

Modern ilam (pooshtekooh) and Political conditions of satraps of west of Iran (Poshtkooh) during Qajar regimen

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Abstract: Hassan Khan was appointed as governor of Lorestan from 1215 to 1255 AH according to Valian historical writings in Takht Khan remained from Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar Era. Hasan Khan ruled Poshtkooh area until age 90. After death of Agha Mohammad Khan, his successor Fath Ali Shah undertook to limit the influence of local and border area governors and rulers in order to strengthen his own reign and achieve his designated objectives. He appointed Qajar governors to those areas he considered problematic for his rule in an attempt to bring Iran in complete control of Qajar rule. He appointed his able son, Mohammad Ali Mirza Dolatshah, to governorship of Kordestan and Kermanshah. Lorestan was divided into two areas called Pishkooh and Poshtkooh. Poshtkooh was a border area and subject to continuous disputes between Iran and Ottoman. Dispute arose between Hassan Khan and his sons, Ali Khan, Ahmad Khan, and Heidar Khan at the end of Hassan Khan's life. The result of this dispute was the division of Poshtkoof into three areas between Hassan Khan's three sons. Mohammad Ali Mirza Dolatshah took advantage of the family dispute to weaken Hassan Khan Vali. He managed to increase its sphere of influence by interfering and supporting sons against father. It is believed that Hassan Khan Vali did not show his loyalty to Fath Ali Shah and reigned as an independent ruler. His independence forced the central government to weaken his position by conspiring and encouraging family disputes. Hassan Khan Vali was one of the servants to Shahverdi Khan, the last ruler of Atabakan of Lorestan. He died at age 90 in 1255 AH during Fath Ali Shah era. He was buried in Keshik Khaneh, in Najaf Ashraf. Vali Heidar Khan ruled Poshtkooh from 1255 to 1273 AH. His reign was supported by the central government. Hussein Gholi became Poshtkooh governor after the death of Haidar Khan. Hussein Gholi Khan earned several titles including Sarem al-Saltaneh, Sardar Ashraf, and Amir Tooman. Qajar historiographers and foreign reporters, including travelers and adventurers who had traveled to Poshtkooh during Nasser al-Din Shah Era and later, had explicitly written about Hussein Gholi Khan's bravery, heroism, and authority. He earned the title of Aboo Ghaddareh for his harsh suppression of rebellious and unruly Seqvand tribes, who had looted Dezfool, and his continued conflict with Bani Lam Arabs, who were Ottoman citizens and crossed borders in aggression. After death of Hussein Gholi Khan, his son Gholam Reza Khan became Vali. He had received Fath al-Sultan title after his father's suppression of rebellious tribes. He later took the title of Sarem al-Sultan. Gholam Reza took his money and jewelry, moved to Iraq, and settled in Bagdad during Reza Shah Pahlavi era. Gholam Reza moiled over returning to Iran in 1308. He was even granted respite. However, Gholam Reza Khan changed his mind about returning after Anvar Lorestan chiefs were hanged in Khorram Abad by Major General Agha Khan Khazaiee upon their return to Iran in spite of respite granted by Iranian authorities with a pledge not to be harmed.

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Introduction

The mountains of west of Iran divided this area to two parts from Dialleh valley to river of Dez (1) and Poshtkooh and Pishkooh were separated by Seymareh river. (2). Powshtkooh was separated from Lorestan by a deep valley and the mountains that are

in right side of Seymareh rivers called Poshtkooh and its famous mountain is Kabrikooh. Dwellers of this rea were controlled by Lorestan masters during Qajar regimen. (1). The writings and documents that were recorded about Ilam satraps are results of various itineraries that were written by foreigners and each of

them that had journey to this area, has a membrane, (Hogo Mortens, Stark and so on, ...). The German geographers, Hogo Grote was entered to Ilam in 1907 and contemporary to Mohammadali shah Qajar and that time Gholamrezakhan was satrap of Ilam and he was introduced to satrap to visiting this area. Although in that time the satrap was in war with Osmania and boundaries were not secure and central regimen had not appropriate conditions, he was prepared for journey to Iran and was dowelled in Dehbala and during his first visiting with Gholamrezakhan, he gift Gholamreza a Gun.

The word Vali means Governor. This term was first used in Safavid Era. It was the highest ranking position for tribes who lived in the border areas in that time. There were at most 4 Valis in the country. They were old khans who had inherited the governorship. These Khans ruled under Safavid Government, yet, they kept a degree of independence. The taxes collected by Valis were not reflected in the central government's budget. Nevertheless, they passed a part of their collections to the central government in the form of gifts and presents to King. In fact, they helped King with their payments (Alirezaiee, 1380, p. 28).

George Curzan had this to write about Vali governorship: "Governorship or Vali is a position which is sold in Iran similar to any other state job or position. The position is given to anyone who offers to pay the highest. The measurement ordinary used for valuation is based on the generating potential or causes of earning depletion of the area (Curzan, 1365, p. 250).

According to many studies conducted by researchers and scholars on the subject, Lorestan Valian (Poshtkooch and Pishkooch) were descendants of Rabieh Arabs who lived near Baghdad. They moved toward Iranian border as the result of tribal conflicts and infightings. One of them by the name of Zahir emigrated from Iraq into Lorestan. His bravery and abilities earned him fame and Mohammadi, Ataback of Lorestan, took a special liking of him.

After Zahir's death, his son by the name of Mansour became close to Governor and married Shahverdi Khan's aunt. A son was born from this marriage named Hussein Khan. He was recognized because of his ingenuity and cleverness. Hussein Khan took over governorship after Shahverdi Khan's murder. He later founded Valian of Lorestan (Saki, no date, pp. 288-289).

Poshtkooch of Lorestan is an area with many rivers. Three forth of Poshtkooch rivers pour into huge Seimareh River, which enters into sea. People who lived in Poshtkooch never left their settlement area. They lived so far away from Tehran that certain areas of Lorestan did not use currency for their trade. They

used barter similar to their ancestors. They engaged in animal husbandry for living. The average life span for male and female was one hundred years. There were some men and women who had hundred fifty years of age. Poshtkooch area was so difficult to pass that no conqueror from East or West had ever passed through the area. Many Lor tribes lived in Poshtkooch. Each tribe had one chief. The tribe chiefs followed one who was considered as the alderman (Afshar Sistani, 1366, p. 721).

Hassan Khan or Mohammad Hassan Khan was son of Ismail Khan. Valian of Poshtkooch ruled in Khorram Abad until the time of Ismail Khan. They used Falakol Aflak Fort as their center. Vali Mohammad Hassan Khan moved his administration from Khorram Abad to Poshtkooch by the order of central government when border conflicts broke up between Iran and Ottoman. Poshtkooch was closer to the border line and Hassan Khan was charged to stop Ottoman's continued intrusions and interferences. Poshtkooch Valian reigned in Lorestan and Poshtkooch for 334 years from Hassan Khan to Gholam Reza Khan (Bamdad, 1378, p. 88).

Hassan Khan, Haidar Khan, Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghadareh, and Gholam Reza Khan became Poshtkooch Valies one after the other. They did not rule Lorestan but their influence on Lorestan remained strong till the early Pahlavi Era when the last Vali fled to Iraq. Their influence was through maintaining relationship with Lorestan tribes and use of the winter pastures they utilized in Poshtkooch areas neighboring Lorestan like Biravand.

Background of Vali

Valian family possessed a pedigree which is subject of debate because of its content and author. The name of Mohammad Jafar ibn Mohammad Ali Nasabeh appears At the bottom of pedigree. He was a genealogist of Qajar Era. The preparation date of this pedigree was written on the bottom as 1245 AH. It was during Hassan Khan reign who was Vali at the time till 1255 AH. Hussein Khan had ruled Poshtkooch for 30 years when pedigree was prepared. Mohammad Jafar Nasabeh noted on the pedigree that the original one was in the verge of destruction when he wrote the new one (Chaman Ara, 1383, p. 32).

Mohammad Jafar Nasabeh traced Hassan Khan's ancestors to Hazrat Abolfazl al Abass, son of Hazrat Ali ibn Abitaleb, after going back 23 generations. He further traced back the pedigree from Om al Banin, Hazrat Abolfazl's mother, to Ghasi ibn Kallab.

Let's assume that the ancestry of Hassan Khan up to the last Vali were to go back after 26 generations to Hazrat Abolfazl al Abass. If the time between birth, getting married, and having the first child to be 30 years per generation, then, 26

generations times 30 years become 720 years. If the final year of the last Vali was 1340 AH and we deduct 720 years from it, we get back to 620 AH. That was around the period when Moguls conquered Iran. Hazrat Abolfazl al Abass was murdered in Karbala in 61 AH. The deference between the year of his murder and 620 AH is 550 years. If pedigree were to go back as far as Hazrat Abolfazl al Abass, we would need another 18 generations.

Satrap of Poshtkooh

Lorestan satraps had many challenges and wars with Zand regimen and during war of Aqamohammadkhan and And regimen, they support Aqa Mohammadkhan. After killing Aqa Mohammad Khan, his son, Fathalishah was king and he tried to dominance in all of Iran and to reach to this goal, he selected satraps of all of Iran among Qajar families and during war of Fathalishah and Hasan Khan that was satrap of Poshtkooh he had to go to Poshtkooh instead of Lorestan. Although this leads to limitation in area of Satrap but he had less attention to central regimen. (3). During war of Iran and Osmania, Hasan Khan supported central regimen, during death of Hasan Khan in 1875, there was a serious war between his sons, Ahmad Khan, Ali Khan and Heydar Khan to his deputy. Finally they divided the area and after death of two brothers, Heydar Khan was single satrap of the area. After death of Heydar Khan, King Nasseredin, appointed his son, Hasan Gholi Khan as satrap of Poshtkooh. After a short time he had dominance in all areas of Poshtkooh and could provide a secure path for tradesmen of Iran, Iraq and Hejaz. The government of satraps of Poshtkooh, had not any attention to poor people and in other words, common people must provide military forces of satraps and protecting him from enemies and in other words they were confronted with poverty. One of the main characters of satraps was killing people that sometimes were because of determining their power without any cause. They also take heavy taxes to people that people couldn't pay them and they used force against people.(3). In 1877, Naseredin Shah removed Mirza Heshmat from satrap of Lorestan and gives the control of this rea to Zellosoltan and he must war against some persons such as Hossein Gholi Khan. Hossein Gholi Khan was feared and without war accepted the Zelosoltan. Zelosoltan asked him to supporting war against riot men and he accepted. Zelosoltan used Hosseinghlikhan to war against riot men. During 1900, and because of riot of Baharvand, Naseredinshah asked Hossein gholi Khan to war against them. He accepted this and was successful in this deed and after that, king called him dominant commander. After death of Naseredinshah, Hossein Gholi Khan was confirmed by Mozafaredinshah and

till his death in 1908; he was strong satrap of Poshtkooh. The last satrap in Poshtkooh was Gholamrezakhan the son of Hossein Gholi Khan and he was contemporary to Mozafaredinshah and King Mohammad ali that its center of government was Hosseinabad (Ilam).

Research history

Hugo Grote in his remembers write: satrap is the same with absolute commanders of middle age and was a dominant on life of all people. He received all taxes and since he was the superior rank in juries, he was responsible of all kills, rubs and so on. Satrap gives Iran's regime 20 thousand tomans annually as tax and subtracts the half of it to costs of his small army. But by supporting common people and using 250-300 individuals he prevents attacks of Osmania. Haj Sayyah Mahallati indicated in his biography book that: in 1878, they went from Dezfol to Ilam, the people in Ilam (Poshtkooh hadn't right to building house and they had a forceful nomadic life, also the common people hadn't right to turn lights and they must use fire. Based on manuscripts of those times, during government of Aqa Mohammad Khan Qajar, Hasan Khan was satrap of Lorestan and till 90 years was commander of this area. Rabino in his book about Hossein gholi Khan written that: Hossein Gholi Khan had a place for summer in Dehbala.

Poshtkooh Valian

Vali Hassan Khan (1215 AH to 1255 AH)

Hassan Khan took over after Mohammad Khan passed away and Ismaeel Khan retreated into solitude. Ismaeel Khan had recommended to Hassan Khan to take revenge for Mohammad Khan's murder. Hassan Khan ruled Lorestan and Poshtkooh for several years. His revenge of Lorestan tribal chiefs made him a detested ruler. He was forced to move from Khoram Abbad to Deh Bala, present Ilam, by the order of Qajar government. Thus, his ruling became confined to that area. Hassan Khan's movement took place in 1216 AH. Earlier, he had undertaken to murder Lorestan tribal chiefs in revenge of Mohammad Khan's murder. Saki has this to write about the incident: Hassan Khan took over the administration as Assad Khan's successor by approval from Qajar king.

Tribal chiefs who were involved in Mohammad Khan's murder felt repentant for their act. They sent Abdol Hussein Khan to Vali for mediation. He was the forefather of the present Karam Ali family. He was an eloquent speaker and was charged to ask Hassan Khan to accept tribal chief for an opportunity to offer their apology in person. Hassan Khan accepted to meet them and offered them respite. However, had them beheaded when they arrived (Saki, No date, p. 321).

Hassan Khan went to Lorestan in the same year to help governors of Broojerd and Seilakhor to stop Hussein Gholi Khan, the rebellious brother of Fath Ali Shah, from escaping to Ottoman. After capture of Hussein Gholi Khan, Hassan Khan murdered certain Lorestan chiefs, especially Biranvand tribal chiefs, for supporting Hussein Gholi Khan. His act was intended to take revenge and created an increased hatred among Lorestan people toward him.

Earlier, he had captured Mohammad Khan Zand who had recruited fighters in Lorestan for a while. He blinded Mohammad Khan Zand after capture and sent back to Fath Ali Shah. He fought along with Mohammad Ali Mirza Dolatshah in a conflict with Ottoman. He participated in capturing Soleimanieh.

Ilam elders tell stories about mass murder of Poshtkooch tribal chiefs. These stories remain unconfirmed. Hassan Khan never trusted Lorestan and Poshtkooch tribes. He always undertook to destroy or frustrate them (Rad, 1374, p. 377).

Agha Mohammad Khan maintained a friendly relationship with Lorestan Vali at the beginning of Qajar Dynasty. Agha Mohammad Khan never adopted a plan to topple Valian reign. However, Fath Ali Shah adopted an overall policy to install Qajar governors throughout the county. This policy was intended to reduce the power exercised by local governors and prevent their rebellion (Rahimi, 1383, p. 11).

The outcome of Fath Ali Shah policy was evident in many areas of Iran. One instance was the limitation imposed on Valian authority to restrict them to Poshtkooch area. Fath Ali Shah appointed his brave son, Mohammad Ali Mirza Dolatshah, to governorship of Western areas of Country. Mohammad Ali Mirza managed to mend the sour relationship that existed between Hassan Khan, Poostkooch Vali, and his father, Fath Ali Shah.

Valis always supported the central government especially during military campaigns conducted by Mohammad Ali Dolatshah against Ottomans. Hassan Khan Vali grew dissatisfied when Fath Ali Shah reduced his territory and made him move to Poshtkooch.

When Mohammad Ali Dolatshah fell ill, Vali Hassan Khan became uneasy and feared for his life on threats from Fath Ali Shah. That was the reason Mohammad Ali Dolatshah permitted Hassan Khan to return to Poshtkooch before his death. (Etemad al Saltaneh, 1364, p. 1549).

After Hassan Khan Vali passed away, Fath Ali Shah tried to incite dispute between his sons to make area seem unsafe so that he could intervene more often on the pretext to secure the area by forces of the central government. Fath Ali Shah's policy limited Valian's grip on power. His policy continued till the

time Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghadareh came to power. This was the time the relation between Shah and Vali improved.

Vafa Zel al-Sultan attracted attention and favor from Shah for his invaluable contributions in suppressing rebellious tribes and nomads (Zel al-Sultan, 1362, p. 182). As old folks recalled, he managed to disperse or destroy old and original tribes in Poshtkooch such as Rizeh Vandi and Soreh Miree. The remains of Rizeh Vandi tribe was dispersed in three provinces or mixed with other tribes (Saraiee, 1379, p. 67).

The search for documents about this period (Hassan Khan era) led to the writings from Poet of Foggy Pinnacles, which is interesting to mention here: "In speaking to the old members of Deh Bala tribe it was discovered that Zangeneh tribe sold North East mountain areas of Ilam to Deh Bala tribe. The name of Gholam Reza Arkavazi and other tribal chiefs were mentioned as witness to this sale. The date on the title indicates that it is a copy of an original document, which puts the authenticity of the document in doubt. The year of the date appears to be 11106. It could be either 1116 or 1106. The favorable statement issued by Hassan Khan to Gholam Reza Arkavazi was dated 1219. Therefore, the date could be either 1206 or 1216. Given the fact that Hassan Khan entered Poshtkooch in 1216, the latter date seems more appropriate. This gives rise to another possibility. Zangeneh Tribes may have sold their pastures and left Poshtkooch for Kermanshah at the time Hassan Khan arrived in the area.

Hassan Khan brought many individuals to Poshtkooch as clerk, writer, judge, apprentice, servants, and retainers. Other tribes also moved from Lorestan and settled in Poshtkooch. Successors of these individuals still live in Ilam and have adapted to the new cultural setting.

Hassan Khan administration had terrible jails. Strict and rough officials made life difficult for people. It did not seem that he had attempted to provide wellbeing and progress to Poshtkooch area (Saraiee, 1379, p. 67).

Rowlinson wrote about Hassan Khan and his reign: "Poshtkooch is still ruled by Vali. Hassan Khan Vali made a superficial agreement with the central government after Mohammad Ali Mirza Dolatshah passed away in order to strengthen his power (Aman al-Lahi, 1362, p. 52).

A minor dispute accrued between Hassan Khan and his elder sons before I met them. Tribes had taken sides with one of them. Kermanshah government took advantage of situation and started to intervene by backing up the two sons against the father. This intervention had helped the local government to gain minor influence in the area.

Hassan Khan was dismissed and his sons, Ali Khan, Heidar Khan, and Ahmad Khan were collectively selected as Valis for the area.

Tribes found out that they were venerable when conflicts aroused among rulers and influence of central government increased. Therefore, they mediated peace between father and sons. Hassan Khan now rules Poshtkooch like a powerful, capable, and independent prince (Saraiee, 1379, p. 68)".

Heidar Khan Vali (1255 AH to 1273 AH)

After Hassan Khan's death, his sons, Ali Khan, Heidar Khan, and Ahmad Khan divided Poshtkooch between themselves (Afshar Sistani, 1372, p. 156). Qajar government recognized Heidar Khan as Vali of Poshtkooch. In Takht Khan engraving, Heidar Khan and his brothers are not honored. Their names did not even appear in the pedigree discussed earlier (Karimi, 1372, p. 70).

After Heidar Khan passed away in 1273 AH, his son Hussein Gholi Khan was appointed as Poshtkooch governor by Nasser al Din Shah. He was an outstanding Vali. According to the records of traveling journalists, Hussein Gholi Khan was cruel, blood thirsty, fastidious, and persnickety. He suppressed rebellious Arab tribes living in Khoozestan together with Lorestan unruly tribes. He stopped border intrusions by Ottoman. Central government raised his position to Amir Tooman or General. He also earned titles such as Sarem al-Saltaneh, Sardar Ashraf, and Aboo Ghaddareh. The latter title remained in Vali family. It is still a family name of some of their successors (Afshar Sistani, 1372, p. 157).

Hussein Gholi Khan changed the name of the seat of his government from "Deh Bala" to "Hussein Abad" or "Husseinieh". He built a cubic fort there and formed an army of 700 cavalry and 2000 infantry. The number could increase to thousands when necessary (Ibid, 1372, p. 157).

Hussein Gholi Khan tribe was not nomad like other Valis' tribes. His entourage was so large to fill a city. They moved wherever Khan moved to. DeMorgan, Lord Curzan, and Haj Sayyah Mahallati, all met him. They wrote about him and readers who are interested in their description can refer to their books.

Hussein Gholi Khan (1273 AH to 1318 AH)

Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghaddareh was son of Heidar Khan and grandson of Hassan Khan. He carried titles such as Sarem al-Saltaneh and Sardar Ashraf as Poshtkooch Vali. Poshtkooch valians were successors of Hussein Khan, the first Lorestan Vali. Hussein Khan was a servant of Shahverdi Khan, the last member of Atabakan of Lorestan. Shahverdi

Khan rebelled against Great Shah Abbas. He escaped to Jangaleh, which was the winter settlement of Poshtkooch Vali. Shah Abbas army followed him to Jangaleh. Shahverdi Khan was killed in Jangaleh after a tough and bloody battle (Bamdad, 1378, p. 83).

Rabino wrote about Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghaddareh in his book: "Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghaddareh built a castle in his summer location in Deh Bala, which was located in a valley. That building was called Kakh. It was a summer living place and a fortress. In addition, he built a great plantation outside the fort."

Hussein Gholi Khan stayed in Dumb Gholamon during winter. The name of the place was later changed to Husseineh. Aboo Ghaddareh constructed a building along Ganjan Chum River similar to the one in Deh Bala. He also built a plantation next to it. He had 2000 armed men under his command. These armed men were called "Amaleh" and they were fully equipped and armed.

Dair Kavand tribe rebelled in 1865 AD and started intruding their neighboring areas. Hussein Gholi Khan undertook to suppress the rebellion by his armed men. After his victory, his son earned Fath al-Sultan title. Aboo Ghaddareh died in 1317 AH. His son Gholam Reza Khan Sarem al-Saltaneh took over his father's reign. He earned Sardar Ashraf title later (Bamdad, 1378, pp. 88, 89).

Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghaddareh constructed buildings, plantations, and a bath house in his seat of government, Hussein Abad (presently Ilam). There is no trace of these buildings now, but the ruins of the fortress along Kanjan River, where he stayed during winter, are still visible. He died at age 68 in 1318 AH. His resting place is in Vadi al-Salam in Najaf Ashraf (Saraiee, 1379, p. 72).

"Hussein Gholi Khan and Nasser al Din Shah"

Zel al-Sultan used Hussein Gholi Khan several times to restore order in his territory. Hussein Gholi Khan earned the attention and favor of the powerful Qajar Prince because of his bravery and heroism. Zel al-Sultan invited Hussein Gholi Khan to wedding ceremony of his son, Jalal al-Doleh. Hussein Gholi Khan met Nasser al Din Shah in this trip and received recognition for his contributions. Nasser al Din Shah also granted Sarem al-Saltaneh and Fath al-Sultan to Gholam Reza Khan, Hussein Gholi Khan's elder son.

Hussein Gholi Khan's seat of government was in Deh Bala. He changed its name to Hussein Abad later. He ordered several tribes and nomads to permanently settle in Hussein Abad in order to help the place flourish. He built new mosques, shops, and dwellings, plus a castle for himself there.

Mozaffareddin Shah, who took over after Nasser al Din Shah passed away, confirmed the governorship

of Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghaddareh. He strongly reigned over Poshtkooh till his death in 1318 AH.

Gholam Reza Khan was the last Vali of Poshtkooh. He was son of Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghaddareh and lived during Mozaffareddin Shah and Mohammad Ali Shah periods. His governor capital was in Hussein Abad (presently Ilam). He was the Commander of armed forces and Deputy Governor during his father's reign (Sayyah, 1359, p. 226).

Hussein Gholi Khan carried titles such as Sarem al-Saltaneh, Sardar Ashraf, and Vali Poshtkooh. He was son of Heidar Khan and grandson of Hassan Khan. He took over after his father's death in 1273 AH when of Nasser al Din Shah was Qajar King. He tried to unite Poshtkooh as soon as he became Vali. Hussein Gholi Khan used any means to implement his plan and never stop pursuing his objectives.

Hussein Gholi Khan eliminated his cousins for different reasons. He deported Abbas Gholi Khan to Tehran and Ali Gholi Khan to Zarrin Abad. He entered into a conflict with Ottoman in Baghsai (Bagh Shahi) area, which was in Iraq. Hussein Gholi Khan attached Bagh Shahi to his territory as a part of Poshtkooh.

Hussein Gholi Khan was one of the Valis whose reputation went beyond Iranian borders. He was well known more than any other Valis. One reason for his fame was the fighting he carried out with Ottoman army. Another reason was the fact that many writers and travelers who visited Iran started writing about Iran history. They would visit Hussein Gholi Khan's territory as one of the strongest in the country (Alirezaiee, 1378, p. 33).

"Hussein Gholi Khan was one of well-known higher ranking officials in Iran. He went to Tehran once along with Zel al-Sultan (in fact by order of Nasser al Din Shah) to see King's accoutrement. This visit was arranged on Etemad al-Saltaneh's initiative as a warning to Hussein Gholi Khan to prevent him from thinking about rebellion. Qajar government honored Hussein Gholi Khan the same way they recognized other rulers (Ali Rezaee, 1378, p. 33).

Lord Curzan, the famed British traveller wrote about Hussein Gholi Khan after he met him. He wrote: Poshtkooh Vali is a brutal and cruel ruler. He has not reached age 50 yet, but he looks like a decrepit old man because he walks excessively. Hussein Gholi Khan has earned Amir Tomman or major general title (Curzan, 1365, p. 337).

DeMorgan, who was a famed French traveler and archeologist, wrote: I informed Vali about my interest to see him. It was Ramadan. Vali used to sleep all day and wake up just before sunset. I met him around five o'clock. He was with his two sons, ages 9 and 10 years. He had a cruel look on his face. He had long and dark beard like his hair. He did seem

trusting and perhaps feared us. He might have thought that we came to study the area for reporting to Iran government. In spite of his fear and cold reception, he did not block our visit. He sent his men to accompany us (Saki, no date, pp. 313-314).

Historiographer Afzal al Molk wrote about Qajar Era: "Sarem al-Saltaneh (Hussein Gholi Khan) was the brave man of the time and the powerful ruler of Lorestan (Ilam). He had lots of retinue and had Lorestan under his command. Although he was endowed with lots of talents, he was always a devotee and prepared to sacrifice for his government. If Broojerd and Lorestan Valis did not put too much demand on him, he would easily pay taxes to the government (Ettehad, 1361, p. 99).

The reason for Aboo Ghaddareh title

Hussein Gholi Khan had many titles including Sarem al-Saltaneh, Sardar Ashraf, Vali, Aboo Ghaddareh (dagger holder), and Amir Tooman. Razm Ara explained the reason for calling him Aboo Ghaddareh: "Some Poshtkooh Valian had made outstanding and considerable services. Iran lacked local army in Poshtkooh area. The dedication and diligence of such valian secured the Iranian borders and returned any act of aggression by harsh reprisal.

Hussein Gholi Khan was a very brave Vali who personally took command of his riflemen and local people. He repeatedly drove back Arab tribes who were always ready for intrusion Iran for looting. Hussein Gholi Khan forced them back to Dejlh Shore after leaving lots of casualties and booty. For this reason, Hussein Gholi Khan was called Aboo Ghaddareh. This title became a family name of Valian and their families till their reign ended. It was a family name that gave them honor and respect (Razm Ara, 1320, p. 107)".

Ancestors of Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghaddareh were from Bani Rabieh Arabs. Yet, he was proud of Iran and being an Iranian. He loved Iran more than anyone else. His heroism and patriotism made him a brave border guardsman and governor with no contender. He made a high contribution toward maintaining Iran's independence and territorial integrity. He defended Iran against Ottoman and Arab aggressions with all his abilities. No part of Iran was lost to enemies during their reign. They were suspicious of foreign travelers and never trusted them. DeMorgan pointed out the harsh treatment exercised by the powerful Poshtkooh Vali (Ali Rezaee, 1378, p. 35).

Hussein Gholi Khan's reputation was extended so far for his name to become a proverb. Alameh Dehkhoda wrote about the subject: "Hussein Gholi Khan or becoming Hussein Gholi Khan is attributed to Hussein Gholi Khan Vali. It refers to anarchy, havoc,

and looting. It was believed that affairs were presumptive during Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghadareh and created such reputation for him (Dehkhoda, 1371, p. 7963).

The late Mohammad Mohit Tabatabaee did not attribute the proverb to Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghadareh. He wrote that his relationship with the central government hardly ever crossed Poshtkooch borders of Lorestan to reach Tehran, Mashhad, and Kerman. However, it is possible to attribute the proverb to Hussein Gholi Khan if we consider the extended infighting in different areas of Poshtkooch during Hussein Gholi Khan Era, his success in suppressing domestic rebellion such as the ones by Sigvand tribes and his cousins, deportation of many relatives to other areas of Poshtkooch and Iran, plus his engagements in many conflicts against Arabs and Ottoman.

DeMorgan wrote about Hussein Gholi Khan, the powerful Vali Poshtkooch: "Poshtkooch has maintained its freedom and independence thanks to its independent ruler, Vali Hussein Gholi Khan. He has complete control of many passageways and canyons in the area to block possible intrusions by Ottoman, Iranians, and any suspicious traveler. Poshtkooch is a part of Shah's territorial empire but he acts freely and never pays any taxes or duties".

This does not mean that Hussein Gholi Khan did not follow Tehran. On the contrary, he maintained courteous relations with Tehran governments. He was careful from afar that no government agent could enter his territory. Messengers who brought orders or letters for Vali might risk their lives when entering Poshtkooch. However, messengers were treated well once entered.

If we were to look back into history, we would realize that Poshtkooch always remained as the most powerful governorship among its neighboring areas during many kingships that ruled Iran. DeMorgan considered Poshtkooch Valies as one of the eight ruling families who had divided Iran (DeMorgan, 1339, v. 2, p. 238). In summary, Hussein Gholi Khan was a junior kingpin and an absolute ruler of his mountainous area who was fully respected by Iranians (Alirezaee, 1378, p. 37).

Gholam Reza Khan Vali (1318 AH to 1340 AH)

Next Poshtkooch Vali, Gholam Reza Khan, had earned titles such as Fath al-Sultan, Sarem al-Saltaneh and Sardar Ashraf. He was the elder son of Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghadareh and a decedent of Hussein Kahn Salvizi who was appointed as Lorestan Vali by Shah Abbas Safavi after Shahverdi Khan was murdered.

Dikevand Tribes rebelled in 1281 AH and started attacking their neighboring areas. Hussein Gholi

Khan Aboo Ghadareh, Gholam Reza Khan's father, who also carried Sarem al-Saltaneh and Sardar Ashraf, undertook to suppress them with his armed forces and cavalry, called Amaleh, on the order of the central government. Gholam Reza Khan earned Fath al-Sultan title when his father conquered the rebellious tribes. When Hussein Gholi Khan Aboo Ghadareh passed away in 1317 AH, Gholam Reza Khan Fath al-Sultan took over and earned Sarem al-Saltaneh title. He later earned Sardar Ashraf and his son, Amanollah Khan, took Sarem al-Saltaneh title (Khani, 1373, p. 69).

Like most of local governors in Iran, Gholam Reza Khan was unaware of political situation in the country and did not know about motivations for friendly or aggressive relations. When Salar al-Doleh rebelled against central government for political or other reasons, Gholam Reza Khan supported him because of the family relation. Gholam Reza Khan's son, Aman Allah, became one of Salar al-Doleh commanders. Aman Allah return to Poshtkooch after Salar al-Doleh was defeated (Bamdad, 1378, V. 5, p. 170).

After this defeat, Gholam Reza Khan, who had observed Constitutionalists' victory, decided to side with them superficially. When Sardar Sepah, Iran's Prime Minister, took power (1304 - 1320), Gholam Reza Khan together with Solat al-Doleh Ghashghaiee and Sheikh Khaz'al, the sole governor of Khoozestan, made a tripartite partnership by the name of "Anjoman Sa'adeh" in defense of Constitutionalists.

From the beginning of First World War one (1914-1918), Gholam Reza Khan favored Germans following the democratic government of Mostofi al-Mamalek. He presented problems to Allied Forces (British, Russia, and France) in Koot al-Emareh. His relation with Allied countries improved later after Major General Amir Ahmadi intermediated (Sepehr, 1325, p. 334). Gholam Reza Khan was the last Poshtkooch Vali who was defeated by Reza Shah Forces in 1307. He took refuge in Iraq and died there.

Valian ruled the area as local Khans. They armed local people, defended Iranian borders in Ilam, collected taxes from local people, and abused people through forced labor. They built summer and winter forts in Mehran and Illam areas. The remains of those forts still stand in the center of towns. The famous Ghal'eh Vali is located in Ilam and is protected as a historical site. Ghal'eh Vali presently hosts cultural activities (Khani, 1373, pp. 69, 70).

Gholam Reza Khan ordered installation of a relatively huge stone engraving with dimensions of one by two meters. This stone engraving is placed in Takht Khan (Takht Khatoon) which is located about twenty kilometers on the road from Ilam to Saleh Abad. This place had a nice climate and was a resting

area for Poshtkooh Valis. This stone engraving contains a brief history of Valis and their contributions.

Gholam Reza Khan Vali and Reza Khan

Reza Shah decided in 1300 to strengthen his grip on power by suppression and forced settlement of tribes. He was especially keen about annihilation and disarming the Lorestan tribes. A conflict of interest between Poshtkooh Vali and Reza Khan was inevitable. Reza Khan was looking for a pretext to secure his power on Poshtkooh as a strategic location. He aimed at bringing down Gholam Reza Khan from power and ending his reign as Vali.

Reza Khan wrote in his travelling diaries: "An important point that took my attention was the position of Poshtkooh Vali. He stood steadfast on the way and behind Sheik Khazal with heavily armed forces. It was impossible to siege Khozestan without threatening or suppressing him. There is no option other than threatening him from behind in order to prevent him from sending out his forces in support of Arabs. I chose the longest route in spite of its difficulties by equipping state forces stationed in the northwest region (Azerbaijan) and dispatching them toward southwest of country (Alirezaee, 1378, p. 45). Ghzagh forces of Reza Khan conquered Khozestan in 1303. Reza Khan decided to remove Vali from power as his next move.

Gholam Reza Khan lived in fear of engaging in a conflict with Reza Khan forces. He even refused to go to Imperial Court when he received an invitation from the central government. All evidences made him see the dark side of himself and his family. He could see the end of his power and ruling. The time had come for an end to his family's stronghold in Poshtkooh.

When state troops reached Poshtkooh, he took his money, jewelry, and all the moveable assets he had collected by exploiting impoverished people of Poshtkooh and escaped to Iraq to settle in Baghdad in 1307. Poshtkooh finally came under central government control during the last part of Reza Khan rule. The long reign of Poshtkooh Valian finally ended by Major General Mohammad Sadegh Kopal with a decree from Reza Khan. This also marked the end of Valigari in Iran (Alirezaee, 1378, p. 47).

Gholam Reza Khan decided to return to Iran and asked for a respite from Reza Shah in 1308. Reza Shah accepted Yad Allah Khan's request and Prime Minister Hedayat (Mokhber al-Saltaneh) sent him Shah's written and stamped statement with a Quran as the proof of respite inviting father and son to return to Iran. However, Gholam Reza Khan changed his mind after hearing that Alvar tribal chiefs of Lorestan were handed by General Hussein Khan Kazae upon return

to Khoram Abbad in spite of promises not be harmed and the respite issued by the central government.

Hierarchy of satraps

Indeed during government of Fathalishah, Hasan Khan couldn't control the area of Poshtkooh and was independent from central government, so central regimen was going to make him weak. Hossein Ghloi Khan was the next satrap of Ilam that was son of Heydar Khan and grandson of Hasan Khan. All families of Poshtkooh are related to Hosseinkhan that was one of the relations of Shah Verdikhan the last satrap of Atabaks of Lor. After death of Ali Khan, Hossein Gholi Khan the son of Heydar Khan was appointed as satrap of Poshtkooh. All historical references confirmed the bravery of Hossein Gholi Khan. After death of Hossein gholi Khan his son, Gholamreza Khan was appointed as satrap. Gholamrezakhan such as his father was a strong satrap. During 1908 he want go back to Iran and after coming to Iran he was killed. Ms. Stark was came to Iran two times and he had dominance to Persian and Arabic. Her second journey was because of finding a treasure in Kabirkooh, she writes, during my journey, satrap was doweled in a new house that was made in Greece form. The satrap was a tall and young man abd had green eyes and black eyebrows. During 1908, the son of Gholamreza Khan, Yadollah Khan was confirmed by king. During first regimen of Pahlavi (1907), Aligholi Khan the son of Gholam reza Khan that was satrap of Postkooh, after escaping of his father went to Baghdad and made a riot against Reza Shah that was removed by Razmara. None of these riots was not done by southern Kurd people of Kermanshah, Ilam, Lorestan and so on and they didn't wants to independency but their aims was control of all of Iran.

Social structures of satraps of Poshtkooh

Social customs in traditional society of Poshtkooh were based on familiarity that was among satraps and their families. In this system, identity, right and responsibilities and also social rank of people were determined. The smallest social unit was family that in that time was a producer and consumer unit. The family was consisted of parents and children and those that had married with family that usually a man was the head of it. Each family was member of a tribe that by it, family members were in control of it. Membership in kinship system was means that members of system were share in all profits and losses and supports each other in challenges, celebrations and so on. Usually, kinship system is a cultural component and it means that it was made by human and its aim is supporting its members. (2). Traditional society of Poshtkooh was consisted from several

heterogeneous groups and so social motivation in it was rare. The groups in traditional society of Poshtkooh were including: 1-satrap and their families 2-consulers and other ranks of government 3- the heads of tribes 4-oldmen 5- common people 6- semi abject groups such as singers. In totally, it can be said that society was controlled by some people, Satrap, high rank members and heads of tribes. It is clear that the structure of traditional society of Poshtkooh prevented the developing of this area. Because development means some changes that these changes were obtained by innovations or derive them in a social, political and economic fields and society of Poshtkooh had not these conditions. I have not known about social and economic structure of satraps of Poshtkooh. (4). so it can be said that the structure of power of satraps was based on a man- based structure and New satrap heritage all his facilities and powers from his father. (8). It is appeared that satraps were separated from central power but they were responsible for collecting taxes. A part of tax was sent to central government and remain of it was costed to equipping guards of satrap. It may that the main income of government was based on these taxes and also business export productions to Osmania and Iraq. About the rate of tax is not an exact list and Baron Doyd indicated that the tax of Poshtkooh in 1837 was 20 thousand Tomans and common people were not satisfied by this rate. (7). Satraps punished some people to determine their power and sometimes the heads of tribes had some problems to satraps and this was lead to some wars and challenges. Satraps had special prisons to riot men and crime persons. Security deeds of Satraps in Poshtkooh are considerable because they protected boundaries of Iran against Osmania attacks. During studying history of Poshtkooh contemporary to Qajar, study the social structures of society was importance. Based on narrations and researches it was indicated that in Ilam, there was not feudal system and political and social systems of tribes of Poshtkooh were similar to Kurd tribes. (1).

Economic structure of satraps of Poshtkooh

The economy of Poshtkooh area was based on agriculture and traditional ranch. Some productions such as wheat, oat, corn, pea and so on were planting. A main part of agricultural productions were consumed in the area. They also had some animals such as goat, sheep, cow, and donkey and so on. Exchanges were goods for goods or in cash flow form but it is interesting that there was not even one commercial center in area of Poshtkooh and most exchanges of them was with Iraq country. Economic structure of Poshtkooh prevented developing of this area because two main reasons. The first one is that traditional method of life had efficiency to provide

primary needs and so there was not extra capital to trading and second is that, lacking of city in Poshtkooh that was not considered by people. (2).

Conclusion

Iran is an Asian country that majority of historians believed that it is one of the oldest areas. The western part of this area is mountains of Zagros that have appropriate soil and weather and are strategic places. After entering Aries and forming government, the Ilam area was always an important area. During entering of Islam to Iran, this area had not independent government till 6th century and after that the Ilam area was a part of government of Atabakan Lorand during Safavieh regimen, king Abbas removed Atabakan and remodified political divisions of country and appointed Hossein Khan seleh varzi as satrap of Lorestan. The government of Lorestan satraps was continuous to early of Qajar government. Fathalishah Qajar after fixing his government in the country, appointed his son Mohammad Ali as satrap of western areas of Iran. During 1908, the son of Gholamreza Khan, Yadollah Khan was confirmed by king. During first regimen of Pahlavi (1907), Aligholi Khan the son of Gholam reza Khan that was satrap of Postkooh, after escaping of his father went to Baghdad and made a riot against Reza Shah that was removed by Razmara. None of these riots was not done by southern Kurd people of Kermanshah, Ilam, Lorestan and so on and they didn't wants to independency but their aims was control of all of Iran. Social customs in traditional society of Poshtkooh were based on familiarity that was among satraps and their families. In this system, identity, right and responsibilities and also social rank of people were determined. The smallest social unit was family that in that time was a producer and consumer unit. The family was consisted of parents and children and those that had married with family that usually a man was the head of it. Each family was member of a tribe that by it, family members were in control of it. Membership in kinship system was means that members of system were share in all profits and losses and supports each other in challenges, celebrations and so on. Usually, kinship system is a cultural component and it means that it was made by human and its aim is supporting its members. (2). Traditional society of Poshtkooh was consisted from several heterogeneous groups and so social motivation in it was rare. The groups in traditional society of Poshtkooh were including: 1-satraps and their families 2-consulers and other ranks of government 3- the heads of tribes 4-oldmen 5- common people 6- semi abject groups such as singers. In totally, it can be said that society was controlled by some people, Satrap, high rank members and heads of tribes. It is clear that

the structure of traditional society of Poshtkooh prevented the developing of this area.

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