The Kurds of Khorasan*

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Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

¹ According to the Classical New Persian pronunciation, Khurasan (Xurâsân).
vided into three separate provinces—Northern Khorasan (Xorāsān-e šomālī), Khorasan-e Razavi (Xorāsān-e Raḍāvī)—the central part of the area, and Southern Khorasan (Xorāsān-e Jonūbī). It should be noted, however, that the Kurds live mainly in the two northern parts of Greater Khorasan. The term Khorasan in this paper is applied to all the three provinces, usually referred to also as Greater Khorasan (Xorāsān-e bozorg).

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

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

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

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

**Emergence of the Kurds in Khorasan**

The beginning of the 16th century was a crucial period in the history of the Kurds having populated at that time the North-West of Iran and the
adjoining areas of Northern Mesopotamia. The Safavid-Ottoman confrontation, particularly after the Chaldiran battle in 1514, revealed the significance of the Kurdish-speaking element as an important military factor in the region. The succeeding period in the internal policies of both Ottoman Empire and Safavid Persia, is marked with the conspicuous trend of using this factor as a security component.

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

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

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

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

The process of migration to Khorasan, initiated by Shah Isma‘il and continued during Shah Tahmasp, became systematic under the reign of Shah ‘Abbas. In the period from 1598 to 1601, the latter forced 45,000 Kurdish families, primarily from the regions located in the historical Western Armenia and the South Caucasus, to move to Khorasan. Shah ‘Abbas had actually established five Kurdish domains all over the extent of the border, from Astarabad (Astarâbâd) to Chinaran (Čenârân); three of them—Bojnurd (Bojnûrd), Quchan (Qûcân), and Daragaz—still existed in the 19th century. The owners of Quchan, the strongest among the domains, as well as those of Bojnurd, bore the title of Ḥūnâns. Geographically, some tribes of the Zafaranlu (Zafaranlu) Kurds settled down in Quchan, Shadlu (Şâdlû or Șâdilû)—in Bojnurd, Keyvanlu (Keyvânlu or Kâvânlu)—in Radkan (Râdkân), and Amarlu (‘Amârlû)—in Neyshabur (Neyšâp/bûr or Nişâbûr).3

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

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

skimming of the language of the Khorasani Kurds, a number of important borrowings from Armenian become apparent: xâc "cross"; çört'ân "dried cheese"; k'ôtân "plough"; panjâr (pinjâr) "a common denomination for edible herbs"; mandik "a sort of wild edible plant"; k'el/randû "sickle with a long wooden handle", etc.4 Probably, in the phonological system of the Khorasani Kurmanji, the Armenian trace is also visible. The phonological opposition of the voiceless ç/voiced č, and the voiceless occlusives p, t, k/aspirated p', t', k', typical for the Kurdish dialects of the historical Armenian lands, is explicitly visible in the Khorasani Kurmanji.5 Another detail is of ethnographical character. After winnowing, when the work on the thrashing-floor is over, some groups of the Khorasani Kurds draw a cross-sign on the grain heaps cleaned from the husk, thus rendering homage to an old tradition, without realising its real meaning.

So, it is beyond controversy, that the Khorasani Kurds had migrated from the Kurdish populated regions of modern Turkey, and, judging by some tribal names, possibly from the South Caucasian regions (present-day Armenia, Azerbaijan Republic). In Turkey, it could be the area covering the Van lake basin, Bidlis, Mush, up to Diarbakr. However, the oral tradition of the Khorasani Kurds, as well as all the authors having written on the subject, localise the exodus territory of the Kurds of Khorasan in Chemishgazak (Çemisgezek), having allegedly been the dwelling area of a tribal confederation with the same name. Yet, the tribal confederation of Chemizgazak has never existed, in fact. It was just a conventional name given by Shah 'Abbas to the pro-Iranian Kurdish tribes resettled later to Khorasan. Sharaf-khan Bidlisi describes the dominion of Chemishgazak in details.6 It was one of the four regions once constituting the Charsanjak kaza within Kharpur (Arm. Xarberd), district, i.e. in the area to the south of Dersim. According to some authors, Qarachor was a synonym of Charsanjak.7 Today, Chemishgazak (Çemisgezek) is a part of the province of Tunceli (Dersim). Anyway, the

4 For details, see G. Asatrian, “Kurdish and Armenian”, Iran and the Caucasus (forthcoming).
6 Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes, par Scheref, prince de Bidlis, publiee pour la premiere fois, traduite et annotée par V. Veliamonof-Zernof, tome II, texte persan, St.-Petersbourg, 1862: 162-175.
only tribal name among the hundreds of Kurdish tribal denominations attested in Khorasan is, perhaps, Qarachorlu (Qaraçorlu), which has an homonym in the toponymy of Chemishgazak, i.e. the mentioned Qaraçhor. Nothing else, in fact, in the Khorasani Kurds' tribal nomenclature reminds the alleged territory of their origin in this area; all the more, a tribe called Qarachorli, by the way Shi'ites, mentioned in the Erivan province of the former Russian Empire.\(^8\) Furthermore, despite the fact that the population of Chemishgazak had a significant pro-Iranian element, indeed, including the Shi'ite Qizilbashies,\(^9\) the biggest part of the inhabitants of the region are not ethnic Kurds, but Dimilis (or Zazas). Thus, Chemishgazak is a quite implausible candidate for the hypothetical exodus place of the Khorasani Kurds. In all likelihood, the name of Chemishgazak, as M. van Bruinessen believes,\(^10\) was actually given to a group of migrants, having formed an ad hoc tribal confederation, probably due to the fact that Chemishgazak was a marked place in the whole Kurdish ethnic and geographical continuum of that time. Sharaf-khan, for instance, writes: "When someone among the Kurds, mentions (lit. names) the vilayet of Kurdistan, he means Chemishgazak".\(^11\)

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

Generally, from the numerous tribal names of the Khorasani Kurds, ending, as a rule, with the Turkish suffix -lu, only few can be identified with the corresponding tribal names of the Mesopotamian and South Caucasian Kurmanjs. Cf. Sîfkanlu, as a parallel to Sîpki (Sîpkûnlû), Pâzûkî; Bêrîvanelû, vs. Berîfî between Mosul and Mardin; Milân (Milânû); Zîlân (Zîlânlu); Šadilû, vs. Šadîmânlu, a Shi'ite Kurdish tribe in the Erivan province; Mâmyânlu, vs. Mâmikânlu (Mamgûn),\(^12\) as well as Ardalan, probably coming from the big tribe of Ardalan in the province of Kurdistan in

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\(^8\) Cf. P. Lerx, Izsledovaniya ob iranskix kurdax i ix predkax, severnyx xaldeyax, kn. 1, SPb., 1856: 89.


\(^10\) van Bruinessen, op. cit.: 134.


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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Za'faranlu</td>
<td>Bāčvānlu</td>
<td>Šeykkānlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šādū</td>
<td>Silsepūrānlu</td>
<td>Qāčkānlu(Qoč-qūyūnlu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarāmānlu</td>
<td>Īzānlu</td>
<td>Zangalānlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaračūrūlu</td>
<td>Šēvkānlu (Syūkānlu)</td>
<td>Zarāqānkānlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tū/ōpḵānlu</td>
<td>Davānlu</td>
<td>Rošvānlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Āmārlū</td>
<td>Zeydānlu</td>
<td>Šīrūnlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keyvānlu (Kāvānlu)</td>
<td>Palokānlu</td>
<td>Qarābāšālu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bičervānlu</td>
<td>Torosānlu</td>
<td>Bērīvānlu (Barīmānlu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māmyānlu</td>
<td>Mastyānlu</td>
<td>Moždegānlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥamazkānlu</td>
<td>Bādānlu</td>
<td>Zardkānlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Čāpešlū</td>
<td>Rūdkānlu</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{14} Cf. van Bruinessen, op. cit.: 109-115.

TUPKANLU, THE BIGGEST NOMADIC TRIBE OF KHORASAN

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

In general, the Tupkanlu includes ten clans (türe), each consisting of approximately ten big families (tâyefe); a big family, in its turn, comprises several minor ones (xânêvâr).

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

In the Qajar period and then, till the fall of the Pahlavi dynasty, the nomadic Tupkanlu had lived under a Khan's strict supervision. Among the Tupkanlu prominent Khans of that period Farhad-Khan Farhadi, his son ‘Ali-Muhammad-Khan, and the grand-son Reza-Khan Farhadi can be mentioned; the latter had headed the tribe up to the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nowadays, all women and children, with the necessary household effects, are transported by vehicle and settle down by themselves in the interim camps. It is only herders, who drive their flocks along the described route. Of course, previously, till some 20 years ago, they had used camels, bat-mules, horses, and donkeys as transportation means; camels as the most important among the beasts of burden, being approached almost as family members. There were two kinds of camels used by the Tupkanlu: one of the Arabic breed (Arvāne), a comparatively
small and lean but fast animal, and that of the Bukhara breed—a huge animal able to bear a heavy load up to 300 kg.

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

The tents themselves are usually made of goat wool and camel felt, covered with waterproof tent-cloth. They can be of different size.\(^{16}\)

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\(^{16}\) The black tent is almost a common type of temporary dwelling place among the Iranian transhumant population. It is usually called syāh-čādor, although there are some other synonyms for it: melegā—in Luristan (see L. Edelberg, “Seasonal Dwellings of Farmers in North-Western Luristan”, Folk, vol. 8-9, København, 1966/67: 384ff.), kōnē raš—among the Mesopotamian and Eastern Anatolian Kurmanji-speaking Kurds, etc.
culture and, accordingly, the drift from the land; substandard social services, generally resulting in rural depopulation; and, finally, the rapid development and obvious advantages of the sedentary cattle-breeding. The Iranian authorities support transhumant tribes in various ways—food coupons for the staples of wheat, barley, rice, and sugar amount to government subsidies; necessary human services are provided (schooling in nearby villages for the children, and occasional veterinary visits to their encampments), etc.

KURDISH VILLAGES IN NORTHERN KHORASAN

a) Bojnūrd district

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location:</th>
<th>District centre:</th>
<th>Population:</th>
<th>Number of Kurdish villages:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On the North-West</td>
<td>Bojnūrd</td>
<td>app. 330,700</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Zarneh | Pašandeh | Parkānlu |
| Qāštappeh | Pīr-e boz | Pasandarch |
| Ḍasānlu | Tār yolām | Čahār-xarvār |
| Kārluq | Bazarānlū | Kalāte-ye ālū |
| Qādī | Bożqānī | Kalāte-ye Ḥājīqāsem |
| Qarājeh | Band-e Xodānlū | Kalāte-ye Ḥājī-noşrat |
| Qaradānlū | Band-e yaymūr | Kalāte-ye Sohrāb |
| Qarehbāšlū | Būrbūr-e kord | Kalāte-ye Farščī |
| Qarehjangel-e 'oulyā | Beydak | Kalāte-ye Mollaholāmhosayn |
| Qarehkānlū | Pāy kotel | Ark |
| Qarehlū | | Kalāb |

The local version of this name in Kurdish is Sevxasu-Moradxān.
b) Torbat-e Jām district

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

Zeyli (Zīlí)

c) Jājarm district

Location: South-West of Greater Khorasan
District centre: Garm-e Jājarm
Population: app. 66,000
Number of Kurdish villages: 32

Arg Barāzānlū Dašt
Rabāt-e Qarebīl Barzaneh Kalāte-ye Šouyānihā
Šoqān Pošt-e bām Kalāte-ye šūr
Šūrīk Bašīdar Kalāte-ye Qājār
'Emārat Taḏar Kalāte-ye Mūri
Qarje-rabāt Joydī Gāzān
Qezelheşār-e 'oulyā Joušaqān Mas'ūd-ābād
Qezelheşār-e pāyīn Čopeh Mašmā
Qelī Češme-ye Ţabarī Mirz-ābād

18In the local Kurdish, as in Turkish Kurmanji in general, gom means “cow-shed” (from Arm. gom id.); this toponym can be translated as “the cow-sheds of the Borbor tribe.” On the Borbor (Būrbūr) tribe, see D. Borbor, “Notes on the New Iranian Toponomastics (The Element -būr)”, Iran and the Caucasus, vol. 6.1-2 (2002): 189-193.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>District centre</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Number of Kurdish villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d) Čenārān district</td>
<td>Čenārān</td>
<td>app. 125,000</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Daragaz district</td>
<td>Daragaz</td>
<td>app. 95,000</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>District centre</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
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<td>---------------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f) Sabzevar district</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location: East of Khorasan-e Razavi</td>
<td>Sabzevar</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>District centre:</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Population: approx. 500,000</td>
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<td>Number of Kurdish villages:</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Üler</td>
<td>Hojjat-ābād</td>
<td>Seyyed-ābād</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bābā-češmeh</td>
<td>Zard-kūh</td>
<td>Kāyef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Širvān district</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location: East of Northern Khorasan</td>
<td>Širvān</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>District centre:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population: approx. 170,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of Kurdish villages:</td>
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<td>Xādemī</td>
<td>Ābselx</td>
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<td>Šūrīk-e Takmerān</td>
<td>Xān-ḥešār</td>
<td>Mollā Bāqer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šūrīk-e Ziyārat</td>
<td>Xānloq</td>
<td>Varaqī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abd-ābād</td>
<td>Xeder</td>
<td>Vark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali-xān</td>
<td>Xaṭāb</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Hendesī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fāzel</td>
<td>Češmeh-dāzān</td>
<td>Garzū</td>
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<td>Darbālā</td>
<td>Čaklānlū</td>
<td>Ganj-ābād</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sar-češmeh</td>
<td>Čukānlū</td>
<td>Gūglī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolū</td>
<td>Pīr šahīd</td>
<td>Lūjīlī</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Razm-ābād</td>
<td>Tabarān-e sofāl</td>
<td>Mohammad 'Ali-xān</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Reda-ābād</td>
<td>Tork</td>
<td>Marzaq-ābād</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziyārat</td>
<td>Taqī-ābād</td>
<td>Qol Ṿaq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sorx-rā  Tasnovān  Qal’ēche
Sardār-ābād  Tūpkānlū  Qal’ezā
Sekke  Tūdeh  Qūrdānlū
Sangčīn  Tūkūr\(^{19}\)  Qūridarband
Sarīk-ābād  Borzū  Qalānlū-ye bālā
Ḩasan-ābād (Takmerān)  Boz-ābād  Qalānlū-ye pāyīn
Ḩasan-ābād (Zavārem)  Bolyān-e sofālā  Qavīnānlū
Ḩēsār-e Pahlevānlū  Bolyān-e ‘ōulyā  Kārxāne-ye qand
Ḩēsār-e Davīn  Bīz-e Zeynāl-beyg  Kalāte-ye Tūkānlū
Ḩēsār-e Mūsā beyg  Beyg  Amān-ābād
Ḩēsār-e Nāmeh  Beyg-e Tūkūr  Amīr-ābād
Ḩēdar-ābād  Beygān  Amīrānlū
Borj

h) Fārūj district

| Location: |
| East of Northern Khorasan |

| District centre: |
| Fārūj |

| Population: |
| app. 68,000 |

| Number of Kurdish villages: |
| 10 |

| Kore-tappeh |
| Yām |

| Darband-e Esfajīr |
| Kūrān-e kordame |

| Xabūšān |
| Ḩēsār-e Andaf |

| Āqābāy |

i) Qūchān district

| Location: |
| North of Khorasan-e Razavi |

| District centre: |
| Qūchān |

| Population: |
| app. 180,000 |

| Number of Kurdish villages: |
| 220 |

| Nāvax |
| Şahr-e kohne |

| Yādegār |
| Şeyxkānlū |

| Yadak |
| Şīr-zan |

| Yūsef-ābād |
| Şīryān |

| Zūxāneh |
| Ṭabarīyān |

| Sołṭān-e Zīrābeh |
| Ṭarāqī-ye kord |

| Šorak-e Tūpkānlū |
| 'Ali Mūḥammad |

| Ṭāvīl |
| Ābjahān |

| 'Emārat |
| Xelājlū |

| Fatū-ābād |
| Xomārtāš |

\(^{19}\) Another version of this place-name (twkwr) is Takfür (tkfwr), which seems to be more correct; tākfür in Turkish Kurmanji means “prince, noble” (from Arm. dial. tıkfor, tākfür, Classical Arm. t’agawor “king”).
Nūr-Mohammad
Arūn-ābād
Aqmazār
Āqkahriz
‘Allāhiyān
Emāmqolī
Emāmdordī-xān
Inc-e sāblāy
Inc-e šāhbaż
Inc-e kikānlū
Bādxūr
Borj-e Kārdās
Pāykotal
Perū-ābād
Pīrānlū
Šahrīk-e Javānlū
Jānān
Carān
Čūnlī
Heldār-ābād
Xabkānlū
Darānlū
Šādābeh
‘Erāqī
Qare-tappeh
Qare-čāh
Qešlāq
Qal'e-‘Abbās
Kalāte-ye Aḥmad
Čāh-e Ja'farzāde
Čāh-е Hājī ‘Ematī
Čāh-e Redā-ābād
Čāh-e Golāmhoseyn-e Āzdārī
Čāh-e Moqaddam
Čāhábāy-e Jadīd
Hasan-ābād
Hešār-e Allāhverdī
Xeyr-ābād
Xeyr-ābād (Dūyāyī)
Filāb
Qal-e Kamāklū
Qarjāye-ye Qahremānlū
Xājehā
Xūkānlū
Dāsānjān-e kordī-ye
Dadeh-xān
Zādag
Zartānlū
Zīndānlū
Ziyyānlū
Sālāmfūj
Sarānī
Sardāb
Soleymān-ābād
Sar-gonbad
Hešār
Hamzēkānlū-ye bālā
Hamzēkānlū-ye pāyīn
Xersekānlū
Xorram-ābād
Titkānlū
Jartādeh
Ja'far ābād
Jangāh
Jūzān
Čāpānlū
Čarkāxneh
Čarmeh
Čārī
Čūnlū
Hājī Taqī
Hājī Kāhū
Pīr ‘Ali
Pirūdānlū
Pireh
Text
Tarinālū
Tarnīk
Borj-e Zeydānlū
Bardār
Barzal-ābād
Barzalān-e sofīā
Qal'e-kamar
Qeystāqī
Kāmdānlū
Kordākānlū
Kalāte-ye Şāh
Mohammad
Gol Ahmad-beyg
Gadeqānlū
Mefranqāh
Magīī
Malavānlū
Mīr Fadlollāh
Milānlū-e sofīā
Milānlū-ye o'ūlyā
Nāmānlū
Neqāb
Naqdā
Niyyat
Valī-ābād
Hašt-mory
Yārem-Gonbad
Yengiql-e o'ūlyā
Kalāte-ye nourūzī
Golmānān
Kavākī
Kūrkanāl-ye sofīā
Kūrkanāl-ye o'ūlyā
Kohne Farūd
Kadūghānlū
Gazūkū
Gonbad-jaq
Mohammad-dolū
Mohammad Redā- xān
Mardkānlū
Qal'e-beyg
Qal'e-Hasan
Qal'e-ṣafā
Qal'e-vaqī
Qolhak-e o'ūlyā
Quśxāne-ye sofīā
Kāklī
Kalāte-ye Bālī
Kalāte-ye Ja'farābād
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>District centre</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Number of Kurdish villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qarjayeheh</td>
<td>Barzaleh-‘oulyāh</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Raḥīmīyān</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qelqel</td>
<td>Bagerd</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Zamān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarjayeheh (Xarq)</td>
<td>Beglar</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Siyāhdāst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qare-češmeh</td>
<td>Bavānlu</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Šah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qare-gol</td>
<td>Bibahre</td>
<td>Mohammad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisbarānlu-ye ‘oulyā</td>
<td>Pālkānlu-ye ‘oulyā</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Nazar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīngelī-e šīr</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Čambar-xān</td>
<td>Estarxī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīngelī-e šīrīn</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Hasān Rezāyī</td>
<td>Injī-xān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şanxāl</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Reżā</td>
<td>Bīād-e pāyīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şouq-ābād</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Sālārī</td>
<td>Kādgo-bay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şahrānlu</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Mollā</td>
<td>Qušxāne-ye ‘oulyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darbādām</td>
<td>Kalāte-ye Mahdavīyān</td>
<td>Katlar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darbandi</td>
<td>Gabr-ābād</td>
<td>Andarzī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doāb</td>
<td>Gūrexar</td>
<td>Nabābīd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doulat-xāne</td>
<td>Lālū</td>
<td>Emān-morshed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dūldānlu</td>
<td>Motor-e Ḥāj Panāhī</td>
<td>Ūrte-češmeh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolū</td>
<td>Motor-e Ḥāj Ḥasan-e</td>
<td>Ûyāz-e tāżeh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rostam-ābād</td>
<td>Motor-e Ḥāj Heydar-e</td>
<td>Izmān-e bālā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reşvānlu (Māyūn)</td>
<td>Tahmāsebī</td>
<td>Izmān-e pāyīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redā-ābād-e Āstāneh</td>
<td>Mīr-ābād</td>
<td>Bāy-mahalleh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rēzeh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Kalāt district</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District centre:</td>
<td>North of Xorasan-e Razavi</td>
<td>Kalāt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Kurdish villages:</td>
<td>app. 40,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāyīn-e kohne</td>
<td>Pol-gerd</td>
<td>Karnāve-ye šīrīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāyīn-e nou</td>
<td>Tīrēgān</td>
<td>Qezelqī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabāt</td>
<td>Čaram</td>
<td>Kahlāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajab-ābād</td>
<td>Čaram-e nou</td>
<td>Karīm-ābād</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Azīz-ābād</td>
<td>Čahār-rāh</td>
<td>Sang-e divār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asad-ābād</td>
<td>Ḥājī-ābād</td>
<td>Čenār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bābā Ramaḍān</td>
<td>Xākestar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
k) Māneh-Samalqān district

Location: West of Northern Khorasan
District centre: Ašxāneh
Population: app. 95,000
Number of Kurdish villages: 63

Āqmażār
Bofī-e Zangāngū
Kalāte-ye Naqdūfān

Eslān-ābād
Pīšqā’ē
Kalāyēn

Resālat
Jozak
Kīkānlū

Zard
Čaxmāqlū
Qal‘ēbarbār

Zamānšūfī
Čamanbīd
Qalandar-tappeh

Zadī-ye ı̇olyā
Hašan-ābād
Kaš-ābād

Šes-xāneh
Heydār-ābād
Kalāte-čenār

Mehr-ābād-e Xāvar
Xorrāmdeh-e šarqī
Kalāte-kašī

Šahr-ābād-e kord
Qarečāy
Kalāteqamū

Šīr-ābād
Qarekānlū
Kalātekālmānī

‘Azīz-ābād
Qašrī
Garmāb

‘Ešq-ābād
Šīrīn-darreh
Garmak

Qādī
‘Ali-ābād
Gaz-ābād

Qare-āyāf-e Sarband
Rahimdād
Mollā Ḥasan

Qare-āyāf-e pāyīn
Hašrgāh
Mehmānak

Qar-e mosallā
Češmegāh
Nafaf

Qeṣṭī-ye Šāpūr-xān
Tāze-qal‘ē
Hāvard

Qeṣṭī-ye Mo‘āven
Tappeh
Ūštād

Kerīk
Taxṭmīš
Bāzar-e Qārānās

Kešānāk
Taqecenār
Āqčē

Kalāte-ye āzādegān
Tūpčenār
Espāxū

l) Mašhad district

Location: North of Khorasan-e Razavi
District centre: Mašhad
Population: app. 300,000
Number of Kurdish villages: 1

Maryzār

m) Neyšābūr (Nišābūr) district

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

Nou omīdī
Naṣr-ābād
Sūrandeh

Sargerīk
Andarāb
Zolm-ābād

Șebyān
Pīre-šahbāz
‘Ešq ābād
Judging by the above list, most of the Kurdish villages of Northern Khorasan are concentrated in the Quchan (221 villages) and Bojnurd (122 villages) districts. Mashhad and Torbat-e-Jam have one Kurdish village each.
Map 1. Concentration of the Kurds in Greater Khorasan
Map 2. Seasonal Migration Routes of the Tupkanlu