

Traditional Culture as a Space for Identity
(A case study of village Bumburet Kalash Valley)



By

Irum Sheikh

**Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad
2013**

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A thesis written in the partial fulfillment for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree
in

Anthropology

By

Irum Sheikh

Supervised by

Prof. Dr. Hafeez ur Rehman



Department of Anthropology
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad
2013

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university or any other degree.

Irum Sheikh

Dedication

*This dissertation is lovingly dedicated to my father Dr. Muhammad Zaman Sheikh
H.I, S.I. His support, encouragement, and constant love have sustained me
throughout my life.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to bring on record my sincere Gratitude to all those who helped to make this study possible. I am indeed indebted to my research Supervisor Professor Dr. Hafeez-ur-Rehman, without whose help and encouragement this work would not have been possible. He took keen interest in the study right from the selection of the topic, to the field data collection to the analysis of findings and the write-up. I am grateful that he even visited the locale of research to help me in collecting more relevant data to fill in the gaps and to make my work more comprehensive. He spared his valuable time to discuss the various aspects of the thesis, formulating theoretical framework, devising research methodology, correlating and correcting the manuscript. I must acknowledge the fact that he initiated the PhD programme in the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-I-Azam University and remained steadfast even in the face of adverse criticism and made it so successful that a large number of students enlisted for this programme who have either completed it successfully or are in the process of completion. Throughout my stay in the department, I found him very kind, helpful and sincere. He is truly an anthropologist of International repute and his approach to his work has been a guiding star.

I would be failing in my duties if I don't mention my thanks to Miss Kaiser Baig, Faculty Incharge of College of Home Economics and Management Sciences, Miss Samar Zafar, Head of Textiles and Clothing Department, and the authorities of Federal Directorate of Education, who permitted me to undertake this course of study and allowed time and space to complete this work. Last but not the least, the support I have enjoyed and savored from my colleagues, present and former students is hereby appreciated.

I must express my deep appreciation for the people living in Kalash for their hospitality and cooperation during field data collection. Special thanks are for Mr. Luke Rehmat, Mr. Zafar, Miss Zarkima, Miss Shameem, Miss Gulsheen, Mrs. Koi Begum and Miss Zaib-un-nisa for providing relevant data, translation of Kalash songs, interpretation of various rituals, accommodating me in "*bashalini*" and above all arranging meetings with important members of Kalash society and introducing me to Kalash household so

that I was not treated as an outsider. Moreover I thank Mr. Attanassi (Greek Volunteer) and his team who took time to explain the Greek interest in the region. I am also grateful to the support I received from the office of DCO Chitral Mr. Ajmal Bhatti, and Chitral Scouts Subadar Haider, and the staff of Pakistan Tourism Development Cooperation for their assistance during data collection regarding the locale.

In the end I would like to thank my husband Muhammad Tayyab Naveed and my brother in-law Mr. Athar Hameed for their critical appreciation, valuable suggestions, editing and correcting the manuscript. I would love to express my tremendous appreciation to my father, my brother Yasir who accompanied me to the research locale and help me in the process of data collection, my sisters, and friends for their encouragement, tolerance and moral support in times of distress and disappointments. Their unconditional love and encouragement provided me strength and motivation to complete this work.

Irum Sheikh

ABSTRACT

This study was conducted in the Bumburet valley of Kalash, District Chitral Pakistan. The study attempts to explain the traditional identity and religious philosophy of non Muslim Kalash. The data for this study was collected by adopting anthropological techniques particularly participant observation. The fieldwork was conducted in the year 2007-08. The thesis addresses the impact of space in formulating distinct cultural patterns; for determining the identity of Kalash people. Culture is a protective and flexible space, in which a group of people can coexist and perpetuate their way of life. In any geographical setting, eventuality of displacement; or movement on mass scale due to environmental disaster to another area will not diminish or change their identity, as long as their culture remains intact.

The Kalash culture is an example which has provided a space for the small groups of people who have survived and perpetuated. This interactive and inquisitive study scrutinizes the various aspects of the traditional culture, and effect forceful and mediated influence of the external and internal forces combined with rapidly changing environment. The basic objective of the study was to prove that perpetuation, preservation and practice of tradition strengthen the identity of a group, or people, and culture provides the space for small communities to exist, survive and propagate their way of life without being unnecessarily threatened by the majority group's culture, tradition and religion. The role of government is to provide freedom of expression and security to all irrespective of their religion, culture and tradition. The Government of Pakistan does not treat them as an exotic object of tourism but as a group of people worthy of survival.

Kalash a distinct community of Hindukush is an example; where culture is encapsulating the identity. The fundamental building blocks of their religious ideology and believe is based on the concept of *onjesta and paragata* i.e. purity and impurity. This phenomenon is evident in every sphere of their life. They regard high mountains, lakes, green pastures; cooking area, gods deities, fairies, Holy sanctuaries and *jestik~han*

(worship places) are *onjesta* i.e. pure. The females, their menstruation and maternity homes *bashalini*, graveyard, and evil spirits *bhut* are considered *paragata* i.e. impure.

The people of Kalash are trying to preserve their centuries old tradition and customs in spite of the constant invasion of modernization and globalization. Modernization is a process which consciously or subconsciously corrupts the fundamentals of organizational set up. The set up is responsible for the smooth running of various institutions by following a specified code of conduct. The process of social change manipulates the passive environment to an active environment where the nature and longevity of tradition and group's identity attached to it can be threatened. But people of Kalash are aware of the negative consequences of this modernization therefore are negotiating a space where modernization and tradition can survive and coexist.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

God created mankind and further divided them in to various races, ethnic groups, and tribes for the sake of recognition. The need for the recognition of the individual's identity with his parent group is a natural urge especially for the minorities when they are coexisting with fundamentally rigid majority groups. The means to satisfy this urge takes many routes, the simplest is to isolate itself from the rest of the surroundings and live in the imagined space and time so that it shuts out the intruding influences of the surrounding world. One can find examples in pockets and islands of such groups even today. The Kalash of Hindukush Mountains, the Red Indians of America, the nomads of the Subcontinent, and the Amish who lived in near inaccessible surroundings and have managed to preserve their traditional identity. Allah supports the idea of group identity by stating in the Holy Quran:

Oh humankind! We created you from a single soul, male and female, and made you in to nations and tribes, so that you may come to know one another. Truly, the most honored of you in God's sight is the greatest of you in piety" (49:13).

“Identity can be defined as the sense that people make of themselves through their subjective feelings based on their everyday experiences and wider social relations” (P. Knox & S. Marston 2004:508)¹. Identity is a socially constructed phenomenon based on traditions and practices of “past life ways” which constitute the present identity. Humans have a very fragile and inadaptible physical buildup. It is not possible for humans to survive without external dependency in extreme climate; nor do the humans have the ability to fend the predators. If it was not for the emotional and intelligence adaptability, humans would not have survived. In order to survive, humans first formed groups; these groups became more dependent and turned into teams. This transformation from individuals to team resulted in efficient machines for survival. Marx² regards those as the ensembles of social relationships or relation of

¹ Knox, P. & Marston S. (2004), Human Geography, Upper Saddle River NJ: Pearson Education, Inc

² Marx. Karl. Reference taken from the book, Seven Theories of Society, Campbell, Tom. 1981. Clarendon Press Oxford

production. The emotional and intelligent adaptability enables man to survive and perpetuate. This survivability often contributes towards a specific identity formation depending on geographical and physiological needs of the group. Man is the least viable of all mammals³ (primates), and therefore it is implausible that he can survive in isolation. Continuous isolation of man is also impossible because of his inherent interdependability for survival. This complete dependence has given rise to the evolution of specific culture which develops into a society with certain laws and code of conduct. It is easy to understand the need of society but the precise definition of society is little difficult. According to Tom Campbell

“Society is a composite of large number of people inhabiting the same geographical area among which there is a degree of daily interaction. It must be an indispensable club, which we cannot very well get on without, and one whose purpose are rather hard to list in an exhaustive manner”⁴.

The purpose behind the development of the society is to render help to one another; mainly for survivals and to avoid conflicts not only in one's own clan but also between members belonging to other groups vis- a- vis sharing the same geographical space. Individuals in a society follow a certain stratification process where some occupy dominant position while others subservient. Mead⁵ asserts that since the individual is the product of society, with identity arising out of the social experience, individual experience is best understood within the social order. Identity is a construction, a consequence of a process of interaction between people, institutions and practices. The range and brilliance of human behavior is so wide, the constituted groups create and maintain boundaries to limit the type of behavior within a defined territory⁶.

³ Tracing homo-sapiens from classical taxonomy there are over one and half millions of animal species and this is how humans fit in to their own niche among them. Homo sapiens belong to the animal kingdom phyla chordates, sub phylum vertebrates, class mammal (warm blooded, hairy, milk for young) order primates flexible hands and feet with opposable first digits, family hominid (walks upright short face small teeth), genus homo (large skull, distinct dental feature) and finally species homo sapiens that is the modern human. Hence the use of word mammals was in a broader sense of earth bound warm blooded animals. Living things are also grouped together according to their general life styles that are their ecological similarities. Humans are informally termed as territorial that hold and defend a territory either singly or in groups like many fish, birds and mammals this is usually linked with attracting a mate.

⁴ Campbell, Tom. 1981. *Seven Theories of Society*. Clarendon Press Oxford. P. 6

⁵ Mead, Margaret. 1928. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. William Morrow and Company. New York.

⁶ Space & Culture » Blog Archive » A Sense of Place and Region - A Talk.mht web page visited on 21.4.2009

This acquisition of role adaptation is a necessary part of evolutionary process for joining the individuals in to a single entity.

Thomas Hobbes believes that

“nature hath made men so equal, in the faculties of body, and the mind; as that though there be found one man manifestly stronger of body, or of quicker mind than another; yet when all is reckon together, the difference between man and man, is not so considerable, as than one man can there upon claim to himself any benefit, to which another may not pretend, as well as he. For as to the strength of the body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by secret machination, or by confederacy with others, that are in the same danger with him⁷. (Hobbes, 1651/1982, p 183)

In process of evolution, change is the only constant and only those species survive who have the ability to adapt and demonstrate new behaviors to survive.

Mohanty⁸ believes that Identity emerges from current debates about cultural diversity. Multiculturalism is to be a goal of educational and political institutions; we need a workable notion of how a social group is unified by a common culture as well as the ability to identify genuine cultural differences (and similarities) across groups. Whether cultures are inherited or consciously and deliberately created, basic problems of definition -- who belongs where or with whom, who belongs and who doesn't -- are unavoidable, the moment we translate our dreams of diversity into social visions and agendas. Debates about minority literatures, for instance, often get bogged down in tedious disputes over genuineness or authenticity, but it is difficult to eliminate these disputes entirely. Schwartz and Robertson believe that:

“Culture and society are not exclusive; culture is more inclusive, culture as human behavior involves tools, architecture, art, beliefs, rituals and customs. It encompasses the entire range of social

⁷ Hobbes, Thomas. 1981. Reference taken from the article of Cudd. E. Ann. “Psychological Explanation of Oppression” Published in book “Theorizing Multiculturalism” written by Willet Cynthia. BlackWell Publishers.

⁸Mohanty, P. Satya: 2001. The Epistemic Status of Cultural Identity: On Beloved and the Postcolonial Condition. Literary theories and the claim of history: Postmodernism, objectivity and multicultural politics. Cornell University Press and Cultural Critique/University of Minnesota Press.

interaction. Culture is the property of specific human groups like societies, tribes and communities and nations”.⁹

Berger and Luckmann¹⁰ (1966) proclaim.... “Indeed identity is objectively defined as location in a certain world and can be subjectively appropriated only along with that world..... A Coherent identity incorporates within itself, all the various internalized roles and attitudes”. The most interesting aspect of identity is the fact that “it is not conceived as a boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject” (Clifford 1988: 344). The divisions of territory are marked to preserve identity which makes it easy for sub groups to establish the “sense of place” in shared spatial arrangements. Space is organized into places often thought of as bounded settings in which social relations and identity are constituted. Such places may be officially recognized geographical entities or more informally organized sites of intersecting social relations, meanings and collective memory.

Anssi Paasi defines territory as a location or a context manifesting itself in the social negotiation of spatial identities (2003: 141). These social spaces contribute cultural information, spatial sensibility by distinguishing between the identity of a place or a region itself, consisting of distinguishing natural features, histories of habitation, meanings, metaphors and development. Identities are neither controlled nor engineered but they are bound to emerge in a situation of resistance or capitulation by employing natural and material aspects. The motivation to assume identity arises from the desire to assert control on a specific geographical land. It is a factual reality that “topography is one of the major components of geographical identities”, the way people pay homage to a sacred landscape or a region is based on the historical facts, mythical representations of the past glories , religious ideology, visual representations of heritage, literature and folk tales¹¹. The nature and authenticity of these stories are never tested or verified by the groups; hence whether true or false, all play a key role in formulating the

⁹ Barton, M. Scharzt & Ewald H. Robert. 1968. “Culture and Society”. An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology: The Ronald Press Company. New York. Edition

¹⁰ Fearon, D. James.1999,.What is Identity? (As we now use the word). Department of Political Science Stanford University

¹¹ Herb, H. Guntram and Kaplan David: 1999. Nested Identities; Nationalism, Territory and Scale, Ed. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

spatialisation of a site or a region for asserting identity. Henri Lefebvre stated beautifully “there is a politics of space because space is political”¹². The cultural identity, which emerges on these grounds, are based and exercised due to power and aggression. Palestine is a perfect example where the identity, right and claim of an indigenous group are compromised to a more powerful, economically superior outsider, on the basis of religious and historical accounts. The present day situation of the region is a huge embarrassment for all those who claim to be humanistic and believe in harmonious coexistence.

If we assume territory as a politically constructed space, then the boundaries that divide the region are controlled by dominant political power; margins therefore are “the space of contradiction and contestation”¹³, where groups contest for autonomy and legitimacy. We must not ignore the significance of territorial sovereignty in defining character of a modern nation, but the past traditions and future aspirations create a state of crisis based on the contested ideologies. The factors like globalization, vested interests of power broker, external manipulation, and religious exploitation induce disjunction. “These disjunctions in the likes among spaces, place, citizenship, nationhood have several far reaching implications. One of these is that the territory or territoriality are increasingly the critical rationale of state legitimacy and state power, while ideas of nation seen increasingly driven by the other discourses of loyalty and affiliation, sometime linguistic, sometime racial, sometime religious but very rarely territorial”¹⁴ (Appadurai 2003:341).

Stuart Hall believes that Identity is not as “transparent or unproblematic as assumed”. In reality it is a product of culture which is never complete, always constituted within, not outside, representation. There are two ways of thinking cultural identities. The first defines cultural identities in terms of one shared culture, a sort of

¹² Lefebvre Henri, 1905: *The Production of Space*, Translated by Smith. Nicholson. Donald, 1998. Blackwell Publishing.

¹³ Appadurai , Arjun. 2003. 'Sovereignty without Territoriality: Notes for a Post national Geography', in Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (eds.) *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (USA, Blackwell Publishing), pp.336-349.

¹⁴ Ibid p. 341

collective, 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed self, which people with shared history and ancestry hold common. The second view of cultural identity is a matter becoming as well as of as of being. It belongs to the future but initiated by the past, and some historical facts. These facts are never free from biases and manipulation and are constantly transformed according to the positionality and requirement of power and religious authority. The identity created by such technique recognizes points of similarity, along with critical points of differences which constitute 'what we really are' or 'what we have become'. Muslims of contemporary times can be used here as an example because they all have a firm belief in Allah and his last Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) i.e. the point of similarity but further segregation to sects and groups are the points of differences which contribute in affirming a separate identity as an offshoot. Henri Lefebvre (1998: 280) argues that "every state is born of violence and that state power endures only by virtue of violence directed towards a space ... Indeed each new form of state, each new form of political power, introduces its own particular way of partitioning space, its particular administrative classification of discourses about space and about things and people in space"¹⁵.

Therefore cultural identities are the points of identification, which are formulated within the discourse of religion, history and culture in any specific space. The created identities survived by similarity and continuity. Edward Said¹⁶ regards cultural identities as imaginative geography, and history which helps the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the difference between what is close to and what is far away, it has acquired an imaginative or figurative value we can name and feel. Cultures and identities are enacted in a space with all its dimensions as palpable realities and ostensible facts. They are not trapped in a remote phase of time but are enacted and need to be expressed in a variety of existential setting¹⁷. Cultural identity only emerges under condition of opposition, persecution, and hostility¹⁸.

¹⁵ Lefebvre, Henri: 2009, "State, Space, World. Selected Essay" translated and edited by Neil Brenner, and Stuart Eiden. Published by University of Minnesota Press. P. 280-287

¹⁶ Said, Edward 1985, *Orientalism*: Penguin Books. London p.55

¹⁷ Gupta, Dipankar 2000 "Culture, Space and the Nation State" Sage Publications.

¹⁸ Friedman J, 1996: *Theory, Culture and Society* vol. 13. No. p. 33

Identities can be termed as social and personal¹⁹. Social identity involves set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules dividing membership and alleged characteristics, features and attributes. Personal identity includes characteristics that a person takes a special pride in or views as socially consequential but less changeable.

Erikson²⁰ described identity as, "a subjective sense as well as an observable quality of personal sameness and continuity, paired with some belief in the sameness and continuity of some shared world image. As a quality of unself-conscious living, this can be gloriously obvious in a young person who has found himself as he has found his communality. In him we see emerge a unique unification of what is irreversibly given--that is, body type and temperament, giftedness and vulnerability, infantile models and acquired ideals--with the open choices provided in available roles, occupational possibilities, values offered, mentors met, friendships made, and first sexual encounters". Erickson uses *psychological moratorium* for the gap between the childhood security and adult autonomy, the adolescent experience is part of their identity exploration. For exploring and determining their true identity the adolescents experiment with different roles in conflicting situations. One who copes up and survives the ordeal develops a positive identity and the one who remains unsuccessful suffers from the state of identity confusion. Erickson`s ideas about identity development revolve around the thoughts, and feelings of the adolescent and his view of identity is referred to as a complex, and involves at least seven dimensions (genetic,

¹⁹ Fearon, D, James. 1999: What is Identity: Research Abstract? Stanford University.

²⁰ Erikson, E.H. (1970). Reflections on the Dissent of Contemporary Youth. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 51, 11-22.

Erickson proposed eight stages of psychosocial development which occurs through the natural life cycle. All these stages contribute unique developmental capabilities which help the individual to resolve conflicts and crisis successfully. The first psychosocial stage is Trust vs. Mistrust which bequeath a sense of trust require a feeling of physical comfort and minimal amount of fear and oppression about future. Second stage of Autonomy vs. shame and doubt begins at 1 to 3 years of age. The third stage is of initiative verses guilt that occurs during preschool years. Industry verses inferiority is the fourth stage occurring at the elementary years of child life. Identity verses role confusion the fifth major stage is experienced by the individual during adolescence. This is the stage of self discovery and self esteem. The sixth stage is intimacy verses isolation is experienced by the individual in early adulthood years. The seventh stage is called generatively verses stagnation which is experienced during middle adulthood years. The chief concern of this stage is to assist the younger generation in developing and leading useful life. He refers stagnation as a failure to guide and assist the new generation. The last stage is integrity verses despair which is experienced during late adult years; this is a time of self evaluation about the life spent and the extent of satisfaction and doubt that determines the level of success.

adaptive, structural, dynamic, subjective, psychosocial reciprocity and existential status)²¹.

Identity is often regarded as the effective sum of the facts that can be used, in the mind of various audiences, to distinguish a given entity from all others. To manage identity is to manage these facts. Grossberg (1996:100)²² believes that identity is “entirely an historical construction and subjectivity, identity and agency are also constructed temporally”. He regards subjectivity as spatial, for it involves taking literally the statement that people experience the world from a particular position recognizing that such positions are in space rather than (or at least as much as in) time. He summarized the studies on cultural identity in two models. One Model presupposes some intrinsic and essential content to any identity and the other conceives identities as always “relational and incomplete, in process” (p.89). The second model puts emphasis on the multiplicity of identities and differences. Grossberg affirms Hall and Mercers’ argument and states that “identity can become a marker of people’s [constancy] in such a singular community, where the community defines [a residence] marking peoples’ ways of belonging within the structured mobility’s of contemporary life.” (1992:105)

Tajfel²³ argued that social categorization itself was “sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favoring the in-group.” Thus, people categorize themselves into groups that attempt to establish a positive sense of value by distinguishing their group (in-group) from other groups (out-group). Members derive positive group (and self) value by making clear distinctions between in-group and out-group, distinctions that view the out-group in a negative manner and the in-group in a more favorable manner regardless of ethnic and cultural differences. Tajfel defines social identity as the,

“Aspects of an individual’s self-image that derive from the social categories to which he [sic] perceives himself [sic] as belonging.” In a later work, Tajfel adds to this definition, noting that social identity

²¹ Santrock, W. John. 2005. *Adolescence*. 7th Edition. The McGraw Hill Higher Education and Benchmark Publishers.

²² Grossberg, Lawrence, 1992. “Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There Is? *Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture*. London and New York: Routledge

²³ Tajfel, H (Ed) 1978. *Differentiation Between Social Group: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.

“derives from his [sic] knowledge of his [sic] membership of a group together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership.”²⁴

This definition further describes three facets of social identity i.e. Cognitive (recognition of belonging to the group), Evaluative (recognition of the value attached to the group), and Emotional (attitudes group members hold toward insiders and outsiders). The theory, then, concerns itself with the way group members understand themselves as part of the group and differentiate their group from other groups in order to achieve a positive social identity. “A decision for Europe does not lie in a choice between tradition and modernity. It lies in the proper use of tradition, in returning to our heritage as an incentive, as a support for the preservation and renewal of another European tradition, that of creativity...If Europe wants to be a model for the modern world it must respect, and open itself, to others”²⁵. This means that it is essential for any group who are in quest of equality and recognition they must respect and support the renewal of tradition for a smooth continuity.

Madan Sarup²⁶ elaborates on a similar idea of an outsider, in modern terms, in the form of an immigrant, and attributes a tension resulting from a shift in physical boundaries, “Identities are not free-floating; they are limited by borders and boundaries. When migrants cross a boundary, there is hostility and welcome. In sagacity identity is a heterogeneous process involving personal, social, feminist, religious, ethnic and national identity. Identity can be displaced, it can be hybrid or multiple based on multiple phenomenon’s yet constitute, region, state, family group, and nation as a whole (Madan, 1996:1)²⁷. The language of identity is ubiquitous in social science literature. The most common and significant usage of identity is to refer it as culture of people. Tajfel used identity to refer to the identification with a collectivity or social

²⁴ ibid

²⁵ Jacques le Goff, *The Roots of European Identity, (Desperately Seeking Europe)* Identity and its Challenges within the European Union and France. Site visited on 15.4. 2009

²⁶ Sarup, Madan., Raja, Tasneem 1996, *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World*. The University of Georgia Press: Athens,

²⁷ Ibid:p,1

category. The most significant interpretation is the usage of meaning man attach to multiple roles they supposedly play in highly differentiated contemporary societies.²⁸

Statement of the Problem

The Kalash community was one of the various communities residing in the Hindukush Mountains known as “Kafirs of Hindukush” who managed to survive in the once unapproachable three valleys (Bumburet, Birir and Rumbour) which were surrounded by the Hindukush Mountains. There are two main types of Kalash people residing in these valleys; the Red Kafirs (the majority group residing in the outskirts of Afghanistan border) embraced Islam and they became “*Nuristani*” (the people who are in light). The Black Kafirs “*Siah posh*” i.e. “Kalash” resisted the conversion, faced atrocities and migrated to far-flung inaccessible areas, to remain loyal to the religion and tradition of their forefathers. Amongst the various ethnic groups of Hindukush of which Kalash is a part, occupied most of the regions in the north of Pakistan are now confined to three valleys comprising over six thousand inhabitants.

The purpose of this study is to understand the traditional culture of Kalash; their way of life, their aspirations and their efforts to evolve and meet the challenges for survival. Currently the people of Kalash are passing from the phase of *culturology*²⁹, their traditions have delegated a specific identity which they maintained through their rituals, religious ideology, dress patterns, distinctive art and architecture and above all their social and marriage traditions. An attempt is made to collect the surviving memories about the Kalasha past, especially concerning their mythological knowledge and ritual behaviors. The details about their holy deities, shamans, open air sanctuaries, the village temple “*jestik han*”, the cemeteries (old and new) their burial procedure and

²⁸ Stryker, Sheldon. Burke J. Peter. 2000. The Past, Present and Future of an Identity: American Sociological Association. P.284

²⁹ Epstein sees *culturology* as something analogous to cultural studies. He defines the study of culture as an integral system of various cultures; national, professional, racial and sexual etc. *Culturology* is called upon to realize the ideal of cultural wholeness, as it reveals connections and relationships unknown to separate disciplines. Thus *culturology* is a meta-discipline including human sciences and arts and are able to comment on them in a self reflexive manner. Self reflexivity can be defined as the scientific objectification of structure as well as a strategy seen by placing actors in a framework, not for their own making but one produced by the observer. It leads to a consciousness of a process of knowledge creation. It emphasizes the point of theoretical and practical questioning changing the ethnographer's views and their work.

women menstruation houses are also observed in order to understand their cultural identity.

The basic objective of this study is to identify that how and why Kalash community maintain their pre- Islamic cultural identity and traditions without assimilating, as their neighbours did, to the Islamic world around them. How this identity is well received and respected by others. It is believed that in developing a sustainable culture the impact of external and internal factors cannot be ignored. The manipulation and vested interests of foreign elements either in the form of Muhammadan Law or Greek Missionary has to be quantified. Kalash culture, more than anything else is a particular example of cultural invasion and the culture which has survived for more than two millennia appears to be dying and losing the charisma. It is important for Kalash people, "*to know thyself*"; as it is human instinct to seek its roots. At the moment the Greeks are tending to convince Kalash that they have a "Greek origin". Their distinct language, customs, religion and rituals have been a subject of speculation regarding their origin. They themselves have no clue about it. There are no artifacts or sculptures available which could throw some light on to the origin of Kalash. Since there is no concrete evidence of Greek lineage the people of Kalash are not recognized and individualized on the basis of their race but on their culture. Therefore their own tradition and culture delegates them a unique and true identity. The impact of conversion to Islam on Kalasha community and its culture is also analyzed.

The people of Kalash were once satisfied with their simple way of life are no longer so. They now demand better educational and living facilities along with their active participation in local and national government. For them the imagined space of traditional culture in which they existed and maintained a closed group identity has been corrupted and widened. Now, when they have interacted with the outside world, they are aware of basic amenities of life and are inspired by the glamour of outside world; they don't want to remain in their cocoon forever hence they do not realize the bad influence of affluence that necessarily follows. The self determination of the youth in formulating "Kalash Identity" is also emphasized. Identity is not just limited to the

geographical space where the group exists and that space may delegate a sense of belongingness to its people.

Research Methodology

The research analyses and signifies the traditions and rituals in establishing identity. A proper and significant methodological approach is used to achieve the objectives and finding the solution for research problem. Techniques adopted during a research are generally divided into two major categories i.e. quantitative research and qualitative research.

“Quantitative research employs objective measurement and statistical analysis of numeric data for the formulation and explanation of research question. It compulsorily requires controlled setting and variables. Whereas qualitative research focuses on understanding social phenomenon from the perspective of the human participating in the study” (Jacobs and Razavieh 2002:22).

Qualitative research technique was adopted for acquiring the ethnographic data for the research in hand. Ethnography means writing about people and is associated with anthropological studies. The field work for this study was conducted intermittently for a year. The anthropological techniques were used for data collection. The researcher lived in Bumburet valley, and participated in their festivals, feasts, offerings and prayers. Thus a complete immersion in the said culture has been adopted for a very good rapport, acceptance and recognition by the society. The trust gained was crucial for obtaining the authentic data otherwise those people might not have voluntarily and openly shared information which is very sacred to them and which lays the foundation of their identity. The basic data was collected through the socio economic survey. The survey facilitated me to gather information about the village regarding sex, education, family system, caste, population, ethnic groups, occupation, and number of household residing in the village. The Boumburet valley is composed of 12 hamelts and through random sampling I selected few hamlets where both Kalasha and Muslims coexisted and shared the geographical space. I visited every house of the village Anish, Brun, Batrik and Karakal and developed good rapport and understanding especially with the females of the village. The people of Kalash are well equipped with the National

language of Pakistan i.e. *Urdu*. Language is no longer a problem in every household they can speak and communicate in Urdu and few of them also know English.

The secondary data for this study was collected from library by reviewing, journals, articles and documentary programs about the mythical people of Kalash. The secondary data helped to understand the changes that occurred in Bumburet with the passage of time. The data has been assembled in the form of photographs, maps sketches, and floor plans. An audio recording of the interviews conducted at the site has also been utilized. A video recording of daily activities which includes cooking, rituals, dancing “*natam*” and preparation for participating in various ceremonies has been recorded and utilized for documentation.

Problems Encountered During Data Collection

Several problems were faced by the researcher during data collection. The people of the locale were although very hospitable; but at the same time were reluctant to cooperate in sharing information regarding their religion. However as soon as mutual trust was established it became easy to explore the opaque segments of their society. The fundamental principle of their religious ideology is based on purity “*onjesta*” and impurity “*paragata*”. It is a tradition, that all songs and religious stories are memorized. In the past they were reluctant to document their religious stories and mythical songs. Even the knowledgeable elders were reluctant to translate some special religious songs for the foreigners and researchers. The elders of Kalash regardless of their hospitality and kindness were found a little reluctant to establish a trustworthy environment with the foreign researchers. Therefore, the researcher for rapport building initially relied on the support of enterprising and aspiring youth of Kalash. These Kalasha children were very spontaneous, active, confident and above all very social. The researcher was well received and respected by the youth and children. This helps in establishing a trust worthy environment that subsequently led the elders to openly share and provide information which they normally keep secret.

The native language was the next issue. The elderly people of Kalash were either ignorant & in some cases were reluctant to speak Urdu. Services of an

interpreter were therefore availed. Though at times it was quite frustrating when the respondent and interpreter indulged into long discussions in their native language and after reaching a consensus they responded to the question asked. The Kalash dictionary with English and Urdu translation written by Trail, L. Ron and Cooper, R Gregory (1999)³⁰ was of great help in comprehending dealing with language issue. Fieldwork in reality is “fear of living intimately with strangers³¹” (Madan 1975). Anthropology can be perceived not as a study of the other cultures but as the mutual interpretation of cultures. What people believe in and do, and the relationship of belief and action has first to be understood in the peoples own terms often referred as the “first order of interpretation of facts³²”. These can further be translated into the language of anthropology. The Kalash society in specific is a fabled society and the responses of the respondents were fabricated. However while writing about the first order of interpretation which the people supplied when questioned about their culture, appeared to be fabricated and may seem partially adequate and explicit to them but usually are opaque to the outsider. These interpretations involve the social anthropologist in a process of unfolding and unraveling, by working out the implications in search of significance and structure. Consequently by rephrasing the question on different occasions several times, initiated a variety of responses. This gives me an insight into their behavior and thinking patterns, which further clarified the doubts and shadows of their dubious response.

Locale of the Study

The study was conducted in Bumburet valley Kalash, District Chitral, in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan now known as Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa. The people of Kalash have distinctive cultural patterns and are still practicing their paganistic³³ life style. They are coexisting with the Muslims in the region. The valley, due to its multiculturalism and plurality, turns out to be an exquisite site for research where traditions, myths folklore and oral songs lay down the basis of identity. The main

³⁰ Trail, L. R & Cooper, R. Gregory. 1999. Kalasha Dictionary with English and Urdu Translation.

³¹ Thapan, Meenakshi, 1998. Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork ED. Vedams E Books. P. Ltd.

³² Ibid.

³³ The word pagan only refers to the followers of a non biblical religion.

focus was given to the Bumburet valley of Kalash which is the centre of attraction for the tourist and exposed to the external influence.

Significance of the Study

The present study is about the people of Kalash residing in Bumburet valley and practicing their unique cultural patterns. Albeit the indigenous tribe is trying hard to protect their centuries old tradition and legacy in contemporary time, but the present situation is very threatening for these exceptional pagans, who are on the verge of extinction, due to excessive religious conversions, economical scarcity and modernism. The world is becoming the global village due to modernizations, technological advancements has sown a seed of discontentment and change. This would naturally lead towards modifications and possible drastic changes of actual customs, traditions and radicalism. The present ethnographic account will be a valuable addition to all the studies which have been done in the past by the ethnographers, anthropologists, historians and travelers about the past, present and a glimpse of predicted future of the exquisite community of Kalash from distinctive identity prospect.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

The cultural identity in simple words is based on the concept of geographies of group identity by representing interconnecting formation of ethnicity, religion, gender, class, sexuality and so on³⁴ (Mohanty, 2005). Identity in spirit involves the meanings and expressions of self and other in places that may appear relatively stable and singular, but can become multiple and unstable. In such instances they can be challenged and negotiated in variety of ways depending on the situation or conflict. These imagined spaces serve as composites where individuals, families, and clans form a group which coexists with other tribes of different culture sharing the same territory with a degree of commonality and endurance in their ways of life. When such collection of individuals occupy a region, certain rules, regulations and code of conduct, is bound to emerge, evolve or handed down by persons who are more knowledgeable among them. The real force of moral is based on the nature of tradition. They are freely taken over, but by no means created by a free insight grounded on reasons (Nandy 412)³⁵. This is the main reason that the community elders hold position of spiritual, religious and political leadership through their lineage while the young educated men of the same lineage serve as liaisons³⁶.

This concept is an absolute truth when applied to any society having what so ever cultural setting. Elders acquire the position of power and command and young members are left for negotiations and carving moderate means for communication. This gives rise to a conflicting situation between the ideological thought process of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Here the main objective is to determine that if these ideological parameters serve as a sole identity of that group then the mode of handing down the traditions determines the essence and purity of cultural identity. Theorists are

³⁴ Mohanty. G.S, 2005. "Social and Cultural Geography". Published in India Chawla offset Press, Delhi.

³⁵ Nandy. Ashis; "The Twilight of Certitudes: Secularism, Hindu Nationalism and Masks of Declaration" Article Published in "Tradition, Pluralism and Identity" Edited by Das Veena, Gupta. D, Uberoi, P. Sage Publications 1999.

³⁶ Trueba. Henry, T. Jacobs. Lila & Kirton, Elizabeth: 1990 "Cultural Conflict and Adaptation": The Case of Hmong Children in American Society.

divided in their opinions: the religious philosophers believe that the creator is the sole entity which knows the nature of man and his material, physical, philosophical and biological needs.

God has, through certain revelations has set a code of conduct for the man, to conform to rules and thus follow the straight path. On the basis, of religious beliefs people divide themselves into various religious identities which can bring forth “the idea of superiority of one race over the other”³⁷. They regard themselves as chosen ones and every other creation is supposed to serve them with complete subjugation. The oppressors genuinely regard that their system is better, more efficient, effective and adaptive. It is true to an extent because the oppressed were unable to utilize their resources in an efficient manner. It is believed that the cultural differences between majority and indigenous people are greater than stateless nations or other ethno-nationals groups (Kymalicka 2001)³⁸.

To maintain one`s indigenous identity, inhabitants exercise their right of self determination, autonomy regarding matters relating to their internal and local affair including culture, religion, education, information, media, health, housing, employment, social welfare, economic activities, land and resource management, environment and tourism. These aspects serve as a space for identity for natives. The “indigenous people purposely form and perpetuate distinct culture and civilization; which is rooted in pre modern way of life that needs protection from the forces of modernization, secularization, urbanization and westernization”³⁹. Now this is followed by a latest threat i.e. Islamization. The traditions are not only precious but are very valuable. The aspects mentioned above not only harm the essence but corrupt the ideological basis.

³⁷ Barton. M Schwartz & Ewald H. Robert, 1968.”Culture and Society”: An Introduction to the Cultural Anthropology. The Ronald Press Company. New York.

³⁸ Kymalicka(2001) Reference taken from the Book of Downing , H.D. John & Husband Charles, Representing Race: Racisms, Ethnicities and Media. Sage Publication.

³⁹ Heintze 1998. Article 31 of UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. Adopted by General Assembly Resolution 61/295 on 13 September 2007. For further reading detail document is attached as Annexure.

Traditions are the

“Cultural patterns which are handed down in form of material objects like monuments, landscape, worship places, sanctuaries, tombs, artifacts, sculptures, paintings beliefs, myths, images of person and events practices and institutions”⁴⁰.

All the protective measures are composed of certain actions and practices which formulate the institutions and are governed by various laws which then are transmitted to other generations. The only problem with this concept is that actions once performed cannot be ceased to exist, men can't hold, preserve or reproduce any human action because of the constant fluctuation of time. They can only establish historical account based on the memory and perceptions. But in the process of transmission the nature and uniqueness can be corrupted and the essence of the tradition may carry some doubts and suspicions. To avoid this confusion it is important to develop sense of identity and affiliations⁴¹ between the generations. These relations serves as a space through which the traditional and cultural traits travel from past to present. Whatever the natural conditions are, people construct this specified space differently based on their own religious or social patterns and perceptions. This gives rise to certain degree of variation between different cultures with specific emphasis to the “spatial adjustment and distribution”⁴². Poincare stressed that space must be understood as a function of objects and its relationship which together construct a space perception where identity can be shaped⁴³. James Gibson regards that

“Space is constituted of the same variables as things; the surface and boundaries are the visible aspects, empty space is the abstraction.”⁴⁴

To evaluate perception of space one must determine that whether it is acquired or native because it is believed that “perception is a constructive process which creates the world to suit the perceiver, we see things not as they are but as we are

⁴⁰ Schils. Edward; 1981. “Tradition”: Faber and Faber. London, Boston.

⁴¹ Smith .S. C: Filiations according to McMillan Dictionary of Anthropology means social recognition of relationship between parents and children.

⁴² Hallowell Irving. 1995. “Cultural Factors in Spatial Orientation” Culture and Experience , Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press,

⁴³ The Poincare sphere, conceived by Henri Poincare in about 1892 provides a convenient way of representing polarized light and predicting how any given retarder will change the polarization form.

⁴⁴Gibson James. 1950. Perception of the Visual World. Boston: Houghton- Mifflin.

(Gibson, 1920:132)⁴⁵”. Consequently one can evaluate self as an object in relation to others while creating space from orientation and perception. Aristotle rejects the definition of space as void. Empty space is impossibility so it is necessary to conceive space as a limit for the body and the objects. This means that if it is utilized intelligently it provides a perfect canvas to shape ethnic or cultural identity.

Ethnicity and nationalism are relatively political in nature which creates artificial periphery, constructs and authorizes unique laws, restricts diffusion and influx of ideas. It manipulates past traditions to fit the present inventing historical accounts which cannot be proven and are ambiguous⁴⁶. Thomas believes that ethnicity ceases to exist alone but lies between two or more groups and subsist between the groups not within it. It is a systematic communication of different groups of distinctive background and can be studied as social life not as symbolic culture. The point to note is that they are inseparable. A group can maintain its peculiar traditions when it is free from outside influence because the moment it accepts the technological advancement and increasing diffusion across boundaries, it will compromise the importance of its imagined space and eventually its cultural identity⁴⁷. It is very essential to address the question that why humans seek identity? No matter where they are they desire to create or signify their true identity. Whether this desire springs from ethnicity, race, class, religion, social status or primarily on the basis of rejection, reaction and deprivation?

All these factors alone or collectively affect the integrity, emotions and self concept of the minority group. Lack of acceptance and constant humiliation by the ethnocentric majority prompts the minorities to strengthen and establish their own traditional culture as space of their group identity. This desire of recognition bound the minority groups in shackles to maintain and preserve their ethnic identity by isolating themselves from change and development. Stuart Hall (1980)⁴⁸ believes that “cultural identities constituted not as an essence but as a positioning, and identity is affected by history and culture, rather than a finished product, he sees it as ongoing production.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Sokefeld. Martin, “Jang Azadi Perspective on Major Theme in Northern Area History”: Friend by day, Enemy by Night. Stanford University.

⁴⁷ Erickson. I. H, 1968. “Ethnic Identity, National Identity and Intergroup Conflict” Significance of Personal Experience. Oxford University Press.

⁴⁸ Hall, S. 1980. "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms". *Media, Culture and Society* 2: 57–72.

Schwartz regards it as the “relationship of community and identity” as “cultural totemism” or “ethnognomy”. Totemism “*Le Totémisme*” is an anthropological concept having no objective reality⁴⁹ (Levi Strauss: 1962). It is a complex system of ideas, symbols, and practices based on an assumed relationship between an individual or a social group and a natural object known as totem. It symbolizes the common interests shared by a particular group, and may thus be interpreted as a conceptual device for sorting out social groups by means of natural emblems. That is why we find examples like Malcolm X, Martin Luther King and Gandhi as the famous faces of resistance against ethnocentrism and racial biases, forced to search for an identity to attain respect and equality in the shared space. The other reason that might lead humans to seek identity is scarcity of resources, Baily (1983) elaborates “identity assembles experience of resistance and in community it links to economy, politics and cultural meaning”,⁵⁰.

Cohen on the other hand proclaims that communities respond assertively to the encroachment upon their boundaries, because they consider themselves under severe threat from some extrinsic source and their members find their identities as individuals through occupancy of the community’s social space. So community is the compass of individual’s identity and it responds to the needs to delimit the bounds of similarities. Culture is often characterized on the basis of technological and financial advancement and for that Ferdinand Tonnies a German sociologist differentiate society from community as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.⁵¹ The former is discernible, where people live in small groups in the form of tribes or clans and enjoying personal and emotional attachments through daily interaction. The other deals with impersonal and formal relationship where people, interact with one another only to safeguard their personal interests. Robert Redfield an anthropologist, continues his study based on the same principle, insisted that the size of the community is responsible for its behavior

⁴⁹ Levi Strauss, Claude 1962. Totemism. Translated by Needham, Rodney, 1963, Beacon Press.

⁵⁰ Baily 1983. Reference taken from the book of Cohen.P. 1985. The Symbolic Construction of the Community. Tavistock Publications. London. New York.

Dr. Cohen is the member of the rural economy and society study group, he sets out to deal with the society as a mixture of symbols which constructs meanings and devise system of values, laws, mores which provide a sense of identity to the group.

⁵¹ Tonnies. F. 1940. “Fundamental Concepts of Sociology” Translated by C.P Loomis. New York: American Book Co.

and effectiveness. In large society heterogeneity and disorganization is evident; while in small society homogeneity, harmony, morality, strong religious beliefs, tradition and faith are at display. Small societies have a relatively orderly way of life. They have similarity in dressing and styling, they are guided by traditions to formulate folk costume. The commonly accepted dictionary meaning of folk costume is a type of traditional dress which guides the perceiver to identify the folk tribe or clan or community.

Thus the wearer of the folk costume conveys information including behaviors of the people of his community to others. Hence this dress is an aggregation of rituals and ceremonies, regional impact, effect of religion, distinguished markers of marital status, gender, morality, sexuality, aesthetics, erotic, adornment, and spiritual functions⁵². We may now conclude that the traditional costume serves as a mean to maintain cultural identity of the group to which it belongs this can be successfully applied to Kalash Community. Folk costumes are also a source to link or preserve historical traditions and cultural patterns which provide non verbal aid to the observer about societal standards. Frequent changes are observed in urban clothing due to the influence of fluctuating fashions. Whereas the traditional dresses are more expensive, requiring more effort and intricate needle craft for construction to ensure perfect traditional reflection. Traditional dresses are observed in Pakistan at places like rural Sindh, Balochistan, Cholistan, Thar Desert, and Kalash, all of these representing *Gemeinschaft* communities where people have their own traditions, costume, living standards and harmony. These societies refuse to keep pace with the developing world only to preserve their ages old tradition for which they can even sacrifice their lives.

To study traditional culture as a space for identity ingredients like language, literature, myth and social relation must be analyzed accurately. It is precisely the “movement characterized by a preoccupation not simply with structure, but with their underlined and observable meanings”⁵³. Levi Strauss regards it as “basic characteristics

⁵² Yoder 1972. In Ruth Barnes : Textile Design in Southern Lembata: Tradition and Change : Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics. Edited by Coote Jeremy and Shelton Anthony.1992.Clarendon Press Oxford.

⁵³ Roseman, Abraham & Rubel. G Paula, 2000: The Tapestry of Cultures: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology 7th Edition. McGraw Hill

of the mind”⁵⁴, which devised certain signs and signals through which the humans communicate and which can act as silent language having specified signs and cryptograms like linguistic. Every item used either in case of adoration or covering the body contains special meaning which is partly visible and partly invisible to the viewer. These symbols require special interpretation and semiology must be employed to decode the silent language of clothing and other traits. Ferdinand De Saussure, a Swiss linguist presented a theoretical framework where he focused on the parole and langue, signifier and signified in any cultural setting. French semiologist Roland Barthes emphasized on the scientific analysis of sign system. He believed that every society consists of certain values, beliefs and norms which are based on certain ideology. These ideological messages carry more than one meaning based on their circumstantial representation. This process of representation involves “careful selection, precise presentation, and elements of reality to collectively determine one final meaning”⁵⁵. Cultural perspective use clothes along with other material tools to establish new theoretical speculations and ideas to decode past of such mysterious tribes. Umberto Eco (1979) believes that world is coded and every object have multiple meanings. These codes might involve logical relations, and associations. We always consider clothing as a non verbal means of communication. You can gather certain information about the wearer. In cultural setting these codes follow definite rules, strategy, and guidelines which at times have shared ambiguous meaning which can only be comprehended when analyzed in accordance with the structure of the society⁵⁶.

Structuralism also refers to a relational structure same as language which is more than a sum of its parts. Things and events cannot be studied in isolation and in separation. They can only be analyzed accurately if they are taken in complete harmony or in absolute unity. Here the concept of “binary opposition”⁵⁷ is also applicable since the foundation of Kalash society revolves around the concept of purity and impurity, this facilitate to discover meaningful relation between elements and oppositions. The

⁵⁴ David Pepper, 1993: *Eco-Socialism: From Deep Ecology to Social Justice*, Routledge, London & New York.

⁵⁵ Hall. S. 1982. *The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies*. In M. Gurevich et al., (eds). *Culture, Society and the Media*. London: Methuen. P.64

⁵⁶ Umberto, Eco, 1979. *A Theory of Semiotics*. Indiana University Press.

⁵⁷ Levi Strauss C. 1963. *The Structural Study of Myth in Structural Anthropology*, New York Basic Books.

binary opposition according to Levi Strauss exists in contrasting categories like beautiful or ugly, day or night, good and bad. Tilley believes that the uniqueness of the humanity resides in the culture, which is not natural but socially constructed. This construction is in the end to be discovered in nature, reaching the conclusion that the “*cultural is natural*”. The relations that exist in nature are used to produce the cultural products (Tilley 1990:20)⁵⁸

The symbolic expression of any community refers to its past traditions. The element of change and transition in the society is also an observable phenomenon. The past is used as a resource to study the folk history, myths and Meta history. To have a history is symbolic capital in the society of Kalash. The meaning and truth rests on the social competence of presenting it. Claim of having the possession of historical fact and reality is a false claim. The fundamental logic is rather a practical one “the event is not what happens, but the one which can be narrated⁵⁹” (Feldman 1991). The distinction between myth and history is only one method of banishing others from history⁶⁰ (Herzfeld 1987:44). Myths in Bourgeoisie society are “a depoliticized speech” (Barth, 1968:118)⁶¹ and politics is a central point to understand myth because it accounts for the transformation of the natural historical event in a mystifying manner. Kalash religion is composite of all these mythical accounts which lay the foundation of their religious ideology.

The post modern knowledge comes by “putting into question existing paradigms, by inventing new ones, rather than assenting to universal truth or in agreeing to a consensus” (BK, 1994:166). The theoretical school of postmodernism regards it impossible to document neutral and objective facts about any culture. Anthropology is not a science because science requires empirical evidence, systematic observations, standardized methodologies, eradication of biases and replicable results.

⁵⁸ Aas R. Lars, 2008. The Rock Carvings of Taru Thang: The Mountain Goat: A Religious and Social symbol of the Dardic Speaking People of the Trans- Himalayas. Unpublished Master Thesis of Archeology.

⁵⁹ Feldman, A.1991. Formations of Violence: “The Narrative of the Body and the Political Terror in Northern Ireland”. Chicago.

⁶⁰ Herzfeld, M. 1997. Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State; *New York*: Routledge.

⁶¹ Barth R. 1968. Elements of Semiology, New York, Hill and Wang.

Reference taken from the Book Structuralism and Semiology: Chapter 3 structuralism, Semiology and Popular Culture. Sage Publications.

Where as anthropological relativism refers to a methodological stance, in which the researcher suspends, his/her own cultural biases while attempting to understand beliefs and behaviours of a culture different from his/ her culture. Ethnographies are often manipulated and influenced by the political, social and psychological factor. All these collectively influenced the subject and object⁶² in observable space they occupy. A conscious effort is required on the part of the researcher to utilize information as a source of knowledge. Skepticism is generally any questioning structure towards knowledge, facts or opinion, beliefs stated as facts- means to think, to look, to consider. Any theory based on degree of speculation can mislead the reader.

“There is nothing more necessary than truth, and in comparison with it everything else has only secondary value. This absolute will to truth: what is it? Is it the will to not allow ourselves to be deceived? Is it the will not to deceive? One does not want to be deceived, under the supposition that it is injurious, dangerous, or fatal to be deceived. ... Do not allow yourselves to be deceived: Great Minds are Skeptical. What if God were not exactly truth, and if this could be proved? And if he were instead the vanity, the desire for power, the ambitions, the fear, and the enraptured and terrified folly of mankind?”

(Friedrich Nietzsche, 1890).

Nietzsche refutes that there is no such thing as absolute truth or objective reality humans believe things to be true that are not true, In case of cultural studies it is impossible to maintain the standard⁶³. Post modernist takes relativistic position that what we experience as reality is a social construct solely constructed by individual / human mind, it consist only of our interpretations of what the world means to us individually and that individual responseto a given cultural product compose the whole reality of that product. Since individual responses tend to differ from one another and change overtime, post modernist thought is skeptical of explanations that claim to be valid for all human groups, cultures and time. The society is in a constant flux and the element of time and space is also changing even the findings of two researchers in different spheres of time regarding the same society is different because of the possibility of what prohibited in past may be accepted in the future or availability of certain artifacts which were not available in the past has brought a little change in the

⁶² Thapan. Meenakshi. ED1998. Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork. Vedamase Books. (Pvt) Ltd.

⁶³ Nietzsche, Friedrich, 1990: Beyond Good and Evil, Trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London: PenguinBooks,).

practices. The perception and interpretation of the observations and the treatment and manipulation of data by the two researchers affect the results. One cannot reject the observations of both the researcher because they are meant to be the absolute truth for them.

Postmodernists in particular insist that identities are fabricated and constructed rather than self-evidently deduced from experience; since they claim experience cannot be a source of objective knowledge. One of the main components of the postmodernist case against identity politics is the charge that experience is not a self-evident or even reliable source of knowledge and cannot be seen as grounding a social identity⁶⁴. Identity politics are the political arguments that focus upon the self interest and perceptions of self identified social interest groups and ways in which people's politics may be shaped.

Postmodernist believes that reality and places contain meanings within itself and we don't add meaning to it, but we discover places through their meaning⁶⁵. It is difficult to separate required space as a container of a person either as physical bodies or social beings and their relationship is embedded in meaningful space. Social relations are reproduced and identities are formed through movements in space in a given time. The dispersion and fragmentation of identity is potentially dispersal in space as well as in time. Humans involved in set of relationships, which are constantly mobile through space and time, when combined with knowledge constitute group identities in the world. Experiences which take place at various locations have descriptive structures which are equivalent to the narrative of identity. Personal histories are spatial stories, which draw places together in sequence and create a selfhood. Feldman states that while seeking identity within a culture "observe the conflict areas, power is the cause of conflict"⁶⁶. He rejects the idea of culture as a complex whole but sees it as a conflict.

⁶⁴ Mohanty, P. Satya 2001. *The Epistemic Status of Cultural Identity: On Beloved and the Postcolonial Condition*. Literary Theories and the Claim of History: Postmodernism, Objectivity and Multicultural Politics. Cornell University Press and Cultural Critique/University of Minnesota Press.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Feldman. Reference taken from the book of Thapan. Meenakshi. ED. *Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork*. Ed 1998. Vedamase Books.

Community does not exist in the real space, whatever is apparent is just the body in a given space and humans are different from body. Whatever is invisible is controlled through power, terror and violence. Humans are in reality the product of thought collections, mental capabilities, attributes and emotions which lies in unreal space and are invisible. The researcher should attempt to dig deeper, on ambiguous, complex events through his vision and sensitivity to document invisible reality and listen unsaid. Madhu Kishwar argues that “in case of communal conflict the researcher may receive more or less same version of the truth from members of the dominant community” people should be heard carefully and seriously especially when they talk about their wants and needs in order to survive. While writing cultures and figuring cultural identity in the given space, voices and silences should be seriously listened to and analyzed. It is only then, when we can speak of anthropology that is truly human and across cultures⁶⁷ (Thapan 1998:33). The spatial inner domain hears the essential marks of cultural identity. Mostly the burden of cultural identity is on the shoulder of the women and expressed in their dresses and accessories by obeying societal norms and values. Identities are not simply problematic motors of stable interaction; rather they are the highly charged frameworks through which contemporary life is actively negotiated⁶⁸.

Generally there are two modes of identity construction: race and ethnicity. Racism is the poisonous ideology⁶⁹ and a destructive practice which is predominantly anathematized by states, politician and population as a stain on civilized society. Whereas when ethnicity is a ubiquitous and valued form of group formation, a society is in continuous existence. Traditions develop because the desire to create something truer and better or more convenient is alive in those who acquire and possess them. Traditions can be deteriorated in the sense of losing their adherents because those who received and extended them now prefer other lines of conduct or because new generations to which they were presented find other traditions of beliefs or some

⁶⁷ Madhu Kishwar , Reference taken from the book of Thapan. Meenakshi, *Anthropological Journeys: Reflections on Fieldwork*. Ed 1998. Vedamase Books. Pvt Ltd.

⁶⁸ Downing. J, and Husband C. 2005. *Representing Race: Racism, Ethnicities and Media*. Sage Publications.

⁶⁹ *ibid*

relatively new beliefs more acceptable to the standards which these generations accept. Every great tradition has its own teachers, to formulate political, economic, social, intellectual and aesthetic institutions which accordingly coordinate with the religious norms of that great tradition. The teachers, rulers, priests and chiefs of the great tradition implement the norms⁷⁰. They are considered responsible for keeping the belief and spirit intact and to tied man “*in a knot, web or mesh into which relationships are tied*” (Saint Exupery). Traditions and cultures are enlivened in a certain bounded geographical locale where meaningful interactions enlighten others about the integral significance of culture with space⁷¹. Culture provides a “guide to human behaviors⁷²,” and when followed strictly delegates distinctive representation to the group. Gupta treats culture and its significant markers as “root metaphors” with regnant sets of meanings which can be different for different people.

The ecological surroundings serve as a place which is important for the viability of man, culture and identity. Be it art, music, clothing, religion and rituals all delegate certain distinguishable properties and means of conformity to the group. This group conformity collectively is perceived as an individualist behavior of that group for the outsider. Since “every activity of humans is a cultural activity⁷³” (Schwartz & Ewald, 1968: 47). Identity configuration is a process by which an individual or a group seeks to integrate his status and role in the hierarchies. Epstein⁷⁴ claims that culture cannot be reduced to a social dimension which means that it is not just limited to identity politics or sexual politics, his model of trans-culture cancels the category of identity. Trans-culture or Multiplicity of cultures for him is a “mode of being”, at the cross roads of cultures”. Culture is a prison where we act and think in full accordance with the presumptions established in our native traditions. Whereas cultural heterogeneity frees the individual from cultural dogma and ideology and creates a space with the right

⁷⁰ Hafeez ur Rehman. 1996. “Saints and Shrines in Pakistan (a case study of Potwar Area)”. QUA

⁷¹ Gupta, Dipankar 2000 “Culture, Space and the Nation State” Sage Publications. P. 20

⁷² Ibid p. 30

⁷³ Schwartz M Barton, & Ewald, H. Robert, 1968. Culture and Society: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. The Ronald Press Company. New York.

⁷⁴ Epstein, M, 1995. After the Future: The Paradoxes of Post Modernism and Contemporary Russian Culture, Amherst: The University Of Massachusetts Press, pp. 280- 306.

to live beyond ones culture, on the borders of the cultures (Millicent: 2003:297)⁷⁵. The difference should not form the basis for an excluded otherness by dint of which we form our own self identity, instead difference should allow us to embrace otherness by occupying the stand point of different culture (Millicent, 2003:309).

In this chapter I have introduced the concept of identity, tradition, totemism, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft , semiotics, binary opposition, space, boundaries and myth. I agree with the postmodernist's concept of space and cultural identity. My aim will be to apply these theoretic approaches and interpretative tools on the traditional culture of Kalash. The idea is not to blindly implement all the theories together but to relate the appropriate concept with the ethnographic material collected. In this dissertation the concept of space is conceived to be metaphoric i.e. an imagined space or canvas where traditional identity can prevail.

⁷⁵ Vladiv- Glover Millicent, 2003, School of Languages, Cultures and linguistics. P. 297.

Chapter 3

Area Profile

The study was conducted in Bumburet valley of district Chitral, Pakistan. The name Chitral by is derived from the word “*Chitter*” means beautiful⁷⁶. From *Chitter* it became *Chitrar* and finally Chitral. The modern state of Chitral district is located in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa Province. This state was once an old country with its borders extending up to *Badakshan* and *Bashagal* in the North West and the *Kunar* valley in the south all the way to *Bilam* and *Chaghasswari*. Most of these areas now lie in Afghanistan. The ruler of Chitral state was *Mehter*. Border of the state was not permanent due to the ongoing expansion of the neighboring state of Gilgit and Kashakar. Infighting among the locals made the area difficult to govern. According to the linguist Richard Strand, the people of Chitral apparently adopted the name of the former *Kafiristan Kalasha*, who at some unknown time extended their influence into Chitral. A reference for this assumption could be the names *kâsv'o* respectively *kâsi'o*, used by the neighboring *Nuristani Kata* and *Kom* for the Kalash of Chitral. From these the earlier name *kâs'ivo* (instead Kalasha) could be derived⁷⁷.

The Valley Of Kalash

The People living in the valleys of Kalash, Hindukush Mountains are known as Kalash and sometimes referred as *Kalasha*. There is a big controversy on the meaning of term Kalash in *Chitrali* language. Kalash means “*Kafirs*” and the children are referred to as “*Kalaushow Zahow*” i.e. sons of kafirs. In their own language *Kalashamun*, the word *Kalash* means “*Kalashawwahar*” or “*Shishyak Kawayri*” i.e. beautiful tribe or nature lovers. The most commonly accepted interpretation of the word Kalash is wearer of black⁷⁸. This meaning is originated

⁷⁶ Munshi Aziz-UD- Din, 2001: Tarikh e Chitral , Sangemeel Publication.

⁷⁷ Strand, Richard 1973 "Notes on the Nûristânî and Dardic Languages." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 93.3: 297-305

⁷⁸Ibid.

from the symbolic use of black attire by both male and female of the community. The term Kalash (khowar for Kalasha) is now used in southern *Chitral* with a very offensive connotation, such as that term like ‘niger’ or ‘polack’ in the present day United States. In this, it has apparently supplanted the term *kafir*, which seems to have become altogether unapproachable⁷⁹ (Cacapardo: 225).

The dictionary meaning of the word Kalash in Sanskrit is pitcher or water pot “full or complete vessel”. Literally "pitcher", is a metal (brass, copper, silver or gold) pot with a large base and small mouth, large enough to hold a coconut. "Kalasha" refers to a pot filled with water and topped with a coronet of mango leaves and a coconut⁸⁰. The Sanskrit language, according to the historical evidence, was once a predominant language of the region. If we look at the geographical placement and map of Kalash, the shape of pitcher or a water pot is strikingly visible which contains boundaries where Kalash people reside; as highlighted in the map with blue lines brings out the resemblance of their locale to a pitcher.

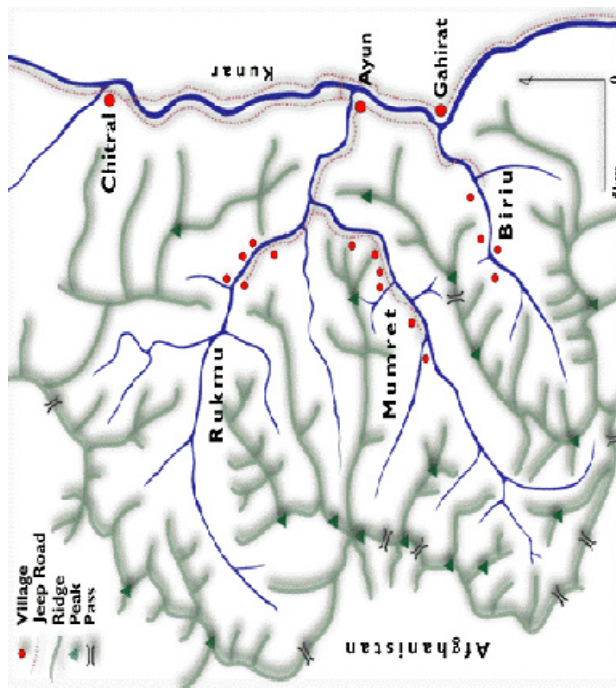


Figure 1: The shape of pitcher or a water pot is strikingly visible in the anti clockwise rotated map of Kalash

⁷⁹ Cacapardo. A : The Kalasha in southern Chitral part 1.

⁸⁰ Sanskrit Dictionary for spoken Sanskrit. Website visited on 12.6.2009

This may be one of the possible derivation or construal of the term “**Kalash**” being applied to that beautiful mythical community. However the study was conducted only in the Bumburet valley. Kalash is part of Chitral and it laid claim to a land of steep slopes, some 35 kilometers to the south of Chitral which opens towards Kunar River. During 1959 the kingdom of Chitral was attached to Pakistan and therefore the Kalash people became citizens of Pakistan. The total area of Bumburet valley is 180 Km sq out of which 51 Km sq is habitable and cultivable. There are six main pasture units at elevation of 3500m above sea level and occupy about half of the total geographical area of the valley. The Kalash villages in all the three valleys are located at a height of approximately 1900 to 2200m⁸¹. The climate is generally semi arid.

A by road route to Bumburet, Kalash valley is from Islamabad to Mardan (via Motor way or Peshawar road) *Malakand*, Timmergarah, upper Dir, Ayun and finally Bumburet. These routes are largely dependent on political and climatic conditions. In winter the Lowari pass is only functional for pedestrian between village *Gujar in Dir* and village *Ashmreet* in Chitral⁸². Private transport is available from Chitral to Ayun. The road running parallel to River Chitral ends at Dobash of Ayun Check post. The condition of road is very good till *Ayun* check post but afterwards when it splits in two directions one leading to *Rumbour* and the other to Bumburet. The road to Bumburet is non metallic which goes up to the last village *Shakhanadah*. A separate non metallic road goes to Birir valley from “*Binsir*” a small village of Chitral near *Ghaeriat*. There is also a jeep track from *Gilgit to Shandoor* and then Chitral. Nowadays, journey to Chitral by road is risky due to the ongoing war against terrorism and extremism in the region.

Chitral has an airfield which serves as a link between Chitral and rest of the country and is the only link during winters. The flight is bound to good weather, but it serves as a convenient link especially when *lowari* pass is blocked by heavy snow and land sliding from December to April. The flight is uncertain during cloudy weather especially in Mon-Soon Season (July to September).

⁸¹ Denker, Debra. (October 1981). Pakistan’s Kalash People. National Geographic: 458-473.

⁸² Pakistan Tourism Development Cooperation Islamabad.

Sunnis and Ismailis Muslim live in Kalash along with non Muslim Kalash. Concepts of Purity and impurity are the fundamentals of Kalash beliefs. They regard high mountains, lakes, green pastures, cooking area, gods and deities, goats “*pays*”, sanctuaries and worship area as “*ongesta*” Pure .Whereas the female “*Bashalini* ” maternity houses as “*Paragata*” impure. According to Peter Parkes

“the degree of pureness is calculated by the verticality, the bipolarities of purity and impurity encompass not only the specific altitudes, but also the flora, fauna and supernatural beings, inhabiting the respective zones and each pure creature, plant, or animal residing in the high mountain zones have their impure counterparts living in the lower zones, below in the villages of the valley bottoms” (1987: 640)⁸³.

These dichotomies play a significant role in establishing the societal norms and values in Kalash. The society employs purity and impurity as a “root metaphor”⁸⁴ to establish identity. All of the artifacts and practices revolve around this principle. The people of Kalash are fascinated by the modernization, development and prosperity but not at the cost of exploitation of their cultural identity. Two distinct types of Kafirs (old name of Kalash) reside in *Kafiristan*⁸⁵. The *Bashagali* or the red kafirs, now known as *Nuristani or Jadidi*, a few of them had migrated and converted to Sunni Muslims known as *Sheikhs or jadid`ul Islam*⁸⁶. The other type is the Black Kafirs who had resisted the conversion and oppression, identified as *Kalasha*.

Historical Background of Kalash

The history and origin of Kalash has been held in obscurity. There is no written evidence in the form of literature, art, and architecture. The religious ideology is attained through the verbal recollection of folklore, myths and miracles. According to myth *Shalak Shah*⁸⁷ came to Chitral with the army of great general and later decided to settle down there. He ruled the region and had four sons. Later he divided his kingdom among his sons. Rest is lost in the mist of time and no historical data is

⁸³ Parkes P. 1987 Livestock Symbolism and Pastoral Ideology among the Kafirs of the Hindukush. Journal Man, New series 22(4): 637-660

⁸⁴ Gupta, Dipankar, 2000. Culture, Space and the Nation State. Sage publications, London.

⁸⁵ Robertson. S George, 1896. The Kafirs of Hindukush. London.

⁸⁶ Means new convert to Islam, term taken from the book of Khan, M. Afzal, 1973: Chitral and *Kafiristan*. Sangemeel Publications.

⁸⁷ Saif ullah. Jan. History and development of the Kalash, Paper Published in “Hindukush Conference Proceedings of the International Hindukush Cultural Conference”.

present. Professor Paolo Graziosi, Professor of Anthropology and Prehistory at the University of Florence states, that the Kalash have purely Europoid traits reminiscent of Mediterranean or, under certain aspects, Alpine peoples. He found the Kalasha to have light skin, sometimes light coloured eyes, regular features and were of medium height. Some of the women he found truly beautiful.

“Khodai, the supreme God, long ago, at the time of distributions among the sons of Adam gave land to live on. Kalasha the youngest son, decided with his family to keep the valley, as this was the most beautiful and fertile valley in the whole world. The two other brothers, Katis and Bashagailis became jealous when they saw that the most beautiful valley has been given to the youngest brother. This caused enmity between the different tribes of the Kalash; the *saih posh* (wearer of black robe), the *surkh posh* (the wearer of red robe) and the *safiad posh* (wearer of white robe)”.⁸⁸

Kalasha recollect the memory of having Kings like *Rajawai and Balasing*. Their Kingdom was based in Batrik village of Bumburet which included Bashagal and Uchusht in Chitral⁸⁹. Balasing was a powerful king but it is the common believe that due to his sins, massacre and egoistic pride God had punished him and he was defeated by the Rais. The Kalash ruled Chitral in complete harmony and mutual respect along side with *Prince Sumalik*. In 1320 Nadir Shah took control by defeating Prince Balasing. The Kalash were taken prisoner and later massacred. The ordeal, humiliation and persecution of Kalash were beyond imagination. Their women were forcibly taken in to marriage, their youth in to slavery. They were even forced to change their religion. Many had obeyed but a few for the sake of their lives and to avoid conversion fled to the south and settled in inaccessible valleys. They tried to revive their old traditions secretively. Tom Campbell believes that

“Slaves have no reason beyond the capacity to understand what is required of them, they therefore require total direction from the master, and thus difference in natural capacity is used as a basis for a simple division of labor and quasi political familial organization⁹⁰”.

The Katur's period was a period of relief for the Kalash minority group because of the power struggle between the Katur's and the equally strong opposition

⁸⁸ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Adopted by General Assembly Resolution 61/295 on 13 September 2007

⁸⁹ Ibid.239, 8 line

⁹⁰ Campbell. Tom. 1981, *Seven Theories of the Society*, Clarendon Press Oxford.

of *Khuswaqtia*. Almost immediately the Katur⁹¹ realize that the subjugated Kalash bore no threat to his kingdom nor had any conflict with the Islamic beliefs. They put a partial end to the severe atrocities addressed towards Kalash but with exception to a few isolated incidents of taking their youth as slaves and taking their pretty daughters as bride or mistresses.

Historical events, if being followed carefully, the reason behind the silence of the British colonials to protect this unique non Muslim community is puzzling, in contrast to their friendliness for the Ismaili community. Besides Kalash there are varieties of other ethnic group sharing the same geographical space to maintain their cultural and religious identity. The historical accounts reveal that the Chitral region was accessible to invaders and foreign travelers for trade purposes which had provided them with the opportunity to subjugate the local people. These assaults had left their marks on the cultural, religious and group identity of indigenous people.

Sunni (Muslim)

The largest and most dominant branch of Muslims, who believes in the traditions of the *Sunna*⁹² and accepts the first four caliphs as rightful successors of Muhammad (P.B.U.H), Pakistan is recognized as a Sunni state.

According to the historical accounts Rais, Katur and Khoswqtia belonged to Sunni sect and had introduced and implemented Islamic Shariat “Muhammadan Law” in the region. They introduced Qazi’s in the courts, implemented Islamic law of inheritance and fundamentals of Islam. They even encouraged and financed the *Madrassa* system “Religious School” to conduct missionary work and preaching to the non Muslims. They follow the strict Islamic code of conduct. They are presently residing in the village Shakanandah I and II of Bumburet valley.

⁹¹ The ruling family of Chitral was the Katur dynasty, founded by Shah Katur (1585–1630), which governed Chitral until 1969 when the government of Pakistan took over. During the reign of Mehtar Aman-ul-Mulk, known as *Lot (Great) Mehtar*, the dynasty's was extended from Asmar in the Kunar Valley of Afghanistan to Punial in the Gilgit Valley.

⁹² One of the basic sources of Islamic law, based on Muhammad's (P.B.U.H) words and deeds as recorded in the Hadith (the collected traditions, teachings, and stories of the prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), accepted as a source of Islamic doctrine and law second only to the Quran) The Sunna complements and often explains the Quran.

According to the researcher's survey there are approximately 1987 Sunni's residing in the Bumburet valley, Kalash.

Ismaili (Muslim)

The Ismailis is a branch of Shiite Muslims whose members believe that Ismail, the son of the sixth Imam, was the true seventh Imam. They reside in upper Chitral and were once ruled by prince Sulemalki. They are aware of Islamic traditions and preaching due to the influence and interaction of Arabs in the region. It is believed that prince Sulemalki was pagan. During the reign of Nadir Shah in 1320 a man named Taj Mughal (a preacher) entered Chitral from Khurasan, Iran. He inspired the Muslims and local people of upper Chitral and Gilgit for conversion (Gurfan 1962)⁹³, but was unable to reach the people of Kalash who took refuge in the three valleys. It is believed that these people were financed by the Persian Ismaili sect who had visited the region with an agenda to spread their religious beliefs to the local people of Upper and lower Chitral, Mastuj, Mulkhaw and Torkhaw.

Once the region was dominated and controlled by the Sunni population but at present the Ismaili's are in complete control of economy and administration. The Ismailis had never been persecuted and subjugated by the Sunni Mehtars. In fact they have been spared by the Mehtar due to their political backing, financial stability and external support. The only event of hostility was reported in the British administered Chitral when Shuja-ul-mulk had imposed *Usher* Tax which was rejected by the Ismailis and led to rebellion under the leadership of Syed Bulbul Shah⁹⁴ who was later charged with mutiny and was deported to Afghanistan. This action had sowed the seed of unrest and instability in the region.

The Ismaili leaders regrouped and formed a coalition against the government by developing their own local administrative structure to tackle and solve their personal and social issues. They neither involved in the local Government nor in the British Raj due to their personal, social and religious conflicts. British instructed

⁹³ Gufran.Mirza Muhammad. *Nai Tarikh –e- Chitral*. Translated from Persian in to Urdu by Ghulum Murtaza Peshawar: Public Art Press.

⁹⁴ *ibid*

Shuja ul Mulk to use coercive forces to subjugate *Ismails* for regaining the British authority in the region, but very soon they realized the extent of *Ismaili* strength and support, so they declined and declared amnesty for all in the year 1926. Though this betrayal by the British Raj had disillusioned the Mehtar but he was left with no choice except to dance with the tune of the British masters. The second major attempt to disband *Ismailis* was started by the newly appointed Mehtar Muhammad Nasir ul Mulk who threatened the *Ismaili`s* by confiscating their land and their assets and by rewarding less privileged to coax them into conversion to Sunni Islam. The *Ismailis* resisted the open hostility and by the intervention of the powerful leaders Sir Sultan Mahmood Shah and Sir Prince Agha Khan III, put an end to the dominance of the Sunni Muslims in the region. The supremacy and hegemony established by these leaders is still prevailing in the region. The total population of *Ismailis* in the valley is 1065. It has been reported that the Shia community of the region had fled from the area and migrated to Mumbai, India, Afghanistan, Iran and central Asia and now there are *no Shia* present in the valley.

The Bumburet Valley

The Bumburet valley comprises of the twelve hamlets where the Muslims and the Kalash coexist. According to the Researchers data the total household of the valley is 689 comprising population of 5093, out of which male population is 2798 and females are 2295.

Table 1.

Valleys	Number of household	Muslim %age	Kalash %age	Population
Bumburet	689	65%	35%	5093
Rumbour	165	35%	65%	3500
Birir	245	50%	50%	2500

There are few hamlets in Bumburet where there is complete dominance of either Muslims or Kalash, like in Shakhannadah I and II only Muslims are living and in Gumbak 100% population is of Kalash.

Table 2.

S.No.	Villages	Muslims	Kalash
1.	Pahalwannadeh	68%	32%
2.	Aziz a bad	100%
3.	Qaziabad	100%
4.	Sarojal	70%	30%
5.	Pain	50%	50%
6.	Anish	15%	85%
7.	Brun	20%	80%
8.	Batrik	50%	50%
9.	Kundisar	100
10.	Gambuk	100%
11.	Karakal	30%	70%
12.	Shakhanadah I &II	100% Red Kalash

Topography

The topography comprises of a combination of very high mountains, steep and narrow valleys. The Kalash terrain is fairly fertile, local vegetable are of high quality and are mostly cultivated for the domestic consumption. The upper parts of the mountains have shallow soil with bare rocks. The lower parts of the mountain slopes have deep stony soils.

Flora and Fauna

Plants like Juniper, birch⁹⁵ and willows, are found in abundance in Kalash. The fruits like walnuts, mulberry, apple, apricot, grapes “*drac*” etc are produced and exported on large scale which further helps in generating revenue for the families. It is customary for every family to plant those trees because the fruit are dried and utilized to pass the severe winters, when everything is snow clad and non productive. Very special and highly aromatic herbs and sPhotographes are cultivated by the local people. Vegetables like tomatoes, onions, carrots, cucumber, coriander, beet roots are grown at domestic level. In the main valley the irrigated cropping land with rice, legume, fodder, and orchard comprises 1.5% of the total area. 1% low elevation grassland for hay making, 14% oak tree forests, 15% deodar forest, 60% upland pastures, 8% area is permanently snow covered⁹⁶.

Some endangered species like snow leopard, brown bear, wolves, golden marmot⁹⁷, and Himalayan ibex⁹⁸ are found in the valley. The other common animals include fox, jackal, rabbits, and markhor⁹⁹. Birds like hawk, eagle, sparrow, vultures, cock, pigeon, parrots, crow, dove, wagtail, tit and golden oriole¹⁰⁰ are seen in abundance. Domestic animals includes chicken, goats, cows, yaks, sheep, sports horse (very rare in Kalash) but are seen and kept in abundance in Chitral, dogs especially a specific kind of hunting dogs are very popular.

Irrigation

The main sources of irrigation are the rivers and streams which drain into the Chitral River from their chief source Chintar glacier¹⁰¹. The rivers and streams have no specific names; these are known by the name of the region through which they

⁹⁵ According to Encarta Dictionary North America is a tall slender tree with papery, peeling bark. Native to: northern hemisphere.

⁹⁶ Chitral: A Study in Statecraft

⁹⁷ A large brownish rodent of the squirrel family that lives on the ground and in burrows. Native to: North America, Europe, Northern Asia

⁹⁸ A wild mountain goat with long knobby backward-curving horns. Native to: Europe, Asia, North Africa.

⁹⁹ The largest wild goat, which has a reddish brown coat, spiral horns, and a shaggy beard on the male. Native to: Himalayan range

¹⁰⁰ A song bird with bold black and yellow markings. Native to: forests of Europe, Asia, Africa. Family:

¹⁰¹ Geographic Journal of Pakistan 2002, Blackwell Synergy publication.

pass. Nallahs also facilitate the irrigation system. Drinking water is obtained from the springs, through which crystal clear water is available. River banks are thickly populated as the water is in abundance and fulfills the requirement for the livelihood.

Administrative Structure of Kalash

After 1953, Chitral district of which Kalash territory is an integral part came administratively under the control of Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa Government and attained the status of a settled district. The civil and criminal laws, fiscal procedures, revenue affairs, family laws, laws of inheritance (for Muslims only) and land ownership procedure became applicable on them. The district of Chitral is headed by District Coordination Officer (DCO) who has various settlement officers under his command. During the reign of General Pervez Musharraf, the system of union council was introduced to manage the affairs of the district.

In every village of Kalash they have a single spokesman called “*Jesta*” or *jastro* which means elder. The *Jastro* is selected in a communal meeting in which all the members of the lineage participate. The criteria of selection are based not only on his religious and traditional knowledge¹⁰² but especially on their ability to express and protect the interest of the village and his lineage from external forces. They are different from the *Qazi* since *Qazi* is the religious priest and is concerned with the religious sphere whereas *jastro* attempts to resolve social issues, controversies and taboos.

Kalash is a very peaceful region with a very low crime rate. To resolve internal conflicts there is an effective *jirga* system established in Kalash. *Jirga* is comprised of village elders having social equality and tribal representation. It is composed of twelve members out of whom two are Muslims. Knowledge and purity of soul seems to be the criteria of social status. The *jirga* is only authorized to resolve an issue amicably. They don't have the authority to punish or penalize any individual. In cases when the issue cannot be solved amicably then a complaint is registered in

¹⁰² Unpublished M.Sc thesis of Naz Shugufta 2009, Ethnographic study of Kalash community with emphasis on Kinship and Marriage. Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i- Azam University Islamabad

the police station and the legal process is initiated. The police station is situated in Bumburet valley with an Assistant Sub Inspector (ASI) in charge having a staff of ten to twelve members to establish law and order in the area. The *jirga* is called upon by the ASI when he learns about the dispute. In the courtyard of the police station the *jirga* members discuss the issue and try to resolve the conflict. The *jirga* works independently without the supervision of the ASI. When they reach a verdict they inform the Assistant Sub Inspector (ASI). In case of peaceful resolution the matter is closed as settled. A meeting held with the station house officer of Bumburet valley revealed that very few cases require the intervention of police.

Besides *Jirga*, there is a locally administrated committee “Kalash Valley Education Welfare Society” which is composed of Kalash Qazi, local Imams and some Kalash females. The Muslim females are deliberately ignored. The main objective of this organization is to bring peace, harmony and endurance in the region. Fried (713-714:1660) believed that “internal divisions developed out of conflicting economic and political agendas, frictions over appropriate methods for safe guarding European privilege and power, competing criteria for reproducing a colonial elite and for restricting its members¹⁰³”. In Bumburet valley both the Muslims and the Kalash are very passive in their behaviors. Schermerhorn (38:1970) believes that the subordinate ethnic group in this kind of situation faced limitations, or restrictions which are beyond those regulated by the standards of the group itself, but are imposed from outside by those who appear to have self interested reasons. These outsiders not only have the power to enforce their decisions but they are in some way authoritative figures who are part of the establishment; in the wider society they are the insiders, and constitute a dominant group to act in compliance with the outsider’s agenda¹⁰⁴. Both the Ismaili’s and Greek missionaries residing in the Bumburet valley successfully qualify to safeguard their own vested interests, at the cost of people’s trust and free will.

¹⁰³ Fried, M.H. 1960. On the Evolution of Social Stratification and the State: In Culture & In History, Ed. S. Diamond. New York: Columbia University Press. pp713-731

¹⁰⁴ Schermerhorn. R.A, 1970: Comparative Ethnic Relations. A Framework for Theory and Research. The University of Chicago Press.

There are very few instances of rioting, rowdy behavior; sex offences and street fights reported. The cases of thefts are nonexistent. The streets fights only occur when the youth is either under the influence of alcohol or to win admiration of a specific female.

Land Holdings

A system of *Patwar khanna*¹⁰⁵ has been established for the demarcation of land for the Kalash people. The average land holding is 0.5 ha per household of irrigated land and 0.25 ha grass land for hay¹⁰⁶. Most families own their independent piece of land which is properly documented. Civil cases regarding land disputes go to civil courts where they linger on for years and finally once again the intervention of *jirga* facilitate the parties concerned to reach an out of court settlement. In most cases the decision of *jirga* is accepted. The cases of litigation and criminal offences involving Muslims and Kalash are often settled by the elders of the two parties and after a long discussion an agreement is reached upon which is acceptable to all the parties. The main source of subsistence for these people is agriculture and live stock production. The land holding are very small and therefore are not mechanized. There is no concept of mechanized farming. The land tilling is done by ploughing manually.

Medical Facilities

To look after the health matters of the Kalash people a dispensary with a doctor and barely essential staff is situated in Bumburet Valley. This facility is not adequate. The doctor assigned had left the area just after joining and people are left with no choice except to take their patients to Ayun valley which is at the distance of 15Km. No ambulance is available in the dispensary and the private transport is very expensive. The main general hospital with better facilities is located in Chitral. The lack of medical facility and reliance on the traditional “*dai*” is the basic reason for high mortality rate of the child and mother “*aya*”. Traditionally the Kalash send females to menstruation homes called “*Bashalini*” for delivery, where ample rest is

¹⁰⁵ The office of Land Records and Holding which is headed by a “Patwari”.

¹⁰⁶ Improving Livestock Output of Small Holder Mountain Communities in the Hindukush. June 2004.

A Report of National Center of Competence in Research North and South. PAMS Proposal.

provided to the female but due to the unavailability of doctors or a qualified nurse complication often arise putting the life of mother and child at risk. The availability of medicine is not sufficient. The lack of cash is one of the reasons which put medical aid away from the reach of ordinary people of Kalash.

Today there is an organized system of lady health visitor who takes the antenatal care to the homes of Kalash. To some extent this is instrumental in reducing the mortality rate during child births. The LHV is supposed to report to the In-charge Bumburet Health Unit. The minimal qualification for the job of LHV is higher secondary education. Mostly the Muslims have volunteered for the job. The Kalash girls were conscious for absence in this field. On being asked about this situation the Kalash females responded to this state of affairs that the preference is given to the Muslims because I quote *“we Kalash welcome and accept the Muslims as our honored guests, whereas they regard us as non Muslims impure, and are hesitant in sharing their food and utensils and we feel unwelcome in the homes of Muslims that is the reason we avoid the job of LHV so to avoid visiting Muslim homes”*.

A lady health visitor when asked about her job description, informed, that she is supposed to visit minimum of five houses per day which is rather tough. The salary of LHV is Rs: 1900/- (Rupees: Nineteen Hundred only) per month (year 2007) which is equivalent to 23.75US\$. She is also required to act as a substitute doctor when consulted for general health disorder and is expected to prescribe medicine. Her advice regarding the family planning and antenatal care, although listened attentively, is seldom followed. The normal complains of medical disorders are diarrhea, tuberculosis, bronchitis and fever. The incharge medical authorities have allowed them to keep some supportive drugs in their health kits especially for their routine visits. The kit consisted of a thermometer, blood pressure apparatus, first aid and few medicines.

Education

Traditionally the Kalash did not believe in keeping a written record of anything and therefore they never felt the need of any formal and informal education. Prior to the

establishment of Pakistan there were no schools in Kalash. It was only under the administration of Government of Pakistan the attention was diverted to this aspect of development. Now a number of schools at primary, secondary and high school level both for girls and boys have been established in Bumburet valley Kalash. The medium of instruction is *Chitrali* with an Urdu script. English is taught as a major subject. Kalash youth can speak Urdu in order to communicate with the visitors. Few have developed a little expertise in English and are favored by the foreign tourist as a guide. Anybody who can read and write is considered literate in the region. Formal education degree such as secondary and higher secondary is possessed by a few young men. There is no resistance by the Kalash towards the schooling for their youth. They aspire their youth to go to Chitral, Peshawar University and even in Islamabad University to pursue education. The Ismaili Sect takes care of their fee and boarding during their stay in any school or university. The researcher came across few students who were studying in NUML (National University of Modern Languages), Quaid-I-Azam University and Islamic International University Islamabad.

Besides the Government school there is a foreign element present in the region in the form of Greek Missionaries. The Greeks have a personal interest in the region because they regard Kalash as the descendents of some lost Greek Army which inhabited the Hindukush Mountains. There is a primary school run in Kalash village Brun which is funded and administered by the Greek for education of Kalash Children. This is a private institution and does not follow the regulations of the Government of Pakistan. It is free, Co-education school where uniforms and books are supplied by the administration. Muslim students are not entertained. Generally the school administered on the same pattern as for the local *Madrassa* and the source of financial funding is unknown. The syllabus is totally different from the local government schools.

Kalash children are introduced with a special subject "*Kalash Dastur*". They along with English are taught *Kal`as~ha Ali~be* means *Alaf* and *Bay* of Urdu. They dedicated this book to President General Pervez Musharaf with deepest gratitude who gave them the freedom to express themselves. Without his support it would not have

been possible to complete Kalash Syllabi which were their long awaited dream and the community had lost hope of help from the state. In reality this may provide them a space to configure their lost identity. The Muslims in the region are quite critical to the malicious intention of Greek volunteers. The Greek school was established with the general understanding of rendering help for the betterment of the educational standard of the region without any discrimination. But later, it has been observed that it is specified for the Kalash people and Muslims are not even encouraged to apply. The school follows a different syllabus, with a different script. It is a primary school with a potential to grow.

This segregation is serving as a seed of inequality, hostility, and hatred between the Kalash and the Muslims. This undercurrent of conflict and hostility when brought up with the Greek school administration, their response was a complete denial and ignorance of any such thing. The evidence collected regarding the syllabus being taught in the school revealed that they are studying *Kalasha Dustur* instead of *Islamiyat* in their native language using a Roman script. They regard this as a holy book at the same level as the Quran and Bible. This book is not available on commercial basis and the students are sworn to keep it protected and safe. The students firmly believe that this holy book will guide them to the same past glory and one day they can win back their kingdom.

A degree of conflict between the two religious identities is rising due to the unequal distribution of aids and facilities in the region. This has a potential to develop in to full blown rivalry. This ethnic divide is making the people of Shakhanndah I and II more backward and poor as compared to the Kalash. Even in the educational strata the Kalash are motivating both their sons and daughters to pursue education but in case of Muslims only a few families are encouraging their daughters to acquire education. The only justification for not allowing the Muslim girls to seek education is to avoid intercultural interaction.

Transportation

Jeeps, pick- ups and twin cab are major means of transportation between Kalash and Chitral. The journey is however quite expensive and is beyond the reach of common Kalash. Only in case of emergency Kalash take a trip to Chitral which is the subdivision Head Quarter and the seat of Government Functionaries. Otherwise the only link available to them with Chitral is through Police Station and Post Office. Students and people who are associated with certain departments or institutions mostly hitchhike to Chitral. The condition of road is very good till Ayun check post “Dobash” but afterwards when it splits in two directions one towards Rumbour and the other towards Bumburet valley, it converts to non metallic *Kaccha* road which goes up to the last village Shakhanadah of Bumburet.

Socio Economical Facet of Bumburet, Kalash

The wave of knowledge and advancement has made the people of Kalash aware of their rights and now they are demanding and pressurizing the government to improve their life conditions and grant them with ample aid so that they can lead a better life. They are aware of the fact that the government is making millions because of them since they are the tourists delight and interest. Many scholars and anthropologists around the world chose to study their distinctive culture. The interaction of Kalash people with the touring inquisitive visitors opened up a two way understanding, the visitor got some insight into Kalash culture and the Kalash got some insight in to the ways of life of the visiting tourists. They keenly watch, enjoy and observe the facial reactions and gestures made by the tourists and researchers and openly inquire for the reasons. They are inquisitive regarding the notes and observation being made about them. This intercultural discourse brought to light the feeling of deprivation amongst the Kalash which has been good influence as now they are striving more to improve their standard of living.

Here mention may be made of an occasion when the researcher invited a Kalash family to Islamabad for a visit. A young girl Ameer Gul from that family expressed her feelings to the researcher’s father that I quote “*you live here in such houses which are*

warmed by gas heaters and you have received us so warmly, I on my part cannot reciprocate your hospitality because we are so poor that we can hardly make both ends meet. We can hardly afford a meal". The same feelings were expressed when the family visited the researcher's supervisor, Dr. Hafeez ur Rehman, who asked them to stay overnight. What impressed me was the sensitivity of the girl while thanking for the hospitality she was aware of the difference in life styles and was expressing the feeling of deprivation. It is a tendency in human beings that they find someone, some group responsible for their social plight. The researcher had a distinct impression that they hold Muslims of the region responsible for their deprivation and backwardness. I had a feeling of brewing hostility between the Kalash and the Muslim inhabiting the region.

The positive outcome of this feeling of deprivation is that the youth are now trying to pursue higher education and are motivated to move out of Kalash. They are also acquiring technical education. In order to improve the life style of Kalash the Chitral government has organized computer literacy courses for the youth of the region, without any prejudice or preference to any social group in order to facilitate them to find jobs outside Chitral. The Kalash are demanding equal rights in local government and want to have their representatives so that their voice can be heard. They believe and admit that their lives are better than the lives of those before them. Modernization never threatens to substitute traditions it is not only concerned with rationalization but with the increase of wealth and power which are the chief means necessary to achieve human purposes¹⁰⁷.

The lives of the so called primitive people are generally considered to be grim and harsh. All their efforts are directed toward the quest of food. They have limited desire and by lowering their living conditions they ensure their own satisfaction and peace. They might have to work harder in the field than a person who is working in a software company. They are materially poor by modern standards but they have a lot of time to interact with one another to communicate and socialize. The Kalash do not suffer from any sort of depression or mental disorders. In case of bereavement the

¹⁰⁷ Cultural Identities and Modernization in Asian Countries, 1983, Proceedings of Kokugakin University Centennial Symposium. Institute for Japan Culture and Classics Kokugakin University.

whole community sympathizes and condoles on emotional and monetary levels. This helps in the healing process and connects the whole community in a net of solidarity.

Occupation

The primary occupation and mean for subsistence of the villagers is Agriculture and livestock. They cultivate wheat, barley, maize, and vegetables as mentioned in the details of flora. They hardly leave any suitable land for cultivation unploughed because of the fear of scarcity of food in winters. Land holdings and crops have been mentioned in flora. Only beans and, sometimes, corns "*jawari*" are treated as cash crop, otherwise the production is barely sufficient to fulfill the demand and need of the family. Goats are the preferred animal selected for rearing. They are regarded as religiously pure just as cows are considered sacred amongst the Hindus. Goats are often used as currency and are exchanged as gifts and dowry during marriage settlement. The goats are offered as sacrifice in altars on religious festivals and prayers to please the gods and deities for the sake of bounties. In spite of the importance of goats in Kalash society there has been no attempt at organized farming of goats. But this is not strange as goat rearing is done at the family and individual level. The goat grazing in the pastures is the regular profession of the Kalash just like everywhere else in Pakistan and especially the nomadic groups. Cow and horse rearing for both commercial and personal level is not very popular because they are expensive to keep and require much care and maintenance..

The second sustainable occupation is to serve in Chitral scouts, border police and teaching jobs. These jobs provide them with cash money which they are otherwise unable to get from agriculture and live stock business. This cash money augments their standard of living. The pay package varies on the basis of the nature of job which they perform. The monthly income ranges from Rs: 4000/- per month to 10,000/- per month. Before the year 2008, these figures were very less. According to my own survey, a school teacher is earning Rs: 5000/- (Rupees: Five thousand only) per month equivalent to 62.5 US\$ (year 2007). With this amount they had to manage and keep up the reasonable living standard. Now the present day educated youth is

successfully working for the International organizations such as UNDP, ICUN, UNESCO and others for the accumulation of data regarding development projects.

The restaurants and guest houses are also regarded as a very profitable business especially in tourism seasons. Mainly Muslims of the region are associated with this business because of their religious biases with the tourist, but now a small percentage of Kalash are also associated with this business. The Muslims of the region are associated with the Grocery business and transportation. There are very few Kalash associated with business profession. The shops of Kalash usually contain their traditional artifacts.

Sex trade is also a major source of income for females of the Kalash. I was told repeatedly that prostitution did not exist in Kalash but the data collected told an entire different story. The average age of entry into prostitution is 13 years¹⁰⁸. However there are no brothels or whore houses prostitution is an individual act. Some times "traditional wives" without job or any other financial support or women who escaped from or were abandoned by abusive husbands went into prostitution to support themselves and their children¹⁰⁹. Kalash Society is silent on the aspect of prostitution although it is socially and morally degrading and any offspring of such an association is considered illegitimate with little or no rights. Poverty and social deprivation is the element that compels the females of Kalash to either dance or perform sex with the tourists. According to a female respondent that "prostitution provides us with good money, if we perform dance for a private party we are paid just the minimal of Rs. 1500/- to 2000/- (16 .6 \$ - 22 \$ year 2012) as a group. In case of sexual services the payment is Rs. 1000/- to 2000/- per person. Sometimes a wealthy client pays good money for the services they receive and we do whatever they demand". A virgin girl is sometimes preferred by the elites or royal guests and they receive a higher amount. The Muslims of the region regard prostitution as a sinful and forbidden act but it has

¹⁰⁸ H. Silbert and A.M. Pines, 1982, "Victimization of street prostitutes, *Victimology: An International Journal*, 7: 122-133) or 14 years (D.Kelly Weisberg, 1985, *Children of the Night: A Study of Adolescent Prostitution*, Lexington, Mass, Toronto).

¹⁰⁹ Gamache, D and Giobbe, E 1990: *Prostitution: Oppression Disguised as Liberation*, National Coalition against Domestic Violence.

been observed that mostly the Muslim males of *Chitrali* community, officers of Chitral scouts and tourist visit Kalash valley for sex.

Alcohol consumption is a taboo in Pakistani society and is prohibited by law for the Muslims to consume Alcohol and is a punishable offence. This is not a universal prohibition as the Christian, Hindus and other non Muslims are allowed under law to produce and consume alcohol and are issued winery license on demand. Murree Brewery The Murree Brewery Company Ltd. was established in 1860 to meet the beer requirements of British personnel at *Ghora Gali* near the resort place of *Murree*. To date it is a famous liquor producing company in Pakistan which operates under license and alcohol produced by this winery is exported to foreign countries and consumed by local Non Muslim population. The youth with better interpersonal skills are engaged in a part time profession of tourist guide there are a few who had acquired this as a fulltime profession and are serving as cultural and traveler guide for a private organization known as “Kalash Travels”.

It is believed that the origin of the conflict is mostly initiated due to the economic disparity. The youth of Kalash have a feeling of deprivation of certain opportunities and rights. They develop some amount of dissatisfaction which gives rise to intercultural rivalry. The authorities deny the charge of prejudice and stress that there is no discrimination on the basis of religion. The placement in Chitral Scout does require two reference letters which is the standard procedure for recruitment. The best method is to redress the situation now, rather than to allow it to blow out of proportion.

Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in developing countries, notably in mountainous areas, which are often rich in traditional and minority cultures, as well as in biological diversity. Many mountainous regions, in fact, are safe-havens for traditional cultures, architecture, religions, beliefs and traditional knowledge. In addition, they are also important in environmental terms, since they are asylum of biological diversity and preserve rare and endangered plant and animal species. They

attach symbolic association with these plants and animals. The greater part of the world's renewable clean water resources are formed and stored in mountain areas, in form of inaccessible lakes and such regions are often areas of great scenic beauty, making them prime tourist destinations¹¹⁰. The people to secure the natural resources attach significant symbolic value to certain things mostly supported by the religion or mythical past. These beliefs and unique cultural patterns serve as a space for enlightenment for the tourists.

This government organization is trying very hard to preserve and protect the people of the Kalash region. They not only devise provision for the tourists to visit this exotic site but also organized hotel management courses for the youth of two month duration in which both girls and boys are invited to attend. The fee charges are also very nominal. The aim of the course was to encourage the local youth to open small restaurant or café for tourists during the tourist season which would enhance their economic prosperity and pave way for influx of more tourists which is beneficial for the region and the tourism industry as the whole.

Vocational Center

Nongovernmental organizations in many countries have become an important vehicle for development at local level as a consequence of the failure of bureaucratically driven inflexible governmental programs (Weisgrau, 1997:1)¹¹¹ of Pakistan. They establish small scale individually organized program at the village level, and are able to reach the rural poor in remote areas. The people of the NGO build good relations with the natives by fulfilling their needs and requirement. One such example is the Greek volunteers aided by the Greece Government had established a community center which offers technical and non technical skills regarding carpentry, carving, masonry, arts and crafts. At the moment they are only concentrating on the Kalash youth may be due to scarcity of resources and funding. It would have been in great

¹¹⁰ Development of Cultural And Ecotourism in the Mountainous Regions Of Central and South Report of the Third Regional Workshop Chitral, Pakistan May 12-16, 2003 Organized by the Chitral Association for Mountain Area Tourism (CAMAT), with assistance from UNESCO and AKRSP

¹¹¹ Schils. Edward. 1981. Tradition, Published by Faber and Faber London. Boston. Ed. p.501

interest of the local Muslims to be included in the technical training program. Muslims of the region are also very talented and the miniatures of calligraphy produced by the local people are awesome. It has been claimed by the respondent that the artifacts produced by them are displayed in an exhibition center in Greece. They even take troupes to perform in Greece and the trip is financed by the Greek Government. The researcher when requested to visit the facility which was adjacent to the museum, the attendant a local Kalash reluctantly refused that they are not allowed to let anyone come in. The Greek Rector Mr. Athanasius Lerounis when approached declined the request of visit very politely by saying I quote, “there is nothing over there which will be of any interest to you”. This attitude was very strange, unbecoming and unforthcoming of a person who is present in the region on humanitarian basis only. This is miraculous that Greek volunteers are preaching equality for all regardless of race and ethnicity and yet limiting their humanitarian efforts to the Kalash only. This creates an ambiguity in the mind of researcher as regards to the intention of the Greeks which may or may not be very honorable.

Presently the region of Kalash is exposed to multiple nongovernmental organizations, but the changes and development is not evident. There are no metallic roads, paved streets, sanitation system, library, a well equipped dispensary and street lights. The details of names of the NGOs who have been working presently in Bumburet valley is attached as Annexure. Although about fifty NGOs have worked in this area but still the community is lacking the basic facilities. Most of the community members are not satisfied by the actual development of the region. They assert that the life style of prominent personalities like Lakshan Bibi, Taleem Khan, Saif ul Allah Jan are way above the rest of Kalash they do respect and regard them but have certain reservations. The people of Kalash have certain reservations about the way they are represented.

Media

The role that the media plays in the construction of cultural identity is crucial. In fact, the idea of cultural identity in modern societies is often understood as heavily influenced by the Media. The societies which restrict the impact of these

communicational forces are in a position to protect and preserve their traditions. But one thing which is beyond their control is the aspect of migration, which indirectly makes room for the development and change? At least this is a widely held perception reflected in routine moral panics and calls for government regulation of the media¹¹². Radio and television the audio visual aid of communication system is the only mean which connects the masses of Kalash with the outside world. They are encapsulated amongst treacherous mountains and are confide to their distinctive traditions in isolation. The sense of interconnectedness imposed on us by the mass media, by rapid travel, and by long-distance communication obscures this more than a little. So does the featurelessness and interchangeability of so many of our public spaces, the standardization of so many of our products, and the reutilization of so much of our daily existence. The banalities and distractions of the way we live now lead us, often enough, to lose sight of how much it matters just where we are and what it is like to be there. (Geertz 1996: 261-2)¹¹³

In past they rely on the radio and transistors and the elders and youth were often seen with a transistor on their ears. They love to hear cricket and hockey commentary. Now they do have few television sets owned by few Kalash families. They love to watch TV and now they have more exposure to the way of life other people enjoy. Since electricity is available to them after 5 p.m they after completing their daily chores and duties enjoy the entertainment provided by the television. The media is the major source which is enabling the youth to communicate in Urdu. But unfortunately this media provision has a negative influence on the cultural identity of the Kalash. In past they love to recite their traditional songs and know they are more aware of Indian songs and culture. They are suffering from the same turmoil as the youth in the urban area of Pakistan. Cultural diffusion is increasing and the children are adopting and are inspired by the ideologies which are alien to them. They are acquiring the “*tikka*” on the fore head from the influence of Hindus. On the other hand, we might consider the point of

¹¹² Keane, Michael. 2001/3. Cultural Identity, Internationalization and Regional Diversity. Michael Keane is a Post-Doctoral Research fellow at the Creative Industries Research and Application Centre (CIRAC) at the Queensland University of Technology in Australia. His most recent publication (with Stephanie Hemelryk Donald and Yin Hong) is an edited volume, *Media in China, Consumption, Content and Crisis*, Curzon (in Press, November 2001).

¹¹³ A Sense of Place and Region: A Talk. Rft. www.ualberta.ca. website visited on 12. 04.2011

view that the mass media has a certain binding influence on national cultural identity, and that without governmental intervention into the cultural sphere, valued forms of traditional cultures will be more at risk from foreign forms of culture, which engender different value systems. National cultures are thus seen as contributing to a sense of solidarity, an ethos of nationhood, and the preservation of tradition¹¹⁴.

Television is a device on which ethnic minorities are portrayed in aesthetically mystic manner. But sometimes they are used to bring to focus the tyrannous attitude of the affluent which contributes in sowing the seed of ethnic conflict. There females and children are exceptionally beautiful and innocent and for that matter are encouraged to model for certain products in their traditional attire. But here the element of exploitation is very evident. They are very lowly paid whereas the advertisers make millions. At the moment there is no system for protecting them from such exploitation. Kalash culture is generally romanticised by the television channels and they explore the beauty of the region in various love stories, documantery and folktales. There are also many television fiction plays about these people which acclaim admiration of viewers and after seeing the plays and documentary about kalash people and their life style they were motivated to plan a recreational trip. Mobile services of Pakisan like Telenor, Mobilink and U- fone are also using images of landscape and people of Kalash for their advertisement, which inturn serves as a channel of promotion of culture and tourism. There was a famous song about the beauty and fairly fair complexion of Kalash females performed by a popular pop band of 80s Vital Signs which still is liked and appreciated.

“Goray raang ka zamana kabhi hoo ga na purana” “Gori daar tujhay kiska hai tera tau rang gora hai”
o’ Fair maiden! Be fearless your fairness will reign forever; your beauty shall never fade.

It is actually a tribute to the relative freedom of Kalash culture as opposed to relative conservatism of Pakistani society. The dancing, singing and merry making of Kalashi people is very fascinating for the rest of the country as in conservative Islam music and dancing is considered taboo.

¹¹⁴ ibid.

Cultural identity is in itself a fluid concept. It is more than just belonging. It also entails strategic use of cultural resources, texts, and messages to construct transportable identities. Critical anthropology, feminism, and cultural studies have contributed to understanding of identity as unstable and defined through various kinds of power relations: capital, class, race, language, subculture, and nation. The role that cultural origins plays is not straight forward in a world of nomadic subjectivity and cultural traffic increasingly distributed across borders through the internet and by pirated CDs and DVDs.

The cultural invasion of this type is very successful and it proliferates in a very reflexive manner without creating any disjunction. It begins with the diffusion of foreign words in the native language which eventually corrupts the significance and essence of the indigenous language, than fashion, traditions and clothing styles results in the complete acculturation. Cultural identity entails both the sense of structural continuity and the idea of agency¹¹⁵. The commercial recreation in form of television, radio, photographs, and news paper entertain people who want an outlet for the leisure time resulting from social and technological changes. These mediums are unconsciously replacing the esteem given to customs and traditions.

Mechanized Farming

Whole valley collects all the wheat harvested during the season. The thrashing machine is only owned by a man from Chitral who provide services for reasonable amount. People take the wheat to village *Anish* where the thrashing beats the grains out of the wheat. A man from Chitral comes with his thrashing machine and thrashes the wheat for them at a reasonable price or some percentage of the wheat produced by the individual farmer. It is a very amicable and profitable arrangement for the Kalash people. It is not advisable and feasible for them to purchase their own thrashing machine they would be unable to qualify for the loan from the bank. This machine had relieved the women from the responsibility of beating the seed out of the wheat

¹¹⁵Ibid.

manually. Now the males are associated with this task and they supervise the whole process.

Traditional cultures neither need to reject modernization nor to be absorbed in the stream of modernization¹¹⁶. If traditions resist modernization it can be misinterpreted as a clash of cultures such an interpretation may be unavoidable. The reinterpretation of each cultural, religious and moral tradition in the light of modernization must be attained. It can be the case that modernization can expect or even claim a capitulation of existing cultural traditions¹¹⁷. There is a possibility that the modern innovation can corrupt the religious ideology or impairment the nature and in-depth essence of customs and traditions which were cherished by the masses. Modernization is necessary for the improvement of human lifestyle whereas traditions delegate a sense of individualistic identity. Hence it is very important that a specified space must be attained where both the aspects can compliment and harmonize with each other. The types of modernity attained through these negotiated spaces are generally everlasting and unique processes without any terminal point¹¹⁸. This can lead to a juncture where the originality of tradition is completely distorted and is treated as either myth or allegory.

This can be concluded that modernization is a social process which maneuvers the societal values, attitudes, and institution by applying the simplest modification in education, family patterns, religious ideology and eventually the industry. It is initiated and realized by the members of the society by utilizing the natural process and developmental programs. This eventually changes the behavior, norms and cultural patterns of the members coexisting in a geographical space and is referred as the foundation of social change. Social change and development generally bring instability and social unrest. They segregate the society on the basis of their status and skill which lead the masses with a degree of *pervasive feeling of restlessness and in times of social*

¹¹⁶ Hirai Naofusa, Traditional Cultures and Modernization: Several problems in the case of Japan1983-1999. Institute for Japanese Culture and Classic, Kokugakuin University.

¹¹⁷ Irrgang, Bernhard: Technology Transfer and Modernization: what can philosopher of technology contribute? Source Ubiquity volume 8, Issue 48 (December 4, 2007-December 10, 2007)

¹¹⁸ Hirai Naofusa, Traditional Cultures and Modernization: several problems in the case of Japan1983-1999. Institute for Japanese Culture and Classic, Kokugakuin University.

*instability, behaviour of the past, traditions and rituals no longer provides the emotional satisfaction*¹¹⁹. This state leads towards fears, insecurities, and frustrations due to the well defined social stratification and class distinction of haves and have not.

Religious Institutions

The Religious institutions in Kalash are playing an integral part in formulating various religion based cultural identities in the region. Some operate as society reformist like *Anjaman-e-Dawate Azimiat* Bumburet, Chitral district whose principle aim is to convert the non Muslims. Their interference is the root cause of grievance and conflict in the region. Similarly the Greek Missionaries are also advocating their beliefs and religious ideology to the Kalash. The contemporary name and nomenclature of Kalash is a solid proof the acceptability of Christianity. They are changing names given to them by their parents to names which are more meaningful to them as regards to their identity. It has been discovered that the key informant Luke Rehmat had been given the name Rustam Shah by his parents his preference for a Christian name suggests a degree of divergence in his mind.

¹¹⁹Merrill. E. Francis Ph.D & Eldredge. Wentworth. H, PhD.1952-55 Society and Culture: An Introduction to Sociology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall. INC

Chapter 4

Religion as a Space for Identity

Religion is the most effective tool for equipping any group of people with a specific identity. It is a sacred spiritual space which brings order and regulation in the life of people. Religion is a universal phenomenon which has existed even in the Stone Age and preliterate societies. It is intentionally or unintentionally engrossed in every sphere of life and serves as an integral part of every moral and self respecting society. It is essential for every member of the society to perform the rituals as prescribed by the elders or revelations. Religion like traditions is transmitted from one generation to another. It is believed that during this transmission the purity and essence of the religion is affected. The nature and originality of religion are manipulated according to the beliefs, ideals and perception, and according to the suitability and acceptability in modern times. The word religion is derived from a Latin word “religio” which means “to collect again in an orderly fashion” or “religere i.e. to unite¹²⁰. The most common connotation is “to worship”.

Religion is often regarded as the “feeling of absolute dependence¹²¹”. It is a discourse of spiritual beliefs and social practices, a belief in existence of all powerful, invincible supernatural beings which control behavior of people and to create a harmonious society in which the weak can coexist with the powerful, the low can coexist with high. Complete submission and devotion to its commandments, facilitates to establish a group identity. It is often regarded as the set of rituals rationalized by myth, which mobilizes supernatural powers for the purpose of achieving or preventing transformation of state in man and nature¹²². Religion prescribes a set of behavior by which people try to control the area of the universe that is beyond their control¹²³. Religion is the main divine force that in the form of practices and codified beliefs is

¹²⁰ Durant. Will. 1995 “The Pleasures of Philosophy” An Attempt at Consistent Philosophy of Life. Services Book Club. P 333

¹²¹ Ibid. 334

¹²² Wallace. F. C, Anthony, 1966, Religion: An Anthropological View. (New York) Random House.

¹²³ Durant. Will. “The Pleasures of Philosophy”. An Attempt at Consistent Philosophy of Life. Services Book Club.

P. 334

cherished by the Kalash for cultural identity. It includes the study of ancestral and cultural traditions, faith, mystic experiences, oral history and mythology. It is a clear distinction between sacred from profane and the Kalash owe their religion to the fundamental principle of purity and impurity. It is a source of socio political strength to the Kalash people as a token of identity for their continued survival as a distinct cultural group.

In Bumburet valley when I asked people regarding their religion, they responded that they are “Kalash”. Hence “Kalash” for them serves as both the religious and cultural identity. In the region the Kalash reside alongside with the Muslim of Suuni, and Ismaili sect. The Kalash amongst them are recognized as a minority community and therefore enjoy certain privileges which Pakistan government has granted to the minorities. Hence it can be assumed that their religion is the foundation of their identity which acts as a significant aspect that can effectively be used to examine the rituals used by general public to attain a particular religious identity. One’s religious identity is always an assertive category especially if it is favored by the majority group. In Hinduism it is believed that one was assigned one’s religious identity by virtue of one’s birth, they say that religion is confined to tribe¹²⁴.

Religious identity is constructed both socially and culturally. It is not left on the choice of individuals in their early childhood period. In adolescence when the faculty of mind develops and questions arise to discover the absolute truth by putting faith and beliefs in question; often give rise to certain deviant behaviors which are controlled through chastisement. Religion is exercised through strong social and cultural actors and has often survived periods of tremendous changes through coercion with strong and dominating religions. The result of this contestation comes in the form of confusing people’s faith and identity. Kalash as history revealed, were believed to be polytheist and idol worshipper. The influence of Islam and Christianity had brought changes to religious traditions and the number of negotiated religious forms eventually emerged. This apparent change in religious discourse signifies the extent of confusion that

¹²⁴Durkheim. Emile. 1915. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. London, George Allen & Unwin (English Translation)

occurred when the imperative nature of religious identity collapsed¹²⁵. The changes brought in the religion are the consequence of asserting power to make it more of cultural and group identity rather than a pure matter of choice based on individual's inner self or basic fact of birth.

The basic reason behind the fluctuation in the religious identity is the lack of conviction and understanding behind the fundamental truth of ideology or faith in God. Elders discourage the youth to discover God because of their own feeble and shaky beliefs. Should they encourage their youth to question the existence of God, it may lead them to a risky adventure, which may deviate them from the path of their forefathers; leading to a change in religious identity. This constant conversion of religion eventually proliferate the space where the religious identity is encapsulated. Religion is the source of sociopolitical strength which enables people to seek identity for the preservation of their culture. For example the Muslims of the subcontinent, drawing strength from their Islamic identity created Pakistan in the name of Islamic nationhood¹²⁶ while ignoring their intercultural and linguistic differences. The Israelites, the descendants of Jacob reasserted their claim on the Palestinian territories as the Promised Land according to the Hebrew Bible. If rationally analyzed these modern day Jews are culturally more Europeans and have a polish/ Russian and German lineage¹²⁷.

The Kalash of Bumburet valley is trying to rediscover their lost identity and to build a stable platform which can be used to reassert their right on the region which was principally theirs. Their religion is an unseen cosmic force which is powerful and wrathful¹²⁸ for them. The "*Dezau*" the supreme creator is very powerful and his presence is invisible, he controls the life and death, fate, and fortune. He is the creator and administrator of the universe. By creating the invincible concept of creator it becomes easier for them to bring order, system, laws and values to formulate a distinguished cultural identity. The supreme god is supported by some deities to whom certain attributes are assigned. In reality the idea of god is quite disputed because there

¹²⁵ Grant. M. Robert, 1986; Gods and the One God. Philadelphia, West Minister Press.

¹²⁶ Dani. Ahmed Hassan. 1984, History of Northern Areas of Pakistan. Government Central Book Deptt. Lahore.

¹²⁷ Parekh. Bhikhu, 2003; Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture. Sage Publications. Ltd. London..

¹²⁸ Lalwani. Watanmal, LilaRam, 1994. The Life, Religion and Poetry of Shah Latif. Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore Pakistan..

is no rationale behind his existence and cannot be scientifically proved. Yet the universe becomes a spiritualized extension of the group whose meaning pertains to the group and supports the sense of identity¹²⁹. This diversity in beliefs is created to gain authority and supremacy over others and is further utilized for the purpose of constituting a space, for a separate cultural identity which is exhibited by utilizing the faculty of rituals in a distinguished, stylized and repetitive form of liturgical orders. Rituals are social acts and the extent of commitment is dependent on the sincerity and faith of the believer. For an outsider it may appear to be the ritualistic identity of the particular group.

Rituals are often in complete harmony with the religious ideology but sometimes people having power and spiritual positionality modify the rituals to safeguard their personal vested interests. Though this corrupts the purity of the religion but often is ignored because the believers have complete faith in their spiritual leaders. They never doubt their intentions. The people of Kalash also owe their religious identity to their shamans “*Dehar*” who are spiritualists and are capable of understanding the language of heaven. They get in to a state of trance where they are able to communicate with the holy spirits or deities. They are the carriers who pass on the revelations of god to the masses. They are healers and often possess unlimited magical powers and countering spells to cure the people from their misery. The shamans in Kalash reside in the village of their origin and are mortal beings. The people of the village believe in the supernatural qualities possessed and claimed by the shamans. The trance is then followed by the fumigation of juniper leaves and often by sprinkling of the scarified animal blood, offerings and prayer. The deities and fairies communicate with the shamans and deliver a supernatural message¹³⁰. The shamans are approached for the cure of natural illnesses and misfortune. Elders believe that they also had a book related to their religion handed over to them by the fairies having accounts and detailed description of their fore fathers but due to the subjugation and persecution the Muslims had ripped them of their glorious past and taken away everything which could facilitate them to re-organize their identity. They are grateful to

¹²⁹ Durkheim. Emile, 1915: *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London. George Allen & Unwin (English Translation), p.24

¹³⁰ Loude. Yves, Jean and Lievre Viviane, 1988, *Kalash Solstice*. Lok Versa. Publishing House.

god for not forsaking them and had communicated through the shamans and enabled them to regularize and manage their society and salvage their identity.

Numerous shamans have appeared but due to the scarcity of written literature they don't remember all of them and the miracles are also forgotten in the mist of time. Qazi in Kalash acquires the same status as the Imam and *Ulema* in Islam and Pope and Priest in Christianity. He is known as the religious preacher who guides the norms of the traditional culture. He is a respectable member of a society but possesses no supernatural quality. He cannot cure the sick, make prophecies, find evil and hidden spells or even communicate with the fairies. The qualification for the Qazi is a well informed, wise and honest man. The one who remembers most of the shamans with maximum miracles and stories regarding their heritage is selected for the post. Every village has its own Qazi. He is also serving as a permanent member of the jirga to resolve any conflict among the community members. These Qazi`s are responsible for announcing the date for every festival. They teach and preach youth the rituals, offering and sacrifice¹³¹.

Kalasha Dastur (The Kalash Tradition)

It has been mentioned in the previous chapters that tradition plays an important role in establishing the identity of any group. Religion, language, dress patterns, art and architecture are the tools which facilitate the tradition to delegate certain characteristic to any distinct group. Malinowski believed that tribal religions are concerned mainly with organizing: commemorating and helping people to get through life events including birth, puberty, marriage and death¹³². The people of Kalash though found their affiliation with the religion have not yet accumulated their religious fundamentals and stories in a written form. The oral literature is transmitted to other generation in oral form. There is a school of thought in Bumburet valley Kalash who believed that their religious Holy books were destroyed by the Muslims when they were subjugated later the remnants of their sanctuaries, temples, worship places were lost by the unkindness of nature. Though in reality there is no empirical

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Kottak. Phillip Conrad, 2003, Cultural Anthropology. 8th Edition. McGraw-Hill

proof of such claim. However it is evident in the pages of history that Muslims have never destroyed any worship places anywhere during their reign. The indigenous people are reinventing traditions and negotiating an identity in a politically expedient and historically superior way by misreading an anthropological text¹³³. Whatever they say and believe is their truth and should be accepted and respected by others beyond doubt because this is the very essence of their existence and a space for their identity. The data regarding their gods is collected through interviews from their religious preachers.

The contemporary Kalash believes in one God the creator known as “*dezaw*” or “*Khodai*” and sometimes “*Paida goorav*” the one who created universe, controls life and death, Day of Judgment “*Qayama*”, concepts of life after death, hell and heavens are present in Kalash Society. An animal is sacrificed to win the favors and blessings of the great God. Kalash claimed that the concept of monotheism is borrowed from Islam where as their predecessors Red Kalash believed in variety of gods and deities. They are believed to be idol worshippers but do not carve any idols because God is invisible and is omnipotent. Following is the list of gods, deities and super naturals which are worshiped or feared by the people of Kalash in past and in contemporary times.

***Irma* (The Supreme Creator)**

The supreme creator for the red Kalash was *Irma*, the temple of this goddess is located at the river *Kushtiki*¹³⁴ which is about in the middle of *Puran* valley. A U shaped valley high up in the mountains¹³⁵. The people of *Puran* were regarded as the specialist in religion. The god was supported by the lesser idols who act as his advisors and prophets. Recently from past few generations they have converted to Islam and are known as “*Nuristani*”. They are found along the border region between Chitral and Afghanistan in Bumburet valley known as Shakenandeh I and II. The

¹³³ Mark. A. Tveskov: Social and Cultural Change on the Southern North West Coast. *American Anthropologist* 109(3):431-441.

¹³⁴ Castenfeldt Sevend. A Pre-Muslim Temple in *Kafiristan*. A Reconstruction Project. Paper Published in Proceeding of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference.

¹³⁵ Ibid

contemporary Kalash do not recognize this god. But the literature, its art and architecture bore significant resemblance with the Kalash traditions.

Dezalik/ disini (goddess of Fertility)

This goddess holds power over life and death and controls the souls of the unborn children¹³⁶. Her temple is located in every menstruation home; it is represented by a vertical roughly flat timber in form of female vulva. The temple is considered as a labor room for pregnant women and here they remain till complete recovery. The male members and pure women of the society are forbidden to enter this temple. Every Kalash girl enter this house when she has her first periods and takes part in a religious custom “*tus`ul`ek*” performed by the other females present in the *Bashalini*. Special offering are made when women enters with labour pain for delievery.

Sajigor (the Warrior god)

In Sanskrit *sajigor* means “to equip or to be armed” but has no meaning in Kalash language. The concept of this god is the result of cultural diffusion and was introduced by king *Rajawai* in 100 A.D. This is a warrior god, the most important god who is considered as the protector and guardian of the territory. This is also responsible for the safety of livestock which consequently brings wealth and lushness. This god has the power to intervene over the spring rains. The temple is made in a circular shape made of oak wood surrounded poles. The Kalash elders insisted that *sajigor* is a sanctuary a place for worship and to offer sacrifices the perception that Kalash regard *sajigor* as a god is a false statement and is based on misinformation.

Bulimain (Divider of Riches)

“*Bulish*” in Kalash language means divider of riches, where as in Sansikrat “*bala*” means force or strength, “*Mayin*” is referred to magician who has the ability

¹³⁶ Loude, Jean and Lievre Viviane, 1987, Kalash Solstice. Winter Feasts of the Kalash of North Pakistan. Lok Versa. Publishing House.

to change. Myth is that a great *deo*, who lives in *Tsyam* comes to Kafiristan once a year markedly in the month of December. It is believed that god *Bulimain* with glowing appearance, blistering face, comes on a horse and brings salvation, prosperity and good health for the Kalash people. The festivities last for 40 days in the presence of their invisible god who is often symbolized by a horse. Due to the cruel winters the Kalash confine themselves to their homes and hibernate. They rely on their stored food items and pass the time while praying, feasting and entertaining themselves to endure the harsh winter`s atrocities.

Maha~deo (god of Promise)

The concept of *Maha~deo* is borrowed from the Sanskrit language which means great god. *Dev* is referred for a giant or evil spirit. This god is regarded as the messenger between the creator and man. He is popular in the masses and accepts a great deal of homage and offerings. He is known as a god of kept promises, concerned by transgression and soiling of purity, and above all protector of population. His altar *Malosh* is well attended and people approach him on daily basis by offering a sacrifice of bull or goat. His altar is situated in all the valleys the altars are transplant from *waigal* to Kalash territory. The altar happens to be an open air worship place under the shaft of large rock. The large rocks are surrounded by carved poles with four horse head carved on wood. The place is also called “*dera dur*” where the sprits dwell.

Ingaw (god of Prosperity)

This god is responsible for good crops and prosperity in the region. People offer sacrifice of a lamb or a goat without any defect to this god, before the seeds are sown¹³⁷. The lamb is especially selected at birth and is embarked for sacrifice. The animal is reared with special care. If it gets hurt or dies it is considered as a bad omen

¹³⁷ Luke Rehmat: The Tradition of Kalash: Kalash population and development network, Unpublished Material

and the crop would be in scarce. The sacrifice is offered at the “*Ucaw*” festival which is celebrated on 18th to 25th August every year.

***Shigan* (god of Health)**

When the child is ill his grandfather sponsors a sacrifice through the *betan* (Priest) to the *shigan* for the recovery of the child. This sacrifice is very common due to the poor health and medical facility in the region. It has been observed that the Muslims of the region often request the *betan* to offer the sacrifice for the safety of their children, but do not devour the sacrifice with the Kalash.

***Kotsomai ush* (goddess of Nature and Feminism)**

This goddess combines the nature and feminists to protect fruits, crops and children. She ordered the women to adorn themselves with beads, pearls and cowries. A goat is sacrificed in her name. She is represented by a naturally carved stones primarily having the feminine curves. The goddess is recognized and respected by men and huge offerings are presented for the safety and longevity of their spouse and children.

***Jatch / Zaz* (A Super Natural Being)**

This god is responsible for breeding goats. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to him when they are leaving for summer pastures for the purpose of grazing goats, and other domestic animals. Afterwards another sacrifice is arranged when the cattle’s are returned from the high pastures in autumn. Special prayers and offerings are made during the numerous rites in the *chawmos* festival.

***Istogosh* (Custodial of Tradition)**

When children up to three years wear their traditional clothes for the first time in their life a goat is sacrificed in the name of this god. The forehead of the child is marked with the blood of the sacrificed animal. The people believed that after that the

child is recognized as a pure Kalash and a true, faithful custodian of traditions and customs.

***Suchi* (Fairies)**

The term *suchi* refers to fairies in Kalash language. The most romantic part of Kalash religious beliefs. They deal with the supernatural beings and divinities. They are the guardian of the wild animals and ibex. They have the ability to assist hunters by allowing them, to kill their target. Sometimes they communicate with the chosen people and grant them with special powers. It is believed that they reside in inaccessible high pastures, glaciers or Mountain Lake¹³⁸. In Rumbour valley two places “*Katsair*” near *sajigor* and “*shingmu*” near *Maha~deo* are linked with the presence of these fairies.

***Bhut* (Demons)**

There is no meaning of the word “*Bhut*” is found in Kalash language. These are regarded as the evil male spirits of night, reside in dark shadows, have the ability to change their physical appearance; from man to snake. They are harmful and are killers. The people of Kalash believe that the origin of *Bhut* is borrowed from the Muslims of the region because they use this phenomenon to scare their children from wrong and evil doings. When a man gets possessed by these demons, a sacrifice of sheep or an offering of juniper leaves is made to *bhut saara*¹³⁹(residence of demons) this ritual is a kin to exorcism and is meant to drive away the demons.

***Wawa* (Ancestors)**

In Kalash “*wawa*” means souls of the elders. It is believed that the deceased ancestors of each lineage protect and pray for their living descendents. In graveyard, graves are grouped in sectors according to their lineage and are buried in coffins. To represent the glory of the ancestor sculpture of the dead is created in the woods. This

¹³⁸ Ibid

life style statue is erected on the tombs of *Gandao*¹⁴⁰ monument of the deceased ancestors. It is situated in the field near the village. The wood carvings of the ancestors are carved before the *chawmos* festival. The tradition has been revived after a very long time in November 2008. This festivals exhibit the inextricable linking of souls of both living and dead.

The traditional believes of Kalash identity can be regarded as the multiplicity defined and unified phenomenon; where the self is constructed through both discursive subject positions and social encounters (Mohanty 2005:255)¹⁴¹. Every juncture leaves a severe mark and distorts the original essence and absolute reality of the belief. Such identities are the result of manipulation (external and internal) of boundaries and beliefs in the existing space for survival. The persecution and humiliation suffered by these ethnic groups is not a very unimaginable phenomenon. Pages of history are filled with such stories. In the cultural divide some societies assume dominant positions and some become subservient. When India was conquered by the Aryans, the native Dravidians were relegated to the class dubbed as “untouchables”. Aryans further subdivided themselves in to a class system in which every cast was assigned a specific role. In their society class jumping was not allowed. The original inhabitants were driven to the lowest strata and were awarded only those jobs which called for their total surrender. The rationale was to crush their self respect and integrity so that they can never think of regaining their past glory. They may be economically so suppressed that all their thought process revolves around basic survival.

Similarly same is witnessed in the recent phenomenon of colonization of Asia and Africa by the Europeans. This has same behavioral patterns i.e. of the oppressed and the oppressor. America and Australia were the worst with their deeds in the way they treated the original habitants of their respective areas. Red Indians in America (both north and south) were exterminated; while the remnants’ were forced to live in

¹⁴⁰ Loude, Jean and Lievre Viviane, 1988, *Kalash Solstice. Winter Feasts of the Kalash of North Pakistan*. Lok Virsa. Publishing House.

¹⁴¹ Mohanty. G. S, 2005, *Social and Cultural Geography*, Isha Books Publication. p. 255

reservations where the resources of the land were scarce. They could hardly keep themselves alive with their associated civilization and thus human order was torn in to shreds. Their children were taken away from them to be educated in the civilized environment for having well groomed and trained slaves for the invaders. With the passage of time, the subservient tried to organize themselves for their survival with honor and they regrouped themselves by creating their culture as a space for their identity to put up a unified resistance to oppression. The process of regrouping followed the same pattern which had originally necessitated for their survival.

From the pattern of society a specific cultural and national identity evolves. The consequence is a conflict between various cultural identities. This terminates finally in to wars and subjugation of one cultural identity by the other. The cycle of social destruction and construction has gone on for centuries and is the story of human evolution. This pattern facilitates man to become stronger and more challengeable, adaptable of nature and survival. This led any specific group of people to put together their traditional culture as a space for identity. This can be successfully applied to the history of Kalash who were originally a part of Kafirs of Hindukush. The intrusion of various tyrant forces such as Indians, Chinese, Arabs and Afghan rulers subjugated them and gradually pushed them in to inaccessible, unfriendly pockets where they existed in a low profile keeping their beliefs, traditions, customs, honor and their way of life intact. They were isolated and free from any external influence.

It was only after they became the part of Pakistan, the course of their social betterment was started. The developmental work initiated by the government with the help of other nongovernmental organizations facilitated in narrowing down the gap between the dominant and subservient group. Greeks for that matter regard these Kalash as their lost tribe and therefore made special efforts to raise their standard and take steps to protect their culture.

Rituals and Sacrifices as a Space for Kalash Identity

Kalash identity is exhibited in the form of their sacred rituals and festivals. Rituals are the means of communication to the Supreme Being; they are very peculiar, and very symbolic. There is a sequential arrangement of words, rhythm, rhyme, dancing and sacrifice of animal or human beings in case of prehistoric societies. Language and actions of rituals itself express identity¹⁴². For performing them they like any other group observe specific rules before their submission to *Allah or Dezahu*. For the prayer both men and women clean themselves by taking bath, cover their head and face towards west “*suribihot`k gehen*” which is followed by a sacrifice. The blood of the animal is sprinkled on fire with the help of juniper leaves and freshly baked bread “*au`*” is served with grape wine, and milk. Praying ritual is customary before starting any important or new thing associated with daily matters. The prayer is stated with “*maula ta dewa*” (Lord the Spirit). All the prayers are named according to the nature of the event and are performed by the elders without the thumping of drums. These prayers are not followed by their customary dances. The prayers are conducted when the goat reach the high pasture “*Ucal` k batya*” since the high pastures are considered pure and sacred grounds. The Qazi build, “*Saraz dyek*” a large fire by putting *saraz* branches in the fire. The branches yield a sweet smell. The Qazi than pour milk or grape juice in the fire and pray. In altars before the harvest, the wheat ears are burnt together with *saraz* leaves as a gratitude to god for the good and healthy crop. When a special corn ear is spotted in the cornfield having two heads and more grains it is considered very pure and is regarded as a symbol that their prayers have been answered and they again follow it by a sacrifice of an animal and sprinkle his blood on the corn as an act of thankfulness.

Concept of Purity and Impurity

God has created the universe in binary opposition. Man – women, good - bad, day – night, hell– heaven, beauty – ugliness and amongst many purity and impurity are two integral concept which play a strategic defining role in shaping the social organizational

¹⁴² Durkheim Emile. 1915. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London, George Allen & Unwin (English Translation 1915).

structure of any culture, and society. This concept of purity and impurity has its roots in our belief system. It is religion that has devised a system in which man and women are on two opposite ends of spectrum of strength and weakness: dominance and oppression, good and evil, purity and impurity, heaven and hell.

Purity is not imposed upon us as though it were a kind of punishment; it is one of those mysterious but obvious conditions of that supernatural knowledge of ourselves in the Divine, which we speak of as faith. Impurity does not destroy this knowledge; it slays our need for it.
Georges Bernanos¹⁴³

Purity and its opposite, pollution, are vitally important in every culture. While they imply a strong sense of physical cleanliness, their significance extends to social, ceremonial, mental, emotional, psychic and spiritual contamination. Physical purity requires a clean and well-ordered environment and frequent cleansing with water. Mental purity derives from meditation, right living and right thinking. Emotional purity depends on control of the mind, clearing the subconscious and keeping good company. Spiritual purity is maintained through following the scriptures, ritualistic prayers, fasting, pilgrimage, meditation, and charity. Ritual purity is attained by performing ritualistic penances to rid the body of the defilement attained during debasing acts. Purity is of three forms - purity in mind, speech and body, or thought, word and deed. Purity is the pristine and natural state of the soul. Impurity, or contamination, is the obscuring of this state by adulterating experience and beclouding conceptions.

The word menstruation comes from the Greek *menus* meaning both moon and power, and *men* meaning month. The traditions of blood sacrifice have their origin in the 'sacrifice' of blood which poured forth from the woman when there was no new life for it to nourish. However, the menstrual blood was given freely and then used to nourish the tribe or the earth in other ways and no-one suffered, unlike later more corrupted versions. In Christianity the woman (Eve) was punished for eating the forbidden fruits at enticement of the serpent, by God. God said to her "I will greatly increase your pains in child bearing, with pain you will give birth to children. Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you. (Genesis 3: 6-17). The menstrual cycle is the manifestation of this curse.

¹⁴³ <http://www.brainyquote.com>

According to Leviticus 15:10-23

“When a woman has her regular flow of blood, the impurity of her monthly period will last for seven days, and anyone who touches her will become unclean till evening. Anything she lies on during her period will be unclean, and anything she sits on will be unclean. Men do not approach woman to have sexual relations during her monthly periods”.

According to Islam when Adam and Eve ate forbidden fruit their heavenly attires were removed and their private parts were exposed to each other. They felt shame, and began to sew together the leaves to cover their bodies. Allah called to them “did I not forbid you to eat from that tree” and forewarn you that the Satan was an avowed enemy to you. They replied O’ Lord we have wronged our own souls: if you do not forgive us or do not bestow upon us your mercy, we shall certainly be lost”. Quran 7:19:23. Allah said step down and from this day forward you are each other’s enemies, and they were expelled from the heavens to live on earth in their shame. The monthly cyclical bleeding and semen are both considered unclean and impure. Hence state of un-cleanliness is related to body fluids especially during exchange in copulation, menstrual cycle and parturition.

Quran states that O’ Prophet; they ask you concerning women’s courses period, say they are hurt and are in pollution: so keep away of making love from woman in their periods (*haidh*), and do not approach them until they are unclean. They can achieve state of purity and cleanliness by taking a ritualistic bath. A woman is not allowed to pray, enter mosque, fast and have copulation during her menstrual cycle. But she can prepare food, share the same quarters with her family, work and travel. In Kalash society religious ideology establishes the positionality and role of the women “*Istriza*”. The Kalash culture and society is one of the most studied ancient ways of life. The gender role assignation is rooted in their religion. This is based on purity “*onjesta*” and impurity “*paragata*”.

“It would appear that women are associated with blood, death and evil spirits who are supposed to move in unclean areas near the seclusion houses and the cemeteries”. (Lievre)¹⁴⁴

The women are considered impure, because of their biological limitations. Menstruation and parturition are considered impure and dirty and these women have to leave their homes to go to “*Bashalini*” special Menstruation homes for their monthly periods and for child birth. The details are discussed in chapter 6.

The Concept of Soul in Kalash

The concept of soul is relatively new to the Kalash. Loude states that in former times no one knew where a soul went. They believed that the soul escaped from the body through the mouth and eyes after death; hence they are open when a man dies (Loude, 1988:162)¹⁴⁵. In the pagan times of Swat and Kohistan, some six to ten generation ago, “*the priests taught that there was no heaven and hell*” and such nonsense, the terms good and bad have little meaning for the Kalash, the idea of punishment, of God’s avenging action means nothing at all (Barth)¹⁴⁶. The Kalash elders on the other hand insisted that the Kalash theology revolves around the concept of heaven and hell. When a man dies his soul or breath “*shon*” transform into a shadow and become “*partir*” and wander as the shades in heaven “*yurdesh*” and sinners will burn in “*zozuk*” hell. They owe this to Naga dehar the religious shaman, who proclaims that the soul went to the other world of peaks, mid way between the divine and human.” They regard it “*as a promotion, since it is at those altitudes that the fairies live*” (Loude, 1988:162¹⁴⁷).

Kalash do not fear death but they reject the concept of suicide as no such case has been reported or documented at the time the research was being conducted.

¹⁴⁴ Lievre. Viviane. 1996. The Status of Kalash Women in the Religious Sphere. Proceeding of the International Hindukush Cultural Conference. Edited by Bashir, Elena & Israr Ud Din . Oxford University Press. Karachi.

¹⁴⁵ Loude, Yves Jean & Lievre, Viviane 1988. Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of Kalash Northern Areas Pakistan. Lok Versa Publications.

¹⁴⁶ Barth. F. 1956. Indus and Kohistan Swat, An Ethnographic Survey Studies, Vol 2, Oslo,

¹⁴⁷ . Loude, Yves Jean & Lievre, Viviane 1988. Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of Kalash Northern Areas Pakistan. Lok Versa Publications .

However numbers of accidental deaths have been reported in the area. They believe that the life given to them is a gift of god so they have no right to end it¹⁴⁸ (Robertson). Life and death is a continuous cycle and one should celebrate the departure of those who had lived life to their fullest. Death is transition from one form of life to another. Therefore it is essential for every Kalash individual whether man or a women to depart this life in accordance with tradition. The traditional funeral services help to guide the deceased towards the realms of survival (Loude, 1988:163)¹⁴⁹. They celebrate the funerals and spend on feast generously. People from all the three valleys are supposed to attend the funeral. They stay for three to four days at the house of the deceased. The family is supposed to supply food for the guests. They munificently spend on sacrifice and funeral services.

The Funeral and Burial

Historical accounts reveal that in Kalash funerals ceremonies offer a chance for display of wealth which will show the importance of the deceased and his or her family. Death is mostly celebrated as a joyous occasion where it is believed that it is a union of soul with the creator and is now seeking favors and blessing for their living relatives. The tribe is assumed to be regarded as the remnants of Alexander the great. The religious observance of mortuary rites in rural Greece is very orthodox but is very different from the rituals and methods practiced by the Kalash. Cohen explains the burial and exhumation in Potamia, a village in northern Thessaly with a population of six hundred prosperous farmers. The village has its own very small graveyard, which is not unusual for rural Greece the graves are the temporary resting places for the remains of the dead before they are moved finally to the ossuary¹⁵⁰. He quoted from the study of Danforth, 1982, that

Beyond a small floor space, a ladder led down to a dark, musty- smelling area are filled with the bones of many generations of villagers. Near the top of the huge pile the remains of each person

¹⁴⁸ Robertson. George. Scott, 1896. The Kafirs of Hindukush. Oxford University Press Karachi 6th Edition/ Impression 1995.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. P.163

¹⁵⁰ Cohen.P Anthony 1985. The Symbolic Construction of Community. Ellis Horwood Limited Publishers. Chichester & Tavistock Publications London and New York.

are bound up separately in a white cloth. Towards the bottom of the pile the bones- skulls, pelvis ribs, the long bones of countless arms and legs – lay tangled disarrays, having lost all trace of belonging to distinct individuals with the disintegration of the cloth wrappings. Stacked in one corner of the building were metal boxes and small suitcases with names, dates and photographs identifying the people whose bones lay securely within (Cohen, 1985:82).

The mourning obligations and rituals are observe for the period of five years and the mourning females are considered responsible for the cleanliness of the graveyard as an extension to their domestic chores ¹⁵¹(Cohen). Where as in Kalash the graveyard is considered as an impure area and due to the concept of *Bhut* people are discouraged to go there alone.

The Kalash people are sharing their geographical space with both the Sunni and Ismaili Muslims who assume a strong hold in the region on the basis of either economical or religious superiority cast their strong influence on the non Muslim Kalash. This influence is evident in the form of constant conversion to Islam along with the drastic changes in their traditions and customs especially the burials and the funerals. Traditions of indigenou funeral customs and beliefs in a proper way to proceed the afterlife in Bumburet valley Kalash depicts strong traditions that represents a phenomenon showing the importance of local and family traditions for keeping their ethno-cultural identity alive. There is a big difference between the rituals and burial methods practiced by others in the region. The funeral is special testimony of their pagan religious identity held by the previous generations about which unfortunately the evidences are lost in the imperial period. The tradition later has undergone various transitional changes due to the diffusion with the Muslim burial practice.

Conventionally the Muslim believes in burying their dead ones by wrapping them in plain white unstitched neat sheets after “*ghusal*”. Christian on the other hand clean and dressed the dead in his best clothes in a wooden coffin with a lid and bury them in the church yard in the presence of priest, family and friends. Hindus used crematorium grounds where they burn the bodies and later put the ashes in Ganges River. The underlying idea of consigning the ashes to the waters of a sacred river seems

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

that, after getting mixed in the water, the ashes reach the ocean which, with its motion and violent rise and fall, is a visible sign of life (Rehman, 1996: 224)¹⁵².

The Economic Disparity and Funeral Ritual

The basic reason behind the poverty and economic disparity of Kalash is that, they spend their entire savings, live stock for the feast and offerings just to cast an impression of their bounteousness and to seek gods favor and blessings for the deceased. The funeral ceremony is mysterious, curious and fascinating and is a blend of shrieks and thumping of drums and is attended by the family, friends and villagers. It is customary that the bereaved family announces the total expenditure of the feast to the villagers in order to establish their generosity and their unconditional love and respect for the dead.

A first estimate indicated the participation in the feast of 130 Rukmula, 150 birila, and distribution of 190 kg of butter, 240 kg of strong cheese, over a ton of wheat and 41 slaughtered goats. The feast had to be worthy of the great man (Loude, Lievre: 1988 159)¹⁵³.

Ancestors are worshipped by their descendents after they have satisfactorily made the passage from the realm of the living to the dead. They are removed in to the mythological world or time, and, belonging to the prior realm, they exercise an influence on the world of the living (Rehman, 1996:227)¹⁵⁴.

The Child's Funeral

The funeral of the child in Kalash is considered as a very sad and unfortunate event. The dead body of the child is simply taken to the cemetery and no special prayer or rituals are followed. The family is advised to remain compose, cool, calm and

¹⁵² Hafeez ur Rehman. 1996. Saints and Shrines in Pakistan: A case study of Potowar Area. National Institute of Pakistan Studies. Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad.

¹⁵³ Loude, Yves Jean & Lievre, Viviane 1988. Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of Kalash Northern Areas Pakistan. Lok Versa Publications

¹⁵⁴ Hafeez ur Rehman. 1996. Saints and Shrines in Pakistan: A case study of Potowar Area. National Institute of Pakistan Studies. Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad.

collected. The feasts are only reserved for the close family and relative. For them it's a sad affair the child is quietly put in the coffin in presence of few close relatives without any formalities.

The Woman's Funeral

The funeral ritual for the women is slightly different from the men. Since female is regarded as impure "*paragata*" and her status is secondary and dependent on the man they belong to. The funeral of an old woman wife of village elder *Torag Meri*¹⁵⁵ (*Robertson*) an important figure in the village was a huge affair. The funeral was attended by all the important and close family members. The body is clad in clean clothes and decorated the juniper leaves, cedar leaves. The mourners are dressed in their usual traditional clothes. They dance and chant around the deceased for long hours. The sadness of the death is generally manifested by weeping, always *orchestrated and organized where women of the community has the task to exhibit sorrow*¹⁵⁶ (Harmer 1974). The same pattern is followed nowadays and the proceedings last for three days. In case of the death of a common woman the burial customs are slightly different. Their burials are not accompanied by pump and show; the dead bodies are kept for two days. The first day is reserved for the villagers of the concerned valley. This time there is no dancing it's just a simple arrangement without any dancing. The female is washed and cleaned, clad in new traditional clothes with accessories is presented before the villagers and the guest. Before the time of the burial the ornaments were taken off by the maternal uncles and handed over to relatives and close friends. Immediate family including both daughters and daughter in law is forbidden from keeping the jewelry. It can be assumed that each and every ritual attempts to grant them a special space to exhibit their culture and claim a unique identity. After the feast the family is left alone to mourn till the arrival of any festival or religious feast.

¹⁵⁵ Robertson. George. Scott, 1896. *The Kafirs of Hindukush*. Oxford University Press Karachi 6th Edition/ Impression 1995.

¹⁵⁶ Harmer, Mulvey, Ruth. 1974. *The High Cost of Dying*. University Microfilms Publication

The Man's Funeral

Contemporary Kalash bury their dead and overturn the bed “*sen*” on the grave which they use to carry the deceased to the graveyard. Religious particularities are main part of the traditions which was allowed as an enrichment of Kalash oral traditions and which was held by those who anxiously tried to keep at least part of the old dignity, power and the traditional identity. A young man of village Burn died from a fall from the tree. This was rather a sudden and unexpected event for the villagers. The villagers of his clan send a message to the relatives of the deceased. The first day of the funeral is specified for the host valley. All the people belonging to Bumburet valley attend the feast and mourn. The deceased is washed and cleaned by the male family members in the absence of the women and place him on a *sen*. *The left hand of the dead man is placed on his warrior's bow, and the right hand is dipped in the flour to sustain him during the voyage and in his new existence* (Loude¹⁵⁷).

In summer and pleasant climate they use open air verandah for the ceremony but in case of winters “*jesti~khan*” the Holy place is utilized. The females of the family undo their hair and occupy the place around the bed post of the deceased. This is done so that they can be identified. The rest of the females in the village are in their traditional appearance. As for men folk in the past the immediate family removes their cap but today men do not wear *chitralli* cap necessarily. It has been observed that only the orthodoxy compulsorily follow the tradition. The rest of the villagers dance and sing on the thumping of the drums.

In Past a lavish feast is arranged and served by the grieved family to the villagers. Now they have changed this tradition and the feast is arranged through the collaboration of all the relatives. The rest of the village contributes in cooking and distribution of the food. The flour required is distributed amongst the villagers and every household prepared at least 10-12 chapattis. The meat is cooked by the men folk. The second day of funeral is marked for the guests and visitors and the whole

¹⁵⁷ Loude, Yves Jean & Lievre, Viviane 1988. Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of Kalash Northern Areas Pakistan. Lok Versa Publications.

village acts as a host. People from Birrir and Rumbour valley come to pay their respect to the dead. Again a generous feast is prepared and served to the guests. The situation of the close family members remains the same. The people gathered dance and thumped on the beat of the drum and sang traditional songs all day long. In the meanwhile the carpenter prepares the coffin and the selection of wood is dependent on the economic status of the dead man. It was customary in the past that they leave the coffin on the high pastures by placing heavy stones on the top of the lid.



(Photograph:1) The View of an Old Burial Site in Karakal Village Bumburet Valley, Kalash.

Few accused the Muslims of stealing the wood for fire. Now the Kalash bury their dead and the grave is prepared on voluntary basis even Muslims take part in burial proceeding based on the personal association with the dead. They bury the dead body before noon in graveyard “*Mandoajoa*”. The male member’s mostly young man use to carry the dead body on their shoulders to the burial site. In the graveyard they assemble for “*dua-e- azeem*” a grand prayer for the deceased. Then the maternal uncle places the dead body in the grave and all the villagers cover the grave. In the end they invert the bed “*sen*” “*charapi*¹⁵⁸” of the deceased on the grave. The bed is left for the dead man’s use in the other world. The bed is the personal property of the deceased during his lifetime. If a man had not stamped a bed as his personal possession than the *charapi* can be brought back to the house and after purification can be utilized mainly in such instances it is the decision of the close family. This ritual of inverted *charapi* helps the viewers to distinguish the graveyard of Muslims and the Kalash coexisting beside them.

¹⁵⁸ Bed is referred to charpai in urdu.



(Photograph :II)The image of Kalash grave with an upturned *sen* and red flag. A Kalash graveyard at Burn Village Bumburet.

“Myth has it than in former times, a man went hunting in the mountains, but in his pursuits he fell in to a pit and was unable to climb out. After several days, it was assumed in the village that he is dead, and the members of his lineage decided to celebrate his funeral. During the ceremonies, they saw crows taking away bits of bread. The crows were in fact stealing the galettes, but it was in order to drop them in to the pit, where the man was still alive. Thanks to that food the prisoner was able to regain his strength and free himself. When he returned to the villagers, everyone was overjoyed. He then told them about the providential help he had received from the crows; the community instituted the practice of throwing pieces of bread for the crows on the dead man’s tomb” (Loude, 1988:161)¹⁵⁹.

The females are forbidden to attend or participate with the males in the burial proceedings. In the end they throw pieces of bread and cheese on both the fresh and ancestral graves this is equivalent to “*sadqa*” charity for the dead and is believed that the crows carry off the crumbs to the dead man souls. There are a few other stories which recount the familiar facts where crows facilitate by supplying the bread crumbs to the people who were assumed dead and that confirmed the custom of putting bits of bread for the crows on a dead man`s tomb.

A society`s myth have two origins one, the transformation of other myths, endogenous or exogenous, the other, the transformation in to myth of data of another kind, both are attested and are accepted by the masses (Goody, 79). The ritual and symbolism of the funeral ceremonies have long attracted the attention of the

¹⁵⁹ Loude, Yves Jean & Lievre, Viviane 1988. Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of Kalash Northern Areas Pakistan. Lok Versa Publications.

anthropologists, not because of any “inherently morbid tendencies”¹⁶⁰ (Cohen 1985:82) in the discipline but because the social definition of death casts an instructive light on a society’s attitudes to the relationship between the individual and society as a whole. These funerary rites are generally an important “sociological index” of deceased and the mourners. The fundamental basis of Kalash religious ideology is on the basis of mythical stories and oral praises which is transmitted to them by the older generation. There is no written document or testimonial present to claim the legitimation of their lords, customs and their past glory. Levi Strauss says that “the universe of primitives or those claimed to be such consists principally of message”¹⁶¹ (Cohen 1985:83). But still the Kalash are practicing their tradition with complete faith and sincerity without any shred of doubt.

Cohen believes that these funerary sites and ritual often tells us of the symbolic construction of the community, it often reveals the fundamental basis, contextual realities and prejudices of the society from which it is drawn from. In many cultures, death, the subsequent mourning and disposal rites have been purely nonprofit affairs undertaken by the members of the family, friends and tribal associates (Harmer, 1974)¹⁶². Finally the Kalash place a red flag on the grave. This serves as a marker of identification of Kalash grave. The Muslim also buries their dead but used calligraphic marble slab with name of the dead as an identity marker to recognize the grave.

Kalash Traditional Songs and Dance

Kalash identity can also be witnessed through the ritual of exclusive public dance which distinguishes them from others occupying the same geographical space. *Cha, Doshak, Dezalilk, Bazoon, Chanja. nat, Indreen, Grohony nat, Prapan Dawak nat, Pisty totobarki, Mehomaho, Awa, Hocha hopay nat, Shagayak nat, Grazdak, ohaha nat*. All these are the names of their traditional dances which include individual dances, torch dance, axe dance i.e. specific for men alone and chain dance in vertical moment like a train. These dances are accompanied by the rhythmical clapping and drum beats.

¹⁶⁰ Cohen. P Anthony 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. Ellis Horwood Limited Publishers. Chichester & Tavistock Publications London and New York.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Harmer, Mulvey, Ruth. 1974. *The High Cost of Dying*. University Microfilms Publication.

The traditional music tunes are *hoho...*, *oh oh....*, *lalaylalo....*, *dusiii....*, *ah ha ha ha ha*. Traditional musical instrument are *whan'ac* a small drum, *Dhan'w* large drum, *Ishpoin* flute. The cultural processes of identity formation embodied in dance are open, fluid and contested as a ritual is constantly being reinterpreted¹⁶³. The dance ritual in Kalash society is an important cultural vehicle and strategy for consolidating identity of its members. Many transitional changes had occurred over the years but the public dance demonstrations are still functioning on their same elegant composure. This dancing is the integral part of their seasonal festivals and are attended and enjoyed by both the local and the tourists.

Kalash tradition is famous and distinguished because of its mystic songs accompanied with an unusual group dancing. The triumphant of drum and chants of clapping all together creates a sensational environment for the visitors. The rhythm and beats try to communicate a silent message to the perceiver. Though the songs are regarding their glorious past but when combined with their present miseries cast an everlasting impact. Kalash songs are classified according to their themes and purpose like love songs, praise songs, festal and lullabies. “*Drazailak*” is a mode of solo singing where songs are textually focused and elaborated. The song constitutes 10 to 12 verses. After the solo performance the group recites the verses. The dance participants simultaneously make a long chain linked together by shoulder to shoulder. “*Disak*” style is an abbreviated and faster paced singing accompanied by the feisty dancing. “*Ca~e*” is the clapping style of songs and dance¹⁶⁴. This is more of a traditional nature where minimum importance is given to song composition. To compose a memorable song the singer is supposed to consult an expert (*Qazi*) on their history and legend. It is not necessary for the singer to memorize the whole legend as brief reference is required for his song. The theme is in accordance to the wealth and

¹⁶³ Queen. L. Edward. The Formation and Reformation of Religious Identity. Indiana University Centre on Philanthropy. Edward L. Queen II, Ph.D., is Senior Research Fellow and Director, Religion and Philanthropy Project at the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis. As a former program officer of the Lilly Endowment, Inc., Dr. Queen attended two sessions of the Colloquium. Web site visited on 21 January 2009

¹⁶⁴ Parkes, Peter. 1990. Kalasha Oral Literature and Praise Songs. Proceedings from the 2nd International Hindukush Cultural Conference, Held in Chitral 1990, Eds. Elena, Bashir and Israr-ud-Din, 315-328. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

status of the man. Most Kalash oral literature and performance though concerns with ambiguities but they do contain some reference of their ancestral background.

Song in Bumburet Valley

Eg kond` I mon matram e ko` karo de may suri zhe mastruk

Attention please; my sun and moon, I have something to say,

Prenaw day sira` dyaio trupaun paraw bazaar mumuret.

The wind blow from the other side, which frighten the Mumeret.

S`abas` o mimi natya desh bas`ara momal a gra`u`i.

I praise you my heroes and leaders,

Shoshongay shong may thara bala may grom mutabaran

I am too frighten by others; listen my homeland leaders,

Shura Ingaw wir pashala d` aya kay s`is`a dewal` ok.

Dewalokh showed the great warrior up in the sky.

Jamili shiras to tren chinil`ac`hikis ko-`una ne.

Women never get separated from the group we never heard,

Sha`ga` yak nat` o phatuki aran batrika pala`aw jaw.

There were Shagyak dance in Palawjaw at Batrik,

Sual ta ne aran o rajaaway nawaw.

They didn't pray oh, my great Rajawai grandson;

Onjes`t`a kui Bul`ima`in desh s` injin may desh zhe dunia.

I will convince my Balimain; Oh, my villager and the world.

There are two main themes of praise or renown (namus) that are appropriate as topics of panegyric those concerning the prosperity of a man, such as his successful management of a large household, together with his wealth in goats or land; and his personal achievements or prowess as an elder. Kalasha songs composers can thus, tend to be narrowly stereotyped: an exclamation of “*sabas*” i.e. bravo, Mutimir, Buliman followed by the lineage identity of the elder (named as descendent or grandson of an ancestor) and the singers kinship lineage with him. Closing lines are

equally regular, serving to alert an audience that the song may now be repeated in chorus. They end typically with the expression of modesty in attempting to convey sufficient praise or that to recount fully all the deeds of an elder (*drigazazai we nasi ne drasniu*) would be like a water channel that will never come to an end Parkes p. 318¹⁶⁵. I quote from the same paper the following song;

Sabas o mimi, mutimer na wau ze bakan nawau!

Bravo to you, descendants of Mutimit and decesents of Bakar!

Basan mastruk dranal e, rua biana chales

The mounth of spring emerged, and you pulled out a silver treasure.

Jamili- sir asale, ta (s)I jagai, khosan tre kalasa des`

It was your clans women, and looking at them, they please the three Kalasha community.

Lot mondro kila deke?asois tai dxorust ze~ mrat- n orik

What great talk shall we give? It became so beautiful at your doorway and beneath your mulberry tree.

The limited literature available is complex in nature and prior knowledge about the Kalash locals is essential. The only reason for the survival of the Kalash literature is legacy of recitation. In reality the recitation has actually caused the death of originality of Kalash literature because it is humanly impossible to memories each and every account in chronological order and that is why when the researcher asked them about the names and miracles of their shaman they were unable to even name them correctly and the accounts produced are vague in nature. Therefore whatever is left of their present literature should not be underestimated.

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Festivals and Feasts in Kalash

The festivals of Kalash are associated with the seasons. Changes in the seasons¹⁶⁶ occurring in relation of the calendar follow a clockwise pattern. Various feasts and festivals are held in accordance with the seasonal changes and requirements¹⁶⁷. The Kalash festival and offerings bear a close resemblance with the prehistoric pagan culture, which had been a very dominant cult in Europe. Paganism is an ancient religion practiced by groups. These people worshiped the sun, earth, moon and extreme weathers. They made offerings to an invisible god. This religion was destroyed by the Roman Christian. These pagans were forced to embrace Christianity but paganism was not destroyed or diminished completely, some pagan traditions were incorporated into Christianity. Earlier Christians disapproved the idea of celebrating birthdays as if it was a pagan practice.

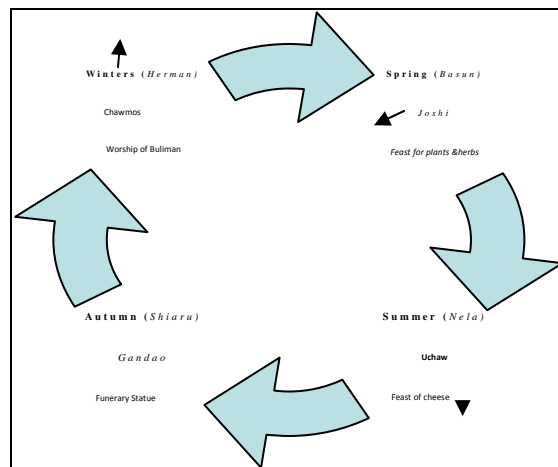


Figure 2: The clockwise movement of festivals in Kalash seasonal calendar

If we put the rituals and the festivals of the Christian and Kalash parallel to each other, a close analogy can be attained despite of differences in the philosophy and rationale of the two religions. The basis of the ceremonies and advent of festivals is remarkably same. The chawmos festival is celebrated in December as winter solstice is truly pagan in nature and spirit. Pagans hibernate in severe winters and pray to god for a

¹⁶⁶ Loude, Yves Jean- Lièvre Viviane, (1988). Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of the Kalash of North Pakistan, Lok Versa. See annexure for Kalash Seasonal calendar.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

better and prosperous future during spring and summer. Christian in the same month celebrate the birth of Christ or “*Massiah*” during December which is regarded as a religious event i.e. an affair in which the whole community participate, pray and dance to pass the days of hibernation. It has been proven by the meteorologists, scientists and historians that the description, timing and climate of Hebron (the birth place of Christ) does not match with the description of the 25th December as claimed by the church¹⁶⁸. Even Easter which is celebrated on the first Sunday in the month of April symbolizes the pagan ritual i.e. as a day for sun`s worship. It is believed that present day festivals and ceremonies in Christianity are pagan in nature and which were adopted and incorporated by the Christians for making resemblance to their pagan believes prior to Christianity. This ideological maneuvering turned out to be very successful and the church successfully lures the innocent pagans by claiming religious identity.

The people of Kalash are often referred as the pagans because of their religious practices but due to the constant influence of various external and internal religious factors have transformed their cultural traits and developed a new cultural identity. The festivals celebrated by the Kalash people are very colorful, joyous, and gay. All the three valleys collectively and simultaneously celebrate the festive occasion open heartedly. These festivals are the main ingredient of traditions based upon their religious beliefs. Generally there are two types of religious festivals. In the first type they sing, dance and enjoy their feast as a symbol of gratitude to their gods for all the blessings and favors. In the second type it is very sober and serious affair followed by a sacrifice. This is purely conducted by the elders and the youth is just entertained with the food and drinks especially the holy drink, grape wine, and stories are told about their glorious past.

The Qazi is primarily responsible to announce the date and time for the festival and urges the people for commencement of preparation and for participation with full enthusiasm. The Qazi along with other elders visits each family who had suffered a loss. They present flowers “*gamburi*” to the family members with a presentation of colorful gown “*chapan*” to the male members to “*shoak chink*” breaks the mourning

¹⁶⁸ The Shocking Pagan Origin of Christmas. [http://www.Hope-of-Isreal.org/Cmas 1](http://www.Hope-of-Isreal.org/Cmas1).site visited on 12.10.2007

and invites them to take part in the festival. The first ceremony of the calendar year is called “*kila siraz*” to celebrate the arrival of New Year and is celebrated around the 3rd week of March or first week of April depending on the weather conditions. The people are compulsorily supposed to consume vegetable for dinner.

Joshi or zhoshi is the second major festival which is celebrated in the month of May. This festival is symbolically regarded as equivalent to *Eid* celebrations of Muslims. People store Milk, walnuts, dry fruits for ten days to be used in these days. On the eleventh day the girls collect yellow roses from the high pastures since they are the only flowers which seemingly bloom in the valley at that time. The figure eleven bore a close similarity with the Muslims of the region since they religiously celebrate “*Giraween Sharif*” the 11th of Islamic month by distributing alums, sweets, grains and flour to the needy. In essence this is quite different from the Kalash but it symbolizes the cultural foundation of certain practices borrowed by the religion to perpetuate its control on the society.

This festival is attended by the tourists and is full of excitement, fun and jubilation. The event lasts for five days. The offerings in form of walnuts and milk are distributed amongst the tribe to celebrate the birth of all the children born in the winters and a prayer is conducted for the health and longevity of the children. It is customary to sing traditional songs on the thumping of drums.

Zhoshi Song

*S` abas` o tay hatya e may baya o muntimir nawaw.baya
may ne aphucaw eg nagorey pai gora chomay pa;aw*

I appreciate you my grandson Mutimir, Brother you didn't ask me, and conveyed yourself.

*Kia pes`man tay aris e ko ari tay zhanay naometi? Rau
zhe su `a` gel`ail anger zhe bazaar may Kal`as`a grom.*

What are the factors that make you angry; you played with golden and silver at my village Kalasha grum;

*Prehanka kay jagemi c` hir o goc` har prenaw C`hetgru
shay. Bira kumba ` l` asala e sanheshan pay thara ala
lagaril`*

When I glanced to other side of my place, it seems very fascinating my village Chet Guru

Azura son may thara cara asta kris`na t` emani moc.

When you take your goats to the place lagari, Last there was a man from an unknown place;

*May thara sarang hul` a ghona sajigor zahe balima`in.
Bira marat` aris e, abujaw may puri zindgi*

I was protected by sagigor and Buliman, when I sacrifice goat,

*Shukur khodayas som e ne shiau may tangi zhe majburi e.
lot` mondro kia dem e dadas to ga `u` k kat` asinga dem o?*

Thanks to god for the hardships and pleasures, what else I tell but my power remains for Kater Sing.

The next festival “*Ucaw*” is celebrated in the month of August to mark the harvest of wheat and barley. The festivities involve food, wine with combination of singing and dancing. The Qazi announces the date for the festival after perceiving that everyone is in a position to participate. The *Rat`nat* festival is “feast of cheese’s” i.e. to regain the favors of the fairies, which is followed by the official *Ucaw* ceremony where sacrifices are made on high pastures and altars. The male eat at the altar and female are served in the home. The females collectively or in turn consume the food and then join the dance. The ceremony continues till the next morning.

Another distinctive festival is of “*Sharu*” the autumn festival. In this festival the sacrifice of goat is made for two main gods’ *Mahdev* and *Sajigor*. Every clan organizes its own feast or “*Precesh*”. This ceremony is held in Birir valley. People of other valleys are not formally invited only the close family and relative alone attend the ceremony. Another small informal ceremony is *Alasing Zhonta* which is only celebrated by those who are prosperous. This ceremony is regarded as an exhibit of family wealth where the father of the bride present gifts in form of goods and live stock to his daughters family and in-laws. Another ceremony is conducted in the presence of the guests and visitors to high light their prosperity and to cast an impression on the

villagers and is known as “Sareik” festival. Both these celebration are conducted in the month of “Jani Mastruk” December.

The most important festival which is often regarded as the source of their traditional identity and sets them apart from the others coexisting with them in the region is the winter solstice “chawmos”. This is a colorful festival which is celebrated when the region is covered with snow and the weather is extremely cold “os” so they conserve their energy and rely on their food reserves to pass the weather severity. This festival is the combination of songs, dance, bonfire, food and mischievous acts to pass the severe and snowy winters.

Chawmos Song:

Jangal bathanay mo kasi khan o.

Don't walk in the native land of forest

Tat khuray o sohorum j,anjer o.

You have worn golden chains of shoes

Asmanani hur ghoon day la o

It has been said that the queen of sky is waiting for you

janatani hur o tay raphek o

The price of heaven fancy for her.....

The Kalash people hibernate at this time of year. They fear the cruelty of winter season so they pray to god and seek forgiveness and asking for favors and bounties in the next spring when arrive. This is a very sacred and religious occasion for them and they don't allow the visitors and non believers to participate or interfere in the proceeding. They do permit the visitors to observe the rituals. They have a very firm believe in their religious ideology and rituals. They respect and guard it without indulging in to any logical or scientific proof for their religion. Kalash people are very generous and considerate towards the feelings of others, therefore they have embedded certain rituals console the families which may have suffered some loss prior to holding

of the festival¹⁶⁹. This festival is rather an extended festival which lasts a fortnight. Generally it is held between 7th to 31st December. The *Qazi* announces the date of commencement of the festival which is usually first week of December.

The festival begins with the traditional method of inviting those who are mourning a loss for a loved one and then the rest of the villagers prepare food in honor of the family and a red “*chaapan*” a long coat is presented as a gift. The acceptance of gift by the mourners is a sign to break the mourning. The whole village is invited formally by a group of youth personally visiting each household. They purify and clean themselves and their homes thoroughly as a ritual and don on neat and clean clothes. This occasion also includes the distribution of bread and walnuts which they store all summer for this festival¹⁷⁰. They later celebrate the day of dead soul which is a rather sad occasion where everyone sits quietly and they remember their loved ones. They distribute offerings and fruits in the name of their dead one. They make a special fire and eat the food rather quietly.

The second phase of the festival is rather exciting and entertaining. There is a song competition where boys and girls compete with each other by teasing and cutting jokes on one another. Sometimes elders have to interfere to bring order and discipline when their children go out of control and cross limits. They even disguise their sexes for the sake of entertainment and fun. The elders prepare a sacrifice of goat in the *jestikhan* and sprinkle its blood on the walls and distribute the meat amongst the villagers. This festival is associated with the advent of *Buliman*, the god for riches and prosperity who is invisible but comes on a horse and stays with the people and on the basis of their sacrifices and prayers grants them most of their wishes.

¹⁶⁹ Viviane Lièvre, Jean-Yves Loude, *Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of the Kalash of North Pakistan*, Lok Versa (1988)

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*

Religious Cultural Sensitivities

This is a known fact that when people coexist in a hostile environment with a fundamental difference in religious ideology they are bound to develop certain sensitivities based on rational or irrational behavior. These simple careless attitudes serve as a space to cultivate certain conflicts and misunderstandings which eventually corrupts the spiritualism and harmonization of the region. The people of Kalash do welcome the visitors and the tourists open heartedly. They are only irritated when their females are mistreated or abused by the visitors especially when they are dancing. Dance is an essential ritual and is only observed to please the gods and the deities. During the course of data collection it has been observed that they had cancelled a performance just because of the irresponsible behavior of the tourist from Lahore, Pakistan. He tried to flirt with one of the female participant. The Kalash youth took very serious notice of that and forced the girls to go home. The ceremony for that day was immediately cancelled. The young girls aged 12 to 18 conveyed displeasure and disgust towards the presence of visitors in their holy festival. The Kalash often accused Muslims with the charge that they humiliate, accuse and harass them. They believe that Muslims of the region show disrespect to them due to the fact that their women folk do not observe *pardah* although Kalash females fulfill the requirement of “*Satar*” or concealment.

Apparently, the Muslims of the region have superiority complex whereas in reality it is only partially true. The Muslims and the Kalash are two different societies having opposite cultural and religious ideologies which often results in misunderstanding and mistrust. Cultural identities are constituted by employing signs and symbols in accordance with the cultural and religious context. These are further interpreted according to one’s personal cultural perception with or without the information of the subject society. The Kalash society is very open and broad minded. They ignore their daughter’s flirtation for the sake of fun with the tourists. The boys from Lahore misconstrued and considered this an open invitation and made physical advances in response. This created bitterness because of the classical example of misinterpretation of symbols generated by the two cultures when they interact with

each other. No humiliation or harassment was intended as explained by the apologetic and embarrassed youth when they were condemned by the tourists.

Consuming wine on social and religious gathering is a ritual for the Kalash. They especially brew wines in the cellar for both personal and commercial use. The administration of Chitral has put impediment on the trade which subsequently effect their financial position and is very unfair for them. This prohibition is apparently imposed on the Muslims of the region who buy and consume liquor which is strictly forbidden in Islam. But many Muslim youth go to their festival and consume free flowing alcohol. On many occasions it have been reported some Muslim youth under influence have tried to molest Kalash girls. This gives rise to small intergroup rivalries which is eventually resolved by the intervention of elders of both communities.

The issue of religious conversion is a bone of contention in the region. The Kalash often convert their religious identity in order to get their debts waived and later they denounce their conversion by reverting back to the religion of their forefathers. In Islam such person is called “*murtad*”. Islam is very critical in such cases though it shows much tolerance for the religious minorities but shows no tolerance for *Murtad din*¹⁷¹”. There is one incident in Kalash related to a young Kalash boy who later was murdered by the so called religious zealots. The family claimed that the boy was not converted to Islam and only had developed close association with the Muslims where as the *Imam Masjid* of Bumburet had produced witness for the claim. The Kalash to this date is horrified and have not forgotten the episode. The ASI of the area when questioned regarding the incident was reluctant to comment and stressed that the area is very peaceful and without hostility. There was a slight bitterness between the youth when they mocked the researcher regarding the incident where the *Imam of Lal Masjid* Islamabad tried to escape from the mosque disguised as a woman wearing a veil. The groups don’t miss any chance of teasing one another’s religious leaders.

The Kalash are equally sensitive to their national identity and despise the idea when their intentions are doubted because of their religion. They are in-fact more

¹⁷¹ “Murtad Din” is the one who denounces Islam and accepts any other religion. The punishment for this crime is death.

patriot than their Muslim counterpart in the region. Religion though philosophically refers to the relationship of man with God and his messengers on whose authority they have some faith. The role of religion as a space in the production of identity is not only restricted to philosophical thoughts and theological beliefs; it absorbs the conscious and unconscious influence of political, social and economical implications. These identities are often manipulated to create or resist social change. In reality it also plays an integral part in constructing personal, ethnic and national identity.

The contemporary Kalash religion and rituals are entirely different from the accounts provided by the historians, travelers and sociologists before the war of independence in 1857. The Kalash are now monotheist believing in one supreme authority “*Dezau*” and the shamans through whom they have received their religious knowledge. The temples and sanctuaries like *sajigor*, *mahdev*, *Ingaw* are sacred holy places. Like any religious group they celebrate their festivals and traditions with regularity and enthusiasm to keep their religious identity alive. The elders of Kalash do not interfere or involve in the comparative religions discourse. They like to keep their religion personal. Even in Kalash there is a minor difference between the beliefs of elders from that of youth. Youth require logical explanation or even a mythical account of certain religious beliefs about which the Kalash elders have no satisfactory answer, but there the matter rest. The youth are also following the footsteps of their elders and are following the tradition without going in to philosophical and logical explanation behind their religion and history. But there are few who are trying to document the traditional believe in a correct chronological order. The frustration and hardships endured in the course of life by the Kalash community is the basic reason for their passive attitude of “live and let live”, it is a significant part of their survival which enable them to keep their traditional identity intact.

Outwardly the Kalash are indistinguishable from the rest of people residing in the region which is inhabited by other ethnic groups. They are only distinguished by the religion they profess, the festivals they celebrate and the way their womenfolk dress. There festivals are seasonal in nature although they are dedicated to one god and his deities. The customs and tradition of Kalash have remained intact as the researcher found no significant change in them over the years. The practice today is almost the

same as reported by different anthropologists over the last fifty years. Their religious feast and festivals are now regarded as cultural events. The people inhabiting Kalash territory are racially and ethnically the same. The only difference is that of religion they practice and custom and tradition they follow which show up in their festivals and their dress and adornments. When a Kalash gets converted to Islam, he denounces all the customs and traditions of Kalash and adopts those prescribed by Islam. The attendance of festivals by actual participation is a taboo for the Muslim. However the Muslim relative can be a spectator to the religious festivities of his Kalash family. His participation and presence on religious occasions is not approved by the elders of Kalash community. They regard them impure and feel betrayed by the weakness and lack of conviction of their converted brother. They consider conversion as a threat to their culture and religious identity.

Chapter 5

Personal Adornment as a Space for Identity

Identity is the organized set of characteristics, an individual perceives, as representing the self in any given social situation (Troiden, 1984)¹⁷². Clothing can safely be used as a silent way of non verbal communication. It is a tool to establish the cultural identity which assists in defining unique identities by employing accurate symbols which are permitted and approved by the culture. Cultural Identity is one of many forms of identity that individual may express through clothing¹⁷³. This identity configuration is largely dependent on the ability to understand the hidden meaning of societal values and historic realities. Identities are constituted by evaluating and adding various characters and traits. The most important and fundamental aspect of identity is the person's own personality and self concept. To shape up the external silhouette certain material, apart from the natural abilities, like clothing and accessories are required to enhance the appearance and perception of the individual in any social context. These material goods are governed by the norms and mores for a precise interpretation and placement in accordance with the culture. Individual acts can provide a means for expression and flexibility in conveying a message or combination of messages and creativity. Cultures provide "identity kits" (Goffman, 1961)¹⁷⁴ that assists in assuming conventional identities for the people belonging to marginal groups.

These identity kits facilitate the perceiver to interpret the meaning of a complete dress with the specification it attempts to signify. The universe is surrounded by variety of objects, things, and artifacts which most of the time have certain ideological values. These values can be based on one's cultural beliefs, taboos, good fortune, and fallacy. Consciously and unconsciously these staunch beliefs are reflected in the clothing

¹⁷² Kaiser, B Susan: *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearance in Context*. II Edition. Fairchild Publications. New York 1997. P.186

¹⁷³ Ibid. p.536

¹⁷⁴ Musolf, Gil, Richard, 2003. *Structure and Agency in Everyday Life: An Introduction to Social Psychology*. II Edition, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, INC

either in the form of embellishments or composite. Clothing has a duality in nature it is a tangible material and is often used as a very strong and emotional symbolic character. The signs generated by the clothing and accessories denote certain ideological truths and non verbal messages of certain minority groups. The symbols when deeply analyzed extend the darkest spatial reality of their existence.

The post modern culture may be characterized as a structure of feeling involving social thought and aesthetic trends (art, architecture, music, and fashion). It involves the convergence of old (traditional) and new (modern) elements and codes, inevitably producing a recycling of signs from historic context. The traditional costume when created is not usually meant for the purpose it is used to symbolize. There is a possibility of perceptual disagreement between the wearer and the designer. Post modern culture frames the signs in a context that has little to do with the past, that juxtaposes elements in an eclectic manner, and that places increasing emphasis on the signified portion of the sign¹⁷⁵. The dresses can signify more than one meaning like in form of folk costume of Kalash one can generate information about the group identity, religious identity, values, economic aspect, social setup and norms of the particular society.

“Every known society recognizes and elaborates some differences between the sexes, Although there are groups in which men wear skirts and women wear pants or trousers, it is everywhere the case that there are characteristic tasks, manners, and responsibilities, primarily with women or with men” (Rosaldo, 1974: 18)¹⁷⁶. The kafirs of Kalash are often regarded as “*Siah Posh*” the one in black robe. This black colour serves as a space for their traditional identity. Anthropologist and social scientist often give due consideration to certain signs and symbols generated through the effective use of colours from a cross cultural perspective, that is why colours are used universally to signify certain connotative meanings like, death, spirituality, happiness, festivities, sorrow, eternal life and vitality¹⁷⁷. The colours used by the wearer are often indicative of certain symbolic interpretation in any given culture.

¹⁷⁵ Kaiser. B Susan: The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearance in Context. II Edition. Fairchild Publications. New York 1997. P.408

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 416

¹⁷⁷ Funeral Rites across Different Cultures website visited on 14.12. 2007



(Photograph: iii)The Researcher with her Kalash Friends

However conformity in dress and colour may be defined as change in an individual's behavior or attitude to achieve consistency based on real or imagined group pressure (Kaiser & Kaiser 1976). In a hostile environment conformity is a defense mechanism, a way of gaining social acceptance by expressing the ability to identify with the people of their own group¹⁷⁸. This signifies loyalty and unification to ones group with a definite sense of security. Similarly the traditional dress “*Cou*”, of Kalash females are composed of head dress “*Kupas*”, the minor head dress “*Sus`t*” and “*Patti*” the waist belt and the shawls. This attire sets them apart from the local females and also signifies their origin. This distinctive garb makes it easier for the men folk to recognize them instantly and come to their assistance if they were in distress. It is believed that individual who conforms in term of clothing is likely to have acquiescent personalities. They are most restrained and submissive and usually give in to the social order. Conformity to a dress pattern is a way for the Kalash people of reducing anxiety and showing loyalty to their culture and ethnic group

The phenomenon of a traditional cultural identity is reactionary in nature adopted by the deprived group to guard their interests and an attempt in surviving the rapidly changing environment. Colours play an important role in the psychology of the individual. The colours further convey certain messages with a specific thoughtfulness

¹⁷⁸ Kaiser, B. Susan.1997: *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearance in Context*. II Edition. Fairchild Publications. New York. P.472

and purpose. The interpretations sometimes are conflicting in nature when analyzed cross culturally due to the influence of certain socio political forces. Hence it can be assumed that a single colour can signify variety of symbolic interpretations for different culture and can be contradicting at the same time. The black colour used by the Kalash people is also indicative of certain symbolic message and it is very important to establish a genuine justification for the choice of colour. Black, with its traditional association with gloom and darkness, has been the customary colour of mourning for men and women of Europe since the fourteenth century. However, it is imperative to note that though there is a prevalent use of black to represent death, it is not the universal colour of mourning; neither has it always provided the funeral hue even in Western societies¹⁷⁹. They also used black for their highly formal occasions like a black tie party where it is customary for the guests to conform to the code and the occasion is regarded as most exquisite. Black colour in an Islamic society is associated with “*sher*” i.e. darkness, evil like in *Surat Al Falaq*¹⁸⁰ (day break)

“Say: I seek refuge in the lord of the day break from the mischief of his creation, from the mischief of the night when it spreads its darkness; from the mischief’s of witches blowing knots; and from the mischief of the envier when he envies” (113:1-5).

In the earlier days of Islam when Muslims were in minority the Holy Prophet, Muhammad (P.B.U.H) wives and the wives of other converted Muslims were ordered by the God to cover their bosoms and hide their adornment with a black veil so that they can be identified, appear distinct and to look less attractive. In Arab, Syria and Iran females prefer black gowns as “*abbaya*”. The mourning dress of Shia Muslims in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India is black which is only observed as a ritual for the month of *Moharram* (the first month according to Islamic calendar). Black is also a symbol of equality that is practiced in Kalash society. It is an egalitarian society without any social stratification on the basis of lineage, dress, status or economic prosperity. The black dress is worn by every woman and all are equally respected. The dresses and accessories are often used to symbolize the political and religious affiliations. The generated sign when scrutinized carefully serves as a space for communication between cultures.

¹⁷⁹ Funeral, Rites across Different Cultures. Websites. Visited on 14. 12. 2007.

¹⁸⁰ Al Quran 113:1-5

The traditional symbols for Kalash women identity are their distinctive braids along with their attire. The hair have to be braided tightly so that no hair fall in the kitchen or home as the broken hair are considered sacrilegious and impure. This is actually the reason that the women folk take bath and wash their hair by the flowing stream, carefully combing wet hair and braiding them. The converted Muslim women who joined the Islamic community give up their traditional attire but they continue the practice of braiding which reflect their desire to cling to some resemblance of their own original identity even after becoming Muslim. This very action casts a doubt on their conversion to Islamic faith; but may be, in reality, it is their innate desire to hold on to their uniqueness in the wider, absorbing Islamic culture or just a habit.



(Photograph iv) Two real sisters Kalasha and converted Muslim: Analysis of the style of head braid signifies their unconscious attachment to their true identity

The females are self sufficient and prepare their garments from scratch to the finished form. This attire is entirely different from all the groups coexisting in same geographical space. In the beginning the dress for man was also very different but now it is *Shalwar*, *Qameez* and *chitralli* cap in conformity with the other social groups. The burden to sustain the traditional identity is on the shoulder of women and her body is utilized as a space of determining cultural identity.

Bogatyrev 1976 depicts in his study regarding the Russian folk costume:

“let us imagine that we obtain the dresses of a rich peasant women and of a poor peasant women from a village, for instance from Vajinor in the Bratislava area where formerly rich peasant women embroidered their sleeves with gold and the poor only with silk, and then we send these dresses to a second hand dealer in the town. Even if the dealer should not know that both costumes were symbols of

class distinction between peasants, he still would appraise the sleeves differently, judging them as material objects".¹⁸¹ (p.15)

Even when we have no information about the symbolic meaning of the costumes, the material value can be determined. The worth and meaning of the clothes which is similar to the symbolic meaning based on the background can be speculated. Bourdieu 1984 believes that the interest, different classes have in self presentation, the attention they devote to it, their awareness of the profits it gives and the investment of time, effort, sacrifice and care which they actually put into it are proportionate to the chances of material or symbolic profit they can reasonably expect from it¹⁸² (p.202). This appearance analysis is achieved by scrutinizing the physical appearance, categorization of parts, and in the end comparison of the parts with the whole in totality.

For an unbiased effective analysis of appearance, semiotics is employed to decode the signs and symbols generated by clothing and accessories. The semiotics analyzed both the signifier and signified as a channel to understand the contextual perspective and divides a message into small parts and observes each part in isolation; and further to deal as a tool to reconfirm the influence and relation of one with other. A sign can be very easily manipulated by the individual in the realm of voluntary activity which mostly stretches to the most easily controllable aspect of the external environment of the individual (Holman 1980). All clothes and accessories are likely to become signs, or signify information but they do not have intrinsic meaning of their own when created. It is the societal influence and interaction which assign certain meanings to the clothes

The national identity of any nation is associated with its dress. The national dress of Pakistani female is *Shalwar*, *Qameez* and *Duppata*. In reality this composite is a set of three independent units and has its own significance and symbolic value. The sole purpose behind this attire is to cover the body and fulfill the requirement of "sattar". This can easily be attained by just draping an unstitched fabric securely around the body, so why to construct a composite? This construction of a composite is

¹⁸¹ Kaiser. B, Susan. 1997 The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearance in Context. II Edition. Fairchild Publications. New York P. 216

¹⁸² Ibid p. 432

to ascertain a specific culturally bound identity for the sake of recognition and conformity within a group. This message is created in one context and communicated in multiplicity across the boundaries. Scarf's with trousers combines certain ideals related to religious influence along with modern trends and together they are acceptable and adaptable. The idea of structural context gives rise to the emergence of particular sign and then designates the nature of association within a group¹⁸³. Let us not forget that these signs are constituted by the humans based on their cultural perception and ideals which delegates them a space for communication.

The apparels used by any group can be effectively used as a tool to communicate a message or code to the perceiver and observer. Codes connote certain underlying laws of associations provided by the culture and religious ideals. Messages on the other hand are dependent on the choice and handling of individuals own appearance. This includes the way a person adopts and accepts a fashion with or without the appraisal of the society. Hence codes are culturally constituted and messages are individually constructed. To capture the purity and essence of any sign it should be regarded as signals. Signals are the "straight forward easy to interpret sign appearance"¹⁸⁴, based on the cognitive link between the signifier and signified. They are mainly direct, contextual and are in precision with the perceiver's perception. The wandering gypsies generally have a similar values and image and can be identified no matter on which part of the world they exist. Along various aspects their appearance and apparel choices play an important role for their spontaneous recognition. There are certain codes of conduct applied to female traditional attire of Kalash. Kalash females are supposed to wear their *kupas* in their seasonal festival but if a person dies the women of his clan will remove their *kupas* and *susit*, with their hair unbraided until the dead is buried. Women when seen without her *kupas and susit* with a cloth wound on her shoulder is the indication that she is menstruating and on her way to "*bashalini*". This symbolizes the state of impurity and therefore any physical contact is avoided.

¹⁸³ Ibid p219

¹⁸⁴ Joseph. Nathan. 1986: Uniforms and Non Uniforms; Communication through Clothing. New York. Greenwood Press. P. 226



(Photograph v) The Contemporary Kalash Mother with her daughter, Village Karakal, Bumburet Valley

The symbols are diminutively complicated to comprehend, because of its existential causation; they represent something they are not. They require thorough interpretation¹⁸⁵ by keeping in check the parameters on which a society functions and manipulates both signifier and signified. In social interactional encounters the invisible side and inner realities are intricate to establish. The second skin shields the existing reality and often proffers negotiated information. Identity in clothing involves all the aspects of self through which individuals can communicate symbolically with others. Cultural and historical traditions normally assert identity through conciliation of past and present social situation. Culturally defined identities involves gender, age, occupation, back ground, social economic status. In Kalash society dress is used to define all the aspects mentioned and customs and traditions determine the sex of the garment. The traditional female dress of Kalash is identical to the dress of males in the Middle East. The difference is only applied in form of color, embellishment and decorative belt for the females around the waist area to tie it securely. Helene Roberts (1977) commented on the difference between the clothes of men and women as:

“More than identifying each sex, clothing defined the role of each sex. Men were serious (they wore dark colours and little ornamentation), women were frivolous (they wore light pastel colors, ribbons, lace, and bows); men were active (their clothes allowed them movement), women were inactive, (their clothes inhibit

¹⁸⁵ Barthes.G Roland (1968). Elements of Semiology New York, Hill and Wang 1973. Methodologies. London. Paladin Books.

movement); men were strong (their clothes emphasized broad shoulders and chest), women delicate (their clothing accentuated tiny waists, sloping, shoulders, and a softly rounded silhouette); men were aggressive (their clothing had a sharp definite line and a clearly defined silhouette), women are submissive (their silhouette was indefinite, their clothing constricting)¹⁸⁶, p.555

Dress is often used to signify the occupation and rank of the wearer in the society. This requires a precise information and authentic interpretation of accessories. But mostly the situations are not very favorable and pinning down identity within a group is not a simple task. In Kalash the way women dress up, the color of their dress, the pattern and thread used for the embroidery is identical. It is very difficult to establish any link or draw any inference regarding their social status or religious affiliation by just a naive fleeting look. In reality identities can only be regarded as the meaning when individual's interaction in any given social context can attribute a specific role¹⁸⁷. The females in Kalash only don the traditional clothes during day light. The night dress is *Shalwar* and *Qameez* with a *chadder* which is an integral part of their wardrobe. The people of Kalash are very cautious about the preservation of their traditional dress pattern. They use the expression of personal adornment not only as a social ritual but also as a reinforcement of their religious beliefs, traditions, customs and values.

The only major source of income of the region is through tourism. They cannot permit any sort of cultural diffusion or influence to dilute the unique and distinctive appearance which is the main cause of attraction for the tourists and the researchers. They do not allow their females to wear anything else except their traditional garb in the valley. The main reason for their refusal to adopt new technological advancement is the fear of losing their sacred and rare paganistic cultural identity. People who share a common race, color, features customs and traditions, language, religion and social view when clustered together they form an ethnic group. These groups with what so ever religious affiliation either majority or minority, possess a degree of protectiveness towards their faith, customs, feast, festivals, food, clothing and adornment.

¹⁸⁶ Kaiser. B Susan: *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearance in Context*. II Edition. Fairchild Publications. New York 1997. P.79

¹⁸⁷ Davis .F. "Fashion Culture and Identity, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Human species require apparels and accessories to cover its body against various hazards, and to emphasize a reason behind the need to convey a message to the viewer. At various times many authors bring fourth their contribution relating to the historical perspective of clothing. But there has been a strange silence¹⁸⁸ of anthropologist on the subject of human clothing and the need to cover the body. They have spent considerable time and energy on the subject of human origin, development of language, rituals, beliefs, linguistics and studying metaphors but ignored the most visible factor which actually serves as the platform to comprehend the human behavior, social movements, trends, aesthetics, intellectual influences which possess the groups to originate an individualistic position in the shared geographical space. To answer this question Emma Tarlo in her book *Clothing Matters* state that clothes were considered a feminine issue, and little to do with serious academic pursuits. But there are a few anthropologists and psychologist who focused their attention to “why did people wear clothes? These scholars were influenced by the cultural biases of their time. Clothing scholar Cynthia Jasper and Mary Ellis Roach pointed out that some of these early theorizing and fieldwork also reflected the influence and bias of evolutionary thought from its simplest to the complex form¹⁸⁹.

Clothing and adornment like culture has evolved from its primitive to the most civilized form. Adornment is an ancient practice the earliest evidence was found on bones in mid Paleolithic Neanderthal burial cities where ochre clays were found¹⁹⁰. The first use of clothing apparently was aesthetic rather than utilitarian. When Darwin, gave a Fuegian¹⁹¹ a red cloth to wrap around his body the native joyfully tore the bright cloak in to strips and distributed among his fellows, who bound the strips on their limbs as ornaments. Clothes have to serve the special purpose of telling others something about the native people- who they are? What country they come from? What position they hold as well as what they can do or have achieved in the past? A traditional dress

¹⁸⁸ Ronald A. Schwartz, Justine M. Cordell. 1979. *Uncovering the Secret Vice: Towards the Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*’ Article published in the book, *Fabric of Cultures, The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*. Mouton Publisher - The Hague, Paris, New York. P 23

¹⁸⁹Tylor, B. Edward. 1920. *Primitive Culture*. New York: J.P. Putnam’s Sons. p1.

¹⁹⁰Schwartz, A. Ronald, Cordwell, M. Justine 1979. *Uncovering the Secret Vice: towards the Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*” article published in book *Fabric of Cultures, the Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*. Mouton Publisher. The Hague, Paris, New York. P 28

¹⁹¹ Fuegian is a native South American of Tierra Del Fuego.

should instill pride in individuals (Allen, 1969:12; O'Neal, 1998b:31). The people of Kalash valley are surrounded by both religious diversity and external influences which is creating an environment of acculturation in customs and traditions at the cost of the tribal individuality and independent existence. These dresses when blended with adornment refer to the decorative nature of clothes and other forms of appearance modifications for the purpose of display and aesthetic expression. Traditional attire serves as a space for their individual and group identity.

Anthropologist frequently identified adornment and ornamentation as the initial reason for wearing clothes. Adornment means to enhance appearance especially with ornaments. The desire to enhance ones appearance and personality largely depends upon environmental resources, technological development and cultural values. This normally helps people to attain aesthetic pleasures, to create individualistic expression. They Support this theory on the basis of evidence that savages may be naked but are highly adorned and universal. Mans pursuits of personal adornment are universal and all societies have a tendency to adorn themselves in a distinct manner. Clothing is often regarded as a cultural phenomenon, an aesthetic medium for the expression of ideas, desires and beliefs are beyond the dominion of conscious emotions¹⁹². Mostly the means for adornment are temporary, expect for tattooing and cosmetic surgery clothes on the other hand can be altered. The evidence of permanent adoration involves cranial deformation which was the artificial deformation of the head¹⁹³. This signifies the noble birth, look formidable. It helps to improve strength and verve, it facilitates in distinguishing the children from the masses, the cranial deformation was achieved by applying pressure to the child's head soon after the birth and continued for months and years. Adornment is also attained by applying the color pigments on skin to seek protection from the unseen evil forces, sexual attraction, and ritual symbol or as a status symbol¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹² Elizabeth Wilson: 1985. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. London, Virgo Press.

¹⁹³ Spencer Rogers; reference taken from the book "Individuality in Clothing Selection and Personal Appearance: A guide for the Consumer". By Jackson Hazel, Stanely. M, Kefgen, Mary & Specht, Touchie. Phyllis. 1971. 4th Edition. MacMillan Publishing Company.

¹⁹⁴ Levi Strauss, C 1966: *The Savage Mind* "Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

Clothing and adornment often serves the psychic or magical protection provided by ornaments or clothing that did not physically protect, but served the religious functions and unconscious protection¹⁹⁵. The first ever item initiated by man to cover his body as clothing were fig leaf and animal skin. The preference in material generally induces the concept of social status in the early humans. Those who wear plant material were not considered superior to those who used to wear the skin of animals the later were highly respected and were considered brave¹⁹⁶.

Adornment also facilitates in defining the social roles of the wearer. This feature helps in distinguishing rich from poor, the religious from the impious. The adornment in dress reveals the political bent of mind in the individual. The royal costume, military uniforms vary with the objectives being pursued¹⁹⁷. Decorative emblem, pins, badges, arm bands all show political and official affiliation. Adornment also has a sexist role. It is often used to distinguish between sexes but also has a purpose of enticement of the opposite sex. The adornment is a communicative symbol that serves crucial functions within human's lives¹⁹⁸. Individual satisfaction can be an objective of adornment supplied by the dress. Adornment leads an individual to attain distinctiveness and a positive medium to express his inner most desire.

The use of beads for adornment of self or clothing probably began in Neolithic period. The original practice was based on using shells, teeth, and vertebrae of fish, reptiles and mammals. In Zulu society beads marked the changes in the life of both males and females¹⁹⁹ (Twale 1968: 366). People regarded human body as the "primary form of sculpture²⁰⁰," and focus all his attention to improve and enhance it to look

¹⁹⁵ Dolgin. L.J., Kemnitzer D.S & Schneider M.D, 1977, *Symbolic Anthropology: A Reader in the Study of Symbols and Meanings*. Colombia University Press. New York

¹⁹⁶ Dahlberg, Frances. 1975. *Woman the Gatherer*. London: Yale university press.

¹⁹⁷ Kaiser. B Susan: *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearance in Context*. II Edition. Fairchild Publications

¹⁹⁸ Mary Ellen Roach, Joanne Bubloz Eicher. "The Language of Personal adornment" Published in the *Fabric of Cultures. Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*. Edited by Justine M. Cordwell and Shawaraz A. Ronald Mouton Publisher. The Hague, Paris, New York p. 7

¹⁹⁹ Kaiser. B Susan. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic appearance in Context*. II Edition. Fairchild Publications

²⁰⁰ Ronald A. Schwarz, Justine M. Cordwell. 1979. *Uncovering the Secret Vice: towards the Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*" Article published in book "Fabric of Cultures: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment". Mouton Publisher. The Hague, Paris, New York. P 28

better. Personal adornment is in constant influence of the cultural interaction and is subjected to convey some meaning to the viewers. This brings us to the conclusion that adornment is a language with certain connotative meanings depending upon the cultural setting and practices of the society. There is no shred of doubt that there are aesthetic responses in the individual itself when he sees someone else's adornment. It is worn only to win admiration, and to establish a sense of belongingness. The primary reason for wearing clothes and ornamentation is for the reason of decoration; concepts like modesty and protection were added when clothing becomes the habit. Clothing was used to protect humans from various kinds of fears of being deride, loneliness, conceited and dissolute and above all lack of aesthetics²⁰¹.

Adornment on Kalash Dress

Annette Wiener and Jane Schneider have noted the tendency for clothing to be an emotive symbol of attachment that is common across many diverse cultures (1989: 2). Each Kalasha woman's clothing can be read as a map of her significant relationships across the valleys and across her lifetime – material manifestations of enduring ties with friends, bonds with natal family, acceptance into community of woman in her marital home, and reminders of her courtship with her husband and lover (Cohen 1989, Werbner 1990, Tarlo 1996)²⁰². The object of adornment is to induce pleasant responses but in fact it reflects the mood, and the inner emotions of the person. It is often used to create an illusion or opposite impression in the viewers. The adornment on the dress sometimes symbolizes the social status and stratification on the basis of bravery and heroic deeds of the ancestors or often due to economic prosperity. This exhibition is regarded as the expression of individuality of the wearer. The adornment has no significant social and religious meaning attached and is regarded as a healthy recreational activity to attain individuality and appraisal. Female utilize beads, buttons cowries and colored slivers for the purpose of adornment. These embellishments though appear to be very pleasing and interesting carry hardly any coded message regarding the status of women in the society.

²⁰¹ Dearborn .G. 1918. The Psychology of Clothing: Psychological Reviews Monographs Vol 26:1

²⁰² Wynne, Maggi, 2001. Our Woman Are Free. Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush. Ann. Arbor. The University of Michigan Press.

Iva Pokornowski interestingly added that the art historians, archeologist and anthropologists today are in consensus that study of decorative arts and beads as an intimate part of culture has a highly significant value both in the reconstruction of material culture, tracing trade contacts and a study as visual language (Cohen 1959:77). Beads found in ancient ruins not only aid in tracing and dating those ruins but to shed light on the technological development of the people who made them or provide evidence of migrations, trading activities and cultural contacts. They can also mediate the taste of the viewer²⁰³.

According to Loude and Lievre the prestige of a father and husband of a Kalasha woman is judged among other things, by the number of necklaces up on a woman's breast (1988:42)²⁰⁴. This is very true because women used beads as a representation of wealth, whether she procures it from her family or through her own labor or social networking. There are several occasions when a woman receives beads as a gift. When women marry, she receives set of beads from each of the women in her In-laws. Sometimes the elder ladies take off beads from their own necks and give it to the bride as symbol of welcome and whole hearted acceptance in to the house hold. They believe that this will bring charm, prosperity and fertility for the new bride and their lineage. These beads are also used as souvenirs and during my fieldwork I received set of beads of different colours from the females and girls with whom I developed close association.

Zarkima a sweet nine year old girl has specially made a bracelet using orange and blue beads for me as a symbol of her friendship. She with her family came to visit me and brought traditional Kalasha head dress *susit* with *Kupas* for my niece and traditional neck beads for me. Maggi Wynne states that the cowries or shells used for decorations for *the susit and kupas* are evocative example, linking Kalasha women to ocean and people they have never seen. Cowries are the most essential decorative element in women's head dresses, the one item for which there is no appropriate

²⁰³ Pokornowski ILA. Beads and Personal Adornment. Article published in book Fabric of Cultures, The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment. Edited by Ronald A. Schwarz, Justine M. Cordwell. Mouton Publisher. The Hague, Paris, New York. P 103.

²⁰⁴ Loude, Yves Jean, Lievre, Viviane. 1988. Kalash Solistice. Lok Versa Publication House.

substitute. The species of shells used by the Kalasha “*cypraea moneta*” found only off the Maldives. These shells are very expensive, and women go to great lengths to locate them for their young daughters head dress. Beads and bells came to the valley via trade routes from all over south, central Asia and Middle East²⁰⁵.

The Paran (Dress)

The traditional Kalash dress is made up of woolen material and often known as “*Cou*” or “*Paran*” is derived from the word *parahan* i.e. clothing. The traditional dress of Kalash females in the past was a long pure black woolen kimono style dress. The women in the past were supposed to wear woolen cloth in all the seasons. They weave the fabric on a hand loom and then stitch. The utilization of cotton fabric is a relatively new phenomenon. In 1974 they performed in Islamabad on the invitation of late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Here they were supplied with the cotton dress especially designed for them according to their traditional style. This cotton dress was instantly rejected by the natives and was referred to as an ugly and lighter dress. The people resisted the idea of changing their traditional fabric as they regarded it a direct attack on their traditional heritage but soon they realized the convenience and comfort allied with the cotton material. Now the woolen dress is a delicacy and there are few proud owners who possess it. Normally it is seen in the Greek Museum of Bumburet valley. In the past customarily people donned new dress just once a year only on *joshi* festival but now due to some financial stability they can afford new dresses before every religious festival.

²⁰⁵ Wynne, Maggi, 2001. *Our Woman Are Free. Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush*. Ann. Arbor. The University of Michigan Press.



(Photograph vi)The Original Kalash Woolen Traditional Dress of the Past Worn With Metallic Jewelry, Photographure Taken in Greek Museum Brun, Bumburet Valley, Kalash

The purest woolen dress is presented to a child when he/she is approximately three to four years old before the *chelum joshi* festival. As the child grows older the same dress is altered. The child is informed about the importance and significance of the costume and is sworn in to keep the integrity and sanctified sentinel. In the past the dress was very plain simply adorned with metallic jewelry combined with a colorful *kupas* but in contemporary period the neckline, sleeves and hemline are embellished with embroidery using bright vegetable dyed threads. The metal ornaments are also replaced with plastic beads and pearls preferably in white, black, yellow, orange, green and red color. There is no restriction of color for any female belonging to any age or social status. The woolen dress is now restricted to the commercial use only, especially manufactured for the tourists and foreigners, and are very expensive. The construction of the dress is more of Arabic style and bares absolutely no resemblance with Greek Ionic, Chiton and Draped fabric²⁰⁶.

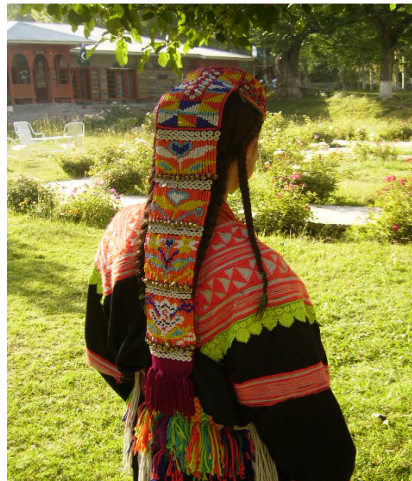
Pati (Belt)

It is a simple belt with borders and long fringes wound around the hip. Belt helps to keep the dress in place which otherwise hang loosely above waist as kimono without front opening. The loose fabric successfully serves as pockets in which they can keep small items like, cash, pins, friendship bands, dry fruits, and other utility items. This *pati* is often utilized as souvenir for the guest.

²⁰⁶ www. TimelessMyths.com website visited on 12.4.2007.

Susit (Minor Head Dress)

The minor head dress, a less formal embellished item which is customary and females are not allowed to be seen without it. This head dress is constructed in two parts a ring with a long tail. The tail is approximately 10- 15 inches in length which hangs down the back. This head dress is given to the girls along with the “*Cou*” on her fourth birthday. The headdress is the symbol of pride, integrity and respect to the family and their tribal identity in the region so they ensure that the child is capable of handling it with required grace and dignity. The dress and accessories has undergone several changes. In the past it was just a plain ring with fringes at the back and the sole purpose was to support the *Kupas* because *Kupas* were compulsory for these females. Now the *Kupas* are only restricted to special occasions and festivals. The girls are more conscious and are aware of changes which are taking place around them as they have easy excess in areas which were previously beyond their imagination. So now they have developed a better aesthetic, and are using this faculty to create individuality in conformity to their group.



(Photograph vii) Traditional *Susit* the Minor Head Dress

The girls used to embellish the long fringes of thread with beads, buttons, cowries and stones in rows and columns but now instead of the thread they are using the desired piece of cotton cloth. Convenience and modernity is facilitating the perpetuation of the tradition. Regional differences can be observed in the *susit*. The

people of Bumburet are more innovative in design and color scheming where as the Birir valley is very conservative.

The changes in designs are only evident in the dresses and accessories of youth, the older generation are restricted to their older shield design because of the symbolic meaning attached to it. The Kalash women put enormous amount of time, resources both material and human creativity into crafting their clothes. Maggi Wynne in her book states “that very little about women dresses is sensible, it is too heavy, too expensive, and growing more costly every year. They like to take fashion risk, trying out new patterns and colours. Old women as well as young take immense pleasure being beautiful not just for festival but every day²⁰⁷. According to my data and observation the females believe in conformity and are very proud of their attire, and do not wish to bring any change despite all the difficulties. When I ask *Koi Begum* the mother of my key informant that your dress is too heavy and difficult to carry, are you comfortable in this dress? She smilingly pointed my jeans and said don’t you think it is way too tight are you comfortable? And then on a serious note she added that we are very comfortable in our traditional dress, this black colour and dress is our identity.

Kupas (The Major Head Dress)

The major head dress is an integral part of Kalash identity. This is a very heavy item without any strings or attachments and is a bit difficult to carry. The locals regard this as a very useful item because it provide shield from the sunrays. The *Kupas* are extremely formal in nature and are only used on feasts and festivals. It is similar to a scarf approximately 20 inches long and 10 inches wide and is heavily decorated with the cowries, sea shells, buttons and decorative stitches. The front of *kupas* is called horn²⁰⁸; it covers the base of the head and its tussled tail hangs down the back. *Kupas* are placed on the minor head dress *sus~ut* and are not stitched or tied with the base of the ring. They are supported by the balanced and erect posture of the females. Traditionally

²⁰⁷ Wynne, Maggi, 2001. *Our Woman Are Free. Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush*. Ann. Arbor. The University of Michigan Press.

²⁰⁸ Sperber G. Birgitte: 1996. *Kalash: Dresses, Body Decorations, Textile Techniques, Proceedings of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference*. Edited by Bashir, Elena and Israr ud Din. Oxford University Press Karachi. pp337-404

the girl receives her *kupas* when she is four year of age on the winter *chamois* festival. It also like *susit* symbolizes their distinctive identity. They instruct the girls not to play with their *kupas* otherwise the deities will be angry and they might be cursed. The traditional *kupas* is similar for all three valleys in size and construction. The only difference can be found in the way the cowries and embellishment are attached. The variations induced when liked by the masses later become the fashion. These fashions are simply created due to necessity like females by rolled the front of *kupas* for better stability. This has introduced a new trend in the region (Parkes)²⁰⁹.



(Photograph: viii)Traditional *kupas* the Major Head Dress

Construction of *kupas* is usually done on hand loom fundamentally working on the same principle as of the hand loom being used elsewhere. The warp and weft yarns are arranged on the loom and the plain weave is obtained. The warps are the longitudinal thread which are made up from the home spun yarn and is set in holes of the loom in four or six set of color in regular manner to attain a twill weave pattern. Weft thread is relatively finer and is wound on the shuttle and by lifting and lowering the harness the weft yarn is inserted between the warp yarns and weaving is done. On the edges fringes are attached which not only give strength to the border but also adds to length.

The cowries are attached in seven lines for adult's *kupas* and four in children. The cowries are not the indigenous product. They are imported from Karachi and are

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

very expensive. The size and number symbolize the social status and wealth of the person in the society. On their *kupas* there are two popular designs manifested by the females; one is the shield design which is engraved on the walls of the temples. The other is often found on the *kupas* of young girl, it is the floral arrangement of cowries. The people believe the symbolic shield design will protect them from the evil spirit and fend off bad luck. The sacredness is the cause of not applying it on the *kupas and sus~t* of young children because of their careless handling. Shield design is a sign of warrior hero status and heroic deeds of the ancestors which the females espouse in commemoration. Myth is such that there was a famous female demon killer. The four cornered arrangement of cowries shell indicate the festal rank of the owner's ancestor²¹⁰. Buttons are also used as embellishment on the headdress which surrounds the cowries and only the daughter of the elites can adopt it. The common women can only attach two rows of buttons. The *kupas* made for commercial reason is identical to the one made for elites. Nobility is also enhanced by attaching a "cis" a braided straw along with a blue feather.

Night Dress

During night females change their traditional dress and wear normal cotton *Shalwar Qameez* with the instruction to refrain roaming around in the valley. The reason being is the preservation of their individual identity in their own cultural dress pattern. Muslim females wear *Shalwar Qameez* and cover their heads with a *dupatta* draped around the shoulders to cover their bosoms. The females who are now converted to Islam have completely changed their attire and accessories which barely resemble with their original identity.

Jewelry

Traditionally metallic jewelry was used but now it is substituted by strings beads of bright colors. These beads were imported from Afghanistan or some parts of

²¹⁰ Parkes., Peter. 1997. *Kalasha Oral Literature and Praise Songs*. Proceedings of the second International Hindukush Cultural Conference. Edited by Bashir, Elena and Israr ud Din. Oxford University Press. Karachi P 317

²¹⁰ Ibid.

Pakistan. They love to wear beads in the same manner as the females of Thar and Cholistan adore bangles. These beaded necklaces are used to add color and enhance the complete look of the person. The choice of jewelry is entirely different from the Muslims of the region. The Muslim females are still fond of gold and silver jewelry.

Shoes

For the shoes now they prefer to wear joggers and leather *chapaals* which are most convenient. The traditional Kalash handmade shoes are very rare to find. Only few exhibits are present in the Museum.

Namerik Kal`un is a leather shoe with colorful decorations.

Sharakand`alia is a simple leather boot with high flaps.

Kalun is leather shoes tied with a shoe flap (*shuman echoyak*). A *kuta pati* is used to wrap around the flap of the shoes to keep it in place.

Ghun Kulun hand woven shoes made of wool hair.

Shula Kirman is the traditional clogs.

Zakin is a string made of leather which helps to tie the *tacing* so that it can remain in place.

Tacing is a flat square piece of goat skin draped on the foot and is tied with the help of laces.

Men's Dress

Men's dresses are not very attractive and unique as found in the case of female member of the society. They just require a set of *Shalwar Qameez* with a waist coat and a *chatrli* cap with feather on the top. In the past they used to wear black *militia Shalwar Qameez* with a Turkish style trouser (straight slack). The youth of today are aware of prevailing life style and fashion trends and are more creative and innovative. Secondly they desire to conform to the larger society so they have adopted the style commonly practiced by the Muslims of the region. Today there is a drastic change in the clothing requirement of boys; they now prefer jeans, pants with dress shirts and T-shirts because of the exposure to surroundings. The traditional waistcoat is now replaced by both jeans and leather jackets.

Following are the traditional dresses and accessories used by the Kalash people at various occasions.

GhuniKatohoki is a dress worn by the Shepherd in winter.

Ghuni Bhut is a shalwar made of goat hair stitched like a pant. It is a *shalwar* like construction with ample *gahir* or gathers. The ankle girths are wound with as weaved *kuta pati*.

Kuta pati is a 4 to 6 inches weaved strip of fabric identical to shuman (one they present as souvenir to honor the guest).

Shualak is a woolen dress.

Danshak Bhut is a loosely draped woolen pant.

Khas`ong is a woolen cap used by the shepherd.



(Photograph ix) My Brother & Research Supervisor, with my Kalash family

The essential feature besides their distinctive clothing is lack of hygiene and cleanliness. They only change, when they think that their clothes are excessively dirty. The religion revolves around the basic principle of purity and they do take bath and clean themselves only and especially when performing any major or minor ritual. The new clean clothes are only worn on special occasions or at the time of festival. This personal hygiene serves as a parameter to distinguish Kalash men from the local Muslims. In Islam it is mandatory for the Muslims to pay special attention to their

personal hygiene and cleanliness. This distinction in personal grooming serves as a space to identify Muslims from the local Kalash.

In the course of data collection the researcher compared the ragged appearance of the *Qazi* of *Anish* village with the clean appearance of Imam Sahib, which was of remarkable difference. The respondent, an 18 year old boy, compared it with the Holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U. H) and said “why to consider the Imam Sahib as an example when your Muhammad (P.B.U. H) wore clothes which were patched and darned”. To these people nobility and prestige is not associated with the economic prosperity. They give value to the symbolic status which is acquired through generosity, awareness of cultural values, songs, customs oral literature which facilitate the youth and others to recall and establish their cultural identity.

Art and design have no dimension though they are culturally bound but the artists communicate with each other through signs and symbols. Self decorating, materialism and capitalism are a concept present in every society as Levi Strauss had been accused of developing a materialistic, idealistic theory of symbolic representation and practices through clothing. Innovations and modernization in clothing is essential for the survival of any cultural group but only those changes are adapted and are allowed which have the capability of coexisting. Change is an external force which the societies inculcate and adapt to its liking. Innovation at times facilitate in preserving the original culture. Self identification and individuality is the desire of every person but simultaneously they desire to hold on to their values and traditions. This enables the society to construct a space where the negotiated traditions and modernity coexist.

In the Kalash region two separate strains of decorative arts evolved in the region, a figurative representations by using animal and plants as the inspiration of art created by the Kalash folk. In the past men were associated with the stitching of garment as an entertainment²¹¹ and females were responsible for the weaving. But in contemporary time, the females are linked with the field of textile weaving and dress designing. As mentioned earlier their traditional dress was a black woolen dress

²¹¹ Robertson, Scott. George, 1995 “The Kafirs of Hindukush” Oxford University Press Karachi 6th Impression.

stitched without any decoration which is changed to a cotton fabric with very colorful and interesting pattern. These patterns are modern innovation in the dress and bear absolutely no meaning and interpretation in the culture and nor does they symbolize the status of the wearer in the society. They are just acquired to enhance the personal taste and aesthetics of the wearer.

The Kalash traditional dress fulfills the requirement of *sattar* (Islamic code of minimum requirement of dress) but when a Kalash woman embraces Islam she is expected to change her dress and adopt the local Muslim dress pattern i.e. a shalwar , Kalmeez and a dupatta. This is meant to change their Kalash cultural identity and bring it in line with Kalash Muslim cultural identity. Kalash people in retrospect have constructed and negotiated their personal and group identity by sharing experiences, storytelling, myth and setting themselves apart from other ethnic groups living in the same region. Their distinctive traditions and its patterns serve as a space to formulate a specific individual and cultural identity through which they can be recognized and continue the struggle of preserving their mythical legacy.

Chapter 6

Social and Psychological Construction of Gender Identity

Gender is the term which is often used or replaced by “sex”. Gender is related to the psychological, social and cultural attitude of human beings (man and women) in the society. Sex is the term used when referring to women as a *biologically sexed body*²¹². Gender is the socio cultural dimension of being male and female while, sex refers to the biological dimension (Sherif 1982, Unger & Crawford 1992) or non physiological components of sex that are culturally regarded as appropriate to male and females (Unger,1992:1089)²¹³. Gender role is an important aspect of gender; it is defined as the set of expectations that prescribed how females and males should think, act, and feel. Male are expected to be tough and more assertive. Hence the term (be a man). The females are expected to be more sensitive, submissive, obedient, and cultured to assume the role of care giver and nurturer (act like a lady). The symbolic meaning and status of the women is changed when they are referred as sex objects. In literature the gender difference are treated with cynicism.

Power and governance are the means to bring order and regulation in a society. Most of the legislative institutions are male dominated. Some of the rules in the society are specifically designed to restrain women from assuming leadership’s roles in the society, and to keep them backwards. Any attempt by women to question these rules or customs is met with suspicion and opposition to the extent of transgression by the custodians of the civil society. Women even had to fight for their basic human rights like the right to property, choice and vote. Nothing has been given to them freely there is always a long history of struggle and strife at every turn. Every society claims that they consider both the male and the females as equals; with equal rights, respect and same treatment without any discrimination however besides the rhetoric they often include the issues like female’s nature, social treatment and performance in developing and strengthening the society. They regard females as dependent group who are unable

²¹² Hughes.. Christina 2002. Key Concepts in Feminist Theory and Research. Sage Publications.

²¹³ Dindia, Kathryn, & Canary, J. Daniel, 2006, Sex Differences and Similarities in Communication. II Edition. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers

of assuming independent responsibilities on the basis of their biological and psychological weaknesses. Beverley Lindsay²¹⁴ interprets this dependency on relationship based upon race, sex, and class being perpetuated through social, educational and economic institutions. The generalized belief that females of the third world countries constitute an identifiable group purely on the basis of dependency is a prejudiced statement. Thornton 1986:77 states

“Equality is a concept that can only be applied when things are said to be equal in proportion, size and height are identical and replica in measurement²¹⁵.”

But when applied to intelligence, morality, sense of responsibility, social interaction and adjustments, size rarely matters. Ashiagbor²¹⁶ believes that the concept of social identity comprises of number of strands, with gender and race comprising relevant. She identifies four types of equalities: Ontological equality is applied when all the human beings are equal without any discrimination due to sex, age, color, status and race. The equality in opportunities related to jobs without involving any bias, conditional equality where attempts are made to provide equal chances to any special group and the fourth is equality as an outcome which requires some form of legislation or intervention to compensate for initial inequality²¹⁷. Religion is related to divinity and spiritualism it again is the domain of man. The religious preacher manipulates the religious meanings and doctrine to their advantage to assume authority and legitimacy over the weaker. The society in fact is suffering from the “universality of female subordination²¹⁸”. Females are devalued because of their role, physical strength, and biological needs. Ortner²¹⁹ believes that women are seen inferior because nature is seen as inferior to culture. Women production of children ties them to the nature while men’s production of material ties them to culture.

²¹⁴ Ibid

²¹⁵ Thornton, M, 2001, EEO (Equal Employment Opportunity) In a New Liberal Climate, Article Published in Journal of Interdisciplinary Gender Studies.vol. 6:77-104

²¹⁶ Morris. E.A & O’Donnell. T, 1999: Feminist Perspectives on Employment law. Cavendish Publishing Limited.

²¹⁷ Healy G & F. Oikelome 2007. Equality and Diversity Actors: A Challenge to Traditional Industrial Relations? 26, Issue 1. Emerald Group Publishing Limited. Vol. 26: 44-65

²¹⁸ Ortner B.Sherry. 1996. Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture. Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History II Edition . McGee. Jon. R and Warms. I.Richard

²¹⁹ Leacock Eleanor: Interpreting the Origin of Gender Inequality. An Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History II Edition McGee. Jon. R and Warms. I. Richard

The Kalash religion is based on the *fundamental* principle of purity and impurity. They regard high mountains, lakes, green pastures, cooking area, gods and deities, goats, sanctuaries and worship area as “*ongesta*” Pure, whereas the female “*Bashalini*” Maternity houses and graveyard as “*paragata*” impure. The Valley of Kalash comprises of the Muslims and non Muslims Kalash with extreme diversity in religious and cultural ideologies and yet claimed to be egalitarian without any gender, race, class, status and religious discrimination. It is a fallacious claim because *there are certain spheres where females are bigotised in the name of either honor or religious decree. In the region of Himalayas special significance is given to the concept of verticality which is present in the contrasting high mountain tops and low valley bottoms (Michael 2003:17-18²²⁰).*

For the Pagan Kalash these geographical verticality and various dichotomies attached to it have greatly contributed in formulating their distinctive identity patterns through which they are recognized. According to the respondents there are certain portions in the kitchen or cooking area beyond the stove is considered pure and females are not allowed to enter these areas even when they are not menstruating. This opposition is particularly embodied in the topographical contrast between mountain and valley, where the high mountain pastures are considered as the home of clean supernatural beings, thus being a sacred and pure place²²¹ (Parkes, 1987: 637). These dichotomies can be observed in their social structure, religious beliefs, pantheons, rituals and gender²²². This fundamentally is the basic reason for defining and distinguishing male and female spheres, in correspondence with the distinct division of agro pastoral labor²²³. The sexual division of labor among Kalash has reserved goat veterinary and hunting exclusively for men²²⁴. Few high mountain pastures where fairies reside are pure and forbidden for females. The symbolic values of the Kalash

²²⁰ Aas, R. Lars. 2008. The Rock Carvings of Taru Thang: The Mountain Goat: A Religious and Social Symbol of the Dardic Speaking People of the Trans Himalayas. *Masteroppgave I arkeologi. Det Humanistiske Fakultet*. University I Bergen. P. 49.

²²¹ Parkes P. 1987 Livestock Symbolism and Pastoral Ideology among the Kafirs of the Hindukush. *Man*, New Series 22(4): 637-660

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Parkes , 22(4): 637-660

²²⁴ Lievre, Viviane,1996. The Status of Kalasha Women in the Religious Sphere. *Proceeding of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference*.

domestic and wild animals seem to be ordered based along a basic gradient of altitude, where their livestock together with the wild mountain goats forms a series of categories that encompass the entire ritual spectrum from total purity to utter pollution (Parkes, 1983:189)²²⁵.



(Photograph x) To preserve *onjesta* Girl is not Drinking Water “uk” from the Glass Directly.

To attain women’s perspective and positionality regarding gender discrimination and biases in religious and social setup one has to decode silences. Anthropologists often rely on open, verbal exchange as a sign of sincerity, openness and honesty, whereas the silences are absorbed and ignored both socially and professionally and are further interpreted as rudeness, weakness or apathy.

In Kalash society due to the female’s biological impurity they are forbidden to drink any clear liquid from the glass directly they are also discouraged to share the same utensils as shared by the male members of the family. As a tradition the Kalash females are supposed to stay away from homes during their menstruation cycle and spend a week in the *Bashalini* (Menstruation home). They consider home as “*onjesta*” i.e. pure and so the females especially in these days are regarded as impure. The older women in Kalash say that when they were young they left immediately for the menstrual house, even in the middle of the night, at

²²⁵ Aas, R. Lars. 2008. The Rock Carvings of Taru Thang: The Mountain Goat: A Religious and Social Symbol of the Dardic Speaking People of the Trans Himalayas. *Masteroppgave I arkeologi. Det Humanistiske Fakultet. University I Bergen.*

the first sign that their periods had started. But now they have the option of staying the night at home. This represents a radical departure from previous custom²²⁶, signifying change and flexibility in the tradition.

Menstruation Home “*Bashalini*”

The Menstruation home is located outside the village. It is similar to the moon lodges of ancient Mayan and Greek cultures where women would come together and were given an opportunity to enhance their cognitive and creative faculties.

“The Moon Lodge is the place of women, where women gather during their menstrual time to be at-one with each other and the changes occurring in their bodies. Long ago, during this special time of moon cycles, women were removed from duties of family and allowed to retreat to the Moon Lodge to enjoy the company of their Sisters” **Jamie Sams**,²²⁷.

Bashalini is a small cottage with four wall boundary near the stream. Their families prepare food for them and leave it at the door step of the *Bashalini*. They dare not to enter the room or to touch these girls because of the fear of impurity. They associate this home with a goddess *Dezalik or disini* (goddess of fertility). This goddess holds power over life and death and controls the souls of the unborn children²²⁸. Her temple is located in every menstruation home; it is represented by a vertical roughly flat timber in form of female vulva. The temple is considered as a labor room for pregnant women and here they remain till complete recovery.

The male members and pure women of the society are forbidden to enter this temple. Every Kalash girl enter this house when she has her first periods and takes part in a religious custom “*tus`ul`ek*” performed by the other females present in the *Bashalini*. These women wash the hands of the girls till elbow, bread is offered to the goddess. Later the females pray for the health, prosperity and fertility for the girl and consume the food. These women didn’t touch the menstruating woman. The girls will

²²⁶ Wynne, Maggi, 2001. *Our Woman Are Free. Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush*. Ann. Arbor. The University of Michigan Press.

²²⁷ Jamie Sams, *The Sacred Path Cards* Illustration by Linda Childers.

www.moonsurfing.com/moonlodge.html

²²⁸ Loude, Jean and Lievre Viviane 1988, *Kalash Solstice*. Lok Versa. Publishing House.

attend her from a distance without touching her. Even they serve water from a distance pouring it in her hand. In case of contractions she waits quietly till it become worse. she then inform her husband that the time has come. Laboring women are accompanied to the bashalini by one or two females relative or friends. When a zanti i.e. a woman in labour enters baslaini for delivery, her relatives bring some walnuts, in case of any difficulty in delievery or if the baby doesn't come quickly, the females pray by saying

“Oh my dear disni of the bashalini, make her deliever quickly, bring the new flower in her arms bless her with the baby, don't make things difficult. Then they break a walnut and throw it to the goddess. If there is more pain and complicationand she doesn't deliever quickly someone will call, oh make an offering, ask for mercy and relieve. Then her relatives will go and break three walnuts and all the women present in bashalini will pray again and say “ oh my dear disini of bashalini, one has come under your care, bless her with health, bless her with a healthy child, bring Health , bring health and through three walnuts towards the goddess. They repeat the ritual if she dosent come quickly. This time they break seven walnuts and everyone will pray together loudly in choirs “oh my lord dezalik/ disini of bashalini, one has come under your care, with faith bring health, bestow the flower in her arms. They repeatedly perform the ritual till she became zanti”.

Traditionally the cord is cut off with the sharp edged rock and then tied with a fringe broken from womans belt. But today they have scissors and other surgical supplies for cutting the cords, which is arranged by the Government of Pakistan and some NGO,s. in the morning the after birth (placenta) is buried under a the big holy oak tree. After the baby is born the new mother will lie down and go directly to sleep where other bashalini woman clean the baby. They prepare a traditional meal i.e. thick wheat porridge topped with butter and walnut oil with adequate salt. This is the first food they introduce to the baby before mothers breast milk. A little portion is offered to the god Disini with gratitude. Everyone in the bashalini shares the food and even urges the new mother to eat. Later the baby is put to her breast and the two of them are allowed to settle till the postpartum bleeding is stopped. They remain in the

temple till the state of purity is achieved. After being thoroughly purified they can leave. Myth has it if a woman left the *bashalini* before purification than she might have experience some harm on the new born like the sudden death of the new born in such cases the baby is burried without any funeral.

The Kalasha people are very particular about the state of *onjesta*. In case if they had a physical contact with *Paragata* girls than they are supposed to take bath to purify themselves. Even they requested the researcher after visiting the *bashalini*, to purify her before entering their house. Married women with kids having other responsibilities are also supposed to stay in the menstruation house. In their absence other relatives and neighbors use to perform their daily household tasks. The mothers are expected to take care of their daughters or daughter in-laws house, in case they are supposed to go to *Bashalini* either for menstruation or for “*Zanti*” i.e. woman who have just given birth or is ready for the birth. On the fifth day after the birth of the child the “*acha~mbi*” ceremony is celebrated in which the young girls gather at menstruation home to purify the mother with water and smoke²²⁹. After that a small fire is built in where girls take turns jumping over it in jubilance. The mother stays in *bashalini* till she is fully recovered. Afterwards she takes a complete bath and joins her family which is followed by a grand prayer and dancing.

They regard sending womenfolk to *bashalini* as a traditional practice transmitted to them by their elders “who believed that the females are cursed by the gods” so it is a punishment for them and they should suffer. Some relate this with the biblical story of Adam and Eve. The Kalash has their own version of this story²³⁰, and still firmly believes in their mythical story and stress that Muslims also believe that Adam was punished by God because of his disobedience. So they don’t want to commit a sin or to

²²⁹ Loude, Jean and Lievre Viviane. 1988, Kalash Solstice. Lok Versa. Publishing House.

²³⁰ page 78 Loude “the forbidden sister” oral tradition has interpreted the myth of Adam and Eve to explain the origin for the exclusion of his sister in respect of marriage, and to express the aversion of the Kalash for the Muslims preference for marriage between first cousins. Adam and Bibi Awa driven from paradise in circumstances reinterpreted in the context of Kalash life, are never the less faced with the same problems of subsistence and procreation. On a single day Bibi Awa conceives seven boys and seven girls, who were born in pairs at intervals of a few moments. Not knowing how to assemble them all, Adam prays to *khodai* “God teach me what to do? *Khodai* says: “you must unite the first born son to his youngest sister, the last born, and split all the twins”. The last born of the sons, strongly desired his twin sister and refused to obey the law. They conclude the story by saying “because of his behavior he was forced to leave and he became the first Muslim”.

offend their gods like their pre Islamic ancestors had annoyed and called for his wrath. The reason to check seven generations is the presence of seven siblings.

According to Saif ul Allah Jan²³¹ our females are allowed to roam around with their friends and relatives, they can even go to areas beyond Chitral. Kalash believes that *Budock Dehar* had received an instruction from the deity *Malosh* that the females should not come to him, and no male goat flesh was to be eaten by them. The fairy also added that all the women should be kept in separate confinements, each month and at birth²³². They look forward to their days in *Bashalini* because there they can be with their friends without any domestic responsibility at all. For them it is a leisure time.

This is one statement by Saif ul Allah Jan to which few girls partially agreed to; but generally the married women are not happy with the idea to spend time away from their family and children. They miss their children and they often compare themselves with the Muslim women, that no one expects them to leave their homes during menstruation and consider them an outcast. Kalash women pleaded that since Muslim women do not leave home during their periodic menstrual cycle and their presence in home does not bring any misfortune on a Muslim house hold then how can their presence would cast calamity on their loved ones and livestock. Muslims also regard this condition as impure and females are prohibited to enter mosque or prayer area. It is regarded as taboo to hold holy *Quran*. Though their presence in home is not regarded as the misfortune for the family and they can eat in the same utensils with the rest of the family. There are few Kalash families which do not allow their daughters to leave home and they are the ones who are directly under the influence of the Muslims relatives. They just confine their women to a distant room in the home where the males' members do not enter.

²³¹ Saif ul Allah Jan. 1996, History and Development of the Kalasha. Proceeding of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference. P. 338.

²³² Viviane Lievre. 1996, The Status of Kalash Women in the Religious Sphere. Proceeding of the Second International Hindukush cultural Conference. P. 338.

The young jubilant Kalash girl's whole heartedly agreed, that they do manage to take pleasure in this time because they are free and can spend time with their acquaintances and can gossip about friends and foes. The dissatisfaction and antagonism on the part of these females who regard this tradition as a disgrace to their sanity and sense of shame was evident in their non verbal communication. They believe that when they have to leave for the *Bashalini* they reveal very personal information public. Sometimes they are teased and suspected of illicit relation if they miss their cycle due to any biological disability. They share their disgust regarding the tradition according to their own need, since they are obliged to keep the tradition alive and respect the preaching of their shamans they suppress their inner most desire. Women in some instances have been using their stay in *bashalini* as an escape from their strict and angry husbands. According to Raziq Palwal:

“A man came and yelled at his wife who was inside the *bashalini*, wife came out, running crossed the river water jumping over it from rock to rock and reached her husband. They took positions of about one to two meters apart from one another. They talked but did not reach any agreement on their mutual problem. The wife finally walked away, but the man rushed in front of her and tried to stop her. As he was not allowed to hold, push or pull, she continued towards him. The man, probably instinctively, grabs a stick and started brandishing it before her to keep her away. The woman continued walking toward him and forcing the man to retreat. Neither he nor the weapon was a taboo-proof and the result of endeavors was a failure”²³³.

There are numerous incidents of such nature, which often lead to domestic violence since the females of Kalash can freely meet their lovers in *bashalini*, some husbands suspect that their wife may have developed illicit relation with someone. This is more common when there is a large difference in ages of the spouses. They watch the *bashalini* closely to guard against a possibility of their wife's elopement with a new lover.

The Kalash society is very open minded in comparison with the Muslims of the same area. The women in Kalash do not observe *pardah*, but are bound to obey their

²³³ Wynne, Maggi, 2001. Our Woman Are Free. Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush. Ann. Arbor. The University of Michigan Press.

own religious and societal norms. Their role in religious occasions, social setup of the community, and in decision making for the family is largely ignored. They, like any other society around the world, are considered responsible for the housekeeping, and nourishment of the babies. This is a society which is recognized by the distinctive traditions and customs through female projection. People from all over the world visit Kalash to see the dancing and singing of beautiful Kalash women clad in their black embroidered garbs, adorned with beads and their traditional head dress, but instead females live in a very protected environment and are not trusted to deviate from the social traditions and norms. The people in the Kalash treat their women as personal possession. They decorate them; exhibit them to the tourist under the blanket of their cultural projection. These females just to earn money pose and perform in groups and accept money in return. There are few exceptions. The males preferred to utilize their linguistic skills and act as a tourist guide. In this society they don't accept their boys to marry outside the tribe or group. But they don't mind a little flirting of their daughters with the tourists. Levi Strauss in the elementary structures of kinship states that; "Women are the commodity and they could be exchanged".

Robertson claimed in his book that kafir women were practically household slaves. They seemed to have no civil rights of any kind. To all the intents and purposes they are bought and sold as household commodities²³⁴. Levi Strauss points out that "in an egalitarian society, women are not exchanged by men, instead they exchanged goods and services with men. They don't intend to treat them as a commodity, they just follow the tradition²³⁵. Marx analysis of value and of commodity as an elementary form of wealth is taken as a displaced interpretation of the status of woman in a patriarchal society. "In our social order women are product used and exchanged by men. Their status is that of merchandise, commodities ...' so women have to remain in an infrastructure unrecognized as such by our society and our culture. The uses, consumption of their socialized bodies under write the organization and the

²³⁴ Ortner B.Sherry. 1996. Is female to male as nature is to culture Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History. II Edition McGee .Jon and Warms.I.Richard

²³⁵ ibid

reproduction of the social order in which they have never taken part as subject”.²³⁶
(Doane, A. Mary, 1987)

Role and Respect

A generalized impression about the Kalash women is that only mothers, grandmothers and the elderly are treated with respect and reverence (P.530)²³⁷. While discussing the issue of respect with the local girls and adult females the response was unexpected and thought provoking. They denied and refused to believe that they are not respected by the men and strongly objected to be referred to as a possession or commodity. They accused all those researchers and travelers who failed to understand and grab the essence and beauty of their tradition and customs. They speculated that may be some stories have been concocted regarding the plight of women of *Kafirs* of Kalash. An elderly man requested the researchers to be more empirical, and should not rely thoroughly on Robertson `s account regarding the *Kafirs* of Kalash but to analyse us from our perspective.

Right of Inheritance

The Kalash are an interesting Specimen of “patriarchal society” where a good number of the rules are followed belonging to matriarchy. They are closer to double descent or double unilineal descent where descent is reckoned both patrilineally and matrilineally. Here the property is divided in to partrilineal line possessions and matrilineal line possession²³⁸. The patrilineage owns the land, whereas the matrilineal owns consumable property, such as live stock. The legally weaker matrilineal lineage is more important in religious matters than the partrilineal side. In Kalash society the females have no right or claim on their parent’s property. Even in case of one child there are no exceptions. The parents can gift their property to their daughters only if they are in a financial crunch. Sons are the rightful heir and the property is equally distributed amongst them. The youngest son is responsible to take care of the parents,

²³⁶ Doane. A Mary, 1987: *The Desire to Desire: The Woman’s Film of the 1940s*: Indiana University Press.

²³⁷ Robertson. George, Scott. 1896 “*The Kafirs of Hindukush*” Oxford University Press Karachi 6th Impression.

²³⁸ Haviland A. William. 1987. *Cultural Anthropology: The Formation of the Group*. 5th Edition. P. 238. 128

so he is the one who inherits the parent's house. Bride price is also associated with polygyny and the extrusion of daughters from patrilineal inheritance (Goody 1973:50). But why the female is ignored in inheritance when they do accept a bride price by the bride groom? The Kalash are unable to give any justification for this action. In past the girls were married before they reached the age of puberty. The one who remained unmarried for a longer period of time was considered immoral and of hopelessly bad character²³⁹. But contemporarily time those who are interested in education and pursuing a career are encouraged by their parents. According to native perspective they were forced to take decision regarding early marriage of their daughters because of the fear of extinction. Kalash were few in numbers if they had not taken that seriously they now would have been vanished from the face of earth. That is why they had tolerated this aspect. But just for the sake of purity in lineage they don't allow their sons to marry girls outside the religion.

Political Voice

The norms and laws of the society are formulated and dictated by the Kalash males, they do claim that their females enjoy a life of complete equality. But in reality their society like almost all societies of the world also works on the principle of discrimination of women because deep down those females are considered inferior to men in their own way and terms. Marx perspective claims that gender subordination was a product of external factor. Structuralism sorts out the concept of binary opposition²⁴⁰ through which one is able to identify cross cultural patterns of oppositions associated with man and women. Modern anthropological approach is changing and they are giving equal attention to the voice of female, her opinion in developing and enhancing a society. Females are excluded from the most sacred rites or highest political council; de-valuing cultural ideology is sufficient evidence of women's second class status²⁴¹. It has been felt that in Kalash there is a possibility of mistaken identities especially when representing women's on the right as independent human beings. This

²³⁹ Robertson. George, Scott. 1896 "The Kafirs of Hindukush" Oxford University Press Karachi 6th Impression.1995.

²⁴⁰ Ortner B.Sherry. 1996. Is female to male as nature is to culture: Anthropological Theory. An Introductory History II Edition McGee . Jon. R and Warms. I.Richard

²⁴¹ Ibid.

was attained by building proper rapport and detailed dialogues in which females were both observed and analyzed critically. Dialogues represent not just a literary technique or a way of connecting the isolated person to the outside world, the reinterpretation of the nature of the self. The self cannot be understood or expressed except in relation to an audience whose real or imagined responses continually shape the way in which we define our self²⁴².

Gender Issues and Role of Shamans

In all human societies there is a faculty or individual whose main function is to guide and preach religion and rituals. In Kalash this is the sphere of the shamans depending on ability to function in two worlds and have the capacity to enter into a trance. They through their instinctive intuition possess a unique power to communicate with super natural beings. This power can be applied for both good and evil. The shamans generally can be of either gender but it is perceived that in Kalash only the males are known to possess those capabilities. According to the respondent, the fairies (*Suchi*) and deities do not communicate with the females due to their biological impurity. When asked them about a pre Islamic female shaman²⁴³. The elders of Kalash were little reluctant to share information regarding their pre Islamic era. Marx wrote ‘the essence of man is no abstraction, inherent in each separate individual. In its reality, it is the ensemble of social relations. Marx and Eagle suggested that “men make their own history and the circumstances under which they cultivate are inherited from the past”. According to the mythical accounts and oral history the Kalash, consider their females as liars, dishonest and impure and that is why they are forbidden to participate in any religious ceremonies or to eat the meat of the sacrificed animal. The people of

²⁴² Ginsburg, Faye: 1997 Reflexivity and voices, edited by Hertz, Rosanna, Sage publications, thousand oas London: New Delhi. P 283.

²⁴³ Viviane Lievre:1996. The status of Kalash Women in the Religious sphere. Proceeding of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference. Edited by Israr ud Din and Elena Bashir. A female *Dehar* called *Mali*, she lived in *Drosh* (south of Chitral) at the time preceding the first wave of Islamic conversion in Chitral area (thirteen or fourteen centuries). She is claimed to be the only female *Dehar*. When in trance she jumped from one place to another and walked on embers. She prophesized that “in three years a materialized spirit will come with a bird”. If you accept this bird, it will mark the beginning of your decline and the community will vanish.” Three years later her prophecy came true. The Kalash having being paid no attention to Mali’s word accepted the bird. From this date the Muslims assault and conversion began. When they realized their mistake, the Kalash declared a taboo on poultry, hens and considered them impure. P: 338.

Kalash believed that the reason for natural catastrophes, scarcity of resources and food are the result of their female's wrong doings or immoral acts. Lievre believes that this discrimination of women in the society is due to the influence of monotheist religions²⁴⁴.

In Kalash the males are considered to be wiser, dominant, and bread winners for the family; females are associated with the domestic chores and a perception is portrayed that they enjoy a relaxed and stress free life. However the reality is entirely different their females are doing more than their due share; they are contributing in the smooth running of home taking care of daily chores, nourishing children, fetching water, making bread, cleaning and weaving cloth. The symbolic values of the Kalasha domestic and wild animals seem to be ordered based along a basic gradient of altitude, where their livestock together with the wild mountain goats of the mountain forms a series of categories that encompass the entire ritual spectrum from total purity to utter pollution (Parkes 1983:189)²⁴⁵.

Raising Children

The fathers are not seen exhibiting love for their kin in public. The grandparents express this love and most often help their children in looking after their kids. Children are little distant from their father. It is unfair to presume that women are just confined to domestic chores; women not only clean and feed the children; she is the primary source of their early socialization. She is the one who nurtures infants and transform them into complete mature individuals, by teaching them manners and values so that they can become a useful members of the society. On the basis of socializing skills she could only be regarded as a representative of culture. It is often claimed that boys are very polite, soft, kind hearted, selfless and loving but when he is old enough that he can independently survive, the male members of the family consider themselves responsible for the grooming and training of these boys and to prepare them for the ground

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Aas, R. Lars. 2008. The Rock Carvings of Taru Thang: The Mountain Goat: A Religious and Social Symbol of the Dardic Speaking People of the Trans Himalayas. *Masteroppgave I arkeologi. Det Humanistiske Fakultet. University I Bergen.*

reality²⁴⁶. It is through their training that boys transform from their boyish attitude to man's status. This is not only visible in rural areas but can be applied to the present day educational system. Ortner States that:

“At primary level female teachers are employed to teach and guide the students but as the child mature and his level rises to college and university there is a visible shift to male teachers both at technical and non technical level” (p.357)²⁴⁷.

Same is the case in the Kalash society mainly at primary level female teachers are hired because they are polite, soft and compassionate. In the past the only institution available to these children was the *madrassa* which was attached with the mosque. The *Maulvi or Maulam* was responsible for educating the students. At that time the main focus was given to the Islamic education for both girls and boys. Now there is a shift in their policies there are schools both administered by local government, NGO's, and Ismailis. These organizations have an agenda of women emancipation in the region. They are encouraging the local women to step forward and contribute their services in these schools. Ismaili administered schools hire local females having H.S.S.C qualification and their salary package is 4,500 only per month. These girls are now contributing and sharing the financial burden.

Wollstonecraft argued that education would make women better wives and mothers as it would create the mental discipline necessary to ensure that they were not flighty or frivolous.²⁴⁸ The region in which they exist is exposed to many challenges related to development, facilities and even providing certain basic amenities of life. Females of Kalash have a God gifted potential to adopt and compromise according to their resources and can bring the best out of them. They can utilize their skills and knowledge to earn subsistence for their children. The mother of seven along with her obligation to her family is also working for exhibition and training centre where the Kalash traditional goods are designed.

²⁴⁶ Ortner B.Sherry. 1996. Is female to male as nature is to culture: Anthropological Theory. An Introductory History. II Edition McGee . Jon.R and Warms.I.Richard. p357

²⁴⁷ Ibid 358

²⁴⁸ Hughes Christina. 2002. Key Concepts in Feminist: Theory and Research. Sage Publications. London. P. 46

The women's contribution towards the health department is commendable. They are now working as lady health visitor and interacting with other females. They are now more aware of their strength and weaknesses. Initially it was observed that the region was under the constant threat of maternal and infant mortality. But now the demographic patterns are changing. The ratio of infant survival is increasing. They still continue to be having 6 to 10 children per family. This is true for both the Muslims and the Kalash. The reason is for the sake of having a male child to continue their lineage. The position of women in Kalash is a bit confusing. Nietzsche argues that the morals and norms we describe and choose against external world constitute our identity. The Kalash are possessive of their females, but the honor and prestige of the family is not associated with them. The women do not face any honor killing, or any other conflicting situation, even in case they had exercised their right of choice in matrimony.

“The Kalash society follows a segmentary system of patrilineal descent and the lineages are defined by strict rules of exogamy, prohibiting intermarriages between agnates²⁴⁹ related within seven generations of a descent from a common ancestor. Lineage memberships are of importance due to the agnate's mutual obligations of assistance in contributing to mortuary feasts and marriage payments but the main public role is seen in the special context of wife elopement feuds” (Parkes 1987: 640)²⁵⁰

People do talk about one case in particular where a Kalash man had embraced Islam due to the influence of his Muslim friends. When his wife became aware of the fact she reacted very strongly. The man tried to convince her but she resisted. Later she left her husband and married some other Kalash. The man on the pursuance of his friends had developed a certain degree of animosity towards her wife and her new husband and tried to claim his wife. But upon the intervention of the elders the issue was resolved. The *Imam* declared that according to Islamic code of conduct his conversion to Islamic faith had nullified his marriage and any legal right on his wife. It was then clarified to all that by changing their religious identity they cannot force their spouses to embrace it. Religion is only acquired by choice and understanding not by coercion and fear.

²⁴⁹ Agnates same as Patrilineal, means a relative who is descended from a man who is also the ancestor of other relatives, especially through the male line

²⁵⁰ Parkes P. 1987 Livestock Symbolism and Pastoral Ideology among the Kafirs of the Hindukush. Man, New Series 22(4): 637-660

Gender identity is created by accumulating various cultural traits. These when strictly followed by the community becomes their cultural identity. These cultural groups can only be analyzed as competitors, opposition and in power struggle; with the desire to subjugate other. When deciphering a society in a common geographical space, the urge to regard their religion, ideas, customs and faith as fake or fraud, has to be curbed, by eradicating one's own ethnic and personal bias; only then it is possible to understand evaluate and sustain that particular culture. Analysis of cultural interpretation regarding females revealed that the text normally accepted and published as an authentic and verified piece of manuscript is based on the thoughts and perceptions of dominant males of the said cultures rather than the females. In positing, we recognize the possibility that the truths the narrator claims may be at odd with the most cherished notions of the interpreter. Personal narratives cannot be simply expropriated in the service of some good cause, but must be represented in their integrity.... The interpretation of women`s personal narratives often entails a cautious juxtaposition of attainable truths and feeds into feminist project of revising not merely the content of knowledge of human society, but the very criteria that guide our desire to extract absolute truth²⁵¹. It has been observed that the females are responsible to protect and selvage traditions, to create diversity and independent identity in a specified geographical space. The females utilize the spatial boundary with sufficient freedom where they can parley with the cultural values and desire to look good by satisfying their aesthetic taste.

²⁵¹ Ginsburg, Faye: 1997 *Reflexivity and Voices: The Case of Mistaken Identity*, Edited by Hertz, Rosanna, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks'. London. New Delhi.
Hertz, Rosanna: 1997. *Reflexivity and Voices*. Sage Publications. Thousand oaks' London. New Delhi.

Chapter 7

Identity and Self Image in Adolescence

Adolescence is defined as the development period of transition from childhood to early adulthood, entered at approximately 10- 13 years of age and ending at 18- 22 years of age²⁵². However it varies with genetic and cultural circumstances. Every stable society transmits values from one generation to next that is how civilization works in today's world²⁵³; a special concern is the original nature of values being communicated to children. Growing up has never been easy for Kalash children amidst the tumultuous emotions aggravated by the raging hormones; it is a challenge to maintain sanity to go through the process of growing up and maturing to become a responsible and constructive member of any society. It is not just the period of rebellion, crisis, pathology and deviance²⁵⁴. A far more precise vision of adolescence is of a time of evaluation, of decision making, of commitment, and of carving out a place in the world. This exposure generates a certain level of direct confrontation because of their thinking mind weighing and evaluating tradition with rationale and logic.

Adolescent is the main building block of any group even for the fairly closed traditional society like Kalash. They are the one to whom the traditions, customs and culture is transmitted. They are considered as custodians of culture. This transitional phase requires maximum understanding and communication between the elders and the youth. Although at ground reality, the vision, ideals, aspirations, ideas, maturity and reasoning of the two groups are entirely different²⁵⁵. Hence the places and ideology are subjected to negotiation. Every society is inherently conscious of the problems of adolescence and therefore tries to guide it in a direction which conforms to the requirements of that society. Muslims start it from birth when the prayer call (*Azan i.e Allah u Akbar*) recited in the ears of a new born. Circumcision is performed at an early

²⁵² Santrock. W. John. 2005, Adolescence. 10th Edition. McGraw Hill. Published by Steven Rutter p.21

²⁵³ Santrock. W. John., Adolescence. 6th Edition. Brown & Benchmark Publishers. p 12-32

²⁵⁴ Santrock. W. John. 2005, Adolescence. 10th Edition. McGraw Hill. Published by Steven Rutter p.22

²⁵⁵ Shils. Edward. 1981. "Tradition" Faber and Faber London, Boston.

age to give the infant its identity, at the age of 12 years, he is made to offer his prayers five times regularly, made to recite Quran and understand that what is permitted to be done and what is not. Christian give baptism to a child, introduce him to biblical readings, and stories of their past heroes are recited to them which finally end up in developing love for their own society and detestation for others who did not follow their code of conduct. Kalash are no different even at birth they use identity markers such as “*shuman*” a hand weaved band wound on the forehead of both the girls and the boys.



(Photograph xi): Gul Kalash the Baby Girl Adorned with a Traditional Head Band used to identify her as Kalash.

They introduce their children to their cultural legacy and traditions from the age of three on a “*gosnik*” ceremony which takes place during the winter solstice on which they start by dressing them into Kalash distinctive dress pattern, bead and a colorful “*susit*” as mentioned in chapter five. Boys celebrate “*Bhut Sumbiek*” when they are five. In this ceremony they put on the pants for the first time before that they were just clad in a very long shirt. During this ceremony they are dressed in their traditional men’s attire and pose as stiff, fierce warriors at the temple of *Sajigor*, the most sacred altar of the valley²⁵⁶. This traditional ceremony indoctrinates the seed of individuality and identity, especially with the goal of discouraging independent thought or the acceptance of other opinions in the child. They then teach him the Kalash tradition

²⁵⁶ Loude, Jean and Lievre Viviane.1988. Kalash Solstice. Lok Versa. Publishing House.

dastur and make them learn Kalash oral songs and praise which have been handed to them by their elders. The exact Kalash *dastur* is not a written document and the original is not available but the *jist* of the *dastur* has been passed upon from generation to generation. They are told to love their beliefs, and their customs which they demonstrate at festivals for all to see and witness.

Margaret Mead (1928) in her book “Coming of age in Samoa” studied youth on the south sea island of Samoa. She brought forth a contrasting view. According to her; “nature” is not biological but “socio cultural”²⁵⁷. She concluded that cultures that allows adolescent to observe sexual relations, see babies born regard death as natural, assume responsible behavior, engage in sex play, and know clearly what their adult roles will be? Will promote a relatively stress free adolescence²⁵⁸. Though half a century later her work was criticized by Freeman (1985) as being biased and error-prone but he failed to prove that the reason of delinquency in Samoan cultures was due to biology or some internal or external factors were also implicated in the scenario. Freeman and Meads work must be seen in the context of the “nature / nurture controversy”.²⁵⁹ In fact it was more than two peoples contradictory interpretation that were at issue; the nature of truth, the meaning of science, the power of myth, and the politics of academics were all in play. Hiram Caton (1990) observed that this controversy led to an entire disciplines taking stock of itself, past and present. But Freeman²⁶⁰ does not take into account the changes that may have occurred during those fifty years which had given him such conflicting results.²⁶¹ Adolescence is a stage which is associated with many changes both physical and mental within a child. School, work and economics are important dimensions of the inventionist views. Some scholars argue that the concept of adolescence was invented mainly as a byproduct of the movement to create a system of compulsory public education.

²⁵⁷ Mead, Margret. 1973. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Santrock. W. John 2005, *Adolescence*. 10th Edition. McGraw Hill. Published by Steven Rutter.

²⁶⁰ Freeman, D. 1983. *Margaret Mead and Samoa*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University press.

²⁶¹ Golden. Peters. Holly: “Cultural Sketches” *Case Studies in Anthropology* 3rd Edition. P. 210

Hall²⁶² believed that the adolescent development, like all development, is controlled by genetically determined physiological factors. The environment plays a minimal role during infancy and childhood. However during adolescence its influence increases and that heredity interacts with environmental influences to determine an individual's development. Biological processes cause change in the growing child as manifested in their genes inherited from parents and hormonal changes of puberty. The development of brain and cognitive faculty, height and weight advance in motor scale are all a reflection of biological processes. Cognitive processes are influenced by both genes and the environment at home and educational institution. Parents while contributing to genetic for the development also play an important role in providing the environment for their offspring's. The influence of culture on adolescent development is broad based as the term culture itself. All the components of culture and their influence on an individual shape the very essence of personality. Behavior, beliefs, family, peers, schools, media, social class and ethnicity contribute to the development of an adolescent.

Culture and ethnicity are increasingly becoming relevant to identity in the modern times. In this age of global village interaction between various groups is increasing and ethnocentric study of adolescence is bound to be deficient, keeping in account the influence of other cultures on an ethnic group and an adolescent's response to that influence. Erickson²⁶³ (1968:336) was very sensitive to the role of cultures in identity development. He pointed out that throughout the world, ethnic minority groups have struggled to maintain their cultural identity while blending in to the dominant culture. This struggle for an inclusive identity or identity within a larger culture has been driving force in the founding of religious sanctuaries, empires and revolutions throughout history.²⁶⁴ The adolescence period is very critical for the children of minority ethnic group. Since they are aware of social, religious and economical differences in the society they share with other groups. Harter²⁶⁵ states that

²⁶² Hall, G.S. 1904: *Adolescence*. (vol. 1 & 2). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

²⁶³ Erickson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: W.W Norton.

²⁶⁴ *ibid*

²⁶⁵ Harter, S. 1989. *Self and Identity Development*. In S.S. Feldman & G.R Elliot (EDS), *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*. Cambridge, M.A: Harvard University Press.

“In contrast to children adolescents have the ability to interpret ethnic and cultural information to reflect on the past and to speculate about the future.... And as they cognitively mature, they became acutely aware of evaluations of their ethnic groups by the majority”.

During the early adolescence, individuals develop the physical aspect of their sex with the onset of puberty. Girls and boys experience intensification in gender related expectations and expected future gender role. Gender intensification (p 353) hypothesis signifies the psychological and behavioral differences between boys and girls become greater during early adolescence because of increased socialization pressures to conform to traditional masculine and feminine gender roles”. Puberty’s role in gender intensification may involve a signaling to socialize others. When the adolescent is beginning to approach adulthood and therefore should begins to act more in ways that resemble the stereotypical female or male adult the parents, and teachers should take care of these aspects of children. Societies do have a certain extent of gender bias, which later affects the personality and adjustment of the individual in the society. Sometimes children have a sense of being unwanted. Parents do have kids without planning or often for the sake of having a male child they keep on having daughters. These unwanted girls usually develop a sense of poor self esteem and confidence. This is mostly found in the third world countries. Role of gender is also very important in the growth and development of the personality of the adolescent. The preference to one group of sex over the other may lead to a conflicting situation.

In Kalash the brave people are considered honorable and acquire a heroic status in the society. Young boys are tested for their bravery and are sent with their flock of goats or sheep on the high pasture for the whole season. In these pastures they live alone and survive the ordeal, and come down with their livestock i.e. from one autumn to another. If they are able to survive the whole year they are referred to as *Budalac* i.e. brave warrior. Upon his return all the pretty and eligible girls welcome him with flowers on the main entry of the village and a grand feast is held where he danced with all the girls with a right to choose anyone for matrimonial. According to literature this ceremony was associated with a very interesting and exaggerated debauchery. The *budalac*, procreating herdsman, who returns from the mountains after a long period of abstinence and on one night of the festivities has a right to make love to all the girls he

desire. This usually takes place at autumn festival *ucaw* and is connected with a prayer of fecundity. Basically the origin of the mysterious story of *budalac* was created to tackle the demographical crisis which occurred at the time when the women could no longer succeed in bearing children. *Pajapoa*; a *dehar* inspired by the fairies revealed the means to putting an end to this serious demographic threat. He ordered that the men must sleep in the stables for a whole year, from one autumn to the next. A year later he announced a grand feast and declared that the period of abstinence having been accomplished and purity is restored; the men can now rejoin their wives. Out of all the men one or two men, reputed for their virility were said to have the right and the duty to take any women of the valley he desires. No women can refuse his advances and it is her duty to sleep with the man. All this was meant to increase the chances of procreation. The children born out of this arrangement were raised by the female and her husband and were not regarded as illegitimate. But it is believed that hence they were different from the rest of their siblings in their physical appearance developed a poor self image. This custom is still practiced but with a slight change which the people deemed, is due to the influence of Muslims on the Kalasha tradition. A chosen *budalac* went off to the pastures and stayed there for a whole season and at the height of the festival he reappeared dressed in a coat and cap of goats hair and mixed with the women arrived to receive him. He danced with them on a traditional song

“Oh, oh oh budalac... drink cups of milk from the white goats of the heights...oh oh oh budalac my child returned from the he goats, oh oh oh.... budalac my child in the garden of flowers...!” s

An old woman said that not all the girls of her time were allowed to attend this dance. She remembered that her brother wouldn't let her and her sister go for the dance to act as a potential suitor for the *budalac*.

Educational Environment

The Muslim and Kalash parents encourage both their sons and daughter to seek education and to improve their standard of living. The females of the region often claim that they are not given the right to choose or make decisions regarding their future; the

term choice invokes a strong urge in the human being to act on their internal philosophy. Choice is the integral part of the self identity but this desire to formulate self-identity is in direct conflict with the salvation of cultural identity. Culture restricts humans to opt and accept against their will and desire. Giddens²⁶⁶ says that in the post-traditional order, self-identity is reflexive. It is not a quality of a moment, but an account of a person's life. The individual's right to choose is directly associated with the awareness of choices available. "*What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions for everyone living in circumstances of late modernity - and ones which, on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behaviour*"²⁶⁷. The knowledge is bound to come through education, migration, theology and above all the impact of modernization. This in turn gives rise to the contestation of ideas, reservations, related to religious believes, customs, norms and instigate resistance against orthodoxy. To sustain the traditions only rational choices are allowed to be made. This brings us to the question that who decides that what a rational choice is. Scott describes rational choices as an idea that all actions are fundamentally rational in character and the people calculate and analyze merits and demerits along with cost and benefits of any action before finalizing a decision. The decision regarding marriage, job or conversion to a different religious doctrine comes under rational choices.

The Kalash and Muslims both study in a government schools which offer co-education and cater both for girls and boys. Students are supposed to wear the standard uniform to bring harmony without any distinction of class, religion, and ethnicity. The syllabus is according to N.W.F.P educational board and *Islamiat* is compulsory for all the students. Hence the Kalash youth is familiar to the concept of Islam which is the religion is of the majority group among which they coexist. In this way Kalash has an edge over their Muslim class fellows who in contrast have very little knowledge about

²⁶⁶ Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity (Publisher). ²⁶⁶ Giddens, Anthony (1992) *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity (Publisher).

the belief, customs and morals of the Kalash. Kalasha do not preach their faith to others or encourage others to convert into the folds of Kalash faith. Here they resemble the Jews who do not allow any conversion to keep the purity of their race intact. The Kalash percentage in the school is greater than the Muslims. There is just one high school for the Kalash valleys which is located in Brun. The youth of Muslims and Kalash share a very good and compassionate relationship. They formulate an in-group identity which is different from their personal identity²⁶⁸ as mentioned in chapter Two. The class mates in Kalash school are not just limited to one or two villages of Bumburet they include the students of all the three valleys. The youth belonging to *Shakahandah* village near Afghanistan border study in the same school.

The Kalash and non Kalash are equally treated and encouraged on the basis of their academic performance. Albeit they are aware of the variance due to the scarcity of resources and the utilization of governmental aid is the bone of contention between the elders, but in a class room situation the ethnic conflict is replaced by youth's group identity. The values and norms of a cultural group also influence the direction in which teens develop. In a cross cultural context intelligence depends a great deal on environment and people. The thinking and logic faculty of mind is very active so the child without realizing the cultural taboos and mores challenge the authenticity of certain rituals and mores or unable to grasp the essence. They are later through the mild use of coercion, and dialogue advised not to challenge or question things which they cannot comprehend. This eventually destroys the resistance of the child.

The natural setting and the type of education a child receives plays a predominant role on his future pursuits. Previously in Pakistan admissions to technical and non technical institutions were based on quota system. This system whether fair or not provided an opportunity to those who were less privileged and learned to seek professional education and to become doctors, engineers and scientists. But the modern system of centralized entry test designed in GMAT and GRE standard, has closed doors to the less privileged youth to higher professional education. These students claimed

²⁶⁸ Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1978). "Differentiation between social groups": Studies in the Social Psychology of inter-group relations. London: Academic Press.

that they barely could get good marks in the annual exams held under Peshawar board and now top of it they have to appear for a centralized test based on entirely different method which they had not been taught in their entire school years. It is not possible for them to realistically compete. They added that even their teachers are unable to qualify for those tests. The Kalash and for that matter all the students of that educational environment are critical of the policy of admission to higher education.

These deprived youth due to lack of resources both (human and material) fail to qualify and the marks they receive are low in comparison to other urbanized areas of the country. The point of concern is that these people are at the lowest economic strata. They can't afford the luxury of sending their children to private institution with exorbitant fee structure. These students are beneficiary of scholarships awarded by various philanthropists like Agha Khan Foundation. They support them with a certain amount of money when they successfully complete their education. There is no ethnic or religious bias in awarding those scholarships. But the number of scholarship is few. Only some foreign NGO's like the Greeks and KPDM, are catering for the Kalash youth. Here I would like to quote a response of a minority youth from Spencer & Dornbusch,

“The future seems shutoff, closed ... why dream? You can't reach your dreams, why set goals? At least if you don't set any goals, you don't fail²⁶⁹.” But facts remain that “Ethnic minority youths are aware of negative appraisal, conflicting values and restricted occupational opportunities can influence their life choices and plans for the future (Spencer and Dornbusch, 1980²⁷⁰).

The Kalash youth are in close proximity of the natural setting, and still they are not able to develop their faculty of perception and innovation but are very intelligent. Intelligence is the ability of a person to adopt and learn from everyday experience. According to Benson (2003)²⁷¹ “cultures vary in the way they describe what it means to be intelligent” western cultures regard intelligence as the ability to reason and find logic. For eastern society perception of intelligence is the ability of the individuals to

²⁶⁹ Santrock, W. John 2005: Adolescence. 10th Edition. The McGraw Hill Higher Education. Steven Rutter Publication. p.336

²⁷⁰ Spencer, M.B., & Dornbusch, S.M. 1990: Challenges in Studying Minority Youth. In S.S. Feldman & G.R Elliot (Eds),

²⁷¹ Ibid

successfully engage in their social roles. There is no room for philosophical discourse (Nisbett 2003)²⁷² . In Kalash the person who memorizes and recites maximum oral stories and praises is considered well-informed and intelligent. They regard this ability as God gifted attribute which is present in only the blessed and chosen one. Elena Grigorenko²⁷³ and her colleagues 2001 studied the concept of intelligence among rural Africans in Lou culture of Kenya and categorized intelligence in four basic domains. **Academic intelligence**²⁷⁴ involves the capability and potential of the person which he or she has, when associated with a group or institution together with **Social qualities** like respect, responsibility and consideration towards the community. **Realistic thinking** helps the man to develop and adjust to the present situation and to make logical reasoning by correlating his disconcerting ideas with his identity. **Comprehension** involves the ability to connect this identity with his present environment, according to the religion and culture.

Academic intelligence and practical thinking can develop independently and may grant a specific identity to the individual which may be different to his cultural identity, but values of culture definitely influence the direction in which a child develops. The researcher had conducted intelligence quotient test, for the students of class 9th and 10th of the local Government High School Brun. For intelligence comparison the test were given to the students of same level in Islamabad. The students of Islamabad were able to comprehend them with ease and attempted the questions fairly well .While the students of Kalash needed the help of their teachers to attempt the test. It has been observed that they are willing, inspiring and hard working youth and have the ability to improve if provided with better educational facilities. During my course of data collection few Kalash students have requested that can they have an extra copy of the test for their younger siblings who are studying in the Greek administered School. After few days they brought the test back and requested the researcher to evaluate the results. Surprisingly the score of the students of Greek administered school were higher than the Government high school students and I

²⁷² ibid

²⁷³ Santrock, W. John 2007: Child Development . 11Edition. The McGraw Hill Publishing

²⁷⁴ Santrock, W. John 2005: Adolescence. 10th Edition. The McGraw Hill Higher Education Steven Rutter Publication.

replied to the eager faces “*ia bo prust*” this is very good, the children were very pleased with their performance.

These minority youth of Kalash in past do suffer from the lack of successful role models²⁷⁵ with whom they can identify themselves. Sometimes the past glories are not sufficient so they may develop a tendency to switch to some other class and seek a fresh identity and it may manifest in form of the religious conversions. However anthropologists like Peter Parkes, Gillian Darling, Maggie Wynne and Viviane Lievre have left their legacy in the people and now they are naming their children after them. They do respect and regard *Taj Khan Kalash* who is one of the first literates among Kalasha People to have received BA in Political Science & Law, at Edwards College Peshawar Pakistan & MA Human Rights from Central European University Budapest, Hungary. *Taj Khan* has made first indigenous documentary film about his people as part of anthropological documentation and advocacy for Kalasha people's linguistic rights in education and cultural autonomy. He is also writer of first hand report on "Kalasha Mythology, herbs & Shamanic practices". *Taj Khan* has been a spokesman for Kalasha with his exceptional linguistic skills speaking four Asiatic and three European languages besides his mother tongue. *Lakshan Bibi* was the first girl from her valley to go to graduate school (she earned a graduate degree from the University of Peshawar) and became a commercial airline pilot the first Kalasha woman ever to follow that path. Now things are changing for the Kalash youth and they have dreams and aspirations for a better future.

Art and Music

The researcher discovered that the Kalash youth is fond of performing art and music but are still restricted to the traditional instruments and musical tunes. The musical instruments commonly used are *Whan`ac* a small drum, *Dhhan`w* Large drum and *Ishpoia* flute. They do not receive or even have a provision of any professional training. They just acquire the skill by practicing the music and sounds made by their elders. The Kalash youth love to hear Indian and Pakistani songs they are aware of the

²⁷⁵ Erickson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: W.W Norton.

latest hit. Many of young youth who has access to cities have purchased posters of their favourite artist. Junaid Jamsheed the vocalist of a famous pop band **vital sign** is simply adored by the youth because of the romantic song and video he had recorded.

The children of Kalash have not been exposed to any teaching and guidance in drawing that is why they have not yet gone beyond the primitive sketching. They are not innovative because their elders restrict them to follow the customs. When the researcher visited the holy temple to study the decorative art of the temple it was observed that the wood paneled walls of the temple were unpolished and unvarnished. The various simplistic hand drawn figures of animals like goat grazing in the pasture, the sun rising and geometric shield like designs are painted on the walls as a symbol of adolescents cultural perception and identity. The traditional shield design not only symbolizes protection from the evil and dark forces, oppressors and invaders but also when applied on dress highlight the heroic deed of some ancestor.

The researcher noticed a very familiar figure of a cupid arrow piercing a heart with blood dropping from it. When the elders were asked about the any symbolic meaning attached to this drawing in their culture, it was volunteered by an elderly respondent in disgust that now they are making heart and cupid arrows on the sacred walls of *jestik-han* during *chawmos* festival, which are to be made on the are very sacred and the ink used is sacred ash. Traditionally they can only draw flowers, birds, goats and fruits on the walls of *jestik-han* as a gesture of gratitude and prayer, that the springs will bring prosperity and health for the village. In my opinion the drawings of cupid and arrow may not be an act of vandalism, typical of an adolescent but of self expression of the youth and may have a religious and holistic meaning attached to it. Elders though were dismayed and consider it as a desecration in the pristine environment of the temple. Keeping in view the claims made by the Greeks that they could be remnants of Greek lineage, it can be interpreted as an acceptance among the Kalash youth that they are of Greek origin, therefore they acquired it and considered cupid arrow as their own and made it a part of their cultural heritage and made a place for it in their holiest temple. Another simple assumption which may be closer to the actual event could be that an over exuberant and amorous youth wanted his romance to

be blessed by the gods and in his simple expression he made that symbol on the wall without any malice to the sanctity of the temple.

Self-Understanding and Self Image

Adolescence is the stage where a child experiences emotional changes, increased self understanding and suffer from identity issues. Self understanding is the adolescent cognitive representation of the self, the substance and context of the adolescent's self conception (p.169). The understanding in adolescence is complex involving a number of aspects of the self. The rapid changes that occur during the transition from childhood to adolescence produce heightened self awareness and self consciousness. Which in turn can produce doubts, about who the self is? And which facets of the self are real (Hall 1996)²⁷⁶. James Marcia (1996) believes that changes in the self during adolescence can best be understood by dividing them into early deconstruction, middle reconstruction and late construction phase²⁷⁷. In the initial phase the adolescent confront contradictory self description and wavered ideas about his role in the society. In the middle phase adolescent attempt to resolve these contradictions and in the last phase he develops a more integrated self theory i.e. identity. This is the reason that in contemporary times the children are asked to study the Kalash *dastur* so that they can gather maximum information about their own religion and develop the ability to eradicate contradictions. This awareness helps the individual to develop a more concrete and integrated self theory.

Sense of identity and self understanding are correlated. Self integration is exemplified in the development of an identity. Erick Erickson²⁷⁸ was the one who had used identity as tool to understand the adolescent development. His concept of identity vs. identity confusion as a fifth stage of development occurs during adolescent development. This is the phase called identity exploration where an adolescent search for the answers to Who....? What.....? Why.....? And where we are going in life? They experience all the roles featuring their personal family life, vocational, academic

²⁷⁶ *ibid*

²⁷⁷ Jones, Terry and Krycia, Yardley.1887 . Self and Identity. Psychosocial Perspectives. Routledge & Kegan Paul. London & New York.

²⁷⁸ Santrock,W. John 2005: Adolescence. 10th Edition. The McGraw Hill Higher Education. Steven Rutter Publication.

and romantic roles political and religious (175:5)²⁷⁹ if they fail to pass this stage of conflicting roles smoothly they suffer from identity crisis, which leads towards identity confusion. This state can make an individual to withdraw from his family, peers, other activities or they immerse themselves in the world of peers and lose their identity in the crowd. The reason behind religious conversion in Kalash society is that their youth are contesting with each other over the legitimacy of their religion, gods and deities. The role of *Qazi* in both the religious and moral education is not satisfactory in comparison to the Imam of the community and Christian Missionaries. *Qazi* addressed the Kalash youth only once year. They don't have religious sermons on a regular basis like the Muslims and the Christian. The elderly respondent added that reason for not having weekly session is the active participation and interest of the Muslim boys who take maximum advantage of this opportunity to lure the good and decent girls of their community. On contrary, they are often accused by the Muslims that they are using their women folk to influence both the local Muslim youth and the Kalash Muslims of prosperous families who do not approve the intermarriages. Erickson was a firm believer that the choices one make reflects the desire to achieve a meaningful identity in the larger society. Identity to him is a self portrait that is composed of various roles and images taken from the culture or society.

Kalash youth's first vocational preference in the region is to attain the job in Chitral Scouts. Here they admire the uniform and the concept of power and patriotism associated with it. Another reason for the preference is that it is a permanent pensionable job which gives them a sense of economic and political security. The females in the region admire the Chitral Scouts and it is believed that mostly boys opt for this profession, to have the attention of the girls they admire. Most of the documented marriages of Kalash girl with Muslim boys happen to be with boys associated with Chitral scouts. Political and religious identity involves the characteristics which are constructed by employing an external force in the form of coercion and compensation. Together they constitute the cultural identity of any group.

²⁷⁹ ibid

An identity test was conducted to evaluate the self determination and self image of the students studying in Government high School Bumburet. According to the findings of the test the Kalash youth appears to be very promising, balanced and mature in their perception regarding their cultural and national identity. They consider that both culture and religion together constitute the identity of a group. Some consider the cultural traits as a symbol of identity, and some base the cultural identity on the religion. They present the example of their school and challenged the researcher to segregate the Kalash from the Muslim Kalash or even the *Chitrali*. It was impossible because all of them appeared to be similar just because of their uniform and physical features. The Kalash youth are not seemed to be hesitant to voice their desire to protect their cultural identity and respect for their national identity. They all replied simultaneously that patriotism is independent of religious affiliation. They believed that the respect for cultural identity is the mile stone of national identity. Cultural and national identities are inseparable because the national identity is the space where the cultural identity prevails.

Kalash Youth regarded themselves as more patriotic than their contemporary Muslim. Kalash claimed that they too suffered at the hands of the British but did not surrender. They are not satisfied with their standard of living and basic amenities. Since due to migration, cross cultural exposure and the degree of development around them had made them aware of their disparity. An elderly woman narrated that she was the part of the troupe that had visited Islamabad in 1971 on Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's invitation to perform in the annual festival of *lok versa* and she loved the city the greenery and the cleanliness. She wished and hoped that one day they would be able to afford the same luxury of life. LaFromboise and Low 1989 believed that *substandard living conditions, poverty and chronic unemployment place the youth to develop poor health and school failure which can contribute in developing a poor and negative identity*²⁸⁰”.

²⁸⁰ LaFromboise, T. & Low, K. G 1989. American Indian Children and Adolescents. In J.T Gibbs & L.N Huang (EDS), Children of Colour. San Francisco: Joesy- Bass.

Emotional and Romantic Behavior

Emotional and romantic behavior is the natural and important juncture in the life of an individual. The Kalash society revolves around the pagan custom of courtship. It is a liberal society where they allow their children to be friendly beyond their gender and can develop intimate relationship with others. They can exercise their right to choose. Sense of rejection is the only negative aspect of this courting. Sometimes it happens that a girl can be admired by more than one boy. Now the boys' fate is dependent on the choice of the girl, that who she accepts and rejects. They don't silently wait for the response of the girls; they use the facility of their closest friend or a younger kin. They never court un-chaperoned the girl is always accompanied by a friend or younger sister. The girl prepares a beautiful bracelet for the boy, and the boy in return presents her with a beaded necklace. Every time they are supposed to meet, the boy wears the friendship band. If they fail to turn up wearing their gifts it is interpreted as a signal of waning of interest.

The element of sexual jealousy amongst the females is very evident. The boys don't mind if the girls are flirting with the tourists. The girls openly exhibit their displeasure if they spot a local boy with a female tourist. There are fewer eligible males for the females. Hence the Competition amongst the girls for the boys' attention is bound to arise. In rare cases of rejection the boy gets emotionally disturbed and often is the target of the mockery of his peers. They utilize the occasion of *chawmos* festival's song competition and reveal such secrets in the heat of opposition. The girls reveal all the gossips they had gathered during their stay in *Bashalini* and the boys utilize the services of children to unveil the secrets of girls. The boys are not jealous about the girls because they are more in number so if the girl marries outside the clan it will not affect the boys chances of matrimony. The boys are naturally apprehensive of the girls' father they are courting with. Because if the father is aware of the extent of the relationship: he may ask for an exorbitant bride price, which would be difficult to meet. Until or unless the girl moves in with him in his family home, the bride price claimed will be according to the standard. The respondent Zafar whose services were utilized as

an interpreter was dating with the daughter of the *Qazi* of *Batrik*. He excused himself and avoided entering the house.

Difference and diversity that occur between various groups are the result of historical, economical and social experiences produce legitimate differences between various ethnic and cultural minority groups. Prejudices, biases and discrimination are the causes which lead toward a lower self esteem and lack of confidence. This in turn paves the way for reactionary hostility. There is no society which is free from the class stratification due to economic, racism, ethnic and sex differences. The socio economic status carries certain inequalities where members of the society are forced to take on high status jobs and low status jobs. The one associated with the highest strata used to have a better self concept, where as the rest suffer from a low self esteem and with a degree of identity crisis with a constant search of excuses for their failures.

The adolescent is the period of biological and psychosocial growth. This period of intense turmoil may lead to abnormal or problematic behavior which may be a direct result of low self esteem and identity confusion with respect to biological, social and economical factors. Abnormal or mal adaptive behavior manifest in many forms committing suicide, poor self image manifesting in females in form of anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa and self mutilation. In males depression and rejection may result in anti social, heretic behavior and volatility such as alcoholism drug addiction. The treatment of biological causes of abnormal behavior, are based on the medical model or disease model. The medical model states that abnormality is a disease or illness precipitated by internal bodily causes. Such abnormalities are called mental illnesses like schizophrenia, epilepsy which can be treated by appropriate drugs by the doctors in hospital.

The implication of psychosocial and cultural environment in abnormal behavior is very appropriate because when an adolescent is labeled as mentally sick he needs the support of his parents, peers and doctors to understand, address and come to term with the problems which are leading to emotional instability, learning inability, poor interpersonal skills and thought distortion. The variations in disorder are related to economic, technological, religious, and other cultural factors (Costin &

Draguns 1989)²⁸¹. Most experts on abnormal behavior agree that psychological disorders are universal, appearing in most cultures. However the frequency and intensity of abnormal behavior may differ from culture to culture. In Kalash 90% of youth do not manifest any sort of abnormal or anti social behavior. They are generally docile, agreeable, helpful, curious, inquisitive and aspiring. But there are few reported cases of abnormal behaviour where the people around them believe that they are possessed. Such people are first examined by local exorcist, and when they don't find any cure and the condition of the patient worsens, they are taken to the hospital. Firstly they are treated in Chitral but later on the instructions of the local doctors they are shifted to the hospital in Peshawar.

There is a diversity of opinion available in the region. The youth who have migrated or are having been displaced in pursuit of education don't want to return to their native land permanently. As after living in an urban area they find it very difficult to adjust into their own cultural setting. An occasional visit for few days is fine; but those who get an opportunity of education or an employment, get exposed to a standard of life which is better from what they have experienced in Kalash. They don't want to come back to the same surroundings on permanent basis, because now for them survival becomes a little difficult. But that doesn't mean that they don't love their native place. They cherish their Kalash identity and make it a point to attend all the religious festivals but they don't want permanent settlement in the region. The justification they offer is that they can look after their kiths and kins in a better way from a position of financial strength. This argument is not really hard to imagine' Indians and Pakistanis form the largest immigrant's population in the developed countries and they too like Kalash are close to their roots. They themselves face an identity crisis in the foreign land but they continue to stay there even though they are regarded as a second class citizen. There are very few Kalash who have gone outside the region (Chitral) and therefore they just have to mingle with people around them and this question of identity crisis has not arisen yet. The Kalash youth is trying hard to equip them with both technical and non technical basis. They can face this crisis when

²⁸¹ Roth, Gregory. 2007. *The Clubhouse Experience: The Thesis in Counselor Education*. The Pennsylvania State University.

they will spread in the region and will be able to develop their own Kalash community. Because the time they pass or spend away from home will change the home they had left behind. It will be different and so would they be. And it is quite possible when they return to the place of origin they may not find it hospitable and friendly.

Chapter 8

Marriage Tradition of Kalash

Marriage is one of the universal social institutions established to control and regulate the life of mankind. The marriage tradition generally transforms the roles and responsibilities of two individuals. It is closely associated with the institution of family. Infact both the institutions are complementary to each other. The institution of marriage has different implications in different cultures. Its purposes, functions and forms may differ from society to society but it is present everywhere as an institution. Anthropologists recognize marriage as a way to describe how different societies organize and understood the consequences mating. Westermarck in 'History of Human Marriage' defines marriage as the more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of offspring. According to Malinowski “marriage is a contract for the production and maintenance of children”. Robert Lowie describes marriage as a “relatively permanent bond between permissible mates”. For Horton and Hunt “marriage is the approved social pattern whereby two or more persons establish a family”.

There are several different types of marriage, each of which is based upon numbers of individuals united by the marriage bond and the kinship relations between them. Each type of marriage contributes to the formation of one or more social groups in the societies in which it occurs, and each may influence directly or indirectly, the ways in which other social groups are formed²⁸² (Schwartz & Ewald1968: 262).

Types of Marriages

Monogamy

It is a form of marriage in which one man marries one woman .It is the most common and acceptable form of marriage. It has two types serial and straight monogamy. In

²⁸² Schwartz, A. B & Ewald. H. R, 1968, Culture and Society: An Introduction to cultural Anthropology. The Ronald Press Company.

serial monogamy individuals are permitted to marry again incase of the death of the first spouse or after divorce, but they cannot have more than one spouse at the same time²⁸³, and the other is straight monogamy where remarriage is not allowed under any circumstances.

Polygyny

It is a form of marriage in which one man marries more than one woman at a given time. It has two types --- Sororal polygyny and non sororal polygyny in sororal polygyny the man can marry more than one sister. In non-sororal polygyny the wives are not related as sisters.

Polyandry

It is the marriage of a woman with more than one man. It is not common as polygyny. It has two types---- Fraternal Polyandry and non fraternal polyandry. In Fraternal polyandry several brothers share the same wife the practice can be called alephic or fraternal polyandry²⁸⁴. This practice of being mate, actual or potential to one's husband's brothers is called levirate. It is prevalent among Todas. Where as in Non - fraternal polyandry the husband need not have any close relationship prior to the marriage. The wife goes to spend some time with each husband. So long as a woman lives with one of her husband's; the others have no claim over her²⁸⁵.

Group Marriage

It means the marriage of two or more women with two or more men. Here the husbands are common husbands and wives are common wives. Children are regarded as the children of the entire group as a whole.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Goldstein, M. C. (1976). "Fraternal Polyandry and Fertility in a High Himalayan Valley in Northwest Nepal". *Human Ecology* 4 (3): 223–233.

²⁸⁵ Levine, Nancy, 1988, *The dynamics of polyandry: Kinship, domesticity and population on the Tibetan border*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Rules of Marriage

No society gives absolute freedom to its members to select their partners. Endogamy and exogamy are the two main rules that are followed in marital choice.

Endogamy

It is a rule of marriage in which the life-partners are to be selected within the group. It is marriage within the group and the group may be caste, class, tribe, race, village, religious group etc. We have caste endogamy, class endogamy, sub caste endogamy, race endogamy and tribal endogamy etc. In caste endogamy marriage has to take place within the caste. *Brahmin* has to marry a *Brahmin*. In sub caste endogamy it is limited to the sub caste groups²⁸⁶.

Exogamy

It is a rule of marriage in which an individual has to marry outside his own group or clan. It prohibits marrying within the group. The so-called blood relatives shall neither have marital connections nor sexual contacts among themselves. The people of Kalash strictly follow exogamy it is prohibited to marry within ones clan or lineage.

Tribal Marriage

- Marriage by exchange.
- Marriage by capture is where a man forcibly marries a woman.
- Marriage by intrusion is where a woman forcibly marries a man.
- Marriage by probation allow a man to stay at woman place for weeks together after which if they decide to get married.
- Marriage by purchase or giving bride price. A man is required to give an agreed amount of cash/kind to the parents of the bride as price which usually varies according to the physical beauty and utility of the bride.
- Marriage by service is where the man serves at his father-in-law's house before

²⁸⁶ Roseman A& Rubel P.G, 2009. The Tapestry of Culture: An Introduction to the Cultural Anthropology. Mc Graw- Hill International Edition

marriage.

- Marriage by trial.
- Marriage by mutual consent.
- Marriage by elopement²⁸⁷.

The marriage practices also serve as a space for identity, when particularly studied in any given culture. They display the psychology and superstitions of any society. Every society has its own unique wedding traditions which are very sacred to them and any sort of defiance can cast negativity and misfortune for the couple and the extended family. The Kalash follow a patriarchal system and observe polygynous society where a man can keep more than one wife. They follow tribal marriage rules and most of the above mentioned features of tribal marriage are present in their culture. Kalash words for marrying do not refer to relationship between parents but specifically to the transformation of girl into wife. In Kalash language a woman's marriage is referred to as "*ja thi aau*" she became a wife, for male it is "*ja kai aau*" *he became a husband*. The act of getting married for man in Kalash is referred to "*as janik*", and the parents give "*dik*" their daughter in marriage "*jadek*"²⁸⁸.

Marriage Tradition and Economic Exchange

Bride price "*mal`zuk*" is an amount of money, property or wealth paid by the groom or his family to the parents of a woman upon the marriage. The bride price is the gift that has the purpose to maintain the permanency of the two groups' social relationship by compensating the loss of one object, the daughter or her ability to work, by another object, money or most often livestock. The bride wealth may also be seen as custom of maintenance for the wife in the event of the breakup of marriage, and family maintenance in the event of the husband not providing adequately for the wife in his will. Another purpose performed by the amount was to provide a disincentive for the husband to divorce his wife; he would need to have a certain amount to be able to pay to the wife. The bride price or bride wealth system constitutes an important role in the

²⁸⁷ <http://www.sociologyguide.com/marriage-family-kinship/Tribal-Marriage.php>

²⁸⁸ Wynne, Maggie. 2001. *Our Women Are Free: Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush*. Arbor Ann The University of Michigan Press

distribution of family property and the arrangement of exchanges and alliances among families in many societies. This institution specifies that a prospective husband, usually with the help of his relatives, must provide a substantial sum of money or highly valued goods to his future wife's family before a marriage can be contracted. In many patrilineal societies including Kalash the payment is also made for the rights to assign children to their father's family rather than to their mother's²⁸⁹. The dowry and bride price is also pre determined before marriage according to the economic and social status of the bride and the bridegroom. The institution of marriage for Kalash has been subjected to numerous transitional changes as the impact of modernization increased. In past the matrimonial decision were arranged by the parents who were regarded as the ultimate authority to invite bids or proposals. Those who bid more, win the hand “*baza*” of the bride.

“The bride price consists of gun, trunks, and 40 to 50 animals including goats and sheep’s and big cooking pots. It is stored in the adjacent room of the house, which was conferred at the first meeting of both the parties. Each member of the boy’s lineage contributes to the preparation, by bringing some gift with him to help the member of their lineage, so that in future if they need their help; they are helped in the same way. This economic cooperation is limited to the close members of the family, but if there is a matter of honor then the entire lineage gets involved in the economic cooperation”²⁹⁰.

Bride wealth is known simply as *mal*, or property and consists of ceremonial wealth objects and live stock including grains, biscuits, cheese “*chamani*”, oil, sugar *sakhor* and tea “*cay*” etc (Wynne, 2001:181)²⁹¹. Parkes state that in late 1970 the normal expectation of bride wealth includes “at least sixty articles (*soren*) would be given during the early stages of the marriage, a third of which should be major wealth object. Parkes added that bride price also includes the cost of feast arranged for the wife’s lineage food items given to the wife’s household or house hold’s of her lineage in the event of funeral, gifts of grains, cheese, live stock that are given to the households of the wife’s lineage, and items that are requested, by distant affines

²⁸⁹ Gluckman , Max, 1953. Bride Wealth and the Stability of Marriage, *Man* Vol. 53, pp. 141-143.

²⁹⁰ Unpublished M.Sc Thesis of Naz Shugufta 2009, Ethnographic study of Kalash Community with Emphasis on Kinship and Marriage. Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i- Azam University Islamabad.

²⁹¹ Wynne, Maggi. 2001. *Our Women Are Free: Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush*. Arbor Ann. The University of Michigan Press.

(Parkes 1983:535)²⁹². To date this amount is fixed as standard, however a gift of cash is now included in the bride price ranging from 5000 to 10, 000 depending on the economical prosperity of the bride groom and his lineage. The terms of the bride price contract depends on a very careful consideration of the possession of the parties, their respective social position and reputation, and of what the man`s household can materially provide to balance the women`s promise to increase the size of “hive”. The price of the bride also known as “*kauk- Kauk* literally child- child is basically the price of generation²⁹³.

The second form of economic exchange associated with wedding tradition is dowry commonly known as *jhes* in the subcontinent. Dowry is a transfer of wealth, usually flowing from a woman`s parents or family when she is to be married in the form of money, land or other goods. Often, the husband brings various forms of wealth to a newly created household, and a dowry is thought of as the wife`s donation, to the household or the husband. Dowry can also be viewed as inheritance for the woman, though this is usually in cultures where both men and women are heirs. In other cases, such as in socially stratified societies, a dowry gives a woman the security of knowing that after she is married she can still enjoy her usual lifestyle and in the case of divorce, avoid poverty and discomfort. If the husband and wife are to be divorced, the wife is able to get back the dowry that her parents had given. Usually, a woman with a greater dowry is able to find herself a rich husband, while a woman with a smaller dowry is able to only find herself a poor husband.

In Kalash community there are two stages when a girl receives *Jhes* from her parents i.e. when she visits her parents first time as a married woman, and second time after child birth she receives gifts from her parents for her husband and in laws. According to tradition there are three types of dowries *Coomon, Gajom Merat and Serik Dyek*, but receiving *jhes* from their natal families seems to be expected but it is not necessarily required. For some families it is just given once. The ceremony takes place after the birth of the first child, because it is only than the marriage is expected

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Loude, Jean & Lievre. Viviane. Kalash Solistice. Lok Versa, Publications House p. 92

to be securely established. Natal families organize a small feast and call their daughter and her In-laws to come for a feast. It is a way of honoring the daughter and her new family and establishing equality between in laws²⁹⁴ (Wynne 2001:191). It also contributes to woman's dependence in important emotional and material ways. (Parkes 1983: 534) noted that the normal quantity of *jhes* given in 1979 was;

5-10 Sheep

15-20 *Muti* (one year old goat)

1-2 cows or bulls (presented by maternal uncle)

Several woven goat's hair rugs, blankets which are used in bed.

1 *Tohon* (Trunk)

1 valuable metal cup

Some wealthy families sometimes also give their daughters cash of Rs. 5000/- or more, one or two walnut trees, or apple or apricot trees depending upon their economical position. The amount of *jhes* given during my field work was the same. However china, ceramic, glass utensils, clothes, sweaters, jackets and tennis shoes are also included in the *jhes*.

The Wedding Tradition of Chitral

The marriage traditions for the Muslims and the Kalash are entirely different. The wedding of Muslim couple is identical to the rest of the Muslims of the Northern area and Chitral. It is arranged and celebrated by following the Islamic values. Marriage within family and clan is entertained and preferred. The matters are decided amongst the elders. The Muslim girls are not allowed to exercise their will regarding the bridegroom. A bride price is paid by the bridegroom in the form of liquid or solid property as agreed by the parents of the bride. For the acceptance of the marriage proposal the economical and social aspect of the bridegroom are critically analyzed. It is through marriage that the man and woman can have a legitimate sexual

²⁹⁴ Wynne, Maggi. 2001. *Our Women Are Free: Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush*. Arbor Ann. The University of Michigan Press.

relationship. Any such contact without the bond of marriage is disallowed by Islam and is regarded as adultery which is a punishable offence.

Marriage is a festive occasion in Muslims wedding, celebrating the union of two individuals. The wedding preparations are long and tedious, while festivities continue for many days. According to Islamic teachings a man and woman enter the bond of marriage through a marriage contract (*nikkah*). The *nikkahnama* is prepared by the lawyers of both bride and bridegroom side. The groom represents himself and utilizes the assistance of two witnesses' *gawah*. The brides maternal or paternal uncles or her brother may presented as her lawyer *wakil*, while father being her *wali*, the one who give her in marriage. The alimony or *mahr* is paid at the time of *nikkah*. *Mahr* is the husband's responsibility and may be paid in cash, property or any movable objects to the bride himself. The amount of *mahr* is not legally specified, however, moderation according to the existing social norm is recommended. The *mahr* may be paid immediately to the bride at the time of marriage, or deferred to a later date, or a combination of both. "And give the women (on marriage) their *mahr* as a (nikah) free gift" (Quran 4:4). After expresses '*ijab*' willing consents to enter into marriage and the other party expresses '*qubul*' acceptance of the responsibility in the assembly of marriage ceremony. The contract is written and signed by the bride and the groom and their two respective witnesses. This written marriage contract "*aqd-Nikkah*" is then announced publicly. Then the prayers are said by all the attendants for the couples happiness and prosperity.

According to Sher Wali Khan in *Kho (chitrali)* Culture, marriage of the daughter is not a problem, because a *chitrali* girl is valued not on the term of family wealth and property. Rather, the reputé, appearance and mannerism of the girl and the honor of her family are valued. There is a famous believes in *Kho* culture that" in giving your daughter you acquire a son". A son in law is regarded as equivalent to the son. So the father of the girl looks for the same good qualities in a son in law as he desires in his son. Age difference between the couple is not an issue. The parent's main concern is the prosperity of bridegroom for a sustainable and safe future of their daughter. The bridegroom`s family do not raise any objection for associating

themselves to a less privileged and poor family. The researcher had the opportunity to meet the father of a girl, of lesser pedigree who was married to the ‘*Shahzada*’ Prince of Chitral. He is very content and satisfied with the fact that his daughter is well received and respected. The daughter often comes and visits her parents’ house with her husband and children like any other average married daughter. The arrangement and ritual of a *kho* wedding is very elaborate and colorful and are significantly different from the Kalash.

Dress is considered to be an Integral part in *chitrali* wedding. The bridal dress includes two silken *shalwar kameez*, a heavily embellished *duppata*, a *chaddar*, shoes with golden embroidery and an embroidered cap, a head band, a burqa, and gold jewelry. The groom is dressed traditionally in *shalwar kameez*, a colorful waist coat, *chitrali* cap and shawl. For the reception of marriage party, the girls relative and other people of the village gather together to celebrate the wedding. Dowry is not an essential aspect in Chitral like other parts of Pakistan especially Punjab and Karachi. The parents decide the amount after considering his financial position. No false display of wealth and prosperity is pretended. If they can’t afford the dowry they just send their daughter in single pair of clothes. However for those who can afford the minimum items of dowry includes, 4 to 5 embroidered bed sheets, 2 quilts, one or two boxes of clothes, footwear, gold or silver jewelry that includes 4 to 6 bangles, one necklace, few rings, a *tikkah*, one or two cows (optional) other items includes caps, head bands, embroidered cuffs, neck pieces hand bags, cutlery sets with cases, and knife sets. After the engagement (*mausak*) the date for wedding is decided.



(Photograph xii)A traditional chitali Bride and bride groom

In the *kho* culture, marriage relationships are always sought by the family of the prospective husband, not by the family of the girl. They send a trusted confidante with the proposal (*mozaro dik*). If the girl's father agrees then the father of the boy along with respected elders of the family goes for the *vechik or maskik i.e.* to ask for the girls' hand. It is considered very bad to break the engagement and in such instances the matter is resolved by the involvement of jirga and at times imposes a punishment on the party breaking the engagement. The degree of punishment is influenced by the economical status and social standing of the family concerned. According to a respondent that mostly the girl's family if less privileged, suffers the severe consequences and at times they have to give another daughter or next to kin in matrimony to the aggrieved family.

For the ritual of *nikkah*, a small celebration is held. This is performed in the Islamic way as mentioned earlier in detail. The Qazi seeks the consent of both the bride and the bride groom and they say 'I agree'. Afterwards the Qazi recites few passages from the Holy Quran over a glass of sorbet request the couple to drink it. After that roasted liver is served to the bride and groom. Finally the Qazi prays for the health, happiness, love, long life and prosperity of the newlywed couple. Now the bride's family serves the feast to the couple and the guests. Fresh cheese mixed with butter is put on the bread. The groom's father gives some token money as a gift to the person who serves the dish. It is believed that whoever in the couple will grab and eat the bread first will have an upper hand on the spouse. After the feast, it is time for the bride to depart. On the indication of the Qazi the bride dressed in her bridal clothes circles the fire place three times in a clockwise direction, while stirring a pot containing some mixture of wheat flour and water. On each circle she puts some of the mixture on her finger and dabs it on the central pillar of the house. Later the bridegroom takes her by the right hand and leads her out of the house under the shelter of the Holy Quran. The girl is not allowed to look back to her parent's home,

because it is said that if she looks back she will not be able to adjust in her husband's house²⁹⁵.



(Photograph xiii) The traditional departure of bride and groom

The Wedding Tradition of Kalash

For the Kalash community the customs and traditions of wedding are slight different. There are three modes of marriages practiced by the indigenous people of Kalash.

- Arrange Marriage *Khaltabare*
- Elopement or love marriage
- Wife Elopement

Arrange marriages were the traditional method of marriage in the past where the parents and elders have the privilege to decide the fate of their children. They were responsible for the choice of spouse, date of marriage, and bride price. Such marriages were arranged at a very young age. Commonly the Kalash girls “*istariza gauk*” are given “dek” before their teenage, well before when they know the meaning of the word marriage, and understand the extent of relationship, or even know their own preference for husband, or to the man sometimes much older than they are, or to be engaged to a man whose previous wife had eloped with a lover, or are promised into matrimony to a child of their own age. Age difference between the couple was

²⁹⁵ Khan. W. S. The Marriage of Daughters in Chitral. Proceedings of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference. Edited by Bashir, Elena and Israr ud Din. Oxford University Press. Karachi

not an issue. The parent's main concern was the prosperity of bridegroom for a sustainable and safe future of their daughter.

When a society perceives itself as a distinct unit consisting of only a few thousand people, it is possible for any member to know and interact with a majority of others in his society. It is even possible to trace kinship connections to every individual. The affinal relationships created by marriage, link members of one group to the members of other kinship networks. In small societies the careful tracing of both consanguine relationships and marital connections are the major basis of social structure.²⁹⁶ To keep and maintain the purity of lineage they do not allow or encourage their male child to marry outside their own ethnic group. This is a common practice in small and closed societies because due to the small size of the group and lack of social mobility is compensated by extending the restriction on marriage. Thus all women with whom one can trace a family relationship or kin are prohibited²⁹⁷. Therefore the eligibility of arranging a certain union, an institution is required which can establish the "genealogical suitability". In order to avoid the defiance and marriage within the prohibited blood relations or complexity of lineal descents parents prefer to arrange the marriages during early childhood²⁹⁸.

In case of intentional or unintentional violation the defiant couple is not physically punished or banished from the society disgracefully. They experience a social boycott "*Bahira*". They are valedicted from entering the holy places and participating in religious festivals. The immediate families though remain associated and interact formally, inherit the shame for generations. On the funeral of such cases the descendants are allowed to beat the tambourines. *Aspa-n* clan of Anish village Bumburet had suffered this condemnation but in those days due to less population and economic depression the rules were relaxed and on the basis of the sacrifice made to the goddesses to seek forgiveness for the crime committed by their elders and to

²⁹⁶ Haviland A. William 1987. Cultural Anthropology. 5th Edition. p.231.

²⁹⁷ Levi Strauss. C. 1958. Kalash Solstice Written by Loude. Yves. Jean & Lievre Viviane. 1988. Lok Versa Publication house.

²⁹⁸ Schuyler, Jones, 1974.: Men of Influence in Nuristan. A Study of Social Control and Dispute Settlement in Waigal Valley, Afghanistan. Seminar Press. London. New York.

salvage their family honor and prestige, were allowed to participate and attend the rituals and religious gatherings.

Like Muslims the enormous difference in age is ignored because of the wealth and economical prosperity. In present-day due to frequent interaction, the young couples are capable of making decisions regarding marriage. In Kalash society parents do not strongly oppose the decision of their children nor is the family honor violated through their mutual understanding. Since it is a small society parents of both boy and girl are fairly aware of their children`s intentions. If they have no objection to the attachment, they allow it to reach its logical conclusion. In case of objection and disagreement they convince their children to end the relationship. In case of defying parents will, the couple elopes to get married. The parents initially disassociate themselves from the couple but this lasts for a very short period.

Incase of love marriage the friend of the boy acts as a mediator. Boy sends his friend to convey his feelings and love to the girl. It is on girl`s discretion whether to accept or reject. If the girl confesses her love for the boy they start meeting at isolated pastures inside or outside the villege. The girl is often chaperoned with her younger sister or friend. After some time if the understanding develops the boy proposes the girl and if she accepts the proposal they elope. Elopement mostly takes place in religious and social festivals. The *chalm-josh* i.e the spring festival which is held in the month of May is regarded as time for elopement, maximum number of young couples elope during the 4th day of festival. After few days of elopement the father or elder brother of the girl visit the husband`s house to ask her whether she wants to continue living with the boy or not? Whether she has eloped by choice or the boy has forcefully taken her? If the parents have any apprehension about the boy or his family then they visit the very next day of elopement. It is very important for the girl to satisfy her parents that she has come on her own consent and wants to live with her husband for the rest of her life.

There was one incident when a boy Zafar of Rumbour was madly in love with the *Shernaz* daughter of the Qazi of Batrik village Bumburet. The girl`s parents were

against the marriage but the couple eloped, their parents were furious and were not willing to accept this union. But after a month *Shernaz* decided to separate herself from her husband and went back to live at her parents' house. This marriage was ended before the bride wealth was discussed and exchanged. But if parents find their daughter well received and respected in the house of bridegroom they accept the union. Conventionally the bride and her husband with gifts visit her parent's house as a request for forgiveness and parents in most instances open heartedly accept the will of their daughter. Afterwards the marriage ceremony is celebrated according to the customs and the whole community participates to share the happiness. The marriage ceremony in Kalash is celebrated as a major cultural event.

In a Traditional Kalash wedding the maternal uncle of the groom is sent to the girl's house with the proposal. If the girl's parents accepts the proposal, then the father of both the families meet formally to decide the details of wedding. Later the groom's family along with their relatives visits the girl's house for the formal announcement of engagement. The gifts are exchanged in form of cash, utensils, and clothes. The engagement ceremony is very simple but dramatic when they reach the bride's home the groom kisses the hands of his in-laws and the esteemed relatives gracing the occasion.



(Photograph xiv) the Relatives of both bride and bride groom are enjoying feast

Traditional Kalasha food i.e. cheese, butter, butter oil (*chamani*) is served with traditional wheat bread (*tusali*). Afterwards all the guests left for their homes except for the groom. He stays at the in-laws home for three to four days, to develop a

certain level of understanding and acceptance with his new family. The in-laws depart him with gifts and 5 to 8 large loafs of walnut breads (*gellete*) for his family. When the girl reaches her puberty her parents sent few elders to the bride groom home to finalize the date and time of wedding. Both the parents make list of items which are included in the bride price. They very carefully calculate the number of items included. For this the bride relatives stays at the groom's residence where they are received with great hospitality. Next day the boys family visits the bride's house along with the bride price, they are served with a lavish feast. They stay for the night and the relatives of both side dance and celebrate by consuming cheese, meat, butter, bread and wine. Next day the bride family along with their relatives visits the groom's village where the groom's family and friends receive them with great respect and honor. Here especial meal is prepared for the bride family and relatives. After having meal the ritual of hand kissing is performed by the members of both the families.



(Photograph xv) The bride receiving gifts from the family and relatives

The wedding ritual formally starts with a prayer in *jistik han* (traditional sanctuary) in front of the god *Jistik* who is believed to be the protector of the family, married life children and fertility. Like every society Qazi the religious preacher solemnized the marriage ceremony. The Qazi along with the members of bride groom and a sacrificial animal preferably a sheep, or a goat, and pure bread go to *jistik han*. Here they built a fire in the middle of the hall. Two male members wash their hands and one of them picks the sacrificial animal and the other after throwing the juniper leaves in the fire cuts the throat of the animal. Then he picks the blood in his hand and throws it in the fire and later sprinkles on the *jestik-han* emblem and in the end

sprinkle it on the faces of bride and groom. Later he separates the neck of the animal, cuts small portion of ear to put in the fire, this ritual is termed as *saurus* means the purification of the animal. During the sacrificial ritual the Qazi and other guests participating pray to the god *jistak* for love, sincerity, longevity, prosperity, affection and fertility among the couple. After the formal ceremony of marriage (*shish-istangoce*) the bride is purified she washes her hands till elbow and hold five (*onjesta jason*) pure bread in her hands, the Qazi burned the juniper leaves and revolves it around the bride three times and throw them in fire. Later the qazi cuts the bread in small bite sizes and threw them in fire. He gave few pieces to the bride and requests her to eat the bread. This formally ends the marriage ritual and the couple is pronounced man and wife. Now the girl formally starts living at her in- laws house.

After few days the bride family visits her daughter's new home to see how well she is received and adjusted in her in-laws house. Her maternal uncle is special guest of honor. This is also a very festive occasion the whole village is invited for the feast. The villagers dance and sing all night long. Special dinner is prepared usually three male goats are slaughtered for the guests. The meat is served with bread, cheese and butter. Wine is served in the end. Upon the departure of the guests 3 -5 male goats are given as gift to the bride's family. After a week the groom along with his new wife visits his wife village where he customarily visits each and every house of his wife lineage this visit is known as *duraatik*. He is entertained with cheese, bread and wine at each house. He stays at his in-laws for one night and then return to his own village.

In case of pregnancy occurring during the period of courting, the marriage is often solemnized and the girl leaves her parents house to live with the boys family. Marriages of such nature are not appreciated and favored but are tolerated and children born are considered legitimate. It is customary that the couple must sacrifice a goat in *jestk-han* and sprinkle the blood in the presence of family members and the villagers for the prosperity and success of the marriage. If the couple fails to comply "*sis-a~istongas*" in the *jestk-han* the child born without this ceremony is considered illegitimate and cursed.

Wife Elopement is the third type of marriage the wife abandons her husband and elopes with her lover. In case of wife's second marriage the husband claims the bride price which is now double the amount of initial payment known as *don dond*.

“If the initial payment comprised of 4 bulls, 20 iron dishes, 15 jugs, 3 kg of tobacco, 6 rifles, 2 kg of honey, 20 goats and 10 kg of wheat, the equivalent in pebbles* would be $4+20+15+3+6+2+20+10= 80$. The inventory is made with the agreement; of both parties the number of stones is doubled to establish the exact price of remarriage”.²⁹⁹

The husband will claim the rights of children. If the new suitor fails to fulfill the doubled inventory the wife is returned to the previous husband, who now possesses the right to keep her or to sell her off to the best bidder. Besides if a husband suspects his wife for adultery, he can sell her. Adultery on the other hand is looked down upon as everywhere else in the world, but is not considered a taboo in the Kalash society. The concept of honor of the family is not associated in events of violations of such level therefore there are very few honor killings and violence against women in this unique society. However there are a few instances of honor killing but they lead towards the involvement of Muslims. The people have declared those deaths as accidents and don't want to talk about them.

In past the Kalash were perceived to be polygamous³⁰⁰ and the man with more wives was considered prestigious and these “multiplicities of wives were symbolic to social success and longevity”³⁰¹. But the Kalash males now limit themselves to a maximum of two wives. The permission for second marriage is recommended only in cases of sterility or when the first wife fails to produce a male child which is necessary to continue the family name. The wives often share the same roof and divide the portion of the house according to their requirement having

²⁹⁹ Loude, Jean & Lievre. Viviane. 1988. Kalash Solistice. Lok Versa, Publications House. p.94

* to each object formerly presented by the son in laws household there corresponds a unit measurement reckoned in pebbles.

³⁰⁰ Robertson. George: 1896 The Kafirs of Hindukush. Oxford University Press Karachi 6th Impression 1995.

³⁰¹ Levi Strauss, Claude 1969: The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Translated by J.H. Bell and J.R.Von Strummer. ED. R Needham. Boston: Beacon Press.

separate stores.³⁰² The elder wife retains the symbolic privileged position but husbands are more inclined towards the mother of his heirs. Beside this bigamy is not appreciated and approved by the society. But the person concerned is not alienated from the society. It is left on the liking of the first wife that whether she wants to remain with the same man or leave him. She is partially a free woman, and can marry any suitable suitor or return to her parent's house. In case of having children she has every right to claim and keep them. If she plans to marry again the bride price will be paid to the father of the bride.

Complications do arise in cases involving intermarriages between a Muslims boy and a Kalash female. The Kalash girl has to change her religion leave her traditional kalasha ensemble and embrace Islam. This may at times lead to the issue like inheritance, when the parents disassociate them from their daughter and her husband. But later after the birth of the grandchild they forgive the children and develop normal relationship. The Kalash families are received with equal respect by the bridegroom's Muslim family and relatives. Though there are few instances of family disputes regarding property and inheritance which require the intervention of *jirga*. The cases which come to the *jirga* for resolution are very complicated in nature the following case is very unique and conflicting. A married Kalash woman had left her husband with a small daughter eloped *alas-in* with a Muslim. The jilted husband brought up the daughter in the Kalash tradition. The daughter now twenty one also married a Muslim and got converted to Islam. The Girl's father was devastated and strongly objected to this marriage and broke off any relationship with his daughter. Now the father is dead, leaving his daughter "*chu*" and brothers "*baya*" as a legal heir to his property. The daughter and her husband claimed their legal share in her father's property according to Islamic law.. The paternal uncles of the girl took charge of the deceased property. The case is now under consideration of the *jirga*. However in actual fact two cultural and social values and code of conduct are contesting on the basis of religious ideology, ironically both the parties involved have a fundamental

³⁰² Robertson, George: 1896 The Kafirs of Hindukush. Oxford University Press Karachi 6th Impression

legitimate ground on the property yet both are victims. The case involved decision on two points:

1. Whether the girl is entitled to inheritance under the particular circumstances after being excommunicated by the father on her getting married to Kalash Muslim.
2. When the girl is entitled to inheritance under the common law of land, then who should bear the expenses incurred on the traditional funeral rituals following the death.

The claim of husband is that when his wife is a Muslim she is entitled to the property under the Muslim law. This issue was contested by the girl's paternal uncles although the Kalash custom is silent on this subject. Moreover, they agreed to pay the expenses incurred by her paternal uncles on the funeral. The case was discussed in the *jirga* for three days but no mutually agreed decision was reached, whilst researcher was present there. The case was then to be heard by civil court of Chitral. The purpose of mentioning this particular case explains conflicts because of identity crisis emerging out of the relationships of persons belonging to two different cultural and religious groups. The whole thing was conducted with a detached approach without the tempers being lost of any side and in a very peaceful manner. To witness this is something very rare since we are aware of reactions regarding such situations in the so called civilized world.

The identity of any community is directly associated with its lineage "*Kam*" and it has been observed that the mothers have more dominant effect on the children. The traditional culture can only be practiced and exercised if the society is living in isolation and have no level of communication with other alien groups. The traditional culture can only exist in a specific periphery or genealogical territory. But when the material environment is changed opportunities, beliefs, class structure, and positionality, ideals and stance is also changed or deviated. This stage brings a contestation of ideology between the orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The orthodoxy tries to implement the old traditions and resist change, but the heterodoxy emerges and establishes a new rhythm of practice which is a refined form of old traditions according

to the present demands and requirement. People have to leave their cultural setting and in doing so they take their traditional culture in a specific time. But fortunately culture cannot be bounded by the elements like time and space³⁰³ though it exist in an imagined space where people believe that they belong to the same space by utilizing technology, ideology, media. Further all these spaces interact and create a unique and distinguished cultural identity.

³⁰³ Scaff. A, Lawrence: The Mind of the Modernist: Simmel on Time. Article Published in the Journal "Time and Society" site visited on Feb 03, 2008 @ Sage publications. P 1-6.

Chapter 9

Art and Architecture as a Space of Identity

Defining Art

Any patterned application of skill is called art. The skill may be in any field as varied as cooking, games, oratory, graphics, paintings, architecture, music, poetry, sculpture and pottery. Birds adorn their nests with gaily coloured leaves, shells, feathers, stones and bits of clothes or ribbons found in the haunts of man³⁰⁴. The art appeals to the aesthetic sense, it conveys the message to the viewer about the artist, his inner feelings, his background and the artistic wants to convey to the viewer about his exciting state of affairs. For an anthropologist the work of art indicates awareness of social, ritual and economic framework of the traditional culture of any society. There is symbolism attached to the meanings of these artifacts. Gregory Batson describes art as a “fundamental part of man’s search for grace³⁰⁵”. The work of art is considered as a window to the psychic complexity of the artist. The important thing is the psychic union of the head and heart of the artist in his work of art. This personal expression of meaningful patterns based on imagined experiences accompanied by the feeling of rightness³⁰⁶ later emerged as the space of their traditional identity. Relics and object d’art are the means of satisfaction and recognition of true inner feelings of the artist in accordance with his values. This patterning is largely symbolic having a particular meaning, a coded message to represent some sensitive aspect of life. Patterning of art involves some complex combination of cognitive, evocative elements³⁰⁷. Every Quixote believes his dulcinea to be the sweetest of the fair. Ask a toad what is beauty? The answer will be in the name of his female with great round eyes coming out of her little

³⁰⁴ Darwin Charles, 1871, *The Descent of Man*, A.L Burt. New York

³⁰⁵ Batson Gregory 1973: *Art and Anthropology*; Edited by Coote, Jeremy and Shelton Anthony .
Anthropology of Arts and Aesthetics. Clarendon Press. Oxford..

³ Firth, Raymond.1992, *Art and Anthropology*” Edited by Coote, Jeremy and Shelton Anthony.
Anthropology of Arts and Aesthetics. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

head, her large flat mouth her yellow belly and brown back (de Gourmont P: 194)³⁰⁸. Beauty and ugliness are biological whatever has proved racially seems harmful and ugly (Nietzsche).

Religion and art both serves as an idealization of nature and man as the culminating point of the process of nature³⁰⁹. Man to end his quest to find the supreme authority carves shapes in stones to define the divine power. Art cannot be termed as lower or degrading in comparison with the artisan of other civilizations. Kalash art has its own value and importance to serve as a space for their cultural identity in the midst of other group they are coexisting with, in the region. There is no justification of comparing the art of Kalash with Greek art. It is a fact that Greek art is a mature, creative, innovative and civilized form of art and is superior to Kalash art in many folds and appears as a superior civilization. However the art of Kalash symbolizes a lower civilization; though it reflects the best capabilities of the people's artistic expression and aesthetics. Those Kalash drawings are the means which facilitate the anthropologists, archeologists and paleontologist to reveal the mysterious past in the same manner as the primitive art is beneficial to understand the evolutionary process experienced by the man. In reality primitive art symbolizes a lower civilization with best capabilities of people of its time.

Art can only be analyzed by keeping in view the elements and principles of design like rhythm in line, mass or proportion, balance, space, light, shape and above all color philosophy. These laws of designs are followed universally but when applied to art by different people and races they generate different modes of aesthetic expression. People with sensitive mind and artistic skills are unfortunately influenced by the political, religious and racial facet. Every form of art characterized different type of people with different degree of sensitivity as required by their thought process and the medium of expression. The work created by an Aryan race when compared with Semites will be influenced by the racial politics. It is humanly difficult to eradicate the

³⁰⁸ Durant., Will. 1995. "Pleasure of Philosophy": An Attempt at a Consistent Philosophy of Life. Services Book Club.

³⁰⁹ *ibid*

racial biases when analyzing art because of the factual reality of thoughts and creativity of the artist (Collingwood, 1958:165)³¹⁰.

People of Bumburet valley Kalash are trapped in their own natural setting and are bound by their own inspirations, ideals and innovations. Applying this to any form of art the tools, equipment, grooming, guidance, exposure and above all the available facilities play a major role in developing aesthetics and artistic expression. People of Kalash are generally regarded as the descendants of Greeks. The arts and crafts bear very vague or little resemblance between the art and architecture of Greeks. Unfortunately very little heritage of Kalash is available which is preserved in the Greek Museum in Brun Valley Bumburet. The vases, pottery, motifs, and carvings bear absolutely no resemblance with the Greek art in excellence and perfection. It is a historically proven fact that the Greeks are considered to be one of the most aesthetically superior races and Alexander`s reigns had opened new avenues in all forms of arts, crafts and architecture³¹¹. The special style of combining shafts and columns serves as the space for identifying Greek influence in the same manner as Islamic art, calligraphy and architecture which immediately reflects the presence of Muslim influence.



(Photograph xvi)The Greek Museum Brun Village Bumburet, Kalash

In contrast the people of Kalash possess no taste for plastic and visual art and crafts. Even there architecture is very simple and monotonous. They neither have any

³¹⁰ Collingwood. R.G, 1958. "The Principles of Art" A Galaxy Book, New York. Oxford University Press.

³¹¹ Kleiner, S Fred, Mamiya. J Christin, Tansey. G Richard 2001. Art Through the Ages. Edition 11th Vol. 1
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art critics nor any desire to develop this faculty at individual level. They just limit themselves to pottery, crafts and oral literature. They limit the oral literature only to recitation which leads to very minimal accounts based on recollections of elders. In contemporary times the youth is striving hard to recollect evidences and stories to document and preserve their heritage. They are trying hard to convince their elders that their Holy Book “*Kalasha Dustur*” will receive the same respect and honor as the Bible and *Geeta*.

The people of Kalash do not create patterns by taking inspirations from the beautiful natural scenic around them for aspiring sensory perception and by the natural beauty. They only imitate what their elders have done centuries ago. Due to modernization the present picture is quite different to what they had experienced in the past. Though Greek missionaries have actively taken part and supported them in preserving the Kalash heritage, reviving the master pieces of their elders lost in the midst of times. The basic objective here is to evaluate the symbolic meanings attached to the art and crafts as basis to discover the origin and establishing cultural identity on the basis of factual reality. The work of architecture is very simplistic in nature and is very much closer to their natural environment. It is done in a very raw manner, the finesse, mastery and perfection is lacking. The school and the museum exclusively designed by the Greek architects are far superior. The local claims that they have done the carpentry and carvings. The excellence in work signifies the inner talent and ability of the people. The proper professional training and supervision will enhance the taste and aesthetics. The informer expressed beauty having two segments natural and cultural beauty. For them their cultural patterns and traditions successfully fulfills the definition of cultural beauty.



(Photograph xvii) The Sanctuary of Sajigor

The youth of Kalash are inspired to draw goat, trees, flowers and pots. They do opt for carvings as effigies for their ancestors or hero but the figure drawing is absent in their culture. They do not carve or decorate the coffins of their dead. They just use the finest of wood like walnut, *sheesham*, and teak wood; in accordance with the symbolic and economic status of the individual in the community. The tool and equipment used for painting and drawing in the past was preferably walnut hair. But in contemporary period they have the luxury of using charcoal pencils, synthetic paints. Natural dyes are preferred for decorating holy places like. Art as a medium gives certain idea about the intelligence, imagination; horizon, innovation and creativity of the individual reside in any community. The artist creativity generates various symbols, images, and shapes through which they master the environment with shapes and structures rendered the continuous process of life in discreet and unmoving shapes that can lead to some meaningful identity which is based on their faculty of imagination.

Symbolism and Goat Art

The people of Kalash regard goat as an integral unit of their religious beliefs. Representation of goat art is dominantly present in every feature of their religious and cultural lives. According to Peter Parkes:

“The goats are regarded as the foremost cultural feature of the Kalasha society. The ritual premises are founded upon the welfare of the sacred herds, transmitted from gods to the early ancestors, and hence upon the notion of reproducing a competent, able and ritually pure male community of herdsmen. The goats are seen as pure and

sacred animals, which are destined to be sacrificed by their respective owners, and the super natural mountain spirits. The goats are regarded as the mediators between man and the hidden world of super natural powers that surround him. The scarified blood of the goats, provide means of protection against forces of decay, pollution and disintegration, the domestic influences thought to inhibit the domestic life of the villages (Parkes 1987:645)³¹².”

The drawings of goats are carved on their temples, homes, and especially on their note books. The people romanticized the concept of goat due to the ritual and religious significance of goat as an animal. When the researcher showed a beautiful drift wood to the young boys and asked them *sia kia.....?* What do you think this can be? A young boy hardly 17th year old instantaneous responded that “*Bakri Ghaas kha rahee hai*” (The goat is eating grass). There is a strong emotional attachment which exists between the youth and goats in Kalash culture may be due to the time a boy spends with the goat herd in summer pastures away from his family, village in the company of few elder male relative³¹³. The goat becomes the playmates of the child and he even marks a favorite goat. In case of senior members they use to compose songs for the chosen one they prefer the goat with prominent horns³¹⁴.

To comprehend the impact of art on cultural identity we must analyze the naturalistic art which includes the pictures of plants and animal accompanied by geometric designs which are either still life or are intellectually created. The cave art as a work of prehistoric man, a pothole to his life style, the degree of accuracy, and perfection in artistry is absent. The impressions of palms and fingers were very dominant which lead us to believe that man of that time was poorly equipped with certain skills. The artist approach in these figures and drawings is naturalistic. He attempts to represent convincingly the perception he had about the nature. This can reflect to his observation and extraordinary memory. When applying modern interpretation of this cave art on the design and artistry of Kalash it shows that the aim of the artist is to be realistic and convincing. There are no palms and finger impressions

³¹² Parkes P. 1987 Livestock Symbolism and Pastoral Ideology among the Kafirs of the Hindukush. *Man*, New Series 22(4): 637-660.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Aas, R. Lars. 2008. The Rock Carvings of Taru Thang: The Mountain Goat: A Religious and Social Symbol of the Dardic Speaking people of the Trans Himalayas. Masteroppgave I arkeologi. Det Humanistiske Fakultet. University I Bergen.

on the walls of *jestik`han* but the exact precision and aesthetic is lacking in their work of art.

Sculptures and Effigies in Kalash

Muslims of the region are not very keen on visual arts. They do not take interest and create any sculptures. Their main interest is in the traditional Islamic calligraphy. The Kalash believe that there are certain gods and goddesses who facilitate the supreme god *dezau* as invisible creatures but don't delegate any specific shapes and structure to them. This very ideology helps them to be distinguished from Hinduism. As the history entails that they have been severely treated and persecuted by the Hindu *Rajas and Merhatas*. The people are fond of making wooden effigies, as an image of their ancestors, at *Gandao* to honor the memory of his father "*dada*". This is done in November on *sariék* festival. In year 2008 this festival was celebrated at the mega level as a revival of long forgotten tradition. The wood cutter and the carpenter go to the woods and find a suitable tree with fine nodes is called upon by the deceased name. They chop down to carve the face and cut the trunk according to the man's size they further carry it to the cemetery. The carpenter, by employing his artistic capabilities shapes the forehead, nose, and lips of the dead man. For making the eyes, they fill the hollow spaces with pebbles or cowries.



(Photograh xviii) The Statue Carved for the Dead Ancestor at Gandao,

They eventually decorate this out of proportion sculpture with ornaments like necklace and the head is covered with red turban as a symbol of bravery. The vegetable

colours are used to dye the statues. They are also decorated with weapons which signify the circumstantial event of death. In the environment they exist, it is humanly impossible to preserve the material cultural heritage due to harsh climatic conditions and constant interference of Muslims. They started building caves for their dead but later gave up the effort and started burying their dead. Generally their statues have no feet just the legs, hands dropped on the both side. The size of this standing statue is 160 cm to 180 cm high. One is still present in village *Grum* in the Rumbour valley. According to the people of Kalash the fabulous statues of the horseman are now disappeared and destroyed³¹⁵. These were the images of their general warriors, their fighting chiefs which remind them of their great past and glory. Horse symbolizes the voyage of souls, horse symbolizes divinity but due to the scarcity of resources they are unable to keep horses in valley of Kalash. Though the horses are found in abundance in Chitral and reared with great fondness by the elite of the society.



(Photograph xix) The Temple of Mahan`deo, Rumbour Valley, Kalash

The image of the carved horse head is seen on the sanctuary of *sajigor*, *Mahan`deo* and *jestik-han*. Horse also represents military power and royalty³¹⁶ and the rank achieved by the dead. This rank cannot be complying by any living man. Image of the sun and the horse together symbolizes social position of economic status of any man and are connected with funeral symbolism. In Vedic believes the sun is perceived to be the stallion that transports the soul from the living land of the dead. The same fundamental believe is practiced in Kalash where they carve a solar wheel on an open

³¹⁵ Loude, Jean Yves, and Lièvre, Viviane. 1988. *Kalash Solstice*. Islamabad: Lok Virsa Publishing House.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

coffin and place the body in it and leave it in the daily axis of the sun i.e. the east. Traditionally it is accepted as true that the horse carried the soul to the other world. Greeks are often known to carve the statues for the martyrs only to recognize the sacrifice they made to protect the national identity³¹⁷.

On the contrary the Kalash effigies for the dead are poorly made without following any proportions. All Greek stones sculptures were painted where as the Kalash never tried to make or utilized the beautiful coloured texture rocks and stones available to them which might have sustained the extreme climate to some extent but they preferably utilize wood to make statues. People used to visit and mourn at the tomb. Apparently the significance and essence is similar but the level of originality and elegance can never be comparable. The Greeks are known to make effigies of their god and goddesses in the temples. Statuettes of prestigious personalities with emblematic position in the society were especially constructed to acknowledge their nobility.

Buildings and Architecture

Early buildings in Kalash are unfortunately destroyed in the mist of time. The factors are numerous involving the environmental conditions, natural catastrophes and above all the brutality of tyrants. There are no significant spiritual archives presents in the temples. The historical accounts contributed by few famous and committed anthropologists' claims that these temples were present³¹⁸ but are lost to the natural catastrophes. Relying on the literature available, there is a detailed description of the temple which belongs to the goddess *Imra*. My purpose for using this information is to draw any similarity in which the art and craft of Greeks, Aryans and Assyrians. The Kalash community is mystified and haunted by the speculative presumption concerning their mysterious past. According to Svend Castenfeldt Temple of "*Imra*" a Pre-Muslim temple is located in the village *Kishteki*, in the middle of *Prun* valley, a U- shaped valley high up in the *Nuristan* Mountains³¹⁹. Castenfeldt is mainly relying on the

³¹⁷ Kleiner, S Fred, Mamiya. J Christin, Tansey. G Richard. 2001. Art Through the Ages. Edition 11th Vol: 1

³¹⁸ Svend Castenfeldt. 1996, A Pre-Muslim Temple in *Kafiristan*: Paper Published in the Proceedings of the Second International Hindukush Cultural Conference. Edited by Bashir Elena And Israr Ud Din. Oxford University Press. Karachi

³¹⁹ *ibid*

accounts of Sir George Robertson, when he visited the *Prun* valley and saw the great temple in 1981. The width of the temple is 50 to 60 feet Square and 20 feet high. Temple is supported with the help of carved pillars.

The reconstructed is displayed as a model 1:45 at the museum of prehistory at Moesgard in Denmark, together with the reconstruction drawings and photos from the Parun valley. Originally this work was initiated by Schafer, Lentz and Edelberg but was never completed due to the Unfortunate death of Schafer in 1968, Edelberg died in 1981 and his book on Nuristani buildings was published posthumously. Lentz died 1986, and the publication of the whole reconstruction together with the related material on myth, hymns, and calendar was carried out by Castenfeldt and his team. According to him;

“The research archives of both Lentz and Edelberg came to a Danish university, where in 1984 I found the temple material. A working group was organized to evaluate the material, which looked promising. We visited Professor Lentz in Germany and agreed with him how the temple reconstruction could be carried on and published. In one of Schafer`s last notes, which I found when we added his later paper to the archives, he recommended the use of computer, and so we did. The working group consulted the school of architecture of Aarhus and a couple of building engineers. The result is as follows. The temple was stable because of four rounded corners. Pillars close to the walls might have supported the roof along with the four pillars around the fire place. In fact the main hall can be regarded as a combination of quadratic squares and circles, two of the main symbolic figures in the pre Islamic culture” (Castenfeldt: 114)³²⁰.

The temple belonged to the *kafirs* of the region. According to Jettmer the *Paruni* people were the religious specialists of Nuristan, who understood best about religion. So this temple was the main temple for the whole of Nuristan. Now the *Nuristani* people are the staunch believer of Islam, so it is very difficult to get fresh information in that area. There are no new informants, but the temple must have been of central importance for all other parts of Nuristan. The art and architecture of Kalash bore absolutely no resemblance with the artistic perfection of the civilizations like Greek, Mesopotamia, Persia, Semites and Assyrians; all these civilizations were very magnificent and have left their mark as precious heritage.

³²⁰ *ibid*



(Photograph xx): The Traditional Kalash *dur* House.

The Kalash have their own traditional method and units of measuring grains, land, clothes, and buildings. There are modern equipment and tools available to them but for the sake of purity and contentment they rely on their conventional ways. They do not follow their religion and traditional patterns due to some obligation or fear. In fact they practice it as a space for personal satisfaction and happiness. Religion has contributed love to the development of the arts and architecture³²¹ which begins with the tombs of the dead, to the worship places like mosques, churches and temples.

The Dwelling “*dur*”

The basic floor plans of the houses are mostly rectangular and are situated at the top of the mountains or pastures mainly because of the purpose of defense and to foresee the danger. These houses are massed together in the villages so that there is hardly any surface left that is not built apart from the narrow streets. Some houses do have a forecourt. The description of interior is similar with few exceptions based on the religious affiliations and family requirements. This significant difference in architecture serves as a space to signify their traditional cultural identity.

Floor Plan of Bumburet Valley Kalash

The houses are faced towards the west and consist of a number of enclosed rooms with roof and open courtyard areas. The open courtyard can be anywhere between the walls separating it from the street and enclosed rooms. This is then followed by an attached or adjacent hall connecting the entrance gate way. Only one

³²¹ Durant Will. 1995. *The Pleasures of Philosophy: An attempt at a Consistent Philosophy of life.* Services Book Club.

room is spared which is always used as guest room and which is attached to the entrance gate. The whole of this ensemble of enclosed rooms with roof top forms a unit or a house called “*Dur or Kor*”. A *dur* may have a length and width of more than 9 -12 meters. Its area can vary in square meters from each other houses. All the buildings have flat roof. Mostly there are single storey houses with a separate kitchen and a separate bathroom. The traditional house are built on smaller scale : four central columns and diamond shaped corbelled roof light, with two main roof beams running from beside the entrance door to the ritually pure area at the inner most part of the house. The door opens from the entrance gallery or veranda.

The building material used is determined by the geography of the area. Usually flat smooth stones from the river beds are combined with the rough stones mixed with the mud and straws as mortar for flooring and roofing. The layers of stone are about nine inches and are sandwiched between the layers of massive wooden beams. Inner walls are plastered with mud. A few houses are covered with plain wooden sheets for the purpose of insulation. To support the roof and erected walls in place, wooden shafts of horizontal half timbering of cedar wood are used. Brush wood plastered with mud is also used for no load bearing walls or the roof. Roof designs and material are of light weight because the region is prone to earth quake and natural catastrophes. The roof mainly covers the whole area of the house excluding the open courtyard without any change in the level of the roof. Ceiling is supported on long beams, and sets on the walls about two meters apart. The social status is depicted through the carvings and artistic work. Houses owned by the Muslims are bright, airy and spacious. These houses do not have any rear windows they have windows at the sides and the front of the rooms are present.

The houses belonged to Kalash are based on the same principle of construction and material as houses of the other societies with only difference that they are limited to one window at the front of their roofed terrace. They have very dark houses having a hearth in the middle of the room. Kitchens are situated at the left corner of the roofed entrance with no doors. The empty space after the kitchen area is regarded as “*onjesta*” and females are not allowed to roam there (see appendix). The spatial arrangement is very congested and only sufficient for three persons. There is no latrine system present

in these houses, for which they utilize bushes or corn fields. The Kalash settlements are created in the form of terraced fashion. Most of the Kalash have their houses designed in this manner with few exceptions. The roof top of one house serves as the terrace for the other. The only disadvantage is the lack of privacy and one can easily glance at various houses by standing at the top.

Their agricultural land is away from their dwellings and they have to cross the unmeasured distance for that purpose. These people have a very sealed interior which for the Muslims serves as the requirement for *Pardah*. This is equally useful for the Kalash as a defense from the invader. The walls and exterior in combination to its neighboring building with narrow entrances and strong windowless walls provides the strength to its wide open complexes of flat roof. These houses resemble a fortress due to which the people had a strategic advantage on the oppressor.

Interior Decoration

These people though residing in the place filled with scenic beauty but unfortunately are not conscious of their hygiene. Poverty may be one of the reasons. They have very simple interiors and are unaware of the concept of interior decoration. They believe in simplicity and harmony. Their society is an example of an egalitarian society as predicted by the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H). The furniture used by these people is set of bed (*sens*), rugs, durries, chairs and low height stools. The stools and chairs are portable with no fixed setting arrangements. They arrange the stools and chairs in the verandah. In some homes *Takhat posh* is also present. The numbers of beds are dependent on the size of the family. The large family often utilizes the combination of floral arrangement and “*sens*” at one corner. There are no cupboards but instead they rely on shelves at approximately 6 feet height. This is used to keep things related to daily use and adornment. Now days a looking mirror is an essential item in every house hold which was forbidden for the past generations. The kitchens are of U shaped with the stove in the center, sink and shelves at the two sides with no windows at all. Utensils and other related items are kept in the kitchens. The food is taken in the kitchen area. Most of the houses do not have the direct water pipeline so they have to go to the stream to wash their utensils and clothes.

On the entrance of Kalash houses the weaving loom is a compulsory item placed in the open courtyard. Even now “*onja*” they can purchase materials from the market but they are trying hard to prevail and preserve this traditional art. The *pati* and other crafts weaved by them are not of very superior in quality but symbolizes their prestige and cultural heritage.

Hotels and Commercial Areas

There is a link road from one village to another just outside the main street. This link road is actually a narrow passage between the water creeks which is flattened with the help of large flat stone layered parallel to each other. Foot path are available leading towards the villages located at the high pastures. The condition of this link road is very poor because of land sliding and snow falling. Along this road are located Greek museum, few schools and various shops for grocery, milk, *Nan bai* bread maker, PCO, handicrafts, pharmacy, hotels, and restaurants. The shops are constructed on a rectangular wooden plank with a flat roof and wooden shutter. The shops are at height so ladders are constructed to give an access to these shops.

The main delight for the tourists in the area is the most aesthetically designed PTDC hotel (Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation). This hotel is made of concrete rock stones combined with wooden structure. Inner side is duly plastered and painted. The restaurant is made on the latest standards of architecture and its construction is very superior to the rest of the buildings in the valley. The restaurant has a main hall and a very spacious dining area. The building comprises of two independent structures. The reception and dining area is in the centre with two entrances on each side. The main entrance is on the right side. The residential quarters are in the semi circular form arranged around the center with beautiful gardens at the sides. The two unit’s rooms have an independent balcony and an attached bath. The restaurant is enclosed with a separate boundary wall. This building style is quite different from the traditional pattern of people residing in the area. This represents economical disparity and deprivation in the people of the area. The other hotels are mainly owned by the local public mainly *chitrali’s* and are constructed by following the local method of house construction. They do not have any facility of attached bath but a separate unit is

situated at a distant place away from the kitchen area. The kitchen is well equipped having a sink, stove, work counter, a small table and *tandoor*.



(Photograph xxi) Prof. Dr. Hafeez ur Rehman at a Restaurant Situated on the Bank of the River

These open air restaurants are exotically placed around the banks of the river. Local restaurant provide sitting area outside from where scenic beauty of the surrounding can be visualized.

Art and architecture are two of the very essentials which throw some light on the evolution of culture which are subsequently helpful in establishing the social and cultural identity. Art may be visual³²² and otic in collaboration contribute to formulate cultural identity. So far there have no archeological finds of any significance reported which can throw any light on the origin of the Kalash Community, ancient art and architecture, life styles, their culture or their ancient religion. The closeness of their language may be a pointer to their origin. The artifacts are simplistic in nature. The drawings never go beyond the basics line sketches drawn with the help of coal and charcoal. The sculptures are also limited to wood and are restricted to very basic imagery like horse head. There musical instruments have not developed beyond drum and duff. They have not developed any string instruments like *rubab*. The language of music is totally alien to them. There is no record of any improvements in the fine art field for the last hundred years. They don't attach any sanctity to cow therefore their origin from Aryans (who left behind when Aryans invaded India) is not without doubt.

³²² Visual art includes graphic art, drawings, paintings sculptures and carvings. The otic art includes music both vocal and instrumental. Dancing, songs and drama are the main fundamentals.

For millennia ago Kalash people settled in this region of Hindukush, their progress and cultural evolution seems to have frozen in time. This is very strange because people who once possessed fine mental and physical faculties could not progress at all during present era. It is only when they came under Pakistan rule that a process of modernization through education has started showing results. It is widely claimed that Kalash are remnants of Greeks soldiers who were left behind in India when Alexander the Great went back. However there is no archeological evidence which can support the speculative theories. There are no relics which could show that Greek soldiers were ever there. No weapons like swords, shields, lances and archery equipment belonging to that era has ever been discovered or preserved in the museums. The items exhibited are very superficial in construction and quality. Similarly the origin from Syria or Tsyam is also not proven. Their religion provides them with ample opportunities like decorating the walls of on yearly basis at *chawmos* winter solstice by the young girls and boys. It is there way of acknowledging the supreme god for all the favors bestowed on them. It is quite remarkable that the people with finest resources and leisure time are not utilizing their aesthetics and creativity to engender extraordinary artistry.

The Greek soldiers were very fine horseman. The rearing of horse “*has* “and the sports of the horse riding is not evident in their current culture. The Muslims of Chitral exhibit great natural talent in horse riding in fact polo is their favorite sport and the annual polo tournament takes place regularly in the highest polo ground of the world in Shandoor valley. People travel from all over the world to come to see this tournament and it is also televised on national television. The Greeks were highly advanced in art and architecture but again there is no evidence of that in ancient and current Kalash society. The entire distinct culture of Kalash people is different from any other in this region and the way it remains intact is quite enigmatic. The only reason perhaps they have remained at peace with the surroundings is that they have isolated themselves from the masses.

Conclusion

The present study was conducted in Bumburet valley of Kalash, District Chitral, Pakistan. The key technique used for data collection was participant observation in which the researcher lived in the community, observed and documented their cultural patterns as an indicator of their traditional culture as a basis for identity. The basic purpose of the study was to understand the role and significance of traditions and customs as a prime tool for establishing identity for the conventional people of Kalash. The people of Kalash have managed to maintain their identity through their unique and nonviolent way of life based on their oral traditions, practiced through centuries. The study leads towards establishing the fact that a culture is an actual ambient, legitimate and flexible space in which small group of individuals can survive, maintain and perpetuate their unique way of life in friendly or hostile conditions. These conditions can be physical, visa vise environment, climate, terrain, and natural resources. They can also be social in nature involving ethnic tensions, racism, religion and economic disparity. They are the basic ingredients which instigate the desire and need to be recognized as a distinctive group.

Tradition is one of the building blocks in the complex structure of identity. This can be of an individual, group, nation or race. In all its manifestation cultural identity draws support from traditions. Tradition is a set of customs and rules handed down from the past to the present in the form of religious songs, folklore, dress, art and crafts. It is a known fact that rituals, beliefs and practices which are based on religions survive the longest. In contrast to ancient lost civilization, the people of Kalash symbolize as the model of harmony within their own tribe and with other cultural groups occupying the region. Because of their exclusivity their neighbors may not like them but they certainly tolerate them otherwise this small group may have gone to virtual extinction hundreds of year ago. Their survival and their individuality is a testament to the fact that culture is actually a cocoon in which group can survive and maintain its identity and perpetuate.

Tradition resists change and most often remain unaltered in a static spatial arrangement. The changes which incorporate in Kalash traditions may find their way

through peripheral adjustments. These changes may corrupt the essence and fundamental philosophy on which they have been established. In Kalash it is evident that the changes in narration are the result of their relying on oral transmission with no written script. The traditions in art and crafts are scanty to find and the present artifacts does not throw any light on their origin. The practices and customs do not bear any resemblance with the mythical, speculative stories regarding their origin. Whatever art and architectural evidences are available are non comprehensible and the present generation has altogether forgotten the origin and imposed some other meaning on current rituals. The art and architecture available signifies their unique ways, and tradition which is definitely different from the other ethnic tribes in the shared geographical arrangement.

Cultural space in its simplest definition is the visible information about locations, places, how people and their cultures interact with their environments, and the transformation of goods, ideas, and services from one culture to another. This cultural and social spatial division of boundaries enables Kalash people as individuals and as members of groups, to create places and landscapes for their daily lives which further make possible to shape up shared spatial relationships with a degree of positive connectivity between the groups to formulate a distinctive geo cultural landscape. Cultures are the fundamental source of providing identity kits through which marginal groups can achieve conventional identities. In Kalash females are responsible to conform and utilize these identity kits, so that they can be recognized as proud Kalash women. These women are appreciated and respected in their efforts to keep the legacy and tradition alive.

The Kalash ethnic identity has survived the double trauma of fundamentalism and colonization and at present they are interacting with the modernization and technological advancement which is a direct threat to their traditional culture. This interaction of nature and human societies facilitate in maintaining diversity and identity simultaneously for survival. The Kalash society does not have any social stratification based on creed, cast, power and wealth. Knowledge and wisdom is perhaps the only criteria by which certain individuals command more respect than the others. They are

distinctively different from people around them. They appear as an oasis in a desert with their pleasant and colorful style in region.

The conversion to Islam started with the arrival of Arabs in the region and gradually it took momentum though it had effected their religious ideology but it had no influence on Kalasha culture because the Kalasha who converts to Islam formed another community *Nuristani* following Islamic culture, the Kalasha converttees, seems to have taken the whole of *chitrali* culture in all its aspects as synonymous with Muslim culture. In their eyes, apparently, to behave like a perfect Muslim means to behave like a perfect Chitrali. Thus they have taken great care in trying to eliminate all elements of material culture that may bore mark of Kalasha Identity, starting from their traditional dress patterns to conformation of their houses, which are now changed to suit the chitrali model surrounded by high walls. The older women still like to braid their hair, as they find this habit hard to let go.

The annual festivals seem to be necessitated by the social needs of the people to provide them a chance for intermixing and to salvage the space created to reaffirm their cultural identity. An attempt to recollect all the religious accounts are made by the Qazi's and the youth to make religion more comprehensible and clear. The research revealed that most of the accounts related to religious ideology are fictitious and non factual. The only justification for such responses was the sincerity and obligation of the elders to their faith. The major occasions when identity is affirmed on the Kalash people are the religious festivals and funerals which bring together the large number of people of the three valleys, and often from the distant places. This is the main context in which a sustained and richly textured expression of Kalash identity can be exhibited. These events are of lengthy sequence of activities continuing for several days including formal welcomes, discussions and preparation of food, singing and dancing. In case of funerals the details regarding the arrangement, formal welcome, and official announcement, preparation of food, the mortuary rites, closing festivities and formal farewell followed by burial and then official mourning. Religion is the major space in establishing the group identity. But in reality wherever there is ethnic cleansing has been resorted to, the target has been a religious group. Religion besides its philosophical implications are generally used to signify faith, certain set of rituals to

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show allegiance with a specific identity which is not only related to the philosophical thoughts and theological beliefs but has a conscience manipulation of political, social and economical implications.

The Kalash youth insist on keeping their self identity as well as participating in modernity. Historical events and narratives are interpreted in such ways that constitute a symbolic space of identity for the valley. Asserting a public identity generally means to disguise the originality in accordance with the fundamental ideologies which form the core of the society. Traditions which are based on religious dictates resist change but those which are based on social aspects of society undergo changes with modernization of society. The progress in scientific and technological fields is continuously taking place which results with the invention of tools and materials to make life easier and simple. The changes which do not clash with the basic practices and taboos enforced by the religion are generally accepted. The people of Kalash have superior ethical behavior and no thefts or street fights are reported. There are few traces of vandalism and political enmities. The influx of tourist introduces this element in the society. There is no horrific punishment for the females when they exercised their right of choice regarding the selection of husband.

There is an element of acrimony prevailing due to the constant religious conversion which has given rise to some hostilities which lead them to reorganize and preserve their traditions and customs. The conflict usually emerges when one entity considers itself superior to the other and tries to impose its own way of thinking. The Kalash through their passive resistance to atrocities have achieved universal recognition of not only great but enigmatic ethnic status. The research findings reveal the identity crisis and conflict of interest of the residing communities. The inter-ethnic disputes and the role of government in the administration of the region. Though through their policy of passive resistance to atrocities lead them to the universal recognition as a great but enigmatic ethnic status, they exercise sizeable political power and influence to get their point of view across to the government and local players.

The interest of western anthropologists in this exotic culture encapsulated in Hindukush Mountains started in decade of 1960. Enormous studies have been done to

understand the origin and growth of the society and how it managed to keep its ethnic identity intact especially when they are trapped between two extremes. Geographically they are bound to this islet and surrounded by hostile environment. Apparently they are a group of people with no authenticated history and no future they live in the present and die without leaving any legacy. This is the region they occupied for centuries cherishing their unique and distinctive identity. On the other hand they have a supposedly Greek ancestry which is evident through their features and pagan life style. Their Greek ancestry may have a symbolic significance for them “but are they really Greek in every sense of the word”? The answer is “No”. They are Pakistani nationals and are not Greek as proclaimed by many respondents. They feel like an orphan as Hailey beautifully put “a waif away from home³²³”. Their Greek ancestry is hypothetical and it adds a bit of romanticism to the theory of their true origin.

This entrapment between the two extremes is subjecting the youth towards a severe identity crisis as Thomas Wolf said “going home again is like stepping in to river; you cannot step into the same river twice. You cannot go home again³²⁴”. The modern day Greece is nothing like the home a Kalash youth is familiar with. The modern day Greece has moved on over the millennia but Kalash are still cocooned in their pagan culture. The stories of persecution of pagans at the hands of the early Christian in Medieval Europe will be as disillusioning to them as the narration of the atrocities that has been committed in their own region which are painful and traumatizing. Everything will be meaningless except for the sentimental value in their heart. Hailey suffered the same alienation and desired to discover his true lineage; which only added to the confusion in his mind regarding his own identity and sense of belonging to the place where he had been born and raised. The bewilderment alienated him to some extent from his own homeland.

It may be concluded that Kalash are an enlighten society and can assimilate foreign thought without allowing them to shadow their own traditional thought process. If the culture is based on strong principles, morals and justice it lays down the foundation of a space in which people can survive, perpetuate and maintain their

³²³ Hailey Alex. 1976. “Roots”. Vintage Books. London.

³²⁴ Ibid.

identity independent of geographical surroundings. The Spanish and British conquest of Americas is a prime example when a strong culture ensured the perpetuation of the identity of the Europeans in a foreign land and resulted in the dominance of their culture over the indigenous population of Americans. The indigenous population on the other hand realized the probability of extinction, found their survival in their own traditional culture in reservations.

It is believed that the concept of formulating identity through culture or religious beliefs is a reactionary phenomenon and people adapt it to guard themselves from the persecution and atrocities exercised by the powerful oppressor. They seek salvation in being loyal to their religious and cultural ideology. The Kalash people have maintained their centuries old traditional culture despite the fact of current globalization, and modernization. Media is invading their privacy, esteem and societal norms by introducing new ideas, and inspirations to the youth. Albeit the people have subjugated to the latest trends of globalization and modernization but are also striving to keep pace with their socio- cultural and religious traditions transmitted to them by their forefathers. Currently the society is passing from the phase of transition and transculturation due to the impact of modernization, and change but still the people are trying hard to preserve and maintain their centuries old cultural identity.

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Use Full Phrases

List of useful words and phrases in *Kalasha~Mon*, the Kalash language is classified as an Indo Aryans Language of the Dardic and sub group. Most of the Kalash can speak *khowar*, *Urdu* and *Pashto* with varying degree of proficiency. These useful phrases are taken from the Kalasha Dictionary which was a great help in comprehending Kalash language, its pronunciation, sounds and meaning.

English	Kalasha
Greeting Brother!	<i>ispata Baya</i>
Greeting Sister!	<i>ispata Baba</i>
<i>Good Morning</i>	<i>abuji, e</i>
How are you, brother?	<i>prust thi ai e, Baya</i>
How are you, sister?	<i>prust thi ai, e, Baba</i>
Is your health good?	<i>Tabiet prust e?</i>
Fine by God's Kindness!	<i>Prust, Khodayas meharbani</i>
³²⁵ Is your family well?	<i>dura khair ai</i>
What is this?	<i>sia Kia?</i>
What did you say?	<i>tu kia amai?</i>
Where are you going?	<i>kaway Parisay day?</i>
I don't understand?	<i>ane ajonis</i>
I am going to the village!	<i>gromuna hatya, prim day</i>
I am sleepy	<i>may isparp kanu</i>
My headaches	<i>may sis trupel day</i>
Thank you Brother/ sister	<i>bo gudas la baya/ baba</i>
You are welcome brother/ Sister	<i>ne la baya/baba</i>
This is very delicious	<i>ai bo zaw</i>
It is very beautiful here!	<i>la bo prust</i>

³²⁵ Trail, L R & Cooper, R. G, 1999. Kalasha Dictionary with Urdu and English Translation. National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-I AZAM University, Islamabad Pakistan & Summer Institute of Linguistics Wet Group Horselys Green High Wycombe Bucks HP 14 3XL United Kingdom.

Cultural Heritage

According to the key informant, Luke Rehmat, the valley of Kalash possesses fifty five tangible assets. In the valley of Kalash there are 21 temples known as *altars* or *Jestik~hans*. According to him the assets are threatened by the local hazards such as the land of ancient graveyard is used for cultivation in *Karakal*. Encroachment of sanctuaries and altars is a common problem faced by the local people.

In Bumburet valley the heritage are as follows.

Asset	Time Frame	Bumburet Valley
<i>Kus`umay Temple</i>	327 B.C	Village Batrik
<i>Grom Dewayak Temple</i>	809 A.D	Village Anish
<i>Dewa Dur Temple</i>	809 A.D	Village Anish
<i>Dewa Dur Temple</i>	809 A.D	Village Karakal
<i>Ingaw Temple</i>	809 A.D	Village Batrik
<i>Doshgorala Temple</i>	809 A.D	Village Karakal
<i>Mahan Deo Sanctuary</i>	500A.D	Village Batrik
<i>Indren Sanctuary</i>	327 A.D	Village Batrik
<i>Shigan Sanctuary</i>	500 A.D	Village Darasguru
<i>Jestik han Temple</i>	1209 A.D	Village Brun
<i>Mandawjaw Graveyard</i>	309 B.C	Karakal
<i>Gasguru Mandawjao</i>	327 B.C	Batrik
<i>Mandajow</i>	327 B.C	Brun
<i>Ustuyui pass Historical pass</i>	Used by Alexander	Bumburet valley
Sacred land for festivals		
<i>Onjesta Gachgain</i>	327 B.C	Batrik
<i>PalawJaw</i>	327 B.C	Batrik
<i>ZoshiKarkyen</i>	327 B.C	Batrik
<i>Traditional house</i>	1359	Pain/ Darasgru
<i>Kalash dur</i>	1809	Brun
<i>Kalasha Dur</i>	1859	Karakal
<i>Uchar Waterfall</i>		Batrik
<i>Ruins Anish Grom</i>	301 B.C	Anish

Glossary

<i>Abaya</i>	Gown
<i>Achambi</i>	A ceremony held in bashalini on the fifth day after delivery, both the mother and the child receive their first bath of purification with water & smoke
<i>Ala`sin</i>	Elopement
<i>Al`as`ing Zhonta</i>	Presenting gifts to married daughter
<i>Allah</i>	God the omnipotent
<i>Alqahar/ Aljabbar</i>	Wrath of God
<i>Angar</i>	Fire
<i>Apsa~n</i>	Lineage reside in village Anish
<i>Badayik</i>	1 st day of Chawmos
<i>Balasing</i>	The Kalash King
<i>Baramuck</i>	Lineage reside in village Anish
<i>Bashalini</i>	Menstruation home
<i>Basun</i>	Spring
<i>Bhut</i>	Demons
<i>Bhut Sambiek</i>	“Putting pants for the first time” A ceremony where five years old boys are dressed in traditional men`s clothing.
<i>Bulimain</i>	The invisible prophet
<i>Cay</i>	Tea
<i>Carusdi/ jil</i>	Types of shawls
<i>Cis</i>	An accessory traditionally worn by the daughter of rich and noble man.
<i>Chaimini</i>	Cheese
<i>Chapan</i>	The long colorful over coat
<i>Charpai</i>	Bed
<i>Chaw baw modik/Piran modik</i>	Purification days
<i>Chelum joshi</i>	Spring festival
<i>Chittar</i>	Old name for Chitral
<i>Chutyk sarazari</i>	Building of fire at pastures by elders
<i>C`ir,histilila</i>	The chosen lamb
<i>Corik,</i>	Fable
<i>Cot</i>	Decoration
<i>Co`u</i>	Dress
<i>Dada</i>	Father or uncle
<i>Dastur</i>	Tradition
<i>Dawodatu</i>	16 th day of Chawmos Collecting Beans
<i>Duppata</i>	A two and half yard unstitched fabric worn by the Muslim Women of Pakistan to cover their head, faces or bosoms.
<i>Dehar</i>	Shaman
<i>Dezau</i>	God
<i>Disini</i>	goddess of fertility
<i>Dur</i>	House

<i>Durni weshi</i>	To write the house
<i>Duya azeem</i>	The Grand Prayer
<i>Gamburi</i>	Flowers
<i>Gandao</i>	Wooden Statue of the dead
<i>Gawah</i>	Witness
<i>Ghaona Chawmos Yat</i>	Great memorial December Festival
<i>Giraween Sharif</i>	11 th day of Islamic Calander
<i>Gosnik awo</i>	Night
<i>Gosni</i>	12 th day of Chawmos
<i>Gostnik</i>	A ceremony held during winter solistice where the three years old boys and girls are traditionally dressed for the first time
<i>Herman</i>	Winter
<i>Imra</i>	The supreme goddess
<i>Imam</i>	Preacher
<i>Ingaw</i>	A sacrifice for good crop
<i>Ishpayiri</i>	To prepare
<i>Ishpata</i>	Greeting
<i>Istongas</i>	A ritual of purification by sprinkling goat's blood
<i>Istugass</i>	Evening
<i>Istongosh deo</i>	When a child receives his first dress
<i>Jadik</i>	To give in marriage
<i>Jani masturik</i>	December
<i>Ja Kai aau</i>	He became a husband
<i>Jatch</i>	Super natural being
<i>Ja thi aau</i>	She became a wife
<i>Jhes</i>	Dowery
<i>Jestik~han</i>	The place of worship
<i>Kaaba</i>	The sacred holy place for Muslims
<i>Kafirs</i>	Non believers
<i>Kagay`ak</i>	Last day of Chawmos Festival
<i>Kalasha Dastur</i>	Kalash Tradition
<i>Kashkar</i>	Province of China
<i>Kashghar</i>	Old name for Chitral
<i>Khodai</i>	God
<i>Kila siraz</i>	New Year
<i>Kot</i>	Building
<i>Kotshomai</i>	Goddess of nature and feminity
<i>Kum</i>	Clan
<i>Kutamy</i>	Distribution Day of walnut bread
<i>Lawak Biyik</i>	Day 15 th Fox day
<i>Madayik</i>	The day for the dead soul
<i>Mahdev / Mahan deo</i>	Great god
<i>Malawa ta dewa</i>	Lord the Spirt
<i>Mal`zuk</i>	Bride price
<i>Mandoajoa</i>	Grave yard

<i>Masjid</i>	Mosque
<i>Nan Bai</i>	Bread maker
<i>Nela</i>	Summer
<i>Onjesta</i>	Pure
<i>Paganism</i>	Religious system prior to monotheism
<i>Panchayat</i>	Executive committee of elders
<i>Paragata</i>	Impure
<i>Paran /labas</i>	Clothing
<i>Pasi</i>	Store room
<i>Pat</i>	Waist Belt
<i>Pay`mocuna</i>	Add new live stock generation
<i>Pushrunajadeky</i>	Gift presentation
<i>Qazi</i>	The Knowledge able elder
<i>Sadqa</i>	Charity
<i>Sagigor</i>	The place of worship at Rumbour Valley
<i>Sakhor</i>	Sugar
<i>Sariek</i>	Festival
<i>Saraz dyek</i>	burning of leaves at high pastures
<i>Soren</i>	Sixty articles
<i>Sharu</i>	October / autumn
<i>Saweilk hari</i>	Traditional Song competition
<i>Sis`a; stongas</i>	Sacrifice made by married couple
<i>Sen</i>	Bed
<i>Shoak` Chink</i>	Breaking of Mourning
<i>S`shwho</i>	Day
<i>Suchi</i>	Fairy
<i>Suribihot`; k gehan</i>	West
<i>Tus` ulek</i>	Ceremony held in menstruation home
<i>Ucal` k Batya</i>	Prayer when goats reach high pastures
<i>Wasiat</i>	A testimonial, a praise song that traces the heroic deeds of ancestors transmitted to one generation to another.
<i>Wawa</i>	Ancestor
<i>zozuk</i>	Hell