THE TRIBES OF WESTERN IRAN

By Professor V. Minorsky

Introduction

As one looks at the map of Iran, one feature strikes the eye at once : the two great ranges which join each other in the north-west (see Fig. 1). One of them crosses the northern part of the country latitudinally, between Afghanistan and Turkey, and its highest point in the west is Mount Ararat. The second chain begins immediately south of Ararat and runs south-east, forming the western border of Iran. It has no general name to-day, but in antiquity the middle section was called " the Zagros," and this name is still used as a convenient conventional term for the whole range. This longitudinal mountain tract forms the background of my story.

I. The Pre-Iranian Period

The territory of Iran was not at first known by this name. About the year 1000 B.C. the Indo-European Iranians, speaking a language of the same family as the ancient Indian, Greek, Latin and other tongues, began to infiltrate into this country and, after they had occupied it, the country was named after them. We cannot say whence our Iranian cousins came or how long it took them to conquer their present habitat. We only know that between 844 B.C. and 836 B.C. the annals of the Assyrian Kingdom for the first time refer to the presence of Medians (*Māda*) and Persians (*Parsua*) somewhere to the south of Lake Urmia.

Who, then, were the inhabitants displaced by the Iranian invasion ? For the eastern part of Iran we have no definite written indications, but we know of the existence in the West of at least two mighty kingdoms which for a long time asserted their independence against their more famous Mesopotamian neighbours. In the North, the kingdom of Van (Urartu or Khaldi) stretched between the three great lakes : Van (in present-day Turkey), Urmia (in Iran) and Sevan (in Soviet Armenia). In the extreme south, the kingdom of Elam, with its capital Susa (Shushan-the-Palace of the *Book of Esther*) dominated vast territories to the north-west of the Persian Gulf.

Both Van and Elam had languages of their own. These were unlike the languages of Mesopotamia, but as the speakers used the cuneiform script invented in Mesopotamia, it has been possible to establish the phonetic character of their tongues and gradually to ascertain the meaning of their inscriptions, some of which are bilingual.

Apart from the two kingdoms, numerous small principalities existed in the central part of the Zagros. Some did not extend, apparently, beyond a few secluded valleys. Of them we know little beyond the names, which sound uncommon, unlike anything else. Mountains towering over lowlands are often the refuge of remnants of populations displaced from the plains : this is true of the sources of the Indus, as it is of the Caucasus, and it is a clue to the origin of the Zagros tribes, lost in the mists of prehistory.

Among such lesser peoples one should especially mention the Kassites (Kashshu), located in the northern part of present-day Luristan. The Kashshu once descended from their hills and ruled over Babylon, as a result of which we have a list of Kassite words. The language is an idiom apparently without relatives, but to the astonishment of the decipherers some names sound Indo-European : not " Iranian " Indo-European, but rather " Indian " Indo-European (*e.g.*, *Suryash*). Some very early infiltration was naturally inferred, and as the Babylonians called horses " asses of the Eastern hills," it was suggested that these early Indo-Europeans were the horse-trainers who established themselves among the Zagros tribes, first as mercenaries and then probably as masters, as occurred in Upper Mesopotamia and also in the Hittite kingdom in Asia Minor. Shortly before 1930 a large number of bronze objects were discovered in northern Luristan, including bits and trappings which pointed to an advanced stage of horse-domestication in the area. The author was the first to show the connection between these groups of factors and to attribute the find to the Kassites, or rather to the early Indo-Europeans established among them.[1]

II. Ancient Iran : Medians and Persians

When at a later date, about 1000 B.C., the Iranians reached their present homeland, they must have come in separate bands, painfully pushing their way towards the south. They belonged to two tribes, the Median and the Persian, closely akin. First the Medians were dominant (700 B.C.–559 B.C.), and, striding across conquered Assyria, undertook campaigns into the heart of Asia Minor. The Persians

[1] Minorsky (1931*a*), pp. 141f. ; (1931*b*), p. 293.

went farther south, into the dominions of the former Kingdom of Elam, and in the end overthrew their Median overlords.

Under Cyrus a great Persian empire was formed in Iran (559 B.C.–331 B.C.), with many territories and peoples incorporated in it. The famous bas-reliefs of Persepolis represent the various races among the subjects of the great kings. Smaller tribes were of course neglected in this precious picture gallery. Later the terms *Pārsa* and *Māda* (Persians and Medians) acquired a territorial rather than a strictly ethnical meaning.

III. MIDDLE-IRANIAN KINGDOMS: PARTHIANS AND SASANIANS

There followed the long period of the Middle-Iranian Kingdoms, which lasted some nine hundred years (from 250 B.C. to the middle of the seventh century A.D.). Our knowledge of the changes which took place in the composition of the population is unfortunately still inadequate. The administrative centres shifted westwards into Mesopotamia, to Seleucia and Ctesiphon on the Tigris. The necessity for the Iranian kings to maintain communications with their homeland, now in the rear, must have led to the penetration of the Zagros region and to an increase of Iranian elements there. Nevertheless, at the beginning of our era many names in the western part of Irān, quoted by Ptolemy, were still non-Iranian.

IV. THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

A. *Arabs*

After the Islamic conquest, completed in A.D. 651, Arab tribes settled in many parts of Iran, and we hear of several groups established along the eastern side of the central Zagros. These aliens were however not numerous enough to maintain themselves, surrounded as they were by the local population, and through intermarriage and the usual process of assimilation they were absorbed. One Arab family is known to have added to its Arab tribal name, *al-Azdi*, in the course of a century, the qualification *al-Kurdi*, *i.e.*, Kurdish.

B. *Daylamites*

From ancient times there would seem to have been a surplus population in the highlands south-west of the Caspian, the so-called Daylam. There is some reason to believe that the Daylamites were of pre-Iranian origin, but by the tenth century they were iranicized, although not entirely assimilated to the dominant race. Soon after A.D. 900, Daylam assumed the role which in Europe was played by the Scandinavian homeland of the Norsemen.[2] The flood-gates were suddenly flung open and astonishing numbers of Daylamite adventurers, described as fierce and hairy bands, spread over Iran and thence down into Mesopotamia, for a century keeping the Caliph in complete submission. Chronicles, corroborated by present-day toponymy, show that Daylamite colonies existed also in the Zagros area.[3]

C. *Turks*

Much more important were later invasions from Central Asia. In the eleventh century, the hordes of the Turkish Oghuz, under the leadership of the Seljuk family, crossed Iran and overran Mesopotamia, Armenia and Asia Minor. These Turks congregated, in large groups, in the north-western corner of Iran, where they imposed their language on the population. Those of the former inhabitants who remained faithful to their own tribal organization seem to have been pushed back nearer to the Zagros.

D. *Mongols*

In the thirteenth century the Mongols, who had been living in areas of Central Asia to the east of the Turks, rushed westwards and wrought havoc throughout the Middle East. Tabriz, the capital of north-western Iran, became their chief residence, and Mongol hordes were quartered in many parts of the Zagros range. By the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the Mongols, now islamized, ceased to be a political power and became amalgamated with their predecessors, the Turks.

For more than the next two centuries the Turks of western Iran lived in a perpetual state of agitation, now forming new coalitions and overrunning large areas, now splitting into single clans and settling in remote corners of the country. The western regions were, again, affected by these nomadic movements.

Under the Safavids (A.D. 1500–A.D. 1722) many Turkish and Kurdish tribes were split, and settled in remote corners of the Zagros.

V. MODERN TIMES

The above catalogue of some of the changes which have taken place in western Iran throughout the ages is a warning against sweeping generalisations. It shows that in western Iran, as elsewhere, it is impossible to speak of a pure, unmixed race. Let us now consider the ethnical problems of the present time.

If we take language as our guiding thread, we must

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[2] Minorsky (1932).

[3] The provincial capital of Salmas is called Dilmān (*i.e.*, *Daylamān*).

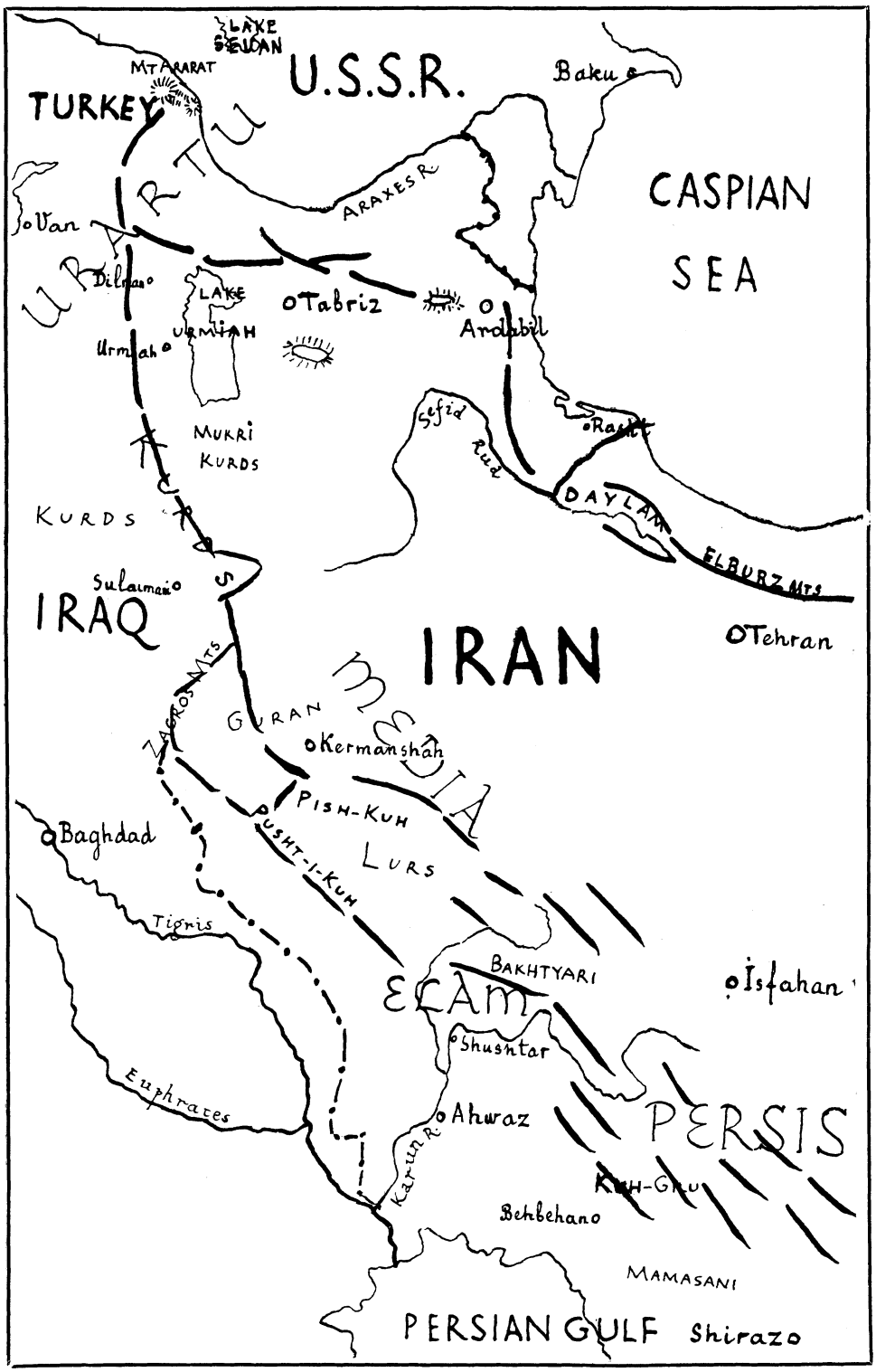

FIG. 1.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF WESTERN IRANIAN TRIBES

admit that the situation is considerably simplified. Arab geographers of the tenth century refer to a special Khūzī speech near Ahwaz, and this was possibly a remnant of the old Elamite language.[4] But since then every trace of it has disappeared. The same applies to all other ancient idioms of the Zagros.

Minorities

Most of the peoples of the western frontier now use Iranian dialects, but there are exceptions.

In the south, Arabic has made inroads, in the lower regions of ancient Elam. Turkish is found among isolated groups in the south, and it is still predominant in the northern part of the great north-western province of Azarbaijan (whose capital is Tabriz). Between Lake Urmia and the western frontier range there are Christian colonies of considerable size, Armenian and Syrian. As that part of the country bore the name of Persarmenia in Byzantine times, the presence of Armenians in the country must be of long standing. They are supposed to have come from Thrace. For a time they were in Phrygia, in Asia Minor, and they finally displaced and absorbed the ancient inhabitants of the Kingdom of Van.

The Syrians call themselves, nowadays, 'Assyrians,' but this is definitely a misleading term, at least as regards language, for they speak an Aramaic dialect closely akin to other Aramaic dialects surviving on the fringe of the Mesopotamian lowlands. Both Aramaic and Old Assyrian belong to the Semitic family, but Assyrian died out, as a spoken language, after the destruction of Nineveh by the Medians in 612 B.C. Aramaic is a different language, which must have been spoken by the peaceful populations dominated by the Assyrian conquerors.

So much for the differences in language. From the point of view of race, the Syrians, or at least the Syrian mountaineers, known for their warlike character, may have absorbed some remnants of the true Assyrians.

Finally, there are found throughout Kurdistan small colonies of Jews who also speak Aramaic, as well as Kurdish and other local dialects.

Iranian-Speaking Tribes

The minorities having been briefly described in the previous section, we may now concentrate on the Western Iranians, who are the centre of our interest this afternoon. They may be classified roughly under three headings: the Lurs, the Kurds, and the Gūrān.

These terms have often been confused. In older Persian usage, the word 'Kurd' acquired the meaning of a 'nomad' in general; thus, according to a tenth-century work, the Persians called the Mesopotamian Arabs "the Kurds of Sūristān." Similarly, the author of the famous History of the Kurds, Sharaf-al-din (sixteenth century), speaks of the Lurs as a branch of the Kurds. The Lur and Kurd dialects were little known until the beginning of the twentieth century, when the German Iranian scholar O. Mann undertook the systematic study of them on the spot, visiting nearly every tribe.

The subjects of H.M. the Shah, whom we used to call Persians, now call themselves *Īranī* (Iranians), a form of the ancient term *Aryan*. At the same time, they call their language *fārsī* or *pārsī*, *i.e.*, the idiom of Fārs or Pārs, the southern province of Iran which now has Shiraz as capital. This terminology clearly confirms the fact that the old Iranian civilization rose in the south of Iran, in the province known to the Greeks as 'Persis,' and that the speech which was to be elevated to the dignity of the national language was originally the dialect of that province only. Innumerable *patois* are, in fact, spoken by the rural population of various districts of Iran; one of them is indeed spoken in Shemīrān, the summer resort a few miles to the north of Tehran. But the dialects spoken in the central and northern parts of Iran possess features differentiating them from the official Fārsī, whereas the local dialects of Fārs province show the closest connection with Fārsī. This provides additional confirmation of the links binding the official language to that province, which gave birth to the great dynasties of the Achæmenids (550 B.C.–330 B.C.) and the Sasanians (A.D. 224–A.D. 651).

A. *Lurs*

It is an important fact that the contemporary dialects of Luristan belong *grosso modo* to the same class as the dialects of Fars, whereas they digress definitely from the Kurdish dialects. But language is not a sufficient ground for assuming that the Lurs are, in blood, 'cousins' of the Persians, for many tribes have changed their speech in the course of history; we need recall only the Celtic peoples, many of whom have become English-speaking, even when they have not lost the consciousness of their national affinities. The character of the Lur dialects may thus be taken to reveal cultural connections, but not as a sure guide to the ethnical origin of the speakers. Here physical anthropology should come to our help, but no systematic observations on a large scale have been made among the Lurs, and when the task is tackled it will be wise not to 'add yards to metres' by photographing and measuring all Lurs, indiscriminately

[4] The name Khūz (which survives in the names Khuzistān and Ahwāz) is connected with one of the peoples of Elam whom the Greeks called *Uxioi*.

FIG. 2.—A SOUTHERN LUR

Well-defined tribal groups should be kept distinct, as they may well prove to be of diverse origin. There may also be a considerable racial difference between social classes, for it is a common practice among nomads to recognize as rulers, and receive in their midst, outsiders who offer them protection from a paramount enemy.

The Lurish-speaking peoples of western Iran[5] are found in four territorial groups :

The Mamasani: In the south, along the valleys connecting Fars with Khuzistan, live the Mamasani, who before the fourteenth century, but in the full light of history, absorbed the older residents of that tract, *i.e.*, the Shūl (who in their time enjoyed some notoriety).

The Kuh-Gilu: North of the Mamasani are the Kuh-gilu, who are considerably mixed with the Turkish clans established among them. Even the name of the principal clan, Aghachari, is that of an old Turkish tribe, and means "Woodsmen."[6]

The Bakhtiyari: To the north of the Kuh-gilu, between Isfahan and Khuzistan, live the numerous Bakhtiyari tribes, whose present name is comparatively modern and seems to be derived from that of some local chieftain. The earlier name for the Bakhtiyari territory was Great Lur; from A.D. 1155 to A.D. 1423 it was ruled by an important local dynasty which was said to have come from Syria.

The Lesser Lur in the Pīsh-Kūh and Pusht-i-Kūh: The northern and western part of Luristan once formed a similar federation of the Lesser Lur, which was also ruled by its own dynasty (A.D. 1184–A.D. 1597). Later the territory split into two sections, the Pīsh-Kūh, meaning "this side of the (frontier) range," and Pusht-i-Kūh, "beyond the (frontier) range," *i.e.*, on the Mesopotamian slope of the western wall of the Zagros.

It is no easy task to sum up the characteristics of the original Iranian race ; one can only proceed on the basis of the general impression conveyed by the stylised type represented on the Achæmenid bas-reliefs. The Mamasani and Bakhtiyari, who live nearer to Fars, look more 'Iranian' than the other two branches, as one would expect, but here again more attention should be paid to the lower classes than to the chieftains, who could more easily intermarry with neighbouring peoples and secure a better class of spouse (see Plate IIIB).

The physical type of the average tribesman may well have been affected by the extreme hardships these nomads experienced during seasonal migrations when, in search of grass for their herds, they climbed from the hot plains to the high plateaux, crossing icy rivers, trudging barefoot in the snow, following goat tracks up almost perpendicular, rocky mountainsides.

[5] Minorsky (1928).

[6] *Aghach-äri* (not *agha-chari*).

The film called "Grass," made by the American writer M. Cooper, and his book of the same name recorded the heroic epic of the Bakhtiyari before the Iranian Government attempted the forcible settlement of the tribe, on the land formerly used during half of the year.

The north-western Lurs are much more striking and unusual in their appearance. An Iranian friend of mine once called Luristan *ma'dan-e rīsh*, "a mine of beards," and such is indeed the first impression made by the Lurs, an impression emphasized by their rather short stature (see Fig. 2 and Plate IVA). Their faces are very wild, 'goatish,' and lean; apart from the scarcity of food the Lurs suffer constantly from indigestion, because of their use of flour made from wild acorns. In any case there is something 'primitive' and quaint about the Lurs which suggests that, despite their Iranian dialects, they belong to some peculiar, localized type of race. Their "black tents" are shown in Plate IIIA.

B. *Kurds*

The Kurdish population[7] is first found, in Iran, somewhat to the south of the parallel of Kermanshah and extends in a broad belt to the south of Lake Urmia, and thence as a narrower band up to Mount Ararat. But the Kurds also form an important element in neighbouring states. In Iraq they occupy all the hilly part of the country, and in northern Syria they extend nearly to the Mediterranean. In Turkey large numbers of Kurds lived near Lake Van and from there westwards to the neighbourhood of Ankara, but after the decimation of the Armenians during the war of 1914–18, the situation is obscure. Few Kurds remain in Soviet Transcaucasia since 1919, when the territory of Kars was ceded to Turkey. On the whole the Kurds therefore represent an important aggregate of homogeneous population, which still awaits some final settlement.

The Kurdish language is Iranian, without a doubt, but it differs considerably from Persian. The common Indo-European word for 'heart' sounds *zird* in Kurdish, and *del* in Persian; 'name' is *nēw* in Kurdish and *nām* in Persian. There is no unique literary Kurdish (*koinē*); almost every tribe has a dialect of its own, although the basic characteristics of Kurdish appear in all of them. That they do so is astonishing, in view of the extensive dispersal of the Kurdish tribes, and I believe it to indicate that there was an ancient and powerful basic language, from which the dialects, through local influences and deformations, all evolved. The only way of explaining their consistency is, as I see it, by assuming that Kurdish speech is an offspring of the early Median language. When the Medians destroyed the Assyrian Kingdom, many of their tribes must have moved into a vacuum; and as Median power extended to the border of Lydia, Median tribes (now represented by the Kurds) must have penetrated deep into Asia Minor.

But we cannot forget the danger, once more, of confusing language with race. Kurds differ widely in type, even within a single tribe. One of my photographs (Plate IVB) shows a Kurdish chieftain, Ja'far Agha Shakkāk, whom I used to know in Tabriz and who was executed in 1904 at the behest of the Governor-General. His oval face, with a straight nose of medium size, and his energetic appearance, characterise what one might term the 'original' Kurdish manhood, but the appearance of most Kurds shows strongly the influence of their Arab, Turkish, Armenian and Syrian neighbours. I have recently come to the conclusion that the Mongols, during their domination of the West in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, must have taken over the leadership of some Kurdish clans. One of the larger tribes to the south of Lake Urmia is called Mukri, which is a well-known Far Eastern tribal name.

In postulating Kurdish intermarriages, it would be a mistake to think only of forcible abductions. Kurdish youths are often romantically minded, and some fifty or sixty years ago the British Consul in Tabriz had much trouble in trying to repatriate the daughter of a British subject (of Central European origin) who had been kidnapped, but refused to leave her ravisher. Such examples are very frequent in Kurdistan, where women occupy an independent position. E. B. Soane, who for a considerable time lived in disguise among the southern Kurds, reports with what dignity solitary women receive guests in their tents. Several cases are known of Kurdish women successfully running the affairs of their clans. In 1913 I myself met one of these remarkable ladies in the district of Alabcha (then Turkish; now in Iraq). Adela-khanum, whom the British called Lady Adela, rose to distinction during the war of 1914–18, when she saved the lives of several British officers. She was decorated for her exploits by the British commander, receiving the title of Khan-Bahadur (see Plate VA).

In the region between Sulaimani and Lake Urmia, Kurdish attire is very original in style. The headgear consists of pointed caps wrapped in ample silk kerchiefs, with tassels descending over the eyes. In summer the men wear baggy white cloth trousers and a shirt with extremely long sleeves, which touch the ground. During battle, these sleeves are tied together behind the back, to ensure freedom of move-

[7] Minorsky (1927, 1940).

ment for the hands. Over the shirt is worn a short jacket, and the waist is encircled by a narrow strip of shawl, sometimes from 15 to 20 yards in length, with many knots in front.

Other tribes, west of Urmia (whose ladies are shown in Plate VB), wear much longer coats, of a Persian pattern, with high top-boots for riding. Others, again, use embroidered boleros over their shirts. In Turkey the sartorial habits of the army have been imitated by the Kurds, who were often mustered as levies. The picturesque tribal attire is in their case unfortunately disappearing and, under Government pressure, is being replaced by drab semi-European clothes.

Thus, both in type and in dress, the Kurds show traces of manifold influences, the uniting factors being the common customs of a semi-nomadic existence and a speech which varies from tribe to tribe, but is mutually intelligible.

As in the case of the Lurs, any future physico-anthropological study must proceed cautiously, avoiding hasty generalisations, as the tribal groupings probably represent some original ethnical nuclei. The existing tribal records are of great importance, and by using them one can often ascertain the ancient and heterogeneous influences which played upon its ancestors.

C. *Guran*

The Guran (*Gūran*) provide a good example of the need for careful historical and linguistic investigation before deciding to what group a tribe should be assigned. Since the fourteenth century, Muslim authors have treated the Guran as Kurds. Here, again, O. Mann has shown that the Guran (*gūrānī*) dialect lacks the basic features of Kurdish and that it is affiliated, instead, to the dialects of central Iran (*i.e.*, to the dialects which are not connected with the province of Fars).

The principal group of Guran is located just north of the main Zagros pass, through which runs the historic road from Baghdad to Kermanshah, but it has been established that several isolated villages to the east of this main Guran territory still speak the same language. In the large enclave of Awraman, to the north, a dialect of the same class is spoken. Moreover the large group of Zaza, who occupy the territory between Diyarbakr and Erzerum, hundreds of miles north-west of the Guran, use a language akin to Gurani. During the Crimean War many Kurdish prisoners taken by the Russians were concentrated in Smolensk, where they were visited by Dr. P. Lerch, on behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This scholar at once noted the difference between the original Kurdish and Zaza speech, but only in our day has the inter-relationship of these widely scattered non-Kurdish dialects been properly assessed.

The Guran are a very interesting tribe, having their own lyric and epic poetry and a most curious religion, on which I have published a considerable number of documents.[8] This religion has numerous ramifications among the non-Guran peoples of Iran and neighbouring countries. The Gurani dialect has even been used as a court language by a small dynasty in the Iranian part of Kurdistan. Finally, the Guran and cognate tribes are excellent gardeners and agriculturists generally, a fact which points to an ancient cultural tradition. In Awraman I was much impressed by the high standard of cultivation of irrigated terraces, placed on the slopes of the hills. These characteristics, taken together, entitle the Guran and Awrami to be considered as a special Iranian group.

For many years I have been much interested in the Gurans and their religion. In 1914 I had the opportunity of visiting their charming country and their sanctuaries, hidden amid green groves, rushing torrents and yellow cliffs, in the remote gorges of the Zagros. Quite recently I have once again gone through the source material in an endeavour to ascertain the origin of the Guran, and in the works of a ninth-century Arab geographer I have found the older form of their name (*Jābāriqa*), a clear distinction being also made between them and the Kurds.[9] The toponymy of the region of Kermanshah shows many traces of the name of this tribe, which was apparently the mainstay of a very remarkable local dynasty, the Hasanwaihids (tenth to eleventh century). I have even traced the Guran into the more central parts of Iran, and I have grounds for believing that the tribe may hail, more remotely, from the region south of the Caspian Sea, that great reservoir of peoples and starting-point of many migrations.

From the sociological point of view, it is of interest that the present day Guran tribe consists of several clans, some of which are composed of 'original' Guran, others simply of southern Kurds. Still more astonishing is the fact that the Kurds belonging to the Guran federation are good Sunnites, to whom the mystic religion of their Guran fellows must appear sheer heresy. Yet these associates are on quite good terms. This demonstrates, once more, that common ways of life and outward similarity in habits are no guarantee of a common origin in the case of an 'original' tribe with a fringe which has added itself in later times.

VI. Conclusions

In this paper I have brought together some remarks on the highly varied and interesting population of

[8] Minorsky (1921).
[9] Minorsky (1943).

western Persia. Many years will pass before the attendant problems can be adequately dealt with. I shall be happy if my drop is not lost in the sea of future studies.

With special reference to the pre-occupations of the Royal Anthropological Institute, I should like to repeat my methodological hints. I wish to press the point that Physical Anthropology and Ethnology should proceed in the closest contact with Philology and History, especially when we tread on a soil as saturated with historical memories as that of venerable Iran.

As some Iranian friends have honoured my talk with their presence, I should also like to say, emphatically, in conclusion, that in underlining the variety of the peoples of Iran I wish in no way to seem to question the ancient unity of their country, but rather to try to bring out all its charms, blended harmoniously as the colours of a bright carpet.

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Description of Plates

Note.—Unless otherwise specified, the photographs illustrating this paper were taken by local photographers (among them A. Sevṛugin), about 1905.

Plate III.—A. "Black Tents" (*kurang*) in Northern Luristan.

B. The Vali of Pusht-i-Kūh (in checked coat), with his brothers and retinue (*circa* 1900).

Plate IV.—A. The rebel Prince Sālār ad-daula (in white coat), with three chiefs of the Sagvand and Dirigvand clans (Luristan, *circa* 1907).

B. Ja'far Agha Shakkāk with his brother Simko (Kurdish chiefs), guests from Turkey and retinue (*circa* 1903).

Plate V.—A. Adela-khanum, with her son and daughter-in-law (Alabcha, 1914; photo. Mrs. T. Minorsky).

B. Kurdish ladies with attendants (Urmia).

A. "BLACK TENTS" IN NORTHERN LURISTAN

B. THE VALI OF PUSHT-I-KUH

A. PRINCE SALAR AD-DAULA WITH LUR CHIEFS

B. JA'FAR AGHA SHAKKAK

Photo: Mrs. T. Minorsky

A. ADELA-KANUM OF ALABCHA

B. KURDISH LADIES WITH ATTENDANTS (URMIA)