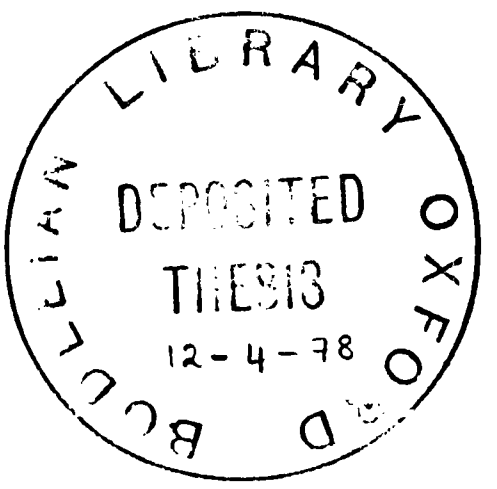
KERMAN IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY : A REGIONAL STUDY OF SOCIETY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

by

Joanna de Groot



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Kerman in the later nineteenth century : a regional study of society and social change

Joanna de Groot
St. Antony's College,
Oxford
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This thesis explored the possibilities of regional history as a basis for understanding the development of society in Iran in the nineteenth century. It begins by defining some conceptual problems needing discussion in order to embark on such a history. The choice of a regional society as the unit of study, and the selection of Kerman in particular are examined. The problem of source material is dealt with by a survey of the sources used in the study of nineteenth century Kerman. The emergence of the region as a geographical and historical entity is then summarised in order to clarify its identity as it appeared by the nineteenth century. The central section of the thesis is an examination of the important aspects of material life in Kerman. The rural sector is discussed first as being dominant in economy and society, with a survey of crop production being followed by examination of rural technology and society, and then a discussion of landlord-cultivator relations. The urban sector is then analysed in terms of a survey of craft production and then of social organisation. A separate chapter examines the sphere of circulation linking urban and rural sectors, looking at urban-rural contacts especially as articulated by landlord-peasant relations, and also at the links between Kerman and other regions, and with international markets. There is an appendix on the special case of pastoralism and nomadism. The last section of the thesis uses the understanding of society which has emerged in an analysis of politics. Discussion of useful definitions of this term is followed by examination of various levels of political life, and more specifically of the decade 1905-1915. Finally conclusions are drawn about the contribution of this regional study to better understanding of history and society in Iran.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the possibilities of using a regional approach to arrive at a better understanding of society and history in nineteenth century Iran. In order to do this various conceptual and practical problems are raised for clarification prior to embarking on the substantive study. The assumptions and arguments behind the choice of a regional society as a unit of study are laid out and the practical difficulties examined, while the particular selection of Kerman also comes under discussion. Since history in Iran faces particular difficulties with source materials, a survey of those sources actually used to study Kerman highlights the strengths and limitations of each. The emergence of the region as a product of geography and history is then summarised, in order to give a basis to its identity as that appeared by the nineteenth century.

The central section of the thesis is a detailed examination of the various important features of material life in the Kerman region. The rural sector is dealt with first, since rural production was the bedrock of regional life. A survey of crop production as it fulfilled the needs of the region and changed during the nineteenth century, is followed by a discussion of the methods and relationships which made production possible. Having established the basic structures of the rural community in this way the examination of the rural sector concludes with an analysis of the relations between producers of rural surpluses and those who took control of them. Turning to the urban sector a discussion of the various kinds of craft production for local

consumption or commerce is followed by a survey of the social groups and relationships which shaped urban society. A separate chapter is then given to the sphere of circulation which linked urban and rural sectors at a variety of levels. The specific commercial exchanges between the two sectors are examined, and the landlord-cultivator relationship discussed as the paradigm case of interpenetration of needs and social forces. The life of the Kerman region is also set in the context both of its links with other regions around it and of its place in international markets. This involves a critique of the use of "national" perspectives for the study of economic phenomena in Iran in the nineteenth century, and also of the presentation of a dichotomous model of a passive Iranian experience of dynamic western influence. An appendix to this section discusses the special role of pastoralism and nomadism in the life of the region, again criticising some assumptions made about these phenomena.

Having surveyed the various aspects of social production in the Kerman region, the last part of the thesis examines how the observations thus developed can aid further understanding of regional society. In particular it deals with the articulation of the various interests and groups in society at the political level. In order to do this the survey of politics begins with a discussion of suitably relevant and workable definition of "politics" which attempts to establish a view of "the political" which is not restricted by specific institutions or historical experiences. Unfounded assumptions about the division of "personal" from "political", or the location of

politics in governmental institutions are criticised. A general analysis of the communal and religious elements in political life forms the basis for examining politics in Kerman more specifically. This is done through surveys of the political life and activity of each different group in Kerman society in order to identify specific characteristics and common factors. A separate section deals with the development of politics in the decade before World War I, for which fuller material offers the possibility of more detailed discussion of politics in a period of significant changes.

The concluding chapter of the study assesses the particular advantages offered by the regional approach taken in the course of the study for arriving at a better understanding of society and history in Iran. This is done by a comparative evaluation of the regional perspective and that offered by the more "national" viewpoint taken in some other studies of Iran. Such a comparison highlights ways in which the regional study enables the historian to avoid various difficulties and enhances appreciation of important aspects of historical and social reality in Iran. It is argued that this applies both to general issues of social change and organisation and also to the specific situation in the nineteenth century, thus justifying the framework adopted in this thesis.

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A doctoral thesis is naturally expected to be the product of original research and reflection by the candidate submitting it. However originality is a plant which can only flourish in soil prepared by the stimulus and inspiration of other peoples efforts and fertilised by all kinds of advice and support in the course of its growth. I should therefore like to record the many obligations I have incurred during the process of producing my study.

I should like to begin rather than end by thanking Sue Medd who typed the thesis and Joanna Trythall who prepared the tables, in recognition of the fact that the physical production of academic work is as much a necessary condition of its existence as research and reflection, and not an optional extra. I also thank my supervisor Roger Owen for bearing with the long-drawn-out process of creating this study. John Gurney and Haleh Bakash endured my beginner's struggles with Persian and offered many other forms of help. Ralph Pinder-Wilson, Jennifer Scarce and Jenny Housego put their knowledge of the arts of Iran at my disposal. Discussions with Gavin Kitching, Mark Harrison and other colleagues from St. Antony's College helped clarify my ideas and sustain me in my work. Florida Safiri and Abbas Vali have been invaluable fellow students of Iranian history. In Kerman many people were unquestioningly generous with information and hospitality notably the Ibrahimi family, Mr. Timoyannis, and Mr. Sa^{c}id-Nejad as well as my kind Jewish landlord and his wife and daughter, I received similar

help in the British Institute of Persian Studies in Tehran which was both my home and my workplace in 1973. Many others in Kerman, in libraries and archives in England, and among friends and colleagues made contributions which are no less appreciated for being unspecific. To all I offer warmest gratitude.

a note on measurements, money and transliteration

The measurement of monetary values and physical quantities which varied sharply over time and space in Iran is a besetting problem for historians, and is reinforced by the inconsistency in the records of data in the sources. In this study the following equivalents are used as normal approximations unless the contrary is stated :-

1 farsakh	=	4 miles
1 mann	=	6.5 lb.
1 kharvar	=	650 lb/100 mann
20 shahis	=	1 kran/qiran
10 kran	=	1 toman

There is no way to convert Iranian money values to their sterling equivalents on a basis which can apply throughout the period of this study, since a significant feature of the period was the sharp fluctuation of Iranian currency values in both sterling and bullion terms. When money figures are quoted they apply specifically to the point in time from which they are drawn, and any conversions between sterling or Indian rupees and Iranian money are done at the rates then current.

Transliteration systems are also variable and to some extent unsatisfactory since they tend to be developed for Arabic rather than Persian vocalisation. The following system is used here :-

consonants

ب = b	ج = j	د = d	س = s	ط = ṭ	ف = f	ل = l	ه = h, or eh when rendering Arabic ō
پ = p	چ = ch	ذ = dh	ش = sh	ظ = ẓ	ق = q	م = m	
ت = t	ح = h	ر = r	ص = ṣ	ع = ʿ	ک = k	ن = n	ی = y (when consonantal)
ث = th	خ = kh	ز = z	ض = ż	غ = gh	گ = g	و = v (when consonantal)	

vowels ا = a (as in father) و = ō, ū (as in gōld, pōol)

ی = ī (as in sēen) short vowels have been rendered as phonetically as possible (eg Kerman, not Kir; Isfahan, not Esfahan)

diphthongs au as in mustaufi where و follows a short "a"

ou " " doulah " " " " " "o"

The Arabic article has been rendered "al" except where assimilated to a "sun" consonant (eg "aḍ-doulah")

diacritical marks are used if there might be confusion in the text, and throughout the notes and references.

Abbreviations

AH = anno hegirae (ie the Muslim calendar of lunar years counted from Muhammad's hijra)

sh. = shamsi (the Persian solar year dating introduced in the 1920's)

PART ONE

APPROACHES TO A REGIONAL STUDY

CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEMS OF METHOD AND CONCEPTUALISATION

The body of this thesis will consist of a detailed historical description set in the Kerman region of Iran during the nineteenth century. However it would be somewhat unhelpful to plunge the reader into such a description without first offering a proper perspective upon it. It therefore seems appropriate to begin by explaining and defending the particular approach which is being taken in this study, and to outline some of the advantages which I believe it to possess. This will be done through discussion of three determining choices which shaped the choice of the topic which finally became the subject of this thesis. The three choices were the following; first to attempt a "social" approach (a concept to be explained below) to the attempt to understand Qajar Iran; second to give this attempt a specifically regional focus; thirdly to concentrate on the Kerman region as a suitable place to situate this enterprise. In examining these choices it will appear that there are two interrelated but distinguishable factors which shape the whole framework within which the history of a regional society is attempted. These factors are :

(1) the marked impact within the area called Iran of geographical influences and historical development, combining to create a complex fragmentation and diversity of economies and societies, unmodified by any of the integrative effects of modern technologies of production and social organisation;

(2) the resulting need for any study of society and history in Iran to take account of this situation if it is to have credibility.

In the case of Kerman the emergence of the region as a geographical and historical entity will be the subject of specific treatment in Chapter Three of this part of the thesis, while the problems of studies of Iran which take an untenable "national" approach will be a point of reference in the course of the study as a whole. Here it is useful to emphasise that the choices which defined the thesis topic reflected a realisation that any attempt to provide a social analysis <u>of</u> Qajar Iran entails the need to locate that analysis <u>within</u> Iran. However in order to clarify the reasons for these choices it will help to deal with each one individually in descending order of specifity. In many other contexts it might seem odd and even unnecessary to devote time and space to a discussion of whether or how a particular kind of study should be attempted. In the case of Iran, however, which like other parts of the Middle East, has a relatively limited historiography, there is a particular need to clarify the basis and problems of historical study. More generally there is much to be said for the self-conscious presentation of the assumptions behind a study, which all too often remain unexplained, taken for granted, and hence mystifying.

In order to make clear how the choice of thesis topic came about, some explanation of the concept of a "social" approach will be relevant. The term is often used among historians to describe

a "type" of history, one among many others such as "economic", "religious" or "diplomatic" history. Such a definition assumes that historical studies focus on one aspect of human experience or category of evidence to the exclusion of others. This is arguably a misconception of how historical studies should define their aims, and the concept of a "social" approach which will inform this particular study is intended not to isolate some particular type of material for attention, but rather to describe an approach or conceptual framework which informs the study. This approach has two central characteristics which seem to me to help in the construction of a viable historical analysis. First it is intended to emphasise the totality of historical experience by focussing on the ongoing life of society in all its aspects. The complexities of human activity cannot be grasped by an analysis which atomises them into isolated "factors", and it seems preferable to adopt one which embraces and links rather than fragments the political, economic or cultural dimensions of the historical existence of groups or individuals. Such a basis is offered by society which is the arena where existence and experience take place. To take a society as the unit of analysis allows both the just appreciation of the diversity of historical reality and also the rooting of that appreciation in understanding those trends which affected the majority rather than just the few.

Secondly, basing a historical study on a concept of "society" as the unit of study allows the analysis of diversity to proceed beyond the vacuous cataloguing of a large variety of data. Instead of leaving

the diversity of a particular situation to remain a mystifying feature of the past, a social focus can generate an awareness of the structural links which link the complex features of each situation. One of the differences between a chronicle or antiquarian tract and an historical study is precisely the capacity of the last to order data into an articulated whole. This requires a properly chosen principle of organisation if the patterns described are to be credible and illumine historical understanding. The assumption that society offers such an organising principle is both realistic and flexible. It is solidly founded in the historical fact of the social nature of human existence, but does not beg any questions as to the precise forms of that social existence in any particular place and time. Just as the practitioners of "political economy" founded their practice on an understanding of the complex but ordered relations of many elements in their society, so a "social" view sustains an approach to history which can both demonstrate its complexity and place it in a structured and explicable context. It is one may say the "political economy" of the past.

If a political economy of the past can be defended in general terms it remains to demonstrate its value in the particular case of nineteenth century Iran. On the testimony of contemporary material, whether Persian chronicles or foreign commentaries, it would appear that the dominant events in their awareness were those conventionally termed "political" and "diplomatic". The vicissitudes of the ruling dynasty, court and ministerial intrigues, and the rivalry of European powers, notably Russia and Britain, are the prime concerns

of these sources. These matters were indeed important, revealing, as they do, patterns of power and influence at the national level. Qajar authority was a part-tribal absolutism imposed on a series of societies, whose diversity will be discussed subsequently, with varied de rees of effectiveness. Thus the record of rivalries in the Shah's family, the rise and fall of favourites and ministers and the challenge of ambitious regional and tribal leaders reflects the unstable fragmented nature of power, which in the case of the Shah had to rely on the manipulation of all these forces in the absence of adequate economic or institutional resources.(1) Similarly the constant competition between Russia and Britain for influence in Iran, which has interested many historians is evidence of a significant development in the relations of Iran with the rest of the world during the nineteenth century. The emergent technological and commercial dominance of western societies and associated ambitions for overseas influence confronted Iran with unavoidable realities affecting the indigenous situation.

Thus it can be argued that dynastic politics and diplomatic dramas were by no means lacking in significance. However I would argue that this is best understood in the context of the social totality within which they occurred rather than extrapolated from it. The nature and problems of the Qajar monarchy were rooted in the society from which it emerged. So too the conflict of foreign diplomats and penetration of

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(1) This topic is discussed in E. Abrahamian "Oriental despotism : the case of Qajar Iran", International Journal of Middle East Studies (1974), pp. 3-31.

foreign merchandise and ideas in Iran were phenomena which were not merely external stimuli to which Iranians responded but part of a changing situation in which they were actors. When it is considered that the effects of both internal change and external pressure helped to produce the striking emergence of a national political movement for political and social change it will be clear that any study of nineteenth century Iran needs to have a social basis to achieve useful results. This is as true for the understanding of change as for that of established features of society. Societies, western or Asian, industrial or pre-industrial, are not static structures but living changing entities. Whatever the difference between so-called "modern" and "traditional" societies, it is certainly mistaken to see the former as "dynamic" in contrast to the "static" character of the latter. By focussing attention on society in Iran it is possible to examine the form and function of change and so dismiss the notion of "traditional society" for the myth it is. The study of society can offer the basic underpinning for the historical developments which have claimed the attention of scholars by integrating particular events and persons with the situation in which they operated. In this sense the "social" approach is not peripheral but central to an adequate analysis of nineteenth century Iran.

A serious objection often raised to this argument is not so much that it lacks conceptual validity but that in the case of Qajar Iran the practical obstacles to a social study are so great as to be insuperable. The absence of large accumulations of direct information

on the social and economic life of the period, such as tax returns, commercial, legal or administrative records and the like, has reinforced historians' predilections for concentration on political, diplomatic and cultural phenomena, which as has been said, appear to dominate the sources.(1) This lacuna is a serious problem which should not be ignored but I would argue that while the historian of Iran certainly has to work without the resources enjoyed by colleagues working on European or even Indian or Egyptian society, one can do more in the way of developing evidence and hence useful work than is sometimes thought. To explain why historians of Iran, and other non-European areas too, have allowed themselves to be unduly intimidated by problems of evidence would be an unnecessarily lengthy and contentious procedure. My intention here is simply to show that this sense of intimidation is to some extent uncalled-for since by approaching sources in an open and flexible manner it is possible to extract from it far more than might be supposed from a prima facie assessment of its potential for the study of society.

It is appropriate to begin by a comment on Persian sources, since in many ways they must remain uniquely valid testimony to conditions in Qajar Iran. They may be subdivided into chronicles, personal memoirs, and the true primary sources. It has already been observed that chronicles were mainly concerned with dynastic and military aspects of the period in a tradition going back over several centuries. Superficially their accounts of the Shah's deeds, military campaigns against foreign rivals and rebellious vassals and court politics are of little interest to the student of society as a whole. However even cursory

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(1) There is a lucid survey of the problem in A. Hourani, 'The Present State of Islamic Historiography'

reflection will suggest that much may be learnt from a critical reading of these accounts. Thus the nature and organisation of power in Iranian society may well be illumined by evidence from chronicles as to the Shah's attempts to assert authority, the rivalries that followed a Shah's death and the in-fighting of notables and foreign diplomats. If the material is treated not as a mere narrative of events, but as a source for better understanding of the fluctuations and strategems of government power and its response to challenges, then even at the level of political narrative chronicles can offer real assistance in the construction of a social study.

However over and above this it is possible so to "put the sources to the question" that they yield more material than the actual narrative presented by chronicle-writers. For example, if one looks at the constantly recurring references to Turcoman slave raids in Khorasan it is possible to deal with the topic not merely as a military problem or even an administrative one, but as significant for the whole stability of society by virtue of its threat to secure cultivation. Once seen as a socio-economic factor as well as a politico-military problem, it is possible to combine chronicle evidence with other knowledge about productivity and economic organisation in Khorasan to create an all-round view of a social situation. Indeed it can be argued as a matter of methodological principle that the whole usefulness of chronicles can be much enhanced if they are considered not as isolated pieces of historical material but in relation to a whole "world" of historical evidence. This means that it is important to abandon an

exegetical approach to chronicles for a historical approach, and treat them not as texts to be explained but as sources to be questioned and evaluated in relation to others. Used in this way they can become valuable elements contributing to analysis of social issues despite their unpromisingly "non-social" format and pre-occupations.

It is worth pointing out that local histories are particularly useful for constructing a social study. Being more restricted in their focus they can incorporate, though not necessarily intentionally, details about the substructure of society which tended to evade the Tehran-based authors of dynastic chronicles. Fasa'is history of Fars although in part it repeats material from general histories, also offers comment on local events and personalities which is very valuable as well as including a kind of provincial gazetteer as one section of the work.(1) The contribution of similar sources in the case of Kerman will be discussed separately, but the general point as to the importance of these locally based sources is worth making here. Since as will be seen a local focus has much to offer as the basis for the historians work, a similar focus in the material will obviously be relevant. In addition the relatively greater independence of their authors from powerful patrons gave their work a personal and less apologetic character which usefully offsets the bias in other material, while their local interests allow them to incorporate all kinds of information missing from the "general" chronicles.

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(1) Hasan Fasa'i, Tārīkh-i-Farsnāmeh-yi-Nāṣiri, litho ed. Tehran 1894-5; part of this has been translated by H. Busse as A History of Persia under Qajar Rule, (New York, 1974).

Other kinds of Persian source material are available for use in the construction of social history in Iran. Memoirs and diaries which were a noted genre of nineteenth century writing reveal not only the outlook of their authors but of the circles in which they moved. Even if the aristocratic literati and bureaucrat writers of such works have little to say of areas outside their immediate experience this does not vitiate their value as one component of a whole range of material. The personal views of I^{c}timad al Saltaneh's diary, of Mustaufi's autobiography or the travelogues of magnates and officials have a bias but also a veracity which can be most useful.(1) By virtue of aiming to construct a picture of social totality, the historian with that approach can make use of a whole range of material not always considered relevant to historical enquiry. Encyclopaedic religious surveys like Tara'iq al Haqa'iq, biographies of religious and literary figures and the specialised literature of religious sects can offer important information and insights, especially for a society where religion played such an important part. With only limited access to legal and administrative material such as farmans, vaqf documents and letters it is particularly important to be aware of the possibilities of less orthodox historical data. Again critical and comparative use of such material is the best check on its limitations.

There is of course another category of source material available to the historian of nineteenth century Iran, although it

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(1) I^{c}timad aš Saltaneh, Rūz-nāmeh (ed. I. Afshar) Tehran, 1967 : ^{c}Abd-allah Mustaufi, Sharh-i-zendigani-yi-man Tehran 1942-4 : Majmu^{c}a-yi-Nāṣiri, collection of manuscript travelogues in the University Library Tehran.

too is beset with problems. This is the substantial amount of European material both in the form of official reports and statistics, and also in travellers accounts and other non-official writing on Iran by foreign visitors and residents. The specific relevance of these for Kerman will be discussed elsewhere, but there are certain general points which bear on the wider issue of the study of society in Iran. While there is something to be said for Hafiz Farman-farmaian's argument for the primacy of Persian sources this should not be pushed to the point of excluding others completely.(1) Foreign observers were undoubtedly often precluded by ignorance and prejudice (both strong in nineteenth century Europeans!) from profound understanding of the social relations values or ideas prevalent in Qajar Iran, even in the case of the limited sections of society with whom foreigners associated. There are exceptions like Malcolm and Morier, who even Iranians consider overcame the barriers to a significant degree. More generally the record of visitors is often stimulated by their curiosity, if not their insight, and in so far as the historian uses what they saw rather than how they interpreted it, the travellers' accounts offer a useful additional perspective. In the case of writers like Curzon, a diligent reader and intelligent observer of Iran, or Pottinger with his natural flair for ethnographic observation, there is also commentary which can be of value. Once again it is incumbent on the historian to judge authors both by a general sense of what is valid or credible and in the context of other evidence relevant to

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(1) H. Farman-farmaian "Observations on the sources for the study of 19th and 20th century Iranian history", International Journal of Middle East Studies (1974)

the matter in question. Certainly it would be mistaken to throw out the baby of direct evidence wholesale with the bathwater of distortion. What is needed is a maturely critical confrontation with the material rather than unthinking acceptance or rejection.

Considering the body of "official" material on Iran in the form of consular, commercial and political reports of foreign government officials some of the same problems of prejudice and ignorance will need to be dealt with. However this material was produced for governments with very practical self-interested ends in view, and their needs were a very real check on romance and distortion among reporters. Thus the information provided in sources of this kind may well be partial, and was often inaccurate, since foreigners were at the mercy of their informants, but it focussed on substantive and even quantitative matters which gave it a certain hard edge. The concentration on the specific, the day to day and the material reality of life in Iran to some extent offsets the disadvantages under which foreign observers worked. In particular, officials based in regional centres, or concerned with relatively limited issues, could often convey a wealth of detail about their environment which were omitted by members of a Tehran embassy mesmerised by high policy.

This argument may serve as a valid defence of both the conceptual and practical validity of a study of society in Qajar Iran, but it remains to show why such a study is best given a regional basis. The beginnings of an answer to that question have already been suggested

by an earlier reference to the fragmented nature of economy and society in Iran. Indeed it would be better to argue that at the period under discussion it makes no sense to conceive of a single "Iranian" economy or society at all. Rather than focus on the concept of a notional "whole" which is "fragmented", it will be more useful to begin with the notion of a range of distinct and self-sufficient units of limited scale which share specific but restricted common experiences on a wider scale. However it is not enough to assert the superiority of this approach which will only be acceptable if its effectiveness be demonstrated. In some sense the whole thrust of this thesis is to show the validity of the regional concept in "Iranian" history, but there are some general points, worth making here in order to situate the subject matter of the thesis more clearly. There are solid substantive reasons for abandoning the "Iranian" perspective, which westerners with their own 'nation-state' view of history have found it easy to adopt without question, and for taking a critical view of what should constitute the appropriate unit of social study.

As was hinted at the start of this chapter, the regional variety of Iran is rooted in both geographical and historical factors. To begin with the former is not so much to attribute a logical priority to the physical environment, as to see it as a defined element with which human forces unavoidably had to contend. Geo-morphology, soil and climate are shapers of a physical universe and determinants of the resources on which human survival will depend. In the case of the area called Iran geographical studies all agree on a high degree of diversity and division which was apparent in a range of geographical

phenomena. The obvious division, which even a lay person can discern, is between the central plateau area and the highland/mountain belts surrounding that area. These latter areas are respectively the Zagros belt, occupying the northwest-southeast axis of Iran, the Alburz range, dividing the plateau from the Caspian basin and merging into the Turkmen steppe, and finally the eastern highlands of Laristan, Baluchistan/Makran and Sistan which link with the highland systems of Afghanistan and Pakistan.(1) The interior plateau itself is a series of basins, divided by low ridges of higher land, cols and isolated hummocks, falling away from the highland zones toward the lowest levels, the saline marshes and salt flats of the Kavir in the north and the sandy/gravelline depressions of the Lut in the south-east.(2) If a map of the geological structure of the area is superimposed on one of the physiographical units described above it is clear that the divisions coincide and reinforce one another, or as J. V. Harrison puts it "outlines of structure are often reflected by the physiography".(3)

This clearly defined complexity of land forms was reinforced by the effects of climate which interacts with geo-morphology to create soil resources and is also one of the basic factors affecting food production. The interaction of land and climate is seen in the effects of the highlands as barriers to moist air masses moving from the maritime basins of the Mediterranean, Caspian and Indian Ocean on the one hand, and the climatic effects on soil on the other. The division of mountain

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(1) The physiography and geology of the Iranian area are dealt with in the Cambridge History of Iran, (Henceforth C.H.I.) vol. I, chapters 1-3 and soil and climate in chapters 6-7 : see also the map at the end of this text.

(2) C.H.I., vol. I, pp. 90-100.

(3) ibid., vol. I, p. 142.

and plateau zones was reinforced by the aridity which the presence of the former imposes on the latter, and the very differing drainage systems of the two areas. The highlands sustained an outward flowing system of drainage whereas the inner basins had closed "endoreic" drainage. Scharlau observes that "climatic and geo-morphological provinces can be said largely to coincide" reinforcing each other to create "strikingly distinct ... areas".(1) He goes on to emphasise the need for a "specifically regional approach" to the study of climate, drainage and morphology.(2) The crude division of mountain and plateau goes with a greater complexity created by the west-east decrease of rainfall as air masses cross the long distances of the plateau, variations of attitude within major zones and local wind conditions in the inner basins.

It is scarcely surprising in this situation that the soil pattern of the Iranian area is equally complex and clearly divided. The arid internal basins are dominated by desert and steppe soils (the latter having higher organic content) and areas of saline and alkaline soils produced by poorly drained gypsum sediment and saliferous marls. The mountain zones have the highest percentage of alluvial soils and those "suited for cropland or improved pastures".(3) Again regional divisions are reinforced at a very basic level since soil, like drainage, is a crucial factor in cultivation and animal husbandry. In the Iranian area a further important feature bears some comment, in that the con-

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(1) ibid., vol. I, pp. 186, 188.

(2) ibid., vol. I, pp. 194

(3) ibid., vol. I, pp. 255-8.

figurations of landscape, climate and drainage produce an absolute limitation on soil available for human use. The degree of aridity, the extensive area of unweathered, shallow rocky soils in mountain areas, the mountain terrain itself, and the geologically produced predominance of sterile saline or alkaline soils all combine to reduce the potentially cultivable area. Of 289 million acres not under cultivation, pasture or forest, nearly 75% is not even potentially productive. In fact on the map of soil potential in Iran given by Dewar and Famouri most of the area shown has at least slight limitations and a lot of it more restriction than that on its potential cultivability.(1) As will be seen, the absolute scarcity of usable soil has obvious and serious consequences for the evolution of human settlement and society, intensifying its localisation and variety.

The reason for giving attention to the geographical basis of regional variety in the Iranian area is that it contributes to the historical significance of regionality as it will be treated in this study. However it is in interaction of the human factor with soil and climate that this significance actually becomes apparent. Therefore it is important to draw out the consequences of the geographical situation on land-use, settlement and communications in the regions of Iran. The ongoing dialectic of man and nature in the area is one important element shaping its history and society, and some general view of the major features of this dialectic will help in understanding the regional

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(1) ibid., vol. I, pp. 260-1.

basis upon which history and society evolved. It will thus clarify the argument for the choice of a regional focus for this thesis.

The two most obvious factors in the physical environment which were of significance for human society were the absolute scarcity of water and cultivable soil. This scarcity created a more than usually sharp need to maximise effective use of the resources that were available. The settlement patterns of the various regions of Iran reflect precisely this need. The clustering of settlements around alluvial soils and water supplies and the high population densities of many villages are evidence of the pressure on those areas which could support human needs. Leaving aside the modifications of modern technology one classic pattern of settlement in the mountain belts as in the plateau basins was the urban centre with its rural hinterland or the village with its outlying hamlets. In each case there was a deployment of human resources which allowed a diverse but close knit exploitation of the environment within the restricted areas where it supported settlement. The symbiosis of rural food production and urban manufacture, of crop cultivation and animal husbandry were means of developing diversified self sufficiency within such areas. Whether one considers the Isfahan basin with a sophisticated urban centre linked to a network of villages and to the pastoral resources of the Zagros, or the fact that Baluch tribesmen in the 1870's who raided hundreds of miles across Iran could still be astonished at the novelty of visiting Kerman city, we are observing the effectiveness of self-supporting systems with limited geographical range.[1]

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(1) E. A. Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 313

If there was a strong impetus toward localised self-sufficiency in various regions within Iran, the resource problems of each region also stimulated diversity which in turn produced variety and interchange between them. On the one hand rural communities produced a range of crops (cereals, fodder, vegetables, fruit) and animal products rather than devoting themselves to monoculture. On the other hand where local conditions favoured a particular crop, such as rice on the Caspian littoral, dates in the south-eastern regions and on the Gulf, or sugar in Khuzistan there was an incentive to develop it for exchange with specialities from other areas. The need for regional self-sufficiency embraced both these apparently contradictory elements, and indeed the autonomy implied by the development of local diversity and the individuality expressed by the use of specialised products were the twin poles of regional identity. The former can be recognised in the presence of certain basic features like grain fields and sheep and goat flocks in most regions of Iran, sustaining the life of each with essential products. The latter can be seen in the recognition of regional specialisation in the proverbial attribution of excellence in particular goods to particular places. The oranges and dates of Khabis (now Shahdad) in Kerman, the sweetmeats and pomegranates of Yazd, the wine of Shiraz and the tobacco of Fars receive frequent mention in descriptive literature, enshrining the convention of variety in written form.

If on the one hand the resource problem encouraged a symbiosis of town and country, agriculture and manufacture, it equally stimulated an interdependent relationship between animal husbandry,

cultivation and craft production. Again the twin factors of self-sufficiency and specialisation play their part. Animal husbandry was practiced by settled rural communities and full-time nomadic pastoralists, and like agriculture, it sustained a class of petty producers as well as an elite of expropriators. To this extent pastoralism and nomadism should be seen as dimensions of a structure of social production which also involved other activities. Garthwaite in his thesis on the Bal-chtiari rightly dismisses the concept of nomadism as an isolated phenomenon, while Spooner's discussion of "the Desert and the sown" argues that

> "the poorer the environment the broader the range of resources that are included in the subsistence cycle." (1)

On the other hand there were situations where specialisation in animal husbandry represented the best solution to the resource problem, where mountain terrain or uncultivable soils made crop production impossible. The high pastures of the highland areas or the arid zone of Baluchistan are cases in point. Nonetheless in human terms the Bakhtiari worked land in Ramhormuz and Chahar-mahal as well as practising pastoral trans-humance, just as the Sarhadd Baluch owned date groves whose cultivation was integrated with their nomad pastoralism and raiding activities. The vexed question of nomadism in Iran can only be appreciated in this complex context.(2)

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(1) G. Garthwaite, "The Bakhtiari khans; tribal disunity in Iran 1880-1915" (U.C.L.A. Ph.D. thesis 1969), pp. 28-48 : B. Spooner "The Desert and the Sown" (unpublished paper from the symposium on "the Middle East in the 18th century Pennsylvania 1972) p. 12. (now published in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds), Studies in 18th Century Islamic History, Illinois and London, 1977)

(2) Analytical problems of nomadism are illuminatingly raised by Talal Asad in his paper "Equality in nomadic social systems" (unpublished) which focusses on the inadequacies of the conventional anthropological view.

In this mosaic of regional units supporting cultivation, pastoralism and manufacture in an interwoven pattern of localised diversity and sufficiency and specialised production, communication assumes particular significance. Here too regional identity was shaped by apparently but in fact inter-related elements. On the one hand the nature of the environment in Iran separates the various settled regions from each other by extensive tracts of inhospitable mountain desert and unsettled land, thereby reinforcing the separate element in regional identity. On the other hand the need to exchange products and the role of would-be conquerors and centralisers developed communications, even though they remained far more limited than in Europe even in its pre-industrial era. European regions were linked by extensive rivers and utilisable coastlines, and were separated by rather less hostile terrain. However it is from Marc Bloch's survey of medieval European society that I shall take an evocation of the sense of distance in pre-industrial, communal society which may also illumine the communication pattern of pre-modern Iran and its relation to regionality :

> "If men under the pressure of need did not fear to undertake fairly long journeys ... they shrank from those repeated comings and goings within a narrow radius which in other civilisations form the texture of daily life; and this was especially so in the case of humble folk of settled occupations. The result was an ordering of the scheme of human relations quite different from anything we know today. There was scarcely any remote little place that had not some contacts intermittently through that sort of continuous yet irregular 'Brownian movement' which affected the whole of society. On the other hand between two inhabited areas quite close to each other the connections were much rarer, the isolation of their inhabitants infinitely greater than would be the case in our own day. If, according to the angle from which it is viewed, the civilisation ... appears sometimes remarkably universalist, sometimes particularist in the extreme, the principal

> source of this contradiction lay in the conditions of communication; conditions which favoured the distant propagation of very general currents of influence as much as they discouraged, in any particular place, the standardising effects of neighbourly intercourse" (1)

Naturally such a description needs modification in the Iranian context, particularly in respect of the differences in distances and type of territory separating areas of settlement and the concentrated symbiosis and use of resources within such areas. However Bloch's reflections on the effects of bad roads, banditry and insecurity on communications captures something of the regionalism and shared identity of such a situation which is relevant in the Iranian as the European context. It certainly reinforces the point that the problems and incentives toward communication were an important part of the historic emergence of regional societies. Communication also helped in the evolution of centres of control within regions in so far as they shaped the role of towns as foci of resource collection and distribution and hence of political and social authority. Control over surpluses in a society where they were generated by independent petty producers rather than direct employment of wage labour or slave labour had to be articulated through the medium of circulation, and in that communications played a crucial part. Whether one considers the role of absentee landlords in provincial centres or the incursions of central authority into regional affairs, the urban unit and the communications on which it depended were integral to regional life.

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(1) M. Bloch, Feudal Society (R.K.P. paperback edition) vol. I, p. 64.

This somewhat lengthy excursus on the structural underpinning of regionality with the area called Iran is perhaps more necessary in the historical context than would be the case with contemporary studies. Geographers and anthropologists have tackled many of the issues which have been raised in the preceding arguments. The urban studies of the Durham geographers especially the study of city and region in Semnan have isolated some important issues of the function of urban centres and their links with a rural hinterland.(1) Anthropologists like Spooner and Barth raise questions about the nature and function of nomadism, and in Spooner's case also the cultural dimensions of village life.(2) The limitations of their studies tend to stem from an absence of a historical or diachronic perspective and a consequent reliance on rather static "model" notions of society and its workings, substituting a mechanistic for a dynamic analysis. Conversely historians of Iran have not often pursued the kinds of questions raised in the studies mentioned here in the context of the past development of society in Iran. It is therefore important to emphasise the temporal evolution of regional identity as an argument for its historical relevance.

The diversity of societies within Iran was founded not only on environmental divisions and their effects on social production and organisation, but also on historical developments with an autonomous

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(1) J. Clarke, The Iranian City of Shiraz, (University of Durham Geography Department, Research paper no. 7, 1963) : J. Clarke and B. Clarke, Kermanshah; an Iranian provincial city (same series no. 10, 1969), Semnan : city and region

(2) F. Barth, Nomads of South Persia,
B. Spooner, "The function of religion in Persian society", Iran (1963) : idem, "The desert and the sown"

influence of their own. Thus the emergence of nomadism as a significant element in society was associated not only with successful use of the scarce resources in Iran but also with the movement of groups who were already nomad pastoralists from other areas of Asia into the regions of Iran. These groups were distinguished by language and culture as well as by occupation and their penetration of Iran between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries reinforced diversity at all those levels. It is possible that the levels of destruction associated with the military thrust of nomad groups (notably in the Mongol period) may actually have intensified the environmental incentives to pastoralism. Nomad groups not only developed a symbiotic relationship with the other activities in the areas where they operated, but also took on a regional character in that they became associated with particular areas, whatever their long-distance trade, migration or raiding links might be. Thus this element in society should be understood in terms both of environmental support for a way of life and of the specific historical context which made it a reality. Moreover just as the arrival of groups with particular productive activities and social characteristics developed particular regional identities, so conversely the regions affected the character of groups entering them.

The "nomadisation" of Iran is only the most striking instance of how localised variety was a key theme in societies in the area. Historic changes in society, government and religion threw up new dominant groups and ideologies without eliminating old ones. In the fragmented physical environment of which we are now well aware and granted the low levels of technologies of communication and administra-

tion the survival of distinct ethnic/religious/social groups in pre-modern Iran was not difficult. Difficult terrain protected the autonomy of the Kurds in the Zagros or the Baluch in the arid zones of the south-east. The absence of advanced methods of coercion to challenge the well organised operation of Turkmen society ensured its survival until the modern guns and training of the Russian army overthrew their autonomy in the 1860's and 1870's. It is significant too that the small (and so unthreatening) community of Zoroastrians maintained itself in urban centres out of the reach of ambitious centralisers. Conformity was difficult to enforce at the ideological level too, as the length of the process of creating Shi^{c}a dominance, even with the authority of the Safavid state, testifies.(1) There was a real opening for religious diversity, often significantly with a regional base. Sunnism among the Baluch was obviously reinforced by their geographical and social autonomy just as the functioning of sects like the Shaikhis was sustained by powerful regionally based patrons in Kerman and Azerbaijan. Linguistic variety was also re-inforced by regional and social divisions and in turn shaped those divisions.

Faced with such a complex pattern of overlapping, clashing, interlocking groups and forces in a sharply divided physical environment, the would-be historian of society in Iran will find that a regional approach is not only a specific focus helping to make sense of diversity

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(1) J. Aubin, "Les Sunnites du Larestan et la chute des Safavides", Revue des Études Islamiques, 1965.

but is also structurally crucial as context for that diversity. There is no need to argue that this focus is the only possible one for the historian. In certain areas of culture, politics and diplomacy a "national" view will serve to deal with those aspects of social identity and activity which are manifest at a wider level. However when dealing with social description, conditioned as it must be by the factors outlined above, a "national" perspective is both invalid and unhelpful. Its use will produce generalisations which are either too vague to be more than truisms or simplifications, or too overloaded with qualifications to stand independently. By sharpening the focus to a regional level it will be possible to understand a complex reality and to make statements about it which are helpful at the specific level of assessing local trends, and also at the comparative level for placing those trends within a wider Iranian context.

Having thus argued for the importance of a regionally based study of society in nineteenth century Iran it remains to examine the choice of a particular region as the subject of study. In doing so it should be clear that there is no mysterious formula for identifying regions as such, but rather the rational application of the criteria discussed above is all that is needed. A sensitive use of information as to historical and geographical factors will make it clear what divisions are relevant to the shape of a particular regional identity. Obviously these factors will fluctuate and with them the shape of a region, which in any case is not an entity with a mechanical hard-edged boundary in time or space. What matters is to be aware of such points

and to regard the study of a region as something to be pursued flexibly and pragmatically, allowing room for change in the precise content of that study. The whole point of adopting the regional approach is to have a flexible tool of analysis not a formal and confining conceptual straitjacket.

On this rather common sense basis it should be possible to explain the selection of Kerman as a region for study. In part this derived from the existence of material which suggested Kerman to the reader by the way it was treated there. Of regional geographical studies, Paul English's work on the Kerman city basin and its hinterland was one which went further in using historical developments to explain a specific situation than many of its kind.(1) It also raised important issues about the working of society, questioning for example the treatment of urban, village and nomad situations in isolation from one another. English's methods and arguments have been the subject of important criticism but this does not invalidate the fact that he has made points which merit further serious consideration. He and others drew attention to the existence of nineteenth century material on Kerman, notably a locally written history of the region, which would be an important contribution to any study of society there. It has already been pointed out that such material can be particularly useful, and a precise evaluation of the Tarikh-i-Kerman and its companion volume the Jughrafiya-yi-Kerman will follow. The point to be made here is that knowledge that this material was available was an incentive to pursue a study based on the Kerman area.

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(1) P. English, City and Village in Iran : Settlement and Economy in the Kerman Basin, Wisconsin, 1965.

However the selection of Kerman could not be justified solely on the availability of material, since that in no way guarantees that it is meaningful to consider Kerman as a regional entity. In fact a survey of the geographical and historical factors which have been shown to shape such entities does suggest that there is an identifiable region for study. The details of this survey will appear in a later section of this introduction but in general it is clear that a series of physical divisions and characteristics interacted with social and historical developments to create an entity whose precise shape varied but whose ongoing existence was a point of reference over long periods of history. This is not to suggest that the regional existence of Kerman was uniform or unchanging during those periods, which would be to deny both the reality of historical change, and also the interaction of local identities with a wider world. Both these phenomena are, it has been argued, best looked at from a regional perspective and it is this which the geographical and historical factors referred to above show to be viable in the case of Kerman.

If on the one hand that viability is rooted in the specific physical environment and historical experience of the region, on the other hand both these factors also link the region to a wider world. A fully developed study of the Kerman region will take account of its involvement in that wider world and hence its comparability with the other regions which also were a part of it. At one level it is possible to look at the common features of geography and settlement in the various regions of Iran which also exhibit the influence of the semi-arid mountain-to-plateau environment on human geography. At another level it is important to draw attention to the common experiences of

language, culture and government in which people in many parts of Iran shared. Such perspectives set up an interesting tension between the observer's perception of the specific nature of their topic of study and their awareness of what in that nature is best comprehended in terms of similarity with other phenomena elsewhere. All these issues should be reflected in the organisation of a regional study in order to show the totality which is the subject of discussion. This involves a clarity as to where specificity is anomalous and where it is comparable as well as of the dialectic of the particular with the broader context.

The Kerman region offers a useful case for an attempt to grasp some of this complexity, since it exhibits elements of particularity as well as elements shared with other neighbouring regions. Sheer distance separates it from the other developed areas of settlement on the Iranian plateau and its associated highlands, but some of the features of settlement, land-use and social organisation are common to all these areas. One need only cite the qal^{c}eh-village, the qanat or the symbiosis of animal and crop husbandry, or artisan and cultivator relations in different parts of Iran to make this clear. Unlike the Arab-speaking areas of the Gulf or the Turcoman borderlands of the north-east, the Kerman region has shared in the linguistic and literary traditions which have shaped élite culture and popular creativity in many other areas as well. Whether one considers the luxury carpet workshops and ceramics of Safavid Kerman in their international context, or the practice of sufism, ta^{c}ziyeh plays and literary writing, the links of the Kerman area with others are easily observed. Nomad pastoralism and banditry appear in the various regions with the same degree of specificity and comparability as artisan organisations or

Shi^{c}a religious teaching. A study of the Kerman region can thus both assert a particular identity and also show what that identity owes to traditions and activities shared with other regions of Iran.

In a sense the best case for the study of the study of the Kerman region is the proof-of-the-pudding one, that is the convincing nature of the study itself. Nonetheless in order to embark on such a study it is vital to make the underlying assumptions of the author clear for the reader to evaluate in the light of the use to which they will then be put. The choice of the Kerman region as a subject for an academic thesis has been shown to rest on assumptions and arguments which should make that choice a fruitful one. In addition it offers the opportunity to understand more about an area with a vivid and interesting character and history, itself an important incentive to creative analysis. These rather broad and non-empirical considerations are as important in shaping the way in which the study will be conducted as the practical and specific factors which will also be outlined in the opening part of the thesis. The fact that the conceptual framework has been sketched in first is both an attempt to counteract a strong tendency among historians to ignore such questions, and also intended as an aid to the creation of an <u>all-round</u> understanding of the subject under discussion. Unless the ideas which generate and influence scholarly work <u>are</u> laid out for the use and evaluation of the reader, the author is involved both in mystification and dishonesty, since shaping ideas are always present even when not made explicit. This introductory essay has been offered in the hope of avoiding just such errors.

CHAPTER TWO

A COMMENTARY ON THE SOURCES

The proper appreciation of a historical study is based in part on an understanding of the source material which sustains it. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that the possibility of constructing a study of society in Qajar Iran depends to some extent on the availability of usable sources, which it was argued do indeed exist. However for the purposes of the more specific subject of this thesis it is necessary to be equally specific about those sources which are available for the study of the Kerman region. Much of their strength and weakness will become evident in the course of actual discussion of substantive topics, but a more general assessment will help to set the context for such discussions. It is important to bear in mind that while as will be clear, the sources are by no means totally satisfactory, their individual inadequacies can offset each other, so that the final judgment as to what they can offer should be based on a picture of them as a whole rather than separately. Nonetheless a survey of the various available kinds of material will help in the understanding of that overall picture.

Turning first to the Persian sources dealing with Kerman, the most important are two texts written by local literati in the later nineteenth century and published during the 1960's under the editorship of a Kermani scholar.(1) The original author of both was

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(1) Ahmad ʿAli Khān Vaziri, Tārīkh-i-Kermān (Salārieh), ed. Muhammad Ibrāhīm Bāstāni Pārīzi, Tehran 1340 sh./1961 : idem., Jughrāfīyā-yi-Kermān, ed. Bāstāni Pārīzi, Tehran 1346 sh./1966-7.

the descendant of a local notable family who first came to prominence in the later eighteenth century. His grandfather Mirza Husein and great-grandfather Aqa ᶜAli had both been active as administrators and political figures in the area, the grandfather achieving mention in the correspondence of ᶜAbbas Mirza, heir to the Shah until his death in 1833, with his minister Qa'im Maqam.(1) Subsequent generations appear to have subsisted on their lands and pensions. Ahmad ᶜAli, son of Mirza Husein's daughter, apparently completed his "History" and "Geography" towards the end of his life, dying in Tehran in 1295 AH/ 1878. The manuscripts were revised and added to by his son Aqa Khan in the 1890's, and the oldest available versions of both texts date from that period. Both fall within an established tradition of literary production, and the Jughrafiya may be compared with the work of Vaziri's contemporaries, Fasa'i who wrote on Fars, Mirza Husein Tahvildar who produced a Jughrafiya-yi-Isfahan, and Shahzadeh Nadir Mirza who wrote on Tabriz.

The "History" is in fact an ambitious project covering the history of Kerman province from pre-Islamic times until the Qajar period. In fact Ahmad ᶜAli only carried the narrative as far as 1801 (the start of the governorship of Ibrahim Khan Qajar) and the rest of the century, up till 1317 AH/1899 is written up by Aqa Khan Vaziri. Whereas the father was obviously a serious writer who combined a certain literary ambition with a considerable amount of information and interest in history, the son was less well equipped in these

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(1) The history of the Vaziri family is found in Bāstāni Pārīzi's introduction to the Jughrāfīyā and in the text, pp. 5-12, 58-63. The ᶜAbbās Mirza comment is in Munshat-i-Qaᶜim Maqām p. 142.

respects. Ahmad ᶜAli's narrative is often quite detailed and insightful, notably in the sections on the late eighteenth century where perhaps he could make use of evidence available in his family and among other notables.(1) The account of the Qajar period is extremely perfunctory by comparison, with occasional bursts of interesting comment especially on Mirza Husein Vaziri.(2) Most striking of the instances of lack of full discussion is the account of the rising led by Aqa Khan Mahallati the Ismaᶜili leader. Aside from a eulogistic section on the Vakil al Mulk governors the general impression given by the post-Ahmad ᶜAli additions is lack of interest and knowledge, although as revisions to the "Geography" show Aqa Khan the son did not lack information at least about Kermani notables.

The emphasis throughout the "History" is on events connected with government and political control. Thus the vicissitudes of governors and notables, the interaction of central authority with the regional scene, and the military movements which affected the province occupy the bulk of the narrative. However as was suggested earlier there is much to be learned about the life of society even from such unpromising material. References to "rebellion" often give clues to the impact of famine or taxation on ordinary people, and their relationship to the controlling élite, as well as to the complex dialectic of élite solidarity and élite competition. All these points will be developed in the specific analysis of regional society, and the "History" offers useful references.(3) Other areas where the "History" offers

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 304-372

(2) ibid., pp. 377-9, 387-8

(3) See below pp. 406, 412-3

information include the relations of religion and politics, the tension between regional power structures and attempts to construct larger hegemonies and the role of nomad incursions in regional life. Aside from the bias in the type of history considered "interesting" by the Vaziris, their prejudices seem to be more the general ones of members of a particular class rather than those of particular personal outlook. Not surprisingly social and political unrest are treated as befits members of a landed administrator class as problems in law and order, and also morally condemned if we are to judge by the naming of rebels as "evil men".(1)

What then is the utility of the "History" for the purpose of this study? Firstly the actual narrative in the text provides data for use and checking which help to construct a picture of some at least of the events in the region. This is particularly useful in developing an analysis of the historic emergence since there are few other sources which focus on Kerman as does Vaziri's treatment of the Safavid and eighteenth century experience of the area. Secondly particular insight is offered into the areas of regional society mentioned above, albeit in a distinctly uneven pattern. It is useful to set the picture of élite intrigue and interests offered in this work against the views of British observers who are the only comparable source. Thirdly the very limitations of the work allow some insight into the values and pre-occupations of its authors. This is not merely of interest as a clue to their personal characteristics, but, since they do not appear to have been particularly abnormal, it also helps the understanding of the outlook of the regional notable group of which they were members. By itself the "History" would be of only limited

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 387, 397, 408

use, although J. Perry's reliance on it for an account of Karim Khan Zand's intervention in Kerman shows what such sources contribute to dynastic history.(1) However in conjunction with other sources it can contribute significantly to the understanding of society in Kerman.

The "Geography", also written by Ahmad ᶜAli Vaziri and revised by his son, is a rather different kind of work. The most illumining general description of it would be that it is some sort of gazeteer or guide for the province as it was in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It surveys the province district by district, describing the extent, position, geography (landforms and climate) crops, settlements and population of each. There is also a long section on the provincial capital and surveys of leading families there and in other prominent centres of the region. The history of local tribal groups, comments on buildings, trade and religious customs, as well as some rather engaging pedantry as to the etymology of place names, also make their appearance. With such a diversity of material, largely based on the direct knowledge or enquiries of the author(s) this text obviously provides a rich source of all kinds of information directly relevant to any attempt to write a study of nineteenth century Kermani society. Whether attempting to construct a picture of agriculture or trace the rise and fall of local notables, the "Geography" has much to tell. It appears to have been quite carefully put together in so far as there are occasional references to the informants of the

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(1) J. Perry, Karim Khan Zand; a critical history based on contemporary sources (Cambridge doctoral thesis, 1969) ch. 8.

author as well as to specific experiences of the author himself and corrections of other writers, which indicate some awareness of the need for reliable testimony.(1)

There are of course problems in using this material. Although the "Geography" is undoubtedly wide ranging it is by no means consistent or systematic. The description of each district follows a roughly similar format in each case, but not every feature is included every time, which can be frustrating if one is attempting a thorough survey or comparison. Thus in some cases figures for crop production are given and in others just the kinds of crops produced. Although a range of settlements is mentioned in each district, a comparison with other sources shows it to be selective along principles that are obscure or non-existent. The listing of notables in various centres is similarly selective on a random basis. Thus while the text is enormously useful in analysing the social structure of the region the information it offers is by no means comprehensive. Sometimes the author simply abandons a topic with the comment that to deal with it adequately would be too lengthy task for his pen.(2) Thus the whole work should be seen as a <u>personal</u> survey shaped both by the author's direct access to information which gives it veracity and by his own predilections and idiosyncracies which limit the areas on which it yields useful material. Certainly it was not written to please or serve anyone or anything except Vaziri's inclination, which at least

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(1) <u>Jughrāfīyā-yi-Kermān</u>, pp. 45, 64, 84, 98, 112, 117, 123, 146 : quotations from the works like <u>ʿAqd al ʿAli</u>, p. 97, <u>Taqwīm al Buldān</u>, p. 36 and others indicate that Vaziri was able and willing to juxtapose his own view with others

(2) <u>ibid</u>., pp. 79, 122

means there is no conscious manipulation of the material. He himself noted proudly that no-one had sponsored his efforts, though his denial of any ulterior reason for making flattering comments about a powerful local governor was perhaps somewhat disingenuous.(1)

With all these difficulties there is a straightforward quality to the presentation of Vaziri's survey which makes them relatively easy to discern and therefore take account of. Both the "History" and the "Geography" are written in a fairly uncomplicated style with very few stylistic frills, again perhaps the product of the fact that they were not produced to impress the literary world but to divert the leisure time of the writer. The two decades which separated the original period of oomposition from the date of final revision and copying are sufficient evidence of the private nature of the works in question. In some senses the unique nature of the "Geography" as a source for the study of Kermani society tends to encourage over-reliance on it, but there are objective arguments for its utility to the historian. Most important of these are the direct quality of the information offered, the range of subjects covered, and the absence of external distortion to the overall purpose of the work, a mildly antiquarian exercise in writing a local guide by a leisured landed gentleman. As a piece of eyewitness testimony, with all the drawbacks of any account by one eyewitness, it stands as a lively and helpful contribution to the historians resources, and will be extensively though not uncritically used throughout the course of this study.

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(1) ibid., p. 43

The other late nineteenth century source which adds to the available knowledge about the Kerman area is of a rather different kind. If Vaziri was a provincial squire writing for his own amusement, Firuz Mirza Farman-farma composed his "Diary of a journey to Baluchistan" (re-titled more descriptively by its editors "Account of a journey in Kerman and Baluchistan") in a more official and self conscious spirit.(1) It is the record of a tour of inspection and administration undertaken by him while provincial governor, and was intended for the attention of the Shah to whom he sent constant report during the course of the tour, which took place between January and March 1880. Firuz Mirza was a Qajar prince who held office in central and provincial government as well as two terms of governorship in Kerman (1837-9 and 1878-81). Thus his background and outlook were both more metropolitan and more official than those of Vaziri, although the Safar-nameh is also permeated by his personal enthusiasm for hunting!

However in general the character of the narrative reflects his membership of a "national" elite and his sense of his office as provisional governor, and the official purpose of his journey. His involvement in affairs of taxation, law and order and the administration of crown land dominates the text. On the one hand it throws important light on the function of government at grass roots which is rare in other sources, but on the other it limits the author's more general interest or capacity to comment on the range of matters that are

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(1) Fīrūz Mīrza Farmān-farma, Safar-nāmeh-yi-Kermān va Balūchistān (originally, Rūz-nāmeh-yi-safar-i-Balūchistān) ed. M. Nizām-Māfi, Tehran, 1963.

covered by Vaziri. When Farman-farma discusses cultivation which is less frequent or systematic than in Vaziri's survey he gives detail mainly on khaliseh (government land) to the exclusion of other kinds of property. Moreover his main concern was to elucidate what he was doing or thought should be done rather than to give a full account of what was actually happening in the area he traversed. He can give lucid and interesting accounts of the vicissitudes of local notables whom he encountered (as with Durran Khan of Rudbar and Nasir Khan of Jebel Bariz) while as an administrator he is interested in the problems of the peasantry with whom he had to deal. Thus unlike Vaziri he discusses them, giving details of the impact of famine and taxation on their lives.(1) To some extent this compensates for otherwise rather inadequate descriptions of the general character of the areas through which he passed.

In a sense the limited focus of Farman-farma's account is both its strength and its weakness as a source. The very clear and well-defined views of the author as to what he is interested in recording, and his self-conscious attitude to his own role are very useful in focussing the historian's attention on those matters and giving a good picture of them. On the other hand the topics covered by the author are not set in any general context and the range of information he offers is very restricted. Another notable limitation is the route taken by Farman-farma on his journey which only covered a very restricted

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 56, 62, 66-7, 68-9, 70-1 deal with Durrān Khān and Nāṣir Khān; pp. 31-33, 62-3, 68-9, 73, 74-5, 77-8 deal with various problems affecting ordinary people.

part of Kerman province. This means that it is difficult to use the text in parallel to Vaziri as a comparison, although the glimpses it gives of the Baluch borderlands makes an interesting contribution to the historian's view of the area. More generally the text can be valued for the clear unpretentious presentation of material and the unique insight it gives into how a provincial governor saw his role even if the contribution offered cannot go far beyond this. If the slightly dismayed reaction of the aristocratic traveller for the "primitive" hut-dwellers he encountered in Baluchistan is no substitute for a proper description it is at least revealing of certain attitudes.(1) In sum, if Farman-farma does not offer the historian the variety and comprehensiveness of Vaziri's "Geography", it has a unique contribution of its own to make to a study of society in Kerman.

With other available Persian sources the historian is extracting material on Kerman from texts with a more general or varied subject rather than dealing with writing devoted specifically to the region. The well travelled landowner from Mahallat, Haji Sayyah, friend of Mas^{c}ud Mirza Zill-as-Sultan and correspondent of Afghani, included the Kerman region in his tour of Iran in 1878.(2) He was something of a radical critic of the state of government in Iran at this period, as evidenced both by his correspondence with Afghani and his comments about "oppression" in the course of his travels. His brief narrative

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(1) ibid., pp. 12, 29, 32 are examples of his comments.

(2) Hāji Sayyāh's contacts are described in N. Keddie, Religion and Rebellion in Iran, pp. 16-17 and E. G. Browne, The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909, p. 74. His travel account appears as Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, ed. Hamīd Sayyāh, Tehran 1346 sh./1967, the parts dealing with Kerman being pp. 159-172.

of travelling from Bam to Mahan and Kerman city and then on to Shiraz via Sirjan includes a description of his impressions of Kerman city. This offers some rather vivid vignettes of poverty and exploitation among the urban poor and a fairly well developed tirade showing how the patterns of extortion by officials worked. His impressionistic view of the situation with its clear parti pris is a stimulating contrast to other pictures given in Persian sources. He confirms Browne's testimony of the following decade as to the unique prevalence of sigheh (fixed term contract marriage) in Kerman although neither author offers much in the way of explanation except the great poverty widespread in the city.(1) Although brief, this piece of text adds certain points to the understanding of life in Kerman as seen by a visiting outsider of strong social views.

Certain developments and events in Kerman are discussed in some of the general historical surveys of Iran written in the nineteenth century. Rebellions which affected dynastic and notable politics outside region were an obvious case where the attention of dynastic and general chroniclers would be attracted. Thus ᶜAbbas Quli Mirza Qajar's attempt use a base in Kerman to win power in 1824-5, the intrigues of Aqa Khan Mahallati there in 1840-1, and the rivalries for the governorship of Kerman at the death of Muhammad Shah in 1848 all make their appearance in standard chronicles like Rauzat-as-Safa,

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(1) Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, pp. 164-5 : E. G. Browne, A year among the Persians, p. 506.

Nasikh al Tavarikh, and Haqa^{c}iq al Akhbar-i-Nasiri.(1) These sources can therefore be a useful supplement to the oversimplified narrative of Vaziri in the Qajar section of the "History", as for example where the account in Nasikh al Tavarikh of the upheavals among notables in Kerman in 1848 is far fuller than that offered by Vaziri.(2) However in general these chronicles have not been widely used in the course of this study as they tend to record the accession and removal of governors and a few of their major activities but little more. Since the focus of the study is on the internal character of Kerman it seemed more profitable to focus on material which was informative on this subject, even if this means that some points made in the general chronicles have not been incorporated.

Turning to more specialised material from nineteenth century Persian writers, there is some which provides information relevant to Kerman through the medium of biographical texts. On the one hand there are the hagiographical biographies of the leaders of the Shaikhi sect who played an important role in Kerman.(3) While scarcely thorough or impartial works, being designed to display the saintly character of their subjects, they provide some useful insights into

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(1) Reẓa Quli Khān Hedāyat, Rauẓat-aṣ-Ṣafa vol. X ed. Tehran 1339sh/1960, Mīrza Muhammad Taqi Khān Sipīhr, Nasikh at Tavārikh, Tehran n.d. : Muhammad Ja^{c}far Khurmuji, Haqā^{c}iq al Akhbar-i-Nāṣiri ed. Husein Khadiv-Jam, Tehran 1344 sh/ 1965.

(2) Tarīkh-i-Kermān, p. 397-8 with its footnotes referring to general Qajar chronicles.

(3) The biographies of Shaikh Ahmad Ahsa'i, founder of the sect, by his son Shaikh ^{c}Abdallah translated into Persian by Muhammad Tāher as Sharh-i-hāl-i-shaikh-i-ajal-i-auhad marhum Shaikh Ahmad Ahsā'i, and of Hāji Muhammad Karīm Khān, its third leader, by Haji Muhammad Hasan Sāheb-i-tājer (commissioned by Haji Muhammad Karims' sons) called Tadhkirāt al Auliya^{c} were published in one volume in Kerman by the Chapkhāneh-yi-Sa^{c}adat in 1387 AH/1967-8.

religious values, the use of patronage by religious professionals and the actual evolution of the Shaikhi sect in the nineteenth century. Granted the considerable material, political and ideological influence of this group and the interesting role they played in the history of Kerman, this material is highly relevant. On the other hand there is Shaikh Yahya Ahmadi's Farmandihan-i-Kerman a catalogue of the governors of Kerman from 1792-3 to 1902-3.(1) As far as detailed treatment goes it is somewhat lacking, but in the course of the chronological survey some points about other events and persons in the region provide additional information useful to the historian. Shaikh Yahya himself was a member of a noted ᶜulama family of Kerman, and attached to the "progressive" element among them, becoming a deputy in the first National Assembly which may have influenced his comments on good government and interest in Kermani ᶜulama.(2) More generally his survey of governors is a useful parallel to that of Vaziri.

Another kind of specialised contribution to this study comes from the sections of Nazim al Islam's Tarikh-i-Bidari-yi-Iranian which deal with Kerman.(3) This of course is one of the most famous studies of the so-called "constitutional revolution" written almost contemporaneously by one who was closely involved in the movement for political change. It has been the subject of general praise as one of the few historical works on the period which combine scholarly

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(1) Shaikh Yahya Ahmadi, Farmandihān-i-Kermān, ed. Bāstāni Parizi, Tehran, 1965.

(2) ibid., introduction, p. 57 : Jughrāfiyā-yi-Kermān, pp. 44-5, 212 : F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary 1907.

(3) Nazem al Islām, Tārikh-i-Bidāri-yi-Irānian 2 vols. (the first an introduction, the second comprising three jeld constituting the main text) ed. ᶜAli Akbar Saᶜidi Sirjāni Tehran 1346/1967.

standards with well-constructed exposition. From the point of view of the study of Kerman the relevant fact is that this work contains several sections devoted to events there in the first stages of the "constitutional revolution", in particular an account of the religious and political conflicts of 1905.(1) In the introductory volume there are also biographical comments on those who played an important role in the movement, including some Kermanis. Thus although the relevance of this source for an understanding of society in Kerman is confined to a very specific area its contribution in that areas is quite valuable. The fact that the author was himself a Kermani and had close personal contacts with sections of the ᶜulama and intellectual groups, like the family of Shaikh Yahya whom he taught for several years, gives his comments on Kermanis a certain immediacy. Obviously his own political outlook influenced his judgment but since his views are made quite clear this is comparatively easy to take into account.

Turning to the non-Persian sources, some of the most productive, albeit problematic, are the records of the British government officials who were based in Iran. There are the embassy records, which cover the whole spectrum of affairs in Iran, but do so in a highly selective manner. The principles of selection were determined by the pre-occupations of British diplomats rather than features of the Iranian situation, so that every minor turn in Russian activity was a matter of nervous and obsessive interest while the internal workings of Persian society are less well dealt with. Nonetheless as British

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Bīdāri-yi-Īrāniān, vol. II, pp. 69-88, 103-105, 381-382

interests in Iran expanded and diversified, so diplomats had to deal with a growing range of interests including some subjects which illumine the state of society or of affairs in Kerman at the period. Compilations of information such as Abbott's detailed notes on his travels in south Persia, or Picot's catalogue of notables of 1897, revised by Churchill in 1909 offer useful material on notables in various regions.(1) Kerman, as an area somewhat off the most important trade or military routes which interested the British often received less attention than regions in the north-west or the Caspian frontiers with Russia. Contact with India went via Bushire rather than Bandar ᶜAbbas or the land route to Kerman, although the attempts to develop that route and the possibility of a railway caused a flutter of attention to Kerman in the 1890's. However it was not until 1894 that a consulate was placed there and even then it was not continuously active, being only occasionally active between 1896 and 1901. In general the day-to-day archives of the Tehran embassy were produced by those who did not have the interest in Kerman to offer much material.

It is at the consular level that such material did accumulate, and the consular archives of Kerman in the two decades before World War I contain much detailed and interesting information. Prior to 1894 the papers of the Gulf Residency are the nearest substitute, although

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(1) F060/vol. 165 : F0251/vol. 42 : F060/vol.592 / : a printed version of the same sort of list revised by Churchill was published by the government of India 1909.

the relative isolation and lack of prosperity of Kerman meant that it does not figure very prominently there. When they do appear, the Kerman consular records contain a remarkable series of weekly diaries which give a close-up view at least of certain aspects of life at the time. Obviously British consuls were concerned with British interests, and, like embassy staff, tend to focus on issues relevant to those interests. However the isolation of the consul and the smaller scale of his operations tended to bring him somewhat closer to the reality of regional life than did Tehran diplomatic circles. The coverage of local faction politics, the problems of local government and taxation, banditry, and even the effects of climate on harvest hopes are subjects of regular and often detailed comment. Local economic activity such as carpet manufacture and cash crop production also come in for discussion, since foreign interests were substantially involved.

Although the range of topics covered by consular archives remained, of necessity, varied, the quality of discussion and range of selection fluctuated sharply according to the calibre and outlook of particular consuls. Some, like Percy Sykes, though chauvinistic were also curious and outgoing in their response to Persians. Others, like Sykes' successor in 1905 Hawarth, seem to have been more confined in their approach, as is clear from the somewhat un-illuminating analysis offered by Hawarth for the religious/political conflicts of 1905. Syke's part of the consular diaries at least records a certain amount of detail about the visits and characters of Kermani notables, in which Hawarth appears not to have taken much interest. At the furthest extreme of distorted views a man like Lieutenant Ogilvie, the first

British vice-consul in Bam, flatly refused to record what he regarded as tedious and irrelevant activities which had no bearing on British interests. He stated clearly that he thought it absolutely pointless to discuss what he called the "petty tyrannies" of Bam notables which had nothing to do with him.(1) The historian needs to be aware of these limitations and also of biases in the consular record which are less bluntly put forward.

If the consular diaries offered a cross-section of daily life in the region, albeit a somewhat one-sided one, the commercial data recorded by embassy and consular officials is a rather different slice of material. From the 1860's and even more in the 1870's British officials made conscious efforts to collect and comment on data about various aspects of production and commerce in different parts of Persia. Their approach was of course shaped by what they saw as the relationship between these activities and the interests of the British. Thus while there is a considerable quantity of information about production for export, whether opium or carpets, that concerning the internal trade of the regions of Iran and the productive activities associated with it is uneven and scanty. Crops and crafts which did not serve the areas in which the British were involved received limited attention from British commentators. Historians have been much influenced by this feature of the sources and this in part explains the tendency for studies of the nineteenth century economy in Iran to consider the

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(1) F0248/vol. 878/Bam diaries June-August 1906.

western focus of that economy to the exclusion of other dimensions. However the detail which at times appears in the commercial reports is a crucial part of any body of knowledge which the historian of society will need. In the case of regional reports the perspective is often helpfully focussed on specific matters rather than attempting an over-generalised or too selective synthesis as happened with "national" surveys.

Again the quality of particular reporters clearly affects the end product. It is only necessary to compare the lengthy (if not necessarily accurate) study of the Kerman economy in 1894-5 with the perfunctory attempt at the same topic in 1902 to understand the significance of this factor.(1) It is important to be alert as to the experience, judgment and knowledge of any particular commentator. More particularly, any quantitative data that are offered should be treated in the light of the known unreliability of statistical information in Iran at that time, due not so much to wilful falsification of the data as to lack for facilities for precise collection recording or checking. Persian businessmen did not keep exhaustive records any more than did the government or landlords. The complexity of factors influencing exchange, commerce and other quantifiable elements further inhibited precision. Rather than advert constantly to this problem in the course of this study it seems worth establishing that all figures will be indicative of orders of magnitude and not of precise

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(1) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1894-5 : A and P for 1903 /vol. LXXVIII /report on Kerman trade for 1902.

quantities. It is also possible to take a critical viewpoint of the way in which figures are reported, that is whether the reporter has himself taken a critical view of the information he is transmitting. In using the commercial reports the quantitative data should be taken in a broad context, and not used in isolation from other information, descriptive or analytic.

The data which was accumulated by government officials was focussed by their practical and self-interested reasons for accumulating it. The view of Iran offered by foreign travellers on the other hand is shaped by subjective and sometimes literary aims which makes the end-product rather variable in character and usefulness for the historian. Even an author who spent considerable time in the country could produce work largely taken up with their own pre-occupations rather than with observation or explanation. Thus Hume-Griffith's account of a period spent as a missionary doctor's wife in Kerman is much more concerned to put forward the values of her calling than to really describe what she experienced. On the other hand a serious and analytic visitor like Stack, for all his prejudices, actually sets out material and problems which are significant for an understanding of Iranian society.(1) The crucial distinction often lies between observers who want to record "what happened to me and what I thought" and those who want to make sense of what they have seen. In the case of the Kerman area the range of choice is much more limited than is

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(1) M. E. Hume-Griffiths, Behind the veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia : E. Stack, Six Months in Persia, 2 vols., 1882.

the case with other parts of Iran, since it did not lie on the routes most frequently covered by travellers.

Pottinger's survey of Baluchistan and Kerman has a solid quality, which may well reflect the fact that he was travelling as a government agent despite his inaccurate comments in certain contexts.(1) A similar "official" solidity pervades the contributions of St. John, Smith and Lovett to the record of the travels of Goldsmid's boundary commission of 1871.(2) In all these cases there is a wealth of observation which can transcend the limitations of analysis and makes them useful additions to the historian's materials. It is to be regretted that apart from Abbott's comments of 1850 (which are government records) there is such a long gap between the visit of Pottinger and those of later travellers in the Kerman area. A spate of articles and books in the 1870's and 1880's lay some sort of foundation of impressionistic data for a period not well covered in other British sources. Notable among these were the writings of Floyer and Stack who both sought to achieve something more than the personal or picturesque effect.(3) At the end of the century Syke's memoir-cum-study, 10,000 Miles in Persia, is another blend of official "expertise" and personal synthesis, while his sister Ella's less well-informed books nonetheless have some vivid and useful points made from her own experience in Iran.(4)

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(1) H. Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde, 1816.

(2) Eastern Persia, vol. I, 1876.

(3) Stack, op. cit. : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan

(4) P. Sykes, 10,000 Miles in Persia or eight years in Iran, 1902 : E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side-saddle, 1901; Persia and its people, 1910.

Some foreign writers on Iran had altogether more ambitious intentions in that they tried to offer a whole analysis and description of society in Iran, or some aspect of it. This often makes them more informative and thorough than travellers' narratives, but equally means that they must be judged by stricter criteria suitable to their grander aims. A work such as Curzon's Persia and the Persian question is a magisterial and scholarly synthesis of European writing on Persia and the author's intelligent appreciation of that material. He wrote as a clever and ambitious politician/proconsul whose interest in Persia was as an imperial statesman (as the dedication of the book makes clear). His capacity to convey contact with the Persian scene lacks any intimacy or responsiveness, although objectively quite observant from the distance created by his temperament and the language barrier. E. G. Browne's A Year among the Persians is almost the reverse, since Browne used his linguistic skills and strong desire for empathy with the Persians among whom he lived for that "year" to create a uniquely moving view of certain elements in Persian society. Yet his interests was focussed on very restricted even recondite topics, and there are extraordinary gaps in the information he offers when one considers what was available to him. Since a long section of the book deals with Browne's stay in Kerman, these points are particularly relevant and need proper consideration if the important evidence he offers is to be used effectively.(1) The work of Curzon, like the surveys of

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(1) E. G. Browne, A Year Among the Persians, 1893, chapters 15 - 18

Polak and Blau, which aimed at thorough economic descriptions of Iran in the mid nineteenth century but reflect western pre-occupations, are useful in a more generalised sense, although particular remarks do relate to Kerman.(1)

Finally a significant if elusive contribution to this study has come from the comments and recollections of Kermanis on their history and society. This was acquired not through an anthropologist's careful working up of oral evidence but through a series of interviews which have been evaluated by common sense criteria and in cross-comparison with written evidence. Often the real contribution comes not so much in the form of factual information, as from the impressionistic but very real picture created by personal descriptions and opinions however "objectively incorrect". Thus the view of the Shaikhi aristocrats about their role in the community, or the memories of a carpet designer of the first years of foreign enterprise in the city are not so much a neutral record, but themselves part of the phenomena they seek to describe. The evidence of such contacts has its own particular problems but that is no more or less the case with oral material than with written sources, since the historian should see none as authoritative and all as potential sources of evidence if treated critically and flexibly. For recent periods of history it seems foolish to ignore oral material where it survives, provided it is used in this way.

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(1) G. Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, 1892 : J. Polak, Persien; das land und seine Bewohner, 1865 : O. Blau, Die Commercielle Zustände Persiens, 1858

If the source material used in this study offers a far from exhaustive range of evidence, granted the ambitious aims of an all-round "social history" which shape the study, there is at least a considerable variety of evidence available. That variety should ensure that to some degree the weaknesses of any one source can be offset by the strengths of another and enable the historian to use the critical and cross-comparative methods which have been advocated constantly in the course of this discussion. It also shows that, as was argued at a more general level, it is perhaps easy but certainly mistaken to dismiss the possibility of creating a social history as impracticable on the grounds of inadequate sources. The possibility will of course still have to be translated into reality but it is at that stage that the problems occur rather than at the initial point of conceiving the topic of regional social studies. The survey offered here at least demonstrates that a basis of data exists, and means that it should be possible to advance to the next stage and attempt to use it effectively. It is important that this can be done in the construction of a historical identity for the Kerman region as well as within the confines of the period of the main study, since the next stage of developing our examination of the region will be to look at that historical formation of its identity.

CHAPTER THREE

THE KERMAN REGION AS A GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ENTITY

Having discussed the general relevance of regionality for the understanding of history and society in Iran, it remains to make use of the criteria which were elucidated in that discussion in the specific context of Kerman. Two main themes will underly the analysis offered; first it is important to clarify the geographical and historical factors which shaped the experience and identity of the region; secondly that experience and identity should be situated in the context of comparison with other regions, in order to clarify those elements shared between them and those unique or specific to Kerman itself. For if on the one hand the autonomous identity of the Kerman region is recognised in the statements of observers, as in the practice of government, there is no reason to suppose that autonomy is synonymous with isolation. On the contrary the identity of Kerman was in part defined by its interrelation with other regions, a theme that will recur throughout this study. Above all regional identity must be perceived as a living changing phenomenon and not an abstract category of analysis.

The shape and quality of life in this region as in others has been affected by the physical character of the environment which as has been shown plays an important part in the evolution of settlement and cultivation, two basic elements in human existence. The area that came to be called Kerman lies in the complex area of mountains,

valleys and basins falling away from the high folded ranges of the Zagros to the sterile inner deserts of the Lut and Kavir.(1) The physical features of the region include mountain peaks over 10,000 feet, in substantial snow-clad ranges, saline and gravel plains, and areas of valley and outwash which are the main places of settlement. These characteristics of physical scenery are found in other parts of the Iranian plateau, but play their part in shaping the specific context of the Kerman region. Some physical features actually help create a certain distance between the Kerman area and others by inhibiting possibilities for settlement. This physical separation of an area with settlements from other such areas was a foundation for the historic experience of regional evolution. The sand and gravel wastes of the Lut to the north of Ravar or Kuh-benan and to the east of Shahdad/Khabis are hostile to settlement as are the wastelands between Yazd and Kerman, or the arid land and salt-basins west of Sirjan, traversed only by nomads. These physical barriers are in no sense absolute, but they do constitute genuine interruptions in the human geography of the Iranian area which outline a framework for Kerman, crossed by lines of communication but existing as clear zones of division between areas of settlement.

Situated as it is on the inner side of the ranges which enclose the Iranian plateau, the Kerman area experiences the climatic consequences of that situation for water supply, soil and vegetation.

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(1) See the maps pp. 493-5

Thus the physical environment is shaped in ways which profoundly affect its potential as an area for human development. It is an environment characterised by lack of surface water, sharp extremes of temperature, and unpromising soil types. Maps of the rainfall, soils and vegetation of Iran show that the Kerman area is dominated by low rainfall, coming primarily in the winter, by soils formed by this lack of moisture and with low organic content, and by the characteristic pistachio forest and steppe vegetation of the plateau.(1) Thus despite the variety of altitude and land-form within the area there are these important elements which unify it and also give it something in common with other parts of the plateau of Iran, while itself showing these features in a particularly clear form.

From this general picture two important conclusions of human and social significance may be drawn. In Kerman apart from the two rivers of the Jiroft basin (the Halirud and the Rudkhaneh-yi-shur) any surface water is localised in springs and mountain streams. Thus even settlements with access to such surface water tend to supplement it with supplies derived from human effort, and in general man-made water supplies were the mainstay of cultivation and settlement. Vaziri's Jughrafiya describes the water supply of each sub-district almost before anything else, and notes a large number even of mountain settlements which had both springs and qanats. This is clear testimony to the focal role which organising of water supplies played in sheer survival, and

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(1) Cambridge History of Iran, vol. I, pp. 237, 244, 252, 283.

how hard pressed the situation was. The Kerman city basin, which is very close to mountain ranges, nonetheless depends to this day on qanat supplies.(1) As will be seen this situation played a crucial role in the patterns of settlement. The second consequence of Kerman's overall geographical situation, which also affected settlement, was the constraint imposed by soil and vegetation. Not only would settlement patterns be conditioned by the need to seek out water supply but also by the limited potential of soils, and the absence of wood supplies, encouraging the use of brick-domed housing rather than flat roofed buildings with timber beams. In addition there was a constant fuel problem in an area of low forestation which experienced cold winters. The slow stripping of the hill slopes of what fuel resources they originally possessed is a classic example of the irreversible transformation of the environment by human need.(2)

Already it is clear that the region is shaped not by static physical forces of the environment but by the human intervention in and use of nature which actually shapes the environment. Historically speaking there was no "region" until human effort created the particular forms of life which characterised it. The use of land for grazing and cultivation and settlement was not merely a surface decoration of the scenery, but actually structured it by the use of otherwise untapped water resources, clearance of plant cover and building of habitations and communications. That this human part of the structure remained

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(1) P. English, City and Village in Iran, pp. 30-34, notably figs. 7 and 8.

(2) ibid., p. 13.

partial is testimony to the difficulty of the situation with which humans contended; it does not invalidate the fact that the region should be seen in terms of human geography not untouched natural elements. It follows, for example, that the classification of parts of the Kerman area as sarhadd/yailaq, and others as garmsir/qishlaq characterises not just the "natural" difference between the uplands with their cooler summers and the low areas with warmer winters, but forms of land use as winter or summer pasture or for different crop types, that is to the human significance of the environment.(1)

For if there is an environmental element to the shape of the Kerman region, it is defined by the human uses of the environment (settlement and agriculture) not by the physical shape of mountains and deserts alone. In the conditions outlined above settlement has developed in very specific contexts, and the areas where those contexts exist and have been developed constitute the true content of the "region". There are two main categories of physical environment in this part of the Iranian plateau which offer the possibility for human development. Firstly, the mountain slopes where drainage offers a water supply and soils of sufficient quality for pasture or cultivation can sustain animal husbandry and small scale cultivation (the terrain being a restriction on the scale of fields). Secondly, those valleys or basins where irrigation systems can be made can also sustain these activities and consequently human settlement. A survey of settlement in the Kerman area shows it to be focussed on mountain slopes in the Lalehzar, Jebel Bariz, Jupar or Kuhbenan ranges and lesser hills,

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(1) Jughrāfiyā-yi-Kermān, pp. 108, 114, 144-5 : A. K. S. Lambton, The Persian Land Reform pp. 15-16.

or else in basins which could tap water tables in qanat systems (such as Kerman city, Bam/Narmashir, Sirjan or Rafsinjan). It is these areas which in a very real sense constituted the "region" of Kerman as a social and historical reality. The unsettled environment by contrast was just so much territory.

If the creation of settlement within an environment was one concomitant of regional identity, so too was the establishment of land use which could support human settlements. Sharp limitations of terrain, soil and water put a premium on the maximal use of these restricted resources which in turn encouraged particular patterns of land use. Subsistence had to be localised to overcome the small scale of surpluses and productivity, which meant not only that each small area of settlement was involved in subsistence production, but that this was achieved through maintaining a diverse range of cultivation and animal husbandry.(1) The particularly close symbiosis of pastoral and arable activity was a product of the fact that this represented an optimal use of an environment which by its hilly structure and lack of water could not sustain large scale or single-crop cultivation. As a subsequent discussion of pastoralism and nomadism shows, Kerman was characterised not by large autonomous tribal organisations but a close interpenetration of nomad and settled groups and pastoral and arable undertakings.(2) As Spooner observed this is a characteristic of an impoverished environment since "only relatively lush environments support economic specialisation".(3)

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(1) See below pp. 75-78 for the pattern of subsistence cultivation.

(2) See the appendix to Part II of this thesis.

(3) B. Spooner, "The desert and the sown" (unpublished paper 1972) p. 12. (now published in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.) Studies in 18th century Islamic history)

The characteristic problems of the environment in the Kerman region were associated not merely with scarcity but with a degree of insecurity which reinforced it. The climate of the area was not only inhospitable but also unreliable. Sudden flash rains could and did occur, destroying buildings and irrigation systems. Although this is a phenomenon which is recorded mainly in nineteenth and twentieth century sources there is no reason to suppose that as a fact of climate it has not been an established feature.(1) Pests and disease which had no modern technology to oppose them could threaten crops as much as rain failure or floods as can be seen from the comments on the harvest in the Persian Gulf trade reports.(2) Flocks were also vulnerable to natural disaster and losses of up to 50% in a year with drought-struck pastures or disease were not unknown. The point which is important for understanding regional identity is that the chance of loss of subsistence supplies was both large enough and random enough to be a strong and constant influence on human use of the environment, reinforcing the incentives to flexibility and diversification which have already been seen as characteristic.

These characteristics are of course not unique to the Kerman area but nonetheless typical of it. Parts of Khorasan and the basins of settlement on the inner belt of the Zagros would have a similar interaction of physical environment and human use of it. However, as has been seen, the concept of regional identity is not founded

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(1) English, City and Village, p. 9 : E. Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 224 : F0248/vol. 998 /Kerman consular diary for 1-7 April 1910

(2) See for example Pre Gulf Administration Reports for 1879-80, 1880-1, 1885-6

on the uniqueness of its components so much as their influence and identifiability. It is because the elements described above can be seen to exist and to affect the society of the area that they can be regarded as an important part of the region's characteristics. That they are distinctive even if not unique can be seen from comparison with the evolution of settlement and land use in areas where these particular elements were not the dominant influence. The heat and humidity of the Gulf littoral, the rain-fed forests of the Caspian belt, or the varied terrain of the western Zagros and north west Iran are in distinct contrast to the conditions described above and produced contrasting patterns of human geography. Different kinds of settlement, a different spectrum of crops and different organisation of pastoralism are all evidence of the particular character of regional society as influenced by physical environment. It is on this basis that I would argue for a "geographical" element in the regional identity of Kerman.

Since this "geography" has already been seen to be a human one, the element of change and development through time is already implicitly part of the picture. If the capacity to establish certain forms of settlement and land use was shaped by the physical environment, it was also influenced by the level of human technology and social organisation available to do these things. Thus a proper examination of the evolution of the region needs to take account of the historical dimension of that evolution. Even at the very earliest stages of human development in the Kerman area the questions of technology and organisation were important since it was not until these had developed to a particular point that it was possible to construct the qanat

irrigation which could make the alluvial fans below the mountain slopes and away from other sources of surface water available for cultivation.(1) Whether or not the accounts of the Sassanian settlement of the Kerman city basin under the sponsorship of "feudal" lords are more than legendary is hard to discern, although references in classical authors to settlement in the region confirm that organised development had occurred there by that period.(2) Certainly qanat technology was widely known by then, and the forms of organisation in Sassanian society and the military needs of the élite may have given impetus to its expansion to the less promising zones of the plateau, thus suggesting a truth behind the legends.

If archaeological and documentary evidence give only scanty information about the growth of society in the area, they equally leave no doubt that various forms of settlement and cultivation were already in existence when it became involved in the experiences associated with the Arab-Islamic penetration of the plateau. The exact significance of this penetration at a grass-roots level is also hard to elucidate from sources with a dynastic and military bias. Certainly over time the needs of the new religion, and of the men who controlled it, and the emergence of a dominant local elite with links perhaps both to the old and to the new determinants of power, must have been important determinants of the historical development of the region. By the 720's the "governors" of the eastern plateau

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(1) English, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

(2) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 11-16, 23-5 : both Ptolemy's Geography and Ammianus Marcellinus contain references to settlement in the Kerman area.

(Kerman and Khorasan) were using Kermani landowners like Khadi[c] Kermani who obviously held power in the area.(1) Granted the lack of forces which would reverse the pattern of regional autonomy, the localised nature of both production and power was the foundation for the regional organisation of government, which in practice was largely the collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order.

It is on the basis of these developments that the subsequent development of the region can be situated in the otherwise mystifying ebb and flow of dynastic and military movements. At the political level one can observe the constant re-assertion of regional autonomy by powerful groups as against attempts to incorporate power over the region into a wider context, which was also historical fact, albeit perhaps less imposing than is sometimes allowed. Thus the Buyid rulers of the tenth and eleventh century seem to have come near allocating power among the family on a regional basis, and the period of Seljuq control over most regions of Iran, was succeeded by a fragmentation of authority along regional lines, with an autonomous "dynasty" based in Kerman. Similarly the rulers of the Qara-khita'i dynasty seem to have maintained autonomous power in Kerman within the context of the Mongol presence in Iran. The point to be made is not that the dynastic movements or military conquests of large parts of the plateau were unimportant, but that their importance was mediated in regional reality through their conflict or compromise with local forces. The Seljuq conflicts with tribal forces in the hill country, the inter-

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 46-50.

action of local and family ambitions among the Buyids or Muzaffarids, or the successful use of force to extract resources as happened under Timur were all part of this pattern.(1)

If power was part of a constant dialectic of local and wider influences it was in this period of dynastic vicissitudes that other material forces played their part in shaping a regional identity. The growth of towns and urban manufacture was noted by travellers from the tenth century onward.(2) This development rested on two important factors which worked to re-inforce each other. Firstly the existence of sophisticated craft manufacture implies the development of an agrarian surplus which is able to sustain artisan production. Thus the prosperous state of agriculture noted in the Seljuk period by Yaqut, the encouragement of cultivation at Khabis by the Buyid ruler Muhammad ibn Ilyas, and at Darzin in the period of Ghuzz rule bear an important relation to the growth of urban life.(3) This is borne out by the references listed by LeStrange to corn and date production in Bam and Rigan, and the trade in a wide range of crops grown around Jiroft, a fertile district and substantial town between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.(4) The development of pastoralism with the movement of tribal groups like the Mahni to Sarduyeh or the Ri'isi tribe to Narmashir similarly developed the resources of the area.(5)

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(1) ibid., pp. 79, 65-76, 241 : Jughrāfiyā-yi-Kermán, pp. 113-114 : English, City and Village, p. 26.

(2) See the discussion of the Kerman region in G. LeStrange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, chapters 21 and 22 (pp. 299-321).

(3) A. K. S. Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia, p. 8 : Jughrafiya-yi-Kerman, pp. 90, 96.

(4) LeStrange, op. cit., pp. 312, 314-5.

(5) Jughrafiya-yi-Kerman, pp. 109, 113.

Even the relatively unpromising environment of the Kerman region was capable of development especially along the lines of symbiosis and diversity of activities which have been referred to previously.

However these developments should not be seen as some spontaneous growth but as the result of the conscious efforts of people to maximise and improve their assets and revenues. Central among these people, naturally enough, were those with resources to deploy. The building of forts by local governors in Kerman, Sirjan and Bam but also in smaller centres like Kahnu and Zarand was a measure which ensured control of resources within the area as well as defence against threats from outside.(1) The accumulation of resources by notables based in the townships of the region allowed them to stimulate trade and manufacture as patrons and investors. That there was a development of these activities is evidenced by references by the author of <u>ʿAqd-al-ʿali</u> to silk production in Rigan, and by travellers to specialised textile production in Zarand and Bam and Sirjan.(2) Such activities were part both of a symbiosis of raw material production (dyes, fibres) and manufacture within the region, and also of commercial links outside it. The gauzes of Zarand going to Fars and Iraq, the "tutiya" exports of Kuhbenan, the great mart of Camadi, or the presence of Indian goods in Narmashir are all examples of this range of links which continued to play a role in the shaping of regional identity.(3) Not that the process of development was even, or uncontradicted by the shifts which

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(1) LeStrange, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 300-301, 303-304, 308, 312 : <u>Jughrāfīyā-yi-Kermān</u>, pp. 116, 123, 153.

(2) <u>ibid.</u>, p. 105 : LeStrange, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 301, 308, 312.

(3) <u>ibid.</u>, pp. 308-9, 313, 315.

left some settlements abandoned or new ones developed. Thus the decline of towns in the Jiroft area (as a result of the Mongol invasions according to Marco Polo) offsets the craft production and prosperity he observed, just as Yaqut observed a decline in cultivated land between Saljuq times and his own.(1)

Thus far it has been able to identify certain trends of development which became part of the regional identity of Kerman. Less settled in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than areas like Fars, it nonetheless presented many of the features of a developed regional economy with townships set in a rural hinterland, producing and trading both agricultural materials and manufactured goods. Some of these turned out to have long-term significance for the life of the region, continuing to influence society and economy in the nineteenth century. Thus the high quality sheep which Marco Polo saw in the area in the thirteenth century were part of a pattern of pastoralism which not only sustained local subsistence, but produced the basic material for the woollen textile manufacture which achieved note by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.(2) The export of fine carpets to India in Safavid times and the reputation of Kermani wool in the seventeenth century were both products of this pattern.(3) These, and the craft of shal production, which also depended on good local wool, were to be features of life in the region up until the period which is the subject

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(1) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 8 : Marco Polo, The Travels, (Penguin classics edition), pp. 63-4.

(2) Marco Polo, The Travels, p. 64.

(3) Carpet export is mentioned in Persian chronicles and European travellers of the Safavid period : the reputation of Kerman wool is noted by R. du Mans, L'Etat de la Perse en 1660, pp. 12, 187, 355, 358, 367.

of this study. Centres of settlement, manufacture and of government like Kerman, Bam and Sirjan which had emerged by the sixteenth century were also to have a lasting place in the life of the region.

The historical background of Kerman's regional identity is not only a question of vague continuity but of more complex interactions through time. In the thirteenth century Kerman city had a reservoir of sewing skills among its women which could have a connection, albeit indirect, with the shal-weaving and shal embroidery which developed there later. The silk weaving industry of Narmashir noted by Afzal Kermani experienced decline which left it producing only small quantities in the nineteenth century.(1) The decline of cultivation of settlement and cultivation in the Jiroft plain have already been noted, although its reputation as a cattle-raising area survived. Whether or not the expansion of the nomad and pastoralist sector was at the expense of crop production is also a significant question although not one which is easily discussed granted the lack of evidence. However it can be said that all these matters are not a matter of simple linear progress or decline but of quite complex patterns of change and interchange. Moreover these patterns will be relevant in a number of ways to the discussion of the life of the Kerman region at a later period.

The Safavid era, to adopt the dynastic convention of periodisation, saw the continuation of trends which have already been noted, together with new forces like the spread of Shi^{c}ism. A would-be centralising authority sent its agents, in this case powerful tribal

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(1) Marco Polo, The Travels, p. 62 : Jughrāfīyā-yi-Kermān, p. 97.

leaders from the supporters of the new regime, to aid in the incorporation of the region within the orbit of that authority. Thus the first eighty years of Safarid rule were characterised at the level of the provincial control of Kerman by the power given to Istajlu Khans, offshoots of the Safavid clan itself, and above all to the leaders of part of the Afshar tribe which at this date was spreading into many regions of Iran.(1) It is from this period that the emergence of the Afshar grouping in Kerman to be one of its dominant tribal groups must date. Again the wielding of power in a locality can be seen to be linked to outside authority on the one hand and penetration of the locality on the other. The creation of an Afshar "interest" in the region, or the fostering of prosperity over a quarter of a century by Ganj ᶜAli Khan Zik the most "noted" governor of the period are evidence of the latter, just as the success of the central powers in mobilising troops from Kerman to fight in their campaigns suggests the former.(2)

The links between the Kerman region and others also developed at this period. The export of fine woollen textiles to India has already been noted as a feature of sixteenth and seventeenth century commerce, but this period also saw the development of trade contacts with Europe. Not only did the blue and white soft-paste porcelain of Kerman (called "gombroon ware" after Gombroon or Bandar ᶜAbbas the outport for Kerman) attain a considerable reputation, but the raw wool of the region also became an object of considerable

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(1) Jughrāfiyā-yi-Kermān, p. 254 : Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 265-277.

(2) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 277-281, 267, 276, 283, 287.

interest to Europeans, notably the emergent English East India Company.(1) Company archives show that from the early period of its involvement in Iran the purchase of "Caramania" (= Kerman) wool was as important to the company agents based in the south as the silk trade was to those in Isfahan.(2) By the opening decades of the eighteenth century the diary of agents at Gombroon/Bandar ᶜAbbas reveals how important this wool trade had become along with the sale of British textiles in Kerman in exchange. Exports of wool bought by Company agents totalled 7950 mann in 1735 and 9762 mann in 1743 while sales of British cloth totalled some 180 bales in 1746 (a bad year due to the activities of Nadir Shah).(3) This early manifestation of British interest in exchanging manufactures for the raw materials of Iran which were useful was a trend of long-term significance.

The history of Kerman in the eighteenth century demonstrates clearly how misleading the "dynastic" view of Iran can be. This period is conventionally presented as one of "breakdown" and "decay" following the defeat of the Safavid government by invading Afghans, the destructive career of Nadir Shah and the struggle for power following his death. In fact, although there are some important points to be made about these topics, these are best developed not at some pseudo-'national' level, but rather in the context of the regional involvement and identity which has been shown to be a historical reality. Thus the Afghan invasion

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(1) R. du Mans, L'Etat de la Perse, p. 197 : Arthur Lane, Later Islamic Pottery, pp. 74-5, 81-4, 103-4, 106-7, 119-121 (quoting seventeenth century sources) J. Bruce, History of the East India Company, vol. II pp. 266, 329-30, 358, 377, 407, 424, 429-30, 436, 477-80, 490-1, 517, 529, 543, 570, 618, 644-5

(2) Bruce, op. cit., R Ferrier "Anglo-Persian Relations in the 17th Century" (Cambridge doctoral thesis, 1969)

(3) These figures are derived from the so-called "Gombroon Diary", formerly the G/29 series in the India Office Records, now being re-catalogued under R/15.

was important for Kerman as a destructive force within the region, rather than as the "termination" of a dynasty, which if it had significance was by virtue of the shift in the nature of regional relations with central authority.(1) Nadir Shah's career again put specific pressures on the Kerman region in the shape of demands for revenue, grain, clothing made by Kermani craftsmen from local wool, and transport animals.(2) The impact of this drain on resources of cash, food and manpower needs no amplification, save that it drove some parts of the region to actual revolt.(3)

The so-called "chaos" at the death of Nadir Shah certainly involved competition among various war-lords for overall hegemony, but its immediate significance for Kerman was somewhat different. It freed the local notables to select among themselves a provincial governor with the manpower (his tribal followers) and local support to carry out the tasks of securing revenue and order.(4) Shah-Rokh Afshar (not to be confused with his namesake, Nadir Shah's grandson) held power for some twelve years, creating a stable focus of power that belied the conflicts in western and central Iran. A regional basis of government was and remained crucial to sustained control of authority and resources. An examination of Karim Khan Zand's relationship with the Kerman region clearly demonstrates this phenomenon. The new controller of the west and central zones of the Iranian area attempted to incorporate Kerman

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 293-298.

(2) ibid., p. 310-314 : Gombroon Diary, July 1737, February 1738, July 1740, August 1743, February and March 1746.

(3) Gombroon Diary, February 1744, April 1746.

(4) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 316-321.

within his sphere of authority by direct conquest. Despite its initial impact this policy produced a reaction/opposition by a local ambitious leader (interestingly enough not a member of the highest élite) Taqi "Khan" of Durran in the Kuhpaiyeh hills near Kerman city.(1) A period of conflict was followed by a compromise in which there was a provincial governor who would guarantee the Zand government their share of revenue on the basis of his status, wealth and acceptability within the region. This was the wealthy Sayyid Abu'l Hasan Khan the imam of the Isma^{c}ili sect, with a base and tribal support in the Shahr-i-Babak area and substantial annual tribute from his followers in India.(2)

The points that have been raised in the course of the discussion are of course extremely selective and in no way give a complete or even integrated account of the evolution of Kerman as a region. However it is to be hoped that the discussion has at least shown that this evolution operated at many levels. The physical environment and the material constraints and incentives which it offered for human use was one influence on the mode of life adopted by human society to ensure survival. Society itself shaped the framework of the region by the patterns of settlement and land use which it created, changing and intervening in the "natural" environment. None of these patterns were static or simple, and the ongoing history of the Kerman region was as much a feature of its identity as was the human geography. For the purposes of this study two main points are worth

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(1) ibid., pp. 322-9.

(2) ibid., pp. 332-333.

bearing in mind; first that certain definite physical, social and temporal factors created a region called Kerman characterised by a defined and dynamic organisation of society and production which while in no sense unique was distinctive; secondly that these characteristics were not abstract formulae but mutually dependent and interreacting, so that productive activities, social institutions and cultural values rested not only on the diversity within each sector but on the relationships between them. The spiritual influence of a Shah Ni^{c}amatallah Vali intersected with the political patronage of rulers, the material support of vaqf revenue, and the human involvement of pilgrims and devotees. It is the sense of this kind of complex and structured totality which can be a guiding concept in the course of the ensuing study.

PART II

THE SHAPE OF REGIONAL SOCIETY

CHAPTER ONE

THE RURAL SECTOR.

There are clear reasons why any understanding of the changing structure of relationships and activities in the Kerman region is best begun by an examination of rural life. It was the basis on which much else depended and to which much else needs to be related, both because in a purely statistical sense it involved the majority of people and also because the functioning of the rural sector could determine other developments in the life of the region as a whole. One needs simply to reflect on the impact of famine on trade and revenue, or the connections between landownership, status and political influence to see the force of this argument. These are issues which will receive due consideration and explanation, since obviously it is not merely a question of bald assertions but of making the analysis and description more specific and convincing.

Section (a) : Agricultural Production : Patterns and changes

Some reference has already been made in Chapter Two to the physical conditions affecting settlement and cultivation in the Kerman region. My purpose here is to give a historically concrete

account of the agrarian situation there in the nineteenth century. It seems useful to begin with a survey of what actually was produced on the land and to outline important changes which occurred in rural production during our period. On this substantive basis it should then be possible to construct an analysis of the various relationships and divisions of labour which made production possible. I hope therefore that it will appear logical to create a descriptive foundation on which discussion can then be based.

At the risk of stating the obvious it seems worth fixing in our minds the central purpose of agricultural production which was to supply the foodstuffs essential to human survival. Our survey of the rural economy of the region needs to begin at this point, since, as has already been pointed out, length of distance between settled areas and the low development of communications reinforce a considerable degree of local self sufficiency. Thus, although there is evidence of exports of bulk foodstuffs in years of surplus, and imports in years of famine,(1) whether between regions of Iran or to and from areas outside Iran, these movements of food were no substitute for the subsistence cultivation of each area. I have raised this point because on the whole it receives inadequate emphasis whether in the economic reports of European observers (travellers and consular officials), largely concerned with external trade or in secondary writing on the

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(1) See for example A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV, "Report on the Trade of the Persian Gulf and Muscat for 1873-4" p. 5 : A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVII, "Report on the Trade of the Persian Gulf 1883", p. 13 : A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVIII, "Report on the Trade of the Gulf 1884", p. 619 : A and P for 1872/vol. LVIII, "Report on the Trade of Gilan 1871-72", p.

Iranian economy. Yet the very fact that most of the British consular reports on the economic life of the Gulf in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century begin with some reference to the harvest reminds us that while for the British the main significance of this was its effect on the purchasing power of Iranian consumers, harvest failure or bounty was of crucial importance to each Iranian region and community.

When we turn to our local sources in Kerman this point becomes even clearer. In the Jughrafiya of Vaziri we have a district by district survey of Kerman province, which among other matters mentions the produce of most of those districts. Of some 26 listings of produce in particular districts, 24 include food grains (wheat, barley, millet) as well as pulses, peas, beans, vegetables and fruits. And if we look at the comments of travellers and consuls on what they observed in Kerman, as opposed to more general or official views, we observe a similarly frequent recurrence of references to the cultivation of staple foodstuffs, whether from Consul Sykes' account of travels to Sirjan and Rafsinjan and the comments of the Gleadowe Newcomen mission in 1904, or the comments of the members of the Sistan Boundary Commission over 30 years earlier.(1) Although these remarks are not central to the concerns of their authors they are an important indicator for us of the widespread character of subsistence cultivation in Kerman at this period. This is one dimension of one

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(1) FO 248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for April 1904 : FO 881/vol. 8778* (Report of the Gleadowe Newcomen Mission) pp. 47, 54 : Eastern Persia vol. I, pp. 71, 106, 181-2.

dominant pattern of rural existence in Kerman of this period, the high degree of adaptation in favour of at least relative autonomy which characterised the region. The scarcity of available water, the low rate of capital investment in irrigation systems which had come to concern even Persian observers of the latter part of the century,(1) and the uncertain conditions of production were re-inforced by tenurial relations dominated by sharecropping, to be discussed later, to create a situation in which the capacity of the cultivator to produce large surpluses or be a cash consumer on a significant scale was very limited. Thus any great degree of dependence on supplies from any distance was neither practicable nor desirable.

It is this situation which can help us understand not merely the prevalence of subsistence cultivation within the Kerman region, but also the diversity of agricultural products within each district of the region. If we turn again to Vaziri's survey of the produce of the various districts of Kerman we find that in most cases he mentions not one foodstuff but several, even many.(2) In the majority actual figures of cases wheat and barley are listed, and millet too is often mentioned, with rice a less frequent grain-food although not uncommon. In addition peas, beans, lentils, sesame and (occasionally) maize are also mentioned with regularity. In addition

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(1) Ahmad 'Ali Khan Vaziri, Jughrāfīyā-yi-Kermān (henceforth Jughrāfīyā) p. 106 criticises the lack of effort made to develop in Narmashir. Similar hopes for greater efforts at development are expressed in Firuz Mirza Farmanfarma Safar-nāmeh yi Kermān va Balūchestān (henceforth Safarnāmeh) pp. 12, 58.

(2) See Table I.

there is frequent mention of 'garden' cultivation and fruit and vegetables. As one Englishman, Oliver St. John, who spent several years in Iran in the 1860s and 1870s, remarked, in connection with the famine of 1870-72, these products were an essential supplement to the diet of the Persian peasant, and indeed urban worker a point confirmed by Consul Sykes in the early years of the twentieth century.(1) Onions and beets are the vegetables most frequently mentioned by Vaziri while garlic, lettuce, radish, turnip are also listed. When he notes the absence of garden cultivation as in Isfandaqeh it is clearly as something which is rather exceptional.(2) We may also note the appearance of potato culture near Kerman city as noted by Vaziri and in the Sirjan area by Oliver St. John and Stack.(3) In addition Vaziri shows that the Kerman region, like other parts of Iran, had a sufficient variety of climate and geography to produce a range of fruit from the temperate crops through grapes and figs to citrus and date cultivation, at times on a substantial scale. Apples, pears, cherries, grapes figs, and pomegranates all appear on his lists of local produce. Nuts also seem to have been an important feature of village cultivation whether almonds, walnuts or pistachios (the last

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(1) Eastern Persia vol. I, p. 97 : FO 248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for 1st week November 1904.

(2) Jughrāfiya pp. 39, 89-90, 139 are representative listings : ibid. p. 121 discusses the lack of gardens in Isfandaqeh.

(3) Jughrāfiya p. 39 : Eastern Persia vol. I, p. 106 : E. Stack, 6 Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 184.

playing, as we shall see, a more than local role). While these 'crops' may not have been found in all districts they occurred with sufficient frequency for us to classify them as part of the general range of products for food consumption.

There are perhaps three important points to be derived from this overview of consumption crop production in the Kerman region in the nineteenth century. Firstly, within each district there is a common pattern of production of some at least of the basic grain foods which are a staple of peasant diet. Secondly, over and above the common role of grain production we can observe the variety of foodstuffs which could be produced within a relatively specific locality. Not one but two or three grains, pulses, or vegetables seem to have been characteristic produce of many districts. We should perhaps attribute this phenomenon partly at least to the relative insecurity of conditions of production. Where pest, drought or other natural intervention (all frequently mentioned as affecting the harvest, by the Gulf Agency annual reports and consular descriptions), can threaten the produce of a district, then to diversify crops may well be a rational solution to this potential difficulty. In addition the variety of soil conditions even within a limited locality may well help to reinforce this tendency. Just by way of example the soil map produced by Paul English of the basin around Kerman city illustrates the point clearly, and similar data are provided by Beckett's 1950's survey of soils in the area.(1)

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(1) P. English, City and Village in Iran, p. 15, which is based on a map in P. Beckett, "The Soils of Kerman, South Persia", Journal of Soil Science, 9, (1958), p. 21.

The third point to be noted from our survey of crop production is the interrelation of the general pattern of locally based production of basic crops with the element of variety encouraged by climate and terrain which in turn forms the basis for a degree of specialisation. Thus diversity becomes the starting point for an understanding of the combined character of rural production featuring a dominant trend toward self sufficiency on the one hand with factors encouraging interrelationships between districts on the other. This 'network' element in the economic life of the region is one to which we shall have reason to refer in several contexts in the course of our analysis.

Having established that the production of basic foodstuffs was a central activity of the rural sector at this period, it is then necessary to turn to those areas of agricultural production which did not come into that subsistence category. It is clear that the variety of products which were available and their distribution in an uneven pattern through various districts and areas of Kerman region (and indeed as between other regions of Iran, north India and central Asia) provided the basis for an exchange of this diverse produce within and between regions. The form and significance of this exchange will be discussed later. What we are concerned with at present is the degree to which the established or emergent patterns of exchange stimulated the production of crops for exchange in various parts of the Kerman region. Leaving aside the substantial question of pastoral husbandry and its products, which merit separate treatment, it is clear that by the nineteenth century rural production for exchange already existed within the Kerman region. Olivier at the very start of the

century was mentioning the availability in Istanbul of Kermani produce - opium, cumin and asafoetida, and the export of distillations from cultivated roses to Turkey and India from both Fars and Kerman.(1) Pottinger in 1810 saw dyestuffs, roses and cotton produced for exchange in Narmashir. In 1830 Connolly saw opium, caraway, henna and indigo from Kerman in the bazaars of Mashad.(2) Although quantities are not indicated, this is at least some evidence for the organised production of agricultural goods for commercial purposes. This is to some extent confirmed by Fraser's survey of the produce of various provinces of Iran in the 1820s where among the output of Kerman we find mention of henna, indigo, cotton, dates, pistachios and anise. Since Fraser says he is specifically interested in produce which is traded rather than locally consumed we may conclude that these crops were consumed outside their district of origin.(3)

Thus we must consider the role of commercial crop production in Kerman as part of an existing pattern of agricultural activity, although, as we shall see, it was a pattern which was to be distinctly transformed over time. By the middle of the century British observers were beginning to quantify the produce they observed coming from Kerman to other parts of Iran or passing outside the borders. In 1841 madder and opium appear among the goods exported to Tehran from Kerman without any specific amounts being given, but by 1844 we know that 76 camel

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(1) G. Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Othomane, L'Egypte et la Perse, vol. III, pp. 176, 181, 191.

(2) H. Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde, p. 201 : A. Connolly, Journey to the North of India Overland from England through Russia, Persia and Affghanistaun, vol. I, p. 350.

(3) J. B. Fraser, Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces on the Southern Banks of the Caspian Sea with an Appendix containing Short Notices on the Geology and Commerce of Persia, (henceforth Travels and Adventures), Appendix II, p. 354.

loads of dyes (henna and indigo) and zireh seed came that year from Kerman to Tehran, in addition to unspecified amounts of manna, dried fruit, "drugs", nuts and opium.(1) When Keith Abbott made his tour of southern and south-eastern Iran in 1849 - 50 the opium of Mahan if not prolific was notable for quality according to his Persian informants and sold at 6 tomans per Tabriz mann (54 sh. 6d. per 6½lb.).(2) At the same period Abbott estimated madder production at 55,000-60,000 mann and cotton production at about 130,000-150,000 mann annually, and the Khabis henna crop at about 150,000 mann annually.(3) Zireh seed, indigo, dates and asafoetida are among other rival products which Abbott considers worth listing as articles of commerce (quoting unit prices in some cases). Thus by mid-century we can see that the commercial produce of agricultural commodities was not only established and varied but also quite substantial.

It is a commonplace of all those who attempt to characterise or calculate the produce of Persia during the nineteenth century that the figures available, derived mostly either from customs officials or contacts established with bazaar merchants, are unreliable and erratic. Such statistics as we have not only do little more than indicate orders of magnitude, but may well fail to list products which do appear on other occasions. Thus in a list of the products of various provinces of Persia in the early 1870's given by a consular official using Tehran custom house returns we find that under Kerman the henna and opium

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(1) F0248/vol. 98/"Report on the Trade of Tehran, 1841" : F0248/vol. 118/"Report on the Trade of Tehran, 1844".

(2) F060/vol. 165/"Notes on the Cities of South Persia", p. 77.

(3) F060/vol. 165/"Notes on the Cities of South Persia", pp. 77, 79.

which we noted earlier as arriving from the province do not appear, although butter, tallow, manna, resin, pitch wood and gallnuts do.(1) It is also worth noting that Yazd exports to Tehran include madder, which as other observers have described was in fact Kerman produce, processed in the city of Yazd. The same sort of explanation may be applied to the pistachios listed as the produce of Khorasan since the Rafsinjan area which was notable for the cultivation of these popular nuts, lay on the main trade route to Mashad as well as to the henna and indigo which are also recorded as coming from Yazd.(2) From the 1870s we begin to find a systematic series of reports and data being produced by British consular officials, focussing naturally on British interests, but in so doing yielding information on the commodities produced in Iran, and in some cases Kerman province in particular. The Tabriz consulate had begun to produce such reports a decade earlier (and sporadically back to the 1840s) but on the whole Kermani produce which passed in that direction did not include agrarian goods. It was the Gulf ports and other urban centres to which the products we have mentioned tended to go, and in material relating to those places we can gain some picture of the patterns of agricultural commodity production in the Kerman area. We also have the survey of Ahmad 'Ali Vaziri who as we have seen produced his Jughrafiya-yi-Kerman (a gazetteer of the region) in the 1870s with revisions in the 1890s. In this we find surveys of various crops in the different districts of Kerman and some specific quantities of produce and export are given, as well as their destinations. It is on the basis of these sources that our own survey will proceed.

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(1) A and P for 1873/vol. LXVII/ report on the produce of provinces of Persia

(2) A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV/Memorandum on Opium in the Report on Gulf trade 1874-5. A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/ Consul Preece's report on a journey to Yazd and Kerman in the Report on the Trade of Isfahan 1892-3 and 1893-4, p. 334.

It is a commonplace of nineteenth century Iranian historical studies that from the middle of that century there was a growth of goium cultivation for export on a substantial scale.(1) A report of the early 1880s suggests that noticeable exports began first from Isfahan in the early 1850s spreading to Yazd (the source of the best opium) at the start of the 1860s and Shiraz/Fars in the 1870s.(2) The crop was largely intended to supply the Chinese market which took the majority of the exports via the Gulf, taking slightly under 75% of the exports in 1874, all but 6 of 2160 chests exported from Bandar Abbas in 1882, "most" of the 4,817 cases sent from the Gulf as a whole in 1890, and of the average of 458 chests exported from Bandar 'Abbas between 1897 and 1901.(3) The main centres of production were around Isfahan and Yazd, although it is possible that some of the totals given for Yazd include opium grown in Kerman since we learn that the Kerman crop was often sent to Yazd for processing and packing for export.(4) However what we are concerned with at present is the manifestation of the general tendency to expand opium cultivation within the Kerman region.

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(1) See for example C. Issawi, Economic History of Iran 1800-1914, pp. 238-41 with references and N. Keddie, Historical Obstacles to Agrarian Change in Iran, pp. 5-6.

(2) A and P for 1882/vol. LXIX/Report on the Opium Trade (dated Sept. 1881) p. 48.

(3) A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV/Memorandum on opium in the report on Gulf trade 1874-5, pp. 64-8 : A and P for 1883/vol. LXXIV/Report on Gulf Trade, 1882, p.466 on : A and P for 1892/vol. LXXXIII/table on exports of Bandar ʿAbbas in the report on Gulf Trade 1890-1, p.451 on : A and P for 1904/vol. C/Report on Bandar ʿAbbas trade, p. 415.

(4) A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV/loc. cit : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on the trade of Kerman 1894-5 p. 50.

That we are talking about expansion, even in the Kerman context, rather than about the emergence of a totally new crop is clear from the evidence on opium production in the region in the earlier part of the century. Consignments of opium from Kerman were reaching Tehran in the 1840s and when Abbott visited the province at the end of the decade he observed the high quality and price of the local opium although it was grown only on a limited scale.(1) The effect of the growing external market as opium production can be seen in the figures showing that between 1868 and 1875 the region was producing anything up to 100 cases in normal (i.e. non-famine) years.(2) By 1879-80 this output had risen to 300 cases (4,500 mann-i-shah/ 58,500lbs.) and the produce of Kerman in 1890 was estimated at 75,000lbs. By 1892-3 exports alone totalled some 10,000 mann-i-Tabriz, which incidentally represents only part (though maybe a majority) of production since the same report tells us that domestic consumption in Kerman was high.(3) In 1894-5 the consul estimated total production at 12,000 mann of which 9,000 went to Yazd for processing before export; these exports were worth about £16,700, something over 20% of the total exports of Kerman.(4) We are clearly looking at the successful growth of opium cultivation for an expanding market.

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(1) FO 248/vol. 98, vol. 118 reports on Tehran trade : FO60/vol. 165/Abbott's notes p. 77.

(2) A and P for 1876/Vol. LXXIV/loc. cit.

(3) A and P for 1882/vol. LXIX/report on the opium trade p. 48 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Consul Preece's journey to Yazd and Kerman, pp. 333, 391 : J. Rabino "Banking in Persia", Journal of the Institute of Bankers (1891), p. 10.

(4) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/Report on the trade of Kerman 1894-5, p. 50.

Let us look however at the patterns of cultivation within the province in order to see the process more clearly. Our Persian source does not quantify opium production within the region but mentions its cultivation in Jupar, Baghīn, Narmashir (small amounts), Arzuyeh, Sirjan and Zarand.(1) A traveller of the 1880's mentions Rayin as producing some 18,000lb. yearly, while the Goldsmid Boundary Commission a decade earlier confirm Vaziri's location of opium cultivation at Baghin, and Stack noted its expansion in Kurran in Sirjan, between Sar Asiab and Khanuk, and at Kuhbenan.(2) The Commercial Mission of Gleadowe-Newcomen in 1904-5 mentions only Rafsinjan as an area producing this crop while the consul reporting on trade in 1913-14 mentions Sirjan and Mahan as well. Neither of these reports gives any large quantities, if any at all for opium exported from the region.(3) This might reflect a lack of interest on the part of the British officials in the opium crop and its markets, but granted the large role of British interests in the opium trade we must look for a more substantive explanation. Quite apart from the impact of natural disasters, causing for example bad harvests in 1881 and 1883 as recorded in the reports of the Gulf Agency, there were fluctuations

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(1) Jughrāfiyā pp. 86, 87, 104, 147, 152, 178.

(2) E. Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 301 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 102 : E. Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, pp. 184, 224, 233.

(3) FO 881/no. 8778*/Report of the Gleadowe Newcomen Mission, pp. 47, 128 : FO 248/vol. IIII/trade report on Kerman 1913-1914, table VIII.

in the internal conditions favouring cultivation as when famine encouraged a return to grain cultivation in the early 1870's.(1) More significant perhaps were the varying demands of the international market which took the bulk of the Persian crop and so could exert more decisive pressures through changes in prices and profitability. In fact a survey of figures for opium exports through Bandar ᶜAbbas, which included the produce of Kerman, show a steady decline during the 1890's with the odd years showing an increase never regaining lost ground completely or lastingly. After 1892 with one exception the total never exceeded 1000 chests and after 1897, again with one exception, it did not exceed 500, and by 1906 the trade report on Yazd claimed that the collapse of prices in London and Hong Kong had cut back cultivation to one tenth of its former extent.(2)

Another of the most important of export crops which was developed in response to the demands of more developed economies during the later nineteenth century was cotton. It had of course been produced in Iran from a much earlier date, supplying the domestic textile industries of various regions which possessed developed manufacturing sectors, in keeping with patterns of economic growth in a pre-industrial context. However the development of industrial textile production in the capitalist context of Europe and European Russia created far larger demands for raw cotton than before and

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(1) A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV/memorandum on opium pp. 64-8.

(2) The figures, which are given in the reports on Gulf Trade, are summarised in Table II. See also A and P for 1908/vol. CXIV/Report on Isfahan and Yazd 1906, p. 574.

stimulated a search for it in many non-European areas. As far as Iran was concerned the artificial shortage of American cotton created by the Civil War of 1861-5 gave sharp impetus to the penetration of British, and to some extent Russian, demand into the regions of Iran, offering possibilities to middlemen with problems caused by the collapse of silk production at the same period. A five-fold increase in cotton exports between 1862 and 1865 and of exports from the Gulf from 0-100,000 bales noted by the British authorities,(1) was of course followed by a levelling off as American supplies were restored, but the patterns of demand had been created and the needs, particularly of Russian industry, for which Central Asian supplies were not sufficient, rose during the 1870's, so Persian cotton formed about 29.7% of exports via Rasht to Russia in 1878.(2) In the south exports of Persian cotton to India, largely for use there, was a notable feature of Gulf trade as recorded in British trade reports from the 1870's. The expansion of cotton cultivation in Khorasan and in central Iran (Qazvin and Isfahan areas) was the natural corollary to the growth in demand.

From our point of view this development had its particular impact within the Kerman region, which though less well-watered and cultivated than other areas, nonetheless had an established base of cotton production which also responded to the new stimuli. Abbott

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(1) A and P for 1866/vol. LXXII/p. 206 letter from Secretary of Legation Dickson to Ambassador Alison, 3 July 1865 : A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV/report on the trade of the Gulf, 1873-4, p. .

(2) A and P for 1879/vol. LXX/report on the trade of Gilan, 1878, p. 470.

had estimated the produce of the region, scattered as he said through various districts as having totalled 130,000-150,000 mann in 1849-50.(1) In the later 1870's Vaziri describes the cotton production of Rafsinjan and Sirjan in south-west Kerman as producing 2 krur 50,000 mann and 250,000 mann of cotton respectively for export each year. Bam also produced 2 krur, exported from the Narmashir area to the Gulf ports.(2) Perhaps Vaziri was over-estimating, or else there had been a remarkable growth in output since the Hindu middlemen exporting Rafsinjan cotton to India in 1871 estimated the crop at some 4,000 mann/28,000 lb. yearly, although they may not have had accurate information themselves.(3) By the late 1880's the exports of raw cotton from Bandar 'Abbas were rising from 17,857 cwt. in 1887 to 27,500 cwt. in 1890.(4) The crop, like others was vulnerable to natural accident, and locusts, drought and disease affected output as recorded in the Gulf reports of the 1890's. It also becomes more difficult to identify Kerman production from the statistics, because from the later 1890's the Rafsinjan crop was being sent to Russia, and so absorbed in the

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(1) FO 60/vol. 165/Abbott's notes, pp. 77-8.

(2) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 96-7, 105, 152, 168.

(3) E. Persia, vol. I, pp. 179-80.

(4) A and P for 1889/vol. LXXX/report on the trade of south Persia and the Gulf, p. 54 : A and P for 1892/vol. LXXXIII/ report on the trade of the Gulf, 1891, p. 453

statistics of Khorasan, rather than to India via Bandar 'Abbas.(1) Thus the fall in figures for cotton exports from that outport reflects not a decline in production but a shift in outlet. The Cleadowe Newcomen mission of 1904-5 estimated the output of Rafsinjan at about 3,000 kharvar/1,964,00 lb. of which one sixth was locally used and a mere one tenth of the rest sent to the Gulf.(2) Many dimensions of this phenomenon will be fully considered when we turn to consider the functions of markets, circulation and distribution in the Kermani economy. What we need to note here is the role of demand from the Russian textile industry, unsatisfied by the raw cotton of Central Asia and Khorasan, in sustaining a very significant level of cash-crop cultivation in the Kerman area.

A rather different but equally significant situation arose in the case of henna production which appears to have been an important commodity during this period, used especially as a dye for hair, hands and feet in Iran, Turkey and India. It was being exported to Tehran in the 1840's and by the end of that decade Consul Abbott estimated the annual henna production of Khabis described as "the finest in Persia" at about 150,000 mann-i-Tabriz. Abbott adds that henna was also being grown in Jiroft, Narmashir and Lar although this was

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(1) FO 248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for February 1904, dates this back to 1896.

(2) FO 881/no. 8778*/Report of the Gleadowe-Newcomen Mission p. 48 : a similar projection of the figures given in FO 248/Vol.IIII/trade report on Kerman 1913-14 gives a similar output.

inferior to the Khabis product.(1) In the 1870's Vaziri estimated the annual Khabis crop at "about 120,000 mann" and also mentions henna being grown in Rigan and Narmashir, where together with madder henna crops totalled 1 krur yearly.(2) The British consul in the mid-1890's estimated the quantity of henna sent to Yazd for processing at 280,000 mann worth about £28,000, while by the turn of the century the Gleadowe-Newcomen mission of 1904-5 thought the Khabis crop was 300,000 lb. of which 30,000-40,000 went to Khorasan and the rest to Yazd.(3) The henna of Khabis and Narmashir was said to

> "supply practically all Persia ... for the quality of the dye is so superior that they nearly monopolise the market."

The trade in henna was profitable, which it needed to be granted the heavy demands of henna cultivation for water and manuring, both expensive items especially in Kerman, and by 1913-14 output was some 400,000 lb.(4) Granted the relative unreliability of the figures it is still possible to assert with some confidence that this particular cash crop underwent a notable expansion in the latter half of the nineteenth century, an expansion with significant implications both for trade relations and for investment patterns in the

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(1) F0248/vol. 98/report on the trade of Tehran 1841 : F060/vol. 165/Abbott's notes p. 78-9.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 89-90, 104.

(3) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, pp. 50-51 : F0881/no. 8778*/report of the Gleadowe-Newcomen Mission, pp. 52-54.

(4) F0881/no. 8778*/loc. cit. and F0248/vol. IIII/report on the trade of Kerman 1913-14.

agrarian sector.

Another significant commodity crop, with a somewhat chequered development in this period, was the dyestuff madder which had an important established traditional role as a major dye used for textiles, and so a notable place both in the craft production serving local markets and in the wider sector of textile exports. Again there is evidence in consular reports of madder from Kerman reaching Tehran (and perhaps other centres) in the 1840's and in 1849-50 Abbott after a visit to the area estimated madder production at about 50,000-60,000 mann (worth 12-14 shahi per mann locally).(1) By the 1870's the Jughrafiya records substantial production in Narmashir and also notes production in Jiroft, Sirjan, Rafsinjan, Zarand, Anar and Kuhbenan.(2) In the cases of Narmashir and Rafsinjan this production is mentioned in connection with export trade to India via Bandar ʿAbbas, suggesting that in the other areas production may have been for more local use, which in view of the role of textile production in Kerman, and other areas of Iran is not very surprising. Madder like henna was often sent to Yazd for processing, meaning that the madder listed by British officials among the products of Yazd was at least in part of Kermani origin.(3)

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(1) FO 248/vol. 98/report on Tehran trade 1841 : FO 248/vol. 118/report on Tehran trade 1844 : FO 60/vol. 165/Abbotts notes, p. 77.

(2) Jughrafiya pp. 104, 117, 152, 168, 178, 183, 185.

(3) See for example A and P for 1873/vol. LXVII/returns on the produce of various Persian provinces p. or A and P for 1888/vol. CII/report on the trade of Fars with notes on Yazd, p. 349.

However the position of madder as a widely used red dye was challenged in the latter part of the century. The influx of imported aniline dyes at competitive prices from the 1870's was a challenge to the traditional vegetable dyes, noted with various types of concern by Persians and foreigners, although madder is still recorded as a significant export from both Tabriz and Bushire.(1) A survey of the figures of dyestuff exports from Bandar ᶜAbbas (the outlet for Kermani produce), as listed in the annual series of reports on Gulf affairs by the British Agency for the Gulf, shows that both the amount and value of exports fell during the 1880's and 1890's. Not only did competition play a role here but there is too the suggestion that adulteration had helped lower the value of the crop from 1sh.8d. to 4d. per mann-i-shah (c. 13 lb.) in Bombay in the mid 1890's. By 1906-7 the consul in Kerman records the exports to India as 14,000 mann-i-Kerman worth a mere 7000 rupees.(2) This is certainly not very significant in terms of commodity trade though possibly rather more so in the context of Kermani agriculture. We may compare these

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(1) The continued role of madder can be noted in A and P for 1871/vol. LXV/report on the trade of Tabriz 1870, p.960-1, or A and P for 1872/vol. LIX/Dickson to Alison, 21 February 1872,(on the trade of Persia) p.137-8 . Problems with aniline dyes are referred to in A and P for 1884/vol. LXXIX/report on the trade of Persia 1883, p.33-40: A and P for 1888/vol. CII/report on trade of Tabriz 1887-8, p. 364 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on the trade of Kerman 1894-5, p. 41 : FO 248/vol. 820/Sykes (Consul, Kerman) to Hardinge (Tehran) 31 January 1904.

(2) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's journey to Yazd and Kerman, pp. 333-4. A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on the trade of Kerman 1894-5 p. 50 : A and P for 1907/vol. XCI/report on the trade of Kerman 1906-7, p. 53

figures with those given by the Gleadowe-Newcomen commission in 1904-5, showing 1524 cwt. dye exports worth c.£1,256 in 1903 and those in a fairly thorough consular commercial report of 1913-14, showing a total export from Sirjan and other parts of Kerman of some 21,500 mann worth about £468.(1) What this perspective on madder production does not take account of is the demand for madder in markets not recorded by British observers whose main focus was "international" trade. Certainly the attraction of cheap and easily used chemical dyes must have influenced Iranian textile producers whatever their market but the full complexity of the problem has perhaps not been fully appreciated. To some extent it is more usefully discussed in the context of the integration of regional production into a world economy. From our point of view at this stage, however, we need to bear in mind the implications of alternative products for this particular agrarian commodity in the context of crop production in Kerman.

A survey of rural cash crop production in the Kerman area would not be complete without some discussion of the place of certain specialised foodstuffs in the overall picture. Two levels of production can be identified, both playing a relevant part in structuring the patterns of crop cultivation during the nineteenth century. The first is the more limited in scale in any one district,

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(1) FO 881/no. 8778*/report of Gleadowe-Newcomen mission p. 128 : FO 248/vol. IIII/report on the trade of Kerman 1913-14, tables III, XI.

but widespread as a tendency within the region as a whole; it is the adaptation of cultivation patterns to meet the specialised needs of larger settlements for vegetables or dairy produce. We have already noted the role of vegetable cultivation as part of the general subsistence pattern of rural production, but in addition districts with special advantages both in terms of accessibility to markets and geo-physical environment can be seen making use of these advantages to capture a specific corner of rural cash crop cultivation. We shall examine the structure of market links in Kerman at a later point but here we need simply to observe the fact of this type of production. One may cite not only the exceptional case of Kerman city whose sheer size created special opportunities for market gardeners notably in the Jupar villages and Mahan, but also the specialised production of watermelons around Sirjan for sale there and in neighbouring areas, and the frequent mention of specialised fruit and nut cultivation in the hill country, all of which can be found mentioned in Vaziri's Jughrafiya.(1) The growth of settlements like Bam, Sirjan and Rafsinjan in the last decades of the century must have been a stimulus for the surrounding areas to shift cultivation to the fruits and vegatables they wanted. Similarly the demand for a more organised supply of dairy produce and even poultry/eggs will have had some imput on the patterns of livestock rearing in such situations.(2)

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 35-6, 39, 84-6, 128, 152, 168, 178, 185.

(2) Pastoralism will form the subject of a separate discussion.

The second level of specialised foodstuff production developed as a natural extension of tendencies we have noticed in connection with the supply of local markets to production for more distant sources of demand. In some cases geo-physical and/or climatic conditions created the possibility for the extensive cultivation of a food crop for the market. A clear example of this is the case of date production in south-eastern Kerman, especially Baluchistan, and on the edge of the Lut desert at Khabis (Shahdad). 45 loads of Kermani dates were said to have reached Tehran in 1845, and indeed earlier in the century Pottinger noted that in 1810 Bampur was able to produce 14,000 lb. dates as part of its annual revenue-farm, and Fraser in the 1820's lists dates among the commercial crops of Kerman.(1) This general position is born out by the substantial figures on the export of dates from Bandar 'Abbas recorded in the Gulf trade reports in the last third of the century and in the references to date production in Vaziri's Jughrafiya.(2) As far as the figures for Bandar 'Abbas are concerned the largest contribution may well have come from Baluchistan where date cultivation almost approached the role of monoculture in an environment where other crops were extremely hard to produce, and where the pastoral nomads combined date cultivation with pastoralism. However, within Kerman proper Vaziri estimates the date produce of Khabis,

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(1) FO 248/vol. 118/report on Tehran trade 1845 : Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde, pp. 176-7 : Fraser, Travels and Adventures, p. 354.

(2) E.g. 19,500 cwt. in 1885 (F0248/vol. 448/report on Gulf trade 1885-6) and 11,580 cwt. in 1904 (F0881/no. 8778*/ Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 128 : see also Jughrafiya pp. 90, 96-7, 125.

in the 1870's sent largely to Yazd and Khorasan, to have amounted to 2 krur, 200,000 mann yearly, and the produce of Bam to have totalled another 200,000 mann per annum, while the chief of the tribes of Rudbar was said to own 100,000 palms in that area producing some 2 krur fruit each year.(1) The Gleadowe-Newcomen mission of 1904-5 estimated the produce of Khabis at 1,110,000 lbs. coming from some 6,200 palms producing an average of 180 lbs. each (which may be a generous estimate of output, or a tribute to the Khabis cultivators since consul Sykes in the 1890's thought the average output per tree in Baluchistan was 80-100 lb.).(2) The "large trade in dates" of Bam, largely with Persian markets is also mentioned by Gleadowe-Newcomen. Thus we can identify an established and growing activity centred on date cultivation, which in the case of Baluchistan could finance import trade.(3)

An even more spectacular growth can be noted in the cultivation of nuts for export. Cultural tradition and the food-value of nuts in the diet of a pre-modern society created a basis for demand in India and various regions of Iran, which began to acquire a more international dimension. The Narmashir district was exporting almonds and walnuts in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and pistachios are listed by Fraser as among Kerman market crops.(4)

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 89-90, 96-7, 126.

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on trade of Kerman 1894-5, p. 43 : FO 881/no. 8778*/report of the Gleadowe-Newcomen Mission, p. 52.

(3) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/loc. cit. : FO 881/no. 8778*/loc. cit. p. 54.

(4) Pottinger, op. cit., p. 201 : Fraser, op. cit., p. 354.

It was in pistachio cultivation for the market that a really notable growth occurred during the century making the Rafsinjan-Sirjan area of Kerman one of the most prominent centres of production in Iran, which was and is one of the main sources of these nuts. Again Pottinger mentions the export of pistachios from Kerman to India at the start of the century but apart from this and equally general references by Fraser and Olivier we have little detailed information. However by the 1870's it appears that pistachio production had reached quite a scale. The Goldsmid mission noted the scale and quality of Sirjan pistachios in 1870-1 and Vaziri records that the Shahr-i-Babak area was producing about 104,000 mann of pistachios and almonds yearly, while another 15,300 mann went from Sirjan to Yazd, Shiraz and Bandar 'Abbas.(1) By the 1890's the exports of pistachios to India alone totalled some 25,000 mann worth 5000 toman.(2) At the turn of the century British importers were apparently acknowledging the pistachios of Kerman to be the finest in the world and indeed the trade figures for Bandar 'Abbas in the Gulf reports of the early years of the twentieth century (1901-6) show almond and pistachio exports around the 20,000 cwt. level. The commercial mission to S.E. Persia of 1904-5 notes both Sirjan and Rafsinjan as significant pistachio

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 152, 162 : E. Persia, vol. I, p. 106.

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on the trade of Kerman 1894-5, p. 50.

producing areas supplying the Iranian and Indian markets while the consul at that time records a sharp growth from a crop of 20,000 mann in 1894 to 200,000 in 1904. The export of pistachios just before World War I was about 18,000 mann from Sirjan (sent direct to the coast) and another 8,600 from Kerman.(1) Almonds, often bracketed in the statistics with pistachios, also formed a notable market crop, while the sale of Kermani walnuts in various regions of Iran and India is also noted by our local source. They came according to him from Gok, Sanduyeh and Aqta^{c}. (2) What is worth noting is the size and character of this branch of cash crop production although its monetary value was very variable.

As we have seen the variety of soils and climate within the Kerman area due in part to sharp shifts in altitude, as elsewhere in Iran allowed the production of a fair range of fruit crops. Some of these, notably oranges, pomegranates, raisins and figs, all of which can travel and keep well even without modern techniques of preservation, were produced on a sufficient scale to be available as marketable crops. Vaziri, like Abbott before him, mentions the raisins of Gok, exported to India, and the commercial mission of 1904-5 estimated output in Gok at 800,000 lbs. of which 150,000 lb. went via Bam and Bandar 'Abbas to India and 180,000 via Kerman to Yazd.(3)

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(1) F0881/no. 8778*/pp. 47, 48 : F0 248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary April 1904 : F0 248/vol. IIII/report on trade of Kerman 1913-14, tables III and XI.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 91, 112, 138.

(3) Jughrāfīyā, p. 91 : F0 881/no. 8778*/p. 53 : F0 251/vol. 42/Abbott's Notes on South Persia, p. 133.

Vaziri also tells us that there were extensive grape and pomegranate crop in the hill-country of Koshk (perhaps 300,000 mann) and that the Ravar area might send 100,000 mann figs to Yazd, and that the oranges of Khabis went to Yazd and Qain as well as to the provincial capital.(1) The proverbial references to Khabis citrus and Anar pomegranates may not be evidence of either the quality or quantity of output but do suggest that they were known outside the areas where they were produced. Finally it is worth referring to the export of such rural products as asafoetida and zireh seed (variously described as caraway or cumin), the latter of which is frequently referred to in Persian and British sources, as part of the pattern of rural commodity production in Kerman. Consul Preece visiting Kerman in 1892-3 estimated the export of zireh to Bombay at about 2000 mann, while the consular trade report of 1913-14 suggests exports of at least 1300 mann.(2) One might also mention the survival of the traditional specialised production of rose-water from cultivated rose-petals for export to other regions of Iran and to India. Originally this had partnered a more complex process of production of essence of roses but although Ella Sykes noted the disappearance of this latter activity by the 1890's, the export figures of Bandar 'Abbas record a steady if unspectacular export of rosewater to India worth on average £2,000 between 1892 and 1898, and of an amount of rosebuds averaging about 2,700 cwt. between 1897 and 1906, while it was still of course said to be 'widely used' in Iran itself.(3)

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 128-9, 188, 89-90.

(2) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's journey to Yazd and Kerman p. 391 : FO 248/vol. IIII/report on the trade of Kerman 1913-14, tables III, XI.

(3) E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side-saddle, pp. 124-5 : The Gulf trade figures are summarised in Table III : P. Sykes, 10,000 Miles in Persia, p. 46.

These references may seem uneven and sketchy, but it is my contention that this reflects as much about those who recorded the information as about the actual range and scale of agricultural production. British officials were only fitfully interested in areas of economic activity which were not of direct importance to the British, and our Persian source's approach to his gazeteer description did not involve attempting a full economic survey. What I think can be derived from the available material is some sense both of the extent and diversity of agricultural activity within the Kerman area, the different roles of subsistence and market production and the possible links between them. The impression of variety could have been increased by reference to the cultivation of other specialised crops like tobacco and opium for local market consumers and also the use of local supplies of cotton and silk in the local textile industries.(1) In trying to portray the variety, complexity and importance of these activities I am not merely trying to spread a colourful patchwork of empirical detail before the observer (although it is worth remembering that there is some demonstrative proof in the very existence of such a patchwork that even limited sources yield interesting information), but to establish some basis for an analytic discussion.

It seems from the evidence at our disposal that we can legitimately identify certain interesting and important <u>themes</u> which will be developed in various dimensions of our examination of the socio-economic life of the Kerman region. The ongoing significance of the market sector in Kermani agriculture, and the appearance of new

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(1) <u>Jughrāfīyā</u>, pp. 97, 162, 171, 176, 178, 189.

stimuli for the extension and intensification of activity in this sector during the latter part of the nineteenth century, has implications in many directions. We shall be looking at the effects of attractive markets for certain crops on the financing and technology of agriculture. We should also note its rivalry with subsistence cultivation which was widely noted in the case of opium elsewhere in Iran during the 1870's and 1880's, but is specifically commented on in the case of south-west Kerman.(1) All these factors may also be considered in connection with the landlord/merchant/cultivator relationships which structured rural production in the area and we shall ask how the emergence and growth of new activities influenced or was influenced by them. However these issues cannot be dealt with in complete separation from a discussion of the patterns of subsistence, which, as I hope has been made clear, were a basic function of agriculture. It is on the production of subsistence goods - grains, animal products etc. - that the shape of rural life, whether approached from the point of view of the rural community/or of landlord-peasant relations had rested, although this is not to deny that the complex interrelations of subsistence and market needs also help to define that shape. Indeed part of the reality of life and its patterns in the rural sector lies in the inextricable relationship of these needs and its changing character. When we turn to looking at how the various crops etc. were produced and the way in which surpluses were appropriated we shall need to bear these relations and patterns in mind.

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(1) E. Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 184.

Section (b) : agrarian production - methods and relationships

No survey of the rural sector as it functioned in nineteenth century Kerman would be comprehensible without a discussion of the structure of agrarian activity and society. One obvious contribution which such a discussion can make is simply to give some sort of reality to our historical understanding of rural life and its development in Kerman at this period. However it can also have a further significance if we realise that we can only fully appreciate the way in which rural change would actually occur if we put it into the context of the methods of production and the divisions of labour and social relations involved. We shall therefore attempt to examine the processes and technology of cultivation and the structure of the rural communities which applied them in order to produce the means of existence for themselves and those others with claims on the rural output. As with other aspects of rural life, much of our picture will of necessity be impressionistic granted the limitations of the available source material to which we have had occasion to refer. However it seems worth at least trying to examine such evidence as <u>is</u> available in order to identify illustrative or important points which may contribute to the overall view of the rural sector.

Perhaps one of the focal themes to consider in the whole discussion of rural production is the use of human labour power, which was and is the means whereby natural resources are transformed into the necessities of human life. Even a cursory acquaintance with the

situation of agriculture in nineteenth century Iran will reveal that the prevalent form of rural labour was one which could rely little on sophisticated technology (tools, fertilisers, scientific technique) and which was therefore rooted in human skills and adaptations of the environment. I have put this point in this way rather than merely adverting to the lack of progressive technology as such, in order both to make clear the real content of a non-scientific pattern of rural production, too often dismissed without any analysis as "backward", and also to draw attention to the social and human dimension which is crucial to the physical processes of such production. Lists of processes and practices involved in cultivation mean little without reference to the human organisation, relationships and skills which were needed to put them into effect, and the exclusion of such references would lead to a technicist analysis of little historical depth. Thus, while we shall pay due attention to the methods used by cultivators in Kerman, we shall also try to relate them to their social environment, the rural community, which produced them and for whose continued existence they were so vital.

Let us however begin by considering the means of production at the disposal of the cultivator in nineteenth century Kerman, and the methods by which cultivation was carried on. The importance of the human skills to which we have already referred becomes very clear in this context where restrictions on raw materials and technical progress naturally put great emphasis on the application of the implements

available to the needs of production. Kerman was an area where local iron supplies were very restricted and access to imports less good than in areas closer to major trade routes. Thus utilisation of iron was very much focussed on re-processing scrap and re-using existing metal. As late as 1950 an observer in the Kerman area noted that the bulk of iron used in the villages of the Kerman basin - which would have had easier access to imported supplies than remoter settlements - was in fact re-furbished material from scrap or worn iron articles rather than newly produced/imported metal.(1) As far as agriculture is concerned, our observer of 1950 looking at 'traditional' methods and implements, noted the use of metal for the share of nail-ploughs (the basic form of plough in the area) for reaping sickles, on the threshing sledges and for the knives or pruning tools employed in fruit cultivation. One nineteenth century writer noted the survival of all-wooden ploughs, though not connecting that particularly with Kerman, a survival which may have been conditioned by localised variations in the availability of iron or of blacksmiths to work it.(2) In other respects Wilson's brief discussion confirms the more specific survey of Beckett 60 years later. The absence of a wider use of metal even at the later date is some evidence of the effects of short supply. On the other hand such metal as was used was obviously very important,

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(1) P. Beckett, "Tools and Crafts in Central Persia", Man, (1957), p. 147.

(2) Beckett, art. cit. : S. Wilson, Persian Life and Customs, pp. 270-2.

giving a significant role to the working of metal for agricultural purposes and the management or conservation of the limited resources.

Timber, the other important material for agricultural implements, also required human management of available resources which were restricted. Climatic and soil conditions in Kerman kept natural tree cover at a limited level, notably in mountain areas or other places with access to year round water supplies (e.g. the Halirud area of Jiroft or the streams round Bampur). These supplies had been further reduced by the demand for fuel, and perhaps by intensive grazing. In consequence there was a need for a conscious approach to timber production, manifest in the presence of tree plantations mostly poplar and chenar (oriental plane) in many rural settlements, providing the raw materials for construction work and for agricultural tools. Similarly the development of skilled jointing noted by Wulff enabled the smallest pieces of wood to be fully used.(1) These included the frame or structure of ploughs and threshers, the handles of sickles, knives and spades which last played a particularly important role in tillage in Kerman according to Wulff.(2) The winnowing forks used to separate grain and chaff were all made of wood. We also know of wooden "mallets" used for breaking up clods of soil whether as a substitute or as a supplement to breaking by means of ploughing.(3)

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(1) H. Wulff, The Traditional Crafts of Persia, p. 85.

(2) ibid., p. 260.

(3) Stack, Six Months in Persia, p. 218 : FO 248/vol. 1030/ Consul Haig (Kerman, 14 September 1911).

Obviously all these tools/implements were crucial to the maintenance of basic cultivation, and to produce and maintain them must have been an ongoing and serious commitment for members of the rural community. In consequence it would be important both to maintain supplies of timber for these essential implements and also to have available the skills needed to fashion timber to agricultural purposes.

It may be useful at this point to comment on the more general historical and social significance of our observations on the equipment available to Kermani cultivators. We may note first that to maintain basic equipment they needed to develop and use local resources, in conditions of relative difficulty, or else make very careful use of materials from outside their localities. The use of iron was confined to the absolute basic requirement, that is the snare of the plough and breaking part of the thresher rather than being used for the entire structure. The limited use of nails may also reflect a similar care to conserve limited resources. However while the use of scarce metal could be limited, and was, it could not be eliminated, thus creating a significant link between rural producers and a wider world to which we shall return when we come to make an overall survey of such links. On the other hand the existence of a small range of tools and implements made on the most economical basis possible was both a symptom and a stimulus to localised self-suffiency, which was one keynote of rural life in our period, reinforced as we have seen by the patterns of subsistence cultivation. Thus the local growing of timber for tools

would be paralleled by the use of local goats hair and skin for ropes, bags and sacks.(1) The community would find itself not only conserving and developing what local resources it could, but also maintaining contact with the craft skills which would allow the use of such resources in local rural production.

At such a low level of resources and skills it is not surprising that the tools produced were basic and simple in the view of most observers, being described by one nineteenth century observer with particular reference to qanat building as being "of the most primitive kind".(2) However one may consider against this tendency, the capacity, which such difficult conditions encouraged, to adapt even limited materials and skills to the best possible use. Wulff in his survey of Persian spades notes how the basic format was adapted to different soil conditions and different uses.(3) The short survey of wheat cultivation sent by the consul in Kerman to the British ambassador in 1911 it seems that the use of plough, spade and mallet were modified according to specific local conditions, an observation which seems to confirm the differing reports of Beckett, English and Wulff.(4) Thus the whole elaborate business of qanat building as Crow observed depended on the ingenious use of relatively simple implements (rope,

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(1) F. E. Crow, "English Enterprise in Persia", Nineteenth Century, vol. 41 (January-June 1897), pp. 130-1.

(2) F. E. Crow, loc. cit. : A. K. S. Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia, p. 359.

(3) Wulff, Traditional Crafts, p. 261-2.

(4) FO 248/vol. 1030/loc. cit. : Wulff, loc. cit. : Beckett, "Agriculture in Central Persia", Tropical Agriculture (1957), p. 23 : English, City and Village, p. 121.

spades, pickaxe) just as Beckett comments on the ability of the peasantry to operate effectively in the difficult circumstances created by limited technical resources and adverse environmental conditions of cultivation in Kerman.(1) At the level of coping with such circumstances one can in a sense argue for a degree of sophistication and complexity in the way in which human and social adaptation took place.

With a small range of relatively simple implements obviously the element of human labour took on a particular significance, in the sense that the various processes of cultivation were of necessity labour-intensive. Thus Wulff observed that with the traditional methods of threshing two boys and a threshing-sledge with four oxen would take 100 hours to thresh the same amount as more modern methods would thresh in 20 hours.(2) The preparation of soil for summer crops (vegetables, melons and pulses) took more labour (and capital) per acre than winter grains according to English's observations in the early sixties.(3) Since the reasons he advances for this conclusion - the need for more irrigation and careful soil preparation-would have applied equally in Qajar times we may note this point for our historical purposes. Above all the development and maintenance of water supply, which, as all observers of Kermani agriculture agree, was a determinant of potential land use - more powerful than other factors, required

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(1) Crow, art. cit., p. 130-1 : Beckett, art. cit., p. 27.

(2) Wulff, Traditional Crafts, p. 275.

(3) English, City and Village, p. 122.

substantial inputs of labour to plan, construct and repair qanats (and wells where it was possible to do that). As we have noted, the tools and technology involved were simple, but the need for skilled labour and heavy digging was considerable. This helps account for the comparatively good wages which, judging from data in the 1890's, qanat workers could command in comparison with other labourers.(1) Qanat construction was also one of the areas of rural work where co-ordinated labour was necessary, involving "teams" of four to seven men, rather than merely large unco-ordinated groups of labourers.(2)

Certain other crucial processes, needing completion within a short time, such as harvesting and winnowing grain, fertilising date palms (done as Sykes, Gleadowe-Newcomen commented by hand), or gathering fruit would also demand a large quantity of labour if not a high degree of organisation. English records the movement of seasonal wage labourers from Narmashir to the Kerman basin to help with harvesting and both Lambton and English comment on the need of many cultivators to supplement an inadequate income by hiring themselves out as labourers.(3) These observations relate to the middle decades of this century and we cannot automatically project them into the past. Granted however that the levels of productivity on the land would not have been higher previously and that the demands of family subsistence

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(1) Crow, art. cit., p. 30-1 estimates the daily wages of qanat workers at $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 qiran at a time when the rate for ordinary labourers was generally 1 qiran (see e.g. A. and P for 1890 / vol. LXXVI / report on trade of Khorasan, p 403 on; A+P for 1896 / vol. LXXXVIII / report on trade of Isfahan and Yazd, p. 28.)

(2) English, City and Village, p. 179, n. 18. Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 367-8, English, op. cit., p. 82.

(3)

would have been similar in physical quantity we may suppose that at least some cultivators would have resorted to working as hired labourers in order to meet their subsistence needs, pay off debts, or deal with crises in their income. Certainly Sykes' survey of two villages in Khorasan at the start of this century indicates the presence of wage labour, and it would seem that in 1880 Farmangarma as governor of Kerman was hiring labour to work on khaliseh gardens in Krūk (in Narmashir).(1)

It is already becoming clear that the existence of labour intensive methods, and the consequent importance of labour power, was shaped both by the law technology of cultivation and also by other factors. One of the most notable of these in Kerman was the special predominance of man-made water supply. The low levels of rainfall and surface water meant that even in areas where observers like Vaziri note the presence of springs or streams they also mention qanats and wells indicating that man-made supplies were needed to supplement natural resources.(2) In the absence of the technology that would allow for e.g. deep-well drilling, the methods that were developed to construct irrigation systems were rooted in human skill (the powers of observation and the artisan engineering craft of muqannis who employed "primitive" tools and their abilities to construct effective means of tapping underground aquifers and transporting the water at the

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(1) P. Sykes Report on the Agriculture of Khorasan, pp. 29, 31
Safar-nāmeh, p. 9.

(2) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 89, 119, 177, 178.

right speed and condition to irrigate cultivated land) and in heavy physical labour involved in the actual creation of the tunnels and channels with spades and perhaps hand pickaxes.(1) However the labour intensive technology was not confined to the original construction work involved in irrigation. Qanats and channels need maintenance and repair, and water has to be distributed on a rotating basis, and so involves further digging to open and close water channels. Thus the special situation arising from the need for artificial water supply created a particular pattern of labour and of skills within the rural community, requiring for example a co-ordinated group of workers under the direction of a skilled muqanni.

Labour intensive methods in irrigation were only the most clear-cut example of the way in which the needs of cultivation structured the methods used. Non-mechanised grain cultivation with the sowing of seed broadcast by hand, the need to trench fields for irrigation and the manual methods of reaping and winnowing as we have seen demanded a large amount of labour-power in the absence of productive implements.(2) The particular importance of vegetable and fruit cultivation both for local subsistence and for the markets in

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(1) Full accounts of qanat construction are available in Colonel E. Noel "Qanats", Royal Central Asian Journal, 1944, pp. 191-202; P. Beckett "Qanats around Kerman", Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, (1953), pp. 47-58 : English, City and Village, pp. 135-40.

(2) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 359-78 gives a vivid survey of conditions in the 1940's. See also Wilson, Persian Life and Customs, pp. 270-1.

the region and elsewhere gave emphasis to the skilled and laborious attention which such cultivation required, whether this was pruning, fertilising date palms, or simply the need for large amounts of labour to gather citrus, pomegranates or grapes all of which, as we know, figured as export crops in Kerman. The comments of the Gleadowe-Newcomen mission on the particular demands of henna cultivation, in which the Kerman region played a dominant role, for extensive manuring and irrigation, are another illustration of the way in which a growing export crop could re-inforce labour-intensive cultivation, just as the expansion of pistachio cultivation for world markets in Rafsinjan intensified the need for labour to pick the nuts, spread and turn them for drying and salt and pack them for transport.(1) Cotton and henna were also export crops expanding in our period which required careful soil preparation and hand picking, while opium, another new commercial crop in our period, also required careful cultivation of poppies and labour intensive collection of the raw opium, as described by nineteenth century observers.(2) Thus although the growth of commercial cultivation in this period can be seen as "modern" in many of its economic implications, it also served to re-inforce a traditional reliance on labour-intensive, low-technology methods.

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(1) FO 881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 54 : the processes involved in pistachio picking and preparation for export were still highly labour intensive when observed in 1973.

(2) Methods of cotton cultivation are described in Wilson, Persian Life and Customs, p. 272 and madder cultivation, FO 60/vol. 165/Abbotts notes, pp. 78-9. Opium cultivation is described in Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 184. See also E. Sykes Persia and its People, pp. 213-4 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1894-5, p. 48.

(Such a paradox was by no means unique to Kerman or Iran. The emergence in the nineteenth century and after of areas devoted to the production of raw materials for advanced industrial societies was by no means incompatible with apparently "archaic" methods of production such as slave labour in North America, or labour-service agreements in Kenya.) How far the persistence of labour-intensive methods affected the overall social situation in Iran, for instance as a brake on urbanisation, is an interesting question, although probably not one that can be answered within the scope of the current study.

We can thus see how the limited technology and other demands of cultivation reinforced the dominance of particular types of labour. What were the implications of this situation for rural life and rural society? Perhaps they can be best summarised as creating an ongoing tension between individual/family needs and those of the rural community. At one level the simplicity and individuality of the tools and processes of cultivation allowed a considerable amount of autonomy to each cultivator; many tasks of cultivation could be accomplished by single individuals working alone. Frequent estimations of population, by Persians and foreigners, who presumably used Persian informants, in terms of <u>households</u> (khānehvār) suggests that the family unit was regarded as at least one basic conceptual <u>modus operandi</u> in rural life, rather than the rural community as a whole. Thus there was a degree of atomisation in the community which cannot be ignored. However there are also counter-tendencies which can be identified. Certain dimensions of labour intensive

cultivation required collective and even co-operative action. Beckett's survey of cultivation practices in the Kerman basin in 1950 suggests that teams (juft) of cultivators with a leader and draught team, one allocated to each cultivable unit (defined by the area of soil irrigated by a particular source of water) were the basis of the grain cultivation which was the main prop of rural existence.(1) On the other hand "garden" cultivation, i.e. fruit and vegetables, was done by the hiring of individuals for cash or kind. Beckett's findings help explain the undeveloped references in English's work on the same area a decade later to "communal" grain fields.(2) These discussions appear to relate to cultivation practices that were well-established at the time they were observed and so they may be relevant to the period with which we are concerned even if we cannot regard such evidence as definitive. We have already expanded upon the need for collective labour in the maintenance of an adequate water supply.

It is worth noting that in the case of both irrigation and cultivation these collective relationships were defined not merely by the internal relations of one cultivator to another, but also by the external relations of groups of cultivators to outside authority. The role of the wealthy landlord/official in financing irrigation was crucial since they had the resources for this task. Thus the existence of qanat teams were structured by the fact of their employ-

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(1) Beckett "Agriculture in Central Persia", Tropical Agriculture, (1957), pp. 17-18.

(2) English, City and Village, pp. 82, 172-3 (note 23).

ment by such persons not merely by a communal need for water.(1) Similarly the juft system was not merely a solution to the problem of agrarian labour but a mechanism for the division of the product between cultivator and others with claims upon it, in that it was a unit of reckoning for dues and rights, and in some cases at least we can observe that the division of crops among members of the juft came only after landlord/officials and others with claims had taken their share.(2) The relation of cultivation teams to authority is born out by Beckett's finding that it was the landlord or his deputy who decided what should be grown in any given year.(3) The most clear expression of the link between communal rural activity as such and outside forces was the collective responsibility of the community for the payment of rents and dues whether to the government or those to whom revenue had been assigned. Thus estimates of revenue whether those of Abbott in 1850, or Consul Preece in 1892/3, as of Farmanfarma in 1880 all attribute given sums to a given rural unit as a whole, or to units grouped in a district.(4) The group relationship of cultivators to officials or property-owners was further

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(1) See below pp. 151-3

(2) Beckett loc. cit. : Lambton Landlord and Peasant, p. 372 mentions this as happening in Bampur in the 1940's. More generally it was the custom for landlords to take their share first.

(3) Beckett, loc. cit.

(4) FO 251/vol. 42/Abbott's notes on S. Persia, passim : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, pp. 340-2, 353-6; Safar-nāmeh.

expressed in the negative form of collective resistance to their encroachments, as in flight from Rudbar noted by Farmanfarma, or appeals to a powerful official as noted by Floyer.(1)

So far we have considered the processes of rural production in the context of a rather vague concept of "the rural community". It would seem useful to make this concept rather more precise by some descriptive analysis of its component elements, rooted in the different needs of the community and the division of labour which served those needs. We ought first to consider how useful it is to retain an abstract notion of an ideal-type "rural community" when a consideration of the available evidence might suggest a rather more complex reality. True cultivation might be put forward as a common denominator linking a whole range of settlements, from "hamlets" like Ba Anderun with only 40 families to places like Tajabad in south west Kerman considered by Consul Sykes to be almost a town with its 2,000 inhabitants.(2) However the very fact that cultivation could be a focal activity in such diverse conditions should encourage us to persue the analysis further. What seems to emerge from further examination is that we can see a whole spectrum of different sizes and complexities of settlement, involving a varying range of activities, goods and services at each point on the spectrum. Thus a settlement like Pariz at the turn of the twentieth century might have no settled shopkeepers (relying

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, p. 56 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 349.

(2) Safar-nāmeh, p. 10 : P. Sykes 10,000 Miles in Persia, p. 79 : Jughrāfīyā, p. 181.

on travelling traders) but possess members of the religious-literati class.(1) Settlements like those of Khinaman might possess only cultivators and pastoralists, while those like Rayin supported craftsmen producing metal and glassware as well.(2) Some settlements supported only small numbers living in promitive conditions while some, equally rural, could serve as the residence of local notables and officials, as was the case with Kahnuj in Rudbar or Mashiz in Bardsir.(3) Some were in proximity to developed urban settlements, as with the villages of the basin around Kerman city, the settlements of the Rafsinjan and Sirjan "oases" (so called by Gleadowe-Newcomen and Lovett) or those focussed on Bam in the south-east of the region, while others were more remote and isolated, or as in the case of Jiroft not related to an urban centre.(4)

These observations are not made simply to cloud the question of the rural community with empirical relativism but to allow some discussion of what might be involved in that concept. Two lines of argument seem worth consideration in this connection. Firstly, we are obviously dealing with a complex phenomenon in which a common preoccupation with agriculture may legitimately be argued as a defining characteristic, but where many other features need to be considered,

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(1) FO 248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary, April 1904 : There was an "akhund" there in the early 1880's as encountered by Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 186-7.

(2) Jughrafiya, p. 176, (Khinaman) On Rayin see E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side Saddle, p. 163 and Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 298-301.

(3) Safar-nameh, p. 59 (Kahnuj) : Jughrafiya, p. 133 (Mashiz).

(4) Vaziri comments on the absence of urban centres in Jiroft in Jughrafiya, p. 116.

in particular the variety of other activities, goods, and services which were offered. Granted that different settlements had different patterns and ranges of activity we obviously cannot regard "the rural community" as some undifferentiated entity, the polar opposite of an equally simplistically conceived "urban community". We are dealing with a spectrum of specialisation/diversification of labour rather than with dichotomous worlds. Secondly, and closely connected to this line of analysis, we need to consider rural settlements not as isolated atoms in a void but as linked points on the networks created by the interplay of needs and connections which were the logical consequence of the existence of a hierarchy or spectrum such as we have noted. We shall consider the structure and functioning of such networks in a subsequent section devoted to urban and rural relationships. What we need to note here is that members of rural settlements lived in situations which on the one hand demanded a considerable degree of self-suffiency, but on the other hand committed them to a whole range of links both within the settlement and also outside it. The need to exchange raw materials or manufactures, the role of landlord control over settlements of which they were not residents, and of petty trade between peasants, herdsmen and artisans, not to mention the demands of litigation or religion, all helped to create links between larger more complex communities and those that were less so.

Let us now look at the various divisions of labour in different rural settlements. The need for self-sufficiency and consequent prevalence of subsistence agriculture which we have seen at the base of

all cultivation resulted in the common involvement of many different types of settlement in agriculture itself. One might indeed argue that it is the decline of this involvement which marks off the urban part of our spectrum of settlement. Certainly such comments as we find in Vaziri's survey of the districts in Kerman, or in the observations of other visitors to the region would seem to indicate the omnipresence of persons variously described as "cultivators" or "peasants", or by Persians as felāh, zār^{c}a, burzgar, or the local term z^{c}aīm (recorded by Farmanfarma in Bampur, and by Vaziri in connection with Rafsinjan where he notes its use in Kerman as a synonym for burzgar).(1) There is also the generic term ra^{c}iyat/r^{c}āiyā referring to a subject populace but often in practice to cultivators (who in any case were the majority of that group). Farmanfarma in describing his own activities as perambulating governor uses this term often with some references to zār^{c}īn (cultivators), while Vaziri uses felah most often, and zār^{c}a fairly frequently when describing the prevalent occupations of various districts. The fact that in the 18 or so occasions when he offers such descriptions there are only two references to burzgar might possibly suggest that this term could have applied to peasant proprietors rather than sharecroppers, while felāh and zār^{c}a served to denote the latter, but this would be conjectural especially since while Vaziri regarded za^{c}īm as a synonym for burzgar, Farmanfarma thinks it a regional variant of zār^{c}īn. A more tenable conclusion would be that, with our authors at least, strict definitions were not preserved.

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, p. 31 : Jughrāfīyà, p. 172.

Can we then go on to argue that there was no differentiation among cultivators either in terms of occupational specialisation, or of class stratification? In a situation where the demands of subsistence cultivation were primary and where the labour involved was to a large degree intensive (digging, reaping) rather than specialised, the emergence of a sharp division of labour would be confined to very particular needs (e.g. irrigation producing muqannis). However the presence of team cultivation under a leader, who in some circumstances could pass on the position in the family as noted by Beckett,(1) could perhaps lead to some degree of hierarchy in status and rewards (crop-shares) within the community. English's recent survey (based on data from 1956-61) in an area close to the most significant urban centre of the province, the provincial capital, which records percentages of different occupation is of little general use since it is distorted by the special factors of date and location just referred to.(2) It does give us some idea of different types of settlement with a greater or lesser proportion of non-cultivating residents but does not suggest any divisions within the category he calls "agriculturalist". The predominance of sharecropping, and the shifting of cultivators round land in each settlement with drawing of lots each year for the unit to be worked by each juft(3) ensures that there is relatively little opportunity for particular individuals to gain

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(1) Beckett "Agriculture in Central Persia", Tropical Agriculture (1957), p. 18.

(2) English, City and Village, pp. 79-86.

(3) Beckett, loc. cit.

advantage in the subsistence grain sector of cultivation. Garden cultivation with its greater use of one-to-one arrangements, and possibility for individual enterprise might perhaps offer rather greater chances for the enterprising to get ahead, especially where a local market for garden produce existed. However as late as the 1940's it was observed that gardens in many areas of Kerman (Bam/ Narmashir, Jiroft, Rudbar, Baft, Sarduyeh, Zarand and Shahdad (formerly Khabis)) were owned by landlords, so control of the surplus was theirs.(1) In consequence the openings for accumulation by cultivators in their own right was limited, and the references to extensive quantities of garden produce leaving the localities where they were produced for quite distant markets suggest that commercial opportunities were taken up by those with a wider sphere of operations than the individual peasant.(2)

If the forces encouraging specialisation or stratification within rural communities were limited, though, as we shall see shortly, quite relevant, there was a division of labour, which although primary is rarely discussed, that which existed within the family. Observers of cultivation in nineteenth century Iran, though not commenting on the state of affairs in Kerman specifically, seem to agree that women did not participate in the central processes of field cultivation.

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(1) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 326.

(2) Jughrāfiyā, p. 91 (on the peaches of Gok) p. 152 (on Sirjan Melons) p. 178 (on dried "qaisi" apricots from Zarand).

Stack who travelled in Kerman in 1881 saw only men coming in from the fields at Abbasabad in Sirjan while J. Reed writing in the late 1880's mentions this as evidence that the peasant family was adequately supported without women undertaking such work, which may be an incorrect deduction, but was based on actual observation.(1) However it may be possible to argue that there was a correlation between income levels and female labour in the fields since English observed that in the Kerman basin in recent times women of the "poorest households" did work in the fields sowing, weeding, or reaping (though he significantly omits digging or ploughing).(2) We should therefore be careful of any rigid view of the situation. Wilson asserts that threshing was the only operation in the cultivation cycle which he had seen done by a woman (with a baby in her arms) and adds that their role in the domestic economy was in processing rural produce, whether using raw dairy products to make mast, cheese, or dried curds (kashk), spinning and weaving wool and/or cotton, or milling grain for flour and baking bread. / Ella Sykes echoes this description of women's activities.(3) These are obviously tasks central to the maintenance of the cultivator's existence, but equally obviously differentiated clearly from the work of cultivation which we have been discussing.

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(1) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 178 : J. Reed, "The Persia of the Shah" Nineteenth Century, vol. 26 (July 1881) p. 161.

(2) English, City and Village, p. 82.

(3) S. Wilson, Persian Life and Customs, pp. 270, 272 : E. Sykes, Persia and its People, p. 218.

To a considerable degree they were privatised processes in comparison with the public allotment of land to a juft or digging, reaping and threshing which were done openly in the community. English observes that in the Kerman basin milling grain was done by hand in the homes of cultivators, not at some public/commercial mill, although he also mentions the existence of mills in larger settlements as a reason for peasants from small settlements to visit them.(1) Such mills did exist in the nineteenth century, as Pottinger observed in Narmashir, Stack in the Kuhbenan area, and Sykes at Do-Sari and the profession of miller is mentioned in Vaziri's survey.(2) Whether or not they were used only by landlords, as English claimed in the Kerman basin does not emerge from our sources, but again we need to be careful not to reach rigid conclusions. Certainly milling was at least partially focussed in the home, just as with bread-making the existence of bakers shops/ovens in some settlements did not bely the role of domestic baking. Traditional Persian breads can be made without ovens as described in Wulff's survey of craft processes, which also discusses the types of hand quern or grinding stones in use in Iran .(3) Thus in settlements or households not prosperous enough to use mills or bakers, domestic labour was the viable solution. Similar arguments would

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(1) English, City and Village, pp. 124, 83 : Beckett in "Agriculture in Central Persia", p. 17 also mentions mills.

(2) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 200 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 23 : Sykes 10,000 Miles, p. 142.

(3) H. Wulff, Traditional Crafts of Persia, p. 291-2.

apply to spinning and weaving, although a loom unlike the spinning wheel used in Persia could be a sizeable piece of equipment. Other areas of labour largely performed by women would be those connected with clothing, cooking and childcare, although in an environment without prolonged primary education, where childhood was in various respects a briefer less re-ified stage of life the demands of that last occupation may not have been quite what we envisage from our own times and culture. They seem worth mentioning despite the absence of much discussion in our sources (apart from disapproving comments by Victorian Britons on the lack of clothing on Iranian children)[1] because they are part of a range of occupations which although not always treated as such, being largely concealed within the home, engaged considerable time and effort and made an irreplaceable contribution to the continued existence of the community.

Apart from this crucial domestic role the work of women in textile production was a feature of the village economy in its larger dimension. The production of textiles, notably karbas, a coarse cotton fabric, and of carpets was one way of channelling surpluses into a profitable local trade. Thus Vaziri notes the reputation of the karbas woven by the women of the Rafsinjan area and of Ravar, and the production of karbas for trade in Zarand district, and also in Bam.[2] This type of cloth was one which was well adapted to simple

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(1) S. Wilson, Persian Life and Customs, p. 167 : E. Sykes, Persia and its People, p. 218.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 171, 178, 189, 97.

processes and domestic production as compared to the specialised skilled textile processes e.g. of shāl production in Kerman city (or for that matter the velvets of Kashan or the silks of Yazd). Alongside domestic textile production there was also carpet weaving, also carried on in peasant homes. Some of this came to be linked to the specialised export sector of carpet production, but it is clear that there was also a whole range of less fine carpet production carried on on the basis of individual enterprise. This was observed by Abbott in 1850 and by Sykes and other later in the century.(1) The role of women in the production of village carpets is also frequently mentioned, and again we may note the differentiation between this level of domestic production for domestic or local consumption and the work-shop-based production of higher-quality carpets which grew from its original base under the stimulus of foreign demand.(2) In the former women played a part, whereas it is men and boy - children who figure predominantly in the latter type of production. The putting out/ contract system was an intermediary between the two involving village producers (both men and women) but imposing outside commercial constraints in a manner far more explicit than in the established pattern of village production.

In closing our brief survey of the sexual division of labour which has moved rather far from the processes of cultivation, we should perhaps consider how the role of women in production was

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(1) FO 251/vol. 42/Abbott's notes p. 130 : A and P for 1894/ vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, pp. 347-8.

(2) E. Sykes, Through Persia on a side-saddle, p. 155-6; the emergence of foreign demand will be discussed below pp. 211-218, 345-347

reflected in their place in village life. Evidence here is extremely limited a fact which stems partly from cultural traditions that separated women from the awareness of our (mostly male) sources. The needs of agrarian life and interplay of its different activities no doubt limited the degree of outright seclusion which it was possible or desirable to practice in comparison with the patterns of urban existence. The integral place of women's work in the life of household and settlement was perhaps clearer than in an urban situation. However this does not seem to have led to any notable public participation by women in the activities of the community. They may occasionally have acted as a pressure group as for example when there was need to protest about interference and unlawful taxation, but the passing reference to this in British consular archives creates no structural context for such an intervention making it hard to analyse its significance.[1] It would seem that whatever the significance of women's labour in the rural community their influence and power within it did not emerge in any direct form or specific way.

If cultivation and domestic labour were focal in any rural community in Kerman, as with many other regions of the Iranian plateau, pastoralism was a widespread element in the life of rural settlements. I have in fact considered the role of animal husbandry sufficiently important to merit separate treatment in a supplement analysing the overall significance of the pastoral sector in the Kermani economy and

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(1) FO 248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for July 1904.

society. However it is useful to note here some of its implications for the rural community. At the simplest level the omnipresence of pastoralism among settled and semi-settled populations in Kerman meant that members of these communities were involved in pastoral activity. Thus references in Vaziri's survey to the predominant occupations in various parts of Kerman to galehdārs and gusfandārs are almost as frequent as mention of cultivators.(1) The climatic and geographic limitations on crop husbandry in Kerman, and the environmental opportunities for a symbiotic combination of pastoral and arable activity in an area where goat and sheep rearing was often the optimal use of hostile terrain obviously reinforced the situation. Goat and sheep flocks provided materials of primary importance for subsistence in the form of wool/hair for clothes and textiles and the dairy produce which was a vital source of protein in the low meat diet of the peasantry.(2) Thus we can argue that pastoralism and those engaged in pastoralism were an integral part of the rural scene. In modern times English and Beckett note that in the Kerman basin landlord or absentee ownership of flocks was prevalent, but there is no clear data that would allow us to project their observations in time or space.(3) Consular references to the robbery of flocks suggest that

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 34, 88, 131, 136, 165, 171, 176, 178, 183, 185, 186.

(2) Comments on the low consumption of meat products, and the wide use of dairy foods and their many varieties can be found in J. Reed, "The Persia of the Shah", Nineteenth Century, vol. 26 (July 1881), p. 161 : E. Sykes, Persia and its People, p. 210 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp.

(3) Beckett, "Agriculture in Persia", p. 19 : English, City and Village, pp. 132-3.

in many cases they belonged to the community.(1) The fact that Vaziri does refer to pastoral occupations as such suggests that within the rural community there were those who engaged in pastoralism on a quasi full-time basis, while the existence of evidence from the 1940's on herding contracts and dues shows their structural involvement in rural society.(2)

So far we have considered the rural community and its division of labour primarily in terms of food production and processing. However in some cases rural settlements also supported a range of other activities. The needs for tools, clothes and services were an important dimension of rural life. Such needs could be satisfied at various levels. One possibility was through domestic labour, cultivators families producing for their own needs, e.g. by making their own textiles, and perhaps some implements, and most probably doing their own construction work. However even cultivators could well need goods which were not possible to produce in such a way. Metal-working needed resources not at the disposal of a peasant family (raw materials, forges, skills) and the same would apply to ceramics and perhaps leatherwork. As we have seen self-sufficiency was a dominant trend in the rural sector but such self-sufficiency could not be total when certain vital resources like salt or metal were not necessarily available locally, and others like sugar, tea and

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(1) FO 248/vol. 968/Kerman consular diary for 25 November-2 December 1909, FO 248/vol. 998/diary for 4-10 November 1910, and FO 248/vol. 1030/diary for 19-26 October 1911 all attach flocks to places rather than persons.

(2) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 351, 353-4.

tobacco might not be indispensible but in the nineteenth century were widely used and dependent on imports.(1) The use of such products implied the presence of traders whether they were the itinerant pedlars whom Sykes noted as the sole source of trade in Pariz in 1904 the traders who came to Kahnu , or the pilehvarān who sent the tobacco of Gōk to Baluchistan.(2) The hammams and caravanserais which we also know existed in some rural settlements would require staff to run them. Examples could be multiplied but the general point that a range of activities other than cultivation were known in cultivating settlements is clear.(3)

However we need to pursue our enquiry somewhat further in order to establish how and when these activities existed. Only when the immediate needs of subsistence were passed could there be the kind of surplus which could sustain specialised forms of craft production. This in turn implied a certain size of community as being a necessary if not sufficient factor in this context, especially in view of the fact that cultivation itself was distinctly labour-intensive. Thus we can draw a certain analytic connection between the observations of settled craft and trading activity in a particular community and the relative population figures available. In Kerman settlements like Rayin which as observers in the 1870's and 1890's noted, sustained a range of manufacturing activities also had a population numbered in

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(1) A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1902-3, pp. 407, 411.

(2) FO 248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for April 1904 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 256 : Jughrāfīyā, p. 91.

(3) Jughrāfīyā, alone contains references to baths at Rayīn (p. 110), Dō-sari (p. 116) Zeidābād (p. 154) Qal'eh Āqa (p. 169), Qāsemābād (p. 170), Zarand (p. 178) and Kūhbenān (p. 186) to mosques pp. 110, 116, 134, 154, 169, 170, 178, 186 : shrines pp. 86, 182, huseiniyehs p. 147.

thousands rather than hundreds.(1) In fact observers were in some doubt as to whether it should [redacted] be called a town or village, both terms being used. However the role of cultivation there might perhaps incline us to the latter, since, as will be argued in connection with the urban sector, it is the lack of a predominant cultivating sector that may help us define an urban environment. Nonetheless the situation of Rayin should remind us that no clear lines can be drawn as one area of our settlement spectrum shades into another.

Obviously what helped sustain the craft production in cultivated settlements was the absence of such production in other settlements too small or transient to sustain such activity and hence dependent on the products of the larger more complex rural communities. In Jiroft and Jebel Bariz transhumance was a disincentive to the growth of settlement and diversified production; both the transhumance and lack of major settlements were noted by Keith Abbott in 1850, by Vaziri in the 1870's, and by the Gleadowe-Newcomen mission in 1904-5. The absence of specialised production, and even of normal buildings also noted by Abbott, Vaziri and Gleadowe-Newcomen helps explain the presence of visiting itinerant traders (often Hindus) in the area as noted in the last case.(2) Ella Sykes met a similar character in Rahbur a decade earlier.(3) The full examination of the links involved

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(1) Jughrafiya, p. 110 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 88-9, 194 : Floyer op. cit., pp. 298-301 : E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side Saddle, p. 163.

(2) FO 251/vol. 42/Abbott's report on S. Persia, p. 136-8 : Jughrafiya, pp. 116, 119 : FO 881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 54.

(3) E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side Saddle, p. 156.

in this and other cases is better left to the survey of all the links which helped to integrate Kermani society but it is worth observing here that part of the support for the craft production came from demands generated outside the settlements where such activity went on.

It should perhaps be pointed out further that different types of needs were satisfied by different types of production/settlement. Where the need was both widespread and less complex it could be filled by the artisan work of a settlement with a limited basis for such activity, that is by village blacksmiths, carpenters or potters. Where the skills and materials involved in a product were more complex, costly or hard to obtain such goods would be available only in settlements large/prosperous enough to sustain a fully fledged diversity of crafts, that is in the more urban environment. The distinction frequently noticed between rural (village/nomad) carpets based on simple looms and a small range of dyes and designs, and urban workshop carpets which transcended such limitations is one area of evidence.(1) In the more general field of crafts e.g. metal, wood and construction work, a survey like Wulff's constantly reiterates that in smaller/simpler settlements one man carries on a range of related crafts and performs each in a relatively unsophisticated form, whereas larger communities can sustain a separation of craft techniques and consequently higher levels of skill in the performance of each.(2)

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(1) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 277-8 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, pp. 347-8.

(2) Wulff, Traditional Crafts, pp 28, 124.

What then can be observed about rural crafts in Kerman in our period? The evidence of Vaziri for the 1870's suggests that general rural prosperity was an important factor (as we surmised in principle) in the emergence of such production. It was in the districts of Rafsinjan and Sirjan that he commented on the presence of kāseb (denoting artisan/trader) as a widespread occupation.(1) These were of course districts of Kerman which had seen a notable growth of prosperity and settlement related to the development of commercial crops. References to kāseb in Shimsh and Ravar, to textile production, sometimes by women, in Rafsinjan, Ravar and Zarand, and to shops of specialist type in Anar(2) give a further indication of a range of artisan production carried on in comparatively small settlements, although in the case of Ravar and Anar we are dealing with communities more towards the urban part of the spectrum. We can also find evidence in the Jughrafiya of the limitations on local skills when we note that if the wood of Rayin district was perhaps manufactured locally into cudgels and bridle-pieces, that of Khabar in Aqtāʿ and Dar-farad in Sardu was sent to Kerman city for carpentry, while comments on the suitability of the Jog wood of Jiroft and Rudbar for furniture leave it unclear where that furniture was produced.(3) Here again perhaps we need to remember the distinction

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 157, 171.

(2) ibid., pp. 171, 178, 182, 183, 189.

(3) ibid., pp. 111, 142, 117-8.

between the simpler woodworking crafts practised in rural areas to meet the demand for basic tools and implements, and the more varied and complex produce of urban workshops.

Vaziri is not our only source of data and explanation on the development of crafts in the rural communities. As always foreign observers tended to focus on large urban centres as being most interesting but on occasion comments do appear, as we have seen in the comments on Rayin by Floyer and Ella Sykes. Consul Preece visiting the district in 1892-3 noted the high reputation of the namads of Zarand and saw the manufacture of gilims and horse cloths by the women of Tajabad on the borders of Fars.(1) Twenty years earlier the Goldsmid mission saw dyeing at Rigan and a kiln for qanat hoops at Hanaka, as well as a "deserted smelting works" between Khairabad and the Fars border.(2) Although at one level these are simply random observations and cannot be the basis for systematic analysis they do at least indicate the presence of a variety of productive activities related to needs like textiles, irrigation and metallurgy which were perennial rather than exceptional. Another perspective is given by the observations of Professor Lambton on the established traditions giving village blacksmiths and carpenters customary rights to a share of the community food supply which is some indication of their importance to the rural society in which they lived and the established nature of their position.(3)

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(1) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman pp. 347, 355.

(2) Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 193, 199, 107.

(3) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 346-7.

There were other dimensions to the life of rural communities apart from cultivation and manufacture. The presence of mosques, shrines, hammams, caravanserais and chapar-khanehs in Kermani villages is evidence not only of the craft skills required to construct them but also of the role of the services which they provided and the personnel who made that possible. The caravanserais and chapar-khanehs which lay along the routes from Kerman city south-east to Bam, west to Shiraz and north-west to Yazd may have served travellers rather than contributing to the life of the villages where they were situated, but in so far as they involved locals in providing goods and services, as by all accounts frequently happened, they also had a link with rural settlements. Whether through the semi-official role of the kadkhoda or local governor organising shelter or through villagers making small gains by the sale of food on their own account, a settlement with one of these institutions had an extra dimension to its activities.(1) It could also be something of a burden to local inhabitants especially if they had other calls on their resources and still had to provide the sursat at the behest of a governor or official, a source of some embarrassment to Stack on his travels.(2)

If the caravanserai was part of the articulation of the village community in a wider framework, a theme which will be taken up when considering the "sphere of circulation", the mosque and shrine could also play a dual role. On the one hand they represented the

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(1) For instances of these roles and activities see Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, pp. 177-8, 195-6, 231-2 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 341 : M. E. Hume Griffiths, Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia, p. 133.

(2) Stack, op. cit., pp. 224-5.

needs of the community for a material focus for its religious life. The presence of the Ni^{c}amatallahi dervish in Madun in Bardsir district was part of active local religious practice in the form of prayer and rōzeh noted by Vaziri, while the career of Mulla Muhammad Hasan called Peighambar-i-Dozdan was as much linked to the insecure life of villages on the west side of Kerman exposed to nomad attack as to the political and cultural interests of urban literati.(1) The building of tekkieh's and huseiniyehs in rural areas like the Laleh-zar hills and Bardsir is also evidence of the role they played even if they owed their existence to aristocratic patrons.(2) Shrines too were a feature of rural life in several respects, offering a religious focus for the community and others near it, a source of cultivation in the vaqf land used to sustain them, and even an incentive to settlement. Thus the shrine of Jupar received the patronage of the first Vakil al Mulk, while that at Khinaman was a focus for the whole cultivated area, and the growth of the village of Sekhunj in the nineteenth century can in part be related to the presence of a shrine built over the tomb of a local holy man in the later part of that century.(3) Religious culture was not as sometimes supposed a wholly urban phenomenon, but rather had particular forms and activities in the rural scene, as has been noted by modern anthropologists as well as nineteenth century observers of rural ta^{c}azieh (passion plays).(4) Estimates of the degree of

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(1) See Jughrāfīyā, p. 136, 160; also Bastani Parizi, Peighambar-i-Dozdān.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 135, 147.

(3) ibid., p. 86 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, Vol. I, p. 231 : English, City and Village, pp. 53, 55.

(4) B. Spooner, "The Function of Religion in Persian Society" Iran (1963) : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 209.

education and cultural development outside larger centres in the nineteenth century are to say the least unreliable but the presence of these institutions in the rural settlements both contributed to the particular experience of the community and also put it in touch with religious or cultural influences which were shared over a wide area. The patronising comments of an "establishment" person like Vaziri on the practices of religious minorities should not obscure the genuine diversity which existed in the Kermani countryside at this time.(1)

Despite the fact that information about the specific conditions under which rural communities function in Kerman during this period is somewhat random, certain points can usefully be made. There were important common factors which characterised most rural settlements and shaped their existence. The absence of complex technology and the labour intensive methods which dominated agriculture were not merely material factors in production but the basis for the patterns of rural life and social relationships. The varying needs of rural society in turn sustained a whole range of skills and activities within the community divided on the basis of sex, age and skill. The different situations of particular communities also created differences between various settlements as well as within them so that although all rural settlements faced some common constraints, their actual form and activity could and did vary widely. The significance of labour was great in all these communities even if it took many forms,

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 155-6.

from qanat digging to charcoal burning. It was perhaps this combination of common pressures operating throughout the rural sector with their diverse and flexible expression in particular instances that gave to rural society some of its durability and strength. However that durability cannot be envisaged as any kind of stasis, resting as it did on the complex articulation of human relationships and skills, and a balance between self-sufficiency based on diverse productive activity and the interrelation of different groups and settlements. Above all there were real power-relationships which penetrated the rural environment and had their own dynamic effect on rural society, and the picture of that society will need to be completed by turning to examine these.

Section (c) : Landlord and Peasant

The patterns of rural production which have been considered so far can only be fully understood if we examine the basis of relationships which made production possible. Central among such relationships was that between those who cultivated land or raised stock and those who utilised the output in commerce, manufacture or consumption. As we shall see the rural community itself played an important role in agrarian life. However / the degree of power involved in the landlord-peasant relations which structured both the provision of inputs and investment in production and the transfer of rural surplus beyond the locality where it was produced, and the fact that such relations transcended the limits of any one rural unit, integrating the rural sector within a wider social totality, mean that it is in the landlord-peasant relationship that we must seek much of the dynamic of that rural sector. It should be clear from the description and analysis to follow that this landlord-peasant relationship is a multiplex one in which a whole variety of social, economic and political pressures were involved, but we shall try in the present context to look at this variety in specific connection with rural production, leaving issues such as urban-rural relations, and the politics of the landlord class to a later chapter.

The logical point to begin our discussion of the role of landlord-peasant relations in rural production is by some explanation of the central function of that relationship. In order that cultivation,

which, as we have seen, was the basis of rural survival be carried on at all various crucial inputs had to be provided. These were land, water, seed, labour and tools (including draught animals) and it is the provision of these that shaped the ongoing relationship of landlord and peasantry. Very real problems occur when we try to analyse the ways in which the inputs were provided, stemming largely from the inadequate nature of the evidence. However I consider that this will not invalidate any attempt to discuss this issue, since we can at least identify important questions needing to be raised even when we cannot always provide adequate answers. In a sense we can appreciate the centrality of the landlord-peasant relationship within Kerman (as in other areas of Iran) by the very fact that it is taken for granted by local observers such as Vaziri, himself a member of the landowning class, or by outsiders who use the terms "landlord", "peasant", or "cultivator" as a matter of course. When for example Consul Sykes encountered bond labour around Bampur on the borders of Baluchistan he was perfectly well able to distinguish it from the normal cultivation arrangements elsewhere in Kerman. In the same way Vaziri records the use of "slave" labour by the first Vakil al Mulk when he took over and developed the settlement of 'Ali-abad in Narmashir, using a different word from the usual terms he employs for cultivating peasants.(1)

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(1) P. Sykes, 10,000 Miles in Persia, p. 121 : Jughrāfīyā p. 107 : Safar-nāmeh p. 12 : E. Persia, Vol. I, pp. 234-5 also describes agricultural slavery at Khanu in the Rudbar district.

Having said that the concepts of landlord and peasant were considered basic to the understanding of rural relations we must nonetheless try to clarify what was actually involved in landlord and cultivator rights and powers over the land and its produce. The obvious point to begin is with an examination of the nature and history of <u>landownership</u> which in the Iranian context has tended to be obscured by a complex plethora of administrative, fiscal and tenurial relationships which evolved over the centuries. Rights to collect taxes, or rent (in cash and/or kind), and to control and finance the military and administrative apparatus needed for that purpose proliferate and change shape in what is, superficially at least, a bewildering manner, details of which emerge in Lambton's massive survey of the subject. From this confusion and complexity of data we should perhaps try to extract certain crucial themes and examine them in the context of nineteenth century Kerman. Our concern will be not so much to catalogue the immense variety of specific arrangements which characterised the tenurial relations of Kerman, as other areas, but rather to try to make some sense of the diversity of juridical concept and actual practice by analysing it, without hopefully simplifying data to the point of distortion.

One of the most obvious features of landlordism in Iran was the ongoing connection between individual access to rights over the land and its produce (i.e. rights to rent and revenue) and the functioning of a state system of taxation, administration, and military force. Thus those who had access to <u>personal</u> power over land resources were also those who wielded <u>official</u> power channelling

resources to central and local government. Whether or not we wish to describe such a situation as "feudal" is less important than the deep historical significance of the link between land and office in Kerman as in the rest of Iran, since the twelfth century. This is not to say that the link had a static character, but rather to demonstrate the historical roots of a relationship which shaped not only the role of a landlord class in politics and government (a topic to be dealt with elsewhere) but also the actual role and options affecting administrator/landlords in a particular region.

Turning to Kerman we find on the one hand that landlords like the Vaziri family using their local position as a basis for family fortune in conjunction with their role as agents and advisors of the regional government. Thus the Vaziris were divan officials and property owners in Aqta^{c}, Arzuyeh, and Kushk-Soghan, and in the 1870's Muhammad Ali Khan Vaziri was ^{c}amil in these areas at the same time as cultivating his family's hereditary land there.(1) Similarly the Kalantar family of Kerman city were mubashirs, ^{c}amils and property owners in Gok-Khabis, just as the Buchaqchi chiefs were ^{c}amils and landlords in Sirjan, and the Mirza^{c}i family held land and office in Bam.(2) The rise from obscurity of a successful ambitious man like Ibrahim Khan of Bam was likewise marked by the combined acquisition of land wealth and official positions, so that at the end of his

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 60-61.

(2) ibid., pp. 64-5, 99.

career he had held a range of administrative and military posts, and become an extensive landowner in the Kerman area as well as in Bam and Narmashir, and was rated as one of the four wealthiest men in Kerman region.(1) A similar case may be that of the family of Duran Khan, zabit of Rudbar in the 1870's.(2)

On the other hand we also find that the organic links of office and landed power shaped a situation in which persons entering the province with official status could use that status to build up a position of landed wealth. At the highest level of local power we have the cases of two governors who originated outside Kerman who in the course of their tenure of office established themselves as landlords. Between 1216AH (1801-2) and 1240AH (1825-6) Ibrahim Khan "Zahir ad Douleh" of the royal clan of Qajars was governor of Kerman province, and his descendants were landlords (and sometimes officials) in Jiroft, Rafsinjan and other parts of the region.(3) In the late 1850's the Mazanderani Muhammad Isma^{c}il Khan Nuri (later to be entitled "Vakil al Mulk") came to Kerman in the service of a governor and he and his son themselves were governors of the province from 1277AH (1860-1) to 1284AH (1867-8) and from 1286AH (1869-70) to 1295AH (1878) respectively. They too became property owners in Narmashir, the Laleh-zar hill country and near Rafsinjan among other areas.(4) However quite apart from the

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(1) ibid., pp. 98, 99, 62.

(2) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 56, 62.

(3) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 54-8.

(4) ibid., 102, 107, 135, 171.

function of the land/office relationship at the level of the highest elite there are other instances of the use of position by newcomers to acquire land, and were the evidence better they might be even more. Notable among other groups in this situation are perhaps the <u>ʿulama</u> both local and non-local in origin. The Shaikhi leaders (also of Qajar descent) with estates at Langar, Haji Aqa Ahmad of Kerman teacher and jurist with lands in Rafsinjan, and the <u>qazi</u> Aqa Baqir whose family was from Khorasan and Fars with land in Mashiz are all relevant examples.(1)

The implications of this close connection of land and office are obviously quite diverse and complex, so much so that it is often hard to distinguish the property rights associated with <u>persons</u> and those tied to offices. This in itself is some clue to the importance of this situation for understanding the power of a particular group in the relationships affecting rural life. Some of the implications of this power are better dealt with in the context of urban life and regional politics, but it is worth bearing in mind that from the point of view of rural <u>production</u>, one crucial prop or defining feature of landlord power is the <u>degree of integration</u> between control of rural resources and control of administrative power.

As was suggested earlier we should not consider this situation as a static one, and one of the interesting features of

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(1) <u>ibid</u>., pp. 44-5, 46, 170.

the nineteenth century history of landlordism is the tendency for the landed assets and rights which had previously been associated with the benefices of office-holding, to become a form of de facto private property, heritable and marketable as well as controllable by the proprietor. The weakness of the coercive power of administrative authorities whether central or local, and their growing need for cash resources, contributed to a situation in which the passing on of official positions and the land rights that went with them from one member of a family to another transformed the "beneficiary" nature of landed assets into something much more "property"-like.(1) If a given prominent official/landlord could offer the pishkesh necessary to assure continued tenure to the regional governor or royal court, then the position and landlord status could remain in his control. Lambton has commented on the phenomenon in a general context, but it will be useful for us to consider its particular character in Kerman.(2) The absence of any thorough statistical information makes it impossible to produce a proper survey of the changes taking place but it is worth offering the few available insights which can be gained from the sources into the commercialisation and privatisation of landed rights during the later nineteenth century.

The only way in which such insights can be offered is by an examination of the references to landed property and rights of various kinds. The concept of hereditary property for example occurs

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(1) In the early 1900's Consul Sykes mentions governorships in Khinamān and Rafsinjān as being virtually hereditary (see F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary April 1904).

(2) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 139-40.

regularly in Vaziri's survey of Kerman province. Thus the second Vakil-al-Mulk is said to have spent the proceeds of hereditary property on beneficial acts in Kerman. In the same way the Vaziri lands in Aqtac and Arzuyeh are described as being passed on down the generations of the family since the eighteenth century.(1) References to hereditary property are in fact scattered throughout Vaziri's work, the specific mentions alone totalling about a dozen.(2) These refer either to the passing on of property from parent to child (of either sex) or to the status of a particular property which changes hands as being a family inheritance. In some cases the hereditary link of a particular family with a particular property goes back a century before Vaziri's survey of the 1870's, finalised in the 1890's indicating a tendency dating well back before our period, in some cases to Safavid times. It is hard therefore to calculate the acceleration if any in the proportion of hereditary/personal landholding to other sorts in Kerman. We can at least say that it was an established phenomenon in the nineteenth century.

Turning to another way of identifying personal property we can follow the references to milk/mulk = property and malek = property owner, terms mostly used to refer to personal/private ownership rather than official benefice or state property. Similarly we can note the use of the terms arbab and arbabi which had similar connotations.(3)

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 42, 61.

(2) ibid., pp. 42, 45, 61, 67, 69, 75, 87, 107 (twice), 122, 122, 149, 170, 171 (three times), 192.

(3) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 97 (n.2), 423, 434.

In almost every area of the region Vaziri has examples of milk property and persons who are malek or arbab. A count of references shows that these are as frequent as those to benefice-holders, and rather more frequent than references to divan or khaliseh land, that is land under "government" authority.(1) Thus by the 1870's we can see from Vaziri's account at least that personal property rights and assets (often specifically associated with other forms of wealth - like cash, flocks) which probably had quite deep historic roots were by this period quite extensive in Kerman province. The degree to which this was associated with the rise of new powerful/wealthy families or individuals may be some indication of a growing if not a new phenomenon. Thus the acquisition of land using mercantile wealth by people such as Aqa 'Ali Vaziri in the later eighteenth century, or Haji Aqa 'Ali of Rafsinjan and Haji Qasem Khan of Sirjan, who had grown rich with the growth of commerce and agriculture in their respective areas was a spread of private property assets and rights among other established patterns.(2) That these patterns remained complex and varied can be glimpsed from the comments of the British consul Preece who travelled from Yazd to Kerman and then to Shiraz in 1892-3 and in his route description occasionally mentions the pattern of ownership in the villages through which he passed.(3) Seven such references on the Yazd-Kerman route include three to peasant proprietorship, (which Lambton suggests was a better established phenomenon around Yazd than

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(1) There are some 37 references to milk and arbābi property in the Jughrāfīyā and some 11 to hereditary land.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 58, 160, 171 : E. Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 219.

(3) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's journey to Yazd and Kerman, pp. 340-3, 353-5.

elsewhere)[1] two to "government" ownership, one to joint government/ landlord proprietorship and one to ownership of Sayyids. Between Kerman and the borders of Fars there is mention of one area under landlord ownership, one under peasants, and one jointly owned by peasants and Sayyids. In Rigan in the 1870's Vaziri notes a mixture of khaliseh and while in various other areas we find mixtures of landlord and khaliseh property.[2]

Preece's comments, like those of Vaziri, are certainly not thorough or extensive enough to allow one to draw any quantitative conclusions about patterns of property rights and the changes involved. Nor can we postulate a very specific chronological shape to these changes, which appear to be part of a tendency reaching back at least into the eighteenth century judging by Vaziri's evidence of property acquisition by various notable families in Kerman.[3] Nonetheless in view of the subsequent developments in landlordship and the pressures created by them, we can certainly note the role of private property rights and their growth as a significant element in the functioning of the regional society. Significant too are the references to the transfer of land by purchase which occur in our period. Between the 1870's when Vaziri drafted his work and the early 1890's when it was put together and written out, private landlords were purchasing the khaliseh of Baghin, just as prominent governors like Ibrahim Khan Qajar and the Vakil al Mulk family, or ambitious men like Ibrahim

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(1) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 7, 220, 275.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, p. 104 : Safar-nāmeh, p. 8.

(3) See for example Jughrāfīyā, pp. 58, 190.

Khan of Bam who had also been in the market for land in the second half of the century.(1) When Vaziri or Sykes speaks of the enormous rise in land values revenues and prices in the third quarter of the century the market character of these indices is clear.(2) As yet the marketable element in the property structure of Kerman was one among many others, and was focussed on particular areas. Nonetheless its transforming influence on social, economic, and perhaps political life does give it a certain significance.

It is worth noting that this expansion of the property market seems to be associated with the expansion of cash-crop cultivation of which we are already aware. Areas where we have evidence of land purchases are often those where we also know of the importance of crops produced for the market. The production of cotton, madder and pistachios in the Rafsinjan and Sirjan areas, or of henna and surplus grain in Bam/Narmashir encouraged the acquisition and development of land which would bring in good financial returns. Thus in the late 1870's Firuz Mirza Farman-farma notes that in Bam the cultivation of henna (the major local commercial crop) did not take place on khaliseh land and that the local landlords were buying land.(3) It is also relevant that in Rafsinjan and Sirjan those who were acquiring property are in some cases described as being active in commerce. There is thus some evidence for the appearance in Kerman of a tendency noted in a general way by historians of nineteenth century Iran like Keddie and

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 87, 107, 170, 171.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 158, 168-9 : F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary April 1904.

(3) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 5-6, 8.

Lambton, the moving of merchants into landholding.(1) References to the growth and prosperity of areas such as those mentioned are also to be found in the work of British observers from the Goldsmid mission of the early 1870's to the Gleadowe-Newcomen mission over thirty years later.(2) Similarly Farman-Farma mentions estates in Narmashir producing profits of 4000-5000 toman yearly and changing hands for 50,000 toman, and also notes here and elsewhere the practice of selling land to recoup on debts incurred by landlord/officials, notably as arrears of unpaid taxation which they accumulated.(3)

It might be useful at this point to summarise the basis of landlords' position in Kerman, and then look at some of the means whereby it functioned. We have seen that there were various paths of access to land, by benefice, inheritance or purchase and that they were all used by an identifiable and to some extent integrated group of people. The established link between office and land rights, the trend toward hereditary use of both, and the emergence of a growing commercial element could all be used by the same sorts of persons - khans, maliks, or arbaban - who all appear so frequently as members of a landlord class in nineteenth century sources. Thus the "khans of Bam", like the official families of Kerman and great magnates of the Qajar clan, appear in the sources as a hereditary landlord group as controllers of administrative and military power, and as competitors

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(1) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 140 : N. Keddie, Historical Obstacles to Agrarian change in Iran, p. 7.

(2) Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 85-6, 178-9, 196, 244-5 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 192.

(3) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 8, 62 : Stack op. cit., vol. I, p. 219.

in the market for wealth, and land.(1) Obviously the assets accruing from the hereditary and official rights held by such persons, gave a basis for entry into the land market, and the increase of those assets was helped by the new demands for cash crops in the region. This coming together of various forces was a central pillar of landlord power in the region. It obviously enabled landlords to sustain the physical power with which to assert and maintain their position and guarantee the collection of rents and dues from tenant/cultivators. The references in sources to the use of force (actual or threatened) for these purposes gives a glimpse of the sanctions at landlord disposal.(2)

However this element of landlord power which was undoubtedly relevant, and perhaps more widespread than the occasional mentions by Persian landlord-litterateurs or uninvolved British observers may let us suppose, was far from the only determinant in the landlord-peasant equation. Not only was there a peasant balance to the equation, which we shall come to shortly, but also the roots of the landlord position were fed by other sources of influence and power. In considering the five main components of agricultural output we have already found that landlords were able to maintain and extend their access to land resources, albeit in a situation where newcomers to the land (merchants or rising officials) were also a factor and where peasant proprietorship was by no means unknown. In the climatic and geographic conditions

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(1) F0248/vol. 788/Sykes 1895 : Jughrāfīyā, p.100-101. F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 53-4.

(2) Safar-nāmeh, p. 62, 71 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 7-13 March 1907.

of Kerman the access to water resources was such a large and problematic factor, that a modern social geographer could actually state that "Land without water has limited value" and go on to observe that rights to both were regarded as structurally linked in the basin around Kerman city.(1) The low incidence of rainfall and surface water, even in comparison to other areas of Iran made man-made water supply central for cultivation and to the relationships which sustained agricultural production. Apart from the river areas of Jiroft and Rudbar where the Halil Rud and Rudkhaneh-shur gave proper flows and sustained the only cattle-raising area of the region,(2) and a certain amount of spring or stream water close to the mountains, man-made means had to be found to tap water resources. In Kerman, as in other parts of the arid plateau in Iran and Afghanistan, this means usually took the form of qanat manufacture and use.

Without wishing at this point to go into detail as to the technology and functioning of qanat-building and qanat irrigation, it is important to draw attention to certain very striking factors about qanats which affect the landlord-peasant relationship. Central among these factors was the heavy input of capital in the form of cash required to set up a qanat, and a certain cash requirement for its continued maintenance which was especially important in Kerman as noted by Lambton.(3) Building a qanat involved employing not only wage labour but also

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(1) English, City and Village, p. 179n.1. : Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 8, 298.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, p. 119 : Safar-nāmeh, p. 11.

(3) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 220.

skilled wage labour in the shape of muqannis, that is experienced qanat engineers. Their specialised knowledge of the finding, siting and construction of the channels gave them a position which enabled them to command wages far higher than those of an ordinary agricultural or construction worker. A comment on the comparatively high wages of muqannis made by a British missionary in Kerman at the turn of the century seems to bear out the observation by another English visitor to Iran that in the later 1890's qanat workers employed above ground earned 2.5 qiran and those underground 3 qiran daily, compared to the average rate of 1 qiran prevalent for ordinary labourers in that decade.(1) In the early 1960's the survey by English of the traditional practices still in use suggests that a muqanni and his apprentice might claim anything from 60% to 75% of the total wage bill for a team of five to seven men.(2) Although qanat-work may have been partly paid for in kind as Professor Lambton observed in Rafsinjan in the 1940's such payment related more to the regular maintenance work than to new construction.(3) Thus we may argue that the development and use of qanat facilities required a serious monetary commitment especially in view of the fact that it could take anything up to 17 years to build a qanat as noted by English in the case of a moderate

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(1) M. Hume Griffith, Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia, p. 48 (she was in Kerman 1901-2) : F. E. Crow "English Enterprise in Persia", Nineteenth Century, vol. 41, (January-June 1897), pp. 130-1. The wages of labourers in Mashad are given in the reports on the trade of Khorasan in A and P for 1890/vol. LXXVI and A and P for 1892/vol. LXXXIII, and A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII.

(2) English, City and Village, pp. 138, 179 (note 8).

(3) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 224, 344.

length (3 kilometres) qanat built in the Jupar area of the Kerman plain between 1941 and 1958.(1) We may also add to our estimate of required capital outlay the cost of the clay hoops used to re-inforce the qanat passage when it went through soft soil, which, if such soil was prevalent in the relevant area, could also amount to a significant expenditure.

The point to be made here is that the capital costs involved in the development of qanats, for which there was particular demand in Kerman, were on a scale which was likely to exclude all but those with relatively sizeable assets from engaging in such development. If we survey the references to qanat-building in our nineteenth century sources (also to some extent evidence of expanding cultivation) it will be seen that it is the khans, landlords and government officials of Kerman who figure in this capacity together with those responsible for the khaliseh land of the province (often of course the same people).(2) In either case the mobilisation of large resources was required, thus restricting the number of people able to take on such a commitment. Conversely in an area as dependent on man-made water resources as Kerman the objective power wielded by those who were able to sponsor qanat construction was naturally considerable. In making this point we are merely confirming the views of other observers of the rural scene in Kerman who note the predominance of large-scale landownership, which could obviously mobilise the resources for

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(1) English, op. cit., pp. 139-40.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 105, 106, 129, 190 : Safar-nàmeh, pp. 5, 17, 44, 85 : see also Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 100 and Stack, Six Months in Persia, p. 219.

expensive irrigation, and of the strength of landlord power expressed clearly in the lions share they could command in the crucial business of dividing the crop, which formed the basis of landlord-peasant relations until very recent times.(1) Although such observations often date from the post-Qajar era, the conditions which gave rise to this landlord power clearly date back into that era when we can find regular references by British consular officials and "enlightened" members of the Persian landlord class to the oppression to which the landlord/officials of Kerman were able to subject their peasantry.(2)

Indeed having looked at these factors favouring landlord power we need to consider how that power was made manifest. The most basic, as has been suggested above, was the ability of the landlord to extract resources from the cultivator whether in the shape of rents (cash or kind) due to the landlord personally or taxation/revenue due to him in an official capacity as zabit, governor or whatever. Sykes records that in 1900 the recorded (i.e. official) revenue figure for Kerman province was some £65,000 but that in actuality officials were collecting £90,000 (nearly 50% as much again) while Lambton commenting on the attempted reforms after the 1906 revolution finds an equally sharp discrepancy between official revenue figures and the sums actually collected in Kerman and Baluchistan.(3) That this situation was not new may be inferred from

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(1) See Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, pp. 269, 275, 312, 317 : also

(2) Safar-nāmeh, p. 71, 78, 78
Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, pp. 165-6 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 28 Oct - 3 Nov 1906 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 10-20 Sept. 1906 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 7-13 March 1907.

(3) Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 47 : Lambton, op. cit., p. 178.

the evidence of Consul Abbott on Kerman in 1850, when he noted that in Jiroft and Jebel Bariz the "governors and chiefs" (note the link) could extract nearly twice the official revenue figure from the local cultivators. Two discrepant estimates of the provincial revenue figure in 1871 may also reflect this gap between real and official levies on resources, as does Vaziri's comment that the governor of Shahr-i-Babak in the 1870's could exact three times the revenue requirement recorded in the dastur-i-ᶜamal.(1) Part of this differential was levied as tafāvut-i-amal (administrative expenses) and also went to make up the pishkesh or "gift" offered by officials to superiors (the Shah for a provincial governor, provincial governors for subordinate offices) in order to retain their posts.(2) Granted that Sykes points out that not only did the provincial governor make a profit, but also that revenue money was used for "pensions" for kehans, officials and their offspring, we can argue that the so-called government revenue also helped sustain landlord/officials as individuals and as a class. The additional implication, as Sykes adds, was that the resources of Kerman province were consumed locally rather than passing to the central authority.(3)

This position was buttressed from several different directions. We have noted already that the role of landlords in

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(1) F0251/vol. 42/Abbott's notes on S. Persia, pp. 136, 138 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 100, 191. Jughrāfiyā, p. 165.

(2) The place of the tafāvut-i-ᶜamal is mentioned in Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 144 and E. Bérard, Revolutions de la Perse, p. 326 : pīshkesh in Kerman is noted in Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 100 : see also Safar-nāmeh, p. 62 : Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question

(3) Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 47 : Bérard, op. cit., p. 328-9.

supporting the irrigation upon which cultivation depended gave them considerable leverage. Their control of resources also enabled them to maintain followers who might be used to guarantee the continued and perhaps increased supply of revenue by strong-arm methods if necessary. Various references to the presence of "retainers" in the following of Kerman landlords and chieftains give at least an indication of the prevalence of a situation in which physical power could be applied both in practices and as a threat to assert landlord claims.(1) Landlord ability to defend their position may have been further enhanced by the degree to which the arrangement and disbursement of the revenue of the region were kept under local control. Oliver St. John of the Goldsmid mission noted that in the late 1860's the second Vakil al Mulk, Murteza Quli Khan, won the right for the provincial revenue accounts to be audited in the province rather than in Tehran, paying a fixed sum plus a pishkesh to the Shah instead.(2) The political implications of this situation will need consideration elsewhere, but it is relevant here that the landlords of Kerman were able to protect the control and profitable use of the revenues they collected, and thus consolidate their material position.

So far we have given some picture of how in our period the landlord control of property grew, changed and functioned. Were our discussion to end there it would have given a misleading picture of the

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(1) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 105.

(2) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 100.

working of agrarian relations in Kerman at this time. If landed property was the basis of cultivation, and water supply a sine qua non of making such cultivation practicable, then work on both land and water supply required the input of human labour. Agricultural production is not a matter of geography and climate alone, but of the intervention of man within the physical environment. In Kerman, as in other parts of the Iranian plateau, extensive tracts of land were thinly populated, and the high ratio of land to labour created a demand for the latter which was reinforced by the particularly pressing need for man-made water supplies. This situation was noted by Curzon in the early 1890's as a brake on the unlimited exercise of landlord power and by Sykes specifically in the case of Kerman at the same period.(1) We need to examine both the overall mechanics of this situation and also its particular working in the Kerman area.

As late nineteenth century observers like Curzon, de Morgan and Bérard recorded, the peasantry or cultivators did not in general work under conditions of personal bondage, and as was pointed out earlier where such a situation did occur it was noted by both Persians and foreigners as an exception.(2) There is evidence of the existence of forms of forced labour and other direct forms of obligation to landlords whether as individuals or as officials, and Lambton gives evidence of attempts by the central government to extend and codify labour services although the efficacy of this is to say the least debateable.(3)

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(1) Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, vol. II, p. 490 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1904-5, pp. 38-9.

(2) Curzon, loc. cit., : Bérard, Révolutions de la Perse, p. 321 : for references to agrarian bond labour see above p. 139 .

(3) Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 169.

At the start of the nineteenth century Pottinger saw large labour gangs at work in Jamali in Narmashir rebuilding a wall, while in the mid-century the rebuilding of the Arg of Kerman city like the repair of the governor's palace at Mahan in 1906 seems to have been achieved by the use of a labour levy (ʿamaleh-yi-qalān) on surrounding villages, though apparently this could be commuted for cash.(1) These labour dues seem to relate to construction rather than agricultural work although levied on the rural population. However we have a description of agricultural slavery at Kahnu in Rudbar by a member of the 1871 Goldsmid Mission, although Vaziri describes the local inhabitants as the descendants of slaves without clarifying their current position.(2) This however seems to be the only substantial instance of such a situation, and we need to explain the paradox whereby the ratio of population to land was low even by nineteenth century Iranian standards and rural production depended on manual labour and human skill, direct co-ercion was so limited in its extent.(3) Poorer cultivators needed sources of water and seed to overcome constraints on cultivation, and in the absence of developed technology or large units of production

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde, p. 194 : Afzal ad Douleh Kermāni quoted in Vaziri, Tārīkh i Kermān p. lxi : F0248/vol. 878/Kerman consular diary 27 May-2 June 1906.

(2) Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 234-5 : Jughrāfīyā, p. 126.

(3) Thomsons "Report on the population, revenue, military force and trade of Persia" dated April 1868 in A and P for 1867-8/vol. LXIX/p. 507 mentions the unusually low population density of the Kerman area : a similar situation is implied by the disparaging comments of Consul Stewart on trade prospects in Kerman in F0248/vol. 878/Stewart to the Tehran Chargé d'Affaires, 29 May 1906.

labour-power assumed focal significance. Yet we must still ask why in this situation we find no parallel to the New Serfdom that emerged in east Europe in comparable conditions of labour shortage and the constant threat of peasant flight. Qajar Iran produced no equivalent of the legislation of the Russian Tsars of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, nor indeed the equivalent of the peasant unrest that contributed to the risings led by Stenka Razin and Pugachev.(1)

Any truly valid answer to such a question is beyond the scope of this study since it would require extensive comparative study of the various regions of Iran. However two general lines of argument might be indicated as lines for future analysis. On the one hand the Iranian state faced far greater problems in creating the co-ercive forces in the shape of a modernised administration and military, and the close bonding of landlords to central government which in Russia made the troika of Tsar, lord and serf the determinant framework of society. The internal dynamic of Iranian society and the very different nature of its international position compared to that of say Petrine or Catherinian Russia, both created obstacles to such developments. On the other hand the situation of the peasantry was also different. The capital costs of developing new settlements when many of the inputs were hard to acquire meant that peasant flight, while an undoubted phenomenon of Iranian rural life noted by various observers,(2)

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(1) Jerome Blum, Lord and Peasant in Russia, chapters 14-18 and R. Smith, The Enserfment of the Russian Peasantry are standard accounts, while P. Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State, pp.328-346 attempts to link the needs of the landed class and the growth of a centralised state system.

(2) General references are for example Wilson, Persian life and customs, p. 273 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 400.

was less of a threat in that it often took the form of leaving the "protection" of one landlord for that of another. Thus while on the one hand there were in nineteenth century Iran very real difficulties in the way of the outright control of the scarce labour factor by its would-be exploiters, on the other the incentives for cultivators to seek complete autonomy were comparatively low. It is these factors which may help to explain the difference between the Persian r^{c}āiyá (denoting a <u>class</u> of subject cultivators) and the classic serf of medieval France or eighteenth century Russia whose subjection was a <u>personal</u> one.

This state of affairs in Iran with all its ambiguity was well expressed in the dominant practice of <u>sharecropping</u>, a characteristically "soft" relationship between landlord and cultivator in comparison with the "hard" features of legal serfdom or manorial obligations. The former is rooted in custom, while the latter is institutionalised in charters, <u>terriers</u> etc. Division of the crop may well reveal the power of one party to the transaction to exert greater control and claim a greater share of the resources than the other. However it is also open to a great deal of manipulation by <u>either</u> party. Cultivators may hide produce, harass the landlord's officials, or simply grow less in order to resist exactions, and as we have said, in the last resort can withdraw their labour by flight, even when such a move had only a limited effect. Various instances are cited in nineteenth century Kerman of the use of <u>bast</u> (the taking of sanctuary with a protector) by the peasants in protest against the

undue exactions of a landlord/official.(1) This precisely was a form of protest where the influence of one powerful person was sought to counter the activity of another. That might be an appeal to the religious authorities against a secular lord, or to a higher official (the provincial governor) against a lower one, (a local chieftain), or merely to one faction against the power of members of another hostile faction.(2) An interesting development which reflected the growing role of powerful European states in Iran was the practice of appealing to foreign consuls or other officials which grew in the last third of the century.(3) The very limitations on such forms of protest suggest both that they were part of an essentially informal albeit oppressive relationship, those boundaries were undefined and also that within that relationship the situation rarely, if ever, reached the point of outright extended conflict. One reference to "rick-burning" by a British consul is given with such little emphasis as to suggest an insignificant incident rather than deep-rooted or serious peasant revolt.(4) The destruction of crops noted as having taken

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(1) See for example Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 349 : F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary for 27 July–4 August 1907.

(2) Floyer, loc. cit. : F0248/vol. 878/Kerman consular diary 2–9 June 1906 shows Sirjanis deliberately coming to Kerman to protest about their governor : F0248/vol. 1030/diary 12–19 January 1907 shows the use of a shrine by peasants at Qutbabad.

(3) See for example the use of the Russian consulate by people from Pariz in F0248/vol. 846/diary 3–10 June, 15–22 October 1905, or the use of the British telegraph office in Bam by the raʿiyats protesting the land tax in F0248/vol. 906/ Kerman consular diary 27 July–4 August 1907.

(4) F0248/vol. 846/Kerman consular diary for the last week July 1905.

place in Rudbar in 1878-9 by Farman-farma seems to have involved the cultivators and the local ẓābiṭ Durān Khan, partly in hostility to one another, and partly in joint protest.(1)

We can see here a situation in which the cultivators despite their subordination to official and landlord power were nonetheless in a position where a certain degree of bargaining was possible. Gobineau's vivid presentation of the confrontation and negotiation between peasant and rent-collector may be taken as valid illustration of the way in which the ambiguous relationships were played out.(2) This bargaining could apply either to a landlord seeking his share of the crops, or to the extraction of revenue by officials. In that respect the peasant proprietor would face similar problems to the share-cropping cultivator. Demands for maliat (taxes) were as much a feature of peasant life as the division of crops for sharecroppers, and subject to similar negotiability as we can see from the time spent on the "affairs of taxation" by a provincial governor on tour as Farman-farma was in 1880, and as Sykes found his successor in the 1890's. The problem for our historical analysis is that the gaps in the evidence make it difficult to go beyond such generalities, especially since observers of nineteenth century Iran all note that the actual forms and levels of tax and rent extraction varied very much according to particular times, places, conditions and relations between those involved, which makes comment difficult without specific

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(1) Safarnāmeh, p. 56.

(2) Quoted in Bérard, Révolutions de la Perse, pp. 322-3.

information.(1) One can say that such a high degree of variety must have contributed to the open-ended and ambiguous position of the peasantry and their relations to the landlord-official class.

If we have little direct information on the peasant view of the situation save for the references to peasant flight and appeals to powerful protectors, we do have some evidence that landlords and officials saw that there were good reasons for not over-pressing their authority and advantages. One form in which this was expressed was the willingness to remit or rebate demands on cultivators when bad harvests or natural disaster reduced the rural product. On his tour of inspection in 1880 the provincial governor reduced the divan obligations of cultivators in Bampur when crops had been damaged by floods after dam walls broke, while at Kahnuj in Rudbar and Sabzeh-varan in Jiroft remission of maliat was also offered, although the rate of the tafāvut-i ᶜamal was fixed at the same time.(2) Nor was such generosity confined to the khaliseh land of Kerman; at Sang-i-Safid Farman-farma remitted 50 toman of the taxes due on the qanats/land owned by Nasir Khan to allow this landowner to finance the reconstruction of his qanats after their destruction by troops the previous year.(3) After bad harvest or disaster it was also possible that the official/landlord involved in a particular area would make donations to the cultivators to tide them over shortages, as Farman-farma did in Bampur and Do-sari.(4) Whether the "good treatment" which Vaziri

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(1) For example see Lambton, Landlord and Peasant, p. 306.

(2) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 31-2, 62, 76-7.

(3) ibid., pp. 66-7.

(4) ibid., pp. 32, 67, 73.

records as meted out by Muhammad Zamān Khān Kalāntari to peasantry and artisans was of this nature or not is not recorded, but it is at least a further indication of landed men recognising certain pressures to moderate their authority.(1) More negatively we may also see occasional instances of the avoidance by cultivators of payment of dues in consular references to the problems faced by the landed classes in collecting them.(2)

Thus although the detailed aspects of the landlord-peasant relationship in Kerman remain frustratingly obscure we can at least discern some important tendencies showing themselves during our period. While the power and influence of the landed classes remained strong, resting securely on their control not only of the larger proportion of the land but also of the water resources that were sufficiently crucial for Persian observers to give the matter pride of place in their discussion of each of the various parts of Kerman, this power was not manifest through unmediated uncomplicated co-ercion. The scarcity of the labour factor gave cultivators a definite if restricted bargaining power, manifest in the flexible, varied and changing means whereby obligations were exacted from them. However the rather static nature of these observations gives us only a partial insight into landlord-peasant relations, and it is therefore important for us to conclude our survey with some attempt to consider the changes that took place in Kerman which affected thos relations,

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, p. 64.

(2) See for example F0248/vol. 938/Kerman consular diary, 3-10 September 1908.

in order to arrive at some dynamic impression of how they worked during our period.

We are already aware that one significant development in the agrarian sector from the mid-century was the growth of an influential role for commodity crops supplying far-flung markets. Although Kerman, with its lack of water and scattered, thin population, was less able to take advantage of new market demands than the more well-endowed areas to the west and north, nonetheless it has been established that in purely regional terms there was significant growth in the cash-crop sector. To link the purely quantitative facts of the expansion in pistachio, cotton, opium, henna or madder production to the human basis of that production is no easy matter. For example there is insufficient data as to whether the growth in these cash crops was achieved more by the reduction in the area devoted to subsistence crops or more by an overall increase in the cultivated area. That both phenomena were occurring in Kerman can be inferred from the reference to a shift from wheat to opium cultivation in the land between Sirjan and Rafsinjan and in Kuhbenan in the 1870's, and from the evidence of new settlement in areas where cash crops were being produced.(1) We may at least gain an impression of the latter from references in our sources to the creation of settlements and cultivation in those areas. Thus we find that Muhammad Ismail Khan the first Vakil al Mulk built up the water supply and settlement at Darzin near Bam and Ali-abad in Narmashir just as Ibrahim Khan did

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(1) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, pp. 184, 231, 233.

at Karimabad and Zia'-abad, these being in areas producing henna, rang and other commodities for trade.(1) The growth of the focal settlement of Sa^{c}īd-abad, the centre of the Sirjan area which began development at the start of the nineteenth century according to Vaziri was related to the trade of the area based on pistachios and cotton, as was that of Rafsinjan.(2)

What is relevent for our consideration of landlord and cultivator is the role played by the prominent official and landed families in the growth to which we have referred. We have already noted the role of Ibrahim Khan of Bam and the Vakil al Mulk in Bam and Narmashir, where the rest of Ibrahim Khan's family, that of Behjat-ad-Douleh and of the Mirza'is are also referred to as having property and encouraging development. Similarly we have references to the role of prominent persons in the Sirjan and Rafsinjan area.(3) They also are known to have provided the actual commodities for cultivation, like henna in Rigan or silk in Khinaman.(4) The scale of costs involved in opening up new areas of cultivation, and even in reviving abandoned settlements, both of which involved construction work particularly of qanats and also of forts (which receive frequent mention) meant that men with resources would play such a role, although of course it would be the cultivators and skilled workers - muqannis, masons (who are mentioned as being sent to the Baluch borderland by

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 96, 99, 105, 107 : Safar-nāmeh, pp. 5-6 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 197.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 151, 168-9.

(3) ibid., p. 171 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 219.

(4) Safarnàmeh, p. 12 : Jughrāfīyā, p. 176.

Farman-farma in the 1880's and British sources of the following decades) - who provided the equally crucial labour factor.(1) As we noted earlier the growth of cash-crop production led also to a rise in revenue and in land values in areas where such production was predominant, and we can argue that this must have contributed a distinct incentive to involvement in the development of settlement and cultivation in the latter part of the century. In an agrarian structure rooted in the division of the product between cultivators, and landlords and/or officials a secure and growing market with cash profits would have had its appeal to both parties though perhaps more to the latter than the former to whom subsistence was still a very immediate and precarious issue. Certainly the wealth and power of the landlords was increased as Vaziri pointed out by the expansion of the cash crop sector.(2)

It is important to remember that significant though the growth of cash crop agriculture may have been it was by no means the determining or only force for change. The references in Vaziri to the revival and foundation of settlements throughout Kerman region in the 1870's and 1880's suggest a general growth in cultivation in this period. Part of this at least may be a response to a growth in population. It would be dishonest to suggest that we have any very definite figures on this matter but two points of reference may be offered with a modicum of justification. In the report by Ronald Thomson of 1868 on the "Population Revenue, Military Force and Trade of Persia" he bases his estimate of Kerman's population on

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 17, 24, 35 : F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary October 1906-January 1907 : F0248/vol. 968/diary for 11-18 February 1909.

(2) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 158, 168-9.

"an official return lately furnished to the
Persian government by the local authorities"

and gives it as 207,000.(1) By adding up the figures given for the districts of Kerman province given in Vaziri's Jughrafiya which were produced by an author with some direct access to such information as a local landowner and official we would reach a total of about 286,210.(2) This would represent an increase in population of about 38.266% over perhaps ten years, since Vaziri's figures appear to be part of the original text and not added when the manuscript was put together in the 1890's. This seems a very sharp increase indeed and may call into question one or other estimate. In the 1890's Consul Sykes estimated the joint population of Kerman and Baluchistan at not more then 500,000 of which 150,000 were in Baluchistan.(3) His detailed knowledge of the area at this point (1896) was perhaps limited, especially in the ennumeration of Baluch nomads, and so perhaps would overestimate totals, allowing us to guess at perhaps a growth of a further 10% or 15% over the period from the 1870's to the 1890's, or an overall growth of 45-50% during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This is somewhat in excess of Curzon's estimated annual population growth of 0.75%,(4) and in any case may be legitimately questioned since the existing data is so restricted. However we can hardly doubt that some increase in population did place in Kerman in our period. In an agrarian

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(1) A and P for 1868/vol. LXIX/Thomson's report on Persia, p. 507 on

(2) See Table VII.

(3) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, pp. 38, 43. It is worth noting that Sykes' estimate in 10,000 Miles, p. 45 is much wilder.

(4) Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, vol. II, p. 493.

situation where neither social organisation nor available technology would allow much intensification of production, the extension of cultivated area was the most obvious way to deal with the pressure of population on the rural resources of Kerman.

Again we are interested in the implications of such an extension for the positions of landlord and peasant. It is fairly clear that the development of new areas for cultivation or the re-establishment of cultivated areas fallen into disuse was very much dependent on landlord and/or official initiatives. In the Vaziri survey of Kerman in the later 1870's there are over twenty references to the establishment and revival of settlements and irrigation by landlords and officials who built qanats, "settlement" and forts thus providing the water, habitation and protection and/or assertion of control on which agriculture was based.(1) Similarly Farman-farma in his Safar-nameh describes the role of Vakil-al-Mulk at Darzin in the Bam area, of Durān Khan in Rudbār and Nasir Khan and ᶜAli Khan as chiefs in Jebel Bariz in building, encouraging cultivation and irrigation.(2) When there are references to the role of the cultivators in the development or revival of settlement it is very much within the context of landlord incentive or authority. Thus Durān Khan was obviously a leading influence in the flight of the people of Rudbar to Bandar 'Abbas in 1878-9 and it would be he and the rish-sefids whose return was important to re-establishing settlement, and revenue for

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 86, 96, 105, 106, 107 (four references) 116, 124, 129, 139, 147 (two references) 148 (three references), 151, 170, 171, 176, 190.

(2) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 5, 56, 70.

the government in Rudbar. Similarly the removal of a Baluch clan to the Narmāshir area in 1861 was triggered by feud between its leading 'khan' and his brother, and their removal triggered by the reconciliation between the two.(1) Similarly the initiative by cultivators in introducing opium cultivation in Arzuyeh, having been driven from Yazd by famine in the early 1870's, is described by Vaziri by reference to a landlord owned settlement, just as the arrival of new settlers in Rudbar in the eighteenth century is connected to their leader one Amir Husein Khan.(2) It seems likely that peasant initiative was rare in the expansion of the cultivated area.

Not only was the role of proprietors crucial in that process, but government/official encouragement also played a distinct part. When the Baluch referred to above moved to Narmashir they sought the "permission" of the first Vakil al Mulk, then governor of Kerman. Over half a century earlier Pottinger noted that the provincial governor had encouraged a Baluch Khan to settle and develop Nahimabad (between Rigan and Jamali) in a similar partnership of local chief and government authority.(3) Similarly when the "chiefs" of Ahmadi in Fars moved to Doulatabad in Arzuyeh they had to make arrangements about revenue with the <u>ᶜamil</u> of the district.(4)

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(1) <u>Safar-nāmeh</u>, p. 56 : <u>Jughrāfīyā</u>, p. 106.

(2) <u>Jughrāfīyā</u>, pp. 125, 147.

(3) <u>ibid.</u>, p. 106 : Pottinger, <u>Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde</u>, pp. 193-4.

(4) <u>Jughrāfīyā</u>, p. 149.

This interpenetration of proprietorial and official interest in settlement and the activities associated with it is a natural dimension of the interlocking roles and personnel in landlordship and official position whereby local officials were often local landlords too. Moreover the encouragement and support of cultivation were seen as a legitimate and desirable sphere of activity for governors and officials as for private proprietors as is shown by the homilies of Farman-farma on the possibilities for developing settlement and productivity by means of enterprising investment in khaliseh property. Similar sentiments are also expressed by Vaziri.(1) Nor was this confined to normative exhortations as we also have records of governors and other officials making efforts to attend to settlement, irrigation and cultivation in the areas under their authority. The activities of Firuz Mirza Farman-farma in this connection are congruent with references by British observers like those of the Goldsmid Mission and Consul Sykes to the work of governors, and the tradition asserted by Persian authors like Vaziri and the author of Farmandihan-i-Kerman that 'good' governors encouraged settlement.(2)

We can thus gain some insight into the role of those with power and resources, whether personal or official, in the development

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 12 (Rigān), 36 (Bampūr), 52 (Bashīr in Jiroft/Rūdbar) : Jughrāfiyā, p. 106.

(2) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 5, 17, 23, 73 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 197 : Shaikh Yahya Kermāni, Farmandihān-i-Kermān, pp. 12-13 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles in Persia, pp. 69, 70 (referring to Ibrāhīm Khān Qājār and Vakīl al Mulk I respectively).

of settlement and its requisites. It is legitimate to ask whether the lack of reference to an independent peasant involvement in this area reflects reality or the lack of awareness and interest on the part of our sources. While one may allow that some proportion of peasant settlement might have been overlooked under the latter circumstances, it would seem arguable that had peasant activity been a dominant trend it would have emerged even in inadequate sources. Thus it would appear that the growth of both subsistence and commercial cultivation served to develop the central position of landlords, supported as it was by the other structures of rural relations which we have examined. This development far from disrupting the intimate link of administration and landlordship reinforced it in its localised form as regional governors and local officials acted to further their interests, creating tensions between the local structures of power and wealth and the larger totality of which they were part, tensions to which we shall return at a later point. At this stage it is simply worth noting that a crucial line of conflict in rural society was not so much between cultivator and expropriator but between locally generated power and resources and those forces which sought to transfer them outside the locality.

CHAPTER TWO

THE URBAN SECTOR.

We have already established that "urban" and "rural" were in no way polar opposites within the Kermani economy and society. Hence the basis for a separate analysis of each sector lies not in the disjunction of the two, but rather in a degree of difference between them which did not bely interlinkage or interdependence, themselves the specific subject of a section of this study. For the present we shall focus on the characteristics of urban life which did distinguish it from rural society, but will need to see them in terms of differing positions and functions within a social whole rather than as determinants of an isolated and disparate entity. Before examining these characteristics it may be useful to discuss briefly the basis of differentiation between urban and rural sectors, since it is an understanding of that basis which will shape the description and analysis which is to follow. Rather than let it be assumed that the pattern of our survey was chosen purely at random, it would seem reasonable to lay bare the underlying concepts which have informed the organisation of this study of the urban sector.

There seems in fact to be a convincing argument for basing the specificity of the urban sector in the particular nature of the productive activities carried on there. The transformation of natural resources into goods for human use by men acting in their social context shapes that context - the nomad tribe or car factory,

field labour or craft work - and thus plays a fundamental historical role. In the emergence of urban environments, such as existed in nineteenth century Kerman, several important factors of this kind need to be noted. In the "rural environment" we may observe a whole range of productive activities in which however cultivation played a focal part. It is perhaps the absence of this focal activity, or at least its minimal significance, which is one characteristic of urban production. This characteristic interlinks with two further elements particular to an urban situation : firstly, the absence of a dominant agricultural dimension is intimately connected to the growth of specialisation in skills and activities and its physical concentration in geographic space, developments rooted in the growth of demand for sophisticated craft products, and the need for the above preconditions to be met if those demands were to be satisfied : secondly, the growth of demand and the capacity to meet it were rooted in a specific form of control over resources where the apparent dependence of the urban settlement on supplies of agrarian produce from its hinterland in fact turns out to be a relationship where the urban centre is a focus of power to mobilise resources for consumption, and more significantly for manufacture and commerce. Thus the development of an identifiable urban sector is based on a set of relationships between demand and supply and between powerful and subordinate elements within a larger whole.

Bearing these factors in mind we can begin to identify lines of analysis which may help to conceptualise the urban sector.

If rural settlements could be largely, though not exclusively self-sustaining, urban settlements of their very nature could not. By a significant paradox this was the product not of the subordination of urban centres to their needs, but of their control over skills and resources, and their organic links to the regional economy by virtue of this control. The various manifestations of this situation in a more specific sense will be the subject of further discussion, but it is important to be clear at this point that the analysis offered here is not an exercise in abstract logic but a historical phenomenon. The diversification and specialisation in the labour process, the demand for the product of the skills which emerged as a result, and the concentration within a distinct urban space of the social forces capable of organising the available resources in order to achieve and benefit from these developments, were historical as much as logical developments which re-inforced each other. The emergence of urban life in Iran as shaped by these forces which allowed the urban centres to assume a dominant historical role would obviously be the subject of a study in its own right. However the general import of this process, and its particular character in Kerman have already been referred to briefly as part of the historical background to this study.(1)

What we need to focus on at this point is the existence of a pattern of urban settlement within Kerman which was an established

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(1) See above pp. 65-67

fact by the nineteenth century. Our discussion of the nature of urban life in this period will be based on evidence about the provincial "capital", Kerman city, which not surprisingly figures prominently in the material available, and also that concerning other settlements designated as "towns". It would be somewhat sterile to fall back on purely semantic criteria for identifying urban settlements, and indeed our analysis will focus on the functioning of settlements in Kerman in order to see what this reveals about the meaning of "urban" in this particular context. However it may perhaps be helpful to look at the use of the concepts of "town" or "city" in our dources to get some idea of contemporary perceptions of these phenomena. Such perceptions might be quite subjective, as we can see for example in various descriptions of the settlement of Mahan, called a "little town" by Pottinger in 1810, but a "little village" by Floyer and Evan Smith who saw it in the 1870's.(1) We have no evidence of a decline over that period which could explain the shift in terminology, in fact rather the reverse since the years 1810-75 saw the revival of the Mahan shrine under royal patronage, and a building programme under the first and second Vakil al Mulk, as well as its growing use as a resort by Kermani notables.(2) We may conclude that the assessment of observers were shaped by preconceptions of what a town or village should be; the population of Mahan in the 1870's was estimated from

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan and Scinde, p. 206 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 312 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 192.

(3) Jughrāfīya, p. 83 : Safar-nāmeh, pp. 2-3 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 90, 192, 193 : Floyer, loc. cit.

1500 (by Vaziri) to 5000 (by Euan Smith).[1] These points could be multiplied but will serve to illustrate the problems of an analysis along semantic lines, and suggest that such an approach will reveal more about the users of particular words than about the entities to which they were applied, especially in the case of non-Persian observers.

In the case of the Persian sources the use of particular terms may reflect some concept of a hierarchy of settlement defined by size and importance. Thus Vaziri specifically rejects the definition of Shahr-i-Babak and Bahramabad/Rafsinjān as shahr, and names them as qasabeh.[2] He seems to distinguish either of these terms from the terms deh or qerieh which are used in connection with rural settlements. However Farman-farma's discussion of Bam uses both shahr and qasabeh suggesting that he at least was not following strict rules of definition.[3] Consul Abbott surveying settlement in Kerman in 1850 (fairly judiciously considering he tried to crosscheck the information he got and notes when he could not do so) also drew distinctions between villages and qasabeh which he translated as "small town". The places to which he gave the latter name included Ravar, Khabis, Rayin, Qal^{c}eh Aqa, Rahbur and Shahr-i-Babak.[4] Thus if various sources do not agree as to how to characterise particular settlements, they do agree

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, p. 84 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 193.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 162, 169.

(3) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 6-7.

(4) FO251/vol. 42/Abbott's notes on S. Persia, pp. 129, 131, 133, 140, 142, 146.

in registering an awareness of differences in types of settlement, and they indentify a number of these for which we may at least make a prima facie case as lying in the "urban" range of our spectrum. Proceeding on an inclusive but not uncritical basis, it should be possible to discuss the roles and activities of these settlements and indeed to investigate how far they changed through time. So we shall turn from considerations of terminology or contemporary perceptions to an examination of urban production which in turn can be a basis for a discussion of life and change in the urban sector.

Section (a) : Urban Production

As has already been suggested, patterns of urban production may in part be characterised by the lack of central focus on cultivation. However there are good reasons for beginning our survey with those elements of urban production most closely associated with basic needs of subsistence both for inhabitants of the particular settlement in question and for others seeking goods that were obtainable only in a developed urban settlement. Two important arguments present themselves in this connection. Firstly the objective nature of developed settlements based on manufacture and commerce cannot be understood unless proper weight is given to the way in which those activities related to relatively localised needs. Secondly these matters have frequently been minimised or ignored in the descriptions or analyses that do exist

on the economic life of Iran in our period. Such works have tended to focus on the structures of a so-called national economy, on its growing relationships with an international economic scene, and with its development - or lack of it - toward something called "modernity". With such pre-occupations any serious considerations of the self-sustaining dimensions of economic life has failed to develop. Whether one looks at an edited selection of material linked as a supposed survey of Iranian economic history in the nineteenth century such as Issawi's text, at contemporary discussion such as that of Rabino or Curzon in the 1890's, or an analytic treatment of "semi-colonialism like Lucien Rey's article of 1963, a common set of interests is clearly apparent.(1) Export trade and the products it handled, agrarian and industrial "progress", the role of government and foreign interests, all appear as dominant themes, to the exclusion of any adequate treatment of the ways in which society reproduced itself through time.

Without offering a full-scale alternative analysis, which would involve detailed comparative work beyond the scope of this study, I would suggest that such a perspective ignores and dismisses a whole range of productive activities which have considerable significance whether for better understanding of a regional economy, or for the construction of analysis at a broader level. Several arguments can be advanced in support of this view; that productive activities oriented

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(1) C. Issawi, Economic History of Iran 1800-1914 : J. Rabino, "Banking in Persia", Journal of the Institute of Bankers (1891) : G. Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question : L. Rey, "Persia in Perspective", New Left Review (1963).

towards the needs of local existence occupied substantial numbers of people and resources; that unless we can get beyond labelling such activities as "traditional" or "backward" and then dismissing them, we shall not understand the larger patterns of economic life in which they have a place; finally that in taking up these neglected issues we can deal with a network of regional and local production, demands and resources which forms a crucial part of the historical whole which we wish to understand. Such arguments provide a basis for starting our discussion of "urban" production with a survey of those important locally-focussed activities.

In order to understand the place of such activities in urban life we need to consider the forces which shaped and sustained them. These forces operated in the two broad areas of productive technology and capital requirements on the one hand and of the structure of demand on the other, and it will be useful to look at each area in turn. In the first area it is important to recognise the way in which the material needs of craft production affected its urban character. The production of manufactures, even of commonly-used goods, requires inputs of resources and skills which in turn involve capital commitments. Above a certain level of complexity (and cost) specialised production in centres which served a relatively extensive market was the obvious solution which could justify the outlay of capital and skilled (i.e. trained) labour. These outlays did not apply only to luxury goods but to a whole range of metalworking, ceramic or construction crafts which supplied a wide local market via itinerant retailers or to customers actually coming to the urban centres. The need to obtain supplies of metal or of necessary raw-materials for

glazed ceramics (frit, glaze materials) from a distance, the need for more complex kilns, forges or tools than a village metalworker or potter could afford with his limited market, and the need to train skilled workers to use these, were all factors which logically contributed to the tendency for more specialised crafts which nonetheless served wide demand to concentrate in a few settlements. Whether we consider Vaziri's reference to the large amount of business at the Saturday markets of Kerman city, or the reputation of Bahramabad/Rafsinjan for pottery (among the numerous craft/trades referred to generally by Vaziri) it is clear that there was a basis for the specialised production of day-to-day goods, which was still a feature of the Kerman city basin as observed by English in 1960.(1)

Specialised production could and did take place under a variety of conditions, not all of them obviously urban. Thus we find that the potteries of Maibut/Maibod near Yazd, already noted in the 1870's and developed by migrants from Nayin from the 1890's, were situated in a cultivating "oasis", and the felts and karbas of Zarand were similarly the produce of an area which actually had an agrarian surplus.(2) Conversely carpet production in Ravar, and the small-scale hardware crafts of Rayin were carried on in settlements where in the former case agricultural shortage was specifically mentioned, and where in the latter it might be inferred from lack of mention of

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 81-2, 170 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 180 : English, City and Village, p. 67.

(2) Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 170-1 : M. Centlivres-Demont, Un Communauté de Potiers en Iran : le centre de Meybod, p. 20 : Jughrāfīyā, p. 179.

basic grain crops in the Jughrafiya survey.(1) We may deduce that there is not any simple formula connecting agrarian and craft production, although a significant factor must be the patterns of interlinkage between settlements which will be dealt with subsequently. However the presence of several specialised crafts and subdivisions of crafts would seem to go with the decline of cultivation as a dominant activity in any particular settlement and the existence of a society which we may regard as urban. It is this range of non-agrarian activity such as is indicated in settlements like Sirjān, Rafsinjān or Bam as well as in Kerman city which was the important factor, rooted in the logic of productive needs.

However our discussion has already indicated that costs and technology can only be understood in their relation to market forces, and we should be clear that the particular shaping of demand within and around the urban settlement played its part in sustaining the production of goods which could supply such demands. The growth of settlements and specialisation within them obviously gave impetus to dependence on the commercial supply of goods and skills which in a simpler, smaller environment would be provided on a self-sufficient basis. Such "commercial" activity would range from construction work and tool-making to food processing crafts such as baking and the making of confectionery, and served not merely a minority but a large number of those who did not pursue those activities themselves.

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 110, 189.

In the 1870's Kerman city sustained over 52 baker's shops which supplied some two-thirds of the working populace who, as Haji Sayyah noticed, included the poorest, while there was trade for seven confectionery makers in Bahramabad/Rafsinjan also found in Bam.(1) Here of course is a natural extension in scale from village food processing crafts. Aside from such activities, we can argue that there would have been demand within a settlement of size for a whole range of other skills for construction (brickwork, carpentry, plastering), for metal goods for daily domestic or business life (tools, locks, vessels, scales) and other widely used goods such as ceramics, shoes and textiles. Such needs arose naturally from the exercise of day to day activities and so even in the absence of specific references it is reasonable to suppose their existence as a significant force. This force would gain strength from the growth of urban centres in the Kerman region. The growth of Kerman city from an estimated 25,000 in 1850 to over 40,000 in 1874-5 and just under 50,000 by 1894, of Rafsinjan from over 5000 in 1870-1 to 8000 in the early 1890's and 9000 by 1904-5, of Bam from 8000-9000 in 1870 to 13,000 in the 1890's and 14,000 in 1903 may well not be accurate as to figures but suggests rates of increase which would stimulate a corresponding growth in many consumer demands.(2)

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(1) ibid., pp. 35, 169-170 : Khāterāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, p. 166 : E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Sidesaddle, p. 233.

(2) For Kerman see Abbott in F060/vol. 165, p. 89; Jughrafiya, p. 40 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 195 : for Rafsinjan see Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 179, A and P for 1894/vol. LXXVII p. 341; F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe Newcomen report p. 47 : for Bam see Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 86, 244, Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 219, F0248/vol. 788/Kerman consular diary 1895. It must be said that the British consul reporting on Kerman province in 1913-14 (F0248/vol. IIII) gives much lower figures for both Rafsinjan and Bam.

Consumer demand should be considered qualitatively as well as quantitatively and it must be remembered that urban centres were the focus of those groups with the money and status to command a range of goods which were the produce of skilled craftsmen. It was in the larger settlements that men "of wealth and riches", to use Vaziri's phrase[1] were based. From these settlements they would organise the collection of taxes/revenues, or compete for office and influence, or engage in social activities ranging from watching the ta^{c}zieh passion plays of Muharram to playing polo and horse racing with the British consul.[2] In these settlements with their specialised crafts they could spend the proceeds of landholding, office or commerce. In surveying Vaziri's treatment of the subject of "notables" (ma^{c}arif) it can be seen firstly that he locates them in the more "urban" settlements - Kerman city, Bam, Sirjan, Shahr-i-Babak Rafsinjan (and also more surprisingly in Anar, Kuhbenan and Ravar)[3] but that secondly he associates them with towns even when revenue collection or tribal responsibilities might take them into the hinterlands of the region for certain periods. This was the case with the chiefs of the Lak tribe who while they might have land and flocks in Aqta^{c} and Arzuyeh lived and were listed as notables of Kerman, or with the Vaziri family who were landowner-officials in the same area but whose fortunes are also discussed in the context of the provincial capital, or notables of Bam who might hold office over Sarduyeh and have land and trade

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(1) See Jughrāfīyā, pp. 99, 154, 158, 169.

(2) Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 203 : E. Sykes, Through Persia on a side-saddle, pp. 171-2.

(3) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 41-82, 97-103, 158-60, 165-7, 172-4, 183-4, 186-7, 190-2.

links through the whole Kerman region and beyond, but still be Bam residents.(1)

These wealthy urban dwellers, whether the Bam Khans who could afford to finance clinics and schools at the turn of the twentieth century, or the Kerman city elite who associated with governors and foreign consuls, obviously had demands for goods of a quality commensurate with wealth and status.(2) Some of these might come from a distance and we know of the taste for European watches, guns and hardware, and the imports of Bokhariot sheepskins, Isfahani prints and Yzd silks into Kerman for just such a market.(3) However the existence of local skills developed in the context of regional autonomy and the problems (and therefore costs) of long-distance transport would confine such commerce to commodities where demand was so shar or specific as to transcend these constraints. This might leave long-distance trade as a significant factor, which indeed will be discussed later, but it also left a genuine role for local skills to satisfy demand for quality goods. The plaster and wood

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 72-3, 144 makes this point about the khans of the Lak tribe, and pp. 58-63, 150 about the Vaziri family. The notables of Bam and their interests are discussed in ibid., pp. 100-101.

(2) The financing of the clinic at Bam is referred to in F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary last week of September 1904. Above, p. 184 note 2 is an instance of the social activities of the Kerman elite.

(3) See Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 226 : F060/vol. 165/Abbott's report on S. Persia, p. 38 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 51 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, table IV, VIII : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 204.

ornament of the Hanadi house, and the spacious style of the former house of the Imam Jom^{c}eh in Kerman city, and the competent if unoriginal tile-work of the Vakil al Mulk's baths in the same city show the level of the craft skills put at the service of prominent merchants, ^{c}ulama or rulers.(1) We may not have direct or specific evidence of the production of ceramics metalwork or textiles on a similar basis (though the tradition of embroidered patu cloths is traced back by locals to the nineteenth century) but it is at least arguable that here too local urban producers played as much if not more of a part than imports. Certainly smithing and copperworking are still carried on in a traditional way suggesting established markets in the bazaars of Kerman and Rafsinjan, and brick-kilns and other building crafts would have needed provision on a local basis.

Hopefully these points have been sufficient to provide a convincing argument that there was a substantive basis for an extended division of labour and specialisation of craft skill serving local needs within urban settlements, even in an area like Kerman which was relatively lacking in resources and communications in comparison with other regions. This division of labour can be considered in two ways; one is the division of a manufacturing process into component stages and the evolution of each stage into an autonomous process carried on by specific workers in specific places (thus cloth production in divided form would break down into spinning, dyeing, weaving etc.);

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(1) These buildings can still be examined and when I went over them in 1973 showed evidence of the capacity to use the skills and designs prevalent in the Iranian nineteenth century building crafts.

secondly, general production of articles with a common characteristic can be replaced by specialised production of particular types of article (thus in place of metalworkers producing all the range of metal goods we would find file, nail and lock makers, engravers, metal thread drawers, braziers, engravers, and more, each making their specialised product). We can perhaps characterise the former sort of division of labour as technological and the latter sort as typological. It is this typological division of labour which was the most characteristic of pre-industrial craft manufacture in nineteenth century Iran, and as H. Wulff points out in his survey of "traditional crafts", which links historical data with his own observations in Iran before World War II, it was one of the most striking and significant features of the craft tradition.(1)

Precisely because the craft activities which sustained local existence were either taken for granted or dismissed as uninteresting by many of our nineteenth century sources it is difficult to offer a detailed account of the functioning of these crafts in the urban settlements of Kerman at that period. It may be in part that such crafts were indeed less developed or noticeable in a region with fewer, smaller, urban centres and smaller productive resources than the regions of the north-west or centre of Iran, but it can also be argued that the pre-occupations and one-sided views of the observers also helped create such a distortion of evidence. Wulff's survey of

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(1) Wulff, The Traditional Crafts of Persia, p. 18 refers to "The rigid framework of the system of division of labour traditional in Persia".

traditional crafts, at a period when foreign imports and industrial goods had driven an even greater wedge into the Iranian economy than in our period, testifies to the established and structurally focal place they played in the economy even then. It therefore seems appropriate to use his survey to give an idea of the range of activities likely to be carried on even in the relatively ill-endowed centres of Kerman, supplemented where possible by reference to evidence from our period. Although this might seem an otiose procedure once one has been convinced of the centrality of localised demand for much-used products in the pattern of urban manufacture, it is well worth fixing this perception more firmly by considering the sheer variety of complex skills which were sustained in this way.

The wide distribution of available copper deposits in Iran not excluding Kerman(1) and the suitability of copper, as a good conductor, for use in cooking helped establish a tradition of using the metal in a wide variety of domestic utensils. In the nineteenth century imported sheet copper was ousting the native product, but this in no way diminished the extensive use of copper for these established purposes, and as Wulff demonstrates there was a great range of products and skills which emerged from the coppersmith's workshop.(2) Figures for imports of copper in Bandar Abbas cannot tell us the specific demand in the Kerman area but in the latter nineteenth century it ranged from 20,000 rupees worth to 206,000 rupees worth and

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(1) Nineteenth century deposits in use in Kerman are referred to in F0251/vol. 42/Abbott's notes on S. Persia, pp. 125-6 : A and P for 1886/vol. LXXVII/report on the state of Persia and its mineral resources : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/ report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 39.

(2) Wulff, Traditional Crafts, pp. 20, 28.

in 1892-3 Kerman imported 10,000 mann of copper and 4000 mann of solder.(1) Figures for demand in Kerman just before the first world war suggest that Kerman city might consume up to 3000 mann of imported copper sheeting and Bam took 5000 mann of the same.(2) Comparisons between different years show sharp fluctuations in imports but we can at least get some idea of the level of need that might exist. When the British consul in Kerman could observe some 50 coppersmiths in the city taking bast at the consulates there we have at least a minimum figure for those engaged in that craft in 1910.(3) Much of the copper used which was not imported was re-processed scrap metal and Wulff suggests that larger settlements (like Kerman) could in fact sustain full-time copper sheet makers rather than leaving this work to coppersmiths.(4) When we consider the number of public baths in Kerman and Bam in the 1870's (51 and 6) we can see the possibility for the specialised copper boiler-makers also mentioned by Wulff having operated there.(5)

If the coppersmith was central to the supply of the jugs, bowls, dishes, trays etc. which were used domestically, there were also other metal craftsmen who played an important role in supplying general consumption. The blacksmith and specialised relatives like the cutlery/scissors maker, locksmith and makers of scales, balances

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(1) Gulf Administration reports of 1877 and 1881 A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 391.

(2) F0248/vol.IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, tables I and V.

(3) F0248/vol. 998/Kerman consular diary for 9-16 June 1910.

(4) Wulff, Traditional Crafts, p. 22.

(5) Jughrafiya, pp. 31, 94 : Wulff, op. cit., p. 28.

and steelyards supplied goods used by a wide range of persons in domestic life, artisan production and trade, thus playing a central sustaining role in urban production. In the nineteenth century imported iron and steel supplied the ironworking industries that were to be found in settlements of all kinds. In 1894-5 Kerman imported some 25,000 mann of iron and at the outbreak of World War I imports (via Bandar Abbas) were about 11,000 mann of iron and steel (about 90% of it iron bars) worth about 46,800 kran to Kerman city, and to Bam some 16,500 mann worth 52,500 kran, while Sirjan (which appears not to have got copper via this route) imported 6000 mann of iron and steel worth 29,750 kran.(1) Obviously local producers whether of agricultural tools or of other ferrous goods were at least offering some alternative to the Russian hardware which was penetrating even this region by the 1880's albeit in small quantities.(2)

The general growth of commerce and settlement will have contributed directly to local demand for tools, scales, nails and locks as well as files and cutlery, even if local producers faced problems.(3) The growth of agriculture in areas like Bam and Sirjan demanded more agricultural tools, sometimes of a specialised nature as with the tools for extracting opium from poppy-heads, a growing concern in the 1870's and 1880's in the north and west of Kerman.(4)

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(1) F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, tables I, V, X.

(2) As noted by Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 218.

(3) A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1902-3 p. 411 comments on the "extortionate" prices charged by metalworkers for their goods which are attributed to the limited capital and high profit margins of these craftsmen.

(4) See Stack, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 184, 231, 233.

Turning from metal to ceramic crafts we have a manufacturing sector of similar importance if less diverse in specialised subdivisions. Domestic unglazed pottery widely used for storage, and water (the porous material having natural cooling properties) was probably produced in a wide range of rural as well as urban settlements. However the demands for finer earthenware, glazed pottery or tilework were more likely to be focussed in towns, and as has been argued urban production could solve the difficulty of using more costly skills and materials profitably. In the larger centres with a wealthier clientele there was a demand not only for better qualities of pottery but also for tiles on the buildings that they sponsored and lived in. Stack noted the extensive tile-work installed by Vakil-al-Mulk in the caravanserai he financed in the 1860's, and though some of the most superior tilework on the range of civic buildings which various rulers and notables sponsored may have been done by especially imported workmen, much of the work is likely to have been a local product.(1) So in Kerman city at least we may postulate a developed ceramic industry although whether or not this was linked with past traditions is impossible to say.(2) Since some pottery manufacture was known even in relatively small settlements it is also possible to argue that other urban centres like Bam or Sirjan, or Shahr-i-Babak with its 80 "shops" in the early 1890's,(3) may well

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(1) Stack, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 208-9. For imported workmen see below p. 250 .

(2) Kerman had been a producer of fine export ceramics in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. See e.g. R. du Mans, L'Estat de la Perse, reprint of 1890 ed. pp. 197 : A. Lane, Later Islamic Pottery, pp. 81-4, 103-7, 119-121

(3) Noted by Consul Preece in A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/p. 355.

have sustained ceramic crafts if only for the unglazed water pots and oil containers or the rough green glazed bowls in which yoghurt was sold. We have already noted the existence of pottery works at Bahramabed in the 1870's.(1) In a similar range of crafts we may note Jacob Polak's comment of the 1860's that most larger towns had a glass furnace serving local needs (for glass vessels, and perhaps window or mirror glass) despite the low standards of production.(2)

Carpentry and woodwork, as was noted in connection with the rural sector, were an area of manufacture which depended on scarce resources and were therefore relatively restricted in their role. However within such restrictions there were certain very crucial contributions which this craft made to the manufacturing needs of urban settlements. Most obvious of these were the essential wooden elements used in buildings - doors, windows, rafters, and possibly in grander urban residences ceiling work and cupboards. Although wooden furniture was less significant in the Iranian household than in European ones, chests, boxes and sometimes bed-frames and tables were also produced to some extent, and Vaziri comments on the suitability of the jog wood of Jiroft for just such purposes.(3) He also comments on the use of wood from Khabar in the Aqtā^{c} district and from Dar-i-farad for the carpentry manufactures of Kerman city, which is some evidence of the development of that craft.(4) Consul Sykes commented on the lack of

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(1) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 180.

(2) J. Polak, Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner, p. 179.

(3) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 117-118 : the jog tree is called "sissod" by Wulff, Traditional Crafts, p. 76.

(4) ibid., p. 142.

skilled carpenters in the city, but he may have judged by European standards since the governors were able to send carpenters to Baluchistan, which did lack such skills perhaps, to work on forts there.(1) In an urban economy where textile production assumed a significance characteristic of many pre-industrial patterns of manufacture, the importance of loom construction should not be forgotten, not to mention the provision of spindles and shuttles by the wood-turner (a craftsman in his own right).(2) The wood-turner also produced the stems of pipes and water-pipes, both widely used objects in a society where the smoking of tobacco and opium was widely practised by all classes and both sexes. We know that opium smoking was considerable in Kerman in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and that the wood of trees in the area was particularly used for pipemaking.(3)

The range of crafts associated with building construction was naturally considerable ranging from the preparation of building materials (brickmaking, lime and gypsum burning, stonecutting) to the finishing and ornamenting of buildings by decorative brick, plaster or stonework, quite apart from the actual construction work. While

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(1) A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1902-3, p. 411 : F0248/vol. 968/Kerman consular diary for 11-18 February 1909.

(2) Wulff, Traditional Crafts, pp. 81, 92.

(3) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 333 : evidence of wide use of opium in Kerman can be deduced from the protest over the introduction of a new opium tax recorded in F0248/vol. 1072/Kerman consular diary 21-28 April 1913, and general comments as in F0248/vol. 878/diary for February 1906 on the "opium soothed tranquillity" of the Kerman bazzar, or in M. Hume Griffiths, Behind the veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia, pp. 75, 157 quoting a Kermani saying "every fourth man of three is an opium smoker". Wulff, Traditional Crafts, pp. 76-7 mentions the kahur (mesquite) and kavij (medlar) both of which were found in Kerman according to Vaziri, as being used for pipes.

much of the latter might be done by unskilled labour, there were also distinct roles of organisation, design and supervision for the "builder" (ma^{c}mār, bannā). It was on the basis of general training in this role that specialisation in bricklaying or masonry and from these in turn brickcutting, tile-laying or stone-cutting would emerge. Thus rather than starting in any one specialist craft a building artisan would, according to Wulff, begin with general training and then move according to skill and preference (and presumably opportunity) to one of the particular crafts.(1) A similar distinction existed between the ordinary plasterer who rendered walls and ceilings and the ornamental plaster craftsman doing decorative work on plaster surfaces.(2) The general growth of the larger settlements of Kerman would have provided work for the former while the building requirements of the wealthier classes gave opportunity to the latter. All these developments would also stimulate the production of bricks and plaster which in turn employed particular workers as brickmakers and lime/gypsum burners. Again Wulff observes that the larger the settlement, the more likely that for example lime and gypsum production would become separate manufacturing activities.(3)

If we examine the situation in nineteenth century Kerman more closely several points can be made. Certainly there is evidence of the use of building skills in the area at that period whether one considers the surviving buildings themselves - quite numerous in

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(1) Wulff, op. cit., pp. 108, 121-2.

(2) ibid., p. 134.

(3) ibid., p. 126.

Kerman city but also observable in Bam and Rafsinjan - or recollects the numerous references in both Persian and foreign sources to the buildings commissioned at this time. The fact that when wage rates are quoted, building workers are frequently among the few types listed suggests that they formed a significant element in the work-force.(1) However it is important as far as Kerman is concerned to keep the situation in some sort of perspective. The smaller scale of resources and production in the region as a whole and consequent poverty compared with other areas of Iran meant that there were relatively more limited openings for the more sophisticated skills to evolve or expand. When Ibrahim Khan Qajar 'Zahir ad Doulel' began is programme of building in the city of Kerman he brought in marble and stone workers from elsewhere.(2) The rapid growth of Tehran as the centre of government or of Tabriz as the premier centre of commerce in a prosperous agricultural hinterland was not matched in Kerman although as has been shown the growth of centres there was quite significant in local terms. One major source of employment for construction workers was the maintenance of forts/defensive points in Baluchistan as a means of asserting the capacity of the governor of Kerman and his deputy in Bam to exact dues from the Baluch Khans. References to the sending of masons and builders from Kerman to the frontier areas suggests that such employment served to maintain the construction skills rooted in the city.(3)

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(1) See for example A and P for 1890/vol. LXXVI/report on Khorasan trade 1889-90 A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII, Report on Khorasan trade 1905-6, p. 365 : A and P for 1908/vol. CXIV/report on Sistan and Qain, p. 670.

(2) M. Himmat, Tārīkh-i-Mufassil-i-Kermān,

(3) See above p.185-6 and note.

If the construction crafts were serving one essential role in urban life and thereby making workers in that area an established feature of urban society, another area employing a large amount of resources and skills was the whole complex of textile production. It was one area of manufacture which had reached a very high level of differentiation whether based on the raw material being used (cotton, wool, silk) on the process involved (spinning, dyeing, warp winding, weaving, (carpet) knotting, embroidery) or the type of end-product (shawls, carpets, velvets, gilims, ribbons). Some techniques and products developed to serve an extensive and specialised market, a phenomenon which we shall look at when dealing with the whole question of production for long distance commerce. At this point however, as with other crafts it is worth considering the place of urban textile industry in serving more localised needs. Karbas, the most basic inexpensive cotton cloth was certainly traded extensively but also would be consumed on a significant scale locally, competing, as British observers noted, with imported Manchester fabric. They noted that periods of greater prosperity tended to give rise to greater demand for imported printed cottons, while those with less to spend would use the cheaper locally-woven indigo-dyed textile that was the "characteristic" clothing of lower-class Persians.(1) Here again production in the urban setting was a logical extension of types of manufacture also found in villages. In Kerman, where

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(1) A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVI/report on trade of Persia 1884, p. 15 : A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVIII/report on Gulf trade 1884, p. 619 : E. Sykes, Persia and its People, pp. 100-101, 220.

the transforming effect of commercial forces was less complete than in other regions, the limits of more modest incomes may well have sustained local manufacture to a greater extent than elsewhere. The range of cloth making activity noted by Abbott in the 1850's is further evidence of this.(1)

The production of cloth would, in its turn help to sustain a dyeing industry in larger centres, which would obviously also be supported by the export sector of textile production. Other ancillary occupations linked to textile production were spinning, warp setting and the finishing crafts, all involving particular persons and skills. At the other end of the chain of processes larger centres could support clothing and other sewing crafts which indeed were among the few noted by Haji Sayyah on his visit to Kerman city in the late 1870's.(2) The production of various domestic or furnishing articles made of fabric (curtains, covers, sacks) would similarly occupy skilled workers in stitching, quilting etc. to supplement the domestic (i.e. unwaged) exercise of such skills. Some of these needs may have been met by imports from outside the region, for example of Isfahani qalamkar work, but it is unlikely that there was no local production for local demand. A related area was giveh and shoe manufacture, and the presence of a tannery on Sykes' map of Kerman city in the 1890's suggests that the leatherworking skills noted by Polak three decades earlier were still practised.(3)

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(1) F060/vol. 165/Abbott on S. Persia, p. 37.

(2) Khāterāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, p. 164.

(3) Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 188 : Polak, Persien, p. 173.

Again it is worth pointing out that this survey of craft production is intended to create not merely a patchwork of interesting data but a basis for serious understanding of the nature of urban life and society. As the needs of settlement became more diverse with size and specialisation so the range of manufactures which could depend on fairly localised demand would also grow. The separation between such manufacturing crafts and those feeding more distant markets, like that between rural and urban contexts, was not so much a dichotomy but a difference in emphasis. Nonetheless it seems useful to emphasise to what extent manufacturing activity which played its part in the <u>self-sustaining</u> character of a pre-industrial economy must be given weight in any analysis of the economy (including its social dimensions). The network of relationships which bound together settlements within the Kerman region and linked the region to others becomes more comprehensible in the light of this self-sustaining dimension which provided the basis on which such relationships could grow and change.

Turning to consider those kinds of urban production which were specifically oriented toward long-distance commerce, it can be seen that just as in agriculture the need for local self-sufficiency created a diversity of activity which in turn produced specialisation and long-distance exchange, so too the variety of artisan skills which sustained the regional economy was a reservoir from which specialised production for trade outside the region could emerge. Of course this pattern of evolution was not a peculiarity of Kerman but a characteristic of many pre-industrial economies in Iran and other parts of Asia. In a

sense awareness of the exchange of specialised goods across the regions of the Middle East, India or Central Asia has dominated studies of the economies and urban life of those areas.(1) It is less often integrated with a perception of the urban sector or regional economy as such, nor is there much discussion of the particular factors shaping the emergence of specialised crafts to play an "international" role. Obviously this is a complex topic but it seems worth a brief glance at the historic and structural conditions which encouraged these developments in order to understand the specific state of affairs in the Kerman region in the nineteenth century.

When the distinctions between urban and rural craft production were originally discussed, the growth of specialised production centralised in larger settlements was related on the one hand to the need to rationalise production costs by focussing the manufacture of goods requiring costly resources and skills in a few centres which could serve a wider market and on the other hand to the existence of markets for such products. By extension these considerations also encouraged specialisation on a wider geographical and social level, where the market for really complex and costly goods was sufficiently restricted for their manufacture to be practicable only on a limited scale. This in turn meant that such manufacture was likely to be concentrated in settlements large and diverse enough and with enough resources to sustain the goods and services on which specialised craftsmen had to

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(1) See for example the historical section of Curzon's survey of Persian trade in Persia and the Persian question, vol. II, pp. 528-531 : H. Inalcik, "The Ottoman Economic Mind" in Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, pp. 209-215, or S. Labib, "Egyptian Commercial Policy" ibid., pp. 63-77.

depend. Thus it is not surprising that in the Kerman region most of the manufactures which left the region were produced in the provincial capital and one or two other places with particular features favouring such production. Thus the carpet production of Ravar which undoubtedly reached markets outside the province was linked to the special interests of merchants and governors who sponsored similar activity in Kerman city and so were organised to channel the products of Ravar craftsmen outside the region and to profit by it.(1) The trade of Yazdi and Harandi merchants in the karbas of Bam was doubtless connected to the fact that it could be linked the other branches of trade in agricultural products.(2) There is no clear reason for the particular success of the namad felts of Zarand.(3) However the majority of manufactured exports from the Kerman region of which there is evidence were the produce of Kerman city, although in some cases they may be listed there because it was the outlet rather than the place of manufacture.

The fact that the majority of export manufactures were textiles can be explained in several ways. The basic raw materials - cotton and wool - were easily available and could be used in a wide variety of ways creating the basis for a complex range of manufactures for clothing, furnishing and decorative fabrics. Textiles of a sophisticated kind can well be produced on a workshop basis, and indeed the low wages which characterised Kerman in comparison with other parts of Iran must have made it a particularly profitable undertaking since

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, p. 189 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/ Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 347 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 38-9, 199.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, p. 95.

(3) ibid., p. 178 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/loc. cit., p. 348 : Sykes, op. cit., p. 152.

labour was the most costly item in costs of production.(1) Long distance transport when, as in Iran, it was slow and costly is more practicable with textiles which have a higher ratio of quantity to weight than say metal goods and are less likely to damage in transit than more fragile products. British observers noted that distant markets for felts would have been greater had their weight and therefore freight cost not been so relatively high, which suggests that this factor was a real consideration in the development and maintenance of trade over long distances.(2) Obviously these factors influenced the growth of the textile trade long before the nineteenth century, but it is arguable that even then, when there was competition from imported industrial textiles, they continued to operate, sustaining traditional craft skills and products. Figures and comments about inter-regional trade, when available, show that there were ongoing exchanges of specialised textile products between various areas which in turn depended on the manufacture of such goods (Yazd silks, Isfahani prints).(3)

Looking more specifically at textile production in Kerman we can see that its character in the nineteenth century was to a large extent rooted in established patterns. Most notable of the traditional high-class textiles of the region were the shāl fabrics (from which our word "shawl" derives) which were widely used as part of upper-class

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(1) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 42 : Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, p. 164.

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 48 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 201.

(3) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/loc. cit., p. 51.

dress and as decorative hangings, covers etc.(1) It has already been shown that in the eighteenth century shāl-weavers were a sufficiently significant group to compete with British East India Company agents for the Kermani wool supplies which were the basic raw material, and European observers in the early decades of the nineteenth century noted Kerman shawls among the manufactured goods exported all over Asia (elsewhere in Iran, India, Central Asia, Iraq and Turkey) and to Russia.(2) By the middle of the century exports via Tabriz to Istanbul could be up to nearly £30,000 and Consul Abbott who visited Kerman city in 1850 estimated the output of the looms there and in the vicinity at between £47,000 and £52,000. At this stage shāl production was quite diversified in type and quality employing perhaps 18% of the population, mostly male children.(3) It continued to supply a range of markets in Turkey, Russia, Central Asia and other regions of Iran, and if there was no spectacular growth there was, as far as the figures for Tabriz exports show, a steady flow in the latter decades of the century which varied between about £16,000 and £32,000 in contemporary value.(4) In the later 1890's Sykes estimated the output of the Kermani looms as being worth some, 300,000 toman/£60,000, claiming that production had doubled "in the last few years".(5)

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(1) Fraser, Travels and Adventures, appendix II, p. 369 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 102 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman p. 346 : Ella Sykes, Through Persia on a side-saddle, p. 114, Persia and its People, pp. 54, 65, 319-320 all list the uses of shāl.

(2) G. Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse, vol. III pp. 171, 179-180, 185 : Fraser, op. cit., appendix II, pp. 354, 359, 362, 363, 373.

(3) F060/vol. 147/report on Tabriz trade 1848 : F060/vol. 165/ Abbott on S. Persia, pp. 36-36a.

(4) Jughrāfīyā, p. 33 : exports via Tabriz are listed in Table VI

(5) Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 200 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/ report on Kerman, 1894-5, p. 41.

Since, as we shall see, trade values and commercial figures were subject to many influences entirely outside the sphere of production it is worth assessing the growth and change in shāl manufacture in rather different terms to parallel the monetary view. One alternative perspective would be the number of looms employed in this branch of manufacture, which seems to have grown from perhaps 2200 (Abbott's 1850 estimate) to 3000 when Sykes was surveying production in the late 1890's.(1) This view is somewhat complicated by Vaziri's dramatic estimate of 12,000 kārkhānehs each employing two weavers dating from the mid 1870's and the figure given by Lovett on the Goldsmid Mission of 120 "manufactories" in Kerman city in 1870-1, though he also estimates two to three workers for each loom.(2) Whether it is possible to argue that the "manufactories" of Lovett contained large numbers of workers (and indeed he saw 60 or 70 in the one he visited) and that Vaziri used the term "karkhāneh" to designate a loom rather than a workshop, and so bring the figures into a credible relationship is somewhat questionable. More reasonable would be the contention that Vaziri was concerned to emphasise the dominant role of the craft in Kerman while Lovett may well have been told only about the largest and most organised production units for that craft. Both certainly confirm the place of shāl weaving in the economy of the city. Another alternative to money estimates of shāl production are the figures in some consular records of the quantities (bales, weights, loads) which

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(1) F060/vol. 165/p. 36 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/ loc. cit.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, p. 33 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 186-7, 191.

passed into their view. Thus exports from Tabriz rose from 352 bales in 1866 to 632 bales in 1883 and remained at the level of between 550 and 617 bales for the rest of the century rising on one occasion to over 1000 bales.(1) While it is not possible to estimate what proportion of total production they represented, these figures in themselves give some impression of the quantities of shāl produced and consequently the extent of manufacturing activity in Kerman city.

Shāl-making was not only significant in quantitative terms within the pattern of urban crafts, but also represented a clear instance of diversification within the craft so that various qualities and types of shāl were produced to adapt to a range of markets. In 1850 Keith Abbott noted the "great variety of qualities and descriptions" and different sizes and prices of Kerman shāl, while at the end of the decade Otto Blau names various shapes and patterns as does Polak for the mid 1860's.(2) In the 1870's Vaziri gives names for three or four types of shāl and in the 1890's British visitors like Preece and Sykes also comment on the varieties of shāl being produced for different markets.(3) They distinguish between the "coarse" varieties which supplied a popular market in Turkey (going even to the remote areas of Eastern Anatolia according to consular reports) and the high class products which were mainly bought by the Iranian upper classes. In typological terms we may observe that plain kinds of shāl were used

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(1) See table VI ; the figures quoted here are from Tabriz trade reports in A and P for 1867-8/vol. LXVIII/pp. 59-60, A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVI/p. 152-3 , A and P for 1895/vol. XCIX/p. 383.

(2) F060/vol. 165/Abbott on S. Persia, pp. 36-36a : O. Blau, Commercielle Zustande Persiens, p. 107 : J. Polak, Persien, p. 167.

(3) Jughrāfiyā, p. 37 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/p. 346 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/p. 48 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 200.

for dresses, coats and linings, while patterned and embroidered versions would have been displayed as coverings, sashes, turbans or curtaining.(1) What is hard to discover is what proportions of different qualities or types were produced and how and if these proportions changed. For example one might argue that the important scale of export of the lower grades of shāl to Turkey indicates the orientation of production towards mass demand for cheaper goods rather than to the luxury end of the market, although the evidence does not really allow one to do more than float it as a possibility.

Both the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of shāl production had their influence on the organisation of production. On the one hand the variety and degree of skill required to produce shāl, especially the finer types, reinforced types of training and working based on small groups, and the collective enforcement of standards. Thus we have descriptions of the way in which weavers were trained by rote and supervised by more experienced workers who often did this by working as the middle weaver of a trio at a particular loom. These are common themes in Abbott's picture of 1850, in Lovett's or Floyer's during the 1870's, and in Preece's description of the early 1890's.(2) The demands for skill also sustained the extensive use of child labour on the grounds that smaller fingers were needed for the delicate work involved in high-quality shāl making which required

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(1) See the references to consular reports in the previous note.

(2) F060/vol. 165/Abbott on S. Persia, pp. 36-38 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 186-187 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 324-6 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 346.

extra threads to be woven into the web of fabric. All the above mentioned observers comment on this and on the bad conditions of work involved. They also note a developed division of labour between various levels of skill (manifest in differing wages) and specialisation of jobs such as supervision and pattern-making.

It may be that the persistence of bad work conditions and low wages may also have been affected by the need for producers of shāl to compete in an increasingly cuthroat market and to provide substantial quantities of shāl in order to do so. In 1850 unskilled weavers were said to earn 1-2 kran for a six-day week working some 10-14 hours daily, and skilled workers to get $3\frac{1}{2}$-5 kran, while by the 1870's the wages of the unskilled may have been 1.25-2.5 kran and those of skilled workers some 7.25 kran.(1) The significance of these figures can only really be assessed if it can be related to the purchasing power of such wages, and there are no figures for the Kerman area at that period. We know that wages there were considered to be lower than elsewhere in Iran and it may be that food prices were correspondingly less as well.(2) In the 1890's comparison between Khorasan, Rasht and Kerman would seem to confirm this.(3) What we have little way of knowing is how far prices had been changing in comparison with wages over the preceding decades, and how far

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(1) F060/vol. 165/loc. cit., pp. 37-8 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 187 (using the contemporary rate of exchange £1 = 25 kran).

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 42 : E. Sykes, Through Persia, pp. 87-8.

(3) A and P for 1892/vol. LXXXIII/p. 436 : A and P for 1893-4/vol.XCV/p. 712 : F0248/vol. 968/Kerman consular diary 2-9 September 1909, gives prices fixed by the Bam anjuman.

the position of shāl weavers was affected. Certainly other factors did affect them whether that was the unpleasant physical conditions of production (already mentioned), the threat of unemployment due to trade fluctuations, or to change in demand for patterns which had to be learnt, or the punishment meted out for faulty work, which was deplored by British and Persian observers alike.(1) The fact that so many of the labour force were aged between 6 and 10 obviously made all forms of control easier.

One further consequence of competition and growing demand in the period from 1850 to the 1890's may have been an increasing tendency for production to become consolidated into larger units. Whereas Abbott describes shāl making as being

> "carried on in the private dwellings or premises of the people",

by the 1870's we seem to be dealing with larger scale "workshops" or "manufactories" employing 18 or 20 looms each requiring two or three weavers, although Preece in the early 1890's gives rather lower figures of four to ten looms per workshop.(2) Such a process of consolidation would involve the emergence of groups with the resources to invest in and mobilise the raw materials and labour power for larger units of production. Thus rather than seeing production as being carried on by isolated craftsmen it is important to consider the emergence of artisans either tied to middlemen by a need for raw

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(1) Floyer, op. cit., pp. 325-6 : Khaṭerāt-i-Ḥāji Sayyāh, p. 164 : E. G. Browne, A Year among the Persians, pp. 482-483.

(2) F060/vol. 165/p. 36 : Floyer, op. cit., p. 324 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 186 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/ Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 346.

materials at one end of the process and access to markets at the other, or actually employed for wages at the point of production itself, as references to wage rates testify. As far as entrepremeurship is concerned we need to consider the role of the wealthy classes which included not only professional merchants dealing in long-distance trade (of whom over 100 were sufficiently notable to be mentioned by Vaziri)[1] but also members of the landed/official class who also took opportunities to benefit from this kind of investment. In particular there are significant references to the role of governors of Kerman in this area. The first Vakil-al-Mulk had powerful influence over the regional wool supply and sponsored workshops in the 1860's as did his successor in the following decade, and Persian writers imply that at least part of his wealth was derived from commercial activity.[2]

If shāl manufacture in Kerman during the latter half of the nineteenth century is an example of a traditional craft product which survived and even consolidated a role for itself in the competitive economic circumstances of the period, it was nonetheless vulnerable to change. Problems in the mid 1880's and again in the mid 1890's were symptomatic of this, and indeed there seems to have been a rapid collapse of the industry in the second half of that decade.[3] In fact while

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 79-80.

(2) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 100 : Floyer, op. cit., pp. 322, 325 :

(3) E. G. Browne, A Year among the Persians, p. 459 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman for 1894-5, p. 41.

Sykes recorded the flourishing state of the craft on his arrival in Kerman in the mid-decade by the turn of the century, a British observer who lived there in 1901-2 commented that although it was still carried on it was "rapidly on the decrease".(1) Whereas shāl exports and production exceeded those of carpets in the mid 1890's, by the start of World War I they were a minor element.(2) Significantly the place of shāl production was to be taken by a textile craft which was able to adapt itself to European demand as shāl work with its almost exclusively Asian markets had never done (as Sykes in his 1894-5 report pointed out), and is borne out by all the data on exports which have already been referred to.(3) It is to be regretted that no detailed evidence is available on the significance of the decline of shâl manufacture and the transfer, mentioned by Paul English, of artisans from that branch of production to the carpet industry. However it should not be supposed that shāl production disappeared completely since even in 1914 exports amounted to some half a million krans worth, and shāl producers figure in consular records.(4)

Like the shāl industry, carpet production in Kerman in the nineteenth century was rooted in a long-standing craft tradition. Although the quantity of carpets produced was not large their reputation had been high in Safavid times and, as has been noted, survived in some

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(1) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/loc. cit., pp. 41, 48 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 200 : M. Hume Griffiths, Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia, p. 46.

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/loc. cit., p. 50 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-1914.

(3) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/loc. cit., p. 41.

(4) F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-1914, table III :

form during the eighteenth century, and by the start of the nineteenth century were mentioned among the products exported from Kerman to India and other parts of Asia.(1) Abbott, reporting on the Kerman economy in 1850, was under the impression that carpets were produced only in Ravar rather than in Kerman city, but whatever their exact origin Kermani carpets were reaching Tehran and other parts of Iran and also possibly Turkey in the 1840's and 1850's.(2) For reasons which can be discussed elsewhere Kerman carpet production was not immediately affected by the pressures for expansion which affected other areas of Iran as European traders took up carpets as an export commodity which could replace silk after the collapse of silk production in the 1860's.(3) This was a feature of foreign trade via Tabriz and the Gulf from the early 1870's, and although Kermani carpets are not often mentioned, their reputation is asserted in a brief comment in the 1874-5 text of the Jughrafiya, and in the lists of exports from various provinces recorded at the Tehran customs house in 1872.(4) In the 1880's Kerman carpets are listed specifically among those exported via Tabriz, and it can be deduced that they formed a regular component of those exports which rose from some £28,000 in 1872 to £50,000 in 1886-7, £58,000 in 1887-8 and about £116,000 in 1896-7.(5)

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(1) Some historical background to carpet production is given above p. 66,68 . See also Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 226 : Fraser, Travels and Adventurers, pp. 354, 362.

(2) F060/vol. 165/Abbott on trade of S. Persia, p. 37 : F0251/vol. 42/Abbott's, notes on S. Persia, pp. 129-130 : F0248/vol. 98/trade at Tehran 1841 : Blau, Commercielle Zustande Persiens, pp. 104-105.

(3) See the article by Jenny Housego, "The Nineteenth Century Persian Carpet Boom", Oriental Art, 1973.

(4) A and P for 1875/vol. LXXV, p. 204 : A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV, p. 62 : Jughrafiya, p. 33 : A and P for 1873 vol. LXVII, p.

(5) A and P for 1888/vol. CII/reports on Tabriz Trade 1886-7, 1887-8 : A and P for 1872/vol. LXV, p. 972 : A and P for [illegible]. p. 641.

It was in the later 1890's, according to the revised text of Vaziri and British observers, that the sharp expansion of the carpet industry in Kerman began. Production, whose value in the mid 1890's was estimated at about £40,000, by 1902-3 reached a value of some £120,000 according to the British consul at that time.(1) After a setback largely caused by commercial problems, production recovered and by 1910 exports reached a value of some £¼ million.(2) This may have been an exceptional figure, but certainly carpets were now established as a major export commodity, and in the years before World War I Kerman produced carpets for export to the value of between £137,000 and £156,000.(3) What proportion of total production this was is difficult to estimate in the absence of other data, notably on the numbers of looms or quantities of carpets, which could give some idea of the material productivity behind monetary valuations. Stack thought that there were at most several hundred looms in Kerman and its environs in the early 1880's, but there is a somewhat improbable disparity between Preece's estimate of some 100 looms functioning in Kerman city in the early 1890's and Syke's figure of 1000 at the end of the same decade.(4) However they probably reflect, albeit exaggeratedly, the real growth of the carpet industry to which we have referred, and

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 33-4 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 199-200 : A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1902-3, p. 410.

(2) The crisis is described in F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe Newcomen report, p. 50 : the figures for 1910 are in F0248/vol. 1030/report on Kerman trade 1910-11, pp. 70-74.

(3) F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-1914, table III.

(4) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 211 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 346 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 199.

the emergence of the export market as a relevant factor. Preece was able to dismiss carpet export on his visit in 1892-3, but a decade later the situation had changed considerably.(1) We have little evidence of subsequent changes in the patterns of production but in the absence of changes in the technology of production it can be argued that increases in output must have been based on an extension of manufacturing activity and productive units.(2)

However an understanding of the role of the carpet industry in Kerman cannot confine itself to discussion of quantitative increases, but should rather go on to look at the structure and character of production. As with shāl manufacture there was dependence on skills which required training and control, the supervision of workers by a khalifah, was one and the learning of patterns another, although these were also drawn out on paper, as they are still today. Our observers again note the central role of child labour, which Consul Preece thought began at the age of four although Stack noted the ages of the boys he saw as between ten and 12. At the turn of the twentieth century a British medical missionary thought that the youngest weavers were around six years old.(3) The industry also depended on certain crucial ancillary craft skills which must have changed with

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(1) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/loc. cit. : F0881/vol. 8778*/ Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 51, describes carpet and shawl production together as "the principal indigenous industry."

(2) See for example A. C. Edwards, The Persian Carpet, p. 202 which claims a tripling of loom numbers 1900-1914.

(3) Descriptions of carpet production processes in nineteenth century Kerman can be found in Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, pp. 209-211 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 188 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece on Kerman and Yazd, p. 346-7 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 199-200 : M. Hume Griffiths, Behind the Veil, pp. 43-44.

the shifts in the carpet market. Quite apart from the employment the industry provided for large numbers of (women) spinners who processed the wool for weaving, dyeing and design making were craft activities which were specially important for carpet production, and whose quality indeed was the foundation of the high standing of Kermani carpets even before the impact of western demand. Thus consul Preece and Ella Sykes in the 1890's (and experts like Cecil Edwards subsequently) all make specific mention of the high standards of colour and pattern which characterised the products of Kerman.(1) Indeed Edwards surveying the industry over the first half of this century takes space to identify a tradition of design, rooted in some cases in individual families, going back to the early stage of the growth of carpet manufacture before World War I. This structure of production with various distinct processes contributing to one end-product but separated physically and socially by traditional divisions was the underlying factor a structurally significant role of the merchant middlemen in co-ordinating these processes.

The expansion of the industry between the mid 1890's and World War I affected the structure and practice of carpet weaving in diverse ways. At one level traditional skills and practices were even more in demand than before the opening of new western markets. The lack of change in technology meant the survival and expansion of the established patterns of workshop production, and although a few large scale workshops emerged before 1914 the dominant system seems to have remained one in

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(1) See A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/loc. cit. : E Sykes, Through Persia on a Side Saddle, p. 114 : idem, Persia and its People, p. 321-2 : Edwards, Persian Carpet, pp. 206, 209-210.

which loom-owners or entrepreneurs organised small numbers of looms in any one manufactory. The divisions of labour remained very similar as indeed it was to do for long after our period. So too did the conditions under which weavers were actually operating despite critical comment by European observers and at least one attempt by local authorities to introduce regulations as to working conditions.(1) The contract system of carpet production, with several variations had been the characteristic means of financing carpet weaving before the 1890's and continued, with modifications. Preece spoke of the need for "an advance" to start production in the 1890's just as Edwards outlines various "putting out" arrangements prevalent in the 1930's and 1940's and English looks at the contract system of the early 1960's.(2) The continuity in the nature of production reinforced the existence of a pattern of investment based on the merchant middlemen who could play the lynch-pin role needed in a manufacturing process marked by a great division of labour. Whether they were local entrepreneurs dealing in the established markets of the region and Iran, or western firms and their agents channelling carpets to overseas consumers, the merchant investor was an organic link between production and distribution who remained typical of the carpet industry throughout our period.

However this should not lead us to suppose that the overall organisation of production and trade remained unchanged. The very

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(1) M. Hume Griffiths, Behind the Veil, pp. 44-5 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 209 : E. Sykes, Persia and its People, p. 184 : FO248/vol. 1072/diary for April 1913.

(2) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 347 : Edwards, Persian Carpet, p. 206 : English, City and Village, pp. 92-4, 125-7.

transformation of consumption patterns for carpets with their entry into European and American markets led to some interesting alterations in the organisation of the industry. Kermani carpets, with their high reputation, had been sought after by merchants from outside the region through the nineteenth century, and the growth of the trade with Turkey via Tabriz brought entrepreneurs from there to Kerman to buy stock. At first they bought whatever carpets were coming from the looms, but gradually they began to intervene as contractors, influencing the standards of design and finish to suit their commercial ends. It was they who instigated the transfer of weavers from shāl to carpet manufacture.(1) This entry into production by merchants was accelerated by the arrival of agents from western firms, some European some Tabrizi, in Kerman. As late as 1905-6 the British Consul considered that the carpet trade was "entirely" in the hands of Tabrizi Turks, but in 1908 and 1909 the first European firms and agents arrived in Kerman and by 1913 another British consul could talk of the "large number of workshops" producing "solely for the European firms".(2) This development involved not only the decline of the Tabrizi Turks as middlemen but also the growth of foreign influence in production itself not merely in commerce. At the turn of the century British consuls

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(1) Edwards, op. cit., p. 201 : Jughrāfiya, p. 36.

(2) A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/report on Kerman trade 1905-6, p. 315 : F0248/vol. 938/Kerman consular diary 3-10 December 1908 : F0248/vol. 968/Consul Ducat (Kerman) to the Secretary of the Commercial Intelligence Branch, Board of Trade, 12 January 1909. F0248/vol. 1072/Kerman diary April 1913.

were already trying to influence the design of carpets and the quality of dyes used by pressure on the local notables who were also often involved in carpet manufacture.(1) Traditionally they had been commissioners of carpets and organisers of finance as observed both in Vaziri's original text of the 1870's and the revision of the 1890's and confirmed by British visitors like the Goldsmid mission and consul Preece.(2) Gradually western firms moved into a more direct productive role and by 1913-14 the British consul was describing how the foreign firms supplied designs and even cotton warp to the weavers. By the 1930's and 1940's Edwards noted direct involvement as one established trend among the complexities of the industry.(3) How far this process had gone by 1914 is difficult to estimate, although the recollections of those who remember the early days of foreign enterprise in Kerman suggest that direct employment and control had at least begun by then.(4)

If the expansion of the horizons of carpet manufacture to include a far wider universe, brought about the intrusion of new tendencies as well as the intensification of some older, there was not surprisingly, quite a complex interaction between the various

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(1) See for example Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 199 : F0248/vol. 820/Sykes (Kerman) to Hardinge (Tehran), 31 January 1904 (on the burning of aniline dyes).

(2) Jughrafiya, pp. 36, 189 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 1888 notes a commission from the shrine at Mashad : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit, p. 346.

(3) F0248/vol. III/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, p. 7. Edwards, Persian Carpet, p. 206.

(4) In interviews conducted in 1973 with B. Huffner an official of Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, who have operated in Kerman since 1909-1910, with Mr. Timoyannis whose family have been OCM agents and carpet entrepreneurs since that time, and with one of the Persian ex-employees of the company there were references to this phenomenon. Mr. Timoyannis described how the companies started to control the wool and dyestuffs employed and hire weavers, while my Persian informant (in his 80's) could remember fellow-craftsmen who "worked for the company".

forces at work. On the one hand loom owners found themselves contracting work with outside entrepreneurs (Tabrizi or European) as well as and more often then with local merchants and notables. While on the other they still controlled the immediate processes of production as they had in the past. On the one hand they were affected by the price fluctuations of a world market upon which they had little direct influence while on the other the structure of the contract system gave them considerable leverage with the foreign firms who linked their workshops with those markets. Thus when the local authorities attempted to regulate working conditions in the carpet shops, whether from humane concern or, as the British consul was cynically convinced, "to turn a dishonest and oppressive penny" by fining defalcators, it was the loom owners who could exert pressure on contractors and local government to ensure that the plan came to nothing.(1) Since the foreign firms laid out money commissioning carpets which took perhaps six months to complete, the loom owners could put considerable pressure on them simply by delaying completion and hence the realisation of return on the investment. Similarly the attempt by the British consul in 1901-2 to organise carpet production by adults who would earn more than the usual child weavers collapsed under the need to produce competitively.(2)

It is worth remembering that although Kerman city was the main centre where this interplay of forces took place it was not the only one. Weaving centres like Ravar were subject to many of the

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(1) See F0248/vol. 1072/Kerman consular diary April 1913.

(2) M. Hume Griffiths, Behind the Veil, p. 45.

developments and pressures which have already been discussed. In Ravar too the position of indigenous patrons of the industry as described by Vaziri in the 1870's was modified by the entry of foreign firms into the market for carpets.(1) The well established standing of Ravar carpets as noted by Abbott, rooted in a craft going back into the eighteenth century, took them into the new export markets of the later nineteenth century and by the 1890's they were perhaps even slightly ahead of the Kerman city product in entering those markets.(2) At the turn of the century Sykes thought there were about 100 looms in Ravar, and granted that Edward's 1937 figure of 300 looms comes after the impact of a world depression, we may postulate a definite growth of production there which parallels that of the provincial capital.(3) This growth set up a similarly parallel interplay of established tradition and new elements. Thus the agent of Castelli Brothers (a notable foreign business dealing in carpets) in Ravar found himself not only in conflict with fellow agents competing for advantage in a very modern way, but also with the established producers and their traditions (e.g. of secrecy and privacy in the workshop).(4) An additional dimension was the use of this situation made by the weavers in their own interests,

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(1) Jughrafiya, p. 189.

(2) F0251/vol. 42/Abbott's notes on S. Persia, p. 129 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 347 remarks that Ravar carpets, in contrast to those from Kerman, "are chiefly exported".

(3) Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 199.

(4) F0248/vol. 1072/Kerman consular diary, 28 April-5 May, 22-30 June, 6-13 October 1913.

and the obvious demand for competent designers and craftsmen which strengthened their position.

In the absence of full accounts from those involved in the carpet industry or any accurate or serial data on costs and wages in the industry it would be meaningless to discuss either the changing profitability of carpet production on the one hand, or the living standards and relative standing of workers on the other. The fact that carpet weaving and the ancillary crafts employed growing numbers is suggested by observations that in 1911 there were up to 12,000 weavers in Kerman city and that in 1913 a stoppage in the workshops could create unemployment for up to half the working population.(1) The conscious shift from shawl to carpet weaving, to which Vaziri and Edwards testify, gives some additional idea of the incentives for both entrepreneurs and artisans to become involved in the carpet industry.(2) The isolated comments that do survive about wages in the industry may indicate a rise in level between the early 1890's and the first years of the twentieth century.(3) Certainly the dramatic evolution of Kermani carpet manufacture, albeit belatedly in comparison to other Iranian carpet centres, was in part rooted in the capacity for the pull of an international market far more organised and powerful than traditional commercial forces to transcend the lack of capital which characterised and constrained entrepreneurs

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(1) F0248/vol. 1030/Kerman consular diary 1-7 September 1911 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 7-14 April 1913.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, p. 36 : Edwards, The Persian Carpet, p. 201-2.

(3) M. Hume Griffiths, Behind the Veil, p. 44 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit, p. 346.

and producers before the impact of that market.(1) If the shāl industry was never drawn into international linkages of this kind, and remained under-capitalised and failed to grow, carpet production in Kerman over the years 1895-1914 attained new levels and forms of development, with consequences for urban production which were significant for the region if less dramatic than those in other regions.(2)

Although textile manufacture in these two specialised categories dominated the awareness of observers, especially westerners, this should not obscure the fact that although they were indeed the dominant commercial manufactures there were also other craft products with some commercial role albeit a smaller one. Some comment on these crafts is relevant in order to gain an understanding of the range of occupations which engaged the urban inhabitants of Kerman. In the textile sector we find the felt caps, cloaks and carpets of Kerman city and Zarand whose reputation extended beyond the region even if their relative weight, as we noted, tended to limit long-distance trade. Certainly Pottinger considered them an article of such trade, and consular reports record consignments reaching Tehran in the 1840's.(3) Later in the century they are listed among products exported from the region and Vaziri identifies felt-work as among the notable manufactures.

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(1) Sykes' comments in A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 41-2 suggest a lack of local capital for carpet production more clearly identified by Consul Phillott in F0248/vol. 763/letter to Charles de Graz (Chargé d'affaires, Tehran), 14 August 1902.

(2) A far sharper instance of foreign intervention in carpet production can be illustrated by the description of the Ziegler enterprise at Sultanabad in west/central Iran in A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Report on Isfahan, pp. 57-8.

(3) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, pp. 225-6 : F0248/vol. 118/trade at Tehran 1845.

Although he like consul Preece in the early 1890's does not mention export specifically, certainly felts were to be found in Bam in the 1870's, and by the 1890's Kermani producers were sending 2000 felt cloaks annually to Tehran, and the produce around Zarand was described as "extensive" sustaining the established position of the product.(1) Among other textiles exported were embroidered quilts and coverings, coarser barak and patu, and a specialised type of aba or cloak which was known to come from Kerman in the 1860's and figures in the export data and commentary of British consuls in subsequent decades.(2) By the mid 1890's exports of various textiles other than shawls or carpets from Kerman to other parts was estimated at some 30,000 toman/£6,000 (some 6.67% of total exports).(3)

Quite apart from any quantitative significance which this evidence may have, there is here further testimony to the diversity of craft skills being practised even in a region which compared to say Isfahan was relatively limited in artisan complexity. Similar remarks might also be made in connection with some of the non-textile crafts which are known to have existed in the Kerman area in the nineteenth century. One craft which can be seen going into decline at this

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(1) A and P for 1873/vol. LXVII/p.364 on. : Jughrāfiyā, p. 178 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 348 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 101-2 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 152, 200-201.

(2) Jughrafiya, p. 37 : A and P for 1873/vol. LXVII/loc. cit. : Polak, Persien, p. 170-171 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/ report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 50 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 201 : A and P for 1883/vol. LXXIV/report on Gulf trade 1382 : A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVII/Report on Gulf Trade 1883.

(3) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 50.

period was armament manufacture. Traditionally Kerman had been a noted centre of matchlock (tufang) production which still merited particular note by Pottinger at the start of the nineteenth century and Fraser a decade later.(1) However this latter source was already pointing out that guns could be competitively supplied to Iran from Europe and the technological improvements and growth of factory production of guns in Europe during the nineteenth century simply overtook Persian gunsmiths by virtue of the use of far more accurate lathes for boring/grinding, and of superior hardened steels and as Wolff points out eliminated the craft.(2) The commercial mission of 1904-5 considered that matchlock production had survived in Kerman until the early 1870's but this must have been very much a long-drawn-out demise allowed by the relative lack of demand for arms in the area after the 1840's.(3) The rising level of nomad banditry and warfare of the end of the century was supplied from an active smuggling industry bringing western guns through Gulf ports to the south-east of Iran.(4) Thus a complete substitution of an imported industrial product had taken place, more

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 225 : Fraser, Travels and Adventures, appendix II, p. 354.

(2) Fraser, op. cit., pp. 362-3 : Wulff, Traditional Crafts, p. 59 dates this rather late.

(3) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 51 : the security of the 1870's and 1880's is commented on in Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 88 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 217 : E. G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia..., vol. IV, p. 567. This may be compared with a subsequent increase in various forms of banditry, raiding and unrest which developed at the turn of the century.

(4) Arms caravans are referred to regularly in the consular archives as for example F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary for 23-30 March, 23-30 May 1907 (Bam news) : F0248/vol. 998/Kerman consular diary 10-17, 17-24 February 1910.

complete than with most commodities, since an ongoing tussle between established indigenous products and industrial imports was more characteristic of the nineteenth century situation in Iran. The fact the European guns were both cheaper, being mass produced, and better, that is more reliable and accurate, as a result of the improvements mentioned above doubtless played a part in this success.

Among other metal-working crafts which supplied more than immediate needs brass-ware seems to have sustained some sort of status into the later part of the century. Vaziri devotes some space to commenting on the manufacture of jām-i-zard which involved some brass and copper alloy and a specialised group of craftsmen (the tayefeh-yi-ruyi-dar) and was exported to other centres.(1) Also in the 1870's, Floyer comments on the skill of the craftsmen working in the provincial mint and the quality of brass and copper ware in the bazar of Kerman, a quality which seems to have persisted into the 1890's according to Sykes.(2) It may be possible to identify continued activity in this craft subsequent to that date although the references are not particularly complimentary or illuminating.(3) Other than this it would seem that urban centres in Kerman did not sustain any very significant commercial metalworking to compare with the production of copper vessels in Kashan or the sophisticated wares of Isfahan which reached many centres of Iran during the nineteenth century.(4) In addition, like other

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 34, 37.

(2) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 323-4 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 201.

(3) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen, p. 51.

(4) This phenomenon can be traced from the 1820's in Fraser's, Travels and Adventures, appendix II, through consular trade reports such as the survey of the produce of various provinces in A and P for 1873/vol. LXVII/p. 364 or the reports on exports to Gilan from other provinces as in A and P for 1878/vol. LXXIV/pp. 695-6 and in the imports to Kerman listed in the consular trade report for 1913-14 F0248/vol. IIII/tables IV, VIII.

regions, Kerman was faced with the impact of competition from imported industrial goods from Britain and Europe, and later from Russia. The overall implications of this are better discussed in the context of the general transformation of the sphere of circulation/commerce in this period, but it is worth noting here that only the best-adapted indigenous crafts would be able to continue such a confrontation, and the growth of commercial production in an area facing such competition would be at best problematic.

Whatever the vicissitudes, it is possible to see that during this period artisan producers in Kerman were able both to sustain a range of well-developed skills to meet a series of demands ranging from the most localised (peasant consumption of products made in the nearest urban centre) to the most far-flung (American interest in Kerman carpets). Quantitatively speaking the urban centres of the Kerman region may not have been as impressive in this respect, as some in other regions; nonetheless the productive activities in Kerman settlements were both significant in the overall regional society and economy, and also as part of the network of relationships which linked the region with others both near and far. By clarifying the nature and development of urban production in all its diversity, it should be possible to find a basis for further analysis of Kerman region, and in particular the urban sector. On the one hand there is a material basis for developing a discussion of the social groupings activities and relationships within urban settlements, whether the concern is the role of mercantile influence, the significance of

group solidarity among artisans or the interplay of various sections of the 'notable' class. Having thus depicted the various dimensions of urban life more fully it should on the other hand be possible to situate that picture in the context of overall changes in the region which were also linked to urban production. It is important therefore to bear in mind not merely the pieces of data which have been assembled but also the trends and interactions which developed in urban production over time.

Section (b) : Urban Society : Groups, Functions and Relationships

In order to arrive at a just appreciation of the changing nature of urban life in Kerman at this period the preceding survey of urban production needs to be linked to a consideration of a whole range of other factors. To some extent this link is an organic one since it was the productive activity of towns which sustained the social fabric and was a foundation or framework for the development and interaction of social groups. However the relationship of foundations to superstructures or frameworks to pictures cannot be expressed in reductionist or determinist manner. The role of production relations in shaping urban society was a necessary but not a sufficient determinant of the ongoing and changing existence of that society. Therefore this section of our study of Kerman will attempt to identify the aspects of urban life which were indeed determined by production relations, and also to discuss the <u>autonomous</u> aspects of that life which themselves interacted with and influenced production relations. Whether examining the nature of the dominance of the complex urban "notable" groups, or the social organisation of artisans and traders, it will be necessary to take account of the material basis of urban social structure but also to transcend that perception and deal with other important factors having an influence of their own within the social totality. In the absence of adequate data or studies of other areas for comparison this procedure will focus as much on raising problems and questions as on any definitive explanation.

Quite apart from the paucity of evidence, which leaves the enquirer with a very top-heavy awareness of the structure and functions of ruling groups, who were the ones whom authors of sources were likely to encounter, there are also very real problems of analysis and terminology which inhibit any conclusive delineation of urban society. Very few of the concepts generated by writers on history or society in the west are easily adapted to the very different situation in nineteenth century Iran. Without at this point entering on an extended discussion of how to deal with these conceptual problems, I would suggest that in a situation where the society in question is characterised by a high degree of informality in organisational terms and also is undergoing a process of quite sharp transformation, a certain electicism and flexibility of terminology is not only inevitable but possibly desirable. One indicator of change is the shifting relationship between existing local terminology and the situation it describes, which makes it as hard to use indigenous terms as those coined by outside observers. It is partly for reasons that the centrality of relations of production can be of great help in discussion. By considering society from that point of view it is possible to tie any analysis to something which is both empirically solid and also emanates from the subject under discussion (Kermani urban society) rather than the preconceptions of the observer. Such an approach can be both practical and also convincing in the explanations it generates.

The most obvious link between the productive activities of urban society and its other dimensions lies in the function of the division of labour. It has been seen that even in a comparatively "poor" environment of Kerman settlements could generate a greater diversity of production both technologically and more often typologically. The specialisation and subdivisions arising from this were not merely facts of the productive process, but also a human and social reality. Thus the fact of the varied range of crafts in a large centre like Kerman city took on physical expression in the lives of artisans through the occupational division of the bazaar, the focus of craft production and its outlet onto the market. The coppersmith's section, the jewellers' section, the hatmakers' or shoemakers' section of the bazaar area were all identifiable and distinct subsections of the whole. Particular crafts with need for greater space of for the segregation of disagreeable processes were further displaced and not in the bazaar area at all. Thus the tannery of Kerman city in the 1890's was located outside the city walls, and in common with most Iranian towns the brickyards, with their need for extensive space, would logically be situated away from the confined areas of the central urban area.(1) One may contrast this coincidence of spatial, social and occupational division with the rather different situation of shops providing subsistence or service functions. According to

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(1) See map facing p. 188 of Sykes, 10,000 Miles : the brickyards of Kerman, as with other Iranian towns are still situated on the periphery of the city, as they were in the 1950's.

English in the late nineteenth century there were food sellers (grocers, fruiterers, bakers, confectioners, butchers) and other less specialised suppliers of domestic needs (carpenters, blacksmiths, potters and charcoal sellers) scattered through the residential areas of Kerman city, focussed at the intersections of the kuchehs, although he cites no source for this assertion.(1) Certainly it would seem reasonable to argue in principle that such day to day needs were likely to be supplied on the localised basis of the mahal/neighbourhood rather than in the central bazaar. A recent survey of traditional and new patterns of urban organisation in Kerman also notes the characteristic location of such goods and services through the neighbourhoods of the city as part of an old established trend.(2) Thus the differing impact of the domestic subsistence sector, and the specialised craft sector of urban production is reflected in their contrasting spatial and social organisation.

Indeed these forms of organisation reflected and reinforced the social dimensions of productive activity by promoting the association of members of particular craft groups. It is of course a commonplace of Iranian social history that craft organisations played a central role in the life of towns as social units and as political

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(1) English, City and Village, pp. 41-42.

(2) This survey was undertaken by Peace Corps volunteers in 1972-3 and was intended to show what could be learned from traditional urban spatial arrangement. The Peace Corps office in Tehran was kind enough to lend me the photocopy text of this survey. The location of these activities might be compared with that shown by Clark and Clarke in their survey of Kermanshah (Kermanshah : an Iranian provincial city, Durham University Department of Geography, Research Papers No. 10, 1969) especially in the old city - Figs. 11-4, 11-5 (pp. 90 and 92).

groupings.[1] The emergence of these organisations can be seen on the one hand as an expression of the cohesion among those engaged in a particular process and their need for the collective defence of their common interests, and on the other as a solution to the problem of controlling artisans economically and politically as seen by the dominant classes as administrators and as controllers of vital economic resources. Thus the senf or corporate craft body could be the vehicle for protest and resistance over threats to vested interests, at the same time as being the channel for taxation demands and political pressures from urban notables. These are broad analytic points which emerge from the body of writing on Iranian towns rather than the specific experience of Kerman, and it is to be regretted that Vaziri's Jughrafiya lacks the discussion of craft organisation and social structure that Fasa'i provides for Shiraz, Soheil-i-Kashani for Kashan or Mirza Husein Khan Tahvildar for Isfahan in the nineteenth century.[2] While considering that the general perspective outlined above probably did apply to Kerman city and perhaps the larger centres like Bam and Sirjan, it seems useful to examine the evidence about the region to see how far it can bear out the overall view.

Although we have no systematic survey of the so-called "guilds" in our period there are sources to which we can turn for information albeit of a somewhat unsystematic kind. It is significant

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(1) See for example A. K. S. Lambton, "Persian Society under the Qajars", Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, 1961, p. 137 : E. Abrahamian, "The Crowd in Iranian Politics, Past and Present, (1968).

(2) Mirza Hasan Huseini Fasa'i Tārīkh-i-Farsnāmeh-yi-Nasīri (Tehran 1313, sh. ᶜAbd al Rahim Kalantar Zarrabi Tārīkh-i-Kāshān (ed. Afshar 1314, sh.) Mirza Husein Khan Tahvildar Jughrāfiya-yi-Isfahān (ed. Sotudeh 1342, sh).

that this information tends to come from those who had regular daily contact with urban society rather than passing through it, and who had vested reasons for being concerned with the activities of artisans. Thus in the mid eighteenth century it had been the East India Company agent, based in Kerman and active in the wool trade, who commented on the protests of shawl-weavers about the competitive pressure on their prime raw material.(1) In the years before World War I the British consul who saw himself as protecting the interests of western firms involved in the carpet industry was not unnaturally concerned to report the collective intervention of carpet weavers when it threatened those interests.(2) In both these cases, though widely separated in time, it is clear that part of the impact of collective action was rooted in the dominant role of particular craft within the urban setting. Just as Abbott could identify shawl weavers as about 16% of the total population, which is obviously a much higher proportion of the artisan class, so by 1911 the British consul estimated as many as 12,000 carpet weavers to be working in Kerman whose total population at the time was not much over 50,000.(3) It can be seen that the sheer numerical weight of a craft group, and their particular economic role, which in these cases was as part of the production of the dominant export commodity, gave particular force to their actions, recognised politically by the formation of a carpet makers anjuman in 1907.(4)

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(1) See the Gombroon (= Bandar ᶜAbbas) diary May 1730 in the East India Company records in the India Office Library and records (henceforth IOL/R) formerly in the G/29 series, now re-catalogued as R/15.

(2) F0248/vol. 1072/Kerman consular diary April and October 1913.

(3) F060/vol. 165/Abbott on S. Persia, pp. 35-6 : F0248/vol. 1030/ Kerman consular diary 1-7 September 1911.

(4) F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary 31 May-6 June 1907.

However it was not only those who had that kind of position who could act together in defence of their interests or on issues on which they had strong views. In the years covered by British consular records we find references to collective protest by coppersmiths, carpenters, grocers, butchers, bakers and donkey owners as well as by weavers.(1) While this may in part reflect the greater pressures on all sections of society in a period when economic and political problems were most acute, the fact that the record shows occupational groups acting as such is at least some indication of the degree to which a whole range of people were willing and able to express their views collectively. As can be seen from the range of groups involved this might apply to people in 'service occupations' as well as those involved in manufacturing crafts. Obviously bakers for example could rely on their essential function to add force to protests just as carpet-weavers could do. In the absence of specific descriptions it may be argued that the capacity to take these actions (the closing of premises and the taking of bast) is at least some evidence of the existence of links within occupational groups which enabled them to co-ordinate such actions.

If we consider the evidence about collective protests a little further it is possible to illustrate both the effectiveness

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(1) F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary February 1904 : F0248/vol. 998/diary for 1-7 July 1910 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary for 19-26 May, 2-9 June, 23 August-8 September and 22-29 October 1913.

of group solidarity, and the limitations imposed by the relationship of craft workers to the rest of the social structure. Thus the taking of bast in the British consulate by the master butchers achieved the suspension of the dues about whose imposition they were protesting, just as the pressure of carpet loom owners ensured the continuation of the established conditions of work in spite of the local governor of foreign firms.(1) The degree to which the disruption caused by the closing of the bazaar and the consequent cessation of manufacture and commerce was a significant lever on the authorities can be judged from the use which was made of it in the course of conflicts, within the urban setting. This applied whether the issues were quite localised as in the anti-Shaikhi movement of 1905 or the product of the changing political situation in the "constitutional revolution".(2) Here can be found not only the co-ordination of protest by particular groups but also between groups where the issues in fact transcend sectional interests. Thus in 1911 anxiety over the Russian pressure on the constitutionalists in Tehran was expressed by closure of the Kerman and Bam bazaars (with pressure being applied to any dissenters), but it also ensured that the butchers and bakers shops stayed open presumably to guarantee of popular support by maintaining supplies of food.(3) The politics of the episode can be examined elsewhere,

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(1) F0248/vol. 820/loc. cit. : F0248/vol. 1072/diary April 1913.

(2) For examples see F0248/vol. 846/diary 12-19 August 1905 : F0248/vol. 938/diary 5-12 March, 18-23 June 1908 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary 7-14 December 1911.

(3) F0248/vol. 1030/loc. cit.

but there is obviously a degree of organisation and coherence which must have been rooted in a well established pattern of group identities and lines of communication and influence between groups. Two mentions of "rish-sefids" or "heads of the people" are the only specific references to craft organisation in the consular records.(1) Vaziri's comment about the "ustads" in the shal industry taken with that of Haji Sayyah, and the comments of Europeans on the training of weavers as well as the distinctions between khalifeh and trainee workers in the shal and carpet workshops are indications that the pattern of master and apprentice, which structured artisan society in other parts of Iran, was also established in Kerman.(2) Other than this the picture of lines of authority and communication in craft groups remains somewhat shadowy in the context of Kerman.

Though lacking the kind of data used by Kuznetsova in her discussion of craft organisation in north-west Iran, or observed by nineteenth century visitors to the centres of west and central Iran which were much more frequented by western writers than Kerman, it is still possible to develop some points about the influences upon artisans in urban society there as well as their own effect upon it.(3) On the one hand artisans provided the labour power which sustained production and daily life in towns, with all the social influence

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(1) F0248/vol. 820/diary 27 May–4 June 1904 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 7–13 February 1907.

(2) Jughrāfīya, p. 33, Khāterāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, p. 164 : see refs. to European descriptions of shāl and carpet production above pp. 205-6, 212-213.

(3) N. Kuznetsova, "Urban Industry in Persia during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries", Central Asian Review (1963). Polak, Persien, vol II pp 185-6

consequent upon that fact. On the other hand they had to deal with the merchants and wealthy men who provided other crucial inputs - money or credit and raw materials - and who had social and political leverage commensurate with their control of these resources and of land and landed income. Thus if in 1913 the action of bakers could lead the governor general to control grain prices so that they should not sell bread at a loss, in another confrontation in 1907 the governor general could make them reduce prices which they had tried to raise on the news of his departure.(1) It might be argued that we can see here the weakening of the power of local authority to control urban markets. Whether or not this is the case there certainly is evidence of an authority relationship which constrained the autonomy of craft groups. Even at the later date the closure of bazaar workshops could be achieved with pressure from the local governor and other interested parties to the detriment of weavers employed in the carpet workshops, just as eight years earlier religious leaders could instigate a closure as part of a compaign against the influence of the leaders of the Shaikhi sect and their allies among the notables.(2)

In either case, (or indeed in earlier instances such as the upheavals surrounding the killing of Yahya Khan Kalantar in 1878), there is no denial of the genuine involvement and support of artisans

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(1) F0248/vol. 1072/diary 23 August-3 September 1913 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 7-13 February 1907.

(2) F0248/vol. 1072/diary 6-13 October 1913 : F0248/vol. 846/diary 20-27 May 1905.

for protest against bread prices or the attack on their religious leaders involved in asserting that there were powerful influences which could mobilise and direct their actions.(1) The distribution of food to protesters from mosques during the so-called Shaikhi-Balasiri conflict of 1905, and the way in which religious and political leaders could encourage or check the force of protest is clear evidence of the influence of these people within the world of craftsmen.(2) Similarly the taking of bast in the houses of prominent members of the ᶜulama and official classes shows that in part protest could take the form of an appeal to powerful protectors rather than independent militancy. The 'assassins' of Yahya Khan took bast with the prominent anti-Shaikhi mulla Shaikh Abu Jaᶜafar who was qazi and leader of the "orthodox", just as the participants in the 1905 riots took sanctuary with Aqa Baqir, and "followers" of the militant Haji Mirza Muhammed Reza having destroyed drink-shops at his instigation then turn to him for bast from the authorities.(3) The growing use of British and Russian consulates and telegraph offices by the artisans of Kerman and Bam is an instance of the appeal to yet another powerful patrol against similar powerful groups, whether expressed by the coppersmiths defending their work-space in the bazaar or opium traders and users resisting attempts to impose a new tax on this important substance.(4)

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(1) G. Scarcia Kerman 1905 : la "guerra tra Shaini e Balasari", Annali del Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli (1963) : Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 408, both deal with the killing of Yahya Khan Kalantar.

(2) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 227 : F0248/vol. 846/diary 20-27 May, 19-31 August 1905.

(3) See note 2, p. 235 above : F0248/vol. 846/diary 10-17 June, 21-28 October 1905.

(4) F0248/vol. 998/diary 9-16 June, 1-7 July, 28 July-4 August 1910.

If these groups were acting on the basis of collective solidarity, they did so in the context of very definite limits to their power and autonomy.

Obviously we are moving from a view of group identity based on productive activity towards a perspective on the place of that identity in whole network of relationships within the urban community. This in turn implies that those relationships and influences played their part in shaping the group consciousness of working people in Kerman towns. The links of religious and craft organisations have of course been a notable favourite of writers studying the urban life of Iran, although sometimes these have been dealt with at a rather high level of generalisation.(1) In the specific context of nineteenth century Kerman there is some evidence for the way in which the cultural and occupational dimensions of craft workers' lives interacted although no systematic treatment of the subject. The location of jewellers and goldsmiths in the qaisariyeh of Ibrahim Khan with its links to the leaders of the Shaikhi sect (his descendants), or the existence of a "madraseh of the namad-makers" visited by Haji Sayyah were the material or spatial expression of the religious dimension of group loyalty which also rested on a common craft activity.(2) The focussing of protest movements around the position of various religious groups, and in the years 1905-1915 around a growing level criticism of the political elite on partly religious

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(1) Kuznetsova's article attempts to use evidence primarily from one area to construct a general analysis.

(2) Scarcia art. cit., p. 228 : F0248/vol. 820/diary 2nd week May 1904 : Khaterat-i-Haji Sayyah, pp. 164-5.

grounds, is a further indication of the importance of these issues in the life of urban craftsmen. This will be dealt with in more detail later, but at this point it is simply relevant to draw particular attention to the place of religious loyalties in any overall understanding of how group cohesion developed and functioned.

Similar considerations can be found to apply, in the case of the role of the merchant class in urban society. owever before going to consider the particular role of religion in shaping the activity and experience of merchants it will be useful to consider their general place within the social structure. In an almost literal sense that place can be described as a pivotal one in that the role of merchants in organising the resources used for craft production and in maintaining the flow of trade within and outside the region meant that they were linked on the one hand with artisan manufacturers and on the other with the owners of wealth and resources who were important as entrepreneur and as consumers. If, as we shall see, the sphere of circulation and distribution had a functional part in the regional economy, then this was manifest in the social significance of merchants in urban centres through which circulation was channelled.(1) A man like Haji Amin al Ra^{c}iya the "chief merchant of Kerman" was also the owner of "a large carpet manufactory", active in both the production and trade of carpets, and the tendency for carpet and other craft production to be controlled by those who were involved in commerce in the finished product obviously gave merchants considerable power.(2)

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(1) For a general view of circulation see chapter 3 in this section.

(2) F0248/vol. 820/diary for last week July 1904.

There are few estimates of the number of prominent merchants in the urban centres. In the mid nineteenth century Abbott thought that there were about 250 merchants active in Kerman city and Vaziri in the 1870's accounts for about 160, but his lists for this and other centres are obviously quite selective.(1) Consequently it is not possible to estimate the numerical strength of the merchant class with any degree of accuracy or to chart changes over time except by general reference to the growth of centres like Rafsinjan, Sirjan or Bam as well as Kerman city.(2)

The influential role of merchants can be approached in another way by examining the close links of commerce and commercial men with other sections of a ruling elite. Thus we find not only that merchants became landowners and officials but also that members of the landed classes were involved in trade. This was most notable in the case of governors who were in a particularly advantageous position from this point of view.(3) In Sirjan merchants like Haji Qasem ᶜAli were merchants and landowners while an official like Haji Sayyid Mustafa had business and commercial links with the Gulf and India as well as other parts of Iran, just as in Rafsinjan Haji Aqa ᶜAli with a farming background became a prominent merchant and landowner and in Bam Haji ᶜAli Muhammad of the Behzadi clan was involved

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(1) F060/vol. 165/Abbott in S. Persia, p. 39 : Jughrāfīya, pp. 78-9.

(2) See above pp 182-3

(3) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 322.

in both trade and landownership.(1) Upward mobility was part of the pattern whether for the Vaziri family at the end of the eighteenth century or for men like Haji Muhammad Jaᶜfar of Rafsinjan or Mirza Sayyid ᶜAli from Hatakan in Zarand who did well enough from the wool trade to move to Kerman city, educate his sons into the official class and himself become a notary for Mirza Ali Reza of Hamadan in 1858 and later commissary to the daftar.(2) Lateral links were also part of the shape of merchant groups both between landed and commercial wealth and between organised religion and commerce on the other. Thus the leader of the "orthodox" Shiᶜa of Kerman city in the 1870's was from a merchant background, while Shaikh Hasan of Rafsinjan began his career as a merchant before becoming a sharᶜia judge there.(3) Turning to consider the material links represented by the existence of caravanserais under religious patronage or vaqf, or the use of the imam-zadeh of Sayyid Musa in Bam by merchants for trade, it is possible to see another dimension of the relationship of commerce and religion.(4)

In their position as organisers of production and with their established links with other important groups, the merchants played their part in the politics of the bazaar which have already been discussed. Opium merchants, and landlords with opium interests

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 158, 160, 172, 100.

(2) ibid., pp. 58–62, 73–4, 159.

(3) ibid., pp. 44, 172.

(4) ibid., pp. 32, 95 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 189.

would obviously resist the imposition of taxes by the finance officials of the central government. Similarly it was the carpet traders who opposed a tax on pack animals, closing the carpet workshops against the will of the weavers.(1) The close connections between notables of the official class the religious leaders and merchants helped give force to the large scale confrontations and alliances involved in the Shaikhi-Balasiri upheaval of 1905, where, as Scarcia observes, religion, economic problems and political rivalries cross-fertilised each other along lines going back well into the nineteenth century.(2) How far the merchants operated as a group or were internally divided or were in alliance with others is a complex question to which the existing data does not offer a systematic answer. Where we know of the bazaar closing as a whole it is possible to argue either the co-ercive power of particular groups via à vis others or the existence of a degree of consensus between the various groups. The closure of October 1913 seems to show a conflict of interest between merchants and local officials on the one hand and craftsmen on the other.(3) Coercion of some sort is implied in the situation which arose over protest about Russian intervention in Iranian politics in 1911, or a more localised protest over a possible appointment as governor earlier the same year.(4)

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(1) F0248/vol. 998/diary 28 July-4 August 1910 (protest by opium merchants) : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 13-20 December (mulla/magnate "interest" in opium) : F0248/vol. 1072/ diary 6-13 October 1913 (conflict with carpet weavers over closure).

(2) Scarcia, art. cit., pp. 224, 228, 230.

(3) F0248/vol. 1072/diary 6-13 October 1913.

(4) F0248/vol. 1030/diary 13-20 July, 30 November-10 December, 7-14 December 1911.

Just as the pattern of craft production took physical reflection in the division of occupations within the bazaar, so the centrality of merchant activity had its spatial manifestation in the focal position of the caravanserais along the main axis of the bazaar. These were not merely the facilities for travellers such as were found along trade routes but the warehouses for merchandise and business premises of those who dealt in it. They were not only on a scale very different from the workshops of the artisans (which observers agree were insignificant and unimpressive), but also distinct from them in function.(1) Thus Vaziri will mention bazaar and caravanserai as specific entities in his description of Bam and Sirjan, quite apart from singling out caravanserais for special mention in Kerman city, just as Floyer drew the contrast between the insalubrious workshops where shawls were made and the elegant rooms of the merchant selling the end product.(2) Thus the distinction between entrepreneurs and craft producers in which the latter were the subordinate group was reinforced by the physical aspect of their daily life. The patronage of leading officials notably governors like Ibrahim Khan Qajar and Vakil al Mulk I who both financed commercial building in Kerman is further evidence of the status of the mercantile community for whom high quality craftsmanship was used under this aristocratic patronage.(3)

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(1) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 186 : Browne, Year among the Persians, pp. 482-3 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/ Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 346.

(2) Jughrafiya, pp. 95, 151, 32-3 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 324-5.

(3) The buildings of Ibrahim Khan (including a qaisarich) and the first Vakil al Mulk (including a caravanserai) are described in Jughrafiya, pp. 32 and 34-5

Our perception of the position of merchants at this period needs also to include some awareness of changes taking place in their situation. It was in the area of commerce that new forces became sharply manifest in Iran, although Kerman may have been less affected than other regions. The overall impact of these forces will merit separate discussion, but its specific relevance for the merchant community will bear some mention here. The place of Kerman and its urban centres in a network of inter-regional trade had created a pattern of diversity among merchants involved in that trade which brought Yazdis and Isfahanis to Kerman and Bam together with Khorasanis and others.(1) This established pattern was to become even more varied with the commercial changes of the later nineteenth century. British-Indian interests brought in Hindus, of whom there were none when Pottinger visited Kerman city in 1810, but who had a caravanserai of their own in the city by the 1870's and numbered perhaps 40, and by the 1890's had spread through the province to the number of about 300.(2) They were followed by the Armenian agents of Russian firms trading for cotton in Rafsinjan and the Tabrizi Turks seeking carpets in Ravar and Kerman city. There was also the expansion of Zoroastrian involvement in trade over the last decade of the century.(3) The established recognition of ethnic and religious diversity in the separate caravanserais for separate groups was to be supplemented by a new competitive atmosphere and even hostility to what were seen as

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 32-3, 79-80, 95.

(2) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 225 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 189, 191 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/ Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 349.

(3) FO248/vol. 820/diary for April 1904 : A and P for 1903/ vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman 1902-3, pp. 407, 412 : A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/Report on Kerman 1905-6, p. 316 (on Tabrizi Turks).

intrusive groups. Mullas preaching against the use of Anglo-Indian exports and attacks on Zoroastrian merchants (the latter sanctioned by tradition to some extent) were an expression of this sense of pressure as was the friction with western carpet firms.(1)

Looked at overall the position of the merchant class seems to be quite paradoxical in its character. At one level the importance of the functions which they performed gave them a secure and even privileged place within society. This can be seen both from the fact that a Persian writer like Vaziri places them securely in the category of "notables" in his social schema, and also from the observations of westerners who, while they may have at times disparaged the actual commercial skills of merchants by comparison with European "enterprise", were equally in no doubt as to the solidity of their status.(2) Their presence on the urban scene seemed to some a more stable phenomenon than the vicissitudes apparently affecting the uppermost classes whose fortunes could rise and fall, or who dissipated their inheritances. This perception is perhaps somewhat distorted in that it overestimates not so much the stability of the commercial class as the volatility of the landed classes. Certainly the merchants showed a degree of adaptability to changing circumstances, organising carpet production to meet new demands and involving themselves in the trade in raw materials (in the case of Kerman henna, cotton, pistachios) with a shrewd eye to advantage. Their active involvement in the politics

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(1) F0248/vol. 938/diary for 6-11 February 1908 : F0248/vol. 998/diary for 1-7 April 1910 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary for July 1911.

(2) Vaziri deals with merchants as a category of the "notables" in his survey of this class in Kerman city, Sirjan and Rafsinjan in Jughrafiya, pp. 77-81, 158-60, 162-4. Western comment on merchants as a category can be sampled in A. Gobineav, Trois Ans en Asie, pp. 392-4 : Polak, Persien, p. 18 : G. Curzon, Persia and Persian Question, vol. II, p. 582, (a critical view).

of the locality and attainment of office in the region is further illustration of the strength of their position in society.(1)

However there is another side to the question when it is considered how far the merchants were subject to external pressures. In some respects their status was a client one in so far as their functions were of a service nature, that is the organisation of facilities for production and distribution. To the extent that they did this for others who possessed resources which they wished to use profitably the merchants were dependent middlemen who might well be subordinate to the influences of those whom they serviced. It was when merchants themselves became landowners with their own resources or entrepreneurs laying out capital that their position solidified into real influence, and the frequent mention by Vaziri of combined property-owning and commercial activity bears out the significance of this point.(2) There were also various ways in which merchants could be exposed to arbitrary authority, notably through the power of officials to levy dues and fines at random, or at the highest level to actually expropriate a merchant's assets. The arbitrary way in which dues on commercial activity were levied was a source of comment

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(1) Examples of merchants holding administrative office are discussed in F0248/vol. 788/Consul Phillott (Kerman) to Hardinge (Tehran), 8 January 1903 where he writes of a tea merchant, Qavam as Saltān, who held the post of deputy governor and an ex-tobacco seller, Said as Saltaneh, working with the provincial governor. See also the career of Mirza Said ᶜAli Jughrāfiya, pp. 73-4.

(2) Jughrāfiya, pp. 78 (family of Hāji Muhammad ᶜAli), 100 (Hāji ᶜAli Muhammad Behzādi), 158-9 (Hāji Said Mustafa of Sirjan), p. 160 (Hāji Qāsem ᶜAli of Sirjan), 172 (Haji Āqa ᶜAli of Rafsinjān).

to observers and was as true in Kerman as in other areas.(1) It was these factors which led Ahmad Ashraf in his survey of the tujjar in nineteenth century Iran to argue that as a group they laboured under very real limits to their autonomy and freedom of action.(2) Although his position is stated at a very general (and "pseudo-national") level it is worth bearing in mind that the situation of the merchant class was indeed constrained by the nature of their relationships with other dominant groups. This may well help to explain some features of their political effectiveness, or lack of it, that would otherwise remain somewhat anomalous.

Other constraints on merchants also began to operate during the later nineteenth century. The growing involvement of British and Russian commercial interests in Iran, and Kerman specifically, at this time was not merely a new feature of the commercial situation but a distinct challenge to merchants in Kerman. It was for example Hindus who played a dominant role in the expanding import of Indian goods like tea, spices and chintz which, as a British observer noted, became staple consumer commodities in the area.(3) They and Armeno-Russian firms also played a part in the export of raw cotton to India and later to Russia.(4)

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(1) Curzon, Persia, vol. II, p. 473 : Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 227 : F0248/vol. 788/Consul Sykes (Kerman) to Hardinge 24 September 1903, deals with "extortion" from merchants.

(2) Ahmad Ashraf and Hormoz Hekmat, "The state of the bourgeoisie in Iran", unpublished paper from a colloquium on the economic/social history of the Middle East, Princeton 1974

(3) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 329-30 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit, p. 348 : A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1902-3, p. 411 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen Report, p. 49.

(4) Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 99, 179-180 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 48 : F0248/vol. 820/Kerman diary February and April 1904 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 48.

The role of the Tabrizi Turks and later Europeans in the carpet industry, already described, was similarly competition for the locally based merchants. Thus while the growth and change of commerce and manufacture created opportunities for merchant enterprise, which were indeed taken up, as the success of some Kermani merchants shows they also introduced new elements of competition with which local merchants had to contend. This was true both at the level of large scale export commodities and also at the level of small scale distributive trade flowing from the urban centres to the rural hinterland. In this latter sector Indian merchants were also found challenging the position of the indigenous traders.(1) If the static or declining position of Hindu traders in Kerman from the end of the nineteenth century is anything to go by, this was a challenge which could be met to some extent.(2) What it did not do was to disappear. In picturing the changing situation of Kermani merchants this is a factor which should be taken into account.

No picture of the urban sector would be complete without some discussion of one of its most characteristic features, the presence there of those social groups with greatest power, resources and status

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(1) See E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side-saddle, p. 156 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 55.

(2) A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1902-3, p. 412 : F0248/vol. 788/Consul Phillott (Kerman) to Foreign Department of the Government of India, 31 October 1903.

within the society. As has been said, one definitive aspect of the urban settlement was the capacity to mobilise surpluses from the rural sector for use in the towns or for transmission elsewhere, thereby generating further surpluses. This capacity was actually exercised by the landed/official classes (what Ashraf would term a "patrimonial élite") whose control of resources in the shape of rent revenue or straightforward accumulation of material goods was central to the development of trade and manufacture in that it was in their power to transfer resources which supplied both these sectors. This might take the form of a monopoly by the regional governor of the wool trade which supplied a vital raw material for manufacture and an article of commerce, or it might be manifest in the ability of landowners to manipulate the grain market in the towns.(1) Power and profits might derive from the activity of the upper classes on entrepueneurs financing carpet and shawl production, or from their involvement in the growing trade in commodity crops.(2) In each case the position of the landowner-official class with their commercial and entrepreneurial interests was buttressed by solid material advantages coming from the exercise of these roles as described elsewhere. What is particularly relevant in the present context is the presence of these people on the urban scene, which meant that their co-ordination of the various activities in which they were engaged took place there. Certainly they made forays into the rural hinterland to

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(1) The former is noted in Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 99, 100, and the latter in F0248/vol. 878/diary for 28 April-5 May, 7-30 August 1906 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, pp. 216-217.

(2) The former is mentioned in Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 324, 327 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 101 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit pp. 346-7 : Jughrāfiya, pp. 33-4, 189. The latter is noted in ibid., pp. 158, 168-9 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 218-9 : F0881/no. 8778*/ Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 54.

to exert their authority there, but the fact that it is in connection with urban centres like Kerman city, Bam, Sirjan and Rafsinjan (as well as smaller but town-like settlements like Shahr-i-Babak, Ravar, Zarand Anar or Kuhbenan) that an author like Vaziri gives lists of mu^{c}arif/ notables confirms that their effective base was in the urban sector. We have already noted the important effect of this on consumption and craft production, and need now to consider further the role of the urban elite in controlling various aspects of life within towns and beyond them.

At a purely spatial level the presence of powerful and wealthy persons in urban centres had an obvious physical manifestation in the buildings constructed with their patronage and financial support. A prime topic in Vaziri's description of Kerman in the 1870's is the survey of mosques, madrasehs, tekkiehs, baths, and caravanserais endowed by notables in Kerman city, with similar references in other centres.(1) Here is material evidence of the wealth that notables could deploy and the skilled labour that could be mobilised, even to the extent of importing craftsmen from elsewhere as happened with Ibrahim Khan Qajar's building programme in the early part of the century. Not only is there a tradition that he brought builders and stone workers from Yazd, but the design at the entrance to the madraseh which he endowed is sufficiently similar to one on the Madraseh Sultani at Kashan and the mam-zadeh Hasan at Meskinabad near Karaj built at a similar date and the much later Masjid-i-Sepah-Salar at Tehran suggests the transmission of designs

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 29-35, 36-7 (on Kerman), 83 (Mahan), 94-5 (Bam), 151 (Sirjan).

and/or craftsmen between centres under the impetus of the patronage of the powerful.(1) The role of the governors of the province, notably Ibrahim Khan Qajar in the early nineteenth century and the two Vakil al Mulk governors of the middle decades, and other notables like Haji Allah-verdi Kermani (merchant and landowner) or Haji Sayyid Jarad (the imam jom^{c}eh in Vaziri's day) in Kerman city or the Behzadi family in Bam and Mirza Sa^{c}id Kalantari in Sirjan is evidence of an active will to develop settlement, and assert their status publicly.(2) It was also an aspect of their involvement in many aspects of urban life. Just as their control of administrative power was shown in the building and extension of the Arg area by governors, so their connection with commerce was expressed in the construction of caravanserais and qaisariyehs, and their links with organised religion by their patronage of religious worship and education through mosques and shrines, tekkiehs and madrasehs.

Another spatial dimension of the presence of the notables in the urban setting was the location of their residences in relation to the settlement as a whole. While craft and commercial activities were located centrally within the urban complex the elite tended to live around the periphery where spacious houses and gardens could more easily be constructed than in the confined spaces of the inner area.

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(1) The tradition about Yazdi craftsmen is cited in Muhammad Himmat, Tārīkh-i Musfassil-i Kermān. The information about tile designs I owe to the kindness of Jennifer Scarce of the Royal Scottish Museum who is currently engaged in a survey of Qajar tile-work in Iran.

(2) Jughrāfiyā, pp. 30, 32, 34-5, 95, 151.

Thus the Bagh-i-Nishat, built by the second Vakil al Mulk, and the abode of the "chief of police" at the same period were situated outside the walls, and the house of the Hanadi family, who achieved prominence as merchants at the end of the century was located similarly in the periphery of the town. The plans of the Governor for building developments in Kerman in 1906 similarly focussed on the outer areas.(1) The wealth and status of the notables is again asserted in a tendency which expressed not only the choice of location which allowed them to have lavish accommodation but also perhaps a certain distancing of this élite from the day to day life of the town. There is one clear exception to this trend in the position of the Arg of Kerman, the centre of residence as well as of business for the Governor and his officials, which was situated right next to the entrance to the central bazaar area. Here the need for the controlling presence of government force was an obvious factor determining the relationship, and establishing the Arg in Floyer's view at least as the focus of the social as well as the administrative life of the Governor and entourage.(2) However at Sirjan the residence of the governor was next to the urban centre itself, and this was the case in other district centres where the local magnates 'fort' might be quite distinct from the neighbouring settlement.(3)

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(1) Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 182-3 : the Hanadi house which I visited in 1973 was situated beyond the old walled area of the city to the north-west : F0248/vol. 878/Kerman consular diary 2-9 June 1906.

(2) See the map of Kerman in the 1890's facing p. 188 of Sykes, 10,000 Miles : Floyer comments on social life in the arg in Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 314.

(3) Khāterāt i Hāji Sayyāh, p. 169.

Turning from the living space occupied by the élite to their structure as a social group it is important to realise that the group was on the one hand diverse in that it embraced a whole range of social functions (government, trade, religion, landlordism), but on the other hand identifiable as a group in that the diverse functions overlapped and re-inforced each other and their outlook and interests had distinct common characteristics. We have already noted the link between landownership and administrative office and the interrelationship of commercial position with landownership on the one hand and with religious leadership on the other.(1) Just as members of merchant families might turn to a career in religious office, and seek to enter the Landed classes, so too members of a landed/official family might assume positions of religious authority. In Kerman the most striking instance of this was the emergence of the son of the Qajar governor of the province of the early years of the century as the leader of the Shaikhi sect in the 1840's, and the persistence thereafter of this strand in the family providing aristocratic leadership of the sect while various relatives continued as members of the landed notability of the province. Both groups maintained their contact with the royal clan, Karim Khan the Shaikhi writing at the instigation of Nasir-ad-Din Shah, and other descendants of Ibrahim Khan Zahir ad Douleh gaining land and office not only in Kerman but elsewhere.(2) Other examples of this sort of interlocking

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(1) See above, pp. 239-240.

(2) See Hāji Muhammad Hasan Sahib-i-Tājer Kāshāni, Tadhkirat al Auliya' (a life of Haji Muhammad Karim), pp. 131, 138 : Jughrāfiyā, pp. 54-8.

would be Haji Aqa Ahmad who was not only of merchant origin and then became an ᶜalim and mujtahed but was also a considerable landowner in the Rafsinjan area from which his family came, or men like Aqa Muhammad Javad of an old landed family of Anar who became a Shaikhi theologian, or Shaikh Hasan son of Haji Haidar ᶜAli Shirazi who like Haji Aqa Ahmad moved from a merchant background to a career in theology and land ownership in Rafsinjan.(1) These illustrations could be multiplied but will serve to illustrate the close links and overlaps of function which existed among the notables.

The overlaps just illustrated were not merely an occupational factor whereby mullas were active in commerce or landowners were religious leaders, but a matter of other relationships too. Most obvious of these was the network of inter-marriage which consolidated the notables as a group by linking established families and integrating new ones. Thus the Qajar descendants of Ibrahim Khan Zahir ad Dowleh married into local notable families and so helped entrench themselves in the area, just as those local families like the Vaziris and the Mirza Husein Khan Rayini family inter-married.(2) Even the family of a governor who had a short tenure like Fazl ᶜAli Khan Qarabaghi might settle and inter-marry with established families (in this case Shaikhi) while new arrivals who did rule for some time like Muhammad Ismail Khan Nuri (Vakil al Mulk) were equally interested and successful

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(1) ibid., pp. 44-5, 183, 172.

(2) ibid., pp. 56, 68, 69.

in linking his family to the local Qajars and other notables of the area.(1) In a similar way Ibrahim Khan of Bam who himself was of "humble origin" (a baker's son) married into an established notable family, while another notable of Bam with the hereditary title Behjat ad Dowleh linked himself to the family of Vakil al Mulk.(2) Marriage seems to have conferred status even in a situation where the more "notable" partner was the woman, as happened with the marriage of Mirza Hedayat-allah Khan into the Vaziri family, or that of Khwajeh Abu'l Hasan's father to the daughter of Mirza Khalil, whose family had official careers as kadkhoda, mustawfi and dārūgheh in the administration of Kerman.(3) This can be explained partly by the fact that inheritance could pass through women to swell the assets of their husbands and children, as Vaziri mentions in connection with the link between the family of Ibrahim Khan Qajar and the khāns of Jiroft, and also in connection with a notable family of Ravar.(4) Obviously relationships of this kind both re-inforced the cohesion of overlapping interests and activities of this diverse élite, and also allowed the diversity to continue.

This kind of family solidarity, modified by an ability to adapt to new elements, is paralleled by the position of the notables as office holders. It would appear from Vaziri's references to "families"

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(1) G. Churchill, Biographical notices of Persian statesmen and notables (compiled in 1909 for the use of the Tehran legation), p. 83 : Jughrāfīya, pp. 56, 57, 69-70 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 208.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, p. 99 : Churchill, op. cit., p. 14.

(3) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 63, 67-8.

(4) ibid., pp. 56, 58, 192.

of kalantars mustaufi's and munshi's that administrative position could become a hereditary perquisite, just as the revenue posts of ᶜamil and mubashir and zabit could do.(1) The family operated in some senses as an interest group defending its status and assets through time. It can be seen from Vaziri's awareness of those of insignificant family origins that certain social defences buttressed wealth and power with a self-conscious identity. Thus he relegates the family of Mirza Said ᶜAli from Zarand to mention in isolation from other office holders because, as he put it, "they are not of notable lineage ...".(2) Conversely of course persons of obscure origin did use ability and wealth to enter the élite whether it was the Zarand traders dismissed by Vaziri, the son of a miller who became mubashir of Anar or the family of Ibrahim Khan of Bam. Perhaps it is just characteristic of many élites that they need to combine a sense of identity which defines them against outsiders with an openness to recruitment from the outside.

A further question arises of for how long particular families could in fact maintain an élite position over time. At times claims of very ancient descent were made by Vaziri for certain families like his own, the Kalantars of Kerman, the sayyids of Bam or the "Aqas" of Anar.(3) However in practice he only lays out details of family relationships and activities over three to four generations. In general he can trace back families to the eighteenth century as

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(1) ibid., pp. 63-5, 70-72, 84, 91, 131, 136.

(2) ibid., pp. 73-4.

(3) ibid., pp. 58, 63-4, 102, 183.

with Mirza'is of Bam, the descendants of Shahrokh Khan Afshar who governed Kerman in the 1750's, or the family of Mirza Hasan of Ravar who came there from Khorasan in the reign of Nadir Shah.(1) The interesting issue posed here is whether this merely represents the lack of ability or interest in recording remote history, or more significantly a tendency for the impetus of notable families to slacken over periods longer than 150 years. Vaziri's willingness to record families with illustrious descent who were currently poor and/or unimportant suggests a sense of the survival of status even when its material supports weaken, which of course leaves room for a revival of family fortunes.(2) In the absence of the kind of data that would allow full analysis one can do no more than suggest that the survival of families was problematic, but in view of their capacity to ally with each other and diversify interests by no means out of the question.

One other perspective on the complex solidarity of the notables is offered by an examination of the social interaction which enabled families to maintain a range of contacts and supports. Day-to-day contact was a medium for group solidarity and political activity in the urban centres where the élite met for religious, official and leisure activities. One obvious focus for such encounters was the social life focussed on the governor and entourage where notables would both combine and compete in characteristic factions. From the

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(1) ibid., pp. 100, 180, 190-1.

(2) ibid., p. 101 (part of the Mirza'is of Bam); 173 (Āqa's of Kafsinjān); 180 (Shah-rōkh's descendants) 183 (Āqa's of Anār) :

records of the British consul it is clear that the exchanging of visits was a major occupation among the notables on a day-to-day basis.(1) It is arguable that such a phenomenon represented not merely a way of passing the time but more importantly a means of maintaining contacts to further their interests and of competing and intriguing over the allocation of resources, influence and control within the region. These alliances and conflicts will be considered further in the context of a general survey of politics, but here it is worth noting that the urban location of notables and their daily interaction was a crucial advantage to them in co-ordinating activities as a group and was itself one dimension of their group identity. When a landlord-official like Vaziri spent evenings arguing with fellow notables (religious and administrative leaders as well as landlords) or when they hunted or visited foreign consuls together, such activity should be understood in the wider context of group solidarity and internal competition among the elite.(2)

Although the role of religion and religious leaders have been referred to constantly in the course of this survey of urban social existence, it coloured so much of social experience and wielded such influence in society as to merit proper consideration in its own right. Not only were the leaders of religious groupings part of the dominant class, but also the place of religious

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(1) British consuls were much involved in these kinds of visits to notables where other notables were present, and received visits from them in groups.

(2) Jughrafiya, pp. 47, 97-8 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 76-77 : E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side-saddle, pp. 171-2 : F0248/vol. 846/Kerman consular diary, 3rd week March 1905.

activity in the lives of all classes was a historical reality of considerable significance. To some extent the importance of these factors is best discussed in the context of "politics", that is the articulation of conflict over resources and policies within regional society, since much of "political life" was articulated in a religious framework. This will receive consideration in due course, but there is also a place here, in the discussion of urban society, for some examination of the role of religion and religious groups within that society. To do this it is important to grasp the real functions of this area of human experience without distorting them by too much abstraction and generalisation. Religious life should be seen as a dimension of social reality rather than reduced to verbal doctrine or abstract models. Thus although there is a range of interesting literature on the religious history of nineteenth century Iran it will be more useful to base the current survey on evidence from the locality since historical studies tend to operate at a rather high level of generality.(1) Contemporary discussions of religious groups by foreign observers, while they often convey certain vivid and relevant impressions, are also inclined to concentrate on theology or quaint beliefs and are influenced by the fact that such observers tended to meet the leadership of religious groups and so present a point of view from that side of the picture. In order to make best use of them it is important to relate their observations to other

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(1) See for example H. Algar, Religion and the State in Iran 1785-1906; N. Keddie "The origins of the religious-radical alliance in Iran", Past and Present, (1966), "The roots of the ulama's power in modern Iran", Studia Islamica (1969); Religion and Rebellion in Iran. All of these contain useful insights but are best used to illumine the specific situation in particular places, in this case Kerman.

relevant information, so that the survey of religious life can take on some kind of historical reality.

At one level religious organisation can be seen as offering a series of "vertical" distinctions which offset or interacted with the "horizontal" distinctions provided by status and occupation. Surveys of nineteenth century "Iranian society", or particular parts of it often proceed along the "taxonomic" lines of division by religious affiliation. This applies to surveys by British officials like Thompson in the 1860's or Dickson in the 1880's covering Iran as a whole, or to Sykes writing specifically on Kerman, as with Vaziri in the Jughrafiya,(1) Taking this last example it is clear that while Vaziri did feel it was important to list religious affiliations, he was clearly aware that such a set of groupings were cross-cut with others. When he comes to categorise notables he does so by occupation, and while giving the ʿulama first place in that system he happily blends orthodox divines, Shaikhis, and Sufi leaders in the list.(2) Once away from Kerman city the populations of various settlements are listed according to occupation and religious notables surveyed in a similar way to that just described. Thus, while the varied religious groups present an impression of diversity, itself the product of a historical process, it is important to situate that diversity within the context of other social forces, and to consider the interaction between them. The existence and development of specific religious practices and ideas needs to be seen as part of the overall function of religious life in the urban settlements of Kerman.

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(1) A and P for 1868/vol. LXIX /R. Thompson on the Population etc of Persia
A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVI /Dickson's report on the trade of Persia, 1884 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 195-8 : Jughrāfīya, p. 41.

(2) Jughrāfīya, pp. 44-51.

The observations of an outsider who was nonetheless seriously interested in religious life, E. G. Browne, give some indication of the kind of interaction mentioned above. While very aware of the sharp differences that separated particular sects, he was able to present the encounters where they confronted and even quarrelled with one another as being part of a shared framework of reference and mutually comprehensible if not mutually acceptable styles.(1) Apart from the obvious fact that Browne in some sense would naturally find that as the outsider he was aware of common features which made those he met different from himself, the vivid and convincing impression of conflicting views within a common tradition arises from the fact that religious issues are presented in a social setting. It is to be regretted that so many of his accounts focus on particular minority sects. It is interesting that a local writer like Vaziri while distinguishing Shaikhis, Sufis and "orthodox" sets them within an overarching framework of ithna-ᶜashari Shiᶜism and defines them all as properly avoiding the "heresies" of predestination, idol whorship and "forbidden" things. Earlier he comments generally on the piety of Kermanis in terms of their involvement in religious activity, rōzeh and taᶜziyeh.(2) Obviously the Zoroastrians are specifically excluded, and indeed mentioned as a separate madhab (as opposed to a different tariqeh - the term used to distinguish

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(1) E. G. Browne, A Year among the Persians, pp. 401-2, 443-7, 500-501 are examples of religious discussion.

(2) Jughrafiya, pp. 41, 33.

Shaikhis, Sufis and orthodox) and Babis or Bahai's not mentioned at all either because they lacked all significance or because they were seen as really beyond some religious pale. With these exceptions it seems arguable that the general religious context was as relevant as variations within it.

It will perhaps be useful to examine the "general" dimension of religious life before going on to look at were undoubtedly significant divergences within it. One obvious aspect of religious life that provided a common theme is the opportunity it furnished for collective action and involvement. Without raising the complex and probably undiscussable issue of the nature of individualism in the Persian context it seems clear that there were quite strong forces of group ideology at work. So far that has been discussed with reference to shared occupational or social status but the powerful religious expression of group solidarity needs appreciation in its own right. Vaziri's reference to collective participation in the rozehs of Muharram, Browne's description of "crowds" visiting a saint's mausoleum and the cemetery of Kerman city for Thursday evening prayers, and the importance of processions and collective prayers for the Shaikhi and orthodox groups noted by British consuls are illustrations of this point.(1) The shared discipline of collective prayer

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(1) ibid., p. 33 : Browne, op. cit., pp. 479, 574 : F0248/vol. 846/Kerman consular diary, 19-31 August, 29 October-4 November, 1905 : F0248/vol.878/diary 2nd and 3rd week April 1906 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 28 February-6 March 1907.

or the emotional release of the Muharram processions gave significant solidarity to the groups engaged therein, just as solidarity rooted in other shared experiences could be expressed in common religious activity. This solidarity might coalesce around loyalty to a leader (the Shaikhi "sarkar aqa" or the Sufi pir) and the exaltation of the man who set a pious example which was hallowed in many branches of Shi^{c}i tradition is manifest in the life of Haji Muhammad Karim the first Qajar leader of the Shaikhis or in Vaziri's encomiums on various leading mujtaheds or ^{c}ulama.(1)

For in many respects the collectivity of religious experience in no way implied egalitarianism. It might perhaps be more accurately presented in terms of a paternal/family or patron/client relationship in which leadership was an acknowledged phenomenon where that acknowledgement was based on the acceptance by leaders of obligations as well as privileges. Thus when the politico-religious confrontation of Shaikhi and Balasiri groups erupted in 1905 there was an element both of loyalty to the interests of the aristocratic leadership and of criticism of that leadership under certain circumstances.(2) Leaving aside the 'politics' of this situation it is clear that the specific interplay between the group and its leaders was occurring within an established framework where pressure from the former on the latter was as much part of the relationship as the influence which flowed in the other direction. It is in this sense

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(1) See Tadhkirāt al Auliya^{c}, pp. 90–92, 95–98 : Jughrāfiya, pp. 44–5, 46–7, 97, 164.

(2) F0243/vol. 846/Kerman consular diary 20–27 May, 4–12 November 1905.

that religious groupings can be viewed as a kind of social cement linking elements who might otherwise be in outright conflict, and integrating people and conflicts within a framework of shared loyalties and activities. This took both cultural forms of prayer and protest and material forms in the support of religious vaqfs by merchant and artisan resources and the use of the resources so accumulated to feed and educate and confer other benefits on group members.(1) If this can be seen as a form of collective welfare and mutual aid on the one hand it might equally be perceived in terms of the "organisation of consent" which for an analyst like Gramsci (formed in another collective-religious tradition) was a crucial element in maintaining a social status quo.

To make this point is in no way to suggest that the shared or integrated dimension of religious experience was unreal. On the contrary it was the reality of corporate religious life which guaranteed its effectiveness as a social cement. Thus in discussing their role in Kermani society over the last century or so leaders of the Shaikhi sect when interviewed were confident both of the capacity of the sect to appeal to all social classes and of the importance of the aristocratic standing of the leadership, a confidence based on concrete experience of both phenomena.(2) Similarly few observers of preaching,

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(1) Jughrāfiya, p. 32 shows a caravanserai built with vaqf money by a merchant; p. 45 records the charitable activity of an ʿalim; p. 50 notes ʿalim control of vaqfs : see Tadhkirat al Auliyaʿ, pp. 88-9 for hagiography of a Shaikhi leader's benevolence.

(2) These points are derived from interviews with the present Sarkar-i-Āqa (Hāji ʿabd al Reẓa Ibrahīmi) and Dr. Isa Zia Ibrahimi in October 1973

rozeh or Muharram rituals were in any doubt of the genuine relationship between the organisers or providers of religious occasions and the rest of the participants. It is only on this basis that there can be a proper appreciation of the very important role of religion both as a creator and support of elements of the élite and also as vital to other social groups in their own right. This was not a situation of stasis but of dynamic tension which itself shaped the meaning of religion for craftsmen, merchants and notables. It will be seen later that the tension could actually fragment the solidarity of religious corporate existence under certain circumstances. Here it is important to understand the kinds of interplay which found the poor and the tullabs involved in organising sigheh marriage, a mystic veneration of the Shaikhi leader as a healer, and the destruction of drink-shops at the instigation of mullas.(1) An additional form of integration or at least participation which religion could facilitate was with regard to women who seem to have played a noticeable role in religious protest both as supporters of their group and as a pressure element in their own right.(2)

It has already been seen that there were various close links between the leaders of religious life and other sections of the élite. A religious education with the job-opportunities and status that followed from it was one path to notability as in the case of

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(1) See Khāterāt-i-Hāji Sayyah, pp. 164-5 : F0248/vol.846/ Kerman consular diary 9-23 July, 19-31 August, 21-28 October 1905.

(2) F0248/vol. 846/diary 29 October-4 November, 12-19 November 1905 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 10-24 March 1906.

Akhund Mulla Husein of Shahr-i-Babak.(1) Conversely the power, influence, and assets accruing to the religious leaders in society were sufficient to attract members of other élite groups into this area of activity as has been seen with the Qajar leadership of the Shaikhis, or the moving of landowner families like Shaikh Muhammad Husein of Shahr-i-Babak.(2) Incumbents of vaqf assets, landowners, merchants, educators and officials, the religious sectors had an influence which was significant qualitatively in that their views carried weight (albeit not without challenge) and qualitatively in that their position allowed an integration of religious and other kinds of interest and authority. It is for this reason that religious loyalties could become entangled with factional rivalries, as happened in 1905, even if the conflict then became involved with elements far beyond that particular relationship.

If these are the connecting themes which need to be drawn out to reach a proper understanding of religion, such an understanding would be incomplete without some discussion of the variations, divisions and conflicts within religious experience and activity. In Kerman there is evidence of all of these in differing degrees and forms. One divisive element which has been the subject of some discussion in a wider context was the tension between "orthodox" Shi^{c}ism and the sufi tradition. By and large the conflict has been treated in broad theological terms dealing with the different kinds of revelation and/or authority claimed

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(1) Jughrāfiyā, p. 166.

(2) ibid., p. 167.

by each party, particularly when as with the Ni^{c}amatallahi order the tariqeh claimed to be Shi^{c}i.(1) However the famous account of the killing of a Ni^{c}amatallahi missionary Mushtaq ^{c}Ali Shah in 1790 at Kerman at the instigation of the local ^{c}ulama suggests that the source of conflict was the influence which the sufis could exert and their capacity to attract a large popular following.(2) In a sense this illustrates the point made earlier that an essential dimension of religious life was the relationship between the leadership and their following. The support for sufi practices and the part it was able to play in urban politics in the early decades of the nineteenth century lead Scarcia to identify "popular mysticism" as an ongoing force in the religious life of Kerman city.(3) Thus there was a social dimension to the hostilities dividing religious groups which might well be illumined further if the emergence of specific sects was examined with this in mind.

An interesting candidate for such treatment in the context of nineteenth century Iranian history is of course the rise of Babism in the mid century and its role in Iranian life thereafter. Since this movement spread to many regions of Iran and became distinctive not to say isolated in its outlook and relationships with the rest of society, there are good arguments for treating it as a "national" phenomenon. However it is also worth considering the specific evidence

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(1) H. Algar, Religion and the State in Iran, pp. 36-8.

(2) Vaziri, Tārīkh i Kermān, pp. 348-350.

(3) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 533, Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", p. 219-220.

about Babism in Kerman to see what light this might throw on the role of heretical groups in regional society as well as on Babism in its own right. Browne's encounters with Babis in Kerman seem to confirm the appeal of the new beliefs among merchants and some sections of the ᶜulama (others of whom of course led the struggle against Babism), while the lack of reference to them as a distinct group by Vaziri suggests both their practice of concealment and their insignificance and lack of acceptance within the framework of religious life.(1) The uneasy position of the sect indicates both the limits of acceptability but also its reality within those limits and the need for taqiyeh (dissimulation of opinion) reflects on the one hand the need to defend the group from persecution, and on the other the possibility of survival without assimilation for such a sect. Thus Babis in Kerman tended only to discuss their religion when among sympathisers, though they had contacts with other groups in other situations.(2)

A recognition of the legitimacy of religious plurality seems evident from the way in which Shiᶜas, Sufis and Shaikhis are listed by Vaziri as accepted forms of belief and religious organisation. However the pressure on Shaikhis to dissociate themselves from Babism again shows that plurality was not absolute.(3) Although there seems to have been no revival of the outright attacks on sufis like the Mushtaq ᶜAli Shah episode, tensions between the two sects continued to exist in nineteenth century Kerman if the anti-sufi tracts of Shaikhi

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(1) Browne, Year among the Persians, chs. 16 and 17.

(2) ibid., pp. 513-4, 532, 572-4.

(3) Jughrāfīya, p. 41 : Algar, Religion and State, pp. 36-40.

leaders and the rivalries of the patrons of sufi and orthodox groups are an indication.(1) The relationship of theologians or patrons to a popular following gave such conflicts a more than doctrinal content, involving questions of power and influence and group solidarity. It is in such a context that one can compare Babism with the movement of Shaikhism, with its élite patronage and nice ideological balance between fundamentalist "imamism" and Shi^{c}ite respectability, to become what Scarcia termed "un anti-conformismo religioso dei notabili".(2) Babi/ Bahai followers on the other hand became a "spiritual left" whose links with movements of social and political criticism fertilised a later generation of religious radicals moving between religious separatism and a new kind of political activism. The careers of Mirza Aqa Khan, Shaikh Ahmad Ruhi and Mirza Reza Kermani may well be individual instances, and in any case involved their departure from Kerman for fame in a wider context, but their origins in a regional society may well be relevant as a starting point for the links between religious their heterodoxy and political radicalism.(3)

Thus if religious life is to be set in its social context all these tendencies need to be taken into account. Its centrality in the social order is evidenced from Vaziri's placing of ^{c}ulama at the head of all his categories of notables in various districts of Kerman, which also shows the links of religion and established power. The existence of different groups accorded different degrees of toleration

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(1) Tadhkirat-al-Auliya, p. 137 : Paighambar-i-dozdān, p. 28-31.

(2) Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", pp. 202-203; Algar, loc. cit. : Curzon, Persia, vol. I, p. 414.

(3) Browne, The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909, pp. 93-6, 414-5 Nazim al Islām Kermāni, Tārikh-i-bidāri-yi-Irānian, introductory volume pp. 11-16, 97-100.

illustrates the complexity and changing emphases within a pattern of religious plurality. Above all the religious element permeated a range of activities and relationships from the corporate loyalties of artisan groups to the orchestration of millenarian revelation with social protest. It is to be regretted that there is not more specific material on the Kermani experience of sufi orders or luti groups during this period which would illumine further the penetrating and varied religious dyeing of the social fabric. Nonetheless it is clear even from the limited available data that all levels of society and many aspects of daily experience were indeed coloured by the religious traditions, loyalties and activities of the various groups in the region. It follows that religion was a crucial issue for both the ordinary inhabitants and the dominant elites of towns in Kerman, and that control of religious life was an important element in the identity and position of the notability.

From this survey of commercial, religious, territorial and administrative "notables" it should be clear that in many respects to <u>isolate</u> these spheres of life is somewhat unhelpful. What stands revealed is a social situation where resources are limited, as is the possibility of developing them in <u>qualitatively</u> significant directions granted the constraints of technology and society, and where consequently there is a high degree of competition and insecurity over the distribution of these resources among the few with power over them. In such a situation it does not make sense for individuals, families or groups to develop too great a level of specialisation. Rather the

logical response, which is seen in historical reality, would be the kind of overlapping and shifting of interests, assets and activities which have been observed operating among the Kermani élite. To attempt to isolate a series of ideal types such as "the landowner", "the merchant" or "the mulla" is to that extent a redundant exercise. It is more useful perhaps to conclude that there were various paths to élite positions but that in pursuing any one of them successfully it would be likely that a range of methods would be brought in as support, and used to further and maintain the position. Thus Vaziri notes the way in which success in trade can bring access to office and land, or how membershiip of a hereditary office holding family could combine with religious or commercial interests.(1) It is for this reason that it seems useful to coin the neologism "notability" to connote the generality of interlinked dominant groups without begging the question of the particular specialisations among them.

For it should be said that a proper appreciation of urban society will take account of it as a living structure and not just a random collection of diverse elements. The fabric of that society was composed of relationships and interactions rather than atomised groups or experiences. Relationships and interests rooted in the needs of material production, in common loyalties or ideals, in shared living space or occupation were the living forces behind the control of the powerful or the protests of the powerless. Lateral connections between

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 58-59, 65, 98-99, 158-9, 172-3.

artisans or notables intersected with the vertical links of a religious sect or patron/client relationships in the government darbar or the town bazaar. Both kinds of links served real purposes rather than being random manifestations or accidents, and they evolved over time as powerful families intermarried and won followers through patronage, or religious teachers and patrons established and developed a following and a tradition. The links of entrepreneur and official, merchant and qazi, sufi pir and craftsman murid were all part of a changing historical phenomenon, the urban scene. Work, religion and social life influenced each other in the ongoing life of urban society, in the clash of hungry artisans with notables, in the shared experience of ta^{c}zieh or prayer, in the bargains and protests that occupied the various groups in defence of their interests. The identity of urban society was made up of these things, articulated by lines of authority, of group loyalty and group conflict which showed them in their real significance.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SPHERE OF CIRCULATION

So far the life and activities of people in the Kerman region have been considered in the context of their specific setting on the land or in the settlements of the region. However even from that perspective the role of interrelationships which sprang from and in turn affected cultivation, manufacture and social life has been seen to be a crucial dimension of the picture. The movements of people and of resources within the region and into and out of it were not merely an incidental or supplementary element in society and economy but an integral part of their existence and functioning. It therefore seems appropriate to turn to consider specifically the ways in which such movements and relationships actually worked in this period. This will not only give a certain completeness to the descriptive analysis which is the purpose of this study but also allow full discussion of developments and influences which came to have a rather special significance in this particular historical conjuncture, and indeed to be the agents of transformation within the region as they were in other areas of Iran and the Middle East.

This is not intended to be a deliberately cryptic generalisation but rather to leave the specific issues open until a basis for discussion has been properly established. The impact of new forces on Kermani society can best be understood within the context of an established pattern of relationships which linked the persons,

activities and institutions of that society with each other and with others outside the region. Otherwise change will appear as an external intervention in a closed or static situation rather than as the re-focussing of a complex and dynamic society which involved active response to rather than passive acceptance of new factors. It is the latter perspective which will be more useful and in order to clarify this it will make better sense to begin by an examination of the ongoing links of social and economic life which helped to sustain it. I have characterised these links as belonging to the "sphere of circulation" because this phrase conveys the sense of movement and of commercial forces, and also allows a connection to be made between the life of the region and the new elements which were to affect it. In discussing the various sectors of Kermani society it has been emphasised that one prime determinant was the need to sustain the existence of settlements (rural and urban) through a considerable degree of self-sufficiency. However the focal significance of self-sufficiency did not imply isolation. Whether looked at from the point of view of productive activity or from that of social relations we have already identified the existence of a range and variety of activity and experience rather than of discrete atomised entities. It follows therefore that we need to examine further the relationships and interdependence which made Kermani society an organic whole and not a random collection of units.

Section (a) : The Interpenetration of Urban and Rural Sectors

In order to support the assertions above with solid information and explanation it will be useful to examine the mutual needs which linked urban and rural communities and the activity and people which supplied them. It has been seen that there was a range of different types of settlement along a spectrum from the smallest hamlets of reed huts in Jiroft to the provincial capital with the full range of sophisticated goods and services. However this diversity should be understood not so much as random variety but as patterned by exchange and interdependence rooted in the needs of the various communities. A rural settlement might well sustain itself to the extent of providing its own food supplies and even some of the manufactures which were central to its existence but even among the most basic needs of the community were those which called for inputs from outside the community. An urban community which was not self-sufficient in cultivation was equally dependent on access to food supplies from elsewhere as well as for the raw materials to supply the manufacturing activities there. Even if one does not take this argument in terms of ideal types as being very descriptive of any specific reality the general sense of it can readily be grasped especially if it is also considered that this kind of interdependence did not merely occur between extremes of the spectrum but also over a rather narrower range. That is to say within the rural sector there would be settlements too small to sustain the same degree of self sufficiency as more populous communities who would seek to satisfy their needs by contact

with larger settlements in the area. Thus we can conceive of the regional economy and society as a network of interlocking demands with nodal intersections of various sizes playing their part in supplying them.

However we need to flesh out the concept by reference to the way in which it was manifest in Kerman. Turning to the nature of the rural sector, we have already seen that both subsistence and market cultivation were dependent on the use of quite a limited range of tools. However even those required raw materials which were not necessarily available locally, in particular the metal which had to be brought to the settlements. The import of iron to Kerman has already been mentioned and the demand for it by village blacksmiths which drew them into a market for iron and scrap metal and which linked them to larger centres. The shortage of the metal and consequent importance of the market can be gauged from the fact that even in the relatively prosperous Sirjan area a needle was a highly desirable gift to be asked from an English traveller.(1) There are no figures to suggest what proportion of iron or copper imported to Kerman went into the countryside to be worked there but it is reasonable to suppose that of the 20,000 rupees worth of copper and 32,000 rupees of iron imported to Bandar ʿAbbas in 187 or the 10,000 mann copper in 1892-3 and 25,000 mann iron in 1894-5 reached the rural craftsmen

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(1) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 177

producing ploughshares and knives or coppersmiths making cooking vessels.(1) The need for metal which linked rural producers to the markets of larger settlements was also manifest in the demand for scrap metal for re-use which was still a staple of village metal-working in the mid-twentieth century.(2)

If metal was perhaps the raw material most important in the commerce between small and large communities, others also played some part in the commercial network of the region. The demand for cotton cloth in the rural areas was in part satisfied by the purchase of the finished product but rural cloth production, (with a consequent demand for the raw material) was also a feature, as we can deduce from Vaziri's references to local demands for cotton.(3) In some cases as in Rudbar and Ravar he talks of sufficient local supply to meet that demand, but in others like Arzuyeh and Shahr-i-Babak the suggestion is that further supplies were needed. In areas where cotton is not mentioned at all it is interesting to speculate on whether it was more likely that the necessary supplies came in the form of cloth or of unworked cotton to be processed in local homes for local needs. Dye-stuffs are another case where it is reasonable to suggest that there was movement of the raw materials from areas of production (whether in Kerman as with madder and henna, or India as with indigo) to the craft workers of settlements like Rigan, Mahan or Anar who used them

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(1) See references to metal imports above pp. 188-189

(2) Beckett, "Crafts in South Persia", p. 147

(3) Jughrāfīya, pp. 125, 147, 162, 189.

even if their demand was insignificant compared to that of urban textile manufacture.(1) The transfer of sal-ammoniac (used in tinning the widely used copper vessels), from Kuh-i-Chehel Tan to the settlements of Kerman, or the needs of the glass industry of Rayin are other instances of the market created by the day-to-day needs of the region which involved rural artisans as well as the more prominent urban craft sector.(2)

One of the explanations for the particular range of needs which have been discussed lies in the nature of the commodities involved. Particular crops can only be produced under certain conditions (geographical and social) which tends to locate them in specific areas while exclusing them from others. Similarly mineral products are distributed irregularly due to geological factors and not necessarily located near the settlements where metal working is carried on. Thus the need to transfer products of this specialised type whether mineral ones or dyestuffs was one determinant of a flow of trade reaching all types of settlement within the region in varying forms and quantities and so modifying the autonomy of rural settlements. Similar factors apply in the case of salt which was an essential element of daily consumption but was also found only in certain areas, and so became an article of trade and part of the network of regional interdependence. Thus the salt-deposits on the western side of Sirjan served to supply the

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(1) There are references to dyeing at Rigan in Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 199 : and at Mahan in Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 312; at Anar see Jughrafiya, p. 182.

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 39 mentions the use of sal ammoniac : E. Sykes, Through Persia on a side-saddle, p. 167 and Floyer, op. cit., p. 300 note glass-making activities.

districts of Aqta^{c}, Bardsir, Shahr-i-Babak and Rafsinjan, while the Anar district drew salt from Nauq in Rafsinjan and the deposits in Doulatabad in Arzuyeh supplied not only that district but also Kushk/ Sughan and parts of Aqta^{c}.(1) Vaziri also notes that the salt-deposits of Rayin as well as those of Khabis supplied Kerman city, but granted that they were as he says "extensive" it is arguable that their output may well have served the needs of other settlements especially in the south and east to which Rayin had access.(2) These references in a work which is less than exhaustive in its treatment of economic data is some evidence of the degree of importance of the salt-trade which could make some impact on a writer who was quite willing to exclude a range of other commodities and commercial activities from proper consideration.

If salt was an example of a traditional foodstuff which needed to be transported to points of consumption and hence helped sustain the commercial network of the region, there were also new consumer provisions which came to play a significant role in that network. The spread of tea and sugar consumption based on a growing import trade with British India for the former and (in chronological turn) Dutch, Java, France and Russia for the latter, is part of the growing role of a world market which will be the subject of separate discussion. It also offers interesting perspectives on the transforma-

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(1) Jughrafiya, pp. 149, 156, 184.

(2) ibid., pp. 35, 90, 110.

tion of incomes into cash and rises in standards of living. However the immediate concern here is with the implications of the change for urban-rural interdependence in Kerman. It is difficult to know whether the undoubted growth of imports over the last half of the century affected only town dwellers or the better-off or whether its effect was more widespread.(1) Stack's recommendation to travellers to carry their own tea suggests that there was no certainty of obtaining it on cross-country journeys and in villages he seems to have been offered milk to drink more often than tea. On the other hand the British consul in Kerman in 1903 considered that tea was drunk by "all but the poorest classes" and was one of the "necessities in Persian households".(2) In the case of sugar Stack did find it used by villagers, and Vaziri notes its use to make a particular dish / with the local nuts of the Kuh-i-Hazar in Rayin district although his mention of honey production suggests that this was still in use as a sweetener.(3) However much or little of these provisions did reach the rural areas it was certainly through the medium of trade links with the centres where imports arrived, reinforcing the links between urban merchants and itinerant traders and rural consumers. In Jiroft-Rudbar in 1904-5 the consumption of imported tea and sugar was worth $\frac{1}{4}$ lakh and $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakh of rupees respectively (totalling some £12,900).(4)

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(1) See references to tea and sugar imports pp. 340-341

(2) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, pp. 162, 165, 236, vol. II, p. 312 : A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1902-3, pp. 407, 411.

(3) Stack, op. cit., vol. I, p. 188 : Jughrafiya, pp. 111, 133, 135.

(4) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 55.

The flow of trade to the rural sector was not confined to the limited quantities of raw materials and foodstuffs which the settlements there could not provide for themselves. The urban centres with their developed craft manufactures and their access to imported manufactures had an obvious role to play in supplying the rural areas with such products as their inhabitants did not manufacture and could afford. In general these would tend to be such of the more sophisticated textile or metalware goods which were within the purchasing power of villagers. Here there is a problem in estimating the nature and changes in that purchasing team with any accuracy in the absence of adequate data, but it is reasonable to argue that some at least of the qalamkar cloths or patterned felts or engraved metal trays and vessels which were made by urban artisans found their way into the rural hinterland. This might involve either the movement of traders from the towns into the villages or the visits of rural inhabitants to urban centres. Villagers bringing charcoal and garden produce to sell from Kuhpayeh and Khinaman, or making a protest about local taxation, also had the opportunity to sample urban craft manufactures even if this was only in the form of a new pair of giveh or cooking vessel. (1)

In particular we may note the growing role of foreign manufactures in this relationship between urban and rural sectors. The industrial products of European origin, notably those from Russia and Britain, were a new phenomenon in the world of commerce which challenged and modified traditional demands and productive activity, offering cheap cottons and hardware at competitive prices. The over-all dimensions of this new element in commerce will merit proper

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 88, 176, Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji-Sayyāh, p. 164 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit p. 345.

consideration in the context of a discussion of the general role of trade in the regional economy. Here it is worth noting that the new goods did penetrate the rural areas of Kerman as they did elsewhere, albeit perhaps to a lesser degree, thus adding another link to the interrelationship of towns which were bases for distribution and the rural consumer. Thus of the £15,000 to £20,000 of manufactured goods imported into Kerman from the Gulf in 1850 (of which nearly 90% were textiles) rising to some £46,000 in 1894-5 (of which $\frac{2}{3}$ were textiles) and nearly £69,000 by 1913-14, some at least were being sold in the rural hinterland of Kerman.(1) In 1904-5 trade in imported goods in the Jiroft-Rudbar area alone was over £22,700 of which over $\frac{1}{3}$ were manufactured goods, which is some evidence of demand, and the fact that imports at Sirjan, as noted by the same report, were "heavy for the size of the place" is some indication of its role as a distribution centre for a rural hinterland.(2)

Further evidence for the distribution of goods imported from outside the region in the rural areas can be deduced from the references to the role of itinerant traders in Kerman, acting as the means of circulation within the region. In 1850 Abbott spoke of the distribution of foreign imports in "district towns and villages" and by the 1870's members of the Goldsmid Mission noted the distribution of imported goods through Rafsinjan, as Stack in 1881 saw "a man with

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(1) F060/vol. 165/Abbott's notes, p. 80 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 51 : F0248/vol. IIII/tables I, V, X.

(2) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, pp. 47, 55.

three ass-loads of piece-goods" between Pariz and Gaud-i-Ahmar.(1) In the late 1870's Kahnu in the Rudbar district supported three Kermani traders who brought British imports from the Gulf and sold whatever they did not dispose of elsewhere in that area.(2) By the end of the century not only were Hindu traders active through the region according to Preece in 1892-3, controlling some 60% of the import trade in Sykes view, but their imports had become "necessities in Persian households".(3) Their activities intermeshed with those of other groups active in the distribution process whether they were the Zoroastrian "pedlars" noted by Preece, the pedlars who Sykes commented were the sole source of commercial distribution in the Pariz area, or the pileh-vars who in the 1870's sold the (inferior) tobacco of Gok to the Baluch according to Vaziri.(4) Thus below the level of large scale commerce we can glimpse however inadequately a whole network of petty distributive relationships which if they seemed relatively insignificant in terms of individual transactions cannot be wholly ignored in a picture of the inter-dependence of the various types of settlement in the Kerman region.

So far that interdependence has been considered from the point of view of rural purchases of goods produced in, or channelled through, urban centres. However the equal and opposite component of

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(1) F060/vol. 165/Abbott's notes, p. 38 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 180 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 190.

(2) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 256.

(3) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 349 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 40 : A and P for 1903/vol. LXXVIII/ report on Kerman trade 1902-3, p. 411.

(4) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit, p. 350 : F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary April 1904 : Jughrafiya, p. 91.

the relationship was the mobilisation of rural produce by urban landlords and merchants. Indeed one of the central functions played by urban settlements was as the collection point for foodstuffs and other raw materials for consumption, manufacture and commerce. As will be seen later this was in large part the function of the landlord-peasant relationship expressed in the control of circulation, but it is also useful to examine the links created between rural and urban sectors by the transfer of raw materials in a more general way. This is particularly the case in that the capacity of those based in towns to control rural surpluses and apply them to productive purposes was not merely a particular characteristic of urban life, but a central dynamic of the whole society and economy. Rural surpluses not only fed the urban population, but sustained the productive activities which enabled society to survive and expand and link with other regions by provided materials for manufacture and for exchange with other materials. It was on these activities that the characteristics of social production and social relations rested, whether we consider the evolution of the division of labour in craft production, or the network of commercial relationships interlinking the settlements of the Kerman region and the fact of trade between the region and others.

Most obvious of the products drawn from the countryside to the towns were the foodstuffs upon which life depended. This need was obviously greatest in Kerman city being so much larger than any other centre, drawing in the 1870's wheat from Narmashir and Sirjan

(and sometimes Rafsinjan) rice from Arzuyeh, peas and lentils from Shahr-i-Babak and fruit from Gok, Khabis, Rhinaman and Zarand, as well as wheat and fruit from the immediate environs of the provincial capital.(1) Vaziri notes that at this period Kerman city's food supplies were provided entirely from sources within the province (apart from rice, tobacco and sugar), while two decades earlier Abbott notes the supply of wheat for the city was in part brought from Rafsinjan, while also mentioning that Bam too exported surplus grain to nearby places.(2) In a year of drought the Goldsmid mission saw 500 camels at Bam taking grain to Kerman city, while the British consul in Kerman in 1904 noted the link of Khabis grain with the Kerman market.(3) The centring of the urban settlements within what are described as "fertile" or "oasis" areas is a more general demonstration of the basic function of rural food supplies in the urban setting, as of course are the comments by British consuls on the rapid development of bread shortages when communications between city and countryside were severed.(4) The role of the salt trade has already been noted, and apart from Vaziri's references to fruit exports from rural orchards to urban consumers, there are also the comments of Preece on the fruit coming to Kerman city from neighbouring villages in the Kerman basin,

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(1) Jughrafiya, pp. 150, 152, 168, 147, 161, 89, 91, 176, 178.

(2) ibid., p. 36 : F0251/vol. 42/Abbott on S. Persia, pp. 136, 141.

(3) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 196-7 : F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for 3rd week April 1904.

(4) There are widespread references of this kind. Examples are Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 86 : F0881/no. 8778*/ Gleadowe-Newcomen report : F0248/vol. 968/Kerman consular diary 1909.

and those of Consul Sykes on the difficulty of restricting fruit eating which testify to another branch of commerce in food.(1)

Certain interesting points arise from this highly important aspect of urban-rural relations. The capacity of rural areas to produce surpluses for transport to urban consumers, and the need to ensure the continuance of essential food supplies for large settlements was one of the basic dynamics of regional life. It's social and political implications have been seen as part of the landlord-peasant relationship, and will be dealt with further when we turn to consider the general functioning of politics in the life of the region. However it is important to be reminded at this point of the general significance and variety of the links which bound producers in different sectors. Not only was there trade in the fundamental foodstuffs (grain, pulses, fruit and vegetables, and dairy produce which will be considered in connection with the pastoral sector) but also in specialities which played their part in urban life, but originated in the rural sector. Condiments like the zireh seed were one instance and the wine of Gok and Rayin, the nut confectionary of Rayin, or the essence of the 'sapestan' trees of Rudbar which was sold to the perfumers of Kerman city, are similarly examples of goods whose entry into human use could only be developed on the basis of markets and trade.(2) Another area of need supplied from the rural areas was fuel supplies which prior to the development of Iranian oil were supplied partly by Russian

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(1) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit p. 345 : F0248/vol. 820/diary for 1st week of November 1904.

(2) Jughrafiya, pp. 113, 91, 110, 111, 125.

kerosene but also by local coal and charcoal. Vaziri records the presence of a specific trade in charcoal from Kuhpayeh and Khinaman while Haji Sayyah saw impoverished villagers selling bundles of wood they had gathered in the maidans of Kerman city.(1) Reporting in 1895 Sykes noted coal-mining 20 miles north-west of the city and there are other references to the local supply of this fuel.(2) Thus at the level of day-to-day needs whether common or specialised we are dealing with a diverse and well established area of life.

As has been seen much of the character of the larger settlements of the region arose from the presence there of a range of manufacturing activities and abilities which supplied both the immediate settlement and a range of other markets. Manufacture depends, among other things, on access to raw materials and in this area too vital relationships between urban and rural areas played their part. Here can be seen even more clearly the extractive role of the urban centre in relation to the rural hinterlands expressed in the control of urban-based social groups over raw materials which passed to craftsmen or traders. The merchant-notable classes by virtue of proprietorial and official rights were in a position to play a central role in the transfer of such raw materials from the place of production into the areas of commerce and craft processing. In considering that role as a dimension of the landlord-peasant relationship it was the actual forces of control that were a central concern, but it is also important to examine the flow of certain

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(1) ibid., pp. 88, 176 : Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, p. 164.

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 39.

rural products to urban centres as part of the overall network of relationships sustaining the regional economy. On the one hand that flow was made possible by the control which powerful groups exercised over rural producers, while on the other the activities of urban producers were dependent on the supply of raw materials often by the same groups. It is this paradox of course that sustained the overall power of the élite in the region as a whole, and it is also a reminder that in analysing the roles of production and circulation as distinct phenomena it should never be forgotten that each needed the other for their continued existence. The separate treatment is an heuristic convenience not a manifestation of historical reality.

Still, it is worth considering the trade in raw materials in the particular context of urban-rural relations. Perhaps the oldest established of craft uses of a raw material occurs in the sphere of textile production, where the origins of raw materials are inevitably in the rural areas (until the emergence of chemically derived synthetics in the twentieth century). The production of wool, cotton, silk or linen is dependent on crop or animal husbandry and hence rooted in the rural environment. Moreover the growth of specialisation and sophistication in textile manufacture is connected to a degree of specialisation and quality control in the production of the raw materials. Thus the wool of Kermani sheep and goats had qualities which gave it a special and important place in the regional markets of Asia and in the wider markets opened by European penetration. The tale of the failure of attempts to raise Kermani sheep to produce

this esteemed wool when taken to other areas of Iran is repeated in several sources.(1) Whatever the truth of this it is certainly demonstrable that the wool of Kerman had an established place in the textile industry. The commerce in wool outside the Kerman region deserves separate treatment, and here the main concern is to show how it also passed from rural pastoralists to local craftsmen. The existence of developed woollen industries in Kerman city, Ravar and Zarand, and the less obvious craft production of other centres was to a great extent maintained by the flocks of the region. Wool was an important export commodity in its own right but outflow from the region was challenged by local producers whether that was Kerman shāl weavers protesting in the eighteenth century and achieving a loan on wool exports by the end of it, or the government banning wool exports in the 1850's.(2) The shāl and carpet industries which have already been extensively discussed drew their raw materials from Kerman province as did the range of other woollen manufacturing activities. In the 1850's Abbott noted the demand for the wool produced in Jebel Bariz and Jiroft which in 1904-5 still sent two-thirds of their wool to regional centres and the large flocks of Shahr-i-Babak and Kuhpayen, while by the time of the Goldsmid mission the use of Kermani wool in local textiles was well know.(3) Vaziri, a few years later makes

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, pp. 225-6 : E. Sykes, Persia and its People, p. 320 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 50.

(2) Gombroon diary (in 10R/L) for May 1730, August 1732 : report on trade of Persia and Arabia (formerly G/29/vol. 21 in 10R/L) : F060/vol. 205/Consul Stevens to ambassador Murray 31 December 1855.

(3) F0251/vol. 42/Abbott on S. Persia, pp. 136, 138, 146, 131 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 88, 101-2, 187-8 :

references to the transport of wool to Kerman city, and also to its use in textile centres like Zarand and Ravar, a phenomenon which continued up until the first World War, although the growth of woollen manufacture did lead to wool being brought in from Sistan and Khorasan as well.(1)

The surveys of Abbott and Vaziri, confirmed by British consuls at the end of the century, make it clear that animal husbandry was an activity which permeated most of rural Kerman. Thus the links between raw material producers and the urban textile manufacturers were not a matter of a few isolated channels of commerces but a much more general relationship. The functioning of the pastoral sector deserves full consideration in its own right but one of its essential features will also be relevant in the present context. As with other areas of society it is clear that pastoralism in Kerman cannot be properly understood without recognising its integral place in the social whole, and one dimension of that integration can be perceived is through the channels of circulation which transferred the wool from Kermani flocks both to village spinners and weavers and also to urban craftsmen. Obviously the process of transfer needs further discussion in order to clarify this perception, but problems with evidence make this difficult. It is unclear how far the purchase of wool for commerce and manufacture was done by "middlemen" visiting rural areas, as happened in the eighteenth century, or how far producers brought

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(1) Jughrafiya, pp. 85, 145, 178 : F0248/vol. 878/Consul Stewart (Kerman) to Tehran, 30 May 1906 : F0248/vol. 878/ Kerman consular diaries 9-23 June, 18-28 July 1906 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 5-15 January 1907.

wool to urban centres for sale, or gave wool over to landlords or officials who would then effectively become middlemen in the trade. References in Vaziri to the bringing of wool to Kerman city suggest the second or third method, while his comment that it was there that merchants bought wool for long-distance trade tend to confirm that it was in the urban bazaar that middlemen entered the picture.(1) However his description of the role of the "people" of ᶜAbdal-abad in bringing wool from Jiroft and Jebel Bariz to sell in Kerman city indicates the variety of possible patterns.(2)

However the role of wool as a profitable commodity was sufficiently large scale for it to be arguable that the role of those with power and control over flocks, grazing and administration would have been a significant one. In 1904-5 the Jiroft/Jebel Bariz areas alone sent over half a million pounds of wool to local textile workers, which gives some sense of the scale of production. With opportunities such as this available it was not surprising that the notables had an incentive to become involved. The comments of St. John and Floyer suggest that in the 1870's and 1880's not only did figures like the governor of Kerman play a role in commerce but that his control of the export trade in wool may imply some control over what supplies remained in the region.(3) If as the Gleadowe-Newcomen mission pointed out there had actually been a shift away from export of wool to its use

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 147, 178 : ibid., p. 77 refers to merchants in this context.

(2) ibid., p. 85.

(3) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 312 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 99 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 55.

by the expanding carpet industry, then it is also possible that magnates had a role, from which they benefitted, in that process.(1) As flock owning landlords and tribal leaders they had direct access to this vital raw material, and while it is clear that theirs was not an exclusive role it was nonetheless one which cannot be ignored.

Turning to cotton, another staple of the textile industry which was also produced in Kerman, some of the same issues arise. Like wool cotton was a product which was both an article of long-distance commerce but also an import input into the local textile industry, as is suggested by Vaziri's comments on the presence or absence of sufficient cotton in particular districts.(2) Unlike wool however the export trade in cotton was as has been seen a growing phenomenon in the later nineteenth century whereas wool exports declined. However whether we consider the karbas manufacture of Bam, Zarand or Rafsinjan or the export trade to India and later to Russia we are dealing with the organised transfer of an agrarian product to other areas of use. It involved entrepreneurship at several levels from the local caravans which Stack saw taking cotton from the countryside to Rafsinjan, to the Hindu traders or agents of Russian firms who interposed themselves in the commercial chain, or the landowner/merchants of south and west Kerman who, as Vaziri said, had grown rich on the expansion of cotton production.(3) The degree of organisation required to facilitate the

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(1) F0881/vol. 8778*/loc. cit., p. 54.

(2) Jughrāfīya, pp. 125, 147, 162.

(3) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I p.190 Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 99, 179-180 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit p. 341 : F0248/vol. 820/ consular diary February 1904 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report pp. 47-8 : Jughrāfiya, pp. 158, 163-9.

transfer of cotton on the scale in question (some 1½m.lbs. being exported to India in the early 1890's and 1⅔ million lbs., mostly to Russia a decade later) is some indication of the forces which penetrated the rural sector linking it to remote markets as well as to the Isfahani and Yazdi merchants in Bam in the 1870's or the users of some 325,000 lb. of the local cotton crop of Rafsinjan at the turn of the century.(1) The building of store houses for cotton in the 1890's in Rafsinjan town, and the involvement of a network of traders and "small men" were visible dimensions of this phenomenon.(2)

Leaving raw fibres aside the rural sector was also a source for the dyestuffs which also played a part in craft manufacture both in the region and elsewhere. Consequently similar networks of contact operated in the production, commerce and artisan use of madder or indigo and the consumer demand for henna. Again we find merchants buying up such commodities in the urban centres for sale to producers or other middlemen.(3) These centres were not only foci for trade but also for some initial processing, so that the part cleaning of cotton which was noted in Rafsinjan was paralleled by the grinding of henna prior to trading it outside the region.(4) It is also worth making the connection once more between the scale of the production

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(1) Jughrāfiya, p. 95 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit p. 391 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen, p. 47.

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 48 : F0881/no. 8778*/loc. cit., p. 48.

(3) Jughrāfiya, pp. 77, 95 : F0881/no. 8778*/loc. cit., pp. 52, 54.

(4) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 86 (on henna processing) 179 (cotton cleaning) : F0881/no. 8778*/loc. cit., p. 48 : F0248/vol. 820/diary 2nd week December 1904.

and commerce involved (henna production rising from just under one million lbs. noted by Abbott in 1850 to 1.8 million lbs. in the 1890's and an estimated 4.5 million lbs. (?!) just before World War I) and the assertions that the wealth of local notables was enhanced thereby.(1) On a somewhat smaller scale one can note the existence of comparable links created by the demand for opium in the urban centres of Kerman region as well as further afield. There has already been occasion to comment on the intermingled interest of merchants, notables and urban users in this popular rural product quite apart from its role as an export crop.(2) In the present context it is useful to remember this as another instance of the way in which social need and social production transcend the apparent differences of "town" and "country".

Indeed it is this point towards which the various observations laid out above are directed. In many ways it is possible to argue that the urban/rural dichotomy is a misleading concept not merely in the sense that it is based on confused essentialist notions of "types" of social/historical situation, but also in the sense that it is based on a spurious idea of spatial separation and differentiation of functions which collapses when applied to a real historical situation. This is not to argue that very <u>differing</u> patterns of settlement and activity do not arise within the kind of regional society under consideration. Rather it is to emphasise that the differences are only

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(1) <u>F060/vol. 165</u>/Abbott's notes p. 78 : <u>A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII</u>/Kerman 1894-5, p. 50 : <u>F0248/vol. IIII</u>/Kerman trade report 1913-1914, table IX : <u>F0881/no. 8778*</u>/loc. cit., p. 53-4.

(2) See above pp. 240-241

operational and comprehensible within a concept of a whole society and that it is this whole which constitutes a proper object of study. In any case the differences that are often the most significant are not merely defined by spatial forms of settlement but by the contrast for example between producers and merchants or landlords, concretely expressed in, for example, the conflict between henna growers and purchasers recorded in the consular archives.(1) The symbiosis of physical production, social needs and social relations within a diverse society shaped both the diversity and the interpenetration of these factors which made the region a meaningful entity. Even without considering the range of connections with a wider world which also shaped the regional identity, which will be discussed subsequently, a consideration of the pattern of exchange within Kerman should reinforce the argument presented here. Indeed it is within the sphere of exchange that many of the significant relations of supply/demand, of power and control and of conflict of interest, which were elements which helped create both diversity and integration. It now remains to develop the analysis of interdependence in its other dimensions.

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary 13-19 September 1907 (Bam news).

Section (b) : Landlord-Peasant Relations; a Paradigm for Urban-Rural Links.

It has already been suggested that the relationships between various parts of the Kerman region cannot be seen in purely spatial or ideal-type terms. At this point therefore it seems appropriate to look at the patterns of interdependence created by the relationships between social groups within the region which also had a spatial dimension. It should be clear by now that much of the dynamic of regional society was based on the importance of agrarian production which in any non-industrialised situation is bound to be focal. For this reason this section of the study will focus on the two most significant groups involved in this area, cultivators and those with access to the produce of cultivation. In doing this it will be important to try to avoid the kind of essentialism that has been criticised in relation to the conceptualisation of "urban" and "rural" categories. That is to say that while one can rightly point to a range of common attributes and experiences which shape the identity of cultivators or landlords, or indeed towns and villages, this identity is defined precisely by reference to such objective criteria and not as an abstract phenomenon. Just as it has been seen that there was an interpenetration of demands and production which bound urban and rural sectors into a whole so it should also be emphasised that this was not an interaction of abstract forces but of social relations.

Thus the purpose of this section of the discussion of the regional society and economy will be to clarify the social reality behind the movements which were discussed in the previous section. There is an important link between the spatial approach adopted there and the relationships which will come to the fore in the coming discussion in that the landed notables of the region, in common with counterparts elsewhere in Iran and the Middle East, were to a considerable degree absentees whose physical presence at the point of agrarian production was irregular and infrequent. Their involvement in a range of activities other than the direct extraction of the rural surplus (commerce, administration, law, religion) was expressed in and facilitated by their presence in the larger-scale settlements. Unlike the rentier nobility who were focussed on the court-cities of European absolute monarchy, this class of nobles was not only a class of consumers, patrons and officials. This point could be illustrated not only in Kerman but in many areas of Iran where the notability were engaged in commerce and entrepreneurship, involving not only the consumption of resources but their deployment in commerce and manufacture. So far this perspective has been developed as a general analytic framework for understanding the regional economy, and now it makes sense to move from broad concepts of the transfer of resources towards an examination of the social activity which that implies. What is under discussion is not the operation of impersonal forces but a <u>social reality</u> in which people are involved as individuals and in groups.

One of the reasons why the "transfer of resources" was such an important dynamic in the life of Kerman society was its focal position in the control of those resources. In a situation where there was very little possibility for direct control over labour and productivity the ability of the powerful to control resources lay very much in their capacity to intervene at the level of circulation. Under a system of villeinage or slave labour those who have access to such labour have direct disposal of it through force, law and custom. Under a system of wage labour, employers can control productivity, wages and levels of employment. Neither of these patterns of control was dominant in the situation under consideration here, which raises the issue of how in fact the dominant groups did dominate. As far as access to and control of the surplus product (in the sense of that which was surplus to the subsistence needs of producers) was concerned it was their ability to mobilise, transfer and transform rural produce which was a basis for wealth and power. Thus the organic links between rural production and other processes were articulated socially and politically by the capacity of certain groups to initiate and intervene in the relationships involved and to play a dominant role. The following discussion is meant to clarify the ways in which this happened.

Perhaps the most immediately obvious way in which the landlord class[1] could assert control of surpluses in the sphere of

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(1) The term "landlord" is used here, and subsequently, without prejudice to the other activities of persons so designated.

circulation was by their direct access to produce which was traded from the various parts of Kerman. As landlords they got a share of the crop at the point of production through the division of the harvest of grain or other crops. This share, as has been pointed out, was a large one and represented the commodity part of rural produce to a far greater extent than the peasant share.(1) In the pastoral sector as landlords and leaders of nomadic pastoralists the notables owned flocks, as the Vaziri family did in Arzuyeh, or the Jebel Bariz Khans.(2) As officials they also had a lien on rural produce as revenue whether in cash or kind, and at the highest level on the trade dues which were part of the taxation system. The resistance to attempts in the first decade of the twentieth century by a reformed customs service directed from Tehran and employing European bureaucrats with European notions of administration to take this into their control is evidence of the links which operated between office-holding and entrepreneurial opportunity.(3) It remains to be shown how this favourable position gave the notability the chance to play an active role in commerce, mediating their access to the rural surplus through the channels of circulation.

Turning first to the development of commodity crop production it is possible to see how the ability of landlords to

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(1) See the section above on landlords and peasants, especially pp 148

(2) Jughrāfīya, pp. 119-120, 150.

(3) F0248/vol. 846/Kerman consular diary April-May 1905 : F0248/vol. 1072/Kerman consular diaries for 29 September-6 October, 6-13 October 1913 : F0248/vol. 998/diary for 10-17 February 1910.

intervene in rural production on the one hand and the trade in its output on the other. When Vaziri described the growing prosperity of the cultivated areas of western Kerman (Arzuyeh, Sirjan and Rafsinjan in particular) he expressed this specifically by reference to the increase in the wealth of landowners based on an income from trade in grain, madder and cotton.(1) In other words he identified the wealth and power of the notables in the area as being rooted in their capacity to link agrarian production and circulation. The Khans of Bam-Narmashir with their role in the expensive production of henna, or the "magnates" of Kerman city with interests in the opium trade are also examples of the same kind of link.(2) When Aqa ᶜAli Vaziri combined his merchant activities with possession of estates in the fertile district of Arzuyeh, or the governors of Kerman won a monopoly of the "lucrative" export trade in wool in the 1860's and 1870's, they demonstrated an awareness of the need to strengthen their position by the use of commerce, and conversely that commercial activity could be re-inforced by the advantages derived from land and office. This situation is confirmed by Floyer who described the governor of Kerman as the "chief manufacturer, camel-mule owner and general merchant of the province".(3) The specific role of transport needs further discussion, but it can be seen here that the more general connection was present.

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 158, 168-9.

(2) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 54 : F0248/vol. 1072/Kerman consular diary 13-20 October 1913.

(3) Jughrāfīya, p. 6 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 99 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 322.

One of the very immediate effects of landlord power in Kerman on the life of the region was their impact on the grain market. This too was based on their access to the product and hence ability to hold supplies and so manipulate prices to their advantage. Comments on this aspect of life recur in most of the available sources. In 1881 Stack saw crowds outside bread-shops and guessed that

> "the high prices were due to the manipulation of the grain market for the benefit of those in power",

while Haji Sayyah who visited the province three years earlier indited the governor and officials for their profiteering in bread and grain at the expense of the poor.(1) When the setting up of a British consulate in Kerman allows us a glimpse albeit a distorted one of the ongoing vicissitudes of life there through the regular diary of the consuls, these observations are to some extent confirmed. Thus there is evidence that in 1906 the Shaikhi landlords in the Kerman city area were holding grain in order to create what the then consul called a "corner". In the same year landowners were accused more generally of the same thing, with or without the support of the governor of the province.(2) Here can be seen a fusion of economic and political intervention since the manipulation of the grain market intersected with a politico-religious conflict among the notables. The more general significance obviously is the degree to which people with this kind of leverage could affect life and society in Kerman.

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(1) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 216-7 : Khāterāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, pp. 165-7.

(2) F0248/vol. 878/Kerman consular diary for 29 April-5 May, 18-28 July, 7-30 August 1906.

It is to be regretted that there is no evidence of the working of a similar phenomenon with regard to the raw materials with which the urban craft market was supplied. The position of the notables in cotton production and pastoralism has already been noted, and it is worth speculating how far they could influence urban manufacture through their place in the marketing of raw fibres (and dyestuffs) to entrepreneurs and artisans. It certainly seems possible that through their role in the region of exchange which affected manufacturing production, those who traded in the relevant goods could affect that sector. Obviously the movement of prices was in part mediated through merchant entrepreneurs acting full-time as middlemen in the putting-out system. However we have already noted the overlap between mercantile and landlord roles, and in any case the interposition of middlemen might modify the impact of landlord influence on prices but could not negate it completely. Just as for example the introduction of opium to replace other crops in the 1870's and 1880's was made on the basis of its greater profitability so too the shift from exporting raw wool outside the region to using it in the growing carpet industry at the end of the century was a question of demands re-orienting raw material production.(1) In that transformation those who dominated such production and also had interests in the manufacturing sector and trade (like the grandson of the first Vakil al Mulk with interests in land and development, official status in the administration and

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(1) Stack, Six Months, vol. I, p. 184 : F0881/no. 8778*/ Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 53.

an involvement in the carpet trade) had a role to play even if its actual shape will remain shadowy in the absence of full evidence.(1)

Thus far the question of in what way landlords were a part of the social forces which interpenetrated various sectors of regional life has been considered in terms of their access to the articles which passed from one sector to another. It can be seen that they had a material influence on regional life not only through their direct power within the agrarian sector, which was discussed in the survey of that sector, but also in the sphere of circulation which created significant links between various productive activities. By their ownership of land and flocks and their rights as proprietors, chiefs and officials to agrarian produce they were in a position to play a direct part in the marketing of such produce and so in the structures of prices and demands which affected many areas of life in town and country. Just as their demands for rent and revenue impinged on the world of the cultivator, indirectly influencing production, so too their place in the commercial network affected entrepreneurs and artisans. The state of the data does not allow one to pursue the question of how far wealthy landowner-entrepreneurs could affect the prices and thus the terms of trade between agrarian and manufactured products. From the available evidence the trade in manufactures seems to have been much more specialised as an occupation whether at the level of big merchants in carpet export or the Hindu traders who penetrated the rural hinterland with pedlar's wares. It

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(1) F0248/vol. 788/Consul Phillott (Kerman) to Hardinge (Tehran), 8 January 1903.

was these groups who at the regional level played the most obvious role in the trade in non-agricultural products and might thereby have the opportunity to manipulate that trade. They also seem to have expanded into money-lending activities, which were noted as being combined with trade by the Hindu traders and others in the later nineteenth century.(1) On the other hand it was local notables as has been seen who were involved more prominently in trading agrarian produce, though this overlapped with other commitments. What the relationship between these groups in fact was is hard to determine, although it is interesting to speculate on the reasons behind the "enmity" which developed between the chief Khan of Jiroft and the Hindu traders of the area.(2)

Of course neither of these groups or the areas of trade they dealt with operated in isolation and at a later point it will be necessary to examine the integration of these commercial activities within a wider framework. In terms of the "regional network" it seems arguable that no one group was in a position to control the terms of trade, particularly when it is remembered that as well as powerful notables and specialised groups there was a whole infra-structure of smaller traders who are mentioned occasionally in the contemporary material without there being any full description of their role. Stack's references to "khurdeh-forush" and small traders

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(1) E. Sykes, Through Persia on a Side-Saddle, p. 155 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe Newcomen report p. 55.

(2) F0881/no. 8778*/loc. cit.

with Manchester cottons, Vaziri's pileh-varan, and the note by Sykes on pedlars in Pariz which were cited earlier as instances of the degree of penetration of trade relations into the rural hinterlands of Kerman, are also evidence of the absence of monopoly in those relations.(1) Even without fully satisfactory data it can be seen that we are dealing with a very complex situation, in which the landlord element was undoubtedly significant but certainly did not exercise a determining influence. Rather it should be seen as interacting within a highly diverse situation, whose diversification was the logical product of an environment where limited resources placed a premium on adaptability and variety, and not some accident or mystic attribute of Kermani society.

Leaving aside intervention in the structures of trade and marketing there were other areas where landlord intervention played a part in the network of regional interrelations. One of these was shaped by the capacity of landlords to control important inputs for agrarian production which had to be brought into the particular settlements where they were to be used. The question of water supply has already been extensively treated, but as far as regional interrelations are concerned it should be noted that it was landlord-officials who had the resources to transfer the necessary skilled labour for qanat construction to areas of new settlement or where revival and repair were required.(2) When Firuz Mirza Farman-

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(1) See above p. 282 and notes

(2) See above pp. 165-6, 169-171

farma was touring as governor of the province he initiated the sending of muqannis for such purposes and encouraged local notables to do the same. He also refers in his diary to the role of such men as Nasir Khan, mubashir of Jebel Bariz in 1880 in qanat construction.(1) Stack's mention of the Rafsinjani who made money in commerce and invested it in, among other things, qanat construction, is a reminder that the multi-variate activities of the notability which characterised their ability to play a dominant role in economy and society.(2) Thus the analysis of landlords in agrarian production should take into account their role in integrating it with other sectors which was one dimension of their dominant position in society.

However water-supply was only the most immediately obvious factor of production over which the landlord class had some influence. There are suggestions that the provision of draught animals was also an activity in which they had a role. This was a particularly significant issue for the agricultural sector in Kerman which was not a region where cattle raising was widespread. Vaziri noted the only parts of the region where cattle-raising was possible were in Rudbar and Jiroft, where incidentally one of the few permanent water systems in a low-lying area was situated.(3) Thus it is fair to deduce that draught oxen had a scarcity value since their use in agriculture was not

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 5, 12, 34 : ibid., p. 66-7.

(2) Stack, Unexplored Baluchistan, vol. I, p. 219.

(3) Jughrāfīyā, p. 119, 123.

entirely avoidable.[1] In this situation there would be an obvious incentive to acquire possession and hence control of the distribution of such a resource. The cash assets of the wealthy would put them in a position to respond to this incentive, since such assets were crucial both to the acquisition and the maintenance of animals. Although there is little data on the precise dimensions of the spread of cash resources through various sections of Kermani society, it is reasonable to assume that even if the notability were not the sole possessors of cash or credit they were likely to have more and easier access to both. It is in this context that the existence of a loan or contract system for the use of plough oxen takes on its full significance. In the 1870's Floyer noted that the letting out of such animals was a profitable activity for an official in Kerman city, while twenty or thirty years later Ella Sykes mentions the prevalence of the hiring out of oxen in the pattern of agricultural production.[2] Again it is possible to discern the pattern whereby access to alternative resources and the links between various sectors was part of the power of the landlord class.

Possessing this kind of influence over the provision of such crucial factors of production, the landlords were in a position to play a significant part in other aspects of agrarian life where their capacity to straddle different sectors of economic activity was an important element. It is worth considering how far changes in crop production would have been pioneered by those with the money and

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(1) The problems caused by loss of draught animals are referred to by the British consul in reporting raids on them in west and north-west Kerman, F0248/vol. 969/Consul Ducat (Kerman) to Tehran 4th September 1909.

(2) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 322 : E. Sykes, Persia and its People, p. 212.

contacts to bring in new crops from elsewhere. Obviously much of the expansion of production was attained through the development of crops which already had an established place in the agrarian system, like cotton, henna and madder. However the development of crops which were either quite new (like potatoes) or had only been used on an extremely small scale (like opium, which was negligible before the 1870's) required particular kinds of incentive or intervention which were more likely to apply to landlords than other groups. Gleadowe-Newcomen noted that the export trade in cotton owed little to Russian middlemen along the lines which developed with their entry into the Khorasan wool market, leaving one to deduce that the action of indigenous pressures must have been at least part of the motive force, and raising the issue of how far the landlord element were a part of that.(1) Sykes mentions how in the 1890's he had been a source for English (and presumably superior!) lettuce seeds for one of his landlord contacts which while not in itself especially significant does suggest what kinds of contact might facilitate change.(2) The story of the introduction of the potato into Iran by Sir John Malcolm is hallowed by the name originally given to the vegetable in Persian ("Malcolm's plum") and in Kerman in the 1870's and 1880's they were noted as flourishing in Sirjan district with its commercially minded landowners which might indicate the working of similar patterns.(3)

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(1) FO881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 48.

(2) Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 442

(3) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 106 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 134.

It has already been shown to what extent landlords were a leading element in the extension of cultivation and settlement and in the remunerative commercial sector of agriculture.(1) Precise statements are lacking as to the specific timing or forms of their intervention but some points do emerge from the available evidence to show that one aspect of this intervention was through the supply of the seed/crop itself. In 1881 Floyer noted the profits made by Kermani officials from advancing seed.(2) Firuz Mirza refers to the Deputy Governor of Bam providing henna seed to cultivate on Khaliseh property in emulation of the private property owners of the area, just as he himself encouraged rice-growing experiments in Tehrud and saw the notables of Do-sari planting date palms and citrus trees.(3) In the early years of this century the comments of a British official suggest that the landlord influence in the henna cultivation of Bam/Narmashir was crucial in that when their "managers" fled the districts threatened by Baluch raids cultivation was abandoned, presumably because the resources (seed? ploughs?) were unavailable.(4) That this was part of an established pattern is indicated by Vaziri's references to the establishment of silk cultiva-

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(1) See above pp. 165-6, 169-171

(2) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 322.

(3) Safar-nameh, pp. 12, 89, 72.

(4) F0248/vol. 1052/Kerman consular diary for 19-26 September 1912 (Bam news).

tion by a son of Ibrahim Khan Qajar in the 1840's where a new crop and new areas of cultivation were instigated together. The silk industry was still flourishing, if on a small scale, when Stack visited the area in 1881.(1) When English officials considered the possibility of encouraging the development of particular crops in which they were interested, the discussion was conducted in terms of persuading the notables, thereby re-inforcing the picture of their decisive influence over what was produced.(2) Part of this at least stemmed from their capacity to gain access to resources like seed or draught animals which, as has been re-iterated, was not merely a question of using profits from agriculture to develop it further, but also of manipulating other sources of wealth or influence to such an end.

If the provision of seed and animal power was under considerable landlord influence then the supply of implements of cultivation was a much more problematic case. In the survey of the methods of cultivation it became clear that the tools and implements in use were of a simple and limited range capable of being produced by village craftsmen, although they might well be dependent on a trade network for the necessary metal involved.(3) In this sense as has been seen they were linked into the regional network but there is

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(1) Jughrāfiya, p. 176 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, p. 230.

(2) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 50 : A and P for 1907/vol. XCI/report on Kerman trade 1906-7, p. 534.

(3) See above pp. 103 - 106 for the tools of cultivation and pp. 104, 106 for the needs of the village craftsmen for imported metal.

little or no evidence that this was articulated through the relationship of cultivators to landlords. In fact the evidence as to how metal, in sheet, bar or scrap form, reached village blacksmiths is simply lacking, making it impossible to say whether it was a question of small traders going to the villages, of villagers coming to larger centres or of a much more centralised large-scale arrangement, though this latter seems unlikely. One reference to the loaning of ploughs by what Floyer called the "minister of agriculture" suggests that there was a certain scarcity of this implement, which might also be inferred from mention of earth-breaking by other means as an alternative process.(1) Here we can see the official classes taking advantage of their ability to make available a basic necessity of cultivation, but it would be mistaken to suggest that this was more than one tendency in a situation about which we know little.

Having focussed on various ways in which the landlord-cultivator relationship was a function of a complex regional economy rather than of a (non-existent) isolated agrarian sector from the point of view of agrarian production it remains to discuss the activities of the notability in the transport sector. This was if one likes the physical dimension of circulation itself and both its technological levels and its social organisation had important implications for the functioning of exchange and commerce. The importance of

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(1) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 322 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 218 : F0248/vol. 1030/Consul Haig (Kerman to Barclay (Tehran) 14 September 1911.

transport is reflected in the emergence of specialised groups to organise it and carry it on (muleteers, charvar-dars) and the role of transport costs in affecting the overall terms of trade. Thus we find Vaziri mentioning the role of particular groups, both nomadic and settled, in providing animals to carry freight while almost every trade report mentions freight costs as a significant item of commercial information.(1) It is also clear that as far back as the eighteenth century there were entrepreneurs who organised and men who led large scale caravans, which were desirable as a security measure, on the long distance trade routes.(2) However since we are aware that even specialised activities are not carried on in a vacuum it becomes necessary to consider the ways in which transport linked with other factors, as of necessity it must do since it serves other sectors. In doing so it will become clear that the links in question involved the notability.

As was observed in connection with plough animals this class had greater opportunity to acquire and maintain animals, and as merchant-entrepreneurs and landed proprietors selling produce in a range of markets they had an obvious incentive to have their own access to transport. In consequence it is not surprising that it is possible to trace a distinct role of the notability in this sector.

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(1) Jughrāfiya, pp. 85, 138, 145-6.

(2) The Gombroon diary (in IOR/L) mentions organised caravans charvardars, muleteers, and names caravan leaders, e.g. in diaries for November 1735, May 1738, December 1746 : the size of caravans if not their organisation can be seen in the consular records e.g. F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary 20-26 September, 3-10 October 1907 : F0248/vol. 938/diary 13-19 March 1908.

As early as 1810 Pottinger noted that the governor of Kerman owned mules which he kept at Mahan and in the 1870's Vakil al Mulk II was lending mules to the Goldsmid mission.(1) The records of the British consuls in Kerman contain references to the ownership or control of freight animals (donkeys, mules or camels) by members of the notable class. Thus in 1903 one of the more prominent Khans could offer to provide camels from the nomad tribe of which he was Ilbeg, while a year later another of them was sending his own camels to Bandar ᶜAbbas to bring water-pumps he had bought.(2) They employed their own charvardars and like other animal owners these notables were at risk from robbery and raiding such as struck the donkeys and mules of Nasrat al Mamalek in the Kerman city basin, or the camels of various Khans on their way to Mashad from Rigan.(3) The more frequent mention of camels is interesting in that it could reflect the concentration of the notables on long distance trade, for which camels, which carried much larger loads than other animals, were primarily used. The small traders and entreprneurs were more likely to use donkeys, like the man with three of them who met Stack in the rural hinterland of Sirjan.(4)

The role of the notability in the transport system of Kerman and its interpenetration with that of less prominent or wealthy persons can be judged further from an interesting episode that took

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 206 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 99.

(2) F0248/vol. 788/Consul Phillott (Kerman) to Hardinge (Tehran) 8th January 1903 : F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for 1st week of March 1904.

(3) F0248/vol. 906/Kerman consular diary 5-12 December 1907 : F0248/vol. 969/diary for 23-30 December 1909 : F0248/998/ diary 17-24 March 1910.

(4) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 190.

place at the end of our period. In 1913 the Belgian official of the new customs service which the central government was attempting to make function through the country attempted to institute a tax on all freight animals entering Kerman city. Obviously this aroused opposition from all who had such animals and were involved in transport, but there was a complex range of forces involved. "Donkey-owners" took bast in the British consulate armed with "legal" objections to the new imposts.(1) This however was immediately followed by a forced closure of the bazaars (against the wishes of carpet weavers for example) at the "instigation" of the governor and other interested parties.(2) The outcome of various pressures and negotiations appears to have been that by the end of the year Lecoffre (the official in question) was able to collect the tax and issue licences, but was exempting "prominent officials and religious leaders".(3) Here it seems is an illustration not just of the general political weight of the local élite but of the seriousness with which they viewed an intervention in the transport system. Obviously they were willing to take effective steps to defend their position, which is some indication of how significant that position was, although the fact that Lecoffre was getting a fair amount of money from other animal owners should be a reminder that they too had a role.

It might be possible to argue that the evolution of trade was creating a polarisation between longer and shorter range transport

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(1) F0248/vol. 1072/diary 22-29 September 1913.

(2) F0248/vol. 1072/diary 6-13 October 1913.

(3) F0248/vol. 1072/diary for 24 November-1 December 1913.

in which the larger scale owners would tend to monopolise the former leaving the latter to smaller entrepreneurs. The cost of creating and maintaining a number of camels which were more useful for long-distance large-scale export, or indeed of a large number of mules or donkeys obviously favoured those who had greater resources. Thus the concentration of this particular asset in the hands of the powerful and wealthy may well have been a growing phenomenon, linked to the expansion of the export in Kermani commodities on an international scale. This did not eliminate the smaller men, but rather left them to operate in the more localised networks where small-scale trade might actually have advantages granted limited demand, and where the high profit margins which small traders needed would be accepted from lack of an alternative in rural settlements.

That the notability did indeed have an identifiable role in the sphere of circulation seems to be fairly certain. Their ability to have such a role was in part due to their position in relation to landed property and agrarian production which they could integrate with rights as administrators or interests as merchant/entrepreneurs. While the governor of Kerman at the start of the nineteenth century used an income from taxes on trade to subsidise the "court" (i.e. maintain the notable class of which he was one), another governor a century later would mobilise available political forces among his peers and his inferiors to defeat the encroachments of taxation not under his control.(1)

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 226 : above p.313

In the intervening period governors and other notables were able to reinforce their position on the land by virtue of their access to office and commerce, while land rights themselves gave them a stronger position as officials and merchants. It is for this reason that it is hard to discern exclusively merchant or landed categories among the notability, although this is not to deny the genuine existence of specialisation. There were advantages to overlapping economic activity, just as there were advantages to operating on a larger scale, but neither of these tendencies entirely ousted others. What needs to be grasped here is that amid the complexities and indefiniteness of the whole situation the landlord/notable class was significantly involved in the sphere of circulation and the networks of regional society and economy.

Section (c) : Kerman and other regions

Thus far we have considered the integration of various types of settlement, exchange and social relations within the Kerman region and shown that its existence was structured by a "network" of interpenetrating needs and activities, rather than being the random collision of disparate small units. However just as it would be erroneous to conceptualise regional society in terms of atomised entities defined by essentialist notions of "city", "village" and so forth, so too it would be misleading to let regional society itself remain such an abstract concept, floating isolated in a vacuum. The purpose of this section of the study is to discuss the kinds of connection which existed between Kerman and other regions, and then to take a somewhat critical view of how to understand those connections. Doing this should help to clarify a workable picture of what a "region" could be both in terms of its own autonomy and of the links which necessarily emerged between these sorts of autonomous units of social production. It is worth bearing in mind that regional autonomy, that is the tendency towards self-sufficiency which is imposed on many economies operating with low technology and limited human and material resources, is not in any sense antithetical to the existence of links between economies of this kind. On the contrary the very effectiveness of local self-sufficiency was shaped by the capacity to engage in exchange. It has been seen that this was true within a regional context and this forms a basis for considering this theme on a wider scale.

When the wider view is taken it is clear that some tendencies which operated to link settlements in the regional setting also had an influence in building links between regions. Two of the most notable were the variations in production produced by geographical and social conditions, and the resulting specialisation on the one hand and the existence of basic needs which could not be supplied within the region on the other. The regionalisation of the area usually called Iran was in part shaped by the climatic and geo-morphological divisions in that area, which also influenced the distribution of important raw materials like salt and metal ores, and in addition the conditions of production of various foodstuffs and other natural produce. Fruit growing was an obvious instance of the geographical determinants of production playing a part in making the Gulf coast and south east Iran date producing areas, the mountain valley's centres of pomegranate growing, and in general creating a mosaic of variety ranging from apples to citrus fruits and on to melons and nuts. Soil climate and physiography also shaped the balance of animal and crop husbandry although this as will be seen was also the product of shifting historical factors. Similar factors help differentiate the balance of grains, dyestuffs and other crops in any given area. All these products were basic elements of social existence as foods and raw materials for the textiles and tools which were part of daily life. Thus the geographical and historical developments which made one region better able to produce surpluses of grain or wool or dye or opium, which located mining or pastoral husbandry in particular places also created the preconditions for inter-regional exchange of these crucial products.

It will be remembered that Vaziri commented on the capacity of even the largest centre of the region, the provincial capital, to draw most of its food supplies from the region, but in making that point out he also noted several exceptions to the general trend.(1) The importations of rice and tobacco (both widely used commodities in urban centres at least) from Fars at this period were part of an exchange of consumption goods in which salt from the supplies in Arzuyeh and Sirjan was sought after by the people of Sab^{c}eh, Jarun, Niriz and the Istehbānāt, and pistachios from the same area went to Shiraz.(2) Confining our observations to foodstuffs for the present we have references in Vaziri alone to a whole range of transactions which drew produce from Kerman to other regions of Iran, Central Asia and North India and in return brought produce into the province. Yazd for example drew grain supplies as need required from Rafsinjan, Sirjan and Zarand districts, and peas and lentils from Shahr-i-Babak.(3) There was also a grain trade from the cultivated plains of Bam and Narmashir which had Yazdi and Isfahani merchants buying rice and wheat in Bam and the trade of Narmashir wheat on occasions to Sistan, and the Baluch tribes.(4) There was also trade in Kermani peas and lentils which were sent via Bandar ^{c}Abbas to India which also took wheat from Aqta^{c} on occasion.(5)

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(1) Jughrāfīya, p. 36.

(2) ibid., pp. 152, 156.

(3) ibid., pp. 168, 152, 178, 161.

(4) ibid., pp. 95, 105.

(5) ibid., pp. 133, 138, 142.

These were bulk foodstuffs which were in many cases only exported when sharp shortages and price movements gave a very clear incentive to trade. The annual Gulf trade reports with their regular comments on the state of the grain trade, in which British or British Indian firms and shipping were involved make it clear that the trade between India and the Gulf ports could go either way according to the quality of harvests in regions of India and Iran in any particular year. Thus there could be sharp reversals of the flow of grain trade from year to year, so that a year of good harvests in south Iran and shortages in Europe in 1888 meant brisk exports from the Gulf to India, Arabia and Europe, while a drought induced poor harvest in 1892 reversed the pattern which grain entering the Gulf from Basra and India. The same applied to the volume of grain imports to Kerman from Sistan and Birjand in the 1890's.(1) Such fluctuations are not always recorded for Kerman specifically although consular reports do sometimes give an indication of the quantity of harvests which allows some picture of the shifts of import and export. What is important is that in either case we are dealing with an interaction between regions which was crucial to life there. The 10,000 mann of peas which went from Kerman to India in 1894-5 may not have represented a remarkable amount from an outside perspective but it did represent a significant strand in the network of mutual dependency which characterised the existence of

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(1) A and P for 1889/vol. LXXX/Report on trade of South Persia 1888, p. 45, and A and P for 1893-4/vol. XCV/Report on the trade of the Gulf, 1892, p. 717-8. A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/Report on the trade of Kerman 1894-5, p. 47.

these kinds of society, as did the exports of asafoetida which appear in the trade figures of 1913-14.(1)

The range of specialised agricultural products from the different regions of Iran also played their part in the network of relationships between them. Thus the exchange of Khabis henna, dates and citrus for Khorasani wheat, the export of apples and pears from Aqta^{c} district to India, and of pistachios from Sirjan, Shahr-i-Babak and Aqta^{c} to the same destination went along with the trade in the dried fruit of Ravar, Gok and Khabis to India, Central Asia and other parts of Iran.(2) In these cases a favourable geographical situation allowed the development of appropriate specialised crops (dates, nuts, fruits) which in turn opened up the opportunity to re-inforce natural advantage by concentrating on such commodities when in demand elsewhere. Conversely the import of specialities of Fars like ab-limu and tobacco which Vaziri also notes in the 1870's, along with the swansdown of Sistan and the confectionery of Yazd, was evidence of a reciprocal relationship of needs in Kerman and specialised production in other regions.(3)

These observations by Vaziri show a pattern of trade which, by the time he composed his survey, was an established dimension of regional economy and society. The export of pistachios from Kerman was a feature noted by Pottinger and Fraser in the early decades of the nineteenth century, as was the trade in zireh seed by Fraser and

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(1) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/Report on the trade of Kerman 1894-5, p. 50. F0248/vol.IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14 Table XI.

(2) Jughrafiya, pp. 90, 91, 138, 152, 161, 188.

(3) ibid., pp. 36, 105, 152, 169.

Connolly.(1) In the 1840's loads of zireh and dates were reaching Tehran from Kerman and Consul Abbott in 1850 noted the export of figs and other dried fruits, zireh seed among the diverse exports to other parts of Iran and to India.(2) Later in the century consular sources note the continued import of Shiraz specialities (tunbaki, ab-limu), Sistani grain and melon-seed and Boirjand saffron as well as a continued export of the citrus, dates, pistachios, almonds and walnuts which were characteristic of the Kerman region.(3) These in addition to the grain trade which has already been noted were ongoing movements of foodstuffs to meet the demands of various regions of Iran and neighbouring regions, like north-west India and Central Asia which not only dated back in time but went on even when the more spectacularly noticeable developments in international trade reduced their overall significance. These comments are not intended to instil any idea of "permanence" in the state of affairs described, but rather to show that these commercial links had an organic significance albeit a shifting one in regional life. When a consul analysing the grain trade in Yazd at the start of this century could say that the local definition of a good harvest was one which yielded four to five months supply of local needs, or when a relatively underprivileged area like Birjand on the edge of the Lut desert was known to be trading with Yazd,

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 226 : Fraser, Travels and Adventures, pp. 354, 359 : Connolly, Journey to the North of India, vol. I, p. 350.

(2) F0248/vol. 118/exports and imports at Tehran 1844-5 : F060/vol. 165/Abbott's notes, p. 38.

(3) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 50 : A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/report on Khorasan 1904-5, p. 195 : ibid./ report on trade of Sistan and Qain, 1904-5, p. 23 : A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/ report on Sistan and Qain 1905-6, pp. 408-9 : A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/report on trade of Kerman 1905-6, p. 318.

Kerman, Khorasan and Isfahan we have some notion of the centrality of such trade.(1)

The sheer scale of exports of some of the specialised dried nuts and fruits also deserves some mention in that this also gives some idea of their qualitative importance. The pistachio production of Sirjan was estimated by Vaziri to be some 15,300 mann in the 1870's and by the 1890's exports to India alone were thought to be 25,000 mann, while exports through Sirjan and Kerman totalled over 45,000 mann in 1913-14.(2) Vaziri asserted that the date produce of Khabis totalled 2 krur 200,000 mann, while Gleadowe Newcomen and he both say that the crop was exported to Yazd, Khorasan and Afghanistan. Some idea of what this trade involved can be glimpsed from Sykes' reference to the 'hundreds of donkeys' leaving Khabis with dates and citrus products in a good season.(3) From the point of view of an analysis of the relations between Kerman and other regions the important thing is not merely to take in the figures but to realise that by implication numbers of people would be involved in the trade, and by extension become part of the network of relationships under discussion. Various groups, middlemen, muleteers and caravan men, merchants and entrepreneurs like the Kermani notable buying up plantation land in Khabis, were thus contributors to and recipients of a whole range of influences and changes extending across Iran and Asia.(4)

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(1) A and P for 1908/vol. CXIV/report on Isfahan and Yazd 1906, p. 575 : A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/report on Sistan and Qain, 1905-6, p. 408.

(2) Jughrāfīya, p. 152 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/ report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 50 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, tables III, XI.

(3) Jughrāfīya, p. 90 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 52 : F0248/vol. 846/Kerman consular diary for 1st week of January 1905.

(4) F0248/vol. 846/loc. cit.

If this was achieved partly through the medium of trade in specialised foodstuffs, it was also re-inforced by the important trade in other raw materials, notably those supplying the textile industry, which in most areas of Iran was among the most sophisticated and extensive of pre-industrial manufacturing sectors. As far as Kerman was concerned this kind of inter-regional link had particular importance since wool and dyestuffs were significant products of the region. The wool of Kerman, as has been seen, had a reputation which gave it a place in the markets of Iran and of other parts of Asia such as northern India and Iraq. The export of Kermani wool to north-west India dated back at least to the eighteenth century when the textile crafts of Sind were making noticeable use of it.(1) In the early decades of the nineteenth century Olivier and Fraser noted the reputation and extensive trade in this wool, loads of which were reaching Tehran in the 1840's. Later in the century Mashad was noted as a particular market for Kermani wool, taking some 13,000 lb. in 1850 and 140,000 lb. in 1866 to use in local shal manufacture. Indeed in the mid 1870's Vaziri claimed that all the raw wool used for this purpose in Mashad came from Kerman.(2) Whether or not this trade was affected by the great development of wool production in Khorasan under Russian stimulus in the last decades of the century is not clear from the sources. However Kerman wool was still exported to the established markets in Iran

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(1) H. Sorley, Shah ᶜAbdul Latif of Bhit : his poetry, life and times, p. 94.

(2) G. Olivier, Voyage, vol. III, pp. 184-5 : Fraser, Travels and Adventures, appendix II, pp. 354, 359 : F0248/vol. 118/ trade of Tehran 1844-5 : F060/vol. 165/Abbott's notes p. 78 A and P for 1866/vol. LXXII/Dickson on the commerce of Persia, pp. 206-8 : Jughrāfiya, p. 33.

and neighbouring areas, and as late as 1913-14 the Bam area sent some 10,000-20,000 mann of wool to other parts of Iran.(1)

Conversely the growth of the carpet industry in Kerman itself from the late 1890's set up not only new international relationships, which will be dealt with separately, but also a new context for trade between Kerman and other regions of Iran. The transfer of wool out of the region was now balanced by the growth of imports from Sistan, Birjand and Khorasan to supply the growing demand of the carpet looms.(2) This situation is a reminder of the complexity of the exchange relations which linked various regions. In the case of Birjand ($Qa^{c}in$) for example there was a pattern of exchange whereby the "coarse" wool of that area went to Kerman, which in turn sent "fine" wool to Birjand.(3) Thus the factor of quality as well as quantitative needs played a part in determining the form of trade, as did the interplay between European demand for local manufactures and the trade network of this part of Asia. Thus the demands created by the rapid growth of carpet production for European markets in Kerman reduced the export of wool to north India (though this remained at over 4000 cwt. or 69,000 mann yearly in the first decade of this century) while stimulating imports of wool from elsewhere, notably Sistan whose wool caravans are reported regularly by consular officials.(4) The point to bear in mind is that the entry

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(1) A and P for 1892/vol. LXXXIII/report on Gulf trade 1891, p. 451 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Isfahan and Yazd trade p. 15 : A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/trade of Sistan and Qain 1905-6, p. 408 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, table IX.

(2) A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/report on Sistan and Qain 1904-5, p. 231-2 : A and P for 1906/loc. cit./report on Sistan and Qain, 1905-6, p. 409 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, table IV.

(3) A and P for 1906/vol. CXXVII/report on Sistan and Qain 1905-6, pp. 408-9.

(4) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe Newcomen report, pp. 53, 128 ; F0248/vol. 878/Kerman consular diary 2-9, 9-23 June, 18-28

of new influences into the sphere of circulation could have several apparently contradictory but actually interrelated effects, developing the regional trade network as well as orienting it to changed purposes.

Dyestuff production played a role in trade and manufacture in the various areas of Iran and neighbouring regions commensurate with the importance and sophistication of the textile industry with which it was linked, and the widespread use of dyes as cosmetics. The long-established import of indigo from Bombay to Kerman was counterbalanced by the export of henna and madder to north India as well as the rest of Iran.(1) Over 700 loads of dyestuffs from Kerman reached Tehran in 1844-5 and the dominant place of Kermani henna in trade with other parts of Iran was still a feature of inter-regional commerce at the start of this century. Exports to Yazd alone totalled 280,000 mann in 1894-5 while over 2000 bales went to Isfahan and 4950 to Rasht in the same year, probably through Yazd which was the processing centre for most of the Kerman crop.(2) Here was a relationship which went further than simple exchange, involving the processing of the raw product, before it played any further commercial role. This was the case with both henna and "range" which last was still being produced for export in Kerman at a time when imports of indigo were also a feature of Kermani trade.(3) Again there is a significant and characteristic

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 226 : Fraser, Travels and Adventures, p. 354 : Connolly, Journey to North India, vol. I, p. 350 : F0251/vol. 42/Abbott's tour notes p. 100 : F060/vol. 165/Abbott's notes, pp. 38, 77-8.

(2) F0248/vol. 118/Tehran trade 1844-5 : F0881/no. 8778*/ Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 54 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Isfahan 1894-5, p. 15; report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 50 : A and P for 1893-4/vol. XCV/report on Rasht trade 1892-3, p. 780.

(3) A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 334 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Yazd 1894-5, p. 30 cites henna and 'rang' processing as the most important industry of Yazd after silk working.

interpenetration of different demands in different regions, whereby imports of indigo, a crucial dye for basic peasant clothing as well as more sophisticated fabrics, were carried on as part of a complex network rather than a simple bilateral relationship.

Such complex relationships were not confined to the commerce in raw or processed agricultural produce. The diversity of conditions and traditions in manufacture in different parts of Iran conjoined with the need of each regions for a sufficiently varied range of products were the basis of a developed network of inter-regional trade in manufactured goods. Kermani exports of shawls, felts and carpets to other parts of Iran and nearby areas were established features of that trade during the nineteenth century from the time of Pottinger to that of Gleadowe-Newcomen.(1) Even on the eve of the First World War when shawl production had been eclipsed by the manufacture of carpets for European markets exports of shawls to north India were worth some £10,000, while in the first years of the century exports to the Asian areas of Russia could be as high as £16,599 or 82,900 toman.(2) By exchange the Kerman region received Yazd silk fabrics, Isfahani qalamkars, glass from Shiraz and copperware from Kashan in each case a specialised product to compare with those of Kerman.(3) In other areas supporting the

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(1) Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan, p. 226-7 : Fraser, Travels and Adventures, p. 354 : F060/vol. 62/letter from consul Bonham (Tabriz) to Lord Palmerston, 20 March 1838 : F060/vol. 165/Abbott on S. Persia p. 38 : Polak, Persien, pp. 167-8 : Eastern Persia, vol. I, pp. 190 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Kerman, p. 346, 391 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, pp. 41, 47, 48, 50 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, p. 51.

(2) F0248/vol. IIII/Kerman trade 1913-14, table III : A and P for 1902/vol. CIX/report on Khorasan trade 1901-2, p. 67.

(3) F060/vol. 165/Abbott on S. Persia, p. 38 : Jughrafiya, pp. 77-8, 95 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 51 : F0248/vol. IIII/Kerman trade 1913-14, tables IV and VIII.

production of less specialised textiles a pattern of reciprocal exchange of coarse cloths such as "kadek" and "karbas" was the form which inter-regional commerce would take. Here we are dealing with the transfer of a surplus of products which were mainly produced for local consumption rather than a trade in manufactures which were produced specifically with an eye to long distance commerce.

Having thus established an empirical basis for an understanding of the network of relationships which linked the regions of Iran and their neighbours in Turkey, the Caucasus, India and Central Asia, it remains to consider how best to analyse them. In doing this it is necessary to avoid any notion of "regional integration" in a "national economy" such as is suggested by the study of some of the economics of Europe. This point needs some emphasis since much of the writing on economic life in Iran in the nineteenth century operates on the unquestioned and unconvincing assumption that there was a national economy comparable to that of, say, France or England at the same period. This was true of nineteenth century observers like Rabino and Curzon as well as writers of the present day such as Issawi. In part this outlook arises from a somewhat imperialist lack of willingness to consider an alien situation on its own merits, rather than simply taking it for granted that categories developed for the analysis of a situation with which the author is familiar automatically apply elsewhere. However it also stems from an emphasis on elements of trade and finance, that is the sphere of circulation, within the whole spectrum of economic life since it is these elements which can seem

to show a "national" character. The mistaken nature of this approach is thus best demonstrated by reference to that sphere of circulation in which it is apparently grounded.

Obviously one problem with the approach along "national economy" lines is that it is based on a view of economic life which does not sufficiently analyse the character of production, on which all circulation depends. Leaving aside the arguments for the primacy of production, it is also possible to argue that a "national" interpretation of the role of circulation is itself misleading. It assumes a level of organisation and centralisation which are difficult to identify in nineteenth century Iran. Whether one considers the physical difficulties of communication, the resulting social constraints of settlement and technology, or the political limitations on central control it is clear that large scale organisation of economic life was not a practical possibility. The character of production and hence of exchange was shaped by the localised self-sufficiency which has been the theme of much of the survey of Kerman.(1) Such a focus was the most effective solution to the situation posed by the material and social conditions referred to above. Thus rather than seeing "the region" as an entity subordinated to some elusive "national" whole it will be more useful to take it as the focus for economic analysis.

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(1) See above pp. 74-5, 78, 106-107, 128, 136-7, 174-5

This is not in any sense to deny the involvement of the regional economy in a variety of relationships with other such economies. However it is important to see such relationships as being characterised by the reciprocal satisfaction of various needs rather than by common subordination to some central force or system. While different regions naturally varied in character prosperity and needs, there was in our period little incentive for a focus of dominance over a national territory to develop. Rather a whole series of links created a web of circulation with nodal points each having their own importance and autonomy. Indeed the lack of significance of national borders can be seen in the character of exchange between regions supposedly divided by them. The export of Kermani shal to Van or the Caucasus did not differ in <u>kind</u> from exports to Tehran or Mashad though the <u>organisation</u> of trade might be different. The movements of surplus foodstuffs and specialised produce from an autonomous area like Kerman to other such areas in north India or Central Asia <u>and</u> to areas like Fars or Isfahan shared a common basis and character since these areas were organised on similar principles albeit combining different variables. The basing of large merchants in provincial centres rather than all being in a national capital is further evidence of the weakness of centralising forces. Certainly some centres like Tabriz might have greater commercial importance being on a transit route, while some like Isfahan could sustain a more diverse and sophisticated range of manufacturing activity than other centres. Nonetheless they were also the focus of exchange activities for relatively restricted and autonomous regions and so shared some characteristics with smaller centres like Rasht, or Kerman.

Thus to draw together a view of the relations of a region like Kerman with others the metaphor of a mosaic is more relevant than that of a centralised web. It may be possible to argue as Robert McDaniel does that a drive for centralisation was a newly significant tactic of the embattled monarchy at the end of our period.(1) However it is permissible to doubt the impact of such a policy in the period before 1914. Certainly the resistance to the agents of centralisation in Kerman recorded by the consular diaries of the first dozen years of this century calls its effectiveness into question.(2) There is no real problem in asserting the importance of circulation between regions without posing the false framework of a large-scale centralised economy. It simply requires the abandonment of assumptions which had little basis in the historical reality of nineteenth century Iran. Having done this it is then possible to give full weight to the extensive, varied and well developed relationships which connected Kerman to its neighbours.

The full significance of these relationships is perhaps best appreciated when it is considered that they operated at many levels as well as that of commercial exchange. The flow of Isma^{c}ili pilgrims from India, with tribute, reinforced both the material status and the organisational strength of the group.(3) So too, as the movement of ^{c}ulama from Fars, Caucasia and Khorasan to hold office in

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(1) R. McDaniel, The Shuster Mission and the Persian Constitutional Revolution,

(2) F0248/vol. 998/Kerman consular diary 27 Jan.-3 Feb. 1910 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 14-21 April 1913, Sept. and Oct. 1913

(3) H. Algar, "The revolt of the Aqa Khan Mahallati", Past and Present (1969) pp.58 : Tārīkh i Kermān, pp. 332-4

Kerman and the training of Kermani clerics in Isfahan or Iraq linked the region with a wider world both in terms of a social group and of its shared ideas and concerns.(1) The trading interests of merchants and other notables kept them in touch with a range of influences much wider than that created by the exchange of goods itself. The settling of Yazdis and others in Kerman and Kermanis in Tabriz or Bombay created solid bonds between different regions as did the spread of magnate families through a series of regions, as can be seen with the Ibrahimi family (descendants of Zahir ad Donleh). Thus the regional mosaic which has been described had a range and depth of different facets to it which gave it a many-sided significance in the life of any particular region.

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 44, 46, 47, 49.

Section (d) : The International Dimension

It has been established that the Kerman region was one element in a whole network of relationships, commercial cultural and social, which connected it with various other regions of Iran and western Asia. These relationships were not merely survivals of a remote past, although they had a long history, but a significant dimension of the nineteenth century life of the region. However that life was also shaped by contacts of a more wide-ranging and differently structured kind which brought Kerman within the orbit of economic and other influences from Europe and even America. A cross-regional study would probably reveal that in comparison with regions in north-west and north-east Iran or even at the head of the Gulf, the phenomenon of European penetration was distinctly more limited and less marked in Kerman than in those areas. However this is not to say that from the point of view of the experience of Kermanis there were not significant developments connected to the changing presence of western interests and influences during the period. Although this presence had a history which pre-dated that time, it was in the nineteenth century that there was a growth and development which took on a form and significance which put links with the west into a rather different category from the contacts which have been discussed already. It is for that reason that the role of these links in Kerman merits separate consideration.

The dimensions of the distinctive nature of Kerman's contacts with the west can best be understood in the context of the history of the development of economy and society in the west, a task which is beyond the scope of the present study to undertake fully. Two important themes may however be identified as those which had a transforming power not only over the experience of British and Russian society (the two "western" societies whose role in Kerman and Iran was central) but also over the growth of controlling influence by British and Russian interests in Iran as in other parts of the world. Firstly the evolution of international links of trade between Europe and the non-European world had for a century at least before our period begun to take on certain distinctive characteristics. Whereas exchange had previously been based on the kind of interdependence of need which has been examined in connection with the regions of west Asia, during the eighteenth century the European traders began to be involved in new relationships whereby the categories of exchange became more sharply defined and also more under their influence.(1) This influence also extended from the sphere of circulation into other aspects of life. These developments have been deliberately posed at a rather broad level because they were of general significance, but their specific impact was very real whether exemplified in the slave trade of the Atlantic, the spice production of South India and

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(1) General analyses of the emergence of a new kind of "world market" can be found in I. Wallerstein The Modern World System E. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, pp. 51-4

Indonesia, or the evolution of silk production in relation to European demand in north India and the Ottoman territories.(1)

On the basis of a growing international division of labour which drew areas of the non-European world into peripheral dependency on areas of Europe, those latter areas had begun to develop new forms of production which in turn had their impact on the international circuit of exchange. The industrialisation of England in particular, by virtue of preceding the same process elsewhere, gave English industrial goods a competitive position based on the economies of mass production with which later industrial interests had to contend. It will be seen later how this shaped the particular form of economic intervention by Russian interests in Iran. Here the significant point is that the specific penetration of European influences in Kerman was no isolated phenomenon but part of the wider development whereby certain industrialised sectors could dominate markets with their products and in turn affect production in other areas. Moreover this situation was mediated to a great extent through the medium of the sphere of circulation, particularly in Iran where direct investment was of limited extent during the period in question.(2) It was this range of trends which came to be influential in the life of the regions of Iran, and which will bear examination in the context of Kerman.

However in considering the new patterns of markets and production, the confrontation of industrial and pre-industrial manufacture

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(1) On the transforming power of the slave trade see E. Hobsbawm, op. cit., p. 20 and 53 : on the spice market A. Das Gupta, Malabar and Asian Trade, pp. on the silk industry R. Davis, Aleppo and Devonshire Square, pp. 134-46 : R. C. Dutt, The Economic History of India, vol. I, pp. 45, 273-275, 295

(2) Issawi, Economic History of Iran, pp. 16,70-74 deals with these points.

and the roles of trade and investment it should be remembered that the relationships which will be dealt with were a totality which cannot be encapsulated in commercial statistics. The spread of the consumption of Anglo-Indian tea brewed in Russian samovars was not only a matter of business success for planters, manufacturers and entrepreneurs but of a change in the social habits of Iranian life. The decline of sections of manufacture faced with the challenge from advanced industrial goods (like the gunsmiths of Kerman and other towns), or the threat to local trade from foreign intervention, seen most dramatically in the issue of the "tobacco régie", were problems with a social and political dimension, expressed in the reaction of the groups involved to the pressures they felt.(1) Thus although the material basis of the links between Kerman and the western world were, as will be shown, very real, that basis allowed for the growth of a much more diverse and complex experience of outside influence. The spread of telegraph and newspaper, of brandy drinking and notions of western business and politics were all part of that experience even where their precise working in Kerman does not gain more than brief references in the source material.(2) This overall perspective should remain as the proper framework for any examination of the international dimension in the life of nineteenth century Kerman.

With this caveat in mind it should be possible to develop a material analysis of this dimension which does not reduce it to

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(1) See above p.222-3 for the decline of gunsmithing : N. Keddie, Religion and Rebellion in Iran, analyses the political and social dimensions of the tobacco protest.

(2) See for example Jughrafiya, p. 125 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p.179,198-9

simplistic economic categories. Thus in building up a picture of the changing nature of international involvement in various sectors of trade and production in Kerman it is important to draw in qualitative factors and implications as well as quantitative change. In an agrarian-based society one of the most important areas where new relations with a world market were emerging was the sphere of cultivation. Changes in the pattern of crops which took place in Kerman as in other parts of Iran were quite significantly influenced by the interests of European trade. Thus the growing incentive to grow opium, dramatically manifest in parts of Iran in the later 1860's and notable in Kerman from the following decade, was the product of demand among European suppliers for an ever increasing and diverse number of sources of this commodity.(1) The bulk of opium produced was for export to the London and China markets which took all but 58 of the 2060 cases produced in 1874-5 and 9500 mann of the 12,000 grown in Kerman twenty years later.(2)

Opium cultivation tied cultivators and traders to price fluctuations on the world market over which they had little or no control and also exposed them to various pressures to control the quality of the product.(3)

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(1) See above pp. 83-84 and A and P for 1867-8/vol. LXIX/ report by R. Thomson on the population, revenue, military force and trade of Persia : A and P for 1876/vol. LXXIV/ memorandum on opium in the report on Gulf Trade 1874-5, pp. 65-8.

(2) A and P for 1876/loc. cit. : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/ report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 48.

(3) Nearly all the reports on Gulf trade relate the sale of opium to demand and price factors in the overseas markets rather than to local conditions; see for example A and P for 1876/loc. cit. : A and P for 1884/vol. LXXIX : report on Persian trade 1883, pp. 34-5 : A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVII/report Gulf trade 1883, p. 13 : A and P for 1884-5/ vol. LXXVIII/report on Gulf trade 1884, p. 619/620 : A and P for 1892/vol. LXXXIII/report on Gulf trade 1891, p. 451 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 333 : A and P for 1907/vol. XCI/report on Yazd trade, p. 524-5.

Thus the development of opium cultivation was not merely a question of statistical increase but of a change in the actual experience of producers and middlemen. They found themselves at the receiving end of a series of manipulative processes in which it was hard for them to intervene. They might respond to the challenge of famine in their own areas by growing less opium and more grain, but the fact that the movements of prices and markets were determined internationally removed such factors from their reach.(1)

Similar features characterised the growth of the cotton crop which, if not as spectacular in Kerman as in the north-east, was nonetheless a significant change in Kermani agriculture.(2) Again the search of the western economies for a raw material, and the utility of having many different sources to choose from and manipulate, which was revealed most clearly in the imput of the American Civil War on the pursuit of other markets. This was as true of the Russian textile industry striving to supply its own consumers and compete with the more established industrial nations, as of the much more dominant Manchester cotton industry. The fact that enormous incentives were given to the production of cotton in Russian Central Asia did not inhibit similar activity by Russians in Khorasan just as the British involvement in Egyptian cotton production in no way precluded an interest in the cotton crops of the Iranian regions, often in the context of demand in India.(3) The system of advances which the

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(1) A and P for 1876/loc. cit.

(2) See above pp. 86-89

(3) Russia in Central Asia, pp.
A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/report on Khorasan trade for 1893-4, pp. 296-7 : R. Owen, Cotton and the Egyptian Economy 1820-1914
A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, pp. 48, 50 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, pp. 48, 55.

Russians developed in Khorasan did not spread to cotton cultivation in Kerman, so that that form of direct control did not affect cultivators. Instead the relationship of regional agrarian life to a world market was mediated through a series of middlemen, but nonetheless oriented to international needs. Of the 3000 kharvars (675 lb. each) of cotton produced in the Rafsinjan area in 1904-5 2500 (83%) were exported which was at least a 19% increase on the export totals of a decade earlier.(1) The pressure that could arise from this link is exemplified in the disastrous results of the cutback in Russian demand in 1903-4 for the cultivators and traders of Rafsinjan some of whom were bankrupted.(2)

It is worth noting here that it was not only the dimension of dependence on foreign buyers created by this great growth of the export trade which was important for life in Kerman, but also the development of specialisation controlled by these foreign interests. The growing capacity of industrial manufacture to challenge non-industrial production was manifest not only in the capture of markets for finished goods but the creation of sources of raw materials for industrial manufacture. The expansion of cotton production is one of the clearest examples of the conscious development of a particular crop to supply this kind of demand. Since industrially produced textiles were one of the first and most important commodities to develop on a basis of mechanised mass production it is not surprising that the demand for raw materials to feed the mills of Manchester and Moscow became an

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(1) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 48 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 391.

(2) F0881/no. 8778*/loc. cit.

important economic influence. Raw cotton and also dyestuffs were the essential elements in this phenomenon although the latter in turn had to face the challenge of industrially produced dyes by the last decades of the century. In addition the development of commodity crops such as opium, tobacco and wool as well as exports of grain to India and Europe via western business firms reinforced the relationship which put the regions of Iran into the position of raw material producers exchanging such products for the manufactures of the industrialised areas. Thus by the beginning of the twentieth century the Maclean survey of Persian trade estimated that Persian exports were some 75% raw materials (crops and animal products) while over 60% of imports were of manufactures.(1)

This general tendency was reflected in the developments in Kerman although it had its specific character. Tobacco for example was not one of the commodity crops in Kerman, and silk production was on a very limited scale. Nonetheless of the 246,000 mann of goods in Preece's list of exports for 1892-3 only 5000 mann were not some sort of raw material. Though the great growth of the carpet industry substantially modified this situation, a decade later over 25% of exports from Bandar ᶜAbbas were raw materials, and if the quantities of gum and cotton exported to Russia were added to this figure they would still constitute a majority.(2) Apart from cotton and gums, spices and opium there was of course the large-scale wool output of the goat and sheep

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(1) A and P for 1904/vol. XCV/H. Maclean's report on the condition and prospects of British trade in Persia, p. 792.

(2) A and P for 1894/Vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 391 : A and P for 1907/vol. XCI, p. 326.

flocks of Kerman. In the 1890's large amounts were going to Russia from Kerman (supplementing the Russian use of Khorasani wool) as well as to India and on to England.(1) The carpet industry absorbed a lot of the wool that was formerly exported in a raw state as can be seen from the sharp fall in the figures for wool exports via Bandar Abbas from 1896, although it was still a feature.(2) An interesting feature here was the complex interaction of different kinds of foreign demand. Gleadowe-Newcomen noted the competition between the London and Indian markets for Kermani wool, and of course it was the growth of foreign involvement in the carpet industry that stimulated expansion and consequent increased demand for wool locally.(3) Thus producers in the region were exposed not to one but to several countervailing influences. It is to be regretted that the available evidence does not allow any conclusions to be drawn as to whether this situation gave local producers greater freedom of manoeuvre and control, or simply increased the various pressures upon them.

If the contact with western influences resulted in the growing importance of raw material production for trade outside the region, it also created a new range of consumer demands within it. It has already been seen that consumption of footstuffs imported from

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(1) A and P for 1889/vol. LXXX/report on Gulf trade 1888, p. 47 : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/Preece's visit p. 391 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 47, 50.

(2) See table V. : also F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report pp. 53-4, 128.

(3) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 54, see above pp.

Russia and British India extended even into the remote rural areas.(1) Imports of tea and sugar rose from £1,300 and £32,690 respectively in 1894-5 to £7,775 and £52,782 by 1913-14 which tends to confirm the assertion of the British consul that by the turn of the century these articles had become "necessaries in Persian households". Perhaps the quantities involved, 377,000 mann and 2,500 mann of tea of sugar in 1894-5, and 503,000 mann sugar and 15,757 mann tea in 1913-14 give an even clearer idea of the significance of these commodities in everyday life.(2) It should also be added that in the opinion of the British consul they, and other commodities like spices, alum, indigo and muslin, "cannot be replaced locally". Thus the evolution of consumer demand served to create forms of dependency linking the Kerman region with an international market, whether the Dutch East Indies, and France for sugar or British India and Burma for tea. It is interesting to note that the success of Russian sugar producers in penetrating the Persian market with their government's backing, does not seem to have reached to Kerman whose sugar still came from the traditional sources mentioned above.(3)

Among the best-known features of foreign influence in Iran during the nineteenth century was the penetration of imported manufactured goods produced in western factories into the markets of Iran. Manchester cotton fabrics and their Russian rivals, together

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(1) See above p. 279

(2) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman trade 1894-5, p. 51 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, tables I, II, V, X : A and P for 1903/ vol. LXXVIII report on Kerman trade 1902, p. 411.

(3) M. Entner, Russo-Persian commercial relations 1828-1914, pp. 23-4, 67-8 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, tables, I, V, X.

with Austro-German woollens and many kinds of glass, ceramic and metal objects from European factories all had an increasing place in various regions of Iran in this period. Imports of British cottons through Tabriz was already valued at around £1 million in the 1860's, and although southern Iran began to take its supplies of these goods from the Gulf, cutting the figures brought by the Azerbaijan route in the 1880's, the overall totals continued high, so that cotton cloth and yarn imports at the turn of the century totalled between £1.8 million and £2.3 million.(1) In the Gulf area which supplied the Kerman region, imports of cottons rose from £78,333 in 1886 to £. 83,837, from India alone in 1904. While the Kerman area itself took some £30,000 of British piece goods in 1894-5 and £88,898 by 1913-14.(2) Again various qualitative factors need to be considered in parallel to the statistics, such as the use of undyed British cloth for dyeing and printing in Iran (a fusion of consumer and productive demand which is of some interest), or the ousting of plain indigo cloths by coloured prints as the most popular varieties of fabric. Thus of the imports to Kerman city in 1913-14 coloured printed cloths were more than double the total of the unbleached undyed cloths, a reversal of the situation two decades earlier when the uncoloured cloths were the majority import.(3)

Apart from the striking role of these symbolic vanguard commodities of the European industrial revolution, there were a whole

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(1) A and P for 1867-8/vol. LXVIII/report on the trade of Tabriz 1867 : A and P for 1904/vol. XCV/Macleans report on the trade of Persia, p. 792.

(2) F0248/vol. 448 /report on Gulf trade for 1886 p.151 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 129 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 51 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, tables I, V, X.

(3) A and P for 1873/vol. LXVII/report on Tabriz trade 1872, p. 372-3 : A and P for 1884-5/vol. LXXVIII/report on Gulf trade for 1884, p. 620 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14, table I : A and P for 1894/vol. LXXXVII/ Preece's visit to Yazd and Kerman, p. 391.

range of hardware goods which began to play a part in the consumer patterns of Kerman as in other areas of Iran. Stack noted the appearance of Russian "pedlars wares" in the region in 1881, and in the 1890's British observers noted crockery, china, glass and mirrors as well as Russian samovars being imported, although not on a very large scale, total imports reaching some £10, 360 by 1913-14.(1) It is interesting to reflect on the comparatively lesser impact of these goods, and by extension the greater function of indigenous ceramic and metalware crafts, in contrast to the success of industrial textiles. The penetration of mass-produced industrial goods was not a simple or unimpeded process, and indeed it may well be more useful to consider the relationship of foreign and indigenous manufacture as an inter-reactive one rather than the mere elimination of the latter by the former, which is a perspective often misleadingly adopted by observers.(2) The capacity of local craftsmen to respond to the challenge of imported commodities, as when Kermani artisans produced an accurate copy of a European gun, or when qalamkar workers made use of British cloth was one form of reaction to foreign influences.(3) Even if the sheer growth of western imports is the focus of analysis, it should not be forgotten that this provided opportunities for local traders like those of whom Preece complained in the Yazd area in the 1890's.(4)

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(1) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 218 : A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 51 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade for 1913-14, tables I, V, X.

(2) See for example Issawi, Economic History of Iran, pp. Ahmad Ashraf, "The state of the bourgeoisie", p.47

(3) E. G. Browne, A year among the Persians, p. 518 : A and P for 1875/vol. LXXV/report on Tabriz trade 1873, p. 206.

(4) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Isfahan and Yazd trade 1894-5, p. 26.

Again the effect and significance of foreign influence has to be seen in its totality.

If that influence operated in the sphere of manufactured consumer goods, it was also manifest in the provision of certain factors of production. Manchester mills supplied machine-made yarn for the looms of the Kermani carpet industry and thread for sewing, just as western industrial methods enabled imported metal sheets and bars to play a significant role in the metalworking crafts of the region. The amount of yarn imported to Kerman approximately doubled between 1894-5 and 1910-1911 while the imports of metals rose from some 30,000 mann in 1894-5 to over 42,000 mann in 1913-1914.(1) The capacity of western industry to produce these goods at a consistent level of quality and on a large scale by mechanised methods gave them advantages in Persian markets which if it did not eliminate certainly overshadowed the equivalent indigenous crafts. The low level of mining, and also of metal bar and sheet-making (which used imported raw material and re-usable scrap rather than native ores) may in part be attributed to the competition from European sources. Here it can be seen that western influence reached not only into the markets, but also into the workshops of Kerman, affecting productive activity as well as trade. Observers of nineteenth century Iran usually concentrate on the growing role of finished manufactures in maintaining the economic position of British and Russian interests. However it is almost more important to note how the sphere of production in Kerman, as in other

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(1) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 51 : F0248/vol. 1030/report on Kerman trade 1910-11 : F0248/vol. IIII/report on Kerman trade 1913-14 tables, I, V, X.

regions, was in part linked through commerce to production in British industry.

In fact the impact of the western presence on productive activity in Kerman was an important one in several contexts. Although, as has been seen, one of the effects of that presence was to stimulate the commercial production of raw materials, this was by no means the only direction in which western influence operated. One of the motive forces behind the efforts of British enterprise (and that of other groups) was the maximising of whatever opportunities for profit might arise, and though there was a logical connection between the development of British industry and trade and an interest in the raw materials Iran could produce, other opportunities were also open. The entry of European entrepreneurs into the carpet industry was the outstanding example of the taking up of an opening in a traditional area of manufacture which was capable of adaptation to European demands.(1) The role of foreign interests in the Kermani industry has already been described to some extent, but there are certain specific points which bear mention here as illustrative of the degree of close articulation between established artisan production and the demands of international buyers which developed at the end of the century. Granted that Kerman carpets totalled over 87% of the exports from Kerman city via Bandar ᶜAbbas, the dimensions of the international relationship were obviously substantial.

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(1) A and Pfor 1875/vol. LXXV/report on Tabriz trade 1874, p. 206 : A and P for 1880/vol. LXXIII/report on Tabriz trade 1880 : J. Housego, art. cit.

Quite apart from the transformation and control of production which have already been described as having been influenced by the interests of foreign business, the interlocking of Kermani production with the international market created very specific commercial pressures.(1) Since the majority of carpets produced after the mid 1890's went to European and American markets it was conditions in those markets which exercised the central influence on the prosperity of the industry. A secondary feature was the role of the Istanbul market, which served as an entrepot for Persian carpets, including those from Kerman, until well into the first decade of this century. Thus the fluctuations in Kerman carpet production described by Gleadowe-Newcomen and the compiler of Vaziri's text were very much the outcome of market forces located outside the influence of the producers and entrepreneurs in the region.(2) However at the point of production itself a whole range of contradictory forces were at work. While foreign interests were in a position to intervene in carpet production in Kerman before 1914 they in no sense took it over. On the one hand weavers depended on foreign demand and sometimes foreign investment while on the other the foreign firms were vulnerable to breaches of contract (the dominant form of carpet investment) and indeed to outright strikes by weavers and designers.(3) It was forces such as these which gave edge to the xenophobic trend in the Iranian constitutional movement. This is the more understandable

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(1) See above p. 215-216 for an account of foreign involvement in carpet production.

(2) F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report p. 50 : Jughrafiya, p. 34.

(3) F0248/vol. 1030/diary 1-7 September 1911 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 7-14 April, 13-20 October 1913.

when it is considered that the unilinear development of carpet production meant that it employed up to 25% of the Kerman city workforce, not to mention those involved in ancillary crafts.(1)

The growth of the carpet industry was perhaps an unprecedented and specific phenomenon but in some ways it was only the sharpest instance of a more general tendency, growing at the end of the nineteenth century, for foreign influence to play a more decisive role. Both agrarian and manufacturing production underwent a certain amount of reorientation if not actual manipulation as an effect of these influences. It is important to emphasise firstly that this was only a partial process, but also it was one in which the Iranians were active participants not passive victims. Just as the search for markets and profits led British firms to focus on particular crops and products, so the presence of this interest with which Iranians had to deal and decide how to respond. Thus peasants and landlords deciding that opium was more profitable as a crop than wheat, or Tabrizi carpet traders acting as middlemen for foreign businesses, were involved in the process of foreign penetration not merely unresponsive recipients.

It is interesting to note that in the Kerman area the British on the whole were more successful than the Russians in this process. In the early 1880's Russian sales of manufactured goods were confined to "pedlars wares" and right up to World War I their position remained behind that of British business interests.(2) The exception

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(1) F0248/vol. 1030/Kerman diary for 1-7 Sept. 1911.

(2) Stack, Six months in Persia, vol. I, p. 218 : F0248/vol. 1030/trade report for Kerman 1910-11 : F0248/vol. IIII/trade report for Kerman 1913-14.

to this was Russian success in orienting the cotton production of Rafsinjan away from the Gulf ports and towards the north-east and the Russian frontier. The less developed textile industries of European Russia were willing to take the low quality Persian raw cotton when British and Indian manufacturers were more selective. Moreover the Russian government was more interventionist (as it had to be) in supporting cotton trade though there were no direct contracts in Kerman such as developed in Khorasan.(1) Nonetheless from the mid 1890's Rafsinjan cotton went almost exclusively to Russia, with odd exceptional years, sending nearly 2 million lbs. there in 1904-5.(2) Apart from this intervention the Russians found it hard to compete with their own goods which were rejected by Kermani consumers as of insufficient quality even where their price was lower than that of their British counterparts.(3) Despite the efforts of Russian entrepreneurs who did get some orders from Kerman traders and succeeded in selling subsidised chintz in 1906 British goods in Bam still totalled 87,000 toman worth as opposed to 37,000 toman worth of goods from all other countries including Russia.(4) In 1910-11 Anglo Indian imports to Kerman totalled 98,636 toman (c. £19,727) while Russian imports, despite success with cheap kerosene totalled only 23,742 toman (c. £4,748).(5)

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(1) M. Entner, Russo-Persian commercial relations, pp. 73-74 : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen Report p. 48.

(2) F0881/no. 8778*/loc. cit. : F0248/vol. 820/diary 3rd week April 1904 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p.

(3) F0248/vol. 846/diary 10-17 June 1905.

(4) F0248/vol. 846/diary 23-30 June 1905 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 7-14 April, Bam news 12 July, 4-11 August 1906.

(5) F0248/vol. 1030/trade report for Kerman 1910-11.

If it is difficult to reach dogmatic conclusions about the function of international links in the life of the Kerman region it is equally difficult to deny their general importance. In the last decades of the nineteenth century western influence which had been present for some time before that began to take on a new quality as it penetrated various aspects of life in Iran. At a nation wide level the exposure of Iran to international currency movements affected the terms of trade and the currency. There is debate about the specific workings of these phenomena but their presence was a historical reality.(1) More specifically foreign entrepreneurs took up particular crops and products as buyers and investors, thereby starting a move from the sphere of circulation to the sphere of production which while by no means complete in this period was already having a significant effect in certain sectors. If the trade of Tabriz the agriculture of Khorasan, and the carpet industry of Sultanabad felt these forces more acutely than the relatively unpromising comparable sectors in Kerman the latter were by no means unaffected. McDaniel may well be right to suggest that the Iranian experience of economic penetration by the West was merely one instance of a widespread phenomenon (the emergence of hegemonic industrial capitalism) which was not directed specifically at Iran.(2) That did not make the experience any the less influential from an Iranian, or specifically a Kerman point of view.

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(1) R. McDaniel, "Economic charge and economic resiliency in 19th century Iran", Iranian studies 1971, is an example of controversial argument.

(2) idem, The Shuster Mission and the Persian constitutional revolution, p.

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON PASTORALISM AND NOMADISM

There are several reasons for isolating this topic for discussion in a separate section of this study. On the one hand these activities played a sufficiently important part in the life of Kerman, as of other parts of Iran, to merit specific examination rather than a series of references appended to other material. On the other hand a discussion of pastoralism and nomadism will clarify certain problems which need consideration in their own right. This argument for separate treatment in no way implies that pastoral activities or nomad groups were in any sense isolated from the rest of society. On the contrary one of the aims of the present discussion is to analyse their relationship to the totality of regional society and economy and to specific dimensions of these which have already been discussed. The discussion will thus reflect the paradox of any analysis whereby the understanding of specific phenomena requires specific treatment, but also an appreciation of the way in which these phenomena shape and are shaped by the totality of which they were part. Mystifying propositions about the nature of pastoral and nomad elements in Iran can be dealt with is this paradox is confronted rather than avoided. In particular this area of activity offers a paradigm case of the way in which a conventional separation into "social", "economic", or "political" categories is irrelevant to the pattern of society in a situation like that of nineteenth century Kerman.

As was clear from the introductory discussion of Kerman as a region pastoral activities were well established within the structure of subsistence food production.(1) The raising of sheep and goats (the dominant livestock) was an optimal use of the difficult physical conditions to produce important subsistence goods - dairy produce rich in protein, wool and hair for clothing, and on occasion meat. It thus played a central part in the actual day-to-day survival of society. Similarly the contribution made by animal fibres to the many levels of the textile industry in Kerman and elsewhere, the mobility of livestock compared to the problems transporting other foodstuffs, and the demand for animal products in a range of settlements, created links between animal husbandry and a variety of other activities. These connections will be examined in greater detail as a basis for understanding the structure and importance of the groups who were involved. This will serve to clarify the particular functioning of pastoral and nomad activities in the life of the Kerman region, and might in turn throw light on the generalisations often made about these activities in an overall Iranian context. It is important to strike a balance between the micro-focus which is favoured by anthropologists studying one tribe, and the rather generalised view of some historians.

The role of dairy produce from sheep and goats in the subsistence diet of the Kerman region (and of the populace of many parts of Iran) has already been referred to in the context of rural

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(1) See above pp 126-128

society as a whole.(1) They not only provided vital inputs of protein for the peasant diet but were susceptible of considerable variation in the course of processing which not only gave a welcome diversity to the diet but also allowed dairy produce to serve a range of purposes. Some processes could be used to produce dairy foods which kept well like dried curds and clarified butter while others were more perishable. Floyer gives an extensive catalogue of the complex variations on milk derivatives which were used by the Baluch in the 1870's.(2) As a group who were more reliant on the produce of their flocks than many peasants, it is likely that Baluch women had developed their skills in this direction further, but the list does at least give an idea of what was possible, and Floyer's comment that there were Persian words for the products suggests that they were not confined to Baluch communities. This also implies a range of skills in the domestic setting which were capable of producing the different goods, not only for eating but also for clothing. The preparation spinning and weaving of fibres to make clothes were processes widespread in most communities. Thus animal husbandry was the stimulus to the development of skills and of organisation through the family division of labour, shaping important areas of daily life.

The role of animal husbandry in Kerman was not only an element in the structure of domestic production as the individual level but permeated the society more generally. Since it provided these

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(1) See above p.122, 127

(2) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 264-5.

crucial subsistence inputs it had a part to play in the existence of every community, and in consequence pastoralism was an activity which should be seen as being dispersed through society rather than completely isolated as a specialised sector. While there were specialised individuals or groups who concentrated on the pursuit of animal husbandry, whether shepherds in a village community or nomad pastoral groups, their existence was integrated with other activities and groups of people. The integration can be perceived at several levels, most obvious of which was the involvement of nomad groups conventionally regarded as "pastoralist" in land holding and cultivation. The Tuki Baluch of Narmashir were tent dwellers who spent their summers on the arid pastures between Fahreh and Nasratabad but on occasion found it convenient to settle, build qanats and raise crops on a substantial scale.(1) The Ri'isi "tribes" in the same area were also tent dwellers practising transhumant pastoralism who also held land including a fort (i.e. a permanent power base) for their khans on the borders of Rudbar.(2) Similar conditions are to be noted among the Mahni of Sarduyeh and Isfandaqen the Lak and Afshar of Arzuyeh and Aqta^{-c}, the tribes of Sirjan and of Zarand.(3) Just as cultivators supplemented their crop production with pastoralism so pastoralists added to their resources with cultivation.

Thus we are dealing with a spectrum in which one or other activity might predominate, but where they were mutually re-inforcing

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 105-6.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 108, 123.

(3) ibid., p. 121, 144-5, 156-7, 179.

rather than segregated sectors of economy or society. The Lak Khans who lived in Kerman city and the Afshar or Buchaqchi leaders who played an important role in the politics of the "constitutional period" were members of the regional elite pursuing rivalries and alliances in conjunction with other notables and social groups.(1) Conversely notables with an official/landlord background might take control of tribal groups for their own and the government's interest. The appointment of a Vaziri as "Ilbeg" of the Lak and Afshar or the Ibrahimi Qajar Nasrullah Khan as mubashir and ᶜamil of the Mahni are instances of the demands on tribal revenue made by the elite through the administrative structures in which all notables participated.(2) The ᶜamil of Zarand with his authority over local Baluch settlers, the khan of the nomads based around Pariz who also played his part in the local elite visited by Sykes, or the influence of ᶜAdl as Saltaneh of the Vakil-al-Mulk family over "a nomad tribe or tribes" are evidence of the complex interweaving of tribal organisation with the overall class structure of the region.(3) The use by Vaziri of the term taiyefeh to designate both the relationships between members of notable families and/or occupants of particular professional or official posts, as well as for tribal groupings, suggests that the concept of the kinship-cum-

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(1) ibid., p. 144 : F0243/vol. 846/Kerman consular diary 22-28 October 1905 : F0248/vol. 938/diary for 12-20, 20-27 Feb 1908 : F0248/vol 998/Jan 1910 F0248/vol. 1052/consular letters May-June 1912.

(2) Jughrāfīya, pp. 114, 145.

(3) ibid., p. 179 : F0248/vol. 820/diary for April 1904 : F0248/vol. 788/consul Phillott (Kerman) to Tehran 8 January 1903.

social group was a widely applicable and flexible one rather than peculiar to nomad pastoralists.(1)

The overlap of pastoral and other activities was thus not merely a question of forms of production but of social organisation and interaction as well. Interaction also took place at the level of exchange and circulation both within the Kerman region and between that region and others. The former type of exchange brought the animal foods of the rural areas to the urban centres of the region to feed their residents. Thus Kerman city drew supplies of kashk (dried curds) and roghan (clarified butter) from the Jebel Bariz, from the cattle of Rudbar/Jiroft, Bardsir and the Afshar flocks in Aqta^{c} and Arzuyeh, which also supplied wool and meat to the provincial capital.(2) Similarly the produce of dairy goods from the Shahr-i-Babak area supplied the centres of Sirjan and Rafsinjan as well as being sent to Yazd.(3) The demands of urban settlements for these supplies could in part be satisfied by the transfer of surpluses from the pastoral sector of settled rural society, but also served as an incentive for a certain level of specialisation among some groups whether that was mountain villages dominated by herding or nomadic groups and their flocks. The highly developed sheep raising of the Zarand district, providing wool

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(1) Thus the Jughrāfīyā refers to the "taiyefeh-yi-rūi-gar" making a particular metal product (p. 34), a "taiyefeh" of the Vaziri or Mirza Khalil families of notables (pp. 58, 65), and to "taiyefeh"s of munshi's, kalantars, and mustaufis (pp. 63, 70, 71), where hereditary office is in question, quite apart from the Lak or Ri'isi taiyefehs (pp. 108, 144) which do refer to nomads. The specific word used in connection with nomads is īl (plural, īlāt).

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 120, 123, 136, 145-6.

(3) ibid., p. 162 : FO251/vol. 42/Abbott on S. Persia, p. 146.

for the textile crafts of that district and of Kerman, or the pastoralism of tribal groups like the Afshar show both the specialist tendencies which were part of the regional economy and also the fact that these were tied to a close relationship with other communities and their needs.(1)

This was equally the case with the role of the production of wool for trade outside the region which played such a significant role in the life of Kerman. The reputation and market for the wool produced in Kerman was an established feature of the region by the eighteenth century as has been seen. Sources from that period suggest that much of the exported wool came from settled rural pastoralists, and by consequence that commercial pastoral production was integrated into the rural economy.(2) The trade in wool flowed from the pastoral areas to the textile craftsmen of Kerman city, to other parts of Iran and India, and to European buyers. Both the officials of the East India Company and the French traveller Olivier note the place of Kerman wool in the inter-regional commerce of Iran and on the international scene at the start of the nineteenth century, while the comments of Fraser, Abbott and British consular records show that the trend continued up to the mid-century.(3) Thus the importance of wool which is noted by Vaziri and various British observers in the later part of the

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 145-6, 178 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 152.

(2) See above p. 69, note 1, : "Gombroon diary", April 1746

(3) IOR/L/Gulf Records/report on Persian trade 1790 : G. Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire othoman ..., vol. III, p. 185 : J. Fraser, Travels and Adventures, p. 354, 359 : F0248/vol. 118/Tehran trade 1844-5 : F0251/vol. 42/ Abbott on S. Persia, pp. 100, 134, 142 : F060/vol. 165/ Abbott on S. Persia, p. 78.

century was founded on a well-established pattern of pastoral activity linking Kerman with a wider world.(1) The demands of local textile production (in Bam, Zarand and Sirjan as well as Kerman city) had always been another stimulus to animal husbandry and with the rise of the export oriented carpet industry out into exports of wool, which nonetheless remained at between 4000 and 9000 cwt. in the first decade of this century. In 1904-5 the Jiroft area alone produced 1200 kharvars (365 tons/7300 cwt.), of which about one-third was exported.(2)

Thus at the level of material production the pastoral activity in Kermani society played its part not only in the day-to-day reproduction of that society but also in the diverse and at times sophisticated structures of craft manufacture (of the celebrated felts, shal and carpets of the region) and commerce. It thus involved not only the shepherds and nomads who maintained animal stocks but also the merchants whose wealth was partly based on the wool trade and the artisans for whom wool was a vital factor of production.(3) Vaziri notes the profits accruing to owners of flocks from sale of their wool and kurk (fine goats hair), and the comments of Farman-farma show that the pastoral sector was an important source of revenue (and complaints).(4) The wool trade also involved less prominent people, like the peasants of ʿAbdal-abad who brought produce from Jiroft and Jebel Bariz to Kerman

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(1) Jughrāfīya, pp. 77, 120, 136, 145-6, 178 : wool exports recorded in the Gulf trade reports are summarised in Table V : see also A and P for 1894/vol. LXXVII/Preeces visit to Yazd and Kerman : A and P for 1896/vol.LXXXVIII/ report on Kerman 1894-5.

(2) See table V : F0881/no. 8778*/Gleadowe-Newcomen report, pp. 53-4, 55.

(3) Vaziri specifically notes the wool trade as a concern of the leading merchants in his discussion of that group, Jughrafiya, p. 77 : the survey of craft production above pp. 200-221 shows the central role of wool-based textiles.

(4) Jughrāfīya, p. 158 : Safar-nāmeh, pp. 78

city.(1) The sheer scale of animal husbandry with thousands of sheep recorded in both village and nomad contexts by Vaziri and British officials, meant that it cannot be regarded as an extraneous phenomenon.(2) It is important to analyse the role of pastoral activity in the context of its part in the overall structure of regional life rather than as an isolated phenomenon, the latter emphasis unfortunately the dominant trend in works on nomadism in Iran. As a form of use and development of natural resources it should take its place in the complex inter-linked network of productive activities, receiving and giving stimuli within the whole field of regional life.

Not surprisingly this situation was also apparent at the level of the social organisation and activity associated with pastoral production. The gusfandars and galehdars listed by Vaziri in his surveys of rural occupations in the various districts of Kerman were part of the rural communities he is describing, set alongside other such occupations rather than separated from them. Thus they integrated with rural communities, just as nomad chieftains integrated with regional elites. The nomadic groups (ilat) of the region were a somewhat different case since their transhumant, tent-dwelling, life-style created another framework for social organisation. Even so their involvement in trade, banditry and cultivation meant that this distinctive pattern of social production was in no sense an isolated phenomenon. Thus the "fields" of the Afshau and Lak in Aqta^{c}/Arzuyeh, or the Buchaqchi and ^{c}Ata-illahi in Sirjan and Shahr-i-Babak were combined

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(1) Jughrāfīya, p. 85.

(2) ibid., p. 162 : F0248/vol. 938/diary for 2-9 January 1908 : F0248/vol. 968/diary 26 February-4 March 1909 : F0248/vol. 998/diary 4-10 November 1910.

with the "black-tent" existence and pastoralism.(1) It is perhaps worth noting that the seasonal range of most nomads in the Kerman area was relatively limited, often being within one district (e.g. Zarand) or from a mountain region to an immediately adjacent low-lying winter pasture (as with the Jebel Bariz and Jiroft).(2) Thus the degree of integration between nomad and settled groups may have been greater than where nomads undertake longer migrations (e.g. the Balchtiari?) or have a more directly oppressive relation to the settled population (the Turcoman). Combined with the dispersal of nomad groups through most parts of Kerman the small scale of transhumance and of the size of nomad groups also helped with the symbiosis.(3)

However the close links between nomad and other sectors of society should not obscure the distinctive characteristics of nomadism which were undoubtedly present in nineteenth century Kerman. Vaziri counts nomad groups in khanvar (= "families"/"households") just as he does with village populations but also recognises intermediate sub-divisions within the overall definition of the "tribe".(4) Thus he lists divisions of the Afshar "tribe" which he calls both "taiyefeh" and "tireh", a term which he also uses in connection with the Lak group. In the case of the Afshar's he points out that these subdivisions were headed by individuals with authority indicating that the "tireh"'s had a certain conscious structure and purpose. The obvious ones to suggest

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(1) Jughrāfiya, pp. 144, 145, 156, 157.

(2) ibid., pp. 119, 179 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 210 : H. Field, Contribution to the Anthropology of Iran (based largely on Sykes data about Kerman), p. 233.

(3) F0251/vol. 42/Abbott on S. Persia p. 104 described how "many small tribes occupy the country of Kerman".

(4) The term "tribe" is deliberately presented in inverted commas to indicate its debateable character as a descriptive or analytic term.

were the organisation of nomad movements and of warfare. In an environment where grazing could fail and flocks be struck by disease the only protection was mobility and competition for fragile resources, that is, nomadism and raiding the flocks and grazing grounds of others. The creation of forms of organisation and control obviously served the groups needs for these activities and also assured a degree of power and wealth for those who held the position of "saltan".(1)

It is this degree of specialised organisation for transhumance, raiding and other aggressions which characterised nomad society and its adaptation to environment and society in a specialised pattern of its own. This meant that such groups acquired particular skills notably with long-distance animal movements and in military techniques. The often noted role of tribal groups as the backbone of the military power of central government was reproduced at other levels and just as tribesmen were used in the Kermani levies raised for Safavid campaigns so Afshar and Buchaqchi riflemen were used as police and punitive troops by governors within the province in the period under study.(2) This obviously gave 'tribal' leaders leverage with notables who wanted their services and also set up tensions between rival groups of nomads and between nomads and others. Thus we find that the Afshars who were the largest and most organised nomad group in the region negotiating with the governor and with

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(1) Jughrāfīya, p. 145.

(2) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 276, 281, 290 : F0248/vol. 878/ Kerman consular diary 2-9 June 1906 : F0248/vol. 968/ diary 15-20 July 1909 : F0248/vol. 1052/diaries 30 May-6 June, 13-20 June 1912.

culama involved in the constitutional movement, feuding and allying within their own ranks and with other groups, all on the basis of a capacity to exert military power.(1) Nor were skills evolved by nomad groups which were then used by them in a wider context confined to that power. Several of the nomad groups of Kerman earned a living by the organisation and supply of freight animals for trade caravans crossing the region, which both sustained a specialised skill and linked it to the life of the region.(2) References to other groups who performed similar roles suggest that the nomads by no means had a monopoly, but they were clearly a significant element in the provision of the transport on which commerce and communication depended.

Granted these characteristics of nomad activity in regional society it is not surprising that those who controlled nomad groups wield power and influence in several ways in the life of the region. For nomad groups were not homogenous or egalitarian in their structure, but operated on the basis of a division of resources and power not unlike that in other areas of society. The family structure of the nomad group based on the ownership of animals by each household was shaped by the collective use of grazing areas, and by the authority of those who owned greater wealth and acted as intermediaries between

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(1) Jughrāfiya, pp. 145, 146 notes Afkhar military skill and its disruptive use; this might be for raiding other nomads (e.g. as described in F0248/vol. 820/diary for 1st week May 1904) which could be reciprocated (F0248/vol. 938/diary 22-29 October 1908); they also conducted conflicts with landed notables like the Isfandiari family (F0248/vol. 968/diary 4-11, 11-18 March, 8-15 July 1909) bringing in other nomads as allies (F0248/vol. 968/diary 18-25 March 1909); they might also be split by internal rivalries (F0248/vol. 968/diary 1-8 April 1909); their military influence was called on by officials to maintain order and by Hāji Mīrza Muhammad Reza in the constitutional cause (F0248/vol. 938/diary 16-23 July 1908 : F0248/vol. 968/diary 24 June-1 July 1909 : F0248/vol. 998/diary 1-7 July 1910).

(2) Jughrāfiya, pp. 146, 179 : F0248/vol. 968/diary for 12-19 August 1909 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary 5-12 January 1911.

nomads and the authorities, merchants and other groups with whom nomad groups were involved.(1) Whatever the precise mechanics which established a dominant leadership in particular historical and social circumstances it is clear that in the nineteenth century nomad groups in Kerman were controlled by khans and kalantars. Thus the authority of Afshar leaders had made them suitable candidates for provincial governors in Safavid times and in the eighteenth century just as the khans of the Tuki Baluch of Narmashir could uproot their followers in Vaziri's time or the Ri'isi khans used a fort in Rudbar as a seat of power.(2) Comparable references are made to the power of the Lak, Mahni and Jebel Bariz leaders while also showing how that power could be checked by misfortune or confrontation with powerful rivals among the provincial or central authorities.(3)

The complexity the conditions affecting pastoralism and nomadism is further illustrated by the constant historical shifts in the situating and power of particular groups. The collapse of wealth and power in groups like those cited above should be set in the context of the emergence of new groups. Kerman saw the arrival of successive groups of pastoralists to move and settle within the region. Thus the Mahni and Ri'isi groups date from the Seljuq period, while others like the Tekelu and Qara-aghlano and probably the Afshar established

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(1) Barth's description of nomad organisation in Nomads of South Persia, pp. 11-23, 25-29 is based on direct information about the Basseri of Fars but in the author's view is widely applicable in nomad groups in South Persia (p. 49).

(2) Jughrāfīya, pp. 106, 123, 254-5 (lists of governors).

(3) ibid., pp. 113-4, 120, 144.

established themselves in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries while the Lak only came to Kerman in the mid eighteenth century.(1) In the nineteenth century Afghan groups settled near Shahr-i-Babak, some of the Basseri moved east from Fars, and various movements of Baluch and Kurds also changed the kaleidoscope of nomad involvement in Kerman society.(2) Fluctuations in the power of nomad groups are also reflected in the differing capacity of various groups to control their own affairs notably the arranging of revenue payments, and submission to non-nomad officials. Thus, as was noted, the Lak, Afshar and Mahni all came under the influence of landowner/officials with power-bases elsewhere. The Lak not only controlled their own property assessment but at times controlled the ᶜamil's post in Aqtaᶜ, while some of the Baluch of Zarand also achieved this freedom though others were under the authority of the ᶜamil of Zarand.(3)

This appendix has only offered the crudest and briefest summary of the place of pastoral and nomad activity in Kerman. However it does at least suggest both the need for a careful analysis of the specific character of these activities and the social relationships they sustained, and also the close interrelation of various dimensions of the pastoral and nomad sector with the rest of regional life. Whether one considers the material needs served by animal husbandry, the contrasts and similarities of social organisation among pastoralists,

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(1) ibid., pp. 108, 113, 143-4,

(2) ibid., pp. 142-3 : Barth, Nomads of South Persia, p. 116.

(3) Jughrāfīya, pp. 144, 179.

or the political activity of nomads both the specificity and the integration are clearly manifest. The Afshar tribesmen who protested at the local governor's oppression by taking bast were not unlike their peasant counterparts, yet their raiding mobile lifestyle which created such disruption in rural and commercial life also set them apart as distinct.(1) If a full analysis of nomad and pastoral life in Kerman or other parts of Iran is to be developed then both these factors should be taken into account.

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/Bam diary 23-30 March 1907 : Paighambar-i-dozdān

PART III

TOWARDS A FULLER UNDERSTANDING

CHAPTER ONE

"POLITICS"; THE ARTICULATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS AND CONFLICTS.

Up to this point this study of Kerman has concentrated on the evocation of a complex social reality in terms of productive activity, social experiences and group identities. This focus on the conditions of life, whether material, cultural or social, is intended to emphasise their centrality within the historical experience of Kermanis during the later nineteenth century. The problem raised by this approach is that it could carry with it the very real danger of dealing with broad and perhaps loosely defined social and historical issues in a way which lacks analytical impact. Granted that the application of so-called "models" both does violence to the diversity within the historical situation under discussion, and also imposes a mechanistic framework which would substitute notions of abstract forces for a more relevant focus on social relations as the dynamic element in that situation, the chosen approach seems more appropriate. However in order to carry through an analysis based on social relations and social experience it is necessary to give careful attention to the specific working of their dynamics. Some of the dimensions of the identity, interests and interactions of social groups have been discussed already in the context of the general structure of regional society. The intention here is to examine them more closely and to situate them in relation to the conscious attitudes and activities of groups and individuals during our period.

As in other cases it is important to be clear as to just what can be attempted in the way of a study of "politics" in the Kerman region. Firstly the concept of "politics" itself needs clarification since there are many assumptions attached to it, often derived from specifically European traditions and experience, which are irrelevant or misleading. On the basis of a discussion of this problem and a positive sense of the appropriate framework of understanding for the present study it should then be possible to go on to survey the various political arenas of nineteenth century Kermani society. In doing this it will become clear that the available evidence is somewhat uneven and that some at least of the points to be made will therefore be argued tentatively. Finally, where more detailed material is available it seems appropriate to use it to construct a case-study of a particular complex of political developments that emerged in the region at the end of the period, at a time of very interesting changes in the historical situation. Thus although the examination of the "politics" of nineteenth century Kerman will be by no means exhaustive, it should at least touch on the central themes and problems which arise in connection with this important topic.

Section (a) : Introductory : The Nature of Politics

When dealing with a subject such as politics which is a frequent concern both in daily discourse and formal intellectual pursuits, it is easy to assume that there is no difficulty in knowing how to apply the concept of "politics" to any given situation. It is taken for granted that there is a consensus about the particular dimension of social experience which it is used to describe, and that this is constant under all circumstances. Stated in this way it is immediately obvious that real problems arise if such an assumption is uncorrected by some appreciation of different historical and social situations. Certainly it is useful, even necessary to have a general view of what forms of activity constitute politics but it is equally important to realise how far that activity is shaped by factors specific to the social structure of which it is a part. This is not an argument for simplistic relativism, since as will be shown it is possible to construct a definition of politics which has general application, but rather an argument for serious consideration of the problems involved in creating an effective analysis of particular instances. Such an analysis implies both the use of conceptualisation and thereby a certain level of generality and also demands proper respect for the date.

Firstly it is useful to consider what concept of politics will provide a basis for the discussion of a wide range of historical cases. Without adopting any preconceived ideas as to how particular societies are organised it is perhaps appropriate to identify certain

areas of life which can be considered "political", or more helpfully to describe certain kinds of activity by that term. Politics could be said to be a means whereby people deal with issues that arise between them individually or collectively. It is therefore a question of relationships on the one hand and conflict on the other. By seeing politics as a matter of relationships it can be situated in its proper human and social context, be that a marital relationship of two or a political confrontation of thousands, rather abstracted to the level of formal ideas. Rooting the relationship in conflict is not to say that personal hostilities are the dynamic of politics, but rather to see that human societies embrace innumerable differences of ability, resources, outlook and experience on the basis of which situations arise where groups or individuals generate different and incompatible aims and interests. Such situations need to be dealt with, and it is the interactions which take place in consequence which constitute "politics", whether that takes the form of party organisation, social rituals, personal argument, conciliation or aggression. What they all tend to share in common is the factor of self conscious intervention by those in a situation where they are aware of the differences and incompatibilities suggested above, and perhaps this may be taken as the starting point for a concept of politics.

The outline given here is deliberately general in order to avoid the constraints which often limit the concept of politics to a very narrow range of phenomena. On the one hand it is important to avoid a misleading distinction between public and private which would

for example exclude the family as a political arena. On the other hand it is desirable to avoid prescribing any specific institutional framework for politics which would pre-erapt any integration of the concept with a historical and social specifity. It is regrettable for example that the analysis of the politics of personal relations has not yet been pursued outside the confines of western feminism, which means that the level of discussion of these issues in the Iranian context cannot be more than preliminary at the present stage of development of concepts and information. Patriarchy and the politics of family life are highly relevant dimensions of the historic experience of various societies in Iran, but it would be beyond the scope of the present study to do them justice. Nonetheless it would be dishonest not at least to raise this as an important issue and note that any meaningful view of politics should take it into account. The particular concepts of "public" and "private" which have often shaped views of "the political" reflect social and historical developments which are quite recent even in the west, and there is therefore little justification for incorporating them into a general definition of politics. Although there will be a lacuna in this survey where there should be a full discussion of the issues mentioned, it will at least attempt to avoid any false assumptions as to the limits to the arena of politics.

Another distortion of the definition of politics, which also springs from an unjustifiable generalisation from specific experiences in western societies within a limited historical period, is the introduction of an organic link between "politics" and "government". Just because some of the dominant political issues of the last four hundred years

in certain European and north American societies have centred on the formation, transformation and control of state power there is no reason to assume that this was the case at other times or in other places. Indeed it needs only a brief consideration of the empirical facts about tenth-century Europe or eighteenth century India to reveal how inadequate such a perspective would be. Its inadequacy lies in the fact that while state power may well be one arena for political activity it is certainly not the only one. If, as was suggested above, the basis of politics is taken to lie in the differences developing within a given society, then it will be apparent that there can be many situations in which such differences could arise, and in consequence many opportunities for the growth of political consciousness and action which are not encompassed by state institutions or a concept of politics which confines itself to that area. The fact that political studies often do confine themselves in such a way reflects the need for a critique of such an over-restrictive definition of politics.

Turning from criticism to the construction of a positive alternative to these limiting views of what can properly be called political it is worth emphasing the points made earlier about the foundations of politics. Man as a social animal is engaged in the production and reproduction of existence, and the living changing arrangements of any society which maintain these processes imply both forms of organisation and the existence of the differences in access to and control of resources to which members of society react. The reality of social existence and the qualitative and quantitative variety within it provide a context for action by groups or individuals to defend or extend their position within that varied totality. Obviously

power in the conservative sense of the administrative legal and military controls associated with "government" is one of the resources around which politics will focus, but it is only a resource in so far as it is a tool to serve the ends of those who wield it. In a society without the resources or technology to sustain a developed modern state aparatus, power tends to be diffused through a variety of forms and institutions, and politics focussed both on these and on social issues at the point where they arise. Any survey of the nature of politics in Kerman needs to take account of such variety and diffusion, and of the fact that since in such a situation the elements linking society politically are likely to come from other sources than the administrative or government sphere, the shared language and form of politics will be affected accordingly.

In establishing a conceptual framework for understanding the politics of nineteenth century Kerman, two important trends will bear further discussion. Firstly, it is important to appreciate how and why many political issues developed in a very specific local arena and were closely related to the immediate concerns of the protagonists. Secondly, the religious and moral framework of political life and language need to be explained. To some extent both phenomena arise from the type of social developments which characterised the life of the region. This is not to say that they were determined by them in any reductionist sense, but rather to suggest that there was an important relationship in which the nature of social reality could hardly be irrelevant to the conscious intervention in that reality which has been described as political. It is therefore worth recapitulating

some of the features of Kermani society which are significant in this respect. Two main characteristics are particularly worth mention in this connection, the degree of insecurity in any society where natural forces are relatively unrestrained by human technology, and the fine balance of autonomy and interdependence which shaped social production. It remains to be shown how in fact these factors are relevant to the formation of political life.

It should be reasonably obvious how the facts of social existence created a local or community basis for politics. The very heavy human demands of both urban and rural production with their reliance on high levels of labour-power and labour skill would tend to fix labouring people, whether cultivators or craftsmen, within the settlements of which they were members. Only dire crisis drove peasants to re-settle, just as it was outside intervention for example upper-class patronage which would shift artisans from one place to another. In the absence of such forces the chances were that most people remained within relatively restricted geographical limits, although the network of trade within and beyond the region meant that this did not imply total immobility or introversion. To say that life was localised is not to say that it was isolated from influences outside the locality. Just as in economic terms settlements both aimed for self-sufficiency and also played their part in a network of interdependency, so the other aspects of the lives of their inhabitants were shaped by the central importance of the locality and by its exposure to outside contacts. The point here is that the particular settlement provided

the framework for both indigenous and external forces, and it is this that made it the focus of life and politics. If one takes into account the factors referred to above, and others like problems in long-distance communications, it is not difficult to see that political experience was unlikely to take the form of, say, national parties or political movements, until certain changes which will be discussed occurred. The diversity of social situations and their comparative isolation from one another was bound to limit such developments, and to generate specific political situations within particular environments. Again this is not so much an argument for total relativism as for the careful observation of how issues of widespread significance (guild interests, landlord-peasant relations) arose in various contexts.

One concomitant of the trend towards the localisation and immediacy of political issues was the community element in political life. It will be necessary to look at this phenomenon in detail when the various political experiences of the Kerman region are examined more closely. However it is also important to take account of this factor when considering the general problems involved in characterising "politics" as such. It is very easy to lapse into a vague populist phraseology when looking at "community" in so-called "pre-modern" society and so it seems worth trying to clarify just what the communal dimension of politics involved before trying to apply the concept to the available data. Perhaps a central need for any useable concept of the "communal" is a clear sense of how specific relationships, experiences and interests brought people together in a particular conjuncture. Thus the picture which emerges of peasant protest or artisan politics should be based

not on vague notions of "solidarity" but on an analysis of how group identity and action were rooted in the shared experience of particular relationships and activities in society. It was such experience which, as will be seen, lay behind collective tax evasion, religious protest or opposition to officials and notables who challenged the interests of other groups.

In this kind of analysis it is also important to be clear how far a sense of "communal" identity was a dominant or continuous phenomenon. Thus it cannot necessarily be assumed that the instances which do occur of communal action were the only forms of political activity in which people were involved. This is especially the case when it is considered that the experience of many groups was only partly as groups. Thus cultivators might share a common relationship to landlord-officials and even some of the tasks of agriculture, but equally other aspects of their lives might be defined very differently by family or individual organisation. Craftsmen on the one hand experienced the relative isolation of small work-places with perhaps only children as fellow-workers, while on the other they shared a common interest in the factors affecting production for all artisans in their particular branch of manufacture. Some issues like food, religion or taxation might unite wide sections of a particular community in political action, while others might affect a far more limited grouping. Some of these points will be explored further in the specific discussion of particular forms of politics in particular situations, but it is useful to remember the more general point that for an analysis of "communal" elements in politics to be effective, the concept "communal" needs to

be situated as precisely as possible in relation to the material forces which shaped the existence of social groups.

Among the material forces which had a central place in shaping the political experience of Kermanis was the religious life which provided the values and language through which politics were articulated. Without attempting fruitless speculation on the origins of this crucial relationship, it is worth noting the general considerations which made the concept of a secular politics an irrelevancy. In a society facing constant insecurity from its vulnerability both to the impact of natural disaster on social production and social life, and to the arbitrary exercise of power by dominant individuals or groups, it makes little sense to derive ethical and therefore political values from a secular source. Concepts of justice, legitimacy and authority as standards of morals or politics need a sanction which stands outside the framework of a social environment which was subject to such capricious and fluctuating influences. Religion, with its supernatural (and supra-social) basis, could provide just such a sanction, and its language can thus be the political language of this sort of society. Whether we consider the relationship of the maintenance of the city cults with the civic political fabric in the Greek polis, the concept of the "mandate of heaven" behind a legitimate Chinese emperor, or the content of debate on "godly rule" in seventeenth century England, we are observing various manifestations of such a phenomenon. This concerns not merely a semantic overlap of "the religious" with "the political", but the articulation of political issues in religious terms. The argument is not that religion was in any sense a "veil" for

some notionally separate "political reality" beneath, but rather that there is a degree of integration between what those whose normative framework is limited to modern western politics see as two disparate areas of experience.

In order to flesh out this argument some illustration from the Iranian politico-religious tradition needs to be offered. The term "Iranian" is used advisedly, since the transmission of a common, if multiplex, religious tradition sustained by the geographical mobility of many groups of religious functionaries, activists and leaders, created a cultural and ethical discourse which transcended the regional divisions of the area called Iran, even though not unaffected by them. The nomadic life of Sufi adepts and dervishes spread religious ideas and practices at a popular level, just as the movement of high-ranking religious functionaries and intellectuals, with their close links of family and patronage with the notability, created a wide-ranging common religious life at a more official level. In Kerman the workings of this phenomenon can be observed in the support for Ismailism among the Sirjani tribesmen, the popular response to Ni^{c}amatallahi proselytising, and the movement of members of the ^{c}ulama from Khorasan, Shiraz or Ganjeh in Georgia to take prominent places in teaching, legal work and religious activity in Kerman. It is worth noting that at the occupational level Muslim tradition and practice had established a deep historic interlinking between religious ritual activity, education and the administration of the law which was observable in nineteenth-century Iran as in other areas affected by Islamic influences. This in itself was an important dimension of the integration of the religious

and the political, or the ethical, and activist elements of spiritual and public life.

With this background in mind it is possible to see the wider significance of some of the apparently theological debates which exercised the religious world of Iran in the nineteenth century. The controversy between akhbaris and usulis, which is usually analysed in terms of the growth of overt political activism among the culama in this period, can also be seen as part of a debate on the general sanctions for authority and protest in Iranian society as a whole.(1) The capacity to interpret or develop the existing traditions and principles of shicism was at one level the central buttress of the important but particular position of the mujtahid in the community, but at another level it also asserted the possibility of judging issues and acting on that judgment which is the moral basis of political action and organisation. Thus in nineteenth century Iran there was no one-to-one correlation of religious belief with political conformity or with radicalism but rather a dynamic tension between diverse implications within the religious culture which was, as Keddie suggests played out in the most prolonged political crisis of the period 1905-10.(2) The important fact of participation by identifiable religious groups in certain significant political movements such as the agitation

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(1) See for example H. Algar, Religion and the State in Iran 1785-1906, pp. 6-8, 33-6 : G. Scarcia, "Intorno alle controversie tra Ahbari e Usuli presso gli Imámiti di Persia", Rivista degli Studi Orientali, XXXIII (1958), pp. 211-250 : N. Keddie, "The roots of the Ulama's power in modern Iran", Studia Islamica, 29 (1969), pp. 45-8.

(2) Keddie, art. cit., p. 50 : idem, "The origins of the religious-radical alliance in Iran", Past and Present, 34 (1966), pp. 77-80.

against the tobacco concession of 1891 and the so-called Constitutional Revolution has been well documented and discussed.(1) What is interesting from the point of view of a general concept of the nature of politics in Iran is not only the leading role of such groups, but also the way in which they were obviously accepted as those who spoke for a political as well as a religious constituency. We are not looking at the contingent involvement of religious functionaries in political situations, but at a society in which the religious sphere was the proper arena for the playing out of political issues, not just one of those issues.

If the religious context of politics is clearly manifest in the events of the quarter-century before World War I (ironically when this was on the point of transformation), then that context manifested itself in various ways during the preceding period. Before going on to the specific workings of politics in Kerman it is worth identifying certain themes which are of general relevance to the concept of politics. The significance of such issues as the use of ijtehad and the status of its purveyors has already been noted as an instance of the integrated religio-political concept of authority. Debates on the "proper" channels of authority had a similar two-sided significance and it is important to appreciate that the arguments of Akhbaris and Usulis, or other controversies involving Sufism, Shaikhism or Babism involved not just theological differences or group rivalries but wider

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(1) N. Keddie, Religion and Rebellion in Iran : the Tobacco Protest of 1891-2, is a clear and vivid presentation of the former set of events, while the dynamics of the latter may be followed in Naẓim-al-Islam Kermāni Tārīkh-i-Bidāri-yi-Īranian, H. Algar op. cit., pp. 240-256.

questions of politico-religious style and orientation. Thus Scarcia's sensitive attempts to integrate the level of doctrinal conflict with more general questions of how conflicting parties related to society and organised in the specific cases of akhbari-usuli or shaikhi-balasiri controversies would seem to have a more general relevance.(1) In so far as religion offered an interpretation of the world and how to act in it, by that same token it offered political perspectives. Scarcia's use of integrated political and religious terminologies recognises that in a society where religion functioned in that way it provided not one political perspective among many but rather the over-arching context for all perspectives under discussion in that society.

This point emerges clearly if one considers the kind of challenge to the religious "establishment" posed by heterodox or non-conforming religious outlooks. Firstly it is important to make the significant point that "the establishment" was even less of a monolith in nineteenth century Iran than in many other times and places. The variety of religious life, institutions and beliefs co-existing, not always amicably, in Iranian society at that time make "orthodoxy" a relatively difficult concept to define either doctrinally or organisationally, although Vaziri quite happily separated off "the orthodox" on the one hand from Ni'amatallahi Sufis on the one hand and Shaikhis on the other.(2) However he places all three groups under the common

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(1) G. Scarcia, "Intorno alle controversie" p. 223, 244-5 : idem "Kerman 1905 : la "guerra tra Seihi e Balasiri", Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli XII (1963) pp. 199-204, 232-233.

(2) Jughrāfīya, p. 41.

umbrella of Ithna-ᶜashari shiᶜism which is some indication of where certain important boundaries were drawn by contemporaries. It is at the point where new religious insight is linked to an alternative politics, as seems to have been the case with Babism, that the supporters of such a position become a real opposition and are treated as such. Scarcia's comparison of nineteenth century Babism with medieval Ismaᶜilism, and with the "respectable non-conformity" of Shaikhism again is instructive in its delineation of a religio-political whole to which these groups related.(1) He also makes the point that pluralism was a defining characteristic of orthodoxy, while it was "heresy" which needed the focus on a unique inspiration (an Imam, or Bab).(2)

These kinds of perspectives make it possible to situate the tension between Sufi and orthodox tendencies, where the potential threat of the qutb of an order becoming an alternative authority was at times modified by the quietism of sufi discipline and the limits on the recruitment potential of any one "order". Thus sufi involvement was not incompatible with social status and élite patronage (including that of Muhammad Shah who restored the shrine of Shah Niᶜamatallah and endowed it with vaqf income)(3) or of membership of other groupings, exemplified by the membership of the Ismaᶜili leaders in the Niᶜamatallahi order.(4) Whether or not this move on the part of the Ismaᶜili imams

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(1) Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", pp. 203, 215.

(2) ibid., pp. 207-8.

(3) Jughrāfīya, p. 83 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 149 : Tārīkh i Kermān, p. 255 :
Algar, Religion and the State, p. 37 notes the quietism of the Niᶜamatallahis.

(4) H. Algar, "The Revolt of the Aqa Khan Mahallati" Studia Islamica 29 (1969), pp. 72-3 : J. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, pp. 101-2 : W. Ivanov Bibliographical Survey of Ismaili Literature, pp. 145-6, 184.

implies a shift of religio-political stance from opposition to heterodoxy it certainly shows the breadth which any particular organisation could reach. This in turn has implications for the ways in which religio-political debates and differences were expressed. The overlap of group affiliations and the practice of taqiyeh (concealment of belief) which spread into radical politics as Keddie and Algar have shown with Sayyid Jumal-ad-din al Afghani and Mirza Malkum Khan meant that "opposition" like "orthodoxy" was a multivalent and flexible state of affairs.(1)

This did not mean however that outright conflicts are not to be observed. The case of Babism has already been referred to briefly as an example of the development of both political and spiritual levels of differentiation to the point of military confrontation and excommunication. The blend of chiliasm and what European contemporaries saw as "communism" with its fusion of political activism and passionate religious vision finds as much of an echo in E. P. Thompson's evocation of the world of sects in Britain during the Industrial revolution as in more conventional notions of some restatement of an "Iranian religious tradition". The establishment of a tradition which passed into the religious anti-colonialism of the 1905 revolution is testimony to the qualities of a religious and political ethic that was significantly under-patronised by the controllers of the status quo. Its shared characteristic with other less radical outlooks lay in the integration of religious and political responses to the situation of nineteenth century Iranian societies, which defined radical reformers, respectable non-conformists like the Shaikhis, and the "orthodox" religious life of mosque and shrine alike.

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(1) N. Keddie, Religion and rebellion in Iran, pp. 15-16, 141-144 raises this in connection with Jamal-al-din al Afghani and develops it in her biography Sayyid Jamal-al-Din al Afghani pp. 10-11, 83-87 : Mirza Malkum Khan is discussed in Keddie Religion and rebellion, pp. 28-9 : H. Algar, Religion and the State. pp. 188-9.

Such a definition took on material shape in the forms and language which integrated religion and politics. Many diverse examples will emerge in the specific context of Kerman but certain general points need making in order to create the basis for a specific discussion. It has already been argued that one of the main features of religious life was collective participation, the bringing together of numbers of people for a common purpose which in itself has political significance.(1) It is therefore not surprising to find that the inspiration of popular religion fuelled political opposition to rulers. When the culama used references to the villain of the Muharram martyr-story, re-enacted yearly in the ta^cazieh which drew the community together, to discredit the ruling dynasty they knew that they were touching on a force of powerful feeling.(2) It was offences against basic values of popular opinion which would mobilise political opposition, and those values were rooted in collective religious life. Whether it was the acceptance of the authority of the leading mujtahid issuing his fatva (religious decree) against the foreign monopoly of tobacco, the situating of political faction fights in the mosques, rozehkhanehs and religious processions of Shaikhi and Balasiri adherents, or the use of collective mourning ceremonies to reinforce support for the "constitutionalist party", there is ample evidence of the presence of the modes of popular religion in many political situations.(3)

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(1) See above pp. 261-262

(2) Algar, op. cit., pp. 120, 252 : Keddie "The roots of the ulama's power" pp 32-3 : both draw on the account in Noaim al Islam Tarikh-i-Bidari-yi-Iranian.

(3) Keddie, Religion and Rebellion, pp. 95-6 : F0248/vol. 846/ Kerman consular diaries 3-10 June, 9-23 July, 19-31 August, 28 October-4 November 1905 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 10-24 March 1906 : F0248/vol. 906/diaries 18-24, 25-31 October 1907.

Quite apart from the popular traditions which shaped religion and politics the more institutionalised side of religious practice could also have a political dimension. Anyone who has read the accounts of the "struggle for the pulpit" in seventeenth century England will recognise the force of preaching as a political weapon in a society where religious and political language are intertwined.(1) The comparison mentioned above between the Qajars and the Ummayad killers of the Shi^{c}i martyrs was made in a sermon delivered by a leading mujtahed, an interesting reversal of the traditional use of the khutba to proclaim the legitimacy of rulers. In either case the religious placing of a political act was central to its full significance. The attempts to prevent or defend the right of a mulla to preach were in part the product of the relationship of popular forces to religious leaders but also a reflection of the importance attached to preaching as an activity.(2) It could be used quite directly for propaganda purposes such as attacks on rival sects, on royal profiteering or foreign influences, as well as for declaring jihad against unbelievers as happened with the Russians in the 1820's.(3) The powers of mullas and mujtaheds also included the issuing of fatvas and condemnations or declarat ons of heresy. Thus the riots culminating in the killing of the Russian envoy Griboyedov were sanctioned by a fatva from a leading ^{c}alim of Tehran, just as condemnation of sufis favoured by Muhammad

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(1) C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in pre-revolutionary England and The world turned upside-down deal with the topic.

(2) Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", p. 231.

(3) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 320 : Keddie, Religion and Rebellion, pp. 39, 67 : Algar, Religion and the State, p. 88.

Shah, and the making the Shaikhi founder Ahmad Ahsa'i, who also enjoyed royal favour, kafir (heretical/infidel) were the work of mujtaheds exercising official privilege.(1) We may remember that law and religion were embodied in the same functionaries who thus had sentencing powers to use against those whom they saw as a threat like Mushtaq 'Ali Shah in Kerman in 1790 and (with official encouragement) against the Bab in 1850.(2)

In all these instances there is evidence of the intervention of the ulama with religious authority in matters of both religious and political significance whether that was the intrusion of foreign influence or the emergence of rival religious/political forces within Iranian society. Both Keddie and Algar emphasise the importance of the ulama's position in Iranian society in enabling them to combine the religious and political activity which was characteristic of them in the nineteenth century.(3) Obviously this phenomenon is indeed central to any understanding of the development of politics in the later nineteenth century but it is important to see it as a manifestation of the way in which political issues had a religious form at all levels of society rather than a contingent or external factor, unrelated to others. There were indeed specific reasons why the 'ulama played the part they did in the anti-colonial, reformist and traditionalist movements that competed and co-alesced in Iran at that period, but these

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(1) Algar, op. cit., pp. 97, 118-119, 68-69.

(2) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 350 : E. G. Browne, A Traveller's Narrative to Illustrate the Episode of the Bab, vol. II, p. 55.

(3) Keddie, "The roots of the 'ulama's power" pp
Algar, Religion and the State,

reasons illustrate how the ulama were part of a social world in which the integration of politics and religion was a general defining element. The divine locus of moral values, the social importance of religious activity and the multi-variate capacities of religious leaders and office holders were all facets of this integration which imbued public life with spiritual identity and made religious matters a public and social concern. It is this perspective which helps to explain the more particular and concrete evidence of political life, which will form the subject of the rest of this section, by setting it in its proper context.

Section (b) : Themes and Variations; Political Forces, Groups and Activity in Kerman

Having considered the problems involved in conceptualising politics and various ways of dealing with them, it remains to make use of such insights as have emerged in the actual study of politics. As far as the study of the Kerman region is concerned it is important to try to assemble and understand what can be known about political life rather than to make a misleading attempt at a "definitive" analysis that would strain the limits of knowledge and credibility. As with other dimensions of this regional study it is worth identifying interesting and important themes even where they cannot be pursued, and useful to show what the relevant questions are even when answers cannot be provided. Such an approach should provide the basis for a more informed and critical discussion of Kerman and its significance for the general analysis of "Iranian history", and also offer a useful test case of what can be achieved with limited knowledge.

The factor of limitation is particularly sharp when attempting to delineate the political reality experienced by the majority of people who lived in the rural areas of the region. Nowhere is the urban bias of all the source material whether Persian or foreign more of a handicap than in an attempt to construct a picture of the politics of these areas. Only far more prolonged contact with ongoing rural life would really have produced the observations which could allow any kind of in-depth analysis. The discussion which follows will therefore high-

light those areas which did impinge in the source material and can therefore be treated more adequately. This in itself may illustrate something about the conflicts and issues which affected rural areas by identifying those among them which were either noticeable because large enough in scale, or were issues which also affected the non-rural areas and were part of their relationship with the countryside. However in the absence of full information this cannot be demonstrated by a proper critical comparison of different political issues and situations, so that the reasons for the emergence of some of these issues into the light of the historical record must remain to some extent speculative.

The most obvious of the issues which were part of rural politics and which do come under discussion in the sources was the question of revenue. As has been shown it was one of the issues which defined a relationship between two disparate groups, cultivators on the one hand and landlord/officials on the other.(1) Granted that the division of crops and the extraction of rents and taxes was structural to the existence of both groups and at the same created opposed interests in those processes, it follows that the matter would be a contentious element in the life of individuals and the community. To some extent this is unsurprising in an environment where a class division existed between producers and those who controlled the product, reinforced by the problems of scarcity in a harsh natural environment unmodified by advanced technology or systems of communications which could offset

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(1) See above pp. 160 - 162

shortages. What is more surprising is the way in which this obviously crucial issue was mediated, so that rather than becoming an automatic source for physical conflict, it was the focus for a somewhat diffused and complex pattern of political reactions and relationships. This in turn means that there is a need both to analyse the factors underlying the kinds of politics that developed around the revenue question, and also to understand what precipitated open confrontation when that did occur.

It is clear from the general character of the relationships between cultivators and landlord/officials that the direct use of coercion was only one possible way of enforcing the power of the latter, and a somewhat limited one at that, since the cultivators could in turn use the sanction of flight, which in a situation of high demand for labour was a serious matter. This was specifically commented on by Sykes in a survey of the Kerman region in the 1890's, where he saw it as one of the foundations of the relative prosperity of the peasantry.(1) However while appreciating that superior force and economic power on the landlord side, and withholding scarce labour power on the peasant side were indeed the basic fall-back positions of each group, there were other positions from which the fall-back would as it were take place. The bases of landlord power have already been surveyed and we shall return to the politics of coercion and flight.(2) However unless the alternatives which seem to have been brought in to

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(1) A and P for 1896/vol. LXXXVIII/report on Kerman 1894-5, p. 39.

(2) See above pp. 149-156

action in the majority of cases are properly examined, the contexts which shaped the success or failure of the alternatives cannot be understood. The point to bear in mind is the political nature of the whole issue, that is its articulation through public attitudes, decisions and actions. "Rural unrest" is too often viewed as a kind of inchoate non-rational incursion into some imagined stagnant rural environment, whereas in practice it is more useful to see it as the expression of conscious action and organisation based presumably on the capacity of rural people to understand and evaluate their situation.

Nowhere is this "rationality" more arguable than in the context of the kinds of bargaining activity which seem to have played such an important part in the politics of determining revenue. It is perhaps because foreign observers did not see this element for themselves that they adverted so often to the arbitrary nature of the levies on the cultivator, seeing the variable end result but not the process by which it was achieved.(1) The historian is in a more fortunate situation, being able to consult sources where these bargaining activities are mentioned. In the case of Kerman there are two main sources which allow one to draw some conclusions about the kinds of political pressures which focussed around the extraction of revenue in the rural areas; the consular archives are useful for comments on situations striking enough to reach the ears of British officials through their contacts with the Kermani elite, while the

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(1) See for example J. Fraser, Journey into Khorasan, pp. 208-9 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. II, pp. 248-9 :

record by Firuz Mirza Farman-farma of his activities as a governor on tour in 1880 is a picture of how one of the elite saw his role in this sphere. The former source is undoubtedly distorted by uneven access to information and lack of inside knowledge of or sensitivity to the workings of Kermani society. The latter is likely to suffer from the literary nature of Farman-farma's intentions and the desire to create a certain picture rather than analyse political problems. When that is said, there are nonetheless interesting observations and convergences of opinion which may form the basis for a discussion of how cultivators and revenue-collectors pursued their political interests.

Looked at from the point of view of the cultivators it appears that they had various means of trying to minimise the demands made upon them. At the back of their attempts to do this was the potential threat of flight which as was said above was their ultimate sanction. Doubtless it was this which would make the agents of officialdom willing to negotiate and bargain over the rate of extraction of the rural surplus. It helps explain the scene so vividly "described" by Gobineau where the initial confrontation of cultivator and expropriator is followed by a session of bargaining which reinforces Berard's summation of the politics of land revenue, "le systeme persan a pour regle le marchandage constant".(1) These are general assessments of the peasant scene, not based on particular evidence about Kerman, but

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(1) Gobineau is quoted at length in Bérard, Révolutions de la Perse, pp. 322-323 while Berard's comment is in ibid., p. 321.

if that is lacking, the time taken by governors officials and agents on trips, as appears from consular records, was some indication of the less than arbitrary nature of the exercise.(1) Weeks or even months might be spent in the process of revenue collection, and although part of this was, as we shall see, created by the contests between lesser and greater landlord-officials, some at least of the time was occupied in bargaining at the grass-roots, village level. The account given by Floyer in connection with tax collection in Jiroft/Rudbar seems to indicate a whole hierarchy of negotiations. The picture he draws confirms that given by Gobineau in that sharp confrontation and resistance are succeeded by compromise and cunning.(2)

When the processes of bargaining had been exhausted there further political means at the disposal of cultivators for putting pressure, albeit not necessarily successfully, on the authorities. Since as has been suggested the freedom of peasants to make an outright autonomous challenge to the landlord-officials, the other alternative was to try to gain access to people with the power to intervene in the relationship.(3) There were various means of doing this of which the formulation of petitions and the taking of bast (sanctuary) are the most widely recorded. Petitions were sent to the provincial governor or officials in the provincial capital to mobilise influence against a

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(1) See for example F0248/vol. 998/diary 5-12 May 1910 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 75-7.

(2) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 272-3.

(3) See above p.161

particular local governor or official. Thus at the end of September 1904 groups of people from Sirjan, Zarand, Rafsinjan and Kuhbenan were in Kerman city protesting about the exactions of their respective governors, while in 1907 the people of Baft were protesting against their governor ᶜAdil-al-Sultan.(1) It was not only local governors who became the subject of petitions by cultivators; following a similar pattern of invoking one powerful force against another the people of Rahbur and others petitioned the governor about the exactions of the new Finance Department bureaucracy while the people of Sirjan tried unsuccessfully to get the British consul to prevent a visit by the provincial governor.(2) Petitioning was also used in connection with other community interests, as when the peasants of Khabis, with or without the encouragement of a local landowner petitioned about the damage done by Baluch raids (with a view to getting tax relief as well!).(3)

If petitioning could serve a variety of purposes it was also combined with a variety of other tactics. The petitioners of September 1904 were also making use of the traditional gesture of taking protective sanctuary in shrines, consulates, or, since the mid-century, in the telegraph offices of Iran.(4) In the former two cases

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(1) F0248/vol. 820/Kerman consular diary for last week September 1904 : F0248/vol. 906/diary for 6-13 June 1907.

(2) F0248/vol. 1072/diaries for 7-14 April, 4-11 August 1913; F0248/vol. IIII/diary for 18-25 January 1915.

(3) F0248/vol. 1072/diary for 22-29 September 1913.

(4) F0248/vol. 820/diary for last week September 1904.

the taking of bast was really another form of appeal to superior power. Traditionally this often meant invoking spiritual protection from saints whose baraka hallowed their tombs or shrines, and from religious intermediaries (mullas and mujtaheds) who also had special access to spiritual power. It could also involve the seeking of the more secular defences of rulers and notables. Thus in the 1870's Floyer met cultivators invoking the power of a provincial governor against the local governor and later our consular sources show the houses of mullas being used for bast as well as imamzadehs and shrines.(1) Bast of course was available to all sorts of protesters apart from cultivators but it is important to realise that to take it was a recognised practise among them as much as among urban groups. Nor were cultivators confined to the traditional religious refuges, for consular comments show that they also made use of the new places of sanctuary that emerged in the nineteenth century. On the one hand the rise of powerful foreign interests, notably British and Russian, made the consulates which they established during the century an obvious rival power source to be invoked against oppressors. On the other hand the spreading of a telegraph network between the larger centres of Iran from the 1860's created another focus of power and communication which could be used in a similar way. Thus turning back to 1904 we find Rafsinjanis in the telegraph office at Kerman and Zarandis in the Russian consulate, an example followed by the Parizis the following year.(2)

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(1) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 349 : F0248/vol. 846/diary for 21-28 October 1906 : F0248/vol 906/diary 6-13, 13-20 June, 15-28 November 1907 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary 12-19 January 1911.

(2) F0248/vol. 820/diary for the 2nd and last week of September 1904 : F0248/vol. 846/diary for 3-10 June 1905.

Obviously the telegraph was not merely a protective place where the authority of the government or the international telegraph system could be mobilised. The availability of the new technology of communication had a very real political significance in putting various groups at a distance from central government into potential direct contact with it. The emergence of national political forces via this medium will be the subject of further discussion, but the role of the telegraph was also significant for more local concerns. Those who were discontented with a governor were now in a position to go over the heads of the local authorities and appeal by telegram for intervention from Tehran as the Zarandis did in 1904, as happened more generally in 1905, and as was used as a threat by the people of Baft in 1907.(1) So too of course were officials faced with peasant recalcitrance and wanting the extra muscle of central authority's sanction for military operations. In 1904 the governor of Baluchistan wanted permission from Tehran to mount a military expedition in order to extract the maliat due from the Baluch, just as in 1912 the governor general needed support from Tehran (from both the British ambassador and the Persian government) when facing an insurrection that combined elements of the new national politics with older-established rural unrest in Jiroft and Rudbar.(2) The significant transformation in political methods offered by the new presence of the telegraph was not merely part of the drama of the "Constitutional Revolution" but also entered into the very immediate concerns of the struggle around taxation, adding a new dimension to the established patterns of conflict.

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(1) F0248/vol. 820/diary for 3rd week of September 1904 : F0248/vol. 846/diary 23-30 April 1905 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 6-13 June 1907.

(2) F0248/vol. 820/diary 25-31 December 1904 : F0248/vol. 1052/diary 16-23 May 1912.

So far we have looked at the political means available to cultivators who faced the pressure of those who had claims on the rural product. In some sense all of them involved an appeal to some authority whose power and protection might offset the power that could be brought to bear on rural producers. That power requires proper consideration in its turn, but, as was pointed out earlier, it was not only through direct force that the extracting groups gained their ends, since it was in their interest not to alienate cultivators completely. Once again the themes of bargain, compromise and indirect pressures need to be referred to in order to analyse the political achievement of the landlord/official class in maintaining their position. Just as the cultivators sought protectors against the notables whom they confronted directly in their own locality, so the notables sought means to ensure their capacity to continue the extraction of rural surpluses. At an earlier stage it was noted that various concessions and adaptations were made by landlord-officials in their relations with cultivators.(1) This was not merely a matter of social convention but a conscious political means (in the proper sense of the term) of mediating the contradictions in the landlord-cultivator relationship.

Firuz Mirza Farman-farma's record of his work as governor breathes a very definite ideology of "organisation of consent". His record of the time spent on the "affairs of the khaliseh" clearly indicates that these affairs had an important human and political dimension. Of a dozen references to his involvement in the affairs

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(1) See above pp. 163-164

of taxation and administration of khaliseh land, all but one are discussed in connection with the subject peasantry and their grievances.(1) Farman-farma found himself remitting revenue and giving grants to communities afflicted by natural disaster, but also more generally hearing "petitions" and "complaints". In these situations he could both play a direct role in intervening to remedy grievances, but also, as he frequently noted, and also report and transmit his observations to the central authorities.(2) His attitude to these activities was clearly that they were a normal and integral part of his official responsibilities. On the one hand his intervention could take account of real difficulties and grievances, while on the other the fact that this was so created a situation in which revenue could be collected without outright resistance or flight by cultivators. The extent to which officials were aware of the need for this sort of reciprocal relationship is indicated by the fact that a provincial governor could even go so far as to dismiss an extortionate official and refund the sums exacted by him.(3)

If the politics of conciliation and responsiveness played an important part in the relations of cultivators with officials, this was not the only means whereby these groups would try to protect their interests. In practice these interests could well be conflicting ones, as was manifest in the way in which landlords and officials faced

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 11, 29, 31, 38, 57, 62, 68, 74, 76-7, 78, 84.

(2) ibid., pp. 69, 72, 74. 76.

(3) F0248/vol. 878/Kerman consular diary 28 October-3 November 1906 (Bam news)

rejection and resistance from cultivators, leading to open conflict, when engaged in exacting revenue. Since the physical resistance and co-ercion on either side involved the taking of political (that is public and conscious) decisions to follow such courses of action, it is relevant to consider these activities as part of the spectrum of rural politics. That there were objective situations which impelled people to choose open conflict is suggested by the links on which the British consul commented, between certain levels of exaction and the development of unrest. In 1904 the arrival of a new provincial governor with a large entourage expecting offices with mudakhil (perquisites) created just such a problem.(1) That this was a prime cause of pressure on the cultivators is confirmed by the impassioned polemic of Haji Sayyah twenty five years earlier when he saw the need to provide sinecures as directly related to the impoverishment of the people although he does not discuss resistance by cultivators.(2)

Other situations which might provoke resistance might be the pressure of natural disaster or the rational if not necessarily accurate calculation that the authorities were not in a position to counter resistance at some particular time. Thus during an interregnum between provincial governors in 1908 the people of Rudbar took the opportunity to refuse payment of taxes, while in Jiroft there was opposition to the choice of local governor.(3)

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(1) F0248/vol. 820/diary for June and August 1904.

(2) Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji-Sayyāh, pp. 165-6.

(3) F0248/vol. 938/diary for 13-20 August 1908.

As was observed earlier, flight was the classic response of cultivators to exactions which they could not modify in any other way. The detailed evidence on day-to-day events provided by the Kerman consular diaries for the end of our period is unfortunately not duplicated for earlier decades, although as comments by Firuz Mirza Farman-farma and Floyer show it was not unknown.(1) On the basis of the references in the consular material it is arguable that peasant flight was in fact a regular occurrence. This might involve going a considerable distance, as when people from Bashagird fled to Minab near Bandar ᶜAbbas to avoid paying revenue, or when those suffering the exactions of ᶜAdil as Saltaneh (a member of the Vakil al Mulk family) in Aqtaᶜ also went down to the coast as well as some going to Kerman city.(2) In other cases the flight might be of a more limited nature as when the cultivators of Qutbabad refused revenue payment and fled, some to take bast in a local shrine, or when the people of Karuk (Kruk) in Narmashir fled to a nearby imamzadeh after a fight with troops who were able to fortify themselves in the village.(3) Indeed flight could be combined with physical resistance on the one hand or with negotiations on the other, suggesting that at that level it was a political tactic like others even if the implications were quite specific.(4)

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, p. 56 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, p. 349.

(2) F0248/vol. 878/diary for 10-20 September 1906 : F0248/vol. 906/diary for 7-13 March 1907.

(3) F0248/vol. 906/diary for 15-28 November, 29 November-5 December 1907 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary for 12-19 January 1911.

(4) F0248/vol. 906/loc. cit. : F0248/vol. 938/diary 13-20 August 1908.

Certainly the response of the authorities to peasant flight indicates that they saw it as part of the ongoing conflict of interests and hence part of the politics of the relationship of landlord-officials and cultivators. Not only as has been noted, did they use soldiers to enforce collection of revenue, but also to pursue fleeing peasants as happened to the Bashagirdis in 1907.(1) Thus the physical confrontation of conflicting interest was an ever-present possibility and one which was not new in the troubled early years of this century if the references to resistance and rebellion in eighteenth century rural Kerman are borne in mind.(2) It might take the form of cultivators initiating fights with revenue collectors (who could be soldiers) as happened in the Jebel Bariz hills in 1908, or non-co-operation as happened in Jiroft and Rudbar in January 1910.(3) In this latter case there was an excalation of conflict when refusal to co-operate led to the killing of a kadkhoda (local headman) by the local governor-notable in March which in turn provoked a "revolt" led by the dead man's family, so that by April three soldiers and ten local people had died in the fighting.(4) The frequent references to soldiers as part of the apparatus of revenue collection, the fighting which has been noted in various parts of the region, and the heavy punishment given to those

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/diary 7-13 March 1907 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary 12-19 January 1911.

(2) The Gombroon Diary in IOL/R refers to peasant resistance to revenue collection and consequent fighting in the 1740s.

(3) F0248/vol. 938/diary 3-10 September 1908 : F0248/vol. 998/diary 13-20 January 1910.

(4) F0248/vol. 998/diary 3-10 March 1-7 April 1910.

like one Shaikh Nasrullah, who started what the British consul described as a "jacquerie" in Anar and after capture with his followers was executed and dragged "disgracefully through the bazaars of Kerman city, are all evidence of the place of force, both implicit and explicit in the politics of revenue collection.(1)

While being aware that this was the case, it is also important to remember that the use of force was, as Oscar Wilde said of truth, "rarely pure and never simple". Interlaced with the confrontation of cultivator and expropriator were the conflicts between <u>different</u> expropriators, and the autonomous involvement of those employed to enforce exactions. Thus the revolt in Jiroft described above also involved the intervention of the provincial governor, who arrested, tried and flogged the local notable/governor in question.(2) Even this did not exhaust the possible convolutions, since on the recall of the provincial governor shortly afterwards the local "tyrant" bribed himself out of prison, took <u>bast</u> with the British consul, and eventually removed himself, to reappear in the rising of 1912 led by Rifa^{c}at-i-Nizam.(3) The conflict between different sections of the notability will be examined in its own right, but here it is relevant to point out that such tensions introduced a complexity into the use of force by the authorities involving rivalry over who controlled what force. That force was itself a political factor in that the soldiers

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(1) Shaikh Nasrullah is mentioned in <u>F0248/vol. 969</u>/diary 3-10 June, 30 September-10 October 1909 : the need for troops to exact revenue may be exemplified in demands like those of the governor of Jiroft in <u>F0248/vol. 998</u>/ diary 8-15 December 1910.

(2) <u>F0248/vol. 998</u>/diary 28 April-5 May, 9-16 June 1910.

(3) <u>F0248/vol. 998</u>/diary 14-21 July, 4-11, 11-18, 18-25 August 1910 : <u>F0248/vol. 1052</u>/consul Haig (Kerman) to Tehran 15 May 1912.

who were used to exact revenue could themselves play an autonomous role in the situations that arose. At Kruk in 1907 they took the initiative in prosecuting the struggle, and of course were not averse to attempting to profit from their position by means of looting, while also at times taking up the same tactics as other protesters (petitioning, sanctury etc.) in order to remedy their grievances, usually over unpaid wages.(1) As with other dimensions of the revenue question, the issue of physical conflict needs to be seen as part of a totality as well as having a distinct significance of its own.

Thus far the picture of politics in the rural areas has been focussed on the nakedly immediate issue of revenue and the control of rural production. As was observed earlier, the pattern of available evidence is partly responsible for this bias, which ninetheless also reflects a certain reality. It is difficult to correct the bias without becoming over-general and speculative, but equally it would be unrealistic not at least to raise the question of other dimensions which were of political importance in the rural areas. Having already discussed the nature of the social and economic differences between various types of settlement, it would seem logical to examine the political implications of what has been observed in those contexts. On the one hand the relative autonomy which characterised rural life, and its relative remoteness from communications by road and telegraph which linked larger settlements, gave a similarly self-contained quality to rural politics, focussing issues within particular communities. On the other hand the

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/diary 29 November-5 December, 5-12 December 1907 : F0248/vol. 969/diary 4-11 November 1909 (Bam news) : F0248/vol. 998/diary 14-21 July 1910 : F0248/vol. 938/ diary 16-23 July 1908.

fact that this autonomy was not total isolation is reflected in the linkages between rural politics and other areas.

Thus while at one level the role of landlord-notables was obviously an important political factor in rural as in urban life, while taking on a somewhat different character in each situation. The political presence of landlords in the countryside was quite narrowly focussed on their role as extractors of resources, which indeed was what tended to determine their actual presence there. Apart from specialised leisure activity such as hunting, or strategic withdrawal from the urban scene for political ends, the main reason why a notable would spend time in the rural areas was, to judge by the sources, to enforce collection of revenues.(1) In the urban centres their political role was shaped by the contests with other notables which will be dealt with, and by their character as multi-facetted controllers of different areas of activity and resources. If they totally lacked resemblance to the eighteenth century English landlords whose political position in the countryside was articulated through a whole social pattern of deference and paternal authority, as well as the legal and political institutions of Bench and parliament, they too had a structural place which bridged the supposed urban-rural divide.

Other factors also illustrate the ways in which rural politics both echoed developments elsewhere and also adapted them to

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(1) Great notables such as the first Vakil al Mulk and Farman-farma and others such as Ismail Khan Qajar had summer hunting expeditions and residences (see Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 189-90, Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 76-7, 206). Consular diaries make reference to expeditions by notables largely in connection with revenue matters (e.g. F0248/vol 906/diary 6-13 April 1907 : F0248/vol. 936/diary August 1908 but also note the strategic use of retirement to rural property in a political crisis (e.g. F0248/vol.1052/diary 1912)

specific purposes. It is regrettable that the available evidence does not make it easy to make critical comparisons between the political role of village leaders and agents of the landlord class as mediators of authority and the part played by various urban counterparts. Nonetheless it is possible to see that in either situation the presence of intermediaries had a certain political significance, re-inforcing the patterns of bargain and compromise which were one part of politics. What is more difficult to be clear about is how far the intermediaries - village kadkhodas and rish-sefids were tied to the community as opposed to the landlords or vice versa, although since they lacked powers of co-ercion they were obviously involved in the negotiating dimension of politics rather than physical confrontation. It was they for example who went to the governor to negotiate about revenue, complain about disasters and gain concessions.(1) In that situation it is not surprising that kadkhodas took advantage of an intermediary position to make exactions of their own which the provincial governor might well have to keep in check.(2) What the exact impact of such activity was on the position of these people in their communities is not really discussed in the source material, just as other aspects of community organisation remain somewhat shadowy. In particular it is difficult to get any picture of the internal politics of the villages which is of course no reason to suppose they did not exist, as references to "faction fights" and blood feuds in some settlements suggest.(3)

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(1) See for example Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 224 : Safar-nameh, pp. 51, 62-3. F0248/vol. 846/diary of Consul Hawarth en route to Kerman April/May 1905.

(2) Safar-nameh, p. 77.

(3) F0248/vol. 938/diary 12-20 February 1908 (fighting in Gok and Jupar) : F0248/vol. 969/consul Ducat (Kerman) to Tehran, 4 September 1909 (on fighting in Jiroft) : F0248/vol. 878/ diary 8-18 July 1906 (on a feud in Rudbar).

Turning to the urban scene it is possible to see some of the same themes and tactics as shaped rural politics in operation albeit in a somewhat different context. Thus while the use of bast and petitioning and the constantly shifting patterns of compromise and negotiation were equally a feature of urban as of rural politics, in the urban centres certain other elements also played a significant role. The greater prevalence of literacy for example meant that at least at the end of the period the newspaper and the placard were weapons to use in various political situations. During the Shaikhi-Balasari confrontation of 1905 placards were posted in mosques, and copies of telegrams also put up in mosques and caravanserais, presumably in the knowledge that there was a potential readership.(1) Similarly the populist elements in the so-called constitutional movement made use of placards in the bazaars, suggesting that literacy had at least reached the level of craftsmen.(2) The greater avilability of education, through the religious establishments, was a feature which distinguished the larger/urban settlements from others which lacked such resources, although even a place as small as Pariz might support an akhund and schooling in the early years of this century.(3)

In addition the scale, design and complexity of urban settlements created opportunities for large numbers of people to come together, a fact with obvious political significance. The dense centres of the settlement, where the bazaars focussed a whole range

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(1) F0248/vol. 846/diary 1-14 October, 12-19 November 1905.

(2) F0248/vol. 969/diary 11-18 February, 8-15 April 1909.

(3) Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 186 : Pārīzi Pīghambar-i-Dozdān, pp. 29.

of activities, commercial, manufacturing and religious, gave the basis for a high degree of interchange of information (often rumour) and ideas, as well as practical possibilities for organisation and action. This focal position is noted by analysts like Abrahamian as the basis for popular urban politics.(1) As has been observed already the organisation of manufacture and commerce was not merely a question of physical concentration in the bazaar centre of towns but of a social identity and cohesion which could be used in the interests of the group.(2) At one level this could take the form of a highly sectional defence of specific craft interests as when bakers resented controls on the price at which they sold bread or copper-smiths the curtailing of the space available to them in the bazaar for their work.(3) However there was also the possibility of action around issues which touched wider sections of the urban community. The high degree of development of the division of labour, although on the one hand it sustained a richly and sharply differentiated series of crafts and craft identities, on the other hand supported an elaborate network of interdependence between the different processes and stages of manufacture which had been separated out. Thus there was the constant possibility of exchanges of social and political importance shaping a communal political outlook.

What were the issues which were central to that outlook? As in rural communities some of these at least were of a sharply

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(1) E. Abrahamian, "The crowd in Persian politics 1905-1953" Past and Present, 41 (1968) p. 192.

(2) See above pp. 229-234

(3) F0248/vol. 998/diary 9-16 June, 1-7 July 1910 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 28 August-5 September 1913.

immediate nature, such as the crucial matter of bread. Dependence on supplies brought from outside, together with all the practical and political difficulties that could threaten the process of bringing in grain created obvious sources of conflict and tension over the food supply of the urban populace. It was seen previously that this was not only a matter of the geographical/spatial relations of town and country but of the social relations between those in control of the rural product and consumers.(1) In Kerman city there was a pattern of bread-riots through the nineteenth century. Russian sources record such riots in 1828 and 1848, while the Tarikh-i-Kerman notes the pressure of food shortages creating an uprising against the governor Kayumars Mirza in 1276AH/1859-60 and links the killing of Yahya Khan Kalantar in 1296AH/1877 to similar factors.(2) By the time British consular sources become available, they also show that the question of bread and grain supplies and prices was an important issue which could mobilise significant and effective forces. Thus 300 people of Kerman city descended on the British consulate to press (successfully) for the consul's support in getting reductions in bread prices in 1902, and on other occasions bread prices were noted as a major potential catalyst of political disturbance.(3) In 1909 the blocking of routes into Kerman by an Afshar uprising and related banditry, caused a disruption of bread (and other food) supplies to the city which in turn produced distur-

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(1) See above pp. 248,300 on landlord control of the grain market.

(2) The Russian sources are quoted in Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", p. 221 : for the episodes of Kayumars Mirza and Yahya Khan see Vaziri, Tārikh-i-Kermān, pp. 405, 408 and Scarcia art. cit., p. 223.

(3) F0248/vol. 763/Consul Phillott (Kerman) to Tehran 15 May 1902 : F0248/vol. 820/diary for last week June 1904 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 7-30 August 1906.

bances which interlocked with ongoing political struggles over other issues.(1)

It was not only the British consuls who recognised that the maintenance of food supplies and control of prices was a crucial factor in the continuation of political stability. Thus in the wake of the constitutionalist agitation in Tehran, their repercussions in Kerman and the extended Shaikhi-Balasiri confrontation during 1905 and 1906 the provincial governor saw that the laying in of grain stocks was one crucial measure for avoiding "unrest". By the same token landlords were hoarding grain at the same period.(2) Similarly political campaigns which wished for popular support had to take cognisance of the centrality of food supply as an issue. When the "constitutionalists" wished to demonstrate opposition to Russian intervention in government in Tehran during 1911 they took the step of closing the bazaars of Kerman city and Bam but saw to it that bakers' and butchers' shops remained open, thereby allowing food purchases to continue.(3) This concern for an issue so close to the immediate needs of ordinary people is also reflected in the efforts of the Bam anjuman (= society of constitutionalists) to control food prices.(4) Although the evidence which has been considered dates from the period when new forces were making themselves felt in political life, the earlier references to attempts by governors to control food supplies in order to minimise

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(1) F0248/vol. 969/diary 1-8, 15-22 April 1909 : consul Ducat telegram to Tehran 13 April 1909.

(2) F0248/vol. 878/diary 23 June-7 July, 7-30 August, 31 August-10 September 1906.

(3) F0248/vol. 1030/diary 30 November-7 December, 7-14 December 1911.

(4) F0248/vol. 969/diary 2-9 September 1909.

political unrest suggest that this was an established part of urban politics.(1)

If the question of food supplies and prices was of very immediate interest to the ordinary consumer it was also of interest to merchants and notables as a dimension both of their own direct group interests and as a bargaining issue with other groups. Thus merchants can be found bribing caravan men to hold supplies when scarcity had led to open looting of food shops, losing the traders money, and the role of landlord-notables in the manipulation of the grain market has already been examined.(2) Here obviously was a source of gross grievance and conflict as Haji Sayyah pointed out in the late 1870's.(3) However particularly as far as government officials were concerned, while food production might be a source of profit, as noted by Floyer, it was even more often a weapon for negotiation and conciliation. In a period of popular militancy such as followed the constitutionalist upheavals of 1905/6 it made sense for governors to offer reductions in the cost of food to the urban populace. This had been as much the case with ᶜAla al Mulk in 1902 as it was for his successors like Qavam al Mulk and Jalaî-ad-douleh a decade later.(4) Qavam-al-Mulk not only used

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(1) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 94 : Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. Vaziri, Tarikh-i-Kerman, pp. 408-9.

(2) F0248/vol. 969/diary for 15-22 April 1909 : see above p. for grain hoarding.

(3) Khaterat-i-Haji-Sayyah, p. 166.

(4) F0248/vol. 766/consul Phillott (Kerman) to Tehran 15 May 1902 : F0248/vol. 969/diary for 21-28 October 1909 : F0248/vol. 998/diary 24 February-3 March 1910 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary 23-30 March 1911.

part of his "salary" to subsidise bakers to reduce bread prices but also brought down the price of opium, an article of staple consumption which the new financial institutions of central government were attempting to control, provoking much resistance.(1) Like tax remission this kind of official intervention was part of the balance of relations which sustained their position with the populace. That prices were a matter for political in-fighting, is shown by the governor's confrontation with bakers who tried to raise prices on news of his recall.(2) It is this range of dimensions to the food question which shaped its character as a political rather than a narrowly material one.

However the political life of urban inhabitants was more extensive and complex than a contest for food supplies. As has been said the urban environment brought a whole range of social groups and activities into close proximity with one another so that most social groups had contacts with a whole range of experiences and outlooks. This led to a whole series of patterns of overlapping political activity whereby the conflicts among the dominant elite involved wider sections of the community, while that community was equally in a position to influence the activity of the elite. Detailed analysis of the politics recorded in the consular diaries and Persian narrative of the early twentieth century will be the subject of a separate discussion, which, however, will be the more relevant for being seen to illustrate themes of general significance. In order to develop these

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(1) F0248/vol. 998/diaries 20-27 January, 27 January-3 February, 10-17 February 1910.

(2) F0248/vol. 906/diary 7-13 February 1907.

themes it is important to be clear that, while the organisation and identity of various sections of the urban community was rooted in the material organisation of urban production, as was shown in the discussion of urban society, the political life of such groups cannot be fully appreciated unless situated in a wider context. Thus for example the political existence of carpet-weavers may have been shaped by their identity as producers, as can be seen in their struggles to defend that position,(1) but that perspective hardly explains their involvement in the sectarian life of Shaikhism and sufism, nor their participation in the xenophobe/populist protests of the so-called constitutional revolution. It is for these reasons that it seems worth devoting some attention to the variety of forces which shaped the capacity of the urban populace to articulate political positions.

As has already been suggested, religious life and experience provided both forms and norms for political issues and also the organic links which brought various sections of the community into relationships with one another. These relationships could be both a source of political solidarity and effectiveness around issues of common importance to a particular religious persuasion, or a source of tension or even conflict where divergences occurred within and between groups. The role of the Shaikhi sect in Kermani society is an interesting example of several of these tendencies. It was founded, as has been shown, both on aristocratic patronage and on urban popular support. If the landed wealth and family connections of the Ibrahimis

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(1) See above pp.217-219, 231.

gave the sect social and political stability, merchants and artisans in the bazar sustained its activity and identity by their loyalty to and financing of Shaikhi worship and religious education.(1) In this situation it is quite comprehensible both that the leadership of the sect would need to identify at least to some extent with the aspirations of their "mass" following, and equally that that following could be influenced by the "line" taken by their leaders. On the one hand we find the Shaikhi authorities engaged in the distribution of bread during the shortage of 1879, and that hagiographies of Shaikhi leaders emphasised their concern for justice and opposition to oppression.(2) On the other hand what Scarcia called the "demagogic paternalism" of the leadership was obviously a factor in their ability to control their followers, and in their alliance in the 1870's with the kalantar of Kerman city. This alliance was indeed perceived by other groups as one which sustained an unpopular status quo as shown in the riots, noted in a Shaikhi source, when there were attacks on Shaikhi houses in the aftermath of the killing of Yahya Khan Kalantar.(3)

This rather limited range of evidence can suggest themes which recur in other contexts and may thus be regarded as relevant to an understanding of urban politics. Obviously there are a range of interesting political intersections between religious loyalties, class divisions and various localised economic and political needs. At one level religion mobilised people in large groups (the "crowds" who

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(1) Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", p. 222

(2) Tadhkirat al Auliya[c], pp. 88-9, 102-3, 104 : Scarcia art. cit., p. 223, citing a Shaikhi source.

(3) Scarcia, loc. cit.

visited local saints' tombs or listened to Sufi preaching) which were a political force in urban society. A mulla like ᶜAli Akbar Zaman could play a role in shaping the general unrest in Kerman at the death of Fath ᶜAli Shah which led to his banishment. Perhaps the fact of his artisan background (his father had been a dyer) helped his influence with "all ranks of people".(1) With subsequent developments in mind, it is interesting to note that while Vaziri, a member of the local notability, regarded Mulla ᶜAli's activities as subversive, the "enlightened" clerical author of Tarikh-i-Bidari-yi-Iranian accepts them as the fulfilment of his proper duty of, "commanding what is right and forbidding the unlawful".(2) The very active role of religious leaders at a later period may well, as Hamid Algar argued at a "national" level, be rooted in a well-developed tradition of political involvement with the urban crowd.

If the urban populace were affected by religious organisation and leadership on the one hand they were also linked by ties both of patronage and conflict to wider sections of the élite. While that élite might well be regarded as the source of protection and provisions and to that extent might win popular support, if that protection or provision appeared threatened then the élite might be the focus of popular hostility. In 1848 the lapse in central authority at the death of Muhammad Shah led to a conflict over the provincial governorship in Kerman in which the son of the great Qajar governor Ibrahim Khan could mobilise urban followers

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(1) Vaziri, Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 387.

(2) loc. cit. : Nazim-al-Islām Kermāni, Tārīkh-i-Bīdari-yi-Īrānīān.

against the incumbent Vazir, Mirza Isma^{c}il a Mazanderani. Vaziri indeed sees the fighting in Kerman city at this period as involving spontaneous riot by urbanmalcontents.(1) The spontaneity requires some discussion in its own right but it is also clear that local notables were able to recruit followers, possibly lutis if Vaziri's reference is accurate, to further their own factional conflicts for control of provincial government. Algar claims that Hasan ^{c}Ali Shah Aqa Khan Mahallati may have had a role in the rising in Kerman in 1840 against the governor Khanlar Mirza, linking it with his own ambitions in the area.(2) Whether this was a comment on the governor's failure to provide the resources the populace expected and/or Aqa Khan's capacity to present himself as a more desirable alternative, it does suggest the way in which a notable with land in the area, wealth (from the religious sect he led in the Aqa Khan's case) and hence patronage might influence political action by urban crowds.

The basis of this relationship may perhaps be illuminated by the kind of analysis which Eric Hobsbawm applied to the urban crowds of pre-industrial cities in Mediterranean Europe.(3) He articulates a notion of the relationship of rulers and populace (including respectable traders and artisans as well as lumpen elements) "equally compounded of parasitism and riot", involving a nice balance between the patronage implied in the conspicuous consumption of the élite and activities which they sponsored, and the violent popular response when rulers

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(1) Tārikh-i-Kermān, p. 397 and note pp. 397-8 citing Nasikh al Tavārikh.

(2) H. Algar, "The revolt of the Aqa Khan Mahallāti", Studia Islamica, vol. 29 (1969), p. 72. He cites Tārikh-i-Kermān p. 388 n.3, which should correctly refer to ibid. pp. 389-90 n.3.

(3) E. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels, Chapter VII, "The City Mob", (pp. 108-125 in the 1971 edition).

did not carry out what the populace saw as their duty.(1) He develops ideas of the sense of identity felt by ordinary people with the urban focus of power and production of which they were part, the symbiosis of notable patron and client groups dependent on similar vicissitudes, and of the gut-level protest nonetheless provoked in some circumstances by the difference between rich and poor. These all seem quite relevant to the situation in the urban centres of Kerman where trade and manufacture were linked to the consumer needs and investment of notables, where common loyalties and interests linked patron and client in the madraseh and bazar, and where the breakdown of relations could explode in riot. Such a link is glimpsed by Scarcia in his characterisation of the ᶜAli Muhammad Shālbāf who figured in the riots of 1876/7 as a "youthful Masaniello", referring to the leader of a popular rebellion in Naples in 1647.(2)

Testing the analogy a little further it is possible to glimpse the sense of identity with an urban environment partly in the collective activities, primarily religious, in which urban inhabitants shared. The use of the ashura rituals as an occasion for petitioning for the release of those in official custody both brought élite and populace together in a shared moral context, but relied for effectiveness on the known willingness of the authorities to respond to pleas of this kind.(3) The symbiotic life of élite and populace has already

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(1) loc. cit., pp. 115, 116.

(2) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 223 : the rising of which Masaniello was part is referred to in Hobsbawm, loc. cit., p. 113-114.

(3) See the use of this tradition noted in M. Hume-Griffiths, Behind the Veil in Persia, p. 112 : F0248/vol. 1072/ diary 8-15 December 1913.

been looked at from various points of view whether one considers the role of notables as investors in craft production or as controllers of the prices of essential goods.(1) That the symbiosis could be disrupted by what was regarded as dereliction of duty on the part of rulers, is clear from the way in which food prices might become an issue, or lack of security as happened at Bam in 1913.(2) Certainly it would be rash to assume a correspondence between all the details discussed by Hobsbawm in connection with Naples or Vienna and the details of urban life and politics in Kerman. His picture of the role of the court in the urban content for example is in many ways specifically European or even Italian, though it would be interesting to pursue his ideas in connection with centres more developed than those of Kerman (Tabriz, Tehran and Isfahan come to mind). Nonetheless much of the social and economic context which he sees as shaping the life of the menuto popolo is observable in nineteenth century Kerman whether one parallels the cult of St. Januarius with role of religious sects, or remembers the ever present threat of food shortages and unemployment. Without any mechanistic collapsing of the one situation into another it is possible to find such insights a fruitful source of analysis.

One area where the work of historians like Rudé and Hobsbawm may be helpful is in the examination of the intersections between hunger and politics. It is important to be aware as these writers have

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(1) See above pp. 302-303

(2) F0248/vol. 1072/diary 2-9 June 1913.

been that hunger is a political issue in that the urban populace was able to pose demands that reflected both an immediate need and also a sense of the legitimate nature of expectations that rulers respond to those demands and needs. Having said that even so basic an impulse as hunger was expressed within a clear, if somewhat simple, political framework, it is not surprising that the urban populace was able to intervene in political situations where hunger was only one component and not always the central one. Thus the protests over food shortages of 1876 became what Vaziri saw as an "intervention in the affairs of government".(1) Such an intervention did not necessarily need the specific impetus of famine since there are other instances of urban disturbances apparently connected to other influences. In particular the relaxation of elite control that might happen when there was an interregnum between provincial governors and/or on the death of the shah seems to have created opportunities for popular manifestations. The relative lack of institutionalised methods of enforcing law and order made the personal control by governors and notables over soldiers who could do this a focal factor, and its removal with the removal of a particular official equally important.

In this context it is not surprising that on the death of Fath^{c}Ali Shah and again on the death of Muhammad Shah, and the consequent opening up of conflict for positions in provincial government, there were popular interventions in centres like Kerman. Vaziri

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 407.

attributed the disturbances in Kerman in 1834 specifically to the collapse of "law and order".(1) Similarly during the 5-6 month period while Nasir-ad-din Shah was establishing his position there was not only a fight among notables over power in Kerman but also uprisings by the "criminals and lutis".(2) While elements of influence from religious leaders and other notables can be seen at work in these situations, it is clear from the way they were described by Vaziri, and other Qajar sources, that there was equally an element of autonomous intervention by popular forces. It is regrettable that the social and ideological distancing of the literati from such people meant that they offer no analysis of the motives behind say the killing of Mirza Isma^{c}il Vazir or the resistance to Fazl ^{c}Ali Khan Qarabaghi. Nonetheless this should not mean that we should follow the sources and assume that there was nothing more than "mob violence" behind popular political activity, since such a concept is itself ideological by nature.

If the political life of ordinary people remains somewhat undefined and has to be sketched in broad general terms, the reverse tendency is manifest in any discussion of the politics of the dominant élite. It is all too easy to reduce the political activity of notables to a series of factional conspiracies and personal rivalries without trying to grasp the common factors which shaped such situations. Just as the urban populace shared a common involvement in gaining a

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(1) ibid., p. 387.

(2) ibid., p. 397-8.

subsistence or religious loyalties, so too notables had common and conflicting interests which influenced their political outlook and activity. On the one hand they were defined by their position as controllers of resources and power within regional society and their need to defend and extend that position. On the other hand the resources and power in question could be a source of competition between notables as well as of a need to protect themselves against external challenges. It should also be borne in mind that members of the notability did not operate only as individuals but also as families, and it was often as families that political control and competition might be carried on. These points may be seen as rather general characteristics underlying the political life of the notability and the impact of each will be examined in turn.

As has been seen the notability consisted of those who had a controlling influence on the various aspects of life in the region, most often through involvement in a range of different proprietorial, commercial and cultural activities. Thus whereas some types of political life were rooted in the very specific experiences of a particular group in a particular place, the politics of the elite sprang from their presence in a variety of situations, and their linking role between these situations which was of course one of the defining characteristics or bases of their power. The political activity necessary to maintain or expand this power reflected just such tendencies. Thus the maintenance of landlord/official authority over cultivators involved the use of intermediaries in the rural areas and at times the sending of agents to persuade or coerce revenue from

the peasantry. Soldiers and ghulams sent by governors in pursuit of arrears of revenue, or followers of local notables engaged on similar errands were material links between the rural politics which has already been discussed and the urban world of the dominant elite.(1) Those who looked after the various interests of Kermani notables in Tehran, Yazd or Bombay were another link between the world of trade and elite politics, as well as between the urban centres of Kerman and others. Thus the "agents" of Haji ᶜAli Muhammad Behzadi of Bam in Yazd, Kerman city and the Gulf ports, of the aristocratic Haji Said Mustafa of Sirjan in Bandar ᶜAbbas, Yazd and other centres, or those used by Qavam al Mulk when governor of Kerman illustrate the spread of the power and influence of such notables in directions of this sort.(2)

The interlinking role of the notability in various areas of life and its articulation at the political level involved them in patterns of coercion and conciliation which operated in most arenas of politics. They were leaders, patrons and protectors as well as the wielders of legal and physical forms of coercion as was necessary or appropriate. The classic instance ofthis was the role of the religious elite whose power rested both in the wielding of institutional weapons of law and tradition in the shariᶜa courts and through sanctions such as "excommunication" and the issuing of fatwas, and also on a personal capacity to mobilise loyalty in return for protection among ordinary people. The onslaught of the ᶜulama against the Niᶜamatallahi missionaries of 1790 was founded both in their legal attack on sufism (which

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(1) Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 88 : Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 292, 307 : F0248/vol. 998 /Kerman consular diary, 5-12 May 1910.

(2) Jughrafiya, pp. 100, 158-9 : F0248/vol. 998/Diaries 28 April-5 May, 5-12 May 1910.

in turn threatened the "orthodox" control of the Shari^{c}a law) and in the support for their view which could be mobilised behind it.(1) The status of the leaders of a sect like the Shaikhis had both an official/institutional and a popular base in the organisation of law and education and in the actual appeal of the leadership to followers.(2) If it is remembered that religious leaders were often landowners, like the Ibrahimis, and also disposed of considerable assets offered by followers, like the support for the Isma^{c}ili imams, or held vaqf property from which income could be dispensed, as in the case of shrines like that of Shah Ni^{c}amatallah Vali at Mahan, it can be seen that personal loyalty and material power were closely intertwined.(3)

Although religious values and the moral strength of the position of the religious elite put them in an especially strong position to exert forms of ideological influence and win popular consent to their position, this was not wholly untrue of other members of the elite. In particular the concept of the "good" governor is an indication not only that rulers were supposed to live up to certain expectations but also that they could win support by actually doing so to some extent. Thus the controls which they might exert over prices and revenue exaction which have already been described as part of

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 349-350.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 53, 97, 172 cites Shaikhi leaders and judges : the popular base of Shaikhism is dealt with by Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", pp. 221-3.

(3) The fact that Haji Muhammad Karim Ibrahimi the Shaikhi leader needed to appoint people to administer his hereditary lands (noted in Tadhkirat-al-auliya' pp. 87, 88-9) suggests that they were extensive. The income of Aqa Khan the Isma^{c}ili leader was still being collected from followers in Sirjan at the end of the nineteenth century (Sykes, 10,000 Miles, pp. 78, 409 : F0248/vol. 820/diary for December 1904). The vaqfs of the Ni^{c}amatallahi shrine are noted by Sykes, op. cit., p. 149 : Jughrāfīyā, p. 83 : Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 255.

established political bargaining were not merely craven concessions to incipiently rebellious popular forces, but also fulfilled expectations and hence legitimised the status quo. That the governing class recognised this is suggested by the concern expressed by someone like Firuz Mirza Farman-farma for prosperity and just dealing among the cultivators. Since his Safar-nameh was addressed to the Shah's court and fellow notables this outlook expresses not so much simple propaganda to fool the populace as a recognition of the importance of the legitimacy of authority for its continued stability. The use of concepts like "oppression" used by the people of Sirjan when appealing for the British consul's support in staving off a visit from the governor general and of illegality by petitioners against new taxation supported by religious leaders implies a world of values to which it was appropriate to make an appeal.(1) By extension there is an assumption that an appeal to such values will evoke response, which in turn implies that they were taken note of by the elite.

At one level then it is possible to see the elite acting in various ways to sustain their position as an elite, and also that these interventions had a political character. The strength of that position came not only from the various socio-economic factors which have been examined previously, but also from a conscious political commitment on the part of the notability to maintaining itself as such. While, as will be seen, one response of notables to a weakening of authority was to press their individual or family interests, there was also a certain incentive to act collectively in the defence of the group

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(1) F0248/vol. 1072/diary for 7-14 April, 22-29 September, 29 September-6 October 1913.

as a whole. Thus on the death of Sayyid Abu'l Hasan the Isma^{c}ili imam and governor of Kerman in 1206 AH/1791-2 AD, it was the influence of a common sufi loyalty which persuaded rivals to his successor and cousin Mirza Sadeq to accept him as governor joining what Vaziri describes as a consensus as to Mirza Sadeq's position.(1) Similarly in the 1820's the notables could be united in opposition to a policy which might endanger their position. Abbas Quli Khan son and successor to Ibrahim Khan Qajar planned to join in the conflict then raging among the sons of Fath ^{c}Ali Shah for hegemony in Iran, and while Vaziri emphasises the effect of his grandfather's eloquence in dissuading the notable of Kerman from supporting this plan, the threat to their security must also have loomed significantly.(2) Thus their behaviour in a very different political situation during the "constitutional revolution" reflects among other things a well established tendency to protect collective interests.

However if this was one important tendency, so too were the patterns of competition between sections, families or individual members of the notability. Granted that the power and resources available within the region were both desirable and not unlimited there were general reasons why such a situation would develop. Added to that there were obvious tensions between the possibilities for entry and upward mobility within the dominant group and the tendency for families

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(1) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, p. 353.

(2) ibid., pp. 375-7.

to try to maintain their grip on land, office and power by turning them into hereditary perquisites. In any case the inbuilt diversity of the personnel within the elite and their interests was as much of a force for conflict at one level as it was for flexibility and durability at another. It is arguable that the place of the impetus toward competition should be analysed in terms of levels or dimensions of a totality of the political life of the notability rather than as a "conflicting" or "contradictory" tendency going against or nullifying others. The ensuing examination of the elements of competition and conflict in elite politics will try to keep the discussion within that context.

To what extent the élite sectors of societies in Iran were open to penetration by new members is somewhat debateable both qualitatively and quantitatively. The present state of the evidence makes it difficult to provide a rigorous analysis of the forces and circumstances which shaped social mobility on the one hand and stability on the other. It can be said however that elements of both were observable in ineteenth century Kerman, as has already been illustrated.(1) Obviously the entry of new families into the notability was liable to intensify the pressure on positions of wealth and power. Thus the rivalry between the family of Ibrahim Khan Qajar "Zahir and Douleh" and that of "Vakil al Mulk" Nuri was in part the product of the pressures created by the arrival of the latter clan in the later 1850's when the former had already been established for over a generation. On the one hand the relationship could be dealt with, as has been seen by intermarriage, while on the

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(1) See above pp 252-257

other it was expressed in conflict over office in Kerman which grew in the later part of the century and helped to fuel the Shaikhi/Balsiri conflict.(1) The campaign of the governor of Bam/Baluchistan against the Kurds of the Sarhadd in the late 1880's was part of a contest for power and influence which involved nomad leaders of the Kurd and Yar-ahmadzai clans and the ambitions of the governor to maintain and profit by his position.(2) The wearing of "badges" by the followers of notables, mentioned in the sources, seems to indicate that in some cases organised force was a potential weapon at their disposal.(3)

However the element of outright conflict was only one way in which notable families dealt with competitive pressures on their position. As was the case in many other political situations, negotiation, bargains, alliances and various forms of indirect pressure all played their part as techniques which were relevant in elite competition. Thus when the office of <u>imam jom^{c}eh</u> fell vacant in 1904 it became the object of factional intrigue and monetary bargaining. This was part of an attempt to preserve the office within a particular family by the mobilisation of influential allies (the British consul, the Tehran authorities, the provincial governor) and a range of political tactics (petitions, telegrams, bribery, intermediaries).(4) Similar tactics

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(1) Marriage links are referred to in <u>Jughrāfīya</u>, pp. 56-57 : Stack, <u>Six Months in Persia</u>, vol. I, p. 208 : the conflict over office was mentioned by Shaikhi leaders interviewed in October 1973 : more generally see Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", pp. 223-5 : Nazim al Islam Kermani, <u>Tārikh-i-Bīdari-yi Īrānīān</u>, vol. I, pp. 69-70.

(2) Sykes, <u>10,000 Miles</u>, pp. 107, 131.

(3) <u>F0248/vol. 906</u>/Kerman consular diary 16-23 January 1907 : see also <u>F0248/vol. 938</u>/diary 15-21 May 1908.

(4) <u>F0248/vol. 820</u>/diary for 1st week February 1904.

could be used to construct alliances with fellow notables, as the dismissed deputy governor tried to do in 1910 from strategic "retirement" in a village outside Kerman (another tactic). In such a situation, where there was a division between a local official and the Tehran authorities, other notables themselves had to make political choices as to how to align themselves.(1) Had there been the kind of eyewitness comment, provided in the early twentieth century by British Consuls, at earlier periods similar conflicts and coalitions might also have been better recorded. As it is Vaziri's treatment of the response of local notables to the conflict between Lutf ᶜAli Khan Zand and the Qajars, or to the death of the governor Sayyid Abu'l Hasan the Ismaᶜili suggests that the pressures and responses within the notability then focussed on similar issues of family, power and wealth and similar tactics of faction and negotiation as well as force.(2)

As has already emerged from the discussion, the main areas upon which competition centred were those which formed the basis of power in Kermani society, land and office. Thus the gifts offered by local Khans to a new provincial governor were connected to their expectations of being awarded or maintained in office in the region.(3) The notability competed among themselves over land and revenue, as when a mulla and a member of the Vakil al Mulk family tried to prevent another religious notable taking the proceeds of Vaqf property.(4)

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(1) F0248/vol. 998/diary 14-21 July 1910.

(2) Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 332-334, 353,

(3) F0248/vol. 878/diary for 29 April-5 May, 19-26 May 1906.

(4) F0248/vol. 969/diary 22-29 July 1909.

This kind of competition could operate within families as well as between them, as was the case with the seizure by Muhammad ᶜAli Vaziri of lands belonging to relatives in Aqtaᶜ and Arzuyeh, or the quarrel between Sardar Nasrat of the Vakil al Mulk family and his nephew over family property.(1) The same consular letter which recorded this latter conflict also indicates the combination of established wealth and office combined with intrigue which sustained the descendants of Vakil al Mulk. Sardar Nasrat in fact was able to combine the use of family position, official importance which gave him access (as Rais-i-qeshun) to troops and to patronage, and links with other notables and popular politics as well as bribery and protection money to maintain his status and ambition to be governor.(2) Such a combination of roles was not such a new phenomenon when one considers the position of families like the Vaziris who a century earlier also combined judicious blend of family wealth, official status like that of Mirza Husein who made himself useful to successive governors of the province and earned a large pension, and co-operation with other families to sustain a political and material position.(3)

So far the question of individual as opposed to family interests has not been distinguished as a political force since the family connections and resources of individuals were part of their

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 61-62 : F0248/vol. 1030/consul Haig (Kerman) to Tehran, 10 September 1911.

(2) F0248/vol. 1030/loc. cit. and a similar letter of 12 October 1911 : Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", pp. 225-6.

(3) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 58-61 and Parizi's introduction pp. 6-12 : see also Tārīkh-i-Kermān, pp. 353-60, 385-6.

political identity. While not wishing in any sense to deny the personal political importance of a successful governor like Vakil al Mulk or a charismatic leader like Mirza Muhammad Reza the Balasiri mujtahid, it is clear that their position as notables was significantly shaped by their membership of kingship networks. The role of intermarriage as an instrument of social cohesion has already been discussed but it also had political relevance.(1) New arrivals in the Kerman region could make use of marital connections to build up positions from which they could expect not only material benefit but also political influence. The hereditary nature of posts like those of Kalantar, munshi and mustaufi offered their occupants not only financial rewards but also a place in government which could be used in turn to look after the assets and interests of those who passed on such positions from father to son.(2) Both these factors contributed to the familial dimension of élite politics which, if not the only or even the dominant feature of that totality, certainly played an influential part in its changing existence. The desire to preserve and pass on land and office within a family was an important motive force in élite politics, the more so as inheritance was by no means a certainty, judging by the intrigues of someone like Haji Mirza Asad-allah about his title of sadr, or the confiscations of Vakil al Mulk's property noted by Stack.(3)

Granted that there were no automatic or secure guarantees of heritability, it is not surprising that the struggle to achieve it

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(1) See above pp. 253-254

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 63-5, 70-2.

(3) ibid., p. 53 : Stack, Six Months in Persia, vol. I, p. 208.

occupied a significant part of the attention and energy of the notability. The account in Firuz Mirza Farman-farma's diary of the vicissitudes of Nasir Khan of Jebel Bariz and his family shows both the threat to family property and position which a hostile governor produced, and also the way in which a governor could be asked to protect family interests.(1) That members of clan as well placed as the Qajars found it worth while to marry into prominent local families, with land and authority, such as the Mahni Khans of Jiroft, is explained by Vaziri in terms of the office and wealth which they could acquire in the area.(2) More generally the frequency with which posts in administration, religion and the military passed from father to son at the period surveyed by Vaziri establishes it as a focus of interest for the notables. At a later date the "progressive" mujtahid Haji Mirza Muhammad Reza relied in part on personal influence but also on his position in an ᶜulama family of established status and on his family links with the Vakil al Mulk clan to carry out his political intentions.(3) In particular the effectiveness of a provincial governor could receive valuable support from the integration of his family with others with local power. Not only the Qajar Ibrahimis but also the relatives of the two Vakil al Mulk governors and others such as the Farman-farma and Qarabaghi families found it useful to intermarry with local notables not merely to maintain family material interests but to give the governors channels of influence and power in the districts.

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(1) Safar-nāmeh, pp. 70-71.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 56, 121-122.

(3) Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", p. 2 :

For if the maintenance of power, wealth and office involved notables in competition with each other and in the collective defence of their interests it also created tensions between those forces which had a primarily local or regional basis and those rooted elsewhere. In the nineteenth century there was an elaborate and constantly shifting interplay between material and political forces, usually designated "central government", which sought control over a variety of regions in Iran, and groups whose power was focussed in particular regions. On the one hand the Shah appointed provincial governors and thus controlled access to the power and profit associated with such offices. On the other hand the financial, military and political problems of Shah modified that control by exposing him to the need to sell officers, placate powerful magnates and improvise inadequate military resources. The central authorities made claims on the revenue of the regions but had to rely on local agents to realise such claims. It followed that there was a whole dimension of political activity associated with this situation, offering ample scope for the confrontations, tensions and negotiations which were part of such activity. Whether or not it is useful to characterise this aspect of politics in terms of a dialectic of "centre" and "periphery" is a matter for further discussion, but the point can best be clarified in the light of actual political experiences in Kerman which were related to the interaction of regional and extra-regional interests and influences. Although, as will be seen, this interaction affected various levels of politics in Kerman, it was the notability who were most substantially influenced by and influential in the political relations of Kerman with other regions and central authority.

One of the obvious ways in which the conflict of interest between regional and extra regional elements was manifest was in the contradictory yet interdependent roles of provincial governor and local officials. A provincial governor had extra-regional links based on his responsibility to the central government and the mobility of magnate families who might acquire governorships in various different regions. The Shah's own clan was a prime beneficiary of his patronage, so that in Kerman Ibrahim Khan "Zahir ad Douleh" nephew of Fath'Ali Shah held power in the early decades of the nineteenth century, while Firuz Mirza Farman-farma, brother of Muhammad Shah, and his descendants occupied the governorship of Kerman in 1837-9 and at various perios later in the century.(1) Other families like that of Vakil al Mulk from Mazanderan and Fazl ᶜAli Khan from Qarabagh also moved into Kerman when one of them became governor and settled in the region. Thus provincial governors brought outside influences (and sometimes outside followers) into the region, quite apart from their obligation to provide revenue to the central government. Both of these could be a political pre-occupation, whether it was the discontent caused by the demands of a governor's retinue for perquisites, or the endless negotiations over revenue which were a feature of the governors relations with central government.(2)

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(1) Firūz Mīrza 1878-1880; his son Sultān Hamīd Mīrza 1880-91; another son ᶜAbd al Husein Mīrza 1891-4, and 1895-6 (these dates derive from Jughrafiya, p. 255, Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p. 71).

(2)

In fact one of the most important dimensions of the relationship between Kerman and the government in Tehran was the bargaining over what proportion of revenue should be claimed by the former and what retained by the provincial governor. The success of Vakil al Mulk in getting the revenue audited in Kerman rather than Tehran has already been referred to and represented an assertion of regional control of revenue which was an important feature of Iranian politics generally, contributing to the weakness of the Shah as an effective national ruler.(1) Similarly the bargaining over the levels of taxation and the price of the governor's office (which was recouped through revenue) which are recorded in consular sources, though not in Vaziri interestingly enough, were another manifestation of this issue.

If the provincial governors were involved in bargain-making with the central government they also had to deal with the local notables whose co-operation or failing that coercion was so important for revenue collection and law and order. As Floyer pointed out the confrontation of local official and provincial governor tended to be easy to manipulate for the local official since the governor was at a physical distance, which turn placed an imperative on the governor to assert control. In fact the whole process is characterised by Floyer as a competitive exercise involving at lot of attention and energy on the part of the elite.(2) In a sense this was a regional

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(1) See above p . 156 : Eastern Persia, loc. cit.

(2) Floyer, Unexplored Baluchistan, pp. 272-3.

variant of the centre/periphery relationship, with the governor attempting to control the resources of the province, and as consular material shows encountering somewhat variable success.(1) Again it was a situation where there was much bargaining and negotiation over revenue levels, and at times the use of force to resolve matters, either with military defiance on the part of a local official, or coercion on the part of the provincial governor. One element in the dynamics of the 1912 uprising of Rif^{c}at i Nizam was the organising and disintegration of a revenue collecting expedition, and the various trips of governors around the region were attempts to ensure their position and control of revenue.(2)

The interaction of notables in the provincial centre and those in other districts was not confined to direct confrontations over the question of revenue but should be seen in the context of the more general issue of control and autonomy. The resistance of leaders like the Afshar and Buchaqchi Khans to provincial government reflected a desire to retain political autonomy which included control over men and resources as well as revenue, a control which was for example used in the profitable pastime of banditry.(3) This involved not only those with authority over mounted nomads but notables like Sardar Nasrat who were said to be making a profit by bargains with bandits.(4) Consular

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(1) F0248/vol. 788/Sykes (Kerman) to Hardinge (Tehran) 26 March 1903 is an instance of success : F0248/vol. 968/diary 27 May - 3 June 4-11 November 1909 are instances of failure.

(2) Firuz Mirza's Safar-nāmeh records such an expedition in 1880 and the consular diaries record similar ones in the first decade of this century. The 1912 uprising is narrated in letters by consul Haig during May 1912 in F0248/vol. 1052.

(3) F0248/vol. 969 /diary throughout July - September 1909 (Afshar activity)

(4) F0248/vol. 1030/Consul Haig (Kerman) to Tehran 10 September 1911.

records which exhibit considerable concern with banditry, since it threatened British commercial interests have much to say on this topic. They reveal that this was an area of tension between provincial authorities and allies among the notables which an interest in security of trade and revenue and other notables who might have an eye to benefitting themselves. Again complex patterns of conflict and alliance were the shaping influences on this kind of politics, as with the oscillation between poacher and gamekeeper roles played by Ganj ᶜAli Khan Afshar vis a vis the authorities in Kerman city.(1) The emergence of quasi-hereditary claims on district official positions in Kerman in the nineteenth century was another source of potential political tension between the vested interests of such hereditary officials and a provincial government seeking their co-operation.

If the uneven state of the evidence as to political life in Kerman in this period does not allow a complete analysis of its character and development, it can at least offer some glimpses of its social range and diversity of form. As with the patterns of material life, the dynamic of politics in the region can well be characterised as the ingenious use of limited resources, with an emphasis on human rather than technical skill. Whether one considers the situation of the peasant facing a landlord, or of elite politics it is the flexible adaptation to confined circumstances which is striking even where the resources of the latter group exceeded those of the former. Another characteristic pattern of political life is the play of un-secular

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(1) F0248/vol. 998/diary 13-20 January 1910 : F0248/vol.1030/diary 27 July-3 August, 3-10 August 1911.

values and language within "secular" politics, both in the crucial role of the ᶜulama as protectors, legitimisers and activists, and in the religious language of political discourse. The response to Babism, or the notion of the Shah's authority as divinely sanctioned are examples of just such interplay of secular and spiritual levels. It reflects the way in which the social world of Kerman did not generate explicitly secular criteria for politics (until new forces came to affect it) and means that the other-worldly element of very worldly activity should be taken most seriously as a shaping force in political life.

Finally it should be emphasised that the very diverse types of political activity nonetheless shared common forms in so far as politics at all social levels and in all situations was articulated in a personal and informal mode which was one of the deepest characteristics of social relations. This should be seen not as an "absence" of institutions which "should" have existed but as the positive evolution of forms of politics relevant to the needs of that society. Bargains between notables, patronage by the powerful, the force of religious leadership or factional intrigue, were all based on an acceptance of face-to-face non-institutional methods of political activity as the most appropriate. The same could be said for the use of bast and petition or the character of urban insurrection. These methods represented real choices shaped by a history which had created the intimate and complex structures and relationships which were the bedrock of social relations. While such a political style is by its nature hard for a historian to grasp since it leaves limited traces in the record, it must nonetheless be placed at the centre of any understanding of politics in the Kerman region, as a context within much else evolved.

Section (c) : Continuity and Change; A Case Study of Kermani Politics c. 1905-15.

In some ways the discussion of political life in Kerman so far may seem somewhat unsatisfactory in that it has largely consisted of broad analytical points illustrated by reference to relatively isolated examples, rather than a connected explanatory discussion or description. To some extent this problem always seems to arise once anything beyond pure narrative is attempted, but it is also true that the limitations of the available evidence have been a constraint upon the construction of a valid analysis. At the end of the nineteenth century the appearance of British consular records for Kerman and the availability of some contemporary Persian material, notably Nazim al Islam's work and the discussions of Kermani religious politics, create a situation where it is possible to examine some of the themes which have been discussed in the previous section at closer range. In doing this some of the more complex and detailed variations of political activity may become rather clearer in the period with which the sources deal and with the topics which they cover. At least it should be possible to create an analysis which while not exhaustive will be specific enough to bring out the relevant points.

There is also another specifically new dimension to the political situation which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. It is perhaps not wholly a co-incidence that the appearance of larger amounts of source material happened at a conjuncture when the parameters

of politics were undergoing transformation. The proliferation of material from foreign consuls in the Persian provinces reflects the growing involvement of British and Russian interests in many aspects of Persian life, whether military, commercial or political. Similarly the emergence of Persian writings give evidence of a developing political consciousness among certain social groups, and of a new urgency in regard to certain political issues. Thus a case-study of politics in Kerman in the first years of the twentieth century will not illustrate some fixed stereotype of political life as it had existed in the previous decades, but rather capture the changing nature of that life under the impact of new conditions. Certainly it will be possible to identify themes of a durable nature, or activities with an established historic past. However the existing institutions and values which sustained power and government faced new stresses and challenges within Kermani society, while outside influences also came to play a new and important role. These two elements themselves interacted so that peasant unrest, urban protest and aristocratic faction were not only recipients of but also contributors to the new forces at work. Thus the elements of continuity and change should be dealt with not as polar stereotypes deployed for heuristic effect but as interrelated realities. At the beginning of the twentieth century these realities were taking on a new character.

One of the noticeable new elements in society and politics in the later nineteenth century was the growth of a "national" dimension to political debate and conflict which had by and large been absent

prior to that period. The emergence of common pre-occupations by certain groups with certain issues, interacting with rather than supplanting older-established issues, was the product of several factors. The Qajar regime was being impelled by its own financial problems and pressure from internal critics as well as foreign interests to attempt far higher levels of intervention in the regions of Iran than had been the case previously. McDaniel describes this development, somewhat sweepingly, as "developing the apparatus of a nation-state", which seems rather a crude characterisation, but nonetheless does identify an important trend to towards attempting some sort of central control.(1) Whatever the accuracy of his analysis it is certainly possible to discern the growing impact of centrally sponsored administrative and fiscal intervention even in relatively remote regions such as Kerman. Thus by the early years of this century the British consul in Kerman was noting the activity of the agent of the Belgian customs and postal service, while the introduction of new, effectively enforced tariffs had its impact on the gulf port commerce to which Kerman was linked.(2) The rising price of office in Kerman, as elsewhere, placed growing stress on the relationship of central authority and provincial governors as well as on that of the governor with local agents and officials.(3) This too was a mark of

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(1) R. McDaniel, The Shuster Mission and the Persian constitutional revolution, p. 48 : the topic is treated more fully in ibid., pp. 20-27, 54-5.

(2) F0248/vol. 820/consul Sykes (Kerman) to Tehran, 11 March 1904 : same vol., diaries for 1st week July, 2nd week August, 2nd week September, 3rd week December 1904 : A and P for 1901/vol. LXXXIV, report on Bandar ʿAbbas trade 1900, p. 53.

(3) The pīshkesh offered for the governorship of Kerman rose from 50,000 toman in 1871 (Eastern Persia, vol. I, p. 100) to 90,000 toman in 1904 (F0248/vol. 820/diary 2nd week May 1904).

the Shah's need to meet increased monetary demands, demands, which in turn expressed a changed relationship to the international scene.

If the presence of foreign bureacrats and dependence on foreign loans was an increasingly important reality in the life of government in Tehran, so in Kerman the changed presence of western interests and influences took on a new significance at the end of the nineteenth century. Dependence on foreign consumer goods and markets, and foreign intervention in the carpet industry have already been examined and provided the material basis for a range of other dimensions of western influence.(1) Consular officials as well as indigenous notables now took on the role of political patrons, and like the central authorities attempted greater intervention in regional life, notably over the question of banditry.(2) The movement of traders and clerics, which was a regular element of communication among the regions of Iran as can be seen from the experiences of a traveller like Browne on the Persian roads, was a medium for the passage of other influences. News and ideas from other areas flowed more freely with the growth of trade, the spread of the telegraph and the larger numbers of foreign entrepreneurs, travellers, officials and missionaries moving about the country. Kerman was perhaps less affected by these developments than regions which were less remote but certainly some of the new trends reached the area.

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(1) See above pp. 332 - 349 for international commercial links.

(2) The use of foreign consuls as protectors was discussed above, pp. 161, 400 : the subject of banditry as it affected long-distance trade is a subject of constant concern in the consular material and trade reports.

It is difficult to quantify the degree to which the political evolution of the 1880's and 1890's associated with the propaganda of Afghani and Mirza Malkom Khan, the emergence of newspapers and political associations challenging the status quo, and campaigns against foreign concessions, was manifest in Kerman. Nonetheless there are some points which suggest that people in Kerman were touched by the emergent political concern with foreign influence and the "tyranny" of the regime. When Haji Sayyah visited Kerman in he listened to (and endorsed) vigorous indictments of "oppression" from a member of the official classes and the following decade saw the appearance of an assembly or "anjuman" of mullas in Kerman city.(1) The focussing of both progressive and defensive opposition among such a group reflects a tendency seen elsewhere for the educated and influential religious classes, who often saw their role vis a vis royal authority as critical if not antagonistic, to take up the challenge of royal and foreign intervention to their own position and to more generally held values.(2) Equally interesting is the role of Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani the "modernist" writer and editor of Akhtar (one of the newspapers published outside Iran carrying critical ideas) in the setting up of the anjuman. His career, like that of others such as Shaikh Ahmad Ruhi and Nazim al Islam, reflects the way in which members

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(1) Khāṭerāt-i-Hāji Sayyāh, pp. 165-7 : A. K. S. Lambton, "Secret Societies and the Persian revolution of 1905-6", St. Antony's Papers no. 4 (Middle East Affairs, no. 1) p. 51 quoting M. Malikzadeh, Tārikh-i-inqilāb-i-mashrūtiyat-i-Īrān, vol. I, p. 250.

(2) This is dealt with by Algar, Religion and the State, pp. 218-221, 243-5, and by Keddie, "Origins of the religious-radical alliance", pp. 72, 75-8. [257-9.]

of the Kermani intelligentsia were drawn into the currents of thought and political activity developing at this time.(1)

Obviously the activity of people like Mirza Aqa Khan, Shaikh Ahmad and Nazim al Islam in no sense belongs specifically or exclusively to the experience of the Kerman region, and indeed the departure of men such as these to larger centres was a significant step in their involvement in politics. However it is clear that at least their Kermani origins were no barrier to such an involvement and that some at least of their activity was in Kerman itself. Not only can one point to the role of Mirza Aqa Khan noted above, but more generally also to the passing on of political views and values, such as happened among Kermanis like Mirza Aqa Khan, Nazim al Islam and Shaikh Yahya Ahmadi (son of a prominent local qazi and member of the first majlis).(2) The focal role of the ᶜulama in education, as well as their contribution to the growing criticism of the status quo, allowed them to play an important part in the transmission of ideas and involvement of people in politics. These links were reinforced by the traditions and solidarity of religious groupings like the Babis, set apart as Browne saw in Kerman and elsewhere by discrimination. Their anti-establishment views and position gave natural incentive to the critical views of Mirza Aqa Kermani and

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(1) Lambton, art. cit., p. 51 : the careers of Shaikh Ahmad Ruhi and Nazim al Islam can be found summarised in Tārikh-i-Bīdāri-yi-Irānian, introductory volume, p. xvii-xxiv 9-10, 13-14 : E. G. Browne, The Persian Revolution, pp. 93-6, 414-5

(2) See the introduction about Shaikh Yahya Ahmadi Kermāni in Farmandihān-i-Kermān, p. 1-2 (by Bāstāni Pārizi) and Tārikh-i-Bīdāri, introductory volume p. 18.

others, just as the teaching of Nazim al Islam played its part in the formation of Shaikh Yahya.(1) Thus it can be seen that an examination of politics in Kerman at the start of the twentieth century can proceed on the basis that as a region it was not excluded from developments which were changing politics elsewhere.

As has been suggested before there was an ongoing dialectic not only between local influences and more widely based forces but also between the established shape and movement of politics and the elements of change which have been mentioned. Nowhere was this more the case than with the complex articulation of religion and politics which, as has been shown, shaped much of political life. An examination of the role of the ᶜulama and religious ideas in Kerman in the decade before World War I shows how this established pattern changed with the rise of new influences. To some extent the Shaikhi-Balasari confrontation of 1905 fell into a tradition of religious-political conflict where the tensions between different groups at the popular level intersected with the rivalry of the leadership for office and power. Thus the ostensible trigger for the protests in Kerman city in 1905 was the appointment of two elite members of the Shaikhi sect to official posts which provoked the hostility of the non-Shaikhi populace and the opposition of rivals for office among local notables.(2) While

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(1) The Babi influence on the "constitutional" movement is noted by Browne, The Persian Revolution, pp. 409ff :

(2) Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", pp. 224-5 : F0248/vol. 846/ Kerman consular diary 20-27 May, 27 May-4 June, 4-10 June 1905.

Scarcia's linking of conflict at a popular level with fights in the past between Haidari and Ni^{c}amati "factions", and other variants, is too vague to be wholly convincing, the religious dimension of popular politics, or the political significance of religious questions was obviously a reality. Indeed the British consul noted that the initial response to the Shaikhi appointment was paralleled by similar events thirty years earlier.(1)

On the other hand the upheavals during the summer and autumn of 1905 was by no means merely the revival or repetition of traditional feuds. The mullas who led the opposition to Shaikhi notables also preached against the influence of foreigners, and the most active of these, Haji Mirza Muhammad Reza was connected with the constitutionalist ^{c}ulama. Not only was his training in what Scarcia calls the tradition of "liberal usulism", but also his contacts with the activist ^{c}ulama in Tehran gained him their support for his position and policy in Kerman.(2) Moreover he was able to gain the support not only of the forces of traditional religious zealotry already mobilised by Shaikh Shamshiri, but also of the discontented Vakil-al-Mulk family, via family connections of ^{c}Adl as Saltaneh (later Sardar Nasrat).(3) If one adds to this the dimension of administrative and fiscal crisis which had placed the governor in debt and so precipitated

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(1) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 221 : F0248/vol. 846/diary for 20-27 May 1905.

(2) F0248/vol. 846/diary 10-17 June 1905 : Scarcia, art. cit., pp. 226, 227, 229.

(3) Scarcia, art. cit., pp. 226-7 (using contemporary sources).

his "deal" with one set of notables to the resentment of others it is possible to argue that the local conflict had its connection with events and movements elsewhere.(1) It is significant in this respect that Nazim al Islam places the events in Kerman as part of the opening stages of the wider upheaval associated with the movement for a constitution. The connection between the two can be seen further in the way in which the question of the return of the Balasiri leader Mirza Muhammad Reza is discussed by the British consul both in relation to the Shaikhi sect and in connection with his role vis a vis the constitutionalist ᶜulama.(2)

The complexity of the interrelation of religion and politics is well shown in the evolution of the Shaikhi-Balasiri conflict in connection with the political reform movement, an evolution facilitated by the focal role of the ᶜulama in both. However the relationship affected the wider following as well as the elite element in Kermani politics. The crowds who came onto the streets to contest the role of the Shaikhi sect saw themselves as defending vital religious issues, as is clear from the focal importance of the mosque and rauzeh-khaneh in the ongoing struggle to which reference has already been made.(3) They also opposed not only the religious position of the sect but the élite power of its Ibrahimi leadership who were involved

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(1) F0248/vol. 846/diary 20-27 May 1905 : Tarikh-i-Bidari-yi-Iranian, pp. 69-70.

(2) F0248/vol. 878/diary 7-30 August 1906.

(3) See above pp. 261, 382-3 and F0248/vol. 846/diary 19-31 August, 5-12 November 1905 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 20-24 May 1906.

in control of the grain market so vital to urban existence. It was this as much as doctrinal matters which lay behind the concern of the new governor to take control of the grain market at the end of the crisis in 1906, just as the inflammatory words of Shaikh Shamshiri on prices had played their part in creating opposition the previous year.(1) Significantly there was no reason per. se. why this popular revolt against aristocratic power should not be expressed in the "old fashioned" ideology of Shamshiri (with its xenophobic anti Zoroastrian elements) as well as in the "new" enlightened opposition of Mirza Muhammad Reza or Bahr al ᶜUlum.

In fact what is especially interesting about the events of 1905-6 in Kerman is precisely that the ideological initiative shifted from the former position to the latter. Not only does Mirza Muhammad Reza mobilise support from the Tehrani constitutionalists, but at the popular level the women who were so prominent in the popular movement threaten the Shah if he fails to repair the insult to "their" mujtahids.(2) Significantly this development co-incided in time with the open intervention of Shaikh Mehdi Bahr al ᶜUlum to mobilise the "traditional" religious power of Khwajah Khizr and the "Imam of the time" in defence of newly emergent "progressive" ideals.(3) Telegrams and protests from the indignant ayatollahs in Tehran conjoined

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(1) F0248/vol. 878/diary 28 April-5 May, 7-30 August 1906 : Scarcia, art. cit., p. 226 quoting Persian material.

(2) F0248/vol. 846/diary for 12-19 November 1905 : Tārīkh-i-Bīdārī-yi-Īrānīān, vol. II, p. 79-81.

(3) Scarcia, art. cit., pp. 232-4.

with the artisan-sponsord chanting of huseinite songs against tyranny in Kermani houses where previously political zeal had been focussed on wrecking Jewish drink shops.(1) It is also perhaps worth noting that Bahr al ᶜUlum, who played a central role in the shift in emphasis now taking place, had both the status conferred by his membership of a revered ᶜulama family, and also access to a tradition of opposition offered by his father's conflict with the Shaikhi leader Muhammad Karim and his brother's involvement with Afghani which had led to his judicial murder for supposed complicity in Nasir-ad-din Shalis assassination.(2) Again the role of such a figure needs to be situated within the dialectic of established patterns and new elements. His authority derived from a position and polemic deeply rooted in the experience of Kermanis but was wielded and responded to in terms of the new orientations of politics in Iran generally and Kerman in particular. Indeed the events in Kerman were not merely reflections of forces initiated elsewhere but actually played a part in influencing the development of political opposition in Tehran, illustrating another dialectic, in this case of local and distant political life.(3)

These complexities are set forth not so much for their interest as curious facts, genuine though that may be, but as a good argument for what Scarcia usefully characterises as the "polyvalent" character of religious experience.(4) The fact that the Khizr cult

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(1) ibid., p. 230, 231 : F0248/vol. 846/diary 21-28 October 1905.

(2) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 33, 182 : Farmandihān-i-Kermān, p. 71-2 : Browne, Persian Revolution, p. 4 : Scarcia, art. cit., p. 232.

(3) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 234 : Tārīkh-i-Bīdāri, vol. II (text) pp. 103-5, 381-382

(4) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 233.

or the status of a mujtahid's fetwa had neither an intrinsically conservative nor an intrinsically radical purpose was a product not of the neutrality of these phenomena but of their autonomy as social forces. It follows that the actual significance of these forces is also shaped by the specific historic situation in which they are used to intervene in politics. Thus while the Najaf fetwa might declare that "he who opposes the constitution opposes the Imam of the age", equally Shaikh Fazlallah Nuri could throw his weight against the "anti-Islamic" elements in the constitutional movement.(1) Here the way in which the authority or appeal of religion worked depended on how it was used which was a product of a range of other factors. Thus the "secularisation" of religious authority within the constitutional movement whereby the will of the "Imam of the time" could express itself not only through a living mujtahid but actually through the very earthly medium of a telegram was a function not of some abstract quality of religious tradition but rather of its specific historic use to deal with a particular set of social and political tensions.

Granted that this was the case it is not very surprising that religious influence operated in varying directions and could sustain splits among the leadership and the mass support for political activity. Anti-Shaikhism in Kerman which allied itself to the constitutional movement in 1905-6 could as well throw support behind the restoration of the Shah in 1953.(2) More specifically the ᶜulama who had been

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(1) loc. cit.; Keddie, "Origins of the religious-radical alliance" p. 78 : Kasravi, Tārīkh-i-Mashrūteh-yi Iran, p. 415.

(2) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 236-7.

involved in anti-Shaikhi activity in 1905 were by 1907 divided into conflicting groups, partly in competition for office but partly over wider issues.(1) Anxiety over popular activism which they did not control and over the secularist and religiously latitudinarian outlook of the "constitutionalist" leaders in Kerman led mullas like Aqa Baqir who had formerly supported popular protest to close ranks against it, denouncing leaders as Babis, an interesting reversion to traditional patterns.(2) In fact, as will be seen, initiative in political opposition had passed from the ᶜulama to Secular leaders whose religious outlook was a far more variable factor. Mirza Muhammad Reza was as capable of making contacts with the provincial governor as of inspiring the Kermani populace and he resented the use of his name by "agitators" that is the autonomous political activity of the urban classes.(3) This contrast should not necessarily be seen as linear change, but rather as another manifestation of the "polyvalence" of the religio-political arena which was one of its defining characteristics.

If the ᶜulama and the world of religion provided vital inputs for the growth and influence of political opposition and activity in the decade before World War I, then that influence cannot be fully understood unless those who received and expressed it are given due attention. The accounts of Shaikhi and Niᶜamatallahi sources which formed the basis for the acoount of events in Kerman in 1905 given by

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/diary 28 February-6 March, 6-13 March 1907.

(2) F0248/vol. 938/diary 31 January-6 February, 12-20 February 1908.

(3) F0248/vol. 906/diary 23-30 January, 13-19 September 1907.

Muhammad Hashemi, called Nazari be ekhtelafat va entehabat-i-Kerman, used by Scarcia, and Nazim al Islam's History both give due weight to the popular support and force behind those events.(1) This support therefore deserves examination in its own right in order to establish something of the nature of the changing character of popular politics. In order to do this it will be useful to look at the course of popular involvement in Kerman around the issues of constitutional government in order to identify elements of continuity and change. As has been seen the support for political change was rooted both in the material needs of an urban populace faced with prices rises and elite control of food supplies, and in their spiritual involvement with religious groups whole leadership was already part both of the struggle for power among notables and of the new demands for change.(2) These elements continued to be significant but the growing importance of constitutional politics and foreign influence oriented them in new directions.

The events of the so-called "constitutional revolution" have been dealt with naturally enough by most writers by reference to the activity in the large centres of government and commerce like Tabriz and Tehran where the most direct pressure for or against change could be brought to bear. However this should not obscure the fact that some at least of the ideas anxieties and material issues at work in those

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(1) Scarcia explains his use of Hashami's material in art. cit., p. 196 n.3. I regret that the fact that I was not aware of Muhammad Hashemi's articles (published in Ittihad-i-Melli in 1954-5) until after my return from Iran, and so did not consult them directly.

(2) Tārīkh-i-Bīdari-yi-Īrānīān, vol. II, pp.69-87/Scarcia art. cit., passim F0248/vol. 846/diary for 1905 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 28 April-5 May, 12-19 May, 7-30 August 1906.

centres were present in other places, including Kerman. Thus Lambton's discussion of the role of anjumans deals with Kermanshah, Isfahan, Shiraz, Rasht and Kerman, while the conflict of opposition ᶜulama and government which was seen in Tehran in 1905 had its Kermani counterpart in the exiling of Mirza Muhammad Reza and similar events in Qazvin, Sabzehvar and Fars.(1) This can be explained both by the fact that many regions of Iran shared some similar experiences and institutions, such as the growth of foreign influence the role of the ᶜulama, and the spread of new productive forces, and also by very specific aids to contact between various regions in the shape of the mobility of certain social groups and the effect of the telegraph. The task here is to be clear about the workings of these shared experiences in specific contexts shaped by more localised influences.

The tension of these two forces can be well seen in the penetration of awareness of the upheavals in Tehran in 1906 into local consciousness in Kerman. Although in mid-July (the time of the famous bast in the British embassy) the British consul could claim that "Tehran news generally seems to affect the people but little", it has already been seen that the Shaikhi-Balasiri confrontation the previous year had forged links between the local religious movement and the ᶜulama/anjuman circles in Tehran.(2) It is not surprising that at the same time as

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(1) A. K. S. Lambton, "Persian Secret Societies and the Persian revolution", pp. 51, 57-8 : idem. "Persian political societies 1906-1911", St. Antony's Papers, no. 16 (Middle Eastern Affairs no. 3), pp. 49, 53, 56, 60-1, 74-5, 78, 81 : Browne, Persian Revolution, p. 112.

(2) See above pp. 443-445 : F0248/vol. 878/diary 18-28 July 1906.

Consul Stewart was minimising the interest of Tehran politics for Kermanis the governor was sufficiently sensitive to remarks against the Shah and himself to have one offender flogged badly enough for him to die subsequently, while the consul himself shortly afterward was worrying over the possible effect of the Tehran bast on local politics.(1) So too were the local authorities, who attempted to organise men, arms and food supplies as well as to suppress discussion of the new "nizam-nameh" during the autumn of 1906, as well as courting and threatening the influential mulla Mirza Muhammad Reza whose links with constitutionalism have already been seen.(2) While a certain part of this reaction may be put down to over-reaction on the part of the elite it is unlikely that they were entirely imagining the potential popular concern with the constitutional issue. Nor would a sayyid be preaching about the nizam-nameh if he did not consider that there would be a potential audience.(3)

Indeed popular political activity had already reached a significant level of autonomy during the Shaikhi-Balasari confrontation. Both the British consul and the Persian historian of those events mention that the ᶜulama were by no means always in control or even in harmony with their supporters.(4) Closures of the bazaar might take place at the instigation of mullas, but equally at some points they had

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(1) F0248/vol. 878/diary 8-18, 18-28 July, 28 July-7 August 1906.

(2) F0248/vol. 878/diary for 7-30 August, 31 August-10 September, 10-20 September, 17-25 October 1906.

(3) F0248/vol. 878/diary 17-25 October 1906.

(4) Scarcia, art. cit., pp. 227, 229 : F0248/vol. 846/diary 29 May-4 June, 4-10 June 1905.

to use persuasion to get it opened after closure by people on their own initiative.(1) In fact at some stages the confrontation with the Shaikhis resolved itself into the conflict of aristocratic Ibrahimis and other "feudal" families who supported them and the urban crowd, to the point where the Ibrahimis and "the government" were perceived as one, thereby conjoining the religious zealotry of the bazaar to its material hostility to official authority.(2) Both zealotry and material hostility could express themselves in extremely violent forms with the defiling of mosques and attempts to use petrol bombs. Interestingly enough at this point (September 1905) the force of the artisans could not be mobilised openly against the central government which suggests both their relative autonomy as a political force and their continued attachment to localised and established issues.(3) As has been seen their position shifted as a result of the explicit drawing of links between local religious loyalties and the new trends in political opposition.

Generally it might be argued that the spate of political events during this period itself developed the political existence and consciousness of the people involved. Thus if at the end of 1905 hostility to the Shah was most noticeable among the official class with links outside Kerman, though already women supporters of Mirza Muhammad Reza were threatening the Shah, eighteen months later a crowd

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(1) F0248/vol. 846/diary for 20-27 May, 19-31 August 1905.

(2) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 230.

(3) ibid., pp. 228-9.

opposed the cruel punishment of a man accused of robbery on the grounds of "unconstitutionality".(1) This grasping of the notion of guaranteed liberties, and the reactions to the election of deputies of whom people disapproved, should be set against comments by the British consul on the lack of opposition to the Shah's plots against the Tehran majlis, "except among merchants", and of involvement in elections.(2) The latter pieces of evidence should not in any way be dismissed since one effect of the "political education" of the Kermanis was to crystallise differences over issues rather than merely to vaguely radicalise everyone. Nonetheless the consular comments of the years following the grant of a constitution tend to show a growing identification of certain sections of urban society as pro constitutional, and above all radical in their pursuit of their politics. While ᶜulama/notables like Mirza Muhammad Reza were drawn into a "moderating" role ris a vis popular political activity by an equal and opposite reaction the power of the "demagogue" leaders was increasingly rooted in artisan and lower class support.(3) Thus at the end of 1907 the leadership of the "democrat" party were increasing the level of artisan representation

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(1) F0248/vol. 846/diary 12-19 November 1905 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 18-25 April 1907.

(2) F0248/vol. 906/diary 16 December 1906 for 28 February-6 March, 29 March-4 April, 18-25 April 1907.

(3) This role of Mīrza Muhammad Reẓa dates back to the provincial governors hope that his recall would restrain the constitutional zeal of the ᶜulama (F0248/vol. 878/diary 7-30 August 1906) and his use to moderate reaction to Muẓaffar-ad-din Shah's death (F0248/vol. 906/diary 5-15 January 1907). He was treated with great favour by the governor and shown to people as having Shah's favour (F0248/vol. 906/diary 29 November 1906).

in the local majlis then being elected, while the "better class of people" opposed the vociferous support for these leaders who "command too many of the lower and reckless class to make it safe to tackle them".(1)

The process of setting up a local majlis, which was far more politically immediate than a distant talking shop in Tehran, created a specific challenge to the notable's stranglehold on power and offered an ongoing education through the competitive electoral politics involved. It was thus an important catalyst which precipitated the implicit "class" confrontation into a visible polarisation of sections of the elite and sections of "the rest". This development was not however unidirectional or unchallenged. As Abrahamian observed in his general survey of crowd politics in Iran at this period the radical crowd on the one hand was opposed by the "Islam and Shah" crowd on the other.(2) Groups of people alienated by the behaviour of the constitutionalist leadership in Kerman began attacks on supporters of these leaders, and when Nazim al Tujjar, one of these, tried to revive the local majlis after a lapse it was "not accepted by half the town".(3) Although these opponents of the constitutionalists are not specifically identified as pro "Islam and Shah" their presence is an indication of the divisive character of the political issues whether the local oppressiveness of the group or the religious scruples

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/diary for 1-7 November, 15-28 November, 5-12 December 1907.

(2) E. Abrahamian "The crowd in Iranian politics 1905-1953", Past and Present (1968), pp. 192-199.

(3) F0248/vol. 938/diary 2-9 July 1908 : F0248/vol. 969/diary 12-19 August 1909.

raised by the democratic movement. That there were religious clashes is suggested by the conflict between Kermani sayyids and the constitutionalists over the right of the former to protect criminals, between ᶜulama and populace over the choice of a new governor and over the constitutionalists attack on religious bigotry (anti-Babi preaching).(1) Thus the emergence of a coherent political group centred on the leadership of Nazim al Tujjar and Haji Ibrahim Naib and the development of a local constitutionalist movement created a reaction as well as entrenching the movement sufficiently well for it to re-emerge from obscurity in the war years.

This movement with its popular base was not confined to Kerman city even though the city appeared to dominate it at least from the point of view of the city-bound sources. There was a local majlis and anjuman in Bam by the autumn of 1907, and the people of Rudbar were defending their anjuman in 1908.(2) The "faction fights" in other centres are also evidence of political activity (albeit unspecified) outside the provincial capital, and at least in the case of Jupar they concerned some of the same issues. The penetration of new ideas into the regional hinterland is similarly evident in the use of the slogan of "mashruteh" to fuel a "jacquerie" in the Anar area, and rumours that Mirza Muhammad Reza had sent a follower to create disturbances in Kuhbenan.(3) The 1912 uprising led by Rifᶜat i Nizam of Narmashir and Mirza Husein Khan the police chief also had

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(1) F0248/vol. 938/diary 2-9 January, 12-20 February, 28 February-5 March 1908.

(2) F0248/vol. 906/diary 6-12 September, 3-10 October 1907 : F0248/vol. 938/diary 13-20 August 1908.

(3) F0248/vol. 938/diary 12-20 February 1908 : F0248/vol. 969/diary 3-10 June, 29 July-5 August 1909.

support outside Kerman as well as within, though its links with the constitutional movement were only one element in a "rebellion" which involved factional plots among notables and sheer greed for plunder as well.(1) Which element predominated is a matter for speculation, but the political dimension should certainly not be wholly ignored. Obviously political life in the provincial capital was developed to a greater extent than elsewhere, by virtue of the larger numbers of people and a more varied range of social forces which came together there. Nonetheless just as the city was not cut off from its hinterland in social or economic terms, so too its politics were not insulated from the rest of the region.

The fact of popular support for the democratic/constitutional movement needs to be set in the context not only of those popular forces which opposed the movement but also of the variety of other groups who were involved in it. The role of the ᶜulama in the transformation of politics during 1905 and 1906 has already been mentioned, and at that point there is already evidence of the link between religious and commercial leaders with the involvement of Nazim al Tujjar, nephew of the focal figure mujtahid Mirza Muhammad Reza.(2) This "demagogue" (as the British consuls unflatteringly called him) was to hold a leading position in the politics

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(1) The account of the uprising given by the British consul in letters dated May 15, 22 and 28 1912 (in F0248/vol. 1052) minimises the political content of the rising. That given by Bastani Parizi in his introduction to the Paighambar-i-Dosdan, pp. 40-70 places it squarely within the "democratic" movement and its leaders as freedom lovers.

(2) Scarcia, art. cit., p. 234.

of Kerman during the following decade. At various periods in 1907 and 1908 he and Haji Ibrahim Naib (who was not from the elite since he was to acquire the title "khan" in 1909) controlled the local majlis, police force and hence much of urban politics.(1) After a period in exlipse Nazim at Tujjar was again active during the rising of 1912 and as late as 1915 was seen as enough of a threat to be arrested and expelled from Kerman city where he worked in alliance with German agents.(2) Leaving aside the merchant elite, who were part of the notability in many cases, there is definite evidence for the support of merchants more generally for constitutional issues although they would also act to protect their own interests when political conflicts created a vacuum in security which threatened trade.(3)

However the most interesting source of support for political protest came from the carpet-weaving community. As has been seen the carpet industry had assumed an important role by the first decade of the twentieth century and with it the carpet workers position (and that of contractors and designers) also grew in strategic significance.(4) It is therefore worth noting that in the unflattering and unsympathetic

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/diary 11-17, 18-24, 25-31 October, 1-7 November, 5-12 December 1907 : F0248/vol. 938/diary 2-9 January, 23-30 January, 10-20 February, 5-12 March, 23-30 April, 8-15 May.

(2) F0248/vol. 1052/letters from consul Hail May 1912 : F0248/vol. IIII/diary 1-8 March, 5-12 July, 28 July-3 August.

(3) F0248/vol. 906/diary 28 February-6 March 1907 : F0248/vol. 969/diary 15-22 April 1909.

(4) See above pp. 231, 233 and more generally 211-219

records of British consuls several members of the carpet producing community are in fact mentioned by name as agitators and supporters of the nationalist and constitutional cause. When ᶜAbd al Qasem a carpet weaver joined Nazim al Tujjar in leading the upsurge of protest in the first half of 1909 it was not his first foray onto the constitutionalist scene, since he had been involved in agitation for a local Nizam-nameh two years earlier.(1) His alliance with a merchant was paralleled on the earlier occasion by that between Haji Husein and a Yazdi trader resident in Kerman who initiated the protest of 1907. Granted the political leverage of a group who could put half the workers in the town out of work if they closed their shops it is not surprising that officials sought to favour and flatter an "agitator" like Haji Ismaᶜil by the grant of a khelᶜat and the post of head of the carpet weavers guild.(2) From the point of view of foreign consuls their close links with foreign business interests gave them further leverage and from the carpet weavers point of view it must have sharpened responsiveness to the attack on those foreign interests that was a central feature of the constitutional-democratic movement.(3)

At this point it is possible to see how the involvement of sections of the artisan and commercial classes of Kerman both carried on the established need to protect existing interests and also inter-

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/diary 6-13, 20-27 June 1907, F0248/vol. 969/diary 11-18 February, 29 July-5 August, 5-12 August 1909.

(2) F0248/vol. 969/diary 15-22 April 1909.

(3) F0248/vol. 1072/diary 7-14 April, 13-20 October 1913 : examples of anti foreign propaganda and F0248/vol. 846/diary 10-17 June 1905, F0248/vol. 998/diary 17-24 March, 1-7 April, 28 July-4 August 1910.

linked that with new concerns. Carpet production was itself now shaped by the penetration of new forces into the economy, but while those employed in this sector thus had a new self-consciously nationalist perspective on their situation, it was a situation which was also shaped by older-established patterns of artisan organisation and protest. The use of bast which played a prominent part in urban politics could be adapted to new conditions with the bringing of foreign consulates into the category of suitable "sanctuary". Petitions and protests to defend particular interests of an artisan group date back as has been seen to the eighteenth century.(1) What is interesting in the period under review is the extension of artisan political activity over a range of issues which were not purely sectional in character. While carpet producers might act to defend their contracts or reject interference in their workshops, as happened in 1911 and 1913 respectively, they also came into the streets and mosques to challenge Shaikhi influence or to demand the setting up of local constitutional structure.(2) The position which they achieved in local politics at this time is evidenced not only in the general pressure for increased representation for artisans but also in the formation of an anjuman specifically composed of carpet weavers (the only artisans to achieve such organised self expression.(3)

The evolution of political life among ordinary people spread wider than the dominant artisan groups in the carpet industry. Issues like the introduction of new market taxes and levies on opium which was

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(1) See above p.231

(2) F0248/vol. 1030/diary for 1-7 September 1911 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary for April 1913 : F0248/vol. 846/diary for 20-27 May, 27 May-4 June 1905 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 6-13 June 1907.

(3) F0248/vol. 906/diary for 31 May-6 June, 1-7 November 1907.

widely consumed affected broad sections of the urban populace as can be seen from the widespread disapproval and protest which emerged.(1) While at one level these were "bread and butter issues", it is worth noting that they were defended along much broader lines of principle involving notions of illegality and unconstitutionality which appear in popular petitions as well as the pronouncements of the ^{c}ulama.(2) More generally the development of politics drew people into non sectional activity such as protest over Russian pressure on the central government or the dismissal of a popular leader.(3) Not only was there a range of interests which involved people but also a range of contacts and conflicts between different groups. Thus shopkeepers and artisans could be found protesting about political activists who pressured them into closing the bazaar just as rival religious and political patrons mobilised support to use in sectional conflict.(4) These internal divisions were a central characteristic of political life, and reinforced the complex web of bargains and conflicts through which it functioned.

Having said this, the next stage is to examine the role of the dominant groups in politics at this period since their influence was an overarching one, affecting the other dimensions of political life. The notability had larger interests than others to defend and more

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(1) F0248/vol. 998/diary 27 January-3 February, 23-30 June, 1-7 July, 11-18 August 1910 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 21-28 April, 6-13 October 1913.

(2) F0248/vol. 968/diary 11-18 February 1909 : F0248/vol. 998/diary 11-18 August 1910 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 29September-6 October 1913.

(3) F0248/vol. 1030/diary 7-14 December 1911 : F0248/vol. 968/diary 23-30 September 1909.

(4) F0248/vol. 846/diary 20-27 May 1905 : F0248/vol. 933/diary 18-25 June 1908 : F0248/vol. 1030/diary 13-20 July 1911 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 6-13 October 1913.

powerful weapons, in terms of money, men and influence, with which to do so. The existing roles which were played by the factional conflict between local groups and the conflict between local and central authority had to adapt to and integrate with developing concerns about new kinds of national politics. A classic instance of the new totality which encompassed these varying elements was the uprising of 1912 against the provincial governor Amir-i-ᶜAzam. Its leaders had both frustrated ambitions as officials within the provincial power structure and also a history of connections with the constitutional movement and political activity on its behalf. Rifᶜat i Nizam in particular had played a leading part in sustaining the popular movement in Bam, having begun by becoming involved in the mutiny of unpaid troops there.(1) Equally he was able to make use of his position as pishkar/munshi of one of the local notables and offer his services to them as a way of advancing his career.(2) Thus he was in a good position to mobilise force both to take authority in the town of Bam and "dismiss" crowds, and also to support the constitutionalists in Kerman city and when defeated in battle by the notables of Bam he had a village in Narmashir to fly to for safety.(3) Neither the simplistic accusations by the British consul of his materialistic aims nor Bastani Parizi's equally simplistic characterisation of him as an "azadi-khwah " encompass the true complexity of such a political activist.

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(1) F0248/vol. 906/diary 16-23 May 1907 : F0248/vol. 938/diary 19-26 March, 26 March-2 April, 2-9 April 1908.

(2) F0248/vol. 878/Bam diary for last week August 1906 : F0248/vol. 906/diary 31 May-6 June 1907.

(3) F0248/vol. 938/diary for 26 June-2 July, 2-9 July, 10-16 July 1908.

As far as the notables were concerned the new development in politics at this period offered several different kinds of challenge. Some of the leading ᶜulama, as has been seen, were drawn into political activity by their actual commitment to changing the status quo, although the progress of the constitutional movement was to divide them as time went on. For many notables the awakening of political unrest and protest was an opportunity to further their own interests, or more accurately there was an intersection between the new political movements and the need of notables to defend and extend their positions within an established hierarchy. Thus the Shaikhi-Balasiri confrontation of 1905 was an arena for competition within the elite as well as for opposition to it from below, and for the expression of sectional religious hostilities. In the case of the family of Vakil al Mulk, led by Mirza Husein Khan (son of the second Vakil al Mulk) who was entitled first ᶜAdil al Saltaneh and then Sardar Nasrat, this was part of an ongoing involvement with the constitutionalists for family gain. Thus the links built with Haji Mirza Muhammad Reza during the events of 1905 continued later and just as Sardar Nasrat was credited with stirring up riots against the Shaikhis, so in alliance with the democrat leaders (who needed allies at that point) he later worked to undermine governors like Qavam al Mulk and Jalal al Douleh.(1) Local leaders like Muhammad Khan of Jiroft and the Khans of the Afshar tribe played a similar opportunistic role with the constitutional movement.(2)

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(1) F0248/vol. 846/diary 19-31 August 1905 : Scarcia, "Kerman 1905", p. 226 : F0248/vol. 1030/letter fr. consul Haig (Kerman) dated 10 September 1911 discusses the role of the Sardar Naṣrat of which there is evidence in F0248/vol. 998/ diary 5-12, 19-25 May 1910, and F0248/vol. 1030/letter of Consul Haig 27 July 1911.

(2) See for example the letters of consul Haig on the Rifᶜat i Niẓam rising in F0248/vol. 1052/May 1912.

If the issues raised by the demands for reform and national autonomy provided opportunities for the notability the degree of disturbance they could provoke also posed a keenly felt threat. The progressive alienation of the elite from the activity of the more radical constitutionalists in Kerman, chronicled with approval by British consuls, was in part the product of the notables' fear of popular political activity. This activity could, and did, create what they saw as breakdowns in "law and order" and thus a threat to their power and property. Whether or not the British consul's claim that by April 1908 the constitutionalists had no supporters "among the respectable part of the population" was true (and certainly sections of the ᶜulama seem to have been involved still) it <u>is</u> true that there was an offensive against the democrats. This offensive used a variety of tactics including a direct attack on one of their most important tactics, the closure of the bazaar.(1) During the latter part of 1908 a phase of constitutionalist militancy, and confusion among the notables as well as the democrat leadership, produced a collapse of control which in turn prevented the flow of revenue and food supplies to Kerman city. Both these threatened the security of the notability and hence there was a collective reaction described by the British consul as an agreement among "respectable people" to oppose lawlessness.(2) Typically in a world where politics

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(1) <u>F0248/vol. 938</u>/diary 17-23 April, 18-25 June 1908.

(2) The collapse of security and its effect on revenue collection and food supplies is a recurring theme in the consular diaries for the second part of 1908 and early 1909 e.g. <u>F0248/vol. 938</u>/6-13, 13-20 August, 3-10 December 1908 : <u>F0248/vol. 968</u>/diary for 1-8, 15-22, 22-29 April, 13-20 May, 27 May-3 June 1909. The notables reaction is recorded in <u>ibid.</u>/diary 3-10 June 1909.

was permeated by bargaining the governor also co-opted Haji Ibrahim Naib, one of the democrat leaders just returned from prison, by the grant of a khel^{c}at and the office of Kalantar, while the "progressive" ^{c}alim Haji Mirza Muhammad Reza tried to involve tribal leaders in defending the constitution on the one hand, while packing the anjuman-i-ayalat with his relatives on the other.(1)

Again we are dealing with a complexity of political reactions and interreactions for which no simple formula provides an adequate analysis. Shifting alliances and shifting tactics were part and parcel of the technique of political survival. Thus while Sardar Nasrat might protect Haji Ibrahim Naib in his garden outside Kerman city on one occasion, he could equally clash with democrat leaders who attempted to keep him out of the city in 1908.(2) Similarly the tactics of notables and governors varied between forms of conciliation and confrontation as is illustrated by the Rif^{c}at i Nizam rising of 1912 where bribery, military attack and negotiation all came into play.(3) Nor was the variety of reaction confined to the involvement of notables with the constitutional movement. This period saw the continuation of the established political pre-occupations of notables with wealth and office whether in isolation or in conjunction with newer political concerns. Conflicts reported in the consular diary for July 1909 show notables fighting over revenue, and fight between tribal police (under

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(1) F0248/vol. 968/diary for 11-18 March, letter to Tehran 16 April, 10-17 June, 24 June-1 July 1909.

(2) F0248/vol. 938/diary 19-26 March, 23-30 April, 15-21 May 1908 : F0248/vol. 968/diary 29 July-5 August 1909.

(3) F0248/vol. 1052/letters of consul Haig May/June 1912.

Sardar Nasrat's control) and local sayyids.(1) The intrigues which drove the governor of Sirjan from his post in 1912 are paralleled by the reaction of notables to attempts to alter their profitable manipulation of the cash/kind exchange for their revenue arrangements.(2) The presence of European finance officers under direct central authority gave a new twist to the traditional conflict of local interests with outside influences. The provincial governor resented encroachments on his traditional perquisities and patronage just as much as the local notables, and intrigues and pressures to defend these interests were a constant feature of political life.(3)

Thus for notables as for other groups political life in this period saw the interaction of old and new trends in outlook and tactics. At the level of a general survey it is difficult to do justice to the complexity of detail or to the continuity of day to day events. The aim here has been to isolate significant elements and illustrate their working rather than to provide a thematic narrative. The latter course would be hampered by limitations in the source material since there is little to set against the account given by British consuls whose closeness to and comprehension of the situations they observed was to say the least variable. However it is possible to use their material to identify recurrent themes which can legitimately be seen as part of the shape of politics. The dramatic issues raised by the

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(1) F0248/vol. 968/diary 22-29 July 1909.

(2) F0248/vol. 968/diary 28 October-4 November 1909 : F0248/vol. 1072/diary 10-17, 17-24 February 1913.

(3)

new political context of the decade preceding World War I had important effects on political life in Kerman which emerge even from the rather partial evidence available. On the one hand new forces did not so much supersede as inter-penetrate the existing political structure. On the other hand there was also a tension between the conflict of opposed social forces along "class" lines, and the equally important vertical links which transcended them.(1)

The constitutional movement itself involved a vertical section of Kermani society embracing members of the elite and what the British sources term the "local roughs", but at the same time constitutional politics accelerated tendencies for horizontal cleavages to appear and play an increasingly significant role. The nationalist or anti-colonialist dimension of the movement could integrate the ᶜulama who feared the threat to Islam, the progressives who saw the regime hamstrung by dependence on foreign governments, and the commercial and manufacturing groups who felt the effects of western economic penetration. Conversely the anti-establishment elements in the movement, its freethinking even secularist undertones, and the intrusion of vigorous popular participation (for and against the constitution) raised tensions which polarised those with authority and assets away from those who lacked them. This might set a "democrat" populace against the establishment (as in Kerman in 1907-1908 or 1915), or a

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(1) The term "class" is presented in inverted commas in order not to beg the question of the nature of class in the Iranian context which requires a far longer and more wide-ranging analysis than can be sustained in this study.

radical elite against traditional popular zealotry (as in 1911). The very see-saw chronology of these shifts suggests that neither tendency was as yet wholly dominant, but rather that this was a period of contradictory experiences for most groups and individuals, which may explain the very contradictory evidence for any given point in time offered by the source material.

Although the bulk of the evidence focusses on Kerman city, since observers tended to spend most of their time there, there is nonetheless clear evidence that the political themes most clearly displayed in the provincial capital were also manifest elsewhere in the region. The development of a local anjuman and "democrat" party in Bam and its intersection with the factional conflicts of the notables in the area, like the similar conflicts in Rafsinjan and Sirjan or the appearance of "Kerman" politics in the Jupar villages, is evidence of the general significance of such phenomena. The features which can be noted in some detail in Kerman city were not peculiar developments confined to that specific situation but just the best recorded instances of developments to be found elsewhere. It is worth making this point not merely as a formal assertion of empirical fact but as evidence that it is possible to sustain some kind of general analysis of politics in the region despite the limitations on available evidence. The points that have been presented both in the context of the general experience of the region in the nineteenth century, and in the more clearly visible course of events at the start of this century should illumine, albeit inadequately, the reality of political life at several levels. The conscious involvement by groups or individuals in the furtherance

of interests and ideals which was offered as a base definition of the "political", can be shown to be present in the Kerman region and its inhabitants can thus be validly described as having political dimension to their existence.

CONCLUSIONS

WAYS OF UNDERSTANDING IRANIAN HISTORY.

In making an assessment of the significance of the material presented in this study it is difficult to avoid the mere re-assertion of points which have already been made in the course of that presentation. The drawing of conclusions should consist of something more than that, since the description and discussion which have been offered should be able to stand without further support if they have any solid value. At this point then it will be more useful to examine the question of what general points emerge from the study to become a contribution to further work on history and society in Iran. Although this would be a valid argument in most contexts it has a particular relevance in the case of Iranian history where the relative paucity of historical work creates a sharp need for clear thinking as to the direction such work might take. A large body of historiography creates a context to which historians can react and within which development can take place. In the absence of a well developed historiography it is important to make a self-conscious effort to clarify the possible shapes and purposes of contributions to historical writing on Iran, and this concluding part of my study will put forward some views on this subject.

One's awareness of the need for the clear expression of such views is reinforced by the limitations which can be seen in works which have not confronted the very real problems posed by the study of history and society in Iran. Some of the problems have been raised in

the opening part of this study in a rather general way, but at this stage it should be possible to use the specific results obtained in the course of the study to develop a more closely argued position. This will be done not in isolation but rather by reference to other studies of Iranian history which will be used comparatively to contrast with or to supplement points made on the basis of this study. The critique of existing work that will be put forward will be based on arguments as to the difficulties created by what is excluded from such work rather than on opposition to what has been included. It is my contention that much interesting and informative material has failed to have the impact that is its due because problems of aim and focus were not fully dealt with by their authors. By examining these limitations and juxtaposing them with what has been attempted in the course of this particular study it should be possible to show not so much the superiority of the latter, but rather possible avenues for improving the way in which the history of Iran, and in particular of the nineteenth century can be undertaken.

In view of the fact that there are not many studies of Iran in the nineteenth century which have taken a regional perspective, it seems worth discussing what advantages have been revealed by such an approach. Broadly these fall into two categories which both merit some examination in order to clarify the significance of the line taken by this study in contrast to other attempts to analyse the history of Iran in this period. One category relates to the construction of a viable analysis of the functioning of society in Iran as a complex entity, while the other is connected with the proper understanding of

the new external forces operating in Iran in the nineteenth century. By examining how the regional approach of this study contributes to the better appreciation of structure and change in Iranian society, some general concluding points can be developed which will be relevant for other studies. While these points are not necessarily original or previously unheard of, they do need fuller consideration than they have often received if unhelpful restrictions distortions or confusions in historical writing are to be avoided. Thus from the discussion of the reasons behind the choice of a regional perspective which opened this study we can move on to recognise the implications ahead once such a study has been attempted.

Returning to the difficulties involved in the writing of adequate studies of the working of society in Iran, it is possible to see the particular contribution which can come from an approach which abandons preconceptions about the type of unit which it is appropriate to study. The assumption which comes all too easily to those who have been intellectually formed in societies whose history has been dominated for centuries by the reality of the nation state, is that this reality is automatically and universally applicable. In fact it seems more likely that the European experience is quite a specific one from which it is dangerous to generalise. The point of this argument is not only that for many purposes it will be useful to disaggregate the concept "Iran", but also that the genuine importance of the concept (in terms of a linguistic, cultural and political identity) is obscured rather than illumined by the "nation-state" straitjacket. The argument for a more relevant unit of study has already been put forward in broad

logical, geographical and historical terms which need not be recapitulated here. Our present concern is to consider the ways in which the survey of Kerman clarifies or puts in question the general argument which began the study.

It has been seen from the examination of the physical environment and its human use that in Kerman the growth of both subsistence production and the more complex structures of material and social life happened within a localised and autonomous framework best designated as a region. The historic evolution of settlement and communication has been shown to be restricted by the geo-physical framework within which they developed, best illustrated in Vaziri's delineation of the limits of the region which were both distinct and limited.(1) The breaking down of settlement into clusters separated by short distances from each other and by much longer ones from other such groups of settlement is a clear indication of the scale of focus which is relevant. Just as the picture of agriculture is one of self reliance and limited exchange of surpluses and specialised produce, so manufacturing activities blended the provision of immediate needs with specialised production for exchange.(2) The material basis of society was thus concentrated within a specific space, although this in no sense denies the importance of the various interchanges between Kerman and other specific regions. All the productive activities were influenced by a need for self-reliance, dependence on human rather

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(1) Jughrāfīyā, pp. 20-25.

(2) See above pp. 75-78, 180-185.

than technological skills, and an absolute limitation of available resources and viable communication. This applied to qanat building as much as to textile production or animal husbandry where labour-intensive skills, ingenious use of available resources, and small scale organisation of grazing or workshops were the norms.(1)

A focus on the limited unit of the region has thus laid bare not only the reality to its identity as a human unit shaped in space and time, and the complex symbiosis of activities within it, but also the true basis of the relationships between one region and another. The possibilities of exchange whether that was of regional specialities or of cultural experience were reinforced by the vicissitudes of military conquest and administrative intervention whereby those with power sought to exert control over numbers of self-sustaining areas. The very significant ties of language, religious life and political authority which went between regions created a network of relationships in which those regions were not incomplete fragments of a whole but autonomous contributors to it. When discontented intellectuals sought their fortune in one centre after another (like Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani and Shaikh Ahmad Ruhi) or ambitious notables spread their social and political power from one region to another (like the Qafar governors of Kerman) they did not subordinate any one area to some mysterious central force, but rather used various bases to construct an overarching career or authority.

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(1) See above pp. 109, 203, 359

The point of what may seem a recapitulation of comments that have been made before is to make it clear that such comments can only be made after looking at the life of regional society. The specialised skills of Kermani weavers, seen in the life of the city and region, are the point of departure for their impact on a wider world, just as the rooting of sufi practices in particular places and groups and use of specific patrons is the clue to their widespread influence. The generalisations about links between politics and religion made in the survey of the political life of Kerman are similarly based in rather than imposed on an awareness of the history of Shaikhism or the emergence of a radical ᶜulama in the region. The logic of history and geography not only shape a regional identity but are only revealed when that identity comes under scrutiny. Unless the entity called "Kerman" (or "Khorasan" or "Fars") is to be dismissed as a delusion then the implied focus of social existence requires proper analysis and in the process of being analysed reveals its central importance.

If the "region" was shaped by physical and human capacities/ limitations on the one hand, it is by looking at the area so shaped that in a very empirical sense historical reality comes closer. Societies with the physical and technological constraints and the historical diversity that was outlined at the start of this study rely on informal non-institutional forms of organisation since the opposite is outside their capacity and irrelevant to their needs. Custom rather than law-codes is the basis of legitimacy, personal contact or patronage rather

contracts elections and institutions organise production and politics. When western scholars bemoan the absence of archival material to aid their work it is often under the mistaken assumption that organised societies always produce the legal, fiscal, commercial and ecclesiastical documents that are the heritage of French or English historians. In Iran it seems clear that society (or societies) while highly structured owed that structure not to institutions but to other organising influences. The highly personalised, flexible, and un-codified forms of social organisation which ensue blur into confusion if the birds-eye view is taken but begin to come into some kind of focus at the localised level of regional life which had generated them. It is for this reason that a study like J. Aubin's "Shah Isma^{c}il et les notables de l'Iraq persan" is a more convincing analysis of the basis of Safavid power than the "conventional" model of an emergent national dynasty.(1) It can confront the complex patterns of historical change far more effectively than a national view just as English's study of the Kerman city basin, for all its weaknesses, illumines the interrelations of production, social organisation and power. Since it was at a localised level that these things were real, it is at that level that the solidity of social life can be apprehended.

However to speak of the apprehension of complexity is to go behond the recording of an infinite amount of detail and to

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(1) J. Aubin "Etudes Safavides I : Šah Isma^{c}il et les notables de l'Iraq persan" Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (1959) pp. 37-81 explicitly challenges the "nation-state" view in its opening paragraphs and substantiates the challenge with a highly specific study which is also an important general interpretation of the basis of administrative power in Iran in the sixteenth century.

conceive of making sense of the variety revealed to the observer. It is not just the diversity of Kerman's commercial links which has been presented in the survey of the sphere of circulation, but an interpretation of those links in terms of regional and interregional exchange which sustained a pattern of existence in Kerman and elsewhere. Such an interpretation again is only possible within the regional focus, since it is the region which actually structured the diversity of commercial life. One of the most difficult things to sustain if adopting a "national" view of Iranian history and society is a coherent explanation of either. Thus a seminal work like Landlord and Peasant in Persia moves between an encyclopaedic recital of large amounts of data and thematic exposition which can only be generalised or qualified to the point where it almost evaporates. Since land tenure, or revenue collection or village organisation were rooted in developments where the concept of "Iran" is almost incidental the attempt to deal with such topics at the "Iranian" level must labour under very real constraints. The unreality of the nation-perspective is constantly acknowledged in the course of the study by the careful scholarly recording of local variety, but it is never transcended by the adoption of an alternative. Consequently the end product offers information rather than explanation.

If on the one hand an inappropriate viewpoint can lead to an unstructured view of historical material such as that described above, on the other hand the attempt to take a "national" unit of analysis can simply encourage the extrapolation of material from one specific context to explain another more general one. Thus Kuznetsova's work

on artisan organisation in eighteenth and nineteenth century Iran builds an analysis which she would argue is applicable to "all" of Iran on the basis of data drawn almost exclusively from one area, the north-west.(1) The points which are made in the course of the article are both useful and interesting but the transition from information from one area to the "Persian" framework is made without explicit explanation or the drawing in of comparative material. While at one level the complexity of the situation in Erivan is given less than full weight in its own right, the integration of that situation into a wider picture is less than wholly convincing, with the result that neither level of discussion has full reality. It would be perfectly possible to develop arguments about common features of the functions and organisation of artisan life in various regions of Iran. However this could only ring true if the regional base of discussion is first made fully clear and then treated critically and comparatively. It is not enough to extract material on one narrow area of experience from one local context and use it as a substitute for full examination of problems involved. Curiously enough the production of useful general arguments applicable in Kerman or other regions is dependent on the proper situating of the argument in the specific context. Kuznetsova's article goes only part of the way to fulfilling such a programme.

An example of what can be achieved with the careful and well thought-out use of regional data can be found in the study by Ashraf and Hekmat of the role of what they term a "bourgeoisie" in Iran.(2)

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(1) N. Kuznetsova, "Urban industry in Persia during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries", Central Asian Review (1963), whose title implies a national perspective despite the restricted region of her data.

(2) A. Ashraf and H. Hekmat, "The role of the bourgeoisie in Iran" (unpublished paper given at a colloquium on the economic and social history of the Middle East).

One might quarrel with the definition of "bourgeoisie" which they use and the rather uneasy blend of class analysis and Weberian types which underlies their arguments. Nonetheless the way in which they have approached their subject is one from which much can be learnt. Rather than conceiving a "national" framework to which material from regions is constrained to apply they build up to the general analytical points from a careful survey of the particular situation in several regional contexts. Thus a balance is achieved between awareness of variety and complexity on the one hand and the situating and explaining of that complexity on the other. A particular theme or problem is situated within its richly varied matrix so that while it is rightly seen as only one strand in a whole tapestry, there is no doubt of the significance of the strand or the pattern of the fabric. It seems to me that by substituting a "historical theme" of wide relevance for the unreal framework of national history this study has grasped an important insight into the contribution of regional studies to the better understanding and explanation of such themes.

If social relations and organisations need a sensitive treatment based on the awareness of their localised nature in order to assess any of their wider implications the same is also true with the conventionally named "economic" aspect of history and society. Unless work on this aspect of Iranian history can take account of the kinds of productive relationships and structures which have been the concern of this study, it is unlikely either to grasp the reality of the phenomena in question, or to adequately present even the limited analysis that

does appear. Issawi's survey of "Iranian economic history" while not claiming to be more than a loosely linked presentation of primary material nonetheless proceeds on certain assumptions which shape the selection and organisation of material and which need to be questioned.(1) The rejection of the regional basis of production which underlies its approach leads to a concentration on themes of international trade, technological progress and "factor analysis" which are at best only half the historical reality. An interpretation of material life which simply excludes whole areas of that life does considerable violence to any possible knowledge or interpretation that might emerge from the discussion. Granted that the phenomena which a writer like Issawi does deal with are rooted in those he neglects (e.g. the emergence of specialised exports from regional productive activity) even the themes he wishes to discuss are inadequately situated.

Lack of sensitivity to the local basis of material life and its dependence on human inputs can distort the explanations of that life by an erroneous emphasis on "national" forms of organisation and the technological side of production. This distortion can feed the rather prejudiced approach to non-western societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which sets their "decay" and "backwardness" or "stagnation" against the "progress" and "dynamism" of the new industrial societies developing in Europe and north America. While the

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(1) C. Issawi, Economic history of Iran 1800-1914

qualitatively new influences which gave those societies advantages in an international context are undeniable, and have been discussed as an important factor in this study, to pose them in the way outlined above is at best unhelpful and at worst distorting.(1) The failure to begin with the local and human basis of production prevents an adequate explanation of the real effect of those new influences, and puts the context in which they operated in an entirely negative and passive perspective. The processes of change which went on in the regions of Iran in the nineteenth century were ones which were not merely <u>experienced</u> by regional societies but in which they were actively <u>engaged</u>. Thus a study like that by of the penetration of cash relations into the "Iranian economy" not only makes Kuznetsova's mistake of building a general analysis on limited data, but also deals with the theme in 'national' and technicist terms which constrain the discussion of what is indeed a very important topic.(2)

On the whole the emergence of a concern with clearly defined themes like those discussed in the papers of Ashraf/Hekmat and is a positive development even where the treatment of them is hampered by the difficulties outlined above. However a new serious discussion of nineteenth century economic and social life in Iran can go astray if the "national" and "technological" side of that life is taken to be the central dynamic. R. McDaniel's book on the politics of economic

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(1) See above pp. 333-334

(2) V. Noshirwani, "The beginnings of commercial agriculture in Iran", (unpublished paper from the 1974 Princeton colloquium on the social and economic history of the Middle East)

reform in the decade before World War I is a case in point.(1) It is based on a wide range of important source material, both Persian and western, which makes the limited scope of the arguments offered the more striking. His account of the evolution of Persian society in the nineteenth century presents a picture of the paralysis of central authority and inability to change, just as the conflicts of foreign influence in Iran are described in terms of rivalry at government level. Conflicts within Iranian society are presented as factious intrigue and the structural problems underlying the so-called "Constitutional revolution" dismissed or minimised. This is not surprising when it is considered that McDaniel identifies no conceptual or empirical base within Iranian society from which his analysis can evolve and so has to fall back on mechanistic views of politics and diplomacy which the source material does little to discourage.

In fact the issues shaping the history of the period in which he is interested are defined within a "modernisation" problematic not common in studies of Iranian history but unfortunately dominant in the approach of social scientists to contemporary non-western societies. This problematic assumes the abstract and mechanical operation of a simple polarity between "tradition" and "modernity" as a central dynamic of social life and change. It thus ignores the complex and structured existence of any society and takes a point of view where it is taken for granted that there is an agreed definition of "progress", as

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(1) R. McDaniel, The Shuster mission and the Persian constitutional revolution.

against "backwardness". Such an approach can be attacked at several levels for its damaging effect on the study of Iran (and other areas).[1] However the specific point to be made at this juncture is that it goes against all that has been learned from the study of Kerman about the actual working of society and social change in Iran. For McDaniel to posit the dynamic of the upheavals in Iran in the decade before World War I as centred on a failure to create centralised modern government is to touch on only a fragment of a much larger totality, and to misunderstand even that fragment. It leaves his vigorously intelligent presentation finally unsatisfying.

McDaniel's choice of topic rightly reflected a perception of the truly crucial changes that impinged on society in Iran during the nineteenth century. The integration of many aspects of life into an international context where Iranians did not play a dominant role and the repercussions within society constitute one of the most important themes in the history of that period. The historian's problem is not whether to dismiss that theme but how to understand and interpret it adequately. The phenomenon conveniently if not always illuminatingly labelled "imperialism" is a reality which cannot be dented but which should not be misunderstood. As has been said it is all too easy to categorise imperialism in terms first of conflicts at government level and second of a mechanical dichotomy between the active/ progressive westerners and the passive"stagnant Persians. It is my

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(1) I have attempted to construct a critique of the "modernisation" approach to non-western societies by examining two studies of modern Iran in a forthcoming article "Empty Elites or the perils of political science" to appear in the Review of Middle East Studies (3).

contention that a full and accurate picture of western impact, conceived of as something which actively involved Persians rather than just pouring over them, can only be created if such categories are put aside. McDaniel's argument that the Iranian experience of western influence was part of a wider phenomenon in which Iran shared without encountering the full force of that influence contains an important truth.(1) However it should not deter historians from examining the reality and specifity of that experience.

The study of society in Kerman seems to show that "imperialism" in Iran should be conceived of in rather different ways than those indicated by a pre-occupation with government activity or a confrontation of "national" economies or technologies. It is more relevant to conceive of the piecemeal and often contradictory effects of the penetration of foreign enterprises into a regional economy and the reactions of people in the region to that situation. Thus the rivalries of Russian and British manufactured goods in Kerman were specific to the Kermani situation, just as the pattern of development of foreign influence in carpet manufacture was not some "global" phenomenon but part of the life of the particular economy and society in question. The development of cotton rather than opium as the dominant export crop or the different working of wool production can only be explained if Kermanis economy and society are understood as an entity not as the subordinate fragment of a notional "national whole". Similarly the pressures exerted by British and Russian consuls on elite and popular politics were shaped

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(1) McDaniel, op. cit., p.

by the real forces within regional society not some abstract confrontation of nations. This is not merely an argument that Kerman was different from other areas (though specific conditions there deserve full attention) but also shows that the general character of the interaction of Iranian and western interests and influences needs to be re-cast in a non-institutional and decentralised mould.

Whether one considers the particular experience of religious life in Kerman city by E. G. Browne, or the symbiosis of nomad pastoral/freight activities with banditry as a problem for long distance trade on the routes out of the Kerman region, it is by sensitivity to a precise context that insights which will then be useful elsewhere are likely to emerge. Such a precise focus acts as a corrective to vague generalisation by offering a close up on historical reality which yields factual information and analytic clarity. The real issues in a world composed of the kind of social and economic structures delineated in Kerman will only become clear if those structures are treated as basic. As a "region" Kerman has been shown to have characteristics readily identifiable in other parts of the Iranian area (and the Middle East generally) as well as its own unique configuration of such characteristics. It is because life in Iran was shaped by the kinds of forces described in Kerman that this study can illumine not merely the limited geographic area of "Kerman" but important aspects of society and social change in other regions during the nineteenth century. In particular the kind of "semi-colonial" relationships rather mystifyingly outlined by a writer like Lucien Rey at the "national" level, come alive as historical experience when rooted in the reality of autonomous regional life.

The purpose of this exposition of the problems facing would-be historians of Iran is not so much to pose regional reality "against" national mirage (though there is some point to doing that if only to rectify the distorting bias which has pre-occupied my critique), as to explore the best means of grasping "reality". It is not a question of accumulation of data at either a global or microcosmic level; rather it is a matter of understanding the shape and dynamic of society and history. Leaving aside the practical issues of source material, it seems that the best chance of moving toward the latter goal is to accept the evidence of human geography and history which point to the fundamental, though not exclusive, role of regionalised social production and social life. The view of the data which is then available can generate much more reliable and fruitful explanations of historical phenomena, than perspectives which neglect the central reality of this regional structure. Full appreciation of the self-sustaining dimensions of a society like that in Kerman also allows the proper appreciation of the shared or centralised forces that worked on such self-sustaining units. There is no need to make an exclusive or fetishistic commitment to a regional perspective in order to accept its crucial contribution to "understanding the shape and dynamic of society and history" in Iran, which was described above as an important goal for the historian.

It is for this reason that one can argue that this study of Kerman will not only satisfy specific curiosity and deploy specific details as to regional history, but also serve as an aid albeit a limited one to the understanding of the history of Iran at this period.

Granted that socio-economic studies of the type that has been undertaken are not numerous, it has also been something of an experiment. As far as the fully developed analysis of history and society across the regions of Iran is concerned this could best be achieved by a comparative use of material from several studies like this one. However even one study can offer a glimpse of what is possible, and by learning from its errors or lacunae as well as any positive virtues it is possible to move from a regional study to more widely based discussions. What is important is that the direction of flow is from the local to the general rather than vice versa. Then one can build on a solid base of well understood face-to-face relationships and activities in a limited space to create a durable structure of explanation of themes which transcend their localised roots. If this study of Kermani society in the later nineteenth century has offered any inspiration or insight which might serve such purposes it will have done as much as its limited focus and apprentice author could hope to achieve at this stage.

TABLE I

VAZIRI'S RECORD OF CROPS IN THE DISTRICTS OF KERMAN

District	Cereals	Pulses/Legumes	Root Vegetables	Other Vegetables	Fruit	Nuts	Dyes	Other
Environs of Kerman city	wheat,barley		beets,potatoes, turnips,onions, garlic,Jerusalem artichokes		peaches,melons, grapes,watermelons others			silk, opium
Khabis/Gok	wheat,barley			aubergines cucumbers	lemons,oranges, other citrus, dates(Khabis) peaches,grapes/ raisins(Gok)	almonds	henna	tobacco
Bam	wheat,barley rice	mash beans lubia beans			dates,pomegranates			sesame, cotton
Narmashir	millet,rice wheat,barley	mash beans lubia beans			dates	almonds	henna indigo	sesame, cotton, rape-seed
	wheat,barley others				grapes,other fruit	almonds		wine
Diroft	wheat,millet barley,rice	mash beans lubia beans			dates, citrus		indigo	sesame zireh
Isfandoqeh	wheat,barley							
Rudbar	wheat,maize barley,rice	mash beans lubia beans baqali beans			dates			sesame, cotton, rapeseed
Koshk/Sughan	wheat,barley rice				grapes, citrus,dates	walnuts almonds		zireh olives
Bardsir	wheat,barley, millet	peas,lentils		cabbage lettuce	apples,apricots cherries	walnuts		zireh

TABLE I (cont)

VAZIRI'S RECORD OF CROPS IN THE DISTRICTS OF KERMAN

District	Cereals	Pulses/Legumes	Root Vegetables	Other Vegetables	Fruit	Nuts	Dyes	Other
Aqtao	wheat,rice barley,millet	peas	onions,beets	lettuce	apples,pears, apricots, grapes/raisins	walnuts almonds		zireh
Arzuyeh	wheat,maize, barley,rice	lubia beans			dates,citrus		henna	opium rapeseed
Sirjan	wheat,barley		beets,potatoes, onions,garlic		melons,pears, pomegranates	pist- achios	madder	opium cotton
Shahr-i-Babak	wheat,barley	peas,lentils	beets,potatoes, onions		melons,grapes, other fruit	pistachios almonds		cotton
Rafsinjan	wheat,barley		beets, onions, garlic		melons,water- melons,other fruit,grapes		madder	cotton silk sesame
Khinaman	wheat,barley millet		onions,potatoes, garlic		apricots, mulberries			silk
Anar	wheat,barley		onions,potatoes		melons,apricots, other fruit		madder	castor oil beans, cotton
Kubenan	wheat,barley		onion,beets		melons,dates		madder	cotton
Ravar	wheat,barley				figs, pomegranates			cotton

TABLE II

Opium exports from Bandar[c]Abbas

1874	186 chests		1893	743 chests	
1875	292 "		1894	875 "	
			1895	728 "	
1882	2160 "		1896	475 "	
1883	1409 "		1897	1,286 "	
1884	-		1898	567 "	
1885	951 "		1899		(worth £48,367)
1886	2,363 "		1900	226½ "	
1887	1,605 "		1901	149 "	
1888	1,887		1902	324 "	
1889	1,880		1903	988	
1890	1,383½		1904	339	
1891	1,398		1905	109	
1892	746		1906	113	

TABLE III

Cotton exports from Bandar [c]Abbas

	amount (cwts)	value		amount (cwts)	value
1875			1891	13,344	£11,438
1876			1892	11,400	£14,250
1877			1893	14,572	£16,814
1878			1894	7,160	£ 6,756
1879			1895	10,216	£11,351
1880			1896	8,700	£ 8,700
1881			1897	6,674	£ 3,901
1882			1898	1,845	£ 1,614
1883			1899		£ 6,159
1884			1900	16,900	£18,692
1885	13,102	£19,231	1901	1,387	£ 1,534
1886	12,054	£17,692	1902	1,922	
1887	17,857	£26,656	1903	202	£ 262
1888	18,080	£26,582	1904	2,511	£ 3,175
1889	26,775	£32,964	1905	5,663	
1890	27,500	£34,615	1906	4,751	

Table IV

Exports of dyestuffs from Bandar ᶜAbbas

	amount (cwts)	value		amount (cwts)	value
1875			1891	10,723	£4,415
1876		4,000 rupees	1892	2,500	£ 940
1877	279	3,666 rupees	1893	7,195	£11,442
1978			1894	6,918	£2,817
1879			1895	5,730	£1,543
1880			1896	6,636	£2,225
1881			1897	6,588	£2,208
1882			1898	7,424	£2,460
1883			1899	-	£8,606
1884			1900	5,872	£2,002
1885	14,020	£23,540	1901	8,642	£3,050
1886	16,070	£26,977	1902	3,644	
1887	12,200	£17,821	1903	8,813	
1888	7,170	£ 7,542	1904	9,343	
1889	27,987	£ 3,499	1905	8,161	
1890	31,900	£ 4,808	1906	8,540	

Table V

Wool exports from Bandar ᶜAbbas

	amount (cwts)	value		amount (cwts)	value
1875			1891	15,458	£19,972
1875		250,000 rupees	1892	20,000	£25,000
1877		40,000 rupees	1893	19,777	£31,329
1878	-	-	1894	31,612	£48,400
1879	-	-	1895	28,086	£59,684
1880	-	-	1896	15,600	£22,377
1881	-	220,700 rupees	1897	14,255	£19,737
1882	-	-	1898	15,706	£18,207
1883	-	160,750 rupees	1899		£17,920
1884	-	200,200 rupees	1900	6,638	£ 6,370
1885	1,500	£19,231	1901	9,326	£11,761
1886	210	£ 2,692	1902	3,912	
1887	6,071	£18,214	1903	4,218	c£ 7,300
1888	6,490	£10,903	1904	4,372	c£ 8,066
1889	20,068	£27,291	1905	8,567	
1890	20,036	£30,385	1906	9,022	

TABLE VI

Exports of Kerman shawls through Tabriz/Trebizond

	value		value
1848	£28,964		
1865	£13,043	1886-7	£23,002
1866	£15,136	1887-8	£21,764
1867	£35,174	1888-9	£15,948
		1889-90	£17,512
1872	£50,000		
1873	£57,600	1893-4	£21,658
		1894-5	£25,000
1877-8	£25,000	1895-6	£30,000
1878-9	£32,500	1896-7	£28,000
		1897-8	-
1882	£63,000	1898-9	£20,000
1883	£68,400	1899-1900	-
1884	£92,550	1900-1901	£28,040
1885	£18,240		

Table VII : Vaziri's estimates of population in the districts of Kerman 1291 AH/1874-5

District	Population	District	Population
Kerman city	40,228	Bardsir	11,000
Mahan	1,500	Aqta'	16,000
Qanat-i-Ghassan	500	Afshar tribe	9,300
Jupar	1,200	Arzuyeh	5,000
Baghin	1,000	Sirjan	24,300
Khabis / Gok	7,000	Shahr-i-Babak	16,300
Bam / Narmashir	25,000	Rafsinjan	16,700
Rayin / Tehrud	8,000	Khirqman	2,580
Sarduyeh (incl. Mahni tribes)	22,000	Zarand	18,600
Jebel Bariz tribes	10,500	Anar	3,500
Jiroft	8,000	Kubenan	6,750
Rudbar	18,500	Ravar	6,750
Koshk / Sughan	6,000		

TOTAL 286,208

IRAN : the physical outlines

(based on the Cambridge History of Iran, vol. I, frontispiece

Caspian Sea

Elburz Mts

Kavir

Lut Desert

Gulf

Zagros Mts

0 50 100 200 300 400 Kilometres

0 50 100 150 250 miles

K = Kerman

B.A. = Bandar 'Abbas

Bq = Bam

Bu = Bushire

I = Isfahan

M = Mashad

R = Rasht

Sh. = Shiraz

T = Tehran

Ta = Tabriz

Lake Rezayeh

land 1000-2000 metres

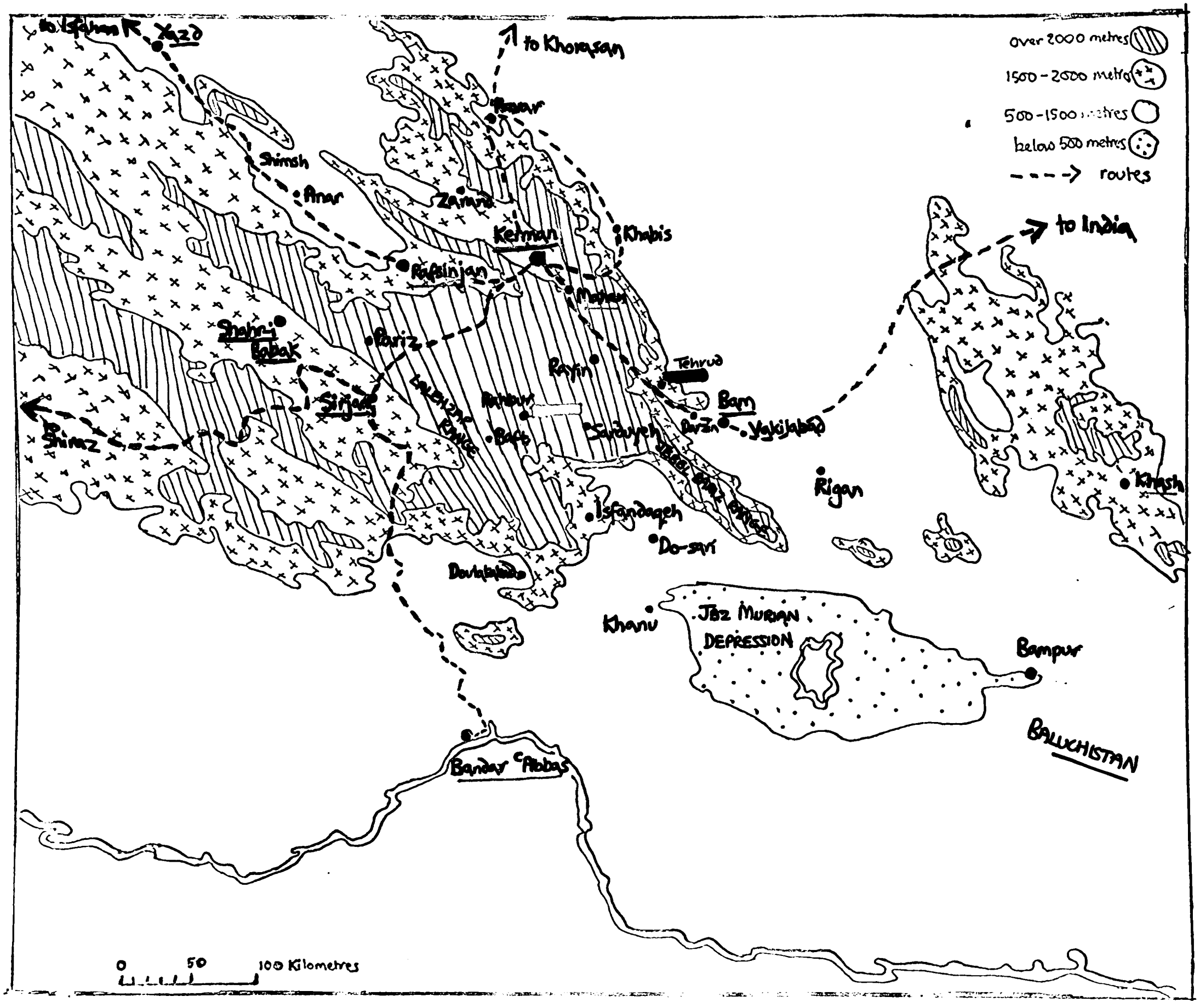
land 2000-3000 metres

land over 3000 metres

Iran's political boundaries

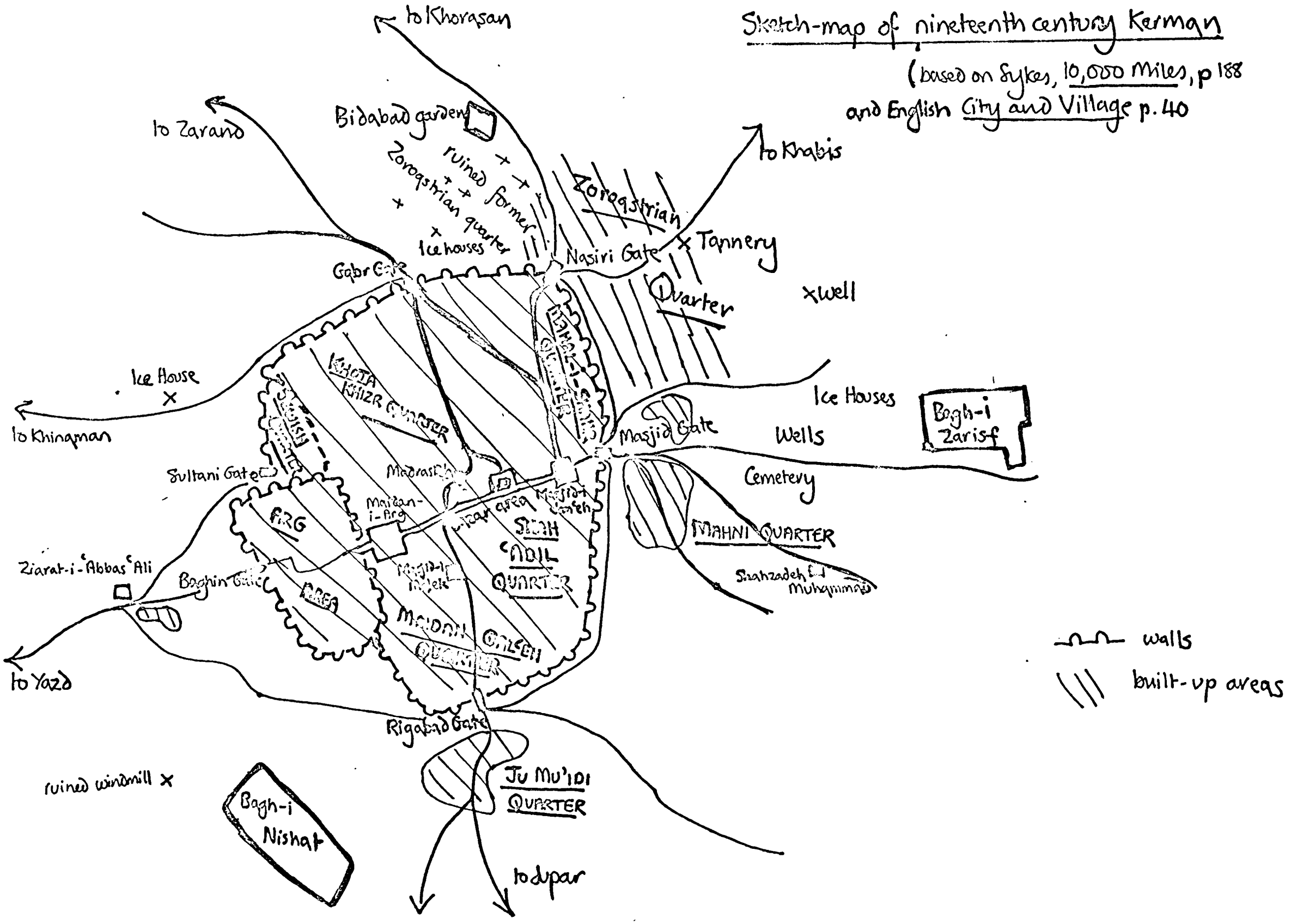
Kerman region

(based on Bartholomew's 1:1,000,000 map of the Middle East)



Sketch-map of nineteenth century Kerman

(based on Sykes, 10,000 Miles, p 188
and English City and Village p. 40



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While in Kerman in the last part of 1973 I conducted a series of interviews intended to collect recollections and comments from Kermanis with a knowledge of and interest in nineteenth century history. The main groups of interviews were with the Sarkar-i-Aqa (head of the Shaikhi sect) and other members of his family on the history of sect and family and with people who had worked in the carpet industry in the early years of this century, or who had connections with that period. They included an agent of O.C.M. whose family had been in Kerman since World War I, a carpet foreman and designer who began work at that period, and members of the merchant and designer communities. I also interviewed members of the Zoroastrian community who had extensive records of their own history as well as oral recollections.

B : BRITISH ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Public Record Office : Foreign Office archives (= FO)

Series FO60 : (general correspondence between Iran and the FO, including some consular records prior to 1871 reports on various general issues as well as day to day events)

Series FO248 : (archives of consular posts : the most useful for this study have been the trade reports from Tabriz, and the run of records from Bushire and Kerman)

Series FO251 : (miscellanea)

Series FO566 : (registers of correspondence)

Series FO881 : (confidential prints : these include useful reports on specific topics printed for circulation within the government)

India Office Records and Library (IOR/L)

Series R/15 : (Persian Gulf records : includes the "Gombroon Diary" of the eighteenth century and correspondence on the area during the nineteenth century)

Series L/P + S/9 : (correspondence between the Political and Secret Department of the government of India and other areas, including Persia)

Series L/P + S/10: (subject files of the Political and Secret department covering topics over a space of time in one file)

Series L/P + S/18: (Political and Secret Department memoranda : reports on topics of specific interest used in the government departments, like FO881)

Series L/P + S/20: (Political and Secret Department library : contains many printed reports and papers as well as books)

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These papers printed originally for the use of M.P's are published in the "Accounts and Papers" series of the printed Parliamentary records. They include printed versions of consular and commercial reports produced by British officials abroad, reproduced in full for Parliament's use. A survey of these papers thus allows one to re-constitute the records of these matters in Iran during the nineteenth century. The series of reports which have been of most relevance to this study have been the commercial reports from Tabriz (1860's to World War I) from Bushire and Bandar ᶜAbbas (1873 to World War I) from Kerman (1894-5, 1902 to World War I) and from Khorasan and Sistan (1890's to World War I), in addition to individual surveys of the state of Persia (e.g. Thomson in 1867, Dickson in 1883, 1884, 1886, Maclean in 1903-4) and other specific topics. In addition similar reports from Trebizond, Erzurum and Istanbul in Turkey throw light on the Persian commercial contacts with Turkey. In all a total of over 100 volumes of the "Accounts and Papers" covering the year 1860-1914 were passed under review. References have been identified by their place in these volumes although in the later part of the period reports were also designated by a "Command number". I have preferred the former method of reference since it covers a wider range of documents and since most libraries and collections of printed records carry British parliamentary records in the volume form.

It should be pointed out that many government records were made in multiple copies and so can be found in more than one place. Thus the reports on Gulf trade can be found in the A and P series of Parliamentary papers, in the consular records of the Gulf zone sent to the FO, and in the Selections from the Records published by the Government of India. Similarly the Maclean report on Persian trade is in Accounts and Papers, the FO confidential Print Series (FO881) and in the India Office Records collection of printed papers.

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