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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Ibn Khaldun's Theory of the 'Asabiyya' and the Tribal Politics of Trade in Fars and Kerman Provinces

(656-817 AH /1258-1414 AD)

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### Abstract

The Mongol conquest of the Khwārazm-Shāhs (490-628/1097-1231) was primarily motivated by controlling the central trade routes including the silk roads for the flow of wealth and commerce from the China Sea to the Mediterranean. A generation after Chinggis Khān (c. 1162-1227), with direct orders from Möngke Qā'ān and armed with the special forces of Chinggis, Hulegu Khān was appointed to oversee the western fringes of the Mongol controlled territories. While Hulegu managed to defeat the Ismā'ilis and move on to overthrow the 'Abbāsids and conquer Baghdād (656/1258), he was opposed by Berke Khān, the Muslim Commander, whose forces under Negüder Noyān fled to the eastern provinces under the dominion of the Il-Khāns. Apparently, they joined forces with Qara'unās, vanguard of the Mongol forces on the borders of India and thus became a source of instability for the commercial routes in Kerman and Fars provinces. During the rule of the Mongol Il-Khans, Arghūn Khān was dispatched by the Central Mongols to Jiroft to protect the trade routes of the Oghān and Jermān. However, gradually from mid-8<sup>th</sup> century onwards the dispatched units for the purpose of ensuring security turned into rebellious self-serving groups, whether it was the Āl-e Mūzzafar or the Āl-e Īnju. In due time however, they were absorbed into the new formidable forces of the Timurids. This study seeks to examine Ibn Khaldun's theory of the 'Asabiyya, as it applies to human society ('Umrān). From Ibn Khaldun's perspective, society is an organic whole guided by the 'Asabiyya (social cohesion). Nomadic and sedentary communities, compete for land, power and wealth, thus creating a cyclical system that leads to the rise and fall of civilizations. It is the purpose of the study to examine how this particularly chaotic period corresponds with Ibn Khaldun's theory of 'Asabiyya.

**Keywords:** Fars, Kerman, Qara'unās, Oghānī and Jermānī tribes, Timurids, Ibn Khaldun, 'Asabiyya. 'Umrān.

## Introduction

From the invasion of the Mongols to the domination of the Qājārs, nomadic lifestyles have dominated the Iranian plateau. Thus, the most powerful tribes potentially constituted the foundation of all governments, though some of them did not succumb to the existing regulations. The Qara'unās, as a centrifugal force operated like a semi buffer state between the Il-khāns and Chagatāyid frontiers. The tribe was a mixed group of Mongols on the frontiers of India. Ögedei Qā'ān (626-39/1229–41) first dispatched Mongol Tammāchī troops to garrison the area of Afghanistan facing the sultanate of Delhi in Hindustan. Each branch of the imperial family sent non-Chinggisid commanders of their own entourage. Thus, Chaghatāy sent Dāyir Ba'atur, and Bātu sent Negüder. Ögedei and his successors gave command of these two Tammāchī Tümens to two Toluīd Noyāns, first Möngetü Sa'ur of the Besüd, and then Sālī of the Tātārs, with campgrounds in Tāloqān and Qonduz (northeastern Afghanistan), military campaigns against Hindustan and Kashmir. When Möngeke Qā'ān (648-56/1251-59) dispatched his brother Hulegu to Iran, he ordered Sālī and his units to serve Hulegu. By 1261, however, Negüder Noyān, acting on the orders of Bātu's brother Berke (655-64/1257–66), was opposing Hulegu in Seistān. The next year Berke's partisans in Hulegu's entourage escaped east to Ghaznin, where they merged with Negüder's troops. From the onset of the Il-khāns period, Negüderi bandits looted the land trade routes between Kerman and Fars provinces and when cities of Nahrān and Kongān, in the western route to India were sacked, the economic life between the two was disrupted. Between 674/1275 to 678/1278, Negüderis resumed their pillage on Kerman and Makran. In fact, they were regarded as the most important obstacle among the central regions of Iran and India, especially in the crossroads through Seistān and Tiz entrepot. In 676/1277 the Negüderis attacked Hormuz and plundered merchant properties, especially Turkmānī horses and other commodities. Hence, Malik Mahmud Qalhāti united with Mūzzafar al-Din the Qarā khitāyids governor to push them out of Kerman. These factors instigated the new governor, Jalāl al-Din Siyurghatmīsh, to call for order in these regions since he had acquired Kerman on the basis of a contract for which he must have paid 600,000 dinars to Arghūn Khān's treasury. Before this period the Jiroft region benefited from the commercial land routes of two-branches that met at Manujān, one path led to Hormuz and the other to Tiz. At the end of the Khārazmshāhs, insecurity in the Tiz to Jiroft route induced the rising Banū Qeysar at Kish to become rivals of Hormuz and this eventually diminished the importance of Tiz (See. Fig. 2). Moreover, disturbances in the Shabānkāra region, where Buluk's amīrs and its governors held their differences, caused significant commercial disruptions in Yazd. All in all, these factors collapsed the prosperity of commerce in the two provinces, thus disrupting the balance of power and trade.

This investigation sets out to portray group solidarity within the central government as a source of strength, and to examine how the decline of the central state could have transformed it into a system dominated by centrifugal forces. In addition, the authors attempt to depict the consequences of the Oghān and Jermān residence in Jiroft and to survey the developments of

the Shabānkāra on the Halilrood Basin's economy from 7<sup>th</sup>/ 13<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century. The study is centered on an important theory, that of Ibn Khaldun (732-808/1332-1406), the great North African historian and sociologist who in his *Muqaddamah* (1390:251-54) provides a cyclical theory of the rise and fall of civilizations based on the 'Asabiyya which hence relates to "social cohesion" and "group solidarity." The 'Asabiyya is a source of unity and political power (Ibid:292). In short, Ibn Khaldun provides us with a cyclical theory of civilization, in which civilizations rise and fall through the social fabric of the 'Asabiyya, regardless of tribal and/or sedentary formations. Since Ibn Khaldun, modern scholars have also presented similar concepts of kinship and tribes. Rudi Paul Lindner, in a more recent study mentions "the nature of the steppe tribes in their heyday. The glue cementing the tribesmen together was their common interest: pasture, plunder the need to survive, the desire to expand. The strength of that glue determined whether the tribe would grow or decay" (Linder: 710).

According to Ibn Khaldun, man is at the center of the world. His presence is widely influenced by geography, tribe and clan (Rosenthal, 1967: x). Referred to as 'umrān or civilization, societies and centers of populations grow and thrive. However, what makes civilizations rise, decline and fall is the cycle of 'Asabiyya, "solidarity, group feeling and group consciousness." (Ibid. xi). Blood ties of clans and tribes bind people together. In the historical process groups are also bound by close association and contact among members of the community. At the core of society is the 'Asabiyya that brings tribes together, and leaderships form and dynasties rise. A dynasty requires larger cities and towns that makes the development of luxury and opulence possible. Ibn Khaldun's bias towards luxury, however, carries with it the seeds of dynastic decay and disintegration (Ibid.). Human Opulence and greed are the essential cause of the fall of civilizations. Ibn Khaldun's cycle of civilization is presented in five stages. The first is tribal and cohesion, which is based on unity and the 'Asabiyya. Tribal solidarity gradually leads to the second stage of development, that of the State, with its central authority, sedentary and simple lifestyle and its emerging system of taxation. Consolidation and centralization of power brings with it the third stage of development, that of urban growth, prosperity and expansion. Luxury and opulence follow next. This, according to Ibn Khaldun, is the beginning of decline and collapse. Corruption, and high taxes eventually leads to decline of the 'Asabiyya and eventual collapse. The fifth and final stage is the fall of dynasties leading to the emergence of new tribes with a stronger 'Asabiyya. According to Ibn Khaldun this cycle of civilization continues to repeat itself throughout history. This paper seeks to trace the tribal power structure and examine Ibn Khaldun's theory of the 'Asabiyya as it relates to local, regional, extended and outreach formations in the Fars and Kerman provinces during the period under study.

### **The Il-khān period: Hazārās of Oghān and Jermān from Garrison to Rebel Faction**

The necessity of establishing security across a vast territory, which was constantly raided by recalcitrant tribes, compelled the Il-khan to request that the central Mongol government in Qarā Qorum dispatch a loyal force to protect the trade routes. Following the arrival of Oghān and

Jermān in Kerman, they resided in the plains of Bāft as the summer residence and in the highly segmented mountainous topography of the Jiroft region as the winter pastureland. While there, they gained the two high strongholds of Suleimānī and Samurān which previously belonged to Ismā'ilīs (Kotubi, 1364:51; Āyati, 1383: 202). In the earliest years, they could put down disturbing enterprises in the basin of Halilrood. In 696/1297, under the leadership of Timūr Buqā, they participated in the suppression of Mahmud Shāh b. Soltān Ḥajjāj who had revolted against his brother Mohammad. Eventually Oghānī and Jermānī forces besieged the Kerman castle and Mahmud Shāh was captured following two months of resistance (Monshi Kermāni, 1362: 95; Vassāf al-Hazra–ye Shirāzī, 1338: 428). Concurrent with Ghāzān Khān's campaign against Mamluks in 697/1298, Qutlughkhwāja, son of Du'ā dispatched his commanders with 10,000 warriors to Kerman and Fars. As soon as receiving 2000 troops at Tang-i Bījan (between Jiroft and Bam) Timūr Buqā marched against them and in a bloody strife the Qarai'unās were defeated and fled while losing nearly 300 men in the process. By inquiry from the captives, Tmūr Buqā became aware of a greater group of Chaghatāyids en route crossing Bāft to Fars. After marching for three days from Jiroft to Bāft, Oghān and Jermān forces in an unequal confrontation with Chaghatāyids, Tmūr Buqā lost the battle. Hence, in Jamadi II 699/March 1300, Qara'unās moved to Shabānkāra and Fars (Shimo, 1977: 160-61; Āyati, 1383: 202-203; See Figures 1-2). According to Vassāf, "within two months they took with them so many cattle, sheep, camels and horses that each became a shepherd (herd owner)," (Āyati, 1383: 203). This was the last episode of the Chaghatāyids assault from Kerman.

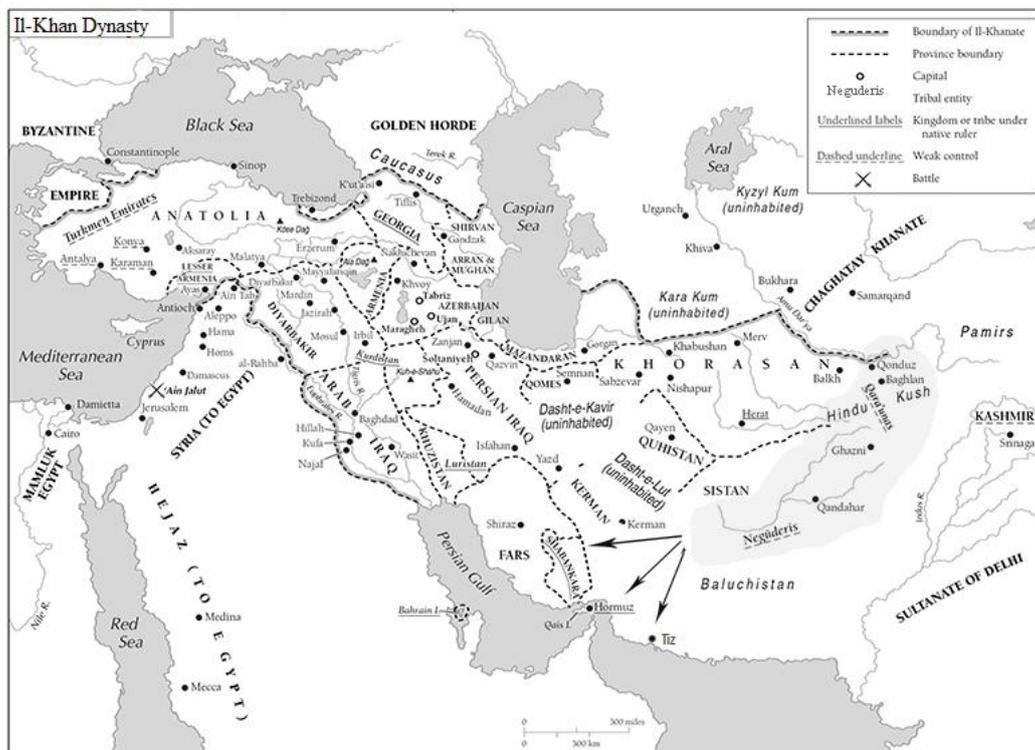


Figure 1: Negüderis and Chaghatāyids as eastern neighbors of the Ilkhān dynasty

Source: Atwood, 2004, p. 232

During the reign of Öldjeytü, the last ruler of the Qarā khitāyids of Kerman, Shāh Jahān was deposed and Nāser al-Din Borhān Ghurī gained power in Kerman. It seems, at the time, Oghān and Jermān were engaged in protecting the commercial routes. With the decline of Borhān Ghurī, Sultan Abu Sa'id appointed Borhān's son, Qutb al-Din Nikruz, former steward of Mohammad Shāh, as the next Īnju governor in Kermān (Vaziri Kermani, 1340: 176). However, he ruled in Kerman until it was captured by Mobārez al-Dīn Muḥammad in 741 (Khāndmir, 1363:3/279).

### **Disturbances in the rule of the Shabānkāra**

To survey the economic life in the Halilrood Basin, understanding the political events in the Shabānkāra is necessary. In this regard, one should pay attention to some aspects of the power relations in the region which impacted commerce and the silk road: 1) rivalry between the Mongol Khāns to take power in extensive dimensions 2) competition among the tribe leaders to maintain their penetration 3) conflicts between rulers and Buluk's amīrs 4) civil strife among the members of the ruling houses. During the Il-khāns dynasty from the reign of Ābāqa, amīr Sīsī Noyān who conducted a part of the karā'it tribe, gained emirate in Shabānkāra (Natanzi, 1336:6). His financial abuses provoked Jalāl al-Din Tayyīb Shāh to engage against him. Worried about disclosing his secret, amīr Sīsī decided to wipe him out in a conspiracy, and it was time that Arghūn managed to overthrow Tekudār in 683/1284. Thus, amīr Sīsī who had fled to Khurāsān in Arghūn's apanage for fear of punishment, interfered in Bahā' al-Din Ismā'il's appointment in Shabānkāra (Kheirandish, 1395: 112; Aigle, 2024:145). However, Bahā' al-Din Ismā'il finally succeeded to overcome his brother, Mūzzafar al-Din Muhammad in the battle of Fostjān and Sīsī Noyān settled a squad of the Mongol forces in Shabānkāra. Although these developments partly altered the circumstances and the established order, the presence of the Mongol army deteriorated the economic conditions and severely disrupted trade along commercial routes (Natanzi, 1336:7).

In 690/1291 by the decree of Ghaykhātu, sons of Ghutb al-Din Mobārez - Nāser al-Din Mahmud and Seyf al-Din Hezārasf - were entrusted with the administration of Shabānkāra, under the supervision of Sadr al-Din Taghāchār, who served as the Īnju governor throughout the Il-khāns realm. During this period, economic life in Fars deteriorated by the oppressive practices of the tax collectors. Consequently, Arghūn ordered that money be distributed among the poor in the province. However, this factor shows that despite efforts to establish order and justice, many groups remained discontent and revolted against the brothers. Hence, the rioters assassinated Nāser al-Din Mahmud in Sha'ban 692/July 1293 while his brother Seyf al-Din was poisoned in a designed plot three months earlier. At that time potentates of Shabānkāra elected Ghiyāth al-Din Muhammad b. Jalāl al-Din Tayyīb Shāh as their governor. The central government in the Tabriz court reacted to these events and sent Yasver Buqā to Shabānkāra where he could subdue centrifugal forces and restore order in the region (Ibid:7-8).

Table 1: Rulers and the Buluk's Amir of the Shabānkāra under the Ilkhān dynasty

Source: Natanzi, 1336:6-7,12; Shabānkāra'i, 1363:171-78.

Khans	Rulers of Shabānkāra	Year (A.H/A.D)	Buluk's Amir	Year (A.H/A.D)
Hulegu	Qutb al-Din Mobārez	658/1260	Enkianu?	660?-67/1262?-
	Nezām al-Din Hasan	659/1261	Soghunjāq of Sulduz	69
	Nosrat al-Din Ibrāhim	664/1266	Sīsī of karā'it	
Ābāqā	Jalāl al-Din Tayyib Shah	665-80/1267-82	Sīsī of karā'it	667-
Tekudār	Muzzafaral-Din Muhammad	680-84/1282-85		690?/1269?-91
Arghūn	Baha' al-Din Isma'il	684-90/1285-91		
Ghaykhatu	Naser al-Din Mahmud	690-92/1291-93	Taghāchār	-----
Bāydu	Seyf al-Din Hezārasf	690-92/1291-93	Yasver Buqā?	-----
Ghāzān	Ghiyāth al-Din Muhammad	694-711/1295-	Nowruz of Oyrāt	694-96/1295-97
Öldjeytü	Nizam al-Din Hasan	1312; 712/1313	Savinj of karā'it	697-717/1298-1317
	Nosat al-Din Ibrāhim	713-16/1314-17		
Abu Sa'id	Nosat al-Din Ibrāhim	716-17/1317-18	Savinj	717/1317
	Nezām al-Din Hasan	718-23/1319-24	Qutātmish grandson of	717-18/1318
	Taj al-Din Jamshid	724/1325	Sīsī Noyan of kara'it	
	Nezām al-Din Hasan	725/1326	Dameshq Khaja b.	719-28/1319-28
	Rokn al-Din Hasan	726-35/1326-35	Chupān	
	Taj al-Din Jamshid	739-42/1339-42	Mahmud Shāh Īnju 'Ali Pādeshāh of Oyrāt	729-36/1329-36

However, these regulations took a different turn when Ghāzān Khān granted the emirate of Shabānkāra to Nowruz and appointed Ghiyāth al-Din Muhammad as its ruler. In fact, Nowruz, from the Oyrāt tribe and serving as the king's vizier, sidelined his rivals and attempted to restore order to the commercial system. Following Ghāzān mistrust and rage towards Nowruz in 696/1297, Shabānkāra was returned to Savīnj b. Sīsī and later his son, Qutātmīsh who dominated over the region until the death of Öldjeytü's rule in 716/1317. His successor Abu Sa'id bestowed Shabānkāra to Dameshq Khāja b. Chupān but when he and his father were killed by order of the Sultan in 725/1325, the region came under the control of Mahmud Shāh Īnju and subsequently to 'Ali Pādīshāh, uncle of Abu Sa'id, a commander of Oyrāt tribe who took control until the end of the Il-Khans dynasty (Shabankara'i, 1363: 178-79). These factors and continuous changes in the ruling houses prevented the creation of stable conditions for prosperous trade from Abarqu (Abarkooh), Forg and Tārum to Hormuz (See fig. 2).

### Mūzaffarid-Īnju rivalry and tribal Alliances

At the end of the Il-khāns yoke, simultaneously with the appointment of Mahmud Shāh Īnju in Fars, Mobārez al-Din Muhammad son of Shraf al-Din Mūzaffar was the ruler in Yazd. A few years before the death of Abu Sa'id, Mahmud Shāh Īnju was deposed and later slain by Ārpā, the succeeding Il-khān. Consequently, his sons, Mas'ud Shāh and Sheikh Abu Ishāq, sought refuge in Baghdād and Anatolia, where the Oyrāt and Jalāyirid amīrs had assumed control.

However, when 'Ali Pādishāh, governor of Dīyār Bakr, defeated Ārpā in 736/1335, sons of Mahmud Shāh Īnju returned to Fars. The other brothers- Ghiyāth al-Din Keykhosrow and Shams al-Din Muhammad-opposed them; however, the former died shortly in prison following the conspiracy of Mas'ud Shāh's vizier, and the latter was killed by Pīr Hussein Chupānī, who had seized Fars between 740-42/1339-41. Meanwhile the Chupānid governor granted Isfahan and Kerman to Sheikh Abu Ishāq and Mobārez al-Din Muhammad respectively (Kotubi, 1364:43, 47; Ja'fari, 1343:146; Aigle, 2024:101). Several years later, these conditions escalated into a complex situation, in which Sheikh Abu Ishāq deceived Malik Ashraf, cousin of Pīr Hussein, entered Shiraz ahead of him and closed the city gates, despite their earlier unanimous decision to capture the city together. Following this action, Malik Ashraf allied with Yāghī Bāsti, another Chupānid, and decided to plunder the Abarqu route leading to Shiraz. However, by the assassination of Sheikh Hassan b. Timurtāsh in Tabriz on 27 Rajab 744, Chupānids left Fars to gain suzerainty in Azerbaijān.

With an end to the Chupānid domination, Sheikh Abu Ishāq intended to dominate over commercial routes passing through the regions of Kerman and Shabānkāra. In response, Mobārez al-Din Muhammad aimed to incorporate Abarqu and Shabānkāra into his own holdings. As a first step, he annexed Bam due to its close ties with the Tiz entrepôt (Kotubi, 1364:46, 49; Kheirandish, 1395: 180; Aigle, 2024: 101). Subsequently, he suppressed a group of 'Arabs who were led by Hasan Foolād in Marvast, Sahn Rudān, Rafsanjān and Shahr-e Bābak (Kotubi, 1364:46). Thus, from 744/1343 to 753/1352, Sheikh Abu Ishāq primarily sought to push back Mūzaffarid frontiers of Fars and Isfahan. Among the allies who supported Sheikh Abu Ishāq in these struggles were the Shulī nomads (Kurds), a contingent of Karā'it tribal forces led by Abu Bakr b. Akranj, the Hazāra of Shādi, the Banū 'Obādeh, and the Foolādi Arabs (Hāfez Abru, 1380: 1/267, 280; Shabankara'i, 1363: 316). In his conflict with Sheikh Abu Ishāq, Mobārez al-Din Muhammad formed an alliance with the Hazāras of Chākū and Buqāchi, the Qandhāri Tomāns, and the Nowruzi Negūderis. (Samarqandi, 1383: 1/260; Hāfez Abru, 1380: 1/384; Boyle, 1963: 240). Settling along caravan routes, Oghān and Jermān tribes played a pivotal role from Kerman to Manujān. They constantly unified with these two pretenders depending upon their privileges. In 748/1347 Shams al-Din Sā'in vizier of Sheikh Abu Ishāq by collecting taxes of Hormuz could tempt the Oghāni tribe to collaborate in his next plan of seizing Kerman but Mobārez al-Din Mohammad defeated the invaders, and the vizier was slain in the battlefield (Kotubi, 1364:51). In response to this intrigue Mobārez al-Din Muhammad came to Jiroft and plundered the Oghāni tribe and put to death many of their generals such as Dulatshāh. Furthermore, owing to obedience, he elevated the status of Jermāni tribe above that of the Oghān. In the following year, after a series of caravan raids along the route from Jiroft to Yazd, both the Oghān and Jermān tribes were accused of collaborating with the looters. As a result, Mobārez al-Din Muhammad marched against the Oghān tribe and clashed with them in the plains of Khāvan just outside Jiroft. In the ensuing battle which

followed, 800 warriors of the Mūzaffarids lost their lives and Mobārez al-Din barely escaped from the fiasco (Ibid: 51-52).

Unlike the compromise of 749/1348, Sheikh Abu Ishāq tried to connect with Oghāni leaders and helped them secretly, but Mobārez al-Din Muhammad was informed of the intrigue by his spy, Hāji Deylam, at the court in Shiraz. Whereas Sheikh Abu Ishāq was decisive to assist Oghān and Jermān in their struggles against the Mūzaffarids, Soltānshāh Jāndār, commander of the Shirazi army after disloyally collecting the Hormuz tax took refuge among the Mūzaffarids. According to Hāfez Abru, a contemporary historian, "I heard from Soltānshāh Jāndār that he said that if there were tidy horses on the other side, I would never wear this unfaithfulness on my name, and if property came to me, I would not think of malice at all" (Hāfez Abru, 1380: 1/314). Because of subduing Āy Timūr, governor of Isfahan to Mobārez al-Din, Chupānids and Mūzaffarids were tempted to besiege Isfahan. In these circumstances, Oghān and Jermān who were entourages of Mobārez al-Din revolted. Hence, he punished them and killed their leader, Sheikh ‘Ali Ulāgh but a squad of Oghān commanded by Toghtāy and ‘Ali Malik came to Shiraz in 751/1350. Two years later, when Bikchkāz, the previous army commander of the Chupānids, who undertook an onslaught against Mūzaffarids in Kerman, Mobārez al-Din before any enterprises, decided to implement a policy which prevented Oghān and Jermān from cooperation with their Shirazi allies. On the basis of such a policy, he succeeded in defeating the dispatched army in the plain of Panj Anghosht (Natanzi, 1336:179).

In 754/1353 Mobārez al-Din came to Bam and subsequently subjugated Foolādi ‘Arabs, Oghān and Jermān and gave Kerman governorship to Shāh Shuja'. Thereafter, he departed from Jiroft to Shiraz; headquarter of Sheikh Abu Ishāq at that time, since the compromise was unsuccessful, despite the mediation of Qazi 'Adud al-Din Ījī. However, after three days residence in Shabānkāra, Mobārez al-Din captured the castles of Sar Band Amīr and Sorkh on his way. Since Sheikh Abu Ishāq met opposition from a great number of Kūlūs he left Shiraz to Isfahan where eventually he was captured in 756/1355. By seizing Shiraz, Mobārez al-Din appeased the Hazāra of Shādi, by granting them many Ikta's,

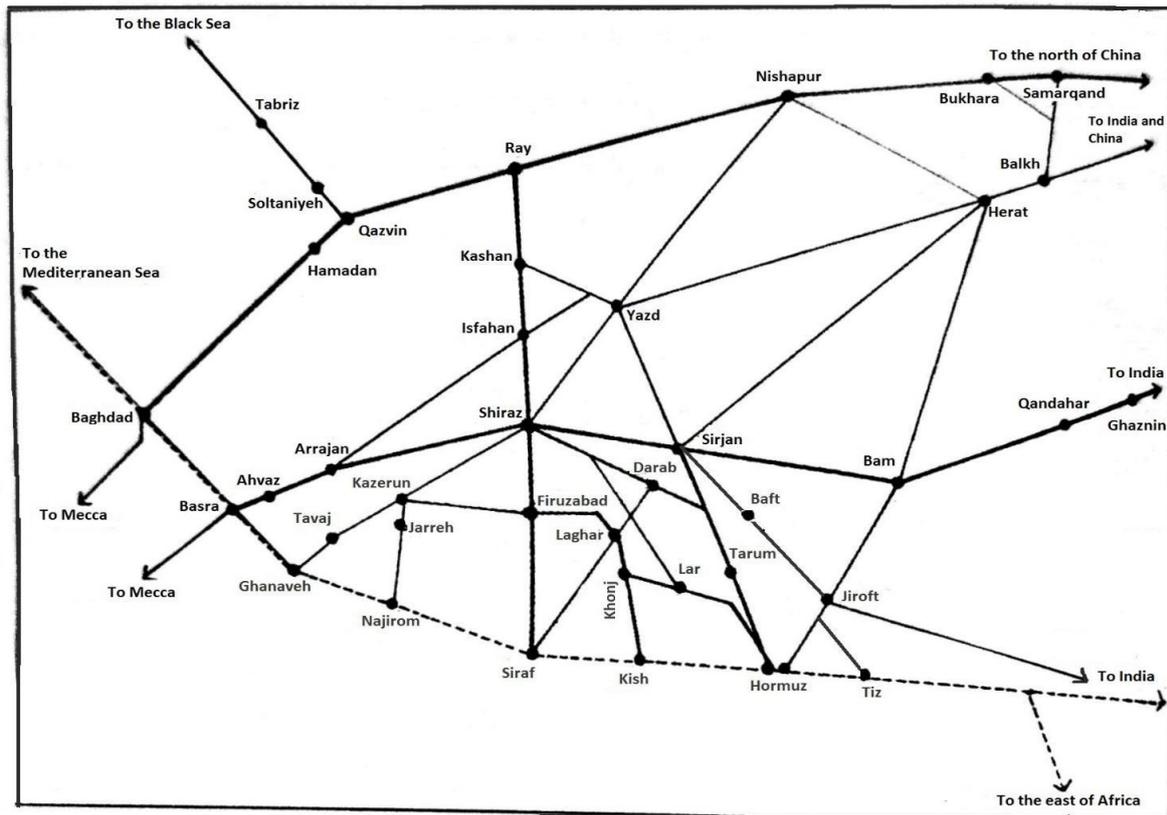


Figure 2: Crossing Commercial Routes

Source: Vosughi, 1389:105

### The Oghān and Jermān tribes from the decline of the Mūzaffarids to the rise of the Timurids

Under the reign of Shāh Shujā', Oghān and Jermān held their importance. In fact, following blindness and disposal of Mobārez al-Din Muhammad by his sons, a brother of Shāh Shuja' i.e. Ghutb al-Din Mahmud who in 756/1355 could have annexed Shabānkāra, operated as the original claimant of the throne from 760/1359 to 767/1366. In the meantime, Oghān and Jermān threw away Mūzzafarid's yoke and took control of the region from Jiroft to the Turk valley (*Darre-ye Turk*), a region near Manujān castle. Siyurghatmīsh Oghāni, brother of the wife of Shāh Shujā' was leader of Oghān and Jermān. In the existing dissensions, he first supported Ghutb al-Din Mahmud but when he was denied help from him, he leaned on Shāh Shujā'. By the death of Shāh Shujā' in 786/1384, his brother, Ahmad tried to subjugate the Oghān and Jermān tribes but Siyurghatmīsh stood against his ambitions, finally in an internecine conflict which took place in 787/1385, Siyurghatmīsh was killed and Ahmad elected Pahlavān 'Ali Qurchī as the commander (Khāndmir, 1363: 3/318; Roosta & Mirza'i Padizi, 1399: 95). Despite this, castles of Suleimānī and Samurān remained in the holdings of the Siyurghatmīsh dependents. However, between brothers of Siyurghatmīsh, Jamshīd was among the entourage of Zayn al-'Ābīdīn in the Fars province (Hāfez Abru, 1380: 2/639).

In the later period when Timur in 795/1393 ended the Mūzafarid lineage by executing all the remaining princes, Oghān and Jermān finally accepted Timur's authority after the united

resistance in 801/1400 (Fasihi, 1339: 3/141). By increasing dissention among the Timurid princes after the death of Timur, each one dominated over a part of his legacy. In 811, when Abu Bakr Mīrzā a son of Mirānshāh lost the war against Qarā Yūsuf Bārāni (Qarā Qoyunlu) in Hamadan, he fled to Kerman but Uveys b. Ediku, with help of Oghān and Jermān, defeated him in Jiroft (Hasani Yazdi, 1332: 51-52). Simultaneously with this event Eskandar b. Omar Sheikh was ruling in Isfahan and could have captured territories in central Iran but eventually lost his position in the struggle against Shāhrokh Mīrzā. However, by occupation of Isfahan in 817/1414 amīr Ghanāshīrīn became the governor of Kerman. From then on, there has been no mention of Oghān and Jermān throughout history (Husayni Ja'fari, 1393: 51, 95, 100; Hāfez Abru, 1380: 4/730). It is presumed that by the rise of the Timurids these groups gradually lost their strongholds and were absorbed into the Timurid army.

### **Conclusion**

Following the collapse of the Il-khāns, the Oghān and Jermān tribes who had initially migrated to Jiroft and Bāft to protect the trade routes under Arghūn, later served the Mūzaffarids and the Āle-Īnju, depending on their tribal profits. However, when Mobārez al-Din Muhammad was able to separate them from other opponents based on his political and economic aspirations, he could overwhelm his archenemy, Sheikh Abu Ishāq. In such circumstance, the tribes had to comply to the Mūzaffarid policies. Despite this, the Oghān and Jermān groups were not entirely at the service of the Mūzaffarids. After the rule of Mobārez al-Din, they had regained control of the area from Jiroft to Manujān but were once again suppressed by Shāh Shujā'. During the Timurid period, unlike the earliest years of their settlement in the Halilrood basin, they were seen as an obstacle on the trade routes of southern Iran, because by the decline of the Mūzaffarids, these tribes resumed their restlessness through the commercial routes. Therefore, at the first episode of Timurid rule, Oghān and Jermān were defeated and brought into submission. However, following the death of Timur, his empire started to disintegrate. At the political turmoil, when the Timurid princes waged war against each other, Oghān and Jermān utilized the opportunity, strengthened their position and even allied with other amīrs against the Timurid's princes. Eventually, with the rise to power of Shāhrokh b. Timur in Herāt and his efforts to establish a central and consolidated rule, the disturbances came to an end. In this regard, when Shāhrokh decided to dominate the central regions of Iran, Oghān and Jermān tribes were absorbed into the new order. In the southern region, the civil strife among the Hormuzid pretenders was stretching to the hinterlands of the Persian Gulf which was the immediate consequence of this event. Rivalry to ascend the throne between Seyf al-Din and his brothers, Turānshāh and Marzūq (sons of Qūtb al-Din Bahman Shāh) caused the former to draw back and take shelter in the castles of Manujān and Suleimānī, where Oghān and Jermān no longer lived, and finally the perennial problems tempted him to petition help from the Timurids. This contest stimulated the Herāt court to serve as a counterbalance among power claimants.

However, such a development decreased the unrest and created a stable situation which revived trade through the silk road, thus improving prosperity.

### **Within the framework of Ibn Khaldun's cycle of 'Asabiyya**

The authors have tried to examine Ibn Khaldun's theory of 'Asabiyya and the cyclical theory of civilization as it relates to Fars and Kerman provinces from 656-817 AH/1258-1414 AD. In the process, they have divided the complex region into four hypothetical sections, namely local, regional, extended, and outreach formations.

On a *local formation*, "tribes served the ultimately political purpose of guaranteeing a group's existence despite inhospitable conditions in the external world" (Linder: 710). On the Iranian plateau, the two regions of Fars and Kerman were regarded as Īnjū territories. Between the two, lay a rich and prosperous region, suitable for breeding horses and well situated in the commercial routes between Abarqu and Hormuz. Diverse groups of local and tribal leaders tried to preserve their territories and their influence in the region. In essence, internal tribal competition of the Mongols had found their way among the local and diverse groups and any disturbance could have its negative impact on local and regional trade.

At the next level, the *regional formation*, dislocation of the Chupānids from Fars, Yazd, Kerman and Isfahan regions, rivalry for control of cities and commercial routes between Sheikh Abu Ishāq and Mobārez al-Din Muhammad increased. In the meantime, Sheikh Abu Ishāq tried to conquer territories near Kerman and the Shabānkāra to drive away the Mūzzafarids from Isfahan and Shiraz. It also united its forces with the Shulī nomads (Kurds), a contingent of Karā'it tribal forces led by Abu Bakr b. Akranj, the Hazāra of Shādi, the Banū 'Obādeh, and the Foolādi Arabs. On the other hand, to safeguard the region, Mobārez al-Din Muhammad sought the help of the Hazāra of Chākū and Buqāchi, the Qandhāri Tomāns, and the Nowruzi Negūderis. This is a relatively good display of regional rivalry which appropriately fits Ibn Khaldun's broader cycle of civilizational rivalry and competition.

To further utilize Ibn Khaldun's theory, perhaps we need to proceed to the next level of the civilizational hierarchy, the *extended formation*. Competition between the Chupānids, Jalāyirids and the Oyrāt who respectively ruled over Azarbayjān, Iraq, Dīyār Bakr and Armania finally reached the Fars province. The Chupānids who had control of the capital of the Il-Khans were hopeful that by taking over Fars they will gain access to its taxes. The Jalāyrid leaders also held a similar ambition. In 1340/740, at the battle of Omās, the Chupānids won the war against the Jalāyrids and dispatched their own affiliate Pir Hussein to conquer Kerman and Shiraz. Meanwhile, at the request of the Chupānid amīr, Mobārez al-Din Muhammad joined him. With the help of Shams al-Din Muhammad, son of Mahmud Shāh Īnju, they finally entered Shiraz. However, Shams al-Din Mohammad was assassinated two years later, and Pir Hussein was compelled to leave Shiraz for his personal safety. Mas'ud Shāh had secured authority by means of the internecine conflict and multiple conspiracies but was removed shortly thereafter by Yāghī Bāstī and the Chupānids. Unable to detach himself fully from Shiraz, he united forces

with Malik Ashraf of Isfahan and was set to sack the road between Abarqu and Shiraz. He soon learned that the leader of the Chupānids had been killed in Tabriz and had to return to protect the capital Tabriz. This is a clear case of an extended civilizational outreach, from core (Shiraz and Kerman) to the periphery (Tabriz).

At its most distant and outreached level (outreach formation), it is necessary to look at the sources of power structure before the presence of the Oghān and Jermān in the region. In 651/1253 Hulegu Khān was dispatched to the western fringes of the Mongol territories to exert control. Others who were also dispatched for the same purpose were Sālī Noyān, Negüder Noyān from the Golden Horde, and Mönggetü from the Chaghatāy. However, with the death of the Caliph in Baghdād, conflict ensued among the Il-Khāns and Negüder Noyān and his supporters fled to Seistan. The conflict between different Il-Khāns, tribal groups and the Golden Horde posed continued until the very end. This is also clear example of Ibn Khaldun's civilizational conflict which brought to an end the Mongol control of the region.

There is a deterministic view of history imbedded in Ibn Khaldun's world history. "Tribes [do] not exist in a vacuum; their existence presupposed the existence of another society (Linder: 710). However, tribes eventually settle and form dynasties, and disintegration befalls dynasties due to overpopulation, famine and pestilence (Rosenthal, 1967: 205). This gives rise to a new cycle of tribes, what Ibn Khaldun calls, "savage nations... better able to achieve superiority than others" (Ibid., 107). New tribes cause the death of old and royal regalia and authority" (Ibid., 116).

Finally, one can safely conclude that so long as tribal conflicts and warfare played a predominant role in the region, the silk and commercial trade routes also remained in jeopardy. During these years of conflict international commerce often shifted directions and found new paths for trade. Henceforth, Sea routes, particularly, the Persian Gulf, gained momentum and popularity.

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