

Bakhtiarwand.

A. Aladinwand

Composed of 21 Taifeh, of varying sizes.

B. Bramali

1. Bramali or Terdi

Composed of 8 taifehs.

2. Aljamali

Composed of 8 taifehs.

Both A and B have Khans. These two families of Khans - Khawanin are not related to each other, and like all the leadership positions within the Bakhtiari are each divided into two factions supporting either the Ilkhani or the Haji Ilkhani Durakis.

At the beginning of the 19th century it was the Kahns of the Aladinwand Bakhtiarwand - Assad Khan and his son Jafar Qoli Khan who fought for supremacy with the Duraki Khans. After the emrgence of the Duraki as winners, the Ilkhan, Husain Qoli Khan married the daugher of Ali Saleh Khan, the head of the Aljamali Khans.

The other groups which came under the Haft Lang power are less directly involved in Bakhtiari power politics, all living on the southern boundary of Bakhtiari territory. They are often described as "dependemcies".

Janeki - three major Taifehs. All settled.

Sardsir

Aurek Bab 1. Aurek - 23 taifehs. 2. Binduni - 7 taifehs

3. Masha'ekh - 4 Taifehs.

Dinaruni - 10 taifehs.

Bakhtiarwand Khawanin Marriages

The Bakhtiarwand Il, is divided into two major blocks of tribes.

1. Alah ed Dinwand
2. Aljamali or Bramali
 - a) Bramali or Terdi
 - b) Aljamali.

8 tireh or tash to each group.

The origin of the 16 sub-divisions of the Bramali group is that they are descended from one Bramali who had two sons - Terdi and Jamali, and these groups form the descendants of these two men. Classic lineage division. They all stay in the same area - about 1000 homes - i.e. 6-7000 people in small hamlets and camp groups lending credence to their story of forming one descent group.

They have Khawanin., who now have property in Dorud. These Khans about which I have little information, are descended from Ali Saleh Khan whose daughter married Jafar Quli Khan Duraki, the mother of the Ilkhani. This particular marriage, may explain why this group of Bakhtiarwand Khans were not involved in the feuding between the Duraki Khans and the Ouldd of Assad. They appear to have escaped the revenge of the Duraki. Another fact which would confirm this is that the Aljamli winter pastures are in the region of Ab Bid near Shushtar, a strong hold of the Duraki Khans this century. Ali Saleh had two major sons, Morteza Khan and Hassan Khan. They and their descendants would then be mothers brother of the Duraki Ilkhani. Morteza's grandson is the present Khan of the Bramali Terdi and Ishmail Khan is the grandson of Hassan Khan is the present Khan of the Aljamali section. These two Khans administered the sections on behalf of the Duraki rulers this century. They have now settled to a non nomadic life in Dorud and no longer have much to do with their own tribesmen. The local leaders of each of the groups in fact now take their problems to one of the other set of Khans - those of the Aladinwand. They go to the Khan associated with the Ilkhan faction. As a result of the factional split within the Duraki Khans which occurred at the end of the 19th century, the Aljamali Khans

have been internally divided against each other. The Bramali have been led primarily by the Ilkhan faction under Farrajullah Khan, and the Aljamali led by the Haji Ilkhani faction -Ismail Khan. The Duraki Khans fed in guns, ammunition, money to their own following, with the promise of rewards for support. The result apparently was a great deal of internal fighting in which many of the tribesmen and members of the Khawanin family were killed in the first 20 years of this century.

The Aladinwand Khans

This group is the dominant group. They ruled over about 20 taifehs. My own lists for these check almost identically with those of Layard 120 years ago and with those of Lorimer, a British Consul about 1907=11 who provides much useful historical information. The groups therefore have been fairly permanent over at least the past 150 years.

These Khans are not related by descent to the Aljamali Khans, whom they regarded as their servants. This is the group of Khans to which the robber chief Assad Khan belongs, and the major competitors with the Duraki from the late 18th century until their eclipse by the first Ilkhani of the Bakhtiari Husain Qoli Khan, son of Jafar Qoli, murdered by Assad's son Jafar Qoli. on the Munar.

The descendants of Assad Khan and of his brother Suleiman Khan, form two distinct lineages or each with two separate Oulads.. As a result of Assad's son Jafar Qoli murdering of the Duraki leader, and the subsequent vengeance killings this caused, most of the Khawanin males were wiped out. Later this was to happen to the leaders of the Babadi and the Raki groups as well who were finally overcome by the Duraki Khans at the battle of 9000. These Bakhtiarwand Khawanin therefore never played the dominating role in Bakhtiari politics after their eclipse. As a result many of them escaped the later decimation of the Duraki Khans by Reza Shah in the 1930s. As a result nowadays, there are many more members of the Bakhtiarwand Khawanin still living in or near the mountains.

still in close contact with their nomadic tribesmen. These Khawanin range in status from city entrepreneurs and agricultural farmers, to more impoverished "Khawanin" still predominantly pastoral. Many of them however play an important local political rôle acting as mediators in disputes between the taifehs, and also as representatives of these same tribesmen with the central government. They are of higher status than the Kalantars, even if not so well off economically or as powerful as some of the better Kalantars. Many still act as small scale Khans in a traditional sense, although with the increasing control by the central government of maintaining law and order, this role is diminishing. If the local tribal leaders, the Katkhodas and Rish Sefids, feel they get a better response from the law courts or the gendarmes, then they cease to go to the Khans for help. A Khan must exhibit still hospitality must be willing to feed the supplicant tribal leaders. Increasingly however the Khans are becoming little more than wealthy individuals with neither the interest nor the rewards of being a tribal Khan. They no longer have any real responsibility towards the tribes, nor any authority apart from tradition. They have little coercive power, and any felt oppression will quickly bring on the gendarms.

In fact this is too simplistic a picture, because the Khans still have an immeasurable advantage over any of their tribesmen in dealing with members of the Iranian Administration, including the notoriously corrupt gendarmes. The Khans are very conscious of their ancient status and resent though not vocally having to deal with low status individuals from the government in a subservient fashion. It is still to the advantage of a tribesmen to elicit the help of the higher status Khan, but this is more in the nature of a client relationship, without the traditional mutual tribal obligations leadership involved. The network of political relations open to one of these Khans is far greater and more effective than that of a tribesmen, who come off badly in their dealings with outsiders.

Traditionally these Khawanin were tribal leaders, volatile opponents of the Duraki, finally falling under their growing power by the middle of the 19th century. Since then they have been ruled by the Duraki in an increasingly centralised political system. They became junior status Khans as it were, still active leaders of their large Bakhtiarwand Il, but paying taxes and conscripts to the Duraki Khans.

The Duraki in turn ruled through the Bakhtiarwand Khans, sending out junior members of their own family as administrators and tax collectors. The Bakhtiarwand Khawanin thus got caught up in the internal strife within the Duraki Khans, in turn being split between the two factions - The Ilkhani and the Haji Ilkhani faction. This internal splitting of the ruling Bakhtiarwand Khans divided the Bakhtiarwand taifehs between 4 groups. Each of the two lineages, of the descendants of Suleiman and of Assad or Jafar were split into 2. The two eldest or surviving sons of Sulaiman and of Jafar were given the support of the Duraki. They owed their position to the Duraki rulers, who could throw them out if they were dissatisfied. Each of these two sets of brothers were given Farmans legitimating their role as Khan. In effect this meant that within two generations of the death of Jafar Qoli Bakhtiarwand, the senior members of the 4 lineages or Oulads had an appointed Khan. These 4 Khans of the Bakhtiarwand therefore were cousins - or Tateza as they are called. As the power of the Duraki increased until the death of Husain Quli Khan in 1882 which created the factional split, the links between the Bakhtiarwand Khans and the Duraki, were primarily through the wives and daughters of Jafar Qoli's lineage, married by the brothers of the Ilkhan as "Blood women"

When the political infighting between the Ilkhani and the Haji Ilkhani faction of the ruling Duraki Khans increased, each faction attempted to establish links of personal control over the Bakhtiarwand Khans. This was done by marriages between the two sets of Khans.

Of the two descent groups, Oulads of Sulaiman Khan, one has links through marriage with the Ilkhan faction, and the other with the Hajji Ilkhan faction. Likewise with the two oulads descended from Jafar Qoli., marriages between the eldest son of Jafar surviving Darvish Khan with Samsam as Sultaneh, son of Ilkhani, and of the sons of the second son of Jafar with Haji Il Khan faction.

Each oulad therefore has a different set of person links with either the Ilkhanis or the Haji Ilkhanis of the Duraki, but not with both.

Thus were the Khans of the Bakhtiarwand disunited. This form of rule meant that there was a duplication of Khans within the Bakhtiarwand who came in and out of power, as the leadership of the Dominating Bakhtiari Khans oscilated. When the Ilkhanis were in power as rulers, then the Bakhtiarwand Khan allied with the Ilkhan faction throgh marriage dominated his dection of the Bakhtiarwadn and was responsible for the collection of taxes etc. When the Haji Ilkhans took over then the other Khan allied with the Haji Ilkhanis through marriage took control. In turn these Bakhtiarwand Khans appointed Kalantars of the taifeh, so that there was a duplication of leadership at all lower levels of the tribal organisation. The revenues of the very fertile and important tribal taifehs such as the Munjezi and th agricultural village of Lalar were split into 4. - with each Khan getting one quarter.

The position of leadership appears to have kept within the 4 families, with the eldest son of each of the 4 descent groups contracting marriages with the women of the Duraki Khans. As well as prestige from such a high status marriage, considerable economic wealth flowed exclusively into the hands of the eldest sons, and was not divided with younger brothers. Younger brothers tended to marry either women from the families of taifeh Kalantars or married from within thier own Khawanin family. In this way a hierarchical economic differentiation appeared, with the eldest sons or eldest brother living within a much

wider and more lucrative political sphere. Being married to the Duraki Khan's family meant a greater and more active participation in the nationwide political activities of the Duraki Khans. Gradually the orbit of these Khans moved more and more towards that of the wider Iranian society. They acquired agricultural land not controlled by the Duraki Khans, settled in increasingly affluent and powerful conditions, moving further from the pastoral basis of their traditional roles. It was left to the younger sons in more recent times, who had contracted less important marriages within their own Khawanin family or with the local tribal Kalantars. In the last two generations for example, the pattern of marriages has radically altered as the tribal conditions of the Bakhtiari have changed. With the removal of the Duraki Khans from power in the 1930s, but not the politically unimportant Bakhtiarwand Khans, now living in villages or towns, the younger members, or brothers of these more affluent and settled Bakhtiarwand Khans, were left closest to their traditional tribal orbit, but still divided between Ilkhani and Haji Ilkhani. They have tended to unite at least partially with each other exchanging women as wives, so that a cross cutting network of marriages between the Ilkhani and Haji Ilkhani Khans is now the major way in which the various members of the Khawanin consolidate their leadership position over the Bakhtiar-wand tawayef.

In this they are very similar to the Kalantars of all the Bakhtiari taifeh, who are lower status than the Bakhtiarwand Khans, but in a similar way were divided among themselves by the duplication of leadership through the two factions of the Duraki.

The recent necessity of the Khans of each faction allying themselves with each other to promote their own status, or at least to attempt to overcome the divisive results of the faction split.