WHO WERE THE DARDS? A REVIEW OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC LITERATURE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN HIMALAYA

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BACKGROUND

In the past twenty-five years field research in the Himalaya has largely been confined to the valleys off the southern slopes of the central and eastern parts of the mountain chain. Thus "Himalayan research" has, for the most part, meant research in Nepal. The far north-western Himalayan areas, including the regions of Ladakh and Baltistan, have been in this period all but closed to western researchers. Under these circumstances it is very easy to forget that a mere thirty years ago the picture was reversed: Nepal was the closed country, and the north-western Himalaya, as part of British India, was easily accessible to western explorers and scholars.

Currently the practical possibilities of Himalayan research appear to be altering once again, since parts of the north-western Himalaya have now opened to foreign researchers. We have recently seen, for instance, the publication of the first full-length work based on contemporary field research in Ladakh for nearly forty years (Snellgrove, D., and Skorupski, T. 1977). At the same time there has been a renewal of interest in the major publications from the earlier, colonial period of investigation on both the north-western Himalaya and the Hindu-Kush. Cunningham's *Ladak* of 1854, Drew's *Jummo and Kashmir Territories*... of 1875 and Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* of 1880 have all been recently reprinted. And the book that heralded this era of study—Elphinstone's *Account of the Kingdom of Cabaul*... of 1815, reprinted formerly in 1819 and 1839—has again been republished (in 1969).

Given this renaissance, it will be useful to appraise the earlier literature, in the hope that future research will be able to integrate critically the work that has gone before. Likewise a review of the works from this early period will prevent us from setting out on research that is either fundamentally misconceived or has simply already been done.

To review comprehensively this body of work would be a major task, since this colonial period of research and travel produced over one thousand books and articles. The census officer for Jammu and Kashmir in 1911, Matin Uz Zamin Khan, aptly noted this:

> A bulky literature has accumulated which, consisting of articles and books by persons of various nationalities, Chinese, Tibetan, Persian, Indian, English, American, French, German and other writers, makes most interesting reading. Scarcely any traveller of repute has come to this country, either for pure recreation or bent on georaphical or scientific research, who has not written something about our famous land.
>
> Matin Uz Zamin Khan, 1912, *Kashmir*, *Census of India*, Vol. XX, Lucknow.

It is certainly not my intention to provide an exhaustive review of all these works. Rather, this article is limited to those aspects of the colonial literature that are of ethnographic interest, in the hope of providing some assistance to future anthropological field workers in the region. The main body of this paper concerns writings on 'the Dards' and in so doing gives general guidelines to the available ethnography of the Himalaya generally. In addition, a more comprehensive ethnographic bibliography is given at the end of the paper, which should be of general service. Finally, since certain problems in our understanding of the colonial period derive from the style of the literature rather than from the circumstances of the peoples themselves, this paper has general relevance for the history of ideas of this period.

As the above quotation from Matin Uz Zamin Khan indicates, the first foreign presence in the north-west Himalayan region dates back long before the ascendancy of the East India Company on the sub-continent. For example, in the seventh century A. D. Tibetan armies passed through Baltistan to reach Turkestan, and in the eighth century A. D. the Chinese established a garrison in the Gilgit area (Chavannes, E. 1904 p. 150) Again it is not my purpose to give a detailed history of kings and conquests in an area which, by any standards, has had an extremely turbulent political history; but it is helpful to bear in mind that the two principal vectors of both military and cultural influence have been to and from Tibet, and by way of the Kashmir valley from the south-west. And the influence of the two great religions of Buddhism, and latterly Islam, has generally been tied to military and political conquest.[1]

The first European presence in Ladakh dates back to the early seventeenth century, and this was in all probability the coming of the Portugese Diego d'Almeida from Goa to Leh, (Hedin, S., 1922, p.46). Leh, the capital of Ladakh, was a staging post for the Jesuit missionary A. de Andrade, on his way to establish a mission at Tsaparang in 1626 (Wessels, C., 1924, p. 101). The well known Jesuit explorer of Tibet, Ippolito Desideri, passed through Leh in 1715 on his way to Tibet, accompanied by Manuel Freyre. Yet for all their intrinsic historical interest, these early mentions of Ladakh hardly give us much information on the place or the people. For Desideri, Ladakh was little more than a 'Second Tibet', a stopover on his way to Lhasa (de Filippi, F., 1932, p. 76).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain became concerned with the possibility of a renewed threat to India from a post-Dupleix, Napoleonic France And at repeated intervals throughout that century, Britain perceived a similar threat to the northwest frontier from Imperial Russia, especially with the advent of the railway in Central Asia. The search for a secure frontier to the western flank of India implied, under a 'forward policy', a continual cycle of expansion and consolidation, and the acquisition of the north-western Himalaya followed from the annexation of of the Punjab in 1848.

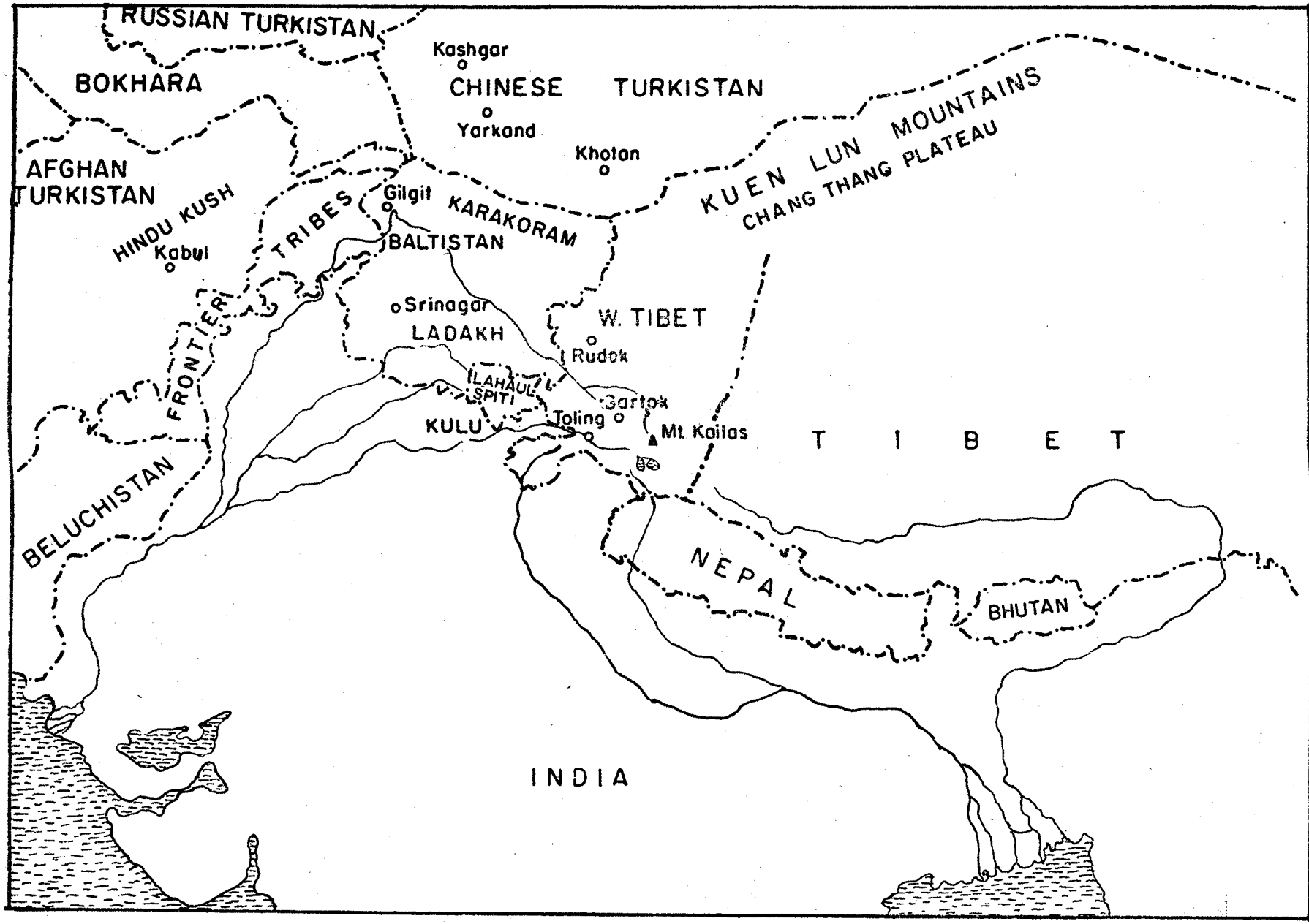
At that time Central Tibet was closed to foreigners, and political and scholarly

interests coincided in focussing on the Hindu Kush and the north-western Himalaya. In a period dating from the initial explorations of Mir Izzet Ullah in 1812, up until the disintegration of British India in 1948, these two regions were the major areas of western exploration beyond the plains of India. Politically more secure than the north-west frontier region itself, Baltistan and Ladakh became hunting resorts for British officers. The region soon became tramped by botanists, cartographers, geographers, glaciologists, geologists, zoologists, political missions and just plain travellers. The scale of this influx was so great that regulations were in force limiting the number of Europeans allowed to winter in the area. Trips to this region became such a routine adventure that a tourist guide to the area was in its ninth edition by 1913 (Neve, A., 1913).

Many of the publications from this period were little more than narratives that focussed on the marches, sufferings and other experiences of the traveller on tour. In other accounts topics of specialist interest—be they geology, land and freshwater shells, or the size and form of the spread of horns of wild sheep–were woven into narratives. A few writers stepped outside the narrative framework of the tour, and attempted a more holistic account of place, people or other topics. Hunters and missionaries, explorers and mountaineers, classical scholars and scientists, political agents and residents, all have written on the area. Their works appear not only under the titles of Ladakh and Baltistan, or the 'West Tibet' and 'Little Tibet' as they were commonly known. Some works are so specific that their titles contain a village name; whereas other works appear under such general epithets as north-western Himalaya, Northwest Frontier, Upper Indus Valley, Karakoram, Transhimalaya, Jummoo and Kashmir, Central Asia, Tibet and India. Even a non-existent country, 'Dardistan', appears as the title to a book on the region that I have here, for the sake of descriptive neutrality, referred to as the 'north-western Himalaya'.

In the main body of this paper we will return to the Dards and Dardistan, but first we will consider the more general problems of material on the people of the north-west Himalaya. Apart from its sheer volume, one has to deal with the antiquity, obscurity and variety of the sources in which material on the Himalayan peoples has been published. These problems become all the more apparent when we search through materials under the humanities, rather than in the more clearly defined natural sciences. Another difficulty, especially germane to ethnological research, is that most of the accounts of the people of the Himalaya are couched in terms of the theoretical assumptions of past centuries. One dominant theoretical current was an offspring of classical European studies, and another drew from the perspective of a naive Evolutionism. The former led to the view that the history of the north-west Himalaya marked the grandiose 'Rise and Fall' of Classical Antiquity. This interpretation reflects the desire of these writers to connect the origin of the Himalayan peoples to those peoples mentioned in Classical Greek sources. The latter theoretical current was based on the

ADAPTED FROM SHERRING C. A. *Western Tibet and The British Borderland* 1906.



use of a discrete, linear, evolutionary tree as the model of the development of peoples. This attempt, however, remained indeterminate, given the authors' own references to the intrinsically contingent nature of these societies, their sub-divisions and boundaries, and to their very real flow and interchange that resulted from historical and geographical circumstances. Indeed, in some works one simply cannot be sure to whom the author is referring under his reified 'tribal' name.

'The Dards' furnish a prime example of all these difficulties. In unravelling the particular historical and circumstantial strands of the 'Dards', I am attempting to illustrate the possible pitfalls of taking this literature at its face value. At the same time, I hope to demonstrate that in many cases these early works do have valuable ethnographic information tucked inside them. And not least of all, this paper should clarify the heterogeneous status of the various peoples who have been called 'the Dards'.

GEOGRAPHY[2]

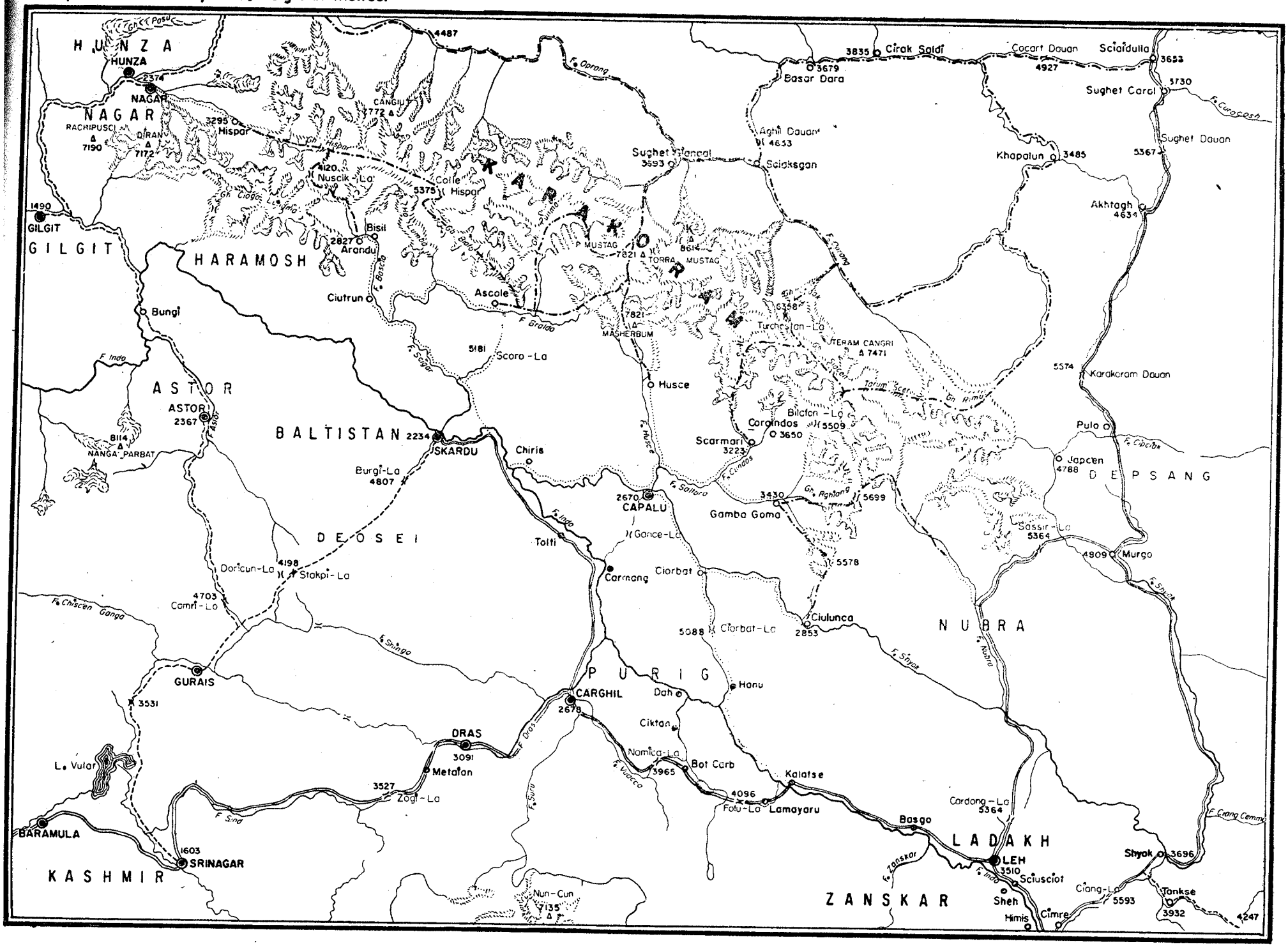
The area here referred to as the north-western Himalaya is located at 76 E. longitude and 35 N. latitude. It includes the area from Ladakh in the east, westwards through Baltistan to the Gilgit region in the north-west.

From the far east, the land slopes downwards from an altitude of over 14,000 ft. from the Depasang, Aksai Chin and Lingzithang plateaus to an altitude of below 2,000 feet on the river valley of the Indus. Except in the far west, this area falls between two parallel main ranges of the north-western Himalaya,namely those of the main Himalayan north-westerly spur, known as the Zanskar range, and the major Karakoram range to the north. The former rises to an altitude of approximately 18,000 ft. The latter range is over 28,000 ft. high and contains the largest concentration of 'giant' peaks and the longest non-polar glacier in the world. This range forms the main watershed between Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent. In the east, between these two ranges, lies the Ladakh range, which is of similar altitude and north-westerly orientation as the Zanskar range. There are three parallel mountain ranges in the south-east, and two in the central western part of this area.

In the valleys between these ranges flow two major river systems, the Shyok in the north and the Indus in the south. The Shyok rises to the north-east of the Karakoram, flowing to the south, and then looping westwards around the region of Nubra. Here it joins the similarly named Nubra river as it flows from the north through the main area of Ladakh. Flowing past the village of Capalu, this river finally joins the waters of the Indus near the village of Chiris in Baltistan.

The Indus, the longest Himalayan river, rises to the south-east near Mt. Kailas in Tibet. Here it flows northwestwards past Leh, to be met by the Zanskar and later the Dras river from the south. These waters then flow through the area known as Purig, before joining the Shyok river from the north-east.

Adapted from Dainelli, 1925. Height in metres.



From the mouths of the valleys lateral to the major rivers, glacier-fed streams provide water for irrigation the whole year round. Terraced fields in the east taper across wide fan-shaped river deltas; on the west they fall along the steep hillsides. The principal rivers themselves almost always flow in gorges deep below the valley floors, making the water inaccesible for irrigation. Many observers have commented on the contrast between the lush cultivated zones, and the stark, barren region outside these oases. The greater part of the population is settled at the edges of these lateral river valleys.

WHO WERE THE DARDS ?

> Dards—(Aryan)....chiefly Muhammedans, dwelling in the mountainous country north of Kashmir; the Tibetan Baltis being their neighbours on the east and the Pathans or Afghans on their west.
>
> Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1890.

Moorcroft, explorer and veterinary surgeon of the East India Company, returned from his first journey to Tibet in 1822. He then deputed his Indian assistant, Mir Izzet Ullah, to make an exploratory tour in Turkestan to prepare for his own future journey to that area. Izzet Ullah left Srinagar in September of 1812, passing by Dras and Khalatse to Leh, where, after a brief halt, he passed northwards into Yarkand and Chinese Turkestan. He eventually returned to British territory via Kabul in 1813. Moorcroft later made his own trip, but died on the expediton.

Izzet Ullah took extensive notes, especially concerning the route, in Persian. His manuscript was translated into English and published in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* of Calcutta in 1825. The article, originally entitled 'Travels beyond the Himalaya', was published in French and German in 1826, republished in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843, and published yet again, this time as a small book, under the auspices of G. Henderson in 1872. The editor (and probably the translator) of the original article was H. H. Wilson, who later prepared Moorcroft's posthumous notes for publication. He was the Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford and Fellow of the Royal Society.

Apart from asides of both Izzet Ullah and Moorcroft that were published as occasional letters in the *Oriental Quarterly*, this article is the first publication from personal experience on the north-western Himalaya of the British Raj. It is also the first publication to make reference to the Dards:

> The houses of this country hitherward from Matayain were all in a ruinous and deserted condition, a number of persons having been carried off the year before by a party of people called Dardi, an independent mountain tribe, three or four marches north from

> Diras (Dras), who speak the Pushtu as well as the Daradi language: their religion is not known. It is said to be a journey of ten stages to Badakshan from Cashmir, through the country to the Dardis. The prisoners they make in these predatory incursions they sell as slaves.
>
> Izzet Ullah, 1825, *Quarterly Magazine, Review and Register*, Calcutta.

It is reasonably clear from this quotation that the area referred to must either be the Astor valley that leads to the Indus, or the southwards area along the Indus river valley from Bunji to Chilas. These were not the only areas that carried out raiding for slaves: up until at least 1869, both Chitral and Hunza indulged in this trade, for which there was a ready market in nearly Badakshan. However, proceeding on the assumption that Izzet Ullah's information is correct, can we find out who these Dardi were ?

According to one source, there were originally four groups of people in the Chilas area, the Bagote of Buner, the Kané of Takk, the Boté of the Chilas fort and the Matshuké of the Matshuko fort (Leitner, 1893, p. 78). According to another source, the Bagote and the Matshuké were originally descended from brothers (Biddulph 1880, p. 15) but in none of these sources are the groups locally referred to as *Dardi*. The only reference to Dards in this area, apart from Izzet Ullah, is from Shaw; the Ardeikaro of the Dah and Hanu valleys are said to refer to a parent group from the Astor valley as *Darde* (Shaw, 1878, p. 3). Can we necessarily assume that the term *Dardi* is a name rather than a description ? Izzet Ullah's rendition of the term *Dardi* in Persian script implies that it has the same root as the word for 'pain'. But since the local language, Shina, is unwritten, and since we do not know what language Izzet Ullah used to obtain his information, it would be wrong to presume a connection between the two words. His orthography can no more be accepted as standard than could a casual orthographic rendition in Roman script. Now Shina is a member of the Indo-Iranian language group that subsequently, and rather ironically, became called 'Dardic'. There are a number of dialects of Shina, of which the Chilas-Darel-Shingo-Dras variety is one. The language spoken between Gilgit and Harmosh on the Indus Valley is another, and that of Rondu-Astor-Skardu is a third (Biddulph, p. 46). These three languages form a group that can be separated from the Shina dialect of the Dah-Hanu valleys, with which it is not mutually intelligible (Shaw, 1878, p. 11; Biddulph, 1880, p. 50; Bailey, 1924, p. xiv). Whether this separation of Shina dialects is due to heavy lexical borrowing from the adjacent Tibetan, or has a more basic linguistic reason, is not known.

Thus Chilas and Dras speak the same dialect of Shina, while the dialect of Astor is different, but closely related. Beyond this linguistic association between these peoples, there is evidence of an actual historical linkage. The arrival of Shina speakers in Dras and Shingo from Chilas and possibly from Astor is historically documented and the pattern of this migration is consistent with our knowledge of the expansion of the Machpon rulers from Skardu down the Indus at the turn of the 17th century. One version of this history is as follows. The then King of Baltistan, Ali Mir, who had defeated King Jambans Namgyal of Ladakh, had four sons. The eldest, Ahmad Khan, succeded to the kingdom on his father's death. Ahmad Khan himself had three sons, but none of these succeeded him. Rather, his own younger brother, with the aid of a Moghul army, took control of the kingdom. The sons of Ahmad Khan then moved away westwards establishing petty polities in Rondu, Astor and Shingo. It was the movements of these armies that triggered the migration of peoples up the Astor valley and over the Deosei plateau to the Dras and Shingo valleys. People were still migrating along this axis by as late as 1913 (Biddulph, 1880, p. 145; Dainelli, 1925 b p. 171; Petech, 1939, p. 138).

People living in all these areas, although Shina speakers, are not only of the Shin subgroup, but are also of the Yeshkun, Rono, and various 'unclean' groups such as Krammin, Dom, Shoto and Ustad (Biddulph, 1880, p. 35; Leitner, 1896,p. 80).3 The information used here possibly lacks sufficient detail, and it may be that the areas such as Chilas and Astor are too large to consider as homogeneous units. Nevertheless, it does appear that *some* of the Shina speakers of Chilas and Dras, if not those of Astor and Dras, have a very close connection indeed. In this case the use of the term Dard could possibly take on a more local meaning: it could be the name of a minor lineage, a village named after some local feature, even a term of abuse. In the absence of proper ethnographical or linguistic information we cannot make a firm judgment on this point.

However indeterminate this original ethnographic reference to the *Dardi* may be, it marked the beginning of the use of the term 'Dardi' in the literature. As a classicist, H. H. Wilson was clear in his own mind as to who the *Dardi* were. In a footnote to Izzet Ullah's essay, he writes that they were 'the Dards of the classical geographers'. In his preparation of Moorcroft's papers for publication, this footnote was extended:

> Few people can be traced through so long a history as these as they are evidently the Daradas of Sanscrit geography, and Dardae, or Daradrae of Strabo. They are also, no doubt, the Kafers of the Mohammedans...
>
> H. H. Wilson, in Moorcroft, 1841, II, p. 266.

By 'Dardu' or 'Dards', (terms which he used interchangeably) Moorcroft was referring to the people of Gilgit, with whom he quite correctly connected the people of Chilas, calling them Dardu-Chilas. He likewise referred to some of the people of Chitral as Dards (Moorcroft, 1841, II, p. 268). In the map that accompanies his journals there is also a village below Chilas on the left bank of the Indus that is named Dardu. This village is not subsequently marked on any other map. But Moorcroft, it must be realised, never visited that particular part of the Indus by Chilas, nor even Gilgit, and on his journey to Turkestan he was accompanied by Izzet Ullah, who presumably helped him in the preparation of his notes. These two sources are, then, probably just one.

It would be meaningless to select Wilson for individual criticism on the form of his inference. Criticism of Wilson is really criticism of the intellectual climate of his times. In the nineteenth century, the quest for origins was seen as a central part of scientific endeavor and a connection between Oriental Studies and The Classics was considered perfectly direct and conventional. It is now reasonably evident, that the names of peoples that classical scholars (Greek or Indian) mentioned are not always accurate ethnographic references. It must be remembered that the classical scholars themselves had only minimal contact with these varied groups. Such names[4] were much like modern administrative divisions, little more than vague, and immediately useful, social classifications.

We can, by way of example , take one Sanskrit reference to the Dards and try to decipher its intent:

> By the omission of the prescribed duties and also by the neglect of the Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriya jātis have gradually sunk to the position of the Vṛṣala (Sudra or the low-born); the Puṇḍras (or Pauṇḍrakas), Coḍas (or Auḍras), Draviḍas, Kāmbojas ,Yavanas, Sakas, Pāradas, Pahlavos, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas.
>
> Manusmriti X, 42-44, quoted in Sircar, D. C., Jour. As. Soc. Vol. IV, no. 2, 1962, 'Sagaras Adversaries', p. 52.

Whilst it is difficult to date the writing of this manuscript, the original was probably composed before the second century A. D. But one does not have the slightest guarantee that the names given are not later interpolations that someone made whilst copying from an earlier manuscript. It is the form of the work rather than the content that is likely to have remained constant. 'Dravidas', 'Cinas','Kiratas' and 'Khasas' refer to the ruling peoples of South India, China and the Limbu-Rai and Indo-Iranian speaking peoples of Nepal. As these were yet ritually unclean this section explains their power in terms of their originally Ksatriya status. It gives an explanation of the anomaly of the existence of non-Hindu rulers in Brahmanical terms. One may argue that these were the high castes' means of classifying non-Hindu peoples of the sub-continent

at one period of history. But if it is this matter of giving an explanation, rather than the list itself, that is the central concern of this section, it would be mistaken to argue that present-day ethnic groups are the social descendants of peoples so classified.

The general reason why these sources are quoted in current works is not for the information they give on the people concerned but because they provide an introductory pedigree to a study. It is conventional to quote them; they are a scholarly reflex, used because they have been used. What is sociologically more interesting is that these classifications themselves have the potential of "creating" the very peoples they apparently describe. In this way the classifications can become self-fulfilling prophecies (Boorstein, D. 1962). What we see in Wilson's precipitation of the Dards of antiquity from the manuscripts of Izzet Ullah and Moorcroft, is the genesis of such a pedigree, a continuity between a past literature and a present people that is assumed rather demonstrated.

From that time on the use of the term *Dard* in the literature had an assumed legitimacy. Csoma de Koros, for example, referred to 'Dard' elements to the west of the 'Balti' (Csoma de Koros, 1832, p. 124). The very use of the terms Balti and Ladakhi as ethnic labels can be seen as examples of identities created by local polities. These same ethnic classifications have been more recently reinforced and extended through their development into modern administrative divisions. Traditionally, the terms Baltistan and Ladakh were used only to refer to the present-day towns of Skardu and Leh. These broader politically-formed identities are still developing and have become part of the modern process of nation building. The early nineteenth century writers were not overconcerned with the creation of any such national identity. Rather, they saw their task of classification as a means of establishing a "scientific" taxonomy of these peoples.

Whilst being able to refer to 'the Balti' in an operational descriptive manner, the early scholars could at the same time ask 'Who are the Balti ?' Vigne, Cunningham and Campbell, writers representative of this period, make use of the idea that Persian, Indian or Aryan characteristics existed among the Balti or in the population immediately to their west (Vigne, 1842, II, p. 217; Cunningham, 1854, p. 291; Campbell, 1867, p. 217). They considered the people of Ladakh and Baltistan as Tibetan, Mongol, or-as some in a more abstract way referred to them—Tartar or Turanian. But these same scholars had to allow for the existence of some Persian or Aryan characteristics to the west. It was for this latter need that the term Dard, as a sub-type of Indo-Aryan, proved convenient.

These writings do not provide much in the way of descriptions of peoples, but they do reveal the search for physical or cultural criteria by which the 'prototype' of the people may qe discovered. They give geographical distributions of these types, explain the variation in types by reference to their position in an evolutionary taxonomy

of peoples. Hence 'Tibetan' is explained as a type of 'Mongol', itself considered a type of 'Turanian' and so on. To understand the Dards in this kind of scheme, the early writers referred to the terms 'Persian' or 'Indian', and then higher still to 'Aryan'.

The criteria for these classifications were primarily physical. Cultural criteria such as language and religion were also taken into account, although these measures rarely correlated with the physical criteria. This concern with 'genera, orders and species' was natural enough in the intellectual climate that was soon to see the publication of Darwin's work, but there was still a major problem in using such a taxonomical approach. The peoples did not fall neatly into classes. This gave rise to a predominance of 'mixed types' and to interminable discussions as to who a people 'basically' were (with little consideration of what it meant to be such a people). The ambiguities in the classifications also led to the use of *post hoc* logic of migrations and diffusions to explain away anomalies in the taxonomies. Where these theories focussed on presumed 'underlying types' the discussion disappeared into a western evolutionist mythology. But when these theories of migrations and diffusions grew from a consideration of the particular circumstances of real groups of specific, localised peoples, it developed into an interesting speculative history that still carries value.

This history will be examined later in this paper when we consider the writings of Shaw, Drew and Biddulph. Thus far I have illustrated the germination of the idea of the Dards, and the classical and evolutionist climate that allowed this idea to gain currency. However, the real extension of the use of the term 'Dard' derives from a more idiosyncratic writer, G. W. Leitner, whose work cannot simply be placed in either of these two traditions. His work is remarkable in that he not only forcibly and openly writes of the Dards and Dardistan, but also documents his own role in this process.

His work, originally published in 1866, 1867 and 1872 was republished in practically the same form in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Reviews* of 1891 and 1892, of which he was editor. His work on the Dards also appears in other articles, and in his *Hunza and Nagyr Handbook* of 1896. For the sake of convenience, I here refer to the supplement to the latter work, entitled *Dardistan:*

> The country is indifferently known as Yaghistan, Kohistan, and since my visit in 1866 as Dardistan.... The name of Dardistan (a hybrid between the "Darada"of Sanscrit and a Persian termination) seems now to be generally accepted. I include in it all the countries lying between the Hindukush and Kaghan (lat. 37 N, and long. 73 E.' to lat. 35 N, long. 74. 30 E). In a restricted sense the Dards are a race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shinaki...but I include under that designation not only the Chilasis, Astorris, Gilgitis, Daryelis, etc., but also the people of Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, Chitral and Kafiristan.
>
> Leitner, 1890, *Dardistan,* p. 59.

> those countries which lie in the triangle between Cashmere and Kabul and Badakshan, and to which I first gave the name of Dardistan in 1866,
>
> Op. cit., app. viii, p. 8.

Readers of Leitner should be aware of the large area which he includes under the label of Dardistan. His label covers the Burushaski-speaking regions of Hunza, Nagir and Yassin, and the later celebrated Kafirs of the Hindu Kush. One would have thought that it could scarcely be otherwise, as Dr. Leitner was in the habit of repeatedly quoting himself in print. And it is the very effects of the repetition, rather than its logical basis, that seems to have imprinted itself in the minds of his contemporaries.

Leitner was a Hungarian naturalised in Britain, interpreter in the Russian war of 1855; Lecturer in Arabic at King's College, London; Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple; Principal of the Lahore Government College; Principal of his own Oriental Institute at Woking in Surrey; principal organiser of the schismatic ninth International Congress of Orientalists of 1891; and latterly editor of the *Imperial Asiatic and Quarterly Review*. By any standards, Dr. G. W. Leitner, LLD., Ph. D, D. O. L., was a most extraordinary man. As Principal of the Lahore College he was so successful in reforming the College that indigenous Islamic scholars from beyond the territory of British India came to study with him. His most important achievement is not, as he perhaps thought, the discovery of Dardistan, nor his coinage of the expression 'Graeco-Buddhist', but his initial discovery and recording of the unique Burushaski language of Hunza, Nagir and Yassin. His work created its own romantic image, and one can find the following comment in a perfectly serious and scholarly review of his *Languages and Races of Dardistan* of 1867, 1870, 1872:

> Hungry, thirsty, and surrounded by enemies, he, with one hand on the revolver and the pencil in the other—occasionally by the dim light of a camp fire—wrote down words and phrases.
>
> Trumpp, E., 1872, *The Languages and Races* of Dardistan, by G. W. Leitner, *Calcutta Review*, April, p. cviii.

But Leitner's enemies were far more often the western orientalists—such as Max Muller, and British politicians—than ever were the inhabitants of 'Dardistan'. Leitner devoted a large portion of his life to arguing for the independence of these hill polities. Much of his later writing is a collection of polemical essays for the press and the British government on this topic.

However entrancing Trumpp's picture of Leitner's field research might be, Leitner himself was in this respect an extremely practical man. He had the good sense

to continue his detailed linguistic research with informants he had brought back to Lahore from such places as Gilgit, Chilas, Hunza and Nagir. One of these informants even accompanied him to England in 1887.

Leitner's main field trip took place in May and October of 1886. But he had to return to Lahore in July following the death of his companion, Cowie, near Dras. He then went back to the Kashmir valley on his most extraordinary quest: to discover whether Mt. Kailas and Chilas were one and the same. The Maharajah of Kashmir, who was at that time using his army to consolidate and expand his rule to the north-west, was, understandably, less than enthusiastic about the presence of a roving Britisher in his territory. Dr. Leitner was forced to withdraw from the Maharajah's territory. He then moved across the Indus to Gilgit to work with the very groups who were resisting the Maharajah. Possibly it was their very unity in opposition to Kashmir which impressed Leitner and led to his idea on the formation of Dardistan.

Leitner's academic research, besides giving linguistic analyses and lexicons of a number of local languages (including Burushaski and Shina)[5] gives ethnographic notes on customs, genealogies, history and mythology. As a whole it stands as a major achievement. All the same, his ethnographic publications are extremely disorganized, and read like a loosely re-worked sequence of field-notes rather than a book. One can read a beginning page on castes and turn the leaf only to find a section on animal myths printed in a different type-face ! That this should have been so in the early rushed production of his work is excusable. That it was reprinted twice in the same format twenty years later is not.

Furthermore, he has a patently forced and unsophisticated approach to the problem of large-scale synthesis. This is illustrated for the Dards in the following quotation:

> As is the case with uncivilised races generally, the Dards have no name in common, but call each Dard tribe that inhabits a different valley by a different name....The name "Dard" itself was not claimed by any of the race that I met. If asked whether they were Dards they said "certainly", thinking I mispronounced the world "dade" of the Hill Panjabi which means "wild, independent", and is a name given them by foreigners as well as "yaghi" rebellious....I hope the name of Dard will be retained, for besides being the name of at least one tribe, it connects the country with a range known in Hindi mythology and history....
>
> Leitner, 1896, *Dardistan,* p. 58.

It is a curious fact about Leitner's work that it contains a recognition of the restricted use of the term 'Dard' to refer to the Shin people around Chilas, and yet the force of his own argument is directed in completely the opposite direction

If Leitner had been a frontier political officer, rather than an educationalist writing bitter polemics to the press, he might well have succeeded in creating a federation of hill states that would have been known as Dardistan. This might, then, have paralelled the creation of the larger polity of Afghanistan or Baluchistan. If there had been a Dardistan, the kind of political processes of integration that we have already discussed for Baltistan, would surely have created the Dards. The idea of a fixed named tribal unit often only occurs at the time of incorporation of a people into a larger national polity; it is a phenomenon of urban ethnicity rather than a traditional truth. But the historical fact is that the boundaries of the State of Jammu and Kashmir were well to the west of the Indus boundary laid down in the 1846 treaty. And Kafiristan became, after the Durand Agreement of 1893, integrated into Afghanistan. The interpolation of a British administered territory between the two can be seen as, firstly, a desire to have a north-western frontier wrth Russia under direct observation and control, and secondly, as in the east between Kashmir and Nepal, to obstruct an alliance between Kashmir and Afghanistan against British interests.

The effect of this policy was to create centralised autocratic polities which could be observed and influenced by a resident in a central court, rather than to create decentralised federations with their corresponding diffusion of powers and responsibilities. It was political and military circumstance, not the nature of cultural similarities and differences, that was responsible for the creation of those specific polities in that region of the north-west frontier. Although Dardistan was to remain a political dream in the mind of one man, it was a dream of such potency that this man could lead a session of the 9th Internatonal Congress of Orientalists entitled 'Central Asia and Dardistan'. Dardistan was to continue to hold a certain academic viability up until the present day.

Whereas the writing of Leitner was idiosyncratic and naive, that of other writers—such as Drew, Biddulph and Shaw—contains a valid speculative history of the region. Their work to some extent disentangles the various ethnical strands in the 'Dardic' picture.

Drew offered one of the clearest treatments of the history of the people of this region. He was a geologist who had entered the service of the Maharajah of Kashmir in 1862 as a consultant mineralologist. He later became responsible for forestry, and finally was Governor of the transhimalayan region of the state before returning to England in 1872, where he took a position as a master at Eton. His popular work, *The Northern Barrier of India,* was published in 1877, and in that same year translated into French (Ernouf 1877). But it is an earlier work, *An Account of the Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (1875), that originally contained the details of his historical work.

He speculated that the people of Baltistan and Ladakh had originally been pastoralists in the south-east of Ladakh in Tibet. These pastoralists, his theory continued, had migrated down the Indus valley on account of shrinking food resources. The

bulk of the population became sedentary agriculturalists, while the residue formed the Chiangpa group of nomads on the plateau to the east of Ladakh. The group that stayed in Ladakh were pure Tibetans, whilst those who moved westwards to Baltistan absorbed a later immigration of Dards from the west. This absorption, then, accounts for the fact that they were not pure Tibetans (Drew, 1875, pp. 6, 238, 256, 356, 433).

Drew suggested that there were two main Dard migrations. The first was an early movement following the initial immigration of Tibetan nomads but occurring before the arrival of Islam to the area. This population, a pure representative of the Dard type, came from the north-west, over the Braldu glacier from Nagir, and settled in Purig between the two Tibetan populations at Ladakh and Baltistan. Drew termed this group Brokpa (Tib. 'brog-pa), a term which in Tibetan carries the general connotation of 'highland herdsman'. The second group came from the west of Baltistan forming an Islamic Dardic overlay on top of the original Tibetan population. Thus in Drew's picture there is firstly a migration of Tibetans from the south-east,followed by two later migrations of Dards from the north-west and the west that mixed with the basically 'Turanian' type. For Drew, all non-Tibetan people in the region are Dards.

Biddulph, referring to approximately the same groups, suggested a reverse sequence of migrations (Biddulph, 1880, p. 49). Using a local tradition of the people of Baltistan, he maintained that the first inhabitants of the region were Dards, and that later waves of Tartar conquests had overlayed this Aryan people. Like Drew, he splits the Dards into two groups,an early migration into the Dah and Hanu valleys, and a later movement into the Dras area (Biddulph, 1880, p. 50). He did so because of the difference in their dialects, and their own affirmation that they were not kin to each other. He refers to both as Brokpa, but he was aware of the local meaning of the term in Ladakh, where it refers to all outsiders to the west, and in Baltistan, where it is used for all presumed latecomers to the region. Here, all Brokpa are sharply distinguished from the original inhabitants, who are referred to as Bloyil. In Baltistan 'Brokpa' carries a pejorative connotation. Furthermore, Biddulph's work is principally a descriptive ethnography; and in writing on the Shina speakers of the Dras and Shingo valley, he separates them further into two groups, the Shins (or Roms 6) and the Yeshkuns, following the division of Leitner (Leitner, 1896, p. 80).

Like the writing of Biddulph, that of Shaw is principally a descriptive ethnography. He separates the Dards in the same way as did Drew and Biddulph, i. e. dividing the Dras-Shingo and Dah-Hanu areas. He offers a description of the latter group, who term themselves Arderkaro (Shaw, 1878). Shaw held that all of these groups had come from the south-west via the Deosei plateau.

Now there are notabe differences between these three writers regarding the sequence and route of the Dardic migrations. Shaw had them all coming from the south-west, whereas both Drew and Biddulph had them coming from the north-west. For

Drew, the Tibetans are the first-comers; for Shaw and Biddulph this distinction is bestowed on the Dards. Nevertheless in all cases the reader is given precise geographical locations, and it is reasonably clear as to which people are being referred to as the Dards in each case.

Biddulph and Shaw, like Drew, were connected with the British administration of India. Biddulph, formerly of the 45th Bengal Cavalry, was a member of the second Forsyth mission to Yarkand in 1873. He was the Political Agent at Gilgit from 1877 and was connected with the administration of the north-west frontier region until 1895. Shaw, who in 1868 travelled via Leh to Turkestan (Shaw, 1871), was the British Resident in Ladakh from 1871 to 1876 . Thus these contemporaries had all spent long periods in the north-western Himalaya, and the general detail of their work reflects an intimate geographical, linguistic, and to some degree ethnographical knowledge of the region. Their speculations have a plausible historicity.

Biddulph himself criticised the earlier use of the terms Dard and Dardistan by Leitner:

> His scanty opportunities, however, have caused him to fall into the error of believing that the tribes which he classed under the name of Dard are all of the same race and he has applied the term of Dardistan, a name founded on a misconception, to a tract of country inhabited by several races, speaking distinct languages, who differ considerably amongst themselves.
>
> Biddulph, 1880, p. 9.

Furthermore, he proposed a resolution of the etymology of the term *Dard:*

> The name Dard is not acknowledged by any section of the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied... I think that the name must have been given, in a general way, to all mountain tribes living in the Indus valley, by the less warlike peoples of the plains and the effeminate Cashmeris, and that the legend grew up concerning them, not an uncommon one in wild countries, that they were descended from wild beasts. "Why do you call me Dardoo?" is the question most commonly asked by the Gilgits who visit Cashmere. "Because your grandfather was a bear", is the not infrequent answer. Thus from the Persian *dud*, "a beast of prey", or from *darenda*, "fierce", the name Dard may have come to be used as an ethnological term.
>
> Op. cit., p. 156 f.

The term has a number of possible etymologies. Are we to trace it to the Dard of Izzet Ullah, the Dardu of Moorcroft, the Dade of Leitner, or the Due or Darenda of Biddulph? Shaw, Biddulph and Leitner all wrote that no group referred to themselves as Dards. In looking for the meaning of the term it may be significant that each writer noted the use of the term by dfferent groups for yet other groups.

A group on the right bank of the Indus, who called themselves Maijon, referred to those who spoke a different language and who lived on the other side of the river as Dard (Biddulph, 1880, p. 12). The Arderkaro of the Dah and Hanu valleys referred to a supposed parent group of the Astor valley as Dard (Shaw, 1878, p. 3). A group living on the left bank of the Kandia river in the Hindu Kush were called Dard by their neighbours (Leitner, 1896, *Dardistan,* p. 58). Thus it may be that the term has the connotation of 'outsider' as well as that of 'fierce' or 'uncivilised'.

In spite of his critrcism of the use of the term Dard as a proper name, Biddulph advocated the retention of the term Dard in a general sense to refer to the peoples of that region. He also used the term in his linguistic papers of 1884 and 1885.

Familiarity with the full body of Biddulph's work, however, should have dispelled any illusions as to the existence of such a unitary people. In that the writings of Francke and, to a lesser degree, Grierson, persist in this error, the danger of the retention of such a name, even in an operational sense, is easily recognised.

The Rev. A. H. Francke was, along with the other pioneer Tibetologists K. Marx and H. A. Jaeschke, a member of the Protestant Moravian mission that emanated from Herrnhut in Saxony. He stayed for a long period in the north-western Himalaya and published over forty articles, notes and books on the region between 1898 and 1926. For the main part, these are precise, detailed, descriptive works on ethnographical, linguistic and acrchaeological matters. His descriptions of 'the Ladakhi pre-Buddhist marriage ritual' (1901), 'the drinking songs of Khalatse' (1904), 'the eighteen songs of the Bono-na festival' (1905), and 'the Dards of Khalatse' (1907), are especially remarkable as pioneer ethnographical descriptions of non-Buddhist rituals, and they compare favorably with other ethnological work in the area.

It is extremely unfortunate that Francke's attempted overview, *A History of Western Tibet* (1907), and the general sections of his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* (1914, 1926), are not works of this class. Whereas his other work is scholarly and descriptive, these works are naive, vague and imaginative to the point of romance. As has been remarked somewhat unfairly, but aptly, in this context: 'A. H. Francke is somewhat handicapped by (a) lack of scientific training and unfortunately more endowed with imagination than with sound and cautious scholarship.' (Laufer, 1918, p. 38).

In his work of 1907 Francke tried to give a comprehensive history of the peoples of Ladakh and Baltistan. He regarded the region as the seat of the ancient Tibetan Monarchy (hence the title) and wrote of four successive immigrations into the region: those of the Tibetan Nomads, the Mon, the Dards, and finally the Tibetans. But Francke uses an extremely dubious linguistic argument to infer that the region was already inhabited by Tibetan nomads at the time of Ptolemy, and that the coming of the Mon marked the arrival of a civilising mission that founded monasteries and temples in the region. Nowadays it is known that the word 'Mon'

(Tb: *mon*) refers in a general way to people from the wooded regions on the southern slopes of the Himalaya, and that in Tibetan *mon* is a rather open classification, not a proper name. Francke, however, argued from the widespread use of the term 'mon' to the greatness of the so-called Mon people. In trying to explain how the Mon in Ladakh consist only of a few low status blacksmiths in each village, he proposes that they were the remains of a population successively subjugated by the Dards and the Tibetans, ' ...otherwise it is hardly possible to explain why the position of the *Mon* became so much lower than that of the Dards....' (Francke, 1907, p. 26). Having proposed a rise, he also had to suggest a decline and fall in order to account for the fact that no traces of such a civilisation have ever been discovered.

But who, then, are Francke's Dards? He writes that we know more about the Dards than about the Mon since they have not all lost their culture. But this implies that groups lacking the culture that he refers to as Dardic actually possessed it at one time. In his ethnographic work on the Dards he is usually referring to a people who call themselves Minaro, a population centered around Khalatse in Purig. In this and later work he generally translates the word Brokpa as 'Dard'. More surprisingly, he also sometimes translates the term Mon as 'Dard' (Francke, 1917, p. 60).

Thus by arbitrary translation, ruined castles are identified as having belonged to the Dards; because the Brokpa of Dras and the people of Khalatse trace their migrations back to Gilgit, the Dards must have come from Gilgit; because the people of Dah refer to *Rong chu gyud* to the east, the Dards must have once expanded to the east; and when non-mongoloid skulls are excavated at Leh, then they must be those of the Dards.

By the simple expedient of equating the class of 'non-Tibetan' with the Dards wherever it is convenient to do so, he has created a people. It is not surprising, then, to read that the influence of the Dards on the development of West Tibet must have been enormous. As with the Mon, his main problem was to account for their disappearance, their decline and fall. The solution he adopted was the same: as the Dards conquered the Mon, so the Tibetans conquered the Dards, leaving only the fragmentary pockets of people that were present at his time.

Francke's technique was to assume the validity of the historical rise and fall of people. He conceived this process in a grandiose classical manner, and he adjusted, in what can only be called a most extreme manner, the data to fit this pattern. Perhaps a parallel can be seen between his ideas on the pure, civilising Buddhist mission of the Mon and the hopes and aspirations of his own Morvavian mission.

Two very surprising facts about his 1907 work are, firstly, its extreme speculative nature (which contrasts with his earlier work on some of these Dard populations) and, secondly, the complete lack of reference to other historical or ethnographic work

published in the late nineteenth century. The writings of Francke the historian seem to be written by a totally different person from those of Francke the Tibetologist; and they are quite distinct from the mainstream of evolutionary writings of the late nineteenth century. He evidently thought in terms of links and parallels between Classical Antiquity and the north-western Himalaya.

Grierson, in both his publication of *The Piśaca Languages of North-Western India* of 1906, and as part of the *Linguistic Survey of India* of 1919, was directly concerned with the classification of the Indo-Aryan languages of this region. In the latter work Grierson makes use of the work of Miklesich (1874, IV, p. 51) and Pischel (1883, p. 368) on the relationship between the Dardic and the Romany languages.

In this classification the major language group of Dardic covers the vast area stretching from Kabul via the Hindu Kush over to and including Srinagar in Kashmir, as well as including a subdivision that is also referred to as 'Dardic proper' or 'East Dardic'. Grierson expressed reservations as to the use of the term Dardic for the language group as a whole, and preferred the use of the term Piśaca, on the grounds that Pischel had already linked the Romany and Shina dialects with the so-called Piśaca group. But due to the negative connotation of the term Piśaca, it was avoided and the supposedly neutral term Dardic was used for the major group in the Linguistic Survey. One will, for example, not only find an entry under *darada* in Turner's comparative dictionary (Turner, 1966, entry 6191), but also a reference to the Dardic language group as a whole.

In avoiding the term Piśaca, Grierson used the term Dard because he presumed that the Shina speakers were proper Dards:

> At the present day the country to the north of Kashmir, with Gilgit for its centre, is inhabited by Sins (Dards)....the language of the Sins, or Sina, is one of those which Pischel has connected with Paiśaci.
>
> Grierson, 1906, *The Piśaca Languages of North-Western India,* p.2

For Grierson, all the Shina speakers are Shins (he does not distinguish between the Shins and Yeshkuns of Biddulph) and all the Shina speakers are Dards.

One may well wonder to what extent his argument is based on purely linguistic grounds, and to what degree prior ethnological assumptions play a part in this classification. All the languages of the Major Dardic group are Indo-Iranian, and supposedly form a sub-group on account of commonly shared gross phonological pecularities. He noted that there were many word borrowings from the adjacent and singular Burushaski language that was spoken only in Hunza, Nagir and Yassin. In subdividing these languages of the Major Dardic group, he took account of the pecularities of the Kafir group, placing them in a special Western sub-group. Kho-War or Citrali were listed as members of the Central subgroup, and the Proper Dardic constituted the members of the Eastern sub-group.

According to a more recent scheme, only those of the Kafir group of the Major Dardic languages are separable from the Indo-Iranian mainstream on such phonological grounds. This leaves the others—namely Kalasha, Cawanbiri, Bashkarak, Phalura,Dameli,Pashai,Tirahi, Khowa,Kashmiri, Kohistani and Shina—as non-Dardic languages belonging to the Indian language family (Lockwood, 1972, p. 192). According to this view, Shina, the Proper Dardic of Grierson's Shins or Dards, is not a Dardic language at all. But according to another recent authority, the term Dardic is not even linguistic, but is merely a convenient geographical expression used to designate the Indo-Iranian languages that exhibit archaic characteristics and that are spoken in the north-western Himalaya and the Hindu-Kush (Fussman, 1973, p. 11).

A further problem for Grierson's Eastern or Proper Dardic group is that it includes not only Shina and Kohistani, but also Kashmiri. No one before Grierson even implied that the people of Kashmir are 'Proper Dards', and one may well suspect that little more than the fact of geographical proximity has created such a grouping. Certainly in his earlier work Grierson states that the only true member of this sub-group is Shina, the others having become Sanskritised (Grierson, 1906, p. 6). But the classification of the *Linguistic Survey* appears, in this case, to be extremely rough and ready.

Grierson had reservations as to the use of the term Dardic, but only with reference to the language group as a whole, a linguists' asbtraction which has since become conventional in the literature, not to the Proper Dardic sub-group itself. It is very difficult to know from Grierson's taxonomy where the linguistic argument stops and the ethnological assumptions, or the fact of geographical proximity, takes over. Ethnological assumptions are definitely present in his labelling of the major language group as Dardic, and also in the labelling of the minor family as Dardic, but to what extent the very formation of these groups depends on such assumptions is not known. Such a taxonomy, with two nodes labelled Dardic, is certainly misleading to the casual reader. For Grierson, all speakers of Shina, and possibly those of Kohistani and Kashmiri, are proper Dards. Although he never committed the excess of Leitner in classifying the Burushaski speakers as Dards he, like Francke, failed to take proper consideration of Biddulph's work on this region. Nor did he take account of Biddulph's stricture on the use of the word Dard.

Although Grierson's classification of the Major Dardic language group has not gone unchallenged, the use of the term Dardic to cover this language area has achieved a conventional legitimacy in the literature. Since Grierson's work, 'Dardic' has been commonly used to refer to the languages spoken from the Hindu Kush up to and including Kashmir. This covers an area even larger than that of Leitner's Dardistan.

Following Grierson's linguistic classification, a recent article on the Shina

speakers refers to the area as Dardistan,to the people as Dards,and furthermore connects the Dards to the Kafirs and the people of Kashmir (Jettmar, 1961, p. 79), since they all belong to the same language group. Grierson's logic has, then, turned full circle. Interestingly, Jettmar concludes that all these people are more likely connected with peoples of the Caucasus region than with a group of 'Indo-Aryans'. It appears that 'Dardii' peoples are neither dwellers from the 'Cradle of the Aryan Race' (Leitner, 1896, *Dardistan,* app. VIII, p. 9), nor are they even 'Stray Arians in Tibet' (Shaw, 1878).

Conclusion

The term Dard has therefore received a scholastic extension far beyond Izzet Ullah's original use of the term to refer to a group four stages from Dras. For field linguists and ethnographers there is little danger of distortion from the introductory use of the term Dard. But for a comparativist lacking detailed knowledge of the literature, the term is exceedingly misleading. Witness A. G. Haddon's *The Races of Man and their Distribution* of 1924,and J. H. Hutton's *Caste* in *India, Nature, Function and Origins* of 1946, both of which refer to the Dards and Dardistan.

Not only is it unclear as to exactly which peoples are to be considered as Dards, but the group so named evidently contains heterogeneous peoples, with little connection other than their contiguity. The labelling of any of these peoples as 'Dards' lacks firm basis, either in the ideas of these peoples themselves, or in the classical sources. Both the grouping and its labelling appear to result from misconceptions that have arisen from theoretical biases in the colonial literature.

It is possibly true that, if the region had a different political history in the nineteenth century, a 'Dardistan' would have been created and we would then have Dards. All the same, administrative areas often create rather than reflect ethnic truth.

There are examples from other world areas where such self-fulfilling pophecies have materialized. In Africa, many of the peoples referred to as 'tribes' are actually recent, administratively created entities. The Nilotic and Alur peoples are two such examples (Southall, 1971, p. 377).

This kind of development generally occurs with peoples whose political and social organisation is acephalous and segmentary, rather than with those that have lived under a traditional central polity. This argument follows Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's seminal distinction between state and stateless societies (reference 1940). This distinction may well be of direct relevance to the understanding of the peoples of the far north-western Himalaya. But in this case one can only speculate, as the available ethnography does not allow any such far reaching conclusions.[7]

If such an analysis is applicable, if these Himalayan peoples are in some way acephalous, then the puzzles of boundary definition, and the corresponding problems

of what it is that constitutes a peop e, would become more intelligible. It is almost definitional of asegmentary people that they have no use for the name of 'their people' as a whole. As Southall has pointed out, in these circumstances any single definitive boundary drawn between one tribe and the next is bound to be relative, arbitrary and to some degree a misrepresentation (Southall,1970,p. 35). Peoples are differentiated in many ways and for many purposes. The extent of 'the tribe'derives from a given context and possesses a situational logic, the coherence of which is structrul rather than empirical. Leitner saw the combined peoples of the Himalayan region in opposition to the Maharajah of Kashmir and wrote of them as 'the Dards'; whereas Biddulph, with his longer experience of these peoples in many different contexts,did not see them in any such unitary way.

One can see that in these circumstances the application of the simple 'Pacific Island' model of a tribe—a bounded, discrete social and cultural entity that is geographically localised—clearly could have helped produce the confusion of reference that we have documented for the Dards. Such general historical tendencies of western observers have been discussed by Southall:

> The named tribes which appear in the literature frequently represent crystallisations at the wrong level, usually a level which is too large in scale because foreign observers did not initially understand the lower levels of structure or failed to correct the misrepresentations of their predecessors or because some arbitary and even artificial entity was chosen for the sake of easy reference, despite a realisation that it was fallacious and misleading.
>
> Southall, A., 1970, 'The Illusion of Tribe', Jo. As. and Afr. Study, Vol. V, p. 33.

From Wilson to Leitner, from Biddulph to Grierson, the views expressed are all validly encompassed by Southall's statement which could as well have been written on the north-west Himalaya as on Africa. Through documenting the recent political history of the region,and the history of the writing on the region,it is hoped that these facts have been made apparent, and that such a casual reification as the Dards will not reappear in future research on the north-western Himalaya.

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NOTES

1 The literary sources for such a history are in Tibetan, Arabic and Chinese; a useful introduction to this material is available in Petech (1939, 1947, 1948).

2 The most comprehensive and detailed description of the area is that given in the works of the de Filippi Italian Expedition of 1913, 1914 (de Filippi, (ed.), 1923-1939, Bologna, 16 vols.) Outlines of the geography are given in the more readily available works of these writers, (de Filippi, 1931, Dainelli, 1933). The main series gives numerous sketch maps and photographs as well as excellent and comprehensive 1: 750,000 scale maps of the region, these maps also being available in Dainelli's 1924 work, *Paesi a Genti del Caracorum*. Another excellent map, probably based on the same survey, is available in the Census of India volume on Kashmir of 1944 by Wreford. This is of a scale of 1"=15.783 miles, and has the reg. no. 2175 E 41 (D. O. 1-1/M) 3,000' 42, Calcutta.

3 An informant of Leitner gave the following picture of the ranking and relations between these four groups,.... "The shin is the right hand, the Yashkun the left, the Kramin the right foot, the Dôm the left foot"...) Leitner 1896, Dardistan, p. 63). In the Census of India of 1931 two possible origins of the Rono are proposed. Firstly, that they are descendants of Sumalik, the ruler of Mastuj: and secondly that they are Arabic, being descendants of Muahammed Hanifa, the son of Ali, who was the son-in-law of the Prophet (Raj Bahadur, 1933, p. 321).

4 Herodotus (iii,102-5), Strabo (XV), Pliny (Natural History, XI). According to Bellew, Herodotus is quite accurate in giving the names of peoples in Afghanistan (Bellew 1891).

5 Leitner refers to Burushaski as Khajuna (Leitner 1896).

6 According to Jettmar, *rom* in Shina refers to a military unit of 500 houses (Jettmar 1961, p. 84). According to Morgenstierne, shin (Sīṇ) probably derives from srennya and is either an ancient tribal name, or simply has the sense of 'tribesmen' from Sreṅi in the sense of 'troop' or 'company', (Morgenstierne 1926, p. 58. ftn. 1.)

7 In the use of the term "acephalous" here I am also following Barth (Barth 1956). In distinguishing between the 'State of Ladakh" in the east, and the stateless far north-west, one can usefully speculate as follows. In Ladakh, since Buddhist monasteries are a major political institution, it is unlikely that recruitment to important positions is based solely on patrisuccesion. (See Carrasco 1959, p. 162-181). In the western regions of Haramosh and Darel people are organised into patrilineal groups known as *dabbars* (Jettmar 1961, p. 84). Circumstantial evidence on segmentation comes from a reference to a "republic of eleven houses" in the west (Leitner 1896, Dardistan, App. VIII, p. 9), and from the well-documented warfare and raiding between these groups when they are not united against an outsider such as Kashmir. Furthermore, there is a higher effective population density in these lower, steeper western valleys than in the higher, arid, less fertile, plains of Ladakh. All these are features which, following the descriptions of African peoples (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940), make one suspect the presence of a segmentary lineage system in the far west. This is documented for the peoples of the adjacent southern regions of Kohista, Swat and the Indus (Barth, 1956).

However, in this latter literature a distinction, following Drew (Drew 1875, p. 456), is made between "rajaships" and "republics", with only the latter being seen as acephalous. These "republics" are seen as developments from "rajaships"

under a forced conversion from Islam. (Barth 1956 p. 80 ff., Jettmar 1961, p. 85, Staley 1969, p. 23). If this analytic distinction is used there would be three political forms to be distinguished, namely "acephalous", "rajaships", and "state".

* * *

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