

Connecting Rock Art and Mythology: A Case Study of Kalasha Valleys



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of

Master of Philosophy

In Asian Studies

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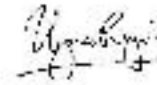
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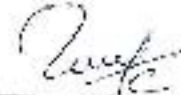
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FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Ms. Sayed Gul and it is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, for the award of degree of **Master of Philosophy in Asian Studies**.



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Director: _____
Prof. Dr. Ghansur-Rahman



Sooth drawing in temple Dough figurine (*Šára-biráyak*) (Dezellawatta) RC

(Šiṅ xeh bro čari, puri goṣṭ ti para) ooh my Šára-birá or goats to the mountain eat grass and give
us back our strength

DEDICATED TO MY BELOVED BOTHER

SHER BALANG KHAN

Who had greater faith in me, who constantly encouraged me to do new things, and who gave me the strength and confidence to pursue my goals and to serve my community in any way that was feasible.

DRSML QAU

Candidate's Declaration

I, Sayed Gul, hereby declare that this thesis was written entirely by me and that it has not previously been presented, in whole or in part, in any other application for a degree.

DRSML QAU

Sayed Gul

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Glossary

Ałaşın-Ĵhónta: to make a feast for a daughters and sisters for their marriage

Azat: Free

Bashali : House for childbirth and menstruation

Baramukh Nawow: clan of Baramukh

Biramór: the highest form of merit feasting in which many male goats are sacrificed

Baş-Žuáw: spirit beings to whom offerings are made ore share taker ask for the portion

Są: king

Biriu: Kalash valley most scholars pronounce it Birir

Cewmos: the Kalasha winter solstice festival and the most important celebration of the year

Cew: Kalasha woman's dress

čhâjá: pinewood light during Cewmos festival

Dezila watta: rock carvings place in Mumurate valley

Dezao: GOD (Creator), Khodai Dewalok: Supernatural being, Angle

Dehar: shaman

Ditc: the most sacred time of the Cawmos festival.

Dastoor: combination custom and religion

Deva-dur: Altar (home of Deva) gods or spiritual powers

Dur-niweshy: The celebration of new house or the inauguration of the house

Gok: snack

Gunna Cewmos yaad: big festival of remembrance

Gandau: Wooden effigy to make for death person

Hăš-poo: horse footmark

Jestak: Female spirit being of the home and clan

Kafiristan: Historical non-Muslim region spanning what is today northern Pakistan and north-eastern Afghanistan. Synonymous with Peristan. Is also used more specifically to refer to the non-Muslim region of Afghanistan which became Nuristan

Kal'as'amondr: the Kalasha language. x Kam – clan-like lineage group

Kupas – Kalasha woman's ceremonial headdress

Kagayak: (Crow) There is one night celebration in three valleys which is called *Kagayak* (crow) or *Dagari*, around the New Year Eve

Mahandeo – shrine above many Kalasha villages, named after the supernatural being it honors

Markhor: *Capra falconeri*, a large mountain goat the range of which stretches from Central Asia to the Western Himalayas and is called *shara* by the Kalasha, it is considered by them to be among the most onjes't'a creatures

Madhahik: A night on the name of departure souls and ancestors

Mehtar, Sa or Nazór: King, the ruler of Chitral before the region was incorporated into Pakistan in 1969

Mumuret – the middle of the three Kalash Valleys, often referred to by non-Kalasha as Bumburet.

Nuristan – Region in northeast Afghanistan, immediately to the west of the Kalash Valleys and Chitral District. Until its conversion Nuristan was often called Kafiristan.

Onjesta: Pure things, sacred

Ousha: With animal blood purified wheat for seeding

Otakka: pasture name

Perian – supernatural beings that live on the mountain tops, *suci* in Kal'as'amondr.

Peristan – Historical non-Muslim region spanning what is today northern Pakistan and north-eastern Afghanistan. Synonymous with Kafirstan

Pragata: Impure

Pindawatta, rock carvings in Rukmu valley,

Phoo,: it celebrated only in Biriu valley after the harvesting of fruits special grape, walnuts and at the end of wine making.

Pússaw Marát: Special sacrifice for boys on the evening of the day that the boys are given *čelík* (ceremonial shirt)

Rukmu: the most northerly of the Kalash Valleys, often referred to by non-Kalasha as Rumbur.

Soochi Cot: rock carvings in Biriu valley

Sharakat nawow: grandson of Sharakat clan

S'is'au: Special kind of bread prepared to purify the women

Soochi: supernatural beings that live on the mountain tops

Savelik Hari: the willow basket taken

Sajigoora: alter of Sajigo in the Rukmu valley

Šára-biráyak: dough figurine

Surijagek: observing of the sun

Šára-poo: wild animal or Markhor footmark

Tsiyam: unknown place, majority of Kalash agrees they came from this place. It is also the sacred homeland of the supreme deity Lord *Baḷimain*

Uchau, (Učáw): summer festival celebration is for the gratitude of summer harvesting.

Zhoshi: the Kalasha Spring festival

Abstract

This research, for the very first time, studies the Kalasha people of Pakistan with the help of the *Šára-biráyak* and petroglyphs which are, undoubtedly, centuries old in all three Kalasha valleys.

Rather than the *Šára-biráyak* (dough animal figurine) or art assemblage ritual is related to the rock carving or petroglyphs. Kalash people traditionally believe that the famous petroglyphs of the region are carved by fairies. The drawings represent mostly animal figures, the area where such petroglyphs concentrate is used to perform rituals. The present work on the title aims to connect the story of rock carvings to the ritual history of the Kalash people.

The petroglyphs and wall paintings are made with sooth (drawings made by wool and bamboo stick) located inside a temple, both productions are related and respond to the same cultural background, *Dezelawatt*, *Pindawatt*, or *Sochi Chot* petroglyphs depict the same themes and animals still drawing on temple's walls with sooth. The Kalasha people believe that the shadows of such drawings and dough figurines depicted *Dezelawatt*.

Key words: Kalash, Ritual, TM *Šára-biráyak*, rock art Assemblage, interpretations, Shamanism, Temple, *Surijagek*

وادی کیلاش کے قدرتی ماحول اور تہذیب و ثقافت کا تحفظ ہم سب کی مشترکہ ذمہ داری ہے

©Copyright->This Map is created and designed for STFP/UNESCO Art and text by: Ishfaq Ahmad tour guide Chitral, for your personal map Contact 03449701123 ishfaq@sagar@gmail.com

Services of Tour Guides in Kalasha Valleys
Under the Kalasha Valleys Tour Guides Association (KVTGA) a group of 30 male and female tour guides are working in Mumbret (Bumboret), Rakau (Rambore) and Barir (Barir) Valleys to provide an authentic touristic experience of Kalasha Culture to the visitors. Services of these trained tour guides are available for short, half and full day tour of Kalasha Valleys on fixed charges.

Made tour guide services are available for male tourists groups and female tour guide services are available for family groups or all female tourists group.

For booking, please contact one of the following coordinators in the respective valley:

Valley	Name of Person	Call Number
Bamboret Valley	Zahoor Ahmed	0348-5031334
	Iqbal Shah	0312-0080270
	Ishfaq Ahmad	0344-9701123
Hambur Valley	Saddam Hussain	0344-6119462
	Hassan Kalash	0344-1127249
Barir Valley	Dr. Elahi	0345-4227467

Service CHARGES
Start Tour - Rs.300/-
Half day Tour - Rs.1,000/-
Full day Tour - Rs.1,300/-
During festival days extra charges will be applicable.

Annually Kalasha religious rituals ceremonies celebrate on below mention dates.

Kalasha Festivals Dates
1-Zushi, Joshi, Chilmjosh 13- 16 May
2-Uchal Festival, 18- 21 August
3-Phon Festival, 15 October
4-Chawmoss Festival 8- 22 December

Key- Navigation

- Villages
- Schools
- Masajids/ Masque
- Kalash Graveyards
- Live Stock Dispensary
- Hotels/Motels
- Health Center
- Police Station
- Village Council
- Utility Store
- PTCL Exchange
- Tourist Spots
- River
- Waterfalls
- Road
- Passes
- Mountain
- Bridges
- Walking Trails

Dear Valuable Visitors! Remember as you leave this area you leave behind an image of yourself. Make life welcoming for the future visitors.

KALASHA VALLEY BUMBURATE MAP

SUSTAINABLE TOURSIM FOUNDATION PAKISTAN

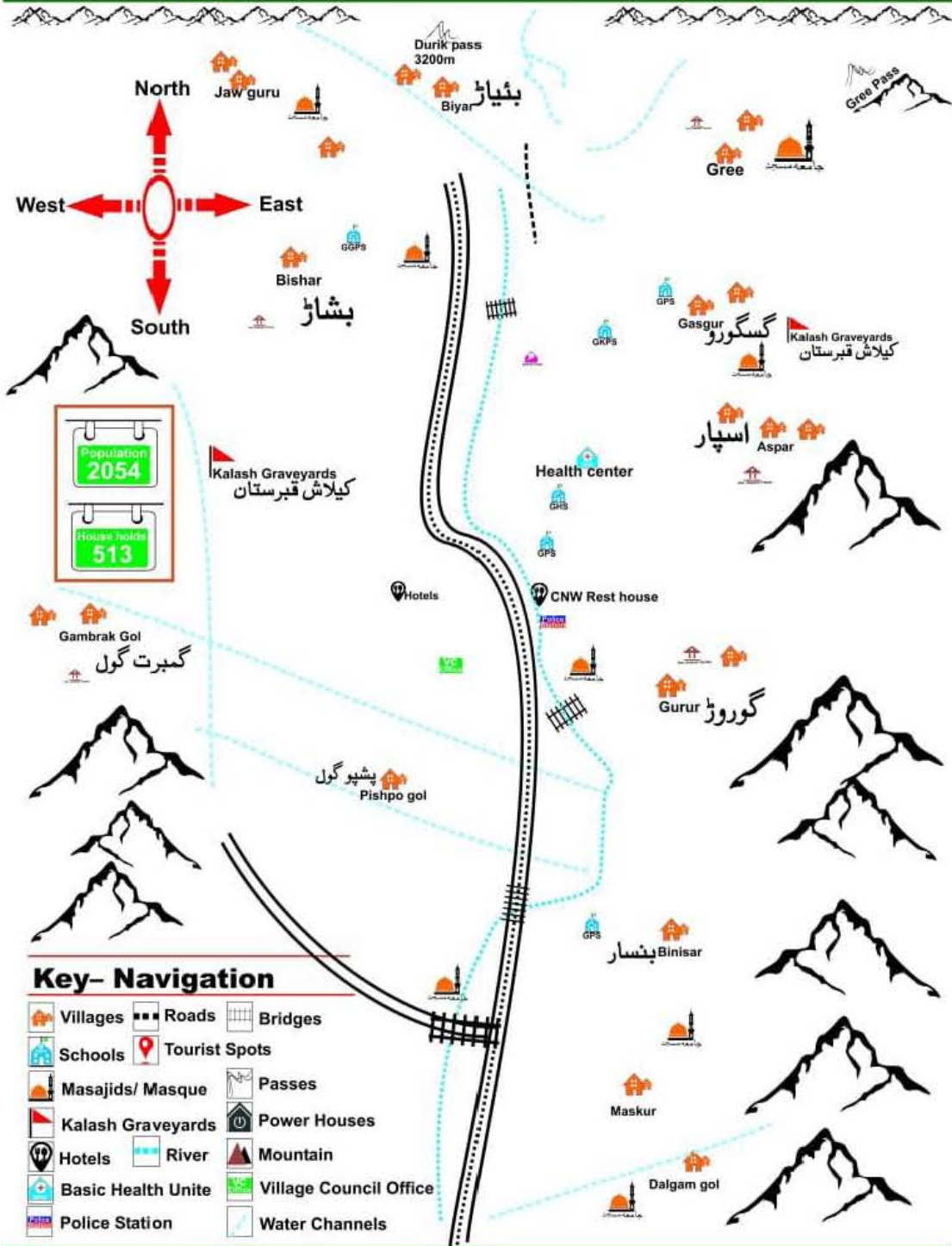
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Village Council Birir valley Map



#VCBMAP VC Birir Valley Map #VCBMAP

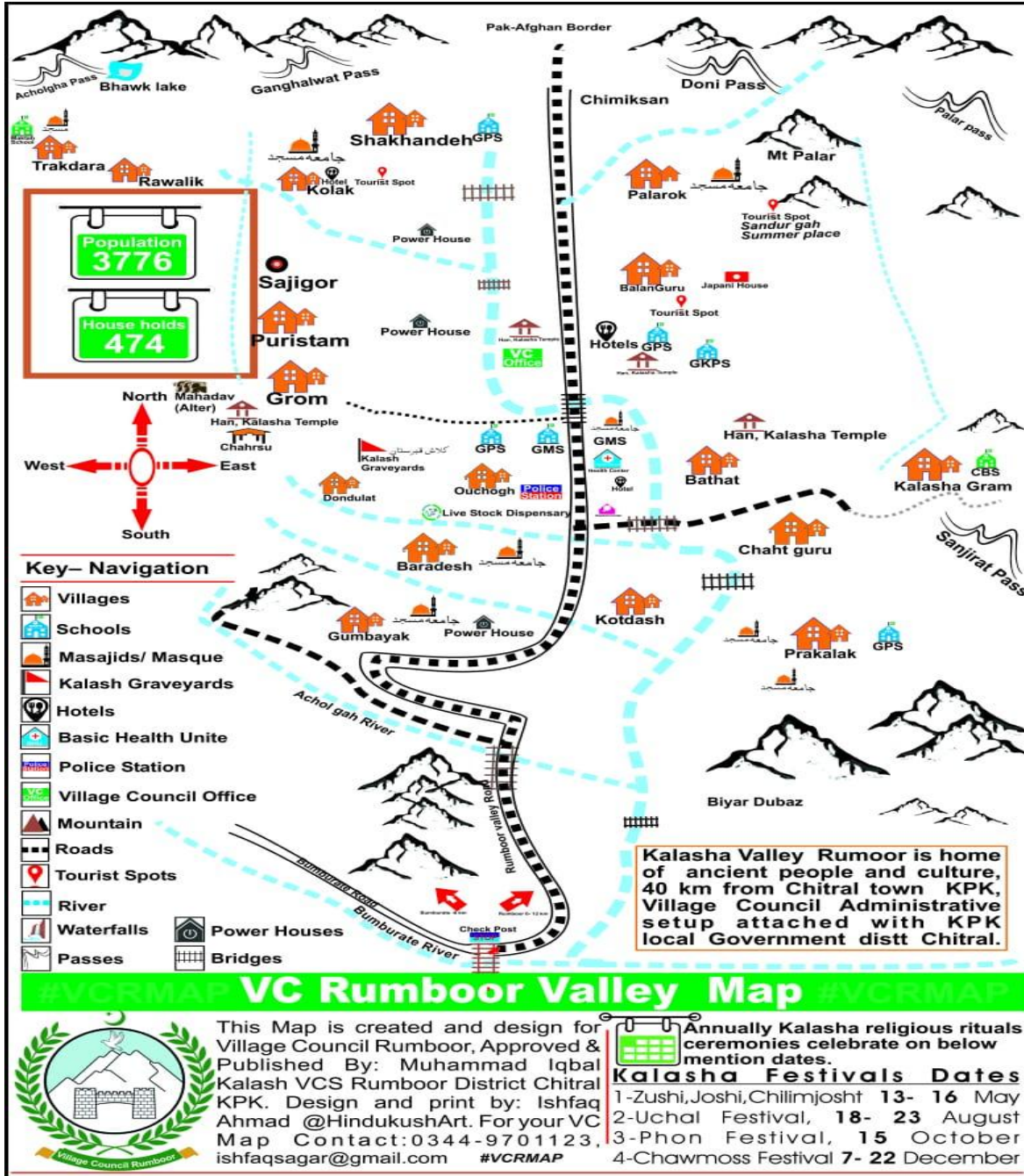


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Kalash valleys Maps, created by Ishfaq Ahmad

Chapter 1

Introduction:

The Kalash is considered one of the world's oldest living cultures and religions. There are various types of research work was carried out by different scholars on Kalash people. Their audio records and documentaries are also available. Due to its unique culture and traditions, it always remains under the attention of scholars nationally and internationally. The 4000 indigenous tribal people are living in three small valleys i.e., *Mumurate* (Bamborate), *Rukmu* (Ramboor) and *Biriu* (Birir) in the District Lower Chitral Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan.

The origins of Kalash have already been well documented by several scholars (Ayub *et. al.*, 2015; Ali, 2011; Ali Ihsan 2013; Shabbir, 2020; Cacopardo, 2011; Ali, Chawla, Shabbir, 2021; Lievre, 1996; Bayliss-Smith, 2007; Tom, 2021; Snoy, 1955). The list goes on and on including the Hindu Khush proceedings of 1974. But the absence of the Kalash voice in this scholarship is a greater gap. In order to redress that issue, the present author conducted many interviews of various members of the community.

The recent interviews brought out many opinions related to the origin of the Kalash people. According to them, Kalash have come from different places¹. The entire community is not from one place; although a majority of Kalash agrees they came from *Tsiyam*², which is unknown place. Furthermore, *Tsiyam* is also the sacred homeland of the supreme deity Lord *Baḷimaín*, who now visits the Kalasha valleys once a year during the *Cewmos* festival.

¹ Personal communication, Luke Rehmat 2021

² Personal communication, Saifullah Jan 2021

Additionally, some people claim that their ancestors were honey bees. Nazargae Kalash³ has the opinion that Kalash are from Arab and descendants of Abu Jehal. The late Qazi Khush Nawaz, a legendary figure of Kalash, described the origin of Kalash comprehensively and associated them with the descendant of Alexander the Great of Macedonia⁴. The archaeologists have their own opinion that Kalash are from Aryan stock. “Our history is taken from us, the scholars have their own ideology and they trying to impose their ideology on us, in every possible way, we are the most confused tribe I think till now”⁵.

The Kalash community has their own way of life, and they celebrate every occasion, such as life, seasons, harvesting, goat husbandry and seasonal migration to the pastures and seasonal festivals. These are not for entertainment, but are important as rituals and prayers are the part of the festivals. These unique cultural traditions are now the benchmark for the world and becoming the main attraction for the tourists and scholars.

Many rituals are performed during the Kalasha festivals. The research topic for this thesis is selected from one of the important rituals named *Šára-biráyak* or *Kutramoo*, which is performed during *Cewmos* festival in December. There are four aspects to these rituals:

- i. *Dizilawatta*⁶ (Rock Carvings)
- ii. Sooth Drawings in the temple
- iii. Dough Animals figurines (*Šára-biráyak*)
- iv. Rituals

³ Personal communication 2021

⁴ Documentary short film “Kalasha the core of culture” 2019
<https://youtu.be/LPKeKTj0ad0>

⁵ Personal communication, retired police man Qazi Khushamat 2021

⁶ *Dezela* means created thing and *watta* means place

“*Kutramoo* night is combination of many activities including ensuring the fertility of domestic livestock and wild game. Kalasha Men make *Šára-biráyak*⁷, females make walnut breads to deliver their married daughters and relatives. “At the temple, boys draw pictures of goats, sheep, cows, and ibex on the walls and pillars using the branches gathered by girls with brushes, and ink made from walnut bark and sooth. The next day, the boys have mock hunt, which includes stoning the *Šára-biráyak* to break them and release the spirits of the animals’ depicted (Wada 2005). But sometimes horse and dogs are also part of it”.

The relationship between *Šára-biráyak* (dough animal figurines), sooth drawings in the Temple and *Dezila watta* (rock carvings) is a strong religious bond, creating a relationship with each other. Kalash believes these are not manmade modifications. These together make up the rock art assemblage. The main focus of the present research is to highlight this assemblage, (*Šára-biráyak*, sooth drawings at the Temple and rock art specifically animal figures) and how they are closely associated with the supernatural and ritually connected with each other.

“The field of rock art still faces a number of methodological and technical issues. However, this is true of the archaeology of religion normally, not just of rock art specially. Even with these issues, rock art studies have previously confirmed their value to the understanding of prehistoric ritual and belief. This is particularly true with respect to small scale hunter-gatherer societies, where rock art is often the most noticeable, and richest, evidence for prehistoric ritual and belief. Certainly, hunter-gatherers usually were derided as completely oriented (Steward 1938: 46; 1941: 216; 1955: 114)”.

⁷ *Šára-biráyak* (shara Morkhur Biraayaak he-goat) Baked animal-shaped wheat paste kind of dough figurines

Research Methodology

The present study evaluates interpretations, by the non-Kalasha scholars, of rock art related to Kalasha people. Previous studies have missed the religious importance of rock art, which has led them to question why rock assemblages are important for the Kalash community and their dreams about the ritual purities which leads them to animal fertility. After reviewing some methods, I will present the research methodology used in this thesis.

Scholars (both domestic and international) who work on rock carvings usually employ survey methods including, interviews, personal observations, photographs, and literature reviews. Recent methodologies tend to use mixed methods (e.g. Kalhoro 2018).⁸ One such example is Kalhoro (2018) the scholar personally visited observed historical burial sites in Karachi. He also interviewed the diggers to find out the original architecture of these circular tombs, the information about the graves' goods and the positions of the dead bodies in these graves was also collected from the tom braiders. The author also documented the Menhirs in Karachi, which are engraved with cupules and rock carvings. He documented Thana Bula in 2014, and Mehnires with cupules in Nagar parkar in 2015. The personal observation and focus on the local views provide evidence to his argument, for his articles. This methodology informed my own work, especially his small details and references to his previous work. Although I was not able to see the rock carvings personally due to religious (Kalasha) protocol, in my thesis I focus on the community interpretations, rituals and shamanic practices.

Another form of documentation is Fawad Khan's work (Khan 2013),⁹ in which he accidentally discovered three rock carving sites in Parwak valley, Tor Lasht, Nasargol, and on the Mastuj

⁸Kalhorzulfikar, Archaeology, Art and Religion in Sindh, 2018

Kalhoro, Zulfiqar Ali. 2010-2011 "Rock Art of Islamabad". Ancient Sindh. Vol.11, pp.27-35.

Kalhoro, Zulfiqar Ali. 2014. Rock Slides and Rock Carvings in Angai Valley, Sindh-Pakistan, Arnava 3 (2):9- 17. 6.

⁹Fawad Khan 2013, Recent discovery of petroglyphs at Pawak District Chitral Pakistan

Road. Due to the unclear weather and insufficient equipment he was not able to document the sites properly. As these were accidental finds, the local voice and interpretation is also missing, but he uses previous references of rock art sites as evidence, which were done by the different scholars such as Stein (1921: 34-40), Khan (2002: 179-181) and Ali et al (2005: 91-100).

In 2013 a team¹⁰ of researchers from the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad, conducted a survey, and documented six rock art sites in different districts of Azad, Kashmir. The sites are representing diverse art work such as, Brahmī inscriptions, cups marks, the structure of Shiv temple, and few zoomorphic arts. It was descriptive survey and the team uses the previous archaeological work. As with other studies, the local voice about the discoveries was missing. The main point of the study published in the Journal of Northern Studies was to provide:

“an understanding of ‘the sacred’, cultural landscapes have proved to be a useful integrating concept (e.g. Schanche 1995, Mulk&Bayliss-Smith 1998). Ethnographic studies have shown that a strong emphasis on the sacred as an aspect of landscape is justified, except perhaps in western/urban/ industrial societies. Arguing from ethnographic evidence, Richard Bradley suggested that many features of the landscape might have special powers. They could play their part in a mythical narrative and their significance might well be interpreted and reinterpreted from one generation to the next. Places that were left entirely unmodified might be among the most significant to those who visited them: rivers could assume special properties; the paths crossing the landscape recreated the movements of the ancestors; and entire areas of the country might take on a sacred character. Such information could be lost to field archaeology, even though it

¹⁰ discovery of rock art in azad, jammu and kashmir vol. 2, no. 2, december 2017: 69-88 by m. ashraf khan* and sundusaslām khan

plays a crucial role in defining land rights in the present. The everyday landscape that offers food and shelter for those who live there might also provide a means of interpreting the world. (Bradley 2000)¹¹

After understanding the research methods of these different scholars I was able to conduct my own research, a descriptive historical research method was adopted; it is qualitative research. In my research I work to connect the zoomorphic art to the Kalasha ritual and my research is based on the community stories and shamanic believe system. I use the descriptive mythology. The case study was carried out through the valleys; during the survey interviews, personal observations, telephonic conversions were the main part of the data collection. Proper documentation was the core concern, photographs, videos and audio recordings were also part of it. Secondly, books, journals' articles, various websites, YouTube documentaries and lectures were also major part of primary and secondary data resources.

The main objective of this research is to showcase the untold stories and the importance of the art assemblage (*Šára-biráyak* ritual, the sooth drawings in the temple, their connection with the rock carvings). The archaeologists, anthropologists and other scholars who work a lot on Kalash either seems to overestimate or underestimate the meaning, importance, rituals and religious significance of the Art Assemblage. In scholarly literature, it is mentioned that rock carvings were a part of the hunting and gathering ritual, or may be the ritual of migration. Despite oral traditions, each locality has its own story with little different way because it is the old history (see Appendix I).

This case study is based upon the local perception about the rock art assemblage located in the Kalasha valleys. The information presented was collected from formal and informal

¹¹ The authors and Journal of Northern Studies, No. 1-2 • 2007

interviews and acquired from oral traditions. The rock carvings, so far, describe and tell a story of the man of prehistoric time and it is difficult to determine the date or specific era. The ethnographic insight to exact prehistoric background remains challenging, but in favorable circumstances the oral history is helpful.

During the survey people were hesitate to give interview about the *Šára-biráyak* ritual, as it was tough to convince them to talk. The art humans left behind are myth for many as for Kalash too, the new generation is confused about the oral traditions and the rituals they perform unknowingly. The most common answer of the youth was “our forefathers did it that’s why we are doing it” and we believe the rituals as they do in the past.

Rock art was made for a purpose and we can see how people lived a long time ago which also shows the growth of their intellectual creativity. The similar rock carvings are found in other parts of Pakistan but the people of Kalash have their own myths about the local rock carvings. The study being carried out is an effort to link the rituals and rock carvings and raise awareness about it among the Kalash community. This research is first of a kind as no ethnological study has been carried out on such topic before.

The secrets of one of the beliefs of Kalash religion could not be disclosed. But all the information collected indicated that the term 'hunting-magic' for an interpretation of the rock pictures in this area was wrong: wild goats, as the main object of rock engravings, can be found all over the Hindukush area, and usually these engravings are concentrated in specific places. (Snowy 1974)

The methodological approach used in this research project, defines the problem clearly, and in tandem presents the project's postulates, as well as defines the three fundamental contexts in which the phenomenon of rock art may be positioned.

Aims and objectives

- i. To understand the religious importance of the rock art assemblage
- ii. the sensitivities of the rituals
- iii. how it's important for the Kalash community
- iv. the people's emotions towards the continued practices
- v. proper documentation of the rituals and folktales and the shamanic predictions before it silent under the so-called modernity

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Chapter 2

Literature Review

Kalash is always considered a living museum which attracts many tourists, researchers, scholars, bloggers, and filmmakers. There are the endless list of books and articles written about Kalash culture and community by many non-local scholars.

Bellew and Trumpp have an opinion that the *Kafirs* are originally Hindus of Himalayas which the writer partially agreed. They also argued that the *Kafirs* mention the *Indra* and *Mahandev* and it seemed mysterious to him on the religion ground.

The authors also mention the earliest reference to the Kalasha *Kafirs* is made by *Mackenzie* Turner who says: the *Kafirs* are divided as follows;

- i. Kamozaes in hill around Chitral
- ii. Kullush near Chilas and Gilgit
- iii. Kuttars near Kunur
- iv. Gumbir above Lugman

The writer mention the *Kullush* is basically Kalash who settled *Mumurate (Bomborate)* and also mention the village names of Kalasha valleys. The author also mentions the religions deities. The *Kafirs* told him that they never allow travelers to pass through their country because the Raja of Chitral was used to sell them as slave. “We don’t have religious book we ignorant of reading and writing” (G.W. Leitner, 1880).

In 1888, Sir George Scott Robertson in his Book “The *Kafirs* of the Hindu Kush,” partially explained the original Kalasha people. He gives complete details About the Kafirs of ancient Kafiristan (now Nuristan). It is a pioneer work on so-called *Kafirs*. He explained about the gods and goddesses are numerous, the role of slavery, the different villages in the region,

everyday life and social customs, including dress, diet, festivals, sport, the role of women in society, and much else that he observed first-hand.

In 1866, G.W Leitner, worked on Kafiristan and collected data regarding the linguistics. He described the Kafir dialects, sketched a map of Chitral. He mentioned the Kafirs and Shia-Posh (Kalash) both. His book “Davies’ trade report” informs us that the Bashgeli Kafirs lived under the rule of Chitral, and then it was Aman-ul-Mulk who was used to sell them time to time for slavery to raise his revenue (Leitner, 1880).

In 1950s, Peter Snoy, one of the fine scholars who got stuck in Kalash due to the heavy snow fall, witnessed the winter festival with his friend:

On the 6th day of the Kalash winter festival, which in 1955 lasted from the 9th to the 23rd of December, the Kalash of Bumboret/Chitral make 'sooth-drawings' in their ceremonial houses. The main motives are wild and domesticated goats but other domesticated animals, for example cows and dogs occur also. Wild animals, which are dangerous for the domesticated ones and for human beings are portrayed as well. The reason for this custom, the Kalash informants said, was that they make these drawings in memory of a happening in the past. In 'very olden times' human beings - Kalash -, animals, fairies, and deities lived together. Then some incident occurred which resulted in a separation of these beings. Three versions of this incident are told: 1) the human beings left from their own free will. 2) Other Kalash came and drove the Kalash, who were already there, away. 3) The fairies drove these human beings away.

The writer also mentioned a story which was happened in ancient times in Gilgit region. The story belongs to *Shiri Badat*, a legendary king and a rather mythical being. *Shiri Badat* was a guardian of all animals. He kept his goats in large stables. A noble man came as a guest to his stable; however, *Shiri Badat* was not willing to offer any of his goats for him. He butchers a dog for his guest. After the meal was presented, the holy guest said: 'Chu', the slaughtered dog stands alive on the plate. Meanwhile all his animals ran away and remain in the mountains as wild

animals. At the end he roams in the mountains with chisels and hammers to create the pictures of goats on the rock¹².

In 1996, Lievre mentioned that there has been oral tradition within the Kalash about a female *dehar* (shaman) called *Mali*. She lived in *Drosh* (south of Chitral) at the time preceding the first wave of Islamic conversion in Chitral area (13th or 14th centuries). She predicted “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 prediction came true. The Kalasha, having paid no attention to Mali’s advice, accepted the bird. From this time the Muslims assault and conversions. When they realized their mistake than the hens considered impure (Lievre, 1996).

In 2001, Wynne Maggi published her book “Our Women are Free.” She spent almost two years with the Kalash community and adopted a family in Kalash. She works hard to describe the history practitioners of cultural and religious traditions and the geography of the Kalash community. Her major focus was the Kalasha women and their agency (*bashali*; maternity home), who are a self-motivated living in three tiny valleys near Chitral, Pakistan. She wrote “Yet despite their obvious religious differences with nearby communities, when asked what makes the Kalasha unique, both men and women often reply, "Our women are free" (*homa istrizia azat asan*). The concept that Kalasha women are "free" (*azat*), that they have "choice" (*chit*), is a topic of spirited conversation among the Kalasha. It touches at the heart of both individual women's identities and the collective identity of the community” (Wynne Maggi, *Our Women are Free: Gender and Ethnicity in the Hindukush* 2001). In 2005, Akiko Wada in her

¹² (SNOY, P: 1962. *Die Kafiren. Formen der Wirtschaft and geistigen Kultur*. Diss. Frailkfurt/Main (1974) Dizila wat Selected Papers from the Hindukush Cultural conference held at Moesgard in 1970).

book “Kalasha Their Life & Traditions” described beautifully the traditions, costumes, rituals and life in Kalash valleys. Her work is very delightful and she mentions all the significant values of Kalash culture and festivals. Jean-Yves Loude and Viviane Liever¹³ in their book “Kalash Solstice: Winter Feasts of the Kalash of North Pakistan” discussed the Kalasha in general and Kalasha of Rukmu in detail. They lived with Kalash like a Kalasha and witnessed events. Society, tradition etc. firsthand. They described Kalash how they explained the Sun rises and sunsets and predict the entire year to observing the sun’s movement. Their tremendous work on the book is very productive and helpful.

The cultural landscapes were permeated by religious meanings in all pre-modern societies, including Sami societies before 16th century A.D. We suggest that knowledge of this sacred landscape was not restricted to elite or to shamans, but was widely shared. For the Sami, religious rituals and associated images (e.g., rock art) involved all levels within a social hierarchy that linked the individual adult or child, the family, the band or *sijdda* (Bayliss-Smith, 2007).

The Kalash people also are called *Kafir* (non-believer) and *Siah Posh* (wearer of black-robe). The Kalash is an ancient tribe of Pakistan and they have their own way of life, language, rituals, religion and identity (Ali, published on 21 December 2011). Since, 18th century numerous scholars had done their research work on the Kalasha people. Among them Muhammad Kashif Ali¹⁴ is one of those who frequently visited Kalash valleys and stayed there to observe sensitivity of the culture.

The origin of Kalash is always mystery for the Kalasha people and as for scholars. The history of Kalasha is disputed. Today, many hypotheses appear about their origin. Until now two

¹³ French couple

¹⁴ teacher from Gujrat University, Punjab Pakistan

major hypotheses have been strongly developed i.e. Indo-Aryan origin and Greek origin. The hypothesis of Indo-Aryan origin is supported by George Morgenstierne, R.C.F. Schomberg, Karl Jettmar and Peter Parkes. While other hypothesis gives the impression that the Kalasha are relatively recent newcomers or Greeks in origin (Ali, 2019).

In 2013, Pakistani archaeologists Ihsan Ali, Ibrahim Shah, Abdul Samad, Muhammad Zahir & along with an international scholar Ruth Young published an article on the Kalash and Kho cultures; their key focus was how to preserve heritage and archaeology in the region and present it to the world in the better way their researched based on interviews mostly and in the light of Kalasha Dur Museum and Chitral Museum, Chitral. The idea of involving a community or communities in heritage is of course not new. There are examples from many parts of the world of different ways in which communities, community groups and their spokespeople, academics, government representatives and other stakeholders have interacted within heritage projects (Ali, *et al.* 2013).

He also mentions the religious activities, festivals, rituals briefly and about the deities of Kalasha people and also mention the DNA of Kalash done by Qasim Ayub¹⁵ (In recent times DNA tests were made to examine the Greek origin of the Kalasha. He concluded through the DNA tests the Kalasha people do not have Greek origin. However, they believed that the Kalasha belong to the Aryan stock. Now, “there is a consensus today that they are of the Indo-Aryan stock having migrated to Afghanistan maybe a couple of thousand years back” (Ayub *et al.* 2015).

In 2021, Ali, Shabbir & Chawla, comprehensively described the spiritual knowledge of Kalasha Shamans. At least two communities of Pakistan can be traced out associated with

¹⁵ Pakistani genetic scientist

shamanism; the Kalasha of Chitral and *Broshu* people of Hunza. Both communities had been practicing the shamanistic rituals for a long. *Dehar* or shaman has enormous importance in the Kalasha religion. The locals have different words for shaman as the Kalasha call it *Dehar* in Kalasha language while the *Kho* people and *Shina* people of Gilgit call it *bitan/betan* in *Khowar* and *Shina* languages, respectively. *Dehar* is spiritual and religious leader of the Kalasha community; he is approached for predictions, avoiding evils, to cure of illness etc. (Ali, Shabbir & Chawla, Spring 2-10-2021)

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Chapter 3

Festivals and its Religious Importance

The Kalasha culture has always evolved along with the surrounding world. It is famous and unique as the way of life; their living style is totally different from its surroundings. Traditional female dresses which include a black robe, an embroidered long cap decorated with sea shells, ornaments and beads.

They have long-term oral traditions, shamanic rituals, stories, love songs, sad songs, ancestry songs, geographically narrated songs, religious songs¹⁶ and folklores, which are representing the indigenous human practice. The Kalash people celebrate four major religious festivals in every year including small festivities i.e. Joshi (*Žóšī*)¹⁷ (spring festival 13th to 17th may) to welcome the spring with prayers and purifications. *Uchau*, (Učáw) (summer 19th to 22nd August) celebration is for the gratitude of summer harvesting. *Phoo*, (mid October in full moon) it celebrated only in *Biriu* valley after the harvesting of fruits special grape, walnuts and at the end of wine making¹⁸. *Cewmos* (winter festival 8th to 22nd December). In Kalasha religion there is no regular prayer like Islam, Christianity and other religion. During these festivals Kalash pray and perform rituals¹⁹ (interview, Gul 2013).

Religion is difficult to understand for the non-Kalasha that's why they always tag the Kalash as *Kafirs*²⁰ because in their opinion the Kalasha do not believe in one God and worship the idols. In fact, the Kalash do believe in God, "*Khodai*"²¹ or "*Dezao*", the creator who is everywhere. For

¹⁶ which are only allow to sing during the specific festival

¹⁷ *Xuo-she* spring festival, *ú-chaó* summer festival, *Phó-ú* autumn festival, *Cēw-moos* winter festival

¹⁸ Before the *pū ōr phoo* festival people from *Biriu* are not allowed to plugged or eat the fruits

¹⁹ YouTube documentary Kalash and the crescents 2013

²⁰ Non believer

²¹ the Persian word for Allah

the family protection and to get rid of serious disease or natural disaster, the Kalash do sacrifices and perform prayers with strong believe that there are group of messengers who convey their message to Allah (*Dezao*) (interview, Hussain, 2013). It is important to know that the Kalasha world is divided in to two parts, the *pragata* (impure profane), and the *onjasta* (pure sacred). The sacrifice place is considered a very pure place, where only men are allowed to go, high pastures, men and goats also included to the *onjesta* sphere. Women belong to *pragata* sphere, especially during the menstruation and childbirth, nobody is allowed to enter or touch the *bašáli*²² and women who are in *Bašáli* for the said purposes. If someone mistakenly enters the *bašáli* or touches the ladies who are in *Bašáli* he or she must be fully washed before returning to the rest of the world.

Alongside all this the Kalasha (Kałóša) people celebrate many festivals in a year as mentioned above. During these festivals purifications are important part of it. For the purifications purpose boys are purified by sprinkling goat's blood. Women are purified after washing their hands with the fresh river water, the men give *Şiş-aú* (special kind of walnut bread²³) to women's hand and circling burning juniper. After ceremonial purification, the boys are allowed to participate in the religious sacrifices at the altars. On these occasions they get-together for the celebration of their ceremonial sacrifices on altars, cooking meals, dancing and singing the traditional songs are not only for entertainment but its most important of religious ritual. This relationship is according to Kalash folklore, needs its expression in songs, music and dance, which also contribute to the gratification of the universe.

²² Baa-sha-lee Maternity house for childbirth and menstruation

²³ *Şiş-aú* (*Şiş* head *aú* bread) man make walnut bread especially for purify women

The significance of Cewmos for Kalash

The *Gunna Cewmos yaad* (big festival of remembrances²⁴) is a winter festival²⁵ during which people of Kalash do several rituals because they believe this festival is the biggest, most sacred and pure festival. According to Kalash elders, their prayers are accepted during *Cewmos* and the entire coming year depends upon it. In three Kalasha valleys, it starts with different dates such as in *Rukmu* from 6th December to 23rd December, *Mumurate* from 8th to 23rd December and in *Biriu* valley it's much different and compared to both from 17th December to 23rd December.

Ethnographic Evidences of TM ^a -*biráyak* ritual: the survey of ethnic Kalasha Groups

The interviews for this thesis were conducted in Kalash valleys i.e., *Mumurate*, *Rukmu*, and *Biriu* of 105 male and female. Almost all the interviewers talked about that the ritual is for the fertility of animals. Goats and sheep are the backbone of their economy as well as very important for their *dastoor* (custom). Without the animals their rituals and customs are impossible that's why they tribute the animals to doing *Šára-biráyak* and its true in the past the sprite of the animals were travel to the *Dezilawat* (rock carvings) and the figures of animals are still there. Even nowadays the same ritual is performed with same faith.

Ninety percent of the respondents said that *Šára-birá* is performed in the winter festival as it's the festival of rituals and purity as compare to the other festivals. "Our year ends, beginnings this time that's why we celebrated the purest festivals *Cewmos*." Agha Khan Kalash²⁶ explained the *Šára-biráyak* is the combination of two Kalasha words *Šára* means 'wild' animals and *Biráyak* means 'domesticated male goats'. Further, he added and connects this story to a

²⁴ Kabir 2021

²⁵ The festival of lights, prayers, rituals, remembrance of ancestors, the entry of younger ones in the Kalash culture

²⁶ Personal communication 2021

young shepherd who was a servant of his own uncle and he kept him to take care of his goats. After many years he wish to be free from the duty but his uncle was not ready to allow him. His uncle made a pair of shoes for him and the material used for the shoe was human skin²⁷. He told the boy I will free you once this shoe comes to an end. For 7 years there was no single hole in the shoe. He was worried and went to an old lady who advised him to keep the shoe under the fireplace and use it in the morning you will get the result. After following the lady's instruction, the boy gets a small hole in the shoe and he shows the result to his uncle. His uncle allows him to go and told him to throw the goats from the stable and how much you do is yours. He went again to the old lady; she told him to start from the small goats you can get more. He did the same but, in this case, there were only the she-goats out of the stable. When he tries for the he-goat he failed, his uncle does not allow him for more tries. He went with his she-goats. During the animal husbandry he had no male goat for the purposes. He was worried and started crying again. Suddenly a man appeared and told him to keep your goats in the cattle house and sleep under the blanket, doesn't open your eyes till the morning. He did the same, in the morning when he tries to look outside, he saw naked wild he-goat to cross the stable and run off. All the goats give birth to twins' goat kids at one time and all the young goats were same colored and look alike. The shepherd again worried about how to feed them and how to recognize their mother. Started crying again the same man appeared and he told him just feed the male young goats and throw them to the roof and kept only one male goat with you. According to Agha Kalash, it was the morning time when he frees the male goats to the mountains and after that, *Šára-biráyak* became part of a ritual in the memory of the occasion. Somehow, in *Mumurate* some people partially agree with this folklore.

²⁷ Human skin is considered strong material in Kalash folktales which does not damage easily.

Another interesting folklore is related to the ritual which was told by a local school teacher named Iqbal Shah Kalash who is moderately agreed with Agha Kalash and continued the story of *Sharakat nawow* (grandson of *Sharakat* tribe). The *Sharakat nawow* was strong believer and in winter he had no food for survival. He was worried about the survival in the pasture. But he realized he was a strong believer and the things would be fine with to him. Suddenly, he heard the sound and someone told him to bring a branch of chestnut tree and to keep that under the ashes of fire place, and to bring snow in the clay pot and to keep it outside. He did the same as per direction, in the morning the chestnut branch had been converted to walnut bread while the snow in the clay pot into grape wine. This is also one of the reasons that the Kalasha call wine *onjashta* (pure sacred). No doubt, the Kalasha, even in modern days, make the wine, however, it is for rituals not for business. After one year when he came to the valleys, he saw people in the valley were preparing for the *Biramór*²⁸ He told his brothers to arrange the *Biramóre*, his brothers were surprised and told him that was not possible to do as he had no he-goats. It made him disappointed and he cried. Meanwhile, he heard the same sounds again. A man told him not to be sad and instructed to start the ritual of *Biramór*. The mysterious voice promised to do something for him, when he would start grinding the flour at the watermill. He was guided to put the wheat in the drum of the watermill and was warned to look inside the drum. When he told his brothers about whole the story, they didn't show any trust into him but unwillingly they started work with him and obeyed the directions. On the mid-night he felt the earthquake. It was about the morning when he came out from his stable and saw a group of huge *šára* (markhor) outside his stable and he recognized a naked (without hair on his body) *šára* which was there for she-goats mating".

²⁸ The highest form of merit feasting in which many male goats are sacrificed. it was the festivity in the past people did it for honoring their self.

Later, after getting a huge *šára-birá* he started traveling towards *Mahandev* for scarifice purpose. Now, he was a rich man with enormous *šára-birá*. He distributed the *šára-birá* among the villagers of *Darashguru, Anish, Bron, Batrika, Krakra* (village names). The villagers of *Darasguru* slaughtered the *šára-birá* but the other villagers become greedy and thought to keep them all for more breeding. Everyone ignored the naked *šára*²⁹, *Sharakat* told the naked *šára* (*hain onjashta Jok, onjashta qreehi shaati pari*) his pure animals run to the pure place, naked *šára* (wild he-goat) jumped and following behind him all the *šára* runaway towards the mountains. From that day until now, the Kalasha relate the story with the event described above.

Furthermore, he told their forefathers believed that *Šára-birá* went to *Dezelawatta*. The ritual Kalasha perform is *onjashta* and very important in their life and they used to do the *Šára-biráyak* in a very pure way with strong belief. The *Dezelawatta* is not manmade, it is real, and Kalasha believe it. This is reason that they are careful for purity and impurity. The present author personally has visit *Otakka*³⁰ and saw the same design which the Kalasha make and draw in their temples. They perform the sooth drawings in the morning before breakfast, and they care a lot about it. In the home they make the dough figurines and also put some walnut paste in it. Maybe it's for the long life of the animal figurines made of dough.

The Kalasha rituals and festivities are not possible with goats and that is the reason why goats are important in the Kalasha culture and society. It doesn't mean that they (Kalasha) worship them. Their way of living till death, their survival depends on the animals. They sacrifice animals and use them to get purification with their milk and blood. When the Kalasha request God, they offer Him an animal, which means goats are part of their way of life. For the survival of the Kalasha dastoor goats are very important. That's why the *Dezelawatta* is *onjashta*

²⁹ Who was basically the chief, *Šára*.

³⁰ *Dezelawatta* is the mountain of rock carving.

for them and Kalasha female are not allowed to visit *Dezelawatta* which is considered the most *onjashta* place (see the Chapter 3 festivals).

The superpower created *Šára-birá* correctly³¹. The *Pindawatta* looks exactly like the Kalasha stable tricks. It was the time when all creatures of God talked each other. Things happened and Shamans directed the Kalash to do so. When they free the *Šára-biráyak* souls in the morning they pray “(*Šiṇ xeh bro čari, puri gošt ti para*) ooh my *Šára-birá* to the mountains eat grasses, and give us back our strength.” The Kalasha elders were excited to make more *Šára-biráyak*, but now the new generations make only few for the rituals.

On the night of *Pússaw Marát*³² the Kalasha make big *Šára* with two breads in the morning we travel to *Sajjigor*, and do the same just the two brothers did in the past (*Nonggi* and *Jarbaig*). But nowadays no one doing it even no one cares about it. That’s why their goats are also decreasing, day by day.

In Biriú valley the entire festival is different from other two valleys³³. They perform *Šára-biráyak* ritual after *Cewmos* (winter festival). There is one night celebration in three valleys which is called *Kagayak* (crow) or *Dagari*, around the New Year eve. On the day men bake the meat bread at the stable with the remaining wheat flour of *Šára-biráyak* and from the meat saved from the *Cewmos*. People of the villages gather and spend whole night chanting to the crows about the hopes and their wishes for the coming year. The crow is supposed to deliver their sentiments to the God (Wada 2005, p.135).

The people of Kalash believe that in this night the sacred crow (considered white crow) will bring the all luck and happiness. The women in Kalash sing a song for the crow and pray

³¹ Personal conversation with Jarbaig from *Rukhmo*

³² Special sacrifice for boys on the evening of the day that the boys are given *čelik* (ceremonial shirt)

³³ *Rukmu* and *Mumurate*

bring all the good for them. During this one night the people of *Biriu* make *Šára-biráyak* the ritual is not much pure even with less care of *onjasta* (pure) *Pragata* (impure) and also produced only he-goats, she-goat, cow, Markhor, sheep etc. e.g., horse, humans and dogs are not allowed. Even there is no ritual to draw the sooth drawing in the Temple in *Biriu*. In *Biriu* people don't believe that *Šára-biráyak* going to *Dezelawatta*. They said, the rock carvings are *Sochi Chot* (carvings of *Sochi* supernatural or ghost writing³⁴). *Šára-biráyak* is ritual for animals.

Mareen Khan (Kalasha converted Muslim) replied *Šára-biráyak* practice is not new we perform it since from the beginning. He claimed the *Dezelawatta* is located only in *Mumurate* and associated it with the place of *onjashta*. There is no other place in the world like *Dezelawatta* according to the local knowledge. The Kalasha are very careful during the process of dough figurines if mistakenly they broke some parts of those *Šára-biráyak* are not able to reached *Dezelawatta* on time.

The Kalasha also adopted many customs and traditions from the Red Kafirs³⁵ e.g. dance, songs, funeral performance, *čhájá* (pinewood light during *Cewmos* festival) etc.

Petroglyphs/pictographs (rock carvings) are not only art. They represent secret unveiled significant cultural themes, messages, beliefs to the tribe they were not created for aesthetic purposes only. They were created to teach, warn, or record those not yet born. The rock carvings

³⁴ <https://youtu.be/anthE44PUjs>

Chester medicine crow
ghost writing
sacred sites

³⁵ Nuristani people now called Sheikh

are created by the supernatural powers not by human beings. Hence the place is considered *onjasta*³⁶ (pure) and women are not allowed to go there.

Numerous written and digital materials are available on Kalasha rituals, many are still undocumented. As Kalash is *dastoor* is primarily based upon the oral tradition, the new generation least knows about it. The mythology tells the relationships between people and their tangible and intangible culture.

In every goat breeding season, the first breed he-goat is sacrificed on the name of God. The Kalash sprite the milk of the he-goat and it will carefully be brought up as a sacrificial he-goat. They also sacrifice small he-goat during departure for the pastures for the safety of animal and shepherds. These show the importance of animals; their life is surrounded by the goats. In spring festival, they pray to God (dear God please closed all the borders for enemies and protect the Kalash valleys from the evils). Their belief system is stronger than others, even Muslims believe in our prayers. When something wrong happens, the Muslims request us for prayers and sacrifices because our strong belief is powerful and our prayers are accepted more than others.

During the survey; people showed hesitation about being interviewed about the *Šára-biráyak*³⁷. The art left behind is still a mystery for the world. The generations are following conventional way of their ancestors unknowingly. Mostly Kalash believes that rock art is created by non-human beings. Few relate it to shamanism. In an interview of a shepherd, he claimed seeing wild animals guarded by unknown figures. Lion and tigers were also there for the protection of the animals, and were about to attack him. The shepherd heard a voice, and someone told the guards “don’t harm him he is one of us”. Then the guards and tigers left him alive. (Personally interview of Shepherd)

³⁶ On-jash-tta

³⁷ Shah-raa-beeraa-yaak *Šára-biráyak*

Cewmos is called *Gonah*³⁸ *Cewmos Yaad* (big festival of remembrance)³⁹ Kalasha remember the memories of the past. In the same way they also remember the first migration when the Kalash were attacked by some invaders. They demolished everything including the first white Temple (*Gora cot*) which is somewhere in the west may be in *Tisyam*⁴⁰. *Šára-biráyak* commemorated first migration of Kalash. It reminds the event how the Kalash left their country early in the morning. During migration the Kalash broke a *boot* (may be sculpture). They stage *Bichuni-Šára*⁴¹ in *Cewmos* festival. They break the *Bichuni-Šára* with stones and then the migration event in the festival is started for remembrance. They dramatize it the same way it was happened in the past. Meanwhile, the Kalasha tradition says *Shahbirayak* is depicted on the mountain of *Dezalawatta*. It's not only happened in *Mumurate* but also in *Briiu* with inscriptions. The emblems are almost 49 which are called *onjasta saat saat* (seven seven pure sacred emblems) because in Kalash the (*soothiyat*) sounds are also 49 phonemes (sound of the language). Every phoneme has a sound picture just like *Alef Beh tah* (the Arabic phonemes). The Kalash have also *script* (the writing system) which is thousands years old described in the 49 emblems. Those emblems are made by females in *Cewmos*, especially in *Savelik Hari* (the willow basket taken) it's a ritual during *Cewmos* the leftover of *Madhahik*⁴² throw to the crows on 16th of December. In *Mumurate* all five villages the females make the complete pack of the 49 emblems. The same 49 emblems are made by the male too. Wherever this tribe is living they make these emblems on the flat bread too, and performing sacrifice for it. During the fumigation and prayers, they put the breads on the fire. These 49 emblems are very sacred and performing

³⁸ Goo-naah

³⁹ Personal communication, Imran Kabir, 2021.

⁴⁰ Unknown place which reveals about Kalasha people's first place in many books and also mention in the sacred songs.

⁴¹ *Bichunee* (aiming to destroy) *Shara* (wild animal)

⁴² A night on the name of Departure souls and Ancestors

sacrifice for it is compulsory. There are two places where we put the inscriptions both are religiously important. In *Cewmos* on 13th and 14th of December we make ink from charcoal of walnut bark, and to draw the inscription inside the Temple. It means the religion imposed the writing and understanding on Kalash.

On the same way, the Kalash called house inauguration *Dur-niweshy*⁴³ (write on the door). The *Dur-niweshi* is existed only in the Kalash traditions according to Kalash (Kabir 2021). On the door they put their hands into the animal blood and illustrate the design on the door. It was practice in the past, whoever, nowadays the people do not care much about it. This kind of activities shows that these emblems and its understanding is not novel for the Kalash religion. They didn't learn it from others. It is possible others learnt it from the Kalash community, as reading and writing for Kalash is mandatory. The same hand mark also found in Australia, where they classified the age groupings of persons who created hand prints.⁴⁴ According to the article by Sarah Cascone, they found mostly children make the hand marks. The researchers found up to 25 % of the hand marks were not large enough belong to adults or teenager, that were between two and 12 years of age.

The Kalasha kids play important role in ink making process they collect the walnut tree bark; burn the bark to make charcoal. Then grind and hemp to the water⁴⁵ for hours to prepared the ink. The next step is to make a pen from bamboo stick. On the top they tie the wool of sheep for the purposes to sock the ink properly. This activity is performed in the temple on the day of *Chui-Nari (Cewmos)*. The next day they draw the sooth drawings in the temple. During the time

⁴³ The celebration of new house or the inauguration of the house

⁴⁴ <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/newly-discovered-40000-year-old-cave-painting-borneo-worlds-oldest-figurative-art-1390687>

⁴⁵ In special terracotta pot which is not used before

of drawings loud talks, sounds and whistles are not allowed. With complete silence they draw on the Temple walls, silence means to avoid the destructions⁴⁶. There are pictures from the past taken by the foreigner researchers during colonial period (1920s and 1930s) shows experts are making and the kids are watching to learn. In those we can see the figures and the emblems which drawn on the wall of Temples. There are Animal figures and an inscription from Afghanistan to Kashmir Mountains⁴⁷ with 49 emblems and their derivatives. The early emblems and their uses are available in the mountains.

The literacy rate among the Kalasha is not impressive; that is the reason they least know about their history, customs and traditions. The Kalash spent 700 years in the slavery. It's difficult to remember things and learning from 1320 AD to 1969 AD and still they are partially slave of others' opinion. (Kalasha Kabir, 2021) It's a huge period passed without doing anything for them. If you don't learn, think and document on right time things will change slowly and gradually. However, Kalash people forget most of the rituals and their historical background due to the above reason. Oral traditions easily can be manipulated. "This is not, perhaps, surprising in a country in which there are no records of any kind, and everything depends on oral tradition". (Robertson, 1896)

Imran Kabir (2021) claimed that the Kalasha religion was a documented religion in the past. There were books and spiritual leaders called *dehar* (Shamans) e.g., Danuk *dehar* from *Biriu* and the mostly Kalash already know about the miracles from that book. Now almost 50% of rituals are not performed, with the cultural festivities e.g., *boot* Ombrushek, *Biramor*,

⁴⁶ The drawn picture need full concentration to make the perfect picture and there is belief by whistling the sprite of sooth pictures will travel to *Dezelawatta* before time.

⁴⁷ Including all northern Areas with Kalasha valleys

*Shariyak, Alashing Jonta, Ghandao*⁴⁸ etc. Some of them are mentioned in different books. Kalash religion is evolved in many ways, e.g., the costume of Kalasha male which is becoming extinct; there is touch of modernity in female dresses too.

In a heart touching discussion with Mr. John “we spent 700 years in slavery in such circumstance we forget to asked about the background of performing rituals from our elders. The only leftover is the practices which we are following blindly for centuries. Rituals and religions are followed when there is enough food to eat and peace of mind to think. We lost both because the period of *Sa* or *Mehtars (king)*⁴⁹ was not so pleasant for common people especially the Kalash were unpaid slaves to the *Mehtar* who was the authority to use them physically and mentally. They took everything from Kalash including animals, wheat, Barley, beans, fresh fruits, dry fruits etc.”

The classical writer G.W. Leitner mentioned the same story in 1880s, “The *Kafirs* told him that we not allow travelers to pass through our country because the Raja of Chitral sells us as slave. We don’t have religious book we ignorant of reading and writing” (G.W. Letner, 1880, p. 18)

Kalash is not the religion of 1500 years or 2000 years old. It’s the most ancient religion which started from Asia to Bajawar, Afghanistan and till here. Different people fought with Kalash but they never left their religion and migrated from *Asmar* to *Waigal* for the survival of their religion. Some of them came to Upper and Lower *Chitral*, eventually pushed to three valleys where the live today. And there they Kalasha bear slavery to protect themselves, and never upgraded under the power of their masters. Their fertile lands, animals and political power all were gone. They struggled hard for their survival.

⁴⁸Statue making ceremony on the name of death person

⁴⁹ The ruler of Chitral

Their time spent in struggled and the new generation doesn't take it seriously. The reason, beliefs are weaker than before. In the past Kalasha were very serious about the rituals, the concept of pure and impure during *Cewmos*. They separated the pure and impure things, avoid eggs and chicken⁵⁰ it made the rituals most powerful. The *Šára-biráyak* was also able to travel *Dezellawatta*. By following our forefathers advised we were not allowed to whistle entire day and night, otherwise the sprite of the *Šára-biráyak* and sooth drawings travel before time. *Dezellawatta* located on the border of Afghanistan it is not man-made which is why it is so far, not near to village, most of the Kalasha elders reply.

“In my opinion the world and *Šára-biráyak* happened on the same time, I don't have a written record” said Shahoor Din Kalash. He said he is very proud to doing this ritual as its important part of our religion. The dough figurines are still there, only the soul of them travels to *Dezelawatta*. Same as the all creatures leave their body and their soul travel to the heaven or hell may be some other place. The *Baramukh Nawow* (clan of *Baramukh*) first perform a ritual of goodwill and pray for the good fortune in the roof of temple before free the soul of *Šára-birá* for *Dezelawatta*⁵¹.

Saifullah Jan⁵² has worked with many anthropologists. While sharing his experienced about *Šára-birá*, he said that humans became stone in the past due to anonymous reasons. He shares his visit to different rock carvings of three valleys. He explained the rock carving in *Biriu* valley shows where the shepherd is on the stone with, he-goat, juniper branch and willow basket

⁵⁰ Chicken and eggs are considered impure and it was forbidden to eat in the past

⁵¹ This activity is performed by the *Baramukh* clan.

⁵²Personal discussion with the first educated Kalash leader and Business man from *Rukmu*

on his back. The stone is incredibly famous among many scholars who visited there⁵³. Several stone carvings happened in the same way. The Kalasha elders tell folks like this I heard it.

Same story mentioned by Peter Snoy and A.R Palwal, when they visited Kalash valley in the last quarter of 1970. They described that when they wish to visit the site where animal turned to rock picture (*Dezelawatta*), nobody was ready to take them there, but fortunately the Sumal Baig agreed to lead them there. There was a wall where the carvings were visible similar to sooth drawings in the Temple. Unfortunately, it was weathered. The pasture is belonging to Kalash but people from Ayun used their huts and place, the animals keeping near the site are also causing damage to the site. This site is 8 km away from the *Mumurate* valley.

About the “background of these pictures Sumal Beg told us that *Balimaín*, one of the highest deities of the Kalash who visits their valleys during the winter festival takes those animals, driven away in the above-mentioned ceremony, to these boulders and turns them into pictures, while the animals themselves are sent further west to a place in *Waigal* (*Waigal* was just a faraway place for Sumal Beg. *Balimaín* living there, he told”.

Snoy mentioned that “these figures discussed above are entirely *Hindukhush* may be created by the goat breeders which the Kalash are, in connection with a certain ceremony and a certain myth.” Saifullah Jan denied the Snoy’s statement and said; *Šára-biráyak* ritual is almost 2000 years old according to my observation. I heard about these carvings are in entire world no idea about the other carvings but here those are created by the supernatural (may be Fairies or other superpowers). I am very good performer of *Šára-biráyak* till date. *Šára-biráyak* becomes wild animals after the ritual performed on the name of *Šára-biráyak*.

⁵³ Now the stone is invisible there, it may be flown with flood or turn upside down.

Šára-biráyak is for the fertility of animals. Some people believe that the ritual of sooth drawing in the Temple is the related story⁵⁴. I partially agree with this theory. This ritual is most important part of the religion without *Šára-biráyak* ritual our domestic animals and wild animals may be not survived. I also visited *Dezelawatt* and *Šára-poo* (wild animal or Markhor footmark) Lord *Baḷimaín's* (*hāš-poo*) horse footmark.

Saifullah Jan emphasized on the importance of rituals during *Cewmos* the Kalasha perform *Šára-biráyak* because in the coming year they expect the animals' fertility. It shows the importance of goats. Rituals are not changed and they do on the same way as their elders were used to perform in the past. However, change in the daily life can be observed especially in their dress code and living style. Mostly their rituals and sacrifices at altars are taught by the Shaman Nagha. He was spiritual leader who has direct connection with *Dezao* (God, Allah). The forefathers of Kalasha advised them to do *Šára-biráyak* with focus and full concentration, because their domestic and wild animal's lives depend on it. Their domestic animals are copy of wild animals and they are animals of fairies that are why the ritual is *onjasta*.

Scholars e.g. Dani, 1991; Snoy, 1955; believe that the rock carvings in the world are hunting gathering ritual and may be the sign of migration. In Kalash, they believe those carving are not creations made by man, but by superpowers (fairies). The Kalash never heard in their history that men made it; their elders believe that these are from superpowers (fairies).

Šára-biráyak is for the fertility of animals because Kalash born out rituals starts with goats and die with the same ritual that's why their whole life is depending on *Šára-biráyak*. Dr. Ali and Dr. Chawla are convinced (Ali & Chawla, 2020, p. 996), "We should keep in mind that

⁵⁴ "The result of this incident was that animals and human beings became separated from the fairies and deities and turned into rock pictures and stone statues in a place far away in the mountains. In order to keeps this happening alive in the minds of the people the Kalash make yearly sooth-drawings, but they also consider these sooth-drawings useful for the increase of animals. snoy,1955;"

the Kalasha society revolves around their festivals. They celebrate many festivals (*Zoshi, Uchaw, Pul, Chowmos* etc.) round the year, their festivals are socio religious in nature and survival of the festivals is on their herds. The goats and sheep in great number are sacrificed during festivals and for rituals of death, marriage. If we exclude the animals, it means we are fading the festivals, we are putting their religion at risk”. Without goats Kalasha religion will never survive that’s why the Kalasha people tribute their domestic animals by performing the *Šára-biráyak* ritual. They purify themselves by sacrificing goats. It can be said that animals are integral part of their life. They make *Šára* first in temple in short, they only draw those animals they are simply important for them. Their goats are from *Šára* breed and *Šaras* are animals of fairies. They call it *Šára-biráyak*, and tribute it to fairies again. Almost all rituals we performing are on the direction of *Nagha Dehar* (Chief Shaman).

Mr. Wazir Kalash heard a story of *Dezellawatt* from his father who was the great hunter of his time. In the past all living creature was talk with each other. He said once during the winter festival a hunter was in the pasture. He saw small animals he was worried and went to see what’s happening. There he saw man near the mountain, he asked him where the small animals gone, he replied, he belongs to supernatural and the small animals are in the stones. You can see it in the mountains. The hunter was confused and said those small animals seemed alive. How could you say these pictures on the stones are those animals? The man said if you want to see I can make them alive again from the stones. The hunter convinced, said; no need I know you can do that. On the meanwhile the huge stone where the hunter was stood turned around and the hunter was about to crush, the man belonged to supernatural took both stone and hunter and saved his life, and said you didn’t argue with me, you are a good man, that’s why I saved your life. He advised him not to hunt this time as my animals from the different places came here and

they are resting (his indication was about *Šára-biráyak*) due to your gun sound my animals will disturb. *Šára-biráyak* is for the fertility of animals' superpowers (*Baş-žuów*⁵⁵) in the past directed us to do it since from that we are performing this ritual.

The outcome of the said interviews shows that Kalash community is careful regarding the purity and impurity. *Cewmos* is the purest and sacred festival. According to the Kalash people drawings and *Šára-biráyak* are for the fertility of the animals and wild animals, this is what they believe strongly. While the past research on the topic had different approached which is discussed in literature review.

The following results of the interviews are to understand the combination of rock carvings *Šára-biráyak* and the sooth drawings in the temples. Most of them give the very short answer as replying that Kalasha are doing the *Šára-biráyak* ritual for the fertility of animals since from the far past though they don't have any clear idea about the background of the ritual.

⁵⁵ Spirit being to whom offerings are made or share taker ask for the portion

The Protocol of Art Assemblage *Chuin-ari* 13th December (4th day of Cewmos)

Nazar Gai Kalash has a view about the background of *Chui-Nari*⁵⁶ is related to the anecdote of Prophet Abraham (A.S) by the order of God; he (A.S) was ready to sacrifice his son. During the slaughter he closed his eyes and when opened he found a he-sheep instead of his own son. It happens on the day of *Chui-Nari* (13th December). In the commemoration of that event Kalash follow the chain dance and the ritual performed. They also pray and sing a song for the he-sheep even it's not much important religiously, Lord *Balimaín* also not accepted as sacrificial animal in the *Dewa-dur*. He also claimed that they make the dough figurines with wheat flour because God create Animals from the wheat flour; humans are created from the soil. These carvings and temple are not only here in Kalash it's in the entire world he concluded.

The art assemblage⁵⁷ started from day of *Chui-nari* young boys and girls perform the chain dance at some specific points⁵⁸ and march towards the temple. After three anti-clock wise rounds with sacred songs⁵⁹ they move to another temple.



Chui- Nari chain dance (Photo credit Amir Khan Photographer 13th December 2021)

⁵⁶ Personal discussion with Nazar Gai Kalash 2021, *Chueen* is a name of small tree Nazar Gai believes that the he-sheep was on the *chueen* tree. That's why we called it *Chui-nari*. During the interview he was only person to relate this anecdote with Abraham A.S

⁵⁷ *Šara-biráyak* sooth drawings in the temple, and its connection with the *Dezelawatta*(rock carvings place).

⁵⁸ Must be the point start on the tree of *Chueen*

⁵⁹ The song which is only allow to sing during the winter festival

Later, the young girls and boys bring fresh stone from the river side and collect the walnut bark to make a charcoal pest for the drawings (see page 23).



Preparation of charcoal pest for sooth drawing (Photo by author 13th December 2021)

Making of sooth drawing in the Temple 14th December

They remove all the old painting from the temple and refresh it with pure mud. On the 5th day morning without breakfast the boys and girls start doing sooth drawings at the Temple and the entire day whistle and loud talks are not allowed because they believe if they do the soul of the drawing move for *Dezila-watta* before time, or they need full concentration to make perfect drawing⁶⁰.



Sooth drawings at the Temple (photo credit Amir Khan Photographer 14th December 2021)

⁶⁰ Kabir 2021

This ritual drawing commemorates a legendary past in which human beings, animals, and supernatural beings lived all in harmony. Something wrong happened and they are separated from each other. Although many Kalasha people not agree with this theory but researcher in the past mention it in their books.

Kutramu or Šára-biráyak Raat (Šára-biráyak night)

Before grinding the flour, watermill including the water channels are purified properly. It is one of the very sensitive rituals. The man who takes part in it will wash himself and wear clean clothes. He shouldn't be bare headed, for making the *Šára-biráyak*. They use separate flour, water, utensils, which should be well purified as taught by the Shamans.



Making of TM *Šára-biráyak* (dough figurine photo by author 14th December 2021)

Non-Kalash are not allowed to touch and make *Šára-birá* otherwise it does not proceed to the *Dezelawatta*. A Kalash man shares his experience regarding the ritual. He said on the occasion of the ritual a Muslim friend not listen to me and continued to make *Šára-birá*. Then the shaman dreamt about the ritual and told me your rituals is not considered as pure your *Šára-birá* also not allowed to join the others *Šára-biráyak* to *Dezelawatta* by the fairies, because you allowed the Muslim man to make it. Therefore, you have to perform the ritual again. Performing *Šára-biráyak* correctly is important; otherwise, it may harm their domestic animals. A Kalash man

narrated his dream about the *Šára-birá*, with broken legs after that he was more conscious in performing this ritual. The same narration was found almost in every Kalasha.

Some of Kalash believe that when the World was created the rock carvings were also created at the same time by the supernatural being. *Šára-biráyak* is the most *onjasta* ritual first they make separate wheat flour⁶¹, and fresh water, which is brought from the stream. The water and wheat flour must be not used before. They are allowed to make sheep, cow, bull, dog, horse, he-goats, she-goats, cattle, wild animals e.g., *Markhors*, and six small breads including shepherd. In the early morning the three breads they throw to the crows and the three small breads remains till the festival ends. Equivalent animals are allowed to draw in the temple.

According to the protocol of the ritual non-Kalasha are strictly prohibited to participate. In *Rukmu* Kalasha women are also not allowed to make *Šára-biráyak*. In *Mumurate* men and women can make it. A Kalasha converted lady shares her experience. When she was Kalasha, she had gone through with a dream about *Šára-biráyak*. She said she saw the *Šára-biráyak* of late Ayub Khan Kalash reached to *Dezelawatta* very fast because he was professional to produce dough animal figurines. *Šára-birá* considered the pure animals and the dough figurines were also placed in the purist area in the house to face towards the door. During the ritual load talks and whistles are not allowed if you do the spirit (soul) will leave the body of *Šára-birá* before time. It's also need full concentration in case of not proper body production it will cause the animals. The same rule and belief system is for the Temple during the procedure of sooth drawings.

Mr. Sher Jahan shares personal experience said; he did not much cared about it, the reason once a non-Kalasha friend of his made the *Šára-birá* at his home. Then the elder of the village dream about it and told him to perform the ritual again, due to the non-Kalasha take part

⁶¹ Wheat was brought by Lord *Baḷimaṇ* (angel) that's why *Šára-birá* and other related rituals are performing by wheat flour.

of it your *Šára-birá* ritual is not accepted. There was also some of his goats broke their legs because they (Kalasha) produced unintentionally the dough animals with broken legs and horns. It's not a joke it is real; they strongly believe on it. *Šára-birá* is the indication of your animals the "way you treat the ritual you get the fruit". In the past animals was direct conversion with their masters. My grandfather dream about it and the goats were direct talk to him about moving from one place to another, because they get bored to live in one place.

They free the spirit (soul) before people wakeup mostly around 2am to 3am. They sing a song for *Šára-biráyak* and waken up all villagers that's another level of fun time. Traditionally these bread figurines were eaten by people, children in particular, while nowadays they are given to the animals. Therefore, they are not even completely cooked anymore.

The Kalasha people much explained the *Šára-biráyak* ritual on the bases of their experienced regarding the *onjasta* and *pragata*. Mr. Jamsher from *Rukmu* said it's very pure ritual even the adults are not allowed to do it. Once they were in the Temple and a virgin boy of their village was making the *Šára-biráyak*. A converted boy⁶² entered to the Temple. The virgin boy senses something is wrong. He falls from his place and then he was about to beat the converted boy, other boys around him control him. He on anger he is not Kalash, he destroys the Kalasha pure ritual get him out from the Temple. He was witness of those circumstances; they did all the ritual again with proper way, Jamsher 2021.

⁶² He denied his conversion to Islam and became Kalash again

Shamanic folktale and dreams about TM ^a -*biráyak* ritual

There were 13 *dehars* (Shamans) in Kalash society who played important role in the past. The Kalasha still follow the directions of those *dehars*. Such as *Bóddhá*, *Nagha*, *Barmokh*, *Ladush*, *Shurala*, *Sharakat* etc. On the occasion of *Cewmos* festival *Baļimáin* arrived in *Mumurate* *Ladush* directed his son to bring *Ousha*⁶³ and give it to the horse of *Baļimáin*, the Shaman had direct conversation with the *Baļimáin*⁶⁴. It was the night of *čhújáraat*⁶⁵ (wood light night) Lord *Baļimáin* was happy to see the arrangements for him and for his horse and went back to *Kamadev* (place name) and *Bóddhá Dehar* (Shaman) instructed his son don't come out and don't see what's going on there, till I come inside the stable⁶⁶. Those days everyone was able to see Lord *Baļimáin* and his horse. When Lord *Baļimáin* arrived the people of *Kamadev* leave dogs to harm him and his horse. The Lord *Baļimáin* become sad and throws his horsewhip and destroys the entire village with people. He told *Bóddhá* I am leaving the village in anger they disrespect me and my horse. After done with his talk with Lord *Baļimáin*, *Bóddhá* came to his stable still out of sense. His son didn't follow the instructions of him. He watched his father was talking someone. When his father came inside, he asked him whom you were talking outside. His father was not on his sense he put his son to huge fire and killed him unconsciously.

The Lord *Baļimáin* had a miracle horsewhip which was called *Surizen*. The horsewhip was two shades one was for sun 2nd was for clouds. When Lord *Baļimáin* rotates his horsewhip the miracles appeared.

⁶³ With animal blood purified wheat for seeding

⁶⁴ The footmark of the *Baļimáin*'s horse was there when we were kid and we work to dig the place bring out the footmark then there was flood and the stone disappeared again

⁶⁵ Wood light night the holy night of *Cewmos* when we believe the arrival of Lord *Baļimáin*

⁶⁶ Because the Shamans were out of sense when they had a spiritual talks with superpowers

After the unfortunate event the descendents of *Bóddhá Dehar* completely finished and *Bóddhá Dehar* throw the horsewhip (*surizen*) in to the river. It's believed that the river boiled for seven days. After that the area was opened for the water. Before it, the area was covered with grasses and trees and no one was able to see the river. It was the story of *Bóddhá Dehar*.

While talking about the Shamanism Noor shali shared the long-ago a folktale of *Nagha Dehar* and his son. Once shaman *Nagha* falls to *Bahuk chaat* (*Bahuk Lake*) or may be fairies took him there. He appeared somewhere other stream. He told his son; listen carefully, whatever the stream water brings out collect, when things stop coming out then slaughter the white goat kid on the stream. For my safely arrival otherwise I will not allow to come out by the fairies, by saying this he disappeared again. Then his son saw the pine nut cones coming with the stream water he thought may be these things are useless. But the boy unknowingly left them flew with the water⁶⁷. Then he saw one gold pot coming out and he took that only. Suddenly he heard his father's voice please slaughter the goat kid, the fairies are taking me back with them, and without delay he slaughter the goat kid. His Father came out and said what you found in the water he replied, nothing much only the cones of pine nuts. I didn't collect them because I thought maybe those are worthless. I just keep this gold pot it seems to me useful.

Before this event there was no water in the winter season. In the month of December usually water became ice in the past. It was not possible to make flours in the watermill and to provide the water to animals. People milted snow for drinking water; it was not enough for all. Still, there are some places in the upper valleys where they people face the same problem in winter. But after *Nagha's* arrival with the stream water finally they able to spent easy life. The

⁶⁷ People of *Rukmu* valley considering the pine nut cones actually wealth of *Nagha* but his son didn't realized that.

people of *Rukmu* believe that because of *Nagha* the stream was appeared and they were able to make flour in the watermill.

A folktale narrated in Kalash; once a man was about to shot a *Markhor*, meanwhile he heard a voice of someone called him. You are not allowed to hunt *Šára* (wild animals specially *Markhor*) from the front line and the last line. You can be shot from the middle, because the front line and last line is for the fairies you have no right to shoot them. There are many stories like this we heard from the hunters and our forefathers.

The similar famous Shamanic folktale regarding the *Šára-biráyak* from *Rukmu* valley is also worth mentioning. The rituals are a bit different in three Kalasha valleys e.g., *Rukmu*, *Mumurate* and *Biriu*. In *Rukmu*, it is a male ritual. Women are not allowed to perform the ritual, because it is related to the supernatural. They described the famous folk of the *Pindawatta*⁶⁸. This story was told by an old man in *Rukmu*, *Nonggi* and *Jarbaig* the two brothers slept at their stable. In the mid night they heard a sound of some carving when they try to see what's going on the saw no one there. The sound continues till morning but they didn't see the maker. They become scared and were unable to sleep the entire night. In the morning when they open the door, they saw rock carvings⁶⁹ and blackbird which flew from there. They two brothers realized it's not an ordinary event. They took he-goat; following the blackbird they reached *Sajigoora* (alter). They start praying at *Sajigoora*. Abruptly *Nagha Dehar* (Shaman) arrived and asked the two brothers "Hye *Nonggi* and *Jarbaig* what you want? Will I give you the wealth of inside or the wealth of outside"? They told him we have inside wealth. If you want, give us outside wealth. The *Nagha* denied and went back few steps, came again and asked "hye *Nonggi* and

⁶⁸ *Pindawatta* is name of rock carving place in *Rukmu*

⁶⁹ The rock carving place is famous on the name of *pindawatta* (*pinda* means food may be cheese *watta* means place). The carvings show *Pinda* on the traditional bread, and goats inside the stable.

Jarbaig may I tie the inside wealth fasten or open it". The both reply tie tightly don't open it. After that the *Nagha* fly from the *Sajigoora*. From that event the family faced many troubles.

Majority of events happened in the past with *Nagha* but few are very important for Kalash religion. E.g., *Cewmos* festival rituals including the famous event happened during Spring Festival *Joshi or Žóši* (spring festival) *Nagha Dehar* disappeared and told the people don't stop the drum beating until he would come again when he arrived, he brought grapes and grape vine along with him. From that day he told Kalash that this fruit is from heaven, from now onward the Kalasha rituals will perform by purifying of wine and grape. From that date to till now, especially in *Cewmos* grape wine is main ingredient of all purification.

In the past, the Kalasha never used wheat from market for *Šára-biráyak*. They were used to use wheat from their own fields as they consider their wheat *onjasta*; Lord *Bařimain* brought it from *Tsiyam* (unknown place) told Noor Shali⁷⁰. While sharing an event in near his village he said; there was *Šára-biráyak* night at *Pancha Gul's* (a person name) house in *Kalasha-gurum*⁷¹, a nomadic Muslim man insist to make *Šára-biráyak*, his non-serious act caused the family and goats a lot. All goats became under the weather and bred before time. Family also suffered from different illness. This situation cost him massively. He was unable to figure out the circumstances. Then by following the elders approach he put something under the pillow of Qazi Khush Nawaz⁷². He dreams about the wrong way performing of ritual, and gave directive to the man for doing again *Šára-biráyak* with proper ritual.

⁷⁰ Expert of *Šára-biráyak* making and Sun observer.

⁷¹ Village name in *Rukmu* valley.

⁷² Its believe if you put some iron object under the pillow of a dreamer you he dream and know about the situation Khush Nawaz (late) was Spiritual dreamer or partially Shaman.

TEMPLE OF IMRA, TEMPLE OF MAHANDĒ
(HOW THE FIRST CONCEPT CAME FOR TEMPLE)

Interview of Mr. Shahoor Din

The oral tradition narrates about *Mahandel Haan* (*Mahandel* temple)⁷³. The design was brought by the forefather of *Baramukh Nawow* (*Baramukh* clan) in Anish. In the past the temples were without designed in the valleys. But the *Mahandel haan* in *Wetdish*⁷⁴ was full decorated with the animals including insects' design. This temple story starts with two brothers in *Baramokh* clan Sarazen and Maseen who were lived in the pastures. Sarazen was in the pasture and stayed at the stable. His brother Maseen was at home, in *Anish* village⁷⁵. They had six stud he-goats for the herd, along with the purified cross-horned goat. Sarazen brought the seven goats, to Anish village looking after⁷⁶. One day the shepherd boys came, told Maseen. Those stud he-goats went running away, climbing above the village. Maseen went after them following footprints; first he saw their horns shadow in the *Awungha* (pasture)⁷⁷. When he reached, he saw the footprints towards *Sargood* (pasture), then *Khundak Sun* (Regular pasture) then he follows to *Gangawat Sun* (pasture) to continuing the same procedure he reached *Rohamoon Sun* (pasture). After passing many passes he arrived to *Wetdesh* (present Nuristan Afghanistan) *Mahadel Haan*. On the roof of the Temple all the stud he-goats were resting and beside them a man on the gold chair greets him (Ishpata Maseen) greetings Maseen. What you bring here? Maseen replied he came

⁷³ Basically *Mahandel haan* means the temple of Lord *Mahandev*.

⁷⁴ *Kafiristan* present Nuristan.

⁷⁵ Village name in *Momorate* valley.

⁷⁶ Stud he-goats are kept away for some times from the other goats, for the purposes of animal husbandry.

⁷⁷ Pasture and pass between *Momorate* and *Achagha*.

to search his stud he-goats and finally he successfully reached here. Here they are, the man on the gold chair said, these goats are his share nobody stolen them. Where is the share of *Baramukh* which he never forgets to offer me time to time? You people forget your ancestry offerings therefore I took my share. Maseen understood the indication and he invite all the elders of *Wetdesh* and perform the sacrificial ritual that. Meanwhile the elders of *Wetdesh* took him for the detail visit of the Temple. From there he brought *Maleri* (sacred design) including the Snake design to Kalasha valley *Mumurate Anish* for the first time. His Nephew was in *Kashmu* (may be Kashmir) he was architect and he gave the design to his nephew for making a Temple. He made first temple with sacred design. Maseen also introduced the snake design in bottom of *Jeshtak* (Goddess) which he saw in *Wetdesh* on the same place of the temple. The snake design is considered *onjasta*. The sacrifice a big animal (caw or bull) for the snake design only⁷⁸. Kalash still follows the rules whenever they establish new Temple. Snake is still given an importance, when snake enter their homes, they offer it *Ishpari*⁷⁹. They never do it for other insects it's only for the snake. Because human become snake in the past, Kalasha believes.

“This snake (gok) was said to be entwined around the underworld pillar at *Wetdesh*, from whose mouth great winds blew if insufficient sacrifices of horses and bulls were given at the temple of *Mahandev*. *Kalasha* pilgrims to the temple are therefore said to have been appointed to bring offerings of cattle there each year in the past, and even within living memory according to some informants, similar legends were also recorded” by R.C. Schomberg, visiting the Kalasha in 1935.

⁷⁸ There are many other expenses too for the Temple Inauguration, but separately they sacrifice a bull or cow for the snake design.

⁷⁹ Ritually offering food like cheese with wheat bread.

The beautiful song of the above clan:

Shandai rahi kai gala goan, nisuna goan ghrom bilóna wowow zindagani, lachóãñ sínaí thi o khóndi dita wetdesh ai Mahadev, Mai baş o çhir heste lasi tai onjesta zhew. Talai rahi kai gala nisuna goan weenow surithon gha. Suri thon-gha beyoti uchuduna wetdesh Mahadel e handai kai we jac-welon suhberai haluna tharaw onjesta kui. Raat barabar hawawe ari biramor baramuk nawaw. Shato shenkai bishtayak nom athaye put, putr nawáļa kai

English translation

People said he (Ramaseen, forefather of Baramuk clan) left (village Anish) and stayed at the top of village mountain, and he spent his life there. One day Mahadev (Deity) from Wetdesh (place name in Afghanistan) called him from lachóãñ sínaí (mountain name). Mahadev said sprinkle milk on his he-goat share, and leave your goats to the pure pasture. After sometimes he (Ramaseen) moved from there too and stayed on the right side of the surithon-gha (place or pasture name). After short stay, he crossed surithon-gha and reached wetdesh Mahandel Temple. He brought all the spiritual powers and deities to his pure pasture. In the middle of the night, you did Biramore ooh clan of Baramuk. Like this, you marked a name, fame, and honor for the Future Generation of your line.

Suri jagak (observing of sun)

Instead of observing the English calendar, the community is used to announce their festivals by observing the sun and its movement which is called Suri Jagak. It's very important because upcoming entire year is depended on this ritual. First time Jangalwal⁸⁰ emerge the sun observing to with English date. Fortunately, this ritual recently has been approved for the UNESCO world heritage list.

During the survey while talking about the *Suri Jagek* Noor Shali Kalash (2021) said that he was the sun observer people wait for his predictions in December and June. There are points for the sun how many days it will stay in one point. The benchmark point is called *Suri thunona nisik* (how many days the sun seated on his home). If the sun is seated on his home for three days, the year will not be considered good. Ice and glacier breaks flooding and sliding will happen⁸¹. If the sun seated for five days that's also better year summer and winter will same. But seven of sun seating is ideal year everything is perfect crops and harvesting observe on time. Through usual discussion with late Mr. Ayub Khan Kalash (2019) who was expert of sun observing told the author that long ago⁸² the sun seated his home for nine days. Those times the River of Chitral was covered by ice and people played polo match on the ice floor of the river. That year considered the worse era of human history for the people of *Chitral*. People were not able to harvested crops; there was no summer in the entire year. That's why the year commemorated *dragash caaw*⁸³ (hunger year) till date. That's why the sun observing is important

⁸⁰ A man nominated by the ruler of Chitral for internal affairs.

⁸¹ It refers to global warming or climate change.

⁸² Mr. Ayub said I heard it from my father who was witness of the circumstances.

⁸³ Draa-gaash caaw

for us at least we can prepare for the coming tough time or good time; fortunately, it became the part of UNESCO of world heritage list⁸⁴

“Suri Jagek, the ‘observing the sun’, is the traditional Kalasha meteorological and astronomical knowledge system and practice – enacted mostly in the Hindu Kush mountain range – based on the observation of the sun, moon, stars, and shadows with respect to the local geography. The system is a complex structure of empirically observed knowledge and is repeatedly referenced to allow the Kalasha people to predict the suitable time for sowing seeds, animal husbandry, and natural calamities. It is also used to govern the Kalasha calendar by determining the dates of important social events, festivals, feasts, and religious ceremonies. The practice demonstrates the relationship of the Kalasha people with their surroundings and the importance of their immediate geographical context to sustain their way of life. The practicality and transmission of the knowledge system rest on an innovative transfer of information through folk stories, songs, proverbs, and certain aspects of it – such as the study of shadows and its use in rearing cattle and livestock – are being recreated to fit into modern society. However, with the advent of the digital age, people are increasingly opting for more technologically ‘advanced’ means of predicting weather conditions. While the practice remains visible as an oral tradition, there is currently a lack of awareness among the younger generation about its cultural significance and benefits.

⁸⁴ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339948718_Chapter_7_Suri_Jagek_Traditional_Meteor

Chapter 4

Archaeological Evidence:

The archaeology of ritual and religion is a vast subject encompassing material of countless configurations from diverse contexts periods and areas.

“Rock art sites contain some of the world’s greatest works of art, aesthetically powerful and spiritually charged imagery embedded in cultural landscapes. Rock art consists of paintings, drawings, engravings, stencils, prints and bas-relief carvings in rock shelters and caves, on boulders and platforms”.⁸⁵

“World rock art is an archive of Indigenous arts and history throwing back thousands of years. Rock art sites are important, often magnificent places which are mirror image of ancient experience, complex knowledge and spiritual beliefs for which there may be no other record. But those are alive in the form of ceremony, beliefs, rituals, and oral history. Throughout the world, rock art is the most important visual record of humanity’s ancient past which, if irretrievably damaged, is lost forever. The visual impact of rock art made thousands of years ago is a powerful reminder of the artistic skills and sophistication of the belief systems of our ancient forebears. In most cases, these beliefs are no longer practiced and the art is the only evidence of their existence⁸⁶ (Neville, A., *et al* 2015)”.

⁸⁵ Rock art is “imbued with power from our ancestors and forebears.” Kofi Annan

⁸⁶ Rock art : a cultural treasure at risk Neville, A., *et al* 2015, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, edition/format:eBook

While keeping in mind the national and international focus on the rock carvings Ahmad Hassan Dani the founder of Pakistan Archaeology also played an important role to record the rock art in northern areas of Pakistan which are worth mentioning.

“Archaeological evidence at present is not sufficient to give a complete account of the prehistoric culture of man in this region. Whatever little has been found relates to a late period and shows a stage of hunting and food collecting in a summer that smacks of ancient life but not necessary of a great antiquity. The entire material for the time is limited to rock art”. The rock art spread all over in the great length of the wide zone including northern Pakistan to *Xin-Jiang, Ladakh, Kashmir, and Swat, Lower and Upper Chitral*. These rock arts show the connection with each other and the continuity of the way of understanding cultural values from prehistory to history.

Dr. Dani writes on his book (1991) “*History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*”

“The dating of these engravings can be done by two features, noted here: first is the stress on bitriangularism seen in the formation of the animal body; and second is the technique of pecking exclusively used for drawing the animals. On the other hand, two other aspects associated with the site are worth noting. The first relates to the continuity of the site throughout right up by the historical period, suggesting a special human attachment to the spot. The second is the use of the tall big boulders for engraving, the bottom of which shows some sitting platform with small pebbles stored underneath suggesting that such rocks were actually included in some sort of religious ritual. It is not unthinkable that rock worship was a part of popular religion of the people as such practice has been noted even in later periods”.

But in Kalash the people clearly denied about the worship of stones they argue we respect the rituals and religious performance and they do it proudly but the stone worship is not part of their religion.

“Much of the ritual that connected people to the spirit world was not restricted to special elite, for example shamans, but was instead part of everyone’s everyday activities” (Peter Jordon, 2001). There is also argument about the north-Eurasian hunter–gatherer.

Tilley argued⁸⁷ that the images were produced may be at the occasion of celebration to get rid of routine life worries. These special ceremonies are actually representing their visual narratives with different motifs which were linked with different clans.

The rock art was produced may be in the environment of funerary ritual, and the liminal zone between the living and the dead was the suitable place for these rituals to be undertaken⁸⁸.

ROBERTSON G. S., C. S. I., *Kafiristan and its People*. BEITISH AGENT AT GILGIT, KASHMIE

As there may be the rock inscriptions available but not mentioned in books and no one knows about the discoveries of inscription, no ancient books, nor any literature of any kind found in Kalash, and as the traditions of the people themselves give such origin. Small help in forming any opinion concerning their origin, the only hope which remains that the Kalash may be eventually assigned their proper place in the general history of the world is from a comparative study of their language, their manners and customs, and their religious ceremonies, as well as from their cranial measurements, and other anthropometric observations.

⁸⁷ journal of the northern studies by Tilley 1991

⁸⁸ Bradley 1997.

[Liminality Rock Art and the Sami Sacred.pdf](#)

Importance of the Rock Art for the Kalash Community

For the world or for the scholars, rock arts are the better sources of information about the human past and human culture. The past evidence may not be available in any other better form. Scholars believe it's flourished in the human imagination. For archaeologists, it's difficult to interpret why they create these figures on the rocks. Sometimes the archaeologists assumed it might be the ancient people who exercised it to bring good fortune to hunt or may be to move from one place to another. Rock art scholars in the world, without a doubt, called this ritual as an activity linked with the creation of rock art. The communication between the structure, rock art assemblages, and ritual behavior remains silent.

But the Kalash people have their perceptions, unique interpretation, ritual, practices, and religious beliefs, which are still alive from the past to till date. Their mythology tells us about the tangible and intangible heritage, which has transparent relationships between people and their things.

There are three crucial archaeological rock art sites in Kalasha valleys; *Pindawatta*, (created by black bird) in *Rukmu* valley, *Dezellawatta* (created by supernatural) in *Mumurate* valley and *Soochi Cot* (ghost writing) in *Biriu* valley. Although with different nomenclature the religious perception of these archaeological sites are same to the Kalash community. They belief that the spirit of *Šára-biráyak* and sooth drawings traveling to these sites. Their religious hope makes it an essential part of the fertility of animals up to date.

Pindawatta in Rukmu valley



Photo credit Agha Khan Kalash 13th December 2021

Due to the natural hazard these carvings are under threat. They carvings are also not much clear but according to the local guide there are *Pinda* and stable engraved on the stones. Some miscellaneous carvings are also lightly visible.

Dezellawatta in Mumurate valley



Fig 1

Fig 2

Photo credit Mulki Azam

Peter Snoy 1955 discovered this site. He published it under the title of *Dezellawatt* which, I already mentioned in the literature review. After him there is no anthropological or archeological survey conducted on the said sites.

Descriptions:

Fig 1 shows a group of goats with exact figures; all animals' horns, faces, legs, and whole bodies are visible. One hunter seems with an arrow and bow but not much clear.

Fig 2 in this stone, goats or wild animals with long horns and full-body structures are visible; two human figures are also partially visible on the top of the right side. One big cooking pot with a stand, three lines inside the pot shows the cooking utensil maybe (Kabir 2021).

Sochi Cot Biriu Valley



Fig 1

Fig 2

Photo credit Luke Rehmat and team

The fig 1 stone carving show miscellaneous and irregular line, which needs proper archaeological point of view to understand the meaning of those lines or may be hidden inscription with the hand mark.

Fig 2 shows the wild animal (probably *Markhor*) figure with long horns, elongated body, face, legs and tail are also visible.

Chronology of Rock Art

It's complicated to give the chronology of rock art especially on the perception of Kalash people. E.g., most of them replied; we don't have the written record but we believe its old as much the world is old. By using the relative chronology of rock drawings all we have is professor Dani's relative chronology which he had partially explained on his Book (1991) *History of Northern Areas of Pakistan*. According to him these rock depictions are date back to pre-history.

In 1980, Karl Jethmar and Ahmad Hassan Dani launched a Pak-German study group for proper systematically investigation of the ancient rock art in the northern region.

According to their survey the earliest rock carving in northern Pakistan dates back to the 9th millennium BC (roughly late Stone Age)

According to the Google search: "Rock carving or petroglyphs have been found almost all over the world except Antarctica, Scholars believed it dated back to the Neolithic and late upper Paleolithic" (roughly 10000 to 12000 years ago)

Suhail Yousuf on his news report ⁸⁹ shed a light farther "earliest rock carvings in northern Pakistan dates back to the ninth millennium BC (roughly late Stone Age), Wild animals and hunting scenes are commonly found in this era but the hunter himself was never found. Almost 50 carving have been discovered in the northern Pakistan which was represents supernatural beings or deities. Later, another bunch of carvings appeared representing more mythical creatures, horses and warriors with Persian attire. These depicted the Iranian influence in the region and the expansion of Achaemenid Empire in sixth century BC".

⁸⁹ Under the title of Threatened rock carvings of Pakistan by Suhail Yusuf published May 18, 2021
<https://www.dawn.com/news/629659/basha-dam-threatens-thousands-of-ancient-rock-carvings>

During Agha Khan Kalash's visit to the carving in *Rukmu (Ramboor) Pindawatt* most of the carvings are weathered and almost out of recognition, these prehistoric arts are basically under threat due to the several reasons, therefore, detail documentation is quite difficult to understand the chronology or may be there some written evidence but the bad news is its very difficult to figure out the writings.

Chapter 5

Analysis/Discussion

The considered evidences of humanity's first creativity, prehistoric rock art has fascinated scholars all over the world. Connected with numerous diverse cultures, the importance and purpose of the largest part forms of prehistoric rock art stayed unknown. Even the good number of qualified archaeologists continues to raise very basic questions about the rock art. Such as how it happened? What is the background? Who depict it? What does it mean? What was the purposed? Is it ritual of the past? Are the people worshipping it? What is the shamanic meaning of it? What function did it serve?

Here, via Archaeology and other sources, to understand the ancient people that produced these mysterious markers of human artistry and creativity. I conduct in person interviews to understand the people's perception regarding the prehistoric rock art and the dating of rock art on the point of view of Kalash Community.

The archaeologist around the world related rock art specially the animal figures to the hunting gathering ritual, but the people of Kalash have their own interpretations and concept. For them the art assemblage is a part of their religion. Each valley has their own name for the carving site but the ritual and believes system in all three valleys is almost same. They divided name of rock art site in to three categories.

- i. *Soochi Cot* (ghost writing) in *Biriu* valley
- ii. *Dezela-watta* (created by supernatural) in *Mumurate* valley

iii. *Pinda-watta*⁹⁰ (pinda is kind of food mark created by black bird)⁹¹ in *Rukmu* Valley.

The people from *Biriu* described it *Soochi chot* (ghost writing). They believed it's created by the ghosts but not clear it's the *Šára-biráyak* shadow. Due to the non-Kalasha influences to the culture in *Biriu* many people don't even know the art assemblage and their connection with each other. Throughout the conversation with the Kalash community in *Biriu* they seem much focus on the *Šára-biráyak* ritual and well aware about the basic protocol of the *Šára-biráyak* practice. They are aware it's for the fertility animals, which's why they produced much dough figurines, however the sooth drawings in the temple are not part of their ritual.

In recent past, Luke Rehmat and his team visited the rock art (*sochi cot* or ghost writing) site in *Biriu* valley. According to his team, there are inscriptions too in the stones but it needs archaeological point of view to understand the writing on the stones before it under the weathered.



Fig 1



Fig 2

Photo credit Luke Rehmat Kalash (2021) owner of Ishpata News

Fig 1 some draw lines probably animals' figures are visible, or may be inscriptions but not understandable.

⁹⁰ According to the Kalasha Dictionary with English and Urdu compiled by Ronald L. Trail Gregory R. Cooper, Pinda is a food given to those guests unable to attend the celebration of child birth.

⁹¹ The black bird made pind (food) mark including the stable to *pinda-watta* the rock carving site in *Rukmu*.

Fig 2: miscellaneous inter-connected lines or may be during the picture the draw it not in proper way.

Dezela-watta (created by supernatural) in *Mumurate* valley

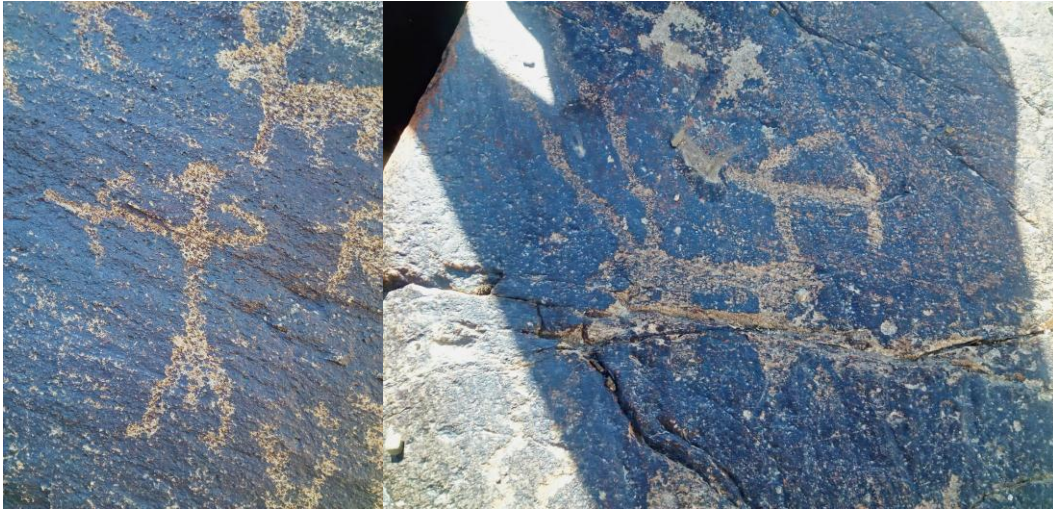


Fig 1

Fig 2

Photo credit Mulki Azam

Fig 1: A human figure on hunting position seems very clearly with arrow and bow, a beautiful animal figure, face, horns and 3 legs are shows on the top of the rock panel. Some unknown figures are also visible in surroundings

Fig 2: A poorly visible animal figure elongated horns, 2 legs, partially broken face with some miscellaneous lines are on this rock panel.

Pindawatta (*pinda* is kind of food mark created by black bird) in Rukmu valley



Fig 1

Fig 2

Photo credit Agha Khan Kalash

Due to natural hazards, the carvings ceased to exist, only the locals and elders of the valley can describe well what was in the stones. They discussed there are *Pinda* and goats stable in the pen. The shepherd was sleeping in the stable and he heard a carving sound in whole night. In the morning when he opens the door saw the carving on the stones. A black bird flew from there to *Sajigoor*. The people believe that the black bird belong to super natural.

All these rock carvings are belonging to *onjasta* (pure) sphere female are not allow visiting it.

Chronological Concept Kalash community about Rock Carvings

The dating of rock art is very challenging for the tribe, nobody exactly knows when it happens their forefathers told them that it's from the beginning of the world, 98% Kalasha male-female replied; only 2% people said it might be 3000 years old. Almost 90% of people know about the rituals but why they do it only a few people can give very small information about it; they replied

we are doing it for the fertility of animals. Almost 75% of males visited the rock art mountain and females are not allowed to go there that's why the female visit of the rock is 0%. 80% male female learnt the ritual by observing on 20% have told by their family members.

The purpose of this studies is to connect the gap between the archaeology and rituals specially the rock art assemblage (*Dezelawatta, Pindawat, Soochi Cot, Šára-biráyak, Chilimalotak*) which is less concern for the scholars since past centuries. The selected topic has remained completely untouched. Archaeologists have opinion that this rock art is from hunting gathering rituals but Kalash community considered it as important religious rituals which they perform during *Cewmos* festival. *Šára-biráyak* (dough animal figurine) Ritual is related to the rock carving or petroglyphs. Kalash people traditionally believe that the famous petroglyphs of the regions are carved by fairies. The drawings represent mostly animal figures, the area where such petroglyphs concentrate are used to perform rituals. The resend work on the title aims to connect the story of rock carvings to the ritual history of the Kalash people.

The petroglyphs and wall paintings are made with sooth located inside a Temple, both productions are related and respond to the same cultural background, *Dezelawatt, Pindawatt*, or *Soochi Cot* or ghost-writing petroglyphs depict the same themes and animals still drawing on Temple walls with sooth. The Kalasha people believe that the shadows of such drawings and dough figurines depicted *Dezelawatt*. They Kalash also believes it happened since the beginning of the world which we don't need any justification for it. The question then arises how many interpretations published about rock art? And are they given such attention to it?

The issue is many rock arts are under the weathered which are barely visible now the bad news is we don't have scientific study for them. The scientific study in future will be clear the doubts of many questions.

The value of the rock painting is its man's living affair in short what the world say about is not our concern what we have is important for us and also part of our religion. The relationship of rock art and sooth drawings in the Temple is still in practice, the spiritual culture from may be 3000 years old but they believe is still there, the value is still there, people in the valleys are very conscious about the material culture their emotions belong to the art, to compare their believe and the art to the world is not justify for them they have their own ideologies regarding it

Conclusion

Early researchers focused on the customs and traditions of the Kalash community. However, this research is about the art assemblage, which is unique and has not been written about before. The rock carvings are part of archeological ruins for the researchers, but for the Kalash, they are part of animal fertility. The Kalash tribes of Pakistan perform many rituals and festivals. The important ritual *Šára-biráyak* performing during the Cewmos festival on December, it is important to note that *Šára-biráyak* ritual played a significant role in the art assemblage, (sooth drawings, dough figurines and the rock art) in three valleys. First the sooth drawing in the temple, 2nd the dough figurines (*Šára-biráyak*)3rd the rock carving sites (*Dezelawatta, pindawatta, sochichot*). The shamanic believes are important to construct this thesis. The dreams, stories, rituals, purification, are the important part of this art assemblage. The Kalash also believe during the winter festival Cewmos all the holy spirits, goats, and human being gathered again for some times.

Rock art happens around the entire world, and the scholars interpreted it in their own way of understanding, such as hunting gathering rituals, migration signs and many more, but the religious connection is always underestimated. However, the evidence presented in this thesis shows a picture of the art assemblage of Kalash

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Appendix I

The following information has been collected through in person surveys from the Kalash valleys *Rukmu*, *Mumurate*, and *Biriu*. The survey was designed to assess the sensitivity of the rock assemblage rituals. The ethnographic approach and the interpretations of the rituals are on the basis individuals understanding towards the assemblage 2021.

There are 105 survey interviews. The following have been selected to highlight as they have provided some of the most important information for this study.

S. N	Age	Knowledge	Comments
01	52	Excellent	He has excellent knowledge he learnt from his family by observing, he said that December is a holy month and this festival is the purest festival in the year. Noor Shali Kalash 52 years old from Rukmu valley has his own experience regarding the ritual. He talked about <i>Cewmos</i> Festival, folktales, Shamanic interpretations, including his visit to the rock carvings are worth mentioning. He personally handling the sun observing (<i>Surijagak</i>) ritual, and also trained his son for it. <i>Surijagak</i> is now part of the UNESCO's tentative list
02	80	better	Rahim baig age 80 years with good knowledge said he is shepherd and always lives in mountains. Almost all Kalash people know the protocol of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> . He talks how <i>Pindawatta</i> happened and also share the <i>Noggi</i> and <i>Jarbaig</i> story and their conversation with <i>Nagha Dehar</i> including his visit to <i>Pindawatta</i>

03	50	Poor	Converted man from <i>Birui</i> said he doesn't have any idea about the rituals. He saw and learnt very less from people about the <i>Šára-biráyak</i> and sochi chot (ghost writing) in the mountains are interrelated
04	26	Good	A young shepherd with good knowledge believes in the ritual strongly, he learnt basic knowledge by observing his family but never visited <i>Dezelawatta</i> .
05	50	Marginal	Farmer by profession has marginal knowledge regarding the <i>Šára-biráyak</i> . He learnt the basic knowledge from his family by observing them.
06	24	Marginal	He is personally participator of the <i>Šára-biráyak</i> ritual he also knows little bit a basic information by observing his family since from the childhood
07	24	Better	A young shepherd learnt <i>Šára-biráyak</i> , from his grandfather and by observing his family; he has better knowledge also knows few folktales about shamans. According to him there are a lot of changes in the culture people not much care about the ritual like in the past. Our pure and impure concept is the basic phenomena of the religion.
08	22	Acceptable	He has basic knowledge of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> ritual personally participates and learnt by observing his family. He said in <i>Birui</i> we make only dough figuring in <i>Kagayak</i> or <i>Dagari</i> , our

			<i>Cewmos</i> is much different from <i>Rukmu</i> and <i>Mumurate</i> .
09	22	Better	He has better information according to him <i>Šára-biráyak</i> is <i>onjasta</i> (pure) ritual our art assemblage travels to <i>Dezelawatta</i> , we perform this ritual in <i>Cewmos</i> festival because we considered <i>Cewmos</i> most pure festival in our religion.
10	63	Better	He has better knowledge he knows all the basic practice regarding the <i>Šára-biráyak</i>
11	70	Excellent	He is much confident regarding the ritual he himself participates in rituals, also have shamanic folktales he learnt better information from his uncle in childhood.
12	64	Better	He has also bunch of better experience, he is shepherd from childhood, but he knows the rituals and protocol of the rituals.
13	60	Good	He is shepherd he observed very good information by participating in the ritual
14	45	Poor	He knows the little bit about the performance of the ritual
15	45	Acceptable	He has good experience by doing rituals every year
16	75	Excellent	Excellent knowledge of dreams, folktales, rituals, much experience person regarding the <i>Šára-biráyak</i> rituals he said his father was converted to Islam but he never stop him to doing rituals and performing <i>Kalashi</i> religion. He learnt by observing others and strongly believes,
17	22	Good	He knows some folktale, and basics information about <i>Šára-</i>

			<i>biráyak</i>
18	36	Excellent	School teacher excellent information about the basic protocol of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> ritual
19	36	Excellent	A school teacher and well informed about Kalasha folktales, shamanism, rituals and many more. He is only Kalasha person in his family his entire family are converted; he loves Kalash and strongly believe in the Kalasha religion. He has much better knowledge which is worth mentioning in this thesis
20	18	Better	Well informed student he has better information he learnt doing ritual and from people by observing sometimes to sit in the gathering for learning purposes
21	26	Better	He is student and also doing tour guide nationally and internationally this experiences give me opportunity to learnt and deliver well he has better knowledge
22	16	Poor	From <i>Birui</i> he has Basic knowledge only
23	18	Poor	From <i>Birui</i> he learnt some basic knowledge by performing the basic ritual
24	15	Poor	From <i>Birui</i> he has Basics knowledge
25	18	Acceptable	From <i>Birui</i> he has Basics knowledge including practical performance he learnt from his family.
26	22	Poor	From <i>Birui</i> he knows basics only
27	16	Acceptable	Student just know the basics by performing it with his mother

28	28	Nil	She may hesitate to give information she said I don't know anything.
29	26	Good	She has good information and she also knows the code of behavior of the ritual
30	65	Good	She has good basic knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
31		Better	International scholar, philanthropist, and author of the book "Kalasha their life and tradition" she is amazing writer and she is participating the religious activities for 35 years and much know about it. According to her Kalasha culture is change in many ways such as they didn't care much about their wearing as they also left to wear <i>Khupass</i> (big Kalasha cap) she got almost better knowledge by observing and participating
32	27	Acceptable	She has overage knowledge of basic practices
33	75	Good	She has good basic knowledge including practical performance
34	59	Good	She has good information about the code of behavior of the ritual, including some folktales
35	47	Good	She has good basic knowledge she learnt from her mother-in-law the code of behavior of the ritual.
36	30	Good	She has good basic knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
37	25	Good	She has good basic information

38	70	Better	Much inform about Kalasha folktales and shamanic stories and also knows the procedure of ritual very well. She said in <i>Rukmo</i> female are not allowed to make <i>Šára-biráyak</i> and sooth drawings in the temple. It's all men affairs. She has better knowledge
39	36	Nil	She said I don't know anything she has zero knowledge may be she hesitate to share information
40	55	Acceptable	She has basic knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
41	21	Acceptable	She has basic practical knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
42	55	Poor	She has basic practical knowledge
43	50	Acceptable	She has overage knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual, including some folktales and dreams
44	50	Better	She is well informed about religious knowledge and practical performance she got better knowledge from her father
45	50	Good	She has basic knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
46	75	Good	She knows the practice well but she has no idea of background, she said in <i>Birui</i> we only make dough figurines the sooth drawing in the temple is not part of our culture we are much different from <i>Momorate</i> and <i>Rukmo</i>

47	65	Excellent	She is predictor or dreamer about the future or something cause, she said her father was great hunter and professional to create dough figurines and she is very proud to describe it. She has very good knowledge and knows the practice but after marrying a man in Rukmo valley she is not allowed to make <i>Šára-biráyak</i> and sooth drawings. Because in Rukmu it's the matter of men.
48	50	Good	She has basic knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
49	40	Acceptable	She knows basic practices
50	78	Better	She has very good knowledge including practical performance
51	50	Poor	She knows basic practices
52	40	Poor	She knows basic practices
53	70	Good	She has good knowledge about the code of behavior of the ritual
54	57	Better	She has better knowledge about the code of behavior of the ritual
55	70	Good	She has very good knowledge including practical performances and experiences
56	55	Better	She has very good knowledge including practical performances and experiences
57	42	Better	She has very good knowledge including practical performances

			and experiences
58	30	Nil	She has absolutely no idea or may be don't want to share
59	30	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
60	19	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
61	24	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
62	15	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
63	18	Good	She is 18 years old due to tour guiding she gain very good knowledge from people and community
64	21	Better	She is very good debater and well informed about culture and religion, she knows the basics and practice the rituals with honor. She has also some stories and shamanic folktales. She has very good knowledge She is inspired from her grandmother and participate in practice with great enthusiasm,
65	8	Good	She is well informed by observing her family
66	11	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual, she learnt doing practical with her grand mother
67	20	Good	She has basic knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual She has basic knowledge and knows the code of

			behavior of the ritual
68	38	Good	She has good basic practical knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
69	24	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
70	25	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
71	20	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
72	25	Good	She has good knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
73	33	Better	Being a health worker, she manages to do practical performance he has better practical knowledge and knows very well the protocol of ritual
74	59	Better	He is better interpreter, much know about folktales, songs, stories, background, rituals, practices she got very good knowledge from her father by observing and conversions
75	59	Excellent	Female qazi (community judge) her excellent knowledge and experience is worth for the survey data. She got very good knowledge and the shamanic folktales, stories, practices etc; she learnt it by observing her mother.
76	65	Excellent	He has excellent knowledge including ancestry songs and the

			history of first Temple establishment
77	47	Acceptable	He has basic knowledge and knows the code of behavior of the ritual
78	25	Poor	some practical knowledge
79	50	Poor	some practical knowledge
80	33	Excellent	Agha Kalash age 33 who visited <i>Pindawatta</i> has also better knowledge about the background, shamanic folktale, protocol of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> rituals and also expert of making dough figurines and sooth drawings in the temple. He and Iqbal Shah School teacher described the story of Uncle and nephew which is already mentioned in detail
81	60	Excellent	Male, Saifullah Jan Kalash age 60 a first Kalasha educated businessman with excellent knowledge visited many rock carvings along with many historian and anthropologists. His knowledge and experiences are worth mentioning. He has not only the local observation but he had an experience of scholars' views. He is also expert of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> making and sooth drawings in the temple. In <i>Rukhmo</i> female are not allowed to perform <i>Šára-biráyak</i> sooth drawings in the temple, but in <i>Momorate</i> and <i>Biriu</i> the females does.
82	28	Poor	He learnt the basic practices from late Qazi Khush Nawaz
83	41	Better	Well informed young police man and had experiences about

			the purity of the <i>Šára-biráyak</i> and sooth drawing rituals. He was witness of the temple event which is already described. He has basic knowledge of practice and he learnt the by observing his family
84	60	Better	In <i>Biriu Šára-biráyak</i> according to Maneger khan age 60 is very different they just produced dough figurines sooth drawings in the temple is not part of it and they also perform it in <i>Kagayak</i> or <i>dagari</i> He has basic knowledge of practice and he learnt very good information the by observing his family
85	65	Acceptable	Male qazi with basic knowledge
86	53	Poor	Some practical knowledge
87	100	Excellent	Faker-e-Azam Kalash age 100 has an experience of material culture and interpretation of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> protocol. He also witnesses of culture change and being elder and Qazi of community his knowledge is beyond the wealth. In <i>Biriu Šára-biráyak</i> is very different they just produced dough figurines sooth drawings in the temple is not part of it and they also perform it in <i>Kagayak</i>
88	60	Excellent	Political and community Leader and hunter of his time, he has worth mentioning well informed regarding the art assemblages.

			He also knows the shamanic folktales and stories. Much informed about culture, religion, folktales, stories and background. He has his own philosophy regarding the background of art assemblages
89	60	Better	Political and community leader he has better knowledge about the rituals
90	52	Better	Political leader and organizer He is much aware about the shamanic folktales, practices and his own way of interpretation to the background his knowledge is worth mentioning
91	60	Good	Politics and community organizer with basic knowledge
92	60	Good	Shepherd with some basic and practical knowledge
93	65	Better	His knowledge is very valuable; he knows folktales, stories, sacred songs including the shamanic interpretations. According to him wine is sacred drink Shaman Nagha brings it from haven.
94	48	Better	His precious knowledge helps me in a huge way during my research survey. His way of interpretation of rituals and their historical background is remarkable
95	65	Better	I am converted now but I know all the rituals and protocol of the rituals Kalash is the oldest religion and all rituals and customs are really and their prayer are accepted more than others, I believed on it. (a Kalasha converted man described)

96	59	Better	She described her dreams how she dreamed about the arrival of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> to <i>Dezellawatta</i> once she was Kalash, her interpretation is also worth mentioning
97	67	Good	He has interesting story how he re-performed the <i>Šára-biráyak</i> rituals because of he allows non Kalashi to make <i>Šára-biráyak</i> . He has all the basic knowledge which he learnt by observing his family
98	34	Good	He has basic knowledge which he learnt from his cousin and he is also personally participator of the ritual. He knows all the procedure of <i>Šára-biráyak</i>
99	39	Good	He knows more than basics, he has shamanic stories, also visited the rock carving in Biri valley
100	35	Better	He is very expert of making sooth drawing including <i>Šára-biráyak</i> . he knows all the code of behavior about <i>Šára-biráyak</i>
101	34	Better	He knows basic rituals of <i>Šára-biráyak</i> . he has much knowledge for debates about the cultural changes and importance of the rituals
102	36	Excellent	I described him the oxygen of Kalash; he has much knowledge about culture, religion, songs, shamanic interpretations, backgrounds of the rituals, and origin of Kalash. His interview shed a light in my research work
103	75	Better	He has basic knowledge of the ritual's performance, according

			to him that's enough he knows how to perform the ritual
104	77	Better	She stresses on the onjasta and pragata importance during <i>Šára-biráyak</i> ritual, she thinks young generation of kalash not much care about the sensitivity of the ritual which is more important. She has good knowledge about <i>Šára-biráyak</i> .
105	24	Excellent	She is amazing and the main source for my research. She knows well about <i>Šára-biráyak</i> and helps me out how to pronounce and write Kalashi words. Amazing interpreter.
106	24	Good	She learnt basics from her mother by observing her, she personally participating every year in this ritual. She also knows some stories and shamanic interpretation which she learnt from her mother

Appendix 2



rough data - Sheet1.pdf (Command Line)