

Ardalan's empire in the province of "Sina and Ardalan" in Afshariyeh period

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Abstract: The present study is intended to investigate how the reign of Ardalan's dynasty in the Province of "Sina and Ardalan" in Afshariyeh Period was. The historical records of Ardalan's dynasty and their bearing on the history and the political structure of the central governments reigning over Iran are the focus of attention and used in order to understand the political changes in the Province of "Sina and Ardalan" in Afshariyeh Period. Moreover, by looking into issues like Ardalan's rulers' cooperation and opposition with the central government, and their political practice based on their multifaceted relationship to Afshariyeh kings and the incentive and volition of the residents of Ardalan province, the political ties, interrelations, and changes of this province in the mentioned period are scrutinized in this article. In addition, the article introduces Ardalan's rulers, discusses the reason for their thronement and dethronement in this period, and sheds light on how they dealt with the central government kings and the regional people. There is a focus on different aspects of Ardalan's rulers' lives in this period especially Sobhan-Werdi Khan Ardalan's life. [Amir Abdulahi. Ardalan's Empire in the Province of "Sina and Ardalan" in Afshariyeh Period. *J Am Sci* 2012;8(7):24-32]. (ISSN: 1545-1003). <http://www.americanscience.org>. 5

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1. Introduction

Afshariyeh period is an important stage in the history of Iran because in that time Nader could establish a relative peace in Iran after about a decade of disorganization and political inconsistency. Disappearance of central sovereignty in Iran had caused the country to slide into anarchy and as a result, different government claimants in different regions tried to initiate local governments by collecting their advocates. Those claimants had started to set up their own local governments from the last days of Safaviyeh period. Pressure, murder, and Afghans' invasion in different parts of Iran heightened people's dissatisfaction. Moreover, rebellious Afghan rulers' lack of ability and efficiency in governing caused people to damage the harmony of the country. This problem, i.e. civil war, resulted in an increase in foreigner enemies' invasion whereby irrecoverable destruction was left over political reputation of Iran and Iranians. The specific case was that, the main affair of the Iran government in the period of Safaviyeh was always to prevent two potent internal and external factors and after the destruction of the powerful central government, the avarice of the invading neighbors across all the borders was provoked.

In that time and chaotic circumstance, Nader, using his bravery and heroism, could put an end to the present anarchy and restore the missing empire of Iran. Although this robust leader lost his power soon, his appearance in the history not only rescued the country from Afghani rebellious troops but also stopped the dominance of non-Iranian governments over Iran in next generations. Ardalan

family who was one of the main political dynasties in the western regions of Iran and the province of Kurdistan had a significant role in governing of Iran. Therefore, relating Ardalan family's history and an account of political conditions of Iran after Safaviyeh is necessary.

2. Ardalan Family's History

In Afshariyeh period, the region "Sina and Ardalan" was one of the provinces of Iran, where Kurds were in residence (Figure). There are a lot of arguments over the genealogy of this family. The oldest written source on Ardalan's genealogy is by Amir Sharaf Khan-e Beldisi (died in 1004 H.) who writes: Ardalan's genealogy returns to Walah Diyarbakir's children, who was Ahmad Bin-Marwan's son (Badlisi, 1994). Some historians mention that the genealogy of this family returns to Ardashir Babakan (Snandaji, 1996; Mastora Kurdistani, 1953). However, after this family had become the ruler, it seems that some people tried to exaggerate the genealogy of this dynasty. The length of the territory of this clan was from Mukri Boukan to the borders of Zahab road and its width was from Chaghan Mountains near Shahrazur to Alma-Blakhi Mountain in Hamadan (Babani, 1998). Therefore, the region which is called Kurdistan was the territory of this family.

Before immigrating to the province of Kurdistan, Ardalan's inhabited in Kurdish regions of Ottomani Kingdom like Mousil, Shahrazur, and Diyarbakir. Authorized by Iranian kings, the dynasty governed over the province of Kurdistan about six centuries from the Mongol period to the time of Naser-Addin Shah of Ghajar.



Figure. Ardalan autonomous territory in Afshariyeh period

Some families of Ardalan dynasty were exiled to Khorasan in the time of Nader Shah of Afshariyeh (1148-1736 H.) but they returned to Kurdistan province after Nader's demise. Although Ardalan are Muslim and Shafe'I, their rulers showed great respect to Shiite imams (Blu, 2000). According to studies conducted by Kurdish historians, Ardalan's ancestry should be traced back to Marwani Kurds who governed over Diyarbakir and Miyafarmin from 321 H. to 489 H. After the overthrow of this dynasty, Ardalan's descendants sought refuge in Southern Kurdistan (Iranian Kurdish regions). Baba Ardal, Ardalan's ancestor, and some of his tribesmen went to Oraman and took control over Palangan. After the invasion of Mongols to Iran in 618 H. and with Holaku-Khan's help, they could take control over some parts of the region.

3. Ardalan's Role in Iranian Central Governments

Ardalan dynasty could govern over some parts of Kurdish region for years and act independently in some periods. This dynasty's dominance over the province of Kurdistan traces back to the times before Baban dynasty's appearance in Ottoman Kurdistan and the political and martial strength of Ottoman government. In that time Ardalan's territory exceeds the province of Kurdistan. The rulers were mainly subordinated to

Iranian central governments. In the ninth century (H.), the Ottomani separated regions from Sharbazher to Ardabil and Koye, Jozeyr, Emadiyeh, and Rwandese from the province of Ardalan, which caused opposition and conflict between Ardalan leaders and Ottoman government. These conflicts usually turned into bloody wars; therefore, at the arrival of Safaviyeh government these Ardalan leaders supported Safaviyeh and not Ottomanis. Thereafter, Ardalan leaders' conflict with Othamanis approached them to Safaviyeh government. However, it should be mentioned that whenever there were weaknesses and deficiencies in Safaviyeh government, Ottomanis tried to attract and motivate these leaders. In Safaviyeh period, the government had the policy of entrusting the governorship of the province of Kurdistan to Ardalan leaders without assigning the amount of tax (Mirza Samiha, 2006). The author of the book Tazkareh-Al-Moluk writes about Ardalan's role and position in Safaviyeh government: governor generals were from among "non-governmental leaders" or "border leaders" and they included the quadruple of Arabia, Georgia, Kurdistan, and Bakhtiari among whom Ardalan governor general held the third rank (Mirza Samiha, 2006). The writer of Dastur-Al-Moluk also wrote on Ardalan leaders' position: Ardalan governor general's position in the court (Kingdom Court) and in Behesht-Aeen meeting was after the leading rifleman (Mirza Samiha, 2006). He accompanied with other governor generals attended Safaviyeh kings' coronation ritual, he carried the king's sword and possessed a high rank. The trend was the same in Afshariyeh period.

Ardalan rulers had to join the army of the central government in trips and wars. They had to provide the central government with about 2000 soldiers in wars in nearby regions like Baghdad, Arabia, and Azarbaijan and in faraway areas about 200 people (Mirza Samiha, 2006). On the issue of Iranian governments and Ottomanis' control and dominance over Kurds, P. E. Orynof who is a new researcher on Kurds believes that Kurds were able to free themselves from the pressure and control of Iran and Ottomanis. In fact, some parts of Kurdistan had been independent for hundreds of years and up to the onset of the nineteenth century. And if they sometimes provided Iranian and Ottomanis governments with some armed soldiers, it would certainly be because of obligation and the sovereignty of the mentioned governments (Orynof). P. Lerkh who carefully studies Kurds' history and linguistics in the first half of the nineteenth century also mentioned this reality that Kurds had been independent to a large extent and less reliant on the eastern and western potent governments (Jalile Jalil,2002). According to these

statements, it can be concluded that Iranian Kurds possessed a local government in Afshariyeh period and in many cases they acted independently. However, local dynasties' governments in those periods were not limited to Kurdish regions, and they were common in some other provinces of Iran. Dadu dynasty's government in Mazandaran and Khal'atbari's in Tenekabon in Zandiyeh period are two examples for local governments. The remarkable point; however, is that in this period and many historical periods, there was a fundamental difference between Iranian Kurds and Ottomans. Ottoman Kurds had little mere subordination of Ottoman government and in some cases many nobleman and Kurdish leaders had no obedience from Ottoman. However, Iranian Kurds, except for some rebellious tribes like Balbas, always paid tax to the court of Iran even in their highest levels of sovereignty, whereby they received the right of governorship from Iranian kings (Nicitin, 1999). They acted independently only when the country was faced with chaos and anarchy. This trend can obviously be seen in the history of Iran and in Zanganehs' government in the province of Kermanshahan, Ardalan's in Kurdistan, Mokeris' in Mokeryan located in Azarbaijan, etc.

Another point which is remarkable about Iranian Kurdish rulers in their governing regions is that they would not complain if they were dethroned by the king as opposed to Kurdish rulers in Ottoman territory. If Kurdish leaders in Ottoman territory were dethroned, they would conspire with Iranian rulers against Ottomans.

Anyway since Baba Ardal's time, the originator of Ardalan in the second half of the sixth century (H.) (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953; Vagayeh Negare Kurdistani, 2002 ; Gazi, 2000 ; Rohani, 2003 ; Mostafa Amin, 2005), they had governed over a part of Kurdish regions and their governorship lasted to 1284 (H.). During all this period they were subordinated to Iran except for a short and specific occasion, i.e. Afghans' invasion. Because of the central government's weakness in this period, although they were sometimes controlled by Ottoman government, they were under mere control of Iranian central government since the 11th century (Edmondez, 1988). Ardalan rulers one after another governed over the province of Kurdistan from the period of Safaviyeh to the time of Shah Soltan Hossein the last king of Safaviyeh (1105 to 1135 H.). In that time and when Muhammad Khan Valad Khosrow Khan-e Ardalan and Ghazalbash fought against Soleyman Pashaye Baban, Shah Soltan Hossein dethroned Muhammad Khan and assigned a new leader named Hossein Khan Lor to prevent the crises of relationship between Iran and Ottoman government. His deputy in Kurdistan government

was Muhammad Khan-e Gorji (1113 H.). He was the governor general of the province Sina and Ardalan up to the year 1122 (H.) (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953) when Abbas Gholi Khan Bin Muhammad Khan Bin Khosrow Khan Bin Ardalan took control over the inherited estate.

Sometimes non-Ardalan governor generals preached Asna Ashari religion when they reached the province of Kurdistan, this was not welcomed by the local residents and it often caused people to fight against non-Kurdish governor generals. This process compelled the central government to re-assign a local ruler for the province of Sina and Ardalan.

4. Political Conditions of Iran and Kurdistan on the Threshold of Nader's Arrival

During the last years of Safaviyeh and Afghans' governorship in Iran, Ali-Gholi Khan, Sohrab Soltan's son from Shakhleh, was governing over the province of Kurdistan righteously (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953). He was also responsible for fight against Afghans when they had occupied Iran. In that war, Abbas Gholi Khan was the commander in chief. However, since Afghans had conquered a lot of castles and lands, Kurds' attempts were unfruitful.

When Safaviyeh government was faced with downfall and Afghans conquered Iran, Ottoman king Kaljaji (1135 H.) tried to take advantage of the chaotic condition of Iran. Therefore, he encouraged the local rulers to conquer western regions of Iran. They succeeded in occupying the provinces of Ardalan and Kermanshahan. Occupation of Sina and Ardalan was done by Baban kings (1136 H.). Nader's absolute victory in 1142 H. put an end to their kingdom in the mentioned provinces (Mostafa Amin, 2005). The author of Seyr-Al-Akrad (Babani, 1998) describes Ardalan rulers in the time of Afghans' occupation like this: due to the disorganization existed in Safaviyeh affairs and also Afghans' occupation, the king was the most powerful individual.

What is remarkable in the time of Ottomans' conquering is that Ottoman army released Hamadan captives and sent them to Ottoman through Ardalan road. These captives were freed following Mala Abdulkarim Ghazi's plea, a Kurdish famous man. This kind of intermediary proves the existence of good relationship between Sunni and Shi'ite Iranians (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953; Babani, 1998; Sanandaji, 1996 ; Gazi, 2000).

According to Ali-Akbar Vaghaye' Negar -- a Kurdish chronologist -- Baban Khaneh king and his army decided to conquer Kurdistan and succeeded in occupying Marivan (Vagayeh Negare Kurdistani, 1985). Lacking a central government, people of the province of Ardalan found that their

safety and continuation of life are bound with obeying Baban king; therefore, they surged to welcome and obey him. However, considering Iran occupied by Afghans, the reality was that Ardaan rulers had no other choices except for superficial submission. In fact, this claim that none of Kurdish regions were under the control of Iran in that time is not preposterous.

Occupation of Sina and Ardalán by Ottomanis was not permanent. Nader Gholi Afshar's arrival was contemporary with the kingdom of Baban Khané king's son in Sanandaj (1142 H.). Following Ardalans' request, Nader attacked Baban ruler so he fled without fighting back. Since local people wanted Abbas Gholi Kahn to be their governor, Nader Shah-e Tahmasb preferred to assign him as the Kurdistan ruler once more. As a result, Ardalans revived (Mardokh, 2000; Rohani, 2003; Mastora Kurdistani, 1953).

That was how Iranian government and in fact Nader Shah-e Afshar re-throned Ardalán leaders and ended their 10-year distance from governorship. Thereafter, these changes resulted in Ardalán dynasty to ask the legitimation of their governorship from Iranian government and increase their loyalty and friendship towards Iranian central government. After Abbas Gholi Khan's death in 1142 (H.), his brother Sobhan Verdi Khan was assigned as the governor of the province of Kurdistan by the central government. Ardalán rulers who were assigned as the governors of the mentioned province by the central government in Afshariyeh period were as follow.

5. Sobhan Verdi Khan-e Ardalán

Sobhan Verdi Khan-e Ardalán was assigned by Nader Shah-e Afshar in 1142 H (Gazi, 2000; Mostafa Amin, 2005) He was an ascetic man. He tried hard to develop and repair the center of Kurdistan, i.e. Sanandaj, which was destroyed following Ottoman invasions. When Nader Shah assigned him and started to fight against Ottomanis in Azerbaijan, Khalid Pasha-e Baban took the chance to attack the province of Kurdistan (Gazi, 2000; Vagayeh Negare Kurdistani, 2002). Sobhan Verdi Khan who was not strong enough to fight back departed for Tehran and stayed there for 8 months until he could expel Khalid Pasha-e Baban and become the ruler of Kurdistan again.

After returning from Khorasan and taking back occupied regions by Ottomanis in 1145 H, Nader reassigned Sobhan Verdi Khan as the ruler of Kurdistan (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953; Gazi, 2000). Like Iranian kings, he ordered two of his close friends named Haji Mustafa Beig Ashtarani and Nazar Ali Beig to visit Sobhan Verdi Khan (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953).

This time, Sobhan Verdi Khan governed over the people of Kurdistan righteously. However, because of the poor conditions of the province due to Ottomanis' invasion, some of the residents complained against him to Nader. As a result, Nader assigned Mustafa Khan, Muhammad Khan Ardalán's son, to his place (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953; Mardokh, 2000; Sanandaji, 1996).

6. Mustafa Khan Ardalán

Mustafa Khan, Sobhan Verdi Khan's successor, was an impotent ruler. In his time, one of the rebellious Kurds named Mahmud Sarayi attacked Sanandaj. Instead of fighting back, Mustafa Khan escaped with him. In that time, Nader was busy conquering Baghdad in 1158 H; however, he had to go from Iraq to Fars due to Muhammad Khan Bloch's riot. After getting informed of Kurdistan events, he summoned Mustafa Khan and ordered him to be killed. Then he reassigned dethroned Sobhan Verdi Khan as the ruler of Kurdistan in 1149 H (Sanandaji, 1996; Mardokh, 2000).

7. Sobhan Verdi Khan in other Phases

Assigning Sobhan Verdi Khan as the ruler of Sina and Ardalán for the third time (Mostafa Amin). was accompanied with chaos and destruction of Sanandaj resulted from occupation of the city by Ottomanis. Kurdish regions which were attacked on and looted so often were in bad condition so that most residents of these regions had to immigrate. This condition forced the Ardalán ruler to give an oral account on the chaos situation and residents' poor condition to Nader Shah.

The third round of Sobhan Verdi Khan's governorship can be called the era of defining the relationship of the ruler of Kurdistan with the central government. At his departure to Shirvan (1149 H) and while meeting Sobhan Verdi Khan in the Sanandaj ruler's large hall, Nader told him: General, we are not here to usurp your place. Your hall is large, on one side we reign and the other side is your abode and you can govern there (Babani, 1998). This speech was the base of good relationships between Ardalán rulers and Nader Shah. There were always some Ardalán horsemen under Sobhan Verdi Khan and other rulers' order who performed their duty against enemies in Nader's wars.

In conquering India by Nader Shah (1154 H), Sobhan Verdi Khan's son, Khan Ahmad Khan along with some Kurdish horsemen, deans, and headmen like Allah Verdi Beig and Hussein Beig Mir Eskandari were in Nader's service (Gazi, 2000; Sanandaji, 1996). Khan Ahmad Khan's bravery in conquering India caused Nader to assign him as the ruler of Sina and Ardalán instead of his father (1158

H) (Sanandaji,1996;Babani, 1998). and nominate Sobhan Verdi Khan as a governmental general in his own court (Gazi,2002 ; Mastora Kurdistani, 1953).

8. Khan Ahmad Khan-e Ardalan

Khan Ahmad Khan's governorship period was associated with his fear of re-surrendering of the governorship of Sina and Ardalan to Sobhan Verdi Khan. Therefore, he tried to keep his position by sending gifts to Nader and encouraging people to complain about Sobhan Verdi Khan (Gazi,2000; Mastora Kurdistani,1953). None of these efforts; however, could prevent Shah from reassigning Sobhan Verdi Khan as the ruler of Sina and Ardalan. Kahn Ahmad Khan joined the commanders of Nader's army to show his fighting bravery in military expedition to Dagestan. At the same time, Sobhan Verdi Khan and Nader's expeditionary forces were dealing with repressing rebellious Balbases in occupied Kurdistan (Gazi, 2000 ; Mastora Kurdistani 1953). Although Sobhan Verdi Khan could prevent Balbases from killing and looting and made them pay taxes, soon he was dethroned by Nader and Khan Ahmad Khan became the ruler of Sina and Ardalan and Muhammad Gholi Beig was sent to the province as a deputy. By repetitive throning and dethroning of Sobhan Verdi Khan and Khan Ahmad Khan, Nader was after stabilizing his authority in the province of Sina and Ardalan in a peaceful way.

Khan Ahmad Khan's re-accession to the throne was associated with his attempt to keep the province and peasants. These attempts increased when Kurdish regions were faced with famine. Lack of food was so high that a lot of people become refugees to Kurdish regions like Shahrezur. in Ottomani Kurdistan. Most of their flocks and cattle were died of the severely cold winter (Gazi, 2000).

Khan Ahmad Khan distributed the stored food in governmental stores among the hungry in Sanandaj, which made Nader Shah angry because that food was the share of Azerbaijan's army (Mastora Kurdistani,1953; Ardalan, 1977). When Nader ordered to kill Khan Ahmad Khan, he escaped to Ottoman and was welcomed by Khalid Pasha-e Baban (Mastora Kurdistani,1953). Based on the previous enmity between Banan and Ardalan tribes, it can be suggested that hostility with Nader resulted in Khalid Pasha and Khan Ahmad Khan to become friends. Soon Soltan Mahmud Ottomani (1143 to 1168 H) decided to use Khan Ahmad Khan against his enemy Nader Shah Afshar (Gazi,2000), especially when some people of Sina and Ardalan escaped to Ottoman for fear of Nader.

Knowing about the famine in Kurdistan and preventing Khan Ahmad Khan from being a refugee to Ottoman, Nader Shah assigned Sobhan Verdi

Khan as the ruler of Sina and Ardalan once more, which caused the escaping families to return from Ottoman to Iran (Mastora Kurdistani,1953). In addition, Khan Ahmad Khan's martial attempts to occupy the western regions of Iran which were supported by Ottomani king were also fruitless. Finally, Ottomani king decided to compromise with Nader and assign Khan Ahmad Khan as the ruler of Ardaneh, a town under his control, so that he ended the frontier conflicts. About Khan Ahmad Khan's destiny, it is remarkable that he remained the ruler of Ardaneh all his life and after his death, his possessions were given to his heir in Sina and Ardalan by Baghdad' minister (Mastora Kurdistani,1953 ; Gazi, 2000).

Sobhan Verdi Khan's new governorship due to its simultaneity with relationship changes between Iran and Ottoman was important. Ottoman's policy of supporting governorship claimants in Iran aiming at aggravating riot in the country resulted in military conflicts between the two countries. In two separated military expedition, Nasser Allah Mirza and Nader Shah could defeat Abdullah Pasha and Yegin Pasha in Mussel and Morad Tapeh (1160 H). Afterwards, Nader had an unsuccessful military operation to conquer Baghdad. Needless to say, these events turned the western parts of the country especially Kurdish regions into the front line of war; therefore, resulted in direct and indirect unfavorable consequences.

During these changes, Sobhan Verdi Khan as usual proved his belief in territorial integrity and loyalty to the central government so that after Nader's futile military expedition to Baghdad he sent a mobilized troop under Hassan Ali Sultan and Muhammad Saeed Sultan's commandership to Nader's campaign which had been weak as a result failure (Mastora Kuristani, 1953).. Despite of his good relationships with the king, as a result of an unjust accusation their relationship became strained; therefore, Nader assigned Moli Verdi Khan-e Ghajar as the ruler of Kurdistan instead of him. Their relationship was not that much strained that caused Nader not to assign him as the ruler of Tehran (1158 H) (Mastora Kurdistani,1953; Gazi,2000). Moli Verdi Khan's inability to rule over Sina and Ardalan; however, proved that Sobhan Verdi Khan was the best option for that position. Therefore, the governorship of the province was assigned to him for the seventh time (1159 H). This time Sobhan Verdi Khan's governorship had special problems and difficulties because it was accompanying with Nader's change. Due to suspicion and misbehavior, Nader punished the smallest mistake severely. This manner of governing the country and financial penalties with no reason had turned into an

opinionated and callous king who everybody was scared of. Therefore, governing over the provinces in Nader's last years was not easy work. Anyway, governorship became most difficult for Sobhan Verdi Khan when Nader coerced him to fine some Kurdish and Afshari deans. Nader even sent an army consisted of 4000 Afghans to Sina and Ardalán to execute the order. After the accused men fled to Ottoman, there was this fear that the consequences of the king's severity could meet common people. Therefore, Sobhan Verdi Khan also preferred to seek protection in Ottoman Kurdistan. However, the news of Nader's murder by his commanders in Ghuchan (1160 H) changed the condition and following Sobhan Verdi Khan's negotiations the expeditionary Afghans left the province without any conflicts. In this way, not only immigration to Ottoman was called off but also those who had left the country before returned to Kurdistan. However, during the reign of Nader Shah, with its all positive and negative characteristics, the western regions of the country due to Ottomanis' meddling and conquest were more involved with military expeditions and conflicts than other regions, which would caused a lot of problems for the Kurdish residents of those regions especially Ardalans who played an important role in saving the territorial integrity of Iran. Nader's behavioral and characteristic changes resulted in a bundle of problems to them like all Iranians. At the same time, following the failure of the second round of Iran-Ottoman negotiations, western borders of country experienced Ottomanis' avarice and conquest, which caused the conflict of Zandiyeh and Ghajariyeh with Ottoman to prolong. Nader's murder was the beginning of chaos in the country.

8. Ardalans during the Reign of Nader's Successors

Throne claimants from Nader's dynasty and other military families felt to be as important as Nader started to fight over possessing the throne. Among these claimants, Ali Gholi Khan Nader's nephew is the first one to be mentioned who was the most loved by Nader (Marvi,1985). He attended most of Nader's wars and was assigned as the governor of Mashhad and commandership (Marvi,1985). During Nader's reign, he experienced suppressing Yazidi Kurds, or as the local people name them Satan Worshipers, who stole the local residents' possessions. About the aim of that military operation told Ali Gholi Khan and his army: eradicate that tribe off the world (Marvi,1985). According to some sources which do not seem to be free from exaggeration, Ali Gholi Khan took 30,000 people of the tribe as captives and reestablished peace in the region.

Anyway, in last days of his life and due to his suspicion, Nader blinded Ali Gholi Khan then decided to kill him; however, before he could murder him, he was assassinated. Then Ali Gholi Khan took the Harat road and reached Mashhad, he claimed the throne there, and minted money under the name of Ali Shah (Nami,1938). He acceded to the throne officially on Jamadi-Al-Sani 27th, 1160 H (Golestaneh, 1782). During his reign, Ali Shah could not establish any relationships with Kurds because his reign spell was too short to have time to pay attention to the western regions of the country, especially due to his residence in Mashhad caused him to be afar from western and Kurdish regions and Ardalán province. Therefore, Ali Shah's period was the beginning of conflicts among governorship claimants in Kurdish regions and Ardalán.

In the start of his career, Ali Shah assigned his brother Ibrahim Khan, who repressed Azerbaijan rebels and non-Arab Iraqis in Nader's time, as the ruler of central, southwestern, and western regions. Therefore, governorship of Kurdish regions and Ardalán province was given to Ibrahim Khan who had the authority to throne and dethrone the governor generals of Kermanshahan and Ardalán and supervise affairs of those regions. Due to the last events of Nader's period, at first Ali Shah's reign was apparently welcomed by Kurds because Sobhan Verdi Khan joined Ibrahim Khan's camp. However, due to the disobedience of Sobhan Verdi Khan's son of Nader's orders, Ibrahim Khan assigned Hassan Ali Khan as the governor of Sina and Ardalán (Mastora Kurdistan,1953; Ardalán, 1977;Sanandaji, 1996 ;Golestaneh, 1782). Meanwhile, Hussein Khan Zanganeh had started a sever uproar against Ali Shah.

After stabilizing in Sanandaj, although Hassan Ali Ardalán attempted to develop the province and attract people's attention, soon he was faced with the disobedience of Sobhan Verdi Khan's advocates, who had influence on the local tribes. Two of the military commanders named Ja'far Sultan and Muhammad Ali Sultan-e Baneh. went to Sanandaj and assigned Sobhan Verdi Khan as the governor. But Ibrahim Khan dethroned him in a short while. Afterwards, Sobhan Verdi Khan who had been the governor of Sina and Ardalán for nine times immigrated to Hamadan with his family and after five years died there (1166 H). His body was buried in Sheida Mountain in Sanandaj (Ardalán, 1977 ;Mastora kurdistani, 1953).

Dethroning of Sobhan Verdi Khan does not restore peace in Sina and Ardalán because near the end of 1160 H and after getting united with Hussein Gholi Khan-e Zanganeh and occupying Kermanshah, Ibrahim Khan claimed the reign. The conflict between Nader's relatives and lack of a potent

government in the country paved the way for claimants of government in Sina and Ardalán. Taking advantage of the existing conditions of the country, Hassan Ali Khan collected more than 10,000 martial Kurds and invaded Sina and Ardalán and other neighboring regions. At the same time, Ali Shah and Ibrahim Khan fought against each other in the western regions (Golestaneh, 1782). Ibrahim Khan who used Kermanshah castle could made Kurds of Kurdistan province join him. Undoubtedly, Azerbaijani Kurds and forces also joined him. Therefore, most Kurdish regions like Ardalán province accompanied Ibrahim Khan against Ali Shah. Finally, Ibrahim Khan acceded to the throne officially by defeating and imprisoning Ali Shah.

Ibrahim Khan's reign which was fulfilled by support of the west tribes of Iran especially Kurds was accompanied with a promotion in Kurds' position. He assigned Hussein Khan-e Zanganeh and Hassan Ali Khan-e Ardalán as the governors of Kermanshahan and Sina and Ardalán provinces, respectively.

However, internal competition between Nader's relatives changed the conditions in the west of the country. Ibrahim Khan's victory still had Kurd tribes' support. Shahrokh Khan Mirza's – Nader's grandson in the east – army resulted in Ibrahim Khan's weakness (1161 H). The local reaction to this event provoked claimants in Kurdish regions. Following Imam Gholi Khan Zanganeh's reactions, Hassan Khan Ardalán collected an army consisted of local clans in Sina and Ardalán. At the same time, the competition between Nader's relatives ended up in Ibrahim Khan's murder by Shahrokh who acceded to Afshariyeh throne in Mashhad in 1163 H. (Nami, 1938; Golestaneh, 1782). While Shahrokh Mirza and Ibrahim Khan were fighting, in Kurdish regions Imam Gholi Khan-e Zanganeh and other officials of Kermanshahan got into conflict, which finally ended up in Hassan Ali Khan-e Ardalán's military intervention in Kermanshahan. Therefore, national chaos and competition between Nader's relatives and government claimants gave the ruler of Sina and Ardalán this chance to not only act independently in his region but also expand his territory by interfering in neighboring regions.

Hassan Ali Khan's increased authority and ambition soon resulted in negative consequences for himself and the country. His ignorance about Baghdad minister's pleas for not supporting Suleiman Pasha – the dethroned ruler of Baban – turned Kurdistan into a battlefield for expeditionary forces of Baghdad which included Ottomani Kurds. Therefore, Salim Pasha – the new governor of Baban – attacked Kurdistan. Hassan Ali Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan's – the ruler of Gurus –

forces were defeated by Ottomani's although they fought bravely. Therefore, Sannadaj was occupied by Ottomani forces and Hassan Ali Khan was made to escape to the winters. Ottomani invaders did not content with killing and looting they also made Kurdish deans to immigrate to Ottomani Kurdish regions like Suleimaniyeh, Koi, and Harir.

Hassan Ali Khan Ardalán's last defeat was a good chance for his local and non-Kurdish opponents. Considering Hassan Ali Khan Ardalán's weakness, not only some of his commanders like Ibrahim Beig became his opponents and joined the invaders to resign him but also Zandiyeh dynasty along with numerous Zanganeh tribes and Kermanshahani clans departed to Kurdistan province in order to compensate for their past defeat. Due to fruitlessness of negotiations between Hassan Ali Khan's deputies and Karim Khan Zand, Sanandaj was occupied by Karim Khan Zand's forces. In Hassan Ali Khan's absence – who sought protection in Gharatureh castle in Gurus – conquerors embarked upon destroying Sanandaj and looting the residents. Karim Khan left the region although his expeditionary forces under Sheikh Ali Khan Zanganeh's commandership could not conquer Gharatureh Castle. Therefore, Hassan Ali Khan found the chance to seek help from Azad Khan who was a government claimant. Despite of his governmental records, Azad Khan delivered Hassan Ali Khan to the king of Baban. After his possessions were taken, Hassan Ali Khan was killed in Shahrezur (1167 H). Hassan Ali Khan's assassination could not restore peace in Sina and Ardalán either. Azad Khan's last action to assign Salim Pasha-e Baban as the ruler of the province of Sina and Ardalán received no reaction except for the residents' uproar and expelling the new ruler. This event once more proved that Kurdistan people do not accept a non-local ruler. Therefore, Salim Pasha's successor in Baban gave the governorship of Sina and Ardalán to Karim Khan Ardalán (Abbas Gholi's son) although there was no central government to control the governorship affairs. As a result, Ottomani Baban rulers' governorship in Iranian Kurdistan lasted less than one year. Karim Khan-e Ardalán was not an able ruler. He talked about lack of policy in Kurdistan. Kurdistan had been faced with famine, political inconsistency, and war and its affairs were disorganized. The affairs of the province were so disorganized that Karim Khan Zand took the chance to attack Kurdistan (Mastora Kurdistani, 1953; Ardalán, 1977). However, he returned to his residence because he found it destroyed (Rohani, 2003). Staying in Kurdistan could have resulted in conflict in Ottomani's new front, which Karim Khan Zand was not able to handle, especially considering

the existence of potent rivals like Ali Morad Khan-e Bakhtiyari. Negative consequences of political inconsistency, Ottomanis' interference, and disorganized affairs of Sina and Ardalans were clear to informed individuals of the province. Therefore, solving the crisis in Kurdistan was these individuals' aim. For instance, Khosrow Khan, Sobhan Verdi Khan-e Ardalans' grandson, who had joined to Muhammad Hassan Khan-e Ghajar's advocates attempted to encourage Muhammad Hassan Khan to conquer Sina and Ardalans by explaining negative consequences of Ottomanis' interference in Kurdistan and Iran. This conquest could result in his assignment as the ruler of the province. Muhammad Hassan Khan accepted his explanations and agreed to conquer the province. According to most Kurdish historians, Muhammad Hassan Khan-e Ghajar said: you may not know Muhammad Hassan Khan, how is it possible that I forget your services to me and leave your province to the enemy, be sure that Kurdistan is yours and you will be its ruler (Sanandaji, 1996 ; Ardalans, 1977). Therefore, Khosrow Khan who later became famous for "Bozorg" received the governorship of Kurdistan in 1168 H from Muhammad Hassan Khan-e Ghajar who conquered Azerbaijan, Mazandaran, and Iraq in that time (Mastora Kurdistan, 1953). However, Kurdistan and the province of Ardalans should take a long path to reach peace.

9. Conclusion

According to what was mentioned in this article, it can be concluded that social, cultural, and economical structure of Kurdish regions especially in the province of Ardalans is one of the most important factors affecting political behavior, actions, and reactions of the politicians in the region. In the mentioned period, tribal discipline created a special type of policy in Kurdish regions. This kind of policy within the local scope rotated around exiles like alliance and competition between Kurdish tribes. Within the country scope, the alliance was based on local and central political structures and used against the enemies of both sides. However, this policy taken by the deans of the tribes was aimed at special profits and goals. In the mentioned period, the discussion was about the policy of Ardalans tribes in the central part of Kurdish regions which dealt with Balbas tribe. These two tribes were always busy competing and fighting against each other. In that time, because Jaf tribe was weakened, Ardalans in the province of "Sina and Ardalans" gained strength. The result was that there were tribal armed conflicts over land, power, and fame between Ardalans and Zanganahs.

Another exile around which the political conditions of the region were rotation was

competition and cooperation between local Kurdish rulers like Ardalans and central government in the period of political agitation and disorganization caused by Afghans' 7-year reign over Iran and occupation of Kurdish regions by Ottomanis. Lack of a potent government in Iran caused different behaviors in Kurdish regions and tribes. In absence of the central government, Ardalans rulers had no options rather than Ottomanis' submission.

Nader's arrival and renewal of the central government which brought about victory over Ottomanis and freedom of Kurdish regions were supported and welcomed by Ardalans rulers. Although Ardalans had to obey Nader, they surged to help Nader in expelling Ottomanis and they tried to expand the political life of Iran. Nader's response to these endeavors was that he let this dynasty continue their governorship life. This policy established a good relationship between Ardalans and the center. In this period, although Ardalans had some behaviors suggesting their dissatisfaction, this kind of behavior was transient and had roots in cruelty and injustice befalling all regions of Iran. Although at the beginning of Nader's reign there was a good relationship between him and Sobhan Verdi Khan, Nader's Behavioral changes and his strictness in last years of his life forced Sobhan Verdi Khan to escape to Ottoman. Despite of this, Nader's death discouraged him from leaving Iran. Ardalans ruler's last decision shows his loyalty to Iran and his opposition to Ottoman.

Although there were good relationships, sometimes Ardalans rulers' relationships with the center became strained. These bad relationships were at the time of disorganization in Nader's last years of life and competition of his relatives over the throne. After Nader's death, Khan Ahmad Khan-e Ardalans' fights and his escape to Ottoman and expelling of governmental forces by Ardalans ruler Sobhan Verdi Khan were some responses to Nader's financial strictness with the people of Kurdistan province. Dethroning of the local rulers like Sobhan Verdi Khan in Nader's period was the result of bad relationships between the central government and Kurdish local rulers.

What is most remarkable is that ethnical and religious differences had a secondary role in all these conflicts. Through Nader's religious negligence, the issue of disobedience as a result of ethnical and religious differences vanished. Due to the silence of existing sources about the motives of tribe members for supporting rebellious rulers, it is not unlikely that this type of support takes its roots from inter-tribal relationships and principles and family concepts.

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