Section VIII
Cultural Anthropology and Cultural History

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THE DAMELI OF SOUTHERN CHITRAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC INQUIRY

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Research History and Generalities

The Dameli inhabit the valley of Damel (Daman), which flows into the left bank of the Chitral River only a few kilometres north of the Afghan border (Fig. 42.1). Its altitude goes from about 1800 metres in its upper reaches to 1100 at its mouth. Immediately to the south, we find the Gawar people of the Arandu area, and to the north the Palulo of Ashret.

The existence of the Dameli as a separate people was apparently first revealed by Captain Gurdon's *Military Report on Chitral* (Morgenstierne 1942: 115). Subsequently their language was studied by Morgenstierne through informants he contacted during his stay in Chitral in 1929, since he could not visit the valley (Morgenstierne 1932). In the decades that followed, no ethnographic research was ever carried out there, and Morgenstierne's linguistic work remained for a long time the only firsthand source on Damel (Morgenstierne 1932, 1942, 1974: 6).[1] Only very recently has Damel reappeared in the literature, once again thanks to the linguists. The new source is a sociolinguistic study conducted in 1989-90 by Kendall Decker (1992: 115–28), of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, as part of a general survey of the languages of Chitral. Ethnographers, on the contrary, continued to ignore the valley.[2]

Left aside by the main road to the Loari Pass and far away from the administrative centres, Damel has always been quite isolated. A jeep road built between 1986 and 1992 now branches off the main valley road at Damanisar and follows the Damel valley up to the Khanietan Pass leading to Kamsei in upper Arandu Gol. For security reasons no road has been built along this latter valley.

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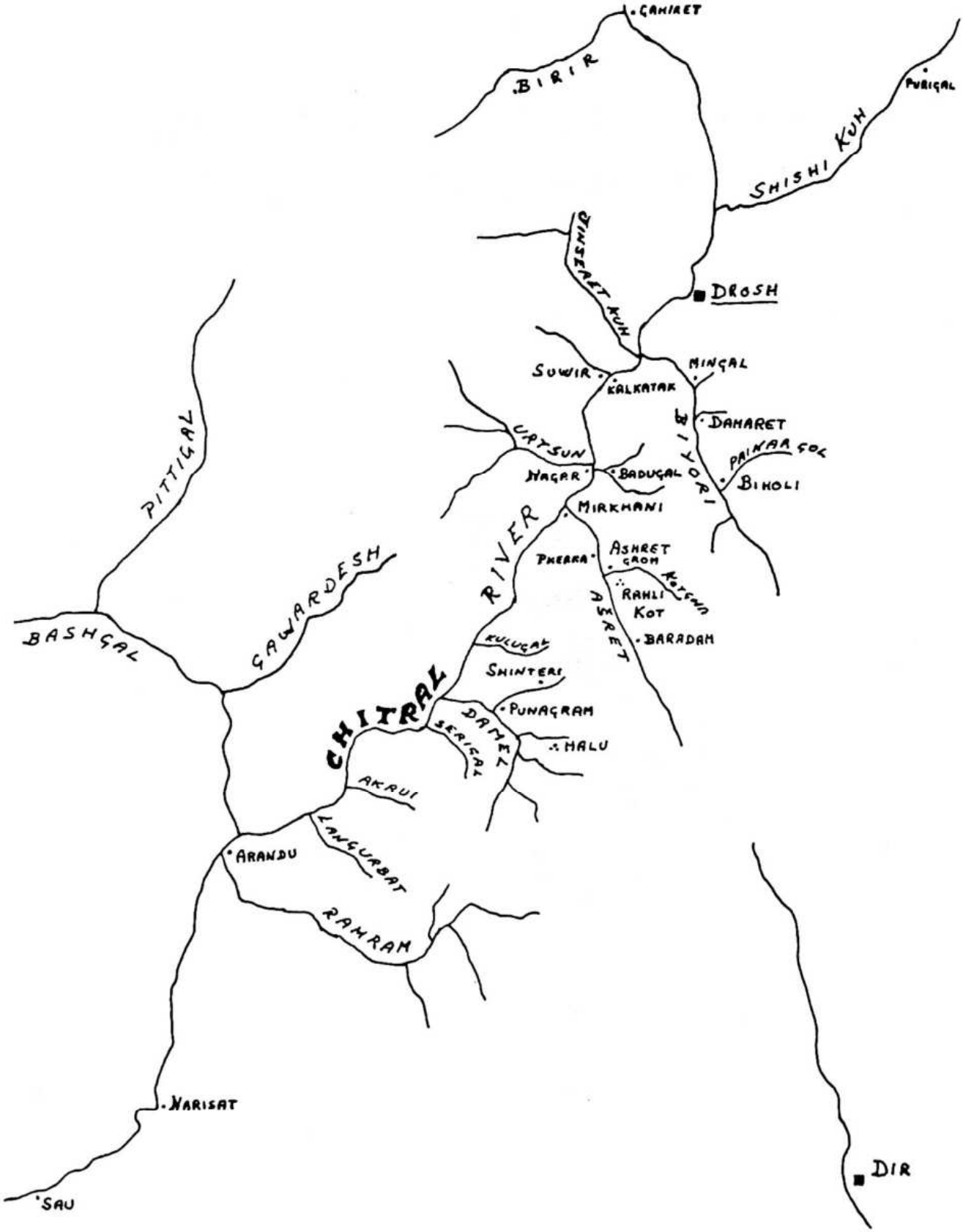
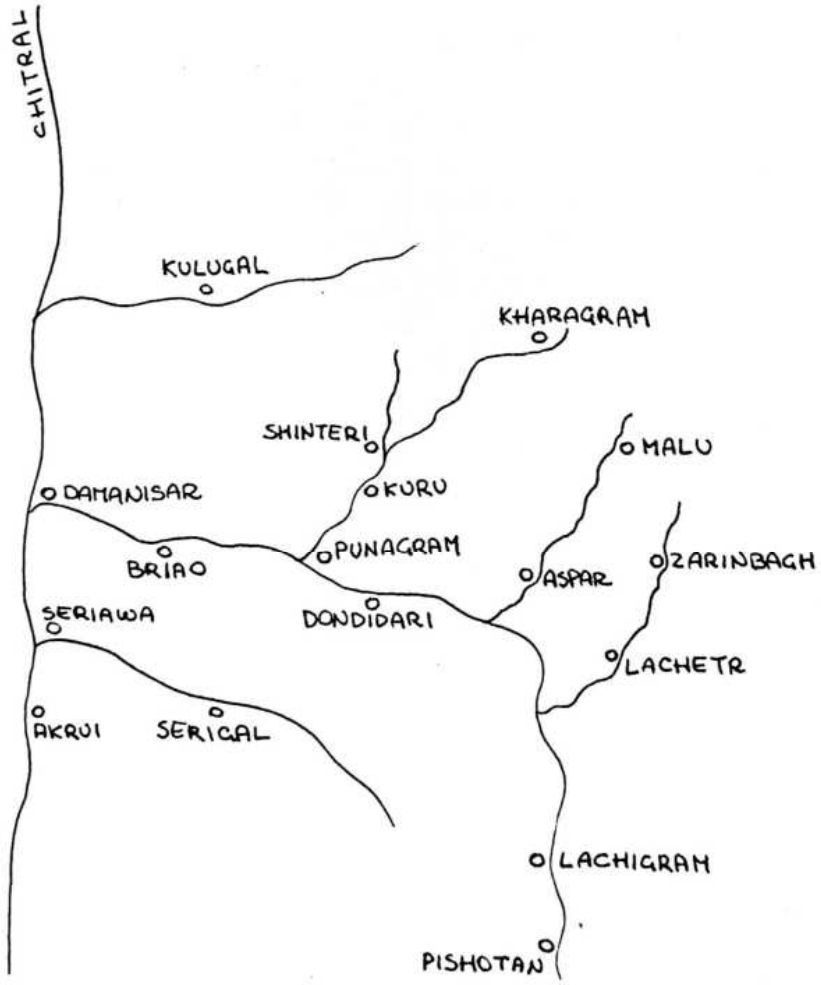
Fig 42.1 Map of Southern Chitral (1: 250,000) Scale



The Dameli community lives in four main villages: Dondidari, Sawati (Punagram),[3] Shinteri and Aspar. According to informants' estimates, Punagram is the smallest, counting about 100 homes, while the other three host between 120 and 200 families. Two other large villages numbering over 100 houses—Damanisar and Lachigram—are inhabited mostly by Pathans, while a number of Gujur families live in the uppermost settlement of Pishotan (see sketch map in Fig. 42.2). The four main centres are called *gram*, 'village,' while a number of smaller settlements considered to be their dependencies are called *lam*, which means 'branch.' We have therefore four territorial units each including a *gram* and several *lam* with their adjoining fields, canals, and tracts of forest. Each *gram* has a mosque, and an additional one has recently been built in Kharagram. In Shinteri and Dondidari houses are quite dispersed, while in Aspar they are grouped closer. But the only real cluster village is Punagram or Sawati, which is reported to be the oldest settlement, and the site of the first mosque. It resembles in fact the Kalasha villages with their terraced roofs and superimposed homes.

Fig. 42.2 Sketch Map of Damel Valley



The bulk of the population of Punagram has genealogical connections with the people of Aspar, while the inhabitants of Shinteri and Dondidari form two different groups. We have thus three unrelated macrolineages, each tracing descent from a different forefather. According to oral tradition, the ancestors of Shinteri came from Dir Kohistan, those of Punagram and Aspar from Swat Kohistan, and those of Dondidari from Mandugal in Nuristan. Each group claims to be the first to have arrived. All three, however, agree that an autochthonous population already inhabited the valley and that the language of Damel is actually their

language, later adopted and modified by the newcomers. Descendants of these early inhabitants still exist today, all grouped in just one separate lineage, the Charashdari, who live in Shinteri. The epics we will soon relate mention also an ancient Kalasha population which was reportedly completely wiped out, leaving no descendants.

On the basis of the statements of our informants, the number of Dameli houses (that is, excluding Pathan and Gujar immigrants) can be roughly estimated at about 700. Households appear to be large in size, counting on average about ten to twelve members. If the figures given by our informants are approximately correct, an estimate of about 5000 Dameli speakers in 1993 would be quite conservative. The same estimate has independently been made by Decker, who also reports that the 1987 Chitral District Council population figure for the entire Damel valley is 5534 (Decker 1992: 118)

However heterogeneous in origin, the population we have roughly sketched now thinks of itself as a single Dameli community. Since there is no common descent and on the contrary memory is kept of different origins, language comes to be the main element of Dameli identity. The people that speak it term themselves Damia (Dami'a) and the valley they inhabit Daman (Dam'an), which means 'plain' according to our informants. Damel is the Khowar name for the valley.

The language of Damel is called Damiabasha (Damiab'asa) by its speakers.[4] Damiabasha seems to have a good degree of vitality, because both Gujar and Pathan immigrants have learned it. Unlike the converted Kalasha, who are gradually discarding their mother tongue for Khowar, the Dameli have kept their own well alive. They are however quite polyglot. Palula, Khowar, and Pukhtu—which is often used rather than Khowar in communicating with people from other groups—are currently spoken by many males.

Morgenstierne's (1942) remarks about the linguistic position of Damiabasha are as follows: a) the contact with Gawar-bati, in the south, has not been very close, b) relations with Palula, to the north, are recent, c) Damiabasha in the past was probably directly in contact with Kalashamon, and d) a mixed Nuristani component is present, made of words from different Nuristani languages including one no longer spoken today.

These remarks, we can anticipate, agree pretty much with our ethno-historical data. The Gawar are actually hardly mentioned in the oral tradition, while there are tales of ancient Kalasha settlements in Damel itself.[5] Contact with Palulo speakers is perforce relatively recent since they are Shina immigrants who have reached Chitral possibly only a few centuries ago (cf. Alb. Cacopardo, this volume). Close and long-standing relations with the Nuristani world, finally, are shown by the tales of origins and by the genealogies.

Morgenstierne concludes that Damiabasha is a mixture of an Indo-Aryan Dardic dialect and a Nuristani language, but he specifies that it is not possible to determine which one of the two constitutes the original substratum. The most interesting point, however, is that the Nuristani element in Damiabasha seems to belong, at least in part, to an independent Nuristani language, different from the others existing today, which—he suggests—may be the one originally spoken by the Jashi of Gawardesh, who have now adopted Komviri. At any rate, according to Morgenstierne, the morphological structure of Damiabasha 'shows that it must have existed as a separate language for a considerable period' (1942: 147–48).

Economy and Society in Present-Day Damel

From the point of view of productive activities, technologies employed, forms of land ownership and use, and sources of income in general, Damel has of course much in common

with the surrounding areas. As happens with other fields of its culture, it has some elements in common with the Pathan, some with the Nuristani, some with the Kalasha or the Kho, and many with all of these people.[6] For reasons of space we shall not expand here on this point (see Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995); we shall only make a few remarks that can help us to define the position of Dameli culture in relation to that of surrounding peoples.

Traditional division of labour in agriculture seems more similar to the Kalasha than the Nuristani one. Male duties include the seasonal clearing of the canals, the ploughing and sowing, the thrashing and winnowing, while the irrigation, weeding and manuring of the fields, and often the harvesting of crops, are left to the women. The plough is not the Nuristani plough described by Robertson (1896: 549–50), but the normal two oxen plough used in the rest of Chitral. Landed property, like throughout Nuristan and Dardistan, is held at the family level.

The herding system of the Dameli is centred on goats, while cattle and sheep play only a minor role, approaching in that the Waigali and the Kalasha rather than the Kom and the Kafirs of the Bashgal valley. All the work of herding, including milking and dairy production, is traditionally reserved for the men, a trait common to Kalasha and Nuristani and in sharp contrast, for example, with Pathan or Gujar customs. The system of dairy production used in Damel seems to be practically identical to that prevailing in Nuristan, thus differing from both the Kalasha and the Pathan systems. We found in fact two series of dairy products—based respectively on *ghee (g'iau)* and cheese made with rennet *(kil'ari)*—that seem to correspond perfectly to the ones described by Edelberg and Jones (1979: 86) for Nuristan (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995: 249–50).

As for the distribution of rights to pastures, it seems very similar to that of the Kalasha. Summer pastures are not reserved to specific lineages (as in many parts of Nuristan) or villages, but are considered common property of the whole community of Damelis. The winter pastures are mostly the holly oak forest, which is privately owned at the family level, but with free access for firewood and grazing—without cutting the branches of the trees—in its higher belt.

The highest and most inclusive level of social organization and collective identity in Damel is the valley community itself. This community has a well-defined territory, can act as a single body in external affairs and conflicts, has a distinct linguistic identity, is highly endogamous, has its own internal socio-political order, owns corporate rights as such over summer pastures, coniferous forests and other real estate, but does not claim descent from a single common ancestor.

The nature of such a community and its internal organization will be the subject of the following remarks.

As we have seen, Damel is divided into four territorial units called *gram*, the villages. Though our data on the subject is not sufficient to determine exactly to what extent the *gram* function as a corporate body in socio-political relations, we do know that they used to have a formalized representative in the past, in the person of the *mal'ik*, a village headman nominated by the administration of the *mehtar*, who was normally chosen by the people themselves (with a veto power of the *mehtar's hakim*, for which see Scott 1937: 7). A single spokesman for the whole village (*gram j'esta*, or *z'esta*) is still chosen today in relation to specific issues, but this does not seem to be a stable and formalized role, since today's administrative structure is not based on this 'level of government.'

Each village, however, does function as a community in the sense that it has a main mosque where people congregate to discuss common matters and where religious leadership is formed and exerted.

From the point of view of kinship, each of the four main territorial units comprises a number of minimal lineages (called *kam*), which are a total of eighteen in the whole valley.

These minimal lineages (which may number from a few dozen to a few hundred persons) are further grouped, as we know, into four macrolineages, claiming descent from four different and unrelated ancestors: Charash, Rahzan, Khoramer, and Ota.

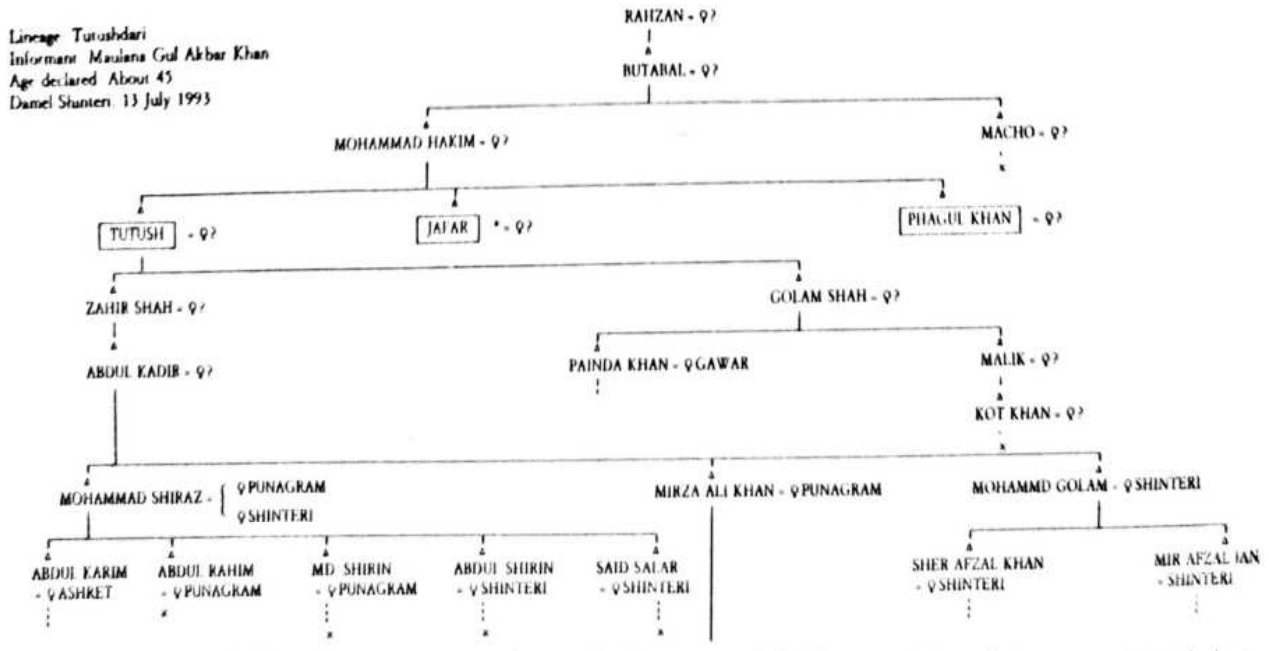
The population of the village of Shinteri comprises all the descendants of Charash (forming just one lineage, the Charashdari, with only twenty-three members in 1993) and those of Rahzan, grouped into three minimal lineages called Tutushdari, Phagul Khan–dari, and Jafardari, the names being formed by adding the suffix *d'ari* to the name of the eponymous ancestor (see Fig. 42.3). The inhabitants of Punagram and Aspar are said to descend from a common ancestor called Khoramer,[7] and are grouped into ten minimal lineages, named after his sons and grandsons (Fig. 42.4), while those of Dondidari are all considered descendants of Ota and grouped into five minimal lineages descending from his sons (Fig. 42.5). Thus there is only a partial coincidence between villages and macrolineages, though the former (territorial) unit is clearly based largely on the latter (kinship) group.

Though macrolineages certainly have a sharp identity and are likely to have a role in dealing with conflicts, their smaller segments, the minimal lineages, are also relevant in the socio-political organization of the community.

As can be seen from the genealogical tables, these segments are usually some five generations deep above the living elders, and therefore extend over a total of some eight generations down to the children. Since their head ancestors, for reasons that we shall see, seem to have lived more or less around the time of conversion, we can safely state that these kinship groups must have little to do with pre-Islamic kinship organization.

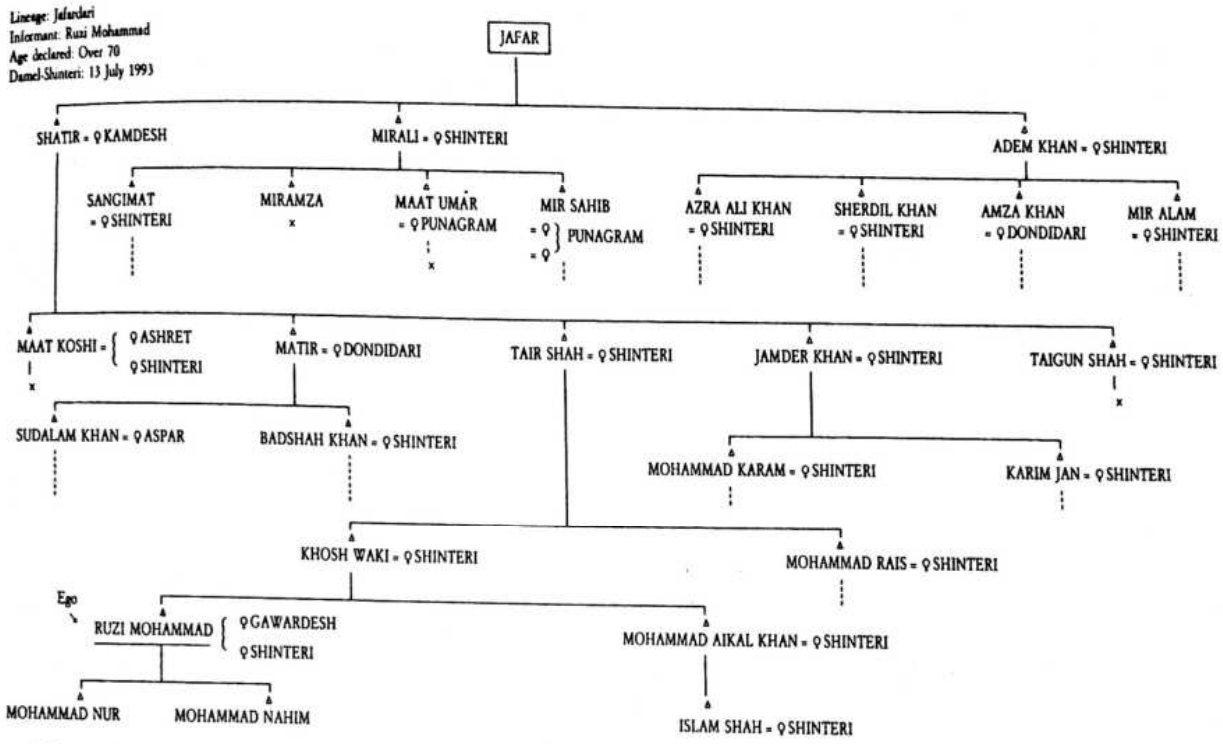
The genealogies we have collected show that these lineages are likely to segment into smaller groups whenever they become too numerous, the children of the previous eponymous ancestor becoming the heads of the newborn lineages.

Fig. 42.3 (a) Lineage: Tutushadari



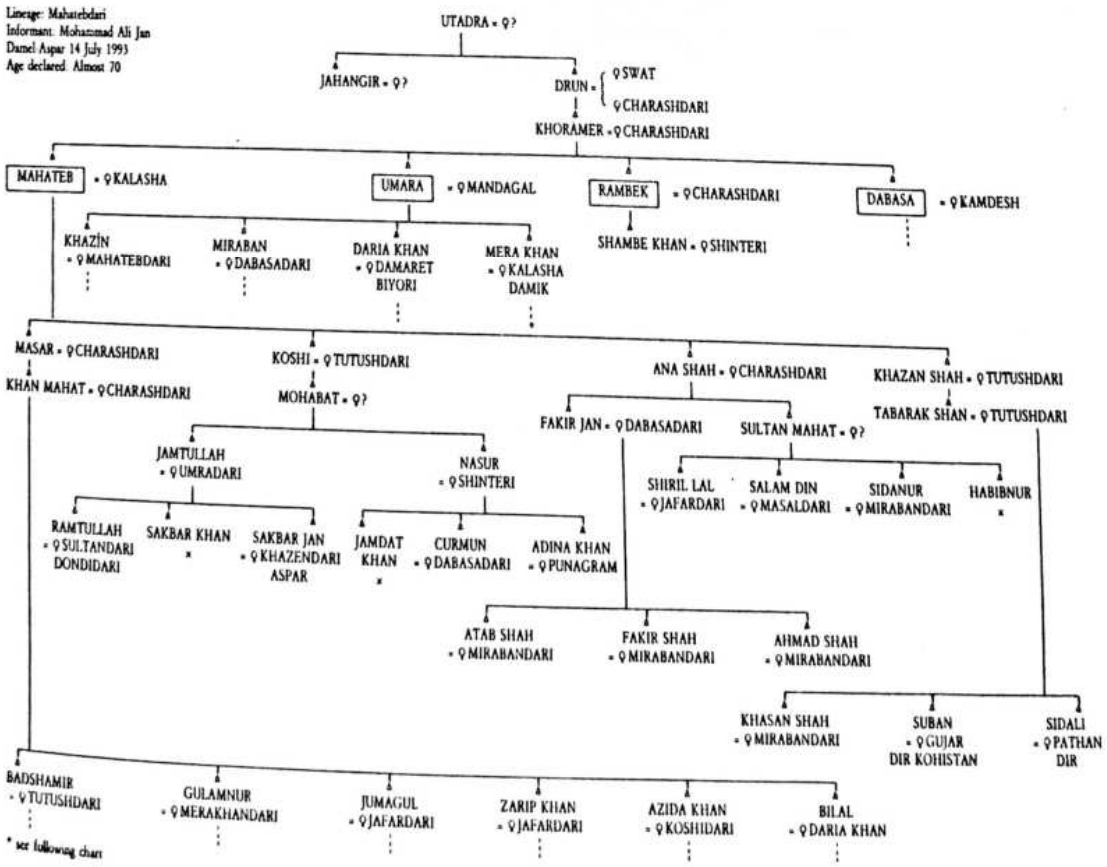
Genealogy of the descendants of Rahzan. Eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages are marked with a square. Names of wives are not given, only their village of origin is indicated. It is highly likely that early marriages with women of Shinteri were contracted with members of the aboriginal Charashdari lineage.

Fig. 42.3 (b) Lineage: Jafardari



That these groups are recognized social units, and not merely 'the agnatic descendants of a male ancestor,' is confirmed by the fact that different informants would always define lineage membership of a person by referring to the same ancestor.

Fig. 42.4 (a) Lineage: Mehatebdari

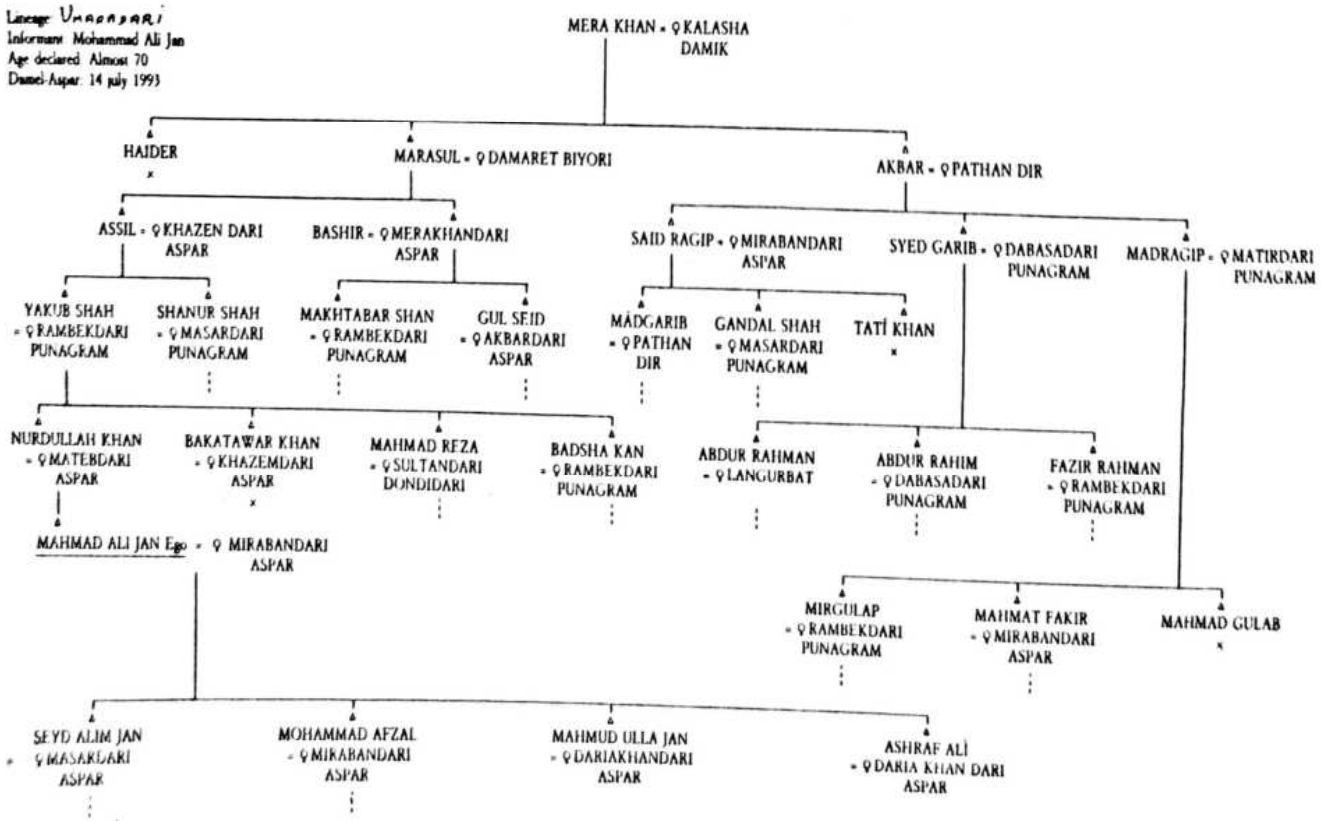


Genealogy of the descendants of Khoramer. Eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages are marked with a square. Names of wives are not given, only their lineage of origin is indicated.

One thing we can tell for sure about the process of segmentation is that, unlike with the non-Muslim Kalasha, it has nothing to do with exogamy, since Dameli lineages are not exogamic units today. To define their function in social life, we must also consider that these lineages do not own corporate rights on land or any other property, since, as we have seen, fields and buildings belong to individual families, while the high pastures are considered the common property of the whole valley community. Homes and cultivable fields of the members of a lineage, however, apparently tend to be territorially concentrated in the same area: this was said to be the rule in Shinteri and Dondidari, less so in Aspar. What usually happens is that lands currently belonging to members of a lineage are said to have once belonged to its eponymous ancestor, who is often credited with the construction of the main canal that serves to irrigate it. Since, however, land can be freely bought and sold (subject only to the right of pre-emption of the immediate neighbours), this territorial localization of a lineage can tend to blur with time.

At any rate, lineages do act as a corporate body to a certain extent. For one thing, they have a single spokesman (called *j'esta, z'esta*, elder, or *jest'ero*, a comparative form of the same word [see Biddulph 1880: 17]), who can represent them whenever necessary. The *j'esta* is selected in a meeting *(jirga)* of the male members of the lineage, in which, without a formal vote, the matter is discussed until unanimity is reached. This *j'esta* was said to represent the lineage in village and valley-wide meetings, to cooperate in the settlement of controversies and violent conflicts, and to participate in the arrangement of marriages. Other capable male members of a lineage may however participate as well. Decisions concerning the community—as is the custom in all surrounding areas—are in fact taken by a council of elders *(jirg'a)* that can change its composition according to the issue discussed. Most *j'esta* will usually attend, but other concerned people can freely participate.

Fig. 42.4 (b) Lineage: Umaradari



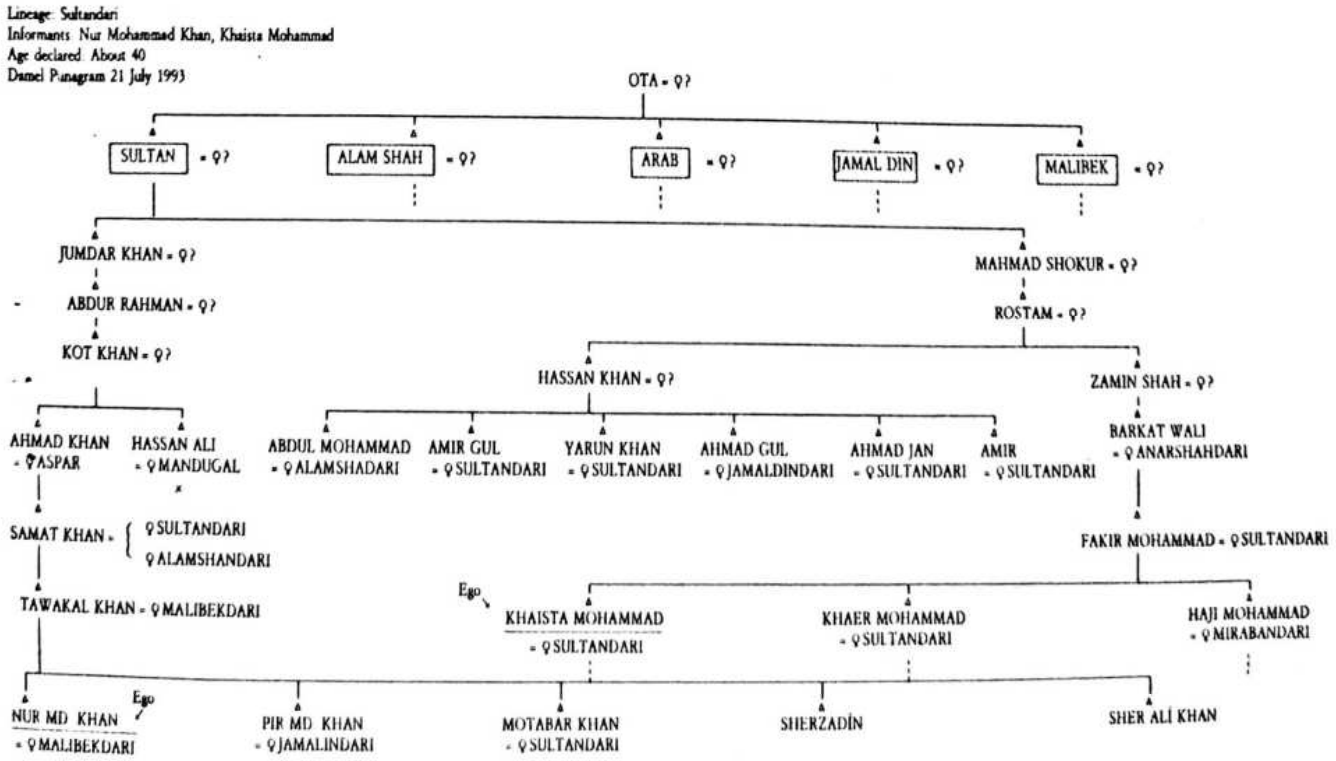
Altogether, the political organization of Damel seems to be (like in other communities of the area) the product of a rather complex and fluid admixture of three elements: traditional roles and rules specific to the Dameli community, generalized Islamic concepts and practices, and the formalized structures of the modern state of Pakistan. In the latter sphere, Damel had in 1993 two representatives (called *mimb'ar*, i.e., 'member') in the union council, the elected body at the *tehsil* level, one for the people of Punagram and Shinteri, the other for those of Aspar and Dondidari. In the district council of Chitral, Damel contributed to the election of one member, whose constituency included all the territory south of Mirkhani.

We have stated earlier that Damel is a highly endogamous community. Our information on the subject is based mainly on the analysis of 136 marriages, spanning over eight generations, reported by our most reliable informants. We must warn that our sample is not a statistically significant one, since the male partners in the marriages are largely concentrated in less than half of the eighteen minimal lineages. Furthermore, the data have not been cross-checked and may therefore contain many mistakes. However, the correlations that emerge are so high that it is hard not to consider them reliable.

Of the total marriages considered, as many as 117, that is, 86 per cent, are valley-endogamous, taking place within the Dameli speaking community. Furthermore, approximately 70 per cent of the total are macrolineage endogamous.

If, however, we disaggregate our data by generations, we note that the frequency of intra-valley marriages becomes higher and higher in more recent times. The rate of endogamy rises from 66.6 per cent in the higher generations to 97 per cent among living couples, where as much as 79.3 per cent of the marriages are within the same macrolineage.

Fig. 42.5 Lineage: Sultandari



Genealogy of the descendants of Ota. Eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages are marked with a square. Names of wives are not given, only their lineage of origin is indicated.

According to our informants, there is a recognized preference for marriage with close agnates, since such unions are believed to help in preserving the unity of the lineage. This argument—although quite controversial—is at the basis of the general tendency toward lineage endogamy found throughout the Middle East (Lindholm 1986a: 347), and it is well-known also to the Pathans (Barth 1959: 40), whose influence on this trait of Dameli culture seems hard to deny.

On the other hand, the shift from the exogamy of the higher generations to the endogamy of the present ones seems just as naturally to be connected with the Islamization of the community. Though our informants never admitted any knowledge about the pre-Islamic kinship system of Damel, on the basis of what we know about surrounding peoples, it seems quite reasonable to suppose that it must have been based on some exogamic rule of the kind found among the Nuristani (Robertson 1896: 86; Jones 1974: 144) and the Kalasha.[8]

The circumstances of conversion in Damel remain entirely clouded in mystery, since our informants never could afford any information about them. However, a careful analysis of the genealogical data available may help us to venture some hypotheses about the time of conversion on the basis of this switch in marriage rules.

The data from Shinteri and Dondidari does not provide information about the marriages of earlier ancestors above the informants' great-grandfathers, but our best informant from Aspar, Mohammad Ali Jan, did claim knowledge about all the marriages of his ancestors until the eighth generation above his own. Though, as usual, we politely declined to inquire about the names of the brides, we did record their lineage and/or community of origin. Of course, the historical accuracy of this information cannot be proved at the present state of our knowledge, but, nevertheless, it remains significant since it does reflect a concept about marriage relationships handed down by the oral tradition of Damel.

Thus the four original 'brothers' of this line are all married with non-related women. Such marriages are likely to symbolize the early alliances of this section of the Dameli community: one brother 'marries' with the Charashdari, two with the Nuristani, one with the Kalasha of Suwir. Though it is not impossible that these people were Muslims, it is much more likely, since they could not have been living any later than in the eighteenth century, that they were all 'pagan.' In the next generation, the four sons of Mahateb are all married with non-related women and may have therefore been non-Muslim, while of the four sons of Umara, two are married with close agnates, and must therefore have been Muslims. The other two 'sons' of Umara, on the contrary, seem to have remained unconverted, since one, Daria Khan, married a woman from Damaret in Biyori, who may have been Kalasha at the time (cf. Alb. Cacopardo this volume), and the other, Mera Khan, had a Kalasha bride from the village of Damik, close to Jinjeret village in the main valley. This generation may have lived around the beginning of the nineteenth century, and may have witnessed the first conversions. In the following generation, we still find both endogamic and exogamic marriages in the line of Mahateb, while if we follow the line of Mera Khan (the lineage of our informant) we see that one of his two sons are married with a Dir Pathan, and therefore Muslim, woman, the other again with a lady from Damaret, possibly unconverted Kalasha. In the next generation, at any rate, all the marriages are endogamous in the Mera Khan line, and most of them on the Mahateb side. This generation, that of the great-grandfathers of our informants, is likely to have been entirely converted, or even born Muslim. This is confirmed by the fact that the earliest *mullah* remembered in Damel, a man of the Dabasadari lineage named Mullah Fazil whose grave is still honoured in Punagram, is said to have lived at this time. If the genealogy is not too inaccurate, we should at this point have errived at sometime around the mid-nineteenth century, a period that coincides (cf. Alb. Cacopardo this volume), with the probable time of the conversion of the Palulo.

The regular marriage procedures in Damel follow generally the Islamic pattern. Like in other parts of the world, however, things often happen to become more adventurous. Despite the strictness of Islamic law on the subject of extramarital relations, Dameli custom allows for some practices which are clearly of pre-islamic origin.

Thus if a woman leaves her husband to elope with another man, instead of the death penalty prescribed by the sharia, they may get around with a payment called *kam'an*, equal to the triple of the original *mal*. This custom of elopement, said to have been much more frequent in the past but still practised today, is called *ulas'ang* in Dameli, a name which clearly reveals its affinity with the *alas'ing* so widely practiced today by the unconverted Kalasha (Parkes 1983: 514–98, 633–34, 1987: 641–42; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 101–06). The affinity is not a secondary one, since *alas'ing* is considered one of the *tre gona dastur*, the 'three great traditions' of the Kalasha.[9] It is worth noting, however, that while homicides never occur in connection with *alas'ing* among the Kalasha, in Damel the offended husband is entitled to kill the guilty couple, without having to pay compensation, and he is not obliged to accept the *kam'an*.

Oral History

The oral history of the Dameli is a fairly complex corpus. Each one of the three macrolineages has its own tale of origins and its own version about early events in the valley. These oral traditions begin with the departure of the apical ancestor from a previous homeland and his arrival in Damel; in all three cases the migration is caused by a conflict. The accounts are based on the genealogies.

Genealogical memory is still quite rich in Damel. It seemed that a good number of men knew at least their own pedigree, while some elders were able to relate the whole genealogy of their macrolineage. Although we sought people who were believed to be experts, our data possibly represents only a fraction of the genealogical knowledge existing in Damel. With more time, other elders not immediately available could have been questioned and the various charts could have been compared to assess the extent of their reliability.

How reliable are then these genealogies? In general, we may note that all the charts we present here can be divided in two parts. The upper part is single-track and essentially mythical. There the number of generations is meaningless for the count of time, because those ancestors are likely to have largely been forgotten, apart from a few very prominent ones. The lower part, from the fourth/fifth generation above our informants down, just below the eponymous ancestors of present-day lineages, is on the contrary quite ramified and definitely more historical.

The charts in fact become more reliable at the point where a connection is established between present-day lineages and ownership of land. The eponymous ancestors of existing lineages are supposedly brothers who receive from their father—or grandfather—a portion of territory that they organize for cultivation by building the main canals, still used for irrigation today.

Actually the reported fraternal relation between these eponymous forefathers may be somewhat fictitious, just reflecting an ideal model according to which existing sublineages are issued from the same ancestor and therefore from a series of brothers who may be his sons or grandsons. It is however quite reasonable to believe that a relation of common descent between sublineages of the same macrolineage does really exist, even if it may not be as simple as that.[10]

However, one or two generations below the eponymous forefathers of present-day lineages the charts become so detailed that it would be unreasonable to deny them an historical character. Knowledgeable elders remember also, as we mentioned, the lineage and place of origin of the wives. A comparison between the same genealogies given by different sources shows some minor incongruencies, but confirms the general reliability of this data.

For what concerns the events related in the narratives woven around the higher portion of our genealogies, we have obviously no way of telling to what extent they are related to historical facts. In people's recollection remote events not only naturally fade away through the passing of time, they are also purposely moulded and reshaped to fit ideal models based on ethnic pride. A final defeat, for example, shall never be admitted, and relations of servitude shall be recognized only to relate the rebellion that put an end to them. We must, therefore, read between the lines of these oral accounts, if we want to detect the kernel of truth that, as is generally the case with legends, they are likely to contain.

This is obviously quite a difficult task in the absence of written documentation or archaeological investigation. However, in some cases, by comparing accounts of the same events from different sources, it is possible to be reasonably certain of the historical quality of some specific circumstance. For example, as we mentioned earlier, while each macrolineage claims to be the first to have arrived, they all agree that their ancestors found the valley inhabited by an indigenous population. It seems therefore quite reasonable to give credit to oral tradition on this point, and to accept the existence of a former ethnic group in Damel as a very likely historical fact.

Much more complex is however the question of who the latter people were. We shall start from this point our account of Dameli oral history, and then we shall proceed to relate separately the oral lore of the three great macrolineages, trying to highlight the points that seem to have some historical consistency and trying to infer possible historical circumstances by 'reading between the lines' of the oral texts.

The Charashdari (Shinteri)

The story of the encounter with the previous Dameli population was told in very much the same terms by informants from all the three larger kinship groups and from the small lineage of the supposed descendants of the indigenous population. The account we are about to give is therefore a compound of very similar versions of the same story heard by members of all descent groups.

The story of the forefathers of the Charashdari tells that the men of that ancient community were ambushed and slaughtered by the Kom of Nuristan during their sleep while they were resting on the way back from a raid. When the women and children came to know of the massacre, they fled from Damel to seek refuge in Waigal, and further in Kordar, which appears in Edelberg's map (Edelberg & Gramstrup 1971) as a western tributary valley of the Pech, south of Wama. Only a man and a woman—Kambrash and Shambrei were their names—stayed behind, and hid themselves in a cave high on the flank of the mountain opposite Shinteri, the area where their people used to live; its entrance can be seen from afar and it was indicated to us by all informants. Insofar as a disaster wiping out a previous population is conceived to be at the beginning of history, this legend reminds us, on a small scale, of great foundation myths where mankind narrowly escapes extinction to multiply again from a surviving couple, as in the biblical story of the great flood.

Kambrash and Shambrei went about naked and their bodies were covered with hair; they survived by stealing milk and cheese from the new Dameli population. One day they approached a storage room and the man sneaked in to get hold of some food. From outside the woman called him asking whether the milk had turned into *nyit*. This alerted the people, who captured the intruders. Their bodily hair was shaved off and they were dressed with proper clothes. They were accepted into the newly arrived group as affines and intermarriage started to take place.

The notion of a wild, primitive people, hiding in the hills and sneaking at night into houses to steal food, is generally present in the area. We found it among the Kalasha of Jinjeret Kuh (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 357–60) and among the Palulo as well. In Ashret (see Alb. Cacopardo, this volume), in fact, we heard the exact parallel of the Charashdari story, but there the wild survivors were Kalasha. The structure of the story is exactly the same as in Damel, only that here we are dealing with the remnants of an unknown ethnic group.

A significant question may be that of the language spoken by this early Dameli population. All would seem to indicate that they must have been the speakers of the unknown Nuristani tongue whose traces were detected by Morgenstierne in modern Dameli. A trace of this language, according to our informants, is preserved in a single verse of an ancient song connected with the story of the conflict with Ashret (see Alb. Cacopardo, this volume), which was still remembered. The verse is as follows:

c'upi lal'ui kari'u rosk'ala tikot'ak jump young men make dawn *tikot'ak*

The meaning was thus explained: Jump high, young men (of Ashret) in your dance, tomorrow at dawn your legs will make *tikot'ak* (the last kick of a slaughtered goat). We were given the following translation in Damiabasha: 'c'upi zuw'an kure'a rosk'ala tikot'ak.' Only the words lal'ui and *kari'u* are different from modern Dameli. Informants specified that lal'ui was the plural of lal'i.

But who were these people, and can they be connected to any known group? In the light of available data, nothing certain can be said on this issue. The oral traditions of the Kalasha, the Kom (Robertson 1896: 82–83), and the Dameli all mention an early outochthonous population of their areas. The Kalasha of Birir and Bumboret call these indigenous people Balalik, the Kom call them Jashi, and for the Dameli, we have seen, they are the ancestors of the Charashdari. The Jashi still live in Gawardesh and Pittigal in Nuristan, and a branch of the tribe has migrated to Badugal, a village in the Chitral valley where, as mentioned, we also conducted fieldwork. The Jashi now speak Komviri, and any trace of a previous language is reportedly completely lost.

About the Balalik we have already made some remarks elsewhere (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 371–73), but we have not yet been able to fit them in the ethnic puzzle of southern Chitral. Morgenstierne (1942: 119) apparently heard the name used as another denomination for the Jashi of Gawardesh. It could be that both the Balalik and the ancestors of the Charashdari were the same people as the Jashi. We have no data, however, to add in support of this suggestion.

Oral Traditions of Shinteri

In our data, the Rahzan cycle is the more detailed one. We shall combine here in one single story a number of versions obtained from different informants. The narratives coincided in the main points, but each added some specific detail.

Rahzan lived in Dir Kohistan in the area of Tal and Patrak and had four brothers: Shemur, Ramnur, Deimur and Rajnur. In that area, in those times, it was forbidden to eat the meat of cows and bulls. Rahzan and his brothers thought it a waste to renounce all that food, and tried to convince the people to discard that tradition. Since at first their idea seemed to be approved of, Rahzan killed an ox to feast on its meat. At this point, however, the people changed their mind and sternly condemned Rahzan for his breech of the rule. Thereupon he was forced to leave Dir Kohistan with his brothers and they migrated over the passes to Damel.

A conflict in the homeland is usually the reason given for their migration by the many refugee groups who in the course of the centuries settled in southern Chitral. Sometimes it was a dispute over land in other cases it was a homicide that forced a group into exile. Here the conflict is of a religious nature, and as such is quite intriguing. The prohibition concerning the cow may bring Hinduism to mind; an influence hinted at also by the names of Rahzan's brothers. Such influences were also—although very cautiously and on different grounds—suggested by Morgenstierne (1942: 116). Hindu influences in Dir Kohistan seem quite likely (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 14–16; Edelberg 1960; Tucci 1977: 69-70; Jettmar 1982: 19, 31). It is however improbable that the religion of these immigrants was a form of Hinduism. The idea that bovines are impure is quite characteristic of the Dardic complex. It is found among the Buddhist Dards of Ladakh (cf. Shaw, quoted in Biddulph 1880: 51; Francke [1907] 1986: 29), among the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 37, 113; Jettmar 1975: 252–53), and it is not unknown to the Kalasha. The pre-Islamic religion of Dir Kohistan, where Rahzan supposedly came from, may very well have been a variant of the model still practised today by the Kalasha.

In one version Rahzan leaves 'Tal-Patrak' with 180 people, shepherds and blacksmiths and others, and the story seems to conjure the image of a society diversified in castes. The epic tells of their voyage in the course of which they named places according to events that took place in each: Kucurs'ai from *k'ucur* (dog)[11]—for example—was the place where a female dog delivered its puppies. With the act of naming, the group takes possession and gives an order to the new environment.

To decide the final destination, Rahzan aimed his bow and arrow at a shooting star declaring that they would settle in the place where its light dissolved. As Eliade (1976: 380) remarks in general terms, the site where a new space shall be created is not chosen, but only discovered or, rather, revealed. The Leit-motive of the arrow occurs in foundation myths of the Kalasha (Lièvre & Loude 1990: 188) as well as in the epic of Choke and Machoke in the Laspur version collected by Inayatullah Faizi (1989: 5).

The shooting star dissolved above Kotwal and there they settled. The ruins of Kotwal can still be seen today, on the narrow crest of a ridge just above Shinteri. We visited the site. Only the foundations of a tower (*kot*) and of a few houses are visible today. The buildings seemed to have been destroyed by fire, since we found several pieces of burned wood. On this site, we were told by our host Gul Ahmad, several burials have been found: the skeletons of two adults laying beside each other head to feet, and the remains of three children buried upright in earthen jars (see the findings of cinerary jars reported just south of Chitral in Staeul 1969: 93).

When the five brothers reached Damel, they saw that there was not enough room for all of them. To decide who was going to stay they had a race. Rahzan had a bad leg and limped, and so he lagged behind the others. However, he managed to win by throwing his walking stick from afar, to hit the target point of the race. Rahzan then stayed, while Rajnur went on north to Biyori, one of the Palulo valleys. The other three brothers—Shemur, Ramnur, and Deimur—returned to Dir Kohistan.

Damel was then inhabited by the ancestors of the Charashdari; and here comes in the story of the massacre and of the couple surviving in a cave, that we have already told when dealing with the Charashdari. These ancient people, we soon learn, were not the only inhabitants of the valley. Two separate Kalasha communities were settled at Malu, above Aspar, and Sahli Kot, near present-day Dondidari. A daughter of Rahzan's was given in marriage to a leader of the Sahli Kot group.

During the time of Rahzan's son, Butabal, a conflict arose between the two Kalasha groups. The people of Sahli Kot let their cattle feed on the pastures of the Malu community, who retaliated by skinning alive the animals in a very cruel fashion. They incised the skin on their chest tying the edges of the incision to two trees; then they whipped the cows so that they would skin themselves.

Butabal, in the meantime, had gone to Mastuj where he had served in the court of an unspecified *mehtar*. During his absence, according to one version of the story, the Kalasha chief of Malu, called Malua Gambui, attacked and destroyed Kotwal, whose people had sided with their affines of Sahli Kot. The only survivor was Butabal's brother-in-law, who ran to Mastuj to fetch him and met him in Serdur, near Kalkatak, where he gave him the bad news. Thereupon Butabal marched back to Mastuj, got troops in support from the *mehtar*, allied with the people of Sahli Kot, and wiped out the Kalasha of Malu.

Both the Malu and the Sahli Kot Kalasha are said to have left no descendants, but if we consider that, according to the story, the latter sided with the winners, it seems possible that their offspring may rather have been assimilated. In fact we heard some rumours about the existence of people of Kalasha descent in Dondidari, which is located just below the ancient site of Sahli Kot; but the point remained quite obscure and nobody indicated any specific existing group as of Kalasha descent.

Butabal is credited also with the destruction of the Kalasha of Ramram (Arandu Gol). This he did on the orders of the Chitral ruler whom he had served. In Ramram he was friends with two brothers—Shalu and Sama—who were very wealthy. For this very reason they were hated by the envious who plotted to do them harm. The two brothers sensed hostility, and left the valley. But on their way, they were ambushed and killed by their people, armed with wooden knives. Their mother turned to Butabal for vengeance. He then appealed to the *mehtar* for support. The fort of Ramram was besieged. Its position was so impregnable that it fell only through a trick. The mother of the two victims revealed to the attackers the secret of the water supply: an underground pipe of markhor's horns was connected to a nearby spring.

We had the chance to collect two more versions of this last story about the attack on Ramram. One, rather poor in details, we heard in Ashret; the other, very similar in structure to the Dameli version, we heard from a Gawardeshi informant. We may note also that the theme of the Fortress Betrayed is incorporated in many legends of the area. It appears in the Palulo epic (Alb. Cacopardo this volume), and it has been recorded also in Upper Chitral (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 38), in Swat (Inayat-ur-Rahman 1968: 8–9), Gilgit (Ghulam Muhammad 1980:47), and Indus Kohistan (Staley 1982: 186).

This episode may be seen in a different light if we consider that in traditional Kalasha culture, the accumulation of wealth was only conceived in view of distribution in the course of customary feasts. The story of Shalu and Sama may be seen as reflecting an attempt to withhold wealth in contrast with traditional rules. Hence the rebellion of the people, who in the version of the final winners become the 'envious.'

The tension between an egalitarian social order and emerging individuals who try to acquire a dominant position that leads in the end to the imposition of tribute, seems to be a recurrent theme in the history of southern Chitral. In the Palulo epic, this tension is much

more articulately and fully expressed. There, Choke, the Palulo leader, sides with the Kalasha population of Ashret against a petty ruler, called Nagar Shah, who exacted tribute (Alb. Cacopardo this volume). And there again, the result is the domination of the newcomers over the local Kalasha population.

Interestingly enough, we found in Damel a local version of this last story which agrees pretty much with what is told in the Palulo epic. We may wonder if we are not dealing really with one single story transmitted from Ashret to Damel or (less likely since it represents only a fraction of the Palulo epic) vice versa. But the fact that the Dameli narrative is accompanied by the ancient song we referred to earlier, plus several other original details, seem to indicate that we are in all likelihood dealing with two independent versions of the same episode.

Dameli oral tradition relates that the people of Damel allied with the Palulo to defeat this Nagar Shah. Sometime after the victory, however, a conflict arose between the two groups. Butabal was dead by then. His son Mohammad Hakim underwent a brotherhood ritual (*dram*; see Kalasha/Kati *d'ari*) with the lord of Rahli Kot, in Ashret, mentioned in the Palulo epic as the stronghold of another Kalasha chief defeated by Choke. Our Dameli informants, however, did not mention Choke's name.

After some time Mohammad Hakim's *dram* came for a visit to Damel. At his departure he received a gift of iron arrow-heads and women ornaments *(tik'i)*. Back in Ashret he claimed to have subjugated the Dameli and showed the gifts as evidence of tribute. Of this his Dameli blood-brother was promptly informed by a man called Mitroi, the son of a Charashdari mother and a Palulo father, who lived in Ashret. Mohammad Hakim decided then to react. He led a group of Dameli to Ashret and participated with them in a feast at Rahli Kot that ended in a great dance. While dancing, he sang to his followers the song of alert mentioned earlier. At dawn, while everybody was still asleep, the Dameli killed sixty people and beheaded them. Then they returned to their valley. While this is the end of the story for the Dameli, the Palulo add a further development in their favour (see Alb. Cacopardo this volume).

A significant point in the last narrative is the attempt, by the Palulo chief, at transforming the liberal gift of arrow-heads into a tribute indicating submission. At a time when the authority of the Chitral ruler—whoever he might have been—was not yet established, tribal groups were apparently struggling to acquire supremacy over each other. Whereas gift exchange is a sign of equal status, tribute is the mark of submission.

Although tribute is commonly considered to belong to state administrations, in the Dardic and Nuristani areas we have many examples of tribal tributes. Robertson (1896: 158) relates how the Kom boasted of having imposed a tribute on the Waigali in the past, and the oral lore of Damel itself mentions other such instances. In a narrative referring to more recent times we find the Dameli burdened with three tributes, exacted by the Pathan of Dir, the Kom of the Bashgal valley, and the Chitral ruler who was then Aman-ul-Mulk. To the Kom the Damelis gave yearly twenty-five goats, and to the Pathans twenty-five small goatskins *(m'ana)* of *ghee*. The *mehtar* received a tribute *(th'angi)* of iron bars: twelve of them twice a year at the wheat and maize harvests.

Three different exactions were too much for the Dameli population who, exasperated, decided to desert the valley. One Shah Taras Khan went to neighbouring Biyori where he had a *dram*. The *mehtar* was soon informed of the event; he summoned Shah Taras Khan to his court and asked him to convince the people to return to Damel. He got a very firm reply: the Dameli would return only if they were freed of all tribute. The *mehtar* then gave five bullets to Shah Taras and told him to take them to the Kom as a message: either they gave up their tribute or they would be attacked by the Chitral troops.[12] He instructed Shah Taras to beat on

a drum that stood just at the edge of the village of Kamdesh, and the chief of the Kom would appeare. To him he was to hand the *mehtar's* message.

When Shah Taras beat the drum the people gathered in great anger because a foreigner had dared to touch it. When he delivered the five bullets, Torag Merak—a famous warrior and a historical character who lived in Robertson's times (Robertson 1896: 5–6 and passim)—enraged by such a threat, pointed his bow and arrow at him; he was held back by the chief (unnamed) who asked Shah Taras what he wanted. Shah Taras declared that the *mehtar* was ready to attack them if they didn't give up their tribute on Damel. To this the chief answered that they would renounce it if the *mehtar* renounced his.

At this point, freed from two tributes, the people returned to Damel. The Kom chief told Shah Taras to inform him when the Pathans were about to come to carry off their tribute of *ghee*. When the time came, Torag Merak was sent with a small group of warriors to ambush the Pathans on their way back to Dir. The Pathans were all killed on the spot but one, who managed to escape towards Arandu Gol. Torag Merak ran after him and killed him while he was trying to wade the river. All three tributes, according to the story, were thus eliminated. It seems unlikely, however, that the Dameli stopped paying tribute to the *mehtar* altogether.

The story seems to indicate that in still fairly recent times the *mehtar's* authority was not consolidated in the southernmost end of Chitral. The *khans* of Dir exerted in fact some influence there (Lindholm 1986b: 6) and they even still collected tribute from some valleys of southern Chitral at the arrival of the British, while the Kom in their turn had claims over several areas of Lower Chitral (Robertson 1896: 297–98).

The Story of Drun, Father of Khoramer (Aspar And Punagram)

The stories we collected about the Khoramer macrolineage refer only to the higher, mythical section of the genealogy. The common notion is that the ancestors of the group came from Swat. But according to our informant Mohammad Ali Jan the apical ancestor of the line was one Utadra from Mandugal (Robertson: Madugal) who was forced into exile because he had converted to Islam. He went to Pakhlei, in Swat Kohistan, between Kalam and Bahrein. There he had two sons, Drun and Jahangir. An unspecified conflict arose between the two brothers, and Drun left for Damel.

Drun first lived in the area of Shinteri, where the descendants of Rahzan had not appeared yet. There he found only the ancestors of the Charashdari. In Malu there was a Kalasha community (of the Birir type, our informant specified). Drun had come to Damel with a daughter. With her he went to a feast in the Kalasha fort of Malu. In the course of the merriment, the ceiling of a room fell in, killing his daughter. Drun then appealed for revenge to the ruler of Chitral. Quite surprisingly this time he is neither a Kator nor a Ra'is, but a Kalasha king called Shah Bumbur. This detail is of some interest because very few names of Kalasha 'kings' are still remembered, and this particular one is not mentioned by any other source, to our knowledge.

Drun spent some time with Shah Bumbur, and departed with a force of sixty horsemen armed with swords and arrows, each carrying an iron bar. They reached Malu at night and surrounded the fort. In the dark a guard urinated from a defence wall sprinkling the shields of the assailants, and was alarmed by the strange sound. Drun and his men then retired into the forest leaving only their horses visible. In the morning, the defenders saw them from afar and, apparently ignoring the existence of such animals, thought they were looking at hornless cows. Despite these unusual events, the people in the fort held a feast that night until they fell in drunken sleep. In the middle of the night, Drun and his men approached the fort. The iron

bars were fixed to the outer wall as an improvised ladder and a soldier climbed over it into the fort. He opened the gates from the inside and let in his companions who massacred the defenders to the last man. The soldiers then returned to Chitral, while Drun married a Charashdari woman and lived on in Shinteri.

A quick comparison with the Rahzan cycle can easily show that the structure of the narrative is again the same; only the names change. The future winner seeks here too the support of the *shah*; the fort is taken again with a stratagem, and the Kalasha are again wiped out while the winner takes a wife from the other indigenous group, the ancestors of the Charashdari.

The Story of Ota (Dondidari)

The same rough structure we find also in the oral history of the third macrolineage, the Otadari of Dondidari. The original conflict here is related with some detail. Ota came from Momagrom (Robertson 1896: 200, Muman or Bagalgrom), in Mandugal. He quarrelled with his brother Lantang and killed him. The quarrel was caused by the fact that Lantang, while milking his goats wearing only goatskins as clothes, let his penis dip in the milk. Ota reproached him for that, and Lantang hit him on the head with his axe, as a reply. Ota reacted with his, and killed him with a single blow.

Ota was a Kafir when he left Mandugal, and his father had been killed while fighting the Muslims. In Damel, according to the story, he found only the famous Charashdari couple, who went about naked, and were captured, as in the other narratives, while stealing sour milk, to be in the end integrated in the community of the newcomers. As for the Kalasha of Sahli Kot, in this narrative they are not considered indigenous, but rather an immigrant group who arrived in Damel after Ota. Having suffered a first defeat, they sought refuge in Malu where they were again defeated by Ota with the support of the Chitral ruler who, in this version, was of the Katore family. The details of the attack were not given by our informants.

After some time Ota went back to Momagrom with a sample of water and earth from Damel. He compared their weight with local samples and, having found that they were equally heavy, he was sure that the two places were just as good. Thereupon he returned to Damel and settled there to stay. The episode has the function to indicate that Ota was not chased away from his country, but that he rather left it of his own free will for a place that certainly wasn't any worse, as shown by the weight of water and earth. Relations with Mandugal are actually kept to this day and intermarriage is quite frequent; the Otadari of Damel can usually speak Komviri, although it is no longer their mother tongue, because they often visit the Bashgal valley.[13]

These are the oral traditions of the three macrolineages about their own origins and about the early inhabitants of Damel. Officially, we know, there are only four kinship groups in the valley including the Charashdari. There are however some indications of the existence of subordinate groups, which have now been completely integrated into the other ones. This could have happened with the defeated Kalasha, but not only with them. We were told that subordinate groups of artisans existed until recent times and that their low status is concealed since they now freely intermarry with the rest of the population, and this is confirmed by Biddulph (1880: 65) for southern Chitral in general. The relevant point here, at any rate, is simply that if the Dameli are at present distributed in four lines of descent, this doesn't obviously mean that the supposed descent ties always actually exist. Defeated or subordinate groups may very well have been assimilated by expedient genealogical manipulations.

Conclusions

Now that our data has been presented, it is time to sum up our suggestions and draw some tentative conclusions. What kind of historical facts can in the end be discerned by reading between the lines of the oral texts, keeping in mind Morgenstierne's linguistic data?

First of all, it seems a quite likely historical circumstance that an indigenous population did exist in Damel before the arrival of the immigrant groups. For the Dameli, these people are the ancestors of the Charashdari and the original speakers of the Dameli language. Damiabasha is considered to be their language, later adopted and modified by the immigrants.

About this tribe, all we can say is that they may very well have been the speakers of the unknown Nuristani language detected by Morgenstierne as one of the roots of modern Dameli. We would thus postulate the existence, in a remote past, of a fifth Nuristani tribe. A possible connection between these people and other known ethnic groups of southern Chitral, we have seen, is hard to establish. But we believe, following Morgenstierne's (1942: 119) suggestion, that it is an hypothesis worth exploring that they may have been the same people as the Jashi of Gawardesh who, according to a Kom tradition, formerly occupied the whole lower Bashgal and Pittigal (Robertson 1896: 82–83).

The reported existence of a Kalasha population in Damel may not seem surprising, since the oral lore of the unconverted valleys has kept well alive the memory of a time when the Kalasha extended throughout southern Chitral and beyond,[14] and the same is told also by the oral tradition of the Kom (Robertson 1896: 159). However, Dameli oral lore is a bit ambiguous on this point. Morgenstierne, we recall, was able to establish that Damiabasha has been in the past in direct contact with Kalashamon, but this may only mean that the Kalasha were all around Damel and not actually settled there.

All things considered, it is not impossible that Damel was an area of ancient Kalasha settlement and that the Kalasha shared it with the ancestors of the Charashdari. Coexistence of Kalasha communities with other groups in the same valley occurred in the past in Biyori and Shishi Kuh, and even today in Ramboor, Bumboret, and Urtsun. In the case of Damel, however, it could be that Kalasha groups gained a foothold in the valley only for a time, to be in the end driven out by the other immigrant groups.

About the various places of origin of the three immigrant groups, it seems quite possible that they are more or less correctly identified in the narratives, although in the case of the Khoramer line the connection with Nuristan may be spurious. Furthermore, immigration from Dir and Swat Kohistan may be connected with the turmoil caused by Pathan pressure around the middle of the millenium. However, there is no way of telling when these migrations took place and in which succession.

All we can say is that, while each group claims to be the first to have arrived, the Otadari are actually likely to have been the last, since both the other groups agree on this point. The bulk of the Dameli population would thus be formed by the fusion of Kohistani groups with the Charashdari people, while the Nuristani lineage of the Otadari was integrated later, as indicated by the fact that they are the only ones who still maintain substantial ties with their original homeland.

Another point that seems to emerge from the material we collected is that the Dameli—like the Palulo—refer the beginnings of their history to that same period of conflicts and turmoil that marks the dawn of Kalasha remembered history (Parkes 1991: 77–78; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 355–56) and ends with the establishment of Katore supremacy in southern Chitral.

For the people of Chitral the history of the state is divided in three periods: first the Kalasha rulers, then the Ra'ise dynasty, and finally the Katore family, which reigned—through the British period—until the advent of Pakistan. This is the course of events described in the *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral* (Ghulam Murtaza 1982), an account of Chitral history compiled by local intellectuals under the patronage of the royal family. This circle has been the source of all current published accounts of Chitral history (Biddulph 1880 Schomberg 1938 Wazir Ali Shah 1974).

According to *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral*, Chitral had nine Ra'ise *shahs* who fought and vanquished the Kalasha under Bulasing and Rajawai in the south. While the conquest of Chitral proper, held by Bulasing, was quickly accomplished by the first Ra'ise ruler shortly after 1320 AD (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 54), the area of Drosh including Kalashgum remained independent until the 16th century when the last rulers fought a long war which resulted in the defeat of Rajawai (p. 61) and, after his death (p. 62), in the submission of southern Chitral (p. 63).

The scientific quality of this reconstruction, however, has recently been challenged by Wolfgang Holzwarth, who has searched for its unquoted sources. He concludes that he is inclined 'to consider *Nai Tarikh-e Chitral's* proposed chronological outline of the Raisa period as very weak, if not fictional' (Holzwarth 1991: 5).

Holzwarth's objections seem to us very reasonable and we cannot therefore give credit to the historical reconstruction of *Nai Tarikh-e-Chitral*, apart from where it relates that the subjugation of the south was a lengthy process due to the stiff resistance of the Kalasha; a point quite confirmed by our ethno-historical data. The oral history of the area speaks of times of turmoil when local chiefs were trying to impose themselves over their brethren and over neighbouring groups, and people lived in constant fear of raids. Immigrant groups struggled to gain a foothold in Chitral, while the new Islamic power was imposing its supremacy. The Kalasha were everybody's enemy.

The position of the Kalasha at the times of the establishment of an Islamic state in Chitral, we must understand, was very different from that of the other minority groups of today. They were then the dominant group in southern Chitral, and as such they had to be vanquished and subjugated by the new Muslim power. The Dameli and the Palulo, in contrast, allied with the Chitral rulers to defeat the Kalasha.

An alliance with a ruler from the north is reported by all informants at the very beginning of Dameli-remembered history. The question of who those rulers were, we have seen, was answered in different ways. Mostly they were said to be Ra'ise, but in one instance we find at Chitral Town the mysterious Kalasha king by the name of Shah Bumbur, mentioned above. It may not be a far-fetched hypothesis that this ruler corresponds in fact to Shah Babur (Holzwarth 1991: 8) who ruled Chitral around 1620 AD; he was for some time a Shia, and therefore almost a Kafir from the Sunni point of view. In another narrative the alliance is with a Muslim *shah* residing at Mastuj, a detail not in contrast with recent research that places the local subcentres of the early spread of Islam in the area between the Hindu Kush and the Hindu Raj, in Upper Chitral and Yasin (Holzwarth 1991: 7).

It is generally believed that the establishment of Muslim rule in southern Chitral roughly coincided with conversion to Islam (Wazir Ali Shah 1974: 70; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 35). Our data indicates that this is far from true, since the whole area around and south of Drosh was probably fully converted only in the nineteenth century, with the exception of course of the five western Kalasha valleys still partially unconverted today (Alb. Cacopardo 1991; Agu. Cacopardo 1991; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992).

It would have been of great interest of course to learn something about the pre-Islamic religion of Damel. But unfortunately among the questions we posed in our investigations, this is the one that remained almost completely unanswered.

When asked about names of ancient supernatural beings, informants mentioned the *per'ein*, the mountain spirits feared and respected throughout Dardo-Nuristan, plus a number of other spirits of which we learned only the names: *d'andik*, *runz'i*, *sis'eki*. d'andik is connected to the Kati term *danik*, witch, (Morgenstierne 1973: 158; Jettmar 1986: 42), while the *runz'i*, Kalasha *r'uzi* (Morgestierne 1973: 158), are nothing but the *rui* of the Shina. As for *sis'eki*, it seems to echo a story told in Biyori (see Alb. Cacopardo this volume)

We found also some traces of the sacred character of the juniper tree (a typical element of the Dardo-Nuristani complex), which is still used against the evil eye.

This is very little indeed to advance any hypothesis about the pre-Islamic Dameli religion and culture. More revealing are maybe the traces we discovered at the socio-economic level. Summing up, the relevant elements are the following: a) the likely existence of lineage exogamy, which we inferred from the analysis of our data on marriages; b) the division of labour reserving goatherding for the men; c) the custom of *ulas'ang*, which corresponds to the Kalasha *alas'ing*; d) the use of wine for feasting and dancing repeatedly mentioned in the oral history.

These elements, we believe, are sufficient to indicate that the Dameli practised in all likelihood a pre-Islamic religion of the Dardo-Nuristani type, based on the characteristic pure/impure dichotomy, which can be observed in its manifold aspects in the Kalasha symbolic system (Parkes 1987; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1989). It is possible that, due to influxes from the south brought by the immigrant groups, the ancient religion of Damel was somewhat more influenced by Hinduistic elements than the ones known at present and may, therefore, have been one vehicle of Hindu influence on both the Kalasha and the Nuristani.[15]

One final question that, we believe, deserves an answer is whether the Dameli can be considered a Nuristani 'tribe,' Our Kalasha informants seemed indeed to consider them as such, but too many elements, as we have seen, actually keep the Dameli apart from Nuristan. It is better to consider the Dameli as occupying an intermediate position between Dardic and Nuristani cultures, as their language, on the other hand, indicates. However, as we have seen, the original inhabitants of Damel—that is, the ancestors of the Charashdari—may have been a Nuristani group.[16]

Whatever the truth about their distant origins, at any rate, it is important to emphasize that, despite internal conflicts, the Dameli people of today consider themselves as members of a single community, unified by a common language, common customs, and common interests which they are ready to defend together. Patrilineal descent from this or that ancestor, in this light, becomes secondary as compared to the feeling of common identity that unites the inhabitants of the whole valley. It is to this feeling of identity, which will hopefully be preserved by the coming generations, that we have tried to pay homage through our work.

NOTES

1. In the literature, brief references to Damel are made by Robertson ([1896] 1974: 181, 542), who relates that from Damel the Kom got their iron, and that the valley was also one of the destinations of their raids; by Scott (1937: 16), who provides some information on the administrative position of the valley under the *mehtar*; by Jettmar (1975: 420), who mentions a short visit there; and by Israr-ud-din (1990:34-35). The Dameli language is of course considered in Fussman's (1972) *Atlas linguistique des parlers dardes et kafires* and, even if only fleetingly, in an article by Strand (1973).

I carried out ethnographic research in southern Chitral in cooperation with Alberto Cacopardo in the summers of 1989, 1990, 1993, and 1995. The project was supported by the former Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Is.M.E.O) of Rome, now the Istituto per l' Africa e l'Oriente (Is. I.A.O.), and it was funded by the National Council of Research of Italy. The present article is a revised and abridged version of a previous work I coauthored with Alberto Cacopardo (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995); of that work, a part written by Alberto Cacopardo has been abridged to form section 2 of this article.

Fieldwork in Damel was carried out in July 1993 in the course of two short visits, but additional information was collected from different sources starting from 1990. During our first visit to Damel, we were accompanied by an outstanding guide, interpreter, and fellow researcher, in the person of Major Ahmad Saeed from Ashret (see Alb. Cacopardo this volume). We were greatly helped by the eager cooperation of the people of Damel, and especially of Maulana Gul Akbar, who was our generous host in Shinteri. Very important was also the intelligent assistance of our second interpreter, Ahmed Aziz from Mastuj. Research was conducted in Shinteri, Aspar, Kuru, and Punagram. We interviewed altogether more than a dozen informants; especially important were the contributions of Maulana Gul Akbar, Rozi Mohammad also from Shinteri, Mohammad Ali Jan from Aspar, who has a prodigious genealogical memory, and the son of Gul Akbar, Gul Ahmad, who has a command of English that allowed communication without interpreters. To all these people we want to express our gratitude.

3. The names of the first three villages have reportedly been changed in recent times; they used to be respectively: Narila, Punagram, Islam Kot.
4. Decker (1992: 117) reports also the name Gad'oji as being most commonly used for it; but this is a Pashto term designating the Dameli and not their language. The Pathan call the valley Gad.
5. It is worth noting that the Dameli name for the Kalasha is Kasi (Kas'i), which may have something to do with Khasa or Kasa (Tucci 1977: 82 and passim).
6. For comparison with the material culture of surrounding areas, sources include: Barth 1956, 1981: 3–15; Jettmar 1961; Alb. Cacopardo 1974; Strand 1975; Jones 1974; Edelberg & Jones 1979; Parkes 1983, 1987; Zarin & Schmidt 1984 Snoy 1993.
7. According to Israr-ud-Din (1990: 34–35), the Dameli claim to be divided in two groups, the Shinteri and the Swati. His informants must have referred to the two macrolineages formed by the descendants of Rahzan and by the descendants of Khoramer (Swati is the modern name of Punagram). His suggestion that the forefathers of the Shinteri may be the Jashi is connected to Morgenstierne's remarks (1942: 119) and has a foundation in the presence of the Charashdari in Shinteri village.
8. Nuristani and Kalasha lineages are exogamous. Among the Kalasha, marriage is forbidden between agnates who have a common ancestor within the seventh ascending generation. Lineages usually segment as soon as the genealogical distance required for intermarriage is reached.
9. The other two are the Chaomos winter solstice festival (Wutt 1983; Loude & Lièvre 1984; Aug. Cacopardo 1985; Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1989) and the biramūr distributive feast (Darling 1979; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 114–39).
10. A similar process of simplification according to a model we witnessed among the Kalasha of Ramboor (see also Parkes 1983: 374, 382, 388).
11. This word is rather interesting because our informant declared that it is old Dameli; in modern Damiabasha the term for dog is *thun'a*.
12. The custom of sending bullets as a declaration of war is reported also by Robertson (1896: 564).
13. The 'Utahdari' is one of the 'chief clans of the Kam people'; it is 'the clan which produces the tribal priests' (Robertson 1896: 85–86).
14. Damel is mentioned in the famous Luli song which sings the progression of spring through the ancient Kalasha territory, from Asmar to Lotkuh (Morgenstierne 1973: 61).
15. The question of relations between Hinduism and the Kafir world has been posed among others by Allen (1991), Fussman (1977), Jettmar (1986: 130–47), Klimburg (1976) and Morgenstierne (1947: 240). In our opinion the matter is still open for discussion.
16. In spite of some good arguments advanced by Fussman (1988) to the contrary, we are inclined to believe that a Nuristani 'identity' did exist in the past within the wider Dardo-Nuristani complex.

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THE PALULA OF SOUTHERN CHITRAL: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC INQUIRY

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The speakers of Palula (palul'a) inhabit two of the larger side valleys that flow into the Chitral River in southern Chitral District, those of Biyori and Ashret, plus the three villages of Purigal in Shishi Kuh, Ghos in the main valley close to Drosh Bazaar, and Kalkatak.[1] (Fig. 43.1)

The existence of this linguistic group is known in the literature at least from Biddulph's time (1880: 64, 113) and, as opposed to the lack of anthropological research about it, its language is fairly well-known, thanks mainly, of course, to the work of the indefatigable Georg Morgenstierne (1932: 54–59 1941).

Palula (see also Fussman 1972: 393; Strand 1973: 302) is considered a variety of Shina, the widest spoken of the eastern Dardic languages, that of Gilgit and Chilas.

Though the language is mostly known in the literature as Phalura, a term inaugurated by Morgenstierne,[2] our informants denied any knowledge of such term and agreed that its correct name is palul'a, without an aspiration to the labial and with a stress on the last syllable, which distinguishes the language name from the word pal'ula, plural of pal'ulo, designating a speaker of the language or a person of Palula descent in the patriline.

The latter two groups, indeed, do not coincide exactly at present. The large village of Kalkatak in the main valley is, according to most of our informants, inhabited by people of non-Palula descent, mostly Kalasha who converted to Islam in the 1800s and later gradually adopted Palula as their tongue in place of Kalasha. This study, which concentrates on the traditional culture of the Palula, shall therefore not be concerned with them.[3] Furthermore, part of the population of the lower Biyori valley, as well as a number of families in Ashret, is likely to be of Kalasha descent, but these people have long been integrated in the Palula communities of the valleys and shall be touched upon later.

The people of Purigal and Ghos, the two small villages which we could not visit, are considered Palula to all effects by our informants.

The inhabitants of the village of Sau in Afghanistan, some fifty kilometres south of Mirkhani, speak a closely related tongue which, however, is not called Palula by its speakers (Buddruss 1967: 9), who consider themselves an integral part of the Gawar community, despite their linguistic diversity. Our information about them, therefore, will be discussed in a future publication. At any rate, the Palula and the Sawi cannot in any way be considered as a single community.

Rumours about the existence of Palula speaking villages in Dir and Swat Kohistan have been reported by various studies (Morgenstierne 1941: 6; Saeed 1987: 25 Decker 1992: 68), and Keiser (1991b: 12) quotes a personal communication by Richard Strand, stating that Ushuji, a so far unknown language spoken in Ushu and Bishegram in Swat Kohistan 'appears

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to be a dialect of Shina,' and could therefore be akin to Palula. We ourselves got various different names of such villages from our informants (Bihar or Bihol, Dogdarra, Banda, another Ashret, Gumedand), but we could find nobody who actually claimed to have heard and spoken the language in Kohistan.

The Palula themselves are identified as a separate group by their neighbours, who indicate them with the term Dangarik,[4] while the term Palula, on the contrary, is normally not used or even understood by other people. However, despite this identification based on language, the identity of the Palula as a community is not very strong today. From the social and political point of view, nowadays there doesn't seem to be any such thing as a Palula unit embracing even the settlements of strictly Palula descent, though this was probably different in the past. Intermarriage and social intercourse between members of different Palula settlements are not more intense or frequent than with the other surrounding groups—and there is no political body or organ that claims to represent them all. The Palula mostly tend to see themselves as part of the larger society of southern Chitral with which they nowadays share religion, markets, and administrative and political arrangements, as well as many of the customs.

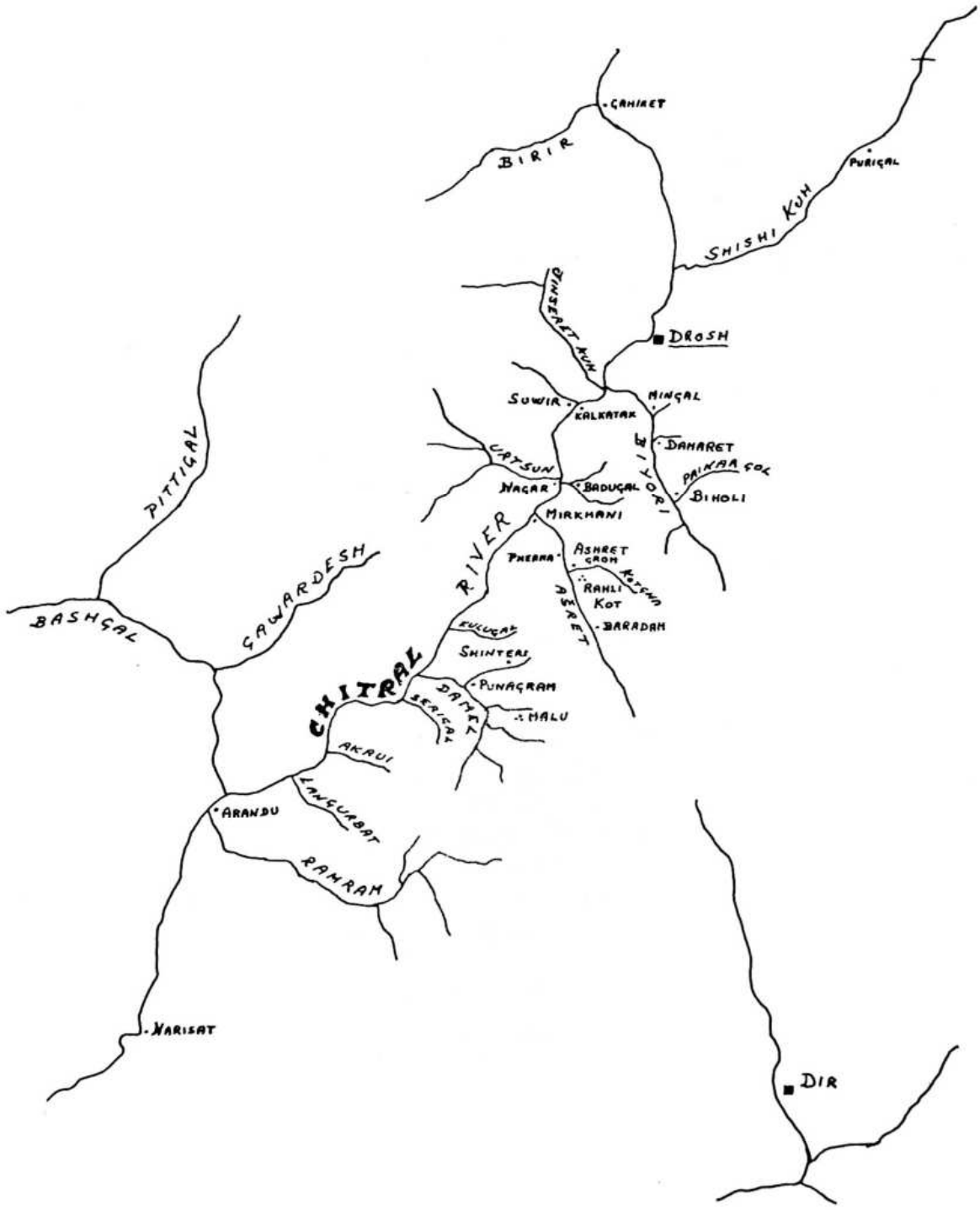
Both in Ashret and Biyori, however, we have found a strong feeling of identification with the single valley community, which is a well-defined unit, with its own delimited territory, political organization and representation, and collective rights of ownership on pastures and forests.[5] Internal social intercourse within each of the two valleys is definitely more intense and intimate than with outsiders of any denomination.

General information about the Palula of today has been provided by Kendall Decker (1992: 73–76) from fieldwork carried out among them in 1989–90 as part of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. Since his description of the present condition of the Palula generally agrees with ours, we shall only update it and integrate it with a few remarks, and then proceed to investigate the 'traditional' culture of these people, which is the main focus of this paper.

Despite many recent changes, the basic economic activities for the inhabitants of Ashret and Biyori remained in the early 1990s agriculture and goatherding. However, other relevant sources of income were winter migrant labour in the southern plains, some government employment and various trades, plus the significant revenue derived from royalties on the cutting of the cedar forest, which, on the basis of government schemes, was taking place on a large scale in Biyori in the early 'nineties. Royalties due to the community are divided among the population and can provide as much as the equivalent of a good salary for each household. Though neither of the valleys had electricity in 1995, there seemed to be a considerable difference in economic development between Ashret, a more 'urbanized' area thanks to the mostly paved road that leads to the Loari Pass, and Biyori, which appeared as one of the most secluded valleys of the region. Ashret has many educated people, more government services, and even a few telephones, while Biyori has only a difficult dirt road (built between 1984 and 1986), and lacks even a police station, which many inhabitants strongly desire.

Politically, the Palula were then represented in the union council (the local elected body at the *tehsil* level) by one member from Biyori and two from Ashret. One prominent elder from Ashret, Qazi Saeed Ahmad, had been a member of the district council for over ten years. Each of the valleys had a political body called *jirga*, which was then reportedly composed by one representative *(gadh'ero)*, for each of the recognized lineages (called *d'imo* or *dim* in Palula, though the word *kam* is commonly used), chosen by an assembly of the male members of the lineage itself.

Fig. 43.1 Map of Southern Chitral (Scale 1:250,000)



According to our estimates, which are pretty close to Decker's (1992: 74–76), the Palula numbered some 7000 altogether in 1993, not including the speakers of Kalkatak. This would make them the largest linguistic minority in southern Chitral.

Turning to the aspects of the Palula's past that are the main subject of this paper, let us first deal with some elements common to both Ashret and Biyori.

The 'traditional'[6] economy of the Palula has a basic configuration very similar to that of the surrounding peoples. We can define it synthetically through a few cultural markers,

namely, agriculture in small, irrigated plots on the valley bottoms; stone and wood water mills; goatherding with summer pastures in the mountains and small numbers of cattle and sheep; absence of donkeys and horses; family ownership of irrigated land and communal ownership of pastures and forests. The above-listed characteristics are common to all the people of southern Chitral, but this is not true of all the traits of the traditional Palula economy.

The division of labour between genders, for example, is of a Kalasha type as opposed to Bashgali on the one hand and Kho or Pathan on the other, with women banned from dealing with goats and in charge of most agricultural chores, but not of ploughing. The dairy production is based on the two series of *ghee* and rennet cheese *(kil'al)*: this makes it virtually identical to that of the Dameli (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1995: 249–50) and the Nuristani (Edelberg & Jones 1979: 86), and therefore different from the Kalasha. All the mentioned traits of the traditional economy are basically until today, like many other aspects of material culture.

In the political sphere, of course, many changes have taken place in the last century or so, though the Palula have basically always remained what they had long been: a fundamentally acephalous community more or less loosely encapsulated in a larger, hierarchical political system. Before the arrival of the British, however, there are many indications that the authority of the *mehtar* of Chitral was not so firmly established on the Palula territories, which were also under the influence of the Dir *khanate* (Saeed 1987: 15; see also Leitner 1894: 70; Ghulam Murtaza 1982; Lindholm 1986: 6) and probably paid double tribute to the two powers, a not uncommon occurrence in the area. It was only in 1898 that Nawab Sharif Khan, the first *nawab* of Dir, recognized with a *sanad* (decree) the boundaries defined by the British between the two states (McMahon & Ramsay 1901: 133). Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk (1895–1936), who introduced the custom of *jagirs* in Chitral, granted Biyori as *jagir* to his brother Amir-ud-din (Scott 1937: 16), who built a fort at Serdur at the mouth of the valley (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 332), where his line is now represented by Shahzada Mohayud-Din, an influent political leader of the area.

Until the late 1940s, each of the two Palula valleys had a political leader in the person of the *Mal'ik*, which was appointed by the *mehtar*, mostly with the consent of the elders, to represent each valley community and deal with the state officials. The authority of the *Mal'ik* was always balanced by that of the *jirga* of the elders, but, according to our informants, he had the power to summon its meetings and even to designate the *gadhera*, who, at that time, were not the elected representatives of each lineage like today, but generically the most 'capable and competent' people that emerged in the community.

It is quite evident that the office of *Mal'ik* derives from Pathan influence (Spain 1963: 45, 74–75; Ahmed 1980: 74; see also Keiser 1991a: 99–101 and *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1991: 255), since we have found it only in the extreme south of Chitral, among the Palula, the Dameli, and the Gawar. In the administrative structure of the *mehtar*, his position seems similar to that of the *asakāl* in other areas (Scott 1937: 19; Siiger 1956: 15).

At any rate, before its introduction, the Palula must have been led by an assembly of elders like the other communities of the area, since, as we shall see, we have found no trace of a centralized internal power in their oral tradition.

We could also find no trace among the Palula of a caste structure comparable to that reported among the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 34–41; Leitner 1894: 62–63; Jettmar 1975: 237). As we shall see, however, we have found in both valleys some trace of former subordinate endogamous groups that seem similar to the *bh'aira* (Schomberg 1938: 195 Parkes 1983: 27, 204) or *b'ara* (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 357–60) of the Kalasha.

In the religious sphere also, important changes have taken place in fairly recent times. The Palula are now Sunni Muslims: but thanks to the research of Wolfgang Holzwarth, a nineteenth century written document has recently emerged which shows that the Palula were still at least partly unconverted to Islam in the 1840s.

The document contains the answers to a questionnaire on Kafir customs formulated by the French general Auguste Court and submitted by a Muslim emissary of his to two Kafir elders from Kamdesh, Tak and Shamlar, during a meeting in Dir in Circa 1840. In answering one of the questions, the two Kafirs state that the Dangarik of Mulk-e-Kashqar (Chitral) were then 'practising idol-worship' (Holzwarth 1993: 7).[7]

This shows that the Palula preserved a pre-Muslim religion until fairly recent times. Since they were apparently entirely Islamized in Robertson's time, their conversion must have been completed between 1840 and the 1880s, the same span of time as that of the Dameli and of the eastern area Kalasha.[8]

To throw some light on this and other aspects of the Palula's past, we shall now proceed to analyse separately our findings about the two valleys of Ashret and Biyori.

Biyori

The three villages of Biyori are located in succession close to the valley bottom. Mingal (Pongode, Lur Biyori) is the lowest and is found on the right (eastern) side of the stream some three kilometres from Serdur. Some two kilometres further up, Damaret (Mujode, Muz Biyori) rises on a knock of the hill, again above the right bank. These two are both clustered villages.

The third village is called Biholi (or Azi Desh, Biyori Bala), also the Palula name for the whole valley. This village, on the contrary, is composed of houses scattered over a particularly wide area, at the confluence of two streams that merge to form the main one. The altitude here is approximately 1700 metres above sea level.

Unlike those of other valleys of the area, such as Ashret or Ramboor, the inhabitants of Biyori do not have a genealogy connecting them under a single apical ancestor. Indeed all the genealogies we could record invariably referred to a single patrilineal lineage, often only to a section of this, and did not connect even the inhabitants of a single village under one ancestor.

But this does not imply that the community does not have strong internal ties. Our data on marriages is quite eloquent in this respect. Though they are far from statistically scrupulous, their correlations are so high that they deserve some attention. As the table in Fig. 43.2 shows, of the total 166 marriages reported in the whole valley within three generations above the informant's, 83.2 per cent are valley-endogamous, showing that, as we have seen earlier, the feeling of identification with the valley community is indeed very strong. Of the remaining marriages only 6.6 per cent are with other Palula-speaking communities (Purigal, Ashret, Kalkatak, and Ghos), while 10.2 per cent are with non-Palula groups, which shows that, once a Palulo chooses to marry outside the valley, linguistic identity of the partner is not a priority. The data was recorded in 1993 from statements of informants on the basis of their patrilineal genealogies. The sample has therefore a limited statistical reliability and does not include marriages of Biyori women with men of other groups. Marriages included refer only to generations within the three above informants.

Lineage endogamy, though not uncommon, is definitely not the rule, since marriages within the same lineage are only twenty-seven, that is, 16.2 per cent of the total. This may reflect a persistance of a pre Islamic rule of lineage exogamy, but may also be merely due to the generally small size of the lineages.

Fig. 43.2 Marriages in Biyori

2a. Absolute Values

Woman from / *Man from*	*Biholi*	*Damaret*	*Mingal*	*Other Palula*	*Other Groups*	*Total*
Biholi	48	-2	5	3	6	64
Damaret	5	19	6	3	2	35
Mingal	10	6	37	5	9	67
Total	63	27	48	11	17	166

2b. Relative Values (in %)

Man from	*Village Endog.*	*Rest of Valley*	*Other Palula*	*Other Groups*	*Total*	*Valley Endog.*
Biholi	75	10.94	4.69	9.38	100	85.94
Damaret	54.29	31.43	8.57	5.71	100	85.71
Mingal	55.22	23.88	7.46	13.43	100	79.10
Total	62.65	20.48	6.63	10.24	100	83.13

The present lineages look like units that have formed in Islamic times, with functions quite different from those of the pre-Islamic period. The structure of most of the genealogies collected is typical of situations in which lineages are losing their role: their depth does not usually exceed seven or eight generations and the upper part, above the third or fourth step, is mostly a linear elencation of names about which informants are unable to give much information.

However, despite the absence of a general genealogy of the community, several of our informants did consider the people of Biyori as descendants of a single ancestor in the person of Choke (čh'ouk, čhok, čok, šok) and/or Machoke (mačh'ok, mač'ok, mač'ouk, mač'u). Like other ancestral couples in the area, Choke-Machoke are alternatively considered brothers or father and son, and are often mentioned together without a conjunction.

As we have remarked elsewhere (Cacopardo & Cacopardo 1992: 371–72), traditions concerning the migration of this famous couple from the area of Chilas have been recorded by several studies in many distant and different places, including Chilas itself (Biddulph 1880: 16; Leitner 1894: 61), Batera in Indus Kohistan (Jettmar 1982: 11), Darel (Faizi 1989: 2), Punial (Choke may be behind the Shot mentioned in Biddulph 1971: 31), Laspur, Kushum (Faizi 1989: 5–6), and Owir (Saeed 1987: 25), and by ourselves in Arandu. The authors of the latter two works, Inayatullah Faizi of Laspur and Ahmed Saeed of Ashret are among the founders of the Choke-Machoke Society of Chitral (Itihat-e Aulat-e Choke-Machoke), an organization specifically created to connect with each other the descendants of the couple.

While, as we shall see, a coherent version of this legend has been preserved in Ashret, this is not so in Biyori, and our informants' accounts differed widely on the matter. While one stated that Machoke migrated to Bihar in Dir Kohistan and some descendant of his from there to upper Biyori, according to another one it was Choke's three sons that founded the three villages of the valley in some distant past, and yet another one specified that Choke came to

Biyori via Mastuj and Chitral. For some, the valley was never inhabited before them, for others they found Kalasha in the valley and exterminated them, for yet others the previous inhabitants (whose ruins can still be found in many places) had been exterminated by the Nuristani Kafirs, while still others held the view that Choke-Machoke had not fought with the Kalasha, but had arranged to live peacefully next to them, as proved by the fact that their descendants are still found in the valley and have been absorbed in the Palula community.

As we can see, though there is no standard recognized version of the legend of Choke-Machoke in Biyori, there definitely is a memory of a migration from the area of Chilas (cf. Schomberg 1938: 206). This is attributed to the time of the last Kalasha rulers or to that of the Ra'ise. One informant, as a matter of fact, even had a story concerning the Kalasha ruler Nagar Shah, a figure prominent, as we shall see, in the Ashreti tradition. According to him, when the Choke-Machoke people came to Biyori, they found the valley occupied by Kalasha whom they fought and drove to seek refuge with the Kalasha ruler of Nagar. But Nagar Shah was a nuisance to the people of Biyori, because he hosted and assisted the Nuristani raiders, who periodically came to pester the Palula valleys with their incursions. So the Palula of Ashret and Biyori got together, attacked Nagar Shah and defeated him. Though the living elders did not admit any memory of Nuristani raids in their lifetime, these are documented by Robertson (1896: 181, 247) at the end of the last century.

A further theme frequently raised by informants is that of the Quraish origins of the people, which, at any rate, are lost in some immemorably distant past. This theme is common to Ashret and to many communities of southern Chitral and surrounding areas (e.g., Dupree 1974: XVIII), but is unlikely to have a historical foundation.

We shall now examine in further detail the oral traditions of each of the three villages. In the upper village, the great majority of the population belongs to two lineages, called Hundi Kor and Buni or Muni Kor, meaning 'upper house' and 'lower house,' which are said to correspond to the upper and lower part of the village area, respectively. This moiety-like dychotomic division is widely recognized and known to everybody, whereas informants had confused notions about the other three smaller lineages which seem to exist in this village, the Badurge, the Nazare, and the Kanjuli. At any rate, we could not find much information about the origins of that dichotomy. According to one source, Tupu' and Munu' were the two pre-Islamic brothers who apparently generated the two groups, which might therefore have a pre-Islamic basis. According to this informant, they came from Dir Kohistan, probably belonged to the Choke-Machoke group, and had a religion similar to that of the Kalasha, but different, which seems to be the common idea about it in the valley.

Other informants gave different names for the founding ancestors (Abdallah, Zinat), but they all agreed on the provenance from Dir Kohistan. Bihar or Biyar, supposed to be a Palula-speaking village still today, is the place most frequently indicated as the original home of the ancestors there. This village is located exactly 30 kilometres northwest of Dir as the crow flies, not far from Patrak.

At any rate, we have also found traces of a former dichotomic division of the whole valley, which is confirmed by the fact that *qalang* paid by Gujars for the use of the valley's pasture was said to be still divided in halves, one for the upper and one for the two lower villages, and only after that distributed to the inhabitants. It may very well be that the inhabitants of the upper village have a different origin from those of the other two, and belong to a secondary wave of immigration of Shina speaking people from the east, who first settled in Dir Kohistan and then entered Chitral from there.

Let us therefore turn to the oral traditions of these two lower settlements. In Damaret we find four lineages, again two main ones and two smaller ones. The Amardine, apparently the

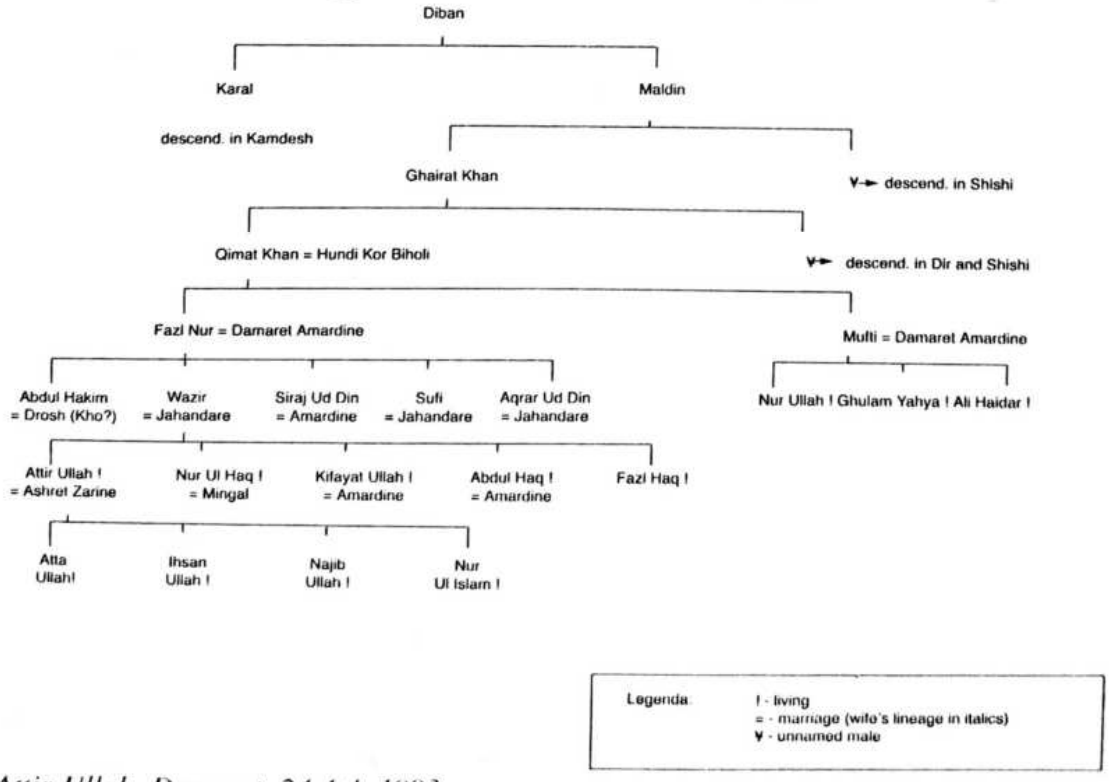
largest, is of widely (though of course not unanimously) recognized Kalasha origin. This lineage is derived from another renowned ancestral couple of the area, Dhondi and Tondi, who are, as often happens, alternatively considered brothers or father and son. Dhondigal was indicated in Biyori, as well as in Kalkatak (see Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 290), as the residence of Dhondi. Unfortunately, we could never find trace of any story about these two characters, who are only remembered as ancient Kafirs. The most credited version seems to be that the Amardine of Damaret are descendants of Tondi, while Dhondi is the ancestor of at least some of the Kalasha of Kalkatak. What all this really means is that there is a perceived genealogical connection between the village of Damaret and Kalkatak, which probably has a historical basis in the presence of a Kalasha community in Biyori before the arrival of the Palula from the Shina area. This theory, as we have seen, was held by some informants.

The Jahandare are the other main lineage of Damaret. They claim descent from Choke-Machoke and have associated the smaller lineage of the Zardale. As usual we found no remembered genealogical connection between this lineage and any of the others. In the upper, linear part of their genealogy the first ancestor has a clearly pre-Muslim name, Chateri (chat'eri).

The fourth lineage of Damaret is the so-called Mullah Khel or Dashmane. This is a term often used in the area to indicate the *mullah* families, which are frequently the descendants of a foreigner who has been expressly invited to the village by the community to fulfil this religious role, which better befits a person not involved in the enmities between lineages. The genealogy of this lineage (Fig. 43.3), collected from Attir Ullah of Damaret, is accompanied by a rather detailed history of the whole family, which deserves to be told.

The apical ancestor Diban was a Bashgali Kafir from Kamdesh, who, according to the custom, fled his home after killing a brother in a conflict about land and came to Shishi (the old name of the village of Uzurbekande in Shishi Kuh), where he bought land for the price of sixty cows and had two sons, Karal and Maldin. After some time, Diban made peace with his brothers in Bashgal and went back to Kamdesh with his son Karal, while Maldin remained in Shishi.

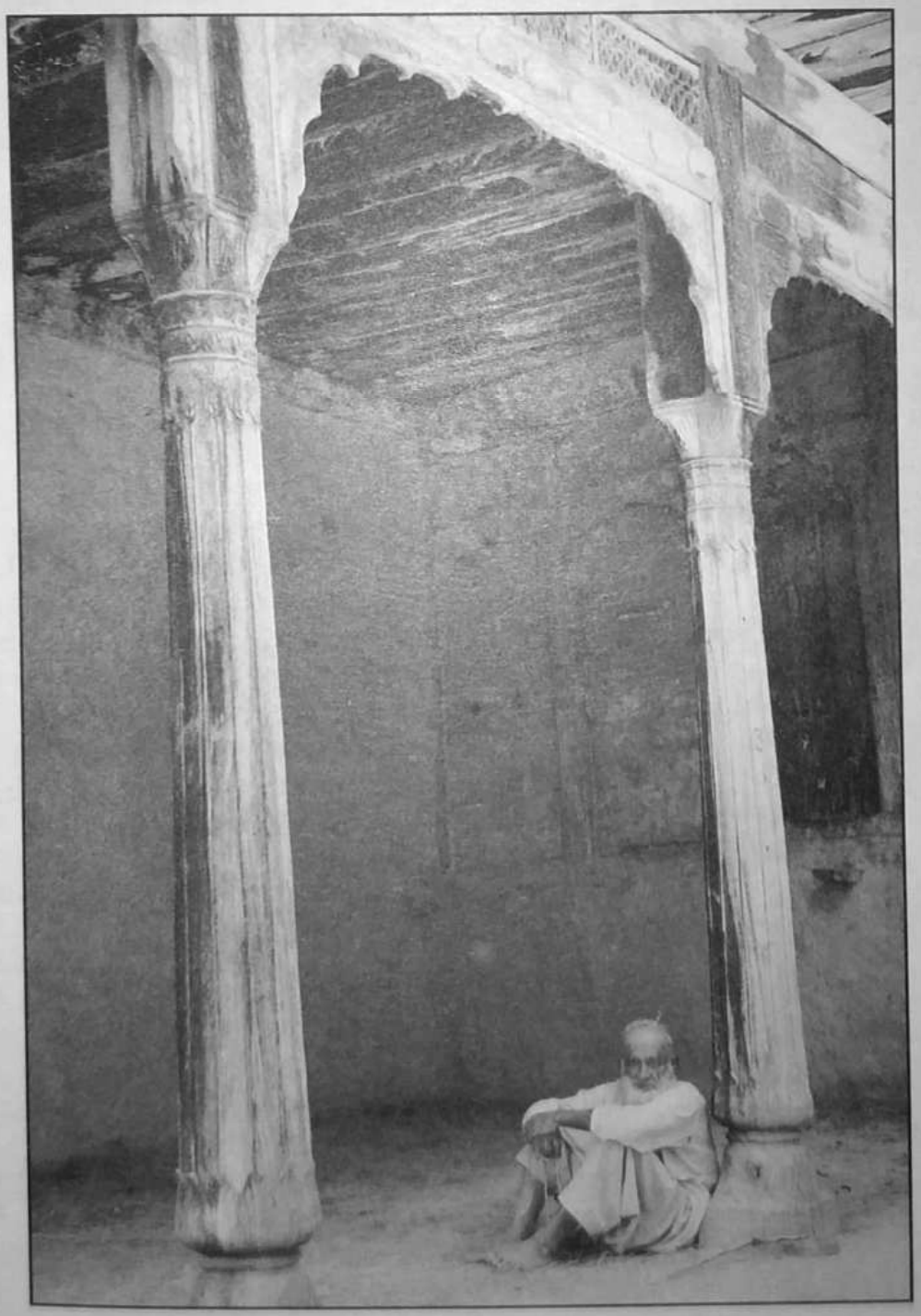
Fig. 43.3 Patrilineal Genealogy of the Dashmane of Damaret



Source: Attir Ullah, Damaret, 24 Jul. 1993.

Maldin also had two sons, who are the first ones who converted to Islam. Of these, Ghairat Khan was appointed *hakim* (Scott 1937: 7) in Shishi by an unspecified Katore ruler, who, however, deprived him of his land when, in a conflict, he took sides with a brother of the *mehtar* against him. Thus Ghairat Khan came to Biyori with his relatives, seven families altogether, and went to visit Pir Baba, a saint whose *ziarat* can still be seen close to the road below Damaret. From there he proceeded to Dir, where he settled and where his descendants still live. But he left one of his sons to study with Pir Baba and this was Qimat Khan, who, as soon as he grew up, was invited by the people of Damaret, who were in need of an *imam*. Here he married and had two sons. One became 'a great *mufti*,' and is remembered by that name, while the other was Fazl Nur, the grandfather of our informant, who, with the work of carpenters from Joghur, built the beautiful mosque that can still be seen in Damaret (Photo 43.1).

Photo 43.1 The Mosque of Damaret



If this story is not untrue, then the grandfather Fazl Nur should have been born around Robertson's time, his father Qimat Khan, the *mullah* student, around the 1860s or 1870s, and his grandfather Ghairat Khan, the first Muslim, around the 1840s.

It is may be not too daring to suppose that the figure of Pir Baba must have a lot to do with the Islamization of the valley, and this, of course, would agree with the dating of the conversion on the basis of the Court document.

According to another informant, Ghazi Khan from Mingal, Pir Baba came from Gawardesh with two wives (one of whom was from Damel) and settled opposite Mingal across the river. At that time, the valley was infested by a race of man-eating female ghosts, the *rui kul'ina*, who came around in large numbers at night, clapping hands and making much noise, to devour any person that they found alone. For this reason they had to live all clustered together for protection. Pir Baba waged his *jihad* against them: starting off at night armed with a large bow, he would kill all the *rui* he met. When he came back home, the whole house shook with his tremendous steps as if a host of warriors were approaching: that was his miracle, so goes the story.

Pir Baba finally killed all the *rui* except one named Sheksheki (šekšéki), who was pitifully blind in one eye and swore she would never hurt human beings again. Many years later, he died one day from a stomach illness that suddenly caught him in Ziarat, while he was on his way to Dir. His body was carried to Mirkhani, where the people from Damel, Badugal, Biyori, Ashret, and Gawardesh all convened, disputing his holy remains. Each of them tried to lift the body, but, despite all their efforts, could not manage to move it by an inch. Only when the Biyori people tried, the body was easily carried away to their valley, where it is still buried today in a much revered *ziarat*.

But Sheksheki survived, and she can still be seen haunting the surroundings of Mingal. One apparition of hers was reported in 1991 and one of our informants claimed to have met her himself in 1992, right next to his house one evening: she appeared as a darkish shadow and her feet were turned backwards, but when he called another man saying, 'Come, let's cut her hair!,' Sheksheki quickly vanished, since that is what the *rui* fear the most.

The *rui* are well-known among the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 94; Lorimer 1929: 527–34; Schomberg 1935: 206–07; Jettmar 1975: 272–76). Our informants assimilated them with the *gorw'au* (Jettmar 1975: 65), a class of female man-eaters known to the Kho and other peoples, who, like the Shina *rui*, are alternatively considered spirits or actual human beings who change their form at night. In Biyori, however, we could find no notion about the latter variety. Šekšéki, on the other hand, is clearly a common noun that has become personalized in the Biyori legend (see Aug. Cacopardo this volume).

Another class of spirits we heard about are the *peirein'i*, the fairy beings mostly called parián in Chitral. In Biyori like elsewhere, the *peirein'i* are associated with lakes, specifically with the four basins that are found in the upper reaches of the valley. There is also a species of mushrooms, *keimi'a car* (Khowar *kimi'a jas*), associated with them, said to be good for medicine, which is not collected for fear of the *peirein'i*, to whom they are believed to belong.

Though no one claimed to have seen these spirits in Biyori, people said that their voices are often heard. One story about them tells of a man who went to Painar Gol, where there is now only an almost dry basin in the mountains, and found a *masarb'a* (jug) and a *lol'i* (basin), the two vessels commonly used for washing hands. He threw away the water in the *masarb'a* and took it home, but the discarded water swelled and grew into a lake, which spilled over and flooded the valley. In the flood a cedar tree (*roh*) was seen travelling upright downstream, till it stopped at the house of the man. The two vessels then flew to the treetop and disappeared downstream: the fairies recovered their belongings. The motifs of a flood caused by the rage of the fairies and of the cedar tree standing in it are common to the Kalasha myth of Rolishai and Chirmala recorded by us in Ramboor, two versions of which are told by Lièvre and Loude (1990: 273; see also Biddulph 1880: 95, for storms caused by defiled springs).

The last, and most recent, of the three villages is Mingal. Here also we have two main lineages, the Mohammad Zarife and the Lawar, with two smaller ones associated to each, the Niluk and the Ghosanu, which is the Mullah Khel here.

The Mohammad Zarife are the descendants of what at first sight sounds like another rhyming couple of pre-Islamic ancestors, Drigosh and Shingosh. These two names deserve an analysis that, for reasons of space, cannot be dealt with here, but will be treated elsewhere.

The Lawar are the other main lineage of Mingal. They also claim descent from Choke-Machoke and are associated with the smaller lineage of the Niluk through a story that tells of some unspecified ancient woman who died pregnant and was buried. After two or three months, people found a hole in the tomb, and a child was seen at times coming in and out of it. After many discussions, the people decided to capture the child and thus found that he had survived by suckling from the mother's still-alive breast, or, according to others, from his own thumb. The child was adopted by people of the Lawar lineage, learned to speak only when he was seven, and lived to see many descendants. The story is fascinating, though it does sound like the kind that could be told to dissimulate the origins of a group.

The fourth lineage of Mingal is that of the Ghosanu. The linear part of their genealogy (Fig. 43.4) is very short. The first three ancestors, who have obviously pre-Islamic names, are said to have been Palula living in Drosh, from where the two sons of Dhrashul moved to Ghos (which is only a couple of kilometres away), after their conversion to Islam and the consequent conflict with the local Kalasha. Since these two brothers, Lal Mohammad and Mir Mohammad, appear in the genealogy in the fourth generation above our informants, this again confirms the dating of the conversion based on the Court document. Lal Mohammad had only one son, Shagul, or Chagul, who came to Mingal when his elder son Abdul Samat was invited to become the *mullah*.

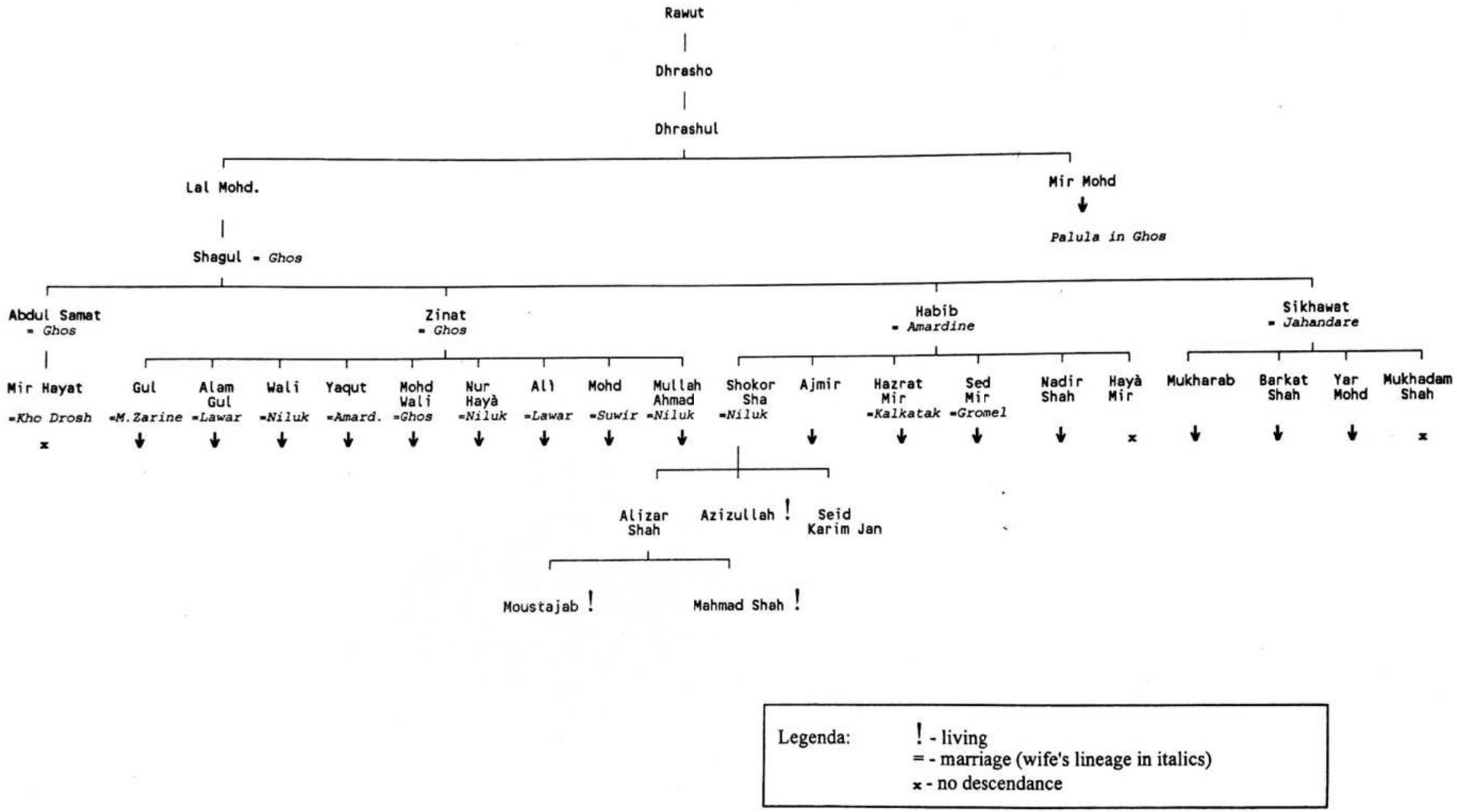
At that time, in the early twentieth century, the major division of lands took place in Mingal, and four shares were given to the Mohammad Zarife, four shares to the Lawar, and one to the newly arrived Dashmane. The Niluk only received a share from the Lawar in later rearrangements, which shows that they are either recent arrivals or a subordinate lineage akin to the *bh'aira*. Mingal is considered the most recent of the villages and the first large canal is said to have been built there by one Mohammad Rauf of the Mohammad Zarife lineage, who was in the armed service of Shah-i-Mulk, a son of Aman-ul-Mulk killed in 1892 (Robertson 1896: 300 and passim; Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 213, 217, 234–35). This would put the foundation of Mingal somewhere in the latter part of the last century.

Altogether, the kinship distributions of Mingal and Damaret seem markedly similar: two large main lineages, possibly one of Kalasha and one of Palula descent, plus a smaller lineage associated with one of the two, and a fourth group of Dashmane from a different but not distant village.

The conclusions we can draw about the origins of the Palula of Biyori may be synthesized as follows. The people of the upper village are likely to be the descendants of Shina speakers arrived from previous settlements in the Tal-Patrak area of Dir Kohistan, independent of the Palula of Ashret. This would agree, as we shall see, with the Ashreti tradition, which does not include Biyori among the descendants of their own founding fathers.

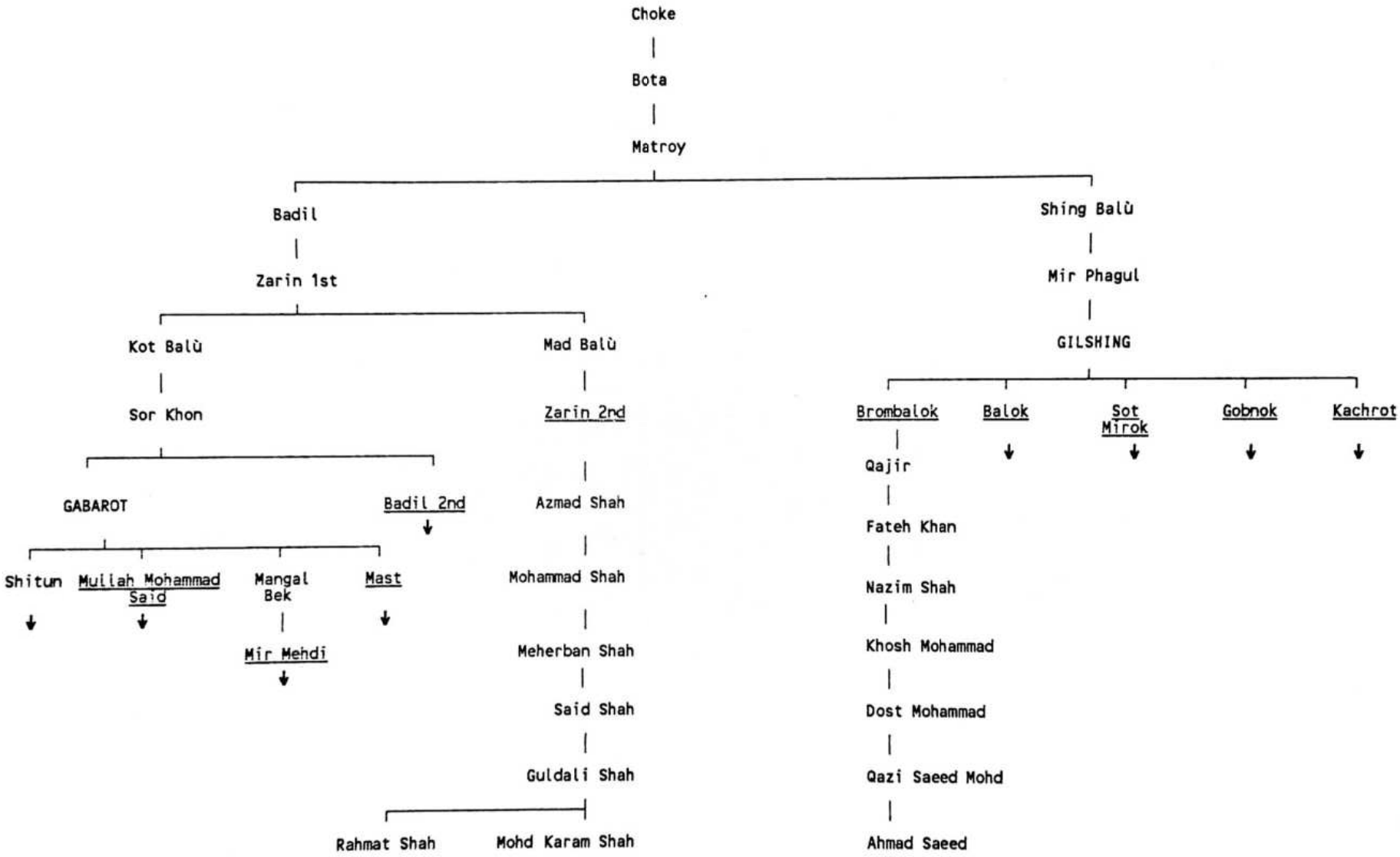
Other Palula may have settled at different times in the two lower villages: surely the Ghosanu (Dashmane) of Mingal in recent times, possibly the ancestors of the Jahandare and the Lawar long before. A good part of the population of the lower valley, however, is likely to descend from Kalasha inhabitants of the valley, who are connected with the ancient Kalasha of the area of Kalkatak. The absorption of these Biyori Kalasha into the Palula community is likely to be the precedent that explains the more recent adoption of the Palula language by the Kalkatak Kalasha. This would confirm the hypothesis we had earlier proposed on the basis of our 1990 data (Cacopardo, & Cacopardo 1992: 372).

Fig. 43.4 Patrilineal Genealogy of the Ghosanu of Mingal



Source: Seif-ur-Rahman, Mingal, 24 Jul. 1993.

Fig. 43.5 Patrilineal Genealogy of the Descendants of Choke in Ashret:



patrilineal genealogy of the descendants of Choke in Ashret as recorded by Mirza Guldali Shah. Underlined names are those of the apical ancestors of present minimal lineages according to field informants. Descendants of Shitun were included by informants in the Mullah Khel with those of Mullah Mohammad Said.

Ashret

As we have seen (note. 1 above), our work on Ashret has been greatly facilitated by the cooperation of an exceptional coadjuvant in the person of Ahmad Saeed, who had a previous personal interest in the traditions of his people which had brought him to investigate their past. Major Saeed provided us with a most interesting Farsi manuscript, dated 1962, in which one Mirza Guldali Shah put down in poetry the oral traditions of the people of Ashret. The manuscript is accompanied by an extensive collection of genealogies of the community, dated 1958. This material was in possession of Ahmad Saeed's family because his father, Qazi Saeed Mohammad, had been the promoter and inspirer of the work. Major Saeed himself had reported in English about the two texts—integrating them with some further material—in a paper written in 1987, which he most kindly put at our disposal.

Our brief fieldwork in Ashret has therefore aimed at investigating the background and context of these sources.

The valley of Ashret (Palula: acar'et; Khowar: asur'et) is almost entirely inhabited by Palula, with some families of Pathan, Kho, and Gujar people. In a fairly recent past, the population of the valley was concentrated in the area of Ashret proper, often called Grom by the people, but nowadays it is dispersed in a considerable number of small villages lined up on the valley bottom between Lotingha (the lowest settlement, home of the one lineage of Kalasha descent) and Ziarat, where the Chitral Scouts' fort now stands. The largest villages, apart from Grom, are Pherma and Shaladesh on the right of the river, and Kotgha and Baradam on the left. All of these have a population of twenty-five to fifty households each. Mirkhani, at the mouth of the valley, belonged to the Palula in the past, but is now occupied by Pathans.

The bulk of the population of Ashret is considered to have descended from a single ancestor, identified as the above-mentioned Choke, son of Machoke. His offspring are divided in two moiety-like halves, the Gabarote and Gilshinge, which in turn comprise a total of ten minimal lineages. We have recorded on the field the current simplified representation of the underlying genealogical structure (Fig. 8), to be compared with the recordings of Guldali Shah (Fig. 43.5).

Residence and land of the members of a minimal lineage are not territorially concentrated, because when the land was divided, in order to obtain a fair distribution of the various qualities of soil, shares of each area were allotted to members of different lineages. This custom is clearly borrowed from the Pathans (MacMahon 1901: 41–43), and distinguishes the Ashreti from the Kalasha, whose lineages are usually territorially concentrated. No *wesh* system, however, was ever adopted by the Palula.

Three divisions of land *(bhaghain'i)* are remembered: the first one, between thirty households some time after Matroy (see Fig. 43.5), the second, between sixty families, and the third one in recent times between 140. Incidentally, this shows that the population increase recorded elsewhere in Chitral (Haserodt 1990) has taken place in Ashret as well. The object of the division was previously uncultivated land belonging to the community as such, which was then irrigated and put under cultivation by those who received it.

Furthermore, there are four lineages (Kharate, Phandare, Phatake, and Jankhane) that are not considered descendants of Choke and apparently had an inferior social status in the past, though they were not specialized artisans. Of these, the Jankhane are considered of Kalasha descent, while various disparate tales are told about the others (Saeed 1987: 23–24). They have acquired land only recently and have mostly been associated to one of the 'regular'

lineages. We could not find any specific Palula term comparable to *bh'aira* to designate them as a whole. But let us now come to the poem and its background.

The author of the poem and collector of the genealogies, Mirza Guldali Shah, was from a hamlet known as Dirgot in the side valley of Kotgha in Ashret. He was born around the end of the last century, though the date 1893 given by Ahmad Saeed is merely conjectural. The son of one Said Wali of the Zarine lineage, he belonged to an average family of small land owners and stock owners, but somehow had a chance to study at a *madrasa* in Mazo Garai, near Mardan. He came back from there a young man, possibly the very first member of the community who could read and write, with the title of *mirza*, a scribe. However, he did not follow a religious career, but spent the rest of his time in Ashret leading the life of a peasant and shepherd, working the fields and taking to the high pastures in the summer. He got married and had two sons, who had both died of an early death by 1993, though their children were living.

We have met several people who had known him well, and described him as an intelligent, active, and rather temperamental man, who dedicated many years of his life to inquire with the elders about the traditions of the tribe. He was also politically active in the Muslim League in the early days of Pakistan, when Chitral was still a princely state, and the league was raising a popular movement against the *mehtar's* rule. As part of such movement, Mirza Guldali created around 1951 a small primary school in Ashret, in political competition with the one opened by the *mehtar*. The school only lasted some three years, but one of his pupils, Mohammad Afzal, has followed up on the work of his teacher after his death (in 1962, according to Ahmad Saeed) and has completed and updated the genealogies.

Of the two manuscripts left by Mirza Guldali, the first one contains a long poem of 439 *motaqareb* verses handwritten in Farsi,[9] apparently by the author himself, narrating the story of Choke and his descendants, while the other one consists of five pages containing a general genealogy of the community with over 600 entries of masculine names.

Though the poem is dated 1962 and the genealogies 1958, at least four different informants insisted that both had been written before World War II, when the author was still 'a strong man.' The present manuscripts may therefore be only the definitive compilation of texts written over a long period of time.

The most interesting of the two is, of course, the poem, entitled 'Tarikh-e-Ashret,' which contains the oral history of the community. Its text may be divided into four sections. After the preliminary invocations (vv. 1–17), the first part (vv. 18–44) tells of events in Chilas and of Choke's migration to Chitral. Then a long second part (vv. 45–214) describes the war between Choke and the Kalasha who previously inhabited the area, while the following third part (vv. 215–325) relates the wars between Choke's people and the other communities of southern Chitral (Dameli and Gawar) in the time of the Ra'is *mehtar*. Part four (vv. 326–415) synthesizes events from the Kator era to the present, eulogizing some of the more recent prominent members of the community, and closes with the indication of date (5 August 1962), title ('Tarikh-e-Ashret') and author (Guldali Shah). It is followed by a postscriptum (vv. 416–39) in the same verse, containing a list of the *mal'iks* of Ashret over nine generations.

The first question raised by this text is to what extent, especially in the first three parts, did Guldali Shah actually rely on oral traditions reported by elders, and to what extent did he possibly manufacture himself the narration.

We have good reasons to believe that the latter is not the case. In the first place, our informants stated that Mirza Guldali spent a long time questioning all the elders of the valley about their memories of the past, and discussing and comparing the different versions. We have met ourselves several people who remembered him in this activity, and many had

memory of an elder who was one of his main sources, an illiterate man named Hayat Mir of the Baloke lineage, with a prodigious memory and a knack for forecasting weather.

In the second place, the names of ancient settlements and landmarks mentioned in the poem are all well-known to people today, who often have stories about them to integrate and specify the narration of Mirza Guldali. In the last place, versions of parts of this story have been reported to us from other parts of the area, such as Damel (Aug. Cacopardo this volume) and Nuristan.

All this, of course, does not imply that the story is true, but it does indicate that it is not a fantasy of the author, but the content of a tradition transmitted over the centuries by the collective memory of the community.

What Guldali Shah may have done is select among different versions, modify connections and details of different stories to make them compatible, integrate perhaps at times a story for some specific 'ideological' purpose. In other words, his work may have been similar to that of the compilator (or compilators) of the Homeric epics. Even the time span separating Guldali Shah from the events he sings of may be, as we shall see, similar to that between 'Homer' and the war of Troy, that is, four or five centuries. But whereas the compilator of the Greek epic is likely to have worked on the basis of oral texts transmitted by the tradition in a formalized poetic metre, in the time of Mirza Guldali, according to our informants, there were no traditional songs in Palula relating the epic. Since we have found traces of one such song in Damel, it seems likely that the Palula too had poetic compositions on the subject in pre-Islamic times, but these, apparently, have not been preserved. In recent times the transmission of the stories has taken place in prose form, and in non-ritual and informal contexts, such as evening conversations around the fire.

After the preliminaries, the first part of the text tells how, upon the death of Machoke in Chilas, the eldest of his four sons, unnamed in the poem, took over his father's position and entered into a conflict with his younger brothers, who would not accept his authority and finally decided to leave. The poem does not describe their itinerary from Chilas, but states that they came to Chitral and from there to Drosh, where the three brothers separated: one went to Kelas in Shishi Kuh,[10] one to Sau in Kunar, while Choke settled in Ashret.

A comparison of this story with the oral tradition collected by Inayatullah Faizi (1989) in Laspur about the Choke-Machoke migration shows that the two versions differ in names and specific details, which proves that they have been transmitted independently, but are strikingly similar in the narration of events in Chilas.

Though conflicts between brothers are often reported as a standard cause for migrations in this area, they usually refer to small-size feuds involving only a few families. In the case of Choke-Machoke, on the contrary, there seems to have been a large-scale conflict of a political nature, ending with the migration of a considerable number of people in different directions.[11] The political nature of the conflict is evident in both versions. In the Ashreti poem, the younger brothers are faced with 'cruelty and oppression,' because the elder brother 'exhibits authority'; they form a party opposing the ruler ('the eldest brother was on one side/ the other three brothers remained on the other side') and finally decide to leave. In Faizi's version, the elder brother, named Bote (meaning 'ruler' in 'the local dialect'), 'installed himself as chieftain of the area,' thus provoking the rebellion of the younger brothers Choke-Machoke.

What may be reflected in this story is an attempt to establish a rulership over a formerly acephalous community, met by the opposition of a part of its members: an episode in the long-standing confrontation between a centralized political model and a decentralized 'tribal' arrangement which, in our view, has characterized the history of this area and dates back to Vedic times (Majumdar et al. 1946: 29). This opposition has been remarked in the area by

various scholars, including Barth (1956: 79–86), Staley (1969), and Ahmed (1976: 73–83). Of course, this specific hypothesis ought to be argued in comparison with other sources on Chilas, including historical ones, which have been widely studied, though maybe not yet with conclusive results (see, e.g., Tucci 1977 and, for a recent assessment, Jettmar 1995): but this is no place for such an analysis.

It seems clear, in any case, that 'Choke' did not bring with him to Ashret a centralized political model, but rather an acephalous one, since Guldali's epic, which is very emphatic in describing the 'kingly' qualities of the local Kalasha rulers, never ascribes to Choke or his descendants any of the attributes of rulership. At any rate, the dialectics between these two models is, as we shall see, somewhat of a leit-motiv in the subsequent events that take place after Choke's arrival in Ashret.

The dating of this arrival is, of course, quite problematic. According to Guldali's manuscript, it took place shortly before the conquest of southern Chitral by the Ra'ise, an event which is itself not easy to date (Holzwarth 1991), apart from the fact that such an indication cannot be considered historically reliable. However, we can get some hints from the genealogies collected by Guldali Shah, which place Choke in the twelfth generation above the poet himself. If the genealogies were correct and complete, then (allowing twenty-five years per generation) Choke's birth should be placed around 1600 AD and the migration in the first half of the seventeenth century. It seems safe to state that it is not likely to have taken place much later than that, but it may have happened at some unspecified earlier time. This is compatible with linguistic evidence (Morgenstierne 1941: 8). Altogether, though the dating of the migration remains uncertain, there can be no doubt that the Palula speakers of Chitral are the descendants of people who emigrated there from the Shina areas a number of centuries ago (see also Buddruss 1967: 11; Decker 1992: 71–72).

According to Saeed (1987: 4), when Choke came to Ashret,

> the valley was densely forested with varieties of fruit trees and provided rich pasture for the animals and game for the hunters. It is said that the nullah of Ashret was thickly covered with trees with vines over them and the nullah bed was lush green with small streams of water flowing under them.

This description of ancient Ashret as a kind of primordial Eden, which contrasts sharply with the barren condition of the valley today, is widely repeated by its present inhabitants, though Guldali's poem does not mention it.

According to the poem, at any rate, Choke found the Kalasha inhabiting twelve villages in the valley, the biggest of which was called Majarkot, located, according to our field sources, where Ashret proper (Grom) now stands. Guldali specifies that the Kalasha were idolaters and were subject to Nagar Shah, ruler 'with tyranny and terror' of Nagar and the surrounding area. In what this tyranny exactly consisted Guldali does not say, but Saeed (1987: 5) states that Nagar Shah exacted from the people of Ashret an yearly tribute of twelve goatskins (or bullskins) of wine made from achhu berries. This is the only instance in which we have heard mention of internal tribute being paid among the Kalasha, since, according to our sources in Kalashgum, the so-called Kalasha 'kings' like Rajawai and Bulasing did not receive tribute from their people.

However, according to Mirza Guldali, the Kalasha were not ready to accept such a submission and made an alliance with Choke, arranging to send news to Nagar Shah that the Ashretis were in revolt: when the tyrant left on horseback with his men, he was ambushed on the way. The place where he was killed is still pointed at, not far from Mirkhani up the valley, and some streaks of red minerals on a rock wall above the river are said to be the mark of the

blood of Nagar Shah. His death put an end to the tyranny and 'after him nobody remained on his throne,' as the poem puts it.

What is likely to be true of this story? That the Kalasha occupied the Ashret valley before the Palula seems hard to doubt, since many place names seem to be of Kalasha origin (even Ashret itself has the typical -ret ending of Kalasha toponyms) and their patrilineal descendants still live there.

The figure of Nagar Shah, on the other hand, is quite interesting, especially since it had never been mentioned in the existing literature. Altogether, it is hard to imagine this ruler as the sovereign of an established 'kingdom' comparable to that of the Katore. It is more probable that Choke, arriving in southern Chitral, found a situation similar to the one that, according to our hypothesis, he had left behind in Chilas: the attempt of a leading figure to establish a rulership over previously acephalous 'tribal' communities. Ashret was another example, in other words, of the conflict between the two models mentioned above. What seems to emerge here is an image of the history of southern Chitral prior to the Muslim conquest, quite different from that of an established Kalasha 'kingdom.' The famous Rajawai (like Nagar Shah) may have been only one of a number of chieftains trying to establish their predominance over the Kalasha communities (Wazir Ali Shah 1974: 70), thus creating a situation of generalized conflict and unrest that finally resulted in political submission to the Muslim rulers.

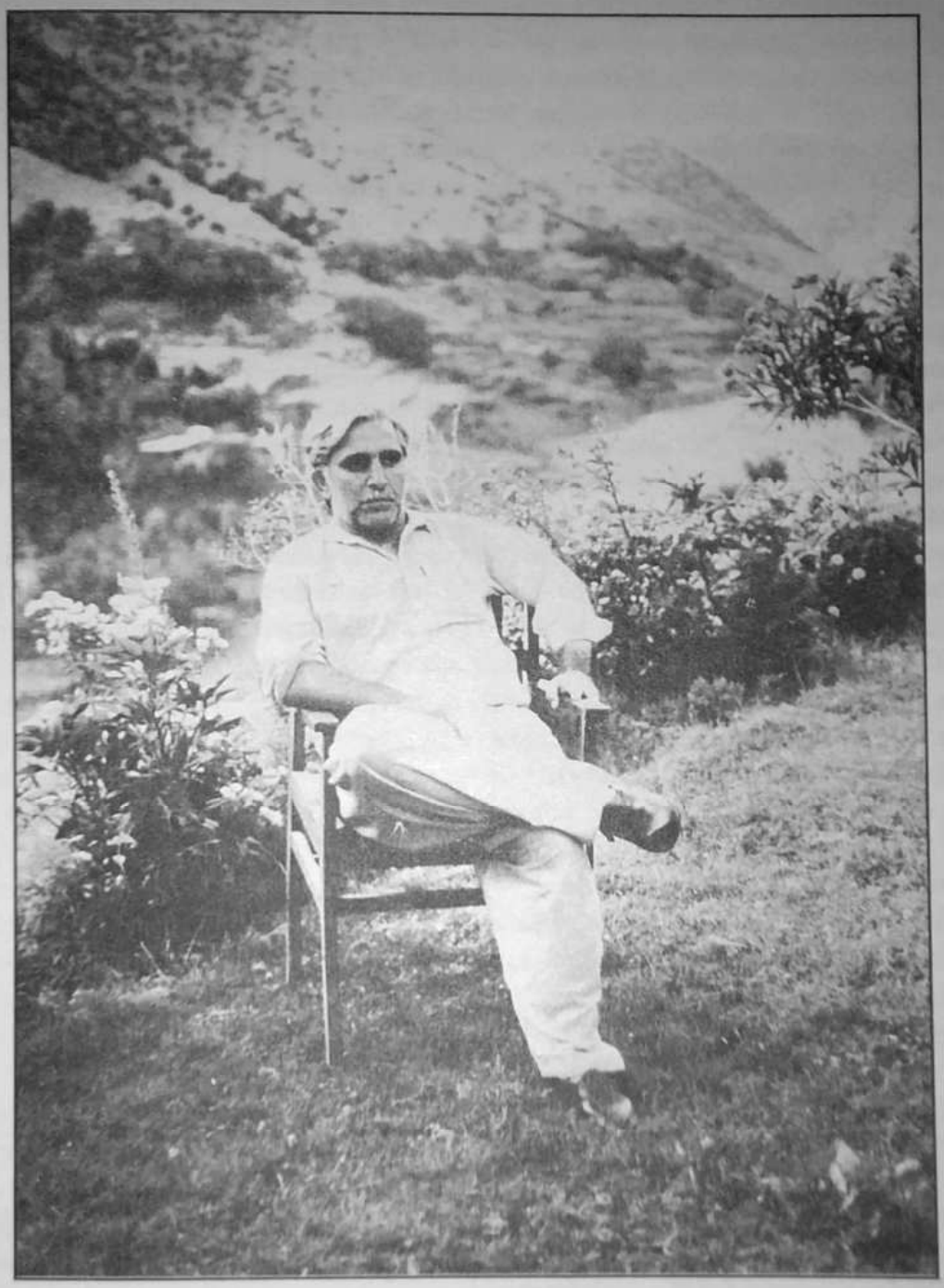
This picture is confirmed by the continuation of the story. In Guldali's narrative, once he had eliminated Nagar Shah, Choke decided to wage a *jihad* against the Kalasha unbelievers, who would not accept the light of Islam, and sought the alliance of a famous saint then living in Dir, Baba Akhund,[12] who joined him at the head of his soldiers and came to Ashret.

Guldali here implies that Choke was converted at the hands of Baba Akhund and then proceeded to spread the word of the faith in his newfound homeland. Saeed (Photo 43.2) (1987: 10), however, cast doubt in his paper about the veridicality of such an early conversion of the Palula, on the basis of the un-Islamic names that prevail in the genealogies until quite recent times. As we have seen, his suspicions have been confirmed by the retrieval of Auguste Court's document. A dating of the conversion between 1840 and the 1880s agrees with the distribution of names in the genealogies, where Muslim names become clearly prevalent only in the third generation above Guldali Shah. It also agrees with the information we collected about the first mosques in the valley. The very first one was said to have been built in Phalosteli, not far from Ashret proper, by one Mast *mullah*, son of Gabarote, who is in the fourth generation above Guldali, like the founder of the second mosque, Mullah Mohammad Said, who had studied somewhere south, beyond the Lowarai Pass, and constructed the building in the area called Khaladi of Ashret proper. Both of these mosques no longer exist.

The conversion must therefore have taken place under Pathan influence from the south much later than Mirza Guldali implied. This is only another example of the general tendency in the area to antedate conversion, on which we have already commented elsewhere. Our informants denied any knowledge about the circumstances of conversion.

Coming back to Guldali's story, we find Choke laying siege with Baba Akhund to the fort of Rahli Kot, the stronghold of another Kalasha chief, who, according to Saeed, had been a tributary of Nagar Shah. In the poem he is hyperbolically described as a great sovereign 'whose fame reached everywhere in the world' and who 'held unlimited honour and dignity.' Here the poem goes into a detailed narration of the capture of Rahli Kot, which is really the transposition of a mythical theme that is widely diffused in Northern Pakistan. We shall call it the story of the Fortress Betrayed: the Ashreti version of it may be thus synthesized.

Photo 43.2 Major (Rtd) Ahmad Saeed of Ashret



The fort was impregnable by force. The attackers decide to keep their siege and wait for supplies to be exhausted. But the fort has a secret underground pipe made with markhor horns (carrying water from the spring of Surmichan, Saeed specifies), that enables it to resist indefinitely. In the fort there is a beautiful princess, daughter of the chief, who falls in love with a soldier of Choke. She discloses the secret to him. To find the underground pipe, horses are kept without water for three days and then left free to roam until they unearth the buried pipe with their hooves. The water supply is cut, the fort surrenders.

Elements of the story of the Fortress Betrayed have been recorded in many places throughout the area (Inayat-ur-Rahman 1968: 8–9; Ghulam Muhammad 1980: 47 and Schomberg 1935: 249; Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 38; Aug. Cacopardo this volume. For some of the historical realities underlying this cliché, see Biddulph 1880: 91–92, Robertson 1896: 479-80).

What historical truth is behind this legend in the case of Ashret, however, is hard to tell: all we can say is that there certainly was a settlement in Rahli Kot in the past, since its ruins are still visible, as we learned through the quick visit we paid to the site in 1993. Though we could not detect with certainty traces of a circle of walls, there are evident remnants of a sizeable settlement, which was naturally fortified by its position on top of the hill that dominates from the south the present Ashret proper.

After the capture of Rahli Kot, Choke goes on to attack and destroy the village of Dir-o-Dand. He then launches a final attack by surprise when all the surviving Kalasha are assembled at the site of Maton Theni (again in the area of Ashret proper) for a funeral celebration. Here Guldali gives some details about Kalasha customs ('the tradition was that they would sing the eulogies of the defunct / all of them would dance and make celebrations'), that, however, may be based on the knowledge of his unconverted contemporaries rather than on transmitted memories. Once again, the story of the massacre of an entire population on the occasion of a large festival or banquet is a recurrent theme in this and other areas. But documented instances of such episodes (Caroe 1958: 174–75) show that it must also have been a recurrent historical event. As we shall see, it occurs more than once in this poem.

What the poem does not relate, somewhat surprisingly, is a story commonly told in Ashret, according to which the massacre of the Kalasha left two survivors, a boy and a girl, who escaped the fall of Rahli Kot and took to the forest, where they lived in a cave for many years (Saeed 1987: 21–22). They were finally discovered by a shepherd who brought them back to the village, where they got married and lived to have children. Their descendants are the members of the Jankhane lineage, who, as we have seen, speak Palula and live mainly in the village of Lotingha. Once more, the theme of a couple (or single) surviving a massacre is a common one and we have recorded variants of it in almost every valley of southern Chitral.

This second part of the poem concludes with the return of Baba Akhund to Dir: from then on, a tribute of an unspecified quantity of *ghee* was paid to Dir 'as a token of gratitude,' a custom, says the poem, which continued until the time of Mohammad Sharif Khan, the first *nawab* of Dir, who, as we have seen, recognized the present boundaries with Chitral. This confirms the former links of the Palula with the Dir *khanate*.

At this point of the poem, suddenly the Ra'ise come in, and it is said:

> At that time Katura was not known. In all Chitral Rais was the ruler/He did not have anything like begar [forced labour]/ Nor were our ancestors subject to *qalang*.

This abrupt appearance of the first Muslim rulers of Chitral as some kind of benevolent overlords who did not exact any form of tribute, may reflect a relationship of alliance common in the area between rulers of states and neighbouring chieftains or tribes, involving exemption from taxes and de facto independence, in exchange for military services and political loyalty (see for example Biddulph 1880: 31–32).

What seems clear, at any rate, is that the first establishment of actual Ra'ise power (or influence) over the area south of Drosh was connected with the conflicts between the Ashretis, the Damelis, and the Arandu people, which are the subject of the third part of the poem.

Once in full control of the Ashret valley, Choke establishes an alliance with the neighbouring Dameli people and marries a sister of their *mal'ik*. Some time after that, he goes with all his men to pay a visit to Damel, where he is received with lavish festivities, dances, and 'the roaring sound of trumpets and drums.' At the time of parting, Choke asks for a gift: an arrow for each of his men. The gift is happily granted, and they all return to Ashret. After a year, Choke sends a messenger to announce another visit to Damel. Again he is happily

entertained and again he asks for the same gift as the previous year. The *mal'ik* again shows pleasure in satisfying his request: but 'in his mind,' says the poem, 'he got worried and preoccupied beyond limits,' fearing that 'this custom would keep going on forever.' In other words, as Saeed (1987: 12) explains, that the gift would turn into a permanent tribute, the token of the Palulas' authority over the Damelis.

This episode is particularly interesting because it is an emblematic example of the ambiguity of gift. The *mal'ik* of Damel interprets the gift in terms of 'tribal' ethics, in which the giver of wealth is in a position of superiority: if the gift is not repaid, the giver acquires prestige over the receiver. Choke, on the contrary, interprets it in terms of a hierarchic model in which the giver is subject to the authority of the receiver and the gift becomes compulsory under the form of tribute. This is not in contradiction with the fact that the Palula social organization was, to all appearances, of the acephalous type. In any preliterate society, the ethics applied to relations within the group are not the same as those applied in external relationships with other communities: this is true even today in southern Chitral. What Choke is trying to do is establish an authority over his neighbours, which is probably what every group was trying to do to the others in those turbulent times. That internal relations among the Palula remained of an egalitarian character is shown by the very structure of this tribute, which does not go to the benefit of a leader, but of all the members of the community.

At any rate, in this instance, Choke's attempt does not prove successful. After Choke's departure, the Dameli quickly arrange a punitive expedition. Crossing one of the mountain passes, they reach Katar Gha in the Ashret valley and send some scouts from there to Shayebi, the village where Choke lived. The scouts are received with lavish festivities. When the Ashreti fall asleep in the middle of the night, the Dameli attack them and carry out the usual massacre. The only survivor, this time, is Bota, the son that Choke had begotten from his Dameli wife, who is taken to Damel and there grows up.

As we have seen, there is a Dameli version of this story, which, however, differs in several details: the marriage takes place one generation before the gift; the receiver of the gift has nothing to do with the marriage, but is an unnamed man from Rahli Kot who has made a brotherhood ceremony (*dram*) with a Dameli called Matakim (Mohammad Hakim); the son born from the marriage is Metroy (who appears as son of Bota in Guldali's genealogies); the occasion for the war is slightly different. But the substance of the story is the same: an alliance between the groups, a conflicting interpretation of a gift, a victorious attack of the Dameli against Ashret. Since the differences, however, suffice to show that the two versions have been transmitted independently, the conflict seems likely to be a historical fact.

In Guldali's text, however, the story continues. Once grown up, Bota learns about his people's ill fate and decides to take revenge. He goes back to Ashret and settles there. Then he goes to Chitral to the court of the Ra'is and obtains men and weapons from him, promising to subdue Lower Chitral down to Arandu and Ram (Ramram), land of the Gabar (Gawar). He then proceeds to attack the Dameli at Malod and, as usual, exterminates them at the end of a festival. Having taken full revenge, he continues his campaign to Arandu, where, this time, a full-fledged battle takes place, ending with the defeat of the Gawar. A further attack on Ram also ends in a success and 'from Arandu to the place of Narisat' all the Gawar are subjugated. This third part of the poem ends with Bota receiving 'many robes of honour and clean clothes' from the hands of the grateful Ra'is.

This part of the story seems to be only the Palula version of an epic cycle concerning what may have been the first campaign of a Chitrali ruler in the extreme south, a cycle of which we have found traces in various parts of the area. In Damel there are three different versions of the story of the capture of Malod (or Malu), all considering it a stronghold of the Kalasha and

not of the Dameli, and all mentioning the decisive contribution of a Chitrali ruler to the campaign (Aug. Cacopardo this volume). History may repeat itself, but it may also be multiplied by legend: it is hard to tell whether Malu was captured more than once, or whether the stories all refer to the same events. The same is true of the conquest of Arandu and Ramram: again we have three versions (Palula, Dameli, and Jashi), with different heroes and circumstances, all however involving the intervention of a Chitrali ruler. What we are allowed to conclude is that somebody must have captured Malu, and somebody must have captured Arandu in alliance with some Chitrali ruler. We may infer that these events refer to the first subjugation of the south Chitral peoples by one of the Muslim rulers that held Chitral before the Katore, which the tradition refers to as Ra'is. This 'subjugation,' however, certainly did not bring about the conversion to Islam of these people, who, with the possible exception of the Gawar, remained unconverted for many centuries thereafter.

The fourth part of Guldali Shah's 'Tarikh-e-Ashret' opens with a very dismal picture of the Katore period, beginning with their usurpation of the Rais's throne, then mentioning the continuous conflicts between relatives and emphasizing the oppressive character of their rule ('They stretched their hands to afflict the people / They distressed extremely the poor people'), to quickly come down to the arrival of the British with the following words:

> 'They were red-faced and resembled Satan (Iblis) in complexion, / To the hands of Katura, as in the past times / They gave this whole country of Chitral, / The autocratic rule kept going on, / Due to fear and terror everyone kept silent, / at the time when Pakistan was created / It was a great relief to the poor people.

These verses reflect pretty effectively the feelings of the majority of the people of southern Chitral about the Katore's rule and the support given to them by the British.

The rest of the poem is dedicated to the eulogy of three recent prominent figures from Ashret, all belonging to the Brambaroke, or Mullah Khel lineage: Pir Shah, a famous saint better known as Mullah Sahib Ashreti (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 380), who was a pupil of Abdul Ghafur, the great Akhund of Swat (Caroe 1958: 362–63; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1991: 218); his nephew Abdul Karim who was appointed *qazi* of Gabarong (the area south of Mirkhani) by Shuja-ul-Mulk and cooperated with Guldali Shah in recording the genealogies; and finally Saeed Mohammad, father of Major Ahmad Saeed, who received the same appointment from Nasir-ul-Mulk.

At this point, as we have seen, after the closing with date, title, and author, the poem continues with a list of all the *maliks* of Ashret from the 'first Malik,' Mir Phagul, 'who had full control over the masses,' to the last one, Abdul Hakim, son of the above-mentioned Abdul Karim, after which 'this title came to its end,' suppressed by government. If we compare this list with Guldali's genealogies, we find that the first two *maliks* appear in the ninth generation above our informants, which shows that the title must have been introduced in late pre-Islamic times. We also find that the office was at times transmitted hereditarily for two or three generations, but has shifted both lineage and 'moiety' more than once.

That this was a monocratic position is clearly emphasized in the poem with expressions such as

> One after the other they functioned as such / Some times this one, the other time another one',

But it is interesting to note that the *mal'ik* is never described as either appointed or elected, but seems to emerge of his own out of the will of God or the force of fate. Thus, Zamin Shah 'emerged in that lineage,' his son Mohammad Shah 'became famous,' then 'the course of fate

turned in a way that Bami Mohammad emerged as memorable,' while later Nayab Shah 'came on the scene' and 'it so happened' that Abbas Khan 'emerged as *mal'ik*.' Finally, how did Abdul Karim (who earlier in the poem had been 'appointed Qazi of Gabarong') become a *mal'ik*? Because 'it thus happened with the grace of God.'

Thus goes the poem. Altogether, this text provides of course a lot of precious information, but, as we have seen, it seems to have little to say about the nature of the pre-Islamic society and culture of the Palula. This is clearly due to the fact that, though the present population does not show any form of embarassment about the past, in the early decades of Islam there must have been (like in other areas of southern Chitral) a conscious effort on the part of the community to do away with the pre-islamic heritage and remove all traces of their 'pagan' past from the collective memory of the society.

But if we put together the indications we have from our fieldwork with those from the written sources available, we do have some elements to describe that culture.

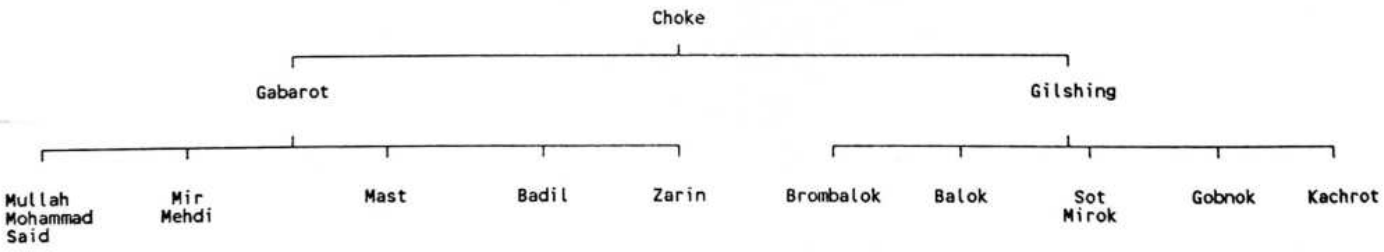
Its economic and strictly political aspects have already been dealt with, but a few remarks are necessary about some further aspects of the society.

1. The existence of small, subordinate lineages of 'servants' is documented in Ashret and probable in Biyori. Since they were said not to be specialized craftsmen, they would resemble the *bhaira* of the Kalasha more than the Nuristani *bāri* (Edelberg & Jones 1974: 102–03) or the Dom and Kamin of the Shina (Biddulph 1880: 39; Jettmar 1975: 236). There are clear indications that these groups did not freely intermarry with the regular lineages, but we do not know whether they had hypergamic relations with them or were strictly endogamous. Altogether, our Palula data does not confirm Biddulph's (1880: 65) information about the 'meaner castes' of southern Chitral, but this subject is still a very touchy one, and reliable notions about it are hard to obtain.
2. At any rate, such 'castes' were certainly a minority within a society that was largely egalitarian from the point of view of social status and distribution of wealth. The generality of the population belonged, like in the rest of southern Chitral, to what may be viewed as a large middle class with equal social status from the point of view of the communities, but was part of the *faqir-miskin* class from the point of view of the *mehtar's* state (Biddulph 1880: 62, 65). Families of emergent elders could probably gain a *yuft* (Scott 1937: 6; Schomberg 1938: 213, 216) status, though we have no clear data on that.
3. The structure of pre-Islamic lineages was probably quite different from the present one, as is the case in the surrounding areas, where it was based on an exogamic rule barring marriage with agnates (Robertson 1[1896] 974: 86; Jones 1974: 144; Loude & Lièvre 1984: 87). Exogamous kinship groups formerly existed among the Shina as well (Jettmar 1975: 229–30). A trace of exogamy is found in the fact that almost half of the marriages in the higher generations of the genealogies collected in Biyori are with women from different valleys, as opposed to the much smaller percentage in recent times. This fact, which is common to most of the south Chitral communities, probably reflects a time when population scarcity made it difficult to comply with the exogamic rule when marrying within the valley. On the other hand, we have seen that lineage exogamy is still the prevailing, though not exclusive, practice in Biyori.
4. A further indication about the pre-Islamic kinship structure can possibly be seen in the traces of a moiety-like dichotomic division found, as we have seen, in both valleys. In Ashret, we may recall, the two 'moieties' are defined through a simplification of the actual genealogies (as represented by Guldali Shah), which we have recorded from our informants on the field (see Fig. 43.6). The relation between this simplified image and the more

complete representation is strikingly similar to that observed in Ramboor for the same phenomenon (Parkes 1983: 374, 382, 388). Unlike classical moieties, at any rate, the existence of these halves as exogamic units is, among the Kalasha, only a temporary phase in the dynamic development of a structure which is destined to produce a plurality of exogamic groups. Kalasha 'moieties,' however, survive their exogamic function to maintain ritual and social relevance in various contexts. Their persistence among the Palula may indicate that this unit was of considerable significance in their pre-Islamic culture.

5. Another pre-Islamic custom may be reflected in the institution of *matiza*, the Palula equivalent of the Kalasha *alas'ing* (Parkes 1987: 641–42). According to our informants, this was a frequent event in their youth, but has become rare nowadays, and the last instance in Ashret occurred in 1984, ending with the exile of the couple. Among the Palula, if a woman elopes with a man, her husband has the right to kill the couple without being subject to the sanction of blood price (*nek*), which is the most frequent case, but he is free to accept an atonement through a payment, also called *nek,* which, according to one informant, was fixed once at 100 goats and 100 rupees, when forty goats and 100 rupees were a normal bridewealth payment (*mahr*). If the elopement takes place before any marriage agreement (*khekh'i*) for the woman has taken place, then the matter can be settled even today with the payment of a bull and other gifts to the father, followed by the wedding. This payment is not counted in the *mahr*.

Fig. 43.6 The Simplified Image of Choke's Genealogy



The simplified image of Choke's genealogy as recorded from Mohammad Tazim in Ashret, 25 Jul. 1993.

As far as the religious aspects of pre-Islamic Palula culture are concerned, some clues are given by Biddulph and the Court document. Talking about the impurity of cows among the Shina, Biddulph (1880: 113) states: 'This feeling regarding the cow and domestic fowls is not shared by any other tribe in the Hindu Kush, except by a small one in Chitral, to whom the name of Dangarik is also applied by their neighbours, and by the Kalash Kafirs, who dwell close to them.' In our fieldwork we have found no trace of this concept, which confirms that conversion was still recent in Biddulph's time, despite his statement to the contrary (1880: 64).

More details can be found in the Court document, through the words of Tak and Shamlar. Their idea about the Palula is thus synthesized:

> There is one section (firqa) in Chitral practising idol worship. They have fabricated twelve idols and prostrate themselves before them. And they do call these idols God. And women and men do assemble in one place and go to the idol temple and there they amuse themselves and there they drink wine. And this section is called Dangarik. (Holzwarth 1993: 7)

If these notions are true, they would establish the following points: 1) the Palula had anthropomorphic effigies of divinities; 2) some of these effigies were kept in a covered temple; 3) these temples were used for rituals involving men and women; 4) ritual use of wine was common.

To our knowledge, neither temples nor 'idols' are mentioned in the literature on the Shina; anthropomorphic representations of deities do not exist among the Kalasha, but did among the pre-Islamic Nuristani; covered temples ritually used by men and women are present in both cases, but, apparently, only in Presungul were idols kept in them (Robertson 1896: 496); ritual use of wine was a practice everywhere in the region.

Our field data adds something, though not much, to this information. In Ashret, we were told that *naš'eli* was the Palula word for the women's confinement house. People remembered the site of two of these, one inside a cave in the valley of Kotgha and the other close to a canal below Dir-o-dand. Traces of this institution, well-known among the Kalasha and Nuristani, have been found among the Shina (Jettmar 1975: 228).

Further data from our fieldwork provides indications about some of the supernatural beings of pre-islamic times. We have already mentioned the belief in the *peirein'i* and the *rui*, which we have also found in Ashret, where another word used for witch-like beings was *tath'eki*. Though the *rui* complex is well-known among the Shina, this word is known also to the Kalasha (Morgenstierne 1973: 158, *r'uži*; Lièvre & Loude 1990: 541), who however, in our experience, use more frequently the term *gorw'au* (known also in Chitral and Bashgal).

Finally, an unusually cute category is that of the *deu puš'ok* ('kitten spirits') of Ashret. These are tiny, harmless gnomes dressed in a goat-wool coat *(kočeri)*, who steal food at night from the houses and hair from the goats for their coats. If they are caught and stripped of their garment, they will be bound to serve their captor.

Our conclusions on the pre-Islamic culture of the Palula may be summed up as follows. The division of labour between genders, the impurity of women testified by the *na'š'eli*, the impurity of cows and of domestic fowl mentioned by Biddulph, the belief in fairy-spirit lords of high mountains and summer pastures, and the existence of moiety-like kinship units are all expressions of the basic dichotomic division between pure and impure which is at the root of the religious system of the Kalasha. This dichotomy, however, is part of that core of basic conceptions about the world that is common to all the documented pre-Islamic cultures of the area, including the Shina (Jettmar 1975: 215–20). As we may have expected, the Palula are no exception.

If we look for elements to distinguish them or to associate them to any one of the other known cultures, what we find is not very much. We have some elements in the culture that seem typically Nuristani, like the dairy production or the 'idols' of the Court document (which, of course, may be a fantasy of Tak and Shamlar). 'Moieties' seem to us typical of the Kalasha, but their presence elsewhere may have escaped our attention. The unspecialized subordinate lineages are another typically Kalasha element, while the impurity of cows is common to Kalasha and Shina, and we have found traces of it in Damel (Aug. Cacopardo this volume). The only element that seems typically Shina at first sight is the belief in *rui*, but even this boils down to a matter of names, since the *gorw'au* are commonly identified with the *rui* in cross-cultural conversation, and the belief in witches is widely spread in the surrounnding area (Tucci 1977: 68–69).

Altogether, we may suppose that the Palula came to Chitral with a Shina culture that, being easily translatable in the terms of the local cultures of southern Chitral, underwent an evolution through mutual influences. We must keep in mind that the Palula bordered directly with at least three different pre-Islamic cultures: the Bashgali Jashi, who, probably since the eighteenth century, lived in Badugal, between Ashret and Biyori; the Kalasha, who coexisted with them

in their valleys; and the Dameli to the southwest. And to these we must add the pre-Islamic culture of Dir Kohistan, about which almost nothing is known. The Palula may have brought an influence of their own on the surrounding peoples, especially the Kalasha and the Dameli, but they may very well have absorbed many influences from their neighbours. The dynamics of intercultural relations in such a closely knit fabric of different and similar traditions must have been something fascinating at the time: unfortunately, they remain a mystery to us.

NOTES

1. This article deals with part of the results of an ethnographic field research on the peoples of southern Chitral carried out between 1989 and 1995 in cooperation with Augusto Cacopardo, author of the parallel article on Damel in the present volume. The research has been funded by the National Council for Research of Italy and supported by the former Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Is.M.E.O.), now the Istituto per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Is.I.A.O.), Rome.

   Our work on the Palula, and indeed on the whole of southern Chitral, has taken great advantage of the help of two prominent leaders of the community, Qazi Saeed Ahmad of Ashret and his brother Major (Rtd.) Ahmad Saeed, who, as we shall see further, had himself investigated the traditions of his people and took great interest in our activities. His contribution to this research has been invaluable, through lengthy discussions, arrangements for fieldwork, travel, translations, and so on. We are also in debt to all the people who helped us and generously hosted us in their villages, and particularly to Fazl-i Rahim of Biyori proper, Attir Ullah of Damaret, Seif-ur Rahman and Ghazi Khan of Mingal.

   Our fieldwork in Palula territory took place through three visits in September 1990 (Biyori) and July 1993 (Biyori and Ashret), during which we questioned some thirty different informants. Information concerning the Palula, however, was collected from various sources during our whole fieldwork in southern Chitral in the summers of 1989, 1990, 1993, and 1995.
2. Gurdon (Morgenstierne 1941: 6) used the correct form, as well as Morgenstierne himself in his preliminary report (Morgenstierne 1932: 54). The reason why he switched to the other form in his 1941 monograph is not clear. The only variant we have found on the field was the use of pawul'a for the language by some speakers in Biyori, who used, however, the standard form pal'ula for the people.
3. The results of our inquiries on the Kalasha of Kalkatak are in Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 289–91, 307. See also Biddulph 1880: 64, Morgenstierne 1941: 6, and Decker 1992: 75 and passim.
4. The origin and meaning of this term have been discussed since Biddulph's time (see Decker 1992: 69). For our part, we can only confirm that the term is often used by the Palula themselves, though many consider it derogatory and tend to avoid it.
5. Compare with Fussman 1988: 60 on Nuristan: 'Il existe des groupements de gens qui ont conscience de parler la même langue (Kati, Waigali...); ces groupements sont théoriques et reellement subdivises en tribus definies... par un habitat commun, generalement une vallée.'
6. The reader will forgive us if we apply this and other controversial terms without a precise definition: the discussion would take us too far.
7. The revised published version of this paper (Holzwarth 1994) does not include the passage on the Dangarik.
8. The Palula may be the 'Dangini' (Dangarik?) mentioned in the 'Davies' Trade Report' quoted by Leitner (1894: 61), which states: 'The ruler of Chitral is in the habit of enslaving all persons from the tribes of Kalash, Dangini and Bashgali, idolaters living in the Chitral territory.'
9. The work has been translated into English for us by Mr Badal Khan of the Istituto Orientale of Naples. We hope to make it entirely available in a future publication. We wish to thank Dr Paola Orsatti, of the Universita' La Sapienza of Rome, for a preliminary analysis of the manuscript.
10. We could not visit Kelas during our fieldwork in Shishi Kuh, but it was occasionally indicated by some as a formerly Kalasha village (Alb. Cacopardo 1991: 279), while nobody had mentioned to us a Palula connection for this settlement.
11. Mass abandonments of an area as the outcome of a political conflict have long been common in the subcontinent, and we have recorded two recent episodes of this kind in Langurbat and Ramram, which we shall relate in a future publication. See also Augusto Cacopardo's article in this volume for a similar event in Damel.
12. This may refer to Akhund Ilyas, the founder of the ruling family of Dir (Ghulam Murtaza 1982: 376).

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44

SHAIKH 'ABDULLĀH KHĀN: A MOST REMARKABLE MAN FROM BUMBORET SHAIKHANANDEH

*Knut Kristiansen**

The military conquest of what is now called Nuristan in 1895/6 is fairly well-known from historical documents. It was followed by a period of forced Islamization. The old tribal religions were vehemently suppressed. A large part of the male population and many children were deported to Kabul. This was the beginning of a long and painful process. Kafiristan, the pagan land, soon transformed in to Nuristan, the land of the light.

Georg Buddruss has written about the Islamization as it is mirrored in oral traditions in Nuristan, in tales told by family members of the conquered. Schuyler Jones has also reported memories of what happened. Hasan Kakar did the same. But very few—almost nonexistent—are the records by eyewitnesses to these events.

There is at least one exception. A young boy, a chief's son from Bragromatal in the upper Bashgal valley witnessed the conquest, the rebellion which followed, and most important: he wrote a book in Urdu, a fine description of the old traditions of Bragromatal to which he added his own biography. His Kafir name was Āzar. As a Muslim he took the name 'Abdullāh Khān, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh Khān Sāhib.

Georg Morgenstierne met him in Bumboret, in Brumbutul, as his village was called at that time. Georg Morgenstierne was in a hurry. Exhausted after a summer of intensive fieldwork he was on the point of leaving Chitral to go back to Norway. He had heard about Āzar and his manuscript, but paid little attention to the man. There is no photograph of him in our archives. Fortunately he bought his book for The Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. Later he regretted very much that he had had no time to read it with the author, get it explained, and have an authentic commentary. He realized too late that he had come across a treasure.

In 1933 he started publishing part of a translation: 'A Káfir on Káfir Law: and Customs.' As my contribution to the first Hindu Kush cultural conference I continued with 'A Káfir on Káfir History and Festivals' and later sent out 'A Káfir on Káfir Life Cycle.' The whole book is now ready for publication. The text in Urdu will be photographed, this being necessary because ink in different colours has been used. There will also be a transliteration in Roman letters, necessary because of difficult geographical names and words in the Kati language of Bragromatal, and of course an English translation with my own notes. I hope to have the whole work published as soon as the budgetary situation of the institute permits. For full contents the reader will have to wait for this publication. The present study gives a little more of the background of 'Āzar's Book,' which is the title I will give it.

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Not all Kafirs in Bragromatal were subdued during the conquest in 1895. Some of them fled from the Bashgal valley. Āzar's father Kashimīr settled with some 600 followers in Brumbutul in Chitral. He was a well-known chief, a *sardar*. His paternal uncle was Mārū, identical with the Kan Mara mentioned by Robertson as being the autocratic chief of all the Bragromatal Katis. Āzar is very short on this:

> My family is known by the name of The Royal Jāndārān Branch upon which other branches of the Kattees are dependent. My genealogical tree is as follows;
> Sardār Marū
> Sardār Šit
> Sardār Jānū
> Sardār Kun
> Sardār Kashimīr
> This humble sinner Shaikh ᶜAbdullāh Khān [note in purple ink:]
> Sardār Āzar.

In celebration of the centenary I would like to add to the family tree: Three sons of Āzar: ᶜAbdul Samad, ᶜAbdul Wāhid, and ᶜAbdul Majīd Khān, who is the only son surviving. His son, Khalīlul Rahmān is my good friend with sons: Azīz and Jamīl. His sister's son is Hamīdullāh. In all, eight generations of an influential family.

Schuyler Jones (in a letter to Georg Morgenstierne, dated 2 April 1969) checked the genealogy in 1967 and added a more detailed list of the Jāndārān Branch, which was said to be twenty-two houses in Brumbutul today. From old men in Lutdeh (Bragromatal) he was at that time able to get two genealogies: one oral (total forty-four generations) and one written (total: forty generations). Āzar's book, the 'secret reports' used by Schuyler Jones, and genealogies from many informants make it in other words possible to reconstruct the story of an influential family from remote times in Afghanistan till the present day in Bumboret Shaikhanandeh (Brumbutul). And let us not forget the valley of Ramboor with the village of Ramboor Shaikhanandeh (Kuneisht) where Georg Morgenstierne studied pre-Islamic traditions in 1929 and took pictures, many of which will be included in my edition of 'Āzar's Book.'

Where did Āzar get his information from?

He grew up in a family with old cultural traditions. As the son of a mighty *sardar* he was able to follow the daily routines of his tribe. He was expected to take over one day. Tribal law would be his responsibility. It would be his duty to arrange countless festivals. When 1895 came, although a young boy, he seemed to be capable of mastering a whole culture. But what happened? The family was split. The main division staying in Afghanistan had become Muslims. But at least 600 followers of Kashimīr settled in new villages in Chitral. One day there came a message from Kabul. The *amīr* summoned him saying (I quote from the manuscript): 'Embrace Islam, come back to your own country and settle in peace.' And Āzar goes on:

> When this order arrived, through the mercy of God Most High, he became illuminated by the Muhammedan light, broke the chains of idolatry, became participating of the faith of Islam and left for Kabul. Fate, however, did not allot him the food and drink of Kabul. But he enjoyed the intercession of The Prophet. Accordingly, before he arrived at his place of destination, he became on the road a martyr by the hand of his family's enemies, and he was buried in Kafiristan.

More than fifty pages of the manuscript give the main events of Āzar's life. It begins with Āzar's meeting with the white sahibs. This took place in 1897, at Brun in Bumboret, where a

doctor of the 25th Punjabis and another officer from a Gurkha regiment were fishing trout in the river. They wanted help from some boys. One of them was Āzar who got the job as a servant for Dr Harris and went with him to India. He stayed with him for a couple of years and later with his sister who wanted him to accompany her to England. He refused to go. He said that 'being separated from my home and family was just as to have the bandage taken away from my wounds and to have salt sprinkled.' Instead he got a new job with one Captain James and stayed with him. I do not know how long, but at least till 1908, which is the last date in the manuscript.

Most interesting is the story about his conversion to Islam. Away from his village and its social life and old religion, Āzar went through what I would call a religious crisis and a clash of two different cultures. It was at this time he wanted to describe and analyse his own background in his ancestral Bragromatal. Ill as he was, he was taken care of by his British masters who helped him when he decided he would become a Muslim. It is remarkable they never tried to make a Christian of him. He got no Bible. Perhaps they saw that what he needed, alone as he was, would be to join a new brotherhood. The conversion took place in the regiment's mosque in Peshawar. After this he was on leave at Drosh and later accompanied Captain James to Waziristan and passed vacations in hill-stations. Once he stayed at home and tried to convert his own village. 'Three months passed with reasoning and discussions.' It was all in vain. His leave was over, and he went back to Peshawar where '—the heat was so fierce that in the course of one day and night eight pairs of clothes got wet from transpiration and the time was passed in great distress.'

Distress is also what he feels when he thinks of his village:

> One day it happened when I was sitting alone that the love of my country became so strong that it captivated my soul, and I was plunged into a sea of anxiety.—The more I reflected upon the future circumstances of my family—, the more my temper was upset. In the end, when I looked at all previous affairs of my family, comparing its former situation with its present condition, I burst out in exasperation: 'Woe to that chieftainship now gone with the power it brought us! What is the use of telling this story of oppression?' In short, when I surveyed the present state of my family comparing it with the former position, its sad plight gnawed at my liver and inflamed my brain—'

When the thoughts became unbearable he described the condition of his family to Captain James, who helped him to write a request through the medium of the Government of India to the *amīr* of Kabul, who was about to visit Lahore. Āzar got leave and was granted admission to the *amīr* who listened to his story and received his request. This was in 1907. A long correspondence with British authorities right up to the chief commissioner of the North-Western Frontier Provinces followed, but from Kabul no help came.

The manuscript gives through often stereotypical Islamic phrases from a new convert a very sympathetic picture of a remarkable man. He is glad to have found peace in Islam, but never says a harsh word about Hindus and Sikhs. He seems to have had friends only, and persons he comes into contact with are mentioned with gratitude and devotion. The picture he gives of the sahibs is touching. They treated him as their friend, helped him when he was sick and paid interested attention when he tried to help his village on the right way.

I have tried to follow Āzar's life after 1908. Fortunately his son has taken care of a few documents from later years: correspondence with Captain James who sends a last letter dated 2 June 1914, and a statement from one Captain Graham who writes from Chakdara in October 1913:

Bearer Abdulla Khan has been with me for the last 2 J excellent man in every way. Honest and reliable, and careful of one's kit. Quite a good man in camp and on the march. He has been with me over practically every valley in Chitral and once or twice on the journey from Drosh to Chakdara and has invariably done me well on all occasions. He is also an excellent Linguist in several languages and always gets on well with other servants.

Other memories may still be alive in Shaikhanandeh.

Georg Morgenstierne visited Brumbutul and Kuneisht in 1929 when the old religion still had some very few followers, twenty-five in Brumbutul. Six years later when Schomberg visited the place, he found only three non-Muslims: the old chief Bagishai, his wife, and another woman. The graves and the ancestor statues had fallen down, the old priest who had sung his hymns for Georg Morgenstierne was dead. A beautiful mosque had been built. Allah was praised, not Imro and Gish.

Āzar must have witnessed this process and found satisfaction in it. As far as I know he lived on till the late 1940s, probably till 1948. His son Abdul Majīd has told me that his grave no longer exists. It was engulfed by one of the many floods that have ravaged Bumboret in recent years. Among photographs in the archives in Oslo, I have not been able to trace his portrait. His family has only got a much damaged one, attached to an official document. But the memory of Āzar or (let me now call him by his Muslim name) 'Abdullāh is very much alive in the precious manuscript he has left behind.

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45

WAZIR ALI SHAH: LIFE AND WORKS

*Ghulam Sarwar Baig**

'He wrote well, in fact with elegance and style. Even the ordinary notes scattered in numerous files testify to his ability as a writer. This quality he developed over decades of works in writing about the affairs of Chitral, preparing reports for newspapers and journals round the world' (Qureshi 1990). Thus goes a homage paid to an erstwhile writer from Chitral known as Wazir Ali Shah, by a person not less than a top bureaucrat, who also happened to be a seasoned writer. Wazir Ali Shah deserved these remarks because his life-long career in writing had earned him this fame and popularity. Moreover, in grateful recognition of his pioneering contributions to Hindu Kush studies and his continuing support and encouragement to the younger generation of researchers, the participants of the second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference (1990), under the chairmanship of Professor Karl Jettmar, resolved to dedicate the proceedings of the conference to the memory of (late) Wazir Ali Shah.

Wazir Ali Shah was born in Chitral in 1923. His ancestors belonged to the Roshte tribe of Chitral. In spite of their small number, the Roshte have had considerable influence on the social and political life of the ex-state. The posts of *asakāl* and *atalique* were held by the Roshte tribe during the later period of Aman-ul-Mulk's (1856–92) reign, which they retained till 1954, when the state administration was reorganized. Wazir Ali Shah's father, Captain Mir Gulab Shah, was a favourite of His Highness Shuja-ul-Mulk and served in his court holding various posts starting with his ancestral title *asakāl* and rising to the post of Revenue Officer by 1936. Wazir Ali Shah received his education at Colonel Brown's Cambridge School at Dehradun (UP, India) in the 1930s. In 1938, for a short while he served as a personal assistant to His Highness Nasir-ul-Mulk, which he soon left to join the British army as a clerk and served in Poona and Feroz Pur, during the war. In 1942, he gave up his service in the army and returned to Chitral, where he worked as a press reporter for different papers and started his career in service as assistant to the private secretary of His Highness Muzaffar-ul-Mulk, the *mehtar* of Chitral (1943–49). He joined government service as treasurer in 1948 and was posted in the state administration as secretary finance in 1965, with additional charge of the post of secretary information and tourism. In 1970, after the integration of the ex-state, Wazir Ali Shah joined the service of the Government of NWFP and served in Chitral, Kohat, Nowshera, Dir, and Peshawar as extra assistant commissioner, section officer, deputy secretary, and assistant chief, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). He retired from the service in 1982 and later joined UNICEF as a monitoring officer. He performed *haj* at Makkah in 1987 and fell ill, suffering from diabetes the same year. He died on 15 September 1990, at the age of 70 after a prolonged illness which had also affected his eyesight.

* AKRSP Chitral.

Career in Writing

Wazir Ali Shah started his career (Faizi 1991) in writing with an assignment of monitoring radio programmes in 1938–39. At that time there was only one radio-set in Chitral and that was in the possession of the *mehtar*. In 1938, Pir Jamal-ud-Din Gilani visited Chitral and remained there as state guest for many weeks. It was during his stay in Chitral that World War-II broke out. The only radio-set was requisitioned by the *pir* and there was no means of listening to news or gaining information for the *mehtar*. The *mehtar* deputed Wazir Ali Shah to monitor news and news commentaries from the radio and write them down to present them to his highness. It was a tiresome but interesting assignment, which was to play an important role in guiding his future career as a journalist and writer (Faizi 1970).

In 1948, he had a chance to accompany Professor Siiger, the famous Danish anthropologist, to the Kalash valley and work with him as an interpreter and guide. This association with a reputed scholar gave him further inspiration in the field of art and literature.

In 1955 he had another opportunity of working in the Kalash valleys as an interpreter and guide, this time with Professor Fredrik Barth, leader of the Danish Central Asian Expedition. Then he remained in contact with Professor Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo University, Professor Georg Buddruss of Mainz University, and Professor Karl Jettmar of Heidelberg. In 1962, he published an Urdu translation of the *History of Chitral*, written by Mirza Mohammad Ghufran and his son Ghulam Murtaza, and compiled a book on Khowar songs in collaboration with Georg Morgenstierne. In 1970, he participated in the First International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference held in Moesgaard, Denmark, and contributed three papers on different aspects of the culture of Chitral.

On his return journey from Copenhagen he visited London and Paris, then touching Frankfurt he reached Jedda, to perform *umra* at Mekkah, and visited the mausoleum of the Holy Prophet Muhammad at Madina. This journey abroad gave him an opportunity to see a good part of the world and the places he liked so much. In a biographical sketch of Wazir Ali Shah, Inayatullah Faizi, after mentioning his association with the world-renowned scholars discussed above, pays him homage in the following words,

> Hailing from the remote and backward mountainous region of Chitral and belonging to a middle class family he made his way to high ranks in the Civil Service and gained recognition from his contemporaries for his works on the culture and literature of Chitral. This was due to his dedication for the cause of his people and sincerity of purpose combined with tireless and continuous hard work. (Faizi 1990)

Apart from his other assignments, Wazir Ali Shah also held the honorary and voluntary office of the secretary of Anjuman-e-Chitral and the Chitral Polo Association, two cultural bodies working in Chitral from 1957 to 1969 and 1964 to 1969, respectively. In these capacities he came in close contact with the cultural and literary circles of Chitral and worked for the promotion of the Khowar language and culture. He became a close associate of Prince Hussam-ul-Mulk, the ex-governor of Drosh in the state administration. His other associates in Chitral included Ghulam Umar, Israr-ud-Din, and Inayatullah Faizi.

Reputation as a Writer

Basically a journalist, Wazir Ali Shah had established himself as a writer in three languages, that is, English, Urdu, and Khowar. His writing in English and Urdu mostly included articles

on different socio-cultural and historical aspects of Chitral, meant for readers and scholars outside Chitral. It was these contributions which made him, as well the remote area of Chitral, known to the outside world. Through his Khowar writings he seems to be mostly concerned about developing Khowar literature by translating Persian sources and also by writing original articles on simple day-to-day topics addressed to readers in Chitral. His Khowar articles appeared in the *Jamhoor-e-Islam* (Khowar), published by the Government of Pakistan. Wazir Ali Shah was such a keen writer that he contributed articles to almost all the issues of the magazine from its inception till the last days of his life when he lost his eyesight because of diabetes.

His Urdu articles were published in different national Urdu dailies and weeklies including *Anjam*, *Alfalah*, and *Bang-e-Haram*. His English articles are scattered in different foreign journals, conference proceedings, and English dailies in Pakistan. He also contributed a number of articles to the English section of the *Terich Mir* (Peshawar University). He was a coauthor of *Chitral Ek Taaruf*, published by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khowar. Lastly he had translated the *History of Chitral* into English for publication by Lok Virsa, Islamabad.

In brief, Wazir Ali Shah was a prolific writer. He loved writing and never got tired of writing on diverse topics such as history, culture, geography, literature, and anthropology. all mostly focused on Chitral. He, through his hard work, had gained a vast knowledge on these different aspects of Chitral, which he was always ready to share with anyone who was interested in the affairs of his beloved home district.

Above all he was a thorough gentleman with an exemplary qualities of soul and mind. Paying rich tribute to his personal qualities one of his colleagues in the civil service wrote the following obituary note about him in a national daily:

> He exemplified those qualities of mind and temperament which are too rare these days and which are rooted in grace and culture.... He showed the utmost forbearance at moments of personal crisis. He showed the same fortitude, the same grace, the same self-denial and consideration for others during the extended period of his illness whether in the Institute of Medical Services, Islamabad or at his home in Chitral. (Qureshi 1990)

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BALTISTAN AS A 'CONTACT ZONE': THE USE OF SPACE IN THE NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY

*Kenneth Iain MacDonald**

Introduction

The linkage of individual identity and occupational status was naturalized in the West following the industrial revolution and the spatial and economic separation of labour from the domestic sphere. European colonialism also attempted to institute similar structures of identity generation—that is, relating identity directly to one's role in the production process—in non-European contexts. Under colonialism, the identity of the subject was to be aligned with the subject's role in helping to achieve imperial interests. This process involved the essentialization and naturalization of ethnic groups, commonly described in the ubiquitous imperial gazetteers, on the basis of behavioural characteristics and occupational status. But it was a process that did not go uncontested.

In what is now Northern Pakistan, the colonization of Baltistan, both historically in relation to Indian and British imperialism and currently, in relation to the adventure tourism industry reserve, has involved a struggle over identity. Within a set of power relations that has typically found Balti people locked into servile occupations, European discursive formations have, in the act of colonizing the place of Baltistan, attempted to equate the ethnic identity of local peoples with the occupational identity of 'coolie' (more recently the less derogatory, but still status laden term, porter), and have equated the label 'coolie,' and anyone working under such a designation, with subhuman characteristics. This attempt to impose an identity has not gone unchallenged from within, and Balti men who have worked as porters have actively resisted attempts to subsume their ethnic and communally based identity within that of an occupational status.[1] Ironically, however, outsiders have used such acts of resistance, which have become more open through time, to generate a negative notoriety of Balti villagers. In this paper, I examine this struggle over identity, and more specifically, the strategic use of space by both the colonizers and the colonized in the struggle. Physical and symbolic control over space was an important element in the ability of the colonizers to control the supply of labour required to achieve imperial ambitions in the colonial frontier and to expand the frontier. Similarly a detailed knowledge of both local space and the limited capacity of outsiders to function in it has been an important element in the ability of local peoples to resist the conditions under which their labour, and identity, was appropriated and reassigned.

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Baltistan as a Contact Zone and Adopting a Contact Perspective

Indirectly, I am suggesting here that 'the colonized,' in this case people labelled as Baltis, have expressed an autonomy in resisting the appropriation of their labour. And that an understanding of the autonomy of indigenous utterances and strategies is crucial to disempowering the lingering material effects of colonial discourses. It is here, then, that we need a theoretical perspective which yields more importance to the competence of the colonial subject 'without lapsing into an uncritical, subject-centred humanism' (Thomas 1994: 58). In an analysis of colonialist travel writing, Mary Louise Pratt (1992) introduces two interwoven concepts which provide such a theoretical perspective and inform the approach adopted in this paper: contact zone and contact perspective. Pratt used the term *contact zone* to designate and describe 'the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples, geographically and historically separated came into contact with each other and established ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict' (1992: 6). Contact zones, then, are often marginal places where the lives of disparate cultural subjects intersect; places where representations of self and other are produced and reproduced, contested and confirmed. Accepting the notion of a contact zone allows us to take a *contact perspective* that 'emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among the colonizers and colonized, in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power' (Pratt 1992: 7).

Applying these concepts in this paper, I discuss the process of the continual negotiation of indigenous identity within the contact zone of Baltistan, in the Karakoram Range of Northern Pakistan. Here. the struggle over identity, the representation of self and other, has centred on the occupation of portering—the servile occupation of carrying baggage for others. In it I address how indigenous identity has been negotiated both within and in response to the material effects of a European discourse of travel, created within a set of power relations, which attempted to legitimate the appropriation of the labour and material goods of Balti villagers. It does so, however, from an interpretive position which does not reduce the subject to a passive audience. Rather, I try to describe a process in which the subject has an active voice and through which representation is mediated or negotiated, albeit from a relative position of limited power. However, when we understand subjects as occupying strategic positions from which they can express identity in subtle ways, we can interpret representations of identity generated within the colonial discourse, not only as a strategic ploy of the colonizer, but also as an expression of resistance from within. From a contact perspective, then, we must recognize colonial representations of identity, as being hybrid; as much an expression of indigenous accommodation and resistance as external domination. We must see representations of identity as products of negotiation which represent not 'reality' but expressions of the social forces and relations of power involved in their creation. It is such a contact perspective that allows us to 'deal more adequately with the presence of "the colonized" in colonialism' (Thomas 1994) and to attach more importance to indigenous agency and competence. To understand indigenous agency in relation to colonialism, however, it is first necessary to examine the interests of the colonizers in Baltistan and their perception of the role of Balti villagers in helping to achieve those goals. As transcultural (insider/outsider) interaction, and, thus, the imposition of identity, has largely been structured through portering relations in Baltistan, it is necessary to understand the evolution of portering in relation to imperial interests.

Colonial Interests and the Process of Place Colonization

From the mid-1800s Baltistan has been subject to much European 'exploration' and adventure travel. It is primarily through the discursive formations resulting from this 'exploration' and travel that Baltistan and the Balti people have been represented to the rest of the world. Of course, the role of 'exploration' in Baltistan was much the same as in most other colonial regions. Within the imperial paradigm of discovery, exploration, and settlement, exploration validated discovery by fixing and cataloguing points in space and preparing the ground for some form of colonial control. Such 'exploration,' however, particularly in the difficult terrain of the Karakoram Range, could not proceed without the use of local labour for guidance and in the carriage of baggage.

It is clear that a system of obligatory labour existed in Baltistan prior to direct British involvement in the region. Indeed, Balti villagers seem to have been of interest to the wider colonial (and regional) society primarily for their labour.[2] This changed little with the arrival in Baltistan of European 'explorers,' subalterns, and adventurers. The annexation of Baltistan by the Dogra *maharaja* of Jammu in 1841 resulted in the corruption of an apparently legitimate form of public work known as *ress* into the more familiar Indian system of forced labour—*begār*. Arriving in Kashmir to find an established system of forced labour procurement, the British and other European travellers proceeded to make good use of it.[3]

At a minimum, the British had three specific reasons for maintaining the existing system of *begār* or instituting some modified form of compulsory labour. First, pressures to secure the frontier of British India against possible Russian invasion led to frequent conflicts with local rulers in Kohistan, Gilgit, Chitral, and Hunza.[4] Dealing with these parallel threats (local and Russian) meant that a sizable, well-supplied garrison had to be maintained in the frontier. Consequently, 'coolie' labour had to be available to transport supplies and munitions from various parts of Kashmir to the outposts and to travel with the troops during regular campaigns. Second, state and Indian government officials travelling on business in the mountains required a normalized transport—corps to carry their baggage and supplies. In order to satisfy this irregular demand, men were taken from their villages and stationed at regular intervals on district roads for extended periods (Chohan 1983; Haji Sana Ullah, deputy commissioner Skardu, personal communication). Third, imperial institutions such as the Survey of India and, indirectly, the Royal Geographical Society were actively involved in creating an ordered geography of the Karakoram Range (Burrard & Hayden 1907). Surveyors undertaking the Kashmir section of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and 'explorers' engaged in combined scientific and mountaineering expeditions demanded a regular supply of transport labour. As the volume of travellers to Kashmir increased through the late 1800s a regularized system of travel was institutionalized throughout Kashmir whereby travellers could be expected to be provided with labour, supplies, and accommodation at government-fixed rates throughout the state. This process of place colonization relied directly on the physical control of space and the Dogra regime, under British direction, maintained an extensive surveillance system throughout the region in the form of state officers who ensured that villagers complied with government regulations requiring that labour and materials be available for Europeans and Indian travellers operating under state sanction.[5]

The Creation of a Regulated System of Travel

With the introduction of standardized *begār* in Kashmir toward the end of the nineteenth century, a distinct system of administration was established to regulate the activities of European travel. Even though conditions placed on travel were just as, if not more, restrictive as they had previously been, they began to be couched in terms of convenience for the traveller. Indeed, a bourgeois attitude which understood state surveillance as service seems to have taken hold among visitors.[6] State officers, along with commercial facilities, were appointed in Srinagar to oversee visitors' needs. But more salient for the issue of portering, a sanctioned set of rules and conditions emerged which dictated the terms under which men were to be employed. These were updated periodically and published in district and agency gazettes. They were also attached as appendices to an ever-increasing number of travel guides to Kashmir ensuring a wide circulation among travellers (e.g., Collett 1884; Duke 1910; Neve 1913).

A major function of this regulation of travel was the administrative division and organization of space. Not only was travel made to follow specific routes by prohibiting others, but for the purpose of European travel, space was divided into marches or 'stages.' The distance of a stage varied but was generally considered to be the distance that could be covered in a day of travel. Fixed stages were marked on official routes and were meant to both regulate and monitor the travel of Europeans. In order to accomplish this, both informal and codified rules made it difficult for travellers to operate outside of sanctioned routes. The 1884 version of the *Rules for the Guidance of Travellers Visiting Jummu [sic] and Kashmir*, for example, state, 'Unless travellers camp at the fixed stages and encamping grounds, there is no certainty that supplies will be available' (Collett 1884: 158). It also informs travellers that a 'book... will be presented at each stage, in which every traveller is required to write legibly his [*sic*] name, rank, and station, the date of his arrival and departure, and the amount of carriage taken by him...'

Just as 'the rule book' governed the activities of Europeans, it also dictated the terms of engagement through which villagers were to officially support those activities.

In villages, the onus fell upon headmen to ensure that labour and supplies were available to any traveller who might need them. Support for travellers was provided by decree of the state government. *Parwannas*, or permits, were issued to them assuring that porter and animal transport would be provided on demand at rates set by the government.[7] Most European travellers seem to have approved of this system.[8] Indeed many saw it as advantageous not only to travellers but also to villagers. An early guide book, for example, notes,

> The traveller must remember that in British territory labour is free, and that, therefore, there may be some trouble in finding ponies or mules, though coolies are usually abundant. In the Maharajah's territory labour is partly compulsory, that is to say, a fine is imposed unless ponies and coolies are forthcoming; there is on that account no difficulty in finding coolies or ponies; but the pay for the hire of coolies is double what each man usually earns working independently, so that they have little reason to complain. (Collett 1884: 24)

With the exception of exclusion zones and restricted routes, the administration of travel for Europeans in Kashmir was not unique. In many states, revenue officers had standing orders to publish rates of carriage and supplies and to provide all possible assistance to travellers in procuring supplies and transport. These orders also applied to village headmen (e.g., Government of India 1920: 255–361). This codification of relations between travellers and

porters in the form of rule books or standing orders is not insignificant. Marglin (1990: 224), for example, in a discussion of the evolution of capitalist relations of production, addresses how colonialists established their dominance over production only very gradually, and only in certain areas of production. The basis of dominance lay in breaking, or at least attempting to break, the solidarity of villagers, and in restructuring 'production so as to minimize the worker's knowledge and skill.' In the restructuring of work, key steps were the development of technical and bureaucratic control—symbolized in the case of porter labour, for example, by the linearity of movement through space, state regulations and informal 'rules' of expedition travel, and the transmission of these rules from expedition to expedition intergenerationally—with the intention of creating and fostering the impression of a transcendent authority. For Kashmiri villager and European travellers alike, this transcendent authority emerged in the form of 'the rule book.' Not only were the duties and expectations of both established through these 'rule books,' but both could appeal to the text to justify their actions or sanction the actions of the other. While the 'rule book' effectively entrenched the dominant position of the European, the existence of codified rules permitted the individual traveller to escape any responsibility for his or her position in those relations. The 'rule book,' then, aided in the naturalization of the subordinate position of 'the porter' throughout Kashmir.

In sum, this regulated system of travel also contributed directly to the process of transforming local communities. It prioritized the concerns of those employing porters over local village interests; it created a market mechanism through which porterage was regulated, one which, not incidently, assured the availability of cheap labour; and it codified the political and legal status of villagers. To a large degree, it was able to do this with minimal resistance because of a policy of 'effecting colonial rule through an indigenous hegemonic class' (Mason 1978: 57) and due to the classificatory schemes of society at large which operated to naturalize the distinction between European colonizer and native subordinate (cf. Cornell 1990). It is these classificatory and discursive schemes that operated to impose an identity on Balti villagers by contributing to the construction of an essentialized 'coolie.' These classificatory schemes continue, at least partially, to inform transcultural interaction today.

Material and Symbolic Effect of Travel/Exploration

In material terms, the regulation of travel in Kashmir brought severe hardship on the Balti people. Preliminary efforts to access discursive formations suggest that villagers consider the Dogra/British period to have been the most repressive in their history of subjugation.[9] But the material effects of regulated and systematized travel, and standardized *begār*, were facilitated and perpetuated by schemes of representation which essentialized the situation of Balti villagers as 'coolies,' as 'born carriers of loads,' as natural beasts of burden. This essentialization then fixed the role of the Balti villager in the project of colonizing Baltistan. Although Balti villagers may not have had access to this European discourse prior to partition, they certainly suffered its material effects. This included being physically treated like the natural beasts of burden that they were represented as.

It was against the material effects of this representation and, thus, against external representations of themselves, that resistance was expressed. This struggle, then, characterizes Baltistan as a contact zone, but more importantly, defines it as a local space of colonial politics—'a space of practical resistance, acceptance, and appropriation.' A starting point in the understanding of this struggle is to understand the process of constructing, essentializing, and naturalizing the condition of Balti villagers as 'coolies.'[10]

Identifying the Coolie

The phrase 'coolie' existed long before the British arrived in Kashmir, or Baltistan, as did typical representations of 'the coolie' as childish, feminine, and bestial (Breman 1989; Breman & Daniel 1992). The process of constructing 'the Balti coolie,' then, presupposed the existence of a social category or class—'the coolie.'[11] Portering brought Baltis into a colonial society in which the overwhelming organizing factors were race and class (during both the Dogra and British periods). It is not surprising, then, that we find evidence of the construction of the social category 'coolie' on the basis of race, class, and ethnicity, the threads of which are all, of course, woven into an Orientalist tapestry. It was along these lines that the dominant terms used to mark collective identity were drawn. In Kashmir, the ethnic label Balti became synonymous with the class label 'coolie.'[12] It is this conflation that allowed Dainelli (1934), for example, on crossing a pass in Baltistan and finding a birth in progress, to pronounce that a new 'coolie' had been brought into the world. The fate of the child, at least in Dainelli's mind, was sealed by virtue of his ethnicity. Dainelli's consignment of the child to the social category of 'coolie' carried with it certain characteristics that would be used to distinguish, or more to the point, to prevent the distinction of this individual, at least for many Europeans, for the rest of his life.

The construction of the 'coolie' as Other was, of course, interwoven with the process of constructing a representation of the European self. What Said (1978, 1993) and Pratt (1992) among others teach us is that even as Europeans construct a set of subordinated others, they also construct themselves in opposition to those others. In our case, the Balti becomes amoral in opposition to the European's morality; insincere in opposition to the European's sincerity; unintelligent in opposition to the European's intellect. For the exploits of Europeans to be prioritized, the abilities and capacities of the Baltis had to be either demeaned or left in the shadows, in the background of the narrative. This occurred in a variety of ways most of which denied the 'coolie' the benefit of any human agency. The most pernicious and violent of these representations, however, was that which facilitated the denial of agency, the categorization of porters as subhuman (cf. Breman 1990).

To avoid any moral dilemma with using fellow human beings as beasts of burden 'the coolie' was constructed as something other than civilized, other than fully human. The work of Michele Taussig in South America and Jan Breman in Southeast Asia, for example, reveals that the attitude adopted by employers toward local residents was one of abomination 'negating the human value of the other by attributing him [*sic*] with bestial behaviour' (Taussig 1987). Not surprisingly, we find the same attributes applied to Balti porters. Treating human beings as beasts of burden demands that one construct them as a category of beast, or at least as subhuman. Evidence of this pervades colonial and neo-colonial travel literature describing Balti people and their way of life.[13] Expedition and travel narratives are rife with statements and depictions of scenes which naturalize the condition of 'coolie' as beast. In the report of the Expedition francaise a l'Himalaya (1938: 41), for example: 'one could not help feeling pity for these *creatures*, who were more like *beasts* than human beings. Their misery was terrible to behold, but they did not appear to feel this in the slightest; it seemed to *fit them naturally*—as naturally as the rags in which they were clothed' (emphasis added). In the minds of 'civilized,' hence non-bestial, Europeans, not only were these '*creatures*' like '*beasts*' but this was a '*natural*' condition.

Similarly Fanny Bullock Workman, a leader of the American suffragette movement, was party to this construction of 'the coolie' as subhuman and in a revealing statement suggests that 'the Himalayan shepherd is the personification of primitive and unintelligent man, scarcely

higher in his habits than the animals under his care' (Workman & Workman 1908). Ultimately, by labelling porters as beasts, and by denying them human, or civilized, qualities, their treatment as beasts could pass as legitimate. And violent treatment, or the threat of it, was certainly made clear. Fanny Bullock Workman, for example, had her Swiss guide physically beat and kick porters to induce them to proceed. Aleister Crowley publicly whipped porters as examples to the others. William McCormick threatened porters with his pistol promising that the first of them to desert would be shot in the back. This is not merely something confined to a more brutal colonial time. Though the frequency of violent acts has likely lessened, as recently as 1975 a member of the American K2 expedition wrote in his diary: 'If the expedition is stranded the Baltis should be punished. They should be stripped naked, and marched home in shame. They'll get out alive but they'll have a lesson. I don't want to kill them outright' (Rowell 1986). In 1986, another climber stood by and watched while the expedition liaison officer beat a porter with a whip (Barry 1987).

The violence exercised on men employed as porters suggests that the traveller's dependence on this constructed alien was aggravating to at least some. Comments from contemporary guidebooks which characterize porters as 'difficult,' or 'expensive' on the basis of their ethnicity, continue to expose this aggravation (Shaw & Shaw 1993; King & St Vincent 1993). And it is this aggravation, combined with the typification of the 'coolie' that has resulted in the generation of notoriety (cf., Taussig 1987: 302). In Baltistan, this notoriety has assumed a negative form. That is, porters have been assigned a notoriety for particular disreputable acts (e.g., complaints, theft, lies, cowardice).[14] It is important to recognize, however, that notoriety implies not only the generation of knowledge but its extension. For this to occur, there must be a system of procedures not only for the production of knowledge, but also its regulation, circulation, and reproduction; and for notoriety to develop, this system has to be linked in a spiralling relation with systems of power which not only produce but sustain it (Foucault 1986).

It is this process of the production of a knowledge of 'the coolie' and the system for sustaining and extending that knowledge that concerns us here. For it is this notoriety that is transmitted intergenerationally through travel accounts both written and oral. And through this intergenerational transmission the traits that constitute a particular notoriety become essentialized and naturalized. They become recognized not as 'a truth' derived from the generation of knowledge within a particular system of power, but as 'the truth'; they become, for at least some, facts which one *expects* to encounter (Butz forthcoming*b*). It is this intergenerational transmission of expectation and advised behaviour that represents the imposition of identity, the representation of an Other.

The words used to typify the Balti porter in the travel, exploration, and mountaineering literature include garrulous, belligerent, greedy, unreliable, cowardly. Regardless of the individual experiences that generate this image, the power system that sustains and extends it has produced a representation of Balti porters as unreliable. As each expedition encounters its own problems, it relies on descriptions of previous expeditions to dispel the notion that its problems are anything out of the ordinary and turn an individual experience into a common experience between generations of travellers. This experience is projected—transmitted—to subsequent expeditions who, based on the ritual repetition of expedition organization and travel style, become predisposed to expect problems with porters.[15] In this way a reputation—notoriety—is developed. The notoriety of the Balti porter has spread far and wide within a group of people who travel or read about travel in mountain environs—the reputation of Balti porter as problem. Much of the colonial literature, reflecting the superior moral tones of the time, simply attributed this notoriety to racial characteristics of 'the Balti'—cowardly, timid,

stupid (i.e., lacking the capacity and knowledge required to survive in a 'harsh mountain environment'), lacking the economic motivation common to the European; meaning that 'the Asian coolie' did not 'respond spontaneously and willingly to "normal" economic incentives, and was insensitive to the [moral] self-compulsion which resulted in an adequate labour performance' (Breman 1989).[16] These representations are not insignificant. The colonizers' hegemonical control of space both physically and symbolically was bulwarked by a process of representing local peoples as ignorant of both history and geography—by a process of deterritorialization. The control of space, then, is an important constituent in the generation of a hegemony which attempts to control the representation of the subject; which attempts to create and impose an identity. It is this European discourse which dehistoricizes and deterritorializes subject peoples and it is such deterritorialization and dehistoricization that is a characteristic outcome of interaction in the contact zone. This discourse 'obliterates the conquered inhabitants of the contact zone as historical agents who have living continuities with pre-European pasts and historically based aspirations and claims on the present' (Pratt 1992: 135). Of course, outside of the material effects of the representations that emerge from such a discourse, the discourse itself is unimportant to local peoples. Despite outsider attempts to demean indigenous agency, local spaces continue to be perceived as lived places with specific and dynamic meanings, uses, histories, and symbolic functions which continue to contribute to indigenous knowledge and identity.

The paradox here is that despite attempts to deny the humanity of 'the coolie,' it is through the human agency of those who were made to porter that their notoriety emerged. The actions that contribute to the development of notoriety are not simply imagined, they are precipitated by an event. The characterization of 'the coolie' as a stubborn animal who refuses to budge unless kicked directly implies the assertion of a will; the enactment of a decision to refuse to move implies the exercise of agency. It is an agency aimed at maintaining some autonomy over the conditions under which they labour that has brought violence on men employed as porters. Presumably it is the same agency which has allowed people to retain a degree of dignity and self-respect. The test of these statements, however, lies in the indigenous discursive formations, which have yet to, and may never, be fully accessed by outsiders, by the very people who generate the discourses which have served to perpetuate and legitimate the relations of power and conditions of production central to the existing political economy of portering.

Space, Resistance, and the Maintenance of Identity

Given the primacy that deterritorialization and the belittling of local knowledge play in the European discourse of travel in Baltistan, it is ironic that when one adopts a contact perspective—one which accepts the reality of copresence and the efficacy of native agency—that the manipulation of space, enacted through a detailed local knowledge, is exposed as an important component of resistance against attempts to control space. If resistance can be interpreted as a process of self-affirmation and self-representation—that is, as a means of asserting a conception of self, then it is an important component of identity and the strategic use of space in acts of resistance can similarly be considered constitutive of identity. Within the asymmetrical power relations that typify the contact zone, resistance is an important means of self-representation. In Baltistan, as in many colonial situations, self-knowledge and historical consciousness have been two principal ingredients of resistance movements.

Haynes and Prakash (1991: 3) define resistance as 'those behaviours and cultural practices by subordinate groups that contest hegemonic social formations, that threaten to unravel the

strategies of domination; "consciousness" need not be essential to its constitution.' Ironically, then, it is the very behaviours and practices that have been used to generated a negative notoriety for Balti porters that we can examine to partially understand how Baltis have challenged or accommodated the conditions of production responsible for appropriating their labour. It is through the same texts that reproduce notoriety that we can gain access to descriptions of resistance directed against this inequity.

Each form of oppressed labour sets in motion its own opposition—its own resistance. Students of slavery have outlined the passive and overt means by which powerless slaves resisted the demands of their masters. In a recent work, however, Scott (1990) suggests that there are two apparent faces to this resistance. The process of domination, he argues, 'generates a hegemonic public conduct and a backstage discourse consisting of what cannot be spoken in the face of power' (p. xii). In other words, the subordinated group behaves one way in public, essentially behaving in accordance with the perceptions and expectations of the dominant group,—this is the 'public transcript.' Every subordinate group, however, also creates, out of its ordeal, a 'hidden transcript'—an account, both oral and dramaturgic, that represents a critique of power spoken out of sight and sound of the dominant group. It is the 'public transcript' that we as researchers and as outsiders are most frequently exposed to simply because the narratives—the historical and archival accounts—that we rely on for insight present a hegemonic account of power relations. Yet, the 'hidden transcript' is also available for scrutiny, typically expressed openly but in a disguised form. Scott (1990) suggests that the theatre of the powerless (jokes, gossip, folktales, songs, gestures, etc.) can be interpreted as a critique of power which hides behind the anonymity or innocuous understandings of their conduct.

In relation to the dominant group of foreigners in Baltistan, I suggest that this theatre of the powerless was and is played out on the mountain trails and glaciers that past and present travellers have followed. Read from a contact perspective, their accounts, while contributing to the development and perpetuation of a negative notoriety, also expose very specific acts of resistance meant as forms of self-representation, as attempts to define one's own identity. They also reveal that power relations have not remained static or unchanging over time. In fact, one important revelation that comes from a close reading of the accounts of mountaineering expeditions and colonial literature is that the patterns by which porters have expressed resistance have changed through time. Particularly, following the partition of India and Pakistan, expressions of resistance began to cautiously move from the covert to the overt, from passive to active. One can almost collate a chronology of resistance through which changes in techniques of resistance have emerged to more openly challenge oppressive conditions. These shifts in techniques of resistance likely exist in a reciprocal relationship with changes in the conditions of production, but that work is yet to be done (cf., Tilly 1993). Nonetheless, this appears to be an important element in the exercise, and success, of resistance; the gradual attempt to gain increasing control over the conditions of production while simultaneously minimizing the retribution that such resistance entails. Accordingly, an examination of the techniques of resistance employed by porters can achieve several aims: i) it can contribute to an understanding of indigenous discursive formations; ii) it can help to undermine the power of European discursive formations; and iii) it can contribute to an understanding of indigenous forms of self-representation in Baltistan.

Techniques of Resistance

Images from travel and mountaineering narratives often suggest that men are willing participants in the adventure tourism industry in Baltistan and that they derive significant benefits from that participation. Indeed, there is some truth in this statement. Certainly today, men are not pressed into service other than by a need for cash imposed by the penetration of market-oriented capitalism. Portering does provide some men with access to a supply of cash without having to leave home for extensive periods of time.[17] But representations of both the willingness with which men participate and the benefits they derive are belied by the reality of the porter's apparent propensity to cause difficulties for expeditions. They are also belied by current porters who speak of a desire to escape the necessity to work as porters in order to earn cash. Alternate opportunities, such as shopkeeping and government positions are quickly grasped as they present themselves. Men openly state that they would not work as porters if other paid work were available (cf. Fisher 1990).[18] There is abundant evidence that Baltis did not suffer their subjugation and exploitation passively and travellers reports are full of descriptions of both subtle and blatant expressions of resistance—although the tone in which these incidents are usually reported clearly reveal anti-porter sentiments.

The responses of Balti porters to the conditions under which they have been made to provide their labour have varied through time and in relation to different circumstances. This is evidenced in the accounts of a variety of travellers who attest to having had no 'trouble' with their porters. Kick (1954: 164), for example describes his experience as trouble-free but went on to note that 'nearly all other expeditions did not get on well with them [Baltis] and describe them as the dirtiest and most inferior race in Asia.' Kick's experience, and that of others, illustrates the complex and inconsistent character of such responses. While types of resistance varied from silence to strikes, these cannot be seen as contained events. In the course of serving an expedition acts of resistance might proceed from grumbling through to desertion (e.g., 1936 French Himalayan Expedition). If the duration of the expedition to the point of desertion is considered a resistance event, then the character of that event is mixed and transcends any typology that might be presented here. Similarly a single episode of resistance, characterized, say, as a refusal to proceed, might also include a refusal to communicate with expedition members when they try to find the source of the resistance or to identify the 'ringleaders.'

A preliminary survey of travel, mountaineering, and 'exploration' literature covering the period 1835–1986 reveals that travellers frequently encountered a variety of obstacles to their progress, seemingly caused by some action on the part of their porters. It is these techniques that I wish to discuss next, but more specifically, how these techniques rely on a detailed knowledge and manipulation of topography and space in conjunction with an indigenous understanding of the limited ability of foreigners to function without local support in a mountain environment. In his conceptual formulation, Scott (1990) discusses the importance of space in the constitution of the hidden transcript—the idea that the transcript is formed and transmitted in out-of-the-way places to which power does not have ready access—so-called safe places. But he stops short of considering or at least of discussing the importance of exploiting space and topography and the deployment of local knowledge in acts of resistance. And it is these qualities that seem particularly relevant and salient when considering acts of resistance by porters.

Almost by definition, all acts of resistance are acts of sabotage. By expressing resistance in any way, then, porters are attempting to thwart the immediate goals of an expedition; whether that goal be to climb a peak, to reach a pass, or simply to take a few pictures. Understood as sabotage, resistance, or what Tilly (1993) has called the repertoire of contention, can include

such hindrances as theft, deception, a refusal to understand, silence, sickness, and accident, among others.[19] Whatever the means, the objective of resistance is the same, to thwart the goals for which labour has been appropriated to help achieve. In the case of travel then, any act which hindered the progress of an expedition effectively contributed to thwarting these goals. Accordingly, such acts rely heavily on the manipulation of space. For example, numerous expeditions report having received poor information from Baltis, or of porters seeming unable to comprehend their requests. This seems to occur most frequently when the questions relate to topography and routes. Outsiders have typically relied on the racial stereotype, generated through colonial typification, of the Balti as unintelligent to explain these encounters. But, as others have pointed out, a refusal to understand is itself a form of resistance and in playing dumb, the powerless exploit the very stereotypes that are used to stigmatize them. Again this amounts to a systematic use of ignorance to thwart the goals and objectives of the dominant group. Moreover, if the strategic use of space is an essential component of more overt acts of resistance, such as desertion or withdrawal, then ignorance is actually part of an active and intelligent strategy of passive resistance. When the one tool that you can use to your advantage is topography, why draw a map of it for those who would use it to exploit you?

While these acts certainly hindered the progress of expeditions, certain acts of resistance relate more directly to the exercise of local knowledge in the use of space and the exploitation of topography than others. Task bargaining is one such act. It has become customary in Baltistan to pay porters by the stage or *pharo* (a designated distance rather than a set time) rather than by the day and to agree to the stages that will be completed each day before the journey is begun. Expeditions, however, have often complained that porters only complete a half-day's work before trying to stop for the day. They often attribute this action again to a racial stereotype of laziness. The porters, in return, state that they are only stopping at the traditional camp for that stage, citing as precedent previous expeditions that had stopped at that particular campsite. By task bargaining, then, I mean attempts by porters to reduce their exploitation by manipulating definitions of stages (definitions of distance) in order to confound the progress of the expedition. An intentional misinterpretation of stages could always be invoked as the basis for an act of resistance.

Expeditions also frequently complain of the slow progress or foot-dragging of porters again attributing this to an inherent laziness. Interpreted from the standpoint of resistance, this is a means of time bargaining which enables a group of porters to avoid fatigue by allowing them to work at a comfortable pace, and consequently to establish a degree of control over their own work. It reduces competition among the group and protects slower members who might otherwise be singled out for harassment. In essence, 'foot-dragging' acts to protect the solidarity of the group. At the same time it tends to reinforce the perceived power hierarchy by allowing 'sahibs' to reach camps long before the porters 'straggle in.' This seems to satiate egos sufficiently that punishment is rarely meted out for progressing slowly through the day.

Another type of resistance, perhaps that most frequently cited by contemporary expeditions, is work stoppage. This has typically taken three forms. The first is outright desertion. Again, this act was more frequent in the early days of expedition travel than it is today. When desertion was not meant as an act of open defiance, it tended to occur during the night in order to avoid confrontation with the dominant group. The degree of desertion seems to have varied with the degree of control exercised and also with the continued viability on the agricultural economy. When portering for an expedition meant that field crops might suffer from a lack of attention, the degree of desertion seems to have increased. The colonial government and expedition organizers responded to frequent desertion by attempts to control and regulate the recruitment of labour. The names of porters were recorded, work cards were

issued, and in later years, porters were made to agree to 'contracts' stipulating the conditions of employment. Currently, for example, porters working for expeditions continue to be bound by contract, and under threat of prosecution, *must promise* to neither desert nor insist on an increase of wages during the march, and 'to serve the party diligently and faithfully' (Ministry of Culture Sports and Tourism 1983). In effect, the historical response to porter resistance was to criminalize the mobility of porters.

In response to this criminalization of mobility, we encounter another form of work stoppage—a simple refusal to work with no explanation given for the stoppage. Porters neither deserted nor made any demands, a mixture of the refusal to move with silence avoiding the charge of desertion while allowing porters to assert some control over their labour power. Early expeditions tended to respond to such acts violently, threatening porters with firearms or publicly lashing individuals as 'an example to the others.' Often, after refusing to work for a certain period of time, porters would return to work with no apparent explanation, but significantly, at a time of their own choosing. In some cases where work stoppage occurred, some porters—perhaps half of the contingent—would return to their villages, while others would continue with the expedition. I expect that an investigation into indigenous discourses of portering might reveal that this relates to a kind of work sharing agreement, whereby those returning to the village agree to tend the crops of those continuing with the expedition.

The last form of work stoppage is a formal strike with stated demands and identifiable negotiators. Particularly after partition, porter strikes became more frequent. The distinction between these latter two forms of work stoppage is extremely important because it represents the beginnings of the public expression of a 'hidden transcript.' Simple refusals to pick up loads and proceed, as described in colonial narratives and accounts of mountaineering expeditions are just that—an anonymous mass defiance. The element of anonymity is crucial here. The strategy is developed out of sight of the dominant group. Strictly speaking, protesters are not anonymous but they achieve a kind of anonymity because of their numbers. Demands are not made, so no clear leaders stand out. It is next to impossible to single out individuals for retaliation. It is this element of anonymity that increases the potential for open defiance. Resistance can be expressed with a virtual guarantee of minimal retaliation. Strikes, however, as acts of resistance, differ from a simple refusal to work in a fundamental way. They expose the 'hidden transcript' to public view and openly defy the authority of the dominant group. They have identifiable leaders and those leaders make specific demands, primarily aimed at improving wages and working conditions.

It is notable that the transition to strikes as a strategy of resistance on the part of porters is coincident with partition because independence and partition meant the removal of a local, identifiable structure of domination which could administer its own idea of justice in a swift and brutal way—a structure that operated in support of travellers and mountaineers. Although foreigners still represent a structure of domination in the post-partition period, the reinforcement of that structure has been significantly diminished and, particularly with a growing appreciation of the notion of human rights (though these still seem vague notions in relation to the travel industry), the success rates of strikes have improved markedly with real success occurring after 1974. For example in the seventy-seven years between 1877 and 1954 porter wages increased from 1/4 rupee per stage to 1 rupee per stage. In the thirty-five years between 1954 and 1990—those years with an increased frequency of strikes—wages increased from 1 rupee per stage to 90 rupees per stage (MacDonald forthcoming*b*).

Space and the Assertion of Identity

In the central Karakoram, what appears significant about the issue of work stoppage is the locations where these stoppages most frequently occurred. What emerges from a careful reading of numerous expedition accounts is that these were not random. In fact the same settings for work stoppages tend to be used time and time again suggesting that there is a strategic element to the selection of these locations. I have not been able to conduct primary research into this observation so what follows is largely an interpretation based on my knowledge of the area, of the aspirations of expeditions, and my conversations with a number of porters. The most frequent trips to the area have been to the Baltoro Glacier—to K2 or another peak along its margins—and it is along this route that work stoppages have most frequently occurred. Below are three sites of work stoppages that show up consistently in the literature:

- **Bardumal**
  This is the first camp after crossing the Dumordo River. The crossing is accomplished either by fording the river while it is low, or by detouring up the Dumordo valley and shunting loads across a pulley bridge, a job that consumes the better part of a day for many expeditions. A work stoppage beyond this point threatens the expedition not only with the prospect of desertion and the abandonment of the expedition, but also with having to shunt all of its loads back across the river without the assistance of porters. Its trip is literally stalled before it has even reached the glacier.

- **Rdokas**
  Rdokas is the last off-ice camp along the Baltoro Glacier. In many mountaineering expedition accounts, team members express a feeling that they have committed themselves to the climb once they have passed beyond Rdokas, the last site of greenery along the Baltoro; once they have reached 'permanent' snow and ice. It is when they are just beginning to steel themselves for the next several weeks on snow and ice that a work stoppage is psychologically effective in threatening their entire venture.

- **Godwin-Austen Glacier**
  The third popular site for a work stoppage in the case of K2 is just prior to K2 Base camp. This is also true for many other peaks; porters refuse to continue just as the group is approaching the end of their initial journey. Again, expedition members are hit at a vulnerable point. They are literally within sight of their immediate objective when they are confronted with another work stoppage. They know that they cannot proceed without the assistance of porters and they have to either coerce them into proceeding or, in the case of a strike, negotiate with them. Here, when the complement of porters is at a minimum, the chances of dividing the group into factions and convincing some to go on, or of acquiring replacements from down-valley are poor. The porters are also far out of the immediate reach of any government authority that might be able to exercise immediate retribution.

In all of these cases, porters are not only making strategic use of space and topography but also just as directly exploiting the limited ability of the dominant group to survive in that environment without assistance. They are aware that expeditions have a limited time to

achieve their objectives, and that they can rarely afford to lose a day's progress in their advance march. Not only does this resistance challenge the material conditions of the appropriation of their labour, but it also challenges the material effects of a European representation which have relied on belittling the agency of the Balti villager. In the negotiation of power relations and the struggle over identity, then, space has played an important role in both the exercise of domination and internal expressions of resistance and identity.

Conclusion

Over the past 150 years, portering in Northern Pakistan has emerged from a form of codified forced labour into a legitimate part-time occupation that men participate in out of economic necessity. It is rooted in an institutional system that maintained a hierarchy of power which instrumentally and ideologically produced a subservient class of people whose purpose was to carry the baggage of a superordinate group. This occurred not only materially but symbolically in the form of a repressive discourse which perpetuated inequitable relations of production. Part of its ability to do this was a function of the reproduction of a typification of local peoples which equated individual and cultural identity with occupational status.

It would be erroneous, however, to classify contemporary porterage as forced labour. Changes have occurred in the conditions under which men provide their labour to expeditions and travellers. These changes, however, have largely arisen from a refusal to passively accept the conditions under which their labour was appropriated. Through time, men have employed various means to gain a measure of control over their own labour power. These actions, however, were interpreted by the superordinate group through an institutionally controlled discursive filter which encouraged them to represent such actions as characteristic features of conflated categories of class, ethnicity, and 'race.' In Baltistan the labels 'coolie,' Balti, and 'Oriental' were all essentialized through European discursive schemes and used to generate a Balti identity within the European discourse. This discourse had material ramifications for Balti villagers which included the standardization of the means of labour recruitment and control, often exercised violently, and it was against these that resistance was enacted. Ironically, this resistance acted to further entrench the derogatory representations characteristic of the European discourse of travel in Baltistan.

I do not want to overstate the effectiveness of resistance in the generation of a cohesive 'Balti' identity. It is clear in Baltistan, for example, that despite a long history of apparently collective action against expeditions, there are notable divisions within and between the communities that provide men for portering. Some of the sources of these divisions are related to the dynamics of indigenous political systems (cf., Butz forthcoming*b*). Others are related to the response of dominant power structures to acts of resistance; the push back against the indigenous shove. Yet resistance against expeditions has prevented the emergence in Baltistan of an indigenous identity based solely on occupational status.

Scott (1990) suggests that specific forms of domination within occupations having a set of similar working conditions promote the formation of a cohesive occupational group who act with solidarity; who form 'communities of fate.' Their *labour* is marked by a high level of physical danger that is minimized by a high degree of camaraderie and cooperation. And their *occupation* is marked by the homogeneity and isolation of their community and work experience; a close mutual dependence; and a relative lack of differentiation within and mobility out of their trade. According to Scott, these conditions tend to maximize the cohesion

and unity of a worker subculture: 'They are nearly a race apart. They are all under the same authority, run the same risks, mix nearly exclusively with one another, and rely on a high degree of mutuality.'

This notion of a community of fate effectively frames the occupation of portering and the conditions that porters work under. What is notable in Baltistan, however, is the degree to which this community of fate is grounded in the village origins of porters, rather than to an awareness of the common interests of the occupational group. Occupational solidarity seems to be absent (as demonstrated in the lack of any formal union or association of porters) and village-or valley-based allegiances persist in relation to the organization of portering. While speculative, I suggest that the absence of occupational solidarity, at least in part, is an effect of European discursive formations that emerged in response to acts of resistance by porters. Whereas the dominant group understood a social category of 'coolie' and continues to understand one of 'porter,' subjects still hold to roots of identity that are grounded in their household and village. Collective identity, then stems from the village, rather than from the occupation and acts of resistance are most fully coordinated when their organization is predicated by village or kin membership. This fact did not go unnoticed by the organizers of early expeditions. When travelling in populated areas, porters were changed frequently, thus preventing the opportunity to develop even a temporary group consciousness centred on an occupational status. It is in less-populated areas, not surprisingly, that the frequency of porter resistance increased. Not only were working conditions more harsh, but men were together for a longer period of time allowing the formation of a group identity that transcended village origins. Further research is needed to determine the extent to which dominant group members actively attempted to prevent the formation of group consciousness, but the comments of a contemporary Pakistani traveller, recognizing the discursive schemes of his colonial predecessors, are revealing: 'I didn't want to hire all three men from the same area because Afridi [coordination officer between the Ministry of Tourism and mountaineering expeditions] had warned me that in a delicate situation they usually ganged up and struck work' (Rashid 1995).

What Rashid indirectly alludes to here is that resistance is grounded in community identity more than occupational status. This relation of community and collective action is not surprising. Group formation is provided through opportunity structures—that is, the recognition of the existence of a community of fate arises within certain economic, political, and conceptual circumstances that 'foster or discourage particular bases of collective identity and action' (Cornell 1990). It is within such opportunity structures that subordinate groups express and assert their own notions of who they are. The apparent absence of an occupational group consciousness in Baltistan, then, can be taken as an assertion that men who work as porters do not see themselves simply as porters, any more than, say, European travel writers see themselves simply as that—travel writers. Identity is, of course, complex and multi-faceted, and while occupational status certainly plays a role in the generation of identity, identity cannot simply be reduced to occupational status - despite our tendency to do this in the West. Portering takes men away from their communities for a relatively short period of time compared to other forms of migrant labour. Consequently, individual identity is still directly informed by village norms and social bounds. As portering is largely a seasonal and part-time occupation (and viewed primarily as a means of earning cash income), any collective identity that emerges within a group of men who are employed as porters for a short period of time is secondary to identity based on household and community.

If recognition of the occupational grouping of porter as a part of a broader identity is to emerge in Baltistan, it will, as in the past be the result of a negotiated and contested process, both indigenously and transculturally. By presenting Baltistan as a contact zone, and applying

a contact perspective, I have attempted to describe the origins of that process in this paper. However, any such understanding of the negotiation of identity, any history of portering as an occupation and basis for group formation, is incomplete without tapping into indigenous discursive formations. This is necessary so that contrasting accounts of this negotiation may appear, but it is this work that remains to be done. In the interim, by questioning the dominant narratives of history in Northern Pakistan, and by understanding the genealogy of European discursive foundations regarding porters and portering, we can begin to expose the origins of our assumptions concerning historical events in Baltistan, and to disrupt the continuation of the power effects stemming from that genealogy.

NOTES

1. By speaking of a resistance against the imposition of identity, I do not presuppose an indigenous exposure to the European discursive formations that went about typifying the Balti and 'creating' a Balti identity. Indeed, it is not at all clear that Balti people had access to the 'colonial discourse' which was aimed at a colonial audience. I do suggest, however, that this resistance reflects a reaction against the material effects of such symbolic formations of identity.
2. Balti villagers were not only to be found serving the state, but also working in the fields of nearby Gilgit district and further afield in India. It is unclear whether these Baltis were voluntary migrant workers or the victims of bonded labour schemes or a more direct form of slavery. Certainly, oral tradition in Askole records tales of village men being captured and forced to work in the fields of Gilgit. It also, however, records a history of voluntary migrant labour to the district of Yarkand.
3. Through the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846 Baltistan became part of the new State of Jammu and Kashmir, the control of which is currently disputed by India, Pakistan, and separatist factions within Indian-held Kashmir.
4. Or at least the British used the spectre of Russian invasion to extend their sphere of interest in the frontier districts, incurring minimal cost to the government by manipulating the *raja* of Kashmir and his Dogra troops.
5. Just as important, in terms of material effect, however was the symbolic appropriation of space in the form of both textual and cartographic discursive representations which deterritorialized the landscape and left it open for textual inscription. I have discussed the political process of representing the space of Baltistan elsewhere (MacDonald 1995, in prep.).
6. In the words of one traveller,

   there are two good English agencies, both managed by retired officers, where all camp outfit can be hired or bought, and thus the great cost of transport into the country is saved. (Doughty 1902: xii) ...A reliable list of rates for the purchase of all daily requirements, from the hiring of coolies to the price of bread, can be obtained from Sahib Rao Amarnath, an official appointed by the Maharajah to look after the interests of visitors. He represents in his fat, comfortable person paternal Government carried to the furthest limit, and is equally ready to order condign punishment for your servants if they overcharge in any particular, or to insist on the re-loading of your ponies if overweighted. He is exactly the right man in the right place, and the threat of 'referring the matter to him' will influence coolies on strike even away in far-off valleys! It is a system, the adoption of which in so-called more civilised countries would greatly assist the helpless foreigner. (p. xvii)
7. An examination of porter rates reveals the emerging capitalist nature of production relations in the travel industry of late 19th century Kashmir. These gradually assumed the vernacular of modern management whereby the term 'coolie' became synonymous with 'labour unit' or 'production input' (cf., Kelly 1992, Murray 1992). In 1884, for example the standard rate for a coolie per stage was 4 anas. A baggage pony, however, was charged out at a sanctioned rate of 8 anas per stage. This cost ratio persisted even as rates increased through time. 'Abolitionists' used these figures to argue that in Kashmir, a horse was 'worth twice as much as a man.' However, when interpreted in terms of the cost of production, the argument breaks down. The sanctioned load of a coolie was 25 *seers*, whereas a baggage pony could be loaded to 60 *seers*. Effectively, a baggage pony could, under 'the rules,' carry over twice the load of a 'coolie.' When both the 'coolie' and the pony are considered as labour units, then, the economics of the day dictated that the pony should be charged out at twice the rate of the man. Humanist concerns rarely found their way into the economics of production.
8. Jane Duncan (1906: 16), for example, found travel within Kashmir '...thoroughly organized and at each village, it is the duty of the lumbardar, or headman, who is paid by the state, to supply at fixed rates any food and wood

available and also transport in the shape of coolies or ponies and to show an official list of prices if required.'

9. It was during this period for example that older villagers took to referring to the former feudal rulers as *ati cho* (father king), and to generate nostalgic stories of feudal rule.
10. There exists an alternative tale of mountain travel in the Karakoram that serves to counter that portrayed in European discursive formations. It, however, exists in the form of indigenous discursive formations (largely oral traditions) which we are only beginning to access. Elsewhere I have discussed the process of 'othering' the Balti porter (MacDonald 1995). A summary will suffice here.
11. Edward Balfour (1871: 334-c) in his *Cyclopedia of India* offers the following definition (cf., Daniel & Breman 1992):

    COOLEE, a name used in British India to designate any labouring man, working for hire; also the hire itself. The word is a corruption of the Tamil word Woleeya or Wozheeya Karen, a servant. Under this designation great numbers of the labouring classes of India have emigrated to Ceylon the Mauritius Bourbon, and the West Indies. The mortality on the voyage was so considerable, ranging up to 19 per cent that emigration agents were appointed at the Indian ports under acts of the council to control the emigration.

12. Because they are such good carriers, and because the roads through their own and the adjoining countries are so bad, it has fallen out that they are employed more and more for carrying purposes, till the patient, long-suffering Balti coolie has become a well-known feature in the valleys of this frontier. (Younghusband 1887: 179)

    Here, Younghusband, the archetypal European explorer-hero, naturalizes the Balti as coolie. Baltis have a natural proclivity for carrying baggage and their exploitation as coolies is a function of this proclivity and the lack of a physical infrastructure. Nowhere is there a mention of force, corvée, or the class structure which demanded the servility of load carriers. Their subordinate position has not been constructed, it has simply 'fallen out,' through an unfortunate combination of circumstances.

13. Such descriptions also applied to Balti villages. Specifically, the village of Askole was described in 1920 as representing 'primitive man at the edge of a primitive half-formed world' (Bruce 1920). These are by no means attitudes of the past. In 1975, for example, Galen Rowell (1986) described Askole as 'pleasantly uncivilized, as representing that beautiful in between point at which the human race had hovered for most of its development up until the past two centuries.' The words are much the same—both the place and its inhabitants are constructed as primitive and uncivilized—as somehow subhuman from the vantage point of Western 'civilization.'
14. Notably, equally legitimate synonyms for notoriety are disrepute and eminence. There is valuable comparative work to be done in examining the discursive configurations that bestow eminence on, say, 'Sherpas,' and disrepute on 'Baltis.'
15. The problems mentioned in narratives reflect, the 'importance of class struggle in determining the organization of work' (Marglin 1990). Ironically, the documentation of this struggle in travel narratives, even as it was creating a negative notoriety for porters, was helping them to increase their control over the organization of work. A common theme of adventure travel narratives is a demonstration of an ability to overcome logistical problems as they are encountered. Thus, even as expeditions report on their porter problems and their culturally informed reasons for those problems, they usually also report on the steps taken to deal with those problems. When those steps include attempts to circumvent the problem through appeasement, through say higher wages or the provision of a rest day, this reporting of this solution acts, at least instrumentally, to benefit the porter. In terms of the struggle, it becomes a 'gain,' and every 'gain' that porters make through some act of resistance or overt challenge potentially minimizes the effort needed to achieve that gain with future expeditions. Through its insertion into the genealogy of travel knowledge it becomes part of an authoritative tradition.
16. Despite the existence of a dominant view, there are exceptions. A recent traveller to the region who did not have a bad experience was 'puzzled how the men from this area had earned such a reputation for recalcitrance, strikes and bloody mindedness' (Barry 1984: 156). As in many cases of domination, however, the reputation is taken as concrete, the victim is blamed, it is the men who *earned* the reputation, not the reputation that was strategically assigned. Regardless, the reputation sticks. Ironically, three years later the same writer describes a scene, reminiscent of the writings of his 19th century predecessors, of selecting porters for an expedition:

    Our sirdar knew... most of the cohort paraded before him.... He selected the best two hundred. This was survival of the fittest unstrained: the lame were sent packing without ceremony or sympathy; midgets and idiots too (and there was a share of both) and then the crooks, cheats, troublemakers and whingers [*sic*]. (Barry 1987: 74):

17. The actual benefits of adventure tourism to men who work as porters has yet to be fully examined in Baltistan (but see MacDonald 1994, forthcoming*d*). There is some evidence, for example, that the vast majority of the material benefits of the adventure tourism industry are flowing to foreign, local, and imported elites who are capitalizing on their positions as 'mediators.'
18. I avoid any discussing the gendered aspects of portering relations in this paper as I have had limited access to women's perspectives in Baltistan. This is an important dimension of transcultural discourse that we hope to investigate in the immediate future.
19. During the Dogra period, state control and surveillance was so thorough, that feigning illness was the only way for poor villagers to escape *begār* (Kachuripa Haji Mohammed, personal communication).

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USE OF PHOTOGRAPHS IN AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE FOR THE BURUSHO OF HUNZA: 1930s–90s

*Julie Flowerday**

Although photography and film have been developed as a part of the anthropological method, the historical perspective is just beginning to receive renewed direct attention. When these two interests, photography and history, are brought together they provide another approach for analysing and understanding socio-cultural change.

The purpose of this paper is to provide background and to describe some of the techniques which were used with photographs to develop a study of socio-cultural change among the Burusho of Hunza during my field experience for 1993–95. The study is based on photographs taken from glass lantern slides made by the late Lieutenant Colonel David L. R. Lorimer during his posting as political agent, Gilgit, in 1923-24 and during his fifteen month residence in Hunza as a civilian in 1934–35. The difference in time between Lorimer's work and the present study is more than sixty years. The intention of this study is not to reconstruct the time *between* the 1920–30s and the 1990s, but to document the difference *since* that earlier time.

Background

By region, Hunza is located in the Northern Areas of northeast Pakistan. The term Hunza, which now applies to a valley and to a political subdistrict of Gilgit, earlier referred to a petit-state of British colonial India. To the Burusho, the principal inhabitants who held the majority power of the state of that time, Hunza was restricted to an enclave of settlements in the south of the valley. This concentration of settlements was further distinguished by its immediate juxtaposition to those settlements of Burusho living just across the Hunza River in the petit state of Nager.

For Lorimer, Burusho referred to those people whose first language was Burushaski. Besides the population of Burushaski speakers in Hunza and another which dominated the independent state of Nager, a third population lived within a Khowar-dominated area of Yasin. The people of this latter area knew their language as Werchikwar. According to Lorimer, it, like Burushaski, was a dialect of a mother tongue no longer in existence and the mother tongue was not philologically related to the other great language families of the region—Sanskrit, Persian, Chinese, Turkic, Tibeto-Burman. Of these three populations, Lorimer, already a proven linguistic scholar, chose to work with the Burusho of Hunza because that area, it was thought, was least affected by outside influences.

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Photographic Materials

The photographic materials used for the present study are taken from Lorimer's collection of black and white glass lantern slides, the Hunza Slide Collection (HSC). The HSC, of which there are 236 slides, was compiled by Lorimer in 1936, soon after his return to England. The slides contain nine photographs from 1923–24, the remainder are from 1934–35.

The HSC

The significance of the HSC rests on three considerations. First, Lorimer's photographs were made some forty years after the Burusho of Hunza were defeated by British-led forces. The Burusho had unsuccessfully resisted the British demand to build a safe military road through their territory to the Wakhan Corridor and the Taghdumbash mountains. In the words of the Burusho, 'Hunzo was lost'; yet, in the loss of Hunzo the petit state of Hunza was created.

The forty years following the creation of Hunza as a valley state are equivalent to about a generation-and-a-half in duration. This means that the population with whom Lorimer worked was comprised of those who were actively a part of the pre-conquest period as well as those who were living through its immediate transitions.

Second, for the period following the conquest of Hunza, including the time during which Lorimer worked and lived there, the area was to some degree effectively isolated from outside influences. There were many reasons for the imposed isolation, among them a duplicity of political designs between the imperial powers of Britain and China, strategic and surveillance priorities for the road which demanded constant monitoring and repair; and, a covert denial by the British authorities to the government of the *maharaja* of Kashmir for political access and representation in Hunza.

In all, this means that the HSC is valuable not only for its closeness in time to a pre-colonial situation, but, also because influences from the outside were closely mediated.

Third, and lastly, the HSC is itself the product of an ethnographic design. Following a successful and highly lauded publication of *The Burushaski Language,* which appeared in three volumes between 1935 and 1938, Lorimer applied for and won one of the first Leverhulme Research Fellowships. The award allowed Lorimer to continue his linguistic research and to give an account of the life and the life ways of the Burusho of Hunza.

In preparation for this work, Lorimer studied briefly under Bronislav Malinowski. Under the influence of this anthropologist, a change in priorities was signalled. In response to a notion of 'history' which appropriated unusual cultural devices, even languages, as relics or survivals of a distant past and excluded simple societies as inconsequential in the accounts by the 'history makers' of civilized societies, British social anthropology developed different foci. Among these was the attention directed to a present account of a given people.

The *ethnographic present*, a concept given in hindsight to the preoccupation of the structural functional school to a *state of existence*, was useful as a global staging device of uniformity to mediate the immense diversity of materials being documented for peoples around the world. This focus, in turn, led to centring on social organization.

Accordingly, with a Leverhulme Research Fellowship in hand, Lorimer was a representative of a new professional institutionally based social anthropology which fostered individual fieldwork as its central practice. His use of photography was one of several techniques—including cinefilm, maps, tables of activities, and possibly language recordings—which he developed while in Hunza.

The results of Lorimer's fieldwork were never published by him though, it appears, the design of his work may be embedded in the HSC. Well before his death at age 85 in 1962, Lorimer had arranged the slides and had made up a catalogue in which he assigned a brief caption to each of the slides. These slides along with an inventory of related research materials were by chance alone saved by Mr D.N. MacKenzie of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, from a secondhand book dealer appointed to clear Lorimer's estate. All these materials are now held, according to Lorimer's bequest, by the library at the university.

The HSC, then, is valuable because of its location in time to other major historical events, its portrayal of a pattern of existence which was not undergoing a barrage of outside influences, and its link to a larger research design.

The latter design is, regrettably, not spelled out by Lorimer. Lorimer's notes to writings which are remaindered in the larger collection of Hunza materials were never finished. The catalogue, the HSC, a Hunza cinefilm, and a linguistic study of *Dumaki* (1939), the language of the musicians and blacksmiths living in the larger Burusho community of Hunza, were completed on Lorimer's return to England. During the Second World War, Lorimer worked in postal censorship and following the death of his wife, Emily, in 1949, devoted his remaining years to organizing his Hunza materials and to publishing the results of his work on *Wakhi* (1958), a Persian tongue found in the Hunza valley, and the results of his work on *Werchikwar* (1962), a sister dialect of Burushaski.

The catalogue and the HSC are, like other sections of the unpublished Hunza collection, increasingly fragmented from Lorimer's larger effort. Sections of Lorimer's research have been published independently by Professor Müller-Stellrecht as *Feste in Dardistan* (1973) and *Hunza Materialien zur Ethnographie von Dardistan* (1979). At the library of the University of London, the collection has been split for storage purposes, and public use of these materials has led to wear of these fragile materials.

The Catalogue

The catalogue can be divided into two sections. The first section, which lists almost fifty slides, provides geographical and political references to Hunza and accounts for the stages on route from Srinagar via Gilgit to Hunza.

The first slide listed in this section is a map of British colonial India which locates Hunza within British colonial India at the border of China and the Afghan Wakhan. In a second map, Hunza is identified within the Gilgit Agency, a political division of which it was a district and ranked as a state. The latter with its headquarters in the town of Gilgit was the administrative centre of British India. A third slide, which again uses the map of the Gilgit Agency, is colour-coded to identify the various dialects of the different languages found in the area—Burushaski, Werchikwar, Shina, Lahnda, Galshah, Wakhi, Khowar, Pashto, Sariqoli, Balti, Turki—for which reason Lorimer referred to the area as a 'hotbed of languages.'

The remaining captions to the slides for this first section cover the route from Srinagar to Hunza, which is a distance of approximately 260 miles by the Gilgit Transport Road (GTR) and took the Lorimers three weeks by horse and foot to complete. In 1949, two years after partition, this route was closed. As a result of a cease-fire line, the GTR has fallen into disuse and obsolescence.

The second section of the catalogue concerns Hunza but focuses only on the concentration of Burusho settlements in the south of the valley. The special topics developed in the catalogue

are: *the landscape*, which includes natural features, traditional stately architecture, as well as views of the principal settlements; *members of the ruling family*—Sir Mir Muhammad Nazim Khan, KCIE (the official ruler of Hunza), Mir Ghazan Khan, (from a painting of the ruler's father), Ghuspar or Prince Jamal Khan (grandson of the ruler), and others; *a generic view of the household economy* which accounts for a system of irrigation and those activities of agriculture, herding, and arboriculture connected to it and includes crafts such as wine-making, spinning and weaving of wool and goats' hair, house building, woodturning, basketmaking, and blacksmithing; and, finally, *some random topics*, such as activities of women and children and a few of the annual festivals at which special musicians performed.

Techniques Developed for the Study

The techniques developed for an analysis of socio-cultural change since the 1920–30s had two thrusts. On the one hand, there were those techniques which were used to setup immediate and direct contrasts to Lorimer's photographs. On the other were techniques used to tap the meanings of the differences as understood by the Burusho themselves.

A central question which underlay the broader issue of determining differences since Lorimer's work was: How do people understand themselves in terms of their environment? If their environment is changing does that mean that their understanding of themselves is also changing? To explore both concerns—differences which could be documented since Lorimer's work and the way such differences are understood by the resident population—I devised a central field tool from the HSC.

With the permission of the University of London, 17.5 x 12.5 centimentre photographs were made of each entry in the HSC. Each of these was researched to Lorimer's unpublished field notes and to other published and unpublished sources for the period up to but not later than partition. Photocopies were made of the original photographs and annotations appended to each of the entries.

Of the original 236 slides in the HSC, I used 175 of them. Those which I chose not to use were, in the main, out of the scope of this study as, for example, the route from Srinagar to Gilgit. The annotated photocopies were, finally, arranged in an album.

For the purpose of my study I developed alternate points of view: one for myself and another for the individuals who were consulted on the project.

The First View

The view I used for myself reflected the directives of academic training, that is, an accountability for measuring and mapping, coding and quantifying. My knowledge and awareness of life in Hunza were superficial and the techniques I used were similitudes of meaning. For me the photographs from the HSC were *markers* of locations and events in the geography of the community where time and space intersected.

A primary technique I used was photography. I purposefully sought out the locations Lorimer had used and made new photographs. I documented activities recorded in the HSC and made notes of those practices discontinued and of locations which had been altered. As a result I found it necessary to create a supplementary book of photographs, one which documented some of the new features of the landscape as well as new activities and practices.

Another technique was the physical mapping of key sections of the six settlements and of the traditional house, topics which were included in Lorimer's HSC. There are many possible 'keys' but I was looking for particular ways in which the settlement and settlement living patterns had been physically altered since Lorimer's work. I settled on mapping the main road of each of the six settlements, a feature that did not exist at Lorimer's time, and on mapping the social practices and the linguistic spaces that now characterized the traditional house. Both topics offered contrasts to Lorimer's work.

The Second View

The alternate point of view, the consultants' view, was designed to be sensitive to the ways people perceived what was happening around them. Some of the techniques used for this approach were borrowed directly from psychoanalytic interview-strategies. Psychoanalytic strategies were used because they maximize sensitivity and minimize intrusiveness. Such strategies were, by far, the most difficult and the most rewarding.

I purposefully asked individuals of both genders with further differences for age, social background, settlement location, and experience in the larger community to be consultants in open-ended, taped sessions. Initially I used only the album based on Lorimer's HSC; but, after a few months I composed a second album of photographs of some practices and some things which were nonexistent in the earlier period. The second album, which was a response to the HSC album's incompleteness, came into being through my increasing awareness of community life. Both of these albums were used as the primary source in an interview session.

During a session, which commonly lasted several hours, background data on the consultant was collected and then he or she was asked to look at the albums of photographs. The initial directives were simple. The consultants were told that one album was based on photographs which were originally taken by Mr Lorimer in the 1930s and the other was composed in 1993. My main direction was simply that their comments about the changes since the earlier time (the 1930s) would be interesting.

The purpose of this approach was to allow consultants to develop their own standards for comparing and evaluating the photographs in terms of what was happening around and within themselves. It was also a way of informing myself of what was happening. Among the questions I asked myself were: How closely do Lorimer's photographs represent the landscape and social activities of the 1990s? Where there are differences, how are they understood or perceived by the people living at this time? What memories are connected to the photographs by the members of the current population? What do different people see in the photographs? Are there factors which influence differences in individual perception? Are there particular topics which recur? Who do people talk to when they are looking at the photographs? How do photographs and photography fit into their lives?

When Burushaski was the language of the session, I worked with an assistant. The assistant was an intermediator who was as much a translator of my intentions as he was an interpreter of the thoughts of those taking part in the study.

It was critical that the intermediator understood the role of silence. Silence on my part was meant to create a space. The space was intentionally given to the consultant to use as he or she pleased. Empty spaces, which can be awkward in a new social situation, are instructive by the social constructions used to fill them. The space of silence is also a means by which the leadership of the interview session is passed to the consultant.

The silence on the part of the consultant can signal the action of going into deep thought and contemplation. It can signal befuddlement, awkwardness, or simply interest. In all cases, silence is valuable. It allows a situation to be developed and to be steered. That is, although the consultant is encouraged to lead the discussion, the listener can passively interject comments by simply repeating a word-concept so that the speaker focuses again on that idea, or by asking, 'What do you mean by...?' This technique, however, must not be abused. For my purposes, the tape recorder was always visible and the option of turning it off at any time was in the hands of the consultant.

If there is a single individual acting as a consultant, the sense of the situation is to encourage a monologue to develop. If there are two or more people, which was quite typical of many of the situations I worked in, then the scenario or vignette becomes valuable. There may be sharing of experiences and memories between the individuals or an instructive mode where one is informing another of other times.

An especially valuable feature of the photographs as a research device and of the open-ended interview-session is that the outsider, the initiator of the interview, can become relatively inconsequential.

Conclusion

Importantly, photographs can be used as primary data and as anthropological documents. The above discussion gives an example of a study which brings together history and photography for the purpose of analysing socio-cultural change. The photographs from the HSC played a central position in determining the temporal and spatial limits of the study and for developing techniques which would be useful in applying the skills which I learned for dealing with similitudes and in collecting the knowledge of people who were themselves interpreters of what was happening.

In using Lorimer's material from another period it was necessary to locate the temporal and spatial frame to which he and his materials belonged. The HSC is especially ideal because it was originated by a single individual at an identifiable time and provided sequences of information. The construction of the HSC is a relevant object of study. Without such preparation, photographic transparencies can be unintelligible, easy to see through but not into.

The objective is to consciously enter a temporal and spatial context of engagement. By doing this, the researcher is creating reflections which may be used in a variety of ways, and which, in turn, invite those who follow to make new reflections. Such efforts may contribute to discovering how the way we see and understand is itself learned.

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VERBAL PLURALITY AND THE NOTION OF MULTIPLE-EVENT IN YASIN BURUSHASKI[1]

*Étienne Tiffou & Richard Patry**

Introduction

In Burushaski, there is morphological agreement of the verb with a noun according to person, class, and number (of the latter). Some verbs moreover have a special marker which appears to be a plural marker. This does not occur in all verbs. Out of a corpus of 278 verbal roots, thirty-eight have it.[1] This population represents a percentage of 13.7 per cent, which, although limited, is significant enough to show that this morpheme is still in current use. Is this morpheme simply a redundant noun-verb agreement marker? Before answering this question, we will give a brief description of this morpheme from the phonological and morphological point of view.

Phonological and Morphological Characteristics of the Plurality Verbal Marker

This suffix precedes the agreement marker or, in the case of periphrastic forms, the non-finite form (e.g., *hurúčaieɳ* 'sit down'; *hurúčačum ban* 'they are sitting'). The verbs of our corpus[2] present five different forms:*-ča-* (which occurs with eleven verbs[3]), *-ja-* (which occurs with seven verbs[4]), *-ša-* (which occurs with six verbs[5]), *-ia-* (which occurs with six verbs[6]), and *-a-* (which occurs with five verbs[7]). According to our analysis, there is a fundamental morpheme *-a-* which combines with a further element *-š-*; *-ča-* and *-ja-* represent modifications of *-ša-* which can be accounted for in purely phonological terms: we find *-ča-* after a voiceless dental or retroflex and after a dorsal or an affricate, if preceded by a [r]. *-ja-* is found after [l] and [n] if not preceded by one [i]. The simple suffix *-a-* is not problematic. Finally, a transitional [i] appears in intervocalic position. This form *-ia-* can be extended by analogy.

Conditions of Use of the Plurality Marker

The Situation in Burushaski

This suffix appears in the verbal forms of our population when these agree with a noun which is itself simultaneously marked for both the absolutive case as well as plural. Let us point out that Burushaski possesses an ergative construction. In other words—and this is an oversimplification—, we have an unmarked form, namely, the absolutive, which marks a noun serving as the grammatical subject of an intransitive verb or the grammatical object of a transitive verb.[8] Let us take an example:

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(1) samandáre jaház γórci
sea.GEN boat.ABS it sank
the boat sank.

but (2) samandáre jaházišu γórčaien
sea.GEN boats.ABS they sank
the boats sank.

In these two examples, the verb (*γórc-***i**, *γórčai-**en***) agrees with its grammatical subject which, in both cases, is a noun marked by the absolutive case. When the subject noun is additionally marked for plural, the morpheme *-ča-* (which we are taking to be a marker of verbal plurality) appears within the verbal form. Compare the following two sentences:

(3) ne híre samandáre jaház ésqorci[9]
the man.ERG sea.GEN boat.ABS it he sank
the man caused the boat to sink

but (4) ne híre samandáre jaházišu ósqorčai
the man.ERG sea.GEN boats.ABS them he sank
the man caused the boats to sink

These facts could well lead to the conclusion that *-ča-* is no more than a redundant marker of agreement between a verb and a plural noun (within the ergative construction). In example 2, *-en* (*γórčai*-en) is sufficient to show that the verb is related to a plural subject. Why then is *-ča-* used? In example 4, *ó-* (*ó-sqorčai*) is related to a plural object. Why *-ča-* again? Of course, it happens from time to time that there is no object marker in the verb, nevertheless the problem of redundancy remains.

Is the Verbal Plurality Suffix a Suffix of Agreement?

The problem of redundancy disappears if we consider the element *-ča-* to be a marker not of noun-verb agreement but rather of verbal plurality, and, in fact, several factors would appear to support this interpretation. First, the marker of agreement between a verb and a plural noun must always be expressed and this for all verbs. That, however, is not the case with respect to the morpheme *-ča-*. Second, the interpretation of the latter as no more than a marker of noun-verb agreement is problematic in that it gives no indication as to the person or class of the noun with which it is said to agree. Third, and this is an even stronger argument in favour of our position, the element *-ča-* is used with the collective. It must be pointed out that in Burushaski we have four nominal classes. The first two include all nouns referring to male (hm) and female (hf) human beings, respectively. The third class includes all nouns referring to animals and many which refer to concrete, inanimate objects (x). The fourth class groups together nouns for certain concrete, inanimate objects (including all non-countable ones) and those which express abstract notions (y).[10] The first three classes have a plural form, the fourth, a collective. In this sense, the situation in Burushaski can be compared to that in Ancient Greek, where a verb in the singular agrees with a neuter plural (or collective) subject (τᾰ̀ ζῷα τρέχει 'the animals run,' lit. '*the animals runs'). For instance, in Burushaski, we have the following constructions:

(5) gaí bálce dícikini
watch.ABS wall.on is hanging
the watch is hanging on the wall

as well as

(6) ek bálce dícikini;
knife.ABS wall.on is hanging
the knife is hanging on the wall

however, if there is more than one watch (i.e., x-class), one says:

(7) gaímu bálce dícikinen,
watches.ABS wall.on are hanging
the watches are hanging on the wall

In the case of 'knife', however, which belongs to the y-class, one cannot say:

(8) *ekáŋ bálce dícikinen,
knives.ABS wall.on are hanging
the knives are hanging on the wall

In the correct construction, the singular form of the verb must be used:

(9) ekáŋ bálce dícikini.
knives.ABS wall.on is hanging
the knives are hanging on the wall

This being the case, if the morpheme *-ča-* were in fact a marker indicating the agreement of a verb with a *plural* noun, it ought then never to appear in an intransitive verb whose subject, or in a transitive verb whose object, is a y-class noun in the absolutive case. This, however, is not the case. We have, for instance:

(10) mo gúse ba múruu
the woman.ERG skin.ABS massaged
the woman massaged the skin

and

(11) mo gúse baóŋ múručayu
the woman.ERG skins.ABS massaged
the woman massaged the skins.

The compulsory use of *múručayu* with *baóŋ* provides a decisive argument against the notion that the element *-ča-* is an agreement marker. So what is its function? Before answering this question, let us give a brief descripion of the use of this morpheme with the thirty-eight verbs in question.

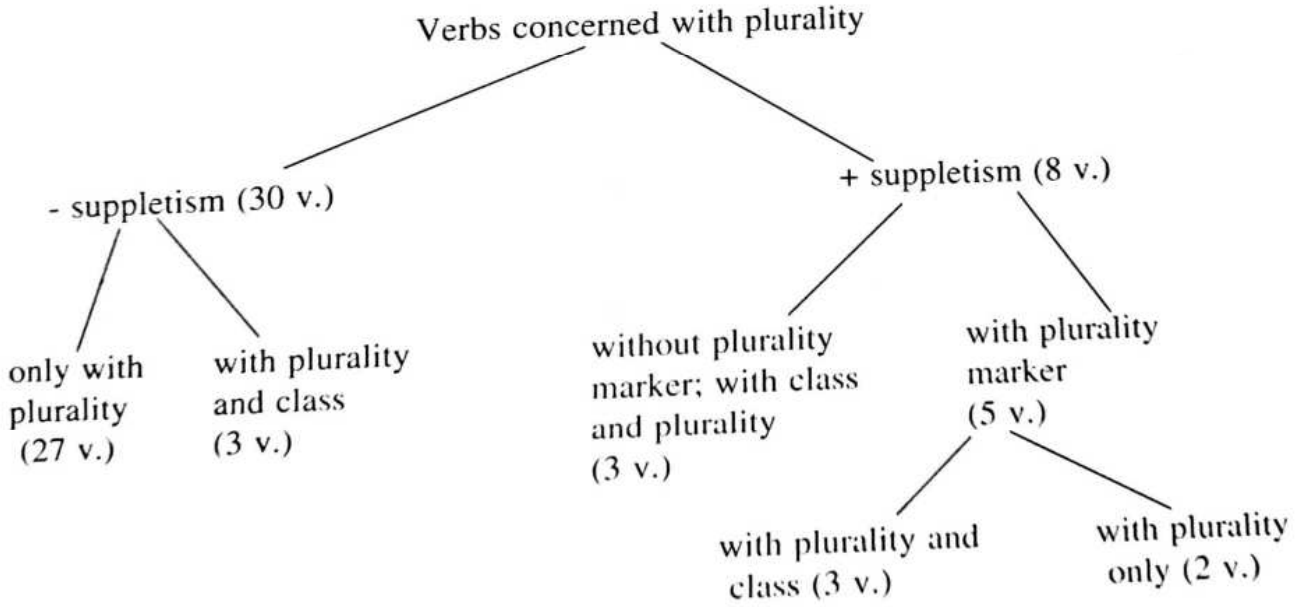
Burushaski Verbs Concerned with Plurality: A Description

Constraints and Classification

First of all, where the morpheme *-ča-* is admissible, there is no constraint on its use. This is not the case in all languages with a similar morpheme. In Georgian, for instance, the plurality

marker was possible only with aorist or perfective. In Burushaski, the marker, when used, is never limited by the aspect of the verb. Nevertheless, this language presents an interesting feature; some verbs can express at one and the same time both verbal plurality and the class of the noun marked with the absolutive. This is the case for nine verbs: *bal*, *balū*, *bišá-*, *-γón-* (*-čí-*, *-ú-*), *híl-*, *du-khát-*, *de-phérc-*, *šé-* (*í-*, *ú-*), *du-wás-*. This is worthy of attention, for neither Mithun (1988) nor Tuite (1992) mention verbs which show this feature.

Moreover, the thirty-eight verbs which express verbal plurality can be divided into two groups in function of an important morphological distinction: whereas the majority of these verbs (i.e., thirty) are morphologically regular, eight of them show suppletive forms. Of the latter group, three never show the morpheme *-ča-*, despite the fact that they can express verbal plurality. According to these parameters, to which one must also add the possibility of the simultaneous expression within a verbal form of verbal plurality and the class of the noun in the absolutive case (standing as subject or object of the verb in question), the repartition of the verbs which express verbal plurality is drawn up as follows:



This chart shows clearly that the pertinent verbs are distributed over two broad groups: those with and those without suppletism, the latter representing the more important population (thirty verbs). Among them, three[11] distinguish the class of the noun with absolutive. The other group (eight verbs) resorts to suppletism. Of the suppletive forms, five show the morpheme *-ča-*, three do not.[12] Of the former group, three express both nominal class and verbal plurality,[13] two express only plurality.[14] All members of the latter group express both nominal class and verbal plurality. This population is weak but it does represent a category of verbs which, as Mithun notes in her article (1988: 213), although infrequent and always small in number, does appear in many of the languages of the world.

Plurality and Class of the Absolutive Marked in the Burushaski Verb

A distinction must be drawn between the expression of verbal plurality on the one hand and the expression of agreement between a verbal form and its subject/object noun in the absolutive case on the other. There do exist in Burushaski certain verbs which manifest the latter but not the former. Although the formal properties of such verbs are beyond the scope of the present

study, they must be taken into consideration insofar as they contribute to our understanding of the intricacies involved in the expression of verbal plurality. In this respect, we generally find a clear opposition between hx-class and y-class. We find precisely this opposition expressed in eight of the nine verbs which also express verbal plurality (see notes 7, 11, and 13). example:

(12) Huniŋ čárule dukháčaien
wood ABS mountain in became entangled.
The wood became entangled in the mountains.
(13) Ciu júyate dúkhačaien
birds. ABS apricottree on become entangled
The birds became entangled on the apricot tree.

It is to these verbs that we now turn our attention.

The three non-suppletive verbs in which a distinction of class has to be made are consistent. All of them present the opposition hx/y. The situation with the suppletive verbs is more complex. Of the five verbs which show the plurality marker, those two which express verbal plurality exclusively present no difficulty. In the remaining three, the distribution of plurality according to the class is slightly different. In two of them the distribution is the same as that seen in the three non-suppletive verbs; we again find the opposition hx/y in the morphological marking. The last one (*-híl-*) shows a triple opposition h/x/y, but only when plurality is expressed. Where the verbal action is singular, hx contrasts with y. Where the verbal action is plural, the x-class membership of the absolutive noun is indicated by the use of the suppletive form (*-húlja-*).

The situation is far more complex in the case of the suppletive verbs which express plurality in the absence of the *-ča-* marker. The first one (*-waš-*) has a distribution not unlike that of *-híl-*. However, the opposition, when plurality is expressed, between h and x is not so strongly marked. With the h class it is possible to use the plural form (*gú-*) or the singular one (*-wás-*), but with the x class the use of *gú-* is compulsory; otherwise the opposition between h/x and y is clearly expressed. The opposition between h and x seems secondary. The final two verbs offer a remarkable peculiarity. In all verbs concerned at the same time with verbal plurality and the class of the absolutive noun, the former is always marked, regardless of the class membership of the latter. This is not the case with *i-* and *-ú-*, a fact which could serve as an argument in favour of their disqualification from the class of verbs which express verbal plurality. In fact, *-ú-* shows no plurality marker when construed with a noun of the hx-class; *i-* shows no such marker when construed with a y-class noun. Thus, these two suppletive forms have an inverse distribution. The distribution of *-ú-* is of particular note insofar as it is the only verbal form which marks verbal plurality when construed with a y-class absolutive but not with an hx-class absolutive.

Verbal Plurality: Its Values, Its Functions

Agreement and Verbal Plurality

Let us now attempt to determine the value of the plurality suffix. In order to do so, we must first discuss the notion of agreement. In the sentence 'the man sings,' the suffix -s- indicates

unambiguously that the grammatical subject of the verb 'to sing' is a third person, singular nominal. In the sentence 'the men sing,' the Ø suffix marks the verb negatively, indicating that its grammatical subject is something other than a third person, singular nominal. In both cases, the suffix is a marker of agreement; in neither case does it offer any information whatsoever as to the number of times the action of the verb is performed. In other words, in neither this case, nor in any other, is the English verb marked morphologically for singularity vs. plurality of the action. As Nichols (1985: 274) notes, agreement has to be considered as an indication of 'coincidence in grammatical categories, feature, or feature values on two different words in a sentence, where one word has the category or feature for a principal reason and the other merely acquires it from the first.' Verbal plurality, on the contrary, gives no indication as to the number of the grammatical subject of the verb, rather, it is concerned exclusively with the nature of the process itself.

The intricacy of the distinction between these two notions can be illustrated by the fact that, from a diachronic point of view, the two may become confounded in languages that express both. This is precisely the case in Georgian. According to K. Tuite's analysis (1992), the morpheme *-en*, which, in the time of Zan-Georgian, provided for the derivation of verbal plural forms, has evolved into a marker of agreement between a verb and its plural grammatical subject. But, even in the absence of the possibility of confusion, the notion of verbal plurality is itself ambiguous. It can have several values such as iterativity, collective or distributive action, multiple process, and so on. Mithun (1988: 217) writes that in Central Pomo, an Amerindian language, the verb 'exhibits extensive verb stem alternation according to the number of participants affected and it also contains a multiple event suffix...a multiple displacement suffix and a collective-agent suffix, among others.'

The Notion of Multiple-Event

Among these various notions, which is to be considered as the genuine value of verbal plurality? Iterativity and multiple-event process offer themselves as the most likely candidates, but it is clear that a distinction needs to be drawn between the two. In Burushaski itself, the two were at one time expressed by distinct morphological means: the function of *-ča-* was to express multiple-event process; for iterativity, a different process was observed (see Berger 1975: 41 and Tiffou & Pesot 1989: 35). In Yasin Burushaski there were two marks of the imperfect, both periphrastic. *Éčam ba* marked the simple imperfect whereas *ét et bam* (a reduplicated form) marked the iterative past. In the language as it is currently spoken, the opposition has vanished and speakers use only the reduplicated form. This opposition, seen in the earlier form of the language, clearly indicates that iterativity is to be treated as foreign to the true value of the *-ča-* suffix. As noted by Tiffou and Patry (1996), an iterative process can be represented as a vector with dotted parts: 'iterativity implies the process is repeatidly developing without precise segmentation.' As it is, the verbal plural marked with *-ča-* found in Burushaski seems to represent something quite different. It corresponds to what Mithun (1988) characterizes as a multiple-event. It concerns the multiproduction of the process at one moment. However the term 'multiproduction' does not adequately explicate the notion in question, which is that of the 'multiple-event'.

(14) *Ciu báša báša júyate dúkh aṭ dúkhaṭ biém*
(birds. ABS often apricot tree on became entangled)
the birds were often entangled on the apricot tree

and (13) Cíu júyaṭe dúkhačaien 'The birds become entangled in the apricot tree.
In the first sentence the iterative meaning appears clearly; in the second one the form *dúkhačaien* shows that the verbal action happens to be produced several times at one moment.

For example, as it is legitimate to detect a multiple-event in a sentence like 'the wind causes the ducks to fly,' one might be tempted to detect the same nuance in a sentence like 'the men build a boat.' Such an interpretation must, however, be rejected. For, whereas in the first sentence, many ducks are subjected to, or better, *affected by*, the verbal process, in the second sentence it is a question of several persons *acting* at once. Thus, we take the concept of 'multiple-event' to be related to that of affectedness. In fact, in all languages where there exists a notion of multiple-event, the latter concerns only those actants (according to Tesnière's terminology) which are *affected* by the verbal process. It is for this reason that ergative languages distinguish morphologically the affected subject from the agentive subject. It is in precisely this light that the affinity which we have noted between verbal plurality and absolutive nouns is to be understood. As writes Mithun (1988: 214):

> for intransitive verbs, the selection of a stem reflects the number of subjects involved, whether they are agents (walkers, runners, flyers) or patients (fallers, sitters, corpses). For transitive verbs, it reflects the number of objects involved: how many people are killed, how many objects are picked up, thrown, given, dropped and so on. The pattern remains the same regardless of whether other parts of the grammar operate on an active, accusative, or ergative basis. This is no accident. The subjects of intransitives and patients of transitives share an important role: They are the participants more directly affected by an action. The primary function of stem alternation is not to enumerate entities, but to quantify the effect of actions, states and events. (See Dressler 1968, who also detects a strong link between multiple-event and affectedness).

This discussion can be summed up by saying that the agentive subject of a transitive verb, although responsible for the performance of the verbal action, is in no way affected by it. Quite different is the case of the grammatical object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb.[15] Here the realization of the verbal process brings about a more or less significant modification of the actant involved. Although it is well beyond our present purpose, it would be quite interesting to establish a hierarchy of the intensity of affectedness. Let us note simply that in Burushaski (as in certain other languages) plurality is expressed in the verb where the action of that verb can be described as multiple in the sense that it affects more than one actant, be they animate or inanimate.

Conclusion

It is clear that, in the light of this interpretation, a much more detailed study of Burushaski verbs which express plurality is warranted. In general, however, let us state that, at least in one clearly defined set of verbs, Burushaski marks verbal plurality as distinct from verbal agreement with a plural subject; this is a feature which is ignored, for example, by the Indo-European languages. More precisely, we draw attention to the following facts: 1) In Burushaki verbal plurality is univocal. Unlike the Pomo language, for example, which assigns several values to the notion of verbal plurality (see Mithun 1988), in Burushaski verbal plurality involves exclusively the notion of multiple-event, as this is related to that of affectedness. 2) In Burushaski, there are certain clear cases where verbal plurality is intricated with the class of the absolutive noun. In this respect, there remains considerable work to be

done in particular to determine whether this intrication is simply accidental or is conditioned more deeply by semantic or syntactic factors. We will leave the problem open.

Acknowledgements

A more extensive study of the above subject has been published in French in the *Journal Asiatique* (Tiffou & Patry 1995). We would like to thank David Hart for proofreading and commenting upon the English version of this paper.

NOTES

1. In fact, only thirty-five verbs present the plural marker; in the three other verbs which are included in the corpus, the plural is marked by suppletism.
2. Our corpus is based on Lorimer 1962, Berger 1974, Tiffou & Morin 1989, Tiffou & Pesot 1989, and on a list of sentences collected by Morin and Tiffou in 1979 and 1980.
3. gárc- *-rč-* sg., gárča- *-č-* pl. 'to leave'; girát- *-ráš-* sg., giráča- *-č-* pl. 'to dance'; -γárk- *-rč-* sg., -γárča- *-č-* pl. 'to catch; -γórc-/γurc -_- sg., -γórča- *-č-* pl. 'to sink'; hurú- *-ruš-* sg., hurúča- *-č-* pl. 'to sit down'; khúrut *-š-* sg., khúruča- -_- pl. 'to open (a can)'; hált-/bahált- *-č-* sg., hálča-/bahálča- *-č-* pl. 'to wash'; du-khá- *-š-* y sg., dkha-/dkha- *-š-* hx sg., du-kháča- -_- y pl., dkhača-/dkha≤a- *-š-* hx pl., 'to tangle'; dkhu-/d≤ku- *-š-* sg., dkhuča- *-š-* pl. 'to lose weight'; -múru- *-š-* sg., -múruča- *-č-* pl. 'to massage'; de-phérc- *-č-* y sg., dphérc- *-č-* x sg., de-phérča- *-č-* y pl., dphérča- *-č-* x pl. 'to uproot.'
4. balū *-č-* y sg., -wālu- *-č-* hx sg., -wālja- hx pl. 'to be wated'; gál- *-č-* sg., gálja- *-č-* pl. 'to be broken'; híl- xy sg., -híl- h sg., hílja- y pl., -hílja- h pl., húlja- x pl. 'to soak'; hunjá- *-č-* pl. only 'to plait'; -lja- *-č-* pl. only 'to thread'; phán- *phái-* sg., phánja- *-č-* pl. 'to swell up'; du-wál- *-č-* sg., du-wálja- *-č-* pl. 'to fly'.
5. γás- *-š-* sg., γáša- pl. 'to be rotten'; du-γát- *-γáš-* sg., du-γáša- *-č-* pl. 'to be shared'; -xés- *-š-* sg., -xéša- *-č-* pl. 'to tear up'; -phús- *-š-* sg., -phúša- *-č-* pl. 'to tie up'; du-ús- *-š-* sg., di-áša-/di-éša- *-č-* pl. 'to climb'; du-wās- *-š-* y sg., dwas- *-š-* hx sg., du-wša- *-č-* y pl., dwaša- *-č-* hx pl. 'to stay, to be late.'
6. bú- *-c-* sg., búya- *-č-* pl. 'to dry'; dórgin- *-gi-* sg., dórgia- *-č-* pl. 'to quarrel'; do-hór- *-č-* sg., do-hória- pl. 'to collapse'; du-húk- *-íč-* /du-húki- *-č-* sg., du-húkia- *-č-* pl. 'to melt'; du-pháq- *-í č-* sg., du-pháqia- -- pl. 'to card'; do-sók- *-í č-* sg., do-sókia- *-č-* pl. 'to go down.'
7. gí- *-c-* sg., gía- *-č-* pl. 'to go in'; d-ši- *-č-* sg., dša- *-č-* pl. 'to stop, to refrain from'; -wál- *-č-* sg. hx., bal *-íč-* y sg., -wál-/gía- *-č-* h pl, gía- *-č-* x y pl. 'to fall'; yancar- *-č-* sg., yancara- *-č-* pl. 'to take somebody for a walk'; dé-yáš-/d-yaš-š *č-* sg., dé-yáša-/dyaša- *-š ča č-* pl. 'to stand up.'
8. Among the many books devoted to the problem of ergativity, see especially Dixon 1979; Plank 1979; Comrie 1981.
9. *ésqorci* is the causative form of *γórc-* marked with the -s- prefix. On this prefix, see Bashir 1985 and Tiffou & Morin 1993.
10. For the classes in Burushaski, see Benveniste 1947–48.
11. As there is no suppletism for these verbs, the class opposition is marked by the prefix: du-khá- *-š-* y sg., dkha-/dkha- *-š-* hx sg., du-kháča- *-č-* y pl., dkhača-/dkha≤a- *-č-* hx pl., 'to tangle'; de-phérc- *-č-* y sg., dphérc- *-č-* x sg., de-phérča- *-č-* y pl., dphérča- *-č-* x pl. 'to uproot'; du-ws- *-š-* y sg., dwas- *-š-* hx sg., du-wša- *-č-* y pl., dwaša- *-č-* hx pl. 'to be late.'
12. í- *-c-* hx sg., sú- -- hx pl., šé- *-č-* y sg. and pl. 'to eat'; -ú- *-č-* hx sg., -_í- *-č-* y sg., -γón- *-γói-* y pl. 'to give'; -wáš- *-č-* hx sg., bišá- *-č-* y sg., gú-/-wáš- *-č-* h pl., gú- *-č-* x pl., gí- *-č-* y pl. 'to throw.'
13. -híl- *-č-* hx sg., híl- *-č-* y sg., -hílja- *-č-* h pl., -húlja- *-č-* x pl., hílja- *-č-* y pl. 'to soak'; -wál- *-č-* hx sg., bal - *i č-* y sg.,-wál- *-č-*/gía- *-č-* h pl.,gía- *-č-* x pl., gía- *-č-* y pl. 'to fall'; -wlu- *-č-* hx sg., bal- *-č-* y sg. and pl., -wlja- *-č-* hx pl. 'to be wasted.'
14. du-ús--*š-* sg., di-áša-/di-éša- *-č-* pl. 'to climb' and dši- *-č-* sg., dša- *-č-* pl. 'to stop, to refrain from.'
15. Given the functional similarity between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb, one ought to unifiy the two under one common term. For two different such attempts, see Tiffou 1977 and Tuite 1992.

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PHOTOGRAPHING KALASHA CULTURE: REALITY—CONCEALED OR REVEALED

*Mytte Fentz, cand. Mag.**

Introduction

To mark the United Nations Year of the Family in 1994, Moesgaard Museum in Denmark presented a display of 160 large-scale photographs on the family life of the Kalasha. This photo display, which now forms part of the museum's permanent exhibition on 'The Mountain People of the Hindu Kush,' was based on several months of research in the Kalasha valleys begun in 1993 by the anthropologist Mytte Fentz and the photographer Torben Stroyer. A grant in 1995 by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Frederik of Denmark's Fund made it possible to fulfil this research.

At the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference, Chitral, 26–30 August 1995, a similar but larger pictorial essay on daily life in the Kalasha valleys was presented. This collection of culturally relevant pictures has been warmly recommended as an educational resource for Kalasha school children by, for example, Saifullah Jan, advocate for the Kalasha people during the last twenty years, the two Kalasha school teachers Ingineer Khan and Deen Mamat, and Elena Bashir, Ph.D., secretary for the conference organizing committee. This approval stressed that the photos, historical as well as topical, are valuable also for the Kalasha ethnic self-esteem.

The Project

The author and photographer Torben Stroyer wished to combine their two different professions, writing and imagery, into a pictorial essay on the traditional Kalasha culture during spring and autumn. It was the drama bound to the physical as the mental deliberation, rooted in the daily life of the Kalasha people that they wished to catch. That account would be based on the interaction between the photographer's pictures and the anthropologist's knowledge. But we knew that only by close contact and mutual confidence in the people who were to appear in the pictures would it be possible to break down the distance which by definition exists between the observer and the observed.

Social Experience and Anthropological Knowledge

One cannot live the lives of others, but one can try to identify with them. In order to achieve a result which is not only different, but also more than a simple narrative of events, the

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anthropologist has to have an objective and comprehensive approach towards the life of his or her subject. However, this objectification of academic knowledge can only come about through subjective involvement, and with the assistance of one's own humanity and capacity for sympathetic insight and understanding.

The objective and the subjective are as such, both aspects of the scientific process. Nowadays the subjective experience, or the perception of the senses, is given far greater credence in anthropological practice (Hastrup & Hervick 1994). This implies that the perception of the non-verbal social and practical knowledge which the anthropologist acquires has become of increasing significance in recent observations and realization. But how does one get from the social experience and the spontaneous *understanding* of the lives of others to academic objectivity and a text? And are there ways in which impression and experience can be retained, developed, and refined?

Photography as a Form of Expression

The strength of photography lies in its connection to reality, but this link is also its greatest weakness; it seeks to capture and retain reality, which is of an abstract proportion, and this makes it paradoxical. The idea that reality consists of multiple layers which can conceal reality is, as such, not an alien one. One is almost forced to pass straight through apparent reality in order to reach that which is authentic and real. But, and without putting too fine a point on it, is it not precisely here the photographic challenge is to be found to photograph more than what is at first sight apparent; by being present, by seeing, by living it, by capturing the rhythm and drama of daily life on one's film and by looking inwards make an attempt to draw this and the surrounding world into harmony with one another. Despite this, it has to be acknowledged that setting the stage in this subjective manner can impede one in attaining a total grasp of the ever-elusive truth. Then will the ensuing picture show the revealed or the concealed reality?

The Local Society

The 'Kalasha Kafirs' or the 'Infidel Kalash,' as the local Muslim population calls this minority, inhabit an area southwest of Chitral in three very inaccessible valleys. Here, they continue to live according to a traditional way of life that is inextricably bound to their religion, which has been linked to an ancient form of Hinduism. This religion contains an apparently unambiguous set of rules which the Kalasha describe as being fundamental to the internal structure and daily life of their society. In accordance with this, tending the goat herds in the mountain pastures, which is the responsibility of the men and boys, is considered *ōmjesta*, pure in a religious sense, while farming the irrigated fields in the valleys, which falls to the women and girls, is unclean or *prāghata*. For the Kalasha people there are recognized, but invisible borders dividing clean from unclean, both in nature and in the home. Men are not allowed to enter areas which are designated as *prāghata*. This also applies to the *Bashalia*, or women's houses where they stay during their menstruation and when giving birth, all under protection of the goddess Dezalik. Women on the other hand are not allowed to accompany the men to the upper pastures, which are *ōmjesta*, nor are they to enter the Mahandeo or Sajigor holy places—areas which are found outside or above the village and which thus can only be visited by the men. All members of the family can, however, visit the kinship shrine of the *jeSTakhan* in the centre of the village.

If one turns one's attention for a moment from the official version of Kalasha society—in which everyone lives in harmony according to the same values, and all respond in a similar manner to various given situations—the picture is actually quite different. In the practical aspects of daily life it appears that these notions of religious values manifest themselves in quite a variety of ways. In one of the Kalasha families with which we stayed, which on the surface appeared ideal on the microstructural level, the mother and the now deceased father of the house had converted to Islam. In this case, both religions were practised within the same family structure. The asymmetry between the 'official' Kalasha society and this family is a good example of how each individual unit acts on the basis of its own experience and in relation to the situation it finds itself in. The family, which had more than twenty members, had chosen to continue to be Kalasha. The incorporation of a completely different set of practical rules into its official values had a significant effect on its view of these values in its day-to-day life.

From Idea to Action

It was the drama of the daily life of the Kalasha people that the author and the photographer wished to document. The account was to be based on the interaction between the photographer's pictures and the anthropologist's knowledge. But without the anthropologist's local knowledge and close contact with the people who were to appear in the pictures it would have been very difficult to break down the distance which by definition exists between the observer and the observed. It is a simple fact that overcoming this distance provides one of the greatest rewards.

The picture maker must work in the same way as the anthropologist, in a constant alternation between presence and absence, between being among the subjects being studied and being able to distance himself or herself from the object in a processing treatment of a cultural sequence (Crawford & Turton 1992). In the same way that informants are players in the anthropologist's final results, the picture-story will also be based upon the combined efforts of both subject and picture maker. This of course always occurs with significant variations due to the culture and the picture maker's narrative talents. In some cases this can be strong enough to capture situations on the photos in which new, unexpected knowledge comes to light.

Visual Reality

Ethnography and ethnographic pictures both attempt to examine the reality of life in creative ways. Most of life's experiences, however, can never be captured. And while academic knowledge appears not to concede the fact, people actually only grasp small fragments of reality. Vision is one of people's most important tools for perceiving the world around them and visual impressions absorb it in a way that is much more holistic than any of their other senses are capable of.

Visual impressions captured photographically in the right ways and at the right time convey far more than a large number of words. At the same time it is, however, a fact that the practice of photography and the finished product are the result of the social, cultural, and historical process of which the photographer is a part. There are, in other words, different angles from which the same world can be approached and registered. And 'if our eyes can

think,' as Cezanne puts it, then one ought to consider the ideal of culturally different ways of seeing. One has learnt, quite simply, how to see and the resulting culture—the specific view is again evident in the resulting photograph; which photographic reproduction is then the true one?

If the physical world which people perceive around them is not the world itself, but a culturally modified image of it, then there is hardly any great perceptive difference in looking at the physical world and its pictorial representation. It is quite natural therefore for the anthropologist to have an ambivalent attitude towards visual representation. However, seeing and hearing the physical world around them gives people a knowledge which, when combined with a positive approach, brings what they see or hear into existence. The fact that photographic representation can be drawn from both older and more recent photographic material to support, document, and verify ethnographic statements, demonstrates that this material is also of significant academic value.

Writing and Images

Photography is a subject new to anthropology and is still not accepted by everyone as being on an equal footing with the semantic capacity of a written text. The potential difference between the textural and the visual is discussed and defined by Kirsten Hastrup (1992) without considering the fact that the human senses intercommunicate, so that the perceived becomes textual and the textual in return is recreated as image recollection. It seems pointless therefore to adhere rigidly to a sharp dichotomy between 'word' and 'picture,' since neither of these values exist as completely independent phenomena. Thoughts are based on the human senses and are perceived as holistic. The senses constitute a complexity and are mutually dependent on one another in terms of being understood. Umberto Eco refuses to accept the opinion that the written is good and the image is bad; that one is culture and the other is emptiness. Since photography is pure coincidence, it instantly delivers all the details it has captured—in contrast to the written text—,which, by the alternation of a single word can change the sentence from descriptive to reflective.

Photography is not necessarily only that which no longer exists, but simply, and with certitude, that which has been. In this way we can assert that the whole essence of photography is to ratify that which it represents. According to Barthes (1983), no written testimony can provide us with this insight. And it is the drawbacks of language which prevent it from becoming authentic. Photography is undiluted by any form of mediator: it does not invent but is endorsement in itself. Every photograph is evidence as such of being present. The anthropologist will, equipped with notebook and camera, always define reality in the very moment he or she discovers it, says Hastrup (1992). But this would already have been too late for a photographer to have taken his or her picture. A counter argument to this is that the ethnographer is 'standing in the way of himself.' But a successful cooperation between an anthropologist and a photographer can be greatly helpful in education.

The 'Static' Society

Moesgaard Museum's permanent exhibition 'The Mountain People of the Hindu Kush' has acquired renewed topicality with the great awareness which surrounds ethnic and national minorities today. The exhibition is constructed in such a way as to note focus entirely on one

short period in the history of the mountain peoples, and also looks at what went before, without actually engaging itself in the immediate present of the society. While the exhibition includes both historical objects as well as present-day ones, the exhibition's ambience provides the visitor, by means of its tableau construction, a series of frozen images of a contemporary people and their past: a presentation that relates an unambiguous impression of the reality of that society, while not dragging the visitor into the complexity dictated by the process of change and problems of more immediate relevance. The Kalash society, one of the smallest minorities in the Federal Republic of Pakistan, is engaged in a day-to-day struggle for its ethnicity. By creating an illusion of reconstructed environments the exhibition thus depicts a minority living in an ideological reserve and not its real life. The reinforcement of the permanent exhibition by the addition of the picture essay on Kalasha daily life has created a dialogue between two complementary aspects, the past and the present, resulting in a more realistic impression of a living and developing society.

The Visual Supplement

It is through the structures of society and social activity that one understands the arrangement and coherence of the world. Nowadays, when people, goods, and information move freely back and forth across all borders, all societies are in the process of changing much faster than before. It is therefore one of the duties of ethnographic museums to expand the knowledge and understanding of people from different cultural backgrounds. At the same time it has become much more relevant not only to register the traditional cultures, but also to seek to understand the effect of exchange between these and the surrounding world and subsequently to pass on this knowledge.

The greatest significance of Moesgaard's exhibition, 'The Mountain People of the Hindu Kush,' with its impressive arrangements of the objects on display, is its ability to communicate. But this can only be achieved if the viewers, as receivers, grasp some degree of the local society's codes. In spite of the fact that the objects refer to a people who are very much alive, they appear only as an aesthetic form providing a static picture of the culture of which they are part. Visitors will perceive and comprehend these objects or 'pictures' on the basis of their different sense of reality; as a result of various patterns of experience, which again consequently give rise to different degrees of understanding, despite the fact that all of them are equally valid.

To give the visitor a meaningful and comprehensible insight into an unfamiliar culture, the objects collected in Hindu Kush in 1948 must, as far as is possible, be related to the visitor's social, religious, or economic background. This can be achieved through the use of written text, but can to a much higher degree be attained through pictures. Umberto Eco quite plainly states that the synergy between the visual and the written is both powerful and continuous and he stresses that a current reaction to the visual media even suggests that it encourages increased curiosity and interest in the written word.

Photographs, historical ones as well as the more contemporary, can tell us about the daily routine in a foreign culture and are thus able to provide a wide range of information. The photograph may provide an overview and orientation of geographic and topographic conditions related to agricultural systems as well as the layout of the village. But photographs can in a constructive dialogue with the material objects of the static exhibition tell of their use in the daily life of the community. Thus the photograph can capture public and private behavioural patterns.

Local Society as Coauthor

Two families, whose structures and expression of human energy are completely different from one another, formed the firm starting point for the author and photographer's work. By using both text and images the latter tried to capture their daily activities and rituals associated with that particular season of the year.

Since it is precisely the collaboration between the anthropologist, the photographer, and the interpreter/informant which creates the final textual and visual product, this in turn means that all the informants are in effect 'co-producers' of the end result (Crawford & Simonsen 1992). Along with this it has to be acknowledged that the photographer, far from being anonymous, affects the situation, and in turn experiences a keener sense of his or her own presence, thus becoming a part of his or her own reality; a position analogous to that of the anthropologist. Together they immerse themselves in another reality and catch fragments of something whose depth and breadth is unknown. They each raise their own consciousness as well as that of each other. This cannot in any way be described as a staging of the event. All social gatherings involve a kind of staging which refers back to the raising of awareness.

The difficult question is: how far should the people who take the initiative, write the text, and take the photographs integrate the 'native voice'—if they are not simply to be reduced to quotations, subjugated beneath the voices of the anthropologist and the photographer?

A New Reality and Loyalty

How can one be sure that one truly shares an experience of a particular situation with others, and especially how can one be certain that one's representation, whether in the form of text or pictures, is loyal to the culturally determined reality of the community?

Anthropological texts are put through a process of editing which, through a theorizing and authenticating analysis, seeks to account for other societies. A similar process takes place after the camera has captured episodes from the real world—any attempt to edit the various fragments and pieces of photographic material will be based on a choice of motive, technique, lighting, and mood. The result now forms a new and comprehensive universe, which has been described by the apt expression 'aesthetic ambiguity' (Crawford & Simonsen 1992). Even though the final editing of the research process is done with sensitivity and appears as metaphors in the final report, Fentz and Stroyer's work in the field, like their published results, is all the result of social and cultural processes triggered by the contact between anthropologist and a particular group of people. Elements of a reality, which is already in the past, are stuck together and, in a surrealistic fashion, a new reality arises. But to recognize and respect the informant as coauthor also means that he/she is part of this new reality as it implies that his or her 'voice' will be heard on an equal footing with the ethnographer's, regardless of whether it is the informant's interpretation of events in the society, local folktales, or another form of a given culture that prevails.

Since one can never, despite a good grasp of local language, truly share the experience of others completely one must rely on some other tool. The human talents of imagination, and the ability to identify with people, which are invaluable assets in anthropological practice, must be the means by which one can approach the most loyal account, both in terms of 'the word' and 'the picture.' Or, in Crawford's words: 'documentary photos, like anthropology, is a creative exploration of reality.'

Photo 49.1 Kalasha School Teacher Surrounded by His Pupils Examining the 'Photo-Essay Book' on Kalasha Daily Life
Anish. Bumboret.
Photo: Torben Stroyer, 1994.

Photo 49.2 Kalasha School in Krakal: The Teacher and His Pupils during a Lesson
Bumboret.
Photo: Torben Stroyer, 1993.

Photo 49.3 The *Quasi* of Grom and His Son Examining Photos of Kalasha People Taken by H. Siiger during the Danish Expedition in 1948.
Ramboor.
Photo: Torben Stroyer, 1993.

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THE EXPLOITERS

*Maureen Lines**

Over the centuries, the Kalasha people of northwestern Pakistan have been pushed farther and farther back into the remote valleys of the Hindu Kush mountains. By the end of the 1940s, there were only three valleys left: still the Kaslasha were vulnerable.

First came the hunters: then came the merchants. In the 1960s, the first jeep road was built. Now new horizons were opened up for the woodcutters and the entrepreneur. The Kalasha, although wiley and resilient, were uneducated and they were easy prey for the unscrupulous. Walnut trees were mortgaged: land was lost to outsiders, who wanted to open up the valleys to tourism, and the great cedar forests plundered.

By the 1980s, Bumboret was on the tourist map, the hillsides became vulnerable with the increase in soil erosion, and the fields were constantly in danger of being washed away.

The 1970s and 1980s also saw the advent of three new invasions. With the outbreak of the Afghan war, small numbers of refugees from Nuristan migrated to Bumboret and Ramboor. Aid agencies, through ignorance, brought in fertilizers and pesticides, endangering the natural organic farming methods and posing dangers to the unsophisticated inhabitants. There were those who saw the naïveté and vulnerability of the Kalasha as a viable front for organizations with self-interested and dubious aims. During the 1980s and early 1990s, tour groups proliferated and so did the arrival of anthropologists to study the unique culture and life-style of the Kalasha.

Anthropology, along with tourism, can be a double-edged sword. Those whose natures were sensitive to the vulnerability of the people they studied, and to the delicate nature of cultures suddenly exposed to the twentieth century, did no harm and served science well. Knowledge leads to understanding and understanding leads to compassion if problems arise or human rights are violated.

But there are others who have wished only to further their careers and have given little thought or care to their actions, minding not that they might break ancient taboos. This has led to resentment, not only among the Kalasha, but also among the Chitralis, if for different reasons.

It is offensive to the Chitralis that their culture, in spite of centuries before being Kalasha, and habitat is so often passed over by the tourists, and that most visitors to the area give scant attention to Chitral and make haste to travel to the valleys of the Kalasha.

In 1980, I spent two months in Chitral and enjoyed the beauty of the surrounding countryside and friendliness of the then sleepy bazaar town.

Now, fifteen years on, Chitral is a very different place. The Chitralis, too have been exploited and cheated, but few realize it; some have been exploited by their own people, others by outsiders.

Major tour companies in Islamabad send their own jeeps with their tour groups, thereby depriving Chitrali drivers of much-needed income during their short tourist season.

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* British freelance journalist and writer.

Chitral has now become a litte boom town, but scant attention has been paid to the negative aspects of rural development. Some Chitralis may have a few more rupees in their pockets now, but for many the quality of life has deteriorated.

The bazaar has now become crowded with traffic and very dangerous for pedestrians. It is also polluted with garbage, offal from the slaughter of animals, and belching black smoke clouds from the exhausts of vehicals. Little do the shopkeepers realize that the fumes they are constantly breathing in will give them respiratory diseases and cancer. How many realize their once lovely river, from which animals and people still drink, is a dangerous cocktail of pollutants? Those who do understand, what are they doing about it?

Seven or eight years ago, I first mentioned the word environment to those working for the government for the benefit of Chitral. One economist laughed at me and remarked that the environment was a luxury and that only the West could afford to dwell on such issues.

Wrong. Protecting your environment means survival.

In 1990, I presented a paper to the second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference, also held in Chitral. My subject was the environment, dealing mostly with the destruction of the forest and the desirability of halting the logging. Many of those present saw only the loss of revenue from the lumber if the logging were stopped. Soil erosion, flooding, loss of good arable land, loss of property and life were not problems to be taken seriously. Since then, however, Chitralis, along with people downcountry and the Afghans, have seen the result of severe flooding, which stemmed directly from the continuous plundering of the forest.

Reforestation and very careful harvesting are needed to save Chitral's forests. If it loses its forests, it will not only be floods that Chitralis will suffer from. There will be climatic changes: springs will dry up and fields will lie barren. A trip to Shishi Kuh or Gawardesh in Nuristan would provide ample evidence of this.

Chitralis with forests are afraid of losing money should plant fast-growing broadleaf trees for harvesting. Those who are contractors should look towards development. With the coming of the high road to Central Asia, the field will be wide open to every contractor with ability and vision. Only those who are crooked and unscrupulous will go on raping Chitral's forests. It is up to the people to stop them.

From here to Swat and Nuristan, mosques and houses are under threat by the unscrupulous middleman. Mosques with ancient carved façades or houses adorned with beautifully carved pillars in Swat and Nuristan have been descecrated. The carvings from these buildings end up in the bazaars of Peshawar and Islamabad, later to adorn someone's home unless some discerning individual rescues it for posterity and gives it to a foreign museum. A people who cannot remember their history and lose their heritage also lose their identity.

Chitral's culture, environment, and heritage are under attack. Instead of deriding one another, Kalasha and Chitralis should unite and join forces in peace and watch over and protect this beautiful land they inhabit. Tourists come here and are spellbound by the mountains and fertile valleys. They see the beauty of Chitral's rivers and meadows, its fields of ripening wheat and corn, the spectacular flower gardens that nestle behind mud walls. They whisper, 'This is God's land.'

In five or ten years' time, will they still be saying this? The future of this land lies in its people's hands.

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THE TRADITIONAL POLO OF THE NORTHERN AREAS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE

*Waltraud Torossian-Brigasky**

The modern world owes to Central Asia for much of its cultural richness including arts and sports.

Times have changed but some of that ancient civilization and unique culture still remains fossilized in certain pockets of Central Asia, such as in Northern Pakistan. Polo is one such great sport which had originated in antiquity among the tribes of Central Asia and is still played in its most original form in these areas. For more than twenty centuries, polo remained a favourite of the rulers of Asia who both played the game and were its patrons. As the great eastern empires collapsed, the glittering court life of which polo had played such an important part disappeared; and the game itself was preserved only in remote places such as the Himalayas, the Karakorams, and the Hindu Kush, especially the areas around Gilgit, Skardu, and Chitral.

No one knows where and when the stick met the ball after the horse was domesticated by the tribes of Central Asia, but it seems likely that as the use of light cavalry spread throughout Asia Minor, China, and the Indian subcontinent, so did this rugged game on horseback.

The most spectacular tribute to polo in antiquity is a city laid around a king's polo ground. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Isfahan became the capital of the Safavid kingdom of Persia and Shah Abbas the Great decided to make Isfahan the most beautiful city in the orient. He planned his city around a vast central square, the Maidan-e-Shah, which served as the royal polo ground.

In Gilgit, polo was 'discovered' by the English cavalry officers of the British Raj during the 1850s.

As far as human memory goes, the people of Gilgit, Skardu, and Chitral have always played polo and only there is it played closest to its original form. 'Let other people play at other things, the King of Games is still the Game of Kings,' so reads a panel at the entrance of the Aga Khan Shahi Polo Ground in Gilgit. But polo here is not the 'Game of Kings' but obviously the polo players are the 'polo kings,' for it is played by ordinary village folk whose keenness for the sport far outweighs their economic capacity to maintain horses and equipment.

For many centuries polo has remained the most popular sport in the tiny kingdoms of the Himalayas, Karakorams, and Hindu Kush. Each mountain state encouraged its athletic men to develop and perfect this skill as a matter of prestige. The local *rajas*, *mirs*, and *mehtars* were the guardians of polo. They provided royal patronage and the necessary financial help and support to their players to keep this inspiring game alive. At times more than 50 per cent of the annual budget of their principalities would be spent on supporting the game of polo. Inter-village matches and regional tournaments received further support from the British colonial administration. Once these institutions were abolished, neither the government nor civil society

* Vienna, Austria.

could think of polo as a priority. As a result serious efforts to organize and promote the game have been made so far.

At present there are no permanent arrangements to provide ongoing support and encouragement for this sport. But despite this fact, still, nowadays, one can find a lot of people in the Northern Areas who are passionately fond of polo. There are even those who look upon playing it as one of the chief occupations for which they were sent into this world. Good players and great matches are remembered and talked about for generations. Unfortunately, polo, as it is played in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, has been hiding its light under a bushel. But this is not the players' fault. Unfavourable circumstances, ignorance, indifference, and lack of understanding on the part of authorities are the main reason for this stagnation and as the social and economic composition of the area changes, this ancestral sport is increasingly moving beyond the reach of the native people.

Polo is an important part—if not the most important—of these people's living culture. One only has to watch a game of polo in Gilgit, Skardu, or Chitral, and this becomes obvious. Neither football, hockey, cricket, nor any other sport attract larger masses than polo. It is on the polo ground where people discover their identity: there they feel united and strong. Here one has to realize that polo is a life-style, a passion, a powerful demonstration of the living culture. In a society which is experiencing a period of social fragmentation and disintegration of values and institutions, these aspects should not be underestimated.

Like no other sport today, polo is not only an important regional game but also part of the national cultural heritage. As with other desirable things that the people living here want to preserve as a common human heritage, the continuity of polo requires sustainable arrangements. This could be achieved by creating a permanent institution with enough financial backing for the promotion of polo as a unique sport and cultural heritage. Unless continued attention and encouragement is provided, this unique sport will soon become history in these areas.

Pakistan is now the only country in the world where the original game is still played. It would be a pity if we were to allow this game to die because with it would die a part of the culture here. The loss would leave us all poorer.