Status of Ilkhan in the Socio-Political Organization of the Qashqai Tribe

Authors

Hossein Sohrabi¹*

Affiliations

¹ Master's Program in Anthropology, Graduate School of Social Sciences Yeditepe University, Istanbul, 34755, Turkey

*To whom correspondence should be addressed; **E-mail:** hossein.sohrabi@std.yeditepe.edu.tr

Abstract

This anthropological research is related to the Qashqai tribe, which lives in southwestern Iran, and apart from the urban and rural population, it has nearly 96,500 nomadic people. This research answers the question, could the Qashqais have the same solidarity, authority, and integrity without an Ilkhan from the Shahilu family?

My claim is based on the fact that the main factor of Qashqai solidarity and empowerment in southern Iran, where the majority of the population is Tajik and non-Turkish, was the Ilkhans from the Shahilu family. And with the leadership of the Shahilu family, the Qashqais could achieve such solidarity and power. The method used in this research is the literature review. The sources used in this research are mostly books, articles, and theses written in Turkish, Persian, and English in the 20th century.

To answer the question, I examined the socio-political organization of the tribe. I focused on the role of the Ilkhan and sub-tribal units. My main aim was to show the status and function of Ilkhans, who belonged to the Shahilu family, in forging and keeping tribal unity. And finally, according to the result of this research, such as; The role of the Shahilu family in the formation and gaining the power of the tribe, the vital status of the Shahilu family and the Ilkhans from this family among the Qashqais, the importance of the cultural system of the tribe for the Ilkhan and the efforts to preserve and strengthen it, and the role of the Ilkhan in confirmation the Kelanters of clans, settlement of clans disputes and planning for pastoral migration, etc. There is a positive answer to my question in the literature about the Qashqai tribe.

Keywords: Ilkhan; Iran; Legitimacy; Qashqai Tribe; Shahilu; Socio-political Organization.

INTRODUCTION

Qashqai tribe (Il-i Qashqai) is one of the most populous tribes of Iran, which is in large parts of the southern and southwestern lands of Iran, mainly in Fars province and other surrounding provinces. The Qashqai tribe, which is written in historical documents as "Jemaat-e Qashqai" (جماعت قشقایی), "Qom-e Qashqai" (قرم قشقایی) and "Il-i Qashqai" (قشقایی) (Ehteshami, 2001, p. 15-17), it had a socio-political organization, a powerful Ilkhani and a high military power, which provided a suitable platform for the tribe to play an active and fundamental role in the history of Iran.

Available documents about the Qashqai tribe show that this tribe lives in two opposite positions in a large area on the southern slopes of the Zagros Mountains range from the beginning. The ecology position and Kuch route pass from the low-altitude pastures (1 to 5,000 feet) of Qishlaq to the high (up to 12,000 feet) Yaylaq pastures over a 200 to 350-mile (Beck, 2017, p. 34) route that lasts for 4 to 6 weeks (Ivanov, 2006, p. 80). The path between Qishlaq and Yaylaq is called Il/El Yolu (or Il-Rah, way of the tribe) (Firuzan, 1983, p. 41).

With the increasing power of the Qashqai tribe and its role in government affairs, the name of this tribe appears more and more in government documents. With Pahlavi coming to power (1979-1925) and the change of government in Iran, the times became difficult for all tribes living in Iran, especially the Qashqai tribe. The hostile policies of the first and second Pahlavis towards the Qashqai tribe went so far that they threatened to destroy the tribe. These policies did not change with the overthrow of the Pahlavi government and were continued by the new government (Islamic Republic of Iran). One of these policies was the policy of Settlement of tribes in an irrational way, which over time caused many Qashqai clan families to abandon their pastures in Yayilaq and Qishlaq forcibly.

As a result of this policy, the Qashqai tribe in the south of Isfahan province, the whole of Fars province up to Kerman, and parts of Khuzestan, Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari, Kohgiloye, and Boyer Ahmad, and Bushehr provinces were resettled (Iraji, 2001, p. 2). But considering this issue, a significant group of them continue their nomadic life, and according to the latest census of 2008, the number of nomads of the Qashqai tribe is close to 96,500 people

(Rahmaninejad, 2007, p. h), (Merkeze Amare Iran, 2009). In the following, I will introduce and examine the studies that have been done still in the literature on this subject.

The Ethnic Group That Forms the Core of the Qashqai Tribe

There are different theories about the ethnic group that formed the core of the Qashqai tribe, which can be described as follows:

According to the historian of the Qajar era, Mirza Hasan Hosseini Fasaei (1999b), the Qashqais are those of the Khalaji who do not live in one place and live in Yaylak and Kışlak according to the law of the tribe (p. 1580-1581). Gustave Demorgay also considers the Qashqai tribe to be a continuation of the Khalaj of Asian Turkey (Eastern Turkey), which settled in Iraq Ajam and they are divided into different parts and spread in Fars region (Demorgay, 2011, p. 5). Oliver Garrod, confirming this, writes: The Tavayef of Shesh-Boluki, Farsi-Madan, and Rahimlu claim that they are the survivors of the Khalaj, and he believes that "The Shish Boluki derive their name from the Shish Boluke, or six subdistricts, of the old Khalajestan and until fairly recently there was a Qashqai section named Khalaj, and there is still a small Bayat section." (Garrod, 1946, p. 294). However, orientalist and writer Vladimir Minorsky believes that the migration of the Khalaj from the center of Iran to Fars took place before the migration of the Qashqai tribe, but both tribes joined together in Fars. In any case, a large number of Khalaj survivors live in the Qashqai tribe, and a large group of them have settled in "Deh-Bid" and Qangari blocks (Bowanat) in North Fars and are engaged in agriculture, and they believe that they originally belong to the Qashqai tribe (Oberling, 1974, p. 29), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 23)

A Russian researcher claims that the Qashqai tribe was a part of the "Shahseven tribe" in northwest Iran who were sent to Fars at the end of the 16th century by the order of Shah Abbas Safavi (1587-1628) to help with military operations (Beck, 2017, p. 52). According to historian and geographer Javad Sefinejad (1996), the Farsi-Madan was present in Fars before this (p. 60). And among many Qashqais, there is a belief that their ancestors were sent to Fars by Shah Ismail Safavi (1487-1524) (Oberling, 1974, p. 30-31). Malek Mansur Khan also claims that the Qashqai tribe was moved from Ardabil to Fars by Shah Ismail Safavi to protect the southern regions of Iran (Therese, 1997, p. 82-83). German

Turkologist, Altaicist, and philologist Gerhard Doerfer also believes that the Qashqai tribe migrated from Azerbaijan to Fars (Kiani, 1992, p. 154).

It cannot be true that they (Qashqais) came to Fars during the Safavid era because there are documents that the name Qashqai (not as a tribe) was in the south of Isfahan and Fars a few decades before the Safavids came to power (Afshar, 1983, p. 244), (Mostofi al-Memaleki, 1998, p. 331).

The oldest document in which we come across Qashqai's name is a document related to a deed of endowment related to Imamzadeh Seyyed Mohammad, from the village of Saran Bala, in the city of Sepidan (Ardkan) Fars. This deed of endowment, whose date is 701 A.H. (1301 A.D.) and the name of Qashqai is mentioned in the form of Qashqhai (قشغایی) in the part that is related to the names of the tribes and clans and sub-tribes of Fars province (Sedaghat-kish, 2009, p. 209).

According to the historian of the Qajar period, Haj Mohammad Jafar Khormoji, the Qashqai tribe is a branch of Yomut Turkmens, whose name is "Qashqa", and they came to Fars with Atabakan Salghuri (Khormoji, 1965, p. 100).

In the 19th century, Qashqai Khans claimed that Hulagu Khan brought the Qashqais to Iran from "Kashgar" in Turkestan (Field, 1939b, p. 638), (Beck, 2017, p. 52). Mehmet Saray also believes that the Qashqai tribe came to Iran from Eastern Turkestan during the time of the Mongols (Saray, 1995, p. 204). Abbott (a British diplomat) also writes by relying on the words of Mohammad Qoli Khan, who became Il Begi in 1850 and then Ilkhani of Qashqai tribe; The ancestors of the Qashqais were moved from Kashgar to Iran by Hulagu Khan (Abbott, 1857, p. 170) and later, by participating in the campaigns of Amir Timur, they were left to fend for themselves in Fars (Ivanov, 2006, p. 57-58). But Vladimir Minorsky states that the main population of the Qashqai tribe came to Iran during the Seljuk period before the Mongol era (Çelik, 1995, p. 206). And according to Sultan Masoud Mirza (1850- 1918), nicknamed Zell al-Sultan, was the son of Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar, the Qashqai tribe definitely and scientifically came from the Turk and from the vicinity of Kashgar (Khadiv-Jam, 1989, p. 215).

During the rule of the Seljuks, who descended from the QaraKhitais, they came to Turkestan from China and settled in the Kshagar region. These Qashqais are the same Kashgarians. The "Qara Tatars" were sent to Fars by the order of Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah, nearly 20,000 people, to strengthen the Fars army of Sa'd ibn Zangi with him. After these Kashgaris became the natives of Fars, the Persians usually dropped "Kaf" in their language and used Qaf (Khadiv-Jam, 1989, p. 224-225). This is Arminius Vambery's point of view as well (Ivanov, 2006, p. 58).

Streaks of truth can be seen in all theories. The survivors of the mentioned groups can be seen in the Qashqai tribe. As Sirus Parham says: The Qashqai tribe did not come to Fars at one time as a unified tribe and gradually emerged from the coming together, connection, and union of Turkish sub-clan and clan (Perham, 1983, p. 248).

It seems that the date of arrival of Turks to Iran (southern Iran) was before the migration of Oghuz Turks (Seljuks). The expansion of the Turks in Asia Minor gained more speed, especially during the time of the Arabs. Turkish nobles (Al-Shûli, Benî Bâcûr or Bayçur, Banî-Akhshîd, Afshins, al-Türkişî, al-Bîkîyeh, Ashnas.) who were captured during the Arab conquests in Khorasan and the ma-wara'un-nahr joined them through peace and were recruited in the Umayyad era. However, in the middle of the 9th century, the number of Turks recruited into the Abbasid Caliphate army suddenly increased. In this way, the influence of these Turks increased increasingly during the era of Mutasim, Vathiq, and Mutawakkil (860-840 AD) (Togan, 1981, p. 174), (Dolatkhah, 2010, p. 105). Some sources associate some of these noble Turks with the Ashina dynasty (Esin, 1973, p. 315), (Kafesoğlu, 2011, p. 149).

Historian Zeki Velidi Togan, citing Istakhari, says: "The Abbasid Caliphs left parts of Fars province as an iqta to these soldiers, and a significant part of them settled there, and about forty Turkish amirs ruled over them." (Togan, 1981, p. 174). According to this information provided, research with this point of view about the ethnic group that formed the core of the Qashqai tribe can provide important information.

The Origin and Meaning of the Qashqai Tribe Name

Regarding the name of the Qashqai tribe, there have been various interpretations so far. But it is very difficult to claim which one of them is valid and true. Because there is no convincing evidence to bring the real meaning of the tribe name. Theories and interpretations about the name of the Qashqai tribe are as follows:

Qajar era historian Mirza Taqi Khan Sepehr (1801- 1880) and some researchers believe that the word Qashqaiis derived from the Turkish verb "Kaçmak" which means to flee, run and escape (Keyhan,1932, p. 78), (Oberling, 1974, p. 32), (Ivanov, 2006, p. 61-62). According to Hasan Hosseini Fasaei (1999b), this name was given to a group of people who separated from them and stayed in the Fars province by the people of the Khalaj as "Qaç Qa'i" meaning escaped, and after verbal changes, it became "Qashqa'i" (p.1580).

Anthropologist Henry Field (1939a) says: It is said in a tradition that when the Turkmen tayefehs (at the time of the Mongols' arrival in Iran) reached the Iraq-i Ajam, a group of them fled and settled in Fars, and the Turkmen called this group Qashqa'i, which means "the fugitives" (Kaçmak, to flee). Later changes in pronunciation made this name Qashqa'i. The language of the Qashqai tribe has remained Turkish until today, and the inhabitants of Fars usually speak of them as "Turks" (p. 217).

A group of researchers believes that the name of the Qashqai tribe is derived from the Shahlu/Shahilu dynasty, who was himself a member of the Qashqai and gave his name to the entire tribe (Garrod, 1946, p. 296), (Perham, 1983, p. 261), (Dolatkhah, 2010, p. 104). According to local sources and according to Marsden (1976), the name Qashqai tribe is derived from the name "Jani Aga Qashqai" who was assigned to the leadership of the tribes and nomads of the Fars region by the order of Shah Abbas Safavi (1587-1629 AD-1008-966 AH) (Marsden, 1976, p. 11), (Aghdam, 2011, p. 41). In this way, the supporters of this theory accept the surname of Jani Aga Qashqaias as the origin of the Qashqai tribe name (Nur Pehlivan, 2018, p. 22).

Some leaders of the tribe and some researchers have also studied the word Qashqai from a geographical point of view. They believe that the Qashqai tribe got its name from a geographical location, city, region, village, mountain, etc. Based on this, some believe that the name of the Qashqai tribe was taken from the city of Kashgar (Khadiv-Jam, 1989, p. 225).

Another theory believes that the name Qashqai is derived from the character of the tribe members, that is, from their courage and bravery. This theory the name Qashqai to be the same as the name "Qashqa" in Chagatay Turkish (Yanar, 2017, p. 187). "Qashqa" means bright, bold, and brave in Chagatay Turkish (Sümer, 1972, p. 14). This word among the Shahseven tribe of the Mughan region means to rebel or opposition (Cavanşir, 2001, p. 6). In the Sarap region of East Azarbaijan, Iran, it is also used to mean the opposition and to frown.

Haji Mirza Muhammad Jafar Khormoji, one of the authors of the Qajar period, says in a work called Al-Haqayeq al-Khabar Nasiri that the Qashqais were from the Qashqa branch of the Yomut Turkmens, and that is why they took the name Qashqai (Khormoji, 1965, p. 100).

Many researchers and a group of Qashqai tribe leaders believe that the name "Qashqa'i" is derived from the Turkish word "Qashqa" which means white-forehead horse, the correct form of which is "Qashqay-قاشـقاى" (Eqbal Ashtiani, 1948, p. 70-71), (Douglas, 1951, p. 133), (Sümer, 1972, p. 14), (Oberling, 1974, p. 32-33), (İnan, 1987, p. 319), (Nafisi, 2004, p. 33), (Ivanov, 2006, p. 62), (Bahman-beygi, 2009, p. 23). This theory seems to have been proposed for the first time in scientific circles by Orientalist Wilhelm Barthold.

Proponents of this theory believe that the Qashqais used to ride these horses (Qashqa horses) because they believed that these horses would bring the warriors a chance to conquer and win. This is why the Qashqai people became known as "Qashqa Atlılar" (Qashqa riders) and accepted this name. Little by little, the two words "Qashqa" and "Atlılar" were combined and the word Qashqalu was born. The suffix "lu" is equivalent to "i" in the Persian language, and the word Qashqalu was changed to Qashqaiunder the influence of the Persian language (Oberling, 1974, p. 32-33), (Barthold, 2008, p. 188). Therefore, taking into account the information provided above, it is most likely that the name of the Qashqai tribe is derived from the name of the horse "Qashqa".

Socio-political Organization of the Qashqai Tribe

According to Marsden (1976), the various subdivisions of the Qashqai and their associated formal leaders are as follows: Tribe (Ilkan) – Clan (Kelanter, Khan) – Sub-clan (Kedkhuda) – Bonku/Bonkuh – Beyle – Khanevadeh (individual family) (p. 13). According to Beck (2017), the socio-political organization of the Qashqai tribe is divided according to 3 factors "residence, kinship, and political relations" (p. 197). Our effort in this section will

be to explain these three factors. For this purpose, for a better understanding of this organization, I will first describe the tribe and Ilkhan.

• The Term "Il" (Tribe)

The "II" is a Turkish word that has developed many meanings in its historical life, such as peace, submissive, people, state, homeland, country horse, and foreigner, which with phoneme changes in Sources and dialects are also used as "EI" (Marsden, 1981, p. 75), (Ergin, 2011, p. 96), (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 23), (Şahin, 2020, p. 635-636).

Oberling believes that tribe has a political meaning among Turks (Oberling, 1974, p. 12). Amanolahi-Beharvend (1981) also considers the tribe as an independent political unit (p. 184-185). And taking into consideration the fact that this word was introduced in the non-Turk tribes and clans of Fars (southern Iran) under the influence of the Turk (Qashqai) culture (Shahbazi, 1987, p. 22). So it can be said, "tribe" has a political meaning among the people of southern Iran (Barth, 1961, p. 85).

Considering the above information that a tribe is a political unit, addressing the Qashqais as a political unit, i.e. as a tribe, gains great importance.

According to the genealogy presented by Shahlu/Shahilu family by Mirza Hasan Hosseini Fasaei (Rastgar Fasaei, 1999b, p. 1100) and Lois Beck (Beck, 2017, p. 62) and citing the narrative among the Qashqai tribe about the help of Amir Ghazi Shahlu/Shahilu to Shah Ismail Safavi in formalizing the Shia religious cult (Oberling, 1974, p. 31) and using The title "Aqa" as well as the surname "Shahlu/Shahilu" can probably be said that the Qashqai tribe's formation and gaining power as a political unit began at the beginning of the establishment of the Safavid rule.

- Ilkhan (The Paramount leader of the Qashqai Tribe)

In historical sources, Ilkhan is used both as "Ruler of Ulus" (Qazvini, 1964, p. 212) and as "submissive of Khan" (Roshan & Mousavi, 1994b, p. 2312). According to Nasir Khan (Ilkhan of Qashqai), Ilkhan means "Chief of Chiefs" which was probably used for the first time by Hulagu Khan" (Therese, 1997, p. 144). Depending on the strength and size of the tribe, the paramount tribal leader of the tribe is called Ilkhan or Khan. In other words, the leader of a large tribe is called Ilkhan, and the leader of a small tribe is called Khan

(Sefinejad, 2004, p. 67). And they were ordered by the king or state governor (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 28). Referring to Fasaei, it can be said that the title of Ilkhan and Il-Beg was granted to the leaders of the Qashqai in 1819 by Fath-Ali Shah Qajar (Rastgar Fasaei, 1999a, p. 719).

The legitimizing mechanisms of the Qashqai tribe Ilkhans can be divided into three main parts: (a) The originality and charisma of Shahilu family members: According to many people, in fact, a kind of character that can be called "sanctity/holiness" came from Amir Ghazi Shahilu through a blood relationship with his children and descendants (Kiani, 1992, p. 182-183), (Beck, 2017, p. 215). Because the Shahilu family traces its descent from the father's side to "Uzun Hasan" (died 1478), the leader of the Agh Qoyunlus, and from the mother's side to Shah Ismail Safavi (Beck, 2017, p. 55). (b) The representative of the tribe (in other words, being legitimate on behalf of the tribe members): One of the main aspects of the stability of the tribal political system was the connection and adaptation of the political system to the cultural system of the tribal people. The tribe had a Turk identity (an identity that was the border between the tribe and the surrounding communities). The leaders of the tribe who considered themselves to be part of the Turk identity (That is, they were members of the tribe (Kiani, 1992, p. 185).) tried to eliminate it and used it as an institution and symbol in their leadership. This is the reason why "Turk and Qashqai" are used as two synonyms words in Fars province (Beck, 2017, p. 35-231-232). (c) To be elected by the central government (in other words, to be legitimate from the government): Another way to legitimize the leader of the tribe was to be chosen by the central government. The Shah (The one who reigns over a country or King) could change the leaders, but usually, he could not choose someone other than the dynasty members (Beck, 2017, p. 68).

In other words, it can be said that the Shahilu dynasty uses the charisma of its dynasty (it seems that this charisma remained for this dynasty during the formation of the Qashqais as a tribe) and the support of the people of the tribe. Because according to Beck (2017), the deep connection between the Ilkhan and the common people and the pride of both of them in being Qashqai/Turk (p. 31) is also a sign of the importance of Turkish identity for both of them. Ilkhan depended on the elders of the clans, and the elders of the clans, in turn, depended on the support of the chiefs of the sub-clans (tirehs), and all together somehow

needed the support of each individual member of the tribe (Beck, 2017, p. 237). The Ilkhans, with the power acquired through heredity and blood, and also by their acquired characteristics and also thanks to the authority and power given to them in the social organization, were able to attract the attention of the central government, and by not having a suitable rival, they were able to take over the leadership of the tribe.

Family

In the Qashqai tribe, the family, like the old Turkish society, forms the core of the tribe. The family is the smallest and most basic social unit in the Qashqai tribe, as well as a production and consumer unit that consumes most of the production itself. Their dwelling is the black tent or Bohon/Bohun, which, according to Anthropologist F. Barth, is the external sign of the existence of such a tent social unit. And they live in an "Ordu" (camp) in the form of several tents in the vicinity too, which can be said to be both a house and a factory. Because the production of livestock products and the weaving of carpets, rugs, and jajim are also done in it, and its members work under the supervision of a supervisor. Basically, the family is considered the base and pillar of other units. Basically, the family is considered the base and pillar of other units. Basically, the family is considered the base and pillar of other units, which have also considerable independence (Rehimi-ye Jaberi, 2015, p. 102), (Barth, 1961, p. 11), (Mostofi al-Memaleki, 1998, p. 370), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 57-59), (Ahmadi, 2007, p. 116-117), (Behramian, 2008, p. 24-25), (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 25-26), (Ferbod, 2009, p. 290), (Erenoğlu, 2011, p. 126), (Beck, 2017, p. 43).

The head of the family is usually a man who not only coordinates the activities of the members but also participates as the head and representative of the family in activities related to the family and is responsible for the welfare and behavior of other family members (Kiani, 1992, p. 3), (Ahmadi, 2007, p. 116-117). With these words, it can be said that the Qashqai tribe is a patriarchy. Because in the patriarchal family, the pyramid of power is vertical, and the father at the head of the family. All important decisions, whether economic, social, cultural, or political, are made under the supervision of the father of the family (Meqsudi, 2007, p. 200).

Social Stratification

In the social stratification of Tribes, the existing values among those Tribes should be taken into account and the social stratification of that tribe should be done by means of those values. According to this point, the Qashqai social stratification was not a caste system as it exists in India, but an almost closed stratification, which means that it was possible to marry (although rarely) between different classes (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 29-30). Another sign of this issue, that is, the almost closed social stratification of the Qashqai, is the existence of meritocracy in the tribe. Regarding this matter, Oberling (1974) says: If the Kelanter did a significant service for the tribe, they would receive the title of "Khan" as a reward (p. 23). This also shows the existence of meritoriousness in the Qashqai tribe.

Also, taking into account the fact that wealth and cattle are second to political power in the Qashqai tribe (Kiani, 1992, p. 190-275-178), (Beck, 2017, p. 215). According to the above points, it can probably be said that "political power" is the most important and obvious principle and value in the social stratification of the Qashqai and it has priority over other principles and values. That's mean, political power (in the Qashqai tribe) organizes legitimate political domination and subordination and creates its own proper hierarchy, and finally establishes social stratification and social class system between individuals and groups (Balandier, 1995, p. 95).

To be more precise, political power combined with lineage creates this stratification. Because according to the political authority of the Qashqai (authority that existed since the time of Emir Qazi Shahilu) and taking into account the words of Clastres (2011) who says: "The fact that the leadership task is passed from father to son, that is, that this obligation is preserved in the patrilineal lineage that forms the basis of the social structure, shows that the community is determined to preserve its unity in time and space" (p. 57), it can be said that political power and lineage in the cause of social stratification can be written as follows:

- 1. The ruling class: It is a class that has a completely political dimension, which itself is divided into several classes:
- 1.1. Ilkhan: The highest position in the Qashqai is the Ilkhan, who has been legitimized by the central government (before the Pahlavi government 1925)

- and people of the tribe (Of course, it should be noted that only the Shahilu dynasty had Ilkhan legitimacy).
- 1.2. Khans: This class is from the lineage of Ilkhan, but they have not managed to reach the rank of Ilkhan, as a result, they form a lower class than Ilkhan, but they are higher than the Kelanters (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 27).
- 1.3. Kelanters: Every clan had a headman called Kelanter who was appointed by Ilkhan. In other words, the Kelanter was the power of the Ilkhan in the clan, whose decree was renewed every year in the presence of the Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 70), (Sefinejad, 2016, p. 239).
- 1.4. Keikha: This class is from the lineage of the Kelanter, but they have not reached the rank of Kelanter and therefore they are lower than the Kelanter (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 27).
- 1.5. Kedkhuda: Kedkhuda, who is the head of the smallest official political unit of the tribe, i.e. the sub-clan, was chosen by the consensus of the groups within the sub-clan and was appointed by the Ilkhani at the discretion of the Kelanter (Oberling, 1974, p. 23), (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 70), (Beck, 2017, p. 198).
- 2. Ordinary people class: This class was the second social class of the Qashqai and constituted the majority of the tribe. They provided their living expenses through animal husbandry or serving the ruling class and had no political responsibilities or power (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 25-26). In other words, the people of this class formed an economic-political class (Beck, 2017, p. 272) and were members of the tribe politically. This class also includes people living in villages. Beck (2017) says in this regard: The settled Qashqais cannot be removed from the tribe because many of them still interact with the words Bonko, sub-clan, and clan (p. 210-211). Anthropologist Henry Field also has a similar opinion in this regard (Field, 1939a, p. 217).
- 3. Rejected class or Peripatetic Communities (Berland & Salo, 1986): The last group in the social stratification of the Qashqai was the dependent and semi-Rejected groups who were not members of the tribe and did not play a role in the tribe politically because they were never consulted (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 173-174). These people included: musicians, hairdressers, blacksmiths,

sarbans, whom the common people looked down upon and rarely agreed to marry them. Therefore, their marriage was and is endogamous (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 195).

Beyle and Bonko

Beyle is a community in the traditional tribe structure, which forms the basic unit of agricultural and animal husbandry cooperatives and consists of a gathering of 3 to 10 related families or tents. At the same time, Beyle is flexible and its composition changes from year to year in relation to the situation of different families. Beyle is very important in terms of daily activities because it creates a unit of people who move together during migration and creates useful cooperation (Sefinejad, 1996, p. 75-76). According to Afshar Sistani, because Beyle is not an official community, it usually does not have an official chairmanship, and almost like Bonko, it is managed by a White Beards or an influential person in this community. Of course, due to the fact that this community is only in Farsi-Madanclans (for example, in the Amalehsub-clan of the Farsi-Madanclan, the Awazi bonko are divided into 4 beyles and the Moradi bonko are divided into 6 beyles (Firuzan, 1983, p. 38).), Amaleh (These two clans have few beyles, about 13% of the total beyles of the tribe) and Shesh-Boluki (This clan has more than 180 beyles, which means 87% of the total tribe), some researchers have ignored this community (Afshar Sistani, 1987b, p. 625), (Nazari& Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 192).

Bonko (or Bonku) is a small group of workers and colleagues who belong to the same subclan and are a descent group. Bonko consists of a gathering of 30-40 tents of closely related families in a limited area called "Yurt" where they camp, and move together (yayalaqqishlaq) and are divided into a number of herding groups (beyle). This unit is flexible and does not have a fixed composition. Bonkos create seasonal fixed units (temporary aggregates of families. Beck, 2017, p. 186) of a place whose size, membership, and residence change over time. In other words, several families who have a common pasture and according to the needs of the family, by erecting several tents together, form this unit, which is called Bonko in the Qashqai. Bonko members and Pasture-dwellers moved together and joined others. Kuch (migration) provided an opportunity for people who did not hang out together to have some kind of stable interaction (Tapper, 1979, p. 55), (Mostofi al-Memaleki, 1998, p. 367-370), (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 49), (Dordari, 2009, p. 271), (Beck, 2017, p. 197-198).

Bonko, which is also called Oba, Boluk, Ehsham, or Ishum in the local language, is smaller than sub-clan and is managed by Aq Saqal. The election of Aq Saqal was not accompanied by any official ceremony and was chosen with the approval of the people and Kedkhuda under the supervision of the kelanter of the clan. Aq Saqal has also been seen in the tribal communities of Turkestan, where it was also known as Aq Saqal. Aq Saqal, as its name suggests, refers to an elderly person who has positive characteristics and morals and is accepted by society. The duty of every Aq Saqal is to intervene in the affairs of the Bonko, such as the time of migration, choosing the place of the yurt, allowing and preparing pasture, settling the internal affairs of the Bonko, participating in weddings as a witness, etc (Oberling, 1974, p. 23), (Marsden, 1981, p. 77), (Firuzan, 1983, p. 38), (Afshar Sistani, 1987b, p. 625), (Kiani, 1992, p. 176), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 25), (Heidari, 2016, p. 93). It should also be noted that bonko takes its name from the white beard or from the big person in Bonko, and in case of his death, bonko is named after the new white beard (Dordari, 2009, p. 271).

• Sub-clan (Tireh)

The sub-clan is the smallest official political unit in the Qashqai tribe, which has a specific leader and is the largest unit after the clan (The constituent units of the clan are the sub-clans, which were official in the Qashqai political organization, and their heads were appointed by the power center. (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 24)). The sub-clan consisted of two or more bonkos groups (boluks) that sometimes had a common ancestry (most of them who belong to the same sub-clan consider themselves to have a common paternal ancestry) and consisted of 80 tents on average (500 people). The central government, Khans, and other forces in the region knew sub-clan for political, administrative, and judicial purposes (Tapper, 1979, p. 55), (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 48-49), (Bahramian, 2013, p. 30), (Shohani, 2017, p. 96), (Beck, 2017, p. 198).

The sub-clan whose power depended on the number of warrior men, the livestock wealth of the family, and the area of its collective chapters (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 70) and it consisted of a number of animal husbandry groups based on summer and winter pastures (sometimes

even in the village), which was attributed to a "Kedkhuda" (Marsden, 1981, p. 438-439), (Beck, 2017, p. 43-186). According to T. Firuzan (1983), the divisions of the Qashqai were not always limited to clan, sub-clan, bonko, and beyle. Sometimes there were divisions between sub-clan and bonko, especially in large sub-clans, which can be called "sub-sub-clan". For this reason, sometimes there were several Kedkhudas in one sub-clan (p. 39). The position of Kedkhudai (which, according to Beck (2017), existed in Qashqai at least since the 18th century (p. 265).) was not hereditary and was chosen by the consensus of the members of the sub-clan and the discretion of the Kelanter and appointed with the approval of the Ilkhan (Oberling, 1974, p. 23), (Erenoğlu, 2011, p. 130), (Beck, 2017, p. 259-260), (Nazari& Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 191).

• Clan (Tayefeh)

Clan, in the Qashqai tribe, included the political and administrative unit of the tribe, which consisted of multiple sub-clans of the same level, whose only bond was their commitment to the head of the clan, and there was no condition of common relatives or kinship (people in the clan have distant and close relatives and were blood and affine relatives several generations ago (Shohani, 2017, p. 96)) And each clan was related to a sub-clan of Khans (a small prominent socio-economic group with special aristocratic and family features that were complete from the rest (Beck, 2017, p. 43)), who had endogamy marriages. In other words, the clans, which were sometimes a climatic group, were a collection of sub-clans (that these sub-clans were structurally far away from Khanin in the same proportion, and Khanin were placed at a certain level of distance from the sub-clans) that came into being under the guidance and leadership of the Khans family. And one of these khans, who played the role of liaison with the Ilkhan, had the title of "Kelanter" (L. Beck (2017) says: Kelanter was the Khan of the Khans (p. 236). It seems that the meaning of Khan here is "Khan at the clan level", i.e. "Keikha". Therefore, we have considered the kelanter as a sub-khan (a khan who has not attained the rank of Ilkhan) and a high-keikha (keikha: a clan-level khan who has not attained the rank of kelanter) (Oberling, 1974, p. 23), (Tapper, 1979, p. 55), (Kiani, 1992, p. 177), (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 68-69), (Erenoğlu, 2011, p. 129), (Beck, 2017, p. 43-200-201).

The clan, which was ruled by a member of the Khans family, usually held the title of "Kelanter". The word kelanter, which gradually became common since the Safavid era (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 115). Kelanter was the head of the clan in the Qashqai tribe, and his position was hereditary (It means that a certain family that was elected to this position in the past reached this position.) and was determined by the power center of the tribe, i.e. the Ilkhani. It should be noted that merit and meritocracy were also very important in this position because if an Ilkhani saw a weakness in the kelanter's actions, he would be deposed and his brother or one of his close relatives would be appointed to this position (Soraya, 1969, p. 129), (Kiani, 1992, p. 178), (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 69), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 74), (Beck, 2017, p. 187-188), (Nazari& Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 191).

RESULTS

The status of the Ilkhan was essential among the Qashqais to keep the tribal unity solid. Ilkhans gained their legitimacy from the legendary prestige of the Shahilu family and performing the duties attributed to the tribal leadership. Even in the 20th century, the Qashqais believed that the Shahilu family was descended from Uzun Hasan, the sultan of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty, on the paternal side and Shah Ismail on the maternal side.

And since Amir Ghazi Shahilu was one of the Sufis of the Safavid era who helped Shah Ismail establish Shiism in the 16th century, he had a kind of sanctity with him. According to some, the descendants of Amir Ghazi inherited this sanctity, strength, and readiness through blood and inheritance, which helps them make difficult decisions, resolve conflicts, and even medicine and treatment (Beck, 2017, p. 55-56-215). This holiness was an instrument of power and a guarantee of legitimacy for his descendants. According to Balandier (1995), one of the tools of power and guaranteeing legitimacy is Sect/Sufism (p. 138). And this corresponds to the system of Chiefdom, presented by Elman R. Service. Because this system, which is between the tribe and the state, is an organization based on kinship (Kottak, 2001, p. 153). And one of its most apparent features is "the combination of various forms of authority based on kinship (a family that dominates for mythological or historical reasons), on dignity, on sanctity, or on compulsions in the existence of the chief" (Rivière, 2003, p. 100). In other words, it was a charismatic dominance (Kut) that

had an emotional character and depended on the belief in an exceptional person, who was holy, heroic, or had exemplary character (Balandier, 1995, p. 50).

In other words, in the Qashqai society, which had centralized power (Kazanov, 2015, p. 300-301), the holy matter was visible within the power structure. That is, the holy matter was the source of the chief's power (Rivière, 2003, p. 232). According to Balandier (1995), in all societies, political power is never completely free of sanctity, and in the case of traditional societies, its relationship with sanctity is completely public. Holiness, whether hidden or overt, is always present in power. Through this power, society is seen as a unit that has order and continuity. And in its idealized form, it is understood as a guarantor of public security and as a pure reflection of customs or law; it is experienced as a superior and binding value (p. 49).

Generally speaking, the relationship of power with society is similar to that which, according to Durkheim, exists between the Australian totem and the tribe. This connection is essentially saturated with sanctity, for every society links its order to an order beyond it, and in the case of traditional societies, order extends to the cosmos. Power becomes sacred because every society expresses its desire to be stable and considers the return to chaos as a sign of its death and is afraid of it (Balandier, 1995, p. 121).

In a patriarchal and patrilocality system, the leader can have a relatively continuous and stable authority over the men of his congregation. Under this system, men are fixed and women change. A homogeneous core remains within a congregation and helps create a foundation for authority. Therefore, in Chiefdom societies like the Qashqai, power strategies and struggles for influence pass through kinship networks (Rivière, 2003, p. 126-127). And this power or political power organizes legitimate political domination and subordination and creates its proper hierarchy (Balandier, 1995, p. 95).

DISCUSSION

In this research, I tried to reveal the main unifying factor in the political system of the Qashqai tribe, that is, the connection and adaptation of the political system to the cultural system of Qashqais by the Ilkhan. Considering the central political system of the Qashqai tribe it can be said that the Qashqais had a Chiefdom system.

Because, in chiefdoms, social relations are regulated by kinship, marriage, ancestry, age, generation, and gender, just as in bands and tribes. In contrast to bands and tribes, chiefdoms are distinguished by their permanent political organization of the territory under their rule, comprising thousands of people living in many villages or hamlets. Arrangements are carried out by the chief or his deputies holding political positions. It is a permanent position that must be filled when the post is vacant by death or retirement. Once their duties are systematically filled, the chiefdom's structure lasts for generations, allowing for lasting political regulation.

Ilkhans of the Qashqai tribe were distinguished by their permanent political organization in the territory under their rule (which included thousands of people, both rural and nomadic). Arrangements were made by Ilkhan or his deputies who had political positions. In the Qashqai tribe, the position was a permanent position that had to be filled. For example, the Kelanter and Kedkhuda officials were political officials who were approved by Ilkhan.

In the political system of the Qashqai tribe, considering that the Ilkhan position was in the hands of one family (Shahilu family), there was no need to know the ancestors of the previous 50 generations, like some of the Polynesian chiefdoms. But again, it can be said that, like the Polynesian chiefdom system, the social position was based on seniority. For example, during the exile of the Shahilu family (Ilkhan and his brothers), none of the Kelanters and noble people of the Qashqai tribe could take over the Ilkhan position of the tribe. Regarding the succession in the Qashqai tribe, it should be said that the potential successors were the Ilkhan, the eldest son (and his other sons), and all his close paternal relatives. If the eldest son was not willing or able to manage the tribe, other brothers and successors could take over the administration of the tribe.

This succession system was similar to Maori culture. Because in the Maori culture, older brothers were superior to younger brothers, but in many cases, younger brothers, with their creativity and ability, could take away the power and prestige from the elders. Even among the upper levels of society, the position of women was similar to that of younger brothers. That is, although women were not officially very powerful, they could also challenge the system with their "creativity" (in this case, their fertility) like their younger brothers (Stone,

2010, p. 173). Polynesian chiefs relied on religion to assert their authority. But the Ilkhans of the Qashqai tribe knowingly benefited from the Sufiness of their ancestor, Amir Ghazi Shahilu, in order to strengthen their authority rather than directly turning to religion. Qashqai tribe members also believed that Amir Ghazi Shahilu had a sanctity that was passed down from him to his children and grandchildren.

CONCLUSION

This research is about Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe and his legitimacy in the socio-political organization of the tribe. For this reason, to show the status and importance of the Ilkhan from the Shahilu family, I tried to raise a question with the theme, could the Qashqais have the same solidarity, authority, and integrity without an Ilkhan from the Shahilu family?

To reach this question, I studied the sources provided in the bibliography part of the literature review. Bringing all the data into account, there seems to be some consistency between the question I asked and the answers I received.

It is necessary to point out that today this political system no longer exists in the Qashqai tribe. That is, by doing the fieldwork which was my goal in the beginning, I could not make any observations about the Ilkhan system of the Qashqai tribe, and I could only get information about the daily life of the Qashqais. For this reason, I tried to research this issue through the sources that the literature gave me. But for future studies, it is better to go to the field and investigate how these things work in the tribe after the Ilkhani system.

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