

## II. History

# Approaches to the History of North Pakistan

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## **First attempts made by administrators and modern scholars**

'North Pakistan' encompasses regions where none of the large, literate languages of the state are spoken — neither Pashto, nor dialects of Panjabi, nor Kashmiri in the east beyond the cease-fire line. Instead we find here a greater number of languages, many of them having several distinct dialects. This disparity corresponds to the difference between the areas open to permanent communication, and mountain valleys where defence against foreign invasions and preservation of the identity was much easier.

In North Pakistan we may discern two zones. One of them lies south of the main ranges of the Hindukush and Karakoram where open valleys are frequent and states or 'statelets' were the normal political organization. We may discern three clusters there: Chitral, Kuh-Ghizar, and Yasin; the states in the lower Gilgit and Hunza valley; and finally Baltistan. In the southern zone the inhabitants live in acephalous communities, the type which in some cases are called republics. We can recognize one cluster around the lower Kunar valley, one consisting of the Panjkora area and Upper Swat, and a third one on both sides of the Indus beyond the last gorges. For this southern belt, the expression 'Kohistan' will be used (a term which was extended to a much larger area by John Staley [1982:3-9]).

We may start with the statement that everywhere in North Pakistan there are traditions concerning the past. Parts of them are tales spread over enormous areas — for example, the story of the demonic ruler of Gilgit, Shiri Badat, which was noted in a very similar version in Ladakh, in the Nubra valley, by one of my Indian students. Two areas are known to me where such traditions were transformed into manuscripts before all influences by Europeans. This happened in Chitral where a well-known Sufi wrote a book on the former kings, as a late successor to Firdausi, and in Shigar, where a highly interesting script in the Tibetan tradition was used.

All other historical books emulate the European approach even if the tendency is much in favour of the independent powers, or openly antagonistic to the British overlords. The first attempt was made by John Biddulph, a man with intense historical interests. We might try to explain this by the fact that he had a private tutor from the University of Bonn at the a when historical studies were very highly appreciated in Germany, but that would be too pretentious. So we may simply say that he, son of a rich banker, had an excellent erudition. As the first Political Agent at Gilgit, he was not very successful in his politics but used the information received by a system of spies, or friendly informants, to build up an ethnographic survey, in some aspects unsurpassed up to the present day.

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Living at a time when studies in historical linguistics were extremely popular in Europe and especially in Germany, he collected information about a great number of languages for better understanding of earlier groupings and developments. This meant, however, that he fell victim to many errors which in those days were current conviction. Yet he \* already understood that Khowar is an archaic language, belonging to the Northwest Indian, i.e. Dardic group, but heavily influenced by the neighbouring Iranian languages. He recognized the many bonds connecting Shina with the neighbouring languages, and that it was moving northwards during a relatively late period. The peculiarities of Burushaski were known to him but explained by a Turanian origin.

For the peoples of Dardistan, Biddulph assumed a sequence of four religions: at first they were fire-worshippers, then they became Buddhists, later on Hindus, and finally Muslims. This concept still has followers not all of them are aware of their spiritual predecessors. Later on, British officers, serving in the mountains as Political Agents or in minor administrative and military positions, did not come up to the scientific level reached by Biddulph for a long time. I suspect that they were not selected for ingenuity and fervour but rather for the difficult task of developing a peaceful social life with their comrades and their wives during the long winters, when all passes to down-country were hermetically closed by heavy snowfall and avalanches.

All major military problems were solved when the relief of a British garrison under siege in the castle at Chitral was attained in 1895 'under much sounding of bugles' — and even more astonishing also Hunza was conquered after a not so successful defence. Thereafter, George S. Robertson, the hero of the siege of Chitral Fort, moved to Afghanistan to become a famous explorer there.

In this way a solid frame was created. The territory included was cautiously administered, and as far as possible indirect rule was put into practice. In distant valleys, the so-called '*ilaqas*' (which were however formally dependent on Kashmir), local princes were posted as governors. The emulations of Kashmir—even of a rather doubtful nature (Kashmir had not been entitled to move its troops into the areas beyond the great bend of the Indus) were agreed as far as possible. The aspirations of Kashmir on the so-called Gilgit Wazirate were conceded, but the civil and military administration (traditionally controlled by the British overlords) was leased to the British Government for sixty years, by an agreement on 26 March 1935. In respect of historical, ethnographic, and linguistic studies — which were started so splendidly by Biddulph — the framework was filled in very slowly in the first half of the twentieth century. Much information was stored in archives and publications not accessible to the general public. Also, large parts of the Kohistan remained inaccessible to researchers; they were preserved as tribal territories. No attempt was made to open the Indus valley as a perennial access to break the yearly isolation of Gilgit during wintertime. It 'was hanging on the drip', i.e. dependent on provisions which had to be imported via the long Gilgit Road from Kashmir. All these odds were considered useful for the defence of India in the 'Great Game'.

\* Apart from geographical studies (partly made by Germans in the context of the fateful Nanga Parbat expeditions), the most solid progress was gained by linguists. The *Linguistic Survey of India* had a good volume on the Dardic or Pisacha languages written by Grierson himself (1919). A Shina grammar appeared. But the area where the Dardic Kohistani languages were spoken remained inaccessible.

Still more progress was reached by Georg Morgenstierne. His book *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India* (1932) was followed by a long series of relevant publications, all written with painstaking accuracy, astonishing erudition, and even more perspicacity. Not only did he depict the mosaic of interrelated languages, he also explained it by tracing old and recent loanwords. As for Burushaski, the material was represented by Lorimer's monumental volumes on this language.

Only one spectacular archaeological discovery happened before the Second World War. A chain of four stupas is situated at one end of a large desertlike terrace perhaps 80 metres above the bottom of the valley where the different quarters of the township of Gilgit are located. One of them contained Buddhist manuscripts and other ceremonial objects, apparently the working library of a monastery, brought together by the diligent work of many copyists in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Due to the problematical situation of Gilgit (the leasing agreement between Kashmir and the British administration did not mention antiquities), the manuscripts were not kept together, and O. von Hinüber was able to clear up the meaning of the colophons only long after the Second World War. In 1958 I was still able to see the impressions of the internal wooden pillars of the stupa and could recognize the structure, which had two superimposed chambers. In any case, this material is a confirmation that there had indeed been a Buddhist period in the history of the mountain valley — as assumed by Biddulph. The most important contributions during this long period were compiled by Aurel Stein, on the basis of his own translation of the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana's famous history of Kashmir. Stein's journeys to Serindia led through the northern part of present Pakistan, always by a different, well-selected route. To each travel report he offered long, elaborate comments, basing them on (almost) all available sources. The annals of the Chinese — their pilgrims' reports — were especially appealing to him. He could also rely on the fundamental studies of Chavannes. Some of the most important works of early Islamic writers were not yet available to him. The historical contents of Tibetan sources, most of them saved by Stein himself, were not clear at that time nor sufficiently published. The problem of these contributions is that Sir Aurel Stein had no time for long delays, on the way to even more important discoveries in the Tarim Basin.

The reports were hardly available to those mainly interested in the local history of the mountains, since they were printed in the first chapters of expensive books. Stein's main concern were the connections between local customs and monuments (e.g. the mosques decorated by wonderful wood-carvings) and the cultural heritage of a distant past. The allegedly more peaceful disposition in Darel (in contrast to the ferocity of the Tangiris) was explained by Stein as a relict from the time when Darel was famous as the location of an important Buddhist centre. Only in the last period of his life did Stein realize the chance for studies with the focus on regional history. It was during the Second World War and the Wali of Swat had just conquered the western part of Indus Kohistan — taking advantage of the permissive attitude of the British administration then confronted with so many other serious problems. Stein — as the first European — took advantage of the situation to visit the gorges of the Indus, where he had located the 'Hanging Passages', the most difficult part of the route used by Chinese envoys two thousand years ago, and later on by Buddhist pilgrims on the way to India. These facts inspired the British officials to send the famous explorer as mediator for negotiations with the locals, aiming now to include the rest of Indus Kohistan in the administrated areas. As the local tribes and their

mullahs were much less impressed by his fame, the meetings remained without success. But during his prolonged stay, Stein was informed by British officers posted in the Gilgit Agency about new archaeological discoveries. So, at the age of eighty, he crossed the passes to Chilas, studied Buddhist rock carvings there, organized the study of the famous Hatun inscription, and received the hoard of Imit for examination. The results were published posthumously. His full report and that of Ćhakravarti on Hatun remained practically unknown as the British left India and partition took place. With regard to ethnography, more substantial than the books of Schomberg, which due to their rather arrogant bias escaped the usual fate of being reprinted, are the contributions made by Muslim intellectuals. The article 'Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit' by Ghulam Muhammad, Chief Clerk at Gilgit (1907), is excellent and the book written by Hashmatullah Khan provide a mine of information, especially on the process leading to the founding of new settlements.

### Post-colonial time: The ethnographic period of research

The concentration of discoveries in the last days of British rule (or rather the fact that such discoveries were reported to Sir Aurel Stein) was hardly by chance. It was the outcome of the fact that more antiquarian interests had grown up in the minds of British officers, still responsible for administration and the extension of Pax Britannica. Prior to that, generations of Political Agents must have seen the rock carvings below their shady bungalows in the cool grove at the banks of the rivulet called Buto-gah. They had already been mentioned by Ghulam Muhammad many decades before the decisive information was rendered by Emerson, ICS, and later by C.F. Murphy to Sir Aurel Stein.

But such tendencies were suspended for a while. The partition of the territories previously under British overlordship was followed by heavy fighting and finally by the establishment of a cease-fire line on 1 January 1949 — preserved with minor changes up to the present day. It is clear that under heavy pressure in a period of fundamental changes scientific ambitions were postponed for a while. Many of the changes were very favourable for the population. The land revenue was remitted, the Jagirdari system of Baltistan abolished. Similar changes occurred in Chitral, which lost its position as a state. The same happened to the statelets in the Gilgit Agency.

One attempt to incite scholarly activities was the nomination of Dr. M. S. Namus as Education Officer, Gilgit Agency and Baltistan (1953-5). The result was the book in Urdu *Gilgit aur Shina Zaban* (1961) and the new tradition that the Buddha relief high up on the rock face, at the mouth of the Kar-gah valley is nobody else than Buddha's daughter. Formerly the relief was regarded as a female demon transformed into stone by a holy person, in this way relieving the local population. Dr. Namus insisted that Buddha was meant. The locals, interpreting the forms of the body, the soft outlines, did not believe that it was Buddha himself, but maybe his daughter who was turned to stone. Then there came a time when Pakistan, a proud and independent country, wanted friendly contacts with all European nations, and the same feelings were found in the local population. It was good time for foreign visitors. Much of the old infrastructure was still working, following the regulations from the British period.

The Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia availed itself of this chance. Halfdan Siiger crossed the Lowari pass in March 1948, and was very well received by the ruler of Chitral. He started fieldwork in the valleys of the Kalash, the last non-Muslims of the Hindukush, assisted by Wazir Ali Shah, himself an important scholar and a most able collaborator to G. Morgenstierne. In 1955 came the Second German Hindukush Expedition (the first one of 1935 had been active in Afghan Nuristan and Chitral) with three ethnographers: A. Friedrich, P. Snoy, and myself; and the linguist G. Buddruss, highly appreciated by G. Morgenstierne who regarded him as his successor.

We worked in Baltistan, Hunza, Bagrot, Tangir-Darel, and in Gilgit proper. During wintertime, Friedrich and Snoy remained in the Kalash valleys. The hardships resulted in the untimely and tragic death of Professor Adolf Friedrich. Much of our material was published late or in German only, a part was made accessible also to the intellectual elite of the local population.

We may say that with this expedition there started what I call the 'ethnographic period of research' in the mountains of Pakistan. Using the term 'ethnography' I want to stress that the British social anthropology was for a long time represented only by F. Barth's useful study on Indus Kohistan — the result of a swift journey, too short even for such an imaginative scholar. The essential contributions were made instead by the linguists.

Among the researchers who brought about the ethnographic phase I have to mention, apart from P. Snoy, I. Stellrecht, who used an enormous amount of relevant literature for her thesis. She opened the access to the diaries of Lorimer (assuming that all readers understand German as well). Already her thesis for the doctorate was full of information. Important contributions appeared in the eighties by Nayyar (1984, 1986), Frembgen, and Zarin and Schmidt (1984).

The main results of research in the ethnographic period are collected in my synopsis *Religions of the Hindukush* (1975). They should be mentioned here very briefly.

1. In the central areas of North Pakistan, a cosmological concept which imagined the world as composed by vertically superimposed strata, corresponding to zones of different ritual purity was basic to tribal belief. It is certainly a genuine creation of the inhabitants of the mountain valleys, inspired by the grandeur of the environment. It is philosophy turned into religion.
2. Apart from, or behind this mountain philosophy, other religious concepts have survived, with a solar deity in the centre so important that we may even admit monotheistic tendencies. But there were other deities and demons as well; the earth is personified as a giant lying under the bottom of the valley.
3. Sacral kingship was certainly prevalent for a while. It had its roots not in this second, rather shadowy complex.
4. It is remarkable that in the centre of the mountains, wherever the environment allowed, human settlements were organized according to fixed rules according to a preconceived model, like a Greek *polis*.
5. The institution which attracted most attention was shamanistic meetings, when soothsayers falling into trance after breathing in the smoke of smouldering juniper leaves imitate the dance of female spirits called down from the heights of the gigantic

mountains by the sounding of drums. Then the shamans render their message to the deeply impressed audience.

6. Perhaps the most fascinating ethnographic peculiarity of the dominant stratum of the local population is the tendency to consider goats as ritually pure animals. In contrast to this, contact with cows and all products of those useful animals was avoided by semi-religious functionaries striving for a special charisma.

When I realized this picture of interrelated beliefs and institutions during the first expedition in 1955, at a time when the vitality of the local ideas was not yet too much weakened by the dominant religion, I found this complex very strange and out of place in a population the majority of which speak Aryan languages. I then recalled the hypotheses of my teacher R. Bleichsteiner, who for a while supported the idea that Burushaski was a Caucasian language! On the other hand, the shamanistic cults had a close similarity to those of Eastern Siberia. The German scholars who were working during the ethnographic period had all been under the formative influence of teachers committed to the different lines of the culture-historical school. So at the end of their major works they tried to discern different 'cultural layers', without referring to history based on written documents. The result was exactly what British social anthropologists (not without solid reasons) belittled as 'conjectural history'.

I could offer as a fanciful example one of my early articles 'Heidnische Religionsreste im Hindukusch and Karakoram' (1957). I might quote some chapters and many remarks in the thesis of Müller-Stellrecht (e.g. 1972:237-59, 130-60), but the shortest typical example of the results offered by conjectural history was presented by P. Snoy (1962:237-8, translated by Jettmar):

"In the culture of the Kafirs it is possible to discern — as we tried to show — at least two different cultural strata: to the first layer we may assign barley, the use of spades or forks drawn by humans or animals (*zuggabel*) and the breeding of goats. Dualistic concepts belong to this stratum, polarity is stressed upon. The world is conceived as the proper habitat in a secluded valley — and nothing beyond — it is differentiated in two realms. For orientation two directions of reference are important: up the valley, and down the valley. But primarily man and woman are related to different aspects of reality — joined but in a polar tension. In economy there is a strict sexual division of labour. The killing of a giant is an essential mythological motif. Relations to the hunters which are evident in this complex are an argument to designate this stratum as the earlier one.

In contrast to that, the second cultural stratum, which includes a stratified spatial world-view, must be classified as a later phenomenon. To this later and upper layer we may assign large cattle, the plough, the cultivation of wheat as well as horse breeding. In this context feasts of merit gained their full importance and unfolding, the tendency for developing a graded society is evident. The Kafir variant of the mythology around Prometheus is another hint for the later, superimposed position."

It goes without saying that Snoy is now very far from such concepts. He became an excellent scholar, as attested by his book (1975) and many articles.

## Transition to critical history

Conjectural history was clearly not the right way, therefore in my book *Die Religionen des Hindukusch* I inserted a purely historical chapter. This chapter has been translated into English, extended, printed, and reprinted twice in Pakistan. The discovery that the last major study written by Giuseppe Tucci in an almost biblical age, came to congruent conclusions brought me even more satisfaction. To cut a long story short and in order to put history on its geo-ecological foundations, we can now transform my reconstruction (in Jettmar 1975:304–23) into the following statements.

### 1. Prehistoric periods

In prehistoric times, access to the mountain valleys between the Karakoram in the north and the westernmost Himalayas was easier from the northern side. To archaeologists, such waves from the north are only known by their farthest extensions — Aligrama in Swat and Burzahom in Kashmir. The ethnographer will see that there are more similarities between the cultures of the mountains and those of Central Asia. The type of clothing used in the mountain valleys in many variants is basically identical with that on corpses in the deserts of the Tarim Basin — well preserved, with their complete outfit for two or even three thousand years due to the extreme dryness of the climate and the isolation in the growing deserts.

Maybe the open-air burials of the Lob-nor region (quite natural under such topographic and climatic conditions) are ancestral to those in the mountains. Solar cults, far-spread in Central Asia, and which I regard as hints to relations with Caucasia or North Asia, could very well be rather indigenous in the areas between.

### 2. The Indo-Iranian invasions

Many trends classified here as Central Asian are well recorded in the cultural heritage of the Nuristanis in Afghanistan, but we can assume that the first wave of Indo-Aryan invaders to the mountains was influenced by the ancestors of the Nuristanis in spite of linguistic diversity. Stressing such connections with the areas north of the main ranges of the Hindukush and Karakorams, we must ask when and from which side the speakers of Indo-Iranian languages entered the mountains. So far, the diffusion of the speakers of the Northwest Indian Prakrit language called 'Dardic' is supposed to be connected with the appearance of a culture which was recognized and dated by Stacul (cf. 1987 for a summary of the work) but got its usual name 'Gandhara Grave Culture' from Dani (1967, 1988), who made parallel excavations in Dir. Typical Gandharan graves were not found in the northern part of Chitral, and not in the Indus valley north of the gorges. These areas remained *terra incognita*. At the same time, we know that the term 'Dardic' is somewhat confusing, because the said languages form a large belt, from the Panjsher valley in Central Afghanistan, on both sides of the Kabul valley through all the borderlands of the mountains, and in the adjacent plains to Kashmir. The Daradas must have been one of the strongest tribes, as the name was known in various versions not only to

ancient Indian authors, but also to those in distant Europe. But by Alexander's time their power was gone; they retreated into the mountains, in the well-protected hinterlands of Kashmir (at present partly belonging to Azad Kashmir). From there they were able to start a considerable expansion, and therefore the name was familiar to European scholars in the nineteenth century, and was used as a misleading designation for a large group of languages and even cultures. The sedentary farmers and herders of Central Swat became more and more isolated and self-supporting communities, as maintained by Tusa (1979:693). The dominant tribes were mainly cattle-keepers, perhaps semi-nomads based in the plains but controlling the mountains in order to get summer meadows and retreats in case of foreign invasions. Only this system explains the strange detour made by Alexander the Great: he wanted to forestall flank attacks before entering India.

On the other hand, the mountain valleys were exposed to a permanent infiltration from the north, mostly by Iranians who had been transformed into mounted nomads. That happened in a way similar to the process in the oases on the southern fringe of the Tarim Basin where Saka dialects became dominant, a process especially well documented in Khotan. Tucci was keen to stress this component — even for the strong Indian tribes. In the meantime, one dynasty ruling perhaps over the upper Kaghan valley is very well attested by a votive inscription. Other rulers (e.g. of Bajaur) were of the same extraction. The lords of the Daradas and those ruling as their northeastern neighbours were integrated in the same tradition, and used the same Iranian title, 'Shahi'.

This looks like an almost too easy chance to explain shamanistic beliefs and other peculiarities of the spiritual and material culture, but in many cases the basis was formed by earlier relations. Especially around Gilgit, a massive strain of the former inhabitants persisted, partly preserving their ancestral language, Burushaski. The Iranian nomads were basically not entirely adapted to the conditions of the mountains, so they proceeded to the plains, as is told in Chinese annals. Under the pressure of the Yue-chi, the royal horde of Sakas made a bold crossing in order to establish their rule over the lowlands in present Pakistan and India. Only some of them remained, to become local lords due to their superior weapons and fighting experience.

A better translation of the *Han shu*, available since 1979, scatters previous doubts.

### 3. Buddhist statelets and the route of the pilgrims

The sources which I had at my disposal when I wrote an improved version of my historical essay indicate that there was no substantial immigration in the following period. In a new order, implemented by the Great Kushans but persistent during and after their decline, the former trails of migration were transformed into trade routes, and used by diplomats, missionaries, and pilgrims as well. The shortcut through the mountains became most important for the diffusion of Buddhism in Central and East Asia. Such communications brought material gains into the mountain valleys along the main roads, and incited outsiders to participate in this boom, by conquering the area where roads crossed. In Hatun, a long inscription of such conquerors, the Patoal-Shahis, was found on the shortest and easiest route from the Wakhan via the Baroghil Pass and the Darkot Pass to Gilgit, across the snow mountains to the Nilam valley, finally reaching Kashmir. Most of the areas crossed on the way belonged to Bolor, a state remembered many centuries later,

but the name of which was not always applied to the same territory. The situation of Chitral where similar statelets existed is not clear. There is no doubt that this period corresponds to the time of Buddhist preponderance — as conceived by Biddulph.

#### 4. The breakdown of the trans-Asiatic trade system

**The period of aggressions.** Due to the happy coincidence that the same story, namely about the collision between Chinese interests and the interests of the Tibetans who were rising to a state of great power, has been told by the Chinese as well as by the Tibetans, we are well informed about the events which were causing the collapse of a so-far peaceful trade system. Even the dates are confirmed: in 747 A.D., a Chinese army appeared in the Gilgit valley at that time under Tibetan control. The last ruler of the Gilgit dynasty, married to a Tibetan princess, was exiled to China. But the Tibetans came back and extended their sway farther to the west, only being stopped by an inroad into their territory by the Arabs, who had formerly been their allies against the Tang armies which had retreated due to internal conflicts. The Tibetan empire collapsed only ninety years later in 840 A.D. — but what happened to the people of Bolor?

I discovered that the most important sources had been misinterpreted (the 'Inquiry of Vimalaprabha' — Buddhist sutra written in Tibetan [cf. Thomas 1935]); or not used in the right context (the 'Saka Itinerary' and the relevant passages in Biruni's book on precious stones). So I was able to offer a solution based on this new information: the Tibetans had local supporters and dependents who previously had caused great embarrassment to the Chinese occupants posted in the Gilgit valley. They systematically robbed the caravans which brought supplies from Kashmir. The Darada Shahis participated in this rewarding cooperation, thus increasing their own power. In this way they filled the gap left by the Tibetan retreat and became lords of Gilgit, supported by remaining Tibetan troops and dignitaries.

They were attractive to the local nobility because via their ancestral lands in the Nilam valley they could direct war parties and whole armies against Kashmir, a land of fabulous riches. The story of their raids is told in the *Rajatarangini*. Baltistan, formerly traditional centre of the state of Bolor, was definitely not under the control of the Daradas. It was heavily affected by the fighting in Tibet proper. Khotan, now for a while independent, interfered, and Turkish adventurers immigrated from the north. They were used as mercenaries by the Darada lords as well, and what was to be expected happened at the end of the twelfth century: one of the Turks became the founder of a new dynasty.

This Turkish dynasty apparently had difficulties with the local population which was not ready to surrender, but it got the cooperation of immigrants, who together with large herds of goats had spread over most of the valleys. According to their own traditions, these immigrants came from Pakli, at the northern fringe of the present Hazara district, an area well suited for goat breeding. The so-called Bakerwal, recently expanding, came from an area with a similar environment, namely, the Alai valley. The Darada-Shahis apparently controlled Indus Kohistan. They had been able to put pressure on another Shahi dynasty ousted from Kabul and making a last stand in the plain of Mardan, with Ohind a capital. But then all these areas became independent, tribal republics. The herders from Pakli as well as two groups of menials and the former rural population were brought together in a sort of caste system.

## 5. The history of Islam — in many forms

In the historical reports collected by Hashmatullah Khan and others, it is told that Muslim saints entered the mountains and propagated their faith. But they were not supported by the rulers of the statelets which had grown up on the soil of the central kingdom with its capital at Gilgit. Their reluctance was perhaps motivated by the awareness that acceptance of Islam would reduce the charisma which was necessary to preserve the loyalty of their subjects. The situation was different in Chitral. There the Raisas, evidently a foreign dynasty (maybe Muslim sectarians), may have built up an administrative staff joined by the same allegiance to certain symbols and traditions. Burials were made in subterranean chambers. In Baltistan, a revival of Buddhism took place, certainly influenced from Ladakh.

In Indus Kohistan and even in the valleys north of the Indus — between Tangir and Gor — Islam was brought by Pakhtuns, who disseminated not only their strictly Sunni faith but also a socio-political system which enforced solidarity and cooperation by regarding the land as property of the whole community, not to be alienated to outsiders. Accordingly it was divided among the members of the community into equal parts. As a precondition to that, sections of the same numeric strength were artificially created, by arranging and subdividing the kinship groups, and the first stage of the distribution was to them, and later on to male individuals, i.e. households.

After a certain period, this procedure was to be repeated, and at this time of re-allotment, every family was to shift to a new farmstead. Therefore this institution is called *weš* 'exchange'. Previously the system (which one of my students in Vienna called 'perfectly socialistic') had been quite effective in the organization of the territories conquered by the expanding Pakhtun tribes. Here there existed a rather insoluble conflict with the previously introduced caste system, and the system had to undergo substantial changes in many areas. But it is not quite defunct: even today in areas where the magnificent forests are cut down, a part of the compensation paid by the contractors is divided among the landowners according to this system.

One of my main tasks for the next years will be the publication of the material on the monuments and traditions still surviving from this period.

## Rock carvings and inscriptions as sources for the ancient and early medieval history

When in 1977 I wrote my historical essay and especially its English version, I was disappointed by the scarcity of material proving the dominance of Buddhism. The astonishing Gilgit manuscripts and the Hatun inscription were recent discoveries. The few other monuments were already mentioned by Biddulph. But I had seen another long inscription of the same kind near Gilgit, at Danyor. Still more had been observed from horseback on the exhausting journey to our first ethnographic experiences in Tangir. At that time I had not the faintest idea that I was riding on the tracks of Sir Aurel Stein. But the places where I had once met such traces of the past, the Indus valley below Chilas

could now be visited by foreigners. In 1973, on the way through this formerly forbidden land, the stronghold of fierce tribes, I had seen an animal-style petroglyph! I had spent years in the study of this art, and now developed a plan for an integrated study of petroglyphs to be used as a historical source. It was submitted to the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe during their meeting at Naples. The paper had the subtitle 'Archaeology before Excavation'. This turned out to be a wise prediction. Later on we recognized the places where the ancient artists of the rock carvings had their settlements and fortresses; even the ruins of a monastery with four stupas were found. However we were not allowed to dig in the soil, and no complementary excavations were organized by the archaeological establishment of Pakistan.

Concerning the interpretation of these remains, there are two conflicting views. One is held by Professor A.H. Dani, a remarkable scholar and my counterpart for many years (Dani 1983, 1985). The other version is represented by my own contributions. The full bibliography is given in my introduction to our first representative report (Jettmar 1989a). For reasons of space no discussion or dispute is possible here, only my position will be presented.

1. The prehistoric carvings in the Indus valley are more problematic than ever. Recently we have learned that the petroglyphs in the Gilgit valley belong to a distinct rock-art province, with close relations to the carvings in the Pamirs. Actually the similarities between certain carvings and those of the Okunev culture in southern Siberia are impressive, but we do not know by which trails and by whom the contacts over such distances were made.

2. My discovery of an animal-style bruising in 1973 was only the first one of a long series. Some of these carvings are in a context which would allow a dating much later than that of the ordinary animal style. There must have been an infiltration of Iranian nomads from the steppes. Thus we have to take into consideration a long preservation of this art by former nomads who settled down in an outstanding social position. The tribal names of the immigrants are not known. The identification of some figures of warriors with Parthians is problematic; suggested by Edith Porada, it is hardly convincing.

3. Inscriptions observed in the sites Alam Bridge and Haldeikish are mostly simple names of travellers. So the occurrence of ethnic names in connection with titles does not mean that we have to do with local rulers. They are graffiti, not official proclamations. The same is true of Chilas II — apparently a place for prayers and meditation, not strictly connected with long-distance traffic.

4. A trade route similar to that connecting Kashmir and Khotan via the Hunza valley was established during the following period. Sogdian merchants operated the long way through the Pamirs and the Hindukush. Their collaborating partners, responsible for the crossing of the Himalayas, had Iranian names as well, but they were Buddhists. So the Indus valley became a sort of junction, where Buddhist and non-Buddhist sanctuaries could be visited, and some sort of recreation was possible. The local nobility shared the profit gained by such facilities.

The discovery of a direct connection between the Sogdian towns and the plains of (present) Pakistan and India allows the understanding of the main trends in Sogdian iconography. This is an undisputed success of our team working in Shatial. One of the unexpected observations made at this bridgehead where the Indus was crossed still under the control of the administrators responsible for the northern, trans-Pamir part of the

track, was that some men among this staff spoke Chinese or at least used Chinese signs. Apparently in the heyday of Tang power so many Chinese people entered Central Asia that some of them worked as freelancers for small rulers or caravan leaders. These trade-agencies had already stopped their activities before the Arabs conquered the Sogdian towns—creating an opportunity for Christian and Jewish merchants, also attested in the Indus valley.

Another unexpected discovery here was that the rural population, when visiting ancient sanctuaries which had been integrated into the Buddhist cult, produced mandalas in a quite uncommon shape, mostly by simple pecking. They made figures certainly imitating stupas seen in a side view. I called them 'vertical mandalas' in order to express my conviction that the cosmological concept revealed by ethnographic studies must already have been involved.

The breakdown of this cosmopolitan and open-minded situation was certainly enforced by the rise of the Tibetan empire and the fruitless Chinese attempts to protect the local states south of the Hindukush-Karakoram barrier.

5. We know that a Hindu religious group, the Saura, was especially devoted to the worship of the sun god Surya. "Possibly incorporating elements of Vedic solar deity, it had a foreign origin being ultimately derived from the Iranian worship of Mithra." (Maclean 1989:47). Since no Brahmins were willing to officiate over this foreign cult, Maga priests were introduced; later on they were integrated into the caste system. The centre of this cult was Multan; the image was called Aditya.

Maybe this spiritual intrusion happened already during the Kushan period, but sun worship was certainly fed by different, even local sources. It expanded to Kashmir where the sun god Jayasvamin was venerated. It was still strong when the Muslims conquered Sindh and Multan, but no fanatic defence by the sun-worshippers is reported. The new lords were permissive (and interested in the financial profit generated by many pagan pilgrims every year) so that the responsible Muslim leaders themselves were accused as heretics. Biddulph tells that in the Indus valley just beyond British-held territory a refuge of "Hindustani Mussulman irreconcilables" existed, whose "avowed object was unceasing war against the Christian power." They were "credited with the possession of a great treasure (Biddulph 1880)."

When we assume that a similar retreat into the inaccessible mountain valleys took place in the time after the Arab conquest in the plains, several so far unrelated pieces of information find one explanation:

- a. There is a population in the Indus valley which until recently traced their descent to Abu Jahal, the arch-enemy of the Prophet!
- b. Near Chilas there is a surprisingly large group of petroglyphs which used 'solar discs' and a special type of axe as their main symbols. Two extraordinary scenes show the fighting of the warriors of the sun god (in one case depicted in the shape of a human being but with a round disc as head) against the worshippers of the stupa. There is a close-knit group of symbols used by the same people. Some signs are of local origin.
- c. The ruler of the late state Bolor—already a Darada prince—was venerated as a descendant of the sun.

of the twelfth century A.D. by six learned men (1939:768). Their graves in Danyor form a sanctuary of the Shia community. The order to destroy it was one of the last misdeeds of the terrible Raja Gohar Aman. Only his sudden death, taken as a punishment of God, saved the buildings. On the basis of this dating, Hashmatullah (1939:771) assumed that Gilgit was already converted when Taj Mughal, starting from Badakhshan, invaded Gilgit via Chitral and forced the ruler and the population to accept the Ismailia faith — without lasting success. In a contribution to this volume W. Holzwarth explains why he considers this scheme (accepted by several other authors including myself) as a product of fanciful imagination without solid foundation. He makes clear that the inscriptions on the earliest mosques in the Northern Areas which have survived up to the present day (and their chronograms deciphered in the last years) consistently mention dates in the seventeenth but only once in the sixteenth century A.D. (Altit). The report of 'an eye witness, Mirza Haidar', who had led 'an Islamic frontier raid (*ghaza*) into Bolor in 934/1527–28' is taken as a strong argument for his opinion. We read: 'Balur is an infidel country (Kafiristan) and most of its inhabitants are mountaineers. Not one of them has a religion or a creed' (Holzwarth ms. 1991:6).

This argument is sound, but it is true only of an area much smaller than assumed by Holzwarth — certainly for Ishkoman, maybe for Yasin and the adjacent parts of Kuh and Punyal. Ethnographic details offer support for my thesis, and even more the fact that the population was decimated in the not too distant past: the Kaurmber valley remained deserted for a long time. However, for the rest of the Gilgit valley including the statelets on the banks of the Hunza River, the area along the Indus and the adjacent valleys of Kohistan, the religious affiliation of the population remains enigmatic. Between the end of the 'Buddhist period with Hinduistic opposition' ending in the eleventh or twelfth century A.H. (sixteenth the seventeenth century A.D.), the time of the final victory of Islam, there is no clear evidence revealing the 'official' religion.

In the south, the preachers of Islam had a firm base in Swat, which had been conquered by the Yusufzai tribe and its allies in the first half of the sixteenth century. The diffusion of the *weš* system regulating a periodical redistribution of the land was organized by the same religious leaders. Even the settlements were rebuilt according to a new pattern, with the mosque as the new spiritual and political centre. So the conversion is well attested by preserved constructions going back into the seventeenth century A.D.

In any case, we have to reckon everywhere with several dark centuries, approximately between 1200 and 1500 A.D. A deciding observation for filling the gap was made by Holzwarth and will be published by him with due comment. As revealed by several studies, one for them printed in Pakistan (Abdur Rahman 1988), the first mosque in Swat was built in the year A.H. 440, corresponding to A.D. 1048–9, near the village of Udigram. This is the optimal confirmation of the tradition that Swat was already conquered by the Ghaznavid sultans, so the population was forced to embrace Islam.

However a Tibetan pilgrim called Orgyan-pa ('man of Orgyan' or Swat) was able to visit the valley in the thirteenth century A.D. (after 1250) and did not observe any trace of the former conversion. Tucci (1940:40) published the travelogue and commented on it as follows:

"Anyhow at the time of Orgyan-pa, a popular and magic form of Buddhism still survived. Witchcraft, for which Uddiyana had been famous even in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, was then in full swing, but the old traditions recorded

by the Chinese travellers and centred round the figure of Sakyamuni or his preachings seem to have been forgotten or to have ceased to attract the attention of the people. The atmosphere which surrounds and inspires the pilgrims is purely **tantric**. Samvara and Guhyasamaja have become the most prominent Mahayana deities; the place of Sakyamuni and his disciples has been taken over by Indrabhuti and Kambalapa. These facts quite agree with the revival of tantric Buddhism in the Swat valley which was chiefly due to the work of Indrabhuti and his followers, a work certainly deserving greater attention than has been given to them up to now."

The importance of the notice had been clearly realized by Holzwarth. That is one of his many merits in this field. I feel it necessary to refer to Holzwarth's observation because I want to insert a rather daring hypothesis here, namely that a similar revival of pre-Islamic ideas, a re-conquest of lost ground with characteristic adaptations took place at the fringes of the Islamic expansion, i.e. in southern Chitral where the Kalash tribe preserves vestiges of such early contacts and reactions in its religious heritage. Even the warlike 'Kafirs', i.e. the mountaineers in the central Hindukush who spoke not Dardic but archaic 'proto-Indo-Iranian' languages were influenced. The split of the realm of the dead into paradise and hell is not a genuine idea of these pagans, as indicated by the (Iranian) terms *bišt* and *zuzuk* 'heaven' and 'hell'.

In the Gilgit area the Shins, the social group claiming an elevated social position and special ritual purity, joined the Muslim community, the *umma*, later than the lower castes. Therefore they were called by their compatriots sarcastically the family of Abu Jahal, referring to one of the main opponents of the Prophet Muhammad. The nickname means 'father of ignorance'. (Abu Ghal was the historic personage behind this name; he died in the battle of Badr on 19 March 624 A.D. fighting the Muslims). This must be seen as part of a larger complex. K. Sagaster learned that in Baltistan King Gesar, the hero of the extremely popular but still quite un-Islamic epic, is identified with the same person, the Islamic Antichrist, here called Dajjal.

In Indus Kohistan I heard with surprise that a social group—again forming an elevated social stratum—was proud of this demonic descent. Until recently they boasted to be the real descendants of Jahal.

This strange perversion can be explained (Panfilov 1987): one of the prominent motifs of the late rock carvings, observed not only on the rocks of the Indus valley but also in the Pamirs and even beyond—namely, an ithyphallic male with extended arms and enormous exaggerated palms is regarded according to recent popular beliefs as the image of Jahal. In the pre-Buddhist period, however, such carvings were already made and respected as renderings of one of the main pagan deities. The pertinent cult was not obsolete in the heyday of Buddhism, it became even more attractive in time of Buddhist decline. After the final victory of Islam, the god became a demon. So I think that petroglyphs and tales about Jahal and its former realm are the vestiges of religious tendencies which culminated in a last attempt to stop the expansion of the Islamic faith. It was a sort of a resistance movement, but certainly this was only one of the concepts filling the gap of the three centuries. The Shins were previously a goat-breeding community living on the border of the mountains, as they themselves say. In that area the forests had been greatly reduced during rather peaceful centuries, and goat breeding was an adaptation to the environment. They brought with them a pastoral cult replacing the holy

cow by the goat. The merging of the ideology with indigenous hunters' beliefs centered on the ibex and markhor resulted in the 'veneration of wild and domestic goats' which has amazed so many European travellers and scholars.

Another element in this syncretistic melting-pot was sacral kingship. Ideas already attested in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. were readily accepted by the local dynasties who badly needed a charismatic confirmation. The result of such integrations was impressive but quite different from the genuine mythology of the 'Great Kafirs of the Hindukush' in the valleys Ramgal, Pech, and Bashgal.

The Kalash have remained in a comparable situation up to the present day, and on the basis of his own experience Peter Parkes was able to describe the narrative organization of their religious knowledge (1991:92):

"... we would need to consider its distinctive emphasis upon shamanistic revelation and 'secret knowledge' (*ras mun*) rather than priestly traditions, itself probably conditioned by a history of repeated Islamic domination. For not only *dehar* 'shamans' but perhaps the majority of Kalasha draw upon personal experience of the supernatural, in the form of dreams or visions, for the construction of 'private cosmologies'. Collective ritual, and narrative traditions about ritual, thus provide but a referential 'core' of shared symbolism at the heart of a fluid, innovative and syncretic constellation of religious knowledge."

The realization that after the time of archaic mythologies and customs and after the impact of Buddhism and Hinduistic tendencies many "fluid, innovative and syncretic" trends were joined in a new sort of tribal religion is fatal for my earlier attempts to use petroglyphs as a 'clue' for the explanation of religious concepts in the recent past. Monuments which can be used in this context are few. In Swat the broken relief of a *devi* was found dancing over the body of a sacrificed goat, its head is visible apart, separated from the truck. Swat was evidently influenced by the cult of the goat breeders for a while (Tucci 1963:156-63, Figs. 1-2).

Diffusion of the medieval reformed paganism towards the north in the most forbidding valleys of the Karakoram is attested by the integrated fieldwork done by (Müller-)Stellrecht during several stays in Hunza in the framework of the Pak-German Study Group. One of the results must be mentioned here: a more regulated and encompassing form of Islam was introduced in the nineteenth century A.D. There existed a cooperation between the ruler and the Ismaili pirs in Badakhshan, where the ruler had passed five years in exile. During this very late dawning of Islam, the beliefs and customs rooted in the pastoral ideology of the Shins became a major spiritual force. Institutions and activities were brought into a system more coherent and systematic than in other areas. In the last moment here the system of shamans, pagan magicians, witches, and anti-witches came into full flower.

What had delayed the intrusion of these waves then appearing simultaneously but from different directions? Some almost casual remarks of my old friends in Hunza indicate that the delimitation which was suddenly abolished had been the persistence of an earlier — and quite different — popular religion. The imagery of this religion was full of huge ungainly giants impersonating the cruel forces of nature, the vicissitudes of the environment. Females appearing in this context have not the ethereal character of Dardic fairies. In earlier times these demons were conceived as Yakshas; in this function they were already venerated during the Buddhist period (Misra 1981). The *Mahamayuri* contains a list of

such Yakshas of local power. Hariti was important in this context and venerated until recently in a hidden part of the Gilgit Agency. Prayers were said by the local farmers to sun and rain, to the forest, to rivers and mountains. Thunder is explained as the clash of the horns when the bulls of the great goddess called 'Khoda-mo' are fighting. Rainfall after the threatening silence before the thunderstorm is conceived as a sexual act impregnating the soil.

We will be able to know more about this complex as soon as Stellrecht returns, after the successful implementation of a huge project in applied anthropology, to the publication of her own material collected in several years of intense fieldwork.

This enigmatic spiritual background of the Dardic world-view and that of their Burushaski-speaking neighbours, once discovered in the now easily accessible Hunza, might be studied by attentive and informed scholars in other areas as well. So there is still a chance to get an idea of the state of the spiritual situation existing in the time before the 'pastoral ideology' propagated by the Shina-speakers — the last pre-Islamic wave from the south — became almost exclusive. Much material should be checked and re-studied in this context: the observations collected in Astor by Nayyar (1984, 1986), the contribution of Frembgen to the ethnography of Nagar, the result of the cooperation between Zarin and Schmidt, and the still unpublished notes of Friedrich and those of Snoy as well. The book of this modest but very well-informed author (1975) should be translated into English or Urdu. The intense studies made by G. Buddruss in the frame of the CAK (Culture Area Karakorum) Project are interesting for those who want an assessment of the work of scholars themselves born in North Pakistan. So far, I only know Buddruss' formal report to the German Research Society. It is our task to put our own findings, our experiences with a diversity of different approaches at the disposal of the next generation.

After the removal of the Iron Curtain separating the former Soviet Central Asia from the bordering states, studies in the Turkish republics and Tajikistan may offer many necessary supplements to the history of North Pakistan.

On the other hand, for many centuries Purig and Ladakh were the aim of emigrants from Gilgit and Bruzha, from Chilas and Astor. The Deosai Plains allowed direct contacts, raids, and trade missions bypassing Baltistan. So there are many valleys far to the east which have Dardic or proto-Dardic settlers. Some of those valleys are not accessible to foreigners. Some clarifications have become possible due to the fieldwork and the analytical efforts of Rohit Vohra (1989a,b). But the new chances cannot be exploited without starting excavations in the right places, and by the right persons. And that means once more that we have to shift over to a new approach.

My contribution is ready: a list of sites where I have seen remains of the past. But immediate action should follow, otherwise it will become a guidebook for illicit digging.

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# Local Dignitaries as Historians: Guardians of Traditional Culture from Gilgit, Hunza, and Nagar (Northern Pakistan)

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At the moment the people of the Northern Areas are in the midst of a radical socio-economic change permeating their whole culture. Karl Jettmar had already predicted the growing loss of tradition in 1959, when the building of the Karakoram Highway started. In an article 'Urgent Tasks of Research among the Dardic Peoples of Eastern Afghanistan and Northern Pakistan' he summarized: "This means that the last dam protecting the old Dardic cultures will break down. Acculturation and orthodox Islam, helped by an improved education system, will destroy the huge 'ethnographical museum' still present in the valleys of Dardistan" (Jettmar 1959:93). Since the 1950's, Karl Jettmar and other German anthropologists have taken pains to document local history, customs, and traditions of the people living in the Hindukush and Karakoram. How urgent the situation has actually become I realized, for example, during the course of my fieldwork in Nagar, when on revisiting them I found that old informants or noble men had died and with them a whole library of oral history and knowledge. Fortunately anthropologists and ethnographers have been supported in their endeavours by local dignitaries, especially from Gilgit, Hunza, and Nagar, who were interested enough in their own traditional culture to record the history of their native areas in Persian or Urdu. A similar situation exists, by the way, in Europe, where indigenous men of knowledge study — often scrupulously and enthusiastically, although unscientifically — their local history and folklore. This participation of local dignitaries from Northern Pakistan, who mostly belong to the former royal families ruling until the beginning of the 1970's in different small kingdoms and principalities, in the research of their respective area is not as surprising as it might seem at first glance. A distinct historical awareness among the dynasties and the nobility has always been cultivated at the royal court by annual traditional festivals, recitations of genealogies, songs of praise, and at home by the customary story-telling of the villagers. As I was able to show in an article on the implications of orality and literacy for the historical awareness of the Nagerkuts, both sources were important factors in forming an ethnic and cultural identity (Frembgen 1986). Especially the limited literacy, first only in Persian and in the twentieth century also in Urdu, can be regarded as a leading and intensifying factor in the creation of an indigenous historical awareness. While the Persian literature written by educated members of the royal families and the Muslim clergy had consisted since the eighteenth century chiefly of documents bestowing privileges, genealogies, manuals for handling falcons and horses, poetry, and religious books, purely historical treatises were first published in the twentieth century. In the last thirty years, a further process of using the local Shina and Khowar languages with an adapted Arabic

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script mostly in poetry can be observed<sup>1</sup>, which is an important contribution to the development of cultural identity in Northern Pakistan. The historical treatises to be introduced briefly in the following paragraphs will not be critically reviewed here as to content, but mentioned only to give an impression of the personality of the author and the general character of his oeuvre.

Noteworthy is first Hashmatullah Khan's Urdu *Mukhtasar tarikh-i-Jammu ...*, published in 1929 by Matba-i Mohammad Tegh Bahadur in Lucknow and later reprinted in Pakistan, even though the author was not from the Northern Areas. In fact, he was an officer of the Dogra rulers from Jammu and Kashmir, posted for a long time in Baltistan. Nevertheless, his *Short History of Jammu and Kashmir and Other Conquered States and of the Area of Tibet* still qualifies as a standard publication of the history of Dardistan presenting important, so to speak, historical raw material.<sup>2</sup> As the book is known to the local historians of the Gilgit area, who refer to it in their own contributions, it can be considered to a certain extent as a guideline.

The first steps in scholarly historical work were undertaken in the 1930's by Mohammad Nazim Khan (approximately 1862–1938), the late King of Hunza, who ruled in the British time. After his 'Genealogical Account of the Ruling Families of Hunza, Nager and Gilgit', compiled in 1930, he finished the manuscript of his autobiography in 1935, which was translated into English by his grandson and later successor, Mohammad Jamal Khan.<sup>3</sup> During the rulership of his brother, Safdar Ali Khan, he travelled twice to Sinkiang to negotiate with Chinese officials and later made several trips to Kashmir. After the battle of 1891, in which Anglo-Indian troops defeated the combined Hunza and Nager forces, and the subsequent flight of King Safdar Ali Khan, Nazim Khan became the Mir of Hunza. His life history shows that he was well acquainted with officers of the British Gilgit Agency like, for example, J. Biddulph, R.C.F. Schomberg, and D.L.R. Lorimer. As Irmtraud Stellrecht emphasizes, these personal encounters with other writers and scholars most probably evoked an interest in history in the Mir, who also wanted to satisfy his visitors' thirst for knowledge (Müller-Stellrecht 1979:287). Therefore a copy of his autobiography was placed at the disposal of various guests by him and by the later Mir Mohammad Jamal Khan. From content, this treatise is of limited historical value. Many facts are known in more detail from several reports by European travellers; and there are willful omissions, palliations, etc. Despite that, new, hitherto unknown, information is to be found therein. The autobiography is especially interesting insofar as it represents historical events from the perspective of the Hunzakuts themselves (Müller-Stellrecht 1979:309). Even today, scientists place more trust in the documents of Western archives, neglecting the statements and interpretations of the local inhabitants. However, as I came to realize, in certain cases, as for example, the mentioned Hunza-Nager campaign, the local men of knowledge can give important contributions without which the historical picture would be incomplete.

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1. Buddruss 1983. Compare Jettmar 1977:54–5, 1982:260, Jettmar in Dani 1989:87.

2. Cf. Jettmar 1975:196; Müller-Stellrecht 1979:289; Dani 1987:2.

3. Müller-Stellrecht 1979:290–303, Chapter 39, 'Life of a Hunza King' with the autobiographical text on pp. 312–76 and an attached introduction in German.

Raja Shah Rais Khan's voluminous *Tarikh-i-Gilgit* was completed in the early 1970's. It is the merit of Ahmad Hassan Dani to have edited this book in 1987 with the assistance of the late Abdul Hamid Khawar (retired Assistant Inspector-General of Police, Gilgit) and Akbar Hussain Akbar, a journalist and writer from Nager. He got the manuscript from Shah Rais Khan's son Raja Nasir (Dani 1989:xvi). The publication contains the Urdu text (514 pages) with an introduction and summaries of the different chapters in English. Raja Shah Rais Khan (1885-1974), the third son of Raja Ali Dad Khan, belongs to the royal family of Gilgit.<sup>4</sup> He was one of the outstanding personalities in Gilgit's social and political life. After holding several official posts in the Kashmir State Army, with the Gilgit Scouts, etc. he acted as one of the key figures in the freedom movement of 1947-8. As the elected president of the liberated Gilgit he handed over the government on the 16 November 1947 to Pakistan's representative Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan. Ahmad Hassan Dani emphasizes that the *Tarikh-i-Gilgit* represents a complete history of the area, starting chronologically with the mythical King Shiri Badat and ending with the establishment of the Gilgit Agency in 1889. He further draws critical attention to the underlying weak points in treatises by writers untrained in historical methods: he remarks: "As Shah Rais Khan was a scion of the Trakhan ruling dynasty of Gilgit, the present history shows an extreme bias in favour of the Gilgit rulers to the total disregard of the character and personality of the rulers of the neighbouring valleys, such as Punyal, Yasin, Chitral and Hunza. Only the rulers of Nager have been spared from the wrath of the author simply because some of the later occupants of the throne of Gilgit were princes from Nager. The author's vituperation against the powerful neighbouring rulers is understandable as he believed in the superior authority of the ruling house of Gilgit as well as in the sanctity of this authority, to which all the neighbouring rulers were supposed to be subservient (sic. ed.). But when these same rulers violated this authority and challenged its sanctity so much so that they assailed at times on Gilgit throne, the author's patience was exhausted and he burst his anger against them in abusive language" (Dani 1987:2). No doubt Shah Rais Khan's conviction of Gilgit's superiority together with other prejudices distorts to a certain degree the presentation of the *Tarikh-i-Gilgit*. But as the author used, for example, local songs of praise as one of the main sources for his voluminous study, historians of the Northern Areas will find interesting and hitherto unknown material, which, after critical revision, will be of great value.

Nearly at the same time Raja Shah Rais Khan completed his study, Wazir Qudrat Ullah Beg from Hunza also closed the manuscript of his book entitled *Tarikh-i 'ahd-i 'atiq-i riyasat-i Hunza* (History of the old way of rule in the dominion of Hunza). As the author remarks in the colophon, the Persian text was completed in July 1973 in Baltit (376 pages). This history of Hunza, beginning with Shiri Badad and ending with Safdar Ali Khan, shows that Qudrat Ullah Beg, who died in 1985, was most probably the best trained and experienced among the local scholars introduced here. In 1934-5 he served as the main informant of the British officer and linguist, D.L.R. Lorimer, by whom he was characterized as "a literate and extremely intelligent young man, with a remarkable feeling for language and the refinements of phonetics" (D.L.R. Lorimer 1938:v). That Qudrat Ullah Beg, who belonged to the noble Tarakuts family of the Diramiting clan, received

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4. Concerning the following explanations, see Dani (1987:1-4).

some sort of training in conducting ethnographical research, becomes clear from the following remarks of Emily, the wife of D.L.R. Lorimer. In her book *Language Hunting in the Karakoram* (1939) she writes about her husband's collaboration with him: "... he was usually hard at work indoors with Qudrat Ullah, taking notes of how the irrigation is managed and the system on which the water is distributed by clans and families, and working out genealogical trees" (E.O. Lorimer 1939:140). Mrs Lorimer further adds: "Qudrat Ullah proved extremely intelligent. David suggested a subject he would like to go into — the rotation of crops; the clans; marriage or funeral rites, etc., etc. — and Qudrat Ullah went home to ponder and collect fuller information than he himself could give offhand, from his entire family, including the elders. Then he wrote out the factors in Burushaski (using still the inadequate and unsatisfactory Arabic script) and came a day or two later to read his 'essay'. This David took down verbatim — thus getting at least all the relevant technical vocabulary, asked further details, and suggested further lines of enquiry, drawing by this means on a far larger range of informants than he could hope to get into touch with single-handed" (E.O. Lorimer 1939:141. Compare Müller-Stellrecht 1979:17–18). So Qudrat Ullah Beg already wrote texts on the ethnography of Hunza in the middle of the 1930's. Later he became the most esteemed and sought-after informant on Hunza for several anthropologists and linguists. No doubt this kind of work must have stimulated him to write the history of his native area. Illuminating is the fact that Qudrat Ullah Beg's history of Hunza as well as Shah Rais Khan's history of Gilgit were written in a time of political crisis and economic change, when the small kingdoms of the Karakoram were about to be abolished and the inhabitants of the area had begun to feel the first impact of the newly built Karakoram Highway. Influenced by a certain nostalgia, they proudly looked back on the heroic deeds of their forefathers and the traditional culture whose continual decline they could observe with their own eyes.

A person with an extraordinary interest in and knowledge of the traditional culture of Nager was the late Raja Karim Khan (1922–86), the youngest son of Mir Sikandar Khan, who ruled his kingdom from 1905–40. Generous and liberal, he shared his knowledge as a sought-after informant, for example, with Karl Jettmar and Ahmad Hassan Dani. From 1982 until his sudden and much too early death in 1986, I had the chance to work with him for some weeks each year in his home in Gilgit. His information on the history of Nager, traditional customs, forms of political organization, social structure, and various other topics of anthropology proved not only to be very profound and extensive but also reliable, as I realized, when statements were counter-checked with other key informants in Nager. In my opinion, two of his most remarkable qualities were his readiness to work with me for some hours nearly every day combined with his true fatherly friendship and the extremely unbiased way in which he set forth his knowledge. Personally I owe to him the bulk of the information which went, on one hand, into my doctoral thesis on 'Central Authority in Nager' (1985) and several articles and, on the other, in still unpublished collections of data and documentation concerning various aspects of history and ethnography of which I only want to mention, for example, annual festivals, marriage ceremonies, and falconry. Raja Karim Khan's personality is especially valued here because his readiness to cooperate with a much younger anthropologist, and the form of this collaboration should be considered as a positive model. To make it clear, he did not himself publish any book or article, but kept several notebooks full of information written in Urdu on the history and traditional culture of Nager which were the results of his own vivid memory

and field research. In the 1950's he started collecting and reading books on Northern Pakistan and taking photographs with a Voigtländer camera. Remarkably, he made his own tape-recordings of songs of praise and musical performance during annual festivities in the main village of Uyum Nager. In the village of Thol, which was given to him as his *jagir*, he called for special singers and recorded their folk songs. There he also kept good relations with Aqhon Mahmud, a learned Alim and Munshi in the time of Mir Sikandar Khan, who died in 1943. Raja Karim Khan's keen interest in the history and traditional culture of Nager and its surrounding areas was no doubt stimulated by the writing of his friend Raja Shah Rais Khan and in his last years encouraged by me, but obviously already rooted in his character and way of life. Until 1938 he got his formal education in the missionary school guided by Mr Tyndale-Biscoe in Srinagar and in the Sri Partab College, where he chose English, history, and Persian as his main subjects and finished with F.A. level. The next two years he spent together with Mir Sikandar Khan at the court in Uyum Nager until the death of his father in March 1940. As Karim Khan told me, he had at that time a very close relationship with his father and learned a lot about the history and customs of Nager. By the way, he served him as an interpreter in conversations with British officials and travellers (E. Shipton, P. Fleming). After a year in his village of Thol he again went to Kashmir where he worked as a Sub-Inspector of the Kashmir Police Force in Baramulla. In 1949 he returned to Gilgit, taking part in the freedom movement in the Northern Areas. In the 1950's and 1960's he served as an 'Officer on Special Duty' within the police force. In 1973 he became Superintendent Police in Diamir District. In 1974 he was posted as Superintendent of Police in Gilgit, and 1975 in Skardu. Between his retirement in 1978 and his death in 1986 he was requested several times by the radio station of Gilgit to give short lectures in the Shina language on various subjects of local folklore. He spoke, for example, about the annual festivals of sowing and harvest, marriage ceremonies, polo playing, the historic battle of Nilt in 1891, Naltar and Kargah Valley, etc.

At the end of the 1980's five booklets were published by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Gilgit, written in Urdu by order of this institution and covering ethnographical, historical, and agricultural topics of Dardistan and Nager in particular. The author, Sayid Yahya Shah, who lives in the village of Minapin, is a contractor belonging to the influential and respected Sadat group of Nager. He is a descendant of Sayid Mohammad Shah from Nomal, a village at the bottom of the Hunza Valley but part of the dominion of Gilgit. Sayid Mohammad Shah migrated to Minapin in the time of Mir Sikandar Khan (1905-40). Sayid Yahya Shah does not belong to the group of local historians already portrayed, who are all members of the royal dynasties. In fact he was a strong political opponent of the last ruler of Nager. Consequently, his work is more concentrated on agriculture and folklore. One of his brochures is entitled *Brushal ki maqbul sachchi aur divmalai kahaniyan* (51 pages) i.e. popular and true stories of demon mythology in Brushal, the ancient Bolor of the Tibetan sources. The next booklet deals with seven different topics (95 pages):

1. *Shimali 'alaqun ki ahl-i haiwanat*  
(On the animals of the Northern Areas)
2. *Shinaki aur Dardistan*  
(The area of the Shina-speaking people and Dardistan)
3. *Chaprot aur Minapin. AKRSP se pehle aur ba'd ki halat*

- (The villages of Chaprot and Minapin. The situation before and after the AKRSP)
4. *Mauza' Nagm Nomal. Ek tarikhi jughrafiya aur ma'ashrati tajziah*  
(The village of Nagm Nomal. History, geography, and social analysis)
  5. *Cluster tanzim Chaprot 'alaqah Shenber Nagar par ek naqdana nazr*  
(The cluster-organization of Chaprot in the Shenber-area of Nagar in the critical view)
  6. *Mauza' Sakwar ka nizam ab-pashi*  
(The irrigation system of the village Sakwar)
  7. *Dehi 'alaqun mem fanni-tarbiyat ki asrat*  
(The effects of technical training in the rural areas)

The third text is a short brochure entitled *Shimali 'alaqijat Baluristan men marketing ka mazi, hal aur mustaqbil* (Marketing in the northern area of Baluristan in the past, present and future). Another booklet of 102 pages contains again, as the subtitle indicates, a *Umrani, joghrafiyai, tarikhi aur ma'ashrati tajziah* of three areas namely *Shenber gushpur ke Nager, Chesar gushpur ke Nagar and Mauza' Jaglot Nomal*, all located in the Hunza Valley. The last text (90 pages) subtitled as *'Umrani, joghrafiyai, tarikhi aur ma'ashrati-ja'za*, i.e. a review of anthropology (as the author himself understands the term *umrani*), geography, history and social life, deals with two very different topics: With shamans (*Danyal tahzib-o-tamddum* — 'The culture of the *danyal*') and with the irrigation system of the Northern Areas (*Shimali 'alaqijat ki nizam ab-pashi*).

As the purpose of the present study is to introduce local historians and folklorists<sup>5</sup> no attempt will be made to sketch an outline of the latest literary development in the Shina and Burushaski languages. In 1983 Georg Buddruss wrote an important article on that subject referring especially to the Shina poet Amin Zia from Gilgit, who published among other things a valuable collection of Shina proverbs (Buddruss 1983). Here I would like to add the names of Nasir-ud-Din Hunzaye and of Akbar Hussain Akbar. Nasir-ud-Din Hunzaye has endeavored to record the Burushaski language in script; he has compiled a collection of 256 proverbs (*Burushaski Burjoonin*, 36 pages; Karachi 1990). Akbar Hussain Akbar published a book on the life of the Prophet Muhammad in Shina and served as a helpful collaborator to A. H. Dani in editing Shah Rais Khan's *Tarikh-i Gilgit* (Dani 1989:xvi). Akbar Hussain is a journalist and writer living in Rawalpindi but originally belonging to the Nager village of Nilt. Hermann Berger closed his article on 'German Linguistic Studies in Northern Pakistan' with a sentence which can also be applied to the present paper "... it is gratifying to see that more and more native speakers of North Pakistani languages are becoming aware of their rich cultural heritage and are lending their help in preserving it and making it known to all who take interest in it" (Berger 1985:5). Since the royal dignitaries and writers who were, so to speak, guardians of their traditional culture, have all died now, there is a need for younger local scholars interested in the history of their native area. The establishing of an ethnic and cultural identity will be a necessary process in the modern, rapidly changing world. The efforts

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5. Dani further mentions so far unpublished manuscripts of the late Colonel Hassan Khan and of Captain (Rtd.) Shah Khan, both renowned personalities of the freedom movement in the Northern Areas (Dani 1989:xvi).

of the members of the Gilgit Writer's Forum and of other personalities in this field should be earnestly supported by the Pakistani administration as well as by Pakistani and foreign research scholars.

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# The Research Value of Old Photographs

Schuyler Jones\*

I would like to express my thanks and admiration to all of our Pakistani friends and colleagues who have done so much work to make this conference possible and who have organized everything so admirably. I would also like to say that when I crossed the Lowari Pass yesterday and returned to Chitral with my wife after an absence of 23 years, it was without the slightest idea that I should be speaking to you today. We were in the good hands of our friend Professor Israr-ud-Din from Peshawar, and I only brought along a few notes and some photographs with the idea that they might interest, in a very informal way, some of my colleagues here today. I am gratified to find that interest in this topic here has exceeded my expectations.

I became interested in old photographs as sources of documentary information purely as a sideline in my original research on the peoples of Nuristan. I became intrigued some thirty or more than thirty years ago with early reports of travelers in that region, with early maps that had been prepared, and in particular with early photographs. It seems to me self-evident that old photographs may be of tremendous historical importance. It is therefore all the more surprising to me that until very recently, in Great Britain for example, photographic collections in archives were scarcely ever looked at by anyone doing research. They were poorly catalogued, if at all, and no one seemed to regard them as of much importance. As a consequence of this attitude, much material has been lost.

However, things do occasionally turn up. In one or two publications over the years I have had the opportunity to publish a very few of the early photographs which were taken by travelers in what we know now today as Nuristan. I found these photographs interesting and it occurred to me that others might feel the same. Early photographs can tell us a lot about architecture, about the dress of the people; and other aspects of material culture—jewelry, for example, or headdresses. So I have had as a kind of side interest this preoccupation with old photographs. For the region of Nuristan, some of the earliest photographs that we know of, and perhaps the earliest of all, were those taken on the Woodthorpe-Lockhart Expedition of 1883. A British army surgeon accompanied the expedition and exposed quite a lot of glass plates with an undoubtedly cumbersome camera that he had with him. These may be the earliest photographs that we have from that region. Many of these have survived, although until recently they were hidden away in an obscure report in the India Office Library in London. It may be that there are other early photographs from both sides of the Durand Line here in the Northwest Frontier Province, in the archives, in the libraries. I would ask colleagues to be on the watch for early photographs, because they may be of great importance. For example, in the 1920's and 1930's, at least, and probably earlier, there was a British photographer in Peshawar

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named Holmes, and I was interested to see that many of the portraits of the rulers of Chitral were taken by Holmes of Peshawar.

Recently the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford acquired a large collection of original photographs from the Holmes studios which had been in Peshawar. These had been lying in a small town in Berkshire for many years in someone's attic, and they found them and thought that perhaps the Rivers Museum would be interested. We also have some 2000 original negatives from Reginald Schomberg's expeditions in the Northwest Frontier Province and right across what is now Sinkiang province in western China. I have been interested along with other colleagues at Oxford in building up the archives, in particular the photographic archives, that we have there.

Let me just give another example of the way in which chance can bring things to light. A retired British army brigadier came to the Pitt Rivers Museum one day a few years ago. It was Brigadier Godby, who I believe at one time was attached to the Chitral Scouts and traveled widely in Chitral in the 1920's and 1930's. He had hundreds of photographs, most of them extremely good, which he had taken in Chitral in that period; he seemed rather surprised that these might be of interest to anybody, and quite happy that they should find a home in our archives.

Also, one afternoon over tea, a neighbour in the village where I live in Oxfordshire produced a photographic album, which turned out to contain some of the most surprising photographs I have ever seen. I have a few copies of these with me today, and you will be able to examine them afterward. What they show are further examples of the way in which the women in particular, and in one or two examples the men, were dressed in the Bashgal Valley in the 1890's. These were photographs like so many of those that we know, which were taken in Chitral of visitors who had come over from the Bashgal Valley, probably among other things to visit the Political Agent here in Chitral, perhaps to complain about the treatment they were receiving from Amir Abdur Rahman Khan. Among these photographs are some of the best and earliest that we have of the way in which the visitors from the Bashgal Valley were dressed. They showed the famous headdress that the women wore with two horns in the back and two in the front.

For many years, it was thought that the only example of such a headdress which survived was the one which Professor Morgenstierne obtained here in Chitral in the 1920's and which is now in the museum in Oslo. But the records of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London showed that very early in this century they also received one of these headdresses. When I went to look for it, they confessed they could not find it. I was rather persistent and managed to get the support of a young lady who worked in the Indian Department in the Victoria and Albert Museum. We corresponded occasionally and then about three years after my initial inquiry she sent me a note which said, "I found it!!!" with three exclamation marks. It had been put unrecognized in with a collection of textiles, and no one really knew what it was. But she recognized it because she had been looking for it, and she had some photographs to go by. So now we know of two headdresses, and I understand from a colleague that I spoke to here this morning that there is a third one also in existence in Firenze, in Italy. I am delighted to hear that and look forward perhaps to seeing it one day.

Among the early photographs of women wearing such headdresses, for many years we had only the photograph taken by Dr. Giles in the Bashgal Valley in 1893. And it was only when Reginald Schomberg's photographs were given to the Pitt Rivers Museum a

few years ago that a second photograph appeared of a woman wearing one of these horned headdresses. Reginald Schomberg had taken a photograph here in Chitral in 1934. And then quite recently and most unexpectedly a neighbour in our village in Enstone, as I mentioned earlier, brought out this album after tea one day, and there were lots of women wearing these headdresses. It is copies of these photographs that I have brought with me today. My original intention was that a few of my friends might like to see them, but I am delighted to be able to share them with a wider audience. Unfortunately they should have been very large in order to display them here, but afterward you are welcome to come and look at them. I will appreciate your comments. Who knows from what attic may come at any moment. We look forward to this.

But especially I hope that some old photographs may turn up here in your libraries and archives in Chitral, or elsewhere in Pakistan. Thank you very much.

# A Pre-Muslim Temple In 'Kafiristan': A Reconstruction Project

*Svend Castenfeldt\**

As far as the social life of the so-called 'Kafirs' of the Hindukush is concerned, the account of Sir George Scott Robertson (1896) is still, and will undoubtedly remain, our main source of knowledge. Robertson visited the country in 1889-91 not long before it was conquered and Islamized. The present paper will deal with some aspects of the reconstruction of the chief temple to Imra and Disni, situated in the Parun valley at the village Kishteki. In the pre-Islamic pantheon, Imra is the supreme god, the Creator, while Disni is the goddess of fertility.

In 1891, Robertson visited the Parun valley and saw the great temple. His description of it follows (1896:389-92).

"The chief temple to Imrá is at Prasungul, at Kstigigrom, which is undoubtedly the most sacred village in the whole of Káfiristán. The temple itself is an imposing structure, elaborately ornamented. It is between 50 and 60 feet square, and about 20 feet high. On its east side it has a square portico which covers as much space as the temple itself, and it supported on carved wooden pillars, forming a kind of rough colonnade. The portico is open to the east and south, but is boarded up on the north side. Its height is a few feet below that of the temple, and when I saw it the roof was in a dangerous state of disrepair. The carving of the pillars is supposed to be very fine. They are all fashioned after one of three designs. A favourite one is to have a row of rams' heads, one on each side of the column, extending from the top to the base. Another popular design is to carve at the foot of the pillar an animal's head, from which the horns are made to extend the entire height of the pillar, crossing and re-crossing each other at intervals, and ending above in points, between which a grotesque face appears with hands grasping each horn a few inches from the top. The third variety is of the common basket pattern. Under this portico many sacrifices are made. A large offal heap to the south showed that the offerings were cattle. There is a sacrificing stone in the colonnade, and near it one or two niches for idols. The east side of the temple, on to which the portico is built, has seven famous doors of large size, and above each another smaller door. Of the seven large doors, five cannot be opened; they are securely fastened up. The other two, at the south end of the east front, are thrown open on solemn occasions, when the people are allowed to enter and view the holy place. On these two doors, and in a line with them on the dummy doors and in an intervening space,

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are eight huge wooden figures of Imrá. The effigies are hewn out of wood, and stand in relief against the great planks which constitute the greater part of the front or east wall of the temple. The figures are probably seven feet high, and represent Imrá seated and working a goat-skin butter churn. The face of each is prodigious. The square-cut chin reaches within a hand's-breadth of the goat-skin on the god's knees. The brows and nose are, in the majority of the figures, scored with lines, while those on the two practicable doors have rough iron bells suspended between the eyes. The goat-skin churns are represented as carved all over. Above the faces of the images a large circular head-dress appears, with a horizontal line of carving across the middle and vertical cuttings running upwards and downwards from it. Between several of the figures there are vertical rows of what appear to be intended for cows' or rams' heads. From one of these rows the heads can be drawn out of their sockets, and the glories of the interior be partially disclosed. Above the big images is a board ornamented with small figures and horns. On the outer side of the temple, to the north, are five colossal wooden figures which help to support the roof. On the south side the ornamentation is almost entirely confined to the upper part of the wall, which consists of a series of carved panels. On the west there is little or no attempt at ornament of any kind.

"I was only permitted to view the interior through the peep-holes already referred to, which afforded me merely a tantalizing glimpse. In the centre of the floor there is a square fireplace, from the four corners of which pillars extend to the roof of the building. On each of these pillars more than one subject had been carefully cut. For instance, on one of them were two huge faces. Facing the entrance there was in the middle of the west wall a structure which looked like an altar. It was built of clay and provided with a wooden shelf. Above this, on the wall, was something which at first sight looked like a square cloth of a chequered pattern, but which I eventually satisfied myself was a design painted in squares. On the same wall, to the south, were other similarly designed but differently shaped paintings, and drawings of animals done in the usual Káfir conventional style. I could just see a portion of the top of an idol of Imrá occupying the north-east corner of the temple. Projecting from the top of the temple and corresponding with this spot, there was a small wedge-shaped wooden structure which looked like a canopy over the idol. As far as could be seen, the walls of the temple were adorned all round with carved hats of an irregular half-spherical shape, stuck on the ends of poles. The whole temple must have occupied a great deal of time and labour for the Presuns to complete, so simple are they and so rude are their tools. It is regarded by them and by all other Káfirs as a stupendous monument to the glory of Imrá.

"Close to the south wall of the temple, outside, is a small square wood and stone erection about four feet high and of the usual construction, with poles surmounted by rams' heads at each corner. Upon it are certain stones, believed by the Káfirs to bear the impressions of Imrá's hand in the shape of sacred writing. These supposed writings consist merely of a curious arrangement of a dark lustrous mineral in a grayish-blue stone. The stones themselves are smooth and water-worn, and the dark lustrous flaws are like the wavy V's which

children use for depicting birds. People in bad health often sacrifice to these stones with the very best results."

For many years after the Islamization, little was reported from Nuristan ('land of light'). In 1935, a German linguist and Iranianist Wolfgang Lentz studied language in Kabul where he read Robertson's book *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*. When Lentz in the summer of 1935 accompanied the German Hindukush expedition, he took the opportunity to look for the temple. However, in the Parun valley the Germans found ruins only. They sketched and photographed the place.

Back in Germany, Lentz asked a friend, town architect Schäfer in Hamelin, about architectural conditions regarding the possible function of the temple. Lentz worked on a hypothesis that the temple had been a kind of observatory with a calendar function. An astronomer was involved in the work as well. The reconstruction on the drawing table was interrupted by World War II but continued after the war. In Denmark, an expedition to Central Asia was prepared. The Third Danish Scientific Mission to Central Asia, led by Henning Haslund-Christensen, took place from 1947 to 1956. Among other tasks, the Danes carried out investigations ordered by Lentz, who was then in Hamburg and unable to take part in the expedition. The Danish botanist Edelberg took over ethnographic tasks after the untimely death of Haslund-Christensen, and in July 1949 he carried out the first exact measurements of the temple site. Having read the German book *Land des Lichts*, Edelberg got interested in the temple and offered Lentz further cooperation when back in Europe. Edelberg's information changed the situation as the ground area of the building hitherto had been estimated too small. From now on the reconstruction work was really progressing.

Lentz and Schäfer posed a number of questions to Edelberg, who went to Nuristan in 1953 as a member of the Haslund-Christensen Memorial Mission. The temple ruins were carefully measured and the whole area photographed by Peter Rasmussen and the ethnographer Klaus Ferdinand. The supplementary information together with interviews from the Parun valley enabled Lentz to sketch the outlines of a common temple publication. However, both Lentz and Schäfer, the latter now retired, had a lot of work to do. This delayed the reconstruction work until 1956 when the Orientalist Congress in Munich was announced to take place the following year. Edelberg, Lentz, and Schäfer agreed to give a common lecture on the temple at the Conference, and some busy months followed. It has been a special task to study the progress of this work through correspondence which became more and more intensive during the summer of 1957. Many details were discussed; about 150 drawings were made, almost all by Schäfer; slides were made, and furthermore a colour film made by Peter Rasmussen and Børge Høst with a section on the temple was ready for the Conference. The temporary results of Edelberg, Lentz, and Schäfer were presented in Munich, but the intention was to continue and finish the work. In 1958 a report was ready (), from which the following sections are quoted.

"When treating the Kafir pantheon, Robertson gives a detailed description of the temple ... which was destroyed a few years after his visit. He has also written down the content of a number of myths concerning Imra. This material can now be supplied with ... exact measurements of the site..., by informations and more myths got from natives on the spot; and by the works of architecture and handicraft of the actual inhabitants which exist partly as originals in scientific museums, partly in photographic reproductions. Edelberg has made a compar-

ison of all those materials. Thus we have now a solid base for a reconstruction of the building and its ornamentation. The method and the results of that procedure may be illustrated by the following examples:

“Our experience with Robertson throughout his book is that we can draw conclusions not only from what he mentions, but from his silence, too. Remarkable things seem always to be mentioned. Thus, when he speaks about the temple proper and the colonnade east to that, we allow ourselves to understand the temple is the type of building which survives in many mosques of the area.”

“Induced by Lentz, Edelberg collected supplementary notes to material published by the former on Kafir calendars and took as many astronomical observations as possible. From these and other observations, the place of sun rise on any day of the year can be made out as far as the surroundings of the temple are concerned. Robertson was only allowed to look through a peephole into the interior of the temple proper. He saw the top of an idol of Imra. From old Kafirs we know that it was a horseman — this suits with an old Paruni hymn, too — and at his side was a sitting goddess, Disni. The informants said that the horseman was touched by the sunbeam at sunrise on the shortest day of the year.

“As to the technical reconstruction of the temple there are shortcomings. The temple, in the usual way of Kafir buildings, was erected in stone and timber. Of the latter nothing has been left, of the former only a little. The description by Robertson, although valuable in every detail, is based on the optical impression. It lacks, as easily can be understood, a number of features not be found on the surface, which, however, are indispensable for the technician who, first of all, has to make the building stable.

“It was Schäfer who cared for this part of the study. He had at his disposal a vast amount of evidence of the actual house building and wood carving techniques in good photos. They were supplemented by the diaries and the memory of members of the above-mentioned expeditions, and information gathered by them. Personally he had been trained in archeology when young, and actually lives, as an architect, in Niedersachsen, a part of Northern Germany with an old tradition of a house building... similar in type to that of the Kafirs. Incidentally also the structural concept of Kafir wood treatment is not different in principle from what we are accustomed to as Westerners. This feature decisively contributes to the feeling of being on solid ground in the reconstruction procedure. A balance of all those factors delivers the following picture:

- 1) The situation of the site is certain. Partly the rock has been used as fundament. Several debris of the stones of the wall have also been preserved.
- 2) The measurements have been slightly over-estimated by Robertson and, consequently, are to be reduced a little.
- 3) The quadratic shape of the temple as well as of the portico reported on by Robertson fits fairly into the ruins' site.
- 4) The height of 20 ft. is also to be considered as correct.
- 5) The techniques of house building and wood carving can be made out with certainly on the base of the illustrations in Robertson's book. They have not changed in the mean time, at least as far as the Parun valley is concerned ... the Kafir structures are fixed by vertical sticks put through the end of

horizontal timbers jutting out of the wall. This ... is not a practice in Germany, but it is in conformity with our static feeling anyhow.

"There were two principle difficulties to be surmounted in the reconstruction work. The first is a constructive one.

"The temple is linearly more than twice, cubically more than ten times as large as a normal Kafir house. Timbers laid on pillars—i.e. simply load on prop—are stable under any circumstance when treated in the classical way of the Greeks. A simple wooden support without iron work changes the picture. The German frame work technique, in every storey, uses timbers that run diagonally and thus protect the building from falling down. Kafirs never use such 'inner props'. Their houses are supported by poles and pillars erected directly on the ground and nothing else. This solution was apparently not sufficient because of the gigantic size of the building. The constructors had to search for a substitute to our diagonal timbers in every layer. They found it in using a large plate in the frame of the roof. This is just what we have developed to a high perfection in our modern buildings from steel concrete. Thus, the Kafir structural system employed in the temple of Kushteki cannot be considered as primitive. It is, on the contrary, highly civilized.

"This structural principle is the only explanation for that according to Robertson, the roof, from the interior, was supported by four pillars around the fire-place only. Schäfer feels compelled to add, that, from a technical point of view, one would prefer to assume Robertson's account is incomplete in this respect. One could adduce that when speaking of much smaller buildings he mentions once 'rows of pillars', in another instance four pillars around the fire-place *plus* four more pillars. However, without the support of a reliable testimony, it seems to be bold to assume Robertson was wrong in such an important detail.

"The case of the Western wall is different. There is still extant the lower part of a rounded Southern corner of it. An old Kafir pretended these are the remnants of the wall. ... the rounded shape of the corner is needed in order to secure the stability of the structure since the Western side of the roof (the hind side-sc) is not inserted into the slope as it is usually the case with the normal Kafir house.

"The same is valid for the Northern corner of the West wall where relics as well as testimonies are lacking. In both instances Robertson's silence can be explained by assuming that he overlooked the rounded shape of the corners in the gloom of the interior."

So much from the 1958 text. Schäfer's second difficulty had to do with the golden rule that forbids transposing any artistic work into different measures. It means that ornaments from smaller buildings hardly could be used in the great temple.

Now back to the stability. I found in the papers a stray note from an interview with an old man in the valley, who said, 'The temple was round inside.' Exactly this information seems to have been lost in the lengthy debate on the numbers of pillars supporting the roof of the main hall. The weight of this roof was calculated by the Kafiristan Working Group, Denmark, in 1987 to be estimated 200 metric tonnes. Fifteen centimetres of snow would add 50 tonnes to this. Furthermore, an enlarged number of pillars would

stand in the way when at winter solstice an early sunbeam from a hole in the wooden panels pointed toward the place of Imra. In fact, Edelberg, Lentz, and Schäfer never completed the reconstruction work. During the following ten years, Lentz worked abroad a long time. Both he and Schäfer had health problems. Edelberg went to Nuristan in 1964 and again in 1970 to collect material for his manuscript on Nuristani buildings as the discussions with architect Schäfer had stimulated his interest in the work of the *bari*. Schäfer died in 1968. Lentz had an astronomer evaluate his material on the directions of the sunbeams from an opening in the eastern wall, but the result was negative. Lentz gave up the reconstruction project after the first Hindukush Cultural Conference in 1970. There are only a few letters from the following years. Edelberg died in 1981, and his book on Nuristani buildings was published posthumously.

But the research archives of both Lentz and Edelberg came to a Danish university, where in 1984 I found the temple material. A working group was organized to evaluate the material, which looked promising. We visited Professor Lentz in Germany and agreed with him how the temple reconstruction could be carried on and published. In one of Schäfer's last notes, which I found when we added his later papers to the archives, he recommended the use of a computer, and so we did. The working group consulted the School of Architecture of Aarhus and a couple of building engineers. The result is as follows. The temple was stable because of four rounded corners. Pillars close to the walls might have supported the roof along with the four pillars around the fireplace. In fact, the main hall can be regarded as a combination building between the well-known watch-towers and an ordinary house. The relations in the horizontal measures in the main hall seems to be a combination of quadratic squares and circles, two of the main symbolic figures in the pre-Islamic culture.

Now to the function of the temple. Lentz held the opinion that the temple had something to do with the local calendar. The problem was, however, that all calculations had been carried out based upon an opening in the so-called 'windows' above the huge doors in the eastern wall. The computer showed, in short, that the equestrian statue of Imra was hit at winter solstice by a sunbeam coming from an opening in the 'series of carved panels mentioned by Robertson, close to the massive southeast corner. Disni is hit by an early sunbeam through an opening in the east wall, close to the northeast corner, at summer solstice. This was furthermore proved through practical experiments, carried out by a Danish teacher who has reconstructed another building for religious purpose, namely a medieval convent in Denmark. Furthermore, the computer showed that the 'square cloth of a chequered pattern' which Robertson saw on the western wall could well be formed by the patterns of the sunbeams at spring and fall equinox, lighted through a hole in the wooden construction of the smoke-hole which belongs to every house in this area, be it a family home or a public building.

The reconstructed temple is displayed as a model 1:45 at the Museum of Prehistory at Moesgaard in Denmark, together with reconstruction drawings and photos from the *Parun* valley (Fig. 1). The only thing that I regret is that Lentz did not live long enough to comment on our results. He died in December 1986, but he passed away knowing that the work would be continued. Publication of the whole reconstruction together with related material on myth, hymns, and calendar in the *Parun* valley is our project now.

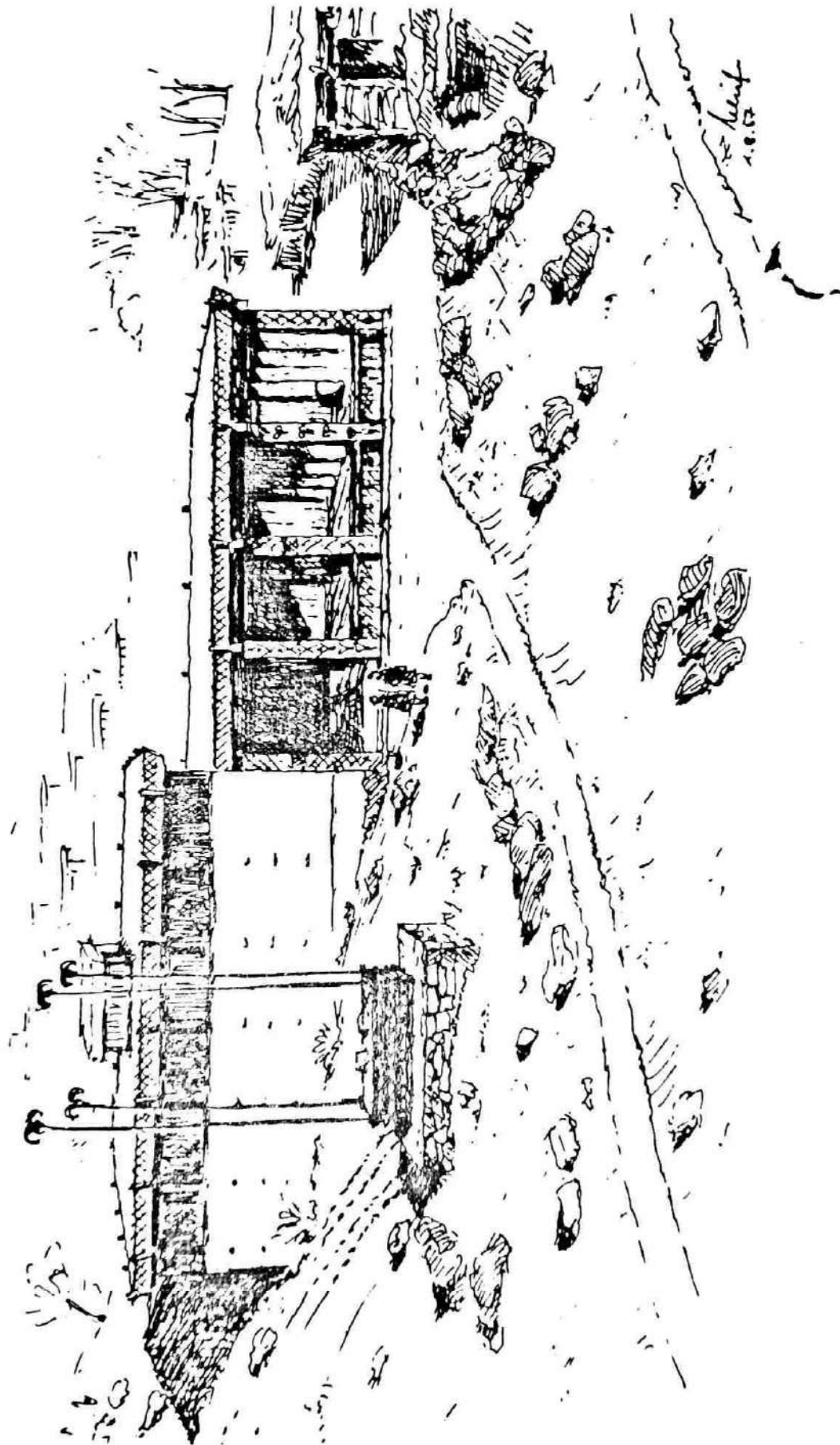


Figure 1 The temple in Kuschteki, reconstructed on the drawing table. Redrawn after an original by Albert Schäfer.

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## Discussion on Castenfeldt paper

Castenfeldt: Where is the temple located? The temple is located at the rivers Kushtiki, which is about in the middle of the Parun Valley, a 'U'-shaped valley high up in the Nuristan mountains. I have never been there, but have worked on the materials of others.

Jettmar: The Paruni people were the religious specialists of Nuristan. Others believed that the Paruni people understood best about religion. So this temple was the main temple for the whole of Nuristan. Now the people are the best Muslims, so it is very difficult to get fresh information in that area. Buddruss was able to stay for a winter in the area, at which time he found people still relating to the old religion. The people mistook him for Imra. His material together with his grammar is still unpublished. There are no new informants, but there is some information in my *Religions of the Hindu Kush*. This temple must have been of central importance for all other parts of Nuristan also.

Castenfeldt: I have concentrated on the architectural features of the temple, but not on comparative features with temples outside Nuristan. I have concentrated on architectural and technical details, rather than interpretation.

Trail: It was stated that temple able to support 200 tons of material plus additional 50 tons of snow. How can it support so much?

Castenfeldt: Weight of temple roof calculated to be about 200 tons. Walls about 1 m thick. Measures were 13.5 m short  $\times$  14.7 m on long side of main hall. Plus three walls and in front a wooden construction. Four rounded corners add to strength of structure with pillars built into the corners. Plate on eastern wall at weakest point stabilizes the structure, and indicates that the structure was built all at one time.

Jettmar: Lentz' idea was that the Nuristani religion was influenced by the Mithraic cult, so he looked for evidence of sun cults. Last Hinduistic sect during Hindu Shahi rule were influenced by solar worshippers from Iran, who were priests from Iranian side. These people survived in Kashtria until the sixth century. Maybe this temple is influenced from the Hindu Shahi period in the lowlands. The Italians have also started to find Buddhist monuments from this late period. Further excavations will lead to better understanding of external connections of this temple.

# Chitral History, 1540–1660: Comments on Sources and Historiography

*Wolfgang Holzwarth\**

The main purpose of this paper prepared for the Second International Conference on Cultures of the Hindukush is to propose a reconsideration of the chronological outline advanced by the *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* (NTCh). This work, edited by Mirza Ghulam Murtaza (Peshawar 1962), is a compilation of contributions to Chitral historiography by chroniclers and historians of what we might, for the sake of convenience, call three 'generations'. This first generation is represented by Muhammad Siar, the founder of Chitral historiography, who wrote from about 1812 to 1830;<sup>1</sup> the second, by Mirza Muhammad Ghufraan, whose original drafts are dated 1892 and 1919.<sup>2</sup> Finally, we have contributions written by Shahzada Muhammad Nasrul-Mulk (1940–3), Mirza Ghulam Murtaza, and Wazir Ali Shah (1954–61). This historical narrative, which thus draws upon written local history produced in the course of one and a half centuries, has come to be the general frame of reference for Chitrali, Pakistani, and foreign scholars. As stated on its title page, *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* claims to present a comprehensive account of the dynasties and rulers from 1320 to 1961. The tenability of this claim has so far gone unquestioned.

## 1. The reconstruction of the Raisa period by Chitral historiography

When we attempt to discern the contribution of successive historiographers in the accumulation of historical knowledge, we observe a striking inverse relationship between the dates of writing and the periods under investigation. Muhammad Siar basically wrote a poetic home to his contemporary, Muhtaram Shah Kator II. The second generation, Mirza Muhammad Ghufraan and his contemporary Munshi Muhammad Azizuddin,<sup>3</sup> tried to trace the origins of the Kator dynasty of Chitral into the sixteenth century. The third generation provided the narration of ancient Chitral history. What we see is obviously not a 'handing down of knowledge from generation to generation' but a rather recent attempt of individual intellectuals to reconstruct the history of ages which had virtually fallen into oblivion. Of course, there are oral traditions: folk-tales focusing on early rulers like Bahman (the last pagan king) and Rais-narrated incidences of foreign invasions (Biddulph 1880:149 ff; Müller-Stellrecht 1980:207–14). These tales, however, have been transmitted in

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individual *ad hoc* versions; as such, their historical core has undergone numerous alterations. Their wide range of variation distinguishes these folk-tales significantly from the hero-songs of Gilgit and Hunza, which are basically standardized oral texts, collectively memorized and recited on important social occasions (Müller-Stellrecht 1973:1–84).

The idea of dating past rulers and heroes and of structuring historical recollections chronologically seems to have been introduced in Chitral, as well as in the Northern Areas in general, under Western influence in the nineteenth century. Surely, there were dates also before then such as the rock inscriptions referring to regal years of pre-Islamic dynasties as well as wood carvings (in mosques) and written deeds (*firman*) with dates from the Islamic calendar. The oldest records of Islamic dates discovered so far in the large area refer to 955/1548 (Hunza), 1012/1603 (Baltistan), 1053/1643 (Chitral), and 1128/1716 (Nagar).<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, there is a remarkable absence of dates in the first local chronicles written in the Islamic literary medium (Persian); neither the *Shighar-name* covering Baltistan history of the seventeenth century, nor the quotations published so far from Siar's *Shah-nama* contain any record of calendar years. The victories and defeats of their heroes can only be dated through comparison with chronicles and annals of neighbouring political units which were also involved in the struggles. Regarding Baltistan, this type of research has been much advanced by studies on Ladakhi and Imperial Mughal sources (Petech 1977; Afridi 1988).

In the absence of such sources, there is yet another, though speculative, way to chronologize that relies on genealogies of later rulers, estimating an average life span for each generation. Though the calculations seem correct, the raw material may be highly undependable. It was A. Cunningham (1854) who introduced this method into the historiography of the Northern Areas. He was sharply criticized by Francke (1987:75). 'Cunningham collected the pedigrees of six magspon families of Baltistan and compared them with each other. None of them is of any great historical value, as the magspons, on their becoming Mohammedan, ignored their origin from Tibetan or Dard Buddhist ancestors, and fabricated new pedigrees with as many Mussulman names in them as possible.' Nevertheless, the procedure became ever more current in later approaches to local history. J. Biddulph (1880) used it still with some caution. Hashmatullah Khan (1939), in turn, whose scholarly research on Baltistan history is well known, used this method more freely in constructing his chronological account of Gilgit, basing it upon the genealogy of the Gilgit Rajas. He expresses some doubts on the dependability of his material, referring to major gaps of information, such as the 'bank period, 1700–1790', as he calls it (Hashmatullah Khan 1939:776). Despite his doubts, he obviously takes the trunk of the genealogical tree at its face value. By allowing forty to forty-five years per generation he fixes the date of Raja Shamsher's rule in Gilgit as '1120–1160' (1939:768). And, it is in this period, he claims, that Islam spread in Gilgit. It is hard to explain how the scholar could choose such dates, as he himself had translated seventeenth century source, the *Shighar-nama*, which referred to the people of Gilgit as non-Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

The publication of Hashmatullah Khan's work in 1939 proved to be a turning point in local historiography; his unbroken chronological account of Gilgit for the period '700–1770' (Hashmatullah Khan 1939:766–75) set completely new standards. As he included this brief account in his *Abridged History of Jammu* (Hashmatullah Khan 1939), a voluminous work with more than thousand pages, the readers in Gilgit and Chitral must have been profoundly impressed. We observe in 1940 a resurgence of interest in historiog-

graphy at the principal court of Chitral. Probably inspired by Hashmatullah Khan's work, the Mehtar's secretary, Ghulam Murtaza, expressed the opinion that Ghufuran's representation of Chitral history in *Tarikh-i-Chitral* (1919) was inadequate, as 'some of its accounts and the basis of ancient history were thirsting for further research' (NTCh:2). On Ghulam Murtaza's suggestion, Mehtar Muhammad Nasr ul-Mulk 'personally got engaged with its revision and augmented rectification. Accordingly, he started research on the history prior to the era of his own dynasty and drawing from books in Western languages, he increasingly disclosed the ancient circumstances of this country. He extracted those old works which had been written by chroniclers during the ages of Alexander the Great and other kings, whereupon a bit of light is occasionally thrown on this country' (NTCh:2). He collected his notes, but could complete only his geographical description; his historiographical work was unfinished when he died in 1943.

Later, in 1954, Ghulam Murtaza decided to ~~decided to~~ bring the results of Muhammad Ghufuran's investigations and the additional historical information contained in Nasr ul-Mulk's 'book (*kitab*, notebook?) to the final conclusion, so that a memorial may remain' (NTCh:2). Still later, the Persian draft was translated into Urdu, annotated, corrected, and rearranged first by Wazir Ali Shah and then by Sayyid Ghulam Hassan Kazimi. As a result, a work of synthesis has come into being, which at time makes it difficult for the reader to trace the source of the various statements — 'in our case the authority behind the small (third) chapter on 'The period of the Raisa dynasty, 1320-1595' (NTCh:36-46). The first and second chapters — on the country, and on ancient history, written by Nasr ul-Mulk — are distinguished by their numerous hints and allusions to sources. Among these sources are the *Babur-nama* and the *Tazkirat al-abrar*, as well as works by the archaeologist Aurel Stein. In writing the second chapter the author does not try to present ancient history within a narrow and unbroken chronological frame, but restricts his account to a few glimpses and dates supported by his research. This is the style of Nasr ul-Mulk's work.

In striking contrast, the third chapter offers an uninterrupted chain of precise dates without referring to primary sources. Presumably someone else wrote it — but who? Although Muhammad Ghufuran (*Tarikh-i-Chitral* 1919) is cited at the beginning of the third chapter as an authority (NTCh:36), there are indications in the chapter that point to a post-1939 authorship or major revision, which I shall take up below.

In its account of the establishment of Raisa rule in Chitral in 1320 — an assumption of profound significance for Chitral historiography — the third chapter relies on Nasr ul-Mulk's excerpts (See Chapter 2, pp. 28-9 and Chapter 3, p. 36). Nasr ul-Mulk, in turn, as we shall see, relied on Hashmatullah. The knowledge of the 'second generation' of Chitral historiographers on the 'Raisiya' was quite restricted. For instance, when Azizuddin recounts the story of Mah Taq and Shah Nau, ancestors of the Kator dynasty, all he has to say on the Raisiya after having read Ghufuran's 1892/3 manuscript is that 'at this time the Raisiya clan (*qaum*) sat on the throne of Chitral' (Azizuddin 1897:43). The *Shah-nama-i-Chitral*, drawing on Ghufuran's 1919 manuscript, reports a local tradition about the alleged ancestor (Iskandar/Alexander) and the dynastic and geographical background (Shah dynasty of Badakhshan) of the Raisiya dynasty (Sher Ahmad 1966:15). Ghufuran has considered the oral tradition he had recorded inconsistent with historical facts, arguing that neither did Alexander the Great have any male offspring nor is there any trace

of kinship relations between the lineages of the Rais of Chitral and the Amirs (*umara*) of Badakhshan (NTCh:36).<sup>6</sup>

*Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* implicitly shares Ghufuran's view; hence its account is not based on local oral traditions. Its narration on the establishment of Raisiya rule in Chitral reveals instead a dependence on Hashmatullah Khan's *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (1939), though this source is not acknowledged explicitly. Let us compare the relevant sections. Hashmatullah Khan tells that, 'during the rule of (the Gilgit raja [W.H.]) Tarakhan, 1310–35, Taj Moghol attacked these regions from Badakhshan. Having conquered Chitral, Yasin, and Puntal, he reached Gilgit .... Taj Moghol installed one of his generals (*sardar*), named Shah Rais in Chitral' (Hashmatullah Khan 1939:770–1). A broadly similar picture emerges from *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*. 'In 1320 Christian era a Moghol prince (*sardar*), Taj Moghol, invaded Chitral by way of the Yarkhun valley. After having assaulted and plundered the whole area on the left bank of the Chitral river from Chitral up to Baroghil, he reached Gilgit by way of Shandur. The rulers there subordinated themselves to him and Tarakhan, the ruler of Gilgit promised obedience' (NTCh:28). 'In exactly the same year, 1320 Christian era, another prince (*sardar*), whose name was Shah Nadir Rais, had entered this country and, having conquered the whole area on the left banks of the Chitral river, that is Mastuj and Koh, he attacked (proper [W.H.]) Chitral and defeated the Kalash ruler Bale Singh' (NTCh:29). The third chapter opens with the following statement: 'In 1320 a foreign general (*sardar*), Shah Nadir Rais, probably an inhabitant of Turkistan entered this country...' (NTCh:36).

In the folk-tales of Gilgit and Yasin, Taj Moghol is a prominent figure, described as a mighty conqueror coming from Yarqand and/or Badakhshan. A conservative estimate dates his invasions at 'about 1620' (Schomberg 1935:250). It was only Hashmatullah Khan who, in 1939, asserted that Taj Moghol had lived 300 years earlier. The dependence of *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*'s account of Taj Moghol on Hashmatullah Khan's book is further indicated by several borrowings regarding details on Gilgit rajas and Taj Moghol, and by the fact that 'Taj Moghol' had never been mentioned before in Chitrali (oral or literal) tradition.

Hashmatullah Khan's work has thus served the last generation of contributors to *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* as a standard references book on regional history; it has served them also as a source of inspiration, as they attempted to provide — I presume it was Ghulam Murtaza — a coherent account of the period after 1320. Their claim, however, that eight generations of the Raisiya, an Islamic dynasty, ruled in Chitral between 1320 and 1595 is not supported by any historical evidence. It seems that in making the claim, the authors have taken Hashmatullah's account that 'Shah Rais', the deputy of Taj Moghol, came to rule in Chitral in about the second or third decade of the fourteenth century as an established fact. They have then presumed that this 'Shah Rais' had been the ancestor of Shah Nasir, the first 'Raisiya' ruler whose personal name is mentioned by Chitral historiographers of the second generation (Azizuddin 1897:49; Sher Ahmad 1966:15) and verifiable in a document issued by his son in 1643 (NTCh:51).

I must admit, however, that I cannot see why they replaced the name 'Shah Rais' (as it appears in Hashmatullah's narration) with 'Shah Nadir Rais', nor where the names and dates of rule of the six generations of Raisiya rulers who presumably succeeded him originate from. At any rate, the genealogy of the Chitrali Raisiya clan compiled from oral

traditions in 1941 on Nasirul-Mulk's initiative does not include any of these names; the genealogy designate *Shah Nasir Rais* as the founder of the Raisiya clan (NTCh:46).

Therefore, I am inclined to consider *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*'s proposed chronological outline of the Raisa period as very weak, if not fictional. I explicitly exclude the chapters on the Kator period from that verdict, as they rest on the more solid historical traditions relating to the Kator/Sang Ali dynasty. However, they also reveal serious gaps of information on political events in the seventeenth century. In the following sections, I shall try to further substantiate my assessment by drawing on information from independent sources.

For the period 1527–1790 there is a fair sample of primary sources that have either been unknown to, or only partially considered by the authors of *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*.<sup>7</sup> References to historical developments in Chitral offered by these sources are generally limited to a few remarks on the different stages of mutual contact between this mountainous region and the neighbouring states. Nevertheless, taken together, the evidence allows us to trace some long term political and social trends in Chitral and provides us with some information on local rulers which can be compared with that in *Nai Tarikh i-Chitral* and other Chitrali traditions.

## 2. The establishment of permanent Muslim rule

One of the major social and political changes in Chitral (and Gilgit) which have been rather obscured by the historiographic tradition descending from Hashmatullah Khan and *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* is the penetration of Islamic civilization in Chitral and Gilgit. Notwithstanding the early Islamic (Abbasid) campaign against Bolor (Ghafur 1965/66), the southeastern slopes of the Hindukush seem to have remained outside the Islamic world up to early sixteenth century. Marco Polo, who passed through Wakhan in 1273, refers to the Wakhi as Muslims and to the people of Bolor as 'savage idolaters' (Yule 1921:172). Babur, on his campaign into Chagha Sarai, Bajaur, and Panjkora in 925/1519 calls the country lying northeast and northwards 'Kafiristan' (Babur 1988:358, 572).<sup>8</sup>

An eye witness, Mirza Haidar, as he lead an Islamic frontier raid (*ghaza*) into Bolor in 934/1527–8, noted that the whole population was non-Muslim: 'Balur is an infidel country (*Kāfiristān*), and most of its inhabitants are mountaineers. Not one of them has a religion or a creed' (Elias/Ross 1895:384). When we add up all the geographical references of Mirza Haidar, he depicts Bolor (Boloristan) as a (politically extremely segmented) mountainous region bordering on Badakhshan (NE), Sarigh Chupan (Wakhan) (N), Sarigh Kul and Raskam (NE), Balti (E), Kashmir (SE), Swat (S), and Kabul and Laghman (SE) (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as cited by Elias/Ross 1895:136, 297, 312, 384–86, 405, 465; and on Swat by Raverty 1881:139). There can be no doubt that he delineates the region which we know today as Northern Pakistan excepting Baltistan.

The raid into Boloristan in 1527–8 was related to the expansionary policies that the Chaghatai khanate, whose center of power lay in the southwestern Tarim basin in Kashghar and Yaqand, had pursued in all directions since 905/1499–1500. The khanate steadily pressed on also southward, across the great mountain ranges (Hindukush and Karakoram) into areas which had till then escaped its control. Military expeditions were dispatched as far as Tibet, Ladakh, Kashmir, Baltistan, and Boloristan (which was

repeatedly pillaged). Further campaigns against Boloristan were launched in about 1540, during the rule of Rashid Khan (1533–ca. 1569), who had, as a young prince accompanied Mirza Haidar in the 1527–8 raid. Referring to *Tarikh-i-Kashghar* and *Bahr al-asrar* (Vol VI, pt. 2; today Tashkent manuscript No. 7418), Bartold reports the outcome of this offensive.

“Later on (i.e. after his expedition against the Qazaqs near lake Issik Kul in 1537, see Ibragimov 1969:406f [W.H.]) the Khan undertook yet another campaign against Boloristan (Kafiristan) on which the Kashghari writer speaks very briefly. But Mahmud b. Wali provides some details. The first campaign was not successful; the people of Bolor captured a number of Kashghari and started to use them like cattle for agricultural work. A second campaign forced the people of Bolor to submit. As a sign of victory the Khan sent sacks filled with the dust of razed fortifications to Yaraqand and erected a monument of this clay which still existed at the time of the author” (Bartold 1973:174).

So, according to the Central Asian sources, after a series of raids and campaigns, a decisive victory was eventually won and Kashghari sovereignty in Boloristan was established. Also the subcontinental sources affirm the assertion of Kashghari supremacy in (at least part of) Boloristan by the mid-sixteenth century. Summarizing the Yuzufzai chronicler’s account of a struggle between the Yuzufzai Khan Kaju and a member of the ousted Swat dynasty, Raverty proceeds as follows.

“On hearing of Khan Kaju’s movements (in 956/1549 or 957/1550 [W.H.]), Qazan Shah went off to Kashghar, which territory lay very near Suwad. The ruling race were all Musalmans of the Sunni faith, and spoke Turki, but the bulk of the ruler’s subjects were Kafiris or Infidels” (*Tazkirat al-abrar*, as cited by Raverty 1881:232).

This is the earliest record in which we see the name ‘Kāshghar’ designating areas of the Indian subcontinent lying to the north of the Hinduraj. The spelling of Kashghar here is identical with that referring to one of the two capitals of the Chaghatai khanate. In my view, the evidence presented so far leads to the following conclusion: the inhabitants of the region to the south of the Hinduraj started to call part of the neighbouring areas to the north of the mountain range ‘Kashghar’, as opposed to ‘Kafiristan’, precisely because the latter had been incorporated into an Islamic state, namely the Chaghatai khanate. Also towards the end of the century, in several reports on the Imperial Moghul campaigns against the Raushaniya strongholds located near Bajaur and Swat (in Barawul, Panjkora, and Kanshal; today Dir district, NWFP) in 993/1585–100/1593, Kashghar is mentioned as the political unit lying to the north of these strongholds (Raverty 1881:169–72). The *Akbar-nama* reports that in May 1593, when the Imperial army gained a decisive victory, defeated enemies tried to escape to the high mountains. ‘This hill-country,’ the Imperial chronicler states, ‘is the seat of the officer (*darogha-nishin*) of the ruler (*marzban*) of Kashghar. It is full of snow throughout the year’ (Beveridge 1921:924; Raverty 1881:171; NTCh:43 fn.). In the same context, the Yuzufzai chronicler tells about a defeated tribal group which was unable to cross the Hinduraj into Kashghar because its way was blocked by Kafirs controlling the upper Panjkora valley (*Tazkirat al-abrar*, as cited by Raverty 1881:171f.).

Taken together, the different reports by northern and southern neighbours indicate that the spread of Islam in the area between the Hindukush and Hinduraj started during

the period of Chaghatai supremacy. The exact area of the Kashghari dependency cannot be defined through these sources. The local subcenters, however, seem to have been in (upper) Chitral and Yasin, for in about 1660 the people of Gilgit, as reported by *Shighar-nama*, were still 'adhering neither to Islam nor to correct customs and manners' (Nayyar 1987:37; Hashmatullah Khan 1939:528). Khowar folktales also hint in the same direction. It is the Chaghatai conquest which seems to be reflected in the tales, as they narrate the invasion of an army from Yaqand into upper Chitral, the defeat of a pre-Islamic ruler, temporary mass deportations to Yaqand, and the appointment of officers representing the foreign power (See, for instance, the folktales recorded by Lorimer in Müller–Stellrecht 1980:209–11). Perhaps another allusion to the territory under direct Chaghatai control can be found in the survey of 1789–1790, which reports that the area between (proper) Chitral and Rayan (Turikho) was inhabited by people of Moghul origin (Raverty 1881:187). They might have been descendants of a former military and administrative elite (cf. Morgenstierne 1932:47–48).

The political upheavals and the establishment of a Kashghari ruling class and administration south of the Hindukush range during the period under investigation are not reported at all by *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*. The sixteenth century saw, according to its chronological account, a peaceful succession of 'Rais' rulers, namely Shah Akbar Rais (1491–1520), Shah Tahir Rais (1520–31), Shah Nasir Rais (1531–74), and Shah Mahmud Rais (1574–95) (NTCh:39–42).

The following section deals with two rulers of considerable local power during the seventeenth century on whom *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* again fails to provide any information.

### 3. Shah Babur and Shah Rais

So far as one can judge from the scattered information available on Shah Babur, this ruler might have belonged to a branch of the Badakhshan Shah dynasty and retreated from his native land to Chitral some time between 1600 and 1621. The Uzbek historian B. A. Ahmedov reports that upon the death in 1598 of the Khan of Bukhara, Abdullah Khan, a local rebellion in Rustaq (NW Badakhshan) was led by Shah Babur, one of the shahs of Badakhshan, against the Uzbek conquerors (Ahmedov 1982:61). According to *Bahr al-asrar*, Shah Babur was associated with the rulers of Darwaz and the neighbouring hill-states by virtue of kinship and common cultural traditions: all those Shahs claimed to be descended from Alexander the Great and they all had inclinations to certain religious (Shiite) doctrines, which the chronicler considers heretical and reports to have been strongly suppressed wherever Uzbek power reached. Shah Babur ruled Chitral, that is Chitral, around 1620 when a travelling Sayyid, Mir Yahya, met him. 'Chitral' is described as a very narrow mountain valley bordering on Kator, Bāshqar, and Kashghar. Mir Yahya rested for some time at the court of Shah Babur and reached Balkh in 1030/1621 (*Bahr al-asrar*, India Office, 233b–234a, 276b). Islamic doctrines had been the subject of their conversation. Mir Yahya, the chronicler goes on, had explained the Sunnite way and admonished Shah Babur, telling him to refrain from Shiism and 'heresy'. By 1044/1634–5 or 1045/1635–6, Shah Babur — meanwhile referred to as the ruler (*wali*) of Chitral and Bāshqar — officially offered his submission to the Khan of Balkh, simultaneously converting to Sunnite Islam and opening up his realm of power to Sunnite

missionary efforts (*Bahr al-asrar*, India Office, 276b, 277a). The power of the Uzbek khanate of Balkh had reached its zenith by then: Eastern Badakhshan had been subdued, and the (non-Muslim) Kator valleys raided (234a–235a).

The *Tarikh-i-Kashghar* tells that Bolor was governed by Shah Babur, the son of Shah Qizil, as the Chaghatai ruler Abdullah Khan (1637–67) commanded a successful military campaign into Bolor in about 1640, i.e. following events in Andijan which are dated 1048/1638–9 (see Bartold 1973:183 fn. 352). The military leaders of Sarigh kul and Wakhan acted as his guides. When they entered Bolor, Shah Babur hid himself in a fortified valley and sent his son, Shah Rais, to pay tribute. He was received kindly. Thereupon, the chronicler reports, 'the Ataliq of Shah Babur killed Ataliq Bigali. (The Khan) gave Bolor to Shah Babur, according to the previous conditions; he appointed Mir-Khush as judge, granted royal favours to Shah Rais, and returned conquering a great part of Badakhshan' (*Tarikh-i-Kashghar*, as cited by Romodin 1973:220).<sup>9</sup> We know from a document that Shah Babur had ceased to rule in Chitral by 1053/1643. Shah Mahmud ibn Shah Nasir assumed power and seems to have renounced any dependency on foreign sovereigns, since he is referred to as 'His Majesty, the king, guardian of the world' (*hazrat-i-pasdshah-i-alam-panah*) (NTCh:51). Thereafter, Shah Babur disappeared from the local political scene.

His son, Shah Rais, however, emerged as the powerful ruler of Yasin, contending with the ruler Baltistan (Murad Khan) for regional hegemony in Gilgit. At some time between the years 1655 and 1665,<sup>10</sup> one of the Gilgit princes 'sent a message to Shah Rais, Raja of Yasin: "I am your well-wisher. Help me by becoming the ruler of my country and I will never disobey you. ... (My father) has formed an alliance with Murad Khan of Skardu and when I tried to stop this alliance, he became my enemy. My father is a simpleton who does not understand that Murad Khan will hold us captive in the end. Help me and have mercy, so I can escape from the clutches of the enemy." Shah Rais replied, "Do not lose hope and have no fear. I am willing to send an army to your aid so that you can fight the enemy."' (*Shighar-nama* as cited by Hashmatullah Khan 1939:527 and translated by Nayyar 1987:37). Thereupon, Baltistan armies invaded Gilgit three times until the area was firmly under the control of Murad Khan. Shah Rais is, however, not mentioned in the accounts of these campaigns.<sup>11</sup>

These sources reveal dramatic political and social changes during the first half of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, Shah Babur, who ruled for twenty years in this period, seems to have been forgotten in Chitral; none of the historiographers mentions him. In the collection of oral traditions of different Chitrali clans (attached to *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* as appendix), we find a Sayyid family claiming that their ancestor, Shah Wasi, had married a daughter of Shah Babur Rais. The editor, however, asserts in his comment that no such ruler is known in the history of Chitral (NTCh:377). It is not only Shah Babur who has simply been forgotten in the mainstream of Chitrali historiography; Shah Rais has also fallen into oblivion. Yet these people and events seem to have left a mark, if a faint one, in other historical traditions reported from Chitral and Gilgit in the nineteenth century. We might, for instance, recall Biddulph's references to a 'Calmak' invasion of Chitral after the death of Abdullah Khan (Shaibani), and to a 'Reis', whose 'name has not been preserved' (Biddulph 1880:150), as the last ruler of Chitral before the Kator/Sangali clan rose to power. Another account, written in 1879, again refers to the period investigated: Munshi Abdul Rahim, who served the British authorities in Gilgit, reports

that upon his conquests in Badakhshan, Abdullah Khan (Shaibani) 'sent a rais' (which is a term for 'preacher' in Bokhara) to the hill country of Chitral and Yasin to propagate the faith of Islam, and to circulate the orders and commands, and establish the laws of Muhammad' (Barrow 1888:6). And also, it is quite possible that the historical elements in the Gilgit folktales on 'Shah Rais and Taj Moghol' are rooted in seventeenth century constellations. 'Taj Moghol' ('the Moghol crown') might have been a local designation for the Chaghatai-Moghol Abdullah Khan (1637-67), whose armed strength underlay Shah Rais' regional power game. If so, to predate the folk-tales to the fourteenth century, as Hashmatullah Khan does (and, following him, *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*) seems to be even more unjustified.

#### 4. Conclusion

The silence of the *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* on events and rulers reported in original sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries leads to the conclusion that since about 1820 the mainstream of Chitral historiography, by focusing again and again on the rise of the Kator/Sang Ali (Sangin Ali) dynasty, has failed to offer an adequate account of the period before the middle of the seventeenth century. Our information on the period, however, is still too incomplete to support a sustained alternative reconstruction. I proceed, therefore, by taking up the semantic aspect of the basic historiographical problem posed in this article, namely the enigmatic 'Raisiya' or 'Raisa' presented in Chitral historiography.<sup>12</sup> I will trace in the light of primary sources the usages and meanings of the word *rais* and its derivatives in Chitral, especially as they developed and changed in the course of history and in historiography. In this way I hope to point to some of the possible reasons for the misrepresentation of the 'Raisiya' in Chitral historiography.

The word *rais* (*ra is*) is of Arabic origin and basically means someone who is 'walking proudly, holding fast, overcoming, being placed above others, being placed at the head of people', i.e. 'a head, chief, principal, president, commander' (Steingass 1973:602). The specific socio-political content of the term, i.e. the kind of leadership associated with the '*rais*' varied considerably both in time and according to the differences in the administrative and military systems of the Islamic states. Thus the semantic approach can help us to trace the historical and geographical spread of specific connotations and institutions. When we examine and specify the different historical contexts and usages of the term *rais* in the sources and take these differences seriously, we can distinguish several elements or strains of usage in the earlier sources that seem to have been fused and remodelled into the idea of the 'Raisiya period' by later Chitral historiographers.

1. IN THE SOURCES WRITTEN BEFORE 1800, strictly speaking, only two usages of the term are reported:

- a. As a **personal name** of a prince and ruler in the middle of the seventeenth century (Shah Rais, the son of Shah Babur).
- b. As a **title of a religious-judicial authority** in the kingdom of Chitral, confirmed in 1141/1727-8. The specific connotation indicates Central Asian influences.<sup>13</sup>

The term *rais* appears in these sources neither as a title nor as a dynastic name of contemporary rulers. In references to the rulers, the terms most commonly used are *shah* and *shahan* ('kings, royal group, royal dynasty').

2. IN THE SOURCES WRITTEN IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY, composite and derived forms of the word *rais* do emerge as designations for a group.

a. In the form 'Shah Raisi' as the patronymic name of a specific royal lineage.

Writing in 1223/1808–9, a chronicler reports that among the chiefs and nobles assembled at the court of the Badakhshan ruler Mir Muhammad Shah (who had ruled since 1207/1792–3), there was a certain Mir Padshah ibn Shah Abdul Qadir from the 'shah raisite' lineage of the kings of Chitral (*az aulad-i-shah raisi as shahan-i-mulk-i-Chitrar*) (Boldyrev 1959:81a). The term *aulad* (literally 'sons, children, descendants') here in Badakhshan, particularly its eastern regions also denominates a type of social group, i.e. the collective of families tied together by common patrilineal descent, a kin group. It is plausible that the old royal dynasty of Chitral split around 1800 into several lineages, and the above-mentioned chief belonged to a subgroup whose ancestor was the historical Shah Rais.

b. In the FORM 'RAISAN' AS A DESIGNATION FOR THE RIVALS AND PREDECESSORS OF THE 'SANGIN ALI' CLAN. Among the numerous quotations from Muhammad Siar's *Shah-nama*, composed in verse (*masnawi*) a few years later, the term *rais* appears only once — in the plural form — in an isolated distich (a rhyming couplet): 'The Rais-group (*raisan*) disappeared from the world / the Sangin Ali clan (*khel*) came in turn (to rule)' (NTCh:49). This verse has been adopted in *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* as a kind of motto to characterize events dated 1595. There are, however, serious reasons to doubt that the presentation of the verse as illustrative of events in 1595 is based strictly on the *Shah-nama*, and not on a later interpretation of the original text. There are signs that the later historiographers who dealt with the *Shah-nama* even altered the original text, especially the opening section of the historical account. In another isolated quotation from the *Shah-nama* — the first one to appear in NTCh (p.48) — which refers to the ancestor of the new dynasty, the destruction of the rhyme scheme in the couplet indicates such an alteration of the original text. The terminating words in the couplet ('...Muhammad Beg / ...mi-ayad') do not correspond in sound.

Furthermore, we know that the previous dynastic group of Chitral did not 'disappear' in 1595, but remained politically active, threatening the 'new' dynasty well into the eighteenth century. By the middle of the eighteenth century, a subsection of the old dynasty was linked by marital relations to the Badakhshan rulers, who, in turn, strongly supported the claims of their relatives on Chitral and instrumentalized these claims for their own power interests in the region (Parker 1897:788). Although serious interventions from Badakhshan in the politics of Chitral ceased after 1762–3, members of the old dynasty pursued exile politics till the early nineteenth century, as witnessed by the activities of Mir Padshah ibn Shah Abdul Qadir. Thus, at the time Muhammad Siar started writing his *Shah-nama*, a section of the previous Chitral dynasty was still politically active; they were known as the descendants of Shah Rais, as indicated by their patronymic name. It might have been for this reason that the term *rais* came to denominate, in retrospect, all the pre-Sangin Ali Muslim rulers of Chitral. Once the name 'Shah Raisi people' underwent a slight change and

became the 'Rais-group', the conception of 'Rais' could be extended to absorb and express its other lexical and historical meanings, yielding a new image of the past.

Chitrali historians of the 'fourth generation' are in the meanwhile well under way with original research. I hope to have convinced and encouraged at least one or two of the younger generation of Chitrali scholars to investigate further into the field and to undertake the difficult task of editing the original manuscripts.

### NOTES

1. On the life and work of Muhammad Siar (Baba Siar/Siyar), see NTCh:441f; Budd-russ (1982:10, 58f); and Ghulam Umar (1986). His *Diwan* is dated 1227/1812 (NTCh:441). While the original text of his *Shah-nama* still remains unpublished, fragments are quoted by later historians and Ghulam Umar (1986:76-86). It seems that Muhammad Siar died around 1830 or gave up recording political events, for none of the quotations from his *Shah-nama* refer to the defeat of a Badakhshan army under Kokan Beg which took place in 1832, nor to the events thereafter.
2. According to Ghulam Murtaza, his father, Mirza Muhammad Ghufuran, had served as a secretary to Chitral rulers since about 1882 and died in 1926. In 1892 or 1893 he completed his *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Chitral*, which included the history of the Kator dynasty. A copy was sent to the British administration in Gilgit. In 1919, he concluded a second version entitled *Tarikh-i-Chitral*. This is the fundamental source that the *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* relies on (Ghulam Murtaza 1962:2, 348, 351). Ghufuran had written his *Tarikh-i-Chitral* in Persian prose. After his death, the manuscript was handed to Sher Ahmad Khan Kabuli, an Afghan poet living in exile in Chitral, who transformed its content into poetry (in 1932) and entitled it *Shah-nama-i-Chitral* (NTCh:213; Shahzada Hussam ul-Mulk, preface to Sher Ahmad 1966:pp.jim-waw). Only a few pages (14-20) of this work deal with events and rulers prior to 1892. The major part (pp. 21-173) refers to 1892-1919, whereas a third section (pp. 173-251) covers events from 1920 to January 1928. Since both Ghulam Murtaza and Hussam ul-Mulk mention only two historiographic manuscripts of Ghufuran, two questions arise. The first is of minor importance for the subject of this paper: who had provided the 'raw material' for the third section? Perhaps, as a chronicler, Ghufuran had continued to take notes which were subsequently included in his collection. The second question is: to what extent did Sher Ahmad alter or abridge the content of the original manuscript, especially the section on early Chitral history? Evidently, many poetical statements of Ghufuran's first draft, which are known through quotations by Azizuddin (1897) and NTCh, are missing in the *Shah-nama-i-Chitral*. Nevertheless, even the abridged account may truly reflect the range of time covered by Ghufuran's work. Following a genealogical account which links the Kator dynasty with Timur the Great, the *Shah-nama-i-Chitral* describes the arrival of the Kator's ancestor Baba Ayub to Chitral during the rule of the 'Raisiya' dynasty. The first ruler of Chitral mentioned by name is Shah Nasir (Sher Ahmad 1966:14-17).
3. Munshi Muhammad Azizuddin had been serving as a secretary to British colonial authorities in Gilgit in 1892 and Chitral (from 1893). There, in 1896, he completed his *Tarikh-i-Chitral* (in Urdu), which was first published in Agra in 1897. For an

English summary of its content, see Bazmee Ansari (1965) and Dani (1989:201–5). Azizuddin had no high opinion of the local historiographical tradition. Although he stresses the achievements of his own research, he still admits that he came across ‘some written notes of this country’s famous poet Mirza Siar which have been subsequently enlarged by Mirza Ghufuran’ (Azizuddin 1897:2–3). Certainly he refers to the copy of the *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Chitral* which had been delivered to the British authorities. Therefore Azizuddin’s *Tarikh-i-Chitral* may serve as another indicator as to the range of historical knowledge accumulated by Muhammad Ghufuran. Azizuddin’s narration and chronology differ significantly from the ‘final redaction’ of Ghufuran’s manuscripts presented in the *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral*, but his account on early history generally follows the same pattern as *Shah-nama-i-Chitral*. He proposes a ‘timurid’ genealogy of the Kator, though a different one, but refutes the association of Baba Ayub (the ancestor who migrated to Chitral in ‘1535’) with Shams-i-Tabriz (reported by Ghufuran, see Sher Ahmad 1966:17) as an anachronism. The first ‘Raisiya’ ruler he mentions by name is Shah Mahmud ibn Shah Nasir in the year ‘1615’ (Azizuddin 1897:41, 48).

4. The Hunza inscription ‘955’ is found in the mosque of Altit fort (Qudratullah Baig 1980:68). The chronogram ‘*tarikh: ghaib*’ inscribed on a mosque in Thaghas (Baltistan) specifies the year 1012 (Afridi 1988:118). On the oldest mosque of Nagar, Kamal Masjid at Uyum, the inscription reads ‘8211’, signifying inversely 1128 (Frembgen 1986:573–4). In Chitral, there is the document sealed by Shah Mahmud ibn Shah Nasir in the month of Ramazan, 1053 (NTCh:51), that is, November–December 1643.
5. Hashmatullah Khan (1939:528). In another context, Professor Dani writes: ‘Hashmatullah Khan’s narration of the history of Gilgit is very brief and faulty as this part of his book was written in Lucknow on his old and incomplete notes. He had no further occasion to check them. **Hence the dates given by him are all imaginary. His conclusion about the spread of Islam in this region is also not borne out by any other evidence. His material can therefore be used with extreme caution**’ (Dani 1989:163, emphasis mine). Regarding Hashmatullah Khan’s narration, I agree with his judgement. But I doubt whether the *Tarikh-i-Gilgit*, written by Shah Rais Khan (1895–1974) around 1970 and edited by A. H. Dani (Islamabad 1987), provides a more dependable chronological account of Gilgit history. Shah Rais Khan’s work is not an authentic source on Gilgit history, but a rather curious specimen of secondary literature. Though the historiographer mentions only his ‘story-teller’ (*afsana-nigar*) Murad as source of information (Shah Rais Khan 1987:83), he draws heavily on — or rather improvises on — accounts originally offered by Hashmatullah Khan and the sections of *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* which are discussed below. There is no space here to substantiate my critique of *Tarikh-i-Gilgit*. I would just like to draw attention to the striking contrast between the two approaches to history represented by *Tarikh-i-Gilgit* and *Tarikh-i-ahd-i-atiq-i-riyasat-i-Hunza*, the work of another contemporary historiographer, Qudratullah Baig (1980). Whereas the first reveals a preoccupation with representing history as an unbroken chronology, Qudratullah Baig, who was acquainted with but uninfluenced by Hashmatullah Khan’s work, is extremely diligent in dealing with dates and oral traditions.

Ghufran seems to have confused the Shah dynasty of Badakhshan, which was superseded in the western lowlands by the Timurids in the late fifteenth century but remained in power in some mountain districts like Darwaz, with the Mir dynasty of Badakhshan, established by Mir Yari Beg after 1657.

These sources include:

- a. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, written 948/1541–952/1546 in Kashmir; English translation by Elias/Ross (1895). Drawn from another manuscript, the excerpts of Raverty (1881) provide additional information.
- b. The *Tazkirat al-abrar wa al-ashrar* of Akhund-e Darweza Nangarhari, compiled in 1021/1612 in the Yuzufzai territory (Swat, Bajaur, Panjkora). I neither had a chance to see any of the manuscripts nor the Peshawar edition (1961 or 1962). My information is based on Raverty's extracts.
- c. The *Bahr al-asrar fi munaqib al-akhyar* of Mahmud ibn Wali, written 1044/1635–1050/1640 in Balkh. The encyclopedic work is, except for two volumes, lost. Some sections of Vol. I (geography) kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent (no. 2372) have been edited by Muhammad Yaqub Waliidi (1974). The manuscript no. 7418, kept at the same institution, includes part 2 of Vol. VI (on the Chaghatai dynasty); it has been excerpted by Bartold (1973). Part 4 Vol. VI is in the India Office Library, London (Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts..., Ethe No. 575). It deals with the Uzbek Ashtarkhani dynasty, especially with the rule of Nadir Muhammad Khan of Balkh (who ruled from 1611).
- d. *Documents issued by Chitral rulers* between 1053/1643 and 1171/1757–8, edited by Ghulam Murtaza (NTCh:51–57). They had been discovered in the Central Record Office, Peshawar and studied by him in 1950–4 (Ghulam Murtaza 1962:51, 380). By then, the main corpus of the historiographical account was obviously regarded as fixed and was not subjected to a critical reconsideration in the light of these documents. A striking example of the inconsistencies that emerged is related to the rule of Muhammad Shafi ibn Sang Ali. While the historical narrative of *Nai Tarikh-i-Chitral* mentions '1717' as the year of his death (NTCh:57), documents verify his rule in 1141/1728–9, 1149/1736–7, and 1171/1757–8.
- e. The anonymous *Shighar-nama*, concluded towards the end of the seventeenth century in Shighar (Baltistan). Its content is summarized by Hashmatullah Khan (1939:513–17). For an English version, see Nayyar (1987).
- f. The anonymous *Tarikh-i-Kashghar*, written in Yaqand around 1730. The translation of a paragraph relating to Chitral history is found in V. A. Romodin (1973), as indicated by Prof. Jettmar (1980:31). Further relevant information drawn from the same source is provided by Bartold (1973).
- g. The *record of the official Manchu Chinese Annals* referring to relations with Bolor (upper Chitral) in 1759–67. Some accounts are cited by Biddulph (1880:152). Further details are summarized by Parker (1897).
- h. The *Sair al-bilad*, a work cited at length by Raverty (1881), which is based on surveys made (or concluded?) in 1205/1789–90 by an author who had travelled to (lower) Chitral (Raverty 1881:1,305 fn.). According to Stein (1921:31), the

author's name is Mughul Beg. His detailed report on 'Kashghar and its Darahs' (Raverty 1881:152-63, 172-4, 184-92) includes additional information supplied by Mir Shah Reza, the governor of Drosh.

- i. The *Tarikh-i-Badakhshan*, the first part of which had been completed by Mirza Sang Muhammad Beg in Faizabad (Badakhshan) in 1223/1808-9; edited by Boldyrev (1959).
- j. Nasr ul-Mulk states that Babur referred to Chitral as 'Kashghar' (NTCh:5), but I am unable to see where. Babur mentions Kashghar, but refers thereby to the capital of the Chaghatai Khanate. Also, Biddulph concluded that Babur 'speaks of Chitral as forming part of Kafiristan' (Biddulph 1880:117).
- k. The site where invaders had camped, called Abdullah Khan Lasht, was shown to Aurel Stein in the upper Yarkhun valley. Stein reports that 'Abdullah Khan, the Turk' was still remembered in Chitral and Mastuj. According to a Chitrali noble, Chitral history comprised the following periods: the time of the Kafirs (*kafir-daur*); the dynasty of the Rais; the reign of Abdullah Khan, the Turk; the reign of Kharirullah Khan; and finally the rule of the Kator (Stein 1921:32-3, 46, 50-1).

Bigale (Begala) is the name of a Chitrali clan. According to the oral traditions of this clan, its ancestors were held in high esteem by the Rais. The clan derives its name from Mirza Begal, the offspring of an aboriginal Chitrali family which had converted to Islam at the time of his great-grandfather (Ghulam Murtaza 1962:327, 330-1). There is a Khowar song lamenting the murder of Begal by a treacherous mehtar (Ghulam Umar 1987:83-91).

- l. Hints regarding the date are ambiguous. Shah Jahan (ruled 1627-58, died 1666) is mentioned as the Moghul sovereign of the time and also in the aftermath of these events, when a rival faction of Baltistan rulers reported Murad's 'selfish' Gilgit policy to the Moghul governor of Kashmir, Nawab Saif Khan (Hashmatullah Khan 1939:527-34). Saif Khan governed Kashmir in two periods under the rule of Aurangzeb, in 1665-8 and in 1669-72 (Afaqi 1984:221-2). Moghul sources confirm that Murad Khan was installed in Skardu in 1061/1651 and was rewarded by Saif Khan for behaving as a loyal ally during a conflict with Ladakh in 1075/1665 (Afridi 1988:72-7; Petech 1977:64-5).
- m. One of the hero-songs of Gilgit tells however that Murad (and his two brothers) did not stop their conquest in Gilgit, but went on westward. They are praised for having 'played polo at Yasin,... seized Brook and Balim;... placed a stone in Chitral: ... defamed the name of Shah Katur' (Ghulam Muhammad 1907:123-4). Brok and Balim are the names of two villages in the Laspur valley (NTCh:16). According to an oral tradition recorded by Inayatullah Faizi (1985), Shina-speaking people invaded the Laspur valley at a time when a deputy of Shah Rais was ruling in Mastuj (p.259). Other local traditions refer to Sumalik as the ruler of the time (p. 261). Sumalik is the hero of many Gilgit tales. One of them tells that Murad and his two brothers 'aided Soomalik in his wars against Yassin' (Biddulph 1880:136). Another tells about a war between Sumalik (II) and Taj Moghul, who had been accompanied by 'Shah Rais and his Chitrali forces' (Shah Rais Khan 1987, Introduction p. 14, Urdu text pp. 56-66).

- n. While historiographers of the second ‘generation’ spelt the name ‘Raisiya’, NTCh most frequently refers to the ‘Raisa dynasty’ (*raisa khandan*) and occasionally uses the forms ‘Rais dynasty’ and ‘Raisiya dynasty’ synonymously.
- o. One of five documents issued by different Chitrali rulers between 1716 and 1757–58 to a certain Mulla Baba Adam uses the term ‘rais’ to designate the religious–judicial office he had been assigned to. A document sealed by Muhammad Shafi ibn Sang Ali in 1141/1728–9 reconfirms his status. It refers to Mulla Baba Adam’s office by the term ‘rais’ (mentioning that he held the same position under past rulers) and briefly defines his duties. ‘According to the commands and prohibitions of the Shariat, he should strive for the strengthening of Islam and the awakening of those who do not pray (*bi-namazan*)’ (NTCh:55). Other documents issued to Mulla Baba Adam describe his functions in a similar way, but use the term *qazi* (‘judge’) instead. For instance, in 1129/1717 an earlier ruler had installed him as ‘plenipotentiary judge’ (*qazi bi I-istiqlal*) in several administrative units in Upper Chitral, responsible for the diffusion and judicial enforcement (*tarwij wa ahkam*) of the Islamic law and Sunnite tradition (NTCh:57).

These transactions show a very close relationship between the office and authority of the ‘rais’ and the ‘qazi’ in the Chitral state during the first decades of the eighteenth century. If not identical, they fell into same the category of religious–judicial officials. In this, the specific connotation of the term in Chitral closely corresponded to that in the administrative system of neighbouring Central Asian khanates since about 1600 (see Spuler 1966:245). There, usually Sayyids were appointed as ‘rais’ to different cities and acted as a kind of public supervisor of Islamic law and manners. In the Uzbek khanate of Balkh, this official title had come into use after 1600, superseding the term *muhtasib* (‘public censor, inspector’) previously applied to these functionaries (Ahmedov 1982:153–4).

## Addenda and corrigenda

In the second section of this paper, the reference to *Tazkirat-al-Abrar* as the source Raverty (p. 232) relies on for his historical information on Swat and Kashghar around 1550 is erroneous. Raverty has taken the quoted passage from another source, to which he refers as the ‘*Yusufzai annals*’, compiled in or before 975/1567 (see Raverty pp. 123, 247, 297, 300). Raverty’s ‘*Yusufzai annals*’ seem to be identical with the *Tawarikh-i Afaghina*, written or copied circa 1031/1622. Abridged versions of this latter work from the 18th century have survived up to today in several manuscripts titled *Ta(wa)rikh-i (Hafiz) Rehmat-Khani* (see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Sect. II, Fasc. 1, London 1935, p. 396). Raverty’s quotation on Kashghar appears on fol. 203a of the manuscript kept at Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Catalogue Pertsch no. 476,2).

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# The Genesis of the Royal Title 'Shah Kator'

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The first ruler of Chitral who assumed the title of 'Shah Kator' was Muhtram Shah (998–9/1590). Being impressed with the majesty of the erstwhile pagan rulers of Chitral who bore this title, he assumed the same title. Henceforth, the family of Muhtram Shah was known as Kator (Mirza Ghulam Murtaza 1960:49). Beyond this description, the writers of the history of Chitral do not throw any light on the subject.

Abdul Fazl, while describing the Sarkar of Pakli, writes. "It is bounded on the north by Kator..." (Abul Fazl 1949:397). Ferishta says that "Kattor or Kator is a place of note in Kafiristan country."<sup>1</sup> Nimat Allah Harravi informs us in this context that Sultan Shihab al-Din (died 602/1206), being pleased with the military services of the Afghans, "assigned to each (Afghan) clan fiefs in the environs of Nilab<sup>2</sup> and the river Sind. As the (Afghan) people became firmly settled in this region, they increased power, annually waged war with the Karis of Kator and Hindustan and cleansed this tract of the stain of the unbelief" (Nimat Allah Harrvi 1964:120). Elphinstone writes on the subject that Katorman or Kator was the name of one of the tribes of Kafiristan (Elphinstone 1977:376, 387). But it is Al-Biruni whose reference to the subject helps to resolve the controversy. After mentioning the great Kushan king, Kanik (or Kanishka), who built the Vihara of Purushawar, he adds, "The last king of this race was Al Kitorman..." (Sachau 1962:13–16).

By collating these sundry references, it thus appears that Kator, being the name of the last ruler of the Turk Shahi dynasty, was adopted as a royal title by the ruler of the northwest region of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, comprising the present-day Chitral and Kafiristan; the region was also known after the royal title of the ruling elite.

Dilating on the subject, Elliot and Dowson give a detailed account of the issue in question as follows: "We find at the period of Timur's invasion of India, the Katorians making themselves conspicuous for their opposition to that monarch. After leaving Anderab he entered their difficult country by way of Khawah, and after expedition of eighteen days reduced them to submission...the Ghaznavide sovereigns organized them among their troops... It is evident from the extracts given... from the *Tabaqat-e-Akbari* and the *Tarikh-i-Masudi* that a body of Kator troops was kept in pay, and that the Tilak mentioned therein was the commander of these foreign troops, which were rated as Indians, he being in one passage spoken of as commander of the Indians, in another of the Kator troops..." (Elliot and Dowson 1976:407–11).

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1. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, p. 14, quoted in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 397.

2. Nilab is situated five miles below the Attock railway bridge on the eastern bank of the Indus River.

One important historic inference comes out of the preceding account: that before the establishment of the Timuri hegemony, the ruling elite of the present-day Chitral and Kafiristan was called Kator. It thus opens a very interesting subject of investigation: to enquire if these Kators have no memorials of themselves in India. A curious coincidence of names seems worth noticing in this place. Al-Biruni makes the Turk kings of Kabul come from the mountains of Tibet, and Greek and Chinese authors concur in saying that in the first years of the Christian era the valley of the Indus and some of the neighbouring countries were occupied by a race from Tartary. Ptolemy, Dionysius, and the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, give to the country watered by the lower Indus the name of Indo-Scythia, and Ptolemy applies the same name to a country at the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay. The Chinese writers inform us that a people of Tatar race named Yur-Chi or Yue-Tchi crossed the Hindukush and established themselves in Afghanistan. Fa-Hian speaks of these barbarians having occupied, long before his visit to India, the province of Peshawar.

De Guignes has informed us after the Chinese authors, that the nomad race of Yue-tche, having being driven from its original seat in the western provinces of China about the year 160 B.C. by another race called Hioung-nor, established themselves in that neighbourhood. Abd-Rehmasat and Klaproth have also furnished us with further particulars from the same sources. We learn that the Yue-tchi took part in the struggle which took place between the Greek provinces of Bactria and the Arsacidan monarchs of Persia, and that they contributed to the downfall of the former. A few years before Christ, the Yue-tchi chief, named Khieou-tsieou-hy, after subjugating the other independent rulers of his own tribe, proclaimed himself king, and conquered the countries between the Oxus, Hindukush, and Little Tibet. His successor, Yen-Koo-tchin, penetrated as far as India.

Sometime after, the monarch of the Yue-tche, whom the Chinese call Ki-to-lo, which Klaproth has converted into Ghidor, descended to the south of the Hindukush, following the valley of the Indus (? sic.) and invaded on the north. Among other regions, he reduced the province of Peshawar, but being himself compelled to return westward, left the government of the conquered country to his son. M. Reinaud is of the opinion that it is to this Ki-to-lo that Fa-Hian alludes, when he says, "Formerly the king of the Yue-tchi levied a powerful army, and came to attack the country he was anxious to obtain."

The conquerors who remained in the valley of Kabul received the name of the 'Little Yue-tchi', while the mass of the nation was designated the 'Great Yue-tchi'. Sir Alexander Cunningham calls the Little Kushanas, i.e. the Little Yue-tchi 'Si. h Kitors' (Cunningham 1967:57). It is thus impossible not to be struck here with the coincidence of the name of Ki-to-lo with Kitor or Kator, the 'l' and 'r' being as usual convertible. Here we seem to have the origin of the name Kator, the establishment of a prince of that name between Kabul and the Hindukush, on the very site of modern Kafiristan, or the land of the *Siya-Poshes* and the country of Kitor, according to the authorities given above. It is probable that we are to look for Katorman, who was the last of the Turkish dynasty.

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# Defence Organization of the Former State of Chitral: Strategy of Collective Responsibility

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The former State of Chitral had a unique defence system due to its geographical location in the Hindukush region. Hemmed in by lofty mountain peaks, it should have been of no attraction to fortune hunters. The inhabitants of the state should have lived as a secluded community in the side valleys enjoying a peaceful life, but a study of the history of Chitral shows that the case was quite the contrary. Chitral had a number of passes leading into neighbouring principalities, and these passes were well frequented. The neighbours of Chitral and other invaders never hesitated from incursions into this state. Though it was not rich enough to arouse the cupidity of marauders and other fortune-hunters, nonetheless the neighbouring tribes dreamt of annexing it at any cost. This was perhaps due to one of two reasons: either the invaders were overconfident of their superior power; or, their inherent enmity with the Mehtars of Chitral kept them uneasy and they availed themselves of every opportunity to subdue them. The history of the Persian and Chinese occupation of Chitral is a matter of the distant past and we have a very small legacy from that period (Ghulam Murtaza 1962 [= NTCh]:25).

## **The Kalash period**

The Kalash period of Chitral bears evident historical proofs. They have left a history of an organized society (NTCh:29). Chitral's state boundary is said to have extended as far as Karī, a few miles above Chitral town, but some historians say that the Kalash principality extended as far as Barenis. In the south they were dominant in the main and the side valleys — running their own administration. These petty Kalash rulers had set up small states and were independent of each other and had no national Kalash state with a central authority. These small states were not in a position to beat back any major foreign invasion. That is why when Shah Nadir Rais invaded Chitral in AD 1320, the Kalash ruler of Chitral suffered a crushing defeat. The Kalash ruler, Bal Sing, was killed and the first Muslim state was established here (NTCh:29, 37).)

As compared to the Kalash chiefs of lower Chitral, the Sumaleki prince of upper Chitral, whose family had been ruling over those parts for many generations, was stronger. Because of his strong hold over the area, the Raise invader had failed in his first attempt to subdue him and therefore threaded his way along the left bank of the river to Chitral, hopeful of subjugating the Kalash chiefs. The areas of Mulkhow and Torkhow were still in the hands of the descendants of Sumalek (NTCh:29) and were later snatched

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from them not by the sword but through intrigues (NTCh:30, 38). The descendants of Sumalek were equally exposed to foreign threats (NTCh:30; therefore they always remained on their guard and the administration of defence remained their first priority. They are considered to be the last real rulers of the Kho tribes (NTCh:29). They had maintained their unity under their own ruler, but by the time of the penetration of Islam among the Kho people they had somewhat alienated the loyalties of the people as the ruler still adhered to the old faith. Nothing is definitely known about the religion professed by these rulers because history fails to furnish such information. However it is generally presumed that they were pagans and that the religious fervour among the new converts was great and that they began to show evident leaning towards a Muslim invader against a pagan ruler of their own. Certain elements perhaps paved the way for the establishment of the Muslim rule. Secret activities of the agents of the Raise invader in Mulkhaw and Torkhaw areas successfully drove a wedge between the Muslim and the non-Muslim sections of society and champions of the Muslim cause undermined the fabric of unity (NTCh:38). Thus the Sumaleki prince of upper Chitral lost the loyalties of a section of his subjects. The Muslim population sided secretly with the Muslim Raise invader, and the racial bond succumbed to the religious bond. The Sumaleki ruler of the Kho people was murdered as a result of a carefully hatched plot and it was only after his death that the Raise invader became master of both the upper and lower parts of Chitral (NTCh:38).

The history of Chitral before the Raise occupation was the history of local rulers. They were independent of each other and depended on their own meagre resources to defend their areas. This state of affairs was an open invitation to fortune hunters from across the borders. They were not entirely devoid of a sense of the need for self defence, but they were also not prone to form an alliance against foreign invasions.

## **The Raise period**

When the Raise adventurer occupied the upper and lower parts of Chitral and set up the Raise principality, he faced the same situation as his predecessors did for the defence of his infant state. Since the Raise were newcomers, they had no knowledge of local conditions and the people. Also their number was small and they needed great native support to overcome any opposition. The important and more numerous tribes had the chance to play a greater role in this situation to strengthen the roots of the new Raise regime (NTCh:44, 45). The tribal chiefs had been playing a vital role in the defence of their areas and their support was much sought after. They assembled around the new ruler and had consultations with him on how to run the state administration. All the dignitaries, tribal chiefs, and headmen sat with the new Mehtar, considered matters, and formulated a policy and course of action for the new state administration in general and for the defence of the state in particular, as it was the most important issue especially for the new Mehtar (NTCh:45). In the light of their past experiences, the more numerous and important tribes were made responsible for the defence of the state under their own tribal chiefs. The Raise Mehtar gave due weight to the opinions of the leading men of each important tribe because he had to depend on their loyalties (NTCh:145 confirmed by field work). Thus a tribal jirga or a wide-based committee of tribal chiefs, who were fully

aware of the issues and could devise better strategy in the face of an emergency, began to play a vital role in the administration of the state.

The defence system which developed in the state in this way came to be known as the *bol* system. The in-charge of the defence system was called *ataléγ*, an Uzbek word (field notes). This title was in no way equivalent to the Urdu word *ataleq* which means a private tutor; it was used for the head of the state's defence department (field notes). Only a man of outstanding qualities of head and heart belonging to an important tribe was raised to the office of *Atalegh*. In the Raise and early Kator period, this office remained almost hereditary (field notes).

Since the area was large and the behaviour of the neighbouring chiefs was doubtful, the important tribes were made responsible for defending the state borders, as these tribes held vast landed property. Being owners of larger and more fertile tracts of land, they were supposed to shoulder the heaviest of the state duties. Owing to the hostile behaviour of their neighbours, the Mehtars of Chitral could do nothing but promote this joint defence system, which was dependable enough to meet any aggression. Also their resources were too limited maintain a standing army and they often failed to get timely help from their friends because of the geographical location of the state. It was therefore imperative to gain self-sufficiency in men and weaponry from the native stock. It was a challenge, and in order to project their tribal prestige the tribal chiefs stood ready to give sacrifices for the state (field notes). It offered them a chance to excel each other in prowess on the battlefield. They were ambitious to bring fame to their tribes and receive rewards from the Mehtar. Competition for better performance in the battlefield among the principal tribes contributed much to the state defence organization and the manufacture of weapons and ammunition. They were also responsible for equipping themselves to a certain extent. All the fighting men were bound to bring their own weapon and ammunition, which was supplemented from the state ammunition stock. Failing to produce these things was humiliating at the time of inspection which was made before any departure for a battle front. For this reason every fighter did his best to equip himself fully and satisfactorily.

Under the joint defence system, men of the principal tribes were sent to the outposts on the borders of the state to perform their defence duties turn by turn as border guards in all the sensitive passes in summer. In lower Chitral, where some passes are not snowbound, this duty was performed throughout the year. This was called *noγórwali*. The men, equipped with locally-made arms and ammunition, turned up under their own chiefs for active service when it was imminent. Other tribes shouldered the responsibility of carrying food and ammunition to the fighters to the front (NTCh:148, confirmed by field work). Thus the principal tribes were the fighters; the less important ones worked as followers or sappers and miners; and yet others worked in mining and the manufacture of arms and ammunition. All of them depended on each other for the defence of their small mountain state. In this way most of the state population was involved in the defence of the state in one way or another. The word *bol* used for this system was term of that time meaning a force or an army, and the state military duty was called *bol*. The long continued military service demanded by some militarists, which had become unbearable for the state inhabitants, is proverbial even to this day.

### Selection of defence points

The Raise Mehtars soon after their occupation started construction of forts in the important valleys leading to the more frequented passes. These fortresses were built by the people themselves as part of their state duty (field notes). The sites were carefully selected by defence experts, and water supply was their key point. The ruins of fortresses testify to the skill of the builders. More than six feet-thick stone walls, with timber as part of the masonry, were erected under the supervision of skilled men of the time. In Arkari valley at the foot of Ovir village, just at the junction of Akram Gol and the main Arkari stream, there are ruins of a grand fortress of the Raise period. The masonry still appears to be a work of high craftsmanship (field notes). Similarly, ruins of other fortresses in different valleys are very impressive. Towers were raised with four corners, from where the watchman commanded a view of distant parts of the valleys. Messages were sent down if any unusual development was registered.

The supply of water has always been an important military factor. For this purpose a native technique was developed. The legendary fort at Mujgol in Mulkhov was supplied with water from a spring on the upper slopes of the hill by an underground pipeline system made of connected ibex horns (NTCh:26). Ruins of *sangars* in strong positions in the mountain passes are still present and testify that the Kho people had a keen eye for the selection of strategic points. The Gazetteer on Chitral of 1928 records these strong positions, approving the selection done by the sons of the soil. These positions were called *darband*; their prime objective was to check the advance of invaders. Invasions and raids were so frequent that the inhabitants always kept their food stock in underground cells and placed roofs over them. These underground stores were sometimes detected by the raiders by kicking their feet on the floor in the houses in order to locate the secret roof by its hollow sound. Some valuables like guns, swords, and ornaments were kept in caves. This precautionary measure bears out the fact that those people were always ready to face an emergency at any time and never neglected their defence. These hiding places were called *bolbúmi* (field notes).

### Organization for the manufacture of arms and ammunition

The Mehtars of Chitral and their experts in defence administration knew that the timely supply of arms and ammunition was a matter of vital importance, as the idea of purchasing them from across the borders was undependable, as well as being too costly for their meagre resources. They therefore devised a system of manufacturing them from locally available raw materials. The exploration and exploitation of mines of sulphur, potassium nitrate, and lead received special attention. Lead was obtained by melting iron and lead-stone (antimony) in a furnace. The leadstone, locally called *surmabóhtu*, was mined at various places in the state. These mines were called *bohtneéini*. Some clans of the near by villages did their state duty in these mines; others carried the ore to the village workshop, where a third party was responsible for storing it until provided charcoal by yet another party, which prepared it from the wood available on the hillsides. Finally, there was the supply of iron for melting with the leadstone, the labour for which was also provided by the villagers turn by turn. Thus all of them functioned according to an

organized system. Sometimes rice-cooking pots (*chidin*) belonging to the people were taken from their houses by force for melting. The rice-cooking pots of those days were manufactured in Badakhshan and made of a fine material for use in the making of lead. The finished product was supplied to the state magazine by another group of people where it was used for making bullets for the matchlocks (field notes).

This was the position of the lead manufacturing industry in the upper parts of the state, but at Damel Nisar in lower Chitral, where deposits of iron ore were explored, blacksmiths' workshops were set up close to the deposits, and the nearby hillsides provided excellent wood for charcoal for use in the workshops. In these workshops swords and daggers were made (field notes). These Chitrali swords were very popular.

The gunpowder manufacturing technique of Chitral is also very old and was an important part of defence production. Deposits of the chemicals used in the manufacture of gunpowder — sulphur, potassium nitrate, etc. — located close to the state-owned orpiment mines in Terich valley and many other parts of the state were also exploited extensively. These were mined by certain tribes as their state duty and provided to another section of the tribe, who were responsible for the manufacture of gunpowder from the material. The gunpowder was then carried to the capital by yet another clan. Gunpowder was prepared with much care and skill. The chemicals were measured and crushed with stone pestles in a wooden mortar and trial firing was made to test the quality. An egg was placed at a distance as a and fired at with a lead bullet. If the bullet broke the shell into pieces the powder was not right and needed further refining, but if the bullet passed through the egg shell leaving a hole without cracking it then it was up to the required standard (Robertson 1898:341, confirmed by field work). This was a meticulous test and must be appreciated in view of the otherwise general backwardness of the inhabitants. During my field work investigating the old administration of the former state of Chitral, an old man told me that during his early years of state service in the Chitral fort one day he had to ascend one of the towers where he saw twelve large pitchers full of black gunpowder kept in store for emergency requirements (field notes).

Matchlocks were manufactured in the state by technicians brought from across the borders as well as purchased from traders from Badakhshan. These matchlocks were known by the name of the village where they were made (field work). Swords and bows-and-arrows were the main weapons of the people for a longer period than other arms. Bow marksmanship was an esteemed skill. It was also very rewarding if one could hit an important target in the crucial hours of the battle. Swordsmanship has also given illustrious positions in the history of Chitral to state heroes like Mughal Khan, Rowshan Ali Khan, Muhammad Isa, Danial Baig, and many others (field notes). Muhtaram Shah III, predecessor of Aman ul-Mulk, earned the nickname of Adam Khor ('man-eater') because of his rashness in the art of swordsmanship. In the hectic haste of an encounter he was seen licking human fat off the edge of his sword and was thus called Adam Khor (NTCh:90, confirmed by field work).

According to Prince Hisam ul-Mulk, late governor of Drosh, state dignitaries and tribal chiefs attended the *mahraká* armed with sword and shield — the sword on their knees and the shield on the side. This was a point of etiquette of the *mahraká* system where serious state decisions were taken (NTCh:113).

### Strategy of defence and war tactics

In order to check the advance of the enemy through the mountain passes and to receive timely intelligence of any movement in the far-flung areas, a visual signal system known as *phumbarás* was in vogue. On the top of a hill commanding a view of the whole valley, or a group of villages, a stock of firewood was piled up and men appointed to light a fire to warn the people in advance whenever an enemy moved into their territory. The *phumbarás* was a well-known signal, and the inhabitants at once made preparations to meet the invaders. The state intelligence system also contacted the centre after receiving the message. It was very suitable to local conditions and cost nothing to the state, besides being very effective. These visual signal sites selected for *phumbarás*, chosen throughout the state as part of precautionary measures for the defence of the state, were all well known. There were over two dozen *phumbarás* sites in different parts of the state. The beacon sites were visible from a good distance and had been selected in the Yarkhun valley, Torkhow, Mulkhaw, Kuh, Lotkuh, Arkari, Chitral and many other places. There were fourteen *phumbarás* sites in the Yarkhun valley alone (Hussam ul-Mulk ms:53). This economical, speedy, and effective means of communication was wholly an invention of the local people.

Another native tactic of warfare used successfully during foreign aggression is also worth mentioning. The routes along the bases of cliffs in some valleys were full of risk for invaders as the Kho cragsmen occupying the upper slopes rolled down rocks on the advancing columns, making their advance utterly impossible. At such points wooden levers were fixed in the loose rocks on the upper slopes and whenever an invasion was made by that route the Chitralis at once occupied the defensive positions and loosed a constant shower of rocks on the enemy (Government of India 1928:112, appendix iv). This kind of rock-rolling was a favourite pursuit and operative in Arkari valley and at Darband in the Yarkhun valley (NTCh:123). In the latter valley, the invasion of Mahmood Shah of Badakhshan was beaten back by the Chitralis in 1868 by the use of this tactic.

Another interesting method of checking the advance of enemy columns was by fixing wooden poles up to three feet long into soft soil like pins in a pincushion. These poles were fixed close together and a large tract of land was covered in this way, mostly at the bottoms of cliffs. This hindered any rapid advance of the enemy and thus provided enough time to the locals to attack the enemy, caught up in the mesh (NTCh:123).

Counter-diplomacy was an old tactic by which the Mehtars got useful information from persons belonging to neighbouring states about the designs, military preparations, and war tactics of his potential enemies. Payments were often made (NTCh:123, confirmed by field work) to obtain the latest information, and fugitives from across the borders were often given asylum to counteract the activities of the Chitrali fugitives residing across the state borders. This was a very common situation arising out of the internal intrigues of brothers and relatives of the Mehtars of Chitral.

Another interesting strategy of the joint defence system successfully resorted to was the art of spreading rumours in the lines of the enemy. This helped them to divert the attention of the invading forces. Sher Afzal Khan's flight from Chitral on 2 December 1892 was due to this strategy. The hatching of plots has always been a favourite tactic of the Chitrali princes, not only against one another but also against their enemies. The defeat

of the last Sumaleki ruler of upper Chitral by the Raisi invader was due to nothing else but this strategy.

They sometimes resorted to novel tactics; for example during the siege of Chitral fort in 1895, the supporters of Sher Afzal Khan made a gun from walnut wood to demolish the fort walls but after being fired only two times it broke into pieces. The use of gunpowder mines to blow up forts was long known to the Chitrali. Dr. Robertson in his *Story of a Minor Siege* tells about the attempt made by supporters of Sher Afzal to blow up the south tower of the besieged fort by fixing gunpowder mines (Hussam ul-Mulk ms:66). Moreover, when the besieged defenders resisted they used to set fire to the walls, which usually had enough wood (Robertson 1898:340-50).

It is also worth mentioning that the Mehtars of Chitral showed a tendency to harass their neighbours whenever an opportunity came. Their dealings with rivals in the trans-Shandur districts were seldom cordial. Instead of consolidating themselves internally they adopted an expansionist policy (Robertson 1898:315; field work; NTCh:40, 69, 86, 105, 111, 118, 129). This was due to their confidence in the support of the principal tribes. The joint defence system was a success and convenient to the needs of the socio-political spirit of those early times.

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#### Remarks of Muhammad Nawaz Tair\*

When I received the first informational letter for this conference, I was not sure that it would attract many scholars from outside Pakistan. Seeing the large number of participants from different countries, I congratulate the organizers of the conference for making it a real success. We are most fortunate to have Dr. Karl Jettmar, who was one of the scholars participating in the First International Hindukush Cultural Conference in 1970, and the editor of its Proceedings volume, with us here. The papers which I have heard here today

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in the session on history have been thought-provoking. I would like to comment specially on the paper on 'The Traditional Defence System of Chitral'. I was delighted to note that the paper was presented by a young writer from Chitral, and I earnestly hope that this conference will go a long way toward promoting scholarship and research on the Hindu-kush region — both in Pashtun and non-Pashtun areas — by local scholars. I am grateful to the organizers for giving me the unique honour of being chief guest at this august gathering.