

Such a minor Khan is X. He and his 8 brothers live in a hamlet of 10 houses, high in a mountain valley deep in tribal territory, of the Qandali taifeh. These 8 brothers are the family of one of the sons of Reza Quli Khan, ^{the Ilbegi & brother of the great Ilkhan} who were ousted out of the best villages and out of the dominating political control of the tribes. The brothers bought land in this valley in the 1930s during Reza Shah's period of enforced settlement of the tribes, from the Kalantar, the chief of the Qandali. Prior to this the brothers had lived in a large village which they partially owned as sons of a minor Khan.

There are now 13 houses and approximately 100 people in this hamlet. They are all brothers and their children some of whom have married. A typical settled hamlet composed exclusively of relatives. ^{KINSMEN} This set of brothers have never been nomads. They are Khans, albeit minor Khans, and several of the brothers have acted as agents or administrators for the powerful rulers of the Bakhtiari - their cousins. But their lives have been lived exclusively within Bakhtiari tribal territory. The possibilities presented to this set of brothers are constrained by the location of the hamlet high in the mountains, there is no road to this valley and they are snowed in during the winter for many months. They do however have the advantages of high status, ~~high due~~ ^{to those born} ~~being~~ from a minor section of the Duraki Khawanins, (their grandfather was Reza Quli Khan the Ilbegi and brother of the great Ilkhan.) As such they are of the highest status in ^a ~~the~~ region dominated by the Qandali taifeh of the Duraki. The two eldest brothers now in their early sixties amassed wealth and prestige as administrators of the Khans. This they have invested in the hamlet. Seifullah, the eldest brother is the dominant figure in the valley, still. On his father's death, he assumed responsibility for his brothers' welfare. He is the patriarch of the village hamlet, and rules the affairs of his now large family benevolently but autocratically.

In a society in which kinship and marriage structure most social relations this hamlet reveals many of the principles of Bakhtiari life. Being born into the lineage, the descent group of the Khans, gives all the brothers high status, and the kinship links which can be utilised to their advantage in the tribal context. Not being of the dominant lineage, their birth precluded them from the high rewards and possibilities open to the sons of the Ilkhan and his brothers. Unlike the third generation of Khawanins of the Duraki who now live in Tehran, Isfahan or abroad in America, or Europe, the brothers in this hamlet live within the circumscribed area of the Bakhtiari mountains, but with the advantage of education, and some experience at least of the outside world. As is so often the case drawing any boundary around this hamlet hides the essential variability of opportunity and circumstance.

The individual careers of each of the brothers and their children reflect further differences that in themselves strikingly reflect the total range of experience from nomadic lifestyle to that of international traveller, from nomadic tribesman living and moving in the mountains to the Khans national and inter-national involvement, from the isolated impoverished Bakhtiari tribesmen living in ragged tents eking out a an existence below subsistence level to the ex Queen Soraya, all members of the same people.

The careers of the brothers and their children are expressed in their marriages. Seifullah, being the head of the group is in charge of and has final say in the marriages of his younger brothers and their children. The history of Seifabad hamlet itself is a record of Seifullah Khans participation in his social world, of ^{how} ~~who~~ he has manipulated and been constrained by his view of the world. Seifullah is a man of vision, and although he affects to despise the ordinary nomadic tribesman whom he regards as donkeys he deeply respects the tribal traditions of the Bakhtiari and talks with pride of the part in Iranian life the Bakhtiari have played.

He is a man with a mixed reputation, as is any successful man in the mountains. He is greatly respected as a man of experience and even wisdom by tribesman and by townsmen in the Chahr Mahal region. His reputation goes far further than the Doab valley in which the hamlet is situated. He has lived through the fall of the Khans of the Duraki, he has known considerable poverty and hardship as well as success. While not having the more nomadic attributes of freedom and feuding, he has also been involved in inter Khan conflict and in conflict with the government. He and his next younger brother have a reputation for having been excellent fighters in their youth.

Although most of his life has been spent farming and establishing his hamlet, he acts as arbitrator to the Qandali tribesmen who own the valley and is respected by the Kalantars of the Qandali.

He is a highly educated and well read man, familiar with world affairs and is something of a poet with many delightful poems to his credit.

Being the founder of the hamlet and the eldest of the brothers the marriages of his children reveal a different pattern from those of his younger brothers.

The eight brothers themselves all have high status wives from the Duraki Khans, though not from the lineage of the Ilkhan/ All therefor have married close or distant cousins - their agnates. Seifullah and one other brother married their first cousins, daughters of brothers of their father. Marriage with close cousins is the preferred form of marriage among the Bakhtiari, particularly with the first cousin where this is possible. By marrying a first cousin adult brothers are at least temporarily united through the marriage of their children to each other. Si-ce all of the brothers married such cousins, the wives are all related not only to their husbands but to each other. They think of themselves as kinsmen therefore and this helps to maintain harmony on several levels. Harmony between the women of such a small group

is important in part at least in minimising or overcoming internal conflict between the men of the village. There is thus a dense network of kinship relationships present in the village, with the norms and obligation of kinship helping to provide the means of maintaining control in the absence of other institutionalised forms of control. The norms of kinship provide the framework within which people regulate their lives and their social relationships. The individual is thus imbedded in a society of kinsmen. One's neighbours are one's relatives.

There have been 14 marriages of the children of the brothers to date. Only the two eldest brothers have married sons, as well as daughters, and the next three brothers have married daughters. Their sons are as yet too young. Within the Bakhtiari girls marry much younger age than sons, often being betrothed at birth or when very young, and married in their early teens, usually about 15 years old. On marriage there is considerable exchange of wealth between the two families involved, with men paying "Shir boi" or milk money to the bride's family. This exchange of wealth is minimised when the marriage is between first cousins.

Amongst the children of the brothers there have been several first cousin marriages. Seifullah's youngest son was married to a daughter of Ali Naqi the second brother; and all three of Ali Naqi's sons have married the children of other brothers. So all five of the brothers with married children have at least one link through marriage with each other. The father's in law of these married children are therefore their uncles. Following this pattern, at least one child of the remaining brothers will marry within the village, thus uniting the second generation of the village who are all cousins, further through a network of marriages. There tends to be a closer relationship between brothers whose children are united by marriage, than between brothers who do not have this further bond. This form of marriage unites in succeeding generations cousins whose relationship through their fathers and grandfathers becomes more distant.

In this way a group maintains an external boundary defined in fact not just by the descent structure, the explicit terms in which the structure of the Bakhtiari is spoken of, but by the marriages within the group. It is men united not just by descent, but by through affinity, through marriage who cooperate with one another. As the size of a group expands through the generations as descendants through males of a common male ancestor the integrity of the group is maintained by marrying within the group, taking women as wives from the group of agnatic relatives of the lineage.

In Seifullahbad, as the interests of the brothers differentiated, they have already divided the land of the village and now work independent plots, so problems of an interpersonal nature arise, conflict of interests emerges, the size of growing families varies, conflicts and differences inevitably arise. Such conflicts are minimised by marriage of the children, enjoining the norms of affinity of marriage and in-lawship on the relationship.

The second brother for example has married all of his children to his nephews and nieces.

Seifullah on the other hand has not. Being the head of the hamlet the marriages of his children have a ^{more} distinctly political flavour. He has spread his net far beyond the confines of the village.'

His eldest son, is a school teacher in the administrative centre of Chahr Mahal, Shahr Kurd, and is married to a second cousin a woman from the Khawanin family. He lives in Shahr Kurd.

His second son married first a woman from a nearby village, the daughter of the Kadkhoda, or head of the village, where- which Seifullah's father used to partially own. He divorced this woman and married the daughter of the Kalantar or chief of a Chahr Lang tribal group. He lives in the city of Isfahan and works as an under manager in a factory in the city.

His youngest son, in contrast has lived all of his life in the village scarcely went to school and has been married to the daughter of Ali Naqi the second brother. His wife has never been out of the valley in her life. The difference in the brothers' life styles and experience ~~and~~ ^{and} very different indeed, as is their level of education. The difference in their own children is even more striking. With the sons of one having been born and brought up in the city, and of the other, in ~~an~~ ^{an} this isolated ^{mountain} village. The futures of these young sons is very different indeed.

Saifullah Khan has two daughters. In contrast to the brothers, his eldest daughter was married to a Kadkhoda of a section of the Qandali tribe. This man is a local leader of part of the Qandali nomads, and lives a nomadic lifestyle. The daughter therefore, having been born into the family of a Khan, settled in Seifabad, in effect had to become a nomadic wife. She migrates twice a year like all the other nomads, living in the winter quarters in a tribal village and for the rest of the year in a tent.

His youngest daughter is also married to a Qandali man, but one who works for the Iranian National Oil company, was educated by the Oil company, is bilingual and has travelled to America and Britain in his work. He lives in the city of Ahwaz in Khuzistan.

These two sisters live totally different lives, at either extreme of the situation described for the Bakhtiari as a whole. One is a nomad while her sister is an internationally travelled city living woman.

The children of these two sisters represent likewise the two poles open to the Bakhtiari. One set of children are nomadic Bakhtiari while the other come up into the mountains only on occasional visits, and are receiving a very different type of education.

Two other daughters of the hamlet have been married to Qandali . One like Seifullahs daughter to a minor leader and has become nomadic, the other has been married recently to one of the young Kalantars of the Qandali, and lives comfortably in the town of Masjid e Suleiman in the winter pastures and in a village further up the valley in Doab during the summer. She however does not migrate with the herds of her husband, but flies Iran Air from Khuzistan to Isfahan and then comes up as far as the road allows to near Doab, and continuing on horseback for the last stage up Doab.

In this hamlet then can be seen in miniature the variation in lifestyles and possibilities open to the Bakhtiari as a whole, as well as the processes whereby the potentiality of the Bakhtiari can be achieved. Incapsulated within this one village lie the diversity of interests and economies, from pastoralism , through farming, local teaching in a small provincial town, factory management in a city, Oil engineering and working for the Iranian Oil Company. ~~In-petit~~ From local tribal economy and the agro-pastoral ecology of the region to involvement in the oil industry, as well as modern education and industrialisation.

Through the marriages of the children of the hamlet, Seifullah has secured political links with the overall chief as well as two lower order chiefs of the Qandali tribe, in whose territory the hamlet lies.

In strictly local terms, Seifullah has secured his position and the future position of the hamlet by allying the hamlet to the most powerful tribal leaders and landowners in the region. He has a dominating say in the affairs of the valley, and has been instrumental in applying pressure to the government administration in the province to help build a road, and provide schools and bath houses in the valley. He himself has a small school for the children beside his own house, and has been endeavouring to obtain a government teacher. He is keenly aware of the necessity of education if his grandchildren are going to live as they

must in the modern state of Iran. Without adequate schooling the future holds little promise for his grandchildren. The status of being a Khan is no longer ^{as} relevant as it was when he was a young man. His grandchildren can only make it on their own merits. They do not have the established structure of powerful and wealthy Khawanin to live within as Seifullah did. Instead they will live within the modern state just as all village people now do, subject to government administration as Iranians, and not as Bakhtiari within a provincial framework ^{previously} determined and controlled by the Bakhtiari Khans..

Seifullah has ~~indeed~~ made the most of the opportunities of his' social position. As a farmer he has had striking success. The hamlet boasts of an extensive irrigation channel, growing irrigated and unirrigat-
-ed wheat and barley, fodder crops, orchards of grapes and various fruit trees. He makes his own wine and has a garden of sunflowers and roses. Until the 1960s the hamlet had a herd of more than 200 sheep, but these were almost all wiped out by bad weather conditions. They were herded by his Qandali son in laws.

Although Seifullah takes much pleasure in the success of his hamlet, and in the marriages of the hamlet, his reaction to the grandchildren, brought up in such a variety of social circumstances reflects the ambivalence he inevitably feels to the very success he achieved. He talks with displeasure at the lack of respect of his "city grandchildren" towards him, at the decay of Bakhtiari values. He ~~himself~~ takes little pleasure in city life, which he visits regularly, ^{superficially his main concern} _{interest}. He knows that his sons and grandchildren live in a very different world from the one in which he fought and lived as a Bakhtiari Khan. He enjoys telling stories of the past achievements of the Bakhtiari tribes to his children, while feeling increasingly a person of the past. Unsurprisingly his favourite ~~daughter~~ child and the one he respects most is his eldest daughter, now a nomad, in whom he sees the values, the strength and the pride of the Bakhtiari. His own identity was forged in the mountains

and is essentially a tribal identity. The strength of his character, and above all his forward looking vision is that of the people of the wind. He has looked to the future on behalf of himself and his charges, not as a peasant farmer, but as a tribal chief. The active and often volatile participation in the maximum social world available to him is what marks him off from his other brothers and from his children. Unlike them he is a "spiritual" nomad, constantly moving between his hamlet, the houses of his sons and other tribal relatives, keeping a careful and solicitous eye on his diverse interests and investments - social investments as they are. Apart from Ali Naqi the second brother, the only person he sees with a similar world view is his nomadic daughter. She is not happy in her marriage. Her husband has two other wives, and she is pressuring her father Seifullah to help her in divorcing her husband. It is unlikely that Seifullah will agree since the marriage has brought political advantages to him, but he is in the process of building a house in Seifabad, so that she need no longer live with and migrate with her husband. He says of her, that unlike his other children who have become Persians that she at least has learned to be a Bakhtiari.

His career started in the disadvantaged lineage of his grandfather a young man in Bagher, and as a young man was a client of the dominant tribal structure. Was a leading member of the brigade of Zaffar when he was of Kerman (23 years), got booty. Later on local gov. representative in U.S. for tribal administration - trouble with Qandili in his time. - settled during period of Reza Shah's programme. - about Qasr Khan & Yaghi - 1940s - would reputation - ready period, fought against army. Also in 1950s

appears in documents

Transformation to respected leader
 Structure of domination. Seifullah is regarded as an emblem by younger members - he controls this access to resources.