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## DOLKE, POKALER OG MAGISKE SØER I NURISTAN

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af Schuyler Jones

I 1965 skrev Lennart Edelberg en artikel: *Nuristanske sølvpokaler* (KUML 1965, s. 153ff). Nærværende artikel er tænkt som et supplement til Edelbergs betragtninger, og grundlaget for den blev lagt gennem feltarbejde, da det gik op for mig, at befolkningen i Waigal dalen i Nuristan ser meget mere i en sølvpokal end blot noget til at drikke vin af, ligesom en dolk er andet og mere end blot et våben, og visse søer ikke blot er vandområder. Det var i bestræbelserne på at forstå sammenhængen mellem visse genstande af lokal tilvirkning og deres kulturelle betydning, at jeg i 1966 begyndte at undersøge holdningen overfor nogle af elementerne i det nuristanske miljø, nemlig dolke, sølvpokaler og søer (1).

Waigal dalen er det ene af fire større afvandingsområder på sydsiden af Hindu Kush bjergene i Nordøst-Afghanistan. De øvrige dalstrøg er: Bashgal/Nechingal; Parun/Pech (indbefattet Kantiwo), samt Ramgal/Kulum/Titin-Nakara mod vest. Der er 9–10 (2) permanent beboede områder i Waigal dalen, og de ligger ret spredt. Den mindste landsby, Want, består af 6 husstande; den største, dobbeltlandsbyen Waramdesh og Berimdesh (sædvanligvis kaldet Waigal) har ca. 500 huse. Det samlede befolkningstal i dalen er vel o. 10–12.000. Waigal floden løber i en længde af ca. 30 km gennem dalen fra nord til syd. Befolkningen betegner sig selv og deres område under ét som *Kalashum*. De er agerdykere og hyrder. Kvinderne dyrker hirse, majs, byg og hvede på kunstigt vandede terrasser; mændene er ansvarlige for pasningen af geder, kvæg og får på de forskellige græsningsområder, som benyttes efter tur. Her fremstiller de smør og ost. Om vinteren, da der ofte er dyb sne, holdes dyrene på stald nær landsbyerne.

Der findes ingen veje i dalen. Selv med heste, muldyr eller æsler er det umuligt at komme fra en landsby til en anden – kun fodstier forbinder dem med hinanden og med verden udenom. Hver storfamilie er selvforsynende – der er ingen markeder, ej heller nogen form for organiseret handel eller udveksling i dalen. Afghanske penge bruges så at sige ikke; værdimåleren er geden, selv om prisen på jord og huse sædvanligvis angives i antal køer.

Omkring 90 % af Waigal dalens befolkning er *atrožan*, d. v. s. at de udgør en fri, jordejende og kvægavlende klasse, og hvert enkelt medlem tilhører i kraft af sin afstamning en navngiven patrilineær æt. Disse slægtsgrupper bebor bestemte områder og spreder sig ikke derfra. Gifter-

mål er patrilocalt, d. v. s. at det nygifte par tager ophold hos brudgommens forældre. Flere slægtslinjer med en fælles forfader udgør en klan, og som regel er der to eller flere klaner i en landsby.

De resterende 10 % af befolkningen betegner kalashum-folkene enten som *bari-šewala* eller, undertiden, *brožan*. De er håndværkere og udgør en særlig, socialt og politisk ufordelagtigt stillet klasse i kalashum samfundet. Giftermål er forbudt mellem *atrožan* og *brožan*. Det siges, at en *bari* eller *sewala* ikke må komme længere end til det første søjlepar i et *atrožan* hus; kun sjældent spiser de sammen, og *bari-šewala* har ingen græsningsret. For det meste har de ingen geder, og de har meget lidt indflydelse på landsbyens liv i almindelighed. De danner en klart afgrænset klasse, som i hverdagen er karakteriseret ved deres traditionelle beskæftigelser. Endelig er der mellem *bari* og *šewala* indbyrdes et skel, baseret på fødsel og tildels beskæftigelse. *Bari* er professionelle håndværkere, mens *šewala* er selvlærte. *Bari* er tømrere og træskærere, smede og smykkemagere, og deres koner er vævere; *šewala* er pottemagere, kurvemagere, læderarbejdere og bærere; de har en lavere status end *bari*. Ingen af de frie, jordejende og kvægavlende *atrožan* beskæftiger sig med den slags aktiviteter. Kort sagt, det er *bari-šewala* som frembringer al materiel kultur i Nuristan.

En *bari*-smeds evner kom måske bedst til udtryk gennem fremstillingen af to højt værdsatte genstande: krigerens dolk (*katara*), og vinpokalen af sølv (*urei*). Jeg siger udtrykkelig *kom*, for det er formentlig 3–4 generationer siden nogen *bari*-smed har lavet en sølvpokal. Sommetider sagde mine meddelere, at deres bedstefar havde lavet *urei*. Krigerdolken laves stadig i Kalashum-landsbyen Zhönchigal, men dens kvalitet er så ringe, at den kun er en svag afglans af tidligere tiders frembringelser. De bedste *katara* laves i dag af afghanske smede i Kabuls bazar. Nogle sælges til turister, andre finder vej til Nuristan.

## DOLKE (KATARA)

*Katara*'en findes i to hovedtyper (fig. 1–2). Det er kun type II – og en variation deraf – som fremstilles i dag. Den type, der er vist på fig. 1 (type I) er karakteriseret derved, at den brede fæsteknap ikke blot i bredden svarer til parerstangen, men er sammensat af to enkeltstykker. Typen kan have sin oprindelse i Parun dalen, som engang foreslået af Lenart Edelberg, men faktisk ved vi det ikke, eftersom sagen endnu ikke er undersøgt nærmere på stedet. Fotografiet fig. 3, som er taget af B. E. M. Gurdon i Chitral i 1890'erne, viser en gruppe krigere, hvoraf nogle bærer type I, andre type II. Dette tyder på, at begge typer var gængse på det tidspunkt, skønt type I i dag er mere sjælden end type II (3). Den

variant af type II der er vist på fig. 4, er den der laves i Zhönchigal og Kabul i dag.

En *katara*, der nok kunne betegnes som en tredje type (fig. 5) blev fundet den 1. september 1969 i Ameshdesh af kvinder, som var i færd med at rense en vandingskanal. Tilfældigvis var jeg tilstede og købte den. Et år senere, i september 1970 i Nisheigrom, viste *bari* Din Mohammed mig

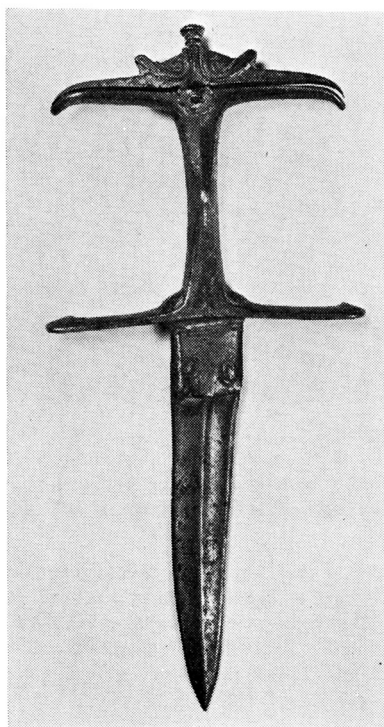


Fig. 1: Et fint eksemplar af en type I-*katara*, købt 1970 i bazaren i Kabul. Det særlige for denne type er, at fæsteknappens øverste del er et selvstændigt stykke, løseligt fastgjort med en nagle. 1:3.

A fine example of an old 'type I' *katara*, purchased in Kabul bazaar by Lis Rasmussen Jones in 1970. A distinguishing feature of this type is that the top half of the pommel is a separate piece of metal loosely attached by a central rivet. Photo by Peter Narracott, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

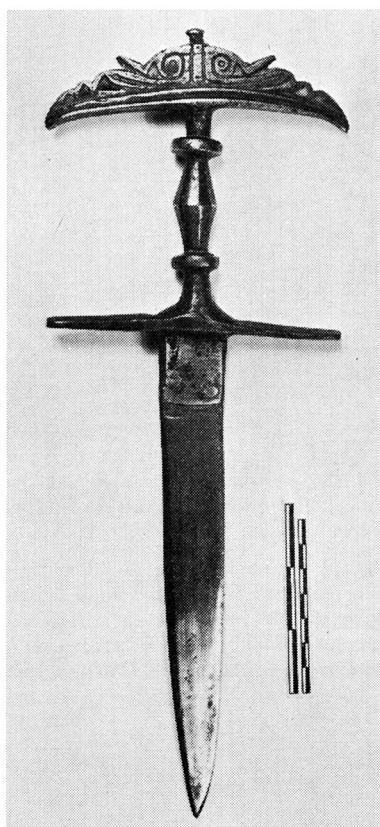


Fig. 2: En gammel type II-*katara*, købt i Kabuls bazar. Denne type er karakteriseret ved a) fæsteknappens udsmykning og b) ved at fæstet er i ét stykke. 1:3.

A old 'type II' *katara* purchased in Kabul bazaar by Lis Rasmussen Jones in 1967. This type is distinguished by (a) the decoration on the pommel and (b) by the fact that the entire hilt is made in one piece. Photo by Peter Narracott, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Fig. 3: Foto af Kafir-krigere, taget af B. E. M. Gurdon i Chitral ca. 1895. Manden til venstre med hånden op mod ansigtet bærer en type I-*katara*, manden på hans højre side en type II. De to næste mand mod højre bærer ligeledes type II-*katara*'er. Bemærk den siddende mand (formentlig en *bari*-håndværker) med femstregenget Kafir-harpe (*waj*). Til højre en altersten.

Photograph of Kafir warriors taken by B. E. M. Gurdon in Chitral ca. 1895. The man standing on the left with his hand raised to his face wears a 'type I' *katara*; the man to the right of him has 'type II'; the next two men to the right also have 'type II'. Note seated man (probably a *bari* craftsman) with a 5-stringed 'Kafir harp' (*waj*). An altar stone is on the right. Photo courtesy India Office Library, London.

håndtaget til en dolk, som han nogle år forinden havde fundet 'i bjergene' (fig. 6). Han havde den opfattelse, at det stammede fra en kafir *katara* fra ældre tid, en *čima-müšti*. Min egen opfattelse går snarere på, at den stammer fra Indien (cf. fig. 7). Den kunne være erhvervet gennem bazaren i Chitral eller Peshawar, eller under et grænseoverfald. Det ser imidlertid ud til, at *katara*'en på fig. 5 kunne være en mellemform mellem dem man kender af indisk oprindelse (fig. 7) og de nuristanske *katara*'er (fig. 1 og 2) fra det 19. århundrede. Det er forøvrigt interessant at bemærke den lighed, der er i stilen mellem *katara*'en på fig. 4 og den nepalesiske Jamdhar *Katara* (fig. 8).

Fra Robertson's beretning (1896) ved vi, at *katara*'en for enhver kriger var en højt værdsat ejendel. Endnu i dag bærer flertallet af mænd en sådan dolk i bæltet, og en ung mand ser med forventning hen til den



dag, da han må bære den, for den er mands kendemærke. Det kan derfor ikke undre, at talrige myter og sagn er knyttet til disse dolke. Alle de kalashum historier, jeg kender om smede, omtaler gāwāri-kāwārā folket. Ifølge sagnet levede de 'mellem Ningalam og Chagha Serai' (i nedre Pech dalen). Det var i den fjerne fortid – de var et samfund af fremragende håndværkere.

„Gawar ligger i bjergene oven over Barkandi. I gamle dage gik en mand op i nærheden af Gawar, hvis han ønskede at erhverve en fin *katara*. På en særlig sten lagde han 30 rupi og gik atter bort. To-tre dage senere vendte han tilbage, og der på stenen lå så en *katara*. Vort folk, kafirerne, troede før i tiden, at disse *katara*'er blev lavet af ånder. Hvis man en dag fandt sådan en *katara*, ville den koste en ko.“ (Abdul Qader, Berimdes, 30. august 1969).

En anden meddeler fortalte følgende:

„Gāwāri-kāwārā folket levede mellem Ningalam og Chagha Serai“. Siden forvandlede de til sten, de blev ånder (f. suči, m. suča). Dette folk opfandt *katara*'en. De lavede også *urei* (sølvpokaler). Den ældste slags



Fig. 4: Moderne variant af type II-*katara*. Foto optaget i Kesh-tagrom (Kushtoz) august 1960.

Modern variation of 'type II' *katara*. Photograph taken in Keshtagrom (Kushtoz) by Schuyler Jones, August 1960.

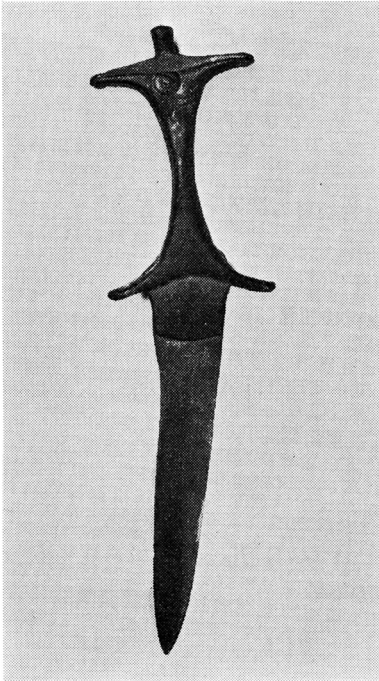


Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Fig. 5: En gammel *katara*, type III, udgravet i vandingskanal nær Ameshdesh i Waigal dalen, september 1969. Det X-formede fæste har træk fælles med type I's H-formede; specielt er fæsteknappens overdel et selvstændigt stykke. Fæstet har også samme grundform som på visse indiske dolke. 1:3.

An old *katara*, 'type III', excavated from an irrigation channel near Ameshdesh in Waigal Valley, September 1969. The X-shaped hilt has some features in common with the H-shaped hilt of 'type I'; in particular the top half of the pommel is a separate piece of metal. At the same time the hilt is of the same basic shape as some Indian daggers. Photo by Peter Narracott, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Fig. 6: Fæste til dolk, fundet af *bari* Din Mohammed fra Nisheigrom i bjergene over Waigal dalen.

Dagger hilt found by *bari* Din Mohammed of Nisheigrom in the mountains above Waigal Valley. Photo by Schuyler Jones, September, 1970.

*katara* kaldes *juar-dar-katara*. Af dem findes der kun få i dag. Sådan en dolk ville være mindst 6 geder værd." (Kazana, muslimsk navn: Sher Gul, Nisheigrom, 16. februar 1967).

Gāwāri-kāwārā folket levede nær Tregam. De opfandt *katara*'en. De lavede sølvpokaler, borde på trefod, trefødder (til ildstedet) og *sārātāō* (smedejernholdere til brændende nåletræsfakler). Ingen fik se, hvor de lavede disse ting. Når de havde lavet noget, kastede de det fra en høj



Fig. 7: Tre 19. årh.s indiske dolke, mærket „Kyjar eller Chellanum“ P. R. Coll. 1:3.

Three 19th century daggers from India, labelled 'Kyjar or Chellanum' P. R. Coll. Photo by Peter Narracott, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

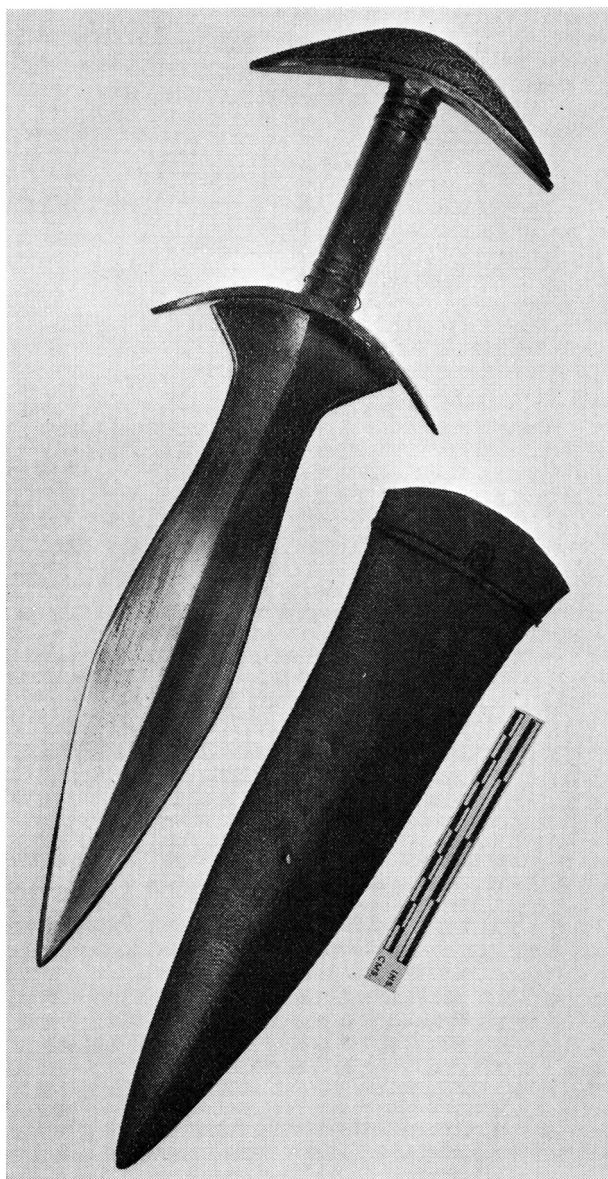


Fig. 8: *Jamdhar katara* fra Nepal, afbildet i W. Egerton's *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* (p. 100–101), London 1880. Bemærk ligheden i stil med dolken fig. 4.

*Jamdhar Katari* from Nepal, as shown in W. Egerton's *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* (p. 100–101), London, 1880. Note similarity in style to the dagger in Fig. 4.

klippe ned på stengrund. Hvis det ikke tog skade, var de tilfredse og solgte det. Men hvis det havde taget skade, ødelagde de det. Dette folk forsvandt. Vi ved ikke, hvad der er blevet af dem.“ (Brādiṅ, Nisheigrom, 27. februar 1968).

## POKALER (UREI)

En genstand der rangerer endnu højere i Nuristan/kafir kulturen, er vinpokalen af sølv. Lennart Edelberg, som næsten med sikkerhed er den første europæer der nogensinde har set en (i 1953) har med stor grundighed studeret, hvad der findes skrevet om dette emne (KUML 1965). Hvad jeg kan sige om det samme, må betragtes som et supplement hertil.

Der er to typer af *urei*: dem, der er skabt af ånder, og dem der er lavet af mennesker (som kopier af åndernes). De moderne efterligninger i Kabul er en variation af sidste type. Af dem ånderne lavede (*a-sor-amā-ba-urei* eller *a-sor-ba-amā-urei*, begge skrivemåder forekommer i mine notater) er nogle af sølv (*urei*), andre af guld (*sūn-urei*), som der, så vidt vides, ikke findes flere af.

Ifølge „Secret & Political Records of the Government of India“ (Jones, 1969) sendte Sipah Salar Ghulam Haider Khan, øverstkommanderende for den afghanske hær under den muslimske invasion af Kafiristan (1896–98) adskillige ladninger sølv og guld til Amir Abdul Rahman Khan. Det var rov fra kafiriske helligdomme og hjem, og herimellem kan meget vel have været *sūn-urei*. Da byttet formentlig har været opbevaret i det kongelige palads, er de sandsynligvis gået tabt under det korte regime af Bacha Saqao, „Fribytter“, da han var engageret i kappestriden om at overtage den afghanske trone efter Amanullas abdikation i 1929.

I dag er næsten alle eksisterende sølvpokaler kun kopier, lavet af *bari* håndværkere, efter de værdifulde *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* (lake-belonging to-house-silver (cup)), som var lavet af ånderne. Disse sidste er uhyre sjældne. Efter hvad meddelere i forskellige landsbyer mener, er der højst 3 eller 4 i hele dalen. De simple *urei* er meget mere almindelige, da de fleste familier ejer en, og de mere velhavende familier kan have to eller flere. De holdes gemt som slægtsklenodier, og de bruges i dag kun ved udveksling af brudepris (*malpreg*) eller medgift (*bakawa*).

Før indførelsen af islam kunne disse vinpokaler anvendes ved tre slags lejligheder: 1) højtstående mænd kunne drikke vin af dem – som regel ved en højtidelighed – 2) en velstående mand kunne forære sin datter en på hendes bryllupsdag til at bringe med til hendes nye hjem, eller den kunne indgå i brudeprisen og gjaldt da for 30 geder af det krævede antal, og 3) ved en særlig festlig lejlighed kaldet *šinara-ta-dūl* (‘rejoicing-



Fig. 9: *Urei*, købt fra et medlem af Utai-dari ætten i Nisheigrom, februar 1966. Ca. 3-4 cm er skåret af foden af en, som har behovet et mål sølv. Skålen rummer 1710 ml.

*Urei* purchased from a member of the Utai-dari (lineage) in Nisheigrom, February, 1966. Approximately 3-4 cm. has been cut from the base of the stem by someone who needed a quantity of silver. The bowl has a 3-pint capacity (1,710 ml.). Photo by Peter Narracott, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.



Fig. 10: Eftergjort *urei*, fremstillet i Kabul. Selve skålen er støbt af omsmeltede smykker. Foden er drevet og loddet til skålen.

Replica of an *urei* which has been made in Kabul. The bowl was cast in a mould using melted down jewellery. The stem is hand planished silver and soldered onto the bottom of the bowl. Photo by Schuyler Jones, March, 1966.

place-feast') til ære for en bestemt person, og hvori det indgår at *urei*'en vises offentligt.

Familie-*urei*'erne går sædvanligvis i arv til den endnu ugifte søn ud fra den betragtning, at han vil behøve den til sit brudekøb. I Kalashum (d. v. s. Waigal dalen) varierer omfanget af brudepris noget fra landsby



Fig. 11: Et fint *urei*-eksempel, tilhørende Abdul Mohammed, Malik i Muldesh. Dette er den eneste *urei* jeg ved af, som har tre horisontale rækker dekoration under randen. Andre har én (fx. fig. 10) eller to (fig. 9).

A fine *urei* owned by Abdul Mohammed, Malik of Muldesh. This is the only *urei* known to me that has three horizontal bands of decoration round the top of the bowl. Others have one (e.g., Fig. 10) or two (Fig. 9). Photo by Schuyler Jones, July 1967.

til landsby. Det er ikke usædvanligt, at der opnås enighed om en sum svarende til 240 geder, selv om den aldrig erlægges i geder alene. Den samlede pris gøres op i et aftalt antal geder og suppleres med passende genstande, der beregnes efter en standardværdi i geder. Det kan f. eks. være æreskapper, ildsteds-trefødder til store beholdere, en sølvpokal og et eller to trefodsborde (4). I forbindelse med brudepris vurderes en *urei* altid til 30 geder, uanset dens egenværdi. En almindelig *urei* (af dem *bari* smedene laver) varierer alt efter vægt og størrelse fra 40 til 75 geder. Beder man en mand bedømme en *urei*, vil man ofte se ham anbringe den omvendt på sin pegefingertip for at vurdere vægt og dermed værdi, og så række den tilbage med f. eks. et: „50 geder“.

I før-islamisk tid afspejlede en *urei* den status og rang dens ejer havde opnået (5). En mand, der havde dræbt et bestemt antal fjender og derved opnået krigerrangen, *bātūr*, havde lov til at drikke vin af en *trēwše-dōš-aba-urei* (egl. tre-sinds-tyve (og) 10, d. v. s. en der var 70 geder værd, eller 35 geder og 35 *kašera* (hvide) rupi (store 19. årh.s afghanske sølvmonter). En mand, der kun havde opnået rang af *mač-mal-oda*, måtte lade sig nøje med en *dūši-ba-urei* til en værdi af 40 (40 geder eller 20 geder og 20 *kašera* rupi). Andre *urei* blev ligeledes klassificeret efter deres værdi: 50 geder *urei*: *duwiši-doš-osey* (2 × 20 (og) 10 geder). 60 geder *urei*: *trēwiši-osey* (3 × 20 geder). 75 geder *urei*: *trēwiši-pačis-osey* (3 × 20 (og) 15 geder).

En mand, der i før-islamisk tid havde valgt ikke at stræbe efter krigerrang eller rang ved at kappes med andre givere af fester, stod lavt på den sociale rangstige og omtaltes som *uluma*. En mand af den klasse kunne kun drikke vin af en underklasse *kuna-urei*, som er en simpel sølvkop uden fod. Lennart Edelberg hørte første gang om disse i 1953: „I Waigal fik jeg omkring den 1. oktober nys om en pokal mere; det var ved nattetide, og jeg erindrer ikke, om jeg selv fik den at se. *Den manglede foden.*“ (KUML 1965, s. 158–59; fremhævelsen min). Selve dens navn – *kuna-urei* – afspejler den ringe anseelse dens *uluma*-ejer nyder.

I nuristansk kultur er horn udtryk for styrke. En mand, der ejer mange geder og har givet offentlige fester, bliver berettiget til at lade særlige udskæringer udføre på sin husdør, på panelerne nærmest døren og på de fire søjler i hans *amā* – husets hovedrum. Mange af disse geometriske udskæringer er abstrakte gengivelser af horn og er offentlige vidnesbyrd om familieoverhovedets fortjenester og dermed hans „styrke“. En heldig jæger er en anset mand og kan smykke sit hus med kranier og horn af *markhor* og *urial* som han selv har dræbt (aldrig af leopard eller bjørn), og således oplyse omverdenen om, at „her bor en stor jæger“. En højtstående mand ejer en sølvpokal med „horn“, d. v. s. med fod eller stilk. En lavtstående *atrožan* (*uluma*) som har valgt, ikke at konkurrere eller måle sin styrke med andres, drikker derfor sin vin af en pokal som, symbolsk, er uden horn. Betydningen af dette forhold træder endnu tydeligere frem, hvis vi undersøger udtrykket *asäkuna* (egl. 'ashes-hornless'). Undertiden kan man høre en vred *atrožan* bruge dette højest nedsættende udtryk overfor en anden; men almindeligvis anvendes det i forbindelse med *brožan* eller *bari-šewala* folk og betyder kraftløs – uden styrke – „sølle svækling“ er måske det udtryk, der kommer dets mening nærmest. Meddelere fortæller, at før islams indførelse kunne en *atrožan* der blev vred på sin *bari* eller *šewala* slave 'hælde aske over hans hoved' (før 1895 blev der fra tid til anden købt og solgt slaver). Selv i dag kan en mand komme ud for denne nedværdigelse, hvis han har stødt groft an mod den offentlige mening (Jones, 1973). *Kuna-urei* bliver således symbolsk for en mand, der efter den strenge nuristanske standard har haft fiasko i tilværelsen. Den er – i negativ forstand – et statussymbol og indgår næppe nogensinde i brudepris eller medgift.

### ŞINARA-TA-DŪL ('REJOICING-PLACE-FEAST')

*Urei* kan anvendes ved en særlig offentlig ceremoni som gives til ære for en mand. Denne ceremoni kaldes *şinara-ta-dŭl*. Jeg har ikke selv overværet sådan en fest, men meddelere har fortalt mig, at den stadig holdes i nogle landsbyer. Den blev beskrevet på følgende måde:



„Det er en begravelsesfest for en, som endnu ikke er død. Det er en særlig ære for ham. Festen forberedes af hans søstersøn. Der bliver ofret mange geder, og hele landsbyen bliver inviteret. Til festen hører en flagstang. Den kaldes *dal-karinga*. Et stykke tøj gøres fast til den som et flag, og en *urei* anbringes på toppen af stangen, der skubbes op i *urei*'ens hule fod. Søstersønnen (*paši*) binder et tørklæde om livet for at holde på stangen. *Urei*'en og flaget er højt oppe i luften, mens han danser. Sammen med sin morbrors sønner går han rundt om landsbyen. De vælger et hustag og danser der. Husets ejer skal da komme ud og ofre en ged for dem. Hvis han er fattig, kommer han ud og byder danserne ost. Når der bliver givet sådan en fest for en mand i levende live, holdes der ingen fest når han dør.“

## DE MAGISKE SØER

I februar 1967 gav Kazana i Nisheigrom en noget fragmentarisk og forkortet fremstilling af oprindelsen til nogle særlig sjældne *urei*:

„I Nur Kun bjergene lever der folk, som kan beherske søens ånder. Søånden er en kalv, og den ejer søen. Han som kan mane søånden frem er en *sor-gurala* (søtrolldmand). Når kalven kommer op af søen, falder vandstanden; søen tørrer ind. Så kan Nur Kun folkene gå ud på bunden af søen og hente af skatten. De fik meget guld og sølv fra søen. De fik mange *urei*.

For 12 generationer siden var der en hyrde, som boede i Wama. Han gik hen til en sø oven for Wama. Ved søen hørte man mange mærkelige slags støj. Der var stemmer som talte og lyde som af torden. Da støjen hørte op, fandt hyrden en *urei* udsmykket med guld. Han fandt også en guld halsring (*gera*) og en gylden kande (*zāni/zārne*). Han tog disse tre sager med sig. De blev opbevaret i hans landsby i mange år. Da Sipah Salar (Ghulam Haider Khan) gik ind i Kafiristan, var der en mand ved navn Polan Kan, der fortalte ham om denne skat, og Sipah Salar tog den med sig til Kabul. For dette dræbte Wama folkene Polan Kan.“

Alle de fortællinger jeg kender om sådanne sjældne og kostbare *urei* nævner som en kendsgerning, at de blev lavet af ånder, findes i søer og er lige så meget værd som en mands liv (240 geder). Den slags *urei* kaldes *a-sor-ba-amā-urei*. De fleste af de sølvpokaler der kendes i dag, har *bari*-smedene lavet som kopier af disse oprindelige *urei*.

Det er ikke alle søer, der rummer en skat. Nurulla Kan af Kusug dari åtten i Nisheigrom fortæller:

„Der er to slags søer: *našti-sor* og *wase-sor*. *Wase* er mand som har en søn. *Našta* er en barnløs mand. Nogle søer er *našta*. De har ingen kraft. Vi kan komme helt hen til dem, selv om vi er bange. Men det er meget farligt at nærme sig en *wase-sor*, fordi søåndens kraft vil drage

en ud i vandet, så man drukner. I *wase-sor* er der en *sor-očalä* (søkalv). Denne kalv bevogter skatten, som består af sølv, guld og jern. Det er guldfugle, guld *urei*, stole og borde af guld; alt til et hus, alt af guld“ (6).

Hvordan man fik fat i en *urei* i tidligere tider fortalte Bari Din Mohammed:

„For længe siden gik de til søen med 60 hvide rupi og en gød. De ofrede geden og kastede den i søen. Så smed de mønterne i søen. „Ånd i søen“, råbte de, „lav en *urei* til mig.“ En stemme fra vandet svarede: „Mand, kom tilbage om nogle dage, så skal du finde en skøn *urei* på bredden.“ Da mændene efter nogle dages forløb kom tilbage, fandt de en *urei* ved søen. Sådanne *urei* blev lavet af søens ånder. Da Sipah Salar kom til Nisheigrom tog han en *sün-urei* (guld *urei*) fra en gammel mand af Sunarat dari (ætten).“

„Betalingen“ med hvide rupi (*kašera rūpāi*) er et interessant træk, når man tager i betragtning, at en mand som bestiller en *katara*, *urei* eller *bašpe* hos en bari smed både må sørge for den nødvendige mængde metal og betale for arbejdet. I den sammenhæng kan man betragte den ofrede gød som betalingen og de 'hvide' rupi som det nødvendige metal.

Mayar fortalte, på sin karakteristiske stødvise facon, følgende:

Der var to søstre i søen nær landsbyen Waigal. Der var to søer der. Den ene talte til den anden, således: „Lad os skabe en slette her ved Waigal.“ Disse to ånder levede i vandet. En af dem skabte Waigal. Den anden gjorde et bjerg fladt, så hun kunne sidde på det. Den ene sø tørrede ind. Til den kom der tre mænd: Zhönč čuk, Wai og Drabüg. De tog syv *sün-urei* (guld *urei*) fra søen og to kurve (*kawa*) fulde af *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* (sølv *urei* lavet af ånderne). De tog også guldstole, senge, og alt hvad et hus behøver af møbler fra søen. Nu er der en kilde, hvor søen var.“ (Nisheigrom, februar 1966).

Ved en anden lejlighed fortalte samme meddeler:

„Der er en sø. Til den gik to seere (*wřěār*). Søens ejer – ånden – var en kalv. Kalven udstødte forskellige lyde. De to seere manede kalven op af søen. Da de gjorde dette, sank vandet bort, søen blev tør. De anbragte kalven på en dyrehud. Den ene seer sagde til den anden: „Hold denne kalv; sørg for at den er svøbt ind i huden mens jeg henter skatten fra søen.“ Kalven hed *sor-očalä*. Den seer, som passede på kalven, ville selv have skatten. Han tænkte: Hvis jeg lader kalven slippe, bliver søen fyldt op igen. Det gjorde han så, og den anden seer druknede“.

Nurulla Kan af Kusug dari ætten i Nisheigrom fortalte, hvad der må være en anden version af den samme historie:

„Der var en mand ved navn Sambar i Wama. Han var af Sawan-dar

ætten. Han havde mange geder, får og køer. Han havde en hyrde. En dag gik Sambar til *Mara Sor* (Mara, skaberens sø) som ligger oven over Wama. Hyrden gik med ham. Sambar havde en 'medicin' (en trylleformular) fra søen. Den var skrevet på papir, eller måske havde han indprentet sig den. Sambar gik ud i søen og kæmpede i seks timer med kalven. Endelig fik han den op af søen. Han gav den til hyrden for at han skulle svøbe den i en hud, så der ikke kunne komme lys til den. „Lad ikke sollyset ramme *sor-očalü'en*“, sagde Sambar til hyrden. Da kalven var blevet svøbt ind, tørrede søens vande bort og åbenbarede skatten. Sambar gik ud på bunden for at samle den op.

Kalven tiggede hyrden om at åbne en lille smule for huden. „Bare et lillebitte hul, så jeg kan se lyset“, bønfuldt den. Tilsidst tænkte hyrden, at det ikke kunne gøre nogen skade og stak et lille hul i huden med en nål. Da var Sambar langt ude på søbunden for at samle skatten op. Da hyrden slap sollyset ind, blev søen fyldt op igen, og samtidig blev hyrden draget ud i vandet og druknede. Men Sambar nåede at sige de magiske ord og undslap fra søen.

Da han så, at han intet kunne gøre for at redde sin hyrde, gik han ned ad bjerget til *šal* (sæteren) og fortalte de andre, hvad der var hændt. Hyrdens søster hørte, at hendes bror var omkommet i søen. Hun fattede mistanke til Sambar. „Du har dræbt min bror og har fundet på denne historie for at skjule din skyld“, sagde hun.

En dag, et år senere, gik søsteren til en kilde i Wama for at hente vand. Da hun løftede sin krukke op fra kilden så hun pludselig sin brors *katara* og bælte i vandet. Da vidste hun, at Sambar havde talt sandhed, for vandet i kilden kommer fra Mara Sor. Hun rakte ned i vandet og tog *katara*'en og bæltet op.

Da hun fortalte Sambar, hvad der var hændt, gav han hende 60 geder og sagde: „Før var du vred på mig. Din bror var min hyrde, og han mistede livet mens han var hos mig. Nu kender du sandheden.“

I nærheden af Nisheigrom er der et vandfald opkaldt efter Astan, søn af Demuta, som jeg tidligere har skrevet om (Jones, 1972). I dammen neden for vandfaldet plejede der at være en *urei*. Astan havde anbragt den der, så kvinderne kunne få fyldt deres vandkrukker. *Urei*'en var nede i vandet; stedet kaldes *Astan-uşələk*.

Mayar giver følgende beretning om en før-islamisk helligdom ved Nisheigrom, hvor erobrede våben og skatte blev opbevaret:

„I kafir-tiden var der en mand ved navn Grošera, der var ansvarlig for helligdommen ved *diyastün* (en stor sten i landsbyen). Han var af Utai-dari (ætten). Han var *uta* (præst eller religiøs leder). Šaštari af Latundari var en anden *uta*, men han der havde ansvaret for helligdommen ved *diyastün* var Grošera. Šaštari boede i et hus, der kaldtes *Borug-*

*uta*. Han passede på alle de erobrede våben. Der var også *sūn-urei* imellem, men Sipah Salar tog dem bort.“

Jeg har tidligere nævnt, at foruden de åndeskabte *urei* og dem der laves af *bari* smedene, er der en tredje, uægte slags, der er lavet i Kabuls bazar, formentlig fordi der er mangel på *urei*. Lennart Edelberg hørte allerede i 1954 om, at *urei* sommetider blev skåret i stykker til armbånd, og jeg hørte det samme i 1966 og 1967. Selv har jeg et par kalashum ørenringe, som efter sigende er lavet på den måde. Den på fig. 9 viste *urei* mangler ca. 3 cm, der er skåret af foden forneden, velsagtens af en, der manglede noget sølv. I 1969 henvendte nogle unge mennesker i Kegal sig til mig for at sælge en *urei*, øjensynlig fordi de var i gæld. Sagen er den, at der år for år bliver færre *urei*: Ingen af de nulevende *bari* smede ved, hvordan de skal laves, men efterspørgslen efter *urei* fortsætter, fordi de stadig regnes for en vigtig bestanddel i udvekslingen af brudepris og medgift. Det er dette forhold, der har ført til fremstilling af nogle få stykker i Kabul, hvor mange vides ikke. Jeg har set en (fig. 10) og har hørt om en anden. Det er et øjeblikks sag at konstatere, at det er kopier, for i modsætning til de ægte *urei* er deres skål støbt i en form, mens ægte *urei* altid er af drevet sølv. Desuden er Kabul efterligningerne tydeligvis lavet af omsmeltede smykker og har et lavt sølvindhold. På det eksemplar jeg undersøgte, var foden af drevet sølv, men grovere i form og uden de yndefulde linjer, der kendetegner andre *urei*, jeg har set (f. eks. fig. 11). Foden på den på fig. 10 viste *urei* var loddet til, ikke nittet med sølv, hvilket er usædvanligt; men det var selve pokalen, der var forkert. Fejlene i støbeprocessen var alt for åbenlyse: der var talrige små luftbobler på størrelse med knappenålshoveder, som gav overfladen et knoppet udseende.

## DEN FORBYTTEDE UREI

Min interesse for *urei* og de myter, der knytter sig til deres oprindelse, bragte mig i 1966 i forbindelse med en ung mand, som sagdes at eje en *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* – en sølvpokal lavet af ånder og 'lige så meget værd som en mand'. Han fortalte mig om pokalen; hvordan han havde arvet den efter sin far, skønt han var så ung, da hans far døde, at hans slægtninge havde opbevaret den for ham. Det var først for nylig, han selv havde fået lov at overtage den.

Den unge mand lovede at vise mig den berømte *urei*, og omsider blev den bragt til mig et sted, hvor jeg var på aftenbesøg (fig. 10). Mit første indtryk var forbavselse, for den var mindre end en almindelig *urei*, hvor jeg havde ventet at den var større. Da der ikke var andet lys end en petroleumslampe, varede det et par minutter, før jeg blev klar over, at pokalen var støbt. Næste dag i sollyset kunne det ses, at metallet

havde en underlig mat og livløs glans forskellig fra de ægte *urei*'s. Da jeg fremhævede disse detaljer for den unge mand, gik det op for ham, at nogen havde stjålet hans *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* og lagt en uægte Kabul-efterligning i stedet. Han indkaldte til et møde med venner og slægtninge (agnater) for at finde ud af, hvad der kunne gøres. Det var en kompliceret sag. Den der havde opbevaret den unge mands arvestykke til han blev gammel nok til selv at overtage det, var en betydningsfuld ældre mand, om hvem rygter sagde, at han havde ladet lave to *urei* i Kabul. De der havde overværet delingen af arven 20 år tidligere, var nu døde. Ingen var i stand til at sige, om dette var den berømte *urei* eller ikke, navnlig fordi disse slægtsklenodier uvægerligt holdes skjult og ikke kommer frem i år og dag. Alle i landsbyen *vidste* om *urei*'en – næppe nogen havde set den. Vidner: ingen. Bevis: indirekte. Den unge mand selv havde ikke kunnet identificere sin fars *urei*, om man havde sat den foran ham. Og sådan står sagen. Det kunne være interessant at vide, om skålen på dette mærkværdige eksemplar er støbt over en form af den oprindelige *urei*, der var 'lavet af ånder' – så ville vi i det mindste vide, hvordan sådan en sølvpokal så ud og var dekoreret.

## DEN MAGISKE KÆDE (MAČ-KE-ZANZIR)

Ligesom de åndeskabte *urei* er disse kæder efter sigende meget sjældne. Jeg har set én (fig. 12) og hørt om en anden. Kæden på fig. 12 blev fotograferet i 'Demuta's hus' som er en *kantar-kōt* i *Sunarat-čem*, Nisheigrom. Kæden er af smedejern, og hvert dobbeltled ca. 12 cm langt. Den er ca. 8–9 m lang og sammensat af ca. 75 led, sådan som jeg husker den med støtte af fotografiet; mine notater fra 1967–68 har ingen præcise mål. Den afsluttes af en tung krave i den ene ende. I 1967 og 1968 lå kæden i hjørnet straks til venstre, når man trådte ind i *kantar-kōt* (7). Der boede ingen i huset og havde ikke gjort det i mange år; døren var lukket med kæde og hængelås. Ved mit første besøg var der to andre ting i rummet: 'Demuta's hjelm' (Jones, 1972) og en stor *sārātāö* på 4–5 fods højde, bestående af en snes eller så snoede smedejernsstænger med en firkantet metalplade til at lægge brændende fakler på.

I modsætning til de andre ting skulle kæden have særlige overnaturlige egenskaber. De fleste af dem, der fulgte mig, da jeg skulle se den, ville ikke alene ikke ind i rummet, men forsvandt i en fart, da kæden blev taget op fra sit hjørne, så den kunne blive fotograferet i lyset fra døråbningen. Man sagde, at før islamisk tid brugtes kæden til at lænke fanger med, og at ingen fange overlevede dette. Det mest dramatiske udtryk for dens overnaturlige kraft var imidlertid den kendsgerning, at den havde stemme og kunne advare landsbyens beboere om fjendtligt angreb. Den

hørtes sidste gang den dag, den nuværende ejers far døde. Det havde adskillige i landsbyen hørt.

Skønt kæden var rusten og lå i et forladt hus, var den åbenbart genstand for stor ærefrygt. Omstændighederne om kæden genkalder nedenstående beretning fra Robertson:

„Tæt ved templet, i et hus i landsbyen (Kamdesh) er der en fortryllet jernstang som Imra selv har anbragt der. Dens vogtere førte mig med nogen tøven ind i rummet, hvor stangen skulle ligge skjult under en dyngne enebær-ceder grene. Husets ejer, en stor og hellig mand, blev kende- ligt lettet, da han mærkede, at jeg hørte efter alt, hvad han sagde om jern- stangen, og alligevel ikke gjorde tegn til at ville rode op i grendyngen for at se, om det passede.“ (Robertson, 1896, s. 393–94).

Da vi i 1970 atter besøgte huset i Nisheigrom, opdagede vi, at kæden var borte og fik at vide, at den var bragt til et andet hus. Mohammed Alam siger, at der er en tilsvarende kæde med samme kraft i Muldesh. Begge kæder blev oprindeligt opbevaret i Nisheigrom, men blev for et par år siden flyttet til maliken af Muldesh, Abdul Mohammed, og der har de været siden. Disse kæder kaldes *mač-ke-zanzir*, d. v. s. den kæde, der har mač eller mačmal. Før indførelsen af islam kunne en kriger, der havde udmærket sig, opnå rang af *mačmal-oda* som tegn på sin styrke eller taperhed. Sådan forholder det sig med kæden, for den har også dræbt fjender. Order zanzir stammer fra det persiske låneord zanjir, kæde.

Ved at efterforske de forestillinger, der knytter sig til visse fænomener, har vi da bevæget os bort fra hverdagens verden til tider og steder, hvor overnaturlige hændelser finder sted. Eller har vi? Man kunne sige det sådan, at i Nuristan finder overnaturlige begivenheder ikke sted i en verden, der er forskellig fra den der kendes, men på bestemte, velkendte steder i denne verden (f. eks. ved visse søer). Disse steder kan således undgås; man risikerer ikke uforvarende at komme dem nær. De er som øer i en normal tilværelses hav. Men dette forenkede billede kompliceres noget af, at de overnaturlige væsener (ånder) kan bevæge sig frit omkring, selv om sandsynligheden for at træffe dem er større nogle steder end andre. Disse væsener er af to slags: *sūča* (f. *sūči*) og *yus*. *Sūča* er smukke skabninger som kan træffes både ved dag og nat (8). Man ved nogenlunde, hvor de holder til, da de gerne færdes ad bestemte stier gennem en landsby. I Nisheigrom vil de mest sandsynligt blive set i nærheden af *Teremanasüg* og *Waṭ-karug*. Sidstnævnte sted er en sten, hvor man før islam ofrede dyr. Det er skræmmende at møde disse væsener, for deres adfærd er uberegnelig; de kan være både lunefulde og drilagtige. Nogle af mine meddelere fortalte, at de var blevet grebet af *sūča* og ført til fjerne bjergtoppe, hvor de i 2–3 dage ufrivilligt måtte deltage i en *sūča* fest. Det kunne ske, at de blev bragt hurtigt hjem igen;



Fig. 12: Den „magiske“ kæde (*mač-ke-zanzir*) som blev opbevaret i „Demutas hus“ – en *kantar-kot* i Nisheigrom, til engang i 1969, da den blev flyttet til et andet hus. Den tunge krave, som blev lagt om fangers hals, ses øverst til højre.

The ‘magic’ chain (*mač-ke-zanzir*) which was kept in ‘Demuta’s house’ – a *kantar-kot* in Nisheigrom up until sometime in 1969 when it was removed to another house. The heavy collar, used to secure prisoners by the neck, appears in the upper right hand corner of the picture. Photo by Schuyler Jones, winter 1967–68.

andre gange måtte de selv se at slippe bort og finde hjem. Den slags ubehagelige tildragelser hænder fortrinsvis om foråret eller efteråret, da ånderne er mest aktive. På de årstider går selv de modigste og mest dristige mænd ikke i nærheden af bestemte steder i bjergene (f. eks. Adrug), for det vil være det samme som at nedkalde åndernes vrede. Hvis *sūča*’ernes trusler (råbt på forskellige sprog) ikke standser den påtrængende, sender de en syndflod af sten og måske et større klippestykke mod ham. Om efteråret – da de fleste giftermål indgås – kan man undertiden se *sūči* slæbe afsted med brudepris eller medgift ad bjergstierne.

Engang i sommeren 1970 spurgte jeg en af mine meddelere, hvordan sådan en ånd så ud. „De ligner hende“, sagde de og pegede på min datter. Efter ugers ophold i det fri var hun godt solbrændt, og hendes lyse hår var bleget næsten hvidt af solen.

*Yuş* er i modsætning til *sūča* truende og ondskabsfulde, og det gælder

om for enhver pris at undgå dem. De bor i bestemte træer og er røde. I Waigal beskrives *yus* som kæmper; en meddeler mente, at de var omkring 3 m høje. Han havde set én krydse floden i ét langt skridt.

I Bashgal dalen noterede Robertson om *yus*: Dæmonerne og deres leder, Yush, er nogle temmelig fordægtige ånder. Da jeg en dag diskuterede Yush med nogle af mine kafir venner, syntes jeg de blev så forlegne, da de skulle beskrive hans udseende. Da jeg fik den tanke at spørge, „Ligner han mig?“ svarede de meget diplomatisk: „Ih nej, han ligner ikke dig! Han ligner de almindelige engelske soldater, som Shermalik så i Indien.“ Deraf slutter jeg, at Yush er rødlig.“ (Robertson, 1896, s. 413).

Robertson's meddelere forbandt tydeligvis jern med djævle eller dæmoner. Der skulle være en jernbro i Kashmir, som var lavet af en djævels krop. Man mente, at der var jern i nogle lande, ikke i andre – det kom an på, om skaberen havde kastet en jerndjævel ned der (samme, s. 386). I Kalashum har vi erfaret, at jern regnes for værdifuldt på linje med guld og sølv. Der er også en særlig forbindelse mellem guld, sølv og jern og dem, der har evne til at skaffe eller bearbejde disse metaller. Gawar Kawarna var ikke blot fremragende håndværkere, de opretholdt også den yderste isolation helt til de forsvandt. Det er måske denne ophøjede isolation, der afspejles i nutidens negative sanktioner, der begrænser samkvem mellem *bari* og *atrožan*. Endnu i dag kan det ske, at man tillægger en *bari* smed særlige evner; han kunne måske være synsk (*niyala/wrēā̃*) eller være en troldmand (*gurala*). Man forestiller sig, at en mand, som kan arbejde i metal også er i stand til at beherske mindre håndgribelige, men mægtigere kræfter.

## SAMMENFATNING

1. Der er to slags *katara*: dem der skabes af mystiske håndværkere, og dem der laves af *bari* smede
2. Der er to slags *urei*: dem der laves af ånder, og dem der laves af *bari* smede
3. Der er to slags søer: dem der rummer en ånd, og dem uden ånd
4. Der er to slags overnaturlige væsener, som man kan risikere at møde: *sūča* og *yus*.
5. Der er to slags tid/rum: den hvori man kan træffe overnaturlige væsener, og den hvori dette ikke er sandsynligt. Analogt hermed: Der er ingen fare ved at gå på en jernbanelinje *undtagen når der ventes et tog*. Der er heller ingen fare ved at vandre om i Adrug *undtagen på eller omkring forårsjævndøgn*.

Andre potentielt farlige steder kan snarere sammenlignes med en motorvej: Man går ikke midt på sådan en vej, selv om ingen biler er i sigte, *for der kan når som helst komme en*.



# SILVER, GOLD AND IRON

## Concerning Katara, Urei, and the Magic Lakes of Nuristan

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by Schuyler Jones

In 1965 Lennart Edelberg published an article entitled *Nuristanske Sølvpokaler* (KUML 1965, pp. 153–201). The present article is intended to supplement Edelberg's findings on this and related subjects by offering some of the results of fieldwork carried out in Waigal Valley, Nuristan (1). The idea for this paper has been generated by the fact that to the people who live in Waigal valley a silver cup is much more than just something to drink wine out of; a dagger is much more than just a weapon, and certain lakes are much more than just bodies of water. It was in an effort to understand the relationship between certain products of indigenous technology and cultural values that I began, in 1966, to investigate attitudes toward some elements in the Nuristani environment: *viz.*, daggers, silver cups and lakes.

Waigal Valley is one of four major drainage areas in Nuristan on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush in northeast Afghanistan. The other main valley systems are the Bashgal/Nechingal; the Parun/Pech (including Kantiwo) and the Ramgal/Kulum/Titin-Nakara areas to the west. Waigal Valley contains nine or ten (2) somewhat widely separated permanent settlements. The smallest village, Want, consists of 6 homesteads; the largest, the combined villages of Waramdesh and Berimdesh (usually called Waigal), approximately 500 houses. The total population of the valley may be 10–12 thousand. The Waigal River flows from north to south and the main valley is some 30 kms. long. The people refer to themselves collectively (and their territory) as the *Kalashum*.

The Waigali-speaking peoples are farmers and herdsman; the women cultivate millet, maize, barley and wheat on irrigated hill-terraces. The men are responsible for herding the goats, cattle and sheep on a succession of summer pastures where they make butter and cheese. In winter, when snowfalls are often heavy, all livestock are kept in stables near the villages.

There is no motor road in the valley, nor is it possible to travel from one village to the next with horses, mules, or donkeys. The villages are connected with each other and with the outside world only by foot trails. Each extended family is economically self-sufficient; there are no markets or organized systems of exchange in the valley. Afghan currency is little used; the standard of value is the goat, though the price of land and houses is usually given in terms of a number of cows.

Approximately 90 % of the population of Waigal Valley are *atrožan*, i. e., they form a free land-owning and livestock-herding class, and each member, by virtue of birth, belongs to a named patri-lineage. These lineages are fixed residential groups and are not dispersed. Marriage is patrilocal. Those lineages the members of which trace descent from a common ancestor form a clan. There are usually two or more clans in a village.

The remaining 10 % of the population are either referred to as *bari-šewala* by Kalashum people, or sometimes, *brožan*. They are craftsmen and they form a separate, socially and politically disadvantaged minority class in Kalashum society. There is a marriage prohibition between *atrožan* and *brožan*. It is said

that a *bari* or *šewala* may not pass beyond the first pair of columns in an *atrožan* house; customarily they do not eat together, nor do *bari-šewala* have any grazing rights. In general they do not own goats, nor do they have an effective voice in village affairs. They form a clearly-defined class, distinguished in everyday life by their traditional occupations. Further, there is a clear distinction, based upon birth, and to some extent, occupation, between *bari* and *šewala*. In general *bari* are skilled craftsmen, while *šewala* are relatively unskilled. The *bari* are carpenters and wood-carvers, smiths and jewellers; their wives are weavers. The *šewala* are potters, basket-makers, leather-workers and porters and are of lower status than *bari*. The free land-owning, livestock-herding *atrožan* do not engage in any of these activities. In short, the *bari-šewala* produce all the material culture of Nuristan.

The skills of the *bari* smith were perhaps best expressed in the production of two highly esteemed objects: the warrior's dagger (*katara*), and the silver wine cups (*urei*). I say *were* because it seems that *bari* smiths have not made any wine cups for some three or four generations. Sometimes my informants said that their grandfathers had made *urei*. The warrior's dagger is still made in the Kalashum village of Zhönchigal but these are so inferior in quality as to merely echo the fine work of earlier generations. The best *katara* made today are turned out by Afghan smiths in the Kabul bazaar. Some are sold to tourists; others find their way to Nuristan.

## KATARA

Basically, there are two main types of *katara* (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). Only the second type – and a variation of that – is made today. The type shown in Fig. 1 (Type I) is characterized by the fact that its wide-spreading pommel is not only equal in breadth to the quillons, but is formed of two separate components. This type may have its origin in Parun Valley, as Lennart Edelberg once suggested to me, but at present we do not know, as the problem has yet to be investigated in the field. The photograph taken by B. E. M. Gurdon in Chitral in the 1890's (Fig. 3) shows a group of warriors some of whom are carrying type I while others carry type II. This evidence suggests that both types were commonly in use at that time, though today type I is more rare than type II (3). The variation of type II shown in Fig. 4 is that produced today in Zhönchigal and Kabul.

What may be described as a third type of *katara* (Fig. 5) was unearthed in Ameshdesh on the first of September 1969 by women who were cleaning out an irrigation channel. I happened to be present and purchased it from them. A year later, in September 1970, in Nisheigrom, *bari* Din Mohammed showed me the hilt of a dagger which he had found some years before 'in the mountains' (Fig. 6). He was of the opinion that it was from an ancient Kafir *katara* – what he called a *čima-müšti*. My own view is that it is more likely to have originated in India (cf. Fig. 7). It could have been obtained via the bazaars in Chitral or Peshawar or it might have been acquired in the course of a trans-border raid. It does, however, seem that the *katara* shown in Fig. 5 may represent an intermediate type between those known to be of Indian origin (Fig. 7) and the 19th century *katara* of Nuristan (Figs. 1 & 2). In passing it is also interesting to note the similarity in style between the *katara* in Fig. 4 and the *Jamdhar Kaṭari* of Nepal (Fig. 8).

We know from Robertson's account (1896) that the *katara* was a prized possession of every warrior. Even today most men carry one on their belt; a

youth is impatient for the day when he can own one, for it is the mark of a man. It is not surprising therefore to find certain old stories or myths connected with these daggers. All the Kalashum stories concerning blacksmiths with which I am familiar invariably make reference to the *Gāwāri-Kāwārnā* people. According to legend they lived 'between Ningalam and Chagha Serai' (in the lower Pech Valley). This was in the distant past. They were a community of super craftsmen.

"Gawar is in the mountains above Barkandi. In the old days if a man wanted a fine *katara* he would go to a certain place near Gawar. On a special stone he would put thirty or forty rupees and then he would leave that place. Two or three days later he would return and there on the stone would be the *katara*. Our people, the Kafir people, used to believe that those *katara* were made by spirits. Today if you could find such a dagger, the price would be one cow." (Abdul Qader, Berimdes, 30th August, 1969).

Another informant (Kazana; Muslim name: Sher Gul), this time in Nisheigrom, related the following on February 16th 1967:

"The Gawari-Kawarna people lived between Ningalam and Chagha Serai. Later they turned to stone; they became spirits (*suči*, fem., *suča*, male). These people invented the *katara*. They also made *urei* (silver cups). The most ancient kind of *katara* are called *juar-dar-katara*. There are few of these today. The value of such a dagger would be at least six goats."

On the 27th of February, 1968 Brādiņ of Nisheigrom had this to say about these mysterious craftsmen:

"The Gawar-Kawarna people lived near Tregam. They invented the *katara*. They made silver cups, tripod tables, tripods, and *sārātāō* (wrought iron stands to support burning pine torches). No one could see where they made these things. When they had made something they would throw it off a high cliff onto the rocks. If the object was not damaged they were satisfied, and they would sell it. If it had been damaged by the fall, they would destroy it. These people disappeared. We don't know what happened to them."

## UREI

An even more important and more highly-prized object in Nuristani/Kafir culture is the silver wine cup. Lennart Edelberg, who was almost certainly the first European ever to see one (in 1953), has thoroughly discussed the earlier literature on this subject and has presented the results of his own investigations in the field (KUML, 1965). The material which follows should be regarded as a supplement to that publication.

There are two types of *urei*: those made by spirits and those made by men (which are copies of those made by spirits). A variation of the second type are modern fakes made in Kabul. Of those made by spirits (*a-sor-amā-ba-urei* or *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* – my notebooks record both forms) some are silver (*urei* = 'silver') and some are of gold (*sūn-urei*). As far as we know, the latter no longer exist. According to the Secret & Political records of the Government of India (*vide* Jones, 1969), Sipah Salar Ghulam Haider Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan Armies at the time of the Muslim invasion of Kafiristan (1896–98), sent to Amir Abdur Rahman Khan several lots of silver and gold objects which had been looted from Kafir shrines and homes. Among these may have been *sūn-urei*. Presumably kept in the Royal Palace, they would probably have been lost during the brief reign of Bacha Saqao, 'The Brigand Chief', in the

confusion of his bid to take over the throne of Afghanistan following the abdication of Amanulla in 1929.

Nearly all the silver cups existing today are mere copies, made by *bari* craftsmen, of the valuable *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* ('lake-belonging to-house-silver [cup]') made by spirits. The latter are very rare. Informants in different villages estimated that there might be 'three or four' in the entire valley. The ordinary *urei* are much more common; most families own one and wealthier families may own two or more. These are kept hidden away as family heirlooms and are never used today except in bridewealth (*malpreg*) and dowry (*bakawa*) exchanges.

In pre-Muslim times these wine cups were used in three ways: (1) for men of high rank to drink wine from – usually on the occasion of a feast; (2) in the dowry where an affluent man presented his daughter with an *urei* to take on her wedding day to her new home, or in bridewealth where an *urei* is considered to be worth 30 goats toward the required total; (3) in a special celebration called *šinara-ta-dūl* ('rejoicing-place-feast') which honours an individual and involves the public display of an *urei*.

Usually the family *urei* is inherited by the son who has not yet married; the idea being that he will need it for his bridewealth. In the Kalashum (i. e., Waigal Valley) the amount of bridewealth required for marriage varies somewhat from village to village. It is not uncommon for an amount of 240 goats to be agreed upon, though it is never given entirely in goats. The total is made up by adding to an agreed number of goats appropriate objects which have a standard value in terms of goats. These may be robes of honour, tripods to hold large pots over the fire, a silver cup, and a tripod table or two. (4)

For bridewealth purposes an *urei* is always worth thirty goats, no matter what its actual value may be. Ordinary *urei* (those made by *bari* smiths) vary in value from 40 to 75 goats, according to weight/size. A man who has been handed an *urei* for inspection will frequently balance the inverted bowl on his index finger to judge the weight and thus the value, and then, setting it down, may announce: 'fifty goats'.

In pre-Muslim times the type of *urei* owned by a man was a reflection of his status and the rank he had achieved (5). A man who, according to the number of men he had slain, had attained the warrior rank of *bātūr*, could drink his wine from a *trēwše-doš aba-urei* (lit. 'three twenties (and) ten), i. e., one worth 70 goats or 35 goats and 35 *kašera* (white) rupees (large silver 19th century Afghan coins). A man who had only reached the rank of *mačmal-oda* had to be content with a *dūši-ba-urei* – one valued at 40 (40 goats or 20 goats and 20 *kašera* rupees). Other *urei* were also classed according to value:

50 goat *urei*: *duwiši-doš-osey* ('two twenties (and) ten goats').

60 goat *urei*: *trēwiši-osey* ('three twenties goats')

75 goat *urei*: *trēwiši-pačis-osey* ('three twenties (and) fifteen goats').

In pre-Muslim times if a man had chosen not to compete for rank either as a warrior or as a giver of feasts he stood very low on the social scale and was referred to as *uluma*. Such a man could drink wine only from the low-status *kuna-urei*. This is a plain silver bowl without a stem or handle. Lennart Edelberg first heard of them in 1953: "I Waigal fik jeg omkring den 1. oktober 1953 nys om en pokal mere; det var ved nattetide, og jeg erindrer ikke, om jeg selv fik den at se. *Den manglede foden.*" (KUMML, 1965, pp. 158–159, my

italics). Its very name – *kuna-urei* – reflects the low esteem in which its *uluma* owner is held.

In Nuristani culture horns are synonymous with strength. A man who owns many goats and has given public feasts of merit earns the right to have special carvings incised into the door of his house, on the wooden panels adjacent to the door, and on the four columns inside the *ama* – the main room of the house. Many of these geometric designs are abstract renderings of goat horns and they publicly proclaim the accomplishments and hence the 'strength' of the head of the house. A successful hunter is a respected man and he will decorate the front of his house with the skulls and horns of *markhor* and *urial* (never leopard or bear) he has killed, thus announcing to every passerby: 'Here lives a great hunter'. The man of high status owns a silver cup with a 'horn' on it, i. e., a stem or handle. The low-status *atrožan* (*uluma*) since he chooses not to compete and does not match his 'strength' against others, should drink his wine from an *urei* that, symbolically, has no horn. The significance of this is made even more apparent if we examine the term *asäkuna* (Lit. 'ashes-hornless'). One sometimes hears an angry *atrožan* use this highly derogatory term against another. Ordinarily the term is used in reference to the *brožan* or *bari-šewala* people. It means one without strength or power; 'helpless weakling' is a phrase that might best capture its meaning. Informants say that in pre-Muslim times if an *atrožan* became angry with his *bari* or *šewala* slave (they were bought and sold occasionally prior to 1895) he might 'pour ashes on his head'. This indignity may even today be forced upon a man who has grossly offended public opinion by some outrageous act (*wide* Jones, 1974). Thus the *kuna-urei* is symbolic of the man who has become a failure in life, according to the strict standards of Nuristani culture. It is a status symbol in a negative sense and is probably never used in bridewealth or dowry exchanges.

### ŠINARA-TA-DÜL ('rejoicing-place-feast')

*Urei* can be used in a special public ceremony to honour a man. This ceremony is called *sinara-ta-dül*. I have not seen this celebration, but informants said that it is still held on occasion in some villages. It was described as follows:

"This is a funeral feast given during a man's lifetime. It is a special honour for him. The feast is prepared by his sister's son. Many goats are sacrificed and the whole village is invited. During the feast there is a flagpole. It is called *dal-karinga*. A cloth is tied to this to make a flag. On top of the pole an *urei* is placed. The tip of the wooden pole is pushed up inside the hollow stem of the *urei*. The sister's son (*paši*) ties a cloth round his waist to support the end of the pole. The *urei* and the flag are high in the air while he dances. Together with his mother's brother's sons he goes round the village. They choose a rooftop and dance on it. The owner of the house should come out and sacrifice a goat for them. If the owner of the house is poor, he will come out and offer cheese to the dancers. When such a funeral feast is given in a man's lifetime, then no feast will be given when he dies."

### THE MAGIC LAKES

In February 1967 in Nisheigrom Kazana provided a somewhat fragmentary and abbreviated account of the origin of certain rare *urei*.

"In the Nur Kun mountains there are people who can control the spirit of

the lake. The spirit of the lake is a calf – the calf is the owner of the lake. The man who can summon the spirit of the lake is *sor-gurala* ('lake-wizard'). When the calf comes out of the lake, the water level goes down; the lake becomes dry. Then the Nur Kun people can go out on the lake bed and collect the treasure. They got much gold and silver from the lake. They got many *urei*.

"Twelve generations ago there was a shepherd who lived in Wama. He went to a lake above Wama. At the lake he heard many strange noises. There were voices speaking and sounds like thunder. When the noise stopped, the shepherd found an *urei* with a gold design. He also found a gold torque (*gera*) and a golden pitcher (*zāni/zārne*). He took these three things away with him. They were kept in his village for many years. When Sipah Salar (Ghulam Haider Khan) invaded Kafiristan a man named Polan Kan told him of this treasure and the Sipah Salar took them away to Kabul. The Wama people killed Polan Kan for this."

All accounts known to me of such rare and costly *urei* include references to the fact that they have been made by spirits, are found in lakes, and are equal in value to the life of a man (240 goats). Such *urei* – as mentioned – are called *a-sor-ba-amā-urei*. It was these original *urei* that were copied by *bari* smiths to produce most of the silver cups known to exist today.

Not all lakes contain treasure. Nurulla Kan of the Kusug dari lineage of Nisheigrom explains:

"There are two kinds of lakes: *našti-sor* and *wase-sor*. *Wase* is a man who has a son. *Našta* is a man who is childless. Some lakes are *našta*, they have no power. We can go near to them, though we are afraid. But it is very dangerous to approach a *wase-sor* because the power of the spirit of the lake will draw a man into the water and he will be drowned. The *wase-sor* has a *sor-očalā* ('lake-calf'). This calf guards the treasure which consists of silver, gold, and iron. There are golden birds, golden *urei*, chairs and tables made of gold; everything for a house, all in gold" (6).

Bari Din Mohammed gave this account of how one obtained an *urei* in times past:

"Long ago they went to the lake with 60 white rupees and one goat. They sacrificed the goat and threw its body into the lake. Then they threw the coins into the lake. 'Spirit of the lake,' they called, 'make an *urei* for me.' A voice would come from the water: 'Man, come after a few days and on the shore you will find a beautiful *urei*.' When, after some days the men returned they found an *urei* by the lake. These *urei* were made by the spirits of the lake. When Sipah Salar came to Nisheigrom he took one *sūn-urei* (golden *urei*) from an old man of the Sunarat dari (lineage)."

The 'payment' of white rupees (*kašera rūpāī*) is an interesting element when considered in light of the fact that a man who commissions a *bari* smith to make a *katara*, *urei*, or *bašpe* must provide the necessary metal in addition to paying for the work. In this context the sacrificed goat may be seen as the payment and the 'white' rupees as providing the silver needed to make the *urei*.

Mayar, in his characteristically abrupt way, related the following story: (Nisheigrom, February 1966)

"There were two sisters of the lake near Waigal village. There were two lakes there. One spoke to the other, saying, 'let us make a plain here near Waigal.' These two spirits lived in the lakes. One of them made Waigal. The other made a mountain flat so that she could sit on it. One lake became dry.

Three persons went there: Zhönč čuk, Wai and Drabūg. From the lake they took seven *sūn-urei* (golden *urei*) and two baskets (*kawa*) full of *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* (silver *urei* made by spirits). They also took golden chairs, beds, and all the furniture for a house from the lake. There is now a spring there where the lake was."

On another occasion the same informant related this story:

"There is a lake. Two seers (*wrēār*) went there. The owner of the lake – the spirit – was a calf. The calf made different sounds. These two seers summoned the calf out of the lake. As they did so, the waters of the lake drained away; the lake became dry. They placed the calf on the skin of an animal. One seer told the other, 'hold this calf; keep him wrapped up in the skin while I get the treasure from the lake.' The calf was called *sor-očalä*. The seer who was holding the calf wanted the treasure for himself. He thought, 'if I let the calf go, the lake will fill up again.' He did this and the other seer was drowned."

What appears to be another version of this same story was told by Nurulla Kan of the Kusug-dari (Kusug lineage) of Nisheigrom:

"There was a man in Wama named Sambar. He was of the Sawan-dar (lineage). He had many goats, sheep and cows. A shepherd worked for him. One day Sambar went to *Mara Sor* (Mara, the Creator; the Creator's Lake), a lake above Wama. The shepherd went with him. Sambar had some 'medicine' (magic) from the lake. It was written on a paper, or perhaps he had memorized it. Sambar went into the lake and fought with the calf for six hours. Finally he managed to get the calf out of the lake. He gave it to the shepherd to wrap up in a skin so as to hide it from the light. 'Do not let the sunlight fall on the *sor-očalä*', Sambar told the shepherd. When the calf was wrapped up in the skin, the waters of the lake drained away, revealing the treasure. Sambar walked down on to the lake bed to collect it.

"The calf begged the shepherd to open the skin a little. 'Just make a tiny hole in the skin so that I can see the light', it pleaded. Finally, thinking that it would do no harm, the shepherd took a needle and made a small hole in the skin sack. At this time Sambar was far down in the lake bed collecting the treasure. When the shepherd let the sunlight in, the lake suddenly filled up again and, at the same time, the shepherd was drawn into the water and drowned. But Sambar had time to say the magic words and escaped from the lake.

"When he saw that there was nothing he could do to save his shepherd, he went down the mountain to the *šal* (saeter) and told the others what had happened. The shepherd's sister heard that her brother had died in the lake. She was suspicious of Sambar. 'You have killed my brother and you make up this story to hide your guilt,' she said.

"One day, a year later, the sister went to a spring in Wama to fetch water. When she lifted her jar out of the spring she suddenly saw her brother's *katara* and belt lying in the pool. Then she knew that Sambar was telling the truth, because the water in that spring comes from the *Mara Sor*. She reached down and took the *katara* and belt from the water.

"When she told Sambar what had happened he gave her 60 goats and said, 'you were angry with me before. Your brother was my shepherd and he lost his life when he was with me. Now you know the truth.'"

Near Nisheigrom there is a waterfall named after Astan, son of Demuta. the waterfall there used to be an *urei*. Astan had placed it there so that the

women could fill their water jars. The *urei* was in the water; the place is called *Astan-uşalək*.

Mayar gives the following account of a pre-Muslim shrine where captured weapons and treasure were kept at Nisheigrom:

“In the Kafir time the man responsible for the shrine at *diyastūn* (a great rock in the village) was named Grošera. He was from the Utai-dari (lineage). He was the *Uta* (priest or religious leader). Another *Uta* was Šaštari of the Latundari, but the man in charge of the shrine at *diyastūn* was Grošera. *Borug-uta* was the name of the house where Šaštari lived. He was in charge of all the captured weapons. They were kept in a house on the rock. There were also *sūn-urei* there, but the Sipah Salar took them away.”

Earlier I mentioned that in addition to *urei* made by spirits and those made by *bari* craftsmen, there is a third category consisting of spurious wine cups which have been made in the Kabul bazaar. This seems to have come about because of a shortage of *urei*. Lennart Edelberg writes of hearing as early as 1954 that *urei* were sometimes cut up to make bracelets (Edelberg, 1965). In 1966 and 1967 I also heard that they were occasionally used as a source of silver to make jewellery. I have a pair of Kalashum earrings which are said to have been made in this way. The *urei* which is shown in Fig. 9 has had approximately 3 cm cut away from the bottom part of the stem, apparently by someone who needed a quantity of silver (perhaps to make the earrings which I have!). In 1969 I was approached by youths in Kegal who tried to sell me an *urei*, apparently because they were in debt. The point is that there is a year by year decline in the number of *urei*. No *bari* smith now living knows how to make them and yet the demand for silver cups continues, as they are still usually considered an essential part of bridewealth and dowry exchanges. This had led to a few being manufactured in Kabul. How many, is not known. I have seen one (Fig. 10) and have heard of one other. Only a brief examination is required to detect these counterfeits as, unlike real *urei*, the bowl has been cast in a mould. Ordinary *urei* are always hand planished silver, they are never cast. These Kabul fakes are, moreover, evidently made from melted down jewellery and have a low silver content. The handle or stem on the specimen I examined had been planished out of silver, though it was markedly thicker in shape and less graceful in line than those on other *urei* I have seen (e. g. Fig. 11). The stem on the *urei* in Fig. 10 was attached to the bowl by soldering rather than by silver rivets, which is unusual, but it was the bowl that was wrong. Imperfections in the casting process were all too evident; small air bubbles the size of pin heads were numerous, giving the surface a slightly pitted appearance.

## THE CASE OF THE SUBSTITUTED UREI

My interest in *urei* and their myths of origin had led me (in 1966) to a meeting with a young man who was said to own an *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* – a silver cup made by spirits and worth ‘the price of a man’. He told me something about the wine cup; how he had inherited it from his father, though he had been so young at the time of his father’s death that relatives had kept his inheritance for him. He had only recently come into possession of his property.

The young man promised to show me the famous *urei* and eventually, after a week or two, it was brought to the place where I was staying late one night.



This is the *urei* shown in Fig. 10. My first impression was surprise, for it was somewhat smaller than ordinary *urei*. If anything, I had expected it to be larger. With no light to examine it by except that from a small paraffin lamp, it was a minute or two before it became apparent that the bowl had been cast in a mould. Examination of this specimen the next day in sunlight also revealed that it had an unnaturally dull metallic colour which appeared lifeless in comparison with ordinary *urei*. When these details were pointed out to the young man he realized that someone had taken his *a-sor-ba-amā-urei* and substituted for it this spurious product of the Kabul bazaar. He called a meeting of friends and agnates to discuss what might be done. The case was complicated. The person who had taken care of the young man's inheritance until he was old enough to take possession of it was an important elder who was rumoured to have had two *urei* made by a Kabul silversmith. Those who had been witnesses at the time the inheritance was originally divided some 20 years earlier, were now dead. No one could say whether this was or was not the famous *urei*, particularly since these heirlooms are invariably kept hidden away and are not seen from one year to the next. Everyone in the village *knew* about the *urei*; hardly anyone had ever seen it. Witnesses: none. Evidence: circumstantial. The young man was not in a position to identify his father's costly *urei* even if it had been placed before him. There the case rests. It would be interesting to know if the bowl on this curious specimen has been cast from a mould of the real *urei* 'made by spirits'. If it has, we at least know what such a silver cup looks like and how it was decorated (Fig. 10).

#### THE MAGIC CHAIN (mač-ke-zanzir)

Like *urei* made by spirits, these chains are said to be very rare. I have seen one (Fig. 12) and have been told of another. The chain shown in Fig. 12 was photographed in 'Demuta's house' which is a *kantar-kōt* in Sunarat-čem, Nisheigrom. The chain is made of wrought iron, each double link being some 12 cm long. There are approximately 75 links altogether. The chain is between 8 and 9 meters long. This is from memory, assisted by the photograph; my notebooks from 1967-68 do not give detailed measurements. The chain terminates with a heavy collar attachment at one end. In 1967 and 1968 the chain was lying in the corner immediately to the left as one entered the *kantar-kōt* (7). The house itself was not lived in and had not been occupied for many years; the door was kept locked with a chain and padlock. Two other objects were in the room at the time of my first visit: 'Demuta's helmet' (*vide* Jones 1972) and a large *sārātāō* which stood four or five feet high and consisted of a score or more of twisted wrought iron rods supporting a rectangular metal platform designed to hold burning pine torches.

Unlike the other objects, the chain was considered to have special supernatural qualities; most of the people present when I was taken to see it not only refused to enter the room where it was kept, but they left in a hurry when the chain was taken out of its corner so that it could be photographed in the light of the doorway. It was said that in pre-Muslim times this chain was used to secure prisoners and that no one survived the experience. The most dramatic manifestation of its supernatural power, however, lies in the fact that it had or has a voice and could alert the villagers of an enemy attack by calling out a warning. The last occasion on which it spoke was on the day when the present owner's father died. This cry was heard by several villagers.

The chain, although rusty and lying in a deserted house, was obviously regarded with great respect. The circumstances surrounding the chain recalled to mind this account from Robertson:

“Close by the temple, in a house in the village [Kamdes], there is a miraculous iron bar placed in its present position by Imra himself. Its guardians conducted me with some reluctance into the apartment where the bar was said to be buried under a heap of juniper-cedar branches. The proprietor of the house, a great and holy man, seemed greatly relieved on finding that I listened to all he had to say about this iron pillar, and yet showed no inclination to verify his statements by searching the heap of branches.” (*The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, pp. 393–394).

In 1970 when revisiting the house in Nisheigrom we found that the chain was gone and were told that it had been taken to another house. According to Mohammed Alam there is a similar chain with similar powers in Muldesh. Both chains were originally kept in Nisheigrom but some years ago one was removed to the house of Abdul Mohammed, Malik of Muldesh, and there it has remained since. These chains are known as *mač-ke-zanzir*, i. e., the chain that has *mač* or *mačmal*. In pre-Muslim times a warrior who had distinguished himself in battle might achieve the rank of *mačmal-oda* as an indication of his strength or prowess. So it is with the chain, for it too has killed the enemy. The word *zanzir* is from the Farsi loanword *zanjir*, chain.

In effect, by exploring the beliefs that surround certain items of material culture, we have moved from the everyday world into a time and space where supernatural events occur. Or have we? It may be argued that in Nuristan supernatural events do not occur in a world that is somehow different from the every-day world, rather they occur in certain known, fixed places in the everyday world (certain lakes, for example). Thus they can be avoided; one is not in danger of stumbling upon such places unprepared. They appear as islands in a sea of normality. But this simplified view is complicated by the fact that supernatural beings are free to wander about, though one is more likely to encounter them in some places than in others. These beings are of two sorts: *sūča* (fem. *sūči*) and *Yuş*. *Sūča* are handsome beings that may be encountered during day or night (8). The places they frequent are well known as they tend to keep to certain paths when passing through a village. In Nisheigrom they are most likely to be seen at *Teramanasüg* and *Waṭ-karug*. The second place is a stone where animals were sacrificed in pre-Muslim times. To meet these beings is an alarming experience as their behaviour is so unpredictable; they are both mischievous and capricious. Some of my informants related that they had been seized by *sūča* and carried away to distant mountaintops where for two or three days they became unwilling guests at a *sūča* feast. Sometimes they were swiftly returned home; on other occasions they had to escape and find their own way back. Such misadventures are most likely to occur in spring or autumn, when supernatural beings are most active. At these seasons the bravest and most aggressive men will not go near certain places in the mountains (Adrug, for example), for to do so is to invite the wrath of these beings. If the shouted threats of *sūča* (in various languages) do not deter the intruder, they will send down a shower of stones accompanied by the occasional boulder. In autumn – the time when most marriages take place – *sūči* are sometimes seen carrying bridewealth or dowry along mountain trails.

In the summer of 1970 when speaking with one informant about these beings, I asked him what they looked like. “They look like her,” he said, pointing to

my daughter. From weeks in the open, her face was sunburned and her fair hair was bleached almost white by the sun.

*Yuş*, unlike *sūča*, are truculent and malevolent and to be avoided at all costs. They live in certain trees and are red in colour. In Waigal Valley *Yuş* are described as giants; one informant estimated that they were about 3 meters high. He had seen one step across a river in a single stride.

In the Bashgal Valley Robertson recorded this account of the *Yus*: "The demons and their chief, Yush, are rather dubious spirits. In discussing Yush with some of my Kafir friends one day, it seemed to me that they had some reluctance in describing his appearance. As the thought occurred to me I inquired, "Is he like me?" "Oh, no," was the diplomatic reply, "he is not like you; he is like the private English soldiers Shermalik saw in India." From this I discovered that Yush is red in colour." (*The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, p. 413).

Robertson's informants clearly associated iron with the devil or with demons. There was supposed to be an iron bridge in Kashmir made out of the body of a devil. Iron was thought to exist in some countries and not others, depending upon whether or not the Creator had thrown a devil made of iron there (*ibid.* p. 386) (9).

In the Kalashum we have seen that iron is considered treasure along with gold and silver. There is also a special relationship between gold, silver, and iron, and those who have the skills to obtain or work these metals. The craftsmen of Gawar-Kawarna were not only highly skilled, they maintained an extreme exclusiveness prior to their disappearance. This exclusiveness is perhaps reflected today in the negative sanctions which limit contact between *bari* and *atrožan*. Even today a *bari* smith may be credited with extraordinary capabilities, and may be considered to have the powers of a seer (*niyala/wřěār*) or a wizard (*gurala*). The implication is that a man who is able to work metal is also able to control other less tangible but more powerful forces.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. There are two kinds of *katara*: those made by mysterious craftsmen and those made by *bari* smiths.
2. There are two kinds of *urei*: those made by spirits and those made by *bari* smiths.
3. There are two kinds of lakes: those with a spirit and those without.
4. There are two kinds of supernatural beings that one might encounter: *sūča* and *yuş*.
5. There are two kinds of time/space: those in which one is likely to encounter supernatural beings and those where one is unlikely to encounter them. Analogy: it is safe to walk along the railway line *except when a train is due*. So it is safe to wander in Adrug *except on or about the Vernal Equinox*. Other potentially dangerous places are more analogous to a motor road: one does not walk down the middle of a highway, even though there may be no cars in sight, *because one may come at any moment*.

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Dansk oversættelse: Jytte Ræbild

## NOTER:

- 1) Jeg gjorde feltarbejde i Waigal dalen 1966–67, vinteren 1967–68, og i 1969–70. Tidligere undersøgelser førte mig i vinteren 1960–61 til Ashtun-området i vest Nuristan, og i 1960, 1966 og 1967 til Bashgal dalen.
- 1) I carried out ethnographical fieldwork in Waigal Valley in 1966–67, in the winter of 1967–68, and in 1969–70. Earlier, my investigations took me to the Ashkun region of western Nuristan (winter 1960–61) and the Bashgal Valley (1960, 1966, 1967).
- 2) Antallet beror på, om man regner Waigal landsbyen for et eller to landsbysamfund (Waramdesh og Berimdesh).
- 2) The total depends upon whether one counts Waigal Village as one village or two (Waramdesh and Berimdesh).
- 3) De to grundtyper af *katara* er tillige afbildet i Edelberg 1957 og Snoy 1965.
- 3) The two basic types of *katara* are also illustrated in Edelberg 1957 and Snoy 1965.
- 4) Trefodsbordene inddeles i fire grupper efter det antal smedejernsben, der bærer dem. Det er *nūpe* ('9 ben'), *bāšpe* ('12 ben'), *pačišpe* ('15 ben') og *stāšpe* ('18 ben'). Jo højere en mands status er, jo flere ben må hans trefodsbord have. En lavtstående mand spiser ved en *nūpe*; en meget højtstående fra en *stāšpe*. Til brudepris bruges mest *bāšpe*.
- 4) There are four different types of tripod table distinguished by the number of wrought iron rods used in making the base. These are *nūpe* ('nine legs'), *bāšpe* ('twelve legs'), *pačišpe* ('fifteen legs'), and *stāšpe* ('eighteen legs'). The higher the status of a man, the more rods he can have on his tripod table. A man of low rank will eat from a *nūpe*; a man of very high rank, from a *stāšpe*. *Bāšpe* are most commonly used for bridewealth.
- 5) Nogle meddelere hævder, at visse udskårne status/rang symboler på hussøjlerne (en mindre cirkel inden i en større og forbundet med denne ved radier) forestiller skålen på en *urei* set lodret ovenfra, og at tegnet da tilkendegiver en rig mand. Andre mener, det forestiller et skjold og da henviser til en krigers dygtighed, mens atter andre vil have det til at være en festskål af træ (*gudəl-kanak*) og da refererer til en stor fest-giver.
- 5) Some informants maintain that certain rank/status symbols carved on house columns (a small circle within a larger circle, the two connected by radiating lines) represent the bowl of an *urei* seen directly from above, and that such a symbol proclaims the wealth of a man. Others say that such symbols represent shields and relate to the skill of a warrior, still others argue that the symbol represents a wooden feast bowl (*gudəl-kanak*) and denotes a great feast-giver.
- 6) Omtalen af guld-fugle har særlig interesse. Der var en helligdom *dey-ta* nær Berimdesh som havde en fugl af guld (*sun-niysə*). Den blev holdt skjult bag lukkede døre. Præsten (*uta*) kunne komme derind, og helligdommen blev kun åbnet i forbindelse med særlige ceremonier (se Edelberg 1965 s. 177). – Bemærk også dette citat fra 'Secret and Political Records': På *Id* dagen i 1896 sendte Ghulam Haider Khan 20 guldfugle og 10 guld gudebilleder fra Jalalabad til Amiren, foruden mange sten gudebilleder røvet i Kafiristan. Amiren blev meget glad og beordrede dem anbragt i Bostan Sarai (Jones 1969, s. 217).
- 6) The reference to birds made of gold is of special interest. There was a shrine called *dey-ta* near Berimdesh containing a golden bird (*sun-niysə*). This was kept hidden behind closed doors. The priest (*Uta*) had access and the shrine was opened only on the occasion of special ceremonies. *Vide* Edelberg, 1965, p. 177. Note also this quote from the Secret and Political Records: "On the *Id* day 1896 Ghulam Haider Khan sent to the Amir from Jalalabad 20 golden birds, and 10 golden idols, as well as many stone idols taken in Kafiristan. The Amir was much pleased and ordered them to be placed in the Bostan Sarai" (Jones, 1969, p. 217).
- 7) Om *kantar-kōt* og deres betydning i før-islamisk tid, se Edelberg 1968, hvor der refereres til 'klanhuse'. Se endv. Jones 1972.
- 7) For more about *kantar-kot* and their significance in pre-Muslim times, see Edelberg 1968, where he makes reference to 'clan houses'. See also Jones 1972.

- 8) Suchi (sūči) træffes også hos Kalash kafirerne i Chitral, se Siiger 1956, s. 18–19 og Schomberg 1938, s. 236.
- 8) Suchi (sūči) are also to be found among the Kalash Kafirs of Chitral. *vide* Siiger 1956, pp. 18–19 and Schomberg 1938, p. 236.
- 9) H. M. Namad, Oriental Institute i Oxford, har henledt min opmærksomhed på, at denne tro kan stå i forbindelse med forekomsten af meteoror. Han har endvidere oplyst, at før i tiden ville en syrisk muhamedaner, der følte sig truet af onde magter, søge at unddrage sig deres nærhed ved at råbe *Hadid!* (Jern!).
- 9) Mr. H. M. Namad of the Oriental Institute, Oxford, has suggested to me that this belief may be related to the occurrence of meteors. He also informs me that earlier in part of Syria a Muslim who felt himself in danger of evil influences would seek to banish the undesirable presence by exclaiming *Hadid!* ('iron').

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Velkomst ved professor Ole Klindt-Jensen. Foto: Bjarke Larsen.