

Proceedings of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference

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Edited by

Elena Bashir
Israr-ud-Din

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Dedication

This volume is dedicated to the memory of the late Wazir Ali Shah, in grateful recognition of his pioneering contributions to Hindukush studies, and his continuing support and encouragement to the younger generation of researchers. He was the only scholar from Chitral to have participated in the First International Hindukush Cultural Conference held in Moesgaard in 1970. He passed away on 15 September 1990, only four days before the inaugural session of the Second International Cultural Conference, held in Chitral.

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Preface

This volume, the first volume of *Hindukush and Karakoram Studies*, represents the proceedings of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference, which was organized to revitalize the tradition of Hindukush research, the early stages of which were represented in the First International Hindukush Cultural Conference held in 1970 in Moesgaard, Denmark. This Second International Hindukush Conference was organized in Chitral entirely by local efforts of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar, Chitral to achieve the goal of introducing the cultural heritage of Chitral to scholars throughout the world. The conference drew over fifty scholars from abroad and from within Pakistan, and resulted in the framing of a set of concrete and forward-looking recommendations.

The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar is an association of the poets, writers, and artists of Khowar, the predominant language in Chitral. It was founded by the late Prince Mohammad Hussam-ul-Mulk of Drosh in 1956. Ghulam Umar and his associates reorganized the literary society in 1978, one year after the death of Prince Hussam-ul-Mulk. From 1984 to December 1992, the Anjuman was headed by Inayatullah Faizi, and it has in its fold 160 poets, writers, and artists who work in the Khowar language. The Anjuman is working toward two main objectives: to promote the study and development of Khowar language and literature by encouraging the creative writers and poets of the area; and to introduce Khowar literature and Chitrali culture to the outer world, developing interaction with writers and scholars the world over. The Anjuman plans to continue its endeavour to promote research on the languages and cultures of Chitral by holding a Third International Hindukush Cultural Conference in Chitral in 1995.

Since its inception in 1956, the Anjuman has successfully carried out a wide range of activities. It has to its credit the arrangement of popular *mushairas* (meetings for the recitation of poetry), seminars, symposia, and workshops for the development of the Khowar language and its literature. It has also published fifteen books on Khowar and Chitral during this short period. Through its activities, the Anjuman has earned a good reputation in the region and support from the local populace. The most encouraging feature of the activities of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar is the active participation of many young writers and poets in the socio-literary activities launched by it.

Acknowledgements

Numerous people have contributed their time, energy, and financial resources to help make this conference a success. We gratefully acknowledge their help here, while admitting that a few printed lines can never express our gratitude, especially to those who devoted countless hours and energy to the enormous work involved in organizing the conference. The following individuals and institutions have contributed to the success of the conference in various ways.

Financial contributions from the following are deeply appreciated: Shahzada Mohiy-ud-Din, Minister of State for Tourism (formerly Chairman, District Council, Chitral, and Provincial Minister for Revenue, Aga Khan National Council for Pakistan, Karachi; Culture Department, Government of NWFP, Peshawar; Pakistan Academy of Letters, Islamabad; Hakim Mujibullah, Chairman, Town Committee, Chitral; Mohammad Wali Khan Kushum, Chitral; Fazle Rahim, Advocate, Chitral; Wali-ur-Rehman, Advocate, Chitral, Sahib Nadir, Advocate, Chitral; Captain Siraj-ul-Mulk, PIA, Chitral; Ghulam Mohammad, Booni.

Hall accommodations and arrangements were made available to the conference organizers by: H.H. Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir, former Mehtar of Chitral; Professor Rehmat Nabi, Principal, Government Commerce College, Chitral; and Abdul Wasi, Principal, Government High School, Chitral. Accommodations and guest rooms were provided by the following persons, to whom the conference organizers express their gratitude: Ghulam Jilani, Mehtar Zhau, Danin; Sher Agha, Moldch; Mohammad Wazir Khan, Jughur; Noor Zaman Khan, Jughur; Saltanat Khan, Moldch; Sarwar-ud-Din, Zargrandeh; Taj Mohammad Figar, Zargrandeh; Shaukat Ali, Goldur; Haider Ali Shah, Mountain Inn, Chitral; Prince Maqsood-ul-Mulk, Hindukush Trails, Chitral; Fida Hussain, Dreamland Hotel, Chitral.

Help with transport, furniture, and equipment was provided by the following persons and their institutions: Feroz Shah, Regional Programme Officer, AKRSP, Chitral (transport, equipment); Tariq Jamil, Project Manager, CADP, Chitral (transport and equipment); Ishtiak Ahmad, Deputy Commissioner, Chitral (furniture); Rahmat Kabir, Chief Officer, District Council, Chitral (furniture and equipment); J. Gurnan, Director, United States Information Service, Peshawar (equipment); Chairman, Geography Department, University of Peshawar (equipment); Professor Karimullah, Principal, Govt. Degree College, Chitral (furniture); Dr. Fida Aziz ud Din, Chitral (transport); Ghulam Mohay-ud-Din Kruch, Chitral (transport); Superintendent of Police, Chitral (security); Al-Fatah Society, Chitral (personnel); Social Welfare Officer, Chitral (personnel); Choke Machoke Union, Chitral (personnel).

In addition to the papers, various supplementary cultural and social activities were organized. The following musicians participated in the *mushairas* and the musical pro-

gram: Ustad Ajdaba Khan, Fatah-ud-Din, Ghairat-ud-Din, Shaukat Ali, Syed Faqir, Abdul Sattar, Murad Wali Taj, and Durdana Khan.

Specialized contributions in connection with these events are gratefully acknowledged from the following persons. President of the Chitral Polo Association, Chitral (special exhibition polo match for the conference participants); Executive Director, Lok Virsa, Islamabad (documentary show on Chitral); Dr. Peter Parkes, The Queens University of Belfast, Ireland (documentary film on the Kalasha); Dr. Gotlib, U.S.A. (documentary film); Station Director, Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, Peshawar (special coverage); General Manager, Pakistan Television, Peshawar (special coverage); The Frontier Post, Peshawar (special coverage); Airport Manager, Chitral airport (reception arrangements); Airport Manager, Peshawar (reception arrangements); Manager, Green's Hotel, Peshawar (reception arrangements); Pakistan Heart Foundation, Hayatabad, Peshawar (computer facilities); John Harrison, U.K., (cover photograph); Neena Bashir (computer help).

Hospitality at several lunches and dinners was extended by: H. H. Saif-ul-Mulk, the Ex Mehtar of Chitral (dinner); Ishtiaq Ahmad, Deputy Commissioner, Chitral (dinner in Chitral); Col. Hamidullah Panwar, Commandant, Chitral Scouts (dinner); Choke Machoke Union, Chitral (dinner); Chairman, District Council, Chitral (dinner); M. P. Bhandhara, former MNA for minorities, Rawalpindi (lunch at Bumburet); Engineer Jalal-ud-Din, Soveer (lunch at Garam Chashma); Samad Gul, Headmaster, Govt. High School, Garam Chashma (reception and entertainment at Garam Chashma).

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Editorial Policy

The editors have tried to retain as much of each author's unique style and wording as possible, consistent with clarity and felicity. Every effort has been made to capture and convey the precise sense intended by the authors. Their points of view have been represented exactly as expressed, and no editorial changes affect the content or opinions expressed in the papers. Where discussion about substantive points arose, a brief summary of such discussion has been appended to the paper. Any comment on the substance of the paper, by the editors or others, is indicated in the notes.

Papers presented at the conference which were not submitted for publication were those by Adam Nayyar on shamanistic trances in the Northern Areas, and by Dr. Sardar-ul-Mulk on medical problems, particularly goitre, in Chitral. Dr. Schuyler Jones talked on the uses of old photographs, and his paper was transcribed later from tape-recordings of the conference sessions. Additional submissions include the papers by John Harrison and Jürgen Frembgen.

Transcription conventions. Khowar words occurring in the papers by Rahmat Karim Beg, Rahmat Akbar Khan Rahmat, Maula Nigah, Gul Murad Hasrat, Sher Wali Khan, Mohammad Changiz Khan Tariqee, Sher Nawaz Naseem, and Elena Bashir are represented by the following scheme, which is the one described in the paper by Bashir (this volume). In the other papers, the authors' own transcriptions of Khowar or Kalasha words have been retained.

Retroflex consonants are represented by capital letters, except in the case of <L>, which represents the velarized or 'dark l' sound of Khowar. <č> and <j> represent the voiceless and voiced palatal affricates respectively; <š> the voiceless palatal fricative, and <ž> its voiced counterpart. Retroflex counterparts of these sounds are <C>, <J>, <S>, and <Z>. The voiceless dental affricate is represented by <ts>, and its voiced counterpart by <dz>. The voiceless velar fricative (Urdu 'xe') is represented by <x>, and the voiced velar fricative, (Urdu 'ghain') is represented by <γ> (Greek gamma). Readers new to the use of Roman transcription, should note that this use of capitalization is not to be confused with the English usage of capitalizing the first word of each sentence, and proper nouns.

Vowel length is represented in Khowar words by duplicating the vowel symbol; thus *aa* represents 'long a', while *a* represents 'short a'. In Urdu words, length is represented by a macron over the vowel symbol; thus *ā* represents 'long a' in Urdu, as in *laRkā* 'boy'. Stress is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel of the stressed syllable. In Khowar, the stress mark has two functions. (1) For short vowels it simply indicates stress, e.g. in *hasé* 'he, she, it; that'. (2) A stress mark on the second symbol of a vowel represented by a doubled symbol is used to indicate tone. For example in *žuír* 'daughter', low-rising tone is indicated by the stress mark on the second <u> of the (long) 'u' sound.

Introduction

*Schuyler Jones**

It gave me great pleasure when I received an invitation to attend the Second Hindukush Cultural Conference, particularly as the invitation came from Pakistan together with the announcement that the conference was to be held in Chitral. The organizers of the First Hindukush Conference twenty years earlier would have applauded this initiative and gladly lent their wholehearted support.

Lennart Edelberg's original plan, conceived in the late 1960's and developed in the course of numerous discussions with Georg Morgenstierne, had been for a series of such conferences, perhaps at five-year intervals. For various reasons, this did not happen, but the success of the 1970 Hindukush Cultural Conference, held at Moesgaard in Denmark, was in no small measure due to this vision of meetings at which geographers, architects, historians, agriculturalists, forestry experts, linguists, museum curators, botanists, and anthropologists — all of whom having worked in the Hindukush region at one time or another — would come together to present their findings, to exchange ideas, and to collaborate on future projects. It was the very model of what can be achieved by an interdisciplinary conference and I think that all of those who took part had a certain sense of excitement at the time and have ever since recalled the event with pleasure.

Some of the key figures who were present then are, sadly, no longer with us: Professor Georg Morgenstierne, who first carried out linguistic research in Afghanistan in 1924 and in Chitral in 1929; Wazir Ali Shah of Chitral, who in addition to his own research, worked with Morgenstierne on linguistic and historical problems over many years; Professor Wolfgang Lentz of the 1935 German Hindukush Expedition; and Lennart Edelberg, who first went to Afghanistan with Henning Haslund-Christensen in 1947 as a member of the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition.

A great many individuals and institutions in Chitral and Peshawar have made positive contributions to the success of the present conference; in particular our friends and colleagues in the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khōwar who showed initiative and imagination and, at the same time did great honour to those who had planned and organized the First Hindukush Cultural Conference by spearheading the organization of the second one and arranging for it to be held in Chitral on the twentieth anniversary of the first. On behalf of all the scholars who were able to attend, I would like to extend heartfelt thanks to Mr. Inayatullah Faizi, President of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khōwar, and Professor Israr-ud-Din, Chairman of the Organizing Committee, for long hours of work and for the detailed arrangements which did so much to make the occasion a success — a success reflected in

*Director, Pitt Rivers Ethnological Museum, Oxford.

and confirmed by this volume of research papers and by the fact that 122 delegates from nine different countries, including 72 scholars from Pakistan, attended the five-day conference.

Of the conference itself I need say little, as this volume speaks for itself, but I am confident that it was a pleasantly rewarding experience for everyone who took part. In his keynote address, Professor Karl Jettmar spoke for all of us when he noted how encouraging it was that the main progress in the course of the last twenty years... 'is the growing involvement of so many scholars from Pakistan, especially from the Northern Areas and mainly from Chitral.' Looking ahead, it is a matter of great satisfaction that the conference adopted several resolutions which auger well for the future of Hindukush studies and which reflect both concern and an understanding of the problems faced by the peoples of Northern Pakistan and the Hindukush-Karakoram region as a whole. These include environmental, economic, and social problems as well as ways of protecting archaeological sites, the preservation of historical buildings, the cataloguing of archival materials, the establishment of a museum, and encouraging the continuation of traditional craft skills.

It is planned that the Third Hindukush Cultural Conference will be convened in Chitral by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar in 1995 to commemorate the centenary of the Siege of Chitral with the aim of treating the history of the Hindukush lands and peoples in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is with confidence that I suggest the occasion will be an interesting one and that future scholars will be grateful to the organizers for having helped to make the findings of so much research available to them.

Welcome Address

*Israr-ud-Din**

Honourable Chief Guest, ladies and gentlemen, and my esteemed colleagues both from within Pakistan and from abroad, I take great pride and pleasure in welcoming all of you to Chitral and to the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference.

The first International Conference on the cultures of the Hindukush was held in 1970 in Moesgaard, Denmark under the chairmanship of the late Professor Georg Morgenstierne, a great scholar whom we all venerate as one of the pioneers of research in our area. That conference resulted in the publication of a proceedings volume, *Cultures of the Hindukush*, which continues to be a valuable reference on a wide variety of subjects pertaining to the Hindukush area.

Last year the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar, realizing that the time was more than ripe for another international gathering of scholars of the Hindukush and Northern Areas, decided to plan a Second International Conference on the twentieth anniversary of that first meeting, and to hold it right here in Chitral, the scene of much of the basic research that has been and that remains to be done on our area. Much work has been done during the twenty years since that first historic gathering, and many new scholars have entered the field. The benefits for all of us of such an opportunity to meet and exchange ideas on research findings are incalculable. We hope that the published proceedings of this conference will become available to scholars within the next year. We also hope, though, that we will not have to wait another twenty years for the Third International Hindukush Conference.

As I am sure all of us gathered here are aware, the Hindukush and Karakoram region has tremendous importance as a repository of great cultural and natural wealth. Chitral and the Northern Areas are the home of a complex web of distinct yet subtly interrelated indigenous cultures. All these cultural subgroups, from the Kalash of the western side valleys of Chitral to the Baltis of the easternmost corners of the Northern Areas, possess certain commonalities due to their shared historical roots and to complex patterns of migration and conquest, as well as to the constraints of living in a mountain environment. Yet, as is characteristic of mountain societies worldwide, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that each separate valley has had its own unique cultural characteristics.

Southern Chitral, for example, is one of the linguistically richest and most complex areas of the world. Here we find speakers of the Indo-Aryan (Dardic) languages Khowar; Dangarikwar or Phalura or Atsreta as it is variously called, which has developed from an archaic variety of Shina; Dameli, which is closely related to both the Indo-Aryan and

*Department of Geography, Peshawar University.

the Nuristani languages; Kalasha, spoken in the Kalasha Valleys; and Gojri and Gawar Bati in Arandu and other areas. There are also indigenous Persian-speaking enclaves in Madaghasht for example. In the upper reaches of the Kalash valleys an eastern dialect of Kati, a Nuristani language, is spoken, and in the Lutkoh Valley are several villages where the mother tongue is Yidgah, an Iranian Pamir language akin to Wakhi, which is spoken in northernmost Upper Chitral, the Northern Areas, Afghanistan, and the adjacent parts of the Soviet Union.

With regard to natural wealth and the environment, upper Chitral and the Northern Areas are the locus of one of the key factors in the water resources position of the entire country in the glacial cover in the high mountain valleys. Given the problem of imminent global warming and the accompanying change in climatic patterns, the behaviour of the water stored in the form of glaciers becomes of crucial importance.

Mountain ecologies are inherently fragile, and mountain-dwelling peoples have traditionally been aware of their responsibilities as custodians of nature's resources and their duties to pass on an undamaged natural environment to their descendants. Witness, for example, the elaborate turn-taking patterns and resource allocation limits developed by mountain dwellers in both Chitral and the Northern Areas. Given and rapid population expansion, increased pressure on limited natural resources, and the possibility of far-reaching climatic changes, the study of problems related to the protection of the natural environment takes on a renewed urgency.

We see this conference as having two broad objectives. First, we hope that it will serve to increase awareness at all levels — among the local communities of the Hindukush region, among the opinion and policy makers at the national level, and among the worldwide community of scholars — of the complex challenges and problems faced by the various cultural groups in these areas.

This is an era of unprecedentedly rapid technological and cultural change all over the world. While Chitral is considered one of the lesser-developed regions of the country, we appreciate that through the efforts of the Government of Pakistan much has been done to lay the foundation for a sound educational structure, to encourage rural development projects, and to improve the network of roads within the district. We would hope that the Government maintains its concern in our area, particularly in connection with the construction of the Lowari Tunnel, which would establish an all-weather link to the rest of the country.

This entry of Chitral into the larger cultural arenas of the national and of the world is inextricably related to the second aspect of our cultural and developmental dilemma. With rapid change comes dislocation and discontinuity. We are in a period in which our various cultures, in which we take pride for their ancient roots and their unique customs and institutionalized values, are under tremendous pressure. We see around us the beginnings of cultural loss and deterioration, and the prospect of their eventual extinction. Every culture reflects the history, the collective memories, and the value systems of its bearers. It contributes to the sense of identity and self-understanding of its bearers. Just as a mature human mind is the repository of a lifetime of experience, which the adult individual passes on to his children, in the same way a developed culture is the storehouse of many generations of experience, which is passed on to the new generations by various teaching institutions. For these reason, every group is rightly concerned about maintaining the continuity of those aspects of its cultural heritage which are deemed essential to

maintaining its distinctive identity. At this particular historical juncture, we in the northern mountains of Pakistan find ourselves facing the problem of how to preserve the best elements of our traditional cultures while adopting selectively the beneficial elements of the new.

This is not to say that we want to remain in a cultural vacuum or to preserve a past status quo forever. This is neither a healthy nor a possible goal. Cultural change is inevitable, but we hope and believe that with thoughtful and enlightened leadership among our scholars and educationists, the progress of cultural change can be shaped and guided to produce a positive and healthy synthesis of the old and the new.

The second broad objective of this conference is to create an interdisciplinary forum during which the state of research on the Hindukush-Karakoram areas can be assessed, drawing on the insights of our distinguished participants representing many disciplines, many institutions, and many countries. We would like, during the course of this gathering, to be able to discuss both the level of institutional commitment to research in this area and ways of supporting and coordinating the work of the many individual scholars who are currently engaged in research in the area.

We have had an impression that since the days of Professor Morgenstierne at the Indo-Iranian Institute in Oslo there had been a certain discontinuity in specific institutional commitment to research in this area. But we are delighted to see a major new effort like the Culture Area Karakoram Project being carried out under the auspices of support from the West German Government. We would hope that more educational and research institutions would create a permanent niche for studies of our area.

The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar, a non-governmental literary and cultural organization founded in 1956 by the late Prince Muhammad Hussam-ul-Mulk, has been working for the advancement and development of Khowar language and literature. We have held a series of seminars and poetry readings, and have several publications to our credit as well as many more in press. But this not enough. Our resources are limited and the scope of our mandate is limited to the language-related aspects of culture. We feel that the need is clear and the occasion opportune for discussing the establishment of a full-fledged, interdisciplinary Institute of Hindukush Studies, to be located right here in Chitral, in the heart of the Hindukush. Such an institute would attract scholars from all over the world, and provide them with an institutional base and central information clearing-house in Pakistan, as well as provide a centre through which teams of our own researchers can be developed and placed in contact with their colleagues from abroad.

It is the sincere hope of all of us in the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar that you will find this a stimulating and enjoyable gathering. Please feel free to ask me or any of the conference organizers for any sort of assistance you may need while you are here. With these introductory thoughts, I thank you all once again. Thank you very much.

Chief Guest's Introductory Remarks

*Shahzada Mohiy-ud-Din**

Professor Dr. Karl Jettmar, the General President, Professor Israr-ud-Din, Chairman, Organizing Committee, Distinguished delegates, honourable guests: It is a great pleasure for me to be invited to address this august gathering of scholars, and I join you and the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar in welcoming our guests from abroad and our Pakistani scholars from all provinces of the country. We in the Government of Pakistan are delighted that so many scholars representing so many disciplines are able to gather here in Chitral and work cooperatively toward the goal of advancing the economic, cultural, and intellectual development of the region. I congratulate the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Khowar on their conceiving of and organizing this important event. I am really impressed by the works of Dr. Karl Jettmar (SI), the General President of this conference.

Chitral and its people occupy a special place in the history of Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, Chitral was the first of the independent states to accede to the new nation. Then in the Kashmir War of 1947-8, Chitralis rendered valuable service to the country. These contributions will not be forgotten. I would like to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate the brave and patriotic people of Chitral for their continued contributions to national development.

Because of its physical isolation, Chitral has remained one of the lesser-developed areas of the country. The Government attaches special importance to activities promoting the progress of this area. Rapid development of the socio-economic infrastructure in the remote areas of the country has been and will continue to be one of the highest priorities of the Government. I would like to assure the people of Chitral that the Government fully appreciates the strategic, historical, and cultural importance of this region and will continue and intensify its efforts to promote economic and cultural development in the area.

I fully endorse the idea of establishing a research institute in Chitral. Such an institute is, I think, the need of the hour. I request this auspicious forum to work out a detailed plan for the proposed institution which will be taken up with concerned quarters at national and international levels, with reference to the recommendations of this conference.

I am confident that this conference will make a significant contribution to creating awareness of the situation prevailing in and the problems facing the people of Chitral. We in the Government are so busy in day-to-day affairs that we do not have the time or opportunity to undertake for ourselves the painstaking research and study that is necessary to understand the history, the society, and all the complex realities of life in each part of

*Minister for Revenue and Taxation, NWFP.

the country. For this kind of detailed analysis and information, we must seek the help and guidance of our historians, anthropologists, religious scholars, economists, geographers, and agriculturists. Government and the scholarly community must work hand in hand for the progress of society. Keeping this in mind, I can assure that the Government will take a keen and concerned interest in the deliberations of this conference and their implications for the future development of Chitral.

Once more, let me extend to you my warm welcome and my best wishes for the fruitful outcome of this historic gathering.

At the end, I would like to join Professor Jettmar in saying a few words in memory of the late Wazir Ali Shah who rendered valuable service to the people of Chitral as an intellectual and a writer of high calibre. His sad demise just four days before this happy occasion reminds us of his contributions to the cause of promoting cultural awareness and literary activities in this remote area.

With these words I am pleased to announce the inauguration of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference.

Keynote Address

*Karl Jettmar**

When I learned that I should be honoured by the task of giving the first, introductory lecture, I had the intention of forging links between the first conference held under the same title in Denmark twenty years ago and this one.

I wanted to show how the relations between languages so splendidly demonstrated in the work of Professor Morgenstierne, the president of the 1970 conference, can now be explained by contacts between states and ethnic groups which were subjects of my own studies. I intended to tell you that, due to recent research and discoveries, we are able to answer several questions asked by Morgenstierne, the famous protagonist of an earlier generation.

But when I recently saw the list of papers, I decided not to offer this lecture for some reasons: (1) Already two papers are announced evaluating and supplementing the work of Professor Morgenstierne. (2) To present my own views and the consequences which I could draw from the linguistic studies would need too much time in such a condensed programme. So I have prepared an article to be printed in the papers of this conference. (3) There is no real continuity between the problems treated during the first and the present conference: the focus of interest has shifted from Afghanistan to Pakistan.

The main progress in the course of the last twenty years, however, is the growing involvement of so many 'insiders' from Pakistan, especially from the Northern Areas and mainly from Chitral. This development is highly welcome. I consider anthropology as a successful venture only in cases when, after a time of transition, the projects can be handed over to the care of specialists grown up in the country and speaking local languages. They should be so fascinated with their own past and their own culture that they do not eagerly await the next opportunity to get an armchair job in the capital. On the basis of my thirty-five years of experience, however, I may be allowed to offer some advice to the next generation.

1. The titles of several contributions dealing with Chitrali music, Chitrali customs, etc., indicate that the various valleys are not clearly enough differentiated. Maybe that is the influence of a system described by Shahzada Hussam-ul Mulk: the recurrent annual visits of the ruler even to distant villages had the consequence that local differences were levelled. So the Khowar-speaking areas were well integrated in spite of religious tensions. But still there are certain differences. Laspur, for example, must have traditions going back to the time when at least part of the population immigrated from the East.

*South Asian Institute, Heidelberg University.

However Chitral has a most interesting periphery, apart from the Kalasha who are a 'long running' topic. As far as I can see, the populations speaking Phalura, Gawar Bati, Dameli, and Yidgha are just now mentioned in the titles of the almost fifty lectures announced. That may be forgiven to foreigners who are not allowed to move freely in the border areas, but not to local scholars. Is there really no man in the bazaar who might work as informant? Just here, Morgenstierne has set an outstanding example. One Tirahi informant, 'old and toothless, very slow-minded and rather short-tempered', was enough for him to collect a most interesting vocabulary of the Tirahi language.

The neglect, however, is not so bad as what has happened in regard to the languages and folkloristic traditions of Indus-Kohistan and those in the Nilam Valley as well. Languages and dialects spoken by a considerable number of people in those areas are not yet recorded.

I have already mentioned the Kalasha. Many aspects of their culture have now been studied intensively, including the border areas. That is a great service to later generations, but touristic activities into their refuge should be greatly reduced or stopped entirely; the Kalash badly need a closed season. In the beginning of this century Cherkesses were imported to the zoological gardens of Europe, Red Indians, to be shown to the visitors dancing, riding, or mock-fighting, four times a day. That was recognized as a shame to humanity long ago, and forbidden.

2. As for recording of habits and customs, I have not only to offer admonitions. After the end of his political ambitions, the late Governor of Drosh, Hussam-ul Mulk, concentrated all his energies on the preservation of the traditional culture of Chitral. His notes grew to the twelve large chapters, more than 200 pages of which were translated into English by Wazir Ali Shah, who made his comments as well. This were linguistically checked by Georg Buddruss, and finally I was entrusted with the publication.

So far, no part of this work has appeared. There are several reasons for the delay. There are chapters which can only be interpreted on the base of additional fieldwork, and due to the quite unexpected, overwhelming discoveries of petroglyphs in the Indus valley, I had not the time to stay in Chitral. Another problem arose. The second chapter in Hussam-ul Mulk's notes is a highly personal, very subjective description of the political and social system of Chitral. It was difficult to explain why this system is so different from all others in South Asia. The ruler is considered as the owner of all lands in his state, but he has to share his rights with a large number of lineages allied with the ruler by a system of fictive kinship. The children of the ruler are fostered by these groups. Only by using the approach of Morgenstierne, the study of loanwords, was this riddle solved, and my comment, based on a text of thirty pages has grown to a middle-sized book.

Not all chapters need such a treatment. The rest should be published in a sort of cooperation together with local experts, especially, for medicine, sports, and handicrafts. The result should be a sort of compendium, an example of what should be done for the other main tracts of the Northern Areas as well.

Thanks to an intense collaboration between Hussam-ul Mulk, John Staley, and Janet Pott, an excellent description of the representative house type preponderant in Chitral was published long ago. We should record the terminology for other fields, as well as for ancient implements and techniques which will disappear in the future. For such studies, the notes of Hussam-ul-Mulk could serve as a starting point.

3. Certainly such efforts should be supplemented by collecting ethnographical objects. Even in this respect, the differences among regional groups should be taken into consideration.

One of the main problems of Northern Pakistan is the destruction of many ancient mosques by the local population. People wanted modern buildings with walls made of concrete. In other cases, Wahabi missionaries induced the locals to oppose the rich decoration of old wooden mosques. Spoils were exported to European museums with the full consent of the customs authorities. In the Diamir district, however, the lavishly decorated fences surrounding the graves were burnt down.

The preservation of ethnographical objects needs some understanding of the climatic conditions. Wooden pillars were erected in Islamabad around Lok Virsa like Torii in Japan — in spite of the fact that wood should not be left unprotected in a climate with heavy rainfall.

4. Very few local scholars have systematically collected information on archaeological sites and monuments. In this respect, Mohammad Abbas Kazmi has extraordinary merits; he should be rewarded by the Government. Due only to his attentive and cooperative reactions, a Buddhist monastery was discovered in the Shigar valley, the earliest in the Western Himalayas so far known.

Almost as fruitful as excavation is the collection and comparison of the ancient names of rivers and mountains, of settlements, fields, and meadows. Even in this case Morgenstierne has shown the way; his work must be perpetuated.

5. Historical works were written in the states in the territory of present North Pakistan long before the first contacts with the European colonial system and scholarship. They were panegyrics written by learned men who perpetuated a long and proud tradition. Biddulph and his colleagues were able to make use of them, together with popular tales and local traditions.

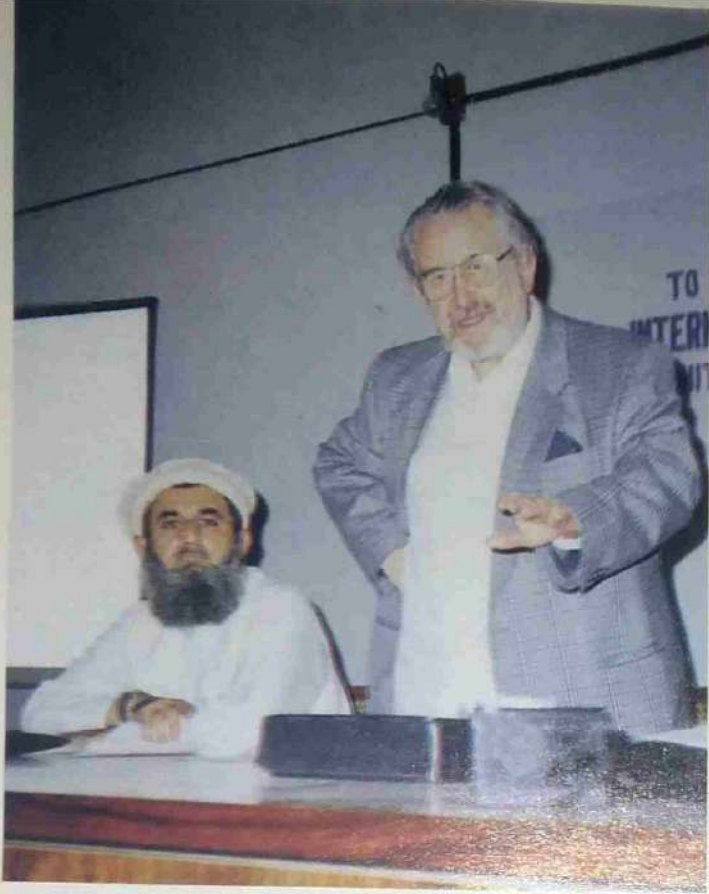
Efforts to adapt them to the requirements of Western scholarship were made, resulting in a *New History of Chitral* and Hashmatullah's *History of Jammu and Kashmir*. This last work is interesting for the areas where the author himself had been able to collect information. Both texts were translated into English, but not immediately printed.

In the last years, hitherto unknown historical works written by personalities who were themselves deeply involved in actual political activities have been edited. Almost immediately one of these works, apparently the wrong one, was used as a major source for a comprehensive history of the Northern Areas; the result is a sort of fantasy book with a strong bias against the last dynasty of Chitral, a 'glorified tale' at best. So it is quite clear that the next attempts should be made on a much broader base.

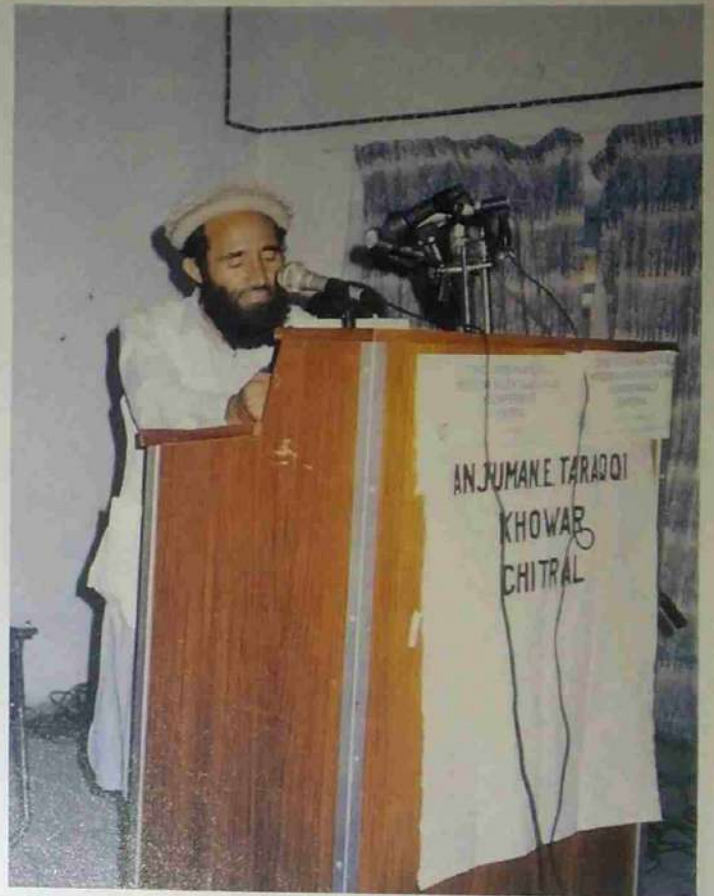
At the end of my introduction I want to thank you for the confidence in my person and my work expressed by my friends in Pakistan and especially those in Chitral by nominating me as president of this conference.

To come up to their expectations, I have to finish the books which are necessary to present my studies starting in 1955. Apart from the *Political History of Chitral* based on the notes of Hussam-ul Mulk, one book is necessary to describe the villages fortresses of Indus-Kohistan, and another one should focus on the rock carvings in the Indus valley and explain their meaning. Finally, my book on the pre-Islamic beliefs and traditions of the mountain people must appear in an English version including several supplements, one by Dr Nayyar. That will keep me busy for the rest of my lifetime. What I shall

accomplish should become a sort of monument to my friends who helped me so much during many years. Here I want to mention Wazir Ali Shah, who was already a trusted collaborator of Morgenstierne.



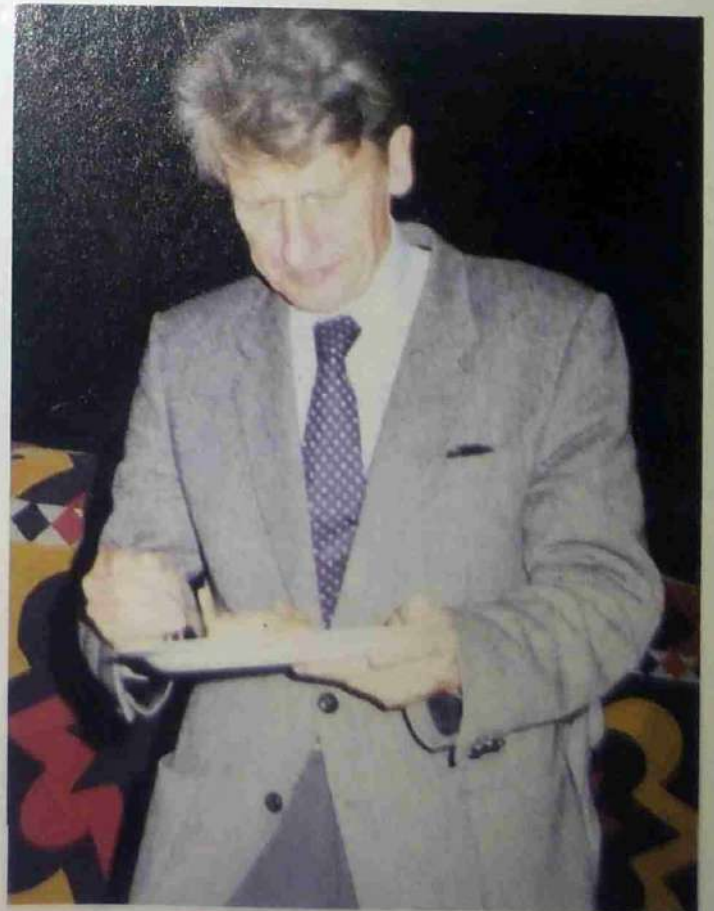
Professor Karl Jettmar and Professor Ishtiaq Chishti



Dr Inayatullah Faizi,
President, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khowar



Peter Parkes



Schuyler Jones



Shahzada Mohiyuddin,
Federal Minister for Tourism



Guests: Alberto and Augusto Cacopardo, Schuyler Jones,
Peter Parkes, Birgitte Sperber,
Jean Yves Loude, Vivien Lievre, Dr M. Nawaz Tair



Chitrali participants including Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-Khowar members:
Sher Wali Khan Aseer, Taj Mohammad Figar, Aminur Rehman Chughtai