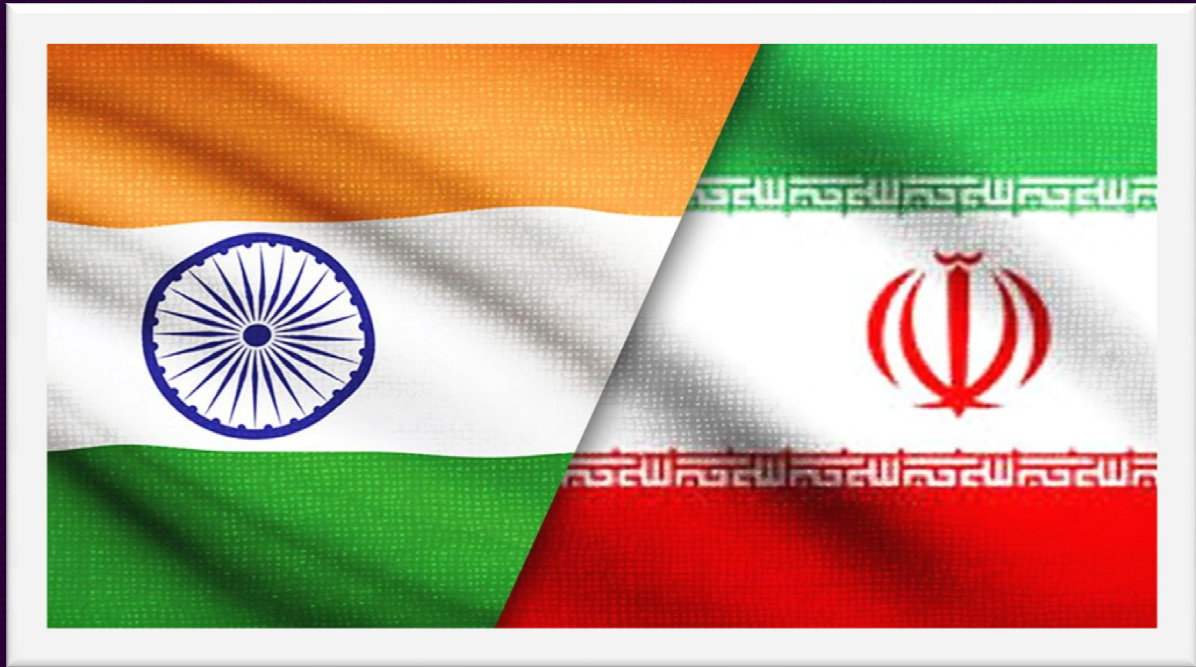


# INDIA (BHARAT) - IRAN (PERSIA)

## AND ARYANS

### PART - 6



#### Dr. Gaurav A. Vyas

This book contains the rich History of India (Bharat) and Iran (Persia) Empire. There was a time when India and Iran was one land.

This book is written by collecting information from various sources available on the internet.

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## 59. Hand-woven silk and wool fabric Yazd and Kerman Aryan trade :

What is Termeh? :



**An example of termeh articles. Image credit: Wikipedia**

Termeh is the name given to a specialty cloth that originated in Yazd. Traditionally, the cloth was hand-woven using natural silk (Persian, شمشیر abrisham) and wool fibre (Persian, پشم pashm). Termeh can take the form of fabric, sheets, panels and other shapes.

Good quality traditional termehs are part of a family's heirloom in much the same way as are (the related) Kashmiri scarves. They are often an article used in Iranian weddings - such as the sofreh used as a floor spread sheet. In these type of termehs, gold and silver threads may be incorporated either into the weave, as part of an embroidered pattern or as a border.

Both Yazd and neighbouring Kerman regions have the reputation of producing quality termeh. As is the case with Persian carpets, traditional Yazdi, as well as Kermani termeh, have a reputation of being of superior quality and workmanship. Yazdi and Kermani termeh were traded throughout the Aryan trade regions, that is along what came to be known as the Silk Roads.

Termeh and Aryan Trade :

Marco Polo, travelling the Aryan trade roads (called the Silk Roads) passed through Yazd in 1272 CE. He arrived in Yazd at about the time that Zoroastrians had been reduced to a minority in their ancestral lands. Nevertheless, Zoroastrians would still have asserted but who would have still asserted a considerable presence. Polo described the city as good and noble, and took remarked that city was noted for its silk production.

"Yazd also is properly in Persia; it is a good and noble city, and has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as Yazdi, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of."

In ancient times, Yazd and Kerman were silk and wool textile manufacturing centres together with Kashmir in the northern Indian subcontinent and the Fergana valley (presently in



Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). Yazdi silk designs do share some similarities with Fergana silks and Kermani scarves competed with Kashmiri scarves. It is quite possible that local merchants and traders based in one of these areas acquired samples made in the other area and asked local artisans to weave a similar design and fabric.

Termeh Products :



**Termeh at Yazd bazaar.**

**Image credit: BrianMcMorrow**

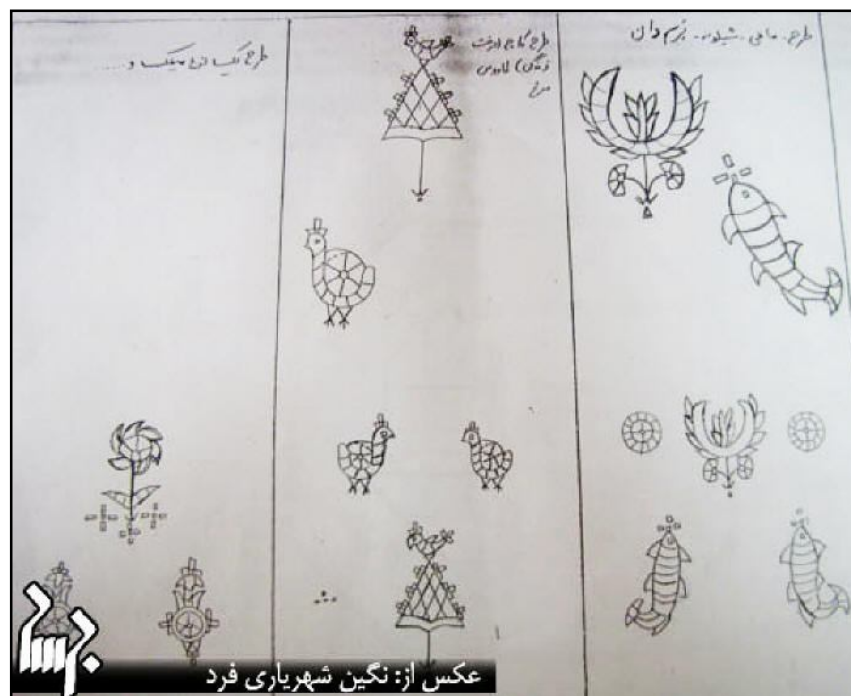
Nowadays, the more expensive termehs are usually spreads called sofrehs (floor spread sheets or table-cloths), say about 150 cm. (five feet) square. Other termeh products are scarves, cushion covers and mats. However, at one point in time, termehs were also used to produce curtains, garments, quilt covers, cummerbunds (Persian kammar-band meaning waist bands), robes and even royal headdress such as turbans.

## Assessing the Value of Termeh Products :

A termeh's value is based on the following :

- The fineness and quality of the fibre and thread,
- The incorporation of gold and silver dramatically increases the value,
- The number of coloured threads used in the weaving. The greater the number of colours, the greater the value. Elaborate termehs can have two to three hundred different coloured threads,
- The number of layers that constitute the fabric, the large number increasing the value,
- The addition of a border and wider borders,
- Fine woven designs usually add more value than embroidered designs. Intricately embroidered designs called sermeh doozy. Printed designs add the least value,
- The uniqueness of the design and,
- Lining the fabric. Lining normally adds to the value.

## Termeh Patterns :



Yazdi Zartoshti-doozy (needle-work) patterns. Image credit: Berasad



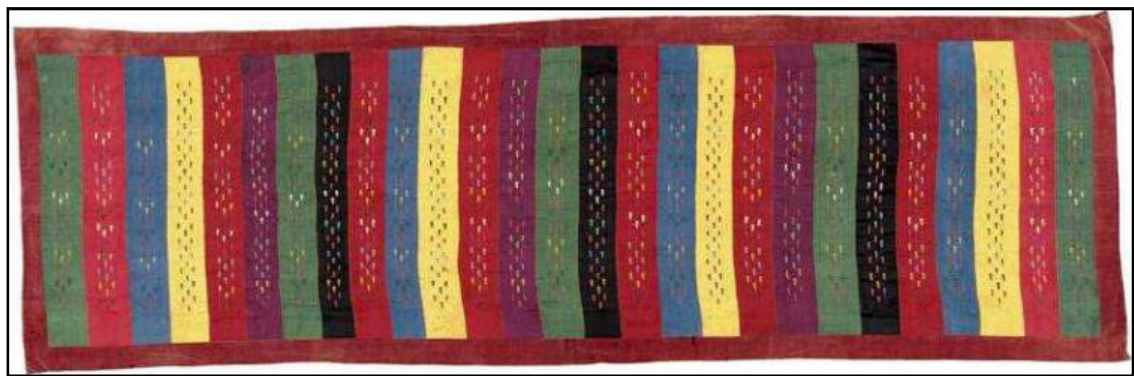
One of the most common design motifs associated with the termeh is the boteh (also spelt botteh) motif known in the west as the paisley design. The history of the boteh motif, termehs (and indeed Persian carpets as well) and Aryan trade are closely linked.

The design for tablecloths may include a chequered or honey-comb pattern. Other design patterns include stripes, both wide and narrow, the Atabaki pattern, and the Zomorrodi pattern that was predominantly green in colour.

Image patterns popular with Yazdi Zartoshti women who engage in Zartoshti-doozy (Zoroastrian needle-work / embroidery) include the tree of life, the cypress tree, the juniper tree, clove, four or eight petal jujube, peacocks, roosters, hens and chicks, hoopoe, fish and geometric shapes such as circles and squares.

### Stripped Patterns :

Termehs with a multi-coloured striped patterns are associated with Zoroastrian folk designs used for women's pantaloons, as well as with Kermani scarves. The stripes patterns are both narrow and wide, subdued in tone and quite colourful. Examples are shown in the images below.



**An antique (third quarter of the nineteenth century) embroidered silk panel from Yazd that originally would have formed the knee to ankle section of one trouser leg, of a shalvar (pantaloons) from a Zoroastrian woman's wedding costume. (Photo credit: O'Connell Guide**



**Kermani Shawl with a striped design**  
Image credit: Afshar

Kermani Shawls :



**Kermani Pateh-Duzi Embroidery. Wool on wool shawl with saffron background.**  
Mid 19th Century, 78 x 78in, 189 x 189cm. Image credit: TextileAsArt





**Antique Kermani woven shawl c 1750 CE**  
**The shawl was fragment and reconstituted from several pieces.**  
**Image credit: Eccentric Wefts**

The examples shown here in the images above and to the right are those of woven (above) and embroidered (right) shawls of Kerman. The patch-doozy / patch-duzi or embroidered shawl of Kerman is made using a background material known as shal, a word that became 'shawl' in English. The shawl is often woven using a twill weave and the most common colour of the base fabric is red - though as we see in the images here, a variety of other colours are used. The pattern for the shawl is embroidered on the base fabric, the design for which is pounced over the surface of the fabric using carbon (coal dust) dusted over perforated parchment. The carbon dust outline is further defined by a pen. Some embroiderers developed the technique of following the texture of the twill weave with their embroidery producing a patterned shawl that could easily be mistaken for a more expensive woven shawl.

A type of intricately embroidered fine shawl is the aksi meaning 'reflection'. Here, even though the the pattern is embroidered on one side, by splitting the warp thread into half, a 'reflective' image is produced on the other side of the shawl.

As with the weavers, expert embroiderers are a vanishing breed. Today, a few surviving Kermani embroiderers can be found in the Kermani village of Hudk.



**Traditional Zoroastrian Yazdi wedding costume.  
Note striped shalvar (pantaloons).**

**Image credit:**

***A Zoroastrian Tapestry Art Religion and Culture*  
by Pheroza J Godrej and Firoza Punthakey Mistree.**



**Clothes made from termeh  
Qajar Dynasty era painting  
Image credit: Parima**

Manufacturing termeh was a cottage industry. The looms would have been located in individual homes and each member of the family likely had a role. The construction of the looms, the method of making thread, the designs and patterns, and the vibrancy of the colours produced by different dyes, would have all been family secrets.

This rich heritage is now in peril. The a piece or sheet of fabric can take days if not months to produce. The expense of this labour intensive craft cannot be adequately compensated by the prices realized. Once a family stops the tradition of weaving, their knowledge, skills and trade secrets will be lost forever. Without rich patrons, the craft will die out.

The bazaars of Yazd used to be filled with artisans with different sections of the bazaar allocated to different trades and crafts. For instance, the zargari or goldsmith section, the kashigari or tile working section, the chit-sazi or chintz-making section, and the mesgari or copper-smith section.

In the days of yore, traders from around the world came to the bazaars in this oasis town and carried the creation of Yazdi ingenuity throughout the known world. The craft shops are now being replaced by shops selling electronic wares. The journals of many a returning traveller are filled with the lament that they are, within the span of their own generation, witnessing the demise of a heritage - a heritage that once lost will never be revived, for the knowledge and



skills of these crafts will die with the crafts-women and men. The reports tell us that the art of producing hand-crafted termeh today survives in but a few centers.

[\* Note: The image to the right titled "Traditional Zoroastrian Yazdi wedding costume" is part of an article by Firoza Punthakey Mistree titled "Hues of Madder Pomegranate and Saffron Traditional Costumes of Yazd" at p. 553. The photographer for the image was Gautam Rajadyaksha and the model, Meher Jesia. Also see the image titled "A modern gara with a matching blouse" at our page on The Gara Sari, in the section, The Modern Gara].

### Termeh Production :

Producing termeh requires two different skill sets, the first being product and design and the second weaving. The weaver is called the Goushvareh-kesh. One weaver might be able to combine the different skill sets, perhaps say in folk weaving, but as the product becomes more sophisticated, two or more individuals need to work as a team to produce termeh. Weaving intricate designs is a slow process with, in some cases, only 25 to 30 centimetres of fabric woven in a day.

### Dyes :

One of the most common background colours for a termeh is red, and the different shades of red that the artisans of Yazd and Kerman can produce are quite astounding. Traditionally, the dyes are all from natural sources, usually a vegetable source. For instance, one of the base red colours is called jujube red. Jujube is sometimes called a red date (not to be confused with dates from a date palm). Other common background colors which are used in termeh are green, orange and black.



**Termeh Weaving in Yazd (Persian bafi (باف‌پای))**

**Image credit: bonbon\_khan at Flickr**



**Overview of the termeh loom being used in the image to the left  
Image credit: bonbon\_khan at Flickr**

Wool Termeh Handloom Techniques of Yazd and Kerman :

The first step in the process of making a wool termeh, say a woollen shawl, is the collection of the wool that will be spun and woven or knitted into fabric. The finest wool is that which is combed or sheared from underbelly of goats. The next step is grading and sorting. Different colours of wool are also matched and batched separately. The sorted raw wool is cleaned of dirt and debris.

The production starts with the spinning the wool followed by the dyeing process. The dyer, the person looking after the dying of the wool, will have prepared the colours to be used according to samples provided to her or him. The art of natural dyeing has been developed over the ages and is often a closely guarded secret. Many dyers will know how to formulate some three hundred shades.

A pre-weaving expert or group of expert specialists then work on the wool before the weaving process can start. The different specialist tasks are warp-making, warp-dressing, wrap-threading, pattern-drawing, colouring and pattern-writing.

The pattern guide is the coded pattern guide and instructions for the colourist and weaver sometimes written in a form of shorthand or code. This process of annotating the designs so that each stitch is written down permits the reproduction of the most intricate patterns employing an extraordinarily wide range of colours.

The warp is the set of lengthwise yarns that run up and down the loom. The warp yarns are fully attached before weaving begins. The weft is the yarn that the weaver weaves back and forth and in-between the warp to make fabric.

During wrap-making the worker twists the two to three thousand threads warp threads to the required thickness. To illustrate the number of warp threads and heddles employed during weaving, a hand-woven tea-towel has between 300 and 400 warp threads.

Warp-dressing is stretching the wrap threads so that they can sustain the strain of the weaving process and the constant pressure and movement of the heddle. A heddle separates the warp yarn for the passage of the weft yarn. A typical heddle is made of cord or wire suspended from the top shaft of the loom. Each heddle has an eye in the center through which the warp is threaded. There is a heddle for each thread of the warp, and as such there can be, say, a thousand heddles for fine or wide warps.

Warp-threading is the passing the yarn through the heddles.

After the wrap assembly is prepared, if the fabric is to have a pattern, pattern-drawing is the drawing of the pattern design.

Colouring is the colouring of the drawing including the matching of different shades using a colour card based on the annotated drawing.

When the weaving process starts, the weaver if assisted by, say, two or three apprentices, calls out the colours to be used according to the pattern guide.

For the weaving the pattern portions, the weft shuttles are replaced by fine needle-like spools. The spools are made of fine light wood with sharp edges on both sides charred to prevent them becoming rough or jagged during use. The pattern's design is produced on the underside of the wrap with the weaver inserted the spools from above. After a line of multiple wefts is completed, a comb was pulled down towards the weaver with its teeth running through the warp thereby pushing and compacting the weft into a tight weave.

If the fabric being produced - in our example a shawl - has complicated patterns, the weaving can be divided between up to ten looms, each working on a particular section of the shawl. After the different sections are woven, they are handed over to a specialist who will repair any defects and join the pieces together in a manner that the joints are not visible.

#### Silk Production Elsewhere in Iran :

In addition to Yazd and Kerman, the other centers of silk production in Iran that were involved with silk trade along the Aryan trade roads were Gilan, Mazandaran, Khorasan, Isfahan, and Kashan. During Sassanian times, the production could have reached 3,000 tones.

At one point in history, Gilan began the largest single silk cocoon or thread maker and its prized shiny soft silk was exported to European markets with English, Dutch, French and Italian merchants competing to buy the thread or dried cocoons.

## Making of Silk in Nature :



**Fifth instar silkworm larvae. Image credit: Wikipedia**

In Iran, during the spring month of Ardibehest (late April), the process of spinning silk thread starts with silkworm breeders buying boxes of eggs of the silk moth, *Bombyx mori* (Latin for 'silkworm of the mulberry tree'). They place the eggs in a warm place or in an incubator to help speed the hatching of the eggs, a process that takes about ten days. The eggs will hatch into larvae called silkworms.

At the same time, mulberry trees will have grown new leaves which silkworm breeders buy to feed their silkworm larvae. In Iran, mulberry trees grow in Gilan, Mazandaran, Khorasan, Eastern Azarbaijan, Isfahan, Yazd and Kerman. Once the larvae hatch they eat the leaves of the mulberry continuously.

In Yazd, the town of Taft situated some 18 km southwest of Yazd city is a major silkworm breeding centre.

After the larvae (the silkworm) have moulted four times, that is when they are in the fifth instar, they lose their appetite and are ready to transform themselves into moths. To protect themselves while they are in a vulnerable almost motionless transformational pupa state, they enclose themselves in a protective cocoon enclosure. The cocoon is made out of silk thread, a continuous natural protein filament that they produce in their salivary glands and exude to form the filament.

The larvae's cocoon is built up from about 300 to 900 metres (1,000 to 3,000 feet) of silk filament. The filament is fine, lustrous, and about 10 micrometers (1/2,500th of an inch) in diameter. Each cocoon consists of about a kilometre of silk filament, and about 2,000 to 3,000 cocoons are required to make a pound of silk.

For the making of commercial silk thread, the cocoon's filament is unravelled. The filament from several cocoons are then passed over a pulley, wound together and spun into a thread. Two or three threads are in turn spun together to build a yarn and several strands of yarn can



be spun further spun together to make a nett thread. Along the way, the yarn or thread is dyed if needed after which it is ready for weaving.



**Silkworm cocoons. Image credit: Wikipedia**



**Spinning silk thread straight of several cocoons. Image credit: Long's Strange Trip**

Source :

<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/trade/termeh.htm>



## 60. Habbari Dynasty :

The Habbari dynasty ruled the Abbasid province of Greater Sindh from 841 to 1024. The region became semi-independent under the Arab ruler Aziz al-Habbari in 841 CE, though nominally remaining part of the Caliphate. The Habbaris, who were based in the city of Mansura, ruled the regions of Sindh, Makran, Turan, Khuzdar and Multan. The Umayyad Caliph made Aziz governor of Sindh and he was succeeded by his sons Umar al-Habbari I and Abdullah al-Habbari in succession while his grandson Umar al-Habbari II was ruling when the famous Arab historian Al-Masudi visited Sindh. The Habbaris ruled Sindh until 1010 when the Soomra Khafif took over Sindh. In 1026 Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi defeated Khafif, destroyed Mansura and annexed the region under the Ghaznavid rule.

### History :

The Habbaris have a history which goes back to pre-Islamic times. Initially they played an active role in the politics of Nejd in the Arabian Peninsula. Later they remained prominent during the rule of the Umayyads and the Abbasids in Syria and Iraq. The ancestors of Umar bin Abdul Aziz (not to be confused with the Umayyad Caliph of the same name), the founder of the Habbari emirate, came to Greater Sindh almost five or six generations earlier. The family acquired an agricultural estate in the village of Baniya, which later became an important town. Here the Habbaris engaged themselves in agriculture and in commerce and achieved a prominent status among the Arab settlers. They also established close relations with the Umayyad as well as Abbasid emirs.

The Habbaris were settled in Baniya for well over a century and their men and women married with locals men and women. The pre-Islamic character and wealth of the tribe was nowhere compared to the much richer Sindhi history, both culturally and economically. The result was that after secession of Greater Sindh from the Caliphate, there was no basic change in the character of the regime and the newly established Habbari state continued to function on the lines set by the Umayyads and the Abbasids. The basic change was in the ruling hierarchy and in the administration of funds derived from the existing system of taxation.

### The Habbari Emirate :

The state established by the Habbaris came to be known as *Mansura*. In the period 855 C.E. to 1025 C.E. about ten members of the Habbari family held the offices of emirs in Mansura. The names of three of these rulers, Umar bin Abdul Aziz, his sons Abdur Rahman bin Umar and Abdullah bin Umar, appear in the coins found from the site of Mansura. The name Abul Munzir Umar bin Abdullah, who probably ruled Mansura in the period around 915 C.E., appears in the publication of Masudi. They were under the rule of Tahirids, Saffarids, Samanids and Ghaznavids successively. Finally, they were defeated and replaced by the Muslim Rajput Kingdom under the Soomra dynasty.

## Rulers of Habbari Emirate :

*Note: the dates below are only approximate.*

- Umar ibn'Abd al-Aziz al'Habbari (855-884)
- Abdullah bin Umar (884-913)
- Umar bin-Abdullah (913-943)
- Muhammad bin Abdullah (943-973)
- Ali bin Umar (973-987)
- Isa bin ali
- Manbi ibn Ali bin Umar (987-1010)
- Khafif (Soomra dynasty) (1010-1025)

Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habbari\\_dynasty](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habbari_dynasty)

## **61. Elam and the Elamities :**

The ancient civilization of Elam, located in modern day Iran, was known for its sophisticated artwork as well as the establishment of a culture whose influence would continue throughout millennia and the major empires of Babylon and Medo Persia.

Elam and the Elamites :

The Elamite culture began in modern day Iran sometime around 2700 BC and continued through 640 BC and included several dynastic lines. There's no certainty about where the Elamites originated, but there are clues from other sources including the Judeo-Christian Bible which places the Elamites as a Semitic culture that sprung from a descendant of Shem (one of Noah's 3 sons) named Elam. The Elamites were mentioned in the Bible in Ezra and Acts and the Kingdom of Elam is mentioned in Genesis, Nehemiah, Ezra, Jeremiah, Daniel, and I Chronicles. Regardless of the provenance of the Elamites, they occupied a long period of history in the Middle East and especially Persia. During this period, the Elamites maintained power through a strict system of accession and inheritance which allowed power to stay focussed within the Elamite mainstream culture.



**The Elamite Empire covered a large swath of modern day Iran along the Persian Gulf**

#### Elamite Culture :

Elamite Culture was arranged as many cultures are; around trade and resources. It was a patriarchal (led by men) society, reflecting the vast majority of surrounding civilizations. The area of Iran occupied for millennia by the Elamite Empire was a known trade hot spot. Located along the Persian Gulf with access to major shipping routes across land and sea, Elam was a mainstay in getting numerous resources wherever they needed to go throughout the Middle East and Asia. As a result, the people of Elam benefited from the riches, artwork, and resources of many different cultures and places. Therefore, the Elamite culture was one of great cosmopolitan wealth.

#### Location :

The location of Elam was also very rich agriculturally. This not only provided adequate nutrition and security to the Elamites, but a steady source of good for packaging and selling to other nations and people who traveled through and traded with the Elamites. The people of Elam also has a distinct language which modern translators have found difficult to translate. However, the culture itself seemed to follow similar patterns of other local Middle Eastern cultures. Marriages were generally polygamous with the practice of levirate marriage (the practice of a brother marrying his deceased brother's widow) at the forefront as a means by which to keep wealth centered within the family or tribe. Death also was culturally similar to other peoples as the dead were entombed, sometimes with representative statues that depicted the deceased person sleeping.

## Religion :

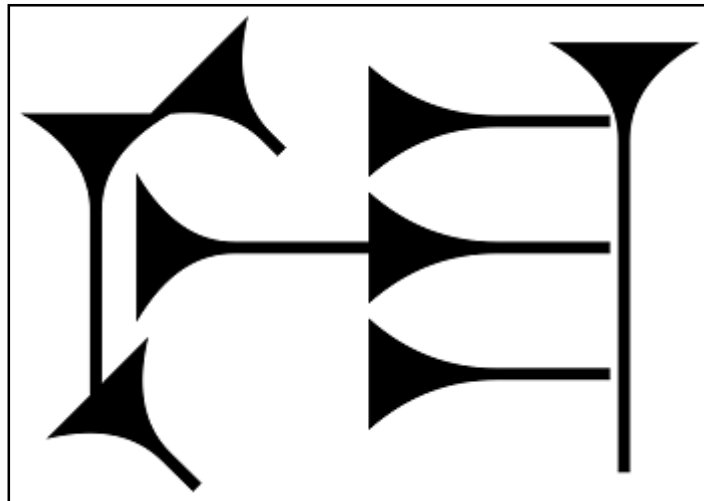
Religion was a central part of Elamite society as well. Each leader would usually integrate his preferred god or goddess within his reign. For instance, King Kutik Inshushinak made a huge temple and dedicated it to his god Inshushinak. These types of name similarities and building projects served a couple of purposes; first, it connected religion to the throne so that religion was under government sponsorship, and second, by establishing a temple for sacrifices, gathering, and festivals, the king could gain wealth and tribute from his people while providing them a peaceful and necessary spiritual outlet.

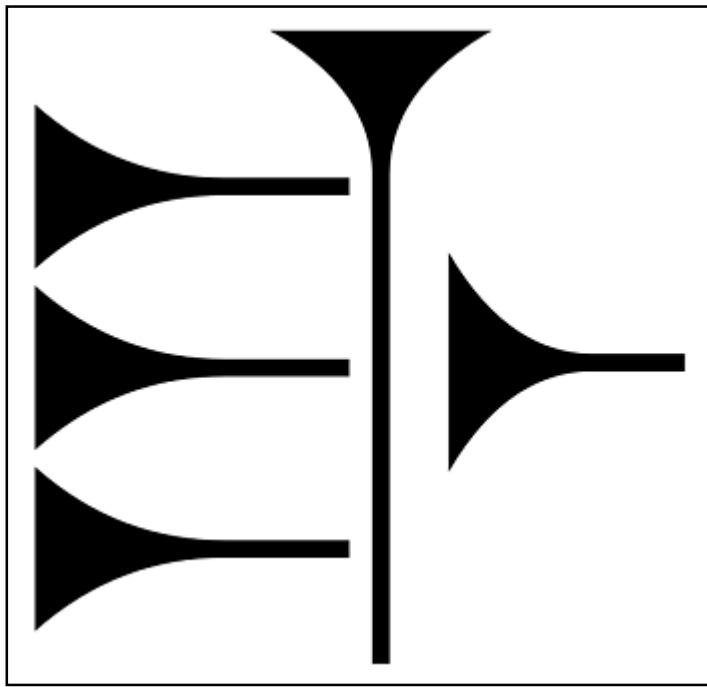


**A cuneiform stone chronicling the tales of the god Inshushinak**

## Elamite Artistry :

As in any culture, art is at the center of Elam's significance and meaning. One of the most striking and consequently earliest symbols of art in Elamite history, was probably the destruction and deportation of the people of Ur. When the great city fell, not only did the Elamites deport the last king, they also took the statue of the goddess of the people of Ur (Ningal) with them. This served not only as a symbol of complete destruction and desertion by their own goddess, but the usurping of the very core of the religious structure of Ur.





The first image is the cuneiform for Nin which meant Lady and the second is for Gal which meant goddess. Together they represent Ningal, goddess of the people of Ur.

Source :

<https://study.com/academy/lesson/elamite-empire-art-culture.html>

## 62. Kurdish Tribes :

Kurdish tribes are found throughout Persia, eastern Anatolia and northern Iraq, but very few comprehensive lists of them have been published. The one most often cited is that of François Bernard Charmoy, which was based on the *Šaraf-nāma* by the 16th-century Kurdish historian Šaraf-al-Din Bedlisi (q.v.; I, pp. 55-85). An attempt to present an up-to-day list of Kurdish tribes follows.

Kurdish Tribes in Persia :

*Western Azerbaijan.* The most important Kurdish tribes in that region are Jalāli (q.v.; around Māku), Milān (also around Māku), Ḥaydarānlu (on the Turkish border, southwest of Māku), Donboli (q.v.; Turki-speaking, around ẖoy and Salmās), Korahsunni (Kurdicized Turks, southwest of ẖoy), Šekkāk (south of Salmās), Herki (around Urmia), Begzāda (south of Urmia), Zerzā (on the Iraqi border, west of Ošnaviya), Pirān (on the Iraqi border, southwest of Naqada), Māmaš (around Naqada), Mangur (southwest of Mahābād), Mokri (around Mahābād), Dehbokri (east of Mahābād), Gowrāk (south of Mahābād, around Sardašt and northwest of Saqqez), Malkāri (around Sardašt), Suseni (west of Saqqez), Fayz-Allāh-begi (northeast of Saqqez). (For details, see Afšār Sistāni, pp. 137-95; Komisiun-e melli, pp. 117-29.)

*Eastern Azerbaijan.* In Qarājadāg (today Arasbārān), that is, the region between the Aras river and the Sabalān mountain range, there are six Shi'ite, Turki-speaking tribes of Kurdish origin:



Čalabiānlu (q.v.), Moḥammad K̄ānlu, Ḥosaynāklū, Hāji ‘Alilu (q.v.), Ḥasan Beglu, and Qarāčorlu. In Kalkāl, that is, the region between the Bozḡuš mountains and the Qezel Uzen (*owzan*) river, there are seven Shi‘ite, Turki-speaking tribes of Kurdish origin: Delikānlu, Kolukjānlu (an offshoot of the Šekkāk), Šaṛrānlu (also an offshoot of the Šekkāk), Aḥmadlu, Šādlu, Rašvand, and Māmānlu. Finally, there are Shi‘ite, Turki-speaking Šekkāk occupying vast areas northeast and northwest of Miyāna. (See Afšār-Sistāni, pp. 109-25; Oberling, 1964; idem, 1961, pp. 52-57, 80.)

*Kurdistan.* The most important Kurdish tribes in this region are: Saršiv (on the Iraqi border, south of Bāna), Tilaku‘i (Kurdicized Turks, around Sonnata and Zāḡa), Bani Ardalān (around Senna [Sanandaj]), Jāf (southwest of Senna [Sanandaj]), Hulilān (southeast of Kermānšāh), and the following tribes between Kermānšāh (present-day Bāktarān) and the Iraqi border: Gurān, Kalhor, Sanjābi, Šarafbayāni, Kerindi, Bājalān (q.v.), Nānakuli, and Zangana. (See Afšār-Sistāni, pp. 223-59; Komisiun-e melli, pp. 130-33; also multiple entries in Nikitine and Arfa.)

*Hamadān.* According to Marduḡ Kordestāni (I, pp. 86 and 98), the Kurdish tribes in this province are: Jamiri, Juzikān, and Šāhjān.

*Luristan.* According to Oskar Mann (p. XXIII), the Delfān and Selsela groups of tribes, the Armā‘i tribe of the Ṭarhān group of tribes, and the Bayrānvand tribe in the Piš-e Kuh speak Laki. According to Marduḡ Kordestāni (I, pp. 78, 86), both the Itivand and the Judeki tribes in the Piš-e Kuh are Kurdish. There is also a large tribe by the name of Kord in the Pošt-e Kuh (Rabino, 1916, pp. 40-45).

*Kuzestān.* There are three groups of Zangana and one of Jalāli in the Jānneki Garmsir, northeast of Ahvāz. They were brought there by Nadir Shah (Qā‘em Maqāmi). There was also a tribe by the name of Āl bu Kord which occupied seven villages on the Kārun river south of Ahvāz (Lorimer, II, pp. 121, 1042).

*Gilān.* There have been two important Kurdish tribes in this province: Rišvand (or Rašvand) and ‘Amārlu (q.v.). According to Rabino, the Rišvand formed part of the Bābān tribe of Solaymāniya and were moved to Gilān by Shah ‘Abbās I. Later, they were chased out of most of their choice pasturelands by the ‘Amārlu, who were moved to Gilān from northwestern Persia by Nāder Shah (Rabino, 1916-17, pp. 260-61; tr., pp. 304-6). The Rišvand now live mostly in Qazvin province. The ‘Amārlu occupy some fifty villages between Menjil and Pirākuh in southeastern Gilān. (See Fortescue, pp. 319-20; Marduḡ Kordestāni, I, pp. 100-1; Afšār Sistāni, pp. 132-34.)

*Māzandarān.* There are three major Kurdish tribes in the province: Modānlu (north of Sāri), Jahānbeglu (north of Sāri), and K̄vājavand (south of Nowšahr). The K̄vājavand tribe, according to L. S. Fortescue (p. 317), “was originally brought from Garrús (q.v.) and Kurdistān by Nāder Shāh.” The Modānlu and Jahānbeglu tribes were probably also moved to Māzandarān by Nāder Shah. According to Rabino (1913, p. 441).

*Qazvin.* The most important Kurdish tribes in this province are Ġiātvand (q.v.), Kākāvand, Rišvand, and Ma‘āfi. The Ġiātvand tribe dwells along the Qezel Uzen and Šāhrud rivers. According to Parviz Varjāvand (pp. 456-57), it was transplanted from western Persia by Āḡā

Moḥammad Khan Qājār. The Kākāvand tribe lives northeast of Qerva, on the Siāh Dahān-Zanjān road. The Rešvand tribe occupies the districts of Alāmut and Rudbār. The Ma‘āfi tribe dwells near the Qazvin-Tehran road (Fortescue, pp. 325-26). According to Varjāvand (pp. 459-60), there are also small groups of Bājalān, Behtu‘i, Čamišgazak, Jalilvand, and Kalhor in the province.

*Tehran.* The Pāzuki tribe is the principal Kurdish group in the province. According to Albert Houtum-Schindler (p. 50), it was once a powerful tribe residing near Erzurum in Anatolia; but it was broken up in the late 16th century, a fragment settling down around Varāmin and Ġār. In the Tehran region are also fragments of the following tribes: Hedāvand, Burbur, Uryād, Zerger, Kord Bača, Nānakuli, and Qarāčorlu (Kayhān, II, p. 111); and in Sāva there are Kalhor Kurds (Afšār Sistāni, p. 1115).

*Isfahan.* According to Marduḡ Kordestāni (I, p. 79), there is a Kurdish tribe in this province by the name of Bāzinjān. Moreover, the name of the town Šahr-e Kord southwest of Isfahan evidence the existence of Kurds in that region in the past (cf. Kord in Fārs mentioned below). This is reinforced by the remarks of early Muslim geographers (Mas‘udi, *Tanbih*, p. 88; EsĀṭakri, pp. 98-99, 115; Ebn Ḥawqal, p. 265; Moqaddasi, p. 447).

*Fārs.* According to Marduḡ Kordestāni (I, pp. 75-117), there are more than thirty small Kurdish tribes in Fārs. Many of these are undoubtedly remnants of tribes that followed Karim Khan Zand to Fārs; after the fall of the Zand dynasty, they were absorbed as clans by the Qašqā‘i tribal confederacy. They include the Saqqez, Zangana (five separate groups, including one that today forms a clan of the Kaškuli Bozorg tribe of the Qašqā‘i), Kuruni, Čegini (q.v.), Burbur and Uryād (clans of the Qašqā‘i ‘Amala tribe), Lak and Vandā (clans of the Qašqā‘i Darrašuri tribe), Kordlu (a clan of the Qašqā‘i Qarā Čāhilu tribe), and Kord-Šuli. (See Oberling, 1960, pp. 76-84; idem, 1974, pp. 225-31.) References to Kurdish tribes in Fārs, as well as to a town called Kord in the Isfahan area, go back to the 10th century (Mas‘udi, *Tanbih*, pp. 88-89; Ebn Kordādbeh, p. 47; Ešṭakri, pp. 113 ff., 125; Ebn Ḥawqal, pp. 264-65, 269, 270-71; Moqaddasi, p. 446). According to Ebn al-Balḡi, the five major Kurdish tribes of Fārs had been annihilated during the Arab conquest, and the Kurds that were in Fārs in the 12th century, other than the Šabānkāra, had been brought there by the Buyid ‘Azad-al-Dawla. There were many Kurds in Fārs in the 11th century, including as many as five tribes of Šabānkāra (Ebn al-Balḡi, tr. pp. 5-13). Although Ebn Balḡi distinguishes the Šabānkāra from the original Kurdish tribes of Fārs, the name of one of the Šabānkāra five clans, Rāmāni (the other four are Esmā‘ili, Karzubi, Mas‘udi, Šakāni), is identical with that of a Kurdish tribe of Fārs mentioned in early sources (Ešṭakri, p. 114; Ebn Ḥawqal, p. 270; Moqaddasi, p. 446). The Šabānkāra seized power from the Buyids in Fārs in 1062 and founded a dynasty of tribal rulers there (Ebn Balḡi, pp. 164-67; Bosworth, p. 156). Some of the Šabānkāra settled down in the district of Simakān, between Shiraz and Jahrom (Ḥasan Fasā‘i, II, p. 314). Today, there is still a district by the name of Šabānkāra near Bušehr.

*Khorasan.* There are many thousands of Kurds in Khorasan, and most of them are descendants of tribesmen who were moved into the province by Shah ‘Abbās I around 1600. The most important Kurdish tribes in Khorasan are: ‘Amārlu (in the Marusk plain, northwest of Nišāpur), Šādlu (in the district of Bojnurd), Za‘farānlu (in the districts of Šīrvān and Qučān), Keyvānlu (in the districts of Joveyn, Darragaz, and Radkān), Tupkānlu (around Joveyn and Nišāpur), and Qarāčorlu (in the districts of Bojnurd, Šīrvān, and Qučān). (See: Afšār Sistāni, pp. 984-1104;

Ivanow, pp. 150-52.) The recent study of Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Pāpoli Yazdi shows the extent to which the Kurds of Khorasan have become sedentary (pp. 23-37).

*Kermān.* According to Percy Sykes (p. 210), there was a small Kurdish tribe in the Sārdu (or Sārduya) region in 1900. Until recently, there was also a clan of the Afšār tribe of Kermān by the name of Mir Kord (Oberling, 1960, p. 115).

*Baluchistan.* There are Kurds in northeastern Persian Baluchistan, who might be the descendants of tribesmen who accompanied the luckless Loṭf-‘Ali Khan Zand on his desperate flight to Bam in 1794. Until the 1880s, they were dominant in Ʒāš, and their leader was known as the Sardār of the Sarḥad (Sykes, pp. 106, 107, 131; see also Bestor). Today, they are widely scattered, some of them living on the southern slopes of the Kuh-e Taftān, others dwelling around Magas (today, Zābol); and still others are settled in Sistān (Afšār Sistāni, p. 918). Hosayn-‘Ali Razmārā mentions eight villages in the district of Bampošt that are inhabited by Baluchi-speaking Zand tribesmen (VIII, pp. 187, 248, 313, 315, 322, 372, 384). These probably moved to Baluchistan at the same time as the Kurds of Ʒāš.

#### Kurdish Tribes in Turkey :

Most of the Kurds in Turkey have become sedentary and many have lost their tribal identity. According to Marduḳ Kordestāni (I, pp. 75-117), at the beginning of the 20th century the principal Kurdish tribes of Turkey were the following. They are listed according to district (*velāyat*). For more information on Kurdish tribes in Turkey, see Ott Blau (pp. 608-9), Mark Sykes (pp. 451-86), and Badile Nikitine (pp. 161-62).

- Adıaman: Telyā.
- Afyon: Jahānbegli.
- Aḡri: Sāderli, Ʒālāti, Ḥaydarānli, Ḥamadikān, Zilānli, Bādeli, Ādamānli, Bašmānli, Jalāli, Bāzikli.
- Amasya: Aruk.
- Ankara: ‘Amarānli, Nāṣerli, Zirikānli, Judikānli, Tirikān.
- Bitlis: Mudeki, Ʒāzali, Ḥasanānlu, Ātamānikān, Jabbarānli.
- Diārbakır: Diārbakri, Musek, Šayḳdudānli, Surkišli, Dersimli, Ʒāzāli, Bešeri, Tirikān, Purān, Bekirān, Raškutānli.
- Elaziḡ: Gurus, Kulbaban, Sinān, Āšmišārt, Behirmāz.
- Erzurum: Herka’i, Zirikānli, Ḥasanānli, Piziānli, Rašvān.
- Gaziantep: Delikānli
- Hakāri: Kekā, Šemsiki, Neri, Ḥakāri, Ḥasanānlu, Balikār, Dināri.

- Kaysari: Hājibānli.
- Kirşehir: ‘Amarānli, Tāburowgli, Barakatli.
- Konya: Kalkāni.
- Malatya: Sināminli
- Maraş (Mar‘aş): Gugarišānli, Kikān, Vāliāni, Nederli, Nāšādirā, Duġānli, Delikānli, Jelikānli, Balikānli.
- Mardin: Dākuri, Tur‘ābedin.
- Muş: Māmakānli, Lulānli, Šekerli, Panjinān, Silukān, Selivān, Hāsanānli, Azli, Panijāri, Zerzān, Balikān.
- Siirt (Se‘ert): Mirān, Musek, Kaviān, Dersimli, Dākuri, Hōsayni, Jaziriān, Panjinān.
- Sivās: Kučeri, Ākčešmi.
- Tokat (Toqat): Aruk.
- Tunceli (Tunjeli): Milli, Dersimli.
- Urfa: Givarān, ‘Aluš, Čāpkasān, Abu Tāher, Emerzān, Bārān.
- Van: Maḥmudi, Herka‘i, ‘Isā‘i, Yazidi, Sepikānli, Duderi, Kāni, Jelikānli, Tākuli, Tāpiān, Bārezānli.
- Yozgat: Mākāni, Kātunoġli, Tāburoġli.

#### Kurdish Tribes in Iraq :

There are still many powerful Kurdish tribes in Iraq. According to Moḥammad-Amin Zaki (pp. 399-410), the most important Kurdish tribes in Iraq in 1931 were the following. They are listed according to geographical region (urban center). For more information on the Kurdish tribes of Iraq, see Henry Field (1940), Cecil John Edmonds, and Hasan Arfa.

- Arbil: Āko, Dizā‘i, Surči, Gerdi, Herki, Bārzān (q.v.), Buli, Širvān wa Barādust (q.v.), Zārāri, Kīlāni, Bervāri Bālā, Bervāri Žiri, Košnāv, Pirān.
- Kāneqin: Bājalān, Zenda, Leylāni, Kāka‘i, Šayk-bazini, Bibāni, Dāwuda, Kākevār, Pālāni, Kāġānlu.
- Kerkuk: Šarafbayāni, Barzenji, Dilo, Tālebāni, Jabbāri, Šuhān, Zangana, ‘Amarmel, Šāleḫi.
- Mandali: Qarā ‘Alus.

- Mosul: Šeqqāq, Duski, Zibāri, Misuri, Ārtuš, Sendi.
- Solaymāniya: Jāf, Marivāni, Pišdar, Ḥamāvand, Āvrāmi, and Esmā'il 'Azizi.

Source :

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kurdish-tribes>

### 63. Aryan, Kurdistan :

Aryan (Persian: آریان, also Romanized as Āryān, Āriyān, and Aryān is a village in Paygelan Rural District, in the Central District of Sarvabad County, Kurdistan Province, Iran. At the 2006 census, its population was 489, in 119 families.

Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aryan,\\_Kurdistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aryan,_Kurdistan)

### 64. Kurds :

Who are the Kurds? :

Brushing over a depiction of 25 centuries of history in half an hour is obviously a tough task. That means about one minute per century! In this quick skimming through 1 can limit myself to merely pointing out a few major landmarks and mentioning facts likely to help in the understanding of the present situation of the Kurds. I hope the specialists present here won't hold this approach of reducing and simplifying against me and, in response to questions raised during the discussion, I'd be happy to consider any aspect, which seems to you to have been insufficiently covered, in more depth.

The first question which comes to mind is that of the origins of the Kurds. Who are they? Where do they come from? Historians generally agree to consider them as belonging to the Iranian branch of the large family of Indo-European races. In prehistoric times, kingdoms called Mitanni, Kassites and Hourites reigned these mountainous areas, situated between the Iranian plateau and the Euphrates. In VII BC, the Medes, the Kurds' equivalent of the Gauls for the French, founded an empire which, in 612 BC, conquered the powerful Assyria and spread its domination through the whole of Iran as well as central Anatolia. The date 612, is moreover, considered by Kurdish nationalists as the beginning of the 1st Kurdish year; for them we are at present in 2601!

The political reign of the Medes was to end towards the end of 6 BC, but their religion and civilization were to dominate Iran until the time of Alexander the Great. From this date right until the advent of Islam, the fate of the Kurds, who geographers and Greek historians call Karduchoi, was to remain linked to that of the other populations of the empires which succeeded one another on the Iranian scene: Seljuks, Parthes and Sassanids.

Having put up fierce resistance to the Arabo-Muslim invasions, the Kurds ended up joining Islam, as a result becoming Arabized. This resistance continued for about a century. The Kurdish tribes resisted the Arab tribes for social rather than religious reasons. All methods were used to coax the Kurds and convert them to Islam, even, for example, the matrimonial strategy, the mother of the last Omayyad caliph, Marwan Hakim, was Kurdish.

Due to the weakening of the caliphs' power, the Kurds, who already had a key role in the arts, history and philosophy fields, begin to assert, from the middle of the IXth century onwards, their own political power. In 837, a Kurdish lord, of the name Rozeguite, founds the town of Akhlat on the banks of Lake Van and makes it the capital of his principality, theoretically vassal of the caliph, but in actual fact virtually independent. In the second half of the Xth century Kurdistan is shared amongst 4 big Kurdish principalities. In the North, the Shaddadids, (951-1174), in the East, the Hasanwayhids (959-1015) and the Banu Annaz (990-1116) and in the West the Marwanids (990-1096) of Diyarbakir. One of these dynasties would have been able, during the decades, to impose its supremacy on the others and build a state incorporating the whole Kurdish country if the course of history hadn't been disrupted by the massive invasions of tribes surging out of the steppes of Central Asia. Having conquered Iran and imposed their yoke on the caliph of Baghdad, the Seljuk Turks annexed the Kurdish principalities one by one. Around 1150, the sultan Sandjar, the last of the great Seljuk monarchs, created a province from Kurdistan.

Up until then the Kurds' lands were called the Media by Greek geographers, the "Djibal", which means the mountain for the Arabs. It's thus a Turkish sultan who, in homage to the distinctive personality of the Kurdish country, gives it the name Kurdistan. The province of Kurdistan, formed by Sandjar, had as its capital the village Bahâr (which means spring), near ancient Ecbatane, capital of the Medes. It included the vilayets of Sindjar and Shahrazur to the west of the Zagros massif and those of Hamadan, Dinaver and Kermanshah to the east of this range. Thus, as a whole this designation only recovered a southern part of ethnic Kurdistan. A brilliant autochthonous civilization developed around the town of Divaver-today ruined - 75km North-East of Kermanshah, whose radiance was then partially replaced by that of Senna, 90km further North.

Only about twelve years after the disappearance of the last great Sejuk, a Kurdish dynasty, that of the Ayyubids (1169-1250), founded by the famous Saladin emerges and takes over the leadership of the muslim world for about a century, until the Turko-Mongolian invasions of the XIIIth century. The high-ranking figure of Saladin and his exploits against the crusaders are sufficiently well-known in Europe. His empire incorporated, as well as almost the whole of Kurdistan, all Syria, Egypt and Yemen. It was a bit like the Germanic Roman Empire claiming to reassemble peoples, kingdoms and principalities of Catholic Europe. It was the time of the Crusades, of the hegemony of the religious on the political and the national. Saladin was, thus, no more of a Kurdish patriot than Saint Louis was a French nationalist.

With the emergence of Kurdistan as a recognized geographical entity, the supremacy of a Kurdish dynasty on the muslim world and the blossoming of an important written literature in the Kurdish language, the XIIIth century is assuredly a rich period in the events of Kurdish history. It's also during the course of this century that the Nestorian church with its metropolitan centre in Kurdistan, develops with extraordinary rapidity, its missions spreading across the whole of Asia, as far as Tibet, Sin Kiang, Mongolia and Sumatra. The most



spectacular success of these missions was the conversion of the great Mongolian Khan Guyuk in 1248. Also in 1253, Saint Louis sent Guillaume de Rubrouck, who played an important role in what was called the "Mongolian crusade" to him in Baghdad. In 1258, when the Mongolian Hulagu, influenced by these missions, takes Baghdad, he puts the caliph to death but sees to it that the palace is given to the Nestorian Catholics. At the end of the XIIIth century, Islam gains the upper hand over the Mongolians and the Nestorians are massacred. The centre of their patriarchate moves in the course of the centuries but still remains in Kurdistan.

In the second half of the XVth century the Kurdish country ends up by recovering from the effects of the Turko-Mongolian invasions and by taking the form of an autonomous entity, united by its language, culture and civilization, but politically split up into a series of principalities. However, at least amongst the well-read, there's a keen awareness of belonging to a single country. A XVIth century poet, Melaye Djaziri, from the principality of Bohtan, considered as the Kurdish Ronsard introduces himself in these terms:

I am the rose of Eden of Bohtan.

I am the torch of the nights of Kurdistan.

At the beginning of the XVIth century the Kurdish country becomes the main stake of the rivalries between the Ottoman and Persian empires. The new shah of Persia, who has imposed Shfisme as the state religion, tries to spread it across the neighbouring countries. The Ottomans, from their side, want to put a stop to the shah's expansionist aims and to assure their Iranian border in order to be able to embark on the conquest of the Arab countries. Caught in the pincer movement of the two giant powers, the Kurds, politically split, had no chance of surviving as an independent entity. In 1514, the Turkish sultan inflicted a bitter defeat on the shah of Persia. Fearing that his victory, would be short-lived, he looked for ways of assuring this difficult Iranian border permanently. At this point one of his most valued advisors, the Kurdish scholar, Idrissi Bitlissi, came up with the idea of recognizing all the former rights and privileges of the Kurdish princes in exchange for a commitment from the latter to guard this border themselves and to fight at the side of the Ottomans in the case of a Persian-Ottoman conflict. The Turkish sultan Selim the 1st gives his support to the plan of his Kurdish advisor, who went to see the Kurdish princes and lords one by one to convince them that it was in the interest of the Kurds and the Ottomans to conclude this alliance.

Confronted with the choice of being annexed at some point by Persia or formally accepting the supremacy of the Ottoman sultan in exchange for a very wide autonomy, the Kurdish leaders opted for this second solution and thus Kurdistan, or more exactly its countless fiefs and principalities entered the Ottoman bosom by the path of diplomacy. Idrissi Bidlissi's mission was facilitated by the fact that he was a well-known and respected scholar and, above all, by the immense prestige of his father, the Sheikh Hussameddin who was a very influential sufi spiritual chief. Bidlissi is also the author of the first treaty of the General History of the Ottoman Empire.

This particular status was to assure Kurdistan about three centuries of peace. The Ottomans controlled some strategic garrisons on the Kurdish territory, but the rest of the country was governed by the Kurdish lords and princes. As well as a string of modest hereditary seigniories, Kurdistan totalled 17 principalities of hukumets possessing a wide autonomy. Some of them for

example those of. Ardalan, Hisn Kaif' Bohtan, and Rowanduz were endowed with attributes of independence. Despite interferences from time to time from the central power, this particular status, to the satisfaction of the Kurds and the Ottomans, functioned without any major hitch until the beginning of the XIXth century. The Ottomans, protected by the powerful Kurdish barrier against Iran, were able to concentrate their forces on other fronts.

As for the Kurds, they were virtually independent in the management of their affairs. They lived in seclusion of course and their country was split amongst a series of principalities, but in this same era Germany totalled some 350 autonomous states and Italy was much more broken up than Kurdistan. Every Kurdish court was the centre of an important literary and artistic life. And as a whole, despite the political division, this period in fact constitutes the golden age of Kurdish literary, musical, historical and philosophical creation. In 1596, prince Sheref Khan finishes his monumental "Sherefnamch or splendours of the Kurdish nation". The theological schools of Chre and Zakho are renowned in the entire muslim world, the town of Akhlat endowed with an observatory is known for its teaching of natural sciences, masters of suffism like are revered even in Istanbul for their spiritual teaching and their musical genius. Certain ambitious Kurds such as the poets Nabi, Nefi, write in Turkish to win the favour of the sultan.

With the exception of some visionary spirits like the great XVI I th century Kurdish poet, Ehmede Khani, the well-read Kurds and Kurdish princes seem to believe that their status is going to last eternally and feel no need to change it. In 1675, more than a century before the French Revolution, which spreads the idea of the nation and the state-nation in the West, the poet Khani, in his epic in verse "Mem-o-Zin", calls the Kurds to unite and create their own unified state. he'll scarcely be listened to by either the aristocracy or the population. On Islamic ground, like elsewhere at the same epoch of Christianity, the religious conscience generally prevails over the national conscience. Every prince is preoccupied by the interests of his dynasty, and family, clan or dynastic dynamics often count more than any other consideration. It wasn't rare to see the Kurdish dynasties reign over the non-Kurdish populations. In the XIth century, for example, Farsistan, a Persian province par excellence, was governed by a Kurdish dynasty; from 1242 to 1378 Khorassan an Iranian province in the North-East also had a Kurdish dynasty, and from 1747 to 1859 this was the case for distant Baluchistan, which is to day part of Pakistan. So the fact that a certain proportion of the Kurdish territory is governed by foreign dynasties oughtn't seem unacceptable to contemporary people.

The idea of the nation-state and of nationalism is an avatar of the French Revolution. It quickly found a particularly prosperous ground in two divided countries and partly subjugated Germany and Italy. It's German thinkers such as Goerres, Brentano and Grimm who laid down the postulate in accordance with which the political, geographical and linguistic borders were to coincide. They dreamt of a Germany reassembling in one state the string of its small autonomous states. Pan-Germanism in turn inspired other nationalist movements such as pan Slavism and pan-Turkism. These ideas were to find success rather later on, towards 1830, in Kurdistan where the Prince of Rowanduz, Mir Mohammed, was to fight from 1830 to 1839 in the name of his ideas for the creation fo a unified Kurdistan.

In fact, up until then, since they hadn't been threatened in their privileges, the Kurdish princes contented themselves with administrating their domain, whilst, at the same time paying homage to the distant sultan-caliph of Constantinople. As a general rule, they weren't to rise

up and attempt to create a unified Kurdistan until, at the beginning of the XIXth century, the Ottoman Empire interfered in their affairs and tried to bring an end to their autonomy.

Wars for the unification and independence of Kurdistan mark the first part of the XIXth century. In 1847, the last independent Kurdish principality, that of Bohtan, collapses. Sign of the times, the Ottoman forces, are advised and helped by European powers, in their fight against the Kurds. We notice, for example, the presence of Helmut von Moltke, at the time young captain and military advisor.

From 1847 to 1881, we observe new uprisings, under the leadership of the traditional chiefs, often religious, for the creation of a Kurdish state. This will be followed, up until the First World War, by a whole series of sporadic and regional revolts against the central government, all of which will be harshly quelled.

The causes of the failure of these movements are multiple: breaking up of authority, feudal dispersal quarrels of supremacy between the princes and the feudal Kurds and interference of the major powers at the Ottoman's side.

Having annexed the Kurdish principalities one by one, the Turkish government applied itself to integrating the Kurdish aristocracy by distributing posts and payments fairly generously and by setting up so-called tribal schools, intended to instill in the children of Kurdish lords the principal of faithfulness to the sultan. This attempt to integrate à la Louis XIV was to an extent crowned with success. But it also furthered the emergence of elite Kurdish modernists. Under their leadership a modern phase in the political movement became apparent in Constantinople whilst charitable and patriotic associations and societies multiplied, trying to introduce the notion of organization and to set up a structured movement in the Kurdish population.

It's important to specify that at the end of the XIXth century the Ottoman Empire was prey to severe nationalist convulsions, each people aspired to the creation of its own nation state. Having tried in vain to keep this conglomeration alive by the ideology of pan-Ottomanism, then of pan-Islamism, the Turkish elite themselves became pan-Turkish and militated in favour of the creation of a Turkish empire going from the Balkans to Central Asia.

Kurdish society approached the First World War divided, decapitated, without a collective plan for its future. In 1915, the Franco-British agreements known as the Sykes-Picot forecast the dismemberment of their country. However the Kurds were in conflict over the destiny of their country. Some, very open to the "pan-Islamist ideology of the sultan-caliph, saw the salvation of the Kurdish people in a status of cultural and administrative autonomy within the frame of the Ottoman Empire. Others, claiming to take inspiration from the principle of nationalities, from the ideas of the French Revolution and from President Wilson from the United States, fought for the total independence of Kurdistan.

The split became accentuated in the days following the Ottoman defeat by the Allied Powers, in 1918. The independantists formed a hurried delegation at the Conference of Versailles to present "the claims of the Kurdish nation".

Their action contributed to the taking into account by the International Community, of the Kurdish national question. The International Treaty of Sèvres, between the Allies: France,

Great Britain and the United States, and the Ottoman Empire, concluded on the 10th of August 1920, actually recommended, in section 111 (art. 62-64), the creation of a Kurdish state on part of the territory of Kurdistan. This treaty was to go unheeded, however, the balance of power on the terrain preventing its application.

For its part, the traditional wing of the Kurdish movement, which was well-established in Kurdish society and which was mainly dominated by religious leaders, tried to "avoid Christian peril in the East and West" and to create "a state of Turks and Kurds" in the muslim territories liberated from foreign occupation. The idea was generous and fraternal. An alliance was concluded with the Turkish nationalist leader, Mustafa Kemal, who came to Kurdistan to seek the help of the Kurdish leaders to liberate occupied Anatolia and the sultan-caliph, who was a virtual prisoner of the Christians. The first forces of Turkey's war of independence were in fact recruited from the Kurdish provinces.

Up until his definitive victory over the Greeks in 1922, Mustafa Kemal continued to promise the creation of a muslim state of Turks and Kurds. He was openly supported by the Soviets, and more discreetly by the French and Italians, displeased with the excessive appetites of British colonialism in the region. After the victory, the Turkish delegates were to affirm, at the peace conference at Lausanne, that they spoke in the name of the Kurdish and Turkish sister nations. On 24th July 1923, a new treaty was signed in this context between the Kemalist government of Ankara and the allied powers. It invalidated the Treaty of Sèvres and, without giving any guarantee, with regard to the respect of the Kurds' rights, gave the annexation of the major part of Kurdistan over to the new Turkish state. Beforehand, in accordance with the Franco-Turkish agreement of October 20, 1921, France had annexed the Kurdish provinces of Jazira and Kurd-Dagh to Syria, which were placed under its mandate. Iranian Kurdistan, a large part of which was controlled by the Kurdish leader Simko, lived in a state of near dissidence with regard to the Persian central government.

The fate of the Kurdish province of Mossul, very rich in petrol remained undecided. The Turks and the British claimed it, whilst its population, during a consultation organized by the Society of Nations, reached a decision, in a proportion of 718, in favour of an independent Kurdish state. Protesting that the Iraqi state wouldn't be able to survive without the agricultural and petroleum wealth of this province, Great Britain ended up obtaining the annexation of these Kurdish territories with Iraq placed under its mandate, from the League of Nations Council on December 16th, 1925. It nevertheless promised the setting up of an autonomous Kurdish government, a promise kept neither by the British, nor the Iraqi regime, which succeeded the British administration in 1932.

Thus at the end of 1925, the country of the Kurds, known since the XIIIth century by the name "Kurdistan", found itself divided between four states: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. And for the first time in its long history, it was even to be deprived of its cultural autonomy.

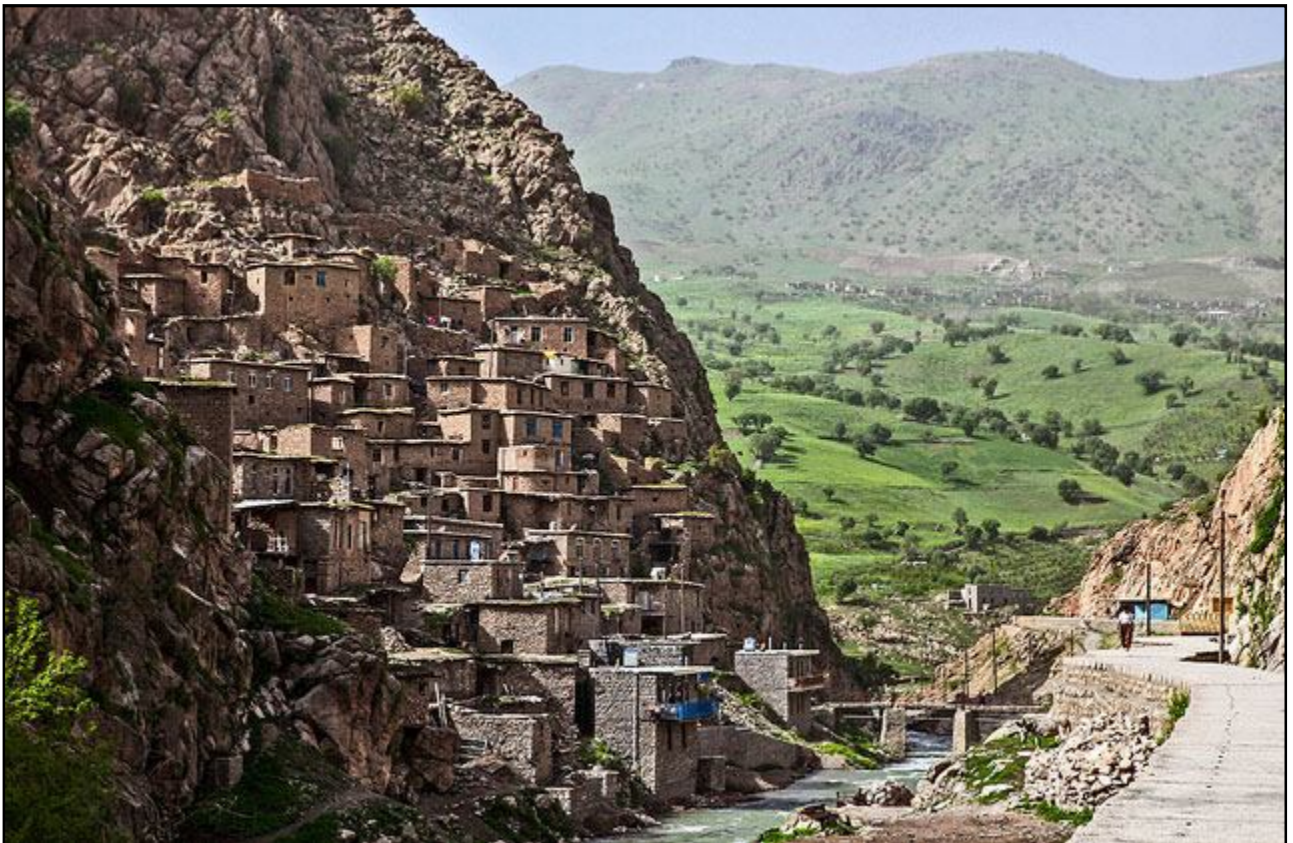
The former conquerors and empires contented themselves with certain economic, political and military advantages and privileges. None of them set about preventing the population from expressing its cultural identity or hindering the free practice of its spiritual life. None of them devised a plan to destroy the Kurdish personality or to depersonalize an entire race by cutting it off from its ancient cultural roots.

This was the project of the Turkish nationalists, who wanted to make Turkey, an eminently multicultural, multiracial and multinational society, into a uniform nation; this was later taken up again by Iraq and Iran. We can join Nehru in his surprise "that a defensive nationalism turns into an aggressive nationalism and that a struggle for freedom becomes a struggle to dominate others". Indeed, since these lines were written by Nehru from the depths of prison, the nationalist or messianic ideologies have caused other ravages under other skies, often in the name of progress, modernity, mission of civilization, even freedom. Victim of its geography, of history and also, undoubtedly of its own leaders' lack of clear-sightedness, the Kurdish people have undoubtedly been the population who have paid the heaviest tribute and who have suffered the most from the remodeling of the Near-Eastern map. To paraphrase a formula formerly used for Poland, I'll say that since the dividing up of Kurdistan, the Near-East has been a sinner against itself and this sin hasn't finished poisoning its relations.

Source :

[https://www.institutkurde.org/en/institute/who\\_are\\_the\\_kurds.php](https://www.institutkurde.org/en/institute/who_are_the_kurds.php)

#### 65. Iran (Rojhelat or Eastern Kurdistan) :



© Ninara, Flickr

The Kurdish region of Iran is a geographical area in western Iran that has been historically and is presently inhabited by a predominantly Kurdish population. This region includes parts of three Iranian provinces; the Kordestan Province, the Kermanshah Province, and the West Azerbaijan Province. These three Iranian provinces share borders with parts of Iraq and Turkey that are also inhabited by the Kurds.



The Kurdish people have inhabited the northwestern region of Iran for centuries – dating back before the Islamic conquests of the 7th century. It is believed that the Kurdish language was derived from Persian dialects in the early centuries AD, and that the Kurdish people represent a diverse range of tribal and ethnic groups from the region.

The establishment of an early Kurdish state resembling modern-day “Kurdistan” occurred when the first Kurdish dynasties emerged in the 10th-12th centuries AD. By the mid 1500’s, however, these early Kurdish principalities became caught between the rise of the Safavid and Ottoman empires and were displaced and marginalized during the ensuing wars between these two empires.

#### The Republic of Mahabad :

During the early 20th century, there was a growing sentiment of Kurdish nationalism and political activism. While Kurdish leaders were unable to secure independence after World War I, a Kurdish state was created with support from the Soviet Union in the city of Mahabad after WWII. However, the so-called Kurdish Republic of Mahabad collapsed after the Soviets pulled out of Iran.

The rule of the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran was particularly brutal for the Kurds, and Kurdish activists were active supporters of a regime change during the 1979 revolution. After the revolution, however, the new Islamic regime of Ayatollah Khomeini viewed the Kurds, with their different language and traditions as outsiders, as dangerous to the new republic. Armed conflict between the new republic and the Kurds broke out as Khomeini tried to establish governmental control in the Kurdish regions.

To this day, the relationship between the Kurds of western Iran and the Iranian government remains tense. As of 2015, the Party for Free Life in Kurdistan (PJAK) is an active political and militant organization, based on the Iraq-Iran border, that is pushing for Kurdish autonomy in the Iranian provinces of Kordestan, Kermanshah and West Azerbaijan.

#### Source :

<https://thekurdishproject.org/kurdistan-map/iranian-kurdistan/>

## 66. The fears of Iran and its forgotten Kurds :

To most Iranians, Kurds are simply a non-people. Any mention of Kurdish symbols, such as the sun logo of the Kurdish flag, or even the term "Kurd" does not appear in Iranian media. Unless of course, it pertains to some other country mistreating *their* Kurds.

This fact is indicative of the overall Iranian fear of revolt from within. Successive Iranian regimes, even more so than the governments of Iraq and Turkey, have long followed a policy of forced assimilation by forbidding the instruction of the Kurdish language in schools and following a policy of divide and rule by subdividing the Kurdish region into three governing districts.

Taking a step back, it is imperative to note that, overall, Iranians or Persians (a distinction of great importance) as Graham E. Fuller once observed, tend to think of themselves as *the center of the universe*. Such a notion may seem quaint to most Americans, who tend to associate Iran as *just another backward middle eastern country ruled by religious fanatics*. Moreover, as Fuller observed in another study, Persians overall tend to regard themselves as a people under siege by hostile forces. Rulers from the Qajars through the Pahlevis to the Islamic government of today, have conducted their foreign policies in consonance with this fundamental belief.

The present Iranian regime uses these beliefs as a solidifying factor to hold together their multicultural country, a country in which only an estimated 40 percent of the Iranian people are of the Persian ethnic group. The remaining 60 percent consists of Azeris, Kurds, Lurs, Baluchis, Arabs, and Turkoman. With varying intensity, many of these non-Persian groups feel little loyalty to the Iranian state.

While factions within Iran often strenuously emphasize the danger of the "Great Satan," the United States and the West in general, the real danger to Iran's regime, and one it acutely recognizes, is the internal threat.

### The Kurdish Divide :

The third largest population in Iran are Kurds. And they are a restive people.

Kurds in Iran suffer from the same maladies that seemingly infect the Kurdish people everywhere. Tribal and clan loyalties, political ideologies, which include a strong communist influence, and rural versus urban differences, divide them. In fact, the latter divisive factor has been one of the primary reasons for Kurdish continued subservience to the Iranian regime. Most of the fight to obtain independence or autonomy has been perpetuated by the elite and urban Kurds. Frequently Persians have exploited this difference gaining collaboration with rural tribes against their fellow urbanites. This was particularly critical in the Kurdish revolt against the Khomeini regime in 1979-80.

Iranian Kurds are also divided by communication difficulties. Turkish Kurds use the Roman alphabet, while Iranian Kurds use the Arabic script. Although the Persian alphabet is Arabic, the Persian language (Farsi) is very different from Arabic, being a non-Semitic language. The

Iranian regime has tried for decades to erase the use of the Kurdish language, not only in the public sphere but in the home as well.

A further component of disunity among the Iranian Kurds is the geographical distances that separate segments of the Kurdish community. While most live in the northwestern region of Iran, many are located hundreds of miles to the east, isolated from the struggle of their fellow Kurds. Many Kurds are also located within Azeri lands. The Azeris, a large Turkish speaking, Shi'a minority within Iran, have not exhibited any affinity for joining Kurdish attempts to establish independence from Persian Iran. Their relations to the Kurds, with whom they often live in close proximity, has never been cordial. Many Azeris have apparently assimilated into Persian society. Nevertheless, they are still viewed with suspicion by the Tehran regime.

The Kurds are by majority Sunni Muslims, as opposed to the Persian majority which is of the Shiite persuasion. The Iranian leadership is further on of a more radical version of Shi'ism. This religious difference is a lasting cornerstone in the Persian-Kurd conflict. While the Persian regime often courts Arab Sunni regimes, internally Sunnis are very limited in ability to practice their distinctive version of Islam. In fact, one reputable Arab source claims that a Sunni mosque has yet to be built in Tehran.

The Persians exploit this bitter division in Islam, portraying themselves as the champions of Shi'a Islam. They are considered so by many, if not most, Shi'a in Syria, Iraq and Lebanon. This has resulted in Arab claims (and some Western) of a Shi'a arc stretching from Iran across Iraq through Syria to Lebanon. The impact of this on Iranian Kurds is that their cause is invisible amidst all the middle eastern turmoil.

The Iranian Persian regime, which has a well oiled and well funded propaganda machine operating in Washington D.C. and in many Western capitals, maintains a great deal of influence. It can roll out a number of scholars and spokesmen who will testify to the equality and commonality of interests of all the people of Iran. This writer has sat through a number of conferences in Washington attended by many intelligence professionals who seemed impressed by the speaker, invariably blaming the problems of American-Iranian relations on a lack of American "understanding."

Many of these supporters of the Iranian regime appear to be true believers, but others are paid public relations personnel. Iranian funded scholarly centers for the study of Iran as well as Potemkin tours are available for interested journalists and students. Iranian Kurd public relations are minuscule in comparison.

Of the 30 million Kurds scattered across the region, the Iranian Kurds, 8 to 10 million of them, live in a void of isolation.

While Azeri nationalists can rely on Turkish sources to promote their cause (when beneficial to the Erdogan regime), and the Arab struggle in Khuzistan is supported by most Arab Gulf media, the Kurds of Iran have few outside advocates to promote their fight. Even the Iraqi Kurds in their quest to put space between themselves and the Iraqi government do not want to agitate their Iranian neighbor. The Barzani Kurds have had a bitter relationship with the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran (KDPI) and the Talabani Kurds have had a cozy relationship

with the Iranian government since the fall of Saddam. It is clear the Iranian Kurds have no friends.

The Iranian government propaganda machine is adroitly managed and persuasive. Yet history clearly reveals the often brutal treatment meted out to dissident activist Kurds, giving lie to Iranian government claims of a constitutionally based country of equality and fraternity.

*The Iranian Persian regime, which has a well oiled and well funded propaganda machine operating in Washington D.C. and in many Western capitals, maintains a great deal of influence.*

### A Long and Bloody Struggle :

The history of the Kurdish struggle in Iran is a long and bloody struggle that has continued for more than five hundred years. In 1639, after military defeats, Shah Abbas signed a treaty with Sultan Murad which formalized the partition of Kurdistan, the borders of which have changed little since then. For the next 500 years, Kurds have struggled to maintain independence from various Iranian regimes.

When Reza Shah came to power in 1925 he tried to create a centralized state in which minority communities were expected to assimilate into the Persian culture. Revolting against the oppression of Kurdish culture, Kurdish leader Ismail Agha (Simko) tried to establish a Kurdish state in Iran. He was invited to a conference with Iranian military leaders, and was assassinated. The assassination of Kurdish leaders became the method of choice to intimidate and weaken the Kurdish nationalist movements, especially under the Islamic government. Iranian Kurdish leaders in exile were sought out by Iranian agents and murdered.

The crucible of Iranian Kurdish history began during World War II. In what today is known as the Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran, allied armies invaded the Persian nation in 1941. The Soviet-British lead forces quickly brushed aside the weak Iranian military and unseated the Nazi-Germany sympathetic Reza Shah. A weak, but the Western-Soviet backed government was installed and the central Iranian government lost control of the Kurdistan region. This new Persian government would be lead by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

By 1943 American forces would join the Anglo-Soviet military in propping up the rule of Pahlavi. The Soviets, who had long coveted the northern part of Iran, occupied northern Iran and established strong ties with Kurdish leaders. Ironically, it was in the Kurdish city of Mahabad, occupied by neither Soviets nor Americans, that the nationalist movement gained momentum. Under their leader Qazi Mohammed, it evolved into the *Komala* movement, which later became the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP).

Soviet tanks of the 6th Division on the streets of Tibriz, Iran (August 27 – September 17, 1941).

With Soviet support, the KDP would establish a state named the Mahabad Republic on 1 January 1946. Despite an agreement that foreign armies would withdraw from Iran, the Soviets stayed on assisting the short-lived republic for about a year. When the Soviets were prevailed upon to leave by the United States, Iranian government forces overpowered the

Kurdish military. As so often happens in Kurdish history, some Kurdish tribes cooperated with the Iranian government forces. The Kurdish state collapsed and Kurdish leaders were arrested. After giving the American ambassador assurances that the Kurdish leader Qazi Mohammed would not be "shot," Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi had him hanged.

Some observers of Iranian Kurdish history opine that the Kurds, under the reign of the two Pahlevis, with their constant oppression, evolved from a linguistic entity to an ethnic entity. This then led to a nationalist enclave. Under the last Shah, there were numerous revolts and protests, all put down by the Imperial Iranian government forces. Engineered by the Shah's government, the "white revolution" – a revolution from the top to bring Iran into the modern industrial world – resulted in further impoverishment of Iran's citizens, the destruction of the lingering elements of the tribal / clan system, and generally Kurdish societal structure. The Shah completely ignored the Kurdish people and their aspirations. In his autobiography, *Mission for my Country*, he does not even mention the Kurds.

[Banners criticizing the shah, during the 1979 Iranian Revolution Source: Raphael Saulus] Western historians have generally lamented the 1953 coup d'état fomented by the CIA and the UK's MI6, which toppled the government of Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh. Mosaddegh was an opponent of foreign power intervention in Iran and assumed to be a liberal answer to the repression practised by the Shah. He had assumed power in 1951 and as his reforms began to erode the power of the Shah, instilling fear into many segments of the Iranian society, his rule became more dictatorial.

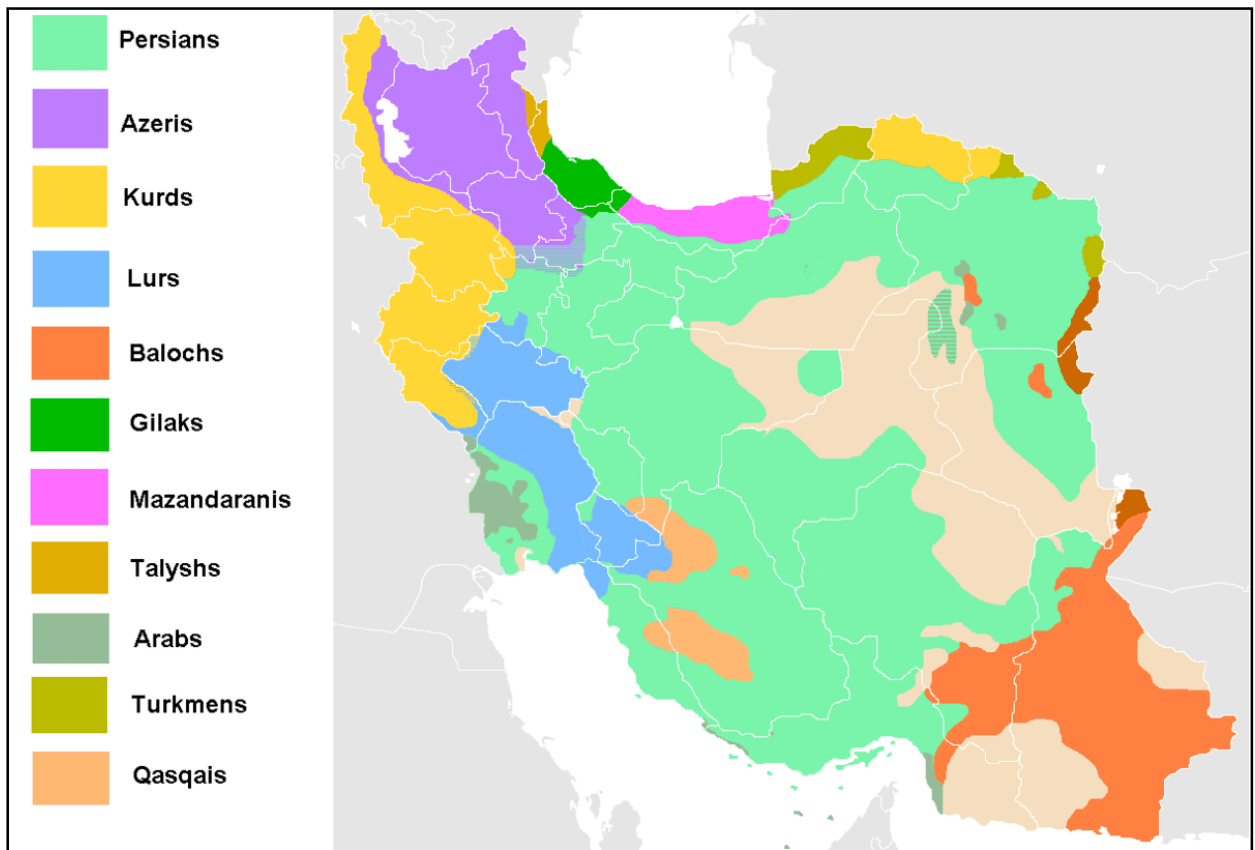
Yet, despite the liberal portrait painted by Western historians, his rule did not include any provisions for self-rule or recognition of Kurdish rights. His programs were aimed at reforms of the "Iranian peoples," with no mention of the minorities. With the resumption of the full power of the Shah in 1953, repression of the people became more severe, with the Kurds bearing the brunt of the punishment. In fact, the Kurdish areas were effectively military zones with very visible police and military elements. The agents of *Savak*, the Iranian government secret security organization, were omnipotent and omnipresent.

From 1953 till 1978, Kurdish opposition was driven underground. In fact, one of the few outlets for Kurdish aspirations was the program of the *Tudeh* (communist) party of Iran that ostensibly championed the rights of minorities. The *Tudeh* did however not support an independent Kurdistan.

Other underground organizations that attracted a few Kurds were the Mujahideen el Khalq (MEK), and the Organization of Iranian People's Fedai Guerillas. Both organizations proclaimed the need for more self-determination, but not independence.

The most important organization for the Iranian Kurds was, and still is, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran. It was originally the Kurdish Democratic Party but ideological and power-sharing issues resulted in the Iranian branch splitting from the Barzani group. Established in 1945, it has remained the major political party for promoting Iranian Kurdish aspirations, underground, until 1978. In sum, as the Iranian born Kurdish writer A. R. Ghassemlou wrote, "in the Kurd's struggle against the Shah's regime, the democratic forces of Iran were more reliable and significant than even our fellow Kurds of Iraq or Turkey."





**Ethnic map of Iran**

The long, sad history of the Kurds in Iran seemed to have entered a new and more hopeful period, when in 1978 the Islamic Revolution evicted the Pahlavi regime and seemingly offered hope for Kurdish autonomy aspirations. Supreme leader Ayatollah Khomeini promised an "Islamic" government as opposed to the Persian imperial government of the Shah.

Naively the Kurds set about creating their own government and the KDPI came out of hiding to set up a Kurdish government. However, by 1979 it dawned upon the Kurds that the imperial designs of the Iranian Islamic government had not changed. Meanwhile, in characteristic Persian fashion, the Supreme Leader launched a surprise attack on the Kurds driving them out of the cities and into the mountains. The conventional army of Iran, the Islamic Republic of Iran Army known as the ARTESH, failed to pursue and after several months the Kurds had returned to drive the Persians out of the Kurdish cities. The Persian army, crippled by massive purges and desertions of officers was in a chaotic state. ARTESH officers were also often reluctant to order their troops to fire on Kurdish protestors. Twelve were executed for failure to do so.

The Islamic Republic had, by 1979, created the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guard), an organization separate from the ARTESH, composed of officers and men devoted to the Shi'a Persian government. Like praetorian guard units all over the Middle East, they were given the best of everything. Zealous and well equipped, they were sent against the Kurds. Kurdish militias, armed only with light weapons looted from ARTESH depots, fought on bravely for months, with hundreds being killed and many other hundreds, when captured, being summarily executed. By 1981 the Kurdish rebellion had been declared crushed. In reality it sporadically continued for the next seven or eight years.



**An Iranian Kurdish woman holds a Kurdish flag as she takes part in a gathering before the Iraqi Kurdistan independence referendum, which was held on September 25, 2017. (AFP)**

Will there ever be an Iranian Kurdish referendum? :

The Kurds of Iran demonstrate the often-bloody consequences of multi-ethnic states in the Third World. In states such as Iran, in which the regime is fearful of its people, power is always ultimately in the hands of those with the weapons. That is why the "Arab Spring" failed and why the ongoing protests in Iran will lead nowhere.

In states like Iran and in most of the Arab world, a declaration similar to the Magna Carta has not taken place. In terms of a democratic tradition, such states are 800 years behind the West. Curtailing the time period to develop a democratic tradition is unlikely, as it cannot be imposed from the top and the process itself is very perishable and often unstable.

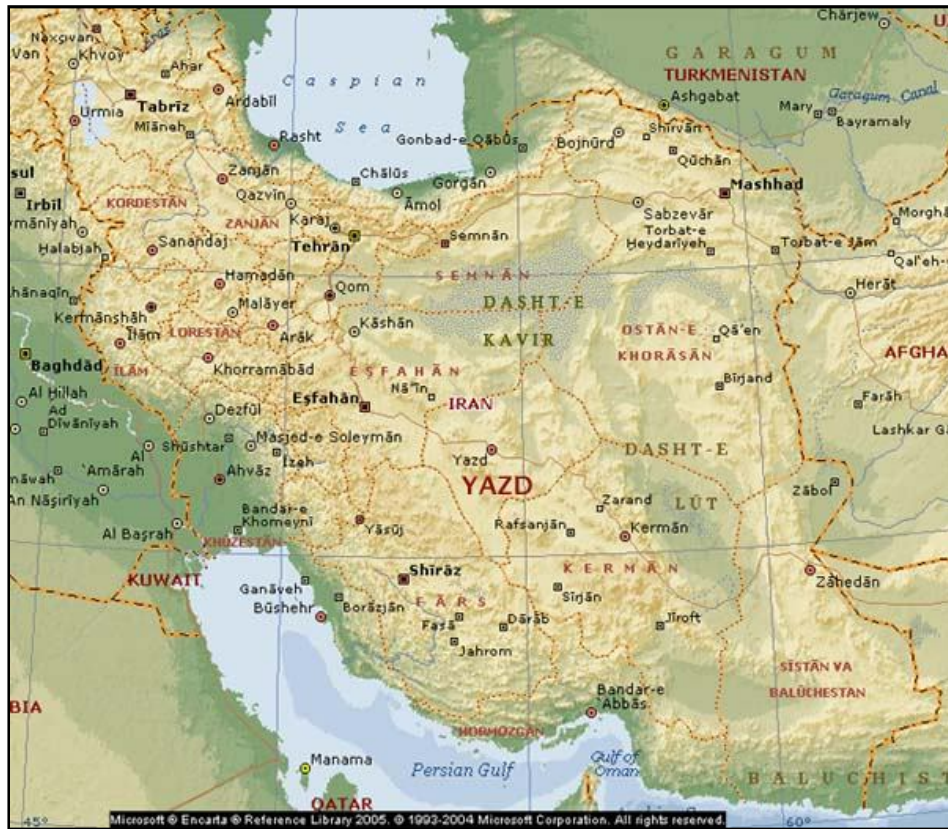
Meanwhile, the Tehran regime remains ever vigilant and fearful of the Kurds rising once again. This was manifestly evident during the 2017 Iraqi Kurd referendum. Iranian leadership placed troops on the border between Iran and Iraq and halted all flights to Erbil and Sulaimaniya. The Iranian Mullahs were fearful of the independence fever spreading to Iran.

Fortunately for the Iranian regime, the results of the referendum were virtually meaningless. A straw vote demonstrating the Kurdish fervent desire for an independent state.

Source :

<https://limacharlieneews.com/mena/fears-of-iran-forgotten-kurds/>

## 67. Yazd and Aryan :



Map of Iran showing Yazd. Base map courtesy Microsoft Encarta

### Yazd Province :

When the royal queen and princesses of the last Sassanian royal family fled before the onslaught of the invading Arab armies, they did so to the lands of Yazd. And in their footsteps would follow - over the next five hundred years - many other Zoroastrians who did not wish to subject themselves to Arab rule - from all over Iran. The lands of Yazd lie in the heart of Iran and today make up the province of Yazd.

The city of Yazd itself was an oasis in an otherwise stark but hauntingly beautiful region, a feature that describes the entire province: barren mountains, deserts and patches of verdant greenery that dot the landscape (see the banner image above).



## Ancient Habitation :



**Neolithic petroglyphs discovered near Ernan / Arnan village  
Found when excavating a karez / qanat. Displayed at Yazd Water Museum**

## Arnan Rock Art :

Eighty kilometres southwest of Yazd city, in the slate rock of the Arnan height, thirty one rock art petroglyphs (scraped or scratched rock art) figures dating to the stone ages (the Neolithic) - that is some 4,000 to 12,000 years ago - were discovered were excavating a water channel called a karez or qanat. The example shown here now resides in Yazd's Water Museum.

The rock art depicts, on three sides of a large rock, two scenes with animals being hunted by men with bows, spears and hunting dogs.

In addition to the Ernan / Arnan petroglyphs stone tools have been found in the valley beside Mount Shirkuh, and pottery shards dating to the Elamite era have been discovered found in the Narin fortress' ruins near Meybod north of Yazd.

## Yazd and Zoroastrian-Aryan History :

We do not know for certain when Yazd entered Aryan or Zoroastrian history. Like Yazd's neighbour, the province of Pars - the seat of the Persian empire - Yazd appears to have become a part of the Zoroastrian Aryan lands after the Avestan canon - the texts that included in the Zoroastrian scriptures - was closed. However, there are some who identify Yazd with the

land known in legends of the Pishdadian dynasty as 'sar-zameen Yazdan' meaning the 'headlands of the divine' or alternatively the 'abode of the angels'.

Yazd lies on the Aryan trade roads (the Silk Roads) and it very well have been under Aryan influence, if not a part of the Aryan lands, via the east - that is via Sistan and Kerman or from the north via Ragha, rather than via the west and the Persians.

Yazd city is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in Iran and is a world heritage site. Other Yazdi towns and villages also have ancient roots the legacy of which they carry in their names - names with roots such as Mehr (cf. Mehriz), Arda (Ardakan) and Mobed (Maybod).

The district of Mehriz is located south of the city of Yazd and east of Taft. Its main town, some 30 km south of Yazd city, is also known as Baghdadabad (Baghdad may mean 'gift, or given, by God' cf. bagha-dad). the name Mehriz is thought to be derived from Mehrnegar, daughter of Sassanid king Anoshirvan, and who reputedly was responsible for beautification projects around Mehriz that included the construction of karez / qanat canals to bring in water. The name Mehrnegar is in turn associated with Mehr. The name of a village near Mehriz, Khormiz, is said to be derived from Hormoz.

South of Mehriz / Baghdadabad town, in the area around the Gharbal Biz spring (which is adjacent to the village of Madvar), excavations have revealed artefacts dating to the Achaemenian period. The site was one of the first to undergo archaeological excavations in Yazd province. The excavations have uncovered what is thought to be a Mithraic temple and graveyard dating to the Parthian and Sassanid eras. Recent discoveries have unearthed pottery dating to the Achaemenid era.

Forty kilometres from Aqda village near Gav-e Khuni swamp (also called (also Gavkhooni / Gavkhaneh Lake) on the border of Yazd and Isfahan provinces, archaeologists have discovered ruins on hill which they believe were once a Sassanid era (224-651 CE) traveller's way station on the road from Yazd to Esfahan. The swamp is where Zayandeh River that flows through Isfahan province terminates. It is a haven for wild birds and has a micro environment all of its own.

#### Zoroastrianism in Yazd and Kerman :

In any event, the province of Yazd and its neighbour Kerman to the south-east became the main strongholds of Zoroastrians after the tenth century CE.

[The Arabs began their attacks on the Sassanian empire around 633 CE and the Iranian plateau in 642. The last Zoroastrian king of Iran, Yazdigerd (also spelt Yazdegerd, Yazdgerd and Yazdgird) III was murdered in 651 or 652 CE. Pars continued to be the centre of Zoroastrians in Iran until about the tenth century CE. An Abbasid official Abu Zaid al-Balkhi, quoted by Nyberg, wrote, "There is no country where the Zoroastrians are more numerous than in Fars." But that state of affairs was about to come to an end. Persecution of Zoroastrians in Pars, as well as the other powers centres of Iran such as Khorasan, increased, and groups of Zoroastrians fled to Yazd and Kerman.



Both Yazd and Kerman now became vital to the survival of Zoroastrian Aryan culture and traditions - traditions that find their home in the Zoroastrian scriptures, the Avesta - and this could not have happened by accident and without very strong ancient connections.

These pages are a tribute to the past and present Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kerman. The pages stand as testimony to their grit, perseverance and simple goodness. The Parsees of India, the Zoroastrians that had sought refuge in India after the Arab invasion, recognized this vital connection and came of the aid of the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kerman in their darkest hours of persecution, humiliation and attempts at their annihilation. These pages stand as testimony to, and a reminder of, the strong bonds and cooperation between the Zoroastrians of Iran and India - bonds maintained over a thousand years of separation.

The special role that Yazd plays in Zoroastrianism and Zoroastrian cultures are very well portrayed in the videos produced by BBC, sections of which can be viewed below.

#### Landscape & Climate :

Yazd lies atop the Iranian plateau and is bordered by the Zagros mountains on its west and great deserts to the north and east. To the south lies the similarly rugged province of Kerman. In our introduction, we had briefly described the landscape of Yazd as consisting of "barren mountains, deserts and patches of verdant greenery that dot the landscape." Many of the patches of green are made possible by the waters of melting snow brought down from the mountains in channels called kariz that stretch for kilometres.

The deserts, however are an ever-present reality and given the opportunity, the sand storms that blow across the deserts would soon swallow up any presence of human habitation.

#### Climate :

The landscape and climate of Yazd are a direct result of the quantity of rain deposited in the province which lies in the rain shadow of the mountains that surround it.

As a result, Yazd is one of the driest provinces and Yazd city, one of the driest cities, in Iran. The mean annual precipitation across the province is about 100 millimetres, while the average in the city of Yazd is about 60 millimetres(2.4 inches) - most of which falls in the winter months.

July temperatures in Yazd city frequently rise above 40°C and the average temperatures there are 39°C for a high and 23°C for a low. Given the distinct, almost 20°C, cooling in the late evening and night, social summer activity during the Yazd summer takes place in the evenings. January is the coldest month with an average high in the city of 12°C and a low of -1°C. Since, these are average number, the temperature can very well drop below -1°C.



**Oasis of date palms in the Yazd desert.  
Image credit: Thetis Travel**



**Gaz (tamarisk) trees planted to the north of Yazd to hold back the desert and storms  
Image credit: Yazd group**

## Deserts :



**The desert and mountains of Yazd. Image credit: Salar Motahari**

To the north of the province lies the great desert of the Iranian plateau, the Dasht-e Kavir, and to its east lies the other large desert of Iran, the Dasht-e Lut. The word 'dasht' means a desert. It also means any flat stretch of land with few if any trees such large fields, plains, grasslands, rolling meadows and moors. The Dasht-e Kavir is named after its salt marshes and salt flats, the kavirs, and Dasht-e Lut means the desert of emptiness.

In-between these two large deserts of Iran, the Dasht-e Kavir and Dasht-e Lut, lie the deserts of Yazd itself. Some consider these smaller Yazdi deserts as fingers of the two larger Iranian deserts. The province's deserts are:

- The Ardakan Desert which lies between the mountains of Hoosh (elevation 1,939 m.) in the south, and Siyah Kuh (black mountain, elevation 2,050 m) in the north,
- The Abar Kuh Desert, a circular desert area demarcated by two mountains adjacent to the Taqestan desert,
- The Taqestan desert,
- The Daranjir Desert to the east of Yazd and with an area over 1,500 square kilometres,
- The Herat and Merosat deserts, approximately 500 square kilometres in size,
- The Behesht-abad desert that runs between the towns of Anar and Rafsanjan from the northwest to the southeast,
- The Bahadoran desert to the southeast of the town of Mehreez and which extends in a northwest to southeast direction and,
- The Saqand, Haji-abad and Zarrin-abad deserts.

### Mountains :

Shir-kuh (milk-mountain) at an altitude of 4075 metres is the tallest mountain in Yazd. It has snow at its peak throughout the year. Shir-kuh lies south of Yazd and the neighbouring town of Taft. The environs and villages around Shir-kuh are popular as a summer retreat from the plus 40°C temperatures in Yazd city.

### Caves :

Yazd has a several well known caves (ghar) with interesting geological, stalagmite and stalactite formations. Many of the caves that Zoroastrian connection with some serving as pilgrimage site. The presence of numerous caves gives us hope that in one or more, some long lost Zoroastrian texts or other artefacts may be hidden waiting to be discovered. Among the better known are the Katarkhoon cave about 100 km south of Yazd; the Nabati cave in Nodoushan, near Badnar, west of Nasrabad and Taft; the Eshgeft-e Yazdan cave, Mobadan-e Firooz cave, the Ala cave, the Chak-Chak cave and the Islami-ye cave.

### Springs :

Some of the oasis and patches of green that dot the otherwise arid Yazdi landscape are watered by springs among which are the springs of the Gharbal Biz spring at Mehriz, the Tamehr spring in Taft, and the Masih spring in Herat.

### Silk Roads and Macro Polo :

Marco Polo, travelling the Aryan trade roads called the Silk Roads passed through Yazd in 1272 CE. He arrived in Yazd at about the time that Zoroastrians had been reduced to a minority in their ancestral lands, but who nevertheless still asserted a considerable presence. Polo described the city as good and noble, and took note that city was noted for its silk production.

"Yazd also is properly in Persia; it is a good and noble city, and has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as Yazdi, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of. When you leave this city (Yazd) to travel further, you ride for seven days over great plains, finding harbour to receive you at three places only. There are many fine woods [producing dates] upon the way, such as one can easily ride through; and in them there is great sport to be had in hunting and hawking, there being partridges and quails and abundance of other game, so that the merchants who pass that way have plenty of diversion. There are also wild asses, handsome creatures. At the end of those seven marches over the plain you come to a fine kingdom which is called Kerman." (*The Travels of Marco Polo*, by Marco Polo, translated by Henry Yule).

Two of the better known silk products are its silk carpets and a silk fabric known as a termeh, and which often employs the boteh (now in the west as paisley) motif.

### Bazaar of Yazd :

The bazaar of Yazd would have been a destination of many a trader along the Aryan trade roads (Silk Roads). We do not know what the original bazaar of Yazd look like or where it was

located. The surviving bazaar with historic roots called Qeisariyeh is located just south the old city and outside the old city's walls. Entrance is through two large wooden gates. The bazaar is divided into sections specific to a particular trade some of which house the workshops of artisans. The bazaar closes down during the hot afternoon hours and reopens in the late afternoon. The busy hours are the evening hours.

#### City of Yazd :



**Sand coloured Yazd skyline with mountains in the background. Image credit: various**

Yazd city, the capital of Yazd province, is a modest sized city with a population of about 400,000 people.

Yazd city was originally an oasis at the crossroads of the the Aryan trade roads, and one that became renowned as the centre for the regions silk and wool fabrics. The city sits atop the Iranian plateau at between 1203 and 1238 metres above sea-level.

Sand storms regularly blow from the north through the city. Their approach is heralded by the sky turning a dark red or yellow and by the time the storms recede, they deposit sand up to a finger length deep. To hold back the encroaching desert, the people of Yazd have planted thousands of tamarisk / gaz trees around the city to its north. Gaz or tamarisk was at one time the main constituent of the barsom bundles used in Zoroastrian worship. Tamarisk is a hardy tree and can survive long periods of drought. The tree and its resilience are a fitting metaphor for the Zoroastrian Yazdis and the barsom bundle made up of thin supple branches is strong and unbreakable when united as a bundle.

#### Names of Yazd City :

The word Yazd is related to the Avestan word Izad meaning divine. We are told that the Greeks knew the city of Yazd as *Isatis*, a city constructed on top an older city called *Katteh* or *Kaseh*. We are further told that after the Arab invasion of Iran, the city was known for a while as *Darol'ebadeh*.



The city of Yazd has been nicknamed as the *Crossroads of Iran*, the *Bride of the Desert*, the *Pearl of the Desert*, the *City of Badgirs* meaning the *City of Wind-Catchers*.

City Walls :



**A less well preserved section of the city walls. Image credit: Archnet Digital Library**

The Shahr-e Koneh or old city of Yazd was surrounded by protective fortification walls. Jalal'e al'e Ahmad lamented in his travelogue *Yazd dar safarnameha* that unregulated development has done more harm to the old city of Yazd than previous conquerers. To accommodate the building of the new city, the Shahr-e Now, large portions of the city walls were demolished in the Pahlavi and present day Republican periods, to accommodate urban growth and expanding traffic routes. Today, sections of the surviving walls show eroded crenels (the openings in battlements or the rectangular openings) on the top of the ramparts. There is also deterioration and erosion of the lower base of the walls caused by water seepage and human activity.

As bad as this senseless expedient destruction has been, the destruction of historical buildings and construction work in other part of the country has been far worse and the surviving walls of Yazd city are still among the finest expressions of a vital tradition of military architecture in Central Iran.



**A portion of the city walls of Yazd. Image credit: Jenny Brophy at Flickr**

Yazd has been a fortified city since at least the Sassanian period (c. 200 - 649 CE). The walls were built largely of mud brick and a mud-straw mixture reinforced with timber, had iron gates known as Kathah. The walls had protected crenels with arrow slits provided defensive positions while series of sluices allowed invaders to be discouraged by boiling oil or burning pitch. The walls were double layered with a high protective external curtain supported by a lower inner wall. The hollow space sandwiched between accommodated tiered firing galleries that allowed different firing angles and range for defending armies. This method of construction is very similar to the construction of fortresses in Khvarizem.

Today only sections of the old city walls - built in 1033 CE by Ala ud Daulah Kakoui of the Kakoui dynasty, with additions in 1346 CE and later in the 1390s - can be seen standing. The siege and occupation of Yazd by Timur in 1393 CE brought about the single largest rebuilding of the city walls that have survived. He had entire portions of the city's southern wall to be replaced, strengthened and extended with new barbicans. Contrary to his reputation as a pillager and destroyer, Timur is said to have exempted Yazd from taxes. He also ordered the undertaking of a large urban building program.

Source :

<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/yazd/index.htm>

## 68. Yazd pilgrimage sites :

### Zoroastrian Pilgrimage :

A pilgrimage is a journey made for religious reasons. There are various sites in Iran and India that are destinations for Zoroastrians making a journey for various religious related reasons. These range from the desire to visit a site considered to be particularly holy and auspicious, to the remembrance of a deceased individual, to celebrating a jashne or gahanbar / gahambar festival, to fulfilling a custom such as a newly wed couple visiting a shrine, or the desire to be part of a tradition.

In India, a pilgrimage destination is the cathedral fire temple that houses the Iranshah Atash Behram, is located in the small town of Udvada in the west coast province of Gujarat.

In Iran, there are several pilgrimage sites or destinations called pirs in several provinces, though the most familiar ones are in the province of Yazd. In addition to the traditional Yazdi shrines, new sites may be in the process of becoming pilgrimage destinations. The ruins are the ruins of ancient fire temples. One such site is the ruin of the Sassanian era Azargoshasb Fire Temple in Iran's Azarbaijan Province. Other sites are the ruins of (fire temples?) at Rey, south of the capital Tehran, and the Firouzabad ruins sixty kilometres south of Shiraz in the province of Pars.

In general, historical sites that have some connection to the Zoroastrian religions and legendary fire temples are pilgrimage destination candidates, and only time will tell if they become destination sites. To become established as a true place of pilgrimage, the site will need an infrastructure to enable and support the pilgrim's visit, the principle elements being travel, boarding and lodging facilities.

A quasi-pilgrimage Iranian site popular with tourists, if not pilgrims, is the 4,500 year old cypress (Persian, sarv) tree in Abarkuh (also spelt Abarqu, Abarku, Abarkouh and Abarkooh), on the border between the Iranian provinces of Pars and Yazd. More and more, Iranians in general are taking to calling the tree sacred, perhaps because the tree has seen so much history pass by, perhaps because it is a symbol of longevity and steadfastness and perhaps because the cypress is so closely connected with the legends surrounding Zarathushtra and the establishing of the Zoroastrian faith - the taking root of Zoroastrianism if you will.

## Yazd Pilgrimage Sites - Pirs :



Map of Yazd Zoroastrian sites. Base map courtesy Microsoft Encarta. Additions copyright K. E. Eduljee

**Maroon: Pilgrimage sites**

**Green: Zoroastrian neighbourhoods, villages and landmarks**

**Black: Principal towns and cities**

Many Yazdi pilgrimage sites bear the suffix 'pir' meaning old or aged. Pir is likely short for 'pirangah' meaning an old place. The name also carries the connotation of age old wisdom, wisdom that comes with age and wisdom carried by these age-old sites.

There are sites nestled in the mountains and urban sites as well. In days before the coming of metalled roads and vehicles, the sites in the mountains would have been considered remote, even secretive. Fifth century BCE Greek historian Herodotus, wrote in his Histories, "It is not their (Persian) custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars but they offer sacrifices on the highest peaks of the mountains." Even those urban sites that are located underground below a non-descript house, seem to follow this hidden or secretive tradition. For instance, Pir-e Ma-Siti located in a northeast Yazd city suburb, is situated below ground in a cave-like setting. The mountain sites have (or had) an associated spring or source of water. The urban sites have a well. The articles that are worship focus points and few.

According to Parviz Varjavand in an article at fravahr.org there are around sixty pir sites around Yazd in various states of repair or disrepair because of vandalism. These include Pir-e Shah Morad, Pir-e Shah Fereydoun, Pir-e Shah Mehr Izad, Pir-e Shah Ashtad Izad, and Pir-e Shah Tistar Izad. Pir-e Morad is situated near Qasemabad.

From amongst the numerous Yazdi pilgrimage sites, there are six major pirs.

The Six Pirs and Pilgrimage Calendar :

	<b>Pilgrimage Days</b>		
<b>Pilgrimage Site</b>	<b>Gregorian Calendar</b>	<b>Zoroastrian Calendar</b>	<b>Site Dedication</b>
Pir-e Herisht	March 27-31	Mah Farvardin. Ruz Amordad-Khorsheed	Royal Maid Morvarid
Pir-e (Mah) Seti	June 14	Mah Khordad. Ruz Ashtad	Queen, Shahbanu Hastbadan
Pir-e Sabz (Chak-Chak)	June 14-18	Mah Khordad. Ruz Ashtad-Mahraspand	Princess Nikbanu
Pir-e Narestaneh	June 23-27	Mah Tir. Ruz Aspandmard-Adar	Prince Ardeshir
Pir-e Banu	July 4-8	Mah Tir. Ruz Meher-Bahram	Princess Banu Pars
Pir-e Naraki	August 3-7	Mah Amordad. Ruz Meher-Bahram	Nazbanu, governor's daughter

While most of the pilgrimage sites are accessible throughout the year - weather permitting and subject to local variations - certain days of the year are set aside by local residents as special visit days for each site and have effectively constitute a pilgrimage calendar. These days are noted in the table to the right. Some pilgrims make the trip to the sites a day trip while others will stay at the sites between the days noted in the calendar. During the appointed days, the pilgrims often engage in feasting, music and dancing.

Age of the Pirs :

Some of the structures at Seti Pir are thought to date back at least to the start of the Sassanian era (c. 224-649 CE) and possibly earlier. Another pir, the Pir-e Blashgerd is thought to date back to the reign of one of the three Parthian kings named Balash or Volakhsh (51-147 CE) (Varjavand at fravahar.org).

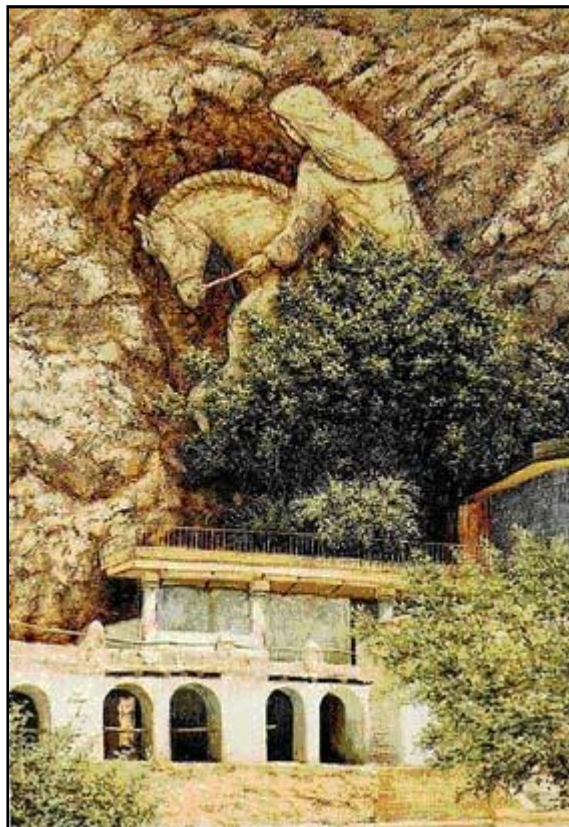
Responsibility for the Pirs :

While the residents of the various Yazdi Zoroastrian dehs, villages or neighbourhoods, visit all six major pirs, the responsibility of their maintenance as well as the organization of festivals held at each pirs, is the responsibility of a specific village anjuman (community council). For instance the anjoman of Sharifabad, the oldest of the Zoroastrian villages, is responsible for Pir-e Sabz, one of the better known and most frequented pirs, and Pir-e Herisht as well.

The khadem, that is the guardian or keeper of the fire temple at Sharifabad is also the khadem of Pir-e Sabz and Pir-e Herisht.



Associated Legends :



**Stylized representation of a fleeing royal  
Image credit: Bijan 1351 at Flickr**

The legends surrounding the significance of the pirs are invariably associated with the Arab invasion of Iran in 636 CE. The last Zoroastrian Iranian king was the hastily installed young prince Yazdegird III (reign 633-649 CE). Arab Muslim rule of Iran commenced with the defeat Yazdegird's armies by the Arabs in 649 CE.

The women of the royal family fled before the advancing Arab army towards Khorasan. They were determined to avoid capture for that would mean a fate worse than death. If captured, they would either be forced to 'marry', that is become a sex slave of an Arab leader, or they would be humiliated, tortured and put to death, or be made to suffer both indignities. In addition, the royals wanted to keep their Persian-Aryan blood lines free of Arab contamination.

The queen, two princesses and their ladies-in-waiting, fled to Khorasan via Yazd, but they were pursued relentlessly. They had reached Yazd by the time the pursuing hordes closed in on them. There, in an effort to evade their pursuers, they decided to split up. However, the strategy bought them only temporary relief. Eventually, they were trapped in their respective hideouts and they chose death over capture.

In fleeing and seeking to hide, the royals carried the hope that one day Iran would be freed from the vestiges of the Arab conquest, and that the ancient Iranian-Aryan civilization could be restored to the land. This sentiment is embedded in the Atash Bahrams, the ever-burning victory fires that have been kept burning by Zoroastrians ever since. The Atash Bahram housed in a temple in Udvada, India, is called Iranshah or the King of Iran, the king in waiting.



In building a fire for religious ceremonies, six pieces of wood are placed on top of the fire urn in the shape of a throne.

In all cases, the members of the royal entourage were on the verge of capture when they either chose death (for instance by leaping into a well) or were taken in to the womb of mother earth. In the cases where the rock opened by create a portal for entry, this often happened in full sight of the Arab pursuers who were frozen in astonishment. The portals closed before the Arabs could gather their wits. The sites where the royals left this existence are today's pilgrimage sites, the pirs, to which Zoroastrians journey and offer prayers in remembrance.

However, some legends state that the sites where the royals disappeared into the womb of the earth were not originally known to the people. They were discovered through visionary dreams in which the spirit of an aged and saintly person, a pir, appeared, informing or guiding the recipient of the vision about the sites. The recipients of the visions were invariably people in need. Other sites were found by shepherds who also received these visions.

On the spiritual plane, the pirs are invariably associated with the veneration of the arch-angel of the earth and the guardian of the rights of women, Spenta Armaiti - Spendarmard or Esfand in the modern vernacular. Associated as well is the angel Anahita, guardian of the waters. The two angels would have been the protectors of the royal women, including all women in need, as well.

#### Stories of Hidden Treasure & Vandalism :

Rumour has it that the fleeing royals carried their most valuable jewellery with them. If the rumours were true, then the jewels could be hidden at the pirs or somewhere close by. The quest to find the jewels, treasures that would fetch great wealth, has led to the pirs being repeatedly vandalized. Or perhaps some loyal subjects who gave the royals sanctuary, have the jewels in safe keeping, waiting to return them to their rightful heirs.

There are sixty or so pirs in the province of Yazd are raided periodically by vandals who dig up the structures on the site looking for buried artefacts and treasure (Varjavand at fravahar.org). Rumours of large treasures of gold hidden at the pirs motivate these destructive and senseless vandals. Unfortunately, the rumours are fuelled by reports of the discovery of royal gold articles, articles that were melted down to destroy any evidence of their origin. Varjavand adds, "One only can shrug with pain at what treasures of art and culture have been lost thus due to ignorance."

#### Source :

<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/worship/pilgrimage.htm>

## 69. Yazd Zoroastrian schools :

Maneckji Limji Hataria's Vision for Iranian Zoroastrians :



**Maneckji Limji Hataria (1813-1890 CE)**

Also see :

- Society for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Zoroastrians in Persia.
- Maneckji Limji Hataria (1813-1890 CE).
- Maneckji Hataria's role in the reconstruction of Yazd's temples and towers of silence.

Education the Key to Advancement :

Maneckji Limji Hataria (1813-1890 CE), was the representative of the Society for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Zoroastrians in Persia, a Bombay-based charitable society set up by the Parsees of India. Hataria was appointed to this position soon after the society's formation in 1854 CE. He set about his work immediately and since since the majority of Iranian Zoroastrians lived in the province of Yazd, he made Yazd his destination and arrived there on March 31, 1854. He was 41 years of age at that time. Upon arriving in Yazd, his first task was to determine the nature of the conditions in which the Zoroastrians of Iran were living and how best he could be of assistance using the funds at his disposal as well as his wits.

In trying to gauge how best to deploy the Society's funds over which he had discretion, Hataria recognized that while funds were needed to alleviate the immediate problems faced by Zoroastrians in Iran, the long-term needs of these Zoroastrians would best be served by providing them with a sound and relevant education - an education that would place them well in developing a dignified and prosperous future.

Within a year of his arrival in Yazd, Maneckji working through the community's akabir or elders, employed the funds to start - much to the chagrin and consternation of the local Muslims - primary schools based on the Parsi education model which by that time had become an amalgam of western and Parsi systems. Soon, schools had been started in Yazd and Kermans cities and villages. Hataria was determined to provide Zoroastrian youth with an education that would not just be as good as, but superior, to the education provided to the Muslim majority.

In 1865, he opened a small boarding school in Tehran, since he felt there was less prejudice against Zoroastrians in the Iranian capital. If obstacles from outside were not bad enough, Hataria faced resistance from parents who were understandably reluctant to send their children to Tehran. As an inducement, Hataria gave the families financial incentives. Worse still, some Zoroastrians were even jealous of him and campaigned against his efforts. He prevailed and the school was established. It became a focal point of a fledgling Zoroastrian community of Yazdis and Kermanis in Tehran.

#### Hataria's Report Regarding Yazd's Education Needs :

In his report to the society, Maneckji wrote :

"Dear Sir; This noble group (the Zoroastrians of Iran) has suffered in the hands of cruel and evil people so much that they are totally alien to knowledge and science. For them even black and white and good and evil are equal. Their men have been forcefully doing menial works in the construction and as slaves receive no payment. As some evil and immoral men have been looking after their women and daughters, this sector of Zoroastrian community even during daytime stays indoors. Despite all the poverty, heavy taxes under the pretexts of land, space, pasture land; inheritance and religious tax (Jizya) are imposed on them. The local rulers have been cruel to them and have plundered their possessions. They have forced the men to do the menial construction work for them. Vagrants have kidnapped their women and daughters. Worse than all, community is disunited. Their only hope is the advent of future saviour (Shah Bahram Varjavand). Because of extreme misery, belief in the saviour is so strong that 35 years earlier when an astrologer forecasted the birth of the saviour, many men in his search left the town and were lost in the desert and never returned. I found the Zoroastrians to be exhausted and trampled, so much that even no one in the world can be more miserable than them."

In his book, *Travels in Iran, A Parsi Mission to Iran* (1865) at Fravahr.org, Hataria wrote (while Hataria often frames his recommendations in the third person, we can safely assume many of the recommendations he notes were his own):

#### Zoroastrian Suffering :

"The inhabitants of Kerman and Yazd are mostly Zoroastrians they have suffered much at the hands of the Arabs and Muslims. Their population appears to be dwindling. When the Arabs got their sway over Iran, the Zoroastrians were slaughtered mercilessly, their houses were burnt down and they were robbed of their valuables and other belongings. Rape, arson, fire, house-breaking and all other possible crimes were perpetrated by the Muslims. There was unspeakable cruelty. One can well imagine their sorry plight yet we have been able to preserve our ancient religion of Zoroaster and the Muslims have not been able to prevail upon us.

"Hardly two to three percent of the Zoroastrians of Iran are in a somewhat better state than the rest. A majority live in misery and poverty in mountain caves and forests for fear of Arab tyranny and having known only broken Dari language they were unable to carry on trade and communication with people of other parts of Iran. Most of them were farmers and it was not difficult to realize their sorry plight as they worked in the winter without sufficient clothes."

#### State of Zoroastrian Education :

"After the Arab occupation, education had suffered. The Arabs were semi-barbaric tribes who had no culture of their own and did not know the value of education. Old madressas, teaching Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian, were destroyed by the invaders. Consequently the Zoroastrians who remained in Iran had no scope for education; their children could not learn Avesta or Pahlavi and Persian languages and consequently their religious knowledge was wanting. They were forced to learn Arabic instead.

"Consequently, the Zoroastrian children of Iran remained uncultured and uneducated and being uneducated they became aggressive. It is, therefore, necessary to provide some education - I mean useful education - to the children. Languages like Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian need to be revived.

"For want of education, many evil customs entered into the community. Zoroastrians were forced to embrace Islam, girls were forced to marry Arabs and Muslims and so on. Many Zarthushti girls remained unmarried through life either due to poverty or some other reasons. Zoroastrians took to vices and led an evil life in keeping with the customs of the wild Arabs.

Even in India today, it is quite necessary for Zoroastrian children to learn Persian and Avesta in order to acquire perfect knowledge of religion. It is foolish to abandon our own language (Persian) and culture and adopt those of others.

"Some provision must be made to provide suitable education to the remaining Zoroastrians of Iran: they must be taught some art so that they can come out of their captivity and earn a decent living for the betterment of their families."

#### Benefits of Education - the Russian Experience :

"Let us take the example of Russia. There were no schools in Russia in the past yet education was imparted to the children in different ways and young men were prepared for army, navy, technology, theology, etc. Later they found that they could get efficient men for certain jobs. Then schools were started and Russia took a great stride in education. In other countries of the West, all over the continent of Europe, very useful and job disposed persons and it was found that they were really educated and useful members of the community. When schools were established in Russia, it was found that not a child in the whole country remained illiterate. Education was sound and useful. Everyone learnt a means of livelihood and there was no unemployment. Iran wanted to follow the example of Russia. It was strongly recommended to start a boarding school in Iran for the benefit of the Zoroastrian children. Scholars of the western countries were also consulted in this matter and they all approved the idea."

#### Tehran Boarding School :

"There a recommendation has been made to start a boarding school in Tehran for Zoroastrian children residing in Tehran, Yazd and Kerman. This was supposed to be the only way to inculcate Zoroastrian children in religious matters. A study of Avesta and religious rituals was also recommended so that the Zoroastrian children may not be attracted towards Islam but would follow with zeal the religion taught to us by our prophet.

"A building was donated by a Zoroastrian of Tehran to house the proposed boarding school. On October 30, 1860, a petition was sent to the Parsi Anjuman of Bombay wherein the proposal for a boarding school in Tehran was put. The petition dated October 7, 1860, written and signed by the donor of the above-said building, runs :

" 'I declare that I am a Zoroastrian inhabitant of Tehran and the house that I propose to donate for housing the proposed orphanage has been purchased by me from a Muslim lady Imam Murteja for 1,000 tomans. I donate this building and the ground on which it stands to the orphanage with my own free will and accord, under the following conditions :

" 'Myself and my son and successor will live in this house so long as it is not used for the orphanage and we will pay three tomans per month to the Parsi Anjuman.

"As there has been a need for starting a Zoroastrian boarding school in Tehran, the same building can be used for that purpose and the organizers/owners of the said orphanage should pay to the Parsi Anjuman a rental of three tomans per month, which amount would be used by the Anjuman for the maintenance of the orphanage.

" 'So long as the house is not used for the orphanage, it could be used by Zoroastrians even as a godown for storing food grains and the utilisers must pay to the Anjuman a rental of three tomans per month.

" 'I have been using this house at present but in my will I shall direct that the whole property together with the plot of land be handed over to the Anjuman after my life-time. And if the house is rented, the rental should be 150 tomans per annum.'

"The author visited Baghdad for some urgent work and from there he sent a copy of the above document to Bombay to Seth Merwanji Framji Panday. Seth Merwanji Panday forwarded the same immediately to Seth Cowasjee Jehangir Readymoney, but unfortunately Seth Readymoney did not pay heed to it and the orphanage did not materialize for some time.

"The author (Hataria) came back to Bombay and on March 1, 1864 he contacted the people concerned including Seth Cowasjee Jehangir. He expressed his great desire to set up an orphanage at Tehran and appealed to the philanthropists here for necessary help and donations. It was not possible for him to go to Iran immediately; so the matter was prolonged.

"On November 16, 1864, a meeting was held in Bombay by the Parsis to finalize the venue and other details about the boarding school to be established in Iran. They had to decide where the school should be set up, what subjects to be taught, how to impart religious education, etc.

"The necessary fund was created by the Parsis of Bombay for the purpose of improving the conditions of the Zoroastrians in Iran wherein the greatest contribution was made by Seth Maneck Noshirwanji Petit. Then Seth Bomanji Framji Cama donated Rs. 5,000 in sacred

memory of his late daughter. This amount was specifically to be used for the construction of the proposed orphanage. The work was started and was carried on with zeal and enthusiasm.

"Considering all this, it was decided to start a boarding school so that the Zoroastrian children of Kerman, Yazd, Tehran and other provinces of Iran could live together and learn their own scriptures. Thirty-six Zoroastrian orphans were collected from different villages in Iran. Some of them were nourished and education was given to them by charitably.

"A boarding school was established in the capital city of Tehran and Zoroastrian children between the ages of 10 and 15 were admitted from neighbouring towns and villages. The timetable of the school functioned as under:

" 'Of the 24 hours of the day, nine hours were kept for sleep. Of the remaining 15 hours, specified times was allotted to various activities, including education, religious instruction, gymnastics, rest, games, etc.

" 'After getting up early in the morning, boys were required to take a bath and then say their prayers. Then there was time 'we must weep over this Anjuman which does not listen to our complaint' enough for breakfast and tea. The regular work of the school starts afterwards. Books printed in Persian only are used; and Persian is the medium of instruction. Boys are taught to put into practice what they learn in books. Much attention is paid to handwriting. There is fixed time in the evening for games and recreation so that boys can become fresh after the whole day's work.

" 'There are special classes for science and mathematics. Besides, boys are taught arts and crafts like carpentry, smithy, cane work, masonry, mechanics, etc. The aptitudes of the students are found out by special tests and boys are given training to develop their abilities so that they can become useful citizens and stand on their own feet. The education imparted in the school is job-oriented.

" 'Every month, Hormuzd roz, Khorshed roz and Ram roz are days when the regular timetable does not apply. Instead, the boys do work like washing, cleaning, ironing clothes, etc.

" 'A register showing the record of work of each student is maintained.' "

The Tehran boarding school was opened in **1865** and was to be the forerunner of other Zoroastrian residential schools and orphanages supported by the Parsi Zoroastrians of India, one such being the Pestonji Marker schools and orphanages of Yazd.

#### First Yazd Girls' School :

The educational of girls was not permitted by the Muslim clergy of Iran and it was against this current that Arbab Kay Khosrow Shah-Jahan built and opened on January 8 1909, one of Iran's first girls' schools, the Zoroastrian girl's school in Yazd. We also understand that around the same time, Sohrab Kayanian, head of Yazd's Zoroastrian Anjuman, was also involved with the establishment of a girls' school in Yazd, and we have yet to confirm if this was the same as Kay Khosrow Shah-Jahan's school or a second school.





**Pestonji (Peshotan) Marker**

The Yazd schools and orphanages of Markarabad were founded and funded by Pestonji Dossabhai Marker.

A quiet, self-effacing man, Pestonji Marker was born in India in 1871 and educated at Bombay's Elphinstone College. He started his career working in a solicitor's office and soon started his own business. His life's work however, would be determined not by his career but by his community service in general and community education in particular. He put the income of his business to establish a school in the Parsi Gujerati village of Vesu. In addition, he financed the upkeep of wells and water storage tanks. He also provided funds for a medical clinician to attend to the community's health needs.

Pestonji also became interested in the work of Maneckji Hataria and the deplorable plight of the persecuted Zoroastrians of Irani. Gathering further information, he realized that the situation there needed extraordinary intervention. Marker shared Hataria's opinion that providing a sound and practical education was the best hope for alleviating the plight of the Iranian Zoroastrians, and he decided to establish two funds for the establishment of Zoroastrian boys' and girls' schools and attached orphanages in Yazd. In April 23, 1923, Marker established the fund for a boy's orphanage with a personal contribution Rs. 50,000. Six other Parsees added an additional Rs.34,500 to the fund. On June 1, 1929, he established the fund for a girl's orphanage with a contribution of Rs. 100,000. The schools would be high schools and would include religious classes as well as skills training in crafts. While we in this page, will pay particular interest to his educational charities, Parker's other philanthropies included religious scholarships, religious texts, Darbe Mehrs, hospitals and clinic.

Pestonji Marker made several trips to Iran to put his plan of the construction of the schools and orphanages into action. He also took the time to visit landmarks of particular interest to Zoroastrians. One such landmark was Persepolis, where he conducted a jashan ceremony.

Marker was well loved by the Zoroastrians of Iran and held him in the highest regard. When the local Zoroastrian populations of Yazd, Isfahan, Kerman and heard he would be visiting them, they would send welcome parties to greet him miles out of town and then escort him back. On one instance, the students of the Yazd orphanage set out to meet him seventy

kilometres from Yazd. There they garlanded him and escorted him for a tour of the city in a manner befitting visiting royalty. was taken around the city in a huge procession. On several occasions he was received by Ardeshir Edulji Reporter, a fellow Parsi.

Indeed, the government of Reza Shah recognized his extraordinary community service with the insignias of the Neshan-e Elmi and Neshan-e Sepas in 1949. Later, on his return to Bombay, he received the Neshan-e Humayun. In the centre of Yazd, outside the Markarabad High School, the municipal government constructed a large traffic circle with a garden and clock dedicated to Marker.

While Marker was setting up his schools and orphanages, he befriended Arbab Kai Khosrow Shahrokh, then the first Zoroastrian Member of Parliament, the Majlis. Marker also got to know Mirza Soroush Lohrasp, then principal of the Dinyari High School in Yazd. Together, the three would work without respite to realize the Marker's vision. We introduce Kai Khosrow Shahrokh and Soroush Lohrasp to the reader below.

Kai Khosrow Shahrokh :



**Kai Khosrow Shahrokh**

Kai Khosrow Shahrokh was the first Zoroastrian deputy to the Iranian parliament, or Majlis, established in 1906 CE, a position he held for thirteen sessions of the Majlis. In his childhood, Shahrokh, born to a Kermani family, had been sent by Maneckji Hataria to school in Bombay.

There he was deeply impressed by the advancements made by the Parsees in matters of religion, education, governance, and commerce. He resolved on his return, to strive for improvement in the standing and quality of life for Zoroastrians of Iran. [Note: Kai Khosrow is also spelt Kaikhosrow and Kaykhosrow]

Shahrokh was particularly impressed by the Zarthosti Fasli (Fasli) Sal Mandal, or the Zoroastrian Seasonal-Year Society, founded by a Bombay priest, Khurshedji Cama. The Mandal was constituted to develop a corrected Zoroastrian calendar based on traditional precepts. He convinced Sohrab Kayanian of Yazd and Soroush Soroushian, head of Kerman's Zoroastrian Anjuman (Society), to promote the Fasli calendar in Iran. Working together, they had the Zoroastrian community in Iran adopted the new calendar in 1939, calling it the Bastani (traditional) calendar. Orthodox Iranian Zoroastrians continued to observe the Qadimi (old) calendar and they do till this day.

Upon his return, Shahrokh wrote two books, *Ayin-e Mazdesnan* and *Furugh-e Mazdesnan* which reflected progressive ideas on Zoroastrianism that he had acquired while in India.

Kai Khosrow Shahrokh was instrumental in the appointment of Mirza Soroush Lohrasp as principal of the Dinyari High School in Yazd. Mirza Soroush would soon become the foremost Zoroastrian educator of his time.

Mirza Soroush Lohrasp (1906-1997 CE) :



**Mirza Soroush Lohrasp**

Mirza Soroush Lohrasp was an educator and administrator and was responsible in large part for enabling the education goals of Maneckji Limji Hataria and Pestonji Marker reaching fruition in Yazd, Iran. The title Mirza is given to senior educators.

Mirza Soroush Lohrasp (sometimes spelt Sarosh Lohrasb) was born to Tirandaz and Gouhar in 1906 CE (1274 YZ), who had their home in Tehran's Jamshidabad district. Mirza Soroush pursued his education at Tehran's Alborz College.

While we do not have a date, we assume that sometime in the 1920 or 30s, the Soroush Lohrasp was asked, on the recommendation of Arbab Kaikhusraw Shahrokh, the then Zoroastrian Member of Iranian Parliament, to become principal of the Dinyari High School in Yazd on the retirement of the incumbent. [The two previous principals had been Mirza Sohrab Safrang and Mirza Kaikhusrau Kiamanesh.] Mirza Soroush moved from Tehran to Yazd to assume his duties and what was to become an illustrious career that would span some thirty momentous years.

It wasn't long before Mirza Soroush came to the attention of Pestonji Marker who was then seeking to start his orphanages and boarding (high) schools in Yazd. Impressed with Mirza Soroush's leadership skills, Marker asked Mirza Soroush to become director of his project as well as the fourteen Zoroastrian schools that had been established in Yazd by Parsi / Indian Zoroastrian charities and the efforts of Maneckji Hataria. With the energy, dedication and insight and that Mirza Soroush brought to his position, he became far more than an administrator of schools. He became a community leader and sociologist as well.

[Mirza Soroush's successor as principal of the Dinyari School was Mirza Shahriyar.]

This author had the privilege of knowing Mirza Soroush, and had on occasion accompanied the latter when he visited some of his former students in Tehran, students who by that time held senior positions in commerce and government, becoming community leaders in their own right. It was at that time that this author also had the privilege of meeting Parvin, nee Aga (of

Bombay), Mirza Soroush's gracious and noble wife. If angels live amongst us, Parvin and Soroush Lohrasp surely qualify.

With his position as director came the authority over the donated funds. Under Mirza Soroush's stewardship, the funds did not get depleted in expenses. Rather, they grew through judicious investments primarily in land. Today, the large property of the Markerabad schools is one of the most prized pieces of property in the heart of Yazd.

We understand that some of the lands were appropriated by the municipal government of Yazd, who gave as compensation a large tract of land on the eastern perimeter of the city - lands that are now called the Markerabad Gardens.

The administrative and financial stability that Mirza Soroush brought to the fourteen schools, enabled them to employ trained and competent teachers. The Markerabad schools soon became renowned for the quality of education they delivered - a quality that was comparable to education delivered by good schools anywhere in the world.

The Markerabad schools offered a complete education up to high school graduation. Given that Marker and Mirza Soroush desired to make quality education available not just to the residents of Yazd city, but to the children of the Zoroastrian villages as well as orphans and other disadvantaged children, the schools offered attached dormitory residence as well. In this manner, quality education was made available to every Zoroastrian child. In addition, to a regular school curriculum, the schools also offered vocational training in mechanics, carpentry and construction.

We understand that at one stage Mirza Soroush was asked to intervene in a labour-management dispute at the Zoroastrian-owned Darakhshan Manufacturing Plant in Yazd. The dissatisfied workers had chased out the manager and had occupied the plant. Mirza Soroush entered the plant on a bicycle and engaged the agitated and angry workers in a dialogue. Reasoning with the workers as to what was in the best interests of all, he reached an agreement with them and brought the dispute to an amicable end followed by the resumption of work and production.

While the school itself is a standing and enduring testament to the legacy of Pestonji Marker's generous community spirit, Mirza Soroush obtained permission for, and supervised the construction of the Marker traffic circle with gardens and a clock tower called the Midaneh Sa'at Markar or the Marker Clock Plaza. The plaza is situated on the road to Kerman just north of the Markerabad school entrance. The permissions from the municipality did not come by easily.

In order to establish a foothold in the capital Tehran, Mirza Soroush sold some of the Markerabad lands and used the funds to purchase land in the eastern suburb of Tehran Pars, lands that were originally developed by the Tafti and Aresh families and then by Arbab Rustam Guiv. These lands were used for community housing and facilities. His decisions were not always well understood or appreciated by newcomers to the boards of the charitable organizations in India that still had an interest in the Yazd schools and properties. But eventually, the wisdom of Mirza Soroush's decisions became apparent. When at the age of ninety one, the always humble and self-effacing Mirza Soroush passed away, he could take

pride that his accomplishments and community service were second to none, and that the community owes him a depth of gratitude that words cannot adequately express.

### Zoroastrian Arts and Crafts Schools in Yazd :

There are two Zoroastrian traditional arts schools in Mahale-ye Yazd district of Yazd city: the Vohuman and Pourchista / Pouruchista schools. These schools offer classes in a variety of visual and performing arts with an emphasis in preserving Zoroastrian heritage.

Vohuman's students include both girls and boys ranging from five to eighteen years in age. The classes offered include naqashi (drawing), papier maché, calligraphy, carpet weaving, koshti-making (koshtis or kustis are the cords that Zoroastrians wear around their waist during and after their initiation ceremony), and musical instruction in traditional Persian instruments such as the tombak (a type of drum). The school's official policy is that these classes be conducted in Dari, the traditional language of Yazdi Zoroastrians.

Pourchista / Pouruchista, is housed a newly built, custom-built structure located few blocks from the old city center. With ten teachers and an enrolment of about 500 students, mostly young females, it is the larger of the two schools. The school was founded during the severe recession that gripped Yazd during the turn of the century, with the objective of occupying Zoroastrian youth who would otherwise be idle whilst providing them with marketable skills. The funds for the schools construction and initial operation were donated by a group of Zoroastrian philanthropists residing in the United Kingdom. The items produced at the schools are sold and the proceeds go towards the paying for the schools expenses.

The courses offered at Pourchista / Pouruchista include koshti-weaving, tailoring (specifically, traditional Zoroastrian wedding attire of green silk), mojjassameh-sazi (decorative clay or ceramic figurine-making), make-up, sewing, and cooking. The cooking classes are conducted in a fully equipped kitchen. As at Vohuman, the school's many classes provide a context of total or partial Dari immersion.

### Source :

<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/yazd/schools.htm#hatariavision>

## 70. Tajikistan and Aryans :

Tajikistan: Officials Say Swastik Part Of Their Aryan Heritage

A Tajik emblem that is based on the Swastik (RFE/RL) Like other post-Soviet countries, Tajikistan has taken a fresh look its history following independence in 1991. The result is a state campaign to promote the notion that the Tajiks as a Aryan nation – and the widespread use of the Swastik.

Prague, 16 December 2005 (RFE/RL) -- The Swastik may be known the world over as the symbol of Nazi Germany and it may be banned in some states for that reason, but in Tajikistan it appears on placards, banners, and billboards with the blessing of the state.

For officials in Dushanbe, the Swastik is above all a symbol of national identity. Most Tajik historians now maintain that Tajiks are of Aryan origin, and argue that Aryan or Indo-European civilization must therefore be studied and promoted. It is an argument now accepted by the state. Indeed, the revival of Aryan culture is now official policy of Dushanbe: 2006 will be celebrated in Tajikistan as the year of Aryan civilization.

### Changing Interpretations :

The authorities say the Swastik's now widespread adoption in Tajikistan has nothing to do with Nazism and fascism. "Throughout history, interpretations of this symbol have changed," notes Abduhakim Sharipov, head of a department in the Soghd regional administration. He, like other officials, emphasizes the Swastik is a symbol of Aryan culture that has existed for many centuries. "We all know that fascism used this symbol for its purposes. This symbol therefore carries negative connotations for many...[but] we should not limit ourselves to only one interpretation."

When the Swastik first appeared, in India, it was as a sign of eternity and eternal motion. The newer, positive connotations that the Tajik authorities want the Swastik to gain were outlined two years ago by President Imomali Rakhmonov when he declared 2006 the year of Aryan culture: the aim of the year is, he said, to "study and popularize Aryan contributions to the history of the world civilization; to raise a new generation [of Tajiks] with the spirit of national self-determination; and to develop deeper ties with other ethnicities and cultures."

Linguistically, the Tajiks are closely tied to the Persians, who since ancient times have used the term Aryan to describe themselves and their language.

The Tajik historian and ethnographer Usto Jahonov supports both the state's desire to raise awareness of Tajikistan's Aryan heritage and the use of the Swastik. Using an argument employed by Tajik officials in numerous speeches, Jahonov contends that it is an inherent part of Aryan culture and a key to building national identity. A stronger national identity is itself "needed now because we live among [non-Aryan,] Turkic nations" that are, he says, rewriting "their history by claiming that they emerged in this area [Central Asia]. We should therefore go back to Aryan history, demonstrate and prove to others where our place is. Each nation should know its place."



## An Ancient Symbol In The Shadow Of A Modern Taboo.

But it is hard to rid the Swastik of its negative associations. For many people in the West, the Swastik is a taboo, synonymous as it is with Nazism, fascism, and white supremacy in general. Post-war Germany outlawed the Swastik and other Nazi symbols for all but scholarly purposes.

Continued sensitivities were highlighted earlier this year when Britain's Prince Harry was criticized for wearing a Nazi Swastik armband and a Nazi uniform to a fancy-dress party. The incident led to calls from German politicians for a ban on all Nazi symbols across the European Union, which was then followed by a debate in the European Commission in Brussels.

For similar reasons, the new prominence of the Swastik is touching on sensitivities in Tajikistan, recently prompting a group of Tajik World War II veterans to write a letter to Rakhmonov asking him to end the use of the Swastik.

The Tajik president has so far not responded.



"I am a veteran of World War II," says one Tajik former member of the Soviet army. "We veterans demand that this fascist cross, the Swastik, be removed from placards. We fought against the Nazis, who had the Swastik. Why should we propagate it now?"

The use of the Swastik by skinheads has made the symbol even more controversial in recent years.

Due to high levels of unemployment and poverty, many Tajiks have had to work as illegal migrant laborers abroad, overwhelmingly in Russia. Many have been subjected to harassment and intimidation. Several have been killed by racist groups in recent years.

The most prominent case was the murder, in February 2004, of a 9-year-old Tajik girl in St. Petersburg by a group of teenagers armed with chains, metal rods and knives. Khursheda Sultanova's father and her 11-year-old cousin were also savagely beaten.

### Divided Opinions :

This and other cases have provoked public outrage in Tajik society.

For one woman interviewed, both objections to the Swastik originate close to home. "My grandfather died in a battle against Nazi Germany," she told RFE/RL, and "last year, my neighbor's son was killed by a group of skinheads in Russia."

"I am amazed to see [the Swastik]. Why does our government recover and propagate the [hooked] cross now?"

This Tajik woman says she welcomes a rediscovery of the Tajik nation's history. But, she argues, historians should not forget the nation's recent past just to revive its ancient heritage.

Source :

<https://www.rferl.org/a/1064129.html>

## **71. Tajikistan's year of Aryan Civilization and the competition of ideologies :**

Background :

After the changes in Kyrgyzstan, at least a will to create modern democratic institutions can be observed. On the other hand, officials in Uzbekistan categorically assess that only the radical Islamic or semi-criminal forces can come to power if the existing Uzbek regime would collapse.

Uzbekistan's government has its reasons and rationale for this conclusion, but the suppression of the opposition and limiting the space for the expression of the will of the people could lead to dangerous consequences. Uzbekistan's case is connected with Tajikistan because of the key role of religion in politics in both countries. After long and complex negotiations between the United Tajik Opposition and the Tajik Government from 1994 to 1997, a peace agreement was signed in 1997. This deal ended the 1992-1997 civil war, and initiated a political culture of dialogue as well as political legitimacy for the two sides.

These negotiations transformed the Islamic Party Renaissance of Tajikistan from its radical and militant direction towards a moderate and peaceful agenda. However this does not mean Tajikistan does not have a problem. From 1998 onwards, strong competition has developed between the Government and the opposition. In spite of including 30% of opposition representatives into the power structures of the Government, several leading figures have now, at the eve of the 2006 presidential elections, been excluded from government structures. The leader of the Democracy party Mahmadrusi Iskandarov is in jail, and some of the key opposition newspapers like 'Nerui Suhan' have been closed. Yet the political process continues, and the main players from the opposition are Abdullo Nuri, Chairman of the Islamic Renaissance Party, Muhammadsharif Himmatzoda and Muhiddin Kabiri, its vice chairmen, who continue to play an active role in the political life of Tajikistan.

Two main projects – the national and the religious – compete against each other in present-day Tajikistan. Where the Islamic Renaissance party tries to join the national and the religious, the Government seeks to separate them. As the Government declared 2006 the year of Arian Civilization in the year of presidential election, representatives of political Islam are concerned with this project. They point out that the State tries to create the same situation on the eve of

presidential election in 2006 as what happened in 1998-1999, where it was constructed an alternative religious-political project on the basis of Zoroastrian heritage. It is no secret that Tajikistan's President Emomali Rakhmonov considers Zoroaster as a Tajik from Bactria and connects Zoroastrianism directly with Tajik national identity.

One of the Aryan symbols was institutionalized in the national flag of Tajikistan, depicting seven stars above the crown of Ismail Samani, the founder of the Samanid Dynasty who is revered as the father of the Tajik nation. Interestingly, the same Zoroastrian symbol was used also from 1989 to 1991 by the National pan-Iranian cultural and political movement 'Rastokhez', which erected a monument of the epic Persian poet Firdausi in the center of Dushanbe after destroying a Lenin statue. After coming to power, Rakhmonov replaced the Firdausi monument with a giant statue of Ismail Samani. The founders of the Aryan project are representatives of the South, and basically Tajiks with a secular and ethno-national orientation. This project aspires to replace the stern dualism between atheism and Islamism and create a space for coexistence of different approaches within a joint Tajik identity; and moreover, to create an ethno-national nucleus that could be the basis for Tajikistan's political unity.

#### Implications :

Tajikistan has since its foundation lacked a state ideology and has been hesitant to develop one. At present Tajikistan officially bases its statehood on general democratic principles and stresses that no one ideology can be recognized as the State ideology. However, representatives of Political Islam (IPRT) and the Communist Party insist that the state identify with their respective ideology. They argue that any state must have an ideology. The IPRT is working for basic principles of political Islam to be adopted into the cultural and political context of Tajikistan. Interestingly, the political Islam project, just like the official Aryan project, focuses on the ninth and tenth centuries, the period of Ismail Samani and the time of the appearance of the first Tajik State. Political Islam tries to connect Tajik identity with Islam through the Samani period, while the government uses the same period to build an ethno-national identity.

Hence the Government refuses to adopt an official ideology, thereby having more space for political maneuver. One of main goals of the Aryan project is to prevent the possibility of the Islamization or Turkification of Tajik society. At the same time, there is a danger that if the Aryan project is radicalized, it could lead not to unity within Tajik society but to fragmentation. In particular, this risk is greatest in the northern region of Tajikistan, which is heavily Uzbek-populated and considered by the Tajik nationalist elites as the region of the country where the process of Turkification has progressed furthest and poses a threat to the state. Of course, Tajikistan's Aryan project has nothing in common with Nazi German Aryan ideology.

However it could be a base for the appearance of radical political groups that could provoke the process of disintegration of society in Tajikistan. In that case, Political Islam could prove to be a force capable of containing the radicalization of the Aryan project. On the other hand, if the constructors of the Aryan project are able to avoid ethno-nationalist radicalization and can show the influence of Zoroastrianism on Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the form of strengthening coexistence, this could help avoiding increasing tension on the ethno-national and religious basis. At the same time, the Government would be well-advised to recall the

experience of Iran, where as a result of a radical implementation of a similar Zoroastrian- and Aryan-based project by the monarchy, an Islamic revolution took place in 1979.

### Conclusions :

Tajikistan has a paradoxical political situation where the restraining factors preventing the monopolization of power are not political institutions but a competition between different cultural and political projects and their charismatic leaders that create a propitious political balance in society. However, this situation is unlikely to continue indefinitely, and if these cultural resources will not be institutionalize in modern institutional forms, this could lead to the renewed destabilization of Tajikistan.

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### Source :

<https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/10334-analytical-articles-caci-analyst-2005-10-5-art-10334.html>

## **72. Pamirs Badakhshan :**

### Pamir / Badakhshan Region :

#### Introduction :

In the east of Tajikistan, are mountains and highlands known as the Pamirs. The Tajik province in which the mountains are located is called the Kuhistani-Badakhshan (previously called Gorno-Badakhshan, a name given during the Soviet occupation of Tajikistan). Kuhistani means the land of the mountains.

### Greater Badakhshan :



### **Greater Badakhshan**

The full extent of the Badakhshan (also spelt Badakshan or Badakshon) region extends beyond the borders of Tajikistan to the east, south and south-west. To the east, Badakhshan extends into land that is today part of China. To the south and south-west, Badakhshan extends into modern-day Afghanistan (see map to the right).

China's acquisition of eastern Badakhshan came about through centuries of westward expansion beyond ancient Chin and the borders of Chin marked by the Great Wall of China. The division of Badakhshan between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, was a result of the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1873 that created a buffer strip between the Russian and British empires.

In these pages, unless otherwise specified, we will be dealing with the full extent of Badakhshan which we will call Greater Badakhshan / Badakshan, Pamir-Badakhshan or the Pamir region.

### Pamirs & Zoroastrianism :

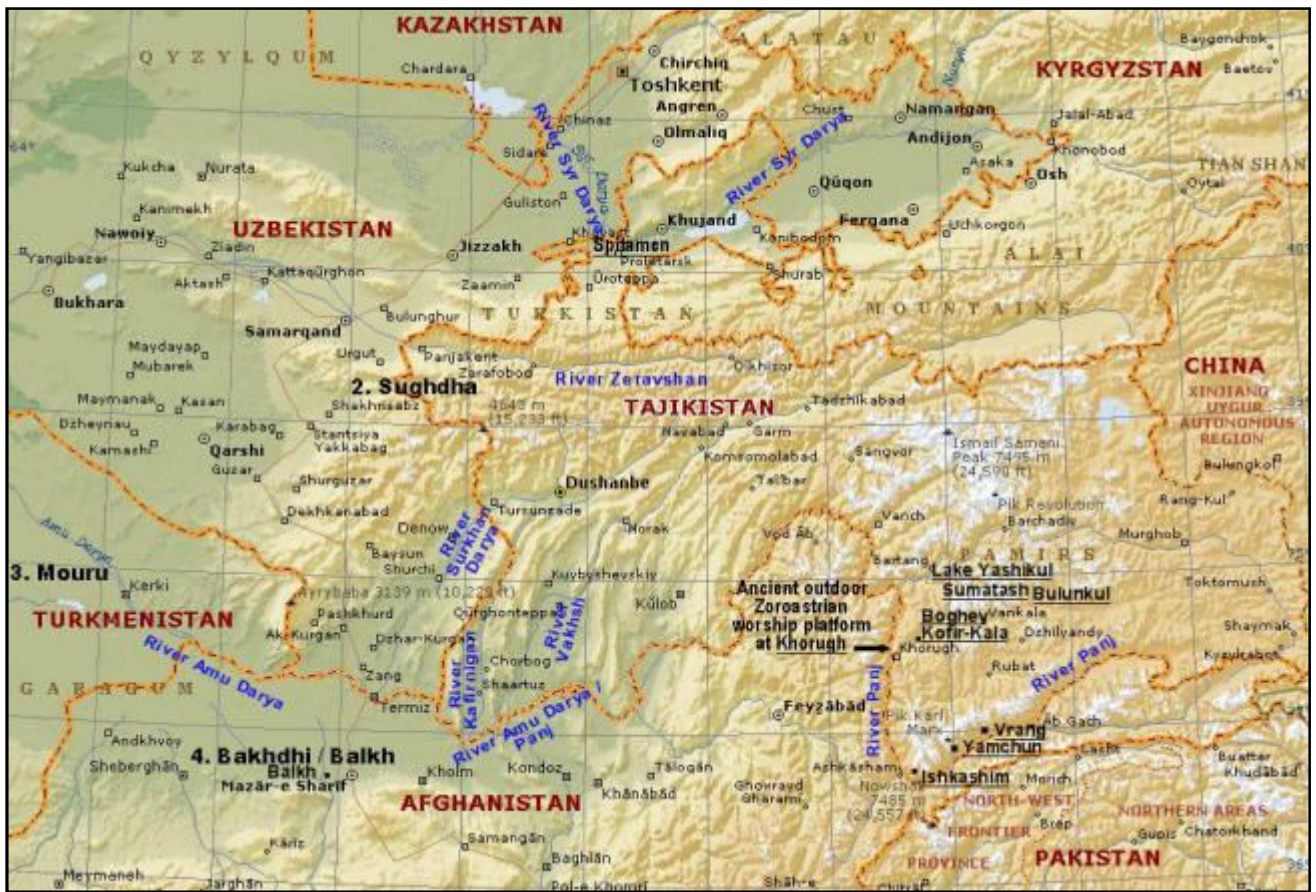
The Pamir-Badakhshan region is home to very old Zoroastrian historical sites and most of the Zoroastrian historical sites we have identified so far in Tajikistan, are in the Badakhshan-Pamir region. There are also enigmatic hand and feet symbols carved into the rock of the Pamir mountains. The Pamiri consider the rocks holy, saying that holy men have stepped on these rocks in the remote past.

### Candidate for the Location of Airyana Vaeja :

In our discussion on the location of the original Aryan homeland, Airyana Vaeja, a strong candidate for the location of Airyana Vaeja was the general area around Tajikistan and more specifically, the Pamir-Badakhshan region.

In a related page, Aryan Homeland in the Avesta, we examined references to Airyana Vaeja in the Zoroastrian scriptures, the Avesta. In that page, we listed the sixteen nations mentioned in one of the books of the Avesta, the Vendidad. Airyana Vaeja, the Aryan homeland is the first nation in that list. Its precise location is a mystery. In the map below, the second, third and fourth nations, Sughdha, Mouru and Bakhdhi, are to the left, and the Pamir-Badakhshan region is the adjacent region to the right of the map.





Central Asia with first Vendidad lands and possible Airyana Vaeja /Aryan homeland locale

People, Language and Extent of the Region :



Pamiri woman from Tajikistan: Ferangees  
Credit: Pamirs.Org



Badakhshan (Badakshan or Badakshon) is a relatively modern (1,500 year-old) name coined by the Persian Sassanids (c.200-650 CE). Since shan / shon means place (the forerunner of stan, cf. Khorasan), Badakhshan means the place of Badak or Badakh. It is not clear who or what Badakh means. Badakh might refer to the area's precious stones.

As we have noted above, we find historic Greater Badakhshan divided between Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and China. The border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan is the Panj river where it forms the Wakhan valley. The border between Tajikistan and China is the Sarykol Range, one of the Kunlun mountain ranges.

Rather than their division by the relatively modern borders that were drawn up for political reasons, the extent of Greater Badakhshan is more accurately defined by the historic kinship of the Pamiri people and the Pamiri dialects they speak.

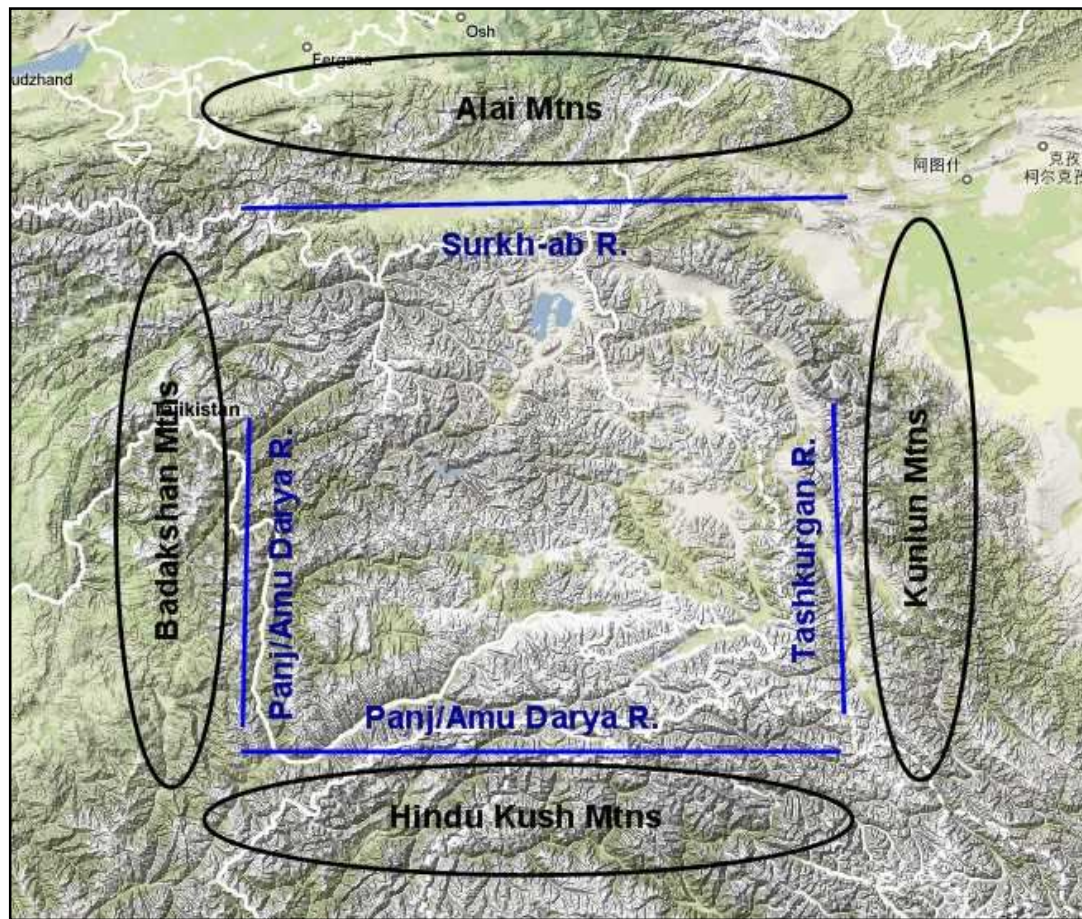
The Pamiri-Badakhshani people claim to be an Iranian group related to, but distinct from, the Tajiks and other Afghans. They speak dialects of the Pamiri language, an eastern Iranian language indigenous to the region. Tajiki, and the Afghan languages of Dari and Pashtu, are sister Iranian, i.e. Aryan, languages.

The extent of the Pamir-Badakhshan region as defined by the ethno-linguistic distribution of the Pamiri-Badakhshan dialects and people, is as follows (from *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas* By Stephen Adolphe Wurm, Peter Mühlhäusler, Darrell T. Tryon, Darrell T. Tryon. International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. Pub. Walter de Gruyter, 1996):

In the east of the region, the Pamiri dialects of Sarikoli and Wakhi are spoken across the present Tajik-China border in the Xinjiang (Xinjiang) / Kunlun Mountains. The Pamirs includes Tashkurgan and Kashgar / Kashi (presently in China) in the northeast corner (Photographs of Kashgar). The residents of Kashgar were known to have practiced Zoroastrianism and the ruins of a Zoroastrian temple can be found beside the ruins of an ancient fortress. Indeed, it is possible that some of the residents of areas in China that practice Islam today could have practiced Zoroastrianism in the past. The original Indo-Iranian inhabitants of this area have to a large extent been displaced by Turkic peoples. The Shahnameh of Ferdowsi placed Chin (China) to the east of Airan and also east of Turan (Sugd).

In the south, the Wakhi dialect is spoken in the Wakhan / Panj valley bordered by the Hindu Kush in the south [Ivan M. Steblin-Kamenskij at Iranica, Central Asia xiii. Iranian Languages, suggests that the name Wakhan i.e. Vah-kan, is derived from Old Iranian Wahwi/Wahkshu - "good, beneficent," an ancient river name (cf. Av. Vanguhi Daitiia, the name of a river in Airiianem Vaejah]. The Wakhi dialect is also spoken in northern Pakistan. The Vendidad nation that would have bordered the Pamiri-Badakhshan region to the south would be the seventh nation of Vaekerata (Kabul).

In the west, the region continues to include the Panj valley as it turns north and includes lands further west, that is, the present Badakhshan province in Afghanistan. That province has its capital at Feyzabab (Faizabad) that sits of the Kokcha River. In ancient times, the Pamiri-Badakhshan lands would have extended west to the fourth Vendidad nation of Bakhdhi (Balkh).



### Historic Badakhshan / Pamir Boundaries

In the north, the Pamir region is bounded by a tributary of the Amu Darya (Oxus) the Surkhhab / Surkhob River and Kyrgyzstan's Alai mountains. The Surkhhab is renamed downstream as the Vakhsh and upstream as the Kyzylsu / Kysyl-suu River in Kyrgyzstan. Surkh-ab and Kyzyl-suu mean Red River. Reading the Vendidad's list of nations, at the northern and north-western boundary of the Pamirs, we find Sughdha (Sugd) - the land and nation that extended from the Fergana valley in the east to Samarkand in the west and beyond.

Nowadays, while all Tajiks are mainly Muslim, the Pamiri continue to display their distinctiveness by following the Ismaili sect of the Shia religion while the rest of the Tajiks are for the most part, Sunni Muslims.

During Taliban rule of Afghanistan in the 1990s and early 2000s, Badakhshan was the only Afghan province not controlled by the Pashtu dominant Taliban. Badakhshan was also the base of the group opposed to the Taliban, the Northern Alliance, the group that ultimately defeated the Taliban. Today, while the rest of Afghanistan is still in turmoil, Afghani Badakhshan is relatively peaceful.

## Physical Features :

Po-i Mihr, the Feet of Mithra



**Somoni Peak. Photo: World Bank Collection at Flickr**

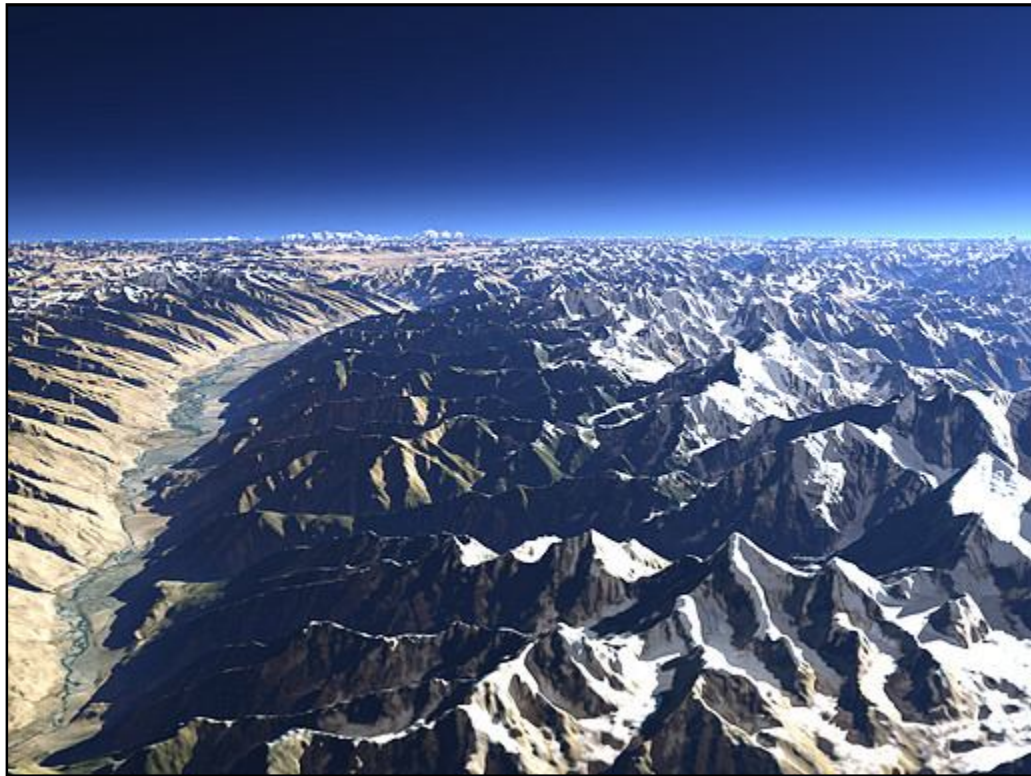
Tajiks call the Pamirs, Po-mir or Po-i-mihr, the Feet of Mitra, and also Bom-i-Dunyo, the Roof of the World. Mitra is an angel in Zoroastrianism and a pre-Zoroastrian Indo-Iranian deity, an asur.

The Pamirs are home to the tallest mountain in Tajikistan. The Somoni Peak in the northwest of the Pamirs has an elevation of 7,495 m (24,590 ft), and the average elevation of the Pamir peaks is about 3,965 m (about 13,000 ft).

The Pamirs are also called the Pamir knot since several mountain ranges radiate from the knot.

The Pamirs form a connecting link between the Tian Shan, Kunlun, Karakoram, Himalaya and Hindu Kush mountain ranges.

## Terrain and Weather :



### **Badakhshan's terrain. Photo credit: Christoph Hormann at Views of the Earth**

Badakhshan's terrain is typified by the image on the left. The Panj River runs through the valley that stretches up from the lower left corner of the photograph curving to the right. In the part that can be seen in the photograph, the Panj River marks the border between Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

The Pamirs of Tajikistan are to the left of the Wakhan Valley, while the Hindu Kush mountains (& Afghanistan's border with Pakistan) are to the right of the valley. The high mountains on the horizon are the Kunlun Mountains presently in China's Xinjiang Uygur (Turkic) Region.

The right peak (top-centre of the photograph) is the Muztagh-Ata, and the peak to Muztagh-Ata's left is Kongur-Shan.





**Photo credit: crazynomad at Flickr**

Panj River's Wakhan Valley & farms. The Panj River is called the Amu Darya (Oxus) in Afghanistan

While the winters in the mountains as well as the highlands of the Murghab district of eastern Badakhshan, the Pamir Bowl, are harsh, the Pamirs are also home to temperate valleys.

While the mountains are rugged and the highlands stark, many of the valleys are fertile. The contrast in the landscape that is seen in the photograph of the Panj valley on the left, is typical.

The principle river of the Pamir-Badakhshan region is the upper reaches of the Amu Darya River, called the Panj River during its course in the south and west of the Pamir-Badakhshan region.

According to Wikipedia, the Chinese call the Pamirs 'Congling' meaning the Onion Range, a name derived from the wild onions growing in the region.



**Wakhan Valley Farms close-up**  
**Photo credit: crazynomad at Flickr**

#### Topography of the Boundaries :

The area defined by the Pamir-Badakhshan region is roughly a square, with each side of the square bounded by a major river and a mountain range. The shape and topography is unique. It is unlike any other region in the area.

The rivers were called daryas - rivers large enough to be considered a sea or perhaps rivers that were, in the past thought to be connected to seas. The rivers flow beyond in different directions. Mountains ranges also radiate in different directions.

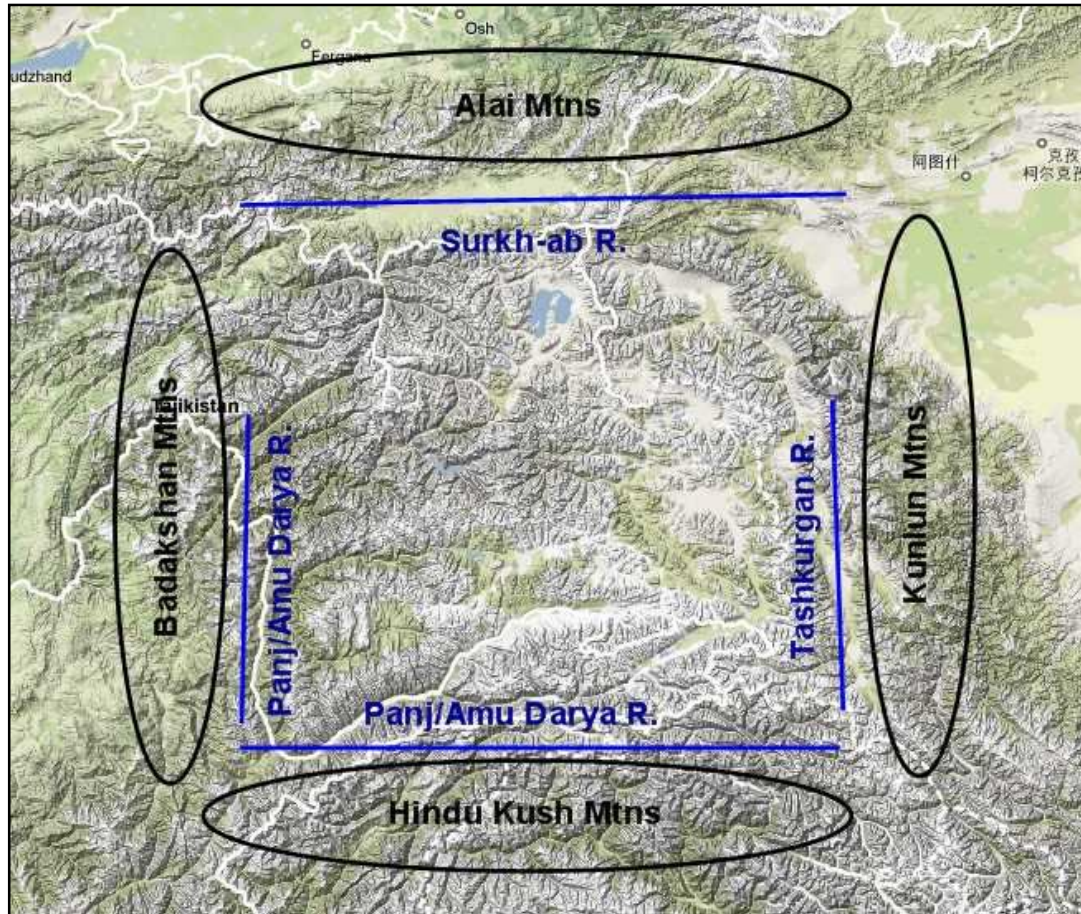
The Pamirs, the Himalayas and the other mountain ranges at the north of the Indian subcontinent were formed by the subduction of the Indian subcontinent plate under the Eurasian plate. The result is that earthquakes in the Pamirs are frequent and violent. Pamiri houses are constructed to cope with earthquakes. Hot springs are numerous and the tectonic forces have created gemstones and precious metals that are buried in the mountains.

The Pamir's deposits of precious stones and metals that correspond to those described as being contained in Mount Meru, the mountain that stood at the centre of the world, in the Hindu scripture, the Vedas. Mount Meru is the equivalent of the Mount Hara Berezaiti, Airyana Vaeja's central mountain mentioned Zoroastrian scriptures, the Avesta. In the Vedas, Mount Meru is described as a four sided mountain where the four sides are made from four different precious substances: the south of lapis-lazuli, the west of ruby, the north of gold and the east of silver (or crystal).



The mountains in the south of the Pamir region do indeed contain the only lapis lazuli mines known in antiquity. The other Mount Meru precious metals and stones are also found in the region (see trade and mines below).

Passes :



Historic Badakhshan / Pamir Boundaries



### **Kunjarab Pass**

From the southeast corner to the southwest corners of the Pamir-Badakhshan region, lie the Silk Road passes that provide access to the Upper Indus region and from there - the Indus plains - Hapta Hindu (seven Indus tributaries). In the southeast corner are three passes within 100 km of each other that connect the Tamrim Basin Kashgar and Tashkurgan (today, in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China) to the Gojal / Hunza River valley, Gilgit and the Upper Indus valley: from east to west, the Kunjarab Pass (4,693 m./15,397 ft.) and two ancient passes, the Mintaka (4,709 m./15,450 ft.) and Kilik (4,827 m./15,837 ft.) passes. Kunjarab come from the Wakhi Pamiri word for blood valley. Ancient traders travelled 70 km south from Tashkurgan to the Mintaka River, and from there headed some 80 km west up the Mintaka valley and pass. In the central south of the Pamirs lies the Baroghil / Broghol Pass (3,798 m./12,460 ft.) through the Hindu Kush. In the southwest corner lies the Dorah Pass (4,300 m./14,000 ft.) that today connects Badakhshan in Afghanistan with Chitral in Pakistan.

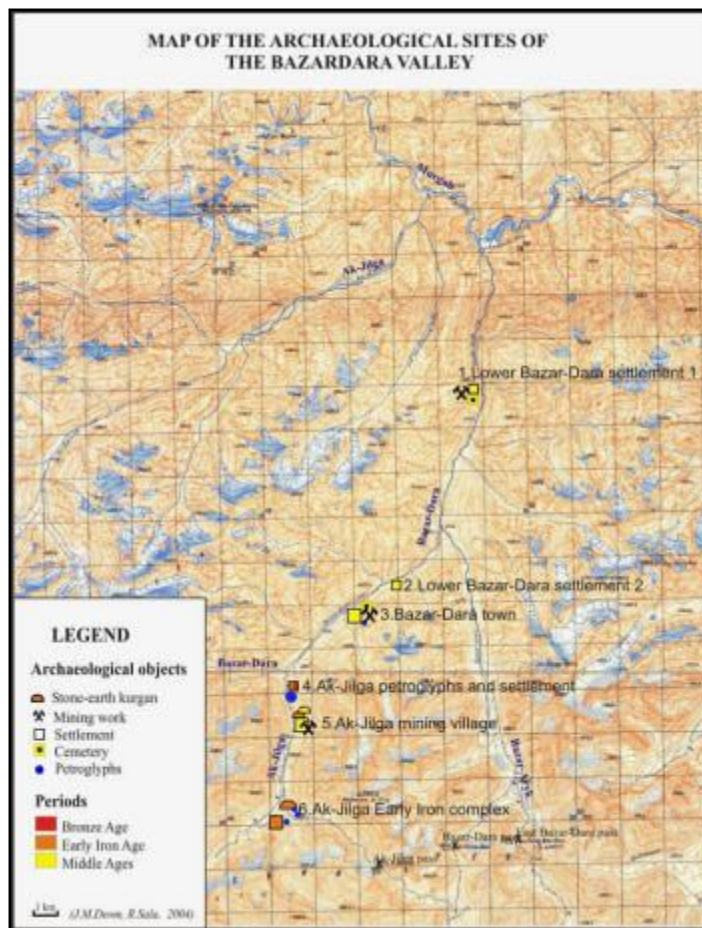
#### Trade :

Some of the earliest trade between the Aryan nations of the Vendidad took place out of Badakhshan with its exclusive Sar-i Sang Lapis Lazuli mines on the upper reaches of the Kokcha River, a tributary of the Panj (also called Amu Darya or Oxus) exporting Lapis as far west as Mesopotamia and Egypt and as early as the 4th millennium BCE (cf. Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries by Peter Roger Stuart Moorey, p. 86). Marco Polo visited the Sar-i Sang mines during his travels along the Silk Road. The area is rich in other gemstones such as rubies and emeralds and precious metals such as silver and gold that were actively traded throughout the ages (see Gem Hunter site). One of the Pamiri settlements that centred around silver mining, Bazar-Dara, is described below.



Many of the trade roads to the upper Indus and Kashmir valleys in the adjacent Indian sub-continent, including branches of the Silk Roads to the east and west, passed through the Wakhan corridor. This gave the Badakhshanis access to the Indian sub-continent. It also gave them a controlling position of the trade roads and one of the Zoroastrian era forts called the Zamr-i-Atish-Parast, or Fortress of the Fire Worshipppers, at Yamchun served this function. It also formed a second line of defence for the Pamir / Badakhshan region to the north, the first line of defence being the Hindu Kush mountains.

Bazar-Dara :



**Bazar-Dara Valley Site Map**

In the central Pamirs, above the banks of the river Ak-Dzhilga / Ak-Jilga, in the valley of Murghab, are the remains of remote settlements and a mining complex called Bazar-Dara and Ak-Jilga. The Badakhshan region has historically been famous from Egypt to China, the steppes to India for its gems and precious metals. Silver was mined in Bazar-Dara and traders who plied the Silk Roads came to Bazar-Dara and stayed in its caravanserai while conducting their business. The settlements and mining complex are located at a height of 4,000 m. The six sites, accessible only by foot or helicopter, are dated 10th to 11th century ACE in the middle valley, and 5th century BCE in the upper valley.

About 1,200 - 1,500 people lived in the settlement which included an administrative complex, a fire-temple, and a bath with sub-floor (kan) heating. The size fits the first level of a Jamshidi Vara.

Water was obtained from small wells and skilfully designed water basins. In this region, the soil is frozen most of the year and trees cannot grow. The large building that is believed to have functioned as a medieval caravanserai, also has Vara-like features.

A webpage titled *Geo-Archaeological Survey of Ancient Metallurgic Centres of the Bazar-Dara Valley* contains further information on this ancient Pamiri settlement.



**Bazar-Dara Caravanserai ruins**

Source :

<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/tajikistan/page3.htm>

### 73. Khorasan Province :



Khorasan (Persian: استان خراسان [xorɒ:'sɒ:n]; also transcribed as Khurasan and Khorassan), also called Traxiane during Hellenistic and Parthian times, was a province in north eastern Iran, but historically referred to a much larger area comprising the east and north-east of the Persian Empire. The name *Khorāsān* is Persian and means "where the sun arrives from". The name was first given to the eastern province of Persia during the Sasanian Empire and was used from the late middle ages in distinction to neighbouring Transoxiana. The province roughly encompassed the western half of the historical Greater Khorasan. The modern boundaries of the Iranian province of Khorasan were formally defined in the late nineteenth century and the province was divided into three separate administrative divisions in 2004.

#### History :

The name *Khorāsān* (lit. "sunrise"; "East"; or "land of the rising sun") was originally given to the eastern province of Persia during the Sassanian period. The old Iranian province of Khorasan roughly formed the western half of the historical Greater Khorasan, a region which included parts that are today in Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Some of the main historical cities of Persia are located in the older Khorasan: Nishapur and Tus (now in Iran); Merv and Sanjan (now in Turkmenistan); Samarkand and Bukhara (both now in Uzbekistan); Herat and Balkh (now in Afghanistan); and Khujand and Panjakent (now in Tajikistan). The term was also used from the late middle ages—especially in post-Mongol (Chagatai and Timurid) times—to distinguish the region from neighbouring Transoxiana. The modern Iranian boundaries of the province of Khorasan were defined and formalised in the late nineteenth century.

In August 1968 and September 1978, the region was the scene of two major earthquakes that left 12,000 and 25,000 people dead, respectively. A third major earthquake, the 1997 Qayen earthquake, took place on 10 May 1997 and left 1,567 dead, 2,300 injured, and 50,000 homeless.

### Modern divisions of Khorasan :

Khorasan was the largest province of Iran until it was divided into three separate provinces in September 2004:

*North Khorasan*, center: Bojnourd, other counties: Shirvan, Esfarayen, Garmeh and Jajarm, and Maneh and Samalghan *South Khorasan*, center: Birjand, other counties: Ferdows, Qaen, Nehbandan, Sarayan, Sarbisheh and Darmian.

Razavi Khorasan, center: Mashhad, other counties: Sabzevar, Neyshabour, Torbat-e-Heydariyeh, Quchan, Torbat-e jam, Kashmar, Taybad, Gonabad, Dargaz, Sarakhs, Chenaran, Fariman, Khaf, Roshtkhar, Bardaskan, Kalat and Khalilabad.

Some parts of the province were added to some southern parts to Sistan and Baluchestan Province some western parts to Yazd Province

### Demographics :

The major ethnic groups in this region are Persians with Kurdish tribesmen, Khorasani Turks, Hazaras and Turkmen as the minorities. Most of the people in the region natively speak closely related modern day dialects of Persian. The largest cluster of settlements and cultivation stretches around the city of Mashhad northwestward, containing the important towns of Quchan, Shirvan, and Bojnurd.

### Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khorasan\\_Province](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khorasan_Province)

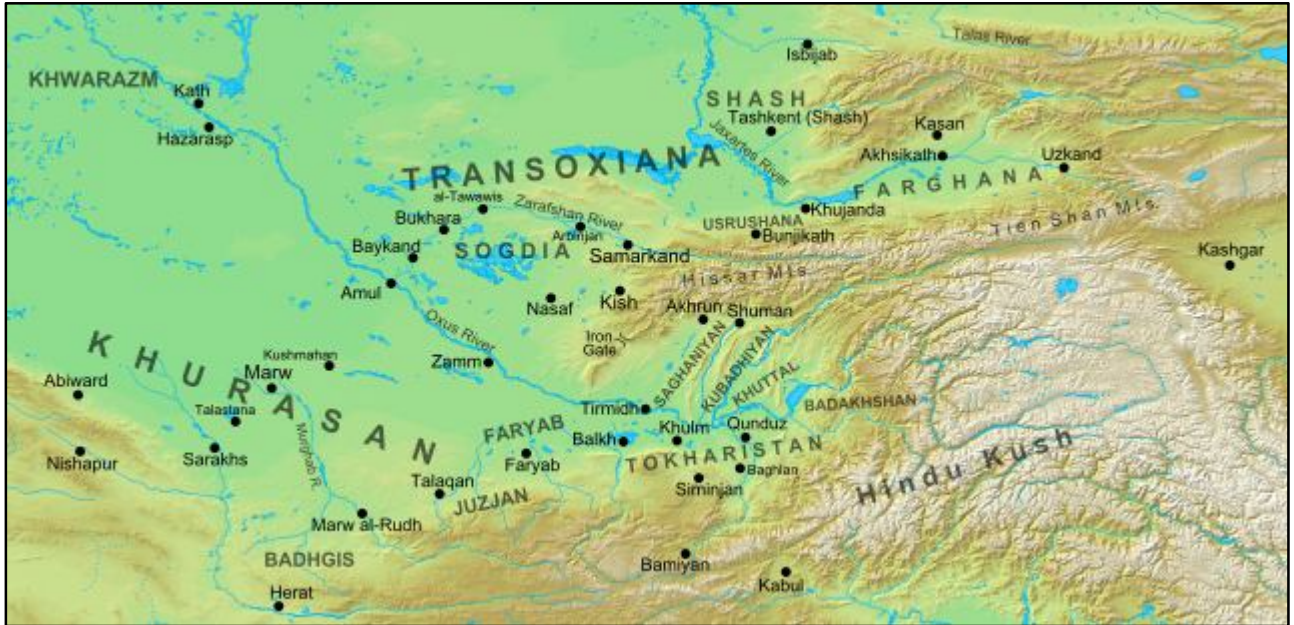
## **74. Aryan, Razavi Khorasan :**

Aryan (Persian: اریان, also Romanized as Āryān, `Oryān, `Oriān, and Oryān) is a village in Khavashod Rural District, Rud Ab District, Sabzevar County, Razavi Khorasan Province, Iran. At the 2006 census, its population was 560, in 155 families.

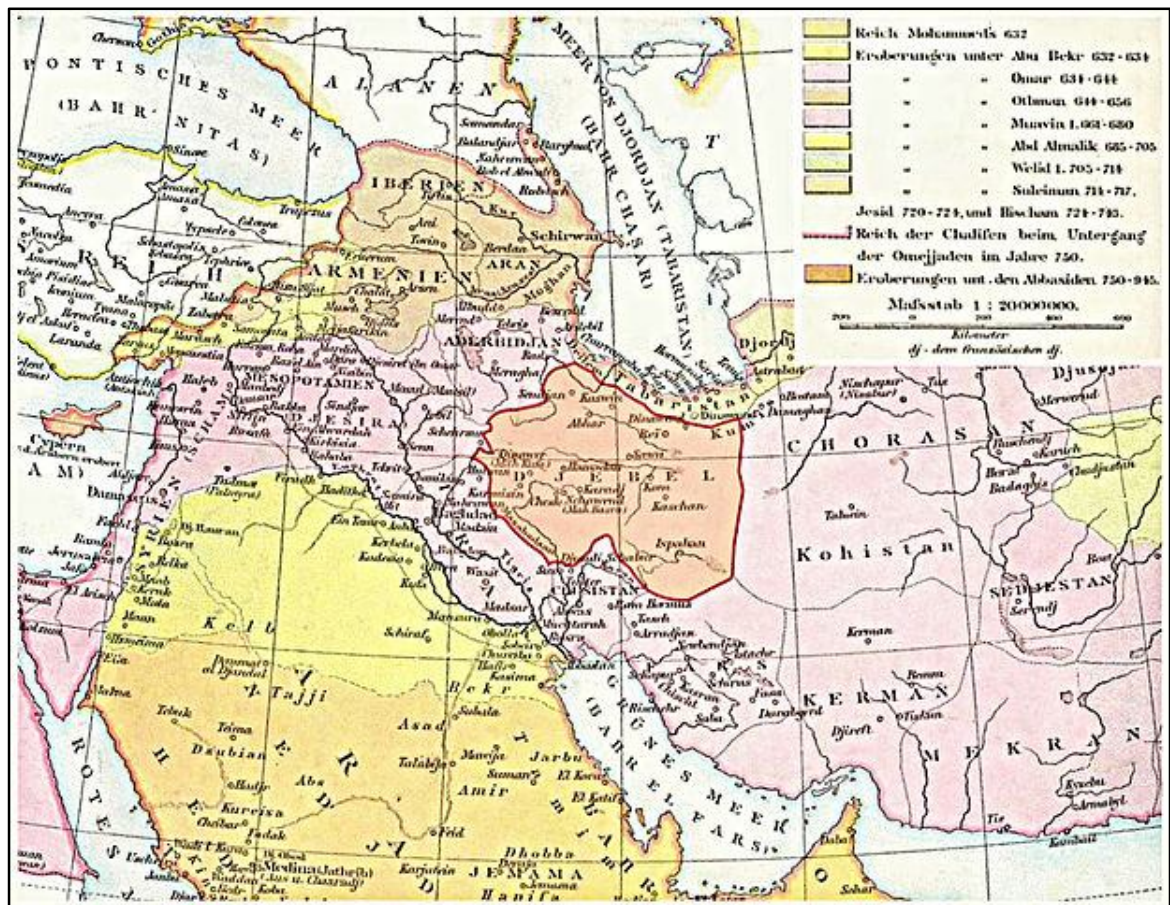


## 75. Greater Khorasan :

This article is about the historical region comprising north-eastern Iran and central Asia :



Map of Khorasan and its surroundings in the 7th/8th centuries



An 1886 map of the 10th century Near East showing Khorasan east of the province of Jibal



### Names of territories during the Caliphate in 750

Khorasan (Middle Persian: Xwarāsān; Persian: خراسان, romanized: *Xorāsān*, pronounced [xorɒːˈsoːn]), sometimes called Greater Khorasan, is a historical region lying northeast of Greater Iran, including northeastern Iran, much of Central Asia and Afghanistan. The name simply means "East, Orient" (literally "sunrise") and loosely includes the territory of the Sasanian Empire northeast of Persia proper. Early Islamic usage often regarded everywhere east of so-called Jibal or what was subsequently termed 'Iraq Ajami' (Persian Iraq), as being included in a vast and loosely-defined region of Khorasan, which might even extend to the Indus Valley and Sindh. During the Islamic period, Khorasan along with Persian Iraq were two important territories. The boundary between these two was the region surrounding the cities of Gurgan and Qumis (modern Damghan).

In particular, the Ghaznavids, Seljuqs and Timurids divided their empires into Iraqi and Khorasani regions.

The main cities of Khorasan in the Islamic period were Balkh and Herat (now in Afghanistan), Mashhad and Nishapur (now in northeastern Iran), Merv and Nisa (now in southern Turkmenistan), and Bukhara and Samarkand (now in southern Uzbekistan). The cities of Merv and Nisa have since been abandoned but the other cities remain integral parts of their respective states. The term Khorasan tended to further extend from these urban centers into the rural regions of their respective west, east, north and south. Sources from the 10th-century onwards refer to areas in the south of the Hindu Kush as *the Khorasan Marches*, forming a frontier region between Khorasan and Hindustan.



*Greater Khorasan* is today sometimes used to distinguish the larger historical region from the modern Khorasan Province of Iran (1906–2004), which roughly encompassed the western half of the historical Greater Khorasan.

Geography :



**A map of Persia by Emanuel Bowen showing the names of territories during the Persian Safavid dynasty and Mughal Empire of India (ca. 1500–1747)**

First established in the 6th-century as one of four administrative (military) divisions by the Sassanids, the scope of the region has varied considerably during its nearly 1,500-year history. Initially, the Khorasan division of the Sassanid empire covered the north-eastern military gains of the empire, at its height including cities such as Nishapur, Herat, Merv, Faryab, Talaqan (around modern Turkmenabat), Balkh, Bukhara, Badghis, Abiward, Gharjistan, Tus, Sarakhs and Gurgan.

With the rise of the Umayyad Caliphate, the designation was inherited and likewise stretched as far as their military gains in the east, starting off with the military installations at Nishapur and Merv, slowly expanding eastwards into Tokharistan and Sogdia. Under the Caliphs, Khorasan was the name of one of the three political zones under their dominion (the other two being *Eraq-e Arab* "Arabic Iraq" and *Eraq-e Ajam* "Non-Arabic Iraq or Persian Iraq"). Under the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, Khorasan was divided into four major sections or quarters (*rub'*), each section based on a single major city: Nishapur, Merv, Herat and Balkh. By the 10th-century, Ibn Khordadbeh and the *Hudud al-'Alam* mentions what roughly encompasses the previous regions of Abarshahr, Tokharistan and Sogdia as *Khwarasan* proper. They further report the southern part of the Hindu Kush, i.e. the regions of Sistan, Ghor, Rukhkhudh, Zabulistan and Kabul etc. to make up the *Khwarasan marches*, a

frontier region between Khwarasan and Hindustan which at the time would have been in a process of Islamization.

By the late Middle Ages, the term lost its administrative significance, in the west only being loosely applied among the Turko-Persian dynasties of modern Iran to all its territories that lay east and north-east of the Dasht-e Kavir desert. It was therefore subjected to constant change, as the size of their empires changed. In the east, *Khwarasan* likewise became a term associated with the great urban centers of Central Asia. It is mentioned in the Memoirs of Babur that:

"The people of Hindustān call every country beyond their own Khorasān, in the same manner as the Arabs term all except Arabia, Ajem. On the road between Hindustān and Khorasān, there are two great marts: the one Kābul, the other Kandahār. Caravans, from Ferghāna, Tūrkestān, Samarkand, Balkh, Bokhāra, Hissār, and Badakhshān, all resort to Kābul; while those from Khorasān repair to Kandahār. This country lies between Hindustān and Khorasān.

In modern times, the term has been source of great nostalgia and nationalism, especially amongst the Tajiks of Central Asia. Many Tajiks regard Khorasan as an integral part of their national myth, which has preserved an interest in the term, including its meaning and cultural significance, both in common discussion and academia, despite its falling out of political use in the region. According to Ghulam Mohammad Gobar, Afghanistan's current Persian-speaking territories formed the major portion of Khorasān, as two of the four main capitals of Khorasān (Herat and Balkh) are now located in Afghanistan. Gobar uses the terms "*Proper Khorasan*" and "*Improper Khorasan*" in his book to distinguish between the usage of Khorasān in its strict sense and its usage in a loose sense. According to him, Proper Khorasan contained regions lying between Balkh in the east, Merv in the north, Sistan in the south, Nishapur in the west and Herat, known as the *Pearl of Khorasan*, in the center. Improper Khorasan's boundaries extended to as far as Hazarajat and Kabul in the east, Baluchistan in the south, Transoxiana and Khwarezm in the north, and Damghan and Gorgan in the west.

### History :

Before the region fell to Alexander the Great in 330 BC, it was part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire and prior to that it was occupied by the Medes. The land that became known as Khorasan in geography of Eratosthenes was recognized as Ariana by Greeks at that time, which made up Greater Iran or the land where Zoroastrianism was the dominant religion. The southeastern region of Khorasan fell to the Kushan Empire in the 1st century AD. The Kushan rulers built a capital in modern-day Afghanistan at Bagram and are believed to have built the famous Buddhas of Bamiyan. Numerous Buddhist temples and buried cities have been found in Afghanistan. However, the region of Khorasan remained predominantly Zoroastrian but there were also Manichaeists, sun worshippers, Christians, Pagans, Shamanists, Buddhists, Hindus, and others. One of the three great fire-temples of the Sassanids "Azar-burzin Mehr" is situated near Sabzevar in Iran. The boundary of the region began changing until the Kushans and Sassanids merged to form the Kushano-Sassanian civilization.



**An early turquoise mine in the Madan village of Khorasan during the early 20th century Sasanian era**

During the Sasanian era, likely in the reign of Khusrow I, Persia was divided into four regions (known as *kust* Middle Persian), Khwārvarān in the west, apāxtar in the north, nīmrūz in the south and Khurasan in the east. Since the Sasanian territories were more or less remained stable up to Islamic conquests, it can be concluded that Sasanian Khorasan was bordered to the south by Sistan and Kerman, to the west by the central deserts of modern Iran, and to the east by China and India.

In Sasanian era, Khurasan was further divided into four smaller regions, and each region was ruled by a marzban. These four regions were Nishapur, Marv, Herat and Balkh.

Khorasan in the east saw some conflict with the Hephthalites who became the new rulers in the area but the borders remained stable. Being the eastern parts of the Sassanids and further away from Arabia, Khorasan region was conquered after the remaining Persia. The last Sassanid king of Persia, Yazdgerd III, moved the throne to Khorasan following the Arab invasion in the western parts of the empire. After the assassination of the king, Khorasan was conquered by Arab Muslims in 647 AD. Like other provinces of Persia it became a province of the Umayyad Caliphate.



**The village of Meyamei in 1909**

### Arab conquest :

The first movement against the Arab conquest was led by Abu Muslim Khorasani between 747 and 750. He helped the Abbasids come to power but was later killed by Al-Mansur, an Abbasid Caliph. The first independent kingdom from Arab rule was established in Khorasan by Tahir Phoshanji in 821, but it seems that it was more a matter of political and territorial gain. Tahir had helped the Caliph subdue other nationalistic movements in other parts of Persia such as Maziar's movement in Tabaristan.

Other major independent dynasties who ruled over Khorasan were the Saffarids from Zaranj (861 - 1003), Samanids from Bukhara (875-999), Ghaznavids from Ghazni (963–1167), Seljuqs (1037–1194), Khwarezmids (1077- 1231), Ghurids (1149–1212), and Timurids (1370–1506). Some of these dynasties were not Persian by ethnicity. The periods of Turkic Ghaznavids and Turco-Mongol Timurids are considered as some of the most brilliant eras of Khorasan's history. During these periods, there was a great cultural awakening. Many famous poets, scientists and scholars lived in this area. Numerous valuable works in Persian literature were written.

Between the early 16th and early 18th centuries, parts of Khorasan were contested between the Safavids and the Uzbeks. A part of the Khorasan region was conquered in 1722 by the Ghilji Pashtuns from Kandahar and became part of the Hotaki dynasty from 1722 to 1729. Nader Shah recaptured Khorasan in 1729 and chose Mashhad as the capital of Persia. Following his assassination in 1747, the eastern parts of Khorasan, including Herat was annexed with the Durrani Empire. Mashhad area was under control of Nader Shah's grandson Shahrukh Afshar until it was captured by the Qajar dynasty in 1796. In 1856, the Iranians, under the Qajar dynasty, briefly recaptured Herat; by the Treaty of Paris of 1857, signed between Iran and the British Empire to end the Anglo-Persian War, the Iranian troops withdrew from Herat. Later, in 1881, Iran relinquished its claims to a part of the northern



areas of Khorasan to the Russian Empire, principally comprising Merv, by the Treaty of Akhal (also known as the *Treaty of Akhal-Khorasan*).

### Cultural importance :

Timurid conqueror Babur exiles his treacherous relative Muḥammad Ḥusaym Mīrzā to Khorasan.

Khorasan has had a great cultural importance among other regions in Greater Iran. The literary New Persian language developed in Khorasan and Transoxiana and gradually supplanted the Parthian language. The New Persian literature arose and flourished in Khorasan and Transoxiana where the early Iranian dynasties such as Tahirids, Samanids, Saffirids and Ghaznavids (a Turco-Persian dynasty) were based. The early Persian poets such as Rudaki, Shahid Balkhi, Abu al-Abbas Marwazi, Abu Hafas Sughdi, and others were from Khorasan. Moreover, Ferdowsi and Rumi were also from Khorasan.

Until the devastating Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, Khorasan remained the cultural capital of Persia. It has produced scientists such as Avicenna, Al-Farabi, Al-Biruni, Omar Khayyam, Al-Khwarizmi, Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi (known as Albumasar or Albuxar in the west), Alfraganus, Abu Wafa, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and many others who are widely well known for their significant contributions in various domains such as mathematics, astronomy, medicine, physics, geography, and geology. Khorasan artisans contributed to the spread of technology and goods along the ancient trade routes and decorative objects have been traced to this ancient culture, including art objects, textiles and metalworks. Decorative antecedents of the famous "singing bowls" of Asia may have been invented in ancient Khorasan.

In Islamic theology, jurisprudence and philosophy, and in Hadith collection, many of the greatest Islamic scholars came from Khorasan, namely Imam Bukhari, Imam Muslim, Abu Dawood, Al-Tirmidhi, Al-Nasa'i, Al-Ghazali, Al-Juwayni, Abu Mansur Maturidi, Fakhruddin al-Razi, and others. Shaykh Tusi, a Shi'a scholar and Al-Zamakhshari, the famous Mutazilite scholar, also lived in Khorasan.

### Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater\\_Khorasan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Khorasan)

## 76. Gilan :

Peoples and ethnic groups are often referred to in association with culinary habits that are regarded as peculiarly distasteful. In Afghanistan, Uzbeks are called “noodle eaters” by their neighbors and in Persia the Arabs from Khuzestan are stigmatized as *susmārkor* “lizard eaters”. The characterization of collective identities in Northern Persia does not escape the influence of such food comparisons: it is the preferred medium both for the Raštis and the ‘Arāqis, i.e. people of the plateau or “interior” of Persia (mutual terms with a potential for stigmatization). Given the variety and contrast of their culinary practices, these are particularly fertile grounds for reflections on otherness. The Gilāni people are rice lovers—rice is traditionally eaten with all three main meals (Bromberger, 1994, pp. 187-89)—which they complement with fish, eggs, olives, and to a lesser extent, beef. This contrasts with the traditional diet of the ‘Arāqis, which consists of bread, dairy products, and occasionally mutton. Observing the culinary habits of their neighbors, the Raštis take particular note of their predilection for bread, which they view at times with amusement, and at other times with scorn.

They call the people of Tehran *dahān-gošād* (“wide mouthed”), because they display their large teeth while chewing bread. According to traditional stereotypes, the ‘Arāqis are poor “barley-bread eaters,” for whom rice from Gilān remains an enviable luxury. At a time when the daily culinary habits of the plateau people and the Raštis still formed two entirely distinct systems—although such differences have diminished considerably over the past thirty years—the consumption of bread represented, for the inhabitants of the Caspian plain, both an object of derision and a cause for alarm: “The Guilek,” reported Rabino and Lafont in 1910 (pp. 139-40), “does not eat bread but considers it as food unsuitable to his constitution, to such an extent that an angry man will tell his wife: ‘Eat bread and die!’” As quoted by Rabino and Lafont, Captain Arthur Conolly (1807-42?) remarked, around 1830, that Rašti parents, when scolding their children, would threaten, as a means of punishment for misbehavior, to send them to ‘Arāq, where they would be bound to suffer the odious misfortune of having to eat bread. (For more on the traditional aversion to bread, see Fraser, p. 88; Chodźko, pp. 203-04; Guilliny, p. 84.)

Among the preferred diet of the Raštis, olives (prepared with pomegranate juice and ground walnut: *zeytun parvarda*), beef, and fish often arouse a deep sense of revulsion among the ‘Arāqis for whom the Raštis are *kalla-māhi-kor* (lit. “fish-head eaters), a nickname combining aversion with derision. In fact, the inhabitants of the Caspian plain only occasionally eat fried fish-head, and are generally well aware of the bemused scorn with which their neighbors view this fringe item on their menu. Even so, they praise the nutritious qualities of fish-heads, which are rich in phosphorus and are thought to stimulate the brain.

*How can one be a Rašti?* Connected to these culinary representations of cultural otherness is an entire set of ethnic stereotypes. At first sight, culinary representations and ethnic stereotypes form two independent, semantically unrelated textual categories. In fact, as we shall see, far from constituting independent paradigms, culinary nicknames and ethnic stereotypes form part of a macro-system of representations in which varieties of food and temperaments correspond and relate to each other.

Let us first examine the major features of the Rašti ethnic type as depicted by the man of the plateau through anecdotes and jokes. Such jokes are countless (Bromberger, 1986) and the

Raštis are, in Persia, the favorite butt of these mischievous anecdotes: *Jok? begu: Rašti* ("For 'joke,' read 'Rašti'"); the association between an ethnic type and a favorite target has gained acceptance to the point where it is expressed as a proverb. Even today, a *jokestān* exists on the Internet where Rašti jokes occupy a premier position.

These accounts make the Caspian area out to resemble the Boeotia of classical literature, a land of somewhat slow and dim-witted people. A substantial number of Rašti ethnic jokes (*jokhā-ye Rašti*) mock the naïveté and gullibility of the men from that province; for example, a Rašti may ask the driver of a shared taxi about the distance between Rašt and Tehran, then ask about the distance between Tehran and Rašt. Others riding in a double-decker bus may inquire as to whether the lower deck's destination is the same as that of the upper deck. But the majority of Rašti jokes focus on the sexual lassitude of their men and the wantonness of their women.

They portray an image of credulous cuckolds: a father rejoicing, for example, that his son looks like the local butcher rather than the butcher of a neighboring city or district. This reputation earned the Raštis their second nickname given by the people of the plateau: *kamar-sost* (impotent). A whole set of phrases stressing their lack of manliness is used to characterize them: they are said to be *birag* (lacking blood vessels, i.e. gutless or excessively phlegmatic), *biboḳār* (lacking in steam, i.e. dull and insipid), *biḡeyrat* (devoid of a sense of honor, and hence immune to sexual jealousy). Proverbs and anecdotes have given credence to these stereotypes, and diplomats and other nineteenth and early twentieth century visitors to Gilān have helped to spread such characterizations abroad (Abbott, fol. 23; MacKenzie, fol. 19; Rabino, 1915-16, p. 78).

This negative stereotype of Rašti virility is encouraged by both popular and recorded physiognomies. Rašti men are known for their thin and aquiline noses, a characteristic which was established as a specific feature of the "Gilaki race" by travelers, early ethnographers (see, in particular, Chodźko; p. 202; de Khanikof, p. 115) and, more generally, by the people of the plateau. Popular representations, undoubtedly influenced by ancient theories of physiognomy (*qiāfa*), associate a man's nose with his sexual prowess. A large nose indicates strength, virility and energy. Judged by these popular notions, therefore, Gilān appears as an underprivileged zone whose inhabitants' assets have little potential to arouse envy.

But what exactly is the significance of this reputation for a phlegmatic nature and lassitude? The mechanisms of this popular anthropology will be explored in two ways.

*Cold and hot.* To many 'Arāqīs, the lethargy of the Raštis is due to the humidity of the Caspian plains. Again, according to the norms of popular geography, men's physical and sexual capacities are directly related to the temperature and the degree of humidity in the climate. In arid regions, men are virile and women are sensual, though not easily approachable (hot and dry, like the climate); on the other hand, in cold and humid countries, the men are lazy and the women are easy. This popular theory echoes the scientific traditions of Arab-Persian geography—and prior to that of Hippocratic geography—giving the climate a determining role in molding personal virtues. The earth is divided according to a tradition which combines Greek and Mazdean contributions into seven countries (*kešvars*) or climes (q.v.) and, for example, as described by Mas'udi, organized into "a star-shaped layout" (Miquel, p. 70) around a pivotal point of reference formed by the land stretching from Babylonia to Khorasan. In this

classification, Deylam (Gilān) belongs to the sixth clime and, according to Mas'udi (*Moruj*, tr. Pellat, II, p. 518, par. 1361), the men of these northern regions, which included the Turks and the Deylamites at the time, have a "cold temperament," "wet principles," and express "few sexual desires."

This interpretation of ethnic behavior as dependant upon climate is only a small part of a much broader system of representations of the world and of human beings and their features, a system organized around two major categories, cold (*sard*) and hot (*garm*), as well as two minor categories, dry (*košk*) and humid (*marṭub*). This hierarchical system is used to classify climates, foods, diseases, seasons and stages of life, and also people. According to principles inherited from Hippocrates and Galen regarding body humors (HUMORALISM, individual and collective behavior is largely dependent on the type of food consumed. Hot foods regenerate the blood—a fundamental humor—and engender an expansive temperament that sustains one's strength, vigor, and manliness.

Cold foods, on the contrary, are associated with a phlegmatic temperament, and with weakness and sexual lethargy. According to the food classifications in Persia, the Gilānis are, in contrast to the 'Arāqīs, eaters of cold food. They consume rice, eggs, fish, vegetables, and fresh fruits in abundance, and they like sour foods, all products and tastes considered to be "cold" (see Bromberger, 1985; idem, 1994; Nasr, 1976). The nicknames (*kalla-māhi-koṣk* and *kamar-sost*) are not, therefore, independent expressions of derision based on alterity, but part of the same system of representation in which varieties of foods and varieties of temperaments respond to, and correspond with, one another.

*The world turned upside down.* Gilān is a favorite subject of Tehrani jibes because it provides a combination of the two main stimuli that create intercommunity mockery: proximity in space (one easily scoffs at a neighbor), and a high degree of cultural variation (strangeness and otherness). To the 'Arāqi people, the neighboring Caspian area is a topsy-turvy world, the reverse of their own identity: it is wet not dry, it is green not ochre, it is white (*Safid-rud*) not red (*Qezel-ozon*), its people grow rice not corn, they eat fish not meat, they have cows not sheep, donkeys not dromedaries, and their houses are wide open, not enclosed by exterior walls; it is a society where the sense of honor (*nāmus*) and violence between individuals and groups is less marked than in the Persian interior; it is, in a way, a feminine as opposed to a masculine society (a greater participation of women, seldom veiled, in production activities, a greater flexibility in gender relations, though obviously not to the extent suggested by the jokes). So Gilān appears, in 'Arāqi representations, as a paragon of otherness, a situation that often invites a smile.

In the end, these jokes and anecdotes about the Raštīs teach us as much about the specificities (blown out of proportion in these texts) of the Caspian population as they do about the dominant values of those in the Persian interior who make up these jokes and find them amusing.

*Gilān as seen through literary tradition: Hell and Paradise, a land of refuge and rebellion.* In addition to the representations of the Gilāni identity characterized by ethnic jokes, there are other images of the Caspian world recorded in the literary traditions (major mythological and literary texts, travelers' stories, historical studies, etc.). Through these, the region appears at times as almost infernal, and at other times as an earthly paradise; in addition, it is described

by many local writers (Faḵrā'i, 1976; Jawādi, 1964; Kešāvarz, 1968) as a haven for Aryan culture, an academy of ancient and pre-Islamic customs, a marginal zone, protective of its independence, and a hotbed of insubordination.

*Hell and paradise.* The "infernal" image of the Caspian world is the result of two extremely disparate traditions: on the one hand, the tradition of Mazdean mythology, with its reverberations in the *Šāh-nāma*, and on the other hand the tradition carried on by Arab travelers and later by Europeans. In the Avesta, "the fourteenth place" created by Ahura Mazdā, "Varena and its four corners" (*Vendidad* 1.14) appears like a marginal and threatening space. According to the Great *Bundahišn* (q.v.), the people of Varena and Māzana (mythical countries located in the South Caspian region) are descendants from a different couple than the one who begot the Iranians. The populations in these marginal areas are known as *an-ērān*, an-Aryan, foreign to the Iranian race (*Bundahišn* 15.28).

As James Darmesteter notes (II, p. 370), in the Avesta and the *Šāh-nāma*, the Caspian region was to Iran what Ceylon became to India in the *Rāmāyan*. It is a strange world, home to bad blood and populated by demons (*daev/Dev*). The geographical name, Varena—considered by several authors, with somewhat arcane philological reasoning, as the radical of Gilān—also has a homonym: the word *varena*, which means "demon of evil desire and lust." The Avesta, as Darmesteter notes, often exploits this similarity. Thus, the expression *varenya drvant* can mean "the malicious people of Varena," as well as "the malicious people with evil passions."

The figures that embody such brutality and lust are, according to mythical traditions, the demons who haunt the northern forests of the Caspian region by the thousands, and who battle with Hušang and Rostam in memorable episodes of the *Šāh-nāma*. The former raises an army of lions, tigers and *paris* (fairies) to triumph over the black *Div*; the latter, Rostam, faces the white *Div*, shut up in his castle, "a place of fear, between two mountains above which no eagle would dare to fly," which can only be reached after a "difficult and dangerous" journey; he kills him, then massacres the "thousands and thousands of divs devoted to black magic" (*Šāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, I, p. 529). Local popular tradition preserved the memory of the legendary episode and of the site; they are located on the eastern border of Tonokābon (q.v.), on the heights of Dāniāl where a cave (*ḡār*) is said to be the remnants of the castle of *Div-e safid* (MacKenzie, fol. 44).

This image of the Caspian forests as the cradle of wild forces is associated with a more prosaic image of an area saturated with rain, a universe of foul vapors and fevers. This apocalyptic representation was spread by Arab travelers, accustomed to a dry environment, as an expression of their astonishment at the discovery of this world of moisture. In the early 10th century, Ebn Ḥawqal used these same terms to describe the climate of the area: "It rains frequently there, it may even rain without interruption for one whole year, with no sign of the sun" (Ebn Ḥawqal, p. 371). Between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Europeans who passed through the area or stayed for a time disparaged its "hothouse atmosphere" of "mephitic vapors" (Chodźko, Dec. 1849, p. 261). MacKenzie (fol. 20), speaking ironically, writes, "The fact is that no one but a water-fowl, a frog or a Gilaki can feel at home in Gilān." Lord Curzon (I, p. 361) goes further on the subject, calling the area a "malarial hell," and concludes his description with the proverb *marg miḵvāhi Gilān boro* "If you wish to die, go to Gilān." We understand why, with an avalanche of such images, the region was perceived by the populations of the Persian interior as the *locus classicus* for banishment and exile. Jean Chardin

(ed. Lecointe, VI, p. 109) and Tavernier, p. 92) both recall the same anecdote: "When the king appoints a man of good reputation as the governor of Gilān, one must wonder: 'Has he killed or stolen to warrant being governor of Gilān?'"

In contrast to the image of a malarial hell, Gilān is also, according to the same authors, an earthly paradise, with luxurious vegetation and a variety of delights. Thus Jonas Hanway (q.v.), after describing "the extreme moisture of the earth" and the moisture in the air "so productive of rust that even the work of a watch can with difficulty be preserved" (III, p. 190), compares Gilān to a sort of paradise: "The soil is exceedingly fertile, producing... every kind of fruit without culture; for besides oranges, lemons, peaches and pomegranates, here are abundance of grapes, the vines supporting themselves on the trees and growing wild in the mountains with great luxuriance; so that a considerable part of the province is quite a paradise" (Hanway, p. 191).

Travelers frequently mention this image of a natural and lavish garden. It is true that the trees grown in the enclosed gardens are often the domesticated offshoots of indigenous wild species. Such is the case with walnut, hazel, plum, cherry, apricot, pear, apple, medlar, quince, fig and pomegranate trees, all of which probably originated in the Caspian area (Haudricourt and Hédin, pp. 107-20; Bazin, I, p. 73). This aura of luxuriance is reinforced by a profusion of wild vines (*raz*), "hanging like festoons between trees, as black and as big as the cables of a ship" (Chodźko, II, 1850, p. 64). Again, the Caspian area is where vine originated and here it was never domesticated.

*A land of refuge and dissidence.* Which episodes of Gilān's complex history do popular memory and history prefer to retain? Which images make up the regional consciousness of the past?

Several intellectuals from the region (Kešāvarz, pp. 131-32; Faḵrā'i, pp. 212-14) evoke a powerful image of Gilān as a land attached to its independence, inclined to rebellion and insubordination, and as a custodian of specific Iranian traditions. It is indeed worth noting that for two millennia, up to its annexation by Shah Abbas I (1588-1629), the province had been spared from the lasting influence of highly organized states that had extended their dominion to its very doorstep. This tradition of resistance to invaders is a leitmotif in the works of both regionalist and nationalist historians and writers (such as Sadegh Hedayat [q.v.], Aḥmad Kasravi, Moḥsen Azizi, Ġolām-Ḥosayn Ṣadiqi), who describe Gilān through the ages as "a standard-bearer of Iranism," to use Minorsky's phrase (p. 1).

The people known in antiquity as the Mardi (Herodotus, I.84; Aeschylus, *The Persians* 5.294; Arrian *Anabasis*, 3.25), the Tapurians (Arrian, 3.25), the Cadusians (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 9.24; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 5.2), and apparently, more recently, the Gelae ("Gelae quos Graeci Cadusios appellavere," Pliny, *Natural History* 6.16) appear as unmanageable nationalities refusing to yield to the yoke of empires. Arrian, a companion of Alexander, comments: "No one had invaded their country because of the difficulty of moving through the land and also because the Mardois were not only poor but quarrelsome" (*Anabasis* 3.25). This tradition of insubordination and secessionism is confirmed by several episodes in the history of Iran under the Achaemenid, Parthian, and Sasanian dynasties (see, for example, Minorsky, p. 4; Ghirshman, pp. 195, 235; Rekaya, p. 123).



But, in the memory of the regional and national past, these events are of little consequence compared to "the fierce resistance" which, according to tradition, the populations of Gilān displayed against the Arab invaders. Local historians emphasize the point: "The Daylamites fueled a merciless hatred towards Arabs and used any and all occasions to attack them, which explains the existence of an important military base, established in the fortress of Qazvin called 'door of paradise'" (Faḵrā'i, p. 23). "Any Moslem who spent at least 24 hours in this city with the intention of taking part in the holy war against infidels was guaranteed a place in paradise" (idem, p. 222). To several historians of Persia, this resistance represents a part of a national epic: "The Moslems had already invaded France, all the way to the Loire river, and this handful of men still resisted!" (Kasravi, p. 6). The facts are undoubtedly more complex, as Rekaya (pp. 149-50) points out. However, the image of an irredentist Gilān, serving as a refuge for Iranism, was further reinforced through a series of major episodes, over the course of the 8th and 9th centuries, which highlighted the relentless singularity of the area: the rebellion of the 'Alid Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh, of Māzyār, the conversion to Zaydite Shi'ism of the populations of Deylam and Bia-piš (the region east of Safidrud), the introduction of a Zaydite state into the Caspian area, and the presence of local dynasties acting like the guardians of old Iranian traditions.

One of the most outstanding figures asserting this continuity was that of Mardāvij b. Ziār, founder of the Ziarid dynasty, who controlled various areas in northern Persia in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. A native of the plain of Gilān, Mardāvij professed violently anti-Moslem ideas; to show the deep roots of his dynasty in the Iranian tradition, he "had a gold throne made and a miter decorated with invaluable stones to the same design as that of Sasanian King Chosroes Anurshivān" (Minorsky, p. 18). In this context, one should also mention the extraordinary exploits of the Buyids of Deylamite origin, who were Twelver Shi'ites and adopted the title of *šāhanšāh*, claiming a genealogy which made them descendants of the Sasanian kings.

The image of Gilān as a land of refuge, dissidence and Iranism has been enhanced by several episodes during the reign of the Turkish-Mongolian dynasties. The Ilkhanid ruler Ölejtü tried to annex the area, but, following a "Pyrrhic victory" (Boyle, p. 401), did not manage to control it. Under the Timurid dynasty, the province remained a frontier land (*dār al-marz*). The local dynasties then continued to claim a specific Iranian ascendancy: the Ešaqvand people, who controlled Bia-pas (the area located to the west of Safid-rud), claimed a Sasanian origin, the *sayyed* Amir Kiā'i of Lāhijān, who ruled over Bia-piš, claimed descent from the fourth Shi'ite Imam (Rabino, 1949, p. 322).

Gilān also served as a haven for the young Esmā'il, the founder of the Safavid dynasty; he lived there as a recluse from 1493 to 1499 with "seven Sufis who remained in hiding in the forest for seven years, leaving behind their wives, children and belongings and knowing they were destined to martyrdom" (according to *Ālamārā-ye Šāh Esmā'il*, quoted by Aubin, p. 3). The establishment of the Safavid dynasty did not put an end to the insubordination of the province, and it was only under Shah Abbas that, in 1592, Gilān was conquered.

All these events, whether real or legendary, were the subject of a wide variety of differing commentaries and characterizations. Although intellectuals and historians agree on the image of Gilān as a hotbed of insubordination and as a "standard-bearer for Iranism," the facts they describe point to opposing perceptions of "Iranity."

To the majority, the resistance to Arabs, the Sasanian origins claimed by several local dynasties, and the preservation of pre-Islamic customs have made Gilān into a symbol of the national cause and long-run continuity. The underlying equation for this vision of history could be formulated as: Gilānity = Aryanity = Iranity. It should come as no surprise that this point of view, widespread among the regional literary elites, was fiercely defended by several professional historians, including Azizi and Minovi, who wrote between 1930 and 1940, at a time when the Pahlavi regime sought to anchor its legitimacy in the multi-millennial Aryan traditions of old Iran. At a time when fascism and Nazi propaganda were at their most pervasive, this Aryan image was also promoted by intellectuals who were not sympathetic to the Pahlavi regime. Also meaningful is the fact that, later on, in the 1960s, children's magazines (*Ettelā'āt-e kudakān*, *Keyhān baččahā*) chose Mardāvij as the hero of stories and comic strips.

This vision of Gilān's past is either associated with, or opposed to, another image of the historical role of the south-Caspian provinces often portrayed as the cradles of national Islam. This view is supported by the fact that several important episodes in the historical development of Shi'ism, such as the foundation of a Zaydi state under the impulse of Alid refugees, the Buyids' "epic," and young Esmā'il seeking refuge in Lāhijān, all took place in Gilān.

The tradition of an insubordinate Gilān was reinforced by several episodes of modern and contemporary history. In 1804, at the beginning of the Russo-Persian war, the local population fiercely resisted the troops that had landed in Anzali on their way towards Rašt, forcing them to withdraw (Curzon, p. 388; Afary, 1991, p. 147). Above all, during the Constitutional period, protests and rebellions were exceptionally intense in the province. Many associations and societies (*anjomans*) were created in both cities and villages, fishermen went on strike, and peasants, demanding better conditions, refused to pay their land rents. This rebellion was supported and led by intellectuals and city craftsmen linked to Caucasian Social and Democratic movements. Two leaders particularly distinguished themselves in propagating revolutionary ideas in rural areas: Sayyed Jamāl Šahrāšub ("the urban rebel-rouser") and Raḥim Šišabor ("the glass cutter"). An armed rebellion, directed against the principal landowner, broke out in Tāleš in 1906; government troops, dispatched in 1908, did not manage to overcome it. The following year, the revolutionaries seized Rašt and marched on Tehran where they joined Baḳtiāri rebels and contributed to the fall of Moḥammad-'Ali Shah (Afary, 1991).

As deeply rooted as they are, these images of a rebellious and unruly Gilān are eclipsed by those of Mirzā Kuček Khan, leader of the Jangali movement (q.v.; 1915-21), who became the area's emblematic hero. The symbolic space occupied today by the so-called "Commander of the Forest" (*sardār-e jangal*) is considerable. Boulevards, a natural park, cinemas, and a ferryboat (connecting Anzali to Baku) all bear his name or one of his epithets. Posters, a stamp, and murals commemorate his memory. A television series, broadcast on several occasions in the late 1980s and early 1990s, recounts the principal events of the *Jangal*. Songs, poems, articles in local magazines (particularly in *Gilevā*), paintings (Ḥājizāda's, in particular) mention this charismatic character; his tomb, now restored, is topped by a mausoleum built in 1982. As a supreme dedication, his statue has been standing since 1999 on the square in front of the City Hall in Rašt (photo 1).

But this hero, his actions, the movement he led, the ephemeral republic he presided over in 1920-21, are all subject to contrasting interpretations, a “contentious historiography,” to use Janet Afary’s apt phrase (1995), even to those who claim to be his followers.

In popular representations, Mirzā Kuček Khan appears as a sort of Robin Hood, a symbol of regional identity in appearance and manner. Songs celebrate the purity of his light blue eyes. Mirzā spoke Gilaki and dressed in the manner of the Tāleš or Gāleš, wearing trousers and a jacket, both made of *šāl*, a coarse-looking fabric woven locally (see CLOTHING xxii), and wearing *pātave* (puttees) and *čumuš* (cowhide shoes) typical of regional dress. Popular memory also recalls his role as a redresser of wrongs, who solved even the most sensitive problems (disputes with landowners, irrigation-related conflicts, etc.) directly on the spot, or his role in the modernization of the region (construction of roads, schools, etc.).

Mirzā Kuček and his movement are also closely associated with the forest, and with all it represents in the Caspian world. The forest is a place of refuge and freedom to which one withdraws to escape injustice; on several occasions, Mirzā Kuček withdrew to the forest from fights and conflicts, especially with the Bolsheviks. A common expression among the area’s intellectuals translates this melancholic and voluntary withdrawal into the forest-refuge as *jangalzadagi*, (the “forestoxication” or “forest sickness”). The character of Mirzā Kuček incarnates this local forest imagery associating freedom with rebellion. This association is particularly strong in Hājizāda’s paintings, two of which (pp. 58, 77) show Mirzā Kuček in the trunk of a tree.

However, beyond the standard image of a local hero, there are also polemical and contradictory representations of this uncommon character. He is a guerrilla hero, sporting wild hair and a beard (see Bromberger, 2010, pp. 31-35), a portrayer of socialist-oriented anti-imperialistic ideas such as those glorified by the revolutionary movements of the extreme left in the 1960s. Partially in memory of the *Jangali* movement and its leader, a Marxist group well established in northern Persia called the *Fedā’iyān-e k̄alq* (“the people’s fighters”) chose a site in the Gilān forest to start a sporadic guerrilla war which lasted eight years. The attack on Siāhkal’s military police headquarters took place on 8 February 1971, and marked the beginning of an armed adventure which was to have important repercussions (Abrahamian, p. 159). Another movement of the revolutionary left, the Islamic movement of the *Mojāhedīn-e k̄alq*, who named their newspaper *Jangal* (published between 1972 and 1975), arrogated Mirzā Kuček’s image as anti-imperialistic hero. The guerrilla and opposition movements in Gilān in the early 1980s likewise appropriated the symbol.

The Islamic regime emphasizes the combat carried out by Mirzā Kuček “for the sacred values of Islam and the independence of Iran.” On his tomb the following epitaph is engraved: “Commander of the Forest, Mirzā Kuček Khan the Jangali, rose up and responded to the call of Islam, and through the roar of his canon fire brought the voices of the poor and the oppressed of Iran to the ears of people worldwide.”

There is no shortage of arguments to support this representation: Mirzā Kuček studied Islamic theology, and he broke with the radicals and the Bolsheviks who, at the time of their arrival in 1920, damaged mosques, conducted a campaign against religion, and questioned the status of private property. In a letter to Lenin (Chaqueri, 1983, p. 155), the Jangali leader condemns the Bolshevik propagandists “who are ignorant of the manners and customs of the Iranian

people." His death, whose many different versions are transmitted by "oral tradition," fits the mold of martyrdom and links him to the "saints" of Shi'ism.

A recent textbook (*Tāriḳ-e mo'āṣer-e Irān. Sāl-e sevvom-e āmuzeš-e motawasseṭa-ye 'omumi*, pp. 137-38) emphasizes that Mirzā Kuček sacrificed himself as a martyr (*šahid*) for sacred values (*ārmānhā-ye moqaddas*), and describes the last days of his life. Abandoned by all (many of his followers either betrayed him or returned to Russia), Mirzā Kuček bid farewell to his wife, an honest country woman, and offered to divorce her to give her the possibility of remarrying; a paragon of honor, she refused. Mirzā gave her the only valuable item he possessed, a gold alarm clock: "Each time it rings, you will think of me," he said.

Husband and wife parted, their eyes full of tears. Mirzā Kuček reached the mountains with his most faithful companion, a German officer known as Hušang (see Chaqueri, 1995, pp. 461-62). Surprised by a snowstorm, he died of cold; his head was cut off and brought to Tehran by Ẕālu Qorbān, one of his former lieutenants who had joined the government troops; in Tehran, Mirzā Kuček's severed head was presented to Rezā Khan, who ordered that it be displayed on Parliament Square.

Tradition has it that Mirzā Kuček's head was surreptitiously unearthed, carried to Gilān, and reattached to his body. Mirzā Kuček was finally buried in the Solaymān Dārāb cemetery on the outskirts of Rašt, by the road that leads in the direction of the forest. These episodes are in many respects reminiscent of the great tradition of Shi'ite martyrdom: betrayal, a desperate struggle with the oppressor, and even the replacement of the head, *sar-tan* (lit. "head-body"), following the example of Imam Ḥosayn, the "prince of martyrs."

Thus, the Islamic Republic portrays Mirzā Kuček as a defender of Islam, an enemy of foreign powers and Bolshevism, and an ancestor of sorts to the 1979 Revolution. Nevertheless, the image of the guerrilla, heralding that of Third World resistance fighters, with their socialist-oriented ideas, was perceived as a threat, especially since armed movements hostile to the regime (*Feda'iyān, Mojāhedin*; see above) tended to appropriate the legendary figure for their own purposes. To thwart this image, officials insisted on the religious dimensions of Mirzā Kuček's battle, and often portrayed him as a mulla. A painting on display at the Rašt Museum in 1982, showing the hero in religious garb, was accompanied by the caption: "Mirzā Kuček Khan, a great revolutionary man, a victim of the complicity between East and West" (photo 2). But such a portrayal is too far from the tough and deeply rooted image of the disheveled guerrilla hero to be credible.

In the end, Islamic authorities accommodated themselves to this disturbing image by emphasizing the deeply religious character of the Jangali movement. And so the caption on a poster published by the *pāsdārān* (Revolutionary Guards) recalls Mirzā Kuček's words: "We will resist to the last ditch and will sacrifice ourselves for the defense of Islamic powers" (photo 3).

"The Forest General" thus expresses, in various proportions, a symbol of the regional identity, a champion of the fight for national freedom, a herald of the religious struggle. His mausoleum has become a place of pilgrimage (*ziāratgāh*), particularly on 11 Āḍar (2 December), the anniversary of his burial. Honored today by opposing currents of public opinion, the memory of Mirzā Kuček was obscured during the Pahlavi regime and degraded by the Iranian Communists, who criticized his "regionalism," his "obscurantism," his break with the Bolsheviks, and

especially the killing of their leader, Ḥaydar Khan ‘Amu-oḡli (q.v.). The proliferation of material devoted to the Jangali movement and its charismatic leader (a partial assessment of references can be found in Afary, 1995; Chaqueri, 1995; Harris), is a testament to both the originality of this episode in the history of Persia, and to the diversity of the related images. These events have become a contested field of symbolic interpretation in Persia and Gilān today.

Thus, the image of Gilān is a mix of contradictory representations: that of a land of Beotians, a ransom for the originality of a singular way of life, that of hell and paradise, that of a standard-bearer of Iranism, and finally that of an endemic hotbed of rebellion where a modest people resist an overbearing stranger. In popular tales (see ‘Ebādallāhi), the symbol of this rebellious and cunning resistance is *bāqāle qātoq*, a lima bean stew (so named after a typical dish of Gilān), who defeats *ḡul*, the giant who is parching the land.

Contemporary literature bears witness to the conflicting images associated with Gilān. For example, in *Sāya-ye Moḡol*, Sādeq Hedayat emphasizes the luxuriant and frightening nature of northern landscapes and depicts the Caspian world as a standard-bearer of Iranism. The main characters bear pre-Islamic names, and the dagger with which the Mongol arch-villain is killed has an inscription in Pahlavi on its blade. Some writers focus on specific features of local folklore. Thus, Moḡammad Ḥejāzi (q.v.), in his short story *Širin-kolā*, gives a vivid description of *varzā jang*, a traditional bullfight (see GĀVBĀZI).

In the works of poets and writers of the left, including Afrāšta, Faḡrā’i, Kasmā’i, and Beh-āḡḡin, the tension between the landowners and the peasants often appears as a major theme. In Beh-āḡḡin’s *Doḡtar-e ra’iyat*, for example, the conflict is between Aḡmad-gol, a proud peasant, and Ḥāj Aḡmad, a landlord who colludes with the British during World War I, while the Jangali movement was gathering momentum. Finally, another image of Gilān appears throughout popular and literary discourse: that of an area which is often at the forefront of political and social changes, and hence one that anticipates historical movements.

Source :

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gilan-xv-identity>



## 77. Academy of Gondishapur :

The Academy of Gondishapur (Persian: فرهنگستان گندی‌شاپور, Farhangestân-e Gondišâpur), also known as The Gondishapur University (شاپوری‌گند دانشگاه Dânešgâh-e Jondišapur), was one of the three Sasanian centers of education (Ctesiphon, Resaina, Gundeshapur) and academy of learning in the city of Gundeshapur, Iran during late antiquity, the intellectual center of the Sasanian Empire. It offered education and training in medicine, philosophy, theology and science. The faculty were versed in Persian traditions. According to *The Cambridge History of Iran*, it was the most important medical center of the ancient world during the 6th and 7th centuries.

Under the Pahlavi dynasty, the heritage of Gondeshapur was memorialized by the founding of the *Jondishapur University* and its twin institution *Jondishapur University of Medical Sciences*, near the city of Ahvaz in 1955. After the 1979 revolution Jondishapur University was renamed to Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz in 1981 in honor of Mostafa Chamran. It has been renamed again as Ahvaz Jundishapur University of Medical Sciences recently.

### History :

In A.D. 489, the Nestorian Christian theological and scientific center in Edessa was ordered closed by the Byzantine emperor Zeno, and was transferred and absorbed into the School of Nisibis in Asia Minor, also known as *Nisibîn*, then under Persian rule. Here, Nestorian scholars, together with Hellenistic philosophers banished from Athens by Justinian in 529, carried out important research in medicine, astronomy, and mathematics.

However, it was under the rule of the Sassanid emperor Khosrau I (A.D. 531-579), known to the Greeks and Romans as *Chosroes*, that Gondeshapur became known for medicine and learning. Khosrau I gave refuge to various Greek philosophers and Syriac-speaking Nestorian Christians fleeing religious persecution by the Byzantine empire. The Sassanids had long battled the Romans and Byzantines for control of present-day Iraq and Syria and were naturally disposed to welcome the refugees.

Emperor Khosrau I commissioned the refugees to translate Greek and Syriac texts into Pahlavi. They translated various works on medicine, astronomy, philosophy, and useful crafts.

Khosrau I also turned towards the east, and sent the physician Borzouye to invite Indian and Chinese scholars to Gondeshapur. These visitors translated Indian texts on astronomy, astrology, mathematics and medicine and Chinese texts on herbal medicine and religion. Borzouye is said to have himself translated the *Pañcatantra* from Sanskrit into Persian as *Kalila u Dimana*.

A Church of the East monastery was established in the city of Gondishapur sometime before 376/7. By the 6th century the city became famed for its theological school where Rabban Hormizd once studied. According to a letter from the Catholicos of the East Timothy I, the Metropolitanate of Beth Huzaye took charge of both the theological and medical institutions.

Although almost all the physicians of the medical academy were Persians, yet they wrote their treatises in Syriac, because medicine had a literary tradition in Syriac.

### Significance of Gondeshapur :

To a very large extent, the credit for the whole hospital system must be given to Persia.  
— *Cyril Elgood, A Medical History of Persia.*

In addition to systemizing medical treatment and knowledge, the scholars of the academy also transformed medical education; rather than apprenticing with just one physician, medical students were required to work in the hospital under the supervision of the whole medical faculty. There is even evidence that graduates had to pass exams in order to practice as accredited Gondeshapur physicians (as recorded in an Arabic text, the *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā*). Gondeshapur also had a pivotal role in the history of mathematics.

### Gondeshapur under Muslim rule :

In 832 AD, Caliph al-Ma'mūn bolstered the famous House of Wisdom. There the methods of Gondeshapur were emulated; indeed, the House of Wisdom was staffed with graduates of the older Academy of Gondeshapur. It is believed that the House of Wisdom was disbanded under Al-Mutawakkil, al-Ma'mūn's successor.

However, by that time the intellectual center of the Abbasid Caliphate had definitively shifted to Baghdad, as henceforth there are few references in contemporary literature to universities or hospitals at Gondeshapur. The significance of the center gradually declined. Al-Muqaddasi's *Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions* (c. 1000 AD) described Gondeshapur as falling into ruins.

The last known head of Gondeshapur's hospital died in 869.

### Famous physicians of Gondeshapur :

- Borzūya
- Bukhtishu
- Masawaiyh
- Sarakhsi
- Sabur ibn Sahl
- Nafi ibn al-Harith

## Modern Gondeshapur :



Soon after the founding of the modern school of Jondishapur, Dr. Tal'at Basāri was appointed vice chancellor of the university, the first woman to reach such a post in any university in Iran. Under the Pahlavi dynasty, the heritage of Gondeshapur was memorialized by the founding of the *Jondishapur University* and its twin institution *Jondishapur University of Medical Sciences*, near the city of Ahvaz in 1955.

The latter-day Jondishapur University of Medical Sciences was founded and named after its Sassanid predecessor, by its founder and first Chancellor, Dr. Mohammad Kar, Father of Cambys Kar and Cyrus Kar, in Ahvaz in 1959.

Jondishapur University was renamed to Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz in 1981 in honor of Mostafa Chamran. It has been renamed again as Ahvaz Jundishapur University of Medical Sciences recently.

The first woman to be appointed as vice-chancellor in a university in Iran, Dr. Tal'at Basāri, was appointed at this university in the mid-1960s, and starting 1968, plans for the modern campus were designed by famed architect Kamran Diba.

Ancient Gondeshapur is also slated for an archaeological investigation. Experts from the Archaeological Research Center of Iran's Cultural Heritage Organization and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago plan to start excavations in early 2006.

Source :

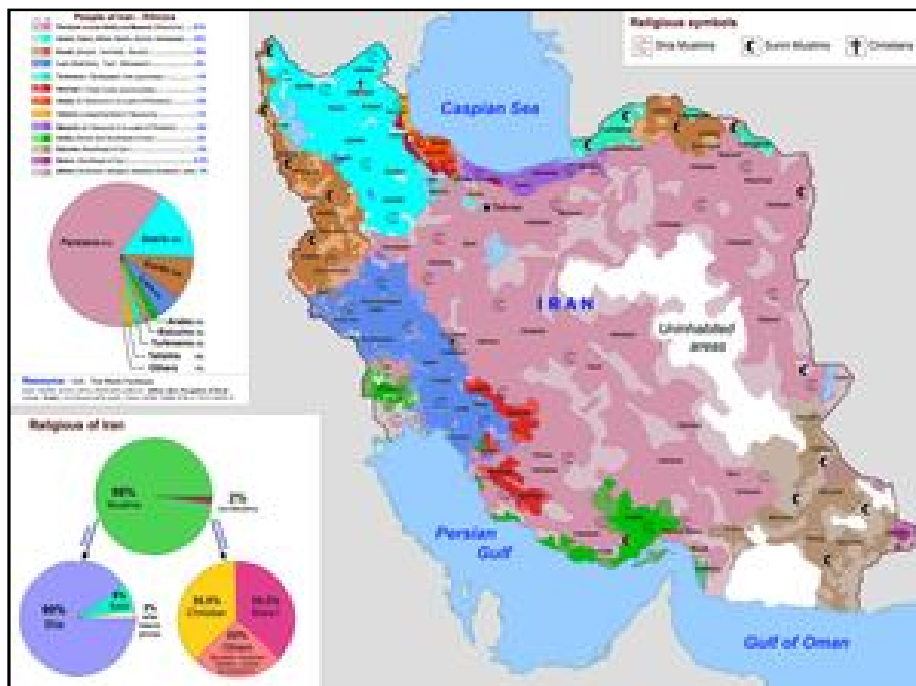
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academy\\_of\\_Gondishapur](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academy_of_Gondishapur)

## 78. Qashqai people :

Qashqai (pronounced [qɑʃqɑːji:]; also spelled Qashqa'i, 'Qashqay,' Kashkai, Kashkay, Qashqayi, Gashgai, Gashgay, Ghashghaei, in Persian: بی‌قشقا) is a conglomeration of clans in Iran consisting of mostly Turkic peoples but also Lurs, Kurds and Arabs. Almost all of them speak a Western Oghuz Turkic dialect known as the Qashqai language, as well as Persian (the national language of Iran) in formal use. The Qashqai mainly live in the provinces of Fars, Khuzestan, Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad, Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari, Bushehr, and southern Isfahan, especially around the cities of Shiraz and Firuzabad in Fars. The majority of Qashqai people were originally nomadic pastoralists and some remain so today. The traditional nomadic Qashqai travelled with their flocks twice yearly to and from the summer highland pastures north of Shiraz roughly 480 km or 300 miles south to the winter pastures on lower (and warmer) lands near the Persian Gulf, to the southwest of Shiraz. The majority, however, have now become partially or wholly sedentary. The trend towards settlement has been increasing markedly since the 1960s.

The Qashqai are made up of five major tribes: the Amale (Qashqai) / Amaleh (Persian), the Dere-Shorlu / Darreh-Shuri, the Kashkollu / Kashkuli, the Shishbeyli / Sheshboluki, and the Eymur / Farsimadan. Smaller tribes include the Qaracha / Qarache'i, Rahimli / Rahimi, and Safi-Khanli / Safi-Khani.

### History :



**Qashqai in Iran (red)**

Historically, the Turkic languages are believed to have arrived in Iran from Central Asia from the 11th or 12th centuries onwards.

"To survive, nomads have always been obliged to fight. They lead a wandering life and do not accumulate documents and archives.

But in the evenings, around fires that are burning low, the elders will relate striking events, deeds of valour in which the tribes pride themselves. Thus the epic tale is told from father to son, down through the ages.

The tribes of Central Asia were forced by wars, strife, upheavals, to abandon their steppes and seek new pasture grounds. So the Huns, the Visigoths, and before them the Aryans, had invaded India, Iran, Europe.

The Turks, forsaking the regions where they had dwelt for centuries, started moving down through the Altai Mountains and Caspian depressions, establishing themselves eventually on the frontiers of the Iranian Empire and in Asia Minor.

Though these versions differ, we believe that the arrival of our Tribes in Iran coincided with the conquests of Ghengis Khan, in the thirteenth century. Soon after, our ancestors established themselves on the slopes of the Caucasus. We are descendants of the "Tribe of the Ak Koyunlu" the "Tribe of the White Sheep" famed for being the only tribe in history capable of inflicting a defeat on Tamerlane. For centuries we dwelt on the lands surrounding Ardebil, but, in the first half of the sixteenth century we settled in southern Persia, Shah Ismail having asked our warriors to defend this part of the country against the intrusions of the Portuguese. Thus, our Tribes came to the Province of Fars, near the Persian Gulf, and are still only separated from it by a ridge of mountains, the Makran.

The yearly migrations of the Kashkai, seeking fresh pastures, drive them from the south to the north, where they move to their summer quarters "Yailaq" in the high mountains; and from the north to the south, to their winter quarters, "Qishlaq".

In summer, the Kashkai flocks graze on the slopes of the Kuh-è-Dinar; a group of mountains from 12,000 to 15,000 feet, that are part of the Zagros chain.

In autumn the Kashkai break camp, and by stages leave the highlands. They winter in the warmer regions near Firuzabad, Kazerun, Jerrè, Farashband, on the banks of the river Mound, till, in April, they start once more on their yearly trek.

The migration is organised and controlled by the Kashkai Chief. The Tribes carefully avoid villages and towns such as Shiraz and Isfahan, lest their flocks, estimated at seven million head, might cause serious damage. The annual migration is the largest of any Persian tribe.

It is difficult to give exact statistics, but we believe that the Tribes now number 400,000 men, women and children." Told to Marie-Tèreise Ullens de Schooten by the 'Il Begh' Malek Mansur, brother of the 'Il Khan', Nasser Khan, Chief of the Kashkai Tribes, in 1953.

The Qashqai were a significant political force in Iran during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. During World War I they were influenced by the German consular official Wilhelm Wassmuss and sided with the Germans. During World War II the Qashgais attempted to organize resistance against the British and Soviet occupation forces and received some

ineffectual help from the Germans in 1943 by the means of Operation ANTON, which (along with Operation FRANZ) proved a complete failure. In 1945–1946 there was a major rebellion of a number of tribal confederacies, including the Qashgais, who fought valiantly until the invading Russians were repelled. The Qashgais revolted during 1962–1964 due to the land reforms of the White Revolution. The revolt was put down and within a few years many Qashqais had settled. Most of the tribal leaders were sent to exile. After the Iranian Revolution of 1979 the living leader, Khosrow Khan Qashqai, returned to Iran from exile in the United States and Germany.

#### Major Tribes of the Qashqai Tribal Confederation :

The Qashqai tribal confederation consists of five major tribes, including the Dareshuri, Farsimadan, Sheshboluki, Amaleh, and Kashkuli.

#### Amale / Amaleh :

People of the Amaleh tribe were originally warriors and workmen attached to the household of the Ilkhani, or paramount chief; recruited from all the Qashqai tribes they constituted the Ilkhani's bodyguard and retinue. By 1956, the Amaleh tribe comprised as many as 6,000 families.

#### Dere-Shorlu / Dareshuri / Darehshouri :

The Dareshuri are said to have joined the Qashqai tribal confederation during the reign of Karim Khan Zand (1163-93/1750-79). According to Persian government statistics, there were about 5,169 Dareshuri families, or 27,396 individuals, in 1360 sh./1981. The Dareshuri were "the greatest horse-breeders and owners among the Qashqai". The policy of forced sedentarization of the nomadic tribes pursued by Reza Shah Pahlavi (1304–20 SH./1925-41) resulted in the loss of 80–90 percent of the Dareshuri horses, but the tribe made a recovery after World War II. Reza Shah Pahlavi also executed Hossein Khan Darehshouri the head of Darehshouri family in order to take back the control of the Fars province which was controlled by Darehshouri tribe during Ghajar empire.

#### Kashkollu / Kashkuli :

During World War I, the Kashkuli khans supported the British in their struggle against Şowlat-al-Dowla (Iyl-khan) and the German agent, Wilhelm Wassmuss. After the war, Şowlat-al-Dowla punished the Kashkuli. He dismissed the Kashkuli leaders who had opposed him and "deliberately set out to break up and impoverish the Kashkuli tribe". Two sections of the tribe, which consisted of elements which had been loyal to Şowlat-al-Dowla, were then separated from the main body of the tribe and given the status of independent tribes, becoming the Kashkuli Kuchak ("Little Kashkuli") and Qarachahi tribes. The remaining tribe became known as the Kashkuli Bozorg ("Big Kashkuli") tribe. The Kashkuli Bozorg tribe comprised 4,862 households in 1963. As Oliver Garrod observed, the Kashkuli Bozorg are "especially noted for their Jajims, or tartan woolen blankets, and for the fine quality of their rugs and trappings".



### Eymur / Farsimadan :

The Farsimadan claim that they are of K̄halaj origin, and that, before moving to southern Persia, they dwelled in K̄alajestan, a region southwest of Tehran. The tribe was already in Fars by the late 16th century, for it is known that in October 1590 their leader, Abul-Qasem Beyg and some of his followers were punished for having sided with Yaqub Khan the Zul-Qadr governor of Fars, in a revolt against Shah Abbas I. The population of the Farsimadan was estimated by Afshaar-Sistaani at 2,715 families or 12,394 individuals, in 1982.

### Qashqai carpets and weavings :

The Qashqai are renowned for their pile carpets and other woven wool products. They are sometimes referred to as "Shiraz" because Shiraz was the major marketplace for them in the past. The wool produced in the mountains and valleys near Shiraz is exceptionally soft and beautiful and takes a deeper color than wool from other parts of Iran.

"No wool in all Persia takes such a rich and deep colour as the Shiraz wool. The deep blue and the dark ruby red are equally extraordinary, and that is due to the brilliancy of the wool, which is firmer and, so to say, more transparent than silk, and makes one think of translucent enamel".

Qashqai carpets have been said to be "probably the most famous of all Persian tribal weavings". Qashqai saddlebags, adorned with colorful geometric designs, "are superior to any others made".

### Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qashqai\\_people](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qashqai_people)

## 79. Susa :

Susa was an ancient city of the Proto-Elamite, Elamite, First Persian Empire, Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian empires of Iran, and one of the most important cities of the Ancient Near East. It is located in the lower Zagros Mountains about 250 km (160 mi) east of the Tigris River, between the Karkheh and Dez Rivers. The site now "consists of three gigantic mounds, occupying an area of about one square kilometer, known as the Apadana mound, the Acropolis mound, and the Ville Royale (royal town) mound."

The modern Iranian town of Shush is located on the site of ancient Susa. Shush is identified as Shushan, mentioned in the Book of Esther and other Biblical books.

### Name :

In Elamite, the name of the city was written variously *Ŝušan*, *Ŝušun*, etc. The origin of the word Susa is from the local city deity Inshushinak.

### Literary references :



Map showing the area of the Elamite kingdom (in orange) and the neighboring areas. The approximate Bronze Age extension of the Persian Gulf is shown.

Susa was one of the most important cities of the Ancient Near East. In historic literature, Susa appears in the very earliest Sumerian records: for example, it is described as one of the places obedient to Inanna, patron deity of Uruk, in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta.

### Biblical texts :

Susa is also mentioned in the Ketuvim of the Hebrew Bible by the name Shushan, mainly in Esther, but also once each in Nehemiah and Daniel. According to these texts, Nehemiah also lived in Susa during the Babylonian captivity of the 6th century BCE (Daniel mentions it in a prophetic vision), while Esther became queen there, married to King Ahasueurus, and saved the Jews from genocide. A tomb presumed to be that of Daniel is located in the area, known as Shush-Daniel. However, a large portion of the current structure is actually a much later construction dated to the late nineteenth century, ca. 1871. Susa is further mentioned in the Book of Jubilees (8:21 & 9:2) as one of the places within the inheritance of Shem and his eldest son Elam; and in 8:1, "Susan" is also named as the son (or daughter, in some translations) of Elam.

### Excavation history :



**Site of Susa**



**Assyria. Ruins of Susa, Brooklyn Museum Archives, Goodyear Archival Collection**

The site was examined in 1836 by Henry Rawlinson and then by A. H. Layard.

In 1851, some modest excavation was done by William Loftus, who identified it as Susa.

In 1885 and 1886 Marcel-Auguste Dieulafoy and Jane Dieulafoy began the first French excavations. Almost all of the excavations at Susa, post 1885, were organized and authorized by the French Monarchy.

Jacques de Morgan conducted major excavations from 1897 until 1911. The excavations that were conducted in Susa brought many artistic and historical artifacts back to France. These artifacts filled multiple halls in the Museum of the Louvre throughout the late 1890's and early 1900's. These efforts continued under Roland De Mecquenem until 1914, at the beginning of World War I. French work at Susa resumed after the war, led by De Mecquenem, continuing until World War II in 1940. To supplement the original publications of De Mecquenem the archives of his excavation have now been put online thanks to a grant from the Shelby White Levy Program.

Roman Ghirshman took over direction of the French efforts in 1946, after the end of the war. Together with his wife Tania Ghirshman, he continued there until 1967. The Ghirshmans concentrated on excavating a single part of the site, the hectare sized Ville Royale, taking it all the way down to bare earth. The pottery found at the various levels enabled a stratigraphy to be developed for Susa.

During the 1970s, excavations resumed under Jean Perrot.

### History :

#### Early settlement :

In urban history, Susa is one of the oldest-known settlements of the region. Based on C14 dating, the foundation of a settlement there occurred as early as 4395 BCE (a calibrated radio-carbon date). At this stage it was already very large for the time, about 15 hectares.

The founding of Susa corresponded with the abandonment of nearby villages. Potts suggests that the settlement may have been founded to try to reestablish the previously destroyed settlement at Chogha Mish. Previously, Chogha Mish was also a very large settlement, and it featured a similar massive platform that was later built at Susa.

Another important settlement in the area is Chogha Bonut, that was discovered in 1976.

### Susa I period :

Shortly after Susa was first settled over 6000 years ago, its inhabitants erected a monumental platform that rose over the flat surrounding landscape. The exceptional nature of the site is still recognizable today in the artistry of the ceramic vessels that were placed as offerings in a thousand or more graves near the base of the temple platform.

Susa's earliest settlement is known as Susa I period (c. 4200–3900 BCE). Two settlements named by archaeologists Acropolis (7 ha) and Apadana (6.3 ha), would later merge to form Susa proper (18 ha). The Apadana was enclosed by 6m thick walls of rammed earth (this particular place is named Apadana because it also contains a late Achaemenid structure of this type).

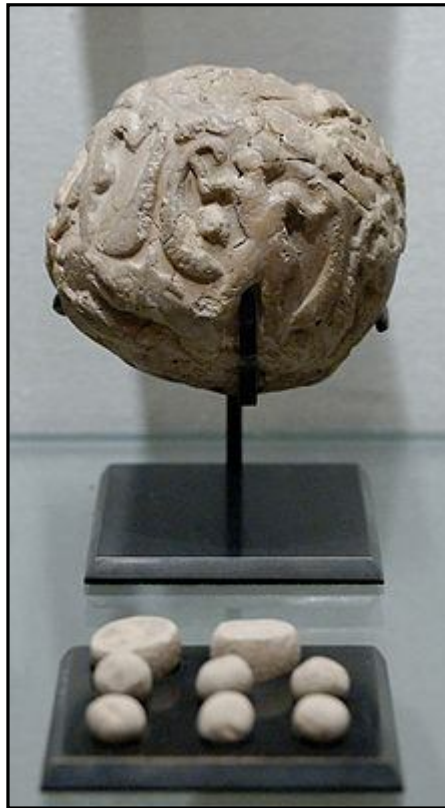


Goblet and cup, Iran, Susa I style, 4th millennium BC – Ubaid period; goblet height c. 12 cm; Sèvres – Cité de la céramique, France

Nearly two thousand pots of Susa I style were recovered from the cemetery, most of them now in the Louvre. The vessels found are eloquent testimony to the artistic and technical achievements of their makers, and they hold clues about the organization of the society that commissioned them. Painted ceramic vessels from Susa in the earliest first style are a late, regional version of the Mesopotamian Ubaid ceramic tradition that spread across the Near East during the fifth millennium BC. Susa I style was very much a product of the past and of influences from contemporary ceramic industries in the mountains of western Iran. The recurrence in close association of vessels of three types—a drinking goblet or beaker, a serving dish, and a small jar—implies the consumption of three types of food, apparently thought to be as necessary for life in the afterworld as it is in this one. Ceramics of these shapes, which were painted, constitute a large proportion of the vessels from the cemetery. Others are coarse cooking-type jars and bowls with simple bands painted on them and were probably the grave goods of the sites of humbler citizens as well as adolescents and, perhaps, children. The pottery is carefully made by hand. Although a slow wheel may have been employed, the asymmetry of the vessels and the irregularity of the drawing of encircling lines and bands indicate that most of the work was done freehand.

Copper metallurgy is also attested during this period, which was contemporary with metalwork at some highland Iranian sites such as Tepe Sialk.

Susa II and Uruk influence :



Globular envelope with the accounting tokens. Clay, Uruk period (c. 3500 BCE). From the Tell of the Acropolis in Susa. The Louvre

Susa came within the Uruk cultural sphere during the Uruk period. An imitation of the entire state apparatus of Uruk, proto-writing, cylinder seals with Sumerian motifs, and monumental architecture is found at Susa. According to some scholars, Susa may have been a colony of Uruk.

There is some dispute about the comparative periodization of Susa and Uruk at this time, as well as about the extent of Uruk influence in Susa. Recent research indicates that Early Uruk period corresponds to Susa II period.

D. T. Potts, argue that the influence from the highland Iranian Khuzestan area in Susa was more significant at the early period, and also continued later on. Thus, Susa combined the influence of two cultures, from the highland area and from the alluvial plains. Also, Potts stresses the fact that the writing and numerical systems of Uruk were not simply borrowed in Susa wholesale. Rather, only partial and selective borrowing took place, that was adapted to Susa's needs. Despite the fact that Uruk was far larger than Susa at the time, Susa was not its colony, but still maintained some independence for a long time, according to Potts. An architectural link has also been suggested between Susa, Tal-i Malyan, and Godin Tepe at this time, in support of the idea of the parallel development of the protocuneiform and protoelamite scripts.

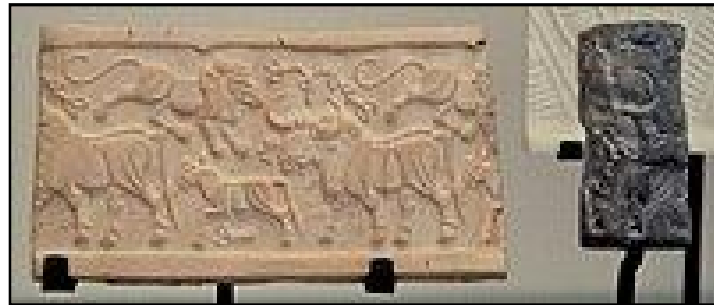


Some scholars believe that Susa was part of the greater Uruk culture. Holly Pittman, an art historian at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia says, "they [Susans] are participating entirely in an Uruk way of life. They are not culturally distinct; the material culture of Susa is a regional variation of that on the Mesopotamian plain". Gilbert Stein, director of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, says that "An expansion once thought to have lasted less than 200 years now apparently went on for 700 years. It is hard to think of any colonial system lasting that long. The spread of Uruk material is not evidence of Uruk domination; it could be local choice".

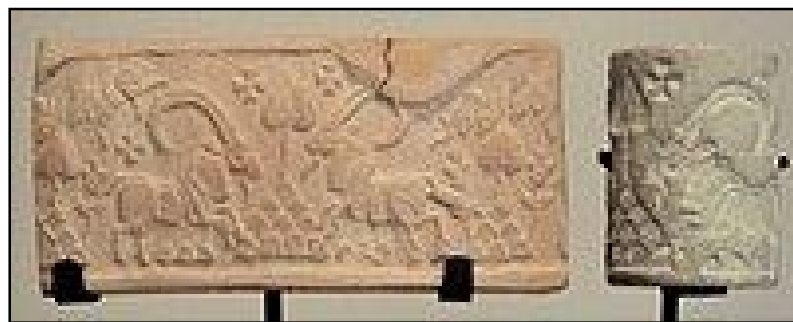
Susa III period :

Susa III (3100–2700 BCE) is also known as the 'Proto-Elamite' period. At this time, Banesh period pottery is predominant. This is also when the Proto-Elamite tablets first appear in the record. Subsequently, Susa became the centre of Elam civilization.

Ambiguous reference to Elam (Cuneiform; NIM) appear also in this period in Sumerian records. Susa enters history during the Early Dynastic period of Sumer. A battle between Kish and Susa is recorded in 2700 BCE.



**Susa III/ Proto-Elamite cylinder seal, 3150–2800 BC. Louvre Museum, reference Sb 1484**



**Susa III/ Proto-Elamite cylinder seal 3150–2800 BC Louvre Museum Sb 2675**

**Susa III/ Proto-Elamite cylinder seal 3150–2800 BC Mythological being on a boat Louvre Museum Sb 6379**



**Susa III/ Proto-Elamite cylinder seal 3150–2800 BC Louvre Museum Sb 6166**

Elamites :

In the Sumerian period, Susa was the capital of a state called Susiana (Šušān), which occupied approximately the same territory of modern Khūzestān Province centered on the Karun River. Control of Susiana shifted between Elam, Sumer, and Akkad. Susiana is sometimes mistaken as synonymous with Elam but, according to F. Vallat, it was a distinct cultural and political entity.

During the Elamite monarch, many riches and materials were brought to Susa from the plundering of other cities. This was mainly due to the fact of Susa's location on Iran's South Eastern region, closer to the city of Babylon and cities in Mesopotamia.

The use of the Elamite language as an administrative language was first attested in texts of ancient Ansan, Tall-e Mal-yan, dated 1000 BCE. Previous to the era of Elamites, the Akkadian language was responsible for most or all of the text used in ancient documents. Susiana was incorporated by Sargon the Great into his Akkadian Empire in approximately 2330 BCE.



**Silver cup from Marvdasht, Iran, with a linear-Elamite inscription from the time of Kutik-Inshushinak. National Museum of Iran**

The main goddess of the city was Nanaya, who had a significant temple in Susa.

#### Kutik-Inshushinak :

Susa was the capital of an Akkadian province until ca. 2100 BCE, when its governor, Kutik-Inshushinak, rebelled and made it an independent state and a literary center. Also, he was the last from the Awan dynasty according to the Susa kinglist. He unified the neighbouring territories and became the king of Elam. He encouraged the use of the Linear Elamite script, that remains undeciphered.

The city was subsequently conquered by the neo-Sumerian Third Dynasty of Ur and held until Ur finally collapsed at the hands of the Elamites under Kindattu in ca. 2004 BCE. At this time, Susa became an Elamite capital under the Epartid dynasty.

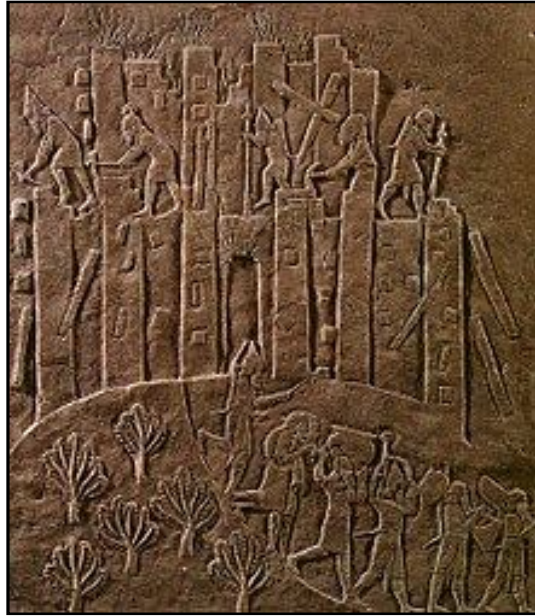
#### Middle Elamite period :

Around 1500 BCE, the Middle Elamite period began with the rise of the Anshanite dynasties. Their rule was characterized by an "Elamisation" of Susa, and the kings took the title "king of Anshan and Susa". While, previously, the Akkadian language was frequently used in inscriptions, the succeeding kings, such as the Ighalkid dynasty of c. 1400 BCE, tried to use Elamite. Thus, Elamite language and culture grew in importance in Susiana.

This was also the period when the Elamite pantheon was being imposed in Susiana. This policy reached its height with the construction of the political and religious complex at Chogha Zanbil, 30 km (19 mi) south-east of Susa.

In ca. 1175 BCE, the Elamites under Shutruk-Nahhunte plundered the original stele bearing the Code of Hammurabi and took it to Susa. Archeologists found it in 1901. Nebuchadnezzar I of the Babylonian empire plundered Susa around fifty years later.

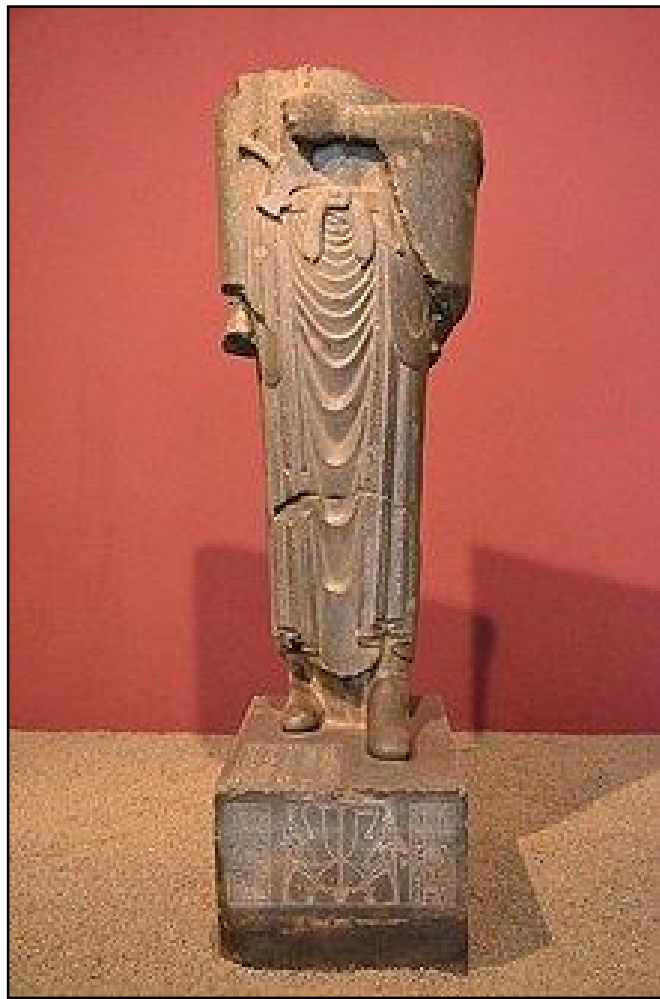
Neo-Assyrians :



Ashurbanipal's brutal campaign against Susa in 647 BCE is recorded in this relief. Flames rise from the city as Assyrian soldiers topple it with pickaxes and crowbars and carry off the spoils. In 647 BCE, Neo-Assyrian king Ashurbanipal leveled the city during a war in which the people of Susa participated on the other side. A tablet unearthed in 1854 by Austen Henry Layard in Nineveh reveals Ashurbanipal as an "avenger", seeking retribution for the humiliations that the Elamites had inflicted on the Mesopotamians over the centuries:

"Susa, the great holy city, abode of their gods, seat of their mysteries, I conquered. I entered its palaces, I opened their treasuries where silver and gold, goods and wealth were amassed. . . . I destroyed the ziggurat of Susa. I smashed its shining copper horns. I reduced the temples of Elam to naught; their gods and goddesses I scattered to the winds. The tombs of their ancient and recent kings I devastated, I exposed to the sun, and I carried away their bones toward the land of Ashur. I devastated the provinces of Elam and, on their lands, I sowed salt." Assyrian rule of Susa began in 647 BCE and lasted till Median capture of Susa in 617 BCE.

Susa after Achaemenid Persian Conquest.



**Statue of Darius the Great, National Museum of Iran**



**Archers frieze from Darius' palace at Susa. Detail of the beginning of the frieze**





**The 24 countries subject to the Achaemenid Empire at the time of Darius, on the Statue of Darius I**

Susa underwent a major political and ethnocultural transition when it became part of the Persian Achaemenid empire between 540 and 539 BCE when it was captured by Cyrus the Great during his conquest of Elam (Susiana), of which Susa was the capital. The Nabonidus Chronicle records that, prior to the battle(s), Nabonidus had ordered cult statues from outlying Babylonian cities to be brought into the capital, suggesting that the conflict over Susa had begun possibly in the winter of 540 BCE.

It is probable that Cyrus negotiated with the Babylonian generals to obtain a compromise on their part and therefore avoid an armed confrontation. Nabonidus was staying in the city at the time and soon fled to the capital, Babylon, which he had not visited in years. Cyrus' conquest of Susa and the rest of Babylonia commenced a fundamental shift, bringing Susa under Persian control for the first time.

Under Cyrus' son Cambyses II, Susa became a center of political power as one of 4 capitals of the Achaemenid Persian empire, while reducing the significance of Pasargadae as the capital of Persis. Following Cambyses' brief rule, Darius the Great began a major building program in Susa and Persepolis, which included building a large palace. During this time he describes his new capital in the DSf inscription:

"This palace which I built at Susa, from afar its ornamentation was brought. Downward the earth was dug, until I reached rock in the earth. When the excavation had been made, then rubble was packed down, some 40 cubits in depth, another part 20 cubits in depth. On that

rubble the palace was constructed." Susa continued as a winter capital and residence for Achaemenid kings succeeding Darius the Great, Xerxes I, and their successors.

The city forms the setting of *The Persians* (472 BCE), an Athenian tragedy by the ancient Greek playwright Aeschylus that is the oldest surviving play in the history of theatre.

Events mentioned in the Old Testament book of Esther are said to have occurred in Susa during the Achaemenid period.

#### Seleucid period :

The marriages of Stateira II to Alexander the Great of Macedon and her sister, Dryphteis, to Hephaestion at Susa in 324 BCE, as depicted in a late-19th-century engraving.

Susa lost much of its importance after the invasion of Alexander of Macedon in 331 BCE. In 324 BCE he met Nearchus here, who explored the Persian Gulf as he returned from the Indus River by sea. In that same year Alexander celebrated in Susa with a mass wedding between the Persians and Macedonians.

The city retained its importance under the Seleucids for approximately one century after Alexander, however Susa lost its position of imperial capital to Seleucia to become the regional capital of the satrapy of Susiana. Nevertheless, Susa retained its economic importance to the empire with its vast assortment of merchants conducting trade in Susa, using Charax Spasinou as its port.

Seleucus I Nicator minted coins there in substantial quantities. Susa is rich in Greek inscriptions, perhaps indicating a significant number of Greeks living in the city. Especially in the royal city large, well-equipped peristyle houses have been excavated.

#### Parthian period :

Around 147 BCE Susa and the adjacent Elymais broke free from the Seleucid Empire. The city was at least temporarily ruled by the rulers of the Elymais with Kamnaskires II Nikephoros minting coins there. The city may again have briefly returned to Seleucid rule, but starting with Phraates II (about 138–127 BCE) to Gotarzes II (about 40-51 CE) almost all rulers of the Parthian Empire coined coins in the city, indicating that it was firmly in the hands of the Parthians at least during this period. The city however retained a considerable amount of independence and retained its Greek city-state organization well into the ensuing Parthian period. From second half of the first century it was probably partly governed by rulers of Elymais again, but it became Parthian once again in 215.

Susa was a frequent place of refuge for Parthian and later, the Persian Sassanid kings, as the Romans sacked Ctesiphon five different times between 116 and 297 CE. Susa was briefly captured in 116 CE by the Roman emperor Trajan during the course of his Parthian campaign. Never again would the Roman Empire advance so far to the east.

### Sassanid period :

Susan was conquered and destroyed in 224 CE by the Sassanid Ardashir I, but rebuilt immediately thereafter, and perhaps even temporarily a royal residence. According to a later tradition, Shapur I is said to have spent his twilight years in the city, although this tradition is uncertain and perhaps refers more to Shapur II.

Under the Sassanids, following the founding of Gundeshapur Susa slowly lost its importance. Archaeologically, the Sassanid city is less dense compared to the Parthian period, but there were still significant buildings, with the settlement extending over 400 hectares. Susa was also still very significant economically and a trading center, especially in gold trading. Coins also continued to be minted in the city. The city had a Christian community in a separate district with a Nestorian bishop, whose last representative is attested to in 1265. Archaeologically a stucco panel with the image of a Christian saint has been found.

During the reign of Shapur II after Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire in 312, and the identification of Christians as possible collaborators with the enemy Christians living in the Sasanian Empire were persecuted from 339 onwards. Shapur II also imposed a double tax on the Christians during his war campaign against the Romans. Following a rebellion of Christians living in Susa, the king destroyed the city in 339 using 300 elephants. He later had the city rebuilt and resettled with prisoners of war and weavers, which is believed to have been after his victory over the Romans in Amida in 359. The weaver produced silk brocade. He renamed it Eran-Khwarrah-Shapur ("Iran's glory [built by] Shapur").

### Islamic period :

During the Muslim conquest of Persia an Arab army invaded Khuzistan under the command of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari. After taking most of the smaller fortified towns the army captured Tustar in 642 before proceeding to besiege Susa. A place of military importance, it also held the tomb of the Christian prophet Daniel.

Two stories are given in the Muslim sources of how the city fell. In the first, a Persian priest proclaimed from the walls that only a dajjal was fated to capture the city. A dajjal is an Islamic term for a Al-Masih ad-Dajjal, a false messiah, compatible to the Antichrist in Christianity. In everyday use, it also means "deceiver" or "imposter". Siyah, a Persian general who had defected to Muslim side, claimed that by converting to Islam he had turned his back on Zoroastrianism and was thus a dajjal. Abu Musa agreed to Siyah's plan. Soon after as the sun came up one morning, the sentries on the walls saw a man in a Persian officer's uniform covered in blood lying on the ground before the main gate. Thinking it he had been left out overnight after a conflict the previous day, they opened the gate and some came out to collect him. As they approached, Siyah jumped up and killed them. Before the other sentries had time to react, Siyah and a small group of Muslim soldiers hidden nearby charged through the open gate. They held the gate open long enough for Muslim reinforcements to arrive and passing through the gate to take the city.

In the other story, once again the Muslims were taunted from the city wall that only a Al-Masih ad-Dajjal could capture the city, and since there were none in the besieging army then they may as well give up and go home. One of the Muslim commanders was so angry and frustrated

at this taunt that he went up to one of the city gates and kicked it. Instantly the chains snapped, the locks broke and it fell open.

Following their entry into the city, the Muslims killed all of the Persian nobles.

Once the city was taken, as Daniel (Arabic: دانيال, Danyal) was not mentioned in the Qur'an, nor is he regarded as a prophet in Judaism, the initial reaction of the Muslim was to destroy the cult by confiscating the treasure that had stored at the tomb since the time of the Achaemenids. They then broke open the silver coffin and carried off the mummified corpse, removing from the corpse a signet ring, which carried an image of a man between two lions. However, upon hearing what had happened, the caliph Umar ordered the ring to be returned and the body reburied under the river bed. In time, Daniel became a Muslim cult figure and they as well as Christians began making pilgrimages to the site, despite several other places claiming to be the site of Daniel's grave.

Following the capture of Susa, the Muslims moved on to besiege Gundeshapur.

Susa recovered following its capture and remained a regional center of more than 400 hectares in size. A mosque was built, but also Nestorian bishops are still testifie. In addition, there was a Jewish community with its own synagogue. The city continued to be a manufacturing center of luxury fabrics during this period. Archaeologically, the Islamic period is characterized mainly by its rich ceramics. Beth Huzaye (East Syrian Ecclesiastical Province) had a significant Christian population during the first millennium, and was a diocese of the Church of the East between the 5th and 13th centuries, in the metropolitan province of Beth Huzaye (Elam).

In 1218, the city was razed by invading Mongols and was never able to regain its previous importance. The city further degraded in the 15th century when the majority of its population moved to Dezful.

Today :

Today the ancient center of Susa is unoccupied with the population living in the adjacent modern Iranian town of Shush, which is to the west and north of the historic ruins. Shush is the administrative capital of Shush County in Iran's Khuzestan province. It had a population of 64,960 in 2005. Shush is identified as Shushan, mentioned in the Book of Esther and other Biblical books.

Source :

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Susa>

## 80. Daniel Biblical figure :

Daniel (Aramaic and Hebrew: דַּנְיֵאֵל, *Dāniyyēl*, meaning "God is my Judge"; Greek: Δανιήλ – *Daniél*) is the hero of the biblical Book of Daniel. A noble Jewish youth of Jerusalem, he is taken into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon and serves the king and his successors with loyalty and ability until the time of the Persian conqueror Cyrus, all the while remaining true to the God of Israel. The consensus of modern scholars is that Daniel never existed, and the book is a cryptic allusion to the reign of the 2nd century BCE Greek king Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

Six cities claim the Tomb of Daniel, the most famous being that in Susa, in southern Iran, at a site known as Shush-e Daniyal. He is not a prophet in Judaism, but the rabbis reckoned him to be the most distinguished member of the Babylonian diaspora, unsurpassed in piety and good deeds, firm in his adherence to the Law despite being surrounded by enemies who sought his ruin, and in the first few centuries CE they wrote down the many legends that had grown up around his name. The various branches of the Christian church do recognise him as a prophet, and although he is not mentioned in the Quran, Muslim sources describe him as a prophet (*nabi*).

Background :



Stained glass depiction of Daniel interceding with Arioch, commander of the king's guard, who was ordered to execute the Babylonian wise men after they were unable to interpret Nebuchadnezzar's dream.

Daniel's name means "God (El) is my judge". While the best known Daniel is the hero of the Book of Daniel who interprets dreams and receives apocalyptic visions, the Bible also briefly mentions three other individuals of this name:

The Book of Ezekiel (14:14, 14:20 and 28:3) refers to a legendary Daniel famed for wisdom and righteousness. In chapter 20, Ezekiel says of the sinful land of Israel that "even if these three, Noah, Daniel and Job, were in it, they would deliver but their own lives by their

righteousness." In chapter 28, Ezekiel taunts the king of Tyre, asking rhetorically, "art thou wiser than Daniel?" The author of the Book of Daniel appears to have taken this legendary figure, renowned for his wisdom, to serve as his central human character.

Ezra 8:2 mentions a priest named Daniel who went from Babylon to Jerusalem with Ezra. Daniel is a son of David mentioned at 1 Chronicles 3:1.

Daniel (Dn'il, or Danel) is also the name of a figure in the Aqhat legend from Ugarit. (Ugarit was a Canaanite city destroyed around 1200 BCE – the tablet containing the story is dated c. 1360 BCE.) This legendary Daniel is known for his righteousness and wisdom and a follower of the god El (hence his name), who made his will known through dreams and visions. It is unlikely that Ezekiel knew the far older Canaanite legend, but it seems reasonable to suppose that some connection exists between the two. The authors of the tales in the first half of the Book of Daniel were likely also unaware of the Ugaritic Daniel and probably took the name of their hero from Ezekiel; the author of the visions in the second half in turn took his hero's name from the tales.

### Tales of Daniel :



### **Daniel refusing to eat at the King's table, early 1900s Bible illustration**

The Book of Daniel begins with an introduction telling how Daniel and his companions came to be in Babylon, followed by a set of tales set in the Babylonian and Persian courts, followed in turn by a set of visions in which Daniel sees the remote future of the world and of Israel. The tales in chapters 1–6 can be dated to the 3rd or early 2nd centuries BCE; it is generally accepted that these were expanded by the addition of the visions in chapters 8–12 between 167 and 164 BCE.

In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, Daniel and his friends Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah were among the young Jewish nobility carried off to Babylon following the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The four are chosen for their intellect and



beauty to be trained in the Babylonian court, and are given new names. Daniel is given the Babylonian name Belteshazzar (Akkadian, romanized: *Beltu-šar-ušur*, written as NIN<sub>6</sub>.LUGAL.ŠEŠ), while his companions are given the Babylonian names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Daniel and his friends refuse the food and wine provided by the king of Babylon to avoid becoming defiled. They receive wisdom from God and surpass "all the magicians and enchanters of the kingdom."

Nebuchadnezzar dreams of a giant statue made of four metals with feet of mingled iron and clay, smashed by a stone from heaven. Only Daniel is able to interpret it: the dream signifies four kingdoms, of which Babylon is the first, but God will destroy them and replace them with his own kingdom. Nebuchadnezzar dreams of a great tree that shelters all the world and of a heavenly figure who decrees that the tree will be destroyed; again, only Daniel can interpret the dream, which concerns the sovereignty of God over the kings of the earth. When Nebuchadnezzar's son King Belshazzar uses the vessels from the Jewish temple for his feast, a hand appears and writes a mysterious message on the wall, which only Daniel can interpret; it tells the king that his kingdom will be given to the Medes and Persians, because Belshazzar, unlike Nebuchadnezzar, has not acknowledged the sovereignty of the God of Daniel. The Medes and Persians overthrow Nebuchadnezzar and the new king, Darius the Mede, appoints Daniel to high authority. Jealous rivals attempt to destroy Daniel with an accusation that he worships God instead of the king, and Daniel is thrown into a den of lions, but an angel saves him, his accusers are destroyed, and Daniel is restored to his position.

In the third year of Darius, Daniel has a series of visions. In the first, four beasts come out of the sea, the last with ten horns, and an eleventh horn grows and achieves dominion over the Earth and the "Ancient of Days" (God) gives dominion to "one like a son of man". An angel interprets the vision. In the second, a ram with two horns is attacked by a goat with one horn; the one horn breaks and is replaced by four. A little horn arises and attacks the people of God and the temple, and Daniel is informed how long the little horn's dominion will endure. In the third, Daniel is troubled to read in holy scripture (the book is not named but appears to be Jeremiah) that Jerusalem would be desolate for 70 years. Daniel repents on behalf of the Jews and requests that Jerusalem and its people be restored. An angel refers to a period of 70 *sevens* (or weeks) of years. In the final vision, Daniel sees a period of history culminating in a struggle between the "king of the north" and the "king of the south" in which God's people suffer terribly; an angel explains that in the end the righteous will be vindicated and God's kingdom will be established on Earth.



**Susanna and the Elders, by Guido Reni**

The Greek text of Daniel contains three additional tales, two of which feature Daniel (the third is an expansion of the tale of the fiery furnace).

Susanna tells how Daniel saves the reputation of a young Jewish girl when two lecherous Jewish elders condemn her to death, supposedly for unchastity, but actually because she resisted their advances. Daniel's clever cross-examination unmasks their evil and leads to their deaths. The story is unique in that the villains are Jews instead of heathens; it may have been written as a polemic by the Pharisees against the Saducees, who, according to their opponents, were abusing their control of the courts.

Bel and the Dragon consists of two episodes. In the first Daniel exposes the deceptions of the heathen priests, who have been pretending that their idols eat and drink (in fact it is the priests who have been consuming the food set out for the false gods). In the second Daniel destroys a giant serpent that Cyrus believes to be a god; the Babylonians revolt, Cyrus imprisons Daniel without food, the prophet Habakkuk miraculously feeds him, and Cyrus repents.

## Death and tomb of Daniel :



### **Tomb of Daniel at Susa**

The last mention of Daniel in the Book of Daniel is in the third year of Cyrus (Daniel 10:1). Rabbinic sources suppose that he was still alive during the reign of the Persian king Ahasuerus (better known as Artaxerxes – Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 15a, based on the Book of Esther 4, 5), when he was killed by Haman, the wicked prime minister of Ahasuerus (Targum Sheini on Esther, 4, 11).

The 1st century Jewish writer Josephus reported that Daniel's body lay in a tower in Ecbatana in Parthia, alongside the bodies of the kings of the Medes and Persians; later Jewish authorities said he was buried in Susa, and that near his house were hidden the vessels

from the Temple of Solomon. Muslim sources reported that the Muslims had discovered his body, or possibly only a box containing his nerves and veins, together with a book, a jar of fat, and a signet ring engraved with the image of a man being licked by two lions. The corpse was reburied, and those who buried it decapitated to prevent them from revealing the spot.

Today six cities claim Daniel's :

Tomb: Babylon, Kirkuk and Muqdadiah in Iraq, Susa and Malamir in Iran and Samarkand in Uzbekistan. The most famous is that in Susa, (Shush, in southern Iran), at a site known as Shush-e Daniyal. According to Jewish tradition the rich and poor of the city quarreled over possession of the body, and the bier was therefore suspended from a chain over the centre of the river. A house of prayer open to all who believed in God was built nearby, and fishing was prohibited for a certain distance up and down the river; fish that swam in that section of the river had heads that glinted like gold, and ungodly persons who entered the sacred precinct would miraculously drown in the river. To this day the tomb is a popular site of pilgrimage.

Daniel in later tradition :

Judaism :



**Daniel in the Lions' Den, c. 1615 by Pieter Paul Rubens**

Daniel is not a prophet in Judaism: prophecy is reckoned to have ended with Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. In the Hebrew Bible his book is not included under the Prophets (the Hebrew Bible has three sections, Torah, Prophets and Writings), perhaps because its content does not match the prophetic books; but nevertheless the eight copies found among the Dead Sea Scrolls and the additional tales of the Greek text are a testament to Daniel's popularity in ancient times.

The Jewish rabbis of the first millennium CE reckoned Daniel to be the most distinguished member of the Babylonian diaspora, unsurpassed in piety and good deeds, firm in his adherence to the Law despite being surrounded by enemies who sought his ruin, and in the first few centuries CE they wrote down the legends that had grown up around his name. His captivity was foretold by the prophet Isaiah to King Hezekiah in these words, "they (Hezekiah's descendants) shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon."

This misfortune was turned to a blessing when Daniel and his three companions were able to show their mutilated bodies to Nebuchadnezzar and so prove their innocence of charges of leading an unchaste life.

Daniel kept the welfare of Nebuchadnezzar in mind continually, and when the king was condemned by God to live as a beast for a certain period Daniel prayed that the period of punishment should be shortened, and his prayer was granted. When Nebuchadnezzar was dying he wished to include Daniel among his heirs, but Daniel refused the honour, saying that he could not leave the inheritance of his forefathers for that of the uncircumcised. Daniel also restored the sight of king Darius, who had wrongly thrown the pious Daniel into prison on false charges, upon which many converted to Judaism.

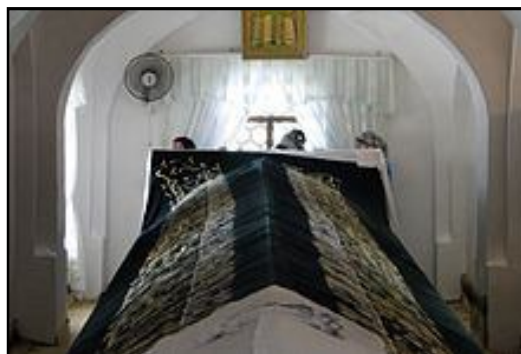
### Christianity :

The New Testament makes one reference to Daniel at Matthew 24:15, which asserts that Jesus recognised Daniel as a prophet of God. He is commemorated in the Coptic Church on the 23rd day of the Coptic month of Baramhat. On the Eastern Orthodox liturgical calendar, the feast days celebrating St. Daniel the Prophet together with the Three Young Men, falls on December 17 (during the Nativity Fast), on the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers (the Sunday which falls between 11 and 17 December), and on the Sunday before Nativity. Daniel's prophecy regarding the stone which smashed the idol (Daniel 2:34–35) is often used in Orthodox hymns as a metaphor for the Incarnation: the "stone cut out" being symbolic of the Logos (Christ), and the fact that it was cut "without hands" being symbolic of the virgin birth. Thus the hymns will refer to the Theotokos (Virgin Mary) as the "uncut mountain".

The Roman Catholic Church commemorates St. Daniel in the Roman Martyrology on July 21.

Some local liturgical calendars of dioceses also list his feast, sometimes on July 21 and sometimes on another day. For example, the archdiocese of Gorizia celebrates the feast of St. Daniel, prophet and confessor, on September 11. The reading of the Mass is taken from the Book of Daniel, chapter 14; the Gradual from Psalm 91; the Alleluia verse from the Epistle of James 1; and the Gospel from Matthew 24. The Calendar of Saints of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod commemorates Daniel, together with the Three Young Men (Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego), on December 17.

### Islam :



**The tomb of protagonist Daniel in Samarkand**

Daniel (Arabic: دانيال, *Danyal*) is not mentioned in the Qur'an, but there are accounts of his prophet-hood in later Muslim literature. He was carried off to Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem, where he was rescued from lions with the aid of the prophet Jeremiah. In *Bel and the Dragon* it is the prophet Habakkuk who plays this role. Another source (Tabiri) retells how Daniel interpreted the king's dream of a statue made of four metals destroyed by a rock from heaven. All sources, both classical and modern, describe Daniel as a saintly and righteous man. Abdullah Yusuf Ali in his Qur'anic commentary says:

Daniel was a righteous man of princely lineage and lived about 620–538 B.C. He was carried off to Babylon in 605 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrian, but was still living when Assyria was overthrown by the Medes and Persians. In spite of the "captivity" of the Jews, Daniel enjoyed the highest offices of state at Babylon, but he was ever true to Jerusalem. His enemies (under the Persian monarch) got a penal law passed against any one who "asked a petition of any god or man for 30 days" except the Persian King. But Daniel continued true to Jerusalem. "His windows being open in his chambers towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime."

— Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary*

In *Kitab al-Kafi*, Imam Ali ibn Husayn Zayn al-Abidin asserts that Allah revealed to Daniel that, "The most hated among my creatures are the ignorant ones who disrespect the scholars and do not follow them. The Most beloved to Me in My servants are the pious ones who work hard to become entitled for greater rewards, who always stay close to the scholars, follow the fore-bearing people and accept (the advice of) people of wisdom.

Baha'i :

Daniel is considered a minor prophet in the teachings of the Baha'i Faith. Some Baha'i converts introduced the principle of reincarnation, specifically that of Daniel and John.

Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel\\_\(biblical\\_figure\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_(biblical_figure))

## 81. Asayer Tribes :

‘AŠĀYER, tribes. 1. Definitions. 2. Historical background. 3. Population figures. 4. Territorial distribution: (a) Lor and Lak tribes; (b) Kurdish tribes; (c) Turkish tribes; (d) Arab tribes; (e) Baluch and Brahui tribes. 5. Organization. 6. Economy.

1. *Definitions.* In Persian texts the words ‘*ašīra*, *qabīla*, *īl*, *īāyefa*, *ūymāq*, *ūlūs*, and especially their plurals ‘*ašāyer*, *qabāyel*, *īlāt*, *īawāyef*, *ūymāqāt*, *ūlūsāt*, are often used as synonyms with the general meaning of "tribe," and in Persian dictionaries they are explained as "lineage, clan, family," or sometimes "community" or "body of troops." Such explanations are of no help for understanding the actual diversity of tribal groups.

Another word for tribe, found in old geographical works mainly with reference to the so-called Kurds of Fārs, is *romūm*, the plural of *ramm* (cf. *rama* "flock"), or in some texts *zomūm*,



from *zamm*. M. Qazvīnī (V, p. 53) considered *zomūm al-akrād* to be a manuscript error for *romūm*, while De Goeje (BGA VI, p. 250; Ebn Ẓordāqbeh, Fr. tr., BGA VI, p. 33 n. 2) preferred the reading *zomm* on the basis of the Kurdish word *zūma* (tribe), a suggestion followed by Le Strange (*Lands*, p. 266) but questioned by Minorsky (*EI*<sup>1</sup> IIb, p. 1135; see also Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 27; Schwarz, *Iran* I, pp. 135ff.; Spuler, *Iran*, p. 241 n. 16). Yāqūt (II, p. 821) defines *romūm* as camp sites of and districts inhabited by Kurds (*maḥāll al-akrād wa manāzelohom*). Anyway, in the usage of the present tribes of Iran, *ramm* and *zomm* are seldom, if ever, employed (though *rama* remains current); *ūymāq* and *ūlūs* are also obsolete. As will be seen, a large section of a tribe is now usually termed *ṭāyefa* or *tīra*.

There is no agreement, even today, on the precise criteria to define tribes and distinguish them from other groups. The effort to find a definition began long ago. One of the first thinkers to discuss the social characteristics of bedouin was the historian Ebn Ẓaldūn (732/1332-808/1406). In his analysis, they are “people who make their living by rearing animals . . . and are obliged to move and roam in search of pastures . . . and water” (*Moqaddema*, Pers. tr., I, p. 228). The cement which holds such people together in a tribe is the *‘aṣabīya* (communal pride) which springs from shared ancestry (*eltehām*) and affinity (*ṣela-ye raḥem*) and finds expression in confederacy (*walā’*) or alliance (*ḥelf*). Consequently these peoples, unlike sedentary peoples, attach more importance to descent than to domicile (ibid., pp. 243-45).

While Ebn Ẓaldūn’s experience was mainly of the Arab and Berber tribes of North Africa, more or less similar characteristics can be found in other tribes. Among Turkish-speaking groups, the word *īl* not only meant tribe but also had connotations of obedience and friendship. Rašīd-al-dīn Faẓlallāh (ca. 645/1247—719/1319) wrote in his history (*Jāme‘ al-tawārīḵ*, p. 159) that “they (the Tatar people) were at most times friendly and obedient (*īl o moīī’*) and tributary to the kings of Ẓetāy.” The researches of W. Irons show that among the present Turkmen of Iran the word *īl* is applied primarily to a group of tents (*ūba*) whose occupants keep together and live in peace and amity; these groups then form wider confederacies which locally are also named *īl* (corresponding to the *walā’* of Ebn Ẓaldūn). At the same time *īl* is used as an adjective to describe relations between tribes, meaning “at peace with” as against *yāḡī* (at war with). Membership of an *ūba* and an *īl* generally depends on genealogy. The members of an *īl* perceive their community as made up of small and large patrilineal descent groups, the smallest consisting of brothers, i.e., sons of the same father, the next of brothers and nephews, i.e., descendants of the same paternal grandfather, the third of descendants of the same great-grandfather in the male line, and so on back to the common ancestor of the whole *īl*. (Irons, 1974, pp. 640-42).

P. C. Salzman’s studies of the Balūč in the Sarḥadd district (south and southeast of Zāhedān), such as the Yār Aḥmadzehī and the Gamšādzehī, confirm the importance of descent-based organization. Apart from halts, these tribes are constantly on the move, either to gather dates from palm groves in the Māškel lowland or to find pasturage for their sheep in the Sarḥadd highland. Consequently neither territorial groups such as the *bonend*, a collection of mud or mud-brick houses and palm-frond huts occupied during the date harvest, in the Māškel nor herding groups such as the *halk*, a number of families who own a flock and camp together, could become the basis of stable social organization in this district. The reverse is the case because the spatial distribution of the *bonends* and *halks* depends on family relationships. In matters such as marriage, prayer, house building, seasonal migration, disputes, etc., lineage is thus the main consideration, not “vicinage.” The territorial groups are themselves formed from

descent groups, and their bonds of common descent are reinforced by matrilineal and affinal ties (Salzman, 1972, p. 63).

On a higher plane, Balūčī tribes enter into large and small confederacies on the pattern of Ebn Ḳaldūn's *walā'* and *ḥelf*. B. Spooner has described a confederacy of five "leading" tribes of Iranian Baluchistan, namely the Barākzī, Mīr Morādzī, Bozorgzāda, Bolīda'ī, and Šīrānī, to which the Mobārakī also adhered in 1342 Š./1963. It seems that these tribes, together with others, the Rīgī and the Esmā'īlzī (Šabaḳš), then had a dominant influence throughout Iranian Baluchistan and that the remaining tribes were all in some way attached to them (Spooner, 1964, p. 60). The nature of these attachments has been described in studies carried out by the Persian Gulf and Sea of 'Omān Research Center (Markaz-e Pažūhešhā-ye Ḳalīj-e Fārs wa Daryā-ye 'Omān, 1335 Š./1976) about the relations of Zayn-al-dīnī, Ra'īsī, Dāwūdī, Darzāda, and Nowkarī tribes with the chiefs of Mobārakī tribe.

The foregoing remarks on the Turkmen and Balūčīs can not be simply generalized and taken as typical of all the tribes of Iran. The conceptual definitions which have been mentioned do not provide adequate criteria for distinguishing tribes from other groups. In Part 3 below we shall discuss certain operational definitions which have been used in Iran in various attempts to compute numerical strengths of tribes, and we shall see how the lack of agreement on this subject has caused confusion in the estimates of Iran's tribal population.

2. *Historical background.* For facts concerning the appearance, and in some cases disappearance, of various tribes in Iran, the reader is referred to A. K. S. Lambton's article *Īlāt* in *EI*<sup>2</sup> and to other relevant articles in *EI*<sup>1,2</sup> (see Bibliography). It must be emphasized that in Iran nomadism, in the sense of seasonal migration (*kūč*), has since remote times been a way of life side by side with village-dwelling and city-dwelling.

According to Ebn Ḳordāḍbeh, quoted with some variations by Ebn al-Faqīh (given here in parenthesis), there were four Kurdish tribes (*zomūm*) in Fārs, namely the *zomūm* of Ḥasan (Ḥosayn) b. Jīlūya or the Bāzanjān, that of Ardām (Arjām) b. Jovānāh (Ḳvanjāh), that of Qāsem b. Šahrabarāz (Šahrīār) or the Kūrīān, and that of Ḥasan (Ḥosayn) b. Šāleḥ or the Sūrān (Ebn Ḳordāḍbeh, p. 47; Ebn al-Faqīh, pp. 203-04). Somewhat different are the lists in Eṣṭaḳrī and Ebn Ḥawqal (both mid 4th/10th century), namely the *romūm* of Jīlūya or the Ramījān, of Šahrīār or the Bazanjān, of Ḥoseyn b. Šāleḥ or the Dīvān, of Aḥmad b. Layṭ or the Lavāleḳjān, and Aḥmad b. Ḥasan or the Kārīān (Eṣṭaḳrī, pp. 98-99, 113-14; Ebn Ḥawqal, pp. 264-65, tr. Kramers, pp. 261-62).

According to Eṣṭaḳrī, there were also thirty-three nomad tribes of Kurds (*aḥyā' al-akrād*) in Fārs, who like the Arabs moved to different pastures in winter and summer, and that altogether they had 500,000 tents (Eṣṭaḳrī, pp. 114-15; Ebn Ḥawqal, pp. 270-71, tr., p. 267; Moqaddasī, p. 446). A hundred years later, however, according to Ebn al-Balḳī (ca. 500/1107), the five Kurdish tribes of Fārs no longer existed, all having been annihilated in wars against the Muslims (p. 168). It would appear that during this period they were largely replaced by Šabānkāra Kurdish tribes. The latter also comprised five main groups, named Esmā'īlīān, Rāmānīān (cf. Rāmānīya in Eṣṭaḳrī's list, p. 114), Karzūbīān, Mas'ūdīān, and Šakānīān.

Outside of Fārs, there are mentions of the presence of Kurds (the word being used in a broader sense than today and including Lor tribes) elsewhere in Iran and particularly in the western

mountainous regions. Ya'qūbī (3rd/9th century) states in his *Boldān* that there were Kurds at Ṣaymara, Ḥolvān, Kermānšāh, and some of the villages of Isfahan (*Boldān*, pp. 269-70, 275). Mas'ūdī (*Morūj* III, pp. 253-54, ed. Pellat, II, sec. 1118) refers to Kurdish tribes called Šūhīān (or Šāhīān) at Dīnavar and Hamadān, and Mājordān at Kankavar (Kangāvar), and more tribes in the province of Jebāl; Eṣṭakrī (pp. 87, 274) to Kurds in the vicinity of Takrīt and Samarra and also in the deserts of Khorasan; Ebn Ḥawqal (pp. 215, 228, 336, 370, 443, 446, tr. Kramers, pp. 209, 223, 329, 362, 428-29, 432) to the Haḍbāniya Kurds at Ošnoh (Ošnūya), to the Ḥamīdiya, Lāriya, Haḍbāniya, and other Kurds at Šahrazūr and Sohravard, to Kurds in the Andkūd (q.v.) district of Jūzjān and the Qohestān district of Khorasan, and to Kurds in what is now Lorestān (most parts of which then belonged to Kūzestān but were later attached to districts of Jebāl). Yāqūt (II, p. 575) mentions the Kurds of a small town named Dašt in the mountains between Erbīl and Azerbaijan.

The abodes of the Kūč and Balūč and the Jāt peoples are placed by early Islamic geographers in the province of Kermān. Ebn al-Faqīh (p. 206) refers to the cities called Qofš and Bolūš, and Mas'ūdī (op. cit., p. 254, ed. Pellat, sec. 1119) writes of the Qofš and Balūj and the Jatt. Eṣṭakrī (p. 163-64) and Ebn Ḥawqal (pp. 309-10, tr. Kramers, pp. 303-05) state that there were seven tribes in the mountains of the Qofš and that the Balūč occupied the skirt of the namesake mountains. These reports are repeated in writings of the 7th/13th century (Yāqūt, I, pp. 732-33, IV, p. 147, 150; Abu'l-Fedā, *Taqwīm al-boldān*, Pers. tr., pp. 380-81; Moḥammad b. Najīb Bakrān, *Jahān-nāma*, p. 58).

Although the big Turkish immigrations into Iran did not begin until later, the presence of Turks is occasionally mentioned in writings of the early Islamic centuries. Mas'ūdī (ibid.) mentions Ġūz (i.e., Ġozz) and K̄arloḳ Turks around Beštām and Bost in Sīstān, and Eṣṭakrī (pp. 245, 253, 281) mentions K̄alaḷ who lived in the southern districts of Khorasan and the lands between Sīstān and India and "had the build, appearance, and clothes of Turks and all spoke Turkish." From the accounts of Eṣṭakrī (loc. cit.) and Ebn Ḥawqal (pp. 419, 426, 452, tr. Kramers, pp. 407, 413, 437), it would seem that the K̄alaḷ had long been established in that region. These two writers (Eṣṭakrī, p. 214; Ebn Ḥawqal, p. 383, tr. p. 373) also state that in the province of Astarābād (i.e., Gorgān) there was a *rebāṭ* named Dehestān which lay on the frontier with the Ġozz Turks and was frequented by Turks coming from K̄vārazm. According to Ebn Bakrān (p. 72) the original abode of the Ġozz had been in the district of Tārāb on both banks of the "Jayḥūn of Čāč" (i.e., the Sayḥūn or Syr Darya). Later a large group of them passed through the province of Balk into the district of K̄ottalān (north of the Amu Darya), whence they burst out in the mid 6th/12th century and invaded Khorasan, penetrating ultimately to Kermān. The same author also mentions the Manqešlāq Turks around the Kūh-e Sīāh near the Ābaskūn (Caspian) Sea and the Yazer Turks around Šahrestāna and Farāva (two outposts of Khorasan on the edge of the desert sands of K̄vārazm) and a fortress called Heṣār-e Tāq (ibid., pp. 72-73).

The available evidence shows that the great expansion of nomadism in Iran was not a consequence of either the Arab or the Saljuq Turkish invasions, but began with the Mongol conquests in the 7th/13th century (Lambton, in *EI*<sup>2</sup> III, p. 1096). In the subsequent history of Iran, Turkish and Turkman tribes played leading parts. The tribal regimes of the Saljuqs and the Mongols were followed in the 9th/15th century by those of the Timurid and then the Qara Qoyunlū and Āq Qoyunlū Turkmen. The Safavid dynasty (907/1501-1135/1722) won and kept power with the aid of an army consisting primarily of Qizilbāš Turkman tribes (*ūymāqāt*) such

as the Šāmlū, Ostājīlū, Du'l-qadr, Qajar, Afšār, Rūmlū, and Tekelū. After the consolidation of the Safavid regime, Shah Ṭahmāsb (r. 930/1524-984/1576) and especially Shah 'Abbās I (r. 996/1588-1038/1624) took steps to disband the unruly Qizilbāš tribes, but after the regime's fall certain Qizilbāš tribes decisively influenced the course of events. Nāder-qolī arose from the Ḳorāsānī branch of the Qereklū *tīra* of the Afšār tribe and, after crushing the Ġaljā'ī (Ġalzay) Afghans, founded the Afšār dynasty. After a short period of rule by the Kurdish (or Lor) clan of Zand in the second half of the 12th/18th century, the government of Iran fell into the hands of the another set of Qizilbāš chiefs, those of the Ašāqabāš section of the Qajar tribe.

From a report which was compiled for the Qajar government in 1215/1800 and gives figures of local revenues and military strengths in Iran in 1128/1715 (reproduced by Dānešpazūh in *FIZ* 20, pp. 396-423), it is possible to outline the territorial distribution of the tribes (not counting the Afghans, Balūč, and Lezgians) at the end of the Safavid period. In this document (pp. 406-15) the tribes are divided into two categories, those of Iranian origin and those "from outside," i.e., of immigrant origin but domiciled in Iran.

The first category comprises two main and some other groups. One main group is the Lor, made up of four tribes: the Feylī near Ḳorramābād, whose sections migrated seasonally to within three days march from Baghdad; the Lak and Zand, whose winter quarters were in the mountains of 'Erāq (-e 'Ajam) up to the domain of 'Alī Šokr; the Baḳtīārī, who lived in 'Erāq (-e 'Ajam) between Kūh-e Gīlū (= Kūhgīlūya), Behbahān, and Šūštar; and the Mamaysanī (= Mamasanī), who lived in Fārs. The other main group in this category consists of the Kurdish tribes: the Garrūs; the Kalhor; the Mokrī, whose abode stretched from Hamadān to the border of the Marāḡa district; and the Za'farānlū, Sa'dānlū, Kavānlū, and Davānlū Kurds in the north of Khorasan. The remaining groups said in the document to be of Iranian origin are the Jalāyer around Marv-e Šāhīān, the Qarā'ī between Torbat (-e Ḥaydariya) and (Torbat-e) Jām, the Langar, and the Jolā'ī. (In the other sources the Jalāyer and the Qarā'ī are counted as Turks).

In the category of tribes "from outside," the first group named is that of the Turkish tribes: the Afšār, including the Šāmlū, Qereklū, and Sarvānlū, around Ṭūs in Khorasan and Orūmī (Urmia) in Azerbaijan and in several other parts of Iran (although the Bayāt-e Donbolī are stated in the document to have belonged to the Afšār tribe, they later broke away and made themselves the masters of Ḳoy and Salmās, later Šāhpūr); the Šaqāqī with summer and winter quarters in Azerbaijan and Gīlān (in other sources the Šaqāqī and Donbolī tribes are described as Kurds); the Qajar around Astarābād in Gorgān, Īravān (Erivan) in Azerbaijan, and Marv-e Šāhīān in Khorasan (in the document the Zangana tribe, which is Kurdish, in Kermānšāh province and the Qaragūzlū tribe in Hamadān province are counted as Qajar) and the Šāhsīvan (= Šāhsevan) living partly in Fārs and partly in Azerbaijan and Gīlān. The Qašqa'ī (= Qašqā'ī) tribe in Fārs is also mentioned in the document.

The other group of tribes "from outside" is that of the Arab tribes: the Ča'ab (Ka'b) at Dawraq (the later Fallāḡīya and the present-day Šādagān); the Mawlā'ī at Hawīza; the Arab tribe in Fārs; and the Mīšmast Arabs in the Toršīz and Qā'enāt districts, the Zangū'ī Arabs in the Ṭabas district, and the 'Omarī Arabs, all in Khorasan (pp. 406-15). This document shows that the geographical distribution of the tribes of Iran had very nearly acquired its final shape before the end of the Safavid period.

3. *Population figures.* Figures of the tribal population of Iran betray obvious confusion. R. F. Thomson ("La Perse," pp. 17-18), on the basis of J. Sheil's *Notes on Persian Elyats*, reckoned the tribal population in the mid 13th/19th century to be about 1,700,000 or approximately 39 percent of the total population of Iran, and Lady Sheil took it to be about one half. Most other writers, however, think that it was not then more than one third. In the later decades of the century, the proportion was generally put at not more than one quarter by European writers.

In the 20th century, statistics of the urban and rural population have been greatly improved, but knowledge of the size of the tribal population has remained vague. One reason has been the difficulty of taking censuses of persons with no fixed abode, but the main cause has been the use of different definitions for computing tribal numbers. Sometimes tribes have been implicitly identified with ethnic groups; for example, Zolotarev assumed that all the non-Persian-speaking groups were tribal. At other times the implicitly or explicitly used criterion has been attachment to a tribal organization. A more refined use of this criterion was advocated by the late Iranian anthropologist N. Afšār Nāderī (Afshar-Naderi). To determine whether a community is tribal, he considered it necessary and sufficient to ascertain the existence of (1) a tribal organization, i.e., an *īl* (confederacy) divided into *īāyefas* (tribes or sections), *tīras* (clans or subsections), and *awlādīyāt* (lineages), and (2) a common territory. On this definition, all persons conscious of relationship to a lineage, clan, tribe, and confederacy belong to the tribal population (Afshar-Naderi, pp. 4-5).

If the above definition is accepted, groups which are now sedentary but have preserved a tribal organization ought to be counted as tribal. However, such a broad definition has not been generally accepted since many consider only nomadic and potentially nomadic groups as tribal. In the Iranian national census of 1355 Š./1976, the definition was even narrower, being restricted to nomadic groups which were on the move or encamped in tents at the time of the count (generally in Ābān/October-November). (Markaz-e Āmār-e Īrān, 1355 Š./1976, p. 11). The instructions stated that "tribes-people who have become sedentary, or if not sedentarized, are at the time of the census living in ordinary dwelling-units or for the time being in shacks and reed or palm frond huts in their summer or winter quarters, will be counted as part of the normally resident families" (op. cit., p. 77).

In the agricultural census of 1353 Š./1974, the only families counted as tribal were those "not possessing permanent domiciles and dwellings constructed of hard materials . . . but living in black tents" (Markaz-e Āmār-e Īrān, 1353 Š./1974, p. 1). Since most tribes, even if wholly nomadic, live in houses built of unbaked bricks or mud and straw in their winter and summer quarters, the narrowness of these two definitions, particularly the last one, and the discrepancy between them and previously used definitions are self evident.

With so much conceptual disagreement over and above the inherent difficulty of counting families on the move, it is not surprising that the estimates which have been made differ very considerably. Estimates from the period 1335 Š./1956-1355 Š./1976 are classified according to the criteria which were used in their compilation. By this means the discrepancies in the figures are to some extent explained.

As regards the figures of 1974 in Table 23, three points require explanation. (1) The figure of 297,000 in the last column is not fully comparable with the other figures in the same column because it excludes tribes-people who were actually on the move but owned houses made of

mud or unbaked bricks in their winter or summer quarters. (2) The figure of 877,000 is an estimate by the present writer based on the census figure of non-sedentary (as officially defined) and semi-sedentary families, namely 166,645 families, multiplied by the average family size, namely 5.26 persons. (3) The distinction between "tribal" and "mobile" in the last column refers to membership and non-membership of an organized tribe.

All in all, the figures in Table 23 show that, even if the broadest definition is followed, the proportion of the tribal population to the total population has significantly declined, if only because of the more rapid increase of the urban and sedentary village-dwelling population. From about 25 percent at the start of the 20th century, the proportion fell to 14 percent at the most in 1976. If the definition "nomadic or potentially nomadic" is accepted as the soundest criterion of tribalism in modern conditions and the figures under that heading are used, the proportion fell to only 7 percent in 1976. On the subject of the ethnic composition of the tribes of Iran, the available information is also scarce and more or less unreal. From the report of Mīrzā Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Mostawfī (Dānešpažūh, op-cit., pp. 396-421), it can be inferred that in the early 12th/18th century the proportions of the ethnic groups in the total tribal population excluding the Balūč and the Brāhū'īs were 54 percent Lor and Lak, 33 percent Kurdish, 11 percent Turkish, 9 percent Arab, and 2 percent Jalāyer, Qarā'ī, and Jolā'ī. Figures from the late 19th century are summarized in Table 24. The consistency of the figures, apart from those of Zolotarev, is not surprising because the remaining four authors were influenced by each other's estimates.

For the period 1956-76 no reliable estimates are available. The published lists of the tribes are in general so defective that it would be misleading to use them as evidence of ethnic distribution. For example, the list in the encyclopedic volume *Īrānšahr* (Tehran, 1342 Š./1963, pp. 116-26) provides no data on the number of families in Turkman tribes, the Arabs of Kūzestān, and the Balūč of Sīstān and Baluchistan. The figures given by C. S. Coon (*EI<sup>2</sup>* III, p. 8, table II) seem very unbalanced; his estimate of 1,200,000 for the population of the Arab tribes of Iran is far removed from later estimates of a maximum of 200,000. A list published in 1360 Š./1981 by the Markaz-e 'Ašāyerī-e Īrān is also open to question.

4. *Territorial distribution.* As already noted, we do not yet possess a comprehensive and accurate list of the tribes of Iran and their locations. In the present state of knowledge and in the absence of agreement on uniform definitions, compilation of such a list would hardly seem practicable. For example, it can often be seen that one writer treats a *īāyefa* forming part of an *īl* as an independent tribe, and that another writer treats the same unit as a *tīra* forming part of a *īāyefa*. The available lists are therefore not mutually comparable. Moreover the tribes themselves constantly evolve. The name, composition, abode, means of livelihood, and even language of a tribe can change. Nevertheless, a good deal of information about the territorial distribution of the main tribes of Iran can be obtained from the published sources, particularly Kayhān's *Joḡrāfiā* II, Razmārā's *Joḡrāfiā-ye neẓāmī-e Īrān*, *Īrānšahr*, the reports of the Plan and Budget Organization (*Sāzmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja*), 1355 Š./1976, the Tribal Affairs Center (Markaz-e 'Ašāyerī), and P. Hand's *Survey of the Tribes of Iran*.

In the present article, the ethnic categorization of the tribes is generally based on present conditions rather than historical origins, because many tribes which are today regarded as Kurdish or Turkish were in past times described as Lor or Lak, and vice versa. For example, the Torkāšvand of Hamadān are of Lor origin, but after moving to their present abode and coming



into contact with Kurdish neighbors, such as the Jomūr, they gradually adopted the Kurdish language (Borqā'ī, *Čador-nešīnān*, p. 3); they have therefore been placed in the category of Kurdish tribes. Although there are linguistic and ethnographic grounds for belief that the Gūrān in the provinces of Bāktarān (formerly Kermānšāhān) are not of Kurdish origin (Minorsky, "The Gurān," pp. 75-103), they are today counted as Kurds. Likewise the Āqā Jārī, now counted as one of the Lor tribes of the province of Kūhgīlūya and Boir Aḥmad, were originally Turks; according to Kāvā Rašīd-al-dīn Faẓlallāh, a section of the Ġozz (Ogūz) Turks who camped in scrub lands were called Āgāč-Īrī, i.e., scrub-dwellers (*Jāme' al-tawārīk*, I, p. 108). In Sīstān there is a small tribe known as the Kurds, of well attested Kurdish origin, that is now so assimilated to the Balūčī culture that they have to be classed as a Balūčī tribe. Many more instances could be cited.

(a) Lor and Lak tribes. The Lor tribes live mainly in the mountains of southwestern Iran, but a few small groups are found in Khorasan and in the Sīrjān and Rūdbār districts of Kermān province.

Information about the Lori-speaking Mamasanī (Mām Ḥasanī or Moḥammad Ḥosaynī) in Fārs is scarce, but it is known that a Mamasanī confederacy seized Šūlestān district early in the 12th/18th century and thereby established another Lor domain, hence forth known as Mamasanī, between Kūhgīlūya and Shiraz. The *šahrestān* of that name, lying north of Kāzerūn and west of Ardakān and having its center at Nūrābād, is today occupied by the four main Mamasanī *āyefas*, namely the Takeš, Jāvīd (or Jāvī), Došmanzīārī, and Rostam. They are now almost entirely sedentarized.

North and west of the district lies the abode of other Lor tribes collectively known as the tribes of Kūhgīlūya and Boir Aḥmadī. Formerly part of Fārs, the territory became a separate *ostān* (province) in 1355 Š./1976. According to reports written in the 1960s, the inhabitants were then divided into three tribal groups, the Jākī, Bāvī, and Āqā Jarī. The Jākīs were originally divided into two moieties, one called Čahār Bonīča comprising the Boir Aḥmadī, Čerāmī, Došmanzīārī, and Nū'ī; the other called Līrāvī comprising the Līrāvīs of the mountain and the Līrāvīs of the plain. The Līrāvīs of the mountain were made up of tribes called Bahme'ī, Ṭayyebī, Šīr 'Alī, and Yūsufī. The Bāvīs were centered on Bāšt and Kūhmarra, and despite an opinion that they are an offshoot of the Bāvī Arabs of Kūzestān, they all speak the Lorī language. The Āqā Jarī originated in a confederacy of Turks, Tājīks, and Lors, as shown by the names of their constituent *tīras*, Afšār, Bīgdeli, Jāma-Bozorgī, Jaḡatā'ī, and others; some of them are definitely remnants of the Šāhsevans who governed Kūhgīlūya in the Šafavīd period. (Bāvar, 1324 Š./1945; Zarrābī, 1340 Š./1961; Lom'a, 1346 Š./1967; Afšār Nāderī, 1347 Š./1968; Šafīnežād, 1347 Š./1968). The tribal formations still existing in the province in the early 1980s were named as the Boir Aḥmad, Čerām, Bābū'ī, Došmanzīārī, Ṭayyebī, and Bahme'ī.

The Baḳtīārī or Great Lor tribes are one of Iran's most important seasonally migrant communities. Their territory lies in the central Zagros north and west of the Kūhgīlūya territory. They are divided into two component parts (*bolūk*), the Haft Lang and the Čahār Lang. The first official appointment of a Baḳtīārī il-khan took place in 1284/1867 by the order of Moḥammad Shah Qājār. This office and that of the *ilbegī*, which ranked second in the tribal hierarchy, were abolished in Rezā Shah's reign. The Haft Lang tribes migrate annually between

southeastern districts of *Ķūzestān* (Andīkā, Masjed-e Solaymān, Šūštar, Īḍa) and the district of Čahār Maḥāl(I)-e Baḳtīārī (Šahr-e Kord, Borūjen).

They are divided into four tribes (*bāb*), the Dūrakī, Bābādī, Baḳtīārvand (or Behdārvand), and Dīnārānī. The Jānakī (or Javānakī) *tīra*, also affiliated to the Haft Lang, is now sedentarized in the district of the same name in *Ķūzestān*. The Čahār Lang tribes have, for the most part, winter quarters in the *šahrestāns* of Dezfūl and Īḍa in *Ķūzestān* and summer quarters in the *šahrestāns* of Darān (Farīdan) in Isfahan and Alīgūdarz and Borūjerd in Lorestān. They consist of four tribes (*bāb*), the Mamīvand, Moḥammad Šāleḥ (or Mam-Šāleḥ), Mūgūyī, and Kayānerī. The Zalaqī tribes are sometimes counted as part of the Čahār Lang. Many *tīras* of the Čahār Lang tribes have become sedentary. (Owžan Baḳtīārī, 1344 Š./1965; Wezārat-e Ābādānī wa Maskan, 1348 Š./1969; Sāzmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja, 1355 Š./1976, pp. 9-57; De Bode, 1845; Rawlinson, 1839, pp. 26-116; Wilson, 1925, pp. 205-25; Garthwaite, 1969; Garthwaite, 1978, pp. 173-97; Digard, 1979).

The Little Lor tribes live in the *ostāns* of Lorestān and Īlām (a separate *ostān* since 1353 Š./1974), i.e., the region between the Dez river in the south and east, the Iraqi frontier in the west, and the *ostān* of Bāḳtarān (formerly Kermānšāhān) in the northwest and west. Many of these tribes are now sedentary, but some still migrate seasonally in search of pasture between the lowlands north and west of Andīmešk and the highlands in the north and west of the region. As a result of the compulsory sedentarization policy of the years 1313 Š./1934-1320 Š./1941, these Lor tribes were to some extent fragmented. Parts of a single tribe can now be found living in different districts.

The territory of the Bālā Gerīva tribe covers the *baḳš* (district) of Malāvī southwest of *Ķorramābād* and lies between the Kūh-e Haštād Pahlū to the north, the *Ķorramābād*-Dezfūl highway to the west, and the Dez river to east and south. The two districts of the Weysiān, around Kargāh in the north and the Alvār-e Garmsīrī in the south of Malāvī, can perhaps be appropriately classified as belonging to the Bālā Gerīva. Settled in this territory is the principal remnant of the Dīrakvand tribe, which was formerly made up of four *īāyefas* called Bahārvand, Qalāvand, Mīr, and Zaynīvand. Various remnants of the Mīr, now mostly sedentarized, are to be found in Šeymara, Kargāh-e Bālā Gerīva (Malāvī), and the Alvār-e Garmsīrī area. A section of the Bahārvand *īāyefa*, which is said to have originally comprised two *tīras* called Morād ‘Alīvand and *Ķord* ‘Alīvand, still roams between the Alvār-e Garmsīrī area and *Ķorramābād*; but several *tīras* and offshoots, such as the *Ķord* ‘Alīvand, Rašnū, Šālvand, and Najāfvand, have become independent units and settled around the Āb-e Čūlhūl. The Zaynīvand *īāyefa* has been sedentarized at Šaymara near Darrašahr. Two *īāyefas* of the Jūdakī tribe, namely the Āqā Režā’ī and the Āqā Mīrzā’ī, have settled around the Āb-e Čūlhūl and Kargāh, and fragments of the Mīr *īāyefa* and the Qalāvand *īāyefa* in the Dašt-e Lāla (plain of the wild tulips). In past times this plain was part of the territory of the Pāpī (= servant) tribe, and the sedentarized Moḥammad Ja‘farī *īāyefa* of the tribe still lives there. The Manāsarī section of the Pāpī tribe, comprising the *īāyefas* of the Morādī, the Ya‘qūbvand, Madhūnī, Mālzīrī, Kešvarī, Līrīā’ī, and others, lives in the east of the *šahrestān* of *Ķorramābād*.

The area in the Pīš(-e) Kūh zone lying roughly between the Kūh-e Safīd in the south and the summits of the Kūh-e Garī in the north is called the Selsela. It includes the fertile plain of Alaštar. The *īāyefas* and *tīras* of the Selsela comprise the Ḥasanvand, Yūsofvand, Kowlīvand,

Karam-‘Alī, Falak-al-dīnī, and some more small *tīras*. Almost all are now sedentary. Their language is Lorī.

The area called Herū consists essentially of the *baḵšes* of Čaḡalvandī and Zāḡa in the east of the *šahrestān* of Ḳorramābād. Čaḡalvandī is the abode of the important Beyrānvand tribe, Zāḡa that of the Bājūlvand tribe which is made up of *īāyefas* called Sagvand, Dālvand, and Qā‘ed Raḡmat. These two tribes are said to have moved from Fārs to Lorestān long ago.

The area called Ṭarhān lies between the Şeymara and Kaşḡān rivers in the west of the *ostān* of Lorestān and includes the *baḵš* of Kūhdašt in the *šahrestān* of Ḳorramābād. The Lor tribes of Ṭarhān are the Sūrī and the Emrā‘ī, and *īāyefas* called ‘Alīvand, Ḳvošnāmvand, Garma‘ī, and Šīrāvand also live there. Besides these, there are some Lak *īāyefas* in Ṭarhān, among whom the Garāvand, Ādīnavand, Kūnānī, Āzādbaḡt, and Owlād-e Qobād may be mentioned.

Dolfān (locally called Delfo), is the northern *baḵš* of Lorestān. It is said to derive its name from Abū Dolaf, the Arab chief who made himself the master of northern Lorestān in the 3rd/9th century. A man taken prisoner by the Dolaf tribe and known after his return as Dolafī reputedly had five sons, Īvat, Mūma, Biżan, Kākā, and Mīr Beg, each of whom founded a *īāyefa* bearing his name. To these must be added another *īāyefa*, the Čāvārī (or Čāvdārī). All live in the *baḵš* of Dolfān and at most times in the *dehestān* (sub-district) of the same name. The language of the Dolfānī tribes is Lakī (see H. Īzadpanāh, *Āṭār-e bāstānī o tārīḡī-e Lorestān II*, Tehran, 2535 = 1355 Š./1976, pp. 292-99).

The *baḵš* of Čegenī is occupied by the Ṭūlābī, Čegenī, Sādāt-e Ḥayāt al-Ġaybī, and other *īāyefas*.

The Bālāvand, Zardalānī, and Ṭarhānī tribes live close to Ṭarhān but within the *ostān* of Īlām. (Sākī, 1343 Š./1964; Kelkī et. al., 1343 Š./1964, p. 27; Sāzmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja, 1355 Š./1976, II, pp. 1-49; Feilberg, 1952; Black-Michaud, 1974, pp. 210-88).

(b) Kurdish tribes. During the century between ca. 1880 and 1980, most of the Kurdish tribes of Iran became sedentary. They have not however lost their ethnic culture or even their affiliations. The Kurdish populated parts of modern Iran lie mainly in the *ostāns* of Bāḡtarān (formerly Kermānšāhān), Kurdistan, West Azerbaijan, Īlām (Pošt(-e) Kūh), and the north of Khorasan. There are also relatively small communities of Kurds in Kermān, Fārs, Varāmīn, Tehran, the Rūdbār district of Gīlān, and elsewhere, even in Baluchistan.

Bāḡtarān (Kermānšāhān) is an important area of Kurdish settlement. Here the Jāf confederacy, until its break-up after the first world war, is said to have numbered 40,000 families under a single chief. Many of the dispersed remnants of the former confederacy still live in the province: Among them are the Javānrūdī tribe, consisting mainly of the Rostam Begī *īāyefa*, in the *dehestān* of Javānrūd, and the Ṭalāṭ tribe, consisting of the Qobādī, Walad Begī, and Bābā Jānī *īāyefas*. Many of the Qobādīs are now settled in the *dehestān* of Azgala. The Walad Begīs have homes in Ravānsar, in the southwest of Javānrūd, and in the south of Bāyengān, and winter pastures at Sar-e Qaṭ‘a. Most of the Bābā Jānī tribesmen have become sedentary farmers and stockbreeders in the *dehestān* of the same name.

Also counted as Jāf are the Owrāmān (Avromān) tribes, who are divided according to their abodes into the Owrāmān-e Lahūnī in Nowsūd and Pāva in Bāḳtarān, and the Owrāmān-e Taḳt in Kurdistan. The very small Īnāqī (or Īnāḳī and Emāmī groups are also remnants of the Jāf confederacy.

The Sanjābī tribe, one of the most important in Bāḳtarān, apparently came into being in the second quarter of the 19th century as a coalition of groups of immigrants into the area from Fārs, Iraq, and Lorestān (M. K. Mokrī, "Ašāyer-e Kord," *Yādgār* 5/1-2, p. 85). They used to move between summer quarters in the Māhīdašt plain in the west of Bāḳtarān and winter quarters in the Zohāb district on the Iraqi frontier, but are now either settled, for the most part in the Māhīdašt, in the *dehestān* of Sanjābī in the *šahrestān* of Eslāmābād (formerly Šāhābād-e Ġarb), or make only short transhumances, though some still move annually to Zohāb where they grow crops and rear livestock. The principal Sanjābī *tīras* are the Dālīān, Čalābī (or Čālāvī), and Ḳorda-Dasteja. Some groups, such as the Pīr 'Alī and Būlī *tīras*, speak dialects which differ from the main Sanjābī dialect.

The Gūrān tribe is one of the oldest in this region. Its center is the village of Gahvāra in the *dehestān* of Gūrān. The Qalḳānī *īāyefa* was formerly included in the tribe, but the present *īāyefas* of the Gūrān are the Bīvanīž (Bīvanīj), with summer quarters north of Kerend and winter quarters in Zohāb; the Čūpānkāra, now mostly sedentarized around Qal'a-e Qāzī; the Ḥaydarī, who move between Sīāvāna (north of Kerend) and Tang-e Zohāb; and the Tofanḡčī, now sedentarized in the north of the *dehestān* of Gūrān. In religion the Gūrān are generally Ahl-e Ḥaqq (q.v.). They are thought to be of non-Kurdish origin. The Qalḳānīs, who lived in the *dehestān* of the same name in the north of the *baḳš* of Kerend, are today regarded as a separate tribe.

The majority of the Kalhor, another big Kurdish tribe, live in Bāḳtarān and either are sedentarized or move between summer and winter quarters within the province, though a few migrate annually to the Mehrān-Dehlorān belt in Īlām. The following components of the Kalhor have been mentioned: the Čenār o Kenār *tīra*, the *īāyefas* of the Ḥasanābād area 40 km southwest of Šahr-e Bāḳtarān (Kermānšāh), a Kalhor *tīra* in the Māhīdašt, and "foreign" *īāyefas* who are not pure Kalhor and probably came from Pošt-e Kuh (Īlām) and Ḳūzestān, as well as some others.

The tribes of Kerend, a collection of small tribes most of whom broke away from larger tribes, are the Bābā Jānī, Jāf-e Gandombān (an offshoot of the Ṭalāṭ), Sīmānī-ye Gāsūr, Jowzaga (Ahl-e Ḥaqq, originally Gūrān), Kolāh-pahn (related to the Kalhor), and Ḥabībavand (immigrants from Pošt-e Kūh).

Other tribes of Kurds, Laks, and Lors whose presence in Bāḳtarān is mentioned are the Jalīlvand at Dīnavar, the Jomeyr (or Jomūr), the Torkāšvand, and the Zūla. The last three make annual migrations from Bāḳtarān to Hamadān province and to the Mehrān-Dehlorān belt in Īlām, some going as far as Ḳūzestān. (Keyvānpūr Mokrī, 1326 Š./1947-1327 Š./1948; Sāzmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja, 1355 Š./1976, II. pp. 1-81; Borqa'ī, 1352 Š./1973).

In Īlām (the old Pošt-e Kūh), Kurdish, Lak, and Lor tribes converge and are so intermingled that identification of them as such is not easy (Kayhān, *Jogrāfiā* II, p. 465). The Kurdish tribes of the *ostān* live on the *baḳšes* of Ābdānān and Zarrīnābād and parts of Mehrān, Dehlorān, and

Mūsīān; they are the Jāyervand, Mamsīvand, Koll-e Kūh, Qā'ed-e Ƙorda, Dīnārvand, and Dast-ʿAlīvand. The principal mixed Kurdish-Lorī tribes are the Arkawāzī, Malekšāhī, Gačī, Šūhān, Ƙezel, Bījanvand, Hendomīnī, ʿAlīšīrvān, and Mīšḱāš, and there are some others. In addition, there are tribes which annually migrate to Īlām from Hamadān, Bāḱtarān, and Lorestān, e.g., the Zangana, Zūla, Kalhor, Jomeyr, and Beyrānvand. (Sazmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja, 1355 Š./1976, III, pp. 1-44; Refʿatī, 1356 Š./1977).

On the tribes of the *ostān* of Kurdistan proper, not much information is available. Most have become fully sedentary or only make short transhumances. Among the numerous tribes reported to be settled in the *šahrestāns* of Sanandaĵ and Marīvān are the Kūmāsī in the *dehestān* of the same name in the east of Marīvān, the Kalātarzān (or Kalāntarzān) between Kūmāsī and Sanandaĵ, and the Kaškī and Kamāngar *īāyefas* in the *baḱš* of Kāmyārān south of Sanandaĵ. The now sedentarized Kohnapūš and Kānī Sāsānī *īāyefas* also live in Marīvān. The Solṭānī *īāyefa* of the Owrāmān-e Taḱt tribe is settled in Owrāmān in the south of the *šahrestān* of Marīvān. Around Dīvāndarra in the north of the *šahrestān* of Sanandaĵ, specifically in the *dehestāns* of Qarā Tūra, Ūbātū, and Sārāl, live various *īāyefas* of the Galbāġī tribe, such as the Qomrī, Kāmelī, Jūjarašī (Čūḱarašī), Morād Gūrānī, Qalqālī (or Qālqālī), etc. The Hendomī tribe lives at Ḥasanābād, north of Sanandaĵ and south and west of the Galbāġī territory, and is made up of *īāyefas* called Moḥammad Morādī, Tārī Morādī, and Āḱa Sūrī.

The tribes and *īāyefas* in the *šahrestān* of Saqqez are also numerous and varied: Geverg of Saqqez (related to the Geverg of Sardašt and Mahābād in West Arbaijan), Feyzallāh Begī, Tīla Kūh (or Tīlakū), Kalālī, Kalhor, Ardalān, Wakīlī-e Qabāġlū, Dehbokrī of Saqqez, Saršīv of Saqqez, Ƙorḱora, and Gūra of Qalʿa-ye Dīvānī. The Jāf of Saqqez, consisting of the Mīkāʿilī, Šāṭerī, Tīrḱālī, Esmāʿīl Ġadīrī, and other *īāyefas*, are settled in the *dehestāns* of Saršīv of Saqqez, Ƙorḱora, and Tīlakū; they are considered to be offshoots of the Morādī (as opposed to Javānrūdī) tribe of the Jāf. Among the tribes of the *šahrestān* of Bāna, *īāyefas* called Aḥmadī, Loḱfallāh Begī, Šahīdī, and Bahrām Begī have been mentioned. (Mardūk, 1351 Š./1972; Sāzmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja, 1355 Š./1976, III, pp. 1-32).

The Kurdish tribal zone stretches into West Azerbaijan. The Bīlbās tribe, in three *īāyefas*, the Mangūr, Pīrān, and Māmaš, is dispersed over the *šahrestān* of Pīranšahr and part of the *šahrestān* of Mahābād; these groups are in effect sedentary, finding pasturage for their flocks either "vertically" in the mountains or "horizontally" in the plain, but in either case close to their homes. The Mokrī and Dehbokrī tribes live in the *šahrestān* of Mahābād (formerly Sāvoĵ Bolāġ) in settlements at Šahr-e Veyrān, Āḱtāčī, Behī, and Gūrek-e Mokrī. The Gūrek tribes occupy the *dehestāns* in the north of the *šahrestān* of Sardašt, and the Melkārī, Ālān, Baryājī, and other *tīras* of the Sūsīnī tribe live in the south and west of the same *šahrestān*. The Harakī tribe moves between summer and winter quarters in the *dehestāns* of Targavar, Dašt, and Margavar. The well-known Šakkāk tribe is settled in the *baḱšes* of Barādūst and Šūmāy, west of the Lake Urmia on the frontier with Turkey. The abodes of the Zarzā and the Qara Pāpāq are reported to be around the town of Ošnūya, and that of the Sādāt, around the villages of Dašt and Mangūr. The Mīlān tribe, said by some to be one of the two *tīras* of the Jalālī tribe (the other being called Qizilbāš), is of Kurdish origin but today mainly Turkish-speaking; they are settled near Mākū (Maĵīdzāda, 1342 Š./1963; Šāmlū, 1342 Š./1963, pp. 21-25; Sāzmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja, 1355 Š./1976, I, pp. 103-49).

In the Safavid period certain Kurdish tribes were forced to move to the north of Khorasan, and today there are scattered settlements of Kurds descended from them between Saraḡs in the extreme northeast and the frontier post of Čāt in Gorgān. The two principal remaining Kurdish tribes of Khorasan are the Za‘farānlū, made up of numerous *tāyefas* such as the Kīkānlū, Bīčārānlū, Seyfkānlū, ‘Ammārlū, etc., and the Šādlū comprising the Dīvānlū, Bārzānlū, and Qara Čūrlū (Čūllū). A considerable number of ‘Ammārlū Kurds, whose ancestors were likewise forcibly transported, live in the southeast of the Rūdbār district in the *ostān* of Gīlān (Pūr-Karīm, 1348 Š./1969, pp. 23-30; Tawahhōdī, 1359 Š./1980).

(c) Turkish tribes. The Turkish-speaking tribes of Iran are scattered over many regions. Their establishment in the country began with the first incursions of Turkish-speaking peoples and continued in the periods of the Saljuq, Mongol, Timurid, and Safavid rule. For a variety of reasons, rulers of these dynasties shifted tribes to distant parts of Iran: to employ the tribe for guarding a frontier, to fragment it, to punish it, or to reward and encourage it. One conspicuous example is the dispersal of the Afšār tribe, sections of which are to be found in Khorasan, West Azerbaijan, Kūzestān, Fārs, and Kermān.

The principal Turcophone tribe in Fārs is the Qašqā’ī. In the Qajar period, the tribe was administered by its *il-kānī* and his deputy and chief executive, the *il-begī*, and was apparently not yet organized on the basis of *tāyefas*. Today the tribe is a union of approximately 200 *tīras* of Turkish, Lorī, Kurdish, and Arab origin, but all speaking the same Gōzz Turkish dialect. There was formerly a large number of *tāyefas*, but today they have been incorporated into six main *tāyefas*, named Darra-Šūrī, Kaškūlī-e Bozorg, Kaškūlī-e Kūček, Fārsimādān, ‘Amala, and Šešbōlūkī. The Qašqā’ī territory starts at Lār and stretches through the southern parts of Fārs almost to Behbahān. In spring and early summer the different *tāyefas* of the tribe traverse distances of between 400 and 500 km to reach their summer quarters. With the exception of a small group whose summer pastures (called the Sarḡadd-e Kūček) lie in the eastern part of the Dašt-e Aržan near Kāzerūn, the Qašqā’ī tribes-people have their main summer pastures (called the Sarḡadd-e Bozorg) in the area stretching from Eqlīd and Ābāda westward to the Kūh-e Denā and northward to near Šahrezā (Bahman Bigī, 1324 Š./1945; Peymān, 1347 Š./1968; ‘Ajamī, 1352 Š./1973; Oberling, 1974).

Three of the tribes which belonged to the Kāmsa confederacy in Fārs, namely the Īnānlū, Bahārlū, and Nafar are Turcophone. Since the last quarter of the 19th century, they have either become fully sedentary in eastern districts of the province or have been absorbed into other tribes.

The Īlsevan (formerly Šāhsevan) tribes in East Azerbaijan are another important Turcophone group, comprising the Gīklū, ‘Īsālū, Qūjā, Hājjī Kōjālū (or Hājjī K‘āja), Moḡānlū, and others. In Safavid times they belonged to the Qizilbāš. Their present territory lies in the north of the *ostān* between Ardabīl and the Soviet frontier. The Īlsevans (Šāhsevans) around Ardabīl are now wholly sedentarized, but some of the *tāyefas* around Meškīnšahr still move annually between the foothills of Mount Sabalān and the Moḡān Plain. Elsewhere, Īlsevan *tīras* named Baḡdādī and Īnālū are settled around Sāva, Qom, and Qazvīn. The Īnānlū of the Kāmsa confederacy in Fārs are thought to have originally been an Īlsevan tribe.

Among the other Turcophone tribes of Azerbaijan are those of the *šahrestān* of Arasbārān (Ahar), with winter quarters in the strip along the Aras river near Kōdā-āfarīn and summer



quarters in the Arasbārān mountains and the Ahar-Meškīnšahr highland; and those of the *šahrestān* of Marand, with winter quarters along the Marand-Bāzargān highway and spring and summer quarters in the Meškīnšahr district (Bāybūrdī, 1341 Š./1962; Karīmzāda, 1352 Š./1973; Sāzmān-e Barnāma wa Būdja, 1355 Š./1976, III, pp. 1-27; Op't Land, 1961; Schweizer, 1970, pp. 81-148; Tapper, 1971).

The Turkmen of Iran live almost entirely in the *šahrestāns* of Gorgān and Gonbad-e Qābūs in Māzandarān and Bojnūrd in Khorasan as far as Qūčān. Their two big *īāyefas*, the Yomūt and the Gūklān, came to Iran long ago. The Yomūt was originally divided into two branches, the Āq Ātābāy, made up of the Āq, the Ātābāy, and the Šarīf, and the Ja'farbāy, made up of the Yār 'Alī and the Nūr 'Alī. The position today is that there are three mutually independent *īāyefas*, the Ja'farbāy, the Ātābāy, and the Āq Ātābāy. The Ja'farbāy live in the *baḵš* of Gomīšān on the Caspian coast, the Ātābāy in that of Āq Qaī'a (formerly Pahlavī Dež), and the Āq Ātābāy around Gonbad-e Qābūs.

The Gūklān likewise were originally divided into two big branches, the Bozorgtāy and the Dūdūrġa, but today they have largely abandoned their former organization. The territory of Gūklān is a *baḵš* bearing its name, lying north of Gonbad-e Qābūs and stretching as far as Bojnūrd. The majority of the Takka Turkmen live in Soviet Turkmenistan, but a number of them are domiciled in Iran in the *baḵš* of Jargalān in the *šahrestān* of Bojnūrd. The Qarnas, originally belonging to the Gūklān but now independent, are settled in the Golī-Dāġī. The Noḵūrlī Turkmen live in the *dehestān* of the same name in Jargalān (Pūr-Karīm, 1341 Š./1962-1348 Š./1969; Lugashev, 1359 Š./1970; Irons, 1974, pp. 635-37).

In addition to the Turkmen, there are other Turkish tribal groups in Khorasan, but these are now too intermixed with the indigenous local people to be easily distinguished from them. Moreover, some no longer speak Turkish and have adopted Persian. Among these groups which were originally Turkish tribes, the following deserve mention: The Tīmūrī around Torbat-e Jām, the Barbarī at Bālā Jām and Farīmān, the Īsevan (Šāhsevan) at Baġbaġū near Mozdūrān between Mašhad and Saraḵs, and the Qarā'ī around Roštḵār southeast of Torbat-e Ḥaydariya (Šāh-'ālamī, 1308 Š./1929; Ivanov, 1926, pp. 143-58).

In the *ostān* of Kermān there is an offshoot of the Qarā'ī, known as the Qarā'ī of Kermān, with summer quarters around Tangū Pā'in and Ḵāna Sorḵ in the mountains northeast of Sīrjān and winter quarters south of the town along the Sīrjān-Bandar-e 'Abbās road as far as 'Alīābād and Nāzīābad. The most important Turcophone tribes of Kermān are the Būčāqčī and the Afšār; the former are still nomadic, spending the summer in the Čahār Gonbad district near Sīrjān and the winter in 'Ayn-al-bayar and Čāh Qaī'a on the borders of Kermān and Fārs. The Afšār tribespeople of Kermān, who are known as the Afšār-e Tafreqa and perhaps came to the province after the collapse of the Afsar dynasty in Khorasan, spend the winter in the plain of Ārzūya west and south of Esfandaqa in the *šahrestān* of Jiroft and the summer around the town of Bāft and the villages of Fatḥābād, Gūġar and Ḥošūn not far from the summer pastures of the Būčāqčī. Both the Būčāqčīs and the Afšārs speak Turkish with a large admixture of Persian words and are well acquainted with the local dialect of Persian (Wazīrī Kermānī, 1953 Š./1974; Bāstānī Pārīzī, 1355 Š./1976, I; Stober, 1978).

(d) Arab tribes. From remote times, and particularly after the Arab conquest, right up to the Qajar period, Arab tribes immigrated into Iran. With the passage of time most of the early

immigrants merged into the local populations, and today their descendants are scarcely distinguishable from their neighbors. Such are the Arab tribes of Khorasan, including the Bohlūlī in the *baḵš* of Ḳāf, Baḵūzī in the *baḵš* of Bāḵarz (Tāyebād), Ḳazā'ī at Guša-ye Ḳazā'ī, Ḳāvarī at Qara Zar, Nādī around Bīrjand and Sarbīša, Abū Baḵš east of Sedeh, and the Arabs living in the *baḵš* of Nehbandān south of Bīrjand in a locality called the 'Arabkāna.

The Arab tribes of Ḳūzestān, however, have kept their identity better. They are scattered over a zone stretching from the Arvand-rūd (Šaṭṭ al-'Arab) and Persian Gulf in the south to Šūš in the north and lying roughly to the west of the Baḵtīārī territory. The main tribe in the south of the *ostān* is the Banī Ka'b, comprising the Moḥaysen, Edrīs, Naššār, Āl Boḡobeš 'Asākera, and various other sections and *īāyefas*; they live in dispersed groups on Mīnū (formerly Ḳezr) island near Ābādān, at Ḳorramšahr (the old Moḥammara), in the *baḵš* of Šādgān (formerly Fallāḥīya), on both banks of the Kārūn up to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and Edrīsīya, and further north near Ahvāz. Also settled in the *baḵš* of Šādgān is the Ḥanāfera tribe. In the *šahrestān* of Ahvāz, the Bāvī tribe is settled in the *baḵš* of Bāvī, which extends from Esmā'īliā to Ahvāz, Weys, Zargān, and Mūrān. The Āl Kaṭīr tribe (q.v.), comprising the Sa'd, Bayt Karīm, 'Anāfeja, Žayāgema, and others, live in the same *šahrestān* west and south of the Dezfūl river up to the Nahr-e Hāšem and also between the Dezfūl river and the Šūštar river. The Montafaj (Montafeq) or Banī Mālek Arabs cultivate lands between Sab'a Omm al-Tamsīr on the left bank of the Kārūn. The Čanāna are settled in the *šahrestān* of Dezfūl, and the Gandazlū in an area east of Šūštar.

The well-known Banī Ṭorof tribe is settled in the Dašt-e Āzādagān (formerly Dašt-e Mīšān) around the town of Hūzagān (formerly Hawīza), and consists of seven *īāyefas*, the Sovārī, Marza'ā, Šorfa, Banī Šāleḥ, Marvān, Qāte', and Sayyed Ne'mat. North of the lands of the 'Anāfeja of the Āl Kaṭīr, in the area called Mīānāb, between the Kārūn and Karḵa rivers, dwell several Arab tribes, of which the best known are the Ka'b (probably an offshoot of the Banī Ka'b of southern Ḳūzestān), the 'Abd-al-Ḳānī, the Mazra'a, the Āl Bū Rāwīya, and the Sādāt. These tribes gradually immigrated into Iran during and after the early years of the Qajar period.

There are also some Arab tribes-people settled in part of the Mūsīān district in the south of Īlām (Qā'em-maqāmī, 1324 Š./1945 and 1324-25 Š./1945-46; 'Abd al-Ġaffār Najm-al-molk, 1341 Š./1962).

Outside Ḳūzestān, the Īl-e 'Arab of the Ḳamsa confederacy is an important tribe; it is divided into two sections, the Šaybānī and the Jabbāra, and numerous *tīras*. They migrate annually from Lorestān in the south of Fārs to the Eqīd district in the north, where their summer quarters are flanked on the east by those of the Persian-speaking Bāšerī, another Ḳamsa tribe.

(e) Balūčī and Brāhū'ī tribes. Most of the Balūčī and Brāhū'ī tribes of Iran live in the *ostān* of Sīstān and Baluchistan, but Balūčī groups have also settled in other provinces: in Hormozgān (Bandar-e 'Abbās), in Kermān, mainly in the *baḵš* of Kahnūj in the *šahrestān* of Jiroft, in Khorasan, and in Māzandarān in the Torkman Šaḥrā (the plain between the Gorgān and Atrak rivers). The majority of the members of the Sārānī, Raḵšānī, Bārānī, Jahāndīda, and Malekzehī *īāyefas*, who lived mainly in the *baḵš* of Mīānkangī in the *šahrestān* of Zābol, have now emigrated to the Torkman Šaḥrā. The Balūč of Khorasan are in general sedentarized and intermixed with the local people, but some distinct communities still remain, scattered from Saraḵs in the northeast to Bīrjand and Ṭabas in the south.

In the last named districts, *tīras* called Nūqānī, Deh Morda, and Brāhū'ī remain, sometimes living together with other groups such as the Tīmūrīs. Some of the Balūčī *īāyefas* of Sīstān, such as the Nārū'ī and the Brāhū'ī, migrate annually to the highlands of Nehbandān, and Bīrjand in Khorasan.

In the Qajar period, many parts of Baluchistan were ruled de facto by the chiefs (*sardārs*) of the Nārū'ī tribe. When the central government began to establish its authority, the *sardārs* moved to the Nīkšahr-Bent-Fannūj area in the southwest of the province and kept control there. The leadership of the tribe was held by three families, first the Šīrkānzāda, then the Šīrkānzehī, and finally the Šīrānī who still live in the area. Another section of the Nārū'īs is domiciled in Sīstān and in the northwest of the *šahrestān* of Zāhedān, where its *sardārs* have their seat in the *baḵš* of Noṣratābād.

The Rīgī tribe, one of the biggest Balūčī groups in Iran, has an extensive territory stretching from Zāhedān and Mīrjāva to Ḵāš and onward toward Īrānšahr; it is divided into several *tīras*, among which are the Bolākzehī, Šahkaramzehī, and 'Īsāzehī. Another tribe in the Zāhedān-Ḵāš belt is the Esmā'īlzehī (formerly Šahbaḵš), which arose from the union of the Esmā'īlzehī and Ḥasanzehī *īāyefas*; its members are now engaged in stockbreeding in a small area in the Noṣratābād district.

The Yār Aḥmadī (Šahnavāzī) and Gamšādzehī were apparently once *īāyefas* of the Dāmanī tribe, but are now more or less independent. Yār Aḥmadī tribes-people, based around Gazv in the Ḵāš district, migrate annually from the west side of the Pošt-e Kūh to Taftān, and then to palm groves in the Māškel lowland for the date harvest. The Gamšādzehīs, whose abode lies to the southeast around Gošt and Jālq and in the foothills of the Kūh-e Safīd, are made up of the Dādḵodāzehī, Morādzehī, Moḥammadzehī, and several more *tīras*. The Rīgī, Esmā'īlzehī, Yār Aḥmadzehī, and Gamšādzehī rank as the four main tribes of the Sarḥadd (i.e., the northern part of Iranian Baluchistan).

Further south, in the *šahrestān* of Sarāvān, lies an area occupied by the large Dohānī tribe centered at Mūltān; they likewise migrate annually for the date harvest.

The Bārakzehī (also called Bārānzehī) tribe in the *šahrestān* of Īrānšahr, and the Bolīda'ī tribe in the *baḵšes* of Rāsk in Īrānšahr and Daštyārī and Qaṣr-e Qand in the *šahrestān* of Čāhbahār, have now become sedentary. The last named tribe has the leadership (*siādat*) of sections of the Ra'īsī and Rend tribes-people. In addition to these, the area is the home of the Darzādagān, who were described in 1307/1928 and later as the Darzāda *golāms* (i.e. servants) and are evidently the survivors of an old system of slavery, and of the Zayn-al-dīnīs, who are dependents of the Mobārakī *sardārs*. Scattered over the *baḵš* of Daštyārī down to the coast are some more or less independent *īāyefas* of the Sardārzehī tribe, namely the Jadgāl, Jat, Latīk, Kūsa, Mīr, Sītār, Šāberū, and Lagūr. The Hūt tribes-people are settled around Konārak. The Ra'īsī *īāyefa* is an important one, living at Sarbāz, Čānf, and Pīp in the east of the *baḵšes* of Nīkšahr and Qaṣr-e Qand. In past times the Ra'īsīs had a firm alliance with the Mobārakīs, who reside at Čānf, but this has lapsed.

The Lāšār *īāyefa* is settled in the *dehestān* of the same name in the *baḵš* of Bampūr, and the Bāmerī *īāyefa* occupies the western part of the *baḵš* of Bampūr up to the Jāz Mūrīān swamp.

Balūčī and Brāhū'ī *īāyefas* are also to be found in Sīstān (the *šahrestān* of Zābol), e.g., the Brāhū'ī, Nārū'ī, Bārānī, Mīr, and Sārānī. The Kurds of Sīstān must also be counted among them.

As regards the Brāhū'īs, the almost unanimous opinion is that they are not Balūč. According to one report they are a *tīra* of the Mamasanī tribe of Fārs. Another view is that they stem from the Kūč (or Kurd) people mentioned together with the Balūč by early Islamic geographers. In any case, the tribes of today are too intermingled to be easily identifiable as Brāhū'ī or Balūčī. Many pastoral Brāhū'ī *tīras*, such as the Zīrkārī, Naḵa'ī, Mālekī, and Čandal, take their flocks annually to the Qā'enāt district in Khorasan.

In all probability the Balūč were driven from Kermān into Balūčestān after the penetration of the Saljuq forces into Kermān. Balūčī tribes, however, are to be found in Kermān province today: amongst others, the Sarābandī in the *šahrestān* of Bam, and a section of the Hūt at Kohan 'Alī in the southeast of the *baḵš* of Kahnūj, near the Jāz Mūrīān.

In the *ostān* of Hormozgān, the Tāherzehī *īāyefa* is settled in the area stretching from the port of Jāsk to near Mīnāb and into the Bašāgerd mountains. A section of the Anūšīrvānī *īāyefa*, whose original home was in Sarāvān, also now lives in the *šahrestān* of Mīnāb between Jāsk and Sīrīk.

The Mid tribe is to be found all along the coast from Gavāter in the east of Sīrīk in the west (Markaz-e Pažūheš-e Ḵalīj-e Fārs wa Daryā-ye 'Omān, 1354 Š./1975 and 1355 Š./1976; Spooner, 1964, pp. 53-57; Spooner, 1967; Salzman, 1972, pp. 60-68).

5. *Organization*. As far as the tribes of Iran are concerned, tribal organization is a system designed to integrate the nuclear families into the tribal community, to enable them to perform functions for which they are responsible, and also to secure the tribe's unity. Ethnic identity alone (e.g., being Lak, Lor, or Kurdish) is not a sufficient basis for lasting unity. Many of the tribal confederacies in Iran are in fact made up of ethnically different *īāyefas* and *tīras*, and conversely no tribal confederacy includes the whole of an ethnic group. In general, tribal organization at the lower level is based on kinship and at the higher levels on administrative and political alliance. In many tribes the structure is of a more or less uniform type which has been described as "segmentary lineage organization;" but there are also variations from one tribe to another depending on factors such as the degree of the tribe's integration or dispersion, the source and nature of its economic activity, etc. Some examples are given below.

The Turcophone Qašqā'ī confederacy (*īl*) came into being as an alliance of Turkish, Ḵalāj, and also Lor, Kurdish, and Lak *tīras*. The names of twenty two Qašqā'ī *tīras* in the late 13th/19th century are given by the historian Fasā'ī, and some of these names, such as Balīlavand, Feylī, and Jāma-Bozorgī, show that the particular *tīras* were Lor and Lak (Fasā'ī, p. 313). It seems that, as the number and the populations of the *tīras* grew, the *īlḵānī* appointed certain khans who were each to direct the affairs of a group of *tīras*, thereafter named a *īāyefa* (Peymān, 1342 Š./1963, p. 220). From the printed data (if trustworthy) it can be seen that with the passage of time the number of the *īāyefas* fell while the number of the *tīras* rose. The number of the *īāyefas* in the Qašqā'ī confederacy in the period 1313 Š./1934-1320 Š./1941 was reported as 27 (*ibid.*, p. 225), and the number in 1341-42 Š./1962-63 as 9, two of which, the

Şafī Kānī and the Raḥīmī, had practically been absorbed into others (ibid., p. 232). In later publications, only six *īāyefas* are mentioned: the Darra-Şūrī, Şeş-Bolūkī, ‘Amala, Fārsīmadān, Kaşkūlī-e Bozorg, and Kaşkūlī-e Kūček. The Qarāča’ī *īāyefa* is sometimes said to belong to the Qaşqā’ī and sometimes to be independent (Āyatallāhī, 1357 Ş./1978, p. 9).

The number of the *tīras* in the Qaşqā’ī confederacy in 1311 Ş./1932 was reported as 90 (Kayhān, pp. 79-85), and the number in 1340 Ş./1961 and subsequent years as between 180 and 200. Clearly a process of change has resulted in multiplication of the *tīras* within each *īāyefa*. For example, the number of the *tīras* in the Fārsīmadān *īāyefa* rose from 12 in 1313 Ş./1934-1320 Ş./1941 to 20 in 1341 Ş./1962-63 (Peymān, 1342 Ş./1963, p. 234), and reached 21 in 1352 Ş./1973 (‘Ajamī, 1352 Ş./1973, p. 2) and 1353 Ş./1974 (Āyatallāhī, 1357 Ş./1978, p. 9). In 1352 Ş./1973 the Fārsīmadān *īāyefa* comprised 2080 families, and the ‘Amala, described as a *tīra* of it, comprised 79 families or 400 persons.

Despite the frequency of kinship between families within a *tīra* (due mainly to preference for endogamy), a *tīra* is not necessarily a kin-based unit. Together with ethnic and genealogical considerations, historical and political reasons for cohesion have been essential factors in the genesis of *tīras*. That is why many *tīras* took the name of the founder, e.g., the Ḥasan Āqā’ī *tīra* of the Kaşkūlī-e Bozorg. This practice is by no means general, however, because in addition to ancestry, names of *tīras* refer to geographical provenance (e.g., the Mūşulū or Mawşel-lū of the ‘Amala and Fārsīmadān), to land owned by the *tīra* (e.g.; the Kezenlū of the Darra-Şūrī *īāyefa* from their property at Kezen), to ethnic origin (e.g., the Lak and Qara Qovānlū or Qara Qoyunlū of the Darra-Şūrī), to occupation (e.g., the Āhangar, i.e., smith, *tīra* of the Şeş-Bolūkī, and the Salmānī, i.e., barber, Darzī, i.e., tailor, and ‘Aşeq, i.e., minstrel, *tīras* of the Darra-Şūrī), and the like (Peymān, 1342 Ş./1963, p. 203).

In the Qaşqā’ī confederacy, the *tīras* are divided into smaller units called *bonkū*. A *bonkū* is a group of families who make the seasonal migrations together and jointly use particular grazing grounds; in fact it is a sort of cooperative society analogous to the *bona* in a village community. Other names for this type of group are *ūba*, *būlūk*, and *eḥşām* (Peymān, 1342 Ş./1963, p. 151). The families within the *bonkū* are usually related, but non-kinsmen may also join. One example of this is the admission of *čūpānkāras* (guards for sheep and goats) and *dārūgās* (guards for camels), who either alone or accompanied by their families camp together with the members of the *bonkū*.

Sometimes, but not always, the *bonkū* is divided into pastoral and agricultural cooperative units named *bīla* or *bīlak*. The number and size of the *bīlas* undergo constant change depending on the number of animals to be tended and the amount of agricultural and manual work to be done. The daily routines of the Qaşqā’ī confederacy’s people are actually arranged in *bīlas* and *bonkūs*. Consequently the *tīras* and *īāyefas* are somewhat abstract entities.

The subdivisions of the confederacy are of course not limited to the *īāyefa*, *tīra*, *bonkū*, and *bīla*. Sometimes a unit intermediate between the *tīra* and the *bonkū* is found, particularly in large *tīras*. This is why in some cases a single *tīra* has several headmen (*kadkodās*). Such a unit may fittingly be termed a sub-clan.

Seen as a whole, the Qaşqā’ī confederacy is a pyramid headed by the *il-kānī* and made up of *īāyefas*, each headed by a *kalāntar* (mayor or warden), *tīras*, each headed by a *kadkodā*,

and *bonkūs*, each headed by a *rīš-safīd* (white-beard, i.e., elder). Thanks to this organization, the Qašqā'ī tribes could be centrally controlled and led on semi-military lines. It must be added that the changes affecting the tribal system which took place after the Second World War did not leave the Qašqā'ī confederacy untouched. Their traditional structure was greatly weakened, particularly at the higher levels. It deserves study, however, as an example of the organization of a tribal confederacy.

More or less similar structures, with mainly terminological variations, are found in other confederacies. The Baḳtīārī confederacy, consisting of the two big groups (*bolūk*) of the Haft Lang and the Čahār Lang, was originally divided into a number of tribes, such as the Dūrakī, Behdārvand, and Bābādī in the Haft Lang, and the Mamīvand, Moḥammad Šāleḥ, Mūgūyī, and Kīānerī in the Čahār Lang. The Baḳtīārī term for these tribes is *bāb*, though *īāyefa* is sometimes also used. In contrast with the Qašqā'ī practice, each tribe (*bāb*) is considered to be itself a confederacy (*īl*); for example, the Dūrakī *īl* or *bāb*, which has always supplied the leading khans, is seen as a confederacy of its seven *īāyefas*, named Zarāsvand, Gandalī, Mūrī, Osīvand-e Bāmedī, Asterekī, Čārbūrī, and Sūhūnī (Digard, Persian tr., 1358 Š./1979, p. 60). Each *īāyefa* is made up of several *tīras*; the Zarāsvand, for example, of *tīras* named Tūšmal, Ālāsvand, Mīr, Zanbūr, and Īhāvand (Wezārat-e Ābādānī wa Maskan, 1348 Š./1969, *alef*, p. 235). Pasturage rights spring from membership of a *īāyefa* (Karīmī, 1357 Š./1978, pp. 67-83). Each *tīra* is made up of several descent groups of the extended family type, which are called *taš* (i.e., *ātaš*) or *awlād*; during the seasonal migrations, each of these groups functions as a herding unit (*māl*) and camping unit (*ordū*) with from two to twelve tents pitched side by side (Digard, op. cit., p. 59).

Another report gives the same list of Baḳtīārī subdivisions with slight differences of detail; *īl* or *bāb* (tribe), *īāyefa*, *tīra*, *taš*, *karbū* (see below), and *kānavār* (family) (Wezārat-e Ābādānī wa Maskan, 1348 Š./1969, *alef*, pp. 32-33). In any case the close resemblance between the Baḳtīārī and Qašqā'ī structures is striking. The *māl* and the *karbū* (a smaller unit) among the Baḳtīārīs correspond to the *bonkū* and *bīla* among the Qašqā'īs and are herding groups; the *taš* or *awlād* is a descent group, and so too in one respect is the *bonkū*; the *tīra* and the *īāyefa* are administrative and political subdivisions, despite the importance of common descent or origin in the initial formation of *tīras*. Animal ownership lies with the *kānavār*, which is also the consumption unit.

The Bāšerī tribe, one of the components of the Kamsa confederacy in Fārs, is relatively small and probably for that reason has not developed a hierarchical structure of the type found in the province's Turkish and Arab tribes. It is divided directly into thirteen *tīras*, named Kolomba'ī, 'Abdūlī, Labū Mūsā, Jūčīn, 'Alī Šāhqolī, Zohrābī, Farhādī, Ḥanā'ī, Karamī, Sarvestānī, 'Alī Qanbarī, Ahl-e Qolī, and Īl-e Kāšš. Most of these *tīras*, and especially the populous ones, are made up of several *awlād*; in the Farhādī *tīra*, for example, there are two *awlād*, one called Bahmanī, of 65 families (*kūna*), the other called Farhādī, of 42 families. All, or more often some, of the members of an *awlād*, depending on the season and the year, form an *ordū* (camping group) ranging in size from 2 to 5 tents in winter and from 10 to 40 tents in other seasons, and they move together in search of pasturage for their flocks. It is therefore clear that the Bāšerī subdivisions are simplified forms of the basic elements of tribal structure (Amānallāhī, 1360 Š./1971, pp. 194-95; Barth, 1961, pp. 25, 51).



In some tribes the meanings of *īāyefa* and *tīra* are reversed; the tribe is first divided into *tīras*, and then the *tīra* into *īāyefas*. This is the practice among the Kūhgīlūya and Boir Aḥmadī tribes and also those of Īlām. In the case of the Bahme'ī tribe, first the tribe is divided into two sections called Moḥammadī and Aḥmadī, then each section into three *tīras*, and then each *tīra* into several *īāyefas*. The *taš* (or *daha* or *čāla*) is here a component of the *īāyefa*, and of course is made up of families (*bohūn*, i.e., tent). In seasonal migrations and agricultural operations, the *taš* acts as the herding unit (Afšār-e Nāderī, 1347 Š./1968, pp. 41-59). The same structure is found in the other tribes of the Kūhgīlūya *ostān* (Ṭāherī, 1355 Š./1976, p. 3). In some cases splitting of the herding units into smaller units named *qāš* is also mentioned. The subdivisions of the tribes of Lorestān show no real difference from those just described. They are *īl*, *īāyefa*, *tīra*, and *dūdmū* (i.e., *dūdmān*), but it is clear that in the local usage *īl* is equivalent to *īāyefa*, *īāyefa* to *tīra*, *tīra* to *taš*, and *dūdmū* to *māl* in the terminology of the big tribal confederacies such as the Baḳtīārī and the Qašqā'ī (Amānallāhī, p. 161).

This type of organization is not confined to the tribes of the central Zagros. Tribes living in the very different environment of Sīstān and Baluchistan have developed rudiments of similar structures. This is apparent from a report on the Zayn-al-dīnī Balūčīs of the area around Espaka in the *dehestān* of Lāšār. They have at times been attached to the Šīrānīs and the Zamānīs, and they are under the influence of the Mobārakīs. In one respect they are a Mobārakī *īāyefa*. The Mobārakī *sardār* exercises supervision through the instrumentality of the headman of the Zayn-al-dīnī *īāyefa*, who is known locally as the *master* (a relic of the British presence in the region). Since the Zayn-al-dīnīs still make seasonal migrations to sheep pastures, their *īāyefa* is divided into herding groups named *ḥašam*. All the component families of a *ḥašam* are of the same lineage (in the local terminology, of the same *šalvār*, i.e., trouser). Land, pasturage rights, and livestock are jointly owned by the *ḥašam*.

If the number of the *ḥašam*'s animals passes beyond a certain limit, the *ḥašam* has to be split into groups which are called *halk*, also *lowgān* (i.e., group of *lowgs* "huts") or *davār* or *mītag*. Neither the *ḥašam* nor the *halk* has a fixed membership, because the number of the component families is changed in accordance with the number of the animals. When the animals owned by a *halk* increase too much, some of the families are transferred together with the surplus animals to another *halk* which owns fewer animals, and the balance between families and animals is thereby maintained. A *halk*'s affairs are managed by its elder (*rīš-safīd* or *master*). In the mid 1970s, probably because the Balūč had been turning to agriculture and, above all, finding industrial-type work, the manpower-livestock ratio was unbalanced, and in some cases the number of families in a *halk* far exceeded the requirement for tending the animals. The dividing line between *ḥašam* and *halk* is often unclear, the former being sometimes used with the meaning of the latter.

In close proximity to the Zayn-al-dīnīs live some of the Nārū'īs, who in the past were a large and tightly knit tribe. Since the Nārū'īs are today mainly engaged in agriculture, units such as the *halk* are not found among them. Instead, every Nārū'ī *tīra* has a "*master*" who is in fact the chief of an independent *īāyefa* or tribe. The same situation is found in other tribes which have ceased to be primarily pastoral; e.g., in a *īāyefa* of the Darzādas of the village of 'Isā ābād north of Espaka, who have no *ḥašams* or *halks* but have a single chief through whom they maintain contact with the Mobārakī *sardār*. At the village of Hīčān in the *dehestān* of Nīkšahr, in which the Mobārakī, Ra'īsī, Darzāda, Dāwūdī, and Nowkarī *īāyefas* are settled, the *halk* has been maintained, even though there is no more need for it, but has acquired the character of a

kin group consisting of families whose houses are side by side (Markaz-e Pažūheš-e Kālīj-e Fārs wa Daryā-ye ‘Omān, 1354 Š./1975, 1355 Š./1976, 1356 Š./1977).

As regards tribes in the north of Iran, a study of the Yomūt Turkmen of the Gorgān plain is available. Some of them are still mobile and mainly engaged in stock breeding and are known in local parlance as the *čārvā* (pastoral) people as opposed to the *čomūr* (agricultural) people. Mainly among the *čārvā* people, groups called *ūba*, each comprising between 25 and 100 families, are found. Pasturage and water rights in a defined area are jointly owned by all the members of an *ūba*. Within each *ūba*, small groups of two to ten (usually four to seven) men are formed annually for the cooperative performance of tasks and use of draft animals and implements. The families concerned are immediate relatives (fathers, sons, brothers, etc.), and they all camp together. Even so, the memberships of these small groups continually change.

Through the union of several *ūbas*, an entity known to the Yomūt Turkmen as an *īl* is formed, e.g., the Ja‘far Bāy, Yelqī, and Qojūq *īls*. On this plane, *īl* means much the same as *tīra* or *īāyefa* among the Zagros tribes; but on a higher plane, the word *īl* is used to denote a confederacy of *īls* in the first sense, e.g., the Īl-e Šarīf, which is a confederacy of the Īl-e Ja‘far Bāy, Īl-e Yelqī, and others. An *īl* in either sense is a structure based on patrilineal descent groups. Although these groups more or less coincide with the territorial groups such as the *ūba*, the membership of an *ūba* sometimes includes families not belonging to its main descent group; in the Yomūt parlance, such families are neighbors (*qūnšī*) (Irons, 1972, pp. 90-93).

(6) *Economy*. Sheep and goat breeding is the economic mainstay of the tribes of Iran, particularly those not yet sedentarized. They also breed large animals—bovines, buffalos, camels, horses, mules, and donkeys—for ploughing and load-carrying, and in some cases for their milk and hair. Yet it would be wrong to conclude that the tribal economy rests solely on stockbreeding. Even for wholly nomadic tribes, agriculture, at least of the rain-fed (*deymī*) type, has long been an important resource, and it has become much more so in the recent past. The principal crops sown by the tribes are wheat, barley, and in some cases rice. When conditions permit, they also grow vegetables and plant orchards. Planting date palms is a widespread activity among Arab and Balūčī tribes. In addition to stockbreeding and agriculture, annual collection of wild plant and tree products, such as gum tragacanth, pine resin, wild almonds, acorns, and other nuts, is of considerable importance.

In several tribes, acorn flour, sometimes mixed with wheat flour, is used to bake a sort of bread. With few exceptions, tribes-people engage in handicrafts, particularly carpet making and the weaving of *gelīms* and *jašīms* (smooth and rough woven rugs) and also embroidery, in which the Balūč have a tradition of skill. These manufactures, if sold, augment the incomes of tribal families, though the carpets and *gelīms* are often retained as financial reserves or future dowries for daughters. Employment of tribesmen as laborers on farms and as shepherds within the tribe has long been widespread, but work opportunities for them on development projects and highways and in cities are a recent phenomenon. Canvas weaving, felt making, and construction of canvas or felt tents and brushwood or palm frond huts for use as family homes are important functions performed within the tribe. In a full economic analysis, all the above-mentioned activities should be taken into account.

It must be added that in past times raiding was an important source of income and wealth for tribes. They consequently did not see robbery as dishonorable. Names still borne by certain *tīras* and *īāyefas*, such as *sāreq* or *dozd* (thief), *galazan* (rustler), *ūgorī* (marauder), are reminders of those times.

Nevertheless, the principal occupation of the nomadic tribes is sheep and goat breeding. Their income, wealth, and power all depend on its vicissitudes. Great variations in the number of animals per tribe and per family are found in the different tribal communities. These are shown in Table 25 together with data on average animal ownership, flock composition, and cultivated area per family. It will be seen from Table 25 that the average number of sheep and goats per family varies between 6 and 120 from one tribal unit to another, while the actual numbers range between 0 and 350 from one family to another. The flock compositions are equally varied; for example, the 'Azīm *ḥašam* of the Zayn-al-dīnīs had a flock consisting solely of goats and no large animals except camels, whereas the Bāšerī *ordū* had a flock of which 64 percent were ewes together with an assortment of large animals. The last line of Table 25 was obtained from the nationwide census of nomadic tribes taken by the Statistics Center of Iran; as noted above, the definition of the tribes in this census was so narrow that its figures unfortunately cannot be taken as generally valid for the whole tribal population. Not surprisingly, on this restricted definition, the average area under cultivation by nomadic tribes as calculated from the census return is less than one hectare per family, whereas in other computations it is between 3 and 8 hectares per family.

The animal products supplied by the tribes of Iran are normally lambs and kids for meat, wool, goat hair, ghee, dried whey (*kašk*), and in some cases sheep cheese. The sheep sold for meat are yearling or immature lambs (*šīšak*) and, to a less extent, ewes which have become sterile after seven or eight lambings. The estimates of tribal output of animal products given in different publications are not fully consistent. In some statements the figures are theoretical, being based on the assumption that the animals are adequately nourished. In that case the birth rate of ewes and she-goats, after allowance for infant mortality, could of course be 90 percent or, given the possibility of two lambings in a year, even higher. Often in calculations of pastoral income, a suckling lamb or kid has been taken as equivalent to a ewe or she-goat.

The same assumption is made with regard to lactation periods and milk yields and in the inferred estimates of ghee and whey output. Yet even in normal conditions, the lactation period of ewes and she-goats varies between 100 and 120 days and the daily milk yield between 200 and 600 grams. Moreover about 25 percent of the ewes and she-goats for one reason or another do not yield milk at all. Wool output is likewise far from uniform, varying between 800 and 2500 grams per sheep according to the breed (Forūg, 1355 Š./1976, pp. 10-11). If the Statistics Center's figures can be taken as representative, roughly 40 percent of the sheep and goats do not yield wool and hair (Markaz-e Āmār-e Īrān, 1355 Š./ 1976, *alef*, p. 19). Such being the case, the discrepancies in the figures given in different reports is not surprising. Comparison of the two sets of estimates quoted below in Table 26 will sufficiently illustrate the problem.

The income obtainable from animal products is of course dependent on the prices of the various items. The price of a lamb, for example, was 500 *rīāls* in 1341 Š./1962 and 5,500 *rīāls* in 1359 Š./1980. It has been calculated that the weighted average of prices of animal products rose in the 18-year period 1341 Š./1962-1359 S./1980 approximately 8.6 fold, i.e., at an

average annual rate of 12.7 percent (Amānallāhī, 1360Š./1981, p. 69). Since the average annual rise of the (urban) cost of living index in the same period was 7 percent, the terms of trade appear to have moved in favor of animal breeders at an average annual rate of 5.7 percent. The greater part of this growth in their income arose after 1357 Š./1978.

It is customary among the tribes to keep female lambs and kids for increase of the flock and to sell male lambs and kids when they have been out to graze for one year. Tribesmen who own no animals or for some reason have lost those which they owned can stay in the tribal community and, after working some years as shepherds for others, eventually acquire or reacquire a flock of their own.

The share of the tribes in the whole Iranian livestock sector is thought to be normally about one third or even one half, though no accurate statistics have been taken. The Statistics Center's tribal census of 1353 Š./1974, with its narrow terms of reference, returned figures which are too low. In it the tribes, defined as wholly nomadic, were found to own only 10 percent of the country's 75,000,000 livestock units (1 sheep or goat = 1 unit, 1 donkey = 3 units, 1 cow or ox = 4 units, etc.), specifically, sheep 11 percent, goats 21 percent, bovines 4 percent, horses 3 percent, mules 9 percent, donkeys 6 percent, and camels 46 percent. There can be no doubt, however, that the numbers of the livestock grazing on natural pastures are far greater than these.

As mentioned above, many tribes, while retaining their tribal structure, have in recent times made agriculture their principal activity. The present circumstances of such tribes will not be discussed here. It has already been noted that agriculture was a significant element in the traditional tribal economy. The *kūč* (transhumance) is combined with dry farming in both the *qešlāq* (winter quarters) and the *yeylāq* (summer quarters). For example, the Qašqā'ī tribesmen plough land in their *qešlāq* in the month of Esfand (February-March), replough it in the month of Farvardīn (March-April) before their move to their *yeylāq*, sow the seed in the autumn after their return to the *qešlāq*, and reap the crop late in Farvardīn or in early Ordibehešt of the following year, just before their next *kūč* to the *yeylāq*. Early in the autumn they plough and sow in the *yeylāq* before their move to the *qešlāq*, and they reap the crop in the summer after their return. In the *yeylāq* they sometimes cultivate vegetables as well as cereals (wheat, barley, and a little rice). By leaving half of the ploughed areas in fallow, they always have land available for sowing and cropping (Peymān, 1347 Š./1968, pp. 89-90).

In the case of another tribe, the Bālā Gerīva of Lorestān, which does not make long migrations like those of the Qašqā'ī but has summer and winter quarters only about 90 km or ten days trek apart, a different rhythm of cultivation and migration has been described. They reap their wheat crop early in the month of Tīr (June-July), plough and sow in the month of Šahrīvar (August-September), and then leave the land to itself. In the following year, after their return from the highlands (*sardsīr*), they again plough and sow wheat as soon as the first rains fall in the second half of Šahrīvar or early in the month of Mehr (September-October). They then spend the winter in the *garmsīr*. They set out for their *yeylāq* in the middle of Farvardīn (Amānallāhī, 1360 Š./1981, pp. 47-48).

As already noted, the making of carpets, *gelīms*, *jājīms*, and *korjīns* (saddlebags) is pursued on a large scale by Iran's tribes. For tribes which themselves produce the requisite wool, these activities were particularly advantageous when the wool price was low. Carpet making in the

tribes is done solely by women and girls, who do not use cartoons but know the design by heart. In past times, tribal carpets were made entirely of wool, the warp and weft threads as well as the pile yarn being woolen; but the urban practice of using cotton warps and wefts, or at least cotton warps, took root in certain tribes after ca. 1960. The wool requirement for a square meter of carpet averages 3 kg of washed and spun wool, but varies locally and of course depends on the fineness of the knotting. Tribal carpet designs are geometrical, i.e., always have straight lines parallel, vertical, or at a 45° angle to each other, and never have curved lines; this is the main feature distinguishing tribal from urban carpets. A tribal carpet loom is not a vertical frame like the urban *dār*, but a horizontal brace which can be quite easily fixed, unfixed, and transported. (Edwards, 1953).

Source :

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