali Kalāte-ye Nazar Sīsbarānlū-ye 'oulyā Pālkānlū-ye 'oulyā Moḥammad Sīngelī-e šūr Kalāte-ye Čambar-xān Estarxī Kalāte-ye Hasan Redāyī Injī-xān Kalāte-ye Redā Bīdak-e pāyīn

Sīngelī-e šīrīn Kalāte-ye Ḥasan Reḍāyī Injī-xān
Šamxāl Kalāte-ye Reḍā Bīdak-e pāyīn
Šouq-ābād Kalāte-ye Sālārī Kadgol-bāy
Šahrānlū Kalāte-ye Mollā
Moḥammadqolī
Darbādām Kalāte-ye Mahdavīyān Katlar

Darbandī Gabr-ābād Andarzī Nabābīd Doāb Gūrexar Emām-moršed Doulat-xāne Lālū Dūldānlū Ūrte-češmeh Motor-e Ḥājī Panāhī Motor-е Ḥāj Ḥasan-е Dolū Ūγāz-e tāzeh Hamīdelāhī

Motor-e Ḥāj Ḥeydar-e

Rostam-ābād
Ebrāhīmī

Motor-e sarhang

Rešvānlū (Māyūn)

Redā-ābād-e Āstāneh

Mīr-ābād

Bāy-maḥalleh

Izmān-e bālā

Rīzeh

j) Kalāt district

Location: North of Xorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Kalāt
Population: app. 40,000
Number of Kurdish villages: 20

Lāyīn-e kohne Pol-gerd Karnāve-ye šīrīn Lāyīn-e nou Qezelqī Tīregān Kahlāb Rabāţ Čaram Karīm-ābād Rajab-ābād Čaram-e nou 'Azīz-ābād Čahār-rāh Sang-e divār Asad-ābād Hājī-ābād Čenār

Bābā Ramaḍān Xākestar

k) Māneh-Samalqān district

Location: West of Northern Khorasan

District centre: Ašxāneh
Population: app. 95,000

Number of Kurdish villages: 63

Āqmazār 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 'Ali-ābād Gaz-ābād Qāḍī Qare-āγāj-e Sarband Rahīmdād Mollā Hasan Qare-āγāj-e pāyīn Ḥaṣrgāh Mehmānak Qar-e moșallā Češmegāh Najaf Qesţī-ye Šāpūr-xān Tāze-gal'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

 $Mar\gamma z\bar{a}r$

m) Neyšābūr (Nīšābūr) district

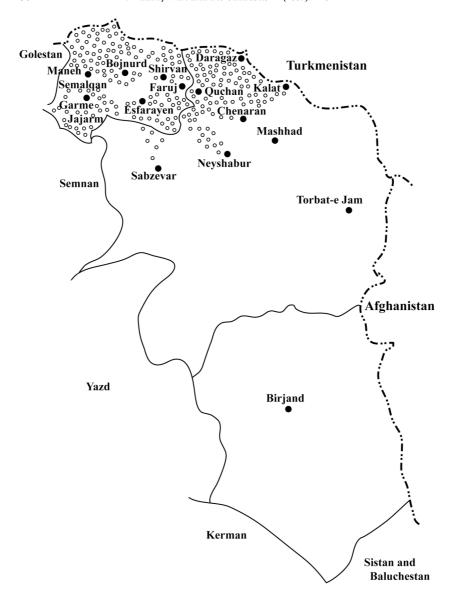
Location: the centre of Khorasan-e Razavi

District centre: Neyšābūr Population: app. 500,000

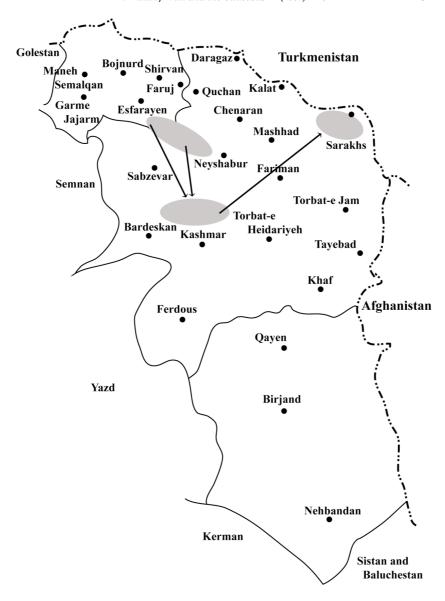
Number of Kurdish villages: 18

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



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

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