INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or “target” for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is “Missing Page(s)” If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in “sectioning” the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from “photographs” if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of “photographs” may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeob Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
75-21,994

AMANOLAHI-BAHARVAND, Sekandar, 1937-
THE BAHARVAND, FORMER PASTORALISTS OF IRAN.

Rice University, Ph.D., 1975
Anthropology

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© Copyright

Sekandar Amanolahi-Baharvand

1975
RICE UNIVERSITY

THE BAHARVAND, FORMER PASTORALISTS OF IRAN

By

Sekandar Amanolahi-Baharvand

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis Director's Signature: [Signature]

Houston, Texas

May 1975
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge with thanks the contributions of the following institutions and individuals: the University of Maryland for providing me with an assistantship for a period of two years while I was working on my M.A. degree; Rice University for providing a tuition scholarship while I was working on my doctoral degree; The National Science Foundation which provided funds, through a grant to Professor Frank Hole, for my fieldwork; and to Pahlavi University which provided a one year scholarship during my year of writing the dissertation.

I am indebted to Professor Frank Hole who patiently guided me both in the field and in writing this dissertation, and to Robert Cartier and Bonnie Hole who helped me express the ideas in the dissertation more effectively. I would also like to thank Professor Edward Norbeck for his encouragement and understanding, and Professor Douglas Uzzell who gave freely of his time to help with my academic problems. I should also like to thank Frances Henderson for her help in seeing the dissertation through the final typing.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................. ii

PREFACE .................................................... 1

CHAPTER 1 HISTORICAL REVIEW ................................. 8

Luristan ...................................................... 8

Origin of the Lurs .............................................. 10

General History of Luristan ............................... 15

Introduction ................................................. 15

Atabeg Dynasty (1184-1596) ......................... 18

The Wali Dynasty (1596-1929) ....................... 24

Qajar Dynasty (1796-1925) ......................... 28

Pahlavi Dynasty (1925-present) ................. 32

CHAPTER 2 THE BAHARVAND ................................. 38

The Tribes of Bala-Griva ................................ 38

Historical Background of the Baharvand ............... 40

The Early Period (1350-1830) ....................... 43

The Period of Expansion (1830-1922) ............. 44

The Luristan War and Forced Sedentation (1922-1973) 50

CHAPTER 3 PASTORAL ADAPTATION ....................... 53

Ecology .................................................... 53

Elements of a Pastoral Economy ....................... 57

Supplements to the Pastoral Economy ............... 61

Division of Labor .......................................... 63

Formal and Informal Markets ......................... 66

Reciprocity ................................................. 68
CHAPTER 4  MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY ............................................. 72

Marriage ............................................. 72
Selection of a Spouse ............................................. 75
Types of Marriage ............................................. 78

The Process of Marriage ............................................. 79
   Kekhayi-Kono (Asking for Marriage) ............................................. 81
   kharj-boro (Determining the Bride Price) ............................................. 82
   Shirini-Horo (Sweet-Eating) ............................................. 83
   Nekah-Kono (Marriage Contract) ............................................. 83
   Dawat (The Wedding Ceremony) ............................................. 84
   Domevan ............................................. 85
   Pa-Goshona ............................................. 87

Marital Residence ............................................. 88

Other Methods of Obtaining a Wife ............................................. 88
   Pa-wa-pa ............................................. 89
   Kheen-sol ............................................. 89
   Hom-bari ............................................. 89

Types of Households ............................................. 89
   Nuclear Family ............................................. 90
   Nuclear Family with Addition ............................................. 91
   Polygynous Family ............................................. 92
   Joint Family ............................................. 93
   Extended Family ............................................. 93
   Incomplete Family ............................................. 94

Divorce (Talaq) ............................................. 94

Child Training and Socialization ............................................. 96

Life Cycle ............................................. 98
   Birth ............................................. 98
   Circumcision ............................................. 99
   Death ............................................. 100

CHAPTER 5  THE LINEAGE SYSTEM AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE ......................... 105

The Lineage System ............................................. 105

The Kinship System ............................................. 110
   Terms of Reference: Lineal Relatives ............................................. 112
   Terms of Reference: Affinal Kin ............................................. 113
   Some Baharvand Kinship Terminology Reference Terms ............................................. 116
   Terms of Address ............................................. 118
Fictive Kinship ........................................... 120
Social Stratification ...................................... 121
Status and Role ........................................... 124

CHAPTER 6 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION .................. 128
  Political Structure ..................................... 129
  Leadership .............................................. 133
  Political Alliances .................................... 134
  Law and Order .......................................... 136
  Resolution of Conflicts ............................... 139

CHAPTER 7 SUPERNATURALISM ............................. 142
  Introduction ............................................ 142
  World View ............................................. 145
  Myth of Origin ........................................ 148
  Personified Supernatural Beings ..................... 149
  Dangerous Supernatural Beings ....................... 152
  Benevolent Supernatural Beings ........................ 157
  Impersonal Supernatural Forced ....................... 160
  Substances with Supernatural Power .................. 163

CHAPTER 8 ACTS OF SUPERNATURALISM ................. 166
  The Five Pillars ....................................... 166
  Other Acts .............................................. 170
    Rites of Purification (Ghoal) ....................... 172
    Divination ........................................... 173
    Magic ................................................ 175
  The Function of the Supernatural .................... 176
CHAPTER 9 DEMOGRAPHY, SUBSISTENCE AND ECONOMY OF DARAYI ........................................ 179

Introduction ........................................ 179
Darayi Village and its History ......................... 181
Demography ........................................ 187
Economy ........................................ 194
  Subsistence .................................... 196
  Division of Labor ......................... 202
Methods of Exchange ................................ 203
  Formal Markets ......................... 203
  Informal Markets ....................... 205
Reciprocity ................................... 206
Income and Expense ................................ 207

CHAPTER 10 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES ........................................ 210

Marriage ........................................ 210
Types of Households ................................ 212
Lineage System .................................. 213
Social Stratification ................................ 214
Socialization and Education ....................... 216
Political Organization ................................ 222
  Leadership .................................. 224
  Political Alliances ...................... 229
  Law and Order ....................... 230
  The Role of the Tribesmen in National Politics ..... 231

CHAPTER 11 ANALYSIS OF CHANGES ........................................ 233

Contemporary Problems ....................... 233
Analysis of Change ................................ 234
  Western Influences ..................... 234
  Post-War Developments ............... 239
  Some Consequences of Westernization ........ 240
PREFACE

I chose to do this ethnographic study of the Baharvand of Luristan for several reasons. First, to my knowledge no complete ethnographic investigation has ever been published on a Luri tribe. For this reason alone such a study is justified, because sooner or later under the influence of external pressures, the traditional ways of these people will disappear.

Second, as a member of the Baharvand, with personal experience and knowledge of their traditional culture, and also now with anthropological training, I can look at the Baharvand from a unique viewpoint. This enables me to see as an anthropologist things in which formerly I had participated only passively.

Third, my personal interest in the people was an important factor in my doing this study. I wanted to know how the Baharvand developed as a large community, why they had problems with the central government, how they settled their differences with their neighbors and many other questions. Moreover, I wanted to be able to interpret the answers to these questions from an anthropological viewpoint.

Fourth, as an anthropologist I am interested in culture change, and since the traditional culture of the Baharvand has been affected by government policies, these people afforded an unusual opportunity to do a case study of socio-cultural change. I wanted to gain an understanding of why changes have taken place in certain aspects of their culture, and the problems these people are facing as a result of these
changes. The changes include increasing population, a developing generation gap, and a new form of economy and social organization. These are all matters which I thought might usefully be examined using the procedures and points of view of anthropology.

The data for this dissertation were gathered during eight months of field research in Luristan, beginning in January 1973 and continuing until September of the same year. From January to the beginning of June, I visited many of the Baharvand villages and camps, and participated in the migration of one of the few remaining nomadic groups from its winter territory in Chin-i-Zal to its summer pasture at Dareh Nasow. This experience provided me with a knowledge of the traditional patterns of transhumant life.

During the remainder of the fieldwork I resided in Darayi—the village in which I was born and raised. I lived in Darayi until the age of 15 and I have visited repeatedly since that time. Most of my immediate family and other relatives still live in this village and the members of other households in Darayi are known to me personally. Although the focal point of my study is on Darayi, it is representative of the other Baharvan villages.

Today most of the 5500 members of the tribe are settled in such villages as Darayi, Dinarvand, Chenar-khairi, Nasservand, Balailvand, Deh-Mohsan, Poshtsta, Asbastan, Taluri, Badarabad, Baveh, and Darshnasow, all in the Koraga valley. About 150 families, totaling about 1000 persons, are still pastoral nomads. The total population of the tribe is about 5500 people.

Data were drawn from participant observation, key informant
interviews, questionnaires, personal recollections, and the analysis of documents pertaining to tribal history. Most important to the research is the fact that I was raised in the tribe and, as a member of the ruling lineage, I had the opportunity to participate in meetings and political discussions which enabled me to learn many things about the tribe that would have been difficult for an outsider to discover.

I was one of the first boys in the village to attend school. When I finished high school, I took a job with the Department of Education of Luristan and taught for a year in one of the Baharvand villages. During the next two years I taught in a high school in Khurramabad while continuing to maintain close contact with the tribal people. At this time my summers were spent with the tribe. In order to continue my education I came to the United States to attend the University of Baltimore in 1964. After completing my B.A. degree I enrolled in graduate school at the University of Maryland and finally transferred to Rice University. At Rice University I was afforded the opportunity to go to Iran to carry out the research which supports this dissertation. During my years in the United States I maintained contact with the people of Darayi and returned to the village during the summer of 1968. Thus, although I have not lived permanently in the village for many years, my contacts with the people have remained close.

The reconstruction of Baharvand history up to the time of settlement is based on interviews with tribal leaders (including my father and patrilineal uncle), other older men (up to ninety years of age) who remember many of the important historical events, and finally upon the few writings of Europeans and Iranians whose reports provide account of
certain events in tribal history.

This case study concerns socio-cultural changes among the Baharvand of Luristan, southwest Iran. Between 1921-1933 the central government of Iran, after several years of fighting and bloodshed, subdued the Iranian tribes of Luristan and forced them to settle in villages. As a result of this forced sedentation, most of the tribesmen changed their means of subsistence from nomadic pastoralism to mixed farming and husbandry. The sedentation was accompanied in many cases by changes in traditional customs of land tenure; some land which had been held by the ruling lineage was distributed among the tribesmen and officially registered as private property. There were also cases in which some of the Luri tribes were moved from their traditional territory to other parts of Iran. For example, some of the Mir were moved to Khurasan and some of the Sagvand and Sayed to Khar and Varamin. The moving of some tribes and the registration of land resulted in some groups becoming the owners of land at the expense of previous users.

Although the tribes of Luristan were forced to adopt a sedentary way of life, the process of sedentation took much longer than the government expected, and it is not yet completed. Just prior to and during World War II, when the power of the central government declined, those tribesmen which had been exiled returned to Luristan, some of whom resumed their traditional migrations. During the last two decades many of these pastoral nomads have settled voluntarily into villages.

As a consequence of settlement, the tribal people have come into closer contact with agencies of the central government, the cities, and, to lesser extent, with the rest of the world.
Changes in traditional tribal culture have been brought about by the initial distribution of land and land registration, changing patterns of subsistence with an emphasis on farming, and contact with the governmental agencies and the cities. Recent developments, such as further land-reform, the nationalization of the forests, and the control of some of the tribal pasture by the Department of Natural Resources, and the establishment of elementary schools have resulted in further changes in traditional tribal culture.

The problem this thesis addresses is to determine what changes have taken place among the tribal people. The following topics will be investigated:

(1) The effect of increasing intervention by the state into tribal affairs. For example, how has state intervention affected the political structure of the tribes, and how are the tribesmen adapting themselves to this new situation?

(2) The city, which is the center of government offices, radio and television stations, markets, and job opportunities, also influenced the tribal society. I shall try to show how such influences affect the tribal culture.

(3) Subsistence and economy. As the subsistence patterns have changed from pastoralism to farming and as people have settled, new opportunities to work for wages and to accumulate wealth have developed. At the same time there are new ways to become impoverished. In the traditional way of life, great wealth and abject poverty were not possible because there were mechanisms that spread wealth more equitably. The important question here is how changes in economy have affected
traditional patterns of exchange, the relationships between tribal members, and the traditional social structure of the tribe.

(4) Social structure. What changes have taken place in interpersonal relationships among tribal members? Is the social system functioning as it did prior to sedentation? If not, what are the causes of changes? Are different social units—families, tribal segments, and class structure—undergoing different changes?

(5) Political organization. Following a description of traditional political organization I will analyze the effect of government policy on this aspect of tribal culture. Among the changes in political organization are: (a) a loss of tribal autonomy, (b) the decline of power of the tribal leaders, (c) a decline of traditional patterns of submission to authority, and (d) new political and legal alternatives open to tribesmen.

(6) Religious beliefs. Traditionally the people are Muslim, but some pre-Islamic practices may still persist. I shall consider to what extent the attitude of the younger generation toward religion has changed, and try to determine the reasons for such changes. Furthermore, since religion supported the traditional culture, I shall investigate whether changes in religious beliefs are related to changes in other aspects of the culture.

(7) Education. Traditionally, education in the modern sense was neither available nor necessary, and few tribesmen could read and write. Since any available education was based on Islamic tradition, it did not change the lore and other ideas found in the traditional society. In fact, traditional education supported the traditional way
of life. In contrast, the new school system, which is based not on the Koran but on European models, often opposed the traditional values and beliefs. Moreover, formal education has become an instrument for social mobility.

(8) Values. It seems certain that some values related to traditional culture are undergoing modification. For example, nomadic tribesmen formerly looked down on sedentary peasants. Today, however, farming and a settled way of life are considered complementary activities, and are to be on an equal level with nomadism. The interesting point for investigation is how values of the older generation differ from those of the younger generation and what are the causes behind this difference.

These topics are investigated in this study, first, through a review of tribal history in Luristan, which serves to illustrate the long continuity of traditions, second, through an ethnographic reconstruction of Baharvand society in the 1920's and, third, by a discussion and analysis of changes which have occurred over the last few decades.
CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Luristan

The Baharvand live in the province of Luristan in southwestern Iran. They are one of the several Iranian tribes collectively known as the Lur or Lor, which occupy the territory called Luristan or Lorestan (the land of Lur).

The term Luristan has two meanings. It denotes an administrative unit of Iranian national government known as Farmandari Kol-i-Luristan (The Governorship of Luristan) whose capital is in Khurramabad. The boundaries of such units are of course subject to change, as exemplified by the fact that Luristan was once part of the province of Khuzistan. In its second meaning, Luristan refers to the land of the Lurs. Lurs are a tribal people who are characterized by a distinct language as well as other cultural elements. However, the social boundaries of the Lur have not always corresponded with the political borders created by the national government. The administrative unit known as "the Governorship of Luristan" for example, is presently partially outside the traditional boundaries of the Lurs while other territory which is part of tribal Luristan is excluded.

Formerly, the word Luristan referred to a larger geographic area than it does today. Writing on the region of Luristan, Lord Curzon
(1892) states:

In the former sense, Luristan may be said to comprise the entire belt of mountainous country, stretching from the plains of the Tigris and the frontier-mountains on the west to the borders of Isfahan and Fars on the east, and from the districts of Kermanshah and Hamadan on the north to the plains of Arabistan on the south. The principal tribes inhabiting these mountain ranges are severally known as the Peili, Bakhtiari, Kuhgelu, and Mamasani—all of which fall strictly under the generic classification of Lurs, although the title is disowned or has been abandoned by some of their number (Curzon 1892:273).

According to Sardar Asad (1914:74), Saki (1965:241) and Minorsky (1936:44-52), traditional Luristan was separated into two administrative units in 912 A.D. The area occupied by the Bakhtiari, Kul-Galu and Mamasani peoples became known as Lur-i-Bozorg (Greater Luristan), while the area occupied by so-called Feili Lur was referred to as Lur-i-Kuchick (Lesser Luristan). The Diz river flows between the two areas.

Later the Safavid dynasty (1499-1736), divided Lur-i-Kuchick into two parts: Posht-i Kuh (behind the mountain) and Pish-Kuh (front of the mountain). The boundary between the two parts is Kabir-Kuh or the Kabir mountains. Before the nineteenth century, Lur-i-Kuchick was ruled by a local dynastic leader known as the Wali of Luristan.

Around 1796 Agha Muhammad Qajar, the leader of a Turkish tribe, overthrew the Luri dynasty known as Zand, which ruled over all of Iran. When the Qajar dynasty replaced the Zand, in order to reduce the power of the Wali of Luristan, the region of Pish-Kuh was removed from the Wali's control, leaving him with only Posht-i Kuh. Later, the term Luristan was applied to that area which was known as Pish-Kuh. The present province of Luristan is bound on the north by the province of
Hamadan, on the northwest by the province of Kermanshah, on the southwest by the Governorship of Ilam, on the south by the province of Khuzistan, and on the east by the Governorship of Bakhtiari.

Origin of the Lurs

Who are the Lurs? Lord Curzon asked this question and wrote:

Who the Lurs are and whence they came is one of unsolved and insoluble riddles of history. A people without a history, a literature, or even a tradition, presents a phenomenon in face of which science stands abashed. Fifty years ago Rawlinson described them as an 'unknown and interesting people'; ... Are they Turks? Are they Persians? Are they Semites? All three hypotheses have been urged. They appear to belong to the same ethnical group as the Kurds, their neighbours on the north; nor does their language, which is a dialect of Persian, differ materially from the Kurdish tongue. On the other hand, they themselves consider it an insult to be confounded with the Kurds, whom they call Leks; and the majority of writers have agreed in regarding them as the veritable relics of the old Aryan or Iranian stock, who preceded Arabs, Turks, and Tartars in the land. Rawlinson says that their language is descended from the old Farsi, ... It is sufficient to believe that they are Aryans by descent, and to know that they have lived for centuries in their present mountains (1892:273-74).

Rawlinson was correct about the Luri language; it is derived from old Persian. Although Kurdish, Laki and Luri all are dialects of Indo-Iranian, Luri is closer to Farsi (modern Persian), than Laki and Kirdish are to Farsi. According to Minorsky (1936:43), the studies of Luri and Kurdish by O. Mann and Zukowski indicate that Kurdish and Luri are quite separate languages, even though Laki, which is spoken by the Lurs of northern and western Luristan, is very similar to Kurdish.

On the origin of the Lur, Edmonds (1922:340) says:

On the whole it will be safest to rest content with the more orthodox theory, accepted by Lord Curzon, that they probably represent the original Iranian stock that has inhabited these mountains since the dawn of history, with possibly a slight Semitic or Turkish admixture.
Henry Field (1945:85) concurs:

The origin of the Lur remains a mystery. They are considered to be part of the original Iranian stock that migrated from the region of the east of the Caspian Sea during the first half of the first millennium B.C.

General Ali Razmara (1941:280), who fought the Lur during the 1930's, referred to them as "extremely brave people who have maintained their pure Iranian blood."

Following the studies of Islamic geographers and historians, Minorsky (1936) and Saki (1965) have provided some interesting information on the origin of the Lur. However neither of these writers approaches the question systematically.

According to Minorsky (1936:41):

Local tradition\(^5\) (Ta'rikh-i Guzida)\(^6\) connects the name of the Lurs with the place Lur in the defile of Manrud. This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lur mentioned by the early Arab geographers (Istakhri, p. 195 etc.),\(^7\) the name of which survives in Sahra-yi Lur (to the north of Dizful). There are several other place-names resembling Lur, namely Lir, a district of Djundai-Sabur\(^8\) (Schwarz,\(^9\) Persien, p. 666; cf. the Kuhgilu'i tribe: Lirawi), which may be to Lur what pil in Luri is to pil "money" in Persian; Lurdjan (Yakut:10 Lurdjan, now Lurdagan) according to Istakhri, capital of the canton of Sardan (between Kuh-Filu and the Bakhtiyaris) and lastly there is a place called Lurt (Lort) near Saimara.

Masudi\(^1\) alone, in his list of 'Kird' tribes, speaks of the Lurriya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur). In the xiii\(^{th}\) century Yakut uses the names Lur, Lurr to mean the 'Kurd tribe living in the mountains between Khuzistan and Isfahan'; he calls the country inhabited by it bilad al-Lur, or Luristan.

These facts show the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Iranian) into an ethnical name. If however we seek an Iranian etymology for the name Lur, its connection with the first element in Luhr-aspi (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself.

Furthermore Minorsky (p. 42) points out that:
Shihab al-Din al-Umari (N.E., xiii, p. 330-332) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how Saladin (563-589 [A.H.]), alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse. This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in (? return to) Luristan about 600 A.H. [thirteenth century A.D.] of numerous Iranian tribes.

Natanzi, the author of Montakheb-e Tarikh (cf. Saki 1965:38-46), gives two explanations for why these people are called Lur. First, it is possible that the name of an ancestor was Lur. Second, in the Wilayat-i myrud there is a village called Greet,12 near which there is a defile called Luk. In this defile there is a place called Lur. According to this interpretation, the people's ancestors came from that place and have taken it as their name. This explanation is almost identical to the interpretation offered by the author of Tarikh-i Guzida (1330 A.D.), except that in Tarikh-i Guzida a different village is stipulated as the origin of the term Lur. The author of Tarikh-i Guzida records the village as Kird whereas Natanzi calls it Greet. Minorsky (Ibid.:41) thinks we should consider the Wilayet-i Madyan rud or Myrud near Mungara.13

Saki (1965:38-46) rejects the explanation of the Islamic geographers and historians for the origin and the name of the Lur. He feels that these scholars were confused and misled by the term Kurd. He argues that since the seventh century Islamic geographers and historians referred to all Iranian pastoral nomads as Kurd, later scholars assumed that all Iranian pastoral nomads were of a single ethnic group known as the Kurd. According to Saki, Kird means pastoral nomad. To support his point of view he cites Professor Nafisi:14
During the Achaemenid period (550–330 B.C.) we come across the name of 'Kurd' among the nomads of Fars. During the Sassanid period (226–641 A.D.) most of the 'Kurd' were located in central part of Iran between Isfahan and Abada. There were some others in the vicinity of Lak-Nairiz and from there, they extended to Kerman and even to Bushihr. The present Mamasani Boir Ahmad, Kh-i-galui, and Shabankara tribes are the remainders of those nomads. There is sufficient evidence that the Sassanids were 'Kurd'... Furthermore, we have enough evidence that in Iranian languages 'Kurd' means pastoral nomads. The term 'Kurd' is synonymous with the French word 'nomad'.

The French term of 'nomad' is derived from an early Greek word which means to graze. In Farsi too, the word 'Kurd' means to graze. And it is natural that the pastoral nomads kept animals and grazed them. Consequently in Iran, in the past the term has been applied to those who were pastoral nomad (cf. Saki 1965:42).

It is unclear whether the early scholars were referring to the Kurdish population (Kurdish ethnic) or collectively to the Kurds, Lur, Bakhtiaries and other Iranian speaking nomads. It seems, as Nafisi pointed out, that the term Kurd used to refer to all Iranian speaking pastoral nomads.

At this time there is no way to be sure exactly which hypothesis is correct. Was the term Lur really the name of an ancestor of the people of Luristan? Was it the name of a specific location? Was it applied to the people who lived in the mountains? Is there a relation between this term and the town of Lur? There is no clear evidence on the origin of the term Lur; indeed it may never be possible to reconstruct the history of the word.

Names change over time. For example, a section of the Dirkavand people, the Shurowi (named after Shur-ow, east of Baveh) have been known as Kapang-Zard (Yellow-Kapang) for some thirty years or so. The name came into being when a tribal chief, named Mir Abas, referred to them sarcastically by that name, because of the color of the Kapang (woolen
coat) which several members of the tribal section wore. Another tribal
group in Luristan is known as Chakma-Seh (black boot), because some
members wore black boots while in the service of the Governor. The
Kowgoni, another tribal group, are named after their location, Kowgon
(a place in Bala-Griva). The Bahavand take their name from their
ancestor Bahar. Frash (servant) is the name of another group who be-
lieve their ancestor was the servant of a general-Governor. Finally,
Albert (1963:92) mentioned a tribal group in Central Iran, known as
Ali-Kahi, who believe they have an ancestor named Ali, who once hid
himself in a pile of straw (Kah) when he tried to steal something.

These examples indicate that there are many possibilities for
the appearance of the term "Lur". All we know for certain is that the
earliest record of its use dates to the tenth century when historians
and geographers used the word.

Considering the fact that Luristan has been occupied by man for
at least 40,000 years, it is difficult to talk about the origin of the
people of Luristan and their name. The Lur are caucasoid and they speak
an Indo-Iranian language. The earliest known people in Luristan are
Elamites and Kassites who inhabited the area around 3000 B.C. The
Kassites are considered to have been Aryan. Around 800 B.C., another
wave of Indo-Iranian peoples are thought to have penetrated into
Luristan. Thus we may consider the Lur as a combination of Indo-
Iranians and the former natives of Luristan.
General History of Luristan

Introduction

One of the basic assertions of this thesis is that throughout the history of Iran and the Middle East in general, the tribesmen have played a significant role in politics. The following historical review explains how tribal politics has operated and it indicates that certain practices have existed for hundreds of years. Before the twentieth century, the rulers of Iran depended upon the support of the tribal leaders for survival. Furthermore, most of the dynasties who ruled Iran came from the tribal societies. As the history of Luristan is briefly reviewed, it will become clear how the tribes of Luristan participated in the political affairs of Iran and yet maintained political autonomy.

At the present, no complete written history of Luristan exists. S 'i's book (Ibid.) briefly covers the history of Luristan since the seventh century A.D. Writing a complete history would be difficult because there are not enough data, particularly for the Pre-Islamic periods. It may take years before enough data have been uncovered by archaeologists and other scholars to attempt such a study. The fact is that due to the efforts of archaeologists we now have more information about the early prehistory of Luristan than we do for some of the historical periods of this region.

The works of archaeologists such as DeMorgan (1900), Aurel Stein (1969, orig 1940), Hole (1962), Hole and Flannery (1962, 1967), Vanden Berghe (1968), Mortensen (1964), Goff (1968, 1970), Moorey (1971), Young (1966, 1967), provide information regarding the prehistory of Luristan.
Archaeological investigations have unearthed tools and artifacts from the Middle Paleolithic, Upper Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Bronze Age. These finds indicate that Luristan has been occupied by man for some 40,000 years.

According to Ghirshman (1963) the earliest known people in Luristan are the Elamites who inhabited the area by 3000 B.C. The Elamites established a dynasty in the first quarter of the third millennium B.C., and their territory included not only Luristan, but also Posht-i Kuh, Bakhtiari, and Khuzistan (Sykes 1963:44). Sykes (Ibid.) locates two of the early Elamite cities in Luristan. One of these cities is Khaidalu, which later became known as Shapur-Khwast, and is now Khurramabad, the present-day capital of Luristan. The second city mentioned by Sykes is Madakto, situated in the middle of Kerkha. It is thought that Madakto is the present Dareh-Shahr in Saimara. Later the Kassites formed a dynasty, conquered Babylonia in 1747 B.C., and ruled it for almost six centuries. However, in 1771 B.C. the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahunte I overthrew the Kassites and recaptured Babylonia.

According to Professor Cuyler Young,15 Indo-Iranian peoples first came into Luristan around the eighth century B.C. When these nomadic people from the central Asian steppe settled in Luristan, acculturation of the indigenous populations began, although it probably took some time before the natives were assimilated. In any event, by 550 B.C. the Indo-Iranians under the Achaemenid dynasty (550-330 B.C.) established the first world empire, known as the Persian Empire. Due to a lack of historical records, it is impossible to describe the conditions of Luristan from 550 B.C. until the Arab invasion in the seventh century
A.D. Ancient Iranian historians and geographers recorded information during this time, but the libraries which contained the works were destroyed by invaders who conquered Iran over the courses of many centuries.

During the Achaemenid period Luristan was a semi-independent part of the Persian Empire. Both Saki (Ibid.) and Minorsky (Ibid.) assert that the Achaemenids paid tribute to the inhabitants of Luristan for the right of passage through their territory. After Alexander the Great overthrew the Achaemenid dynasty, he marched against the people of Luristan during his return to Babylonia. According to Sykes (Ibid.:279):

Alexander then marched to the uplands of Media, where he found that the famous breed of Nisaean horses had been seriously diminished through neglect. The death of his friend Hephaestion at Ecbatana was a grievous blow to him; and, finding in strenuous action the best alleviation of his grief, he made a winter expedition against the Cossaeans, who occupied the rugged ranges of Luristan. In spite of the cold and the elusiveness of the enemy, this, his last campaign, was . . . successful.

Saki (Ibid.:239) states that it took Alexander forty days to subdue the people of Luristan, but after Alexander's death, they regained their independence.

Little information is available regarding the Greek (331-192 B.C.), Parthian (129 B.C.-226 A.D.), and Sassanid (226-641 A.D.) periods. However, archaeological remains indicate that there were many bridges, roads, and towns built within this span of history and particularly during the Sassanid period. At the time of the Sassanid rule, the King appointed a man from the Firuzan family, as Governor-General over Luristan and Khuzistan.

As a result of internal factors as well as many years of war
with Rome and Byzantium, the Sassanid Empire was easily overthrown by the Arabs in the seventh century. During its absolute rule by the Arabs (642-800), Luristan became a part of the Kufa province and was controlled by Kufa's Governor-General. Revenues from Luristan were sent to Kufa and from there to the Caliph's court. By the beginning of the ninth century, local revolts took place against the Arabs in different parts of Iran, and local dynasties were established in several areas of Iran. One such local dynasty was the Buyid, whose army marched to Shapur-Khwast (Khurramabad) in 975.

In the eleventh century, the central and northern part of Luristan came under the control of a Kurdish family known as Hasanwiya. It is not clear who ruled the rest of the area. From 1166 to 1184, Hisam al Din, the leader of a Turkish tribe known as Shuhla or Shuhli, ruled part of Khuzistan, and all of Luristan. Hisam al Din invited some of the tribal leaders to participate with him in the administrative affairs of Luristan. When he died in 1184, the son of one of these tribal leaders established the Atabak or Atabeg Dynasty of Luristan.

In spite of all these invasions, few changes took place in the nomadic tribes of Luristan. Minorsky (1936:44) has made it clear that

In any case all attempts from outside to subdue Luristan or to take parts of its territory affected the tribal system very little, the development of which came to a head at the coming of the Atabegs.

**Atabak Dynasty (1184-1596)**

The Atabak (or Atabeg), a local dynasty, was formed in 1184 by Shudja-al Din Khurshidi, a member of the Djangari tribe from the Tarhan area. This Atabak dynasty of the Lurs lasted until 1596.16 The Atabaks
of Luristan maintained their capital in Khurramabad. However, the founder of the dynasty led a nomadic life, spending his summers at Kirit\textsuperscript{17} (in Bala-Grivah) and winters in Dulur (Deh Luran in Posht-i Kuh?) (Minorsky Ibid.:48). Minorsky has reported the name of twenty-four Atabaks during the four centuries they ruled in Luristan. Saki (Ibid.) gives the names of only eighteen, but he has gathered much more information than Minorsky has about this dynasty. There is no need to cover the history of the Atabaks here, but a brief review of their political organization is useful.

The last, and perhaps the most famous of the Atabaks, was Shah Vardi Khan, whose strong desire for independence led Shah Abbas the Great, King of Persia, to kill him in 1596. Saki (Ibid.:280-83) describes the incident in detail. According to him, Shah Vardi Khan's sister was married to the Crown Prince, Hamza-Mirza. For some reason, the Crown Prince was murdered, and this incident created disturbances in the country. Shah Vardi Khan, who feared an attack on his territory by the Ottoman Army,\textsuperscript{18} apparently approached Chogal Ogly, the Turkish Commander. Shah Abbas was displeased and after signing a treaty with the Turks, he prepared to attack Luristan. Shah Vardi Khan sent his cousin, Husain Khan to apologize for what happened. Subsequently, Shah accepted his apology, married his sister, and gave Shah Vardi Khan a Safavid princess.

Later Shah Abbas sent Oghuriu Sultan Bayat (the governor of Hamadan) to Burujerd to gather forces to be used against Azbak. For some reason Shah Vardi Khan became angry at Oghuriu and "in a pitched battle killed him"; then he extended his territory beyond Burujerd.
After this incident Shah Abbas attacked Luristan and chased Shah Vardi Khan to Saimara. He almost captured him in Kabir Kuh, but Shah Vardi Khan escaped toward the Ottoman territory. Although Shah Abbas replaced him with Saltan Husain, sometime later Shah Vardi Khan returned to Posht-i Kuh and began to plunder. Saltan Husain was afraid of the plundering Shah and ran away to Kalhor. In the meantime Shah Vardi Khan wrote a letter to Shah Abbas apologizing for the past events. Shah Abbas reappointed him as the ruler of Luristan.

Shah Vardi Khan knew that Shah Abbas was displeased and might attack him sometime. Consequently, he established headquarters in Saimara, but after a year he returned to Khurramabad. At the same time the son of the governor of Khuzistan, who had left without the permission of Shah Abbas, was captured in Luristan. Shah Abbas demanded that he be turned over to him, but Shah Vardi Khan refused to obey the order. Shah Abbas attacked Luristan again, but when he reached Khurramabad, Shah Vardi Khan had fled to Saimara. Shah Abbas followed Shah Vardi Khan and surrounded him in the forts of Changula (Posht-i Kuh). Although he fought gallantly, Shah Abbas captured Shah Vardi Khan. But even then the captured Shah did not show any sign of obedience toward the Shah Abbas, so Shah Vardi Khan was put to death in 1596.

This ended the Atabak Dynasty of Luristan. Shah Vardi Khan was unfortunate that he was a contemporary of Shah Abbas the Great; otherwise he might have been recorded in history as the King of Iran.

Atabaks ruled Luristan for a little more than four centuries. Their reign coincided with the rule of Abbasid Califs, the invasion of Iran by the Turks, Mongols and Tamerlane, and finally with the Safavid
dynasty (1499-1736). The Safavid dynasty put an end to Atabaks' rule in 1596. Atabaks maintained a semi-independent dynasty, though they paid tribute to the national leader according to circumstances. Whenever they found an opportunity, they refused to pay tribute and attempted to extend their territory and even fought against the powerful rulers who dominated Iran.

The political system of the Atabak dynasty may be described in terms of its administrative organization, its sources of power, and by the Atabaks' relationship with the powers above them and with neighboring rulers.

Administrative systems of the Atabak dynasty were simple. From the little evidence available, it appears that the administrative system of the Atabaks was similar to that of the Walis. However, the latter had a better standing force of men to enforce their orders. Each Atabak, in addition to maintaining a small force, also had a small staff to record revenues and the expenses. We may assume that the Atabaks appointed members of their families or trusted friends to govern the different districts of Luristan. Each Atabak had a vazir (Minister) who was generally, but not necessarily, chosen from among the influential tribal leaders.

Although it is not clear how the different districts of Luristan were governed, Saki (Ibid.) says that the Atabaks' orders were not always carried out by all of the tribes. This suggests that there may have been some powerful tribes in Luristan whose leaders refused to obey the orders of the Atabaks. In most cases, the tribal leaders probably dealt with the Atabaks directly. In general, the Atabak ruler and his
agents recognized tribal leaders as the representatives of the tribes.

The sources of Atabak power depended on their claim to a hereditary position, the support of the tribal leaders, and finally the support of the dominant rulers of their time. Hereditary position was no guarantee of rule. However, although there was no assurance of how long a particular Atabak might rule, or who his successor would be, only members of the Atabak patri-lineage could rule. The political system of this dynasty was such that no Atabak was safe from other members of his lineage or from internal or external threats. There are many cases of Atabaks' family members revolting, overthrowing and murdering each other in power struggles.

In order to continue their rule, the Atabaks had to maintain good relations with the strong national rulers who dominated Iran, as well as with foreign powers, such as the Ottoman Empire. The Atabaks sent tribute to the court of such rulers. In return, they received support in time of need. These relationships were mutually benefiting since the national rulers often needed the support of the Atabaks against foreign invaders. Whenever the central power of Iran grew weak, the Atabaks extended their territory, or even challenged the central authority by refusing to send tribute or by disobeying their orders.

The Atabaks depended heavily on the support and cooperation of the Luristan tribes for survival. Without this cooperation, it would have been impossible for the Atabaks to rule. Through marriage or by political alliance (Dasta-Bandi), the Atabaks allied themselves with certain tribal leaders, against other tribal leaders, members of their lineage who were threats, or against any other opposition.
The Walis Dynasty (1596-1929)

Husain Khan, the grandson of an Arab immigrant who settled among the Dirkavand, founded the Walis' dynasty (Curzon (Ibid:288), Lorimer (1908:10), Saki (Ibid.:328-29)). Husain Khan's father married the aunt of the last Atabak and on the basis of this kinship tie Husain Khan later received the position of ruler of Luristan. During his rule, the last Atabak (Shah Vardi Khan) sent Husain Khan to Shah Abbas' court several times. These diplomatic meetings gave Husain Khan the opportunity to become acquainted with the Shah, whom he apparently impressed. Husain Khan was appointed ruler about the time that Shah Vardi Khan was put to death by Shah Abbas in 1596. The title of Atabak was no longer used and when the office was conferred on Husain Khan, the new title became Wali.

Walis ruled over Luristan (Kuchick) from 1596 to 1796. Agha Muhammad Shah Qajar separated Posht-i Kuh from Luristan in 1796. After 1796, the Walis no longer ruled over Luristan but retained their control over Posht-i Kuh until 1929. The reign of the Walis coincided with the last part of the dynasties of Safavid (1499-1736), Afshar (1736-1750), Zand (1750-1794) and Qajar (1796-1925).

Like the Atabaks' dynasty, the dynasty of the Walis was semi-independent, but the Walis tended to have more power and more effective control over the tribes. Lorimer, who met the Wali of Posht-i Kuh during the beginning of this century, made the following comments regarding the Wali administration:

The Wali of Posht-i-Kuh governs in a dual capacity, first, as hereditary owner and ruler, and second, as the recognized representative of the Persian Government. The latter capacity,
Weighs lightly on him, and, it may be asserted, does not appear at all to his subjects, among whom he is for all practical purposes the supreme and ultimate power on earth.

In actual fact the Governing Power in Posht-i-Kuh is of the nature of a full-blown autocracy tempered, not by assimilation, but by the mutual dependence of the Ruler and the Ruled. Without the more or less cordial support of the majority of his followers the Ruler could not hold his own against the hostile powers by which he is surrounded, while the Ruled depend on their Ruler for the organization which is necessary to prevent the aggressions of outsiders (1908:10).

The political system of the Walis was almost identical to that of the Atabaks; however, the Walis had a stronger standing force of soldiers. The Walis' administrators consisted of relatives and trusted individuals who were in charge of certain districts or tribes. Often such administrators were tribal leaders who dealt with the Wali or his agents on behalf of their tribes. As Lorimer had pointed out, the Walis depended on the support of the tribes. Yadola Khan, the son of the last Wali,¹⁹ mentioned that through alliance (Dasta-Bandi) they raided tribes inside or outside their territory. When the Walis moved their capital from Khurramabad to Posht-i Kuh in 1796, they were accompanied by segments of some of the tribes of Luristan.

In their external relations, the Walis dealt with the King of Iran, neighboring rulers and tribes, and also the Ottoman Turks. Their relationship with the kings consisted of sending annual tribute. In addition, they were obliged to send their forces to help the kings in the event of an invasion by foreigners or in cases of internal revolt. For example, in the early part of the eighteenth century, some of the tribes from Afghanistan invaded Isfahan (the capital of Iran at that time). The Wali of Luristan was chosen as the Commander-in-Chief of all Iranian forces.
But the relationship between the Iranian kings and the Walis was not always friendly. Some of the kings tolerated the powerful Walis because they considered them as strong forces against the threats of the Ottoman Empire; however, some of the kings tried to replace or to put an end to Wali dynasty because they considered them to be a threat. In spite of the frequent resentment of their power by the Iranian kings, the Walis managed to rule for almost 330 years.

The Walis' relationship with the Ottoman Turks varied; sometimes they fought and sometimes they were friendly. In addition to the Turks, Walis also contended with their neighboring Governor Generals, or other tribal leaders. In the beginning of this century, they had particular difficulty handling Nazar Ali Khan, a powerful tribal leader in the Kuh-Dasht area who dominated the western part of Luristan.

It has been mentioned that some of the kings attempted to weaken the Walis' power. In 1796, Agha Muhammad Shah Qajar overthrew the Zand dynasty established by Karim Khan, a Lur and one of the more successful kings of Iran. Before becoming king, when Karim Khan was struggling with other powerful tribal leaders, the Wali of Luristan united his forces with those of the Bakhtiari against him. But Karim Khan defeated them, and when he became king reduced the power of the Wali by replacing the Wali with his cousin. The Wali did not accept the decision of the Shah and after some fighting, he isolated himself in the mountains. However, this situation did not last very long. When the Zand dynasty was overthrown by the Qajar (a Turkish tribe), the Wali did not attempt to fight. Agha Muhammad, the founder of Qajar dynasty, who was afraid of Wali's power, separatedPosht-i Kuh from Luristan. From that time on,
the Walis' domain was limited to the area of Posht-i Kuh. Both the Qajar and the Wali were overthrown in 1925 by Reza Shah, the founder of the present dynasty.

The Lur dynasties of Atabaks and Walis ruled Luristan for 741 years. During the last 130 years, their domain was limited to Posht-i Kuh. The two dynasties were semi-independent in power and prestige, and they paid annual tributes to the ruler of Iran who seldom interfered in their internal affairs. Both dynasties played an important role in the politics of Iran and along with other Iranians defended Iran against invasions by outsiders.

The system of government was simple, yet sufficient for a non-industrial society. The rule of the dynasties did not affect the traditional pastoral nomadic way of life. The rulers themselves maintained a culture not very different from that of other tribal leaders. The whole system was based on mutual dependence. Both the rulers and the ruled needed each other in order to face outside aggression, and the policy of Dasta-Bandi allowed tribal leaders to participate in the political affairs.

Both dynasties faced internal problems, such as power struggles between members of the family. They also confronted forces outside of Luristan, such as the Iranian kings, and foreign invaders. But in spite of these problems they survived. If the world outside Iran had not changed, a similar dynasty would be ruling Luristan today.
Qajar Dynasty (1796–1925)

After several years of struggle, Agha Muhammad Shah Qajar overthrew the Zand, and separated Posht-i Kuh from Luristan. From this time on, a Governor-General was sent to Luristan. The Governor-General was appointed by the king and usually he was a member of the royal family. During the Qajar dynasty, Luristan was continually in a state of anarchy. Except for some short periods there was no peace at this time in Luristan. Although it is not necessary to give details of the events, it is interesting to show how the administrative system of this dynasty affected the tribes of Luristan, and how their policies resulted in tribal revolt and fighting against the Qajar rulers.

Qajar political administration is well described by Curzon (Ibid.:I:433-63), Shuster (1912), and Meredith (1971). It was a corrupt system in which the idea of administration was not to serve the public but to rule and to collect revenue. Often, the governmental positions were bought. Perhaps the following citations from Curzon's work will help to explain how the system operated.

From the Shah downwards, there is scarcely an official who is not open to gifts, scarcely a post which is not conferred in return for gifts, scarcely an income which has not been amassed by the receipt of gifts. Every individual, with hardly an exception, in the official hierarchy above mentioned, has only purchased his post by a money present either to the Shah, or to a minister, or to the superior governor by whom he has been appointed. If there are several candidates for a post, in all probability the one who makes the best offer will win (Ibid.: I:438).

Furthermore on the effect of this system on the peasant, Curzon states that:

If we examine this system in the light in which it affects the pockets and the interests of the governed, it is obvious
that it must result in wholesale and illicit extortion. Take the case of the tenant or farmer of any office who has had to pay a substantial price for his nomination. He requires, in the first place, to recoup himself for this outlay. Next he has to collect the stipulated annual revenue for the Royal or Ministerial Exchequer. Thirdly, he must be ready to purchase a continuance of the ever-precarious favour of his superiors; and, lastly, not knowing when he may fall, he must provide for himself against a rainy day. Hereby is instituted an arithmetical progression of plunder from the sovereign to the subject, each unit in the descending scale remunerating himself from the unit next in rank below him, and the hapless peasant being the ultimate victim (Ibid.:442-43).

The Qajar dynasty had a detrimental effect on Luristan. Princes sent to Luristan were chiefly interested in collecting as much revenue as possible and in expanding their territory at the expense of other princes or governors. Their policy was to create friction among the tribes. General Razmara (1941:7) tells us that the governors who were sent to Luristan during Qajar absolutism had only a few irregular forces at their disposal, but by creating fights between the tribes they subdued those who revolted against them and extracted taxes according to whim. As a result, tribesmen armed themselves with weapons in order to protect their land, properties and lives.

Qajar policy led to resentment of the government and revolt in Luristan. Only a few princes managed to establish temporary peace. Periods of order were separated by lengthy intervals of anarchy. Sir Arnold Wilson, a British agent who was in Luristan to promote the interest of his government, wrote that:

The policy of every Governor is to pit tribe against tribe, utilizing the services of one to coerce the other, such a policy is only temporarily successful, it ends by impoverishing the district and embittering tribal relations. . . . Salar-ud-Dauleh, Governor-General in 1904 and 1906, is responsible to a large extent for the prevailing anarchy. His ideas of Government were limited to inciting one tribe to plunder another: he
aimed openly at becoming Shah, and sought to enlist the support of Lur tribes, but without success (1912:10).

The second problem with Qajar Governor-Generals was their own greed for increased territory. It was not unusual for the princes to encroach upon the territory of other princes. This policy gave opportunity to some of the Khans (tribal leaders) to ally with certain princes against other princes.

An example of the political affairs of this period, is the fight between prince Mahmud, Governor of Luristan, and prince Hesam-us-Saltana, the Governor General of Burujerd and Bakhtiari. According to Saki (Ibid.:329-35), the struggle between these two princes was related to a conflict between two of the tribes of Luristan. Husain Khan, the leader of the Saki tribe, had established good relations with prince Mahmud, the Governor of Luristan. Husain Khan murdered the leader of the Sagvand tribe, and was becoming a powerful man in eastern Luristan. However, when his behavior became intolerable, he was killed by the Dirkavand.

After this incident, the Sagvand, who were unhappy with the Governor of Luristan for his backing of the Saki tribe, appealed for support to prince Hesam-us-Saltana, the Governor of Burujerd and Bakhtiari. The Sagvand and Bairanvand became allied with Hesam-us-Saltana, whereas the Governor of Luristan sided with the Saki, Hasanvand and Kakavand tribes, and the Wali of Posht-i Kuh. When fighting broke out between the princes and their allies, the Governor of Luristan was defeated and Khurramabad was besieged in 1826. In consequence, the Governor of Luristan lost his territory to his opponents, and those
tribes who were supporting him were put at a disadvantage. The Shah was furious about the fight between the princes, yet he allowed the victorious prince to add Luristan to his domain.

Soon thereafter several tribes of Luristan, including those who were defeated, made a new alliance with Muhammad Husain Mirza\textsuperscript{23} (Hashmat-ud-Duleh), the Governor of Kermanshah, against the victorious Governor Hesam-us-Saltana. This alliance renewed fighting between the two princes\textsuperscript{24} and their allies. In this conflict, the formerly victorious prince and his allies were defeated and they retreated to Burujerd. Concerned with this situation, Fath-Ali-Shah (the King) came to Khurramabad and spent the Noruz (new year) in Luristan in 1830. By 1832 fighting between the two princes resumed. The Governor of Kermanshah defeated his opponent again and took over his territory. Thus he became the Governor-General of Kermanshah, Luristan, Burujerd and Bakhtiar.

This example illustrates how the Qajar managed the country between 1796 and 1925. Each year the political condition in Luristan deteriorated. By 1910 the Governor of Luristan had lost control over many of the tribes. In 1915 Nizam-us-Saltana, the Governor of Luristan captured Khurramabad with his Swedish trained gendarmerie, but he was defeated afterward by the tribes of Bala-Grieveh (Baharvand, Judaki, Mir, Papi, Qalavand), and Hairanvand. After this time, Luristan was not controlled by the central government.

Several factors contributed to this state of anarchy. Most important was the corruption in the Qajar government. Their policies and method of administration were responsible for the condition not only of Luristan but also of Iran in general. The Anglo-Russian rivalry was
another factor which greatly affected internal conditions in Iran. Still another factor, the industrial revolution and the development of technology in the West, put Iran in a disadvantageous position, and left the country a victim of the power struggle between Russia and Great Britain. It was during this period that Iran lost some of her best territory to Russia, and Afghanistan was separated from Iran by the British.

**Pahlavi Dynasty (1925–present)**

In February 1921, Colonel Reza Khan and others organized a bloodless coup d'etat which took place in Tehran. After the coup, Reza Khan became the Minister of War and the Commander in Chief of the armed forces. In 1923 he served as the prime minister and two years later, he was declared Shah of Iran, ending the Qajar dynasty.

The policy of the new regime was to establish a strong central government. This policy changed the role of the tribes and their traditional relationship with the state. Reza Shah desired to modernize Iran (adopt Western culture), and, in his view, the tribes were an obstacle to this goal. His government did not understand the nature of nomadism and of the tribal way of life; it simply expected the tribal peoples to change. But, just as the government did not comprehend the tribes and their culture, the tribal people as a whole did not understand the government. Even today, after some forty years of forced sedentation, the tribesmen, and, as a matter of fact, the majority of the rural population of Iran, have only a limited knowledge of the politics and government of their country.
In addition to this lack of understanding between the new regime and the tribes, there was a lack of trust stemming from previous experiences of the tribes with governmental officials. The corrupt officials of the Qajar were concerned only with collecting taxes. The revenues of Luristan went into the pockets of the Qajar princes and officials rather than into public works. Furthermore, these corrupt princes and officials did not hesitate to murder or to exile those tribal leaders who rebelled. For this reason, the tribal people feared the government and avoided its officials.

Both the new regime and the tribes had justifications for their actions and attitudes, but neither group knew how to settle the disagreements without violence. Both groups seem to have been trapped by the political conditions which came about as a result of Western culture. Iran, once an independent empire, had been subjugated by the Russians and the British. To remain a strong nation, the leader of Iran assumed that it was necessary to adopt certain elements of Western culture such as technology and military technique, without foreseeing the consequences of such adaptations. Culture contact between the West and Iran had already affected the traditional Iranian culture; however until the time of the new regime, only certain segments of population were influenced by the new Western elements. The extensive adoption of the new cultural elements in Iran further threatened the political autonomy of the tribes.

Before the advent of Western culture in Iran, a balance had existed between the power of the government and the tribes. But as Coon has pointed out:
In no department of Middle Eastern civilization is the impact of Western culture more apparent than in the balance between government and tribes. In a sense this innovation is to the government's immediate advantage, since motor vehicles and airplanes can outrun camels and horses. The desert is no longer a refuge, nor are camels needed for transport. Hitherto impregnable mountain strongholds can be bombed as easily as villages on the plain (1951:321).

In view of the history of Luristan, a clash between the new regime and the tribes of Luristan was inevitable and this clash came in 1922. There is no detailed description of the Luristan war, and to my knowledge no one has studied it. Only General Ali Razmara, one of the participants in the Luristan war, in Joghrapheya-i-Nezami-i-Luristan (1941) has mentioned the events related to this war. It is not clear why Saki (Ibid.) excludes this recent event in his history of Luristan.

Since no detailed available written history of this conflict exists, my knowledge of the particulars must be based on accounts of those who participated in or witnessed the war.

The following is a brief account of the war taken partially from General Razmara's book, and partially from information gathered by me in the field. Unfortunately, General Razmara does not mention many of the events that took place during the war. Moreover, there are some contradictions between Razmara's work and information supplied by informants. For example, his story (1941:23-24) of how two of the Bairanvand leaders, Yadolah and Ali Reza Khan, were captured and executed, is questionable. General Razmara states that the leaders were captured because of his own superior abilities in battle, but according to reliable informants, the general sent them a Koran and promised them immunity. When the two leaders came to Khorromabad, Razmara captured them.
The war started in 1922 when the Iranian army reached northeast Luristan (Bairanvand territory). The fighting between the Bairanvand and the army continued for several months. In December, 1923 the army captured Khurramabad apparently because at this time most of the tribes were away in their winter territory. At that time, some of the tribal leaders who were found in Khurramabad were executed.

In reaction to these executions some of the leaders of the Bairanvand, who had already surrendered to the army rebelled again. They sought alliance with other tribal leaders who had also lost faith in the army and presumed their lives to be in danger. Consequently the Bala-Griva tribes (Baharvand, Judaki, Qalavand, Papi and Mir) and some of the Chigani and Sagvand, decided to join the Bairanvand against the Iranian army. In April, 1924, these tribes attacked the army northeast of Khurramabad and gained a strategic position. Khurramabad was under siege for five weeks. In May, 1924 General Ahmed returned to Khurramabad with fresh forces and three airplanes. Meanwhile, a disagreement caused several of the Bala Griva tribes to withdraw support from the Bairanvand. The army recaptured Khurramabad but still had not penetrated most of Luristan.

When General Khaizai took over leadership of the army in 1925, he invited some of the influential leaders to negotiate for a peace settlement. He assured them that there would be no danger, but when the leaders met General Khaizai, he captured and hanged thirteen of them, including some who had shown loyalty to the army. This breach of honor destroyed relations between the army and the tribal peoples of Luristan. Although many of the people wished to discontinue the fighting, the fear
created by the army prolonged the war. If the army had taken a more honorable policy, the Luristan war would have ended sooner. On the other hand, had there been more unity among the tribes, the army would not have defeated them so easily.

By 1928, after seven years of fighting, the army had managed to force most of the tribes to settle. But sporadic fighting continued. In the meantime, many of the tribal leaders had been hanged, poisoned, or captured and sent to Tehran and other places. In 1929, some groups of the Bairanvand, Sagvand, Mir and Sayeds were forced to move to Khurasan in northeastern Iran. The war ended in 1933.

When the army settled the tribes in 1929, the following policies were enforced: 1) No migration was permitted. The black tents used by the pastoralists were collected by the army and replaced by white tents. According to Razmara (1941:33), there were 2,400,000 sheep in Luristan. Half of these remained in their summer territory, and tribesmen were allowed to take the other half to winter pasture. 2) The tribes were disarmed. 3) People were forced to wear uniforms. 4) The registration of land began. 5) Government offices were established to control tribal affairs. They used the army to enforce policies.

When Iran was invaded in 1941 during World War II, many of the tribal leaders were released from jail and returned to Luristan. Those tribes which had been exiled to Khurasan also returned to Luristan at this time. Some of the tribes resumed their migratory life. During the war, many people starved. Shortly thereafter, smallpox caused many deaths. Since 1950, the pastoral nomads have begun to settle voluntarily in villages, and the culture of the tribal peoples has undergone
many other changes which will be discussed in the following chapters.
CHAPTER 2

THE BAHARVAND

The Tribes of Bala-Griva

Ethnologists classify the Baharvand among the Lur tribes of the Bala-Griva area of mountains which are found in the east part of Luristan. Bala-Griva is bound on the east by the Diz River, on the north by the Koraga Valley, on the west by the Kashgan River, and on the south by Khuzistan.

Rawlinson (1836:109) first listed the Bala-Griva tribes. Rawlinson mentioned Dirkavand, Papi, Rashnu and Saki as the tribes of Bala-Griva, but he did not indicate what he meant by Dirkavand. Both De Bode (1845:289) and Layard (1846:93) followed Rawlinson’s enumeration without variation.

Since 1836, vast changes have taken place in the tribes of the Bala-Griva. The Rashnu have been reduced to a few small lineages. Some of the Rashnu have remained in the Tayi Valley, whereas other members of the Rashnu dispersed among other tribes or moved to towns such as Dizful and Khurramabad. The Saki, after their defeat in the middle of the nineteenth century, were absorbed into the Sagvand. The Dirkavand and Papi are the only two tribes that remain without extensive change.

Nearly a century after Rawlinson published his work, Edmond (1922:344) listed the following tribes for the Bala-Griva region: Bajulvand (Sagavand and others), Bairanvand, Dirkavand, Judaki, Papi and
Chagani. It is not clear why he considered these as the tribes of Bala-Griva. Generally, Bajulvand, Bairanvand, and Changani, are not considered to be Bala-Griva tribes.

Henry Field (1945:176,180,183) also lists the Bala-Griva tribes in a questionable manner. He states:

The principle tribes of Bala-Girieh [Bala-Griva] are Qaid Rahmat, Dalvand, Bairanvand, Sagvand, Tulabi, Papi, Judaki, and Dirkavand. Smaller branches are Gurz, Gurzi, Gallandas, Rumiani and Ruck-Ruck.

Of these groups only the Papi, Judaki, and Dirkavand (Baharvand, Qalavand and Mir) are tribes of Bala-Griva. Contrary to Field, there exist no such groups as Qalavand Mir, or Baharvand Mir. The Baharvand, Qalavand, and Mir are separate, independent tribes. In former times, the Baharvand, Qalavand, and Mir were the three major tribes of Dirkavand, along with a number of smaller groups such as Najaftvand, Kerafvand, Shurawi, Sateyarvand, Glalivand, Halid and several others. Although Rawlinson, De Bode, Layard and Curzon, mention the Dirkavand, they never specify what they mean by this term. Perhaps they assume that the Dirkavand are a single tribe, but this is not true. Except for the fact that several of the small groups in Bala-Griva claim a common ancestor named (Dirak), there is no genealogical relationship among them. Dirak + vand means a descendant of Dirak, but the majority of people who have been labelled as Dirkavand are not actually descendants of Dirak.

Minorsky (1936:42) suggests that it is "possible that the Dirigvand [Dirkavand] are the real nucleus of the Lur race." Furthermore, he considers the tribes of Bala-Griva as "the Lur par excellence." It is not clear what Minorsky means by "race," but it is true that the purest Luri is spoken by the Dirkavand. Moreover, the Dirkavand have
played a significant role in Bala-Griva and Luristan throughout the history of this area.

**Historical Background of the Baharvand**

Like most pastoral nomads, the Baharvand do not have a written history. However, they do have an oral tradition which tells of the origin and the development of the tribe. This oral history provides information about subsistence patterns, land allocation, social structure, political organization, religion and other cultural elements. This oral tradition is helpful in reconstructing the tribal history for comparison with the present culture, and it fosters an understanding of pastoral nomadism in general.

Several sources may be used to reconstruct a general history of Baharvand: 1) oral tradition, 2) comparative genealogical study, 3) observation of that segment of Baharvand who are still practicing traditional pastoral nomadism, 4) European and Iranian writings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 5) documents such as communications between the government officials and tribal leaders, 6) grave stones which indicate the name, the father's name, tribal affiliation and the date of burial of the deceased, 7) and finally a dating of the important events of Baharvand oral history in the form of calendric years.

There is no doubt that these approaches have limitations. First, the absence of a written history greatly limits the quantity of information which is available for early years. Second, the few available written sources are scanty and seldom go beyond the nineteenth century. Third, it is difficult to establish an exact date for many of the events
in Baharvand history.

Baharvand oral history is based on a series of events and circumstances which the people consider to be significant. In describing the past, events are related to other events rather than to calendric dates. For example, the Baharvand would point out that a specific event happened after or before Barf-Sal (the snow-year) but they do not know the exact date for Barf-Sal. These events in the oral tradition are of many kinds: a severe cold or a dry year such as Barf-Sal, the spread of epidemic disease Owala-Sal (the year of smallpox); the year of a big plunder such as Lonch (Lynch) Sal; tribal warfare (between Baharvand and Mir); the death of a great leader; the arrival of a European visitor (Wilson 1911); the arrival of military forces such as Sal-Zandarmari (the year of gendarmerie 1915); when a large force of gendarmes were defeated at Khurramabad); and the arrival of Allied Forces in Luristan during World War II, known as "the American year," also referred to as Sal-i-Tongi (the hard year).

Fortunately, it is possible to establish an exact date for most of these events. For example, according to Sir Arnold Wilson (cf. Field Ibid..174), Barf-Sal was the winter of 1911. In that year, there was a heavy snow which remained on the ground for ten weeks. That same spring, Wilson accompanied the Baharvand from their winter to their summer pasture. Grave stones are also helpful in dating, although many of the older grave stones are either covered by dirt, or the writing has been eroded to the extent that they are hard to read.

Another way to establish an absolute dating for Baharvand history is through a comparative genealogical study. That is, we can
compare the genealogy of the Wali dynasty (1596–1929) with that of Baharvand. We know that Husain Khan, the founder of the Wali dynasty, came to power in 1596, the same year that Shah Vardi Khan, the last Atabak of Luristan, was executed. From the founding of Wali dynasty (Husain Khan, 1596) to the present, eleven generations have elapsed. It is also eleven generations from the time of Bahar, the founder of Baharvand, to the present. This claim is supported by the fact that one of my informants mentioned that Bahar was living during the time "of a ruler known as Shah Vardi Khan." Thus it appears that Bahar was living sometime around 1550–1590.

For the recent period, there are some historical sources, mostly written by Europeans who include: Rawlinson (1836), De Bode (1845), Layard (1846), Curzon (1892), Rubino (1916), Wilson (1911, 1941), Lorimer (1908), Edmonds (1917, 1922), General Razmara (1940), and Saki (1965). In addition to these sources, I have obtained a few documents (communications) between officials and tribal leaders) which contain some interesting historical information. The following history of the tribe has been reconstructed by drawing from all of these sources.

The development of the Baharvand from a small lineage to a powerful tribe occurred over a span of time which may be divided into the following periods:

1) The Early Period (1550–1830)
2) The Period of Expansion (1830–1922)
3) Luristan War and forced sedentation (1922 to 1973).
The Early Period (1550-1830)

There is no historical information available regarding this period of Baharvand history, but according to the oral tradition, the Baharvand descended from a man named Bahar. It is believed that Bahar's original home was Robat, a village north of Khurramabad. For an unknown reason he left his home and traveled to Dareh-Nasaw (part of the Baharvand's present territory, about sixteen miles south of Khurramabad). At that time, Dareh-Nasaw was occupied by a powerful man known as Dirak (the ancestor of some of the Dirkavand). Dirak was living at the end of the sixteenth century during the time of Shah Vardi Khan. Bahar married Dirak's daughter and remained in Dareh-Nasaw.

At this time in history, Dareh-Nasaw appears to have been used as a summer pasture; the Baharvand winter territory was Varon-Mahur in Korki (about eighty miles southeast of Khurramabad). Toward the end of the seventeenth century, for reasons which are yet to be explained, the Baharvand ceased migration to Dareh-Nasaw in the summer. Instead, they remained in Varon-Mahur until 1830, where their pastoral and other activities were concentrated year around. They remained in Varon-Mahur from 1830 until the period of expansion that led to the recapture of Dareh-Nasaw at the end of the nineteenth century. From 1830 until the time that Dareh-Nasaw was recaptured, the Baharvand migrated from Reza and Chin-i Zal to Takht-Cho.

While in Varon-Mahur, the Baharvand were divided into two lineages which were founded by the grandsons of the Bahar. These two lineages were the Maralivand (descendants of Marali), and Kurdalivand (descendants of Kurd Ali). The territory which was used for mixed
farming and husbandry was divided between the two lineages.

The Period of Expansion (1830-1922)

Baharvand territorial expansion began around 1830 and continued until 1922 when the Iranian army arrived in Luristan. This was a period of fighting, adventure, and glory for the Baharvand. From two small lineages possessing a small territory, the Baharvand became one of the most powerful tribes of Luristan with substantial holdings of land. The Baharvand had two rivals, the Mir and later the Qalavand who were expanding their territories at the same time. According to Wilson (1912: 19), by 1911, the Baharvand had become the strongest tribe of the Diravand. Wilson estimated that the tribe consisted of 1000 families, with a force of 1000 men, of which 500 were armed with rifles.

The Baharvand expansion probably occurred as a response to two factors: an increase in population and the political instability of Luristan. As the population of the Baharvand increased, their territory became insufficient. Population and political dynamics combined with the presence of strong leadership among the Baharvand contributed to Baharvand expansion.

It was pointed out earlier that Luristan was in a state of political turmoil during the Qajar dynasty. By 1830, there was constant fighting between the tribes, between the Qajar princes, and between the princes and the tribes. A few years earlier, Husain Khan, the leader of Saki tribe, had killed Khudad-Khan, the leader of Sagvand tribe, and had become a very influential man in Luristan, dominating the eastern part of Luristan. His presence, which weakened the Mir who were in
Korki, Mungara, and the plain of Reza, greatly influenced the fortunes of the Baharvand and Qalavand. Husain Khan had come into conflict with the Mir over some of their winter territory. To deal with this problem, he befriended the Governor of Luristan, and with the Governor's forces and his own men, he marched to Korki and Mungara. Since the Mir could not match this force they fled to Deh Luran and Beyat in Post-i Kuh, leaving their women and children behind. Both the Baharvand and Qalavand had earlier allied themselves with some sections of the Saki through marriages. For this reason, neither the Baharvand nor the Qalavand cooperated with the Mirs at the beginning of the conflict. However, Husain Khan committed certain intolerable acts which united all Dirkavand against the Saki. For example, he dishonored Gowhar, the wife of the Mir's leader. This woman appealed to the Baharvand, Qalavand, and other Dirkavand by sending her Tara (scarf which women tie around their heads) to them. Symbolically, this meant that if they did not take revenge, they were women too. The Dirkavand, who were already outraged by the actions of Husain Khan, gathered a force and awaited him at Gardana-i Murt (northeast of Keyalan mountain). They decided not to fight but only to capture Husain Khan. They hid themselves while Husain Khan's forces passed by. However, the moment Husain Khan appeared, several of Dirkavand jumped up and killed him.

The Sagvand, whose leader had been killed by Husain Khan earlier, found a chance to take revenge in this event. They did this by appealing to the Governor-General of Burujerd and Bakhtiar, and shortly they took the Saki's territory and absorbed the Saki people into their tribe. The conquest of the Saki made the Sagvand a powerful
tribe. The Sagvand then embarked on a program of expansion, taking the plain of Reza and Chin-i Zal from the Dirkavand and pushing the Dirkavand back to Korki and Mungara.

Later, a conflict between the Sagvand and Baharvand ensued. Sohrow (Sohrab), a member of Baharvand, decided to plow some land on top of Chenara mountain, north of the plain of Reza. When he was killed by some sections of the Sagvand, the Baharvand began their own territorial expansion in retribution. Immediately, the Baharvand moved to Chenara mountain and later they captured the plain of Reza, Chin-i Zal, and Bidrowa (Bidrowba).

By 1850, the Baharvand had become an expanding tribe. At this time the Baharvand consisted of the two sections, Maralivand and Kurdalivand who shared the Baharvand territory. Furthermore, the territory of each section was divided unequally between the lineages within that section, stronger lineages receiving more land. For example, the Maralivand divided their territory in the following manner: Kayu (the strongest lineage) received one share, Shirvali one share, Kohzadvand and another lineage one share, and Dawit and Gonj Ali one share.

As the Baharvand were expanding, the Maralivand asked the Kurdalivand to move to the west of the Zal River. Without any fight, the Kurdalivand left their territory and as a result, the Maralivand gained control of a relatively larger territory.

During this period, Baharvand migrations were short in length, perhaps only twenty miles. The Baharvand spent their summers in Takht-Cho where they camped in Sar-Gol. This territory belonged to other Dirkavand, who apparently migrated north in summer. Their winter
territory included the plain of Reza, Bidrowa, Chin-i Zal, and Pa Alam. Their subsistence remained one of mixed farming and pastoralism.

The Baharvand's movement toward the north began sometime around 1898. First, they moved to Tayi Valley which was occupied by the Najaftvand, Rashnu and some of the Mir who had moved there a few years before. The Mir, who were also expanding their territory, tried to prevent the Baharvand's entry into Tayi. A fight broke out, but since the Mir could not resist the Baharvand, they agreed to negotiate. An agreement was reached according to which the Mir gave up two-thirds of their land to the Baharvand. In return, the Mir were allowed to have Sedaro (north of Tayi), and Dadawa (north of Sadaran), which belonged to Sateyavand, a section of Dirkavand, who previously had lost its territory to the Mir. The Baharvand's share of Tayi was divided between the two sections: the Maralivand received two shares and the Kuralivand one share.

By the time the Baharvand reached Tayi, Kayu had become the strongest lineage of the Baharvand. This lineage was divided into five sub-lineages known as Panj Boweh Kayu (five lineages of Kayu). Panj Boweh Kayu consisted of Amolah (Amanolah), Bowak, Yaku (known as Jafar), Vali and Ahmadwak (known as Masay). The Panj Boweh Kayu received the entire share of the Maralivand in Tayi and they divided it into five portions. Thus, the other lineages of the Maralivand (Ganj Ali, Davit, Shirvali and Kohzad) did not receive any of the land. From this time on, the Panj Boweh Kayu assumed the leadership of the Maralivand section and did most of the fighting.

The period from 1898 to 1922 can be considered the Golden Age
of the Baharvand. Under the leadership of Baruni from the Bowak and Husain Khan from the Amolah lineage, the tribe gained respect and greatly influenced the political affairs of Bala-Griva and Luristan.

The Baharvand remained in Tayi for almost five years. In the spring of 1903, they decided to recapture Dareh-Nasaw, which they considered to be their traditional land. At this time, Dareh-Nasaw was occupied by the Papi tribe, which probably moved there sometime in the middle of the nineteenth century. Upon the arrival of the Baharvand in Dareh-Nasaw, heavy fighting ensued and the Papi were forced to leave. After they settled in Dareh-Nasaw, the Baharvand attacked the Papi in Taf and occupied that territory as well. Both Dareh-Nasaw and Taf were divided among the members of Panj Boweh Kayu; however, the Kurdalivand and Kohzadvand sections received small portions. The rest of the Baharvand were distributed from Dareh-Nasaw to Taf. Shirvali and other smaller lineages (Ganj Ali, Davitvand, Haidervand) were located in Howd-Kal, Siv-Tal and Tarik-dar (all in the south of the Hashtad-Pahlu mountains).

By 1914, the two sections of Baharvand had become strong enough to become autonomous tribes. The Maralivand section was later referred to as the Baharvand, whereas the Kurdalivand were referred to by their own name. Today, the term Baharvand is used to refer to Maralivand only. Although the two sections became separate tribes, they gave support to each other in time of need.

In 1914, the Maralivand, Kurdalivand, and Mir made an alliance in order to capture Koraga Valley (Khurramabad Valley). Another tribe, the Bairangvand had become very strong and aggressive. A rumor had
spread that this tribe planned to capture the Koraga Valley. If they did so, the Baharvand and Mir would have a hard time reaching Khurramabad. For this and other political and economic reasons, the Baharvand and Mir joined forces, occupied the valley, and divided it into two parts. This division was made at a canal known as Sha-Joo. The Mir and Kuralivand took the western part of the valley, and the Maralivand took the eastern portion. Maralivand's share was divided among the members of Panj-Boweh Kayu only; Amola and Vali received two shares (Darayi, Dinervand, and Sora-Deh), and Jafar received one share (Sali and Chu-Tash). The rest of the Maralivand remained in Dareh-Nasaw.

The Baharvand not only had expanded their summer territory in the north, but also they had added to their southern territory (winter territory). The newly won winter territory extended from Reza, south to the Deh-Luran road at Pol-i Karkha. Thus, they were in control of a very large territory, bounded on the north by Kerah, Hoorni, and Chenara mountain, on the east by the Bala-Rud, on the south by the Deh Luran road and Pol-i Karkha, and on the west by the Sa'armara and a boundary beyond Shah Ahmad Kuchic.

The Luristan War and Forced Sedentation (1922-1973)

When the government forces marched into northeast Luristan in 1922, they were confronted by the Bairanvand. By 1923, the army had managed to capture only Khurromabad. As a consequence, both the Baharvand and Mir left Koraga Valley. Although the Baharvand and Mir did not intend to participate in the Luristan war, they became
dissatisfied with the army in 1923 after General Ahmedi executed several tribal leaders, including those who cooperated with him. Had General Ahmedi not committed this act, it is possible that neither the Baharvand, nor the Mir would have participated in the fighting. However, in 1924, most of the tribes of Bala-Griva (Baharvand, Papi, Mir, and Qalavand) formed an alliance and attacked the army in Khurramabad. After these tribes had captured the most strategic positions and had driven the army out, the town was besieged for several weeks. In June 1924, General Ahmedi sent a letter to Husain Khan, the most influential and respected man of the Baharvand. In this letter, General Ahmedi guaranteed the security of the Baharvand and indicated that "such security will be extended to any other individual who seeks it through you." It is not clear whether the Baharvand withdrew their forces from the alliance prior to or after receipt of this letter, but they did not continue to participate in the fighting. Whatever the case, the withdrawal of the Baharvand was followed by some other tribes and this gave the army a chance to overcome the remaining tribes. Had the Bala-Griva tribes not broken their alliance, the army would have had a harder time in gaining control over Luristan. Husain Khan has been accused by other tribal leaders of cooperating with the army, but in 1929 he, along with his brother, was invited to Khurramabad by General Ahmedi. When they arrived, they were imprisoned and later were sent to Tehran and Mashhad where they remained in jail for twelve years. They were released during World War II when the Allied Forces occupied Iran.

In the meantime, the Baharvand, who were in Dareh-Nasaw and Baveh, were forced to move to Koraga Valley along with some sections of
the Mir. The Kordalivand refused to move to Koraga, so they were settled in Tayi, Tal and Pe Alam. The forced settlement of tribes was accompanied by changes in their territory, and in political and social organization, topics which will be discussed at length in the next section of this study.
CHAPTER 3

PASTORAL ADAPTATION

In order to carry out a study of sociocultural changes among the Baharvand, it is necessary to discuss their way of life before their forced settlement. The picture that follows is a composite based upon oral tradition, my personal experiences, interviews with elders in the tribe, and the few written sources that deal with the tribes of Luristan. Information on the Baharvand which follows covers the topics of technology and economy, social organization, the life cycle, political organization, and supernaturalism.

Ecology

Before 1929, the Baharvand supported themselves with an economy which consisted mainly of nomadic pastoralism. Nomadic pastoralism is known to be an adaptation to certain environmental factors, specially low rainfall (Barth 1955, 1956, 1959, 1968; Berque 1959; Coon 1951; Johnson 1969; Krader 1955, 1956, 1959, 1968; Leeds and Vayda 1965; and Spooner 1973). Johnson expressed this idea when he stated, "pastoral nomadism is a livelihood form that is ecologically adjusted to a particular technological level to the utilization of marginal resources. These resources occur in areas too dry, too elevated, or too steep for agriculture to be a viable mode of livelihood, and the nomadic pastoralist thus makes use of resources that otherwise would be neglected"
(Ibid.:2). These ecological factors pertain to most of Baharvand territory and, along with political instability in Luristan, they may account for the Baharvand's nomadic way of life.

Baharvand territory was comprised of two ecological areas. The summer territory, which is located near Khurramabad, includes part of the Koraga Valley and the adjacent mountains to the south. The other area, located about ninety miles to the south near Andimeshk, is known as the Garmsir (warm area). Ecologically, the winter territory and summer territory are two very different regions. The winter territory is located from 600 to 2,000 feet above sea level and, except for the northern part which is mountaineous, it consists of eroded conglomerates and gypsum or gravel hills. This area is more suitable for pasture during the cool months than it is for farming. However, there are several places such as the plain of Reza, part of Bidrowa, Garashko, Pashmina-Zar, Chin-i Zal and other small patches where arable land is found. The lack of water and the summer heat, which sometimes reaches above 115 degrees F., makes the winter territory unpleasant during the summer months. Rain falls only during the later part of November in the Garmsir and continues until mid-April. It never freezes in the Garmsir. The climate in this area is characterized by wet and mild winters, short pleasant springs, and long, dry, hot summers. Grass is available only during the rainy seasons and there are no trees. The wild life in the valley includes rabbit, fox, wolf, and gazelle.

In contrast to the Koraga Valley, the mountain pastures are at a higher altitude (7,000 to 9,500 feet), and consequently are colder and have different flora and fauna. The trees here include oak, cherry,
almond, fig, pear, girch, colang, kekam, and willow. There are many wild animals such as sheep, goat, rabbit, bear, wolf fox, and a variety of birds.

In general, the mountain region serves as a good pasture during the spring and summer months. But by the middle of autumn, it becomes cold and during the winter there is heavy snow. The Baharvand cultivated small plots of wheat, corn, cucumber, and watermelon in Dareh-Nasow, Kharzar, and Sivak during the summer; however, they exploited this territory mainly as a pasture. The climate of the Koraga Valley and the mountain region is also characterized by a dry summer and a wet winter. The wet, cold season begins in mid-November and continues until June. From mid-December until April and there are heavy snows in the mountains and some in the valley. After April, there is usually little chance of snow, and the precipitation which falls until June comes in the form of rain.

These climatic variations played a significant role in the Baharvand way of life. Their migrations from summer to winter territory and back to summer territory were a response to these climatic changes. The Baharvand migrated to the summer territory during October. Migration thus enabled the people to escape the severe cold of the Koraga Valley and mountain region, and the heat of the Germsir, while at the same time to utilize the green pastures which are available for only a few months in each territory every year. Thus, they left the summer territory in October because of the shortage of pasture and the beginning of the cold period. From October until mid-April, the winter territory was ideal because it was not too cold and there was sufficient
forage for the herds. During the same period, there was no grass in the summer territory. By mid-April, the seasons have changed, the winter territory becomes very hot and the green vegetation dries up, while in the summer territory there is green pasture and cool weather. To take advantage of this situation, the Baharvand migrated back to the summer territory by mid-April. This cycle was repeated yearly.

Another important factor which is related to the migration is the time at which sheep and goats bear their young and the period during which the lambs and the kids are weaned. The time of birth and the period when the lambs and kids are weaned coincides with the migration cycle. Generally, the birth of the lambs and the kids takes place during the summer (in the summer territory), and the kids and goats are weaned after five months (generally in the winter territory). The significance of this pattern is that the lambs and kids are born during a period when there is enough grass to enable the mothers to produce milk and to allow the young to graze a few weeks after birth. With fresh grass, the lambs and kids grow strong enough so that they can stand the rigors of the migration.

While in their winter territory, each household cultivated a small amount of wheat. The amount was small for several reasons: there was a scarcity of productive land; the land was needed for pastures; and the cultivation of wheat in large quantities required a large amount of work and manpower which the Baharvand, as pastoralists, did not have. However, cultivation of wheat in small quantities had some advantages: it did not require much attention, the pasture was preserved, and moreover, the people needed relatively little for subsistence. In short,
the cultivation of wheat was easy, and as long as it was in small quantities, it did not take too much of the pastoralists' time or grass land. In their summer territory, they cultivated wheat, corn, watermelon, cucumbers, and chick peas.

Elements of a Pastoral Economy

Although Baharvand subsistence was based mainly on pastoralism, the people also engaged in gathering, hunting, and farming. The components of pastoral economy are 1) equipment (tent, bedding, etc.), 2) capital (herds), 3) land, and 4) manpower. It is a system which creates interdependencies between people, animals, and the other elements of the ecological system. The pastoral economy creates interdependencies between humans because it requires more than one person to do the tasks. It creates interdependencies between humans and animals because man needs the products of the animals and in return protects them. It creates interdependencies between the humans, other animals, and nature because without rain, pasture, and water, neither the humans nor the herds could survive. In the following paragraphs, each component of the pastoral economy is briefly discussed.

The basic unit of production and consumption was the family (see social organization). For shelter, each family had a black tent made of goat hair, known as a dwar. Each family had many possessions including: bedding, pots and other cooking utensils, pack-bags for wheat and flour (hur), a net for carrying bulk objects (shawak), carpet bags for packing belongings (hur asho), goat skins for carrying water (mashk-ow), goat skins (mashk-du) for carrying buttermilk (dugh), lamb or kid's skin
for carrying clarified butter (hīza), blankets to protect the pack animals against saddle rubbing (jol and koodu), and, finally, ropes. All of this equipment was made by the tribeswomen except for some of the pots and cooking utensils. Before metal was used in Luristan, most of the pots were made from wood by the Lutis (see social structure).

The size of a family tent depended on the family's social position and relative wealth. A man of a high status tended to have a larger tent because he had many visitors. Some of the leaders had a guest house (diva-kho), which consisted of a tent pitched close to the camp. It is the Lur custom that a guest, whether a stranger or a friend, must be given shelter and food without payment. When a guest house was not used, some leaders screened off the right side of the domestic tent and used it for the man's quarters (la mando). Wealthy men could have larger tents because they had both the animals and the manpower to move them.

The average tent was made up of twelve takhta (strips of goat hair fabric, each about twelve meters long and about fifty centimeters wide). Such a tent was sufficient for a family of five. Each household required, in addition to a tent, several pack animals, a flock of sheep and goats, and cows for milking. An average household needed eight pack animals to carry the tent and equipment. Mules, donkeys, oxen, and horses were used in this capacity. Generally, mares carried the bedding with the women and children riding on top. A lack of pack animals was a critical problem. Whenever a camp owned insufficient pack animals, the loads were carried a little at a time, each day during migration. Ordinarily, horses were reserved for the men to ride.
Households also maintained animals which produced milk for dairy products which were sold. Proceeds from the dairy products were used to buy materials from the market. There was neither a minimum nor a maximum number of animals that a household could possess. Households migrated whether or not they had herds (see exchange and diet). Generally, there were other means of subsistence available to the Baharvand such as gathering acorns, farming, and hunting. With sufficient acorns or wheat, a household could survive even without herds. There were also social mechanisms by which the households with inadequate food received assistance from kinsmen and other tribesmen.

Before settlement in 1929, an average family had 200 sheep and goats, as well as some cows and pack animals. A household could usually accumulate a herd of this size within a few years, if there were no diseases or droughts. Sheep and goats generally reproduced in their second year of life, and with sufficient pasture and absence of disease, herds increased rapidly. But cycles of disease and periodic droughts often checked such increases, maintaining a balance between the human and animal populations, and natural resources.

The diseases which attacked the sheep and goats included, diarrhia (rezala), a swelling of the head (sarpanow), lung disease (porak), sheep pox which appeared on the sheep's ear (dona ru gush). According to my informants, these diseases appeared on a cyclic basis. Sarpanow appeared once every two or three years, whereas dona ru gush appeared once every five years. Sometimes sarpanow killed as much as three quarters of a herd. Another danger to the herd was pish-kula, a very small worm-like insect which kills animals who eat it.
Like disease, drought also seems to occur in cycles, once every three years. Drought frequently has had disastrous effects on both human and animal populations. In a severely dry year, most of the animals die from the shortage of grass. At the same time, humans are affected because there are no acorns to supplement their diet. In short, diseases and droughts have always been two major threats to both herds and humans.

A third element basic to pastoral economy is land or territory. The Baharvand exploited their territory as pasture and, to a lesser extent as farmland. Every Baharvand household had access to pasture and some farmland. The ownership of land was claimed by those who were descendents of Bahar. Thus, the Homsa (neighbors or clients), Sayed (the descendents of Mohamed), Luti (an outcaste group), and even some of the descendents of Bahar whose position had declined, had no claims to the ownership of land. The Homsa, Sayed, and Luti were attached to the ruling lineage who had territory and camp sites (Malga). Lutis, as a rule, did not farm and the Homsa provided service in return for the use of land. For example, some of the Homsa received land and seeds from a Baharvand leader and, in return, gave him part of the farm products. Whenever the leaders had guests, the Homsa were expected to serve tea or help to prepare food. During migration, the Homsa were expected to pack the leader's tent and load his animals.

A fourth element of pastoral economy was manpower. As a unit of production and consumption, every household required a great deal of manual labor. For example, a family with 200 sheep and goats, five to ten cows, and eight pack animals needed the following labor force:
a young man or a boy as herder (*chupu*), a young boy to look after lambs and kids (*bargalu*), an able male to look after cows and pack animals (*ramaku*), two or possibly three women or girls for milking, cooking, weaving and doing other domestic work, and one or two men for farming and other daily activities. If a household had enough manpower, it was not necessary to hire outsiders, but otherwise, the labor had to be employed. Animals were given in payment for labor. For example, a herder, or *Chupu*, received ten per cent of the lambs and kids. If some of the animals died during his term, he received the percentage of the remainder. Sometimes several families pooled their animals and hired a herder; in other cases the members of a camp divided the task among themselves. For example, one member of a household served as shepherd, another as *ramako*, and a third as cattle herder (*galu*). Through this cooperation, the families became interdependent.

**Supplements to the Pastoral Economy**

The pastoral economy was supplemented by farming, hunting, and gathering. As mentioned earlier, farming was done in both the summer and the winter territories. In the summer territory, corn, watermelon, and cucumber were cultivated, as well as wheat and barley.

Eighty years ago, the Baharvand depended much more on hunting and gathering than they do today. Among the plants gathered were acorn (*bali*), mushrooms, vegetables such as *tula*, *pajezo*, *zareshk*, *kangar*, *painoma*, wild pears, figs, and *girch*. Of all these vegetables and fruits, acorn was the most significant, not only to the Baharvand diet, but probably to the diet of all of the tribes who lived in the Zagros mountains.
The oak trees do not belong to any individual, but instead are communal property.

Two kinds of bread were made from acorns: kazka and kalg. Both took almost two weeks to prepare. The difference between the two was that kalg was a mixture of acorn flour and wheat flour, whereas kazka was made from acorns only. Kalg was much preferred, but sometimes wheat was not available for the making of this bread. If it had ever become a necessity, the people could subsist on acorns without doing farming and with a minimum dependency on their domestic animals.

Besides farming and gathering, the Baharvand used firearms to hunt game such as wild sheep, goats, and birds. Apparently, these animals were once abundant, but with an increase in the human population and the introduction of shot guns, most of the wild game was decimated shortly after the Baharvand took on a sedentary way of life.

The Baharvand diet varied with the seasons, but basically it consisted of bread made from wheat or acorn, tea with sugar (tea was introduced some 90 years ago), milk products such as clarified butter, mast and dugh, and meat. These foods were supplemented by vegetables, fruits, and nuts, which were available seasonally. During autumn and winter, the basic diet also contained milk products such as clarified butter and kashk\(^{33}\) (dried dugh), which, mixed with water, made fresh dugh. Walnuts, dates, rice, and fruits such as wild pear, girch, and pomegranate were also consumed. In the spring, there were many foods including milk products (mast, dugh, butter, and cheese), vegetables such as toola, kangar, pagazo, and zareshk, mushrooms, and eggs. Throughout the spring, there was a greater variety of foods than at any
other time of the year.

Some Baharvand leaders made additional income from caravans. The caravan route passed through Baharvand territory and each caravan was required to pay tribute for protection and safe passage. These leaders collected tribute from the caravans (baj-qafala), and charged the merchants a fee (bar-kara) for leasing pack animals to carry the caravan cargoes between the market towns of Dizful and Khurramabad.

Like many other pastoral nomads, the Baharvand raided other peoples including the Arabs of Khuzistan, other Lur tribes, and sometimes the Wali of Posht-i Kuh. In such raids, the intent was not merely to gain property, but also to gain prestige. The Lur have specific names for their different kinds of raids: gharat or chapow are raids of a territory by a large party using force; in a tarida-zani, a party of five to ten males rob passengers on roads outside Baharvand territory; and in a dozi, approximately three males attempt to steal from other tribes during the night.

**Division of Labor**

The division of labor was principally based on age and sex, although certain tasks were performed by specialists. Women and young girls prepared food, washed the clothes, did spinning and weaving, brought water and wood (sometimes men helped them), and milked the animals (the men and young boys helped by holding the sheep and goats). Barth (1961:16) mentions that among the Basseri "the milking is done by both sexes but mostly by women." The Baharvand men considered milking to be women's work and therefore avoided doing it. The males, on the
other hand, performed the heavier tasks such as plowing the land, packing the tent, loading the animals, pitching the tent, preparing the kola (a summer shelter), looking after the animals, hunting protecting the household and its properties against outsiders and wild animals, participating in decision making, raiding, and fighting.

Young girls helped their mothers whereas young boys helped their fathers by tending the animals and doing other work. Political and other activities were the affairs of the older men and the younger men were suppose to listen to their advice and to follow it. It was believed that a man's age increased his knowledge and wisdom. An old man was called kar-dida (experienced). In contrast to American culture, an old person did not become obsolete. During the migration, it was the older generation who decided what distance was to be travelled and what campsite to be used. This does not mean, of course, that the younger generation did not have any voice; but rather that, according to Bahary and custom, a young man was suppose to listen to his old father.

During migration, activities in the nomad camps began as early as 4:00 a.m. The women prepared dough, and then baked bread for breakfast. By 7:00 or 8:00 a.m. the camp was moving. It usually took five to six hours to travel between campsites; however, the distance between campsites varied. For example, the trip from Chin-i Zal to Barenj-Kar took a little over five hours, whereas it took over eight hours to get from Barenj-Kar to the next campsite (Sar-i-Gol). During migration, the males divided the labor; those who were armed accompanied the several herds to protect them, and the rest took care of the loaded animals. All of the activities done during migrations were coordinated to take
advantage of the available labor force.

In addition to the division of labor by age and sex, certain work was done by specialized groups or individuals. The Lutis performed circumcisions, played music, and manufactured wooden bowls and dishes. For their services they received food, cash, and animals. The playing of music and the performance of circumcisions were considered dirty tasks, and therefore the Baharvand avoided them. Beside the Lutis, there were other specialists such as Sar-Reshta-dar, Mullah, Halaj, and Giya Kash.

Sar-Reshta-Dar, or medicine men, were individuals who had knowledge of animal and human diseases, as well as an ability to set broken bones. They also did some surgery and knew the uses of various plants for curing diseases. They received gifts for their acts.

The Mullah were literate men who taught the children (see education), read and wrote letters for the illiterate, and cured sick people and other animals by religious means. In a sense, they were shamans, because they cured people who had been possessed by supernatural beings (see supernaturalism). They differed from the Sar-Reshta-dar in that they cured people through writing religious formulae, which were carried by the patient. The Mullah also had a knowledge of the calendar and astrology. Thus, they knew when the lucky and unlucky days occurred and for this information, they were constantly consulted by the people.

A Halaj was a person who made woolen rugs (namad), woolen overcoats (kapang), and woolen hats (clow). Each year, some of the Halaj were invited from Dizful or Khurramahad to stay with the Baharvand for a month or so, particularly during the summer. In later years, several
members of Kowgoni (a group attached to the Baharvand) learned how to make the woolen goods, and they became the local Halaj. Giva-Kash were a section of the Rashnn tribe who, for a reason that is not clear, moved to Dizful, where they learned the profession of making shoes. Later on, some of them came back to Lur and settled with the Baharvand. The Giva-Kash, Halaj, and other specialists worked for wages.

**Formal and Informal Markets**

There were two methods of distributing goods and labor: through the formal market, and through local groups which combine the services of informal markets with acts of reciprocity.

The two market towns in which the Baharvand traded were Dizful and Khurramabad. Here, the Baharvand sold their animal products and bought supplies. The Baharvand maintained relations with Dizful during the winter as it is located in the Garmsir (winter territory), and in the summer they traded in Khurramabad. Each Baharvand household established relationships with one or more of the shopkeepers in each market town. Although there were no regulations concerning which merchants to trade with, there was a tendency for the people to trade on a personal basis with certain shops. Such relationships were advantageous because, as pastoralists, the Baharvand had little cash and depended on credit for most of the year. By establishing relations with a shopkeeper, they were thus able to buy their necessities on credit and repay their debt in the spring when they could sell butter, wool, rams, and goats. One of the disadvantages of this practice was that the shopkeepers charge higher prices than might otherwise be expected, and secondly, the
pastoralists had to sell the male goats and sheep at times when the market was glutted and the prices were low.

At the beginning of the two annual migrations, each Baharvand household did a major shopping, known as Karsazi. Just before the fall migration, the head of a household would go to Khurramabad and buy tea, sugar, rice, tobacco, raisins, and walnuts. While at the market, new cloth was bought for the members of the household, the cooking pots were repaired, and the horses and mules shod. The second Karsazi took place before the spring migration. Again, the males generally went to Dizful and bought tea, sugar tobacco, rice, dates, celo (a heavy syrup), and any other supplies needed. The payment for these goods came from the sale of animals and animal products. In addition to the milk products, each household occasionally sold mules, horses, oxen, and donkeys.

Goods, animals, and services which were traded within Baharvand territory instead of at the market towns can be considered as informal market exchange. In this case, animals and cash were the means of exchange. Informal marketing was carried out among the Baharvand themselves, and between the Baharvand and other peoples. The Baharvand bought and sold rifles, tents, packbags, animals, and other merchandise from each other. Generally, such transactions took place as barter.

Labor was frequently exchanged on a reciprocal basis. For example, if a man provided labor as a herder, he received ten per cent of the increase in the herds in exchange for his services. Labor could also be used as a fee for a bride-price in a situation where a man was too poor to pay his wife's father in the form of animals or cash.

In their dealings with others, the Baharvand frequently
exchanged animals and services for goods. Certain traders brought tea, sugar, rifles, cloth, and animals, and traded them for cash or live-
stock. Other nomads also brought animals and traded them to the Baharvand. Furthermore, some of the Baharvand leaders received baj-qafala and bar-kara fees from the caravans that passed through their lands.

Reciprocity

Anthropologists list three kinds of reciprocity: generalized, balanced, and negative. Service (1966:15) has defined these types of reciprocity as follows:

Generalized reciprocity is a form of exchange based on the assumption that returns will balance out in the long run. . . . The reciprocity, therefore, is only a very general expectation. 'In the long run' things even out. The reciprocity is not explicit; it might be impolite, even insulting, to indicate that a return is expected. Furthermore, the mutual exchange is almost never of equivalents. . . .

Balanced reciprocity, on the other hand, implies a straight-
forward and explicit exchange that is (ideally) satisfactory to both parties in terms of the goods or acts themselves. . . .

Negative reciprocity literally, of course, would imply no reciprocity at all, or the opposite of reciprocity—thief or the forceful seizure of goods.

Among the Baharvand, generalized reciprocity manifests itself in the form of hospitality, and other cultural behavior which is re-
ferred to as porsona, dawatona, taeo, hass, hass-hajat, and kasamsa. Baharvand customs of hospitality required that every Baharvand welcome his guest, whether a stranger, a friend, or a relative. The guest was entitled to shelter and food, without payment. The leaders, as a rule, spent most of their income on entertaining guests in their guest-house. By acts of hospitality and generosity, a man could enhance his reputation.
In fact, the worst thing for a man's reputation was gossip that he was not hospitable. A Baharvand leader named Reza-Golmamad, once pitched his diva-kho (guest house) in Massur (near Khurramabad) and employed a group of Lutis to entertain his guests with music. To do this, he spent the entire tribute which he collected from his gardens in Khurramabad. Even after fifty years, people still talk about the diva kho Reza-Golmamad.

Gifts known as porsona were given to a household upon a death of one of its members and these gifts included money, livestock, tea, sugar and rice. The expectation was that those who gave porsona would receive similar gifts in the future when a member of their family died.

Davatona is similar to porsona, except the davatona was made on the occasion of a wedding. Both porsona and davatona were exchanges between groups rather than between individuals. Thus, if one group failed to attend another group's wedding, the latter group, in turn, would not attend the former group's wedding when they were invited.

Taso was a kind of economic assistance which an individual could demand from his kinsmen and friends. This kind of support was sought when there was need for a bride-price or when a man's herds declined. Such aid was given in the form of cash or animals.

Hass was assistance or help sought not only from kinsmen and friends, but from other people. One example of hass was the boz-hass, or the asking for goats. In the boz-hass, an individual visited households and asked for goats before a wedding. The individual who did taso and hass visited different camps, mentioned what he needed, and why he needed it. Sometimes a respected man who needed help would send his
servant or one of his homsa to ask for help.

The Baharvand distinguished between hass, taso, and gadayi (begging). To them, taso and hass are not the same as begging. Only a man without kinsmen or property would do gadayi. Begging was well accepted in Luristan under certain circumstances. The begger in Luristan wore a cough-i gadayi (the begger's necklace) which was a piece of brass hung around the neck. This brass necklace signified that a disastrous thing had happened to him such as his properties being taken from him by force. The necklace was worn because the individual visited people who did not know him. However, this practice seldom occurred.

Hass-haja was a relationship between two or more households which exchanged services and borrowed goods from one another. For example, if one household had some guests and needed bedding or food, they would borrow these things from the other household who shared the hass-haja relationship.

Another practice of reciprocity in Baharavand culture is the sharing of food, or Kasamsa. Whenever a member of the camp cooked food which others did not have, the expectation was that every member would receive some of it. For example, if a member of a household cooked some rice, the others in the household would receive a portion of it no matter how small. Furthermore, if one of the members killed a wild goat or sheep, everybody was given some of the meat. Kasamsa was the portion of food that a neighbor or family member received.

Some examples of straightforward exchange or balanced reciprocity are the lending, borrowing, and sharing of goods and labors among the herdsmen. Shir-wara, or milk pooling, was and still is a common practice
in Luristan. It is a custom whereby several households lend milk to each other. For example, three households may enter into an agreement to pool the milk from the herds. After one household received the milk for several days, the pool passed to the next household, and so on. The milk was measured so that each household knew precisely how much milk had been borrowed and how much had been loaned. Shir-wara was the concern of the women. The practice not only brought people together, but it provided sufficient milk for all of the families to make butter and cheese.

In the practice of *gow-gira*, the households of a camp agreed to take turns in caring for all the cattle in the camp. This practice saved a great deal of labor, as it condensed the herds and necessary work of herding. Hiring a shepherd was also a form of balanced reciprocity for the shepherd's services were paid for with a percentage of the herd.

Another form of balanced reciprocity was the contract between a household with a large herd and one without herds. One such case was do-payi, an agreement in which the needy household took care of a rich household's herd for half of the lambs and kids. Barth (1961:13-14) has reported similar practices of reciprocity among the Basseri.

Negative reciprocity was institutionalized in Luristan as it is in the western world, but in a different form. Gharat, tarida-zoni, and dozi are various forms of theft and are three examples of negative reciprocity. In the section on supplements to pastoral economy I have already described how such negative reciprocity was carried on. In addition, we may also consider the grazing of others' fields and the cutting of wood as forms of negative reciprocity.
CHAPTER 4

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Social organization can be described as "the ways in which groups and individuals are organized and related to one another in the functioning entity that is society" (Hoebel 1966:308). Before 1923, Baharvand society was organized along lines of kinship, and an individual's status, rights and obligations were largely determined by his kinship affiliations. In addition to kinship affiliation, sex and age were important factors in interpersonal relationships. For example, vital decisions were often made by the older generation whereas the younger males and the females were excluded from the formal meetings in which decisions were made.

Kinship ties were established through biological ancestry, marriage, and fictive relationships. In the following paragraphs, marriage, the segmentary lineage, kinship terminology, status and role, and social stratification will be discussed.

Marriage

Hoebel (Ibid.:566) defines marriage as "the social institution that regulates the special relations of a mated pair to each other, their offspring, their kinsmen, and society at large." This is a useful definition because it stresses the wider relationships that marriage implies. The Baharvand considered marriage as an affair between groups
rather than between only the husband and wife. Marriage was an instrument for political alliance, a way by which blood feuds were ended, and it was a means by which close ties were established between groups. Parents frequently arranged marriages for their children in order to ally themselves with particular families or groups. In some cases, children were betrothed as soon as they were born. This was especially true in instances where many families desired to establish marriage ties with certain other families of high social standing. As soon as a child was born to such a family, other families tried to be the first to arrange a marriage between one of their children and the newborn infant. If an offer was accepted, the two children were betrothed by a gift known as a Neshuna which was generally a dress or an earring sent by the parents of the boy to the family of the girl.

From a man's point of view, marriage was inevitable, for the nature of pastoral nomadic life practically demanded it. A man depended on a woman not only to cook his meals and to be a companion, but also to take care of his household, to weave his tents and rugs, and to milk his herds. Other factors which encouraged people to get married included social pressures, desire for sexual gratification, for children, and for independence. A single man was under constant pressure from his kinsmen, friends, and others to get married. If he remained single, he was subjected to gossip about his virility, and suggestions that other things were wrong with him. According to religious belief, a single man was impure and on some occasions he was reminded that his prayers (if he did pray) were not accepted by Khoda (God). Sometimes it was even alleged that single men were not Muslims.
Women were under even more pressure to marry than were men. Women were expected to marry in their early teens, although some married younger. A single girl was a source of danger to her family and to her kinsmen’s reputations because of the chance that under temptation or other circumstances she might lose her virginity. If this happened, it would be a disgrace to her kinsmen who would have to defend their honor by retaliating against the one who dishonored them. This might have led to dangerous confrontations between groups. Premarital and extramarital sexual relations were prohibited among the Baharvand and those who broke this law were severely punished.

The desire for children undoubtedly was another strong motivation for marriage. This factor can be understood in the context of the Baharvand ideas of old age and economy. Children, especially boys, were desired because they were a source of economic and social security during their parents' old age. A man with many sons was admired and was proud because Baharvand men wanted to have their name and family line carried on after death. It was assumed that a daughter would marry an outsider and, therefore, only a son would carry his father’s name. One of the worst things that could happen to a man was to die without a son. 34 A man who died without a son failed to contribute to the survival of his group. A group could survive and maintain its territory only if it had sufficient manpower; otherwise it would become the victim of the aggression of another group.

Children were a source of pride to their mothers. The status of a young woman often changed when she became a mother, and especially if she gave birth to a son. A woman who did not bear children often was
miserable, and her husband generally married a second wife.

Selection of a Spouse

Rules regarding marriage were based on incest taboos and customs of exogamy. The regulations involving incest taboos were usually based on Islamic prescriptions. Albert (1966:674) in his study of Davarabad (a village near Tehran), describes these Islamic prescriptions of marriage:

"In sum, the legal disabilities most pertinent to actual mate selection in Davarabad are those which specify prohibited degrees of consanguinity, affinity and conjunction between spouses. As regards consanguine relations, Islamic law forbids marriage with (1) a parent or foster-parent, (2) a grandparent, (3) a sibling or half-sibling, (4) a child or grandchild, (5) a true nephew, or (6) any true aunt, uncle, grandaunt or granduncle, paternal or maternal. Among affinals, a man is prohibited from marrying any ascendant or descendant of his wife, or the wife of any of his own ascendants or descendants. Finally, Moslem law forbids a man to have, at the same time, two wives so related in terms of the foregoing prohibitions that they could not lawfully marry if they were of opposite sexes. The most important consequences of these regulations are (1) that all first cousins are marriageable, and (2) that sisters cannot be co-wives, though a man may marry his wife's sister after death or divorce of his wife.

The foundations of Islamic incest taboos lie in principles of halal (clean, legal) and haram (impure, illegal, and, therefore, forbidden). According to Islamic tradition, all human acts are divided into five categories, two of which are halal and haram. Islamic rules prescribe severe punishments for those who commit an act which is haram (see religion). Baharvand considered any breach of incest taboos to be an act of haram—an act which would make a person's family, his household and everything he owned impure. The Baharvand also thought that the violation of the incest regulations would cause blindness. The fears of isolation and punishment from the community, the fear of losing
one's eyesight, and the fears of supernatural punishments encouraged the observance of the incest regulations.

For the majority of Baharvand, there were no strict rules of exogamy or endogamy. However, there were two small groups associated with the Baharvand who practiced endogamy. These were the Sayed, a sacred people who claimed to be descendents of Muhammad, and an outcast group known as the Luti. The Lutis were endogamous because they were considered haram, and hence, members of the other ethnic groups would not establish marriage ties with them. The Sayed were endogamous because they thought that marriage with other peoples would affect their state of relative purity. There were no marriages between the Lutis and the Baharvand, but there were a few cases of marriage between the Sayed and the Baharvand.

Baharvand people were free to marry anyone except the Lutis and the kinsmen which were prohibited by Islamic law. Generally, there was a tendency for marriages to occur between kinsmen. Men had the right to marry the wife of a deceased brother or uncle, but a more common form of marriage was between paternal cousins. However, no man had an absolute right over his paternal cousins as do the Arabs (Patai, 1971). The practice of cousin marriage in the Middle East, in general, has received the attention of many anthropologists (Albert, 1963; Ayub, 1959; Barth, 1953; Fernea, 1970; Leach, 1940; Patai, 1971; and Spooner, 1966). On the basis of Feilberg's study of the Papi (1951), Patai (Ibid.) points out that "If among the Papi of Iran, a Luri tribe, a girl is married to a stranger, he has to compensate her cousins by giving each one of them a goat." Patai tried to prove that a man had absolute right over his
cousins in all Middle Eastern societies and that, for this reason, these societies were endogamous. Both Feilberg and Patai misunderstood the Lur custom. To my knowledge, there is no such thing as cousin rights and compensation in Luristan as there is in Rwala or other Arab societies. As will be shown in the second part of this thesis, the number of Baharvand who practiced cousin marriage is insignificant.

Some anthropologists, particularly Barth (1953), have pointed out that the practice of cousin marriages helps to unify lineages. Such arguments perhaps hold true in the case of the Kurds and Arabs, but the practice of cousin marriage did not have the same consequences for the Baharvand. One may argue that cousin marriage unifies the lineage, but it has certain disadvantages too in the sense that it limits the number of groups which are joined to the lineage through kinship ties. In the case of Baharvand, a man generally received through marriage the support of those outside of his lineage or tribe. Such marriages sometimes created tensions between cousins, especially when there were several males and only one or two female cousins. In short, although the Baharvand practiced cousin marriage, it was not as significant as among other peoples of the Middle East.

In addition to cousin marriage, the Baharvand practiced sororate and levirate. The custom of sororate was seldom practiced, but levirate marriages were very common. When a man died it was the duty of kinsmen to marry his wife or wives and to take care of his children. If the deceased had a brother or brothers, one of them, as they decided among themselves, married the wife of the deceased. In instances where the deceased had no brothers, one of his paternal uncles or cousins married
the widow. Levirate marriage preserved the home for the children of the deceased and maintained the relationship between the family of the deceased and the relatives of the wife who had been brought together by the first marriage. Emotionally, a Baharvand would find it difficult to see his brother's wife be taken into another group. (Baharvand men kept the children in the event of a widow's remarriage with a man of another group.) In summation, the practice provided security for the children and prevented emotional stress which might have been caused by the separation of the mother from her children.

Types of Marriage

According to the Shia branches of Islam (specifically the Asharite sect of the Jafari which is the State religion of Iran), a man could have four wives simultaneously and a number of *sighehi* (temporary) wives. Although Baharvand men could legally marry more than one woman, they generally practiced monogamy. Of those who practiced polygyny, most had two wives, and only a few men had more than two. Major Bell, who visited the Sagvand tribe of Luristan in 1889, said that Haj Ali (the leader of Sagvand) "had twenty-five wives . . . a chief's influence with the tribes naturally increases with the number of wives which he can afford to keep, as his sons and daughters intermarry with those of other chieftains of neighboring and distance tribes" (1889:468).

Usually, only the leaders and some of the more wealthy men married more than one woman. A man of high social standing or of great wealth needed more women for domestic affairs, and since it was not possible to hire women to perform household tasks, polygyny was a
solution. As Bell indicated, multiple marriages resulted in more kinship ties and thus more support. Numerous wives also meant more children which were potential economic and political assets. Sexual attraction may also have played a significant role in polygyny, as some older men desired to have a young, pretty wife, but it is not clear to what extent sex was a motivation for polygamous marriages. Another factor which gave rise to polygamous marriages was barren wives. In such instances, husbands often married a second wife to ensure that they would not die without a son.

The Process of Marriage

In using the phrase "the process of marriage," I am referring to the steps which were taken to establish marriage ties between the households or groups of the bride and the groom. Generally, the following steps were taken: 1. sarenga-giro (evaluation), 2. kekhayi-kono (asking for marriage), 3. kharji-boro (determining the bride-price), 4. das-boso (kissing hands), 5. shirini-horo (sweet-eating), 6. nekah-kono (writing the marriage contract), 7. dawat (wedding ceremonies), and 8. pa-gosho or pa-bayi (the bride revisits her parents after the wedding ceremony).

Since marriage was an important affair which concerned large groups of people, it involved serious negotiations and often took a considerable amount of time to complete. Regardless of the sentiments of the groom and the bride, the marriage could not take place without the agreement of the kinsmen on both sides.

The average age of marriage was generally between eighteen and
twenty for men and twelve and fifteen for girls, but there were cases
where people married younger. For example, one informant pointed out
that she married when she was six years old; apparently her marriage
created a political alliance between the Mir and the Baharvand. If a
family had only one son and if its members could afford the payment of
a bride-price, they tried to find a wife for the son as soon as possible
to ensure that he would have children. On the other hand, if a family
had several sons, it was customary for the older sons to marry first.
In such cases, the younger sons had to wait until the family had enough
capital for the payment of their bride-price. As a result, some men
did not marry until they were in their thirties. Thus, the age of
marriage for a man depended on such factors as his parent's wealth, the
number of brothers he had, and finally, the availability of a mate from
a suitable family.

After a family had sufficient capital and it was decided that
the son was ready for marriage, the first step was to find a wife. The
family position was an important factor in this selection. Thus, a
Khan (leader) tried to find a mate for his son in the families of other
Khans, whereas a Homsa looked among other Homsa. However, marriages
were occasionally arranged between Homsa families and Khan families.

If the selected spouse was from the same group and the families
knew each other, there was no need for sarenja-giro (evaluation). How-
ever, if the bride and groom came from different groups, an inquiry
about the family of the future bride was necessary. The inquiry was
designed to obtain information about the bride's household, its wealth,
the numbers of brothers and other male relatives, the family's reputation,
the personality of the bride, her skill at making carpets, her ability to cook, and finally whether she was pretty. Information relating to manpower and wealth were obtained by males, but the information regarding the bride and her parent's household was obtained by a party of women. This party of women was sent by the boy's parents to visit the bride's family, and the party consisted of two or three females, one of which was old and experienced. The members of these visiting parties were not necessarily the relatives of the bridegroom, but they were from his camp. The women, referred to as arenja-gir (the evaluators), visited the family of the bride not only to observe the future bride but also to get information related to the household and other matters. At this time, they also found out whether the girl was engaged to someone else or not. When they returned, the women told the parents of the future groom what they saw and gave their evaluation of the girl, her parents, and her household. If the man's parents thought that the prospective bride was a good choice, preparations were made for the next step in marriage.

Kekhayi-Kono (Asking for Marriage)

The parents of the groom sent a party of several men to the bride's parents to propose marriage on their behalf. The relatives of the groom avoided actually participating in kekhayi-kono, in order to save face should the party be turned down by the girl's parents. The party was headed by a respected man, sometimes a Sayed, who was a good orator and knew the techniques of persuasion. This man began by praising the future groom, his family, and his lineage exaggerating on their
behalf (ko-chow). With this flattery, he tried to persuade the parents of the girl that the marriage was in every way advantageous for them and that the man had great merits.

Before giving an answer, the father of the girl discussed the matter with his kinsmen, and when they made their decision, it was given to the delegate of the groom's family. If the groom's kinsmen thought that it was inappropriate to commit themselves immediately, they promised the delegate that they would send a message at a later date. If they decided in favor of the marriage, they visited the boy's parents within a few days. Such a visit gave them a chance to re-evaluate the groom and his household and to make sure that they had made the right decision. After the men agreed on the marriage, the boy's parents sent tea, sugar, rice, and a neshona (an earring, or some cloth) which signified that the girl was engaged. After the neshona was given, the future groom, along with a couple of adult males, visited his future father-in-law. During this visit, the groom was able to see his future wife for the first time.

Kharj-Boro (Determining the Bride Price)

Kharj-boro, or determining the bride price, was the most crucial step in the marriage because sometimes, due to disagreements over the amount of the bride-price (Kharj), the entire affair was terminated. Again, a delegation consisting of the groom's father and several respectable members of the community (not necessarily relatives or kinsmen of the boy) visited the girl's father. The orator who first headed the delegation again negotiated between the two groups on the bride-price.
The bride-price was divided into two phases: the naha-shirini and the shirini-horo. Naha-shirini was a gift, such as a mare, a mule, or a rifle, given by the groom's parents to the parents of the bride. When the exact nature of this gift was agreed upon, one of the members of the delegation then kissed the hand of the bride's kinsmen. This was known as the das-busoo (kissing of hands).

Shirini-Horo (Sweet-Eating)

Shirini-horo (sweet-eating) was a party held at the home of the bride's parents at the expense of the groom's parents. For the shirini-horo, the groom's parents sent some tea, sugar, rice, and several goats and sheep. The party was given in honor of the bride's kinsmen and their friends, and at the occasion the Lutis played music, people danced, and dinner or lunch was served. When this second half of the bride-price was paid in the hoshka (literally dry) form, the parents of the bride agreed to receive a certain amount of cash and several goats and sheep from the parents of the groom, without giving the party.

The time between the kharj-boro and the next phase of the marriage process depended upon the ability of the groom's parents to pay the bride-price. Sometimes it took several years before the payment was made. During this period, the groom constantly visited his fiancée (das-giro), and sometimes remained at her home for several days. He was accepted as a member of the family and was treated cordially by his fiancée's parents and their relatives.

Nekah-Kono (Marriage Contract)

Nekah-kono, or marriage contract, took place after the bride-
price was completely paid. The nekah-kono was a simple affair and there was little ceremony related to it. The marriage contract was written by a Sayed or a Mullah. In former times, when there was no literate Sayed or Mullah available, the bride's parents gave a sewing needle to the groom's parents as a symbol of the marriage contract. A few months after the wedding they took the needle to either Khurramabad or Dizful where the marriage agreement was written and recorded. In earlier times, they probably just took the needle and never recorded the marriage in writing. (I was told that the Lutis did not write down any marriage agreements but just accepted the needle.) Finally, the groom was required to sign for a posht- nekah fee which was to be paid to the wife in case of divorce.

Although the parties were officially husband and wife, the wedding celebration did not take place until several months after the marriage contract was completed. This period of time was needed by the parents of the bride in order to provide her dowry (jeyaz) in the form of bedding, carpets, packbags, pots, dishes, and other goods.

Dawat (The Wedding Ceremony)

Dawat (the wedding ceremony) generally occurred during the summer in the home of the groom's parents and at their expense. Since the wedding ceremony was an elaborate, costly celebration, it required careful planning. First, it was necessary to prepare a place for the guests; most of the time a big tent was pitched for this purpose. Second, extra bedding, carpets, cooking pots, trays, and tea pots were needed. These items were borrowed from the members of the camp or from
relatives and friends. Third, a sufficient supply of meat, rice, bread, butter, tea, sugar, and tobacco had to be obtained. Fourth, gifts (usually candies wrapped in handkerchiefs and bridles) had to be purchased for all those who were invited. These gifts were supposed to be supplied by the bride's parents, but usually the parents of the groom ended up buying additional gifts as there were many visitors who attended the ceremony. Finally, it was necessary to choose an auspicious day for the event by astrological calculation.

**Domavan**

After all these preparations had been made, the next portion of the marriage, known as domavan, began. In this phase of the marriage, the parents of the groom sent messages to the nearby camps and to their relatives and friends asking them to participate in the domavan (the representatives of the groom who went after the bride). It was customary for the groom's parents to buy the wedding dress. Some Hana were taken by the groom's sisters and several other women a day ahead of the rest of the group, so that the bride would be prepared. The groom wore no special clothes for the wedding. Everyone who was expected to participate in the domavan gathered at the groom's house and left from there.

The members of the domavan included both men and women, all riding on horses or mules and a group of Lutis who played music. Most of the men were armed with rifles and pistols. Along the way everybody sang the wedding songs of Sit Beyam and Dawatona and the men rode their horses and aimed their firearms at each other, pretending they were fighting (quigach-bazi). As they reached the territory of the bride,
they attacked the herds and shot some of the animals. If the distance to the bride's camp was far, the domavan spent the night with the bride's parents, but otherwise they took the bride without any delay. It was permissible for the members of the domavan to steal small items from the home of the bride's parents, but this practice was seldom observed.

When the bride went to the groom's camp, she was accompanied by a woman from her group. Upon arriving there, the bride was led to her chit-a-ja (bridal chamber), which was secluded during the entire ceremony. When she entered the chit-a-ja, the bride refused to sit down until the groom's father promised her a gift such as a horse or a cow. In the meantime, the Lutis played music, and men and women danced together. The members of domavan, except for some of the women who remained to help prepare the food, dispersed after they arrived at the groom's camp. On the first evening, the members of the nearby camps, many of whom had participated in the domavan, were invited for dinner.

After the first night, the Baharvand and members of other tribes were invited on a scheduled basis. These guests were also armed with rifles and pistols and they behaved as did the members of the domavand at the camp of the bride. However, this time the herds at the groom's camp were targets, and, as a rule, a guest could shoot goats, sheep, and chickens provided his horse was running at a gallop and he was not too close. This was an occasion for men to show their skills of riding and marksmanship. Any animals which were killed were not wasted because the meat was cooked for the next group of guests. The guests came in large parties, sometimes numbering in the hundreds, for a meal of
ash-o-gusht (rice and meat). After the meal, the Lutis played music and sang. Then one of the Lutis carried a tray (as they do in some churches in the United States for collecting money from the church members) and collected money from each guest. This was known as gol. There were two gols, one for the Lutis and one for the groom. When the guests were ready to go, their leader requested gifts which generally consisted of candies and handkerchiefs, but some of the leaders and highly respected men received bridles as well. As the gifts were distributed, a man passed around a tray and each guest contributed money to help the groom's family pay for the gifts and the food which was eaten. As pointed out earlier, this money was like a debt because later the groom would be obliged to participate in the wedding ceremonies of those who came to his wedding (see reciprocity).

During the first evening, the groom was expected to have sex with the bride previous to the departure of the guests. It was important for the groom to prove that he was capable of having sex. The next morning a bloody handkerchief, which proved the bride's virginity, was hung on the door of the bridal chamber so that people could see it. Later, it was sent to the home of the bride's parents where it was kept. If for some reason, the bride's virginity could not be demonstrated, she was divorced and her parents were obliged to pay back the bride-price.

Pa-Goshona

Pa-goshona was the last stage of the ceremony. When the wedding ended, the bride returned to her parents' home and stayed with them for about a week. This visit was known as pa-goshna. When she returned to
her husband, she brought a gift from her parents (bawani) which was
normally a horse, a cow, or other livestock. Every bride was expected
to bring bawani. The bawani, the money collected from the wedding, and
the jeyaz, all belonged to the bride although she shared them with her
husband. These gifts provided the newly weds with a capital to estab-
lish a separate household.

**Marital Residence**

Marital residence was patrilocal and hence the bride moved to
her husband's lineage and remained with them for several years after the
marriage. Later, as they became independent, the couple gradually
established a separate household. Although the bride became part of
her mal-mehro (husband's lineage) after marriage, she was always identi-
fied with her mal-bawo (father's lineage). She was protected by both
her mal-mehro and her mal-bawo, and her behavior reflected on both sides.
The bride's children belonged to her husband's lineage, but the males
in her lineage, especially her brothers, were expected to help her and
her children whenever aid was needed. The Baharvand say that "mal halo-
o-khowar-za bar na-karda" (properties belonging to children and proper-
ties of their maternal uncle are undivided).

**Other Methods of Obtaining a Wife**

Aside from the procedure already described, there were other
ways to obtain a wife: 1. pa-wa-pa (exchange), 2. keen-sol (blood
feud settlement), and 3. hom-bari (by partnership).
Pa-wa-pa

Pa-wa-pa was an exchange of women between two groups. If two men needed wives and each had a sister, they might agree to marry each other's sister and forego the bride-price. Pa-wa-pa most often took place when the men could not afford to pay the bride-price. In pa-wa-pa, the bride was not expected to bring a jeyaz (dowry).

Kheen-sol

Kheen-sol (literally meaning blood-peace) was an exchange of women in order to settle a blood feud. If one group killed a man from another group, then the former group faced retaliation from the latter. In order to avoid conflict, the offending group might pay a blood-price. In addition to money, goats, sheep, cattle, and horses, a woman was always part of the settlement. Without the giving of a woman, a blood feud could not terminate. A marriage functioned to settle a blood feud by establishing a kinship tie between the two conflicting groups.

Hom-bari

Hom-bari was a practice in which a poor man worked for the parents of his future wife for several years instead of paying them a bride-price. The labors of the man were done without immediate remuneration, and when his term was over he married the daughter and established his own household.

Types of Households

Although the nuclear family was the basic unit of social arrangement, there were other types of households among the Baharvand. Before
describing these alternate types, it must be pointed out that there were no formal agencies to assume responsibility for those individuals who could not maintain themselves. Therefore, it was the duty of kinsmen to take care of the young and the elderly. As a result, a household might contain individuals other than those of the nuclear family. In some cases, these additional individuals were used as herders, *ramaco* or *galo*.

The five basic types of households were: 1. nuclear family, 2. polygynous family, 3. joint family, 4. extended patrilineal family, and 5. incomplete family.

**Nuclear Family**

The nuclear family was the most common type of household. It consisted of a man, his wife, and their children. The husband was recognized as the head of the household, and as its representative to the outside world. There are some similarities and differences between the nuclear family of the Baharvand and the nuclear family of the Basseri tribe as described by Barth (1961:14-15).

However, with respect to decisions in the domestic and familial domain, men and women are more nearly equal, and the distribution of authority between spouses is a matter of individual adaptation. Thus decisions regarding the multitude of choices in the field of production and consumption (but not decisions about migration routes and camp sites), all matters of kinship and marriage and the training of children, and decisions that will greatly affect the family, such as whether to change one’s group membership, or become sedentary, these are all decisions that are shared by the spouses and to some extent by the other adult members of the household, and in which the wiser or more assertive person dominates, regardless of sex. The internal authority pattern of the Basseri is thus very similar to that of the urban Western family.

Like the Basseri, the Baharvand husband and wife also shared
authority within their household. However, there were many decisions which were left to the husband. For example, a wife could not make her husband change his paternal group membership and, although she had a voice in the marriage of her children, she could not choose their spouses because marriage also required the approval of the group. Those men who were influenced greatly by their wives, were referred to as **za-va-zur** (overpowered by one's wife). A man who had the reputation of being **za-va-zur** lost face in the community and was subject to gossip. Sometimes, people made fun of such a man by saying, "do not bother with him, go to his boss" (i.e., his wife). There is no doubt that certain women, whether because of their strong personalities or the weak personalities of their husbands, had a great voice in decision making. However, although the Baharvand husband discussed important matters with his wife, he was supposed to be the boss and the wife was expected to follow.

**Nuclear Family with Addition**

In addition to a man, his wife and their children, it was possible for certain relatives of the husband such as his father, mother, sister, brother, paternal aunt, uncle, and paternal cousins to reside in his household if they had no other place to live. If a husband's mother lived with them, she often dominated her daughter-in-law (**bayi**), for a woman was required to obey her husband's mother and father (**hosira**). Sometimes, the husband's sister could also dominate her sister-in-law (**za-varar**). It was the husband's duty to care for such relatives and, therefore, a wife had little choice except to endure the situation whether or not she liked it.
Polygynous Family

A polygynous family consisted of a man, his wives, and their children. In a polygynous family, one of the wives was often dominant, controlling the internal affairs of the household. There was, in many cases, extreme competition between the wives for the attention of the husband. Frequently, one of the wives became dominant due to her family's social position, because she had borne more sons, or because she was very attractive. Although the first wife, based on her seniority, was ordinarily more influential, the second wife might supersede her if she was from a family of higher social status. The dominant wife controlled the keys or was in charge of the food. When the family entertained guests, she was the one who decided what to cook and how much to cook. It was inconceivable for two or more wives to live jointly as equals. The Baharvand say that "when there are two cooks the food is either too salty or it does not have any salt at all."

Ordinarily within a polygynous household there were additional people such as some of the husband's relatives, or a shepherd. If the husband's mother was living with them, she was the one who generally took the responsibility of the household. In such cases, there was frequent conflict between her and her son's wives. Often, one of the wives allied herself with her mother-in-law against her co-wives (haarou). Or, in some cases, the haarou united against the dominant mother-in-law. Some wives, in order to get the husband's attention, spent money on Do'a-Mehra Dusi (prayers for a husband's love).
Joint Family

The joint family most often consisted of two brothers, their wives, and their children. However, sometimes the heads of the two families were relatives other than brothers: for example, a man with his paternal uncle or two cousins might join together. Joint families consisted of two nuclear families, a nuclear family and a polygynous family, or sometimes of two polygynous families (this latter form is relatively rare). In addition, there were extra members in the joint family such as the relatives of either husband, and those who were hired as herders or galu and ramaco. The joint family was represented by one of the males and controlled, within the household, by the most influential wife. A chief advantage of the joint family was that it had a large amount of manpower. Its disadvantages were that sometimes there was conflict within the household in regard to certain matters, and some wives had less freedom than others.

Extended Family

An extended family consisted of a husband, his wife or wives, a married son with his wife and children, and unmarried sons and daughters. Within such families, the head of the household was the father, but sometimes his oldest son took command. As a rule, the domestic affairs of the household were organized by the father's wife (bayi) took her place. Important matters generally were discussed between the father, mother, and their oldest son. The extended family generally did not endure over long periods of time because when the father died each son usually established a separate household. Extended families
guaranteed the security of older parents and provided care for younger brothers and sisters.

**Incomplete Family**

Incomplete families denote a type of household where one spouse was missing. Such a family usually consisted of a woman with her unmarried children, a man with his unmarried children, a person with their unmarried brothers and sisters, or a man or woman with any unmarried relative. The head of the household was always an adult. Hence, when the husband was absent, the wife was the head of the house, provided that her sons were too young to take charge; otherwise the oldest son was recognized as the representative of the household. In other cases, an adult male generally represented the household. Usually, this type of household did not exist very long because an adult man would soon come into the house. For example, in an incomplete household where there was a widow with her two daughters, the household changed as soon as the widow or the children married.

**Divorce (Talaq)**

Divorce, or the dissolution of marriage, was simple and easy, yet it seldom occurred among the Baharvand. According to the Koran (chapter two, verses 226-38), only a man has the right of divorce. When a man decided to divorce his wife, he had to wait four months before the divorce was complete. Such a procedure was used for two reasons: first, in case the husband changed his mind, and second, to make sure that the woman was not pregnant. If the wife was pregnant, the child belonged to her husband and she could not remarry until the
end of her pregnancy.

When a man decided to divorce his wife, there were matters related to the disposition of property which had to be settled. The particulars of the property settlement depended on who was responsible for the divorce. If the husband was responsible, he was required to pay a posht-nekah, which was sometimes as little as two dollars. He was also required to return her jeyaz and any animals or herds that she owned and to pay for her expenses for three months and ten days (while she waited to find out whether or not she was pregnant). Regardless of who was at fault, the father kept any children which the couple may have had. If some of the children were younger than seven years old, they could remain with their mother until they reached this age, after which time they returned to their father. When these matters were settled, the divorce was pronounced by a Mullah or a Sayed. The divorced wife could live with her sons if they had a household or she could return to her father's group.

In certain circumstances, the husband might have refused to pay posht-nekah and demanded the return of the bride-price. For example, if at the beginning of marriage the wife was not a virgin, or if she just did not want to live with her husband, he could reclaim the bride-price which he paid to his wife's parents. If the husband decided not to divorce the wife, but had ceased to live with her, she would not be able to get a divorce or to remarry for an indefinite period of time.

Divorce was rarely practiced for several reasons. First, divorce was considered to be shameful and unmanly and, therefore, men avoided it. Second, divorce severed the ties between groups, and people
tried to avoid disrupting intergroup relations. Third, a divorce could be costly if a man remarried and had to pay another bride-price. In many cases, people could not economically afford a divorce. Another drawback to divorce was the emotional difficulties involved in disrupting a family in which there were children.

**Child Training and Socialization**

In the following discussion of child training, the terms socialization and enculturation are used. By socialization or enculturation I refer to the process whereby the members of a society learn the ways of life or the cultural patterns of their society. These patterns included "the integral sum total of learned behavior traits characteristic of the members of a society" (Hoebel, 1966:561). The cultural patterns of a people can be understood as the ways in which they adapt themselves to a particular environment.

The process of vocational training varies from culture to culture. In highly technological societies where there is need for economic specialization, much of the training takes place outside of the family under the control of other institutions. Baharvand society, in contrast, had little economic specialization, and thus, the family could provide training most of the skills required for normal activities of daily life. The little specialization that existed in Baharvand economy centered around a division of labor which was based on sex.

As a boy grew up, he was expected to learn facts related to animal husbandry, information related to his surrounding environment (people, wild-life, mountains, rivers, trees, and vegetables), riding
horses, shooting, hunting, the techniques of raiding, fighting and stealing, and good manners such as politeness, when to speak, and how to speak.

The boys received their training by participant observation. A boy learned gradually by participating in various activities as he grew older. Naturally, his father or older brothers taught him many things, but he also learned on his own. When a boy reached the age of about twenty, he had received most of the training that he would need. However, his training did not end at this time because some knowledge had to be gained through experience. It is for this reason that elders, donya dida (the experienced ones), were highly respected.

Very few boys received any formal education because education in the modern sense was neither available nor necessary. For the few who received it, reading, writing, and religion were taught by a Mullah (literate person), generally during the summer at the teacher's home. However, if the teacher was an outsider, he lived with the camp leader and received a wage for his services. The curriculum consisted of lessons from the Koran, the Shah Nameh, and other Persian books. Literacy was a source of prestige and a literate person had an advantage over others because he could perform certain religious acts (see religion).

As a boy was trained for particular activities by the men in the family, a girl was trained to perform certain tasks by her mother and other women. In this way, a girl learned to milk the animals, to cook, to take care of a household, to raise children, and to make carpets, tents, pack bags, and other containers. The girls, too, received their
training gradually and by participant observation.

**Life Cycle**

There were four critical periods through which each male passed: birth, circumcision, marriage, and death. The ceremonies for each of these events increased in length and importance from one to the next. Although the birth of a child was recognized, it involved little celebration. Circumcision was somewhat more important, and in most cases it was attended by a day of music, dancing, and feasting. The marriage ceremony, as described earlier, lasted much longer and more people were involved. And the death ceremony lasted for months and sometimes even years. It may be said that of these four rites of passage, the wedding and the funeral ceremonies were the most important. There were special songs for each of the ceremonies.

**Birth**

Birth was an important event, especially if it was the woman's first child, and even more so if the baby was a boy. When the first child was born the neighbors visited the house to bid the child welcome (qadam-khairi). In most cases, only the members of the close camps paid such a visit.

After giving birth to a child, the mother was considered to be impure for forty days. This period was known as chela (forty), and during this time a woman was referred to as zan-i-chela-dor (a woman in her chela). During the first week of chela she was not allowed to cook or work. At the end of the first week of chela, she took a bath of purification and at the end of her chela, she took another ritual bath.
The baby also was considered to be impure for about the first two weeks after birth although people could touch it.

After the birth of the first child, there were no celebrations for the next children unless the first child had been a girl. In that case only the arrival of the first boy was celebrated.

Regardless of its sex, the child was not named until it was about a week or ten days old. It may seem strange that birth was not celebrated as much as marriage or death. (We may speculate that the wedding was important partly because it was a necessary prelude to birth; in other words, birth was celebrated indirectly.)

Circumcision

Circumcision (kel-boro, or khatna-sivo) was the second rite of passage in a male's life. It generally took place between the ages of seven and ten, although it might not occur until a boy was in his fifteenth year. Patai (197;:444) has pointed out that the "central event in the lives of Middle Eastern children, contributing decisively to the differential personality development of men and women, is circumcision. Male circumcision is general and obligatory for all Muslims, Jews, and Copts." Although as Patai has noted, the practice of circumcision antedates Islam. The Baharvand considered circumcision to be a religious matter, and a male could be a true Muslim only after this rite was conferred upon him.

The circumcision took place in the summer territory and was performed by the Lutis. Generally, several boys were circumcised at one time. On the day of circumcision, people were invited for lunch and
they were entertained with music and dancing. The public ceremony lasted only a day.

Death

The last rite of passage in the life cycle was the death ceremony (pors-puga) which may be divided into the following stages:
1) dafn (burial), 2) pors (ceremony after the burial), and 3) life after death (see religion). The duration and intensity of the death ceremonies depended on the social status, age, and the sex of the deceased. For example, persons of high status were sometimes buried in far away places such as Kerbala and Nejaft in Iraq, whereas those of lower status were buried in graveyards near the camps.

**Dafn** (burial). As soon as a person died, a message was sent to the deceased's relatives and friends. The members of nearby camps were obliged to participate in the exequies (it was a matter of reciprocity), and relatives who lived in distant camps were also expected to come. At the camp of the deceased, the women and children cried, scratched their faces, cut their hair, and tore their dresses. As the women cried and jumped up and down, they constantly wailed "way-way-way." This action was known as way-shar. The men also cried very loud, saying a boway or a braray (oh father, oh brother). This action was known as bongya-bow.

If the death occurred during the day, the corpse was immediately washed and buried, but if the death took place in the late afternoon or night, the corpse was kept until the following day. A corpse was never buried during the hours of the night. When a corpse was kept through
the night it was guarded very carefully because the Baharvand believed that certain supernatural beings might take the corpse and replace it with an identical one. In the evening, the family killed a sheep in the honor of the deceased. This was known as show-shom (the last supper).

Early in the morning several men dug a grave. The graveyards were generally located either along the roads or near holy tombs. These locations were chosen because the Baharvand believed that when the graves were placed near the roads, all passers-by would stop and say a prayer. It was thought that such a prayer (which is the first verse of Koran) would make the deceased happy. Burying the corpse near a holy tomb was considered a good place for the deceased, as he might get some help in the hereafter from the important personage interred nearby.

While the men were preparing the grave, the corpse was taken to a nearby stream to be washed. The washing was referred to as ghsol-i-mayet (Islamic purification of the corpse). Both men and women accompanied the corpse to the place of washing; however, the two sexes were separated, and the women walked behind the men. Once they reached the stream, the deceased was washed by the women if it was a female while the males waited some distance away. If the deceased was a male, it was washed by the men, while the females stood off. During the washing, the men were quiet and a Sayed or Mullah read from the Koran; meanwhile, the women wailed and chanted the Muva (a dirge). After the corpse was washed, it was laid on a bier (char-chu) with the hands folded across the breast, the two big toes tied together, and the body wrapped in a shroud of white cloth, known as kafan.
As soon as this procedure was over, the corpse was taken to the graveyard and a special Islamic prayer (Namaz-i-Mayet) was said for the deceased. When the prayer was over, the corpse was placed into the earthen grave with the head facing Mecca, following Islamic custom. After the burial, the members of the deceased's lineage were invited by a friend for a dinner known as ow-da gop karda (putting water in the mouth); they ate nothing at their own home.

The day after the burial, the members of the deceased's lineage sent messages to those groups with whom they had close relationships, informing them of the days when they could attend the rite of mourning, or pors. In the meantime, the family of the deceased erected special tents for the visitors. All members of the deceased's lineage, both males and females, dressed in black. Females who were closely related to the deceased cut their hair whereas the male relatives and friends did not shave for a week. If an important leader died, all of the adult male members of the tayefa (Baharvand society) section were expected to dress in black (mostly black shirts).

Pors. When the family of the deceased declared its readiness, the process of the pors began. Pors was a ceremony conducted after the burial, which lasted ten to twenty days in its organized form and informally continued for almost a year. Since the pors was a group affair, visitors came in large parties, bringing porsona which was a gift of cash, animals, rice, tea, or sugar. The visitors were referred to as porschi. Wilson (1940:156), who observed the ceremony in 1911 while among Baharvand, has given this discription of the pors:
Two large black tents or tabernacles had been set up side by side, one for women on the left and one for men on the right hand. The men stood upon the right of their tent and the women upon the left of theirs, swinging their arms and bodies rhythmically to a sad melodious dirge. Other groups of men and women collected in the camp close by and moved towards their respective parties. As they approached, both parties faced each other, men to men and women to women, uttering words and phrases indicative of grief and beating their breasts violently with closed fists. When both groups had closed up they entered their respective tabernacles and, seated upon the ground, continued to chant a dirge.

When the groups were seated, only the women chanted the dirge (Muva). As soon as the men sat, a Sayed or other respected man would say Fateha (the first Sarah of the Koran) and then the audience would repeat the Sarah. Conversation then began. The people made talk about the deceased and, gradually, other topics were introduced. After they had eaten lunch or dinner and were ready to leave, the same person would say Fateha, and the audience again repeated the Sarah. This portion of porw was known as Fateha-khani.

A week after the burial, a friend prepared a dinner and invited the members of the deceased's lineage who at this time shaved their faces. (This was referred to as rish-tusho (shaving the beard).)

In the evening of the fortieth day after the burial, the family of the deceased killed a sheep, and invited the respected members of the area for a dinner known as sar chela (the end of the fortieth day). A year after the death there was a ceremony known as sar-sal in which the family of the deceased invited kinsmen and friends to visit the grave. This anniversary was the end of the death ceremony.

The dead were also commemorated in the new year ceremony known as Alafa (feast of the dead) each year, just a few days before noruz
(spring equinox, March 21). At this time, halva (sweet food) was served ceremonially. The women who cooked the halva mentioned the names of all their deceased relatives, so that the dead could receive some of this food. If certain deceased were forgotten while making the halva, people claimed that they came to them in their dreams and complained that they had not received their food. This ceremony served to remind people of the deceased for years and years.

There were two other matters related to the death ceremony, bard-neyada (putting the stone on the grave) and seh-vardashta (taking off the black clothes). The grave stone indicated the name, father's name, and the deceased's tayefa. There was no specific time for erecting the grave stone, but it was done from a week to a year after the burial. When the stone was erected, the family of the deceased served either a lunch or dinner to those who participated.\textsuperscript{36} Seh-vardashta was a practice in which the family of the deceased supplied new clothes (a shirt for the men and a dress for the women) for all those who had worn dark clothes in mourning for the deceased. The new clothes were suppose to be a color other than black to signify that the period of sadness was over. Incidentally, Lutis were not allowed to play music for up to four months after a death depending on the status of the deceased.

As is clear, the death of an individual was a great loss to the family. It was truly a devastating event, symbolized by the prolonged period of mourning.
CHAPTER 5

THE LINEAGE SYSTEM AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Lineage System

Baharvand social organization was based on segmentary lineages in a manner similar to that of other cultures throughout Africa and the Middle East (Barth, 1953, 1954; Bohanan, 1958, 1965; Evans-Pritchard, 1970; Fernea, 1970; and Middleton and Tait, 1958). Middleton and Tait (Ibid.:7) defined the system as follows:

"The term 'segmentary' has been used in reference to several types of social systems, but the essential features are the 'nesting' attribute of segmentary series and the characteristic of being in a state of continual segmentation and complementary opposition. The series may be one of lineages, smaller ones nesting inside and composing larger ones, which in turn compose still larger ones, and so on; or it may be one of territorial groups (hamlets, villages, sections, tribes, nations), or of others. Subtraction or change in size of segments lead to a re-organization, although not necessarily to re-structuring, of the total system. Analysis of the process involved in this re-organization within an unchanging total structure has led to the use of the term to refer to the second characteristic. This is the process of continual segmentation of the structure.

Fernea (Ibid.:79-80) has added that:

By 'continual segmentation of the structure' the authors refer to the process whereby new segments of the same order within the structure separate (or merge) in response to factors such as population pressure or subsistence requirements. The process of merging or uniting is such that the parts of the segmentary system remain formally equal, whether or not the population or wealth of the segments remains equal. The cultural model may prevail whether or not the society's resources are sufficient to fill all the parts of the theoretical structure.

When, however, factors in the natural or social environment are such as to result in an inequitable distribution of
economic wealth or political power between the ideally equal segments of the social systems, the latter clearly may cease to function as described above. Once a subsection within such a system has a monopoly of power, the checks and balances of complementary opposition are clearly at an end and the tribal system becomes centrally rather than segmentarily ordered for most political and economic purposes.

These descriptions are relevant to the Baharvand who had a dynamic, structural, segmentary system in which the processes of segmentation were similar to the model mentioned above. However, unlike other societies such as Kurds, Nuer, and Tive, the Baharvand were neither exogamous nor endogamous.

Among the Baharvand, descent was reckoned patrilinearly, although there were close relationships between a man and his maternal kin. The Baharvand referred to their entire society as a tayefa which consisted of the descendents of Bahar (the founder) and their clients (Homsa). The organization of the tayefa was based on a genealogical core and geographic boundaries. The members of the genealogical core were structured into the following hierarchy of segmentary lineages: 1. section, 2. tira or bowa, 3. dudamo, 4. huna, and 5. tazga. As shown in Figure 1, the tayefa was segmented into tira, which in turn were divided into dudamo. Each dudamo was segmented into huna.

In the beginning, the Baharvand consisted of a single tazga (hearth), but as time passed the tazga developed into huna, tira and tayefa. Because the segmentary lineage system is dynamic, what was a tazga in the past became a tayefa after several generations.

Theoretically, all segments of the genealogical core were equal, however, in practice this was not true: due to population fluctuation certain segments grew rapidly while others cease to grow. For example,
in Figure 1, at the tira level, lineage number sixteen has decreased in numbers so much that today it consists of fewer than three tazga, whereas the population of tira number nine has grown and divided into eight dudamo. This process of unequal change in population, along with other factors has affected the principle of equality of the segments. As the population of a tira declined and became insignificant, or as the other tira became dominant, there were changes in ranking. And in this way, some tira gradually declined to the rank of Homsa (client).

In reality, even the segments within the genealogical core were not equal. The members of tira numbers nine, ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteen are known as Panj Boway Kayu and share a common ancestor. During the past century they have become powerful and now refuse to divide new territory with the members of any of the other tira within Baharvand (Maralivand). Thus the members of these tira refer to all the other tira as bowa hirdya (small bowa or tira) and do not consider them equal.

Sometimes among other tribes such as Sagvand, this process reached a point where the tira who assumed leadership refused to intermarry with other segments of their genealogical core who had descended almost to the rank of Homsa. In short, each generation increased the social distance between the members of particular segments to the point where new segments were established. Although the two segments claimed a common ancestor, and therefore equality, in reality eventually they might become very unequal. Moreover as the social distance between the segments increased, their loyalty toward each other decreased.

Now let us illustrate how the tayefa was structured. Figure 1 shows that the entire Baharvand (Maralivand) was divided into six sections
FIGURE 1: The Baharvand Lineage System.
(A, B, C, D, E, and F). Of these E and F are sections only in theory: there are only three tazga (family) left in section F and two of these are outside of Baharvand territory. Section E has only a few families, several of which have dispersed to unknown places. The population of section D has also decreased significantly, and today they are a very small lineage. In contrast, the population of sections A, B, and C has increased significantly. There are three tira within section A (1, 2, 3), five tira within section B (4, 5, 6, 7, 8), and five tira within section C (9, 10, 11, 12, 13).

At the bottom of Figure 1 is the term tazga (hearth) which is the smallest unit of the tayefa. A tazga consisted of a family, generally nuclear or polygamous, headed by an adult male. A generation above the tazga is the huna (home) consisting of the members of the two tazga who share a common ancestor (B). The huna was named after its founder and head. The next ascending generation is called dudamo. It consists of a group of men who shared a common ancestor some three generations ago (C).

The fourth level tira consists of several dudamo whose members shared a common ancestor between five and six generations back. The tira was an autonomous political and land holding unit whose members felt responsible for defending each other against internal or external aggression. At this level the whole tayefa was divided into autonomous parts. There was no authority beyond this level.

The fifth level is the section, whose members trace themselves to a common ancestor who lived seven generations back. The section is usually named after its founder. As indicated in Figure 1 there are six
sections, within the tayefa, each of which theoretically consisted of several tira, dudamo, huna and tazga. Finally, the tayefa consisted of the sum of the six tira whose members claimed descent from Bahar (the founder).

As noted earlier, the segmentary lineage developed as a mechanism of social adaptation. As Sahlins (1961:323) has pointed out:

... a segmentary lineage system is a social means of intrusion and competition in an already occupied ecological niche. More, it is an organization confined to societies of a certain level of development, the tribal level, as distinguished from less-developed bands and more advanced chiefdoms. Finally, the segmentary lineage is a successful predatory organization in conflicts with other tribes, although perhaps unnecessary against bands and ineffective against chiefdoms and states; it develops specifically in a tribal society which is moving against other tribes, in a tribal intercultural environment.

The structure of the Baharvand segmentary lineage was as such that a member could rely on a large number of relatives in time of danger. For example, the smallest unit of tayefa which is tazga, depended on the members of its huna, then on the members of the dudamo, tira, section, and tayefa.

The Kinship System

A kinship system, as Murdock (1966:92) had pointed out, is

... a structural system of relationships in which individuals are bounded to one another by complex interlocking and ramifying ties. Particular kinship bonds, isolate from others, may and often do serve to unite individuals into social groups such as nuclear family or lineage.

Furthermore, Hoebel (1966:383) has stated

... that kinship consists of the interacting roles that are customarily ascribed to different status of relationship by a people.
The Baharvand, like other people, had terminology which denoted their status among kin and within society. An individual's rights and obligations were determined on the basis of his kinship. The kinship system clearly defined to whom an individual could turn in time of emergency and what support he could expect.

The Baharvand system of kinship was basically descriptive and of Sudanes type. There were different terms for father, father's brother, mother's brother, mother, mother's sister, and father's sister. Also, there were separate terms for father's brother's children, mother's brother's children and mother's sister's children, father's sister's children, and one's own children.

Some principles of the Baharvand system are as follows.

1. Generations were distinguished so that different terms were used for grandfather, father, and son. 2. Birth order was recognized. There are terms for brar-gap (older brother), brar-mentary (middle or next to the older brother), brar-kuchak (the younger brother). 3. Affinal and consanguineal kin are distinguished. For example, Ego calls his father Bowa while he refers to his wife's father as Hosira.

In some cases, the Baharvand used a single term to refer to both kin categories and to sex. Thus za or zan means either one's wife or any mature female, dokhtar means one's daughter or any young female, kor means one's son or any young male, and bacha means one's child or any children of either sex. Various aspects of kinship terminology are discussed below very briefly.
Terms of Reference: Lineal Relatives

Terms of reference are used when an individual talks about another person. Regardless of the Ego's sex, both Fa Fa, and Mo Fa, were referred to as Papa; and Fa Mo and Mo Mo were both called Nana. In the parental generation, Fa and Mo were known respectively as Bawa and Da. There were two separate terms for sibling: brother (Br) was called either Giya or Brar and sister (Si) was known as Khowar. Sometimes the term Brar was used when a female addressed a male. For example, the first and second paternal cousins addressed each other as brother or sister. Or a female addressed a non-kinsmen male as Brar which implied modesty and sexual avoidance.

One generation below Ego, were his children (Bacho), and So (Kor), and Da (Dokhtar). Korya (plural of Kor) were differentiated according to the order of birth. It was expected that the younger brother would pay respect to his older brother. Birth order was important because the eldest son took his father's place (unless he was not an able man), and he married first. The terms for grandchildren (So So, So Da, Do So, Da Da) were the same as for Kor (son) and Dokhtar (daughter) but the suffix Za (descendent of) was added. Thus, (So So and So Da) were identified by a single term Kor-Za, and (Do So, Da Da) as Dokhtar-Za. The great grandchildren were called Kor-Za-Dor-Za (So So So, So So Do) or Dokhtar-Za-Dokhtar-Za (Da Da Da, Da Da So).

Among the Beharvand all collateral kin on the parental generation were bifurcated. That is, kinsmen from father's side and those from mother's side were denoted by separate terms. Thus, father's brother (Fa Br) were referred to as Tata or sometimes Amoo; father's
sister (Fa Si) Kachi; while mother's brother (Mo Br) was known as Halu; and mother's sister (Mo Si) as Hala. In Ego's generation the cousins were also distinguished by a simple procedure: the suffix Za was added to the Tata (Fa Br), Kachi (Fa Si), Halu (Mo Br) and Hala (Mo Si). As a result there was no distinction between sex of cousins. Thus, Tata-Za referred to father's brother's children (Fa Br So, Fa Br Da), and Kachi-Za to father's sister's children (Fa Si So, Fa Si Da). On the mother's side, mother's brother's children (Mo Br So, Mo Br Da) were called Halu-Za, while mother's sister's children (Mo Si So, Mo Si Da) were referred to as Hala-Za.

One generation below Ego, the children of the sibling were called Brar-Za (Br So, Br Da) and Khovar-Za (Si So, Si Da). Of course, when the suffix Za was added to each sibling's name, no distinction was made for sex.

Terms of Reference: Affinal Kin

The female Ego referred to her husband's parents as Hosira (either male or female), and the male Ego referred to his wife's parents as Hosira too. On Ego's generational level, the wife referred to her husband's brother (Hu Br) as Shi-Vrar and her husband's sister (Hu Si) Shi-Khowar. Note that the prefix Shi (husband, marriage) is added to the husband's sibling reference term (Vrar = Brar and Khowar are terms which have been described previously). The husband's brother's wife (Hu Br Wi) was referred to as Hom-Bayi. This term also consists of the prefix Hom (alike, equal) and the term Bayi (bride) (see Figure 2).

The reference terms for the offspring of husband's brother and
FIGURE 2: Terms of Reference.
husband's sister were made by adding the suffix Za to each term. Thus the offspring of husband's brother (Hu Br So, Hu Br Da) were referred to as Shi-Varar-Za which is a combination of the prefix Shi, the term Varar and the suffix Za, or Shi-Khowar-Za (Hu Si So, Hu Si Da) which is also the same combination. Finally, a woman referred to her husband's sister's husband (Hu Si Hu) as Meray-Shi-Varar, which is a combination of the term mera + y (the husband), the prefix Shi and the term Vrar. By adding a prefix, a suffix, or combining these with other terms, one could produce many reference terms. For example, the female Ego called the father of her husband's sister's husband (Hu Si Hu Fa) by Hosiray-Shi-Khowar, which is simply the term Hosira (father-in-law) added to Shi-Khowar.

The husband referred to his wife's brother (Wi Br) as Brar-Zena, a combination of two terms Brar and Zena (wife), and also referred to his wife's sister (Wi Si) as Khowar-Zena (again a combination of the two terms). He called his wife's brother's wife Zon-Hosira and his wife's sister's husband Hom-Rish. Rish literally means beard, but in this case Hom-Rish refers to the fact that the two men are married to two sisters.

The offspring of Wife's sister were referred to either as Khowar-Za-Zena (Wi Si So, Wi Si Da) or as Hala-Za-Bacho (the cousins of the children). The offspring of wife's brother were referred to as Brar-Za Zena (Wi Br So, Wi Br Da) or Halu-Za-Bacho (the cousin of children).

The spouses referred to each other by different terms, avoiding mentioning each other's name directly or indirectly. Sometimes if they had children they used teknonyms, such as Da Bacho (the mother of children), Bowar Bacho (father of children), or Bowar Shapur (Shapur's
father). If they did not have children, a wife referred to her husband as Mera (husband), or Ou (he); the husband, on the other hand, mentioned his wife by referring to her father or mother's name (the daughter of Shapur, or the daughter of Mina), or he referred to her as Zena (the wife). Sometimes he referred to her by her patrilineage name such as A Zenay Judaki (this woman of Judaki).

Some Baharvand Kinship Terminology
Reference Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fa Fa</th>
<th>Pa Pa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fa Mo</td>
<td>Na Na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo Fa</td>
<td>Pa Pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo Mo</td>
<td>Na Na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Bowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>Da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa Br</td>
<td>Tata (or Amo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa Si</td>
<td>Kachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo Br</td>
<td>Halu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo Si</td>
<td>Hala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa Br Wi</td>
<td>Zan-Tata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa Si Hu</td>
<td>Doma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo Br Wi</td>
<td>Zan-Halu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo Si Hu</td>
<td>Meray Hala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wi Fa</td>
<td>Hosir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wi Mo</td>
<td>Hosira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br</td>
<td>Brar (Giya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>Khowar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fa Br So, Fa Br Da  Tata-Za
Fa Si So, Fa Si Da  Kachi-Za
Mo Br So, Mo Br Da  Halu-Za
Mo Si So, Mo Si Da  Hala-Za
Wi Br  Brar-Zena
Wi Si  Khowar-Zena
Wi  Zena
Br Wi  Zan Brar (Za-Varar)
Si Hu  Doma
Wi Si Hu  Hom-Rish
Wi Br Wi  Zan-Hosira
Da  Doktar
So  Kor (also means boy)
Br So, Br Da  Brar-Za
Si So, Si Da  Khowar-Za
So Wi  Bayi
Do Hu  Doma
Wi Br So  Hosira-Za
Wi Br Da  Hosira-Za
Wi Si So  Khowar-Za Zena
So So  Kor-Za
So Da  Dor-Za
Da So, Da Da  Dokhtar-Za
Hu  Mera
Hu Fa, Hu Mo  Hosira
Hu Br  Shi-Varar
Hu Si           Shi-Khowar
Hu Br So        Shi-Varar-Za
Hu Si So        Shi-Khowar Za
Hu Br So Wi     Zan-Shi-Varar Za
Hu Br Wi        Hom-Bayl
Hu Wi (co wife) Havoo
Half Br (brother from different father) Brar Mary
Wi So (from other husband) Gorda Clash

Terms of Address

Before describing the terms of address, some comments about personal names are in order. The Baharvand retained some of the ancient Iranian names such as Dara and Qowad (in modern Farsi, Qobad). Further, any other names which they have adopted from the Arabs or modern Iranian, have been changed into Luri dialect. Thus, Husain (Arabic name) became Husay, and Taqi became Tayi and so on. The Baharvand addressed each other by first name, eschewing such titles as Mr. or Mrs. and they used no last names. Sometimes joking names such as Draza (the tall), Zalna-bor (the chain broker) were created for certain individuals. They also had nicknames. For example, a boy named Fatolah might be called Fati. In Baharvand society it was considered an insult if one individual was named after another. This is in contrast to American culture in which it is an honor to be named after another person. A child never was named after his father, his brother, or his uncle. Finally, the Baharvand avoided mentioning the name of one who was deceased.
Terms of address are used when a person speaks to another person. Generally, when the Baharvand were talking to one another, they addressed each other by the given name. However, there were certain categories of kinsmen who were addressed either by their reference or other names. For example, father's father (Fa Fa), and mother's father (Mo Fa) were addressed by the reference term Papa. Mother's mother (Mo Mo) and father's mother (Fa Mo) were addressed by the term Nana. In Ego's parental generation, terms of reference were used, as terms of address. Thus Fa (Bowa), Mo (Da), Fa Br (Tata), Fa Si (Kachi), Mo Br (Halu), and Mo Si (Hala).

In Ego's generation the members addressed each other by their names; however, sometimes terms of reference were also used. One generation below Ego, regardless of their sex, all children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren were usually addressed by the term Rula (my child), an affectionate term. In some cases the individuals were also addressed by their given names. The offspring of siblings also were addressed by terms of reference, but it was possible to call them by their names too. In short, the term used varied with circumstances.

A male Ego addressed the parents of his wife (Wi Fa, Wi Mo) by their names, while a female Ego usually called her husband's parents (Hu Fa, Hu Mo) by a teknonym such as Nanay-Sohrow (grandmother of Sohrow). If a couple did not have children, other terms such as Da Ali (Ali's mother) might be used if Ali was the husband's brother. Father's brother's wife (Fa Br Wi) and mother's brother's wife (Mo Br Wi) were addressed by the term of reference by either male or female Egos. The father's sister's husband (Fa Si Hu) and mother's sister's husband were
addressed by name.

As mentioned earlier, usually the husband and wife avoided referring to each other by name. They addressed each other by a teknonym or by a general term of address such as Wathonam (roughly meaning "I am calling you"). The wife called her husband Boray Bacho (the father of children). This avoidance was eased when the couple had children. The husband and wife addressed each other's siblings by their names; however a woman might also address her husband's siblings as brothers and sisters. In general, whenever addressing either an affinal or consanguineal kinsman, the generational differences were important because the younger generation generally addressed the older by a term of reference. Furthermore, a wife used more terms of reference when addressing her husband's relatives, than did her husband in similar circumstances.

**Fictive Kinship**

It is not clear what sort of fictive kinship the Baharvand had in former days, but it is clear that the practice of adopting a child as it exists in America was not common; nor was there an equivalent to the Latin American "God Parent". In America children are adopted not only because the family who adopts them has a desire for children, but also because it is considered better for a child to grow up in a family environment than in an orphanage. In America, where kinship has lost many of its traditional functions, other institutions have taken its place. Among the Baharvand on the other hand, it was through the kinship system that support was provided for every child and every adult member. In a tribal society a child was a potential asset and not a
burden as it might be in the industrial world. There was no need for adoption among the Baharvand.

Although the Baharvand did not practice adoption of the living, in certain circumstances they maintained what might be called divine fictive kinship ties. Since child mortality was high, in order to prevent the death of a child some parents dedicated their child to one of the holy shrines such as Shahamad and Shazada-Amad. It was believed that this practice would put the child under the protection of his or her divine guardian. Each year contributions were made to the holy shrine by the morid (the follower) or the one who was under the protection. If the child was female, when she married, half of her bride-price went to her holy guardian.

Another form of fictive kinship was a mother-child relation. If a child was nursed by a woman other than its natural mother for even a few days, that woman was considered to be the child's fictive mother. Such a relationship involved no responsibilities, it merely created a warm relationship.

Social Stratification

Baharvand society was divided into four groups of descending ranks: the ruling lineage (Khans), the Homsa (commoners), the Sayed (the descendants of Muhammad), and the Lutis (an outcast group). The latter two were small groups who attached themselves to the Baharvand. Membership within any of these groups was determined by birth.

The members of the ruling lineage were the descendents of Bahar (the founder of Baharvand), but as noted earlier, certain of the
descendants have become ranked with the Homsa. The leaders of the ruling lineages were known as Kekha or Khan. These persons maintained leadership, controlled farming and pasture land, made vital decisions, and controlled the political activities of other groups. The relationship between the ruling lineages and other groups was based on a mutual interdependence. The ruling lineages needed manpower for the protection of their territory, and the other three groups needed pasture and protection. As a result there was cooperation among the groups.

The Sayeds were a very small group, some of whom were respected very much because of their relations with the supernatural. Since they were thought to be descendants of Muhammad, it was believed that misery would come to those who harmed them. The Sayeds were protected from theft and any injuries because of fears that anyone who robbed or injured them would be subject to retaliation from God. Such retaliation would consist of the loss of herds, and also punishment in other worlds. A Sayed informant pointed out that once, when some of his herds had been stolen, they were returned after several days, because the thieves recognized that the herds belonged to a Sayed and feared divine retribution.

It was also believed that the Sayed could cure illness and that they could bring bad luck by what was called nofrin (curse). People swear by the Sayed's maizar (turban) in order to prove they are clear of wrong doing. The Sayeds were respected and people listened to them. When there was a fight, the Sayed, who were not allowed to fight, could often end it by waving a turban and asking for a truce.

Generally, the Sayed performed religious ceremonies (see
religion). They had freedom of movement and could join other groups if they desired. However in most cases, each Sayed family was attached to certain Khan and they remained faithful. Because of their descent from Muhammad, the Sayed received Mal-i jadd (the share of ancestors) and they claimed a certain percentage of any non-Sayed properties (except the Lutis). Therefore, a Sayed could, and on occasion did, ask for Mal-i jadd.

The Homsa, many of whom had left their own tribe and joined the Baharvand, were the most numerous group. They were required to give services to the ruling lineages and also to fight against outsiders. The Homsa, unlike the Sayed or Lutis, were not an ethnic group. Furthermore, unlike the Baharvand, they did not belong to a single tira; rather they were from various groups. Thus, such people as Zainevand, Kor Nukar, Haidarvand, Bowa, Sagvand, Qalavand, Nukaramarad, Kowguni, Sateyarvand, Rushue, Rash, Hasanvand, Bairanvand, Bazgir, and many others formed the Homsa (neighbor). Each of these belonged to a separate tribe although they lived among the Baharvand. The Homsa accepted the superiority of the ruling lineages by saying that "Khoda Kelekyan Chi Yek Neyafida" ("God did not make all fingers alike"). This meant that just as certain fingers are tall, so there are certain people with higher ranks; and as certain fingers are short, so there are certain people lower than the others. The Homsa were divided between the ruling lineages, and generally had less freedom of movement.

Lutis occupied the lowest rank among the Baharvand. They might be considered an ethnic group in the sense that they were endogamous and had a dialect of their own although it was seldom spoken. The Lutis
were a specialized group who, as mentioned earlier (see division of labor), performed such tasks as playing music, circumcisions, making certain tools. Unlike the Sayed who were considered sacred, the Lutis were believed to be impure\textsuperscript{38} (polluted). The Lutis actually did ignore many Islamic regulations. As a result, no other group would eat or drink in a Lutis' home. The Lutis, like the Sayed, visited the non-Lutis (except the Sayed) and demanded gifts. Generally they received gifts because the donor was afraid of the Lutis' satiric poems and songs which could ruin the reputation of a family. Like the Sayed, the Lutis had freedom of movement. They could join any group whenever they desired to do so.

The Lutis are considered an outcast group on the bases of criteria already suggested by Berreman (1966), Devos and Wagatsuma (1966), and Norbeck (1966). These criteria include the practice of endogamy, the idea of impurity, the occupation of the lowest rank, and the determination of their status by birth.

**Status and Role**

Status is defined as social position, and the behaviors related to statuses are known as roles. In Baharvand society, statuses were almost all ascribed: almost all positions within the society were determined by birth. Thus, for example, a child who was born to a Sayed family remained a Sayed through his life. The status differentiations were based on kinship affiliation, age, and sex.

A hierarchy of statuses was based on kinship. As mentioned previously, the leaders of the ruling lineages were at the top and the
Lutis at the bottom. The high status of the leaders was recognized by the fact that whenever they arrived in a meeting, all in attendance stood up. Generally the leader sat at the head of the party. When meals were served, they were served first and received the largest share. Persons of lower rank addressed leaders with certain formal words. For example, instead of saying "you told me" they said, Farmayesh-Kardi (you commanded, or ordered), or instead of saying oma (come), they said Tashrif-award (do me the honor of bringing it). In contrast to this group, the Lutis sat down at the farthest end of a party and they were served the leftovers.

The following paragraph from Joe E. Pierce (1964:83) clearly indicates the similarities between the Turkish and Baharvand in regard to age and sex differentiation.

Thus we have a society broken up into effective social classes, but these all involve basically (1) sex and (2) age, as opposed to money, position, or title. The society could be visualized as forming a "Y" with all children at the bottom, regardless of sex. The circumcised boys are somewhat above girls and uncircumcised boys. Married men and women form two separate groups, both of which outrank (and hence can give orders to) the children. The class of young married women outranks only the children, and the young married men outrank young married women and children. Within each class, if you are older than someone else, you outrank him. The two classes of old married men and old married women outrank everyone in some way, but the old women do not often try to give orders to any men except the unmarried ones, that is, members of the class labeled children.

The fact that the Baharvand made distinctions based on sex and age was clearly demonstrated even in the funeral ceremony: there were no funeral ceremonies for children under seven years of age, and a female's funeral ceremony received much less attention than that of a male.

The older a person, the more respect he commanded. All important
decisions were made by elders. Whenever there was a meeting, the younger generation were expected to listen and not to express their views. Again, the difference between the statuses on the basis of age was expressed by the fact that whenever an older man arrived, the younger were expected to stand up, and when tea or food was served, the older men or women were served first. The difference between ages was also indicated by the fact that the older men had a tendency to grow beards. A man's beard was honored very much. In fact, sometimes people swore by a person's beard. One of the most humiliating acts against man's honor was to grab his beard. In short, a beard was a status symbol and the word Rish Aspeh (grey beard) was heard often.

Finally, there was distinction between status on the basis of sex. Generally, the two sexes were separated from each other and males were considered to be superior to females. The separation of the males and females was enforced by the practice of modesty. A modest woman was one who stayed away from the men, especially strangers. This idea of modesty was a mechanism of social control which reinforced the separation of the sexes. Those women who obeyed the rule were respected very much and such respect was their reward for obeying the rule.

Males and females did not eat together in the presence of a guest or a stranger. One of the informants stated that in former days, the women never ate in the presence of a man. The women always ate after the men. The Baharvand had a saying, "a woman has two Gods, one is Khoda and the other is her husband." Women did not participate in meetings, nor were they asked to express their views. It was believed that since women were both physically and mentally inferior to men, it
was better for them to take care of the household than to participate in other affairs. Nevertheless, there were certain influential women who acted as men.
CHAPTER 6

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

According to Hoebel (1966:455), "Political organization . . . is that part of the culture which functions explicitly to direct the activities of the members of the society toward community goals."
Generally, any form of political system regardless of its simplicity or complexity must perform two important functions: 1) to establish law and order within (i.e., settlement of disputes between the members of a society), and 2) to defend the territory and the rights of individual members against outsiders.

Baharvand political organization was based on kinship and was a response to the ecological conditions within which the society operated. In his analysis of the political organization of the pastoral nomads of Southwest Asia, Barth (1965:73) has stated that:

. . . throughout the whole area, the organization is primarily related to certain basic corporate interests shared by the members of the nomad communities which combine in an organization. Such members share interests in community self-defense, in collective pasture rights, and in the facilitation and co-ordination of the great migrations. These corporate interests in varying proportion in the different areas may be regarded as the sources from which the tribal political organizations spring.

The special importance of community self-defense arises from a number of considerations. The nomads frequent vast areas without much permanent habitation; in these areas local security has traditionally been poor. . . . Secondly, the nature of nomad property—that all their capital is moveable property, and can thus in contrast to the land and unharvested crop of a farmer be stolen and removed—makes the nomads singularly vulnerable to
robbery. Finally, the fact of the constant changing of location implied in nomadism results in an enforced complete reliance on politico-military organization for defense.

It is believed that lack of political stability was the main factor for the development and continuity of the segmentary lineage system of the Beharvand and other Luri tribes. This system enabled the Baharvand to protect their properties (herds, pastures, the right to migratory routes) and their freedom, by calling on the support of large groups of people in time of danger. The segmentary lineage system was such that each segment could maintain its autonomy and yet could receive the support of other segments against outside aggression.

The Baharvand political system may be described in terms of its structure, leadership, source of authority, and finally, the procedure of maintaining law and order. This approach indicates how the different segments were organized, how a person became a leader, what authority he had, and the method in which disputes were settled.

**Political Structure**

The Baharvand were divided into two sections, the Maralivand and Kurdalivand. By the time of sedentation, the two sections were completely separated from each other and each comprised a *tayefa*. The Kurdalivand maintained their traditional name, while Maralivand became known as the Baharvand; only the Maralivand are dealt with here. Sometimes the terms Maralivand and Baharvand are used interchangeably, although today the term Maralivand is not used frequently.

The segmentary lineage system, based on kinship, has already been described. In this system the society was divided into two
segments, the descendents of Bahar and the others. The former formed the core of the political structure, and as explained earlier its members were in theory, but not in practice, equal.

Since political power and control of land were tied to the existence of manpower, those lineages whose population declined, became weak politically, and could not claim equal shares of land. For example, traditionally the Baharvand divided their territory into four Bar (shares): sections A, B, and C each owned one share of land, and sections D and E owned half a share each. This procedure was disrupted about a century ago when the population of section C had increased while the populations of sections A, D, and E had decreased. A glance at Figure 3 makes one wonder about the remarkable fluctuation of population in the various segments of *tira* C9. A genealogical analysis of *tira* I of section A indicates that five generations back its population increased from one to three persons (males), one generation later (four generations back), there were only four persons, for only one person was added. Three generations back it increased to sixteen, and two generations back only six persons belonged to *tira* I of the section.

Such changes in population had a significant impact on the political power of a segment. Thus, a century or so ago, section C became the most powerful due to significant increases in its population and to the influence of able leaders and good fighting men. As the expansion toward the north began and new territory was gained, section C refused to give its share of new land to members of sections A, D, E, and F. Gradually the rank of these sections declined to a point where they became known as *Bowa-Hirdya* (the smaller lineages). Section C maintains
FIGURE 3: This figure shows the ranking of the sections within the Baharvand. Section C maintains leadership and controls most of Baharvand territory. The Bowa-Hirdya own some territory whereas the non-Baharvand do not own territory at all.
leadership and controls most of Baharvand territory. The Bowa-Hirdya own some territory whereas the non-Baharvand do not own territory at all.

Generally each section was divided into several segments known as tira, dudamo, huna, and tazga (see social organization). Sometimes the term tira and bowa were used interchangeably. The tira was the basic political unit; it was autonomous and maintained control over a specific territory. Each tira was divided into smaller segments which were called dudamo. Each dudamo was represented by a headman, and the members of each dudamo received a portion of the territory of their tira. The leaders of the dudamo comprised the leadership of each tira. Most often, however, the leader of one of the dudamo became influential and dominated the other dudamo within his tira, sometimes even becoming influential within the entire tayefa. Generally, each dudamo had Homsa; however, some dudamo had more Homsa than others. The more Homsa a dudamo maintained, the more powerful and prestigious it became.

Traditionally, alliances existed between various lineages. Often such alliances were based on marriages between the various segments. Tira C9, C12, and C13 were allied, while tira C10 and C11 formed another alliance. Each tira of Bowa Hirdya was allied to certain tira of section C. Thus, sections A, B, and E were allied with tira C10 and C11 (C11 assumed leadership), while section D was allied with tira C9, C12, and C13.
Leadership

To understand how leadership was determined, we need to look at the ecological situation within which the political system operated. The political system was basically an adaptation in which the various segments could be integrated to deal with threats from the outside. This structure did not allow the development of a political office in which a single leader could rule over the entire tayefa. In principal leadership was determined by heredity, but in reality it depended on the manpower and wealth (herds and land) of families. Since both manpower and wealth were subject to fluctuation, leadership also changed from one dudamo to another. Thus, there was no guarantee of continuous leadership within a family for any length of time.

How did a person become a leader? As a rule it was expected that after a leader's death, his eldest son would take his place, but in many cases a younger, more able son became the leader. To become a leader a man needed skill in fighting, raiding, oration (the power of persuasion), and marksmanship, as well as qualities of generosity, hospitality, tolerance, patience, honesty, dignity, and finally, knowledge about the people. It was not necessary for a leader to possess all the qualities but he could not assume leadership without many of them.

The power and the authority of a leader depended on the members of his own family (sons), his brothers, his uncle, and paternal cousins, the members of his dudamo and finally, his tira. Without the support of his kinsmen, a person could not claim leadership. To be sure, there was competition for leadership between kin groups, especially between paternal cousins, but in spite of this competition, it was the latent
threat from other tira that encouraged the members of each tira to support their own leader, especially if he had proved that he was concerned with the group's interests and not merely with his own.

In addition to his kinsmen, a leader also depended on his Homsa for his power. The more Homsa a man had, the more manpower he claimed, and therefore, the more power and prestige he commanded. In addition, a leader strengthened his position through Dasta-Bandi (political alliance) which were generally based on marriage. For example the influential leader of C11 (figure 3) had the following marriage ties: 1) he had married the daughter of the leader of tira C10, 2) his mother was from section A2, 3) his sister had married into tira E, 4) two of his wives were Homsa, and 5) one of his daughters was married to a Homsa. His alliances out of Baharvand included: 1) one of his wives was the daughter of the leader of Judaki tribe, 2) one of his sisters was married to a leader of the Papi tribe, 3) another sister was married to the leader of the Mir tribe, 4) one of his sons married the daughter of the Qalavand leader, 5) another son married the daughter of the Sagvand leader, 6) his third son married the daughter of a Kurdalivand leader, and finally 7) his youngest son married a member of his tira first, and later the daughter of one of the descendents of Walis. Such marriages not only provided support internally, but also guaranteed external support in case of fighting between the Baharvand and other tayefa.

Political Alliances

In order to maintain a balance of power within the Baharvand as well as between the Baharvand and other tayefa, the Baharvand were
constantly engaged in Dasta-Bandi or Baiyat (political alliance). These could be achieved by Paivani (marriage), or through other means.

Alliance by Paivani was the most effective and enduring. When such alliances were made, the two parties were expected to help each other in time of need. Since the purpose of the alliance was to influence political standing among competitors, let us see how the game was played. Figure 3 indicates that the leader of tira C11 married the daughter of the leader of C10. In order to offset the combined power of tira C10 and C11, the leader of tira C13 married the daughter of leader C9. Thus, tira C9 and C13 were allied together against the other tira.

Some of the tira tried to neutralize these alliances by going outside of Baharvand. For example, when the son of the leader of tira C11 married the daughter of the leader of Sagvand, the leader of tira C12 married the daughter of another Sagvand leader. Thus, if one tira of Sagvand decided to come to the aid of his ally, his opponent tira would do the same.

Nonmarriage alliances took place when two or more parties became united against a third party or parties. Those who sought alliance met and discussed the principles of their alliance, then a copy of the Koran was brought in and each of the leaders laid his hand on it saying, "I swear by this holy Koran that I will stand by this agreement with my life and my properties." It was believed that if anybody broke the agreement, the Koran would punish him through the loss of property and death. The Baharvand feared the Koran very much and when they swore by the Koran they stood by their word.
A political alliance between parties lasted for a definite period of time, after which the alliance was concluded and a new one begun. Thus, it was not unusual for groups to become united with former enemies against former allies in a manner similar to the international political activities between nations. Continual shifts occurred among alliances and even those based on marriage were subject to temporary breakdown. This does not mean that the marriages involved broke down, rather that sometimes the parties found it expedient to ignore the alliance.

**Law and Order**

As Ember and Ember have pointed out (1973:245):

Most modern, industrialized states have formal institutions and offices such as police, district attorneys, courts, and penal systems for dealing with minor disputes and more serious conflicts that may arise in society. All of these institutions generally operate according to codified laws—that is, a set of written (and therefore explicit) rules stipulating what is permissible and what is not. Transgression of the law by an individual gives the state the right to take action against him. Whatever that action might be, implicit in it is the threat of force, a threat which is reserved only to the duly constituted institutions, offices, and officials of the state.

Such institutions were absent among the Baharvand, who had their own system of social control. Both supernatural and nonsupernatural forces controlled the behavior of individuals within Baharvand society. Since supernatural forces are treated in a separate chapter, here we will only indicate the implication of the idea of supernatural as a method of social control.

The Baharvand believed that there were certain acts which would please *Khoda* (God), and that the performer of these acts would be rewarded both materially and spiritually. Such acts were referred to as
savow (good deeds). Helping the poor was a savow and it was believed that God would reward the almsgiver (helper).

The opposite of savow was gonah (sin), or those acts which caused God's displeasure and therefore resulted in severe punishment both in this world and in the other world. For example, adultery was a gonah; it was believed that adultery would cause a person to end up in duzakh (hell). If a person committed incest, it was believed that he would lose his eyesight.

In general, disruptive behavioral acts were considered gonah while constructive acts or behavior which conformed with social norms were considered as savow. Since Khoda is invisible and exists everywhere, no acts of savow or gonah could be concealed.

The secular sanctions were the community action against those who did not obey the rules and regulations of the society. Before describing these secular methods of punishment, it is necessary to explain the concept of honor and shame among the Baharvand. Among the Baharvand and in the Middle East in general, there is strong sensitivity about one's honor and shame.

Among the Baharvand there are a number of terms to describe conditions of honor and shame. These terms are opposites, one for honor and one for shame. Thus, owa-ri-dar (with honor or respect), be-owa-ri (without honor or respect); sar-bolang (proud), sar-cot (disgrace); sanzi (polite, dignity), savok (impolite, cheap); ri-aspek (proud), and ri-seh (disgrace).

The Baharvand considered a person's ow-ri (honor) to be the most precious thing in this world. Ow-ri is considered to be a kind of
quality that people acquired through good deeds and accepted behavior; it could be lost easily and, once lost, it was difficult to regain. The Baharvand say "ow-ri-chi tokay-owa vaqti rezas gard noova" (honor is like a drop of water, which when spilled cannot be recollected).

Furthermore, it was believed that "kasi ka tanay ow rin neya homes kareh kona" (a person who has lost his or her honor will do practically anything). Thus it was believed that a person without honor has no respect for anybody and no fear of committing dishonorable acts.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the behavior of an individual reflected not only upon himself but also upon his kin group. An individual could bring honor (sar-balangi) or disgrace (sar coti) to his kinsmen. A woman could disgrace (ri-seyahi) her kin group by committing adultery.

Two methods of social sanctions restrained dishonorable acts, gossip and the physical action taken by certain people against offenders. Two important terms relate to gossip, gal and chow. Gal referred to public disclosure of dishonorable activities. Stealing from a neighbor or committing adultery would result in gal. Gal was the spread of news related to misconduct and it was harmful to the wrongdoer and his kin group's prestige. In such a case the parties involved became the subject of public ridicule through sarcastic remarks, and in some cases even satiric songs. Chow referred to the spread of good or bad reputation. If it was the spread of good reputation it was known as chow-khoowi, the opposite was chow-gani. Chow-khoowi (the spread of good reputation) brought honor to the group, while chow-gani (the spread of bad reputation) damaged the prestige of the group. An example of
chow-khoowi was the practice of hospitality, while inhospitality caused the spread of chow-gani.

Resolution of Conflicts

Generally, disputes were settled by the leaders with the assistance of rish-aspi (gray beards) and Sayeds. Whenever a conflict arose, the leaders talked to the parties involved. Then the matter was discussed in a council which met in the home of one of the parties involved. At these formal meetings (majlis), the host was required to provide food for those who participated. If the majlis failed to produce peace, another was scheduled.

Sometimes there was the problem of proving a case against an offender. The most common way of proving a case against an accused was to ask him to give an oath either by the Koran or by the tomb of a holy saint such as Shahamad, Shazada-Ahmad, and Shah-mamd. It was believed that anyone who gave a false oath would be subject to punishment from Koran and the holy saint. If the accused was innocent, nothing would happen to him. On certain occasions when the accused was not trusted, his oath was not accepted. In such cases it was necessary for one of his kinsmen to take an oath in his place. If no one accepted the challenge then the person was considered guilty.

If an offender was proven guilty, he was required to compensate the offended group in accordance with Luri rules and regulations. Thus, if someone had stolen a cow, he was required to give back a cow. If someone killed a man he was required to give one or two women, plus some herds, cash, and a rifle. There were traditional standards of
payment for each criminal act. If the offender refused to compensate, the group which was offended would retaliate against him and members of his kin groups. If it was an inter-tayefa dispute, all the members of one tayefa took action against the members of another tayefa.

Perhaps the most difficult of all were the cases which involved the settlement of blood feuds (khin-sol). These settlements always required the exchange of women (from the murderer to the group of the murdered). The Baharvand distinguished between intentional killing (ghasdi) and accidental killing (sahvi). In either case the exchange of women was required. However, in case of sahvi there was no severe retaliation against the killer and his kinsmen as there was in the case of ghasdi. When an intentional killing occurred, the kinsmen of the murdered had the right to kill the murderer or any of his kin group. In many cases a settlement was reached before such a step was taken.

The procedure of settling blood feuds was as follows: One to three months after the incident, several rish aspi (grey beard) along with a Sayed, visited the group of the murdered to determine their demands. When they returned, they informed the group of the murderer what compensation was demanded. If they agreed to pay the blood price, the party returned to the group of the murdered for their permission to take the murderer to their home. Then an agreement was made concerning the day. On that day, the kinsmen of the murderer decorated a horse in dark cloth (the symbol of sadness). No one rode it. The male members put mud on their heads and shoulders (also the symbol of sadness) and tied the murderer's hands behind his back. Then, accompanied by several grey beards they went to visit the kinsmen of the murdered. In
the meantime, several Sayeds were sent ahead to make sure that the kins-
men of the murdered would not attempt to kill the visitors. As the
party of the murderer reached between two hundred to three hundred steps
from the home of the murdered, a Sayed would ask permission to untie
the murderer's hand. When they reached the home of the murdered, every-
body started crying loudly. Then after a meal and just before leaving,
the two parties kissed each other and peace was reached.

In conclusion, fear of the supernatural, gossip, and retaliation
were the three main sanctions which contributed to the maintenance of
peace and order among the Baharvand.
CHAPTER 7

SUPERNATURALISM

Introduction

In their studies of cultures, anthropologists have noted that there is no society without some concept of supernaturalism. Norbeck (1961:11) defines the concept of supernaturalism in the following manner:

By 'supernaturalism' we mean to include all that is not natural, that which is regarded as extraordinary, not of the ordinary world, mysterious, and unexplained or unexplainable in ordinary terms. Being extraordinary, mysterious, and unknown or unexplainable in terms of natural or ordinary things and events of the world, the supernatural may evoke various other attitudes. It may be associated with awe, veneration, wonder, or fear. A common denominator in subjective states which the supernatural evokes is an attitude of apartness from the mundane.

This definition of supernaturalism covers not only what the Baharvand know as Deen (Islamic religion) but also many pre-Islamic concepts which are widespread in Iran. Robert C. Albert (1963), Donaldson (1938), Katirayi (1969), and Masse (1954) reveal that Baharvand beliefs about supernaturalism are shared by other traditionally directed Iranians. No comparative studies have been carried out in Iran, but if such work is undertaken in the future, it may reveal many things about ancient Iranian beliefs.

Various aspects of Islam have been described in detail elsewhere. For these discussions see Albert (1963), Anderson (1959), Berger (1962),
Coon (1951), Donaldson (1973, originally 1938), Fazee (1942), Gibb (1962), Levy (1957), Von Grunbaum (1955a), and also articles in the Encyclopedia of Islam (1936). For our purpose it is sufficient to make only some general remarks.

Islam (submission) as a religion was proclaimed by Muhammad during the seventh century. Before the introduction of Islam, several religions such as Zoroastrianism, Mithraism, Manichaesim, and Mazdaism flourished in Iran. However by 650 A.D., the Sasanian Empire was conquered by the Moslems and gradually Islam became the dominant religion.

The Iranians today belong to the Shiah branch of Islam. The Shiism movement began within a few decades after the death of the Prophet. Smith, et al. (1971:216-17) stated:

Shortly after the middle of the seventh century, Islam began to fragment into rival branches. A number of nonconformist and heterodox Islamic movements developed in various parts of the Islamic world away from the centers of political and religious authority. The earliest and most significant split, however, took place only twenty-five years after the death of Muhammad, and it occurred at the heart of the Muslim world among disciples of the Prophet who had been closest to him.

The controversy was between the branch known as Sunni (from sunna, meaning custom or statute) and the Shiah branch (from shiat, meaning party). The split was occasioned by the insistence of the Shiites that the true and legitimate successor to Muhammad was his cousin and son-in-law, Ali, who was designated publicly by the Prophet himself. It was contended that a conspiracy had robbed him of his rights and that the caliphate had been usurped successively by the first three caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othman, and by their Sunni successors after the death of Ali in 661. According to Shiite doctrine, succession to the Prophet and the responsibility for theological interpretation that went with it were preordained by God's will and determined by Muhammad to remain in the house of Ali. . . .

Strengthening this political split were religious differences. Shiites believe that, apart from what is revealed in the Koran and the Hadith, there exists a body of true and esoteric knowledge that passed from Muhammad to Ali and those of his descendants who succeeded Ali as the divinely guided imams . . . of
Islam. The imams, therefore, are in a position to reveal the true meaning of the Koran and to amplify continually the definition of dogma according to their inner light. . . . Among the Shiites, popular belief includes a doctrine of predestination that does not exclude the possibility of merciful intercession by the Prophet and the imams at the Last Judgment. They believe that the Messiah will be the last imam, who will return to reestablish a world of truth, peace, and justice.

With the exception of a very few literate individuals, the Baharvand knew little about the origin and development of Islam, nor did they even pray with understanding because prayer was in Arabic (to this day the prayers remain unchanged). Those who could read Koran simply repeated the Arabic words without understanding their meaning. It is not surprising that certain fundamental matters of faith were confused by the Baharvand. For example, the most respected and well-known of all Islamic religious leaders was (and still is) Ali, who was referred to as Hazrat-iamir. Luri people incorrectly imputed supernatural attributes to Ali and other imams (religious leaders). The Baharvand ignored much of Islamic law in favor of their rasm-i Luri (Luri customs). Most disputes were resolved according to their own traditions rather than according to Islamic law. Such practices, however, were not limited to the Baharvand alone. In this regard Levy (1957:43) notes that

The law has in numerous places been overridden by traditional usages. It is well established further that in many tribal and other communities in Islam there are native codes of unwritten laws and traditions by which the members have continued to regulate their lives.

Although dominately Islamic, the Baharvand concepts of supernaturalism were mixed with Zoroastrianism and possibly other ancient ideas. For example, Zoroastrians respected fire, and on occasion swore
by it. The Baharvand also swore by the fire and upon the death of a male, the members sometimes poured water in their hearths in order to put out the fire, an indication of their sorrow.

In this study, Baharvand supernaturalism is briefly described in terms of world view, the idea of personified and impersonal supernaturalism, the ceremonies relating to supernaturalism, and finally, the function of supernaturalism.

**World View**

For the Baharvand the entire universe was divided into a-donya (this world) and o-donya (the eternal world). They considered life in the present world to be a short journey, the end of which was o-donya. This view of life as transitory was and still is common in the Middle East.

The Baharvand believed that the earth rested upon the horns of a bull, Gow-i Moyi, which was standing in water. It was believed that Gow-i Moyi was wounded by Ali, and whenever the flies disturbed his wounds, earthquakes occurred. The sky (asamo) was considered to be a dome, like a ceiling, and if a person could fly high enough he would reach it. It was believed that there were seven skies and that God resides in one of them. The stars (asarya) were attached to Asamo, and each of them belonged to a human being. On the death of their "owners" the stars fell down into the water. Thus, when someone was seriously ill, the Baharvand said that asarash-owiya (his star is going to fall into the water).

The moon was thought to have female qualities, whereas the sun
had male qualities. The Baharvand distinguished between the old and new moon. At the beginning of each month when the moon rose into view, they gazed at it while holding their hands toward it; then while wishing good luck, they rubbed their faces with their hands. They believed that such behavior would bring prosperity and good health. Moonlight (*show-Ma*) was valued highly because on moonlit nights one could see better; consequently, there was less chance of theft. In this regard, one of my informants said, "How wonderful it would be if we could have moonlight, youth, and spring forever." When an eclipse took place, it was believed that the *Kafar* (infidels) were capturing the moon or the sun. The Baharvand did not have a word for eclipse; rather they used the word *girasa* (being captured). Thus, they said *Ma-girasa* (the moon was captured). When an eclipse occurred, the people made a lot of noise and fired their rifles toward the sky to scare away the infidel trouble makers.

By the same token, the seasons were related to the imprisonment of the stars, *Asar-i quos* (the star of cold) and *Asar-i garma* (the star of heat). In winter the *Asar-i garma* was believed to be imprisoned under ground while the *Asar-i quos* was free. Later the *Asar-i quos* was captured and the *Asar-i garma* (the star of heat) was released. It was believed that the water was cold in summer because the *Asar-i quos* was underground and caused the inner earth to be cold. Such interpretations were by no means limited to the Baharvand; in fact, they were common throughout Iran (see Marsse 1954:108).

According to the Baharvand, after the death of a person, his soul went to *g-donya* (the other world), located underground and
consisting of Duzakh (hell) and Behesht (heaven or paradise). Hell was occupied by gonah-karya (the sinners) who were subject to such tortures as being thrown into the mouth of a huge snake-like creature, being thrown into blazing fire, or being beaten with a heated club and thorns. Hell was a dark, hot, miserable place.

Behesht (paradise) on the other hand, was a pleasant place with trees, streams of water, pools, and beautiful huriya (female angels). Paradise was a happy place occupied by the prophets, imams and savow-karya (those humans who had done good deeds in this world). In heaven, food consisted mostly of fruit and a kind of bread which is made of murt (myrtle).

The Baharvand believed in the dualistic concept of the soul (ruh) and the body. They thought that without the soul the body is nothing; that the soul enters and leaves the body in the form of a flying insect (mosquito), using the nose for passage and that when a person is sleeping his soul is out and when it enters the body again the person awakens.

The Baharvand believed that everyone has an identical spiritual being somewhere in the sky. When a person dies his soul enters the body of such a spiritual being. During the three days after burial, the soul enters the spiritual being which then comes down from the sky and enters the grave. This was known as saraziri-ghour (downward to the grave). It was believed that the spirits of sinners have a difficult time descending from the sky to the grave. After the spirit enters the grave, the spirit along with the soul finds its way to the o-dony (the eternal world). Along the way, the spirit comes to a bridge which is narrower
than a human hair. When the spirit reaches the bridge, the sheep which had been sacrificed in this world, is waiting to carry it across the bridge. Those who are not sinners will cross it easily while the sinners will have difficulty. On the other side the spirit enters the gate to the eternal world, and after judgment those who are sawo-kar will enter paradise while the sinners will be directed to hell.

The Baharvand believed that there is an end to both these worlds upon the return of the Messiah (last Imam). When the Messiah returns a whole new universe will be created, in which there is justice and freedom.

Myth of Origin

Every culture has its own explanation of how man was created and how he came to be what he is now. According to the Baharvand, God made a statue of a human out of clay and then breathed life into it. This was our ancestor Bow-Adam (father of man). Bow-Adam lived in paradise eating only fruit. His body was such that he had no need for elimination. Bow-Adam had been instructed by God not to eat wheat, but Satan (Shayto) misled him, and as soon as he ate the wheat he swelled up. When God saw this he expelled Bow-Adam from paradise. This story is based on the Koran which tells it as follows (Koran:Surah 2, verses 35 and 36):

35) And He said: O Adam! Dwell thou and thy wife in the Garden, and eat ye freely (of the fruits) thereof where ye will; but come not nigh this tree lest ye become wrongdoers.

36) But Satan caused them to deflect and expelled them from the (happy) state in which they were, and He said: Fall down, one of you a foe unto the other! There shall be for you on earth a habitation and provision for a time.
When Bow-Adam was thrown out of paradise, God made changes in his body, such as the creation of sexual organs. In contrast to the Koran, Baharvand believed that when Bow-Adam was in heaven he was alone and Hawa (Eve) was sent to him as his wife after the expulsion from paradise. Thus, the present population of mankind are the descendants of Bow-Adam and Hawa.

The Baharvand believed that the man used to be much taller and bigger. This idea is expressed in the Shah Nameh (The Book of King) by Ferdowsi (940-1020 A.D.) who stated for example, that Rustom was forty meters tall. Presently the Baharvand think that man is becoming smaller.

**Personified Supernatural Beings**

By personified supernaturalism we mean those supernatural beings to which human qualities such as emotion and feeling are attributed. In regard to these categories of supernaturalism, Norbeck (1961:37) has given the following account:

'Personified' means a conception of the supernatural in terms of the attributes of human beings, a projection of the self or ego so that the supernatural is viewed as being composed of and controlled by man-like beings or forces which behave as men behave. Referring to this concept of the supernatural we may aptly say that man created the supernatural world in his own image. Anthropomorphic or even zoomorphic form is not necessarily an attribute of supernatural entities found in concepts of this sort. Form may be various, but whether or not the supernatural beings have the form of men, they have other attributes of men, emotions, desires, moral codes and values. Natural phenomena such as rain, storms, the wind, or the sun and even abstract philosophic conceptions may be personified so that they have the emotions and behavior of man. These supernatural entities often have power over men, and they may use it to punish and reward. Like men, they judge, and like men they are good, bad, angry, pleased, frightful, benign, steadfast, capricious, lovable, and unlovable.
The various beings recognized by the Baharvand include the following: 1. Khoda (God) and various Islamic religious personalities such as the Prophet, the Imams and Imam-Zadeh (descendent of Imam); holy shrines which were believed to be dedicated to certain Imam-Zadeh, some of which may be pre-Islamic: the important ones are Shahamad, Shahzada-Ahmad, Jamal-Kal; 2. Various supernatural beings which the Baharvand recognized as separate categories of beings, not related to Deen (religion), but which were assumed to have been created by Khoda (God).

Khoda (God) was the supreme power and the creator of the universe. The Baharvand believed in predestination, for it was God who determines the destiny of every human being and every creature in this universe. When anything happened to the Baharvand, they accepted that it was God's will or Khoda Hasa (God wanted it to be so). God had the power to destroy the whole universe in an instant. God was kind, but he punished those who did not obey his rules. Since God was omnipresent and omniscient, those who committed an unacceptable act were punished by him. In short, God was the maker and the owner of the universe, capable of destroying it, or of making people sick, poor, crippled, and so on.

Next to God came the various Islamic saints such as the Prophet, the Imams, and Imam-Zadeh. Of all these saints, Ali is the most powerful. In fact, some Baharvand believed that Ali is either equal to or stronger than God. Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, in all events, was considered to be greater than the Prophet.

All Islamic saints were believed to have unusual supernatural power. Ali was so strong that once when he struck an enemy, his sword
penetrated to the bottom of the earth and wounded the 
Gow-Moyi which was supporting it.

There are several holy shrines which were called Imam-Zadeh. Of these, the two most important are Shahamed, which is located in top of Kabir-Kuh, and Shahzada-Ahamad (located in Papi territory). Shahamad is referred to as Morrad-Dahanda (the giver of the wishes) because the people believed that it grants their wishes. Thus, if a woman was barren, or if her children were dead, she visited the Shrine of Shahamad and prayed for children. Although Shahamad is located on a peak of the Kabir-Kuh and is difficult to reach, each year hundreds of people visited it in order to present their wishes. God and all Islamic saints are worshiped there today.

Unlike the previous one, the second category of supernatural beings are mostly harmful and they are not worshiped. However, these supernatural beings were believed to be less powerful than God or the Islamic saints. The studies of Albert (1963), Donaldson (1938), and Masse (1954) indicate that belief in these supernatural forces is widespread in Iran. However, it must be pointed out that there are regional variations in regard to their form and other attributes. Furthermore, in certain regions there are supernatural beings which are not reported in other areas. For example, the Baharvand believed in an invisible hunter who killed both humans and herds. I have not seen reports on this supernatural being elsewhere.
Dangerous Supernatural Beings

The Baharvand distinguished between natural causes of diseases or death and supernatural causes (though in both cases it was believed that God was responsible). Those diseases which they could not understand were attributed to supernatural forces. However, in all cases it was believed that God was responsible.

Malaket (plural—Malakoto), an adaptation of the Arabic word Mala-eka (angels), are frequently mentioned in the Koran (Sureh 2, verse 34):

And when we said unto the angels, prostrate yourselves before Adam, they fell prostrate, all save Iblis. He demurred through pride, and so became a disbeliever.

However, the Baharvand conception of Malakat is different. The Baharvand believed that Malakat have the characteristics of human beings except that they are invisible and have the power to change form. That is, they can turn themselves into a human being, a cat, or a piece of wood. One way to identify a Malakat is observe its feet: the feet of Malakat are cloven like those of goats and cows. It was believed that they never die and that they are to be found in many places, including mountains, ruined places, dark corners, and so on. Malakat are seen by some people. One of my informants, a Sayed, gave the following account:

When I was twenty years old and we had just returned from our exile,40 six of us decided to go to the mountains in search of mushrooms. While in the mountain it started to rain, so we decided to go to a cave from which a spring flows. This cave with its spring, is famous as the dwelling of Malakats. As we approached the place, we heard the voice of human beings which were saying Wash-do (a command to goats when milking them). I was told by my friends that it was the Malakat who were milking the wild goats and sheep. They had been seen many times, so this was not the first time. As we got close to the cave all of a sudden a herd of wild goats and sheep jumped out of the cave.
Malakat were believed to be dangerous because they were thought to have the power to make people sick or crazy. There are numerous cases where people are reported to have become Leva (crazy) because of Malakat. A few years ago a Sayed named Ali Aqa went from village to village, door to door, and forced the people to give him tea, sugar, and wheat. Whatever he collected was thrown away. He quarrelled continually wherever he went. He was known as Leva (crazy), and he was very dangerous because without any reason he threw stones at people, breaking doors and windows. People believed that the Malakat were responsible for his behavior.

It was also believed that the Malakat sometimes took a person and replaced him with an identical Malakat. Several years ago when a boy, about ten years old, did not come home, people went in search concerned that the Malakat might replace him. The Malakat may also replace a corpse, so if a body is to remain unburied overnight it must be guarded every moment. The Malakat also fall in love with women and cause them to behave abnormally. The following is the story of a young girl about eighteen years old who supposedly fell in love with a Malakat.

Her name is Frangis and she lives in Darayi village. Once she was a very pretty girl, but when I saw her last summer she had changed a lot. Her adventure began a few years ago when she started to act strangely. She would shake uncontrollably, then collapse. Gradually her condition grew worse, periods of possession were followed by periods of normality. When she was in her abnormal moods, she cursed, threw stones at people, and talked very loudly. Several times she has tried to kill herself. When I talked with her she said that she was going to
marry a driver who lives in Khurrəmabad. But this was doubtful because no one would want to marry a crazy girl.

The villagers believe that Frangis is in love with a Malakat and that marriage would solve her problem; yet no one wants to marry her. Some of the Mola might use their power to cure her, but Frangis's parents are too poor to afford the prayers of the Mola.

The story of Frangis is by no means isolated. There is another man who was believed crazy. While exposing his sex organs he imitated male goats, becoming so violent that the people had to lock him up in his house. In the summer of 1968 I visited him. At that time a Mola was trying to capture his Malakat by torturing the man and forcing him to reveal the name of the Malakat who supposed to be with him. Today he is much better, but it is believed that there are still Malakat around him. Until they are captured too, he will behave strangely once in a while.

Persian authors mention Dive, another dangerous supernatural being. In Baharvand folktales, Dive is a creature that looks like a human being but is larger and sleeps most of the time. Although his favorite food is bread made of barley, he is also a cannibal. Dive has the power to change himself into different forms and is usually found at the bottom of wells.

The Baharvand believe that the Dive described in tales no longer exists, but, that there is another kind of Dive, who is an extremely dangerous, large, human-like creature. I personally remember two cases which were attributed to Dive in which the patients died. One of them was a lady about fifty-five, who claimed she was attacked by a
Dive in the middle of the night. In the morning her jaw was dislocated and she could not talk. Within a few days she became critically ill and died. The other case concerned a beautiful teenage girl who was engaged and planning her wedding. One day about 5:00 in the evening while walking, she felt that something was wrong with her neck. The next day she could not move her neck at all and within a week or so she died too. People claimed that it was the Dive who had struck and broken her neck.

In these two cases the Mola and Sayed claimed that the Dive was responsible and it was beyond their power to help the victims. Incidentally neither of the two patients saw a doctor.

Ghool (also known as Mardazma), another of these supernatural beings, is less dangerous than Dive. Albert (1963:916-18) has reported how the people of Davarabad described their Ghool; to some extent it is different from those of Luristan. Numerous Baharvand claim to have seen Ghool which also has the power to change its form. Those who claim to have seen it say that it was small at first sight but gradually became taller and larger until it grew to the size of a hill. Ghool likes to tease people and sometimes it may kill them. It may stand beside the road and call passersby by name. There are two places, namely Tepe Sarabýas and Gar Arjeneh which are reported to be the home of the two Ghools. Both places are near Khurramabad, the capital of Luristan. The following descriptions are given by those who claim to have been confronted by this supernatural being.

Around 1962, early in the morning, a man rode his horse to Khurramabad to buy Kafa (death shroud for his wife). He claimed that when he was less than a mile away from his village (Darayi), a small
wolf jumped on his back. He managed to throw it down and ran his horse as fast as he could. But the same animal had no trouble catching up with him, except the second time it appeared as a fox. The man managed to get rid of it, but after a while it appeared again. By this time he noticed what it really was, and when he recited the name of God it disappeared.

Another man from Sarabyas told the following story:

My farm is located beside Tepe Sarabyas where the Ghool lived. It was during the spring, and it was my turn to have the water for irrigation. While taking care of the water in the middle of night, all of a sudden I noticed that a donkey was running through my field. I was mad, so I decided to ride the donkey and take it home to see who was its owner. I went close to it, caught it and rode on it toward home. It took a few steps away and started jumping up and down until I fell off. I got up and tried to catch it, but each time it jumped away. I noticed that gradually it was taking me away. Finally it changed shape and became like a human and grew taller and taller. So I was scared, and started running toward the village. While chasing me, it called me by name and said, 'just stop for a minute, I would like to talk to you.'

Tafangchi (rifleman) is an invisible hunter with male characteristics who kills both humans and animals. Cértain illnesses were believed to be caused by this supernatural being. In instances when a human or an animal dies immediately or within a matter of several hours, it is believed that the Tafangchi was responsible. If herds died for any unknown reason, the people were sure that the Tafangchi was after them, and in such cases the Baharvand migrated immediately to another campsite.

Bal is a supernatural being with the attributes of a human female. Both Albert (1963) and Masse (1954) have referred to it as Al. No one knows where Yal lives, but she is said to be a tall, old woman
with large teeth who always wears dark clothes. This supernatural being is slightly different from the one described by the Baharvand. Thus, Albert stated (1963:914-15) that:

Donaldson's picture of Al (1938, pp. 28-31) is probably that most widely entertained: "She is four-footed, has a tail, a long neck like a camel and a mouth and chin like a donkey." The Davarakadis, however, believe that she is simply 'a tall woman with long tresses.' Both versions agree, however, that Al's main occupation is attacking women and newborn babies, following parturition, illing them if possible by stealing their del-o-jigar ('heart-and-liver'), the organs considered most vulnerable to magical harm.

Furthermore, Albert has pointed out that Al is very real to village women in labor, many of whom report having seen and talked with her (Ibid, p. 915).

Among the Baharvand, Val (Al) is two legged and does not have a tail; rather she looks just like a human except that she is tall and has large teeth. If a Baharvand woman is attacked by Val, a sheep is killed and its heart and liver are taken to her. In the meantime, a Val-Gir (Val catcher) starts beating the afflicted woman with a stick in order to tell where the Val is.

Benevolent Supernatural Beings

The Baharvand believed in a few benevolent supernatural beings. Generally, there is one which is known as Freshta or Bakht. The description of Bakht given by Donaldson (1938:175-76) and Albert (1963:919-20) is again in a form different from that of the Baharvand. What Albert and Donaldson called Bakht is called Show-di by the Baharvand. It seems that the Baharvand version of Bakht is closer to the pan-Iranian version of the creature prominent in Persian folklore. Thus, Bakht is simply an
individual's supernatural guardian. Every human being is supposed to have a Bakht. It is believed that the Bakht is identical with the owner, it guides individuals in their behavior, and protects their property and herds. If some animals are lost, it is believed that the Bakht will watch after them. When a family's Bakht is active, everything works well for them, their herds increase rapidly, and their children are healthy and well behaved. But Bakht may fall asleep, in which case, the Baharvand say Bakhtam Hoftiya (my Bakht has fallen asleep). When someone's Bakht falls asleep, his misery begins; his herds die, he may lose his children, there are quarrels within his family, and so on. One of my informants pointed to a man named Ilka and said, "no matter what Ilka does, he is always going to be poor and he is going to suffer because his Bakht is sleeping, only God knows where."

It is believed that when the Bakht falls asleep, it takes the form of an animal such as a donkey, a bear, or even a cow. Apparently, once the Bakht falls asleep, it is impossible to wake it. However, in Baharvand folklore, there are stories of people who went in search of the Bakht and sometimes found it in the form of a donkey. Some Baharvand claim to have seen either their own Bakht or the Bakht of other people.

Among the Baharvand Pari (fairies) are well known. They look like humans and are the most beautiful of all supernatural beings. Like human beings, they marry, have a social organization, and they have a king, Shah-Parlo (the king of fairies). Pari generally are found near water (rivers, lakes, springs, and streams), and they seem to be the
most happy of all supernatural beings. There are numerous cases of people seeing them singing and dancing. Pari fall in love with human beings and they do marry them; however, those who are lucky enough to marry a Pari must keep it secret. It is possible to capture Pari, and some claim to have done so. They can be captured when they are taking a bath in a river. A person must act quickly, jumping in the river and taking care to insert a needle into the fairy's hair before she becomes invisible. As soon as the needle is inserted she becomes the wife of her captor, always with him but invisible to others. It is interesting to notice the similarities with the traditional marriage contract in which the parents of the bride send a needle to the parents of the groom to indicate their agreement. Inserting a needle in a Pari's hair or clothes is a kind of marriage contract. It is possible to have children, but they also are invisible to anyone except the father. The following are some cases related to seeing Pari, and also a case of intermarriage.

A respected man who is about sixty years old gave the following account.

About twenty-five years ago during the winter in the middle of night, I became thirsty, so I went out to get some water. It was a very dark night. Surprisingly I heard a group of people who were singing. Since this was very late for such activities and people were sleeping, I was not sure what was going on. So I decided to go a little farther in the direction of the singing. With great surprise I saw some light in a ruined mill close to my home. I went a little closer and I saw them with my own eyes. They were singing and dancing. In order to save myself from trouble, I came back and went to bed without telling what I saw or what I had seen.

Another informant told me that there was a man named Saymard Ali (a Bairanvand) who married a Pari. Originally he was living in Horu but
the Pari wanted him to go with her to live in Kabir-Kuh.\textsuperscript{41} Saymarad Ali did so and he claimed to have had two children by her. But since he did not keep the marriage secret, she left him.

In addition to these supernatural beings, Baharvand folklore contains a creature known as Barri which looks like a horse with wings. It has unusual speed, for it is able to cross a continent in a second. Barri has the ability to live under the water or anywhere. Such a creature was believed to appear when a person burned some of his hair. The moment hair is burned, the Barri will smell it and appear. This tale may give some clues to the winged horselike creature of Persian and Assyrian mythology.

**Impersonal Supernatural Forces**

Norbeck (1961:36) gives the following definition of impersonal supernaturalism:

The impersonal pole implies a conception of the supernatural centered on impersonal power which transcends the phenomena of ordinary life. Power of this kind is not the permanent possession or inherent trait of gods or other spiritual entities but exists everywhere in man's universe or may be concentrated in certain classes of acts and material objects. Man, once he has mastered the necessary techniques, may amass and control this power in order to serve his own ends. Supernatural beings (which tend strongly to be 'personified') may have at their command a greater amount of power of this kind than do mortals; they may better know how to gain and make use of the power, and they may bestow it upon man or help him to gain and use it effectively. They are not themselves, however, in this conception the ultimate sources of the power.

Such impersonal aspects of supernaturalism may be divided into "forces" and "substances". Supernatural forces which were inherent in certain human beings include barakat, bahra, ri-khair, ri sharr, and tiya-gan. Barakat is an Arabic word which means blessing. According to
the Baharvand, certain men inherited barakat. Barakat is not a force to be used against anybody; rather it is useful on certain occasions. A Sayed who was my informant was supposed to have barakat, and in consequence, people asked him to measure their wheat for them (it is customary for people to measure their wheat before it is stored. This gives them an idea of their income). I was told that the hands of this Sayed have barakat and therefore, when he measures their wheat, they will have more.

Bahra is another supernatural force which some people were believed to have inherited. A man could have bahra-i sayadi (the bhara of hunting), bahr-i jin-giri (the bhara of capturing certain personified supernatural beings) and so on. When a man who has inherited the bahr-i sayadi goes hunting, he always comes back with an animal. One who has bara-i jin-giri has the power to cure mental disorders caused by certain personified supernatural beings. Sometimes bhara is transmitted from one generation to another within a family, although an individual may inherit it and not transmit it to others. Bahra, like barakat, cannot be used against people.

The word ri-khair is a combination of Arabic and Luri; ri is Luri meaning face, and Khair is Arabic meaning good, benevolent. It is believed that certain people have good face and that wherever they go, there will be prosperity. For example, when someone decides to go on a journey in search of something, if he comes across such a person, it is believed the trip will be pleasant and that he will find whatever he is seeking.

In contrast to ri-khair, there are people who are ri-shar
(again a combination of Luri and Arabic which means evil face). Thus, if a man on a journey sees a person who has ri-shar, he will worry that his trip will be dangerous or fruitless.

Tiya gan (bad or evil eye) is a supernatural force which is inherent in certain individuals, and causes harm to people, animals, and property. Albert writes (1963:923):

Of the multitude of superstitions and supernatural beliefs which involve the average villager in a strange and pre-occupying combination of curiosity, anxiety, fear, awe, frustration and inconvenience, none has more prominence in daily life than 'the eye that wounds.' So many ills, misfortunes and calamities are ascribed to the evil eye, in fact, that there is probably no one in Davarabad who has not at some time been suspected of possessing or casting it.

While most Iranians recognize a range of causes and cures of the evil eye (see Donaldson, 1938, pp. 12-23), the Davarabadis go considerably further in systematic differentiation. Three principal types are recognized: the 'salty eye' (cheshm-e shoor), normally permanent; the 'unclean eye' (cheshm-e na-pak), normally temporary; and the 'bad eye' (cheshm-e bad), in most cases momentary.

The Baharvand believed that a person with the evil eye could unintentionally cause danger. If such a person were to look at a healthy baby, or at a herd, something evil would happen. Often one hears that the evil eye caused the death of a child or an animal. To prevent the evil eye, people hang blue beads around the neck of a child or an animal.

In addition, there were supernatural powers which were obtained through piety or even killing certain animals, ceremonially. It was believed that killing a suckling wild pig would give a person the power to heal bad-tazbeh, a condition in which the patient cannot move his head because of severe pain in his neck. The procedure is to hold the pig in one hand until it dies. In the meantime the slaughterer loudly
addresses himself to the trees, the mountains, and so on, telling them that he is killing this wild piglet in order to acquire the power to heal bad-tazbeh. Those who obtain this power can cure people who have problems with their necks by massaging the ailing neck. This source of power was limited to curing bad-tazbeh.

Multifunctional power was obtained only through an act of extreme piety and generally only the descendents of the Prophet were able to receive such power. Certain Sayeds were believed to have obtained supernatural power partially through their relations with the Prophet, and partially through their acts of piety. When this happened, a Sayed became almost a holy person and possessed the power to cure. In Khuzistan there was a person known as Sayed-Ahmad. The Baharvand believed in his supernatural power and they turned to him for curing illnesses, both psychological and physiological. Generally people were cured. As a result, people swore by his turban, or by the Koran which he kept, for it was assumed that his copy of the Koran was more powerful than others.

Substances with Supernatural Power

At least two categories of substances were believed to have supernatural power: objects related to holy shrines, and substances related to nonhuman creatures like mammals or reptiles.

Pieces of cloth (parda) from alam (flag) of Shahzada Ahmad and Shahamad had supernatural power and protected those who carried them from snake bites, dangerous creatures, and various harmful supernatural beings. Each year the guardian⁴² of these two shrines took their alam
among the various tayefa distributing thousands of pieces of cloth to the people. Those who received a piece sewed it in their clothing.

Some trees were sacred and had supernatural power. Some of these trees were identified by holy shrines while others were not. In either case, one often sees not only in Luristan but in other parts of Iran, that hundreds of pieces of cloth are hanging on trees. All these bits of cloth were hung by people who made a wish at the tree in the hope that it would be granted. Undoubtedly, this is a relic from pre-Islamic practices.

The Koran was also believed to contain enormous supernatural forces that keep away malevolent supernatural beings and illnesses. It was believed that when there was a copy of the Koran in a home, the home was safe because Malakat and other beings would not dare come close. The Koran was also the source of many magico-religious prescriptions. Thus, when animals were lost, a particular Sureh of Koran was read in order to protect them from the wolves and other dangerous wild animals. It was believed that the reading would keep the mouths of the wild animals closed and render them incapable of attacking the domestic herds.

The second category of substances with supernatural power includes Mor-i Mar (snake's bead) and Pi-Khars (bear's fat). Mor-i Mar provided the carrier with such extreme supernatural power that he could get anything he wanted. For example, if a woman had the snake's bead, her husband would love her passionately. Katerayi (1969:424) mentions that when Jeeran, one of Naser-al Din Shah's wives died, they buried her in Shah Abdul Azim (near Tehran). The Shah was extremely distraught
over her death, and paid a visit to her grave every Friday. Since this created a disturbance for the people in that area, they dug her grave to see why the Shah made these weekly visits. They found two snake's beads in her arm. After the beads were removed, the Shah never returned.

In order to use the power of a snake's bead one had to obtain one. But how? It was believed that when two snakes were copulating, one should take off his pants and throw them at the snakes. Then as soon as he did this, he should run away immediately and jump across seven small streams. Then he could return to retrieve his pants and the snake's bead. Although I could not find anybody who had ever done this, gypsies were selling snake's beads in Tehran.

In contrast to the snake's bead which created charm and affection for its carrier, the Pi-Khars (bear's fat) created hatred for the one who was contaminated with it. Thus, if someone's clothes were slightly contaminated by fat from a bear he would be disliked by people. Believing in the power of Pi-Khars, a woman who wanted to turn her husband against her co-wives rubbed some of that powerful substance on their clothes. Then she enjoyed seeing her competitors become the target of the husband's anger. It is not unusual to hear a woman complain that someone must have rubbed Pi-Khars on her.
CHAPTER 8

ACTS OF SUPERNATURALISM

In order to please the personified supernatural beings and receive their favors, and to protect themselves from malevolent forces, the Baharvand performed ceremonies or ritual acts and obeyed the customs of their society and Islamic law. Each person was accountable for his behavior. People believed that Savow (good deeds) would bring rewards from the supernatural beings, both in this world and the eternal world. Behavior which was Gonah (sins) resulted in supernatural retaliation and punishment.

The Five Pillars

According to Islam, the Muslims are required to obey the "Five Pillars of Islam": Shahada, Sala, Zaka, Saum, and Hajj. Shahada or, as the Baharvand called it, Ashad is simply "the profession of faith". "Ashhado an la illaha illa illah va Muddamad rasulu illah" (there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his messenger). This formula, spoken in Arabic, is part of the daily prayer. Like other Muslims, the Baharvand were required to utter this formula at the time of death. According to Albert (1963:829), the Baharvand, however, like the Davarabadi, 

... do not clearly distinguish shahada as a basic pillar or principle of Islam, and their ideas of what a Moslem is or is not are based on rather more practical considerations. To the
villagers, shahada is one among many overworked formulas, interjected in everyday conversation to affirm veracity of what is being said or to counteract the negative quality of a topic or activity which borders upon that which is forbidden or unseemly.

The second of the Pillars, Salah (Arabic=prayer) is called Namaz by the Baharvand. Every Muslim is required to pray five times a day—before sunrise, at noon, in mid-afternoon, at sunset, and early in the evening. Before each Namaz, Vozoo (rite of purification) is required:

The vozooh, on the other hand, is a general-purpose ablution, specifically preparatory to namaz but calculated to cleanse one of inadvertent contact with najas substances. The extent of requisite washing is debated, but most agree that face, hands, forearms and insteps of the feet, and preferably the whole of the feet, and ankles, should be thrice washed. . . . One among the myriad features of Islam which display its high functional suitability to the environment of the Middle East is the permissibility of performing vozzooh with sand if running water is unavailable (Albert 1963:834).

The prayer is uttered in Arabic and as a result the people generally do not understand what they are saying. However, the important thing is that they feel they are communicating with their God. Although Namaz is one of the Five Pillars of Islam, the Baharvand believed that Namaz alone is not sufficient; they consider Agida (belief, faith) in God more important. By this they meant that a person must have a good heart, and must have good feelings and good intentions toward God and toward other humans. Consequently, there were some who considered it unnecessary to pray.

In addition to regular prayer, when someone died, it was necessary to pray for him. This prayer was known as Namaz-i Mayet (the death prayer) and was performed just before the corpse was buried.
This prayer was also uttered in Arabic.

The third Pillar is **Zaka** (Zakat), which is a practice of almsgiving. As Albert (1963:838-39) stated:

A practice enjoined by the Qur'an, **zakat** is an institution of religious tithing and taxation which, in effect, takes from the rich and gives to the poor, serving to keep community economy in equilibrium as well as supporting dissemination of the faith and providing for persons who, in the Western world, would be cared for by charity organizations or government agencies.

This was the traditional purpose of the **Zakat**, but today as the traditional Islamic culture is changing, the **Zakat** institution is no longer functioning as it did. Few Baharvand obey this Pillar of Islam today.

The fourth Pillar of Islam is **Saum** (Arabic=fasting), known to the Baharvand as **Rooza**. Coon (1951:112-13) describes it:

The fourth pillar is saum or fasting, which means keeping Ramadan. Ramadan is a month, the one during which it is written that God sent the Qur'an to the lowest heaven where Gabriel received it and whence he revealed it, bit by bit, to Muhammad. It made its descent on the Night of Decree, which may have been on the twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh, or twenty-ninth of Ramadan; no one is sure. The twenty-seventh, however, is given the best chances, and on that night, whichever it is, all eight doors to Paradise are opened simultaneously and in a row.

The Shia interpretation, however, is somewhat different. According to Albert (1963:850):

For Shi'ites universally, the foremost historical significance of Ramazan instead relates to the martyrdom and death of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law and true successor, according to Shi'a doctrine, observed from the 19th through 21st of the month. This emphasis pervades the whole of Ramazan among the Shi'ites and contributes a complexion distinctly different from Ramadan in the Sunni world, the major element in common being keeping of the fast.

The principal of **Rooza** (Ramadan or Ramazan) is that from dawn
ill sunset, eating, drinking, smoking, sexual intercourse, and shedding blood, are prohibited. If an individual breaks the fast, he is required to feed a poor person for a period of one year. There are certain categories of people such as the sick, pregnant women, travelers, and children under the age of puberty who are exempt from the fasting. However, travelers are required to make up for what they missed.

Few of the Baharvand knew much about the origin of Ramadan, and as a matter of fact, not many of them observed it. This was due to the fact that the nature of nomadism required the people to be constantly busy with their herds and other activities. This does not mean that the nomads were not religious; on the contrary, they looked to the supernatural world with great fear and respect.

The fifth Pillar is Hajj (the pilgrimage to Mecca) which took place in the twelfth month of the Lunar calendar. It is interesting, as Coon (1951:115-16) has indicated:

Anthropologically speaking the pilgrimage is one of a whole galaxy of phenomena which seem to satisfy the human need for a periodic, large-scale interaction between widely scattered peoples in terms of a continuity with the mytho-historical past. Australian aborigines, stone-age hunters, gather once a year to holy places in which their ancestors are believed to have first appeared on earth or to have performed miraculous deeds. Here they act out the details of these myths and make use of the opportunity for social intercourse with persons from distant parts whom they otherwise rarely see. . . .

In the present instance this function is clear. Men and women from the length and breadth of the world of Islam come together to a free and holy place. They dress alike and act alike, . . . They undergo a long and arduous routine together, which gives them a common experience and an opportunity to get acquainted. They attain the symbols of initiation which enhance their prestige.

To those who have taken a pilgrimage, the title Hajji is accorded.

On their return from Mecca, they must celebrate. The Baharvand say
sofra buna (to spread the tablecloth), which means that all visitors must be fed. Such a festival lasts for a week or two. Anthropologists may consider the pilgrimage as a mechanism of redistributing wealth; a rich person received his prestige by spending some of his wealth. For the majority of pastoral nomads such a long trip was not practical. In the past only about two Baharvand had visited Mecca, while today there are about six who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Although there were few opportunities for Baharvands to visit Mecca, some visited other holy places such as Kerbala, Meshhad, and various local shrines. Those who visited Kerbala received the title of Kalayi (Farsi=Kerbalayi) as a prefix to their name (e.g., Kalayi-Ali), and those who visited Meshhad became Meshhadi (e.g., Meshhadi-Ali). In either case, they also were required to feed people and to provide gifts for their friends and visitors. Consequently, obtaining a title of prestige was costly. The Haji, the Kalayi, and the Meshhadi were required to wear a Turban around their head, as a sign of their pilgrimage.

Other Acts

Aside from the five Pillars which are prescribed by the Koran, the Baharvand practiced sacrifice, rites of purification, divination, and magic. It has been repeatedly mentioned that the Baharvand had little knowledge about the origin of Islam and many of its laws and in many religious acts Islam was mixed with their own traditional patterns of beliefs. For example, sacrifices were made either to Ali or to the local holy shrine (Shahzada Ahmad, Shahamad): I have never heard anyone make a sacrifice to Khoda (God) or to a prophet. Sacrifices were made
for various purposes. Each year those who could afford it, sacrificed a male sheep to either Ali or to a local shrine and shared the meat among the members of the camp. On the birth of a first child (son), some families made sacrifices to the local shrine. People who visited Shahamad sometimes promised to make sacrifices if their wishes came true. If someone was sick, he might sacrifice to either Ali or to a shrine in order to recover. Each year during migration, when passing Keyalan mountain, each family made some sort of sacrifice (killing a goat, sheep, or cooking rice) to Shahamad in order to protect them from the dangers of this dreaded mountain.

Another form of sacrifice, Hagiga, was the killing of a sheep after the death of a person. In this ceremony, a special Arabic formula was uttered in the ears of the sheep before it was killed. The animal must be a sheep over six months old; it must be boiled. Although this sacrifice was for a particular member of the family, none of the members of the family could eat the meat. After the meat was eaten the bones which must not be broken, were then buried. It was believed that this sheep would be waiting in the other world for the deceased; he would ride this sheep to the gate of the eternal world.

Offerings were also made to supernatural forces. Harmless snakes were believed to be sacred, and sometimes were considered lucky for a family. Such a snake was thought not to be a snake but a supernatural being in the form of a snake. Mar-duna was a food made of cereal fed to these snakes. This idea was not limited to the Baharvand, Massef (1954:355) has pointed out that in Meshhad:
Since a snake enjoys immunity as long as it lives in a house, the inhabitants must protect themselves from its venom. For this purpose two receptacles are placed beside its hole, one containing water and the other salt. If the snake eats and drinks, it will not bite, and it will no longer be called 'snake' (mar), but 'master of the house.'

The Baharvand also offered food to the dead. The ceremonies related to death have been described earlier (see life cycle). One such offering, *Alafa*, takes place a few days before the new year. The Baharvand new year for the dead is March 14-20, and the calendar new year, *Noruz* (which they call *Ayd*) is March 21. It is believed that the spirit of the dead must receive food at this time of the year, but in reality, this is also a way of remembering the dead. When the food (*Halva* and *Tiri* which is a thin bread) is made, the name of all the deceased must be uttered. It is believed that those deceased whose names are mentioned will receive the food. A man named Shama disappeared for sometime without sending any notice of his location. Assuming that he was dead, his brother prepared some food for him during *Alafa*. Later, when he came back, he had the following comment,

During the night of *Alafa*, while I was sleeping, in my dreams I received the dishes of *Halva* and *Tiri* (bread) and enjoyed it. When I came back, I asked my brother if he had prepared the food for me in *Alafa*. He told me he did.

**Rites of Purification (Ghosl)**

We have already discussed some of the rites of purification (death, birth, and *vozoo*). Some other rites of purification include *Ghosl-i Janabat* (bathing after sexual intercourse), bathing during menstrual periods, *ghosl* after contamination of dishes by the Lutis, dogs, pigs, and so on.
Ghosi-i Janabat (purificatory baths after sexual intercourse) must be performed, or the individuals were considered polluted and forbidden from touching the Koran. The Baharvand use the term Jonob (polluted) for this occasion. A person who is Jonob cannot perform Vozoo by water; rather he must perform it with earth dust. During Rooza (fasting), sexual intercourse is forbidden during the early morning till sunset. Therefore, the Ghosi-i Janabat must be taken during the night or just before sunset. The ceremony related to this rite of purification is that when a person takes a bath, he or she must utter a short sentence (I am taking this bath for the purpose of purification from intercourse). During menstruation, the ritual washing is done in the same way.

Other rites of purification occur when a dish, tools, cloth, or humans become Nejas (polluted). When a Luti eats from a Baharvand dish, that dish is considered Nejas, and therefore, it must be washed seven times. Also if a dog touches a dish, it also becomes Nejas and must be washed seven times. If by any chance a person touches a dog or a pig, he must wash his hand seven times.

Divination

There were several ways by which the Baharvand attempted to predict the future through divination. Among these were Fal (divine) which are divided into Fal-Dasi (divination by hand) and Chal-Saroo (forty songs). Divination which was performed by the Mola (literate person) involved some knowledge of Astrology.

Fal-Dasi is a simple method employed by women who were believed to have the power to make predictions. Thus, when Frank Hole and I were
migrating with one of the Baharvand camps, our mule was lost in Sar-i Gol, a woman immediately began to make a divination by Fal-Dasi to determine the location of the mule.

The procedure is as follows: Place the little finger of hand A on the forefinger of hand B and extend the thumb of hand A over the heel of hand B. Join the thumb and little finger of hand A at this spot which should now be near the elbow. While in this position ask the question. For example, in our case, she asked whether the mule had been stolen or had fallen from a cliff, in which direction it had gone, and finally, whether the mule by mistake had joined another camp located to the west. Whenever a question was asked, she stretched the fingers of hand A toward the heel of hand B. If the fingers of hand A spread wide, the answer to the question was "yes". However, should the fingers not stretch, the answer was supposed to be negative. In our case it was in response to her last question that her fingers stretched the widest. Therefore she said the mule was to the west and safe. As it turned out she was correct.

Chal-Saroo (literally—forty songs) is based on the interpretation of forty verses in the Laki language. Generally, most people know some or all of these verses. It is believed that certain verses contain good news while others indicate bad news. Chal-Saroo is practiced on occasions such as deciding whether a person will come back from a trip, will find a lost animal, will have a fruitful trip, will reach a marriage agreement, or, in the case of a student, pass his examination.

The practice of Chal-Saroo is as follows: Three, four or more people get together (anywhere, anytime), one of them having a tazjoh (a
string of beads). First he (anyone) counts 43 beads, then deducts three in honor of the name of God, Muhammad, and Ali, leaving forty beads. Then each person in turn says one of the verses of Chal-Saroo. Each time a verse is said, the keeper of the tasbeh drops one of the beads (the participant must not know how many beads are left), until all forty are gone. The interpretation is based on the 40th verse which coincides with the last bead. Since the participant does not know whether their verse coincides with the last bead or not, it becomes a matter of chance that a verse which is interpreted as good, average, or bad will coincide with the last bead. For example, this verse: "Nany

nishtaya va barj qala-ashara makay va deervin tala," which means Nany is sitting on the tower of the castle. She is sightseeing through her gold binoculars. This verse contains very good news.

Some divinations are generally performed by the Mola. Such divinations are based on Islamic tradition and depend to some extent on astrology. There are several books such as Koliyat Kanz-al Husaini, and Majma-al-Dawat which are used by the Mola for such purposes. The Baharvand refer to these books as Katow-Doa (the books of prayer). In order to divine, the Mola must know a person and his mother's name, because he must calculate (each letter has a number to it, for example T=4, and Y=10) in order to find out to what sign an individual belongs. In short, much of it is based on astrology.

Magic

The Baharvand believed in the power of magic although there are no magicians among them, except for Mullah and Sayed who supposedly know
Islamic formulae based mostly on the Koran. It was believed that certain magico-religious prescriptions could keep away the harmful supernatural beings, increase the love of a husband or a wife, insure sexual potency, make someone fall in love with you, protect from bullets, and so on. Some of these magico-religious prescriptions were provided by certain Mullah, Sayed, and some Jews in Khurramabad. Sometimes these magical prescriptions were costly. For example, a Tirband (bullet proof) for one of the Baharvand, which was prepared for him in Burujerd, cost him a mule and some cash. This Tirband is several feet long with various magical formulae and diagrams. The owner carried it with him whenever he was fighting because it was assumed that no bullet would hit him as long as he had his Tirband.

The Function of the Supernatural

The functions of the supernatural aspects of the Baharvand culture relate to social control and the support of the system as a whole, the reduction of psychological tension, and finally, explanation of the unexplained. To understand how supernatural beliefs operated as a means of social control, we must understand the Baharvand philosophy of life, of the world, their idea of the power of Khoda (God), and how such power affected them in the other world. As pointed out earlier, the Baharvand considered their presence in this world as only a prelude to the eternal world. Since an individual's place in the world of eternity (hell or paradise) depended on his behavior in this world, the Baharvand believed that it was expedient to behave properly. An individual's behavior was evaluated in terms of Savow (good deed), Gona (sin), Halal (lawful act,
clean) and Haram (forbidden acts, polluted).

Since these terms have been explained, there is no need to repeat them, but it must be pointed out that an action was determined to be a Savow or a Gonah according to Islamic regulations. Simply stated, those actions which contributed to stability and conformity were Savow and the opposite were Gonah. For example, the meat of a stolen animal was Haram, while the opposite was Halal. So, those who were Savow-Kar (the doers of the good deeds), were rewarded by God, while the Gonah-Kar (the sinners) were punished.

As Khoda was the ultimate source of power, the creator of the world, and present everywhere, every individual's action was seen by him. Those who committed a Gonah, were subject to God's punishment in either this or the eternal world. Thus, the death of a son, or of herds were often believed to be the consequences of one's own action or the action of one's parents. Those who committed Gonah, were punished not only in this and the eternal world, but their descendants would suffer in this world too. The fears of such punishment served as sanctions for upholding the social norms of society.

The second function of supernaturalism was to reduce psychological tensions. The Baharvand believed in predestination; whatever happened to an individual was "written on his face," even before he was born. But on the other hand, they held the individual responsible for his actions. Since the Baharvand attributed life crises such as birth, death and the loss of herds and so on, to acts of God, and since they assumed that God knows what He is doing, they submit themselves to His will. Such beliefs are inherent in Islam and common in the Middle East.
Lutfiyya (1970:45) tells us that in Baytin, a Jordanian village:

If a villager loses something of value, he does not stop to examine the causes for the loss, but merely sighs philosophically "hathihi mashi'atu Allah", or "this is the will of God". Friends who come around to offer sympathy merely reinforce this belief by repeating the same saying. The author recalls once listening to an old man telling another villager who had just lost his sick cow, the only property he had, "this is the will of Allah. By taking your cow, Allah has tested your faith. Be thankful to Allah and you may be rewarded a better cow".

As a result of these beliefs, the Baharvand took crises to be acts of God, and therefore found them to be psychologically tolerable. Moreover, whatever happened in this world was tolerated because, after all, this was a temporary world, and there remained the hope of better things in the eternal world.

The third function of supernaturalism was to provide explanations for unusual natural events. Earthquakes were thought to be caused by Gow-i Moyi, eclipses were caused by the infidels, and so on. At death, the Baharvand thought that the two angels Israel and Michael came down and cut a person's throat. It was assumed that this was the way all people die. Insofar as smallpox, auto accidents and so on are concerned, it was thought that these things in themselves did not cause death. Rather these are superficial, because whenever a person's time comes (an individual's date of death is written before he is born), God will create an event in which the person is killed or dies. But in reality, no matter what happens, no one will die unless the angels come down and cut his throat. When I asked about attitudes towards doctors, I was told that "being a doctor is another way of making a living. No doctor can save a life when the right moment comes. They (angels) will get you even if you are guarded by ten thousand soldiers."
CHAPTER 9

DEMOGRAPHY, SUBSISTENCE AND ECONOMY OF DARAYI

Introduction

By 1929, like many other pastoral nomads of Iran, the Baharvand were disarmed, their tents collected. They were forced to settle in villages in Koraga Valley, in their summer territory. The entire tayefa was divided into segments according to the traditional system and each segment was given a share of land. As this was happening, many of the Homsa left the tribe and went to other places. With sedentation the period of Khod-Sari (do as you like), the golden era of tribal autonomy, ended. Subsequently, a new era began, an era in which the state established its control over the tribes, and the city became the center of economic, educational and political activities. From this time, important decisions which affected the lives of the tribesmen were made in Tehran instead of in Luristan.

From the point of view of the nomads, the changes were disadvantageous. Because many of the governmental officials did not understand the principles of nomadic society, they made mistakes in handling the land allocation and other matters.

For example, before 1929, most of the nomads had not registered their land. When the government took control, they had to register. Since most of the officials did not know who owned what territory, some
people registered the land of other people. Consequently, the Baharvand have lost most of their traditional territories. Reza was registered in the name of four Sheikhs who were originally from a village known as Kheikh (in Mungara), who had joined the Baharvand and become Homsa. In the same way, Dareh-Nasow was registered in the name of a small lineage known as Bowa who were originally from Sora-Deh (in Koraga) and who joined the Baharvand some 80 years ago as Homsa. The dispute over Dareh-Nasow which has been going on for forty years is not yet settled! The Bowa registered not only Dareh-Nasow but also the adjacent territories Baveh and Kalvalikhuni. It is said that they did so by bribing the officials and by pretending that these territories were part of Dareh-Nasow. This matter is unsettled and both the Baharvand and the Bowa continue to use the territory.

Frequently city-dwellers manage to assume ownership of land which was occupied by the pastoral nomads. A good example is Darayi village which is occupied by the Baharvand and was supposed to be Khalessa (land belonging to government). However the land was claimed by a woman in Tehran (the descendant of the Wali) who sold it to a man in Khurramabad, leaving the former nomads, who founded and occupied the village, as rent-paying tribal peasants.

When the Baharvand were forced to remain in their summer territory, a small group from each village was permitted to take the herds to the winter pasture. However, the pastoralists were not permitted to live in their traditional black tents: the army provided them with white tents. Those who were permitted to take the herds were required to obtain a license which was valid for a period of five months. The
following is the translation of such a license:

According to this license Kadkhoda Husain Ali, son of Husain Khan, of Tayefa-i Baharvand, the holder of identity card No. 6, issued at Darayi, has been granted permission to migrate and to supervise twenty men and women along with 1900 sheep and goats, 89 cows, 3 horses, 7 mules, and 20 donkeys. The owner of each herd is required to take the white tent along. Date issued: November 30, 1937. Signed by the Governor of Luristan and Burujerd.

This procedure continued until World War II, when the Allied Forces occupied Iran. When the power of the central government declined, those who were in exile returned to Luristan and many tribal people resumed their traditional nomadic way of life again. However, during the 1950's they gradually began to resettle voluntarily. Today, of the entire Baharvand, there are only 150 families who are still nomads and it will not be long before they too will settle. Thus as Hole (n.d.) pointed out, a way of life which lasted for 10,000 years is coming to an end.

In order to find out how sedentation and government intervention has affected the traditional way of the Baharvand, Darayi, a Baharvand village was studied in 1973. The following are the results of this investigation.

**Darayi Village and its History**

Darayi is located in the middle of Koraga valley about 10 Km south of Khurramabad, the capital of Luristan. Including its fields the village encompasses an area 6-7 Km long and 4 Km wide. It is bounded on the south by the Bala-Rud river, on the east by Bazgir, on the north by Anarder and Chashma-Sova, on the west by Sohail-Begi and Deh-Mohson (the latter are villages like Darayi).
Koraga is a rather small valley (10 by 20 Km), surrounded by mountains. Darayi stands in the middle of this valley, on treeless, flat, but unirrigated land. Drinking water comes from both wells and a ghanat (underground canal) which for the past 9 years has been almost dry due to the lack of cleaning and repair.

The year is sharply divided into a dry summer and a wet winter. Rain begins sometime during October, and by the end of November the weather becomes cold, and both rain and snow fall until the end of March. In March the chance of snow decreases, although rain may fall until the end of May. The dry period begins by June and continues till October. The weather, however, is somewhat unpredictable. For example in 1973 rain did not begin to fall until the beginning of December. Sometimes during the spring, rains fail at a time critical for the ripening crops and the farmers may have little, if any, yield. This climatic fluctuation is one of the main worries of the peasants and pastoralists alike.

The coldest period of the year is known as Chaleh-Gap (the Great Forty), the forty days from December 22 till January 30. Chaleh-Gap is followed by Chaleh-Kuchic (lesser Forty), from January 30 to February 19. During the coldest period the temperature may fall below zero, whereas during the hottest period in June and July, the temperature reaches 105 to 110 degrees every day.

In 1929 a dudamo of tira CII (Figure 3, p. 131) was moved from Dareh-Nasow and settled in Darayi. Before the arrival of the army, the land on which Darayi is now located was considered to belong to this segment of the Baharvand. In the same year, General Ahmedi invited Husain Khan, the leader of this dudamo and the most influential man of
Baharvand, to Masure, a village close to Darayi. Upon his arrival, General Ahmed exiled Husain Khan along with his brother and another relative to Tehran, where they remained in jail until the arrival of the Allied forces.

The year after the exile of Husain Khan, half of Darayi territory was given to a segment of the Mir who had been forced by the army to leave their traditional territory (Dadabad, Takht-Cho) and like the Baharvand, were settled in Koraga.

Today Darayi is composed of two parts, namely Baharvand and Mir, each with its own leader. Darayi had been divided into 24 jofte (plow-land), each jofte being equal to 800 man of wheat or approximately 16 hectares (50 man = 1 hectare). When the Mir arrived, however, the Baharvand ended up with only 12 joftes. These 12 joftes were subdivided according to the traditional system of land holding. Husain Khan, along with his Homsa received 8 joftes; and his brother, along with his Homsa received 4 joftes. Each of the two brothers shared their portion of land with their Homsa. Each Homsa was expected to plow 10 man for his leader.

In the meantime the government imposed taxes on the people of Darayi. These taxes were assessed according to the number of joftes. This procedure of tax assessment continued for two years, because at this time Darayi was considered khaleda (public domain) which was granted to the Baharvand.

Since the land was considered khaleda, the Baharvand hoped that eventually the government would register the land for them. But in 1931, Darayi was claimed by a lady from Tehran. She was the descendant of Wali and the wife of one of the Qajar princes who had been a governor of
Luristan prior to the Pahlavi dynasty. This woman was very influential and each year she sent her agent to Darayi to collect part of the products of the tribal peasants. However, the woman respected the rights of the leaders, exempting them from payment so that only the Homsa paid her.

In 1937 a man from Khurramabad went to Tehran and purchased the village for 108,000 rials. Without their traditional power, the tribesmen had no way to oppose the new landlord. Sedentation gave certain Khurramabadis the opportunity, for the first time, to exploit the tribesmen. Thus Bazgir, Salī, Taf, Deh Baqar, Chu-Tash, Tir Bazar, Ghaga-Khanak, and other villages gradually came to be owned by wealthy Khurramabadis. As a result, a new landlord class developed in Khurramabad, their income derived from the labor of the tribesmen.

In 1941 another disastrous event affected the Baharvand. That was the year of famine, the sal-i tongi (the year of poverty or hard year), the result of a prolonged drought. There was no harvest of wheat and barley in sal-i tongi. The same year Iran was occupied by the Allied Forces and the Iranian Central Government was in no position to help starving citizens. Many people starved to death. One of the old men said, "So many people died that we did not even have the energy to bury them." It is believed that about one-third of the population of Darayi starved. At the same time many left the village and went to the south in search of food and work. The price of a man of wheat (about 6 pounds) rose from 3 rials to 50 rials and people did not have the money to buy it.

In 1943 the village was re-divided because of the changes that
had taken place in its population during the famine. This time each *joft* was divided into two new *jofts* (*joft-jadid*). A *joft* was now equal to only 400 man or 8 hectares instead of 16. About the same time the landlord, who previously exempted the leaders from the payment of taxes, demanded taxes from all except one. This new action understandably led to disputes between the sons of the leader, and the landlord exploited the situation.

Several years after *sal-i Tongi*, during 1948, another disaster occurred known as *owala-sal* (the year of smallpox) which took the lives of many children and adults. It was a dreadful year, a year that will remain in the memories of those who survived it.

During the 1950's, the nomads who resumed migration gradually began to settle, and within twenty years all except 150 families were living in villages. Consequently there was need for additional agricultural land. Therefore around 1953 the Baharvand of Darayi began to cultivate Baveh which is located high in the mountains and was used formerly exclusively for pasture. Since subsistence farming did not provide sufficient income, the tribesmen started selling wood from the forests in the mountains. As a result they felled most of the trees in the vicinity.

During the 1960's several new events took place including the establishment of an elementary school (up to fifth grade only), the establishment of the Farmers' Cooperative Bank (discussed later), and, most important, the land-reform. Although land-reform began in Iran in 1963, it did not reach Darayi until 1971. The landlord had hoped to keep Darayi in spite of the fact that, in many other places, the land
had been divided among the villagers. When he could no longer hold the property, the landlord sold two small villages which were formerly part of Darayi for 600,000 rials. The government then distributed this land among the tribesmen. Meanwhile the landlord claimed that since he had given two villages to the government, he was entitled to keep one for himself. When this happened the people of Darayi demanded land-reform and many of them refused to pay the landlord's share. In response, the landlord sent the gendarmes and those who refused the payment went to jail where they remained until they paid. During this time the qanat failed because of neglect, and there was no water. The landlord said that since he was going to lose Darayi, he would not spend any money to repair the qanat. When I visited the village in the summer of 1968, I noticed that the qanat was dry. It would require some money to hire labor to clean and repair it. At this time the landlord was receiving 9,000 rials per joft or 432,000 rials per year from the people of Darayi, but he did not want to contribute even a small sum of money to fix their qanat. I went to the General Governor of Luristan and explained the situation; I also wrote a letter to the Prime Minister and other governmental agencies. Although I received promises in reply to my letters, there has been no action. Today after eight years the qanat is still dry and unrepaired.

According to the Land-reform Act of 1971, the landlord was required to sell Darayi to the tribesmen. However the landlord is allowed to retain title for 12 more years. Thus in 1971 the people of Darayi again were forced to sign an agreement to pay the landlord 9,000 rials per joft or 432,000 rials per year and this will continue for 12 years.
After that the tribesmen will be recognized as the owners of the land.

Today, this landlord is one of the representatives of Luristan in Parliament. From 1937 to 1974, the tribesmen have been forced to pay him almost 14,800,000 rials or about $218,000 ($1 = 68 rials). The payment must continue until 1983. Thus by 1983, over a period of 46 years, he will have collected 18,400,000 rials from the people of Darayi, plus another 6,005,000 rials from Chashma-Sara and Anardar (parts of Daryi which he sold earlier) in return for his investment of 108,000 rials. Incidentally, the Baharvand tried to buy Darayi immediately after he had purchased it, but the landowner refused to sell.

Demography

One of the basic problems of research in Iran is the lack of statistical data which makes it difficult and even impossible in some cases to make comparative studies of demographic changes. The following data are based on personal observation over a long period of time, yet, admittedly, certain kinds of information such as the causes of deaths and their exact dates are not known. Nevertheless, an attempt to reconstruct comparative data is of value. The base line for comparison is 1950, the earliest year which I am able to recall accurately.

In 1950 there were forty-three households in Darayi; six of them were pastoral nomads, and thirty-seven were settled farmers living in the village. Households had an average of 3.07 members. The total population of the village was one hundred thirty-eight individuals divided in the following manner:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Mortality (Boys and Girls)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1950</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1973</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>438</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that there were more adults than children, more males than females, and finally, that mortality was very high. Since we have the figures for the children, we can see that of ninety boys (born up to 1950), only thirty-nine survived to 1950, while fifty-one died, or about fifty-seven percent. Of the girls born before 1950, about sixty-five percent had died. One explanation for this high rate of mortality is the famine and smallpox in 1941 and 1948. Since 1950 the population has increased rapidly.

The statistics today show some differences. The households of the pastoral nomads tend to be smaller, and the population has increased at a slower rate than among the villagers (this seems to be true in Luristan generally). The following data taken from a pastoral nomad camp in 1973 supports this contention. The entire camp consists of six tents (households) with a population of twenty-five people. Thus, the average
size of the household is 4.16. This is lower than 6.20 of Darayi in 1973. In the same nomad camp there were thirteen males and twelve females of whom thirteen are married and twelve are immature and single. Finally, the population is young; for only three out of the twenty-five were over fifty and the remainder were below thirty years of age.

Currently (to August of 1973) there are seventy households in Darayi comprising a total population of four hundred thirty-eight individuals. These include two hundred thirty males and two hundred eight females. On the bases of age and sex, the population is divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-9</th>
<th>10-19</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-up</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chart indicates that the majority of the population is between the ages of one and twenty. Since 1950 the overall population of the village has increased from one hundred thirty-eight to four hundred thirty-eight, or about three hundred percent. This increase includes thirty-two pastoralists who settled in the village, and thirty-seven females who have come from other areas to Darayi and are married to the members of Darayi. In the meantime, twenty-six persons have left the village. Of these, seventeen are females who married outside of
Darayi, while nine are young men who have migrated out of the village (eight of them live in the city). Adding the number of pastoralists (thirty-two) who settled, plus the number of females (thirty-seven) who have come to Darayi, we have sixty-nine persons. Subtracting the twenty-six persons who have left the village we have a net gain of forty-three persons. If we deduct these forty-three persons from three hundred (the difference between 1950 and 1973) we have the number of people in the population who were born after 1950, 257. Along with this population increase the size of the households has also increased. Thus, the most frequent household consisted of four members in 1950 (see Figure 5); today it has six members. In regard to marriage, we have the following data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are almost twice as many single individuals as married, and there are more single males than females. As indicated in Table 3, in 1950, there were sixty-eight married persons and seventy singles. Now there are one hundred fifty-seven married persons and two hundred eighty-one singles. These statistics reflect the youth of the population.

Before 1950, about half of the boys and sixty-five percent of the girls died before reaching maturity; since 1950, a much lower percentage of children have died. Of the three hundred twelve newborn babies only sixty-nine died, thirty-two boys and thirty-seven girls. It is interesting to note that more females are dying. This is true also among Shah Sowan.45

In conclusion, we may suggest that the pastoral nomad population was controlled by natural mechanisms such as warfare, disease and the lack of modern medicine. However, after sedentation and with access to modern medicine, there has been an enormous population increase. As we shall see, this has had a profound impact on land holding and on matters related to subsistence.

Economy

Before describing economic conditions today, it is useful to indicate some of the changes which have taken place:

1. The land is no longer held communally. Each Baharvand household controls its own plot of land; in turn this has affected the political and social structure of the tayefa.

2. Although the Baharvand economy is still mixed, there is a
greater emphasis on farming, and the villagers no longer utilize natural resources such as acorns and wild game.

3. Part of the products are taken away by outsiders, specifically the landlord and government. In the past the Homsa gave help to the leader and both Homsa and the leader spent their surpluses within the community in entertaining guests and so on. Today neither the landlord's nor the government's portion is put back into the community.

4. Diet has been affected in that the people have much less meat now although there is more tea and sugar.

5. There is more dependence on formal markets in which more goods are available. However, costs are higher, partly as a result of international fluctuations in prices and the people must work harder to pay for goods.

6. The custom of sharing has declined and people are concerned with accumulating wealth. A few have become relatively wealthy, so there is more inequality in wealth than before.

7. The possibility of wage labor has affected the traditional pattern of reciprocity. Furthermore, availability of wage labor made it more difficult for a poor farmer to hire a laborer for payment in kind.

8. Today there is no raiding, no Baj, or Rahdari (toll) and this has affected leaders who previously benefited from it.

Along with these changes there are new problems: population increase and the consequent of scarcity of land, the lack of irrigation and drinking water, and the use of a primitive agricultural technology have combined to pose a threat to Baharvand subsistence and economy.
Subsistence

The Baharvand diet still consists basically of bread and animal products, however, certain changes have taken place. Previously wild resources such as acorns, game, vegetables, and nuts formed an important part of the diet. Today, such resources are no longer available. Practically every member of the older generation interviewed agreed that they eat much less meat now than before. Overall, the diet is probably less nutritious. Formerly the Baharvand consumed very little tea and sugar, but today these commodities take a large share of their cash outlay. The simple fact is that today many people cannot even afford to eat milk products because the cost of living is so high that the animals and the milk products which were consumed before are sold in the market in exchange for tea, sugar, and other commodities.

As before sedentarization, the unit of production and consumption is still the household. Each household requires some land, animals, tools, equipment, and manpower. In lieu of a tent, each household needs a dwelling with sufficient room for its members, for the animals, and for storing equipment and grain. The houses are generally built of mud-brick, of a size which depends on the number of persons in the family, on its wealth, and to some extent, on the social position of the owner. An average family needs about four rooms. The household also requires equipment such as a plow, a thresher, fork, frames with netting to bring the bundles of wheat and barley to Kharman-Ja (a place near the village where the wheat and barley is piled up for threshing), sickles, packing bags, and so on. Since many of the Baharvand of Darayi still migrate to Baveh for a few months at the beginning of April, they also need a tent
and the same equipment they used when they were pastoral nomads.

Besides tools, each household needs animals for plowing the land and for transportation. Generally, an average household requires a couple of oxen for plowing and threshing, and a couple of donkeys for transportation. In the past few years some families rented tractors and combines, thus making oxen unnecessary. Families who also farm in Baveh, where a tractor cannot be used, still need animals for plowing and threshing. The people also keep goats, sheep and cows for their milk products, some of which they sell in order to supplement their income.

Perhaps the most important factor is that land has become scarce. In the early part of sedentation there was enough land, even though it was unirrigated; but with the rise in population, the amount of land available to each household has decreased. As a result, around 1950 for the first time, the villagers began to cultivate Baveh which traditionally was used for pasture. Today despite the fact that they are cultivating whatever land is available in both Darayi and Baveh, there is not enough land to provide more than a bare subsistence for most people even in good years. Figure 7 shows that the majority of households hold about one hundred man\(^46\) (4.4 acres) or fewer in Darayi, and there are a few families who own no land there.

As Figure 7 indicates, the land is distributed unequally. There are several reasons for this. The five households who hold between four hundred and seven hundred man are those who have not yet split their land among the members of their households. When they do, the new households will each have only a small portion of the land.
FIGURE 6: Land held by households in Darayi in 1973. (units are conventionally in increments of 50 man except 70-80 which are subdivisions of formerly larger holdings)
Second, some of the original large land holders had several sons while others had only one or two. A single son who inherits the entire land from his father will have more land than will sons who share their inheritance with their brothers.

Each household divides its plot of land into two varts (parts) which are rotated each year. This means that only half of the land in Baveh and Darayi is cultivated in any year. Since neither Baveh nor Darayi is irrigated, the Baharvand are limited to growing only wheat and barley. With irrigation they might grow cash crops of fruit and vegetables. Wheat is more important than barley. It is cultivated for daily use in bread and for sale. Barley is cultivated for animal fodder and also for sale. Generally, barley is cultivated in Darayi, but wheat is grown in both places. The ratio of wheat to barley grown is about three to one or four to one.

The planting of wheat and barley in Darayi begins with the first rains in the middle or latter part of October. In Baveh, however, the Baharvand do not wait for rain; the wheat is planted during August so that the grain will germinate in the fall and then lie dormant under the snow.

The harvesting of barley begins in Darayi around the first of June while the wheat harvest takes place in the middle of the month. In Baveh harvesting is done during July. Ripening is slower in Baveh because the climate is much cooler than Darayi.

When the shortage of land began, the Baharvand of Darayi began to utilize Baveh both as a pasture and as a farmland. Each year by mid April they migrate from Darayi to Baveh, leaving only a few families in
Darayi. There they remain until the beginning of June when they return to Darayi for harvesting. As soon as the harvest is completed, they must migrate back to Baveh for the harvest there. They remain in Baveh until the end of August. In other words, they spend about four months in Baveh and eight months in Darayi.\textsuperscript{47}

So far we have mentioned three elements of production: tools, animals, and land. The fourth is manpower. There is a relationship between the size of land and the need for manpower: the larger a farm the more labor is required. In the past, just prior to the introduction of tractors during the 1960's, when families needed extra manpower they solved the problem in several ways:

1. Char-Yekdari (one-fourth) was a procedure in which a family who did not own land worked for a family who had land. The owner of land provided the seeds, the land, the oxen, a certain amount of food, tea, and sugar to the family of Char-Yakdar, plus one-fourth of the products. If Char-Yekdar was a single man he lived with the owner of the land.

2. Namayi (one-half) a family leased its land to another in return for one-half of the products.

3. Wage labor. Particularly during harvesting there was a shortage of manpower. As a result each year at harvest time, cultivators came from either the surrounding villages, or southern Luristan, or places outside of Luristan such as Malayer. Each laborer, or Drowni, lived with his employer and his expenses were paid. His wages were determined by the amount of wheat or barley he reaped.

It is interesting to note that these Drowni came from two different ecological zones. One group came from the south of Luristan
(Garmsir) where the fields had already been harvested, and the other came from the north where the fields were not yet ripe.

The Baharvand did not go to other places to work as Drowni. Moreover, although Drowni from the south were generally Luri tribesmen, there were no previous relationships between the Baharvand and the Drowni from the north. Drowni from the north were mostly peasants and they came in groups to Darayi and other villages in search of work.

In recent years the use of tractors and combines has changed the traditional patterns of crop sharing. Today, one can rent a tractor to plow his farm, and hire a combine to reap the field and thresh it. Consequently, wheat which was formerly shared with poor families is now taken by the owner of the machines. This is particularly the case in Darayi, but since modern tools are not used in Baveh, the traditional pattern has survived relatively intact.

Now that the means of production have been mentioned, let us consider the result. On unirrigated land the yields vary from year to year according to climatic conditions. In order to have a good yield, there must be sufficient precipitation at the right time. Another factor is the fertility of the land; unfortunately, good land is scarce. It is possible to fertilize the land by putting animal manure on it, but experience has shown that in such cases the wheat and barley is burned quickly when there is insufficient rain.

A study of Bamedi, Bakhtiari pastoral nomads who are settled in the Zagros mountains in the same ecological zone as Baharvand, has indicated that "in a good year, that is when there is the right amount of precipitation in the right time, generally the yield is ten man per each
man of seeds. In an average year, the yield is between seven to five man per each man of seed" (Rakhsh, et al. 1967:18). In the case of Darayi and Baveh a good yield is between fifteen and twenty man for each man planted. However, the average is between ten and fifteen man. In a bad year the yield may be as low as two man or even nothing.

Division of Labor

The division of labor is still based on sex and age. Generally, the males do the farming (plowing, reaping, threshing, and so on), procuring wood from the mountains, loading, transporting the wheat from Baveh to Darayi and to the market, care of animals, participating in political activities, and so on. The women take care of the household: cooking, taking care of children, fetching water, washing clothes, milking animals (if any), and taking the milk products to town markets.

Now many women visit the town very often.

The children follow and help their parents: a boy helps his father, and a girl helps her mother. The tasks of a young girl are not different from those of pastoral nomads. However, for the boys, certain changes have taken place. First of all, boys learn more about farming than about animal husbandry. In short, they learn the ways of settled agriculturalists rather than of pastoral nomads. Second, many of them attend school which teaches them skills which may enable them to go to high school and later to get a job with the government.

Traditional division of labor based on crafts has been disrupted. Today, there is no Giva-Kash (shoe maker) or Halaj in Darayi. The Sayed or Lutis, however, perform their tasks as they did before sedentation.
The Mola, however, seldom play their traditional roles because modern schooling and the teachers with formal education have replaced him.

Prior to sedentation, knowledge about animals, hunting, riding, the methods of warfare, and so on was important. Today, one must learn different kinds of skills such as reading and writing, driving a car, truck, or tractor, mechanics, and so on. These skills enable one to get a job outside the village.

Methods of Exchange

Formal Markets

Today, Khurramabad is the main market for the people of Darayi. In addition, there are a couple of small shops in the village. In contrast to the period of nomadism, today the Baharvand visit Khurramabad frequently. Two of the villagers have bought two pickup trucks and make the half hour trip to town every hour. The Baharvand exchange their farm products and the products of their animals for whatever they need. They sell wheat, barley, animals, milk products in Khurramabad; in return they buy clothes, shoes, lamps, metals, radios, bicycles, bedding, cooking utensils, tea, sugar, onions, potatoes, rice, vegetables, cooking oil, meat, dates, and so on. Many of these things are bought on credit from a trade partner in Khurramabad and in Darayi. The payment is made after Sar-Kharman (harvesting, during the summer).

As pointed out, there are two shops in Darayi both of which generally sell tea, sugar, cooking oil, salt, dates, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit during the seasons when they are available. These two shops in the village belong to two young men from Darayi, one a
Sayed and the other a Baharvand. For a Baharvand to operate a shop is something new. Prior to sedentation, the Baharvand would not have done this: it was considered a low profession. When the young Baharvand opened his shop, he was the subject of gossip for some time. The villagers buy from these two shops either on cash or on credit until the harvest.

In addition to the two shops, for the past few years the government has sold tea, sugar, and kerosene through the Farm Cooperative. The price is a little lower than in the shops, but since the payment must be in cash, many cannot afford to buy there.

A new development is the exchange of labor not only in Luristan but in other parts of Iran. Some of the young men who have completed high school or have gone a few years beyond elementary school are able to find a job either with the government or with certain companies. The teacher who has a high school education is from Darayi. Others who are either illiterate or have received only a few years of elementary school work for wages when they can. This new development has led to the emigration of young people to the cities.

Today, there are two secondary school graduates, three who have some secondary school education, seven elementary school graduates, two people with some elementary education, and twelve illiterates, all of whom are living in other parts of the country. In addition, some sixty adults have worked in Isfahan and other parts of the country for a period of one to two years. About three years ago when there was a bad year, most of the adult males went away in search of temporary work.

It is obvious that during the period of pastoral nomadism such
opportunities did not exist. Today, the young men have more freedom and with it more difficulties. The availability of work outside of the village has affected traditional patterns of exchange of services. As one of the leaders complained, "Today no one does anything for you unless you pay them. And they demand so much that I cannot afford to pay them."

Informal Markets

Goods and services are exchanged between the members of the villagers and between Darayi and other villages. People who need labor for constructing buildings, for working in the farm or other tasks, hire members of the village for wages. This procedure did not exist before.

Farm products and animals are also bought and sold in Darayi or to members of other villages. Some Baharvand travel to Burujerd, Malayer, and Irak to buy sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, and so on, and bring them back to Darayi for sale at a profit. Others who have some money buy wheat and barley just after the harvest when the prices are low from the members of the village who need cash badly. Later, during the winter, those who are short of daily bread buy it on credit from them at a high interest rate. There are other villagers who buy land close to town in the hope that the price will rise. About four households have bought land in Khurramabad because they can sell it for some profit. There is only one member who has bought a house in Khurramabad.

Providing transportation and a mill is the business of another villager. He owns a pickup truck and charges ten rials for a ride to the city. He also receives payment for grinding wheat.

There has been a change of attitude among the Baharvand toward
the accumulation of wealth. Before sedentation, people were not concerned with accumulation, rather the emphasis was on spending.

**Reciprocity**

Various kinds of generalized reciprocity such as hospitality, porsana, dowatona, taso, hass, hass-hagat, safra, and so on are still practiced. However, people can not entertain guests and strangers as they did before. For example, one member of the village tried to make himself a name by entertaining his guests in the old nomad style. In a few years he found himself in debt for $10,000, a debt which he will never be able to pay although last year he sold almost half of his land for $5,000 to pay part of his debt. With little income and high prices for food and other materials, people cannot afford to be as generous as they were before. The fact is that many are just too poor to be able to entertain at all. People have had to compromise their principles; now it is thought to be better to have a reputation of not feeding people than to go to jail for not paying debts.

The traditional ways of balanced reciprocity such as Shirvara, Gow-Gira, and so on are still in use, however, new kinds of balanced reciprocity have developed. Among them are payment to the owner of the pickup truck and mill, the exchange of labor for cash, and pakari. Pakar is an adult male who is hired by the village for a period of a few months to watch after the fields and to keep animals away from them. He receives a certain amount of wheat and barley from the owners of the fields.

Traditional ways of negative reciprocity have changed. There
is no more tarid-zani and gharat, but sometimes dozi (stealing) is carried on. The attitude toward dozi has changed, at least in the villages. It is interesting to note that it is the Baharvand who are the victims of negative reciprocity. A good example is the payment to the landlord and services to the government. Other forms of new negative reciprocities are the transactions between the villagers themselves in which interest is the main motivation. We have mentioned some of these already.

Income and Expense

It is difficult to calculate the average income and the expense for the village because incomes vary from year to year. It is also difficult to calculate the average expense, because people do not keep track of expenditures. The following information is based on estimate, rather than on absolute figures. Looking at Figure 7, we notice that most families farm between fifty and one hundred fifty man (1 to 3 hectares). Of these, fifty-one percent hold fifty to one hundred man (1 to 2 hectares). Let us consider one of these families with one hundred man and assume that this family has the same amount of land in Baveh, or two hundred man (4 hectares) overall. Since each year only half of this land is cultivated, let us assume further that eighty man of wheat and twenty man of barley are cultivated each year. We mentioned earlier that the yield varies according to climatic fluctuation: for example, in 1970, the yield for most farms was two man for each man of seed. But let us assume that an average year the yield is ten man for wheat and fifteen man for barley. Thus, the yield would be eight
hundred man of wheat (2,400 kilo.) and three hundred man of barley (900 kilo.). The gross income for this family would be as follows:

Each man of wheat is worth eighteen rials (800 x 18 = 14,400 rials), and each man of barley is worth thirteen rials (300 x 13 = 3,900 rials). The total for both crops is 18,300 rials. Let us assume that this family receives five thousand rials from the sale of animals and their products. Thus, the total gross income is 23,300 rials. At the current rate of sixty-eight rials per dollar, the income 's $346.60. This does not take into account wage labor and various reciprocities.

Now let us calculate the expense of such a family. Since the average size of the family is 6.20 persons, let us assume that this family consists of five individuals. As indicated in Table 4 this family must pay part of its products to the landlord (2,200 rials). It must have bread which is the main diet (9,000 rials), and seed (1,700 rials). Other items includes tea and sugar which cost (9,000 rials), and meat, rice, salt, oil, vegetables, and so on (a very low estimate is 4,000 rials). The members of the family also need clothes and shoes (a very low estimate is 4,000 rials), and finally, there are miscellaneous expenses such as money for the doctor, transportation, and so on (3,000 rials). The total expense is 32,900 rials. I have not taken into account the expense for plowing and harvesting (Drowni) and so on, on the assumption that such a family can take care of its farm without hiring others. Now if we deduct the total income from the expenditure (32,900 - 23,000 = 9,600 rials or $141), we notice that this family is in debt.

It is important to point out that in the past decade or so, prices have jumped enormously. However, the prices of wheat and barley
which are the main products that the people of Darayi can sell, have not risen as fast as the prices of other commodities. As a result, while the villagers' income remains almost constant, the prices of things they must buy are increasing rapidly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Rials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Payment to the landlord</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bread</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Seeds</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tea and sugar</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rice, meat, vegetables, salt, oil, etc.</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Clothes and shoes</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Expenditure</td>
<td>32,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>23,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>9,600 ($141)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to indicate the buying power of this family, let us assume that they decided to buy an Iranian made car complete with licenses. It costs around 300,000 rials. In order to buy this car, it would take twelve years of income, provided that they do not eat or spend any of it. If the same family decided to buy a Ford Mustang, it would take thirty-six years of their gross income.
CHAPTER 10

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES

During the period of pastoral nomadism the social organization of the Baharvand was an adaptation to the physical and social environment. When that environment was affected by the intervention of the National Government, changes took place in social organization, especially in regard to social stratification, marriage, attitudes toward the tayefā as a social unit, and the size of the family. However, some aspects of the social organization have not changed at all.

Marriage

Traditionally, marriage was arranged by the group rather than by individuals, and in many cases it was a means of political alliance between tayefā and lineages. Furthermore, there was no governmental intervention. Since forced sedentation there have been changes in mate selection, the age of marriage, the bride price, divorce, the marital residence, and so on.

Formerly, marriage was controlled by the parents and the members of the lineage. The parents controlled the properties, leaving little opportunity for a man to go against their wishes. Today, however, because a man can gain employment outside the tribe, he can assert independence. If a man does not depend on his kinsmen for financial support, he can select a mate according to his own desires. For females the
situation has not changed as much because they have no opportunity to find employment outside the tribe: the girls still depend entirely on their parents.

Sedentation along with education has created a real gap between males and females--the males have a chance to get an education whereas this opportunity is very limited for village females. A new factor in mate selection is the matter of education. This is true particularly in the case of those who attend high school in Khurramabad. When I asked male students whether they would prefer to marry a girl from the village, practically everyone answered that they would prefer a girl from the city. The reason for this is that no girls in the village have had more than a fifth grade elementary education. The boys are looking for girls with whom they can communicate. Young men not only have opportunities to make decisions in regard to marriage, but today they can marry outside of the tribal community. The attitudes that accompany the new educational opportunities are strikingly expressed in the fact that almost 95 percent of those who attend high school in Khurramabad said they would allow their children to make their own decisions with regard to marriage.

Another development is the intervention of the government in matters of marriage. Before, marriage and divorce were the affairs of the groups involved. Today the government regulates both. However, the law is only partially effective. A girl must be fifteen years old in order to obtain a marriage permit. There was a case in which a girl of thirteen could not get married legally. To solve the problem, her parents changed her birth certificate to indicate that she was fifteen.
She received her permit and married.

Divorce has also come under governmental jurisdiction. There was a case of an impending divorce in the village in which a young man, because he could not get along with his wife, decided to divorce her. Since he was the one who wanted a divorce, he was required by law to pay her a certain amount of cash as a divorce settlement. He had the money ready and went to court where the case was delayed for almost forty days because the official who was supposed to issue the divorce had taken his vacation and there was no one to take his place. In the meantime, the husband was forced to pay forty rials per day for his wife's expenses until the divorce was concluded. As time passed, the young man became frustrated with the court and took his wife back.

According to the new law people cannot marry more than one wife and, in fact, marriage is still usually monogamous. Of the eighty marriages in the village there were three cases of polygyny, all of which consisted of men with two wives.

Finally, the rules of marital residence have been affected. Today a man no longer needs to live with his kinsmen; he may live where he works.

Types of Households

The traditional households have not changed. The nuclear family is still typical, but since there is no agency to take care of the older or homeless relatives, many of the nuclear families have an extra member. The following types of households are now found in Darayi:
1. Nuclear  44
2. Nuclear plus  8
3. Joint  4
4. Extended  11
5. Incomplete  2
TOTAL  71

Of the eight cases of nuclear plus households, there is one case of a father living with an adult married son, six cases of mothers living with their sons, and one case of a woman living with a family which employs her. Of the four cases of joint families, two are of two brothers living together, one of a man living with his father-in-law, and finally, one case of two cousins and their wives living together. The nine cases of extended families involve a man, his wife, his unmarried children, and one married son with his wife and children. One case involves a man, his wife, his two married sons, their wives and children. The two cases of incomplete families consist of two widows and their children.

**Lineage System**

The system of segmentary lineage is not fundamentally affected because the traditional rules of inheritance still apply. Rather it is the *tayefa* or the entire group of lineages which is affected.

Land-reform has affected the traditional corporate ownership of the lineage. Before, each lineage claimed territory to be used in common by its members. Today, at least in most areas, it is the individual who holds the land, not the lineage.
Despite land-reform and other changes, the lineage system still plays an important role in an individual's life. Regardless of what they do, or where they live, people are still attached to their lineages. Lineages still settle blood feuds and regulate marriages to some extent. However, the sedentary farming way of life, the absence of a dangerous enemy, and the ownership of land by individuals which has affected the organization of tayefa may, in the near future, affect the lineage system too.

The most significant change today is in the attitude toward tayefa itself. Today, the tayefa is no longer the focal point of interest; rather people are identified most often by the village in which they live. Before sedentation, the tayefa was adapted to offense and defense; today, security is provided by the government, and the Homsa as well as the Baharvand own their own land. Since mutual security is no longer a problem, the tayefa which provided it has lost its central purpose and is dying as an integrating mechanism.

Social Stratification

The traditional system of social stratification has been affected by sedentation and land-reform. A similar case is reported by S. M. Salim (1960) who has shown how the traditional social stratification of the Marsh Dwellers of Iraq has changed due to intervention by the government. In this case, the ruling clan (Ahl-Khayum) of Marsh Dwellers has changed from the supreme power of the tribe to an ordinary citizen.

A tribesman was always supposed to be at the disposal of the noble clan for any services that might be required of him. The Shaikhs, the heads of Ahl Khayun, used fines and imprisonment in their mud fortresses as the usual method of punishment. . . .
When the Shaikhdom was abolished, and the government established a strong administrative unit in the village, Ahl-Khayun found themselves in a changed situation. . . . Ahl-Khayun are now in a state of transition from the previous high status to that of ordinary citizens. Some of them have begun, for the first time in the history of Ahl-Khayun, to cultivate land and tend cattle (Salim, Cf. Sheloh 1969:208-9).

Traditionally, Baharvand social stratification consisted of ruling lineages, Sayed, Homsa, and Lutis. The members of the ruling lineages were the founders of the tayefa; they were well organized, and they controlled the land. The Sayed were respected because of their relation to the supernatural. The Homsa provided services for their leaders in return for protection and the use of land. The relationship between the Homsa and the leaders were based on a mutual interdependence; both could survive by helping each other in an insecure world. The Lutis were an outcast group at the bottom of the social scale.

Forced sedentation and land-reform has affected this traditional pattern of stratification. The ruling families no longer control the land, they seldom provide security because there is no need for it, and as a result, their relative position has declined. The position of the Sayeds has declined because beliefs in traditional supernaturalism have been undermined by modern schooling. The position of the Homsa, on the other hand, has improved. A Homsa has become the owner of his land; his sons can compete with the sons of the former leaders by getting an education and finding employment; and a Homsa can accumulate wealth by investments and therefore, raise his prestige.

Yet, with all of these changes many of the members of traditional ruling families are still respected. They still assume leadership, although they do not have supreme authority as they did before. The
traditional leaders still help settle many disputes. When I asked the members of the village whether it would be appropriate to take the disputes to court or to settle them in a traditional manner, all the young, educated, and old agreed unanimously that all disputes should be settled within the village in the traditional manner. This attitude reflects the tribesmen's belief that whenever a case is taken to the officials, both parties are losers. Apparently, other tribesmen are faced with the same dilemma. Loffler (1973:130) has stated that when the Boir Ahamadi take a case to the court "in many cases, both parties are caught up in a costly and ultimately inconsequential procedure." In fact, even though a case might be settled in court, it becomes final only when it is also discussed and settled according to traditional customs.

Socialization and Education

The early training is basically the same as before. Children generally take milk from their mother's breast for a period of two years. Children begin walking when two years old and are not expected to be useful until they are seven years old. At this time they begin to learn household tasks.

The agents of socialization are both the family and, to some extent, the school. Previously, children learned those tasks which were related to pastoral nomadism. Today, the children learn how to farm and many of them attend school. Thus, the specific subsistence tasks that children learn have changed and some entirely new ideas and skills have been introduced. It is particularly through the modern schooling that many ideas incompatible with the traditional culture are taught.
Forced sedentation did not bring a school to Darayi immediately. Indeed until 1950 there was no school in Darayi and not even one child had received formal education. Of a population of one hundred thirty-eight, there were only three individuals who had received a little traditional schooling, by a Mola. In 1950 one of the Baharvand who had received some education in Khurramabad opened a private school in Dinarvand, a village two miles east of Darayi. It was a small school with twenty-nine students from the surrounding villages including the first four grades. Initially, people were reluctant to send their children to a modern school because they did not think it was necessary. Besides, it was assumed that the modern schools would make children irreligious. Today, however, people realize that one can get a decent job only through modern education. As a result their attitudes toward modern education have changed.

As indicated in Figure 8 and Table 5, almost 75 percent of the population remain illiterate. Only a few have attended secondary school. One reason for this is that many people cannot afford to send their children to the secondary schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5

1973
FIGURE 7: Educational level of people in Darayi in 1973.
In order to explore the relationship between modern schooling and the attitudes of the younger generation toward the traditional culture, I asked a number of questions of a sample of forty-five people including illiterate (young and old), those with some elementary education, and finally, those with secondary education. It is interesting to note that there is a relationship between the amount of schooling and the changes in attitudes toward the Baharvand culture. Ninety-nine percent of the illiterates related that they believe in such supernatural beings such as Ghool, Jin, Freshta, Pari, and Malakat, whereas one hundred percent of those who have attended the modern schools professed not to believe in any. All members of the illiterate answered that they believe in predestination; two-thirds of those with elementary education believed in predestination; ninety-nine percent of those with secondary education did not. Attitudes toward modern medicine have also changed. Nearly two-thirds of the illiterates believe they should see a Mola before going to a doctor; all those with modern schooling believed they should see a doctor instead. This pattern was reflected in many beliefs and attitudes toward the universe, supernaturalism, marriage, health, and so on. It indicates that the kind of education the younger generation receives determines their attitudes toward much of traditional Luri culture, and therefore, it creates a generation gap between the literate and the illiterate. By no means is this pattern limited to the Baharvand alone: it exists in the large cities such as Tehran as well as in other rural areas in the country.

The traditional educational system supported the traditional culture. In contrast, modern education was borrowed from the Western
culture and is incompatible with much of the traditional Luri culture. For example, in school, the children are taught that the earth revolves in space rather than rests on the horns of a bull; that earthquakes are not caused by the wounded Gow-Moyi; that the stars are planets, and so on. The idea of physical and cultural evolution has taken the place of traditional explanations of the creation of man and the universe. In short, the children are taught things which contradict what their parents believe. The traditionalists believe that most of those who receive modern education become misled in their views of supernaturalism, and therefore, they are not real Moslims. The literate, on the other hand, consider many of the traditional ideas as mere superstition. In contrast to the traditionalists who are concerned about the life after death, the literate ones are concerned with the life in this world. I asked people, "If God would provide you with whatever you want, what would you ask for?" Most of the traditionalists wanted, in addition to things such as large kin groups, health and wealth, to go to paradise after their death; not a single literate person mentioned anything about life after death. When asked whether they believed in supernatural beings, the traditionalists agreed unanimously that they exist, while the literate denied their existence.

It was indicated earlier that traditional beliefs of supernaturalism contributed to the maintenance of social control. Any act or behavior which contradicted social norms was considered to be a Gonah, while those which supported the social norms and values were considered Savow. In the traditionalist view, Gonah resulted in supernatural punishment while Savow resulted in supernatural benevolence in both this
and the world hereafter. Since the principles which underlie these concepts have been shaken by modern education, we may assume that those who have received education are no longer as fearful of punishment from supernatural beings. This, of course, does not mean that the literates have totally lost their respect for the traditional supernaturalism; rather their attitudes have changed relatively.

Another factor which has affected the attitude of both literate and illiterate tribesmen toward the supernatural is the looting of holy places. It is not clear who is responsible for the looting, but one might speculate that the local people have had a hand in it. In the past, these holy places were so respected that people did not dare to cut even a branch from a tree which was growing near them. In the past few years, however, most of these shrines have been desecrated. Regardless of who is desecrating the shrines, it is clear that such happenings have affected the people's attitudes toward the power of certain supernatural beings. For example, Jamalkal, a holy shrine in Drch-Nasow, was very sacred to the Baharvand. People told me of various miracles that were related to this holy place. But last year someone entered the shrine and excavated the tomb. When I asked people about the event and whether it had affected their attitude toward the power of the holy shrine, many replied it did because if the supernatural beings were powerful, those who are responsible for the desecration should have died immediately.
Political Organization

As pointed out previously, one of the important social consequences of forced sedentation has been the loss of tribal political autonomy and resultant change in political organization of the tribes. As the various tribes were settled in villages, the village, rather than the tribe, became the smallest political unit. Although all the tribes of Luristan lost their autonomy immediately after the army took control, their political organization changed more gradually.

My research indicates that there was a close relationship between control of the land by the leaders of the tribes and the maintenance of the political organization of the tribes. Thus, the political organization of tribes such as Mir and Baharvand, whose land was distributed among the individual tribal members in the early part of sedentarization was affected earlier. Among other tribes such as the Papi, Sagvand, and various tribes of Tarhan, where control of the land remained in the hand of the tribal leaders, the political organization was not disrupted until land reform occurred during the 1960's.

Through control of the land, tribal leaders maintained their traditional authority over tribal members, and by collecting revenues from the tribesmen, some of the leaders accumulated wealth and bought houses in Khurramabad. In so doing, they became members of the urban elite. For example, until a few years ago, the representatives of Luristan to the parliament were two of these tribal leaders, Pur-Sartip and Ghazanfari, both of whom now live in Tehran. Forced sedentation, while advantageous both politically and economically for some leaders, was disadvantageous for others. While the leaders of Baharvand and Mir were
deprived of their traditional revenue, the leaders of other tribes continued to receive a modest income from their land. However, after the land-reform the entire situation changed.

Now, it might be asked how the control of land by the leaders contributed to the maintenance of the tribal political organization. The answer is that the traditional right of tribal leadership was recognized by the government because the government could hold the leaders responsible for the conduct of the tribesmen. This was far easier than direct imposition of government control. In turn, those leaders who maintained the control of land, became more powerful because they had the support of the government. In effect they became like traditional Persian landlords. Since they controlled the tribesmen and the territory (they spoke for the whole tribe), they maintained tribal integrity.

After the land was divided among the tribal members following the land-reform, the revenue of these tribal leaders declined and their authority over the tribal members was disrupted. As the basis of power of leaders was removed, the political integrity of the tribes also declined. Today, no man can claim to be the leader of any tribe. Each tribe has disintegrated into its smaller units and even within these units each man is considered to be his own boss. Politically speaking, land-reform was an effective policy for breaking the power of the big landlord and the tribal leaders who had dominated the politics of Iran for centuries. Indeed of all the aspects of the White Revolution, land-reform has contributed the most to social justice in Iran and thus, it justifies the use of the term revolution.

The disintegration of political organization has, however, left
the tribesmen as powerless as the traditional peasants of Iran. Today, the decisions that affect the lives of the tribesmen are no longer made within the tribes; rather they are made in Tehran. For example, in Khuzistan thousands of Sagvand tribesmen have been forced to sell their land and their homes to the government. Then, the same land is leased by the government to such foreign companies as Iran-California, Iran-America, Shell-Cot, and others for agricultural development. Although the companies have hired a few of the tribesmen as laborers, the rest of the population has been deprived of their livelihood as well as their homes.

Leadership

The direct intervention of the government in tribal affairs has weakened the position of the tribal leaders, although among the Baharvand and some of the other tribes, the leaders are still respected. However, being respected is not the same as having power. In contrast to the past, in order to have the title Kadkhoda (the head of village) it is necessary to receive the approval of the government. A leader is no longer a supreme power; rather he has become a mediator between the government and his people. His authority over the members of his tribe has declined. As tribesmen individually became the owners of the land, they could complain directly to the government about the leaders; thus, the old authoritarian behavior of the leaders could no longer be maintained. What has happened is that the traditional authority of the leaders has been broken and nothing has replaced it. This situation has created a number of problems. For example, in Darayi, the qanat which
was the main source of water, is in ruins and no attempt has been made to fix it. As one of the informants said, "In these days every man is his own boss, so how do you expect them to fix the qanat? No one listens to anyone else. In the old days at least people did listen to a grey beard—but no more." Loffler (1973:130) reminds us that among the Boir Ahmad tribe, who were also forced to settle, the same problem exists. Thus, he has pointed out, "This lack of organization implies among other things, the absence of a. social-control, b. dispute-settlement mechanisms, and c. patterns of decision-making and change management at the level of the village."

The duties of the leaders also have changed; unlike the past, the leaders are now responsible to the government for tax, for submitting the young men to serve in the army, for reporting illegal activities, and for entertaining officials who visit the villages. The leaders must do these things although they receive no salaries from the government. Traditional rights have been taken away without replacement: leaders are responsible to the government, yet they have neither power nor a salary. The leaders have difficult problems with both the government and the tribesmen. If a leader does not submit the young men to be drafted, he will go to jail; if he does submit the men he will be blamed by the parents of the draftees. A few years ago several tribesmen tried to smuggle some tea from Khuzistan to Khurramabad. They were reported and the Gendarmes attacked them, and in a gun battle a Gendarme was killed. The tribal leader at Darayi had no involvement in the event, but he was summoned to Khurramabad immediately along with other Mir and Baharvand leaders. The army held all of them responsible for the
behavior of a few people over whom they had no control. After some weeks of discussion, the facts of the case finally came out and the men who were involved were sent to jail in Ahwaz (Khuzistan). Although the legal issue was solved, the relatives of the jailed men hold the leaders responsible for whatever might happen to them while the men are in jail.

In dealing with the government, both the tribesmen and the leaders have continued the traditional custom of bribing the officials. Traditionally, there has always been a middle man who knows whom to bribe and how much to give for what purpose. These middle men have usually been urban dwellers. Today, there are several of them in Khurramabad, who solve the problems of the tribesmen and others who are in trouble with the law. The middle men, depending on the nature of the problem, accept money and then share it with the appropriate officials.

One of the new developments is the appearance of certain tribal leaders in the role of the middleman. One such leader, who lives near Khurramabad, has been active in business since the time of forced sedentation. Nearly every day he goes to Khurramabad where he can be seen in court, or in offices of the military, or gendarmerie, working on behalf of his clients. He has a very good business. He gets results. Two years ago when the government permitted the cultivation of poppies on a limited basis, the people of one of the villages had difficulty obtaining permission. They turned to this middleman, who promised them that he would get the permission in return for one hundred thousand rials. The money was paid and the permission was received.

When I went to Iran to do field work in 1973, I took a shot gun
to Iran but was unable to clear it through customs. After months of frustration in dealing with officials in Tehran and Khurramabad, I was told that if I had asked the middleman for help I would have had the gun long ago.

The middleman's procedure is to go, immediately after hearing his client's problem, to the appropriate government official. They discuss a settlement. After an agreement is reached concerning the money that must be paid, the middleman returns to the client. If the client pays, the problem is ended; if not, his troubles continue.

Generally speaking, there are two types of leaders: Adara-Row (the office goer) and Memalko (within the community). Adara-Row is the kind of leader who is more at ease with the government officials and consequently better known to them. Since he visits the city more often, he is also better known to the city dwellers. In contrast, the Memalko is in many cases more influential in rural areas. Since he does not visit the city as often as the Adara-Row, he is less well known to the city people and to the government officials. However, some of the leaders combine both types of leadership.

The criteria of good leadership have been modified since settlement. Today, although many of the old criteria are still desired, some of them no longer are valued as much as they were before. Thus, a good leader need not necessarily be good at fighting with a rifle. As the Baharvand say "today a good leader must know how to fight not with his rifle but with his tongue and his pen." Thus, literacy has become an important tool in dealing with the new situation. The Baharvand believe that "an illiterate man is like a blind man." In short, a good leader
today is one who can deal with the government officials.

It is worth examining why many of the traditional leaders remain influential. Perhaps there are several reasons. First, although government interference has weakened tribal leadership, it did not replace it. Perhaps it was realized that it would be easier for the government to deal with the local leaders and hold them responsible for their villages rather than to impose outsiders on them who would not have been welcomed and would not have received cooperation from the people. Moreover, to bring in new people would have cost the government large amounts in salary. As it is, the heads of the villages are local people who are treated as servants of the government, without pay.

The second factor which has contributed to the continuity of tribal leadership might be understood in terms of the conceptions that tribesmen have of the government. As far as the tribesmen are concerned, the government is something to be avoided as much as possible. This attitude has been shaped through many years of experience with officials who have misused their power. The tribesmen have learned that whenever they deal directly with officials, they lose both time and money. Thus, they continue to appeal to their traditional leaders to settle the disputes, rather than turning to government agencies. As stated earlier, in my sample of both literate and illiterate (old and young) 100 percent stated that they would rather see the disputes settled in the traditional manner rather than in the courts.

The third and the most important factor is that although the traditional tribal political organization has been disrupted, the government has failed to initiate any new form of political organization.
Thus, there are no real political parties, no real elections and so on. So, although the traditional political structure is weak, it remains all that the people have.

**Political Alliances**

The pattern of seeking political alliances has not changed significantly: marriage and kinship are still used for this purpose. However, alliances are now made on the bases of factors other than marriage and kinship. For example, in the past the Homsa seldom had a chance to form an alliance against their leader. Now they do. This new power lies in their control of the land and in the fact that the Homsa no longer have to obey the members of the ruling lineages. In the past, the Homsa were divided and scattered in various nomad camps, but now many of tišm live in one place and have much more interaction than before.

Another change is that marriage between tayefa has declined as a means of forming political alliances. Since the political role of the tayefa has dimished, a marriage alliance between the leaders of the two tayefa is no longer important.

Although the political organization of the various tayefa has been disrupted, the feeling of tribal solidarity among the members of each tayefa has not disappeared. Thus, in 1957 when there was a fight between the Sagvand and Baharvand, other tayefa such as Kurdañvand, Mir, and other Därkavand united and attacked the Sagvand. The structure still exists although the exercise of its functions usually remains latent. As the structure itself deteriorates in years to come, it will
no longer be able to serve even when needed.

**Law and Order**

There are no police or other government agencies to enforce the law in Darayi. Social control remains the principle sanction against anti-social behavior. Nevertheless, fear of government punishment is present. Although most disputes are settled within the village, there are cases in which the government interferes regardless of the consent of the parties involved. For example, in August of 1973, a young man from Darayi who was driving a pick-up truck in which several women from the village were riding, had an accident and three women were killed. Since the driver was at fault, the husbands and the relatives of the three women demanded the blood-price. After several meetings in Darayi, an agreement was reached: the parents of the driver agreed to pay a certain amount of money as blood-price to the husband of the deceased women. As far as the people were concerned the case was settled. However, as far as the government was concerned, the driver had committed a crime and had to be punished.

So in contrast to the past, a person who commits a crime today faces punishment from not only his opponent but also the government. For example, if a man murders another man, he has committed a crime and if found guilty he will be sent to jail. The case according to the written law is settled, but according to people the case is not settled until the blood-price is paid in the traditional manner. If relatives of the murderer fail to make the payment, they are the target of retaliation from the relatives of the deceased. In short, there is double jeopardy:
a person must pay for his crime in two legal systems.

The Role of the Tribesmen in National Politics

Prior to the adoption of western culture and supremacy of the central government in its present form, the tribesmen played a significant role in the politics and the maintenance of the independence of the country. However at the present time, the tribesmen, like the traditional Iranian peasants, have become weak and alienated from political activities on the national level. Not one person either from Darayi or other villages and camps that I visited knew anything about the government, elections, and political parties. I could not find even one person from the Baharvand, Mir, or other Dirkavand tribes who were members of or active in any political party. Simply stated, the rural people of Luristan do not have the slightest concept of politics in the modern sense. The absence of political parties in this area is a crucial problem. Since the people are not aware of the role and the importance of the political parties and elections, they show little interest in political activities. They do not even participate in the election of local officials; the only politics they participate in involves tribal affairs and has nothing to do with the government.

One consequence of this isolation is that there is little chance for a man from Luristan to occupy an important position in the government. One way to gain access to a high position in the government is to have higher education. Unfortunately, the majority of the tribesmen do not have the financial resources to send their children to one of the universities which are located in other cities. To the present the
government has failed to provide sufficient funds to support young men who desire to get a higher education.
CHAPTER 11

ANALYSIS OF CHANGES

Contemporary Problems

Since sedentation, the Baharvand have faced four new kinds of problems. Some of these problems are faced by tribal people everywhere who are in the process of transition to a modern society and economy, and some are unique to Luristan.

1. **Increase of population:** The population of Darayi has increased from one hundred thirty-eight persons to four hundred thirty-eight since 1950. This is a natural increase which seems to happen whenever people settle as peasant farmers and have access to even a little medical aid. The result is that many persons no longer have sufficient land to farm and that the average level of income has declined. While the population has increased the amount of land has remained about the same. Furthermore, no attempt has been made to make the land more productive through irrigation and modern agricultural techniques. The result is that while population is increasing rapidly, the agricultural productivity remains stable.

2. **Poverty:** The newly settled nomads are much more closely tied to the national economy whose prices are beyond control of the tribesmen. Although the commodities which they raise are relatively fixed in value, the things which they must buy have increased in price.
Thus, the shortage of land, its low productivity, and the enormous price increases in commodities have put the Baharvand in a disadvantageous situation.

3. **Expropriation of land by the government for agriculture, business, forest control, etc.**: These governmental policies, which are important to national concerns of providing a thriving and self-sufficient production of food for all the people of Iran, have resulted in critical losses of land for subsistence farmers and herders. Thus, some Baharvand land has come under the control of the Department of Natural Resources and can no longer be cultivated, and, the Sagvand's land in Khuzistan has been taken away for the agricultural businesses.

4. **Law Status**: The tribal people are just now emerging into the world of literacy and market economy. The older generation is not trained in skills which will make them successful. Tribal people retain certain customs which are not found among urban folk. Thus, we find that tribal identification, low levels of education, and poverty in combination put the people at a serious disadvantage.

Aside from these, there are other problems which have already been mentioned.

**Analysis of Change**

**Western Influences**

Any analysis of modern socio-cultural changes in Iran or in the Middle East in general requires some understanding of the historical background of cultural contact between this area and the West, because it was under the impact of Western culture that the traditional Middle
Eastern cultures have changed. What is called modernization in the Middle East is largely the adoption of various aspects of Western culture.

Traditionally, Iranian society was divided into urban dwellers, villagers, and pastoral nomads. Each played a role in the maintenance of the society as a functioning entity. Although the members of each of the three sectors were engaged in different ways of making a living, to a large extent they shared a common culture. There was a distribution of power among these sectors, rather than the centralization that we see today. Consequently, the people of the rural areas, especially the pastoral nomads, played a significant role in the political affairs of the country.

These traditional patterns of relationships between the urban and the rural areas were, as we shall see, disrupted as a result of the differential impact of Westernization on the three sectors. Although changes have been continuous in most of the large cities, the ways of life in the villages and nomad camps have remained relatively unchanged. As a result of these uneven changes, there has been an unequal distribution of wealth and power, and a growing cultural gap between the urban and rural areas.

Before describing the consequences of Westernization, it is necessary to mention what we mean by this term and how the process began in Iran. As Patai (1971:364) pointed out:

A discussion of the dynamics of Westernization in the Middle East can best be opened by stating that Westernization is a specific variety of culture change. Since culture change is the process by which the material equipment, the techniques, the organization, the attitudes, the concepts, the points of view,
and the values of a culture are transformed as a result of contact between its carriers and those of a different culture, Westernization is the culture change that takes place in any non-Western society under the impact of contact with Western groups or individuals. It is, therefore, a cultural process in the course of which a society or part of it adopts Western culture either totally or partially. It involves the discarding of elements and complexes of the traditional culture in order to replace them with Western cultural elements and complexes.

The contact between the West and Iran began some centuries ago and has intensified since then. Lambton (1957:12) says that:

Contact between the West and Persia goes back many centuries and has, apart from a brief break towards the beginning of the early eighteenth century, been fairly constant since the early sixteenth century. The occasion for this contact was mainly trade, in particular the silk trade. The impact of the West, as distinct from contact with the West, did not make itself felt noticeably until the last eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and in the first instance it was felt in the form of military pressure. ... the military pressure exerted by the western Powers was of a different nature, and the problems which it raised were of a different kind from those raised by the invasion of nomads from Central Asia.

The defeat of Iran by Russia in 1828 and the loss of some of her territory, made it clear that there was need for the modernization of the army and the bureaucracy. In fact, Iran employed military advisors from the West as early as the seventeenth century. However, it was during the nineteenth century that the reorganization of the army began, and in 1851 a Polytechnic school known as Dar-al Funun was established in Tehran. The professors for this institute of higher learning were of Austrian origin. The curriculum included artillery, infantry, cavalry, military, engineering, medicine, surgery, physics, chemistry, mathematics, and mineralogy. The goals of this school were stated by Arasteh, "In general the government's need for a bureaucratic administration directly brought about a system of higher education geared to the
production of trained government personnel, who lacked, however, research or professional aims" (1962:20).

In addition to Dar-al Funun, Iranian students began to attend European institutions. The first Iranian students went to England to study medicine as early as 1810. In the meantime as Smith and others (1971:165-66) have indicated:

The efforts to raise an educated cadre for government service continued during the early twentieth century. Most of the institutions devoted to this educational goal operated under the auspices of various ministries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs opened its School of Political Science in 1901; the Ministry of Economy, its College of Agriculture in 1902; the Ministry of Education, its School of Fine Arts in 1911 and its Boys' Normal School in 1918; and the Ministry of Justice, its School of Law in 1921. Other ministries and government agencies, such as the Ministry of Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs and the National Bank of Iran (Bank Melli Iran), established semiprofessional institutes for the technical training of their employees.

It is interesting to notice that the government established all these educational institutions only in Tehran, and that only privileged families had access to them. Second, and more remarkable, although these institutions of higher learning were established, the government did not attempt to open elementary or secondary schools.

Elementary schooling in the modern sense did not begin in Iran until the late nineteenth century. Thus, it began later than higher education, and unlike the latter it arose primarily in response to efforts of the urban communities to promote literacy and citizenship. With the rise of Reza Shah and political change it became a media of state policy. The government assumed full responsibility for it but neglected education in the rural and tribal areas (Arasteh 1962:50).

In addition, roads, modern communication systems, and factories were introduced into Iran during the nineteenth century. However, all of these new developments were very limited in scope.
In the early part of the twentieth century, a revolution took place in which the absolute monarchy was replaced by a constitutional monarchy. The content of the Constitution of 1906 and the Supplementary Law of 1907 provided for individual rights, for elections in which the people elect their representatives, and for the separation of power between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Clearly, this concept of a constitutional monarchy was modeled after those of Europe.

By 1920, Iran was in a state of anarchy which was relieved after the Coup d' état of 1921 in which Reza Shah (1925-1941), the founder of the present dynasty, assumed leadership. Reza Shah reorganized the army and used it to crush the power of the pastoral nomads, and then to carry out a policy of forced sedentation. Within a few years he managed to establish a strong centralized government. Then, he began his modernization program. In regard to this program, Banani (1961:45) has said:

The ideals underlying the changes that took place in Iran from 1921 to 1941 were threefold: a complete dedication to the cult of nationalism-statism; a desire to assert this nationalism by a rapid adoption of the material advances of the West; and a breakdown of the traditional power of religion and a growing tendency toward secularism, which came as a result of the first two ideals.

Reza Shah's modernization program included the establishment of public schools (elementary and secondary) and the university of Tehran; the establishment of factories, modern communication and transportation; the reorganization of the administrative system. World War II and the occupation of Iran by Allied Forces disrupted these programs.
Post-War Developments

Immediately after the war, in order to continue modernization, Iran adopted what is known as the Plan Organization which came into being with the enactment of the Seven-Year Plan law in May 1949. It was assumed that a comprehensive planning policy would help to modernize Iran quickly and effectively. However, the results have not been as successful as first anticipated. Baldwin who participated in implementation of the Plan Organization's program said:

A decade's experience has shown that Iran is not as ready for planning and programing as people hoped when they tried to lead Plan Organization into these functions from its more limited original role as a project-executing authority. Iranian politics is anti-planning, anti-programing. This statement means that planning, programing, and financial control cannot be fitted into the normal apparatus of government without having them fall apart and come to nothing. A classic planning effort simply will not work in Iranian society as presently organized (1967:197).

In spite of the problems, changes are taking place.

Viewing the past thirty to forty years as a whole, five factors stand out as prime causes of the country's growth: (1) the existence and growth of the oil revenues; (2) the emergence of a surprisingly vigorous class of industrial entrepreneurs, mainly since World War II; (3) the development of a modern banking system; (4) the interaction of Iranians with Westerners and Western civilization; (5) the initiatives launched by government, which, for all its historical weaknesses, have nevertheless contributed some powerful stimuli (Ibid.:195).

During the 1960's under the Shah's White Revolution, further steps were taken toward culture change. Perhaps the most important contributions of the White Revolution are the land-reform and the formation of Literacy Corps. The land-reform program changed the traditional land-tenure system in which a small group owned most of the land. With land-reform, the right of ownership was transformed from
the landlord to the peasant. This policy disrupted the power of landlords in most parts of Iran for the first time in thousands of years, and released the peasants from their control.

The formation of Literacy Corps or the "Army of Knowledge" has been another step toward culture change. According to this program, the young men who are drafted are given a few months training and are then sent to rural areas to teach. Today, members of the Army of Knowledge can be seen in the most remote parts of the country. The significance of this program is that many young people from urban areas come in close contact with the rural people and bring with them new ideas which stimulate culture change.

In the past two decades, industrialization and urbanization have developed more rapidly than ever before.

Some Consequences of Westernization

The adoption of various aspects of Western culture since the nineteenth century has resulted in profound changes in traditional ways of life, particularly in urban areas, but has resulted in fewer changes in the rural areas. The following are some of the changes mostly in urban areas:

1. The use of modern medicine.

2. Population growth partially due to the application of modern medicine and health care.

3. Migration to the cities.

4. Changes in the pattern of economic activities including the use of machines for production; development of a modern banking system;
development of a new class of entrepreneur and industrialists; increased importation of Western goods and materials; decline of various traditional handicrafts; an increase in the importance of oil in the economy; more specialization and more kinds of jobs; ties with the international markets and the affects of international events on the market system; participation of the government in the developmental program.

5. Change in traditional social structure including the disruption of the traditional structural relationship between the urban and rural areas to the disadvantage of the rural areas; the decline in the importance of the pastoral nomads and the position of the elite in rural areas; the appearance of an urban middle class albeit still relatively small; the appearance of an urban proletariat; the decline of the importance of religious groups; the decline of the power of landlords; the employment of women and their participation in various activities; the importance of education instead of kinship ties in acquiring a high social position.

6. Political organization: the development of nationalism; the development of a parliamentary system; the establishment of a modern administrative system; the centralization of power; the use of modern techniques and equipment for controlling the citizens; the importance of literacy in the modern administrative system; the political weakness of the tribes, religious leaders, and big landlords; the new attitude that the government must modernize the nation; the development of a powerful military organization; the establishment of the secret police.

7. Religion: the disruption of the authority of religious leaders; the establishment of secular law to replace religious law; the
change in religious attitudes caused by modern education.

8. Education: the replacement of traditional Islamic Maktab by modern elementary and secondary schools; the establishment of modern universities with modern curricula; the increase in literacy; the importance of education in making a living; the development of a professional group and education as a source of prestige; the fostering of different attitudes toward life and toward the interpretation of the universe; the gap between the literate and illiterate; the inequality of availability of education which has resulted in fewer opportunities for employment in government and private agencies for rural people.

9. Communication and transportation: the development of a modern postal system, telephone, telegraph; the introduction of television and radio, movies, newspapers, magazines, etc.; the development of modern transportation (trains, trucks, cars, airplanes, ships). All of these facilitated mobility and contact, which helped the development of large metropolitan areas and the distribution of goods, services, and ideas.

10. Urbanization: the development of large cities such as Tehran, Tabriz, Mashhad, Ibadan, Ahwaz, Isfahan, and so on.

It must be pointed out that Iran is still predominantly rural. The major changes have taken place in the large cities and towns.

Major Factors of Change

Thus far I have indicated how culture contact was established between Iran and the West, and the impact of this contact upon Iranian culture. I have stressed the changes in structural relationships
between the urban and rural areas and how these have affected the internal structures of the tribes. Turning specifically to the Baharvand, we can look at some important factors which have been responsible for cultural changes.

1. **National Government:**

   Throughout this work, the role of the government has been described as a major factor of cultural change. It was pointed out how the government imposed sedentation, land-reform, and new laws, as well as drafted young men into the army, established peace, and so on. All of these affected the way of the life of the Baharvand. Government intervention continues in various ways. Now there is the possibility of the establishment of cooperative farms in which tribesmen will lose control of their land and will be hired as wage laborers. Furthermore, it is expected in each area that a number of villages will be moved into one area and integrated into a larger community known as **Shahrag** (small town). There is no doubt that if such policies are carried out, there will be further changes in the socio-cultural pattern of the Baharvand and other tribesmen in the area. In sum, government policies have greatly affected the Baharvand way of life. It is hard to foresee precisely what else is going to happen in the near future.

2. **Education:**

   The second major change has been education. No other government officials have had closer contacts with the Baharvand than the school teachers who live within the community. Modern education influences the attitudes of those who attend school.

   School also breaks down tribal identity and fosters feelings of
nationalism by ignoring local cultural heritages. It is not unusual for a Baharvand who attends school to memorize the geography of Russia or America, and even to memorize the names of various railroads, towns, and so on, while he does not have the slightest idea about his immediate surroundings. For example, there is not a single course on the geography, history, economy, or politics of Luristan in the entire elementary and secondary schools, nor in colleges. I personally do not recall even a single book in the entire curriculum that mentions the name of the tribes. Consequently, the young people grow up without any formal training about their own background.

Finally, modern education affects the Luri language because many Luri words are gradually being replaced by Farsi. Education as a tool of cultural change has been accepted by the Baharvand, because it is a key to social position, prestige, and income. When a group of the older generation were asked whether it bothered them that they were illiterate, surprisingly all indicated it did. Even among this group, some aspects of modern schooling are well accepted.

3. Communication and Transportation:

Since the Baharvand villages do not have a postal system, they do not receive newspapers; nor do they have theatre, or television. Communication has had little affect on cultural change. In all of Darayi, there are only four transistor radios which were used mostly for listening to music. Although transistor radios potentially can connect the people to the outside world, many of the Baharvand cannot afford to buy them, and those who can most often listen to music rather than to the news.
4. Transportation:

Both the highway and railway which connect the Persian Gulf with the northern part of the country pass through Luristan. However, only the highway passes through Baharvand territory. The construction of these roads reduced Baharvand isolation and for the first time brought the people in contact with a wider world. Had it not been for the use of the highway during the World War II, the Baharvand probably would not have come in contact with American and British forces, who were a local factor in cultural change.

Modern transportation enables the people to travel. Today a Baharvand can easily travel to other parts of the country in search of jobs. In the process of visiting other cities he sees for himself what is happening in the country. In the old days, the Baharvand did not have such opportunities and a Baharvand seldom travelled outside of their territory. Today, with the pick-up truck service in Darayi, even the women visit towns several times a month. Prior to sedentation the women seldom went to town. Modern transportation has brought the Baharvand out of isolation and has increased cultural contact which in turn stimulates adoption of new ideas.

The cities are the centers of power, wealth, education, religion, and the source of all major cultural changes. In Iran, Tehran is the center for nearly everything. It is there that major policies are made. Furthermore, the city is a place where the people look for a better life.

For most Baharvand, who live within a few miles of it, Khurramabad is the major city. Now there are even a few of the younger generation who are living in the city, hired as members of the government
bureaucracy or by other agencies. City-life is viewed with great prestige. Most of the people of Darayi whom I interviewed expressed a great interest in living there because city life is considered to be comfortable.

Some of the village Baharvand try to imitate city life. For example, in Darayi, several families have bought large carpets and curtains and they furnish their homes the way the city people do. A few households even have their own private baths. These are absolutely new innovations. Some of the men dress in western style when they go to the city, and even wear a hat instead of their traditional cap. The majority of the boys who attend school also wear modern clothes. The imitation of city life has influenced transportation. About twenty years ago, a horse was a source of prestige and used for transportation; in the entire Koraga valley no one had a motor vehicle. Today, several of Baharvand who have money, maintain a jeep or a pick-up truck.

Frequent visits to the city have contributed to the acceptance of such things as artificial teeth, and eye glasses. A few years ago, a young man who noticed in Khurramabad that certain men had eye glasses, decided to buy some without knowing their real function. After a few days of wearing glasses, he noticed that they were affecting his eyes. When I asked him if he had seen a doctor before wearing the glasses, he said no, he did not know it was necessary: he wore the glasses because he saw the people of the city wearing them. The young man had bought the glasses because of their prestige.

The city has become a center for those youths who have a chance to pursue a secondary education. Since it has been only in the last few
years that the people of Khurramabad have had television, and since many of the programs come from the West, some of the youths have a chance to see aspects of Western culture on the screen and they imitate them.

When I arrived in Khurramabad in February 1973, I found myself in an unexpectedly different environment. Surprisingly, I noticed that most of the young people had grown their hair long like Americans and Europeans. I noticed that the boys and girls were wearing clothes which were identical in style to those of New York or Houston. At first I thought they were tourists, but as it was the wrong time of the year for so many tourists I decided to follow a couple of them and listen to their conversation. With a great surprise I noticed that they were from Khurramabad. Later, in conversation, it became apparent that the youth were simply copying what they had seen on television.

It was even more surprising to discover that the villagers and even some of the herders have also given up their traditional caps and wear their hair long. Baharvand refer to these young people as "beatal". Even some of the Sayed no longer wear their traditional turban.

What this indicates is that in the future the gap which presently exists between the rural and urban sectors will gradually narrow; and in the meantime, part of the culture of the rural people will be replaced.

The Problems of Modernization

In the initial period, Reza Shah consolidated his power by reorganizing the army and by settling the tribes. At this time, Iran was a poor country with very few skilled people.
Since that time, especially since World War II when oil revenues have been used to finance national development, the Plan Organization has set a number of priorities. Among the first concerns were the building of highways, establishing of industries so that Iran can be partly self-sufficient in consumer goods, and further development of the army and internal security forces. Unfortunately, due to the unstable political conditions in the Middle East, Iran has been forced to spend billions of dollars on the military, which otherwise could have been spent on modernization of the country.

Now that these initial goals have been reached, a larger proportion of the oil revenues are being spent on agricultural development. The development was begun where it would do the most good: Khuzistan and Dasht-i Moghan are examples of such activities. In certain areas the development program is just beginning. A country with limited money and personnel can do only so much at one time and the scheduling of projects has to be seen in the national context. As a consequence, Luristan is only now about to be developed.

Even some of the small projects such as the public baths and reservoirs which have been constructed in certain areas of Luristan by the government, have not received the support of the villagers and they are therefore, in ruins. For example, the condition of the reservoir of Shaikh-Makan village in Saimara, the public bath of Deh-Bagher village in Dehpur, north of Khurramabad, and finally, the public bath of Kamalvand, northeast of Khurramabad, all indicate that there are problems involved in modernization. In the following, some of these problems are briefly discussed.
A case study of a Rural Co-operative and the construction of a reservoir in Darayi village, might help explain some of the problems of development. In 1951, the Bank of Development and Rural Co-operative (Bank Omran va Tavan Rustaj) was established in Iran. In 1963 a branch of the Rural Co-operative known as Shirkat Tavan was opened in Darayi. According to the Articles of Association, among other things, it was established to perform the following functions:

1. To make available necessary materials and tools to individual members and their families, to provide facilities and fodder for animals.

2. To collect, store, exchange, transport, or sell the farm products of the individual members.

3. To make available agricultural machines and tools to be used by all members; to provide transportation, housing, drinking water, water for irrigation, to provide electricity, telephones.

4. To provide credit for members.

In theory, the Rural Co-operative is an ideal way to help the peasants improve their standard of living. In practice, it has not helped the peasants of Darayi and the surrounding villages; on the contrary it has been a disadvantage to them. I visited the headquarters of the Rural Co-operative in Khurramabad and some of the officials provided me with the following information.

To be eligible for help, the peasants who have received ownership, after paying twelve years of installment payments on their farms through the Land-Reform, are required to register as members of the Rural Co-operative. This means that they must buy shares in order to be
eligible to borrow money. Instead of performing its original functions, the Rural Co-operative has become a money-lending agency. It borrows money from the Agricultural Bank at an interest rate of four percent, and it lends to the members of the Rural Co-operative at six percent. Each shareholder must pay six percent interest on loans even if he owns a substantial number of shares. Thus, if a member has bought thirty shares at a price of one hundred rials each, he has three thousand rials invested in the Co-operative. If he borrows six thousand rials he must still pay six percent interest on the entire amount instead of only on three thousand rials. Each peasant can borrow only a small amount of money—just about enough to buy tea, sugar, and other necessities.

In theory, each member of the Rural Co-operative receives dividends on his shares. In practice, however, the various expenses take away any interest. For example, each Rural Co-operative must have a building in order to operate. These buildings are constructed at the expense of peasant shareholders. Each member must also pay a small fee to the Iran Navin political party, which he does not in fact participate in. In time of floods or earthquakes, money is taken away without the approval of shareholders.

When the Darayi branch of the Rural Co-operative was opened, people hoped that it would help them to improve themselves, but gradually it became clear that it is a bank. In 1971 the Rural Co-operative began to sell such items as tea, sugar, soap, cooking oil, and kerosine. However, the people buy very little from it because payment must be in cash, and during most of the year the peasants do not have cash. Therefore, they go to other stores where they can buy on credit.
It is interesting to note who controls the Rural Co-operative. Theoretically, there is a Board of Directors, the members of which are elected and must serve without salary. The Board of Directors must elect a Managing Director, and it is he who makes the payments and collects the money. As it happens none of the influential members of the village wants to assume the responsibility of being a board member. Thus, of the five members of the board, only one person has some prestige in the community. The influential members of the village see board membership as a waste of time, and as the assuming of responsibility without any payment. Aside from this, it is not the Board of Directors who make the decisions; rather they are made by the Supervisor who is a government official with an office in Khurramabad. He, not the Board of Directors, appointed a Managing Director who also is a government official. According to the Supervisor this happened because a trained person was needed for the job. As a result, the Board of Directors serves no useful purpose.

During the summer of 1973 while I was doing fieldwork, news spread about the misuse of some of the Co-operative funds. After a few days, it became clear that the Managing Director had stolen 170,000 rials from the Co-operative. He disappeared for several weeks but was finally located, and someone in Khurramabad signed for him to pay the money. When I asked the influential member of the Board of Directors why the Board had allowed this to happen, he answered, "I am not going to waste my time on that darn thing because it is nothing but a headache."

Now let us turn to Darayi's reservoir. The village has a qanat
which used to provide water for drinking and irrigation. About eight years ago part of the qanat collapsed and stopped the flow of water. The qanat needed repair, but the people did not want to repair it themselves. In 1967 when I received the news, I wrote a letter to Tehran and to the General-Governor of Luristan, asking them for help to fix the qanat or to construct an artesian well. Unfortunately, nothing happened. In 1973 the government decided that a reservoir must be constructed in Darayi. The villagers apparently welcomed the project because they thought that it would supply water for both drinking and irrigation, but when the reservoir was constructed it became clear that the water was just for drinking. Moreover, each household had to pay money each month for the fuel and maintenance of the pump. As soon as the water started running some members began to use it for making mud bricks and other activities besides drinking. There was no organization and no authority to prevent the misuse of the water. Finally, it became clear that the majority of the households did not want to pay money for fuel and maintenance. People declined to make the payments and they declared they do not need the water because they can get it from their wells.

When the government officials, particularly the Supervisor of the Co-operative became aware of the situation, he came to the village and declared that the government had spent so much money on this project that any household who refused to pay must be ready to face the gendarmes. A list was made and some money was collected by force. It is clear that this is another failure. Why? The reason is simple. The reservoir was not wanted by the people; it was something that the officials believed
was right. The reservoir cost 11,280,000 rials, whereas with less than 200,000 rials the qanat could have been repaired and it would have provided sufficient water for bathing, irrigation, and drinking.

The case of Darayi's reservoir might explain the failure of other projects. The following are some of the factors which have contributed to their failure.

1. The projects were constructed without prior study of their use and their importance to the villagers.

2. The decisions were made without serious participation by the majority of the villagers, and without explanation to them of the cost and maintenance.

3. Many of the villagers either cannot afford to pay or simply do not believe that it is worth paying.

4. Village priorities were not taken into consideration. For example, the people of Deh Bagher needed water more than a public bath.

5. There is no authority invested in members of the village so that they could enforce laws.

6. There are political factions in the villages which prevent cooperation among the members.

7. The people have not been educated or oriented toward certain programs.

8. Many do not want to assume responsibility because they are afraid that they might get in trouble with the officials and villagers, and there is no motivation. In other words, one takes responsibility only for something in return.
NOTES

1 Curzon meant Khuzistan.
2 Feili (rebel) referred to the tribes of Posht-Kuh and Pish-Kuh.
3 Diz is known by the Lurs as Cezar.
4 Kabir-Kuh in Luri is called Kavar.
5 I am not clear why Minorsky considers this as local tradition.
6 Mustowfi, Hamdullah Tarikh-i Guzida (1330 A.D.).
7 Istakhri, Ali al Ishaq al Musulik Wa'il Mamlak (10th century A.D.).
8 It was called Gundii-Shapur prior to the Arabs' conquest of Iran.
9 P. Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter nach dem Arabischen und Geographen (Leipzig: 1896).
11 Masudi, Abu al Hassan ali Al-Tonbii Wa'il-Ishraf (10th century A.D.).
12 There is a village by this name located 15-20 miles east of Khurramabad.
13 Located about 70-80 miles southeast of Khurramabad in Bala-Griva.
14 This is my translation of Saki's citation of Nafisi.
15 Personal interview with author.
16 This Atabak dynasty of the Lur should not be confused with other Atabak dynasties in other parts of Iran.
17 The Lur call it Gareet and it is located east of Khurramabad, presently occupies by the Papi tribe.
18 Shah Vardi Khan shared a common boundary with the Turks.
19 Personal interview.
The brother of the Shah and was the governor of Luristan.

He was the Shah's son.

Around 1825.

He was the grandson of the Shah.

These two princes were the son and the grandson of the Shah.

See Morgan Shuster, Strangling of Persia (1912).

Rawlinson (1836) indicates that both Sagvand and Baharvand came to Luristan during the eighteenth century, from the vicinity of Musal. But, Sagvand tribesmen claim that their ancestors came from Shiraz.

Sagvand winter territory was in Posht-i Kuh prior to their expansion.

Kayu, Shirvali, Gonj Ali and Dawit (David) were Marali's sons, each of whom had established a lineage.

According to Rawlinson's list (Ibid.:107), the Papi's summer territory was in Horu. Probably under the pressure of Sagvand and Baharvand, they were pushed toward Taf (Rashnu's summer territory) and Daren Nasaw.

General Ahmedi's letter is in my possession.

This migration was referred to as mal-zer.

Referred to as mal-wala.

Kashk was made by boiling the dugh and then put it in a cloth bag, let it dry up.

When a leader died without having any son, among the Kurdish population of Posht-i Kuh, it was customary to build him a chamariya (the foundation of a house and a cairn) as a memorial. Such dramatization can be understood in matters relating to groups' defense-offense situations.

Chela (40) is a number with ritual significance. There is a chela after the birth of a child, a chela (period of winter) and so on.

Death was a costly affair for the Baharvand. They have a saying "Not only do you lose your dear one, but you lose your properties, too."

Teknonym is a designation applied to a person by virtue of his relation to his child" Buchler and Selby (1968:170).
38Dr. Norbeck and I will continue further research on Lutis.

39It was not possible for a family to accumulate wealth in form of land and savings in order to maintain private forces or body guards.

40During the Luristan war, some groups were exiled to other parts of Iran. In this case he had come back from Khar, Varomin.

41About 150 miles away south of Horu.

42The guardians of Shahzada Ahmad are known as Papi and wear red turbans, while the guardians of Shahamad are called Bowa and were black turbans.

43A special wooden Talas (bowl) is made for dogs to drink from.

44Nany is the name of a female.

45See Tapper (1972:72).

46Man is a unit of weight = three kilo. It is also used as a measure of land. Thus it requires 100 man of seed to plant two hectares.

47I have noticed this practice in other parts of Luristan and Posht-i Kuh. This is an effective way to utilize two areas.

APPENDIX

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Data for this study were gathered chiefly through observation and interviews, but the studies of attitudes were aided by use of a series of questions which were asked of the following sample of persons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Sampled</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate--traditional</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate with traditional education</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate with elementary education</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate with secondary education</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This sample was chosen to provide a cross-section of opinion among the age and educational spectrum of tribal members. The results correspond closely with my findings based on both personal knowledge and on interviews with many more persons than were asked to respond to the questionnaire. In fact, each household in Darayi was questioned in detail about many matters, although most were not asked to respond specifically to the set of questions listed below.
Questionnaire

1. Do you think your children should attend school?

2. Does it bother you that your children are illiterate?

3. How many children would you like to have?

4. What occupation would you like your children to have?

5. At what age do you think your children should get married?

6. Do you think you should arrange the marriage for your children or they should make the decision?

7. Where would you like to live?

8. What do you consider to be the good qualities for a man?

9. What kind of job would you like?

10. If God were to provide you with whatever you want, what would you ask for?

11. Are people more concerned today with accumulating wealth than they were formerly?

12. Do you believe in Jin, Malakat, Freshta, Pari, etc.?

13. Do you believe in predestination?

14. Do you believe in lucky and unlucky days?

15. Do you think you should see a Mola or a doctor when you get sick?

16. Do you believe in what Sayed Saifolah preaches?

17. How many people in your village do you consider to be true muslim?

18. Do you believe that people were more religious and honest formerly or now?

19. How many people do you trust in your village completely?

20. If the government decided to help your village, what would you like to have done?

21. Do you believe that the disputes should be settled in the traditional manner or that they should be taken to the court?

22. Do you believe that people cooperated more before or now?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Question Number</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Literate with Trad. Education</th>
<th>Literate with Elem. Education</th>
<th>Literate with Sec. Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes - 25</td>
<td>Yes - 2</td>
<td>Yes - 14</td>
<td>Yes - 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yes - 23</td>
<td>Yes - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>a) the more the better</td>
<td>2-4 s; 1-2 d = 2</td>
<td>1-2 s; 1-2 d = 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) 4-7 s; 1-3 d = 15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1-2 s; 1 d = 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) 3 s; 1-3 d = 6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 s; 1 d = 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>pastoral nomad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>self-employed</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>government</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>army</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>engineer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>writer</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>boys 18-20 years old</td>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>18-22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>girls 10-15 years old</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>myself</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>children decide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>city</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>hospitality, generosity, kindness, honesty, bravery, wealth, literacy</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>same</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

258
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Question Number</th>
<th>Illiterate--Traditional</th>
<th>Literate with Trad. Education</th>
<th>Literate with Elem. Education</th>
<th>Literate with Sec. Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work and Aspirations</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>pastoral nomad 4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>farmer 8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>government 7</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teacher 1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pilot 1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>driver 2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>engineering</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>writer</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>judge</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>a place in heaven,</td>
<td>the same</td>
<td>a job, health,</td>
<td>a job, more education,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>health, wealth,</td>
<td></td>
<td>money</td>
<td>freedom, health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>large kinsmen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>now - 23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Yes 22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No 1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Yes 23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No ---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Yes 23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No ---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mola 18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Doctor 7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Question Number</td>
<td>Illiterate--Traditional</td>
<td>Literate with Trad. Education</td>
<td>Literate with Elem. Education</td>
<td>Literate with Sec. Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Yes 17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No 4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undecided 2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>None 17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2 4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-4 2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Before 23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Now ---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government 19</td>
<td>None 22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2 1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>water, mosque, bath</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>water, hospital electricity, roads</td>
<td>water, hospital, roads, and better school.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Yes 23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No ---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Before 23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Now ---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

s = son
d = daughter
REFERENCES CITED

Abou-Zaid, A. M.


Alberts, R. C.

Anderson, J. N. D.

Antoun, Richard, and Iliya Harik

Arasteh, Reza

Awad, M.


Ayoub, M.

Bacon, Elizabeth E.

Baldwin, George

Banani, Amin
Barnett, Homer

Barth, Fredrik


Beals, Ralph

Bell, M. S.
1899 A Visit to Karum River and Kum. Blackwood Magazine, April, pp. 466-479.

Berman, M.

Berger, Morroe

Berque, J.

Bohannan, Paul


Buchler, I. R., and A. Selby

Busse, Heribert

Coon, Carleton
Cooper, Merian C.

Cottam, Richard

Curzon, G. N.

Dalton, George

De Bode, C. A. B.

De Vos, G., and H. Wagatsuma

Dickson, Harold R. P.

Donaldson, E. A.

Douglas, William O.

Edmonds, C. J.

Ember, C., and M. Ember

Evans-Pritchards, E. E.

Feilberg, C. G.

Fernea, Robert A.
Field, Henry
1939 Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Firth, Raymond

Ford, C. D.
1953 Habitat, Economy and Society. London: Methuen and Co.

Fortes, M., and Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (Eds.)

Foster, G. M.


Ghirshman, R.

Gibb, H. A. R.

Goff, Clare

1971 Luristan Before Iran Age. Iran 9:131-152.

Gulick, John


Halpern, Manfred
Hammond, Peter B. (Ed.)

Harik, Iliya

Harrison, J. V.

Herskovits, Melville

Hoebel, Edward Adamson

Hole, Frank

Hole, Frank, and K. V. Flannery

Irons, William


Jacobs, Norman

Johnson, Douglas L.

Katirayi, M.
Krader, Lawrence


Lambton, Ann K. S.


Layard, Henry
1848 A Description of the Province of Khuzistan. The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society XVII.

Leach, E. R.

Leed, A., and Vayda, A. P.

Le Strange, G.

Levy, Reuben

Loffler, R.

Lorimer, I. M.
1908 A Report on Pusht-i Kuh. Simla?

Lutfiyya, A.
Lutfiya, A.


Makal, Mahmut

Masse, Henri

Meldgaard, Jorgen, Peder Mortensen, and Henrik Thrane

Meredith, Colin

Middleton, John, and David Tait (Eds.)

Miller, W. Green

Minorsky, V.

Morgan, Jacques de

Murphy, Robert F.

Murphy, Robert F. and Julian H. Steward

Musham, H. V.
1959 Sedentarization of the Bedouin in Israel. International Social Science Journal 11:539-549. UNESCO.
Musil, Alois

Myers, J. L.

Neville, Dyson-Hudson

Norbeck, Edward

Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah

Patai, Raphael

Pierce, Joe

Potter, J. M., M. Diaz, and G. M. Foster (Eds.)

Rabino, H. L.

Rakhsh, Aziz, et al.

Rashid Yasemi, Gholamreza

Rawlinson, Sir Henry

Razmara, Ali
Redfield, R.

Sahlins, Marshall D.


Saki, Ali

Salim, S. M.

Salzman, Philip C.

Sardar As'ad (Haji Ali Quli Khan)
1915 Tarikh-i-Bakhtiari. Tehran, lith.

Schmidt, Erich F.

Service, Elman R.


Shanin, Teodor

Shiloh, Aylon

Shuster, Morgan

Siegel, Bernard J. (Ed.)

Sjoberg, G.

Smith H. H., et al. (Eds.)
Spicer, Edward

Spooner, Brian


Stauffer, Thomas R.
1965 The Economics of Nomadism in Iran. Middle East Journal 19:284-303.

Stein, Sir Aurel
1969 (Orig. 1940) Old Routes of Western Iran. New York: Greenwood Press.

Steward, Julian H.

Stirling, P.

Sweet, L.


Sweet, L. (Ed.)

Sykes, Sir Percy

Tannous, A. I.
Tapper, Richard

Tursunbayev, A., and Potapov, A.

Vanden Berghe, Louis

Von Grunebaum, G. E.

Vreeland, Herbert (Ed.)
1957 Iran. New Haven: Human Relations Area files.

White, Leslie

Wilson, Arnold T.
1912 Luristan. Simla.

Wolf, E.


Young, T. C., Jr.

1967 The Iranian Migration into the Zagros. Iran 5:11-34.

Young, T. C., Jr., and P. E. L. Smith

Zonis, Marvin