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KARL JETTMAR, Vienna University

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During the second half of the nineteenth century the British, assisted by the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu, moved the borders of India to the main ranges of the Hindukush and Karakorum. The western Hindu-

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kush, however, outside of the line of defense marked by the Khyber Pass was handed over to Afghanistan.<sup>1</sup>

The movement of the border was due to strategic reasons and not to economic interest; the British tolerated the existence of tribal areas and did not intervene in the inner affairs of the conquered unless they were forced to. In many cases the local rulers were permitted to keep their power. Another reason for their reserve was given by the geographical conditions which Biddulph impressively characterized:<sup>2</sup>

"In no other part of the world, probably, is there to be found such a large number of lofty mountains within so confined a space. This immense mass of mountain is intersected by numerous deep valleys, and these, owing to some peculiar geological formation which I have not remarked in other parts of the Himalayas, are generally narrower at their mouths than higher up. It is not unusual to see among them valleys of from 10 to 30 miles in length, supporting a population varying from 500 to 5,000 souls, with an embouchure so narrow that it is difficult to find a pathway beside the torrent which issues between overhanging rocks. In addition to this, the enormous rush of water during the summer months from numerous and extensive glaciers and snow-fields impedes communication."

Regarding the people of those mountains we may discern three periods of investigation:

1. The first explorers, mostly British officials, were rather equally interested in all cultural aspects. They collected wonderful material, but used it only for casual hypotheses.<sup>3</sup>

2. Since 1900 linguistic research grew more and more important. It became evident that the language map is much more variegated than one could gather from the rather uniform material culture or even from the spiritual concepts.<sup>4</sup>

a) In the east, in Ladakh (today belonging to India) and in Baltistan (today Pakistan), Tibetan dialects are spoken.

b) Languages of the northwestern or "Dardic" branch of the Indian (Aryan) group are found in Chitral, the Gilgit Agency, Dir, Upper Swat,

<sup>1</sup> Therefore it is not included in this study.

<sup>2</sup> Biddulph, J., *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, 1-2, Calcutta, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> Besides Biddulph, cf. Cunningham, A., *Ladák*. London, 1854. Leitner, G. W., *The languages and races of Dardistan*, London, 1876. *Idem*, *The Hunza and Nagyr handbook*, pt. I, Calcutta, 1889. *Idem*, *Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893*, Woking. Leitner and Biddulph include linguistic information in their books. Only the most important papers can be mentioned in this short survey.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Grierson, G. A., *Specimens of the Dardic or Pišācha languages* (including Kāshmiri). Linguistic survey of India, vol. 8, pt. II, Calcutta, 1919. Only one summarizing article may be quoted: Morgenstierne, G., *Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India*. Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie C III-1, Oslo, 1932. Lorimer, D. L. R., *The Burushaski Language*. Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B XXIX, 1-3, Oslo, 1935-1938.

and Indus-Kohistan, all now united with Pakistan. Some Dardic villages exist in Baltistan and even in Ladakh.<sup>5</sup>

c) We have also Iranian languages: Jidgha = Munji in Chitral, Wakhi in the Gilgit Agency<sup>6</sup> and Pashto in Dir, Swat, and Indus-Kohistan.

d) In the greater part of the Hunza valley Burushaski is spoken. The Wershikwar of Yasin is another dialect of the same tongue.<sup>7</sup> It is not related to any of the surrounding Indo-Iranian, Turkish, or Tibetan languages.

In the meantime, problems of the ancient geography were almost exclusively considered and solved by A. Stein.<sup>8</sup> Ethnographic material was still collected,<sup>9</sup> but Francke alone used it as a historic source. The important work of Hishmatullah Khan remained almost unknown.<sup>10</sup>

3. The last, i.e., present period may be reckoned since World War II. The present period is chiefly differentiated from the past by the opening of most of the former "tribal territory" along the Indus to travelers,<sup>11</sup> and by a radical increase of field research:

a) Linguistic work is going on (1954, 1955).<sup>12</sup>

b) Terms and methods of modern sociology were applied for the first time by Barth in 1954.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The Kashmiris originally belonged to the same stock. More Dardic languages are found in Afghanistan.

<sup>6</sup> Lorimer, D. L. R., *The Wakhi language*, 2 v., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1958.

<sup>7</sup> Zarubin, I. I., *Vershikskoe narechie kandzhutskogo iazyka*. Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov, t.2, vyp 2, 1927.

<sup>8</sup> Stein, A., cf. the books *Ancient Khotan*, 2 v., Oxford, 1907. *Idem, Serinda*, 5 v., Oxford, 1921. *Idem, Innermost Asia*, 4 v., Oxford, 1928.

<sup>9</sup> Ghulam Muhammad, *Festivals and folklore of Gilgit*. *Memoirs of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal* 1: 93-127, 1907. Dainelli, G., *Le condizioni delle genti*. Spedizione italiana De Filippi nell'Himalaia, Caracorùm e Turchestàn Cinese 1913-1914, Ser. II, 3, Bologna, 1924. *Idem*, *Le genti e le loro condizioni culturali*, "I Tipi Umani." Relazioni scientifiche della spedizione De Filippi, Ser. II, 9: 1-177, Bologna, 1925. Lorimer, D. L. R., *The supernatural in the popular belief of the Gilgit Region*. *Jour. Asiat. Soc.*, 507-536, July, 1929. Schomberg, R. C. F., *Between the Oxus and the Indus*, London, 1935. *Idem, Kafirs and glaciers*, London, 1938. Francke, A. H., *The eighteen songs of the Bono-na festival*. *The Indian Antiquary* 34: 93-110, 1905. *Idem, A history of Western Tibet*, London, 1907.

<sup>10</sup> Hishmatullah Khan, *Ta'rikh i Jammuñ*, Lucknow, 1939.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Stein, A., *From Swat to the Gorges of the Indus*. *The Geographical Journal* 100(2): 49, 1942.

<sup>12</sup> Barth, F., and G. Morgenstierne, *Vocabularies and specimens of some S. E. Dardic dialects*. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 18: 118-136, 1957. Buddruss, G., *Kanyawali*. Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beiheft B. München, 1959.

<sup>13</sup> Barth, F., *Indus and Swat Kohistan*. Studies honouring the centennial of Universitetets Etnografiske Museum, vol. II, Oslo, 1956.

c) The cultural geography of the Hunza valley was studied in the same year.<sup>14</sup>

d) For the first time since the days of the earliest explorers, ethnographic and folkloristic material was collected systematically. The Kalash, a Dardic tribe of Chitral, were visited by Siiger in 1954, and by Friedrich and Snoy during the German Hindukush Expedition 1955/56.<sup>15</sup>

All members of the same expedition, Friedrich, Snoy, Buddruss, and the grantee, worked in the Gilgit Agency in 1955. Among the valleys also visited were Tangir and Darel, tribal territory up to 1952 and famous for robbery and murder. Owing to the untimely death of Friedrich (April 25, 1956, at Rawalpindi) not much of this material has been published.<sup>16</sup>

The sudden, almost explosive increase of anthropologic activity, however, had the consequence that the results of one expedition could not be used for the planning of the next one. Moreover, no compilation of the older sources was at hand; they were far spread and difficult to acquire.

In 1958, when the grantee returned to the area as a member of the Austrian Karakorum Expedition,<sup>17</sup> the situation had changed. All reports just mentioned had appeared; he could gather information from Snoy, Buddruss, and Barth. He himself had written the necessary compilation.<sup>18</sup> So his work may be regarded as an attempt to fill the gaps systematically, to solve at least some of the problems which had arisen in 1955-1956.

That the grantee could choose his route of travel according to this intention, he is indebted to the good will of the Austrian Himalaya Society, which sent out the expedition, to the efficient help of the Government of Pakistan, to the understanding of his comrades and to a grant given by the American Philosophical Society to which the author is very grateful.

Most of the grantee's time was devoted to the study of the Shina-speaking population in the Gilgit Agency. Between April 2 and August 8 he visited the valleys of Haramosh, Gilgit proper, up to Gupis, Tangir, Darel (as in 1955) and Gor. Only the most important results may be listed here:

<sup>14</sup> Paffen, K. H., W. Pillewizer, H. J. Schneider, *Forschungen im Hunza-Karakorum. Erdkunde*, 10(1): 1-33, 1956.

<sup>15</sup> Siiger, H., *Ethnological field-research in Chitral, Sikkim and Assam. Hist. Filol. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.* 36(2), 1956. Snoy, P., Last pagans of the Hindu Kush, *Natural History* 68(9): 520-529, 1959. *Idem*, Kalash—Nordwestpakistan (Chitral), *Almauftrieb mit Opfern, Encyclopaedia cinematographica* E 210/1959, 1960.

<sup>16</sup> Snoy, P., Darden—Nordwestpakistan (Gilgitbezirk), *Almwirtschaft, Herstellen von Felsbildern, Schamanistischer Tanz. Encyclopaedia cinematographica* E 211-213/1959, 1960. Jettmar, K., Schmiedebrauehtum im östlichen Hindukusch. *Mitt. d. Anthropol. Ges. Wien* 87: 22-31, 1957.

<sup>17</sup> This expedition was composed of a group of mountaineers who conquered Mount Haramosh under the leadership of Heinrich Roiss, and a scientific team, the geographer Prof. Wiche (Wiche, K., *Die österreichische Karakorum-Expedition 1958, Mitt. Geogr. Ges. Wien* 100(3): 1-14, 1958), the zoologist Dr. F. Piff and the grantee.

<sup>18</sup> Jettmar, K., *Zur Kulturgeschichte eines Dardvolkes*, mss., 2 v., 1957-1958.

1. For the process of settlement no general theory can be established. Some valleys were depopulated and had new settlers several times. The description of this complicated issue must be left to the final publication.

2. As for the pre-Islamic settlement pattern, in 1955 the expeditioners were told that once there existed village-fortresses high upon the slopes or in the upper part of the valleys. This was now fully attested at Gor. The picture of that valley had not changed much since the conversion.<sup>19</sup> A separate article will show the evolution in most of the valleys leading from this form to the modern one.

3. As a basis for the studying of the material culture, collections were acquired during the expedition of 1955-1956. This time more clothing and carved objects were bought. They are used for an article somewhat in the footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein.<sup>20</sup>

The grantee was able to confirm the discovery Adolf Friedrich made first that there existed houses for the depositing of the dead bodies, near Gakuch. They belong to whole lineages and are much nearer to the collective ground-level burials just detected in Khorezm than the coffins of the Hindukush-Kafirs, to which Soviet scientists compare them. In the Wakhan similar types may exist.<sup>21</sup> All go back to Iranian practice before Islam.

4. The more general aspects of subsistence and economy were described by Wiche and the grantee.<sup>22</sup> They do not differ too much from the standard found by Paffen in Hunza.

South of Gilgit we may observe the survivals of an archaic pattern in which hunting and goat-breeding were of superior importance. The goats were fed with the leaves of the evergreen holm-oak (*Quercus ilex*) in winter. Cattle that require haymaking and stall-feeding for protracted periods were mainly used for ploughing and threshing, not for food. Millet prevailed among the crops. As manure was scarce, a system of fallowing was necessary.

5. Turning to sociology, "classic" authors such as Biddulph and Leitner, were mostly interested in the system of castes and in the methods of administration. The existence of lineages inside of the "castes," quite similar to those described by Barth in Indus-Kohistan, only became clear after the expedition of 1955-1956. On his last visit the grantee found some hints that these lineages were not endogamous but exogamous before Islam, i.e. they showed a characteristic feature not common in modern Central Asia.

South of Gilgit many local peculiarities, e.g., division of the villagers into quarters (not castes) of equal numeric strength, were noted in 1955.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Jettmar, 1959: 89-90.

<sup>20</sup> Jettmar, 1960a. Both collections were paid by the Austrian ministry of education. They belong now to the "Museum für Völkerkunde," Vienna.

<sup>21</sup> Snesarev, G. P., Bolshesemeinye zakhoroninia n osedlogo naseleniia levobershnogo Khorezma. *Institut etnografi—Kratkie soobshcheniia* 33: 60-71, 1960. Cf. Jettmar, 1960c.

<sup>22</sup> Wiche, K., *op. cit.*, 9-14. Jettmar, 1960a: 92-94.

Now the grantee was able to establish in Darel, that this division was the basis for a periodic re-allotment of fields and meadows among all members of the community. It is obviously the Pathan "wesh"-system introduced by Sunnite missionaries who belonged to that people. All other forms still existing in neighboring valleys can be explained by the disintegration of this system.<sup>23</sup>

6. Islam is the official religion of the area. However, even the early explorers noted many popular beliefs and customs of unknown origin. This was confirmed in certain respects in 1955. There were evidences of fragments of an old religion, seen in festivals, offerings and a sort of shamanism. The old gods, however, whose names were reported to Biddulph, seemed forgotten.

Now it turned out that the "protecting god" of the Gor valley, Taiban, is not forgotten. His festivals are still remembered as well as his connection with the horse. In Haramosh the grantee found the still intact (if rather crude) sanctuary of the Murkum, a goddess favoring women in labor and hunters.<sup>24</sup> Lorimer and Schomberg were told about dangerous witches in the Gilgit Agency, the "rui," and their "black masses." By the grantee's information it becomes clear that this popular belief is the reflection of the ecstatic and cruel cult of the Murkum, resembling the Tauric Artemis. Even the "aider and abettor" of the witches bear the features of the priest of this goddess. The grantee thinks that we are able now to explain many strange motives in the stories reported by Leitner, Biddulph, Lorimer, and Schomberg.

It was one of the most surprising results of the expedition in 1955 that so many hunters' beliefs and customs had been preserved in this essentially agricultural area. A sort of shamanism based on similar ideas. It was described by the "old authorities" and is still flowering in the northern part of the Gilgit Agency. Now it becomes clear that this complex is headed by the Murkum.<sup>25</sup> In her spiritual world, man and wild goat (ibex or markhor) are considered as "doubles." In the same way Murkum may appear as a woman or as a she-ibex. Even the holy tree of the Dards, the juniper, belongs to that sphere. It renders the fodder to the wild goats in wintertime, it is used by the shamans, it may represent the goddess herself. The domestic goat is held as a pure animal because it is a relative of the holy game, ibex and markhor. The cow lacking such connections is regarded as unclean and bad.

Since Biddulph the existence of structures of megalithic character is known. Ghulam Muhammad records feasts of merit for the women connected with similar but smaller monuments. An exciting report about feasts of merit and menhirs erected by and for men was brought by Peter Snoy from the Haramosh district. The grantee is able to confirm his information and may add that the posting of such a stone meant the founding of a new lineage.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Jettmar, 1960*d*.

<sup>24</sup> Jettmar, 1958.

<sup>25</sup> Jettmar, 1961*a*.

<sup>26</sup> Jettmar, 1960*b*.

In summary we may say that we are not dealing here with isolated superstitions but with the survivals of a distinct and specific religious system hardly disguised by an Islamic stratum. Many of minor traits not fully mentioned above fit into the pattern.

Only a short visit (August 19–28) was paid to Swat, as it was important to see whether or not the Dardic tribes of Swat-Kohistan, whose social life was studied by Barth, had preserved much of their old pre-Islamic traditions. Definitely they have, but not so much as their northern neighbors. Further research will be necessary.<sup>27</sup>

The main problem raised by the recent material is how one should classify this underground religion of the Shina-speaking Dards. How old is it and where are its origins?

Surely it was not the result of late acculturation or missionary work. It is too much interwoven with the archaic economic pattern mentioned before. Moreover, similar religious systems existed among the other Dardic peoples. There are many parallels in the still pagan cult of the Kalash. Its principal features must belong to the common heritage of the whole ethnic group.

The grantee's comparative studies<sup>28</sup> indicate that the most substantial foreign affinities do not lead to the popular beliefs of other Indian peoples, neither do they lead to the thoughts presented in the Vedic texts. They are rather related to Kafiristan and Caucasia (hunting customs) on the one hand, and to Nepal, Assam, and Burma on the other. Thus, one may presume that there is a chain of kindred mountain-religions perhaps going back to the neolithic period. But there are connections to the north as well, to pre-Turkish Middle Asia and Southern Siberia. Taiban and Murkum, for instance, are surprisingly near to the central deities of Khorezm—Syavush and Anahita.<sup>29</sup>

The archaeological material—to which the grantee made a contribution<sup>30</sup>—provides actual proof that there was a cultural influx from the north, perhaps connected with a migration of Saca tribes.<sup>31</sup>

Of course, beneath the tremendous mountains, all foreign elements were transformed and given a new meaning. The summits and glaciers became the home of the gods, their proudest game—ibex and markhor—became the symbols for holiness and ritual purity. This adaptation to the gigantic nature was surely the reason why the popular beliefs of the

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Jettmar, 1959: 89-90.

<sup>28</sup> Jettmar, 1960c, 1961a.

<sup>29</sup> Rapoport, Y. A., Some aspects of the evolution of Zoroastrian funeral rites. XXV. *International Congress of Orientalists—Papers presented by the U.S.S.R. Delegation*, Moscow, 1960.

<sup>30</sup> Jettmar, 1961b.

<sup>31</sup> Stein, A., Archaeological notes from the Hindu Kush region, *Jour. Asiat. Soc.* 5: 24, 1944. Litvinskiy, B. A., Archaeological discoveries on the Eastern Pamirs and the problem of contacts between Central Asia, China and India in Antiquity. XXV. *International Congress of Orientalists—Papers presented by the U.S.S.R. Delegation*, Moscow, 1960.

Dards could survive the impact of three great religions—Buddhism which ruled for a millennium in political centers like Gilgit, Shivaism, and finally Islam.

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