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in collaboration with
Martin Bemmann and Ellen Kattner

HEIDELBERG ACADEMY FOR THE HUMANITIES AND SCIENCES

RESEARCH UNIT

»ROCK CARVINGS AND INSCRIPTIONS ALONG THE KARAKORUM HIGHWAY«

SAZIN

A Fortified Village in Indus-Kohistan

by

Peter Alford Andrews

and

Karl Jettmar

with a contribution by

Georg Buddruss

VERLAG PHILIPP VON ZABERN · MAINZ · 2000

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Frontispiece: A house in Darel. The boards forming the front of the first floor are decorated with the then current patterns. The owner of the house, a carpenter, advertised his skills to potential customers in this way. (photo Jettmar, 1958)

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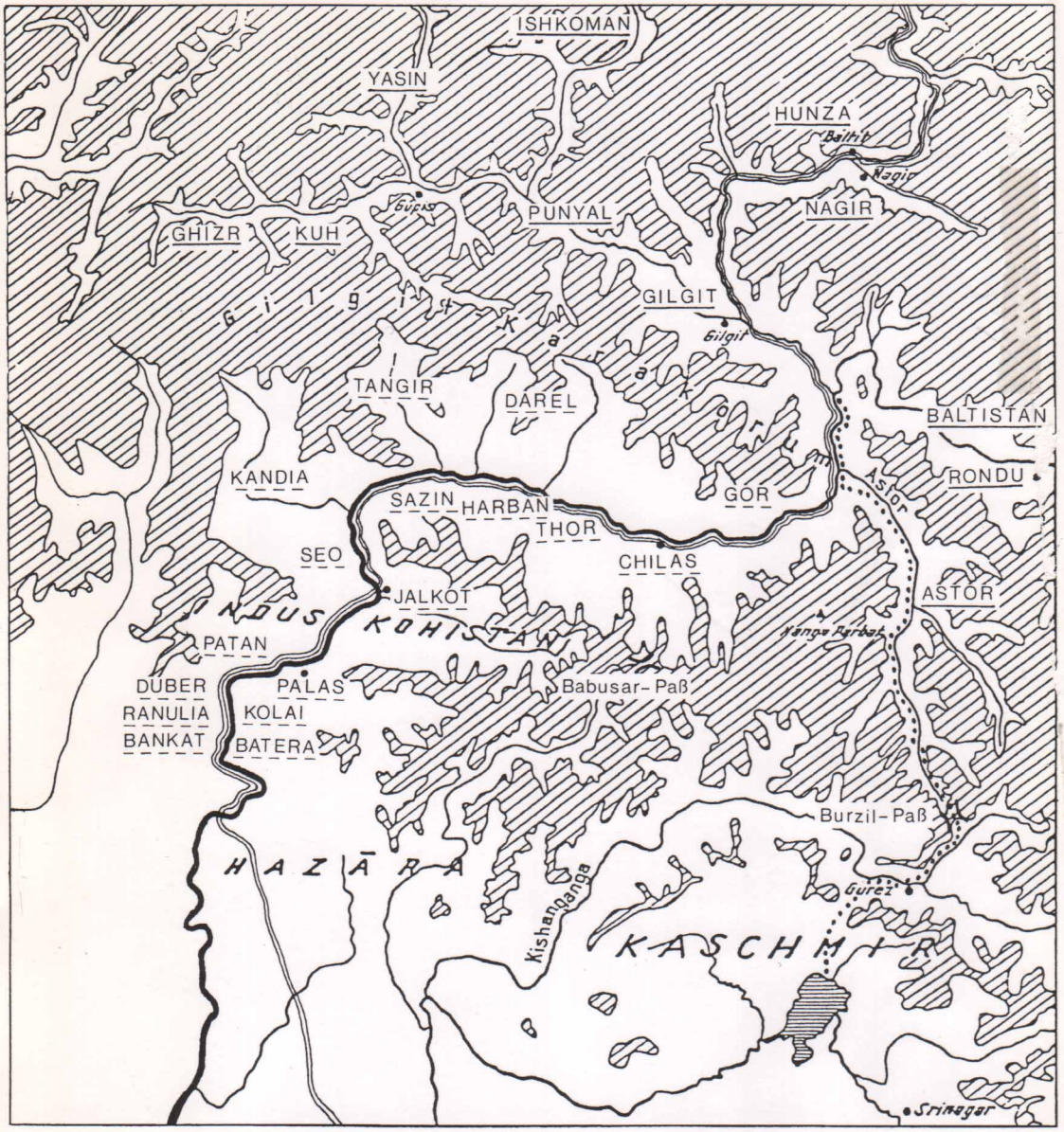
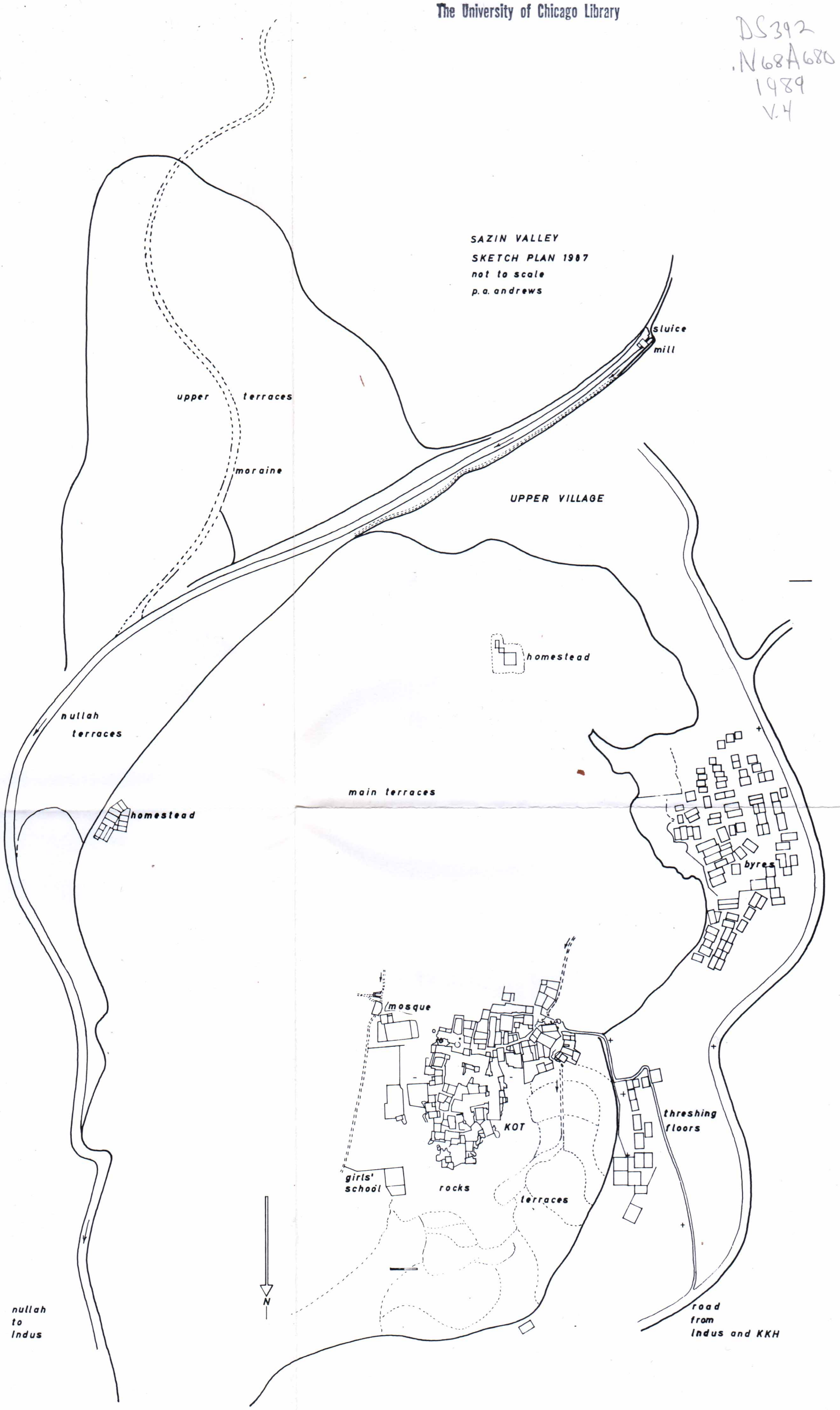
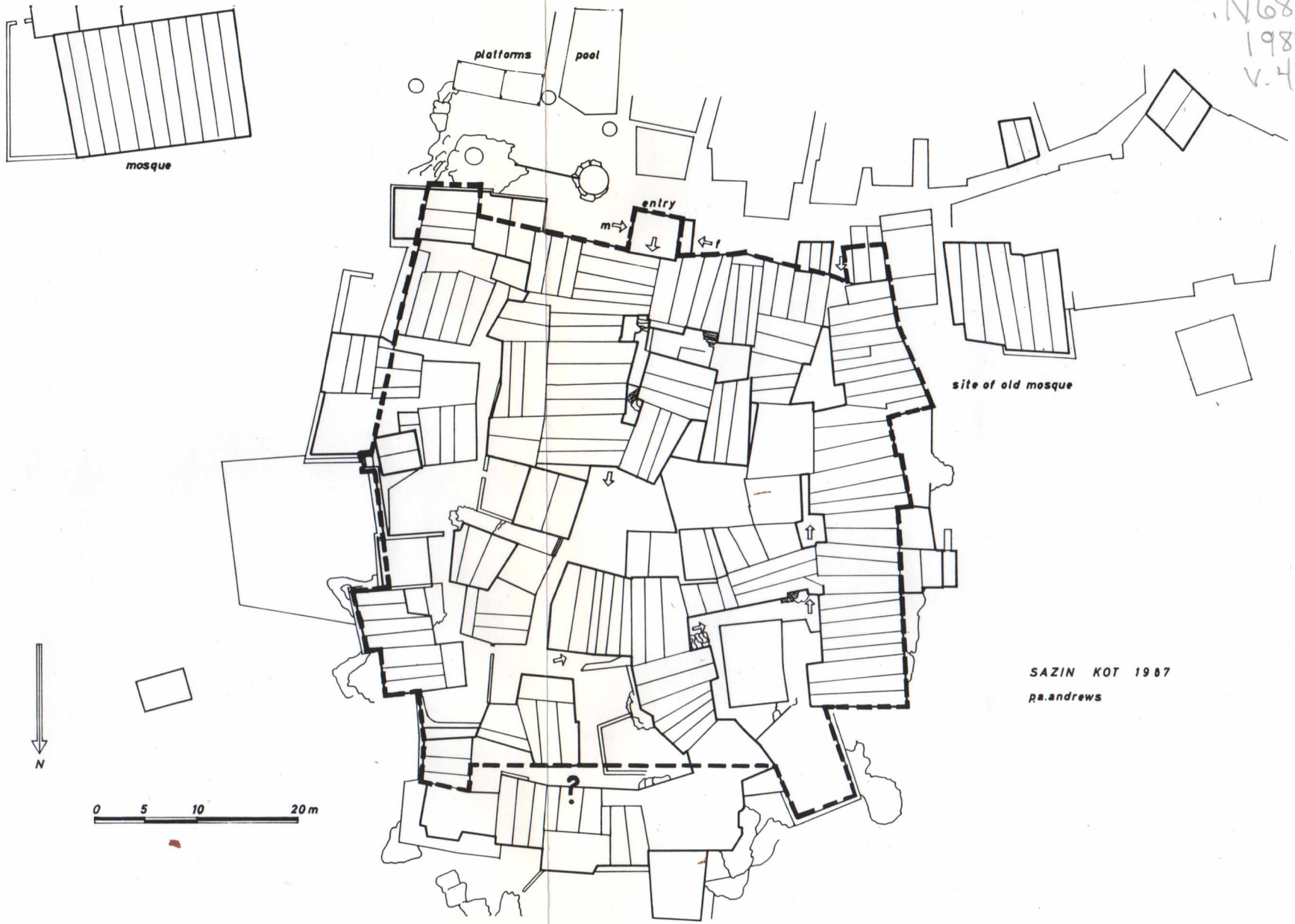




Dwg. 3



Revised Oct 98

bath
ablutions
graves
Mosque
graves
men's platforms
pool
Raja Aref's house
forge
bar
plane
+118
men
entry
women
B
east west
approach alley
passage
access
+90
white cap court
grub court
tailor's yard
tailor
tower
central court
black dog yard
cross axis
central
barn
eastern close
foundation court
northern cross axis
weaver
tower
tower
Rahmet Vali's house.1
women's sitting area
womens pool
tower
mullah
approach path
tower
tower
Rahmet Vali's house.2.
onion garden
A
B
N
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 m

SAZIN KOT

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

SURVEYED 1987 P.A.ANDREWS

terraces not to scale levels nominal

KEY:

⇦ access to house groups

← steps up ▬ stair plank up

- - - - assumed line of walls : inaccessible

≈ water channel ○ post

stacked-square rooflight

ablutions
mosque
pool
platforms
forge
plane
entry
tailor
womens' pool
approach path
threshing floors
A
B
N
0 2 4 6 8 10 20 m

SAZIN KOT

FIRST FLOOR PLAN

SURVEYED 1987 P.A.ANDREWS

KEY:

- assumed line of walls : inaccessible
- line of roof structure at plan level
- roofs below plan level
- hearth
- posts
- trapdoor above
- smoke-hole above

bath

ablutions

mosque

pool

mens' platforms

forge

plane

men

entry

women

women's sitting area

womens' pool

approach path

C

B

grave

terrace

A

0 2 4 6 8 10 20 m

N

SAZIN KOT

ROOF PLAN

SURVEYED 1987 P.A.ANDREWS

terraces and paths not to scale

KEY:

assumed line of walls: inaccessible

roof-boarding and slope downwards

gutter beams

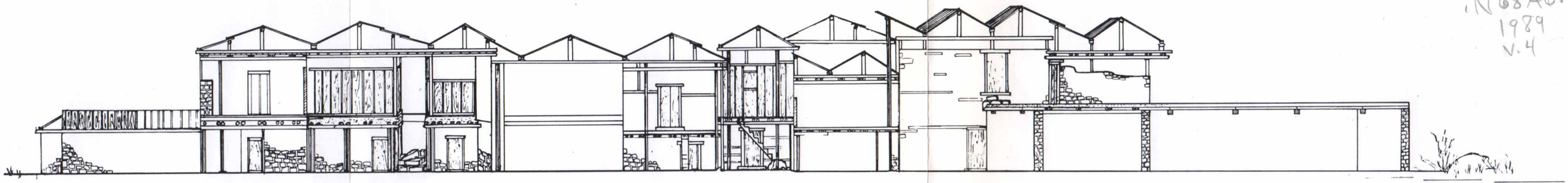
flat roofs

stair boards

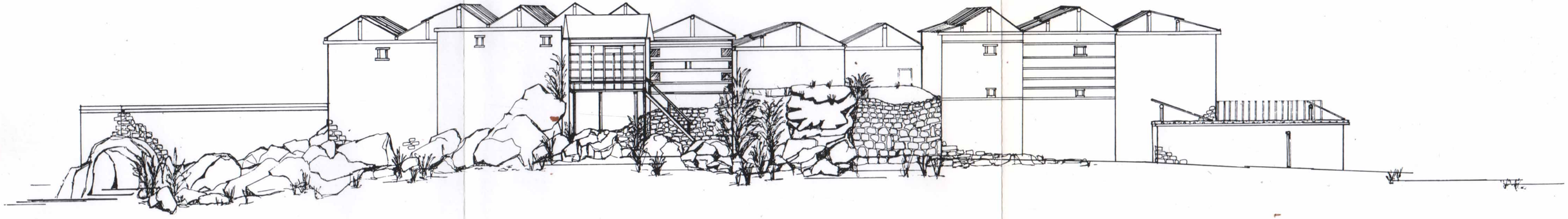
steps up

smoke hole

survey point



East face on line b-b



West elevation on line a-a

SAZIN KOT

WEST RANGE OF OLD CORE.

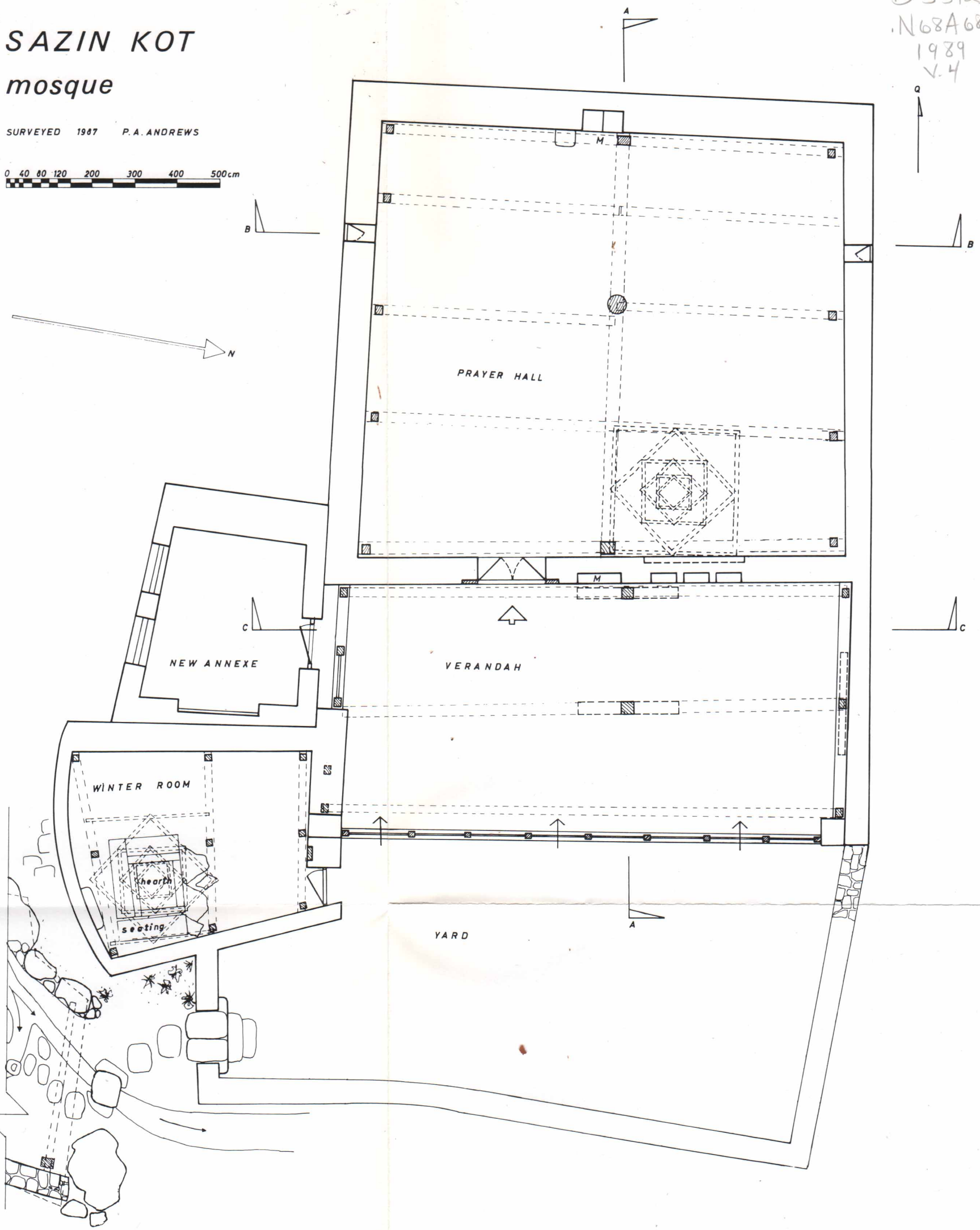
0 1 2 3 4 5 m.

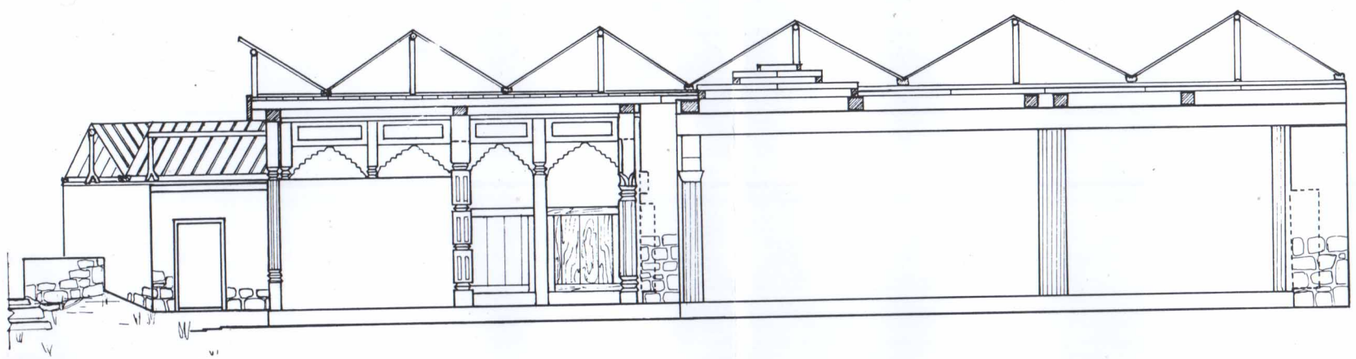
SAZIN KOT

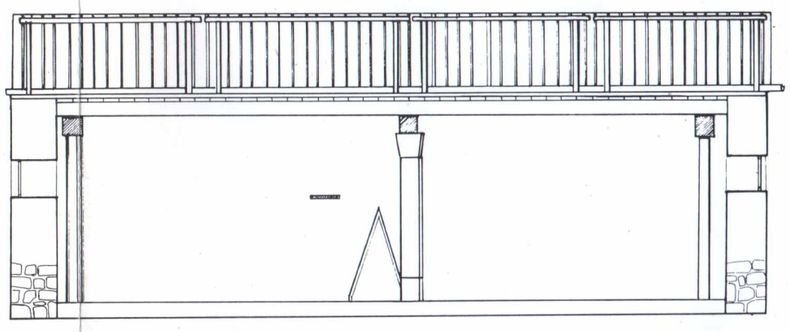
mosque

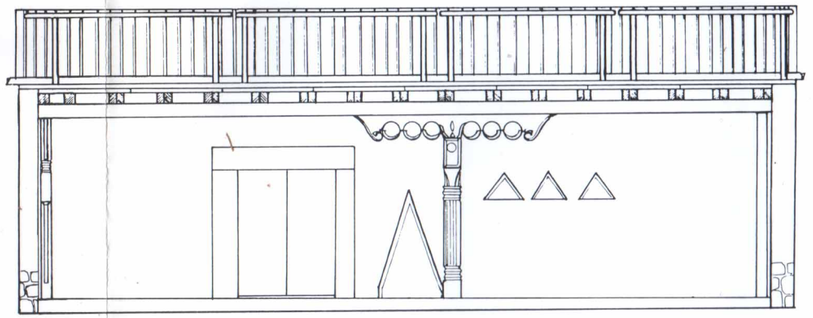
SURVEYED 1967 P. A. ANDREWS

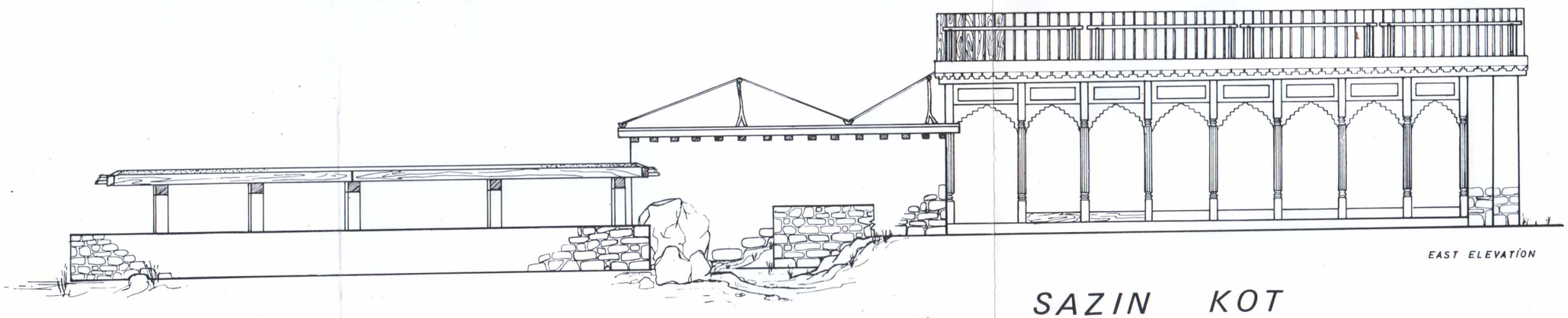
0 40 80 120 200 300 400 500cm











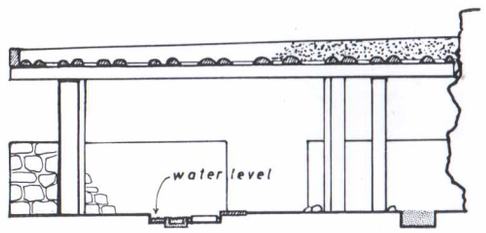
EAST ELEVATION

SAZIN KOT

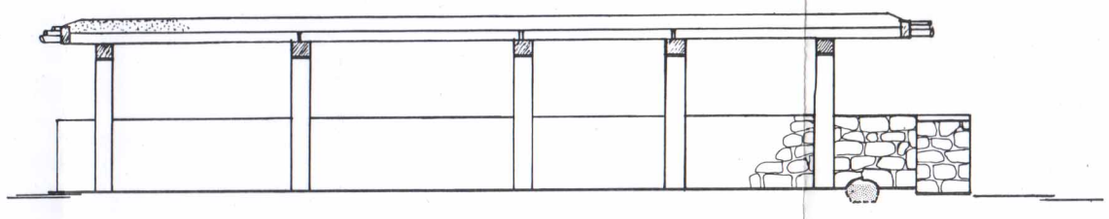
mosque

SURVEYED 1987. P.A.ANDREWS

0 40 80 120 200 300 400 500 cm

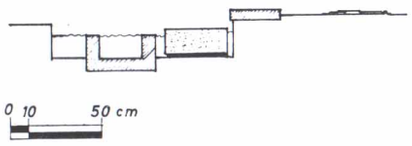


CROSS SECTION OF ABLUTIONS SHED SHOWING TROUGH
SECTION A-A



SECTION B-B

LONG SECTION OF TROUGH



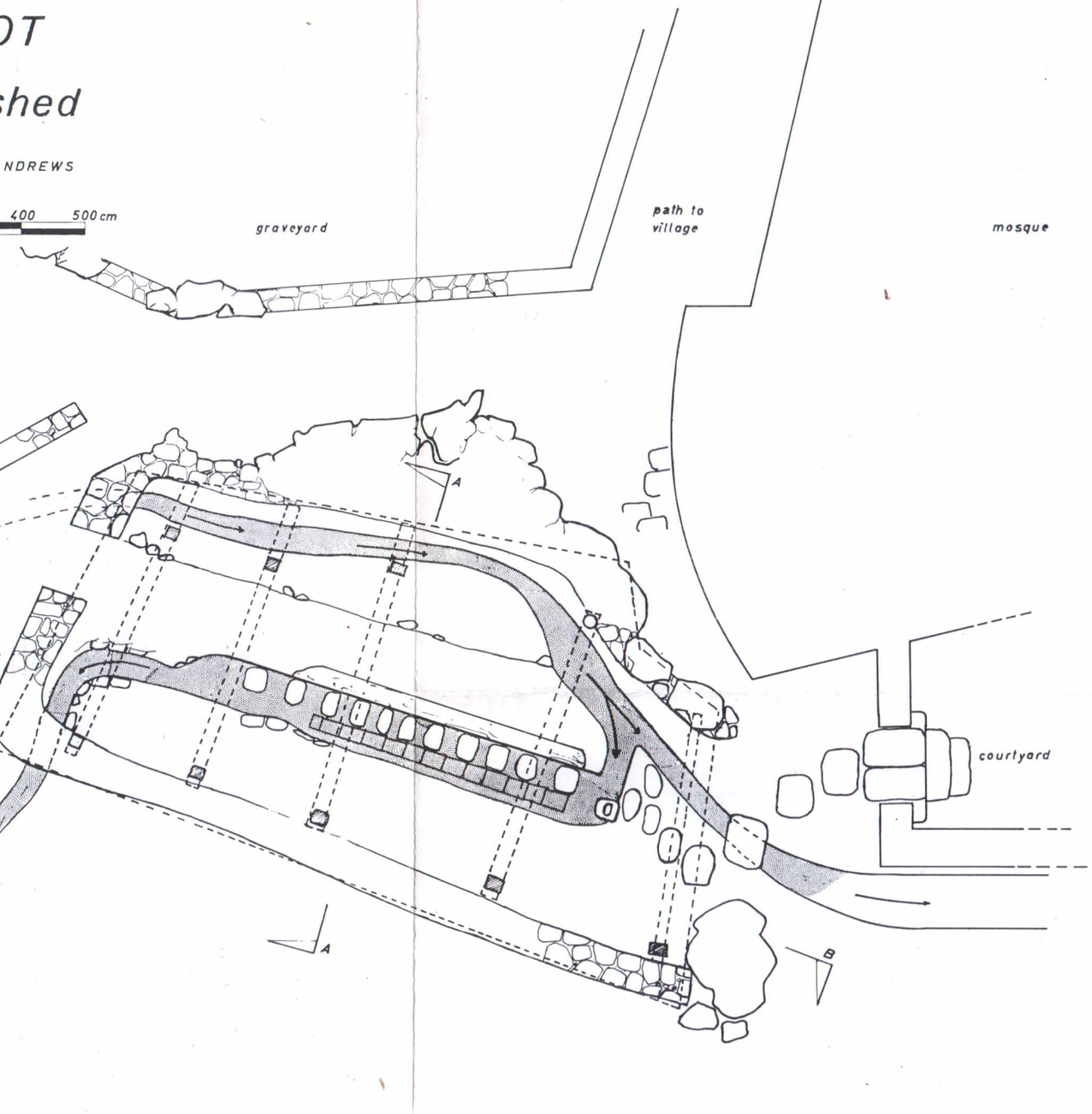
SECTION THROUGH TROUGH

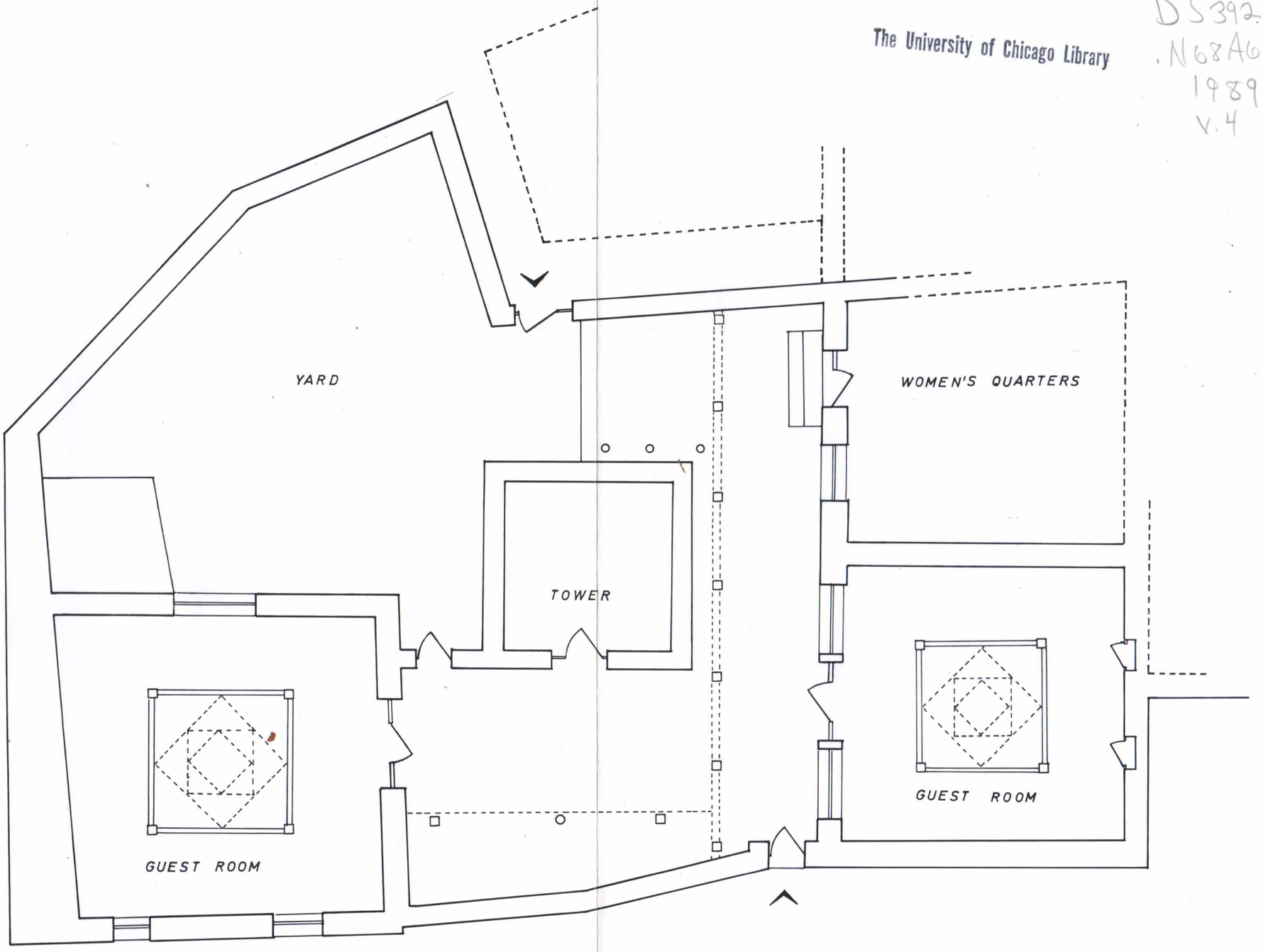
SAZIN KOT

Ablutions shed

SURVEYED 1967 P.A. ANDREWS

0 40 80 120 200 300 400 500 cm





SAZIN KOT

Rahmet Vali's house

reception rooms

SURVEYED 1987 P.A.ANDREWS

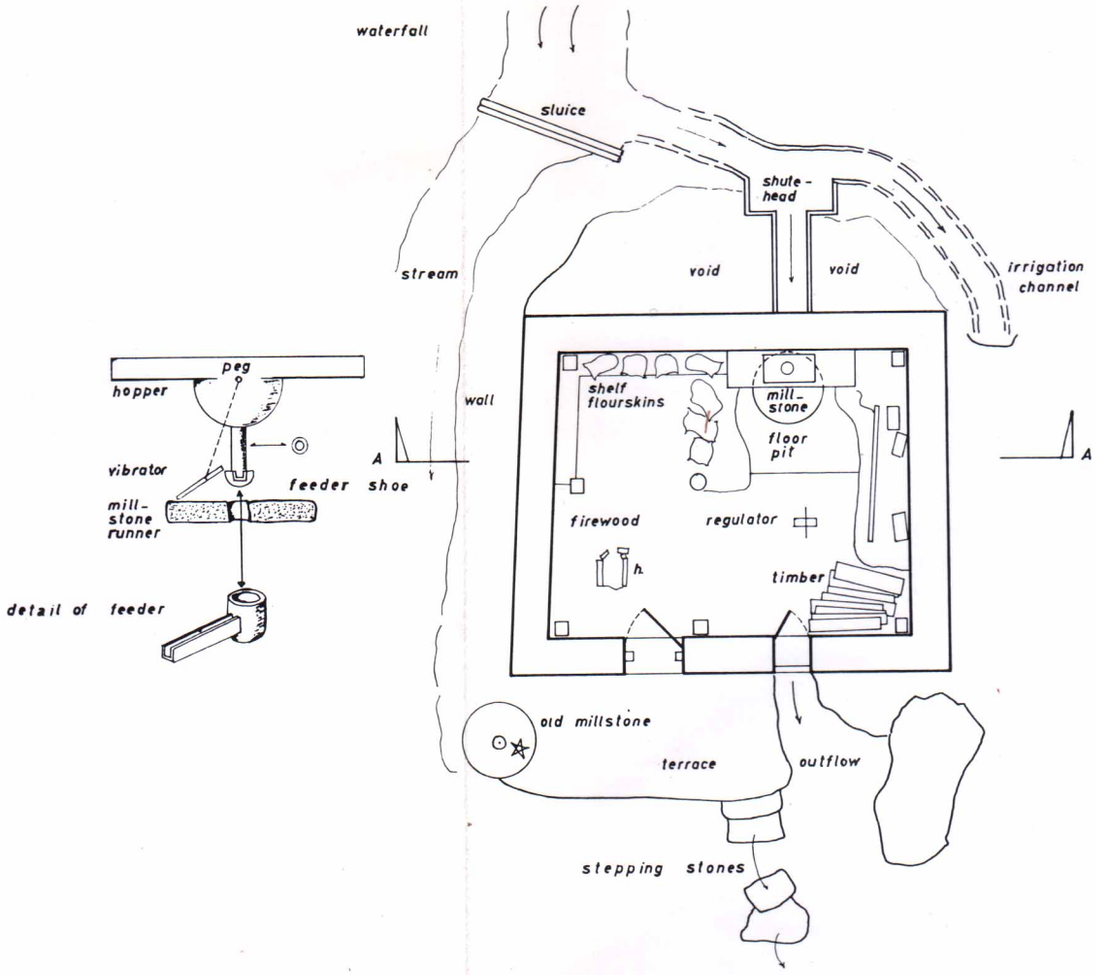
0 40 80 120 200 300 400 500

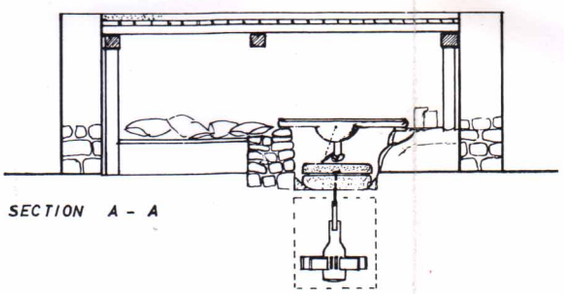
SAZIN MILL

SURVEYED 1987 P.A. ANDREWS

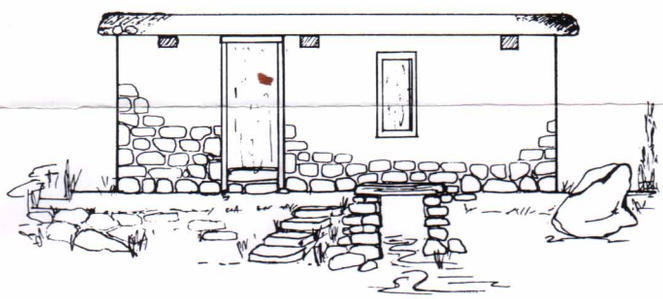
0 50 100 200 300 cm

N





SECTION A - A



EAST ELEVATION

approach from valley via ridge

bastion

slabs on end

rising path

steps up

bastion

window: outlook on Tangir

to further open hilltop overlooking Indus gorge

steps

stele

N

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10m

SAZIN: PURANA KOT

PLAN AT FIVE LEVELS — LEVELS 4 & 5 APPROXIMATE

SURVEYED 1987 — P.A. ANDREWS

KEY:

--- assumed line of walls: indistinct traces

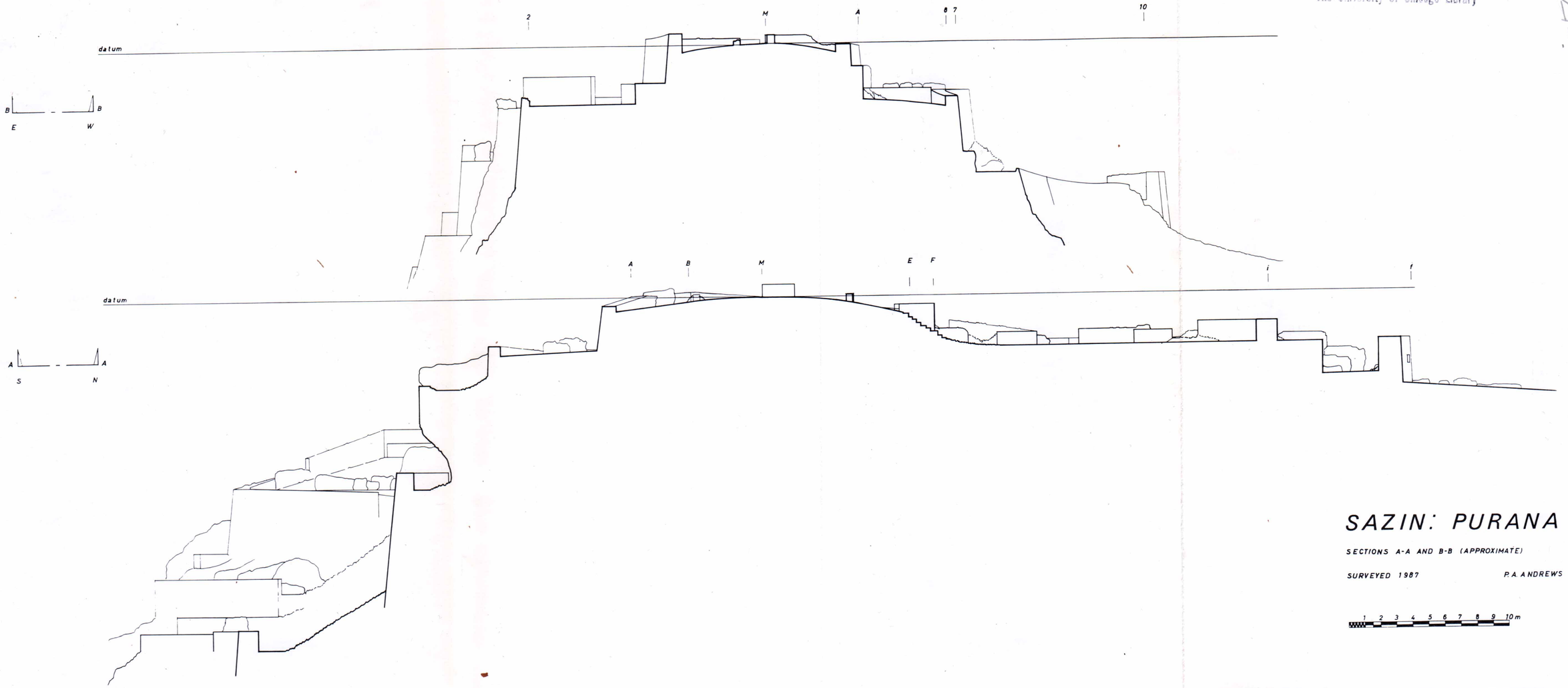
⇨ apparent lines of access

rubble — pit opening

survey points — datum ca. 1425 m above sea level

-231 levels related to datum at M: approximate only

Dwg. 8b



SAZIN: PURANA KOT

SECTIONS A-A AND B-B (APPROXIMATE)

SURVEYED 1987 P.A. ANDREWS

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10m

PREFACE

When I chose *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan* as the name of this series, I was following the advice of Gérard Fussman that I should not exclude important topics by too narrow a designation. 'Antiquities' would allow the inclusion of all sorts of ethnographic material, extending even to customs and beliefs, but especially to important examples of architecture. There can be no doubt that the description of the fortified village of Sazin represents an 'antiquity' of extraordinary significance for a better understanding of the history of northern Pakistan.

In the autumn of 1982, while travelling in the company of Dr. Adam Nayyar, I became aware of Sazin, a village on the fringe of Indus-Kohistan. Already on my first expedition to the area in 1955, I was told about this village, but, unfortunately, a visit was out of question: our research-permit was only for Tangir and Darel, which already had been under regular administration for three years, and Sazin was still tribal territory. This time I could make up for what I missed earlier. The head of police, Shuja-ul-Mulk, who had his office at Dassu, confirmed that ethnographic fieldwork in this village had better chances than anywhere else as, compared to their compatriots, the inhabitants were peaceful. He was even ready to bring us to the place by his own transport and promised to inform the village authorities about my intended stay. We started on the 7th of October 1982, following the Karakorum Highway. Before reaching Shatial we turned up the slope onto a steep and narrow road, leading, in the course of many bends, up to Sazin. Suddenly, the street was blocked by a landslide, making further progress by car impossible.

Shuja-ul-Mulk decided to return and I proceeded on foot, getting a fine view of the whole valley.

What I could see in the two days I spent in Sazin impressed me so much that I decided to return with an architect in order to produce ground plans of the settlement and its individual houses. That became possible in 1987, when Dr. Peter Alford Andrews, on the basis of a grant kindly provided by the *German Research Foundation*, was ready, willing, and able to join the project. The team responsible for the documentation of the petroglyphs had already set out in February. My intention was to follow in the early days of April, together with Dr. Andrews.

Contrary to expectations, I was not able to join the architect. The health of my wife suddenly worsened, making my participation impossible. Dr. Andrews, therefore, was confronted with a suspicious and displeased population, alone and without experience in the region.

The main team, already trained on earlier expeditions to work on the petroglyphs, could manage without me, but Dr. Andrews, working 74 km away from their headquarters, had to find his own way forward. The team had been unable to find him an interpreter, so he had relied on his only other contact in Pakistan, a former Ph.D. student, to provide him with one. Although this volunteer had previous experience of Baltistan, it emerged with time that he was not happy to work under the conditions at Sazin, which he considered to be much beneath his standard. His attitude did nothing to improve contact with the villagers. From the outset it was made clear to Dr. Andrews that he would not be allowed to stay in the village at night, or even in the late afternoon. In spite of this he was able to survey not only the present village, but also the older fort overlooking it, providing excellent plans at various levels.[1]

It was never forseen that Dr. Andrews should also collect ethnographical information in the short time available to him, but since I could not

1 A first report including a few drawings was published in *Pakistan Archaeology* 25 (1990).

come he was willing to make such notes as he could during brief rest periods in his survey work. He was, however, anxious not to jeopardise his main work by making too many enquiries. He never considered these as sufficient, and in fact draws attention to further work that needs to be done (p. 103). I asked him to make this material available as a report so that I could write a commentary on it, with reference to previous studies. It remains the only monograph on this village, and thus the only one on a fortified village that is still inhabited. He took many hundreds of photographs, and tape-recorded some of the more important conversations he held with the villagers. He has collected all the data necessary for an ethnographic description – indeed more than I expected. We have decided to publish this material in comparison with the results of interviews I conducted during our earlier expeditions to Tangir, Darel and Gor. It is typical of the present situation, and no fault of Andrews, that the term *wesh* does not occur in his report, nor in the careful glossary he made. This term was only meaningful at a time when solidarity against foreign enemies was highly important.

Now, perhaps, with these fine plans at our disposal, it will be possible to pose further questions, for example whether the large associations formed within the population for mutual negotiation could inherit specific quarters in the village, and if this might include kinship groups co-opted to arrive at equality of numbers among the factions.

Many of Dr. Andrews' observations are not contained in earlier reports. Even on the first expedition, when Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich tried to deliver a balanced presentation of what he had seen, essential details were omitted. Only in the course of preparing this monograph did I learn the prerequisites for the actual system.

The publication of this book would not have been possible without the financial support of the German Research Foundation and the Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences. I also have to thank my assistant Ellen Kattner, M.A., for helping me during the whole process

of writing, Martin Bemmann, M.A., for his technical advice, as well as Dr. Hugh van Skyhawk for correcting the English of the final draft. My friend Prof. Dr. Georg Buddruss kindly went through the word-list Dr. Andrews had submitted and transformed it into an annotated glossary. Finally I want to thank the people of Sazin and all my friends in Pakistan who supplied the basic information for writing this book.

Heidelberg, Summer 1999
Karl Jettmar

Notes on transliteration

In the contributions of Karl Jettmar all local and most of the personal names and terms have been given in their accustomed Anglicised spelling for easier reading. So, throughout the book, the terms *weš* and *kōṭ* are written as *wesh* and *kot* respectively. Quotations render the transliteration given in the text cited.

Peter Alford Andrews has compiled a glossary of the terms collected during his stay in the area. In his contribution, therefore, all terms occurring in the glossary are written in his original transcription, which was limited by technical considerations. All other local and personal names and terms have been given in the accustomed Anglicised spelling as well.

KARL JETTMAR

SAZIN IN ITS LARGER SETTING:
Experiences and Observations

A long way to the north-west of its headwaters, near the holy mountain Kailash, the Indus, thrashing its way out of the gorges of Rondu, enters the basin of Bunji, where it is joined by the rivers Gilgit and Astor. From here its course points southward until the massif of Nanga Parbat again forces a turn to the west, bypassing the last spur of the Great Himalaya, the Shamilan Range. Though it is not high, the Shamilan Range is impassable in wintertime due to heavy snowfall and avalanches. After more than a hundred kilometres the river enters the next gorges, the last ones before its exit to the plains. In this 'traverse' many streams join the Indus, the larger ones having their headwaters in the North, in the so-called Gilgit-Karakorum. Here we find broad valleys for fields and meadows, but a narrow mouth. In the few shorter side-valleys – such as Gor opposite Nanga Parbat – cultivation is possible only on the higher levels. Through the alluvials there the rivulet reaches the Indus by the shortest way, through a deeply incised ravine, famous for the tale that in ancient times aged people were cast down into this abyss (Drew 1875:459).

Topping a similarly situated gorge, this time on the left bank, there is a broad but short valley, drained by a stream which plunges 350 meters downward to the Indus Valley below. In 1955, on their way to Tangir, the members of the German Hindukush Expedition – Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich from the University of Mainz, Georg Buddruss as linguist,

Peter Snoy, then Friedrich's student, and myself as responsible for historical interpretations – recognised farmsteads with fortified towers in this wind gap. We learned that behind the crest there was a village called Sazin with its fortifications still intact (*see map, Dwg. 1*). Unfortunately, a visit was out of question: our research-permit was only for Tangir and Darel, which had already been under regular administration for three years; Sazin was still tribal territory (Jettmar 1956, 1957).

When we established our camp at Tangir, on the last day of May 1955, we were completely captivated by the new, unexpected environment, where we were received with astonishing cordiality. Strange as it may sound, at that time in the Hindukush every German was considered a hero, a reputation gained by the suicidal war against so many enemies which had brought freedom to India. We were surprised by the essential differences from the settlement patterns we had encountered in the Gilgit area. Many farmsteads were isolated and equipped with defence-towers. An explanation was given by Raja Bahman, a guide and interpreter who had been provided to us by the Political Agent at Gilgit. Bahman told us that the whole area had been ruled by his father, Pakhtun Wali Khan. His paternal grandfather had been Mir Wali, whose residence was in Yasin, north of the Gilgit River. When the British explorer George Hayward attempted to cross this area in 1870 he was killed on the order of Mir Wali. Thus, Pakhtun Wali Khan was deeply mistrusted by the British administrators. For a while, he fought in the army of Umra Khan of Jandul, and after his final defeat, he found shelter in Tangir, where families related to him by milk-fostership had their homes.

Pakhtun Wali Khan had been well received in 1905, but he used this chance for an attempt to carve out his own kingdom. The sudden attack of a strong party against the house where he had been living marked the beginning of open fighting. When his mother tried to negotiate with the aggressors by presenting the Koran – according to a Pashtun ritual – her action was not understood by the local people. She was wounded, a

breach of confidence that incensed the feelings of Pakhtun Wali Khan and his Pashtun followers. They rallied and put the attackers to flight. This was only his first victory, and soon Pakhtun Wali Khan ruled Tangir with great sagacity. In 1909, he occupied Darel and brought Sazin under his influence. His administrative innovations were quite useful: He favoured the dissolution of the fortified villages and promoted the construction of roads in the valley leading to the small bazaar in Darel. In this way, he intended to stimulate economic interests in the population, and quell the continual feuding among the clans. The visit of Sir Aurel Stein was only possible due to Pakhtun Wali Khan's protection.

While the British administration was ready to come to terms with him, his own subjects were not. He was murdered in 1917. His family was able to escape, when one of his wives had the saving idea of throwing hands of silver coins among the aggressors. These were the coins Pakhtun Wali Khan had earned by protecting the Kaka *khel* who had organised the felling of timber in the great forests. While the aggressors were fighting among themselves over the silver, the family escaped.

All subsequent attempts to restore his regime ended with the death of the usurpers (Stein 1928a:7-35). In Tangir and Darel, nine heaps of stones were shown to us, each indicating the demise of one of the men who would be king in this free country (Schomberg 1935:234-248). The fortresses constructed by order of Pakhtun Wali Khan were systematically destroyed. The only document showing their former construction is a photograph in a travel report by Sir Aurel Stein (Stein 1928b:fig. 25).

The construction workers who had been brought from the lower side-valleys of the Indus did not remain unemployed, as, after the sudden death of the usurper, the local farmers returned to their favourite pastime – killing each other. Jealousy was the normal reason. The typical Tangiri husband took even a minor suspicion against his spouse as a violation of his honour, while on the other hand, he was always ready to accept the

temptation offered by the wife of one of his neighbours. As a result of the long-lasting feuds, in daytime, many respectable persons did not dare to leave their towers – which had been erected for their personal protection. When Tangir and Darel, finally, became a part of the territory administered by Pakistan in 1953, such disputes were settled by the mutual payment of blood-money. But peace never lasted long. Prior to my return in 1958, my field-assistant had been murdered, a sad testimony to the persistence of ancient customs.

In Darel, whither we had shifted after five weeks, we were confronted with an earlier, distinctly different system: here the closed and fortified villages (*kot*) still prevailed. The stories of the peripheral houses formed a closed line of defence. Towers marked the corners and the entrance. The pitched roof was assembled from boards without any fastenings. Passage in the narrow lanes was difficult. In mid-summer the landowners moved to the high meadows with their cattle. The fields were farmed by share-croppers, who had to endure the attacks of the local 'tiger mosquitoes' (Jettmar 1960:130-138).

The mosque was situated at the fringe of the settled area, near to the smithy and the *biyak*, i.e. the gathering-place surrounded by platforms supported by high posts. Most of the graves were concentrated in this area. The stables formed separate compounds. Those for the goats were considered to be pure and sacred. The threshing floors were concentrated on a hillock; many of them had small shacks for keeping grain.

Not all the population settled in the compact *kot*. The richer, who had acquired many enemies, erected farmsteads with defence-towers and more modern buildings.

During the next few days, we visited several other villages, primarily Phuguch, but also those at Samigal and Manikhal. There we observed that towers had been erected even inside the *kot* – strongly reminding us of Castel Gandolfo in Italy.

Unfortunately, our fieldwork ended suddenly as one of my friends fell seriously ill with *malaria tropica*, which, as he had been the only one who had kept up a regular prophylaxis, was not diagnosed immediately. We returned to Gilgit as quickly as possible and arrived there at the beginning of August.

My next expedition, organised by the Austrian Himalaya-Society, provided the opportunity of gathering further information. We (Prof. Dr. Konrad Wiche as geographer, Dr. Eduard Piffl as zoologist, and myself) visited Tangir and Darel arriving there from the north, that is from the Gilgit Valley (Jettmar 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960, 1961a, 1961b). Although this visit, too, was only a short one, from early June to the end of July, I made an unexpected discovery: Darel had not only preserved its compact and defensible villages, but the *wesh*-system as well (Schmitt 1990: 5-6, 56, 61, 64; Rejsner 1954: 105-183).

I met with a similar situation in Gor, where genealogical units are the basis for forming larger units, usually dominated by one of the larger 'castes', the Shin and Yeshkun, which has subsequently been studied by Thomas Schmitt (Schmitt 1990).

In 1958, we obtained highly interesting information without difficulties. Certainly, we had to respect the privacy of the houses and to avoid every contact with the female part of the population. A very drastic event showed us the consequences of what is considered to be misbehaviour in the local traditions: Before his departure a husband in Darel had forbidden his wife to speak to a stranger in his absence. Looking back he saw her in a lively dispute with his neighbour. At once he came back and killed her. More surprising than the deed, was the age of the couple – both were said to be over seventy!

Even those who allowed us to enter their houses, warned us, that taking photographs might be considered as a break of decency. So, in most cases, we had to be content with a rather monotone description of the interior: no windows, a fireplace in the centre of the room, the roof

carried by four pillars, one of them decorated by still unripe ears of barley. Over the fireplace there was a smoke-outlet, and we should avoid every attempt to peep down here!

On subsequent journeys, I visited villages where seclusion was not so strict, but there conflagrations and earthquakes had caused the destruction of many houses. In Gor the densely accumulated habitations called *kot* were surrounded by quadrangular log cabins as stores for foodstuff. Towers in these areas were the quarters of the bachelors, who had to stop a foreign attack.

When I travelled with Adam Nayyar in Indus-Kohistan in the autumn of 1982, we came across the same situation. In the meantime I had been informed by many interviews that after the acceptance of Islam, the population, previously divided into lineages with different tasks and social levels, was then forced to shift into one integrating village around the mosque. So the previous settlements, including hamlets on mountain-tops, had suddenly been deserted. Most of the new villages had been constructed in the 18th century, when Islamic preachers were successful in Indus-Kohistan and in its northern periphery. For the inhabitants of Kohistan, avoiding the feared raids of the Pakhtuns by anticipating the inevitable acceptance of the new religion was the easiest way to preserve their ethnic identity. In the eyes of the missionaries, Islam was linked to the introduction of the *wesh*-system. However, social tensions were not entirely suppressed, so the system was on the verge of dissolution, even before the intervention of the British colonial power or the orders of autocratic rulers like Pakhtun Wali Khan or Miangul Abdul Khaliq in Swat.

In the course of my journey in 1982 I had the opportunity to visit Sazin for the first time. There the population had preserved the ancient organisation, and the buildings had not changed very much since the establishment of the village. Practically, the whole population belonged to the dominant caste, so there was no reason for the exodus of the

families who had a lower social status. Being Shins, the Sazinis keep to typical Shin-taboos – not to use cow-milk and beef. Apparently, they lived in the eastern side-valleys of the Indus of present Indus-Kohistan for a while, but were expelled by later waves of immigrants. Afterwards, due to intermarriage with the families of the land owners there, they were accepted in Sazin proper.
Already after two days, on the 9th of October, we had to continue our journey and left Sazin. On the next day I visited Seo which has an interesting mosque.
In the years following, I concentrated my interests on rock-carvings and inscriptions which, together with the official Chinese reports and travelogues of Far Eastern pilgrims, who had crossed the area in the first millennium A.D., became the main source for the early past of Dardistan.

Strangely enough, just in the areas where most of the petroglyphs had been discovered, the production of images and inscriptions was interrupted by a sudden break sometime in the early centuries of the second millennium A.D.
In later centuries, petroglyphs were considered as the work of supernatural beings. So they were not destroyed, not even by later additions. Only in the side valleys north of the Gilgit River were simple drawings still made, mostly depicting animals, especially the sacred ibex. So there is a sudden stop of petroglyphic activities precisely in those areas where the rockfaces had been intensively decorated before.
The villages established for the participants of the *wesh* after the conversion to Islam are the next well documented facies. The ruins on the mountain tops preceded this stage, but many details remained enigmatic. How did they get water to such high positions? Not by canals, but perhaps by wooden constructions, by wooden tubes under the soil? Were they deserted when the last wave of immigrants – specialised goat breeders – entered from the South? Perhaps the Islamic settlement had some particular traits, revealing their area of origin?

On rare occasions, when we were allowed to enter a private house, almost identical ground-plans were obtained. We entered a quadrangular cabinet with four pillars and a fireplace, without windows, but with a hole in the roof for ventilation – in many places there was a 'lantern' instead. Some places had superimposed rooms, as had been observed by Leitner (1894:57 ff). Sometimes the lowest floor is used as a stable and the family lives on top under a kind of grass-tent. We know now that the different regions had diverging specialities, the vertical order is combined with fortified and, therefore, narrow villages. The best book for a local variant – the Pashais, south of Nuristan – was written and charmingly illustrated by Karl Wutt (1981). The survey started by Edelberg, but completed after his sudden and tragic demise by his friends Schuyler Jones and Torkil Funder, is as good. In some cases the subterranean rooms were used as sanctuaries, the pillars carved as deities. It is possible that the immigrants from the northern steppes had brought with them the habit of passing the winter-time in similar shelters (Edelberg 1984:59-118).

The wooden parts were decorated with chiselled carvings, composed either of straight notches or curved elements. Several styles might be discerned.

Dr. Andrews, while fully aware of the work on wood-carving done by the Italians, as well as by Wutt, Edelberg and myself in other areas, recorded a great many more examples for what he believes to be the first time. These cannot, unfortunately, be published here. Some of the papers already published are based on concepts derived from other regions, which were not supported by later findings. I, for instance, wrote an article which was based on the patterns of woodcarving from Tangir and Darel, comparing them with the crude embroideries on the female winter costume (Jettmar 1959). Dr. Andrews' material, including 40 m of rubbings, requires considerable time for an adequate analysis.

In Kabul there existed a special bazaar where carvings from different valleys were sold to foreigners for bringing an exotic flair to their

homes. Chests and chairs were brought to Germany as souvenirs, but no-one used the variants for a comparative study. The greatest care had been given to the decoration of the local mosques. Apparently the Sayyeds who had effected the conversion had brought their own teams of carvers. In the hinterland of Swat more than 300 mosques were investigated by an Italian scholar, U. Scerrato, but he was not allowed to show his material in Karachi. The terminology used by the foreign craftsmen allows the supposition that they came from a Pashtu speaking milieu. The residences of the local rulers were constructed with the help of foreign specialists; high towers were used as barracks for the guards, who were replaced each year by a fresh detachment from the same province.

The castle of Baltit – representing a divergent tradition

Most of these fortresses had been destroyed in the wars which preceded the integration of the area into the British-Indian Empire, partly as dependent states, partly under direct control. A juridical formulation of the vexed situation took place in 1935 by the *Lease of Gilgit Wazarat and Related Areas* for a period of sixty years. Formally, the territories remained part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, but were administrated by the British government represented by the Political Agent posted at Gilgit. The result was the attempt of the local powers to maintain direct and most cordial relations with the British overlords. The ruler of Hunza, head of a community the majority of whose members were Ismailis famous for their clean habits and martial qualities, had the best position of all of them.

The castle at Baltit, the residence of the ruler of Hunza, called the *Mir* or *Tham*, is a landmark and already during our early visits we heard of the plan to transform it into a museum – the living quarters were already shifted to a modern construction in Karimabad. The realisation of this plan needed a systematic programme of repair and appreciable funds.

The main support was given by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, but donations by several international agencies had to be arranged in addition. The constructional features were therefore studied by a team with Richard Hughes and Didier Lefort as main consultants, headed by Stefano Bianca. The results of their work created the basis for a series of restorations. Otherwise, the 'palace' would have collapsed within a relatively short space of time. More than 70 phases of previous enlargements were identified.

According to Carbon 14 tests, the earliest part of the buildings is more than 700 years old. Originally, single-storey houses had been erected; one had a defence tower. Animal pens were added to them. In the 19th century the influence of British colonial buildings is evident. The private rooms of the ruler, where receptions of foreign visitors took place, were adapted to a 'modern' standard (Bianca 1996).

For the period ending with the inclusion of Gilgit into the Tibetan realm in the 8th century A.D., the historical developments are attested by a great number of petroglyphs in the Indus Valley, especially in the area between Chilas and Shatial. Most of them are combined with inscriptions which were made by Buddhists, who used the Kharoṣṭhī script in the period in which the regional dynasties had organised, under the dominance of Kushan overlords, the trade between Gandhāra and the southern route of the Silk Roads in the Tarim basin. The images discovered in this context were made partly by visitors who had joined the caravans and partly by local disciples. Important personalities among the locals 'funded' such illustrations of their pious feelings and added their names.

More than 500 names of Sogdian merchants are attested at the site of Shatial, where they – after crossing the Indus – met Buddhist counterparts, who had arrived from the south under the protection of Hunnic tribes. I had wondered how the Sogdians could establish a sanctuary so near to the place called Ta-li-lo by Chinese visitors, which was a Bud-

dhist centre famous for a huge Maitreya statue. The Sogdians were not Buddhists themselves, but they had common interests, namely to avoid the territories which were ruled by Kushano-Sasanians, where Zoroastrism became the dominant religion. The direct way, therefore, was preferred, in spite of the dangerous and wearying tracks. This political situation was clearly recognised by Harmatta (1979). Brāhmī, with a late phase known as proto-Śāradā, remained the dominant script.

For a while, in the area west of the Tibetan empire, the Hephthalites became the dominant population, integrating Turkish tribes separate from those who had founded the most extensive empire in the Central Asian steppes. The Khalaj are mentioned for the first time. Here the Bactrian script, derived from the Greek cursive, was preserved even after the Arab conquest.

In the Eastern Hindukush and Karakorum, the population became illiterate. Tibetan inscriptions are very rare. This statement is not disproved by the so-called *Gilgit Manuscripts*, which were brought by the last Patola-Shahi when he, expelled from Skardu, found refuge in Little Palur. They were deposited in a hollow stupa as precious concealed books, according to the Tibetan custom, unreadable but essential for the welfare of the country.

Concerning the earliest stratum discovered during the restoration of the castle of Baltit, we cannot identify the ethnic affiliation of the builders. They might have been Burushos under a Turkish dynasty. Later, they were joined by Shina-speakers who left a large layer of loan-words.

PETER ALFORD ANDREWS

A SURVEY OF SAZIN, INDUS-KOHISTAN
A fortified village of the Shin in the Western Himalayas

Introduction

Sazin is one of a series of villages situated in the tributary valleys to the north and south of the Indus, where it flows from east to west between Rondu and Kandia in northern Pakistan (*see map, Dwg. 1*). The village lies just within the eastern boundary of the area administered from Dassu, and thus within Indus-Kohistan, though most of the others in the group are in the Northern Areas administered from Gilgit. The region is inhabited predominantly by people speaking a Dardic Indo-European language, Shina, and number perhaps 150,000; it is characterised, however, by its division into smaller communities within each valley, in which each village was, and to a varying extent still is, governed by its own democratic council. The rivalry between the valleys, particularly over the rights to summer pasture in the mountain spurs, led to the protection of these villages as fastnesses of densely-packed houses presenting high, unpierced walls to the outside world. To outsiders, in fact, the region came to be regarded as so intractably independent that it was known as Yaghistan, meaning 'Land of the Free', or 'Rebel Country', depending on one's point of view; locally it is known as Shinaki.

The British never sought to extend their rule from Gilgit further down the river beyond Gor and Chilas, taken in 1892, and the region remains exempt from tax, and without land registers, to this day. However, the two largest and most important valleys on the northern side of the Indus,

Darel and Tangir, were ruled until 1917 by one of the Khushwaqte princes of Yasin, further to the north, the famous Pakhtun Wali Khan. Under this alien domination, many of the fortress-villages of Tangir were completely broken up and the population scattered in small hamlets throughout the valley floor. The British, meanwhile, had destroyed the fastnesses at Chilas. Though his reign extended to Sazin, almost opposite Tangir on the southern side of the Indus, it seems to have been limited to taxation of the inhabitants as they came down to the river. The village therefore survived intact. The fastness further to the east, at Gor, remained largely unimpaired; in the meantime it has lost its formerly tight organisation. It was thus a matter of importance that a substantial record should be made of Sazin before it, too, went the way of the others. Furthermore it had the unique advantage that the valley, being much smaller than the others, contains only a single village, which could therefore be studied in isolation in relation to its surrounding fields and resources. Of the remaining valleys, only Harban, the next valley to the east, still contains a defensible village, Dargah, midway along its length, but this, terraced around a conical rock with a tower at the top, has a different character, and the population is not Shin, but rather a mixture of differing origin: a folk etymology explains *har ban* as meaning 'from all directions'.

Sazin has not, however, remained immune from the social changes in the region. The subsiding of inter-valley strife, particularly since the voluntary accession of the region to Pakistan in 1952, resulted in the diversion of local aggression into ever-ramifying blood feuds, usually originating in real, imagined, or alleged cases of adultery. These in turn have engendered their own form of architectural expression in tall, square towers built by the feuding families as part of their homesteads: in the case of Sazin they are to be found either in, or immediately next to the village. Further changes have been brought about by shifts in the economy; the exploitation of the mountain forests led, as in other valleys

of the region, to the construction of a new road from the Indus up to the village, and though this is very little used by vehicles since the felling ceased in March 1987, the link with the Karakorum Highway below (opened in 1979) has exposed the small, secluded valley to outside influence. This can be recognised in three new houses, larger and conspicuously less modest than the traditional ones, which dominate the sprawling development outside the old walls. A further growth is taking place higher up the valley, where the number of houses was large enough in 1987 to justify the building of a new mosque there: it will plainly become a separate village in a few years. One villager has built his own homestead and tower in the middle of the fields between the old and new settlements. Although the building techniques are still similar to the older ones, the character of the new housing is quite distinct; one can foresee the time when the old village core will be abandoned in favour of more spacious, airier, and better-lit quarters even if, in their present form, these are less well adapted to the climate than the traditional type.

In the course of his field work since 1971, Professor Karl Jettmar had become increasingly aware of the extent to which the former building tradition had been destroyed, or at best disturbed. He was astonished, then, when in 1982 he visited Sazin and found it an almost unspoiled example of the village fortress. In 1987 he was able, through the generous funding of the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, to send me to make a survey of the village, to be followed by a wider, though more cursory series of visits to other valleys to establish my findings in context. The funding was for five months in the field.

I was at that time the first Westerner, and indeed the first researcher of any kind, to visit the village for more than two days.

Situation

The valley is at the extreme western end of the Great Himalayas, where the Indus, flanking them to the north, contains them by a southward bend. At this point the northwest spur of the range culminates in a peak of 4,923 m. Like the other tributaries between here and Nanga Parbat, some 130 km upstream, the Sazin *nullah* runs roughly northwards, descending steeply from the valley through a gorge to the river 350 m below, where its mouth is 7-10 m wide, almost opposite the point where the Tangir *nullah* pours out its turquoise waters into the much murkier Indus. The main river valley here is rocky and dry, due to its exposure, with little vegetation, in marked contrast to the much greener slopes further westward around the bend; no agriculture is to be seen there, though there are traces of derelict fields higher up, to the west of the *nullah* mouth. The Highway follows the southern bank of the Indus throughout this part of its course, and crosses the *nullah* over a low bridge 40 paces long; 8 km further eastward a bridge crosses the Indus itself at the village of Shatial, connecting the Highway to a road that climbs the northern bank towards Tangir. The unsurfaced road for Sazin leaves the Highway some 74 km west of Chilas, or 56 km east of Dassu: although the road itself is only 6.5 m in length, its tortuous windings up the mountainside require careful negotiation, and the drive by jeep requires a half hour. At about 300 m above the Highway the track levels out, and fertile soil with a good growth of shrubs takes the place of bare rock, shale and sand. It then moves up close to the western cliff of the *nullah* until it overlooks the broad spread of terraced fields and the two sections of the village, at about 35°30' N and 73°30' E; it continues to skirt the western slopes of the valley to the upper section, leaving the closed village, or *kot*, 30 m below.

From here the valley can be seen as divided into two sets of fields above and below an abrupt step of some 15-20 m running straight across from east to west between the converging mountain slopes (*see sketch plan,*

Dwg. 2). Both parts of the valley floor are level from east to west, but step down in terraces towards the north. The upper part is triangular, between slopes converging southwards, and the terraces are parallel to its base along the step to the north. This step is in fact the southern side of a ravine where the *nullah* cuts through the fields: the stream emerges from behind a spur on the western side, where it descends steeply to a fall of some 7 m. It then courses through the ravine to the east, to change direction northward near the eastern side of the valley, thereafter limiting the eastern edge of the lower floor. The northern, later the western side of the ravine is lower and less steep than the other, but even so reaches a depth of some 60 m in its northward course, allowing a further set of 25-31 narrow terraces to be cut out between the stream and the valley floor. The eastern side, with its rocks and scree, is too steep for cultivation; beyond and above it a broad, uneven shelf offers pasture on the skirts of the mountain. The main, northward set of fields is laid out in an extensive series of arc-shaped terraces running from the *nullah* ravine in the east into the mountain slopes to the west: each terrace is contained by a retaining wall 1-2 m high, and is irrigated by a network of channels branching from a pair of northward-flowing streams derived from the *nullah* near its falls. The whole scene gives the impression of a theatre fanning out between the mountain slopes, with their cover of low holm oak (*Quercus ilex*).

The main village lies amid the lower system of fields on a jumbled outcrop of boulders towards the western side. These rocks, far too large and too numerous to be moved, form an island in the green valley floor, and a natural defensive position; the houses form a tight cluster taking advantage of this site, and the need to make up the irregularity in the ground results in walls of varying heights projecting back and forth, but forming an almost unbroken circuit of defence. To the southwest, a cluster of houses at a lower level among the fields forms an annexe to this nucleus, still walled about, and with three prominent towers. A

fourth tower rises from the houses within the eastern wall of the main *kot*, and a fifth has just been built at the north-east corner outside. The mosque forms a rectangular block among trees at the south-east corner, and a new school with a galvanised iron roof is conspicuous to the north-east.

The lesser, upper village, Shayin, which has been growing since the 1960s, lies beyond the lower set of fields to the southwest: it overlooks the fields, and merges into them on a gentle slope. Beyond, it is backed by a slow slope upwards, covered in holm oak. The houses, no longer set close together, are grouped on either side of a lane prolonging the access road from west to east: they are not only newer, but appear to be larger, though each is still contained within a peripheral wall. The new mosque near its centre on the northern side of the lane was being roofed in 1987 *(see Dwg. 5a-c)*.

Two smaller groups complete this pattern, each with a homestead of several buildings and a tower, within protecting walls. One of these is set in the fields between the old and the new villages, but nearer the new; the other, Bakhore, is far over to the east of the fields, roughly equidistant between the two, but close to the edge of the ravine. A third homestead lies far out of sight in the gorge itself, halfway to the High-way below.

Along the western side of the valley floor, on the steep slope which joins it to the road above, extend terraced rows of sheds, each with its yard and low enclosing wall: these are the byres for cattle, goats and donkeys. They are laid out in several groups, according to the angle of the slope at any point, and reach from west of the old village almost two thirds of the way to the new, for some 320 m measured along the road level. They are thus 180 m from the nearest point in the old village, and separated from it by fields. Their relative isolation is characteristic of Shinaki, and is believed to derive from the former removal of goats from the women's sphere of activity and influence: nowadays, however, women are to be

seen there. These byres can be approached from the fields by steps up the retaining walls of the terraces, but the main access for animals is from above, along narrow alleys leading down from the road between the yards, which are provided with small gates. The animals are thus placed between the upper slopes where they pasture and the village, and also conveniently close to the growths of holm oak, used as winter fodder for the goats, beyond and above the road. Just to the north of these, a further set of sheds and terraces for the threshing floors are ranged along the same slopes for a further 230 m, interrupted by a graveyard. More extend to the south, lower down. In all there are about 85 byres and 50 threshing floors, nominally one for each family.

At the head of the lower terraces on the western side, but concealed by a mountain spur, is a water mill set just below the *nullah* falls, with a horizontal wheel supplied by a leet. From the top of the falls water is led southwards through a wooden channel stilted above the ground, falling gradually to discharge into a system of ditches to irrigate the lower fields. The terraces here are broad, from 30 to 50 m, and up to 2 m high: secondary streams can be opened to run along the foot of each retaining wall, whence they can be diverted into a rectangular network to feed each field in turn. The principal stream divides into two branches, one running east of the village to serve the mosque and its ablutions shed, and the other west, beyond the *kot* walls on that side, supplying pools used by the women for washing clothes, and now serving the more recent housing of the annexe. These branches are regarded as being for male and female use respectively, though not exclusively so. No distinction is made between irrigation and household supply. A lower stream takes water from the *nullah* to the terraces on the west side of the ravine.

Apart from the holm oak, omnipresent wherever slopes replace cultivated fields, there are few trees in the valley itself, except those growing near the *kot* outcrop. An immense hollow plane tree just south of the main village walls, and several mulberries, provide shade for the village

meeting place, and some walnuts grow nearby to the east by the mosque. Three dead walnut trees still stand on the northern part of the outcrop, killed by the stripping of bark to clean villager's teeth. A few full-grown trees survive on the northern edge of the outcrop, to east and west, and others shade the eastern homestead. There are none within the village core, but some fruit trees have been planted in a few courtyards among the newer houses in the western annexe.

Access

The present single-lane road was built under the administration of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1971-77), and represents at a smaller scale much of the constructional ingenuity exerted on the Highway itself: a large part of its length is supported on the outer side by retaining walls built into steep inclines. Parts of this dry stone support break away from time to time, and the road is sometimes blocked by rock falls or sand drifts. It is maintained sporadically by men, usually the poorer inhabitants, deputed by the village council. It exists primarily for the jeeps bringing down trees to the Highway, and since none of the villagers owns a vehicle, it is used otherwise only by government officials on their very occasional visits, and by goat-herds. An older road, narrower and with still more hairpin bends, can still be seen a little to the east of the present one, but it is interrupted, and no longer negotiable. The former route to the Indus Valley, on foot or by donkey, was by a path that follows the *nullah*; this is still used extensively by men going down to the market at Shatial or Chilas, which they can reach by Suzuki pickups plying on the Highway. The climb takes an hour-and-a-half or more, depending on one's age and fitness. Salt supplies, in the form of pink crystalline lumps, are now taken up this way from Shatial. Formerly they were obtained from Mingora in Swat: the journey took eight days each way on foot, and special shoes with thick wooden soles were used.

The summer pastures in the mountains are reached on foot by a route leading behind the pyramidal peak north of the *nullah*, in the southwest of the main valley. The track leads to a plain, from which the Sumer *nullah* can be followed upwards. The Shuri *nullah*, which also belongs to Sazin, starts from the same place. The migration always begins in the evening, and three nights are spent on the way up, though the villagers are quick to point out that a European would take much longer. It appears that neither carts nor horses were ever used at Sazin, in contrast to Tangir and Darel.

The Old Fort, Kañi, whose remains still crown a peak to the west of the valley, a hundred metres above the road, can be reached from the western side of the road above the byres by scrambling up steep paths in the scree slope, which lead in time to the slight remains of a prepared path, with stone steps here and there, passing along a ridge from south to north until it reaches some outworks with a few graves, and then running further north to skirt the Fort walls on the western side, and curve round to the entrance on the north.

Population and amenities

The inhabitants of Sazin as a whole are largely Shin; in the old village, however, there are about five households of Yeshkuns, believed to represent the remnants of a pre-Shin population in the region, and about thirty of Kamins, formerly craftsmen but now poorer farmers. The division into these three castes is typical of Shinaki as a whole. The fourth caste, the Dom, of craftsmen and minstrels, is absent: they were probably driven out recently, as elsewhere, by disapproving mullahs (I encountered one Dom family in Tangir who hastened to assure me they no longer played music). The actual numbers of non-Shin families given to me varied: according to another source there were only eight, two being Yeshkun and six Kamin. A third informant claimed that all the Yeshkun had gone. Formerly there had been more Yeshkun, but a feud developed

between them and the Shin in which a man was killed on either side: since the Yeshkun were outnumbered, they felt it wise to leave for Tangir, but they still own fields in Sazin, and are entitled to a share in the profits from forestry. Possibly the discrepancy in numbers can be explained by such circumstances. Though it was the Yeshkun and the Kamin who worked for the Shin as *deqâns* (sharecroppers), during the summer migration, this work is now taken on by any poor villager who wishes.

The official figure for the population is given in the 1981 census as 1,751, of whom 1,106 were male and 645 female. The discrepancy in the numbers of male and female suggests some interference. My own impression was that there are probably 63 houses in the *kot* itself, and 40 in its western annexe: allowing for five to six persons per household as claimed locally, this yields a population of between 500 and 600. An inhabitant of the new, upper village told me it had a population of 400 to 500 in about 80 houses, and that the old village had about the same population, though he believed there were more houses there. He thus confirmed my own count. A senior informant gave the total valley population as 1,040 to 1,060, with 800 people in 200 houses in the old village. A member of the District Council, however, claimed it to be from 4,000 to 5,000, with 150 houses in the lower village, thus greatly raising the numbers living in each house. The census gives the household size as an average of 9.8 persons: in this case the total number of houses would be about 179 for the upper and lower villages combined. This figure seems realistic, though the household size is questionable.

Of those listed in the census (1981), all were Muslims. Four men had received primary education, six middle education, and one had matriculated (the District Councillor); the sons and daughter of the latter seemed likely in 1987 to be sent to a university, though it was accepted that if the daughter attended one, she would be unable to return to the village. The literacy rate listed was .8 (10 +).

The village has two mullahs, who are brothers, and sons of the former mullah: they are styled *mawlânâ*. One attended the Deobandi theological college, and the other Akhora Khatak, near Nowshera. A schoolteacher of local origin runs a primary school for boys in a classroom built on the roadside 2-3 km north of Sazin *kot*: it was built by the government against the wishes of the villagers, who refused to have it in the village itself. A girls' school later built by the government outside the north-east corner of the *kot* has never been used, and stands empty.

Specialised crafts are represented by one weaver of the Jolaha caste, and one smith, *âkâr*, also of a particular caste. There are besides these a tailor, two carpenters, and four or five people permanently employed in building. The weaver was old, and there was some concern that he might have no younger successor. Apart from the weaver's and tailor's workshops, there are no shops, the nearest available being in Shatial bazaar.

Sazin has neither electricity nor a telephone service. A delegation of mullahs from Kohistan, when consulted (1987?) by the Commissioner at Dassu as to whether they would approve the installation of a television relay station for the area, unanimously refused it. Heating and cooking are still entirely dependent on firewood.

Attempts by the police to set up a police station in the village are said to have resulted in their ejection. The present Sazin station is in fact down on the Highway some 10 km away, near the mouth of the *nullah*, and there is normally no police presence in the valley itself.

Since Sazin, like other settlements in the Northern Areas, is untaxed, the Tahsildar is unable to supply any figures for landholdings.

Farming economy

The farming upon which Sazin subsists is mixed. The livestock consists largely of goats, followed by cattle, and a few chickens. Donkeys are used for transporting goods. The crops are primarily wheat in the first

half of the year, and maize in the second: these have replaced barley, *yô*, given up ten years ago (i.e. ca 1977), and millet, *chiñ*, last used generally some forty years ago, though one conservative individual continued to plant it until 1986. These are grown in the main fields of the valley floor, retained by terrace walls, *gûzarât*: they depend upon regular irrigation of the rectangular plots. The recent introduction of artificial fertilisers now allows a marketable surplus to be produced. Vegetables tend to be grown in the smaller, often irregularly-shaped fields at the periphery, especially near the houses: they include lentils, which can be seen growing up the maize stalks, onions, and particularly a spinach-like leaf, *shâh* or *shanî shâh*; it was not clear whether the chillies used were grown locally. White mulberries are shaken down from the large trees by the assembly area and gathered in mid-May. The black mulberries which also grow there are not eaten and lie untouched on the sitting platforms! There are also a few apricot trees in private courtyards and to the south of the *kot*, a fig tree near the upper mill, and a few pomegranates to the east, yielding small fruit at the end of June. At least one householder has a vine.

The majority of the villagers migrate with their goats to pastures on the mountain tops during the hottest months of the summer. People say they feel strengthened and rejuvenated by the move; those who remain behind feel uneasy and debilitated for the rest of the year. Another set of fields high up near the summer pastures, *bandâ*, yields maize, wheat, potatoes, marrows or squash: gourds made from the latter are used to carry water. The wheat there is sown in mid-May, once the snow has melted.

Gathering morels (*Morchella*) under the forest trees is lucrative because of the very high price they fetch: they are dried and sold (May 1987) for Rs 2,500 per kilogram for medicinal purposes. At least three households keep bees.

Agriculture

Almost all the fields are thus used in the same way: there is little division of crops. Most of the labour, except for the ploughing and sowing, is done by the women, though male *nokar* or *deqân* are employed by the richer villagers to maintain their fields, and in particular to attend to their irrigation, during the summer migration; these may also be sent up ahead of the other villagers to sow in the summer pastures, from which they return about 18th May. Until ten to thirty years ago, these *deqân* were of the Yeshkun and Kamin castes. Now they are all those who, with their families, choose not to go on the summer quarters; their numbers vary from year to year, and should they prove insufficient, other villagers will stay behind to look after both their own and other people's land. They are paid partly in cash, and partly in kind, on the basis of the crop yield. This is measured in *sîn*, that is the area of land capable of yielding 20 *ho* (i.e. about 20 kg) of grain. For each 100 *sîn* the *deqân* received Rs 10 plus 15 *sêr* of *ghee* and 5 *mân* of maize (1 *sêr* is ca 1 kg, and 1 *mân* is ca 40 kg: the *ho* is the *chhotî sêr panjâbi* of before 1973). Formerly 5 *sîn* earned Rs 1. *Nokar*, who appear only to be poorer Shin, may now receive one third of the yield for their work. The land for which a *deqân* is responsible may be scattered all over the valley.

The yields of different fields differ: those in the centre of the valley are the most fertile. The upper system of fields is considered inferior, besides being further off from the *kot*. Cow's and goat's dung were formerly the only fertilisers, mixed with donkey's dung and hay, and spread after ploughing. Now these are supplemented by ammonium nitrate, which is said to have doubled the yield. Though the men carry the sacks from Shatial, it is again women who spread it; this is done twice, once for each crop. Silt, however, was not used in this way.

The annual cycle is divided into four seasons as usual, but is further conceived of as two sequences each of three similarly named periods, beginning

with the solstice. Thus the summer solstice is called *uwâlo halôl*, with its period of 45 days, followed by a *gûp* of 45 days and a *suwêl* of 90 days, then the winter solstice, *yôdo halôl*, followed in turn by a *gûp* and a *suwêl*. The solstices are observed by noting the position of the sun between two rocks on the mountain crest as seen when sitting on the ground in a position near the mosque: there is one set of rocks for each solstice. One of the mullahs, Hajji Muhammad, gave me a differently-named sequence, beginning with *yôdo* on the 15th December, then *bazôdo* on the 15th March, followed by *uwâlo* on 21st June, and *shâro* on the 15th September: this seems to be a Pashtun nomenclature.

The wheat is harvested at the summer solstice, the fields are ploughed for the next crop, and the maize is sown, the whole process taking seven days: failure to complete it in time is referred to as *awt bat*. The migration, *ûjâyi*, begins as soon as the wheat has been threshed, around the 15th July. At this time the climate is still cool enough to require the use of blankets. After fifteen days of *gûp* a strong, cool breeze begins to blow, and the trees renew their green leaves: this is known as *sundûq mundûq*. The downward journey is made in the first week of *suwêl*, that is from 26-28th September, after the wheat and maize in the summer quarters have been harvested: the villagers arrive at noon. On their return they celebrate with an *'eid*, wearing new clothes, eating food with butter, and shooting. The time spent in the summer quarters is thus nominally 80 days.

The maize in the valley is already two metres tall by mid-August: it is harvested at the end of November, that is twenty days before the beginning of *halôl*. Wheat, now of a government type developed for the Panjab, must be sown just before the winter solstice, from the 10th December, since from then until mid-March the cold is severe, often with falls of 10 cm of snow or more, and no work can be done: the maximum fall remembered was of 1 *gaz*. Spring is spent tending the wheat, and the women remove large quantities of weeds from the fields:

they can be seen daily moving back in procession, with the greenstuff bundled behind them in their shawls, to store it in the byres for cattle fodder in the coming winter. The main crop of wheat is harvested as it ripens in the second or third week of June, towards the solstice. The women use a toothed, strongly hooked sickle, *lêto*, with an iron blade some 28 cm long, and a wooden handle recurved to protect the fingers: this, like other implements, is made by the village smiths and carpenters (*Fig. 1d*). The harvesters work in groups of three or four, but with no concerted activity. In some cases the stalks are cut, and in others torn up by the roots, depending, it seems, on the hardness of the ground, the sharpness of the sickle, and the preference of the individual: sometimes whole fields of uprooted straw can be seen, while others show only stubble. Uprooting is said to make ploughing easier. The wheat is bound in handfuls, and small temporary stooks are made. Within a day or two the women have carried all the cut wheat up to the threshing floors, making bundles on their backs more than 2 m in girth: I was told that this was men's work, but observation belied this. They spread out the small sheaves to dry in rows at right angles to the edges of the rectangular threshing floors, ears always the same way, turned outward.

The family threshing floor, *qal*, is formed of a platform of rocks with a thin compacted topping of soil from the banks nearby, dung, and water mixed into a plaster, which when set dries out quickly if it rains. Some have a shed, *kalêni*, with a single-pent roof at one end. The sheaves are threshed, again by the women, who hold them in both hands and beat them on an inclined board at ground level, bent double: they tend to do this in the late afternoon. In some instances, however, threshing is done by walking several donkeys in a circle, a man holding them by a rope at the centre. As a second process, the heaped straw is beaten with a 1.5 m stave, apparently by boys as well as women. Women first winnow the grain by tossing it with a wooden shovel: this has a haft 2 m long, and a paddle-like blade 20 cm wide by 30 cm long. They heave this into the

air in a steep throw (80°?), allowing the wind to blow the chaff away. At a second stage they pour the grain from a metal dish 45 cm in diameter held above their heads, allowing it to gather on a cloth on the ground. During this hot work they keep drinking water in gourds nearby. Some 35 threshing floors could be seen west of the *kot*.

The straw is stored in circular ricks, *lâh*, about 2 m in diameter, at one end of the family floor, to be used as fodder for the cows in winter. These are finished with a conical straw roof, which in August is thatched and weighted down with stones. Some ricks are built on the shed roofs, and are then rectangular in plan: they can be quite tall, up to 2.5 m. Only one rick was to be seen among the fields themselves in 1987, in a rather remote position east of the girls' school. Grain is stored in large wooden chests in the village.

The men begin ploughing almost immediately (on 26th June in 1987), using pairs of oxen yoked to a wooden spade plough, *hal*. This is formed from a branch hook, transfixed with a long draft beam, *hâlêsh*, at the junction of stilt and sole, and a short handle, *mushtî*, at the top of the stilt; the iron share, *pâl*, is fitted on top of the sole tip and stapled through it (*Fig. 2a*). The yoke, carved at the top to form projections at the centre and at either end, is pierced by a pair of long vertical wooden pins to confine each animal's neck, separated by a raised flange above. Normally one man drives the plough, while another walks beside the team to their left, though in some cases men plough alone. If only one animal is available, one man ploughs, and another walks to the right, supporting the free end of the yoke. In two cases observed, the ploughing followed two adjacent sides of the field in a series of L-shaped figures set one within the other, first in one direction and then in the other, in an unbroken sequence. The ploughing seems intended to break the ground, rather than to form furrows. Afterwards the ground is broken further by hoeing, the men bent low, using a low angle of attack. The hoe, *kashî*, consists of a flat but pointed iron blade whose tang is driven at right

angles through the base of the 60 cm haft (*Fig. 1a*). A central irrigation ditch is rebuilt in each field between two low banks: further low banks at right angles to this form irrigation plots about 3 m square. Throughout June, with its intense activity, the craftsmen are busy in the assembly area, repairing hoes and ploughs, or making new ones. Bullocks are fed with green maize stalks to give them strength.

Maize is sown at once, before the end of June. The men walk straight, with a bag of grain slung under the left arm, casting the grain with short jabbing movements of the right forearm.

In August, sacks of maize and onions are taken down for sale in Shatial. Chillies can be seen drying on the roofs throughout the summer months. Grain is ground in five mills: one is at the *nullah* falls at the head of the valley, three are in the *nullah* gorge east of the village, and one is near the *nullah* mouth. The miller charges a share of the grain.

Irrigation

Responsibility for the irrigation system is twofold, divided according to the type of channel: the upper channels by the mill are maintained by the whole village under the supervision of the factions, *duqûr*, the work including cleaning and the repair of walls. The ditches for irrigation in the lower fields, which are privately owned, are supervised by the locally elected beadles, *zantû*. Since, however, each *duqûr* is administered by two *zantû*, the distinction is marginal. Such work is done about once a month by all the men in the village: on May 14th 1987, for example, even the school was closed for the day so that the schoolmaster and his boys could take part. The rectangular fields, *dôlî*, on the terraces are divided into ten plots, *purûm*, each, which lie in two sets of five on either side of a central ditch, *kârô*. The intermediate banks are called *bun*. The ditch is supplied from an arterial channel, *yab*, running along the foot of each terrace wall, whose flow is controlled by simple sluices, *îl*, of stone or mud. The channels derive from a main channel, *sînyab*.

The plots are flooded in turn from the lower end upwards: this is done once every week to ten days, maize requiring more water than wheat, especially in the hottest months of the year. Priority is given to the topmost plot on the left, near the channel, called *sövyü*. Flooding of a lower plot, *avyü*, depends upon permission from the owner of the upper plot in the row. The water supply is insufficient for all parts of the main valley floor: a set of fields to the northwest, below the *kot* near the edge of the valley, at present lie fallow for this reason (*Fig. 4*).

It is noteworthy that the fields far down near the *nullah* mouth, in the main Indus Valley, are said to have depended upon rainfall alone: they are now disused, though their walls can still be recognised. The claim that these rain-fields are associated with the inhabitants of the Old Fort (see 'History') suggests that it may have been the Shin who introduced the irrigation scheme.

The water supply by the mosque comes from the eastern irrigation channel, and is also used for drawing water for houses in the *kot*. Small girls are often to be found bathing in the rock pools at the western side of the *kot* annexe, and these are also used for washing clothes; they are usually turbid, and anything but clean. There is no distinction between water channels for agriculture and those used for drinking water: the proximity of the fields makes some seepage of nitrates into the channels inevitable. The eastern supply channel runs very close to some graves near the mosque.

Animal husbandry

Goats are sent up to the summer pastures at the beginning of June (1st-2nd in 1987) after a decision taken at the village council, *sîgâs*. The herds are under the charge of some two hundred of the men or boys, the others remaining in the village until after the harvest. The move is regarded as essential for the welfare of milch animals, and all those who have them take part, whereas those who have none may remain below.

The villagers as a whole always set out in the evening from mid-July, the last leaving on the 5th August: in 1987 the village was largely empty after *'Eid* on the 7th: the strenuous journey, made from the north, takes two days and three nights on foot, so old or crippled people tend to remain below. Above, among the forests, people live in scattered small houses with flat or pitched roofs. The signal to leave again is given by a bird named *chûtô* (about 30 cm long, with a red head, blue body and yellow wings), which calls in a particular way when the winter is about to begin: they then move down from the 24-26th September.

In early October the animals are taken to the byres, *bay*. There are separate sheds for the goats and cows, as goats are regarded as clean animals which will not stand among droppings, and the floor most be cleaned out daily; cows, on the contrary, stand in straw or hay, which is cleaned away only twice a year. Each byre consists of an outer, walled pen and a flat-roofed enclosure at one end, covered above with a pitched roof of boards to form a loft where straw, fodder, and firewood are kept. The inner, roofed area is used in severe winter weather; otherwise the animals stand in the open yard, which is well sheltered from the wind by the other byres built on all sides. If space is restricted, both types of animal may use the same shed. Donkeys, too, are kept separately. The livestock remain in the byres throughout the winter, or until they yield no more milk: a few milch animals remain until the end of June. Some 85 byres were counted west of the *kot*.

Goats, which feed exclusively on holm oak, *banî*, are taken out to graze on the upper slopes from early in the morning till as late as possible during the daytime, returning at four or five o'clock in the evening. Animals are watered at the *nullah*. Goats are normally herded by boys, but may be tended by women if there are no men in their families.

Use of winter fodder from the trees on the nearer slopes is restricted; each family has its own gathering territory, but is allowed to gather only by common consent once the snow falls heavily. Some redistribution by

sale is possible. In winter, as in summer, the branches are cut off by the goat herds with light axes, *chatal*, usually a little bearded in shape (*Fig. 1b*). The bushes have a pollarded look in consequence. The twigs of these branches are used for firewood, and are stored for summer use above the byres, to reduce the risk of fire in the village: no fires are allowed in the neighbourhood. The heavier winter firewood from the same trees is taken straight to the houses. Cutting and carrying the branches is again women's work. After their return from the summer pastures, the nannies are covered by the males in early October: they subsequently drop one or two kids in February, inside the sheds. The young animals are kept there, but may be taken up onto the roof on sunny days: many sheds have plank ladders for this purpose, which when not in use are blocked by a bush stuck into a hole half way up. Cows, which also calve in the sheds, are fed with straw from the ricks, and with the weeds gathered in summertime. Maize is fed to weak animals and milch cows in the winter: it is regarded as 'warm' and therefore harmful to animals in summer. Maize stalks are also cut and stored dry for the cows. Donkeys are given no special fodder.

Milk is especially valued for the children. The herds are milked twice a day, morning and evening, by the women, though in the summer quarters it is the men who milk the goats. An ordinary nanny is expected to yield 2 kg milk a day, though prize animals are kept which yield 3 kg. The yield remains steady until August, and lasts for a year. Milk is used to make butter in September until October, when the animal is impregnated. Cows may yield 4-6 kg a day, for up to two years. A single calf is dropped every one or two years. Cows' and goats' milk is mixed, and may be used to make curds and lassi, but not cheese. Fresh milk (not boiled) is stored in a long but very low cave, used communally, where a cool breeze blows constantly: this is so low that only children can enter. It is entered from the north at a step in the terraces between the byres and the southern settlement, to the west of the valley. If curds are to be

made, the air-holes there are closed. There is also a small milk store in the stream west of the *kot*, with a padlocked door some 30 cm square, but this appears to be for private use.

The cows are kept primarily for milking, and are only slaughtered after ten years, or even fifteen if they yield well. Goats are killed after eight or ten years if they are good animals, otherwise earlier. In winter the meat is consumed by the family alone; in summer it is shared with near relatives or neighbours. Fewer animals are in fact killed in summer, and those mostly in the summer quarters. Animals are also killed for the communal marriage in January or February. Goat-hair is used for making blankets. Goat-skins are sometimes bought from Shatial, and used for keeping milled flour, but the villagers also sell hides there, in a semi-cured and distinctly odoriferous state.

The number of goats owned by a family was given by the district council member as 150-300, and the total number as perhaps 10,000: one or the other of these figures is incompatible with the number of households (150-200, see above). A family may own more than one byre: he himself had five. It is noteworthy that the byres are sited on the stony slope along the west edge of the valley floor, where no agriculture could be carried out, so conserving the good land for the fields. An ordinary nanny goat is worth Rs 500-700, but a prize milch animal Rs 1,500. A cow is worth Rs 3,000.

Sheep were formerly kept for their wool. As no cotton cloth was then available, all clothing was of wool, and spinning was an important activity, the yarn being either knitted or woven. Now there are very few sheep (in fact I never saw one). The carved spinning wheels, *chagîr*, are now equally rare, if not in fragments. The twill cloth still woven at Sazin, like that from other Dardic areas, is made on a pit-treadle loom in narrow widths of 45 cm, and made up into jackets, *shalwar*, or caps.

Horses are said never to have been kept at Sazin, though they are still used in the larger valleys nearby, especially for polo. There are no carts

in the village, and at present no wheeled traffic of any kind, though jeeps were used for carrying the timber.

Bees are said to be kept by ten or twelve households in the lower village, though I saw only three of these. For hives, *qân*, they use hollowed tree trunks up to a metre long and 15-30 cm in diameter, built into the house front so that only the round end, with a small access hole, is exposed. The smaller size yields 15-20 kg of honey a year, in two clearings. The bees are slender, striped black and yellow, and without fur, like small English wasps. The hollowed hive acts as an amplifier, so that their humming sounds like an air-conditioning plant!

Dogs, cats and chickens are left to fend largely for themselves: a few dogs are kept chained up as guards for particular houses.

Land-ownership

Land holdings vary between 15-20 *sîn* at the lowest, to 100-200 at the highest. Individual holdings are scattered, and do not necessarily form blocks of fields: each terrace is named, so easily referred to. A field producing 40 kg of maize grain is valued at Rs 13,000. The land at the centre of the valley is more expensive, as it is more fertile, more easily irrigated, and easier to reach. All land in the valley is privately owned, and no rotation of ownership is practised. Ownership is invested in the male head of the family, but is independent of the *duqûr* to which he belongs. The summer quarters are held in common village ownership: the time at which they are to be used is decided by the council, but families are free to graze their herds where they will.

Very few households are entirely without land: one is that of the miller at the *nullah* falls, who gains his livelihood by charging 1 *ho* of grain for each *mân* (of 40 kg) milled. He estimated a daily run of 120 kg of maize and 360 kg of wheat a day, using skins to contain the flour, with a capacity of 50 kg (1 *mân* 10 *sêr*).

Diet

An average family consumes 40 *mân* of wheat and 40 *mân* of maize a year (1 *mân panjâbi* being about 40 kg), when the price of wheat is Rs 70 per *mân*, and of maize Rs 80 (1987 values). Both are eaten all the year round, but the villagers prefer maize. Breakfast normally consists of maize bread *(rotî)* and tea; butter is served if a guest is present, or a journey to be made. Lunch may be of maize bread with *lassi* or spinach, *shâh*. If *dhal* or meat are served, then wheat bread should accompany them, eaten with *lassi*. For supper there may again be spinach, *lassi* and maize bread: and occasionally meat when it is available. *Ghee* is a necessary part of the spinach served: the matured, rancid *ghee* once prevalent in the region is still used, and its pungent smell is apparent at mealtimes. Milk can be drunk either fresh, or as curds, at any time. Tea may also be drunk in the evening. Cooking is normally done on the partially enclosed verandahs over a hearth, *chagûl*, on the earthen floor, with three pot-stones. Slight hollows or raised berms are made for pot-rests nearby. Young girls help their mothers: they may be seen, for example, kneading dough, and fetching water.

Meat is provided not only by the slaughter of livestock, but as buffalo-meat brought up from Shatial, where live animals trucked from the Panjab are killed. The consumption of the latter depends of course upon supply, but it may also be bought specially for feasts. For the wedding feast, for example, soup is served with butter and wheat bread for the midday meal, and goat or buffalo meat served with *ghee* for supper; bread is put in the soup, *ghee* added, and the whole pulped before it is eaten with the meat. On 7th June 1987 I observed many men bringing meat from Shatial, and although they denied this was for any particular celebration, I suspect that it was. Buffalo meat is also dried in the loft space below the wooden roofs, where it is exposed to cross winds, for use in January, February and March. This meat may be supplemented by game: young men are often to be seen on the hillsides with 12 bore

shotguns, especially in August, in pursuit of red-legged partridge, *chû-kôr*, or pigeon. Larger game, such as markhor and bear, is occasionally taken. Boiled eggs are sometimes eaten.

Mulberries can be eaten either fresh after they have been shaken down in mid-May – small boys consume the spillage on the spot – or dried: the latter is common in Tangir, Darel, and Chilas, where they are more plentiful. They then tend to stick to one another, but are separated before being eaten alone, or mixed with walnuts in a bowl: they spoil if heated. Black mulberries are not liked. The small pomegranates which grow to the east beyond the mosque are eaten fresh, and the apricots growing further to the south can also be dried: they both ripen at the end of June. Black grapes can be dried, but it is held that white ones cannot. Spinach and chillies are also dried for winter use.

Grain is kept in large chests, *tûwân*, divided in two by a cross partition, half being for maize and half for wheat: each part contains the year's harvest provision, so the supply runs low by the next summer. Maize is thought to be harmed by heat, so these chests are placed in the undercroft of the houses, where the shade is usually permanent. *Ghee* is also kept there in gourds and jars.

It is said that wine was once made from grapes, maize, and barley, trampled in a vat with a small outlet, from which it was later tapped. The site of the vat appears to have been near the upper settlement, where one of the fields is still named as 'the vineyard', though it is no longer used as one. The suggestion that it was near the platforms or the *kot* mosque appears improbable, for although there are underground channels there, closer inspection suggests that they connect to the large pool, and apparently discharge water only. The Sazinis are understandably reluctant to talk about this, and my one informant claimed that the custom was practised before Sazin became Muslim – but in that case his memory of the ingredients was remarkably precise. According to an outsider's account, the villagers continued to make this drink, which they called vinegar, until an Ismaili visitor drew attention to its quality.

Forestry

The sale of timber and morels provide the chief sources of income for Sazin and, as elsewhere in Shinaki, the former has improved the prosperity of the villagers, some of whom have taken out shares in Gilgit, though the majority have bought firearms. The construction of the road and Highway, and the access to the outside world implied by these, have also broadened their outlook.

The forests covering the peaks above the valley are regarded as village property, as usual in the region; this attitude is no doubt eased by the fact that the summer pastures are in any case held in common. The creation of the Highway, and the road to the valley, have greatly facilitated exploitation of the timber: so much so that the villagers, though they have prospered from this, are now beginning to be worried by the reduction of the trees. The foresters estimate informally that 90,000-100,000 cu.ft. of timber has been taken from Sazin, that is from three out of the four forest sections demarcated there. Felling in these ceased in March 1987, and a ten year moratorium has now been declared. There was indeed no sign of further exploitation that year. The remaining section was due for exploitation in 1989.

The timber is divided by the Government Forestry Office into proportions of 80% and 20%, of which the 20% is taken and sold by the Office to cover its own expenses. The remaining 80% is the property of the owner, to dispose of as he pleases. The selling price is given as a nominal Rs 160-180 per cu.ft., but of this some Rs 60-80 must go to cover the overheads (the rate of exchange in 1987 was Rs 9.37 to 1 DM). At Sazin itself the price was said to be Rs 135, whereas it had been only Rs 6 in 1981. The villagers, however, must take out a loan for the exploitation, including the cost of the road, and a large part of the profit goes to cover this. They thus sell the timber at Rs 30-40 to the contractor, the price depending on the distance of the trees from the road. The contractor is able to sell the timber for Rs 250-300 in

Rawalpindi. The villagers no longer regard the forest as theirs, though in ten years' time they will still receive the profits, less the tax of 20%. The contractors work under licence to the government, which checks the quantities of timber. The whole procedure, including the supervision of the large timber yards beside the Highway, is otherwise controlled by the contractors. It is widely believed that half the timber is in fact marketed illegally. The operational costs can be understood as follows. A jeep carries 180 cu.ft. on a specially-constructed overhead rack, and the drivers earn Rs 2,300-3,000 a month. The jeeps belong either to the villagers or to the drivers. The transport costs depend upon the distance involved: from Satil at the end of Tangir Valley, for example, they are Rs 18 per cu.ft. Some porters at the yards earn Rs 5 per balk for piecework, while others are contracted for Rs 400-500 per truck load. The sawyers earn Rs 5 per cu.ft. for converting the timber. The truck drivers earn Rs 300 per trip plus Rs 5 per cu.ft. from Chilas to Dargai near Malakand. To these must be added the cost of the access road, and the extraction of the trees. It is plain that the contractors are the richest men in the region, and somewhat isolated from their less fortunate compatriots as a result. The villagers gain comparatively little individually.

In former times the gains were distributed to the village factions, *duqûr*, with women receiving half the men's share; ten to twelve years ago (1975-77) this was changed, so that women now receive the same as men. For the last two or three years before 1987 the money had been paid direct to the villagers, rather than through the *duqûr*. This was done at the general council meeting, *sîgâs*: the last occasion at the time of my visit was in May 1987.

Social Organisation

Administration

Sazin is administered by a village council, called *sîgâs*, which should meet at least three times a year: before the migration, after the migration, and at the maize harvest. Thus in principle it is held in May, October and at the end of November, and is concerned primarily with regulating the routine agricultural activities of the valley and the migration. Meetings may he postponed to suit circumstances: in 1987 that intended to be held on May 17th was put off until immediately after *'Eid*: (actually until 13th June) because some people were in hospital at Gilgit or Abbotabad, and others away on business. Meetings can also be called in emergencies, and that in June 1987 was concerned especially with a dispute with Shatial over the summer pasturage at Sumer *nullah*; it was also used to distribute 4-500,000 Rs of forestry income. The membership is of ten men, all villagers, two of whom are in principle representatives, *yâshtêrô*, chosen for their good character, wisdom, loyalty, and attachment (i.e. they are *vefâdâr*) to village interests; these are selected on the basis of the number of their supporters, and are supposed to be objective in their judgement, setting the interests of the community above their own. There should normally be four *yâshtêrô*, one representing each faction, *duqûr*, but in 1987 only one was active. As no one, including the *yâshtêrô* himself, was able to describe the process of selection, it seems that it is informal. These representatives are unpaid, and do not have any absolute authority; they must ask people to perform duties, rather than order them, though most do consent. Attendance at council meetings is intended to be compulsory for all male villagers except the *mawlânâs*, the sick or injured, the handicapped, and children. The obligation begins at the age of 18, though voluntary attendance is allowed from 15. I was told on one occasion that a quorum of at least 200 men was considered a minimum. Guests may attend, but no one from the neighbouring valleys of Harban

or Shatial, and if critical subjects are to be discussed outsiders may be excluded altogether. The meeting starts at about noon and continues for four hours. Participants are expected to listen, and may express an opinion, as encouraged by the *yâshtêrô* who is responsible for presenting views and summing up. A *duqûr* does not have to have a *yâshtêrô*, but it may also have more than one. A *yâshtêrô* may be dismissed, and replaced by another man from the same *duqûr* if he is disapproved of: for example if he is thought to be hypocritical (*munâfiq*).

The village population is divided into four factions, *duqûr*, known as Dudero, Bho, Kuroto, and Lachne. One of these has recently split into two, as a result of the *mawlânâs'* influence, and an alternative (Pashtun ?) listing included Birin *khel*, Buhur *khel*, Kurut *khel*, Duder *khel*, and Lachan *khel* in that order. Each of these formerly had its own wooden platform in the shade of the great plane tree to the south of the *kot*, where the men sit during the daytime, forming a communal assembly area. Two of these have now been replaced: that of the Lachne by the blacksmith's forge, and that of the Bho by a house added to the southern wall at the east corner. Of the two remaining, which are side by side at the same level, that to the west belongs to the Dudero, and that to the east to the Kuroto. A *duqûr* represents people rather than an area or quarter of the village: the membership is in no way connected with ownership of contiguous lands. *Duqûr* are of different sizes, and can change with time: the largest was said in 1987 to comprise 400-500 men. Should one become markedly more numerous than the others, then its *yâshtêrô* may dominate the others. The present situation is that the Kuroto and Bho/Buhur are larger than the other three. Membership of a *duqûr* is normally hereditary, and this explains the gradual changes in size. Change of one's *duqûr* is associated with some shame: a son would not, for example, change in his father's lifetime, yet even if he did, this would not affect his inheritance. Besides its *yâshtêrô*, each *duqûr* also appoints two beadles, *zántû*.

Women belong to their father's *duqûr* but change to their husband's on marriage. They seem to have no organisation of their own, and are said not to be allowed to 'interfere' with the running of the village. The *yâshtêrô*, however, has no authority over them; elder women control the younger to some extent, and a husband has authority over his wife to the extent that he may beat her.

Contributions to a welfare fund are charged for every person in a *duqûr*, women and children included, as well as on livestock, at the annual rate of Rs 1 per person, 2 *ho* for each head of cattle, and 1 *ho* for each four goats. In addition 20 *ho* are charged for each family leaving Sazin. No entry fee is charged to new members. Charges for land are made at the rate of 2 *ho* per *mân* of produce. The *zántûs* are responsible for announcing a day twice a year on which contributions, *ghala*, are made, on a similar basis, for the maintenance of the smith, and formerly of the carpenters: these were of wheat or maize according to the season. For the last two years (i.e. since 1985?) the carpenters have instead been paid cash for piecework. The weaver is paid a fixed price for a cap, long coat, or blanket – for example 3 *ho* of wheat or maize for a cap – but must also be fed by the client while he is at work. When any animal is slaughtered from the welfare fund, a piece of the meat is sent to each of the 'novices' who have joined the assembly that year. It is the *zántû*, too, who must announce meetings of the council in advance.

The *zántû*, responsible for their own *duqûr*, and therefore answerable to the *yâshtêrô* concerned, are appointed for a year. People take the office in turn. They have in particular to police the fields, making sure that no goats or cattle enter them, and fining the owners of any offending animals from their own *duqûr*. They are unpaid, but may keep these fines for their own private use. For a stray goat the charge is 1 *ho* (ca. 1 kg), and for a donkey, cow, or buffalo 2 *ho*, to be paid in wheat or maize. This is payable for each animal up to a total of five goats, but no further; for the larger animals there is no limit.

Two kinds of communal work, *jame boyitônas*, are obligatory for all village men: cleaning the principal irrigation channels, and bringing firewood for the mosque. The decision to carry out one of these tasks is made by the *yâshtêrôs*, and announced at morning prayer; even school is cancelled on these days. The work is supervised by the *zántû*, and they fine those not taking part about Rs 10 each. A third obligation in earlier days was to form war parties: those refusing to take part were expelled from the village. It seems that a similar obligation devolves on the women to bring in hay for flooring, to be stored in the mosque, since large numbers of them could be seen doing this on a particular day. Parties for road-clearance, *bûtas dônas*, are organised in a similar way, as are groups of grave-diggers for burials.

If someone observes anyone committing an anti-social action, then he can raise the matter at council, and the offender may be fined by the *yâshtêrô* of his own *duqûr*, who deposits the takings with the chief *yâshtêrô*, *málák*, for the benefit of the welfare fund. If the offender refuses to pay, he might he expelled from his own *duqûr*, and would then seek to join another. Two examples of such misdemeanours were given me. In one case a branch of the tree by the smithy was cut without permission by the owner of the house on that corner: he was fined Rs 300. In another, a man contrived to obtain water for his crops although it was not his turn: he was fined by his faction's *yâshtêrô*, but refused to pay, whereupon he was expelled from the *duqûr*. If a thief is caught in the act of stealing, he may be killed on the spot, regardless of whether the property stolen be livestock or goods. If he is discovered afterwards, he is soundly beaten, or else de-bagged and humiliated.

Yâshtêrôs may also be called upon at any time to settle inter-village disputes, particularly the blood feuds common throughout Shinaki. Well-known *yâshtêrôs* may thus be called in by a *yâshtêrô* from another village, up to the number of six, and the food for these arbitrators must then be provided by both parties to the dispute. Their meeting is then

unconnected with normal council days. The blood-money settled on may vary from 1-300,000 Rs per person. This may be paid when it is felt that a feud has gone on for too long, that is for two or three generations. If a clash arises within his own community, a *yâshtêrô* may try to settle it the same day. It is claimed that blood feuds are no longer extant in Sazin, though they continue in Tangir and Darel, as I witnessed myself. Since, however, defence towers have been built in Sazin quite recently, and since the schoolmaster asked me to intercede with the authorities in Chilas so that he could obtain a gun-licence for self-defence, there is some doubt about this claim.

As two of the four *yâshtêrôs* are brothers, the elder of the two being the chief *yâshtêrô*, and the younger not only the single man in the village to have matriculated, but a member of the District Council, it appears that authority is to some extent concentrated in families: in this case the schoolmaster was also related to the two.

This tendency is also to be seen in the spiritual authorities of the village, the *mawlânâs*, who are brothers, and sons of the former mullah. They are regarded as more powerful than the *yâshtêrôs*, though they take no part in the council. They are of course responsible for maintaining the *shari'at*, or Sunni code of religious law, and they also administer the *'ushayr*, or Islamic tithe system, which has its own committee under the chairmanship of one of the brothers, a *hajji*. Both are graduates of theological colleges, as mentioned above, and the *hajji* is a member of the Union Council.

As confirmed by the Tahsildar at Dassu, the villagers pay no taxes, and there is no land register: the Central Government appears in fact to have very little to do with the valley, though the District Council member is to be seen quite frequently at the commissioner's offices in Dassu, so that some loose contact is maintained. Police are normally never seen in Sazin.

Social classes

The caste composition of Sazin does not seem to have changed greatly since a century ago, when Biddulph (1880:34) listed Harban and Sazin together as being 64% Shin, 3% Yeshkun, and 33% Kamin, though, to judge from the opinion of the villagers, Harban is a great deal more mixed than that. The Yeshkun and Kamin did *deqân* service until between ten and thirty years ago, but this has now devolved upon any poor member of the village, Shin included, as described above. Caste now has no bearing on crop-sharing: a *deqân* is now simply someone from any caste who does not migrate to the summer quarters, but remains to work the fields for pay. These number between 100 and 200 each year: in 1987 I was aware of about twenty adult men in the *kot*, a dozen adolescents, and perhaps six younger boys, but there must have been more in the upper village. The Yeshkun have now left for Tangir (see 'Population' above): according to one source there are now only two families of Yeshkuns at Sazin, and eight of Kamins; according to another there are five houses of Yeshkuns, and some thirty of Kamins. Possibly the figures for the Yeshkun are not contradictory here, but those for the Kamin are hard to reconcile. The Kamin are said to be scattered throughout the village. These castes do not intermarry on the whole: interchange is normal only for the handicapped. Thus a Shin will only accept a Yeshkun or Kamin girl as a wife if he is handicapped in some way that makes him unattractive as a partner for a Shin bride. His children would, in such a case, be considered Shin. In the rare cases when a Shin girl marries a Yeshkun, her male offspring can be reckoned as Shin in the third generation. The possibility of intermarriage is said to be somewhat freer now than it was formerly.

Marriage, divorce, and inheritance

Women are said to be in the majority in the village, at about 52%, but this is contradicted by the census of 1981, which lists only 645 women

to 1,106 men, that is 36.8% of the total population claimed. Girls marry after puberty, at about fifteen; men may marry at any age. Partners are chosen irrespective of the *duqûr* to which they belong. Men prefer where possible to marry within the family, to strengthen its ties, so cousin-marriages are normal, but without any emphasis on the maternal or paternal side. Most marriages are arranged: some choice between available cousins may be allowed. Love matches occur only outside the valley, among those who have emigrated. Besides the usual restrictions against marriage with immediate female relatives, marriage to an adoptive (milk) mother is also forbidden. Men quite often have two wives, and may have up to the four allowed by Islam. Marriage to two or more sisters is not permitted. Matches are arranged by a female go-between, *hilâl(?)*. When consent has been obtained, some seven or eight men (up to ten) go to the bride's father's house to present the dowry, *haqq mehr*: this was formerly fixed at Rs 64, but it now ranges from Rs 200-1,000, with a maximum of Rs 2,000. Though according to the *shari'a* this should constitute a guarantee for use in case of a divorce, it is not in fact used in this way. The members of the party are then given food. On their return they are assailed by small boys and girls throwing lumps of earth and cow dung mixed with water. A bride's father provides her with silver ornaments (not gold) and clothes, and also clothes for the bridegroom's mother. The cost of the wedding can be much higher than that of the dowry, at Rs 10-12,000.

A clear expression of social coherence can be recognised in the communal wedding of twenty to thirty couples each year. This is held on one day in January or February, when the villagers have relatively little to do. The assembly area south of the *kot* is prepared by stretching a rope from the south-east corner of the walls opposite the mosque to the corner of the graveyard enclosure to the south-east of the platforms, and hanging sheets upon it: this then forms a barrier dividing the women, who occupy the platform side, from the men, who gather near the mosque.

Watchmen are then set, one of them near the pool, and the guests are summoned by communal arrangement. The goats or buffalo slaughtered for the feast are hung from the horizontal pole that extends eastward from the plane tree, and there skinned and divided. These are paid for by the bridegrooms' families. The meat is cooked near the mosque. The food is served first to the old men, soup with butter and wheat bread at midday, and meat with *ghee* in the evening. Further details were not given.

Divorce is frequent, as initiated by the husband. He has only to declare the *talâq* as prescribed by Islam, and his wife must leave the home in what she is wearing, with nothing else. She does not recover her *mehr*. If she is considered 'corrupt', the husband may shoot her, and her family is not then expected to take revenge. It was claimed, however, that no case of this kind had occurred at Sazin since about 1950. It is not necessary for an unfaithful woman to be caught in *flagrante delicto*: a rumour of misbehaviour is grounds enough for divorce. She can also be divorced if she is disobedient to her husband, if there should be a dispute between the two families, if she is suspected of spying for her parents' family, or simply because her husband wants another woman.

Should she be widowed, a mother may live with her elder son. The levirate is also practised, however. A widow may marry any of her husband's brothers who are of age, by mutual agreement on both sides. If her husband had an unmarried brother, then she is expected to marry him; if the brother is already married, then he may take her as another wife; if there are several brothers and all are married, then she may marry the brother she chooses.

Inheritance is not strictly Islamic, as it partially ignores the women's rights. On a man's death, his property is divided equally among his brothers. Inheritance for sons is also equal, but the women inherit nothing. Only the division of a house is not compulsory. It may be divided into a different floor for each son, but if, for example, there were

four sons, the elder would inherit the house. He would not necessarily inherit a share of the fields: this would depend on their value. If the remaining property were inconsiderable, then a price would be determined for the house, to allow equal shares to be distributed. If space allows, other brothers may build next to their former home; otherwise they must move out, and so brothers become separated. If a husband dies before his wife has borne any children, she receives a sixth of the property he leaves; after bearing children she receives an eighth, on the principle that her children will then take care of her. According to another account, a woman without issue receives a quarter of his property, and if she has children, daughters receive half of a son's share: this was apparently a 'respectable' version made to correspond with the Shari'a, since the more educated villagers are aware of, and somewhat ashamed of the discrepancy between this and village custom. Since the size of the valley and its agricultural capacity is limited, there is not in fact enough land for all to live adequately, and some migrate to the south of Pakistan in search of work as a result.

Burial

One of the remarkable features of the village is the extent to which graves are scattered around the *kot*. They occur on the western edge of the valley, on or near the threshing terraces, in the fields of the valley floor to the west, and also to the south of the platforms, then to the west, south, and east of the mosque near the ablutions shed and the forecourt. Many of these graves appear from the carved headpieces to be quite old. Only further east of the mosque, below a step running north-south in the valley floor, is there a piece of ground devoted exclusively to graves, under the shade of trees: this is said to belong to one of the mullahs: he can therefore dispose of the plots as he chooses. In theory graves for men and women are claimed to be alike, but in practice it can be seen that all marked graves have headpieces set along the long axis, that is to

say the type denoting men. A further peculiarity of the region is that the graves are boarded over about 10 cm below ground level, and then covered with earth to make up the ground. As the thin boards generally rot, this covering usually falls in after a time, leaving holes over part of the grave. This is of course somewhat dangerous, and graves placed near footpaths or public areas are often fenced around with wooden bars between decorative corner posts. The posts usually end in a fourfold calyx surrounding a central knob as a finial: in some cases a white stone takes the place of the knob, and it is possible that the four surrounding lobes were originally intended to support this. White stones are often placed on or around graves at ground level. The headpieces are in several cases carved in an elaborate spiral, sometimes with a crest on top, apparently derived from the pheasant-like monal found in the region. Children show little of the normal Moslem respect for graves, walking and playing near and even over them without a thought.

Position of women

Throughout Shinaki, women are treated in a way that seems paradoxical to me. They are effectively forbidden any contact with men outside their immediate families, and as a result with the outside world; real, imagined, or alleged cases of adultery are taken as the grounds for most of the blood feuds in the region. Thus the honour of the household, as embodied in the wife, is of extreme importance, and is guarded most jealously. It is dangerous for any strange male to look at a woman, and the fearful behaviour of women in the presence of outsiders, once beyond the confines of the village, makes it clear that they take the threat to their reputation very seriously. I was not even allowed to use a theodolite from a distance, for fear that women might be visible through its telescope. Within the village, so long as they are not far from the presence of other women, they become somewhat bolder, and though they still avoid any contact scrupulously, they may resort to indirect

abuse if disturbed in their daily routine. On the other hand they appear to be accorded very little respect: they are not represented at the council, have no organisations of their own, have less than the proper Islamic rights in marriage, divorce, and inheritance, and are required to perform almost all the agricultural work. The hyper-sensitivity in relation to them prevented me from observing them in any but the most fleeting and superficial way.

The reality of blood feuds was made clear to me in Shatial, where a man was shot in the garden next to the forester's lodge where I was staying, and in Tangir, where within five minutes of my arrival in Juglot a man was killed together with his lover, and a father and his son were shot on a bridge the following night; the police informed me that the rate of killings had been one a day for the last two months. The Commissioner at Dassu told me the rate for murders in Indus-Kohistan as a whole was seven or eight a week. He also believed that the mullahs were instrumental in the murder of a small group of women from Sazin who had tried to travel from Dassu to the clinic at Pathan to obtain abortions.

When not working in the fields or at home, the women of the *kot* tended to gather in a group of up to a dozen in the shade of the western wall of the large contractor's house in the village annexe, sitting in line not far from where the children played in the rock pools on the main approach, and where they also washed clothes. At home they appeared to do most of their housework on the enclosed verandahs. Women pray at home, and at midday small girls are often to be seen fetching water from near the mosque for ablutions.

Male behaviour

Men spend most of the early part of the day sitting on the platforms in the shade of the assembly area, where they lounge against the railing in line, talking desultorily. The only regular activity here is that of the smith, the carpenters, and their assistants, who number not more than six

altogether. Another six may be employed on building work elsewhere in the *kot*. Towards midday many withdraw to sleep in the deeper shade, sometimes in the mosque or the ablutions shed, or under the trees nearby. Men do not normally smile, but are not necessarily unfriendly: both the chief *yâshtêrô* and the two *mawlânâs* volunteered information. The member of the District Council and his sons appeared primarily interested in ensuring that I could perform my work without causing offence to other villagers, and in presenting me with a respectable image of Sazin. I was never allowed to move around the village on my own, but was always accompanied by his sons or the schoolmaster, mainly lest I should encounter women. Certain villagers were hostile, refusing to answer questions, and at one point threatening to block the road: these formed a faction centred on the most conservative individual. Only the most prosperous inhabitants, who had guest rooms in their houses, were prepared to receive me at home, and then of course without the presence of women. The generally somewhat tense atmosphere relaxed only when the majority had gone up to the summer pastures. I could then move relatively freely, and formed closer relationships with some of the men who remained, one of whom even allowed me into his house.

Adults often carry weapons, preferably Kalashnikovs, but sometimes imitations of earlier, usually British rifles; they show some pride and interest in these, displaying them to strangers, and asking their opinion on them. Hunting trophies, such as a markhor's head, are also made a focus for conversation. The Shin in general appear remarkably indifferent to material possessions beyond these. Household furniture is meagre in the extreme, and clothes are uniformly drab. The only overt expression of delight to be seen was in the flowers or feathers occasionally stuck in the cap rims of younger men. I saw one cassette-player being used to play a sermon recorded in the south. Only the contractor, who is markedly richer than other Sazinis, showed evidence of accumulating possessions: besides his two houses, one with a guest room, he

had trunks full of goods brought back from the *hajj*. He displayed the more open attitude to be expected from a man who had travelled widely, but his interests seemed to be directed outward, rather than to the village.

In contrast to the women, men are expected to work for only one day a month clearing the irrigation channels, and twice a year for two days ploughing and sowing the next crop.

Attendance at the mosque appears to be regular for the daily prayers, and the morning prayer is used by the *yâshtêrôs* as the occasion for making announcements to the whole community. The eastern loggia is used for prayers in summer, and the closed inner space, with its fireplace, in winter. There is also a meeting room with its own hearth to the south of the mosque entrance, where men can gather in winter. A group of boys meets regularly to read and memorise the Quran, and some younger teenagers appear to be quite proficient. The *mawlânâs* appear to maintain some contact with religious activity in the south. The Ramazan fast is observed, but in 1987 was broken off because the moon could no longer be seen. As elsewhere in Shinaki, the villagers regard themselves exclusively as staunch Sunnis to the extent that they tend to regard even visitors from other parts of Pakistan, such as the Panjab, as infidels.

The mullahs are said to have discouraged the carving of graves in recent years, and there is in fact little evidence of new work here, though it can still be seen in Harban nearby. No music is to be heard, and the Dom caste who formerly provided it are not represented: they were probably expelled, as they have been from Chilas to Dassu.

Children

Smaller boys and girls play in quite distinct groups, boys almost always between the platforms and the mosque, and girls around the rock pools or in the east-west passage in the annexe. The boys are thus loosely supervised, if at all, by the men, and the girls by the women. In the

summer heat, as soon as the pool has been filled, the favourite pastime for boys is swimming, which they do naked. They often play with catapults, shooting at birds indiscriminately, and sometimes with cast-off tyres as hoops. I once saw a small boy playing with a blue dragonfly to which he had fastened a thread, and I found two boys of about ten keeping a small 'shop' near a wall north of the mosque. Elder teenagers already prefer to carry guns, and make an appearance of hunting. To judge from the bathers, quite a large number of boys as old as ten are not circumcised.

Travel

Salt was formerly obtained from Mingora in Swat, which was reached by the men on foot over the Babusar pass. The opening of the Karakorum Highway has made supplies from Shatial, Chilas, or Gilgit much more readily available: men usually go down to it by the *nullah* path, and then walk or take one of the Suzuki pickups which ply up end down the road, often grossly overcrowded. This contact with the outer world has changed the villagers' outlook. As one of them told me "formerly we were like blind men; now we can see". The member of the District Council went quite frequently to Dassu, and on one occasion on an exchange commission to Baluchistan. He told me that those who emigrate to the south in search of work rarely return.

Material culture

Layout of the old village (see Dwg. 3, 4a-d)

The form of the old village, Sazin *kot*, is at present so what confused by peripheral accretions, and especially the growth of the outlying part towards the west and southwest.

The underlying organisation is rectangular, and this can still be seen clearly at the north-western corner, where a straight line of houses with the tallest walls runs to the south, forming a sheer, unbroken face to the

west, pierced only by the smallest windows: significantly it is two houses in the middle of this row which are said to be the oldest in the village. It can also be recognised at the south-east, though construction is taking place on the corner itself. Again, the walls to the south are relatively high and windowless, facing the assembly area with its platforms. These defence walls are 6,25 m high to the parapet on the western side, 5,37 m to the south behind the platforms, and up to 6,43 m to the east, the height at any point varying considerably because of the irregularity of the rocky ground below. The pitched wooden roofs are aligned with their open gables placed along these walls, that is principally with the ridges running north and south to meet the south wall, and east and west to meet the west wall. Similarly, ridges meet the eastern wall at right angles where it appears oldest. Although more recent building on the north side of the *kot* disrupts this pattern, the buildings lying further in towards the centre of the complex show the same organisation, running north and south, while the houses over the central axis from the south gate to the centre show a regular, close-packed system of roofs running east and west.

The main entrance to the *kot* is still from a square tower, *darôshô*, projecting at the centre of the southern side, near the platforms, where it was formerly protected by double, harr-hung doors in the inner wall, with a bar which could be set across the doorposts on the inside. Formerly an armed guard stood here at night; now a chowkidar is responsible for security. Rough flights of steps lead up to doorways into the tower from west and east and from the interior several steps lead down again to an axial passage, *dûrû*, running toward the north at ground level, flanked by small wooden doors giving onto storerooms at intervals along the eastern side. The western side appears to be cut from a rock outcrop. This passage is covered by beams supporting houses above, which can be reached by further flights of rough steps set into the western wall at two points, forming apertures through which a little light penetrates the

otherwise dark tunnel. This axis, which is partly repeated by a narrow corridor on the upper level, emerges after 22 m in a squarish central court, now largely rebuilt, and rather formless as a result: it has resulted, in fact, from the demolition of former buildings, some of whose foundations can still be seen. From here a cross axis towards the east leads to a smaller yard, and a long close running north and south almost the whole depth of the *kot*, and expanding in a series of yards serving the houses built against the eastern wall. A continuation of the main axis from the north of the central court leads to another cross axis running east and west, parallel to the north wall but set back 20 m within it, with several yards and closes serving the houses on that side; for 3 m this again runs underneath one of them. At the western end of this central cross axis, another north-south passage runs along the inner fronts of the old houses forming the western wall, and forming a close at its southern end. To the north of the central cross axis, most of the buildings appear to be of a later date, if not new: those lining the present north wall are served by a further, northern cross axis, though here the continuity of the wall itself has been broken by the newer development. To the south of the central cross axis is a line of older houses with their ridges in the north-south direction, suggesting the organisation which most once have followed the north wall. At the southwest corner of the *kot*, a single close opens directly from the outside, through a doorway in the southern wall reached by a flight of steps, serving houses at the southern end of the western wall. The original *kot* most have been about 48 m square, and allowing for the present loosening of its organisation, must have housed as many villagers as now: about 350 in some 60 households.

Almost all the older houses are raised. Either they are grouped around courtyards, *zûrûng* or *tâg*, at an upper level, apparently founded on rocks higher than the surrounding ground, as at the southwest of the main axis, or they are set above an undercroft of storerooms, as on its eastern side. In the latter case, common access to a group of houses may be provided

by a narrow gangway, or a corridor. The flat roof of the storerooms then characteristically forms a mud platform, the front of which is only lightly enclosed to create a breasted verandah, with the closed part of the house set back 2-3.5 m, and the front of the roof above supported on free-standing posts, *tûn*. Most, but not all, of these verandahs, *mâro*, are enclosed on two or three sides with an upstand, *bîtâ qôr*, of timber panelling 115 cm high, usually with an open clerestory of up to 1 m more left above the top rail. The clear height to the underside of the ceiling joists varies from 160 to 185 cm. In some cases the space below is open to the footway, supported again on stout poles, usually paired, to form a cave-like recess used for storage or perhaps, in time of siege, for sheltering animals. The alley ways themselves are unpaved, and muddy, so the raised level of the houses offers a somewhat cleaner and more sanitary environment than the ground, besides better ventilation and light.

Children and women can frequently be seen moving around at the level of the flat roofs, *shárôn*, though access from one part of the village to another is impeded or prevented by the rickety pitched roofs, *tarîyâ*, of rough boarding erected above this. The houses are almost invariably reached by rudimentary ladders, *shîlî*, made of notched tree trunks or balks of timber, sometimes paired. Further ladders lead up steeply from verandah level to the attic space above, *kâtô ray*, through rectangular trapdoors, *sômô* or *iskôm*. It appears from the absence of pitched roofs on some houses that these are not essential, but that they provide additional shelter from the heat of the sun in summer and from snow in winter. They quite often collapse, and several ruins can be seen, awaiting re-erection. The space under the wooden roof is often used for storage, generally of firewood, and it is always left open at the gable ends, both for ease of access and to save material. Generally access to houses is cramped and awkward, though all, including very small children, show great agility in negotiating the ladders. Occasionally piles of

stones form simple sets of steps, *pash*, at the corners of buildings to serve two or three doorways in common.

Many of the older houses are about 300-350 cm wide between the party walls, but the size can vary from 280 up to 515 cm: the average may be around 400 cm. They are two stories high, with the living storey, *ghurh*, above the storeroom, *bonô gôrh*: only the defence towers exceed this. The verandah runs across the full width in front, unless corners or other irregularities preclude this, and is from 200-300 cm deep in most cases, though occasionally a larger space, *awâsi*, is enclosed (e.g. 380 x 515 cm) at the end of a court, or in some other out-of-the-way position. The storeroom in the undercroft below lies between the same party walls, so corresponds in size to the space above. The pitched roof spans the same width in principle, with the ridge supported some 180 cm above the surface of the flat roof. The closed part of the house, *tal*, in most cases consists of a single room, in fact the word for room and floor is the same. This is roughly square in shape, with a smoke hole, *sômô*, in the middle of the ceiling, and at the most one very small window in addition. It is therefore dark, and seems – when inhabited by the whole family – to be overcrowded. This room is divided from the verandah by a wooden partition running across the whole width, fitted with a solid door, *dâr*, but again no windows. Although I was able to enter many of the verandahs during the migration, when the village was empty, I could enter only one of the older rooms. This had the door in the middle of the front wall, and the ceiling was supported on two main beams, *sing*, running from front to back, one on each side of the door. These were in turn supported by three squared posts each, one next to each of the walls, front and rear, and one at centre span. There was thus a post on either side of the fireplace, *chagûl*, in the middle of the room, and trimmers formed a square smoke hole above. No carving was to be seen. A bed stood beyond each of the centre posts along the side walls, one along one side of the front wall, and a fourth belonging to the house-

holder himself along the rear wall opposite the door, curtained off behind the hearth with a rough cotton hanging. The whole interior was smoke-blackened and scarcely lit. Questioning showed that this was a standard arrangement, though there are variations with four posts grouped around the hearth, or with three rows of three posts, the hearth being in this case displaced from the centre. As the stone walls are some 60 cm thick, the inner room is thus a shelter from the heat in summer, and from the cold in winter, when a fire burns in the hearth during the day from December until the 15th March. These fires are extinguished at night, but for the embers, unless it is very cold. I was told that the fire is in two parts, one for cooking and one for warmth, though there is only one smoke hole: they look the same. The smoke hole, which of course opens below the wooden roof, is said to be closed with a string from within at night, especially during rain or snow, but I saw no evidence of this from the outside, where at most a slab of stone or wood lay over it: possibly this is true only of the richer, more carefully constructed houses, though there no string was in evidence during the summer. There is no other means of ventilation in the older houses. The floor is of compacted earth throughout. Inside, this is strewn with clean hay, made from a fine yellow wild grass, which may be fetched from the mosque; on top of this richer people lay Chitrali felts.

The verandah provides a much airier and better-lit living space for the summer months. Each is provided with a second hearth for cooking, often round, up to 45 cm in diameter, and with an edge kerb raised about 6 cm, though it may also be square or triangular, with three hearth stones to support the pots or griddle. It is usually near the middle of the floor, and sometimes even in front of the partition door, but may be displaced to avoid the area where a ladder leads to the loft above. There is sometimes an additional circular depression nearby, perhaps serving as a pot stand, though pot-rings 20 cm in diameter and 4 cm thick are also to be seen. Apart from narrow-necked cooking pots and fire irons, including

a trivet, a griddle 45 cm in diameter, and a shovel, there is usually a stone hollowed out as a mortar, a *charpoy* bed or two with double or triple rawhide lacing, some goat hair rep blankets, and a large board used as a bed by younger members of the family. Firewood may be stacked against the upstand at one end. The father of the house always sits in a low carved chair, *chowkî bitî*, with a tall backrest between two standards. There are also stools, *bitî*, for the younger people, differentiated between those for youths, in which the rawhide seat is plaited in a pattern (*falang* or *qul pôgî*), and those for children, in which it is not (*sâda*). Women seem not to use seats.

The space is undifferentiated, the only designated place being the hearth where the women naturally tend to sit on either side; sons normally gather around their father, but not in any fixed position. Although each of the adults has his or her own *charpoy*, these again are said to have no fixed position. From June to September people sleep on the verandahs or roofs while they are in the village, unless they are frightened of enemies, when they will sleep inside. Younger people sleep on a *durri* laid over a board, perhaps with a quilt, *lehâf*, on top. Young girls share their mother's bed until they are ten years old; adolescents have their own. Once a man marries he must set up his own household.

Doorways to the inner room are sometimes carved, and more rarely those of the storerooms in the undercroft. The doors themselves are of a single plain leaf, but the adze marks are overlaid with a dark patina. These doors are nowadays provided with commercial padlocks, but some of the storeroom doors still have a round hole, some 6 cm across, through which a rudimentary wooden key can be thrust. Some of the verandah upstands have gates, which may be propped shut while the owner is away.

The storerooms below these houses are also earth-floored, and wholly dark except for the light admitted through the doorway. A large chest, *tûwân*, some 1.80 m long by 1.20 m high by 1.20 m broad, and fitted

with a lid, stands at the rear for the grain supply, divided by a partition into two spaces for the wheat and maize. The planks of the bottom are raised above the floor on a frame to keep the contents dry. Formerly, these chests were carved, but many have been sold to dealers (for as little as Rs 400-500), and the cheaper new substitutes are undecorated. In one case, at the north end of the central axis passage, a maize bin stood set back 4.00 m deep in an open recess under a large verandah, built into the rear wall: it measured 1.49 cm deep by 1.26 m wide by 1.24 m high. There are also many gourds and jars of different sizes up to 45 cm diameter standing close together on the floor: the gourds are generally waisted, forming two superimposed globular shapes. Larger water pots are bought elsewhere, at Shatial, Sumer, or Jalkot: they stand up to 1.00 m high by 70 cm diameter, and are of two types, one round and the other elongated: two or three are needed according to the size of the household. They appear to be filled from smaller vessels.

Passages and paths, *dûrû*, are narrow, rarely being more than a metre wide, and often less, so that those passing down them come in direct confrontation with anyone else coming the other way. The frequent doorways, side alleys, and recesses, however, allow people to step aside or, in the case of women, to retreat out of sight without difficulty. In the newer parts of the village the access is just as narrow as in the old, suggesting that this is not seen as a nuisance, but rather that it is deliberately arranged. In the cases where passages run east and west, their narrowness does provide some shade, especially for the children playing in them, but the fact that ditches tend to run irregularly along them makes their use hazardous. In the newer annexe the tops of compound walls are finished with a cresting of brushwood laid horizontally.

In all cases where there are now large courtyards within the *kot*, these are of recent origin. The central court at the end of the covered access passage is said to have been created when houses were pulled down.

Similarly a large yard to the west of the passage linking the central east-west cross axis and the northern one shows the line of the foundations of a ruined building quite clearly, the space left over having evidently formed the usual alleyways. In a third case towards the western end of the central cross axis, a substantial single-storey building with a flat roof has been erected recently instead of the older, and presumably taller, houses, in such a way as to form a kind of raised courtyard for the surrounding two-storey buildings. At the same time a narrow alley defining its eastern, western and southern sides at ground level still allow access to them by what must be the former route. Such courts should not be taken as typical, even though they dominate the present arrangement.

Originally the courtyards, *zûrûng*, were relatively narrow, at only two metres or so wide, but up to three times that in length, being more in the nature of a private close from which four or five houses could be approached. This is quite clear where yards survive intact in association with the older houses. It is notably the case with some of the oldest buildings on the west side of the *kot*, and in its southwestern corner; it seems also to have been so in the south-eastern corner, though this has been partially rebuilt and its axial extension towards the north-east corner. The narrow alley serving the houses above the covered access passage is an extreme instance, with a further court leading off it to the west. In such cases the ownership seems to be vested in an extended family, as of brothers, brothers in law, or cousins. I could establish it in two cases. In the raised court west of the access passage ('White Cap Court' on the key plan), the houses were occupied by the informant's sister's sons and his brother's sons and his uncle: he himself had bought the house to the north-west, his uncle already owned that to its east, and of the two houses opposite to the south, that to the east had belonged to the district councillor, and had been bought by the informant's brother, while that to the west belonged to the informant's nephew (apparently

on his sister's side). In the court in the southwest corner, with access from outside the *kot* ('Grub Court'), the ownership was founded on first cousins in the ascending generation: the father of the old man who lives in the house at the northern end, and the father of the district councillor who owned the remainder were cousins. In a third case, the court to the south of the western end of the central cross axis ('Black Dog Yard') was again inhabited by relations of the district councillor, who owned one of the oldest houses. It appears, then, that families negotiate sales in order to live close to one another, but the real implications of these cannot be understood without a close study of the relationships within the *kot* as a whole, which I was not in a position to carry out.

It is said that there were originally towers, *galî*, at the four corners of the *kot*, besides the entrance tower. Watchmen were posted in each of these to keep a look out for the enemy. Their defence is now associated by the villagers with the use of bows and arrows. Only one tower still exists in an appropriate position: that at the southwest. This in fact appears to be a relatively recent structure: both it and the entrance tower are built with wooden corner blocks between the girdle timbers, a type of construction which, though now widespread in Shinaki, is believed to have been introduced recently under Pashtun influence. This may indicate only that they have been rebuilt still standing in the original position. Both are square in plan, and no higher than the wall they fortify, at about 5.5 m: they rise sheer without any projection except a wooden balcony west of the entry tower. They differ in this from the characteristic Pashtun form for defence towers, which is proportionately higher, at three to four storeys, with the room at the top jettied out on all sides beyond the line of the walls. There is only one tower of this form within the *kot*, near the middle of the eastern wall, 7.65 m high above the flat roof, though there are also two others among the newer buildings to the southwest. A third type of tower also occurs among these, low in relation to its width, and two or three storeys high: the more recent of these, such as that in a yard

to the north-east of the *kot*, have broad windows at the top, suggesting that their main purpose is to provide a well-ventilated room with a fine outlook. Another rises from a group of buildings at the extreme north-west of the settlement, on top of an earlier square house. Both of these were being completed in 1987. A third, set in the middle of the court-yard of the largest new house in the village annexe, belonging to the contractor, was then still unfinished. There can be little doubt that these towers are intended as a kind of life insurance; they all have two or three intermediate floors, which can be used for storage, joined by ladders that can be drawn up in an emergency. The doorway, such as that of the east tower, is sometimes very small, and there are large windows in the head only of the Pashtun type.

The projecting entrance tower, *darôshô*, is provided with two approach doorways on the outside, one in the east for men, leading towards the platforms, and one on the west for women, facing the approach path through the annexe; there is only one doorway on the northern, inner side, leading to the central passage of the *kot*. None of these now has doors, but sockets for the pivots are still visible at the inner doorway.

Since the water supply is also said to have been divided into an eastern source, near the mosque, for the men, and a western one for the women, it appears that outside the *kot* walls, at least, there was some segregation of activities by sex. As already remarked, women still congregate separately around the dirty rock pool to the west, where water was drawn, and it is along the wall where they sit, following the water channel to the south, that women generally walk out to the fields.

This path, which in part has a wooden railing, forms a convenient route from the fields to the threshing floors and the byres where fodder is stored. Women do use an alternative route along the southern wall of the *kot* past the platforms to reach the eastern fields, but when doing so tend to scurry by, covering their heads with their shawls. The villagers denied that they had a house used by women during their menses. There is,

however, one isolated single-storey building midway along the southern side of the village annexe, facing the fields and surrounded by them on three sides: I had the impression that this was largely frequented by women. The platforms are, of course, an exclusively male domain at normal times, and it is the men, too, who make regular use of the mosque and ablution shed not far away to the east. The large rectangular pool opposite the entry tower is used from the beginning of June by the younger boys learning to swim (the elder ones swim in the *nullah*). The smithy nearby, on the site of a former platform, is also a centre of male activity. It is there that, in the appropriate season, ploughshares and hoes are made, and the carpenters set up their saw horse, or fit the helves for the tools. There, too, ropes are laid by men working on the platforms.

The present position of the mosque, *jûmât*, is not the original one: the prayer hall was formerly further east, and its entrance and verandah on the *qibla* side, that is facing the platforms. This was felt to be unsatisfactory, so the verandah and entrance were moved to the further, eastern side, the old columns with their scrolled capitals being reused. The renovation took place in 1940. There was a second mosque some 20 m west of the western wall of the *kot*, where there is now an onion garden north of the annexe, that is close to the oldest houses: it has now been removed, so far as I could see without trace.

As it stands now, the prayer hall of the eastern mosque (*Dwg. 5a*) is almost square, about 10 m deep by 11.50 m wide, with a single round column in the centre carrying a main beam from east to west, a post at either end of this, and five posts close to either side wall carrying the transverse secondary beams. The single entrance is towards the southern end of the east wall, conveniently placed for an approach along the southern wall from the platforms. The interior is dark, lit only by the doorway and two small windows 40 cm wide, set high up opposite one another near the *qibla* end of the north and south walls. The *qibla* is marked by a simple *mihrâb* niche near the centre of the western wall, with a small

lamp shelf nearby. The *mihrâb* is repeated near the centre of the eastern wall outside, where the congregation pray under the verandah in summer, with a row of small niches to its north. In both cases the presence of a column prevents the *mihrâb* from being set on the long axis of the space. A smoke hole in the ceiling inside, near the eastern wall, with a whirling square of trimmers set diagonally to one another, allows for heating in the winter, and firewood is kept in the south-east corner. The verandah, extending all along the east side to a depth of 5.50 m, provides the most elaborate example of carved woodwork in the whole village, particularly in the volutes of the capitals and the diapered spandrels of the false arcade that defines the eastern front. The heavy walls of the mosque project across the verandah ends on either side, probably marking the former position of the prayer hall. Beyond this, a further area to the east is walled in as a compound, with its entrance at the southern end. It is at this angle that a door just outside the end of the verandah gives onto the winter meeting room, *qûtâgî*, about 4.50 by 5.50 m, dominated by a large hearth surrounded by low wooden benches in its south-eastern corner. The space is entirely unlit but for the door and smoke hole, but there is a carved wooden panel next to the door in the northern wall. This annexe was being extended in 1987 to the west, beyond the southern wall of the verandah, relatively well-built to form a separate, well-lit room for the Quran school. The entire mosque is provided with the usual flat roof topped by a series of five and a half ridged, boarded roofs set next to one another, running north and south.

The floor of the ablution shed, *cherchibî*, close by the approach from the west, lies about half a metre below the path, east of a low rock-cut wall which runs all along its western side. This is built up for a further 80 cm, forming an abutment and parapet for the flat roof which extends out to the east. The south, north and eastern sides are enclosed by a stone screen wall 1 m high, leaving a further 1 m open above to light and ventilate the interior. The stream from the south runs down its length

along the rock wall, and is then led back to feed southwards down the middle of the floor in a wooden trough 28 cm wide, whose bottom is carved in a series of sawtooth steps 30-40 cm long, to form a basin for each of the eleven stone foot-slabs 20 cm wide placed in a row down its western edge, with a wooden seat set in the floor beyond them. The water is then channelled away to the east. The whole area is well-shaded, fresh, and cool. Steps at the northern end lead up to the mosque courtyard, forming the main access, though there is also an entry at the opposite end. Here a path leading steeply down to the fields in the east separates the shed from the open ablution enclosure, where there are five further washing positions in a line west to east, along a branch from the same eastern channel, ending in the bath enclosure about 140 by 70 cm within a stone wall built shoulder-high. The whole of this area is well shaded by trees, and some rocks form a popular sitting area nearby. All the waste water is led down next to the path towards the fields, and a discarded double hopper nearby suggests there was once a mill at this point. The main supply channel continues out of the northern end of the shed to run northwards along the foot of the wall enclosing the mosque courtyard, and serves the lower terraces (*Dwg. 5c*).

The platforms, *qay*, in the assembly area follow the usual Shinaki pattern: each is of boards, 4 or 5 m wide on the approach side by 3 m deep, set just above ground level on beams between four carved corner posts, but overhanging falling ground by 1.5 m on the outer side to the south, with an uninterrupted view of the fields there. At the outer side and the two ends, low bars span between the corner posts as a back rest, and it is against these three sides that the men lounge when they gather in the morning. The area is well shaded by the plane and mulberry trees, and rocks around their bases serve as further sitting places which are frequently in use. The remaining platforms are set end to end, with their approach edges roughly in line. Between them and the *kot* wall, and parallel to it, is a squared wooden bar, *balû*, more than 6 m long (its end

has broken off), set 2 m above the ground, with its western end embedded in the giant plane tree, and the eastern supported by a carved post: this was made within living memory. The bar is that used for hanging up the carcasses of animals when they are being skinned for wedding and funeral feasts, which take place in this general area. The hollow plane tree, estimated as 300 years old by the Forest Officer (it is 791 cm in girth), is reported by Dr. Nayyar to be visited at night by women in quest of fertility, since it has a vulva-shaped opening in its western side, but I was given no evidence of this by the villagers. The assembly area to the south of the *kot* walls extends from the entry tower to the south-east corner some 22.5 m away, where two or three steps lead down between the rocks towards the treed area west of the mosque; it is 10-11 m wide to the front of the platforms.

At the western end, opposite the entry tower, is the smithy, *âkârê duqân*, defined by a low flat roof about 5 m square supported on six posts. At its centre there is a rectangular kerb for a small open hearth, and at the eastern, front side of this is a small anvil. To the south this workshop is fully screened by the wall of a single-storey house which the roof abuts. To the west it is partly sheltered by a low wall, but on the east it is fully open to the platform area, where prospective clients can be expected to gather. Tools are only to be seen when there is work to be done; otherwise the space is left bare except for the anvil. Outside the forge, by the north-west corner of the platforms, some stones set flush in the ground form a slot used by the sawyers to wedge timber.

The pool, *barî*, lies directly west of the platforms and next to the south-east corner of the smithy, projecting out into the fields: it is roughly rectangular, 5 m wide by 11 m in the north south direction, but rounded at the northern end, with stone-lined sides. The water was at the most 1.5 m deep, with its surface lying 1 m below ground level, and it could be approached by a walk all round about 1 m wide. Here and there in the assembly area flat stones in the ground appeared to cover water channels

leading to the pool. The water is said to have been used originally for a water supply and fire-fighting in time of siege, but when I pointed out that the pool lies outside the walls, the villagers could offer me no explanation. Some people said that there was a tale of a water supply underlying the rocks on which the village is founded, but this is no longer known, if indeed it exists.

The annexe

Subsequent growth of the village outside the *kot* core has been restricted. To the north the ground falls away sharply in successive boulders, and although some large rocks close to the *kot* walls rise from comparatively level ground, they are too irregular and set too close together to offer a tempting site. The same is true of the west side of the *kot*, where the rocks tumble down towards the cultivated land close by the western stream below. The eastern part of the southern side, as the platform area, is presumably sacrosanct. Several of the trees which shade the platforms stand close to the wall. Beyond the platform lie the greater part of the fields, and the view over them up the valley is, no doubt, an advantage (and an aesthetic experience ?) not to be foregone. On the east the *kot* wall is built on a steeper outcrop of rock at its northern end, but from there southwards the ground, though at first well below the level of the older buildings, is fairly level for a width of some 20 m up to the mosque which limits it to the south; beyond this the fields extend to the east. Only this eastern side, then, the westerly part of the southern side, and the southern end of the western side offer possible sites for expansion. Of these, that to the east is comparatively narrow, and limited by boulders at both ends, but a level terrace has now been laid down in the central section, about 9 m wide and 14 m long, on which houses are to be built (it was already there when visited by Prof. Jettmar in 1982). It is only the southwestern area which offers an extensive, naturally level site on the edge of the fields, and it is just here that the new building has

been concentrated. This is said to have occurred only since 1900, and the fact that the new road runs up the western side of the valley has no doubt given impetus to the growth in this direction, for its convenience of access.

Building has taken place on either side of an alley, *durû*, which now forms the main approach to the platforms, and thence to the *kot*, from the west. The fact that this leads any visitor directly past the men's meeting place by the rock pool is, presumably, an accident deriving from the construction of the road in the 1970s: before this, the main path to the village ran up the *nullah*, so that visitors would have to come first to the platforms, where they could be checked by the men. As a result, male visitors now have to be escorted past the pool by a man or boy from the village: this was invariably the case whenever I approached the village, even after three months. They are then expected to walk directly to the platforms, where they may remain, for it is rare for them to be allowed into the *kot* itself: significantly the houses with guest rooms all seem to lie outside its walls.

The annexe is at present about 61 m long, as measured from the entrance tower, opposite which it begins, along the alley: thus it extends 40 m beyond the southwestern corner of the *kot*. The growth to the north of this alley is the older, bordering as it does directly on the corner of the *kot*. The accretions here are irregular, and tend to be grouped in walled courtyards. These enclose not only houses, but sheds: in the *kot* there was originally little room for these. The development includes a tower in the more outlying part to the west, and a second is at present under construction. More recent building, from the last decade, appears on the northern edge of this quarter. Of the growth to the south of the alley, that nearest the platforms is clearly the oldest, grouped on either side of a narrow side alley extending to the south almost opposite the corner of the *kot*. Only one house there, that of the district councillor, is new, and that was built in about 1983 on the site of a former tower. As a guest room, it seems to have been placed deliberately close to the platforms.

The remainder is grouped between the main alley and another running parallel to it further south, from the end of the side alley just mentioned. For about a third of its length this block is served by a third parallel alley in between the other two, approached by a second side alley. The newer buildings to the south and west are again of the walled courtyard type, complete with outbuildings. They are dominated by one exceptionally large house, belonging to the contractor, which lies between the southernmost two alleys at their western end. This consists of two separate guest rooms set opposite one another either side of a large court with an as yet unfinished tower in the centre, and a kitchen and pergola to one side. The side alley serving this is directly opposite another side alley running northwards from the approach alley to a second, somewhat older house also belonging to him, so clearly planned for his own family's convenience.

Another, squatter tower, distinguished by its carved woodwork, is set immediately south of the main alley, halfway along its length, where this side alley forms a corner. A third, tall one of the Pashtun type dominates an isolated, outlying group of buildings to the southwest. Much of this building on both sides of the approach alley is characterised by its low silhouette in contrast to the *kot* houses: it gives the impression of being mostly single-storey work, except for the towers. In fact it is the peripheral buildings which are low. The central part of the alley, some 29 m long, is actually flanked by houses with verandahs set over undercrofts on either side, with tower-like balconied houses at either end. These verandahs, however, are of a different type, *awâsî*, larger, set back under the pitched roof and set further apart than those in the *kot*, and some even lack upstands, so the space created between them is much freer.

The guest rooms which I visited, the district councillor's, and those in the contractor's two houses, were all built in the same pattern, that is 4-6 m square, with a whirling-square roof, *râkô*, rising from a smaller square

area of 2-3 m at the centre defined by four corner columns, *tûn*. The columns are carved, with scrolled capitals, *sârî*, and the woodwork in general is brightly painted in yellow, green, red, white and blue. The hearth is placed in the central square, while the peripheral area is raised some 20 cm behind a trimmer running between the columns, lined in some cases with hay and felts, and used for sleeping or sitting. There is some modern furniture in these houses in the form of iron bedsteads strung like charpoys with nylon yarn, and folding chairs set in two rows facing each other across the main entry axis. The newer contractor's house also has an elaborately carved and painted arcade forming a loggia in front of its eastern guest room. The carving of this type is not done by local craftsmen, but by specialists from Tangir, and the style is indeed typical of building in Tangir itself, but an innovation here. The tapering octagon baluster columns, their multiple volutes, *pûlê*, the carefully graded steps of the whirling squares, and the polychrome work all create an aesthetic in marked contrast to the sombre, sparing and utilitarian woodwork of the houses of old Sazin.

In addition to this area, loose accretions built in single storeys over apparently solid plinths can be seen at both the north-east and the south-east corners of the *kot*, each in the course of modification in 1987. The tower being built at the north-east crowns a large rock with sheer sides, effectively limiting another, irregular yard.

Apart from this, growth has also taken the form of isolated homesteads set in the fields; of the two visible from the *kot*, the eastern one belongs to the councillor, and the southern to a *hajji*, the Akhora Khatak *mawlânâ*, who told me he could not bear to live in the *kot* any longer. It appears that this movement by the élite away from the village proper represents the trend of future development, and the upper village is also built in the same looser organisation of walled courtyards. Shortage of arable land will probably prevent further homesteads being built in the fields, and the *nullah* gorge effectively bars development to the east of

the valley, but it seems possible that further housing may ultimately be built on the western side above the road, the main disadvantage at present being lack of a water supply (*Dwg. 2*).

Construction (*see Dwg. 4a-d and Fig. 5*)

All building in the valley is of the local stone, of which the inhabitants recognise only one variety, a grey hornblende granite in which feldspar and quartz can be seen, referred to simply as *bat*, 'stone'. The work is generally very irregular, to the extent that there is scarcely a true right angle or straight edge to be found anywhere, and even recent building only approximates to these. Building, and particularly any complicated woodwork, has traditionally been done by specialists from Tangir, but there are now four or five men in Sazin who are paid for this work, generally with the help of unpaid volunteers: I saw the schoolmaster, for example, working on the new tower to the north-west of the village. The division of labour is unconnected with the factions.

The work is done without plans or any measuring rule. The only measures used are those taken from the human body: 4 fingers, *sûb*, make one handbreadth; 2 handspans, *dish*, from extended thumb to little finger, make one cubit, *hat*, from the elbow to the fingertip. There are also two small units, the *nawkî* between extended thumb and index finger, and the *gat* between extended thumb and the second knuckle of the index finger. The spacing of the columns is variable, the roof timbers being increased for a greater span, but no rule of thumb was acknowledged. The storey height is from 4 cubits up to 5 (*i.e.* 2.0-2.5 m).

The masonry technique appears to have changed with time. The stonework in the Old Fort above the village is of broken rubble, very variable in size from medium (20-30 cm) to small (10-12 cm), with some chip infilling between the stones for stability. No attempt is made at coursing, and the stones are not rectangular. There is now no evidence of mortar, but this may have weathered away through the exposure of the site on

the hilltop. A rough attempt is made to present flat surfaces as an outside face. The most noteworthy characteristic is the absence of any corner stones: the masonry is undifferentiated. Whereas the outer wall, however, is about 90 cm thick, and solidly built, of larger, flat stones, the inner cross walls are from 50-70 cm thick, and are laid from both faces, with the centre filled with gravel. In most cases the remains of the latter are only from 30-50 cm high. The height of the external wall still standing is variable, up to 2 m or more in places. Pre-existing rocks are incorporated in the masonry wherever appropriate (*Dwg. 8a-b*).

Split stone is still in general use: the material has a grain which can be recognised by careful inspection, and can then be broken by a sharp blow with a hammer, or often with another stone, with some accuracy. The masonry in the *kot* is relieved by wooden stringers, or in the case of the towers, girdles, laid horizontally at intervals. In the outer wall of the oldest houses in the west range of the *kot*, the work is still of broken rubble, mostly small, averaging 15-20 cm long and 8-15 cm high, about one third of which is squared. There is no systematic wedging with chips, but there is some attempt at horizontality, with the stones laid in mud mortar about 5 cm thick, dressed flush with the stone face, which is comparatively well-defined. The corners are differentiated with large quoins, *shûtî*, some roughly squared, with a vertical emphasis (e.g. 17 by 18 cm, or 8 by 35 cm etc.), and others long, laid horizontally (e.g. 17 by 45 cm). The horizontal stringers are about 6 cm high, bedded flush with the outer face of the wall, and set roughly 60 cm apart or less (40-50 cm). There are no vertical timbers, but the ends of putlogs penetrating the wall, 6 cm high and 5 cm wide, project 5 cm or more above the stringers near either end of the wall, some 50 cm from the corner, indicating the wall thickness. The inward walls of the same houses are similar (in 'Black Dog Yard'), but the stringers visible are rather deeper, at 8-10 cm high; their vertical spacing could not be seen. About half of the masonry is squared, and it is vaguely horizontal. At the north-west

angle of the same range, the wall is based on a foundation of large, quite irregular stones from 50 to 85 cm long, and 20 cm high, with a distinct face, and regularly wedged. The wall above these is of random split rubble, varying widely in size, with almost no attempt at squaring or horizontality. The large quoins here are more consistent in size, at about 50 cm long and 20 cm high.

The older technique of faced rubble with chip wedging is comparable, in Sir John Marshall's classification at the Taxila Museum, to the work from Bhir dated to the 2nd century B.C. and earlier!

The single-storey building set back to the north of this corner, said to be only four to five years old in 1987, is of medium to large split stone, a quarter of which is squared, *sanîlô bat*, with considerable variation in size. There is no systematic wedging, but flat stones 2-4 cm thick are inserted as packing. The work is again horizontal, but uncoursed. In the newest work it seems that the inclusion of more accurately squared stone is rendering chip-wedging unnecessary; the stringers are laid 50 cm apart, and are spaced on regular wooden corner blocks laid first in one dimension and then the other, so that the length and thickness are visible alternately. Walls are known as *kandar*, and foundations as *quhrû*.

The construction with wooden corner blocks, *bîtî*, ca 50 x 10 x 32 cm high, which is now standard in principle throughout the region, comprises the use of stringers 8 cm deep in pairs at each level, one flush with the outside face of the given wall, and one with the inside: these are propped in position by the corner blocks at the required vertical spacing, as well as at the horizontal interval required for the wall thickness, and the masonry built up so as to fill in the space between these and the previous pair of stringers. At corners the stringers running parallel to the long dimension of the corner block are placed outside those which run at right angles to it, above and below, so that a consistent pattern of stringer sides and their paired square ends is formed, and the vertical interval within the outermost pair is 48-49 cm. The stringers thus form a built-in scaffolding which helps to keep the wall relatively true, when

other levelling apparatus is not available. They may also reinforce the rather loose masonry against earthquake damage even without corner blocks: the binding of corners is recognised as useful in this respect by modern engineers.

Both mortar and the plaster applied to the outside of more recent buildings are made from local earth, now sifted through metal mesh (expanded metal) on a wooden frame some 1 m square. When I watched this, the frame was placed on a flat roof over the smoke hole, so that the sifted earth streamed through into the room where the work was to be done. It was taken from a pit some 2 by 1 m and 1 m deep in the floor of the adjoining building. All dwelling floors are also made from compressed earth; only the threshing floors, which are renewed early in June, are made with an admixture of cow dung to the mud, which is then dressed in a thin layer (ca. 4 cm) over a prepared layer of rocks, so that the surface may dry out quickly after rain. Wooden floors are in evidence only for the platforms, and in fact the word for these, *qay*, is the same as that for the ceiling structure of squared joists.

Building timber is of deodar, *pulûsh*, (Urdu *diyâr* for *de'odâr*?) from the upper mountain slopes. The three other trees which grow there are named as *chuwi*, *qalchûn* and *rey*. It is used for the stringers and blocks in masonry, for doors, door- and window-frames, for posts, beams, joists, and planks in the upper floor and flat roof structure, and the ridged roof structure. In the oldest houses the posts used to support the roof structure above the verandahs are wrought very roughly to a squared section of about 17 by 10 cm or 20 by 8 cm at mid-height, with a tendency to taper downwards. The wrought beams, *qay*, they carry are about 18 by 18 cm in cross section, spanning only 150-160 cm, and the joists (also *qay*) laid on these are round, 10-11 cm in diameter, and set at 40-70 cm apart centre to centre (average 51 cm for a 250 cm span in 'Black Dog Yard'). Boards, *chûn*, placed on top of these for the roof structure are 20 to 30 cm wide, and 5 cm thick. In a court off the central

axis ('White Cap Court'), the posts are 15 by 16 cm, the beams 16-17 cm deep by 18 cm wide, the joists about 10 cm wide, set at 30-42 cm centre to centre (average 35.5 cm), and the boards over them 10-15 cm wide and 3 cm thick. Simple, unwrought joists, whose ends often project at the eaves, are known as *salômi*. The joists used to roof the main north-south access passage, apparently among the oldest, are 10-20 cm in diameter, or in some cases square, and set 1 to 1½ diameters or 2 widths apart, thus at 20-50 cm centre to centre, for an average span of 200 cm; the props set under them from time to time are 10-15 cm in diameter for a height of ca 235 cm, and generally set in pairs: they are erected close to the wall, rather than at mid-span. Joists over the central east-west passage are 10 cm in diameter and 1½ to 2 diameters apart, thus 25-30 cm centre to centre for spans of 100-150 cm.

In general the roof structure is designed to be independent of the walls, rather than supported by them, and the placing of posts or props under the beam ends next to the wall is a characteristic of even the newest houses as well as the mosque, and to some extent of these passages too. It is probably intended as a precaution against earthquakes, which occur throughout the region, even though no extensive damage at Sazin is remembered. In this case it cannot be said to be wholly successful, for the roof of the mosque at Palas collapsed in the 1980s killing the congregation, only the imam, standing in front of the *mihrâb*, being unscathed. All of the older work is crude, even haphazard. Only the elaborate woodwork of the new whirling-square roofs, *râkô*, is squared with any care: the main beams delimiting the central part of the ceiling are called *sing*, and the secondary ones defining the whorl, *patar*.

Most remarkably, the pitched roofs, *tarîyô*, are erected without any fastenings at all. The structure is stabilised primarily by means of eaves beams, *qur*, 15-20 cm wide and 9-15 cm deep, hollowed out on the upper side to form gutters. It is in these that the lower ends of the roof boards, *luy*, rest, so that they are restrained from any lateral movement:

at the same time the hollow collects the run-off of surface water, acting as a gutter which projects 40-50 cm beyond the outer wall of the building. The ridge member, *kâw lel*, is a pole 8-10 cm in diameter, and this is supported on king posts, *chakâr*, some 180 cm high and 15 cm in diameter, which are cut from a tree in such a way that three diverging branches serve as legs when inverted: the upper end is cut in a groove to carry the pole. The boards, spanning 150-225 cm between the ridge pole and the eaves beams, are 15-45 cm wide (average 31 cm) and 2-4 cm thick. At the simplest, a roof consists of at least one set of these boards placed edge to edge for each slope, converging roughly on the ridge pole. The lower ends are held in line by the gutter, but as the upper ends are rarely trimmed properly. They may cross above the ridge, or support one another rather than resting on it; so that the entire structure is full of gaps, and anything but water-tight. When, as is often the case, a series of these roofs is set up parallel to one another, the eaves beams are shared between contiguous slopes, becoming valley gutters. A single slope, however, is often broken in two if the span seems too great – say about 260 cm – by the insertion of a purlin supported on posts about 100 cm high; the lower set of boards is then cut to length so as to reach only from the valley to the purlin half way up the slope, and another set spans from the gutter in its upper side to the ridge. The slope in such cases is not uniform, but at two distinct angles, as the purlin is generally set lower than the direct line from ridge to eaves. The second set of board ends adds to the ragged appearance. Towers are roofed in the same way: The structure is relatively unstable, and its equilibrium can be disturbed if too much weight is placed on one slope. Roofs collapse from time to time in strong winds with an impressive clatter, and several ruins can be seen lying on the flat roofs, awaiting re-erection. I have myself inadvertently knocked one down by stepping on the boards: the fall of one part has a cumulative effect. Nevertheless people, especially women and children, often move over the roofs as a quick means of access from

one part of the village to another, and even dogs roam about on them. The large number of gaps between the roughly-cut plank edges show that protection against the rain is not the main object of these roofs, though they may take off the worst of it. The mud surface of the flat roof below is apparently water-tight enough to resist what falls through. The same gaps, however, must make the escape of smoke from inside the roof much easier: the gable ends are probably left open for the same reason, though they also provide easy access, and the omission of a gable wall avoids the need for a close-fitting partition there. It seems probable that in a heavy snowfall the gaps in the roof slopes would be filled, and the snow thus provides an unbroken protective layer over them. Only one house, a cabin projecting from the western *kot* wall, has a roof of properly cut and neatly matched planks. Several houses, notably the ambitious new ones as well as a large building forming the east side of the central court now have roofs of loosely-laid corrugated iron, though the underlying supports are generally as before: these too sometimes blow away in the wind. Some of the newer roofs are fitted with fascia boards, *baldârô*.

Verandah upstands, *bîtâ qôr*, are usually fenced with vertical boards 15-30 cm wide (ave. 25 cm) and 3 cm thick, set edge to edge and housed in grooved horizontal rails at top and bottom. In a typical house ('White Cap Court') the top rail was 10 cm deep, and the bottom rail 17 cm wide by 18 cm deep, both with a 3 x 3 cm rebate. These upstands may either be breast-high, at 115 cm, or reach to within 30 cm or the flat roof overhead, leaving only a horizontal slot to admit light. An open type of upstand is known as *chanchakî*, or lattice.

Partitions at the rear of these verandahs are of essentially the same construction, except that they reach from floor to ceiling, and are generally penetrated only by a door, *dâr*, of the usual solid type, set flush in the surface. These are of simple broad planks, mounted either singly, or as paired leaves: they are rarely more than 45 cm wide and 155 cm high.

They are sometimes pierced by a round hole, *dara qoy*, for the old type of key. Doors in stone walls sometimes have carved architraves. In the rare cases when a small window, *darî*, is provided, it is about 20 cm square, and closed with a wooden shutter, *darî ka dâr*. In a very few cases partitions were made of wattle, *chapar*.
Access ladders are of timber balks of anything from 20 to 45 cm wide, and 15-20 cm thick, with steps about 10 cm deep hacked into the upper surface at intervals of 35-50 cm. Some are set at quite low angles to bridge a gap between two flat roofs, or between an access passage and a threshold, while others, especially those leading up from verandahs to the attic space above, can be steep: the latter lead through traps about 100 x 50 cm in the ceiling. When ladders lead up walls, they often rest against poles that project out horizontally from the masonry. In a few cases, as in the south-east alley ('Tailor's Yard') they lead to equally narrow horizontal gangplanks running across the front of the verandahs.

In the masonry of the defence towers the timber stringers form girdles, *qayi*, around the four walls, set horizontally first in one dimension and then in the other in vertical alternation between the large wooden corner blocks, *bîtî*. There is often a prop of similar thickness (10 cm) at the middle of each wall, serving to maintain the spacing of the stringers at 48 cm. There may be up to ten of these girdles in the tower shaft, surmounted by further blocks supporting the oversailing beams that form the tower head, which itself has two more girdles built up in the same way, projecting some 30 cm beyond the shaft top. In some cases wood-carving can be seen at this upper level. The door at the base may be as little as 45 cm wide.
The new houses belonging to the contractor and the councillor all share a similar internal construction, much more elaborate than that of the older type, and more demanding in skilled labour. All appear to be built directly on the ground, with no undercroft, though separate kitchens and presumably storerooms are not far off (*see Dwg. 6*). At its smallest the

square central space is about 180 cm wide between four columns 15 x 15 cm in section, which support two parallel main beams with their soffits 200 cm above the floor. These in turn support secondary beams at 230 cm above floor level, all spanning the same way over the peripheral space 137 cm wide. The central space is first narrowed by trimmers set diagonally across the corners, also 230 cm above the floor, forming an inner square, and then by four more set across their corners in a smaller square, and so on, in four successive steps, each narrower than the one below it, until the level of the roof is reached, where boards are placed across the corners of the uppermost square to define the smoke hole at the centre. The whole thus has the appearance of a set of diminishing squares turning one within the other, and the thickness of the trimmers is reduced in proportion to their span.

In the larger guest rooms of the contractor's house the central space is about 285 cm square between columns cut from 15 x 15 cm or 18 x 18 cm timbers to an octagonal section tapering upwards, with a necking at top and bottom, and a base and an impost block 18 cm square. The abacus supports a long corbelled capital with from two to five volutes on either side, aligned with the main beams. The peripheral space is 150-180 cm wide. The height of the latter is about 260 cm, and that of the space at the centre 305-325 cm. In the most elaborate house the uppermost of the three whirling squares is traversed by a decorative frame of 10 x 10 cm timbers forming first a diagonal, then a rectangular cross below the smoke hole. The loggia outside one of these rooms, 204 cm wide, has seven similar columns at 191 cm centres, supporting n beam 237 cm above the floor, upon which the ends of the secondary beams rest to form a ceiling 268 cm high: the whole effect is thus spacious.

The councillor's guest room is rather smaller, with a central space 250 cm square, and the peripheral space 160 cm wide at front and rear, but only 120 cm at the sides. The columns are reduced from timbers 15 x 15

cm, and set on base blocks 35 cm high, between which boards of the same height fence off the space at back and sides: the floor of the area at the back is raised 10 cm above the general level. The whirling squares of the roof are successively 182, 121, 80, 65, 43, and 27 cm across, the lowest two levels and the main beams defining the centre being trimmed with a scalloped moulding: their total height is 44.5 cm above the aperture between the trimmed beams, itself 19 cm high. The beam soffits are 221 cm above the general floor level. The sculpted column shafts, excluding the base, impost block, and necking, are 133 cm long, and the capitals, with two volutes each side, 120 cm long by 25 cm deep. Both examples had built-in cupboards with their doors flush with the wall, and windows to the exterior 76 to 87 cm wide: those of the interior court or verandah were more generous, at 147 to 163 cm wide, with doorways 148 to 176 cm wide to match. The light interior, and the consistent if somewhat unskilled use of colour on the columns and roof structure give a positive, cheerful impression quite at variance with the older style.

Houses in the summer pastures, which I did not see, are described as small, with both flat and pitched roofs.

The construction of the byres, *bay* (sing. *bâ*) is comparable to that of the traditional housing, except that the walls, being lower, require no wooden reinforcement, and the masonry is even rougher. They are laid out along winding arterial lanes that follow the contours of the hillside, with cross lanes at intervals from which the gates to the byre yards usually open. The byres thus form blocks cut into the slopes at the western side of the valley in a series of fairly level terraces. The roofed shed and the yard are generally placed in tandem along the hillside, to reduce the width of the terrace, and often set back to back, with the roofed parts placed together either side of the dividing wall. They vary from 9.30 m to 15.60 m (ave. ca 10.0 m) in length along the hillside contours, and 4.10 m to 6.20 m across; in a few instances the siting is

reversed, so that the maximum dimension runs across the hillside, and the minimum one along it, for example 9.0 m by 7.10 m. The enclosure walls rise from 1.00 m to 1.50 m above the level of the yard on the downhill side, with the path on the uphill side from 0.30 m to 2.75 m higher, and the wall there correspondingly taller. In the normal arrangement, the roofed part occupies three quarters or more of the total length of a byre (e.g. 7.45 m for a length of 9.70 m; 7.75 m for 9.30 m; 8.58 m for 10.00 m), though sometimes less than two thirds (e.g. 5.55 m for 9.70 m; 9.00 m for 15.60 m). The ridge of the gable is then aligned along the hillside, so that the gable faces onto the yard; the roof slope is always broken on at least one side, if not on both. The height to the underside of the flat roof joists is from 1.40 m to 1.75 m (ave. 1.57 m), and the height from the flat roof surface to the underside of the ridge pole is from 1.55 m to 2.04 m (ave. 1.87 m). The eaves beam with its gutter is usually 0.70-0.75 m above the level of the uphill ground level. In most cases the yard is divided from the roofed area by a low wall, but this is not always so, and some form a continuous space. Access into the yard from a rough gate in the end wall can be from either the north or the south, according to the layout: the north is preferred, as the main access lane is from that direction. In a few cases the gate is in the long side of the enclosure, on the downhill side, opening directly from the main lane. Where the byre is placed across the hillside, the proportion of the roofed area to the open yard is still the same, but the ridge is aligned at right angles to the contours, and the flat roof joists are set a little higher, at 1.80 m, to allow enough clearance for the pitched roof on the uphill side: the entrance is still from the north. The usual ladders, or rough substitutes made from a smallish tree trunk with projecting branch stubs on either side, allow access to the loft within the roof. Some byres have a small annexe for housing kids, about 1.00 x 0.50 m internally by 1.0 m high, with a flat roof.

Threshing floors, *qal*, are organised to fit the hillside in a comparable way. They vary between 11.85 m and 18.65 m long, and 4.30 m to 7.20 m wide. The height of the enclosure wall on the uphill side is 1.70 to 2.35 m. Access is generally from the end, usually to the south, but it may be from the front, or downhill side in the east as well. The principal difference from the byres is that the wooden roof is a single pent set across the width of the area at one end, from 2.83 m to 4.05 m deep, and surfaced with mud. There is no flat roof. The round joists usually project somewhat beyond the beam at the front of the structure on which they rest. The underside of this beam is 1.90 m to 2.10 m above the prepared floor level, sometimes propped by a post at the middle, and the front end of the roof slope rises up to 30 cm above this. The rear, or lower end rests on a wall 1.00 m to 1.45 m high. In a few cases there are pent-roofed sheds set along the length as well as across the width of the threshing floor, but the second roof then extends along less than half of the length. The downhill side of the floor terrace may be made up with a dwarf wall 20-30 cm high. Up to five floors may be arranged in a continuous row; occasionally a floor is stepped in two distinct levels to accommodate the slope.

The main mill, *yosh*, set above a leet at the bottom of the *nullah* falls, is driven by an horizontal water wheel below the floor (*Dwg. 7*). The leet itself is controlled by two sluices some 6.0 m above. At this level the water is channelled northwards from the waterfall between parapet walls, between which the first sluice is fitted. Directly above the mill, the outer wall is built out to project in a small rectangular basin, and the withdrawal of a wooden board forming the second sluice in its outer wall allows water to rush down an inclined chute eastwards to the wheel. The surplus water from the walled channel is led from the basin north-eastwards to feed the main irrigation channel with its wooden aqueduct nearby. A steep path to the south of the mill house allows the miller to clamber up to the sluices in a minute or two, and a broad wall on its

outer side divides the mill area from the rushing stream at the foot of the falls. The mill house is a single room measuring 5.05 m wide inside from north to south, and 3.90 m deep in the direction of the leet. The milling apparatus is all near the centre of the rear, western wall. This and the side walls are unbroken, of masonry 50 cm thick. Only the front, eastern wall is pierced by a door 78 cm wide and a window 50 cm wide with a shutter on the inside. The flat roof is supported by three beams 16 cm deep by 18 cm wide running from front to back, one in the centre and one along each side wall: as usual these are supported by three squared posts each, 18 x 18 cm, one at each end and one in the centre, so as to be effectively independent of the walls. The post at the centre of the floor is exceptional in being round, and the centre post to the north is missing. These beams are spanned from north to south by pole joists 10 cm in diameter at 37 cm centres, and these covered by irregular boards, giving a ceiling height of 163 cm. The roof projects slightly beyond the walls, with its underside 180 cm above external ground level, and an edge thickness of 30 cm. A level terrace is formed by flat stones in front of the building, well above the gully forming the outflow, and this is approached by stepping stones across a pool.

Inside, along most of the northern side wall, runs a shelf 100 cm broad and 290 cm long, set 60 cm above floor level with an upright board along its outer edge. At the centre of the room at the western wall is a wooden grain hopper, consisting of a flat board 175 cm long, 47 cm wide, and 13 cm thick, set 90 cm above the floor. A rectangular opening at its centre 70 cm long and 42 cm wide is formed into a round-bottomed basin 60 cm long and 20 cm deep externally, with a round hole at its base leading into a vertical cylindrical pipe 10 cm in diameter and some 30 cm long. Over the bottom of this pipe fits a cupshaped wooden cap 11 cm deep, from which a channel for the grain feed projects horizontally, 5 x 5 cm and 20 cm long, and grooved on its upper side. Its outer end thus overhangs the centre of the round mill stones, but can be swung to

one side if necessary. The upper, visible stone, the runner, is 90 cm in diameter by 13 cm thick, and set in a floor pit 20 cm deep, 150 cm wide and 190 cm long to the rear wall below the hopper. A timber projecting up out of the floor 117 cm in front of this pit serves as the tentering rod, with an horizontal pin through its head, the yoke, that can be held with a wedge: when the rod is pulled upwards and wedged, it lifts the end of a lever, the sprattle beam, below the floor. This raises the water wheel and its driving shaft, so that in turn the runner stone is lifted and thereby disengaged from the bed stone below, with a noticeable increase in the driving speed. From a peg on the feed channel hangs a wooden rod, the damsel, whose lower end rests on the upper surface of the wheel, causing it to vibrate constantly and ensure an even flow. The sound of the damsel is supposed to say "When it stops, then I will go for a rest!" Since the mill was in use when I visited it, I was unable to inspect the wheel itself, but an old crown used as a king post in a roof in the eastern close of the *kot* could be seen to have roughly the shape of a champagne cork, with the former lower end enlarged in diameter, and pierced for the vanes at an angle. Within the mill house, the southern end of the rear wall, to the side of the hopper, is occupied by another shelf only 40 cm high, for skins of meal. There is a hearth in the southern front corner, just inside the door, with a heap of kindling running along the side wall nearby, and larger firewood in the northern front corner.

Crafts

An acute sense of privacy in the village prevented me from seeing the work of the tailor, or observing the work of the weaver in anything but the most cursory way; what I could observe in the assembly area was, of course, only what was seasonally appropriate, and this included wood-work, smithing, and rope-making.

The weaver works in a shop attached to his house in the northernmost range of the *kot*, towards the north-eastern corner. This lies north of the

alley on the northern cross axis, and opens onto it through a front 4.79 m long: it is effectively a verandah 3.45 m deep, at ground level, under the usual combination of flat and pitched roofs. The right hand side of the front is partially closed in by a dry stone wall 3.18 m long, while the remaining part on the left (west) is defined by three rectangular posts framing two openings. The loom lies directly opposite this entrance, with a square pit in the floor for the treadles, and the warps hung from the roof joists above. Two further posts support a beam running down the long axis of the room on the far side of the pit. The loom used for weaving twill for caps is about 45 cm wide, with four heddles connected via overhead pulleys in pairs, and a reed on the weaver's side of the work. At the time I saw it, another loom was folded together nearby, showing that the weaver could suspend work on one item to take up another, always using the same pit with his back to the western wall. He was then from sixty to seventy years old: the work is hereditary within his *jolâhâ* caste, but there is now some doubt as to whether a successor can be found for him. He charges 3 *ho* of grain for the 3 cubits (ca. 120 cm) of twill required for a man's cap, *qoy*, but the same price for the 20 cubits (ca. 8.00 m) of material required for a man's coat, *choga*, or *shal-war*. Beside these he weaves blankets and puttees. The client is also expected to feed him during the time he works on the job. In the period before industrially woven material was available, this supply of local woollen cloth was plainly much more important. The cap, however, remains an indispensable ethnic marker even now. The wool can be spun locally on the Middle Eastern type of spinning wheel, *chagîr*. The leg from one I examined was some 54 cm tall, cut from a plank 9 cm wide by 2.5 cm thick, carved to form a lozenge-shaped centre for the axle 30 cm from the end, flanked by smaller lozenges above and below, with the ends pared down to a slender 2.5 x 2 cm beyond these. Both these wheels and the loom components are made by the village carpenters.

Goat hair for ropes is spun by the male villagers in general as they sit on the platforms, using a simple spindle shaft 45-50 cm long, without a whorl. They turn this in the right hand, teasing out the yarn from a rounded slub held in the left, controlled by the thumb and first finger of the left hand to form a Z spin. To wind the yarn in they rotate the free end pointing to their front left, in a circle towards the chest and downwards in an anti-clockwise motion, so that the shaft itself appears to rotate. The yarn to be laid into a rope is then wound tightly onto a stick by a boy: he holds the stick in his right hand, with the point away from his body, and leads the rope onto it with his left in a rotary movement from the left up over to his right and down towards the left again. Then one man sits on the platform with the wound spindle of yarn in his right hand. A standing man holds the yarn in his left hand, and gives the free end back to the sitting man, who holds it in his left hand before passing the free end to his standing partner. The yarn is thus extended in three parts, and each man holds a bight of it in his left hand, and the end of the spindle in his right. The standing man backs away from the platforms towards the wall near the gate tower, holding all three parts together taut, as does the sitting man: in this way a rope is laid S of 3 Z.

These ropes can be cabled Z from 3 S. Three men sit on one side of the platform in a row, each with a spindle of S-laid rope, facing a fourth sitting man who has all three ropes fastened together at their ends. The latter, while continuing to hold these, passes the end to a boy standing behind him. The first three men screw up their ropes with a clockwise rotation of the spindle, as seen by them, as it points toward the fourth man. He pulls heartily on the ropes with his right hand, while allowing them to slide together into a cable with his left. Meanwhile the boy behind him holds the cable taut and screws it up clockwise by hand, without the aid of a stick. The three continue their screwing action throughout, but the boy and the fourth man alternate their movements: the boy screws the cable up while the man holds all tightly together, and then pulls on it while the man allows it to run together.

The tailor's workshop is in the south-east corner of the *kot*, near the southern end of the long eastern close. In this case the room is raised above an undercroft, with a frontage of 3.30 m, lit by a clerestory above a wooden upstand. It is thus similar to the usual verandah, except that it extends for the full 3.00 m depth of the rooms on either side, which both open off it through doorways. The shop is accessible by a ladder leading to a pair of doors at the left hand end of the front. The rear is a light slatted wall. The tailor appears to make extensive use of sewing machines, which could be heard at work.

The sawyers who convert the timber to usable proportions work in the assembly area. A balk 30 x 12 cm is set up at 45°, resting in the fork at the apex of an equilateral triangular frame of 15 x 3 cm planks 85 cm long. The base is wedged with odd pieces of wood and stones. The outer end to be worked on is then at about eye level. One sawyer works from the ground, and the other balanced on the balk itself, using a long framed rip saw. Smaller timbers could be worked while wedged in the cleft between stones in the ground to the south-east of the smithy.

The seasonal tasks for the carpenters include making or repairing the wooden parts of ploughs, hoes, sickles, and axes, besides the wholly wooden winnowing shovels: they are carried out in public near the front of the smithy, where it fronts the assembly area. Although the carpenters are specialists, their work is not hereditary. Their basic tool is the adze. The timber used for the helves and smaller items is holm-oak, *bhanî* (Urdu *bhanjî*), taken from the circle of protected trees beyond the village. A helve for a hoe, *kashî*, as made in early June, is cut down from a straight 9 cm branch 60 cm long: this is reduced to a squared section 5 x 5 cm at the lower end, while the upper end is rounded to 5 cm diameter, except for a knob of 7.5 cm diameter and 2.5 cm deep at the top. The tine of the hoe blade is simply driven through the helve some 7 cm from the bottom (*Fig. 1a*). Such hoes are used for clearing the irrigation channels as well as for preparing the ground after ploughing. The handle

of a sickle, *lêcho*, also made in early June, forms a U bend. The grip is 3.5 cm in diameter and 16 cm long, but curves back on itself for a finger-guard a further 10 cm long, whose section is slightly squared. The blade is made with a split ferrule which is clamped over the end of the grip and rivetted in position, so that the guard stands at right angles to the right of the plane of the blade (*Fig. 1d*). The plough, *hal*, (*Fig. 2a*) required for the end of the month is cut from an angular branch some 13 cm thick, with one arm forming a short sole 40 cm long left rounded on the underside, but with the upper side triangular in section at the angle, tapering to a flat upper surface to take the share at the tip. The other arm, forming an angle of some 110° with the sole, forms the stilt, cut to a squared section 7.5 x 7.5 cm at the bottom and 5 x 5 cm at the top. The beam, *hâlêsh*, 7.5 x 5 cm in section and 180 cm long, transfixes the branch hook at the angle, passing through the bottom of the stilt at right angles, held by a cross pin driven through it behind the stilt, and wedged with a further rod, *pânâ*, 30 cm long, in the upper part of the hole; the outer end of the beam is pierced with a slot, *ashtûm*, used for a rope, *besh*, that secures the yoke. The top of the stilt is transfixed from behind with a rounded handle rod, *mushtî*, 20 cm long and 2.5 cm in diameter. The yoke is carved in a double U form to fit over the necks of the team, with a 2.5 cm rod piercing it on either side of each hollow to confine the necks of the animals. Axe helves are straight, oval in section 2.5 x 2 cm, and up to 40 cm long. The winnowing shovel (*Fig. 1c*) appears to be carved in one piece, to form a pole-like handle 180 cm long, ending in a flat blade 30 cm long and 20 cm broad, rounded where it joins the handle, and straight at the outer edge.

Other carpenter's work includes making the grain chests, *tûwân*, which when plain cost Rs 100-200: it seems that the carved variety prized by the dealers is no longer made. The smaller chests, *tûwân* or *sundûq* are used for storing clothes and bedding in the home. The carpenters also make the stools and low chairs with tall carved back standards, and

charpoy beds, all of which have leather lacing, as well as spinning wheels and looms for the weaver, and probably the beehives. They must formerly have made the wooden shoes used for longer journeys. They were formerly paid by subscription through the *duqûr*, but since about 1985 charge for piece-work instead.

The smiths, *âkâr*, work at their hereditary task close by the carpenters under the workshop roof by the assembly area. Their apparatus is limited to a small open hearth, bellows, a small anvil, hammers and tongs. They are responsible for making and maintaining those same agricultural tools for which the carpenters make the helves. In June they could be seen sharpening axe blades on a roughly flat triangular boulder, and forging plough shares, which they staple to the plough sole while still hot, presumably to ensure a close fit. The axes, *chatal*, characteristic of the whole region flare from a 2.5 cm root to a rounded cutting edge about 12 cm long, which is slightly bearded; the blade is also about 12 cm long to the front of an oval socket with an opening 2.5 cm deep on the blade axis and 2 cm wide, itself bearded on the back of the haft to a length of 7 cm (*Fig. 1b*). There is quite a wide variety of form within this pattern. Plough shares, *pâl*, are some 13 cm long, and pointed at the tip, broadening with curved sides to a straight rear edge either side of the 5 cm tang which is stapled to the sole. They have no downturned edges to provide greater lateral stability, simply lying on top of the sole tip, where they are secured with a 10 x 5 mm iron staple driven right through the sole and bent back 6 cm on the underside. Sickles are made with a blade about 3 mm thick and a maximum breadth of 2.5 cm at the middle, diminishing to 1 mm thick and a breadth of 1 cm at the outer tip, but 3 mm thick and 1.5 cm broad at the haft end. The back of the blade forms only a slight curve 26 cm long, then sweeping down in a stronger arc to the tip 15 cm below: the whole of the inside edge of these parts is provided with teeth 1 mm deep, 8 per centimetre, not set, but pointing towards the haft. At the haft end the blade bends sharply downwards in

a rounded right angle, without teeth, giving a total outside length of 28 cm, and then bends back at right angles to meet the haft, to which it is clenched with two flanges 2 cm long, and a rivet driven through a thin plate set inside them. The whole blade thus has a cranked rather than an acurate profile. The hoe blade is very similar to the plough share, but larger, at 23 cm long by 8 cm broad, with a tine some 8 cm long for driving through the haft. The smiths are still paid by public contribution through the *duqûr* twice a year, as detailed above.

Gourds are used to hold water for drinking and ablutions before prayer. They are either a simple rounded shape, or waisted with two superimposed rounds, and between 30 and 46 cm in diameter. They can be seen in daily use, as at the threshing floors, and also in the undercroft store rooms.

Costume

Neither men nor women appear any more interested in clothing than they are in other material possessions: they appear drab, though never ragged. Men wear the loose cotton *shalwar* and *kurteh* general throughout Pakistan, in off-white, faded green, pale blue or light brown. They also wear the woollen, flat-topped cap with an uprolled lower edge which has been common throughout the region and the Hindukush in general since at least the time of Alexander's invasion. These are made from locally-woven twill in widths of about 45 cm, and before use have the form of a cylindrical bag sewn up one side: the art of wearing them involves first stuffing the bag full with other clothing and rolling the hem tightly over this up to the top to obtain the neat rim required. In winter men carry the usual fawn woollen or Cashmere shawls over their shoulders. Small boys may be seen almost or completely naked in summer, but for an amulet around their necks consisting of a string of up to four bags of 4 x 2.5 cm worn in front. Some elongated heads suggest binding in infancy. Unlike the women, both men and boys normally

have shoes. Formerly they used wooden shoes when travelling: their own explanation is that this allowed them to keep their feet clean from mud, so that they could pray without renewing their ablutions. Beside these they wore puttees consisting of a 10 cm woollen band, a skin covering, and a long thong. These have largely been replaced by shoes, but may still be used for movement in the forest, when fetching wood. The band is first wound around the foot, then up the shank for about 30 cm. Then three bands of skin about 30 cm broad are folded over the foot, first from one side, then from the other, effectively forming a pointed boot. These can be of goat-hide or cowhide, but the best is considered to be markhor-hide: all are softened with butter. Markhor-hide should be used with the hair inside for the outer layer. The hide is bound on with the thong, passed three times around the instep, then looped to form a double heel-strap, then looped again and wound ten times around the shank. One of the *mâwlânas* habitually wore white only, including a white skull cap, so differentiating himself from his flock. Beards are common, some trimmed and others left long; others still were dyed with henna.

Up to the age of twelve, girls have the backs of their heads shaved in a generous tonsure, leaving a fringe of 8-25 cm all round. This is normally hidden underneath their caps. All women and girls wear the same beret-like cap (*Fig. 3*) about 30 cm across, but girls' caps are of white twill, while women's are black. Since the outside of the cap is entirely covered with predominantly red embroidery, this ground colour is not apparent to an inexpert eye. Girls, however, leave their hair free below the cap, while married women conceal theirs under it. The embroidery is described below. Both appear to wear the same kind of dress, almost always in a drab dark grey or indigo-black (though theoretically there is no restriction in colour), knee-length, tight in the bodice, but very fully pleated in the skirt. This seems to be short sleeved, with undersleeves emerging below. There is said to be a difference in the front opening,

girls having a zip or a button at the throat, while women have a flap closing over the left breast. This dress is decorated with a red band some 2 cm broad around the waist, and two bands running from the waist over the shoulders about 30 cm apart, visible at front and rear, with a vee of the same kind running from the shoulders to the centre of the waist, also at front and rear. The bands are apparently patterned, and are probably some kind of braid. They are largely hidden by the generous dark-coloured shawl worn by women when out of doors, which covers their head, shoulders, and much of their back. A young girl's dress I was able to glimpse had the coloured waist band at the sides only, turning at right angles to run up over the shoulders from front and back, with no diagonal bands, but an embroidered rosette at the centre of the back occupying most of the space between the shoulder bands. Under the dress girls are said to wear narrow shalwar, sometimes red or white, without embroidery, while women wear navy-blue shalwar cut generously so as to hang in folds from the inside of the leg to the outside, with embroidery at the ankle. On the approach of strange men, women invariably react by pulling the shawl close around them, and if possible turning their faces to the wall or the cliff at the side of a road.

Very young children wear caps of a different shape. Those for boys have a cylindrical side about 7 cm high and 13 cm diameter, topped by a red conical crown with a 10 cm side, and provided with ear-flaps 6 cm long: all are quilted, and the crown is reinforced with radially arranged sticks or canes. The front and sides are hung with coins, bells, amulets, and clusters of white beads; the upper point and the seam between side and top are decorated with tufts of contrasting colours. Girl children wear a pillbox cap of about the same dimensions and also with ear-flaps, but with a flat top traversed by double lines forming a cross. This is again decorated with talismans, bells, and tufts, but the white beads are sewn onto the surface, and there are no coins (see 'Needlework' below).

Needlework

As embroidery is the single medium in which any local artistic skill is evident (the wood carving is done by specialists from Tangir), it deserves to be described in some detail.

The Sazini villagers presented me with two caps of the beret type, and I was allowed to examine two caps for young Shin children at Shatial, one for a boy and one for a girl. The following description is based on these specimens alone. An embroidered gun case I bought in Thor may not be typical of Sazin: I certainly never saw one there, though there was no shortage of weapons.

The young boy's cap was made up with a cylindrical side 7 cm high, a conical crown with a slope of 10 cm, and triangular ear flaps 7 cm long and 6 cm high; it was 42 cm in circumference. The crown was sewn in a black cotton material forming a star of four points, quilted in parallel rows of machined stitches, and infilled with four points of red material to complete the cone. The black material was doubled outside with a red cotton print and quilted, but the red sections were left as a single thickness and unquilted. The quilting was heavy, and had a corrugated effect as each section contained five straight canes or sticks of about 4 mm diameter sewn in, and alternating with an unstiffened fold. The side was of beige woollen cloth, quilted with a red cotton lining inside and violet satin outside in seven rows of red machine stitch, with a seam for stiffening. The hem was trimmed with a doubling of red cotton. At the junction of side and crown was a row of woollen tufts 1 cm long in four colours alternating in a repeating sequence of green, red, yellow, red, blue, red. At the very top was a 3 cm tuft of the same colours, mostly chemically dyed, bound at the root with the same again. The lower edge of the cap was trimmed at the front and sides with a 3 cm fringe of twists of the same colours strung with white beads. A tuft of strung white beads end the fringe behind each ear-flap, with a triangular gilt amulet of 1 cm side, stamped with a rosette pattern. Along the top of each ear-

flap was a row of six or eight silver bells formed of a slit globe 6 mm in diameter. At the front, back, and on each side was a vertical row of three contiguous gilt coins 12 mm in diameter, stamped with a rosette pattern or a ship. At the front was an amulet of two outcurving teeth each 2 cm long set in red cloth in a cast silvered mount 20 x 8 cm with a butterfly-like pattern. Above this was a bell, and under it a coin. On the ear-flaps there was a cluster of white beads at each corner, and two concentric vees of paired 2 mm beads centred on a single pair at the top centre. A pointed child's cap, *topai*, in the Mingora Museum is similar in structure, with reed reinforcement of four triangular faces.

The young girl's cap was a cylindrical pillbox 7 cm high and 14 cm in diameter (or 40 cm in circumference), with ear flaps 8 cm long and 5 cm deep. It was made up in beige woollen cloth lined outside and inside with a red cotton print (showing rows of large green hollow lozenges and rows of smaller yellow ones, each alternating with round white dots, suggestive of tie-and-dye technique). The top was quilted with seven circumferential, partially spiral tines of stitching, crossed by two double lines set 4 mm apart, at right angles, extending to the front, rear, and sides. The side was quilted with five horizontal lines, and finished with a violet satin doubling at the hem. The ear-flaps were quilted with four concentric vees, points downward, doubled at the exposed edges with a red, green and yellow nylon print. The junction of side and flat crown was decorated with 8 mm tufts of wool in four blocks in a sequence of clumps of dark blue, red, orange, red, green, red, yellow, red, thus with four dark blues each at the front, back, and sides. There was also a tuft at the centre of the crown as before. The sides were plain except for pairs of 2 mm white beads sewn at 1 cm intervals on the violet hem, and a talisman of paired teeth at the front, mounted, but bound at the base with green cotton instead of red, and with one gilt button set below it on the hem. On the crown similar pairs of beads were sewn aslant the centre line of the cross arms, at 1 cm intervals, and around the periphery. A

further pair of bead clusters was set radially together at the mid point of each diagonal between the arms of the cross, each of four white beads around a gold, red, or dark blue one. The ear-flaps had lines of five or six silver bells along the top edge as before, and a gilt imitation of a coin stamped with a ship (with two lateen sails) set at each corner. Pairs of white beads were sewn aslant parallel to the lines of the two free edges, and a second parallel row of seven pairs set half way to the centre, forming concentric vees. Both childrens' caps were made by the same mother.

The older girl's beret from Sazin is a rounded square in plan, as it is made up from a 20 x 21 cm square of whitish woollen twill cloth, with 8 cm wide gussets added to make up a circle, and gathered at four corners, but with 'ears' left over on the inside. The maximum radius from centre to rim is 20 cm, about 5 cm of which is turned in, and the length of each side is about 20 cm. The embroidery design reflects this make-up, since the areas of extensively striped embroidery are over the gussets. The twill is scarcely visible externally, except at the interstices where the top turns in to form the sides, and at four diagonal lines set across the corners, each about 3 mm wide. The remainder is closely embroidered in red wool set off with dark blue, green, and yellow. A sequence of squares in blue, red, green, red, yellow, red form a square border running between the corners, trimmed above and below with a similar sequence of stripes. At the centre is a roundel 14 cm across surrounding a square 4 x 4 cm with four inward-pointing arrows, one at each corner; between the square and the circular outline are infills of triangular shapes, some concentric. The corners of the cap and the inturned part at the rim have zigzags of blue, yellow, and green alternating with white on a predominantly red ground, with a large blue zigzag near the rim lined each side with red on white, about 16 mm broad. There are then concentric, straightish lines of red, yellow and red, and finally a trimmed rim of blue herringbone overcasting. There is no other orna-

ment except for ten pearl 1 cm buttons. Five of these are sewn on in the central square, one at the middle and one at each corner; one is sewn at each of the corners of the border of squares, thus above each cap corner, on the white line; the last is at the junction of the white lines between the corners below the inturn (at the front?), just above the main zigzag. Only chain stitch is used, and the standard of both drawing and execution is distinctly crude (*Fig. 3*).

Ancestors

I was told variously that the Muslims in Sazin were now in the 14th or 15th generation, or that they were in the 9th generation, representing the difference between some 350 years and 225 years since the advent of Islam in the area. The latter account was substantiated by a genealogy, as given here, but it should be noted that the number of generations given, eight, represents the normal maximum recall. Nevertheless, it was claimed that these details corresponded to a written genealogy kept in the village, to which I was not allowed access: it was said, in any case, to be written in Shina, and that I would not understand it. Furthermore this version was extended by ten pre-Islamic generations. It is broadly corroborated by Biddulph, writing a century ago, who recorded that Islam had come to Tangir, just opposite Sazin, only six generations earlier (1880:13), thus about ten to the present time: it seems probable that if the Muslim missionaries came from the south, as claimed, they moved from Palus to Sazin, and only afterwards to Tangir, perhaps a generation later.

According to Nuwab Khan, the grandfather of the present schoolmaster, the forefathers of the present villagers came from the Panjab, whither they had come from Arabistan. One of their number, called Sudum, came to Palus in Indus-Kohistan. Sudum had two sons called Mani and Manzari (which was the elder was unknown). Manzari moved across the River Indus in the direction of Dubair and Bankaj, and the connection

with him was lost. Mani had two sons, Meyo and Manik. The sons of Meyo were at Seo and Pathan, whereas Manik's descendants lived in Palus. Manik had three sons, Bigo, Kuko, and Manuk. Bigo was to settle in Sazin, while the other two were at Jalkot and Palus. When Bigo first came to Sazin he settled at Doche, an area full of sand two miles from Shuri *nullah*, above the present Highway. His son's name was also Doche, and his son's name was Gayro. Gayro moved towards Lachi *nullah* nearer Sazin. His son was Bujo, and it was he who married a girl whose father, by the name of Dodar, already lived at Sazin: they had a son named Kalomo. Gayro urged the bride not to accept any gift from her father except water: she obtained this, and Kalomo, claiming full water rights, was the first Shin to settle at Sazin itself. His son was Bereno, whose son was Boho, and his son was Sheykh Khan. As Bigo was the first Shin in the area, the inhabitants of Sazin who are descended from him – that is all except two families of Yeshkun and six of Kamin – are still known as Bigo, meaning 'brave man'.

Kalomo lived at first in the more southerly of the old forts, called Thati *kot*; this small structure can still be seen high on the steep mountainside above the southernmost end of the Sazin road and the new settlement, that is on the western slope of the main valley, very difficult of access. Later he moved to Thatuwi *kot*, the larger fort whose deserted ruins still crown the hilltop northwest of Sazin *kot*. It is said that there was formerly a water channel to this fort, but I could see no trace of it either in the fort or on the approaches: possibly it was a wooden aqueduct which has since been removed (*see Dwg. 8a-b*). The girl's family was said (in answer to my query) to be Shin from another line.

The other nullahs are said to have been settled much later, first Harban (Harband), then Shatial: Harban is explained by a (false) folk etymology as meaning "from all directions", having a mixed population, and Shatial is settled by Kamin.

Nawab Khan claimed to be in the seventh generation of Muslims descended from Sheykh Khan, who heads the genealogy. His son was Ali Khan, whose son was Nazar Din, whose son was Sheykh, whose son was Darbeza, whose son was Lachar Khan, whose son was Nawab Khan, the informant, who appeared to be about 60 years old in 1987, and had both a son and a young adult grandson. The whole village is claimed to have become Muslim at about the same time. They were converted by members of the *ûrî Mîr* family, of the Megan caste, who came from the direction of Mansehra or Swat, at any rate from 'down below': these were definitely not Pathans.

According to another account, the first Shin to come here was Bigo from Bigo Bande, near Jalkot, and it was he who married the Sazini woman, after which he stayed with his father-in-law. After some time he instructed his wife not to accept any presents from her father, but to ask instead for the water of the *nullah*. Therefore, when her father had prepared presents and special gifts for them, she rejected them and asked him, if he loved her, to give them the *nullah* water instead. He was glad to do so. After two or three years disputes arose over the use of the water. Bigo then took some stakes and marked out the land he wanted, first taking half the land for himself, the best, and then setting stakes at night. The former residents put the stakes in the bad areas, but Bigo moved them to the better land; this was done at night with the aim of impartiality. The arrangement became permanent, and his descendants inherited it. They are known as Bigo in consequence.

Further details were given by Hajji Muhammad 'Alim b. Ilyas, one of the *mawlânâ* brothers. Islam was first brought to the area fourteen or fifteen generations ago by a Sayyid who came wearing a white turban. The *kafirs*, as they then were, called him a 'white crow', *shîyo kâ*, and said they must fight him. When I asked if he was alone, the *hajji* replied "How could he come alone?". He and his followers evidently triumphed. His family still received an annual tribute of 3 *ho* of maize from each

household until 1987, when it was not given: they were therefore known as the *ûrî Mîr*, *ûrî* in Shina meaning 'three'. At that time the villagers were still living in the larger upper fort, called Kañi. They then divided, and some came down to found the village of Sazin on its present site. The *ûrî Mîr* live in the region of Thalkot. Nuwab Khan, on the contrary, said that the tribute of 3 *ho* had not been paid for twenty years or so.

From this it appears that the original inhabitants of Sazin may have lived in the smaller of the two old forts, where they were joined by the newcomers. The larger old fort may have been founded by Bigo and his followers. Sazin *kot* itself is claimed to date from the conversion to Islam, and is probably not older than the mid-18th century. It is interesting in this connection that the age of the great plane tree shading the platforms to the south of the *kot* was estimated by the Forest Range Officer, Bafu Khan, as 300 years old: it seems possible that it was already there, and chosen as the site of the platforms, before the *kot* was built. Whether the original inhabitants were really Shin too remains to be established: it seems possible that this was claimed by my informants only to authenticate the caste of Kalomo's descendants. It can, however, be seen that the Shin are regarded as having come to the area seven generations at least before Sazin was founded, that is in the late 16th century, if not earlier. That the Old Fort on the hilltop is associated with the period before the general use of firearms is shown by the four-flanged arrowhead found just outside its walls by my driver, Akhtar.

The account in the longer genealogy, apparently relating to these pre-Islamic times (none of the names given is Muslim), is particularly interesting in that it indicates a gradual spread of the Shin northwards up the Indus and around the river bend, rather than a sudden incursion; the claim to a southern origin corresponds to the traditions gathered by Prof. Jettmar elsewhere in the region, and the philological evidence put forward by Prof. Fussman, that Shina has some relationship with Tirahi. It also seems to be consistent with Biddulph's observation (1880:36) that

the true Shin type was only to be found in the Indus Valley below Sazin, the population up river from Sazin being less clearly defined, and presumably mixed.

The older inhabitants of Sazin still remember a flat 'tax stone' laid on the path down the *nullah*, where they were formerly charged an octroi. This stone no longer exists, but was known as *durung bat*, 'drum stone', as it made a ringing sound when trodden on: I was shown a position in a hollow two or three hundred metres above the Highway, and just below the present telegraph lines, to the west of the *nullah* gorge. A Sazini man of forceful character had been appointed by the 'Raja of Tangir' to extort half the goods (that is goats) of all those coming and going by the path. There was only one such tax point. My informant, Nur Muhammad, was vague about the time when this was the practice, but seemed to be referring to the earlier years of this century. It is, however, noteworthy that the same informant claimed that the land and pastures belonging to the people of the hilltop fort were also here, where the terraces can still be seen: they were watered by rainfall only. According to Nuwab Khan, though, the 'Raja's' strong man was Doro, a maternal uncle of Kalomo. This of course would set the scene much earlier, perhaps at the beginning of the 18th century, but it is consistent with Nur Muhammad's association of the area with the hilltop fort (it will be noticed that I was given different names for this, Kañi and Thatuwi *kot*, by the *hajji* and Nuwab Khan respectively). Apart from this single example of outside interference, Sazin is said to have remained independent. Doghra rule and influence did not extend so far.

Unexpectedly, the principal enemies of Sazin seem to have been fellow Shin from Palus and Jalkot, though one informant also mentioned Chitral. In earlier times two or three watchmen were posted in the *kot* towers to keep a lookout for raiders. Generally the strategy was to try to intercept them before they reached the village. As an example of this enmity, I was told how, on one occasion, the people of Palus called for

twelve delegates from Sazin to negotiate the settlement of a dispute, and how they slaughtered them on arrival. A man from Sazin then took revenge; he transferred his household to Palus, claiming that he had changed allegiance. He was a carpenter, and continued his business there, making chests and chairs. One day he asked for twelve men to help him move and divide a tree trunk in the forest. He split the trunk, and asked them to hold it open for him, but as they did so he contrived to catch the hands of all twelve in the cleft, and chopped their heads off. He then returned to the village, saying that the men were following in an hour; he left quickly with his family, and managed to escape.
In the past, disputes have often arisen in the region over the division or sharing of summer pastures in the heights between adjacent valleys. A dispute of this kind still continues over the upper part of Sumer *nullah*, which is claimed by both Sazin and Shatial. The Sazinis claim that they bought their present summer pastures and everything on them from Darel long ago, paying one *sêr* of gold. In 1987 this dispute, which is said to have resulted in several deaths each summer, was subject to a lawsuit. The district councillor was therefore particularly interested to hear that Biddulph had recorded Shatial as belonging to Sazin (1880:12).

Biddulph's figures (ibid.) show Sazin as being able to raise about 400 fighting men. From this it would appear that the population has not changed greatly over the last hundred years. He does in fact note that bad feeling had developed between Tangir and Sazin because of the then recent overflow of excess population from Sazin, as from Kolai and Palus, which was threatening to outnumber the indigenous inhabitants. The movement of Sazin's Yeshkuns into Tangir appears, then, to be only the latest manifestation of the same tendency. The limited size of the Sazin Valley clearly requires an outlet of some kind for growing population. The southwestern suburb is said to have developed since 1900, and the upper village since about 1960: in fact Prof. Jettmar's photographs from 1982 show that there were distinctly fewer houses

there then than in 1987, with a thicker cover of holm oak on the slopes beyond and between.

Present prospects

Sazin *kot,* being a single village within its valley, has not been subject to the continuous traffic between settlements and the Indus which characterises the much larger valleys of Tangir and Darel, nor does it have a sequence of settlements strung out along a narrow but long valley as at Harban or Thor. The contractor's road for forestry lay high enough above the *kot* to keep contact to a minimum, and it is now temporarily inactive again. There are in fact very few outside visitors. Professor Jettmar and Dr. Nayyar visited it first in 1982 for one day; Dr. Nayyar returned subsequently, and tried to remain for longer, but an unpleasant drug administered in his food made it plain to him that he was unwanted, and he left after two days. The attempts of the police to establish a post there were no more successful. Visits from higher authorities are very rare. I was allowed to visit the village daily for months at a time, under the patronage of the district councillor. Not all the villagers were happy with this freedom given me. It was clear that the majority, if not all, wished to retain the independence from authority and the outside world in general which they had been able to enjoy for so long. My position was always a delicate one, as it could potentially mediate a breakdown in their privacy. When an American arrived one day from the clinic at Pathan, I was immediately suspected of having invited him, and it was difficult for me to convince them that I had never seen him before. Even the better educated youths reflected this guarded tolerance, and two of them who returned from the summer quarters were clearly rather put out to find me still at work in August.

Given this conservative attitude, it is unlikely that any radical change in village society will take place in the near future, though the drift away from the *kot* to the upper village is likely to continue. Schooling is likely

to remain elementary, and restricted to boys only. The same attitude, however, is likely to make any closer inquiry into the social structure of the *kot* difficult. This does, however, remain important. The *kot* does seem to be the only structure of its kind to have survived in the region, and its function should therefore be recorded in full detail before it disintegrates.

What is now needed is a survey to establish the ownership of the houses within the *kot* and its annexes, and the relationship between these owners and their factions. This could be followed by an inquiry into the ownership of the fields. The first of these exercises might now be carried out away from the village itself with the aid of the plans I have drawn, and a few of the village leaders. The second is, in the absence of a land register, likely to be regarded as highly undesirable, and resisted. The actual pattern of fields within the valley could, however, be established by aerial photography from a balloon or a helicopter, and this might then be used, ultimately, as a basis for tracing ownership to reveal the connection between social structure and land wealth. A third subject for study, in the role of the women, seems so fraught with difficulty as to be almost impossible for a male outsider.

The ruined Old Fort at Sazin, unlike its later successor, seems in its concentric organisation around a hilltop to have surviving parallels in the village of Dargah half-way down Harban Valley nearby, and perhaps at Dashkin near Astor. Since the Fort at Sazin is wholly in ruins, it can only be understood in relation to these if, indeed, their outer appearance does testify to a similar internal organisation. It is therefore important that these, too, be studied as possible examples of a local settlement form surviving from before the 18th century.

Conditions for fieldwork

The Commissioner at Dassu kindly arranged for me to be introduced to the village through one of his clerks, and he in turn introduced me to the

district councillor who, with his sons, was to remain my main contact there throughout my stay. The young man from Dassu quickly tired of his responsibilities, and after a week's vacillating attendance, went away. As the councillor thought it better to reduce the presence of my group to the minimum, he was unconcerned at this development; I had the impression that the frequent presence of a government representative in the village was in any case unwelcome. My group then consisted of myself, my interpreter, and my driver, himself a Shin from Chilas, and so it remained but for a change of interpreter. I had initially sought an interpreter who had some architectural experience, and had engaged a Panjabi, who communicated with the villagers in Urdu. They regarded him as a *kafir*, however, and he was never able to adapt to the very different social conditions of the largely classless village life in the North. It became increasingly clear that he did not wish to continue work at Sazin, and after a progressively more unhappy relationship he left in early July. With the help of my driver and cook I was able to take on a young man, Arman, from one of the Shina-speaking villages in southern Hunza, who had experience as a mountain guide. Although his English was not as good as the Panjabi's, his native Shina allowed him to communicate more directly with the villagers, and his constant, self-effacing readiness to help was a welcome contrast to the first interpreter's attitude. His Ismaili religion did not appear to arouse any strong antipathy from the villagers. My driver Akhtar helped throughout with measurements and equipment, and was a staunch and resourceful support with his constant good humour. The councillor's sons and the village schoolmaster generally provided the escort I needed for moving around the village, and I owe much to their continuing patience: they too joined in taking measurements from time to time. The councillor himself, the *yashtêrô*, the two mullahs, and other senior members of the community were generally ready to answer my questions on social or agricultural matters, but denied any survivals of pre-Islamic belief.

As soon as I arrived the villagers made it clear to me that I and my group would not be allowed to stay in the village itself. I was therefore glad to accept the offer of accommodation in the Forest Office lodge at Shatial, some ten miles away, and this had the advantage that the cook could remain there while I drove up to Sazin every day. The first month was Ramazan, so hospitality was necessarily restricted. I was occasionally invited into their guest rooms by the councillor and the contractor, but usually spent the day from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. working outside on the survey. I was asked to leave at about 3 p.m. so that my presence should not inhibit the women returning from the fields, and I would then return to the lodge to make notes and work on the village plan. Throughout my work at the village I did what I could to maintain friendly relations with the male inhabitants, always visiting the platforms first, greeting all who were there, and sitting with them for a while: most grew to accept me, even if they were never forthcoming, but a few conservative individuals clearly resented my intrusion.

My first concern while at Sazin was to complete the physical survey of the village by establishing its plan. This was by no means an easy task, as the construction was extremely irregular, and even the quoins at the angles of buildings projected in and out to such an extent that I found I obtained a measurement 10-15 cm different from the previous one every time I returned to check something: I finally resorted to marking the actual point from which I had measured, so that I could return to it. I was not even allowed to penetrate the *kot* until I had completed four weeks work around its periphery and in the southwestern annexe. When I eventually did so, I had access only to the alleyways and some of the closes and courts, so that the pattern of measured work I could carry out was disconnected, and the angular relationships between these axes were uncertain. I was never allowed to move around the village without a young man, or at least a boy as escort, to ensure that I should have no contact with the women, and so far as possible to ascertain that there

was no female in the area where I intended to work. As soon as I arrived on the road and started down the path to the village, I would be greeted by a shrill chorus of children, and would be met by one of these helpers, who generally went ahead of me to look around corners before giving an all-clear. I was not allowed to use a theodolite for fear that I would see women through its telescope. The apparatus I could use was therefore restricted to a tape measure and a bearing compass, which I hung on a retractable dog line in order to establish the orientation of walls: the measurements were only accurate within about 3°. Measurements of the outside walls could be confirmed by triangulation from outlying rocks, but within the village the available angles were too small and the walls too irregular for this to be an effective control. Thus although I started work at the beginning of May, what I could achieve was distinctly limited, and it was not until the villagers had largely left for the summer quarters that I had any greater freedom of movement. As the harvesting work intensified, I was asked to break off my work as it would embarrass the women: I obtained permission to continue until the end of June, working mainly on the Old Fort above, where I would cause less disturbance. By then I had done all that I could to establish the plans of the village itself and the Old Fort, and already had drafts of their layout. I was to be allowed to recommence work once the villagers had migrated. By this time the Panjabi interpreter was colluding with those villagers who were not happy at my presence, in an effort to bring the work at Sazin to an end.

This hiatus could be used to visit most of the other valleys in the region, both to gain a general comparative view of the architecture, and to record individual buildings where it seemed appropriate: the ISMEO team had already been active recording the major mosques in recent years, and there was of course no reason to duplicate their work. We visited Harban, Thor, Palus (Guli-Bagh, Padar, Ghaziabad, Kawlai, Batingi, Hunkot), Seo, Tangir (Jaglot, Koruge, Puruli, Kamikot), Darel

(Semigal-i Pain, Semigal-i Bala, Gayal, Phoguch, Manikal-i Bala, Kumari), Gor, and Astor: only the visit to Astor was largely abortive, because of heavy rain. When we started in Darel on 24th July the police were busy suppressing dissidence in the upper part of the valley, and a squad of twenty men exchanged 5,000 rounds that day. We were therefore obliged to confine our work to the villages in the lower part of the valley, venturing no further up than Manikal-i Bala. At Palus I had fallen and broken a rib, but managed to continue without treatment. Between these excursions I also continued the work of drawing up the measurements taken at Sazin, in order to make sure they could be coordinated, and to identify missing data.

We began work again at Sazin on 11th August, and found that the atmosphere of the village had changed greatly: we were able to move around much more freely, and often without an escort. I could enter courts and closes from which I had earlier been excluded, and could even climb around on the flat roofs, thereby coordinating the previously isolated groups of measurements. I could set up the theodolite on a terrace west of the village, and make a series of measurements which again helped to coordinate the previous work. The houses themselves were locked, but I could climb onto their balconies, and this enabled me to estimate the extent of each. The few villagers who remained, who were less important than those with whom we had dealt before, were friendly, and one even allowed me into his house briefly. I was in fact able to achieve more in these ten days than I had in the whole of the previous period, though the preparation had of course been a necessary precondition for my success.

Such notes as I was able to make on the organisation and activities of the village were secondary, indeed almost incidental to the survey, and made sporadically, as opportunities arose: I was there primarily as an architect. Occasionally an individual, such as the *hajji*, would volunteer help, and on other occasions I made use of brief rests in the shade by the

platforms to ask prepared questions or to make notes on the crafts I could see there. Given these constraints, I cannot pretend that information is in any way complete, but it does perhaps provide a basis for understanding the working of the village. I had no equipment for making observations of the weather, nor was there any local weather station which could provide relevant data for comparison.

In the last phase of my work, for ten days at the end of August, I continued the comparative part of the survey by visiting Hunza (Karimabad, Altit, Baltit, Gulmiti, Khodabad, Sust, Husainabad), and Yasin, measuring four houses, collecting the building terminology, and photographing mosques and houses. As I entered Yasin on 26th August we found the road guarded by armed local militia in an attempt to prevent the recurrence of a raid from Darel carried out the previous night. As we left on 28th we learned that there had indeed been another raid the previous night, and that two villagers had been killed. Had we not been delayed that night by a lack of fuel, we might well have been caught in the fighting. By the time I returned to Chilas on 29th the trouble in Darel had developed into a rebellion: five Frontier Constabulary, four police and ten local people had been killed, and a thousand government troops were being moved in. All jeeps were impounded, including our own, to prevent unauthorised movement. Under these conditions it would have been unwise to continue work in the area, and it was plain that the authorities, wholly preoccupied with security, would no longer be ready to help. Furthermore, the Forestry Office was becoming impatient at my continued use of their lodge. At this point I managed to retrieve our jeep, as German Government property, and left.

KARL JETTMAR

HISTORICAL COMMENTS

Dr. Andrews was told that no system of field rotation was practised at Sazin in 1987 (see p. 34). Nevertheless, many of the details I had noted down on my journeys only made sense when I assumed that the propagators of Sunni Islam had acted not only as missionaries, but as social engineers as well. On returning from my first expedition, I found the book offering the optimal analysis in a Russian bookshop in Leipzig. The author had been the Soviet ambassador in Kabul for some time (Rejsner 1954). Strangely enough, he did not explain this system as an early predecessor of an egalitarian, basically communist concept, but as an unpleasant transition to feudalism. Certainly, the land was divided into equal parts: every fighter got his share, and even women had the right to (reduced) parts.

Origin and regional variants of the *wesh*-system

Several authors have attempted to describe the *wesh*-system. The first report was presented by Elphinstone (1815, II:15-18). As in those days classical education was much more deeply rooted than in later times, he was in a position to observe that a similar custom attributed to the ancient Germans is mentioned by Tacitus. This concept is found in Barth's study, who mentions this "quite simple system" as a peculiarity of Indo-Europeans – "Pathans, Baluchis, ancient Celtic and German tribes" (Barth 1956:32).

Although originally a simple principle, it developed into a jungle of variations. The point of departure was the situation immediately following the conquest of a region in which land was the only lasting object of value. So the soil was divided among the victors according to the mouths to be fed. In this case, the seniors, wives, and children were given equal shares. When the area included fields which needed irrigation, a separate series of allocations was arranged.

As the number of participants remained equal for only a short time, the initial allotment of land had to be adjusted. Thus a repetition of the intended egalitarian distribution was needed. In anticipation of future allocations, the whole area was divided into blocks of equal value, called *tul*, and subjected to an inter-sectional exchange regulated by drawing lots. However, for this apportionment, the population had to be divided into segments which could be maintained at equal strength, in contrast to the demographic increase of the population which is never equal, even in closely related families. Therefore, smaller and weaker segments were used to augment the major units. For this procedure, specialists with high reputation and extraordinary diplomatic abilities were needed. The perfect model was introduced in Swat when the Yusufzai tribes, after the battle of Katlang (circa 1525 A.D.), conquered the area. Malik Ahmad became the undisputed ruler, and his chief mullah and spiritual advisor, Shaikh Mali, took over the care of vast areas of conquered land. The description in Caroe's book (1958:183) is impressive: "The whole of the present Peshawar and Mardan districts north of the Kabul River, part of Bajaur, Punjkora, Swat, Buner and the adjacent Indus Valley were surveyed – a circle of territory about hundred miles in diameter, including a tangle of mountains and valleys between 1,000 and 10,000 feet. Wherever it was possible the twigs in every tribal tree, and the strength of tribal traditions were taken into consideration". The most concise description of the system – of how it worked before 1925 – is given by Makhdum Tasadduq Ahmad (1962:12-17). I follow his text and not Barth's shorter descriptions in his famous book (Barth 1959a).

The clerical specialists, holy men, and the descendants of holy men, themselves fulfilled a crucial function. They were recompensed for their efforts. Called *stanadars*, they were not all equal in origin. The Sayyeds claimed to be descendants of the Prophet, the *akhundzadas* had ancestors who had religious qualities, which attracted many students, and the *sahibzadas* were respected as saints, many of them being buried in a Ziarat later; the *mians* were from the society's lower stratum. Such saintly persons had lands not submitted to re-allotment – but their land was used to separate the neighbouring *tul*, in order to avoid the otherwise inevitable conflicts over boundaries.

In Swat the designation Pakhtun, in other areas used as a synonym for Pathan, was reserved for those who were regular members of one of the descent groups forming the *khel* and had the right to a share in the next division of the common land, called *dauter*. Apart from lands granted solely to the membership of the *tul*, there were other areas owned without political sanction, called *seri*.

Not long before the Yusufzai and other powerful tribes had conquered vast areas suitable for agriculture, they had been nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes. Each time the *wesh* was carried out, there was a moment of nostalgia, as landowners became nomads for a day, and migrated to the area which they had received through the latest distribution by lot. In the course of this short migration certain craftsmen joined them: acting either as *nai* (barber), *ainger* (blacksmith), *tarkan* (carpenter) or *kakhai* (watchmen for the fields). They were called *kasabgars*. This inner circle was rewarded with a piece of land or a fixed share of the harvest. Other craftsmen, such as the *mochi* (shoemaker), the *teli* (oil pressers) and the *jola* (weaver) were not included.

Tenants who remained with the land were the *deqhans* and the *pakirs* ('fakirs'), for the most part descendants of the indigenous population. Servants who organised small-scale transport were called *parachas*. For their services they received a minor share of the harvest.

Each *tul* included two or three *khels* ('khails' according to Ahmad 1962); each had a *malak*, but the representative of the whole unit was the *khan*. He had to support the *hujra*, the guest house that offered hospitality to visitors, among whom some were permanent residents, modestly fed by the *khan*. For special tasks Doms, Gujars and Kohistanis were needed, but they remained outsiders.

To understand the permanent cooperation among participants of a *wesh* we should be aware that, even after the most egalitarian allotment, the actual work in the fields and the administration of the land was directed by the leader of the household. Women lost their share entirely or received no more than a child – a third of what was conceded to an adult male. Moreover, a considerable amount of land was mortgaged. British authors mention examples.

In practice and in contrast to the original intention, a very high percentage of the land was occupied by the dominant families. In the case of new settlements, even subsequent to migration, the common man received no more than he had previously occupied (*badljun wesh*). At times, shares were reduced in order to enable the headman to include respected warriors in his *tul*. He might even accept people of a lower social position in recognition of their bravery.

Frequently, this was a reason for internal conflicts. On the other hand, the whole area of the *tul* had to be defended when, after the re-allotment, some partners claimed to have been treated unfairly.

In spite of the efforts of the administrations, especially that of Miangul Abdul Wadud, the former ruler of Swat, there is only one area in which the *wesh*-system has not lost its importance. When a part of the 80,000 acres of arable land belonging to the tribes of the Black Mountain was needed after the construction of Tarbela Dam, 30,000 acres were flooded (Nayyar 1988:18). This was a classical case for the implementation of a *jirga*, ordering an application of the *wesh*-principle on a vast scale, and I was told that a re-allotment of the remaining lands was planned.

We learn, however, from a booklet by Adam Nayyar (1988:22) that most of the affected tribesmen were unsuccessful in demanding a just division of the remaining lands. Only the Mada *khel* arranged a *wesh* in 1980. Normally, the families and segments in a good economic position opposed every attempt at major change, and the administration of Pakistan avoided expected 'law and order problems'. The effects of the changes in the course of the Indus River were not so burdensome, as the losses were made good by gains on the opposite bank.

In his book on Swat and Indus-Kohistan (1956), Barth describes the economic and political systems on the right (western) bank of the Indus. Here the communities have winter villages near the Indus, but migrate from this position at 3,000 feet up to high meadows at 15,000 feet, which they reach in July and August. In spite of complications occasioned by the various stations, a system of periodical re-allotment prevailed.

The situation in the area of Patan was graphically presented by Barth (1956:21 ff). A part of the crop harvested in the upper levels was kept in grain bins to be used for seed and food in the coming spring and summer. There was a generally accepted obligation not to touch neighbours' provisions.

Special problems arose when one of the larger valleys was conquered in a raid from a distant base, with the intention of integrating it into the victors' *wesh*-system. This happened in Kandia, formerly a minor state, which became prey to the Duberis.

In Duber, the younger men were – at the time of Barth's visit – totally unfamiliar with the principle, whereas informants in Kandia were more aware of it and still able to expound the rules.

In spite of the long and difficult way from and to Duber, both areas had been included in the same system of re-allotment, which took place every fourth or fifth year. This was the route used by Sir Aurel Stein in 1941, when he marched northwards in order to explore the gorges of the

Indus (1942:554). He crossed the Bisao Pass at an altitude of 14,500 feet. As it was very late in the year (he reached Kandia in the early days of December), this was extremely strenuous. So, even a minor conflict was a good excuse to hinder these movements, which were complicated by the need to take cattle across the passes.

The same genealogical units are still represented in both areas – the Mullah *khel* and the Shádom *khel*. Both were involved in the conflict and became branches. The occurrence of the so-called Manzari-dialect in both areas today can be taken as a confirmation of these events (Ahmad 1962).

Since 1984, we have better information about the situation on the left (eastern) bank. In contrast to Barth's study, containing information collected during only a few days visit when he travelled under the protection of the Wali of Swat, the work of Ruth Laila Schmidt (Zarin/ Schmidt 1984) is a most reliable, scholarly production, based on the traditions recounted to a local scholar, Mohammad Manzar Zarin, by an elder from Palas, Ali Khan Hariq. It is the best contribution to the ethnic and political history of Indus-Kohistan since Biddulph's famous book more than a hundred years ago.

Many workmen came from the northern parts of Indus-Kohistan to participate in the construction of the Tarbela Dam, and here Schmidt, who visited the place, found a language which had been unknown to her. Ali Khan Hariq, belonging to the Šaota *zāt*, had been engaged as a contact man by the company. Formerly, he had lived in Daro village, and later on, in Hazro (Campbellpur District), where he died in May 1982, at the age of more than eighty years. His discussions with Mohammad Manzar Zarin were tape recorded.[1] Zarin was invited to the United

1 The tapes were brought to Berkeley and – owing to the initiative of Ruth Laila Schmidt – were transcribed in the modified international phonetic alphabet under the auspices of the *Berkeley Urdu Language Program*.

States and together with Ruth Laila Schmidt condensed the text into an English version. In a fruitful collaboration, he offered the necessary comments. Some problems remain, perhaps because there was no chance for further inquiries.

Certainly, Hariq's own *zāt*, the Šaota, was most important for the author. The Šaota belong to a larger unit, the Sor'mā-ṭal, who had the Phir'ye as their corresponding phratry, forming the Ceraṭā who are paired with Poæ:'se to the Daṛ'ma. According to the story supported by Hariq, they came from 'Gur'ēn', supposedly in Chilas. Here the people were still pagans, only the ancestor of the Sor'mā went secretly to the Sayyeds of Kror in Swat and was converted there. Accordingly, the Sor'mā propagated the new religion in Chilas.

The ancestor of the Khu'ka-Man'ka, who was the son of a poet, had been converted as well, and, therefore, his descendants were accepted with goodwill by those members of the Daṛ'ma who already had joined the Muslim community. At this time, only the main valleys of eastern Indus-Kohistan were populated. The Khu'ko-Man'ka were two phratries who had just arrived from the south, along the Indus.

The problem is that we are confronted with two different groups who claim to be Shin (Ulsi'ya), supposedly speaking the same language. One is identified with a part of the population of Chilas, whereas the other arrived from the Indus Valley, to the south of Koli.

There is a further complication. The pagan rulers of Palas and Jalkot had names with a suffix *siŋ*, which Hariq explained by taking them for Sikhs: Dam Siŋ, Boli Siŋ. However, *siŋ* (= Singh) was the most frequent name of the Shins. Twelve out of the fourteen typical names for men of the Shin caste bear this suffix. I met such people myself, and they were Muslims. According to Biddulph (1880:99, 144), the suffix *siŋ* is found among the earlier Maqpon kings of Iskardo, but this is not confirmed by the genealogy given in the work of August Hermann Francke (1925:183-206).

One explanation could be inferred from the fact that, especially in the early decades of the 18th century, the members of the Sikh community were martial outlaws, who had been obliged to take shelter from the Moghul régime in the hills and forests.
The alternative explanation would be to assume that Singh was accepted as an honorific suffix long before it was used by the Sikh community. In Hodar there was a noble lineage who used such names, together with petroglyphs clearly depicting a lion. Perhaps this tradition was maintained during the dark centuries between the end of the period in which the rock-carvings were made and the earliest written records.
In any case, names like Dam Siŋ and Boli Siŋ belong to the same tradition – and that may indicate that the Shins reached Chilas via the left bank of Indus-Kohistan, not implausibly, as they allegedly started their infiltration from Pakhli into the present Hazara-district. Nevertheless, we would have to reckon with not only one, but at least two waves of Shina-speaking immigrants, one reaching Chilas as Daṛ'ma, and the subsequent one as Khu'ka-Man'ka.
As for the Daṛ'ma invasion, its main result was the introduction of a *wesh*-system which integrated all the 'castes', regardless of social status, into one system. Apart from the Shins there was another caste that was almost equally respected. It is typical that this caste is present in several of the valleys in Indus-Kohistan, though the term is used only once in Hariq's report: the so-called Yeshkun (Zarin/Schmidt 1984:14). Apparently, the Yeshkun came from the North where they formed a part of the local population.
For Darel, the functioning of the *wesh*-system among a population stratified by earlier subdivisions into several 'castes' remains an open question. Perhaps, the most reasonable explanation would be to assume that in the minor valleys, e.g. in Khanbari, no secure existence was possible without some unifying principle. At present, such valleys can only be visited by hired shepherds – or rented out to non-resident 'peripatetic' populations, predominantly Gujars.

In Tangir, a similar relationship existed among the population of Batres and Cashi. The Tangiris who had occupied the valleys that lay to the north, opening on to the Gilgit River, needed permanent protection.
For a while, such larger valleys were ostensibly considered parts of the kingdom of Gilgit. Every year, a long caravan came down the track known as the 'Dadi Juvari road', along the Gilgit River and the Indus. The Raji-kot in Darel served as summer residence. One of the queens of Gilgit brought the workmen needed for irrigation to Gilgit. Their work was rewarded by the allocation of land. Each of the big *kots* received its share (Shah Rais Khan 1987:25-27).
Control over land in the minor valleys was frequently decided by fighting. Gayal and Samigal fought a battle in the neighbourhood of Gumari. The Doms started with a musical introduction – dancing was part of the prelude –, then Samigal was victorious and kept the rights to Khanbari.

In this earlier period, no reports of 'private' killings arising from love-affairs, which would have reduced the number of warriors, are extant. In the great battles which took place at that time, several hundred men died. Widows received a *tago* (one third of a male's share, each male child inheriting equally). Women of high status, such as grand-mothers, could concede a major portion of their land to their favourites by general consent.
In those days, provisions, seed, and fields were respected by mutual agreement. One house of the family was in the main valley of the Indus, near the mouth of its tributary. On the fields at this level 'small maize' was cultivated, with a long ripening period.[2] Both *hujra* and *masjid* were

2 I almost completely overlooked an essential change not referred to in Andrew's otherwise very careful notes. He described the maize fields situated on different levels of the slopes in Indus-Kohistan.There is a big yellow kind, and maize with small white kernels; but no one has mentioned that this has led to an essential improvement in the agrarian output, replacing buckwheat and other cereals. This has made possible an enormous growth in the

erected there, in the area called Shinaki, habitations on the bank of the Indus.

The next stage was within the valley where the land broadens out. When landowners arrived there in April, for a stay until June-July, their tenants had to move out. The Gujars had already brought goats whose dung was needed as fertiliser. People without tenants simply remained there. This stage was known as *ma'ji sēr*, and a mosque and a *hujra* were also established there. Thence, the migration proceeded to provisional huts, and finally, after ten days, the whole population shifted to the *māli*, the high meadows, where they stayed until mid-September. 'Work parties' had to return to irrigate the fields near the huts and in the *ma'ji sēr*. Some went back to the Shinaki to sow maize. The grass on the high meadows was cut collectively. Every participant had to slaughter a goat for his helpers. This period in the high meadows was the time for love affairs and poetry, in spite of the danger involved – a pair of lovers would be killed on discovery. The songs resulting from this situation are widely appreciated!

The return migration starts in September. Barley is harvested together with the straw, and stored in the branches of trees. Cattle will then be brought to *ma'ji sēr* to graze on the straw. The Gujars and other tenants will get their share. Those who do not intend to stay in *ma'ji sēr* return to the Shinaki, where traders flock in at this time. The time and place for outside contacts has come.

Genealogies and their historical importance

In the text used for this book and in the somewhat shorter version already published (Andrews 1990:108-111), the apical ancestor of the

population in Kohistan-district, from 150,000 to 700,000 or more. Perhaps, the murderous feuds among the different lineages are an almost justifiable reaction. Now, emigration to the plains becomes another solution.

people of Sazin – belonging to the ethnic group called Shin (Zarin/ Schmidt 1984) – was known under the name Sudūm. He came from the Panjab, perhaps from Arabistan. His sons were Mani and Manzari. These names already were familiar to me as I had noted them down during an earlier expedition, but as designations for the dialects of the Kohistani language on the right (western) bank of the Indus: Manzari as the idiom spoken in Duber and Kandia, Mani dialects are spoken in Seo, Patan and Palus. Leitner had heard of the population of northern Kandia (called Bunzari, instead of Manzari) and the Mani-people in Patan. Certainly, it is no coincidence that the ancestor of these people was called Sudūm, like the pre-Muslim Arab king Zukum, the ostensible forefather of the Torwalis in upper Swat (Zarin/Schmidt 1984:46-66).

Even more bewildering is the fact that the Shins had at least two genealogies, one leading back to Mani. One of Mani's sons had three descendants who founded settlements in Palus, Jalkot and Sazin. The other genealogy refers to the Daṛ'ma tribe which came from Chilas.
A reasonable explanation was offered to me, namely, that the Daṛ'ma as well had come from down-country, perhaps from (present-day) Azad Kashmir, and were subsequently integrated into the expanding Shins to increase their number when land was allocated.
It is quite possible that the Daṛ'ma had had a special position even before the ancestors of the Shin appeared on the scene. In that case, it could be important that one 'tribe' of the population of Hunza, which had many privileges and an exceptional position, had a related name, namely, 'Dīràmitīng'. Most of the arguments supporting the assumption that this tribe had once been a priestly community have already been collected and presented in Müller-Stellrecht's doctoral thesis *Feste in Dardistan* (1973:134-145).
Perhaps, apart from the prevailing system distinguishing Shin, Yeshkun, Kamin, and Dom, there existed another, earlier differentiation with the Diram *khel* at the top. In Jalkot people told me that their ancestors – the

Diram *khel* – came from Sai-Jaglot or from the Astor Valley when the area was already Islamic, and then settled in Jaglot, Palas, Kolai, and Jalkot.

Apparently there were several attempts to preach Islam to the local tribes, but there was an effective opposition as well. Klaus Sagaster collected information that in Baltistan, especially in its eastern part, Kesar, the hero of an epic which has remained popular notably among the Shiite inhabitants of Nager, is imagined as still being alive (van Skyhawk 1996). He belongs to the realm of deities and spirits and will lead his army against the Muslims in the last apocalyptic battle (Sagaster 1983:341-348). He is identical with the Dajjal (arab. *daǧǧal*), the arch-enemy of the Prophet, or at least with the groom of this abhorrent figure. Sagaster had not heard that in Batera the genealogy starts with Mačok who was forced by his brother Buto (*buta*) to emigrate and was accepted into the family of a person who is none other than the Dajjal. Recently, when proudly quoting this venerated ancestor during court proceedings, his alleged descendants were surprised by the general amusement. But we should be aware that genealogies are not history, even if they may preserve useful clues for centuries – in this case throughout the long period of Buddhist influence (Sagaster 1987:5-12).

As for the history of Sazin, it seems quite realistic that Bigo's descendants had been expelled from Jalkot by alien 'tribes' and found shelter near the mouth of the Tangir Valley. From there they entered the Sazin Valley and occupied the hilltops, which later on became excellent locations for goat breeders. Under the influence of the preachers of Islam they erected the mosque in a fortified village, as was usual in the large valleys like Tangir and Gor. Until the accession to Pakistan an annual tribute of three *ho* of maize was gratefully delivered to the descendants of the Sayyed who had arranged the now defunct *wesh*.

In the course of attempting to co-ordinate the information gathered in Indus-Kohistan, I had come to the conclusion that the Shins – divided in

two phratries – came from outside. The Khuko and the Man'ka may really have started from Pakhli, where the indigenous population was suppressed by Turkish settlers, perhaps Qarluqs, who, under the Shahs of Khwarizm, entered the area in the 12th century A.D. Moving from one high meadow to the next they entered the eastern part of Indus-Kohistan.

Now I have to concede that the development leading to the actual situation is more complicated. On the territory of Kuh and Ghizer a sort of eastern Kafiristan was established with fortifications partly constructed under the influence of foreign dynasties. Only systematic archaeological excavations will throw light on this obscure period.

The continuity of rock-art in neighbouring areas

I could pay only a few, brief visits to the areas north of the Gilgit River, at a time when my attention was mainly directed to the many discoveries in the surroundings of Chilas. In spite of such explorations, the site at Hunza-Haldeikish, discovered already in 1979, remained unique with an exuberance of Kharoṣṭhī-inscriptions, certainly indicating an important stage on the track connecting the lowlands of Gandhāra with the southern route of the Silk Roads leading through the Tarim Basin.

A different situation I observed only in Yasin. Here the most impressive archaeological monuments are circles, consisting of large boulders, partly connected by others in a horizontal position (Biddulph 1880:57-58). Attempts were made to excavate the centre of such constructions, but the anticipated burial site was not found. In the soil there were remains of animal bones, possibly indicating that cattle had been slaughtered nearby. I assumed that such monuments were erected to commemorate feasts, perhaps feasts of merit. The population practising such customs may have arrived from the north via the Darkot Pass. However, as similar megalithic constructions are rare in the Pamirs, my speculations remain highly tentative.

In the centre of the Yasin Valley, however, I discovered evidence for the supposition that foreigners had actually arrived from the direction of the Pamirs. Even today, the track on the left side of the stream here shifts to the right, western side. And there, on the boulders under the bridge, darkened during the period when they were inundated by the stream, I saw figures featuring the 'Pamirian' rubab. The rubab is a string instrument which has religious connotations up to the present day. It has an established place in the mourning ceremonies of the Ismailis. In the night when the sacred brazier, the *čirag*, is burning for the deceased, the Khalifa recites pious songs in Persian to the musical accompaniment of the rubab. The Sufis valued this instrument, and as their symbol it was depicted here – possibly at their meeting-place. The main basis for such an interpretation is the fact that from one of Ranov's studies we know that even in the Pamirs a similar plethora of images of the rubab can be seen (Ranov 1960:92-96, fig. 8). In the Pamirs the locations of clusters of rock-art are different from those typical of the Indus Valley. Some were observed at extremely high positions, this being a considerable hindrance to their investigation. In a similar position, Sir Aurel Stein discovered the carving of a stūpa and a Tibetan inscription during his ascent to the Darkot Pass. It is not clear if the habit of locating petroglyphs very near to the course of rivers where rocks acquire a patina, not by desert-varnish, but through frequent immersions, is typical for valleys in the Pamir as well, but I would not exclude this possibility. In any case, some stylistic peculiarities that I found in the upper part of the Gilgit Valley occur in the Pamirs as well.

In the Pamirs, some inscriptions written in Persian are reported. In any case, there is no evidence of systematic avoidance of petroglyphic activities (Rozenfel'd/Kolešnikov 1963, 1969, 1985).

The final period of rock-art in the Indus Valley

Certainly, the situation is different here. The latest petroglyphs observed in this area display peculiarities that bring them close to the paintings in the monasteries of Alchi, that is to say, under the influence of the second wave of Buddhist missionary activities in the 11th century A.D. They had permanent success in Ladakh as well as in Baltistan, which, however, later became Islamic due to inroads from Kashmir. The inscriptions observed in the same context would allow a dating parallel to that of Alchi.

There was an attempt to take these carvings as a starting point for discerning a last Buddhist horizon. We should rather adopt a more modest explanation, namely the appearance of pilgrims on the way to Swat, which was considered to be the fabulous homeland of Padmasambhava. A similar inscription was identified at the eastern entrance to the defile of Rondu; the vivid description of a journey to Swat was published by Tucci (1940). More inscriptions in Tibetan were discovered in the neighbourhood of a former Buddhist monastery situated in the mountains above the township of Shigar. Perhaps they were made by later pilgrims.

The general tendency in the areas south of the Pamirs and west of the Tibetan Plateau was a decline in writing skills. Even the Iranian sect that had opposed the Buddhists and had left a symbolic representation of the conflict, was illiterate. The usual argument for the scholar, in pursuit of exact dates and palaeographic identification, suddenly fails. This may have occurred in the 9th century, and apparently, no Little Tradition perpetuates the Great one. North of the Gilgit River there are rocks abounding with simple figures, goats which cannot be distinguished from poorly depicted ibexes, and men on horseback, but no inscriptions. Thus, exact datings are not possible (Hallier 1991).

There is another group of carvings which is certainly late and not inspired by religious ideas. In the valley which descends to the site of Chi-

las I, a series of 'martial carvings' was recorded, with men on horseback, some of them fighting one another. I boldly explained these as vestiges of a garrison securing the control over Chilas for a foreign ruler.

The first attempts to explain the absence of local vestiges referred to the conversion of the population to the Islam. I am not inclined to accept this explanation, as in the valleys leading down to the Indus the actual date of conversion reported to us was not more than eight generations ago. During the construction of the earliest mosques, dates were recorded in carvings which begin with the 17th century. However, such carvings were created in an area in which the local princes sought to be progressive, mainly, by joining the Shia community. In the Indus Valley, the villagers or their spiritual leaders decided for themselves, and only ethnographic fieldwork would enable us to procure the necessary hints. Strangely enough, the ethnographic sources connect the conversion to Islam with a thorough rearrangement of the system of landed property. I was the first to explain the acceptance of the Pashtun system as an attempt of the earlier Dardic settlers to preserve their ethnic identity.

The situation after recent grave-plundering

As long as Swat was ruled by Miangul Abdul Wadud and his son – who later recounted his autobiography to Frederik Barth (1985) – the finds of the Italian excavations were well protected; in part, they were taken to Rome and, in part, they were kept in local museums. After the profound political changes described by Lindholm (1996:73-144), local and foreign dealers began exporting antiquities, which had not been found in official excavations, to the markets in Europe, Japan, and the USA. For further supply, the dealers and plunderers expanded their nefarious activities to a larger territory, including the Northern Areas, resulting in the systematic destruction of an ever increasing number of graveyards and ancient settlements.

Strangely enough, nothing had been told to us about these antiquities in the course of our ethnographic expeditions. Bronzes found by chance on the outskirts of Manikhal village were published by myself. All objects were handed over to the National Museum in Karachi (Jettmar 1961b). Among this material there were a trunnion axe and a shafthole hatchet with a cone on the neck, similar to the specimen found recently in Sintashta, east of the Urals. Moulds for trunnion axes from Swat were published by Tusa (1988). They correspond to the axes now being excavated. Recently, Giorgio Stacul summarised his impressions in a most interesting article *Neolithic Inner Asian traditions in the northern Indo-Pakistani valleys* (1994:707-714). I think he is on the right track.

In the mountains of Central Asia, there is a broad belt settled by invaders from the eastern part of the Eurasian steppes. Ethnically, such immigrants were not homogenous. Possibly, the ancestors of the Burusho and the Dardic tribes were among them. Swat is the westernmost area where such foreigners can be traced. Perhaps, the earliest rock-carvings discovered in northern Pakistan (cf. Jettmar 1987a:12), similar to those from southern Siberia, were fashioned by these people.

That would mean that the settlements in the northern valleys began very early, but not in the gorges in which patinated rock faces and cliffs offered excellent surfaces for petroglyphs. The banks of the main rivers were important for internal traffic, and sanctuaries were situated there, especially, at the mouths of streams, in areas still considered to be haunted by demons when our expeditions arrived.

By contrast, large fortified villages like Sazin represent only the last chapter in the historical evolution, with forts on mountain-tops as the immediately preceding stage.

What we need now are excavations in the large lateral valleys of the Indus and Shyok, and a definite stop to the activities of the grave-plunderers. Direct intervention in this enterprise, which is financed by the interest of local landlords, would have no chance, especially if by

foreign scholars with restricted authority. However, a part of the damage has been made good by the loyal cooperation of Nazir Ahmad Khan, director of the branch office of the Pakistan Department of Archaeology in Gilgit. He has collected part of the illegally excavated material, taken photographs of the rest, and has noted down the location and the situation of the looted graves. Now this material can be used for interpreting the petroglyphs.

As reported above, professional grave-plunderers have extended their activities to the valleys in Tangir and Darel, but also to the valleys north of the Gilgit River, e.g., Ishkoman. When Biddulph (1880:113) described the area, the ancient custom of burning the dead and disposing of the ashes in wooden boxes, or in round earthen jars had just been replaced by Islamic burial rituals.

The graves recently opened belong predominantly to earlier periods and are essential for our attempts to arrive at a chronological framework for the petroglyphs. The majority of the immigrants certainly came from Central Asia, where the expansion of the Indo-Iranian tribes – especially the Sakas –, took place. My assumption that such tribes brought the animal style into the mountains has now been confirmed by several objects (Jettmar 1984, 1989).

Other invaders, arriving from the south, burned their dead and kept the ashes in vessels deposited in stone-containers, a ritual now attested in sites subsequent to the Buddhist period near Kandahar (Scerrato 1980).

A systematic overview of burial customs in the southern fringes of the mountains has never been attempted. In the area inhabited by the Pashai tribes small chambers were carved in the rocks, apparently for burials. Other tribes exposed corpses on the hilltops in coffins in a manner similar to the practice of the former Kafirs of Nuristan (Biddulph 1880: 71).

A new type of house after the conversion to Islam

In his chapter on the 'Layout of the old village' Andrews discusses the building-construction of the houses, towers, and byres. He was already familiar with the organisation of the older houses from fieldwork in other parts of the world. These have the living storey raised above an undercroft used only as a storeroom; extra space for resting and sleeping is provided by the flat roofs above. These have no permanent cover, but only one of loose boards spanning between the ridge and the eaves on either side. Such boards provide a minimum of shelter for the flat roof from rainfall and snow. Andrews (cf. p. 54) writes "Almost all the older houses are raised. Either they are grouped around courtyards ..., apparently founded on rocks higher than the surrounding ground, as at the southwest of the main axis, or they are set above an undercroft of storerooms, as on the eastern side."

The opportunity to raise the houses by siting them on enormous boulders which had been brought down to this part of the valley only during a landslide (during an earthquake?) is a local feature, but I have seen the raising of the main living-room by setting it above "an undercroft of storerooms" in many other valleys of Dardistan. In some places they were used for keeping particularly valued animals.

The raising to the main living quarters is certainly essential for the hygiene and health of the inhabitants. Even without a cloud-burst, the ground in the narrow lanes can be transformed into mud. This is one reason, but may not be the origin of this tendency.

In Parun the amól sanctuaries were half underground or completely so, as discovered and described by M. Klimburg (1976:483-485, fig. 2-5), who published the wooden pillars in the shape of deities. That might go back to a time when, as in many parts of Inner Asia, subterranean rooms were preferred as habitations. The foundation walls of the earlier settlements on the top of the hill certainly belonged to a quite different kind of building.

The octroi for the 'suspended crossings'

In the chapter devoted to historical traditions, Andrews mentions a flat stone laid on the path down the *nullah*, which made a ringing sound when trodden on. For this reason it was called *durung bat* (drum stone). Here, octroi was formerly charged in favour of the 'Raja of Tangir': half of the goods of all those coming or going were extorted, so he was informed.

The meaning of this octroi became clear, when at Dassu I contacted one of the Pakistani officers who had supervised the construction of the Karakorum Highway. Formerly, there had been only one track along the Indus through the last gorges, sometimes high up on the rocky slopes, and coming down to the riverside in other places. Ladders and ropes were therefore fixed at dangerous places. The population of Sazin kept them in good condition by regular maintenance, so an octroi was well deserved. In 1979 many soldiers died during the exploration. Previously, this path was only used in winter when the much easier passes were closed by snowfall and avalanches. But winter was the time when the villagers of Kamila and Jalkot were free to carry out trade with the North. I conclude that the 'suspended crossing' described by Chinese pilgrims and ambassadors in the first millennium A.D. must have been situated here (Jettmar 1987b).

GEORG BUDDRUSS

Glossary of the terms used in the text "A survey of Sazin, Indus-Kohistan" collected by Peter Alford Andrews

Preliminary notes

1. As the Shina-dialect of Sazin is completely unexplored, a phonological transcription of Andrews' spellings is impossible. Therefore, his notes should be kept in the way he thinks he has heard the word. The spelling does not differentiate enough, as it does not distinguish between most dentals and retroflexes, aspirates and non-aspirates, etc.
2. Equivalents in Gilgit-Shina and other supplements are given in square brackets.
3. Long vowels are written as double vowels, i.e. *ee*.
4. An accent on the first vowel (*ée*) means 'falling intonation', on the second vowel (*eé*) it indicates 'rising intonation', an extremely important distinction in Gilgit-Shina.
5. A cross (†) added to the left margin indicates that a word has no known equivalent in Gilgit at all or, at least, not for the meaning given by Andrews.
6. It is remarkable that for *termini technici* in the field of architecture other lexemes seem to be in use. A considerable part of the Sazin termini is unintelligible for me.

7. Abbreviations for languages:

Arab.	=	Arabic
Ast.	=	Astor-Shina according to collections by Göhlen (between 1990 and 1997)
Bur.	=	Burushaski
Dar.	=	Darel-Shina according to scanty notes by Göhlen (Gumare, 1993)
Gi.	=	Gilgit-Shina according to collections by Buddruss
P.	=	Pashto
Pers.	=	Persian
Pj.	=	Punjabi
Sh.koh.	=	Kohistani-dialects of Shina according to scanty notes by Buddruss and/or T.G. Bailey (London 1924)
U.	=	Urdu

Arrow ← means: borrowed from.

We are most grateful to Ruth Göhlen for reading through this list and confirming her familiarity with some of the entries in Astor[1] (*) or Darel (**).

1 She also notes that in Astor the differentiation of seats according to sex or age appears to be absent, and the designation of seasons is simpler.

Glossary

âkâr*
[Gi. & Ast. *akhár*]
smith

âkârê duqân*
[Gi. *akharéi dukhán*; Ast. *akharo dukhán*]
smithy

† **ashtûm**
[= Gi. *açhúuno* 'hole'?]
slot

† **avyü**
[Gi. *aweéi* 'scarcity of water']
a lower plot of a field

† **awâsî**
[Manuscript awāši !?]
deep verandah

† **awt bat**
failure to complete the preparation of the fields (ploughing and soughing) in time

† **baldârô**
fascia board

† **balûñ**
[Gi. *balóŋ* 'hanger, (stick or rope for hanging up cloths)']
squared wooden bar between the platforms and the 'kot' wall

bandá
[← P. *bāṇḍa* 'hut on a mountain pasture']
set of fields near the summer pastures (??)

banî*
[Gi. *banii*]
holm oak

barî
[Gi. *bári*]
pool

baṭ*
[Gi. *baṭ*]
'stone'

bay (sing. bâ)*
[Gi. & Ast. *báa*, pl. *báai*]
byre for cows, goats

bazôdo* **
[Sh.koh. *bazōdo* 'spring'; Gi. & Ast.. *bazoóno* 'spring'; Dar. *bazoon*]
period (season?) beginning on 15th March

bhanî* (Urdu: bhanjî)
[Gi. & Ast. *baníi*; correct U. *bānjhī*]
holm-oak

† **besh**
rope for securing yoke

† **bîtâ qôr**
[*qor* is not = to Sh.koh. *khōr* 'foot, leg'?]
verandah upstand

† **bitî****
[Gi. *biṭháak* 'seat'; Dar. *biethī*]
stool

† **bitî****
[Dar. *kall biethī*]
corner blocks

† **bonô gôrh**
[? cf. '*ghurh*' ??]
storeroom under the living storey of a house

bun*
[Gi. *ban* 'dam']
intermediate banks between plots in a field

bûtas tônas*
[Manuscript: *thōnas*; Sh. *búṭas thōnas*; Ast. *búṭus thōnus*, 'all we do', 'we all do it']
parties for road-clearance

† **chagïr**
[probably ← Pj. *čakkar* 'wheel'; Gi. *čárko*]
carved spinning wheel

chagûl*
[Gi. & Ast. *çaŋúul* 'tripod']
hearth for cooking; fireplace

† **chakâr**
[Gi. *čakár* 'fork with wooden tenons used for spreading dung, manure fork']
king posts supporting the ridge member

† **chanchakî**
latticed verandah upstand

† **chapar**
[Gi. *çhapáro* 'whirling-stick used for churning'; Pers. *čapar* 'palisade']
wattle

chatal*
[Gi. & Ast.*čaṭál*]
(light) axe

† **cherchibî**
[cf. Gi. *çarçar* 'to spout']
ablution shed

chiñ
[Gi. *çiiŋ;* not Ast.]
millet

choga*
[← Pers. *čūġa*]
man's coat

chôñ
a bird, giving signal for sowing

chowkî bitî
[U. *čaukī* 'chair'; *bitī,* see above]
a low carved chair for the husband

chukôr*
[← Hindi, Pj. *čakor* 'Alectoris chukar chukar']
red-legged partridge

† **chûn**
[Gi. *čúuni* 'bough, branch']
board of ceiling

† **chûtô**
a bird

† **chuwi**
[Gi. *čĩĩ* 'Pinus excelsa']
a tree

dâr*
[Gi. & Ast. *dar*, plural *daári*]
door

† **dara qoy**
[cf. *qoy*: lit. 'door-cap' ?]
key-hole in the door

darî
[Gi. *darií*]
small window

† **darî ka dâr**
[Gi. *darií* 'window', *dar* 'door', *ka* ??]
wooden shutter for closing the window

darôshô
[Gi. *daróoço*]
square tower, main entrance to the kot

deqân
[← Pers. *dehqān*]
sharecropper; see also *nokar*

dhal
[U. *dāl** 'kind of pulse'; never *dh*, except in English!]
meal

dish
[Sh.koh. *diṣ*; Gi. *diṭ* 'span']
measure: handspan

dôlî
[Gi. *dóoli*]
rectangular field of terrace

dûqân*
workshop

duqûr*
[Gi. & Ast. *duúkur*]
village faction

dûrû
[Gi. *durúi* 'village lane']
alley; passage; path

Durung* Baṭ
[Gi. *ḍaḍáŋ-baṭ*; Ast. *durung/durum* = type of stone from which large vessels are made]
'Drum Stone'

ʿeid* **
[← Arab. *ʿīd* 'feast']
Id-celebration, feast-day

† **falang** (= **qul pôgî**)
[Ast. *palaŋ* = simple bed]
stool for youth with plaited seat

gaṛî*
[Gi. *gaṛí*]
tower

† **gat**
measure: space between extended thumb and the second knuckle of the index finger

gaz*
[Gi. *gaz*, ← Pers. 'ell']
cubit

ghala
[P. *ġalla* 'grain, corn'; not Gi.]
contributions; for the maintainance of the smith (and formerly the carpenters)

† **ghurh**
[? Sh.koh. *gōẓ* 'house' ?, or U. *ghar* 'house' ?]
living storey in a house

† **gûp**
[In P. *gūp* means 'evening-star'! Coincidence?]
period of 45 days, following the 'uwâ-lo halôl' or the 'yôdo halôl'

† **gûzarât**
[not clear at all! A proper name? Urdu?]
field of the valley floor, retained by terrace walls; terrace walls

hal*
[Gi. *hal*]
wooden spade plough

hâlêsh*
[not Gi.; but Phalūṛa & Ast. *halēš*]
long draft beam at the junction of stilt and sole of the plough

halôl
[Gi. *haloól* 1. 'nest', 2. 'solstice']
solstice

haqq mehr*
[not Gi.;← Arab. *ḥaqq* 'law' + Arab. *mahr* 'dowry'; Ast. mostly *mahr*]
dowry

har ban
[← Pers. *har* 'everybody'; *ban* 1. 'dam', 2. 'joint'; Ast. *har ponn* 'every path, track']
'from all directions' (folk etymology)

hat*
[Gi. *hat* 'hand, arm', also as measure]
measure: one cubit from elbow to fingertip (hand)

hilál
[Meaning given is very unlikely. Gi. *hiláal* 'bride' as in all the other known dialects and in Burushaski; Ast. & Dar. 'bride', *datso* = 'marriage arranger']
female marriage arranger

† **ho**
[In Gi. *awoó* 'measure for corn' ≈ 2 kg]
(= *chhoṭî sêr panjâbi* of before 1973) ≈ 20 kg

îl*
[Gi. *ĩĩl* 'canal'; Gi. *ĩĩlo doóiky* 'to cut off the canal-water']
simple sluice

† **iskôm** (see: **sômô**)
rectangular trapdoor leading to the attic over the verandah

jame boyitônas*
[Sh.koh. *jame* 'all', *boi* 'having become', *thōnas* 'we do' ≈ 'we all gather and do (it)'; Ast. *jame* = 'together']
communal work

jolâhâ
[← Hindi, Urdu *julāhā* 'weaver'; Ast. *jōli* = woven cloth, blanket. No weaving caste there.

a caste (weaver)

jûmât*
[Gi. ǰumaát]

mosque

† **kalêni**
[Bur. *khaleéni* 'pit at the threshing place'; Gi. *khaleéni* 'circle']

shed at the threshing floor

† **kandar**
[Gi. *kuṭ*!, also Ast., cf. Pj. *kandh* 'wall']

wall

† **Kâñî**
[cf. Bur. *khan* 'village fort'; Sh. *kóoṭ*]

Old Fort

† **kârô**
[Gi. *kháari* 'riverside']

central ditch of a field

kashî
[not Gi., but Phalūṛa *k(h)aṣī* 'hoe'; Ast. 'hoe' = *libīni*]

hoe

† **kâtô ray**
[Gi. *káaṭo* 'wood'; Ast. *káate* 'wood', hence perhaps wood store]

attic space

† **kâw lel**
[?? Gi. *kaáu* 'olive', Gi. *kaáwo* 'wrist-band', Gi. *leél* 'visible' (nothing fits properly)]

ridge beam, i.e. pole

kôt*
[Gi. *kóoṭ*; Ast. = 'fort']

closed village, village cluster

lâh*
[Gi. *laá* 'heap of straw, grass, etc.']

(circular) rick for the storage of straw

lêcho
[probably read *lēço*; Gi. *leéç* 'harvest'; or *lêto*, as below?]

sickle

lehâf
[← Arab.-Pers. *liḥāf*]

quilt

lêṭo
[Sh. of Pāles: *lēṭṛī*]
toothed, strongly hooked sickle

† luy
roof boards

málák*
[Arab.-Pers. *mālik* 'master'; or *malik*, title of minister; Ast. generally 'important man']
chief '*yáshtêrô*'

mân*
[← Hindi, U.]
≈ 40 kg

mâṛo
[not Gi.; read *māṛo* ←Pj. *māṛī* 'upper storey']
verandah

mawlânâ*
[←Arab.-Pers. *maulā-nā* 'our lord']
mullah

mehr* (see: haqq mehr)
[← Arab.-Pers. *mahr*]
dowry

mihrâb*
[Arab.-Pers. *miḥrāb* 'prayer-niche']
prayer-niche

mûchal
milk-closet in ditch

munâfiq*
[←Arab.-Pers.]
hypocritical

mushtî*
[Gi. & Ast. *muṣṭii*]
handle at the top of the plough stilt

namâz*
[← Pers. 'prayer']
prayer

† nawkî
measure: space between extended thumb and index finger

nokar
[← U., Pers. *naukar* 'servant'; Ast. *naukar*]
sharecropper; see also '*deqân*'

pâl*
[Gi. & Ast. *pháal*]
iron plough share

pânâ
[not Gi. but Phalūṛa: *pāna* 'wedge for fastening ploughshare' ← Pers. *fāna*]
rod (30 cm long)

pash
[Gi. *paǰ*, *pač* 'steps of stone staircase']
sets of steps formed by piles of stones

patar
[not Gi. ← P. *paṭera* 'beam, rafter']
secondary beam defining the ceiling whorl

† **pindi**
[← Hindi *piṇḍī* 'round mass, lump'?]
column base

† **pûlê***
[literally 'flowers'; Sh.koh. *phuṛo* 'flowers'; Ast. *phūle* 'flowers']
volutes

pulûsh (Urdu: diyâr)
[Sh.koh. *phulūẓ*, U. *diyār* is unknown!; Hindi *devdār*]
deodar

purûm
[Gi. *phuruúŋ*]
tenth part of a field, plot

qal*
[Gi. & Ast. *khal*]
(family) threshing floor

† **qân**
[Sh.koh. *maçhi kraṇ*]
bee hive

† **qaṛchûn**
[probably the same as Gi. *káçul** 'Abies webbiana']
tree (?)

† **qay**
[Gi. *kaái* 'field-terrace', but Gi. *kaṛíi* 'roof beam']
platform in the assembly area; wooden floor; ceiling structure of squared joists; beam; joists when wrought (cf. *salômi*)

† **qayi**
girdle-timbers

qibla*
[← Arab.-Pers. 'prayer-position towards Mecca']
direction of Mecca

qoy
[Gi. *khoi*; Ast. also woman's cap]
man's cap

quhrû
[Gi. *khuró*]
foundation of a house

† qul pôgî (= falang)
[meaning ??]
stool for youths with plaited seat

qur
[Gi. *khur*]
eaves beam

† qûtâgî
[P. *koṭa* 'chamber', but *gī* quite unclear]
meeting room

† râkô**
[Gi. *raáko* 'palace'; Phalūṛa *rakko* 'niche'; Dar. *rākokot*]
whirling-square roof

rey
[cf. Pahārī *rāe* 'kind of conifer']
tree (?)

rotî
[U. *roṭī* 'bread']*
(maize) bread

sâda
[Pers. *sāda* 'simple']
simple stool for children

† salômi
simple, unwrought joist

† sanîlô bat
[Gi. *sáan-baṭ* 'a soft stone']
squared (?) stone

† sârî
[Gi. *sáaro*, fem. *sáari* 'solid'; Pers. *sari-sutūn* 'capital']
scrolled capitals

sêr*
[← U.]
≈ 1 kg

shâh*
[Gi. *šáa*; Ast. 'vegetables' generally]
spinach; see also 'shanî shâh'

shanî shâh*
[Gi. *šaníi* 'vegetable bed']
spinach; see also 'shâh'

† sháqálî
lock

shari'a(t)*
[← Arab.-Pers.]
Sunni code of religious law

shâro* **
[Gi., Ast. & Dar. *šaróo* 'autumn']
period beginning on the 15th September

shárôn* flat roof
[not Gi. but Dameli, etc., *šáran*]

shîlî** (rudimentary) ladder
[not Gi. but similar Phalūṛa *šúṛi*, Pj. *sīṛhī* 'ladder'; Dar. (U./Sh.) *sīṛhi*, Sh. *ši*]

shîyo kâ* 'white crow'
[Gi. *šéeyo kắã*]

Shîn* Shin
[Gi. *Ṣiín* 'Shin-man', *Ṣinaá* 'Shina language', *Ṣinaáki* 'Shina area in Indus-Kohistan']

shûtî (large) quoin
[Gi. *šuṭií* 'corner']

sigâs village council
[= Sh. koh.; Gi. *siŋ-* 'gather'; cf. Ast. *jirgas*]

† **sîn** measure; the area of land capable of yielding 20 'ho' (≈ 20 kg) of grain
[Gi. *sĩĩ* 'irrigation furrow'; Ast. *sin* 'river']

† **sing** main beam supporting the ceiling of the house, or delimiting whirling square

sinyab main channel from which all field channels derive
[Gi. *sin* 'river' + *yab* 'channel'; Ast. *sin* 'river']

† **sövyü** topmost plot on the left of a field, near the channel
[Gi. *suweéi* 'abundance of water']

† **sômô**** (see: **iskôm**) trapdoor
[Dar. *sōmo*]

sômô smoke hole
[Gi. *sóomo*]

† **sûb** measure: one finger, digit
[Gi. & Ast. *sip* 'one fingerbreath']

sundûq* (also: **tûwân**) (smaller) chest for the storage of clothes and bedding
[← Arab.-Pers.]

† **sundûq mundûq**	time when the trees renew their green leaves
suwêl [Gi. *suwéel* 'early autumn = Sept./ Oct.']	period of 90 days, following the 'gûp'
† **tâg** (see: **zûrûng**) [Gi. *tagáa* 'mud'!]	courtyard of a house
tal** [Gi. *tal* 'ceiling' = Sh.koh.; Dar. *talli* 'platform in the living room']	closed part of the house, floor, room
talâq* [← Arab.-Pers. *ṭalāq* 'divorce']	divorce
† **tarîyâ** [Plural]	pitched roof
† **tarîyô** [Singular]	pitched roof
topai* [← P. *ṭopaī*]	child's cap
tûn* ** [Gi. *thúun;* cf. Pers. *sutūn* 'column']	free-standing post, supporting the front of the roof; corner column
tûwân [Gi. *thoón*, plural *thonî*]	large chest for the storage of grain
ûjâyi* [Gi. & Ast. *učáai*]	migration (beginning around 15th July) to the summer pastures
ûrî (Shîna) [not known from any dialect, probably misunderstood; Gi., Ast. & Dar. Shina 'three' is *ço*]	'three'
'ushayr [← Arab. *'ušr*]	Islamic tithe system
uwâlo* ** [Gi., Ast. & Dar. *uwáalo* 'summer']	period beginning on 21st June
uwâlo halôl [Gi. *uwáalo-haloól*]	summer solstice; period of 45 days following it

vay* water
[Gi. *wéei*; Ast. *woi*]

vefâdâr* loyal
[← Arab.-Pers. *wafā-dār* 'faithful, loyal']

yáb arterial channel, running along the foot of each of the terrace walls of the fields
[= Gi. *yab*]

yáshtêrô* village representative
[Gi. *ǰaṣṭéero*; the oldest form starts with *ǰ-*; many dialects use *y-*]

yô* ** barley
[Gi. *yóo*]

yôdo period (probably Pashtun nomenclature) beginning on 15th December
[the word is genuine Shina! Sh.koh. *yōdo* 'winter'; Gi., Ast. & Dar. *yoóno* 'winter']

yôdo halôl winter solstice; period of 45 days following it
[Gi. *yoóno-haloól*]

yosh* ** (main) mill
[Ast., Dar. & Sh. koh. *yõṣ*; Gi. *yõr*]

zántû* elected beadles
[Gi. & Ast. *zaitú*]

† **zûrûng** (see: **tâg**) courtyard of a house
[In Gi. *zurúŋ* means 'rubbish-heap, manure-heap'!!]

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NOTES ON THE DRAWINGS BY P. A. ANDREWS (see pocket)

K. JETTMAR

Dwg. 1: Sazin is situated just within the northern border of Kohistan district at present. Formerly the area controlled by the British ended at Basha. In Sazin, as in many places on the left bank of the Indus, Shina was spoken. One of the Shina dialects was documented in the book by R.L. Schmitt and M. M. Zarin (including Chiliss and Gowro). The so-called Kohistani languages are spoken on the right (western) bank of the Indus. The map is taken from *Pakistan Archaeology* 25 (1990): 76.

Dwg. 2: Sketch plan of Sazin Valley

Dwg. 3: Andrews reports that the *kot* originally had a rectangular ground plan with high towers at the corners and an entrance tower on the southern side. In this it resembles the fortress of Gilgit, Qila-i Firdausie, as described in Shah Rais Khan's book (1987: 6). In those days the towers were much higher, as shown in a photograph taken by British officers in Gor who visited the place for Chukar shooting.

Dwg. 4a-d: Andrews notes that the living rooms of all the old houses are raised above ground level. This may have sprung from the former custom of settling on mountain tops, when the population moved to the present site. Many houses are built on rocks which had fallen during an earthquake, while others are built over storerooms. The flat roofs are not supported by the broken rubble walls,with their chip infilling, but on a system of wooden posts erected inside them.
These roofs form large open areas used for communication and as playgrounds for children, with many crossings and changes of level. The individual plots have separate ridged roofs made from boards without any permanent fastenings: these.are sufficient to afford some protection to the flat roofs below against the heat, or rain

and snowfall in winter. The roof also covered a verandah with an additional fire-place, besides seats and strings beds for the family. Similar upstands are used on some towers.

Dwg. 5a-b: Plan of the reconstructed mosque. The pillars of the former mosque were reused.

Dwg. 6: Most of the house plans presented by Andrews in Sazin show the more elaborate organisation imported from Tangir. These are the reception rooms of the richest men in the village. He was allowed access to only one of the more traditional houses.

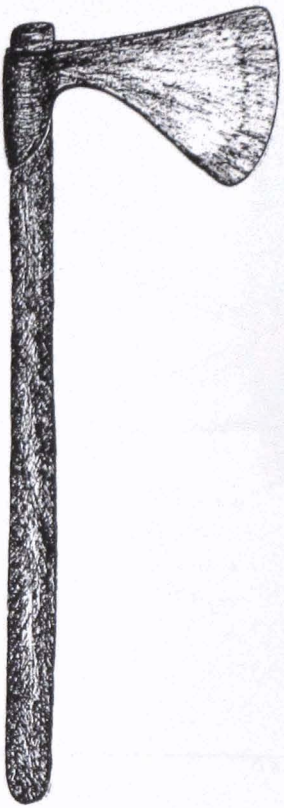
Dwg. 7: Plan of the mill (elevation and section) with detail and hopper.

Dwg. 8a-b: Ground plan of the Old Fort (Thatuwi *kot*) on the ridge northwest of the fields and meadows of the present community at Sazin. The population moved from Thatuwi *kot* to the present Sazin *kot* after conversion to Islam. The roofs must have been differently organised; there are almost no rectangular rooms. Such hilltop settlements were frequent in Tangir: Peter Snoy climbed up to one of them. No running water is available here; it is claimed that there was once a wooden aqueduct, though no traces of it remain.

FIGURES & PLATES

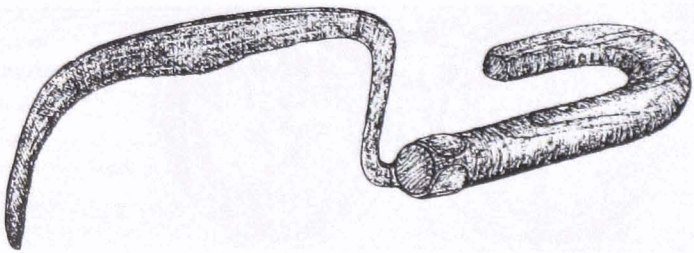
Figure 1

a



b

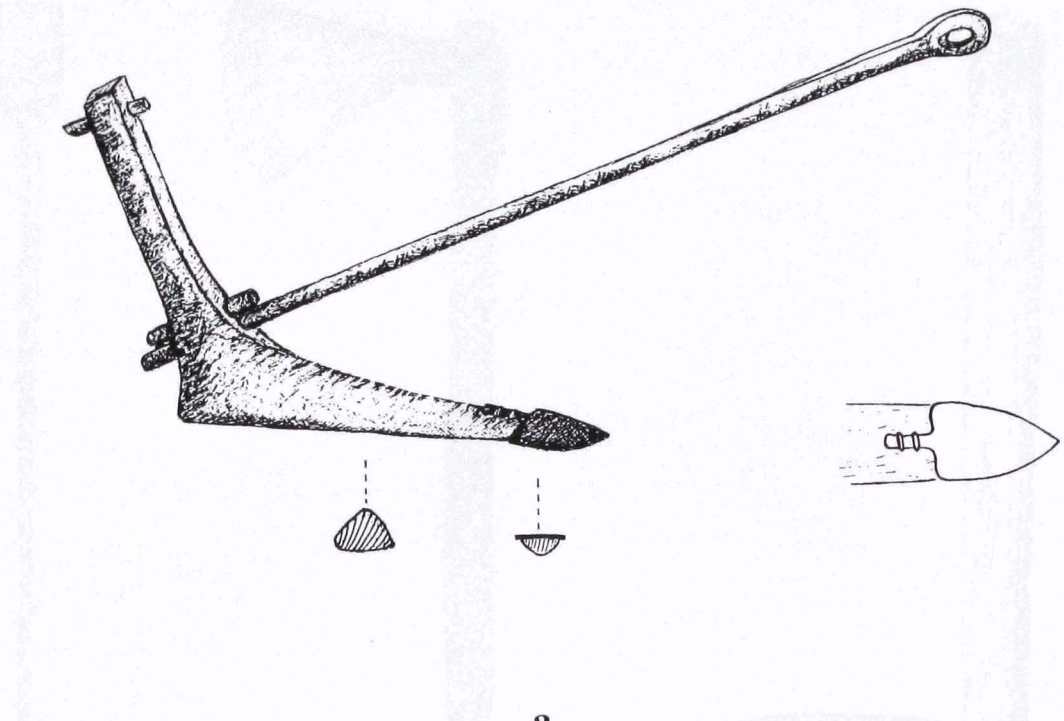
c



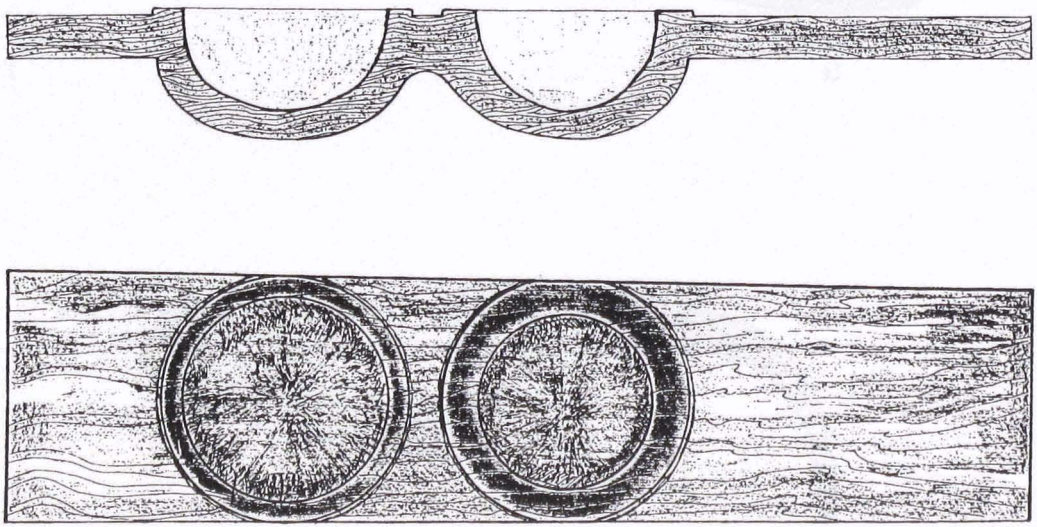
d

a: hoe; b: axe; c: winnowing shovel; d: sickle

Figure 2



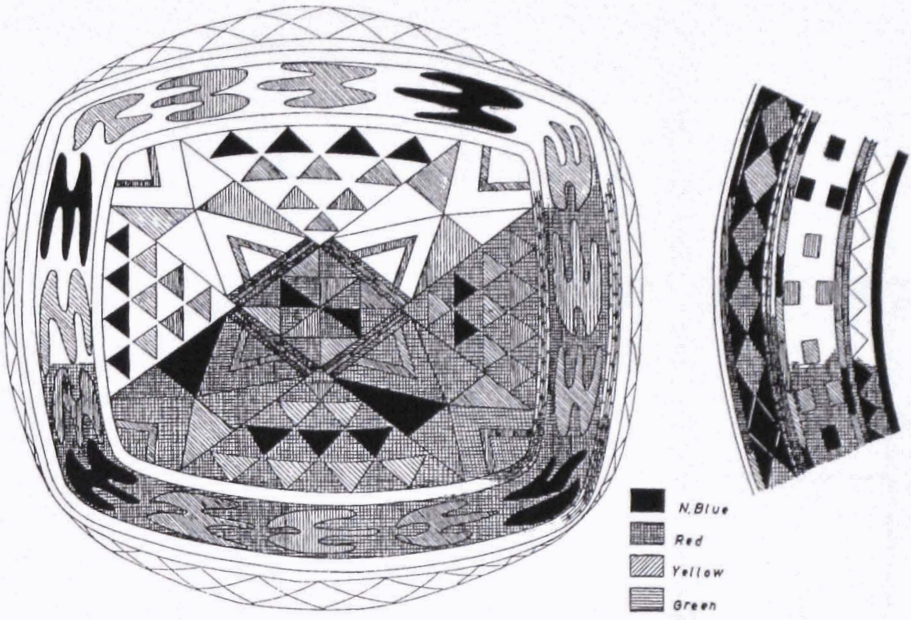
a



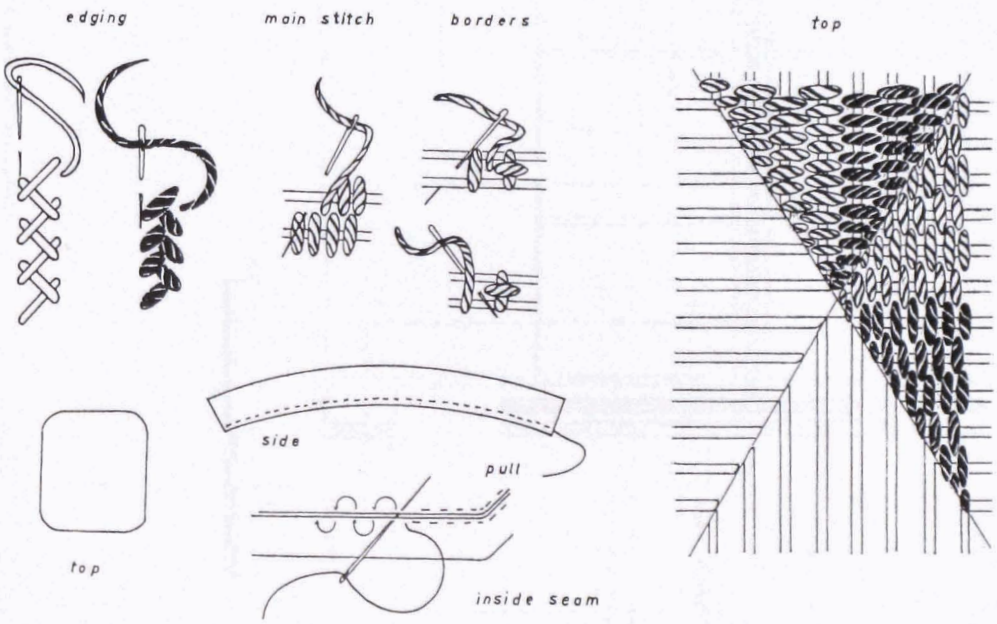
b

a: plough; b: wooden basins

Figure 3



a



b

Woman's cap of Sazin - a: embroidery-pattern; b: make-up and stiches.

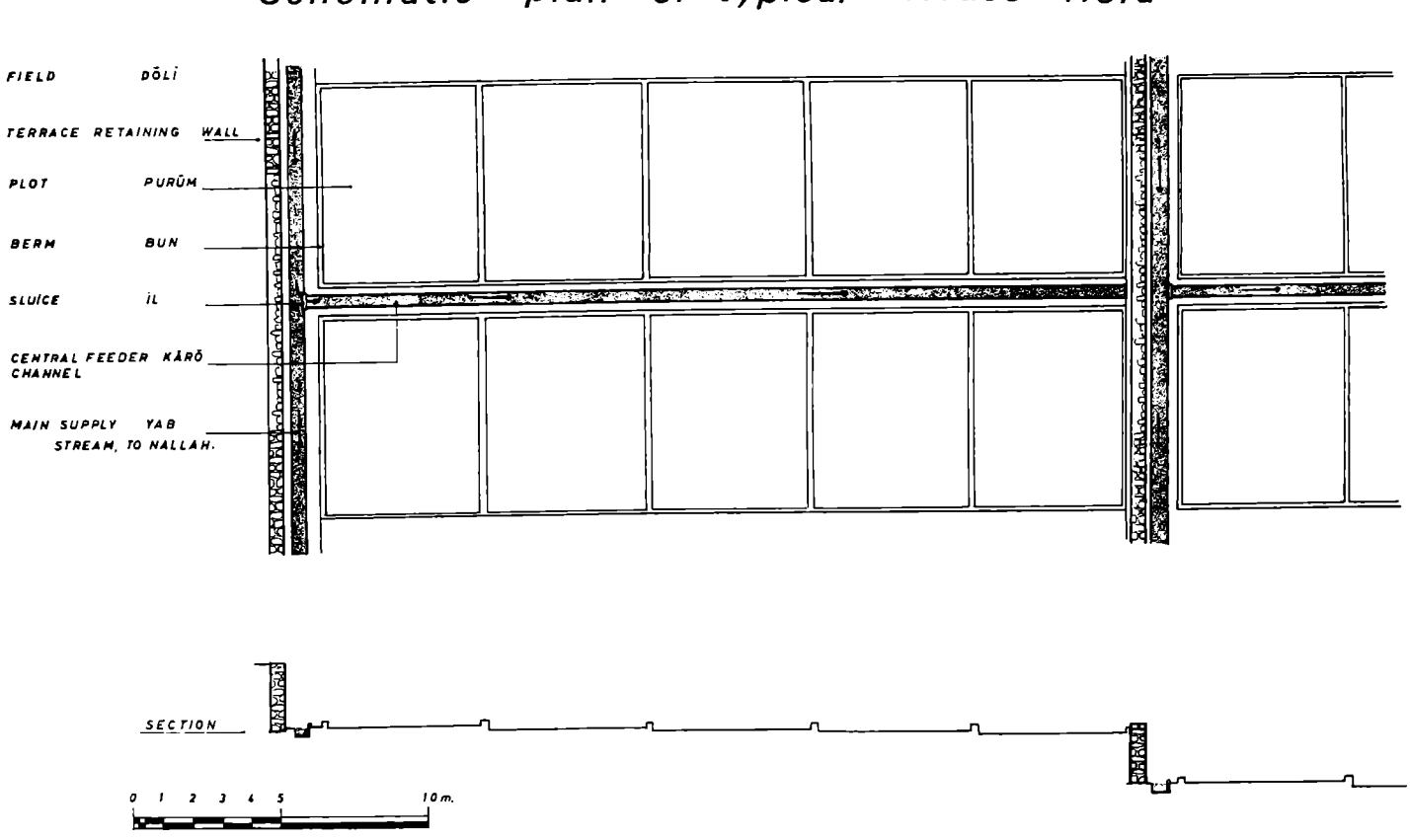
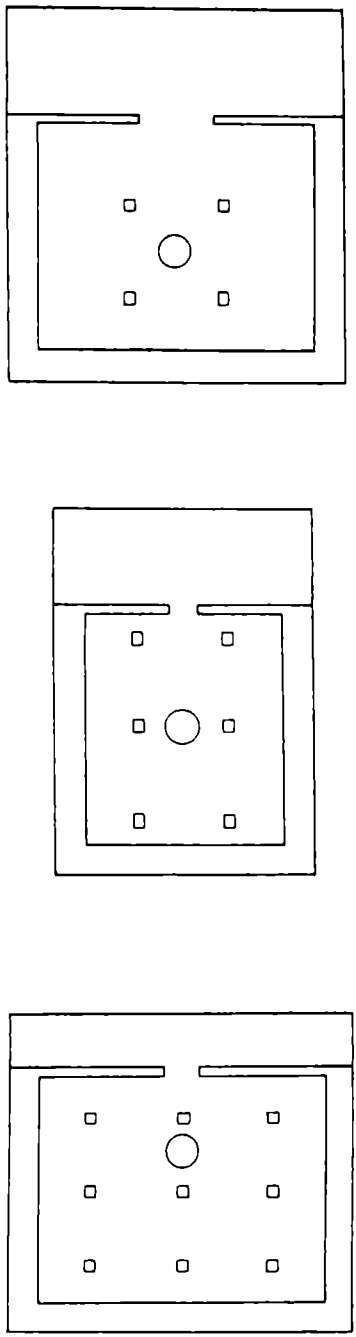


Figure 4

Schematic plan of typical terrace field.

Figure 5



Sazin Kot: comparative house types (inner rooms).

Full view of Sazin *kot* taken from the road leading to the northern end of the valley. Jettmar took the photo during his visit on 9th of October 1982. A comparison with Andrews' photos (see pl. IV) shows that in the meantime additional towers have been constructed. (photo Jettmar, 1982)

Plate I

A glance backwards, down to the Indus Valley from the same road. The confluence with the Tangir river is visible. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate II

Jettmar arrived in Sazin on 08. October 1982. Coming from Dassu, he and his team used the single lane road constructed under the administration of Bhutto. As usual the road was blocked by rock falls and sand drifts, so they had to finish the journey on foot. The photograph shows the members of the expedition. Jettmar is the third person from the left, next to him the highly efficient Deputy Superintendent of Police, who organised the visit. (photo Jettmar, 08.10.1982)

Plate III

A view of Sazin Valley taken from the Old Fort above the access road, part of which can be seen in the right bottom corner above the threshing floors. The mosque can be seen among the trees near the centre of the picture, and the new girls' school with its shining iron roof below to the left. One of the new towers is clearly visible at the right corner of the main village, and another beyond it in the fields, before the upper village. Fields separate the village from the threshing floors and the byres beyond them. (photo Andrews, 1987)

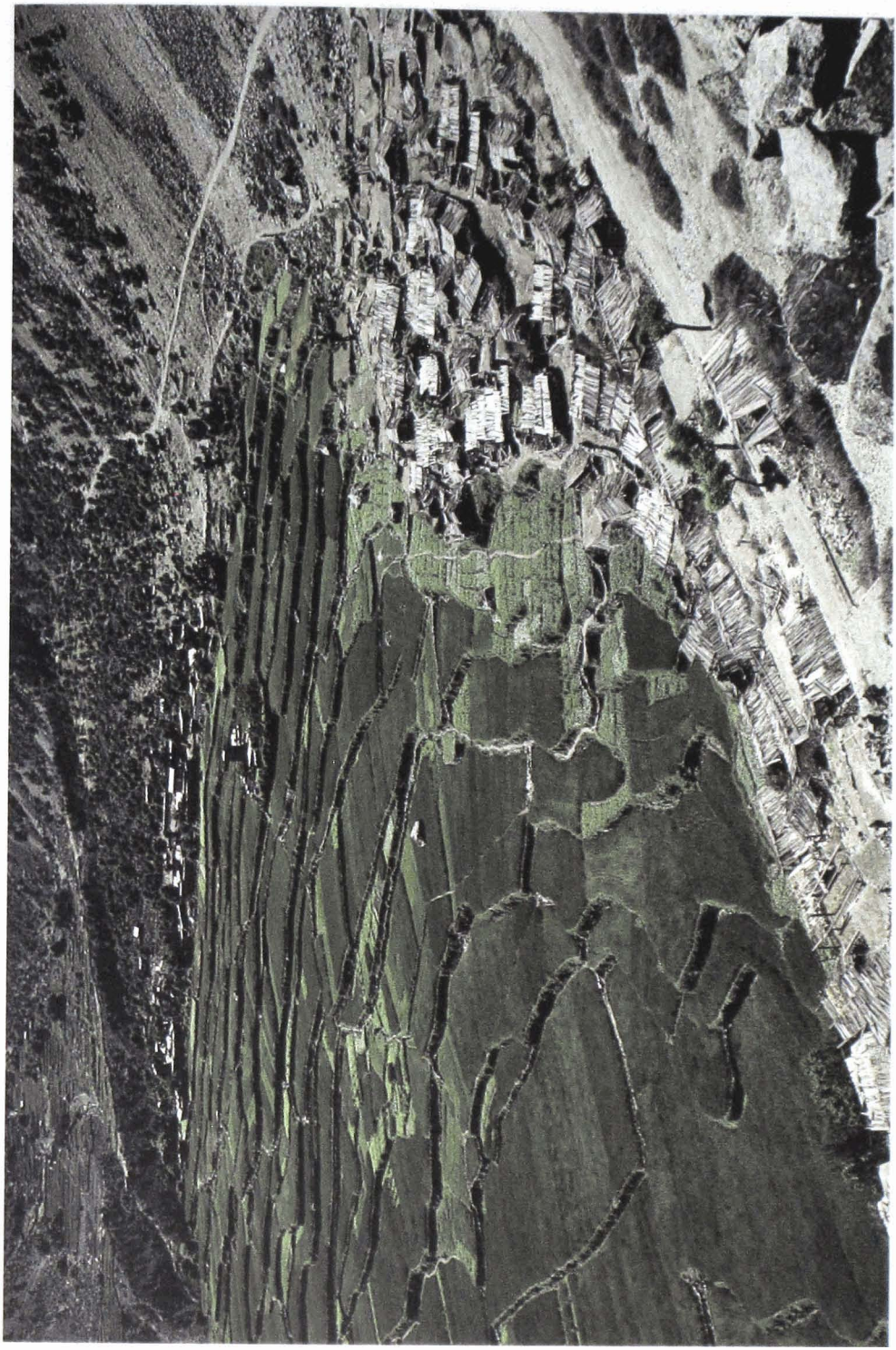
Plate IV

One of the most prominent towers in Sazin, seen from the centre of the *kot*. The destruction of many houses in the interior of the village allows a clear view of this tower. The girdle timbers in the sides are spaced by wooden angle-blocks, a recent improvement in construction. (photo Jettmar, 1982)

Plate V

View from the western slope of the valley, showing the new road passing the threshing floors and byres on its way to the new settlement on the upper edge of the terraced maize fields. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate VI



Main concentration of byres seen from the western slope. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate VII

Houses in the core of Sazin *kot,* seen from the west, showing the oldest range of houses in the foreground. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate VIII

The new tower at the southwest corner of the main village, Sazin. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate IX

The main cultivated floor of Sazin Valley from the northwest, showing the upper fields beyond the gorge on the left, and the mountains beyond. Here the Sumer and Shuri Valleys branch off, leading to the summer pastures three days journey away. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate X

One of the sitting platforms in front of the southwestern corner of the *kot*. This is part of the former *byak*. (photo Andrews, 1987)

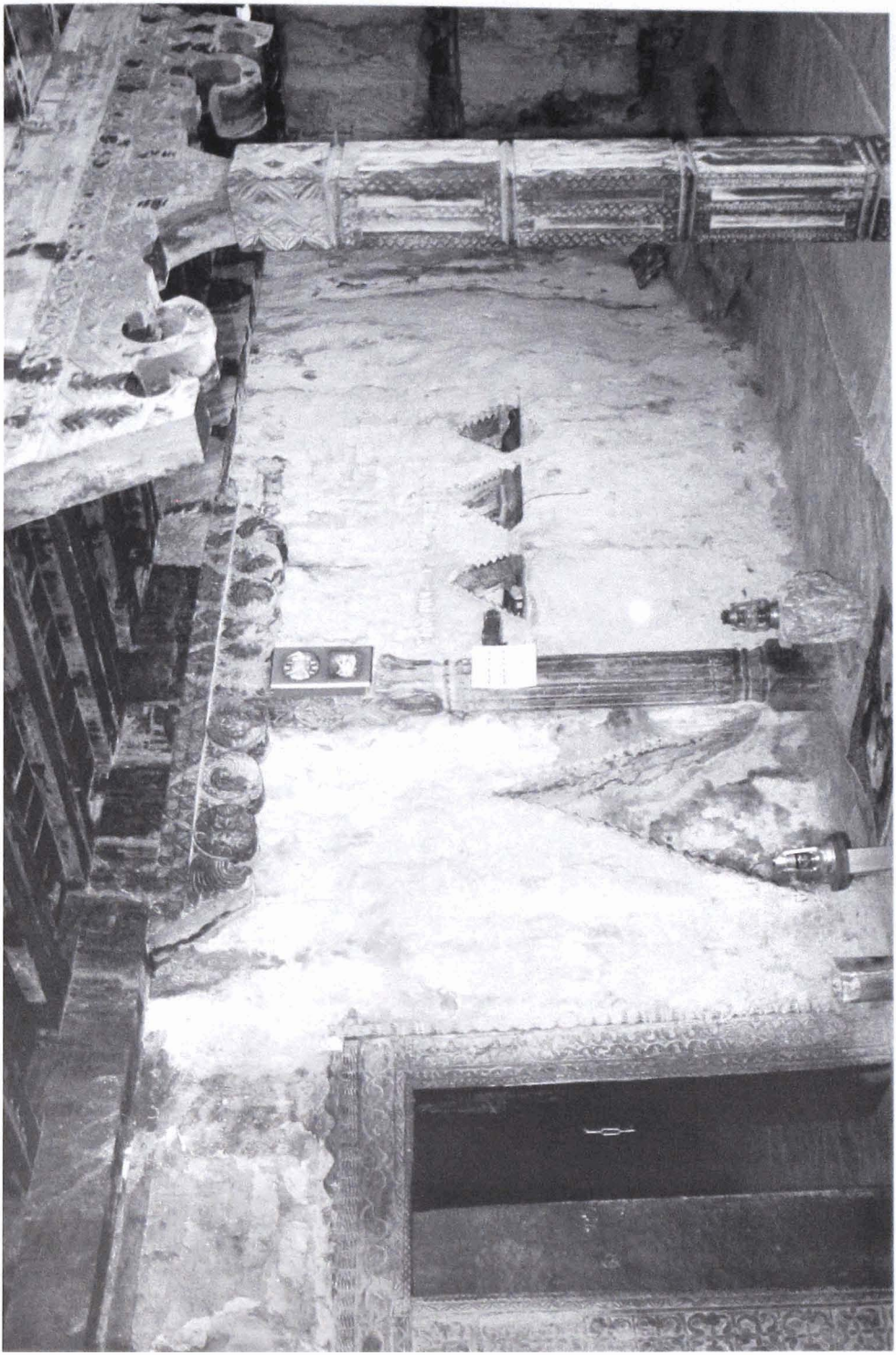
Plate XI

Carved wooden grave railing. Due to Wahabi propaganda many monuments of this type have been demolished in recent years. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate XII

Decorated boards indicate the alignment of the dead body. The carving may depict the head of the monal, previously a sacred bird. (photo Andrews, 1987)

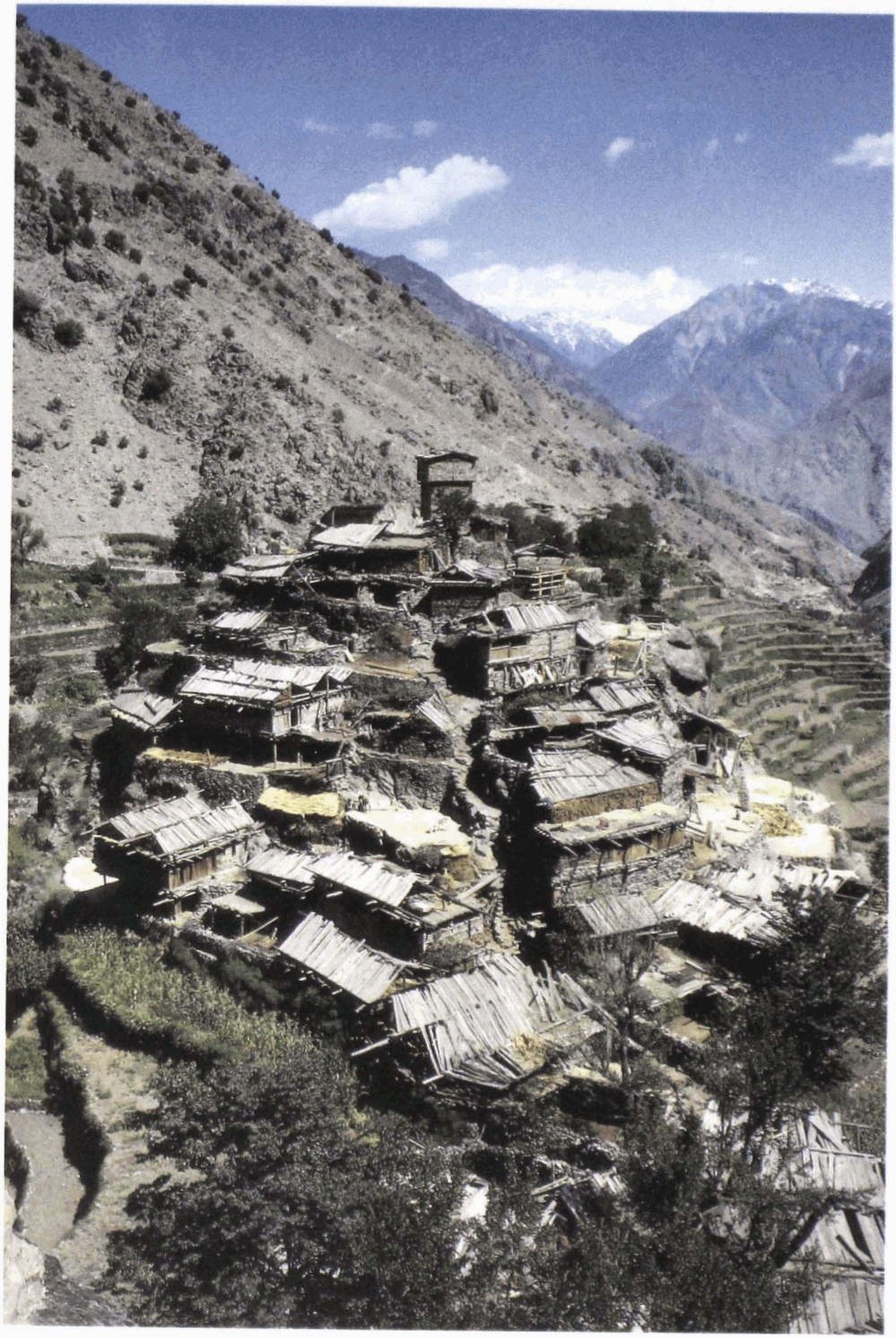
Mihrab of Sazin mosque in the inner wall of the loggia near the carved doorway, with lamp niches. The pillar is taken from the earlier building. (photo Andrews, 1987)



Gayal village in Darel Valley. The byres are between the Darel river and the *kot*, with the mosque in the centre. Higher up are the threshing places with shacks for the grain. (photo Jettmar, 1982)

Dargah village in Harban Valley, with a concentric organisation on a hilltop like that of the Old Fort in Sazin, crowned by a tower. (photo Andrews, 1987)

Plate XVI

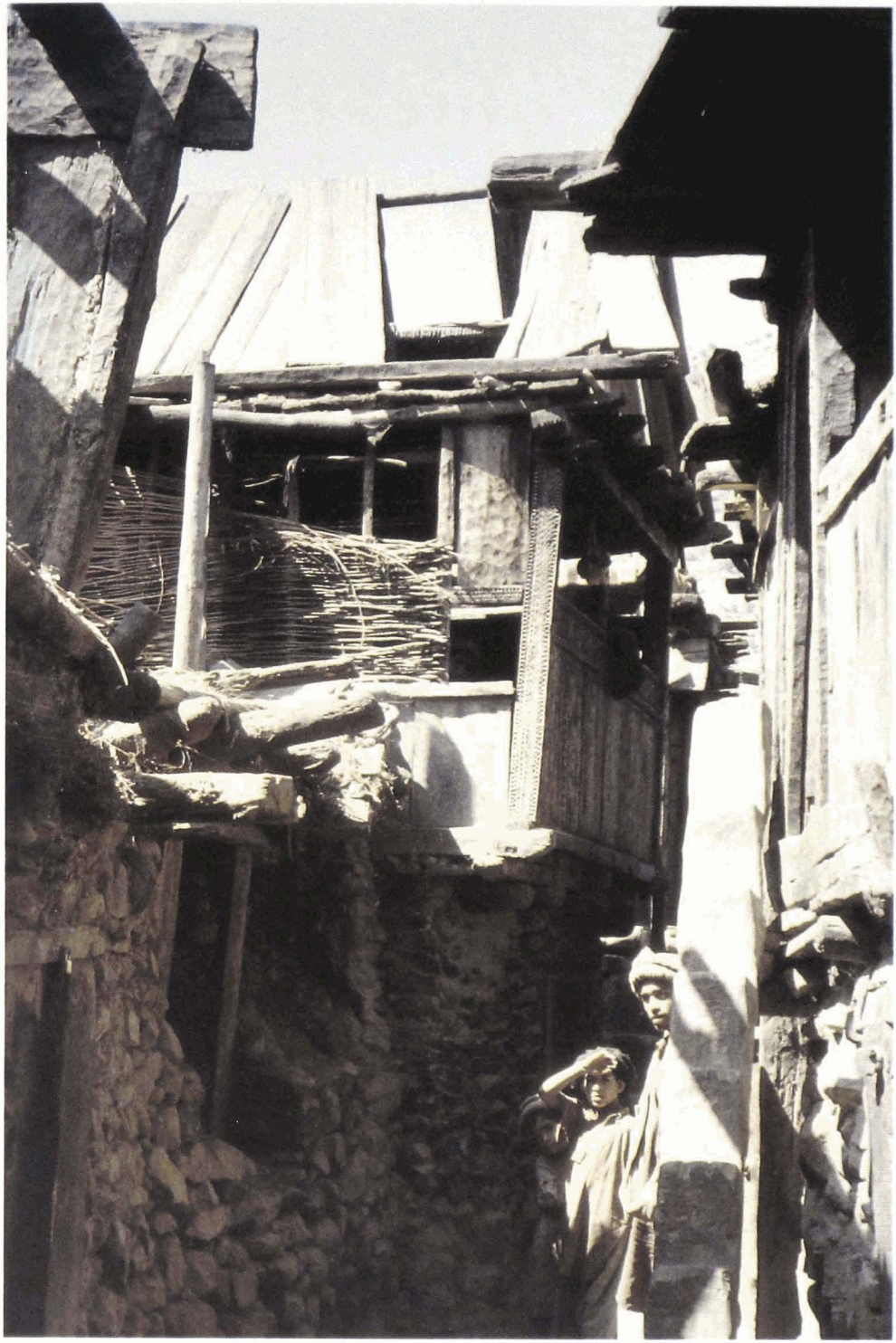


Rows of houses in Samigal, Darel. The raised position of the porch is clearly visible. (photo Jettmar, 1958)

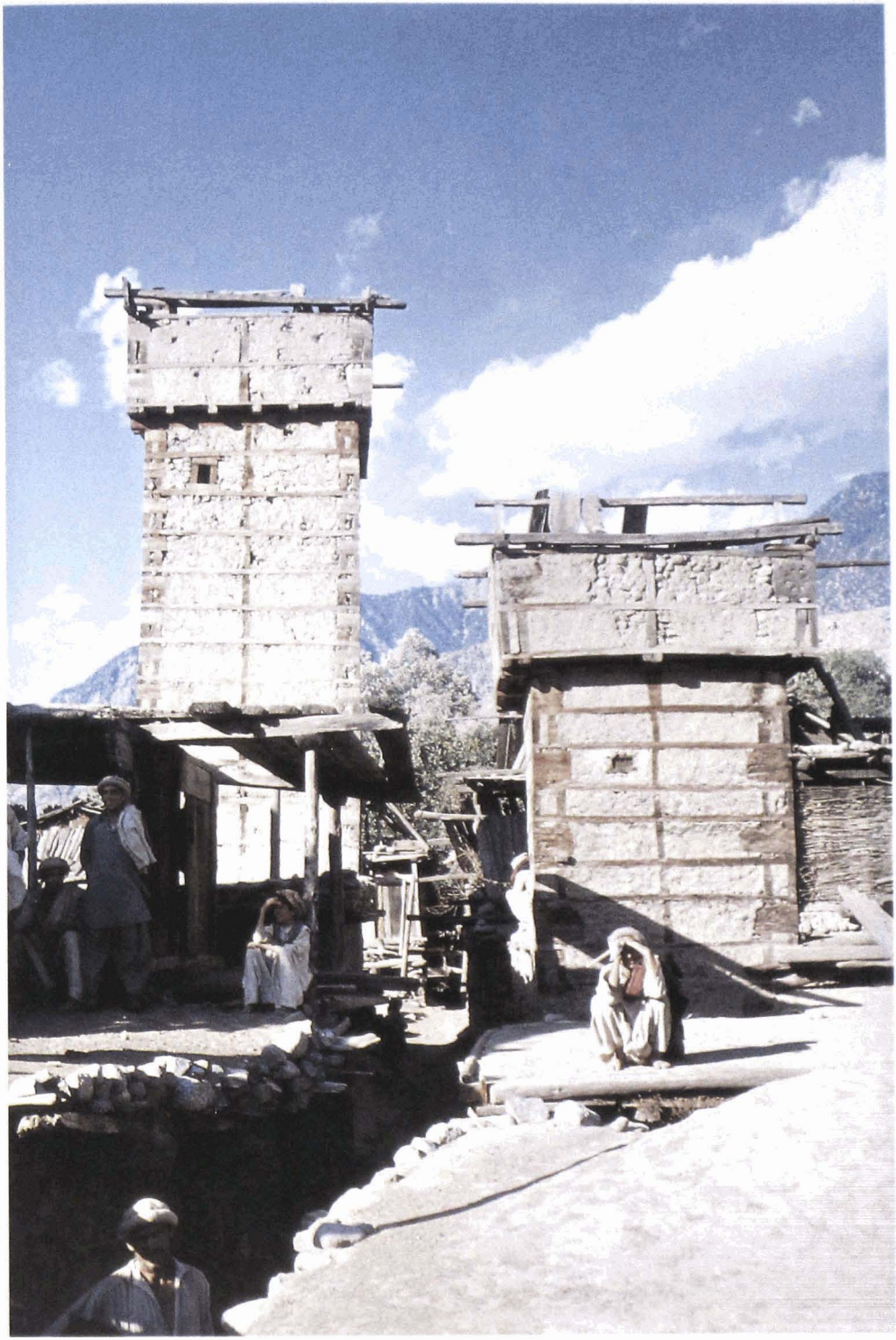
Plate XVII

Houses in Darel. Their flat roofs are sheltered by loose planks. (photo Jettmar, 1958)

Narrow lane in Darel. (photo Jettmar, 1958)



Private defence towers in Darel, erected in the precincts of the village-fortress. (photo Jettmar, 1958)



One of the *kot*-fortresses in Gor, with log cabins built as stores on the periphery. (photo Jettmar, 1958)

Plate XXI

One of the towers outside the *kot* at Gor. Bachelors used to live here: they were the first line of defence against an attack from elsewhere. (photo Jettmar, 1958)

A summer village in the Gilgit-Karakorum, passed on the way to Gor. (photo Jettmar, 1958)

Ruins of the Old Fort at Sazin, Thatuwi *kot*, seen from the north. It was probably deserted when a *wesh* system was introduced. (photo Andrews, 1987)

The last gorges of the Indus. (photo Jettmar, 1986)

The Karakorum-Highway below Kamila. (photo Jettmar, 1984)

Plate XXVI