

STATUS OF ILKHAN IN THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE
QASHQAI TRIBE



HOSSEIN SOHRABI

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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QASHQAI TRIBE

HOSSEIN SOHRABI

SUPERVISOR

ASSIST. PROF. AYŞE HİLAL TUZTAŞ HORZUMLU

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PLAGIARISM STATEMENT

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date: 21.06.2023

Name, Last name: Hossein SOHRABI



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 Kelanterns 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: Iran, Qashqai Tribe, Ilkhan, Shahilu, Socio-political Organization, Legitimacy, Family.

ÖZET

Bu antropolojik çalışmada İran'ın güneybatısında yaşayan, şehirli ve köylüler hariç olmak üzere yaklaşık 96,500 nüfuslu bir göçebe kitlesini barındıran Kaşkay Eli'ni ele alınmaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı, Kaşkaylar Şahilu ailesine mensup bir İlhan olmaksızın aynı dayanışma, otorite ve bütünlüğe sahip olabilirler miydi sorusuna cevap bulmaktır.

Çalışmanın iddiası, nüfus çoğunluğunun Tacik olduğu İran'ın güneyinde yaşayan Kaşkayların sahip olduğu dayanışma ve gücün kaynağının Şahilu ailesine mensup İlhanlar olduğudur. Şahilu ailesinin liderliğinin olmaması hâlinde Kaşkayların dayanışma ve güçlerinin sahip oldukları seviyeye ulaşamayacağı anlaşılmaktadır.

Çalışmada kullanılan yöntem literatür taramasıdır. Bu araştırmada kullanılan kaynaklar çoğunlukla 20. yüzyılda Türkçe, Farsça ve İngilizce yazılmış kitap, makale ve tezlerdir. Çalışmadaki temel sorunun cevaplanabilmesi için Kaşkay elinin sosyo-politik yapısı incelenmiştir. İlhanın ve el-altı birimlerin işlevine odaklanılmıştır. Şahilu ailesine mensup İlhanların konumları ile elin inşası ve sürdürülmesindeki işlevlerinin ortaya konması amaçlanmıştır. Araştırma neticesinde, Kaşkay elinin teşekkül ve güçlenmesinde Şahilu ailesinin rolü, Kaşkaylar arasında Şahilu ailesi ile İlhanların muteber mevkii, elin korunup takviyesine çalışılan kültürel sisteminin İlhan açısından önemi, İlhanın ve kelerterlerin tireler arası anlaşmazlıkların halli ve mevsimlik göçün tertibi gibi meselelerdeki payları ve daha pek çok konuda veriler elde edilmiştir. Bu verilere dayanarak çalışmanın temel sorusuna verilebilecek cevap, Şahilu ailesine mensup İlhanlar olmaksızın Kaşkayların sahip oldukları dayanışma ve güce ulaşmalarının mümkün olmadığıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İran, Kaşkay Eli, İlhan, Şahilu, Sosyo-politik Örgütlenme, Meşruiyet, Aile.

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VOCABULARY

Considering the use of native words in this thesis, I felt it necessary to describe their English equivalents before starting the thesis as follows:

Il: Tribe

Tayefeh: Clan

Tireh: Sub-clan

Ili: Tribal

Ilkhan: Paramount Tribal Leader

Ilbeg: Tribal Leader

Kelanter: Head of Clan

Kedkhuda: Head of Sub-clan

Aq Saqal/Ak Sakal/Rish Sefid: Head of Bonko

Yaylaq: Summer Pastures

Qishlaq: Winter Pastures

Yurt/Yurd: The place where the tent is pitched.

Kuch: Pastoral migration

Ordu: Camp

Ocak: Fire pit/Hearth

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

L: Lineal relative

C O: Colineal relative

M G: Male genitor

F G: Female genitor

M C: Male Connective

F C: Female Connective

Etc: Et cetera

P: Page



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1. INTRODUCTION

This is an anthropological research thesis to answer the question, could the Qashqais have the same solidarity, authority, and integrity without an Ilkhan from the Shahilu family? Due to the difference between the political organization of the Qashqai tribe and the political organization of other tribes of Iran, my claim is that the main factor of Qashqai solidarity and empowerment in southern Iran, where most of the population is non-Turkish, was the Shahilu family. And with the leadership of the Shahilu family, the Qashqais could have such power and status.

In other words, the Qashqais could only provide the necessary power with the Shahilu family to play a role in the south of Iran in the way they did under the leadership of the Shahilu family. Because, the Ilkhans of the Qashqai tribe, all of whom were from the Shahilu family, were always in the service of the central government until 1925 (except for the era of Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar 1794-1797). The help of Amir Ghazi Shahilu to Shah Ismail Safavi (1501-1524), the benefit of two of Shahilu's leaders to Nadir Shah Afshar in conquering India in 1738, the appointment of the leader of the Qashqai as the leader of the tribes of Fars by Karim Khan Zand (1760-1779), and the formation of a part of the Qajar army by the Qashqais It shows the power of the Shahilu family (Ilkhan) and their relationship with the central government. For this reason, after 1925, the Pahlavi government and then the Islamic Republic of Iran (1979) started a conflict with the source of that power, that is, the Shahilu family (Ilkhan), and killed some persons from that family to eliminate the Qashqais' tribal power.

1.1. Subject and Purpose of the Research

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" (قوم قشقایی) and "Il-i Qashqai" (ایل 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.

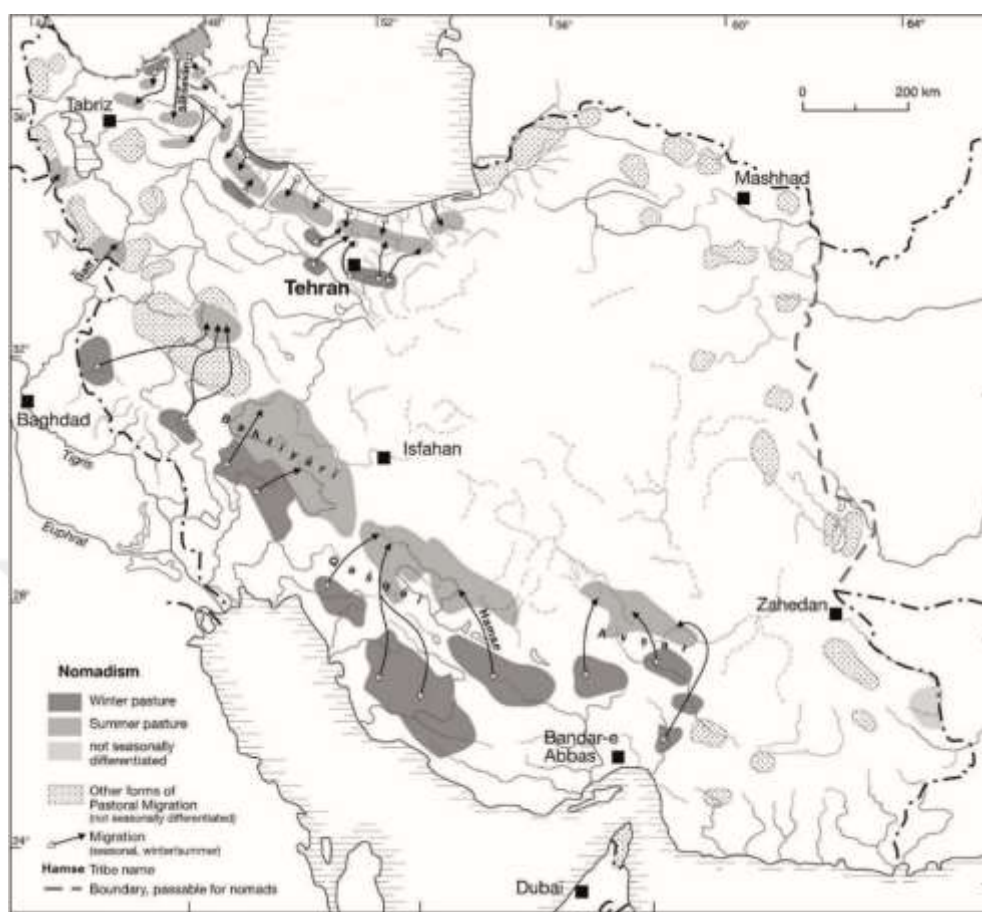
Available documents about the Qashqai tribe show that this tribe lives in two opposite positions in a large area on the southern slopes of the Zagros Mountains range

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 (1925-1979) 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 tribe families to abandon their pastures in Yayilaq and Qishlaq forcibly.

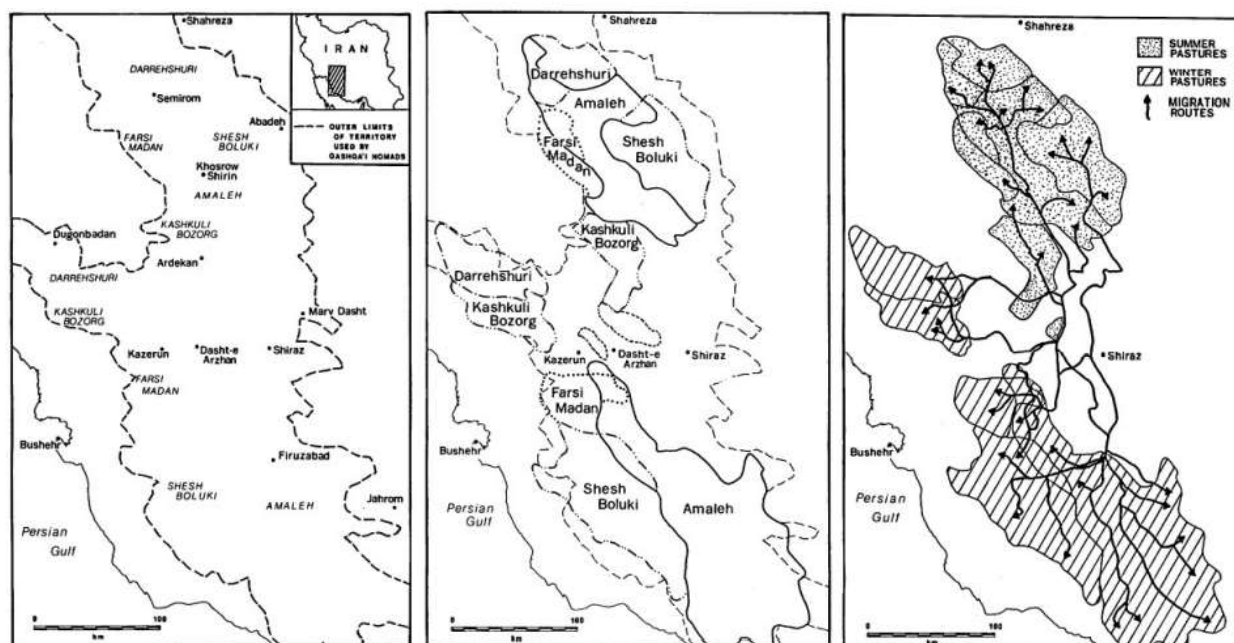
As a result of this policy, the Qashqai tribe in the south of Isfahan province, the whole of Fars province up to Kerman, and parts of Khuzestan, Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari, Kohgiluyeh, and Boyer-Ahmad, and Bushehr provinces were resettled (Iraji, 2001, p. 2). But considering this issue, a significant group 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.

Figure 1. Summer and Winter Pastures.



(Noroozi, 2021, p. 73)

Figure 2. Outer Limits of the Qashqai Territory and Winter and Summer Pastures and Migratory Routes of the Five Major Qashqai Clans.



(Beck, 1991, p. 6-11-13)

1.2. Literature Review

Regarding the Qashqai tribe, much research has been done both by the persons of the Qashqai tribe themselves and by foreign and Iranian anthropologists, historians, and linguists, which are mainly in three languages: Turkish, Persian, and English. Before entering the introduction and description of these sources, I will follow the following division.

First, I will describe the studies that include the primary sources of this research and can be placed in the framework of anthropology. I will start this part of the description with reflections of the anthropologist Ms. L. Beck. The reason for this is the extensive research that Mrs. Beck has done on the Qashqai tribe. In the following, I will describe linguistic studies about the Qashqai tribe. The studies examine the Turkish of the Qashqai tribe in a comparative way and the classification of its position in the Turkish language. In the following, I will describe the studies written about the history and culture of the Qashqai tribe. Considering that most of the studies done on Qashqais are in this framework, I will detail this section in two parts. I will first outline the studies carried out in Turkish and then review the studies published in Persian and English. And finally, I will outline the studies about the everyday life practices of the Qashqai tribe.

After the description of this division, I will now examine these sources, i.e., the sources used in this research¹:

As mentioned above, I will start the anthropological studies about the Qashqai tribe. L. Beck. In the field of Qashqai tribe studies, it should be said that L. Beck's works have a significant place. The book '*Qeshqayi-haye Iran/The Qashqai of Iran.*' is primarily an anthropological work, and the author has used history for anthropological analysis. In this book, Beck describes the history of the Qashqai tribe based on the analysis of new and old sources, an anthropological study of the socio-political organization of the Qashqai tribe. Another book by L. Beck is titled '*Nomad: A Year in the Life of a Qashqai Tribesman in Iran*'. Beck lived for two years among the Qermezi (Red) sub-clan of the Darreh-Shuri clan during the migration and wrote about all the

¹ At the end of this research, I have provided a list of research that has been conducted on the Qashqai tribe and have not been used due to lack of access or not being related to the topic of the research (Appendix A).

events that happened to the nomads during the migration in a detailed and psychological manner. In this book, the author describes the hardships of the nomadic life and how the people of the tribe deal with the changing political, social, and economic conditions. A thesis was also written about this book by Elbinsoy (2019). Another work of L. Beck used in this research is the article '*Herd Owners and Hired Shepherds: The Qashqai of Iran*' which is about herding and shepherds of the Qashqai tribe and their livelihood, and the work Beck, L. (1983) seeks to understand the dialectical processes involved in the contact between pastoral nomadic tribes and state-organized societies.

Other works of L. Beck can be mentioned (1980, 1992) and (2014). Beck (1980), in this article, discusses the renewed efforts of Qashqai tribe leaders (Leaders who were exiled from Iran in the early 1950s for supporting Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh) to regain their place in the tribe after the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime in 1979. In her other work, Beck (1992) mentioned a brief comparison of the life of the Qashqais during the Pahlavi era and the Islamic Republic. She described the religious difficulties created by the new government for the Qashqais. And finally, L. Beck (2014) in this work examines the change of government from Pahlavi to the Islamic Republic in Iran and the methods of influence of this process on Qashqai. Also, by analyzing the relationship between the political system of the tribe with each of these two regimes, Beck explains how the tribe copes with the pressures from the two central governments. Huang, J. (2009), daughter of L. Beck, in her work, relying on her experiences and fieldwork, focus on the way of life and activities and interactions, social and cultural environment, etc., of a small group of women who are part of a big family. This research shows how women compromise and negotiate between their tribal values and external influences. Also, this research deals with how the Qashqais communicate with the world outside their tribe.

The work '*Contributions to The Anthropology of Iran 1 and 2*', written by a research group led by H. Field in 1939, is another anthropological book about the Qashqai tribe. The research of this group, which is in the field of physical anthropology, includes measuring the human body and collecting plant and animal samples in areas such as Shiraz, Isfahan, Shahre-Ray, and other parts of Iran. Garrod, O. (1946), the author deals with the historical, cultural, and economic aspects of the Qashqai tribe in his work. Salzman discussed the role of the political organization of tribes in Iran in his work called '*Political Organization among Nomadic Peoples.*', written in 1967, and

briefly talks about the role of Ilkhan among the Qashqais, especially during the migration. Soraya, M. (1969), mainly deals with the issues of power, family, kinship, and the way of dividing inheritance in the Qashqai tribe. This research shows that the absolute power in the tribe was the Ilkhan and the members of the tribe needed the approval of the Ilkhan in personal matters such as marriage. In addition, social stratification also played an essential role in Qashqai marriages. So that men could marry women of a lower class than their own, but women did not have such a right and could only marry men of the same class or men of a higher rank.

The work of Peyman, H. (1968) is the first independent research written by a person from Iran, which describes and analyzes the economic, social, and cultural structure of the Qashqai tribe. Oberling, P. (1974), which is one of the first comprehensive books about the Qashqai tribe. In this book, the author explains the history and name of the tribe, the relations of the Qashqai tribe with the government, and nomadic and governmental units in Fars. In his work, Amanolahi-Beharvend, S. (1975) describes the status and place of women among the Qashqai nomads, as well as social stratification and the way of marriage in the tribe and another work, Amanolahi-Beharvend, S. (1981), which is the product of months of life and effort among tribes and nomads, examines the economic, social, cultural, and political status of Iran's tribes. Marsden's two works called "The Qashqai Nomadic Pastoralists of Fars Province," written in 1976 and "The Social Organization of Selected Villages in The Marvdasht Plan – Fars Province – Southern Iran" written in 1981 also essential works about the Qashqai tribe. In his works, Marsden deals with the history and name of the tribe, the social-political organization of the tribe (Qashqais of a successor), and their description.

In this work, Tapper, R. L. (1979), compares the research conducted on the socio-political organizations of Middle Eastern tribes. According to Tapper, the available information about the tribes insufficient enough. It should be noted that the sources used by R. Tapper about the Qashqai tribe are from the works of L. Beck and D.J. Marsden. Among the other works that give a detailed description of the Qashqai tribe are the works of Kiani, M. (1992) and (2000). These works introduce the culture, art, and daily life of the Qashqai people from an anthropological point of view. In his works, the author examines categories such as the natural environment and geography of the Qashqai tribe, livestock and animal husbandry, the arts of the tribe, economic conditions, types of food, clothing, beliefs, the way of migration and the political

conditions governing the tribe. Finally, in his work, Teyyebi, H. (1995) describes the anthropological and sociological characteristics of different tribes and nomads in Iran. In short, in this work, the author describes the definitions and concepts of research, research method, nomadic society, historical background, descriptions and images of the nomadic system, social structure and hierarchy of power, economy, and livelihood.

Gharakhalou-Narrei, M. (1996), the research subject in this work is migration and the changes made in the culture of the Qashqai people. Next, Sefinejad (1996, 2004, and 2016) can be mentioned. Sefinejad describes and examines the social organization and traditional system of nomads, the division and supervision of sections among the tribes of Iran by separating two communities, nomadic and rural. Finally, Mostofi al-Memaleki, R. (1998), deals with the migration and geography of Iran's nomads, especially the Qashqais. In addition, it presents historical and cultural information and the divisions of the Qashqai tribe.

Bolukbashi, A. (2003), examines the traditional form of social, political, cultural, and economic organizations of the tribes. The sources of this book are based on the author's field research among tribes and nomads, as well as foreign and Iranian researchers. Erenoğlu, D. (2011) first describes the social stratification of the Qashqai tribe and then discusses the common points of this stratification with the stratification of the Oghuz Turks. Nazari, A & Yazdan-panah, M. (2019) describe the Qashqai clan's administrative system and accept the Qashqai clan's political-social structure based on the clan's symbols and rituals design that is based on the power directed to the violence and sheer force of the rulers. In general, it can be said that the authors are trying to find an answer to the question "What was the social-political structure in the Qashqai tribe and how were the mechanisms of legitimizing power preserved in it?". Finally, Fazeli, H. and Yezdan-penah, M. (2020), in this work of the authors, discuss the political and social importance of Ocak (hearth) and fire among the Qashqais. According to the authors, ocak and fire in Iran have been sacred and divine symbols since ancient times and have created national solidarity among the peoples of Iran and have also influenced the Qashqai culture and customs. Zilabpur, B., Dehghan-nejad, M., Sangari, I., and Fayyaz-anoush, A. (2021) describe the work of the Kelanter in the clan. After describing the position of the Kelanter in the clan, he describes the executive agents of the Kelanter and their role in the clan. The research data shows that the Kelanterns of the Darreh-Shuri clan used agents to do family affairs and maintain order in the subclans,

along with people like Kedkhuda. Also, Kelanterns used these agents, who were warriors, to suppress rebellious people and sub-clans. And works such as Varjavand, P. (1965) and Shahbazi, A. (1990), deal with general research on nomads of Iran.

Above, I introduced and described the anthropological studies conducted on the Qashqai tribe. In the following, I will introduce and explain the sources and studies done on the Turkish of the Qashqai tribe:

Regarding the Turkish of the Qashqai tribe, Doerfer's works can be mentioned. In 1987, Doerfer investigated the Turkish in Iran, among which he discussed the position of the Qashqai tribe language among the Turkish language, after Doerfer, Çelik. M. (1997) work is one of the first scientific and academic studies on the Qashqai tribe in Turkey. In this thesis, Çelik gives information about the geography, political history, and folklore of the Qashqai tribe. In this study, Çelik showed the phonetic and morphological features in detail with the method in dialectology studies, based on his compiled texts, and occasionally compared these features with Turkey. Among the other important works written about the Qashqai tribe are the works of Asadullah Mardani Rahimi, H. (1999, 2001, 2007, 2010). The "Atalar Sözü" book, written in 1997, begins with the importance of proverbs in Turks. Rahimi in this book, has collected proverbs in two parts classical period and today's proverbs. As a result of the compilations he made from the various sub-clan and clans of the Qashqai tribe, the author brought together nearly 5000 proverbs and idioms and wrote their equivalents in Persian. It is necessary to explain that two theses titled "Kaşkay Türklerinde Atasözleri" written by Aghdam, A. (2009) and "Kaşkay Ata sözlerinde Ad Aktarmaları" written by Gündüz, M. (2010) have been written about this book in Turkey. Asadullah Mardani Rahimi, H. (2001), in this work, aims to explain the development process of the Turkish language of the Qashqai tribe and its writing style with a scientific perspective. Mardani Rahimi presents general information about the language, history, and geography of the Qashqai tribe, as well as the usage and abbreviation of the dictionary, in the introduction to the 'Kaşkay Sözlüğü.' The dictionary, prepared according to the Persian alphabet order, has 5000 words, 253 per item. The nuances of the words from the same root are indicated examples of proverbs and idioms. The author emphasized the meaning of the word Iran in the introduction to his work in 2010, emphasizing that this name does not belong to a race. Later, he gives information about the traditions of naming children in Turks. In particular, he states

that the names are written according to the Persian spelling, leading to etymological errors.

In 2011, works by Enkin, Karaaslan, and Yaghoobi were written about the Qashqai tribe. Enkin, in this study, worked on the fairy tale book *Allincak Ulduzu*, the first written work of the Qashqai written language, to shed light on the extent to which Persian, the dominant language in the Fars province, influenced the Qashqai tribe Turkish. For this study, Karaaslan (2011a), compiled for about two months in the Qashqai region and its field and obtained information about the Qashqai culture and today's Qashqai literature. In this study, which aims to give an idea about the periods of Qashqai tribe literature and important Qashqai tribe poets from the beginning to the present day, information about the Qashqai poets who are known and written since the beginning of the 1800s is given. Yaghoobi's work also consists of seven chapters. In the first chapter, the author dwells on the origin, social and political life, population, and language of the Qashqai tribe Turks. The second and third chapters give brief information about the life of Shahbaz Shahbazin and his compilation book of Qashqai poetry and the life of some poets of the Qashqai tribe. In the fourth and fifth chapters, the phonetic, orthographic, and morphological features of the texts of the poems are examined. The last part of the study includes the text.

Ataizi Erenoğlu's works can be mentioned among other works written about the Turkish of the Qashqai tribe. Erenoğlu (2016), in this research, investigated the use of nouns in Qashqai's Turkish vocabulary based on field research. The author aims to draw attention to the extent to which the names in the Qashqai Turkish vocabulary are preserved through the word list. In this article, Dilek (2017a), examines the numbers in the language of Qashqai Turks based on some of the compilations of the study titled the speech of the Qashqai Turks, which was prepared as the "Turkish Language Institution Project." Finally, this work of Ataizi Erenoğlu (2017b) provides valuable information in the context of the language, culture, and social structure of the Qashqai tribe. The introduction part of the work, contains information about the history, cultural, ethnographic, political, and geographical features of the Qashqais and bilingualism. Furthermore, the author demonstrates the linguistic influence of Persian on Qashqai Turkish with the examples he shows in the Language Studies section.

In addition to the above works, we can also mention the results of Rezaei Amaleh (2016), Doulatbadi (2017), Khorshidi (2017), Bulut (2018), Durukoğlu (2020), Doğan (2021), Demetler (2021), and I will briefly describe each of them below:

Rezaei Amaleh's (2016) work consists of four parts: introduction, review, text, and dictionary. In his work, the author gave information about the history, origins, geography, population, and current situation of the Qashqai Turks, the Qashqai Language and Literature, and the life and works of Mansur Shah Muhammedi. In this work of Doulatbadi, the literature of the Qashqai Turks living as nomads in Iran is discussed and examples of their oral and written products are given. The Preface and Introduction sections of the work are familiar with Dilek Erenoğlu Ataizi's (2017) *Kaşkay Türklerinin Dili*. Khorshidi (2017), in this research, examined the nomadic Qashqai Turks in Iran's Shiraz region, the types of expression of Qashqai Children's literature, and the factors that caused this literature to be forgotten. Bulur (2018), in the study, compared Shor Turkish and Qashqai Turkish, which belong to two different dialect sub-branches of Turkish, based on the preliminary word list determined by Clauson in terms of lexicostatistics. And he tried to determine the similarity rates to the Main Turkic, the languages they interact with in the geographies where they have spoken and the rates of borrowed words from them. Durukoğlu, in this study, analyzed the poems of Mirza Mazun, one of the greatest poets of Qashqai Turks. Qashqai Turkish was also evaluated in studies in which the Turkish language or Oghuz group dialects were classified. In these studies, Qashqai Turkish was shown in the Oghuz subgroup of Azerbaijani Turkish, that is, in a dialect (ağız) position or in the Southern Oghuz subgroup. In this study, Doğan, T. (2021), emphasizes that Qashqai Turkish belongs to a separate group, the Southern branch of Oghuz Turkish, and other standard dialects (ağız). According to the author, it does not seem reasonable to consider Qashqai Turkish as a dialect (ağız) of Azerbaijani Turkish or as a dialect (ağız) of another Oghuz dialect. Demetler, in this study, examines the suffixes in Turkish dialects (şive) of the Oghuz group. After giving the subject, the structure and function of each suffix in the study, the author gave the ordinary or different uses of suffixes in sub-headings and comparatively. And after explaining the shapes and parts of the affixes, he gave place to the relevant examples. Thus, the Oghuz group tried to explain the similar and different aspects of the suffixes in Turkish dialects (şive).

Above, I introduced and described the linguistic studies conducted on the Qashqai tribe. Now, I will continue to train and tell the sources and studies done on the history and culture of the tribe:

There is quite a lot of research about the history and culture of the Qashqai tribe. Among the first works that examine the history and culture of the Qashqai tribe in Turkey, we can mention the results of Faruk Sümer (1972) and Yeshil Yeşilbursa (1988), (1988). Sümer, in his two short articles, examines the name of the Qashqai tribe and the period of the formation of the Qashqai tribe, and Yeşilbursa also describes the history, migration, political organization, and language of the Qashqai tribe in his writings. Other researchers who have done significant research on the Qashqai clan are Muhittim Çelik and Babek Cavanşir. In this work, Çelik (1995) describes and examines the origin of the Qashqai tribe based on the sources written in this regard, the biogeography of the Qashqais, the traditional administrative structure of the tribe, and finally describes the leading clans of the Qashqai tribe. Cavanşir (2001), on the other hand, gives information about the social and political structures of the Qashqai Turks, as well as different clans and sub-clans, the population, language, and literature of the Qashqai Turks.

In 2011, works were written about the Qashqai tribe by Mehmet Karaaslan and Ekber A. Aghdam. In this research, Karaaslan (2011b) studies the rituals and beliefs formed around birth and compares them with other Turkish societies. In this study, Karaaslan (2011c) gives information about the Qashqais within the framework of this poem by Hüseyin Ali Kaimi, who is an essential representative of the minstrel style culture tradition, who uses the Karagaç river as a metaphor to describe a total Qashqai culture. On the other hand, another aim of the author is to introduce Kaimi, whom we can call the Shahriar of Southern Iran, and his poetry of Çay Karagaç to the world of Turcology. Then, Karaaslan (2011d) examines some practices and beliefs of Qashqais about death. According to the author, these beliefs and practices in the Qashqai are the same as in the Turkish world. And the last work is the work of Aghdam. Emphasizing the position of the nomads in Turkish history, the author examines the origin, geography, language, and socio-political situation of the Qashqais and Migration and the Way in the proverbs of the Qashqai tribe in this work.

In addition to the works of researchers mentioned above, the results of other researchers such as Yanar, Haghighat Dehsorkhi, Temizel, Yılmaz,

Doulatabadi/Devletabadi, Nur Pehlivan, and Hassan have been written about the Qashqai tribe in Turkey, and their description is as follows.

Yanar (2016, 2017), in her works, the author examines the history, origin, and place of the Qashqai tribe in the history of pastoral migration nomads of Iran and marriage customs among the Qashqai tribe. According to the author, the Qashqais have preserved their wedding customs, which are very similar to the traditions of Anatolian nomadic villages. In Yanar's other study (2015), the marriage and wedding customs of Qashqas are examined. The author finds that despite the Persianization policy of the Pahlavi and the Islamic Republic, the Qashqais managed to preserve their wedding custom. Moreover, their customs showed remarkable similarities with those in Anatolian nomadic villages.

This study by Haghighat Dehsorkhi (2016) examines the wedding traditions of Qashqai Turks living around Isfahan. In the introductory part of his work, the author talks about the origin of the word Qashqai, the history and heritage of the Qashqai tribe people, and the social and political structure of the Qashqai society. In the first part, he tried to give the importance of marriage, the types of marriage, and society's opinions or evaluations about these marriages. The second part discussed the pre-wedding traditions of expressing the desire to marry, choosing a spouse, asking for a bride, interrupting, and pre-wedding ceremonies among Qashqai Turks. Finally, in the fourth chapter, the author provides detailed information about which traditions exist after the wedding and how they are practiced in Qashqai Turks.

This research by Temizel (2016), which examines the culture, that is, art, literature, and lifestyle of the Qashqai Turks, includes three parts: In the introduction, the author has provided information about the history of the Qashqai Turks and the geographical locations where they live today. In the first part, explains the socio-cultural issues of Qashqai Turks, namely social relations, marriage and family life, mourning and mourning, religion, and sect. In the second part, he talks about the dwelling and tent life of the Qashqai Turks, the handicrafts, hand weavings, clothes, and similar subjects used in the daily life of this nomadic society. In the third part, the author presents information about the celebrations of Nevruz among the Qashqai Turks, information about the 19th and 20th century Qashqai poets and writers, and the cultural resources of the Qashqai Turks, including studies on teaching Qashqai Turkish in Iran. In this study, Temizel (2017) narrates the struggles, troubles, and difficulties faced by

the Qashqai Turks living in and around Fars province during the First World War, using the research 'İl-e Qeşqayi der Cenge Cehani-ye Evvel' written by Naser İreci. In this context, some information will be presented about the national uprisings in and around the geography where the Qashqai Turks live in the southern front of Iran, the British sovereignty, the attitudes and behaviors of the police and gendarmerie organizations in the south, and other issues. Yılmaz's research aims to determine and prove to what extent the common elements of Turkish culture, with a history of thousands of years, continue to exist in the folk narratives of small groups living in different geographies. In this sense, the author has researched "wedding ceremonies" and "folk tales" as common cultural elements. In his research, Yılmaz specifically selected Gagauz and Qashqai Turks from among the groups spread across different geographies of Turkish culture because these two small communities have not lived together in any known period of history and are located around other cultural elements in different landscapes.

The Qashqai Turks, who live in the central region of Iran and are constantly exposed to foreign factors, have tried to preserve their existence by preserving their traditions, customs, culture, and language throughout history. Qashqai Turks use lineage stamps to continue their cultural elements, such as language, literature, and music. This study of Devletabadi (2018) identifies and dissects the symbols and signs that reveal clan, sub-clan, and lineage ties among Qashqai Turks. In this study, Doulatabadi (2018) discusses the belief, social structure, language, economy, and cultural partnerships of the nomadic Turks living in Turkey and Iran. According to the author, it is possible to broadly find common elements of Turkish culture in the epics and folk tales of the Turks and all areas of their lives. Doulatabadi (2021), in this study, examines the story "Al" from the collection of stories called "Buhara-yi Men İl-I Men" by M. Behmenbegyi, one of the authors of the Qashqai Turks. The author examines how the mythological element "Al" is processed in the literature and culture of Iran Turks and how it affects other cultures.

The Qajar period covers the period between 1795 and 1925. Many Turkish communities were active in the Qajar administration during these periods. One of these communities is the Qashqai. In this study, Nur Pehlivan (2019) investigates the relationship between Kaçar and Qashqai by taking inspiration from Malek Mansur Khan's "Memory of Malek Mansur Khan Qashqai" and feeding it with other works of literature. In this study, Nu Pehlivan (2018) discussed the Pan-Farsian policies

implemented in the period of Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, the reactions of the Qashqai to these policies, the success rate of these policies, and their effects on future generations. The author has examined the influence of the Qashqais on their political, social, and cultural lives and the fate of the tribe in question during the period of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. According to Nu Pehlivan's determination, after so much pressure, the Qashqais were still able to preserve their national identity to some extent.

Among the other works written about the Qashqai tribe in Turkey, I can mention the works of Resulzade, Üstündağ, and Bağ. This work of Mehmed Emin Resulzade (1993) is a collection of articles he wrote about Iranian Turks. In this work, Resulzade gives information about the Turks of Iran. Bağ (2020) in this research compares the customs of birth, marriage, and death, and how these customs are implemented in an oral culture, among Turks living in northern Syria (Aleppo Turks) and Qashqai Turks living in Fars province. And finally, Ali begins this work with a description of the name and geography of the Qashqai tribe and then continues with the history of the Qashqai tribe before the Zandiye period and during the Zandiye period. According to the author, the Qashqai tribe was formed in the 18th century when the Zandiye government made Shiraz its capital.

Above, I tried to introduce the works written in Turkish about the history and culture of the Qashqai tribe. Now, in the continuation of this topic, I try to introduce the works written in Persian and English. One of the first works that introduce the history and origin of the Qashqai tribe is the work of M. Mirza Zell al-Sultan. Zell al-Sultan, in a part of his book edited by Khadiv-Jam (1989), describes his meeting with Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe. After defining the personality of Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe, he explains the origin of Qashqai and how they came to Iran from Turkestan and then explains the name of the Qashqai tribe. The works of two travelers named Douglas (1951) and Therese (1997) about the Qashqai tribe are also very valuable. Therese is a travelogue of a trip to Shiraz and Isfahan and recording the conditions of the Qashqai tribe around 1951-1952. And the work of Douglas is related to the memories of his two trips to the Middle East between 1949 and 1950. During his two trips to the Middle East, Douglas spent most of his time in Iran among tribes and nomads. To all credit, the contents written by Douglas in this work include important issues that have great political, social, economic, and cultural value. Along with these works, the work of Demorgay (2011), who came to Iran at the request of Naser al-Din Shah, is also

important. In other words, this work is the result of a study by a French lawyer during the Qajar rule, which was written about the nomads of the Fars province.

Among other works written in Persian and English, we can mention the works of Perham, Afshar Sistani, Jiddi, Ehteshami, Iraj, Amiri, Ivanov, Bahramian, Bahman-beygi, Dordari, Sedaghat-Kish, Nasiri Tayyibi, Dolatkah, Rahimi, Qolizade, and Seid-Khani.

Perham (1983), in his research, examines the history and origin of the Qashqai tribe. He says that the Qashqai tribe did not come to Fars at one time as a single unified tribe and gradually formed from the meeting and union of the Turkish clans and sub-clans. Afshar Sistani (1987) examines and describes the nomads of Iran in his two-volume work. The section related to the Qashqai tribe also deals with the general investigation of the tribe, such as the name and history of the tribe, socio-political organization, etc. It should be noted that the author briefly discusses the natural, geographical, and historical conditions of each province or region before entering into the description of each of the tribes and clans in Iran. This work of Jiddi (1997) is a historical and cultural work about the Qashqai tribe. The author is trying to show the relationship between the Qashqai tribe and the Oghuz of Turkistan. For this purpose, the author first describes the history of the Oghuzs and then describes the history of the Qashqai tribe and their role in the changes in Iran. The aim of Ehteshami (2001) in this work is to analyze three documents from the Safavid period in the Semirom region. With the help of these sources, the author is trying to investigate the history of the Qashqai tribe's presence in southern Iran. It should be noted that these three documents are from three sub-clans that are considered to be part of the Darreh-Shuri clan today.

Iraj (2001) in this research describes the position of the Qashqai tribe and its leadership during the war in three different parts. The first part is between the years 1914, that is, from the beginning of the war to 1915. Because in this era, none of the war parties has decisively dominated the situation, and as the saying goes, it is the era of force testing and evaluation of the opposing forces. During this period, it can be said that the Qashqais adopted a policy of waiting, although they implicitly supported the British opposition forces. The second part starts in 1916 and lasts until the beginning of 1917. This stage is the time of consolidation of the power of the allies and the dispersion of the supporters of the allies, and during that period the Qashqais had peaceful relations with the British. The third part lasts from the beginning of 1917 until

the end of the war, which is accompanied by the collapse of the tsarist government and the weakening of the allies, and the rise of anti-British sentiments in Iran. Affected by the political situation of the country, the Qashqais rose up to confront the British forces. At the beginning of his work, the author explains the historical geography of the Qashqai tribe, the position of Iran, and the relations between the governments involved in the war with Iran. Then it examines the relationship between these incidents and the political situation inside the country.

Amiri (2003) in this research examines the history and culture of the people of Farashband from the Achaemenid and Sasanian times until today. In addition to this, it provides information about the Qashqai tribe, such as social context, demographic groups, clans, and Ilkhan. The research of Ivanov (2006) gives a brief description of Fars province and the relationships among the major tribes of the province, namely Qashqai, Khamsa, Kohgiluyeh, and Mamsani. The author draws some of his information from Douglas's travelogue, Barthold's articles, Minorsky on the Lehrs, and the anthropologist Henry Field. Bahramian (2008) in this two-volume work, takes a look at the history and culture, and struggles of the two clans of Shesh-Boluki and Rahimlu, who have left unique bravery throughout the history of Iran, especially in the years of World War I and II.

Bahman-beygi (2009), the author's effort in this book is to describe customs and habits such as civil, criminal, administrative, political, and social rights among tribes and nomads of Fars. In other words, Ali divides this book into two topics. The first topic includes chapters that discuss customs and habits in terms of civil, criminal, and procedural laws, and administrative, political, and social laws among the tribes and nomads of Fars. And the second topic includes the illusions and beliefs of these clans. Another work, Bahman-beygi (2010), includes the author's memories of the nomadic environment and his own Ilat life, which includes a total of 19 stories. Dordari, who is also a member of the Qashqai clan, tries to describe the history of the Qashqai tribe by studying the library and collecting information from knowledgeable people. This work of Dordari (2009) consists of 9 chapters. The author tries to explain the history of the Qashqai tribe and the origin of the tribe name, the geographical location and population of the tribe, the language, nomadic schools, clothes, music, marriage, customs, and socio-political organization.

Sedaghat-Kish, J. (2009) in his article, which is based on a document found in a dedicatory letter in Saraban Bala village, examines the names of nomads in Fars province. The document under review is the oldest document in which the name of the Qashqai tribe is recorded and Nasiri Tayyibi (2009), in his work, describes the role of the Qashqai tribe in the social and political situation of Iran. In general, the purpose of the author is to describe the social, cultural, and economic issues, the language and literature of the tribe, the name of the tribe, the administration of Ilkhan in the tribe, the rivalry of the Qashqais with the Bakhtiaris, the performance of the Qashqais in World War II, and the description of the political activities of the heads of the Qashqai tribe. In this article, Dolatkhan (2010) presents some general information such as geography, name, history and origin, socio-political organization, population, and identity of the Qashqai tribe. Since traditional medicine is of special importance in the culture of nomads and tribes in the treatment of humans and animals. In this research, Rahimi, et al (2017) examines the collection of plants, the use, and methods of using these plants in the treatment of diseases, beliefs, and beliefs about plants. In other words, in this work, the authors try to investigate the trend toward traditional medicine and the techniques and techniques of treating patients and animals in the Qashqai tribe from the perspective of medical anthropology.

Qolizade (2018) in this article examines how Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe dealt with and interacted with extra-regional forces and his hesitations in cooperating with national and popular forces and why he appeased the British at the beginning of the war and the battle with them after the Khan Zanyan incident. Seid-Khani, et al (2022) in this research, describes the anti-nomadic policies of the first Pahlavi (1925-1941) in Persian nomads and the consequences of these policies. Because the first Pahlavi government, with the idea of centralization and control of tribes and nomads, implemented anti-nomadic policies, including the settlement of nomads. It can be said that these policies failed for various reasons. Among the other works that briefly describe the history and culture, and cultural changes of the Qashqai tribe are the works of Eqbal Ashtiani (1948), Shor (1952), Mohammadzadeh (1990), and Gharakhlou-Narrei (2006).

Above, I introduced and explained the studies done on the history and culture of the Qashqai tribe. In the following, I will introduce and describe the sources and studies conducted on the everyday life practices of the Qashqais:

Regarding the handicrafts and clothing, travel and accommodation, housing, and tents of the Qashqai tribe, the works of Parham, Qorkhlu, Vermeghani, Rashidvash, and Demirtaş can be mentioned. This work by Parham (1985) is the first volume of a three-volume series. In this work, the author identifies, analyzes, and traces the roles of nearly five hundred nomadic and rural carpets of Fars province from ancient times to the present. Qorkhlu (2003) in this research tried to examine and analyze the perspectives of migration and experimental development related to internal migrations, as well as the perspective of nomads in the world, Iran, and finally the migration of Qashqai nomads in the cities of Fars and Isfahan. In this research, the author has analyzed about a thousand families of nomads and settlers of the Qashqai tribe. Vermeghani (2014), this work describes the cultural, economic, and social characteristics of Qashqai. The author considers the effective factors in Qashqai rural design and nomadic houses to be the way of living, cultural opinions, customs, and nomadic hierarchies.

Rashidvash and Zahmatkesh's (2019) this research aims to anthropologically analyze the beliefs and cultural components of the clothing of the Qashqai nomads of Firozabad, Fars province, within the framework of Radcliffe-Brown's structural functionalist approach. According to the author, Qashqai nomadic clothing has a religious, symbolic, social, identity, and cultural function. So much so that this function still remains among the nomadic tribes despite the decrease in number. The Turkish dialect, traditions, and customs of the Qashqai tribe, most of whom have settled down due to their living conditions and political reasons, are in danger of being forgotten. For this reason, in this study, Demirtaş (2021) tried to explain who the Qashqai is, their nomadic lifestyle, and how this life was. In other words, in this study, the author examined terms used in terms of social-cultural aspects of Qashqai living as nomads, namely tent life, materials used for migration, the economy in tent life and terminology of tent life, summer and winter quarters of Qashqai.

Among tribes and nomads of Iran, very few studies have been conducted in the field of family and marriage, and that too at a limited level. Regarding family and marriage in the Qashqai tribe, I can refer to the works of Gholamhossein-pur and Rehimiyeh Jaber. In this research of Gholamhosseinpour (2007), the size of the statistical population under study is 279 families, which were randomly selected into three groups nomadic, semi-nomadic, and settled, with proportions of 15, 35, and 50%.

This work was written in three chapters. The first chapter is general information about Iran's clans and nomads, especially the Qashqai tribe. The second chapter is related to the way of choosing a wife and marriage, the criteria for choosing a wife, age of marriage, dowry, stages of marriage, and marriage items in the Qashqai tribe. And the third chapter is about family and its types, family functions, roles and duties of family members, and divorce. Rehimy-ye Jaber (2015), in this article, has examined the institution of the family in the Qashqai tribe from a historical perspective using library sources and a descriptive-analytical approach. This study shows that the family in the Qashqai tribe is structurally extended, monogamous, patriarchal, and endogamous.

Researches related to education among tribes and nomads of Iran, like family and marriage research, are very few. In this regard, I can mention the works of Ahmadi and Hajinaseri & Yazdanpanah about the Qashqai tribe. The process of formation and expansion of education in a nomadic society, like any other social and political institution, has been accompanied by many changes and developments throughout history. In this research, Hajinaseri & Yazdanpanah (2021), focusing on the Qashqai tribe and a sociological-institutionalist perspective, explain and examine nomadic education in contemporary Iran from the first Pahlavi period to the Islamic Republic. Ahmadi's (2007) goal in this research is to investigate the relationship between social mobility and new education in the nomads of the Qashqai tribe. For this reason, the focus of this research is on understanding the mechanism of changes in Qashqai nomadic society and investigating its political, social, and economic aspects.

Another issue that has been less discussed in Iran is the food of tribes and nomads. In this regard, Rahmaninejad's work can be mentioned in the Qashqai tribe. Regarding the Qashqai tribe's foods, Rahmaninejad (2007) says that some of the foods that he wrote about in this research are either less used today or completely forgotten, and new foods that are used in most parts of the country have taken their place.

It is necessary to explain, this list is independent of the list of dissertations written in Iran. Because the website of Iran theses is closed for use by people outside the borders of Iran. Nevertheless, it can be said that a lot of research has been done about the Qashqai tribe in the form of books, articles, and theses, most of which were related to the history, culture, and handicrafts of the tribe. But a work that specifically corresponds to the topic of my research has not been written.

By studying the research written about the Qashqai tribe, one can understand the influential role of the Ilkhan (from the Shahilu family) in maintaining the integrity and strengthening of the Qashqais. And it can be said that the Qashqai tribe could not play an active role in the history of southern Iran in the absence of Ilkhan (from the Shahilu family). Because it could not have the same strength and integrity.

Therefore, I will follow the following procedure in this thesis to explain my claim: After introducing the ethnic group that makes up and the origin of the name of the Qashqai tribe, I will introduce the social-political organization of the tribe. My goal in this section is to describe the highest political units, the leadership of the tribe (Ilkhan), the legitimacy of the Ilkhan, the administrative organization or the Ilkhan's institution, and the Ilkhan's duties towards the Qashqai tribe.

In the continuation of the research, for a better understanding of the social-political organization of the Qashqai tribe, I will start with the family (mostly related to the Darreh-Shuri clan) as the main core of this organization and kinship in the Qashqai tribe. It should be noted that the samples studied up to the date 2007 are included. The purpose of this section is to answer questions such as: Are Qashqais paternal or maternal? Who are the members of the family? Who is the head of the family? Who has the power in the family? Where do the children live after marriage? With whom can one marry, in other words, with whom there is a right to marry? What is the role of women in the family economy? How is the inheritance divided in the tribe? and introducing the types of families and types of marriages in the tribe as well as the way of divorce in the tribe.

The next section is related to pastoralist and migrant groups in the Qashqai tribe. The purpose of this section is to introduce pastoral groups and migrant units and how to choose Aq Saqal among them.

And finally, I will continue to introduce other parts of the political organization of the tribe. The purpose of this section is to describe the other political sections of the tribe, how to choose their leadership, the duties of their leadership, and how to join them.

1.3. Method of Research

The method used in this research is the literature review. A literature review is a process of collecting, classifying, and evaluating what other researchers have written about a particular topic. And it can be just a summary of sources or form part of a research thesis, however, a literature review can also stand alone as an independent review of writings on a topic.

The topic of my research was clear to me before starting my master's thesis. My desire was to research about nomads of Iran in the form of fieldwork. Because anthropological studies about Iran nomads in Turkey have not gained much importance yet. On the other hand, the issue of nomads and research on them from an anthropological point of view is still not as it should be in Iran itself and still, there is no comprehensive anthropological research about some nomads (such as the Bichaqchi tribe). And it can be said that most of the contributing research in the field of nomads in Iran was done by foreign anthropologists.

Considering all these issues, before doing the fieldwork, I started collecting sources about Iran tribes for study, and after studying the sources, I decided to research the Qashqai tribe according to the following reasons.

One of the important reasons for choosing the Qashqai tribe as the subject of research is to preserve their own identity to date. Because the Qashqais live in an area where the majority of the population is non-Turks. And comparing the Qashqai tribe with other Turkish tribes living in the south of Iran, the Qashqais have performed well in preserving their Turkish identity. Another reason for choosing the Qashqai tribe as the subject of research is their population. Because the Qashqai tribe is one of the largest tribes in Iran, in other words, the largest Turk tribe in Iran, which, in addition to having urban and rural populations, also has a significant nomadic population. Another reason for choosing the Qashqai tribe is its political organization. Because, according to Abdullah Shahbazi (1990), the Qashqai tribe had a Mongolian political organization (which is explained in the part "Ilkhan (The Paramount leader of the Qashqai Tribe)" in the past that was different from the political organizations of other tribes in Iran (p. 28-29).

After choosing the Qashqai tribe, I collected resources related to the Qashqais from Tabriz Central Library (Kتابخانه مرکزی تبریز-Ketab-Khaneye Merkeziye Tebriz),

Tarbiat Public Library of Tabriz (Ketab-Khaneye Umumiye Terbiyete Tebriz- کتابخانه عمومی تبریت تبریز), and Valiasr Public Library of Tabriz (Ketab-Khaneye Umumiye Veliasre Tebriz- کتابخانه عمومی ولیعصر تبریز) in 2021-2022. After this was done, I started planning the fieldwork. But unfortunately, due to the closure of inter-city communication routes due to covid-19, I had to change my method and changed my plan for fieldwork and started planning to communicate with the Qashqais through the Internet. But after covid-19, with the start of political events in Iran, this planning did not come to fruition either. The events that caused the nationwide outage of the Internet and the arrest of many people in Iran. I also had to change the method again to avoid problems for the tribe members and also due to the outage of the internet, and I chose the literature review as the method of my thesis. After studying the sources, from the information obtained from them, I realized the importance of Ilkhan's status and to show this importance, I asked for research in this field in my thesis. For this reason, I focused more on this issue and raised my research question related to this issue.

The sources used in this thesis are in three languages Turkish, Farsi, and English, all written after 1930. It should be noted that one of my major problems in this thesis, especially after coming to Turkey, was the lack of access to resources due to the closing of theses and libraries website of Iran for people outside of Iran. Even though I requested some important resources written about Qashqai from the library and the author of the book, unfortunately, I could not reach a conclusion and obtain the resources. Therefore, it should be said that all of my thesis's relevant resources are listed in the list of books, and the sources related to this thesis, which were not listed in the bibliography, were due to a lack of access to those resources.

The literature review may have some shortcomings, but given my research question, one of the best ways to answer this question is to the literature review. Because there is no longer such a leadership system that can be seen. For this reason, the literature review can bring me an acceptable and orderly result.

At the end of this part, I would like to say that although research has been conducted in this area, no comprehensive research has been conducted to date. Therefore, I conducted this research to fill this gap in the literature.

2. THE ETHNIC GROUP THAT FORMS THE CORE OF THE QASHQAI TRIBE

Before entering into the discussion of socio-political organization, I would like to provide brief information about the ethnic group that forms the core of the Qashqais and the meaning of the name Qashqai.

Regarding the origin of the Qashqai tribe, various theories have been presented by researchers. In this section, an attempt has been made to introduce and describe each of these publications.

Before researching the historical theories, we must determine whether the Qashqai tribe is the native inhabitants of the southwestern region of Iran or not. Most of the researchers insist on the theory that the Qashqai tribe is not the native inhabitant of southern Iran and often focus on the early and previous origin of the tribe and the time and location of their migration to southwestern Iran (Beck, 2017, p. 51).

Based on the available documents and the historical background of the Qashqai tribe, it can be said that there is no document available that indicates that the Qashqai tribe migrated to the southwest of Iran as a single “tribe” named Qashqai. In other words, the Qashqai tribe was formed in the southwest of Iran and in the current geographical and political framework of Iran. According to this point, this “tribe” cannot be considered non-native. I deal with the historical theories of the “tribe” by assuming the Qashqai tribe to be indigenous.

Some resources consider the origin of Qashqai to be the Khalaj tribe. The Khalaj is a Turkish tribe that after entering Iran, a branch settled in the central regions of Iran (Khalajistan) and another branch migrated to Azerbaijan and Anatolia (Köprülü, 1987, p. 109-116).

Some resources consider the Qashqai tribe to be from the Khalaj of Asia Minor, who lived there since the 11th and 12th centuries and were moved to the center and east of Iran by Amir Timur in the late 14th century. It is said that at the same time, some of them fled and settled in Fars (Beck, 2017, p. 52), and the people of Khalaj called this group "Qaç Qayı", which means they escaped and became "Qashqai" after verbal changes. According to the historian of the Qajar era, Mirza Hasan Hosseini Fasa'ei (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 (a French juristic who came to Iran at the invitation of the then-state at the end of the Qajar dynasty, at the beginning of the 20th century) also considers the Qashqai tribe to be a continuation of the Khalaj of Asian Turkey (Eastern Turkey), which settled in Iraq Ajam (in the south of Saweh, towards Sultan Abad (now Arak), an area still called Khalajistan) and they are divided into different parts and spread in Fars region (Demorgay, 2011, p. 5). Oliver Garrod (a captain in the British Royal Army Medical Corps who became well acquainted with the Qashqai tribe while serving in south Iran during the Second World War), 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).

Historian Abbas Eqbal Ashtiani, consider the Qashqai tribe to be a branch of the Khalaj, which settled in the center of Iran from the beginning: "It should be almost certain that the Qashqai tribe was one of the Turkmens of the Kipchak plain and that region, and later they came to the areas between India and Sistan, and from there they made their way to Iraq (Ajam) and eventually settled in Persia" (Eqbal Ashtiani, 1948, p. 70-71). Researcher and writer Sirius Perham also confirms this statement and states this migration route is only for that part of the Qashqai tribe whose lineage goes back to the Khalaj tribe (Perham, 1983, p. 248).

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 "Shahsevan 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).

Linguist and historian Saeed Nafisi (2004) also refers to this position and says: In 995 or 996 AD, "Shah Abbas I" was able to drive some of the nomadic Turkish clans from Azerbaijan, and in this way, he was able to drive the Qajars to Gorgan and Khorasan, the Qashqais to the Fars region, and some of the Shahsevan to the center of Iran and some of the Afshars to the east and some other clans around Hamedan, Qazvin, Qom, Saveh and the central areas of Iran and even took some of them to Kerman and these nomadic Turks who appeared in these areas of Iran since that time in this The lands are settled." (p. 40). According to historian and geographer Javad Sefinejad (1996), the Farsi-Madanwas 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). Until recently, there was a sub-clan named Mughanlu in the Qashqai tribe. This family must have taken its name from the Mughan plain in the north of Ardabil. The names of Aq Qoyunlu, Qara Qoyunlu, Begdili, and Musullu sub-clans are also a sign of the connection between this tribe and the northwest of Iran, in addition, Qashqais often mention Ardabil as their former home. Qashqais also have a song that tells the story of a man whose ancestors came from Tabriz (Oberling, 1974, p. 30-31).

There is also a narration that the Qashqai tribe is introduced as the descendants of the Aq Qoyunlu (Mir Mohammadi, 1989, p. 71). The source of this is probably the narration of Malek Mansur Khan Qashqai. Malek Mansur Khan believes that "the Qashqai tribe came to Iran in the 13th century, parallel to the conquests of Genghis Khan, and shortly after that, they settled in the Caucasus Mountains. And it is known that this tribe is the only tribe that was able to defeat "Tamerlan" throughout history (Therese, 1997, p. 82). From an artistic point of view, the similarity of the handlooms of the Qashqai tribe with the Turks of the Caucasus region and Azerbaijan shows a close connection between the two communities, and in terms of appearance, the skin, golden hair, and blue-green eyes of some people of the Qashqai tribe such as Kashkuli and Dareh Shuri (or Dareh Shuli) are signs of the kinship of this group with Caucasians (Kiani, 1992, p. 151).

According to Sir Arnold T. Wilson (a British political officer in Iran), another sub-clan of the Qashqai tribe is also called "Ganje". But this name is not seen among

any of the Qashqai Tevayef. On the other hand, there is a village named Ganje in the region of Qashqai in the vicinity of Kazeroon and near Shahpur, which may be the village that the same sub-clan built during the time of the settlement (Oberling, 1974, p. 28). German Turkologist, Altaicist, and philologist Gerhard Doerfer also believes that the Qashqai tribe migrated from Azerbaijan to Fars (Kiani, 1992, p. 154).

What is certain is that the migration of the Qashqais from the northwestern and central regions of Iran to the Fars region did not take place at once and at the same time. The Turkish clan and sub-clan, which were later (in the 18th century) united under the command of Jani Agha Qashqai, did not come to the south of Iran as a single tribe, but they moved to the south in different eras. For the first time at the end of the Safavid era, the tribal system is established among the Qashqais and united the dispersed groups of the Khalaj and Qashqais under a single system (Perham, 1983, p. 255).

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).

One of the oldest documents in which the Qashqai name is mentioned as a clan in Shiraz before the establishment of the Safavid government is related to the book *Jame al-Tawarikh Hasani* compiled by Taj al-Din Hasan Ibn-Shahab Yazdi from the year 1451-1453 AD in the section that deals with the condition of the survivors and It are dedicated to Timurid princes (Afshar, 1983, p. 244). According to the above, it does not seem that the Qashqai tribe came to Shiraz as a single tribe from the Caucasus.

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).

Another theory that is not unrelated to the previous theory is the arrival of the Qashqai tribe from the city of Kashgar. This theory is based on two different periods:

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).

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). Arminius Vambery also has a similar view. (Ivanov, 2006, p. 58).

It should be noted that the Atabakan dynasty (1148- 1286), who ruled in Fars as tributaries of the Seljuks, the Khwarezm-Shahs, and the Mongols, were Turks, and the centrality of their power came from the provinces around Gandoman in northern Persia (Beck, 2017, p. 52).

According to historian and ethnologist Oberling (1974), none of these opinions are compatible with reason: first of all, the word Qashqai does not appear in any of the Yamut sub-clans, either in the past or in the present. Secondly, the dialect of the QaraKhitais was not "Ghuzz", and the purposeful migration of the Qashqai to Fars was not related to Atabakan Salghuri, and it was not mentioned in the history of Atâ-Malek Jovayni (Tarikh-i Jahangushay or Tarikh-i Jahangushay-i Jovayni). (p. 27).

Matching to some resources, the origin of the Qashqais goes back to the Western Turks of Oghuz, who entered Iran from Turkestan during the great migration period of the 11th and 12th centuries AD (Oberling, 1974, p. 27), (Nur Pehlivan, 2019, p. 270).

In a letter dated 1962, Malek Mansur Khan Qashqai refers to the use of the word Ghoz (Oghuz) in the meaning of great and magnificent among the Qashqai tribe:

(Ghuzz Oghul: valiant man, Ghuzz Ordu: Glorious Army, and Ghuzz Oba: Glorious tribe). He goes on to say: My own family uses the word Ghuzz more than other Qashqais (Oberling, 1974, p. 27). He believes that some people of the Qashqai tribe are descendants of Iraq Turks and a group of Oghuz Turks who left the seat of the Ghaznavid government in 1020 AD and expanded their influence to the western slopes of Iran (Oberling, 1974, p. 30), (Beck, 2017, p. 52).

Politician Habibullah Peyman also believes that some sub-clans of the Qashqai tribe have been present in Iran for a thousand years and their history goes back to the time of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and the beginning of the migration of Turkish peoples to Iran. With the migration of more of the mentioned clans, during the Seljuk period, some of the sub-clans that are present among the Qashqais settled in the south of Iran (Peyman, 1968, p. 5-7).

Streaks of truth can be seen in all theories. The survivors of the mentioned groups can be seen in the Qashqai tribe. Each group, with its historical coordinates, played a role in the formation of the first tribe. Many of the names of groups and categories in the Qashqai tribe are the same or similar to the names of other regions of Iran (Beck, 2017, p. 52). Like the Qutlu sub-clan from the Afshar tribe of Kerman in the Amalehclan of the Qashqai tribe (Perham, 1983, p. 257-258) or Bolu sub-clan, according to Omid Mustafavi's (2007) belief, the origin of this sub-clan was taken from the town of Bolu in Turkey, and this sub-clan moved from Bolu town to Ardabil, from there to Zanjan and finally settled in Fars (p. 23).

And Rum Plain, which according to Perham (1985) was named Rum Plain after the arrival of Turks from Asia Minor. Also, Perham, referring to the "Farsname-i Nasiri" book, considers the Turks living in the Rum Plain at the time of Ibn Battuta to be part of the clan of Qashqais. Because, in addition to the fact that during the past centuries, the Qashqais did not have any other Turkish clan in the Rum plain or around it, the Qashqais are the only Fars Turks who consider Rum, Asia Minor, as their provenance (p. 66-67).

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, Vathîq, and Mutawakkil (860-840 AD) (Togan, 1981, p. 174), (Dolatkhah, 2010, p. 105). Some resources 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.

In this chapter, I tried to present the ethnic group that forms the core of the Qashqais. In the subsequent chapter, I discuss the origin and meaning of the Qashqai tribe name.

3. THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE QASHQAI TRIBE NAME

There have been different and various interpretations of the word Qashqai so far. But it is very difficult to claim which one of them is valid and true. Because there is no compelling evidence to bring the true meaning of the word. Only with regard to the culture of the Qashqai tribe and the comparison of all theories, reasonable theory can be achieved. 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). The same point of view was also expressed by Edward Stock on his trip to Fars in 1881(Ivanov, 2006, p. 62). Hamid Mohammadzadeh also confirms this theory in his article introducing Taqi Shahin's book about the Qashqai tribe (Mohammadzadeh, 1990, p. 14). In this case, Hungarian Turkologist and historian J. Németh refer to several Turkish words, which all belong to the same family in terms of meaning and concept. These words are Kaçar (Qajar) from Kaçmak, Kazak, and Kazar from Kazmak; Yazar from Yazmak; Sabir from Sapmak (Oberling, 1974, p. 32).

Nusratullah Fathi, who went to Fars province as an agent and representative of the Ministry of Finance in 1944, writes: There are several stories about the name Qashqa'i, but recently I heard something from an old Shirazi man that was new to me. According to the old man, "Qashqa'i" was original "Qaç Qoyi" or "Qaç Qoy" which means let go and run away, and gradually it became "Qashqa'i" due to the plural usage, and for this reason, it known among other Shiraz tribes, especially the Boyar Ahmadis: "Turk has no heels". That is, he does not persevere and leaves or falls and runs away (Afshar Sistani, 1987a, p. 615).

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). It is necessary to explain that some researchers (for example Afshar Sistani and Resulzade) claim that all Persons of the Qashqai tribe know the Persian language well and speak Persian easily (Afshar Sistani, 1987a, p. 615), (Resulzade, 1993, p. 40). But according to the statistics of 1366 and the research of geographer Reza Mostofi al-Memaleki, who conducted a survey of 280 families of the Ameleh tayefeh (in Maimand in Firozabad and Khanj in South Fars), he says that "almost 65% of elderly people, especially women, were not able to speak Persian at all. And young sons and daughters who acted as translators also had an extreme Turkish accent" (Mostofi al-Memaleki, 1998, p. 331). Therefore, it can be said that the claim of Rasulzadeh and Afshar Sistani is baseless.

A group of researchers believes that the name of the Qashqai tribe is derived from the Shahlu/Shahilu family, 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 Qashqai as the origin of the Qashqai tribe name² (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.³ Based on this, some believe that the name of the Qashqai tribe was taken from the city of Kashgar (Khadiv-Jam, 1989, p. 225). Or it is related to the name of the river "Qashqa derya" in Özbekistan. In this regard, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that there is a village called Qashqai 43 km from Bostan-Abad between Tabriz and the Mianeh, or there is a mountain called "Qashqa Dag" in the southeast of Ahar (Bahramian, 2008,

² A similar incident can also be seen in the book of *Shajara-i Tarākima*, it should be noted that there is a person named "Qashqa Chora" whose children are called "Kara Evliler" (Ergin, 1974, p. 94).

³ Like Aghacheri (Acatziri, Agathyrsi, Agathyrso) and Hovyin ergan (هُويين ارگان - meaning Wood people): they got this name because of the proximity of their yurts to Jungle/Wood (Roshan & Mousavi, 1994a, p. 147-200).

p. 208), (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 64). There is a village named "Qashqa Bulagh" near Khoy and a village called "Qashqa Bulaq" near Maku (Oberling, 1974, p. 33). In addition, there is a mountain called "Qashqa Dagħ" in the Cumanica region near the Sea of Azov (Géza Kuun, 1880, p. LV).

According to Hossein Jiddi (1997), the Qashqai word consists of Kesh/Qesh and Kayi (Qayi), where Kesh/Qesh means castle and fortress and is derived from the name of the city of Kesh/Qesh, whose current name is "Shehr-i Sebz" (Green City) and is the birthplace of Amir Timur. And Kayi (Qayi) means firm and strong, which is derived from the name of the first Oymaq of the Boz Okhlar faction of the Oghuz Turks. So Qashqa means strong or impregnable fortress (p.33).

Mardani Rahimi (2001) (local researcher) also says the following about the word Qashqai: According to researchers of ancient and modern history, the word Qashqai is derived from the two words Qash which means advance, start (the modified form of Qach which means fast) and Kayi (the name of one of the 24 boys Oghuz Turks) is formed. Based on this, the word Qashqai has two meanings: 1- the Kayi boy that is a pioneer, 2- the quick and active Kayi boy (p. 18-45), (Temizel, 2017, p. 83-84).

Malek Mansur Khan also claims that the name Qashqai is most likely from "Qash (Sheepcote. Kiani, 1992, p. 140) – Qayi/Qaya" because the Qashqai tribe was a herdsman from the beginning and used large stones (Qayi/Qaya) to protect and care for their pastures and livestock. And these places are called (Qash) in Turkish. In this way, the word "Qash-Qayi/Qaya" is called Qashqai for short⁴ (Çelik, 1995, p. 205), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 24).

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 Shahsevan 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.

⁴ According to two interviews conducted with Malek Mansur Khan in 1992 by Çelik and 2004 by Bahramian.

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-قاشقای" (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.

According to historical findings, this word is first established in the "Hemçik-Çırgakı" inscription as Qashqa (Gaşga), meaning white-forehead horse (Tekin, 1999, p. 13), (Aydın, 2022, p. 164). The word Qashqa in Mahmoud Kashghari's *Diwanu Lughat al-Turk* words means "horse and sheep with black body and white head" and "horse and camel with black eyes and white face" (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 184-691). This word in the *Codex Cumanicus*, a work compiled in the 13th-14th centuries from the Kipchak Turks in the north of the Black Sea, means pumpkin head and bald head (Géza Kuun, 1880, p. 234), (Grönbech, 1992, p. 91).

The word Qashqa in the book "Sanglakh" by Mirza Mehdi Khan Astarabadi and the book "al-idrak li-lisan al-Atrak" by Abu-Hayyann means an animal with a white forehead, brave and ready for war, and a weapon that is worn on the horse's forehead on the day of the war (Caferoğlu, 1931, p. 72), (Sediq, 2009, p. 258). Also, the white part of the head hair is also called Qashqa (Nutki, 2010, p. 151).

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.⁵ 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

⁵ Animals with a mark on their foreheads have the unique praise and favor of the spirits. That's why they have a sign on their forehead (İnan, 1987, p. 310-311).

Qashqai under the influence of the Persian language (Oberling, 1974, p. 32-33), (Barthold, 2008, p. 188).

In the history of Turks, such names are very visible, such as Teveci (Deveci) (Ercilasun, 2019, p. 400), Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu (Afshar Sistani, 1987a, p. 615), and Ala Yuntlu⁶ (Alaca Atlılar) (Hetzl Schafer, 2020, p. 114).

According to the geography and culture of the Qashqai, this theory seems to be more reasonable than the previous theories. Because the geography of the Qashqai, which is often used as high-quality pastures due to the appropriate height of the Zagros mountains above sea level, is considered a suitable place for raising horses, which is the prominent culture of the Qashqai⁷ (Beck, 2017, p. 16). Yeşilbursa (1988) says that the horses of the Qashqai tribe are the most purebred horses in the world, and most of them are from the Altai-Turk horses that they brought from. The other part of the Qashqai tribe horses is horses that are known as Arabian horses today, whose origin is also from Altai horses (p. 86). Considering the words of Yeşilbursa, it is highly likely that the Arab horses of the Qashqai tribe were brought by the Turks who were given the Fars province by the Abbasid Caliph. Because there is a lot of interest in these Arab horses in the Qashqai.

Ibn Battuta also mentions racing horses that are bred in Yemen, Oman, and Fars province (Ibn Battuta, 2004, p. 470), and probably the breeders of these horses in Fars province are none other than the Qashqai. Gustave Demorgay also considers the Qashqai tribe horse to be on par with the Arab horse in terms of quality (Demorgay, 2011, p. 5) and Marie Therese considers the Qashqais to be the first and best breeders of horses and explains the fame of the horses of the Qashqai⁸ (Therese, 1997, p. 205). Therefore, taking into account the ethnographic and historical information provided in the previous chapter and the information provided above, it is most likely that the name of the Qashqai tribe is derived from the name of the horse "Qashqa".

⁶ The word Yunt means "horse" in Turkish. For more information in this regard, you can check the following resources: (Esin, 2001, p. 162), (Esin, 2006, p. 274). This culture can also be seen among the İl-i Qashqa'i Turks (Khadij-Jam, 1989, p. 231), and the horses that the Qashqai tribe İlkhans rode were the noblest horses in Asia. (Yeşilbursa, 1988, p. 86).

⁷ You can check this book for more information about this: (Potts, 2014, Nomadism in Iran).

⁸ You can check the following resources about the pride of the Qashqais for their horses: (Shor & Shor 1952, p. 810), (Kiani, 1992, p. 84), (Therese, 1997, p. 86, 159, 160), (Bahman-beygi, 2010, p. 47, 91).

In this chapter, I tried to explain the origin and meaning of the Qashqai tribe name. In the subsequent chapter, I discuss the social-political organization of the Qashqai tribe, such as; The Term "Il" (Tribe), Family and Kinship, Beyle and Bonko, Sub-clan (Tireh), Clan (Tayefeh).



4. SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE QASHQAI TRIBE

Above, brief information about the ethnic group forming the core of the Qashqais and the origin and meaning of their name was presented to evoke a background of the tribe in the mind of the reader. In the following, we will try to analyze the socio-political organization and leadership in the tribe.

According to Marsden (1976), the various subdivisions of the Qashqai and their associated formal leaders are as follows: (p. 13).

- Tribe (Ilkan)
 - Clan (Kelanter, Khan)
 - Sub-clan (Kedkhuda)
 - Bonku/Bonkuh
 - Beyle
 - Khanevadeh (individual family)

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 socio-political organization of some tribes living in Iran is given below in Table 1. As can be seen, the order of the social organization of the tribe is from ev/house to Il/tribe, but since our focus in the dissertation is on Ilkhan, for the reader's better understanding of the thesis, I will first describe the tribe and Ilkhan. After ended this chapter, the order presented in Table 1. will be followed.

Table 1. The Social Organization of Several Tribes in Iran is as follows:

Rows, from top to bottom. tribe and clan	1	2	3	4	5	6
Qashqai	Il/El/Tribe	Clan	Sub-clan	Bonko	Beyle/Oba/Ishum	Ev
Shahsevan	Il/El	Clan	Sub-clan	Göbek	Oba	Ev (Öy)
Bichakchi	Il/El	Clan	Sub-clan	--	Ishum or eyshum	Ev/ Khanevar
Yomut	Il/El	--	--	Il	Oba	Ev (Öy)
Bakhtiari	Il	Clan	Sub-clan	Tesh	Olad/Mal	Bohun
Boyerahmadi	Il	Sub-clan	Clan	Olad/Tesh	Avadi/Mal	Khuneh/Khanevar
Basseri	Il	--	--	Sub-clan	Olad:Ordu	Khuneh
Baluch	Il	--	Clan	Zat/Rend	Helk	Gedam/Ges
Hereki	Il	Clan	Bav/Bab	Sub-clan	Zoumeh	Mal
Behmeii	Il	Sub-clan	Clan/Deheye Bozorg	Olad/Deheye Kuchek	Mal (Ordugah)	Kanevar (Khanevadeh)
Talish	Il/él	Sub-clan	Clan	Dede Zuyeh	--	Kuch (Khanevadeh)
Baharvand	Il	Clan	Sub-clan	Bowa	--	Khune (Khanevar)
Arab	--	Clan	Hamule	Olad	Benteh Om	Beyt

Note. The traditional social organization of a number of Tribes, prepared by the following resources: (Motabar, 1975, p. 55), (Motabar, et al., 1977, p. 10), (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1983, p. 110-111), (Sherifi Serasiyayi, 1990, p. 52), (Abdoli Keluri, 1992, p. 39-40), (Behniya, 1995, p. 25), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 74), (Restrepo, 2008, p. 54-56).

4.1. The Term “Il” (Tribe)

The “Il” is a Turkish word that has developed many meanings in its historical life, such as peace⁹, submissive (Roshan & Mousavi, 1994a, p. 34-454), (Roshan & Mousavi, 1994b, p. 825), people (Tavārīkh-i Chingīz‘nāmah shajarat al-Atrāk, p. 14-37), state (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 152), homeland¹⁰, country (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 235-240), horse¹¹, and foreigner¹², which with phoneme changes in Sources and dialects are also used as "El"¹³ (Marsden, 1981, p. 75), (Ergin, 2011, p. 96), (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 23), (Şahin, 2020, p. 635-636).

Also, in the inscriptions of Orhon and Yenisey, this word (tribe) defines the confederation consisting of different clans from the administrative point of view. So tribe means "union of clans" (Şahin, 2020, p. 635). Oberling believes that tribe has a political meaning among Turks (Oberling, 1974, p. 12). 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).

Shahbazi (1987) by distinguishing three elements: 1- tribal element (social organization), 2- nomadic element (way of life), 3- animal husbandry element (way of livelihood) in the recognition of tribes and nomads, provides the following definition: "tribe" is a community whose social organization is tribal, its the way of life is nomadic (completely nomadic or semi-nomadic), its livelihood is pastoral, and forms an independent social and cultural unit. That is, 1- usually at the sub-clans level (sometimes at the clan level) it is based on blood connection, and therefore membership in the tribe requires a blood link with a sub-clan member of the tribe, 2- the social organization of the tribe is based on the tribal system (the tribe to the clan, sub-clan, and sub-sub-clan communal units are divided), 3- Animal husbandry plays the main

⁹ Two "begs" became an "Il" with each other (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 23), which the word Ilchi also derives from this word (Aka & Koparman, 1976, p. 51).

¹⁰ (Togan, 1943, p. 1), “the region under the rule of Beg” (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 23)

¹¹ Il is a name used for a horse because the horse is the wing of the Turks (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu, 2014, p. 23).

¹² Katib benim, Ben Katibin Il ne karışır (Aka & Koparman, 1976, p. 52).

¹³ For additional information, you can check to the following resources: (Clauson, 1972, p. 141).

role in tribe economy, 4- Full nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle of tribe, 5- tribe has culture, language, history, and land. 6- The members of the tribe have a "feeling of belonging to the tribe" or, in Ibn Khaldun's interpretation, "asabiyyah" (p. 23-24).

According to Sefinejad (2016), a tribe is a subset of the nomadic population of a vast region (or country) in a specific geographical area and based on the construction of certain tribal categories (everyone is aware of it), which have a common history, language, and culture, and live in each other's neighborhoods, and migrate (Qishlaq and Yaylaq) according to a specific calendar (p. 338).

Amanolahi-Beharvend (1981) considers tribe as an independent political unit and in some ways like a clan, with the difference that: (p. 184-185) (a). The population of the tribe is more than the clan. (b). The land of the tribe is bigger than the clan. (c). The tribe leader has more power than the clan leader.

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.

4.1.1. Formation Process of the Qashqai Tribe

Regarding the acquisition of this political unit by the Qashqais, there are different opinions as follows:

- 1- The Qashqais consider Jani Khan (died 1823 AD) to be the real founder of the Qashqai tribe due to the unity of the Qashqai clans and the creation of specific and regular hierarchies (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 112).
- 2- Researcher Mehlika Üstündağ considers the formation of the Qashqai tribe during the time of the Zand dynasty in the 18th century when Shiraz was the capital of the Zand dynasty (Üstündağ, 2018, p. 53).
- 3- Politician William O. Douglas (1951), the author of the book "Strange Lands and Friendly People" claims that the Qashqais became a strong tribe and united during the reign of Nader Shah Afshar, that is, in 1736-1747 AD (p. 133).
- 4- Historian Faruk Sümer (1972 and 2022) believes that Qashqais are a new community and many branches belonging to the Turkmen Oymaqs living in Fars province, during the Afghan attack in the first half of the 18th century, gathered around a strong Oymaq belonging to the Khalajs (Shahi'ler) and the Qashqai tribe created (p. 14 and p. 21).

Sirus Perham, who has the same opinion as F. Sümer, says: In any case, the slow and gradual movement of scattered Qashqaiclans (which were later called by this name) to the south of Iran, which started about six hundred years ago, continued more or less for three centuries and until the end of the Zand dynasty period. The unity of the Qashqai tribe, and in fact its independent identity, became possible at the end of the Safavid era and with the efforts and planning of Jani Aqa Qashqai. Apparently, the name of the Qashqai tribe is derived from the nickname of his great ancestor, Amir Ghazi Shahlu (or Shahilu) Qashqai (Perham, 1983, p. 255), (Parham, 1985, p. 66-67), (Beck, 1983, p. 287-288)

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.) has been identified by Anthropologist Jamshid Sedaghat-Kish. And the name of Qashqai is mentioned in the form of Qashghai (قشغایی) in the part that is related to the names of the tribes and clans of Fars province (Sedaghat-kish, 2009, p. 209). So, relying on the document in the village of Saran Bala, it can be said that the Qashqais are not a new community and the slow and gradual movement of scattered Qashqai clans (which were later called by this name) to the south of Iran began long before six hundred years ago. And it can probably be said that it continued until the middle of the Qajar rule.

According to the genealogy presented by Shahlu/Shahilu family by Mirza Hasan Hosseini Fasaee (Rastgar Fasaee, 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"¹⁴ as well as the surname "Shahlu/Shahilu" It can probably be said that the Qashqai tribe's formation and power as a political unit began at the beginning of the Safavid rule, not at the end of the Safavid rule.

Because the title Aqa-Aka, which appeared for the first time in Persian literature in *Tarikh-i Jahangushay-i Juwayni* (Roshan & Mousavi, 1994b, p. 2292), means "elder brother" and "relatives" (Sümer, 1988, p. 451-452), (Li, 2019, p. 45), which was used in relation to elders close to Khans, chiefs of kabile, and tribes (Togan, 1981, p. 278),

¹⁴ Malek Mansur Khan says: Shah Ismail may have given the title of Ilkhani to Amir Ghazi (Beck, 2017, p. 56).

(Öğmen, 2011, p. 87), (Li, 2019, p. 107). After the come of the Mongols to the west, this nickname was also used by Turkmen begs (Sümer, 1988, p. 451-452). Ibn Battuta also writes about the word Aqa: The word Aqa means great and noble, and anyone who has a relationship with the sultans is called Aqa (İbn Battuta, 2004, p. 415). According to Faruk Sümer (1988), this title was pronounced as "Aka" and "Aqa/Agha" in the Safavid government, which continued the traditions of the Turk-Mongol state organization, and was applied to famous people and elders of the Oymaks (tribes) (p. 451-452).

Shahlu/Shahilu surname was probably derived from the closeness of Amir Ghazi to Shah Ismail Safavi because according to Beck (2017), Shahlu/Shahilu means "those who belong to the Shah (king)" (p. 56). Another example of this type of "belonging to the king" can be seen during the time of Shah Abbas I in the creation of the Shahsevan tribe, and according to Richard Tapper (2010), this word means "friends of the king" and has been used since the time of the first Safavid Shahs for those who are related to this dynasty with loyalty and religious ties (p. 295-297).

Considering the above information, it seems that the Qashqai tribe started the process of becoming a tribe and gaining power from the beginning of the Safavid rule and continued its rising trend even after the Safavid rule. In other words, the formation and gaining of power of the Qashqai tribe possible over a long period of time, and as far as our sources help us, it can be said that the beginning this period of time began with the Safavid rule and, it has continued its rising course until Pahlavi rule (1925-1979).

In this part of this chapter, I tried to explain the term of "Il" and the formation process of the Qashqai tribe. In the next part of this chapter, I will discuss the Ilkhan (the Paramount leader of the Qashqai Tribe) and the legitimacy, the Institutional Organization, and duties of Ilkhan.

4.1.2. 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)¹⁵. According

¹⁵ For more information, the following article is recommended: (Amitai-Preiss, 1991, p. 353-361)

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 Fasaee, 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 Fasaee, 1999a, p. 719).

Considering, In the Qashqai tribe, prominent leaders of the tribe were always members of the same family, that is, the Shahilu family (Beck, 2017, p. 215) and also, considering the classification of the political organization of tribes and nomads in Iran by A. Shahbazi (1990), which is as follows: (p. 28-38)

- 1- Mongolian political organization: It means a kind of political organization in tribes and nomads, in which the clan is divided into two parts, "Khan" and "Clan". "Khan" is an aristocratic tribal unit and "clan" is united on the axis of Khan and gathered around this pole. The Khan family is a complete military aristocracy. There is no marriage between the khan and the "clan", sometimes it happens that the khan takes a wife from the clan. But Khan never gives a daughter to the clan. A clear example of this structure can be seen in the Qashqai tribe. The tribe is united around the patriarchal family of "Shahilu", whose ancestor was named Amir Ghazi Shahilu. Compared to the Shahilu family, the tribe is called a "clan". Amaleh clan of the Qashqai tribe was a military organization of warrior clans, which were the executive arm and agents of the Shahilu family. In addition, each clan of the Qashqai tribe adopts the above structural model and divides itself into two parts "Khan" and "Clan" with the aforementioned characteristics.
- 2- Tribal political organization: It means that type of political organization in tribes that is based on the tribal system. In the Qashqai, this organization exists only at the level of sub-clans.
- 3- Aristocratic political organization: This organization should be considered different from the Mongolian political organization because it is possible to transfer the headship of a tribe from one family to another. An example of such an organization is Bakhtiari. If a powerful leader was placed at the head

of the tribe, the tribe would act as a political unit, otherwise, each clan would act separately and independently as a political unit for itself.

The issue of the legitimacy of this family becomes very important in the tribe. In other words, although, the tribe leadership in Iran before Pahlavi, that is, before 1925, was in the hands of Ilkhans who were appointed by the central government. But they were not only dependent on the central government to gain their legitimacy, and within the tribe, there were mechanisms of legitimacy that were very important (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 198). For this reason, considering the importance of Ilkhan's legitimacy and also to better explain my question, in the following part, I will examine the legitimacy of Ilkhan from the Shahilu family in the Qashqai tribe.

4.1.2.1. The Legitimacy of Ilkhan in the Qashqai Tribe

Therefore, taking into account the above-mentioned materials, the legitimizing mechanisms for the Ilkhan in the Qashqai tribe, can be divided into three main parts, namely; the sanctity of the leader's family, the tribe's cultural system, and the approval of the central government.

The lineage of the prominent leaders of the tribe, that is, the Shahilu family, reaches Amir Ghazi Shahilu (Beck, 2017, p. 30-62), the founder of the Qashqai tribe. This family traces its descent from the father's side to Uzun Hasan chief of Aq Qoyunlus (died 1478), and from the mother's side to Shah Ismail Safavi (1501-1524) (Kiani, 1992, p. 165), (Beck, 2017, p. 30-62). Although the Qashqais are a patriarchal society, the status, and personality of the bride they marry are very important to start a family. This issue is further explained in the section on family and kinship. Qajar era historian Moshir od-Dowleh also considered the Shahilu family to be the descendants of Uzun Hasan, the head of Aq Qoyunlus (Kiani, 1992, p. 156). For this reason, some Qashqais, that is, people from the Aq Qoyunlu sub-clan addressed Nasir Khan as an uncle/amca (Oberling, 1974, p. 31). This is despite the fact that according to Therese (1997), the people of the tribe did not use any name other than Ilkhan when speaking or addressing Nasir Khan (Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe) (p. 147).

Charisma (holiness in interaction and too much credit for direction and leadership) and the spiritual influence of the members, especially the men of the family, is one of the prominent features of this family, which has been passed down from Amir Ghazi Shahilu through blood relationships to his children and descendants. Amir Ghazi

Shahilu was one of the Sufis¹⁶ of the Safavid era who helped Shah Ismail to establish the Shia religion in the 16th century. His grave is in Gandamgan in northern Fars, where some people still go to visit him. Some believe that the descendants of Amir Ghazi have inherited a kind of strength and preparation through blood and inheritance, which helps them in making difficult decisions, resolving conflicts, and even medicine and treatment (Beck, 2017, p. 55-56-215). In other words, the concept of charisma is the same as "Kut"¹⁷ in Turkish culture, which is given as a gift by God to family members. This "Kut" can be seen in their unique ability to hunt (Beck, 2017, p. 215) and their Ocak (hearth).

One of the legitimizing symbols for Ilkhan was his skill in shooting¹⁸ (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 205) and horse riding, both of which were evident in hunting. The tribe members attached great value to shooting, riding, and hunting (Beck, 2017, p. 251), (Ivanov, 2006, p. 87) and people who were able to shoot accurately on a galloping horse were given special popularity and social importance (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 60). Malek Mansur Khan says in this regard: A khan without any training should hunt a falcon in the air with only one arrow in a qeyqaj (Parthian shot) position (Beck, 2017, p. 215). Therefore, the clan members were very careful about the existence of these characteristics in Ilkhan (Oberling, 1974, p. 21), (Yeşilbursa, 1988, p. 86).

Another legitimizing symbol for Ilkhan was his father's hearth¹⁹ (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 201). In the Qashqai tribe, they had great respect for the hearth of the Kelanters, Kedkhudas, Rish Sefids, and those who visited the shrines and the house of God. But respecting Ilkhan's hearth was extremely important in the tribe. Because only his hearth had the possibility of healing (Kiani, 1992, p. 306-307). Also, the people of the tribe believed that the hearth of such people, which is also the source

¹⁶ It seems that this model of Sufi became popular in Iran from the Ilkhanian period (1335-1256). Sufism, which began as an individual understanding of asceticism, gradually moved towards the formation of a congregation around a leader. The sheik had the sanctity that after his death, his sanctity or blessing was passed on to his children and descendants through lineage. And as a result, his tomb also becomes a center of respect (Potter, 2011, p. 216-217).

¹⁷For more information about this, you can check the following resources: (Ögel, 1982, p. 49-50), (Arslan, 1986).

¹⁸To find out the importance of shooting for the Shah (central government), you can check the following resource: (Bahramian, 2008, p. 393)

¹⁹ Some researchers (Kiani, 1992), (Bahramian, 2008), (Fazeli, Yazdan-panah, 2020) consider the belief in the hearth in the Qashqai tribe to be related to ancient Iran (?) (Kiani, 1992, p. 228), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 80), (Fazeli, Yazdan-panah, 2020, p. 90-91). But according to Gowhari-Motleq & Chareh, the belief in the hearth in the Qashqai tribe has nothing to do with ancient Iran (Zoroastrian religion) and is influenced by Turkish culture (Gowhari-Motleq & Chareh, 2010, p. 88-89). For more information about this, you can check the following resource: (Ögel, 1995, p. 495-532).

of their power, is bright and strong, and betraying them is dangerous (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 124). In other words, among the Qashqais, only the hearth of Shahilu family members had the ability to create a relationship between the ancestors and the material world, and this was one of the most important principles for obtaining their legitimacy among the tribe members (Fazeli & Yezdan-panah, 2020, p. 96). The people of the tribe were so religiously attached to this special culture that they even took their sick children to the hearth and put the ashes of the hearth on the mouth of the sick person as healing medicine and received a gift from the lady of the black tent (Ilkhan's wife) as a blessing (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 201).

From the perspective of anthropologist Georges Balandier (1995), the head of the tribe is the point of contact between the real tribe, that is, the tribe consisting of the living, and the ideal tribe. It is the bearer of final values and is the symbol of the whole set of ancestors. Because he is the one who conveys the words of the ancestors to the living and the words of the living to the ancestors. So the interference of holiness and politics in such cases is a certain and accepted thing (p. 120). L. Beck (2017) writes in believing in this type of holiness among the Qashqais:

I witnessed with my own eyes that an educated person of urban origin and a former member of parliament, during his meeting with one of Shahilu's khans, wanted to borrow a shirt, preferably old, torn, and worn, to cure chronic chest disease by wearing it. The Qashqais considered the "yurd and ocak" of the former Ilkhans to be sacred and asked for healing from it, swore by it, and used it to resolve conflicts. Their old yurds were considered sacred and were never destroyed. Their "ashes of old ocak" were kept for future treatments, and people often swore by the "ashes of ocak " of Jani Aqa. Many Qashqais believe that misery and misfortune await those who are against the Shahilu family and often tell stories about these people. Some members of the Shahilu family considered themselves and their ancestors to be Sufis and emphasized special inner and spiritual qualities that existed in their ancestors long before the domination of Muslim clerics in Iran (p. 216).

And this is consistent with the opinion of anthropologist Claude Rivière (2003) who says that the head of a tribe or a territorial group, who often has the functions of a cleric, can have supernatural and magical powers (p. 231).

According to the position of the ocak in the Qashqai tribe, it can be said that the hearth is the most fundamental belief in the kinship system of the tribe, and belonging to a single hearth creates the strongest kinship bond in the tribal system (Vermeghani, 2014, p. 223). And it is a code that connects clans together (Kiani, 1992, p. 303). In other words, it is a kind of sanctity of ancestors and a symbolic totem that strengthens the unity of the tribe (Vermeghani, 2014, p. 223). So it can be said that the belief of the Khans and the ordinary people of the tribe that they are equally Qashqais and have a common history originates from this belief (Beck, 1983, p. 291), (Beck, 2017, p. 227-229).

Considering the above information, it can be said that in tribal societies, family authority is derived from the hearth culture, which is thought to have the power to create communication between the living and the dead (Rivière, 2003, p. 231). And this shows that the power has never been devoid of religious content and the holy matter is the source of the leader's power (Balandier, 1995, p. 120), (Rivière, 2003, p. 232).

Figure 3. Hunting in the Qashqai Tribe.



(Shor& Shor, 1952, p. 813)

After the father, the eldest son usually became the head of the tribe (Therese, 1997, p. 147). But first, in addition to the above characteristics, one should have other characteristics such as ethics and appropriate behavior with the people of the tribe, and sufficient courage and bravery. In other words, another important issue that played a

role in the legitimacy of the Ilkhan in the Qashqai tribe was its ethics and behavior towards the common man of the tribe. That is, no tribe leader had absolute power and his leadership was based on the way he governed the people under his rule. Because the disaffected people could easily get out of the support umbrella of their leaders and ally with other groups. In other words, ordinary people did not accept the leadership of unsuitable people and often united with others (Beck, 2017, p. 227-229). And whenever the head of the tribe was distrusted, they asked him to resign so that another ruler could take his place. For this reason, Nasir Khan (even if his words are exaggerated) says: "There is no room for argument. If I feel that even five people are against me among the entire tribe, I will immediately resign. My role as the head of the tribe must be implemented with the agreement and cooperation of all people (Therese, 1997, p. 146-147).

Ilkhan's behavior towards the poorest members of the tribe was also paternal (Douglas, 1951, p. 156). That is, Ilkhan considered all members of the tribe as his children (Roknzade, 1978, p. 396). For this reason, the tribe leader was against looting, theft, and insecurity, and the reason people were satisfied with them was the kindness they saw in them (Kiani, 1992, p. 185). L. Beck also says in this regard: Ilkhan, unlike some parts of Iran, never used government forces against the tribal people to exercise sovereignty. Also, in difficult economic conditions, the leaders of the tribe rushed to help the people of the tribe by distributing rent and not receiving wealth (Oberling, 1974, p. 169) (Kiani, 1992, p. 29), (Therese, 1997, p. 150), (Beck, 2017, p. 227-229). Therefore, it can be said that, unlike the Bakhtiari, the cultural connection between the ordinary people and Ilkhan was very strong and comprehensive, and the loyalty and obedience of the ordinary people of the tribe was a pleasure for Ilkhan (Beck, 1983, p. 291), (Beck, 2017, p. 31). The tribe members loved Ilkhan as the symbol of the power of the tribe and its defender (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 29). For this reason, it was very important for the tribe leader to have courage and bravery to prevent the influence and encroachment of opponents and neighbors on the tribe (Kiani, 1992, p. 185).

Another legitimizing factor was the tribe's cultural system. Tribe leaders derived their legitimacy and identity from the cultural system and contributed to its preservation. Even sometimes the leaders of their tribes created special symbols and used them in their leadership (Beck, 2017, p. 231). The most obvious cultural component of the Qashqais in distinguishing them from other groups in the southwest

of Iran is the tribe language, that is, Turkish²⁰ (Beck, 2017, p. 232), (Mehrijoo, et al., 2019, p. 2) In other words, the Turkish identity of the Qashqai tribe was the factor that distinguished them from other groups in the southwest of Iran (Soraya, 1969, p. 129). (Beck, 1991, p. 9-10).

Another cultural system of the tribe was the customs and habits of the tribe, which were very important for the members of the tribe and Ilkhan was expected to adhere to them like other members of the tribe (Oberling, 1974, p. 24). The Qashqai ilkhans also attached great respect and importance to the traditions and customs of the tribe and tried to preserve them. According to F. Sümer (1972), the observance of these customs by the Ilkhan and the ordinary people of the tribe would make the tribe stronger (p. 15). For example, Nowruz was and is one of the important ceremonies of the Qashqais. During Nowruz, all the members of the tribe came to visit the Ilkhan wearing new clothes and presented their gifts to him. In addition to giving them gifts, Ilkhan also issued his orders. During these days, Ilkhan provided happiness and joy. According to Malek Mansur Khan, on this day, they put an eagle on the Ilkhan's seat and looked at it as a sign of good fortune. This is why Qashqais do not hunt eagles²¹ (Qashqais also use eagles in hunting. They catch the eagle when it is a chick, train it for a few weeks and release it after the hunting season is over (Therese, 1997, p. 164).) (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 205-206).

Ilkhani's behavior with guests, the type of sitting and getting up, giving gifts, and setting up tents, all indicated the leadership of Ilkhan and its glory. Because Ilkhan turned the New Year's meeting into a space for exercising power and leadership, measuring the loyalty of people in groups, giving rewards, and punishing (Beck, 2017, p. 242). According to Rivière (2003), these rites are, in fact, stagings of power in a kind of grand dramatization. And it is also a reminder of the sacred origin of power (p. 261).

²⁰ For more linguistic information about the language of the Qashqai tribe, you can check the following resources: (Bulut, 2018), (Doğan, 2021).

²¹ According to Malek Mansur Khan's words, it can be said that the symbol of the Qashqai tribe is the eagle, just like the Oghuz tribes. Bahman-Beigi's simile of Ilkhan to an eagle must have originated from the same issue (Bahman-beygi, 2010, p. 147).

Figure 4. A Qushchu in the Qashqai Tribe.



(Therese, 1997, p. 196)

For the Qashqais, wedding celebrations were an opportunity for social and political solidarity. For the Qashqais, wedding celebrations were an opportunity for social and political solidarity. The Qashqai wedding celebrations were a means to maintain and expand the distinctive tribal identity. Considering the financial conditions and the favorable position and the number of patrons and the number of guests that could be invited, Ilkhan could organize a wedding party better and more than any other person and display the symbols of his power (Beck, 2017, p. 251). Considering the above material, wealth can also be considered as one of the legitimizing components for Ilkhan.

Figure 5. Wedding Ceremony in the Qashqai Tribe.



(Noroozi, 2021, p. 70)

Pastoral migration was one of the most important issues for the Qashqais and the leader of the tribe. Because it brought them a sense of freedom and clearly showed the authority of the tribe's leadership (Kiani, 1992, p. 184), (Kiani, 2000, p. 200). On the other hand, the organization and leadership of migration was the responsibility of Ilkhan (Therese, 1997, p. 146-147). Also, during the pastoral migration, the Qashqais were vulnerable to the attacks of non-Qashqais and this vulnerability became the reason for the Ilkhan to become prominent (Beck, 2017, p. 196).

For the Qashqais, in addition to the need for new pastures, pastoral migration, like a wedding, was a source of strength and social unity for the tribe. Because those who were separated due to marriage or anything else could have a new meeting with their acquaintances due to migration. Men would invite their sons-in-law to accompany them on the migration, and women who were separated from their paternal family through marriage would find a new opportunity to be together. (Beck, 1991, p. 29). In addition to the above issues, migration was also important for the implementation of customs and rituals. For example, the Qashqais considered sacred the trees that were on the hills, slopes, and mountain passes during their migration and called them "Pir Lek Lek". And if they had a wish, they tied a piece of cloth to it and asked God to fulfill their intention and desire (Kiani, 1992, p. 239).

Figure 6. Pastoral Migration in the Qashqai Tribe.



(Kottak, 2011, p. 402)

In the issue of lifestyle, another factor that displayed Ilkhan's grandeur and power was Ilkhan's Ordu (Camp). The Paramount Tribal Leader camp, which was located in the summer and winter pastures, was the heart and center of the command and its function was a symbol of leadership. In the center of the Ilkhan camp, there was a huge black tent where guests were received and meetings were held. And the people who went to visit Ilkhan saw the camp as a bigger model than their tents and were influenced by it and tried to apply it as a model to their lives. In this way, Ilkhan defined his identity with ordinary people and made a distinction between himself and Persian speakers. In other words, an ordinary person of the tribe and the Ilkhan used to sample each other's models (Beck, 2017, p. 242-243-244). If the political matter becomes rituals, it is because the rituals are considered a representation of a fundamental approach through which the place of power (Ilkhan) and obedient people are shown. In other words, rituals are a showing tool that gives credibility to the superiority of power, and as a result, by presenting superior symbols, wealth, etc., it causes respect and honor. And thus, such a power can impose its requirements without resorting to actual violence and only by creating a sense of need for superior power (Rivière, 2003, p. 262).

Figure 7. The Table of Ilkhan of the Qashqai Tribe.



(Shor& Shor, 1952, p. 816-817)

It is necessary to explain, the tent in the tribe is divided into three categories:

1- Tents belonging to poor families and shepherds, 2- Tents belonging to middle-class families and Koakhodas, 3- Tents belonging to Khans and Kelanterns. The tents of the third category sometimes reached 25 meters long, 5 meters wide, and 3 or 4 meters high. However, Ilkhan's tents were better than other tents (Nazari & Yazdanpanah, 2019, p. 203).

When placing the tents, there is a special tendency to place Ilkhan's tent in the center. The location of the tents is measured by the leader's tent (Nazari & Yazdanpanah, 2019, p. 202). The camp was a gathering place and tribe meetings, which were held publicly and under the supervision of Ilkhan. In the absence of Ilkhan, his brother or close relatives would take his place. In these meetings, ordinary people would raise their problems and views with Ilkhan. It is necessary to explain, women could also participate in these gatherings and participate in discussions. In short, the size of the camp, the magnificence of the main tent and the guests, the number of visitors, and the generosity and hospitality of the Ilkhan were all symbols of the Ilkhan's position and status (Beck, 2017, p. 247-249-250). All these matters brought Ilkhan and tribe members closer to each other and created solidarity between them. In other words, it was based on these components that the Qashqai tribe was a single person, as Kiani said (Kiani, 1992, p. 167).

According to Claude Rivière (2003), these political rituals cause integration (Rituals strengthen the unifying social bond by appropriating a group of rules and roles within the framework of the order that is expressed), legitimacy (The ideology that governs the organization of power is re-crystallized in the ceremony and is intensified in the framework of political practice. This causes a specific power to be legitimized with specific actions and decisions), and hierarchy (Political gatherings and meetings emphasize the complementarity and symmetry of these positions by displaying the roles and positions of the participants (Ilkhan, Il-Begi, Kelanterns, Kedkhudas, ordinary people, etc.) and also by referring to the hierarchical order of the political matter), and emotional excitement (Successful political rituals create belief through the attraction they create. Therefore, its power depends to some extent on the emotions it evokes and the swing that the participants' spirits create) (p. 275-279).

According to the above content, such a result can be considered for this section: 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).

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 synonymous words in Fars province (Beck, 2017, p. 35-231-232).

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 family members (Beck, 2017, p. 68).

In other words, it can be said that the Shahilu family uses the charisma of its family (it seems that this charisma remained for this family 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. For this reason, I think in this thesis that Ilkhan had an important and decisive position in the Qashqai tribe. Because, the Ilkhan and his family had such a prominent political and social position that during their exile (1954-1978), none of the other Khans of the tribe could challenge their position, and the people of the tribe also considered Nasir Khan (Ilkhan exiled) as the Ilkhan (Beck, 2017, p. 235).

4.1.2.2. The Institutional Organization of the Ilkhan

According to Parviz Varjavand (1965), in large tribes in Iran such as Qashqai (and Bakhtiari), the tribe leader, Il-khan (and Il-Begi and most of the great khans), has vast organizations that are divided into two categories: (p. 155), (Moshiri, 1993, p. 85). (a). Organizations were responsible for contact with the people of the tribe, who were responsible for protecting and monitoring and the work of the people of the tribe. (b). Organizations forming the ceremonial apparatus of the Ilkhan (or Khan) that were related to the Ilkhan (or Khan) and were responsible for the personal affairs of the Ilkhan.

Considering this information, it can be said that the institutional organization of Ilkhan is as follows:

- Il-Beg: Il-Beg, who was usually the deputy of the Ilkhan and helped the Ilkhan in carrying out the affairs of the tribe, was chosen from close relatives and often from the brothers of the Ilkhan (Beck, 2017, 236).

Beck (2017) says; the title of Ilkhan and Ilbeg itself is vague and multifaceted and can have the following meanings: (p. 65) (a). A ruler appointed by the government for the tribe. (b). A tribal person appointed by the government as a tribal leader. (c) A native tribal leader with this title who is recognized by the people of the tribe.

Il-Beg was in charge of the internal affairs of the tribe, such as collecting taxes, equipping the forces, administrative work, taking care of pastures, arranging real estate affairs, and overseeing the clans (Ahmadi, 2007, p. 123), (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 196).

- Judicial or Secretarial Affairs and Consultants: They were among the most important people in the Ilkhan institution, whose loyalty was unquestionable, and they played an important role in the pragmatic aspect of the headship of the tribe, and they were generally given the title of "Aqa" (Beck, 2017, p. 237). The head of the secretaries was called Monshi-Bashi. Malik Mansour Khan says; usually, the secretaries' families

lived in the city and the secretaries themselves lived in the tribe to take care of affairs, and most of the secretaries were from the cities of Shiraz, Firozabad, and Jahorm (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 30).

They were used as Mirza, a secretary, accountant, teacher, and a tax collector. For example: "Nim-Taj Khanum" was Ismail Khan's special representative in Shiraz from 1905-1914 and his personal secretary from 1913-1914 (Beck, 2017, p. 237-238).

- Farrash-khaneh: The direct responsibility of Farash-Khana was with a person named Farash-Bashi, who was responsible for two important duties: 1- police duty (arresting criminals or punishing people, confiscating the property of criminals, creating order, protecting prisoners, etc.) and 2- serving duty (The duty of receiving or setting up the Ilkhan's tents and receiving guests was one of the duties of Farash). Farash-Bashi always had a number of skilled and experienced people under his authority to execute the orders and decrees of the Ilkhan (Kiani, 1992, p. 186), (Sefinejad, 2016, p. 317-318).

Anyone who wanted to visit the Ilkhan without prior notice, even the first-class members of the Ilkhan, had to get permission from Farash-Bashi, and he would also allow them to enter the tent after receiving permission from the Ilkhan (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 196-197).

- Nokerbab (musketeers): Nokerbab, bodyguards and personal musketeers of the Ilkhan, who were actually special guards to carry out the orders of the Ilkhani, who had already proven their military skills and loyalty, and were chosen from the ordinary people of the Amaleh clan (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 31), (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 197), (Beck, 2017, p. 239).

- Yasavul²²: In the Qashqai tribe, Ilkhan (Sowlat-ed-Dowleh) during his official trips, when he rode a horse, more than a thousand people were riding in his stirrups. Yasavul (which means silver club) rides on a horse with his club in front of the riders and engages in galloping and orderly movement of the riders (Sefinejad, 2016, p. 320).

In addition to these positions, there are other positions such as Yurtchu, Qushchu (To train eagles for use in the hunting season.), Topchu, Mir-akhor, Sarban

²² Yasavul, which is also seen in sources related to the history of Turk governments, in the Safavid government meant the guard and guardian of ceremonies, order, and discipline (Sümer, 1999, p. 83), (Eğilmez & Macit, 2012, p. 89-104).

(Dargha), Ashpez-bashi, Keshikchi-bashi, Sharbat-dar, Kahvechi, Mokhtabad (responsible for supervising the shepherds and sheep of the Ilkhan), Supervisor, Qoruqchu, Kherrat-Bashi, and others existed in the Ilkhan system. It should be added that Il-Beg and the Kelanterns of the clan (Of course, in a smaller format than Ilkhan) also had such an organization to carry out their affairs due to their position and population (which was said in the clan/kelanter section)²³ (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 32), (Bahman-Beygi, 2010, p. 154), (Beck, 2017, p. 251), (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 197-198).

4.1.2.3. Duties of Ilkhan

According to Beck (2017), the affairs of the tribe were of two categories: the political affairs "outside the tribe" which were under the supervision of the Ilkhani, and the affairs "inside the tribe" which were handled by the Khan and Kedkhudas. And only when these issues (at a higher level) were not resolved, the Ilkhan would take action (p. 235). Therefore, it can be said that the Ilkhan, who had absolute executive power, supervised all the internal and external affairs of the Ilkhan (Sefinejad, 2016, p. 238).

Therefore, in short, we can say; Ilkhan, the guardianship and unified formation of the tribe, doing government affairs, dealing with the political-social situation of the tribe, tax calculation and timely delivery to central authorities, military equipment and tribe combat readiness, determination and selection of clan leaders, preparation of all procurement programs of the tribe, resolving the differences between the great clans of the tribe, he was in charge of the planning and general movements of the tribe (Kiani, 1992, p. 181), (Nazari&Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 195-196). Ilkhan was also responsible for the defense of the tribe against government agencies and was responsible for protecting the interests of the tribe²⁴ (Salzman, 1967, p. 125), (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 28).

In this part of this chapter, I tried to explain the Ilkhan (the Paramount leader of the Qashqai Tribe) and the legitimacy, the Institutional Organization, and duties of Ilkhan. In the next part of this chapter, I will discuss the kinship relations and family,

²³ For more information in this regard, you can check the following resources: (Dordari, 2009, p. 271), (Beck, 2017, p. 237-241), (Amiri, 2003, p. 542), (Kiani, 1992, p. 186-189).

²⁴ For more information, you can check the following resources: (Moshiri, 1993, p. 100-103), (Amiri, 2003, p. 542), (Dordari, 2009, p. 290).

marriage, wife selection criteria, heritage, the role of women in the family economy, and divorce in the Qashqai tribe.

4.2. Family as the Nucleus of Socio-Political Organization

4.2.1. Kinship Relations and Family

- Kinship Relations

The order of kinship in tribal society in Iran is based on the relationship between filiations and alliance groups and determines the issues: Who should one marry? Where to live? How to raise children? How to resolve disputes? How to divide the inheritance? From whom to expect help to pursue common interests? (Holy, 1996, p. 12), in these societies, patrilineal descent is the dominant form. That means, children take descent from the father and are recognized as members of the father's lineage and bonko in connection with the father. (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 60).

According to Soraya (1969), *"Qashqai kinship terminology closely corresponds to what Murdock calls Sudanese kinship terminology. In this type of terminology 'FaSiDa and MoBrDa (are) called by different terms, and (are) terminologically differentiated also from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces; (this type is) usually but not always associated with descriptive terminology"* (p. 129). This kinship system is a system of patrilineal descent, in which words and terms are separated by sex, separation of paternal and maternal descent, and age separation. And it exists among Turks, Arabs, and Iranian groups, as well as throughout the Middle East and in China. In this system, where close relatives are separated from each other with various words and terms, it is male-centered and the characteristics of Patriarchy and Patrilocality prevail in it (Meqsudi, 2007, p. 213-214), (Ferbod, 2009, p. 246).

It seems that the Qashqais have patrilineal descent for the following reasons: (a). The name of the father's family is transferred to the son and daughter's children, (b). Only male children pass this name on to their sons and daughters children, (c). Patrilineal systems are often patriarchal, (d). Patrilocality is one of the other features of patrilineal and patriarchal systems (Meqsudi, 2007, p. 111).

According to Soraya (1969), a Qashqai considers anyone who is related to him through his father or mother as his relative. If he needs help, he will ask for it and can get it from his matrilineal and patrilineal relatives alike, depending on spatial proximity

and other practical considerations (p. 136). This seems consistent with the "complementary filiation" concept of Fortes.

That is, in a patrilineal society, a person is related to his father by descent, while his connection with his mother is about complementary affiliation. In other words, a society in which the descent is traced in a patrilineal line does not reject the descent connection between the person and his matrilineal kinsmen. In other words, it states that the person has certain rights and responsibilities not only to the members of his own descent group but also to the members of his mother's group (Holy, 1996, p. 46-47).

Table 2. Qashqai kinship terms for consanguineal relatives.

		L			
	A	MG	FG		
G+B	♂	Jādd			
	♀	Jāddā			
G+2	♂	BeigBābā			
	♀	Bibe			
G+1	♂	Bābā		MC	FC
	♀		Anā	Āme	Dāre
G 0	♂			Āmma	Dāzzā
	♀				
G-1	♂	oghgi		KāKā	
	♀	Ghez		Bājā	
G-2	♂	Nāve			
	♀				
G-3	♂	Nātiye			
	♀				

(Soraya, 1969, p. 132).

In summary, the kinship system in the Ili society (tribal society) has a very important task and role in the solidarity of the tribal branches with each other. And its stability and durability guarantee the cohesion and integrity of the social organization of the tribe and its continuity and survival (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 60).

- Family²⁵

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, which have also considerable independence (Rehimi-ye Jaber, 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). In other words, the distribution of power in the family is vertical. The father, who holds the title of the head of the family, is considered responsible and representative of the family in the tribal society, and as long as he is alive, the main power is in his hands. Despite the fact that the father has wide powers in his area of authority, there is still consultation and cooperation, but the final decision and responsibility for implementation rests with the father (Peyman, 1968, p. 118), (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 129). 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).

²⁵Like Bolukbashi, I use family and household as synonyms (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 73).

In general, the main characteristics of the family among Tribes are as follows: (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 128-129)

(a). Joint activity of members: Family members follow a common economic, political, and social goal. (b). Kinship relationships: It characterizes the relationship between family members, in other words, the relationship between family members is based on kinship (Filiations and Alliance). Although in some cases non-kinship may also join them. (c). Cohabitation or shared residence: Family members live under the same roof, usually under a black tent, but sometimes the members of some families may live apart from each other for a period of the year.

In the Qashqai tribe, at the time of migration, families of the tribe are divided into two parts: The first category is families who all go to Yaylaq (summer quarters). The second category is families, some of whose members remain in their place (or village) of residence and manage agricultural affairs, etc. In other words, during the migration season, the family is divided (Vermeghani, 2014, p. 225).

As mentioned above, the outward sign of such a society is a tent. In other words, the main residence of the Qashqai tribe is the black tent, which is called Qara Chadar or Bohun/Bohon in Turkish (Afshar Sistani, 1987b, p. 629), (Kiani, 1992, p. 103-104). The architecture and form of these black tents are compatible with pastoral migration. And the constituent elements of these tents include the body and roof, ropes, poles, wooden components and connections and beams (Afshary, 2021, p. 56-57).

The black body and roof of the tent are woven from goat hair, which has strong and interwoven threads. Ropes are woven from sheep wool or goat hair in different designs. Poles, wooden connecting rings, nails, and skewers are prepared and carved from different woods, and the chiqs are woven from reed strips, wood and hairy threads (Kiani, 1992, p. 103-104), (Afshary, 2021, p. 60).

There are two forms and sizes of these black tents. In principle, their shape and form depends on the Yaylaq and Qishlaq areas of the tribe. In Yaylaq areas, the form of these black tents is like Figure 9 and in Qishlaq areas, the form of these black tents is like Figure 10 (Afshary, 2021, p. 58).

Figure 8. Setting up a Tent in the Qashqai Tribe.



(Shor& Shor, 1952, p. 818)

Figure 9. The Shape of the Black Tent in the Yaylaq Area.



(Afshary, 2021, p. 58).

Figure 10. The Shape of the Black Tent in the Qishlaq Area.



(Afshary, 2021, p. 58).

- Types of the Family

The family has different types according to its dimensions, importance, and special conditions in different societies. In recent decades, changes in the socioeconomic structure of tribes have changed the shape of the family, but still, there

are forms of family in tribes that can be classified and studied from different angles (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 188).

Elvia Restrepo divides the tribes family in Iran into 5 classes as follows: (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 188).

Table 3. Classification of tribal families in Iran.

<u>Criteria</u>	<u>Types</u>
Governing relationships among family members	Nuclear and Extended Family
Number of spouses	Monogamy and polygamy
The type of life in relation to the way of production	Nomadic and settled
Type of residence after marriage	Patrilocality, matrilocality, new local
Type of lineage transfer	Patrilineal and matrilineal

According to Gholamhosseinpour's (2007) research in the Darreh-Shuri clan of the Qashqai tribe, we see eight types of families as described in the following table (the size of the statistical population studied by Gholamhossein-pur is 279 families): (p. 189).

Table 4. Frequency distribution according to family types in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Types of family</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Nuclear	203	72.75
Extended	17	6.09
Conjugal	16	5.73
Stem	13	4.65
Attachments	12	4.30
Composite	9	3.22
Single-parent	6	2.15
Parental	3	1.07
<u>Total</u>	279	100

- Nuclear Family

The nuclear family refers to a social group that has a common residence, economic cooperation, and cooperative production. In this type of family, the husband and wife form the central core of the family. In general, a nuclear family includes a husband, wife, children, and possibly other people (single, widow, divorced). The nuclear family in terms of the composition includes different types, which are: 1- husband and wife only, 2- husband, wife and children, 3- husband, wife, and others, and 4- husband, wife, children, and others (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 130-131), (Restrepo, 2008, p. 178).

Anthropologist and sociologist Teyyebi and anthropologist Ruholamini say that the dominant form in tribal families is the extended family (Ruholamini, 1994, p. 104), (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 202). But according to the words of Nik-Khelgh and Esgeri-ye Nuri (2003), the nuclear family is the dominant form in Tribes and Nomads (which is 76.2%) (p. 13). And this figure shows the replacement of the nuclear family instead of the extended family.

The nuclear family has the highest percentage among Turkmen. As there are 69.9% nuclear families among Yomut Turkmen, 57.8% among Goklan Turkmen, and 61.5% among Teke Turkmen. According to Anthropologists Esgeri-ye Khanghah & Sherif Kemali (1995), the reason for the expansion of the nuclear family among Turkmen is their turning to rural and then urban life (p. 98).

According to Table No. (2), it can be said that among the 279 studied families, 72.75% of the Darreh-Shuri clan is a nuclear family, and in other words, the nuclear family is the dominant form among the 279 studied families.

- Extended family

The extended family includes a husband, wife, unmarried children, married son or sons, daughter-in-law (or daughters-in-law), grandchildren, and possibly other people (kinship or non-kinship). This form of family, which in the past was dominant among all strata of the tribal society, today includes a small percentage of tribal families, in other words, the extended family is the highest figure after the nuclear family. The management system in this type of family is usually based on the patriarchal system, and decision-making in this type of family is with the elderly, and other members have to obey them. If the head of the family cannot perform his duties

due to old age and disability, the eldest son takes his place (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 132), (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 202), (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 189).

Rehimi-ye Jaberi, (Doctoral student of Iranian Islamic history), citing M. Kiani, says that most families of the Qashqai tribe are extended families (Rehimi-ye Jaberi, 2015, 109), but according to table (5) and S. Amanolahi-Beharvend's research ("Kuchneshini der Iran", 1981, table on page 130), this view seems to be wrong.

The composition and number of this type of family out of 279 researched families is as described in the following table: (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 191).

Table 5. Frequency Distribution According to Extended Families in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Compounds</u>	<u>Number</u>
Father + mother + unmarried children + married sons without children and with children.	8
Father + mother + unmarried children + married sons without children.	4
Father + mother + married sons + grandchildren + great-grandchild.	1
Father + mother + married sons + grandchildren	4
<u>Total</u>	17

- Conjugal Family and Stem Family

The composition of this type of family consists of a man and a woman. This type of family is either newly married and has no children, or has been married for many years but has not had children (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 193). But about the stem family, the boundary between the extended family and the nuclear family is the Stem family, in which one of the male children stays in the main family and the rest of the children form an independent family themselves. However, children never cut off their relationship with the original family. If the child who lives with the father dies, another son moves his independent life to the father's house and takes the place of his deceased brother (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 203).

- Attachments Family

This type of family is in transition from the extended family to the nuclear family. That is, this type of family consists of a nuclear family with some relatives (These relatives can be father-in-law, mother-in-law, father and mother of man, brother-

in-law, sister-in-law, widowed or unmarried man's sister) (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 193).

The composition and number of this type of family out of the 279 researched families is as described in the following table: (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 194).

Table 6. Composition and Number of Attachment Families in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Compounds</u>	<u>Number</u>
husband + wife + man's father	1
Husband + wife + unmarried children + man's father	2
husband + wife + unmarried children + man's mother	4
Husband + wife + unmarried children + husband's widowed sister	1
Husband + wife + unmarried children + husband's unmarried sister	1
husband + wife + unmarried children + wife's father	1
Husband + wife + unmarried children + wife's mother	2
<u>Total</u>	12

- Composite Family, Single-parent Family, and Parental Family

The Composite family consists of two nuclear families (usually two married brothers). This type of family includes husbands, wives, children, and possibly close relatives (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 132).

The composition and number of this type of family out of the 279 researched families is as described in the following table: (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 194).

Table 7. Composition and Number of Composite Families in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Compounds</u>	<u>Number</u>
Man + Wives + unmarried children	4
Man + wife + unmarried children + man's brother with his wife and unmarried children	5
<u>Total</u>	9

In type of Single-parent family, the husband or wife or both are separated due to divorce or death. What remains of a family after this event is called a single-parent

family. This family is in an unfavorable situation economically and raising children (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 133), (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 203).

The composition and number of this type of family out of the 279 researched families is as described in the following table: (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 194).

Table 8. Composition and Number of Single-parent Families in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Compounds</u>	<u>Number</u>
Mother + children due to the death of her husband	3
Father + children due to the death of his wife	1
Father + children due to divorce	1
Mother + children due to divorce	1
<u>Total</u>	6

Parental Family is a family that remains after the children leave the nuclear family. A parental family is different from a conjugal family. The family is a newly married couple and they have not yet had children, but the parental family is spending the last years of their lives and the children are all married and leave the parents alone (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 195).

4.2.2. Marriage

Marriage is a social institution that determines the relationship between wives, children, and relatives, as well as the relationship of all these people with society. Marriage brings families and lineages closer to each other and creates social unity among them. In other words, in tribal societies, marriage plays an important role in the integration of social, economic, and political relations. In tribal society, the father has to choose a wife for the young people who reach puberty in order to continue the lineage and the continuation of the family hearth. Because they believe that everyone should have a successor for themselves, in addition to preserving his name, it also causes the continuation and survival of the family. Therefore, in tribal society, marriage is very important (a man who is not married or has no children is called an "Ocak oven" (Kiani, 1992, p. 3).). In addition, the division of work among people of tribes is such that a man cannot live without a wife because many jobs in economic life are the responsibility of women. The presence of a woman in the family is an economic necessity (Amanolahi-

Beharvend, 1981, p. 129), (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 210), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 61-62), (Ahmadi, 2007, p. 118). After marriage, the woman joins the husband's paternal family (Beck, 1991, p. 15). In other words, patrilocality is common in Qashqai tribe.

Irons (1975) says about the Yomut Turkmen: Due to patrilocality, families can only grow by having male children (p. 163). In the Qashqai tribe, on the wedding night after the bride is mounted on a horse, a boy is placed on her back to take her to the wedding party area (i.e. the groom's tent), with the intention that her first child will be a boy (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 113-118). It seems that the growth of the family in the Qashqai tribe is similar to the Yomut Turkmen.

- Marriage Types of Marriage
- Endogamy Marriage

In the tribal society, marriage is subject to a set of social and cultural standards and criteria common in the social system that governs them. Marriages mostly take place in the form of endogamy, outside of the very near relatives network and within the sub-clan and clan. For example, marriage with a cousin's daughter (*amca kızı*) among the Qashqai tribe, Arab tribe, and Kurdistan tribes, and marriage with a cousin's daughter (*dayı kızı*) among the Behmeii tribe in Kohgiluyeh are preferred over other types of marriages. Among this type of marriage, marriage between cousins is more common than others (Peyman, 1968, p. 502), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 61-62).

Even among the Qashqai, there is a proverb for this, which says: “Amca oğlu, Teyze Kızı, Ne Sheikh İster ne Kadi”. That is, for the marriage of a cousin's son and cousin's daughter, he does not want a sheikh or a judge. (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 151).

The main purpose of this type of marriage is to prevent outsiders from entering the social group and prohibit group members from marrying other group members. In the traditional societies of Iran, this type of marriage is more popular and according to tradition, families do not want their daughters to marry strangers (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 215). From what has been said, it can be concluded that endogamy marriage is important and popular among tribes and nomads. According to Gholamhossein-pur's (2007) research in this field, which was carried out in the clan of Darreh-Shuri, the situation of endogamy marriage is as follows: (p. 150)

Table 9. Frequency Distribution According to the Kinship Ratio of Couples in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Kinship relationship</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Amca kızı-amca oğlu/Uncle's daughter-uncle's son	94	33.69
amca çocukları/Uncle's children	49	17.56
Teyze kızı-teyze oğlu/Aunt's daughter-aunt's son	18	6.45
Teyze çocukları/Aunt's children	5	1.79
Hala kızı-dayı oğlu/Aunt's daughter- uncle's son	28	10.03
Dayı kızı-hala oğlu/Uncle's daughter- aunt's son	19	6.81
Hala çocukları/Aunt's children	3	1.07
Dayı çocukları/Uncle's children	4	1.43
Outsider	59	21.14
<u>Total</u>	279	100

- Exogamy Marriage

Exogamy marriage, which usually takes place between the members of the lineages of tribe leaders (That is, in the form of marrying members of the families of the heads of other tribes), comes from the concept of its own function, that is, a tool for political unity. Therefore, the expediency of the tribe requires that a kind of exchange marriage takes place between two tribes, in order to strengthen the bond of the tribe communities (via Woman) (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 217), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 62), (Clastres, 2011, p. 55). For example, the marriage of the daughter of Jani Khan (Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe) with the head of the Khalaj tribe, Mirza Qasim Khan, to establish a close relationship between the two tribes (Kiani, 1992, p. 149), or Hossein Ali Mirza Farmanfarma, the governor of Fars, for the support of Muhammad Ali Khan, the Ilkhan of Fars at the time, married his daughter to him (Beck, 2017, p. 87). According to Gholamhossein-pur's (2007) research, genetic diseases, lack of high expectations from each other, expansion of the kinship network, etc. have been declared as reasons for exogamy marriage (p. 155).

- Feud Marriage

This type of marriage, which occurs at a special time, has a common form in the Tribes. Marriage of the sister or daughter of someone who committed murder. And

if there is no sister or daughter, a daughter from the killer's family would marry the brother or a member of the victim's family (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 62). This type of marriage causes peace to take root and prevents war between the family of the victim and the murderer. It should be noted that marriage in the name of "Khun-beha" is less common in the upper social classes of tribe (Kiani, 1992, p. 272-273).

The social class difference between the families of the murderer and the victim is one of the important issues in this type of marriage. Because if the murderer is one of the nobles, and the victim is one of the common people, he is unwilling to make peace without bloodshed and wants to take revenge, even though this is humiliating for the nobles, he must surrender (Kiani, 1992, p. 274). This method of eliminating bloodlust is called "Veslet", which means connection and becoming relatives (Ivanov, 2006, p. 227).

- Polygamy Marriage

Both polygamy and monogamy have been common in tribal societies in Iran. The custom of polygamy was more or less popular among Surani and Kurmanji (who are called Kurdish) tribes and among the Khans class, Kelanters, and big and rich ranchers of other tribes of Iran (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 62). In the Basseri tribe, wealthy herdsmen often took multiple wives because they could easily afford the cost of living for more wives (Barth, 1961, p. 107). Among the tribes, it was customary for the deceased brother, even if he had a wife and children, to marry his brother's widow, in order to protect his brother's sanctity and honor and to take care of his children (levirate) (Esgeri-ye Khanghah & Sherif Kemali, 1995, p. 387), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 65).

In a study conducted by S. Amanolahi-Beharvend (1981) on polygamy among the heads of the Lor (Lorestan), Qashqai (Fars), and Basseri (Fars) families, the following results were obtained: (p. 111)

Table 10. Type of Marriage in Polygamy among Three Groups of Tribes in Iran

<u>Groups</u>	<u>1 wife</u>	<u>2 wives</u>	<u>3 wives</u>
Lors	182	8	-
Qashqais	73	1	-
Basseris	147	8	-

In the Qashqai, polygamy is considered shameful and reprehensible, and in rare cases, men do not have more than one wife. In the Qashqai, only in the case of a man who has a sterile wife or a woman who does not bear children, in terms of the survival of his generation, his family and relatives give consent to his remarriage (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 45-46). In other words, polygamy is relatively rare among the Qashqai, and this applies both in the past and in the present (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 112). And in Oberling's opinion, the Qashqai tribe, unlike the families of other tribes in Iran, were loyal to the tradition of monogamy, and for this reason, family members were always united (Oberling, 1974, p. 217). To the extent that the Ilkhans, despite their power and wealth, avoided having harems and even polygamy (Rehimi-ye Jaber, 2015, p. 103). And if the second wife is also taken, she will be in a lower position compared to the first wife. The first wife will be in full control of the household affairs, including the discipline of the children (Douglas, 1951, p. 156).

Widows in Qashqai tribe rarely get married and this rule is rarely violated. Its violation occurs when the dead person has a brother and he wants to marry his brother's widow. However, in some clan of the Qashqai, the custom of prohibiting widow marriage is strictly observed (Ivanov, 2006, p. 227), (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 47).

The study of Gholamhosseinpour in the Darreh-Shuri clan also shows that there are few polygamy marriages in this clan. The following table shows this issue: (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 158)

Table 11. Frequency Distribution According to the Number of Wives in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Number of Wives</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	275	98.56
2	3	1.07
3	1	0.35
4	0	0
<u>Total</u>	279	100

The frequency distribution of reasons for polygamy in the studied society is described in the following table: (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 161-162)

Table 12. Frequency Distribution According to the Reasons for Polygamy in the Darreh-Shuri.

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Being barren	1	25
Not having male children	0	0
Political issues	0	0
Aging and illness of female	0	0
Economic factor	2	50
Marriage with brother's widow	1	25
<u>Total</u>	4	100

- Monogamy Marriage

Monogamy is the common marital system in today's societies. It can be said that in societies where polygamy systems still exist, monogamous families form the majority. Among some groups, it is not even possible to remarry after the death of a spouse (Ruholamini, 1994, p. 114). Among the 279 families studied by Gholamhossein-pur from the Darreh-Shuri clan, 275 families were monogamous.

- Class marriage

It will be explained in the "Wife Selection Criteria- Social Stratification" part.

• Wife selection criteria

Considering the role of women in tribal's life, it is easy to say that a man's life has no meaning without having a wife, that is, a man without a wife will practically be lost in doing tribal's affairs. Because in addition to social and daily affairs, a large share of the family's economic burden is also on the shoulders of women. Therefore, in the issue of marriage and choosing a spouse, choosing a spouse is very important and necessary in tribal society. Because the man and woman of tribe enjoy a social position and character by forming a family as an independent social and economic unit of the clan and sub-clan (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 218). The selection of a wife among tribes depends on various factors such as religion, social stratification, kinship, bashlik (and dowry), and age. (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 105). To find out how these factors affect the choice of a wife, we will examine each of them separately:

- Religion

All the people of tribes in Iran are Muslim and follow Islamic laws in choosing a spouse, in other words, they follow religious prohibitions in the matter of marriage. It means that the people of the tribe do not give wives to non-Muslims and do not marry non-Muslims unless he becomes Muslim. Also, they do not marry a relative who is considered a mahram. According to Gholamhossein-pur's studies, not a single case against this has been observed in the Darreh-Shuri clan, and 100% of people have considered religion as an important criterion in marriage (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 105-106), (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 67).

- Social Stratification

In the past, every tribal society had a type of social stratification, which was the determining factor of the social base and status of the people of that society. The sharing of natural resources, land ownership, lineage membership, etc. had a significant role and importance in separating the social classes of tribal societies from each other. (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 77).

According to Amanolahi-Beharvend (1981), the social stratification of tribes in Iran before land reforms (that is, Before the 1960s) is as follows: (p. 163-174)

1. Nomads without social stratification:

Most of these nomadic societies lived in small societies so that their population did not exceed two hundred families. In this type of nomadic society, there was no ruling class and the members of the clans had the same social status as the heads of the clans, i.e. Kedkhudas (sub-clan leader) and Rish-Sefid (white-beard), and decisions were usually made in a council composed of clan members. Undoubtedly, the Rish-Sefid had influence, but they could never force their opinion on others. The "Gusheii" clan (a very small clan consisting of four small sub-clan named Memkeh, Ghouzeh, Rejoli, and Meshi) and the "Sadat Hayat Ghaib" clan in Lorestan were examples of this social stratification category.

2. Tribes with weak social stratification:

In such Tribes and clans, usually, one of the sub-clans was known as the central core of the tribe or clan and was responsible for the leadership of the tribe or clan. In other words, the members of the ruling sub-clan were the upper class of the tribal

society. The population of this kind of tribes and clans included several thousand families and consisted of different families. Such tribes and clans were without a single leader, and the power of leadership was in the hands of several members of the ruling sub-clan, who collectively led and guided the tribe or clan. Good agricultural lands and pastures were owned by the ruling sub-clan, but other sub-clans also had the right to use them. The "Mir", "Qelavend" and "Baharvend" Tribes from Lorestan (and probably the Bahmeii tribe from Kohkiluyeh) were among these tribes.

In this group of tribes, there were three other classes, except for the ruling class: (a) Neighboring class (Hemsa), who made up most of the members of other sub-clans of the tribe and were related to the ruling class. (b) Luti class (musicians), who were the lowest class of the tribe, and marriage between members of this class and other classes was prohibited. The members of this class not only lacked land but were also less engaged in animal husbandry. (c) Syed class, who had special respect among other classes. The members of this class did not have land or pasture.

3. Tribes with advanced social stratification:

The tribes that had this stratification had an extremely impressive population (Each tribe consisted of tens of thousands of families) that was organized in the form of tribes from a large number of clans and sub-clans.

This group of tribes, such as the Qashqai and Bakhtiari, each had 5 different classes:

(1). The ruling class, which lived in the cities, and its men were separated from other classes by nicknames like Ilkhan, Khan, and Khanzadeh, and its women by the nickname "Bibi". The position and social status of the Persons of this class were hereditary. This class had property and agricultural land, cattle, and many servants. Marriage in this class was more endogamous and sometimes they married a lower class than themselves (Ilkhans and khans of the Qashqai refused to marry other social classes, and among the tayefes of the Qashqai, only with clan of Kashkuli has been marriage and had a relationship). (2). The class of Kelanters, or heads of clans. The members of this class, who had a hereditary position and social base, were the highest decision-making authority in clan affairs. Marriage among them was mostly endogamy. (3). The class of Kedkhudas, or heads of sub-clans. The position of Kedkhuda was hereditary, but the Kedkhudas had to win the favor of their sub-clan members in order to obtain

this position. In short, they were representatives of Khans and Kelanterns in the tribe. (4). The Ordinary people class of tribe was the main producer group of the tribal society and lived by herding and farming. Among this class, there were sometimes relatively rich people, compared to the Kedkhudas and ordinary people. Marriage among them was mostly endogamy, but they also gave daughters to Kedkhudas and took daughters from them. (5). The semi-rejected class was the lowest class in tribal society. The people of this class were not considered from the tribe, they did not have land or herds, and they had different professions, such as salmanigri, and musicians. Politically and socially, they did not play a role in the tribe. The common people of the tribe looked down on them and were rarely willing to marry them, so their marriage was endogamous.

Table 13. Circle of Selection Wife and Marriage between Different Classes of the Qashqai Tribe.

Stratification of tribe	Ilkhan and Khans	Kelanterns	Kedkhudas	Ordinary people	Semi-rejected groups
Ilkhan and khans	+	H	–	–	–
Kelanterns	H	+	H	H	–
Kedkhudas	–	H	+	+	–
Ordinary people	–	–	+	+	H
Semi-rejected groups	–	–	–	+	+

Note: Marriage is possible: (+). Marriage is rarely possible: (H). Marriage is not possible: (-),
(Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 171)

Archaeologist Parviz Varjavand (1965) distinguishes three classes in the social stratification of tribal society:²⁶ (p. 153).

(1). The class of khans and kelanterns were considered from the elite group. Some people of this class, who owned many sheep and cattle, held political and administrative positions. This type of class can be seen among Qashqai and Bakhtiari tribes. (2). The Kedkhudas and Rish-Sefid classes and a number of the middle class of the tribal society owned sheep and cattle and made a living by raising livestock and selling livestock products. (3). The third class was tribal families without livestock who lived as

²⁶ To continue this discussion, you can also check the following resources: (Afshar-Naderi, 1968, p. 64-73-74), (Ghaffari, 1989, p. 146-171)

shepherds and laborers in the tribal, or as seasonal workers in villages and cities. Some of them were migrant villagers who worked for the tribe.

According to M. Kiani (1992), in the social stratification of the Qashqai tribe, four groups of Ilkhan, Kelanterns, Kedkhudas, and Rish-Sefids were in the hierarchy of the leadership pyramid, according to their value and social base. After these groups, the three classes of cattle breeders or ordinary people, workers, and artisans formed the Qashqai tribe's social class respectively (p. 189-192). In the social stratification of the Qashqai, Douglas mentions five classes: 1- Khans, 2- Kelanterns, 3- Kedkhudas, 4- Ordinary people (ordinary tribesmen), and 5- Gypsies or foreigners²⁷, each class can marry their equal. (Douglas, 1951, p. 156).

According to M. Ahmadi (2007), the social stratification in the Qashqai relies on important factors such as livestock, pasture, agricultural land, and power, which can be divided into economic factors and political power. Therefore, any group of people of the tribe that has the most economic factor and political authority has a higher position in the tribe system. According to this basis, the social class in the Qashqai tribe is as follows: 1- Ilkhan, 2- the Kelanterns and Khans class, 3- the Kedkhudas class, 4- the class of Rish-Sefid, 5- the Ordinary people class, 6- the lowly and rejected class (p. 111-112).

Amanolahi-Beharvend in his book "Woman's Status in the Nomadic Societies" talks about the seven social classes in the Qashqai tribe as follows: (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 24-29)

(1). Ilkhan class: It was considered the highest class in the Qashqai. People of this class usually either married among themselves or chose a wife outside the Qashqai. As can be seen in table no (15), they very rarely married two lower classes than themselves, namely Khans and Kelanterns. Whenever there is a marriage between the Ilkhan class and the Kelantern, usually the man of the Ilkhan class takes a girl from the Kelantern class but does not give a girl. For example, Ismail Khan Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe had married the daughter of one of the Kelanterns of the Kashkuli clan, and the two daughters of Solat al-Dowlah (Ilkhan of Qashqai) did not agree to marry low-class

²⁷ Most researchers of the Qashqai tribe also accept this division: (Ivanov, 2006, p. 175), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 74-75), (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 34), (Bahman-Beygi, 2010, p. 100), (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 192-195).

people, i.e. Kelanters, due to not finding a suitable husband. And they had to live alone all their lives. Anthropologist Lois Beck also talks about the efforts of a number of mediators on behalf of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980) to find a wife in the Shahilu family for Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, which was unsuccessful. Because the Shahilu family claimed that the women of the family marry people of the same or higher status (Beck, 2017, p. 218). It should be noted that this class has lost its importance now. (2). Khan class: This class is from the Ilkhan lineage, but due to not reaching the rank of Ilkhan, they are placed in a lower class than it, but they are higher than the Kelanters class. (3). Kelanter class: The Kelanters are not from the lineage of Ilkhans, and the Kelanters of each clan of the Qashqai have separate lineages. That means, for example, the Kelanter of the Darreh-Shuri clan and the Kelanter of the Kashkuli clan are from two separate lineages. (4). Keikha class: This class is similar to the Khan class, that is, they are from the lineage of Kelanters, but they have not reached the rank of Kelanters, so they are lower than Kelanters. Since the people of this class are from the same generation as the Kelanters, they consider themselves to be superior to the Kedkhudas. (5). Kedkhuda class: The heads of the sub-clans in Qashqai tribe are the Kedkhudas, who usually marry among themselves in the first place and with the Keikha class in the second place. (6). Ordinary people class: This class, like other classes, mostly marries among themselves. Despite this, the Ordinary people class, like other classes, rarely marries with a class above or below them. (7). The lowest social class in the Qashqai is the rejected class. The rejected class includes blacksmiths, kuroshs, musicians, gypsies, etc. Each group of this class marries among themselves.

Table 14. Circle of Selection Wife and Marriage between Different Classes of the Qashqai Tribe

	Ilkan	Khan	Kelanter	Keikha	Kedkhuda	Ordinary people	Rejected	
Ilkhan	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	*
Khan	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
Kelanter	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	*
Keikha	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	
Kedkhuda	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	*
Ordinary people	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*
Rejected	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	*

Note. Marriage is possible: (+). Marriage is not possible: (-), (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 31)

- Ilkhan: Marriages between Ilkhan and Khans, especially Kelanterns, rarely take place.
- Kelantern: The marriage of a Kelantern with Ilkhan and Kedkhuda rarely happens.
- Kandkhoda: Only one case of marriage between Kedkhuda and Kelanterns has happened.
- Ordinary People: Marriage between Kedkhuda and Ordinary people happens very rarely.
- Rejected: Marriage between Ordinary people and blacksmiths is somewhat common, but it is very difficult among Ordinary people, musicians, and Kurosh (Sarban).

According to the above materials and the efforts of the researchers for the general social stratification of Iran's tribes (especially the Qashqai tribe), it seems that such a general stratification, if it has similarities in general, has many contradictions and such stratification is wrong.

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 Kelantern 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:²⁸
 - 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 family 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 Kelanterns (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 27).
 - 1.3. Kelanterns: 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

²⁸ It should be noted that the Khan and Keikha class is a subclass.

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 Communities²⁹ (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 politically³⁰ 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).

Social, economic, and political developments in the last half century have created a fundamental change in the traditional stratification of Iran's tribe societies (especially after the implementation of land reforms). In other words, with the collapse and destruction of the leadership system in the political structure of the tribes, the dignity and glory of the leaders and the base and power of their leadership collapsed. Today, with the change in the type of relationships between the upper and lower classes of the tribal society, the social and economic position of the lower classes (that is, the group of main producers of the society) has evolved and developed and has become different³¹ (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 82).

- Bashliq (Shirbeha/Money paid by Son-in-law) and Dowry (Mehriye)

Bashliq, which is the amount of wealth that the son-in-law and his family pay to the bride's family (Ravandi, 1978, p. 281), is common among all Iran's tribe, and no marriage takes place without an agreement on the amount and method of payment. In other words, there is a relationship between social stratification and the amount of Bashliq. That is, whenever we refer from the lower floor to the higher floors, it will be

²⁹ For more information in this regard, you can check the following resource: (Yılgür, 2017).

³⁰ According to Beck, these limited groups were considered part of the tribe, but due to their cultural differences with the people of the Qashqai, they were not active in the political affairs of the tribe, and some of these groups were far from the original Qashqais (Like Gypsies and Cyrus) (Beck, 2017, p. 212). It is necessary to explain that among the rejected group there is also a classification that does not need to be explained.

³¹ For more information in this regard, you can check the following resources: (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 174-176), (Ahmadi, 2007, p. 184-185-186)

added to it. For this reason, the Bashliq of daughters of Khans and Kelaners is much more than others. For this reason, it can be said that bashliq is one of the social mechanisms that limit marriage between the upper and lower classes (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 31-32), (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 107-108). Other factors that have an impact on the amount of Bashliq include being a virgin or a widow, a woman's beauty and ugliness, being perfect or having a female organ defect, the man's first or second marriage, and whether he is married or not, being inside the lineage and clan or marrying outside the clan and lineage, and marriage with the first-degree relatives of the father was mentioned. Of course, it should be noted that the amount of Bashliq and how to pay it were determined by the elders of the two families in a meeting (Kiani, 1992, p. 278-279), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 69). Oliver Garrod (1946) also says that the amount of Bashliq depends on the son-in-law's financial status (p. 303). Turkmen also generally reduce the amount of Bashliq in marriages between close relatives, such as first-degree paternal relatives (Irons, 1975, p. 134-136).

Dowry or Mehriye is an amount of money or anything else that the groom offers to the bride, or he accepts that it is his responsibility and that he pays whenever the wife demands (Teyyebi, 1995, p. 225-226). People of the Qashqai tribe did not pay attention to dowry in the past few years, but today the issue of dowry is considered among them and its amount depends on the social status of the parties and also on the financial status of the son-in-law (Afshar Sistani, 1987b, p. 638).

- Relatives

Among tribes and nomads in Iran, marriage with relatives accounts for most of the statistics. Because they believe that they know each other better. Marriage with relatives has the advantage that the bride lives among her relatives and does not have to adapt to a foreign environment. Secondly, the groom pays a smaller amount to Bashliq, and finally, the bride's parents are relieved that their daughter is not far from them (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 108-109). According to the studies of Gholamhossein-pour (2007), 79% of the clan of Darreh-Shuri have married their relatives (p. 68).

- Age

There is no fixed age for marriage among tribes. For example, sometimes a boy and a girl may be engaged at birth, or marriage may take place at the age of 10.

However, marriages at very young ages or marriages between old men and young girls are very few (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 111). However, there are differences between tribes and nomads in this regard, as in some tribes, especially in the Qashqai tribe, the marriage of a small, immature girl is considered reprehensible and objectionable. And the people never violate this rule and do not do such ugly acts (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 75-76).

H. Peyman (1968) also mentioned this point and says: "Among the Qashqais, creativity is important, and unlike rural communities, the age of marriage is not that low." Girls are ready to get married at the age of 15 and 16, and most of them go to their husband's houses at the age of 18 and 19. Boys are more likely to marry at the age of 20 and above" (p. 51). According to Garrod (1946), the Qashqais rarely marry girls under the age of sixteen (p. 303). Anthropologist F. Barth sets the engagement age for girls in the Basseri tribe after 15 and for boys up to 30 years old (Barth, 1961, p. 139). In general, in the tribes of Iran, the age of marriage for girls is usually between 16 and 20 years old, and for boys between 18 and 28 years old (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 111).

The results of the research carried out by Gholam Hosseinpour in the Darreh-Shuri clan reject the low age of marriage for men and women (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 75-76).

Table 15. Frequency Distribution According to the Age of Women's and Men's Marriage (first marriage).

<u>Women</u>			<u>Men</u>		
<u>The marriage age in years</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>The marriage age in years</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Under 15 years ³²	12	4.42	--	--	--
15-19	143	52.76	Under 20 years	36	13.28
20-24	100	36.90	20-24	112	41.32
25-29	10	3.69	25-29	86	31.73
30-34	3	1.10	30-34	25	9.22
35-39	2	0.73	35-39	7	2.58

³²Out of these 12 women, 9 of them are those who were married before 1981 (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 77-78).

40 years old and above	1	0.36	40 years old and above	5	1.84
<u>Total</u>	271	100	<u>Total</u>	271	100

(Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 76-77).

- Heritage

In the Qashqai tribe, the ownership of men and women is not equal. The division of inheritance is based on unwritten tradition and based on tribal custom. The father has a lot of authority in the family, and as a result, the sons are the main inheritors of the father's authority and property (Rehimi-ye Jaber, 2015, p. 110). In other words, the deceased's property goes primarily to his sons, and in the case of the deceased's daughter, sometimes the tribe members consider the daughter's dowry, which she takes to her husband's house, as her share of the daughter's inheritance. This division of inheritance in the Qashqai is very similar to the division of inheritance among the Mongols, because in the Mongol religion, sons divided the property of their father or mother among themselves, and certain rights belonged to the younger son (Soraya, 1969, p. 129), (Vladimirsov, 2007, p. 91-92). Because the last son stays with his parents until the end of his life to take care of them in their old age (Beck, 1991, p. 15), (Yanar, 2015, p. 230). This rule also exists among the Yomut Turkmen (Irons, 1975, 92-93). Girls also do not inherit from their parents and only dowry was given to them (Aslanpur Alamdari, 2008, p. 69).

On the other hand, the women of the Qashqai never seek a share of the father's inheritance, and the husband does not see it as beautiful to use the woman's property. According to Amanolahi-Beharvend, the girl is not really deprived of inheritance, and sometimes in upper social classes of the tribe and rich families where the father's property is large, fathers separate the daughter's share during their lifetime (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1975, p. 40-41), (Rehimi-ye Jaber, 2015, p. 111).

- The role of women in the family economy

Basically, the economy of the tribes is based on raising livestock, but most of them, both in the past and now, have more or less engaged in agriculture (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 55). According to Oberling (1974), the Qashqai tribe economy, like other tribes, is dependent on pastures and plays a major role in the economy of Fars province. They produce dairy products and materials needed by the city and villages,

including leather, meat, milk, yogurt, butter, cheese, charcoal, and ketira. In addition, they also sell carpets, rugs, carpets, rugs, and horses (p. 15-16-17).

Oliver Garrod (1946) says in this context: The Qashqai people showed unique skills in horse breeding and riding, but their stables have been largely depleted as a result of Reza Pahlavi's unwise and short-sighted policies. The people of the Darreh-Shuri clan take care of their horses with special interest, and nothing pleases them more than watching the magnificent parade of their horses, which takes place every evening before their sharp eyes (p. 302).

Among the Qashqais, as in other provinces, most of the labor is on the shoulders of women (Oberling, 1974, p. 19). The Qashqais, who are one of the most advanced tribes in Fars, the art of weaving the Qashqai has a lot of value, therefore are considered the best carpet weavers. The carpets of this tribe are called "Turkiye Shirazi" (Shirazi Turkish). Just as the Qashqai men are proud of their horses, the women of the tribe are also proud of their carpets. Nasir Khan says: Our women are very proud of their carpets (Daneshver, 1995, p. 138), (Therese, 1997, p. 154).

The woman has a decisive role in the tribal system and without her, the family cannot have a favorable turn (Rehimi-ye Jabeti, 2015, p. 111). Women work more actively than men and play an active role in tribal's life. They are treated with respect and their words are listened to. One of the duties of women is to supervise the transportation and distribution of food during migration. The women of the tribe move freely here and there and ride horses together with the men. They do not wear "vetribes" (Ravandi also quotes the travelogue of Haj Pirzad and says: Qashqai women don't wear veil (Ravandi, 1978, p. 282).), but sometimes they cover their heads and faces to protect their faces from road dust. (Therese, 1997, p. 171-178).

It should be noted that the women and girls of the tribe, in addition to housework and cooking and finding carpets and rugs, are not inferior to the men of the Qashqai in riding and shooting (Daneshver, 1995, p. 138). Garrod (1946) also says that the people of the Qashqai have special qualities, including the possession of art, in such a way that they even make everyday items in a beautiful way. Adherence to family life in which women play a major role, and finally, due to the great progress of the tribe compared to neighboring tribes that have been less successful, it can be assured that the Qashqais will reach the peak of tribe civilization (p. 306).

- Divorce

In the culture of the tribe people, divorce is considered an ugly phenomenon and rarely occurs, except in very special cases that the tribal culture has allowed (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 123), (Bolukbashi, 2003, p. 71). In most tribe of Fars, especially the Qashqai tribe, divorce is considered a shameful thing. There is divorce in Kohgiluyeh, Memseni and some clan of the Khamsa tribe. However, it is much less common among nomads than among urban people (Ivanov, 2006, p. 215). In this regard, Douglas (1951) says: One of the special privileges of Qashqai women compared to other women in the Islamic world is the issue of divorce. According to Islamic laws, a man is allowed to divorce his wife, but men are simply not given such a right in Qashqai laws. In the Qashqai, if a man commits to divorce his wife, the woman's family may kill the man without punishment, because they consider divorce an insult to their family (p. 155).

According to Bahman-Beygi (2009), this is one of the reasons for the improvement of the social status of women in the Qashqai. As soon as the wife enters the husband's house, they leave the equipment at her disposal and give her the dowry, and she becomes the owner of the husband's house and life, and she devotes all her efforts to its recovery and restoration. And the parties are sure that they have to live with each other for a good or bad life and cooperate to provide comfort (p. 48-49).

Even though the Qashqai does not prohibit divorce, divorce rarely happens among them. Amanolahi-Beharvend states that he could not find even a single divorce case in his research of the Nerrei, Imanlu sub-clans as well as Ziad Khan's Amaleh (from the Darreh-Shuri clan) (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 124).

In the research conducted by Gholamhosseinpour out of 279 families of Darreh-Shuri clan, he observed two cases of divorce. This is also related to the people settled in the last two decades (Gholamhossein-pur, 2007, p. 140-141). According to Esgeriye Khanghah and Sherif Kemali (1995), divorce is rare among Turkish, and believes that the absence of divorce among Turkmen is a sign of a Turkish tradition (p. 142).

Widows, especially among the Qashqais, rarely marry, and this rule is rarely violated, and it is mainly in cases where the deceased husband has a brother left behind who wishes to marry his deceased brother's widow. Even in some clan of the Qashqai tribe, the custom of prohibiting the marriage of widows is strictly observed, and even

the youngest widows do not marry, and after the death of their husbands, they wear black mourning clothes for the rest of their lives (Ivanov, 2006, p. 216), (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 47-48).

In short, men and women can separate from each other in some cases (Amanolahi-Beharvend, 1981, p. 125): These items for men are: Cheating: the illicit connection of a woman with another man. Disobedience: A woman is unable to perform marital acts for any reason and is unable to satisfy her husband's sexual needs. Misbehavior: In cases where a woman causes too much discomfort, her husband has the right to divorce her. And women can also divorce men if the following conditions exist: The husband's bad behavior is more than usual. Husband's sexual weakness. Lack of support, the laziness of the man, and his inability to meet the material needs of the family.

In this part of this chapter, I tried to explain kinship relations and family, marriage, wife selection criteria, heritage, the role of women in the family economy, and divorce in the Qashqai tribe. In the next part of this chapter, I will discuss the Beyle and Bonkos in the Qashqai tribe.

Figure 11. The Qashqai Tribe Women Weaving Carpets.



(Shor& Shor, 1952, p. 826-827)

4.3. 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).

According to J. Sefinejad (2004), Beyle is a fixed unit in the social structure of the Qashqai, and these fixed categories are the cause of the emergence of the main and basic categories of the tribe (p. 66).

Table 16. Dispersion of the Migratory Groups of Tribal before the Family in the Pasture Area

	Malekshahi/Lor	Boyerahmadi/Lor	Qashqai/Turk	Shekkak Kurds	Behmei/Lor	Doshmen ziyari/Lor	Bakhttari/Lor	Memseni/Lor
Categories before the Family Family (fixed structure)	Bone-Mal Family (fixed)	Oulad Family (fixed)	Beyle Family (fixed)	Zoumeh Family (fixed)	Deheh Family (fixed)	Oulad Family (fixed)	Oulad Family (fixed)	Oulad Family (fixed)

(Sefinejad, 2004, p. 67)

Bonko (or Bonku) is a small group of workers and colleagues who belong to the same sub-clan 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 (yayalaq-qishlaq) 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 Saqal³³. 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).

One of the main problems of aq saqal or white beards is the separation of a family from bonko, which causes the weakness of bonko and the weakness of bonko's white beard. Because the power of the white beard depends on the number of the family, their financial wealth, the riflemen, and the fighting men of that bonko. For this reason, it is difficult for aq saqal to allow a family to separate from bonko, unless it is in the interest of bonko (Kiani, 1992, p. 176). When the number of animals in a bonko has increased and the pasture is no longer able to accommodate those animals, a new place

³³ Qashqais, Aq saqal (white beards) are called "Tushmal" (If the term Tushamal, which is popular among the Lors, is also used in the meaning of Kedkhuda, Sheikh, Rish Sefid, Rais and Aq Saqal (Heidari, 2016, p. 95.) and "Keikha" (Khadiv-Jam, 1989, p. 205).

must be provided, which causes the relocation of some families, and this is the beginning of creating a new bonko (Dordari, 2009, p. 271).

The manner of erecting tents in bonkos of Qashqai is also remarkable, and each bonko places its tents in a straight line so that the black tent of bonko's white beard should be placed at the beginning of this row (Vermeghani, 2014, p. 230).

According to N. Dordari (2009), bonkos in Qashqai were divided into two categories: (p. 272-273)

- (1). Original Bonkos: these bonkos had a common history and ancestry. Similar to the above bonkos. The people of this bonko were known as "Adam Clan". Because these people had an independent life and lived dependent on their sub-clan and clan.
- (2). Amaleh Bonkoss: These people, who were the guard and orderlies of the Khans, were chosen from among the different clans of the tribe in order to manage affairs in the service of the Khans, and their black tents were set up next to the Khan's tent. The people of these bonkos were known as "Adam Khan" These people were also known as "Dor-o Bar" (dor and ber, around the house (Beck, 2017, p. 205) because they were around Khan. Because these people were separated from their bonkos and became dependent on Khan.

In short, Beyle is the basic unit of a herding cooperative, which consists of a community of 3 to 10 families or a tent. And Bonko also includes 30-40 tents of close families in a limited area called a yurd, where they camp and they do yaylaq and qishlaq together and are divided into Beyles. The leadership of both is led by Rish Seifid (Aq Saqal), who is elected by the members of Beyle and Bonko.

In this part of this chapter, I tried to explain the Beyle and Bonko in the Qashqai tribe. In the next part of this chapter, I will discuss the sub-clan and clan, leadership, and how a person can join them.

4.4. 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 (bölüks) 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).

In other words, the sub-clan, which is considered the main endogamy unit, is the political and administrative unit, as well as the family divisions of a clan. The sub-clan name may be taken from the name of the original founder or the grandfather of the family, based on the characteristic or characteristic of the members of that sub-clan, and also attributed to the habitat of that sub-clan, or because of their expertise in a field of activities.³⁴ In other words, the sub-clans forming a clan had diverse and different origins, and the names of some of them might indicate their origin, but it was not definite and undisputed. The members of each sub-clan had a special identity and origin for themselves, thereby distinguishing and defining their identity within the clan (Tapper, 1979, p. 55), (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 24), (Beck, 2017, p. 201), (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 191).

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 "Zir-Tireh" (sub of sub-clan). For this reason, sometimes there were several Kedkhudas in one sub-clan (p. 39).

By virtue of membership in the group, the members of a sub-clan had the right to use the land. Since most of the members of a sub-clan had a common pasture, the sub-clan can sometimes be considered a climatic group (Beck, 2017, p. 199).

³⁴ For more information, you can check the following resources: (Kiani, 1992, p. 174), (Cavanşir, 2001, p. 20-21-22)

The position of Kedkhudai³⁵ (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).

In other words, Kedkhuda needed members of his sub-clan to maintain his position and power because no one was appointed as Kedkhuda against the will of sub-clan members and Kedkhuda could not maintain his position without the support of Rish Sefids. For example, if the majority of a sub-clan did not approve of the activities and works of Kedkhuda, they could choose a new Kedkhuda in a gathering (Beck, 2017, p. 266).

It is necessary to explain that the boundaries of a sub-clan are limited to all people who expressed loyalty to a kedkhuda. This loyalty was more evident during migration. During the migration, the number of people accompanying and surrounding Kedkhuda was considered as an indicator of his strength and ability (Beck, 2017, p. 265-267). Individuals and groups who could establish political and territorial ties with a sub-clan, after some time, acquired the identity of that sub-clan and became related to each other in terms of descent and relatives (Beck, 2017, p. 198). According to M. Kiani (1992), there were also non-relatives such as shepherds, sheriffs (Darughe), and workers among them (p. 176-177).

The duties of the Kedkhudas are³⁶: (Kiani, 1992, p. 177) (a). Solving problems related to pasture (handing over pastures or interfering with other people's grazing) and adjusting the timing of migration. (b). Having combat readiness to be summoned by the Kelanter when necessary. (c). Responsible for collecting and collecting taxes for the Ilkhan and the administration the internal affairs of the sub-clan. (d). Cooperating with the kelanter of the clan and solving the problems of the sub-clan by them.

It is necessary to explain that not all members of a sub-clan settled in the same area. Because the lack of pastures and conflicts related to pastures and other issues and problems prevented this work. This climatic separation played a part in the process of

³⁵ It should be mentioned that the title of "Aqa and Bey" was given to trusted Kedkhudas and prominent people of the sub-clan (Beck, 2017, p. 260).

³⁶ For more information about this, you can check the following resources: (Heidari, 2016, p. 96-97), (Beck, 2017, p. 199-257-265-267-268).

dispersion and separation, which eventually led to the formation of a new sub-clan (Beck, 2017, p. 199-200).

4.5. Clan (Tayefeh)

According to the historian A. Shahbazi (1990), nowadays, the word "clan" is used in four meanings in the tribes: (p. 27-28) (1). In the general sense, any kinship unit of the relative father, whether rural or nomadic, farmer or rancher, with or without tribal organization, is called "clan". (2). In the meaning of the constituent units of a tribe. In other words, a clan is a structural unit, and from the gathering of several clans, a tribe is created. (3). It means independent clans that are not members of any tribe and are few in number. (4). In some tribes, the word clan has another use, in addition to the function of a structural unit, and it is used in contrast to the word "Khan". In this sense, the clan is equal to the followers and subjects of the Khan family.

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 kelanter³⁷) (Oberling, 1974, p. 23), (Tapper, 1979, p. 55),

³⁷ You can check the following resources: (Soraya, 1969, p. 129), (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 114).

(Kiani, 1992, p. 177), (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 68-69), (Erenoğlu, 2011, p. 129), (Beck, 2017, p. 43-200-201).

Similar to the process in which individuals and groups were affiliated with a sub-clan (kedkhuda), at a higher level, sub-clans were also affiliated with kelanterns and acquired a clan identity, and in this way (for this reason, among clans, people often mentioned their clan when expressing their affiliation (Shohani, 2017, p. 95).), a clan could expand its territory. In other words, the identity of each clan was created through the common leaders of the clan, climatic and regional characteristics, special cultural talents, and capacities, and the sub-clans could join the clans through political ties with the leaders of the clan. It should be noted that the foundations of the power of each clan depended on the population and power of these sub-clans (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 70), (Beck, 2017, p. 201).

4.5.1. Kelanter (Head of Clan)

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 (One of the most important duties of the kelanter in the Safavid period was the appointment of district kedkhudas and white-beard heads of guilds and blocks, determining the amount of taxes and collecting them, dealing with disputes between guilds in commercial matters, maintaining the general order of the city, and determining the price of the necessities of life) (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 115). M. Heidari (2016) says: The word Kelanter, which is derived from "Kelan", which means big and huge, has been used since the 14th and 15th centuries AD to mean a leader, a leader of a clan and tribe (p. 98).), was at the head of the clan in the Qashqai, 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).

In J. Sefinejad's opinion, the appointment of the kelanter and kedkhuda position was necessary for the unity and integrity of the tribe from the power center, i.e. Ilkhan, for the survival of the tribe. For this purpose, the appointment of Kelanterns was renewed or canceled every year by Ilkhan (Sefinejad, 2004, p. 70-74). Melek Mensour Khan Qashqai considers the purpose of this work to prevent their rebelliousness and says that at the beginning of the spring season, kelanterns or their representatives would come to Ilkhan's presence to renew the sentence (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 23-24). After the verdicts were passed, tax documents were taken from the kelanterns. Ilkhan also gave the kelanterns uniforms including hunting rifles, shawls, robes, etc., and in return, they offered first-class horses (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 115). In dismissing the kelanter, the Ilkhan would do this after consulting with the tribe officials. Because otherwise, the work of the Ilkhan and the kelanter would be dragged into the conflict.

4.5.2. Worker and Duties of Kelanter

In the Qashqai tribe, the kelanterns of the clans were each a small Ilkhan for his clan, and like the Ilkhan (which will be explained in the tribe section), they had a group of people who carried out their orders (Kelanterns of Darreh-Shuri clan used their agents to do family affairs and establish order in the sub-clans, along with people like Kedkhudas. As the executive arm, they did not only have responsibilities in the kelanter's house, but some agents also performed duties outside the kelanter's house. In addition to being skilled in executive affairs, the agents were warriors who were used by the kelanter to suppress rebellious individuals and sub-clans and advance their goals alongside loyal sub-clans) and they were exempted from paying tax and had the title of non-plural (Beck, 2017, p. 253-254), (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 117).

In the clan of Darreh-Shuri, these agents were called "Döyer-ber (an abbreviation of Doro-ber and round)", "Edar (seems to be an abbreviation of administration)" and "Dore Khaneh (around the house)". Each of these agents was mainly selected from their dependent sub-clans, whose name and verbal address were called Khan or Kelanter (for example, döyer-ber or Ziyad Khan's Edar/administration), and in a written language they wrote under the title of "Ameleh" (This issue can be seen in the list of names of sub-clans and in the birth certificates of brokers, for example, the

Ameleh of Nasrullah Khan) (Afshar Sistani, 1987b, p. 626), (Beck, 2017, p. 205), (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 116-117-130-132).

In the Darreh-Shuri clan, two relatively small families helped Khans in important political matters. "Zahedis" from the "Arjlu/Erjlu" sub-clan, who were Turks and the men of the family had the honorary title of "Aqa". They were used to settle disputes in the region. And the second family, the "Mirzas" from Sadat Musavi's family, were originally from Boyer-Ahmadi Lors. They worked as teachers (mullahs and clerks), "Mirza Benevis", "scribes", "tax writers" and "accountants" (Beck, 2017, p. 254-255).

- Kolfet, Nokerbab, Ferrash: The female servant in the kelerter's tent was called "Kolfet" and the male servant in the kelerter's tent was called "Pish-Khedmet" or "Nokerbab". Ferrashes, who were not more than one to three people, were male servants and special agents of the sheriff, and the wages of Farash (like kolfet and nokerbab) included: remittance of wheat, money, clothes, shoes, etc (Beck, 2017, p. 254), (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 117-118).

- Lala: As a person who is responsible for raising a child, Lala has a long history in the history of Iran and it seems that it entered the geography of the Middle East for the first time during the Seljuk rule. The Seljuqs used the title "Atabek" for the education of princes, which continued during the Safavid era with the same characteristics as "Lala" (Baykara, 2003, p. 70-71). The most comprehensive concept in the field of education of Safavid princes was "Lala". Lala existed in the clan of Darreh-Shuri in her own form and the criterion for her selection was trust, chastity, and skill in raising children (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 118-119).

Apart from this, in the kelerter's brokers, we can mention usta or Ashiq (a group of musicians, hairdressers, and dentists) Mokhtabad, Mirza, Tofengchi, Qushchu, Qoruqchu, Carpet weavers, etc (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 128-129), (Beck, 2017, p. 254, 255), (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 119-128).

The kelerter's duty was to implement the Ilkhan's orders and maintain unity and harmony between the sub-clans of the clans, provision of war equipment during war and command, selection of agents and special people to serve as riflemen in the service of the Ilkhan, collecting taxes from the kedkhudas and delivering them to the relevant officials, taking care of the pastures and replacing the sub-clans in the respective

pastures, planning the migration of the clan, punishing the wicked, representation of clan people (Kiani, 1992, p. 177), (Oberling, 1974, p. 12).

4.5.3. Clans of the Qashqai tribe

The structure and composition of clans of Qashqai have not been fixed and have always changed over time. Taking this into consideration and with the existence of small clans such as Qaracha, Sefi-Khani, Iğdir, Rehimi, Jafar-BegLi, Bolu and Gellezen, we, like most researchers³⁸, considered the clan structure of the Qashqai to consist of 6 clans as follows.

- Darreh-Shuri Clan

The clan of Darreh-Shuri derives its name from the name of Dareh-Shur, a region near Semirom (Oberling, 1974, p. 226), (Mostofi al-Memaleki, 1998, p. 372), (Beck, 2017, p. 205). Field (1939a) believes that the clan of Darreh-Shuri came from Turkestan to Iran (p. 219). Khans of Darreh-Shuri also claim that their ancestors took possession of Dareh-Shur in the 19th century by evicting the Shahilu family and other clans (Beck, 2017, p. 205). And according to Ivanov (2006), Dareh-Shur is the place where this clan settled after entering Fars (p. 67). And due to the small population (one hundred and fifty families), they only had Kedkhuda (Pur-Mohemmedi Amlashi & Zilabpur, 2014, p. 9).

There is another way of pronouncing this name called Dareh-Sholi (Bahramian, 2008, p. 35), (Demorgay, 2011, p. 8), (Rashidvash & Zahmatkesh, 2019, p. 24), which L. Beck (2017), referring to V. Minorsky, expresses the possibility of this clan being connected with the Shol clan (p. 205). Considering the existence of other big and small clans with the name Shol in Shiraz (The clane of Kord-Sholi, which was considered the Qashqai until the 19th and early 20th centuries (Beck, 2017, p. 213)), Kurdistan (clan of Shol), Kerman (Afshar tribe: clan of Shollu and sub-clan of Sholi), the possibility of a connection between Darreh-Shuri clan and Sholi clan is not unreasonable (Jiddi, 1997, p. 67), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 35-95), (Qolizade, & Shehvand, 2018, p. 113).

It should be mentioned that the Khans of the Qashqai tribe consider the Kord-Sholi clan to be one of the original clans of the Qashqai and point to its Turkish origin.

³⁸ (Ahmadi, 2007, p. 30), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 34), (Nasiri Tayyibi, 2009, p. 23), (Gowhari-Motleq & Charei, 2010, p. 86), (Bahman-Beygi, 2010, p. 236), (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 191), (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 111-112).

The members of the Kord-Sholi clan also consider the primary core of their clan to be Bakhtiari and attribute the parts added to the clan to the Baharlu and Qashqai Turks and Mamsani Lurs (Beck, 2017, p. 213). In this regard, Barth (1961) says that Kord-Sholi clan was mostly bilingual (Turkish and Lori) members, and others usually classified it as Turk and sometimes as Lor (p. 133). According to Jamshid Sedaghat Kish, Dareh-Sholi is a colloquial word and its written form is Darreh-Shuri (Demorgay, 2011, p. 104/the attachment). But it should be said that the name of this region is mentioned in historical sources as Dareh-Sholi/Dar-Shol (events before 1138 AH) and Darreh-Shuri (1106 AH) (Mareshi-ye Safevi, 1983, 68), (Pur-Mohemmedi Amlashi & Zilabpur, 2014, p. 23-24), (Zilabpur, et al., 2021, p. 118-119). Therefore, it can be said that "Dareh-Shol" is not a colloquial word.

Each of the clans of the Qashqai was famous for one thing, the Darreh-Shuri clan was famous for its skilled carpenters and had a great reputation for raising horses (Douglas, 1951, p. 145), (Therese, 1997, p. 154), (Demorgay, 2011, p. 8). Garrod (1946) says in this regard: The Qashqai tribe has unique skills in horse breeding and the best riders. The Darreh-Shuri clan and especially the Dandarlu sub-clan have the best horse breeders and the best riders (p. 302). Bahman-Beygi (2010) says, the most famous stable in the Qashqai belonged to the kelanter of the Darreh-Shuri clan, and the Darreh-Shuri boasted of the beautiful horses and light riders of their clan (p. 44-236). To the extent that the kelanter of the Darreh-Shuri clan (Ziyad Khan) was known as "father of the horse" (Shor& Shor, 1952, p. 810). It should be mentioned that in the clan of Darreh-Shuri, every horse had a name and every mare had a name and an address, and swearing by a horse in the clan of Darreh-Shuri was more difficult than swearing by holy things, etc (Kiani, 1992, p. 68), (Bahman-Beygi, 2010, p. 210).

Also, among the clans of the Qashqai, the clan of Dareh-Shouri is more skilled in weaving Jajim (Darreh-Shuri and Kashkuli) and fine rugs (M. Kiani says that the elegance of the patterns in these rugs reminds the master tile workers of Isfahan during the Safavid period (Kiani, 1992, p. 93), (Ivanov, 2006, p. 86).).

Qishlaq of this clan was located near "Do-Gonbedan" and their yaylaq was located near "Samirom", both regions were important points from a political point of view (Beck, 2017, p. 207). The migration route of Darreh-Shuri clan is from its northern neighbor (Bakhtiari tribe) and the refreshing springs of Borujen and Semirom counties

to the white heights covered with chalk and salt in Behbahan and Du-Gonbadan (Kiani, 1992, p. 137).

- Farsi-Madan Clan

The clan of Farsi-Madan (those who do not know Farsi), which was one of the famous clans of the Qashqai, is said to be a clan that had less contact with Persian speakers than other clans of the Qashqai (Ivanov, 2006, p. 73). Mostofi al-Melaleki (1998) says with a contemptuous look on this issue: The people of this clan were made up of Turkish sub-clans and families, and they were at a low level in terms of culture and education. And because they were not literate in Farsi, they were nicknamed Farsi+Medan, which means "those who do not know Persian" (p. 367-370-371-372).

According to S. Parham (1983), as the name of this Turk clan (Farsi-Madan) shows, the first clan that settled in Fars is the "Farsi-Madan" clan, which lived there for many years before the organization and unification of the Qashqais. In other words, the Farsi-Madanclan is one of the first clan of Qashqai that settled in Fars (p.255). And according to Oberling and Javad Sefinejad, the Farsi-Madanclan was present in Fars before 1590 AD (Oberling, 1974, p. 227), (Sefinejad, 1996, p. 60). Garrod (1946) says the people of Farsi-Madanclan claim the origin of the Khalaj tribe (p. 294), and F. Devletabadi (2018) considers the Eymur clan (one of the Oghuz clans) to be the same as the Farsi-Madanclan (p. 151-154).

Their Qishlaq was in "Jareh" region and their Yaylaq was in "Padena" (Beck, 2017, p. 209). And the migration route of this clan is from the northern slopes of Dena Peak and the deep valleys of Zagros (Padena) to the heights of the mountains of Sar-Mashhad in the south of Kazeroun (Kiani, 1992, p. 137).

- Sesh Boluki (6 regions or 6 family groups)

Some members of the Shesh-Boluki clan, such as the Farsi-Madanclan, claim that this clan also has its roots in the Khalaj and got its name from the Shesh-Boluk or the six districts of the old Khalajistan (Garrod, 1946, p. 294). Probably, this clan got its name from the 6 regions where the original members of the clan came from. According to Bahramian (2008), this clan has its roots in the Qaradagh and Mughan plains (northwest of Iran). Bahramian claims that there are still sub-clans of the Shesh-Boluki clan living in the northwestern areas of Iran under the name "Alti Beyli" and sub-clans with the same name (p. 85). Some say that this clan lived in Fars before the arrival of

the Shahilu family, and some say that this clan entered Iran in the 11th century with Genghis Khan (Perham, 1983, p. 256), (Beck, 2017, p. 208). It is necessary to explain that boluk/bölük is a variant of the word bonko³⁹ (Oberling, 1974, p. 23).

Their Qishlaq is in the "Farash Band" and their Yaylaq is near "Iglid" (Beck, 2017, 209). The route of movement of the Sesh-Boluki clan is from the twists and turns of the mountains of Tangestan and Dashtestan and the dry desert around it to the evergreen plains and Abadeh and the border of Chahardange (Kiani, 1992, p. 137).

- Keshluki-Bozorg Clan

The name of the Kashkuli-Bozorg (Big-Kashkuli) tayafeh is derived from the word "Keshkul" which means a hollow bowl or thermos that was carried by wandering Dervishes and Sufis. It is said that this clan is originally from the Kelhor tribe, which was brought from Kermanshah (western Iran) by Karim Khan Zand (1705-1779) to Fars province. But today, the people of Kashkuliclando not accept the fact that Kelhor was formed from the merger of Kurd and Ler. But they accept the fact that they became Turks after entering Fars (Oberling, 1974, p. 229), (Mostofi al-Memaleki, 1998, p. 372), (Beck, 2017, p. 209).

Their Qishlaq is located near "Mahur-Milatin" and their Yaylaq is located in "Ardakan" (Beck, 2017, p. 209). The movement route of this clan is from the oil-rich plains of southern Iran to the southern slopes of Dena Castle, that is, the suburbs of Sepidan, Komehr, and Kakan (Kiani, 1992, p. 137).

During the Sowlat-ed-Dowleh (during the constitutional period), Khans-Kelanters of the Kashkuli (big) clan opposed Sowlat-ed-Dowleh (Ismail Khan) over the control and taxation of the Shiraz-Bushehr road (At the beginning of the 20th century, profession and transportation were one of the main occupations of the Qashqai (Ivanov, 2006, p. 87). And they formed separate clans with the names "Kashkuli Bozorg", "Kashkuli Kuchek" and "Qaracha" (Oberling, 1974, p. 230-231), (Beck, 2017, p. 207).

In other words, the Kashkuli-Kuchek (small-Kashkuli) was a separate part of the Kashkuli-Bozorg clan, which was considered an independent group from the

³⁹ It is necessary to explain that the name of Shesh-Boluki is mentioned in the document related to the deed of Imamzadeh Seyyed Mohammad, from the village of Saran Bala, in Sepidan (Ardakan) Fars (Sedaghat-kish, 2009, p. 209). But whether this Shesh-Boluki is the same Shesh-Boluki or not, needs more research.

political point of view and had its own khans. Their Qishlaq was near "Hangam" and their Yaylaq was near "Kakan" (Beck, 2017, p. 210).

Regarding the clan Qaracha, some Qashqais believe that this clan was the first group of migrant Turks from Turkestan who migrated to Fars (In the waqfnameh of Imamzadeh Seyyed Mohammad, from the village of Saran Bala, in the city of Sepidan (Ardakan), Fars, the name Qaracha can be seen together with the name Qashqai (Sedaghat-kish, 2009, p. 209)). It is said that the leaders of Qaracha were allied with the Safavid kings and joined the Shahilu family at the end of the Safavid dynasty. Their Qishlaq is located near "Mahur-Milatin" and their Yaylaq is located in "Padena" (Beck, 2017, p. 209-210).

- Amaleh Clan (Workmen)

Amaleh clan was the exclusive clan of the Ilkhani and Shahilu/Shahlu families. According to tradition, because this clan was in the service of Ilkhani and the Shahilu family, they were named "Amaleh" (The synonym of which was "Derbar" in Basseri tribe (Barth, 1961, p. 133).). This clan, which was exempt from paying taxes, had become dependent on the Shahilu family due to the type of services and activities they performed. In other words, this clan consisted of people who had been in the service of the Ilkhan for many years and directly supported the Ilkhan. The Amaleh clan, whenever there was a need for a large military operation, was in the service of the Ilkhan, it can be said that they were considered the permanent army of the Ilkhan (Therese, 1997, p. 161), (Mostofi al-Memaleki, 1998, p. 373), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 35), (Demorgay, 2011, p. 9), (Beck, 2017, p. 204-239),

According to Sedaqat-Kish, Jiddi, and Bahramian, Morteza Qoli Khan (Il-Begi of Qashqai (1796-1833)), the son of Jani Khan, among the thousands of Qashqai families, he chose a number and named that group Amaleh⁴⁰ (Jiddi, 1997, p. 41), (Bahramian, 2008, p. 36), (Demorgay, 2011, p. 104/the attachment). According to Afshar Sistani (1987b), the Amaleh clan was formed during the time of Ilkhan Sowlat-ed-Dowleh (Father Nasir Khan 1899-1983) and by his order (p. 626). It is necessary to explain that the only clan without a kelanter in the Qashqai was the Amaleh clan. Because this clan was directly managed under the supervision of the Ilkhan (Ivanov, 2006, p. 70), (Bahman-Beygi, 2009, p. 95).

⁴⁰ For more information, check the following book: (Ivanov, 2006, p. 69-70)

The Qishlaq of the Amaleh clan was located near Firozabad, and their Yaylaq was located near Khosrov Shirin. Both regions were located in the center of the Qashqai tribe (Beck, 2017, p. 205). The route of the Amaleh clan was from the lush green meadows of Semirom and the snow-covered heights of Dena to the tulip-growing plains of Khonj and Larestan (Kiani, 1992, p. 137).

In short, the Qashqai tribe was divided into three political sub-clan- clan- tribe (the tribe section was explained in the part of "The Term of Il"). The smallest political unit in the tribe was the sub-clan, which consisted of several bonkos. The head of the sub-clan was named Kedkhuda, who did not have a hereditary position. He was chosen by the vote of the sub-clan members, and after the support of the Kelanter and the approval of the Ilkhan, he was appointed as the head of the sub-clan. Boundaries of the sub-clan are limited to all the people who expressed loyalty to the sub-clan leader (Kedkhuda). The duty of Kedkhuda was to solve the problems of the sub-clan (for example, solving pasture problems) with the cooperation of the Kelanter.

Another political unit is the clan. A clan was a political-administrative unit consisting of several sub-clans. Each tribe belonged to a sub-clan of khans. The leader of the clan was called the Kelanter, whose position was hereditary and was appointed by the Ilkhan. Like the sub-clan, the groups became members of the clan by declaring loyalty to the Kelanter and finding a clan identity. The Kelanter's duty was to implement the Ilkhan's orders and maintain unity and harmony between the sub-clans of the clan and their representation.

5. ANALYSIS

In this research, I chose a tribal community within the borders of Iran. As I mentioned before, I conducted a study based on a literature review to reveal the principle that the main factor of the unification of this nomadic society was "Ilkhan". In other words, in this thesis, 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.

The camps of the Qashqai tribe had the form of a homogeneous and continuous unit due to the centralized political system of the tribe which direct to the office of Ilkhan. The basic position in the entire tribal organization was the same basic and central position of the paramount tribal leader. Ilkhan was the central leader of the tribe, but he was not absolute. Because the power of each leader depended on the positive will of the people under the rule. Dissatisfied people could easily get out of the umbrella of their leaders' support and make alliances with other groups or join them (Beck, 2017, p. 227). According to customs and traditions, the Ilkhan was given a lot of benefits. In the following lines, I will describe the extent of Ilkhan's powers and the sources from which these powers come. Among the tribes of southern Iran, there were two distinct titles called "Khan/Ilkhan"⁴¹ and "Kelanter", which can be interpreted as the chief. These titles reflect the organization of distinct political tribes within larger unions. The kelanter were subordinate to the khan of their union and are led by them (Barth, 1961, p. 72).

The Ilkhans of the Qashqai tribe belonged to the Shahilu family. They believed that their ancestry goes back to the Oghuz Turks who lived in the Ural Mountains, and with the expansion of the "Slavs" rule, they were gradually pushed to the west and came to Iran. The members of the Shahilu family trace their descent from the father's side to Uzun Hasan Aq Qoyunlu (died 1478) and from the mother's side to Shah Ismail Safavi (1510-24). And the family members believed that Shah Ismail or another Safavid shah had sent one or more of their ancestors to Fars as the ruler of Fars. Their goal was to remove the Portuguese encroachment in that area and prevent the establishment of

⁴¹ The difference between Ilkhan and Khan is the size and power of the tribe. The leaders of the big tribes are called Ilkhan.

Portuguese trading posts and prevent them from interfering in the affairs of the region⁴² (Beck, 2017, p. 55-56).

The Shahilu family belonged to a high class in the minds of the tribe members and also in the opinion of others. As a group, they were actually a political bloc in Iran (Beck, 2017, p. 215). They were the Khans of the Shahilu family, who were respected and given power. For example, Nasir Khan (Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe) and his brothers, one of whom was Il-Begi himself, were elite members of Iran society. Most of them owned properties and lands. In terms of wealth and property, they were in a suitable class and each of them owned large flocks of sheep and goats.

Ilkhan's position brought him great power and benefits. His tent must be large and his hospitality must be limitless. Ilkhan also had to give interesting gifts to his guests, and the Kelanters (for example, when they were appointed to the Kelanter), as well as his prominent subjects. Decisions that required collective and shared work in the Qashqai tribe were made both through discussion and negotiation and in the form of orders. Most of these discussions and negotiations took place in the central tent of Ilkhan. In other words, the center of the Qashqai tribe was Ilkhan's tent, the tent from which all the decisions that required collective work were issued.

Ilkhans had special sources of income in addition to their inherited property to provide for such expenses. Ilkhan's wealth was not always provided by tribal sources. The paramount tribal leader often had access to other profitable resources and even if possible, they did not put much pressure on the common people of the tribe. By assigning the position of Ilkhan by the government, Ilkhan could increase his personal wealth and collect taxes. Ilkhan could appropriate a part of the tax. A part of the annual production of the farmers and the tenants of Khans' estates, who were mostly Lor and Fars, was allocated to Khans. Ilkhan received money and property from the central government to form and strengthen the tribal army and government services. Foreign forces also paid Ilkhans and other rulers to protect trade routes and carry out military operations. Merchants also paid money to Ilkhan and other khans to ensure the safety and health of commercial shipments (Beck, 2017, p. 47), (Nazari & Yazdan-panah, 2019, p. 200).

⁴² The Portuguese entered southern Iran for the first time in 1506 and occupied Hormuz Island (Beck, 2017, p. 56-57).

The analysis of the political organization of the Qashqai tribe requires the analysis of the stages that are applied and supported by the powers of the Ilkhan. In the political organization of the Qashqai tribe, each sub-clan was headed by a Kedkhuda, and each clan was headed by a Kelanter, both of which were approved by the Ilkhan. These Kedkhudas and Kelanterns were like communication links between their sub-clans and clans with Ilkhan.

In Qashqai society, however, allegiance shifts from the person to the office (Permanent political position (Kottak, 2011, p. 402-403).). All the Qashqais were equal to the Ilkhan in direct subjection relations, and if the Ilkhan gave an order to any person, the person had to obey it. Malek Mansur Khan says in this regard, "There is no rain, snow or storm for those who are under the command of Ilkhan, but they must obey his commands" (Therese, 1997, p. 169).

There was a special clan of the Qashqai tribe called Amaleh (workmen) with Ilkhan, who was known as Amaleh among other tribes in Fars except for Basseri tribe (Barth, 1961, p. 76). They were traveling with the head of the tribe and with the camp. And also Ilkhan was the Kelanter of the Amaleh clan.

The fields in which the paramount tribal leader exercised power, that is, his main duties towards the tribe, can be summarized in two categories: Domestic duties, i.e. settling disputes that are presented to him for arbitration. Synchronizing tribe migration. Allocation and rationing of pastures. External duties, i.e. representing the tribe in important political issues in front of rural and urban authorities as well as the central government.

Ilkhan was performing his internal duties through Kelanterns of clans and Amaleh (workmen). Perhaps one of the most important tasks of the Ilkhan was to represent the tribe in its relationship with the administrative government of Iran and in disputes and confrontations with congregations or rural or urban individuals. In other words, the role of the paramount tribal leader as a liaison with the sedentism community is to protect the interests of the nomadic herdsmen against strong and always tense organizations along with a sense of respect and independence among the tribal people. They clearly knew that without their Ilkhan they were helpless in some of the situations that happened repeatedly. The important role of the Ilkhan in directing migrations and

resolving internal conflicts is so great that it may be the function of the tribe's great power.

Ilkhans were in a position where they could use the policy of punishment and embargo, non-allocation of rewards and pastures, allocation of poor pastures, and sometimes taxes. Counselors, stewards, tax officials, and ready-to-serve musketeers were giving them the ability to apply politics and implement tribal laws. It can be said that not assigning pasture was the worst punishment in the tribe (Beck, 2017, p. 228). One case shows how developed the authority structure was in the Qashqai tribe. Hail prevented some nomads from joining the annual migration on time. Although everyone realized that they were not responsible for their delay, the Ilkhan instead of their permanent suitable pasture assigned them an unsuitable pasture for that year. Both those who were late and other Qashqais considered the judgment to be fair and did not question it (Kottak, 2011, p. 402).

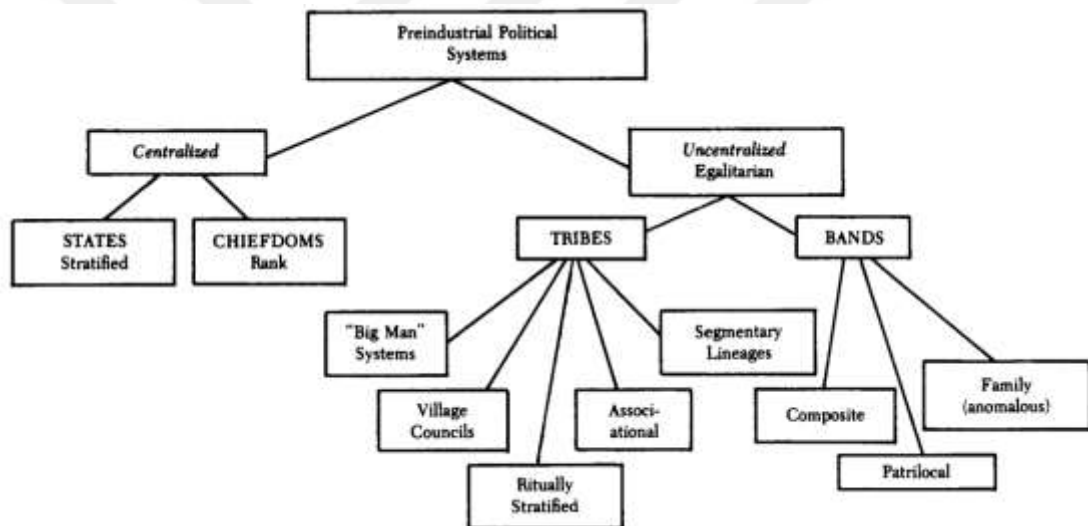
Regarding the succession of the Ilkhan, it should be said that the potential successors were the leader, the eldest son (and his other sons), and all his close paternal relatives. L. Beck (2017) says in this regard, Ilkhan's eldest son participated in his father's political activities since childhood, at first he was just a silent observer and then slowly took responsibility. In his youth, he used to be his father's envoy, and as he got older, in his father's absence, he would discuss clan affairs with others. Leadership qualities were visible from an early age. If the older son did not show ability or interest, the younger son could gradually assume responsibilities. Sometimes the brothers replaced the Ilkhan, especially when the leader's sons were young (Beck, 2017, p. 228-229). Considering the status of the Shahilu family among the Qashqais, there were not so many conflicts regarding succession.

Above, I described some of the political stages that played a role in creating the centralized political organization among the Qashqai tribe. According to the special conditions of the Qashqai tribe in southern Iran, that is, they are Turks in a Persian sedentism society and the lack of connection between the two in southern Iran, it became the Qashqai Ilkhan's power and political awe. Because, in this way, Ilkhan became a bridge between the tribe and the sedentism society as well as the central government. Tribal communities can gain significant benefits by accepting such leadership. Because Qashqai tribe leaders were political elites who could defend the

interests of the tribe among the power hierarchy of sedentism from a vantage point that is unattainable for any active rancher.

Considering anthropological studies about political organization, it can be said that no compilation of anthropologists can be found in which, according to criteria, they have not tried to provide a different classification of political organization every time. With this description, in the study of pre-industrial species, a kind of consensus can be seen that two types of systems are defined based on the means of political integration, achieving leadership positions, and making decisions about the group. On the one hand, uncentralized systems include Bands, and societies with ambiguous power (tribes, dynastic or segmentary communities), and on the other hand, centralized systems include Chiefdoms and States (Rivière, 2003, p. 92).

Table 17. Pre-industrial Political Systems



(Lewellen, 2003, p. 18)

- Uncentralized systems

Most groups traditionally studied by anthropologists have nothing to rule, at least in the sense of permanent political elites. In most non-state systems, power is fragmented and temporary and is dispersed among families, groups, lineages, and various associations. Broader political groups may be temporarily formed to deal with certain threats, but these groups will dissolve once the problem is overcome. Therefore, these social systems can be considered not as permanent and centrally organized societies, but as periodic fluid groups. According to Lewellen, these systems, although at their lowest level (hunter-gatherers) are egalitarian in the true sense, they seem more

democratic in decision-making and access to leadership than more centralized groups (Lewellen, 2003, p. 22).

- Band

From the point of view of anthropologists, the Band is the simplest form of social and political organization that moves on a relatively autonomous territory and includes members of one or more family groups (probably 25-150 people). And without an institutional body or functional differentiation, or social stratification among them, it creates only a few non-hereditary roles such as the role of hunter, and shaman. These roles exert influence on the group in a temporary and limited way, which is related to determining the routes, the location of the meeting, creating consensus in the group, and relations between neighbors (Rivière, 2003, p. 93). Although there is a division of labor by age and sex, there is virtually no specialization of skills, resulting in the unity of the wider group being, in Emile Durkheim's terms, "mechanical". That is, based on custom, tradition, and common values and symbols, not based on the interdependence of specialized roles (Lewellen, 2003, p. 23). For example, Australian Aborigines, Pygmies of Central Africa, Bushmen du Kalahari, and Eskimos of Siberia and Greenland can be called Band (Rivière, 2001, p. 170).

- Tribe (societies with ambiguous power)

Tribes are decentralized egalitarian systems in which authority is distributed among a number of small groups and the unity of the larger society is created by a network of individual and group relationships. Since these groups rely on domesticated food sources, their population is larger than hunter-gatherer groups (Lewellen, 2003, p. 26-27). For example, the Yanomami of Venezuela, and the Lobi of Burkina (Rivière, 2003, p. 95).

They lack socio-economic stratification, that is class structure, and a formal government of their own. For example, in the Yanomami, the village chief lacks the power to issue orders and the means to support decisions, and the political position to impose a punishment (Kottak, 2011, p. 402).

- Centralized systems

The category of centralized political systems includes societies in which power and authority rest with one person or a small group. It can be said that these societies

are more populous than groups and tribes, classified according to rank or class, have specialized social and occupational roles, and use more productive technology. They have a centralized redistributive economy and are more stable in terms of persistent socio-political groupings (Lewellen, 2003, p. 31).

- Chiefdom

The title of chiefdom is generally used only for that group of territorial congregations that have regional foundations and not just tribal ones and are under the authority of a special representative in directing collective affairs and in the role of social regulation (Rivière, 2003, p. 99). In reality, there is a continuum from tribe to chiefdom to state. Some societies have many attributes of chiefdoms but retain tribal features (Kottak, 2011, p. 402). However, with regard to social integration, the level of Chiefdom transcends the level of the tribe in two major ways: 1- It has a higher population density made possible by more efficient productivity. 2- Unlike segmentary systems where political units merge and dissolve according to position, chiefdoms have relatively permanent central government organizations.

Although the boundaries between chiefdom and state are not very precise, despite this, chiefdom can be considered as the result of the following features: (Rivière, 2001, p. 174) (a). Close relations of a limited group, but with a heterogeneous population, with the territory of that group, and with the supernatural world. (b). Contractual exchanges or determined by power relations (tribute payment and redistribution). (c). A hybrid form of a leader's authority derives from kinship (a family that is dominant for mythological or historical reasons), prestige, sanctity, and imperatives resulting from a lack of means of monopolizing power. (d). Differentiating the political system and social hierarchies.

The way of determining the leader, i.e. the inheritance of his position, his appointment, and selection, is different according to the cultures and composition of the groups. The person who is entrusted with the position of leader, in contrast to the implementation of his decision-making power in connection with the role of arbitration in conflicts and his symbolic function in revealing the unity of the group, generally enjoys some privileges. Among these points, the following can be mentioned: (Rivière, 2003, p. 100) (a). From an economic point of view: the right to enjoy some goods and services and a reserve of surplus production along with his mutual coercion to be kind

and generous. (b). Sexuality: the right to multiple wives, the right to first intercourse in ancient Europe. (c). In terms of customs and ceremonial functions: the right to have the position of mediator of the gods and guarantor of harmony and order between humans and the universe.

Even if the position of chiefdom is not directly hereditary, it will be available only to certain families or lineages. Those who are closer to the lineage of the chiefdom will be in a higher position and will be honored by all those who are at a lower level than him. In fact, according to Service, “*the most distinctive characteristic of chiefdoms, as comparison to tribes and bands, is . . . the pervasive inequality of persons and groups in the society*” (Lewellen, 2003, p. 33).

The position of chiefdom, unlike the leader of a group or lineage, is a position of minimal power. That is, the leader has access to a certain amount of coercion. The leader may be the final authority on the distribution of land and may be able to recruit an army (Lewellen, 2003, p. 33). Power generally has a holy and even inviolable characteristic. The reason for its legitimacy is due to the cognitive descent of its chiefdoms to the first ancestors and the myths of the group, or because of the ideology that crystallizes the holy efficiency of the group in the respected, feared, and sometimes individual chiefdom (Rivière, 2003, p. 100).

- State

States are generally large and complex societies that include a variety of classes, associations, and occupational groups. Occupational specialization, including a full-time political bureaucracy, unites the entire group in a network of interconnected dependencies (Lewellen, 2003, p. 36).

Table 18.

Pre-Industrial Political Systems and Comparison of Each

	Socio-political Type			
	Uncentralized		Centralized	
	Band	Tribe	Chiefdom	State
Type of Leadership	Informal and situational leaders	Charismatic headman with no power but some authority in group decision making	Charismatic chief with limited power based on the bestowal of benefits on followers	Sovereign leader supported by an aristocratic bureaucracy

Type and Importance of Kinship	Bilateral kinship, with kin relations used differentially in changing size and composition of bands	Unilineal kinship (patrilineal or matrilineal) may form basic structure of society	Unilineal with some bilateral; descent groups are ranked in status	State demands supra-kinship loyalties; access to power is based on ranked kin groups, either unilineal or bilateral
Major Means of Social Integration	Marriage alliances unite larger groups; bands united by kinship and family; economic interdependence based on reciprocity	Pantribal sodalities based on kinship, voluntary associations, and/or age-grades	Integration through loyalty to chief, ranked lineages, and voluntary associations	State loyalties supersede all lower-level loyalties; integration through commerce and specialization of function
Political Succession	May be hereditary headman, but actual leadership falls to those with special knowledge or abilities	No formal means of political succession	Chief's position is not directly inherited, but chief must come from a high-ranking lineage	Direct hereditary succession of sovereign; increasing appointment of bureaucratic functionaries
Major Types of Economic Exchange	Reciprocity	Reciprocity; trade may be more developed than in bands	Redistribution through chief; reciprocity at lower levels	Direct hereditary succession of sovereign; increasing appointment of bureaucratic functionaries
Social Stratification	Egalitarian	Egalitarian	Rank (Individual and lineage)	Classes (minimally of rulers and ruled)
Ownership of property	Little or no sense of personal property	Communal (lineage or clan) ownership of agricultural lands and cattle	Land communally owned by lineage, but strong sense of personal ownership of titles, name, privileges, ritual, artifacts, etc.	Private and state ownership increases at the expense of communal ownership
Law and Legitimate Control of Force	No formal laws or punishments; right to use force is communal	No formal laws or punishments; right to use force belongs to lineage, clan, or association	May be informal laws and specified punishments for breaking taboos; chief has limited access to physical coercion	Formal laws and punishments; state holds all legitimate access to use of physical force
Religion	No religious priesthood or full-time specialists; shamanistic	Shamanistic; strong emphasis on initiation rites and other rites of passage that unite lineages	Inchoate formal priesthood; hierarchical, ancestor-based	Full-time priesthood provides sacral legitimization of state
Type of Regulation	Local	Local, temporary regional	Permanent regional	Permanent regional
Economic Type	Foraging	Horticulture, pastoralism	Productive horticulture, pastoral nomadism, agriculture	Agriculture, industrialism
Examples	Inuit, San	Yanomami, Kapauku, Masai	Qashqai, Polynesia, Cherokee, Dagurs (Mongolia)	Ancient Mesopotamia, contemporary United States and Canada

(Lewellen, 2003, p. 20-21), (Kottak, 2011, p. 405).

Above, I tried to describe the political systems of the pre-industrial societies and the political organization of the Qashqai tribe. By comparing these two categories with each other and considering the central political system of the Qashqai tribe and taking

into account Kottak's division (Kottak, 2011, p. 405), it can be said that the Qashqais had a Chiefdom system.

In the following, I would like to compare the leadership system of the Qashqai tribe with the Chiefdom system (especially in Polynesia). Because most of our ethnographic knowledge of the Chiefdoms comes from Polynesia (Kottak, 2011, p. 402-403).

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 Polynesian chiefdoms, chiefs were full-time political experts charged with regulating production, distribution, and consumption. Like the Polynesian chiefdom, the Ilkhans of Qashqai were full-time political specialists responsible for regulating the economy (production, distribution, and consumption).

In chiefdoms, social status was based on lineage seniority. Polynesian chiefs kept long pedigrees, as rank, political status, social status, and resources were acquired through kinship and lineage. The chief had to show that he was senior in lineage. For example, the third son was placed under the second, and the second son under the first.

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 Kelanterns 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.⁴³

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.

Since political power is related to social processes and roles through which decisions are made and executed, and these decisions obligate and possibly force the entire group to obey, it is distinguished from other forms of power. Political power is exercised in a territorial framework, it has an institutional form, it has a lot of autonomy and it has to continuously maintain its legitimacy through its actions. And the basic tasks of political power are to maintain order and integrity and manage the groups that make up the society (Rivière, 2003, p. 29-30). In the following, I will examine the main factor of legitimizing the Ilkhans of the Qashqai tribe to their political power.

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

⁴³ It is true that at that time such leadership was not possible for other people by the central government. But considering the internal equations of the Qashqai tribe, the people of the Qashqai tribe were not ready to accept such a thing.

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 (which is explained above). 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 (Khazanov, 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).

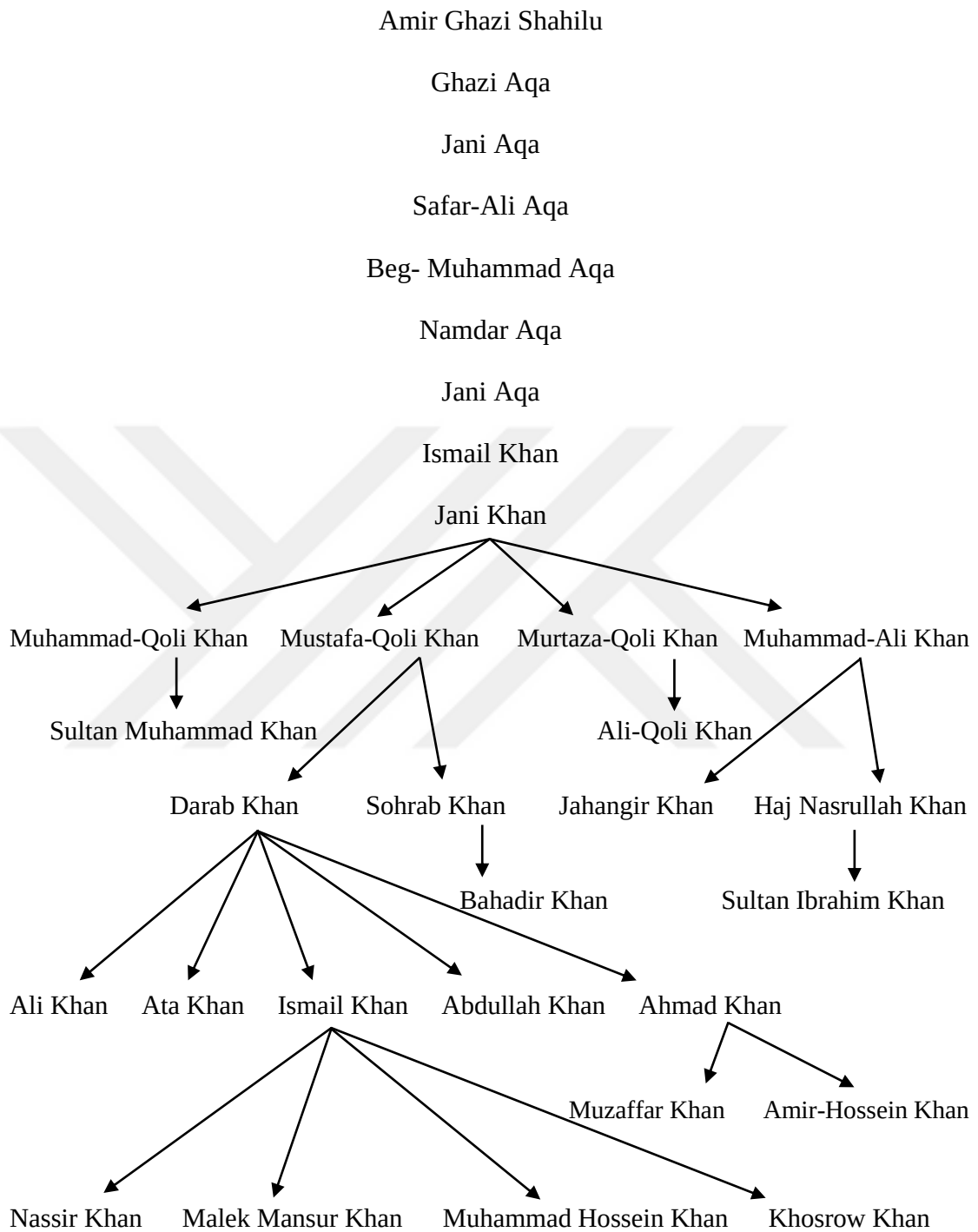
Generally speaking, the relationship of power with society is similar to that which, according to Durkheim, exists between the Australian totem and the tribe. This connection is essentially saturated with sanctity, for every society links its order to an order beyond it, and in the case of traditional 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 patrilocal 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 Chieftdom 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).

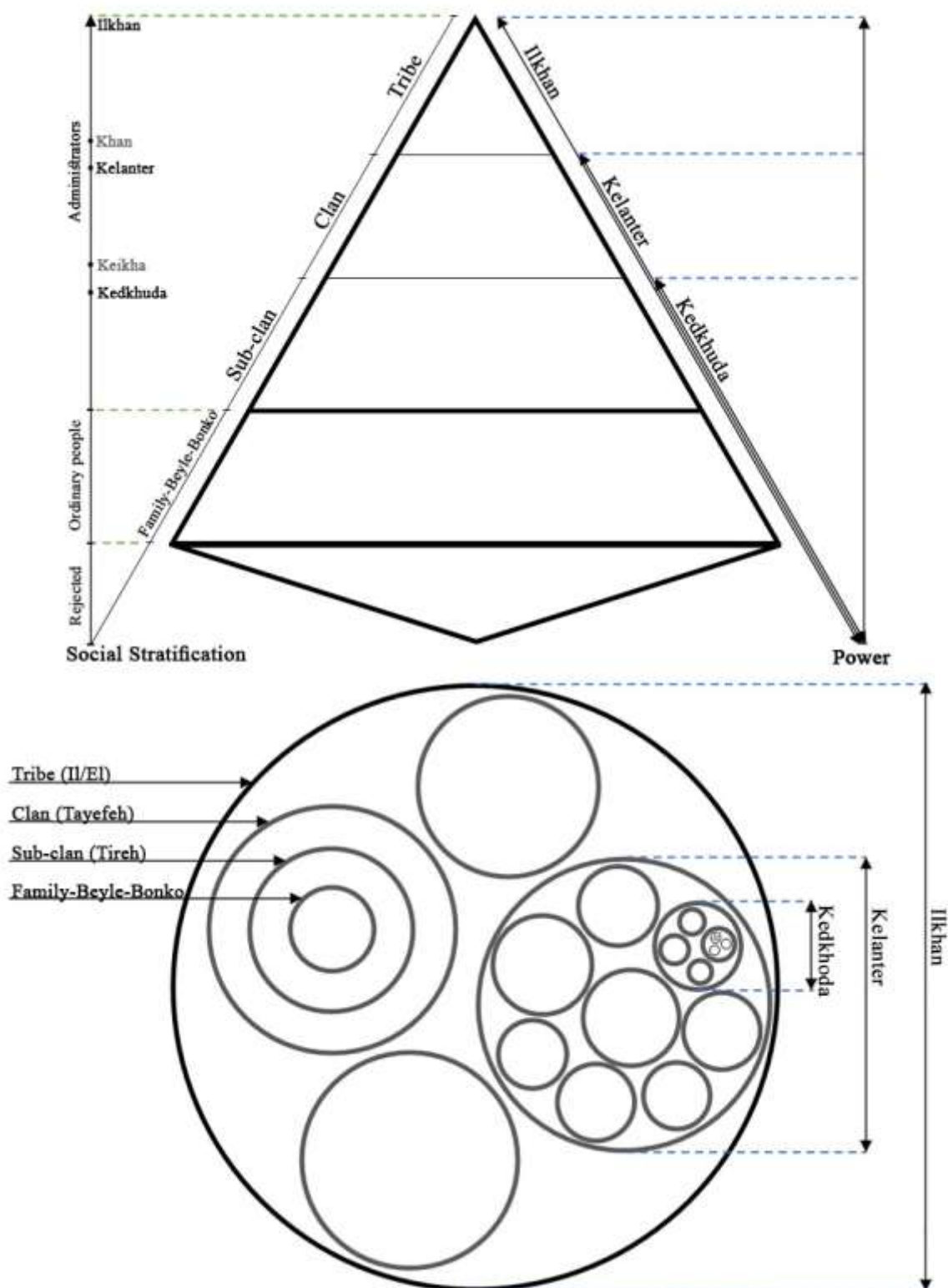
It is necessary to point out that today this political system no longer exists in the Qashqai tribe. That is, by doing the fieldwork which was my goal in the beginning, I could not make any observations about the Ilkhan system of the Qashqai tribe, and I could only get information about the daily life 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.

Figure 12. Genealogy of Ilkhan and Il-Beygis of the Qashqai Tribe.



(Beck, 2017, p. 62)

Figure 13. Socio-Political Organization of the Qashqai Tribe.



6. 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. And I discussed the details of my findings in the analysis part. Bringing all the data into account, there seems to be some consistency between the question I asked and the answers I received.

As I mentioned above (analysis part), today the Qashqai tribe is not governed under the supervision of the Ilkhan and its political organization. In other words, today instead of the Ilkhan system, these are institutions such as the Department of Education, Nomadic Mobile Schools, General Administration of Nomadic Affairs, Nomadic Construction Jihad, Nomadic Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Nomadic Police Force, Nomadic Cooperative Companies, Nomadic Islamic Council, to serve a nomadic society has been established and has filled the place of the past factors (Ahmadi, 2007, p. 193-194).

6.1. Limitations of the Research

Like most research, this research has also faced limitations. One of the shortcomings of this research is the lack of conditions and facilities for fieldwork and interviews with Shahilu family members and tribe members. If I had the conditions and facilities to conduct fieldwork, and interviews with Shahilu family members and tribe members, probably the information obtained would have confirmed the data obtained from this research with a greater probability.

6.2. Recommendations for Future Research

The subject of this research was the Qashqai tribe, which lives in the southwest of Iran. In this research, I was able to access the sources I wrote in the bibliography section and write my thesis based on these sources. But if the conditions mentioned in

the “Limitations of the Research” section were possible, a more comprehensive investigation would have been conducted.

This research has provided data about the legitimacy of the Ilkhan and the socio-political organization of the Qashqai tribe for future researchers. Considering that, there is very little research on the nomads of Iran in Turkey. The results of this research can pave the way for future research on such issues.

It is suggested that in future studies, researchers should investigate issues such as the following:

- Music and identity in the Qashqai tribe.
- The transition from nomadic to urban life in the Qashqai tribe and its problems.
- The effect of the internet and satellite on the national consciousness of Qashqais settled.
- The religious belief of the nomadic and settled Qashqais and their comparison with each other.
- Investigating the effect of the tent and tent-dwelling in the architecture of settled Qashqai houses.
- The differences and similarities between the tents of the Qashqai tribe and the tribes living in the south of Iran, especially in the Fars province.

Iran is one of the most important geographies regarding tribes and nomads from the past to the present day. A geography where large tribes and clans still live and play an effective role in its culture and economy. I hope that this study will draw attention to the tribe and nomadic communities in Iran in Turkey.

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Appendix A.

The list of research that was not used due to lack of access or incompatibility with my research topic:

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Appendix B.

The Yaylaq and Qishlaq areas of the Qashqais in 2008 are as follows:

Tribe	Province of residence		Familis-Tent	Population	
	Yaylaq	Qishlaq		Man	Female
Qashqai	Kohgiluyeh-Boyer Ahmad	Fars	360	1125	1015
	Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari	Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari	4	11	13
	Isfahan	Khuzestan	73	204	192
	Isfahan	Isfahan	113	288	254
	Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari	Fars	26	62	55
	Isfahan	Fars	3083	8434	8036
	Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari	Bushehr	16	38	44
	Isfahan	Kohgiluyeh-Boyer Ahmad	591	1550	1515
	Isfahan	Bushehr	1322	3576	3313
	Fars	Bushehr	1973	5244	5216
	Chaharmahal-Bakhtiari	Khuzestan	28	74	85
	Kohgiluyeh-Boyer Ahmad	Kohgiluyeh-Boyer Ahmad	1	2	2
	Fars	Kohgiluyeh-Boyer Ahmad	214	574	551
	Isfahan	Southern Khorasan	6	19	14
	Fars	Fars	10161	28058	26775

(Merkeze Amare Iran, 2009)

Appendix C.

The Following Table Shows the Estimated Population of the Qashqai Tribe from 1809 to 2008:

Date of Estimate	Author	Clan	Sub-clan	Bonko	Number of Families or Tents	Number Of Individuals
Approx. 1809	A. Dupre	---	---	---	---	12,000-15,000
1841	C.A. de Bode	---	---	---	12,000	---
Approx. 1849	M.L. Sheil	---	---	---	30,000-4,000	---
1850	K.E Abbott	---	---	---	---	5,000-6,000
1865	L. Pelly	---	---	---	15,000	---
1866	A.H. Mounsey	---	---	---	Above 25,000	---
Approx. 1870	G.N. Curzon	---	---	---	60,000	---
1875	A.Rivadeneyra	---	---	---	20,000	---
1889	G.N. Curzon	---	---	---	10,00-12,000	---
1894	A.G Tumansky	---	---	---	12,000	---
1906	B.V. Miller	---	---	---	35,000	---
1912-1913	M.E. Resulzade	---	---	---	---	over 350,000
1913	G. Demorgny	---	---	---	55,000	---
1914	A.A. Romaskevich	---	---	---	55,000	---
1916	A.T. Wtribeson	---	---	---	40,000	---
1918	H. Field	---	---	---	30,000 ⁴⁴	---
1918	A. Farman Farma	46	---	---	18,050	---
1921	P.M. Sykes	---	---	---	---	135,000 ⁴⁵
1930	P.M. Sykes	---	---	---	---	130,000 ⁴⁶
1932	F. Hesse	---	---	---	---	60,000-80,000
1932	S.k. dokladov	---	---	---	---	60,000-80,000
1932-33	M. Keyhan	---	---	---	30.430	---
1943	O. Garrod	---	---	---	30,000	---
1944-45	A.Razmara	---	---	---	14,040	---
1945-46	M.B.Bahman-Beygi	---	---	---	20,000-30,000	---

⁴⁴ Plus 20,000-25,000 families of villagers.

⁴⁵ who control 100,000 more villagers.

⁴⁶ who control 100,000 more villagers.

1946	D.D. Duncan	---	---	---	---	200,000
1948	K. Gudarzi	---	---	---	13,400	---
1950	W.O. Douglas	---	---	---	---	500,000 (half of whom migrate)
Mid 20th century	L. Beck	---	---	---	---	400,000
1951	F. Max	---	---	---	25,000	---
1952	J. & F. Shor	---	---	---	---	100,000
1953	M.T.U. de Schooten	---	---	---	---	400,000
1955	S. I. Bruk	---	---	---	---	6,000
1955	Documentation Française	---	---	---	---	350,000
1957	A. Kisliakov and I. Pershits	---	---	---	---	350,000
1957	B. N. Zakhoder	---	---	---	---	300,000
1957	Ettela'at Haftegi	---	---	---	---	80,000
1957	Iranian Army Intelligence	---	---	---	69,020	---
1958	Iranian Fifth Army Corps Hdqrs	---	---	---	20,000	---
1958	E. Naraqi	---	---	---	---	400,000
1960	S. I. Bruk	---	---	---	---	350,000
1962	J. Larteguy	---	---	---	120,000	---
1962	M. Causse and N. Marion	---	---	---	---	100,000
1963	J. Behruz	---	---	---	40,000	200,000
1960	L. Beck	Amaleh	40-65	---	---	45,000
		Darreh-Shuri	44	---	---	45,000
		Farsi-madan	21	---	---	20,000
		Kashkuli B.	40-45	---	---	25,000
		Shesh-Boluki	40	---	---	35,000
		Kashkuli k.	13	---	---	4,300
		Qaracha	8	---	---	3000-10,000
		Safi khani	10	---	---	4,000
		Namadi	4	---	---	7,000

1974	P. Oberling (The sources are based on the statements of Ilkhan, Kalantran, and the Iranian Fifth Army Corps headquarters.)	Amaleh	41	---	6,000 families	30,000-40,000
		Darreh-Shuri	42		8,000-5,000 tents	35,000
		Farsi-madan	15		4,000 tents	15,000 (3,000 are settled)
		Keshluki B.	44		6,000 ⁴⁷	---
		Shesh-Boluki	19		6,000-5,000 tents	30,000
		Kashkuli k.	11		600 families	3,000
		Safi khani	10		780 families	---
		Namadi	4		600 families	---
1976	D. J. Marsden (A) The number of settled families B) The number of nomadic families)	Amaleh	42	---	a) 2,664 - b) 4,302	---
		Darreh-Shuri	41		a) 2,430 - b) 4,080	---
		Farsi-madan	21		a) 664 - b) 1,418	---
		Keshluki B.	57		a) 1,467 - b) 2,912	---
		Shesh-Boluki	71		a) 1,010 - b) 3,886	---
		Kashkuli k.	12		a) 165 - b) 620	---
2008	Statistical Center of Iran ⁴⁸	6	---	632	17,971	47,080 F. 49,259 M.= 96,339

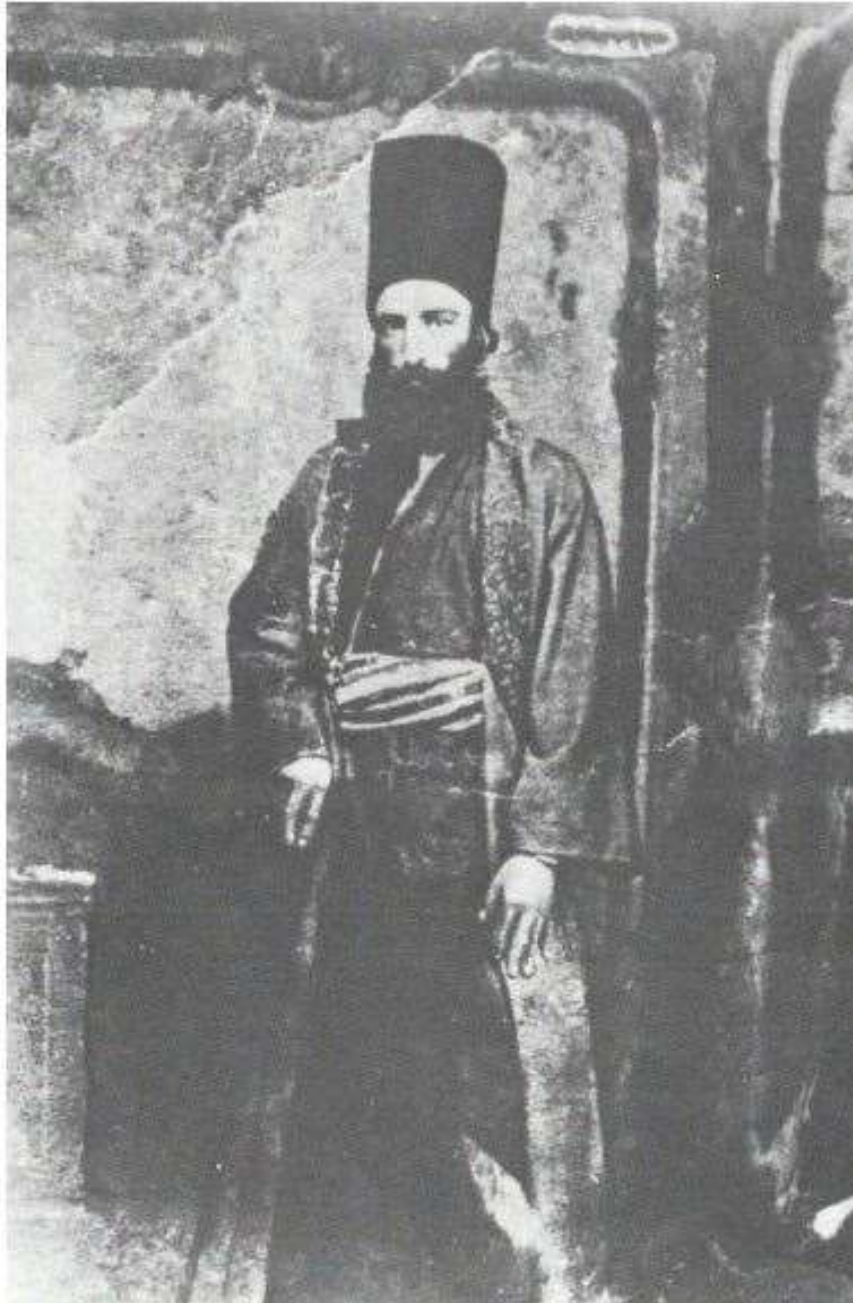
Note. Population distribution of the Qashqai tribe in the pasture area, that prepared by the following resources: (Oberling, 1974, p. 223-236), (Shahbazi, 1990, p. 74), (Beck, 2017, p. 260), (Marsden, 1976, p. 13), (Beck, 1991, p. 10), (Merkeze Amare Iran, 2009, p. 40).

⁴⁷(4,000 nomads and 2,000 sedentary)

⁴⁸Socio-economic census of nomadic nomads (who are still migrating).

Appendix D.

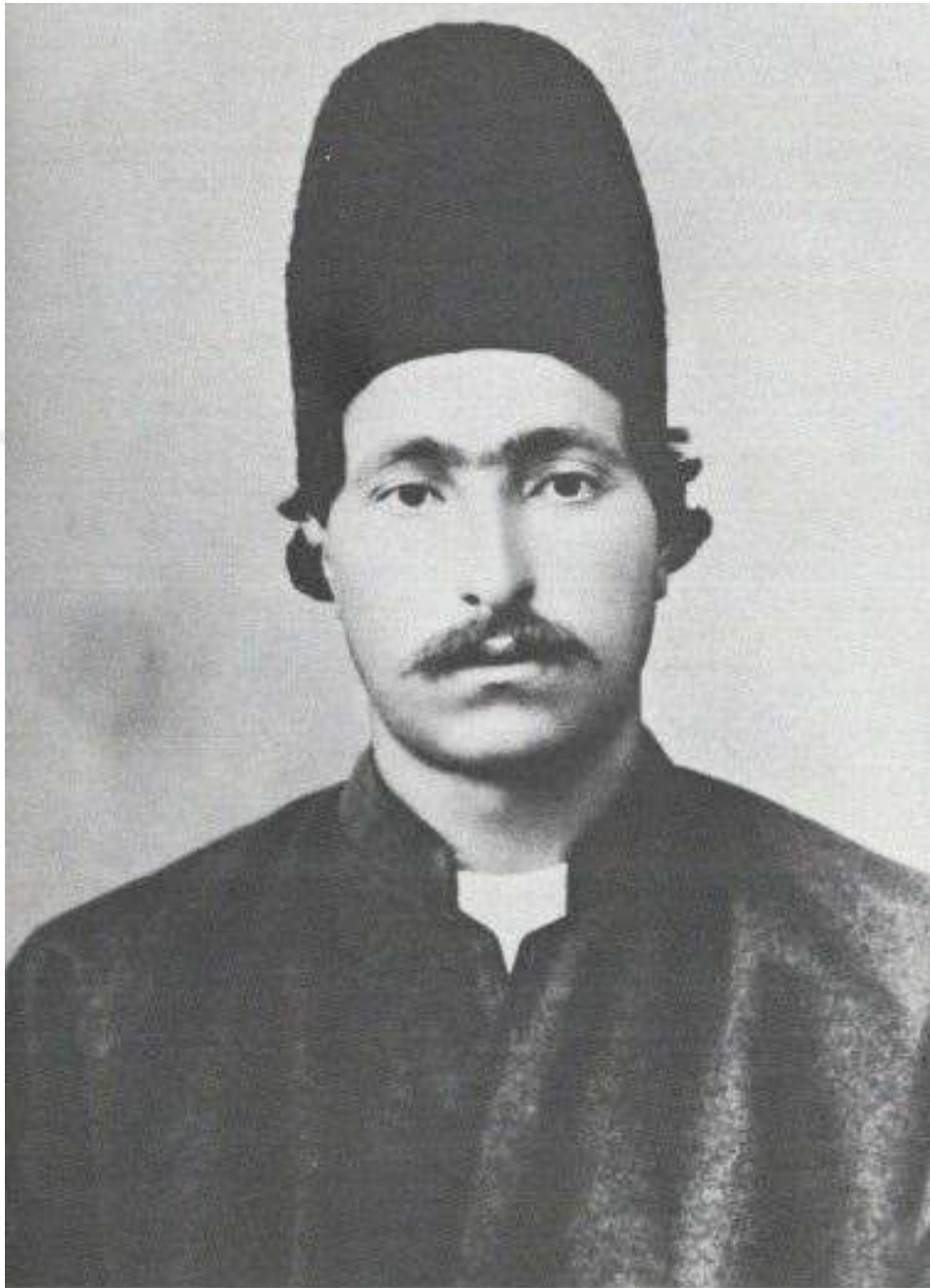
Jani Aqa.



(Oberling, 1974, p. 242)

Appendix E.

Ismail Khan (Sowlat-ed-Dowleh).



(Oberling, 1974, p. 248)

Appendix F.

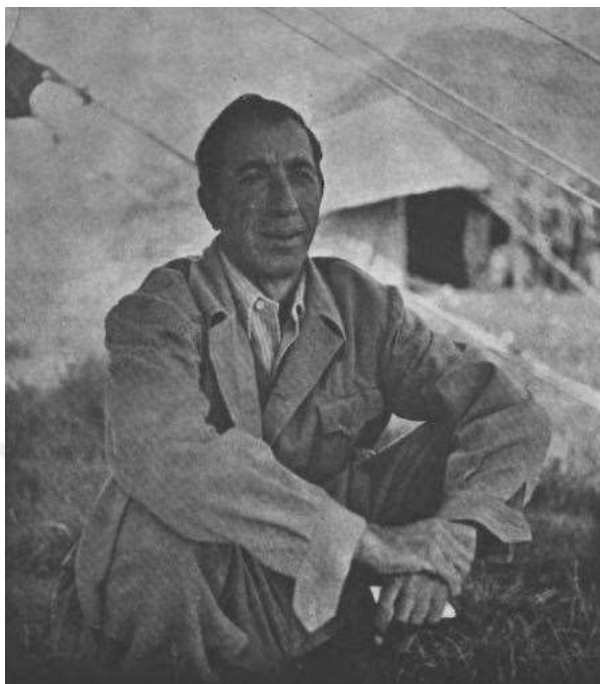
Nasir Khan (Ilkhan of the Qashqai tribe), the eldest son of Sowlat-ed-Dawleh.



(Oberling, 1974, p. 249), (Therese, 1997, p. 182)

Appendix G.

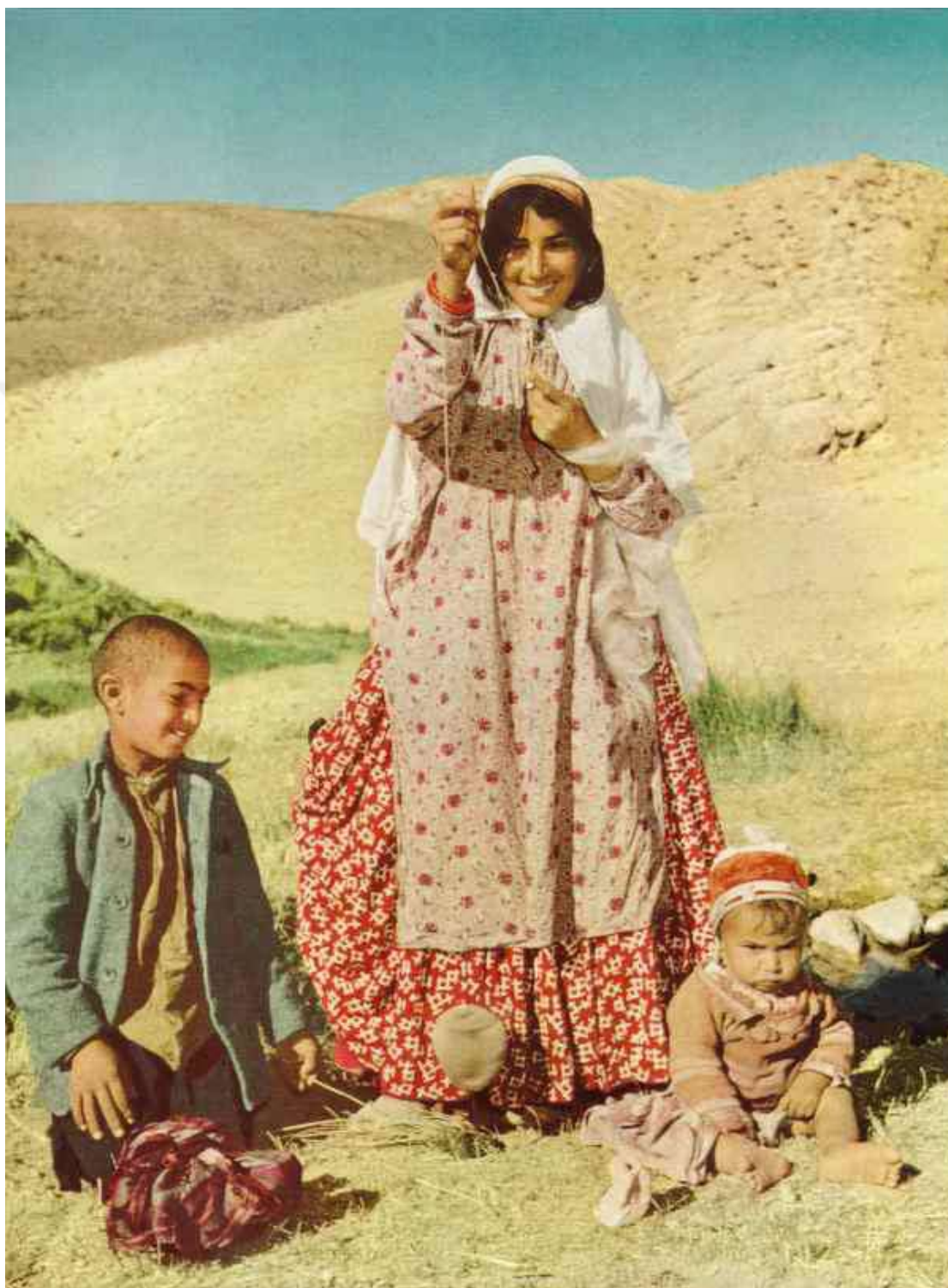
Malek Mansur Khan (Il-Begi of the Qashqai tribe), the second son of Sowlat-ed-Dawleh.



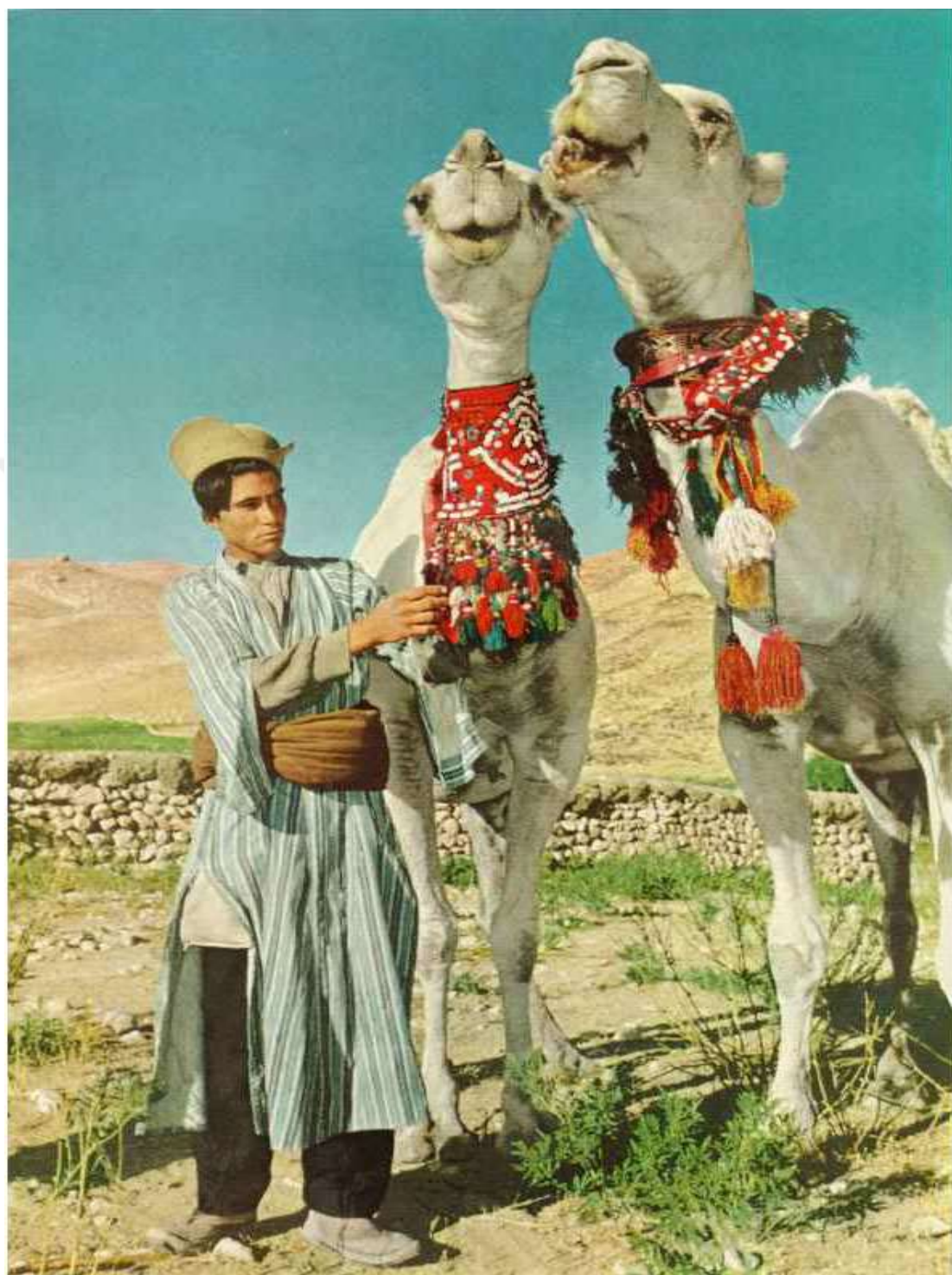
(Oberling, 1974, p. 250), (Therese, 1997, p. 183)

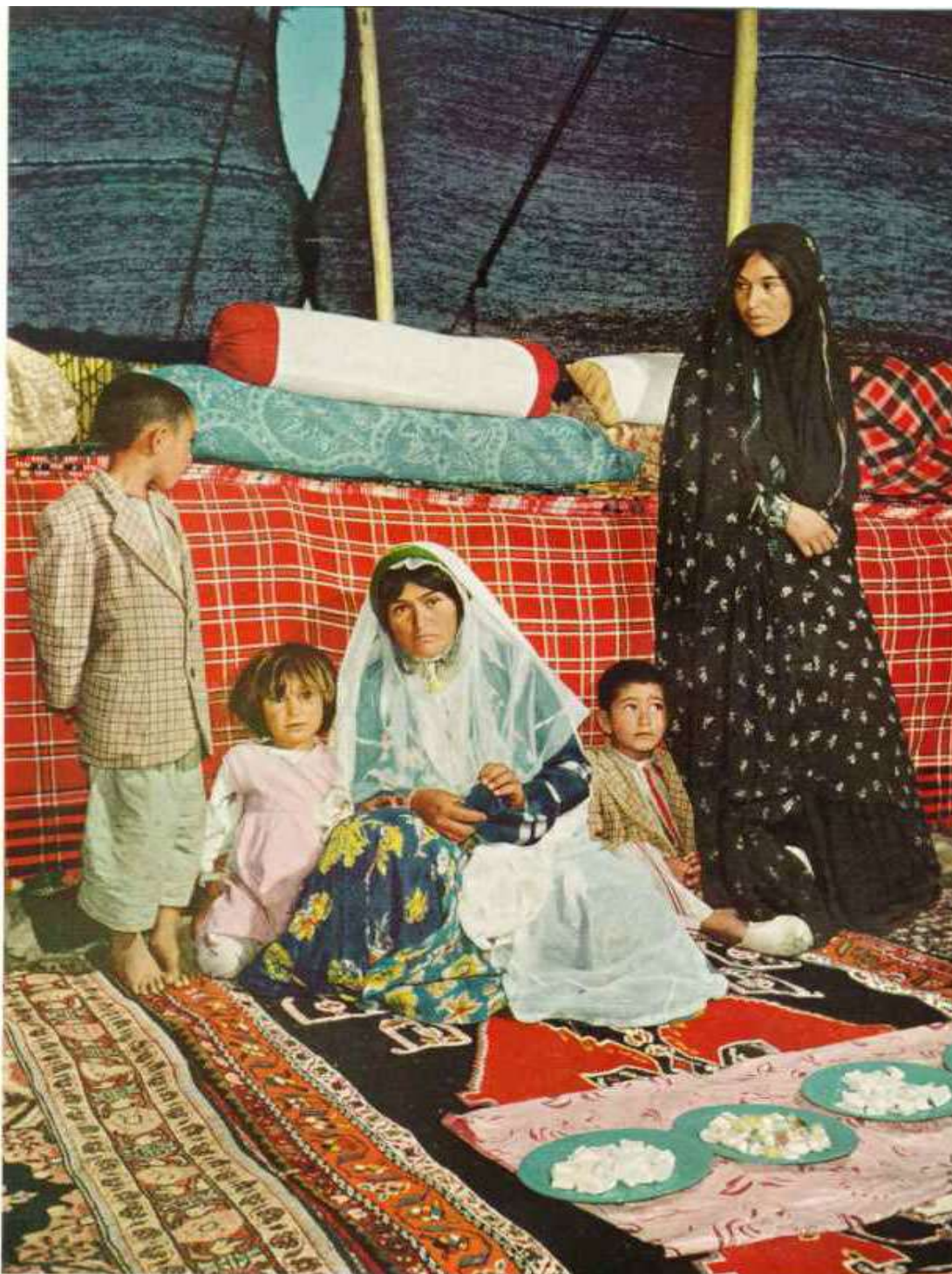
Appendix H.

Some Photos of Qashqais.









(Shor & Shor, 1952)