

The Wakhi Community Settlements in Northern Pakistan

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Abstract

Pakistan is an area with unique ethnic diversity, specifically on the basis of language. This present study focuses on the Wakhi identity. Wakhi still exists as a non-written language. The present Wakhi settlers have come to Chitral at various times. Under British rule the Wakhi immigrants settled in different parts of Chitral and now their majority lies in Gojal tehsil of Hunza of Gilgit – Baltistan. This community enjoys unique cultural heritage and enjoy distinct features, which are seen all over the world with keen interest.

The Northern Pakistan is an area of geographical and ethnic diversity and is placed among the most multilingual places of the world.¹ The important languages spoken in the region include Shina, Balti, Burushashki, Khawar and Wakhi.² Wakhi is basically the language of inhabitants of Wakhan Corridor, an area presently divided between the extreme northeast of Afghanistan and Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Province of Tajikistan. It belongs to the southern group of the Pamiri languages which are spoken in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan and Tajikistan³. All these languages do not have a script or written legacy and, therefore, are used only as spoken languages.⁴

However, as far as the language structure is concerned, Wakhi, which is rich in archaisms, is relatively different from its neighboring Pamiri languages which are genetically more coherent.⁵ Like other Pamiri languages, Wakhi still exists as a non-written language and is limited to phonetic notations. However, different writing systems have been adopted by some scholars to preserve Wakhi language and literature which included Arabic, Cyrillic, and Latin.⁶

Although divided by borders, the Wakhi language is still very much the same, and dialectal differences are not great.⁷ Main dialects of Wakhi spoken in Pakistan include Gojali, Ishkomani, Yasini, and Yarkuni. Dialect intelligibility is reported not to be a problem even of those living in other countries. Lexical similarity is 84% between Iskoman and Gojal, 89% between Yasin and Gojal, and 91% between Iskoman and Yasin.⁸

The major Wakhi Community settlements in Pakistan are found in Chitral and Gilgit-Baltistan areas. Their ancestors fled to these regions due to couple of reasons including wars⁹, natural calamities, heavy taxation, slavery, and oppression by the local rulers and Afghan officials. The Wakhan District of Afghanistan is connected with Pakistan mainly through the Broghil Pass

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situated at an altitude of 3,804 meters.¹⁰ The Broghil Pass provided a 'rare route' to Pamirs for the European travelers of the nineteenth century, 'which included more spies than explorers.'¹¹ It was also used by the refugees from Wakhan to come to Pakistan during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1970s.¹² Some other passes including Darwoza, Kankheen, Ochili and Shahgologh also link Wakhan with Pakistan.¹³

The rulers of Badakhshan, Wakhan and Chitral states had mutual relations spread over the centuries. Some times they fought with each other and some times they took refuge in each other's territories to save their lives.¹⁴ For instance, Mehtar Shah Afzal of Chitral fought war with Mir Sultan Shah of Badakhshan while his brother took refuge in Badakhshan.¹⁵ Likewise, Gohar Aman fought with his enemies with the help of Mir of Wakhan and after his defeat, he fled to Wakhan to take refuge there.¹⁶

Besides political relations, the state of Chitral had also trade relations with its neighbours and being an important trade route linking China with the Western Asia, it was also known as 'little Kashghar'.¹⁷ Like other neighbouring areas, the traders of Wakhan also used to come to the Yarkun Valley of Chitral in order to sell horses, horse saddles, salt and Badakhshani utensils.¹⁸ However, these political and commercial relations got weakened in the late nineteenth century, when the state of Chitral entered into a protectorate agreement with British India in 1885 and accepted demarcation of boundaries with Afghanistan laid through the Durand Line in 1892-93.¹⁹

At present, Chitral is the northern most district of the NWFP which is bounded on the north-west and south by Afghanistan.²⁰ Its total population has been estimated about 318,689 souls among which 1,460 persons are Wakhi speakers which constitute 1.05% of the district's population.²¹ These migrants have mostly come from the Wakhan Corridor, but Wakhi speaking asylum seeker belonging to Tajikistan and Chinese Turkistan have also been settled in the Broghil Valley of Chitral.²² In fact, the hospitable environment of Chitral has welcomed migrants of 'varying range of ethnic, linguistic and national backgrounds'.²³

The present Wakhi settlers of Chitral have come to this area in different times. The first batch came to Chitral in 1870, when Amir Abdur Rahman, the ruler of Afghanistan captured Wakhan and consequently the local Wakhi chief, Ali Mardan Khan had to take refuge in Chitral.²⁴ Soon, some other Wakhi families also migrated to Chitral in order to escape from the compulsory military recruitment initiated by the Afghan rulers.²⁵ The Mehtar of Chitral, Aman-ul-Mulk allocated barren pieces of land in the Iskoman Valley to the Wakhi refugees. Soon the village of Imit, founded by Ali Mardan Khan, grew to become the largest village of the valley.

By 1906, Wakhi consisted 37% of the total population of the Ishkoman Valley.²⁶ All Wakhi settlers had to pay taxes to Ali Mardan who was appointed Governor of the area by the British administration in 1896. After his death in 1926, some of the Wakhi settlers re-migrated to Wakhan.²⁷ Another wave of Wakhi immigrants came to Broghil Valley of Chitral from the Russian Wakhan after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.²⁸ But the vast majority of Wakhi population of Chitral migrated during the years 1936-49 and got settled in the Yarkhun Valley of Chitral.²⁹

All Wakhis living in Chitral District are devoted Ismailis. According to local traditions, famous Ismaili dai, Nasir Khusrow also traveled to the Lot Kuh Valley of the Chitral District during his stay in Yamgan, and converted many people to Ismailism.³⁰ The khalifa plays an important role in the religious life of Wakhis of Chitral. He acts as a local religious leader and leads various religious functions besides Taviz writing and determining 'best time' to start a new journey / work. He is given some money / gifts after conducting religious functions and he is also entitled to an annual tribute from every devotee termed as Nazir-i-Pir. However, his authority has no institutional recognition and in the Jamaat Khanas, centrally appointed Mukhi and Kamdia perform religious functions.³¹

The Ismaili community of Chitral including Wakhis celebrates various festivals which have deep rooted connections with the local traditions. For instance, Pathik is celebrated at the end of March to welcome arrival of spring. The houses are cleaned from smoke stains and every body wears new or at least/clean clothes. The homes are decorated with pictures on the walls made from flour. The elder person of the family or locality comes and congratulates the family members. Special prayers are also held in Jamaat Khanas and sports competitions are arranged.³² The Wakhi immigrants, though small in number, have also contributed to cultural traditions of Chitral. For instance, they introduced a peculiar type of overcoat called Warang prepared by goat or deer skin which was later also adopted by other communities of Chitral.³³ Likewise, a musical instrument named Gharba, was also introduced by the Wakhi community in Chitral which was used in religious functions mostly to play Sufi poetry.³⁴

However the majority of the Wakhi community of Pakistan lives in the Gojal tehsil of Hunza sub-division of Gilgit-Baltistan.³⁵ According to some sources, earlier Wakhi migrants got settled in Chipurson Valley of Gojal boarding with Wakhan. It is also claimed that they were present in the upper Gojal area even before the formation of Hunza State.³⁶ According to a renowned local historian, Qudratullah Baig, Mir Qutlugh of Wakhan captured upper Gojal area and established his state there.³⁷ However, Mir of Hunza attacked on that state and as a result, all members of the Wakhi ruling family were killed in Ghulkin, a village of Gojal.³⁸ Consequently, Wakhis were badly treated by the Mirs of Hunza. They were heavily taxed and were forced to work for rulers without any

compensation, especially for construction of irrigation canals.³⁹ Wakhi intellectuals complain that even small states of Punial and Gupis were allowed to exist, but Wakhis were never again able to form a state of their own.⁴⁰

Gojal, whose earlier name was Herber,⁴¹ is the largest tehsil of Gilgit-Baltistan in terms of its area.⁴² It is spread over an area of about 8,500 sq km and is situated at an altitude varying from 2,340 m to 4,877 m.⁴³ Among its 20,000 inhabitants, majority speak Wakhi language, however in some villages, Burushaski and Doomaki languages are also spoken.⁴⁴ It has been observed that 'up to Gulmit, people speak Burushaski but beyond it they generally talk in Wakhi.'⁴⁵

Gojal tehsil posses enchanting springs, beautiful meadows, lush green pastures, high peaks and large glaciers. In fact, Gojal has been declared as 'most extensively glaciated area of Karakorum's region.'⁴⁶ The prominent glaciers include Butura, Passu, Ghulkin, Gulmit, Juntosh and Shatubar, while Shisper, Ptundass, Shatuber and Tpopdan are the major peaks of the area.⁴⁷ Famous passes include Patundass, Khunjerab, Peerpik, Minitika, Kilik and Irshod while Borit Lake is also situated in Gojal tehsil.⁴⁸ Main valleys of Gojal include Chipursan, Misgar, Khuzmharare, Avgarch and Shimshal.⁴⁹ Several hot springs are also present in the area whose surface temperature can reach up till 21°C.⁵⁰ Gojal area is also rich in flora and fauna. Marco Polo Sheep, Tibetan Wild Ass, Blue Sheep, Snow Leopards, Himalayan Lynx and Wolf are the major animal species. Major bird varieties of the area include Lammergeiev, Himalayan, Griffen, Vulture, Golden Eagle, Himalayan Snowcock and Chaukor.⁵¹ Moreover, a great diversity of insects, butterflies and plants also exist in the Gojal area.⁵²

Gojal is also an international border-tehsil bordering with China and Afghanistan. China is connected with Gojal through Khunjerab, Peerpik and Minitika passes leading to Khunzhrav, Misgar, Chipursan and Shimshal valleys. In fact, at an altitude of 15,514 feet, Khunjerab Pass is known as 'the highest border crossing in the world'.⁵³ The Wakhan Corridor is connected with Gojal through Kilik and Irshod passes leading mainly to Chipurson valley.⁵⁴

Gojal, being an international border area, received attention of the British policy-makers during their rule over India, who were much worried about the Russian advances in the region. In 1875, a British political agent was appointed in Gilgit mainly to monitor Russian activities in the area.⁵⁵ A. Durand recorded in 1891 that Mir of Hunza, who was also ruling Gojal area, had received Chinese officers in his court and had invited Chinese and Russians to help him.⁵⁶ Therefore, as a precautionary measure, British plugged all passes of Gilgit-Baltistan in order to check any possible intrusions across the borders.⁵⁷

Gojal's strategic importance continued even after the end of the British control over the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In order to foster trade and strategic links with China, Karakoram Highway (KKH) was conceived in 1959. Pakistan and China entered into an agreement to build it in 1966. The work on it was started in 1967 and it was completed in 1978, thus changing the entire life spectrum of Gilgit-Baltistan.⁵⁸ The KKH is an all-weather, dual carriage metalled road which is about 805 kms long. It starts from Havelian (100 kms from Islamabad) and passes through Abbotabad, Mansehra, Thakot, Chilas, Gilgit, and Hunza to the Chinese frontiers across the 4,733 meters high Khunjerab Pass.⁵⁹

Since their arrival in Hunza, the Wakhi population has contributed a lot in the economic development of the state. During the nineteenth century, Gojal provided four-fifths of all taxes of Hunza, although only one-fifth of the total population of Hunza State resided there.⁶⁰ However, now their hard works have paid them very well in all spheres of life. It has been observed that "there could be no bigger contrast than that the Wakhi mountain farmers of Pakistan and Afghanistan."⁶¹ In fact, contrary to Pakistani Wakhis, the high mountain farmers of Wakhan have adopted a strict subsistence strategy and are barely able to survive on the basis of their fields and pastures.⁶² To a lesser degree, poor Wakhi communities are present in Pakistan in Baroghil (Yarkhun Valley, Chitral), in Darkot (Yasin) and Ishkoman but in Gojal the levels of development are quite impressive.⁶³

By profession, majority of Gojal's population is agro-pastoralists.⁶⁴ The area receive only 14 cm of rain every year and agriculture mainly depend on irrigation canals which are fed by the waters of streams, melting snows of glaciers and mountains.⁶⁵ Initially, agro-pastoralist practices were quite obsolete as farm tools were made of wood while livestock maintaining methods were also quite inefficient.⁶⁶ However, things have been drastically improved with the implementation of various development projects. The Agha Khan Rural Support Program has contributed a lot in the agricultural development of the area and commercialization of the agricultural products. It has launched various projects for development of barren lands, repair and construction of irrigation channels, introduction of hybrid seeds and cash crops like wheat and potatoes, supply of micro-credit and low-priced agricultural inputs.⁶⁷ Few of Gojal's population also work as traders, tourist guides, porters, government functionaries and employees of non-governmental organizations.⁶⁸ On the whole, people of the area are 'well fed, clad in reasonable attires, and their houses are in good shape.'⁶⁹

Shimshal Valley is considered as the first Wakhi settlement in Gojal having a blend of Burusho and Wakhi traditions. It is comprised of three villages viz., Aminabad, Shimshal and Khizarabad.⁷⁰ Herding and farming are the main professions of its inhabitants and it is one of the few communities of Gilgit-Baltistan who are self sufficient in agricultural products.⁷¹ Major crops include

wheat, barley, peas, potatoes and beans. Besides, little quantities of garden vegetables and fruits like apples and apricots are also grown there.⁷²

Shimshalis keep extensive livestock consisting of sheep, goats, cattle and yaks.⁷³ In fact, they have more livestock per capita than any other community living in Hunza. According to earlier estimate of 1989, the community had about 6800 sheep and goats, 460 yaks and 330 cattle, 'more than any other community in the Karakorum region'.⁷⁴ The community has also exclusive grazing rights to over 2700 square kilometers of land which have more than three dozens individual pastures. It also includes three 'large and highly productive alpine areas', namely Pamir, Khunjerab and Lupgar.⁷⁵ They, therefore, earn lot of income from the trade of dairy products, yaks and carpets made of yak's hair. They are also amongst the world's best climbers and some of them have climbed all five peaks of Pakistan, which are higher than 6000 meters.⁷⁶ Shimshalis are also among the best porters of the world and 'porting is currently Shimshal's largest source of cash income'⁷⁷

Because of Wakhi cultural heritage, the cultural traditions of Gojal are quite different from Hunza.⁷⁸ For instance, there are various festivals which are only celebrated in Gojal tehsil. They include festivals like Kit Dit (to welcome spring and bid farewell to winter), Chineer (harvesting festival), Tagham (seed plantation festival), With Kuch (streams cleaning festival), and Winga- Stuai (bird festival).⁷⁹ Likewise, there are certain festivals which are celebrated in certain valleys of Gojal only. For instance, Hoshligram (spring festival) and Spunder Vishing (end of ploughing festival) are only celebrated in Shimshal Valley and rest of Gojalis does not celebrate them.⁸⁰ However, Nauroz festival is celebrated throughout Hunza including Gojal and other parts of Gilgit-Baltistan both by the Twelever and Islamaili Shais.⁸¹

It may be pointed out that Gojal's cultural traditions are in fact reflection of its inhabitants' day-to-day agro-pastoral activities. For instance, majority of festivals coincide with key dates of the farming calendar and motivate to perform farming tasks together.⁸² The major change occurred in festival observance is comparatively less participation of the general public in such activities. A local farmer, Chiragh Ali, observed that 'now-a-days they are facing shortage of manpower even to irrigate their crop fields, naturally who can afford time to celebrate these festivals.'⁸³

The cultural traditions of Gojal and their life style still have influences of Wakhan, Badakhshan and Central Asia. For instance, the use of word 'Baig' as a part of male names, which has Central Asian and Mughal background, is very common in Gojal area. Thus very often we find names like Qara Baig, Qizil Baig, Mughal Baig, Dara Baig, Khush Baig, Karim Baig, Gul Baig, etc. Likewise, female names like Pari Chahrah, Badshah Begum, Bibi Roshan, Daulat Bibi, Nasim Khatoon remind us of Central Asian legacy.⁸⁴

The Central Asian influences on cultural traditions of Hunza and Gojal were reinforced when Mirs of Hunza, married with ruling families of Chitral, Badakhshan, Baltistan and Serikol, China.⁸⁵ The immigration of skilled labour and trade caravans from Central Asia also played their role in influencing the local cultural patterns. For instance, cannon manufacturers were hired by Mir of Hunza from Badakhshan while carpenters tools were often imported from Wakhan, Badakhshan and Kashgher.⁸⁶ The pilgrims from neighbouring countries particularly from Wakhan and Sarikol also used to come to visit local sufi shrines, chiefly shrine of Baba Ghundi in Chupason Valley of Gojal.⁸⁷ The Wakhi community of Gojal has also influenced housing patterns of Hunza. Initially, the houses of Hunza were built on local style known as Burushikitta. Later, they were replaced by Wakhan style homes which are called Goshi Ha.⁸⁸

Another significant feature of Gojal's society is efficient law and order situation and peace and harmony prevalent in the area. It is quite contrary to earlier reputation of the residents of adjoining Hunza Valley who were notorious for plunder, murder, attacks on trade caravans and involvement in slave trade.⁸⁹ For instance, G.W. Leitner recorded in 1889, that 'the people of Hunza are dreaded robbers and kidnappers.'⁹⁰ In fact, their attacks had created so much harassment among the traders that many trade routes were altogether abandoned. The situation got so worsened, that the administration of British India had to intervene militarily to maintain law and order.⁹¹ However, at present the people of Hunza are courteous and treat the tourists and travelers with respect. In fact, it has been observed that "it is hard to imagine their recent ancestors were those who plundered the caravans en route to China."⁹²

In Gojal more than 26 organizations have been registered to work for preservation of Wakhi culture and area development. The main include Gulmit Educational and Social Welfare Society; Khujerab Village Organization, Counseling and Management Body, Gulmit; Gulmit Conservation Project, Shah-i-Khyber Nature Conservation, Ghulkin Nature Conservation & Educational Welfare Organization, Rituals Committee and WTCA.⁹³ Besides these social organizations, there are several Ismaili organizations working under the guidance of the Shia Immami Ismaili Council for Gulmit. They include: Agha Khan Youth and Sports Board; Agha Khan Economic Planning Board; Agha Khan Social Welfare Board; Agha Khan Planning and Construction Board; Agha Khan Cultural Support Services; Agha Khan Health Services; Agha Khan Counseling and Arbitration Committee; and Ismailia Tariqah and Religious Education Board.⁹⁴

End Notes

¹ For details, see Calvin R. Renseh, Sandra J. Decker and Daniel G. Hallbreg, ed., *Socio – Linguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*, Vols.1-IV. (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, 2002).

² For details, see George Abraham Grierson, ed., *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part. II, *Specimens of the Dardic or Pisacha Languages (Including Kashmiri)*, and Vol. X, *Aryan Family* (Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1919 & 1928). See T. Grahame Bailey, *Grammar of the Shina Language* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1924); David Lockhart Robertson Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language* (Oslo: Institutect for Sammenlynende Kulturforsining, , “Burushaski and its Alien Neighbours: Problems in _____1935-38); Linguistic Condition”, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1937, pp.63-98; , “A Note on Various Hunza and Shimshali Names,” *The _____* , “The Dumaki _____*Himalayan Journal*, Vol. X, (1938), pp.121-25; and Language: Outlines of the Speech of the Domo or Bericho of Hunza”, in *Publications de la Commission d’ Enquete Linguistique IV. Nijmegen: Comite International Permanent des Linguistes*, 1939; Georg Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India* (Karachi: Indus Publications, n. d.); , *Indo–Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. II., *Iranian Pamir Languages _____* , _____(Oslo : Institutect for Sammenlignede Kulturforskning, 1938); Languages of Nuristan and Surrounding Regions,” in K. Jettmar, ed., *Cultures of the Hindukush* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974); George Buddruss, “Linguistic Research in Gilgit and Hunza: Some Results and Perspectives,” *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol.8, No.1, (1985), pp.27-32, “Zur ältesten Sammlung von Sprichwörtern und Ratseln in der Shina-Sprache,” *Studien Zur Indologie and Iranistik*, Vol.13/14, (1987), pp.39-57; “German Linguistic Research in the Northern Areas of Pakistan,” in Zingel-Ave’ Lallemand, Stephanie and Zingel, Wolfgang-Peler, ed., *Neue deutsche Beiträge zu Geschichte und Kultur Pakistans* (Bonn: Schriftenreihe des Deutsch – Pakistanischen-Forums, 1993), pp.38-49; Dshoj Josiforna Eddman, *The Dardic and Nuristani Languages* (Moskan: Nauka Publishing House, 1983); Gerard Fussman, *Atlas linguistique des parles Dardes et Kafirs* (Paris:Publications de Ecole Francaised’ Extreme Orient 86, 1972); Alexandar Lenowich Grunberg, “Opytlingvisticeskoj karty _____, __Nuristana,” *Strany i narody Vostoka*, Vol.10 (1971), pp.288-290; *Jazyki Vostochnogo Gindukuska, Jazyk kalti* (Moscow: Nauha Publishing , *Afghanistan Sprachsituation and _____* House, 1980); *Sprachenpolitile” Abandlungen and Berichte des Staaticher Museums fur Volkerkunde Dresden*, Vol.47 (1992), pp.235-42; Ruth Laila Schmidt, “Report on a Survey of Dardic Languages of Kashmir”, *Indian Linguistics*, Vol.42, (1981), pp.17-21; George Buddruss, “Neue Schriftsprachen in Norden Pakistan” in A. Assmann, and J. Assmann ed., *Schrift und Gedachtnis Archaologie der literarischen Kommunikation* (Munchenn: Wilhelum Fink, 1983), pp.231-44; -----, “Domaaki chot ‘Ton’. Mit Beitragen zur historischen Lautkhre” *Munchener Studien zur Sprachnissenschaf* , Vol.42 (1983), pp.5-21);

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³ “Iranian Languages: Wakhi, “*The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies*, [http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/languages/Wakhi htm](http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/languages/Wakhi.htm). (accessed on December 20,2006).

⁴ For details see, R.E. Asher ed., *The Encyclopedia of Languages and Linguistics*, Vol, I, p.46; and Leila Dodykhudoeva, “The Socio-Linguist Situation and Language Policy of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Badkshshan: The Case of Tajik Language”, *World Congress on Language Policies*, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, Wikipedia.com. (accessed on April 10, 2007).

⁵ For details, see Fazal Amin Beg, “Indo-European Family of Languages and the Place of Wakhi: A Crucial Perspective.” Unpublished research paper provided by the author. fazalaminbeg@gmail.com .

⁶ Hermann Kreutzmann, “Ethnic Minorities and Marginality in the Pamir Knot: Survival of Wakhi and Kirghiz in a Harsh Environment and Global Context,” *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.169, Issue 3, (September 2003),”, pp.218-19. Also see “Wakhi”, Wikipedia.com (accessed on December 24, 2008).

⁷"Iranian Languages: Wakhi", *The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies*, <http://www.cais.soas.com/CAIS/languages/wakhi.htm>. (accessed on December 20, 2006).

⁸ In China, Eastern Wakhi dialect is spoken while in Tajikistan, Western, Central and Eastern dialects of Wakhi are spoken. Quoted in <http://www.ethnologue.com/shaw/language.asp?code=wbl>. (accessed on May 8, 2008).

⁹ According to a source, even famous Mughal Emperor, Babar also attacked Wakhan area during his stay at Kabul. (Quoted in Rashid Akhtar Nadvi, *Shamali Pakistan*, [Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1990], p.15.) Likewise, raiders from Hunza also used to plunder the Wakhan region. Quoted in Abdullah Jan Hunzai, *Hunza kay Qadeem Tehwar aur Rusmo Rawaj* (Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000), p.12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.3. Another route is Dilsang Pass which is, however, now in disuse and, therefore, is a very little known to rest of the world. Quoted in John Mock & Kim Berley O'Neil, "Expedition Report: The Source of the Oxus River: A Journey to the Wakhan Pamir & Across Dilisang Pass to Misgar (July-August 2004)", <http://www.mockandoneil.com/stg042.htm>. (accessed on May 9, 2008).

¹¹ M. Aluddin, *Kalash: The Paradise Lost* (Karachi: Ushba Publishing International, 2006), p.5. Also see George S. Robertson, *Chitral: The Story of Minor Seige* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998), p.13

¹² M.Alludin, *Kalash: The Paradise Lost* (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1992), p.5.

¹³ Fahimida Ashraf, "The Strategic Wakhan", *Strategic Studies*, Vol. IX, No.2, (Winter 1986), p.18. For a detailed account of all passes connecting Chitral with adjoining areas, see Rahmat Karim, *Hindukush Study Series*, pp. 150-51. The China and Baltistan are also connected by various passes including Turkistan La. Quoted in Muhammad Taqi, ed., *Arghaman-i-Baltistan* (Islamabad: Privately Printed, 1998), p.166.

¹⁴ For details, see Rahmat Karim Baig, *Hindukush Study Series*, Vol. II, (Chitral: Privately Printed, 1997), pp. 28-51.

¹⁵ F. M. Khan, *A Short History of Two Millenniums AD 7-1999: The Story of Gilgit, Baltistan and Chitral*, edited by Habib R. Suleman (Gilgit: Ejaz Literary Agents & Publishers, 2002) pp.20-25; Also see H. C. Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign: A Narrative of Events in Chitral, Swat and Bajour* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1981), pp. 1-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Population Census Organization, *District Census Report of Chitral, 1998* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, 2001), p. 22.

¹⁸ Muhammad Azizuddin, *Tarikh-i-Chitral* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1987), p.21.

¹⁹ For details, see Muhammad Irfan, "Chitral aur Jido-o-Jihad-Azadi ki Tarikh" in Gul Nawaz Khaki, Muhammad Yousaf Shahzad and Muhammad Irfan Irfan, eds., *Chitral aur Ilhaq-i-Pakistan* (Chitral: Anjuman Taraqi-i-Kohawar,

2000), p.25: and Jamal Hyder Siddiqi, *Wadi-i-Chitral: Tarikh, Mashiat, Munsharat* (Islamabad: PPA Publications, 1996), p.43.

²⁰ *District Census Report of Chitral, 1988*, p.13. For further details, see M. Afzal Khan, *Chitral and Kafirstan: A Personal Study* (Peshawar: Privately Printed, 1980), pp. 1-5.

²¹Their language Wakhi is called Wakhikhwar in Chitral.

²² Jamal Hyder Siddiqi, *Wadi-i-Chitral*, p.70.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Shahrani, *The Kirghiz and Wakhi of Afghanistan*, p.36.

²⁵Lok Virsa, *Pakistan ka Saqafati Encyclopedia* (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 2004), p.332.

²⁶ Hermann Kreutzmann, "Linguistic Diversity in Space and Time: A Survey in the Eastern Hindukush and Karakorum", *Himalayan Linguistics*, Vol.4, (2005), p.13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Manzoom Ali, ed., *Karakoram Hindukush*, (Gilgit: Privately Printed, 1985), p.136.

²⁹ Lok Virsa, *Pakistan ka Saqafati Encyclopedia*, p.322. For details about the Yarkhun Valley, see Regionald Schombery, "The Yarkhun Valley of Upper Chitral", *Scottish Geographical Journal*, Vol.50, Issue 4, (July 1934), pp.209-212. It may be pointed out that besides Wakhan, people of adjoining areas like Badakhshan have also migrated and settled in Chitral. Quoted in Salma Awan, *Sundar Chitral* (Lahore: Al-Faisal, 2004), pp.110-111. Also see Ghulam Umer, *Chitral ki Lok Kahanian* (Islamabad: Lok Virsa Ashat Ghar, 1987), pp.1977-84.

³⁰ Niak Alam, "Islam in Northern Areas: A Study in Historical Perspective" M. Phil History Thesis, University of Peshawar, p.24.

³¹Lok Virsa, *Pakistan ka Saqafati Encyclopedia*, pp.329-330.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p.342.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.346.

³⁵ Population Census Organization, *Census Report of Northern Areas, 1998* (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, 2001),p.19.

³⁶ Gojal <http://eu.wikipedia.org/wakhi/Gojal>. (accessed on March 26, 2007).

³⁷ Qudratullah Baig, *Tarikh-i-Ahd-i-Atiq Riasat Hunza*, Part One, (Baltit: Privately Printed, 1980), pp.37-38.

³⁸ Noor, "Wakhi State: Gojal", gojal.net (accessed on January 16, 2008).

³⁹ For details of the argument that rise of Hunza state was linked with construction of Hunza's large scale irrigation work, see H. Sidky, *Irrigation and State Formation in Hunza: The Anthropology of a Hydraulic Kingdom* (Washington D. C.: University Press of America, 1997), pp.1-70.

⁴⁰ Noor, "Wakhi State: Gojal", gojal.net (accessed on January 16, 2008).

⁴¹ Lok Virsa, *Pakistan ka Saqafati Encyclopedia*, pp.165-66.

⁴² Fazal Amin Beg," En Route to China and Back to Pakistan: Some Observations and Experiences," *Journal of Central Asia*, No, 49, p. 119.

⁴³ Daily News Forum Magazine, <http://gojal.net>. (accessed on July 29, 2008).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Burushaski speakers mainly live in these villages of Gojal viz., Ainabad, Nazeemabad, Khyber, Jamalabad, Khirabad and Misgar. Likewise, in Darkot village, both Wakhi and Burushaski languages are spoken. Quoted in "The Hunza Valley," <http://blank.on.themap.free.fr/4culture/41viewlocale/Kashmirlocallife.htm>. (accessed on November 12, 2008).

⁴⁵ M. Hanif Raza, *A Souvenir of KKH, Gilgit, Hunza, and Sakurdu (Islamabad: Colorpix, n.d.)*, p. 150

⁴⁶ Quoted in "Gojal"<http://eu.wikipedia.org/wiki/?Gojal>. (accessed on November 12, 2008).

⁴⁷ Karimullah Baig, *Eco-Tourism Study: Gojal Conservancy* (Gilgit: NA Forestry-Parks & Wild Life Department, 2002), p.2. It may be mentioned that the region of Gilgit-Baltistan is at the junction of four highest mountain ranges i.e., Himalayas, Karakoram, Hindukush and Pamirs. Quoted in Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas, *Year Book, 2005-2006* (Islamabad: Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas, 2007), p.34.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Also see Syed Javed Akhtar, *Dosti ki Shahrah par* (Lahore: Classic, 1995), pp.68-69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ For details, see Malik Sikander Bakht, "An Overview of Geothermal Resources of Pakistan", *Proceedings of World Geothermal Congress* (Khyushu-Tohoku: World Geothermal Congress, 2000), p.77.

⁵¹ Karimullah Baig, *Eco-Tourism Study*, p.14.

⁵² For details, see *Preliminary Report on the Hunza Expedition 2000: Gojal Conservancy* (Gilgit: N A Wildlife Department, 2001), pp.1-15.

⁵³ Quoted in Jeffery Tayler, "On Top of the World," *Monthly Atlantic*, March, 1999, p.42.

⁵⁴ Karimullah Baig, *Eco-Tourism Study*, p.2. It has been observed that the 'Hindukush and Karakoram barrier can be pierced with relative ease at only three points i.e. Chitral, Hunza and Leh.' Quoted in S. Sahid Hamid, *Karakoram Hunza: The Land of Just Enough* (Karachi:Maaref Ltd., 1979), p. 21.

⁵⁵ Pakistan: The Forward Policy http://workmall.com/wfb2001/Pakistan/Pakistan_history_theforward_policy.html (accessed on June 15, 2008).

⁵⁶ File:\C:/Documents and settings/admin/My Documents/HUNZA/Hunza_1.htm (accessed on June 8, 2008).

⁵⁷ F. M. Khan, *The Story of Gilgit, Baltistan and Chitral*, p.4.

⁵⁸ Usman Ali, *Gilgit ki Roog Kahani* (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, 1990), p.36.

⁵⁹ Global Services Pakistan, *The Karakoram Highway* (Islamabad: Privately Printed, 2007), p.2. According to an estimate about 810 Pakistanis and 82 Chinese died during the construction of KKH.

⁶⁰ Herman Kreutzmann, "Pastoral Practices and Their Transformation in the North-Western Karakoram", *Nomadic Peoples*, Vol. 8, No.2 (December 2004), p. 23.

⁶¹ Hermann Kreutzmann, "Ethnic Minorities and Marginality in the Pamirian Knot: Survival of Wakhi and Kirghiz in a Harsh Environment and Global Context," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 169, No. 3 (September 2003), pp.230-31.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ At present estimated population of the Gilgit-Baltistan is about 1.055 million out of which, 86% are living in the rural areas. The land holdings are very small and land use is dominated by subsistence agriculture, fruit growing, livestock farming and some forestry. Quoted in Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas, *Year Book, 2006-07* (Islamabad: Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas, 2008), pp. 50-51.

⁶⁵ Quoted in "The Hunza Valley," <http://blank.on.themap.free.fr/4culture/41vielocaly/Kashmirlocalife.htm>. (accessed on November 12, 2008).

⁶⁶ John Clark, *Hunza: Lost Kingdom of the Himalaya* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1980), pp.265-66.

⁶⁷ "Agriculture," <http://www.gojal.net/agriculture.htm>. (accessed on July 29, 2008).

⁶⁸ Karimullah Baig, *Eco-Tourism Study*, pp.3-4. Lalak Jan Saheed, *Nishan-i-Haider*, also belonged to the Wakhi community living in Hunder village situated in the Yasin Valley of district Ghizer. Quoted in Zahid Yaqoob Amir, *Havaladar Lalak Jan Shaheed* (Islamabad: Javedaan Publications, 2002), p.19.

⁶⁹ Tahir Janghir, *A Travel Companion to the Northern Areas of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 19.

⁷⁰ Faith Harckham, "An Adventure in Pakistan", file://c:\Documents and settings\Administrator\Desktop\Wakhi 3.htm (accessed on July 30, 2007).

⁷¹ 'Amazing Shimshal Valley-Pakistan' www.atule.co.uk. (accessed on June 23, 2006).

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ In Hunza, few Burusho keep yak as the majority of yaks are kept by the Wakhi high mountain farmers of Gojal who have access to vast and isolated grazing grounds like Passu, the Batura region and Chupurson Valley. Alone in the Shimshal Valley, the number of yaks have been estimated between 500 and 1,000. The Wakhis use the term *zugh* for male yaks and *zughgher* for the female yaks. For details, see Gerald Wiever Han Jianliss and Long Ruijun, *The Yak* (Banhog: FAO, 2003), pp.17-19.

⁷⁴ David Butz, "Sustaining Indigenous Communities: Symbolic and Instrumental Dimensions of Pastoral Resource Use in Shimshal, Northern Pakistan," *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 40, No.1 (Spring 1996), p.39.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ David Butz, "Tourism and Portering: Labour relations in Shimshal, Gojal Hunza," in Hermann Kreutzmann, ed., *Karakoram in Transition: Culture Development, and Ecology in the Hunza Valley* [Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006], p.394.

⁷⁸ Mustansir Hussain Tarar, *Hunza Dastan* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2000), pp.154-55.

⁷⁹ Lok Virsa, *Pakistan ka Saqafati Encyclopedia*, pp.205-207.

⁸⁰ Karimullah Baig, *Eco-tourism Study*, p.24.

⁸¹ Lok Virsa, *Pakistan ka Saqafati Encyclopedia*, pp.205-207.

⁸² *Pamir Times*, January 31, 2006, www.Magzine.gojal.net. (accessed on June 23, 2006).

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Lok Virsa, *Pakistan ka Saqafati Encyclopedia*, p.168.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.180. For political dividends of these marriages, see Irmtrand Stellrech,"Passage to Hunza: Route Nets and Political Process in a Mountain State," in Hermann Kreutzmann, ed., *Karakoram in Transitions*, p. 203.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.176.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.38-41. Also see Ahmed Hasan Dani, *Human Records on Karakoram Highway* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995), p. 105.

⁸⁸ Fida Ali Esar Hunzai, *Riasati-Hunza: Tarikh wa Saqafat kay Aianay Main* (Gilgit: Hanisa Publishing Network, 2002), p.206. Wakhi style homes are also known as Pamiri houses.

⁸⁹ Abdullah Jan Hunzai, *Hunza ki Lok Kahanian* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 1998), p.8. Likewise, Yarkandi dacoits of Eastern Turkistan (present China), also used to attack Baltistan in spring season. Quoted in Haji Muhammad Hussain, "*Wadi-i-Baltistan Main Ishat-i-Islam ka Aik Pahlu*," in Muhammad Ibrahim Ziar, ed., *Arz-i-Baltistan*, (Rawalpindi: Privately Printed, 1992), p.342.

⁹⁰ G.W. Leitner, *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893* (Woking: Oriental University Institute, 1889), p.79.

⁹¹ Ghansara Singh, *Gilgit: 1947 say Pehlay*, translated by Sher Baz Ali Khan Barja (Gilgit: Hanisa Publishing Network, 2002), p.27. Also see Ahmad Hassan Dani, ed., *Shah Rias Khan Ki Tarikh-i-Gilgit*, (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2000), p.412.

⁹² Maureeu Lines, *Beyond the North West Frontier: Travels in the Hindukush and Karakorums* (Somerset: The Oxford Illustrated Press, 1988), p. 123.

⁹³ gttol..www.ethnologue.com/showlanguage.asp?code=wbl (accessed on May 8, 2008). Some of these organizations have been pointed out by prominent Wakhi bureaucrat Gul Baig.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*