

Husain Quli and his brothers, were involved in fighting on the side of the Persian Government forces which managed to capture Mohamad Taqi Khan in 1841. He objected to the control of the leadership of Qalb Ali Khan and from 1841-46 there were several battles between the supporters of Qalb Ali and his son Abdal, and the sons of Jafar. At the battle of Bazuft, Qalb Ali's son was killed. Alidad, a member of the Khader sorkh division of the Zarraswand was married to a daughter of Qalb Ali and appears to have been his right hand man, much trusted and regarded with affection by Qalb Ali. He was also killed, and Qalb Ali died in 1846 as a result of wounds.

Husain Quli became leader and was confirmed in his position by the Shah, and given the title ILKHAN. - chief of all the tribes of the Bakhtiari. This appears to be the first time this term was used, and under Husain's long leadership - which lasted till his own murder by the son of the Shah - the Zil es Sultan in 1882, the Bakhtiari were for the first time united under a single leader.

The first few years of his reign were very disturbed, including opposition from the supporters of Qalb Ali Khan.

There is a story of the treacherous murder by the Ilkhan's two brothers of opposition from two smaller Zarraswand leaders.

Such fights for leadership are of course common feature of tribal history. With the murder of these two Zarraswands, the Ilkhani's position was secure. The Khans of the Bakhtiarwand, Babadi and Chahr Lang had all been crushed.

Inheritance of the sons of Jafar.

Hosain Quli - Naqun : Imam Qoli (full brother) - Ardal: Reza Qoli - Kaj Amin Quli - Durak above Dopulan. He had no kids and when he died his property was divided among the other three.

The Bakhtiari relationship with the Qajars Shāhs in the 19th century and in the early part of the 20th century reveals the effects of the political changes at the national level on the tribal population. The Bakhtiari became increasingly embroiled in with the central government and with the great power rivalry between the British and the Russians, on whom the Qajar dynasty became increasingly dependent.

Sir Henry Layard, who lived in Bakhtiari country between 1838-40 at Qaleh Tūl, the fortress of Mohammed Taqi Khan, the leader of the Chahr Lang reports early discussions with that leader about the possibility of British support, and British trade up the Karun river. When the Qajar cut down Nohammad Taqi Khan and his family because of their fears of his growing power, leadership, as already explained passed finally into the hands of Husain Quli Khan of the Duraki Zarraswand, who with his father and brothers had cooperated with the Qajar's in ousting and capturing M?T.K.

By 1846, Husain Quli Khan, had murdered his uncle Qalb Ali Khan, and his cousin, Qalb Ali's son, thus wiping out opposition to his power. After the fight of 9000, when all the Bakhtiari were opposed in battle to him, he obtained from the Shah in Tehran a robe of honour and the title of Ilkhan - chief of all the tribes. This is the first and-only time this title was used, conferring *de jure* rule on the man who ruled already *de fact*. Today, when the tribes talk about the Ilkhan, it is to Husain Quli Khan, the Great Ilkhan that they are referring. He effectively united the Bakhtiari under his banner, and ruled all of the various groups with firmness but reputedly with benevolence. Inevitably, in true tribal fashion it was a personal leadership. His brothers, the Haji Ilkhan- Imam Quli Khan, known as the Haji Ilkhani, and Reza Quli Khan, known as the Ilbeg of Chahr Mahal, the area of Ksfahan province on the fringes of the Bakhtiari mountains proper, did not have Husain Quli's personality or support. Under Husain's rule, the Bakhtiari were peaceful, and agriculture and the pasturals prospered as a result.

The policy of the central government towards the tribes of Persia and particularly the Bakhtiari, was to divide in order to rule. The

government manipulated tribal rivalry in order to weaken them. This type of external interference, by throwing support behind one chief against his rivals and if he became too powerful switching tack and supporting his rivals in turn. Playing of one leader against another was an effective, but not the only way of controlling the tribes. Traditionally the Shahs of Persia demanded two things - annual revenue and and cavalrymen for the royal and provincial armies, from the Bakhtiari. The Bakhtiari cavalry had been the mainstay of the Persian army, although not the only one for centuries. It was the function of the Khans, to collect the annual tax and recruit for the army. - both very lucrative. The Khans fought with each other for the privilege of collecting the revenues, much of which they could keep for themselves. In the 18 and 19th century much competition for tax farming took place. Hostages from the families of Khans were kept in the capital city to help ensure the good behaviour of the tribes, and occasionally the relocation of tribes were also methods used by the central government to control their tribal populations.

Also militating against the emergence of any dominating Khan in the Bakhtiari was the pastoral system, where the population was spread thinly over a very mountainous region, and the tribal segmentary structure in which the social and economic life, with individually owned wealth in animals, subject to constant limitations of growth was concentrated in small kinship organised units.

At no time in the history of the Bakhtiari has any Khan emerged to anything more than very local dominance over his own taifeh without his wealth base focussed on land, on agriculture which is far more secure than animal wealth. Surpluses can be accumulated through agricultural production far more readily than in animals, subject as they are to disease, climatic hazards, and a maximum size. Animals are inherited on marriage among the Bakhtiari so that a man's wealth is constantly being put back by the marriage of his sons, by death, when large funeral feasts involving the eating of animals have to be given.

The logistics of owning huge flocks of sheep require their being split into herds of no more than 200. Shepherds have to be hired and paid in proportion of animals herded, and such herds can not be directly controlled with the degree of attention necessary to prevent the constant erosion of animals on the tribal bi'annual migrations. Social relations, entertaining, engagements, marriages

are all involve an expenditure in animals.

In short the ecology of sheep herding and pastoral movement to maintain the the large herds all militate against the concentration of wealth and power

Mohammad Taki Khan's considerable power was as a result of his control over the heavy settled areas in Izeh area and in Fereidun the winter and summer pastures of the Chahr Lang. The collection of revenue from these villages was considerable and this was the base from which he rose to considerable and wide control. In turn, this widening power alarmed the central government and he was removed.

To get to his position of pre-eminence, Husain Qoli Khan, laterally wiped out all his opposition over a period of years. By establishing economic and social bonds through marriages to most of the important potential rivals, through tax exemptions, control of the best pasture lands by ousting defeated rivals, he obtained by coercion or otherwise the support of the tribes. No rival emerged to challenge his position from within the Bakhtiari.

In return for maintaining security, and regularly submitting the annual tax to the government, Husain quli was rewarded with considerable land grants, particularly in the very fertile Chahr Mahal district of Mizdej. This area contained many large peasant villages, which thus passed into the hands of the Ilkhan. Four fifths of the crops grown in the area now belonged to the Ilkhan and his family. So, the Duraki Khans could ammass wealth far greater than any previous Khans had ever been able to do.

With this wealth and increasing dominance of the region, the Ilkhan and his family expanded their agricultural holdings in Khuzistan

province, by buying or coercing land. Each of the brothers came to own vast properties on the edges of Bakhtiari territory proper, expanding their power and influence over much of the souther region.

This inevitably brought them into conflict with those already established in those areas. The Qashqa'i tribes to the south of the Bakhtiari were alarmed at the growing power of the Ilkhan, as was the Vali or Governor of the Lurs in Luristan to the North. The great Arab tribal ruler of Khuzistan Sheikh Tamar and his son Sheikh Khazal was equally alarmed at the growing threat to the settled towns of the region which he ruled as a semi independent Kingdom. The grant of Midej to the Bakhtiari Khans, brought them into what became deadly conflict with the other major landowner in that region, the new Governor of Isfahan, the Zill es Sultan, the Shah's eldest son.

As the Bakhtiari emerged from the fastness of their mountains, they inevitably confronted extremely hostile neighbours, both tribal and non tribal, hostility that was to continue as long as the Bakhtiari played a powerful role in the country. The control of the Bakhtiari by the Duraki Khans was almost absolute. They blocked all potential rivals from the advantages of this new and wealthy participation as provincial rulers. While tribal chiefs to the Bakhtiari, they were also feudal type landlords in the surrounding districts controlling a non tribal peasant population, backed up by their tribal armies of personal retainers.

A combination of intrigue by their tribal opponents, plus the intrigues at court of the Zill es Sultan, Governor of Isfahan who had aspirations to the throne, not supported by the Ilkhani, the Zill had the Ilkhani poisoned, and his eldest son imprisoned in 1882, when they came to Isfahan with the annual dues after the spring migration.

He appointed the Ilkhan's two brothers, Imam Qoli Khan and Reza Qoli Khan as Ilkhani and Ilbegi respectively. With the murder of the Ilkhani the Khans were plunged into bitter internal conflict as to the succession and inheritance of the position and property. There were 2 brothers,

6 sons and about 13 nephews of the Ilkahni to choose from.

Since this time the ~~two-factions-of-Ilkahni-and-Haji-Ilkhani-have-and-their~~ Khans resulted in the permanent disunity ~~have-bede~~villed Bakhtiari political system. We have already described its effects within the tribe. Reza Qoli Khan, the Ilbegi and his many offspring were a third faction, but they were shortly ousted from any real position and the decendents of this faction rarely if ever played a crucial role in Bakhtiari politics. Seifullah Kahns described earlier, and his hamlet ( see the coloured wedding photos) are grandsons of Reza Qoli.

Also from this point onwards, the Qajars were deeply involved in this factional division, since with the appointment by the Zill es Sultan of the Haji Ilakhn-i to the paramount position of Ilkhan, he and his political fortunes were allied ~~with-the-Haji-Ilkahns~~ against the family of the Ilkahn. HusainQoli Khans two sons, were kept in prison until 1888, when the Zill was dismissed from ~~all his territories except~~ the Isfahan governership by the Shah his father for his intrigues against his younger brother, who had been designated Heir to the throne. All the Zill's appointees including his choice of Ilkhan ~~and-Ilbegi~~ were dismissed. Esfandia Khan was appointed Ilbegi under Reza Qoli, who was now appointed as the Paramount Cheif. Between 1888 and 1894 the conflict with the Zill and ~~the~~ within the Khans"familyes, with threats of assassination, and in particular Reza Qoli's rapacious treatment of his relatives resulted in the alingment of the Ilkhani group of brothers and the Hajji Ilkhani group removing all power from Reza Qoli. In 1894, the two families came to an agreement which would concentrate ~~the~~ pule of the Bakhtiari withint he two families, and that the eldest of the family should be Ilkhan, with the next eldest as Ilbegi. This sharing of power between the two families, i.e. sharing the government of the Bakhtiari between the two families continued until 1935, when Reza Shah placed the Bakhtiari under civila admin\$stration.

The heads of the two families married each others daughters to cement the agreement. Complicating this period of conflict was the fact that

The Bakhtiari Governors- i.e. the Khans were placed under the jurisdiction of Isfahan, then removed from the Governorship of Isfahan and put made responsible to Tehran and then placed back under the Governorship of Isfahan. The Zill used this instability to augment further trouble for the Ilkhani faction, harrasing the peasants in Bakhtiari owned villages.

It was at this agreement that the ~~t~~ villages of Mizdej, were divided up amongst the Khans, to be owned indiviudally, withe the exception of the two villages of Oregun and Qaleh Mamaka, Armenian villages, the revenue of which was to pay for the administration expenses of the Khans/ The flock tax on the tribes was also agreed to be split between the two families.

( Mrs. Bishop was there at this time and her photographs were taken during the extreme tension between Reza Qoli and the rest)

The Khans were paid annual salaries from the government. They also bought much property in the Ram Hormuz area in Khuzistan.

These various government salaries, the profits from the tribal taxes, from the agricultural villages and properties in Khuzistan and Chahr Mahal transformed the economic basis of the power of the Khans, giving them massive economic and political superiority over their tribal and non tribal rivals.

At this time the British enter into the political lives of the Bakhtiari and remain so till the 195 after the second world war, one of the major influences in tribal politics and nin the reltaions between the Bakhtiari and the central Persian Government.

British interests in the area were predominantly economic and strategic. They long had had trading interests in the gulf which they controlled and were interested in opening up a trade route up the Karun river and on to Tehran. One possibility was to open a caravan route through the Bakhtiari mountains, to Isfahan which would be easier and shorter because of the river route, than the current very difficult mountain route from the gulf to Shiraz, trthrough Qashqai territory in the south.

### Khans and control of Land.

The Khans owned individually dozens of villages in Chahar Mahal. They also had property in the winter pastures. In late 19th and early 20th century they expanded in the winter pastures south to Lirawi and into Ram Hormuz and Behbahan, to Shushtarr and Dizful.

These districts were essentially agricultural areas. The Chahar Mahall areas in particular were very fertile and inhabited by Turkish, Armenian and Persian Tajiks or Peasants. Large villages with populations of several thousand people upto 20,000. The Khans were given much of this land as Tax farms or in return for govdrnment service.

In Khuzistan, where there was also much fertile, though drier land the insecurity of the area and the perennial tensions between the expanding power of the Bakhtiari Khans and the Arab tribes under Sheikh Tamar and then Sheikh Khazal meant that large areas were constantly being devastated by tribal fighting.

The areas of Chehl Gird , Doab , Bazuft , Shimbar , Lali plain were not owned by the Khans. This is tribal territory proper and the Khans though cntrolling the tribes did not own the land. In effect this meant that the tribal poplualations of these areas were only partially under the control of the Khans - often under indirect control.

The Khans had a more direct relation ship with the tribes whose territories were closer to the areas they themselves controlled. This meant that those trfibal groups or tayayedf with a close interaction with the Khans were most affected . This is seen most clearly in the Zarraswands, whose tribal structre includes specialist groups who were in the service of the Khans.

The other Duraki tribes were more subject to oppression and control by the administrarive personel of the Khans and the Zarraswands.



Seifullah claims that each of the large "Il" groupings had their own Khans - the Duraki, The Beidarwand, Babadi, Dinaruni, Janaki . One by one they all came under the Duraki Khans. Tpw major methods used - by force and then by ,arriage . Before the arrival of Heidar Kur, 300 years ago, the their were no Khans.

The Cahar Lang were once alltogether. Now only the Kiarsi tribe round Qaleh Tul.

Says that now Mal Amir, which used to belong to the Qaleh Tul Cahar Lang divided up between the three brothers Husain Quli, Reza Quli and Ali Quli Khan. Each brother got 2 dong each.

Ab Bid village near Shushatr and Dizful also divided equally between the three brtoerhs.

Andeka - Qaleh Zarass very large area. This used to belong to the Beidarwand group, but after the Beidaewand were defeated by the Duraki.

i.e. Jafar Qoli Baidarwand killed by Qalb Ali Khan in revenge, the Duraki threw out the Baidarwand. Khun Bahah. Bloody money.

axes Andeka area was not divided up and owned individually, but was one of three areas which was owned jointly by the Khans, and much of it was used to pay for the expenses of running and administrating the Bakhtiari

The "Hokumat" or "Ordu" - a Mongol word meaning the camp of the Ilkhaa.

The equialent area in the summer quarters, Yeilaq was Chagha Khor I think. - describd as the "paytakht" or captial of the Bakhtiari.

The type of taxes payed to finance the growing administratiw e expenses of Governing the Bakhtiari were of two different types.

In the winter quarter - Andeka - this tax was called Sarkhishi The Khans collected this tax in the autumn (?) after the harvest and after the Khans had arrived in the winterpastures. Sarkhishi was a plough tax - a tax of agricultural produce.

The plough tax was paid by all tribesmen who owned a pair of ~~oxen~~ cows.

The rate was as follows. <sup>7 hils.</sup> per pair of cows. 40 mann Wheat (1 mann=~~1 kilo~~)  
20 mann barley. 10 Bar straw , 3 of reeds ; 5 bar of wood for bur-ing  
for evry 50 sheep had to pay 1 lamb . One mann of ghee per 10 cows.

The Gallehdari Tax This was levied on the nomadic tribes in the yeilaq and was calculated in terms of Mares. This method oc calculation was introduced during the time of the Safawid in the 16th Centruy.

1 mare == 20 goats; 10 ewes ; 10 donkeys pr 5 cows.

<sup>man / rial</sup> A mare was valued at <sup>2 T.</sup> 40-toman 50 to 1 proportion. (when).

The tax in fatt was called Maidyun ~~not~~ gelley dari, which was different? Sarbazkhune conscription to the Khans armies in Tehran. .ne man from every thre families had to go. The other two had to pay 200 tomans.

The tribesmen complained very bitterly about this taxation which they though in the past was much too heavy. The Khans often extorted far more than the proportions assessed above, reducing many a tribesman to poverty. They had v aslo to give a proportion of their wool, ghee and animal products.

The Bakhtiari used to be assessed for tax purposes at 20,000 tpmasn. Hence the taxes which had to cover this to be paid to the government plus the expenses of running the administration. Part of the expenses of the "Ordu" or Khans court was the payment of the Sarbaq their armed retainers, who were fed, paid a small emolument per diem and were provided with arms.

Reza Shah Pahlavi put a stop to this ti  
ype of taxation and in the 1920s slapped the Bakhtiari with Back taxes of over \$4 million . They were given tax concesions by the previous dynasty in return for Governing Chahr Mahall and the Kuhgelu areas. They were also given the write to collect the taxes of the villages of Chahar Mahal. In spite of the varied incomes of the Khans they were always in debt and broke. Had high expenses.

Khans Administration

Ordu - held in Chagha Khor. which is the centre of the Duraki Influence and is found in Zarraswand territory. Marshy and has a Qaleh which was the scene of the great fight between the Duraki and all the rest - Jang-e Now Hezar - the fight of the 9000 as it is called.

The Ordu, as befits the nomadic requirements moved. It was held one a year in the Yeilaq and once a year in the garmsir. In effect was the Khans court, which functioned also as a Dadgah - court of justice. Shimbar on the migration route was also a place where the Khans would hold the court specifically listening to plaintiffs, passing judgement and mediating in disputes.

The Ordu itself was in fact a huge affair and reports of ~~more than a~~ <sup>about 500</sup> thousand tents are common from older tribesmen, who either attended the Ordu in the capacity of Sawars or retainers of the Khans or had heard description of the Ordu from their fathers. Running a camp of such a size feeding all the retainers, the stables for the Khans horses and those of the army obviously made for considerable organisation. A place of detainment for criminal brought to justice was also a feature of the Ordu, with a special and famous cliff near Qaleh Zarass where criminals could be incarcerated for as long as the Khans decided.

The taxes collected helped to defray the expenses of the running of such a large court camp. - Kharj Lamerdun ( expenses of the men's quarters.

There were The Major Domo - Farash Bashi ( head carpet beater) who had ~~ten~~ minnions (Farsh) under his hip. They were responsible for looking after meals, bedding guests, the tents of guests  
The Ferashbashi was also in charge of the "Habs" the jail and he carried out the beating - the bastinado- was the common punishment.

The ferashbashi was a very important man, he had the ear of the Ilkhan of the day and the tribesmen and petitioners had to work through him to get the ear of the Khan.

Mira khor - he was head of the stables and was responsible for looking after the animals, the horses and the mules and pack animals. He took care of the equipment. He had many assistants called "mehtar.

Each Khan has his own Jelodar - or personal rider who would look after the animal and equipment of the Khan in question.

I think the over administrative head of the camp was called a Vakil, which is of course a Persian term. This was head of the Khans household. in fact For minor complaints there were the Munshi and the Mirza. These latter were secretaries and record keepers.

All of these positions were filled by non Bakhtiari. Usually Isfahani or Chahr Mahali people.

The Mirza are an interesting category. They form a sub section of the Zarraswand. They are of Seyid( Holy ) origin and came originally from the Kuhgelyu tribe- as servants of the Khans. The position is inherited. Likewise the position of head of the Khans household - called Vakil. This was an inherited position One was a Raviti tribesman and one was a Shamorwan. There was also a Vakil of the Cavalry in Terhan.

The personal Savars of the Khans were paid 1½ kilos wheat a day; 1½ kilos barley and 1 toman.

Kalantars and minor Khans were fed from the Khan's kitchens.

When the camp migrated the sowars were paid between 50-100 tomans.

and the Kalantars were given 2000- tomans lump sum. This latter payment was usually given only to select Kalantars, such as the minor leaders of the Zarraswand groups, The Babadi sometimes. But the other Duraki groups, such as the Qandali and Mowri rarely if ever received this cash payment.

In this way the economic circumstances and political opportunities of different Kalantars and their respective Tawayef varied.

Complicating matters, as a result of the factional split within the Khans family - between the Ilkhani and the Haji Ilkhani all the above administrative posts were doubled - one ordu for each faction.

In the summer quarters, all the Khans would collect for the Ordu after the migration. Two villages in this area were used to provide the produce necessary for meeting the expenses of the camp. Qale Mamekan and Oregon. Qaleh Mamekan and Oregon were Armenian villages. The crops grown on the village land of these two was used to pay for and feed the Ordu.

In the winter quarters there were three areas in which the Ordu was held, Mal Amir ; Qaleh Zarass in Andeka ; and Ab Bid in the Khuzistan plains. Each of these three areas payed the Sarkhish tax, the plough tax referred to earlier primarily the crops, again to pay for and feed the Ordu court.

From this the Khans collected a reported 40,000 tomans, half of which was for themselves and their official's expenses and the rest was for the tax assessment of 20,000 tomans owed annually to the government.

More recently Taimur Khan was bought much of this land - technically from the old "hokumat" Presumably the money he expended was shared amongst who? possibly Morteza Quli Khan. Teimur owns one third of both the Armenian villages as well as half of the major centre of Ardal. He also owned much of the land in Mal Amir and Andeka - all of which belonged to the Khans.

With the fall of the Khans and in particular the fall of Taimur Khan he has been dispossessed of most of his land by the government. Those peasants who could prove to the government that they had bought land from the Khans over the past thirty of forty years, now pay a small amount to the government per annum/

Mal Amir has been removed from the Khans without any compensation. Rumours among the tribes say that the house which Taimur Khan had built for himself cost 9 million tomans. Also Taimur was in the sixties fighting with the Oil Company, whom he is trying to get compensation for the

use they have made of Andeka - where they are searching for Oil, they have built roads etc. So far without much success.

In 1967 the government finally dispossessed Taimur of his remaining land in the Yeilaq notably his portion of Ardal.

The tribes most affected by the Sarkish taxation are the Mowri and the Qand'ali, whose territory lies in Andeka.

The administration of the tribes over which the Duraki Khans ruled became very complicated after the split of the dynastic faction into its two factions.

However the Khans sent representatives of various sorts into each of the different political groupings within the Bakhtiari.

Duraki - these taifehs were ruled directly by the Kalantars, confirmed in their position by the authority of the Ilkhan of the day. The Khan's representative - Mahsel ( Persian Mahmur) worked with the Kalantar and was responsible for the collection of the Gallehdari tax. He acted as mediator and controller along with the Kalantar, who was dependent on him.

On occasions various Ilkhans have tried to appoint such a Mahsal often a non Bakhtiari from Cahara Mahal over the Kalantars and sometimes actually ~~chose their own Kalantar~~ as in the case of Doab, Qandali territory, one of the Khans Sardar Zafar set up a peasant Mahsel without a Kalantar for a period of 5 years.

Over the Beidarwand the Khans ruled in a more indirect fashion. The Baidarwand had a dynastic family of its own and the Duraki family administered through them. These Khans at various times appear to have been fairly independent - especially those whose territory is around Dorud. They are reputed to have had their own "Sandoq -e- Khan" treasure chest for taxes and paid directly to the Government in Dorud.

The Khans usually send junior members of their family as their representatives

After long and troublesome negotiation between the Bakhtiari Khans and the British firm of Lynch Brothers, with many financial disputes mediated by British Consular representatives the "Bakhtiari Road" was opened up in 1899. This consisted of a mule track, used by the Bakhtiari nomads on their migrations in the southern part of the Bakhtiari mountains. It was one of the five major migrating routes which the Bakhtiari take. A number of bridges and caravan-erais were built by Lynch Brothers, against involving much dispute. The Bakhtiari agreed to maintain the roads, bridges and caravanserais, and to levy tolls. The agreements between Lynch and the Bakhtiari involved a concession to the Bakhtiari for sixty years, kept secret at the time from the Persian Government, who when they discovered refused to recognise it.

The road brought in considerable revenue to the Khans in the form of tolls. ~~They also used~~ The road however was rarely safe from tribal raids, particularly from the Kuhgeluh tribe near whose territory the road ran. The ~~go~~ Khans were responsible for patrolling the roads and for maintaining its security, which they often failed lamentable as far as Lynch Co. was concerned.

To maintain their economic interest in the south of Iran, the British were inevitably interested in maintaining security. Tribal predation meant trade could not be conducted and on many occasions the Bakhtiari road was closed because of tribal unrest.

The Bakhtiari - Lynch agreement marked a radical change in the relations between the British and the tribes in Southern Iran. Up till this time, there had been contact, but no official relationship had been established. Britain became involved increasingly with all of the tribal groups in the area, particularly the Shaikh of Mohammerrah in Khuzistan and with the Bakhtiari whose leadership they despairingly attempted to centralise in order to promote the necessary security in the area for trade and with the ~~discovery~~<sup>search</sup> of oil by D'Arcy in Bakhtiari territory in 1905, their strategic concerns intensified in this region.

Britianin thus came to paly a crucial role in Bakhtiari political fortunes, supporting them, covertly sometimes opently in their relations with the State/

In the same year Oil was discovered an Agfeement was entered into bet between the Bakhtiari and the British, where the Bakhtiari Khans, both factions signed an agreement to protect the drilling and Oil property. The Khans were to be paid \$4000 per annum. Within a year the terms were renogociated, mainly because of the dissatisfaction of the Khans.

Their expenses in adminsitring the tribes and in heavy expenses by the senior Khans of both factions in Tehran to maintain themselves or get themselves put into power. There were several changes in the Ilkhan and Ilbeg positions as the Khans vied for power. They could not agree who was to pay the Bakhtiari guards in the Oil fields, or even who owned the drilling sites. Armed fights between the armed froces of both factions took ½lace

Oil was struck early in 1908, and in 1909 the Bakhtiari-Oil Company was set up with an issue capital of \$600,000., and the day after this was det upm the Anglo-Persian Oil Company ( now the National Iranian Oil Co) was set up with a capital of \$4 million. The Ilkahni-Hajji Ilkhani were given 3% of the Bakhtiari Oil Co. Shares in accordance with the 1905 agreement. At this time there was considerable unrest in Persia and Britiain was alarmed at the possible threat to her lucrative new Oil fields and even more convinced of the necessity to maintain security in their area of interest. In 1914, the British Navy converted their ships to Oil at the start of the first world war, which doubled the value of the shares. The Bakhtiari area took on a tremendous importance far outweighing the economic and traditional stratiegic interests the British had long had in the region.

The Bakhtiari Khans and their forced palyed a crucial role in the constòtional revolution in Iran in 1908, which overthrew the Qajars and insisted imposed on them a constitutional government.



The agreement between the Ilkhani and Haji Ilkhani Khans of 1909 reveals their participation in this constitutional movement was for economic reasons. They agreed to carve up the possible rewards from their participation equally between the two families, as would all their incomes whether from Oil, tolls, guarding subsidies, tribal and agricultural taxes.

Their role in the revolution brought them to considerable National power, where between 1911 and 1917(?) there were numerous Cabinets composed of a Bakhtiari Prime Minister, Minister of Post and Telegraphs and Minister of War. The Khans also held Governorships in 7 major cities in Iran including Isfahan. The Bakhtiari came to regard this governorship as their by right.

Seemingly at the height of their power, running much of the country with an enormous flow of wealth into the two families from the personally lucrative posts of provincial Governorships, supported, even though with exasperation by the British, yet the Bakhtiari Khans reveal the source of their own fatal weakness. At no point could the Khans unite amongst themselves. The factional split, with its doubling of leadership constantly changing since no one Khan could command the support of all of his brothers and cousins from the other faction. The Khawanin family as a whole was rent with disputes, as the individuals competed bitterly for the most lucrative Governorships outside the mountains, in the cities.

As the senior Khans of both factions got increasingly involved with National politics and administrative posts either in Tehran or the provinces authority within the mountains was delegated to younger brothers and sons. These purely tribal positions of authority were not nearly so lucrative not so comfortable as these of the senior Khans. A generational split between the elder and younger Khans developed, thus cross cutting this family of brothers and cousins, a tribal lineage in fact in four ways.

These internal differences hopelessly outweighed any overriding joint interests of the Bakhtiari Khans as a whole. Individual

Individuals from each faction allied with each other, older - younger from the same of opposing factions allied together in opposition to other such alliances. These followed the lines of the marriages contracted by the Khans. There were also bitter enmities between specific Khans regardless of age and faction differences.

The Ilkhan had 6 sons, the Haji Ilkhani had 8 sons and 7 daughters  
11 daughters  
and Reza Qoli Khan and 15 sons and 4 daughters. These are recorded though there probably was more. This generation were the senior khans above  
also  
The next generation, which is the ~~also~~ concerned with the above period and especially from the ~~second-world~~ first world war till today and some of which are still alive in the 1970's, the grandsons of the Ilkhan, the Ilkhani faction boasted 36 males, 24 recorded females, and the grandsons of the Hajji Ilkhani had 45 males and 28 females.

In two generations, the 3 brothers produced a ruling family of 81 males and 52 females. There were undoubtedly more women born, but not recorded.

The reason for this massive number of progeny is explained in tribal and ruling terms. With the consolidation of power, from the first time in the hands of the Ilkhani over all of the Bakhtiari, his position was - with the tribal groups which he and his family came to dominate was cemented by exchanging women with the defeated groups, or by taking wives from the various tribes. So the Duraki Khans, who came from the Zarraswand, married women firstly from their own group to gain support within the Taifeh, and following this pattern taking wives from most of the powerful rival groups. The Duraki khans married women from the Chahr Lang, from the Bakhtiarwand, from the Aurak, From the Babadi. They took women from the important taifehs, - from the Babdi groups, from the Duraki Qandali, Osiwand, Raki, .

To try and overcome tensions between the three original families, they married ~~each-others~~ their children to each other - first cousin marriage. You marry your enemies all over the world, and first the Bakhtiari have to marry their cousins. Brothers exchange daughters to

each others sons. One's enemies are one's brothers within the system which prevails in the Bakhtiari mountains. In succeeding generations the children of cousins who have married other also get married thereby renewing the ties of marriage between second cousins.

In the space of two generations, these 81 males and 52 females married within the group, divorced and remarried, the men taking many wives over the years, constantly producing offspring. Sets of full brothers distinguished from half brothers. A man's status in the Bakhtiari comes not just from his father, but from his mother as well. To have a mother from the Khan's, i.e. one's own family is to have the highest status. The fatal weakness for internal unity should be readily apparent, since the Khans constantly had to marry into the tribes as well as with each other. Son's of a tribal mother have lower status than son's of a Bibi - a female of the Khawanin family. First and chief wives were Bibis, The lower status tribal wives were always married as second, third etc wife. The Ilkhan had 9 recorded wives, The Hāji Ilkhan 8 and Reza Gholi Khan the Ilbeg also had 8 recorded wives.

With the control of neighbouring land in Khuzistan and Isfahan provinces, with the necessity of contracting marriages with their tribal rivals, women were exchanged between the Bakhtiari Khans and the Qashqai, and with the Zill es Sultan the Sheikh of Mohammerah, the Kuhgelu and the Lur tribes. Also with women from the villages. As they participated in national affairs, the married into the Qajar family, one Khan married a German woman, who bore a daughter who became queen - Soraya, marriages with notables from Isfahan and the other powerful tribal rulers based in Shiraz - the Qawams.

This policy while an essential technique for establishing social and political relations, for the Bakhtiari Khans as a whole obviously leads to immense internal fragmentation as individual networks and statuses differ considerably. This was the basis for the perpetual internal intrigues within the Khans. That which was so much a feature of their growing control

Bibi Maryam is probably Husain Quli Khan, the Ilkhani's most important and well known daughter. She was the daughter by a Chahr Lang, woman, daughter of Ali Quli-Kh Reza Khan Kaynursi. A less important sister -as married to M-irza Aqa Khan of the Chahr Lang Kiursi, and the nominal Ilkhan of the Chahr Lang.

Bibi Mariam is remembered among the Bakhtiari as "kheili Naqala" which means very wild, and with reason. She was married to the Chahr Lang chief ostensibly to cement a political link between her father the Ilkhan, and the leading Chahr Lang rulers. Such marriages were common, and the women were expected to keep their father and brothers informed as to what was happening in the "enemy camp" In a sense they acted as spies. Bibi Mariame however "went over" to her husband, and allied herself entirely with the Chahr Lang. She gave birth to a son - Ali Merdun, who was a volatile leader, later to be murdered by Reza Bahah in the 1930s. Bibi Mariam was a "Shirzan" She was also called "Sardar Mariam" meaning commander. During the 1st World war, she played an active part on the side of the Germans, helping the German "Lawrence" -Wassmuss in his anti British exploits. In spite of the agreements to keep German's out of Bakhtiari territory, Bibi Mariam defied the other Khans, some, though not all of which were pro-British, at least on the surface, and she is reputed to have led a group of refugees ( Germans) over the mountains. She was paid a lot of money by the Germans and was given a German war decoration.

Later Bibi Mariam married Fath Ullah Khan , Sardar Ashja, her F.B.S. her father's brothers daughter- son ( 1st cousin). She had a son and daughter by him, but the son died young. Sad life story.

Lived in later life in large village in Chahr Mahal.

over an increasingly diverse population, in the succeeding generation prevented the maintenance of any semblance of unity.

In desperation, in 1912, the British gave their support to one Khan from the Haji Ilkhani faction and an agreement was signed by all the Khans to appoint this individual as Ilkhan for a period of 5 years, in place of what had become the customary practice of appointing an Ilkhan for one year only. Since the chosen man was of the Haji Ilkhani faction, the Ilbeg was to be taken from the Ilkhani faction. This arrangement of a dual division was to last until Reza Shah's period. The man appointed by the Ilkhan as his Ilbeg was Morteza Qoli Khan, the eldest grandson of Husain Quli Khan. For the next 45 years Morteza was to play an increasingly dominant role in the government of the Bakhtiari, becoming Ilkhan and Ilbegi many times during this period. He was appointed governor of the Bakhtiari by Reza Shah in 1934, after the title Ilkhan had been abolished and during the second world war the British supported him and for three years he ruled again. He was the last of the Ilkhans of the Bakhtiari.

The arrangement of 1912 did not succeed, especially under the strains of the First world war. Many Bakhtiari Khans including Morteza were pro-German and some actively worked against the British at this time.

Further official agreements were reached and signed by the Bakhtiari amongst themselves and with the British over the following years, as it became clear that the Bakhtiari did not have the experience nor the following to continue to dominate Persian politics.

A final attempt after the first world war to rationalise the government and administration of the Bakhtiari was made, where the responsibility of collecting taxes, divided the various revenues owned to the ruling Khans and attempting to reduce the personal element in the Bakhtiari administration by rationalising and institutionalising the finances of the administration.

Again this agreement failed very shortly, the Khans were constantly in debt, at least the administration was.

After the power of the Khans in Theran began to decrease and the rise of Reza Shah, came Morteza Qoli Khan, son of Samsam as Sultaneh. He has first entered the scene of tribal government as Ilbegi about 1914. He became governor of Bakhtiari in 1934. Reza Shaah worked through him. People were deadly afraid of Reza Shah and trembled at his name. He killed many Bakhtiari Khans in the early 1930s and forced the tribes to settle. Morteza Qoli Khan travelled through the mountains assessing the carrying capacity of the various tribal territories, deciding how the actual settlement was to take place - whether all in summer or in winter pastures or sections of the tribal tawayef in both. At the time he was hated for this, but later he became a sort of tribal hero. Certainly the Bakhtiari suffered much less than other tribes as a result of this attempt at a more rational settlement, than for example what happened among the Lurs to the north, where many tribesmen died as a result of Reza Shah's "badly conceived and badly executed tribal policy"

For seven years there was no migrations. Very extensive settlement took place in Doab. He said Samsami had over 200 100 houses, some of them 2 story and Farkhabad had about 50. Permission was granted for people to move only if they had more than 100 sheep. One man and his wife only were allowed per herd. All the black tents were seized and burned. Seifullah insisted that this policy was 100 % effective. He also said these were very good times - a kind of golden age. There was absolutely no theft. Reza Shah killed all those he had to kill and having gained complete control over the tribes proceeded to improve the country. Seifullah greatly regretted his overthrow. He claimed if Reza Shah had been in power for another 10 years then all of the Bakhtiari would have been permanently settled and the place would have been like paradise.

Seifullah's argument is that of an older man, who escaped the attention of Reza Shah, being deep in the mountains and from a non powerful section of the Khans. Being a Khan however meant that Seifullah was powerful in the mountains as a farmer. His village was very small but viable. He had built irrigation so that his yields were high. He had extensive fruit tree orchards and vineyards. A man of wealth and influence in the area of Doab - the Qandali tribal area. For him the migrating tribes are a nuisance. They spoil his crops and trees, they steal his fruit and to quote him " are mules, dogs, idiots" For him the imposed control of Reza Shah was distinctly advantageous. He controlled the valley of Doab had kin links and marriage links with the important land owners of the region. He had access to a market for his produce in the village of Dashtak and the larger centre of Shahr Kurd. He was wealthy and could easily stock up with sufficient supplies for the snowed in winters.

As soon as Pahlavi was deported, and news came to the mountains the tribesmen set their houses on fire and started their migrations again. Since then they have all been moving every year. The large village of Samsami was almost totally destroyed.

A few people elected to stay in Doab and concentrate on agriculture and some of them at least have become very proficient indeed. The hamlet of Afsarabad for example - has now about 200 people and are very sensible agriculturalists.- unlike the Qandali nomads. Previous to Pahlavi there was very little settlement.

After this period there was chaos in the mountains. The wildest of the Khans Abol Qasem Khan was involved through the 1940s in a number of fights. He wanted to take control of all the Bakhtiari and the British had real problems in controlling him. He took over the villages that used to belong to the Khans. Reza Shah had removed the villages of Chahar Mahal from the Khans and had had them sold to Isfahanis or local wealthy Chahr Mahallis.

Abol Qasem Khan

Abol Qasem raided and looted the villages over which he claimed control. There was a tribal land commission set up to deal with the many claims by Qashqa'i and Bakhtiari alike to try to reclaim the property appropriated by the Shah. Morteza Qoli Khan was sent in to the mountains several times to try to induce Abol Qasem to give himself up. He was partially successful and at one time during the 1940s Abol was actually made Ilkhan.

Seifullah insisted that the Bakhtiari tribes as a whole were not involved in this but there was a fair amount of skirmishing in Doab in about 1943 in which the Qandali and the Babdi were embroiled. Viz Jafar Qoli of the Babadi.

During Mosadeq's time in the 1950s there was the rise to power of General Taimur Khan Bakhtiari. He in fact founded Savak. Bought land in Izeḡ and even built a palace there. He and Abol certainly had a following among many of the Bakhtiari, but primarily it was largely a personal thing.

In 1950s the present Shah tried a Bakhtiari Governor, but proved to be totally abortive. Sardar Bahadur (?)

Abol Qasem went Yaghi again in the 1950s and Taimur Khan was sent into the mountains to try to get him to give himself up. Later killed himself.

This was the last time there was a Bakhtiari Governor.

Administratively the Bakhtiari was split into two Ostans - Provinces -

Isfahan and Khuzistan. In Isfahan the administration is divided into the Farmandar of Shahr Kurd and Chahr Mahal and the Bakhtiari.

Land reform in the 1960's has further weakened the last of the hold the Khans had in the area and they are now limited to one village only - subject to the ordinances of the Land reform decrees.



During the 1920's the Qajar dynasty was ailing under Ahmad Shah and in 1925 was overthrown by Reza Khan, an army officer, who crowned himself Reza Shah in 1926 and began the difficult task of emulating Ataturk and creating a modern state. The major threat to the new Pahlavi dynasty and obstacle to modernisation were the tribes. Reza Shah set about cutting back the power of the various tribal groups, transforming the army into a National army rather than one made up partially of tribal contingents.

His confrontation with the Bakhtiari was protracted but bit by bit step at a time, he removed them from all the provincial governorships they held; then he took away their governorship of some of the neighbouring tribal areas. He stripped them of their land holdings in Chahr Mahal, took away their Oil shares and revenue. In 1933 in a well planned coup, he had about thirty Bakhtiari Khans arrested in Tehran and Isfahan, abolished the position of Ilkhani and removed the governorship of the Bakhtiari and placed into the civil administration in the provinces of Khuzistsn and Isfahan. Many of the Khans were killed or given prison sentences or kept in Tehran as hostages. Within 8 years Reza SHah had crushed the Khans. He set about his settlement policy, forbidding migrations by the tribesmen and sending in contingents of his army to enforce this with success from the governments point of view, but with appalling consequences for the tribesmen.

The days of tribal power were more or less at an end, although it was not till the late 1960s that tribal uprisings ceased. The entry of British and American troops into Iran during the second world war, with the forced abdication of Reza Shah was greeted with delight by the tribes. Their migrations were promptly restarted, they destroyed the rough houses that they had been forced to build, selling their animals to do so; many of the Khans kept in Tehran fled back to the mountains, and for 13 years tribal unrest was again a common feature of Iranian political scene. Bloody fighting between the tribes and south and the Persian armies took place on several occasions.

Morteza Quli Khan was appointed as Governor again and lasted for an uneasy 3 years, with much opposition from some of the younger and volatile Khans, particularly from the opposite faction. The tribes followed the younger rebels and two of the characters who have appeared in this book

Jaf

Jafar Qoli Kalantar of the Babadi and Seifullah Khan fought against Morteza and the Persian forces for a number of years, before finally giving up.

During the Mosadeq period in the 1953(?) when the Shah fled the country most of the Bakhtiari Khans and their tribes came out on the side of the Shah, as a result of which later the Shah took Soraya Bakhtiari as his wife. Again for a short period the star of the Bakhtiari seemed to be in the ascendant with many of the Khans at court. However they all fell from grace on Soraya's divorce.

As can be seen, it was the Bakhtiari Khans who embroiled their tribes in their many conflicts this century with the Persian government, conflict that the Bakhtiari have paid dearly for. The internal conflict between the Khans with their political aspirations profoundly affected the leadership system within the tribe, giving it a force and an articulation it never had before. The Khans ruled with strength because they were backed up by the superior authority of the Khans. With the disappearance of the Khans, the position of many of the Kalantars has been weakened, especially because of their duplication into Ilkajani and haji Ilkhani factions. The animosity between the two groups of Kalantars and their aligned tribal sections still persists uneasily today further fragmenting the tribal structure.

Although effective involvement in local tribal affairs by the Khans has been in fact minimal for 40 years or so, the factional alignment still plays a part in inter tribal disputes. In the 1960's there were two different "Iljang" intertribal fights, which could only be resolved finally, by calling from Terhan on the help and mediation of the senior members of

of the Khans of both factions. The Khans, rather than being the tribal chiefs of the past, are now patrons of those Bakhtiari Kalantars and successful Bakhtiari, who call on the Khans in the cities and using their tribal ties, get hospitality and help in their affairs with the encroaching modern state, whether it is to negotiate a loan from the Agricultural Bank or for help with the Law courts to get their cases and disputes more fairly heard. There is still much discrimination against the ordinary Bakhtiari merely because he is a member of a once powerful threat to the state.

Out of the many tribal groups, independent and fighting each other emerged a single group of local tribal leaders, who in the space of 60 years came from the fight of 9000 when a handful of the Duraki Khans family held off the combined forces of their other Bakhtiari groups to emerge as the leaders of a people, centralised under the Ilkhan, and then propelled through, the flow of unprecedented wealth from land, trade and Oil, and with the support of the British because of the Oil, onto the national stage to become the most feared and usually hated tribal group in Iran. The height of their power about 1911 lasted less than 5 years and their total disintegration and defeat as their land and oil holdings were forecable removed from them not more than 15.

As tribal leaders, they bled their tribemen dry, stealing their land taxing them harshly. The tribes benefited not at all from the wealth which their leader acquired. A virulent hatred of the Khans exists still among many of the tribes, who were glad to see them go in many ways. What has replaced the Khans has however not been very different.

The current representatives of the Baidarwand Khans still living in the mountains claim that the Duraki never collected taxes from them. They paid directly to the government, although they do admit to the factional split profoundly affecting their own internal organisation. In this they are contrasted with the Aurak and Dinaruni group who appear to have escaped the ravages this split cost.

My Baidarwand informants strongly argued that the Duraki only ever collected taxes from their Duraki taifesh. = and that in particular they were never subject to the Sarkhish taxation. They were reputed to have been thrown out of Andeka last century.

The Baidarwand had their own sizable Ordu. They are in fact a very large group. Their leaders were definitely subject to the control of the Ilkhan and his family otherwise the factional split would not have had such a bad effect. All of the Baidarwand are divided into two sections.

There are in fact two distinct sections of Khans - each responsible for half of their groups. They also said that the Babadi did not pay taxes to the Duraki Khans either.

In conclusion, in so far as there can be one it appears that the Bakhtiari were administered from a migrating centre - that of the Zarraswand territory in Chagha Khor and also in Ma' Amir and Andeka. The further from these centres of tribal administration, then the weaker the effect of the centralised power of the Duraki Khans. Certainly a degree of oppressive taxation took place over all the Bakhtiari. The Chah-r Lang were taxed by their own Khans under the supervision of the Duraki Khans, and I suspect so were the Baidarwand and Babadi although not so consistently as the Duraki groups. With the overthrow of the Khans there is strikingly little difference in the tribal structure. The major effect appears to be the somewhat chaotic leadership position of the multiple Kalantars, who no longer have the written back up of the traditional Khans.

Out of the past history, of the development of an administrative hierarchy over the last 100 years in particular has arisen a "class" of tribal rulers the Khawanin, with their actual rulers - the Ilkhan and Ilbegi who have since moved out onto the national and provincial political and social arena. Their position as tribal rulers has gone. Many of this group particularly the more active political figures were disposed of by the Pahlavi rulers of today. Since the early 1950s the others have played a decreasing role in tribal affairs, although the senior members of both factions Jahahshah and Majid Khan occasionally are called to mediate particularly troublesome feuds and fights. The administration of the area is now firmly in the hands of the non Bakhtiari government machinery of provinces and local districts. Representatives of the gendarmes, an official organ of government control now maintain order in the mountains.

The centralised polity of the paramount rule of the Ilkhan has gone for good. It has left behind the legacy of a split hierarchy of local leaders - from the Khans of the Baidarwand, who escaped the wrath of the Pahlavis, dominated politically as they were by the ruling dynastic family of the Duraki, the old Khans of other groups such as the Aurek though the title Khan is possibly a misnomer for them.; The Kalantars of the many dozens of taifehs, and their lower order leaders the Katkhodas. A hierarchical chain of influence still exists, which owes its structure and rationale to the role the various taifehs played in the centralised polity of the Bakhtiari earlier this century.

These Kalantars, the few remaining Khans now have positions of wealth and local political authority which is markedly similar to what such local leaders had over 100 years ago before the centralisation of power under the Duraki. Their sphere of influence is small and varies for different groups according to their ecological niche in the mountains.

What is different is the range of the differentiated social and political world in which they participate. The opportunities for self advancement outside of the pastoral regime are much greater than before. Not just in terms of increased security and therefore increased agriculture, but credit facilities are now open to Bakhtiari to increase their agricultural activities. Employment opportunities exist outside the mountains. A major source of income for many Bakhtiari families comes from the employment opportunities open to young men in Kuwait, where wages are much higher than in Iran. This move for a number of years to Kuwait is not legal but is done on a massive scale. This provides finance for such things as weddings and funerals which lift many families out of the danger of falling into debt - a very slippery process. Reliance on non pastoral wealth has always brought distinct advantages to those who can take them.

For those taifehs distant from market centres and job opportunities whose territories lie deep in the mountains one finds a more uniform reliance on animal wealth or on precarious unirrigated agriculture giving poor and unpredictable yields. Groups such as the Orpanoi and Zalaki whose territories are located high in the mountains feel that they are not so well treated by their Kalnater - the former being part of the Babadi. They feel discriminated against, and neglected by the active Kalantars of the Babadi such as Mohamad Parvizi and Jaf'ar Qoli, through whom they have to work. Jafar mediates between them and government and they feel they are not getting a fair deal. In the past they might well have gone to the Khans to complain or to the Khans representative with at least some hope of an ear. However with their low status within the tribe they are at a distinct disadvantage compared to Jafar Qoli in their dealing with local representatives of the State who treat such isolated tribesmen with a contempt kept for the "primitive". Another group in a similar situation are the Ravati who live in the ~~BW~~ zuft area. They feel that the lawlessness of the Mowri area in which they live and to the Mowri Kalantars to whom they are attached likewise are giving them a raw deal. They have formally transferred their

allegiance to the Qandali taifeh, who have two young and energetic Kalantars who work well together. The Kalantars of the Ravati have signed documents pledging their support of the Qandali leaders and sworn on the Qoran.

Such transfers of allegiance are not uncommon where ~~sectopms-er~~ even-whole taifehs switch their political allegiance to a different group. This is usually done by groups whose territories lie on the boundaries of other competing political units. The Ravati section of the Mowri for example live adjacent to Qandali territory in the summer pastures.

In the past such transfers of loyalty have occurred between the different tribes in the Zagooos. There are sections of the Qashqai and the Kuhgelu, the tribes to the south of the Bakhtiari territory which used to belong to the Bakhtiari, and vice versa. Such shifts are the result of differing political success. Tribal leaders gathering support and gradually increasing the sphere of their effective authority outside of the limits of their own taifeh.

The emergence of powerful local leaders within the tribes has always been regarded with suspicion by the central government, as well as by other local leaders vying for wealth and power. The history of the Bakhtiari is one of infamous disunity, with constant internal intriguing. with murderous feuds between neighbouring groups. and even more treacherous murders as members of the same tribal groups fight each other for leadership. Within the family of Khans or leaders of the different sections of the Bakhtiari are many examples of brothers being murdered. One of the most famous of Bakhtiari leaders, ~~Morteza Qoli Khan~~ <sup>Muhammad Taqi Khan</sup> rose to power over the whole Chahr Lang group by taking revenge on his cousins and uncles who had almost entirely wiped out his own family. 14 of his relatives were murdered.

He himself, as graphically described by Sir. H. Layard who spent two years with this chief, was finally imprisoned and murdered by the Qajar rulers of Iran .