ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN DARDISTAN 1958

Preliminary Report

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In the northwestern corner of the Indian subcontinent the three most eminent mountain chains of Asia meet—the Hindukush, Himalaya, and Karakoram. Most of this area is inhabited by Indo-Aryan or Iranian peoples. Two remote and almost inaccessible valleys, Yasin and Hunza-Nagir, are, however, the home of a population speaking Burushaski, a non-Indo-European language.[1]

In this paper we are concerned with the Indo-Aryans of these mountains. They must have separated from the main stock very early, in part perhaps even before the Aryan migration to the Indian plains took place.[2] Their languages form one marginal group which is called "Dardic." As they form a unity in many other respects too, ethnographers are justified in speaking of them as Dards or Dardic peoples.

The inhabitants of Kashmir originally belonged to the same subdivision of the Indo-Aryans, but they were linguistically and culturally assimilated to the peoples of the plains during a turbulent and rather cruel history.

The northwestern neighbors of the Dardic population, the Kafirs,[3] have attracted the attention of European scientists for more than 150 years. Surrounded by Mohammedan nations, they stubbornly preserved their pagan religion. Kafiristan thus became a real museum of archaic techniques, social institutions, rites, and ideas. It is perhaps one of the most regrettable losses to science that finally, a few years after the first European explorer, the famous Sir George Scott Robertson, had started his daring expedition, this anthropologists' paradise "was conquered by the Afghans who forcibly converted the people to Islam. Later expeditions of European scholars were unable to recover more than fragments of the ancient cultural traditions." [4]

The Dards [5] unfortunately did not succeed in arousing comparable interest.

Of course the first British officers and agents to enter the interior of Dardistan wrote lengthy reports,[6] but professional anthropologists never made much use of them.

Later on, service in the mountains became routine work, so only a few reports were written, mostly rather superficial ones.[7] There were, however, some exceptions. Among the native officials sent to Gilgit, Baltistan, and Ladakh there were two learned and interested men who wrote compilations which are lucid sources of information.[8] The linguist Lorimer devoted an invaluable but too brief paper [9] to "the supernatural in the popular belief of the Gilgit region."

From this general situation we can understand why even the pagan religion of the Dardic Kalash tribe was almost overlooked for a long time. The Kalash, also called Kalash-Kafirs, were not so fierce or so warlike by far as the true Kafirs beyond the Afghan border, but they had many traits in common with the latter and some peculiar to themselves which are even more interesting. Schomberg and Morgenstierne have given useful but incomplete information on this subject.[10]

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[1] *Cf.* Lorimer, 1935–1938.

[2] Gujuri is only a dialect of Punjabi carried on by an intrusive group of shepherds and tenants. *Cf.* Morgenstierne, 1932: 43, 63.

[3] We are aware that they are now called *Nuristanis* by their Afghan overlords, but we will use the traditional term for practical reasons. Kafiri includes the dialects of Kati, Waigeli, Ashkun, and Prasun. According to Morgenstierne, 1926: 69, they do not form a separate branch of Indo-Iranian, but belong to the Dardic group as well, only they are especially archaic. The opposite opinion, later pleaded for by Morgenstierne himself, is presented by Buddrus 1960: 200.

[4] Heine-Geldern, 1957*b*: 282. A special bibliography exists, viz. Fazy, 1953.

[5] Peoples and tribes speaking Pashai, Tirahi, Shumashti, Gawar-Bati, Khowar, Kalasha, Dameli, Torwali, Gawri, Kohistani, and Shina.

[6] Leitner, 1876, 1889, 1894. Shaw, 1878; Biddulph, 1880; Cunningham, 1854. Durand, 1899; Ujfalvy, 1884, 1896.

[7] Schomberg, 1935, 1936, 1938. Stein (1903, 1907, 1921, 1928, 1942) was mainly interested in archaeology, Herrlich (1938) is more or less an outsider.

[8] Ghulam Muhammad, 1907. Hashmatullah Khan, 1939.

[9] Lorimer, 1927.

[10] Schomberg, 1938 (already mentioned). Morgenstierne, 1947. The article is based on observations made in 1929.

The same holds good for the easternmost Dardic strongholds. The villages of Da and Hanu belong to Ladakh and therefore never became Islamic. They only accepted a superficial veneer of lamaism. Here Francke noted ceremonial songs which could provide the key to the understanding of the basic religious ideas of the Dards.[11] But nobody saw the problems posed by even this wonderful material, and this explains why the members of the Filippi Expedition were more interested in the material culture of that area than in ancient beliefs.[12]

In the light of all this, it is no wonder that the Dards are not even mentioned in many works of general anthropology.

Only since World War II has there been a perceptible change in the situation. Then the Dards were finally discovered by professionals. For the first time the Dane, Halfdan Siiger, explored the Kalash systematically according to modern ethnographic methods.[13] The Norwegian, Fredrik Barth, following in the footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein,[14] penetrated Indus- and Swat-Kohistan and wrote an ethnographic survey which contains splendid sociologic observations.[15] Adolf Friedrich, the leader of the 1955/56 German Hindukush Expedition collected further singular material among the Kalash, assisted by Peter Snoy. Before this, he did field work with his whole team—Peter Snoy, Georg Buddruss and me—in the valleys of the Gilgit Agency.[16] One of the members—myself—paid a visit to the Brokpas of Baltistan.

Owing to Friedrich's untimely death at Rawalpindi in 1956, only a few preliminary reports have been printed as yet,[17] but one thing may already be regarded as sure: there are more pre-Islamic survivals in the Gilgit Agency than we ever dared to hope.[18]

By chance, an invitation from the Austrian Himalaya Society enabled me to return to the Gilgit Agency only two years later as a member of the 1958 Austrian Karakoram Expedition. The mountaineers of the expedition conquered Mount Haramosh (7.397 m.) under the leadership of Heinrich Roiss (who died during the next expedition to Mount Dhaulagiri in 1959). The scientific team was headed by the geographer Wiche, the second member was the zoologist Piffl, I was the third. We all belonged to the University of Vienna.

Here only the main areas under investigation shall be mentioned. From April 27 to May 30, we did field work in the Haramosh valley, northeast of Gilgit. Between May 31 and June 24, we had our camp at Gilgit and visited a number of places, sometimes by jeep, in the main valley. From June 25 to July 2, we were guests of the governor of Gupis and thus got a useful introduction to the problems of this area. On July 3, we started in the direction of Tangir and Darel, already visited by me in 1955. There I collected supplementary data until July 23. During the following days I crossed nine passes, each more than 4,000 meters above sea level, to the valley of Gor, from where I arrived at Gilgit (August 7). During the next few weeks, we were busy at Peshawar and Rawalpindi inspecting the museum, or else packing up our collections. But between August 19 and August 28 we were again in Swat, and I visited the Torwali and Gawri-speaking population near Kalam. This route was considerably longer than that of my comrades[19] and my investigations more expensive. The difference was entirely covered by a grant of the American Philosophical Society to which I wish to express my gratitude.

Successful work in a difficult and rarely visited area was made possible by the permits given by the Government of Pakistan and the assistance of civil and military authorities, who afforded us every facility. My interpreter and guide during both expeditions was the headconstable of the Gilgit Police, Rahbar Hassan. I must extend special thanks to him.

All work between April 27 and August 7 was devoted to the Shina-speaking population of the Gilgit Agency. I think this research will provide new and essential information on their social and spiritual structure.

Only a short spell of reconnoitring activity was possible in Swat, among the Torwali and Gawri speakers.

The areas under investigation are at such a distance from one another and my intentions in each case so different that it seems best to give separate surveys of them.

[11] Francke, 1905.

[12] Dainelli, 1924, 1925: 104–127.

[13] Siiger, 1956: 12–35.

[14] *Cf.* Stein, 1942. This explorer, however, collected historical and geographical information only.

[15] Barth, 1956.

[16] This project was sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

[17] Jettmar, 1957*a*, 1957*b*, 1957*c*.

[18] Snoy came across most of them, I suppose, when he visited the Bagrot valley. His material will soon be issued.

[19] *Cf.* Wiche, 1958.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SHINA-SPEAKING DARDS OF THE GILGIT AGENCY

AREA AND POPULATION

Roughly speaking, the Shina language is the northern neighbor of Kashmiri.[20] Its basic area lies on both sides of the River Indus between the defile of Rondu and the wild gorge, where the river curving around the main range of the Himalaya turns to the south, to Indus-Kohistan.

The second center of the language is in the valley of Gilgit. However, some large tributaries (Yasin, Ishkoman, Hunza) are inhabited by different stocks.[21] Today this territory belongs to the Gilgit Agency and forms a part of "Azad Kashmir" which is administered by Pakistan.

Besides this, Shina is spoken in some valleys south of the Himalaya range. The western ones (Palas, Jalkot) are an inaccessible tribal area even today, loosely attached to the Hazara District (Pakistan); the eastern ones around Gurez, just on the doorstep of Kashmir, are on the Indian side of the cease-fire line of 1947.

Dialects of Shina, rather broken up by foreign elements, are still alive in some valleys of Baltistan among the "Brokpas,"[22] while the Baltis, the main stock, speak an archaic form of Tibetan. This territory, like all those mentioned before, is Islamic and under Pakistan rule.

The easternmost of these enclaves are around Dras and in Ladakh, that is, under Indian administration. As we have already mentioned, only the villages of Da and Hanu did not become Islamic.[23]

Before they were conquered by the English and their confederate, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, most of the valleys were under small local dynasties.[24]

Along the River Indus only, as in neighboring Indus-Kohistan, there existed independent communities eager to defend their liberty against foreign invaders but internally split by perpetual feuds. Their land was called *Yaghestan*, "Land of the Free," and it was famous for its anarchy.

Everywhere the Shina-speakers are divided into four basic nations or castes: Shins, Yeshkuns, Kamins, and Doms.[25] The Shins are often considered superior. Their proper home seems to be the northern part of Yaghestan, namely, the valleys on both sides of the River Indus below Chilas. This area also bears the name of *Shināki*, "Land of the Shins."

The very first explorers proposed to regard the Yeshkuns as descendants of the indigenous population originally speaking Burushaski. They supposed that the Yeshkuns took over the Shina language, when the area was conquered by the Shins, but remained a separate caste.[26] My observations confirm this theory. The toponymy also shows that Burushaski was spoken in the northern part of the Gilgit Agency.

Shins as well as Yeshkuns are Europoid, but there are some differences between these groups which indicate in most cases whether a visitor is a Shin or a Yeshkun.

Kamins and Doms are to be found even outside of Dardistan. "Kamin" is the term for a low caste of tenants and craftsmen in the Punjab and in the corner between the River Kabul and the River Swat. "Doms" is the general name of the gleemen, the musicians, in a still larger area.[27] There are definite indications that the stock of both groups came from the south, not only the social terms. Their racial type is darker and more slender than that of the original population.

Besides these four nations there are some outsiders: on the one hand, the descendants of the Islamic missionaries (Saiyids, Pathans) who enjoy a high social position, and on the other hand, some craftsmen, who are generally despised (akhcer = blacksmith, kulal = potter). Obviously both groups came too late to be included in the system described above.

Especially in the smaller valleys below Chilas (but not in the large ones like Gor or Darel), there is a numerous intrusive population, namely, of Kohistanis and Gujurs, still speaking their original languages. We shall discuss the reason for their immigration later.[28]

SUBSISTENCE AND ECONOMY

A large part of the material for this chapter was collected with Professor Wiche, whom I have

[20] As in so many primitive communities we have no real ethnic self-designation of the Shina-speakers.

[21] In Yasin and the Hunza valley (the States of Hunza and Nagir), Burushaski is the aboriginal language; the upper class of Yasin, however, speaks Khowar. Khowar is also used at the head of the Gilgit valley. Ishkoman is the home of Wakhi-speaking Iranians coming from the north.

[22] Brokpa means highlander.

[23] Exact boundaries are given by Bailey 1924: XIII., Francke, 1904. Shina is spoken by more than 100,000 persons.

[24] Biddulph, 1880: 41–45, 134–143.

[25] Biddulph, 1880: 34–40.

[26] This idea was opposed by Schomberg in 1935: 119.

[27] Reisner, 1954: 195, and Inayat Ullah, 1959: 37–39.

[28] Morgenstierne, 1932: 63, and Barth-Morgenstierne, 1957.

to thank for his suggestions. In his preliminary report the reader can find a lucid analysis of the geographical background.[29] The economy is based on agriculture with irrigated fields, mostly in artificial terraces, as well as on herding with intensive use of the high mountain pastures in summer and stall-feeding during wintertime. Maize, wheat, and barley are the main crops. At the bottom of some valleys even rice is cultivated. Millet, lentils, and some kinds of beans are sowed in the middle and higher, and buckwheat in the highest fields. Mulberries, apricots, grapes, and nuts, which can be dried, are the fruits preferred. Others, like peaches, cherries, apples or figs, are grown in regions which have foreign contacts. Only a few green vegetables were known originally.

In this pattern we observe three subtypes. Two of them may be explained by the different geographic and climatic conditions of the valleys.

1. Where there are several rather small patches of arable and irrigated land not too far away but at different levels, e.g. in a steep side-valley, they are used by a whole community in a system of transhumance. First, people seed the fields where two crops are possible, then the bulk of the population moves to the fields with only one crop and sows there. Afterwards some of them go with the cattle to the high meadows while the rest return to the bottom of the valley to start harvesting and sowing again. Finally they join the others in the pastures. In autumn, when the population goes down with the cattle, they harvest first in the upper and last in the lower fields.

Similar systems have already been described by Paffen[30] (Hunza) and Barth[31] (Indus-Kohistan).

2. In the broad valleys which have plenty of land at several levels, the soil can be divided among communities which have their fields round about them, so that there is no necessity for transhumance of the type just described. The fields bear two crops a year, only at the heads of some valleys are there settlements with one-crop land (Darel, Gor, Gilgit-valley). Even fallowing occurs.

In the southern part of the area, in Shinkari, there are sparse but widely extended forests of evergreen holm-oaks on the slopes of the valleys. Their leaves are used for feeding goats. The goatherd cuts the branches with an axe. It is not necessary to prepare any other fodder for them. Stall-feeding is restricted to a few weeks as much snow never lies there.

In such valleys the mountain pastures are mostly far off. Therefore, the bulk of the population normally remains at home in summer, and only the shepherds, generally unmarried youths, drive the cattle up.

There are valleys, too, in which entire families shift to the meadows, but then a special organization of the agricultural work becomes necessary. In some cases, two or three families, mostly headed by brothers, do the work in the fields together in turn. Or else a group of (foreign) tenants remains behind in the village for the same task.

3. Only in Tangir (south of the Gilgit Karakoram), where the climatic conditions of cultivation are excellent and two crops would be perfectly possible, do they have only one—maize. Almost all the agricultural work is done by tenants, while the original population are now small landlords who go on holiday, as it were, to the mountain pastures for the whole summer. The very best of these lie pretty far away, north of the Gilgit Karakoram, behind passes of 4,200 m. Here we may see an extreme evolution of the division of labor just mentioned.

Hunting (ibex, markhor, birds) is now more or less a sport and fishing of no importance.[32]

In some places the communities pay the craftsmen (blacksmith, potter, carpenter) by grants of land or an annual amount of foodstuff.[33] Today, however, their work is often done by tenants who need an additional source of income. All more complicated ware is imported from the bazaars of Gilgit, Chilas, or Mingora (in Swat). Home industry is not very efficient. Weaving is the task of the old (often blind) men. Tailoring is also sometimes done by men.

ERGOLOGY (MATERIAL CULTURE)

During my expeditions in 1955–1956 and 1958, I succeeded in collecting most of the things which form the technical equipment of the Dards.[34]

An exhaustive study will follow, but we can

[29] Wiche, 1958: 9–14.

[30] Paffen, Pillewitzer, Schneider, 1956: 30–82.

[31] Barth, 1956*b*: 18–23.

[32] The trout—which is found in some rivers—was introduced by the English. Troutfishing is the privilege of the military leaders and high officials.

[33] Barth, 1956*b*: 25–26.

[34] These collections were rendered possible by subventions of the Austrian Ministry of Education and are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

already tell at first glance that in this respect the Dards of the Karakoram, the Kafirs and Dards of the Hindukush, the Iranians of the Hindukush and of the Pamir, as well as the Burushaski-speaking peoples, belong to an homogeneous cultural area.

There are only a few Dardic specialities, for example, the footgear made of leather or skin strips, the patterns of clothing and headdresses.

Not too much of the old inventory has been destroyed by acculturation in the last few years.

In the southern part of the Gilgit Agency, the mosques, wooden constructions on the graves, and sometimes also pillars and doors of houses are decorated by elaborate carvings. Samples were collected during the expeditions of 1955 and 1958. In a paper devoted to this subject, which was printed in the *Archiv für Völkerkunde* (1960), I discerned two stylistic trends. On the one hand there are rich carvings with scrolls, leaves, and flowers, especially clematis and lotus. These motives were already observed by Sir Aurel Stein. He explained them as a late offshoot of Gandhara art.[35] This idea can still be maintained, if in the modern way we understand by Gandhara an eclectic art containing Hellenistic, East Iranian, and Indian elements—and not a survival of Greek tradition since the days of Alexander.

But there is another style besides, which cannot be explained by this rich inheritance. It is prevalent in the embroideries, but also present in the carvings of Darel. The patterns of this style are mostly composed of simple straight lines, in a sort of chip-carving. The main pattern is formed by lozenges. Occasionally the spiral occurs. The instrument is a simple knife; no chisel is used. It seems to me that in some way this second style is related to the carvings of the Kafirs, and represents the actual local tradition.

SOCIOLOGY

In Dardistan each household is built around an elementary or polygynous family. Moreover the two smaller nations, Kamins and Doms, and the many newcomers from the south are organized in patrilineal lineages which have a tendency to endogamy. This is roughly the same pattern as that described by Barth for Indus-Kohistan.[36] The lineages are often called "khels," and this term has been taken over from the Pathans.[37] In many places the system has been adopted by the two leading castes, Shins and Yeshkuns.

The system of administrative bodies, the usual way to solve conflicts, and common law are quite similar to the forms Barth recognized in Indus-Kohistan.

Every community is headed by a council called "jirga"[38] which has to settle minor quarrels. In some places I was able to find out that the members of the jirga were chosen by a kind of "senior line autocracy" as in the Duber-Kandia area, in others they were the representatives of settlement units. But even there, strong antagonism among the castes is evident. Where the village is divided into quarters,[39] the jirga is built accordingly. Even at the meeting place each faction sits separately, sometimes on a special wooden platform. Important decisions are made by a big jirga in which the headmen of several villages or even valleys meet.

The influence of the religious leaders is rather restricted.

The whole system is highly inefficient and opens the door to all sorts of feuds between factions, so Barth calls it "acephalous." In Yaghestan, the "Land of the Free," the system has held undivided sway in some valleys even up to the present day. We have already heard that from time immemorial in the north of Dardistan it was combined with the cruel rule of small princes of pretended foreign origin whose mode of life was probably influenced by East Iranian ideals. It has been adequately described by Biddulph.[40]

When the Dogra-Rajas of Jammu and Kashmir conquered the country they became heirs to this tradition. Afterwards the English took over the initiative. They left the princes of Hunza and Nagir as feudatories, and for the area south and west of Gilgit they introduced a system developed in the tribal areas of the Afghan frontier and Swat.

According to the "Frontier Crime Regulations," the husband has still the right to kill the guilty couple in cases of adultery. Simple murder is punished by a fixed penalty—fourteen years in chains—which has never yet deterred any brave and honorable Dard. So in many cases the relatives of the deceased prefer to settle the case themselves—and to pay the inevitable penalty of

[35] Stein, 1928: 1: 10–12.
[36] Barth, 1956*b*: 28.
[37] "Khel" is a common term among Pathans.
[38] "Jirga" was originally a Mongol term meaning "circle" which without doubt reached them by the Pathans.
[39] *Cf.* p. 85.
[40] Biddulph, 1880: 34–45.

fourteen years' imprisonment. The right of the husband is also theoretically accepted in the unadministrated area. When "put into practice" a blood feud results between the lineages involved. It may even be followed by a small scale war which spares only the women. The case will finally be settled by paying blood money on both sides.

The system of adoption is highly interesting.[41] Only one method is possible: the foster-son must have the mother of the new family as a wet-nurse. Even a full grown man must undergo this symbolic action. After that he will never dream of approaching his new milk-mother sexually. Therefore, if any suspicion of adultery arises, such a ceremony will be forced by the husband on the suspected partners.

It seems that even the milk of animals once had a similar connecting power. Apparently in the mind of the Dards husbandry is based on the adoption of man by the animal.[42]

Without the permission of the lineage, no land can be sold to an outsider. Contrary to the Islamic law of inheritance, no land is given to a daughter. If there are no boys in a family, the son-in-law may get the property. He is looked on as adopted.

In all the valleys of Dardistan, tenants ("dehqáns" or "dagáns") are employed, but on quite different terms and to a widely varying extent.

The basic pattern of economic and social relations between farmer and tenant is the same as described by Barth in Indus-Kohistan.[43]

> The tenant . . . performs all the manual labor connected with raising a crop (apart from assistance given by the master at the time of harvesting and threshing) but has no capital invested in it—seed, tools, and animals are supplied by the master. In return for his services the tenant receives ½ of the crop.

This pattern is to be found especially in valleys using dehqáns of foreign (Kohistani, Gujur) origin, e.g. in Tangir. In places where dehqáns have their own houses and tools and even their own animals, a better share may be fixed (one third to one half). This may happen if the dehqán is a resident of the area, perhaps a Kamin, who has some land of his own but not enough. In all such cases the dehqáns are "not tied to particular fields, persons or localities." They are free to seek a new and better master.[44]

Often the position is different—and much crueler: If the immigrants do not get a "dehqánship" big enough to feed themselves and their families, they have to borrow grain from their masters. The terms are absolutely usurious. If the tenant cannot return grain with interest after the harvest, he is bound to pay in money instead—at the price usual at the bazaar of Gilgit! So after a while the Kohistani has a debt of 5–600 Rupees. At this moment the case is settled in a different way. The tenant has to work in the fields of his master all day without getting a fixed share. Instead he gets foodstuff for himself and his family, at times clothing too, and a salary of 12–20 Rupees for the whole year. Half of the money is kept back by the master as interest on the debt. The other half must cover the most urgent needs. The man is practically a slave, for he may be sold to a new "owner" for the amount of his debts. His sons are heirs to his liability, because the debt, never diminished but rather enlarged, is passed down to them.

Yet people come streaming in from the south and accept the terms. Indus-Kohistan is overpopulated and this chance of having fixed employment means that the basic foodstuffs are guaranteed.

Most of these facts would perhaps have emerged from an exhaustive study of the older sources. But I think we have found some additional material (which may open a new chapter on the social history of Dardistan). There are two social patterns preserved by the two leading castes in remote places. Clear evidence of one of them was detected first in the northern part of the Gilgit Agency, in the Haramosh valley, so we may call it the Haramosh pattern.

According to my informants there the people are divided into tribes called "roms." A rom is the military unit in case of any attack. A middle-sized valley of about 500 houses forms one rom, larger valleys are subdivided. In some cases, however, several roms, each in its own valley, are united to a higher unit (whose local name I do not know).

A rom may consist of several nations. Each nation is again subdivided into "dabbars," i.e. patrilineal groups who once were exogamous and may be classed as clans. Sometimes the dabbar is also called "tukur,"[45] an expression which was

[41] Biddulph, 1880: 77, 82–83. Schomberg, 1935: 190.
[42] Leitner, 1876: part III: 34; 1894: 41.
[43] Barth, 1956*b*: 24.
[44] Barth, 1956*b*: 25.
[45] E.g. Gor, Chilas.

translated to me as "house" or "building." Each dabbar bears the name of an ancestor who lived seven to nine generations ago. A song, normally composed by his sister, glorifying this man was used as their symbol, a sort of shibboleth, especially during the marriage ceremony.

Several dabbars of one rom, sometimes even those who belong to different "nations," may be connected by a genealogic charter. In this case the informants explain that their forefather had several wives from the "nations" in question. The expression "tukur" is occasionally used for such a higher unit. (The community of a village has no real place in this order.)

When Biddulph gives notice of "subcastes" in the social order of the Dards in Baltistan, which is the same in all respects, it is clear that such dabbars are meant. "Rom" is mentioned by him as a self-denomination of the Brokpas.

According to discussions after the expedition, I think that in 1955 P. Snoy already observed the same system in the really archaic Bagrot valley culture. His material will be published in the near future.

A quite different structure was found in some conservative villages of Shinaki. As it was best preserved at Phuguch (Darel) I will call it the Phuguch pattern.

There are patrilineal groups called dabbars as well, but they are by no means exogamous. Some dabbars, normally either Shins or Yeshkuns, seldom mixed, together with some loose families of newcomers or lower castes, form a higher unit, and again some of these (four to six) form the village. The chief point is that the "quarters" [46] must be of absolutely equal size, e.g. sixty families. Obviously the dabbars of the smaller and politically less important nations have been broken up and their families divided to comply with the fixed rate.

At present the role of this rigid system is not too important. The soil is private property, but fields and houses of one quarter lie together. One meadow is sometimes considered as the common property of a quarter. Even tenants on common land may pay their dues for it. The quarter forms a unit in the distribution of water from the canals to the fields.

But twenty years ago there was a system of periodic re-allotment of fields and pastures in some places. The whole area belonging to a village was classed as fertile land, poor land, and meadows, and divided into subterritories which rotated among the quarters. The quarter dealt out the shares to each family. As for the size of a share, in some cases it depended upon the number of all the members, in others upon the number of the males only. After five to thirty years the distribution was renewed.

In this system the jirgadars are primarily considered as trustees of the quarter.

As for the origin of the system, Barth thinks that "the principle on which this system is based is quite simple, and occurs also among other Indo-European speaking peoples (Pathans, Baluchis, ancient Celtic and German tribes)." [47] But that is only half the truth. I myself was several times told by my informants that the rotating of land started when their forefathers became Muslims. This is correct, because in Yaghestan, Islam was introduced by the Pathans and brought a big wave of Pathan patterns with it.

If we consult historic sources,[48] not the shadow of a doubt remains but that the whole system was simply taken over from the Pathans. When the Jussufzai conquered Swat in the sixteenth century, they divided their tribe and the valley into equal parts. Finally there resulted 30,000 shares for male and female, old and young.[49] In some districts the system of re-allotment was abandoned by order of the Wali, the mighty and efficient ruler of Swat, only twenty years ago.

It was from Swat that the first Islamic (Sunnite) missionaries arrived in Darel.

North of Shinkari the Pathan influence is insignificant. There, Islam came from Kashmir (Shia) or from Badakshan (Ismaelia) and no customs of that kind are to be found.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In a few remote and very conservative valleys only, there are village-fortresses which are so narrowly built that the roofs practically form one single platform with several huge, crude towers. A strong place is always chosen. The walls of the houses form a continuous line of defense. Inside of this ant-hill there are corridors and stairs be-

[46] They are called so even when they form the fifth or sixth part of a village.

[47] Barth, 1956*b*: 3–32.

[48] Thorburn, Tupper, Raverty, Ridgway. *Cf.* the excellent resumé given by Reisner, 1954: 104–183.

[49] Reisner, 1954: 114. In the meantime Barth has written an excellent survey about Swat, so I think he himself would easily admit the connections. *Cf.* Barth, 1959.

translated to me as "house" or "building." Each dabbar bears the name of an ancestor who lived seven to nine generations ago. A song, normally composed by his sister, glorifying this man was used as their symbol, a sort of shibboleth, especially during the marriage ceremony.

Several dabbars of one rom, sometimes even those who belong to different "nations," may be connected by a genealogic charter. In this case the informants explain that their forefather had several wives from the "nations" in question. The expression "tukur" is occasionally used for such a higher unit. (The community of a village has no real place in this order.)

When Biddulph gives notice of "subcastes" in the social order of the Dards in Baltistan, which is the same in all respects, it is clear that such dabbars are meant. "Rom" is mentioned by him as a self-denomination of the Brokpas.

According to discussions after the expedition, I think that in 1955 P. Snoy already observed the same system in the really archaic Bagrot valley culture. His material will be published in the near future.

A quite different structure was found in some conservative villages of Shinaki. As it was best preserved at Phuguch (Darel) I will call it the Phuguch pattern.

There are patrilineal groups called dabbars as well, but they are by no means exogamous. Some dabbars, normally either Shins or Yeshkuns, seldom mixed, together with some loose families of newcomers or lower castes, form a higher unit, and again some of these (four to six) form the village. The chief point is that the "quarters" [46] must be of absolutely equal size, e.g. sixty families. Obviously the dabbars of the smaller and politically less important nations have been broken up and their families divided to comply with the fixed rate.

At present the role of this rigid system is not too important. The soil is private property, but fields and houses of one quarter lie together. One meadow is sometimes considered as the common property of a quarter. Even tenants on common land may pay their dues for it. The quarter forms a unit in the distribution of water from the canals to the fields.

But twenty years ago there was a system of periodic re-allotment of fields and pastures in some places. The whole area belonging to a village was classed as fertile land, poor land, and meadows, and divided into subterritories which rotated among the quarters. The quarter dealt out the shares to each family. As for the size of a share, in some cases it depended upon the number of all the members, in others upon the number of the males only. After five to thirty years the distribution was renewed.

In this system the jirgadars are primarily considered as trustees of the quarter.

As for the origin of the system, Barth thinks that "the principle on which this system is based is quite simple, and occurs also among other Indo-European speaking peoples (Pathans, Baluchis, ancient Celtic and German tribes)." [47] But that is only half the truth. I myself was several times told by my informants that the rotating of land started when their forefathers became Muslims. This is correct, because in Yaghestan, Islam was introduced by the Pathans and brought a big wave of Pathan patterns with it.

If we consult historic sources,[48] not the shadow of a doubt remains but that the whole system was simply taken over from the Pathans. When the Jussufzai conquered Swat in the sixteenth century, they divided their tribe and the valley into equal parts. Finally there resulted 30,000 shares for male and female, old and young.[49] In some districts the system of re-allotment was abandoned by order of the Wali, the mighty and efficient ruler of Swat, only twenty years ago.

It was from Swat that the first Islamic (Sunnite) missionaries arrived in Darel.

North of Shinkari the Pathan influence is insignificant. There, Islam came from Kashmir (Shia) or from Badakshan (Ismaelia) and no customs of that kind are to be found.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In a few remote and very conservative valleys only, there are village-fortresses which are so narrowly built that the roofs practically form one single platform with several huge, crude towers. A strong place is always chosen. The walls of the houses form a continuous line of defense. Inside of this ant-hill there are corridors and stairs be-

[46] They are called so even when they form the fifth or sixth part of a village.

[47] Barth, 1956*b*: 3–32.

[48] Thorburn, Tupper, Raverty, Ridgway. *Cf.* the excellent resumé given by Reisner, 1954: 104–183.

[49] Reisner, 1954: 114. In the meantime Barth has written an excellent survey about Swat, so I think he himself would easily admit the connections. *Cf.* Barth, 1959.

tween the houses.[50] Once at some little distance there lay one other house, reserved for parturient and menstruant women and forbidden to men.

The stables lie still farther off, and together with the threshing grounds they represent a separate unit which looks like another village. A considerable part of the males—the unmarried youths—live here permanently.

There are indications that in the old days the inhabitants of such a "pueblo" removed for agricultural work in summer to additional non-permanent hamlets, some on the sites of the summer villages of today but others in the two-crop area at the bottom of the valley. The "village-fortress" lay in an area splendidly prepared for defense and with healthy climatic conditions, but well away from the fertile land.

Originally all the inhabitants of such a village-fortress belonged to one "nation," to a patrilineal descent group, moreover (a dabbar or a group of dabbars). I think "tukur" originally designated such a pueblo and therefore became a synonym not of the "family" but of the "clan." This observation is an argument that the ancient settlement pattern of the Dards corresponds to the Haramosh pattern.

There is a second type of village likewise narrowly built with small paths between the houses. The stables often lie apart. The village is called a "kot." The population may include all nations, and wards exist reminding one of a former partition into quarters. Its position is at the bottom of the valley in the center of the arable land. Often there is a tradition that the first Islamic apostle founded it—and this seems to be correct.

It is highly probable that these villages in the south, in Shinkari, were systematically built when the Pathan-inspired reform of land and the social order took place and the Phuguch pattern came into existence.

Today in the whole area the bulk of the population lives in hamlets. In the north this form has resulted from a disintegration of the old clan-dwellings of the Haramosh type, a process which was greatly welcomed and favored by the administration of the princes. The new permanent settlements carry on the tradition of the former additional footholds at the bottom of the valley.

In the south, most of the hamlets[51] are of a relatively recent date. They sprang up when the Pax Britannica spread in the Karakoram and the fortresses which belonged to the Phuguch pattern became superfluous. At some places villages have already become a mere administrative and social term. Only the mosque and the smithy show the site of the one-time center. There is a tendency, however, for kinship-groups to concentrate in detached places. This is easy to understand because, even when re-allotment was abolished, the land still formed a unit. The steady conflicts between the kinship-groups helped on this evolution.

The last stage of the process can be observed in Tangir. Not only the villages but in many cases even the hamlets have been dissolved. Like medieval knights, the landed proprietors settled with their dehqáns in the center of their fields and built formidable towers for defense during many bloody feuds.

All the places where the dehqáns—Kohistanis, Gujurs—have separate houses, form only loosely knit hamlets, which shows the late influx of the owners. Especially in the smaller valleys of Shinkari, e.g. between Darel and Gor, Gor and Chilas, is the main stock of the population made up of such dehqáns, copyholders of the proprietors in the large valleys. Strangely enough the ruins of older compact villages are to be found in the same small valleys.

This can be explained by a glance back at the martial history of the area: In the constant wars between the valleys which, according to many tales, prevailed in Shinkari for centuries, the population of the small and not too fertile valleys was ground between the mighty centers—Darel, Gor, Chilas. The princes were killed or driven away, fields and villages destroyed. The large valleys, the "republics" in Biddulph's sense were interested in getting a glacis, an empty zone, around their borders for the sake of defense. Therefore, they did not allow any re-settlement of the "valleys between." They only used them for temporary meadows.

The situation changed completely when Gilgit and Chitral came under British rule. In spite of Yaghestan's remaining an unadministered tribal area, warfare between whole valleys became impossible. There was still plenty of killing then, even more than before I think, but all inside each valley. The rajahs of the north who so often had tried without success to conquer the republics were removed. The boundary zone lost its former meaning. Therefore, a new wave of colonization followed. The owners gave their

[50] I found the best examples at Gor and in Baltistan among Brokpas who came from Chilas and Astor 300 years ago.

[51] "Het" is the local name.

pastures to tenants, dehqáns arriving from overpopulated areas in the south, and enjoyed an easy income. They became landlords. Whole quarters as well as individuals acted like this, as the system of re-allotment was quickly decaying in the meantime.

This explains the peculiar distribution of languages in the Shinaki country. Shina is spoken only in the main valleys, in the smaller ones it is replaced by Kohistani and Gujuri, the original idioms of the dehqáns.

Tangir possessed plenty of buffer meadows as well, but they lay too high and too much exposed to be colonized in the same way. On the other hand, this valley was more progressive for other reasons. So the tenants settled in the main valley. At that crucial moment agricultural work was simplified by the growing of maize. The latter had been displacing ancient crops, especially millet, for a century. The contemporary economy of Tangir results from this peculiar situation.

RELIGION

The whole of the Gilgit Agency is Islamic, but the apostles came from different directions at different times. In the northwest (including Hunza) as in Badakhshan the people are Ismaelis almost without exception. Their missionaries may have been the very first to arrive. They were, however, not very efficient. In Nagir and in the eastern part of the Gilgit Agency, Shia predominates. Conversion was due to the influence of Kashmir or the dominating role of the Baltistan princes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shinkari in the south was conquered late but radically by Sunnite mullahs starting from Swat. They were Pathans or at least completely "Pathanized." Their offspring can still be identified in each valley.

Below the official confession there exist some forms of superstition which are shared by many Moslem nations,[52] especially by Pathans and Tadjiks.[53] Most of them were evidently spread by the mullahs themselves.

Other non-Islamic ideas and customs are typical of Dardistan. Many of them, already noted by attentive observers like Leitner, Biddulph, Ghulam Muhammad, Lorimer, and Schomberg,[54] we could still recognize, but under the patient zeal of Ismaelite, Shiite, and Sunnite mullahs, saiyids or achuns supported by the local authorities,[55] they have lost much of their former virulence.

The local festivals, the "Great Days of the Shins" so wonderfully described by the old authors, are still known in remote places, yet they are stripped of most of their impressive ceremonies. Today they merely offer opportunities for considerable feasting.[56] The shamans of the Dards, the daiyals, have also lost much of their former importance. They are restricted now to a few villages. Female daiyals, who were especially shocking to the Islamic mind, have practically vanished. The taboo of the Shin caste not to touch any part of a cow, not to drink its milk, and not to eat its meat, is at present observed by a few individuals only (shamans, hunters), for a short time, when ritual purity is required.

The great cosmogony, quoted only once by Ghulam Muhammad, in which the land is brought from the bottom of the sea by a diving animal, could nowhere be confirmed.

A great part of the population is actually afraid of witches. They were described to us in the same way as to Lorimer and Schomberg.

But in 1955 the members of the German Hindukush Expedition noticed important ideas either not at all or else inadequately mentioned in previous works. Thus, it transpired that the taboo in connection with the cow was only the counterpart of goat-worship. As this is not shared by Iranians and Burushaski-speakers, it must be considered as specifically Dardic. In regard to wild goats, which are believed to be even purer than their domesticated descendants, there exist specific beliefs and rituals. Each hunter needs a "protecting fairy." The night before the hunt he is not allowed to spend with his wife. The fairy will then appear to him in a dream and announce on which mountain top he will meet an ibex or markhor; otherwise he will not get any. Therefore, when the hunter eviscerates the prey immediately after killing it, he throws away a few pieces of the liver in the name of his fairy. She

[52] They believe in "peris" = fairies who as a rule are benevolent. Other female demons threaten mother and child. Jinn are known as well. "Tawiz" are amulets with verses of the Koran worn by man and animal.

[53] Andreev, 1927: 56-95 *passim*.

[54] *Cf.* Leitner, 1876, 1889, 1894; Biddulph, 1880; Ghulam Muhammad, 1907; Lorimer, 1927; Schomberg, 1935, 1936.

[55] After some bad experiences Mohammedan officials only were appointed to the leading positions of Gilgit by the Kashmir government, among them excellent men like Ghulam Muhammad and Hashmatullah Khan.

[56] Biddulph, 1880: 100-106.

is also said to be extremely fond of the fresh, steaming blood.

Ibex and markhor, collectively called "mayaro," pass for the domestic animals of the fairies, their sheep and goats. Therefore, no animal of this kind can be killed by man which has not been slaughtered before by those ladies. After the meal they reanimate it by putting the bones together and covering the skeleton with the skin. Then they leave the resurrected animal to one of their chosen men who is just performing the dream ceremony. Still more data will be available when Peter Snoy, who alone visited the extremely promising Bagrot valley in 1955, publishes his material.

During my expedition of 1958, I came across a lot of new and astonishing religious complexes too which would never have been reconstructed on the basis of older descriptions. Only here and there did Ghulam Muhammad get some scraps of them, but not enough to understand them. Some traits more were observed by Peter Snoy. Most of them were found in the northern part of the Gilgit Agency, at several places in the Gilgit valley, and in the Haramosh valley near the border of Baltistan.

In Haramosh the dabbars still preserve the tradition of how they were "founded" by their ancestor in "Kafir" times, long ago. When a man was wealthy and strong and already had his own large family, he chose a big slab on the mountain slope. Then he gave a great feast at the "biyak," the dancing and assembling place of the area. The whole community came together, men and women. They drank wine and danced in complete sexual abandon. So many goats had to be slaughtered that the biyak was all covered with wine and blood. When this condition was fulfilled and no impure (menstruating) woman was among them, at the climax of the feast the big slab mentioned above came staggering down into the valley and stopped finally on the rim of the biyak. From this moment on the stone was the symbol of the future dabbar who carried on the name of the feast-giver. Moreover, it was considered as the home and seat of the protecting spirit. By succeeding generations this "protecting spirit" was identified with the host, the ancestor of the clan himself. He would take care of the fields and demand regular offerings, mostly of goats.

The stones of the ancestors called "botebát" stand upright like menhirs. I was able to take some photographs near the ruins of a former koṭ. Most of them had been turned over by Islamic fanatics. Before the standing stone there was often a smaller one lying on its side. It was used as a chopping-block for dividing the meat of the slaughtered animals. At some places it seems to have been connected with the female principle. Once I was told that such a stone had been brought by the grandmother in a similar rite. During the marriage ceremony the bridegroom had to sit down on the "male" and the bride on the "female" stone. At other places there were separate stones for this ceremony, "hilalóe-bat" and "hilalebat."

But not only ancestors were celebrated by a monument. In honor of a woman who lived a pure life without fault (adultery), observing certain taboos (such as not to step over crossroads directly) a platform was erected by her paternal family. The walls were built of big stones, the center filled with gravel. A chair was put on this "táli," and she had to sit down on it, richly ornamented. A goat, also decorated, was led towards her and was exhorted by the elders to pay honor to this "sili" (= holy) woman. When the animal bent its neck, this sign was accepted as a proof of her dignity, and a big feast would start. The monument of that ordeal was called "síḷi-táḷi."

There are hints too, that a man of the senior line in the tukur had priestly functions. Even under Islam he had the right to begin seeding and harvesting. In pagan times perhaps the sili-woman had corresponding rights and duties.

Other cults are connected with larger territorial units. All the women of a valley [57] worshipped a female deity, the Murkum. She helped in delivery and protected mother and child; yet she was also the chief owner of all ibexes and wild goats denoted by the collective term of "mayaro." [58] Therefore, she was venerated by hunters, too, who brought her horns.

The great thrill of the investigations I made in the Haramosh valley was finding a sanctuary of the Murkum in good order and even in use, in spite of two hundred years of Islamic past. It lies almost 3,000 m. above sea level near the summer village of Guré, just in front of the tremendous flank of the Haramosh, and this is no accident, as the mountain was considered the proper home of the Murkum. On the steep slope

[57] Perhaps large valleys were divided into sections.

[58] At some places also the urial, the wild sheep, is included.

there is an altar built of boulders dominated by a cliff as big as a house with a juniper tree growing beside it. Next to it is a spring. Below the altar, crude benches of stones were erected for the annual meeting of the women. Nut trees grow between them. Even they are considered holy and no branches were ever broken off.

I was told that, when the village was founded, the goddess appeared in the shape of a she-ibex on that cliff promising happiness and fertility. Every year the women were to gather here. Then she herself would send the sacrifice—a she-ibex.

One man only was allowed to join in the ceremony, the priest of the Murkum, the "zhabán." It was his duty to kill the ibex and to divide up the meat on the altar. This was eaten by the women sitting on the benches below. Then the priest danced before the goddess (without clothes, as some audacious people maintained) taking liberties with the surrounding women. The women, however, would beat him and torment him to their hearts' content. No man was allowed to oppose the behavior of the zhabán. It seems that he even had full sexual rights on all women of the valley. He was called "buck of the women-flock." Lorimer has given most valuable information about a similar officiant—but one officiating for a more restricted circle, a "private party" of ladies of the village, the "rū.i" or witches. The "mitu" is their "aider and abettor." When the rui assemble on their secret biyak taking a human "soul" with them (in the shape of a goat, as Buddruss found out), the mitu is "used as a sort of human anvil on which the victim is dismembered, or else he himself chops him up."[59] I think it is evident that here we are concerned with a "black mass." The meeting of the witches and their ceremonies faithfully reflect the normal assembly of the womenfolk. The mitu is the infernal colleague of the zhaban.

It must be emphasized that all the statements of Lorimer, modestly called in question by himself, were fully supported by our own findings. Even the rather strange function of the mitu as a chopping-block is confirmed. Normal instruments of this type have a similar name. The same term is also used for the ("female") stone lying before the botebat.

The ministry of the zhaban is now abolished, but women anxious about the welfare of their families still come to the altar table and put leaves of juniper between the boulders. When I visited the place, I found fresh, green branches there. In Haramosh I also saw another sanctuary of the Murkum, stone benches on both sides of the path between the winter and the summer villages. When people shift over in springtime, no woman who has borne a child since the previous autumn will pass here without distributing bread in honor of the Murkum and putting some juniper branches between the rough stones of the benches.

Today in this northern area they do not remember a male god of any importance comparable to that of the Murkum. They showed me a sanctuary of the men below that of the Murkum in Haramosh, but it was supposed to have been destroyed by a stone avalanche long ago, when a man had come to the sacrifice without having purified himself in the smoke of juniper leaves after intercourse.

We have heard that tales of fairies exist almost everywhere, but in some remote valleys the fairies are considered as smaller images of the Murkum, perhaps as her younger relatives. They have preserved their aboriginal name of "darṇiji" instead of the Persian "peri."

In a village on the borders of Punyal I was told of a sanctuary of Murkum and her suite. It was described as a big menhir surrounded by many similar but smaller stones. The locals explained that Murkum and her maidens could rest only on hilltops. The highest mountain is the residence of the great goddess herself, on the others there sit the darnijis. If you want to receive them you must build hilltops in miniature, models.

One group of the darnijis wear the white caps of the unmarried girls. It is their duty to help the hunters and the shamans. As everywhere in the Gilgit Agency they are called "racchi," i.e. "helpers," "guards." When they appear to the hunter in a dream in order to grant him an ibex they do not bring him flowers or fruit as is otherwise related, nor do they simply betray the whereabouts of the deer, but they present him with a human head. Apparently that means the "soul" of the mayaro which is to be the victim.

If there is a war on between the valleys or only great hatred between two tukurs and a man is ready to kill an enemy, he waits for the racchi to offer him the head of an ibex in a dream.[60] The next morning he will start on the man hunt sure that he will succeed.

[59] Lorimer, 1929: 531.

[60] This happened in a feud between two tukurs of Haramosh, only twenty years ago.

The fact that just a head is surrendered by the racchi may be explained by the custom, abandoned only a few generations ago, of taking the head of the slain man home.[61] Then the village would celebrate the killer by a great feast. The women danced around the head; afterwards it was used as a poloball and finally fixed over the gate of the village fortress. The tukur of the hero had the right to erect a stone bench in his honor.

In the Gilgit Agency it is a common belief that among the fairies there are men and women. The darnijis proper, however, are regarded as female, their male partners are demons likewise residing on the highest mountains. These "yamālos" are feared as ferocious hunters. Their prey are human souls in the shape of mayaros. They shoot them with bows and arrows and eat their flesh. Afterwards they put the bones of the soul-mayaro together, and the victim comes to life again and runs away. The human "double," however, must die shortly afterwards.

Much more affable are demons called yachōlos. They protect the houses and their owners, but have the bad habit of stealing grain from the threshing place. Therefore it is necessary to lure them away with a good meal when the corn is shot into leather bags.

In Kaltaro, a side valley of Haramosh, I traced a special custom to protect the crop against noxious animals and vegetable diseases. In springtime a couple of young goats are chosen. When the herds go up to the high meadows, they alone will remain in the agricultural area. There they may feed anywhere and even eat the crop. No one is allowed to disturb them, they are sacrosanct. If they enter a field, it means good luck and blessing to the owner. When the people come back in autumn, the buck is killed and eaten by the men at a ritual meal.

It was possible to collect some information about the cosmological ideas of the Dards. They told me the following story, widespread in Iran:

Below is the sea. In the sea there swims a fish. On the fish there stands a bull, on one horn he carries the earth. On the earth there lives a man, and over the man there flies a bird. When the bull shifts over the disk of the earth from one horn to the other, there will be an earthquake.

If you go on asking who the first inhabitants of these valleys were, they tell you of superhuman beings, "devākos," who built channels and sowed corn, but after a year had to shift to a new place, because otherwise their crop became poisonous. The devakos were related to the fairies; therefore they had mayaros as domestic animals. Owing to their industry you will still find traces of channels and fields everywhere even in steep and difficult places.

In the south, in Shinkari, the religious pattern is different in many respects. There are traditions of stone worshiping in pre-Islamic times, but in fact no dabbar could show me the "stone" of his ancestor. No traditions of "feasts of merit" as described above could be traced, the erection of sili-talis is not common.[62] There exist, however, traditions which may be interpreted as "megalithic": In Darel a story is told of a giant, who was a man-eater, living in the valley. For each victim he used to erect a stone. They are still in their places.

In a valley north of the River Indus belonging to the republic of Gor, there is a big stone with a smaller one beside it surrounded by many other boulders. The explanation is given by a tale: The devakos, Muner and Sher, were brother and sister. When they were with their herds on the way to the meadows the brother wanted intercourse. The frightened sister then asked him first to bring her water in a sieve. But the devil told him to smear the sieve with clay, so he succeeded in fulfilling her condition. In her despair the sister prayed to God, and He turned all—man, woman, and animals—into stones.

Yet the arrangement of the stones is reminiscent of the type of sanctuary which the locals described to me in the upper part of the Gilgit valley, with a central stone for the visiting main deity and smaller ones round it for the fairies of the suite.

Human heads were used as trophies here as well, but no tales about stone monuments for the hero existed.

Shinkari is rich in tales of fairies, especially in connection with the chase. In the free area hunting was never restricted as in the principalities of the north. But there are no shamans, and the names of Murkum or the darnijis are unknown.

On the other hand, the idea of a central male god has been preserved with surprising clarity. In fact there seem to be protective gods in each valley with different names, e.g. Taiban in Gor, Naron in Chilas,[63] but all belong to approximately

[61] Human hands also served as trophies.

[62] Only once noted in Gor.

[63] Already mentioned by Biddulph in 1880: 15 and 17.

the same type and have the same characteristic features. Their sanctuary is a crude stone altar (or a menhir?) in the center of the valley. The place is surrounded by a forest of holm-oaks. This grove is regarded as holy. Impure things have to be kept away. No twig is allowed to be broken. Even a belt of fields encircling this area is regarded as pure. Only the manure of goats is to be brought here, never that of cows.

Here, most of the festivals common in the Gilgit Agency are connected with the male deity. The most important of the whole year is called Boinion.

With regard to the ceremonies we see that not only the juniper tree is holy here but also the holm oak. If the "chili," (= juniper) in the north is the counterpart of the mayaro, a similar correspondence may be observed here between holm oak and domestic goat. They depend on each other. Therefore, you are permitted to cut such a tree only if you kill a goat and smear its blood on the trunk.

In closing this brief survey I should like to draw attention to the fact that the information given on economic, social, and religious institutions of the past fits together perfectly. The religious affinity between holm oak and goat reflects the economic stage when the branches of this tree alone were used for winter feeding. This is only possible for goats, never for cows.

The pueblo-like structures were inhabited by a dabbar or a group of them. The religious institutions presuppose the existence of dabbars.

REFLECTIONS ON FOREIGN CONTACTS

The belief in the great owner-goddess of the animals exists in Caucasia in many variants.[64] The idea is quite common there that the hunter can capture his prey only by her consent. Sometimes her favor even goes as far as to accept him as her lover.[65] But the lucky hunter has to observe certain taboos; otherwise he must die. Sometimes the goddess appears in the shape of a "pure" animal. The precise idea that a slaughtered animal may be revived from its bones occurs in both areas. Even the detail that a missing bone can be replaced by a rod is identical.[66] Here as there, the belief is connected with wild goats, and this must be a very old affinity, because Thor, the Germanic god, plays the same trick on his bucks.[67]

Today there is a vast empty distance between the two centers, the Caucasus and the Hindukush/Karakoram, but once perhaps similar beliefs existed on the Iranian plateau and were destroyed in the course of the violent history of this area. The Iranian Fravashi-conception may have evolved from such a basis.[68]

That goat-worship existed among the mountain tribes of Iran can hardly be doubted in view of the Luristan bronzes. Many seals of Western Asia depict goats beside a tree. Maybe this connection had the same economic background in the Karakoram, i.e., intense goat-breeding and the use of evergreen trees for winter feeding.

It is quite evident that there are similarities with the institutions of the Kafirs. Through Robertson's excellent work we know that they had "feasts of merit" and went head-hunting.[69] They were acquainted with altars in the shape of mountains and fumigated with burning juniper.

Moreover, the Kafirs of the Hindukush venerated a goddess who appeared as a wild goat[70] and her residence on the highest summit—the Tirikh Mir. I am no linguist, but I think that even her name, Krumai, indicates a connection with the Murkum of the Gilgit Agency. But Krumai is an outsider in the rich Kafir Pantheon; perhaps she was taken over from a Dardic tribe.

In fact, the religion of the Dardic Kalash in Chitral, who are neighbors of the Kafirs, is still more closely related. Perhaps the jestakhouse,[71] the socio-religious center of a lineage group, was not too far from the tukur of the Shina-speakers.

Like the true Kafirs the Kalash had shamanistic rites (but neither of them have the specific "Siberian" traits which I noted among the Shina-speaking Brokpas).

The Kalash have plenty of the peculiar rites and beliefs connected with the wild and domestic goat. This constitutes a very important link with

[64] Vinsaladze, 1958: 72–75.

[65] Dirr, 1925: 140, 143. If a man has killed more than a hundred ibexes, the marriage with his fairy is celebrated in some places in the Gilgit Agency.

[66] Dirr, 1925: 139–140.

[67] L. Schmidt, 1952: 520–524.

[68] On the basis of his Iranistic studies, Friedrich recognized this interesting relation first. In his last letter to Professor Baumann he wrote (Nov. 28th, 1955): "Neue Anregungen gehen von diesen Feststellungen aus für das Problem eines Zusammenhanges zwischen dem altjägerischen Spiritualismus in diesen Gegenden und der iranischen Fravashi-Lehre."

[69] Robertson, 1896: 449–477, 561–577.

[70] Robertson, 1896: 384.

[71] Siiger, 1956: 16.

the Eastern Dards [72] and reveals a significant difference from the Kafirs.

Looking towards the east, we find customs and beliefs very near to the complex described in Da and Hanu. This is not surprising, because those villages, even in Ladakh, speak Shina. Francke collected the songs of the Bono-na festival there.[73] No doubt Bono-na, the "Day of National Pride," is identical with the Boinion festival which is well remembered if not actually held at Gor. The ceremonial chase described by one of the songs seems to be the central act of many other Dardic religious rites. It is based on the conception that it is the hunter who brings the supernatural down to the land of men. The partition of the prey means a sort of partaking of the holy body. The animal can be replaced by a branch of the holy tree, because animal and plant are only two different aspects of the divine.

What Shaw said about the use of juniper by these easternmost Dards and their prejudice against the cow fits perfectly into the Shina pattern.[74] The institution of a priestly caste and the existence of a village-fortress where each family had rooms in case of war also run perfectly parallel to what we are able to reconstruct in the Gilgit Agency.

In the Gilgit Agency we have observed monuments of a definitely megalithic type and customs which are characteristic of societies erecting such structures. In this connection I wish to mention that Prehistoric megaliths have been described by de Terra in Kashmir.[75] Similar stone-circles exist near Peshawar, but have never been thoroughly studied.[76]

That megaliths occur in great number among the Tibetan speaking peoples of the Eastern Himalaya is a well-known fact. Only one example may be quoted here. In the Lepcha territory there still exists an open-air shrine devoted to the god of Mount Kanchenjunga. It consists of one central stone representing the main peak, i.e. the god himself. He is surrounded by smaller stones representing minor hills, i.e. his soldiers or followers. Next to this there is a similar group, the central stone of which stands for the wife of the god, the smaller ones for her suite.[77] This is a striking parallel to structures I noted in the Gilgit Agency.[78]

A plate in the work of Tucci shows that wooden images astonishingly similar to those of the Kafirs and Kalash were made in Western Nepal.[79] Perhaps the same idea lay behind them.

Moreover, megalithic monuments have been observed in Tibet proper, especially in the northeastern part.[80]

In the Tarim Basin, Sir Aurel Stein and Folke Bergman found some graves which apparently belonged to the autochthonous population of the area. Their racial type is different from the ruling Iranian or "Tokharic" nations, but resembles the mountain tribes in the Pamir and Hindukush. These very graves have traits related to our Dardic complex.[81] Images apparently erected for the dead [82] are the most surprising example. But there are also bare animal bones sewn in neat order to a piece of felt, and this presupposes the belief in a resurrection of the body from the bones.[83]

Megalithic structures, "feasts of merit" and head-hunting are widespread among the tribes of Southeast Asia. It is the same complex which seems to be characteristic of the whole Dardic area.[84]

On reviewing these similarities we cannot help coming to the rather annoying conclusion that, in spite of their linguistic position, the Dards have not very much in common with the culture of the "Vedic" Aryans. For the Kafirs proper one might find some links (e.g. the Kafir god *Imra* may have evolved from *Indra*), but the eastern Dardic peoples with their goat-worship and their prejudice against the cow, the holy animal of the Indians and Iranians, are quite separate. They are much nearer to the mythological concept of Caucasian peoples. There are several possible explanations.

1. The first is to assume that Caucasian mountain tribes migrated with the Aryans (or independently of them) to the marches of Hindustan.

[72] Not only the Shins reveal this trait, but also other peoples, e.g., the Torwalis of Swat-Kohistan.

[73] Francke, 1905.

[74] Already observed by Biddulph, 1880: 53.

[75] De Terra, 1942.

[76] For this information I am indebted to M. Curiel and Dr. F. A. Khan.

[77] Siiger, 1956: 42–44.

[78] Near Shukiot, near the border of Punyal.

[79] Tucci, 1956: fig. 33, p. 38.

[80] Maringer, 1949/55: 317–320. Hummel, 1959: 176–177.

[81] This correct observation was made by Herrmann in 1931: 33.

[82] Bergman, 1939: V.

[83] Bergman, 1939: VI/2.

[84] Heine-Geldern, 1927, 1957, 1958.

This possibility was already envisaged many years ago by Heine-Geldern [85] when he wrote that the Indo-Aryans perhaps took "some of the tribes they met in the course of their migration" to India. Strangely enough, bronze axes with a certain resemblance to Caucasian types have been found in the Karakoram.[86]

2. A second possibility is to assume that such "customs spread from the East along the Himalayas." [87] But what else would suggest that such a cultural diffusion started in Southeast Asia and reached as far as Caucasia?

3. A third proposal seems to be more convincing. namely, that these elements were taken over by the Dards from mountain tribes who had formed a real koiné, a continuous chain north of the argicultural (and later urban) centers in the lowlands between Asia Minor and India, before the great migrations of the second millennium B.C. These tribes had taken over the agriculture of the peoples in the plains as well as their husbandry. In the west they concentrated their interest on goat-breeding. The goat was perfectly adapted to the mountains and crossed with the holy animal of the past, the markhor, which had played a dominating role in the economy of the hunters. In all other respects, too, they had preserved the old traditions. They must have enjoyed considerable independence and even wealth. Maybe under the stimulus of the graded societies and the buildings of their "civilized" neighbors they had created "feasts of merit" and "megalithic customs." Even head-hunting can be explained by such an impact.

In an excellent article, Baumann has shown [88] that all these complexes have strange affinities with the "high cultures." I think we may add that they were developed in the marginal zone of the city-states.

This hypothesis alone can explain the existence of an eastern wing of relations along the Himalayans to Assam and to Southeast Asia (with megaliths, head-hunting etc.) because no Indo-European people could have been the bearer of the diffusion. We would then suggest that similar tribes also lived further east and were absorbed by Tibetans in the Nepal Himalaya and by Nagas in Assam.

Comparable features among the "Iranians" offer no difficulty. They may have been adopted anywhere in Iran proper.

We have to remember that the "mountain peoples" played an extremely important part in the history of the Ancient East. Several times they ruled Mesopotamia. The Luristan bronzes have grown up from them. They were still a considerable force in the time of Alexander the Great.[89]

An extensive part of the Dardic vocabulary is non-Indo-European. We may assume that it corresponds to the foreign element in the social and religious structure and was adopted from the mountain tribes in the same way.

With this last hypothesis the question immediately arises, whether or not the Burushaski-speaking Yasinis, Hunzas, and Nagiris are the direct descendants of this hypothetical mountain population. In fact, they share a good deal of the special institutions discussed above, megalithic customs, "feasts of merit," shamanistic rites.[90] They also have the idea of an owner of all animals [91] and had a priest similar to Murkum's zhaban.[92]

But there are arguments against such an identification as well. They never had the aversion against the cow so typical of the eastern Dards. Moreover, Buddruss and I noted the characteristic myth of agriculturists that the corn was in the hands of the fairies once, and came to men by theft. This means perhaps that the Burushaski-speaking tribes were at first farmers and mixed with the hill tribes. Perhaps they lived, as recently suggested by Heine-Geldern in the Indian plains and were driven into the mountains by the invading Aryans. There is another, quite different possibility, namely, that they belonged to the

[85] *Cf.* Heine-Geldern, 1936: 24/1.

[86] They are the remains of a big hoard. I was able to buy them and hand them over to the Archaeological Service of Pakistan. A preliminary report is printed in this book.

[87] Heine-Geldern, 1957: 282.

[88] Baumann, 1958: 227.

[89] Only after heavy fighting could he cross the land of the Uxians (near Susa) who were shepherds and herdsmen (Arrian, Anabasis III/17). Moreover, it is by no means clear that all the tribes whom he had to defeat in Swat were really Indo-European.

[90] I think there are arguments to include technics of ecstasy into the spiritual heritage of the mountain peoples. The northern shamanism has got many impulses from there.

[91] But in a story recorded at Gilgit, he is considered as male.

[92] Lorimer, 1935, 2: 263. The tale of Daltas Manuko can only be understood on the basis of similar institutions.

pre-Indo-European population of Eastern Turkestan and came from the north.

We are now in the wide and dangerous field of speculation, but one thing is clear: If we have any hope that the roots of the Dardic social and religious systems go back to the time of such a pre-Indo-European koiné of mountain tribes, then it is urgently necessary to start intense field work immediately, in order to save as many traces of the past as possible.

RECONNAISSANCE IN UPPER SWAT

The narrow uppermost part of the Swat valley is the homeland of Gujurs who arrived relatively late, and of "Kohistanis," [93] i.e. Dards, speaking Gawri and Torwali.

There are traditions that the main body of the Torwal tribe came from Patan in Indus-Kohistan and that one section of the Gawri tribe inhabited the Punjkorah valley before, but besides this, both tribes surely contain the remains of the aboriginal population of the Swat valley who were driven on to the hilltracts by the Pathan invaders.[94] If there were hope anywhere of restoring traditions that go back to the great days of Buddhist civilization, it would be here.

Already Biddulph, however, declined such a possibility. He wrote that "the Torwalik have been too long converted to Islam and exposed to the preaching of Swat mullahs to have retained any customs connected with other religions." The Gawri-speakers, who had then been Moslems for nine generations only, did not have "the peculiar customs still common among the Shins" [95] any longer either, according to Biddulph.

Barth, who recently gave a careful and reliable survey of both tribes, records so few pre-Islamic traits in his material that he more or less confirms the statement of Biddulph.[96]

We must, however, ask whether the old traditions have really been completely destroyed or whether it is only so difficult to get any information because people do not dare to speak being intimidated by their religious leaders. In the latter case, a careful investigation would still have a chance in future.

My research, assisted by an intelligent Pathan interpreter, Irfan ud-Din Ishrat,[97] only aimed at shedding light on this question. I noted the following complexes:

A. Each hunter needs a protecting fairy (peri). She appears in his dream to indicate the whereabouts of the wild goats; she helps in aiming and finally drinks the blood of the dying animal. A certain tree is consecrated to her. She hates cows as being impure and likes goats. Her residence is on the highest mountain.

B. Stories about witches are widespread. A considerable part of the male population is actually afraid of them. They are called rī or rāvi. Sometimes they are said to live on hilltops (a confusion with a bad, dangerous kind of fairy?), but generally they are ordinary women of the village during the day, only to be recognized by a sort of bloodfilled bump on the top of their skulls. If this bump is opened, a witch loses her evil power and becomes normal again. When she leaves her house at night her feet are turned backwards. When she can get hold of a man she eats his heart, and the unlucky fellow must die in a short time.

But it must be emphasized that similar ideas also occur among the Pathans of Swat. There a woman becomes a "shisha," a witch, when she neglects the ritual ablution (after intercourse) seven times. During the night such shishas secretely leave their homes and climb on trees. Riding the trees they fly to foreign countries and have meetings there. Other witches of Swat prefer to ride on hyenas. The rough hair over the spine of this animal is said to give them extreme sexual pleasure.

Among the Pathans, even ordinary women (not witches) are sometimes said to practice a sort of black magic. If a woman wants to attract the love of a man she will go to the graveyard and dig out the body of a man just buried. She will hang the corpse on a tree and pour water on its head. Then she collects the water dripping from its feet in a vessel and finally takes a bath in it. Then she becomes extremely beautiful, so that no man can resist her, not even her own husband.

C. There are many stories about holy places, e.g. a pool where a golden cup appears at regular times. But I found no system and no connection with other Dardic beliefs in them.

I think some conclusions may be drawn even from this scanty material.

[93] Kohistani" is the general name for hill tribes speaking a language different from Pashtu but bordering the area of Pathan conquest. *Cf.* Biddulph, 1880: 69.

[94] Barth-Morgenstierne, 1957.

[95] Biddulph, 1880: 70–71.

[96] Barth, 1956*b*: 67–68 and 75–76.

[97] I have to thank him for his honest and unassuming helpfulness.

1. The rich spiritual world of the late first millennium A.D., when in Swat Buddhism and Sivaism converged into a symbiosis and gave birth to so many Tantric systems, is not yet entirely dead among the hill tribes and has even affected the Pathan invaders. To this day the women, who once had "chiefly the monopoly of the Tantric relevations and of Tantric percepts in Swat," [98] are said to be versed and dangerous witches. They still perform black magic in graveyards, using dead bodies as in the time of Padmasambhava.[99] They are still able to fly in the air. Perhaps this special power has given its name to the whole valley, for the old name of Swat, "Uḍḍiyana," may be traced back to the root "ḍī" = "to float in the air." [100]

And when the peris stimulate the hunters and lead them to the spot, are they not following in the footsteps of their "grandmothers," the dakinis,[101] who did the same in the field of spiritual experience? Even the peculiar riding on a wild animal (hyena?) was customary among them.[102]

2. It is evident that the survivals noted in Swat fit into the common Dardic pattern. The peris of the mountain tribes have the same characteristics as the darnijis of the north. The witches of Swat, the rī or rāvi, are connected with the rūi of the Shina-speakers, even by their name.

This means that we can also use the much better preserved traditions of the northern Dardic tribes to reconstruct the popular beliefs from which spiritual leaders like Padmasambhava drew inspiration when they enlarged the spiritual world of lamaism.

The popular beliefs of Gilgit actually had a direct influence on Tibet. The teachers who gave a literary form to the primitive Tibetan Bon religion, came partly from this area and used current shamanistic rites and ideas.[103]

Whereas in the first part of this study we have seen that the economic, social, and religious structure of the Gilgit Agency can help us to lift the veil from the distant past, near the roots of agriculture and husbandry, in the second part we find that this very material may be used to explain some specific western traits in the lamaism of Tibet.

[98] Tucci, 1958: 283–284.
[99] Hoffmann, 1956: 43.
[100] Tucci, 1958: 283.
[101] For this comparison I have to thank Dr. Buddruss, Frankfurt/Main, and Professor Hoffmann, Munich.
[102] Hoffmann, 1956: p. 43.
[103] Tucci, 1958: 282.

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