

B o l o r & Dardistan

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IFH

National Institute of Folk Heritage

ISLAMABAD-PAKISTAN

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**BOLOR &
DARDISTAN**

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F o r e w o r d

Cultural and Research institutions, film makers, scholars and tourists the world over are keenly interested in the northern regions of Pakistan particularly the Silk Route Cultures. The Silk Route and its cultures have played a key role in the dissemination and diffusion of culture and religions in Asia and the current interest amongst scholars and ethnologists in the region is quite justified. Besides it is of utmost importance to match great developmental programmes such as the Karakorum Highway with commensurate cultural programmes to salvage the heritage of the region and to protect it against the detrimental effects of modernisation.

Dr. Karl Jettmar, the Chairman of the Heidelberg Institute has a deep scholastic interest in the region called Dardistan (Skardu and Gilgit) and he has led a number of ethnological and linguistic missions into the region for the past 25 years and is himself a regular visitor having widespread local contacts in the remotest villages where he is respected and loved for his personable and humane qualities. His institute has published copious work on Hunza, Chitral, Kafiristan and the Dardic cultures of Gilgit. However, the entire work being in German is inaccessible to Pakistani scholars and institutions. In fact little is known about it here. Pakistan has not benefited from its results.

The National Institute of Folk & Traditional Heritage is basically a Research Institute working for the preservation and dissemination of Folklore and Traditional Heritage of Pakistan. The Institute intends to make the entire research work done by the Heidelberg experts on the cultural heritage of Pakistan accessible to our scholars by publishing it in English and Urdu. And to

begin with we are reprinting two English publications of Dr. Karl Jettmar namely "Bolor - A Contribution to the Political and Ethnic Geography of North Pakistan" and "Ethnological Research in Dardistan 1958." Both the publications are being published in a single volume under the title "Bolor and Dardistan". Dr. Jettmar has 34 more German publications to his credit on the area. Other German scholars are also not far behind. Dr. Jettmar and his colleagues at the Heidelberg have graciously agreed to allow us to translate and publish their works in English and Urdu.

"Bolor and Dardistan" is just a beginning. Other publications will be produced in the near future as they are being translated from German into English.

We are thankful to Dr. Karl Jettmar who has very kindly allowed us during his recent visit to the Institute to reprint both of his publications. A bibliography of Dr. Jettmar's publications on this area as provided by him is thankfully included at the end. The book has been divided into two parts. Part-I comprising of "Bolor-Contribution to the Political and Ethnic Geography of North Pakistan" has been named as "Bolor" and Part-II "Dardistan" contains "The Ethnological Research in Dardistan."

Our thanks are also due to the publishers of both these manuscripts namely Sudasien-Institute, Der Universitat Heidelberg and American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia USA for granting us permission to publish them in Pakistan.

It is expected that Pakistani scholars in general and the researchers in the field of folklore of Northern Area of Pakistan, in particular will benefit to a large extent from the publication of these research manuscripts.

Institute of Folk Heritage

Jettmar, Karl (Heidelberg)

**BOLAR—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE POLITICAL
AND ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH PAKISTAN**

Anthropologists have pointed out¹ that Dardistan², protected by so many mountain ranges with high passes and dangerous gorges, remained virtually independent and could uphold an astonishing cultural separatism until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then it had to suffer from inroads made by the Sikhs and, later on, Dogras and was finally included into the British Empire. But even today there are some valleys in Indus-Kohistan which can only be entered under great hardship and with a strong police escort, if the Pakistani authorities would agree to such a major operation at all.³

As a consequence of this late opening to the rest of the world, many religious traditions of local origin have been preserved in this area side by side with the predominant religion, Islam. To study these traditions is an important task for the anthropologist. I tried a synthesis in a part of my book "Die Religionen des Hindukusch"⁴. The following two results of this study concern not only the anthropologist but the historian as well :

1. During an earlier period, roughly speaking during the first millennium A.D., the importance of this area for exchange of material and spiritual goods throughout Asia must have been much greater than in the centuries immediately preceding the conquest and the exploration by Europeans.

2. In this period of more intense trade and traffic, Buddhism flourished at least in the main valleys and along the arterial roads. Local traditions were mixed with Buddhistic ideas and afterwards transmitted as a part of this syncretic system.

The foundation for a historical investigation along such lines was laid by the late Sir Aurel STEIN. However, he had no legitimate successor, no one specialized in the history of the mountains west of Tibet in the first millennium A.D. There is plenty of more recent information, e.g. in the field of epigraphic monuments⁵, but these have not yet been discussed in a satisfactory way. Therefore, although quite aware that I am not an orientalist, in an excursus of my book I tried a new compilation of the sources shedding light on this period⁶. That such efforts may be rewarding is shown by an article of my Soviet colleague, T.B. ABAEVA⁷), a useful contribution in spite of the fact that not a single book of Sir Aurel STEIN's was available to her⁸).

In other respects also, new approaches have brought considerable progress⁹.

As there is little hope that my book will be translated into English and as our Pakistani colleagues may be interested in the historical dimensions of the northern part of their country, I will try to present my views, including some corrections which have become necessary since,

Political Geography

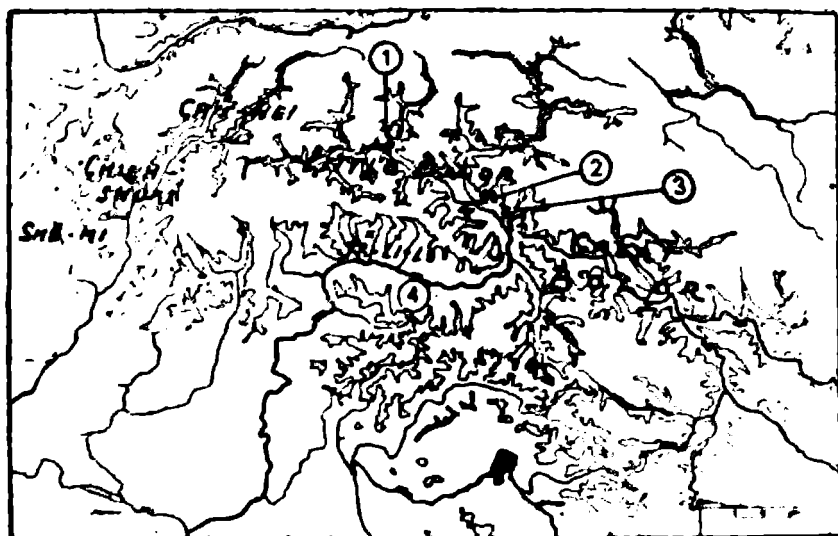
During the period we are concerned with, the northern areas of Pakistan were crossed by heavily frequented mountain paths forming a shortcut from the northwest corner of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to the Wakhan or directly to Eastern Turkestan and finally to China.

Besides their function within the network of pan-Asiatic trade they were an artery for Buddhism of Eastern Asia, depending largely on ideas transmitted from centres of learning in regions today belonging to Pakistan, say, for example, Swat.

This lends us a broad spectrum of contemporary records on the geography and history of the intermediate zone. Most of these records were translated in the 19th or early 20th century.¹⁰ What could be done on this topic by work in a modern standard can be seen in an exemplary study written by L. PETECH.¹¹ I do not pretend to have the competence to go farther in this direction, but assume that already now the published records (after a critical reappraisal) are fit to give us a rather clear idea of the political situation in the extreme mountains from the 5th to the 8th centuries A.D.

It may be said in advance that the principalities north and south of the wall formed by the ranges of the Hindu-Kush, the Karakorum and the western pillars of the Himalayas topped by the Nanga Parbat, were relatively well-known to the Chinese. Terms designating the Badakhshan (Pa-t'o-chan), the Zebak region (Po-tche, po-chih)¹², Shughnan (Che-k'i-ni) and Wakhan (Hu-mi) appear in several documents. It is clear that these regions were considered as belonging to a higher unit : to Tokharistan (T'u-ho-lo). This suggests that they were inhabited by Iranian tribes or at least dominated by Iranian influences, Chieh-p'an-to and Wu-ch'a must have been located in Sarikol or nearby.¹³

Equally clear is the grouping in the belt south of the mountains : Laghman (= Lamghan) and Nagarahara (BEAL: Na-kie-lo-ho) are border areas of Gandhara.¹⁴ Next to it Uddiyana (PETECH : Wu-ch'ang) is mentioned, i.e., the Swat valley leading deep into the mountains ;



Political units in the valley of Karakoram and Eastern Hindu-Kush according to the Chinese sources from the 5th to the 8th century A.D.

(P'o-lu is rendered as Bolor, in accordance with the Islamic authors).

- 1 — Hatun inscription**
- 2 — Dainyor inscription**
- 3 — rockcarvings and inscriptions at Alam Bridge**
- 4 — rockcarvings and inscriptions near Chilas**

then Taxila (Ta-tch'a-che-lo), Urasa (= Hazara, CHAVANNES : U-la-che) and finally Kashmir.¹⁶

Between these two chains of identified political principalities on both sides of the mountains we have but a limited number of political units belonging to the mountain areas proper :

a) Bolor (CHAVANNES : Pou-lu, STEIN : P'o-lu)

Hsuan-tsang's famous work Hsi-yu-chi gives the highly interesting hint that Bolor was a state which had only a restricted extension from north to south but covered a large strip of land from west to east. An Indian script was used here, but for a deviant language. This hint alone points to the extended furrow formed by the valley of Gilgit river and continued by a part of the Indus valley in the east.

The same information can be found in the T'ang-shu. The passage was translated by CHAVANNES who added the report of a military expedition taken from the biography of Kao-Hsien-chih, a Chinese general of Korean descent.¹⁷ What is reflected by the rather voluminous text is a change in the political situation. In the early part of the 8th century A.D. the Chinese prevalence in Central Asia was shaken by the expansion of the Tibetan kingdom. The latter was soon directed even to the west, implying the acute danger that the Tibetans might join hands with the equally aggressive Arabs and collaborate with them in the liquidation of the inner-Asiatic possessions of China.

Bolor consisted of two parts, The eastern half, Great Bolor, could afford to send several embassies to the Chinese court during the first half of the 8th century. But soon enough it came under effective Tibetan control. The western half was called Little Bolor. The pilgrim

Huei-ch'ao tells us that the king of the former Bolor state had fled before the Tibetans to Little Bolor while the common people and the nobility had remained in Great Bolor under Tibetan overlordship.¹⁷

But even the independence of the western part was under permanent menace of being liquidated. The Chinese had to give military and, we may add, economic support. This task could not be solved without several campaigns against the Tibetans and their allies.

In a political unit originally including the Gilgit valley to the east (i.e. present Baltistan), the natural boundary would have been the defile of Rondu between the Haramosh massif and the Deosai plains. Until a few years ago only a dangerous path led through the gorges of this district. Therefore it seems evident that Great Bolor is identical with present Baltistan, Little Bolor with the Gilgit valley proper. Whether the present town of Gilgit was the then capital of Little Bolor (called Yeh-to by the Chinese) is open to discussion.¹⁸ Moreover, it is not clear how far Bolor reached to the west. Between the modern political units of Chitral on the one hand and the Gilgit Agency on the other there is no natural boundary, in any case not one corresponding to the line drawn by the British administration which was influenced by the picture given by the map. In fact, the Shandur pass is no real hindrance to traffic. The traveller has to face much more serious difficulties in some narrow places in the Kunar - and in the Gilgit vale proper.¹⁹ To defend a pass was not usual in local warfare. So it could be quite possible that the centre of gravity of Little Bolor was further to the west, for instance in Yasin or somewhere in the upper Gilgit valley.²⁰

(b) The Statelets in and around the Kunar Valley

There is a political unit called Chu-wei or Shang-mi²¹, (the two terms evidently labelling the same principality) situated to the west of Bolor.²² Under the designation Shuang-mi, this political unit may have been one of the five territories subjected to the rule of the Yue-chih princes of Tokharistan. Sir Aurel STEIN was convinced that this state must have been located in Northeast Chitral. The capital (A-shē-yu-shih-to) apparently lay on the banks of the uppermost part of the Kunar called Yarkhun.²³

West of Bolor, there is another state called Chieh-shuai or Chin-shih (shortened to Chieh). It would be logical to assume that it was roughly identical with southern Chitral. The ruler of this state was considered by the Chinese to be a troublesome enemy. He concluded a treaty with the Tibetans against his immediate neighbours, Tokharistan and Bolor. A message of the king of Tokharistan to the Chinese court renders a lively account of the imminent dangerous consequences of such a political flirtation : We are told²⁴ that the strong garrisons posted by the Chinese in Little Bolor depended entirely for their food supplies on imports from Kashmir. The caravans, however, had to cross the territory of Chieh-shuai and the Tibetans prepared to cut this vital connection by building a fortress at a strategic point. This might become the first step to an invasion of Bolor and finally a serious threat even to Tokharistan. The Chinese reacted immediately. The troublesome king of Chieh-shuai was arrested and replaced by his compliant brother.

A third political entity to the west of Bolor is called She-mi. It is supposed to be in the south and west of the above mentioned principalities. She-mi is identified with Kafiristan, today called Nuristan, which is fully

supported by the fact that Sung Yun had to cross this area when he travelled from the royal camp of the Hephthalites in the Zebak region to the monasteries of Swat.²⁶

Sir Aurel STEIN came to the fascinating conclusion that the caravans bringing supply to the Chinese troops had to use the same route as that which was used by the British for the maintenance of the military forces posted at Gilgit.²⁷

This means that the so-called Gilgit transport road which connects the vale of Kashmir with the Gilgit valley via Astor to the Indus near Bunji was already of strategic importance more than a millennium ago. Under British rule, on the steep descent into the Indus valley, near Hatupir, the track was exposed to the attack of the fierce Chilas. Sir Aurel STEIN made the conjecture that the same danger had already existed then, which would mean that the region around Chilas was under the sway of the ruler of Chieh-shuai. I regret that I cannot follow Sir Aurel STEIN on this point.²⁷ A state with the centre in Southern Chitral would have needed effective control of all the areas on the southern boundary of the mountains of what is now Dir-Kohistan, Swat-Kohistan and the Indus valley to the east, to afford military raids on the vulnerable points of the Gilgit transport road. There are so many passes and rivers in between that only parachutists could have managed such a daring operation.

In all modesty, I think I can propose a more plausible explanation. In the 8th century Kashmir, under its great king Lalitaditya Muktapida, was the predominant power of the subcontinent. As reported in the Hsi-yu-chi, it controlled most of the mountains. There are some hints that after a decisive victory it even protected the region around Kabul against foreign invasion.²⁸ It is quite possible and even probable that by order of Kashmir the

supplies for the Chinese troops in Bolor were imported not directly, but by the western allies. The Kunar valley would have been the easiest route, and this in fact means transport across Chieh-shuai, whereas the direct approach to the Gilgit valley would always have been threatened by attacks from territories dominated by the Tibetans (via the Deosai Plains).²⁹

(c) The Valleys South of the Gilgit Karakorum³⁰

In the Chinese sources a valley of considerable importance is mentioned which must have been somewhere south of Bolor : Ta-li-lo (Fa-hsien : T'o-li, or T'o-leih).³¹ Once the capital of Swat was said to have been situated there. By the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. it had lost its former political importance, but was still famous on account of its huge and miraculous statue of Maitreya.

Already CUNNINGHAM had assumed that Ta-li-lo is the astonishingly correct rendering of "Darel",³² the name of the densely populated valley north of the Indus which runs here from east to west for the last time. Sir Aurel STEIN agreed with CUNNINGHAM. For him the identification was a reason to pay a rather dangerous visit to this place. Here, in an area famous for its "killing system" (this term was coined by one of our interpreters on the spot) and only accessible due to the transient rule of an even more murderous usurper, Sir Aurel STEIN discovered survivals of a more gentle past, when the cultural atmosphere was at a much higher level.

STEIN felt sure that a Muslim sanctuary in the modern village Poguch had been erected on the spot where the famous Maitreya image had attracted so many pilgrims in the past. According to him, the carvings observed on this ziarat and on many other constructions—mosques and graves—were strongly influenced by the decorative

designs of the Gandhara culture.³³

ABAEVA did not have STEIN's comments available, only the "Ancient Geography of India", written by CUNNINGHAM. Rather unburdened by too much reverence, she argues against this identification. She pleads for Chilas instead, and points out that the distance given by Hsuan-tsang would be more than the actual one between Swat and Darel.³⁴

In fact, an experienced traveller on the way from Swat to Darel would hardly use the footpath through the gorges of the Indus river as described by Hsuan-tsang. He would cross the passes from Swat-Kohistan to Kandia and further on to Tangir/Darel. Moreover, the best passage from Darel to Little Bolor does not lead through the Indus valley. One would go directly north on a very easy path. Perhaps the rather remote Valley of Ta-li-lo was mentioned by Hsuan-tsang as the most remarkable district of a larger region including Chilas. The general route to this region (and not the possible shortcut to the valley of pilgrimage), is, however, described in the pertinent text.

It is strange that a country which is mentioned many times in the Rajatarangini, the Chronicle of Kings of Keshmir³⁵, namely the "Land of Daradas" (Daraddesa), is never cited in the topographic works of the Chinese in spite of the fact that these works cover a large region as far east of Kashmir as the southern border areas of Tibet. The Kishanganga valley around Gurez certainly formed part of Daraddesa, but the latter most probably also included such northerly districts as the Astor valley and the villages around Chilas.

A simple and plausible explanation for the embarrassing omission of Daraddesa by the Chinese was found long ago, namely in considering Ta-li-lo as the centre and

as representative—*pars pro toto*—for Daraddesa. This hypothesis was based on a perhaps superficial similarity of the names (Darel-Dard) but is not without interest even today.³¹

The strange notice that the capital of Uddiyana (= Swat) was located in Ta-li-lo, in a remote valley far outside the confines of this rich agricultural centre, would become comprehensible. We may presume that in an earlier period, even before the beginning of our era, there existed a powerful tribal confederation of the Daradas of all areas to the northeast of Gandhara, including the mountain valleys and their foreland.

An article written by the Soviet scholar P'JANKOV allows us to trace the prehistory of the confederation.³² Under Darius I, Dadicae together with Sattagydiars Gandarians and Aparytae formed the seventh satrapy (Herodotus III/91). Under Xerxes I the forces of Gandarians and Dadicae were under one commander but had Bactrian equipment in all respects, (Herodotus VII/66.) Under Artaxerxes II all Achaemenid dependencies down to the river Indus were included in a larger Bactrian satrapy. So the gold exported from the mountainous regions of the Dardae (this term replacing "Dadicae")—according to Megasthenes, quoted by Strabo 15.1.44—was also known as the "gold of Bactria" in the time of Ctesias, who seems to give quite a reliable survey of these easternmost provinces.

This means that the areas forming the southeastern corner of Middle Asia and the extreme northwest of the subcontinent were already included in the same administrative system several centuries before they were reunited by Bactrian Greeks, the Kushanas and finally the Hephthalites.

This situation may explain how it was possible that

Iranian tribes, normally at home in the steppes of Middle Asia, could settle on Indian soil long before the well-known Saca invasion. Perhaps the tribes called Aspasians and Assakenians were of mixed Irano-Indian origin. Even a connection between Massaga and Massagetae, proposed by TUCCI in a most stimulating article, cannot be rejected out of hand.³⁸

Perhaps it was a peculiarity of such Irano-Dardic tribes to live in the plain of Mardan in winter and to spend the hot period with the cattle in the mountain valleys like the modern Gujras. The same mountain valleys with their fortified hill stations were also useful as places of refuge in case of the appearance of a superior enemy.

To protect his northern flank Alexander the Great followed them even there and smoked them out. Perhaps this gave a chance to the Dardas who had been driven further to the east, into the sheltering mountains, to regain control over the splendid vale of Swat at least for a while. This may explain the rather strange information given by Hsuan-tsang that Ta-li-lo was considered as "the old seat of government of Uddiyana", i.e., Swat.

Consequently the Assakenians (also known under the name Asvakas) later on had their realm not in the mountains but in the foreland around Taxila, as indicated by their coinage attributed to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.³⁹

But even if this was perhaps only an interlude, the Dardic tribes remained a power of importance. This is documented by the fact that their name is preserved not only by Herodotus and Strabo/Magasthenes as mentioned before, but also by other texts in Greek & Latin literature. Pliny speaks of "Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardae", Ptolemy knows the Daradrei, Dionysius the Dardanoi and Nonnos the Dardae. The same is true for the classical Indian literature, Varahamira mentions this ethnonym.⁴⁰

This early and powerful Darada kingdom must be regarded as the background of the Kharoshti inscription near Alam Bridge, near the mouth of the Gilgit valley. As I was told by G. FUSSMAN, who made use of P. SNOY's photographs a king of the Daradas is mentioned therein.⁴¹ In the meantime a thorough study of this remarkable monument has been made.

As for the next centuries, however, the most abundant source among the works in Sanskrit, the Rajatarangini, does not mention a king nor a state of the Dardas. They are presented as an ethnic element, a rather troublesome and annoying people. Lalitaditya for example, did not tolerate the continual wine-drinking of the Daradas.

In the Kasika commentary to Panini, written around 700 A.D., and not in the actual text of Panini, (G BUDRUSS has informed me that AGRAWALA has confused this matter) we find "Daradi Sindhuh"⁴², i.e. the Indus coming from the land of the Daradas"

From the 11th century onwards the situation changed completely. The rulers of the Daradas were almost equal partners of the kings of Kashmir. They accepted princely refugees with due honours at their court granting them asylum and support in their struggle for succession.⁴³ Evidently, after many centuries of disorganization, the Darada kingdom again formed a considerable military power.

Reviewing the results which were gained by almost a century of translation and analysis by many scholars, we are confronted with a relatively clear picture of the political situation. The territories along the Gilgit river, but also along the Indus and Shyok east of the gorges of Rondu form the state of Bolor. On the Kunar and its upper tributaries there are two principalities roughly corresponding to Upper and Lower Chitral. West

of Chitral another territory is situated which was civilized enough to be crossed by foreigners. South of Bolor is the area of the Daradas. In earlier centuries, before and after the beginning of our era, it was united to a considerable political power including Swat, but now the different tracts are independent, and only Ta-li-lo is widely known for its sanctuaries.

The system existed at least between the journeys of Fa-hsien (403 A.D.) and Hwei-ch'ao (about 726 A.D.). The external influences which changed the political map quite thoroughly are indicated by Chinese reports confirmed by Tibetan sources; the Tibetans did not limit their pretensions. When they had conquered and infiltrated Great Bolor they pushed farther to the west.

The Chinese, in turn, tried to save the integrity and independence of Little Bolor, even at the cost of dangerous and expensive interventions. The disaster in the battle of Talas against the Arabs (751 A.D.) and the immediate collapse of the protectorates in the Tarim basin stopped farther attempts of this kind. This means that the mountain areas west of Tibet were henceforth out of the scope of Chinese observation.

There is a source showing clearly that the Tibetans not only succeeded in bringing Little Bolor under their sovereignty but also extended their domination into the Kunar valley, i.e., to Upper Chitral. The source is one of the two inscriptions belonging to the throne and the crown of the Kabul-Shah. The trophies were deposed as proud symbols of the great Muslim victory in the treasury of the Ka'ba at Mekka.⁴⁴ The inscription, dated 816 A.D. tells of the campaigns undertaken by the wazir al-Fadl ibn Sahl on order of the Caliph al-Ma'mun residing temporarily at Merv. These campaigns were directed against the dangerous allies of the rebelling governor

of Transoxania, Rafi ibn Lait - namely the Qarluqs, the Tibetan Empire and the Kabul-Shah. The latter was especially perilous since he was in a position to collaborate with the Harigitic partisans in the interior of what is now Afghanistan. Therefore he was attacked with superior forces and driven out of Kabul. This was the first of three conquests which were necessary to include that rebellious region into the Muslim world.⁴⁵

As reported in a not entirely clear passage of the text, another expedition was directed against Kashmir and the region of Tibet : al-Fadl gained a victory in "Wakhan and Ravere of the country Bolor against the ruler of the mountains of the Khaqan and the mountains of Tibet" (?). To be sure the text is not very comprehensible, but it is evident that the Arab army entered Bolor via Wakhan in order to eliminate a possible basis for the impending Intervention of Kashmir and Tibet in the interior affairs of the Muslims.

After lengthy deliberations which need not be reviewed here, ABAEVA, in her re-editing of the text, comes to the conclusion that another Soviet scholar, MIKHAILOVA, was wrong when she supposed that the Arab expedition entered Kafiristan and finally pushed forward into the Indus valley occupied by a Tibetan population. ABAEVA thinks that the Muslim army reached Upper Chitral via the Baroghil pass to exterminate Tibetan troops hiding there but ready for action.

Her explanation is confirmed by a tradition of Chitral already mentioned by BIDDULPH and found by me to be even now a vivid remembrance in the minds of the local populace.⁴⁶ In Chitral there is a common saying that Bahman, the pagan king of the country, resided at Mushgol in the district of Mulkho. Bahman must have been an important ruler since all valleys between Bashgal

and Gilgit were under his sway (in a southerly direction up to Pattan in Indus-Kohistan). He was attacked by an Arab army under Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet. This army had previously conquered the Badakhshan; its ruler Zungibar was slain in action. Invading from the Baroghil pass the Arabs reached Khotan Lasht near the confluence of Rich and Yarkhun. Here a fierce battle was fought and Bahman was finally killed.⁴⁷

This local tradition seems to be in full agreement with the Arab version (beside the fact that the insertion of Hamza is clearly anachronistic), and helps us to reconstruct the situation prevailing after the end of Chinese intervention :

- a) Little Bolor is under Tibetan rule ; it can be taken as a part of Tibet
- (b) As a part of the administrative system of the Tibetans, and with their aid, Little Bolor extends farther to the west and includes areas formerly known under the Chinese term Chu-wei (or Shang-mi). By this advance the Tibetans gain an area which can be used as a strategic base for giving effective support to an alliance of anti-Mohammadan forces.
- (c) Kashmir is now on good terms with the Tibetans, ready for collaboration to prevent further inroads of the Arabs.

Ethnic Geography

(Dynasty, Upper Stratum, Peasants and Herders)

Who are the peoples or tribes corresponding to the principalities or regions in the interior areas of the mountains mentioned before ?

Chu-wei/Shang-mi covers an area which is today considered as the cradle of the Kho. Their language, Khowar, became the dominant language of Chitral. The structure

and part of the vocabulary of this language are archaic and indicate an early and direct immigration into the valleys immediately south of the main range of the Hindu-kush. Maybe a local element of unknown origin is incorporated, as there is no etymology for essential roots. Chieh-shih/Chieh-shuai may be identical with the southern valley of Chitral, where in former centuries the Kalash settled. Khowar and Kalasha must have been neighbours for a long time. There are some hints, however, that a ruling group among the Kalash came from the lower Pech valley.⁴⁸

Unfortunately the inscription of Pakhtoridini near Maroi is of no use for the solution of this problem. According to STEIN it is written in bad Sanskrit, and tells about a king who ordered the making of a pertinent drawing of a stupa (instead of the actual erection of such a monument) for the deities. The name of the raja, Jivarman, can be explained as the Prakrit-rendering of Sanskrit Javavarman.⁴⁹ The same ruler—as Raja Jivarman—is mentioned in the supplementary text to another rock-picture of a stupa near Charrun. The rest of this inscription remains unexplained.⁵⁰

“Poor Sanskrit” is also the language of an inscription near Rain in Mulkho, already mentioned by Sir Aurel STEIN.⁵¹ It belongs to a stupa-drawing and was carefully copied by P. EGGERT. G. FUSSMAN will publish it.

The inscription of Pakhtoridini has caused considerable confusion since CUNNINGHAM read Jiva Jala instead of Jivarman using a rough sketch handed over to him by BIDDULPH. Consequently, in his important and popular book BIDDULPH propagated the thesis that Chitral formed part of the realm of the last independent Hindu-Shahi ruler of Kabul, Jaipal. This version was taken over by Mirza GHUFRAN. It is repeated once more in the

booklet by M. AFZAL KHAN, "Chitral and Kafiristan."⁵²

The information which may be gained by a study of the stupa-drawings and epigraphic observation is in fact rather restricted : during the 5th century A.D. the population was Buddhist and the ruler bore an Indian name.

Inscriptions and other carvings observed near Chilas, i.e. in the area which was perhaps one of the central districts of the "Early Dardic Empire", have not given any hints regarding the language spoken there. Sir Aurel STEIN entrusted the material collected at this place to CHAKRAVARTI,⁵³ mentioning that it was only of limited value, hardly decipherable in most cases. It is no wonder then that no further publication appeared. We can only point out that Chilas belongs to the original area of Shina, a Dardic language. Shina is spoken even today near Gurais, where the Darada-country was in direct contact with the marches of Kashmir.

As for the ethnic character of the ruling class in the state of Bolor, we are in possession of a highly valuable source regarding the centuries immediately preceding the Tibetan invasion—the Gilgit Manuscripts. These Buddhist texts written on birch-bark were produced in the 6th or 7th century A.D. as concluded by epigraphic comparison. Occasionally they mention the names of the donors who paid the monks copying the holy texts for their spiritual benefit. According to LEVI, the majority of these names cannot be explained within the framework of Sanskrit ; they are not even Indian. LEVI believes that they are Turkish and draws the (most probably wrong) conclusion that Gilgit was incorporated into the empire of the Western Turks since about 600 A.D.⁵⁴ I prefer the interpretation that Turkish mercenaries held high ranks in the army of the kings of Bolor—and became Buddhists.

Moreover, in the manuscripts the kings of the ruling dynasty are mentioned by name.⁵⁵

Srideva Shahi Surendra Vikramaditya Nanda
(his wife : Samidevi-Trailokadevi-bhattarika)

Patoladeva Shahi Vajradityanandi

Epigraphic observation does not allow a difference of chronological importance in the manuscripts produced for them. According to CHAKRAVARTI, the text written during the rule of another king are clearly of a later date: Shahanushahi Patolashahi sri-Nava-Surendradityandideva (his wife : Ananigadevi).

This second Patoladeva appears in an inscription discovered near the modern village Hatun, not far from the outlet of the Ishkoman river into the Gilgit river. Here we learn his Indian title :

Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara.

CHAKRAVARTI, who published this inscription⁵⁶, noted that the name is not Indian, and that the titles are in fact Iranian, even when taking an Indianized form. Indian is also "Saramgha", the title of the official who, by order of his lord, managed the building of a barrage here, the foundation of a township (the "New Makarapura"), and finally the making of the inscription itself. Saramgha means "chief commander of the army", corresponding to middle or new Persian "sar-hang". A connection with the administrative system [of the Kushanas cannot be excluded.

Perhaps a prince belonging to a minor branch of the great dynasty was posted as a guardian of the strategic mountain passes and his descendants may still have held their fief many centuries later.

But it is also quite possible that the founder of the state came from the north as strong Iranian influences were active even there. There are some indications that

the kings of Khotan and the kings of Bolor were united by a "common apprehension" as stated by THOMAS.⁵⁷ A further argument for a northern immigration can be derived from the fact that part of the Saka tribes invading the northwest of the Indian subcontinent did not come via the passes of the Western Hindukush (i.e., into what is now Afghanistan) but by a shortcut from the Pamirs towards the south.⁵⁸ Soviet excavations in the Pamirs have shown that in many graveyards of Saka nomads there are no burials later than the second century B.C. This sudden break-off may be explained by a serious deterioration of the climatic conditions. The nomads were forced to leave their former pastures and to migrate to the plains of India.⁵⁹

The acting officer Makarasimha, also called Mahagajapati, i.e. "Lord of the Elephants" (this was a rather spurious title indeed⁶⁰) was in fact chief of the garrison at Gilgitta, i.e. Gilgit. But this township was by no means identical with the capital of the dynasty. In the 6th and 7th centuries the rulers of Bolor still resided in the very centre of Great Bolor, namely Skardu.

A king's name modelled according to the same principles appears as dedicator in the inscription of one of the so-called Kashmiri bronzes in the Pan-Asian Collection:

Nandi Vikramaditya, his title : Maharajadhiraja
paramesvara.⁶¹

PAL observed that a king of a similar name is mentioned in at least one inscription of the Gilgit valley. This can now be confirmed. More than this, in the Gilgiti manuscripts there appear similar names, one of them practically identical. However, they are in fact only combinations of rather usual royal titles. Below the Buddha seated in yogic posture but holding a manuscript in his left hand stands the donor "dressed as a Scythian" - one more hint

that he "belonged to one of the Sahi dynasties who ruled in small principalities in areas contiguous to Kashmir."

In the T'ang-chu the names of a whole sequence of kings ruling in Little Bolor are given. We learn about Mo-kin-mang, his son Nan-hi, Molai-hi the elder brother of Nan-hi, and Su-che-li-tche. Under Su-che-li-tche the Chinese intervention of the year 747 A.D. took place. He was taken prisoner but finally pardoned.⁶² During the same period another branch of the dynasty ruled in Great Bolor.⁶³ The T'ang-chu mentions the kings Su-fu-sho-li-tche-li-ni and Su-lin-t'o-i-che, the latter name tentatively being explained as Surendraditya by CHAVANNES.

In his commentary of the so-called "Inquiry of Vimalaprabha", a manuscript found in Eastern Turkestan, THOMAS came to the conclusion⁶⁴ that Su-lin-t'o-i-che must be identical with Isvara-Varman in this text. His younger son is called Vijaya-Varman. Several other princes follow who are connected by kinship and other close relationships to the rulers of Li (= Khotan) and to the Lords of the Gold Country.

The capital of the line ruling Great Bolor is Skardu, i.e., the centre of sBal-ti. In spite of the dangerous nearness to the basic areas of Tibetan power—or just for this very reason—the Great Bolor branch took the side of the Chinese several times, even against their own relatives⁶⁵, as long as there was a chance of resistance, i.e., before the Chinese collapse in the middle of the 8th century A.D.

* * *

Let us return for a moment to the bronze in the Pan-Asian Collection. Due to its stylistic peculiarities it was dated into the late 8th or early 9th century A.D. This means that the dynasty represented by the donor ruled at Gilgit—or at Skardu—even the Tibetans had conquered the whole

area. If the Tibetans were the overlords, they permitted the local princes to preserve their rather pompous titles.

Two painted book-covers belonging to Gilgit manuscripts but for stylistic reasons dated into the 9th century (one piece even later) also indicate the unbroken preservation of the local Buddhist tradition and a high level of cultural activities.⁶⁶

* * *

So it is not surprising that Bolor is mentioned in the works of Islamic historians as a state of considerable importance. In the *Hudud-al-'Alam*, at the end of the 10th century, we read that the *Bulurinshah*⁶⁷ is regarded as the son of the sun, and is thus not allowed to rise from his bed before sunrise.

Still more important is a short note of Biruni written in the first half of the 11th century A.D. He gives an exact localization. The country of Bolor is situated on the right side of the gorge which forms the exit to the basin of Kashmir. The mountains of the Bolor and Shamilan (?) are only at a distance of two days' journey. The towns of the country are Gilgit, Aswira (explained as an old name of Astor) and Shiltas—almost certainly Chilas. The region dominated by this town is occupied by Turkish-speaking tribes. They are called Bhattavaryan, their king Bhattashah who is perhaps identical with the Bolorshah mentioned a few lines earlier, Kashmir suffered much from the raids of these tribes.

Sir Aurel STEIN claimed the identity of the above-mentioned Turks with the Tibetans. According to him, in the general but anachronistic conceptions of the Moslems, Bolor was considered as part of the Tibetan sphere of influence. Bhattavaryan was only a term for the Tibetans, "Bhutta" or "Bautta" being used by Kalhana in the same sense.

Later on Sir Aurel STEIN learned that a part of the population of Chilas is called Bote⁷⁰, and he considered whether there is connection between this name and the ethnic group mentioned by BIRUNI.

In fact, in this period Kashmir was threatened by invasions from the North-west. During the first and second Lohara dynasty, between Ananta (1028-1036 A.D. and Jayasimha (1128-1149 A.D.)⁷⁰ and probably even earlier, Kashmir was under pressure of repeated raids of the mountain tribes organized by a central authority—the kings of the Daradas. At least one of them, Vidyahara, held the Shahi title like the rulers of Bolor. The basic strongholds of their country were evidently hidden deep in the mountains. Harsa, king of Kashmir, was killed by an avalanche during his return from exile in the lands of the Daradas. Sussala needed several months for his journey back to Kashmir, using difficult mountain-paths.⁷¹ The Kishanganga valley with Gurais, normally identified as Daraddesa, was probably only a frontier district and a sort of glacis. None of the Kashmiri kings ever tried to invade the basic area of Dardic power and conquer the capital which laid in the Astor valley or near Chilas, perhaps in the Gilgit valley.

With BIRUNI's note in mind, we see that the kings of the Daradas are mentioned by Kalhana in the very context in which we would expect to hear about the people and the rulers of Bolor (resp. Bhattavaryan and Bhattashah). The whole text of the Rajatarangini does not contain a single word about Bolor; the name is not mentioned at all.

It is obvious that here as in so many other regions we have two traditions of designations existing side by side.⁷² Moslems and Chinese ignore the Daradas, the Kashmiris ignore Bolor. To be more precise, the Bolor state seems

to be identical with the kingdom of the Daradas—at least (and perhaps only) in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D.⁷³

Can this also be said of the population? Should we assume that the Daradas were the dominating ethnic element also in the Gilgit valley, the main area of the Little Bolor state?

Caution is advisable here since we know of another ethnic group in this region. There is evidence suggesting that this other group goes back to an antecedent stratum of immigrants or even to the original inhabitants. We are referring to the Burushos, the bearers of the Burushaski language.

The statelets of Hunza and Nagir⁷⁴ are situated on opposite banks of the Hunza river. Here and in Wurshigum, i.e., in the valley of Yasin, they form the bulk of the population. Today one finds them in many other places of the Gilgit region. In some of them Burusho settlers have managed to become the majority, and have even founded new villages.⁷⁵

The valley of Hunza and Nagir has always been a short and direct, though difficult outlet to Eastern Turkestan, but on the other hand it is extremely inaccessible since it cuts through the main range of the Karakoram. Yasin, too, is well protected by forbidding mountains. In fact, the valleys may be considered as places of retreat, residues of a formerly compact settlement area in the main valley along the Gilgit river.

One of the songs of the Bonona festival brought to Ladakh by Dardic immigrants and preserved as a sacred heritage through many centuries mentions "Brushal and Gilgit".⁷⁶ The text seems to indicate that the distance between these areas is not considerable. I doubt that the lower part of the Hunza valley was able to support a dense population. This would mean that Brushal was

the name of a section of the Gilgit valley still occupied by Burushos. BIDDULPH supposed⁷⁷ that the 'caste' called "Yashkun", especially numerous in the north-western part of the Shina-speaking area, represents a mixture of the former settlers (i.e. the Burushos) and newcomers, the Shins. In fact, for the word Yashkun there is a Burushaski etymology meaning "local inhabitant, aboriginal".⁷⁸

The traveller visiting the north of the Gilgit Agency accompanied by Burushos will be informed many times that name of mountains and meadows make sense not in Shina but in Burushaski. Sometimes popular etymology may be suspected, but in other areas further investigation would seem promising.

In addition, there is a number of words common to Tibetan, especially Balti, Burushaski. Evidently only a certain amount of them is shared by Shina.⁷⁹ Today such parallels seem striking to the officials and soldiers of Hunza origin posted in Baltistan. When a better knowledge of the Balti language reveals more of such equivalents—without any parallels in the intervening language Shina—then the usual explanations will not suffice and we submit that the Tibetans pushing forward into the Gilgit valley did not meet Shina-speakers there, but Burushos. (The usual explanations are that Baltis worked in Hunza building the royal castle, or came as merchants to Nagir, via the Hispar glacier etc).

The clash between Tibetans and Arabs on the soil of Chitral mentioned in the inscription honouring al-Fadl shows how far to the west troops were posted by the Tibetans during the heyday of their empire. This perhaps provides the background of parallels between Balti and Khovar "not recorded in any of the intervening languages" as observed by LORIMER⁸⁰.

The most important argument for a direct Burusho-Tibetan contact is the fact that Little Bolor was known to the Tibetans exclusively by the name of "Bru-za". In fact, LAUFER already thought that expressions like "Bru-za" as well as a Bruza, Cru-za, Gru-sa, or Bru-sal, a Bru-sal, which occur many times in ancient Tibetan texts as designation for a language or a country, must have something to do with Burushaski and the land of the Burushaski-speakers⁸¹

According to HOFFMAN, this country is already mentioned in the 7th century when the king Man sron man brtsan married a princess of Bru-za.⁸² Under later kings, the connection was less peaceful. Under the rule of K'ri lde gtsug brtsan the lord of Bru-za was forced to render homage in 737. Three years later he received a Tibetan princess for a wife.²⁸

Nevertheless, K'ri sron lde brtsan (755-797) had to subject the countries of the west, sBal-ti and a Bru-sal, once again. Even K'ri gtsug lde brtsan (815-838) had to reconquer this unruly region.

Again and again we are informed that this area was of considerable importance in religious and cultural affairs. Buddhists and Bon-po looked there for spiritual enlightenment.⁸⁴ The language of Bru-za had a considerable role in the legends about Padmasambhava.

In fact, the Tibetan literature has no other name for the area of Gilgit in spite of contacts over many centuries. Evidently, sBal-ti means Baltistan, the former Great Bolor. Bru-za must be identical to Little Bolor, as generally assumed.⁸⁵ It seems that Tibetans changed the official name of the state to the name of the local population.

THOMAS collected information which is difficult to accord with such a simple explanation. He observed that a district of Khotan had the name "Hbru-so-lo-

na".⁸⁵ In this district there was a place "polu".⁸⁷ THOMAS felt sure that the similarity of the names to Bru-za and Po-lu was not accidental. He advanced the opinion that there was an ethnic connection between the Khotanis and the aboriginal population of westernmost Tibet. However, he was convinced that the earliest known inhabitants of both areas did not speak Burushaski by any means, but he thought they spoke a proto-Tibetan dialect.

The name of that population was already known to Ptolemy (Byltai). THOMAS believed that the same ethnic element lived in the "Kingdom of Women" (stri-rajya),⁸⁸ also called the "Gold country" (suvarnagotra). According to HOFFMANN even the famous country Zanzun⁸⁹ belonged to the same group of proto-Tibetan formations.

There are indeed hints that such a stratum of proto-Tibetan settlers existed along the western marches of the Plateau long before the impact of the Tibetan empire. Perhaps the name "Bru-za" is rooted in this complex⁹⁰ and was only transferred to a subjected tribe in the Gilgit valley at a later stage. But in any case, the Burushaski language is quite isolated. Physically the Burushos are Europoids, not Mongoids, and this is rather unexpected for a proto-Tibetan population. They are not newcomers. The officer who ordered the engraving of the Hatum inscription belonged to the Kanchudiclan which may correspond to "Kanjuti"⁹¹—a usual term for the Hunza even in the 19th century.

Another assumption made by THOMAS is more convincing. He thinks that in the ethnogenetic process leading to the modern Hunzas, a ferocious element coming from Central Asia joined in lending its name to the late descendants: the Hunas, i.e., the Hephthalites.

According to him, they should be identified with the "Wild Men" mentioned in the "Inquiry of Vimalaprabha". Therefore, some names of such Wild Men, e.g., Sad-ku-la, resemble the name of the ill-famed Hephthalite king Mihirakula.⁹³

Several kinship-groups of Hunza believe themselves to have come originally from Central Asia. In several versions of this legend they boast of being descendants of Alexander the Great's soldiers left behind when he attacked China. Such a story may contain a kernel of truth.⁹³ Perhaps another conquering nation was replaced by the ever-popular Greeks. If we assume that in fact during the Tibetan period (7th to 9th centuries A.D.) the Gilgit valley was in the hands of the Burushos, we must concede that they were subjugated, overwhelmed, assimilated or displaced by the Dards, i.e., the bearers of the Shina language who formed the dominant ethnos. The question remains open as to how and when this happened.

Strangely enough, there is no historical report that Gilgit was ever conquered by an invasion from the south, e.g. from Chilas or Darel. The hero who is believed to have put an end to the cruel rule of the "usurper" Shiri Badat and to have founded a new dynasty came from Baltistan according to a story documented in several versions. The circumstances connected with this change call to mind the Buddhist legends about the "Kingdom of Women". The daughter of the usurper gave the advice by which trick her father could be killed in spite of his iron body. Afterwards, she drove her husband to suicide and in the end nearly married her own son.⁹⁴

Moreover, at least in the eyes of foreign observers who rendered information to the author of the *Hudud al-Alam* and Biruni, the governmental tradition of Bolor

remained unbroken for a long period. I was inclined to see the most plausible explanation in the hypothesis that the melting together of the Kingdom of the North (Bolor) with the tribal areas in the south (connected by the common spiritual heritage of the former Dardic state) was a relatively peaceful process. Perhaps the rulers of Bolor took the initiative, motivated by a common interest, e.g. of successful plunderings in Kashmir.

It is, however, important to take notice of the fact that the names of Darada rulers mentioned in the Rajatarangini (Acalamangala, Vidyadhara Shahi, Jagaddala, Manidhara, Yasodhara, finally his "minister" Viddasiha) are not of the type known from the Gilgiti manuscripts and, recently, from the bronze statue dated 8th/9th century A.D.

At the moment no satisfying solution to problems like these is at hand. In any case some kind of political superstructure must be assumed to explain the infiltration of the Dardic elements in the Gilgit valley and its surroundings. Such movement was already postulated by BIDDULPH in his thorough analysis of the cultural history of Dardistan.⁹⁵ On the other hand there was also a counter-movement on a restricted plane; Yashkuns also occur in the south but in small numbers.⁹⁶

In any case, for many centuries Gilgit was a centre of the Shina-speakers. In the Dardic colonies of Ladakh a song was recorded describing the route of immigration from Gilgit via the Rondu defile. Another lively song depicts a hunting expedition starting with a dance of hundred boys and girls before the Lion-King of Gilgit.⁹⁷

4. Occurance of the Term "Bolor" in Later Centuries

(Transition to the Situation Depicted in the Princely Genealogies and Chronicles).

Some of the few passages in later sources mentioning Bolor are rather vague,⁹⁸ others are not in agreement with the localization proposed.

Marco Polo described "Bolor" as a country inhabited by wild pagans wearing skins of beasts and living by the chase,⁹⁹ But evidently he knew of Bolor only by hearsay.

It is more embarrassing that Mirza Haidar who, as a leader of an army from Moghulistan, paid a highly devastating visit to "Balur" in 1528/1529, emphasized the pagan character of the people. According to him, the rather dense population was living in many independent villages, always with internecine warfare. Every evening they stopped fighting to spend the night in their homes. All fieldwork was done by women, the land abounding with honey and fruits while cattle were rare.¹⁰⁰

Even if we admit that Mirza Haidar was interested in appearing as a fighter against the infidels — as an excuse for his cruel plunderings — the general drift of this information badly agrees with what we know about Gilgit and Chitral in those days. Both areas were ruled by Muslim dynasties. We know the names of the rulers and their major feats. Of course, Chitral was suffering from raids undertaken by Moghul hands, but they are said to have ceased under Shah Tahir Rais (1520-1531) so that the population could relax after having experienced so many horrors.

But perhaps in this context Bolor means Kafiristan, especially the Bashgal valley. I wonder whether the occupation of this rich valley by Katis coming from the

Ramgel-Kulum area some centuries ago was in fact due to the thorough decimation if not extinction of the former inhabitants by Mirza Haidar's hordes in 1528/29. This would explain Mirza Haidar's rather bewildering note that "Baluristan is bounded on the east by the provinces of Kashgar and Yarkand". In those days Chitral was in fact in a loose state of dependency on the powers controlling Eastern Turkestan. This is reflected by the belief common even today that the Shah Rais rulers were mere governors of the Chinese.

Quite clear but by no means compatible with this explanation is the localization in the Tarikh-i-Kashgar. We are told that Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Kashgar, led his army to the country of Bolor via the Bolor gorge. The prince ruling there ordered his son, Shah Rais, to meet him with gifts, and immediately professed his submission.¹⁹⁴

Still today a fine meadow on the way from the Baroghil pass down into the Yarkhun valley is named after Abdullah Khan. Here was the camp of the invader,¹⁹⁵ Shah Rais, however, is not the name of an individual person but the name of the dynasty.

We find ourselves in full agreement with the practice of the officials in the Imperial chancellery in Peking. For them Bolor was certainly North Chitral¹⁹⁶: they had direct connections with that mountain kingdom since the final eclipse of the Oirots empire.

So all in all we see that the name of Bolor was used throughout a full millennium but was finally restricted to an area which in the 9th century belonged to the westernmost periphery of the state originally bearing the name. This transfer was perhaps due to the inclusion of Gilgit into the Dardic sphere. If the old Bolor dynasty lost its rule in Gilgit to the Daradas—or to other newcomers

assisted by them—then it is quite understandable that the heirs tried to gain a foothold in the western dependencies and founded a new capital there, hoping to regain the lost territories.

In fact, the "History of Chitral" tells us that an old dynasty of the country was closely related to the kings of Gilgit. The capital of the rulers, called Su-malik, was situated near Mastuj, their power sometimes reaching as far as Gilgit. They were real Kho-people, no strangers. Did they take the name of Bolor to their refuge?

Definitely, such questions must be solved using sources outside the scope of this article, namely the dynastic chronicles and local traditions. The most useful compilation of such texts was done by HASHMATULLAH KHAN¹⁰⁴ for his "History of Jammu and Kashmir" (written in Urdu). As a high official in the service of the Maharaja of Kashmir, he obtained several manuscripts preserved by the princely families. If the rumours I heard in many places are correct he never cared to give them back, so that we depend entirely on his excerpts.

For the period on which the present study is focused, we may expect a sudden rise in the level of our knowledge when the material collected by FUSSMAN during this summer is published. Following the hints given by P. SNOY and myself, FUSSMAN studied a large inscription near Dainyor, quite near to Gilgit but never noticed by the British, and a whole series of rock carvings and inscriptions near Alam Bridge. All our hopes of learning more about Bolor and the Daradas are concentrated on his results. As I mentioned earlier, a Darad raja is mentioned in a text written in Kharosthi.

A purely Tibetan group of inscriptions and stupa drawings I saw near Gakuch in Punyal will be published in collaboration with W. HEISSIG.

A whole set of carvings and inscriptions was observed by Sir Aurel STEIN¹⁰⁵ in the Indus valley between Chilas and Harban as I mentioned before. It should be added that other carvings were discovered by the German Hindukush Expedition crossing the area in 1955. I saw some more when I visited the region with M. KLIMBURG in 1973 and published a few drawings after my photographs in my book "Die Religionen des Hindukusch".¹⁰⁶

It should be pointed out that a part of these carvings is made on rocks close to the Karakoram Highway which is still under construction and which will become much broader than before. The highway now forms a new Transasian connection, giving back to the area of Gilgit the importance it had in the past, more than a millennium ago. The situation of 747 A.D. comes clearly to mind. It would be a sad coincidence if those singular monuments would be destroyed by public works intended to restore Gilgit to its former importance as trading post between Central and South Asia.

ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN DARDISTAN 1958

Preliminary Report

In the northwestern corner of the Indian sub-continent the three most eminent mountain chains of Asia meet—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 Dards⁵ 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 paper⁹ 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

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 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 Piffel, 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, north-east 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 metres 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 comrades¹⁹ 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.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SHINA-SPEAKING DARDS OF THE GILGIT AGENCY Area and Population

Roughly speaking, the Shina language is the northern neighbour of Kashmiri.²¹ 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 centre 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 neighbouring 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 *Shinaki*, "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 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 Paffen³¹ (Hunza) and Barth³¹ (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.³³

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 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 fur Volkerkunde* (1960) I discerned two stylistic trends. On the one hand there are rich carvings with scrolls, leaves, and flowers, especially clematis and lotus. These motifs were already observed by Sir Aural 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 become 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 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 ("dehqans" or "dagans") 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ of the crop.

This pattern is to be found especially in valleys using dehqans or foreign (Kohistani, Gujur) origin, e.g. in Tangir. In places where dehqans 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 dehqan is a resident of the area, perhaps a Kamin, who has some land of his own but not enough. In all such cases the dehqans 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 crueller: If the immigrants do not get a "dehqanship" 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,"⁴⁶ an expression which was 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 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 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 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 Badakhshan (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 between 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 centre 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 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 hamlets⁵¹ 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 more administrative and social term. Only the mosque and the smithy show the site of the one-time centre. 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 dehqans in the centre of their fields and built formidable towers for defense during many bloody feuds.

At the places where the dehqans—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 dehqans, 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 centres—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 boundry zone lost its former meaning. Therefore, a new wave of colonization followed. The owners gave their pastures to tenants, dehqans 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 dehqans.

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 Ismaelitis 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 the 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 Leither, Biddulph, Ghulam Muhammad, Lorimer, and Schomberg,⁵⁴ we could still recognize, but under the patient zeal of Ismaelite, Shiite, and Sunnite mullahs, sayids 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 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 "botibat" stand upright like menhirs. I was able to take some photographs near the ruins of a former kot. 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, "hilaloe-bat" and "hilalebat."

But not only ancestors were celebrated by a monument. In hono^r 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 centre filled with gravel. A chair was put on this "tali," 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 honour 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 "sili-tali."

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 valley⁵⁷ 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 Gure, 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 there is an altar built of boulders dominated by a cliff as a house with a juniper tree growing besides 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 "zhaban." 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 behaviour of the zhaban. 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 "ru.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."⁹⁹ 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 honour 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 "darniji" instead of the Persian "peri."

In a village on the borders of Pnyal 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.⁶⁹ The next morning he will start on the man hunt sure that he will succeed.

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 "yamalos" 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 yacholos. 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, "devakos," 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,⁶² but all belong to approximately the same type and have the same characteristic features. Their sanctuary is a crude stone altar (or a menhir ?) in the centre 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 favour 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 centres, 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 goat⁷⁰ 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 centre 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 the Eastern Dards⁷² 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 mega-

liths have been described by de Terra in Kashmir.⁷⁴ 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 dead⁸² 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. This possibility was already envisaged many years ago by Heine-Geldern⁸⁵ 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 koine, a continuous chain north of the agricultural (and later urban) centres 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 shown⁸⁸ 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 animals⁹¹ 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 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 koine 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,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 *ri* or *ravi*. 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 secretly 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.

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 revelations and of 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, "Ud-diyana," may be traced back to the root "di" = "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 ri or ravi, are connected with rui 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.^{1:3}

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.

Postscript—"Bolor"

Too late to take it adequately into consideration, I have received the important study written by A.M. MENDEL'STAM : K dannym al-Biruni o Pamire i pripamirskich oblastjach, in : Sbornik "Ellinisticseskij Bliznij Vostok, Vizantija i Iran", pp 186-197, Moskva 1967. It contains the notice that in one of his many works, not used by Sir Aurel STEIN, Biruni says that the Daradas are called Bhattavaryan ; they are the Turks living nearest to Kashmir. So in fact this scholar tried to compile the distinct traditions mentioned in my text.

Moreover it may be mentioned that some kings of the so-called Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir, allegedly of Hephthalite origin, had names similar to those of the rulers of the Bolor dynasty. The Hephthalites certainly contributed much to the spread of sun-worship throughout India. This tendency may explain that according to the Hudud-al' Alam the Bulurinshah was regarded as the son of the sun.

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Notes—Bolor

- 1 Cf. MULLER-STELLRECHT 1973, p.1.
- 2 The term "Dardistan" was coined by a European scholar and later on used in many ways, cf. FUSSMAN 1972, II, p.11. Here it means the region lying between approximately long. 71-75° E and lat. 35-37° N. The lofty peaks of Dardistan belong to the Himalaya mountain system including the eastern Hindu-Kush, the western Karakoram and the westernmost part of the Great Himalayan range proper. cf. SCHWEINFURTH, pp. 21-22.
- 3 Some valleys on the western bank of the Indus which were controlled by the ruler of Swat for a while are now again "out of bounds".
- 4 JETTMAR 1975.
- 5 CHAKRAVARTI 1953/54. For other information s. HASHMATULLAH KHAN 1939.
- 6 JETTMAR 1975, pp. 294-303.
- 7 ABAEVA 1975.
- 8 On the other hand, a Pakistani scholar, M.A. GHAFOR, published and analyzed an important inscription not being aware that MIKHAJLOVA (1951) had done the same before.
- 9 SNOY 1975 ; PAL 1975.
- 10 Most important are the translation and interpretation done by CHAVANNES, extensively used by M.A. STEIN. BICURIN's translation still used by Soviet scholars is not of the same standard.
- 11 PETECH 1950, Cf. FUCHS 1939.
- 12 I am following the transcription of M.A. STEIN (1907, 1921, 1928), who in turn followed CHAVANNES (with minor changes).
- 13 M.A. STIEN 1928, PETECH 1950, cf. BEAL 1884/1969.

- 14 PETECH 1950, Adpendix.
- 15 In the same context Husan-tsang mentions however two countries outside this belt : Bolor in the north, and Simhapur in the south.
- 16 CHAVANNES 1903.
- 17 FUCHS 1939.
- 18 CHAVANNES 1903.
- 19 Such defiles where small local forces often barred the way to large invading armies are called by the Persian term "darmand".
- 20 Yasin : M.A. STEIN 1928.
- 21 According to MORGENSTIERNE 1930-1932/1964. modern terms denoting Upper Chitral can be used as an explanation.
- 22 M.A. STEIEN 1921.
- 23 M.A. STEIN 1921, cf. the name of the capital of "Little Bolor".
- 24 CHAVANNES 1903, M.A. STEIN 1921.
- 25 M.A. STEIN 1921, especially the Bashgal valley.
- 26 M.A. STEIN 1907.
- 27 Cf. JETTMAR 1975, I suspected that the whole system of identification must be wrong, but now I think a minor correction is all that would be needed.
- 28 SAXENA 1974.
- 29 The situation was much easier with the British : Baltistan was peaceful and under firm control.
- 30 "Gilgit Karakoram" is the name of the range immediately south of the Gilgit valley.
- 31 CHAVANNES 1903.
- 32 Cf. WATTERS 1904-1905/1973, M.A. STEIN 1928.
- 33 JETTMAR 1960.
- 34 ABAEVA 1975.
- 35 M.A. STEIN 1890/1961.
- 36 BEAL 1884/1969.

- 37 P'JANKOV 1965.
- 38 TUCCI 1963.
- 39 DAS GUPTA 1972.
- 40 Mc CRINDLE, esp. Vol. IV, 1901/1971, cf. JETT-
MAR 1975, M.A. STEIN 1880/1961.
- 41 SNOY 1975, Fig. 116-119, and JETTMAR 1975.
- 42 AGRAWALA 1953.
- 43 Cf. especially the eight book of the Rajatarangini.
- 44 MIKHAJLOVA 1951 ; ABAEVA 1975.
- 45 For the general background see SPULER 1952.
- 46 BIDDULPH 1880/1971. The "New History of
Chitral" contains a similar version, cf. GHUFRAN
1962.
- 47 An extended version tells that Bahman was defeat-
ed in a duel by a ruse of the Moslems and con-
verted to Islam. Later on he became an apostate
and died in a final battle.
- 48 Cf. JETTMAR 1975. Even today, however, Sou-
thern Chitral has other languages too, e.g. Dameli.
So the former ethnic situation may have been more
complicated.
- 49 M.A. STEIN 1921.
- 50 M.A. STEIN 1921.
- 51 M.A. STEIN 1921.
- 52 AFZAL KHAN 1974.
- 53 M.A. STEIN 1944.
- 54 LEVI 1932, JETTMAR 1975.
- 55 CHAKRAVARTI 1956.
- 56 CHAKRAVARTI 1953/54, esp. Cf. M.A. STEIN 1944.
New Makarapura was situated in the district of
Hanesara, corresponding to the modern village
Henzal (or Hanzil), 7 miles west of Gilgit, where
Buddhist monuments were observed (cf. M.A.
STEIN 1907).

- 57 THOMAS 1935.
- 58 LITVINSKIJ 1963.
- 59 RANOV and SIDOROV 1974.
- 60 CHAKRAVARTI 1953/54, 1956 : Makarasingha, i.e. (Skr.) "dolphin-lion". For a similar title see PAL 1975.
- 61 PAL 1975. For this quotation I am indebted to Mrs KLIMBURG-SALTER.
- 62 CHAVANNES 1903.
- 63 Huei-ch'ao's note that the seat of the dynasty was transferred to the west (before 726 A.D.) evidently concerns only a branch of the ruling house. Cf. FUCHS 1939.
- 64 THOMAS 1935. There simliar names and titles in Little Bolor, e.g., Surendraditya. Cf. THOMAS 1955.
- 65 It may be noticed that for a while according to THOMAS 1935 the same ruler held Khotan and Great Bolor.
- 66 BANERJEE 1965.
- 67 MINORSKY 1970.
- 68 See the Russian edition of BIRUNI's works; BIRUNI 1963.
- 69 M.A. STEIN 1928.
- 70 NAUDOÛ 1968.
- 71 M.A. STEIN 1890/1961, Vol. VIII.
- 72 Evidently there existed another line of tradition too: The Tibetans never speak about Bolor : they distinguish between sBal-ti and aBru-za.
- 73 CHAKRAVARTI 1953/54, supposed that the Hatun inscription was made in the name of one of the Darada-Shahi's. This would mean that Bolor and the Darada Kingdom were identical already in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

- 74 LORIMER I-III, 1935-1938; BERGER 1974.
 75 e.g.Oshikandas, in the Gilgit valley.
 76 FRANCKE 1905.
 77 BIDDULPH 1880/1971.
 78 LORIMER 1938.
 79 LORIMER 1938.
 80 LORIMER 1938.
 81 LAUFER 1908, THOMAS 1935.
 82 HOFFMANN 1954.
 83 BACOT-THOMAS-TOUSSAINT 1940-1946.
 84 LAUFER 1908, HOFFMANN 1969.
 85 HOFFMANN 1956, TUCCI 1970, R.-A.STEIN 1972.
 86 THOMAS 1935.
 87 THOMAS 1951.
 88 THOMAS 1935. We must look for it on the southern borders of Ladakh, not in the Nagir area, as THOMAS proposed. Cf.FUCHS 1939.
 89 HOFFMANN 1969.
 90 JETTMAR 1975.
 91 CHAKRAVARTI 1953/54.
 92 THOMAS 1935.
 93 Cf.LORIMER 1935.
 94 Such details are evident in the "Genealogical Account of the Ruling Families of Hunza, Nagir and Gilgit" composed by M. Nazim Khan. I am indebted to Mrs. MULLER-STELLRECHT for being informed about this interesting source. Cf.BIDDULPH 1880/1971. LEITNER 1894, HASMATULLAH KHAN 1939.
 95 BIDDULPH 1880/1971.
 96 BIDDULPH 1880/1971.
 97 FRANCKE 1905.
 98 There is a remark that the Ghurids ruled Bamiyan, Tukharistan, Shughnan up to Bolor. Cf.BARTHOLD 1928/1958, ABAEVA 1975.

- 99 YULE - CORDIER, reprint 1975.
- 100 ELIAS - ROSS 1898/1972, cf.also Mirza GHUFRAN 1962.
- 101 ROMODIN 1973. I am indebted to Peter SNOY who has drawn my attention to this notice.
- 102 M.A. STEIN 1921.
- 103 BIDDULPH 1880/1972, ABAEVA 1975.
- 104 HASHMATULLAH KHAN 1939.
- 105 M.A. STEIN 1944.
- 106 JETTMAR 1975.

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Notes—'Dardistan'

- 1 Lorimer, 1935-1938.
- 2 Gujuri is only a dialect of Punjabi carried on by an intrusive group of shepherds and tenants. 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.
- 11 Francke, 1905.
- 12 Dainelli, 1924, 1925 : 104-127.
- 13 Siiger, 1956 : 12-25.

- 14 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, 1957a, 1957b, 1957c.
- 18 Snoy came across most of them, I suppose, when he visited the Bagrot valley. His material will soon be issued.
- 19 Wiche, 1958.
- 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.
- 29 Wiche, 1958 : 9-14.
- 30 Paffen, Pillewitzer, Schneider, 1956 : 30-82.
- 31 Barth, 1956b : 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, 1956b : 25-26.
- 34 These collections were rendered possible by subventions of the Austrian Ministry of Education and are now in the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Vienna.
- 35 Stein, 1928 : 1 : 10-12.
- 36 Barth, 1956b : 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.
- 41 Biddulph, 1880 : 77, 82-83. Schomberg, 1935 : 190.
- 42 Leitner, 1876 . part III : 34 ; 1894 : 41.
- 43 Barth, 1956b : 24
- 44 Barth, 1956b : 25.
- 45 E.g. Gor, Chilas.
- 46 They are called so even when they form the fifth or sixth part of a village.
- 47 Barth, 1956b : 3-32.
- 48 Thorburn, Tupper, Raverty, Ridgway. The excellent resume 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. Barth, 1959.
- 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.

- 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.
- 57 Perhaps large valleys were divided into sections.
- 58 At some places also the urial, the wild sheep, is included.
- 59 Lorimer, 1929 : 531.
- 60 This happened in a feud between two tukurs of Haramosh, only twenty years ago.
- 61 Human hands also served as trophies.
- 62 Only once noted in Gor.
- 63 Already mentioned by Biddulph in 1880: 15 and 17.
- 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 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.
- 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 : 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, 1139 : V.
- 83 Bergman, 1939 : VI/2.
- 84 Heine-Geldern, 1927, 1957, 1958.
- 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 Baunmann, 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.
- 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 Irfan ud-Din for his honest and unassuming helpfulness.
- 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

