



BRILL

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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*)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 Raḡāvī*)—the central part of the area, and Southern Khorasan (*Xorasan-e jōnūbī*). 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 contradictory, 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'ites. 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 (*Šādīlū* 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 (*Kurmānjī*), 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 (*Kormānjī*). 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 neighbored 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 identifying 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: *xāč* “cross”; *čōrt’ān* “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.⁴ Probably, in the phonological system of the Khorasani Kurmanji, the Armenian trace is also visible. The phonological opposition of the voiceless *č*/voiced *č*, 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.⁵ 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 (present-day 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.⁶ 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 (*Çemişgezek*) 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, publiée pour la première fois, traduite et annotée par V. Véliamonof-Zernof, tome II, texte persan, St.-Pétersbourg, 1862: 162-175.

⁷ See G. S. Erevanean, *Patmut’iwn Č’arsanĵagi hayoc’*, Beirut, 1956: 1-3; cf. also D. Butyka, “Das ehemalige Vilajet Dersim”, *Mitteilungen der kais. Königl. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 35 Band (1892): 109ff.

only tribal name among the hundreds of Kurdish tribal denominations attested in Khorasan is, perhaps, Qarachorlu (*Qaraçorlū*), 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 *Sīpkī* (*Sīpkūnlū*), *Pāzūkī*; *Bērīvānlū*, vs. *Berifī* between Mosul and Mardin; *Mīlān* (*Mīlānlū*); *Zīlān* (*Zīlānlū*); *Šādīlū*, vs. *Šādīmānlū*, a Shi'ite Kurdish tribe in the Erivan province; *Māmyānlū*, vs. *Māmikānlū* (*Mamgūn*),¹² 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 maḍkūr sāzand, morād az Ćemišgazak 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 *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 cardinaly 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 (*Kormānĵ*) tribes of Khorasan are as follows:

<i>Z'afarānlū</i>	<i>Bāčvānlū</i>	<i>Šeyxkānlū</i>
<i>Šādlū</i>	<i>Silsepūrānlū</i>	<i>Qāčkānlū</i> (<i>Qoč-qūyūnlū</i>)
<i>Qarāmānlū</i>	<i>Īzānlū</i>	<i>Zangalānlū</i>
<i>Qarāčūrlū</i>	<i>Sēvkānlū</i> (<i>Syūkānlū</i>)	<i>Zarāqkānlū</i>
<i>Tū/ōpkānlū</i>	<i>Davānlū</i>	<i>Rošvānlū</i>
<i>'Amārlū</i>	<i>Zeydānlū</i>	<i>Šīrvānlū</i>
<i>Keyvānlū</i> (<i>Kāvānlū</i>)	<i>Palokānlū</i>	<i>Qarābāšlū</i>
<i>Bīčervānlū</i>	<i>Torosānlū</i>	<i>Bērīvānlū</i> (<i>Barīmānlū</i>)
<i>Māmyānlū</i>	<i>Mastyānlū</i>	<i>Moždegānlū</i>
<i>Ḥamazkānlū</i>	<i>Bādlānlū</i>	<i>Zardkānlū</i>
<i>Čapešlū</i>	<i>Rūd kānlū</i>	

¹³ 'A. Mīr-nyā, *Īl-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 tārixī-ye kord be Xorāsān*, Mashhad, 1371/1992; 'A. Mīr-nyā, op. cit.: 111-148; also by the same author *Īlāt va ṭavāyef-e Daragaz*, Mashhad, 1361/1982 and *Īl-hā va ṭāyefehā-ye 'ašāyerī-ye Xorāsān*, Mashhad, 1369/1990; cf. also M.-H. Papoli Yazdī, *Le nomadism dans le north du Khorasan*, (Persian version), Paris-Tehran, 1991: 76-93; R. Šākerī, *Atraknāme, tārix-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 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*, *Tūpkānlū*) 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 (*tīre*), 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 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-sefids*) 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 Marzadaran, 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 *aylāqs*.

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) Bojnürd district

Location:	On the North-West
District centre:	Bojnürd
Population:	app. 330,700
Number of Kurdish villages:	122

<i>Zarneh</i>	<i>Pašandeh</i>	<i>Parkānlū</i>
<i>Qūštappeh</i>	<i>Pīr-e boz</i>	<i>Pasandareh</i>
<i>Ḥasanlū</i>	<i>Tār yolām</i>	<i>Čahār-xarvār</i>
<i>Kārlūq</i>	<i>Bazrānlū</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye čelū</i>
<i>Qāđī</i>	<i>Bozqānī</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Ḥājiqāsem</i>
<i>Qarājah</i>	<i>Band-e Xodānlū</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Ḥāji-nošrat</i>
<i>Qaradānlū</i>	<i>Band-e yaymūr</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Sohrāb</i>
<i>Qarehbāšlū</i>	<i>Būrbūr-e kord</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Faršči</i>
<i>Qarehjangal-e 'oulyā</i>	<i>Beydak</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Mollāyolāmḥoseyn</i>
<i>Qarehkānlū</i>	<i>Pāy kotel</i>	<i>Ark</i>
<i>Qarehlū</i>		<i>Kalāb</i>
<i>Qarehbānlūy</i>	<i>Ādīne qolī</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Āšiyān</i>
<i>Qezalḥešār</i>	<i>Vāšlī qal'e</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Āqānabi</i>
<i>Qezalqān</i>	<i>Siyūxosū-Morādxān¹⁷</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Ardešīrxān</i>
<i>Qešlāq-e 'Abdollah- ābād</i>	<i>Ābxūr</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye ešlāḥāt-e arđi</i>
<i>Qešlāq-e kāveh</i>	<i>Āq-tappeh</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Bāqerxān-e yek</i>
<i>Qešlāq-e langar</i>	<i>Axlī</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Bāqerxān-e do</i>
<i>Qašr-e qajar</i>	<i>Mahnān</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Bāqerxān-e se</i>
<i>Seisāb</i>	<i>Mirzāḥasanlū</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye borj</i>
<i>Šāh-ojāq</i>	<i>Nāv</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Pahlevānlū</i>
<i>Šāh-pasand</i>	<i>Najāf-ābād</i>	<i>Ḥāj-Zeynol'ābedīn</i>
<i>Šeyx 'Alī-ābād-e Qarhār</i>	<i>Nargeslū-e soflā</i>	<i>Ḥāj-'Alīdād</i>
<i>Maṭerānlū</i>	<i>Nargeslū-e 'oulyā</i>	<i>Barbar-qal'e</i>
<i>Xandaqlū</i>	<i>Nodeh</i>	<i>Ūbeh</i>
<i>Dāngol</i>	<i>Yeksar-šāx</i>	<i>Ūtar-ābād-e soflā</i>

¹⁷ The local version of this name in Kurdish is *Sēvxasū-Morādxān*.

<i>Darāqānlū</i>	<i>Nikī-qal'e (hūme)</i>	<i>Ūtar-ābād-e 'oulyā</i>
<i>Rešvānlū</i>	<i>Nikī-qal'e</i>	<i>Ūzane-bijah</i>
<i>Ra'nā-ābād</i>	<i>Kalātey-e Naqī</i>	<i>Īdeh</i>
<i>Zangāneh</i>	<i>Kalātey-e Valixān</i>	<i>Īnjānlū</i>
<i>Sarivān- tappeh</i>	<i>Kūhkamar</i>	<i>Bābā-Amān</i>
<i>Sarivān-e 'āseqān</i>	<i>Keykey</i>	<i>Bādāmleq</i>
<i>Sürg</i>	<i>Garmxān</i>	<i>Bāzxāne</i>
<i>Sülūklū</i>	<i>Gomhāy-e Būrbūr¹⁸</i>	<i>Bāyčaq</i>
<i>Hešār-e Karamxān</i>	<i>Qal'e-tāt</i>	<i>Badarānlū</i>
<i>Halīm-ābād</i>	<i>Qal'e-tappeh</i>	<i>Barbar qal'e</i>
<i>Hamāmī</i>	<i>Qal'e-tūt</i>	<i>Borj</i>
<i>Hamezānlū</i>	<i>Qal'e-jaq-e bozorg</i>	<i>Čerik</i>
<i>Hamīd</i>	<i>Qal'e-jaq-e kūčak</i>	<i>Čahārborj-e soflā</i>
<i>J'afar-ābād</i>	<i>Qal'e-ša'bān</i>	<i>Čahārborj-e 'oulyā</i>
<i>Jelf-darreh</i>	<i>Qal'e-marmar</i>	<i>Xaṭāb</i>
<i>Jamī</i>	<i>'Ouš-qal'e-ye bālā</i>	

b) Torbat-e Jām district

Location:	East of Khorasan-e Razavi
District centre:	Torbat-e Jām
Population:	app. 250,000
Number of Kurdish villages:	1

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

<i>Arg</i>	<i>Barāzānlū</i>	<i>Dašt</i>
<i>Rabāt-e Qarebīl</i>	<i>Barzaneh</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Šouyānihā</i>
<i>Šoqān</i>	<i>Pošt-e bām</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye šūr</i>
<i>Šūrik</i>	<i>Bašidar</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Qājār</i>
<i>'Emārat</i>	<i>Taḍar</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Mūri</i>
<i>Qarje-rabāt</i>	<i>Joydī</i>	<i>Gāzān</i>
<i>Qezelhešār-e 'oulyā</i>	<i>Joušaqān</i>	<i>Mas'ūd-ābād</i>
<i>Qezelhešār-e pāyin</i>	<i>Čopeh</i>	<i>Mašmā</i>
<i>Qelī</i>	<i>Češme-ye Ṭabari</i>	<i>Mirz-ābād</i>

¹⁸ In the local Kurdish, as in Turkish Kurmanji in general, *gōm* 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	Heşār-e 'Īsā	Nāvyā
Aşyar-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	Kūhestān-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
Īl-ābād	Kalāte-ye Kāzem	Qal'e-Bahmanjān
Ūtān	Kalāte-ye Kolbeja'far	Qaşq-ābād
Aḥmad-ābād)Dādkān)	Kalāte-ye Moḥammad- Bāqer	Qoroq
Aḥmad-ābād	Kalāte-ye malū	Γadir-ābād-e Qezelheşār
Helāl	Deraxt-e senjed	Γadir-ābād
Haft-čāh	Darbyābān	'Abdol-ābād
Maḥd-ābād	Xāje-ye gerdāb	'Abbās-xān-e Qaregol
Nūḥ Ḥasan	Xazīj	'Abbās-ābād-e ĵangalī
Tūdeh	Xāmī	Ṭāher-ābād
Nou-bahār	Ḥakīm-ābād	Šams-ābād
Manqešlī	Ḥoseyn-najū	Šāh-ābād
Mazang	Ḥoseyn-ābād-e Nyāzmandī	Sark
Mirjegān	Ḥoseyn-ābād	Mārūjeh
Moḥammad ābād-e balūč	Ḥoseyn-ābād-e Rādkān	Riyād
Moḥammad-ābād	Ḥājī Esmā'īl	Dehbāy
Mās-e Māškānlū	Ḥājī-ābād	Dūxān
Mās-e Ḥaḍrati	Čahčahe	Dastgerd
Gavāreškān	Čahārmāhen	

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
Mīyāb	Γafar-ābād	Jankānlū
Mīnā	Aḥmad ābād-e	Dāyḍār

<i>Davarānlū</i>	<i>'oulyā</i>	<i>Darband-e bālā</i>
<i>Dehešt</i>	<i>Ilānĵeq</i>	<i>Darband-e pāyīn</i>
<i>Rahmān-qolī</i>	<i>Borĵ-qal'e</i>	<i>Qāzān-beyg</i>
<i>Zar-ābād</i>	<i>Bešārat</i>	<i>Qorbān-ābād</i>
<i>Zangelānlū</i>	<i>Šabdareh</i>	<i>Qezlaq</i>
<i>Zamīndānlū-ye 'oulyā</i>	<i>Bahādor-xān</i>	<i>Qešlāq</i>
<i>Zamīndānlū-ye soflā</i>	<i>Pāykān-e soflā</i>	<i>Qal'eq</i>
<i>Sanqez-e bālā</i>	<i>Pāykān-e 'oulyā</i>	<i>Qal'aceh</i>
<i>Sanqez-e pāyīn</i>	<i>Tappehlik</i>	<i>Qal'e-ye Hātam</i>
<i>Sanqez-e vasaṭ</i>	<i>Tūt</i>	<i>Kālū</i>
<i>Masūgtalī</i>	<i>Tūzānlū</i>	<i>Kāhū</i>
<i>Seyyedhā</i>	<i>Ḥasan-ābād</i>	<i>Kabkān</i>
<i>Šūrkal</i>	<i>Ḥasan kadxodā</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye arbāb</i>
<i>Šū-ye soflā</i>	<i>Ḥaḍrat-e Soltān</i>	<i>Gapī</i>
<i>Šū-ye voštā</i>	<i>Ḥaqverdī</i>	<i>Gadūgānlū</i>
<i>Šū-ye 'oulyā</i>	<i>Ḥalqeh</i>	<i>Garmdareh</i>
<i>Šeyxānlū-ye 'oulyā</i>	<i>Xāfīyān</i>	<i>Gandāb</i>

f) Sabzevār district

Location:	East of Khorasan-e Razavi
District centre:	Sabzevār
Population:	app. 500,000
Number of Kurdish villages:	6

<i>Ūler</i>	<i>Hojjat-ābād</i>	<i>Seyyed-ābād</i>
<i>Bābā-češmeh</i>	<i>Zard-kūh</i>	<i>Kāyef</i>

g) Šīrvān district

Location:	East of Northern Khorasan
District centre:	Šīrvān
Population:	app. 170,000
Number of Kurdish villages:	73

<i>Šokrānlū</i>	<i>Xādemī</i>	<i>Ābselx</i>
<i>Šūrīk-e Takmerān</i>	<i>Xān-ḥešār</i>	<i>Mollā Bāqer</i>
<i>Šūrīk-e Ziyārat</i>	<i>Xānloq</i>	<i>Varaqī</i>
<i>'Abd-ābād</i>	<i>Xeder</i>	<i>Vark</i>
<i>'Alī-xān</i>	<i>Xaṭāb</i>	<i>Kalāte-ye Hendesī</i>
<i>Fāzel</i>	<i>Češmeh-dūzān</i>	<i>Garzū</i>
<i>Darbālā</i>	<i>Čaklānlū</i>	<i>Ganĵ-ābād</i>
<i>Sar-češmeh</i>	<i>Čūkānlū</i>	<i>Gūglī</i>
<i>Dolū</i>	<i>Pīr šahīd</i>	<i>Lūjlī</i>
<i>Razm-ābād</i>	<i>Tabarān-e soflā</i>	<i>Moḥammad 'Alī-xān</i>
<i>Reḍa-ābād</i>	<i>Tork</i>	<i>Marzaq-ābād</i>
<i>Ziyārat</i>	<i>Taqī-ābād</i>	<i>Qolĵaq</i>

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

h) Fārūj district

Location:	East of Northern Khorasan
District centre:	Fārūj
Population:	app. 68,000
Number of Kurdish villages:	10

<i>Kore-tappeh</i>	<i>Yām</i>	<i>Jahān-ābād</i>
<i>Darband-e Esfajr</i>	<i>Kūrān-e kordame</i>	<i>Ja'far-ābād</i>
<i>Xabūšān</i>	<i>Ḥeṣār-e Andaf</i>	<i>Tarqī</i>
<i>Āqbāy</i>		

i) Qūčān district

Location:	North of Khorasan-e Razavi
District centre:	Qūčān
Population:	app. 180,000
Number of Kurdish villages:	220

<i>Nāvax</i>	<i>Šahr-e kohne</i>	<i>Āsībelānĵ</i>
<i>Yādegār</i>	<i>Šeyxkānlū</i>	<i>Āqā Loṭ'ali</i>
<i>Yadak</i>	<i>Šīr-zan</i>	<i>Ālašlū</i>
<i>Yūsef-ābād</i>	<i>Šīryān</i>	<i>Ālxās</i>
<i>Zūxāneh</i>	<i>Ṭabarīyān</i>	<i>Abr-ābād</i>
<i>Soḷtān-e Zīrābeh</i>	<i>Ṭarāqī-ye kord</i>	<i>Farxān-e soflā</i>
<i>Šorak-e Tūpkānlū</i>	<i>'Alī Moḥammad</i>	<i>Farxān-e šāhrāh</i>
<i>Ṭavīl</i>	<i>Ābjahān</i>	<i>Farxān-e kohne</i>
<i>'Emārat</i>	<i>Xelājlū</i>	<i>Qāčkānlū</i>
<i>Faṭḥ-ābād</i>	<i>Xomārtāš</i>	<i>Qal'e-mošarraḥ</i>

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'ākfor*, *t'ākfur*, Classical Arm. *t'agawor* "king").

Nūr-Moḥammad	Xājehā	Qal'e-kamar
Ārcīn-ābād	Xūkānlū	Qeyṭāqī
Āqmazār	Dāsanjān-e kordī-ye	Kačlānlū
Āqkahrīz	Dadeh-xān	Kordakānlū
'Allāhiyān	Zādag	Kalāte-ye Šāh Moḥammad
Emāmqolī	Zartānlū	Gol Aḥmad-beyg
Emām dordī-xān	Zīndanlū	Gadegānlū
Inc-e sāblāy	Zubārān	Mefranqāh
Inc-e šāhbāz	Zeydānlū	Maqjī
Inc-e kikānlū	Zīgānlū	Malavānlū
Bādxūr	Sālāmfūj	Mīr Faḍlollāh
Borj-e Kārdāš	Sarānī	Milānlū-e soflā
Pāykotal	Sardāb	Milānlū-ye 'oulyā
Perū-ābād	Soleymān-ābād	Nāmānlū
Pirānlū	Sar-gonbad	Neqāb
Šahrīk-e Javānlū	Hešār	Naqdū
Jānān	Ḥamzekānlū-ye bālā	Nīyyat
Čārān	Ḥamzekānlū-ye pāyīn	Valī-ābād
Čūnlī	Xersekānlū	Hašt-mory
Heidar-ābād	Xorram-ābād	Yārem-Gonbad
Xabkānlū	Tītānlū	Yengiḡal'-e 'oulyā
Darānlū	Jartūdeh	Kalāte-ye nourūzī
Šādābeh	Ja'far ābād	Golmakān
'Erāqī	Jangāh	Kavākī
Qare-tappeh	Jūzān	Kūrkanlū-ye soflā
Qare-čāh	Čapānlū	Kūrkanlū-ye 'oulyā
Qešlāq	Čarkāxneh	Kohne Farūd
Qal'-e-'Abbās	Čarmeh	Kadūgānlū
Kalāte-ye Aḥamad	Čarī	Gazkū
Čāh-e Ja'farzāde	Čūkānlū	Gonbad-jaq
Čāh-e Ḥājī 'Ešmatī	Ḥāj Taqī	Moḥammad-dolū
Čāh-e Reḡā-ābād	Ḥājī Kāhū	Moḥammad Reḡā- xān
Čāh-e Golāmḥoseyn-e	Pīr 'Ali	Mardkānlū
Aždarī		
Čāh-e Moqaddam	Pirūdānlū	Qal'e-beyg
Čahārbāy-e Jaḡīd	Pīreh	Qal'e-Ḥasan
Ḥasan-ābād	Taxt	Qal'e-šafā
Hešār-e Allāhverdī	Tarānlū	Qal'e-valī
Xeyr-ābād	Tarnīk	Qolhak-e 'oulyā
Xeyr-ābād (Dūyāyī)	Borj-e Zeydānlū	Qušxāne-ye soflā
Fīlāb	Bardar	Kāklī
Qāl-e Kamāklū	Barzal-ābād	Kalāte-ye Bālī
Qarjāye-ye Qahremānlū	Barzalān-e soflā	Kalāte-ye J'afarābād

Qarjāyeh	Barzalan-e 'oulyā	Kalāte-ye Raḥīmīyān
Qelqel	Bargerd	Kalāte-ye Zamān
Qarjāyeh (Xarq)	Beglar	Kalāte-ye Siyāhdašt
Qare-čēšmeh	Bavānlū	Kalāte-ye Šāh
		Moḥammad
Qare-gol	Bībahre	Kalāte-ye Šāhmīr
Sīsbarānlū-ye soflā	Pālkānlū-ye soflā	Kalāte-ye Naẓar 'Ali
Sīsbarānlū-ye 'oulyā	Pālkānlū-ye 'oulyā	Kalāte-ye Naẓar
		Moḥammad
Sīngelī-e šūr	Kalāte-ye Čambar-xān	Eštārxī
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	Qušxāne-ye 'oulyā
Darbādām	Kalāte-ye Mahdaviyān	Katlar
Darbandī	Gabr-ābād	Andarzī
Doāb	Gūrexar	Nabābīd
Doulat-xāne	Lālū	Emām-moršed
Dūldānlū	Motor-e Ḥājī Panāhī	Ūrte-čēšmeh
	Motor-e Ḥājī Ḥasan-e	
Dolū	Ḥamīdelāhī	Ūyāz-e tāzeh
	Motor-e Ḥājī Heydar-e	
Rostam-ābād	Ebrāhīmī	Izmān-e bālā
	Motor-e sarhang	
Rešvānlū (Māyūn)	Ṭahmāsebī	Izmān-e pāyīn
Reḍā-ābād-e Āstāneh	Mīr-ābād	Bāy-maḥalleh
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	Tīregān	Qezelqī
Rabāṭ	Čaram	Kahlāb
Raġab-ābād	Čaram-e nou	Karīm-ābād
'Azīz-ābād	Čahār-rāh	Sang-e divār
Asad-ābād	Ḥājī-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
Resālat	Jozak	Kīkānlū
Zard	Čaxmāqlū	Qal'ebarbar
Zamānšūfī	Čamanbīd	Qalandar-tappeh
Zadī-ye 'oulyā	Ḥasan-ābād	Kašk-ābād
Šēš-xāneh	Ḥeydara-ābād	Kalāte-čenār
Mehr-ābād-e Xāvar	Xorramdeh-e šarqī	Kalāte-kašī
Šahr-ābād-e kord	Qarečāy	Kalāteqamū
Šīr-ābād	Qarekānlū	Kalātekālīmānī
'Azīz-ābād	Qašrī	Garmāb
'Ešq-ābād	Šīrīn-darreh	Garmak
Qādī	'Ali-ābād	Gaz-ābād
Qare-āyāj-e Sarband	Raḥīmdād	Mollā Ḥasan
Qare-āyāj-e pāyīn	Ḥašrgāh	Mehmānak
Qar-e mošallā	Čēšmegāh	Najaf
Qeštī-ye Šāpūr-xān	Tāze-qal'e	Hāvard
Qeštī-ye Mo'aven	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

Maryzār

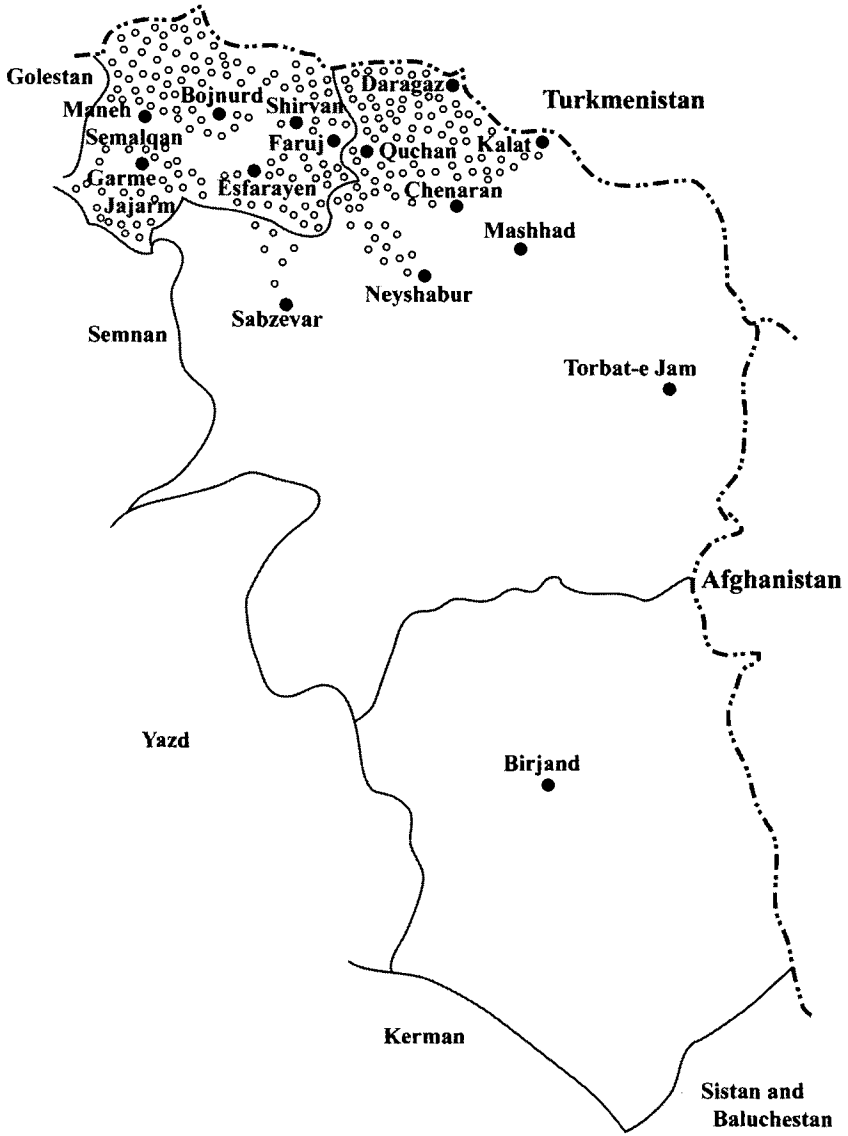
m) Neyšābūr (Nīšābūr) district

Location:	the centre of Khorasan-e Razavi
District centre:	Neyšābūr
Population:	app. 500,000
Number of Kurdish villages:	18

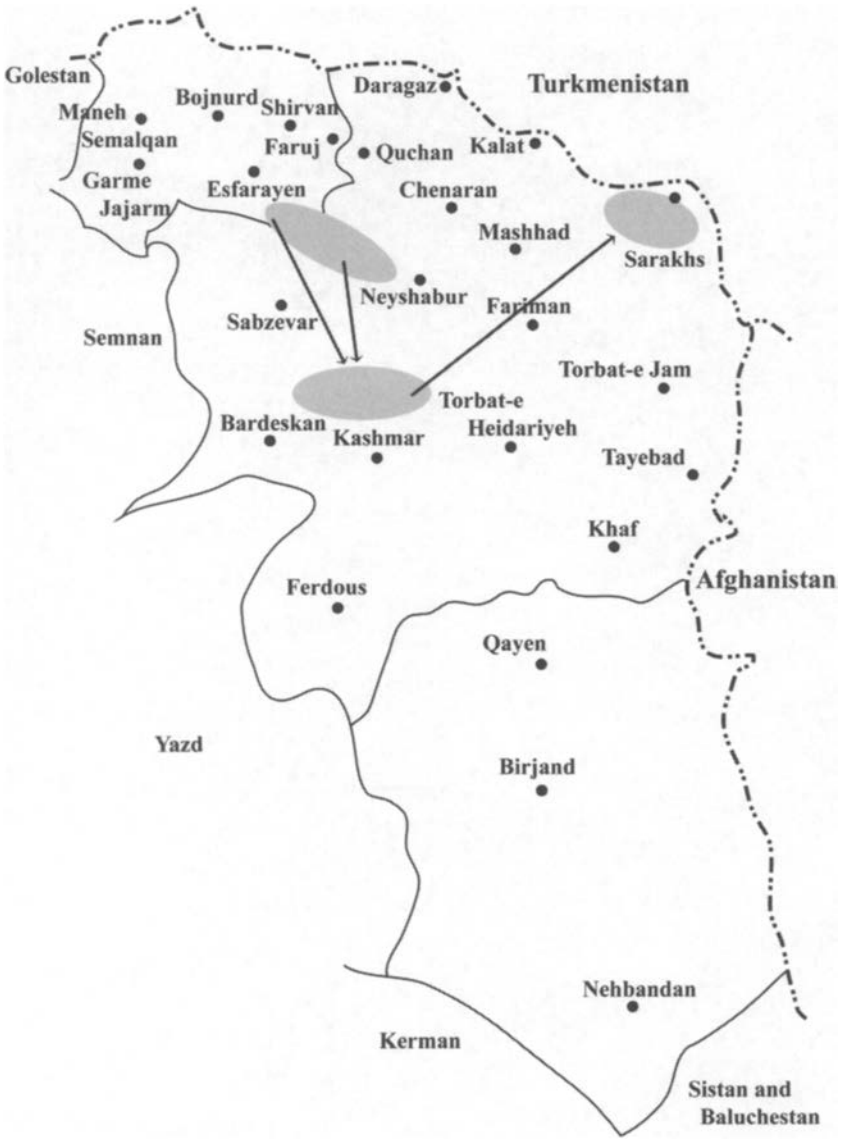
Nou omīdī	Našr-ābād	Sūrāndeh
Sargerik	Andarāb	Žolm-ābād
Šebyān	Pīre-šahbāz	'Ešq ābād

<i>Kalāte-ye Bojnū</i>	<i>Taxte-mašīd</i>	<i>Fāḍel-ābād</i>
<i>Kalāte-ye Reḡā Xān</i>	<i>Čahārgūšlī</i>	<i>Ḥoseyn-ābād</i>
<i>Kalāte-ye Moḥammadjān</i>	<i>Goḍār</i>	<i>Zarandeh</i>

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



Map 2. Seasonal Migration Routes of the Tupkanlu