Indus Kohistan
An Historical and Ethnographic Outline

by
JÜRGEN WASIM FREMBGEN
(Munich)

Introduction

Until recently, the area between the valleys of Swat in the west and Kaghan in the east was virtually a forgotten region, a blank spot on the cultural map of Central Asia and a remote corner of the subcontinent. Situated right in between the Hindukush, Karakorum, and Western Himalaya, Indus Kohistan (*Aba Sind Kohistan*) has been described by earlier travellers as almost inaccessible. Here the Indus river running between the massif of the Nanga Parbat and the Hazara District is not at all a lifeline as in the fertile lowland plains of Punjab and Sind. Moreover, it is in many parts a dangerous wild gorge, with a desert- and steppe-like valley bottom in its northeastern corner, very hot in summer, in some areas infested with blood-sucking mosquitos. The deeply cut Indus represents one extreme of the geographical relief. The others are forest-clad mountains in the south, which are blessed with monsoon rains, and high snow covered peaks east of the Indus knee. Prior to the completion of the Karakorum Highway (KKH) in 1978 travelling was always life-threatening and due to the steepness of the terrain it was usually done on foot. Contrary to the northern areas of Baltistan, Gilgit, and Chitral, horses could not be used here.

The region in question got an almost legendary fame in colonial times as "Yaghistan" – "the land of the free" or "the land of the rebels" – depending on one's point of view or pejorative labelling. In this centrally unadministered tribal area people remained al-

ways hostile towards invaders and it was not conquered by British India.

Today, Indus Kohistan belongs to the Hazara Division of the North-West Frontier Province; the valleys of Tangir and Darel in the northeast are part of the Diamar District of the Northern Areas. Because of their geographical situation and their common cultural traits, both valleys are sensibly taken into account within the present historical and ethnographic outline.[1]

Exploration and Research

Against the background of these introductory remarks it is no wonder that, putting it mildly, explorations of Indus Kohistan were not very exhaustive. Colonel John Biddulph who was the first European to see Hunza and Chitral actually devoted the first chapter of his famous "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh" (1880) to the Indus valley but did not himself visit the area. Some notes are also be found in the work of Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner.[2] Rather as late as 1941, Sir Aurel Stein was the first westerner to enter "Yaghistan"; his short report (1942) contains a few scraps of geographical and historical information but virtually nothing on ethnography. Much more instructive were the economic and sociologic observations collected by the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth who, in summer 1954, travelled for two weeks through the valleys on the west bank of the river Indus (Barth 1956). During his brief survey he was under the protection of an armed guard provided by the Wali of Swat. In 1955/1956 Tangir and Darel were visited by German and Austrian scholars who belonged to the 2nd Hindukush Expedition (the ethnologists Adolf Friedrich, Karl Jettmar, and Peter Snoy as well as the Indologist Georg Buddruss). Jettmar who, together with Ahmad Hasan Dani, became the doyen of research on Northern Pakistan, again returned in 1958 for a twenty-day trip to these valleys as a member of the

1 Jettmar 1960; Jettmar 1984b: 67–71; Jettmar in Dani 1989a: 76–80. – I would like to thank my friend Max Klimburg (Vienna) for his careful reading of different versions of this manuscript and his helpful suggestions.

2 Leitner 1873: 49–58, 70–72; Leitner 1894: 79–87, App. IV.

Austrian Karakorum Expedition. He continued his research again in 1981 and 1982 with the assistance of Adam Nayyar.[3] His scholarly work, above all the discovery and archeological exploration of the rockcarvings and inscriptions at the KKH since 1979, forms a guideline for any further contributions to the cultural history of the area.[4] Jettmar first motivated Peter A. Andrews to do fieldwork for about six months in 1987 especially on the local architecture in the fortified village of Sazin. Likewise he encouraged me to study the culture of Harban and Shatial, two valleys situated on the hitherto unknown left bank, too. The results of my short fieldtrips (in 1989, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1997) and of Andrews' research are not yet published. In 1983 and 1984 Dani conducted a survey of Islamic monuments in Northern Pakistan, also including the wooden mosques and grave coffins in Indus Kohistan (Dani 1989: chapt IV). It should be added that linguistic work has been done in Tangir by Buddruss (1959) and in proper Indus Kohistan by Schmidt & Zarin (1981, 1985; comp. also 1984 on ethnography), Fitch & Cooper (1985), and Hallberg (1992). Currently, the German Indologist Claus Peter Zoller is doing linguistic fieldwork in Indus Kohistan and the young German anthropologist Wiegand Jahn is undertaking research on the social and political structures in the southern part of that area.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that recently two younger Kohistani from Palas, Mohammad Manzar Zarin and Razwal Kohistani, have emerged as local scholars, who are keenly interested in the language, history and folklore of their native region. In 1997, the Pakistani writer and photographer Aasim Akhtar published a book on Indus Kohistan presenting 138 photographs. For the first time the magnificent local architecture and masterpieces of woodcarving from different areas of Indus Kohistan get noticed. Instead of a more comprehensive scientific contextualization Akhtar favours, quite legitimately for a photographer, an aesthetic approach.

Relevant publications dealing often only partly with the area in question are listed in the bibliography. Apart from the above

3 Cf. Jettmar 1983b: 504.

4 Concerning rockcarvings of the post-Buddhist period and their relation to ethnography cf. Jettmar 1984a.

mentioned modest and sporadic attempts in research, Indus Kohistan still represents a *terra incognita*.[5] In two articles on Indus Kohistan (1983b, 1984) Jettmar above all raised questions on the history, social structure, and political organization of the area. The present contribution tries to summarize the results of these earlier works and to broaden the scope of scholarly attention by including chapters on Islamization and material culture in the light of recent fieldwork.

Overview on Ethnic Groups and Languages

According to the census of 1981, the population of the district is about 680000.[6] As the area of arable land in the overpopulated valleys is very limited, Kohistani therefore work as tenants in the northeastern Shinkari region (Tangir, Darel, etc.). Kohistani predominantly inhabit the valleys on the right or west bank of the Indus which forms a kind of natural barrier between Kohistani and Shina languages both classificated as belonging to the Dardic or Northwestern group of the Indo-Aryan language family.[7] Kohistani language (also called Maiya) is divided in the two main dialects of Mani spoken in Seo/Pattan and Bankar as well as of Manzari spoken in Duber and Kandia. In addition, attention should be made of a Maiya-dialect called Kanyawali which is used in a village of the Tangir valley by immigrants from Indus Kohistan.[8]

The other main ethnically mixed group are the speakers of Shina, a language widely distributed in the mountains of Northern Pakistan. On the right bank of the Indus Shina is spoken in the valleys of Darel and Tangir as well as on the whole left bank from Chilas down to the Alai valley and the border zone to Hazara.[9] Here Shina forms the Kohistani group of Shina dialects. Small enclaves of the Dardic languages of Chilisso and Gowro can be

5 Cf. Jettmar 1959: 90; Jettmar 1983b: 503–504.
6 Jettmar 1983b: 505.
7 Cf. Fussman 1972; Schmidt & Zarin 1981; Fitch & Cooper 1985; Fussman in Dani 1989a: 43–58; Hallberg 1992; comp. Jettmar 1983b: 505–508; Frembgen 1991: 171.
8 Buddruss 1959.
9 Jettmar 1982: 257; Schmidt 1985.

found in the Shina speaking area. Likewise a separate Dardic language called Batervi is spoken in the village of Batera in the south of Indus Kohistan on the left bank of the *Aba Sind*.

In addition, we find non-Dardic languages like Pashto often used as a kind of *lingua franca* in the southern part and Gujuri spoken by Gujur nomads. Recently, Urdu has been introduced through administration and schools.

Economy

The economic system of Indus Kohistan is well adapted to the mountain environment.[10] It can be suitably termed a "mixed mountain agriculture" with interdependent subsistence farming and animal husbandry. Generally in the whole district the fields are artificially irrigated, only south of the Kandia valley there are occasionally terraced *barani* fields benefitting from the monsoon rains. Staple crops are maize, wheat, barley, as well as rice (in the southern parts). Vegetables, fruits (apples, apricots, mulberries, figs, nuts, etc.), and also honey add to the menu. Grain fields generally bear two crops a year, but at the head of some valleys only one crop (for example in Darel). Seeding and the hard work of ploughing is always done by men, while in other agricultural activities both sexes share their duties. In certain areas like Tangir most of the agricultural work is done by tenants.

Agriculture is combined with the keeping of livestock: goats, which are of crucial economic importance, as well as cows, sheeps, and recently buffaloes (in the Indus valley).[11] Where the terrain permits, mules and donkeys are kept for transport. In summer goats and to a much lesser degree also sheeps are put out to graze on alpine meadows. In some parts of Indus Kohistan this is only done by shepherds, in other areas most of the population perform a periodic cycle of migration between the winter villages of lower altitude and the high mountain pastures. The pattern of transhumance can somewhat differ from valley to valley but

10 For the southern parts of Indus Kohistan cf. Barth 1956: 18–24. Cf. Jettmar 1983b: 505.

11 Cf. Schmidt & Zarin 1984: 51–60.

generally the main winter village is abandoned by most of the population in spring and people move up step by step – in between preparing their fields – to reach the high altitude pastures in the peak of the summer. On their return it is time for the harvest and in autumn they have come back again to their winter village.

In the southern parts of Indus Kohistan these main villages (*sin kari*) are usually situated at the bank of the Indus river and have large mosques, *hujras* (men's houses), and bazaars providing opportunities for social, economic, and technological exchange. Further to the north and east of the district, the winter villages are located in the side valleys. The sojourn on the alpine meadows (*mali*) is an intense period of communication with other families, a place and time for fun, joy, leisure, love affairs, and composing poetry, where not much work has to be done.[12] Whereas "*sin kari* provides a glimpse of the world outside Kohistan, *mali* is a central focus of Kohistani cultural life" (Schmidt & Zarin 1984: 60).

It is important to note that in these mountainous areas the keeping of large herds of goats in winter is only possible by feeding them with the leaves of the evergreen hollyoak (*Quercus balout*). As these leaves are spiny and prickly in the lower parts of the bushy tree, only the fresher and tender ones are eatable growing on the upper part as high as a man and above. Thus, the twigs have to be cut by man in a controlled way which protects the forest stand. According to Jettmar (personal communication) this improved use of the hollyoak was introduced by the Shin (main group of the Shina speaking Dards) after their immigration from the south approximately in the 11th/12th century A. D.

The hunting of ibex (*Capra ibex*), markhor (*Capra falconeri*), deer, snow leopard, bear, fox, etc., fishing, and the gathering of morels and medicinal plants are at best a supplement to agriculture and pastoral economy. Hunting, which represents an important culture complex for the Shina speaking Dards, is not only a sport but also a kind of "spiritual outlet" (Jettmar) where the hunter enters the pure zone of the high mountains especially val-

12 Schmidt & Zarin 1984: 58.

ued in the old traditional world view.[13] By the way, hunting was free for everybody and not restricted to the nobility as in the kingdoms of the north (Gilgit, Nager, Hunza, etc.).

Finally, it should be added that in former times essential commodities like salt, sugar, spices, tobacco, iron, cloth and luxury items were sometimes bought in summer south of Indus Kohistan in the bazaars of Darband, Oghi, and Battal lying at an ancient trade route in the upper Tanawal area of the Hazara District.[14] More frequently people went for trade to Kaghan and Naran in the Kaghan valley, situated in the east and south of Indus Kohistan.[15] Until today, especially the market of Mingora in the Swat valley and of Chilas in the Shinkari area are central places for trade and commercial enterprises. Silver jewellery for rich people came from Gilgit and Swat. In the form of barter economy the Kohistani sold their *ghi* (clarified butter), hides, medicinal herbs, honey, wool, etc. Carrying their loads the traders had to cross the Indus either with a cradle bridge or by a skin raft or boat.[16] Its tributaries were surmounted on rope bridges or simple girder bridges. Where the terrain permitted, in addition, Paracha traders from the southern Pakhtun regions regularly came with mule caravans to Indus Kohistan.[17] Today, the mentioned basic commodities can be obtained from the newly constructed bazaars at the Karakorum Highway.

History and Political Organization

In view of the colonial confrontation between Russia and the Anglo-Indian empire somewhat trivializingly called the "Great Game", it was of vital importance for the British to safeguard the

13 Jettmar in Dani 1989a: 77.

14 Darband = a large and important village at the Tarbela lake, formerly belonging to the dominion of the Amb state; Oghi = important village between Mansehra and Batgram, lying in the Agror valley; Battal = a large village at the upper Konsh river between Balakot and Batgram; cf. Anonymous 1941: 70; Watson 1908: 228, 230, 241–242; Topper, in press: map.

15 Watson 1908: 210; Anonymous 1941: 70; Barth 1956: 27; Frembgen/fieldnotes.

16 Cf. Jettmar 1978.

17 Barth 1956: 27.

mountainous borderline in this strategic sensitive corner of the subcontinent.[18] While consolidating their northern frontier, the British administrators in 1889 founded the "Gilgit Agency" to control the small centralized states situated in the heart of the Hindukush and Karakorum. In order to establish good relations with the local monarchs in those areas, they implemented their successfully tested form of "indirect rule". Contrary to that strategy of interference they applied a different system in the immediate hinterland, i.e. in Dir-, Swat-, and Indus Kohistan. Like the tribal areas along the Afghan border these mountainous regions remained independent and uncontrolled until the end of the British rule. The peoples of this part of Dardistan still retain their legendary fame for ferocity and xenophobia.

Thus, in Shinkari and Indus Kohistan we have autonomous political units which can be described as free close-knit valley "republics" ready to defend their independence against any invader. They are aptly called "segmentary republics" by Jettmar.[19] On the right bank of the Indus river the main units are Kandia, Seo, Pattan, Jijal, and Duber and on the left bank Basha, Harban, Shatial, Sazin, Sumer, Jalkot, Palas, Kolai, and Batera (see sketch-map). In case of the frequent internal wars between "valley republics" the communities took a defensive position in their main fortified village (*kot*, *kili*) which was protected by huge towers and a wall (unlike the other vertically zoned dispersed settlements and camps) or took refuge in a nearby fort on top of a mountain.[20] Causes for rivalry were often found in conflicts over grazing rights on the summer pastures. These meadows, sometimes situated in side valleys (as in Shinkari), formed a kind of buffer zone between the "republics", an unsettled area of defense around the borders. Only when British rule was established in the north at the end of the 19th century, internal warfare in "Yaghistan" came to an end and side valleys could be colonized by tenants who then became landlords.

18 Concerning this chapter cf. Jettmar 1984b.

19 Jettmar 1983b: 509, 514; comp. Barth 1956: 84; Frembgen 1991: 175. Already Leitner (1894: 79–80) used the term "republic" for these political units.

20 Jettmar 1984b: 70; Frembgen/fieldnotes (Harban and Shatial).

Concerning their history and political order the valleys of Tangir and Darel represent a somewhat special case, a zone of transition between the northern centralized states and the southern area characterized by "segmentary republics".[21] A brief look into the political history shows how the people of "Yaghistan" defended themselves against invaders: After the notorious Gauhar Aman (1809–1858), ruler of Yasin, invaded Tangir in 1841/1842, the inhabitants paid tribute to that northern kingdom. Some time later, in 1850/1851, warriors from Tangir, Darel, and the Kohistan areas of Harban, Shatial, Sazin, Sumer, Jalkot, and Palas combined with the Chilasi to fight against the Dogra army of the Maharaja of Kashmir in several struggles for the conquest of Chilas.[22] The next piece of information heard of the people of Tangir and Darel is when in 1857, the year of the "mutiny" in British Colonial India, they destroyed, allied with the Sayyid and Gujar of Kaghan, near Lulusar (3440 m, a lake on the southwestern side of the Babusar pass) the remnants of the rebelling 55th Indian regiment who were trying to escape to Kashmir.[23] In 1866, Darel was penetrated by a Kashmir army which was finally able to exact tribute.[24] Leitner has given a detailed account of that historic battle providing an interesting insight in the military alliance paid by the different political units in such a case. He reports: "Kalashmir (a local dignitary of Darel; J. W. F.) ... requested the tribes to assemble at Samegial (Dudokot/Darel; J. W. F.) – viz: the people of Thor, Harban, Shatial, Sazin, Sumer – and of Tangir, Lurok, Dayamur, Sheikho, Jalkot, Galli, Kammi, and Korgah. He even sent to the Kandia people for help, who, however, replied that their harvest was just getting ready and that Darel was too far off. He also sent to Jaglot, Chilas, Hodar, Thak, Buder, and Gor. The Chilasis flatly refused on the ground of being subjects of Kashmir and being helpless. Jalkot also did not send, as the notice had reached them too late and the war was immediately impending" (Leitner 1873: 71). The neighbouring Shinkari "republics" of Chilas and Gor finally were conquered in 1892 by the combined British and Dogra forces. Though

21 Jettmar in Dani 1989a: 76.
22 Leitner 1873: 49–58, 83; Leitner 1894: 80–87.
23 Anonymous 1941: 1.
24 Leitner 1873: 70–72; Anonymous 1941: 1.

a year later about 400 Kohistani warriors from Harban, Tangir, and other valleys launched an attack on British held Chilas.[25]

The only one who succeeded in temporarily setting up a centralized rule in this part of Dardistan was Raja Pakhtun Wali Khan who founded a small state in Tangir and Darel at the beginning of the 20th century.[26] He originally belonged to the warlike Khushwaqt dynasty of Yasin which had a reputation for cruelty among the monarchies of the Hindukush and Karakorum. His father Mir Wali ordered the murder of the British explorer George Hayward in 1870 and consequently also the son remained the enemy of the British. Pakhtun Wali Khan left Yasin in quest for a free life and for riches. In 1905 he gained the supremacy over Tangir and in 1909 he subjugated the neighbouring valley of Darel. He extended his rule even up to Harban on the opposite side of the river Indus where he disarmed the population, imposed taxes for a period of about ten years, and mediated in conflicts with the neighbouring "republic" of Shatial. The man, who was aptly called "an adventurer playing a lone hand" by Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg, was murdered in 1917 by his own subjects in order to get rid of him. He ruled in a competent, albeit severe way ordering the construction of roads, bridges, and even of a bazaar near his fortress in Jaglot (Tangir) and allowing foreign woodcutters to enter his dominion. A glimpse of his character can be inferred from the following personal statement: "I will be under no man: I will govern alone and owe allegiance to no one (Schomberg 1935: 238).

Years later, another event partly affected the independence of the "valley republics" in the southwest of Dardistan. In 1937/1938, at the advent ot the Second World War, the Wali of Swat not only took over Swat Kohistan, but also directed his forward policy into Indus Kohistan. By the help of a well-trained *lashkar* (fighting force) he could take the valleys of Duber, Ranolia, and Bankar and conquer the fortified township of Pattan on the right bank of the Indus. The "Military Report and Gazetteer of Indus Kohistan 1940" further reports the events of the time: "On the 21st July 1939 at the invitation of the Kandia and Seo *Jirgas*, the Wali's troops advanced from Patan and peacefully occupied Karang in

25 Anonymous 1941: 2.

26 Schomberg 1935: 237–241: Anonymous 1941: 2; Barth 1956: 84; Jettmar 1960: 131–132, 134; Jettmar 1984b: 57, 69; Jettmar in Dani 1989a: 77.

Kandia on the 22nd, and later Gabrial. Forts were constructed at Karang and Gabrial and the Kandia Khwar bridged" (Anonymous 1941: 8). The annexation was completed in 1940. – In 1952/1953 the "republics" subordinated themselves, in the case of Tangir and Darel voluntarily, to the newly founded state of Pakistan.[27] It would be interesting to know more about this process of accession in detail.

Social Order

When due to British control over all the surrounding areas the internal wars within Indus Kohistan came to an end, also the citadel-like fortified villages with their densely packed houses gradually lost their importance.[28] Some of them were abandoned and dilapidated afterwards, some were destroyed during earthquakes and not reconstructed, others are still almost intact like the *kot*s of Sazin and Harban. In the course of the first half of the 20th century, everywhere kinship groups started to settle outside their compact township-like agglomerations in separate hamlets and homesteads often erecting their own private fortification towers for defence in blood feuds (*mar-dushmani*, *kaney*). It seems that in the process of pacification between the "segmentary republics" at the same time internal feuds considerably increased.

In fact, blood feuds are a dominating aspect of the local social order. The title of a study on organized vengeance in a community of Dir Kohistan is revealing and also holds true for Indus Kohistan: "Friend by Day, Enemy by Night" (Keiser 1991). In cases of adultery, rape, murder, or any serious provocations, insults, etc. revenge is sought as a solution of these individual conflicts. Most of the feuds are caused by love affairs and jealousy: a man will carefully protect his own wife and daughter while on the other hand he may try to engage in amorous adventures with another woman. Both lovers risk to be killed red-handed by the lady's husband, but whereas the man might take refuge in a fortified tower or escape completely from the scene by fleeing to a far-off

27 Jettmar 1984b: 68.
28 Cf. Jettmar 1960: 131–132; Jettmar 1984b: 70–71.

valley to work there as a tenant, usually his beloved has no option at all and has to fear the worst for her life. Leading a hard life, often neglected by her husband, her personal freedom very restricted by an ultra-orthodox and rigid form of Islam, for a woman a love affair can probably be a temporary way out of frustration.

To understand the underlying norms and values it is important to note that in the public as well as in family life people observe *purdah* in an extreme way. This separation of sexes, which is pursued stricter than among any other ethnic groups in Pakistan, has been aptly described by Barth in his booklet on "Indus and Swat Kohistan": "A woman, walking through the fields or on the paths in the company of her husband, will leave her husband's side whenever a man appears, seek the shelter of a bush, and cover her head and face completely with her heavy black sheet, till the stranger has disappeared. Similarly, groups of women working in the fields discontinue their work, and squat, totally covered by their sheets by the side of the terrace wall, when a man approaches. Etiquette requires the man to attempt to avoid the places covered by their sheets, by the side of the terrace wall, when a man is summoned from his home – and there is no small child about who can enter the house with a message – the caller stands at considerable distance, and yells to attract attention" (1956: 46–47). Of course the ethnographer doing research in Indus Kohistan also has to adapt to this peculiar value system. During my fieldwork in Harban, I was well aware that already an obtrusive glance to a woman or even more addressing one could have had disastrous consequences for me as well as for my local host.

The foregoing discussion on blood feuds might have created the impression of a total anarchy in Indus Kohistan, but this is by no means true. First, there is, for instance in Harban and surrounding valleys, the institution of a large assembly (*sigas*) for the male population providing a general forum for discussion of communal matters. In Harban it is held at least twice a year. Second, and even more important, in each political unit there is an administrative body in form of a democratic council (*jirga*) whose members negotiate and take binding decisions in cases of social and political conflicts, communal work, etc.[29] They may

29 Cf. Anonymous 1941: 86–87; Barth 1956: 36–38.

also mediate in feuds when blood money is paid as compensation to one of the involved parties. The institution of the *jirga*, literally meaning "circle" (originally a Mongol term), has been taken over as a model from the Pakhtun.[30] Its members (*yashtero*, *jashtero*) who hold office for life are representatives of settlement units and/or, among the Shina speakers, representatives of the caste-like groups (Shin, Yeshkun, Kamin). As executive organs of this council of elders the *chargu* and *zetu*, as they are called in Harban, generally supervise the keeping of the local customary law. In addition, the *zetus* act as night watchmen at the gates of the fortified villages.

One of the most important responsibilities of the council in these egalitarian communities was the organization of a complicated rotational system in which fields were periodically re-alloted among the population[31]. As land was the common property of the descent groups, it was equally divided in shares in which the different quality of the plots had to be taken into account. Then a specified share was given to a family for only three or up to thirty years. The interval of redistribution differed in the respective communities. According to this system of re-allotment the location and the quality of the land owned by individual families changed. Therefore disputes, conflicts, and the struggle for control of uncultivated land became inherent to it. This egalitarian system, called *wesh* ("exchange"), was taken over as a model from the Pakhtun who practised it in Swat. Muslim missionaries coming from there introduced it in Indus Kohistan where the people accepted it as a quasi-part of the new religion, a radical economic reform which represents a kind of social utopia (Jettmar). The *wesh*-system was spread up to Tangir, Darel, and Chilas. It was often modified in such a way as to adapt to existing transhumance patterns or that the landlords gave their fields to tenants coming from outside. This system existed in some places until the 1940s. The inherent prerequisite that lineages have to be grouped in segments of equal size is even today used in the distribution of income from the timber industry.

30 Jettmar 1961: 83; Schmidt & Zarin 1984: 46–49.

31 Concerning the *wesh*-system cf. Barth 1956: 31–32; Jettmar 1960: 128, 133–134; Jettmar 1983b: 510–513; Schmidt & Zarin 1984: 41–51.

It seems that only the dominant landowning groups are concerned with the *wesh*, i.e. Kohistani and Shin patrilineages bearing the name of their apical ancestor and forming egalitarian segments who keep a kind of "caste" barrier against giving women in marriage to lower ranking groups. Among the ethnic community of Shina speakers these subordinated groups comprise the old-established Yeshkun, Kamin (lit. "servants"), and Dom (musicians). Together with landless craftsmen and tenants they represent the low class of the stratified social system characteristic of Indus Kohistan. Specialized craftsmen like blacksmiths (*akhar*), who also made weapons, weavers (*jula*), and some carpenters (*mistri*) are mostly of Pakhtun origin and probably came in the process of Islamization when the region was opened to the Muslim territories in the south. Tenants, who were in the same way incorporated in the society, are of different origin: either captives of war or immigrants. Thus, for example in Tangir, there are Kohistani and Gujur as tenants, in Sazin Yeshkun and low-class Kamin work as sharecroppers for Shin, and in the valleys of Palas, Jalkot, and Kolai we have the Sarkhali,[32] immigrants from Swat.

Islamization

According to Barth and to my own data, conversion to Sunni Islam started about 5–10 generations ago, i.e. during the course of the 18th century.[33] In oral history it is stated on the one hand that local people left Indus Kohistan, accepted Islam in Swat or elsewhere and finally returned to their native area making converts among their relatives.[34] On the other hand the process of conversion is more often connected with the names of different Pakhtun "saints". Until recently, in particular the orthodox missionary Akhund Darwaza (d. 1638)[35] and the Chishti saint Pir Baba (16th/17th c.) of Pacha in Buner, whose real name was Sayyid Ali Termezi, were held in high reverence by the Kohistani who

32 Schmidt & Zarin 1984: 25–28.
33 Barth 1956: 18; Jettmar 1983b: 511; Frembgen/fieldnotes; comp. Leitner 1894: App. IV, p. 5.
34 Schmidt & Zarin 1984: 6–7.
35 Dani 1989: 92.

went on annual pilgrimages at least to the shrine of the last-named. Both these saints opposed the mystic and liberal teachings of Bayezid Ansari (d. 1585), the founder of the Roshaniyya movement. The actual conversion of the people of Indus Kohistan is connected with the names of Akhund Baba of Kabalgram,[36] Sulaiman Baba (from Thal/Dir Kohistan), Akhund Salar Baba, Sadiq Baba, and Mian Baqi Baba. These Pakhtun missionaries coming from Swat, Buner, and nearby regions preached Islam among a population still living in their respective clan quarters. They virtually eradicated the pagan religion of the Dards; only ideas like the taboo of the cow (considered impure among the Shin), the religious value attributed to goats, and the belief in protective fairies of the hunter could survive to some extent. Thus, the "Military Report and Gazetteer of Indus Kohistan 1940" says that in the course of Islamization "... nearly all traces of idolatrous practises have disappeared. One such trace which still exists is the use of 'swearing stones'. In every village where the 'Shins' are in the majority there is a large stone which is still more or less the object of reverence; an oath taken, or an engagement made over it is often held more binding than where the Holy Quran is used" (Anonymous 1941: 53–54).

Naturally, the Sunni missionaries first ordered the construction of mosques as focal points of the community. In Harban, for example, four mosques were built in the main *kot*, two of them headed by *pesh-Imams* (leaders of the prayer) from the Yeshkun, the other two by a Shin and by a Kamin. Today, the descendants of these first *maulvis* form a special group called Maulia consisting of four lineages.

In response to the local climatic conditions bigger mosques usually have a prayer hall for winter and one for the summer as well as a courtyard. This pattern is derived from the type of the verandah house. Mosques which are built of stone, soil, and timber like traditional houses are oblong in plan and have a flat roof resting on wooden pillars, the floor is strewn with hay. Adjacent to the main "House of God" is usually the *biyak*, a place of assem-

36 Kabalgram = a large village on the right bank of the Indus south of Thakot inhabited by the Akhund Khel; cf. Anonymous 1941: 53, 171.

bly under the open sky where the dignitaries either sit on large flat stones or on wooden platforms. In autumn and winter an annex of the mosque serves as a meeting room where the men use to sit around a fireplace.[37] According to Jettmar, the population apparently left their earlier fortified settlements (now in ruins) often built on strategically important positions (on rocky cliffs etc.) during the period of Islamization and started to build new compact fortress-like villages which developed around mosque and *biyak*, both focal points of the community.[38] In accordance with the pattern of transhumance these new centralized township-like agglomerations were in summer inhabited only by smaller segments of the population. In winter, however, they became the focus for the annual festivals, the marriage season, and the political meetings for decision-making.[39]

Since the last decades, the well-known faith movement called *tablighi jamaat* is quite active especially in the northeastern part of Indus Kohistan as well as in Diamar District. The popular missionary movement with its particular emphasis on prayer was founded in 1927 in Delhi by Maulana Mohammad Ilyas;[40] in the Shinkari area its local centre is Chilas. In Harban, for example, it helped to eradicate some of the last remnants of pre-Islamic religion such as the work of the seer (*pashu*). Also the womens' local custom to meet on their own separate *biyak* was banned. *Purdah*-rules have been tightened recently when members of the pious movement introduced the black *burqa* (body veil) for women to wear in the villages. Local dignitaries recognize the mood of the times and send at least one of their sons to a *tablighi*-centre to become a *hafiz* and later on a *maulvi*. Photographs by Aasim Akhtar[41] showing the study of the Holy Quran in mosques reveal a sense of the particular spirituality found in the sincere, albeit austere version of Islam prevalent at present in Indus Kohistan.

37 Comp. IsMEO 1981: 181 (Swat, Darel, Tangir).
38 Jettmar 1983b: 511.
39 Jettmar 1984b: 70.
40 Cf. Anwarul Haq 1972.
41 Akhtar 1997: 76 (pl. 9), 110 (pl. 14), 126–127 (pl. 6–7), 131 (pl. 12), 158–159 (pl. 17–18).

Generally speaking, woodcarving is the main medium of artistic expression in the Islamic period. In the densely wooded areas of Indus Kohistan first and foremost the Himalaya cedar is used by craftsmen for construction and decorative carvings.

Still the best article written on the woodcarvings of Tangir and Darel had been published by Jettmar already in 1959.[42] He not only mentioned mosques but also decorations on graves, traditional houses (doorframes, lintels, pillars), fortified towers, on the main entrance of the *kot*, the sitting platforms (*bito*) of the *biyak* as well as on chests kept in the interior of private houses. As already mentioned above, mosques are usually laid out with a rectangular prayer hall, covered verandahs (derived from the pattern of the local verandah house), and possibly a courtyard.[43] As one verandah has a *mihrab* (prayer niche), it can also be used in summer as an additional place for prayer. A number of mosques have an L-shaped ground plan partly enclosing the court. Concerning proper Indus Kohistan only four mosques, the Kela Jumaat in Seo, the Jami masjid of Pattan, the Karang mosque in Kandia, and the Shaikh Baba Jumaat in Duber valley, so far have been described in more detail.[44]

Decorative and symbolic motifs reveal an individual "Indus valley style" or in the broader sense a "Kohistani style" (including Swat- and Dir Kohistan) which is different to the Swat valley.[45] In Akhtar's photographs (1997) we encounter different traditions of carpenters with at times highly innovative and interesting solutions in carving pillars, capitals, main rafters, *mihrab*s, etc. Many of these works are real masterpieces of woodcarving.

42 Comp. Jettmar 1983a: 10–12; IsMEO 1980: 207 (Darel); Dani 1989b: 101–115 (mosques of Tangir and Darel). – Until today, only a few data were published on other crafts such as the construction of skin rafts and different types of bridges (Jettmar 1978) or on the local costume (Jettmar 1959: 95, pl. X, 111). In the course of recent fieldwork in Harban different aspects of material culture were studied in more detail (Frembgen/fieldnotes).

43 Klimburg 1997: 150–151. On the layout of mosques in Swat comp. IsMEO 1981: 180; Kalter 1991: 55–67.

44 Haider & Ahmad Khan 1985; Jettmar 1983a: 11; Jettmar 1984a: 201; Scerrato 1985: 107; Dani 1989b: 87–99; comp. Akhtar 1997.

45 Comp. Scerrato 1985: 108; Klimburg 1997: 150–152.

Decorations in religious architecture range from simple geometrical forms, like for example the "tooth design", concentric circles, and chequered pattern, to more complicated geometrically constructed floral looking motifs and to differentiated floral depictions (like the tree of life).[46]

Many of them (for instance clematis, rosette, acanthus) bear witness to the continuity of the art of Gandhara and of late antiquity characterized by syncretistic phenomena.[47] Others are firmly rooted in Islamic traditions like for example the arabesque.

Influences of late Mughal architecture clearly visible in the shape of slender multi-faceted columns (bases with leaf design), multi-cusped arches, *jali*-screens, and in fresco painting (in the mosque of Batangai in Kolai)[48] are derived from building elements of lowland mosques in the south. On the other hand, in the east of Dardistan certain patterns and ornaments point to Kashmiri art (columned architecture, woodcarved decoration). Motifs like the paisley,[49] known as *boteh* in Persian, belong to the common Indo-Iranian repertoire and might have been taken over from Kashmir. Some pre-Islamic motifs, known from the ancient rockcarvings at the KKH, are derived from the tradition of Buddhist art like the *stupa* and the *chaitya*-hall.[50] The base of a pillar in the shape of a wide-mouthed vessel or a jar with flowers was used in architecture already since the Gupta period (4th/5th c. A.D.). The discs surrounded by a circle of rays and the spiral turned round necklaces sometimes carved in wood bear probably a relationship to similar discs on post-Buddhist petroglyphs mostly interpreted as solar symbols.[51]

Thus, on the one hand, the regional style of religious folk art at mosques shows a number of foreign cultural influences, but, on the other hand, the indigenous traditions have to be emphasized. Among the multiformed heavy pillars we find round ones with two bulges in the shape of water vessels (for instance in Karang/

46 Akhtar 1997: 70 (pl. 3), comp. 89 (pl. 10).
47 Cf. Jettmar 1959: 96–97, 107–112; Schmitt 1971: esp. 271–280.
48 Akhtar 1997: 83 (pl. 2), 84 (pl. 3).
49 For example in the mosque of Razqa/Seo (Akhtar 1997: 165, pl. 25).
50 Jettmar 1959: pl. IX, 110; Akhtar 1997: 130 (pl. 10, Gayal/Darel); Klimburg 1997: 153, 167 (pl. 10).
51 Jettmar 1984a: 197, 201; comp. Akhtar 1997: 40–45 (pl. 1–8), 99 (pl. 2), 104 (pl. 7), 116 (pl. 21), 125 (pl. 5), 163 (pl. 22), esp. 164 (pl. 23).

Kandia)[52] as well as square ones with several vertical rectangular slits on each face (for instance in Kandia, Kolai, Palas, Seo).[53] The meaning of these slits is not altogether clear.[54] Ahmad Hasan Dani notes: "Some may have been used for storing pages of the holy Quran while others probably for keeping lamps" (1989b: 89). By the way, the puzzle-like Qur'an stands known from Iran and Afghanistan consisting of four, six or even eight interlocking, movable parts also have slits – a rare phenomenon in the material culture of the Muslim world. On the upper part of pillars frequently Islamic motifs like the ewer for ablution (*kuzeh*) are depicted (for instance in Diamar/Tangir and in Seo), but in some cases also a pre-Islamic figural motif can be found showing a warrior with shield and sword on a horse (for instance at the Kela Jumaat in Seo).[55] Similar horsemen equiped with weapons are depicted on post-Buddhist rockcarvings in the Indus valley for example at Chilas.[56] Another extraordinary motif is the labyrinth.[57] It is either of Buddhist origin, rooted in mystical Islam (as a symbol of initiation into knowledge as proposed by Umberto Scerrato)[58] or has a still unknown local (apotropaic?) meaning. This labyrinth of a modified Cretan type is carved on the lower part of a column and can be found in different mosques of Dir- and Swat Kohistan but also in Indus Kohistan (Kolai, Mankyal Bala/Darel). Dani has interpreted it as an ear ornament.[59] It is remarkable that the huge capitals with their carved flowers,

52 Akhtar 1997: 28 (pl. 1), 34 (pl. 7–8).

53 Akhtar 1997: 36 (pl. 10), 71 (pl. 4), 93 (pl. 15), 148 (pl. 4–5), 158 (pl. 17), 167 (pl. 28). Comp. Kalter 1991: 57 (pl. 61, pillar in the mosque of Kalam/Swat Kohistan with a similar slit), 66 (pl. 80, pillars with vertical slits in a mosque between Dir- and Swat Kohistan).

54 Even if there seems to be no direct relationship between the vertical slits in Kohistani mosques and the structure of pillars in lowland mosques, for reasons of comparison I would like to refer to relevant architectural details. Further in the south of Indus Kohistan, near the Shangla pass, the main pillar of a mosque is decorated on the shaft with carvings of other smaller pillars (Kalter 1991: 64–65). This could be probably an imitation of stone pillars in Mughal architecture which are subdivided in two or four slender pillars.

55 Akhtar 1997: 146 (pl. 1), 148 (pl. 5), 164 (pl. 23); Klimburg 1997: 153.

56 Jettmar 1984a: 197–201.

57 Scerrato 1983.

58 Scerrato 1985: 106–107; Klimburg 1997: 153.

59 Dani 1989b: 110.

scrolls, spirals, and perforations are sometimes formed in a non-symmetrical way which may point to the extreme egalitarianism of Kohistani society (personal communication by Max Klimburg).[60]

A category of religious folk art where the local traditions are especially obvious are tombstones and monumental enclosures of graves.[61] They are found between Afghan Nuristan and the Pashai area in the west and Dir-, Swat-, and Indus Kohistan in the east. In the Dardic areas these elaborate wooden structures seem to be erected for meritorious members of the local community, but sometimes also for women.[62] A peculiar feature of many tombstones is their often ornithomorph shape being a stylized representation of the pheasant called *murgh-e zarin* (*Lophophorus impeyanus*). In addition to these carvings typical of Indus Kohistan, one can find unconventional cultural borrowings like a remarkable wooden structure on the tomb of Shaikh Baba which Akhtar saw in the village of Shaikhdara in Duber valley.[63] The square construction with a central dome and small minarets in the four corners strongly resembles the form of the Shi'a *taziya* common in the subcontinent.

To sum up, we can emphasize that the art of woodcarving in Indus Kohistan is permeated by vigorous creativity and phantasy of the craftsmen revealing a taste for overabundance. The works of art bear witness to a baroque exuberance, boldness, and power of expression not to be found to such an extent in the wellknown carvings of surrounding regions (Swat, Badakhshan, Baltistan). Unfortunately these monuments being symbols of the ethnic and cultural identity of the Kohistani are rapidly disappearing. Dilapidated mosques are often badly rebuilt and the decorations mostly lost with that. Sometimes even solid buildings with well-preserved carvings are wilfully destroyed. Concrete structures with metal sheet roofs are rather expressions of the modern prevailing

60 Capitals with non-symmetrical structures are depicted in Akhtar 1997: 29 (pl. 2), 59 (pl. 8), 71 (pl. 4), 115 (pl. 19), 146 (pl. 1), 147 (pl. 3), 149 (pl. 6). Cf. Klimburg 1997: 4.

61 Jettmar 1959: 95–103, 112–116 (Tangir and Darel); IsMEO 1980: 207 (Darel); Scerrato 1985: 109; Topper, in press.

62 Jettmar 1959: 101–102, 115.

63 Akhtar 1997: 50–51.

taste. The lavish woodcarvings of former times which provided a sense of God's beauty, perfection, and grace are given up instead. In this process of an apparently unstoppable destruction of a great cultural heritage a number of Akhtar's photographs will soon be historical documents. They represent an urgent call to the administrative authorities to protect the old monuments of Indus Kohistan. Otherwise the situation will be as deplorable as in Chitral where "... 'modernising' reconstruction work has been particularly intense ..., and the results have been ruinous" (Scerrato 1984: 501).

Acculturation

When Pakistan came into being the great difficulties of communicating with the mountainous northern region became apparent.[64] After the main route between the former Gilgit Agency and Kashmir via the Astor valley was closed down in 1949, the jeepable Gilgit road leading over the Babusar pass (4172 m) became most important.[65] But due to snow and danger of avalanches this tiny road from the Kaghan valley to Chilas can only be used in summer for three or four months. The purpose of the Karakorum Highway (open all the year round) was to open up the Northern Areas and to connect Pakistan with China. The building of the KKH started in 1959 and lasted until 1978. Within Indus Kohistan its marked-out route first followed the pony track along the right bank of the Indus between Besham and Karora which was constructed by order of the Wali of Swat. At Dassu, now the site of the headquarters of the new Pakistani administration, a bridge was built to the left bank. Out of fear to lose their freedom and independence, the local inhabitants at places went into an aggressive confrontation with administrators and construction specialists of the KKH. Nevertheless, the region was opened step by step until in a later stage even the hitherto totally unknown side valleys (especially on the left bank) were connected by jeepable roads with the highway in

64 Concerning this chapter cf. Jettmar 1983b: 502; Jettmar 1984b: 68–69; Frembgen/fieldnotes.
65 Grötzbach 1989: 1, 6.

the Indus valley. This was mainly done by wood contractors who exploit the area in a financially profitable way for all sides but at the loss of highly valuable resources.

In the course of the road construction several extremely destructive earthquakes struck Indus Kohistan. After a local earthquake 1972 in Tangir/Darel where more than 100 people died, the main disaster hit the area of Pattan in 1974 killing 1000 – 1500 people.[66] This was the most severe earthquake in Pakistan after the catastrophe of 1935 in Quetta. Relief work was done by the newly founded "Kohistan Development Board". Under the competent and far-sighted leadership of Brig. Jan Nadir Khan this institution also constructed bridges, canals, hydroelectric power stations, schools, hospitals, and small jeepable roads. With the development of traffic also bazaars were established along the KKH. On the whole, the population started to benefit from the new modern amenities. In the beginning of the 1980s also a "Kohistan Medical Assistance Project" came into being. It has to be added that in 1981 another earthquake caused severe destruction in the valleys of Darel and Tangir; about 222 people reportedly died at that time. Unfortunately modern housebuilding has not led to a major reduction in terms of seismic risks.

Whether by the blessings of modern civilization (also the building of the Basha dam is planned), the ruthless exploitation by wood contractors and art dealers or by natural calamities, the cultural heritage and the natural environment of Indus Kohistan is considerably endangered. As the old traditional culture has disintegrated, it is urgent to document oral traditions on the local history and especially the arts and crafts. Architects should study the extraordinary mosques. Apart from the survey work done so far, linguists should undertake indepth studies in the local languages. What Karl Jettmar already wrote in 1959 still holds true today: "An enormous amount of research is still to be done in the area in question – and it must be done soon if it is not to be too late. Every year counts" (1959b: 93).[67] Since then 40 years have lapsed and not much has been done, the music and related traditions are already lost.

66 Davis 1984.
67 Jettmar 1984b: 70–71.

References

Akhtar, Aasim: Indus Kohistan. The Distant Steppe. Islamabad 1997.

Anwarul Haq, Mohammad: The Faith Movement of Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas. London 1972.

Anonymous: Military Report and Gazetteer of Indus Kohistan, Black Mountain and Adjacent Territories 1940. Simla 1941.

Barth, Fredrik: Indus and Swat Kohistan. An Ethnographic Survey. Oslo 1956.

Biddulph, John: Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh. Calcutta 1880 (Repr. Karachi 1977).

Braham, Trevor: Swat and Indus Kohistan. In: The Himalayan Journal 24: 107–118 (1962–1963).

Buddruss, Georg: Kanyawali. Proben eines Maiya-Dialekts aus Tangir (Hindukusch). Muenchen 1959.

Dani, Ahmad Hasan: History of Northern Areas of Pakistan. Islamabad 1989a.

– Islamic Architecture. The Wooden Style of Northern Pakistan. Islamabad 1989b.

Davis, I.: Analysis of Recovery and Reconstruction following the 1974 Patan Earthquake. In: K. J. Miller (ed.), The International Karakoram Project, Vol. 2: p. 323–342. Cambridge 1984.

Fitch, Marty & Gregory Cooper: Report on a Language and Dialect Survey in Kohistan District. In: Journal of Central Asia 8/1: 39–49 (1985).

Frembgen, Jürgen W.: Mountain Peoples in North Pakistan. In: J. Kalter (ed.), The Arts and Crafts of the Swat Valley. Living Traditions in the Hindukush; p. 171–177. London 1991.

Fussman, Gérard: Atlas Linguistique des Parlers Dardes et Kafirs. I. Cartes, II. Commentaire. Paris 1972.

Grötzbach, Erwin: Kaghan – Zur Entwicklung einer peripheren Talschaft im Westhimalaya (Pakistan). In: Beiträge und Materialien zur Regionalen Geographie, Vol. 2. Hochgebirgsräume Nordpakistans im Hindukusch, Karakorum und Westhimalaya (ed. by Klaus Haserodt): 1–18 (1989).

Haider, Naveed & Zaheer Ahmad Khan: Preliminary Report on the Wooden Mosque of Seo (unpubl. Ms. Lok Virsa). Islamabad 1985.

Hallberg, Daniel G.: The Languages of Indus Kohistan. In: Language of Kohistan. Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. Vol. 1; p. 83–141. Islamabad 1992.

IsMEO: Darel Valley survey. In: East and West 30/1–4: 205–207 (1980).

– Survey of wooden mosques and related wood-carvings in the Swat Valley. In: East and West 31/1–4: 178–181, figs. 20–36 (1981).

Jettmar, Karl: Schnitzwerke aus den Tälern Tangir und Darel. In: Archiv für Völkerkunde 14: 87–118 (1959a).

– Urgent Tasks of Research among the Dardic Peoples of Eastern Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan. In: Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research 2: 85–96 (1959b).

– Soziale und wirtschaftliche Dynamik bei asiatischen Gebirgsbauern (Nordwestpakistan). In: Sociologus, N.S. 10/2: 120–138 (1960).

– Ethnological Research in Dardistan 1958. Preliminary Report. In: Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 105/1: 79–97 (1961).

– Brücken und Flöße im Karakorum. In: Heidelberger Jahrbücher 22: 59–70 (1978).

– Kafiren, Nuristani, Darden: Zur Klärung des Begriffssystems. In: Anthropos 77: 254–263 (1982).
– The Cultural Heritage of Baluristan. A Photographic Documentation. Catalogue of the Exhibition. Presented to the First Conference on Karakorum-Culture 24.–30.9.1983 at Gilgit. Gilgit 1983 (a).
– Indus-Kohistan. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie. In: Anthropos 78/3–4: 501–518 (1983b).
– Felsbilder am Indus: Die nachbuddhistische Periode. In: Central Asiatic Journal 28/3–4: 176–219 (1984a).
– Indus-Kohistan. Erschließung und kulturelles Erbe. In: Indo-Asia 26/1: 65–71 (1984b).
Kalter, Johannes (ed.): The Arts and Crafts of the Swat Valley. Living Traditions in the Hindu Kush. London 1991.
Keiser, Lincoln: Friend by Day, Enemy by Night. Organized Vengeance in a Kohistani Community. Fort Worth 1991.
Klimburg, Max: The wooden mosques in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. In: Austrian Scholarship in Pakistan – A Symposium dedicated to the Memory of Aloys Sprenger, Islamabad, Oct. 26–30, 1996; p. 148–174. Islamabad 1997.
Leitner, Gottlieb, Wilhelm: The Languages and Races of Dardistan, Vol. I. Lahore 1873.
– Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893. Woking 1894 (Repr. New Delhi 1978).
Scerrato, Umberto: Labyrinth in the Wooden Mosques of North Pakistan. A Problematic Presence. In: East and West 33/1–4: 21–29 (1983).
– The Wooden Architecture of Swat and the Northern Areas of Pakistan: a Report on the Research carried out in 1984. In: East and West 34/4: 501–515 (1984).
– More on Wooden Mosques in North Pakistan. In: Journal of Central Asia 8/1: 105–109 (1985).
Schmitt, Erika: Ornamente in der Gandharakunst und rezenten Volkskunst im Hindukush und Karakorum. Wiesbaden 1971.
Schmidt, Ruth Laila: Where have the Shina speakers come from? Some Linguistic Clues. In: Journal of Central Asia 8/1: 17–26 (1985).
Schmidt, Ruth Laila & Mohammad Manzar Zarin: The Phonology and Tonal System of Palas Kohistyo Shina. In: Muenchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 40: 155–185 (1981).
– Discussions with Hariq. Land Tenure and Transhumance in Indus Kohistan. Berkeley 1984.
Schomberg, R. C. F.: Between the Oxus and the Indus. London 1935.
Stein, Aurel: From Swat to the Gorges of the Indus. In: The Geographical Journal C/2: 49–56 (1942).
Topper, Uwe: Bestattungsbräuche und Grabstelen in Kohistan. In: Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde 6 (in press).
Watson, H. D.: Gazetteer of the Hazara District, 1907. London 1908.

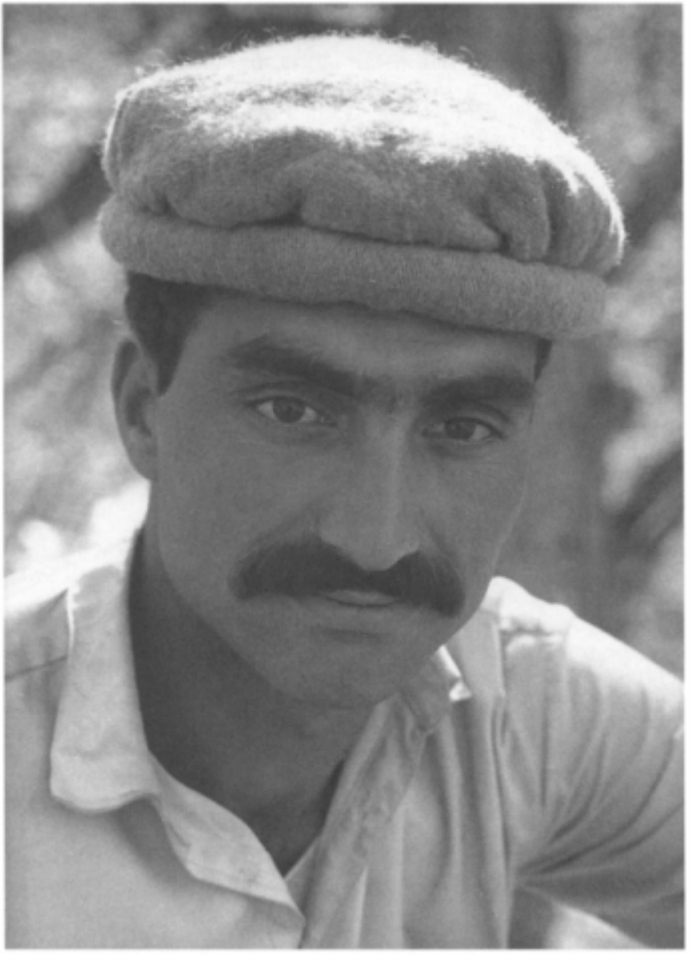


Fig. 1: Yusuf Jan, a Shin from Harban-kot

Fig. 2: Walait Nur, a Yeshkun from Harban-Nagach

Fig. 3: Fortified tower in Harban-kot, belonging to the Miañkulé lineage

Fig. 4: House of Azimullah in Harban-kot. Veranda showing influences of Mughal architecture (multi-cusped arches and jali-screens)

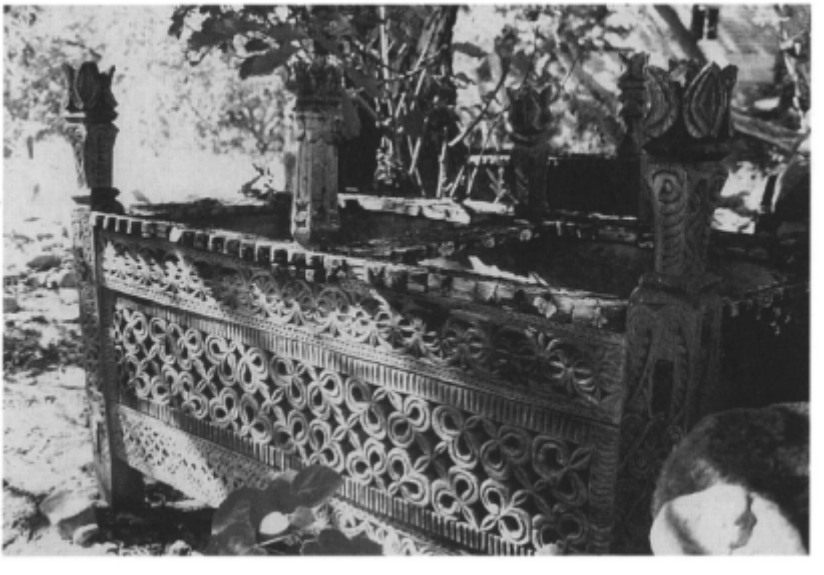
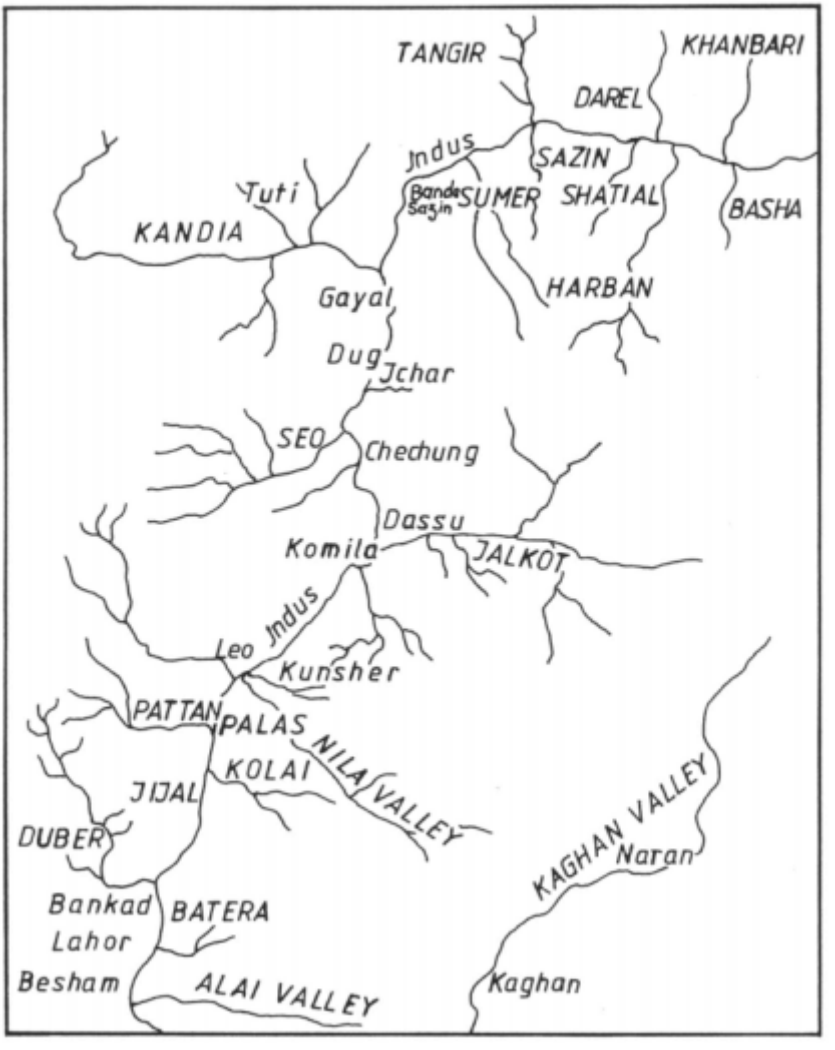


Fig. 5: Funerary enclosure outside the Harban-kot



Sketch-map: Indus Kohistan
(draft by J. W. Frembgen; drawn by Florian Erber)
Adapted from different sources: Anonymous 1941; Jettmar 1983b; Schmidt & Zarin 1984; Frembgen/fieldnotes