

Bringing Persian Flat Woven Art to Market

Material Culture Study of Bakhtiari Nomad of Iran

A report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
Of the degree of post professional
Master of Architecture

Saman Maleknia

Urban Design and Housing Group
School of Architecture
McGill University
Montreal, QC
August 2013
Prof. Robert Mellin

Copyright © Saman. Maleknia, August 2013

Contents

Acknowledgment	5
Abstract	7
Resume	8
Chapter One	10
1.1 Introduction	10
1.1.1 Goals for this research	10
1.1.2 Nomadology and Sedentarism in Architecture.....	11
1.1.3 Nomadism.....	14
1.1.4 Strategies.....	15
1.1.5 Diagramming.....	16
1.1.6 Ephemerality.....	16
1.1.7 Movement.....	16
Chapter Two	19
2.1 Vernacular Architecture of Nomads	19
2.1.1 Nomad of Iran.....	20
2.1.2 Animal husbandry and grazing management Practices.....	21
In Iranian nomads	
2.2 Pastoral Nomads.....	24
2.2.1 Pastoral Nomads of IRAN.....	26
2.2.1.1 The Baluch tribe.....	28
2.2.1.2 Komachi Tribe.....	30
2.2.1.3 Basseri Tribe.....	32
2.2.1.4 Qashqa'i Tribe.....	33
2.2.1.5 Yomut TurkmenTribe.....	34
2.2.1.6 Bakhtiari Tribe.....	37

2.3 Film reviews about Bakhtiari Tribe.....	41
2.3.1 The Bakhtiari Alphabet Review.....	41
2.3.2 The People of the Wind review.....	43
2.4 People of Bakhtiari tribe.....	48
2.4.1 Bakhtiari Tribe's Background.....	48
2.4.2 Bakhtiari Tribe as one of the main nomadic pastoralism of Iran..	52
2.4.3 Women in the Bakhtiari tribe.....	54
2.4.4 Men in the Bakhtiari tribe.....	55
2.5 Tent.....	57
2.5.1 The Black Tent.....	57
2.5.2 The Black Tent of Iran, Case of Bakhtiari Tribe.....	63
2.5.2.1 Interior layouts of Bakhtiari Black tent.....	61
2.5.2.2 Location for tent pitching.....	67
2.5.3 Strategies for better protection against cold and rain.....	69
2.6 Movement in Bakhtiari life.....	72
2.7 Architectural form, purpose and meaning.....	75
Chapter Three.....	77
3.1 Material Culture Study.....	77
3.1.1 Material Culture Study of Bakhtiari Nomad of Iran.....	77
3.2 Lions' Representation in Bakhtiari.....	78
3.2.1 Oral Tradition and Funerary.....	78
3.2.2 The lion in Bakhtiari oral beliefs and traditions.....	79
3.2.3 The lion in Shahnameh khani.....	81
3.3.4 Lion tombstones.....	86
3.3.5 Remaining lions.....	87
3.3.6 Edalat Family; one of the reaming families of stone carvers.....	91
3.4 Bakhtiari Carpets.....	95

3.4.1 Flat Woven Carpet (Kilim or Gelim)	110
3.4.2 Persian Bakhtiari Flat Woven Arts (Gelim Bafi)	120
3.5 Study area.....	121
3.6 Methods.....	123
3.7 Outline.....	124
3.8 Stories of the Ashayer (nomads), the Bakhtiari nomadic people of Iran.....	127
3.8.1 Case study of Ayoubi family tents.....	127
3.8.1.1 Seasonal movements.....	128
3.8.1.2 Lifestyle.....	130
3.8.1.3 Relationship with the natural ground.....	131
3.8.1.4 Natural ventelation.....	131
3.8.1.5 Use sustainable materials.....	132
3.8.2 Interior of Ayoubi tenta.....	134
3.8.3 Ayoubi Family structure.....	141
3.8.3.1 Sadat Khanoom.....	141
3.8.3.2 Amo Ali.....	146
3.8.3.3 Children.....	147
3.8.4 Commercial livestock products.....	149
3.8.5 Dairy products.....	149
Chapter four.....	137
Conclusion.....	150
Reference List.....	154

Acknowledgment

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to those who made this thesis possible such as my supervisor Professor Robert Mellin, for his excellent guidance, caring and patience and his encouragement, supervision and support from preliminary to the concluding level enabled me to do this research. The idea of choosing my final project topic first came to my mind after Professor Robert Mellin's advice about my passion and interest in tribal weaving and flat woven art in Iran particularly in Bakhtirai tribe in Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiyari province of Iran.

I would like to extend my special thanks to my dear friend Zohreh Deldadeh for her support and help in this project. Special thanks to professor Pieter Sijpkes for his great lecture on history of housing and so I'm so thankful to him.

I would like to thank all my friends and others who were always willing to help and encouraged me in this report.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother, father and brother who were always supporting me and encouraging me with their best wishes not only for this report but for my entire life which all depends upon their strong and great soul.

IN THE LAST 70 YEARS, IRANIAN society has changed a great deal and, consequently, Iranian nomadic societies, like any other small-scale societies of Iran, have also changed. This trend of transformation is mainly the result of policies introduced by the Iranian central government with regard to the nomadic way of life. In addition, the general modernization of Iran over the course of the last century can be considered the other important factor in accelerating this process. Any research aiming to investigate and preserve The history of nomadic societies in Iran therefore has great significance today.

Saman Maleknia, August 2013

Abstract

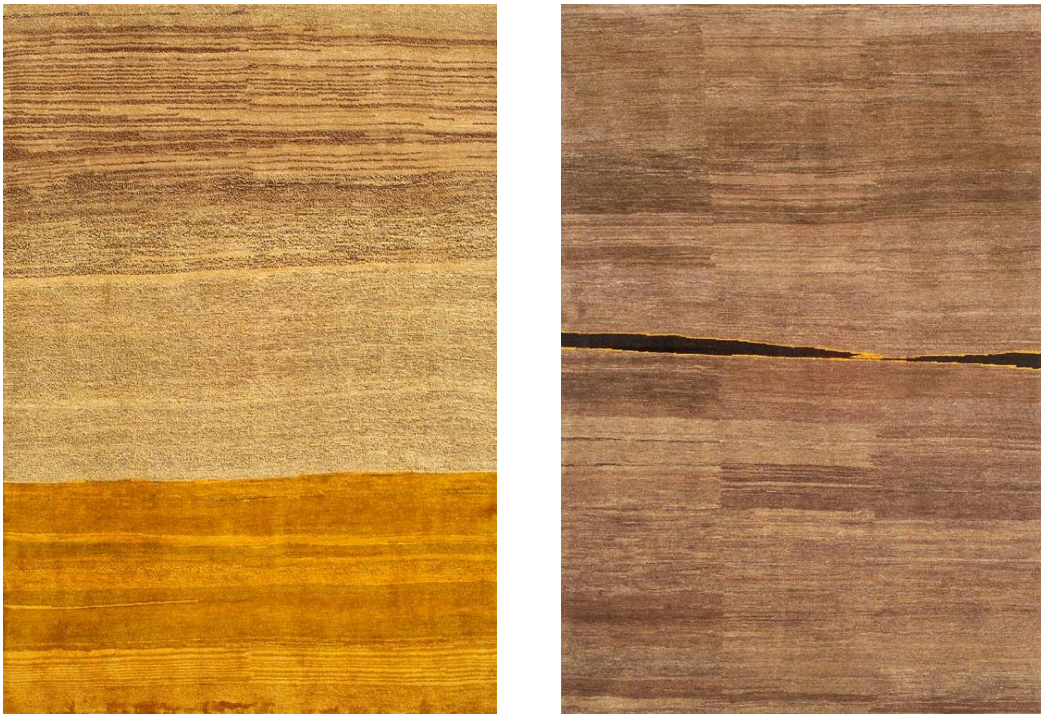
This report investigates the domestic vernacular architecture and material culture of the main nomads of Iran particularly Bakhtiari tribe, part of the Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiari province in Iran, as well as documents the daily lives of Bakhtiari artisans and weavers in their architectural and urban Context. The principal goal is to document the everyday life and culture of this tribe and study traditional tents of the community through an examination of living and working spaces.

Due to an intense shift in the culture of the nomadic people and society in all Iran's nomads particularly Chahr Mahal and Bakhtirai Province, there is a great need to document the existing architecture and material culture. This research will provide an analysis of the vernacular architecture and material culture in this area, one of the historic province of Iran, based on daily life routines, gender rules, household activities, domestic architecture patterns, and local culture.

Résumé

Ce rapport se penche sur la langue vernaculaire, l'architecture, et la culture matérielle de la principale tribu nomade d'Iran, et plus particulièrement la tribu Bakhtiari, originaire de Chahar Mahal et de la province Bakhtiari. Il décrit également la vie quotidienne des artisans et tisserands Bakhtiari, leur mode de vie urbain, et leur architecture. Le principal objectif est de documenter la vie quotidienne et la culture de cette tribu et étudier les tentes traditionnelles de cette communauté à travers l'étude des espaces de vie et de travail. En raison d'importants changements dans la culture des peuples nomades et de la société iranienne en général, notamment dans les provinces de Chahr Mahal et Bakhtiari, il devient de plus en plus important de documenter l'architecture existante et les biens matériels. Cette recherche fournira une analyse de l'architecture, le vernaculaire, et les aspects matériels de la culture dans cette région, l'une des provinces historiques d'Iran, en se basant sur le quotidien, la répartition des rôles entre les sexes, les tâches domestiques, l'architecture, et la culture locale.

This research demonstrates the deep passion I have for carpets and tribal flat woven art. This desire has accompanied me since my introduction to the richness of this heritage while growing up among the traditional vernacular carpet markets in Tehran. Before attending architecture school in Iran, I started reading and learning about the history and tradition of Persian textiles. My growing interest led me to officially join the Heriz Persian Carpet School, where I learned my practical knowledge of textile design. After one and half years of studying Persian Flat and Pile weaving design, I attained my diploma with distinction from the vocational Persian Carpet institute in Iran.



Woven Landscape series, designed by Saman Maleknia, 2010

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Goals for this Research

This research explores how architectural space, time, and movement can be integrated with the dynamics and beauty of Persian flat woven arts, from the first threads until the final destination, throughout a long journey of migration. In this sense, Persian woven artifacts can be reassessed as artifacts and everyday objects from home to market and vice versa, making the architectural component important for studies that investigate the patterns of these intertwined threads of handmade woolen art.

What social values do architectural spaces represent, particularly in the context of vernacular architecture that underlines the importance of studying Persian artifacts as a form of material culture? From which disciplinary fields of research can we approach architecture as a cultural art, yet maintain a strong relationship with the artist and art materials? Do the differences among disciplines explain why architecture and artifact are sometimes separated from such ideas as usability, domestication, social practice, everyday life, and cultural dynamics? Is the historical weight of the architectural canons the reason why architectural artifacts do not fit easily into analyses and discussions drawn from anthropology, sociology, and other recent cultural studies trends? In this project, I address these questions, contribute to knowledge about these valuable woven arts, and

shed light on the different angles of materials culture in vernacular architectural spaces.

1.1.2 Nomadology and Sedentarism in Architecture

The contexts for challenging sedentarism in architecture and for considering nomadology in this research relate to both the theory and the practice of architecture. The professional practices of architects have become increasingly scrutinised and commercially contested in the twentieth century. By the middle of the twentieth century, architects became regarded as specialists in the business of building. Contemporary architects have thus developed a strong interest in sedentary settlement. Modern architecture has become largely concerned with sedentary life. This preoccupation has both ecological and communication implications. The domination by humans of the natural landscapes they occupy forms part of a defensive attitude to civilization as 'settlement.' The communication of architectural knowledge as a hierarchical, finite, and universal set suggests a permanent and static phenomenon.



Fig.1.1.1.Nomad life in the south of Iran

Architectural theory appears to have been generated by the invention of printing and type. Printed information in the fifteenth century also became available on a previously unprecedented scale, while the Internet or world-wide-web has done this on a wider scale still within the technological modern elite. History has traditionally been constructed in a linear manner. This linear view suggests chronologically progressing from 'primitive and nomadic' towards an 'advanced' state of 'settled civilisation'. One-way directional linear concepts of the progress in architecture and history are significant.¹ There is a danger this may be used as a justification for changing the physical, natural environment (see Figure 1.2), which has contributed to extensive displacement of nomads. The sedentary bias, it may be suggested, contributed to the construction and fortification of a profession of architects during the last century. This sedentary bias establishes an exclusive culture of permanent, static, and heroically individualistic buildings as the sole 'civilized' works of architecture.



Fig.1.2.Changing the physical body of desert in the Loot desert in Iran

¹ Mario Carpo's argument on this subject was recently published in: Mario Carpo Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory(Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

This project investigates the claim that, to a greater degree in the 'developed' and 'developing' parts of the world, like Iran, dwelling environments will require greater architectural attention and consideration, and their conception may have quite the opposite characteristics of sedentary peoples. Increasingly, dwelling environments will be premised upon being temporary, dynamic, portable, and collaboratively produced.

This study considers the tendency to consider architects as specialists in a society—the opposite of nomads—as well as generalists and opportunists. The collaborative aspect of architecture is complex, yet significant for understanding architecture as process rather than by its material outcomes.



Fig.1.3.Visiting a Bakhtiari family in Sheikh Ali Khan

1.1.3 Nomadism²

The mythology of the nomad has largely been created and maintained by sedentary peoples³. It is necessary at the outset to distinguish between sedentary and 'unsettled' peoples, in terms of the anthropological and philosophical dimensions of such a distinction. The alignment of 'settlement' with 'civilization' has been developed historically, and settled is regarded as more advanced or evolved than nomadic life.

The connection has been a major justification for repressing, relocating, or re-educating nomadic and hunter-gatherer societies. Three main groups of nomads were typically identified; pastoralists, hunter-gatherers, and traveling workers. There were estimated to be 30 to 40 million pastoral nomads in the world, moving with their households in search of pastures for their animals. Populations of nomad groups are difficult to quantify, as they are difficult to 'capture.' The third group, sometimes known generically as travelers, include the Gypsies⁴ or other traveling and seasonal workers, who are neither hunter-gathers nor pastoralists. While the Gypsies are supposed to have traveled from North India to Europe about 1,000 years ago, elements of these cultures are spread globally today.

² *Nomadism* is a lifestyle adapted to infertile regions such as steppe, tundra, or desert, where mobility is the most efficient strategy for exploiting scarce resources.

³ A sedentary lifestyle is a type of lifestyle with no or irregular physical activity

⁴ Members of a people that arrived in Europe in migrations from northern India around the 14th century, now also living in North America and Australia. Many Gypsy groups have preserved elements of their traditional culture, including an itinerant existence and the Romany language.

1.1.4 Strategies

Three key strategies are essential in this research for understanding ways of practicing nomadology in architecture. First, diagramming is a means of conveying performativity of architecture; second, ephemerality and third, movement, are reviewed with respect to the interpretation and deployment of architecture. Nomadic value systems have played an important role on the fringes of mainstream societies in critiquing and challenging modern sedentary norms. Challenges to modern systems of architecture are presented by temporal nomadism, spatial nomadism (movement), along with the collaborative and shared experience of making spaces.

1.1.5 Diagramming

The diagram is a visual representation of the way something works, rather than simply how it looks. It is an abstraction and a reduction of something. It is a mode of notation, but it is also a model of thought and, in this sense, nomadic architecture can be understood to share certain abstract qualities with the diagram. For designers, the diagram constitutes a form of visual thinking.

1.1.6 Ephemerality

The possibility of architecture upon variable and negotiable time frames is addressed in practice in the conclusion. Architecture's perceived relevance, particularly for "users" who are not architects, appears and fades away, dependent upon the user or beholder who finds architecture within the environment. Traditions of ephemeral architecture encompass a wide range of marginal yet culturally substantial structures. Ephemeral architectural phenomena are discussed in this research in order to distinguish architectural values that differentiate between permanent architecture incorporating movements, and moving or perpetually re-constructed environments.

1.1.7 Movement

Movement in architecture has been employed consciously in different cultures in articulating social and physical change within architectural environments, often expressed through dynamic objects and rituals. Movement, privacy, and enclosure have assumed various new architectural roles in the context of changing communications technology, as the cultural meanings of architecture and place have changed in the Internet-affected world.

Movement and ephemerality are elusive qualities of architecture that are difficult to represent materially, such that pragmatic issues of mapping become essential. Mapping provides evidence of the activity and performance of humans and technology, tracing the environment and its manipulations. These tracings continue to provide potentially rich material for architectural research.

Today, architecture no longer needs to be considered as a monument that smothers social life, as Georges Bataille considered in his essay⁵. The notion that architecture is a means of controlling and incarcerating people in solitary and inflexible permanent structures should be challenged in today's networked and fluid societies. Tendencies for domination through architecture must be challenged and resistance, to be effective, must remain alive and regenerative through collaboration. This challenge of standing against the sedentary, static, and graded side of architecture is what makes it critical. The present research takes up this challenge by examining ways to challenge the settled, the lifeless, and the static in architecture through movement, ephemerality, and processes of collaboration.

⁵ Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille*, 46.



Fig.1.4. Migration of Bakhtiari nomad. (Reproduced from the movie
"People of the Wind")

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Vernacular Architecture of Nomads



Fig.2.1. Wool spinning in Bakhtiari nomad

2.1.1 Nomads of Iran

It can be stated that over the nation's very long history, a majority of the people in Iran were engaged in pastoral subsistence and animal breeding. Thus, they often earned their livelihood traveling across various parts of the country. The herds were taken to the seasonal summer or winter quarters, where the herdsmen lived in tents. This pattern of decamping differentiated this community from the others who were permanent dwellers, thereby bringing about occasional conflicts amongst these groups. Moreover, this community could not be categorized as nomads, in general, because some were semi-tribal. The latter stationed a part of their clan in their distinct realm for their summer or winter quarters, whereas their respective chieftains dwelled in the cities or villages for part of the year. Though the lives of these communities and tribes intermingled with their decamping conditions, that made them adapt to their surroundings.



Fig.2.2. Iranian nomad weaving (Photo from www.iranicaonline.org)

2.1.2 Animal Husbandry and Grazing management Practices in Iranian nomads

Pastoral production practices are similar across the vast expanses of the Iranian Plateau, though the livestock composition and sizes of herds can be quite different. Iranian nomads throughout the region raise the same kinds of animals: cows, cow-cattle birds, sheep, goats, and horses. Animal husbandry plays an important role in local and regional economies wherever it is practiced, especially since livestock production is the only agricultural activity possible in many areas.

All Iranian nomads also have strong economic links with agricultural communities outside of the nomadic pastoral grazing land areas. Almost all nomads have a base, usually the traditional winter area where they have built houses and barns, and make established moves with their livestock from there to distant pastures throughout the year. The traditional Tibetan yak-hair tent is in common use throughout the region.

Mobility is clearly a central characteristic of nomadic production throughout the Persian rangelands. The pastoral system is designed around the movement of livestock to different pastures at different seasons of the year and the tracking of favorable forage conditions. Decisions on herd movements also take into consideration factors such as past use, snowfall and rainfall, growth stage of the grass, and condition of the animals. Livestock subsist almost entirely by grazing the rangelands

year-round. Some hay is cut to feed weak animals and horses in winter and spring but, for the most part, animals acquire all their foraging needs from grazing. Increasingly, nomads are fencing rangeland to reserve pastures for winter and spring grazing and are planting tame pastures for either winter–spring grazing or for hay.

The cow is a key animal for Iranian nomads and defines nomadic pastoralism across most of the Iranian Plateau. Cows are one of the most important domestic animals because they provide milk. The cow makes life possible for man in one of the world's harshest and coldest environments. Although Iranian nomads also raise other animals, they place so much value on the cow that the Persian term for Cow (Gav) or, also translated as "Mal," means "asset."

Male cows are usually slaughtered for meat at four years of age. Sheep and goats are important species of livestock in many areas as well, especially in the western regions close to the Zagros Range. Sheep provide wool for tribal weavers and meat, and they are milked in many areas. Sheep meat is the preferred meat among Iranian nomads as well as in agricultural and urban areas where many sheep are sold. Goats provide cashmere, meat, and milk. Cashmere from Iranian goats is one of the best cashmeres in the world and widely is used to weave the traditional black tents, Kilims, carpets, bags, and other decorative tools for the animal and interior spaces of tents.

Sheep and goats can be profitable where it is practical to raise them, particularly given the essential materials they provide. They are also used as pack animals. Since sheep and goats normally give birth every year, their numbers can be increased quickly. However, mortality rates for sheep and goats can be high during harsh winters, especially among lambs and kids that are born in February and March.

Iranian nomads also keep horses and, in some areas of the northeast, horses make up 10 percent of total livestock numbers. Horses are used primarily for riding, but are also used as pack animals. Horses are not milked and Iranian nomads do not eat horse meat. The proportion of different livestock species raised by nomads differs across the region according to rangeland factors and the suitability of the landscape for different animals. Herd compositions within a geographic area can also vary with the skills, preferences, and availability of labor of the nomads. Across most of western and southern tribes in Iran, sheep and goats are more common than cows (see Figure 2.3).

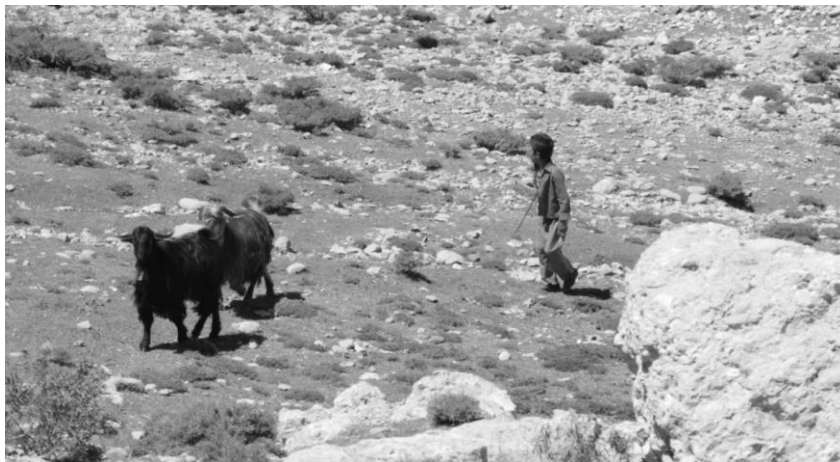


Fig.2.3. A child guiding the goats in the Bakhtiari plateau of Koohrang city

2.2 Pastoral Nomads

Nomadic movement is highly purposeful and is oriented toward achieving specific production or other goals. Commonly nomadic mobility is used to advance production goals in a number of diverse sectors. Nomadism, however, is not tied to one type of economic system; some nomads have generalized, consumption-oriented production, while others are specialized and market-oriented. Nor is nomadism limited to one type of land tenure; some nomads migrate within a territory that they control, while others have no political or legal claim over the land they use.

Furthermore, some pastoral nomads live in isolated regions far from other populations, while others live close to peasant and urban populations. Pastoral nomads vary in political structure from state-controlled peasants, to centralized chiefdoms, to weak chiefdoms or segmentary lineages systems. The word "nomad" derives, via Latin, from a Greek term meaning, "to pasture," and is thus, etymologically, identical with "pastoralism," which derives from Latin and refers to raising livestock (Collins English Dictionary).⁶

Consequently, the main meaning attributed to a nomad is "a person belonging to a race or tribe which moves from place to place to find pasture; hence, one who lives a roaming or wandering life." However, over the past decades, many anthropologists (e.g., Salzman; Tanavoli;

⁶ <http://www.collinsdictionary.com>

Beck) have found it convenient to disaggregate analytically the two main elements of the term "nomad," providing two distinct conceptualizations: (1) Raising livestock on natural pasture, and (2) moving from place to place.

The current convention is to use the term "pastoralism"⁷ to refer to the raising of livestock on natural pastures, and "nomadism" to refer to moving from place to place (Salzman; Galatyand, Johnson and Fabietti). Given this convention, a population's type of production, on the one hand, and spatial mobility, on the other hand, are logically distinguished so that the various relationships of production and mobility can be studied and related empirically and ethnographically. In this way we avoid an a priori, definitional conflation of production and mobility and facilitate observation of their relationships among various peoples in the world.

Now let's define "nomadism," or "nomadic movement," a little more precisely. What is implied in "a roaming or wandering life," is more than wandering from the bar to the piazza, and to the cantina; what is implied is the movement of the home and the household, and the spatial displacement of the home base and living establishment altogether. Even more, to "a race or tribe" (admittedly in outmoded terminology) clearly points to nomadism as, in some sense, a collective activity, facilitated and carried out by a community that is larger than an individual household.

⁷ *Pastoralism* is the branch of agriculture concerned with the raising of livestock. It is animal husbandry: the care, tending and use of animals such as camel, cow, sheep and goat.
en.wikipedia.org

Lastly, "nomadism" refers not to the infrequent or occasional displacement of people from one location to another, as in moving to a new house or migrating to a new community or country; rather, it refers to the consistent, repeated, and frequent displacement of people's households and home bases, and of their entire community.

To review, I define "nomadism" as the regular and frequent movement of the home base and household. An empirical index of this is the nature of physical structures for shelter, which are among nomads either portable, such as the tent, or temporary, such as dry stone walls or walls made with disposable, local materials. The first empirical association that can be found with nomadism is productive activity; in general, nomadic populations are nomadic in the course of making a living.

2.2.1 Pastoral Nomads of Iran

Fredrik Barth's classic work on Basseris (1961)⁸ demonstrated the importance of Iranian pastoral nomads' exchanges with the settled world. In this article I examine historical variations in the nature of exchange relationships and the political and economic context in which these were embedded. I argue that the "friendly" relations described by Barth were an anomaly associated with the Pahlavi dynasty's destruction of tribal elites,

⁸ American Ethnologist, Volume 24, issue 4 (November 1997), p. 895-909.
ISSN: 0094-0496 DOI: 10.1525/ae.1997.24.4.895
Blackwell Publishing Ltd

and I demonstrate that tribes people have a long history of actively contesting unfavorable conditions of trade. [Pastoralism, trade and exchange, Iran, history]

I briefly review six well-documented ethnographic cases of nomadic pastoralists in Iran. I will review, in order, the following groups: first, the Baluch tribe in southeastern Iran; second, the Komachi tribe in southern Iran; third, the Basseri of southwestern Iran; fourth, the Qashqai of the Zagros Mountains In southeast of Iran; fifth, the Turkmen of northeastern Iran; and finally, sixth, the Bakhtiari tribe in the Esfahan region in the southwest of Iran (see Figure 2.4). In this section, I also draw out various general observations about nomadism In Iran.



Fig.2.4. The map shows the variety of main nomadic tribes in Iran

2.2.1.1 The Baluch Tribe

The Baluch of the Sarhad Baluchistan is split between southeastern Iran, western Pakistan, and southwestern Afghanistan. Iranian Baluchistan is both a distant frontier region and an ethnically distinct tribal area. It is about as far as one can be from Tehran, the national capital, without leaving Iran, and it is far from other major Persian cities such as Esfahan, Mashhad, and Shiraz. The Baluch are separated from these major cities, and even from the nearest city, Kerman, by the great central desert. The inhabitants are ethnically Baluch, mostly speaking the Baluchi language (a Western Iranian language closely related to Kurdish), and largely follow Sunni Islam rather than the Shi'a Islam of the Persians. There are no indigenous cities in Iranian Baluchistan, and the population is divided into tent-dwelling nomads and oasis-dwelling cultivators (Shahri), in some areas both ruled by a small elite class that in Persian called Hakem (see Figure 2.5).

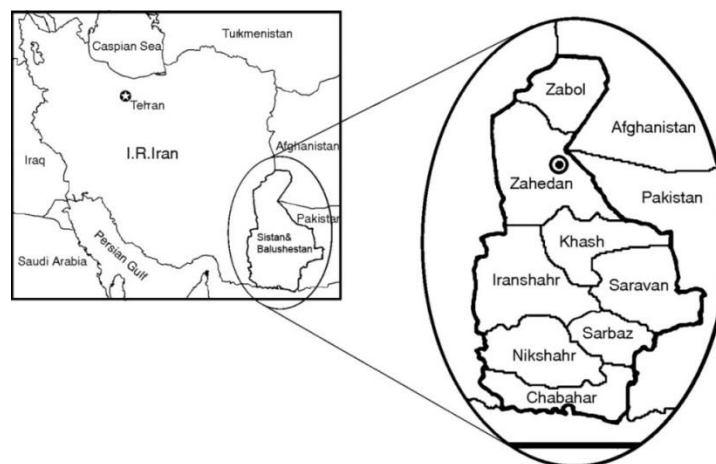


Fig.2.5. Map of Sistan and Baluchestan, in Iran

Sarhadi Baluch groups of black goat-hair tent residents that migrated from place to place throughout the year pursuing their productive activities. These tribesmen were not venturing to unknown places but were moving to known and named places within their large tribal territories. However, they had no set migration cycle or route because the availability of resources was unpredictable. The Sarhadi Baluch engaged in a variety of productive activities, including raising sheep, goats, and camels, cultivating grain, some vegetables, and fruit, and husbanding date palms (see Figure 2.6).



Fig.2.6. Baluch tent of Iran

2.2.1.2 Komachi Tribe

Several hundred Miles to the west of these Baluch were the Komachi, a small group of Persian-speaking pastoral nomads. They raised sheep and goats, migrating some two hundred miles seasonally from lowland winter pastures on the coastal plains of southern Iran to highland summer pastures—which they deem their homeland—in mountain ranges south of Kerman city.

This seasonal pattern of migration, labeled "Kooch" in Persian, is an adaptation to the macro-environmental variation. The summer home of the Komachi, in a valley over 2,500 meters into the mountains south of Kerman city, received enough rain during the winter to provide good pastures and relatively cool temperatures during the summer (Bradburd 1990:13-15)⁹. The winter home of the Komachi was the warm lowlands of the Persian Gulf coast, near Bandar Abbas, a region which receives an average of around 6 inches of rain in the fall and early winter, and which generally provided pastures of new grass in the early spring (Bradburd 1990:15-18).

The Komachi Tribe is characterized as migratory farmers; they were economic, rather than political, pastoralists. They sold livestock products,

⁹ Bradburd, Daniel, Ambiguous relations : skin, class, and conflict among Komachi pastoralists

such as goat's wool for cashmere, sheep's wool for carpets, and culled animals for meat, in urban markets and had dependent ties with merchants and moneylenders.

They bought many of the products they consumed, including goat hair (from a type of goat they did not raise) for making tents. Much of the Komachi's region was lightly populated, infertile pasture areas that Komachi were able to gain access to without great difficulty. But their access was dependent upon the good will of absentee landowners (and, more recently, government officials of Iran) and was usually the result of gifts, fees, or patron-client ties.

Nomadic migration patterns, such as those among the Komachi, are more regular and are repeated, wherein macro-environmental features, such as seasons and altitude, determine the availability of needed resources.

Iranian nomadism is not linked in a determinative fashion with external political relations. Many nomadic tribes, such as the Baluchi of the Sarhad, the Yomut Turkmen and the Bakhtiari tribe, are (up to recent times) fierce and independent, while other fully nomadic groups, such as the Komachi, who were highly integrated into Persian society and totally controlled by the Persian state, are pacific, peasant pastoralists (Salzman 1996)¹⁰.

¹⁰ Salzman, P. C. 1996. Peasant pastoralism. In *The Anthropology of Tribal and Peasant Pastoral Societies: The Dialectics of Social Cohesion and Fragmentation*

Nomadism is not connected in a determinative fashion with economic orientation. Some nomadic peoples, such as the Sarhadi Baluch, have a generalized, multi-resource productive regime—a richly mixed economy. They produce almost entirely for subsistence; only a very small percentage of production is traded locally, and none is exported. In contrast, other nomadic groups such as the Komachi are highly specialized and oriented toward exchange or sale in markets, often in urban bazaars, with their production in many cases being directed toward export.

All nomadic groups do not have a customary habitat in which they migrate; some, such as the Komachi, have no legal title to the area they use, nor do they control it politically as a territory of their own. Without a political or military structure, these groups cannot defend their customary habitats against invasion.

When external agricultural or other interests expand and encroach into their migratory habitat, these groups with unsecured tenure are displaced and forced to shift to other and perhaps less desirable habitats. This situation contrasts with the territories of independent tribes, such as that of the Sarhadi Baluch, which are held by collective force.

2.2.1.3 Basseri Tribe

The Basseri of Fars, hundreds of miles to the west of the Komachi, in Fars Province, are a Persian-speaking tribe, who were part of the Khamseh

union. The province of Fars, with its legendary capital of Shiraz, is located at the southern end of the great Zagros Mountain Range, which reaches to the northwest of Iran and divides the Iranian plateau to the east from the desert lowlands of Mesopotamia to the west.



Fig.2.6. Basseri saddlebag

2.2.1.4 Qashqa'i Tribe

The neighbors and sometime adversaries of the Basseri were the Turkish-speaking tribes of the Qashqa'i, around 400,000 persons.¹¹ The Qashqa'i

¹¹ Beck, Lois, 1991 *Nomad: A Year in the Life of a Qashqa'i Tribesman in Iran*. Berkeley: University of California Press; London: I. B. Tauris.

tribes followed a grand transhumance of their own, migrating on their own north-south tribal roads to the west of Shiraz. Their lifestyle and economy were much like those of the Basseri—the Qashqa’l had a specialized market-oriented economy based upon a transhumant adaptation to macro-environmental variations.

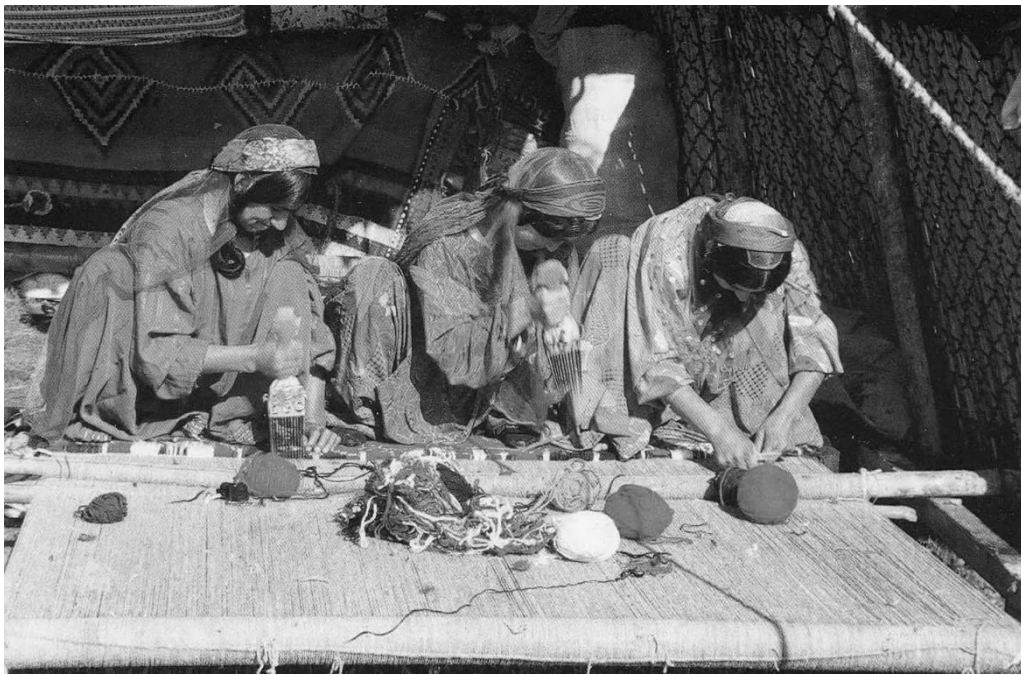


Fig.2.7. Qashqa'l women are weaving a carpet

2.2.1.5 Yomut

Turkmen Tribe

Shifting our gaze from the west of Iran to the northeast, the tribes of the Yomut Turkmen are found in the Gorgon region east of the Caspian Sea

and north of the Alburz Mountain Range. The northern slopes of the mountains receive some heavy rain and support a forest zone in which intensive agriculture is carried out by Persian and Turkic-speaking sedentary villagers. The rainfall declines farther to the north in a humid steppe zone, and even further north in a steppe-desert zone. The Yomut occupied these steppe and steppe-desert zones, with those living in the steppe specializing in dry grain cultivation and those in the steppe-desert specializing in sheep pastoralism. Each Yomut tribe included both zones in its territory and, therefore, each tribe had both pastoralists and cultivators. These pastoralists and cultivators produced for their own subsistence, but they were also market-oriented, selling livestock, carpets, and grain in markets where they bought staples such as rice and other goods.

All of the Yomut, cultivators and pastoralists alike, were nomadic. They lived in yurts—the felt-covered, hemispherical, portable dwellings typical of Central Asia—that were quite distinct from the black, goat-hair tents of the Iranian Plateau tribes. Although mobile, the Turkmen did not ordinarily move long distances. In the spring, the cultivators often migrated ten kilometers north to the Gorgan River, in order to avoid the flies and mosquitoes of the forest zone. During the wet season, the pastoralists made a number of one-day migrations, usually not more than ten kilometers, within their local areas (see Figure 2.8).



Fig.2.8. Map of Turkmenistan tribes

During the winter and spring dry season, many would migrate to the river side. Given the usually modest amount of movement undertaken by the Turkmen, there was really no pressing economic reason for them to maintain such a high level of nomadic capacity. They could have functioned quite well economically with a semi-sedentary residence pattern, with the agriculturalists residing primarily on farmsteads or in

villages and the pastoralists residing in individual or group ranches (Irons 1975:21, 36, 69)¹². The nomadic strategy of the Turkmen was fundamentally political rather than economic: nomadic mobility was an adaptation to inimical state societies, particularly the Iranian state's control by the Persians, old ethnic enemies of the Turkmen. For their part, the Turkmen advanced themselves by raiding Persian villages and caravans, not shying even from selling Persian captives as slaves.

2.2.1.6 Bakhtiari Tribe

Several hundred kilometers to the north of the Qashqa'i and Basseri, the great Bakhtiari tribe followed a route between lowland winter pastures in the western plains and highland summer pastures in the Esfahan region (see Figure 2.9).

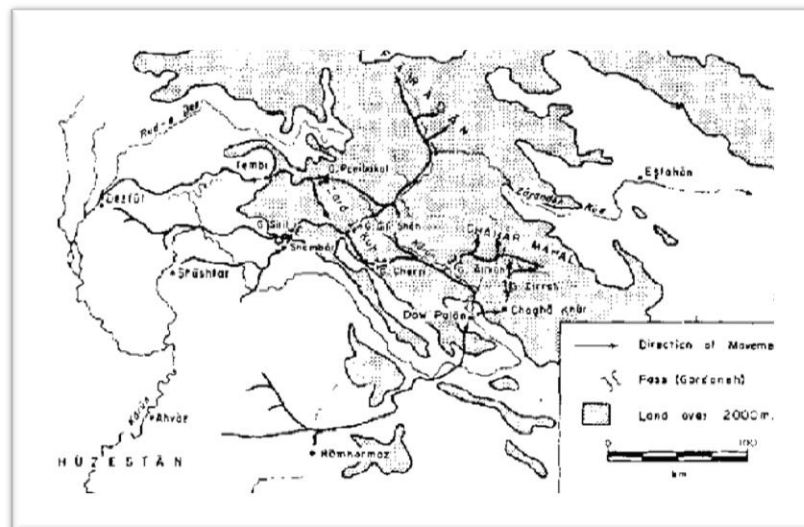


Fig.2.9. Map of Bakhtiari tribe

¹² Irons, W. 1975. The Yomut Turkmen: a study of social organization among a Central Asian Turkic-speaking population. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Bakhtiyari is a state in southwest Isfahan near the Zagros Mountains. According to some local sources¹³, the word Bakhtiyari is composed of two words: bakht (luck) + yar (companion).

Overall, there are many convincing reasons to think the Bakhtiari people are Iranians who were resided in this region. They produce hand-woven artifacts and carpets with elaborate, variegated designs and specific characteristics, and offer them to the world of Persian nomadic carpet markets. Some people believe this amazing variety in design is rooted in their culture of moving and observing different natural landscapes.

The Bakhtiari tribe, which numbers more than 800,000, inhabits an area of approximately 67,000 sq. km (25,000 sq. mi) that straddles the central Zagros Mountains in Iran. Bakhtiaris occupy the mountainous tracts of southwest Iran, lying roughly between, bound on the south by the plains of Khuzistan and on the north by the districts of Chahar Mahal, Faridan, and Khonsar where the central Iranian Plateau blends into the great southern mountain range.

Bakhtiaris were semi-nomadic and their livelihood depended on the survival of their herds of sheep, cattle, and horses. The tribe's migrations in search of greener pastures, by crossing over the great snow-clad mountains of Zard e Kuh and braving icy rivers while carrying their worldly possessions, have been the subject of several books and films.

¹³ Based on some of locals Bakhtiari in Koohrang village

Merian Cooper's "Grass," released in 1925, vividly captures the best-known account of such migrations (see Figure 2.10).

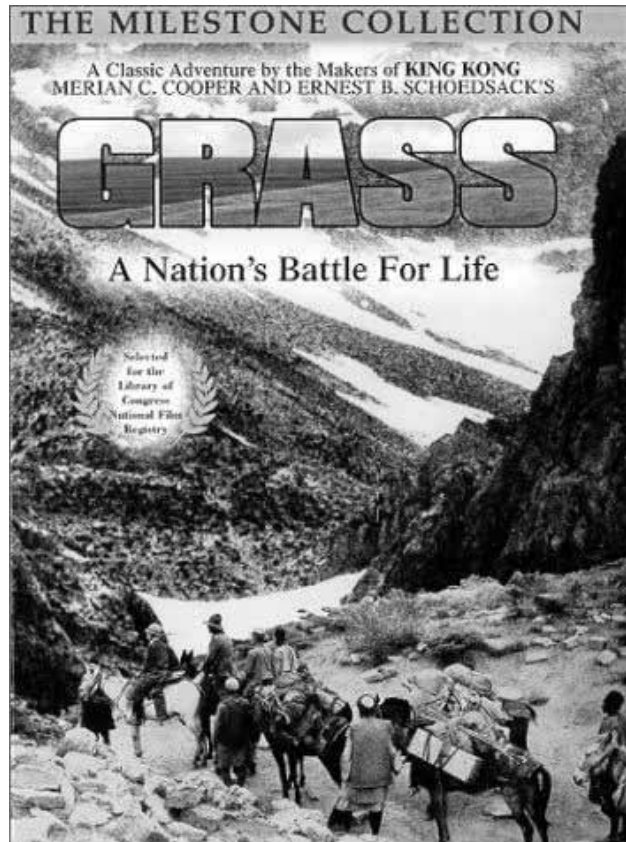


Fig.2.10. Film by Merian Cooper, "Grass," released in 1925

There have been several other international documentaries capturing this greatest migration, such as:

- People of the Wind- 1977 Directed by Anthony Howarth *migration documentary* (see Figure 2.11)
- *The Bakhtiari Alphabet*- 2009 Directed by Dr. Cima Sedigh (see Figure 2.12)

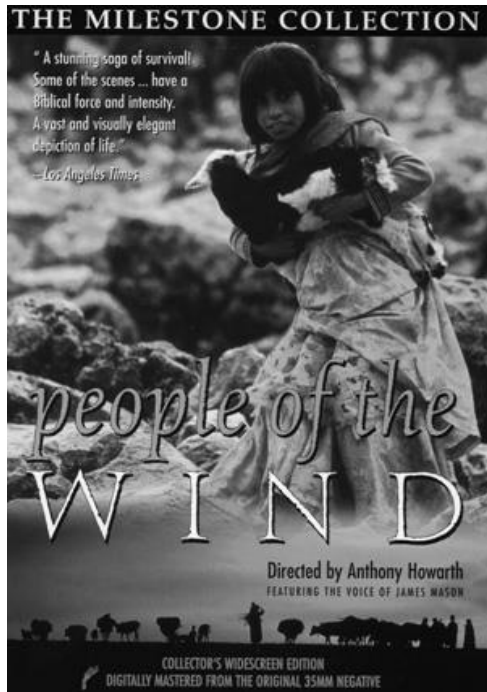


Fig.2.11. "People of the Wind"

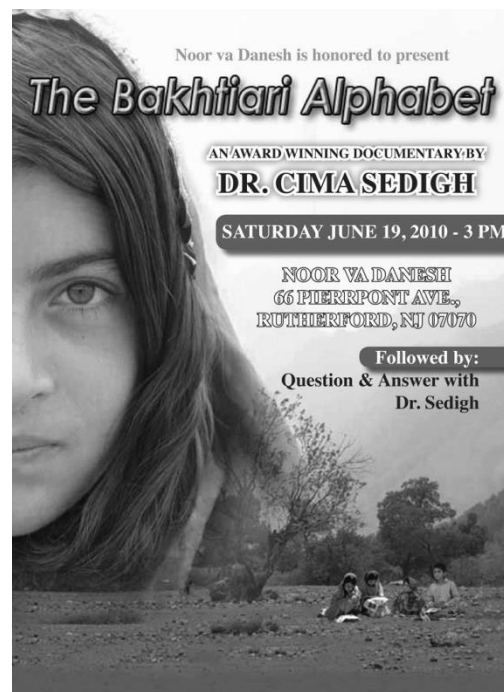


Fig.2.12. "The Bakhtiari Alphabet"-

2.3 Film Reviews About Bakhtiari Tribe

2.3.1 The Bakhtiari Alphabet Review

Dawn breaks over a wintery range in the Zagros Mountains. Spring is coming, the river valleys are turning green, and bright red poppies are emerging. Suddenly, we are in the midst of an ancient and timeless journey, a migration to summer pastures, and everywhere around us brightly clad women and old men are loading children and newborn lambs onto the backs of donkeys. We are climbing long barren slopes and

helping our sheep maneuver down rocky swollen streams. Many questions pass through my mind as I watch Cima Sedigh's documentary, "The Bakhtiari Alphabet," unfold before my eyes.

Why would a professor of education return to her homeland, where at one time she had been declared as an "enemy of the people," to renew contact with her cultural and spiritual roots? Much more than a personal quest, her journey among the nomadic pastoral Bakhtiari people is also an exploration of the cultural roots of the Persian people, offering North American students a rare glimpse of the hidden beauty and traditions of a country often demonized in contemporary politics.

The first part of this documentary succeeds in making us not just witnesses but participants in the migration. It is devoted to the actual nomadic journey, from breaking camp, lowering black tents, and throwing kilims (hand woven carpets) over the backs of donkeys and horses, to little girls gathering sticks for the fire and mothers casting flat bread over coals to bake. Images of the extraordinary mountains, valleys, and herds of horses and goats that flow over the rocks and down cliffs, like water inundating the land with new life, are given to viewers. Nevertheless, the less romantic aspects of migration are also illustrated: the neverending hard work, the lifting of tiny lambs and children onto the backs of animals, the constant moving, one step at a time, to ascend unbelievable heights and descend through magical rock formations to unpack, camp, and begin the round again.

We become familiar with the important roles of women, men, and children in this society—one for all and all for one. We see a woman milking a sheep, a little boy learning to ride a horse, and a teacher under a solitary tree in a flat enormous pasture with a group of tiny girls sitting in the grass, learning their alphabet. This brings us to the second part of the documentary, the special educational needs of the Bakhtiari children. Their stark dormitory schools in their winter quarters, the confusion of trying to explain pictures of traffic signs and cars in a textbook designed for urban students to children who have never seen a city or a traffic light. As a professor of education dedicated to teaching cultural diversity to her students, Dr. Sedigh poses the question of how an indigenous people can be educated for life in the modern world, without losing their age-old culture and traditions. More importantly, the Bakhtiaris have a story and message for the modern world and contemporary students about the human journey and those values and traditions that follow the cycle of the seasons and survive the changes of technology and political confusion. This is the underlying message that makes this documentary so compelling for contemporary students today.

2.3.2 “The People of the Wind” Review

“The People of the Wind” is the story of Jafar Qoli, the Kalantar, or Chief, of the Babadi tribe. The Babadi are one of the sub-tribes of the Bakhtiaris of Southern Iran.

This film, by Anthony Howarth, is set in southern Iran during the remarkable semi-annual migration of the Bakhtiari tribes. No scene is acted or reenacted. Between 300,000 and 500,000 people and their millions of animals must cross the Zagros Mountains when they travel from their winter to their summer pastures and back again. This mountain range, which forms a natural barrier running from the then-USSR, through Syria, Iraq, and Iran, is as high as the Alps and as broad as Switzerland. The Bakhtiari probably originate from the Caucasus Mountains; several thousand years ago, they started their migration south. Some locals suggest that they have been in their present pastures for more than 2,500 years. Others believe that they stayed for many centuries in Syria and only came further south about 700 years ago.¹⁴

It is the time of the spring migration. The hot sun is turning the winter pastures into desert. If their great flocks of sheep are to survive, the Babadi must go in search of new grass. Jafar Qoli has the responsibility of leading his thirty thousand people to their summer pastures. His closest companions on the journey are the members of his camp group. Maal Nessa is Jafar's hard-working and stoic wife, the only one of his three wives to travel with him.

Jalali is Jafar's right-hand man, whose great strength fails in the icy waters of the Bazuft River. Zenab, the lively widow, competes for attention with her attractive and independent daughter, Iran. Mendeni is Jafar's retired

¹⁴ Mentioned in the film of *The People of the Wind* by Anthony Howarth

old and wise chief shepherd. Nezam is Jafar's impoverished cousin, burdened with too many children and too few pack animals. Bahman is the unreliable chief shepherd whose arrogance leads to disaster. Rashidi is an enterprising and crafty sheep trader. Golbahar is Mendeni's eight-year-old daughter, the beauty of the family. Altogether, these intertwined people must cross four hundred miles of seemingly hardly possible mountains. There are no towns, no roads, and no bridges. There is no turning back.

At a dinner hosted by Ali Agha, the Kalantar of another tribe, the question of when to leave for the summer pastures is disputed. Jafar indicates that he is going to ignore Ali Agha's arguments because he must make the decision for his own people. Jafar introduces the members of his maal, or camp group, and points out that the number of tents is smaller this year. He complains that his maal is short of strong young men to help on the migration. The word is sent around to all the 30,000 Babadi to prepare for the journey. Jafar, Jalali, and others from the maal ride to the nearest market town, Lali. They buy provisions for the eight-week journey and Jafar orders a new coat from the weaver. He buys a new, ready-made one for Jalali. Lali was once an oil town, but now the wells are dry and the buildings are decaying. It is here that some people, who cannot afford the pack animals or provisions for the journey, have to sit out the heat of the summer. After a few false starts, Jafar's maal and the first group of the Babadi set off for the summer pastures. First they travel through the

foothills and the oak trees. At the end of each day they camp and relax. The maalhas moved perhaps fifteen kilometers, but life goes on as it would in a settled village. The going gets harder; there are dry river beds with 60-meter boulders to negotiate, then small mountains, and then Cholbar, the first flowing river. The crossing is exciting and chaotic, but it is more fun than hardship, despite the fast flowing, icy water. Jafar is invited to a wedding. The people are dressed in their most colorful clothes but the bride is unimpressed. She is reluctant to the end, despite the enviable good looks of the groom.

The landscape changes and the people are confronted by the first real mountain: the Monar, at 2,500 meters tall. The film concentrates on Golbahar. Only eight years old, she carries a large calf all the way to the summit. The weather changes as Jafar tries to get his people into the beautiful valley of Shimbar before the storm breaks. The rain starts as they unload. The storm is wild with thunder and lightning. The nomadic life quickly loses much of its glamor.

After the rain, the campsite dries out and the valley of Shimbar is revealed to be as beautiful as Jafar had predicted. Before leaving Shimbar, Jafar pays a visit to his sister, the one known as the Lion Woman. Conveniently, Jafar's brother-in-law is the Kalantarof the Mowri tribe. Jafar has to mediate a dispute between a Mowri and a Babadi over a marriage contract. Later, Rashidi the sheep trader tries to enlist Jafar's help in

getting the price of the Mowri's sheep down. On a high and dangerous mountain path a trio of baby goats cause some breathtaking moments.

Jafar and his men have to rebuild the ramp at the foot of the waterfall on their way. Every year, the winter rains wash away this flimsy structure. The new ramp will have to support the weight of hundreds of thousands of people and millions of animals before it is rebuilt the next year. The waterfall is at the foot of a tall mountain. The Babadi call this "the pass of a thousand hazards.". The animals start to protest and the journey is slowing down.

Jafar and his people reach the valley of the Bazuft, the boundary between winter and summer pastures. The Bazuft River is deep, cold, and swift. The start of the crossing is tense. The widow and her daughter play a prominent part in the drama. After great difficulty, the people and the pack animals overcome the river. Getting the flocks across is a different matter. Bahman, the shepherd, disobeys an order and forces unwilling sheep into the river. Several sheep and leader goats are drowned and Jalali collapses from the exhaustion and cold. Jalali recovers slowly, and the whole caravan gets underway again. The people are tired. Jafar is tired. The weather is somber and the valley of the Bazuft is unpleasant. But this is where Jafar must make his crucial decision about when to cross the snow. Zardeh Kuh, the last mountain before the summer pastures, is monstrous—over 3,000 meters tall. The only practical route is directly over the summit. The alternative routes mean a detour of forty to fifty miles to

the south or the north. The crossing starts at 4:00 AM. By nightfall the ill-equipped families must be off the highest parts of the mountain.

Many Bakhtiaris have died in storms on Zardeh Kuh, and whole flocks have been destroyed. The weather is always uncertain and the melting snow is treacherous. Mules roll down the steep slopes; a gale starts to blow and it becomes very cold. Suddenly the wind drops, the sun comes out and there it is the first valley of the summer pastures—as green and fresh as they could have wished (see Figure 2.13).



Fig.2.13. A scene captured from “The People of the Wind”

2.4 People of Bakhtiari Tribe

2.4.1 Bakhtiari Tribe's Background

Although only about one-third of the Bakhtiari tribe is nomadic (the rest are settled agriculturists), the nomads embody Bakhtiari cultural ideals. They specialize in weaving, producing meat, dairy products, and textiles, and migrate seasonally with their sheep, cattle, or goat herds from the high plateau pastures west of the city of Esfahan, where they spend the summer, to lowland plains in the province of Khuzistan for winter herd grazing. Their migration is among the most spectacular known among nomadic pastoralists anywhere in the world.¹⁵ They are obliged to cross through mountain passes at about 3,050 meters and, therefore, have to time their movement with extreme care in order to minimize the danger of early snowfall, flooding mountain rivers, and lack of grazing (see Figure 2.14).

¹⁵ Some source/discussion that lends support to this claim.



Fig.2.14. Migration path of Bakhtiari Tribe (photograph from www.bakhtiarifamily.com)

The Bakhtiari speak a dialect of Persian called Lori. Politically, the tribe used to form a confederacy under a chief appointed by the authority. The Bakhtiari are the largest and Culturally most purely Iranian of all the Persian tribes. They belong to the Lur race and their language is closely related to the oldest known forms of Persian. The annual Bakhtiari migration in April from their Garmsir, or winter quarters in Khuszistan, to their Sardsir, or summer pastures in the Chahar Mahal region of the plateau south and west of Esfahan, takes about three months. It is an epic of human courage and endurance in which men, women, and children of all ages, with their animals and household goods, travel by five different

migrations routes across some of the wildest and most difficult mountain in Iran.

Etymologically, the language of Bakhtiaris originates from ancient Persian, according to some scholars, and from the Pahlavi language according to others. It is one of a group of Persian dialects extending geographically along the mountain tract from Pusht-e-Kuh on the west to the Kuhgiluyeh and Mamasani territories on the east. These dialects are largely untouched by the influx of Arabic words and, therefore, are very close to ancient Persian.

Although one can trace references to the union of the Bakhtiaris as early as the 14th Century, there is no continuity of details and available facts from that date forward. However, one thing that remains certain is the formation of temporary unions or confederations during times of outside threats and danger. Such outside dangers were sometimes from the central government and, at other times, from neighboring tribes. Bakhtiaris would then form unions for self-preservation and common defense very much like military pacts amongst neighboring countries of today against common enemies.

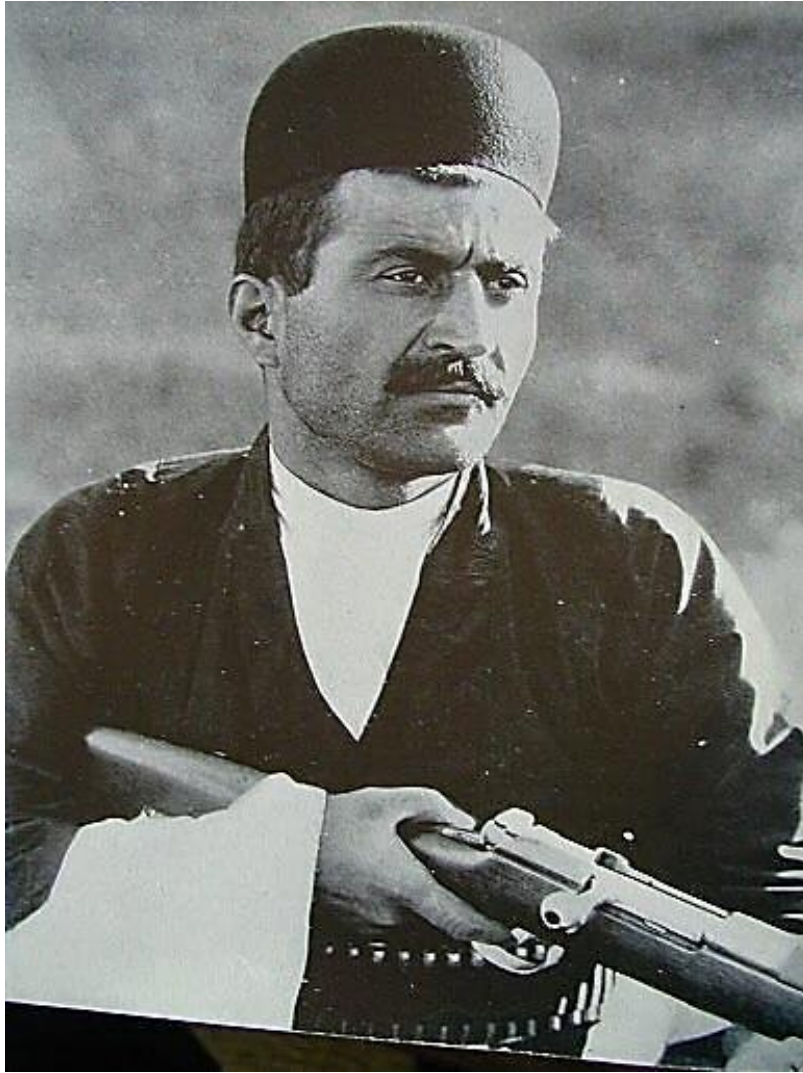


Fig.2.15. A typical Bakhtiari fighter. (Reproduced from the film, "Grass")¹⁶

¹⁶ *Grass: A Nation's Battle for Life* (1925), directed by Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack

2.4.2 Bakhtiari Tribe as one of the Main Nomadic Pastoralism of Iran

Bakhtiari nomadic pastoralism on the Iranian Plateau is distinct ecologically from pastoralism in the semi-arid pastoral regions of southern Iran. The varied presence or lack of water resources usually separates the cultivated cropping areas from nomadic pastoral regions. On the Bakhtiari Plateau of Iran, the key distinguishing factor is elevation. In Iran, productive grazing lands are found at elevations above 3,500 meters in environments too harsh for crop cultivation. On much of the Bakhtiari Plateau, especially in the southern part of Iran near the Zagros Range, rainfall is adequate throughout the growing season and grass growth is lush, unlike many other pastoral areas of the world. However, across most of the pastoral region of the Iran, growing seasons are too short for growing grain crops. Iranian nomads have flourished because they have not had to compete with farmers trying to convert the rangeland to cropland. On the Bakhtiari Plateau, nomadic pastoralism has been the primary human activity for thousands of years.

Cultural Aspects: The vast majority of the nomads on the Southern Plateau are Bakhtiari and shares a similar language and culture, although there are some small groups of Lori and Qashghai nomads in parts of Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiari Province. All nomads can usually communicate with each other in Bakhtiari Province, even though local dialects might vary in different villages, the main language of communication remains Farsi. For

a distance of almost 3,000 kilometers, Farsi is spoken. Religious and cultural beliefs and practices are also similar over the whole Plateau pastoral area. All the different nomad tribes and groups are facing rapid change in their lives, brought on for the most part by economic development forces sweeping the region. Figure 2.16).

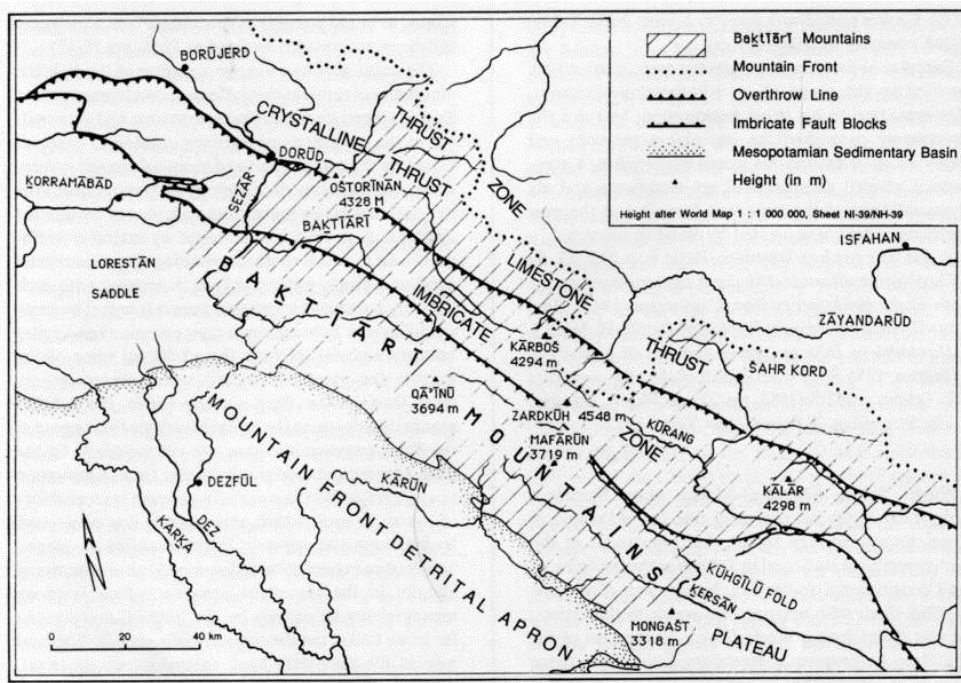


Fig.2.16. Location of the Bakhtiari Mountains

(Map from www.Iranica.com)

2.4.3 Women in the Bakhtiari Tribe

Since they bear and rear children, women directly influence the future human resources in the Bakhtiari pastoral areas. As managers of the household and tent, Bakhtiari women make vital decisions about the use of rangeland resources (forage, water, fuel). As herders, women are responsible for many of the daily activities involving livestock production and the harvesting and/or processing of livestock products. Their decisions and actions have direct effects on rangeland resources and livestock (see Figures 2.17 and 2.18).



Fig.2.17. Bakhtiari women looks



Fig.2.18. Bakhtiari woman making bread (Nan in Persian). (Photograph by Zohreh Deldadeh)

2.4.4 Men in the Bakhtiari Tribe

The men are responsible for protecting the safety and security of the social units, for raiding, for protecting herds, for providing hunted meat, and directing the movement of the camps. Increasingly, sedentary governments have suppressed these military tactics, pacifying men's role to a one of negotiating camel trading deals over coffee, or getting 'real jobs' in the Bakhtiari society (see Figures 2.19 and 2.20).



Fig.2.19. Traditional Bakhtiari man. (Photograph by Zohreh Deldadeh)

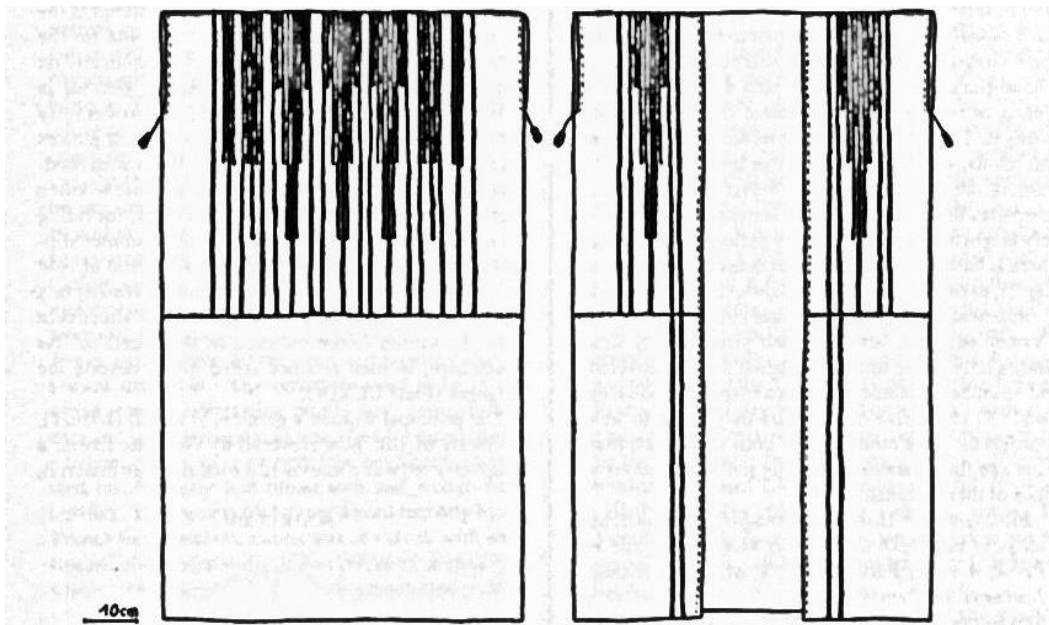


Fig.2.20. Hand woven fine wool Bakhtiari coat known as 'Cuqa,' and worn by the Bakhtiari male nomads. Cuga are made from two narrow strips of cloth sewn together.

2.5 Tent

2.5.1 The Black Tent

The Black Tent is arguably the most widely documented of the vernacular types of traditional nomadic tents. It is the home of tribal Iranians, Arabs, and many other African and Asian peoples up to the present day, and therefore represents an entire culture of nomadic dwelling rather than a mere provisional form of shelter. The Black Tent in isolation does not represent a dwelling or 'home' but, rather, must be seen as one element of a complete system of life—a mode of weaving a life pattern and dwelling 'horizontally' in the landscape that has been employed by hundreds of tent-dwelling tribes in disparate regions throughout the world (see Figure 2.21).



Fig.2.21. Bakhtiari tents are laid out in the Bakhtiari Plateau

2.5.2 The Black Tent of Iran, Case of Bakhtiari Tribe

The Iranian Black Tent is strongly symbolic for the people using it, to the extent that it completely embodies their identity and culture. The Black Tent is thought to have originated in Mesopotamia and Persian history around 3000 - 4000 BC which makes it one of the most ancient and timeless architectural types still in use. (Cowan, 2002) ¹⁷



Fig.2.22. The Black Tent: The Case of the Bakhtiari Plateau

¹⁷ Cowan, G. (2002). Nomadology in architecture ephemerality, movement and collaboration.

These black tents serve as mobile housing for a majority of the nomadic groups in a belt that stretches from south of Zagros Mountains through the north side of the Bakhtiari Plateau. The existence of the black tent in its westernmost distribution of the Bakhtiari Plateau has rarely been discussed in detail as a material culture study. In most regions, the requirements of the tent are determined by hot, arid climatic conditions, whereas an arid high mountain climate predominates on the Bakhtiari Plateau. The western part of the plateau receives precipitation of over 500 mm annually. This raises questions about how Bakhtiari nomads have adapted the black tent to their specific needs and to extreme environmental conditions. Using examples from a region in the Bakhtiari Plateau, these questions are examined through descriptions of tent variations, construction, interiors, choice of location for pitching the tents, and the strategies of tent dwellers to improve protection from cold and rain and to provide enough food for their animals in such harsh climates.



Fig.2.23. Bakhtiari tents and their distribution

Because their lifestyle is characterized by seasonal migrations (see Figure 2.24), during which they take along all their belongings, Bakhtiari nomads need a transportable dwelling. For most nomadic groups in the Zagros belt that stretches from Khuzestan to the northern edge of the Bakhtiari plateau in the northern part of the Zagros Range, the black tent serves as mobile housing. All black tents have the following features in common:

- Black tent dwellers are weavers. They weave not only the roofs, walls, and floors of their homes, but also many of the furnishings as well.
- The tent cover consists of woven strips that are sewn together.
- The existence of black tents depends on animals that supply a suitable fiber. Goat hair is preferred because it has the necessary length and strength. Moreover, its resistance to water and rain during rainy seasons and resistance to water absorption are beneficial.
- Because the tent cover is very heavy, strong animals such as camels, donkeys, or cows are needed for transportation.
- The black color comes from the natural color of animal hair (mostly goats).
- The tent is a tensile form of construction. The tension and the heavy weight of the cloth are concentrated on a few vertical poles. The frame and cover are interdependent.

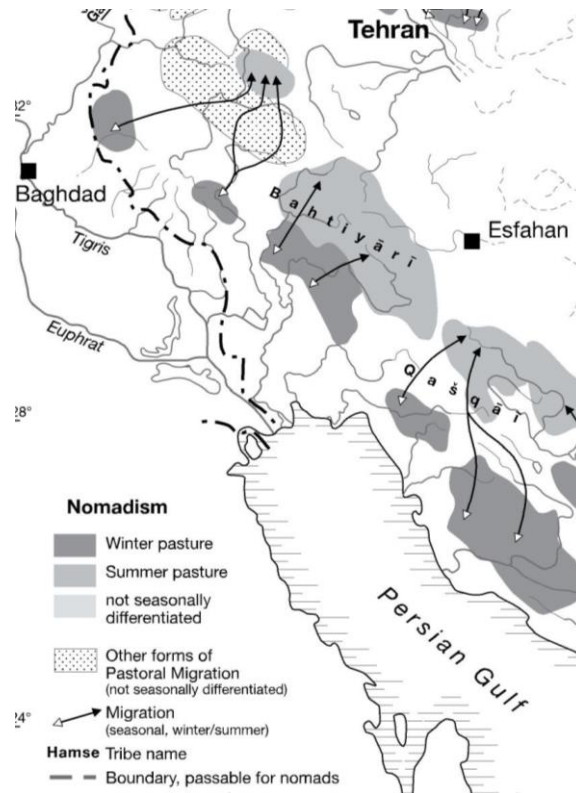


Fig.2.24.Environment and seasonal production altitude levels on the Bakhtiari Plateau
(From www.iranica.com)

2.5.2.1 Interior Layouts of Bakhtiari Black Tent

Drawings of the interior layouts of Black Tent types in the literature show the placement of many important household implements associated with (house) work, cooking and eating, and sleeping, indicating the gender allocation of the most essential daily activities and rituals. Primary activities would be weaving, preparing food and coffee, eating, and sleeping on bedding which has been stowed during the day. The menfolk, who are generally afforded less privacy than the others, mainly direct and organize, especially while travelling, while women do the majority of physical work associated with maintaining the camp. Some of the women's work would

consist of making tent fabric, pitching tents and arranging the interiors, cooking, minding the infants and presumably other family including husbands (see Figure 2.25 and 2.26).



Fig.2.25. Bakhtiari Black Tent

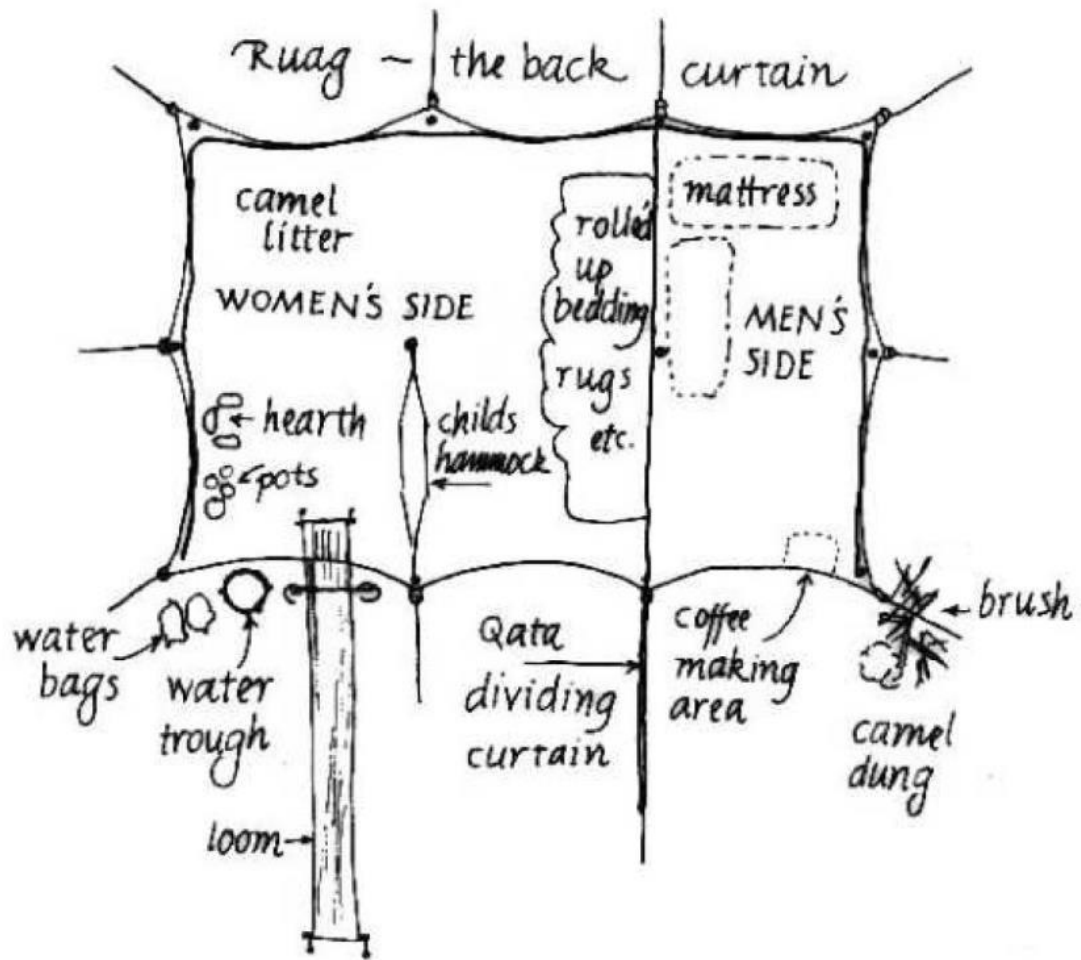


Fig.2.26. General interior layout of Bakhtiari family

There are numerous local variations of the tent. The type that is dominant in Bakhtiari is illustrated (see Figure 2.25 and 2.26 and 2.27). This type has a gable roof and a rectangular layout, which is between 5 X 8m and 6 X 10m. In this type, the tent cover consists of 2 trapezoidal parts. The tent cover of the type usually has one fold between the ridge pole and the

ground. The height from the ground to the ridge pole is 2-2.5m. These types of tents also exist in other regions of the Iranian Plateau in Qashghai and Baluch tribes in the middle and eastern part of Iran. Most nomadic families own several tents for different purposes. It might serve as a dwelling in summer. In autumn, when animal husbandry tasks have diminished and some family members have already moved to the winter house, a smaller type tents are being used.



Fig.2.27.View of Bakhtiari tent in summer

What can be seen from the entrance is that a fireplace divides the tent into 2 halves. The left side is mainly used by women and children and the right side by men and guests. The fireplace consists of 3 stones and an iron tripod or a stove made of clay or iron (see Figure 2.28).



Fig.2.28. Interior space of Bakhtiar tent-women and children side.

The clay stove is usually spread out, and the animal dung is commonly burnt. A great deal of brushwood, which is not available at the altitude of the summer encampment, is needed to start and keep the dung burning. The nomads cut and transport it from lower altitudes and store it as additional walls inside or outside the tent to keep it dry and protect the interior from wind (see Figure 2.29).



Fig.2.29. Children are collecting and carrying brushwood for their tents

This also prevents animals from entering the tent in case the lower part of the tent cover is removed. Spread on the ground in the sitting and sleeping quarters, the wood insulates against cold and moisture. This allows transport bags, bundles, small chests, and boxes to be piled along the tent walls. Blankets woven of goat wool or plastic protect the piles from rain.

Everything in the tent has its appointed place. Weapons, equipment for horses and animals (saddles, saddlebags), furs, blankets, and coats are piled on the men's side. At the rear is the sitting place of honor and the family shrine. Sacks and boxes piled at the back contain religious objects as well as provisions such as butter. On the women's side are the kitchen

equipment and the tools for milk processing, which is entirely women's work (see Figure 2.30).



Fig.2.30. Interior arrangement of the Bakhtiari Tent

2.5.2.2 Location for Tent Pitching

The factors that determine locations for tent pitching include tribal and administrative borders, governmental directives, protection against inclement weather, and the proximity of water. During seasonal migrations, two strong transport cows or donkeys carry the tent cover. A

third one carries the poles. A nomadic family needs 6-8 hours to pack household goods, dismantle the tent, and mount everything on the horse or donkey.

Pitching the tent and furnishing it at the new location take about half this amount of time. Bakhtiari nomadic households return to the same campsite every year, which is marked by the clay stove if the family uses one. The tent is erected over the old fireplace, usually at the foot of a hill to provide shelter against wind, with the entrance facing downslope. In the Sheikh Ali Khan area, where the wind comes mainly from the northwest, slopes with a southeastern exposure are preferred. If there is no suitable slope, the entrance of the tent is situated opposite the direction of the prevailing winds. The campground and hence the tent are likely to be located on a considerable incline. This helps prevent water from collecting inside the tent.

Usually 3 or 4 tents are grouped together. Members of a group are extended families and friends. The tents are located 500-1000m apart. This allows communication between the households by shouting and permits enough space for animals to spend the night near each tent. Most encampments have three or four tents but a camp may have from one to fifteen.

2.5.3 Strategies for Better Protection against Cold And Rain

Bakhtiari nomads have developed various methods for better protection against inclement weather. Most nomadic households use the tent as a dwelling from spring to autumn. Winter and spring require additional insulation and wind protection. Walls of dry stone, brushwood, boards, adobe, about 100 cm high, are built around the outside of the tents to block the wind (see Figure 2.31).



Fig.2.31. The Bakhtiari tent is well-protected by stone fence to prevent animal attacks during the night and also from cold wind during the winter time.

The loosely woven strips of the tent do not offer much protection against rain, which is an important consideration in the Bakhtiari Plateau. The most waterproof place inside the tent is between the first and second folds of the tent cover. The steeper inclination of the tent roof allows the rain to run-off better than it does from the flat part. Goods are piled on adobe cubes, sod, or small wooden shelves to protect them from humidity in the ground. Nowadays, plastic is fixed under the tent roof to shield working, sitting, and sleeping areas from rain. The plastic sometimes shields only the top part of the tent, and it must be removed as soon as the rain ceases. Plastic interrupts air ventilation and becomes sticky and hot when it remains in the tent. Nomads can buy plastic of varying quality by the meter from shops or local markets.

Recently polyester tents have been more popular for Bakhtiari nomads. These are a few of the reasons for this decision: (see Figure 2.32)

1. Making traditional woven tents are very time-consuming and expensive.
2. There are very few traditional tent weavers available, and the younger generation is not as interested in the weaving as their parents or grandparents used to be.
3. Polyester tents are more water-resistant than woolen tents.
4. Polyester tents are considerably lighter than traditional tents.



Fig.2.32. New Bakhtiari polyester tents in the Sheikh Ali Khan area

Black tents move seasonally, depending upon the herding and hunting activities of the tribes. While goat-herding tribes move seasonally and are considered semi-nomadic, camel herders who traditionally lived as pirates by raiding are less seasonally predictable. Frequency of movement is dependent upon the size of the herd and resultant grazing area required, which in turn is related to the rate at which a pasture is exhausted. The grazing is often negotiated with sedentary farmers so that fallow fields are manured by the herds. The adaptable and seasonal natures of the nomadic occupation of space are only made possible by tent components and animals, which assist in moving the dismantled tents. Traditionally, the dromedary and occasionally the cows are the major pack animals for

the transportation of tents, although increasingly, nomadic groups use cars and trucks for the transport of the tents and belongings. Geographically, the distribution of usage of the Black Tent is roughly the same as the distribution of the dromedary.

Thus, the composition, physical weight, and resulting level of mobility of tents is closely connected to the capacity and number of pack animals and personnel in the social unit, and this is in turn related to the number of wives and tents each man may provide for. A carefully worked out economy of scale makes the nomad tribe of the caravan a feasibly efficient community. The specific Black Tent type in use would fit the particular movement pattern.

Maintenance would be undertaken constantly as a matter of course and could be regarded as housekeeping rather than as crisis or emergency. New strips of tent fabric, for example, would be completed on the loom in the camp, and then added to the centermost of rows in the tent awning. The pattern of movement allows the camp to be cleaned up without permanent floors or walls being made.

2.6 Movement in Bakhtiari Life

The capacity for human movement, as it has been argued previously, is central to architecture in two ways: the movement of users, and the movement of the architectural space relative to the existing environment.

The potential for movement, or the latent desire for movement, is critical to the agency of contemporary architecture. (see Figure 2.33).

Animated human movement within spaces, landscapes, territories, or environments increase the intimacy experienced with an environment, and the architecture-user feedback loop. For the user, architecture becomes more tangible, by means of movement through architecture. The potential of architecture generated from a dynamic perspective is to produce a fundamentally different architecture. In place of the privileged or mysterious architectural views of a plan as the generator and the clinical section, the haptic experience of the user is a generator. It could be suggested that an animated and dynamic architecture is a more emotional expression of many dwelling styles or life-patterns today than the static and timeless concepts of inhabitation promoted through the literature and visual representation of architecture in the last few centuries. Mobile elements allow detachment from physical materiality to the relationships of things and their timely adaptation to situations. Motion is transformed into architectural meaning by ritual, whether sacred or secular, domestic or civic. Human ritual is a meaningfully cultural social activity that interacts with form in the built environment as architecture. In the agency of constructed environments, by framing or catalyzing aspects of human life patterns, rituals produce an added cultural value of difference of architecture over building.



Fig.2.33. Migration of Bakhtiari nomad-Moving of life

(From www.iranica.com)

“Being in the world,” then, does not necessarily require fixation to place, as Heidegger implied in his influential essay “Building Dwelling Thinking:”

Ritual and the performatives of the tent dwelling provide sufficient consistency for human civilisation. Heidegger’s association of peoples’ attachment to physical place resonated with the ultimately unsustainable notion of ‘Blut und Boden’ (Blood and Soil) of National Socialism, which inferred that people’s ‘blood through race’ and ‘soil of place’ were somehow the essence of belonging to place. As noted in the previous section, the tent is a structure that is reassuringly familiar for dwelling.

Regardless of geographic place, the tent is a structure familiar to the people using it. The tent frames its location: it is the structure of the tent that constitutes identity.

2.7 Architectural Form, Purpose, and Meaning

Architectural form, purpose, and meaning can legitimately be transient and fleeting, contingent upon changing human life and inhabitation. It has been suggested in this research that architecture uninhabited is mere matter, just as a body which is not breathing is not a person, but a body. Adolf Loos¹⁸ claimed that the only architecture that has anything to do with art is the tomb and the monument. The remaining forms of architecture function as prosaic human dwelling. Therefore, these forms of architecture in society after modernism can potentially be regarded as ephemeral.

The view of architecture as a still-life artwork or *nature morte* became significant in twentieth-century photography and representation of architecture. The common twentieth-century practice of understating or omitting human life in the architectural photograph has promoted a clinical scientific impression of spatial inhabitation as independent of time and motion, and produced without conscious attention to engenderment.

¹⁸ Adolf Franz Karl Viktor Maria Loos was an Austrian architect. He was influential in European Modern architecture, and in his essay *Ornament and Crime* he abandoned the aesthetic principles of the Vienna Secession

Sedentary societies have become preoccupied with the notion that architecture is not temporal, but eternal, and as a high art, it should endure beyond human life and inhabitation, leaving humankind's mark on the world.

Adaptation to changing usage patterns and the use of movement increases users' intimacy with their environment as experienced through architecture. Nomadology can enrich the disciplines of thinking about and making architecture, for architects as well as the users of architecture.

The tent, as it has been described in the preceding chapters, is an instrument of tension, which as Betsky suggests:

Weaving and dancing reflect the tension at the core of human civilisation. The tent is ephemeral, reflecting the requirement for human inhabitation to maintain its erect form, and for maintenance of its components in the process of adaptation and movement, in order to sustain its longevity as a home. Thus the ephemeral architecture of the tent shares with walking a peripatetic approach to making and defining territories and spaces with the body.

Chapter Three

3.1 Material Culture Study¹⁹

3.1.1 Material Culture Study of Bakhtiari Nomad of Iran

The rapid growth of material culture studies has come to include the study of all kinds of artifacts that represent social, cultural, and historical values. These artifacts, in turn, have become the objects by which we study various social phenomena in search of an improved understanding of woven art.

This chapter seeks to explore how vernacular architecture, settlement, space, time, and movement can be integrated with the dynamics and beauty of Persian flat woven arts in nomadic life, from the first threads to the final destination, throughout a long journey of migration. In this sense, Bakhtiari carpets can be re-assessed as artifacts and everyday objects moving from home to market and vice versa, making the architectural component important for studies that investigate the patterns of these handmade artifacts.

¹⁹ In the social sciences, material culture is a term, developed in the late 19th and early 20th century, that refers to the relationship between artifacts and social relations. www.wikipedia.org

3.2 Lions' Representation in Bakhtiari

3.2.1 Oral Tradition and Funerary



Fig. 3.1. Bakhtiari soldier next to the lion tombstone

Death and funerary rituals have a special significance in Bakhtiari culture. The death of a tribe or family member is not merely a biological event mourned by the bereaved relatives; rather, that death evokes moral and social obligations that are expressed through culturally determined funeral practices. In Bakhtiari society, the number as well as the scale of the

funerary ceremonies and material culture varies according to the sex, age, and sociopolitical status of the deceased. How deep the shock and how dramatic the subsequent events depend on the age and identity of the departed and the circumstances of the death. In this regard, the chapter illustrates the religious significance and social functions of the lion as a symbol amongst the Bakhtiari nomads.

3.2.2 The lion in Bakhtiari oral beliefs and traditions

The lion (*Shir* in Persian) is often presented in Bakhtiari oral and folklore legends as a real and wild animal, but it is often considered a sacred animal representing virility. The Iranian lion was the size of the Iranian panther. It weighed from 300 to 500 kilograms and measured three feet long. Its color was a yellowish brown. Its coat was thicker than that of the African lion. This breed of lion has, alas, disappeared from Iran. We know, however, that this lion lived in regions such as the Arjan plain (located 57 kilometers to the west of Shiraz), in the mountains of the Zagros, and in the region of Khuzestan (The Bakhtiari Plateau).

Based on these accounts, we can be sure that in the Bakhtiari regions, the animal called the lion existed. The travelers also tell us about the power of the lions in the Bakhtiari regions and the way in which the presence of this animal troubled the daily lives of the nomads.

Nowadays, the popular legends and beliefs among these tribes have completely disappeared and are forgotten. Layard writes,²⁰ “One of the very popular subjects regarding these legends was the hunting of the lion by brave men and Bakhtiari heroes accompanied by the story of body-to-body combat with the lion.” In these stories, the lions occasionally attack the nomads: women, children, and other beings with no means of defense over whom the valiant men, who, in order to defend their tribe, kill the lions, kept watch. Occasionally men also go and hunt this animal to show their bravery and their strength. To kill a lion, especially in single combat, was considered a great feat. The lives of the Bakhtiari truly were in danger because of the existence of the wild lions in their regions, and it is perhaps for this reason that they created this kind of belief. Today, however, we find no trace of such belief amongst the Bakhtiari.



Fig. 3.2. Bakhtiari man next to the lion tombstone of the family

²⁰ LAYARD, Austen Henry (1817-1894), French archeologist and politician. Layard is chiefly known for his excavations in Bakhtiari oral history

3.2.3 The lion in Shahnameh khani

Sorud khani and *Shahnameh*²¹ *khani* (recitation of the Book of Kings) are the names of the traditional lamentations sung by the men and professional lamenters (Bakhtiari and non-Bakhtiari) to mourn the death of the beloved and great men of the Bakhtiari.

Interviews conducted with the Bakhtiari and an analysis of the episodes of the *Shahnameh* chosen by professional singers indicate that these songs were originally held exclusively for the great men of the tribe called *shirmard* (lionish men), who had shown outstanding courage and bravery (i.e., like a lion) or had an impressive social status.

The version of the *Shahnameh* that the Bakhtiari sing as a lamentation is totally different from the existing version of Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* (The great Persian poet).

Traditional singers choose some part of the text of the original *Shahnameh* and add new verses in the beginning, middle, or end of their singing. The lyrics of the Bakhtiari's *Shahnameh* lamentation mostly describe scenes that are very prominent in tradition. It should be mentioned that the nomadic way of life inevitably created certain responsibilities for the men of the tribe, which have become fixed in the society's mentality, including the supervision of the tribe's affairs, the defense of the women and

²¹ The *Shahnameh* or *Shah-nama* is a long epic poem written by the Persian poet Ferdowsi between c. 977 and 1010 AD and is the national epic of the Iran and the Persian-speaking world.

children against wild animals, thieves, and highwaymen, and the care of the cattle.

Today, one can identify such scenes in the lyrics of the *Shahnameh* in the use of lamentations amongst the Bakhtiari. Scenes of war, such as those of *pahlavans* (heroes), *khans* (chiefs), tribes with enemies, and wild animals (e.g., the lion), are the most popular subjects of *Shahnameh khani*.

Following is an example of *Shahnameh khani* for a Bakhtiari chief who was very popular during his life (see Figure 3.3).



Fig. 3.3. Portraits present Shahnameh stories from Ferdousi poetries

In the name of the Lord of both wisdom and mind,
 به نام خداوند جان و خرد،
 To nothing sublimer can thought be applied,
 کزین اندیشه بر نگذرد،
 The Lord of whatever is named or assigned,
 خداوند نام و خداوند جان،
 A place, the Sustainer of all and the Guide,
 خداوند روزی و رهنمای،
 The Lord of Saturn and the turning sky,
 خداوند کیهان و گردون سپهر،
 Who causeth Venus, Sun, and Moon to shine,
 فروزنده ماه و ناهید و مهر،
 Ferdowsi, the noble birth, recites,
 چنین گفت فردوسی پاکزاد،
 Blessing goes to his tomb [i.e. Ferdowsi],
 که رحمت برآن تربت پاک باد،
 Everyone who recites [i.e. reads] the *Shahnameh*,
 هرآن کس که شاهنامه خوانی کند،
 Even a woman, can be a hero,²⁰
 اگرزن بود پهلوانی کند،
 If the earth began to talk of its secrets,
 زمین گر گشاده کند راز خویش،

After all it would let us know the history of its creation,

نماید سراجام آغاز خویش،

You would find [i.e. among its secrets] the history
of many who have been crowned,

کنارش پُرازتاجداران بود،

Also the accounts of the blood of many riders [i.e. dead heroes],²¹

بزش پُرزخون سواران بود

No one can retain his fortune and lucky days forever,

که برکس نماند همی روز بخت،

Nor his treasures, his crown, nor also his kingdom,

نه گنج، نه دیهیم، نه شاه، نه تخت،

Therefore, in this world simply possessing a good
name is useful,

همی نام جاوید باید به کام،

Abandon your wishes and simply try to create a
good name for yourself,²²

بیانداز کام و برافراز نام،

Alas, alas,

ای داد و بیداد،

I hear a very painful song from afar, it says:

سُزآیند یکی قضا ای دردناک :

all of the warlike lions are sleeping,²³

که شیران جنگی بختند به خاک،

If I wanted to tell you stories about the lions,

ز شیران اگر من حکایت کنم،

I could write more than two hundred books,²⁴

به دفتر دویست سر روایت کنم،

When the thicket becomes empty of lions,

چو بیشه تهی گشت از نَره شیر،

So you will see jackals there,²⁵

شغالان درآیند به بیشه دلیر،

O you, the athletic lion's son, lion's whelp,

4 که ای پهلوان زاده بچه شیر،

No mother could give birth to a more lion-hearted,
brave and athletic son than you,²⁶

نزآید دگر چو تو شیرمرد و دلیر،

During hard times do not be hopeless,

به هنگام سختی مشو ناامید،

From the black cloud [i.e. always] we will have
clear and clean water,²⁷

ز ابرسیه بارد آب سپید،

Nothing good can be created by one hand alone,

زدست تھی برنیاید نُر،

If the neck of the male lion (*shir-e nar*) is broken,²⁸

اگر بشکند گردن شیر نر،

When in the mountains, lion, I call out your name,
the mountains tremble,

به کوه، شیر لرزد ز نامت هنوز،

It makes no difference where you are,
whether it is night or day,

چه فرقست پیشت شب است یا که روز

I seek the tracks of their horses,

کنم جستجو رد اسبانسان،

The place where they come to a halt has
the scent of their zeal,²⁹

دهد بوی غیرت جای اُطراقشان،

Alas, where are all the male lions?

دریغا کجا آنهمه شیرنر؟

The Berno³⁰ firearms and bay horses?

تفنگهای یرنوو اسبان کهر؟

That plant which grows everywhere
[i.e. in the mountains and in the fields],

گیاهی که روید زبوم و زبر،

Gives zeal the scent of male lions,

دهد بوی غیرت ز شیران نر،

Choqakhor, Andika, Golgir and Lali,

چغاخور، اندیکا، گلگیر و لالی،

All have become empty of male lions,³¹

تمام از نره شیران گشته خالی،

3.3.4 Lion tombstones

Shir-e sangi, traditionally called *bard-e shir*, are a specific form of Iranian nomadic gravestones that are mostly found in the west, southwest, and parts of southern Iran among Bakhtiari nomads (see Figure 3.4).

Furthermore, oral traditions will play an important role in establishing the function of the stone lions among the Bakhtiari. These funerary animal sculptures can be found in the many valleys and along the migration routes of the Zagros Mountains, for example, in Kharaji, Hafshejan, Lali, Shinbar, and Bazoft (Khuzestan province), and at Zard-e Kuh Mountain, the highest point of the Zagros Range.



Fig. 3.4. Lion tombstones in Hafshejan graveyard

Either solitary or occurring in groups, they strikingly mark the graves of unknown chiefs and warriors who died in local battles. The number of lions varies tremendously among cemeteries, a fact that raises questions concerning the relationship between the location of these lions and the wealth and sacredness of the individuals whose graves they mark.

The long history of stone-lion construction among the Bakhtiari is difficult to account for. Within the last century, however, two developments have been observed. First, by the mid-twentieth century, stone lions ceased to be constructed. Second, within the last few years, they have reappeared in new contexts. Both of these developments point to significant shifts in the way the Bakhtiari have responded to changes in their recent history. The lions are both specific examples and also more generally representative of the identity and culture of the Bakhtiari. They were mostly made by professional, non-Bakhtiari stonemasons who travelled seasonally among Bakhtiari territories.

3.3.5 Remaining lions

Unfortunately, due to lack of attention from the official government and the locals, many of the graveyards of lion tombstones were never protected and have been destroyed. There are very few stone carvers remaining and it is predicted that in the near future, there will be no one to produce these hand-carved gravestones any more (see Figures 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9).

Moreover, the traditional shape of the lion went through a drastic change in the newer version of the lion tombstone (see Figures 3.11 and 3.12).



Fig. 3.5 and Fig. 3.6. Kharaji graveyard and remaining stone tombstone



Fig. 3.7 and Fig. 3.8. Stone lion as symbolic Bakhtiari men at the entrance into the Hafshejan Park



Fig. 3.9 and Fig. 3.10. Sheikh Ali Khan graveyard

3.3.6 Edalat family: one of the remaining families of stone carvers

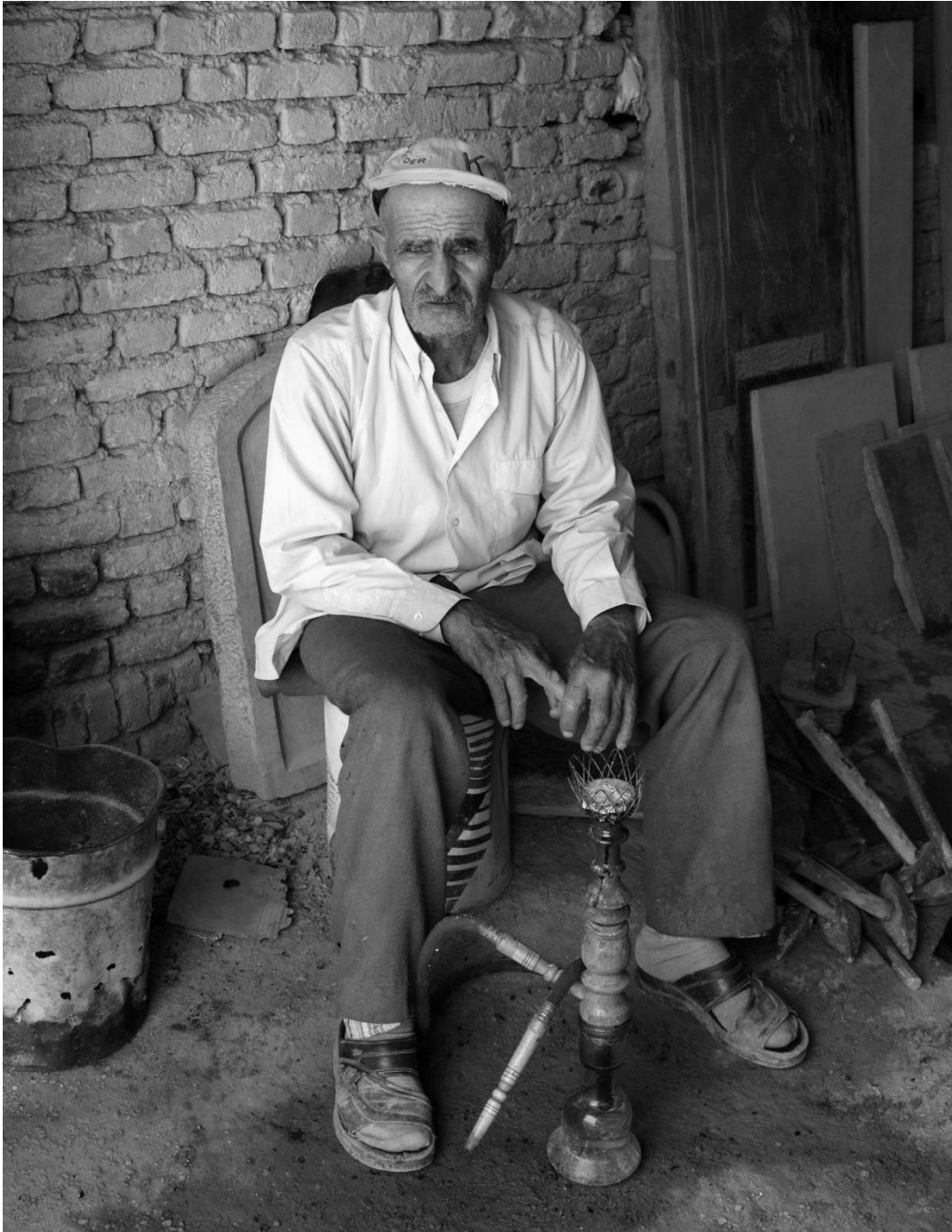


Fig. 3.11. Mister Edalat, the father



Fig. 3.12 and Fig. 3.13. New sample lion tombstones



Fig. 3.14. Stone hammers



Fig. 3.15. Stone cups



Fig. 3.16. and 3.17. Mr. Ali Edalat (the son) working on a tombstone

3.4 Bakhtiari Carpets

“Bakhtiari” is a label generally applied, in both the trade and literature, to a wide range of flat-woven and knotted pile carpets from southwestern Iran. As such, the term must be considered a territorial, rather than an ethnic, designation, since it may refer not only to the weaving of pastoral nomads, but also to that of the region’s sedentary agriculturalists, and each group includes both Bakhtiari and non-Bakhtiari elements.

Flat-woven rugs. Although the manufacture of a variety of flat-woven objects such as weft-wrapped decorated saltbags (*namakdan*) (See Figure 3.39.), saddlebags (*Khorjin*) (See Figure 3.18. and 3.32-3.38), and warp-faced, tablet-woven straps and bands (*malband, tang*) by the nomadic Bakhtiari is well documented in publications by anthropologists, ethnologists, geographers, commercial travelers, and others, whether flat-woven rugs (*Gelim or Kilim*) are produced by this group or by the region’s sedentary population is controversial. There is, however, a type of *Gelim* classified, in both the trade and recent literature, as Bakhtiari, which is distinguished by its double-interlocked tapestry structure. In this type of weft-faced weave, wefts of adjoining color areas are looped through each other, backward and forward, at each passage, creating two parallel ridges at each join on the back. While this structure is not reversible, it is far stronger than the double-faced slit-tapestry weave more commonly seen in Persian *Gelims*.



Fig. 3.18. Bakhtiari Saddlebag (Gelim) (Photograph by Zohreh Deldadeh)

Woolen warps and wefts are characteristic of the “Bakhtiari Gelim”; side finishes may include either wool or goat hair. Undyed cotton yarns may be included as design highlights.

Motifs frequently seen in “Bakhtiari Gelim” include highly stylized double-headed bird forms, horned animals, *plants*, and other symbols. It must be noted that, as these motifs also occur in flat-weaves attributed to other groups, particularly the Lurs, basing provenance solely upon them is problematic.

Knotted pile carpets. Although the label Bakhtiari has traditionally been applied to any pile carpet thought to have been woven in that region, recently writers have tried to distinguish rugs made by the area’s nomads from those produced by its sedentary population on the bases of structure and design. Accordingly, double-wefted, symmetrically knotted carpets with woolen foundations are classified as “tribal,” or nomadic, Bakhtiari products. In contrast, single-wefted carpets with cotton foundations are considered indicative of Bakhtiari “village” manufacture; these rugs are generally termed “Chahar Mahal” after the district near Isfahan where the bulk of such carpets are thought to originate. This method of classification cannot be considered absolute, as there are variations in numbers of weft passes, knotting density, and types of knot in both categories. Moreover, the employment of cotton warps and wefts by nomadic weavers in the manufacture of their woolen pile carpets has been documented.

Differentiating Bakhtiari pile carpets according to design is also difficult. As with flat-weaves, many of the designs seen in “tribal” Bakhtiari carpets, such as the offset repeat of cypress trees, also appear in carpets attributed to the Lurs. Others, including what is probably the best-known Bakhtiari

design, the so-called garden or brick (*kheshti*) design (see Figures 3.19-3.25), in which the field is divided into square compartments, each containing a flowering plant or tree, is produced by both Chahr Mahal and nomadic weavers (see Figures 3.26-3.30).



Fig. 3.19. Kheshti Bakhtiari Carpet



Fig. 3.20. Khesti Bakhtiari Carpet



Fig. 3.21. Khesti Bakhtiari Carpet

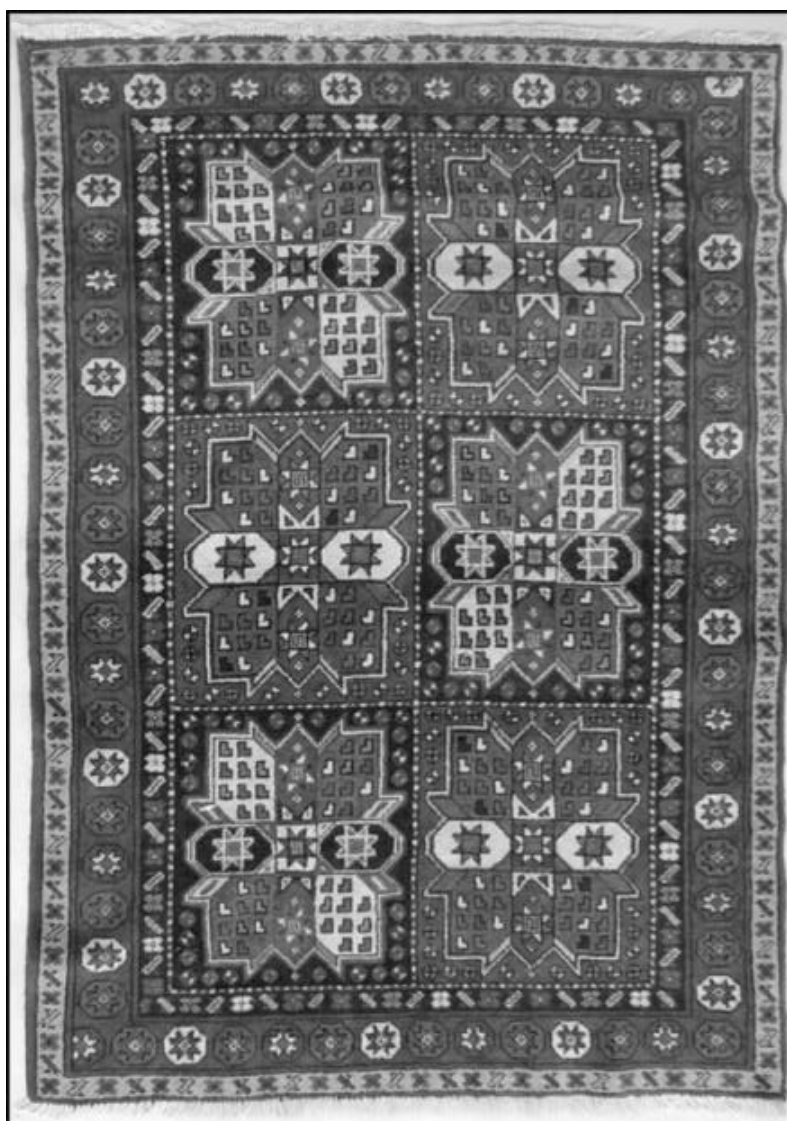


Fig. 3.22. Khesti Bakhtiari Carpet



Fig. 3.23. Khesti Bakhtiari Carpet



Fig. 3.24. Khesti Bakhtiari Carpet



Fig. 3.25. Khesti Bakhtiari Carpet

Other designs are more specifically associated with Chahr Mahal. These include medallion (*Toranj*) and corner (*Lachak*) and prayer niche and figural designs (see Figure 3.26).



Fig. 3.26. Chahr Mahal Carpet

With the use of natural dyestuffs in at least some of the Char Mahal villages today, it has become more common for both nomadic and settled weavers to entrust the dyeing of yarns for weaving to sedentary dyers

who employ artificial colorants. Traditionally, dyes were derived from locally available substances, the most common of these being indigo (*Nil*) and madder (*Ronnas*), for various shades of blue and red, respectively. *Gandal*, from the herb *Ganadalas*, produces the mustard yellow and, in conjunction with madder, yellow-orange colors considered distinctive of both pile and flat weaves from the Bakhtiari region. Interestingly, *Gandal* does not seem to have been extensively used as a dye in other parts of Iran.



Fig. 3.27. Chahr Mahal Carpet

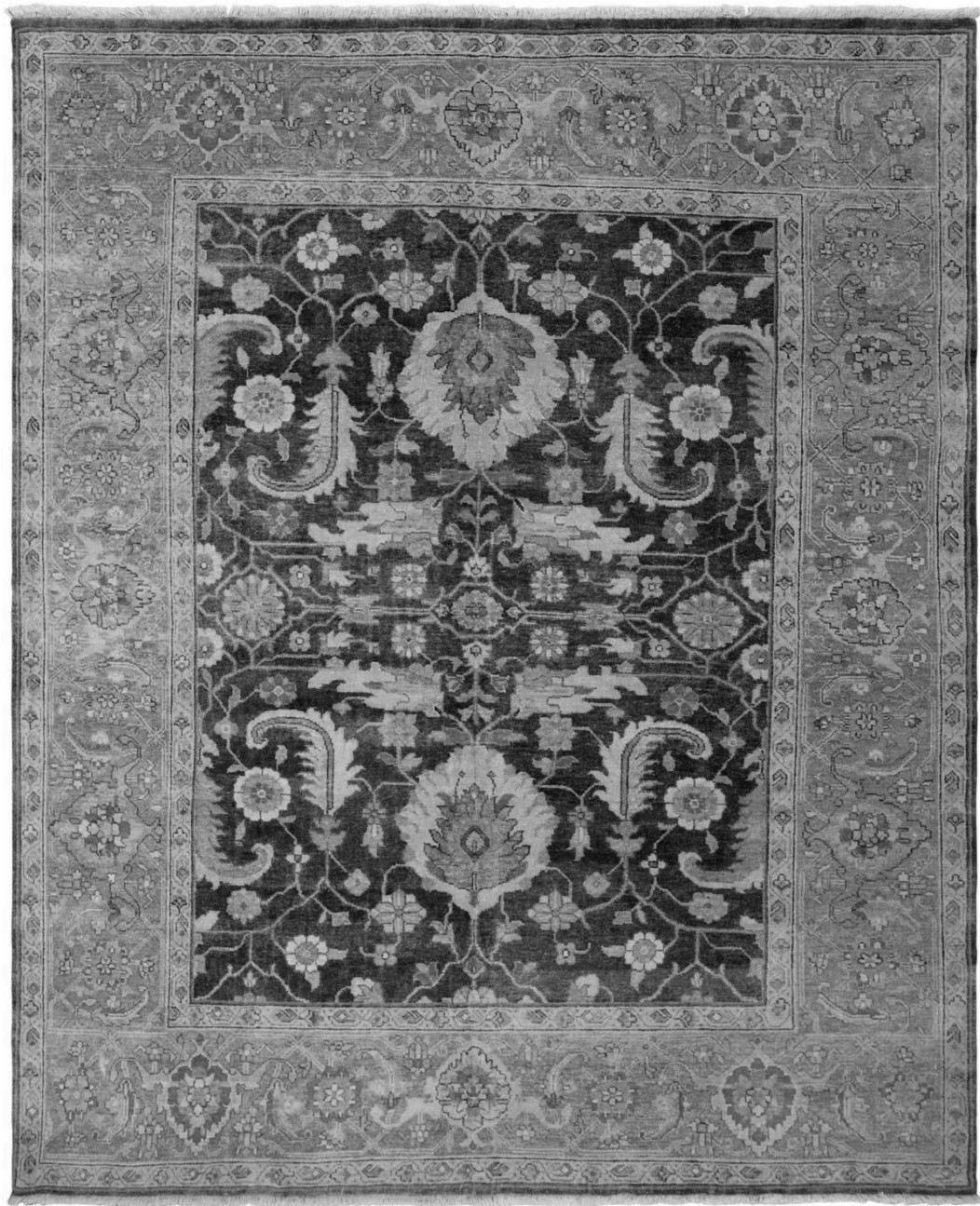


Fig. 3.28. Chahr Mahal Carpet



Fig. 3.29. Chahr Mahal Carpet



Fig. 3.30. Chahr Mahal Carpet

3.4.1 Flat Woven Carpet (Kilim or Gelim)

Gelims are handmade, flat, woven carpets fashioned on vertical or horizontal looms. They are made using naturally dyed threads produced from sheep or camel wool, as well as cotton, silk, or animal hair. Gelims have been woven around Persia for thousands of years and thus reflect a significant part of nomadic heritage and culture. Each area has its own unique style of patterning and coloring. An experienced eye can distinguish a Gelim's origins by its characteristic patterns and colors. Dyes for coloring the threads are usually produced from naturally available raw materials such as fruits, fruit skins, flowers, and plants. Naturally produced colors have the advantage of permanence as well as richer and stronger tones.

In nomadic households, Gelims have always played a multipurpose role. Most often they are used as carpets covering floors and walls. Gelims may be used as saddle covers, carryall bags, door hangings, cushion covers, and blankets, providing extra warmth from cold winds and storms, particularly for migrating tribes. Female members of nomadic or village families do the weaving, with their children helping during the winter months when agricultural activity is at its minimum. The more experienced older members in each family produce the finest Gelims.

Unlike hand-woven rugs, which must be designed beforehand, no specific patterns or designs are pre-set for flat weavers. Artistic creativity, reflecting personal tastes, lifestyles, and nature observation, plays an important part in the finished artwork. Therefore, each Gelim tends to be unique, regardless of whether it was made by the same tribe or in the same village. Finding two precisely identical works is almost impossible.

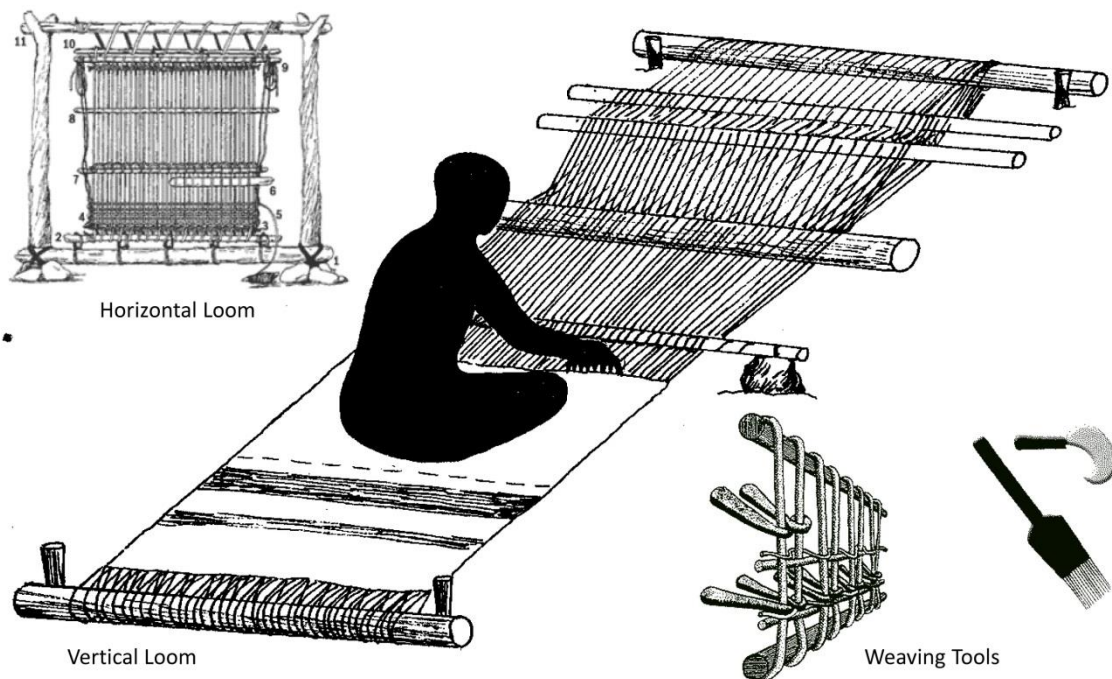


Fig. 3.31. Horizontal and vertical Gilim loom



Fig. 3.32. Tache bag of Bakhtiari



Fig. 3.33. Tache bag of Bakhtiari

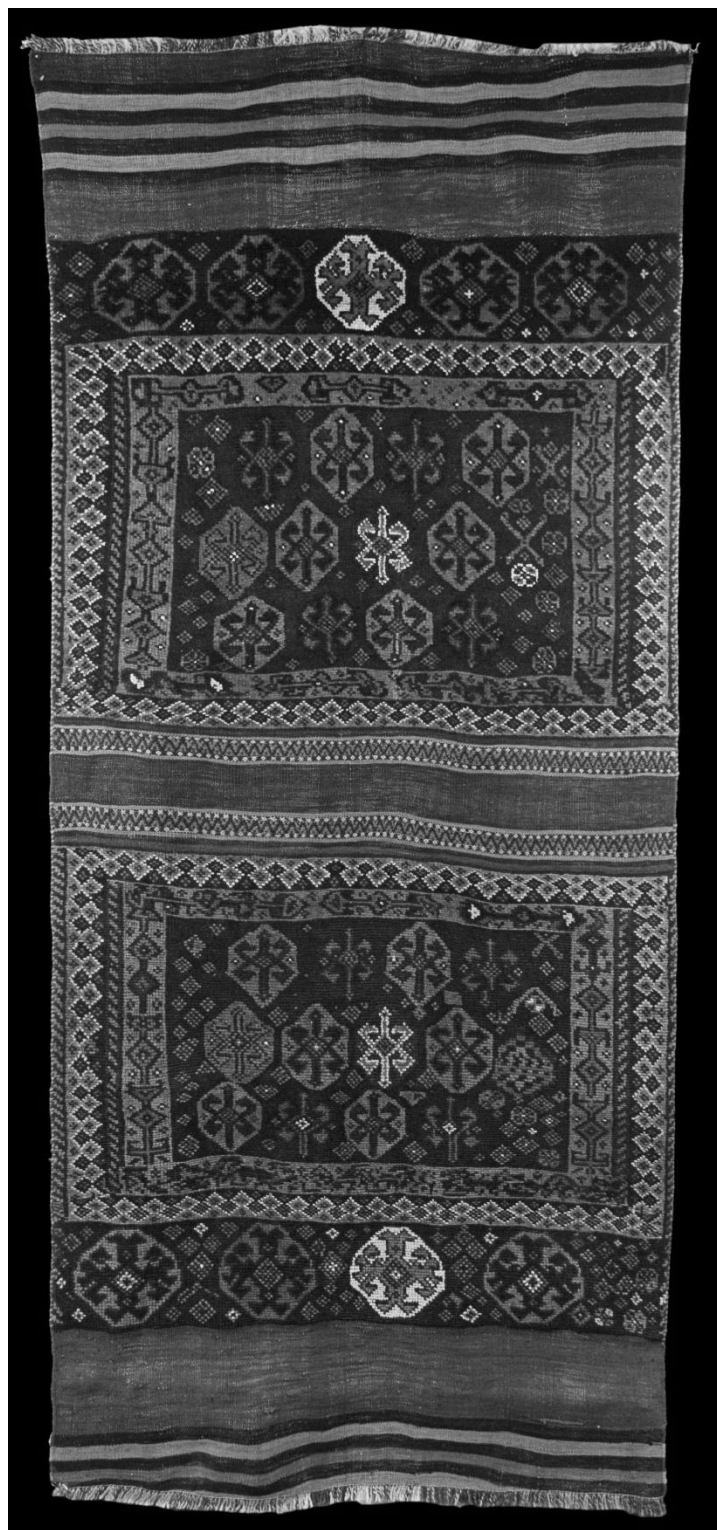


Fig. 3.34. Tache bag of Bakhtiari



Fig. 3.35 Saddle bag of Bakhtiari



Fig. 3.36 Saddle bag of Bakhtiari



Fig. 3.37 Saddle bag of Bakhtiari

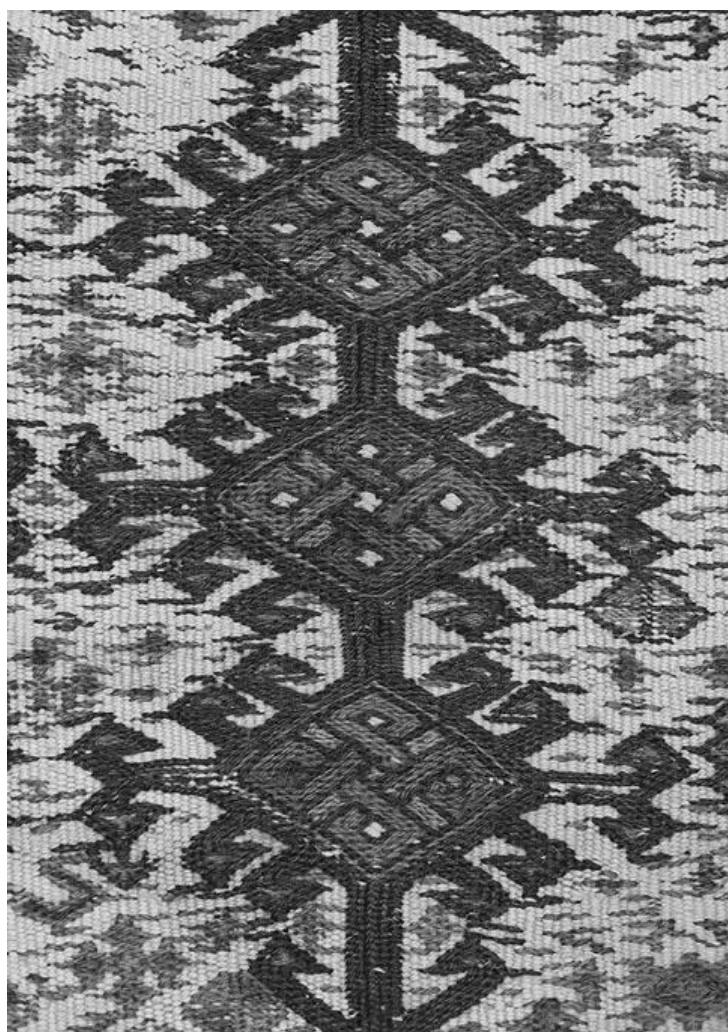


Fig.3.38 Saddle bag of Bakhtiari



Fig. 3.39 Salt bag of Bakhtiari

3.4.2 Persian Bakhtiari Flat Woven Arts (Gelim Bafi)



Fig. 3.40. Tache Bakhtiari (Saddlebag)

3.5 Study area

This study was undertaken in Chahr Mahal and Bakhtiari province, Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari Province (Ostan e Chahr Mahal va Bakhtiari) is one of the 31 provinces of Iran. It lies in the southwestern part of the country. Its capital is Shahrekord (see Figure 3.41).



Fig. 3.41. Map of Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiari province

With an area of 16,532 square kilometers, the province of Chahar Mahal and Bakhteyari is located in the center of the mountain chains of Zagros

mountains by two mountain chains of the interior Zagros mountains and the province of Isfahan. It is formed from two main regions, Chahar Mahal and Bakhteyari. It consists of five districts, each named by its main town, which is its administrative center. The districts are Shahr-e-Kurd, Boroojen, Lurdekan, Farsan, Hafshejan, Koohrang, and Ardal. Shahre Kurd is the administrative center of the province (see Figure 3.42).

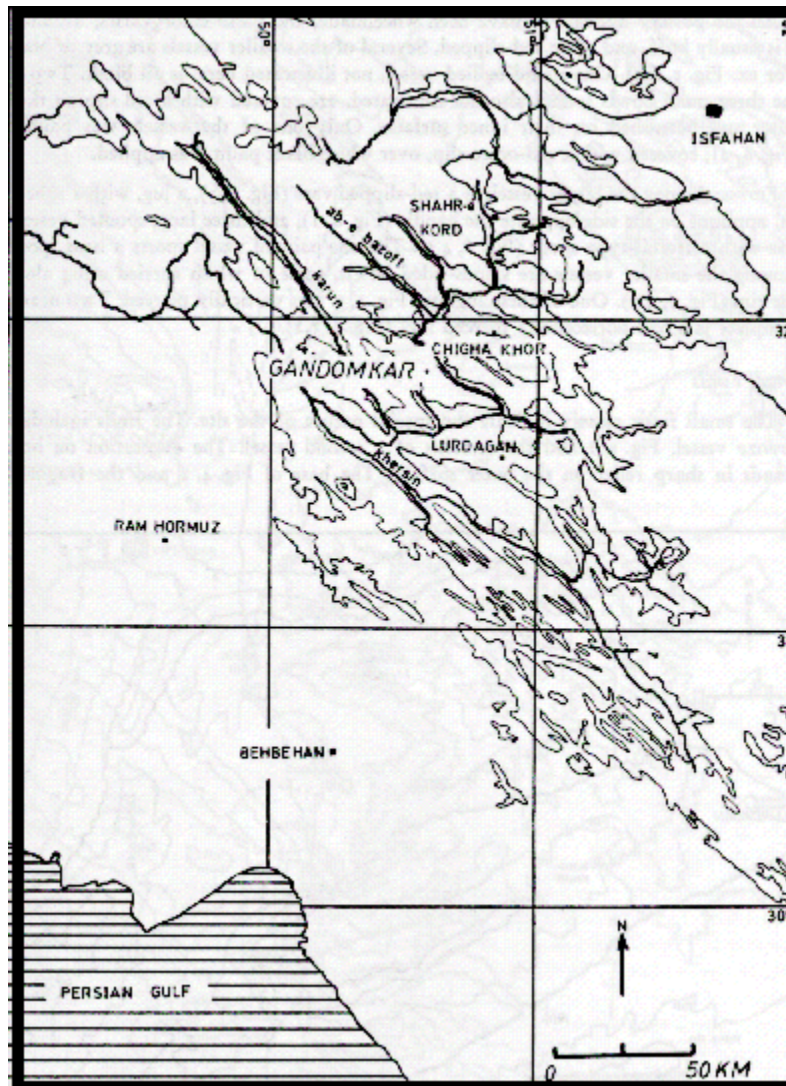


Fig. 3.42. Map of Bakhtiari mountains

(Map from www.iranica.com)

3.6 Methods

A total of two nomad settlements were chosen as groups living next to each other at random within 20 km of Zardkooh Range in Char Mahal and Bakhtiari Province of Iran. Information was gathered from July to August 2013, primarily through in-depth interviews in the Persian language with men and women of these families. These interviews mostly focused on the weaving practices of the settlements. For periods of 5 weeks, fieldwork was conducted within the Shaikh-Ali-Khan region. Each interview lasted approximately three hours and consisted of about 10 predetermined questions. A structured questionnaire was completed for each individual family of settlement heads, including family composition and labor allocation structure; herd structure and management, nutrition, health, breeding, and reproduction; woven art production, marketing; and milk processing and dairy products. The responses to those questions were tallied, and the percentages of the various responses were calculated.

3.7 Outline

None of the Bakhtiari nomad women with whom I walked were still making tribal Gelims or carpets except in Ayoubi Family, although some of those I met in the town of Hafshejan or Shahre Kord in the province of Chahar Mahal and bakhtiari were still weaving commercial carpets and using chemical dyes and non-traditional designs to make carpets for their customers. Some more traditional carpets are shown here (see Figures 3.43 and 3.44).



Fig. 3.43. Commercial weaving in Hafshejan city



Fig. 3.44. Commercial weaving in Hafshejan city

There is a measure of anxiety in this era of globalization that traditional cultures, like the nomadic groups of Iran, are endangered and will soon be 'lost.' This anxiety, though understandable, fails to recognize how vibrant and adaptable such cultures are. When I visited the nomads of Iran, I saw that these people had adapted their traditional lifestyles to fit the demands and conditions of contemporary urban society. Animals had, in some cases, been replaced by trucks; woven saddle bags had given way to sewn

together pieces of fabric; crops were being cultivated in rented plots; and children were attending schools in towns and cities. At the same time, these innovations were often carried out in tandem with traditional cultural expression of the nomads—the daily walk with the herd to higher land, the spinning of wool and weaving of kilims and carpets, the long peaceful afternoons spent in the tent, spinning wool, chatting, and smoking.

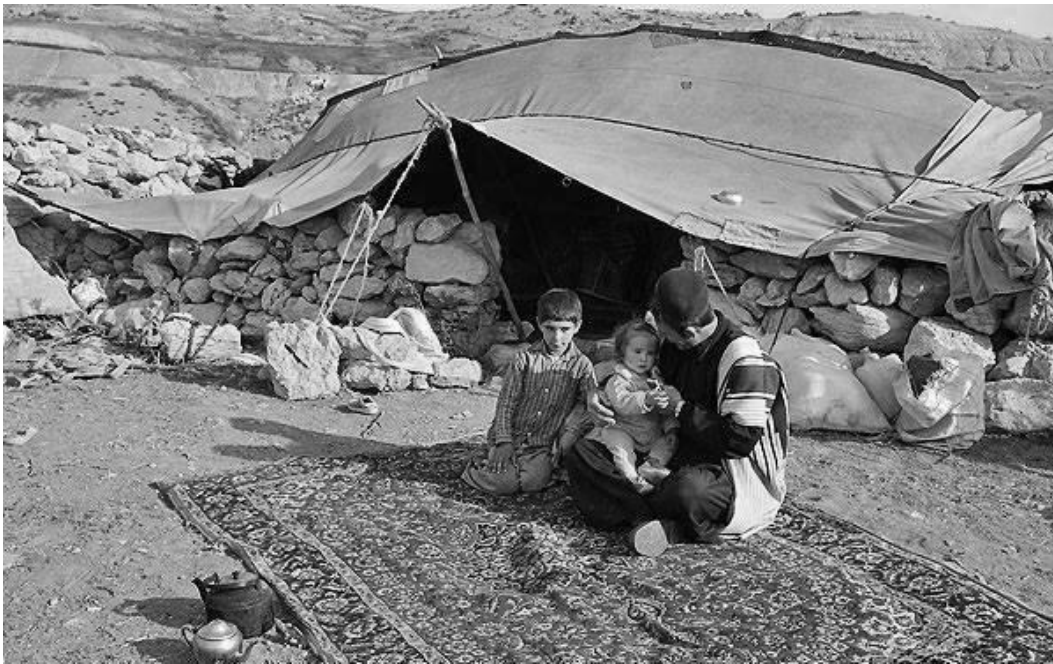


Fig. 3.45. Bakhtiari family gathering. Photo by F. Farokhzad

3.8 Stories of the Ashayer (nomads), the Bakhtiari nomadic people of Iran

3.8.1 Case study of Ayoubi family tents



Fig. 3.47. Ayoubi family tent, southern view

3.8.1.1 Seasonal movements

Ayoubi Family members migrate to the southern Persian Gulf provinces of Khuzestan in autumn and winter. Amo Ali states that these nomadic pastoralist households have no fixed homesteads and cover great distances with their livestock, even within the Sheikh Ali Khan region, following pasture availability throughout the seasons.

These transhumant pastoralists usually stay as a single family and do not integrate with other families. Their movement could be described as vertical movement, where pastures at high altitudes are used in summer and pastures in the lowlands are used in winter, or horizontal in the surroundings of Sheikh Ali Khan region. Consequently, the livestock density in this area varies throughout the year, with the highest number of livestock and people in summer. The Ayoubi family has fixed places to reside during the summer and winter quarters. They usually live and rest under their black tents in the Ahvaz plateau during the winter and the Sheikh Ali Khan plateau in summer time (See Figure 3.48 and 3.49).

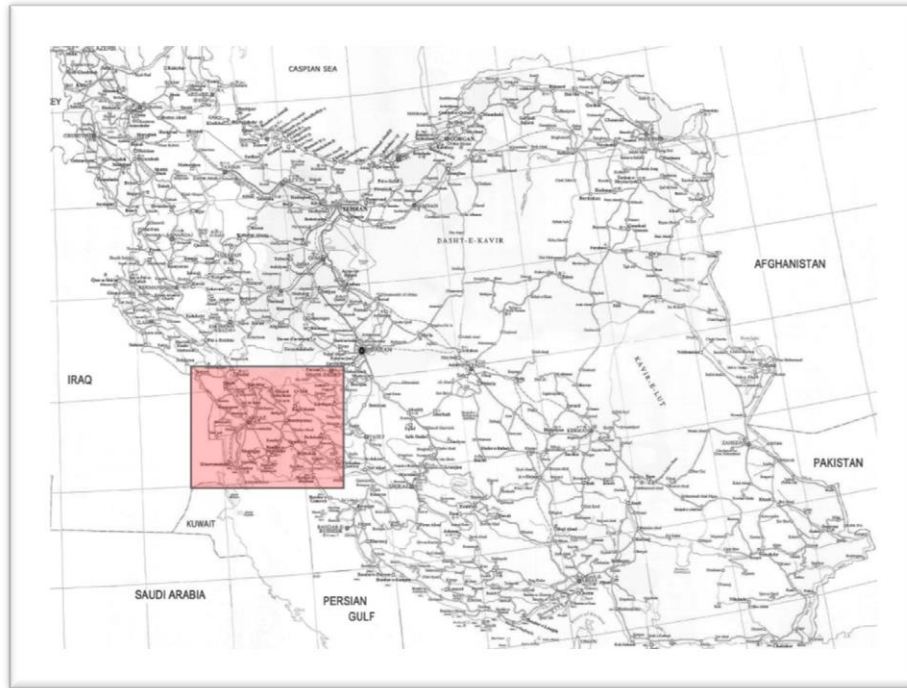


Fig. 3.48. Location of case study in Chahar Mahal and Bakhtiari Province

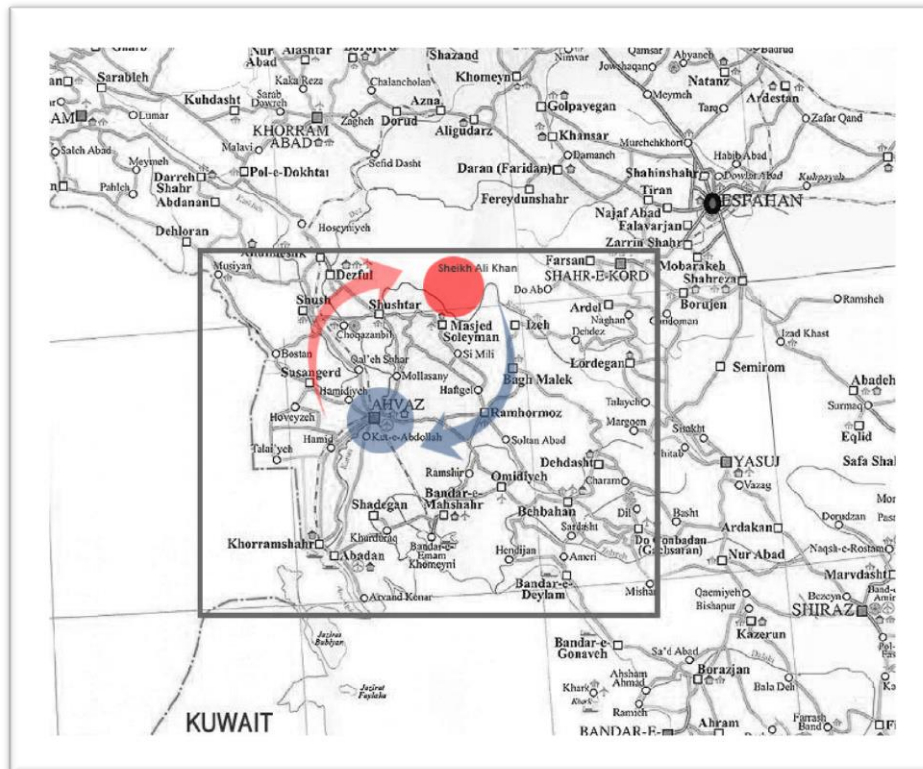


Fig. 3.49. Ayoubi family annual migration route

3.8.1.2 Lifestyle

The traditional and economical pastoral life is one of the forms of the Ayoubi family lifestyle, which is the combination of customs and techniques, using natural facilities in unpleasant environments such as deserts, high mountains, etc. According to this definition, their lifestyle is based on domesticating and herding sheep, and the requisite factor for this lifestyle is, therefore, finding and having access to green pastures during the year. Pasture and weather conditions are the determining elements for the time of migration, and domesticated animals are the guides. In this type of living, the family's peace is related to the satisfaction and health of domesticated animals. The main Ayoubi tent is a portable tent that is usually black (black tent), and women often weave them from goat hair and sometimes with a combination of sheep wool. These tents are raised and expanded over a wooden pole and are connected to the earth by ropes; they are raised and packed easily and quickly. Goat wool and hair act as a type of heat insulating material, which controls the outside and inside heat exchange.

3.8.1.3 Relationship with the natural ground

The correct relationship between the architecture and the ground, landscape and its context, as one of the major items, is considered in modern architecture, such that it can include most of the behavioral benefits of the building form confronting the range of natural powers to the amount of energy consumption. Considering the fact that the Bakhtiari nomads live in the mountains, raise their tents in which to live, and the way of settlement of the tents on the slopes and the forms of the given tents, and can be determined as integrating in the natural elements surrounding them.

Accordingly, the selected building materials have also the capability to be flexible and changeable and can be replaced according to the direction of the sunshine and the wind. The flexibility and spherical form of the tents cause their structures to have the least resistance against the air stream and also help in the stability of the buildings and the reduction of the temperature wastage.

3.8.1.4 Natural ventilation

Circulation of the natural air in the tent can be regarded as a major factor for a healthy life, decreasing the inside temperature and providing physical comfort. Using fresh and natural air and natural ventilation plays an

effective role in this regard. The provision of compatibility and the need to use renewable resources are a couple of the aims of modern sustainable architecture. In this regard, the cover of the tent being used by the most bakhtiari nomads is such that it makes it possible for fresh air to enter them in the hot seasons of the year and play an important role in making the inner space more pleasant.

3.8.1.5 Use sustainable materials

The use of natural materials for building the tents of the Ayoubi family, both in the structure and in the inside and outside coverings, is in line with the local and vernacular architecture and is compatible with the climate, which can bring about discussions of sustainability in the architecture. The materials, considering their light weight and high efficiency in flexibility with regard to the physical conditions, as well as their heat-resistance, are of the best materials to use in the tent architecture. In addition, using materials that are originally taken from the nature, as well as local materials such as hand-woven rugs or other materials, can be noted as the positive aspects of the tent's architecture. They are in line with the discussions that make this type of architecture suitable for sustainable architecture discussions, because, as a benefit of this method, it is possible for the materials taken from the natural origins to be returned to nature. Today, sustainable architecture also follows this aim. The picture below

explains the cycle of the materials used in the Bakhtiari black tents, from the journey to production to their return to the nature.

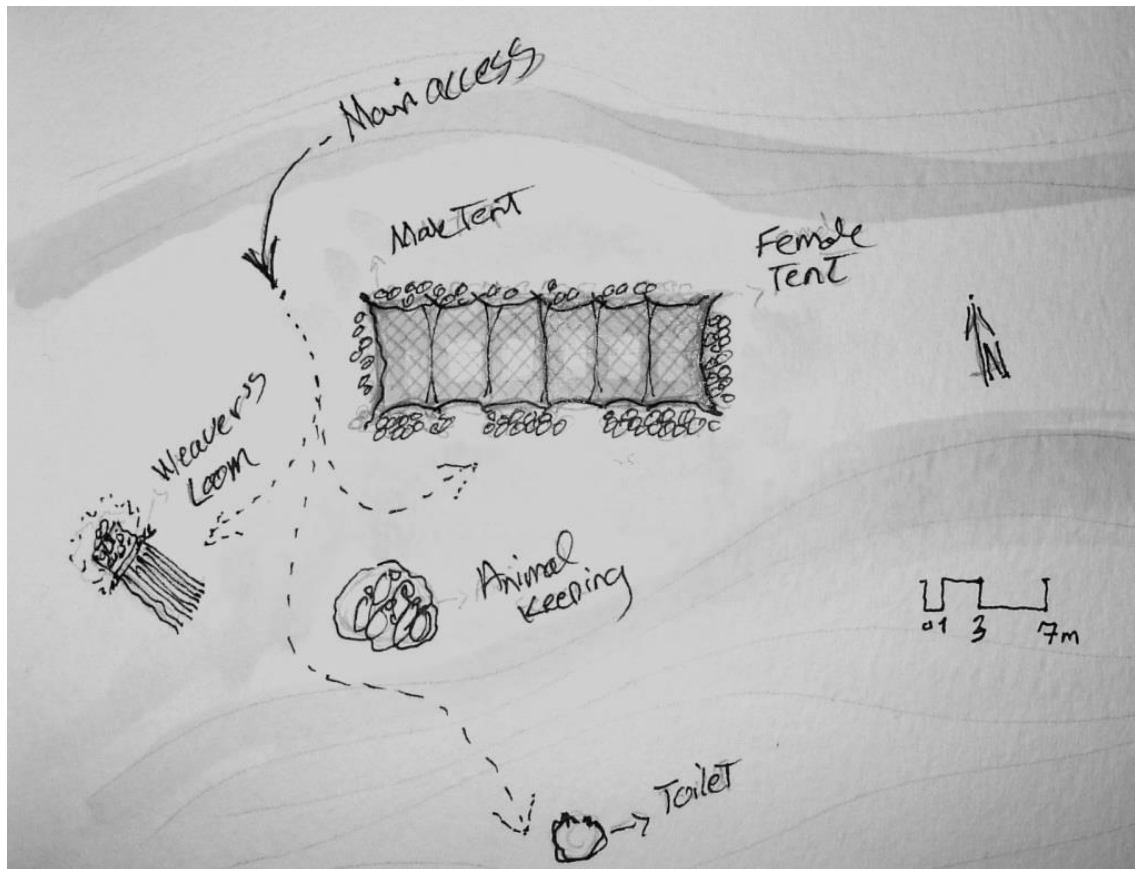


Fig. 3.50. Ayoubi tent site plan

3.8.2 Interior of Ayoubi tents

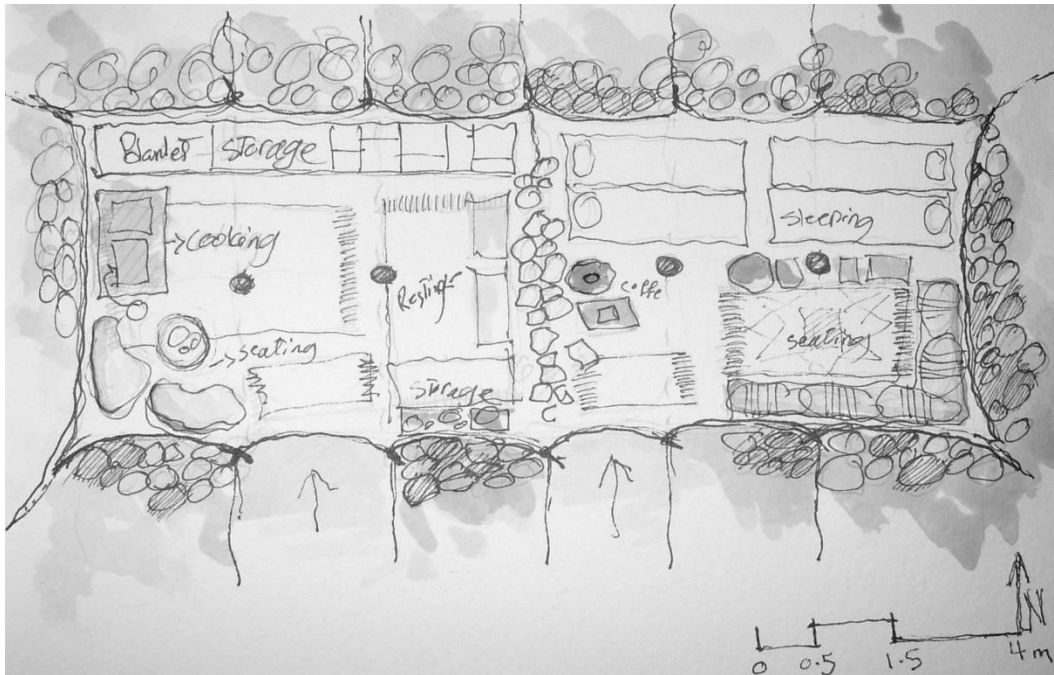


Fig. 3.51. Interior layout of Ayoubi family tents



Fig. 3.52. Ayoubi family tents



Fig. 3.53. Ayoubi family tents elevation



Fig. 3.54. Ayoubi family tents outdoor toilet



Fig. 3.55. Ayoubi family animal keeping



Fig. 3.56 and Fig. 3.57. Interior views of Ayoubi family tents



Fig. 3.58. Woven handicrafts of Ayoubi family tents

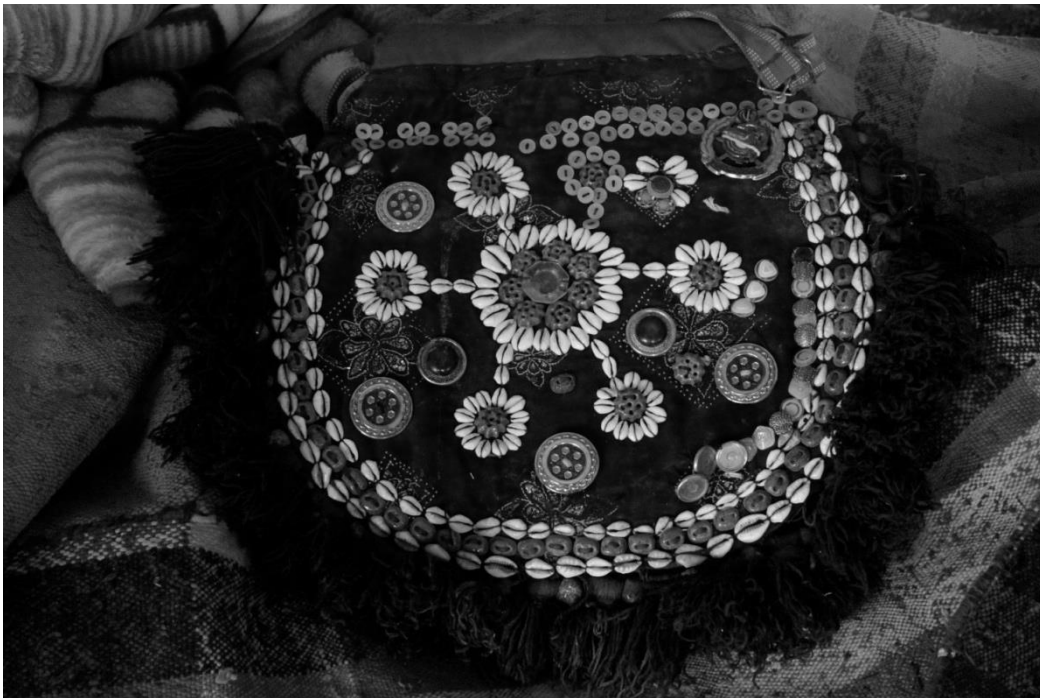


Fig. 3.59 and Fig. 3.60. Woven handicrafts of Ayoubi family tents



Fig. 3.61. Hand-woven blanket on top of the storage area

3.8.3 Ayoubi Family structure

The Ayoubi family is one of the Bakhtiari nomad families I found in the mountains of Zard Kooh in the Sheikh Ali-Khan region near Koohrang city (see Figure 3.27). The family consists of Amo Ali (father), Sadat Khanoom (mother), Nezam and Sarban (Amo Ali's sons), who are they already married and left for the city, Kolsum (daughter), Jasim (Kolsum's husband), Shahin and Asqar (Kolsum's sons), and Yasaman (Kolsum's daughter).

3.8.3.1 Sadat Khanoom

The woman I will call 'Sadat khanoom' (which means a woman deserving of great respect) has made a life for herself and her family amongst the Bakhtiari people near Koohrang Village. She is in her mid-eighties and wears the traditional clothing of the Bakhtiari women. The method she uses for spinning wool differs slightly from the more recent methods. She believes she is a rare tribal weaver who is still alive and who has the passion to continue weaving for the rest of her life. Sadat Khanoom says that Bakhtiari culture and textile techniques cooperate with other Persian nomadic families in the surrounding area, like Luri. This combination of tradition and adaptation was something I encountered again and again in my time with the Bakhtiari nomads



Fig. 3.62 and Fig 3.63 .Sadat Khanoom's weaving work



Fig.3.64. Sadat Khanoom's talking about her life experience in Bakhtiari tribe

Under the shade of the sheet spread above Sadat Khanoom next to the tent, she is weaving a colorful Gelim. There are only two months left of

their summer camp, and they are trying to finish it so they can take it down from the loom before the migration to warmer areas for the winter. Sadat Khanoom has spun and dyed the wool, which was gathered from the spring shearing. She told me that she is suffering from joint pain and that there is no one to help. She stated that she is still passionate about weaving after 70 years at the age of 85 years old. She also mentioned that now most dyes are purchased from the bazaar, due to the lack of availability of natural dyes from the fields. Madder and jasheer (a fennel-like plant) are rarely seen in the mountains these days. Kolsum is creating the design as she weaves it .



Fig. 3.65. Sadat Khanoom's loom

Spinning wool is an afternoon activity for the nomadic women. Almost every woman is sitting in the black tent, leaning against her bedding bag, and chatting away with other women, while each spins wool. Smoking Gheiloon (hubble bubble) also happens in the relaxed afternoon atmosphere.



Fig.3.66. Spinning wool of Sadat Khanoom

3.8.3.2 Amo Ali

The ninety-year-old Bakhtiari man, the lion of the Ayoubi family, is sitting next to the tent staring at the Zard Kooh Mountain. He has achieved a lot in his life and migration throughout the toughest journeys between Zagros range.

He can barely move or talk now. It was sad to see the lion so tired, but his eyes are still shining and hopeful. I could not really talk to him due to his physical situation (see Figure 3.67).



Fig. 3.67. Amo Ali praying next to his tent

3.8.3.3 Children

The twelve-year-old boy, Shahin, cares for his two-year-old brother, Asqar, and stares at me with a smile. His job is to take care of the livestock as they roam the area looking for pasture. He goes with them to higher ground in the morning and brings them back before nightfall. It is a responsibility he shoulders easily, with maturity beyond his years, though this is tempered by a child's readiness to laugh. He already has developed a sense of gender roles in the nomadic lifestyle—when I asked him if he was involved with carpet-making, he dismissed the suggestion with the answer that such work was women's work and was the domain of his sister. He shared with me the effect of the drought on his daily routine, mentioning that the livestock must make increasingly long journeys up the mountain to find green fodder (see Figure 3.68).



Fig. 3.68. Shahin and Asqar

Fifteen-year-old Yasaman came to live in the city when she was two years old with other extended family. She does not remember anything from the days before they settled, but she has always been told stories about it. Her father, Jasim, now works at building sites and her mother, Kolsum, weaves carpets in their front yard with the grandmother. Yasaman spends some time each day during the summer vacation learning weaving from her grandmother, and she loves visiting relatives who still live in tents in the mountains. Yet she also enjoys being in the city and going to school. Her cousin, Maryam, who is seventeen, loves weaving carpets and wants to weave her own design one day. Maryam remembers her nomadic life more clearly than does Yasaman, and claims she would have been happy in either way of life.

Maman bozorg (their grandmother) is unhappy in the city and worries about the young boys who are torn between two lifestyles; she is anxious about them getting involved in drugs and crime. She is happy that her daughter, Kolsum, is staying at home and weaving carpets in their leisure time. The women seem to maintain links with their nomadic lifestyle even in the city, through their clothing and carpet weaving, but the boys have no connection with nomadic lifestyles while they live in the city.

3.8.4 Commercial livestock products

As cashmere, milk, and meat are given more priority for production than animal breeding and social status, coarse goat hair is spun and woven into gilims, saddlebags tent material, ropes, and blankets. The raw cashmere is usually sold to dealers and sometimes dyed using natural dyes or is spun into items for home use using different spinning wheels and drop spindles. Traditionally, sheep and goat hides were used to make shoes or boots, but nowadays, most nomads prefer to buy shoes, which, although of lower quality, avoid labor.

3.8.5 Dairy products

Traditionally, the family consumes more milk in their diets than meat. In fact, they often express a dislike for killing and trading animals. They milk some of their animals for home use, but very rarely milk all the animals, mainly due to a shortage of labor. Of the total milk, about one third is consumed fresh and the rest is processed into dairy products. Using traditional methods, wives process the milk into butter and yoghurt for immediate use and ghee and hard, dry curds for storage. Most of the products are used for home consumption, but occasionally, some are given as presents.

Chapter Four

CONCLUSIONS

M. Lombard, in *Les Textiles dans le Monde Muselman*²², describes the Islamic civilization of the Near East as a “textile culture” and argues that weaving techniques for many utilitarian items used in village and nomadic life have probably changed over a period of many centuries. If the scattered groups claiming Persian descent were found to be weaving fabrics with a structural or design relationship to those found in recent times among villagers and nomads of the Iran, this could be evidence of a relationship in the material culture. Designs may change as local tastes, culture, and styles change, but the structure of fabrics within a given ethnic group tends to remain much more constant from generation to generation.

However, centuries of tradition in the weaving of the Iranian Nomads, particularly the Bakhtiari tribe, using sheep wool and goat hair, has changed dramatically in the last 20 years. Traditional nomadic lifestyles existed until recently in Iran, but the tribal way of life is disappearing. The number of nomads in Iran, particularly in the Bakhtiari region, has decreased intensely. Some continue to weave, but the lifestyle that gave birth and purpose to the weaving is quickly disappearing, as it is the victim

²² M. Lombard, *Les textiles dans le monde musulman VIIe-XIe siècle*, Paris and the Hague, 1978

of industrialization, a lack of government interest and support in tribal work, and perhaps changes of lifestyle and financial goals of new generations. These changes created new jobs, incomes, and less attention on tribal life.

Nomads were settled and put to work in the different industries, as well as being encouraged to take up agriculture. Before the oil and modernization period in Iran and the dominance of the new government in Iran, the tribes were controlled by Khans, the head of the tribes. The general population was poor, and there was no national treasury. Now, education and medical care are more accessible, and food subsidies are the part of the government's plan for the unprivileged. In addition, most of the tribal population is under government control.

As a result of these changes in the society, tribal weaving techniques and products have fallen to disuse or have been transformed with new materials and put to new uses. Artificial yarns now predominate, because they are pre-spun, clean, and not attractive to moths and other pests. They are also easier to use, and they do not require dyeing, which is messy. Women in remote areas with lower incomes who are not as connected to trade still use more traditional methods and materials. They improvise with what is available. With the decline in the use of wool, the art of spinning is also disappearing. Formerly nomadic families are becoming more sedentary; they have greater disposable income, and they are able to buy the artificial yarns.

Previously, their wool was taken from the sheep or goats of their flocks or from others nearby and spun and plied tightly. Artificial yarns are plied on traditional spindles. Weaving with artificial yarn is more difficult in one respect; it has little elasticity, but it is much cheaper and easier to get.

Ground looms are used in Bakhtiari weaving, and the patterns and shed changes are manipulated with one's fingers, hands, and fists. Stretchiness in the wool, goat hair, and camel hair make it easier to manipulate. An advantage of fake yarns is that they are smoother, and they slip by each other more easily in the tight warp-faced weave of Bakhtiari weaving. Tribal weaving was formerly used for tents, rugs, and animal gear. Now, long machine-made rugs the size and shape of long tents have been replaced by short handmade rugs or kilims for use in small rooms. Saddlebags and shoulder bags are seen less. Many tribal women embroider on plastic scrim with artificial yarns, reproducing designs from tribal weavings. Some vendors order from China or India artificial fabrics with tribal design imitations to be used for tent cushions. Black tents are often used now to entertain urban dwellers in their courtyards, a social statement one sees in a number of countries such as Iran and Arabian countries. Large wool tent dividers are sometimes used this way, but they are often replaced by synthetic versions, which are used as wall decorations, often in miniature.

People who I have in this research as "nomads" could equally—depending upon the particular case—be labeled "tribesmen" or "peasants," "Muslims" or "pagans," "Persians" or "Turkics," or "Baluch" or "Arab," "fierce warriors"

or “pacific civilians.” There are many aspects and dimensions to peoples’ lives and to a people’s cultures.

One aspect as paramount would be a distortion of the always-complex human reality. Such an essentialism and reductionism would be a distortion of nomadism, for to understand nomadism truly, we must grasp its dependence on human objectives and upon multiple social, cultural, and environmental circumstances. Thus, we can appreciate its variability, its malleability, and its impermanence

Various types of cultural interactions are rooted in relationships between people with a common culture, ideology, and skill. I wish to stress that any understanding of the possible nature of ancient cultural identities must begin with a careful analysis of the patterns of material evident in time and space; moreover, such an understanding must be grounded in a contextualized understanding of the community foundations that are responsible for this. Finally, this informational framework must be considered against the role and meaning of space and its experience.

References;

Garthwaite, Gene R. Khans and Shahs. A Documentary Analysis of the Bakhtiyari in Iran, Cambridge, 1983.

Karimi, Akbar, "Nezam e Malekiate arzi Dar Ile Bakhtiari" *Honar a mardom*, 1357Š/1978

Layard, Austen, Henry, A description of the province of Khuzestan: Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1846

Faegre, Torvald, 1979. Tents. Architecture of the Nomads. London: John Murray.

B.Davari, Zarb al-Matalha-ye Bakhtiari. Tehran, 1343 Š./1964.

Cooper, M. C, Grass, New York, 1925. (movie)

Dodds, Mike, Bakhtiari Migration, 1973. (movie)

Howarth, Anthony, People of the Wind 1999. (movie)

Sedigh, *Cima*, Bakhtiary Alpgabet, 2009. (movie)

Franchis, A. de and Wertime, John. T. Wertime, Lori and Bakhtiyari
Flatweaves, Tehran, 1976.

Beck, Lois. Nomad: A Year in the Life of a Qashqa'i Tribesman in Iran.
Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Mellin, Robert. Tilting: House Launching, Slide Hauling, Potato Trenching,
and Other Tales from a Newfoundland Fishing Village. New York:
Princeton Architectural Press, 2003.

Salzman, Philip Carl. Black Tents of Baluchistan. Washington: Smithsonian
Institution Press, 2000.

Glassie, Henry. Material Culture. Indiana University Press, 1999.

Glassie, Henry. Turkish Traditional Art Today. Indiana UP, 1993.

Tanavoli, Parviz, Persian Flat weaves, Antique collector's club Ltd.
Woodbridge, Suffolk

Tanavoli, Parviz, Lion Rugs: The Lion in the Art and Culture of Iran, Basel,
1985

Armstrong, Robert Plant, The Powers of Presence: Consciousness, Myth,
and Affecting Presence. University of Pennsylvania, 1981

Wulff, Hans E. The Traditional Crafts of Persia. Cambridge, Massachusetts:
MIT, 1966

Barth, Fredrik, Nomads of South Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh
Confederacy, Oslo and London, 1964.

Kubler, George, The Shape of Time, Yale University Press, 1962

Lionel, Richard Tapper and Thompson, Jon. photography by Nasrollah Kasraian, *The Nomadic Peoples of Iran*, London, 2002.

Bradburd, Daniel, *Ambiguous relations : skin, class, and conflict among Komachi pastoralists*, Washington : Smithsonian Institution Press, c1990

Garthwaite, G. Ralf. *Khans and Shahs: A Documentary Analysis of the Bakhtiari in Iran*. Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Irons, W. 1975. *The Yomut Turkmen: a study of social organization among a Central Asian Turkic-speaking population*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Khosronejad, Pedram, 'The Shahnameh in Bakhtiari Nomadic Society: Anthropological Aspects of Hero and Heroism', Iran, XLIV. London: The British Institute of Persian Studies, 2006

Schoenauer ,Norbert, *6000 years of Housing*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2000

Encyclopedia Iranica, 2nd edition (online)
<http://www.iranica.com/articles/lion-tombstones>.

www.allempires.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=5091&PN=6

www.everyculture.com › Africa / Middle East

www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/bakhtiari-kuch/

www.iranicaonline.or