An Analysis of the Performance of Nayebi Exiles to Kashan (Causes and Factors of the Occurrence and Continuance of their Rebellion)

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Abstract
To punish tribes and local groups in Nader Shah Afshar period, they had been departed to other places in Iran. One of the tribes that had been exiled to Kashan in this period was the Beyranvand tribe. They were departed to this area as a punishment. In this dry and desert area, there was no opportunity for winter and summer migration for them, and thus, they could not deal with the life and economy of their tribe. Considering these issues and the weaknesses of the central government and their descendants, who were called Nayebiyan in Qajar Period, this tribe turned to insurgency and gradually formed and outbreak across the central desert of Iran between 1324 AH/ 1907 BC to 1337 AH/ 1919 BC. The leader of the rebellion was Nayeb Hossein Kashi and his son, MashaAllah Khan. Geographical range of this outbreak was included from the south of Qom to Yazd and from MourchehKhart to Tabas. Some contributing causes and factors had led to the occurrence and continuance of the Nayebiyan outbreak in this area.

Research Hypothesis
Local, national and international causes and factors had led to form such an outbreak in this area and be continued for many years. The present writing seeks to analyze these causes and contributing factors.

Research Method
Outbreak; Kashi; Nayebiyan, 1298-? AH; Kashi, MashaAllah Khan, 1298-? AH; Kashan; Local insurgencies; Crusader; Bakhtiyari Tribe; England.

Introduction
To punish tribes and local groups in Nader Shah Afshar period, they had been departed to other places in Iran. One of the tribes that had been exiled to Kashan in this period was the Beyranvand tribe. They were departed to this area as a punishment. In this dry and desert area, there was no opportunity for winter and summer migration for them, and thus, they could not deal with the life and economy of their tribe. Considering these issues and the weaknesses of the central government and their descendants, who were called Nayebiyan in Qajar Period,
this tribe turned to insurgency and gradually formed and outbreak across the central desert of Iran between 1324 AH/ 1907 BC to 1337 AH/ 1919 BC. Geographical range of this outbreak was included from the south of Qom to Yazd and from MourchehKhart to Tabas. The leader of the rebellion was Nayeb Hossein Kashi and hid son, MashaAllah Khan. The present research seeks to find the various causes and factors that affect the formation and continuance of this outbreak.

1. Local Factors
1.1 Natural Position

Kashan city is located in a semi-desert area in margins of the desert. This city is limited to high and sometimes impassable mountains in its mountainous region and to a long sand bar with the length of 120 km in its desert region. Generally in all the history and especially in Qajar period, after the local insurgencies and conflicts, the evil people took advantage of the special features of being limited to the mountain or desert, and had escaped to the mountain or desert after doing their mischief. The scattered local mountains of Karkas and Siakkooh had provided the best opportunity for hiding and fighting.

Hossein Poshte Masshadi had taken refuge in the mountains at the beginning of its evil actions and after falling from the minerals of Habib Ebne Musa shrine. After many fight or flights, he recognized the mentioned featured of Kashan area, and after then, he made effective use of these natural features.

Iran's central desert –which was the main operating range of Nayeb Hossein Kashi and his son, MashaAllah Khan- is a hot and dry land and a very difficult way to pass; passing it with sufficient food supplies was so difficult, too. Various fighting forces, including Bakhtiyari, Cossack and Gendarme who were sent from the center for the suppression of Nayeb Hossein, were faced with his break just upon their arrival to Kashan. Nayeb had escaped to the surrounding mountains or passed the long sand bar and get going to Siahkooh. In the latter case, if an army of thousand people had tried to survive in that desert for a month following Nayebiyan, they needed at least, 750000 litters of water. Apart from food and weapon, they had required to 7500 horses and beasts just for carrying water. This amount of water must have been transported from distant places because Nayeb and his group covered the wells in the desert (Navaie and Baghaie, 1379, p.53). If the mentioned army could leave behind the long sand bar, Nayeb was ambushed in his castle with sufficient horses, food supplies and water, behind the great mass of flowing burning sands; so they could not afford the charge of Nayeb who was ready and familiar with the desert. That had happened because it was so difficult for Bakhtiyari people, who had grown mostly in mountainous and clod regions, to tolerate hot and dry weather.

One of the castles that Nayeb had taken a lot of advantages of it and was considered as his headquarter outside Kashan, was the Kaharshahi or Gaharshahi fortress. The ruin of this castle is located at thirty kilometers from the AbuZeid Abad village. Kaharshahi fortress was built on a flat land and on the north, there
was a hill overlooking it. The towers were built on the hill. The fortress was limited to Siahkooh from south and Nayeb had made hidden way from the fort to the Siahkooh by digging a tunnel (Foladvand, 1364, p.21).

During the First World War and with the help of German engineers, Nayeb made some changes in the fort and fortified it against cannons. The fort had two thick walls, so that a rider could easily pass on it. Eight towers were built with precise holes. Inside the fort, there were large basements with the capacity for storing food supplies, feeding two thousand riders for a year. And also, a mill and a spring were located in the middle of the fort and the excess water was poured into the gully. Hence, there was a swamp around the Kaharshahy all the time (Foladvand, 1364, p.22).

Kaharshahy was considered as Nayeb best fortress to fight with the enemies. Iran's central desert castles, filled with food, water and guns were considered as appropriate tools for Nayeb to persist against the government; because the government did not have access to such facilities and could not fight with both Nayeb and the desert at the same time. In 1333 AH/ 1916 BC, when MashaAllah Khan had heard that forces had been deployed from the center to track him, had attempted to sent sufficient food supplies and forces to Kaharshahy Fortress in order to resist against them (SAKMA: 2400001855).

1.2 Disagreement and division between people of Kashan

Disagreement and division among people of Kashan – which had roots in the conflicts of Heidari- Nemati in Safavi Period- was considered to be one of the contributing factors for the continuance of the outbreak. Instead of considering the existence of Nayeb Hossein and his deputy evils as a share point and be united with each other, townspeople were divided into two groups: Pre- and anti- Nayeb people. However, the fan and opponent parties did not dare to express their opinion apparently.

Moreover, townspeople humiliated the residents of Poshte Mashhad strict and this would make them to become fans of Nayeb and his group and made this neighborhood as one of his centers and headquarters.

The two pro- and anti- Nayeb groups had their own secret societies. If Nayeb failed from the forces dispatched from the center and left Kashan, his fans constituted a secret society, the chairman of the association read the latest news from the camp of Nayeb for the members. The members read impassioned sermons and prepared opportunities for the arrival of Nayeb (Iran Now, 1329 AH, p.4).

Soraya newspaper has written the following words about the causes of the occurrence and continuance of the outbreak: “… This has happened just because of disagreement and division among the city's residents; that means there are people who actually worship Nayeb, they use functional plans with thousands
devices and tricks, do not let them get arrested …" (Soraya Newspaper, 1337 AH, p.4).

Both pro- and anti- Nayeb groups continued their efforts more seriously after the outbreak of constitutional revolution. They had benefited from the division of Nayebiyan residents, in particular, MashaAllah Khan that "made conspiracies, tepidity and animosity between people; treat affectively with a group and drive out the others; when he finished his work with one group, changed his attitude, turned to the losers and helped that group to overcome the winners" (Madani, 1378, pp. 71-72).

There were supporters and opponents of the Nayeb in constitutional opposition groups and constitutionalists. The main operating centers of these groups were two local newspapers: Kashan Newspaper was the center of Nayeb supporters; Nayeb Al-Sadr had published it in 1329 AH/ 1911 BC. Soraya Newspaper had been published by Fakhr Al-Vaezin and was the center of Nayeb opponents. Kasravi has written the following sentences about Kashan Newspaper: "at the same days, a newspaper was published in Kashan with the same name of the town; the costs of the newspaper were paid by Nayeb and his sons through their high incomes" (Kasravi, 1374, p.627).

Liberals had a secret society that "they agree on achieving their righteous goals including their efforts to repel evil intentions of noble men …" (Madani, 1378, p.98).

This group was included of Seyyed Ebrahim Poshteh Mashhadi, Agha Taghi and Hossein Al-Eslam; they began to suppress Nayebiyan but they did not succeed and were dispersed after a while; they even had tried to remove their names from the list of the association (Madani, 1378, p. 98).

Madani has considered the evil nature of Kashan elite people as one of their reason and ground for bandit power (1378, p.22).

Nayeb made use of these divisions to reach his goals. Rough and noble people were entered into this play, too. A number of Kashan nobles had spent money to keep Nayeb and others had spent the equivalent money to suppress him. This work made their efforts to be neutral and Nayeb had benefited from this situation. So, the noble people of the city were involved in the durability of the outbreak (Bahrami, 1363, p. 361).

Upon the time Nayeb had left the town, his supporters had tried hard, invited him to the city and went to greet him (Navaie and Baghaie, 1379, p.168). Not all the people who came to greet him were Nayeb supporters; a number of them were ordinary people who went to greet because they feared from him.
1.3 Nayebiyan devices and tricks

Nayebiyan were so skillful in the techniques of riding and shooting. Nayeb himself was a skillful rider and shooter at his young ages. He was sitting on the back of the horse, sleeping on its stomach and shot among the two hands of the horse. MashaAllah Khan, the son of Nayeb, was a good shooter, too. These skills were considered as Nayebiyan bargaining during disasters and wars.

One of the techniques used by Nayebiyan –often they were profited from it to escape- was shedding gold coins behind and made their followers busy with collecting them.

At the pinnacle of his power, Nayeb Hossein had two thousand fighting men, ready for battle; five hundred of them were serving him; five hundred were in service of MashaAllah Khan and the other were scattered in villages and roads and were called in emergencies.

There were two mutations in the outbreak of Nayeb that led to their progress. One of these mutations was the devastation of six boxes of guns and ammunition from the government that had led to the increase of Nayeb power. The second one was the use of German's money and guns during the First World War; so that, after the war, just a few forces in the country have had the power to deal with Nayeb.

Another point that made Nayeb powerful and helped him to avoid surprising attacks was the spies who gave him timely, important and decisive news. These spies were active in Tehran, Qom and Kashan.

The spies of Nayeb in Tehran were divided into two groups: The first group was politicians who delivered the intact complain telegraphs of the residents to Nayeb; one example which can be mentioned here is the act of Ein Al-Douleh in delivering the complaint letter of Ali Naraghi to Nayeb (Kasravi, 1374, p.570). However, we cannot call Ein Al-Douleh as Nayeb's spy but his action made Nayeb aware of the capital situation. Except Ein Al-Douleh, there were other people who had contacted with Nayeb, and He had sent them proper rewards.

The second group of Nayeb spies was non-politicians, among them we can refer to Ghanbar Ghahvehchi and two prostitute women called Aziz Kashi and Aho Esfahani. The famous Ghanbar coffeshop (Ghahveh khaneye Ghanbar) was faced the large market of Tehran. Nayeb had a friendly relationship with Ghanbar. Ghanbar had made him aware of the news related to the dispatching of troops to Kashan.

In the attack of 1329 AH/ 1915 BC to Kashan, Aziz Kashi heard that the army is going to be dispatched to Kashan. She immediately sent one of her prostitute women to the secretary of the army to gain information from him. Mary, the famous women, gained valuable information from the army chief and even she
could steal a letter from him which contained some information about the number of the troops and their weapons – (Foladvand, 1347, p. 10).

This letter was delivered to Nayeb by Aziz Kashi, so he had complete information about the number of the troops and their weapons before the arrival of the army to the camp.

Nayeb had some spies in Qom and Kashan, too. We find many sentences like the following in all parts of MashaAllah Khan memories: "There was a report from Qom" (Kashi, 1365, no 219-220, p.103) or "Upon their arrival to Qom, a report containing detailed information about them was delivered to us" (Kashi, 1356. no. 221, p.1030 which refers to this fact that there were some spies between Tehran and Kashan who had sent information to Nayeb.

Except these causes, there were also security posts at the beginning of Kashan that immediately made MashaAllah Khan aware of the latest news upon the arrival of government troops (Doulat Ababdi, 1371, n.4, p.11).

The people, who were travelling south of the country, were visiting MashaAllah Khan in Kashan for a few days and Nayebiyian gained valuable information from them: Yahya Doulat Ababdi and Abdollah Bahrami were two of these guests. Serving the residents of capital was one of Nayebiyian techniques that would make them indebted to Nayebiyian and then they showed their gratitude to them in Tehran.

One of the other tricks Nayebiyian was disabling the troops dispatching from Tehran. Upon the notification of dispatching governmental forces, Nayeb sent some people to Qom to buy the bullets of soldiers and changes them with fake and needled bullets (Foladvand, 1347, p.12); when the government army reached Kashan, they actually were unable to fight and immediately the army was disintegrated.

When the city was seized by government forces, the spies of Nayeb in Kashan, delivered information of government camp to Tehran. So, with the departure of government forces from the city, Nayeb had entered Kashan from the other Gate. Creating terror and fear was one of the tricks used by Nayebiyian. Even, MashaAllah Khan had tried to assassinate Cheragh Ali Khan but he failed (SAKMA: 293004779).

Nayeb did not leave his power area and rarely trusted to people. With these techniques and tricks, they were able to resist troops who were dispatched from the center for long times and to continue their Outbreak.

1.4 Rulers of Kashan and inefficiency of local authorities
1.4.1 Kashan rulers

In Qajar period, the government of provinces was given to people by receiving bribe form them; do provinces were ruled by jobbers. Rulers sought to gain that
money doubled back from ordinary people. In order to obtain that fee, governors of Kashan had given no attention to the economical situation of people or possible drought or blight of agricultural products. So, there were complaints from Kashan rulers regarding this problem (SAKMA: 290000556).

Poor farmers left their land to be saved from taxes. These unemployed people were hired by Nayebiyan as riflemen. In fact, that was the performance of the rulers that indirectly increased the power of Nayeb. The rulers of Kashan had tolerated Nayeb, because they did not want their areas to be affected by events and accidents. If necessary, they could use the power of Nayeb to suppress their local opponents (SAKMA: 29391579).

Amir Moa'zez Kashi, one of the rulers of rulers of Kashan, had a very close relationship with Nayeb; consequently people had experienced a relative safety and security. By announcing the dismissal of Amir Moa'zez, townspeople had protested that order. Amir Moa'zez threatened that if he was ousted, evil villains will be back in the town.

The necessity of security – that people wanted it- helped the outbreak to be continued and if rulers had decided to suppress Nayeb, were faced with people's opposition; Because, had found–based on their experiences- that tolerating Nayeb and his group was more better than fighting with them. Therefore, the center bandit expeditions to Kashan for suppressing Nayeb were not met with general acceptance.

1.4.2 Inefficiency of local authorities

After establishment of the Constitutional government, authorities were consistently faced with different problems because of adopting decentralized methods for allocating fund to them. Thus, for example, Kashan administration of municipality must receive its budget from the financial administration of Kashan based on their own request and the command of the center; lack of cooperation between these two governmental authorities led to their inefficiency. This inefficiency was followed by people's dissatisfaction and even the payroll of government staffs were done lately. There are some records from this period which show that employees of these offices always demanded their late payments (SAKMA: 2400129552).

To meet their needs, the employees brought to bribe. Foe using them in necessary times, Nayeb had paid them annual fees. By doing so, Nayeb had employed these people and required them to do what he wanted.
2. National factors
2.1 Weaknesses of central government
2.1.1 Structural Weakness
2.1.1.1 Continuous changing of the Cabinet

In the years between the establishments of constitutional government to the coup of 1299 SH, events such as constitution, bombardment of the parliament, Tehran conquest, the establishment of second constitution, ultimatum of Russia and the First World War had occurred.

In Tehran, several problems came into existence in the way of new system, so they did not have opportunity to address around the country. Instability of Cabinets was one of the problems; so that the average life of each Cabinet was 3 months. Some of the Cabinets had a tendency to Russia, some were supporters of England. Both sided were trying to overthrow the other and get the power. Ahmad Shah was considered as a shadow of young God on the earth. The prime minister tried to have all the elements of power in his own hand. Sheibani has described this situation in the following poem:
"Is the prime minister the king of Iran, isn't he? He is. He is the king of bustle and title; isn't he? He is."

This point of time is the period of central authority weakness. Around the country, rulers, governors, heads of tribes, mutineers and influential local people took advantage of the opportunity and formed their own authorities. In the central desert of Iran, from Khorasan to Esfahan, people like Mohammad Neishabori, Ramezan Baseri, Nayeb Hossein Kashi, Ja'far Goli Khan Charmhini, Reza Jozani, Khalil Touzani, Mohammad Shangoli and Ahmad Khan MouriChehKharti had the power in their hands. Instability of the government took the opportunity to mobilize their forces for suppressing these local governments. Upon the preparation for dispatching a troop, other governments came and the work was left unfinished. Because of these conditions, Nayeb Hossein – who was the closest rebel to the capital- could start his rebellion and continued the outbreak in the desert margins for a long time.

2.1.1.2 Lack of Army

Iran military forces were not a permanent force; it was formed at the time of attack and was re-dissolved after repelling it. Armies were composed of tribal and local people. During the Qajar period, the backbone of Iran's military was consisted of these forces. Cossack forces – which was considered as the only organized army forces in Iran- rather taking orders from the Iranian government, was an obedient of Russia Empire.

2.1.2 Financial Weaknesses
2.1.2.1 Decentralized organization of the ministry of finance and budget deficit

In this period, the daily administration of the state government was faced with many problems and paying the expenses of a force which would be able to suppress a rooted rebellion, was impossible for the government.
To solve this problem, the ministry of finance had decided to pay taxes on a decentralized manner and instead of paying salary of army on the center; it was transferred to the provincial taxes. This method was also applied in Kashan. The finance administration of Kashan paid the salary of dispatched riders and instead of it, took their tax bills and included it in the calculation of taxes for that year.

However, this approach was effective where troops were dispatched at once and the outbreak was finished there. But Kashan was excluded from this work and prolonged outbreak had forced the financial administration to pay the salary of riders constantly. Sometimes, the financial administration of Kashan was unable to pay the salary of riders because of drought or misuse of tax officers. Not being paid in 1329 SH/ 1911 BC led to the severe reflection of military forces with the financial administration (SAKMA: 240007615) which was faced with Murgan Shouster's protection (SAKMA: 293002498).

The financial administration of Kashan claimed that it paid salary to riders who did not actually exist because it wanted to pay less tax to the center.

This procedure was adopted in the financial administration of Kashan to avoid paying tax. Not paying the salary of forces that was dispatched to suppress Nayeb rebellion had caused that they return to the center with little involvement in fighting or by escaping of Nayeb. So, the budget deficit and decentralized payment system can be considered as an important factor in the continuance of the outbreak.

2.2 Government corruption

2.2.1 Corruption of center inhabitants

In the mentioned period, there was a discussion about the financial corruption of government employees. Corruption of government officials was due to following three factors:

1. Lack of funding and delayed payment of staff salaries; so, they had to take bribe for living their life.

2. The second underlying factor for corruption was the existence of the brokers who had power in the government hierarchy, and in the top of government. If these brokers were asked to do something and their desired money was paid to them, that work would be done undoubtedly.

3. Wealthy people who wanted to have government officials and even provincial government by paying large money to them.

Regarding Nayebiyan, one side of the corruption triangular was MashaAllah Khan, the son of Nayeb, who was a wealthy man. Theo other side was his fellow citizens in Tehran, including Seyyed Ebrahim Tambri, Mojalal Al-Douleh and other people who had influence on different systems and by paying the coins of
MashaAllah Khan to influential people, took some important positions such as guardians for Nayebiyan; They always had made neutral the attempts of Nayeb opponents to suppress his outbreak by paying bribe:” In Tehran, most of men were associated with them; Nayeb Hossein had sent them gifts annually and by their orders, had taken actions against the country's interests" (Kahal’Zadeh, 1361, p.406).

On his way to Esfahan, Abdillah Bahrami was the guest of Nayeb Hossein for a night. Bahrami has written in his memories:” It was supposed that a group from Tehran went to Kashan for talking to him. Nayeb was concerned –he asked about the composition of the board-. Bahrami answered: "The chair of the board is Mr. Shahb Al-Saltaneh and its members are the two Mr. Sheybani and one Swedish officer. Nayeb Hossein was sure by hearing the names … because these people were his actual supporters and representatives in Tehran" (1363, pp. 355-365).

When Nayeb was arrested and being investigated in Tehran, replied to the investigator - that he considered him as the main culprit- as follows:"Are just Kashan people culprit? No one from Tehran is guilty? … We blame those who unjustly oppressed and tortured us on the first days and made us rebellions, then they had strengthen us; because they had recognized that the existence of me and other people like me is necessary for them, so they tolerated us and treated us in a way that helped us to avoid complete destruction and they achieve their objectives" (Foladvand, 1347, p.9).

Even there is a private letter from Ein Al-Douleh to MashaAllah Khan (Naraghi, 2536, 9.132-133) which an evidence of their close relationship.

2.2.2 Corruption of expeditionary forces from the center

After the conquest of Tehran, the military forces from the center were composed of Crusaders, Bakhtiyari, Cossack forces and gendarme; most of the military activities had been done by these groups. In next section we will separately considered the forces deployed to suppress Nayeb and dispatched to Kashan:

2.2.2.1 Bakhtiyari

The main forces that fight with Nayebiyan from 1324 AH/ 1906 BC (the beginning of their extensive outbreak) to 1337 AH/ 1919 BC, were Bakhtiyari people. One of their permanent missions was the suppression of Nayeb Hossein Kashi. They were volunteers to suppress Nayeb Hossein so many times by receiving a huge amount of money from the government.

In the attack of 1328 AH/ 1919 BC, Bakhtiyari forces surrounded Kashan and after near a month of siege, Nayeb Hossein existed from Kashan through the Doulat gate and went to the desert. Departure of Nayeb Hossein from Kashan was not like the escaping of ten to twenty riders that could be followed but as it was written in the memories of MashaAllah Khan, the length of their riders and their
equipments was about two miles. But Bakhtiyari forces did not react: "It is surprising that Bakhtiyari had control over the city but there was conflict during the escape Nayebiyani. The next day, the government army entered the city and started to devastate the city and its people" (Dolat Abadi, 1368, p.104).

Inhabitants of Kashan were saved from Nayeb but they were caught by Bakhtiyari forces (The newspaper of Aziz Al-Soltan memories, 1376, v.3, pp.1885-1886). However, they constantly received telegrams from the center that asked them to treat the people of Kashan friendly (Iran Now, 1328 AH, p.3). Bakhtiyari riders were busy to annoy and loot people: "after an hour, almost the half of the city was plundered and they devastated every storing place quickly" (Madani, 1378, p.53).

With the recurrent insistence of the center, Bakhtiyari commanders had decided to return the looted properties to their owners. They took these properties to the house of Amin Al-Douleh in Kashan and asked people to find their own. But at this time, the properties belonged to most of the people were disappeared.

To earn their daily life expences, they involved themselves with city departments such as the department of finance and provincial association. Even, Shahb Al-Salteaneh had beaten the assistant officer of Kashan financial department.

Shahab Al-Salteaneh and his riders who followed Nayeb to ShahrAb, at last abandoned the prosecution and returned to Kashan. Because of tribal conflicts and disagreements between Bakhtiyari people, the work of suppressing bandits in Kashan was unfinished. Because some of them were at odds and the rest returned to their own areas (Bakhtiyari, 1353, p. 38). No positive action for the suppression of Nayeb had been done in this attack and the property of Kashan people –which was previously just be granted to Nayeb - this time was divided between Nayeb and Bakhtiyari.

This attack was not the only attack of Bakhtiyari to Kashan. In the next attacks, the same method was repeated. Thus, Nayeb was besieged in the city at first. After a while, he had escaped without a problem. At this time, Bakhtiyari were divided into two groups: some were looting Kashan and others had been sent to prosecute Nayeb. Nayeb had entered into an urban or rural area while escaping them; and started to loot people or rapped them and then Bakhtiyari entered; they penalized people because they had let him to enter their village and gained money to suppress him. People always complained from Nayeb and Bakhtiyari (SAKMA: 240001076).

In this period, Bakhtiyari did not have intense fighting with Nayeb. Even it seemed that Nayeb was become a way for earning money by Bakhtiyari people: "The courage of Nayeb Hossein was a tool for Bakhtiyari people to followed him once a month, gain money to remain silent, returned and said he ran into the desert" (Hedayat, 1363, p.118).
Bakhtiyari considered Nayeb Hossein as a way for earning money that they could benefit from him: "Nayeb Hossein is considered as a real estate by the brave and courageous Bakhtiyari people. Although the real estate is profited them once a year, this real estate will make them money two or three times a year. Because he showed up himself once a month, the government must paid salary and expenditure, Bakhtiyari riders went but did not arrest him, said that he escaped, returned and no one would punish them (Sharif Kashani, 1362, v.3, p. 718).

After the decision of Nayebiyan to quit their evil and turned to be guardians, the high incomes of Bakhtiyari were cut. Bakhtiyari people could not tolerate that previous robbers changed to be their colleagues and took official positions. So, "because Bakhtiyari had always taken advantage of their insurgencies, they are trying to make them robbers and rebellions again" (Navaie and Baghaie, 1379, p.187).

Bakhtiyari brought into action a variety of stimuli. They had sent their own riders to villages to kill and rob people by the name of Nayebiyan to motivate them to do their mischief again and finally they succeeded. Solat commander took the command of the government to suppress Nayebiyan. Sending Bakhtiyari people to Kashan area and taking advantages of Nayebiyan evils are considered as two important and effective factors in the continuance of their defiance.

3. International Factors
3.1 British Foreign Policy towards Iran

After the wars of Iran and Russia and in particular with attack of Mohammad Shah to Harat, British policy was focused on the weakening of the central government and creation of multiple centers of power and turned to decentralized policy. It is very difficult to determine the beginning of the UK on this policy, but around the years of 1918 BC to 1919 BC can be considered as the endpoint of this policy. So, in 1337 AH/ 1919 BC, particularly in Vosough Al-Douleh government, in a major political spin, England turned to support and strengthen of the central government in Iran.

In the period with a focus on the multiple centers of power, rebellions of different areas were active in the shadow of this policy. Nayeb Hossein and his son, MashaAllah Khan - who apparently were hostile to British- willingly or unwillingly, had helped England to achieve its general goals.

Complete reports of the incidents related to Nayebi rebellion can be achieved from the British political agent telegrams to each other.

After the contract of 1907 BC –in which, Kashan area was considered to be impartial- UK apparently did not interfere in this region. Even Nayeb request to sit-in the British council was rejected (Kiyanfar and Estakhri, 1363, p. 268). But all the wars and movements in this sensitive area was under the supervision of England.
Before the First World War, the Germans began sending spies to different areas of Iran to incite tribes, ethnic groups and rebels of these areas against British interests. Among the groups that had collaboration with Germans were Nayebiyan. With the joining of Nayebiyan to Germans, the British policy towards this rebellion group was changed, during the First World War and after it and especially in the framework of the previously mentioned political major turnaround.

Since there is no clear evidence of these changes in records and documents, we must inevitably investigate the pro-German and England newspapers. During and after the war, there were always news about wickedness and murders of Nayeb Hossein in Raad newspaper that emphasized the need for the central government to suppress bandits. While there is no news about this wickedness in Kaveh newspaper (a pro-German newspaper) and just the cooperation of Nayebiyan with the Nationalists during the migration journey is cited.

The change of situation during the First World War and after it was so obvious that Nayeb had felt it, too: “Nayeb is feared in Kashan. Because, he is surrounded more than ever. Nayeb is beginning permission to visit Karbala from the Iranian government” (Ghasemi, 2537, p. 51).

With the rise of Vosough Al-Douleh government, this direction had become clearer. Vosough Al-Douleh was seeking to collect documents to announce Nayebiyan as rebellions. He had achieved a document that showed Nayebiyan actions against the central government and that was the contract of MashaAllah Khan with Lor Rajab Ali Khan.

The Britain's policy announced expiration date of Nayebiyan, too. To prove his ability and to delay his summon to Tehran, MashaAllah Khan accused some persons to be Bolshevism and introduced them to the British embassy (Navaie and Baghaie, 1379, p.273). But he did not be benefit from this work.

The Britain consulate and that country's embassy in Tehran had given him an insurance letter for motivating him to go to the center. When MashaAllh Khan went to Tehran, there was no news from the embassy or from the insurance letter. He got arrested by the name of the country and protecting and was pulled to be the first victim of changes in Britain's policy.

Sir Persi Cox, the British ambassador, has written the following sentences in the attached letter of 19191 Contract - that was an evidence of British political spin in order to strengthen the central government:” I hope you have certainly find that the British government always have tried to strength your cabinet to restore order and security inside the country, on the one hand, and to create close relationship between Iran and British governments, on the other hand.

Vosough al-Douleh opponents had considered that the words written in the letter by the British ambassador shows that, when England did not supported Nayeb Hossein and MahaAllah Khan anymore, MashaAllah Khan's summoned
plan was drawn. British consulate and embassy staffs said to MashaAllah khan that he could travel to Tehran and there was no treat to him. Surely, if there was not such an insurance letter from England, MashaAllah Khan did not decide to go to Tehran –with such a record full of murder and pillage- with the summoning telegram of Vosough Al-Douleh.

Other resources have referred to the support of Britain from Nayebiyan (Aazam Ghodsi. 1349, p.391). After writing the story of the death of MashaAllah Khan, Fun Meygoush has written that: "If he [MashaAllah Khan] had treated better with England, he surely remained as the governor of Kashan" (Dagobert, 1377, p.310).

The Russian government was also accepted the active role of England in this area; because the Russian ambassador said in response to the complaints of some officials from the central government deputy: "These problems are not related to us because these are internal issues". While the Russians owned large properties in Kashan, no report of looting the property of Russian nationals in this city can be found in the literature (SAKMA: 240003770).

The balance between the two governments was considered in all issues. This is a point that must be followed in events and accidents.

3.2 Unemployment

Apparently, unemployment must be considered as one of the local factors. But regarding the roots of this problem required us to consider it as an international factor.

In Qajar period and especially after the wars of Iran and Russia, determination of 5 percent tax for foreign goods based on the Turkamanchay Convention and giving the management of the deposit administration to Belgian had caused that foreign goods, especially fabrics, be imported to the country in large quantities. Import of foreign fabrics was the underlying reasons the bankruptcy of Kashan industries. The number of looms decreased from 8000 to 800 devices that mean, 9 of 10 workshops were closed. Some of the unemployed people turned to low quality carpet weaving industry. But some people – most of the population- did not find a work. Because carpet weaving needed primary invest that most of the people did not have access to it.

Closing of workshops had some effects on agricultural products and production of industrial agricultural products was stagnated. Textiles workers had two Fiction incomes at the peak of the boom of this industry and their normal food was daily products and bread; it would be difficult for them to provide this daily food, too.

The peak of unemployment can be seen after the Constitution that there was no security in this period, too. Unemployed workers and farmers abandoned working and producing and were hired by Nayeb as riflemen. Nayeb and his son
MashaAllah Khan were famous because they paid relief funds to people everyday. With tending to Nayebiyan, they met the costs of the life of themselves and their families from one hand, and changed this outbreak from wickedness in Kashan to an extensive rebellion in all the central desert of Iran, on the other hand.

If the central Government had found a way to prevent the entry of foreign fabrics and to support local products, people would be occupied with their business and industry and even they would have attempted in the suppression of Nayeb.

Maybe the unemployed people who joined the rebellion wanted to shoe their opposition to the government of Kashan by doing so. Therefore, the general unemployment can be considered as one of the important factors in the occurrence and continuance of Nayebiyan rebellion.

Conclusion
1. Decentralized policy of the British government at that time has had an indirect effect on the occurrence of the outbreak.

2. Nayeb Hossein Kashi was the product of his time. All local, national and international conditions joined together to form such an extensive outbreak.

3. Occurrence of Constitutional Revolution in the country and the collapse of the legitimacy of the king challenged the idea of godly kings in people's minds. Consequently, any person or group had considered a right to reach the government for him. This unwanted problem had degenerate the perturbation.

4. Iran's economy in transition from independency to dependency motivated the reaction of the groups which were benefited from independent economy. Perhaps these groups, in response to the abnormal situation, had decided to finance the insurgency in general and to Nayeb Hossein in particular.

5. The weaving industry workers and farmers were damaged more than the rest of the people from the changing of Iran's economy. Perhaps their joining to the rebellion of Nayeb was their protesting reaction to the existing situation.

6. Britain's main political spin toward Iran in the second decade of the 20th century – which its results can be seen in the 1919 BC Contract-, has had a direct effect on suppression of Nayebiyan.
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