سواد مرتومه علی موان خان ومحد رشید خان و صید رخان بختیاری با بدال نعان و

أنامعدصالع بختيارس

انشاء الله تعالى همواره بهل اماني وآمال عالى جاهان معلى جايظا عاتى الحوان لبدال

خان رآقا معد صالع سامهاالد تعالى

13 از رضات نمیوضات نمضل معضرت دوالعلال عزاسه تنادان و متمر بانمار انکار کامرانی باد

14 بعد از طبی گذارش و نظارش که همواره و اقعاست مشهوم رای مخلصان ا اقتضای میدارد که مراسله

15 کی جهتنی ترجمه صاد قین نبامزد صبان تملمی را رسال دانشته بودید در وقتی نیکو عز ورژود یائت

L6 معتوى برسلامتى آن عالى جاهان انحوان ارسبند بود اطهيئان

و خاطر جمعی رخ نود 💎 🛫

در خصوص در مد مجان و ملاقات کامی رسیدن و اظهار اینکه باید بدستو

مرحومان آبائي ما باهم متفق ر برادر و یک بعهت بوده و مصلحت امورات باستصوار	L8
هديگرديده نفود الحوان بجلال قدر الهي قسم كه در برادري برادران حرف	L9
وسخنی نداریم و این منحواهش از طرفین است و از صلاح خبربیت آن عزیزان هم	L10
بيرون ئيستىم البته كه هرگاه انشاءاله تعالى بىستورگذشته گان پيشىين ك	L11
غيرت وتعصب هديكر را ميكشيدند وحفظ الغيب هديكرمنظور ميداشتند	. L12
دست از هدیگر برندا نسته بعدیکه آن عزیران رمعبان بعضی دیده و بعضی	L13.
بسن كوچك تسنيره ايم براه برويم بعون غليت آلهي بدي نخواهيم ديددر ميان	L14
دوست دنتهمن بورطه نغواهيم افتاد وحسب الواقع امورطونين بوجه الحسس	L15
م نام نیک سفوا هد گذشت در باب سرادری تمام دنیا میدا نند که برادریم در باب	L16
لاً تفاق أن سخني ست كه پونسيده نيست كه لاً اتفاق باعث دولت و نفاق	L17
ببدولتی است پس دولت به از بی دولتی بجان برادران تسم که از اول	L18
تا بأخر خواهنس ملاقات آدا تُشتيم مصوص جال كه نوشته آن عن بزان رسيد	L19
نهایت بجهاتی میند در عزیعت معند و رنسدیم انشااله تعالی حیات یاقی است	<b>L20</b>
عنقریب ملاقات هر بخواهیم رسید در اب صلاح امور و بنای کارها	L21

- 1.22 منزل نیستیم حالت یکی است اختیار هر دع طرف با آن عزیزان است
- 123 بنا ومبادی (؟) که نعیریت ایلیت با شد بگذارند حرفی نداریم و مسالخواهش 123
- 124 برادران بعل معلا معلا توقعی در برادری نیست هرطوراست که تا دریانت
  - 125 ملاقات همه او تمات احوالات سلامنی را نامی و ارسال و هر تسم مهماتی که.
    - 126 بوده باشد اعلام كه انشااله تمصوري نگردد والسلام
      - Seals سجع مهرهای بشت کاعذ

ر على مردان عام الميراست (خوايا بعنسر بده توامان معمد رسيراست ابن رمان)

لاتفود بجون بختیار از لطف دا وررسد نسل علی مدان به حیدر) تناریخ ۱۳ صفر ۱۳۲۹ مطابق ۱۴ مبروری ت<sup>همی</sup> ۱۱۱۱ مطابق ۲۴ داو ایت نیل حسب الامرسضرت انشرف

Note من آتمای سردار اسعد صد ظله چون اصل کا غذ خواندن اش خیبلی دشوار بود سواد نوشته تنید (او زنگ منشهی شیرازس)

## Letter of Ali Mardan Khan 1162-63/1748-50.

A copy of the letter of Ali Mardan Khan and Muḥammad Rashid Khan and Haydar Khan Bakhtiyari to Abdal Khan and Aqa Muḥammad Salih Bakhtiyari. 2

God, most high, willing, may the sapling of the desires and hopes of the persons of exalted rank and eminent station, [our] brothers Abdal Khan and Aqa Muhammad Salih--may God give them peace--be happy and endowed with the fruits of success from the outpourings of the abundance of the presence of Him who possesses glory, may His name be honored.

After completing the writing of the petition which is always true [i.e., the introductory compliments] it is brought to the sight of the minds on which our loyal selves depend that the message filled with friendliness which you [lit.: those sincere offes] had written and sent, addressed to us [lit.: those devoted ones] did the honor of arriving at an auspicious time.

Since it contained news of the [your] well-being [lit.: of those exalted ones] of our noble brothers, confidence and peace of mind were produced. With regard to [the suggestion] of our loving selves coming and a meeting of dear ones [taking place] and the expression of the opinion that, in accordance with the custom of our lamented fathers, we should be united, brothers and at one, and that [our] policy toward affairs should be settled with each other's approval. Brothers, we swear by the Glory of God's power, that we have no word to say or remark to make against the brotherhood of brothers. This desire [for brotherhood] is held by both sides; nor do we dissent from your beneficient opinion [lit.: of those dear ones] [i.e., you]. Certainly if, God, most high willing, we proceed according to the customs of our departed forefathers, who acted with [true] partisanship and family loyalty towards each other, who defended each other's interest in his absence and who did not desert each other, as you [lit.: those dear ones] [i.e., you] and we [lit.: these loving ones]

have some of us seen and some of us heard in our youth, by the help of the Divine Kindness, we shall not meet with any misfortune, and shall not fall into [a trap of] destruction [set by] friends who are really enemies, and, in reality, the affairs of both sides will go forward in the best way and with good repute.

On the matter of brotherhood, all the world knows that we are brothers. On the matter of unity, that is a word [the meaning of] which is not hidden, for unity causes good fortune and discord bad fortune. Well, good fortune is better than bad fortune. We swear by your life [lit.: of our brothers] that, from beginning to end we have wanted to meet, especially now that your [lit.: those dear ones'] letter arrived. Only, for a number of reasons, we have excused ourselves from setting out. If God, most high, wills, life still remains [to us] and soon we will come to meet [you] as well. With regard to policy over business and the undertaking of affairs, we are not two. Our state is one. The choice for both parties lies with you [lit.: those dear ones]. Let them begin undertakings and projects to the benefit of tribal interests, we have no objection, and matters will be carried into effect as you [Lit.: our brothers] desire. There is no expectation [of profit] in brotherhood [; a brother does not expect to gain by helping his brother, but will help him anyway]. In any case, until we meet, let them always write the news of their well-being and send it, and let us know if any important matter arises, so that, if God will, there may be no failing [on our part]. And peace upon you.

The legends of the seals on the back of the original letter: (Ali Mardan is the ruler of the world 1162/1748-49) (Oh God. Give security on the Day of Judgment. Muhammad Rashid is the son of Zaman [his father but also lit. the Age]. 1163/1749-50) (Since, by God's favor, luck [bakht] is a friend [yar], the line of Ali Mardan reaches Haydar.)

Dated the 13th of Safar 1329, conforming to the 13th of February 1911, conforming to the 24th of Dalv the eleventh month of the solar calendar, Bahman or Aquarius in the Year of the Dog, by the order of His Excellency Aqa Sardar Ascad, since the original document was very difficult to read, a copy was written.) (Aurang Munshī Shīrazī)

## I. NOTES

leAli Mardan Khan and Muḥammad Rashid Khan and Haydar Khan Bakhtiyari.

cAli Mardan, co-ruler with Karim Khan Zand of Central Iran in the name of Ismacil III (1163/1750-1164/1751), and Muḥammad Rashid were the sons of Zaman Khan. Nineteenth century Chahar Lang leaders of the Kiyanursi trace their descent from these brothers. Haydar Khan was an important Chahar Lang leader and supporter of cAli Mardan, but his relationship to him is unknown.

<sup>2</sup>Abdal Khan and Muḥammad Salih Bakhtiyarī. Abdal was the son of Abdal-Khalīl (see, Genealogical Table) and in subsequent documents Abdal is identified as the Haft Lang leader. Muḥammad Salih was Abd al-Khalīl's brother.

 $^3$ Partisanship and family loyalty towards each other. Ghairat and ta  $^c$ assub in this context are commendable qualities.

<sup>4</sup>Āqā Sardār As ad. Sardār As ad-Hājjī Alī Qulī Khan-was the son of Husain Qulī Khan and Bībī Mihrījān. In the first decades of this century he was an important Bakhtiyārī leader, a hero of the Constitutional Revolution, and a literary figure with antiquarian interests. He was responsible not only for copying this document, but for collecting many of the extant Bakhtiyārī documents. Sardār As ad died in 1917.

## II. THE DOCUMENT (Sardar Ase ad collection)

Sardar As ad ordered a copy made, because the original was in bad condition. The note by the copyist, Aurang Munshi Shirazi, mentions that the original was very difficult to read. By this he must have meant faded and worn, for the original's script could hardly have been more difficult to read than some of the other documents in the same collection. The copy itself measures more than 23.8 x 20.2 cm.

## III. SIGNIFICANCE

1. The vagueness of this letter and its metaphorical style are especially frustrating; the letter to which this was responding is not extant. From this letter we can be certain of only three things: this letter answers an earlier one, the writers reject the suggestion of a meeting, and the writers make a plea for unity. Consequently, this letter raises more questions than it answers: why was it not addressed to call Salih Sardar, who, from earlier documents, was the Rish Safid of the Haft Lang--not to mention that he was father and brother to the two who were the recipients of the letter. Evidence in Nadir Shah's documents (Appendix I, Documents 2-5), indicates Afshar support for call Salih, and a subsequent Raqam (Appendix II, Document 2), contemporary with this letter, provides evidence of continued Afshar support--in the case of the Raqam by Shahrukh, Nadir's grandson.

Did Abdal and Muhammad Salih originally propose a meeting to discuss joint Haft Lang and Chahar Lang support for Shahrukh? Or were they covering family options, in offering support for CAli Mardan in his cause in return for concessions? Or, had Abdal and Muhammad Salih broken with CAli Salih? (The uncle [FBr]-nephew [FBrS] tie in the Bakhtiyari is either one of great tension

or of close support.) Or had CAli Mardan learned of Abdal's support for his co-ruler, but rival, Karim Khan Zand? Within a year, 1164/1751, Karim Khan appoints Abdal as the Governor of CIraq (Appendix II, Document 3).

In this letter "Alī Mardan stresses that in brotherhood there is no expectation of gain, help is given to one's brother regardless. He may have been alluding to the obligation to support him on the basis of qanon-Kamzur (See, Digard, "Le systeme segmentaire . . . IXc Congress . . . Anthrop . . . 1973). If Abdal and Muḥammad Ṣalìḥ were khīn-chūq to "Alī Mardan-khīn-chūq deliberately cut across kin lines--they would have been obligated to support "Alī Mardan against "Alī Ṣaliḥ, and "Alī Mardan may be suggesting in his letter that they were temporizing. No historical references have been found on qanon-kamzur. And Abdal and Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ may have been trying to block "Alī Ṣaliḥ or "Alī Mardan, or both, for Abdal certainly supports Karīm Khan by 1164/1751. (It is probable that "Alī Ṣaliḥ dies about this time.)

At the least, this letter corroborates Haft Lang and Chahar Lang rivalry.

- 2. The letter relates unity to "the benefit of tribal interests." This echoes traditional political ideology, but would, of course, be important in terms of a tribal identity and in building a power base within a confederation.
- 3. This copy appears to represent Alī Mardan Khan's only extant document. The seals are but copies; nevertheless, they, too, stand as the only extant ones issued by Alī Mardan Khan.